UNIVERSITY OF CHICHESTER

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Department of History

THE CATHOLIC PEERAGE AND THE HOUSE OF LORDS 1604-1624

by

Denise Warner

Thesis for the Doctor of Philosophy

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<u>ABSTRACT</u>

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

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This thesis is a prosopographical study of the participation of Catholic peers in the parliaments of James I, which attempts to reintegrate the history of English Catholicism within a wider political context. It wrestles with the problems of definition, takes a broad view of who might be counted as having Catholic allegiances, and then seeks to investigate how those peers performed their parliamentary duties. This study thus hopefully contributes findings to two broad fields of research that have hitherto been treated at arm's length: the history of parliament, and the history of post Reformation English Catholicism. In concentrating on the reign of James I, it also forms part of valuable work that has been done in recent years to rehabilitate the reputation of that monarch, and pay due attention to parliamentary activity in this period without undue reference back to Elizabeth I, or forward to problems under Charles I. The thesis draws on the wide range of printed material that has been made available on early modern Parliaments in recent years, from the journals of both houses to printed diaries, and latterly, the invaluable biographical research of the History of Parliament Trust and the Nun's Project. Taking up the baton of revisionist historians in both camps, this thesis asks fundamental questions about the work of Catholic peers in the House of Lords, their attendance, committee work, use of proxies, and possible influence in elections for members of the House of Commons. It also enlarges on the work of revisionists working on Catholicism with the push to see English Catholics as better integrated than images of a persecuted, isolated minority might suggest. English Catholics under James I played a prominent part at court, in government, and at Westminster, even though this period also witnessed scares regarding the gunpowder plot and the assassination of Henry IV of France. The thesis demonstrates that English Catholic peers played a full part in the work of Parliament during the reign of James I, a role that needs to be better understood if we are to form a full understanding of the work of that institution. English Catholic peers played their part in both national and local politics, and in the work of both houses of Parliament; they were very much part of the Jacobean political establishment.

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I, Denise Warner, declare that the thesis entitled:

'The Catholic Peerage and the House of Lords 1604-1624'

and the work presented in the thesis are both my own, and have been generated by me as a result of my own original research. I confirm that:

- This work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;
- Where any part of this thesis has been previously submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;
- Where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;
- Where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;
- I have acknowledged all main sources of help;
- Where the thesis is based on work done by myself jointly with others, I have made clear exactly what was done by others and what I have contributed myself;
- No parts of this work have been published

Signed :

Date : 31st May 2014

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ABBREVIATIONS

ΑΡС	Acts of the Privy Council (1907) <u>URL: http://www.british-history.ac.uk/acts-privy-council</u> .
Addison: Essex Heyday	W. Addison <i>, Essex Heyday</i> (London: J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd, 1949)
Akrigg: Southampton	G. P. V. Akrigg, <i>Shakespeare & the Earl of Southampton</i> (London: Hamish Hamilton 1968).
Alumni Oxonienses 1500-1714	'Colericke-Coverley', Alumni Oxonienses 1500-1714 (1891). <u>URL: http://www.british-history.ac.uk</u> .
Anstruther: <i>Seminary</i> Priests, 1558-1603	G. Anstruther, <i>The Seminary Priests: A Dictionary of the Secular Clergy of England and Wales 1558-1603</i> , Volume 1, Elizabethan 1558-1603 (Gateshead: Northumberland Press Ltd, 1968).
Anstruther: <i>Seminary</i> Priests, 1603-1659	G. Anstruther, <i>The Seminary Priests: A Dictionary of the Secular Clergy of England and Wales 1558-1850,</i> Volume 2, Early Stuarts 1603-1659 (Great Wakering: Mayhew-McCrimmon Ltd, 1975).
Aveling: Handle & Axe	J.C.H. Aveling, <i>The Handle & The Axe</i> (London: Blond & Briggs, 1976).
Birch: Court and Times	T. Birch and R. F. Williams, <i>The Court and Times of James I</i> . (London: Henry Colburn, 1848). (Lightning Source UK Limited Reprint 2012)
Bossy: Catholic Community	J. Bossy, The English Catholic Community 1570-1850 (London: Darton: Longman & Todd Ltd, New edition, August 1979).
Britton: House of Lords	Angela Britton, <i>The House of Lords in English Politics 1604-14</i> (Unpublished Oxford D.Phil thesis, 1981).
Bruce: Correspondence of King James VI	J. Bruce (Ed.), Correspondence Of King James VI Of Scotland with Sir Robert Cecil and Others in England During the Reign of Queen Elizabeth (London: Camden Society, 1861). (Kessinger Publishing Reprint).
Burke's Peerage and Baronetage	C. Mosley (Ed.), Burke's Peerage and Baronetage 106 th Edition, 2 Volumes (London: Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, 1999).
Carew Letters	John MacLean (Ed.), <i>Letters from George Lord Carew to Sir Thomas Roe, Ambassador to the Court of the Great Mogul 1615-1617</i> (London: Camden Society, 1860). (Kessinger Publishing, LLC (2006) Reprint).
C.S.P. Domestic	Calendar of State Papers Domestic (1858). URL: http://www.british-history.ac.uk.

