

CHAPTER FIVE: DORSET AS A LOCAL MAGNATE, 1624-1642.

In the previous chapter, I argued that Dorset's ecclesiastical patronage is best understood as one dimension of his local influence: most of the benefices in his gift lay near his Sussex estates, and he nearly always chose local men to serve them.<sup>1</sup> I now want to explore more fully Dorset's career as a provincial magnate from his inheritance of the earldom to the outbreak of civil war. I will suggest that muscle in local politics and government depended on three things above all: first, the tenure of specific offices, such as the Lord Lieutenancy of a county, or the High Stewardship of a borough; second, residence in a particular district, and the local knowledge which this yielded; and third, the location of landed estates. The first three sections of this chapter analyse how these variables interacted in Sussex, where Dorset was Lord Lieutenant from 1624, and where his territorial base was concentrated. We will see that Dorset's extensive selling of land to pay off his elder brother's debts did not per se reduce his local clout, and that the office of Lord Lieutenant retained considerable power, especially in military and fiscal matters. However, the Lord Lieutenancy did not necessarily confer electoral patronage, and it seems that Dorset's

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1. See Chapter Four, above, pp. 242-3.

parliamentary candidates were most consistently successful where they had a local background. In the fourth section, I will strengthen these conclusions with evidence from outside Sussex, and suggest that recent discussion of the early Stuart electorate has tended to neglect the central conflict of interest between noblemen sponsoring their men-of-business and corporations seeking representatives with local knowledge. Whether elections produced peaceful 'selections' or bitter contests depended as much on whether the needs of peers and burgesses could be reconciled as on any growing 'politicisation' of early Stuart electors. The final section will examine Dorset as Lord Lieutenant of Middlesex from 1628. Here it seems that his most important task was to preserve order, especially on Shrove Tuesday and May Day. This is further evidence that early seventeenth century Lords Lieutenant continued to wield extensive military powers, and explains Parliament's anxiety to disarm Dorset in the spring of 1642. The seizure of five wagon-loads of arms from Knole the following August is a clear indication of Dorset's perceived importance as a provincial magnate.

## I

It is appropriate to begin with Dorset's activities in Sussex, for the main Sackville lands had been concentrated in

the east of that county since the high Middle Ages.<sup>2</sup> Until the move to Knole (near Sevenoaks, Kent) in 1603, the family's country seat lay at Buckhurst Place in Ashdown Forest.<sup>3</sup> Thereafter, the first five Earls of Dorset all served as Lords Lieutenant of Sussex even though they spent most of their time at Knole or in London.<sup>4</sup> Dorset's power in Sussex thus rested on a combination of high office and the location of his estates, rather than on actual residence in the county.

By far the most striking development of the late 1620's was a rapid shrinkage of Dorset's Sussex lands as he tried to pay off the vast debts left by his profligate elder brother. The third Earl had begun to sell property as early as 1617,<sup>5</sup> and by the time of his death in March 1624 most of the manors

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2. V. Sackville-West, Knole and the Sackvilles (London, 1922), pp. 42-50. C.J. Phillips, History of the Sackville Family (2 vols., London, 1930), I, especially 61-9.
  3. Phillips, History of the Sackville Family, I, especially 23-5.
  4. Complete Peerage, IV, 422-5. See also A. Fletcher, A County Community in Peace and War: Sussex, 1600-1660 (London, 1975), p. 23.
  5. See, for example, E.S.R.O., Ashburnham MS 758 (indenture, 3 June 1617). The third Earl's sales between 1617 and 1623 are fully documented in K.A.O., Sackville MS, U 269/E66/3 (account book of sales by Richard Sackville, third Earl of Dorset, 1617-23).

around Lewes - especially Kingston, Preston, Ringmer and Southover - were already in the hands of trustees.<sup>6</sup> Further lands, for example at Beddingham and West Firle, had been sold outright in 1623.<sup>7</sup> Despite these measures, the fourth Earl inherited debts of over £60,000,<sup>8</sup> and these necessitated drastic action.

Dorset raised money by a mixture of permanent sales and widespread mortgages. Initially, he appears to have chosen his less lucrative lands for sale. Thus, on 14 December 1624, he sold the manor of Downeashe, together with 'certain marshlands' comprising about 500 acres, to William Strode, Nicholas Crisp,

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6. P.R.O., C 142/405/153 (Inquisition Post Mortem for Richard Sackville, third Earl of Dorset, 7 September 1624). For another copy, see WARDS 7/71/59. For the third Earl's will, dated 26 March 1624, see PROB 11 (Prerogative Court of Canterbury, copies of probated wills), Box 143; and B.L., Add. MS 5701 (miscellaneous Sussex collections), fols. 54-121. See also E.S.R.O., RF 12 (miscellaneous Sussex indentures), items 37 and 39.
  7. E.S.R.O., Glynde Place MSS 1383-1387 (deeds relating to sales of lands, May 1623).
  8. P.R.O., SP 14/162/45 (John Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton, 10 April 1624).

Abraham Reynardson and Thomas Cullham for a total of £2,830.<sup>9</sup> He was also prepared to sacrifice some ecclesiastical patronage for the sake of ready capital: on 23 November 1624 he sold the manor of Chalvington and the advowson of the parsonage to Thomas Trayton for £600.<sup>10</sup> A private act of Parliament in 1625 confirmed those sales already made and facilitated more sales thereafter.<sup>11</sup> Similar alienations continued until the end of the decade, and Dorset's final sale of a Sussex manor was apparently that of Meeching to Matthias Caldecot on 1 May 1630.<sup>12</sup>

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9. E.S.R.O., D 145 (bargain and sale, 14 December 1624). See D 295 (deed of payment, 3 June 1625) for payment of the purchase money. For the licence to alienate, see P.R.O., C 66/2346/11 (Chancery Patent Rolls). For the foot of fine, see P.R.O., CP 25/2 (Court of Common Pleas, Feet of Fines), 364/22JAS.I/HIL. See also R.W. Budgen, 'The Manor of Chalvington', Sussex Notes and Queries, XIII (1950), 25-32, especially 30-1.
10. E.S.R.O., RF 12/40 (bargain and sale, 23 November 1624); RF 12/41-2 (deed of sale and its counterpart, 10 December 1624). These lands exceeded 400 acres in area: RF 12/44A (recovery by Thomas Trayton, Hilary Term, 23 Jas. I). See also Budgen, 'Manor of Chalvington', 32.
11. C.J., I, 807, 813. L.J., III, 455, 457, 460, 490.
12. P.R.O., C 66/2552/10. For the foot of fine, see CP 25/2, 498/6CHAS.I/HIL. See also Victoria History of the County of Sussex, Vol. VII, ed. L.F. Salzman (London, 1940), 64.

Permanent alienation was not, however, the only way of raising money, and Dorset sometimes preferred to mortgage property rather than sell it outright. Much the most profitable of these mortgages involved the manor of Berwick, for which three indentures survive dated 18 January 1625/6,<sup>13</sup> 20 February 1627/8,<sup>14</sup> and 8 November 1629.<sup>15</sup> On each occasion, the manor and its quit-rents were conveyed to George Strode, with all profits and fines in excess of £280 per annum accruing to Dorset. The manor could be redeemed for £3,000. There may well have been further mortgages for which evidence no longer survives.

Unfortunately, where the original indentures have been lost, it is often difficult to recover the precise acreages and values of the manors involved, or even whether the transaction was a sale or a mortgage. The central sources consistently disappoint in these respects. As Professor Russell has argued, neither the feet of fines nor the licences to alienate preserved in the Patent Rolls 'permit the compilation of any

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13. E.S.R.O., G 23/8 (mortgage of Berwick to George Strode, 18 January 1625/6).
  14. E.S.R.O., G 23/9 (mortgage of Berwick to George Strode, 20 February 1627/8).
  15. E.S.R.O., G 23/10-11 (release and conveyance relating to the mortgage of Berwick, 8 November 1629).

statistics about the volume of land sales'.<sup>16</sup> Where we possess only a licence to alienate,<sup>17</sup> we cannot tell exactly what Dorset did and for what financial gain without a copy of the original deed.<sup>18</sup> Calculation of total profits would thus require a more complete set of indentures than appears to survive. Nor have I been able to trace any 'valors' of the Sackville estates comparable to those for the Stanley lands.<sup>19</sup> Dorset's personal accounts for these years are also missing, which further hampers attempts to gain an overall view of his financial position. We do have an inventory of payments made by the third Earl's receiver-general and executor, Edward Lyndsey, in order to discharge debts,<sup>20</sup> but this ends on 29

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16. C. Russell, 'English Land Sales, 1540-1640: A Comment on the Evidence', Economic History Review, Second Series, XXV (1972), 117-121. See also H.J. Habakkuk, 'The Rise and Fall of English Landed Families, 1600-1800: III. Did the Gentry Rise?', Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, Fifth Series, XXXI (1981), 195-217, especially 195-8.
  17. For example, that relating to a message in Sevenoaks, 1 June 1627: C 66/2429/41.
  18. Cf. Russell, 'English Land Sales', 119.
  19. For these, see B. Coward, The Stanleys, Lords Stanley and Earls of Derby, 1385-1672 (Manchester, 1983), pp. 187-8, 200-12.
  20. K.A.O., Sackville MS, U 269/A1/8 (Edward Lyndsey's accounts for discharging the debts of the third Earl of Dorset, 1625-8). Lyndsey had acted as receiver-general to the Earls of Dorset since 1607: U 269/A1/1-6 (Edward Lyndsey's accounts, 1607-21).

September 1628 and therefore cannot give the whole picture. Nevertheless, the impact of permanent sales became clearly apparent when the Committee for Compounding calculated the value of Dorset's personal estate in December 1646. His annual income from land apparently stood at £3,253 13s. 11d.,<sup>21</sup> placing him in the poorer half of the peerage, though by no means at the bottom.<sup>22</sup> A comparison of this survey with the Inquisition Post Mortem for Dorset's elder brother shows that no fewer than fourteen Sussex manors had been permanently alienated.<sup>23</sup> It seems that twenty-seven remained intact in December 1646.<sup>24</sup> Thus, although 'the counting of manors' is

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21. P.R.O., SP 23/193/245-251 (survey of Dorset's estate, 7 December 1646). For another copy, see SP 23/193/209-211.
22. Cf. J.P. Cooper, 'The Landed Wealth of the English Peerage under Charles I', Appendix to H.R. Trevor-Roper, 'The Gentry, 1540-1640', Economic History Review, Supplements, I (1953), 54-5. See also L. Stone, The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558-1641 (Oxford, 1965), p. 761.
23. These were the manors of Broughton, Chalvington, Charleston, Chiddingly, Downeashe, Folkington, Frogfirle, Hailsham, Howndeane, Meeching, Selmeston, South Malling, Tablehurst and Waldron.
24. These were the manors of Allehornes, Brighton, Buckhurst, Dill, Eastbourne, East Grinstead, Fiskaridge, Hartfield, Hindall, Hosiars, Iford, Imberhorne, Isfield, Kingston-juxta-Lewes, Lewes, Longbridge, Loxfield Dorset, Michelham, Mucklowe, Ringmer, Ripe, Seaford, Tarring Neville, Telscombe, Tottnor, Westham and Willingdon.

seriously flawed as a measure of noble wealth,<sup>25</sup> this statistic does clearly demonstrate the dramatic contraction of Dorset's Sussex estates in the years after 1624.

## II

Yet, just as we now know that any economic weakening of the early modern English nobility did not undermine its power in national politics,<sup>26</sup> so this crisis in Dorset's fortunes had remarkably little effect on his status in Sussex. He remained highly effective both as a Lord Lieutenant and as an electoral patron throughout the period of heaviest land sales. This and the following section will try to establish how this was possible.

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25. J.P. Cooper, 'The Counting of Manors', reprinted in Land, Men and Beliefs, ed. G.E. Aylmer and J.S. Morrill (London, 1983), pp. 1-16. See also C. Thompson, 'The Counting of Manors Reconsidered', Economic History Review, Second Series, XXV (1972), 124-131.
26. For this, see especially J.S.A. Adamson, 'The Peerage in Politics, 1645-1649' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1986); and J. Cannon, Aristocratic Century: The Peerage of Eighteenth Century England (Cambridge, 1984).

The erosion of the Sackvilles' territorial base during the 1620's did not in any way weaken their position as, in effect, hereditary Lords Lieutenant of Sussex. There was nothing unusual in their appointment as such. By the early seventeenth century, the office of Lord Lieutenant was very much 'the preserve of the titled aristocrat with a seat in the English House of Lords': 109 of the 131 Lords Lieutenant who served between 1585 and 1642 were peers.<sup>27</sup> What made the Earls of Dorset exceptional was the fact that they held this office continuously from 1569 until 1642, and again from 1670 to 1677, a record exceeded only by the Stanleys in Lancashire and Cheshire and by the Herberts in Wiltshire.<sup>28</sup> Thus, although their significance in national politics fluctuated, the Sackvilles remained dominant in Sussex affairs. Dorset became Lord Lieutenant 'in the place of his brother' on 12 July 1624,

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27. J.C. Sainty, 'Lieutenants of Counties, 1585-1642', Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, Supplements, VIII (1970), 5.
  28. Complete Peerage, IV, 210-15. Coward, The Stanleys, pp. 151-2. Victoria History of the County of Wiltshire, Vol. V, ed. R.B. Pugh and E. Crittall (London, 1957), 80-2.

joining the Earl of Arundel who had served since 1612.<sup>29</sup> For the next seven years, his activities in the lieutenancy may be reconstructed from an exceptionally full 'Booke concerning the Deputy Lieuetennantshipp, 1624-1631'.<sup>30</sup> This source demonstrates that the office retained a momentum of its own, irrespective of the occupant's wealth.

The lord lieutenancy's original function was military, and it was here that its innate strength remained clearest in the

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29. P.R.O., SP 14/169/55 (commissions to the Earls of Arundel and Dorset, 12 July 1624). See also C 231/4 (Crown Office Docquet Book, 1616-29), fols. 169v, 180r; E 163/18/12 (Liber Pacis of 1626), fol. 107v; Ind. 1/6746 (Privy Seal Office Docquet Book, 1619-26), unfol., July 1624; B.L., Add. Charter 29276 (commissions to the Earls of Dorset and Arundel); Add. MS 33058 (Newcastle Papers relating to Sussex), fols. 63-4; Harl. MS 1622 (Liber Pacis of 1625), fol. 108v; and Fletcher, Sussex, pp. 175-6.
30. E.S.R.O., LCD/EW1 ('Booke concerning the Deputy Lieuetennantshipp, 1624-1631'). This is a particularly fine example of a type of source which survives only patchily. See the remarks in B.W. Quintrell, 'The Government of the County of Essex, 1603-42' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of London, 1965), p. 130.

late 1620's.<sup>31</sup> Dorset had already served briefly (1620-2) as a Deputy Lieutenant of Middlesex,<sup>32</sup> and his first letter to the Deputy Lieutenants of Sussex, dated 20 September 1624, boasted of recent improvements in the Middlesex militia and explained 'how this reformacon was effected':<sup>33</sup>

At severall tymes and in divers places we survayed the wholl county by takeinge the view of so many hundreds at once ... as we could that daye. The High Constables had warneinge to bringe before us all persons of what quallity soever that were able to serve personally; forth of these we composed our Trayned Bands both for nomber and choyce of men ... never admittinge any deputie to serve for another or servant to supply his masters place ... By which inviollable rule we easiely moved them to provide good armes; ffor imediately they tooke pride and delight to appeere hansomly beinge aswell the wearers as owners of their owne furniture.<sup>34</sup>

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31. The Tudor Constitution, ed. G.R. Elton (2nd edition, Cambridge, 1982), pp. 463-4. See also G. Scott Thomson, Lords Lieutenant in the Sixteenth Century (London, 1923), especially pp. 84-94. For specific examples of the military responsibilities of Lords Lieutenant, see 'The Earl of Hertford's Lieutenancy Papers, 1603-1612', ed. W.P.D. Murphy, Publ. Wiltshire Record Society, XXIII (1967), 4; Coward, The Stanleys, p. 155; W.B. Willcox, Gloucestershire: A Study in Local Government, 1590-1640 (New Haven, 1940), pp. 74-5.
32. P.R.O., C 66/2234. See also B.L., Egerton MS 860 (letter-book relating to the Lord Lieutenancies of Kent, Buckinghamshire and Middlesex, 1604-28), fols. 80r-81v.
33. E.S.R.O., LCD/EW1, fol. 1v.
34. Ibid.

Discipline was ensured in two ways:

If we mett with any that tooke more delighte in denyeing or disputeinge then obeyeinge we imediately putt the statute in execucon by leavyeinge the ffyne or imprisoninge the person ... If this wrought not the cure, we retorned their names to the Councell Boorde, where we were so well seconded by their Lo[rds] power as we never were troubled with a third example.<sup>35</sup>

The Privy Council's support was equally important in explaining Dorset's success as Lord Lieutenant of Sussex. As England drifted into war in the mid-1620's, much of the correspondence between Dorset and his Deputy Lieutenants involved his relaying military instructions from the centre to the localities. For instance, on 5 May 1625, the King and Privy Council ordered Dorset 'to leavy and impress within [the] County of Sussex and the Citty of Chichester the number of two hundred and fifty able and sufficient men serviceable for the warrs'.<sup>36</sup> Dorset conveyed this request to his Deputy Lieutenants on 13 May,<sup>37</sup> who in turn issued a 'warrant to the constables for a presse of two hundred and fifty souldiers' on 21 May.<sup>38</sup> This transmission of conciliar instructions was 'standard practice'

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35. Ibid.

36. Ibid., fol. 7r-v. See also A.P.C., 1625-6, 42-5.

37. E.S.R.O., LCD/EW1, fol. 8r.

38. 'Northamptonshire Lieutenancy Papers and other documents', ed. J. Goring and J. Wake, Publ. Northamptonshire Record Society, XXVII (1975), xxviii.

in peacetime;<sup>39</sup> in wartime it became all the more significant as Lords Lieutenant formed a vital link in the chain of military command extending from King to constable. Thus, during the Ile de Rhé expedition, on 8 August 1627, Charles authorised Arundel and Dorset 'to cause the number of ffiftie able men, well clothed and fitt for service to be presently leavyed within that our County of Sussex under your Lieutenancy'.<sup>40</sup> Dorset wrote to his Deputy Lieutenants on 12 August, enclosing the King's letter and urging them to 'paye it a dilligent, carefull and reddy obedience'.<sup>41</sup> The Deputy Lieutenants immediately drew up a detailed plan of how many troops were to be recruited from each of Sussex's six Rapes, and began to raise money to support them.<sup>42</sup> In organising such levies, the power of Lords Lieutenant clearly rested on the Privy Council's direct authorisation. It did not matter that Dorset was selling off large areas of his Sussex estates; what

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39. E.S.R.O., LCD/EW1, fol. 8r.

40. Ibid., fol. 49v.

41. Ibid., fol. 50v.

42. Ibid. Soon after the Norman Conquest, Sussex was divided into six administrative units called Rapes. Moving from west to east, these were the Rapes of Chichester, Arundel, Bramber, Lewes, Pevensey and Hastings. The term is peculiar to Sussex. See Fletcher, Sussex, pp. 3-5.

mattered was that he acted with conciliar backing and was, from July 1626, himself a Privy Councillor.<sup>43</sup>

This brings us to the broader issue of whether conciliar rank assisted or impeded a Lord Lieutenant. In his study of Somerset, Professor Barnes has argued that the demands of national office inevitably eroded the time and energy which a Lord Lieutenant could devote to his county, and also deprived him of up-to-date local information.<sup>44</sup> By contrast, Dr Calnan stresses that the second Earl of Salisbury was weakened as Lord Lieutenant of Hertfordshire precisely because he did not hold national office until 1635: this left him unable to play 'a mediatory role between the gentry and central government'.<sup>45</sup> Likewise, Dr Dias sees influence at Court as an important ingredient of the power which the Talbots and Cavendishes wielded in Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire.<sup>46</sup> Such diverse

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43. See Chapter Two, above, pp. 76-7.

44. T.G. Barnes, Somerset, 1625-1640 (Oxford, 1961), especially pp. 101-5. See also 'Northamptonshire Lieutenancy Papers', ed. Goring and Wake, xxviii, xxxi.

45. J.B. Calnan, 'County Society and Local Government in the County of Hertford, c. 1580 - c. 1630' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1979), p. 309.

46. J.R. Dias, 'Politics and Administration in Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire, 1590-1640' (unpublished D.Phil. dissertation, University of Oxford, 1973), pp. 89, 168, 174.

experiences strongly suggest that there was no automatic relationship between national office and local influence. In itself, membership of the Privy Council was neither a strength nor a weakness. It only became a weakness if it rendered the Lord Lieutenant ignorant of local developments. But, as we shall see,<sup>47</sup> this was not inevitable. Conciliar rank could equally well be turned to advantage, and in Dorset's case it gave an authority and a strength to his instructions which more than compensated for the attendant drain on his time and energies.

Those instructions were not confined to the raising of soldiers and embraced defence measures in the broadest sense. Dorset and Arundel supervised the billeting of one thousand troops in Sussex in August 1626,<sup>48</sup> and also of those troops returning in November-December 1627 from the Ile de Rhé expedition.<sup>49</sup> Yet, although Dorset's authority once again derived from the King and Privy Council, we can sometimes see him adding instructions of his own so as to remedy popular

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47. See below, pp. 277-9.

48. E.S.R.O., LCD/EW1, fols. 35r-37v.

49. Ibid., fols. 53r-54v.

grievances. Dorset to the Deputy Lieutenants of Sussex, 14  
December 1627:

I am informed that there are seaven score sowldiers billeted in Lewes whereof the inhabitants seeme to complayne as a nomber too greate for them to entertayne. I am likewise of theire opinion, and desire they may be eased, whereby I perceave the King's service will be the better performed, and the willinger to contribute towards it. I conceive one company is enough to billett there and am of opinion yow shall doe well to remove the other to [East]boorne, Hayllesham and Pevensey.<sup>50</sup>

This letter illustrates one of the most valuable services which noble Lords Lieutenant performed for both their counties and the central government. They formed a personal link between the Privy Council and the county élites, and were able to modify royal policies in the light of developments at grass-roots level. This role was often extremely difficult to sustain. Some earlier Lords Lieutenant, such as Sir Christopher Hatton in Northamptonshire,<sup>51</sup> had found it almost impossible to reconcile the conflicting interests of centre and localities. Yet, as W.P.D. Murphy has observed, 'the essence of [the Lord Lieutenant's] function was to represent the Crown to his district and his district to the Crown'.<sup>52</sup> Dorset

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50. Ibid., fol. 54v.

51. 'Northamptonshire Lieutenancy Papers', ed. Goring and Wake, xxx-xxxii.

52. 'The Earl of Hertford's Lieutenancy Papers', ed. Murphy, 4.

clearly recognised that the government and the county of Sussex would both be best served if outstanding grievances such as billeting were removed, thus minimising friction between the two.

To turn to our third variable. Was Dorset's performance as Lord Lieutenant vitiated by his non-residence in Sussex? Certainly prolonged absence from their counties did weaken some Lords Lieutenant. In Somerset, for example, 'non-residence robbed the Lord Lieutenant of the power he might have played as an informant to the Council of events in the county'.<sup>53</sup> Similarly, in Northamptonshire the Earl of Exeter's 'continual absences in London and at his house at Wimbledon threw all the greater responsibility on his deputies'.<sup>54</sup> However, the Sussex letter-book reveals a rather different picture. It suggests that Dorset's absence did not necessarily matter provided that the Deputy Lieutenants kept him closely informed about local events. For example, their letter of 14 September 1625 gave the latest news concerning the musters, reported that 'touching millitary provision for match and leade [the county] is reasonably well furnished', and listed 'such places along

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53. Barnes, Somerset, p. 101.

54. 'The Montagu Musters Book, 1602-1623', ed. J. Wake, Publ. Northamptonshire Record Society, VII (1935), xix.

the sea coste as are least defensible'.<sup>55</sup> The 'Booke concerning the Deputy Leiuettentship' is not quite comprehensive, however, for further letters from the Deputy Lieutenants to Arundel and Dorset occasionally survive elsewhere. Thus, in July 1627, the Deputy Lieutenants found themselves 'alltogether destitute of provision for those [western] parts of the ... county both for defence and trayneinge', and sought authorisation to obtain gunpowder from a 'Mr Evelyn'.<sup>56</sup> A similar letter must have preceded Dorset's instructions concerning billeting in December 1627.<sup>57</sup> Certainly enough material survives to show that Dorset's presence at Knole or in London did not leave him ignorant of Sussex affairs. Non-residence was no more an irremediable weakness than was membership of the Privy Council.

However, on at least one occasion Dorset's personal presence in the county did enhance his effectiveness as Lord

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55. E.S.R.O., LCD/EW1, fol. 11r-v.

56. P.R.O., SP 16/70/89 (Deputy Lieutenants of Sussex to Dorset, 13 July 1627).

57. Some of Dorset's information about Sussex may also have derived from informal contact with the county gentry, for example when John Everenden 'waited on' Dorset in London in 1626: E.S.R.O., Frewen MS 520 (account book of John Everenden), fol. 34r. See also Fletcher, Sussex, p. 24.

Lieutenant. On 31 May 1627, the Privy Council ordered 'a surveye to be taken of the seacoastes'.<sup>58</sup> A visit to Sussex convinced Dorset that beacons were the most urgent problem, and he wrote to the Deputy Lieutenants on 15 August:

fforasmutch as I see myself since my comeinge into the Country how the watchinge of the Beacons are neglected ... in these dangerous tymes ... These are therefore to will and require you to apoynte six able and sufficient men in your severall divisions to attend every one of the said beacons with musketts and bills according to former directions, and to graunt out your warrants to the Constables and Headburrough in their severall divisions from tyme to tyme to collect and gather all such mony as shall be due for the watching of the said beacons.<sup>59</sup>

We may conclude from this that while Dorset's prolonged absences from Sussex did not seriously undermine his authority as Lord Lieutenant, his occasional visits could lend an extra incisiveness to his orders.

Dorset's relationship with his Deputy Lieutenants was clearly a crucial one: he relied on them both for up-to-date local information and for the implementation of his orders. Some historians have seen this dependence as yet another way in which the gentry 'rose' at the expense of a crisis-ridden

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58. E.S.R.O., LCD/EW1, fol. 48v. A.P.C., January-August 1627, 310.

59. E.S.R.O., LCD/EW1, fol. 51r.

aristocracy. Professor Barnes, for example, writes that in Somerset 'the real Lord Lieutenant would emerge from among [the] Deputy Lieutenants',<sup>60</sup> while for G. Scott Thomson the Deputy Lieutenants of Kent 'were not, and never had been, the mere henchmen of the [Lord] Lieutenant'.<sup>61</sup> But such arguments seriously underestimate the extent to which Deputy Lieutenants were appointed by, and remained accountable to, noble Lords Lieutenant. By 1625 the Lords Lieutenant of most counties had gained the right to nominate their Deputies, and they commonly chose their own clients or relatives.<sup>62</sup> Sussex - where the Lords Lieutenant selected Deputies from 1608<sup>63</sup> - was no exception. Dorset 'inherited' three Deputies (Sir Walter Covert, Sir John Shirley and Sir Thomas Bishop) who had served under his father and elder brother.<sup>64</sup> At least four of the six Deputies appointed in Dorset's first two years as Lord Lieutenant had close personal links with him: Sir Henry

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60. Barnes, Somerset, p. 105.

61. 'The Twysden Lieutenancy Papers, 1583-1668', ed. G. Scott Thomson, Publ. Kent Archaeological Society, X (1926), 18.

62. For the Crown's gradual delegation of the power to nominate Deputy Lieutenants in the years between 1603 and 1625, see Sainty, 'Lieutenants of Counties', passim. For cases of Lords Lieutenant appointing their own relatives or dependents, see Coward, The Stanleys, p. 154; Victoria History of the County of Wiltshire, V, 80-2.

63. Sainty, 'Lieutenants of Counties', 34.

64. Fletcher, Sussex, p. 176. For further details of Sir Walter Covert, see below, p. 291.

Compton, his brother-in-law; Sir Thomas Parker, a long-standing acquaintance; Sir Thomas Pelham, a lessee; and Sir Thomas Sackville, his cousin.<sup>65</sup> Dorset could rest assured that these men would serve him reliably: they were most unlikely to challenge the local ascendancy of their friend, relative and landlord.

But the Deputy Lieutenants' deference went deeper than a personal allegiance to Dorset. Barry Coward has observed that 'the lieutenancy of Lancashire and Cheshire reflected the pyramidal nature of sixteenth and seventeenth century provincial society'.<sup>66</sup> Likewise, the 'Booke concerning the

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65. Sir Henry Compton and Sir Thomas Parker were both appointed on 12 July 1624: P.R.O., SP 14/169/55. For Compton as Dorset's brother-in-law, see Chapter One, above, p. 24; Chapter Four, above, pp. 213-14; and below, pp. 290, 295. Dorset's acquaintanceship with Parker was initially rather turbulent: see The Diary of Lady Anne Clifford, ed. V. Sackville-West (London, 1923), p. 82. However, it seems that the difficulties had been resolved by the early 1620's: see C.D., IV, 117; VI, 272, 274, 292. Sir Thomas Pelham and Sir Thomas Sackville were both appointed on 24 August 1626: A.P.C., June-December 1626, 221, 224. For Pelham as Dorset's lessee, see K.A.O., Sackville MS, U 269/A1/8 (Edward Lyndsey's accounts for discharging the third Earl of Dorset's debts, 1625-8), unfol., 13 February, 2 March 1626/7. Also Chapter Seven, below, pp. 409-12. For Sir Thomas Sackville, see Phillips, History of the Sackville Family, I, 242-3; Fletcher, Sussex, pp. 151, 176.

66. Coward, The Stanleys, p. 154.

[Sussex] Deputy Lieuetennantshipp' clearly reveals a hierarchical, almost feudal, relationship between Dorset and his Deputy Lieutenants. The Deputies always signed themselves 'at your Lo[rdshi]pps commandement'<sup>67</sup> or 'your Lo[rdshi]pps to be commanded',<sup>68</sup> and this was not merely a courtesy. Such language reflected a genuine disparity in the relative powers of the Lord Lieutenant and his Deputies. As we have seen, in the organisation of military levies, billeting and other defence measures, it was the Lord Lieutenant who commanded, the Deputy Lieutenants who obeyed. The social hierarchy was thus plainly visible in the processes of local government.

This is equally true when we turn to fiscal matters. As the direct agents of royal government in each county, Lords Lieutenant were also responsible for raising prerogative taxes such as the Forced Loan. The 'Booke concerning the Deputy Lieuetennantshipp' is particularly valuable because it reveals

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67. See, for example, P.R.O., SP 16/70/89.

68. See, for example, E.S.R.O., LCD/EW1, fol. 11v.

how Dorset's hard-line views on the Loan<sup>69</sup> were implemented in Sussex. Privy Council letters of 29 November and 31 December 1626 authorised Dorset to begin levies 'aswell for the discharge of the areare allreddy due to the country as likewise for the groweing entertaynement of the souldiers',<sup>70</sup> and on 9 January 1627 he wrote to the Deputy Lieutenants requiring

yow and every of yow in your severall divisions to demaund and cause such monyes as are and shall be collected uppon the said loane to his Ma[jes]tie within the County of Sussex to be payed over to the severall collectors thereof into your hands, and that yow yssue out the same in such sorte as by their L[ordshi]pps letters is required.<sup>71</sup>

He insisted that the tax was 'for the good of the country', and 'that now there wanteth nothing to give both King and country full content, but your dilligence carefully to putt in execution what ... is required'.<sup>72</sup> Once again, Dorset was trying to reconcile the interests of centre and localities.

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69. For these, see Chapter Two, above, pp. 80-1. Dorset's willingness to defend and collect the Loan may partly have been the price of political survival. It ensured that he remained Lord Lieutenant of Sussex at a time when opponents of the Loan in other counties (such as the Earl of Warwick in Essex) were being systematically purged. See R. Cust, The Forced Loan and English Politics, 1626-1628 (Oxford, 1987), pp. 189-98. For Warwick's dismissal, see also Quintrell, 'Government of Essex', p. 139.

70. E.S.R.O., LCD/EW1, fol. 39r-v. See also A.P.C., June-December 1626, 388-9, 446.

71. E.S.R.O., LCD/EW1, fol. 40r.

72. Ibid.

But payment was at best patchy, and on 17 January Dorset wrote angrily to the Loan Commissioners in the Rape of Pevensey:

The full and speedy retorne which the Rape of Lewes hath made ... hath yeelded unto his Ma[jes]tie and theire Lo[rdshi]pps ample content and assuurance of the affection of all the people in those partes and dilligence in the Commissioners. So on the other side it condemns the remaynder both of cowltness in them that showld paye, and much remissnes in those that are trusted either to see it collected, or certefie where the impedement lyes.<sup>73</sup>

Dorset concluded with the sinister warning 'that when I fynde denyalls or delays I have order imediately to place all the sowldiers within the sheere in that Rape so that the difference may apeere betweene the refractory and obedient'.<sup>74</sup> This threat of billeting clearly worked, for the Commissioners hastily appointed a collector.<sup>75</sup> Nevertheless, when the Privy Council decided on 27 June to reward unofficial collectors of the Loan throughout Sussex, Dorset made sure that the Rape of Pevensey paid 'the somme of fortie pounds' to cover this.<sup>76</sup> As before, the strength of Dorset's position lay in a combination of conciliar authorisation and military muscle. These were inherent in the office of Lord Lieutenant, and were not visibly diminished by his frequent absences or his declining income.

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73. E.S.R.O., LCD/EW1, fol. 40v.

74. Ibid. Cf. Cust, Forced Loan, p. 58.

75. E.S.R.O., LCD/EW1, fol. 41r.

76. A.P.C., January-August 1627, 370.

Although the 'Booke concerning the Deputy Lieuetennantshipp' ends abruptly on 30 July 1631, it does permit three general conclusions about Dorset's career as Lord Lieutenant of Sussex, and about the nature of that office. First, the early Stuart lord lieutenancy retained a momentum of its own, especially in the military and fiscal spheres, which transcended the occupant's individual circumstances. An office exercised on behalf of the King and Privy Council, and backed up by the ultimate sanction of military force, was bound to command obedience. Throughout, the Deputy Lieutenants of Sussex treated Dorset deferentially. Quite apart from their various personal ties, they respected him as a peer, a Privy Councillor and a direct agent of the King. They kept Dorset closely informed about local developments and thus rendered harmless his frequent absences from the county. This in turn ensured that Dorset's membership of the Privy Council assisted rather than impeded his work as Lord Lieutenant. Second, Lords Lieutenant played a crucial role in mediating and even modifying royal policies to secure maximum effectiveness on the ground. The Privy Council stipulated total numbers of troops to be levied and billeted, or sums of money to be raised, but left the regional distribution within Sussex very much up to Dorset. Placed Janus-like between the central government and the provincial élites, noble Lords Lieutenant acted as lubricants in the body politic. For peers more than any other social group, the ideal of a balanced polity harmonising Crown and people was based on personal experience. It was therefore

no accident that the early modern English nobility claimed to be both the King's rightful advisers and the natural rulers of provincial society: they performed each function more effectively because they also performed the other. This should caution us, finally, against portraying the gentry as autonomous agents in provincial government. The correspondence between Dorset and his Deputy Lieutenants shows how administrative processes precisely reflected the social hierarchy. Yet the most recent treatment of local government, Anthony Fletcher's Reform in the Provinces,<sup>77</sup> focuses almost exclusively on Deputy Lieutenants, Justices of the Peace and parish constables, and neglects the extent to which leading gentry were controlled by, and answerable to, noble Lords Lieutenant. Critics of the 'county community school' have not yet given this particular weakness enough attention.<sup>78</sup> In this respect studies of the provinces still lag behind those of the centre. For just as parliamentary history can no longer be written around 'the winning of the initiative by the House of

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77. A. Fletcher, Reform in the Provinces (London, 1986).

78. For example, noble power in the localities is barely discussed in C. Holmes, 'The County Community in Stuart Historiography', Journal of British Studies, XIX (1980), 54-73. This is also true of J.S. Hart, 'Provincial Politics and Government in Stuart England', ibid., XXVIII (1989), 304-11.

Commons', so it is surely inappropriate to analyse local government in terms of 'the crisis of the aristocracy' and 'the triumph of the gentry'.<sup>79</sup>

### III

One of the many facets of Lawrence Stone's 'crisis of the aristocracy' was a significant decline in the peerage's electoral influence. According to Stone, 'aristocratic control of county elections was weakening between 1590 and 1640', and 'by the middle 1620's it was becoming hard for a courtier to get a nomination, and hard for a magnate, whether in or out of Court, to maintain his old pre-eminence in local elections'.<sup>80</sup> Stone attributes this growing inability to manipulate elections primarily to a contraction in the nobility's territorial base. Vivien Hodges has likewise claimed that 'there was a perceptible decline in the institution of clientage during this period', and links this partly to an increased awareness of

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79. This last phrase is the title of the concluding chapter in Fletcher, Reform in the Provinces, pp. 351-73.

80. Stone, Crisis, pp. 260, 262.

national issues among local electors.<sup>81</sup> In other words, the early seventeenth century marked a clear departure from the Elizabethan patterns of clientage and deference described by Sir John Neale.<sup>82</sup> J.K. Gruenfelder has recently qualified this picture of decline, and suggested that 'the electoral history of early Stuart England could be summarised as a story of patronage ... The peerage was a force to be reckoned with in any analysis of elections between 1604 and 1640'.<sup>83</sup> Gruenfelder assumes a basic conflict of interest between noble patrons and electors: 'the success or failure of outsiders in elections is a good barometer of the county community's electoral record. Victory for an outsider was a triumph for influence in elections, the influence of the local élite's competitors, the peerage and court'.<sup>84</sup> This 'barometer' fell from 118 'outsiders' elected in 1624 to seventy-two in the Long Parliament election, suggesting to Gruenfelder that by 1640 'the influence of a great peer, a Buckingham, Pembroke or

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81. V.J. Hodges, 'The Electoral Influence of the Aristocracy, 1604-41' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Columbia, 1977), p. 382.
82. J.E. Neale, The Elizabethan House of Commons (London, 1949), especially chapters 1, 7 and 14.
83. J.K. Gruenfelder, Influence in Early Stuart Elections, 1604-40 (Ohio, 1981), pp. xii, xiv.
84. Ibid., p. 217.

Arundel, was hardly what it was before'.<sup>85</sup> What about Dorset? This section will explore how far his track-record in Sussex elections was consistent with these arguments. What were the foundations of his influence, and to what extent were they eroded in this period?

In order to assess continuity or change, we must briefly examine the electoral influence of the first three Earls of Dorset. Throughout the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods the Sackvilles were most effective in Sussex. Thomas Sackville, Lord Buckhurst, first Earl of Dorset, secured the return of his son Robert as M.P. for the shire in 1584, 1593, 1597, 1601 and 1604.<sup>86</sup> His men-of-business were also regularly elected in those boroughs where he held property, especially Lewes and East Grinstead.<sup>87</sup> However, his influence outside Sussex was much weaker, and the High Stewardship of a borough (for example

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85. Ibid.

86. The House of Commons, 1558-1603, ed. P.W. Hasler (3 vols., London, 1981), III, 315. Return of Members of Parliaments of England, 1213-1702 (2 vols., London, 1878), I, 430, 435, 440, 446.

87. House of Commons, ed. Hasler, III, 258-60. Return of Members of Parliaments, I, 446. See also Gruenfelder, Influence in Early Stuart Elections, p. 38.

Bristol) conferred no automatic right to nominate its M.P.'s.<sup>88</sup> These trends were exactly replicated under the second and third Earls of Dorset. Neither apparently sponsored candidates outside Sussex.<sup>89</sup> But inside Sussex their influence remained considerable in county elections, and at Lewes and East Grinstead.<sup>90</sup> It needs stressing that this patronage did not necessarily involve the intrusion of 'outsiders'. The election of Sackville protégés frequently owed as much to the candidate's local background as to noble backing. Robert Sackville lived at Buckhurst Place throughout the later sixteenth century, and his first-hand knowledge of Sussex affairs left him well qualified to represent the county in Parliament.<sup>91</sup> Similarly, Sir Henry Compton was an attractive candidate at East Grinstead in 1604 and 1621 because he lived only a few miles away at Brambletye: there is no evidence that Sackville patronage imposed him on unwilling voters. Contrary to Gruenfelder's suggestion that we can measure noble successes by the return of 'outsiders', the first three Earls of Dorset were often influential precisely because they nominated 'insiders'.

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88. Gruenfelder, Influence in Early Stuart Elections, pp. 51, 57, n. 38.

89. Ibid., p. 247.

90. Ibid. Return of Members of Parliaments, I, 446, 453.

91. Sackville-West, Knole and the Sackvilles, p. 50.

When we turn to the fourth Earl's electoral patronage, continuity is generally far more striking than decline. As before, Sackville clients were most likely to be returned where they had a local background: in this respect Dorset was no less successful than his predecessors. Perhaps he differed slightly in that he seems to have been less involved in county elections. This might be explained by the fact that the lord lieutenancy conferred no direct patronage. Only in 1626 was the office possibly significant: on 18 January, Sir Walter Covert asked Arundel and Dorset for their backing,<sup>92</sup> and was subsequently returned for the shire.<sup>93</sup> But the exact circumstances of this election are obscure, and Covert's success may have owed as much to his impressive record as a Deputy Lieutenant and Justice of the Peace for Sussex.<sup>94</sup> There is no proof that the lieutenancy made Dorset a successful electoral patron; and certainly when Dorset recommended his men-of-business to a borough he never drew attention to his

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92. Arundel Castle Archives, ed. F.W. Steer (4 vols., Chichester, 1968-80), I, 205.