C.S.P. Scotland	Calendar of State Papers, Scotland (1915). URL: http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state- papers/scotland.
C.S.P. Venetian	Calendar of State Papers Relating to English Affairs in the Archives of Venice, (1912). URL: http://www.british-history.ac.uk. cal-state- papers/venice.
CJ	Journal of the House of Commons (1802). URL: http://www.british-history.ac.uk.
Croft: Baronets	Pauline Croft, 'The Catholic Gentry, the Earl of Salisbury and the Baronets of 1611' in Peter Lake and Michael Questier (Eds.), <i>Conformity and Orthodoxy in the English Church,</i> <i>c.1560-1660</i> (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2000) 262-282.
Croft: King James	Pauline Croft, <i>King James</i> (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2003).
Croft: The Reputation of Robert Cecil	'The Reputation of Robert Cecil: Libels, Political Opinion and Popular Awareness in the Early Seventeenth Century' in <i>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</i> , 6th Series, 1 (1991) 43-69.
Cust & Hughes: <i>Conflict</i>	Richard Cust and Ann Hughes (Eds.), <i>Conflict in Early Stuart England: Studies in Religion and Politics 1603-1642</i> (London and New York: Longman, 1989).
Cust: Politics & the Electorate	Richard Cust, 'Politics and the Electorate in the 1620s' in <i>Cust</i> & <i>Hughes: Conflict,</i> 134-167.
Elsyng: <i>Manner</i>	H. Elsyng, <i>The Manner of Holding Parliaments,</i> (London: Thomas Payne, 1768). (Shannon, Ireland: Irish University Press, 1971, Reprint).
Elsyng: Method	Henry Elsyng, 'The Method of Passing Bills in Parliament,' in <i>The Harleian Miscellany,</i> Volume 9 (London: Robert Dutton, 1810). (ULAN Press Reprint).
Fincham: Prelate	Kenneth Fincham, <i>Prelate as Pastor: The Episcopate of James I</i> , (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1990).
Fincham & Lake: Ecclesiastical Policy: James	Kenneth Fincham & Peter Lake, The Ecclesiastical Policy of James I in <i>Journal of British Studies</i> , Volume 24, Issue 2, (April 1985) 169-207.
Fincham & Lake: Ecclesiastical Policy	'The Ecclesiastical Policy of James I and Charles I' in K. Fincham (Ed.), <i>The Early Stuart Church 1603-1642</i> (Basingstoke: The Macmillan Press Limited, 1993) 23-49.

Flemion: <i>Opposition</i>	J. S. Flemion, 'The Nature of Opposition in the House of Lords in the Early Seventeenth Century: A Revaluation' in C. Jones & D. L. Jones (Eds.), <i>Peers, Politics and Power: The House of</i> <i>Lords 1603-1911</i> (London: The Hambledon Press, 1986) 45- 69.
Fletcher: County Community	A. Fletcher, <i>A County Community in Peace and War</i> (New York: Longman Group Ltd, 1975).
Foster: Commons 1610	Elizabeth Read Foster, <i>Proceedings in Parliament 1610,</i> House of Lords, Volume 2. (New Haven & London, Yale University Press, 1966).
Foster: <i>Lords 1610</i>	Elizabeth Read Foster, <i>Proceedings in Parliament 1610,</i> House of Lords, Volume 1. (New Haven & London, Yale University Press, 1966).
Foster: <i>Lords 1604-</i> <i>1649</i>	E. R. Foster, <i>The House of Lords, 1603-1649; Structure,</i> <i>Procedure, and the Nature of Its Business</i> (Chapel Hill & London: University of North Carolina Press, 1983).
Foster: Gray's Inn 1521-1889	Joseph Foster, <i>The Register of Admissions to Gray's Inn 1521-</i> <i>1889 together with Register of Marriages in Gray's Inn</i> <i>Chapel, 1695-1754</i> (London, Hansard Publishing Union Limited, 1889).
Gardiner: <i>Debates</i> 1610	S. R. Gardiner (Ed.), <i>Parliamentary debates in 1610</i> (London: Camden Society, Volume 81, 1861).
Gardiner: <i>Debates</i> 1621	S. R. Gardiner (Ed.), Notes of the Debates in the House of Lords officially taken by Henry Elsing, Clerk of the Parliaments A.D.1621 (London: Camden Society, 1870). (Lightning Source UK Ltd Reprint).
Gardiner: Debates 1624 and 1626	S. R. Gardiner (Ed.), Notes of the Debates in the House of Lords officially taken by Henry Elsing, Clerk of the Parliaments A.D.1624 and 1626 (London: Camden Society, 1878-1879). (Lightning Source UK Ltd Reprint).
Gardiner: Spanish Marriage	S. R. Gardiner (Ed.), <i>Narrative of the Spanish Marriage Treaty</i> (London: Camden Society 1869). (AMS Edition 1968).
GEC Peerage	V. Gibbs (Ed.), <i>The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland,</i> <i>Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom extant, extinct</i> <i>or dormant</i> by G. E. Cockayne (ABC Publications, CD Rom).
Gruenfelder: Influence	John K. Gruenfelder, <i>Influence in Early Stuart Elections 1604-</i> <i>1640</i> (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1981).
Hakewill: <i>Modus</i> Tenendi	William Hakewill, Modus Tenendi Parliamentum: or The Old Manner of Holding Parliaments in England Extracted out of Ancient Records. With Certain Municipal Rights and Customes of this Commonwealth of England. Together with, the Privileges of Parliament (London: John Benson, 1659). (Gale Early English Books Online Reprint).

Hervey: Arundel	M.F.S. Hervey, <i>The Life, Correspondence & Collections of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel</i> (London: Cambridge University Press, 1921). (Lightning Source UK Ltd 2009 Reprint).
Highey: <i>Catholics</i> <i>Writing the Nation</i>	Christopher Highey, <i>Catholics Writing the Nation in Early Modern Britain and Ireland</i> (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).
Hirst: <i>Representative of</i> the People	Derek Hirst, The Representative of the People? Voters and Voting in England under the Early Stuarts (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975).
HMC Buccleuch	Historical Manuscripts Commission, Report on the Manuscripts of the Duke of Buccleuch & Queensberry formerly Preserved at Montagu House, Whitehall (London: HMSO, 1926). Volume 3.
HMC Downshire	Historical Manuscripts Commission, Report on the Manuscripts of the most honourable The Marquess of Downshire Preserved at Easthampstead Park, Berks (London: HMSO, 1938-1995).
HMC Hastings	Historical Manuscripts Commission, <i>Report on the Manuscripts of the Late Reginald Rawdon Hastings,</i> 4 Volumes (London: HMSO, 1928-1947).
HMC Montagu	Historical Manuscripts Commission, <i>Report on the Manuscripts of Lord Montagu Of Beaulieu</i> (London: HMSO 1900).
HMC Portland	Historical Manuscripts Commission, Report on the Manuscripts of His Grace The Duke of Portland, K.G., Preserved at Welbeck Abbey (London: HMSO, 1923).
HMC Rutland	Historical Manuscripts Commission, Twelfth Report, Appendix, Part IV, <i>The Manuscripts of his Grace The Duke of</i> <i>Rutland, G.C.B., preserved at Belvoir Castle.</i> Volume 1. (London: HMSO, 1888).
HMC Salisbury	Calendar of the Cecil Papers in Hatfield House (1965) URL: http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-cecil-papers.
HMC Shrewsbury and Talbot	Historical Manuscripts Commission, A Calendar of the Shrewsbury and Talbot Papers in the Lambeth Palace Library and the College of Arms Volume 1 (London: HMSO, 1966), Volume 2: HMSO, 1971).
HOP 1509-1558	S. T. Bindoff (Ed.) <i>The History of Parliament, The House of Commons 1509-1558,</i> 3 Volumes (Boydell & Brewer, 1982). <u>URL:http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1509-1558.</u>

HOP 1558-1603	P. W. Hasler (Ed.) <i>The History of Parliament, The House of Commons 1558-1603</i> , 3 Volumes (London: HMSO, 1981). <u>URL:http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/155</u> 8-1603.
HOP 1604-1629	A. Thrush and J. P. Ferris (Eds.) <i>The History of Parliament, The House of Commons 1604-1629</i> , 6 Volumes (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2010). <u>URL:http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/160</u> <u>4-1629</u> .
Houston: James I	S. J. Houston, <i>James I</i> (Harlow: Longman Group Ltd, Second Edition, 1995).
Hurstfield: Queen's Wards	J. Hurstfield, The Queen's Wards: Wardship and Marriage under Elizabeth I (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1958).
Jansson & Bidwell: Parliament 1625	M. Jansson & W. B. Bidwell (Eds.), <i>Proceedings in Parliament</i> 1625 (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1987).
Jansson & Bidwell: Parliament 1626, House of Lords	M. Jansson & W. B. Bidwell (Eds.), <i>Proceedings in Parliament 1626,</i> Volume 1: House of Lords (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1991).
Kenny: <i>Nottingham</i>	R. W. Kenny, 'The Parliamentary Influence of Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham, 1536-1624, in <i>Journal of Modern History</i> , Volume 39 (September 1967) 215-232.
Kyle & Peacey: Parliament at Work	Chris R. Kyle and Jason Peacey (Eds.), <i>Parliament at Work:</i> <i>Parliamentary Committees, Political Power and Public Access</i> <i>in Early Modern England</i> , (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2002).
Kyle: Parliamentary Committees	Chris R. Kyle, 'Attendance, Apathy and Order? Parliamentary Committees in Early Stuart England in <i>Kyle & Peacey:</i> <i>Parliament at Work</i> .
Levy Peck: Court Patronage	Linda Levy Peck, <i>Court Patronage and Corruption in Early</i> <i>Stuart England</i> , London (London: Routledge, 1993).
Levy Peck: Northampton	Linda Levy Peck, Northampton, Patronage and Policy at the Court of James I (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1982).
IJ	'House of Lords Journal <i>, Journal of the House of Lords</i> (1767- 1830), <u>URL: http://www.british-history.ac.uk.</u>
Lockyer: <i>Buckingham</i>	Roger Lockyer, Buckingham, The Life and Political Career of George Villiers, First Duke of Buckingham 1592-1628 (London & New York: Longman, 1981).
Loomie: <i>Spain, Volume</i> 64	A. J. Loomie, <i>Spain and the Jacobean Catholics</i> (Catholic Record Society, (Records Series), Volume 64, 1973).
Loomie: <i>Spain, Volume</i> 68	A. J. Loomie, <i>Spain and the Jacobean Catholics</i> (Catholic Record Society, (Records Series) Volume 68, 1978).