93. Return of Members of Parliaments, I, 472.

94. Fletcher, Sussex, pp. 134, 161, 176-80, 212-3, 222, 352. See also P.R.O., Ind. 1/6746, unfol., July 1624; E 163/18/12, fol. 80v. For an instance of Covert's unusual diligence as a Deputy Lieutenant, see A.P.C., June-December 1626, 59. See B.L., Harl. MS 703 (letter book of Sir Walter Covert), especially fols. 175-6 for Covert's copies of correspondence between the Privy Council, Dorset and the Deputy Lieutenants of Sussex, duplicating E.S.R.O., LCD/EW1, fols. 49v, 53r-v.

official status. The significance of office in Sussex elections is further weakened by the fact that Dorset did not serve as High Steward of any borough in the county.

Far more important, it seems, was the ownership of property in a town. Once again, this was particularly striking at Lewes and East Grinstead. Dorset owned a fourth part of the castle and manor of Lewes throughout this period,<sup>95</sup> and in 1625-6 Sir George Rivers, friend of the second Earl and executor to the third, served as one of the town's M.P.'s.<sup>96</sup> Unlike Sir Walter Covert, Rivers had neither assiduous service as Deputy Lieutenant and Justice of the Peace, nor continuous residence in Sussex to recommend him, and it therefore seems likely that Dorset's patronage played a crucial part in his

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95. P.R.O., C 142/405/153; SP 16/193/245. Dorset's property in Lewes included the remains of the former Cluniac priory and a mansion in the High Street called 'Shelleys': W. Camden, Britain, or a chorographical description of England, Scotland and Ireland, beautified with mappes, translated by P. Holland (London, 1610), p. 314 (S.T.C., 4509). I owe this reference to Paul Hammer. See also W.H. Godfrey, 'The High Street, Lewes', Sussex Archaeological Collections, XCIII (1955), 1-33, esp. 17.

96. Return of Members of Parliaments, I, 466, 472. For Rivers' appointment as the third Earl's executor, see B.L., Add. MS 5701, fols. 54-121. See also Add. MS 38483 (Medley Papers, 1525-1669), fols. 94-104, 106-109. For an assignment signed by Dorset and Rivers in 1627, see Add. Charter 30734. Rivers received an annuity of £40 under the third Earl's will; for some of the payments, see K.A.O., Sackville MS, U 269/A1/7-8.

election.<sup>97</sup> By 1640, however, the situation had changed dramatically. The majority of Lewes residents were violently hostile to Laudianism, and Dorset's approaches met with committed religious opposition. On 27 January 1640, Edward Burton, rector of Westham, informed Dr Bray, 'chaplayne in ordinary to his Grace [the Archbishop of Canterbury] at Lambeth House' that

the Puritane faction [is] growen strong amongst the Justices upon our Bench for the Eastern part of this county ... The Towne of Lewes as well as the Sessions House is tainted with them, for at this present, notwithstanding my Lord of Dorsets and my Lord Goreings letters and intimations for their creatures to be Parliament men, yet Mr [Anthony] Staply and Mr [James] Rivers have a strong party in the Towne, and it is much feared they will be chosen Burgesses for the Towne of Lewes: God forbidde the greater part of a Parliament should be of their stampe: if soe, Lord have mercy upon our Church.<sup>98</sup>

Although I have been unable to trace firm evidence of Dorset's 'letters and intimations' to the borough, they were certainly unsuccessful: Anthony Stapley and James Rivers (apparently no immediate relation of Sir George) were duly elected to the

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97. Fletcher, Sussex, p. 24. This interpretation may be further strengthened by the fact that Rivers was not an M.P. for Lewes in the years before the third Earl appointed him his executor: Return of Members of Parliaments, I, 453, 460.

98. P.R.O., SP 16/442/137 (Edward Burton to Dr Bray, 27 January 1639/40). Cf. Fletcher, Sussex, pp. 244-5; see also pp. 61-93 for a more general discussion of Puritanism in early Stuart Sussex.

Short Parliament.<sup>99</sup> Rivers also sat in the Long Parliament until his death in June 1641.<sup>100</sup> Irrespective of his private religion, Dorset, the prominent courtier, had been tarred with the Laudian brush. His property in Lewes could offer no resistance against the tide of militant Puritanism.

At East Grinstead the pattern was slightly different. This town lay in the middle of Ashdown Forest, of which Dorset was appointed Master and Keeper of the Game on 2 June 1624.<sup>101</sup> Within the borough he owned 'certaine messuages, lands and tenements',<sup>102</sup> in addition to Sackville College, the almshouse established under the will of his father, the second Earl of

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99. Return of Members of Parliaments, I, 483. See also J.K. Gruenfelder, 'The Election to the Short Parliament, 1640', in Early Stuart Studies, ed. H.S. Reinmuth (Minneapolis, 1970), pp. 180-230, especially pp. 212-4.
100. Return of Members of Parliaments, I, 494. See also M.F. Keeler, The Long Parliament, 1640-1 (Philadelphia, 1954), pp. 67, 323; D. Brunton and D.H. Pennington, Members of the Long Parliament (London, 1954), pp. 217, 240.
101. P.R.O., DL 13/25 (Duchy of Lancaster Draft Patents, 1623-5), unfol., outer membrane. Cf. R. Somerville, Office-holders in the Duchy and County Palatine of Lancaster from 1603 (Chichester, 1972), p. 217. See also SP 23/193/247.
102. P.R.O., SP 23/193/245; C 142/405/153. See also W.H. Hills, The History of East Grinstead (East Grinstead, 1906), pp. 3-4. I owe this last reference to Ian Ward.

Dorset.<sup>103</sup> In all the Parliaments of the 1620's (except 1624) and in the Short Parliament, Sir Henry Compton continued to serve as one of East Grinstead's M.P.'s.<sup>104</sup> He was Dorset's brother-in-law and executor but equally, as we saw above, he lived only a few miles from the town.<sup>105</sup> Compton was also Assistant Warden of Sackville College, and his detailed local knowledge must have made him an attractive candidate to voters.<sup>106</sup> It remains unclear whether he was chosen specifically at Dorset's behest. Any control which Dorset might have wielded was based on his ownership of the majority of burgage tenements in East Grinstead. In the Short Parliament elections, however, Robert Goodwin, a Puritan radical and brother-in-law of James Rivers of Lewes,<sup>107</sup> challenged the choice of Dorset's secretary and nominee John White, and appealed over the heads of the burgage tenants to

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103. P.R.O., SP 23/193/247. For the history of this institution, see F. Hill, Sackville College (East Grinstead, 1913).

104. Return of Members of Parliaments, I, 453, 460, 466, 472, 478, 483. See also the discussion of Compton in Chapter Four, above, pp. 213-14.

105. See above, p. 290.

106. Hills, East Grinstead, p. 106.

107. Keeler, Long Parliament, pp. 192, 324.

the townsmen as a whole.<sup>108</sup> White petitioned the House of Commons, but Goodwin produced a series of Tudor indentures to prove that all townsmen possessed the vote, and the Committee for Privileges declared that he and Compton were properly elected.<sup>109</sup> Yet Dorset's power was not destroyed, for in the Long Parliament election Goodwin was returned alongside Dorset's eldest son, Lord Buckhurst.<sup>110</sup> Buckhurst was then aged eighteen, with neither political experience nor much local knowledge.<sup>111</sup> His return surely demonstrates how influential Dorset remained in East Grinstead despite the widened franchise. That influence rested above all on ownership of extensive property in the borough and, unlike at Lewes, this could prove effective even in 1640.

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108. C.J., II, 10; Keeler, Long Parliament, pp. 191-2; Hills, East Grinstead, pp. 34-5; Gruenfelder, 'Election to the Short Parliament', pp. 202-3. See also J.C. Stenning, 'Notes on East Grinstead', Sussex Archaeological Collections, XX (1868), 132-74, especially 154-5.
109. C.J., II, 10; Return of Members of Parliaments, I, 483. See also Fletcher, Sussex, pp. 244-5. John White had rather better luck at Rye in 1640: see below, pp. 300-1.
110. C.J., II, 30; Hills, East Grinstead, pp. 34-5; Return of Members of Parliaments, I, 494. See also Keeler, Long Parliament, p. 331; Brunton and Pennington, Members of the Long Parliament, pp. 217, 240.
111. Richard Sackville, Lord Buckhurst, appears to have spent most of his early years at Knole or in London. There is no clear evidence that either he or his father regularly visited Buckhurst Place, a few miles from East Grinstead. The mansion was usually leased out in this period: see, for example, K.A.O., Sackville MS, U 269/T378 (lease of Buckhurst Place to Sir George Petre, [?] 1627).

What, then, of boroughs where Dorset neither owned property nor held office? It seems that Dorset could still exercise some influence in these so long as his candidates possessed local knowledge and were likely to promote the town's interests in Parliament. The most striking case of this was Rye. By 1603, the right to nominate M.P.'s lay with the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports and 'one of the local gentry',<sup>112</sup> but there is no evidence of Sackville influence before the mid-1620's.<sup>113</sup> On 1 April 1625, however, Dorset wrote 'to my very loving frendes the Maior and Juratts of the Towne of Rie' on behalf of Captain John Sackville, his 'deare kinsman', adding hastily 'the rather for that he is your countrey man, and well knowne to some of yow'.<sup>114</sup> Sackville was duly elected, and again in 1626.<sup>115</sup> Throughout the wars of the later 1620's Rye was understandably preoccupied with its own defence, and on 28 March 1627 the mayor and jurats requested Sackville's help in

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112. G. Mayhew, Tudor Rye (Falmer, 1987), pp. 53-4.

113. Ibid. None of Rye's M.P.'s in 1604, 1614, 1621 and 1624 were apparently Sackville clients: Return of Members of Parliaments, I, 447, 449, 455, 461.

114. E.S.R.O., Rye Corporation MS, 47/101/29/7 (Dorset to the mayor and jurats of Rye, 1 April 1625).

115. Return of Members of Parliaments, I, 467, 473. Cf. S.A. Hipkin, 'The Economy and Social Structure of Rye, 1600-1660' (unpublished D.Phil. dissertation, University of Oxford, 1985), pp. 247-8.

improving their ordnance and securing a permanent gunner.<sup>116</sup> Sackville petitioned Buckingham, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, in June,<sup>117</sup> but there is no sign that the problem was remedied. Dorset skirted around this lack of positive results when he again recommended Sackville's election on 1 February 1628, declaring that 'you all know (what by his paynes and importuning his noble freinds) he hath done you a courtesye not ordinarye in these tymes'.<sup>118</sup> He stressed Sackville's particular knowledge of and fondness for Rye:

Yf he would he might bee chosen in other places, but he is much affected to your service and his reasons why he is soe are good ... He is your contryman, borne neare you, his father lived noblely many yeares in the cuntry well be loved of all ... And though hee lives not neare you, he lives heare neare the Court, and uppon all your busyness ready to be employed by you.<sup>119</sup>

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116. P.R.O., SP 16/67/41.I (mayor, jurats and commonalty of Rye to Captain John Sackville, 28 March 1627). This wartime concern with defence temporarily superseded Rye's on-going obsession with the silting up of its harbour: cf. J.K. Gruenfelder, 'Rye and the Parliament of 1621', Sussex Archaeological Collections, CVII (1969), 25-35, especially 25-6. For a detailed account of the harbour's decay, see Hipkin, 'Economy and Social Structure of Rye', pp. 98-108.
117. P.R.O., SP 16/67/41 (petition of Captain John Sackville to the Duke of Buckingham, [? 17 June] 1627).
118. E.S.R.O., Rye Corporation MS, 47/108/31/8 (Dorset to the mayor and jurats of Rye, 1 February 1627/8).
119. Ibid.

Non-residence in Rye was thus adroitly turned into a positive virtue. Nor was there any further danger that Sackville would be called for military service: 'he hath put away his place, and now hath nothing to doe, but to serve you'.<sup>120</sup> The tone of this letter was courteous throughout, and Dorset clearly respected the corporation's autonomy: 'though as you are a corporation from the sheire apart, yett if itt fall out that either your towne in generall or any of you in perticular have any thinge to doe wherein I may be freind you in the county, you shall finde mee your freind'.<sup>121</sup> Yet the borough was dissatisfied with the failure of Sackville's attempts to improve its defences, and chose instead a candidate with more direct local interests, Richard Tufton.<sup>122</sup> The mayor and jurats were obviously anxious to retain Sackville's goodwill (as indicated by their present to him of 'a dosser of fish' in May 1632),<sup>123</sup> but felt that they needed a more effective champion in Parliament.

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120. Ibid.

121. Ibid.

122. Return of Members of Parliaments, I, 479. See also Fletcher, Sussex, pp. 237-8; Hipkin, 'Economy and Social Structure of Rye', p. 249.

123. E.S.R.O., Rye Corporation MS, 61/37 (account book of the Land Chamberlain of Rye), fol. 7v. I owe this reference to Peter Salt.

This was very much a personal reflection on Captain John Sackville, not on Dorset's electoral patronage as such. Even in the polarised atmosphere of 1640, Dorset's clients could still be returned if they had good local credentials. In both the Short and the Long Parliament elections, Rye rejected a string of Court nominations, including those of Northumberland, the Lord Admiral, and Suffolk, the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports.<sup>124</sup> On both occasions, the only successful 'Court' candidate was Dorset's secretary, John White.<sup>125</sup> Dorset insisted that White was 'both able and willing to doe your Towne good service', but the real key to his success surely lay in the fact that he lived only a few miles from Rye, at Northiam.<sup>126</sup> This offers an intriguing contrast to Lewes, for many inhabitants of Rye were also obsessed by the threat of popery. For example, in September 1640 there was a scare that

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124. Fletcher, Sussex, pp. 246-7; Gruenfelder, 'The Election to the Short Parliament', pp. 199-200.

125. Gruenfelder, 'The Election to the Short Parliament', p. 200; Return of Members of Parliaments, I, 497. See also Hipkin, 'Economy and Social Structure of Rye', pp. 253-63.

126. E.S.R.O., Rye Corporation MS, 47/131/39/13 (Dorset to the mayor and jurats of Rye, 28 February 1639/40). Keeler, Long Parliament, pp. 390-1.

'papist' troops were drilling in the woods outside the town.<sup>127</sup> Yet, unlike at Lewes, radical Puritanism had no knock-on effect in damaging the chances of Dorset's candidate. This was all the more remarkable given that White's wife, Joan Sackville, was a sister of the Catholic Sir Thomas Sackville of Sedlescombe.<sup>128</sup> It seems that even in 1640 this militantly Puritan, anti-papal borough could nevertheless elect a 'Court' nominee of uncertain religious convictions, provided he possessed detailed local knowledge. Rye clearly did not reject Court patronage on principle, and willingly deferred to it where the candidate promised to serve the corporation's interests. In short, priority was still accorded to local issues and grievances even at a time of national crisis.<sup>129</sup>

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127. B.L., Harl. MS 383 (letter book of Sir Simonds D'Ewes), fol. 185r. I owe this reference to Peter Salt. See also P.R.O., SP 16/467/104 (William White [brother of John] to the Earl of Arundel, 18 September 1640). For the development of Puritanism in Rye from the later sixteenth century, see Mayhew, Tudor Rye, pp. 55-90; Fletcher, Sussex, pp. 73-4; and idem, 'Puritanism in Seventeenth Century Sussex', in Studies in Sussex Church History, ed. M.J. Kitch (London, 1981), pp. 141-55, especially pp. 146-52, 154. For the phenomenon of 'popish plot' scares in 1640-2, see R. Clifton, 'The Popular Fear of Catholics during the English Revolution', Past and Present, LII (1971), 23-55.
128. Keeler, Long Parliament, pp. 390-1. Joan Sackville was Dorset's cousin, a fact which may well explain why he employed her husband as his secretary. White's own religious attitudes so far remain mysterious.
129. For a similar conclusion, see Hipkin, 'Economy and Social Structure of Rye', p. 253.

The prime importance of a local background was equally apparent at Hastings in 1640. Here, a Court candidate, Sir Francis Windebanke's nephew and secretary Robert Read, was returned to the Short Parliament largely because of the lavish promises made on his behalf by John White.<sup>130</sup> One of the local front-runners, John Ashburnham, complained to Secretary Nicholas on 31 March 1640 that the freemen

did resolve to have chosen me, butt ... my Lord of Dorsetts White told them that I was to goe Provider for the army into Scottland, and soe perswaded them to chuse Mr Reade, for whom (they say) he, or some others, did make large promises to the towne; first that he wold give 20<sup>l</sup> per annum to the towne during his life, and next that Mr Read shold procure them as much powder out of the King's storehouse gratis as they had occasion to use, with two or three the like engagements; upon which score ... he was chosen.<sup>131</sup>

White's strategy was clear: by portraying Read as the borough's champion, he hoped to exploit the particularist sentiments which had secured his own election at Rye. The case for a genuinely local contender was sabotaged by rumours that he would shortly depart for Scotland. However, Read's victory was

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130. For general accounts of this election, see Fletcher, Sussex, pp. 244-5; Gruenfelder, 'The Election to the Short Parliament', p. 206; and especially idem, 'The Spring Parliamentary Election at Hastings, 1640', Sussex Archaeological Collections, CV (1967), 49-55. For Dorset's friendship with Sir Francis Windebanke, see Chapter Three, above, pp. 180-2; and P.R.O., SP 16/433/27 (Robert Read to Thomas Windebanke, 28 November 1639).

131. P.R.O., SP 16/449/44 (John Ashburnham to Secretary Nicholas, 31 March 1640).

short-lived. There is no evidence that he ever honoured his extravagant promises, or in any way furthered Hastings' interests during the Short Parliament.<sup>132</sup> Early in October, the mayor and freemen of Hastings resolved that both their M.P.'s 'ought to be Barons or freemen before the time of the Parliament'.<sup>133</sup> Meanwhile, Read's enemies spread stories that he was a closet papist.<sup>134</sup> At the election on 20 October, anti-poperity and localism combined to defeat Read. Instead, John Ashburnham was returned together with Thomas Eversfield, a resident of nearby Hollington.<sup>135</sup> Read's earlier promises were discredited, and he was now perceived as an outsider and a papist.

But as with Captain John Sackville at Rye in 1628, this result was very much a comment on Read as an individual, not on

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132. Read is not mentioned once in the fullest account we have of this Parliament: The Short Parliament (1640) Diary of Sir Thomas Aston, ed. J.D. Maltby (Camden Society, Fourth Series, Vol. XXXV, 1988).

133. P.R.O., SP 16/469/82 (notes concerning Robert Read's candidature at Hastings, 10 October 1640).

134. P.R.O., SP 16/469/86 (Robert Read to the mayor of Hastings, 11 October 1640); SP 16/469/107 (manifesto by the mayor and jurats of Hastings, 15 October 1640).

135. Return of Members of Parliaments, I, 479. Keeler, Long Parliament, pp. 89, 170. Fletcher, Sussex, p. 249.

noble patronage as such. There is nothing in Dorset's career as an electoral patron in Sussex which supports the argument that the peerage's influence steadily declined between 1603 and 1640. The situation was infinitely more complex and varied than that. Ownership of property undoubtedly strengthened Dorset's hand in Lewes and East Grinstead. But here the similarity ends, for in the former militant Puritans rebuffed Dorset in 1640, while in the latter he secured the election of his own inexperienced son to the Long Parliament. Dorset's most overt act of nepotism during these years came in November 1640, and was wholly successful. There was never a comparable coup in boroughs where Dorset owned no property, yet his clients were still returned whenever their local background persuaded townsmen that the corporation's interests would benefit. Dorset's successes and failures were spread pretty evenly across the period. They must be seen as part of an ongoing dialogue between boroughs conscious of their own autonomy, and a provincial magnate anxious to promote his men-of-business. The pattern of results in Sussex owed far more to the location of Dorset's urban tenements and to the provenance of his clients than to any national decline in noble influence.

How far was this also true of Dorset's electoral activities outside Sussex? In this section, I want to consider evidence from counties as far apart as Kent, Devon and Norfolk. While no two constituencies were identical, there is much to suggest that the trends which have emerged in Sussex were equally apparent elsewhere.

In Kent, Dorset possessed no property apart from the manors of Eltham and Knole;<sup>136</sup> nor did he hold office except as an honorary Justice of the Peace.<sup>137</sup> This gave him very little scope to influence county elections, and his two known attempts to do so both failed miserably. The first was in 1625, when Dorset wrote to Sir Edward Dering:

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136. P.R.O., C 142/405/153; SP 23/193/248-9.

137. See, for example, P.R.O., SP 16/212 (Liber Pacis of 1632), p. 61; SP 16/405 (Liber Pacis of 1638), fol. 33v; K.A.O., Q/JC/1 (list of the Kent commission of the peace, 1641). Such honorands were not involved in the day-to-day work of the Justices of the Peace: see B.J. Richmond, 'The Work of the Justices of the Peace in Hampshire, 1603-1640' (unpublished M.Phil. dissertation, University of Southampton, 1969), pp. 67-9.

There are many competitors for the knightship of your shire, and itt must bee the contribution of such mens favors as you are thatt will name the men: all cannott prevayle, lett mee beseeche you to assist in the second place Sir Edwin Sand[y]s, since I have hard thatt already yow stand ingaged for Sir Albertus Morton.<sup>138</sup>

Dorset's support for Sandys probably owed much to their friendship through the Virginia Company.<sup>139</sup> Nevertheless, Sir Albertus Morton was returned for Kent along with Mildmay Fane, Lord Burghersh.<sup>140</sup> Their success was not surprising: Lord Burghersh was the eldest son of Sir Francis Fane, a prominent Kentish figure recently created Earl of Westmorland, while Sir Albertus Morton was undoubtedly strengthened by his appointment as Secretary of State in February 1625.<sup>141</sup> Dorset was equally unsuccessful when he promoted Sir Henry Vane the elder in March 1640. John Sackville reported to Vane that:

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138. B.L., Stowe MS 743 (correspondence of Sir Edward Dering), fol. 64r. I owe this reference to Peter Salt.

139. For further discussion of Sandys, see Chapter One, above, pp. 43-4, and also Chapter Two, above, pp. 65-7.

140. Return of Members of Parliaments, I, 464.

141. For details of Mildmay Fane, Lord Burghersh and later second Earl of Westmorland, see Complete Peerage, XII, ii, 565-70; and A. Everitt, The Community of Kent and the Great Rebellion, 1640-60 (Leicester, 1966), pp. 38-40. For Sir Albertus Morton's appointment as Secretary of State, see P.R.O., SP 14/183/43 (John Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton, 12 February 1624/5).

Mr Bowles your chaplen brought me your commands touching your standing to be Knight of the Sheire, and in obedience to them I have labored ever since to do you service, and have procured for you most of the voyces of this towne and parish [of Sevenoaks] ... besides I have my Lord of Dorsets Baylyf and other agents working for you in the Country.<sup>142</sup>

But Vane lost to Sir Roger Twysden and Sir Norton Knatchbull.<sup>143</sup> Now in both these elections, Dorset's candidates had local backgrounds: Sandys lived at Northbourne Abbey and Vane at Fairlawne, near Tonbridge.<sup>144</sup> Yet their defeat in no way gainsays the importance of county roots. Vane was rejected primarily because his local origins were tainted by association with the Court: Sir Edward Dering was apparently typical when he 'resolved that in times so desperate [he] would contribute no help to any privy councillor or deputy lieutenant'.<sup>145</sup> The elder Sir Henry Vane, Privy Councillor, Comptroller of the Household, and Secretary of State, seemed

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142. P.R.O., SP 16/447/43 (John Sackville to Sir Henry Vane the elder, 6 March 1639/40). Dorset's bailiff in Sevenoaks at this time was William Bloome: see K.A.O., Sackville MS, U 269/A41/1-2 (accounts of William Bloome) and U 269/04/2 (appointment of William Bloome as bailiff of Sevenoaks, 1625).

143. Return of Members of Parliaments, I, 481.

144. Everitt, Community of Kent, pp. 63, 71.

145. F.W. Jessup, 'The Kentish Election of March 1640', Archaeologia Cantiana, LXXXVI (1971), 1-10, at 2. See also S.P. Salt, 'The Origins of Sir Edward Dering's Attack on the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy, c. 1625-1640', Historical Journal, XXX (1987), 21-52, especially 41-2.

almost a stranger in his own county, and the Kentish gentry could find much 'purer' local men to represent them in Parliament.<sup>146</sup> After all, Kent positively teemed with gentry, and all the candidates in these two elections were natives.<sup>147</sup> Local background alone could not distinguish Dorset's candidates from the rest. Rather, victory went to whichever candidate secured the backing of most gentlemen, and Dorset's limited property and unofficial status in Kent left him ill-equipped to manipulate this process. Kent was perhaps the finest example of a self-contained, self-confident gentry community, and the dynamics of gentry politics decisively shaped its returns to Parliament.<sup>148</sup>

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146. For further details of Vane see D.N.B., LVIII, 113-116. His public career contrasts dramatically with that of the gentle Kentish scholar Sir Roger Twysden, who held no national office: see F.W. Jessup, Sir Roger Twysden, 1597-1672 (London, 1965), especially pp. 137-8.
147. In 1640, Kent contained between eight hundred and one thousand gentry: Everitt, Community of Kent, pp. 33-4. For the elections of that year, see ibid., pp. 70-5.
148. Ibid., pp. 33-45. For similar evidence from the period immediately after that considered here, see M.V. Jones, 'The Political History of the Parliamentary Boroughs of Kent, 1642-1662' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of London, 1967). See also idem, 'Election Issues and the Borough Electorates in Mid-Seventeenth Century Kent', Archaeologia Cantiana, LXXXV (1970), 19-27.

Yet even where Dorset was High Steward of a borough, he could not necessarily dominate its elections, as the case of Barnstaple in Devon strikingly reveals. On 8 November 1637, the mayor, aldermen and burgesses of Barnstaple resolved to

procure the assistance of some greate man, whoe is powerfull at the Courte and Councell board, ... and forasmuch as the Right Honourable the Erle of Dorset hath lately declared himself to be a noble frend unto this towne, both at the Counsell boarde and elsewhere, and hath vindicated the wronges which have been lately offered unto the maior and others of this towne by patentees and pursuyvants, and he beinge a Privie Counsellor, and a man greatly in grace with the King's Majestie, we, therefore, thinke it fittinge ... that a patent of High Stewardship be forthwith drawn upp for the Erle of Dorset ... with £10 per annum pension.<sup>149</sup>

This minute is worth quoting at length not only as evidence of Dorset's public image in the later 1630's, but also because it shows very clearly the motives which led early Stuart corporations to appoint prominent individuals as their High Stewards. Dorset had apparently championed the borough's complaints against restrictive practices by some of its 'richer sorte'.<sup>150</sup> However, despite the corporation's manifest

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149. J.R. Chanter and T. Wainwright, Reprint of the Barnstaple Records (2 vols., Barnstaple, 1900), I, 102-3. See also M.A. Kishlansky, Parliamentary Selection: Social and Political Choice in Early Modern England (Cambridge, 1986), pp. 39-40. For the payment of Dorset's pension, see P.R.O., SP 23/193/249.

150. P.R.O., SP 16/357/62 (Privy Council order, 25 May 1637); SP 16/357/138 (Privy Council to the Judges of Assize of the Western Circuit, 31 May 1637). Precisely why Dorset took up the borough's cause in the first place is not entirely clear.

goodwill, there is no sign that Dorset promoted clients in the elections to either the Short or Long Parliaments. Certainly the three elected burgesses - George Peard, Thomas Mathewe and Richard Ferris<sup>151</sup> - were all residents in Barnstaple. It is possible that these candidates were returned with Dorset's support; but if so, he was certainly working with the grain of local preferences. The office of High Steward did not give him carte blanche to impose clients from outside.

At Great Yarmouth, Dorset's attempt to do precisely this in the Short Parliament election came spectacularly unstuck. This was all the more remarkable because Dorset's record of service to the borough was exemplary. Dorset was appointed a Justice of the Peace for Great Yarmouth in about 1626.<sup>152</sup> On 4 November 1627, he presented to the King in Council

an humble and voluntarie offer to set forth three good ships furnished with necessary provisions for the better accommodating and supplying of His Majesty's armie in the Isle of Rets [Rhé] ... if [the inhabitants of Great Yarmouth] may be assured that neither the aforesaid ships, nor the men employed in them, shalbe stayed or imprested for anie other service, either within anie of His Majesty's portes or at their arrivall in the aforesayd Isle.<sup>153</sup>

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151. Return of Members of Parliaments, I, 481, 487.

152. P.R.O., C 193/12/2 (Liber Pacis of [?] 1626-30), fol. 87v.

153. A.P.C., September 1627 - June 1628, 129.

The King 'was pleased to signify his gracious acceptance of this their offer', and agreed to the conditions requested.<sup>154</sup> As at Barnstaple, the corporation rewarded favours at the Council table, and on 30 November 1629 Dorset was appointed High Steward of Great Yarmouth.<sup>155</sup> On 8 December, he wrote to the bailiffs and aldermen urging them 'to dismiss and extinguish the dissensions that have of late prevailed in the Town Council'.<sup>156</sup> He went on to pledge his own 'good service' in the settlement of such disputes.<sup>157</sup> Two years later, when a major controversy blew up over the appointment of a lecturer, Dorset defended the bailiffs' wishes against the Anglican establishment.<sup>158</sup> For the rest of the 1630's, Dorset apparently discharged his duties very conscientiously. The bailiffs kept him closely informed about local developments, such as the off-shore skirmish between a Dutch vessel and a Dunkirker in June 1633.<sup>159</sup> The same year, Dorset was 'publicly

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154. Ibid.

155. P.R.O., SP 23/193/249. See also C.J. Palmer, The History of Great Yarmouth (2 vols., London, 1854-6), II, 326.

156. H.M.C., Ninth Report (London, 1883), p. 310.

157. Ibid.

158. For a detailed discussion of this episode, see Chapter Four, above, pp. 223-6.

159. P.R.O., SP 16/241/62 (bailiffs of Great Yarmouth to Dorset, 26 June 1633).

entertained' in the Town Hall.<sup>160</sup> On his side, Dorset protected Great Yarmouth's interests in Privy Council debates, for example by his 'undertaking' to secure licences for all the town's 'publique brewhouses' in June 1636.<sup>161</sup> Throughout the Personal Rule, relations between High Steward and corporation were never less than amicable.

All this changed dramatically in 1639-40. On 10 December 1639, Dorset wrote to the bailiffs in a tone which suggests that he anticipated little opposition:

His Ma[jes]tie being graciously pleased to call a Parliament ... my request unto you is, that you could be pleased, upon my recommendation, to make choice of Sir John Suckling, who is a very noble Gentleman, and of able parts, who is both ready and willing to serve the towne, as well out of Parliament as in Parliament. And I am confident I cannot oblige the towne more then by recommending unto them a Gentleman of his honor and worth.<sup>162</sup>

The bailiffs' reply (14 December 1639) was polite but non-committal:

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160. Palmer, Great Yarmouth, I, 266.

161. P.R.O., SP 16/321/19 (Secretary Windebanke's notes of proceedings in the committee for trade, 11 June 1633).

162. Palmer, Great Yarmouth, II, 204. For Dorset's friendship with Suckling, see Chapter Four, above, pp. 246-8, and Chapter Six, below, pp. 338-40.

As the election is popular, and concerneth many, so it is to be made by the greater vote of the whole assembly, wherein nothing can be done untill wee have a precept from the sherefe, by virtue of his Ma[jes]ties writ for that purpose sent unto us, which coming to our hands, we shall, together with your lo[rdshi]ps recommendation and our owne, nominate and propound that noble gentleman amongst such others of our owne as are to stand for it, to the general vote of the assembly, leaving the successe to divine providence, by which all the actions of men are governed. In the meane tyme, craving the continuance of your honor's noble respect, and good affection to our poore corporation, however this shall succede.<sup>163</sup>

Dorset sent another letter on 27 February 1640, this time adducing Suckling's local origins as a further reason for electing him:

Upon his Majesty's first declaration of a Parliament, I recommended unto you, for one of your burgesses, a countryman of yours, Sir John Suckling, a gentleman that I know, so well deserving and every way so able and fitt to doe you service, as I cannot but once more renew my former request unto you in his behalfe, who, I am confident, you will so well approve of, as I shall have no cause to doubt your election of him.<sup>164</sup>

Dorset was stretching the truth: Suckling's family came from Suffolk, not Norfolk.<sup>165</sup> Nevertheless, he clearly recognised that the bailiffs were more likely to elect a local candidate, and tried to give Suckling the appropriate qualifications. This strategy failed. At the election on 19 March 'the greater

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163. Palmer, Great Yarmouth, II, 205.

164. Ibid., 206. My emphasis.

165. Ibid., 203.

parte of the electors thought it more convenient to have two of our owne members, resident and dwelling amongst us, to be burgesses of our towne, and accordingly made their choice of such, who have alsoe beene heretofore burgesses for our towne at former Parliaments'.<sup>166</sup> They duly elected the town recorder, Miles Corbett, together with Edward Owner, a wealthy merchant.<sup>167</sup> Now Suckling was not the only 'Court' candidate to meet defeat at Great Yarmouth in 1640: similar initiatives by the Earl of Northumberland on behalf of Henry Marten were also rebuffed.<sup>168</sup> But the bailiffs' central objection was to non-residents (Marten lived at Shrivensham in Berkshire)<sup>169</sup> rather than to the Court as such. Dorset and Northumberland failed because they backed inappropriate, outside candidates, not because the borough rejected on principle 'the nominees of more traditional patrons'.<sup>170</sup> Neither the High Steward of Great Yarmouth nor the Lord Admiral of England was able to overcome the strong preference for indigenous M.P.'s.

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166. Ibid., 207.

167. Ibid., I, 378. These two burgesses were returned again to the Long Parliament: Keeler, Long Parliament, pp. 142, 292; Brunton and Pennington, Members of the Long Parliament, pp. 206, 229, 238.

168. Palmer, Great Yarmouth, II, 204-7. See also Kishlansky, Parliamentary Selection, p. 110.

169. Keeler, Long Parliament, p. 267.

170. Kishlansky, Parliamentary Selection, p. 110.

This evidence from Kent, Barnstaple and Great Yarmouth thus confirms the prime importance of 'localism' which has already emerged in Sussex. Only exceptionally (as at East Grinstead) could Dorset impose a candidate who did not live in or near the borough. Yet where he did promote a local figure, he was successful even in 1640. This case study of Dorset's electoral patronage thus prompts some more general reflections on the recent historiography of early Stuart elections. Debate has focused on the size and political awareness of the electorate, and on the extent to which 'selections' rather than 'elections' were normative.<sup>171</sup> In each interpretation, the incidence of conflict or consensus has been related to wider political ideologies. Thus, for Mark Kishlansky, 'parliamentary selection was a process of affirmation rather than a struggle for power': it 'centered upon the conferral of honor, the practice of deference, and the confirmation of the social order'.<sup>172</sup> 'Selections' expressed a fundamental harmony, a shared value-system, within the body politic. By contrast, Derek Hirst has argued that during the early seventeenth century 'the larger political nation was

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171. For the main contributions to this debate, see D. Hirst, The Representative of the People? (Cambridge, 1975); Kishlansky, Parliamentary Selection; and R. Cust, 'Politics and the Electorate in the 1620's', in Conflict in Early Stuart England, ed. idem and A. Hughes (London, 1989), pp. 134-67.

172. Kishlansky, Parliamentary Selection, pp. 23, 48.

increasingly becoming involved' in elections, and that 'the common people had a very real interest in their representatives'.<sup>173</sup> During the late 1630's, 'as alienation from the Court increased, ... the need for a larger role for Parliament was recognised in the country, just as it had been recognised rather earlier by the Parliament men themselves, when they insisted on trespassing on royal prerogatives'.<sup>174</sup> Electoral conflicts were thus rooted in basic constitutional disagreements about the relative powers of Crown and Parliament. Hirst's conclusions have been broadly corroborated by Richard Cust, who writes that 'even in 1620 there is evidence of a concern with issues of principle and a willingness to override the conventions inhibiting contests'.<sup>175</sup> It is possible, however, that neither of these interpretations takes full account of the sort of evidence presented here. Both tend to neglect the importance of a continuous interaction (not necessarily tension) between noblemen sponsoring their clients and corporations seeking

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173. Hirst, Representative, pp. 153, 191.

174. Ibid., p. 184.

175. Cust, 'Politics and the Electorate', p. 151. See also Cust's study of 'News and Politics in Early Seventeenth Century England', Past and Present, CXII (1986), 60-90, where he concludes (at 90) that 'in this, as in many other aspects of the period, the instincts and judgements of S.R. Gardiner remain a reliable guide'; and Cust, Forced Loan, chapter 3.

representatives with local knowledge. Whether this produced contested elections or harmonious 'selections' often owed more to whether the needs of both parties could be served by the same candidate than to whether the prevailing ideologies of early Stuart politics promoted harmony or conflict. Where agreement was reached, 'selections' were certainly possible, but this was because different interests had been reconciled (as at Rye in 1640), not because the borough was particularly deferential to Court or nobility. Likewise, Dorset was rebuffed at Great Yarmouth less because of a principled hostility to his patronage than because his candidate was not a local resident. Of course exceptions can be cited to any rule: at Lewes in 1640, militant Puritanism clearly did fuel antagonism to the Court and its nominees. Nevertheless, most boroughs behaved as they did less because they were becoming politicised than because they sought M.P.'s qualified to remedy their particularist grievances in Parliament.<sup>176</sup> Whether or not they might confidently expect Dorset's protégés to do this is the key to explaining his successes and failures as an electoral patron.

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176. Parliament's proven ability to remove such grievances suggests that this preference for local candidates was eminently sensible. For an account of local initiatives in the earlier Elizabethan Parliaments, see G.R. Elton, The Parliament of England, 1559-1581 (Cambridge, 1986), especially pp. 74-87, 303-18.

The fact that Dorset's status as Lord Lieutenant of Sussex gave him no automatic electoral patronage suggests that the powers of that office, though considerable, remained essentially military. In this section, I want to explore Dorset's activities in Middlesex, where he was Lord Lieutenant jointly with the Earl of Holland from October 1628.<sup>177</sup> What further light do these throw on the lord lieutenancy before 1642?

Apart from his house in Salisbury Court, and the advowson of St Dunstan's-in-the-West, Dorset apparently owned no property which might have strengthened his position in Middlesex.<sup>178</sup> Yet as early as March 1618, we find him acting

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177. P.R.O., C 231/4, fol. 258r; Ind. 1/6747 (Privy Seal Office Docquet Book, 1626-31), unfol., October 1628.

178. P.R.O., SP 16/193/245. A message in Fleet Street had been sold off in January 1625: Guildhall Library, MS 1908 (title of message in St Bride's Parish, Fleet Street), unfol.

as a commissioner of oyer and terminer for the county.<sup>179</sup> From 1619 Dorset sat on the Middlesex commission of the peace.<sup>180</sup> In 1620-2 he served as a Deputy Lieutenant<sup>181</sup> and later boasted of his improvements to the militia.<sup>182</sup> In 1625 he was appointed to the Middlesex commission for annoyances.<sup>183</sup> By October 1628, Dorset had established himself as a versatile official in Middlesex and an effective Lord Lieutenant in Sussex, and this, together with his exemplary record of loyalty in high politics,<sup>184</sup> must have made him a natural choice as Lord Lieutenant of Middlesex.

Unfortunately, Middlesex has no surviving equivalent to the 'Booke concerning the [Sussex] Deputy Leiuettentshipp'.

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179. P.R.O., C 181/2 (Crown Office Entry Book of Commissions, 1606-20), fol. 304v. This commission was renewed annually thereafter: ibid., fols. 326r, 343v, 352r; see also C 181/3 (Crown Office Entry Book of Commissions, 1620-9), fols. 45v, 77v.

180. A.P.C., 1617-19, 369; ibid., 1621-3, 308. See also P.R.O., C 193/12/2, fol. 34r; E 163/18/12, fol. 49r; SP 16/212, p. 77; SP 16/405, fol. 42r; B.L., Harl. MS 1622, fol. 47r.

181. P.R.O., C 66/2234. See also B.L., Egerton MS 860, fols. 80r-81v.

182. See above, pp. 271-2.

183. P.R.O., C 181/3, fol. 157r.

184. For a fuller discussion, see Chapter Two, above, passim.

Dorset's activities as Lord Lieutenant can nevertheless be partially reconstructed from correspondence in the Privy Council Register and the State Papers Domestic. Once again, the military aspects of this office were particularly striking. As overall commanders of the militia, Dorset and Holland were responsible for order in Middlesex, and several times the Privy Council required them to organise watches or to muster the trained bands 'for the prevention of tumults and disorders', especially on Shrove Tuesday<sup>185</sup> and May Day.<sup>186</sup> Keith Lindley has shown that the threat posed by servants and apprentices was very real: London saw Shrove Tuesday riots in at least twenty-four of the thirty-nine years between 1603 and 1642,<sup>187</sup> and military precautions in the suburbs outside the City of London were entrusted to the Lords Lieutenant of Middlesex.<sup>188</sup> But Dorset's responsibilities for the trained bands extended well beyond these emergency watches and musters. He personally appointed the captains of particular companies, for example Charles Kynaston for the parish of St Martin's-in-

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185. See, for example, A.P.C., 1628-9, 30 (14 February 1628/9); P.R.O., PC 2/48 (Privy Council Register), p. 561 (31 January 1637/8); PC 2/49, p. 93 (16 February 1638/9).

186. See, for example, P.R.O., PC 2/49, p. 287 (24 April 1639); PC 2/52, p. 450 (24 April 1640).

187. K. Lindley, 'Riot Prevention and Control in Early Stuart London', Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, Fifth Series, XXXIII (1983), 109-26, esp. 109-10.