Loomie: <i>Toleration</i>	A. J. Loomie, 'Toleration and Diplomacy: the Religious Issue in Anglo-Spanish Relations 1603-1605' (Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series, Volume 53, Part 6, 1963).
McClure: Chamberlain	N.E. McClure (Ed.), <i>Letters of John Chamberlain</i> , 2 Volumes (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1939).
McIlwain: Political Works of James I	Harvard University, <i>The Political Works of James I</i> with an Introduction by Charles Howard McIlwain (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1918). (Kessinger Publishing Reprint).
Manning: Elizabethan Sussex	R. B. Manning, <i>Religion and Society in Elizabethan Sussex</i> (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1969).
Moir: <i>1614</i>	T. L. Moir <i>, The Addled Parliament of 1614</i> (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958).
Neale: Elizabeth I	J. E. Neale, <i>Elizabeth I and her Parliaments</i> , 2 Volumes (London: Jonathan Cape, 1969).
Nuns Project	'Who were the Nuns?' A Prosopographical study of the English Convents in exile 1600-1800 supported by Queen Mary College, University of London. <u>URL: http://wwtn.history.gmul.ac.uk</u>
ODNB	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,</i> Oxford University Press, 2004; online edition, January 2008 <u>URL:http://www.oxforddnb.com</u>
P D House of Commons 1620 & 1621	Proceedings and Debates of the House of Commons, in 1620 and 1621. Collected by a member of that House. And now published from his original manuscript, With an appendix: In two volumes (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1766). (Gale ECCO Print Editions).
Questier: <i>Birkhead</i> Newsletters	M. C. Questier, <i>Newsletters from the Archpresbyterate of George Birkhead,</i> (London: Cambridge University Press, Camden Fifth Series, Volume 12, 1998).
Questier: Caroline Newsletters	M. C. Questier, <i>Newsletters from the Caroline Court 1631-</i> 1638 (London: Oxford University Press, 2005).
Questier: Community	M. C. Questier, Catholicism and Community in Early Modern England: Politics, Aristocratic Patronage and Religion, c.1550-1640 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).
Questier: Conversion	Michael C. Questier, <i>Conversion, Politics and Religion in England, 1580-1625</i> (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1996).
Questier: <i>Dynastic</i> Policy	Michael Questier (Ed.), <i>Stuart Dynastic Policy and Religious Politics 1621-1625</i> (London: Cambridge University Press, Camden Fifth Series, Volume 34, 2009).

Relf: <i>Debates</i>	F. H. Relf (Ed.), Notes of the Debates in the House of Lords Officially Taken by Robert Bowyer and Henry Elsing Clerks of the Parliaments A.D.1621, 1625, 1628 (London: The Royal Historical Society, 1929).
Ruigh: <i>1624</i>	Robert Ruigh, <i>The Parliament of 1624: Politics and Foreign</i> <i>Policy</i> (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1971).
Rushworth: Collections	John Rushworth, Historical Collections of Private Passages of State, Weighty Matters in Law, Remarkable Proceedings in five Parliaments beginning The Sixteenth Year of King James, anno 1618 and ending the Fifth Years of King Charles, anno 1629 Digested in Order of Time, Volume 1 of 8 (London: 1721) (Gale ECCO Print Edition).
Russell: Nature of a Parliament	Conrad Russell, 'The Nature of a Parliament in Early Stuart England' in H. Tomlinson (Ed.) <i>'Before the English Civil War'</i> (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1983) 123-150.
Russell: Parliaments	Conrad Russell, <i>Parliaments and English Politics 1621-1629</i> (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979).
Shagan: Protestant Nation	Ethan H. Shagan (Ed.), <i>Catholics and the 'Protestant Nation,'</i> <i>Religious Politics and Identity in Early Modern England</i> (Manchester: Manchester University Press 2005).
Sharpe: Arundel	Kevin Sharpe 'The Earl of Arundel, His Circle and the Opposition to the Duke of Buckingham, 1618-1628 in <i>Sharpe: Faction</i> , 209-244.
Sharpe: Faction	K. Sharpe (Ed.), Faction & Parliament, Essays on Early Stuart History (London: Oxford University Press, 1978).
Sharpe: Perspective	Kevin Sharpe, 'Parliamentary History 1603-1629: In or out of Perspective', in <i>Sharpe: Faction</i> , 1-42.
Smith: Sir Michael Hickes	Alan G. R. Smith, Servant of the Cecils: The Life of Sir Michael Hickes 1543-1612 (London: Jonathan Cape, 1977).
Smith: Parliaments	David L. Smith, T <i>he Stuart Parliaments 1603-1689</i> (London: Arnold Publishers, 1999).
Stone: Crisis	Lawrence Stone, <i>Crisis of the Aristocracy 1558-1641</i> (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979).
Stone: Family and Fortune	Lawrence Stone, Family and Fortune: Studies in Aristocratic Finance in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1973).
Tite: Impeachment	C. C. G. Tite, <i>Impeachment and Parliamentary Judicature in Early Stuart England</i> (London: University of London, The Athlone Press, 1974).

Villiers: Hastings 1621	Lady de Villiers, 'The Hastings Journal of the Parliament of 1621' in <i>The Camden Miscellany,</i> Volume 20. (London: The Royal Historical Society, 1953).
Walsham: <i>Church</i> Papists	Alexandra Walsham, <i>Church Papists, Catholicism, Conformity and Confessional Polemic in Early Modern England</i> (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2002).
Watts: Northumberland	S. J. & Susan J. Watts, <i>From Border to Middle Shire:</i> <i>Northumberland, 1586-1625</i> (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1975).
Williamson: Arundells of Wardour	B. Williamson, The Arundells of Wardour From Cornwall to Colditz (Salisbury: The Hobnob Press, 2011).
Willson: <i>Bowyer</i>	D. H. Willson (Ed.), <i>The Parliamentary Diary of Robert Bowyer</i> <i>1606-1607</i> (Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1931).
Wormald: <i>James VI</i> and I	Jenny Wormald, James VI and I: Two Kings Or One? in <i>History</i> Volume 68, Issue 223, (June 1983) 187-209.
Young: <i>Buckingham</i>	Michael Young, 'Buckingham, War, and Parliament: Revisionism Gone Too Far' in <i>Parliamentary History</i> , Volume 4, Issue 1 (December 1985) 45-67.
Yonge: <i>Diary</i>	Diary of Walter Yonge, Esq., Justice of the Peace, and M.P. for Honiton, written at Colyton and Axminster, Co. Devon, from 1604 to 1628 (Camden Society (1848). (Bibliolife Reprint).
Zaller:1621	Robert Zaller, <i>The Parliament of 1621: A Study in</i> <i>Constitutional Conflict</i> (California: Berkeley and Los Angeles, California University Press, 1971).
Zim: Thomas Sackville	Rivkah Zim, 'Religion and the Politic Counsellor: Thomas Sackville, 1536-1608 in <i>English Historical Review, V</i> olume CXXII Number 498 (September 2007) 892-917.



The Thames at Westminster Stairs, c.1630 (oil on panel) Jongh, Claude de (fl.1610-1663) (Reproduced under Licence from Bridgeman Art Library)

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

This thesis is a prosopographical study of the participation of Catholic peers in the Parliaments of James I. It also attempts to reintegrate the history of English Catholicism within a wider mainstream historical context to contribute to our understanding of the nature of Jacobean Parliaments in general and the House of Lords in particular. Finally, it tries to enhance our appreciation of the complex and often transient nature of post Reformation English Catholicism, through an examination of the ways in which Catholic peers were involved in all aspects of parliamentary procedure.

The relationship between Catholicism and Parliament is a topic that cuts across much of the historiography of post Reformation England, but it is an area of study that remains largely neglected. The reason for this seems to be that much of the scholarship relating to English Catholic history has taken it as axiomatic that no such relationship existed, and historians generally seem to remain sceptical about, or even uninterested in, Catholic involvement in Parliament even though it is widely accepted that some Catholics did sit in the House of Lords. This is borne out by the fact that in the 20 years that I have been intermittently working on this project, as far as I am aware, it remains a relatively untapped area of early Stuart history.

One of the main stumbling blocks to any serious study of Catholics in Parliament has been the pre-occupation of scholars of early Stuart government and administration with trying to find answers to the problematic relationships with Parliament experienced by both James I and his son, Charles I; and of course the Civil War has loomed large over all these debates. As far as English Catholics are concerned, the traditional reliance on the records of recusancy laws as a benchmark for religious deviance has meant that a whole section of early modern English society has been, until fairly recently, largely ignored.

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The approach adopted in this thesis has links with more recent developments in the scholarship of post Reformation English Catholicism that encompass wider interdisciplinary contributions from scholars of History, English and Renaissance Studies. These stress the need for a greater appreciation of the tensions within English Catholicism and an acknowledgement of the need to consider the experiences of English Catholics within a broader English context.¹ Their emphasis on the fault lines, both between and within post Reformation English religious opinion and practice, and the need to bring together post Reformation Catholic history and mainstream English history, all sits quite neatly with what I am trying to achieve here. By adopting a more inclusive approach to the period, it is possible to offer some more insights into some neglected aspects of Jacobean Parliaments.