188. Ibid., 116.

the-Fields in January 1630.<sup>189</sup> There were also certain ceremonial duties, such as assembling an escort for the Queen Mother at Temple Bar in October 1638.<sup>190</sup> The importance of the Middlesex militia is indicated by the government's insistence that no troops dispatched to Scotland in 1639-40 were to be taken from the trained bands. On 10 January 1640, Charles ordered Dorset 'to cause one hundred able and serviceable men for the warres to be levyed in that our county of Midd[lesex] under your Lieutenancie for our s[ai]d service'.<sup>191</sup> Two days later, the Privy Council stipulated that these troops were to 'bee of able bodies and of yeares meete for this imployment and well clothed; but none of the said men are to bee taken out of the trayned bandes which yow are still to keepe entire'.<sup>192</sup> Then followed detailed instructions for the raising of 'money to bee employed for the coats and conducting of the souldiers, untill they arrive at the Tower Wharfe, and that the souldiers be delivered over to the

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189. A.P.C., 1629-30, 264.

190. P.R.O., PC 2/49, p. 515.

191. P.R.O., SP 16/441/82 (Charles I to the Earls of Dorset and Holland, 10 January 1639/40).

192. P.R.O., SP 16/441/105 (Privy Council to the Earls of Dorset and Holland, 12 January 1639/40). See also PC 2/51, pp. 239-40.

captaine or officers appointed to receive them'.<sup>193</sup> In the two Bishops' Wars, as during the conflicts of the later 1620's, Lords Lieutenant played a crucial role in the conscription and mobilisation of troops.<sup>194</sup>

It was, however, the need to preserve order in the capital which increasingly exercised Charles and his advisers during 1640-1. Shaken by the anti-Laudian demonstrations outside Lambeth Palace early in May 1640, the Privy Council ordered Dorset and Holland

presently to take effective order that there be double watches kept in and about St Giles' and Tuttle fields and all other places and passages neere London and Westminster

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193. P.R.O., SP 16/441/105; PC 2/51, pp. 239-40. For the Privy Council's instructions to Captain Abraham Shipman to meet these troops at Tower Wharf, see SP 16/442/71-2 (Privy Council to Captain Abraham Shipman, 22 January 1639/40). For Dorset's request that a 'Mr Clapham' be released having 'conformed him selfe in paying coate and conduct mony', see SP 16/457/82 (Dorset to Thomas Meautys, clerk to the Privy Council, 20 June 1640).

194. As late as 3 September 1640, Charles issued commissions of array to his Lords Lieutenant: for those to Dorset, relating to Middlesex and Sussex, see H.L.R.O., Parchment Collection, Box 6. Also H.M.C., Fourth Report (London, 1874), p. 27. Further evidence of the continued vitality of the lord lieutenancy in 1639-40 is adduced in V.L. Stater, 'The Lord Lieutenancy on the Eve of the Civil Wars', Historical Journal, XXIX (1986), 279-96, esp. 291-5. See also Quintrell, 'Government of Essex', pp. 140-1.

within the county of Midd[lesex], and to prevent tumultuous assemblies, and to intercept and apprehend all idle and vagrant persons and to bring them to justice. You are further to give order that there be boats provided to be reddey to transport horse and men att Lambeth ferry and elsewhere upon any occasion for better suppressing of such disorders and tumults as may happen.<sup>195</sup>

The following year, Dorset was again required to organise watches and musters in order to prevent 'tumults' on Shrove Tuesday.<sup>196</sup> But this time, the standard letter (4 March 1641) was followed (21 March) by a specific order that a 'good number' of the trained bands be in readiness by seven o' clock the next morning.<sup>197</sup> The Privy Council clearly anticipated trouble, and took similar precautions before May Day.<sup>198</sup> The atmosphere in London grew steadily more volatile, and on 20 October 1641 troops from the Westminster trained bands were appointed to guard Parliament.<sup>199</sup> On his return from Scotland late in November, Charles tried to lessen the Commons' influence over this guard, initially by removing it entirely, and then (following an outcry from M.P.'s) by transferring

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195. P.R.O., SP 16/453/18 (Privy Council to the Lords Lieutenant of Middlesex, 12 May 1640).

196. P.R.O., PC 2/53, p. 105.

197. Ibid., p. 109.

198. Ibid., p. 125.

199. C.J., II, 289-90.

command from the Earl of Essex to Dorset.<sup>200</sup> This appointment, on 27 November, must be placed in the context of Dorset's previous record as Lord Lieutenant of Middlesex. Since 20 October, the Westminster guards had been supplemented by 'four neighbour companies' from Middlesex parishes: St Martin's-in-the-Fields, St Giles', the Savoy and St Clement Danes', and Holborn.<sup>201</sup> It was perfectly natural that Dorset should command men from his own trained bands; his vast experience of maintaining order in London was another strong recommendation. Dorset's controversial order (29 November) for the militia to fire over the heads of anti-episcopal demonstrators outside the Court of Requests may therefore be explained as the Lord Lieutenant of Middlesex's bid to restore order at Westminster. There is no evidence to link it with attempts to preserve a

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200. Essex had commanded the guards in his capacity as Captain General of forces south of the Trent. For this, see L.C. Nagel, 'The Militia of London, 1641-9' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of London, 1982), pp. 26-9. I owe this reference to Keith Lindley.

201. C.J., II, 309-10. See also Nagel, 'Militia of London', p. 28.

Royalist caucus in the Upper House.<sup>202</sup> In the following chapter, I will show how this episode fits in with Dorset's broader constitutional attitudes.<sup>203</sup> But it is equally comprehensible as the culmination of over a decade in which Dorset's official responsibility was to prevent 'tumultuous assemblies' in London.

The military muscle of the lieutenancy, which has been stressed throughout this chapter, explains Parliament's anxiety in the spring of 1642 to disarm potentially Royalist Lords Lieutenant. After the King's departure from London, Parliament began to assert greater control over the Lords Lieutenant of Middlesex. On 24 January 1642, the parishioners of St

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202. Dorset was not among the eleven peers whom Secretary Nicholas requested to attend Parliament on 8 October 1641: Surrey Record Office: Guildford Muniment Room, Bray Deposit, 85/5/2/11 (Secretary Nicholas to the Earls of Bath, Bristol, Cumberland, Devonshire, Huntingdon, Newcastle and Northampton, and Lords Cottingham, Coventry, Paulet and Seymour, 8 October 1641). Nor was Dorset ever mentioned in Nicholas' correspondence with the Queen in the last months of 1641: for example, *ibid.*, 52/2/19/28 (Secretary Nicholas to Henrietta Maria, 22 October 1641). For a detailed analysis of Nicholas' strategy, see J.S.A. Adamson, 'Parliamentary Management, Men-of-Business and the House of Lords, 1640-49', in A Pillar of the Constitution: The House of Lords in British Politics, 1640-1784, ed. C. Jones (London, 1989), pp. 21-50, esp. pp. 21-9.

203. Chapter Six, below, pp. 397-8. See also *ibid.*, pp. 341-3, for a discussion of these events focusing on contemporary responses rather than on Dorset's motives.

Martin's-in-the-Fields requested that Robert Cecil, second son of the Earl of Salisbury, be appointed Captain of their trained bands to replace Endymion Porter, who was 'kept from the care of his charge by his necessary attendance at Court'.<sup>204</sup> Both Houses supported this petition, and on 2 February Sir Arthur Ingram informed the Commons that Dorset and Holland had agreed to Cecil's appointment.<sup>205</sup> Another sign that Parliament wished to usurp conciliar authority over the Lords Lieutenant came on 18 February, when Sir Gilbert Gerard reported that 'the Lords do agree with this House [of Commons] in desiring the Earl of Holland, to appoint the trained bands of Middlesex on Shrove Tuesday, to be drawn forth'.<sup>206</sup> For the first time, there is no evidence that this instruction passed through the Privy Council.<sup>207</sup> The Militia Ordinance (5 March) was the logical climax of these ad hoc parliamentary moves to win control over

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204. The Private Journals of the Long Parliament, 3 January to 5 March 1642, ed. W.H. Coates, A.S. Young and V.F. Snow (New Haven, 1982), p. 158. See also ibid., pp. 143-4, 155; and P.R.O., PRO 30/53/9/11 (parliamentary diary of Lord Herbert of Cherbury, 14 June 1641 - 30 May 1642), fols. 195v-196r.

205. C.J., II, 409. See also Private Journals of the Long Parliament, ed. Coates et al., pp. 252, 256.

206. C.J., II, 440.

207. P.R.O., PC 2/53, pp. 209-17. The fact that Dorset was not mentioned in this resolution may indicate that Parliament was by now very suspicious of him, and felt that Holland would prove more reliable. See Chapter Six, below, pp. 350-1.

senior military officers. It was followed almost immediately by the disarming of potentially 'ill-affected' Lords Lieutenant. On 22 March the House of Lords ordered Dorset to surrender his commissions of lieutenancy;<sup>208</sup> he duly did so the next day.<sup>209</sup> There could be no clearer evidence of the perceived importance of this office.

Yet Parliament's fears did not end there. The military authority of early modern English peers was inherent in their noble status and did not depend exclusively on the tenure of specific offices.<sup>210</sup> Rather, the choice of military officials reflected the nobility's natural leadership in martial affairs.<sup>211</sup> This explains why in January 1631 Dorset had been appointed Constable of Beaumaris Castle, an outpost far distant from his territorial base.<sup>212</sup> Dorset apparently never visited

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208. L.J., IV, 664.

209. Ibid., 665. See also Chapter Six, below, p. 351.

210. Scott Thomson, Lords Lieutenant, pp. 11-12, 141-2.

211. For a discussion of this, see J.S.A. Adamson, 'The Baronial Context of the English Civil War', Transactions of the Royal Historical Society (forthcoming).

212. P.R.O., Ind. 1/4223 (Docquet Book of Warrants for the Great Seal, 1623-31), fol. 258v; SO 3/10 (Signet Office Docquet Book, 1630-4), unfol., January 1630/1; Ind. 1/6747, unfol., January 1630/1; SP 16/187/46 (letters patent, 14 January 1630/1); C 66/2538/15 (Chancery Patent Rolls). This office yielded an annual stipend of forty marks.

Beaumaris, and had only his noble status to recommend him for the position. Interestingly, in 1641-2 Parliament did not consider this office a major threat. Fears of Irish landings near Beaumaris in December 1641 - January 1642<sup>213</sup> turned out to be groundless,<sup>214</sup> and Dorset's commission was never called in. He later resigned the constableness voluntarily in 1644.<sup>215</sup> Parliament worried far less about Dorset's titular rank in North Wales than about his private cache of arms at Knole. The nobility's central place in military affairs, even when deprived of formal office, helps to explain the dramatic events of 14 August 1642.

On 9 August, the Earl of Essex received 'information of a great quantity of armes of the Earle of Dorsets at his house at Synnock [Sevenoaks] in Kent ... which were to be disposed of by him to arme a great number of the malignant party of that

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213. P.R.O., SP 16/485/95 (Thomas Chedle to Dorset, 19 November 1641).

214. P.R.O., SP 16/488/100 (certificate by William Bold to the Privy Council, 31 January 1641/2). For this scare, see Clifton, 'Popular Fear of Catholics', 31; and K. Lindley, 'The Impact of the 1641 Rebellion upon England and Wales, 1641-5', Irish Historical Studies, XVIII (1972), 143-176, especially 157.

215. P.R.O., Ind. 1/4226 (Docquet Book of Warrants for the Great Seal, 1642-6), fol. 18v.

county to go to Yorke, to assist his Maiestie'.<sup>216</sup> Essex's source was allegedly an intercepted letter from Secretary Nicholas to Sir John Sackville,<sup>217</sup> though this letter in fact made no reference to arms at Knole.<sup>218</sup> Nevertheless, on Sunday 14 August, Essex dispatched Colonel Edwin Sandys with 'three troops of horse into Kent to seize upon the said armes'.<sup>219</sup> At Sevenoaks the troops arrested Sir John Sackville, who was later imprisoned in the Fleet,<sup>220</sup> and then marched to Knole where they captured five wagon-loads of arms.<sup>221</sup> It is clear from the inventory, however, that many of these belonged in a museum rather than on the battlefield. Among 'the horsmens armes and necesaryes belonging to them' we find such items as eleven 'plated sadells sutabell to the giult armes and furnituer

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216. A True Relation of Certaine Speciall and Remarkable Passages from Both Houses of Parliament (15-19 August 1642), p. 5 (S.T.C. (Newspapers), 638.01; B.L., T.T., E 112/36).

217. L.J., V, 289, 293. For the text of this letter, see ibid., 295. For the MS original, see H.L.R.O., MP, 9 August 1642, fol. 310v (Secretary Nicholas to Sir John Sackville).

218. The Venetian ambassador believed that Essex's claim was merely a 'pretext': C.S.P.V., XXVI (1642-3), 135. Dorset had however engaged on 22 June 1642 to provide the King with sixty horse: see Chapter Six, below, p. 354.

219. A True Relation (15-19 August 1642), p. 5. For the House of Lords' sanction, see L.J., V, 284.

220. L.J., V, 293.

221. For Sandys' report, see H.L.R.O., MP, 5 September 1642, fols. 27r-29v (true relation by Colonel Edwin Sandys).

rotten', twelve 'old ruset sadells trimd with red lether and furnituer defettive', thirteen 'old French pistolls wherof four have locks [and] the other nine have none' and forty-nine 'horne flaskes wherof an olld damuske on[e] covered with velvet, and many not servicabell'.<sup>222</sup> The equipment for foot soldiers, though in slightly better condition, proved to be far less extensive than some Parliamentarian newspapers claimed. The most numerous items were 138 'corsletes with backe brest cases and headpeces', 151 'Spanish pickes and English pickes with Spanish heads wherof four are broken', seventy-six 'full muskets', fifty-six 'bastard muskets' and sixty-four 'new rests'.<sup>223</sup> But assertions that Sandys had seized 'compleat armes for 500 or 600 men',<sup>224</sup> or that he had found 'all sorts of warlike ammunition, and especially great saddles'<sup>225</sup> were simply untrue. Yet, despite the limited

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222. H.L.R.O., MP, 15 August 1642, fol. 324r-v (inventory of arms at Knole).

223. Ibid.

224. A True Relation (15-19 August 1642), p. 5. Cf. Henry King's claim that 'in Kent they seized upon five hundred armes at Dorsett House': Bod. Lib., MS Tanner 63 (letters and papers, 1642), fol. 128v. This figure was also quoted by Edward Reed: B.L., Add. MS 64923 (Coke Papers, Vol. LIV, 1642-4), fol. 27v.

225. Good News from Westchester (London, 1642), pp. 3-4 (Wing, G 1071; B.L., T.T., E 112/29). For the entirely bogus story that Dorset's London house had been raided and 'arms of his found for two or 3000 men', see Certaine Speciall and Remarkable Passages from both Houses of Parliament (16-23 August 1642), sig. A3[v] (S.T.C. (Newspapers), 638.02; B.L., T.T., E 239/10).

nature of Dorset's arms, the Lords ordered that 'such as are fit to be made use of for the service of the kingdom are to be employed'.<sup>226</sup> The threat posed by Dorset's private armoury at Knole had been removed.<sup>227</sup>

Throughout these events, Parliament worked on two assumptions: that Dorset held extensive private arms, and that he would be able to furnish the King with large numbers of troops from the area around Knole. In reality, neither danger was quite as great as Parliament imagined. But I hope to have shown in this section that such fears were perfectly rational. The military powers of early Stuart Lords Lieutenant remained considerable. In Middlesex, we have seen Dorset organising the trained bands, preventing 'tumultuous assemblies', and raising troops in wartime. But because his military authority derived in part from his own noble status, Parliament could never be sure that the simple revocation of Dorset's commissions of lieutenancy would render him unable to help the King. Even in a county where Dorset had never held high office, and where his

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226. L.J., V, 289.

227. For further discussion of Parliament's raid on Knole, see Chapter Seven, below, pp. 401-2. Other accounts of this episode may be found in Everitt, Community of Kent, p. 112; Phillips, History of the Sackville Family, I, 336-8; and Sackville-West, Knole and the Sackvilles, pp. 104-8.

influence had always been limited,<sup>228</sup> Parliament feared the presence of an armed nobleman. This perception vividly highlights Dorset's importance as a local magnate on the eve of the Civil War.

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In conclusion, let us return to the three variables with which this chapter began.<sup>229</sup> How important as sources of regional power were, respectively, formal offices, local residence or knowledge, and landed estates? The third was, surely, the least significant. The Sackvilles were prominent in Sussex affairs both before and after the fourth Earl's extensive sales of land. Indeed, for precisely the years of heaviest sales (1624-30) we possess a manuscript which strikingly reveals Dorset's effectiveness as Lord Lieutenant of Sussex. That effectiveness was also apparent in Middlesex, where Dorset owned virtually no property. Dorset's successes, especially in raising troops and taxes, rested on a combination of conciliar authorisation and the nobility's acknowledged

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228. See above, pp. 305-8.

229. See above, pp. 260-1.

leadership in military matters. The strength of the lord lieutenancy transcended Dorset's declining income and frequent absences from Sussex. Yet influence in local affairs must not be seen as a monolith. A Lord Lieutenant was powerful in his own sphere of action but enjoyed no automatic advantages as, for example, an electoral patron. Here the balance between our three variables was slightly different. Offices - including even the High Stewardship of a borough - counted for little, but property in the town gave Dorset some advantage. However, the critical determinant of success or failure was whether the candidate (rather than Dorset) had local knowledge, for only then could the competing interests of a nobleman promoting his men-of-business and boroughs seeking effective advocates be reconciled. In other words, power in the localities was a complex, shifting phenomenon, and success in each of its varied aspects depended on distinctly different qualities. Herein, surely, lies the flawed logic of notions that this period witnessed a 'crisis of the aristocracy', where noble failures in one sphere are taken to imply failure in the rest, and where the global decline is attributed to a contracting territorial base. Such reductionist arguments conflict with too much firm evidence to be persuasive. Just as the nobility remained formidable in national politics throughout the seventeenth

century and beyond,<sup>230</sup> so this case study has shown that economic setbacks similarly failed to weaken a peer in his locality - where one might suppose they would do most damage.<sup>231</sup> The main sources of regional power lay elsewhere, and by the diverse means examined in this chapter Dorset was usually able to harness them very effectively. That he could do so affords further evidence that the early Stuart peerage was not in a state of crisis.

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230. For this, see especially Adamson, 'The Peerage in Politics'; and Cannon, Aristocratic Century.

231. The Sackvilles were certainly not alone here. See, for example, Coward, The Stanleys, especially pp. 192-3.

## CHAPTER SIX: DORSET IN PARLIAMENT, COURT AND COUNCIL, 1640-1646.

'To me, he was always the embodiment of Cavalier romance'.<sup>1</sup> Thus wrote Vita Sackville-West of her seventeenth century ancestor Edward Sackville, fourth Earl of Dorset. She expressed what amounts to an historiographical consensus, for it is as the archetypal Court figure and staunch Royalist that most historians have depicted Dorset. This view can be traced back to Clarendon, who wrote of Dorset:

His person beautiful, and graceful, and vigorous; his wit pleasant, sparkling, and sublime; and his other parts of learning and language of that lustre that he could not miscarry in the world. The vices he had were of the age, which he was not stubborn enough to contemn or resist ... As his person and parts were such as are before mentioned, so he gave them full scope, without restraint; and indulged to his appetite all the pleasures that season of his life (the fullest of jollity and riot of any that preceded or succeeded) could tempt or suggest to him. He had a very sharp, discerning spirit, and was a man of an obliging nature, much honour, of great generosity, and of most entire fidelity to the Crown.<sup>2</sup>

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1. V. Sackville-West, Knole and the Sackvilles (London, 1922), p. 82.
  2. Clarendon's History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England, ed. W.D. Macray (6 vols., Oxford, 1888), Book I, 129-31. Clarendon's account is confused in places. The second half of this quotation comes under the heading of Dorset's elder brother, the third Earl. But since Clarendon also refers to his sitting in the Commons and the Privy Council, which the third Earl never did, I assume that he must be thinking of the fourth Earl.

Clarendon's interpretation has proved seminal. It embraces two ideas: first, that Dorset was staunchly loyal to the Crown, and second, that he was a glamorous star of Court life. Both recur in Whig and later histories alike.

The Whigs saw Dorset as a staunch defender of the royal prerogative and an enemy of parliamentary liberty. For Lord Nugent, the memorialist of John Hampden, Dorset was 'an intemperate man, devoted to the Crown, and known most unfavourably to the Parliament'.<sup>3</sup> S.R. Gardiner wrote that Dorset was 'usually one of the most determined partisans of the government', while more recently Professor Russell has described Dorset as 'one of the natural supporters of authority', and 'one of the Commons' strongest opponents'.<sup>4</sup> The second element in Clarendon's portrait has proved equally influential. In 1775, James Granger wrote that Dorset 'was a man of eminent abilities, and seems to have been no less remarkable for his propensity to pleasure. His person was strong and beautiful, his eloquence flowing, and his courage

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3. Lord Nugent, Some Memorials of John Hampden, his Party and his Times (London, 1854), p. 216.

4. S.R. Gardiner, History of England, 1603-42 (12 vols. in 10, London, 1883-4), VI, 282. C. Russell, Parliaments and English Politics, 1621-1629 (Oxford, 1979), pp. 315, 370.

fervid and clear'.<sup>5</sup> The Victorians applied a stricter moral code. To Hallam, Dorset was 'impudently corrupt', while Gardiner argued that,

pre-eminent in beauty of person, and in the vigour of a cultivated intellect, he wanted nothing to fit him for the highest places in the Commonwealth but that stern sense of duty without which no man can be truly great ... He had early broken away from the restraints of marriage, and had followed the seductions of his roving fancy wherever he was attracted by a bright eye or a tender glance.<sup>6</sup>

Shorn of its puritanism, the same view appears in more recent work. J.K. Gruenfelder lists Dorset among the 'courtier noblemen'; Robert Zaller writes that he was 'close to the Court', while Michael Finlayson describes him simply as 'a courtier'.<sup>7</sup> In short, Dorset has gone down in history as a man of firm prerogative views, staunchly loyal to the Crown, and as an accomplished if salacious courtier.

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5. J. Granger, Biographical History of England (4 vols., London, 1775), II, 120.
  6. H. Hallam, The Constitutional History of England (London, 1870), p. 321. Gardiner, History of England, IV, 70.
  7. J.K. Gruenfelder, 'The Election to the Short Parliament', in Early Stuart Studies, ed. H.S. Reinmuth (Minneapolis, 1970), pp. 180-230, at p. 183. R. Zaller, The Parliament of 1621 (London, 1971), p. 74. M. Finlayson, Historians, Puritanism and the English Revolution (Toronto, 1983), p. 92.

Now this orthodoxy does have its attractions. It first of all seems consistent with the high offices which Dorset held. Few Royalists can have had better credentials than Edward Sackville, Earl of Dorset from March 1624, Lord Lieutenant of Sussex from July 1624, Knight of the Garter from May 1625, Privy Councillor from July 1626, Lord Chamberlain of the Queen's Household from July 1628, a Commissioner of the Admiralty from September 1628, a Regency Commissioner from August 1641, and finally Lord Chamberlain of the King's Household from January 1644. Dorset also held numerous local offices, including High Steward of Great Yarmouth, High Steward of the Honour of Grafton, Chief Forester of Salcey Forest, and Constable of the Castle and Captain of the Town of Beaumaris.<sup>8</sup> Dorset's curriculum vitae thus seems entirely consistent with the received view of him.

Another attraction of this orthodoxy is that it seems to explain some of Dorset's patronage activities. It suggests, for instance, why in 1639-1640 he urged the bailiffs of Great Yarmouth to elect Sir John Suckling to the Short

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8. Dorset's offices are usefully summarised in Complete Peerage, IV, 424-5. See also J.E. Doyle, The Official Baronage of England (3 vols., London, 1886), I, 625; and D.N.B., L, 89-92.

Parliament.<sup>9</sup> Suckling was a renowned Court poet, and has been described by Tom Clayton as 'the prototype of the Court wit, gallant and littérateur', and as 'the Cavalier par excellence'.<sup>10</sup> Dorset was also a patron of Brian Duppa, his private chaplain who later became Dean of Christ Church, Oxford, tutor to the King's children, and Bishop of Chichester and then Salisbury. Duppa's close ties with the Court were combined with a firm commitment to Laud's religious policies: Anthony Fletcher detects in his 1638 visitation articles in the diocese of Chichester 'the authentic voice of Arminianism'.<sup>11</sup> These are just two examples of Dorset's patronising men closely associated with the Court, or with the religious policies of the Personal Rule. If we accept the traditional view of Dorset, then this simply means that he was advancing men in his own image.

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9. Dorset's attempts to secure Suckling's election as member for Great Yarmouth, and their ultimate failure, are fully documented in C.J. Palmer, A History of Great Yarmouth (2 vols., London, 1854-6), II, 206. See also Chapter Five, above, pp. 312-4.
10. T. Clayton, 'An Historical Study of the Portraits of Sir John Suckling', Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, XXIII (1960), 105-26, at 105-6. See also Chapter Four, above, pp. 246-8.
11. A. Fletcher, A County Community in Peace and War: Sussex, 1600-1660 (London, 1975), pp. 80-1. The best synopsis of Duppa's life is in the introduction to 'The Correspondence of Bishop Brian Duppa and Sir Justinian Isham, 1650-1660', ed. G. Isham, Publ. Northamptonshire Record Society, XVII (1955), especially xix-xxxi. See also D.N.B., XVI, 242-3; Chapter Four, above, pp. 244-5; and Appendix 2.

A third advantage of the received picture is that it is in line with some contemporary perceptions of Dorset. Thus, Sir John Bramston wrote in his Autobiography that Dorset was 'as faythfull as any man to the Crowne'.<sup>12</sup> More specifically, his close links with Henrietta Maria as Lord Chamberlain of the Queen's Household seem to have aroused suspicions that he was implicated in some kind of 'popish plot'. As Caroline Hibbard has shown, this 'plot' had both political and religious dimensions. Thus, some contemporaries saw Dorset as either a Catholic or at least a Catholic sympathiser. In a letter from Oatlands dated 7 September 1640, the new papal agent, Carlo Rossetti, described 'il Conte di Dormat' as 'huomo eloquente, di spirito grande, et ardito, ambidue di molt' autorita, et assai fautori nell' intrinseco dei Cattolicci'.<sup>13</sup> Similarly, when it was moved on 4 February 1641 that Seaford be re-enfranchised, Sir Walter Erle objected (unsuccessfully) on the grounds that 'the inhabitants were rude, and some of them papists, and the Lord of the town [i.e. Dorset] a Papist'.<sup>14</sup>

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12. The Autobiography of Sir John Bramston, K.B., ed. T.W. Bramston (Camden Society, First Series, Vol. XXXII, 1845), 83.
13. P.R.O., PRO 31/9/19 (Transcripts from Rome Archives: reports by Carlo Rossetti), fol. 9r. See also Chapter Four, above, p. 210.
14. The Journal of Sir Simonds D'Ewes from the beginning of the Long Parliament to the opening of the Trial of the Earl of Strafford, ed. W. Notestein (New Haven, 1923), pp. 321-2. See also Chapter Four, above, p. 210.

Now both these assessments are biased: the former because it probably reflects a search by the new papal agent for religious allies, the latter because it comes from a godly M.P. terrified of 'popish' infiltration. Nevertheless, they do show that some contemporaries at least believed that Dorset's Court connections were allied to pro-Catholic sympathies.

The 'popish plot' also posed a political threat, and there are some signs that Dorset was seen as no friend to Parliaments or to the liberties of the subject. Thus Sir John Bramston wrote in his Autobiography that when Charles consented to the act against dissolving the Long Parliament without its own consent in May 1641,

the Kinge by the concessions he had made had putt all power out of himselfe, soe that the Earle of Dorsett ... took leave of the Kinge the night after the Bill for perpetuating the Parliament (for soe in truth it did) passed, and sayd, "Sir, I must leave you. Good night, Sir. I may live to do you kindnes, but you cann doe me none".<sup>15</sup>

Potentially much more serious were the events of 29 November 1641. Two days earlier, the King had appointed Dorset to replace the Earl of Essex in charge of the Westminster trained bands guarding Parliament. Dorset faced a growing threat of

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15. Autobiography of Sir John Bramston, 83.

mob violence as militant crowds gathered around Parliament yelling 'No Bishops! No Bishops!' Many M.P.'s were deeply offended when he ordered the trained bands to fire on the demonstrators, even though this order was disobeyed. Clarendon wrote that 'the House of Commons, much incensed that their friends should be so used, much inveighed against the Earl of Dorset, and talked of accusing him of high treason, [or] at least of drawing up some impeachment against him'.<sup>16</sup> On 2 December, D'Ewes declared that the crowds

did not deserve such usage as they found ... I honour the Earle of Dorsett in his owne person as much as any man, but I cannot allow this his late act of violence; for ther must be great caution had to avoid the spilling of innocent blood: and for him to bid the musketiers discharge upon soe many citizens and the pikemen to run them through, wee may well consider how dangerous effects it might have produced, not only of much slaughter between the guard and the citizens, but of dangers to the members of both Houses alsoe, for when wee should have heard the reporte of muskets, what could wee have thought lesse than

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16. Clarendon's History, Book IV, 110. For the background to this episode, see L.C. Nagel, 'The Militia of London, 1641-9' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of London, 1982), pp. 26-32. I owe this reference to Keith Lindley. For contemporary descriptions, see, for example, P.R.O., PRO 31/3/72 (Baschet's French Transcripts: reports by French ambassadors), fol. 642v; Bod. Lib., MS Rawlinson D 932 (parliamentary diary of Sir John Holland, 4 November - 18 December 1641), fol. 56r; and N.R.O., Montagu MS 4 (Montagu of Boughton Corr., Vol. II), p. 6 (William Montagu to Lord Montagu, 2 December 1641). See also Chapter Five, above, pp. 323-5.

that some new designe or treacherie had [been] putt in execution.<sup>17</sup>

Dorset's action seems to have significantly increased M.P.s' fears for their own safety. The next day, the Commons resolved that if the Upper House rejected any bill designed to secure the kingdom, then the Commons and those lords who did agree might pass such bills on their own.<sup>18</sup> To sum up: immediately before the Civil War, there are signs that some contemporaries saw Dorset as hostile to Parliament and as a Catholic sympathiser, perceptions which seem to sharpen the image created by most historians of a Court gallant, deeply committed to the royal prerogative.

How far are we to believe this interpretation? I have already analysed Dorset's religious views at length in Chapter Four, above. The argument of the present chapter will be that in political terms, the received view of Dorset is seriously misleading. If we examine his political activities and especially his correspondence in more detail, a quite different

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17. The Journal of Sir Simonds D'Ewes from the First Recess of the Long Parliament to the withdrawal of King Charles from London, ed. W.H. Coates (New Haven, 1942), pp. 225-6.
18. C.J., II, 330. See also Dyurnall Occurrences, or the Heads of Severall Proceedings in this present Parliament (29 November - 6 December 1641), p. 4 (S.T.C. (Newspapers)), 181.102; B.L., T.T., E 201/2).

picture emerges: that of a constitutional moderate committed less to the royal prerogative per se, than to the ideal of a balanced polity in which the interests of Crown and people were naturally harmonious and symbiotic. Dorset saw discord between the King and his subjects as unnatural and horrifying, and tried constantly to prevent it. To see Dorset as a partisan of Crown against Parliament assumes a division of interest between the two which Dorset himself would not have recognised. Dorset's overriding aim in the years 1640-1646 was conciliation, not a dogmatic defence of the royal prerogative.

The Privy Council meeting of 2 September 1640 provides a useful starting point. Until Dorset spoke, the drift of the meeting had been very much away from summoning another Parliament and towards the calling of a Great Council of Peers, a Magnum Concilium such as eventually met at York on 24 September. Windebanke, Vane, Cottington, and the Earls of Salisbury, Arundel, Manchester and Berkshire all urged this course.<sup>19</sup> By contrast, the abbreviated record of Dorset's speech reads: 'To call the Lords, a way about: it will be as long to call the Lords, as to call the Parliament; and besides, the glory of a Parliament will rather be given to them, than to

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19. Miscellaneous State Papers, 1501-1726, ed. P. Yorke (2 vols., London, 1778), II, 168-70.

the board; and therefore rather for a Parliament than calling the Lords'. By the autumn of 1640, Dorset saw a new Parliament as politically desirable.<sup>20</sup> The meeting ended in apparent defeat for him, with the King's decision to summon a Great Council. But Dorset was triumphantly vindicated when the King informed this Council on 24 September that writs would shortly be issued for a new Parliament. Dorset, ironically, was not present. On 9 September the Queen had expressed a desire that Dorset should remain in London, and two days later Vane wrote to Windebanke from York: 'It is his Majesty's pleasure that the Earl of Dorset attend her Majesty and the Council in the South, so he is pleased to dispense with his presence at the meeting of the peers here'.<sup>21</sup> One cannot help wondering - purely speculatively - whether this was deliberately engineered by the

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20. Ibid., 169. It is possible to suggest more pragmatic motives for Dorset's speech. In particular, he may have feared that a Great Council would give the political initiative to the King's opponents, the self-styled consiliarii nati. Cf. J.S.A. Adamson, 'The British Civil War of 1640' (forthcoming). However, Dorset's words both in the 1620's and later in the 1640's suggest a principled commitment to Parliament which transcended the immediate circumstances of September 1640. See Chapter Two, above, especially pp. 103-4, and below, especially pp. 360-5, 368-73, 385-95. Thus, although the possibility that he sought short-term political advantage cannot be disproved, it is important to recognise that Dorset's speech on 2 September was consistent with the moderate constitutional attitudes which he expressed at other times.
21. P.R.O., SP 16/466/107 (Secretary Windebanke's notes, 9 September 1640); SP 16/467/28 (Secretary Vane to Secretary Windebanke, 11 September 1640). See also Ceremonies of Charles I: The Note Books of John Finet, 1628-1641, ed. A.J. Loomie (New York, 1987), pp. 288-9.

royal couple to prevent Dorset from again speaking up for Parliament. In any event, his absence was not crucial, as Parliament was duly called for 3 November.

Dorset seems to have attended Parliament frequently in the months that followed. We know from the Manuscript Minutes in the House of Lords Record Office that he was present at forty-nine of the ninety sittings in the Lords between 11 January and 10 April 1641, and at thirty-one of the ninety-one sittings between 29 November 1641 and 12 March 1642.<sup>22</sup> His parliamentary activities are not easy to reconstruct. However, with a foot in both the Court and the House of Lords, and as one of only a dozen Privy Councillors of 1640 still in office by the summer of 1641, Dorset was ideally placed to mediate between Crown and Parliament.<sup>23</sup> In particular, he regularly acted as a go-between between the Queen and Parliament. His Court contacts were thus used to promote accommodation rather than to defend royal powers. For example, on 7 March 1641, Montreuil, clerk at the French embassy, described to Chauvigny how in a committee of both Houses (presumably that held on 3

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22. These figures are derived from H.L.R.O., House of Lords Manuscript Minute Books 7 and 8, passim.

23. Only twelve of the thirty-five Privy Councillors of October 1640 can still be found attending the Council meetings between 16 July and 9 August 1641: P.R.O., PC 2/53 (Privy Council Register), pp. 5, 145-77.

March), Dorset, Bedford and Bristol had reminded M.P.'s that 'la dicte dame Roynne avait faict tous bons offices auprès du Roy son mary, tant pour la teniie de ce Parlement que pour passer l'acte par lequel le dict Roy s'oblige d'en assembler un tous les trois ans'. Dorset was anxious to improve the Commons' perception of the Queen, even if this meant casting her - somewhat improbably - as a defender of Parliaments.<sup>24</sup> Equally, on 16 August, he secured a conciliatory answer from Henrietta Maria to Parliament's request that her Capuchin friars be confined to Denmark House: 'Her Majesty says, it is much against her will that they have gone abroad, or have endeavoured to pervert any from their religion; and her Majesty also is very unwilling that any English people should resort there to chapel; but her Majesty will give order to prevent these for the future'.<sup>25</sup> In late November and early December, Dorset again played an important role in defusing conflict, this time by mediating over the Queen's imprisoned confessor,

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24. L.J., IV, 175. P.R.O., PRO 31/3/72, fol. 468r. For Henrietta Maria's underlying hostility to Parliament in 1640-2, see C. Hibbard, Charles I and the Popish Plot (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1983), pp. 177-8. This hostility was most clearly revealed by her involvement in the first army plot of March-April 1641. It needs stressing that there is no evidence that Dorset was implicated in, or even aware of, this plot: see C. Russell, 'The First Army Plot of 1641', Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, Fifth Series, XXXVII (1988), 85-106, passim. I am most grateful to Professor Russell for confirming this in a private communication.

25. L.J., IV, 367.

Father Robert Phillip. On 20 November, he was ordered to tell the Queen that the Commons wanted his imprisonment to continue.<sup>26</sup> Then, on 7 December, he conveyed to the Lords Henrietta Maria's request that he be released, 'she having occasion to use him concerning her conscience'.<sup>27</sup> Finally a compromise was reached: Phillip was released from the Tower, but confined to Somerset House.<sup>28</sup> It thus seems that during much of 1641, Dorset's contacts in both the Court and the House of Lords helped to reduce tension between Henrietta Maria and Parliament.

Dorset's other activities in Parliament during 1641 remain cloudy. We know that on four occasions between 29 December 1640 and 20 February 1641, he was given leave to visit Archbishop Laud in the Tower, but unfortunately the nature of this business is unclear.<sup>29</sup> Apparently only one substantial diary recording debates in the Lords has survived: British Library, Harleian MS 6424, almost certainly compiled by John

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26. Ibid., 449.

27. Ibid., 466.

28. Ibid.

29. Ibid., 127, 128, 148, 168. See also Chapter Four, above, p. 238, n. 78.

Warner, Bishop of Rochester.<sup>30</sup> This gives only one cryptic speech by Dorset, for 19 February 1641. In a debate on the disbandment of the Scottish armies, 'Earle Dorsett told them, that there was but one demand of the Scots to be satisfied [probably a reference to dismantling the fortifications of Berwick and Carlisle] and then saw no reason but that they should be gone'.<sup>31</sup> The exact meaning of this is not entirely clear, but it was characteristic of Dorset to suggest the ease with which a peaceful accommodation might be reached.

Unfortunately, by early 1642, there are clear signs that Dorset's strategy of building bridges between Crown and Parliament was running into serious trouble. For the first time, he was unable to mediate successfully between Henrietta Maria and Parliament. On 9 February, Dorset attended the Lords and was ordered to 'deliver into this House a list of such as are the Queen's menial servants', following complaints to Dorset from the French ambassador that some of the Queen's

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30. A very persuasive case for this attribution is made in C. Russell, 'The Authorship of the Bishop's Diary of the House of Lords in 1641', Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, XLI (1968), 229-236.

31. B.L., Harl. MS 6424 (Diary of a Bishop, 1641), fol. 24v.

French servants had been convicted of recusancy.<sup>32</sup> But Dorset never went. On 10 February, Sidney Bere wrote to Sir John Pennington: 'My Lord of Dorsett is nominated to waite on the Queene, but he having desired some time to make himselfe ready is to follow after, and my Lord Goring to goe for the present'.<sup>33</sup> Dorset may have been unwell, for two days later the Lords Journal records that he 'hath leave, for a little while, to be absent for his health'.<sup>34</sup> Whether the illness was political or not, it coincided with a deepening rift between Dorset and the leaders of the Commons. John Moore records that on 21 February, 'Mr. Strode delivered some papers which were taken in London. A boy carrying them showed a pass under my Lord of Dorsett's hand, yet afterward confessed he was one Mr. Roper his man, who is a papist'.<sup>35</sup> The papers were referred to a committee, and their nature remains obscure. But this episode can only have increased suspicions about Dorset's religious sympathies. More serious, Dorset was soon seen as a direct security risk. On 5 March, the Militia Ordinance

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32. H.L.R.O., House of Lords Manuscript Minute Book 8, unfol., 9 February 1641/2. L.J., IV, 572.
33. P.R.O., SP 16/489/19 (Sidney Bere to Sir John Pennington, 10 February 1641/2).
34. L.J., IV, 579.
35. The Private Journals of the Long Parliament, 3 January to 5 March 1642, ed. W.H. Coates, A.S. Young and V.F. Snow (New Haven, 1982), p. 430.

declared commissions to Lords Lieutenant 'null and void'.<sup>36</sup> This was a critical moment for many Royalists. Two days later, Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia, wrote to Sir Thomas Roe: 'The King I thinke is now at Yorke. All goeth ill enough ... I beleeve my lord of Arundell and my lord Goring are come over. Dorsett they say will follow'.<sup>37</sup> But Dorset hesitated, as though reluctant to leave Parliament. He attended the Lords on 7, 9 and 12 March, and it was only on 22 March that the Lords finally ordered him to deliver in his commissions of lieutenancy.<sup>38</sup> This he did the next day.<sup>39</sup>

From the end of March 1642, information on Dorset becomes much scarcer. On 2 April he was absent from the Lords without an excuse.<sup>40</sup> Dorset's failure to comply with an order of 9 April that he certify Allen Boteler's status as one of the Queen's servants was presumably responsible for the Lords'

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36. C.J., II, 467.

37. P.R.O., SP 16/489/68 (Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia to Sir Thomas Roe, 7/17 March 1641/2).

38. H.L.R.O., House of Lords Manuscript Minute Book 8, unfol., 7, 9, 12 and 22 March 1641/2. L.J., IV, 664.

39. L.J., IV, 665.

40. Ibid., 693.

order of 11 April that he attend the next day.<sup>41</sup> Dorset never appeared. Instead, on the afternoon of 12 April,

the Lord Viscount Saye and Seale acquainted the House, that the Earl of Dorset sent to him, to desire him to let their lordships know, that the reason why he hath so long absented himself from giving his attendance on this House is in regard of his ill health; but, as soon as he is able, he will attend this House, according to his duty; and whereas he hears this House was informed that he had an intent to go to Yorke, he desires their lordships to believe, that he will not go to Yorke, nor any other place, without leave of this House.<sup>42</sup>

It is quite possible that Dorset's illness was genuine; we cannot be sure. Certainly, the Lords affected to believe that it was, for two days later Dorset was given 'leave to go and take the air at Bansteed Downs, for his healthsake'.<sup>43</sup> They also continued to appoint him to committees.<sup>44</sup> What we can be sure of is that Dorset failed to keep his promise. On 2 May,

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41. Ibid., 709, 712.