This examination highlights the importance that Catholic peers placed on their role as members of the governing elite. Like their Protestant contemporaries, many Catholics were anxious to maintain their status and would often go to great lengths to preserve their social and financial status. In his 'Relation of England,' Piero Contarini, the Venetian Ambassador wrote in 1618 that Catholics,

are unfavourably looked upon and suffer continual persecution so that many, in order to escape extermination remain secretly good Catholics but accommodate themselves to necessity. The number of these is much larger than of those who openly declare themselves.²

From the government's point of view, James asked just two things of his Catholic subjects; that they should be loyal and outwardly conform to the law by attending the services of the established church and, after 1606, they were required to swear the Oath of Allegiance. Those peers whose loyalty was unquestioned, but whose conscience would not allow them to comply with the law, could sometimes compound with the authorities. In June 1611 Anthony Maria Browne, second Viscount Montague was granted a pardon for refusing to take the Oath of Allegiance, for harbouring

¹ See, for instance, Shagan: *Protestant Nation;* Highey: *Catholics Writing the Nation and* Questier: *Conversion*

² *C.S.P. Venetian*, Volume 15, 1617-1619, 419.

seminary priests, and for sending his children abroad on the payment of \pm 6,000 at fixed terms.³

The thesis will commence with fuller explanation of the historiographical traditions that have informed this project, followed by a discussion of sources and methods. This will incorporate a close consideration of the difficult matter of definition and explain the production of the large number of appendices and tables that support the body of this work. The process of identifying almost half of these peers in terms of their Catholicism has been the most problematic aspect of this research and has led to a broad questioning about the concept of definition. With countless variables to consider, coupled with a lack of available definitive evidence, it is admitted that some of the statements made about the religious sympathies of some of the peers included in this study, are tenuous at best.

The thesis proper will commence with an outline of the conventions that determined who was entitled to sit in the House of Lords during the reign of James I, and examine the changing composition of its secular membership. This is essential for explaining the presence of Catholics in the Upper House at this time. Discussions of the promotion of loyal Catholics to the English peerage will also demonstrate the ecclesiastical policy of James I at work which broadly sits well with the work of Kevin Fincham and Peter Lake.⁴ For James I it was essential to distinguish between the moderate and more radical elements of the different strands of religious opinion. Indeed, just prior to his accession to the English throne King James wrote to Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland saying that he

will neither persecute any [Catholics] that will be quiet, and give but an outward obedience to the law, neither will I spare to advance any of them that will be good service worthily deserve it.⁵

What was critical to English Catholic peers was the preservation of their family status and appearance in the House of Lords was an important indicator of their success. It is

³ *C.S.P. Domestic,* James I (1611-1618) Volume 64, 38-51.

⁴ Fincham & Lake: *Ecclesiastical Policy: James.*

⁵ Bruce: *Correspondence of King James VI*, 75-76.

no accident therefore that this thesis has been heavily concerned with looking at families and associates in compiling the data that has informed the text. All of this, however, raises further problems as families were not always united in their religious attachments and cross-confessional marriages were not uncommon.

We also need to recognise that contemporary reports about individuals' activities were often based on gossip and conjecture, and that in the febrile atmosphere of debate individuals could be labelled as 'papists' when clearly such allegations were incorrect. Moreover, because an individual happened to appear on a parliamentary petition against recusant officeholders it is not a definitive statement of their own religious sympathies, as evidenced by the presence of the name of Sir James Perrott on the petition presented to the House of Lord in 1624. He was one of the most outspoken members of the Commons against Catholicism. Even the name Tobie Matthew, the Archbishop of York appeared on the 1624 petition, owing to his son's conversion to Catholicism.

Having set the contextual framework, the peers identified as being Catholic or being closely associated with Catholicism will be introduced by means of a series of biographical sketches.

The main body of this thesis will concentrate on the three key areas of the parliamentary process in which peers operated. The first subject of concentrated analytical enquiry will be attendance. By attending parliament, Catholic peers were able to join in the debates and cast their votes on all matters that were brought before the House of Lords. These enquiries will show that the attendance of Catholic peers was often comparable with, and indeed, sometimes greater than that of their Protestant colleagues, especially during the first half of the reign. It also provides an opportunity to explore peers' absence, which suggests ways in which this aspect of membership of the House of Lords could be used for political purposes. There is clear evidence that peers used the proxy system for political ends by nominating a proctor whose political views matched their own. Furthermore, while on the one hand the bestowal and receipt of proxies by Catholic peers reveals a real sense of cohesion among co-religionists, at the same time it emphasizes the integrated nature of English society by demonstrating how familial, kinship and patronage ties could transcend differences in religious outlook.

The second area of Catholic peers' activity examined by this thesis is their involvement in the committees of the Upper House. This will show that every Catholic peer who paid more than a peripheral visit to Parliament was appointed to committees. Committees were central to the work of Parliament, and it is in this arena where most of the evidence can be found of the involvement of Catholics in the proceedings of the Upper House. It is also where Catholic peers had an opportunity to contribute to some of the important decision-making of the period.

These enquiries will highlight the inclusive role of Catholic peers in decisions concerning all aspects of legislation and judicature, the more weighty matters, as well as issues that had important implications for English Catholics. By undertaking some comparative analysis with Protestant peers and addressing some basic questions, these enquiries will also introduce a new dimension to this area of parliamentary history, and demonstrate that Catholic peers were fully integrated into this critical component of the work of the Upper House. Some of the answers to these enquiries will also reveal details of the personnel and the changing patterns of their involvement, some of the reasons for which can be found in responses to developments in the religio-political climate in the second half of the reign.