42. Ibid., 713. Why Dorset's excuse should have been relayed to the Lords through a peer with whom he had consistently disagreed remains somewhat mysterious. It may be that Saye retained close links with the King until a very late stage, as is suggested by the survival of warrants for payments to him 'in his Majesty's speciall and private service'. See, for example, the warrant to the Exchequer to pay him £1,200 in December 1641 in P.R.O., SO 3/12 (Signet Office Docquet Book, 1638-1644), fol. 179r. Such continued links with the King may help to explain Saye's public defence of Dorset. I owe this suggestion to John Adamson.

43. L.J., IV, 716.

44. Ibid., V, 30, 49.

Lord Willoughby of Eresby wrote to him from York: 'The King wishes your lady heer with you, for he saith he is obliged to her: Thes was his one words ... I pray you make hast to us for you are wished by all ...'.<sup>45</sup> Dorset probably arrived at York sometime during May.<sup>46</sup>

But I now want to argue that this marked only a shift of tactics on Dorset's part. His ultimate goal - accommodation between King and Parliament - remained unchanged. By the spring of 1642, with the King in York and Parliament in London, it was simply not possible to retain a foot in both camps. But this does not mean that Dorset was any less committed to a policy of reconciliation. Indeed, his moderate advice seems to have made him persona non grata with the King quite soon after his arrival at York in the early summer of 1642. On 9 June, William Montagu wrote to Lord Montagu: 'It is sayd my lord[s] of Clare, Bath and Dorsett are returning, the last two of which it seemeth gave the King councell very much against his

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45. K.A.O., Sackville MS, U 269/C7/1 (Lord Willoughby of Eresby to Dorset, 2 May 1642).

46. The exact date of Dorset's arrival in York is at present uncertain. Clearly it was after 2 May, the date of Lord Willoughby of Eresby's letter, cited in the previous note. Equally, Dorset had apparently been in York for some while by 9 June, as indicated in William Montagu's letter, cited in the next note. It therefore seems likeliest that he arrived sometime during May.

expectation, though very good for the preservation of him and the State'.<sup>47</sup> As in September 1640, Dorset was giving Charles more moderate advice than he wished to hear. But Dorset did not in fact return, and on 22 June signed an engagement to provide the King with sixty horse for three months, 'to be employed to assist his Majesty in defence of his royal person, the two Houses of Parliament, the Protestant religion, the laws of the land, the liberty and propriety of the subject, and the privileges of Parliament'.<sup>48</sup> This rhetoric closely resembles that of The King's Answer to the Nineteen Propositions, earlier that month. One cannot help speculating whether Charles' public espousal of mixed monarchy theories owed something to the moderate advice described by William Montagu, as well as to Hyde's influence.<sup>49</sup> Whether this was the case or not, during

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47. N.R.O., Montagu MS 4, p. 9 (William Montagu to Lord Montagu, 9 June 1642). See also Henry King's report two days later that Dorset, Bath and Clare were 'moveinge away' from York: Bod. Lib., MS Tanner 63 (letters and papers, 1642), fol. 64r.

48. P.R.O., SP 16/491/29 (list of peers and officials engaging to provide the King with forces, 22 June 1642). See also B.L., Egerton MS 2978 (Heath and Verney Papers, Vol. I), fol. 66r; and A Catalogue of the Names of the Lords that subscribed to levie horse to assist His Majestie ... at Yorke, the 22 June 1642 (London, 1642), Wing, C 1397; B.L., T.T., 669. f. 6 (42).

49. Peter Salt has alerted me to the close parallels between my interpretation of Dorset in this paragraph, and Brian Wormald's treatment of Hyde in 1642: see B.H.G. Wormald, Clarendon: Politics, History and Religion, 1640-60 (Cambridge, 1951), especially p. 85. For further comparison with Hyde, see Chapter Four, above, pp. 258-9.

the summer and autumn of 1642, Dorset made a series of increasingly desperate attempts to keep alive the possibility of an accommodation between King and Parliament.

Dorset gave a very clear indication of his political views at this time in a long letter to the Earl of Salisbury, dated 27 June. After spending a few weeks at York, Salisbury had returned to London in mid-June. Dorset regretted that he 'showld have secreted' his departure, and begged Salisbury 'nott to bee active in any course, thatt may iustly induce his Maiesty, to beleeve you are ingaged or willbee in any faction agaynst him: or thatt you study, more to comply with other mens desseings, then your owne and selfe preservation'.<sup>50</sup> It is very interesting that Dorset never specifically asked Salisbury to return to York. What mattered to him was not where Salisbury was, but that he should promote moderate courses wherever he was. He urged Salisbury to

study day and night, to keepe the more violent spiritts from passinge the Rubicon: Lett them att London, putt nothing in execution, thatt maye give probable grounds of feare, (and soe iust of resolves) to hinder them, and they

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50. B.L., Microfilm M 485 (Cecil MS, Hatfield House), Vol. CXXXI, fol. 182r (Dorset to the Earl of Salisbury, 27 June 1642).

may sleepe very securely from any attempts, hatchd heere  
att Yorke to there danger.<sup>51</sup>

As always, Dorset's overriding commitment was to accommodation.  
He clearly feared that the King's intransigence would prove  
counter-productive, and therefore stressed

the tractable and councellable disposition, of the King:  
who though apt to take extempore resolutions, upon the  
first impression, yett upon pawse and second thoughts,  
changes to the better: An instance whereof, I was a very  
glad wittness of yesterday: When upon an intelligence of  
the Earle of Stanfords to excessive zeale, hee had  
resolved vim vi repellere, and concluded on a course,  
thatt might have given beginnige to a great deale of  
misery, hee was altered by the more posed and wise advise,  
of those thatt study, how to preserve things from  
extremity.<sup>52</sup>

Dorset was thus never so committed to the royal prerogative as  
to accept Charles' decisions without question. His aim was to  
end 'banefull misunderstandinges' between Crown and Parliament,  
and he remained optimistic that a settlement could be reached:  
'Lett as many as will despayre: I am one of those, thatt  
beleewe, thatt an easy and safe way, may bee found to leade us  
all forth, this darke and inextricable labyrinth'.<sup>53</sup> The  
assumption throughout this letter was that the interests of  
King and Parliament were naturally harmonious and symbiotic,

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51. Ibid., fol. 183r.

52. Ibid., fols. 182v-183r.

53. Ibid., fol. 183v.

and that discord between them was unnatural. There was no inherent difference of interests between King and Parliament, only 'banefull misunderstandings'. It therefore did not matter if Salisbury left York and returned to London. All that mattered was that once in London he should promote reconciliation.

Dorset was told by a 'Mr Blunt' that his letter had not reached Salisbury, so he wrote again on 4 August.<sup>54</sup> Once more, his greatest fear was that hotheads on both sides would precipitate a conflict. He warned Salisbury: 'Bee nott an actor or adviser in extreeme courses thatt will sett all on fire and burne the authors in there owne flames first or last bee they whome they will, ether on one side or other, for noe dought there are to many hot headed people both heere and att London, thatt advise and perswade desperate wayes'.<sup>55</sup> The greatest danger was a victory by the extremists of either side: 'None butt the desperate every way can hope for ammelioration by the ruines of soe many, and soe universall a change both in government, and familyes as a victory must make, on which side

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54. B.L., Microfilm M 485, Vol. CXCVII, fol. 127r (Dorset to the Earl of Salisbury, 4 August 1642). This letter is misdated to 1640 in the Calendar: H.M.C., Salisbury (Cecil) Manuscripts, Vol. XXII (London, 1971), 318-9.

55. Ibid., fol. 129r-v.

soever itt happens'.<sup>56</sup> This was a truly terrible prospect, 'for to breath under such an arbitrary government, even on both sides, as wee miserable subiects doe, is to languish not live'.<sup>57</sup> This second letter was much more pessimistic in tone than the first. Dorset lamented: 'the day of doome (in my opinion) approacheth'.<sup>58</sup> Then, picking up the metaphor from his previous letter, he concluded: 'The Rubicon is past'.<sup>59</sup>

All Dorset's worst fears were confirmed when, on 22 August, the King raised his standard at Nottingham. He expressed his deep distress at Charles' action in an unfinished and undated letter to the Countess of Middlesex, whose daughter had married Dorset's eldest son the previous year. This letter began:

On Tusday last, the Kinge went to Nottingham, where hee intends immediately to erect the Standard Royall, and hath commanded all subiects thatt ether by duty of tenure or by thatt greater of love and loyalty fayle nott to attend him there. Behold into whatt a sad condition, blind zeale pride ambition envy malice and avarice (for all these have

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56. Ibid., fol. 130r-v.

57. Ibid., fol. 128r.

58. Ibid., fol. 129v.

59. Ibid., fol. 132v.

there severall servants and ends) hath plunged the honor, quiet, safety, peace, plenty, prosperity, piety of this late, very late, most happy kingdome.<sup>60</sup>

Dorset blamed neither one side nor the other. Indeed, 'I know nott whome to accuse of all; butt sure I am there bee those thatt are guilty of all: Hethense they have worked like moles underground, butt now the sunn of truth beginsns to discover these children of darkness'.<sup>61</sup> This letter also contains an important contemporary assessment of the Civil War. In the midst of current debates over whether the Civil War was a war of religion, or a conflict over political principles, or a clash of cultures, it is interesting to note that Dorset saw it as a highly complex cacophany of different struggles:

Wee are runninge headlong to destruction and like buchers one to quarter outt the other: Brother agaynst brother, father agaynst sonn, frend agaynst frend and all for I know nott whatt: Religion to bee purified is the pretence of some, liberty to bee preserved is the profession of others: All cry for the preservation of the law, all for the conservation of the Ghostpels. Is Civill War the way to these happy ends? Oh noe! The Divell ever hath sett a fayre face on his fowle desseings: Atheisme wilbee brought in the place of protestantisme; slavery will succede this unbridled and ill coveted liberty which is already growne

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60. K.A.O., Uncatalogued Cranfield Papers, Dorset to the Countess of Middlesex, August 1642, fol. 1r-v. For the agreement, dated 25 January 1640/1, for the marriage of Frances Cranfield to Lord Buckhurst, see K.A.O., Sackville MS, U 269/E298/1.

61. K.A.O., Uncatalogued Cranfield Papers, Dorset to the Countess of Middlesex, August 1642, fol. 1v.

to thatt horriblenes as there is noe king in Israel.  
Every man doeth whatt seemeth good in his owne eyes, In a  
word if the howse [is] divided [it] cannott stand.<sup>62</sup>

The tone of this whole letter is deeply anguished, and the hand is unusually agitated. Human attempts at reconciliation having apparently failed, Dorset lamented that 'wofull dayes are att hand, and will follow (unless gods mercy intervене) and reconcile prince and people'.<sup>63</sup> He was in despair: 'All is lost, all is lost: soe lost, as I wOULD I weere quiet in my grave'.<sup>64</sup>

Nevertheless, he continued to be actively involved in peace negotiations. Thus on 25 August, three days after the King had raised his standard, the Earls of Dorset and Southampton, Sir John Culpepper and Sir William Uvedale acted as Royal peace commissioners to Parliament. They brought a message in which Charles expressed his 'constant and earnest care to preserve the publike peace', and suggested negotiations to promote 'a true understanding betwixt us and our two Houses

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62. Ibid., fol. 2r-v.

63. Ibid., fol. 3r.

64. Ibid., fol. 3v.

of Parliament'.<sup>65</sup> This message was sent very much against the King's wishes: that it was sent at all represented a major success for the moderate counsels advanced by Dorset. Clarendon recalled that 'the King was with wonderful difficulty brought to it', and

was so exceedingly afflicted after he had given his consent that he brake out into tears; and the Lord Southampton, who lay in the bedchamber that night, told Mr. Hyde the next morning, that the King had been in so great an agony that whole night that he believed he had not slept two hours in the whole night, which was a discomposure his constitution was rarely liable to in the greatest misfortunes of his life. The message was made ready in the morning in a softer and calmer style than his Majesty had been accustomed to for some months, and the persons began their journey towards London the same day.<sup>66</sup>

Once again, Dorset's moderation was going right against the King's better judgement. But moderation had to be seen to work if the King was to believe in it, and unfortunately the peace commissioners met with a very frosty reception in Parliament. Lanerick wrote to Hamilton from Nottingham on 31 August that 'the Messingers have ... bein farre otherwyse receaved then we expected, (since they were the carieres of so gratiuous a message) for the Earl of Southampton ... cam to the house upon

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65. His Majesties gracious message to both Houses of Parliament sent from Nottingham the 25 of August 1642, together with the answer of the Lords and Commons to the said message (London, 1642), pp. 2-3 (Wing, C 2332; B.L., T.T., E 116/2).

66. Clarendon's History, Book VI, 8.

Saturday last, and as he was going to take his place, he was called unto to withdrawe'.<sup>67</sup> Clarendon wrote indignantly that the message was 'received with unheard of insolence and contempt'.<sup>68</sup> The two Houses resolved that until the King took down his standard, they 'cannot by the Fundamentall Priviledges of Parliament, the publike Trust reposed in us, or with the general good and safety of this Kingdom', negotiate with him further.<sup>69</sup> The King refused these terms, and another attempt at reconciliation was brought to an abrupt end.

Nevertheless, Parliament clearly saw Dorset as a useful contact on the Royalist side, and in late September ordered the Earl of Essex to write to him. Essex asked Dorset to let him know 'in what manner' the King would have a parliamentary petition presented to him, and requested 'that there be a safe convoy for such persons as I shall send to His Majesty with it'. He added that he 'held it fit to put this trouble upon

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67. Scottish Record Office, Hamilton MS, GD 406/1/1689 (Lanerick to Hamilton, 31 August 1642). I owe this reference to Professor Russell. For other contemporary accounts, see, for example, C.S.P.V., XXVI (1642-3), 145-6; P.R.O., SP 16/492/3 (Sir William Boswell to Sir Thomas Roe, 4/14 September 1642).

68. Clarendon's History, Book VI, 12.

69. His Majesties gracious message, p. 5.

your lordship, knowing your nearness to the King'.<sup>70</sup> Clarendon wrote that this message 'was not thought worthy of any answer from [the King], and the Earl of Dorset did not think himself obliged by the employment, or by any of the expressions of their good opinion; and so it was concluded that the messenger should return without any answer'.<sup>71</sup> Now this account is very puzzling, for a reply from Dorset to Essex dated 28 September does survive, and was certainly reported back to Parliament.<sup>72</sup> In it, Dorset apologised for his delay in replying: 'The King's late arrival here the last night is the cause I could no sooner return this gentleman'.<sup>73</sup> He went on:

I have acquainted his Majesty with the petition you have order to present from the Parliament. He hath commanded me to let your Lordship know, that the petitions of the houses shall never find his dower shutt against them, and that those whome yow shall appoint to bring it (soe [long as] they be none of those he hath by name accused of Treason) they shall come and goe very safely, soe [long as] they come hither by day and send a Trumpett before to acquaynt the King with their entrance.<sup>74</sup>

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70. L.J., V, 380.

71. Clarendon's History, Book VI, 67.

72. This letter is printed in L.J., V, 380, and C.J., II, 791. The manuscript may be found in Bod. Lib., MS Tanner 64 (letters and papers, 1642), fol. 19r.

73. Ibid.

74. Ibid.

This response was debated in the Commons on 29 September, and in the Lords on 3 October.<sup>75</sup> Then at a joint conference on 3 October, both Houses resolved that 'it doth not stand with the Honour and Privilege of Parliament, that the Petition be delivered to the King under the Restrictions mentioned in the Earl of Dorsett's letter'.<sup>76</sup> Charles' adamant refusal to treat with proclaimed traitors was about to scotch another attempt at accommodation.

Essex communicated Parliament's resolution to Dorset in a letter of 15 October.<sup>77</sup> Replying the next day, Dorset reiterated that the King 'would not receive any by the Hands of such as he had, by name, proclaimed Traitors', but insisted that 'his Ear shall still be open to hear any fitting Address from either or both Houses of Parliament, in such manner as his Majesty hath declared'.<sup>78</sup> The Committee with the Army

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75. Ibid. See also B.L., Add. MS 18777 (Diary of Walter Yonge, 19 September 1642 to 7 March 1643), fol. 18v.
76. L.J., V, 384-5. C.J., II, 791. See also Staffordshire Record Office, Leveson-Gower Corr., D 868/4/5 (Stephen Charlton to Sir Richard Leveson, October 1642).
77. L.J., V, 411 - where the letter is incorrectly dated 18 October 1642. For the delivery of this letter to Dorset, see Lionel Copley, A Letter sent from a Gentleman to Mr. Henry Marten, Esquire (London, 1642), Wing, C 6085.
78. L.J., V, 412.

described this answer as 'a most high indignity and scorn cast upon the authority of the Parliament'.<sup>79</sup> At a conference of both Houses on 20 October, Parliament resolved that:

Whereas it doth appear, by the letter of the Earl of Dorsett, dated 16 October, that His Majesty doth refuse all addresses and petitions from the Parliament, made by the Lord General; and that it is unsafe to send any messenger from the Parliament to His Majesty; the House doth therefore now resolve and declare, that they will oblige themselves to a mutual assistance of one another, and of the whole kingdom, for defence of the Protestant religion, the privilege of Parliament, and the liberty and property of the subject; and that a strict association be prepared, and entered into by the whole kingdom, to this purpose.<sup>80</sup>

Throughout his dealings with Essex, Dorset had been hamstrung by the King's refusal to compromise. Thanks to Charles' intransigence over negotiating with proclaimed traitors, Crown and Parliament were now further away than ever from reaching a settlement.

But there are several tantalising glimpses of continued links between Dorset and Essex after the failure of this peace initiative. First, on 15 November 1642, Sir John Coke described how, after the battle of Turnham Green, 'on Sunday

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79. Ibid.

80. C.J., II, 816. L.J., V, 412.

morning, the King as I suppose having received by Sir Pet[er] Killigree the proposition for a cessation of armes, sends the Earle of Dorsets servant Mr White with a trumpet to his excellencye [the Earl of Essex] for cease of armes'.<sup>81</sup> This unfortunately did not work, for the sound of continued firing made Essex suspect foul play, and he imprisoned White in the Gatehouse.<sup>82</sup> It is, however, very interesting that the King should have used Dorset's secretary to carry a peace offer to Essex. A second sign of continued contact is in a letter from Edward Nicholas to Prince Rupert dated 11 May 1643. Nicholas wrote that 'the Earl of Essex (I here) hath sent to his confident, the Earl of Dorset concerning the exchange of some prisoners ...'.<sup>83</sup> This initiative was apparently fruitful, for on 22 June Essex wrote directly to Prince Rupert with detailed suggestions for the exchange.<sup>84</sup> Unfortunately, I have so far been unable to discover whether anything came of this, but it does perhaps suggest that Dorset and Essex kept in touch after

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81. B.L., Add. MS 64923 (Coke Papers, Vol. LIV, 1642-4), fol. 44r.
  82. Ibid. See also A Continuation of certaine speciall and remarkable Passages from both Houses of Parliament and other parts of the Kingdome (12-18 November 1642), sig. B4 (S.T.C. (Newspapers), 57.2; B.L., T.T., E 127/21).
  83. B.L., Add. MS 18980 (Prince Rupert's correspondence, 1642-3), fol. 60r. I owe this reference to Ian Atherton.
  84. William Salt Library, Stafford, Salt MS 509 (Essex to Prince Rupert, 22 June 1643).

October 1642. Indeed, I shall argue below that these contacts may have continued well into 1645.

Dorset's principal confidante throughout the first Civil War remained the Countess of Middlesex. Writing to her on 8 December 1642, he lamented that hardliners on both sides should perpetuate the conflict:

I sigh to say itt, there is a shamble of mans flesh made, weere there Canniballs to buy itt: (sure they are very ill Christians thatt make such provision) yett I am in despayre thatt heere after will bring amendment, since fewell is brought and sought from all places, to increase the flames. Men, mony, horse and arms are furnished and found outt dayly, to foment and nourish, this most odious division, which if itt doe nott by Gods mercy, and good mens piety, presently meete with some rub, some cessation, some accomadation, infalliblely mankind must bee much diminished in this land, and all humanity bee wholly extirpated.<sup>85</sup>

Dorset feared that the following year would see

in this Civill Warr, more barbaratyes to bee committed, then ever yett any of our chronicles mention'd ... Already, all suffer extreems in there goods, and will ere long, undergoe all outrages and villanyes in there persons, if the greedy, needy soldyer bee nott layd aside as a remedy more pernicious then any other desease England yett hath suffered under.<sup>86</sup>

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85. K.A.O., Uncatalogued Cranfield Papers, Dorset to the Countess of Middlesex, 8 December 1642, fols. lv-2r.

86. Ibid., fol. 2r-v.

Dorset's overriding concern was not with defending the royal prerogative, or the subject's liberties, or a particular religious belief, but, as always, with promoting accommodation between King and Parliament: 'I beseche God turne all harts to peace and repentance, thatt soe the publik weale, and the private sowle, may find mercy in time before itt bee er too late, to ask itt, or beyond condition of remedy to hope for'.<sup>87</sup> As in his other correspondence, Dorset the moderate was much more evident than Dorset the Royalist.

We know that Dorset was at Oxford from early November 1642.<sup>88</sup> As a member of the King's Privy Council, Dorset tried desperately to promote moderation. The evidence for this is contained in two major speeches of 1643, later published as separates. The first, a 'speech for propositions of peace' delivered on 18 January, began by stressing the unnaturalness of war between a King and his subjects: 'This is not a warre betweene a King and a stranger, but between a Sovereigne and

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87. Ibid., fol. 2v.

88. 'The Life and Times of Anthony Wood, Described by Himself', Vol. I, 1632-1663, ed. A. Clark, Publ. Oxford Historical Society, XIX (1891), 70. On 3 November 1642, 'the Kinge's majestie, with all his followers ... departed from Oxford ... The earles of Dorsett and Bristoll [what a juxtaposition: see below, pp. 370-3] ... were left here at Oxford for the defence of the Universitie and towne'.

his subjects, a neare relation, and they had need to be weighty motives that shall dissolve this knot'.<sup>89</sup> Indeed, so tight was that 'knot', that the King might say of his subjects

as Adam of Eve, that was found out of his rib, "Flesh of my flesh, and bone of my bone"; or rather as David of his subjects in the day of his Inauguration, "For my brethren and companions sake"; for your Majesty being theirs, and they yours by a double tye, you are not only Rex factus, but Rex natus: And therefore the union being so straight, the motive had need be weighty, that shall cause a man to set his owne house a fire, and to destroy the worke of his owne hands.<sup>90</sup>

Civil War would do irreparable damage: 'Subjects are easily lost ... but once lost, are hardly regained. Affections are like to crystall glasses, which broken, are hardly set together againe'.<sup>91</sup> War was always 'the worst refuge': its outcome was uncertain, 'and the event various, and he that committeth one errour in the warre, especially when the seat of it is in his owne Kingdome, seldome times to commit a second'.<sup>92</sup> The present parliamentary demands did not seriously encroach on the royal prerogative, but - as Dorset had maintained all along - royal resistance to them might make Parliament step up its

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89. The Earle of Dorset his Speech for Propositions of Peace, Delivered to His Majesty at Oxford on January 18 [1642/3] (London, 1643), p. 2 (Wing, D 1951; B.L., T.T., E 85/44).

90. Ibid.

91. Ibid.

92. Ibid., p. 3.

demands: 'it is an act of the extreamest folly to hazard the substance for a shadow, not worthy to be contended for'.<sup>93</sup> Intransigence could only be counter-productive. Using the same image as in his letter to the Countess of Middlesex, Dorset warned the King not 'to make use of a remedy worse then the disease'.<sup>94</sup> By contrast, a conciliatory approach would only tend to soften Parliament's terms: 'by degrees your Majesty may work them to that (which for the present they wil rather dye then embrace)'.<sup>95</sup> Dorset ended with a bitter attack on the folly and self-interest of 'they that advise war', for they 'know not what it is to get, nor greatly care for the losse of a Kingdom, so [long as] they may play their own games, and fish in troubled waters'.<sup>96</sup> As in his private correspondence, Dorset reserved a special loathing for those who selfishly exploited the Civil War for their own ends.

On 24 December 1643, Thomason acquired a second pamphlet containing 'two speeches spoken at the Councell Table at Oxford', one by the Earl of Bristol and the other by Dorset. Unfortunately, neither of these speeches bears a date and their

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93. Ibid., p. 4.

94. Ibid., p. 5.

95. Ibid.

96. Ibid., p. 6.

authenticity is therefore not beyond doubt. However, even if these texts do not represent transcripts of actual speeches, it is possible that they were at least officially inspired from Oxford.<sup>97</sup> Certainly Dorset's speech, whether genuine or not, entirely accorded with the opinions expressed in his correspondence. It consciously reacted against Bristol's speech 'in favour of the continuation of the present warre'. Building his extraordinary argument around the example of the Spanish monarchy, Bristol advised the King 'that he neither propound to the Parliament, or receive from them any Conditions for Peace, but such as shall absolutely comply with the Regall dignity and prerogative which God and succession hath allowed him'.<sup>98</sup> Dorset, in a characteristic response, emphatically disagreed. He saw Bristol's views as 'not orthodox, nor consonant to the disposicion of the Commonwealth, which, languishing with a tedious sicknesse, must be recovered by gentle and easie medicines, in consideration of its weaknesse, rather then by violent vomits or any other corroding or

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97. Two Speeches Spoken at the Councell Table at Oxford. The One, by the Right Honourable John, Earle of Bristoll ... The Other, by the Right Honourable Edward, Earle of Dorsett (London, 1643), Wing, D 1952; B.L., T.T., E 83/19. I am most grateful to Sheila Lambert for her advice on this pamphlet. I have not yet seen any evidence which proves conclusively whether these two speeches are genuine or not.

98. Ibid., pp. 1, 5.

compelling physicke'.<sup>99</sup> The remedy had to be chosen with great care. 'A speedy Accommodation' was essential,

peace, and that a sudden one, being so necessary betwixt His Majesty and His Parliament, as light is requisite for the production of the day, or heate to cherish from above all inferiour bodies. This division betwixt His Majesty and His Parliament being (as if by miracle) the Sun should be separated from his Beames, or divided from his proper Essence.<sup>100</sup>

Once again, Dorset saw conflict between King and Parliament as quite unnatural. Unlike Bristol and other Royalist hardliners, Dorset remained optimistic in his view of Parliament, and wished 'to reconcile all these differences between His Majesty and His Parliament; and so to reconcile them that they shall no way prejudice His Royall Prerogative, of which I beleieve the Parliament being a loyall Defendor ... will never endeavour to be an infringer'.<sup>101</sup> The royal prerogative and the privileges of Parliament were perfectly compatible. It is this principle, the foundation of Dorset's political theories and actions, which traditional views of him neglect. His whole political outlook was evoked in the final sentence of this speech, in which he begged the King to 'take some present order for a treaty of peace betwixt himself and his high Court of

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99. Ibid., p. 6.

100. Ibid., pp. 1, 6.

101. Ibid., p. 7.

Parliament, who, I beleeve, are so loyall and obedient to His sacred Majesty, that they will propound nothing that shall be prejudiciall to His Royall Prerogative, or repugnant to their fidelity or duty'.<sup>102</sup> An optimistic belief that King and Parliament could work harmoniously together lay behind Dorset's advice to Charles on 2 September 1640, and informed all his subsequent letters and actions.

These convictions enabled Dorset to combine loyal service to the King with an active involvement in peace negotiations, and this duality characterised his political behaviour between the spring of 1643 and the surrender of Oxford in June 1646. He continued to sit on the Privy Council, was appointed to the Council of War and various conciliar commissions, became Lord Chamberlain of the King's Household in January 1644, and attended the Oxford Parliament. Yet all the while, he maintained contacts among the Parliamentarian nobility and tirelessly promoted accommodation. By November 1645, Charles clearly equated this with treachery, and his stubbornness and duplicity ultimately thwarted all peace initiatives. Dorset, by contrast, perceived no incompatibility between holding office at Oxford and negotiating with Parliament. His

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102. Ibid., p. 8.

political activities in 1643-6 were thus wholly consistent with his earlier career.

Dorset apparently remained in Oxford throughout these years. Sir Samuel Luke received intelligence on 13 February 1643 that 'my Lord of Dorsett intends to march to Manchester to take that, [and] his day appointed to sett outt is Thursday',<sup>103</sup> yet Dorset was still 'at the Court at Oxford' on 22 February.<sup>104</sup> An indication of his continued importance lies in his appointment to the King's Council of War, which was certainly not automatic for Privy Councillors.<sup>105</sup> He was not, however, very active in this Council, and apparently attended only six of its fifty-four recorded meetings.<sup>106</sup> Probably more

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103. 'The Journal of Sir Samuel Luke', Vol. I, ed. I.G. Philip, Publ. Oxfordshire Record Society, XXIX (1947), 4.
  104. Bod. Lib., MS Clarendon 21 (Clarendon State Papers, March 1642 - March 1643), fol. 197r.
  105. For the appointment of the Royalist Council of War, see A Catalogue of the Moneys, Men and Horse already subscribed ... and undertaken for His Majestyes service (London, 1642), Wing, C 1385; B.L., T.T., 669. f. 6 (64). See also I. Roy, 'The Royalist Army in the First Civil War' (unpublished D.Phil. dissertation, University of Oxford, 1963), p. 55; idem, 'The Royalist Council of War, 1642-6', Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, XXXV (1962), 150-68, esp. 152-3.
  106. Dorset was present on 5, 14, 28 and 29 June, 8 July and 28 September 1643: B.L., Harl. MS 6852 (papers of the Royalist Council of War), fols. 75r, 85r, 92r, 95v, 117r, 182r.

time-consuming were the various royal commissions to which Dorset was named during the first Civil War. The most important in 1643 were those 'for executing the office of Treasurer' (7 March),<sup>107</sup> and for 'the safe guarding [of] the County, Cittie and Universitie of Oxford, for the borrowing, receiving, disposing and ordering of such money, plate, armes and ammunicon as his Ma[jes]ties good subiectes shall willingly give or lend, and for preventing of all inconveniences which might happen to his Ma[jes]tie or his army' (24 April).<sup>108</sup> On 7 January 1644, Dorset was among the commissioners appointed 'to take into their consideracon the repaying and finishing the fortificacons of the Cittie of Oxford and the storing the said Cittie with such a proporcon of victualls and other provisions as shalbe necessarie to be in readines for the garison of the same'.<sup>109</sup> A further hardening of Royalist war policy was evident in a commission of 9 February 1644 whereby Dorset and six others were required to find out which rebels

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107. P.R.O., C 231/3 (Crown Office Docquet Book, 1643-6), p. 6. This commission was renewed on 25 July: ibid., p. 29.

108. Ibid., p. 14. For Dorset as a signatory of orders by this commission, see B.R.O., Stephens MS, D/ESv(B)/F1 (letters and orders to Henry Stephens, Wagon-master General to the Royalist army, 1643-4), fols. 14r, 34r, 137r.

109. P.R.O., C 231/3, p. 62.

have any landes, tenementes or other hereditamentes, goodes, money, plate, cattell or chattells, or any debtes owing unto them within the severall Countyes of Ox[fordshire], Berk[shire] or Buck[inghamshire] or any of them, and to seize and sequester the same into the handes of fitt and able persons to be by them assigned and appointed ... And the moneys and profittes arising hereby to be paid into the Receipt of the Exchequer.<sup>110</sup>

Between 27 April 1644 and 23 February 1646, Dorset paid a total of £3,785 14s. 10d. into the Exchequer under the terms of this commission.<sup>111</sup> In short, while Dorset was not a major force in the King's Council of War, he was actively involved in several royal commissions during the first Civil War, handling such vital matters as the defence of Oxford and the raising of money.

In such activities, Dorset was motivated by an indestructible personal loyalty to his King and Queen. He expressed this particularly vividly in a letter to the Countess

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110. Ibid., p. 74. This commission was renewed on 14 May, and given full authority to compound with delinquents on 9 November: ibid., pp. 112, 114. For the role of this commission in the King's finances, see J. Engberg, 'Royalist Finances during the English Civil War, 1642-6', Scandinavian Economic History Review, XIV (1966), 73-96, esp. 92-4.

111. P.R.O., E 401/1928 (Exchequer of Receipt, Pells Receipt Book, 1643-5), unfol., 13, 20 April 1644, 29 March, 25 August, 27 September 1645, 23 February 1645/6; E 401/1929 (Exchequer of Receipt, Pells Issue Book, 1644), pp. 1, 7, 17, 20, 25, 29, 36.

of Middlesex shortly after Henrietta Maria's impeachment for high treason on 23 May 1643:

I shall nott shorten my dayes with sorow, butt hold outt as becomes a Christian man cherefully untill my conscience tells mee I have donn some base, uniust or dishonest action: I am noe whitt delected for beinge the servant of one thatt the wisdome (past all understandinge) of the Howses have thought advantageous to declare a traytress.<sup>112</sup>

Nevertheless, Parliament's action had very dangerous implications:

I beleeve itt is the first precedent of thatt kind ... The beginniges are very high and (in playne English) very scurvy, such as ingage a Kinge of France to revenge itt, if a Kinge of England cannott: certaynely all the free Princes in Christendome are engaged to vindicate this affront donn to Maiesty, by there owne subiects. If the people of England may use there heredetary souverayn thus rudely and sawcily, may nott those of France, Spayne, Germany expect like the like measure: the example is dangerous, and the punishment (if I bee nott deceaved) wilbee very deadly. Who now cann blame the Kinge if hee call in the great Turke, to ayde him agaynst Atheists, thatt would destroy him?<sup>113</sup>

To impeach the Queen was a wholly unacceptable blow to monarchy, yet, as we shall see, Dorset's condemnation of Parliament's decision did not impede his continuing quest for peace. While he feared the violent consequences of Henrietta

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112. K.A.O., Uncatalogued Cranfield Papers, Dorset to the Countess of Middlesex, 29 May 1643. For Parliament's impeachment of the Queen, see C.J., III, 98.

113. K.A.O., Uncatalogued Cranfield Papers, Dorset to the Countess of Middlesex, 29 May 1643.

Maria's impeachment, he did not - unlike some Royalist hardliners - actively try to bring them about.<sup>114</sup>

As in the past, Dorset reacted particularly strongly to attacks on the Queen.<sup>115</sup> He remained her loyal Lord Chamberlain, and accompanied Henrietta Maria when she entered Oxford on 15 July 1643.<sup>116</sup> Dorset's impeccable courtly credentials presumably explain why the King chose him to be Lord Chamberlain of the King's Household on 21 January 1644.<sup>117</sup> This appointment had been rumoured since the previous

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114. Cf. A. Sumner, 'The Political Career of Lord George Digby until the end of the First Civil War' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1985), esp. pp. 174-83.

115. See Chapter Three, above, p. 128, and Chapter Four, above, pp. 220-2.

116. Mercurius Aulicus, no. 28 (9-15 July 1643), p. 373 (S.T.C. (Newspapers), 275.128; B.L., T.T., E 62/3). See also Anthony Wood's History and Antiquities of the University of Oxford, ed. J. Gutch (2 vols. in 3, Oxford, 1792-6), II, 466.

117. The Life, Diary and Correspondence of Sir William Dugdale, ed. W. Hamper (London, 1827), p. 59. For other contemporary accounts, see P.R.O., SP 16/500/30 (John Jones to Lord Hopton, 1 February 1643/4); B.L., Add. MS 27962 K(i) (Salvetti Correspondence, Vol. X[i], 1642-4), fol. 222r-v; K.A.O., Sackville MS, U 269/C283/1 (John Jackman to the Countess of Bath, 24 January 1643/4). Henry Jermy replaced Dorset as Lord Chamberlain of the Queen's Household.

October,<sup>118</sup> but its precise timing probably owed much to a wish to dignify the Oxford Parliament, which opened the next day.<sup>119</sup> Dorset sat in this Parliament,<sup>120</sup> and signed its conciliatory letter to the Earl of Essex on 27 January.<sup>121</sup> Otherwise, there is little evidence that he was active in the assembly,<sup>122</sup> and his major contributions to the cause of peace were made elsewhere.

Where, then, does Dorset fit into factional groupings at Oxford? Twenty-five years ago, Ian Roy suggested that three groups had emerged by 1644: 'swordsmen', 'courtiers' and 'civilians'.<sup>123</sup> He argued that the consistent opponents of

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118. K.A.O., Sackville MS, U 269/C267/15 (Earl of Bath to the Countess of Bath, 4 October 1643).
119. Cf. Sumner, 'Digby', p. 218. See also J. Daly, 'The Implications of Royalist Politics, 1642-6', Historical Journal, XXVII (1984), 745-55, esp. 748.
120. A Catalogue of the Names of the Knights, Citizens and Burgesses that have served in the last four Parliaments (London, 1656), p. 20 (Wing, C 1394; B.L., T.T., E 1602/6). His absence was noted at Westminster on 22 January and 24 May 1644: L.J., VI, 388, 566.
121. H.M.C., Tenth Report, Part IV (London, 1885), 64-5.
122. Unfortunately, it is impossible to draw a firm conclusion because all the records of the Oxford Parliament were burnt before the city surrendered in June 1646: Dugdale's Diary, ed. Hamper, p. 87.
123. Roy, 'Royalist Army', pp. 78-85.

compromise included the Queen, Lord George Digby and John Ashburnham, although real power gradually passed to the 'swordsmen', led by Prince Rupert.<sup>124</sup> In 1981, Ronald Hutton modified this thesis by identifying the three main Royalist factions as moderates (led by Hertford, Southampton and Lindsey), 'ultra-Royalists' (especially Digby, Ashburnham, Henry Jermyn and Henry Percy), and a group of military hardliners around Prince Rupert.<sup>125</sup> Hutton believed that the repeated failure of peace negotiations undermined the moderate position, and gave the initiative to an 'ultra-Royalist axis' consisting of the second and third groups.<sup>126</sup> Five years ago, the late James Daly challenged these arguments, and suggested that factional divisions among Royalist leaders were never as clearly defined as Roy and Hutton implied.<sup>127</sup> Thus the moderate Earl of Lindsey was also a military commander, while a hardliner such as Digby did not necessarily oppose all negotiations.<sup>128</sup> Many of Daly's points are very telling, yet it is important to remember that the flexibility of individuals

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124. Ibid., pp. 86-96.

125. R. Hutton, 'The Structure of the Royalist Party, 1642-6', Historical Journal, XXIV (1981), 553-69, especially 554-7, 562-3.

126. Ibid., 562-3.

127. Daly, 'Implications', especially 745-52.

128. Ibid., 747, 751. Daly's points about Digby are borne out by Sumner, 'Digby', especially 185-90.

need not preclude the existence of distinct and separable attitudes towards the conduct of the war. In particular, leading Royalists clearly differed over how far to persist in seeking an accommodation with Parliament. It may well be that Digby only became an 'ultra-Royalist' after Naseby;<sup>129</sup> yet this contrasts dramatically with the attitude of Dorset, who became increasingly desperate for a settlement in 1645-6.<sup>130</sup> While some Royalists adapted their strategies, Dorset was distinguished by his unswerving commitment to peace.

Between mid-1644 and the regicide, this commitment frequently led Dorset to collaborate with four other moderate Royalist peers, all of them Privy Councillors and Court officials: James Stuart, third Duke of Richmond, Privy Councillor from 1633 and Lord Steward of the Household from December 1641;<sup>131</sup> William Seymour, second Earl of Hertford, Dorset's brother-in-law, Privy Councillor from 1641 and Groom

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129. Sumner, 'Digby', 390-3.

130. See below, pp. 387-92.

131. Complete Peerage, X, 832-3. See also P.R.O., SP 16/486/29 (Thomas Wiseman to Sir John Pennington, 9 December 1641); SP 16/486/93 (Sir Francis Windebanke to Thomas Windebanke, 24 December 1641).

of the Stole from January 1644;<sup>132</sup> Thomas Wriothsesley, fifth Earl of Southampton, Gentleman of the Bedchamber and Privy Councillor from January 1642, with whom Dorset had already acted in August 1642;<sup>133</sup> and Montagu Bertie, second Earl of Lindsey, Privy Councillor and Gentleman of the Bedchamber from 1643.<sup>134</sup> These four peers exactly shared Dorset's perspective on the war. All four were among the King's commissioners at both Uxbridge and Newport.<sup>135</sup> Yet they combined a longing for peace with enduring loyalty to the Crown: at the King's funeral on 8 February 1649, Richmond, Southampton, Hertford and Lindsey accompanied the coffin.<sup>136</sup> Their common values made these peers Dorset's natural political allies, and on several key occasions he co-operated with them in the quest for reconciliation.

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132. Complete Peerage, VI, 507-8. See also Dugdale's Diary, ed. Hamper, p. 59; K.A.O., Sackville MS, U 269/C283/1; Longleat House, Wiltshire, Seymour Papers, Box II (miscellaneous deeds and legal papers, 1553-1620), fols. 161r-192v.

133. Complete Peerage, XII, 131-3. See also P.R.O., SP 16/488/27 (Thomas Wiseman to Sir John Pennington, 6 January 1641/2).

134. Complete Peerage, VIII, 19-20. See also P.R.O., SP 16/498/81 (Secretary Nicholas to Sir Thomas Roe, 27 December 1643).

135. L.J., VII, 150; X, 484.

136. Clarendon's History, Book XI, 244.

Yet there were also times when Dorset appears to have acted independently in trying to maintain contacts with leading Parliamentarians. For example, on 10 October 1643 he wrote warmly to Lord Howard of Escrick:

While your nobleness of disposition makes you persevere in obliging, my gratitude must nott permitt mee to bee silent in the acknowledgment of these. My wife hath donn mee and her selfe the right of imparting to mee how readily uppon all occasions you appeare my frend: I beseeche you beleeve, I have a hart whose pulse beates strongly, to deserve of you: lett mee att any time know the particular wherein you hold mee capable to serve you, and then you shall find you have nott sowne curtesyes in a barren soyle.<sup>137</sup>

The kindnesses referred to are obscure, but Dorset's goodwill might have owed something to the fact that he and Lord Howard of Escrick were cousins.<sup>138</sup> More significantly, during the summer of 1644 there were signs of further communication between Dorset and Essex. On 2 June, Essex reported to Lord Grey of Warke, Speaker of the House of Lords, that he had 'been

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137. H.L.R.O., Nalson MS, Vol. III (Xerox copy of MS held in the Bod. Lib.), fol. 47r.

138. Both were grandsons of Thomas Howard, fourth Duke of Norfolk: Complete Peerage, IV, 423; VI, 586. Parliament found few more consistent supporters among the nobility than Lord Howard of Escrick. He delivered Parliament's answer concerning Hull to the King at York in May 1642: P.R.O., SP 16/490/34 (Lord Howard of Escrick to Lord Keeper Littleton, 9 May 1642). By 22 January 1644, he was one of the hard core of twenty-two peers still at Westminster: L.J., VI, 387. See also Clarendon's History, Book VII, 375. On 5 May 1649 he was admitted to the House of Commons as M.P. for Carlisle: C.J., VI, 201.

informed that my Lord Viscount Conway did give notice, in a letter to the Earl of Dorset at Oxford, of [Lord Chandos'] intention to come away [to Parliament]'.<sup>139</sup> There is no evidence that this letter had been intercepted, and it therefore seems likely that Dorset permitted the contents to be leaked to Essex. A Lords committee was appointed 'to examine the Lord Viscount Conway presently'.<sup>140</sup> Conway admitted that he had 'writ a merry letter to the Earl of Dorset', but insisted that 'he had no knowledge of my Lord Chandos' coming'.<sup>141</sup> The committee examined Lord Chandos on 15 June. He told them that,

walking in the garden with the Earls of Lyndsey and of Dorset, the Earl of Dorset demanded of him, "whether he had delivered up his commission?" The Lord Chandos answered "He had". The Earl of Dorset replied, "I hear you are going to the Parliament". He said, "He intended no such thing". "Yes", said the Earl of Dorset, "I hear so from London". The Earl of Lyndsey after told the Lord Chandos "That my Lord of Dorset said, he had it from my Lord Conway".<sup>142</sup>

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139. L.J., VI, 577.

140. Ibid. Lord Conway had joined Parliament the previous April: P.R.O., SP 16/501/71 (Earl of Denbigh to the Committee of Both Kingdoms, 13 April 1644). See also H.L.R.O., MP, 17 May 1644 (petition of Lord Conway to the House of Lords).

141. L.J., VI, 578.

142. Ibid., 592.

Chandos asserted 'that he never imparted his resolution to any at Oxford, or to any other that was likely to inform the Lord Conway of it'.<sup>143</sup> Whatever the source, Dorset's information was quite correct. By 10 June, Essex had granted Chandos 'a passe to come from Oxford, who accordingly upon the first opportunity came to the Lord Generall att Islip who received him into his protection, and gave him a passe to repaire to London'.<sup>144</sup> The role of Lord Conway in these events is unclear. But the identity of Dorset's source matters less than the fact that he was well informed about Lord Chandos' movements, and appears to have shared this intelligence with Essex.

Towards the end of 1644, Dorset co-operated very closely with Richmond, Southampton, Hertford and Lindsey in promoting peace negotiations at Uxbridge. On 30 November, Denzil Holles reported to the Commons that the Parliamentarian and Scottish

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143. Ibid.

144. H.L.R.O., MP, 10 June 1644 (petition of Lord Chandos to the House of Lords). The exact date of Chandos' departure from Oxford is difficult to establish. Sir Edward Walker wrote that 'a little before' 8 June, Chandos, 'carried away with some needless discontent had quitted his commands, and under the pretence of going to travel went unto the rebels': E. Walker, Historical Discourses (London, 1705), p. 22. See also Clarendon's History, Book VIII, 54.

commissioners had attended Charles at Oxford, and that 'on Wednesday the twenty-seventh of this month, in the evening, the Earl of Dorset sent a gentleman to us, to let us know that His Majesty was resolved upon his answer'.<sup>145</sup> The King affirmed his desire for 'settling a happy peace in this distracted kingdom', and requested that 'a safe conduct may be presently sent for the Duke of Richmond and the Earl of Southampton with their attendants to bring up His Majesty's said answer' to London.<sup>146</sup> Parliament agreed to these terms on 3 December.<sup>147</sup> The French ambassador, Sabran, reported on 12 December 'que sa Majesté Brittanique demandoit sauf conduit pour le Duc de Richmond, le Comte de Southampton et le Comte de Dorset, et leur suite, à Messieurs du Parlement'.<sup>148</sup> There is apparently no other evidence that Dorset was included in the King's request, and on 17 December Richmond and Southampton came to Parliament alone.<sup>149</sup> Nevertheless, Dorset had delivered the message seeking safe conduct for his two allies, and was thus associated with the delegation calling on Parliament to appoint

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145. C.J., III, 710.

146. Ibid.

147. Ibid., 712.

148. P.R.O., PRO 31/3/75, fol. 239v.

149. L.J., VII, 103; C.J., III, 726. See also P.R.O., PRO 31/3/75, fol. 259r.

peace commissioners.<sup>150</sup> Unlike Richmond, Southampton, Hertford and Lindsey, Dorset was not present at Uxbridge,<sup>151</sup> but he was actively involved in the preliminary negotiations.

It is not clear why Dorset did not attend the Uxbridge talks, but their collapse in late February 1645 left him increasingly pessimistic about the chances of settlement. Sabran reported on 30 March that Richmond and Dorset believed 'l'estat de ces affaires' to be 'très périlleuse'.<sup>152</sup> Dorset's growing desperation was plainly visible in a letter to the Countess of Middlesex dated 22 May 1645, offering his condolences on the Earl's death:

Truly, hee might have binn ill spared, butt thatt the Omnipotent and Omniscient God, in his secret iudgment, resolvv a plauge uppon this ungratefull land, and soe prepares the way, by taking away sowles soe able by there providence and prudences to prevent such ensuing mischeefes, as the folly of raw and ignorant heads plunge this nation in; butt whatt avayles all this: Gods will must bee done.<sup>153</sup>

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150. Parliament accepted this proposal on 20 December: C.J., III, 731.

151. L.J., VII, 150. See also B.L., Egerton MS 2978, fol. 146r.

152. P.R.O., PRO 31/3/76, fol. 134v.

153. K.A.O., Uncatalogued Cranfield Papers, Dorset to the Countess of Middlesex, 22 May 1645. In fact Dorset had been misinformed. The Earl of Middlesex did not die until 5 August 1645: see M. Prestwich, Cranfield: Politics and Profits under the Early Stuarts (Oxford, 1966), p. 583.

It seems that Dorset's opinion of Parliamentary troops had also deteriorated. He warned the Countess not to bury her husband in Gloucester Cathedral:

I am douptfull whether the Parleмент forces (thatt now domineere in thatt towne) would nott use him as scurvily now (if itt weere in there powers) as there masters did, when hee was alive. Itt is very much to bee doupted, for some of there prime commanders have exumated and offered outrage to those bodyes who weere dissolved to dust in there urnes, many ages past. To conclude, I beseeche your La[dyshi]p pardon mee if I wright in soe melancholy a stile. Wee live in sad times.<sup>154</sup>

The destructiveness of civil war, and the repeated failure of peace negotiations made Dorset increasingly weary and despondent.

Yet Dorset never wavered in his determination to serve the King. Writing to the Countess of Middlesex a few weeks later he declared: 'I thank God, my conscience wittneseth unto mee, thatt in followinge my King, my master, my benefactor, I doe nothing butt whatt I am obliged to doe in honor, duty, piety

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154. K.A.O., Uncatalogued Cranfield Papers, Dorset to the Countess of Middlesex, 22 May 1645. Parliamentary forces had held Gloucester since 8 September 1643: see S.R. Gardiner, History of the Great Civil War, 1642-9 (4 vols., London, 1894), I, 206. For Middlesex's sufferings during the Civil War, see Prestwich, Cranfield, pp. 567-90. Middlesex was buried in Westminster Abbey: ibid., p. 583.

and gratitude'.<sup>155</sup> While Dorset did not 'censure ... those thatt have the warrant from there owne breasts to bee of an other opinion', he spoke darkly of 'those heavy sufferings thatt are menaced to such as transgress thatt commandement Touch nott mine annoynted'.<sup>156</sup> This phrase surely tells us much about the mainsprings of Dorset's Royalist allegiance. Whatever his private reservations about Charles' political judgement, Dorset's reverence for his anointed sovereign remained undiminished.

There is evidence, however, that during 1645 the King came to equate Dorset's steadfast commitment to peace with disloyalty. On 31 March, Dorset was required to take the oath of allegiance.<sup>157</sup> Eight weeks later, on 9 June, Charles complained to Sir Edward Nicholas that he had received a letter 'from all my commissioners [for the defence of Oxford] except Southampton and Dorset, by which I perceave they were not so

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155. K.A.O., Uncatalogued Cranfield Papers, Dorset to the Countess of Middlesex, [?] June-July 1645. This letter is undated. Dorset's reference to the 'happy delivery' of Lady Buckhurst's child indicates that it was written in June or July 1645: see C.J. Phillips, A History of the Sackville Family (2 vols., London, 1930), I, facing 426.

156. K.A.O., Uncatalogued Cranfield Papers, Dorset to the Countess of Middlesex, [?] June-July 1645.

157. B.L., Harl. MS 6852, fol. 263r.

much stressed by the siege [of Oxford] as the rest'.<sup>158</sup> In fact, Dorset's letters to the Countess of Middlesex reveal both his fidelity to the Crown and his deep distress at the course of the war, yet the King's hyper-suspicious temperament saw disaffection in even his most faithful supporters. The most spectacular instance of this came in November 1645 when Dorset welcomed Charles to Oxford. In the words of the French agent Montreuil, 'après que le Comte de Dorset ... eut témoigné au roi de la Grande Bretagne la joie qu'ils devaient tous avoir de sa venue, et cela par un discours plein de tendresse, ce Prince luy répondit froidement qu'il avait la voix de Jacob, mais qu'il avait les mains d'Esau'.<sup>159</sup> By early December Dorset and his moderate allies were considering drastic action to bring Charles to terms. The Countess of Devonshire informed Montreuil that

les Comtes de Dorset, Southampton, Her[t]ford et Lindsay eurent représenté premièrement en particulier au roi de la Grande Bretagne, et ensuite dans son conseil, le misérable état où ils se voyaient réduits par la continuation de la guerre, et le peu d'apparence qu'il y avait qu'ils en puissent sortir que par un accommodement, et qu'ils eurent essayé de porter le roy à le vouloir faire.<sup>160</sup>

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158. The Diary and Correspondence of John Evelyn, ed. W. Bray (London, 1906), p. 801. For Dorset's appointment to the commission for the defence of Oxford, see above, p. 375.

159. 'The Diplomatic Correspondence of Jean de Montereul', ed. J.G. Fotheringham, Publ. Scottish Record Society, XXIX-XXX (1898-9), I, 57.

160. Ibid., 70-1.

But the King reacted violently, 'jusques à leur dire qu'il prendrait sa couronne sur sa tête, et qu'il se la conserverait avec son épée, si celles de ses amis lui manquaient'.<sup>161</sup> The peers therefore sent a message to London

sans la participation de ce Prince ... pour offrir au Parlement de le lui livrer, pourvu qu'ils puissent par cette action obtenir une absolution générale, et rentrer dans leurs biens, ce qu'on m'a assuré que le Parlement, c'est à dire les plus puissants, à qui ils se sont adressés, leur ont accordé depuis cinq ou six jours. Ils couvrent même, à ce qu'on me dit, cette action d'une voile honnête, et disent qu'ils prennent soin de la conservation de la personne et de l'honneur de leur roy, quand ils le trahissent, parce qu'ils prétendent qu'il est plus avantageux d'avoir été forcé par les siens à se soumettre à ses ennemis, que de l'avoir fait volontairement.<sup>162</sup>

The King learnt of this from Sir William Vavasour, and on 5 December wrote to Parliament offering to open negotiations.<sup>163</sup> But the Houses declined, 'finding that former treaties have been made use of by Your Majesty for other ends under the pretence of peace'.<sup>164</sup> So ended another attempt to bring King and Parliament to terms, and on 10 January 1646 Charles embarked on talks with the Scots which culminated in his

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161. Ibid.

162. Ibid.

163. Ibid. For the King's letter, see P.R.O., SP 16/511/87 (Charles I to the Speaker of the House of Lords, 5 December 1645). See also L.J., VIII, 31.

164. L.J., VIII, 36.

surrender at Newark five months later.<sup>165</sup> Back in Oxford, the King's Privy Councillors, including Dorset, declared themselves empowered to treat with Parliament on 15 May.<sup>166</sup> Articles of capitulation were signed on 20 June, and the formal surrender took place four days later.<sup>167</sup> Sir Thomas Fairfax gave Dorset a pass 'to repaire unto London or elsewhere upon his necessary occasions ... and to have full liberty at any time within six months to goe to any convenient port, and to transport him selfe ... beyond the seas'.<sup>168</sup> With the surrender of Oxford, the first Civil War was concluded and the peace for which Dorset longed was temporarily restored.

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165. For the background to this, see Gardiner, History of the Great Civil War, III, 96-103.
166. Dugdale's Diary, ed. Hamper, p. 87. The Privy Councillors were increasingly fearful that the garrison would rise against them: for Dorset's signature on an order of 28 May forbidding all violence on pain of death, see Bod. Lib., MS Add. D 114 (papers relating to the siege of Oxford), fol. 138r.
167. For the Oxford articles of surrender, see P.R.O., SP 16/514/27. Also A Full and True Relation of the Several Actions and Particulars of what was taken and done in Oxford (London, 1646), Wing, F 2330; B.L., T.T., E 342/9.
168. B.L., Add. MS 32093 (Malet Collection of autograph letters, 1625-60), fol. 233r. Dorset apparently returned to his house in London, and never left England: see L.J., VIII, 615.

Dorset lived on for another six years, but apparently took little part in public affairs. As an epilogue to this discussion it is, however, worth mentioning two further occasions when Dorset collaborated with his moderate friends, Richmond, Southampton, Hertford and Lindsey. First, on 7 October 1647, these five peers arrived at Hampton Court following the King's summons to act 'as his privy counsellors'.<sup>169</sup> It seems that the army leaders permitted this hoping that the peers would persuade Charles to accept the Heads of the Proposals: 'great was the expectation ... upon their arrivall ... that they came to perswade or mediate with His Majestie to passe the propositions'.<sup>170</sup> But 'the generall expectation in these particulars [proved] fruitlesse', for the King stubbornly refused to accept the proposals.<sup>171</sup> The infuriated army leaders therefore 'declared against' the peers' staying any longer, and they left Hampton Court on 9 October.<sup>172</sup> This episode demonstrates that just as a group of peers stood behind the drafting of the Heads of the

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169. Perfect Occurrences of Every Dayes Iournall in Parliament, no. 41 (8-15 October 1647), sig. R1 (S.T.C. (Newspapers), 465.5041; B.L., T.T., E 518/44). A Perfect Diurnall of some Passages in Parliament, no. 219 (4-11 October 1647), p. 1764 (S.T.C. (Newspapers), 504.219; B.L., T.T., E 518/43).

170. A Perfect Diurnall, no. 219, p. 1764.

171. Ibid.

172. Ibid. See also Bulstrode Whitelocke, Memorials of the English Affairs, (New edition, London, 1732), p. 273.

Proposals,<sup>173</sup> so a familiar cluster of moderate Royalist peers vainly tried to secure Charles' consent to them.

Dorset faded out of high politics during 1648: he played no part in the second Civil War, and unlike his four regular allies he did not attend the Newport negotiations.<sup>174</sup> Yet, in the wake of Pride's Purge, and with the King now on trial for his life, our five peers embarked on an eleventh hour attempt to save him. On 12 January 1649, John Lawrans reported to Secretary Nicholas:

It is said that the Duke of Richmond, Marquis Hertford, Dorset and divers others of the King's party, have sent to the Councill of the Army to engage both their persons and estates that the King shall performe whatsoever he yeilds unto. And the speech goes that they were to be at Whitehall as this day about the same business.<sup>175</sup>

The French agent, Grignon, wrote that the peers were duly received, 'mais plustost suivant la coustume de Cromwell qui ne veut refuser d'entendre aucune proposition, que pour leur

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173. See J.S.A. Adamson, 'The English Nobility and the Projected Settlement of 1647', Historical Journal, XXX (1987), 567-602, passim.

174. L.J., X, 484.

175. Bod. Lib., MS Clarendon 34 (Clarendon State Papers, December 1648 - March 1649), fol. 74r. The 'divers others of the King's party' included Southampton and Lindsey: H.M.C., Fifteenth Report, Part II (London, 1897), 111.

donner satisfaction'.<sup>176</sup> Indeed, they must have known that their chances of success were virtually nil:

Quand les Principaux du Conseil de Guerre ne se seroient pas laissé entendre qu'ils sont résolus au refus, on n'auroit pas pour cela plus de subiet de s'en promettre quelque succes en l'estat que sont les affaires: et il est à croire que ces Seigneurs l'ont bien jugé ainsy, mais qu'ils ont mieux aimé tenter une chose qui ne devoit point réussir, que de manquer en ceste rencontre, à quelque témoignage de leur affection envers leur Roy.<sup>177</sup>

That 'affection' had proved indestructible. In a last gesture of feudal loyalty, Richmond, Southampton, Hertford and Lindsey bore the King's coffin to its grave on 8 February 1649.<sup>178</sup> Dorset was not present. The legend that 'after the barbarous murder of the King his master [he] never stirred out of his house',<sup>179</sup> becomes all the more plausible when we remember his earlier warnings against touching God's anointed.<sup>180</sup> The regicide marked the end of Dorset's political career.

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176. P.R.O., PRO 31/3/89, fol. 77v.

177. Ibid. When Lord Craven heard of the failure of this initiative, he declared of Charles I 'c'est fait pour luy': H.M.C., Fifteenth Report, Part II, 111.

178. Clarendon's History, Book XI, 244.

179. See Sir Edward Walker's 'Behaviour of those Noblemen who were Knights of the Garter during the Civil War': B.L., Stowe MS 580, fol. 30v.

180. See above, p. 389.

What general conclusions are we to draw from this chapter? First, an analysis of Dorset's political activities in 1640-6 lends support to recent arguments that the political importance of the peerage was considerably greater in early seventeenth century England than has been recognised.<sup>181</sup> Virtually all Dorset's surviving correspondence and political dealings were with other peers or peeresses. His closest confidante throughout these years remained the Countess of Middlesex. He also maintained contacts with Parliamentary peers, especially the Earl of Essex, while at Oxford he collaborated with other moderate nobles such as the Duke of Richmond and the Earls of Southampton, Hertford and Lindsey. It was peers who led the King's commission to Parliament in August 1642. It was two peers - Essex and Dorset - who mediated between the two sides in September and October 1642. Peers played a crucial role in setting up the Treaty of Uxbridge and in promoting the Heads of the Proposals. That these negotiations failed does not gainsay the decisive significance of political relationships

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181. See, in particular, J.S.A. Adamson, 'The Peerage in Politics, 1645-9' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1986); idem, 'The Vindiciae Veritatis and the Political Creed of Viscount Saye and Sele', Historical Research, LX (1987), 45-63; idem, 'The English Nobility and the Projected Settlement of 1647'; P. Christianson, 'The Peers, the People and Parliamentary Management in the First Six Months of the Long Parliament', Journal of Modern History, XLIX (1977), 575-99; and S. Lambert, 'The Opening of the Long Parliament', Historical Journal, XXVII (1984), 265-87. Cf. the Introduction, above, pp. 2-4.

within the peerage. Bonds between peers almost succeeded in containing the rift between King and Parliament and bringing the first Civil War to an early conclusion. But at every turn, peace initiatives were hamstrung by the King. An examination of Dorset's career thus tends to confirm the low estimation of Charles I which appears in much recent work.<sup>182</sup> Throughout the 1640's, Dorset's attempts at accommodation were thwarted by the King's refusal to compromise. The subsequent collapse of the Stuart monarchy confirmed Dorset's worst fears that royal intransigence would prove counter-productive. In the end, it became impossible to protect Charles from the consequences of his own stubbornness and duplicity. For Dorset, by contrast, there was no inherent reason why King and Parliament could not work harmoniously together. Underpinning all Dorset's political actions and all his correspondence in 1640-1646 was an unshakeable belief in the compatibility of royal and parliamentary powers. He attacked anything which impaired good relations between Crown and Parliament, anything which tended to enhance one at the expense of the other. This cut both ways. It explains Dorset's hostility to the act preventing the dissolution of the Long Parliament without its own consent,

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182. The vastness of this area precludes detailed references. But for plentiful new evidence of Charles I's appalling record of intransigence and inconstancy as a negotiator in 1647-8, see A. Woolrych, Soldiers and Statesmen (Oxford, 1987), passim.

dissolution of the Long Parliament without its own consent, which he saw as an encroachment on the King's prerogative of calling and dissolving Parliament whenever he wished. It also explains Dorset's attack on the London mob in November 1641, for the demonstrators were seeking to exclude the lords spiritual, and thus posed a direct threat to the existing structure of the Upper House. But equally, when royal intransigence threatened to destabilise the polity, Dorset was quite prepared to make himself unpopular with the King by urging him to call a Parliament, as in September 1640, or to moderate his peace terms, as during the first Civil War. At Oxford, Dorset combined loyal service to the Crown with a relentless search for peace, recognising no incompatibility between the two. This duality is the key to an understanding of Dorset's political career during these years. 'Unity', Professor Russell has written, 'was the great obsession of seventeenth century politicians'.<sup>183</sup> Vita Sackville-West was surely correct to portray Dorset as a man of his times. But it is as an archetypal advocate of unity and moderation, rather than as 'the embodiment of Cavalier romance', that we should remember him.

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183. C. Russell, 'The Theory of Treason in the Trial of Strafford', English Historical Review, LXXX (1965), 30-50, at 31-2.

CHAPTER SEVEN: 'THE EXPERIENCE OF DEFEAT', 1642-1652.

The title of this chapter is deliberately ironic. Christopher Hill's book<sup>1</sup> examines how the radicals of the 1640's adapted their beliefs as they tried to cope with the disillusionments of the Interregnum and Restoration. Dorset, by contrast, was neither a radical nor an adaptor. We saw in the previous chapter that he remained committed to the ideal of a balanced constitution, where the interests of Crown and people were naturally symbiotic, even when this put him on the losing side and alienated him from Charles I. I now want to analyse the material hardships through which this ideological commitment was sustained. What was the physical cost of Dorset's Royalist allegiance? This chapter will examine how his property suffered in turn at the hands of Parliamentary soldiers (August 1642); of the Committee for the Advance of Money (1644-5); of the Committee for Sequestrations (1643-6); and of the Committee for Compounding (1646-50). I will try to assess the nature and scale of the damage done, and the conditions which limited it. The impact of these Parliamentary finance committees varied greatly. We will see, first, that levies by the Committee for the Advance of

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1. C. Hill, The Experience of Defeat: Milton and Some Contemporaries (London, 1984).

Money were very unimpressive, and that Dorset had little to fear from its slow and cumbersome machinery. The Sequestration Committees, at both central and local levels, were much more effective and inflicted considerable hardship on many 'delinquents'. Dorset was apparently helped by two strokes of good fortune: he had a sympathetic friend (Sir Thomas Pelham) on the Sussex County Committee; and his wife remained in London under Parliament's aegis as governess to the King's two youngest children. As a result, there is little evidence that sequestrators distrained Dorset's tenants, or leased his lands, or sold his goods. In September 1646 Dorset begged to compound for his estates, and thereafter his fine was steadily reduced until eventually it stood at a mere £775. Dorset's difficulties in paying even this sum bear out Sir John Habakkuk's general argument that composition fines were only an intolerable burden where the compounder was already penurious. With his estates shrunken and encumbered with debts since the 1620's, Dorset was unable to secure his discharge until June 1650. In the last part of this chapter I will show how Dorset's financial anxieties continued until his death, primarily because the second Earl of Middlesex refused to maintain payments towards the marriage portion of Frances Cranfield, Lady Buckhurst. Dorset died, impoverished and dispirited, on 17 July 1652. But I will not conclude on this pessimistic note. The third Earl of Middlesex died childless in 1674 and left his entire estate to Dorset's grandson. The Cranfield connection which had caused Dorset so much heartache

ultimately yielded a bequest which would relieve the Sackvilles of financial worries for several generations.

The earliest damage to Dorset's property because of his Royalist allegiance came during Colonel Sandys' raid on Knole on 14 August 1642. This was not confined to the seizure of five wagon-loads of arms described in Chapter Five.<sup>2</sup> A list of 'the hurtes done at Knoll House ... by the companie of horsemen brought by Colonell Sandes'<sup>3</sup> shows that the troops searched the mansion thoroughly and indulged in some gratuitous violence. The breaking open of 'above fortie stock lockes and plate lockes' and of 'six trunckes in one of [which] was money' was probably done in search of arms, but we also find, less excusably, that 'there is of gold branches belonging to the cooch in the rich gallerie as much cutt awaie as will not be made good for 40<sup>li</sup>', and that 'they have spoyled in the painters chamber his oyle and other wronges there to the valew of 40<sup>li</sup>'.<sup>4</sup> Such acts, like Oliver Cromwell's seizure of the Cambridge plate, show that some Parliamentary activists

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2. See Chapter Five, above, pp. 328-31.

3. K.A.O., Sackville MS, U 269/E15 (account of damage at Knole, 14 August 1642).

4. Ibid. See also Edward Reed's account in B.L., Add. MS 64923 (Coke Papers, Vol. LIV, 1642-4), fol. 27v.

believed they could legitimately raid Royalist property (not just arms) even before the King raised his standard on 22 August.

Once the Civil War had formally begun, Parliament levied money through 'a series of central finance committees ... each responsible for raising particular rates but not for spending them'. Each 'worked through committees established in every county'.<sup>5</sup> The earliest of these was the Committee for the Advance of Money, appointed on 26 November 1642.<sup>6</sup> This committee was to raise money from all those who refused to lend voluntarily to Parliament in 1642-3, assessed at the rate of one-twentieth of the real and one-fifth of the personal estate.<sup>7</sup> Initially assessment was confined to those resident within twenty miles of London,<sup>8</sup> but on 5 June 1644 Dorset was assessed at £5,000.<sup>9</sup> Such assessments were 'often so much too

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5. J.S. Morrill, The Revolt of the Provinces: Conservatives and Radicals in the English Civil War, 1630-1660 (Longman edition, London, 1980), p. 55.
  6. C.C.A.M., I, vi.
  7. Ibid., vii. See also Morrill, Revolt, p. 56; G.E. Aylmer, The State's Servants: The Civil Service of the English Republic, 1649-1660 (London, 1973), pp. 10, 12.
  8. C.C.A.M., I, vii.
  9. P.R.O., SP 19/65/64 (assessments by the Committee for the Advance of Money, May-October 1646).

high that instances of their payment in full are extremely rare'.<sup>10</sup> Where payments were not made within ten days, orders were issued for the seizure and sale of the goods, houses and lands of the person concerned.<sup>11</sup> Yet it took the Committee nearly six weeks, until 12 July, to order 'that Tho[mas] Jarvis do seize and inventory all goods and estate of the Lo[rd] of Dorsett'.<sup>12</sup> This would have been an impossibly large task, involving seven different counties,<sup>13</sup> and on 10 February 1645 the Committee ordered 'that Mr Jarvis do inventory the goods of the Lo[rd] Dorsett in Dorsett House and show the same to this Committee that so further order may be taken herein'.<sup>14</sup> That is the last we hear of Dorset's case. There is no sign that any of the £5,000 was ever paid to the Committee's Treasurer in

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10. C.C.A.M., I, vii. The surveys made in 1646 for the Committee for Compounding (P.R.O., SP 23/193/245-51 [Committee for Compounding papers, 1646]) suggest that Dorset's assessment was among those set 'much too high'. His annual income from land barely exceeded £3,200.
  11. C.C.A.M., I, viii.
  12. P.R.O., SP 19/3/176 (Committee for the Advance of Money Order Book, 1644-5).
  13. Dorset held property in Kent, Sussex, Middlesex, Herefordshire, Worcestershire, Staffordshire and Derbyshire: P.R.O., SP 23/193/245-51.
  14. P.R.O., SP 19/4/36 (Committee for the Advance of Money Order Book, 1645-6).

the Haberdashers' Hall.<sup>15</sup> The Committee's collectors appear never to have visited any of Dorset's property to seize or sequester lands or goods.<sup>16</sup> In some cases where the estates had been sequestered, local assessors seized rents or goods which the county committee then paid to the Treasurer in the Haberdashers' Hall. For example, on 4 July 1645 the sum of £50 was paid towards the Dowager Countess of Thanet's assessment on a certificate from the Kent County Committee.<sup>17</sup> There is not a shred of evidence that such payments were ever made out of Dorset's property. Yet equally, the sum of £5,000 is not included among the arrears due on assessments laid between 24 June 1643 and 1 July 1644.<sup>18</sup> Nor does Dorset appear on the Act of General Pardon discharging those whose assessments were

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15. The 'paid' column for Dorset's case is blank in P.R.O., SP 19/65/64. Similarly, there are no receipts towards his assessment in SP 19/26 and SP 19/40-2 (Committee for the Advance of Money Receipt Books, 1643-7). See also SP 19/60 (Committee for the Advance of Money, index of persons advancing money, 1645-54).
  16. P.R.O., SP 19/58 (Committee for the Advance of Money, list of collectors' journeys, 1643-50).
  17. P.R.O., SP 19/42, unfol., 4 July 1645.
  18. P.R.O., SP 19/74 (Committee for the Advance of Money, accounts of arrears, 1643-7), unfol., C 64. The six sections of these accounts refer to the Committee's assessment books A to F, which may now be found as SP 19/61, 63, 65, 67, 69 and 71 respectively. Dorset's assessment, listed in SP 19/65/64, should thus have appeared under C 64 had it still been unpaid, but there is no trace of it.

still unpaid in the early 1650's.<sup>19</sup> Sometimes the assessment was lifted where the person's estates were under sequestration for delinquency,<sup>20</sup> but this was apparently not the case with Dorset. Now, had any of the assessment been paid, this fact would surely have been recorded. In the absence of evidence to the contrary, we must assume that the case was allowed to lapse and that the Committee made no attempt to raise Dorset's assessment. From 10 February 1645 the case was 'in limbo', awaiting a 'further order' which never came. That this could happen helps to explain the 'dismal failure'<sup>21</sup> of the Committee for the Advance of Money: of assessments laid between 24 June 1643 and 1 July 1644 only one seventh (£260,306 14s. 5d.) had

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19. P.R.O., SP 19/45 (Committee for the Advance of Money, list of persons discharged under the Act of General Pardon, 1652-6).

20. C.C.A.M., I, ix.

21. J.S. Morrill, Cheshire 1630-1660: County Government and Society during the English Revolution (Oxford, 1974), p. 103.

been paid by 20 February 1647, leaving £1,413,299 4s. 11d. in arrears.<sup>22</sup>

The second of Parliament's central finance committees was that for the sequestration of delinquents' property, established by the ordinances of 27 March and 18 August 1643.<sup>23</sup> As one who had contributed horse 'towards the maintenance of ... forces raised against the Parliament', Dorset was liable to have his 'estates as well reall as personall ... seized and sequestred'.<sup>24</sup> This was to be implemented by committees of

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22. C.C.A.M., I, vii, xxiii. Mrs Green derived this figure from P.R.O., SP 19/74. For instances of the Committee's failure in particular counties, see Morrill, Cheshire, pp. 102-3; A. Everitt, The Community of Kent and the Great Rebellion, 1640-60 (Leicester, 1966), pp. 156-7. See also R. Ashton, 'From Cavalier to Roundhead Tyranny', in Reactions to the English Civil War, 1642-1649, ed. J.S. Morrill (London, 1982), p. 194. One other possible explanation for this Committee's apparent leniency towards Dorset may lie in the fact that his cousin and friend, Lord Howard of Escrick, was its chairman. See Chapter Six, above, p. 383. For Lord Howard as chairman, see, for example, SP 19/1/1 (Committee for the Advance of Money Order Book, 1642-3); SP 19/80/229 (General Papers of the Committee for the Advance of Money, 1643). But there is no firm evidence that Lord Howard pulled strings on Dorset's behalf, and this theory must therefore remain highly speculative.
23. These two ordinances are printed in A.O., I, 106-117, 254-61.
24. Ibid., I, 106-7. For Dorset's engagement to provide the King with sixty horse, see Chapter Six, above, p. 354.

sequestrators nominated for each county.<sup>25</sup> These were empowered to receive rents, distrain tenants, lease demesne lands and sell goods.<sup>26</sup> At all times, however, overall control remained with the Committee for Sequestrations sitting in the Guildhall, and ultimately with the two Houses of Parliament.

This machinery worked extremely slowly: as Professor Everitt has remarked, 'the mountains laboured and brought forth a fiscal mouse'.<sup>27</sup> Dorset's experience appears to support this argument. In Herefordshire, rents totalling £28 were seized from his lands, but none of his property was sold.<sup>28</sup> There are no references to him in the sequestration accounts for Derbyshire, Staffordshire and Worcestershire, although this could of course reflect the incompleteness of the surviving records. More surprisingly, there is no evidence in the sequestrators' accounts for Kent or Sussex that any of his

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25. A.O., I, 110-117.

26. Ibid., I, 107-110, 256-60.

27. Everitt, Community of Kent, p. 160.

28. B.L., Add. MS 5494 (accounts and papers relating to sequestered estates, 1642-8), fol. 126v. For the limited profits from sequestrations in Herefordshire, see Add. MS 5491 (letters and accounts of Committees for Sequestrations), fol. 144r.

lands were leased to new tenants or his goods sold off.<sup>29</sup> The Kent County Committee sat at Knole between late 1643 and October 1644<sup>30</sup> but, apart from the felling of timber so widespread in Kent, the house and demesne lands emerged largely unscathed.<sup>31</sup> Only exceptionally do we find orders such as that in November 1643, when the Kent County Committee instructed the sequestrators to raise £221 from rents and stock in Dorset's

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29. P.R.O., SP 28/209A (Derbyshire sequestration accounts), unfol.; SP 28/214 (Staffordshire and Sussex sequestration accounts), unfol.; SP 28/216 (Worcestershire sequestration accounts), unfol. For Kent and Sussex, see SP 28/210 (Kent sequestration accounts), unfol.; SP 28/214, unfol. See also the sections relating to these counties in B.L., Add. MSS 5494 and 5508 (accounts and papers relating to sequestered estates, 1642-8).
30. Everitt, Community of Kent, pp. 130-1. For letters and orders issued by the Kent County Committee from Knole in 1644 see, for example, P.R.O., SP 16/501/43 (order by Kent County Committee, 23 March 1643/4); SP 16/501/106 (Kent County Committee to the Committee of Both Kingdoms, 6 May 1644); SP 28/235 (papers of Kent County Committee), unfol.; SP 28/255 (Committee for the Accounts of the Kingdom, miscellaneous papers), unfol.; B.L., Stowe MS 184 (miscellaneous historical collections), fols. 61r-105v.
31. P.R.O., SP 28/130 (accounts of commissary of Kent), unfol. Cf. Everitt, Community of Kent, pp. 166-7. The felling of timber was a very widespread drain on Royalists' estates: see P.H. Hardacre, The Royalists during the Puritan Revolution (The Hague, 1956), p. 24. It was especially severe in Kent and Sussex for the common English oak (quercus robur) attained exceptional quality in the moderate climate of these counties, and was prized for ship construction as well as fuel: R.G. Albion, Forests and Sea Power (Cambridge, Mass., 1926), p. 17. See also below, p. 447. Dorset's losses were apparently less severe than those of Sir Roger Twysden: see F.W. Jessup, Sir Roger Twysden, 1597-1672 (London, 1965), pp. 69-81.

manor of Eltham.<sup>32</sup> In Sussex, the sequestrators concentrated their energies in the Rape of Chichester, and Dorset's property in the Rapes of Lewes, Pevensey and Hastings seems to have escaped their attention.<sup>33</sup> The lacunae in these sources prevent any firm conclusions. But it is nevertheless possible to suggest two reasons why local sequestrators, particularly in Sussex, appear to have treated Dorset so leniently.

To explain the first, we need to return briefly to August 1632, when a wild member of the Sussex gentry, Thomas Lunsford, ambushed Sir Thomas Pelham and his wife on their way to church at East Hoathly. This attack apparently originated in territorial disputes between the two families. Although 'no one was seriously hurt', 'the incident reverberated for years' and helps to explain Parliament's alarm when Lunsford was appointed Lieutenant of the Tower of London in 1641.<sup>34</sup> Pelham,

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32. P.R.O., SP 28/234 (papers of Kent County Committee), unfol.

33. Fletcher, A County Community in Peace and War: Sussex 1600-1660 (London, 1975), p. 330. For the sequestration accounts for the Rapes of Lewes, Pevensey and Hastings, containing no references to Dorset's property, see P.R.O., SP 28/214, unfol.

34. See Fletcher, Sussex, pp. 54-5.

a Deputy Lieutenant of Sussex and one of Dorset's lessees,<sup>35</sup> appealed to the Earl, who promised 'to right your reputation and secure your person agaynst thatt yong outtlaw Mr Lunsford who nether feares God nor man, and who havinge given himselfe over unto all lewdness and dissoluteness only studyes to affront iustice'.<sup>36</sup> Pelham gratefully acknowledged Dorset's help: 'I cannot hereby express howmuch I finde my self bound to your L[or]d[shi]p for your noble care of my safety, good advice and directions in this business'.<sup>37</sup> Dorset was present in Star Chamber on 11 October 1637 when Pelham was awarded £3,000 in damages and Lunsford fined £5,000.<sup>38</sup> The previous year, Dorset had renewed Pelham's commission as a Deputy Lieutenant of Sussex.<sup>39</sup> The grateful Pelham later hung a portrait of Dorset in his long gallery at Halland Place.<sup>40</sup> In the Civil War,

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35. K.A.O., Sackville MS, U 269/A1/8 (Edward Lyndsey's accounts for discharging the third Earl of Dorset's debts, 1625-8), unfol., 13 February, 2 March 1626/7. See also Chapter Five, above, pp. 266-7.
36. B.L., Add. MS 5682 (Collections relating to Sussex), fol. 278r-v.
37. B.L., Add. MS 5702 (Collections relating to Sussex), fol. 60r.
38. P.R.O., PC 2/48 (Privy Council Register), p. 284; SP 16/345/24 (cases to be heard in Star Chamber, 27 January 1636/7); SP 16/369/58 (Secretary Windebanke's notes of proceedings in Star Chamber, 11 October 1637).
39. B.L., Add. Charter 29276 (commission to Sir Thomas Pelham as Deputy Lieutenant of Sussex, 19 February 1635/6).
40. B.L., Add. MS 33145 (account book of Sir Thomas Pelham), fol. 142v.

Pelham, sponsor of the Sussex root-and-branch petition, was appointed to the County and Sequestration Committees for Sussex.<sup>41</sup> Yet he never forgot how much he owed to the Sackvilles. On 19 April 1644 we find him lending £100 to Lord Buckhurst.<sup>42</sup> Three months later, on 19 July, he suspended the distraint of Dorset's tenants:

being desireous to give your honor satisfaccon as farr as our trust will permitt, wee have ordered that your tennants shall not be molested for non payment of their rents for three weeks next from this day within which tyme wee hope your honor will procure the busines to be determined in the House.<sup>43</sup>

'The busines' (which will be discussed below) evidently took longer than three weeks, but there is no sign that Dorset's tenants were subsequently molested. This was one of 'several occasions' on which Pelham 'played a mediatory role between the fiery spirits on the Committee and the fellow magnates whose interests he sought to protect'.<sup>44</sup> The fact that he was

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41. Fletcher, Sussex, p. 93; A.O., I, 116. For the link between the promotion of county root-and-branch petitions and Parliamentary allegiance, see J.S. Morrill, 'The Religious Context of the English Civil War', Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, Fifth Series, XXXIV (1984), 155-78, esp. 177.
42. K.A.O., Sackville MS, U 269/A4/1 (accounts of Richard, Lord Buckhurst, 1641-53), unfol., 19 April 1644.
43. K.A.O., Sackville MS, U 269/C7/2 (Sir Thomas Pelham to Dorset, 19 July 1644).
44. Fletcher, Sussex, p. 283.

already a lessee of Dorset's may well explain why the Committee apparently did not bother to make new arrangements. It was Dorset's great good fortune to possess such an influential friend among the Sussex Parliamentarians.

His second stroke of luck was that the Countess of Dorset remained at St James' Palace as governess to the Duke of Gloucester and the Princess Elizabeth.<sup>45</sup> This position secured her a maintenance well beyond the fifth part automatically granted to wives and children of delinquents.<sup>46</sup> Whether this was a deliberate strategy by the Earl and Countess remains

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45. This appointment was confirmed on 28 July 1643 by the Commons and on 29 July by the Lords: C.J., III, 186-7; L.J., VI, 154. See also H.L.R.O., MP, 28 July 1643, fol. 174r (draft appointment of Countess of Dorset); B.L., Add. MS 31116 (Diary of Laurence Whitaker, 1642-7), fol. 66v.