The final area of Catholic involvement in the parliamentary arena takes peers outside of Westminster into the constituencies and explores their involvement in the electoral process. This has been undertaken by means of an extensive search through the online biographies and surveys of constituencies contained in the *History of Parliament* database. By trawling through the entries it has been possible to demonstrate that several Catholic peers were fully involved in the electoral process, which was a fundamental part of the rights and duties that devolved from their position as manorial lords and government officials. No Catholic peer was precluded from involvement solely on the grounds of their religion, and some of their nominees were

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either closet Catholics or had close associations with Catholicism, while many Protestant candidates were happy to accept their patronage. These enquires provide further evidence of how family and factional rivalries could cut across religious differences with, for example, Catholics and puritans colluding in the election of a puritan candidate.

The results achieved as a consequence of the extensive use made of the *HOP* database have demonstrated the invaluable nature of the biographies and surveys of constituencies and it contains, as well as the enormous potential it offers researchers. The effective search engine has revealed evidence that suggests the presence of extensive (in terms of geographical location) Catholic networks within the House of Commons which deserve further investigation. Online access to other resource based projects such as the *ODNB* and the *Nuns Project* as well as the mine of primary sources available through the *Institute of Historical Research* website, especially the parliamentary journals, bring 24 hour access to this essential material. As such it has made this aspect of the research process so much more straightforward and represents a major coup for the accessibility of important documentary evidence as well as the development of research methods.

This thesis is unashamedly 'history from above,' which itself is a methodological approach that has perhaps largely been relegated to the sidelines in recent years. Such an approach is however vital if we are improve our understanding of the nature of early modern English society, our appreciation of its key institutions and the interaction between the centre and localities.

This thesis has concentrated on the reign of James I because for English Catholics, 1603 was somewhat of a watershed in terms of the promotion of several of their number to the peerage, and their reintegration into the Jacobean court and government. Furthermore, during the reign several key events occurred that had a direct impact on the condition of English Catholics – the proposed Union with Scotland, the gunpowder plot in 1605 and its aftermath, the Great Contract, the assassination of Henry IV of France in 1610, the commencement of the Thirty Years War in 1618, the proposed Spanish Marriage and negotiations for a war with Spain in 1624, which together with the attendant erratic enforcement of penal legislation provide a thorough basis upon which to focus these enquiries. This thesis therefore hopefully contributes to our understanding of the reign of James I.

This study also draws upon a wide range of sources that are in print such as ambassadorial reports, diaries and letters and rests on the efforts of some of the considerable range of scholarship involved in resource based projects such as The Yale Center for Parliamentary History⁶ and Elizabeth Read Foster⁷ as well as Michael Questier's⁸ and A. J. Loomie's⁹ volumes of letters containing news and gossip written from two different but purely Catholic perspectives. Nor can we deny the value of the work of earlier of historians of English Catholicism¹⁰ which, although heavily coloured by notions of isolation and persecution, has identified individual Catholics at court as well as networks linked by kinship and marriage.

By drawing together the two historiographical traditions of Parliamentary and Catholic history, and analysing the role of Catholics in Parliament, it has been possible to integrate all of the above scholarship into one fairly comprehensive study. It is hoped, therefore, that this thesis will make an important contribution to our knowledge of early Stuart Parliaments and Catholicism, of James I and of English society as a whole.

⁶ Jansson & Bidwell: *Parliament 1625;* Jansson & Bidwell: *Parliament 1626, House of Lords.*

⁷ Foster: *Lords 1610*.

⁸ Questier: *Birkhead Newsletters;* Questier: *Dynastic Policy;* Questier: *Caroline Newsletters.*

⁹ Loomie: *Spain, Volume 64;* Loomie: *Spain, Volume 68.*

¹⁰ Aveling: *Handle & Axe;* Bossy: *Catholic Community.*

Chapter 2

HISTORIOGRAPHICAL APPROACHES TO THIS SUBJECT

The aim of this chapter is to give some definition and framework to the substance of this thesis and to demonstrate the significance of examining the participation of the Catholic peerage in the Parliaments of James I. This will be achieved through a discussion of developments in the literature that has contributed to the formulation and feasibility of the topic.

As discussed in the Introduction this thesis has been informed by, and taps into, two disparate historical traditions that are central to the study of early modern England. The first of these relates to the work of historians of early modern Parliaments which for many years was written largely in the style of the grand narrative of national transformation from an absolutist monarchy to a constitutional monarchy, established by Lord Macaulay and Samuel Gardiner in the nineteenth century;¹ a view that was perpetuated by historians such as Wallace Notestein² almost a century later. For these historians conflict between Crown and Parliament was the central feature of early Stuart politics. They emphasized the growing assertiveness and confidence of the House of Commons, puritans in particular, and the rise of 'parliamentary government' that culminated in the Glorious Revolution of 1688. The second tradition relates to the work of historians of post reformation English Catholicism which for centuries was represented by polemical tracts of martyrdom, hagiography and persecution.³

In the second half of the twentieth century many aspects of the history of early modern England witnessed a profound transformation as both mainstream and

¹ T. B. Macaulay, 'History of England,' in *The Life and Works of Lord Macaulay*, Volume 1 of 10 (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1898); S. R. Gardiner, *History of England from the Accession of James I to 1642*, 10 Volumes (1883-84).