46. A.O., I, 258. See also Hardacre, Royalists during the Puritan Revolution, p. 19.

unclear,<sup>47</sup> but it undoubtedly helped to safeguard the family's estates. Dorset House, as 'the Countess of Dorset's London House', had already been protected 'from plundering' on 6 May 1643.<sup>48</sup> On 17 May 1644, the Lords heard a petition from the Countess of Dorset 'desiring that the sequestration of lands in Sussex may be taken off, out of which she is to have maintenance'.<sup>49</sup> This was 'the busines' to which Sir Thomas Pelham referred in his letter of 19 July. The Lords sent the petition to the Commons, where (after a series of reminders) it was finally read on 21 August.<sup>50</sup> The Commons referred it to the Committee for the King's Revenue and then, on 18 March 1645, to the Committee for the King's Children.<sup>51</sup> In the

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47. It is just possible that collusion between the couple explains the Countess of Dorset's application in May 1643 for 'a passe for Mr Belcam, Robert Beckerton and Richard Fulger with a coach and fouer horses and their conveniences to goe to Oxford, who are willinge to bee searched before they goe if itt bee desired': H.L.R.O., MP, [?] May 1643 (application by Countess of Dorset). This request was granted, but thereafter Parliament proscribed such contact between London and Oxford. On 30 October 1643 the Commons ordered the Countess 'not to permit the Lady Stafford, the Lady May and the Lady Gray, now coming from Oxon., to come into St James', to be received or to stay there, but that [she] do presently send them back to Oxon.': C.J., III, 293.

48. L.J., VI, 33. This order explains why there is no reference to Dorset House in the Middlesex sequestration accounts: P.R.O., SP 28/212, unfol.

49. L.J., VI, 556.

50. C.J., III, 498, 560, 576, 600.

51. C.J., III, 600; IV, 82.

meantime, sequestration of goods at Dorset House was again stayed.<sup>52</sup> On 14 April 1645 the Committee for the King's Children reported to the Lords, conceiving it

fitting that the Countesse of Dorsett in consideracon of hir service to his Ma[jes]t[ie]s children the Duke of Gloucester and Princesse Elizabeth, and for hir future maintenance, shall enjoy the Earle of Dorsetts estate in the Countie of Sussex ... provided that if it appeare the profitts of the said lands doe exceed the summe of six hundred pounds per ann[um] then the overplus thereof shall bee paid to the use of the Parliament.

The Countess was also to enjoy Dorset House and Knole and the goods in them.<sup>53</sup> Since the total income from Dorset's Sussex estates was around £2,000 per annum,<sup>54</sup> this was clearly a discretionary grant, well above the mandatory fifth. Such an arrangement, whereby a Royalist's estates were safeguarded by his wife's employment under Parliament's aegis, appears to have been unique.

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52. L.J., VII, 160; C.J., IV, 34.

53. L.J., VII, 317. For the MS report, see H.L.R.O., MP, 14 April 1645, fol. 87r (order by Committee for the King's Children). See also H.L.R.O., Nalson MS, Vol. XIV (Xerox copy of MS held in the Bod. Lib.), fol. 52r.

54. P.R.O., SP 23/193/245-7.

Unfortunately, the Countess of Dorset died on 16 May 1645.<sup>55</sup> The Commons ordered that £600 'be paid out of the arrears of the Earl of Dorset's estate in Sussex' for her funeral in Westminster Abbey.<sup>56</sup> Her death left Dorset's estates exposed to the full force of the sequestration ordinances. Dorset's eldest son, Richard Sackville, Lord Buckhurst immediately petitioned the Lords 'that the goods at Knoll House, in Kent, might not be disposed of, but respited for a time'.<sup>57</sup> Buckhurst was then aged twenty-three, and his activities during the early years of the first Civil War are very obscure. He had been briefly imprisoned after the battle of Turnham Green in November 1642. On 5 February 1644 he was disabled as an M.P. for being 'in the King's quarters', yet there is no evidence that he sat in the Oxford Parliament.<sup>58</sup> His political stance is difficult to reconstruct. At any rate, the Lords heard his petition on 3 November 1645 and referred it

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55. L.J., VII, 380; C.J., IV, 146.

56. C.J., IV, 211, 227.

57. L.J., VII, 675.

58. For Buckhurst's imprisonment after Turnham Green, see Chapter Four, above, pp. 248-9. For his disablement, see C.J., III, 389. It is uncertain whether or not such references to an M.P.'s being 'in the King's quarters' were merely formulae. A full list of the members of the Oxford Parliament may be found in A Catalogue of the Names of the Knights, Citizens and Burgesses that have served in the last four Parliaments (London, 1656), pp. 20-5 (Wing, C 1394; B.L., T.T., E 1602/6).

to the Commons, who resolved 'that the Lord Buckhurst shall have allowed unto him, for his subsistence, the fifth part of the Earl of Dorsett's estate in the Parliament's possession, and Dorsett House in Salisbury Court to live in; and it is further ordered that it be referred to the Committee of Lords and Commons for Sequestrations to set out and proportion the said fifth part accordingly'.<sup>59</sup> On 12 November, the Committee for Sequestrations 'ordered that a fifth parte of the Earle of Dorsetts estate in the severall counties where the same is sequestred be allowed to the ... Lord Buckhurst for his maintenance' and instructed the sequestration committees in each county to allocate this.<sup>60</sup> The Committee clearly intended this to become a standard case of sequestration, with one-fifth of the estates reserved for the delinquent's eldest son.

The problem, however, was that these estates had been earmarked for the maintenance of the Countess of Dorset, who was not a delinquent. Lord Buckhurst was therefore able to argue that the normal rules did not apply, and so on 21 November the Committee for Sequestrations ordered an investigation of what lands and goods belonged to 'the late

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59. L.J., VII, 675; C.J., IV, 331.

60. P.R.O., SP 20/1 (Committee for Sequestrations Order Book, 1643-5), p. 1092.

Countess of Dorsett deceased, and by which title she held and enjoyed the same as her owne and which were the goods of the Earle of Dorsett and truly the particulars thereof and the whole state of the case'. In the meantime, all the property was to 'remaine secured without sale or other disposall'.<sup>61</sup> Notwithstanding, on 22 January 1646 the Commons 'ordered that two-thirds of the goods and estate of the Earle of Dorsett, not exceeding the sum of £500, now at Knolle in the County of Kent ... shall be employed for the use of the garrison at Dover Castle, towards the pay of their arrears'.<sup>62</sup> Buckhurst appealed to the Lords, who heard his petition on 13 February and referred it to the Commons, who promised to 'send answer by messengers of their own'.<sup>63</sup> Until then, the Committee for Sequestrations periodically extended the protection of Buckhurst's goods from 'sale and disposall'.<sup>64</sup> There is no evidence that the Commons ever heard Buckhurst's petition: it apparently disappeared under the mountain of business facing the Lower House. In any case, the petition's contents were

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61. P.R.O., SP 20/2 (Committee for Sequestrations Order Book, 1645-6), fol. 1r.

62. C.J., IV, 415.

63. L.J., VIII, 163; C.J., IV, 441.

64. For the orders issued on 23 January, 11 April, 1 May, 5 June, 25 September and 23 December 1646, see P.R.O., SP 20/2, fols. 63v, 135r, 150v, 172v, 270r; SP 20/3 (Committee for Sequestrations Order Book, 1646-7), fol. 32v.

superseded by Dorset's request to compound for his estates on 24 September 1646.

Thanks above all to Sir Thomas Pelham's help and to the peculiar circumstances of the Countess of Dorset, the Sackville properties had suffered relatively little damage as a result of Parliament's sequestration ordinances. There is only one clear instance of Dorset's goods being sold, and that was inadvertent. The Kent Sequestration Committee acted quickly to implement the Commons' order of 22 January 1646 that two-thirds of the goods at Knole be sold off,<sup>65</sup> and claimed that the goods were 'disposed of ... before they received the order' of the Committee for Sequestrations staying sale.<sup>66</sup> The central Committee immediately ordered the Kent sequestrators to allow Lord Buckhurst 'the vallue of the said fifth parte or of soe much thereof as is soe disposed of out of the money and profitts ariseing out of other sequestrations of the said county of Kent; and the said committee are required to see the

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65. See above, p. 417.

66. P.R.O., SP 20/2, fol. 166v. It is not entirely clear which order staying sale was referred to. It was probably that issued on 23 January 1646 (SP 20/2, fol. 63v), although this would mean that the Kent sequestrators acted with uncharacteristic dispatch: cf. Everitt, Community of Kent, pp. 160-1. For inventories relating to these sales, see K.A.O., Sackville MS, U 269/010/1-2.

same performed accordingly with all speed'.<sup>67</sup> The Committee for Sequestrations at the Guildhall could thus protect delinquents from the rapacity of county sequestrators.<sup>68</sup>

There is no evidence that the Sussex sequestrators leased any of the Sackville estates between the Countess of Dorset's death in May 1645 and Dorset's request to compound sixteen months later. Yet her death did loosen the family's grasp on these lands. On 19 May 1646 the Committee for His Majesty's Revenue, learning that Dorset owed the King £1,520 16s. 9d. in fee farm rents on some of his Sussex property, especially the manor of Ringmer, ordered that the auditor and receiver for Sussex should 'seize upon and receive all and singular the revenues of the said Earle in the said county' due at or before

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67. P.R.O., SP 20/2, fol. 166v.

68. Cf. Hardacre, Royalists during the Puritan Revolution, pp. 28-9.

25 March following.<sup>69</sup> 'A fifth parte of the halfe yeares rents' due by 25 March was to be paid to Lord Buckhurst under the Commons' order of 3 November 1645.<sup>70</sup> Then, on 17 May 1646, an agreement was reached between the Committee for His Majesty's Revenue and four members of the Sussex County Committee (Anthony Stapley, Sir Thomas Parker, Henry Shelley and Hall Ravenscroft) whereby Lord Buckhurst was to 'farme all the Earle of Dorsett his estate within the Countie of Sussex; and to have his fifth parte'.<sup>71</sup> Though their Sussex estates were still intact, the Sackvilles' ability to derive benefit from them was thus reduced after the Countess' death. Dorset's growing poverty is clear from a letter to the Royalist sympathiser Sir Thomas Wilson of Eastbourne Place, dated 30 July 1646:

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69. K.A.O., Sackville MS, U 269/08/3A (copies of orders by the Committee for His Majesty's Revenue). The committee was working on information provided by the auditor for Sussex, Philip Darrell. For Darrell's own source, see P.R.O., SP 46/82/239 (John Billingsley to Philip Darrell, 30 April 1644). Parliament regarded fee farm rents as Crown property and sold them off after the regicide. Those for the manor of Ringmer were sold on 10 October 1650: P.R.O., E 315/137 (particulars and certificates of sale of fee farm rents, 1650), fol. 45r; E 315/140 (accounts of sales of fee farm rents, 1650-1), fol. 53v; SP 28/286 (orders and papers of trustees for sale of fee farm rents, 1649-58), unfol., Part III.
70. K.A.O., Sackville MS, U 269/08/3A. L.J., VII, 675; C.J., IV, 331.
71. K.A.O., Sackville MS, U 269/08/3B (copies of orders by the Committee for His Majesty's Revenue).

My request is, that when wheatears are best, you would for the short time they last now and then oblige mee with some of them. I would not bee a beggar, as poore as I am, if they weare provisions to be bought for money in these parts; but, since you are thereabouts a great, if not sole master of them, I am very willing to be beholdinge to you.<sup>72</sup>

We do not know whether Dorset got his wheatears. By this time, however, a new opportunity lay open to him in the form of the Oxford Articles, offering favourable composition rates to all those present at the surrender on 24 June 1646.<sup>73</sup>

Parliament's introduction of compositions was motivated by the relative failure of sequestrations. The basic principle, that a repentant delinquent could regain his estates on payment of a fine, emerged in the summer of 1644 but was only codified in August 1645.<sup>74</sup> The system proved immensely lucrative: in all, 'about 3,225 persons compounded for their delinquency' and

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72. R.W. Blencowe, 'Paxhill and its neighbourhood', Sussex Archaeological Collections, XI (1859), 1-49, at 33-4. Edward Burton, rector of Westham and Dorset's 'old friend', told his daughter that before the surrender of Oxford 'at a dinner given by the Earl of Dorset to the King and the Duke of York, they had eaten twenty dozen wheatears': ibid., 32, n. 1. Wheatears were clearly a speciality at Dorset's table.
73. For Dorset's presence at the surrender of Oxford, see Chapter Six, above, p. 392.
74. C.C.C., I, v-vii. See also Morrill, Cheshire, p. 203; Everitt, Community of Kent, p. 161; Hardacre, Royalists during the Puritan Revolution, pp. 20-1.

their composition fines totalled £1,286,203.<sup>75</sup> Now, 'in many instances of surrender of towns or garrisons on Articles of War, these Articles stipulated the rates to be paid on composition by the surrenderers, which were always below the usual rates'.<sup>76</sup> The Oxford Articles granted those who surrendered the right to compound for their estates at the lowest possible rate, one-tenth.<sup>77</sup> Article Thirteen stated that 'the Lords, Gentlemen and Officers, clergymen, citizens etc. may have liberty to compound for their estates, and not to exceed two years of their revenue, they observing all ordinances of Parliament', while Article Fifteen allowed them 'six moneths to endeavour composition for their estates'.<sup>78</sup> Delinquents who compounded at one-tenth 'paid at the rate of twenty years' purchase, or two years' value of their estates'. Until the surrender, Dorset's attendance at the Oxford Parliament would have forced him to compound at the much higher

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75. H.J. Habakkuk, 'Landowners and the Civil War', Economic History Review, Second Series, XVIII (1965), 130-51, esp. 147, 150.

76. C.C.C., V, xvi.

77. For a detailed account of the development of the composition system, see ibid., I, v-xxiv.

78. Oxford agreed to be surrendered to Sir Thomas Fairfax (London, 1646), sig. A4 (Wing, R 76; B.L., T.T., E 341/9). In the draft articles among the Main Papers of the House of Lords, these two articles were fused into Article Eleven: H.L.R.O., MP, 20 June 1646, fols. 1r-8v (draft articles for the surrender of Oxford). See also C.J., IV, 585.

rate of one-third;<sup>79</sup> thereafter, he was eligible to compound on the most lenient terms.

The standard procedure for composition may be divided into four stages.<sup>80</sup> First, the intending compounder submitted a petition to the Committee for Compounding at Goldsmiths' Hall stating the nature and extent of his delinquency. This was 'accompanied by particulars of his estate, which were to be entered into a book and signed by himself, and certificates of his having taken the National Covenant and the Negative Oath, or Oath of Abjuration'. A report on these papers was then drawn up, and the fine was set. Fines were paid in two halves, or 'moieties'. Once the first 'moiety' had been paid, the sequestration of the compounder's estates was lifted and he was then entitled to launch appeals. Finally, the second 'moiety' was to be paid within three months, on pain of re-sequestration. In practice, however, this payment was commonly delayed for several years. Although no two composition cases

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79. C.C.C., V, x. For Dorset's attendance at the Oxford Parliament, see Chapter Six, above, p. 379. For the penalty, see C.C.C., I, vii. This was not quite as draconian as it sounds, for those who compounded at one-third had their estates assessed at only fifteen years' purchase: ibid., V, x.

80. The information in this paragraph is derived from ibid., V, v-xlii, especially ix-x.

were identical, most nevertheless conformed to these basic rules. By contrast, Dorset's composition deviated in several important respects from the normal pattern.

On 24 September 1646, the Committee for Compounding received a petition from Dorset showing

that having voluntarily left his usuall place of habitacon he hath resided at Oxford and other places within His Ma[jes]t[ie]s quarters, and hath adhered to His Ma[jes]t[ie]s [cause] during this unhappy warre, and was at Oxford at the surrender thereof, and is comprised within the articles then made. That his estate being sequestered for his delinquency against the Parliament, he humblie prayes that he may be admitted to a favourable composition for the same according to the sayd articles.<sup>81</sup>

The Committee suspended Dorset's sequestration on 5 November<sup>82</sup>

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81. P.R.O., SP 23/193/236 (Committee for Compounding, particulars of estates and fines, 1646). See also SP 23/3/245 (Committee for Compounding Order Book, 1645-7); SP 23/50 (Committee for Compounding, alphabetical list of compounders, 1645-8), unfol., no. 1055.
82. P.R.O., SP 23/247/68 (proceedings of Committee for Compounding, 1647-8). It is unclear whether or not Dorset had taken the National Covenant and the Negative Oath. He 'praye[d] to be spared upon the articles of Oxford': SP 23/193/209. In fact the Oxford Articles gave no exemption from these oaths, as was confirmed by the Commons' order of 28 July: see the sources cited in n. 78, above; and C.J., IV, 628. I have found no evidence that Dorset was excused, yet equally there is no proof that he took the oaths. The fact that they were virtually never waived makes it probable that he did, but this is not certain.

and on 21 November referred the case to a sub-committee.<sup>83</sup> Dorset's estates were surveyed and on 7 December his fine was fixed at £4,220.<sup>84</sup> Dorset was not allowed to compound for his offices of Master of the Game of Ashdown Forest, High Steward of Great Yarmouth and High Steward of Barnstaple: this was standard practice, motivated by Parliament's wish to remove delinquents from office permanently.<sup>85</sup> The composition fine also excluded the three parks of Eltham, which Dorset held in reversion, but not 'the herbage and pannage of those parks' which he held on lease from the Crown.<sup>86</sup>

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83. P.R.O., SP 23/193/236.

84. P.R.O., SP 23/193/209-211. For the surveys of Dorset's estates, see also SP 23/193/245-251. For certificates of the income from particular manors, see SP 23/193/231 (Ringmer) and 239 (Croxhall). Dorset's gross annual income was apparently £3,253 13s. 11d. A fine at one-tenth would theoretically stand at double this, i.e. £6,508 7s. 10d. The charges on the estate totalled £2,285, reducing the fine to £4,223 7s. 10d., then fixed at the nearest round sum of £4,220.

85. P.R.O., SP 23/193/209-211. The annual income from these offices was £13 13s. 4d., £4 and £10 respectively: SP 23/193/248-249.

86. P.R.O., SP 23/193/209-211. The Committee confirmed this exception on 14 April 1647: SP 23/4/70 (Committee for Compounding Order Book, 1647-8). It was to cause problems later on: see below, pp. 434-6.

Dorset later claimed that 'he dealt candidly with the Committee [for Compounding], not omitting nor undervaluing any parte of his estate'.<sup>87</sup> How far are we to believe him? It was, of course, quite common for composition fines to be based on deliberate undervaluation or concealment of property. This was especially likely 'in counties where the royal influence was still strong'.<sup>88</sup> Dorset's estates, however, were nearly all in counties dominated by highly effective Parliamentary county committees - Kent, Sussex, Staffordshire<sup>89</sup> - and this makes it unlikely that his income was dramatically undervalued.<sup>90</sup> Moreover, there were no subsequent cases of informers bringing concealments to light. Dorset's composition papers contain no petitions from aggrieved creditors, lessees or mortgagees: he was never one of the 'numerous delinquents' forced to rectify their earlier statements.<sup>91</sup> Another common device employed to protect Royalists was the vesting of property in trusts. Dorset certainly claimed to derive an annual income of £1,462 3s. from Sussex estates conveyed to

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87. P.R.O., SP 23/193/223.

88. C.C.C., V, xxvii.

89. Everitt, Community of Kent, pp. 126-85; Fletcher, Sussex, pp. 325-39; The Committee at Stafford, 1643-1645, ed. D.H. Pennington and I.A. Roots (Manchester, 1957), xi-lxxxiii.

90. See Habakkuk, 'Landowners and the Civil War', 135-6.

91. C.C.C., I, xvi; V, xxvii-xxviii.

trustees for the use of the third Earl of Dorset's widow during her lifetime, with the fourth Earl holding the reversionary interest.<sup>92</sup> But it was because this was an estate held in reversion, rather than because it had been conveyed to trustees, that Dorset was able to secure a large reduction in his fine. On balance, the evidence suggests that Dorset's 'true and full particular of [his] reall and personall estate'<sup>93</sup> was truer and fuller than many others.

On 5 January 1647 Dorset again petitioned the Committee for Compounding, this time complaining that his fine of £4,220 'did exceed the rule by which others did compound, his bare estate for life beinge charged therein as inheritance, and an estate for his life, after a life as an estate for life in beinge, hee prayeth the same may be reviewed, and his composicon perfected'.<sup>94</sup> This petition was referred to a sub-committee.<sup>95</sup> After some postponements<sup>96</sup> the case was heard on 25 March and Dorset's composition fine was reduced to

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92. P.R.O., SP 23/193/248.

93. P.R.O., SP 23/193/251.

94. P.R.O., SP 23/193/228.

95. Ibid.

96. P.R.O., SP 23/4/34, 44.

£2,415.<sup>97</sup> The Committee waived Dorset's fine for those Sussex estates which he held in reversion after the death of his brother's widow (principally Swanburrow and Hangleton) yielding £1,462 3s. per annum, and for three other Sussex manors (Bexhill, Cowding and Heathfield) held in reversion after the deaths of Henry and Thomas Sackville, yielding £383 18s. per annum.<sup>98</sup> The reduced sum of £2,415 was among the lower fines charged on Royalist peers and may be contrasted with Lord Deincourt's fine of £18,287,<sup>99</sup> or Lord Belasyse's of £10,360,<sup>100</sup> or the Earl of Thanet's of £9,000.<sup>101</sup>

But Dorset's fine, though relatively small, still had to be paid. He therefore turned to the Parliamentarian second Earl of Middlesex whose sister Frances Cranfield had married

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97. P.R.O., SP 23/4/52. See also SP 23/232/200 (Committee for Compounding, details of composition cases, July-September 1646). For the Committee's attitude to reversionary interests in general, see C.C.C., V, xxviii.
98. P.R.O., SP 23/193/248. See also the Marchioness of Hertford's account: Longleat House, Wiltshire, Seymour Papers, Vol. VI, fol. 55r (Marchioness of Hertford to Marquess of Hertford, 30 September 1647).
99. E.L. Klotz and G. Davies, 'The Wealth of Royalist Peers and Baronets during the Puritan Revolution', English Historical Review, LVIII (1943), 217-19, at 218.
100. Ibid.
101. C.C.C., V, xi.

Lord Buckhurst in January 1641.<sup>102</sup> The Sackville-Cranfield marriage agreement had set Frances' portion at £10,000.<sup>103</sup> Of this, £6,000 had been paid by the start of 1647, and Dorset agreed to forgo the remaining £4,000 (together with the arrears of interest on the whole £10,000) for the next two years, in return for an immediate payment of £2,000.<sup>104</sup> On 31 January 1647 Dorset asked Middlesex to 'remember the £2,000 ready money for to free mee outt of purgatory in Goldsmiths Hall, or when I have compow[n]ded as I now spedily will: beg you my fine'.<sup>105</sup> Four days later, with growing urgency, he wrote:

Once more I pray my Lord think of furnishing mee with the present £2,000, by which way and means you please soe itt may bee spedily, for thatt must bee the foundation whereon I must beginn to build my owne freedome and your sisters future happynes, soe as heereafter they may live like themselvs, and you bee comforted in seeing them contentedly provided for.<sup>106</sup>

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102. See Chapter Six, above, pp. 358-9.

103. K.A.O., Sackville MS, U 269/E298/1 (marriage agreement, 5 January 1640/1).

104. K.A.O., Sackville MS, U 269/E298/2 (acknowledgement by Dorset and Lord and Lady Buckhurst, 1647). For the earlier payments, see also U 269/A390/1 (Cranfield accounts, 1640-1) and U 269/A394 (Cranfield accounts, 1628-45).

105. K.A.O., Sackville MS, U 269/C248, unfol. (Dorset to the second Earl of Middlesex, 31 January 1646/7).

106. K.A.O., Sackville MS, U 269/C248, unfol. (Dorset to the second Earl of Middlesex, 4 February 1646/7).

Middlesex, who was present in the Committee for Compounding on the day it reduced Dorset's fine to £2,415,<sup>107</sup> duly obliged. On 8 April Richard Rosseter, one of Dorset's staff 'thatt is alwayes resident att Dorsett Howse',<sup>108</sup> received from 'William Kimbold, servant of the Earle of Middlesex the sum of eightheene hundred pounds sealed up in bagges for the use of the Earle of Dorsett'.<sup>109</sup> The remaining £200 followed on 15 May<sup>110</sup> and on 30 July Dorset wrote gratefully that

I have receaved thatt transaction from your Lo[rdshi]p which I desired, for which I returne your Lo[rdshi]p very hartly thanks, and shall uppon all occasions nott only publish your noble and punctuall dealing heerein, butt bee ready to deserve itt of you in obeying all commands. I shall att any time have the honor to receive from you.<sup>111</sup>

That a Royalist compounder received assistance from a member of the Parliamentarian Committee for Compounding strikingly illustrates how family ties within the peerage could override

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107. P.R.O., SP 23/4/52.

108. K.A.O., Sackville MS, U 269/C248, unfol. (Dorset to the second Earl of Middlesex, 1 August 1647). Richard Rosseter was among the most loyal of the Sackvilles' servants and had been in their employment for about forty years: U 269/C4/1 (Richard Rosseter to 'Mr Downes', [?] 1607).

109. K.A.O., Sackville MS, U 269/A490 (general bills of the second Earl of Middlesex, 1645-51), unfol., 8 April 1647.

110. Ibid., 15 May 1647.

111. K.A.O., Sackville MS, U 269/C248, unfol. (Dorset to the second Earl of Middlesex, 30 July 1647).

formal allegiance.<sup>112</sup> Middlesex's payment of £2,000 would surely have equipped Dorset to end his 'purgatory in Goldsmiths Hall'.

Yet there is no sign that Dorset used the £2,000 for this purpose. His personal accounts for these years apparently do not survive, and it is therefore impossible to tell precisely how the money was spent. What is clear is that Dorset did not pay his composition fine in the usual first and second 'moieties'. Instead, he resorted to the very common expedient of settling inappropriate rectories to secure a further reduction in the fine. The Committee ruled that a compounder 'should have his fine reduced by about £100 for each £10 a year allowed out of his estate to ministers'.<sup>113</sup> The results could be dramatic: for example, the settlement of impropriations brought Sir Henry Frederick Thynne's fine down from £7,160 to £3,554.<sup>114</sup> Proportionally, Dorset benefited to an even greater

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112. Cf. J.S.A. Adamson, 'The Peerage in Politics, 1645-9' (unpublished Ph.D dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1986), pp. 192-3, 245.

113. C.C.C., V, xxiv.

114. Ibid., V, xxv. Cf. the Cheshire cases discussed in Morrill, Cheshire, p. 206, and the Northamptonshire cases in Habakkuk, 'Landowners and the Civil War', 133-4. See also Hardacre, Royalists during the Puritan Revolution, pp. 29-30. For a list of 378 payments to plundered ministers made out of delinquents' estates in 1652-5, see P.R.O., SP 23/22.

degree. On 22 November 1647 the Committee for Compounding ordered

that if his Lo[rdshi]p [the Earl of Dorset] and the Lord Buckhurst do settle the presentacon of the ... viccaridge [of St Dunstan's-in-the-West, London] and the impropriacon upon Mr Francis Allen and Mr Scott or such as they shall name for maintenance of a ministry in the said parish for ever, his Lo[rdshi]p shalbee allowed in lieu thereof 800<sup>li</sup> out of his fine. And for that his Lo[rdshi]p doth here declare that hee is also willing to part with the tythes and impropriacon of Lullington in Coun[ty] Darby for ever for the use of the ministry: it is ordered that if the same bee settled a like abatement shalbee made according to ten yerres vallue of the said rectory, which amounts to 840<sup>li</sup> more. The fine then remaynes 775<sup>li</sup> formerly 2415<sup>li</sup>.<sup>115</sup>

On 28 January 1648 the Committee was informed that these two impropriations had been duly settled and ordered 'that his Lo[rdshi]p shall have three months tyme given him for the payment of 775<sup>li</sup> being the remainder of the said fine of 2415<sup>li</sup>, and that l[ette]rs issue to suspend the sequestracon of his Lo[rdshi]ps estate'.<sup>116</sup> Dorset's settlement of these two

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115. P.R.O., SP 23/4/140-141. See also the certificate by John Leech, secretary to the Committee: SP 23/232/201. For the negotiations preceding this order, see SP 23/4/124, 133, 135. For the valuations of these impropriations, see Bod. Lib., MS Rawlinson D 399 (Hearne's miscellaneous collections), fol. 121v; L.J., X, 22.

116. P.R.O., SP 23/4/166. See also SP 23/232/202. For the certificates of settlement, see SP 23/193/215, 217. See also SP 23/35/14 (Committee for Compounding, abstracts of deeds and settlements for augmentation of ministers' livings); and SP 28/331/33 (deeds relating to enforced sale of advowsons for relief of ministers). For the letter suspending Dorset's sequestration, see SP 23/232/203.

impropriate rectories was thus treated as equivalent to the first 'moiety'. He therefore avoided having to pay it in cash. The Committee's leniency is difficult to explain, but it is possible that the influence of the Earl of Middlesex was again important.

Yet Dorset did not pay this relatively small sum of £775 until May 1650, and meanwhile there were two further complications in his case. The first concerned the impropriate rectory of Lullington. On 12 July 1648 William Poole, Benjamin Mowsley and Thomas Darby of Derbyshire petitioned the Committee for Compounding, claiming that when the rectory had been sequestered from Dorset, the Derbyshire Sequestration Committee had granted the tithes to them on payment of 'halfe a yeares rent' (£35) 'for the use of Mr John Whiting their present minister'.<sup>117</sup> Dorset, having compounded under the Oxford Articles, now demanded 'all the arreares of the said tyeths from the surrender of Oxford to the tyme of his composicon, threatning to sue [the] petitioners for the same, they being likewise menaced with vexacious suits by their present minister for the said tyeths'.<sup>118</sup> The three petitioners therefore

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117. P.R.O., SP 23/109/95 (Petitions to Committee for Compounding, Vol. XXXIX). See also SP 22/1 (Committee for Plundered Ministers Order Book, 1645-7), fol. 123r.

118. P.R.O., SP 23/109/95.

requested the Committee 'to determine the present difference', and if 'the said arrears be found to belong to the said Earle, that you would direct your letter to the Committee of the said county, that soe the said 35<sup>li</sup> already paid by your petitioners to the said minister may be repaid to the said Earle, that thereby your petitioners may not be enforced to pay it'.<sup>119</sup> On 17 August the Committee agreed to grant Dorset all profits 'received out of ... the rectory of Lullington by the minister or any other by reason of any order of the Committee for Plundered Ministers since the 24 day of September 1646'.<sup>120</sup> Dorset thus regained the profits accruing between his request to compound and his settlement of the impropriation. Having secured these back-payments, there is no evidence that he subsequently tried to evade his promise of augmentation, as was sometimes known.<sup>121</sup>

Far more serious and prolonged was a wrangle over Dorset's composition for his interest in the manor of Eltham. A Crown lease of 19 November 1642 granted Dorset the reversion of the keepership of the three parks of Eltham and the herbage and

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119. Ibid.

120. P.R.O., SP 23/4/215A.

121. See, for example, the breach of promise by Edward Page at Oundle: C.C.C., V, xxvi.

pannage, together with 'divers other proffitts and commodities thereunto belonging'.<sup>122</sup> On 14 April 1647, the Committee for Compounding admitted 'the Earle of Dorsett to compound for no more in relacon to any estate at Eltham but the bare revercon of the herbage and pannage of the three parkes there for two lives after the expiracon of three lives now in being'.<sup>123</sup> Dorset was unable to compound for the reversion of the keepership of the parks, as he put it, 'by reason of an ordinance that prohibitts delinquents the enjoyng of any publicke office, which some interested people extend and interpret the meaning to reach soe low as to a poore keepers place'.<sup>124</sup> Unfortunately, when Dorset tried to collect 'his rents at Eltham they [were] denied him upon pretence that they were not compounded for, whereas he beleeveth onely the ... custody of the parks was left out of his composition'. Under the lease, Dorset's gross profits before the Civil War totalled £199 0s. 3d. per annum. Out of this sum he paid rents to 'the keepers and other officers' of the parks and to the Queen, leaving a net profit of £115 16s. 10d.<sup>125</sup> On 22 March 1648 the

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122. P.R.O., SP 23/193/248. See also SP 16/490/40 (notes on survey of Eltham, 11 May 1642).

123. P.R.O., SP 23/4/70. See also SP 23/193/209-211.

124. P.R.O., SP 23/193/221. For Dorset's inability to compound for his other offices, see above, p. 425. For the general principle, see C.C.C., V, xiv.

125. P.R.O., SP 23/193/223.

Committee accepted Dorset's statement of his profits and rents, but found 'that upon the composicon there was no fine at all sett upon any part of the premisses in Eltham'.<sup>126</sup> Dorset was therefore ordered 'upon a review' to 'compound for the mannor and lands without the parke'.<sup>127</sup> However, because the case

hath some relacon to the parkes concerning which there is now something under debate in the House of Commons: this Committee doe thinke fitt to respite the composicon for the same, till the resolucon of the said House bee knowne therein; and in the meane tyme doe order that all the rents and profitts ariseing out of the said mannor bee detained in the hands of the severall tenants untill further order from this Committee.<sup>128</sup>

There the matter stood for over two years.

In the meantime, on 31 May 1650, Dorset finally paid his composition fine of £775 plus £20 13s. 4d. in interest.<sup>129</sup> There are at least three possible explanations for why he took so long to produce this relatively small sum. First, Dorset

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126. P.R.O., SP 23/193/219.

127. P.R.O., SP 23/4/193.

128. P.R.O., SP 23/232/204.

129. P.R.O., SP 23/43 (accounts of fines received by Treasurers at Goldsmiths' Hall, 1644-52), unfol., 31 May 1650. This volume was later printed: T[homas] D[ring], A Catalogue of the Lords, Knights and Gentlemen that have Compounded for their Estates (London, 1655), Wing, D 2187.

may have been reacting to national political developments. It is possible that he delayed payment in 1648 until the outcome of the second Civil War became clear. The location of Knole in an especially rebellious county makes this plausible, although Dorset was apparently not involved in the Kentish rising, nor have I found evidence of his attitude towards it. Similarly, Dorset may have deferred paying in 1649-50 out of a stunned refusal to acknowledge the legitimacy of the new régime. This would be consistent with his abhorrence of the regicide, but not with his probable signing of the Engagement.<sup>130</sup> Unfortunately, at no stage do we have firm evidence that Dorset's political attitudes were responsible for his failure to pay. A second possibility is that Dorset was uncertain about the precise level of his fine until the Eltham dispute was resolved, and preferred to wait until a once-for-all payment could be made. But this would not explain why he finally compounded while this matter was still unsettled. Thirdly, Dorset may have been too impoverished to pay earlier. This is strongly suggested by the fact that his payment came only three days after the Earl of Bath's agent, William Lynn,

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130. For Dorset's lack of involvement in the Kentish rising, see Chapter Six, above, p. 394. For his attitude to the regicide, see ibid., p. 395. The question of whether Dorset signed the Engagement is discussed below, p. 446.

delivered £355 5s. 9d. 'to my Lord of Dorsett upon a bond'.<sup>131</sup> Dorset may have been unable to pay until he received this injection of capital. Yet it is hard to believe that his poverty was quite so biting, especially after Middlesex's payment of £2,000 early in 1647.<sup>132</sup> Once again, the complete absence of Dorset's personal accounts for these years prevents any firm reconstruction of his financial affairs. But whatever the reason for his delayed payment, the Committee for Compounding discharged Dorset on 4 June 1650.<sup>133</sup> It was nearly four years since Dorset's initial plea to compound, making this one of the longer cases handled by the Committee.<sup>134</sup>

Shortly afterwards, on 9 August 1650, Dorset again petitioned the Committee about his interest in Eltham. He complained that

having made his clayme before the Surveyors for the King and Queens lands and the trustees for sale thereof, and having appealed and shewed his title to the Committee for

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131. K.A.O., Sackville MS, U 269/A518/3 (accounts of William Lynn, agent to the Earl of Bath, 1649-52), unfol., 28 May 1650. A further payment of £329 followed on 4 December: ibid., 4 December 1650.

132. See above, pp. 428-31.

133. P.R.O., SP 23/8/106 (Committee for Compounding Order Book, 1650).

134. See C.C.C., V, xxi.

Obstrucons, yet they cannott allowe of your petitioners interest and title therein untill he have compounded for the same as may appeare by their order.<sup>135</sup>

When Dorset compounded, through 'noe fault of his hee did not then compound for the same'.<sup>136</sup> However, the Committee resolved that it could 'nott admitt his Lor[dshi]p to compound untill the Committee for removeing of obstrucons in the sale of the King's lands do allow of his Lor[dshi]ps title'.<sup>137</sup> That is the last we hear of the case. It does not appear in the order books of the Committee for the King's Lands,<sup>138</sup> and it never again came before the Committee for Compounding. Nevertheless, it seems that the Sackville title was ultimately recognised, for on 17 January 1659 the fifth Earl of Dorset transferred his interest in Eltham to Thomas Parton for '£50 in hand' (£38 in money and £12 for the price of a nag) and '£100 at quiet possession'.<sup>139</sup>

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135. P.R.O., SP 23/81/227 (Petitions to Committee for Compounding, Vol. XXI).

136. Ibid.

137. P.R.O., SP 23/11/72 (Committee for Compounding Order Book, 1650).

138. P.R.O., E 315/314 (Trustees for the Sale of the King's Lands Minute Book, 1649-59); SP 26/8 (Committee for Crown Lands Order Book, 1653-60).

139. C.J. Phillips, A History of the Sackville Family (2 vols., London, 1930), I, 396.

Dorset's formal discharge and the lapse of the Eltham wrangle effectively marked the end of his dealings with the Committee for Compounding, and it is worth reflecting on the broader significance of his case. How typical was he? In a seminal article, Sir John Habakkuk argued that composition fines seldom ruined landed families:

Without undue frivolity we might regard the fine as the equivalent of an extra daughter or so ... In itself a fine ... did not represent an intolerable burden, and could easily be met without disastrous effects ... Delinquents who were not already heavily indebted before the imposition of the fine found it easy to pay the fine without selling any land ... Where delinquent families sold property it was primarily because they were heavily burdened before they were fined.<sup>140</sup>

Dorset's case supports this argument. His lands had already been diminished by sales and mortgages to pay off his elder brother's debts.<sup>141</sup> The charges on his estate for which he 'craved allowance' in December 1646 were nearly all of long-standing: £1,955 of the total £2,285 was to settle 'iust and due debts long since acknowledged by the said Earle'.<sup>142</sup> A fine ultimately set at £775 would not have posed problems for a prosperous landowner. But Dorset's lands, although they had not suffered disastrously as a result of sequestration, were

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140. Habakkuk, 'Landowners and the Civil War', 136, 139.

141. See Chapter Five, above, pp. 262-8.

142. P.R.O., SP 23/193/246, 250.

heavily encumbered with debts and had contracted dramatically in the two decades before the Civil War. That was enough to make the payment of even a small fine very difficult.<sup>143</sup>

These points are reinforced by the fact that Dorset's financial worries continued even after the Committee for Compounding had discharged him. The most pressing problem was the second Earl of Middlesex's failure to maintain payments towards the marriage portion of Frances Cranfield, Lady Buckhurst. In the 1670's this Cranfield connection proved to be the Sackvilles' salvation,<sup>144</sup> but for the remainder of Dorset's life it was a frequent cause of anxiety, anger and litigation. As early as December 1645, Dorset had made detailed plans for how the money was to be spent: £7,000 would redeem mortgaged lands 'aboutt Knoll' (Panthurst Park, Otford Park and two farms in Sevenoaks), while 'the other £3,000 may bee layd outt on Buckhurst Parke or Stoneland' which were 'in lease butt for two or three lives att most'.<sup>145</sup> By

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143. See the various 'cases of hardship' discussed in C.C.C., V, xviii-xxi.

144. See below, pp. 450-1.

145. K.A.O., Sackville MS, U 269/C239 (Dorset to the Countess of Middlesex, 26 December 1645). For the lease of Buckhurst Park to Sir George Petre in 1627, see U 269/T378 (lease of Buckhurst Park, 1627).

1647, the Sackvilles had received £6,000 and agreed to forgo the remaining £4,000 for two years.<sup>146</sup> In the meantime Middlesex gave Dorset £2,000, ostensibly to pay his composition fine.<sup>147</sup> On 1 December 1649, Middlesex paid £140 interest on the £4,000 but nothing towards the sum itself.<sup>148</sup> Dorset therefore raised the matter with Middlesex early the following year. He claimed that 'itt hath pleased the Divine providence to lay his hand heavy on me (which I acknowledge my sinns iustly deserve) by making mee less able in my wordly [sic] fortune by forty thowsand pounds, then I was when the macth [sic] beetweene your noble sister and my sonn was consummated'.<sup>149</sup> Middlesex would, he declared, 'doe [him]selfe much right in quickly paying them thatt consideration' as promised, especially after being granted 'two years time of breathing gratis'.<sup>150</sup> Dorset concluded with a warning:

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146. See above, p. 429.

147. Ibid. As we saw, it is unclear how Dorset spent this money. Possibly it went towards the redemption of Buckhurst Park, which was certainly complete by the end of 1652: K.A.O., Sackville MS, U 269/T69/11 (settlement of 22 December 1652). I owe this suggestion to Ian Ward.

148. K.A.O., Sackville MS, U 269/A4/2 (Lord Buckhurst's accounts, 1642-51), unfol., 1 December 1649.

149. K.A.O., Sackville MS, U 269/C248, unfol. (Dorset to the second Earl of Middlesex, [?] 1650). I do not know how Dorset calculated the figure of £40,000: it may have been said for effect.

150. Ibid.

My Lord, pray force nott your sister to a sute in law under fayre and specious pretences: lett nature worke with you and you know you deale with honorable persons who will nether deceave you or expose you to the least preiudice. By thatt which is past you may iudge of that to come: for wee have all dealt very frendly and very fayrely with you.<sup>151</sup>

Middlesex's response is unknown,<sup>152</sup> but certainly the money was not forthcoming. So on 14 May 1650 Lord and Lady Buckhurst filed a bill of complaint in Chancery, requesting that Middlesex give a full statement of his personal estate and explain the reasons for his non-payment.<sup>153</sup> Middlesex's answer (4 July 1650) insisted that although he was his father's heir and executor he was not bound in law to discharge his father's obligations.<sup>154</sup> Early in 1651, Middlesex launched a counter-suit against Buckhurst, declaring his willingness to pay the

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151. Ibid.

152. Even if Middlesex had replied, his letter would not have survived. Dorset informed him (heartbreakingly) on 1 August 1647: 'I have (as I ever shall) secured your last favor from telling any tales: itt hath binn alwayes a custome with mee to sacrificise all letters, after I have perused them, to eternall silence': K.A.O., Sackville MS, U 269/C248, unfol. (Dorset to the second Earl of Middlesex, 1 August 1647).

153. P.R.O., C 5/390/9 (Chancery Proceedings, Bridges' Division).

154. Ibid. This was quite untrue. The first Earl of Middlesex's will, dated 21 August 1642, stated his desire that 'there may be paid the £10,000 I agreed to give my daughter Frances married to Lord Buckhurst according to the articles of agreement made with the Earl of Dorset': K.A.O., Sackville MS, U 269/T85/1 (will of the first Earl of Middlesex).

£4,000 but asserting that he did not owe the full £10,000.<sup>155</sup> Since Buckhurst had never claimed that Middlesex did, this bill of complaint looks like a deliberate bid to waste time and money. Buckhurst answered (10 May 1651) that he and his wife were 'much deprived' because Middlesex had not fulfilled the marriage agreement.<sup>156</sup> Chancery decided to hear both cases together, and in the meantime ordered both parties to produce witnesses.<sup>157</sup> However, Middlesex died in September 1651<sup>158</sup> and the cases apparently lapsed. It seems that neither side renewed the litigation in Chancery during the 1650's.<sup>159</sup>

Throughout these proceedings, Buckhurst appears to have acted on his own: Dorset withdrew from the fray after his warning letter to Middlesex early in 1650. His last years were

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155. P.R.O., C 10/43/149 (Chancery Proceedings, Whittington's Division).

156. Ibid.

157. P.R.O., C 33/195 (Chancery Entry Book of Decrees and Orders, 1650-1), fols. 717v-718r.

158. Complete Peerage, VIII, 691.

159. I owe this information to Ian Ward. The absence of further litigation may well have been because Lionel Cranfield, third Earl of Middlesex, maintained a steady trickle of payments towards the portion: see below, p. 450.

spent as a recluse in Dorset House,<sup>160</sup> and there are plentiful signs that he was growing weary and losing his grip on his own affairs. On 22 May 1649, Chancery subpoena'd Dorset for failure to pay 40s. costs to three defendants whom he had prosecuted in his capacity as the Earl of Arundel's executor.<sup>161</sup> On 26 October a 'commission of rebellion' was issued to 'attach' Dorset.<sup>162</sup> But the commissioners could not find him, and so on 19 January 1650 the Serjeant-at-Arms was ordered to arrest Dorset for contempt of court unless good reason to the contrary was shown within eight days.<sup>163</sup> There is no evidence that he was arrested; instead, Chancery found on 15 February that the costs had been paid, and the case was dismissed.<sup>164</sup>

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160. See Chapter Six, above, p. 395.

161. P.R.O., C 33/191 (Chancery Entry Book of Decrees and Orders, 1648-9), fol. 672v. For Dorset's original bill of complaint, claiming that Robert Rawson, James Stamford and Richard Ardron had concealed deeds and conveyances so as to impede the execution of Arundel's will, see C 8/99/6 (Chancery Proceedings, Mitford's Division). For a copy of Arundel's will, see PROB 11 (Prerogative Court of Canterbury, copies of probated wills), 202/241. I owe this reference to Sabrina Alcorn. See also K.A.O., Sackville MS, U 269/E331/1 (copies of rentals and settlements relating to Arundel's estates).

162. P.R.O., C 33/193 (Chancery Entry Book of Decrees and Orders, 1649-50), fol. 20v.

163. Ibid., fol. 294v.

164. Ibid., fol. 416r.

One might forgive Dorset for deliberately hiding from Chancery's 'commissioners of rebellion'. But his gradual withdrawal from litigation went well beyond that. Three times between February 1651 and July 1652 Chancery dismissed suits begun by Dorset 'for want of further prosecution'.<sup>165</sup> The fact that one of his bills was filed as late as 6 November 1650<sup>166</sup> means that Dorset almost certainly signed the Engagement to 'be true and faithful to the Commonwealth of England as it is now established without a King or House of Lords', although it is just possible that a blind eye was turned.<sup>167</sup> But either way, there was clearly no legal obstacle to 'further prosecution'. Other evidence suggests rather that Dorset was too weary and too impoverished to persevere.

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165. P.R.O., C 33/195 (Chancery Entry Book of Decrees and Orders, 1650-1), fol. 356v; C 33/197 (Chancery Entry Book of Decrees and Orders, 1651-2), fols. 149v, 1159r. These three cases were, respectively, a prosecution of Richard Twynne for claiming a debt long since paid (C 7/330/105 [Chancery Proceedings, Hamilton's Division]); and two separate prosecutions to secure various lands in Eastington (Worcs.) which Dorset claimed under the will of John Bridges (C 2 Chas. I, D 9/6 and D 24/63 [Chancery Procs., Series I]).

166. P.R.O., C 7/330/105.

167. A.O., I, 325-8. If Dorset did sign the Engagement, he was certainly not alone among Royalist peers. See, for example, K.A.O., De L'Isle and Dudley MS, U 1475/C83/31 (Viscount Lisle to the Earl of Leicester, 20 March 1649/50). See also I. Ward, 'The English Peerage, 1649-60: Government, Authority and Estates' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1989), pp. 64-8.

By the early 1650's there are signs that some of the Sackville estates were badly neglected. In Ashdown Forest, for example, the game was 'destroyed' and money needed 'for repairing all the houses and fences'.<sup>168</sup> Near Knole, the outwoods at Seal Chart were 'nott worth above 20<sup>li</sup>' because of damage done by soldiers.<sup>169</sup> Another indication of growing poverty was a bond of 4 September 1651 whereby Dorset and Lord Buckhurst borrowed £200 from Sir George Strode, 'to be repaid 10 Maij nextt ensueing'.<sup>170</sup> On 16 February 1652 Dorset wrote a totally dispirited letter to William Bloome, his bailiff at Knole:

I am neither Thomas Earle of Dorsett Lord High Treasurer of England nor Richard Earle of Dorsett ... nor Edward Earle of Dorsett L[or]d Chamberlayne not longe agoe to the Kinge, but a poore unsuccessfull Cavalier. I had never thought of sendinge for you nor I pray give unto any thatt is (so curiously impertinent) as to aske you any questions any answer. But bidd them goe looke and meddle with what they have to doe withall.<sup>171</sup>

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168. P.R.O., E 317/SUSSEX/26 (Parliamentary Survey of Sussex). See also Victoria History of the County of Sussex, Vol. II, ed. W. Page (London, 1907), 318-21.
169. K.A.O., Sackville MS, U 269/C61/2 (William Bloome to the fifth Earl of Dorset, [?] November 1652). For the felling of further timber at Knole in 1651, see P.R.O., SP 18/17/38-41 (Navy Commissioners' Papers, 1651). See also above, p. 408.
170. K.A.O., Sackville MS, U 269/F3/3 (notebook of the fifth Earl of Dorset, 1648-76), unfol., 4 September 1651.
171. K.A.O., Sackville MS, U 269/C8 (Dorset to William Bloome, 16 February 1651/2). See also the Conclusion, below, pp. 452-66.

By this time, Lord Buckhurst was often acting on Dorset's behalf, for example in negotiations with Sir Richard Leveson over the reversion of two manors (Perton and Trescot) in Staffordshire.<sup>172</sup> We catch a last glimpse of Dorset in the spring of 1652, bluntly refusing a request for accommodation from the former French ambassador, Sabran, with the words: 'if he be God Almighty he can provide a lodging for himself; I will not meddle with any for him'.<sup>173</sup> Gone were the days when Dorset let his London house to French ambassadors and escorted them to the Court of Charles I and Henrietta Maria.<sup>174</sup> Shortly afterwards, on 17 July 1652, Dorset died.<sup>175</sup>

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172. Staffordshire Record Office, Leveson-Gower MS, D 868/2/13 (Lord Buckhurst to Sir Richard Leveson, 22 June 1651); Sutherland MS, D 593/C/14/4 (deeds of settlement, February-May 1652). See also Hatton Deposit, D 3548/2 (survey of the manor of Perton, 1663); Victoria History of the County of Stafford, Vol. XX, ed. M.W. Greenslade (Oxford, 1984), 25.
173. H.M.C., Finch Manuscripts, Vol. I (London, 1913), 63.
174. See Chapter Two, above, pp. 70-1, 77-8; Chapter Three, above, pp. 137-8, 155-6.
175. K.A.O., De L'Isle and Dudley MS, U 1475/F24 (Journal of the Earl of Leicester, 1646-61), p. 85; The Obituary of Richard Smyth, ed. H. Ellis (Camden Society, First Series, Vol. XLIV, 1849), 32; Obituary prior to 1800 compiled by Sir William Musgrave, ed. G.J. Armytage (6 vols., London, 1899-1901), v, 195.

It seems that Dorset's will of 23 March 1625<sup>176</sup> was not located, and he was therefore declared intestate. Letters of administration were granted to Nathaniel Thorold on 19 May 1653<sup>177</sup> and in June Richard Sackville, now fifth Earl of Dorset, tried to regain the £500 which he had spent on his father's funeral.<sup>178</sup> He claimed that the fourth Earl had left a personal estate of £2,000.<sup>179</sup> The Exchequer of Pleas granted the fifth Earl a mere £40, and his poverty was evident throughout the Interregnum.<sup>180</sup> For example, on 5 November 1657 he told his cousin the Countess of Northampton that his 'poor family' had 'been shaken now almost these thirty years with

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176. K.A.O., Sackville MS, U 269/T83/5 (holograph will of the fourth Earl of Dorset). See also Chapter Four, above, pp. 211-14.
177. P.R.O., PROB 6 (Prerogative Court of Canterbury, Act Books of Administrations), 1653-4, Vol. III, fol. 115r.
178. P.R.O., E 112/318/106 (Exchequer, King's Remembrancer, English Bills).
179. Ibid.
180. P.R.O., E 126/5 (Exchequer, King's Remembrancer, Entry Book of Decrees and Orders, Series IV, 1639-54), fols. 322v-323r. For the finances of the fifth Earl of Dorset during the 1650's, see Ward, 'English Peerage', pp. 368, 380-2, 397-403, 440-8, 535.

continued waiting and losses of the [Sussex] estate'.<sup>181</sup> He added that his father had 'not left behind him six hundred and ten pounds a year in Sussex when he died; and but for some accession of fortune, and those but small ones elsewhere, your Ladyship had had one of the poorest Earls in England to your cozin'.<sup>182</sup> The 'small' accessions of fortune 'elsewhere' included some further payments from the third Earl of Middlesex towards the Cranfield marriage portion,<sup>183</sup> although at least £1,000 still remained unpaid in 1660.<sup>184</sup> Nevertheless, it was the Sackvilles who, so to speak, had the last laugh. The third Earl of Middlesex died childless in 1674.<sup>185</sup> His will settled an estate worth £3,000 per annum on his nephew Charles Sackville, Lord Buckhurst, later Earl of Middlesex and sixth

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181. Castle Ashby, Northampton, Compton MS 1084, fol. 21r (Richard Sackville, fifth Earl of Dorset, to the Countess of Northampton, 5 November 1657). I am most grateful to Ian Ward for showing me his transcript of this letter. The Sussex estate referred to here was that held in reversion after the death of the Countess of Pembroke, the third Earl of Dorset's widow. See P.R.O., SP 23/193/247. The Countess of Northampton, née Lady Isabel Sackville, was their daughter: Complete Peerage, IX, 682; L.J., III, 490. See also Appendix I.

182. Castle Ashby, Compton MS 1084, fol. 21r.

183. See, for example, K.A.O., Sackville MS, U 269/E298/3, 4 (receipts signed by the fifth Earl of Dorset, 1652-3, 1657).

184. K.A.O., Sackville MS, U 269/T97/5 (bond between the fifth Earl of Dorset and the third Earl of Middlesex, 1660). I owe this reference to Ian Ward.

185. Complete Peerage, VIII, 691.

Earl of Dorset.<sup>186</sup> This included the Cranfield family seat at Copt Hall in Essex, which the Sackvilles soon sold.<sup>187</sup> 'As a result there trundled off to Knole in Kent a procession of wagons loaded with the furniture, silver, hangings and pictures accumulated and cherished by [the first Earl of] Middlesex'.<sup>188</sup> These wagons contained part of a bequest which would end the Sackvilles' financial worries for several generations.<sup>189</sup> They were an incomparably happier omen than the five wagons of arms which had left Knole that August afternoon in 1642.<sup>190</sup>

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186. Ibid., IV, 425-6.

187. K.A.O., Sackville MS, U 269/T85/4 (will of the third Earl of Middlesex). See also M. Prestwich, Cranfield: Politics and Profits under the Early Stuarts (Oxford, 1966), p. 590.

188. Prestwich, Cranfield, p. 590. For details of these goods, see K.A.O., Sackville MS, U 269/E198/3 (inventories of Copt Hall).

189. See Phillips, History of the Sackville Family, I, 417, 447-8; and V. Sackville-West, Knole and the Sackvilles (London, 1922), pp. 115-6.

190. See above, pp. 401-2; also Chapter Five, above, pp. 328-31.

## CONCLUSION

On 16 February 1652, five months before he died, Dorset reflected on his fate: 'I am neither Thomas Earle of Dorsett, Lord High Treasurer of England, nor Richard Earle of Dorsett ... nor Edward Earle of Dorsett, L[or]d Chamberlayne not longe agoe to the Kinge, but a poore unsuccesseful Cavalier'.<sup>1</sup> What had brought him to this? Most obviously, we can say that he was 'poore' and 'unsuccesseful' precisely because he was a 'Cavalier'. Despite his personal reservations about Charles I, Dorset remained deeply loyal to the monarch as 'God's anointed', and this placed him among the losers of the Civil Wars. But he was a loser in two far more profound senses than that. This Conclusion will argue that Dorset's career illustrates the demise of two distinct political animals: what I will call the 'Jacobethan' and the 'trimmer'.

The generational contrast in this quotation is instructive. Dorset in many ways held the same values as his Elizabethan and Jacobean predecessors, yet they brought him ruin under Charles I. His instinctive commitment to constitutional balance; his assumption that the interests of

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1. See Chapter Seven, above, p. 447.

Crown and commonwealth were naturally symbiotic; his concept of the royal prerogative as a necessary discretionary power within perimeters defined by the common law; and his ecumenical religious attitudes which tolerated a plurality of belief within a broad national Church: all these stamp him unmistakably as a man who reached maturity in the England of Elizabeth I and James I.<sup>2</sup> He was a 'Jacobethan'. Both Elizabeth and James ruled in accordance with these basic tenets: this was vital in establishing them as orthodoxy. But in a personal monarchy a change of ruler could be decisive, and the reign of Charles I marked a radical departure from such norms. Later, both Pym and Hyde saw 1625 as a crucial turning-point.<sup>3</sup> As L.J. Reeve has recently argued, Charles 'was always fundamentally unsuited to the task of kingship'.<sup>4</sup> His use of

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2. For this picture of Elizabethan and Jacobean England, see especially G.R. Elton, The Parliament of England, 1559-1581 (Cambridge, 1986), pp. 377-8; P. Collinson, The Religion of Protestants (Oxford, 1982), pp. viii-ix, 20, 282-3; J. Wormald, 'James VI and I: Two Kings or One?', History, LXVIII (1983), 187-209; K. Fincham and P. Lake, 'The Ecclesiastical Policy of King James I', Journal of British Studies, XXIV (1985), 169-207.
  3. For Pym, see the Grand Remonstrance of November 1641, printed in The Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution, 1625-1660, ed. S.R. Gardiner (2nd edition, Oxford, 1899), pp. 202-32. For Hyde, see Clarendon's History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England, ed. W.D. Macray (6 vols., Oxford, 1888), Book I, 4.
  4. L.J. Reeve, Charles I and the Road to Personal Rule (Cambridge, 1989), p. 173.

the royal discretionary power to avoid consultation with Parliament,<sup>5</sup> to overrule the processes of the common law<sup>6</sup> and to narrow the boundaries of legitimate religious belief<sup>7</sup> all contradicted the expectations and assumptions of many within the political nation.<sup>8</sup> Time and again, this contradiction disrupted Dorset's actions, frustrating them or giving them unintended consequences. In the late 1620's Dorset assumed that loyal service to the King would further the interests of the subject, yet by his own actions he fuelled mistrust between Crown and Commons.<sup>9</sup> During the 1630's he saw at first hand

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5. See especially R. Cust, The Forced Loan and English Politics, 1626-1628 (Oxford, 1987); and Reeve, Road to Personal Rule.
6. See especially J. Guy, 'The Origins of the Petition of Right reconsidered', Historical Journal, XXV (1982), 289-312; and Reeve, Road to Personal Rule, pp. 91-2, 127-9, 136-7, 164-5.
7. See especially N. Tyacke, Anti-Calvinists: The Rise of English Arminianism, c. 1590-1640 (Oxford, 1987); idem, 'Puritanism, Arminianism and Counter-Revolution', in The Origins of the English Civil War, ed. C. Russell (London, 1973), pp. 119-43; P. Lake, 'Calvinism and the English Church, 1570-1635', Past and Present, CXIV (1987), 32-76; A. Foster, 'Church Policies of the 1630's', in Conflict in Early Stuart England, ed. R. Cust and A. Hughes (London, 1989), pp. 193-223; and J. Davies, The Yoke of Bondage: The Caroline Captivity of the Church, 1625-1641 (forthcoming).
8. For a survey of other ways in which Charles disappointed expectations, especially by becoming less accessible to his subjects, see J. Richards, '"His Nowe Majestie" and the English Monarchy: the kingship of Charles I before 1640', Past and Present, CXIII (1986), 70-96.
9. See Chapter Two, above, pp. 103-7.

Charles' fickle and secretive personality, his growing reliance on an inner clique of trusted advisers, and his contempt for established legal procedures.<sup>10</sup> Dorset was not close to the advocates of 'Thorough': his relations with Archbishop Laud remained deeply ambivalent; his friendship with Strafford decayed.<sup>11</sup> When Parliament re-assembled in 1640, Charles' record provoked many in both Houses to impose statutory guarantees binding him to follow political conventions. These measures explicitly sought to restore the mixed government of Elizabeth I and James I.<sup>12</sup> By the summer of 1642, due to advisers such as Dorset, Charles declared that this was also his aim.<sup>13</sup> Dorset's correspondence shows that his overriding

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10. See Chapter Three, above, especially pp. 200-3; also Reeve, Road to Personal Rule, pp. 172-82.
  11. See Chapter Three, above, pp. 194-8; and Chapter Four, above, pp. 226-38.
  12. I am thinking here of such measures as the Triennial Act (15 February 1641); the act against the dissolving of the Parliament without its own consent (11 May 1641); the Tonnage and Poundage Act (22 June 1641); and the Acts for the Abolition of the Courts of Star Chamber and High Commission (5 July 1641). These acts are printed in Constitutional Documents, ed. Gardiner, pp. 144-55, 158-62, 179-89. Parliament was divided over whether to effect a similar restoration of the 'Jacobethan' Church, or whether to seek 'root-and-branch' reform. See J.S. Morrill, 'The Religious Context of the English Civil War', Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, Fifth Series, XXXIV (1984), 155-78.
  13. See especially The King's Answer to the Nineteen Propositions of 18 June 1642, printed in The Stuart Constitution, ed. J.P. Kenyon (2nd edition, Cambridge, 1986), pp. 18-20. See also Chapter Six, above, p. 354.

priority was the preservation of that very constitutional balance which both King and Parliament claimed to defend. But he utterly deplored attempts by either to safeguard that balance by force. Because he held a 'Jacobethan' view of the royal prerogative as beneficial to the commonwealth, he believed that England's problems in the early 1640's could be resolved by advising the King better - by making a monarch who was 'apt to take extempore resolutions' listen to 'the more posed and wise advise of those thatt study how to preserve things from extremity'.<sup>14</sup> Equally, because he held a 'Jacobethan' view of Parliament, he remained convinced that the King could negotiate without threat to his own position. In a sense, the summer of 1642 distinguished the true 'Jacobethan' from the false: it distinguished those committed to constitutional reconciliation at all costs from those committed to other objectives (principally religious) even at the cost of constitutional conflict.<sup>15</sup> Dorset condemned the advocates of force on both sides, the 'hot headed people both [at York] and att London thatt advise and perswade desperate wayes'.<sup>16</sup> Charles I's raising of his standard on 22 August 1642 was the ultimate negation of all Dorset's most cherished assumptions -

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14. See Chapter Six, above, p. 356.

15. See Chapter Four, above, pp. 254-9.

16. See Chapter Six, above, p. 357.

a King at war with his subjects.<sup>17</sup> Thereafter, he tried constantly to bring the two sides to terms, to rebuild the shattered consensus of 'Jacobethan' England. Throughout the Civil Wars he pursued a paradigm learnt in his youth which no longer corresponded to political realities. At every turn, the King's intransigence and duplicity made the position of moderate Royalists untenable. Dorset's warning that the remedy might be 'more pernicious then any ... disease'<sup>18</sup> proved correct: the Royalists were defeated and Charles was executed. In Dorset's fate as 'a poore unsuccessfull Cavalier' we see not only one of countless individual predicaments caused by the Civil Wars; we see also an emblem of the disintegration of 'Jacobethan' values in the England of Charles I.

His 'Jacobethan' attitudes explain why Dorset was a political moderate. But why was he a Royalist? Why, if he felt alienated from Charles I by the late 1630's, did he not ally with discontented peers such as Saye or Essex or Warwick? Why did he not resort to the established feudal mechanisms for exerting leverage on a recalcitrant monarch: why was Dorset

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17. For Dorset's response, see Chapter Six, above, pp. 358-60.

18. See Chapter Six, above, pp. 367, 370.

never among the consiliarii nati?<sup>19</sup> In fact, Dorset's alienation was never of the same order as theirs. These peers were excluded from Charles' Court and united by an intense Calvinist piety. Dorset, by contrast, remained prominent at Court and was less deeply offended by the religious policies of the 1630's. He was a courtier peer alienated from the King, not a Country peer alienated from the Court. A more difficult question is why Dorset did not seek to avoid taking sides altogether. Given his commitment to constitutional balance, how was he able to decide between King and Parliament? After all, it was precisely this inability to choose between 'twinn[s] in the womb', between two parties who both 'promise[d] so fair', which drove many into true neutralism.<sup>20</sup> But opting out was not the only way to try to restore constitutional balance. A rather more dynamic response was to 'trim', in the seventeenth century sense. Gerald Aylmer has recently reminded

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19. For the consiliarii nati, see J.S.A. Adamson, 'The British Civil War of 1640' (forthcoming). Cf. K.O. Kupperman, 'Definitions of Liberty on the Eve of Civil War: Lord Saye and Sele, Lord Brooke and the American Puritan Colonies', Historical Journal, XXXII (1989), 17-33; V.F. Snow, Essex the Rebel (Lincoln, Nebraska, 1971); and W. Hunt, The Puritan Moment (Cambridge, Mass., 1983), especially pp. 163-70, 206-8, 240-2, 249-54, 258-9, 263-72, 280-2.
20. For an analysis of such attitudes, see J.S. Morrill, The Revolt of the Provinces: Conservatives and Radicals in the English Civil War, 1630-1650 (Longman edition, London, 1980), pp. 31-51. These quotations, from the Devon petition of July 1642 and Lady Sussex respectively, are found at pp. 35, 42. For Dorset's expression of similar views, see Chapter Six, above, pp. 359-60.

us that 'trimmers' in this period were not self-interested side-changers. Rather,

when the name was introduced by the Marquis of Halifax in the 1680's, it meant almost precisely the reverse of this, being taken from the image of trimming a boat or ship which was too low in the water on one side or the other; the Trimmer as characterised by Halifax puts his influence on the side of the Crown if Parliament is getting too powerful, or the reverse as the need may be.<sup>21</sup>

Dorset may be classed as a 'trimmer' avant la lettre, for such manoeuvres underlay much of his political behaviour. They explain, for example, the development of his views on the Petition of Right. Initially, Dorset spoke in favour of an 'accommodation' between King and Commons. But gradually he came to believe that the Petition would 'give the King and monarchy a greater blow than any power from beyond seas', that it would 'put out both eyes of monarchy'.<sup>22</sup> He therefore defended the King more strongly in order to redress the imbalance created by the Commons' claims. His ends remained the same, but he adopted different means to suit changing circumstances. He employed precisely the same methods in the 1640's, criticising both Pym's measures such as the act against the dissolution of Parliament without its own consent, and the

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21. G.E. Aylmer, 'Collective Mentalities in Mid-Seventeenth Century England: IV. Neutrals, trimmers and others', Transactions of the Royal Historical Society (forthcoming).

22. See Chapter Two, above, p. 95.

King's more violent responses to them. He sided with the King because he believed that Parliament's attack on the Lord's anointed represented the greater threat to constitutional balance. It tilted the 'ship of state' more markedly. But just as for the Clubmen 'a preference for King or Parliament did not preclude a preference for peace over both',<sup>23</sup> so Dorset's Royalist allegiance did not diminish his primary commitment to constitutional balance. Indeed, that allegiance seemed necessary precisely in order to restore balance.

Dorset's significance here lies in his very typicality. Many 'Jacobethans' responded to Caroline developments by 'trimming', and they became moderates in the summer of 1642. Dorset's perceptions and reactions exactly parallel those of other moderate Royalists like Hyde and Falkland; and of moderate Parliamentarians such as Selden, Whitelocke and

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23. Morrill, Revolt, p. xii.

Rudyerd.<sup>24</sup> Whether expressed in Falkland's 'frequent sighs' for 'peace'<sup>25</sup> or in Rudyerd's lament at 'the present unhappy distance between the King and Parliament',<sup>26</sup> the first priority of such men was constitutional healing and reconciliation. This priority defines the 'moderates' and clearly distinguishes them from those militants on both sides who sanctioned force.

Why then were such moderates, who were certainly in the majority, unable to form a common front? Moderate Royalists and moderate Parliamentarians were fatally divided over one vital issue: precisely who posed the greatest threat to constitutional balance. Compare these two statements:

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24. For Hyde and Falkland, see B.H.G. Wormald, Clarendon: Politics, History and Religion, 1640-1660 (Cambridge, 1951). For Selden, see R. Tuck, "'The Ancient Law of Freedom": John Selden and the Civil War', in Reactions to the English Civil War, 1642-1649, ed. J.S. Morrill (London, 1982), pp. 137-61. For Whitelocke, see R. Spalding, The Improbable Puritan: A Life of Bulstrode Whitelocke, 1605-1675 (London, 1975), especially pp. 78-84. This interpretation of Rudyerd grows out of D.L. Smith, 'The Political Career of Sir Benjamin Rudyerd' (unpublished B.A. dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1985), available from the author on request. Cf. the discussions in Morrill, 'Religious Context', especially 174-5; and idem, 'Sir William Brereton and England's Wars of Religion', Journal of British Studies, XXIV (1985), 311-32, especially 324-5.
25. Clarendon's History, Book VII, 233.
26. A Worthy Speech Spoken in the Honourable House of Commons by Sir Benjamin Rudyerd, 9 July 1642 (London, 1642), p. 1 (Wing, R 2207; B.L., T.T., E 200/53).

[Hyde], while very far from absolving the King from responsibility, ... could not but put most blame upon the reckless and relentless conduct of the leaders of Parliament.<sup>27</sup>

It is obvious from both [Selden's] writings and his actions in 1642 that he considered that the greatest threat to the legal order and the subject's liberties came not from Parliament, despite the Militia Ordinance, but from the King.<sup>28</sup>

The story of why the moderates, the 'trimmers' failed to coalesce in the late summer of 1642 could be written around these two quotations. Dorset, Hyde, Selden and many others joined King or Parliament reluctantly, as the lesser of two evils, but they evaluated those two evils differently. 'Trimming' was simply too subjective a strategy to unite its exponents. It was one thing to perceive that the 'ship of state' was listing; quite another to agree on the cause and then move ballast accordingly. Dorset's career thus demonstrates not only the crisis of 'Jacobethan' values under Charles I, but also the limitations of 'trimming' as a remedy for this.

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27. Wormald, Clarendon, p. 99.

28. Tuck, "'Ancient Law of Freedom'", p. 150. It is particularly intriguing that Dorset apparently had no dealings with Selden in 1640-2, for in his Latin autobiography the latter described Dorset as 'comes mihi semper amicissimus': J. Selden, Vindiciae Secundum Integritatem Existimationis Suae (London, 1653), p. 31 (Wing, S 2444). I owe this reference to John Adamson.

Such issues open up an important (and relatively neglected) dimension of the events preceding the outbreak of the English Civil War. The conflict has usually been explained in terms of the victory of extremists, be they political activists, or religious militants, or rising gentry, or rebellious nobles. But it may be more appropriate to explain it in terms of the failure of moderates, the inability of 'trimmers' to agree on where their weight should be applied. This agenda was adumbrated in Brian Wormald's Clarendon (1951), but has yet to be fully explored for the high political scene. Discussion of moderates has so far focused on the provinces.<sup>29</sup> There is an important comparative study still to be written on how moderates in Court, Council and Parliament perceived each other, on what divided them, on their differing perceptions of King Charles and 'King Pym', and on why they failed to coalesce in the early 1640's.<sup>30</sup>

In the end, it is likely that all roads lead back to Charles I. This may seem an obvious point to make about a

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29. Most notably in Morrill, Revolt.

30. I hope to direct my future research towards such a study. In particular, I want to investigate the relative importance of religious, constitutional, legal and other motives in shaping the moderates' differing evaluations of each other, and of King and Parliament.

personal monarchy, but it does not always receive sufficient emphasis. Contrary to accounts of the early Stuart polity as inevitably doomed, this King's accession was truly a turning-point. Charles' views of Parliament, of the common law and of the Church were quite distinct from those of his two predecessors. As a result, the nature and depth of political and religious conflict changed dramatically. Only after 1625 did the pivotal question in public life become: who is threatening constitutional and religious consensus?<sup>31</sup> Charles' personality and policies were peculiarly calculated to erode the trust on which this consensus rested. The English system relied for its smooth running on the existence of grey areas. But Charles' passion for order, formality and definition -

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31. This dramatic contrast in the political world before and after 1625 emerges quite clearly from a comparison of three recent books: T. Cogswell, The Blessed Revolution: English Politics and the Coming of War, 1621-1624 (Cambridge, 1989); Cust, Forced Loan; and Reeve, Road to Personal Rule. See also the penetrating remarks in Russell, Parliaments and English Politics, 1621-1629 (Oxford, 1979), pp. 419-23.

throughout his three kingdoms<sup>32</sup> - made him intolerant of the ambiguities which characterised the 'Jacobethan' Church and State. L.J. Reeve has recently argued, with great perception, that:

Charles always sought to define the point at issue. The best and the most crucial example of this habit is his destruction of the delicate Jacobean religious consensus by the effective outlawing of predestinarian Calvinism. Likewise, the working of the English constitution depended upon avoiding the activation of the various potential conflicts contained within it.<sup>33</sup>

Charles' policies provoked strong reactions, especially from those committed to predestinarian Calvinism. His actions and their reactions dismayed but also divided those committed to constitutional consensus, so breaking up the vital 'middle ground'. This is the context in which Dorset's political career must be placed. He was a 'Jacobethan' at sea in Caroline England; a political moderate trying to remedy the

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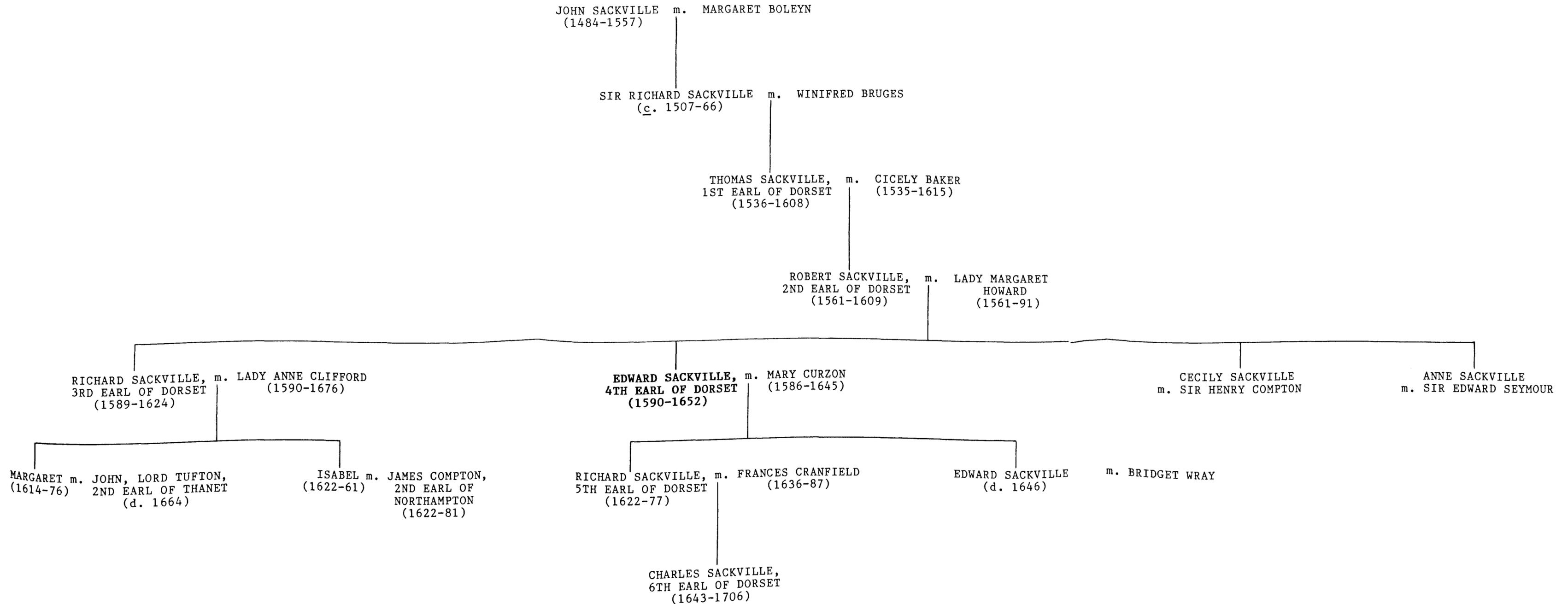
32. 'The British Problem' in this period is at last receiving the attention which it deserves. For Charles I's 'British' policy and its effects, see especially C. Russell, 'The British Problem and the English Civil War', History, LXXII (1987), 395-415; idem, 'The British Background to the Irish Rebellion of 1641', Historical Research, LXI (1988), 166-82; idem, The Fall of the British Monarchies (forthcoming); M. Lee, The Road to Revolution: Scotland under Charles I, 1625-1637 (Urbana, 1985); D. Stevenson, The Scottish Revolution, 1637-1641 (Newton Abbot, 1973); P.H. Donald, 'The King and the Scottish Troubles, 1637-41' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1988).
33. Reeve, Road to Personal Rule, p. 178.

mismanagement of a personal monarchy by an inept monarch. He, and others like him, failed to restore harmony, but this does not diminish the historical significance of their struggle. A study of Dorset's career thus suggests a clear preference between the two interpretations summarised in the Introduction.<sup>34</sup> The early Stuart polity was not doomed to inevitable collapse through structural weaknesses. Rather, it was a perfectly viable system which depended on trust and consensus, and which was therefore unable to cope with Charles I's divisive pursuit of definition. It was flawed only in the sense that - like all hereditary monarchies - it was vulnerable to the accidents of royal personality. Near the end of his life, Dorset looked back wistfully to his Elizabethan and Jacobean predecessors. It was his misfortune to hold the same values as his ancestors under a King who relentlessly undermined them. As a result, Dorset became a victim of the violent convulsions caused by Charles I's rule and died a 'poore unsuccessfull Cavalier'. Dorset's letter of 16 February 1652, with its wry self-image and poignant awareness that England had changed during his lifetime, thus offers a very fruitful perspective both on his own career, and on the age in which he lived.

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34. See above, p. 5.

**APPENDICES**



APPENDIX 2: MINISTERS PRESENTED TO LIVINGS BY DORSET.

<u>MINISTER</u>	<u>LIVING</u>	<u>DATE</u>	<u>E 331/CHICH.</u> <sup>1</sup>	<u>ALUMNI</u> <sup>2</sup>
Robert BAKER <sup>3</sup>	Rottingdean	11.10.1627	7, memb. 3	<u>Cant.</u> , I, 72. <sup>4</sup>
Urbanus BEST	Iford	29.10.1625	7, memb. 1	—
George BLUNDELL	South Heighton	19.9.1640	9, memb. 7	—
Brian DUPPA <sup>3</sup>	Hailsham	2.12.1625	7, memb. 1	<u>Ox.</u> , 434. <sup>5</sup>
	Withyham	5.1.1626/7	7, memb. 2	
Thomas GRAY <sup>6</sup>	Iford	14.1.1629/30	7, memb. 5	—
James INIANS	East Grinstead	10.8.1637	9, memb. 3	—
Edward KIDDER	Piddinghoe	30.1.1633/4	8, memb. 4	* <u>Ox.</u> , 848.
Robert MAN <sup>3?</sup>	Tooting	22.5.1629	7, memb. 3	* <u>Cant.</u> , III, 132; <u>Ox.</u> , 964.
James MARSH	St Dunstan's-in-the-West, London	21.5.1631	St'hall Lib., MS 9531/15 <sup>7</sup>	* <u>Cant.</u> , III, 144; <u>Ox.</u> , 973.
Anthony MIDLETON	Tarring Neville	30.10.1630	7, memb. 5	* <u>Cant.</u> , III, 184.
William OSBOURNE	Hailsham	30.5.1628	7, memb. 3	—
John RICE	Tarring Neville	12.1.1641/2	Bk. V, 54 <sup>8</sup>	—
Thomas ROGERS <sup>3</sup>	Iford	22.12.1632	8, memb. 4	* <u>Cant.</u> , III, 480; <u>Ox.</u> , 1276. <sup>9</sup>
Thomas RUSSELL <sup>10</sup>	St John's, Lewes	3.12.1632	8, memb. 4	* <u>Ox.</u> , 1292. <sup>11</sup>
Henry SHEPPARD <sup>3;12</sup>	Piddinghoe	25.6.1636	9, memb. 1	<u>Ox.</u> , 1344. <sup>13</sup>
	Kingston	15.6.1639	9, memb. 6	
George THETCHER	St John's, Lewes	13.12.1630	8, memb. 1	* <u>Ox.</u> , 1469. <sup>14</sup>
John TILLINGHAST	Tarring Neville	27.7.1636	9, memb. 1	* <u>Cant.</u> , IV, 242. <sup>15</sup>
John WALLWYN	Hailsham	17.2.1626/7	7, memb. 2	—
Samuel WOODS	Piddinghoe	15.7.1631	8, memb. 2	* <u>Ox.</u> , 1677. <sup>16</sup>

NOTES TO APPENDIX 2.

1. References in this column are to the Bishops' certificates of presentations to benefices in the diocese of Chichester: P.R.O., E 331/Chich. Certificates are listed by number of file and then membrane.
2. References in this column are to:  
Alumni Cantabrigienses. Part One: from the earliest times to 1751, ed. J. Venn (4 vols., Cambridge, 1922-7)  
[denoted as 'Cant.']  
and Alumni Oxonienses, 1500-1714, ed. J. Foster (4 vols., Oxford, 1891-2)  
[denoted as 'Ox.']  
The symbol '\*' before the reference indicates that these sources show the minister to have come from the same county as the living to which he was presented. In every case apart from those of Robert Man (Tooting, Surrey) and James Marsh (St Dunstan's-in-the-West, London), that county was Sussex.
3. This minister held Church office after 1660. In each case, this information has been derived from the sources described in the previous note.
4. For further information on Baker, see W.C. Renshaw, 'Some Clergy of the Archdeaconry of Lewes and South Malling Deanery', Sussex Archaeological Collections, LV (1912), 220-77, at 222. I owe this reference to Ken Fincham.
5. For further information on Duppa, see D.N.B., XVI, 242-3. Also Isham, 'Correspondence of Duppa', especially xix-xxi.
6. For an undated letter from Dorset to Sir Thomas Wentworth on behalf of Gray, see Sheffield Central Library, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments: Strafford Correspondence, Vol. XXII, unfoliated.
7. The certificates of presentation for Middlesex do not survive in E 331. This information has therefore been derived from the Register of the Bishops of London, 1628-60: Guildhall Library MS 9531/15, fol. 58r. I owe this reference to Ken Fincham. See also R. Newcourt, Repertorium Ecclesiasticum Parochiale Londinense: An Ecclesiastical Parochial History of the Diocese of London (2 vols., London, 1708-10), I, 337. For further information on Marsh, see B.L., Lansdowne MS 985 (Bishop White Kennett's Collections, Vol. LI), fol. 29r. For

- details of his sequestration, see B.L., Add. MS 15670 (Proceedings of Committee for Plundered Ministers, 1645-6), fol. 177v. See also C.J., III, 161; A Perfect Diurnall of the Passages in Parliament, no. 49 (15-22 May 1643), p. 2 (S.T.C. (Newspapers), 513.49B; B.L., T.T., E 249/8); A.G. Matthews, Walker Revised (Oxford, 1948), p. 54; and A. Argent, 'Aspects of the Ecclesiastical History of the Parishes of the City of London, 1640-9' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of London, 1983), pp. 62-3.
8. The certificate of presentation in E 331/Chich. is missing. This information has therefore been derived from the Bishops' Institution Books, Series A, 1556-1660, V (P.R.O., Round Room, press 6).
  9. For further information on Rogers, see Renshaw, 'Some Clergy', 261.
  10. For details of his sequestration, see C.J., II, 827.
  11. For further information on Russell, see Renshaw, 'Some Clergy', 262.
  12. For details of his sequestration, see B.L., Add. MS 15669 (Proceedings of Committee for Plundered Ministers, 1644-5), fol. 81r; also B.L., Add. MS 15671 (Proceedings of Committee for Plundered Ministers, 1647), fols. 32v, 231r. Cf. C.J., II, 827. See also Matthews, Walker Revised, p. 361.
  13. For further information on Sheppard, see Renshaw, 'Some Clergy', 264.
  14. For further information on Thetcher (or Thatcher), see Renshaw, 'Some Clergy', 268.
  15. For further information on Tillinghast, see G.F. Nuttall, Visible Saints: The Congregational Way, 1640-1660 (Oxford, 1957), pp. 147-8, 152-3. I owe this reference to Colin Davis. See also D.N.B., LVI, 871; and J. Venn, A Biographical History of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge: Vol. I, 1349-1713 (Cambridge, 1897), 253.
  16. For further information on Woods, see Renshaw, 'Some Clergy', 276.

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1945-51) [WING] 510

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1700: A SHORT-TITLE CATALOGUE OF SERIALS  
PRINTED IN ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, IRELAND AND  
BRITISH AMERICA, ED. C. NELSON & M. SECCOMBE  
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A. PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE

(Unless otherwise stated, records are held at the Chancery Lane repository)

Chancery

C 2	Chancery Proceedings, Series I
C 3	Chancery Proceedings, Series II
C 5	Chancery Proceedings, Bridges' Division
C 6	Chancery Proceedings, Collins' Division
C 7	Chancery Proceedings, Hamilton's Division
C 8	Chancery Proceedings, Mitford's Division
C 9	Chancery Proceedings, Reynardson's Division
C 10	Chancery Proceedings, Whittington's Division
C 33/137-198	Chancery Entry Books of Decrees and Orders, 1619-52
C 54	Chancery Close Rolls, James I - Charles I
C 66	Chancery Patent Rolls, James I - Charles I

C 115 Chancery Masters' Exhibits, Duchess of Norfolk Deeds (inc. newsletters to the first Viscount Scudamore)

C 142 Chancery Inquisitions Post Mortem, Series II

C 173/13/1 Six Clerks' Office Administrative Documents, inc. Privy Council records for the 1630's

C 181/2-5 Crown Office Entry Books of Commissions, 1606-45

C 192/1 Crown Office list of commissioners for charitable uses, 1629-42

C 193/12/2 Liber Pacis, [?] 1626-30

C 227/28B-31 Petty Bag Office Sheriffs' Rolls, 1630-42

C 231/3-4 Crown Office Docquet Books, 1616-46

Colonial Office (records held at Kew)

CO 1/6, 9 Colonial Papers, General Series

Common Pleas

CP 25/2 Court of Common Pleas, Feet of Fines, James I - Charles I

Duchy of Lancaster

DL 13/25 Duchy of Lancaster Draft Patents, 1623-5

Exchequer

- E 101/438/7, 14 Queen Henrietta Maria's Household Establishment lists, March 1630, June 1632
- E 101/438/11, 13, 15 Queen Henrietta Maria's Household, acquittances for fees paid, 1630-2
- E 101/439/3 Queen Henrietta Maria's Household, acquittances for fees paid, 1630-3
- E 112 Exchequer, King's Remembrancer, English Bills and Answers
- E 125/10, 29, 33 Exchequer, King's Remembrancer, Entry Books of Decrees and Orders, Series III, 1630-52
- E 126/3-5 Exchequer, King's Remembrancer, Entry Books of Decrees and Orders, Series IV, 1624-54
- E 156/7, 9, 10 Exchequer Original Letters Patent, 1629-30
- E 163/18/12 Liber Pacis, 1626
- E 179/274/58 Certificates to Household servants, exempting them from subsidy payments, 1629
- E 189/3/1 Proceedings in Trials of the Pyx, 1603-41
- E 189/4/4 Verdicts in Trials of the Pyx, 1635-41
- E 215 Proceedings of Commission on Fees, James I - Charles I
- E 315/137 Augmentation Office, particulars of sale of fee farm rents, 1650
- E 315/140 Augmentation Office, accounts of sale of fee farm rents, 1650-1
- E 317 Parliamentary Surveys, 1649-52
- E 331 Bishops' certificates of presentations to benefices

E 372/472	Pipe Roll, 1626-7
E 401/1913-1929	Exchequer of Receipt, Pells Receipt Books, 1626-44
E 403/1734-1753	Exchequer of Receipt, Pells Issue Books, 1624-40
E 403/2197-2198	Exchequer of Receipt, Auditors' Debenture Books, 1638-9
E 403/2371/2	Exchequer of Receipt, Register of grants of annuities, 1558-1650
E 403/2415	Exchequer of Receipt, Register of certificates relating to pensions and salaries, 1637-67

Manuscript Indexes

Ind. 1/4223-4226	Docquet Books of Warrants for the Great Seal, 1623-46
Ind. 1/6746-6749	Privy Seal Office Docquet Books, 1619-46

King's Bench

KB 8	Court of King's Bench, 'Baga de Secretis'
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Lord Chamberlain's Department

LC 2/6	Details of King James I's funeral, 1625
LC 3/1	Household Establishment list, <u>temp.</u> Chas. I
LC 4/212-218	Lord Chamberlain's Department, details of recognizances, 1613-52

LC 5/1 Sir John Finet's Notebook, 1612-28  
LC 5/107, 132-136A Lord Chamberlain's Warrant Books, 1627-44  
LC 5/180 Household Regulations, 1630  
LC 5/193 Attendance lists for Feasts of St George, 1638-88

Land Revenue Office

LR 2/298 Parliamentary Surveys, 1649-52  
LR 5/57, 63 Queen Henrietta Maria's Household Establishment lists, April 1629  
LR 5/65-67 Queen Henrietta Maria's Household Vouchers, 1632-40  
LR 9/20/8 bundle inc. records of payments to Dorset as Queen Henrietta Maria's Lord Chamberlain  
LR 9/149 Queen Henrietta Maria's Jointure

Lord Steward's Department

LS 13/30 Charles I's Household Ordinances  
LS 13/169 Board of Green Cloth Entry Book, 1627-42

Privy Council Office

PC 2/38-53 Privy Council Registers, 1628-45

Public Record Office, Private Collections

PRO 30/53/5 Powis Papers: correspondence of Lord Herbert of Cherbury

PRO 30/53/9 Parliamentary Diary of Lord Herbert of Cherbury, 14 June 1641 - 30 May 1642

PRO 31/3/60-89 Baschet's French Transcripts: reports by French ambassadors, 1624-49

PRO 31/9/17B, 19-20 Transcripts from Rome Archives, Series I: reports by the Papal Agents Gregorio Panzani and Carlo Rossetti, 1636, 1640-1

PRO 31/9/124 Transcripts from Rome Archives, Series I: correspondence of the Papal Agent George Con, 1636-9

Prerogative Court of Canterbury

PROB 6 Prerogative Court of Canterbury Act Books of Administrations

PROB 10 Prerogative Court of Canterbury Original Wills

PROB 11 Prerogative Court of Canterbury Probated Wills

Signet Office

SO 1/1-2 Signet Office 'Irish Letter Books', 1626-36

SO 3/4-12 Signet Office Docquet Books, 1608-44

State Papers

SP 12 State Papers Domestic, Elizabeth I

SP 14 State Papers Domestic, James I

SP 15 State Papers Domestic, Addenda, Edward VI - James I

SP 16 State Papers Domestic, Charles I

SP 18 State Papers Domestic, Interregnum

SP 19 Papers of the Committee for the Advance of Money, 1643-53

SP 20 Papers of the Committee for Sequestrations, 1643-9

SP 22 Papers of the Committee for Plundered Ministers, 1645-53

SP 23 Papers of the Committee for Compounding with Delinquents, 1643-59

SP 26 Papers of the Council of State etc., 1649-60

SP 28/130 Accounts of commissary of Kent

SP 28/209A Derbyshire sequestration accounts

SP 28/209B Herefordshire sequestration accounts

SP 28/210 Kent sequestration accounts

SP 28/212 Middlesex sequestration accounts

SP 28/214 Staffordshire and Sussex sequestration accounts

SP 28/216 Worcestershire sequestration accounts

SP 28/234-235 Papers of Kent County Committee

SP 28/255 Committee for the Accounts of the Kingdom, miscellaneous papers

SP 28/286 Orders and papers of trustees for sale of fee farm rents, 1649-58

SP 28/331	Deeds relating to enforced sale of advowsons for relief of ministers, 1646-51
SP 28/339	Derbyshire Receivers' accounts
SP 46	State Papers Domestic, Supplementary
SP 53	State Papers Scotland, Series I, Mary Queen of Scots
SP 78	State Papers Foreign, France
SP 80	State Papers Foreign, Germany (Empire) and Hungary
SP 81	State Papers Foreign, Germany (States)
SP 84	State Papers Foreign, Holland

Court of Wards and Liveries

WARDS 7	Court of Wards <u>Inquisitions Post Mortem</u>
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B. BRITISH LIBRARY

Additional Charters

- Add. Ch. 9290                      Indenture between Dorset and John Herne, 15 July 1629
- Add. Ch. 29276                    Commissions to Dorset as Lord Lieutenant of Sussex, and to Sir Thomas Pelham as Deputy Lieutenant, 1635-6
- Add. Ch. 30734                    Indenture between Dorset and John Vine, 1 February 1626/7

Additional Manuscripts

- Add. MS 4149                      Birch Collection, copies of State Papers
- Add. MS 4153                      Thurloe Papers, Vol. I
- Add. MS 4221                      Birch Collection, biographical anecdotes
- Add. MS 5478                      Ledger of Sequestrations
- Add. MS 5491                      Letters and accounts of Committees for Sequestrations
- Add. MS 5494                      Accounts and papers relating to sequestered estates, 1642-8
- Add. MS 5504                      Cooke's Baronage
- Add. MS 5508                      Accounts and papers relating to sequestered estates, 1642-8
- Add. MS 5682                      Collections relating to Sussex
- Add. MSS 5697-5698                Sussex Monuments and Inscriptions
- Add. MS 5701                      Miscellaneous Sussex Collections
- Add. MS 5702                      Collections relating to Sussex

Add. MS 5873	Collections for an <u>Athenae Cantabrigienses</u>
Add. MS 11045	Newsletters of E[dward] R[ossingham] to the first Viscount Scudamore
Add. MS 11056	Miscellaneous Scudamore Papers
Add. MS 11764	Miscellaneous Law Papers
Add. MS 12514	Heraldic and Historical Collections
Add. MS 14031	Speeches in Parliament
Add. MS 15084	Privy Council letters to Suffolk Deputy Lieutenants, 1639-40
Add. MSS 15389-15392	Transcripts from Papal Registers: reports by the Papal Agent, George Con, 1636-9
Add. MSS 15669-15671	Proceedings of Committee for Plundered Ministers, 1644-7
Add. MS 16178	Orders by Committee for Sequestrations, 1645-7
Add. MS 17325	Letters etc. relating to Cambridge
Add. MS 18644	Combat between Dorset and Lord Bruce, August 1613
Add. MS 18777	Diary of Walter Yonge, September 1642 - March 1643
Add. MS 18780	Diary of Walter Yonge, April-October 1645
Add. MSS 18980-18982	Prince Rupert's Correspondence, 1642-58
Add. MS 18984	John Bladen's Observations on Court and State, 1636
Add. MS 21922	Letter Book of Sir Richard Norton
Add. MS 22548	Miscellaneous autograph letters
Add. MS 22587	Copies of State Papers
Add. MS 23012	Henry Swinden's collections for a history of Great Yarmouth
Add. MS 27962	Salvetti Correspondence

Add. MS	29586	Miscellaneous Hatton-Finch Papers, 1541-1726
Add. MSS	29598-29599	Carew Correspondence
Add. MSS	29974-29975	Pitt Correspondence
Add. MS	30195	Collections relating to Coronations
Add. MS	30259	Collection of verses on Lady Venetia Digby
Add. MS	30383	Papers of Sir Philip Sherard
Add. MS	31116	Diary of Laurence Whitaker, 1642-7
Add. MS	32093	Malet Collection of autograph letters, 1625-60
Add. MS	33051	Newcastle Papers relating to Sussex
Add. MS	33058	Newcastle Papers relating to Sussex
Add. MS	33145	Account book of Sir Thomas Pelham
Add. MS	33935	Moreton Correspondence
Add. MS	34217	Miscellaneous State Papers, letters etc., James I - Charles I
Add. MS	34318	Stray Exchequer accounts, 1516-1656
Add. MS	34324	Sir Julius Caesar's political collections
Add. MS	34326	Miscellaneous petitions, 1648-54
Add. MS	34601	Sir Henry Spelman's Correspondence, Vol. III
Add. MS	35331	Diary of Walter Yonge, 1627-42
Add. MS	36530	Miscellaneous State Papers, 1581-1644
Add. MS	37998	Sir Edward Walker's papers relating to the Order of the Garter, 1523-1677
Add. MS	38483	Medley Papers, 1525-1669
Add. MS	38854	Hodgkin Papers: 'miscellaneous accmpts', 1430-1772
Add. MS	44848	Copies of State Papers

Add. MS 46188	Jessop Papers: correspondence of the third Earl of Essex
Add. MSS 47788-47789	Letter Books of Sir Edward Dering, 1630-7
Add. MS 58124	Catalogue of the Nobility, [?] 1633
Add. MS 64121	Petition relating to Sir John Suckling, 1640
Add. MSS 64870-64924	Papers of Sir John Coke

### Cottonian Manuscripts

Cotton MS Julius C III	Letters to Sir Robert Cotton
Cotton MS Vespasian F XIII	Miscellaneous autograph letters

### Egerton Manuscripts

Egerton MS 784	Diary of William Whiteway, 1618-1634
Egerton MS 860	Letter Book relating to Lord Lieutenancies of Kent, Bucks. and Middlesex, 1604-29
Egerton MS 1048	Collection of Parliamentary Papers, 1624-59 (fols. 186-7 contain an undated list of Queen Henrietta Maria's Household servants, signed by Dorset)
Egerton MS 2087	Papers relating to Dover, 1566-1784
Egerton MS 2541	Nicholas Papers
Egerton MS 2549	Nicholas Papers: petitions, 1626-75
Egerton MS 2597	Correspondence of James Hay, Earl of Carlisle, 1626-89
Egerton MS 2715	Gawdy Papers
Egerton MS 2882	Register Book of the Council of Wales and the Marches, 1584-1644

Egerton MSS 2978-2979      Heath and Verney Papers

Hargrave Manuscripts

Hargrave MS 226              Miscellaneous historical papers  
Hargrave MS 311              Leicester's 'Commonwealth' (fols. 243-4  
   contain two rhymes by Dorset)  
Hargrave MS 321              Miscellaneous collections on trade

Harleian Manuscripts

Harleian MS 163              Journal of Sir Simonds D'Ewes, 1640-1  
Harleian MS 383              Letter Book of Sir Simonds D'Ewes  
Harleian MS 454              Diary of Sir Humphrey Mildmay, 1633-51  
Harleian MSS 476-479        Parliamentary Journal of John More,  
   1641  
Harleian MS 703              Letter Book of Sir Walter Covert  
Harleian MS 1012             Docquets of patents, 1634-40  
Harleian MS 1107             Penson's heraldic collections  
Harleian MS 1233             Golgatha Regale: royal and other  
   pedigrees  
Harleian MS 1580             Letters and Papers of State, temp. Jac.  
   I  
Harleian MS 1622             Liber Pacis of 1625  
Harleian MS 4234             Privy Council letters, 1629-42  
Harleian MS 4761             Miscellaneous State Papers  
Harleian MS 5176             Political and heraldic papers  
Harleian MS 6018             List of borrowers from the library of  
   Sir Robert Cotton

Harleian MS	6021	Miscellaneous Historical Tracts
Harleian MS	6164	Heralds' visitation of Sussex, 1633-4
Harleian MS	6383	Miscellanea collected by John Holles, Earl of Clare
Harleian MS	6424	Diary of a Bishop [=John Warner of Rochester?], 1641
Harleian MS	6799	Collection of speeches in Parliament
Harleian MSS	6802-6804	Papers of Royalist Council of War
Harleian MSS	6851-6852	Papers of Royalist Council of War
Harleian MS	6854	Papers on State Affairs, 1575-1693
Harleian MS	7000	State Papers, 1620-31
Harleian MS	7006	Original State Papers, warrants etc., 1616-1707
Harleian MS	7010	Original State Papers, 1616-63

#### Lansdowne Manuscripts

Lansdowne MS	17	Burghley Papers, 1573
Lansdowne MS	213	Miscellaneous historical tracts
Lansdowne MS	255	Heraldic and historical collections
Lansdowne MS	736	'A survey or ground plot of His Majesty's palace of Whitehall'
Lansdowne MSS	985-986	Bishop White Kennett's Collections

Royal Manuscripts

Royal MS 12 A LXIV      Charites Oxonienses in Adventu  
Christiani IV Daniae Regis, 1606

Sloane Manuscripts

Sloane MS 904      Sir Kenelm Digby's 'Observations on  
Religio Medici'

Sloane MS 1467      Speeches in Parliament

Sloane MS 2131      Johannis Bastwickij Apologia Edwardo  
Comiti Dorset D[ed]icata

Sloane MS 3415      Album Amicorum of Charles de Bousy,  
1603-38

Stowe Manuscripts

Stowe MS 184      Miscellaneous Historical Collections

Stowe MS 561      Household Ordinances, 1627, 1631

Stowe MS 580      Sir Edward Walker's account of the  
Knights of the Garter in the Civil War

Stowe MS 595      Collections on the Order of the Garter

Stowe MS 743      Correspondence of Sir Edward Dering

Stowe MS 812      Papers relating to Chester, 1627-31

Loan Manuscripts

Loan MS 29      Harley and Cavendish Papers

Manuscripts on Microfilm

Microfilm M 285	Percy MS, Northumberland	Alwick	Castle,
Microfilm M 485	Cecil MS, Hatfield House,	Hertfordshire	
Microfilm M 636	Verney MS, Buckinghamshire	Claydon	House,

C. BODLEIAN LIBRARY, OXFORD

MS	Add. D 114	Papers relating to the siege of Oxford
MS	Arch. Selden B 8	Miscellaneous discourses, including one by Sir John Suckling dedicated to Dorset
MS	Ashmole 781	Miscellaneous Collections
MS	Ashmole 824	Miscellaneous Collections
MS	Ashmole 1110	Papers relating to the Order of the Garter
MS	Ashmole 1132	Papers relating to the Order of the Garter
MS	Bankes 14/3	Survey of the inhabitants of Salisbury Court, 1633
MS	Bankes 65/28b	Letter from Francis Harris to Lord Keeper Coventry, November 1638
MS	Bodley 322	Minute Book of the Committee for Plundered Ministers, 1645-6
MS	Cherry 2	Papers relating to Bishop Williams of Lincoln
MSS	Clarendon 20-21	Clarendon State Papers, 1641-3
MS	Clarendon 29	Clarendon State Papers, 1646-7
MS	Clarendon 34	Clarendon State Papers, 1648-9
MS	Douce 357	Political Satires, <u>temp.</u> Charles I - Charles II
MS	Eng. Hist. B 204	Warcup Papers
MS	Lyell Empt. 23	Account of duel, August 1613
MSS	Rawlinson A 107-8	Parliamentary Collections, 1629
MS	Rawlinson B 70	Miscellaneous Collections
MS	Rawlinson B 138	Papers relating to funerals of the nobility

MS	Rawlinson B 153	'History of the troubles of Charles I to the end of 1641'
MS	Rawlinson B 431	Documents relating to Sussex, 1633-9
MS	Rawlinson C 788	Oxford clerical lists
MS	Rawlinson C 807	Parliamentary Collections
MS	Rawlinson C 827	Minute Book of proceedings in Star Chamber, 18 May 1636 - 14 June 1638
MS	Rawlinson C 839	Proceedings in Star Chamber
MS	Rawlinson C 876	Miscellaneous Collections relating to the University of Oxford
MS	Rawlinson D 399	Hearne's Miscellaneous Collections
MS	Rawlinson D 678	Miscellaneous Medical Collections
MS	Rawlinson D 859	Hannibal Baskerville's Collections
MS	Rawlinson D 912	Documents relating to the University of Oxford
MS	Rawlinson D 932	Parliamentary Diary of Sir John Holland, 4 November - 18 December 1641
MS	Rawlinson D 1099	Parliamentary Diary of Sir John Holland, 22 May - 8 August 1641
MS	Smith 26	Miscellaneous Collections
MSS	Tanner 63-70	Letters and Papers, 1634-42
MS	Tanner 82	Miscellaneous Letters and Memorials
MS	Tanner 89	Miscellaneous Collections
MS	Tanner 114	Miscellaneous Letters and Papers
MSS	Tanner 133-134	Papers relating to the Diocese of Norwich
MS	Tanner 137	Papers relating to the Diocese of Norwich
MS	Tanner 149	Papers relating to the Diocese of Chichester
MS	Tanner 299	Archbishop Sancroft's transcriptions

MS Tanner 317                    Account Book listing offices with  
   salaries

MS Willis 58                    Miscellaneous Collections

D. CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

MSS Dd.xii.20-22                Parliamentary Journal of Bulstrode  
   Whitelocke, 1626

MS Ee.v.23                    Commonplace Book of John Peck

MS Mm.ii.2                    Order Book of Board of Ordnance, 14  
   February 1636/7 - 17 May 1639

Add. MS 3126                Letter Book of [?] Robert Crichton

Add. MS 4021                Letter Book relating to Cambridge

Add. MS 6863                Diary of Sir Richard Hutton, Justice of  
   King's Bench (English and Law French),  
   1614-39

E. HOUSE OF LORDS RECORD OFFICE

Braye MS 13                    Draft Journal of the House of Lords,  
   1624-5

Braye MSS 17-25                Draft Journals of the House of Lords, 3  
   November 1640 - 28 April 1642 (the  
   original of MS 23 may be found as Braye  
   MS 90; the original of MS 22 has  
   recently been acquired by the H.L.R.O.)

Braye MS 74                    Clerk's Roll of Peers, 17 March 1627/8

House of Lords Committee Books for 1624, 1626 and 1628

House of Lords Main Papers

House of Lords Manuscript Minute Books 3-8 (1624-42)

House of Lords Peers' Proxy Books 1-3 (1626, 1628, 1640)

Nalson MS (Xerox copies of originals held in the Bod. Lib.)

Parchment Collection, Boxes 5 and 6 (inc. commissions to Dorset  
of 7 June 1637 and 3 September 1640)

F. LAMBETH PALACE LIBRARY

MS 936	Gibson Papers, Vol. VIII
MS 943	Papers of Archbishop Laud
MS 1030	Papers of Archbishop Laud and Bishop Williams of Lincoln, 1631-40

G. SCOTTISH RECORD OFFICE, EDINBURGH

Hamilton MS (archives of the Duke of Hamilton)

GD 406/1/1689	Letter from Lanerick to Hamilton, 31 August 1642
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PART TWO: BRITISH LOCAL AND PRIVATE COLLECTIONS

A. BERKSHIRE:

Berkshire Record Office, Reading

D/ESv(B)/F1	Stephens MS: letters and orders to Henry Stephens, Wagon-master General to the Royalist army. Three of those for 1644 are signed by Dorset
Trumbull MS 5	Trumbull Correspondence, 1609-22
Trumbull MS 21	Trumbull Correspondence, 1609-22
Trumbull MS 25	Trumbull Correspondence, 1609-25
Trumbull MS 29	Trumbull Correspondence, 1613-31
Trumbull MS 39	Throckmorton Correspondence, 1609-13
Trumbull Minutes II	Trumbull Correspondence, 1613-16
Trumbull Misc. Corr., Vols. IV-VIII, XVIII	Trumbull Correspondence, 1612-29
Trumbull Misc. Corr., Vol. LXI	Diary of Georg Weckherlin, 1633-42
Trumbull Add. MS 31	Miscellaneous Trumbull Correspondence and Papers, 1612-34
Trumbull Add. MS 36	Draft Privy Council orders, 1632-5
Trumbull Add. MS 38	Privy Council letters and orders, 1627-39
Trumbull Add. MS 40	Copies of letters to officials, 1620-1700

Trumbull Add. MSS 54-6 Notes of proceedings in Privy Council,  
1630-5

B. CAMBRIDGESHIRE:

Trinity College Library, Cambridge

MS 0.7.3                      Diary of Edward Whitby

C. HAMPSHIRE:

Hampshire Record Office, Winchester

44 M69/5/XXXIX/88              Jervoise of Herriard Park MS: letter  
from William Prynne to Henry Sherfield,  
12 October 1633

D. HEREFORD AND WORCESTER:

Herefordshire Record Office, Hereford

W 15/2                      Hampton Court Papers: Coningsby MS

E. KENT:

Kent Archives Office, Maidstone

Q/JC/1-4	Kent Commissions of the Peace, 1641-51
Sa/ZB2/86	Borough of Sandwich MS: letter from Dorset to the borough dated 16 June 1631
U 269	Sackville of Knole MS
U 275 and U 350	Dering of Surrenden MS
U 1115	Scott of Scotts Hall MS
U 1475 and U 1500	De L'Isle and Dudley MS

Uncatalogued Cranfield Papers

- inc. three letters from Dorset to the first Earl of Middlesex dated April-September 1623; twelve more letters written between [?] 1635 and 1639; and six letters from Dorset to the Countess of Middlesex dated between August 1642 and [?] 1645. There are further references to Dorset in letters which Middlesex received from Richard Sackville, Lord Buckhurst, the Countess of Exeter and the Earl of Sheffield

F. GREATER LONDON:

(i) Corporation of London Records Office

Remembrancia of the Courts of Aldermen and Common Council of the City of London, Vol. VIII (1618-40)

Repertory of the Court of Aldermen of the City of London, Vols. XLVIII (1633-4) and LIV (1639-40)

(ii) Guildhall Library

MS 1908	Title of message in St Bride's parish, Fleet Street, 1564-1677
MS 9531/15	Register of the Bishops of London, 1628-60
MS 9537/14	Visitation of the Diocese of London, 1636
MS 25474	Audited accounts of money received for the repair of St Paul's Cathedral, 1633-40
MS 25475	Day Books recording money received for the repair of St Paul's Cathedral, 1631-91
MS 25478	Entry Book of receipts of money for the repair of St Paul's Cathedral

(iii) Library of the Inner Temple

Petyt MS 538

Vol. XVIII	Miscellaneous Collections, inc. account of Dorset's duel against Lord Bruce, August 1613
Vol. XX	Miscellaneous Collections, inc. undated 'Orders for the Queenes Wayters Chamber'
Vol. LI	Miscellaneous State Papers
Vol. LVI	Papers relating to dispute on prohibitions

(iv) Library of the Royal College of Physicians

Annals of the Royal College of Physicians, Vol. III

G. NORTHAMPTONSHIRE:

(i) Castle Ashby, Northampton, MSS of the Marquess of  
Northampton

MS 1084 Compton Correspondence

(ii) Northamptonshire Record Office, Northampton

Montagu MS 4 Montagu of Boughton Correspondence,  
Vol. II, 1638-89

H. STAFFORDSHIRE:

(i) Staffordshire Record Office, Stafford

D 593 Sutherland MS

D 868 Leveson-Gower Correspondence

D (W) 1778 Dartmouth MS

D 3548

Hatton Deposit

(ii) William Salt Library, Stafford

Salt MS 34	'The manner of arraignment of Lord Castlehaven', 1631
Salt MS 185	Collections relating to Ship Money
Salt MS 266	Notes of proceedings in the House of Lords, 3 November 1640 - 2 August 1641
Salt MS 339	Royalist Composition Papers for Staffordshire, 1642-50
Salt MS 509	Letter from Essex to Prince Rupert, 22 June 1643
Salt MS 528	Lease of Queen Henrietta Maria's lands, 24 March 1640/1

I. SURREY:

Surrey Record Office: Guildford Muniment Room

Bray Deposit

52/2/19	Correspondence of Sir Edward Nicholas, 1641
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85/5/2	Correspondence of Sir Edward Nicholas, 1640-62
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Loseley MS 349/106/4	Indenture of 20 April 1618
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J. EAST SUSSEX:

East Sussex Record Office, Lewes

Add. MS 5729/6, 15, 17 Indentures between Dorset and Thomas Middlemore, James Kingsland and John Pallmer, 27 May 1628, 27 May 1650

Ashburnham MS 758 Indenture involving third Earl of Dorset, 3 June 1617

Danny MSS 37-38 Letters signed by Royal Commissioners at Oxford, 1644

Frewen MS 520 Account Book of John Everenden

Glynde Place MSS 1383-7 Deeds relating to the sale of lands by the third Earl of Dorset, May 1623

LCD/EW1 'Booke concerning the Deputy Leiuetennantshipp, 1624-31'

Rye Corporation MS

47/101, 108, 131, 134 Rye corporation correspondence: general files

61/37 Account Book of the Land Chamberlain of Rye

Sussex Archaeological Society, collection of original deeds relating to Sussex lands

D 145 Bargain and sale by Dorset, 14 December 1624

D 295 Deeds of sale and payment, 3 June 1625

G 23/2-14 Leases, mortgages and conveyances by Dorset, 1611-37

RF 12/37-44A Deeds relating to sales by Dorset, 1624-5

K. WARWICKSHIRE:

Warwickshire Record Office, Warwick

Feilding of Newnham Paddox MS

CR 2017/C2	Feilding family correspondence, 1624-73
CR 2017/C48	Unbound correspondence of the first and second Earls of Denbigh, 1621-63

L. WILTSHIRE:

Longleat House, Warminster, MSS of the Marquess of Bath

Harley Papers

Vol. II	Select autograph letters, 1613-1772
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Seymour Papers

Vol. VI	Correspondence of William Seymour, tenth Earl of Hertford
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Box II	Miscellaneous deeds and legal papers of Edward Seymour, ninth Earl of Hertford, 1553-1620
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M. YORKSHIRE:

Sheffield Central Library, Sheffield

Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments

Strafford Correspondence, Vols. I, VIII, IX, XIIa-d, XIV,  
XVII, XXII

PART THREE: FOREIGN COLLECTIONS

A. HOLLAND:

Algemeen Rijksarchief, The Hague

Archives of the States General

MS 8391                      Journal of Van den Burch, Secretary to  
the Dutch ambassadors to England, 6  
January - 9 June 1641

B. UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

(i) Cleveland Public Library, Ohio

John G. White Special Books Collection

Q 091.92 B6442              Letters addressed to Sir Edward Dering,  
1629-34

(ii) New York Public Library, New York

Morgan MS B                      Letter Book of Sir Kenelm Digby, 1633-  
65

(iii) Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, D.C.

MS V.a.147

Commonplace Book of Theophilus Alye

MS V.b.2

Miscellaneous Scudamore Papers

SECTION B: PRINTED PRIMARY SOURCES

PART ONE: SIXTEENTH & SEVENTEENTH CENTURY SOURCES LISTED IN A  
SHORT-TITLE CATALOGUE OF BOOKS PRINTED IN ENGLAND, SCOTLAND  
AND IRELAND AND OF ENGLISH BOOKS PRINTED ABROAD, 1475-  
1640, ED. A.W. POLLARD & G.R. REDGRAVE (2ND EDITION, ED.  
W.A. JACKSON, F.S. FERGUSON & K.F. PANTZER, 2 VOLS., LONDON,  
1976-86) [S.T.C.]

- Abbot, George, A Sermon Preached at Westminster, May  
26 1608, at the funerall solemnities  
of Thomas, Earle of Dorset (London,  
1608), S.T.C., 38
- Ascham, Roger, The Scholemaster, or a plaine and  
perfitte way of teachyng children the  
Latin tong (London, 1570), S.T.C., 832
- Baker, Richard, Meditations and Disquisitions upon the  
One and Fiftieth Psalme of David  
(London, 1638), S.T.C., 1231
- Meditations and Disquisitions upon the  
Seven Psalmes of David, commonly  
called the Penitentiall Psalmes  
(London, 1640), S.T.C., 1228
- Bastwick, John, A Briefe Relation of certaine speciall  
and most materiall Passages and  
Speeches in the Starr Chamber (London,  
1638), S.T.C., 1569
- ΠΡΑΞΕΙΣ ΤΩΝ 'ΕΠΙΣΚΟ' ΠΩΝ, Sive  
Apologeticus ad Praesules Anglicanos  
(London, 1636), S.T.C., 1231
- Booth, Robert, Encomium Heroum (London, 1620),  
S.T.C., 3370
- Camden, William, Britain, or a chorographically  
description of England, Scotland and  
Ireland, beautified with mappes,  
translated by P. Holland (London,  
1610), S.T.C., 4509
- Davenant, William, The Iust Italian (London, 1630),  
S.T.C., 6303

Drayton, Michael, The Muses Elizium, Lately Discovered, by a New Way over Parnassus (London, 1630), S.T.C., 7210

Du Bosc, Jacques, The Secretary of Ladies, translated by I[ohn] R[eynolds] (London, 1638), S.T.C., 7267

Du Refuge, Eustache, A Treatise of the Court ... done into English by Iohn Reynolds (London, 1622), S.T.C., 7367

Fage, Mary, Fames Roule (London, 1637), S.T.C., 10667

Heywood, Thomas, Loves Maistresse: or, the Queen's Masque (London, 1636), S.T.C., 13352

The King and Queenes Entertainement at Richmond ... September 12 1636 (Oxford, 1636), S.T.C., 5026

Markham, Francis, The Booke of Honour: or, Five Decads of Epistles of Honour (London, 1625), S.T.C., 17331

May, Edward, A most certaine and true Relation of a strange monster or serpent found in the left ventricle of the heart of John Pennant, gentleman, of the age of twenty-one yeares (London, 1639), S.T.C., 17709

May, Thomas, The Heire an Excellent Comedie (London, 1622), S.T.C., 17713

Quarles, Francis, Divine Fancies: Digested into Epigrammes, Meditations and Observations (London, 1632), S.T.C., 20529

--- Hieroglyphikes of the Life of Man (London, 1638), S.T.C., 20548

Rutter, Joseph, The Cid: A Tragicomedy, out of French made English (London, 1637), S.T.C., 5770

Sackville, Thomas, Induction to the Mirror for Magistrates (London, 1563), S.T.C., 1248

Sackville, Thomas, and Norton, Thomas, The Tragedie of Gorboduc (London, 1565), S.T.C., 18684

Southwell, Robert,

The Triumphs over Death, or a  
consolatorie Epistle for afflicted  
minds in the affects of dying friends  
(London, 1596), S.T.C., 22972

PART TWO: SEVENTEENTH CENTURY SOURCES LISTED IN A SHORT-TITLE  
CATALOGUE OF BOOKS PRINTED IN ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, IRELAND,  
WALES AND BRITISH AMERICA AND OF ENGLISH BOOKS PRINTED  
ABROAD, 1641-1700, ED. D. WING (3 VOLS., NEW YORK, 1945-51)  
[WING]

(Cross-references to B[ritish] L[ibrary], T[homas] T[racts],  
are included where appropriate)

Bastwick, John, Flagellum Pontificis et Episcoporum  
Latialium (London, 1641), Wing, B 1062

[Bowles, Edward], The Mysterie of Iniquity (London,  
1643), Wing, B 3875; B.L., T.T., E 76  
(25)

A Catalogue of the Moneys, Men and Horse, already subscribed  
unto by severall Counties of this  
Kingdome, and undertaken for His  
Majestyes service (London, 1642),  
Wing, C 1385; B.L., T.T., 669. f. 6  
(64)

A Catalogue of the Names of the Knights, Citizens and Burgesses  
that have served in the last four  
Parlaments (London, 1656), Wing, C  
1394; B.L., T.T., E 1602 (6)

A Catalogue of the Names of the Lords that subscribed to levie  
horse to assist His Majestie ... at  
Yorke, the 22 June 1642 (London,  
1642), Wing, C 1397; B.L., T.T., 669.  
f. 6 (42)

Caussin, Nicholas, The Holy Court in Five Tomes,  
translated by T[homas] H[awkins] and  
others (London, 1650), Wing, C 1547

[Charles I, King], His Majesties gracious message to both  
Houses of Parliament sent from  
Nottingham the 25 of August 1642,  
together with the answer of the Lords  
and Commons to the said message  
(London, 1642), Wing, C 2332; B.L.,  
T.T., E 114 (29)

Copley, Lionel, A Letter sent from a Gentleman to Mr  
Henry Marten, Esquire (London, 1642),  
Wing, C 6085

- Digby, Sir Kenelm, Observations upon Religio Medici, occasionally written by Sir Kenelm Digby (London, 1643), Wing, D 1441; B.L., T.T., E 1113 (4)
- Donne, John, Letters to Severall Persons of Honour written by John Donne, sometime Deane of St Paul's, London (London, 1654), Wing, D 1865; B.L., T.T., E 622 (17)
- Dorset, Edward Sackville, fourth Earl of, The Earle of Dorset his Speech for Propositions of Peace, Delivered to His Majesty at Oxford on January 18 [1642/3] (London, 1643), Wing, D 1951; B.L., T.T., E 85 (44)
- Two Speeches Spoken at the Councell Table at Oxford. The One by the Right Honourable John, Earle of Bristoll ... The Other, by the Right Honourable Edward, Earle of Dorsett (London, 1643), Wing, D 1952; B.L., T.T., E 83 (45)
- Downing, Calybute, A Sermon Preached to the Renowned Company of the Artillery, September 1 1640 (London, 1641), Wing, D 2105; B.L., T.T., E 157 (4)
- D[ring], T[homas], A Catalogue of the Lords, Knights and Gentlemen that have compounded for their Estates (London, 1655), Wing, D 2187
- An Exact and True Relation of the Battell fought on Saturday Last at Acton (London, 1642), Wing, E 3614; B.L., T.T., E 127 (8)
- Finett, John, Finetti Philoxenis: Som Choice Observations of Sir John Finett, Knight (London, 1656), Wing, F 947; B.L., T.T., E 1602 (1)
- A Full and True Relation of the Several Actions and Particulars of what was taken and done in Oxford (London, 1646), Wing, F 2330; B.L., T.T., E 342 (9)
- Good Newes from Westchester (London, 1642), Wing, G 1071; B.L., T.T., E 112 (29)
- Herrick, Robert, Hesperides: or, the Works both Humane and Divine of Robert Herrick, Esq.

- (London, 1648), Wing, H 1595; B.L., T.T., E 1090
- Heylyn, Peter, Cyprianus Anglicus (London, 1648), Wing, H 1699
- Howell, James, Ah, ha; Tumulus, Thalamus: Two Counter-Poems (London, 1654), Wing, H 3054; B.L., T.T., E 228 (1)
- May, Thomas, The History of the Parliament of England (London, 1647), Wing, M 1410
- Nalson, J., An Impartial Collection of the Great Affairs of State from the beginning of the Scotch Rebellion to the Murther of King Charles I (2 vols., London, 1682-3), Wing, N 106-107
- Osborne, F., Traditionall Memoyres on the Raigne of King James [I] (London, 1658), Wing, O 515
- Ovatio Carolina: The Triumph of King Charles [I] (London, 1641), Wing, O 606; B.L., T.T., E 238 (4)
- Oxford agreed to be surrendered to Sir Thomas Fairfax (London, 1646), Wing, R 76; B.L., T.T., E 341 (9)
- Prynne, William, Canterburies Doome (London, 1646), Wing, P 3917
- Rudyerd, Sir Benjamin, A Worthy Speech Spoken in the Honourable House of Commons by Sir Benjamin Rudyerd, 9 July 1642 (London, 1642), Wing, R 2207; B.L., T.T., E 200 (53)
- Rushworth, John, Historical Collections of private passages of State (8 vols., London, 1680-1701), Wing, R 2317-2319
- Sanderson, W., A Compleat History of the Life and Raigne of King Charles [I] (London, 1658), Wing, S 646
- Selden, John, Vindiciae Secundum Integritatem Existimationis Suae (London, 1653), Wing, S 2444

Suckling, Sir John,	<u>Fragmenta Aurea</u> (London, 1646), Wing, S 6126
W[alkley], T[homas],	<u>A Catalogue of the Names of the Dukes, Marquesses, Earles and Lords that .., are now with His Maiesty at Yorke</u> (London, 1642), Wing, W 460; B.L., T.T., 669. f. 6 (26)
Wortley, Francis,	<u>Characters and Elegies</u> (London, 1646), Wing, W 3634; B.L., T.T., E 344 (21)

PART THREE: SEVENTEENTH CENTURY NEWSBOOKS LISTED IN  
BRITISH NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS, 1641-1700: A SHORT-  
TITLE CATALOGUE OF SERIALS PRINTED IN ENGLAND, SCOTLAND,  
IRELAND AND BRITISH AMERICA, ED. C. NELSON & M. SECCOMBE (NEW  
YORK, 1987) [S.T.C. (NEWSPAPERS)]

(Cross-references to B[ritish] L[ibrary], T[homason] T[racts],  
are included where appropriate)

Certaine Speciall and Remarkable Passages from both Houses of  
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