² Wallace Notestein, '*The Winning of the Initiative by the House of Commons*' (London: Oxford University Press, 1951) - his Raleigh Lecture on History delivered on 2nd October 1924.

³ The legacy of Catholic polemicists still prevails in some quarters and, although it is not the purpose of this study to deny or even diminish Catholic persecution during this period, there is much evidence to suggest that this was only part of the story, albeit an important one.

Catholic revisionist historians raised fundamental questions about the nature of early Stuart Parliaments, and of post Reformation English Catholicism. As a consequence, Parliament was no longer seen as an institution growing in assertiveness and power.⁴ By re-evaluating the operation of Parliament, the work of key individuals and committees, and by a general awareness of the greater complexity surrounding the interaction between the House of Commons and the House of Lords, historians such as Conrad Russell and Kevin Sharpe⁵ have influenced the questions that we need to ask about the role of Catholics in the House of Lords. Debates about English Catholicism, on the other hand, led by such figures as John Bossy and John Aveling,⁶ focused on questions of survival, the role of priests, social isolation, community formation, and persecution in the reign of Elizabeth I.

Other work over the last 20 years has fed into this project, notably a change in attitude towards James I, and a strong sense that 1603 marks a watershed in the history of the British Isles. This has led to the spotlight being turned on the reign of James I as a period in its own right, rather than with reference to the reign of 'glorious good Queen Bess' or as a precursor to how things went badly wrong under Charles I in the lead up to the Civil War. We have also been fortunate to have valuable studies on notable royal courtiers such as the Henry Howard, first Earl of Northampton,⁷ George Villiers, first Duke of Buckingham⁸ and Robert Cecil, first Earl of Salisbury,⁹ as well as some of the lesser known Catholic members of the House of Lords such as John Petre, first Baron Petre,¹⁰ John Lumley, sixth (or first) Baron Lumley¹¹ and Thomas Arundell, first

⁴ Conrad Russell, 'Parliamentary History in Perspective 1604-29' in *History*, Volume 61 (1976) 1-27.

⁵ *ibid;* Sharpe: *Perspective.*

⁶ Bossy: Catholic Community; Aveling: Handle & Axe.

⁷ Levy Peck: *Northampton.*

⁸ Lockyer: Buckingham.

⁹ Pauline Croft (Ed.), *Patronage, Culture and Power: The Early Cecils* (New Haven & London, Yale University Press, 2002); David Loades, *The Cecils: Privilege and Power behind the Throne* (The National Archives, 2009).

¹⁰ A. C. Edwards, John Petre: Essays on the Life and Background of John, 1st Lord Petre, 1549-1613 (London: Regency Press, 1975).

¹¹ Leo Gooch, *A Complete Pattern of Nobility, John Lord Lumley (c.1534-1609)* (Rainton Bridge: The University of Sunderland Press, 2009).

Baron Arundell of Wardour.¹² These have enhanced our understanding of the role of aristocrats in society and the operation of patronage networks.

Critical to work that is drawing together many threads in this field are the valuable publications of the *History of Parliament Trust*. The last few years have witnessed the completion of much work on the biographies of members of the House of Commons; this has yet to be mined fully by scholars, but only a quick inspection has revealed how much may now be learned about Catholics in the Lower as well as the Upper House. This work in turn has been well served by the efforts of the Yale Center for Parliamentary History which has supervised the publication of so many of the sources that have fed this thesis, although much of their work has concentrated of the parliaments of Charles I.

Notwithstanding the above work, there has remained an enormous gulf between the histories of Parliament and Catholicism. Indeed, one could say that the two 'disciplines' have inhabited different worlds. On the odd occasions that their worlds have collided much of Catholicism's association with Jacobean Parliaments has been rendered a single dimension, which has conjured up images of gunpowder and conspiracy, and of a puritan led House of Commons railing against the absence of effective legislation to deal with what it perceived as the threat posed by the growing numbers of Catholics at home, and from continental Catholicism. Catholicism, in the context of Parliament was therefore relegated to a pejorative construct conferring notions of 'anti-popery,' 'popish plots,' and 'fifth columnists,' among others. To suggest that a body of Catholics was busily occupied with the everyday business of a Parliament from within the palace of Westminster, rather than with its destruction from beneath it, would have been untenable. Indeed, apart from the blip of 1605, engendered by Robert Catesby and his cohorts, much of the history of Jacobean Parliaments continues to ignore its Catholic element altogether, and much of the recent scholarship of Jacobean Catholicism largely tends to ignore any political (i.e. parliamentary) dimension in the lives of James's Catholic subjects.

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Barry Williamson, *The Arundells of Wardour ... from Cornwall to Colditz* (Salisbury: The Hobnob Press, 2011).

Consequently, although historians are beginning to recognise the need to reintegrate Catholic history with mainstream ecclesiastical history, they have not broadened the parameters of their research to assimilate Catholic history and mainstream political history, which is extraordinary given the scale of Catholic involvement in all aspects of Jacobean government and Parliaments at this time.

This anomaly became apparent some years ago while researching a BA dissertation, the initial motor for which came from the work of Kevin Sharpe, who argued that the evidence contained in the official collections in the State Papers Domestic, or envoys' letters relating to parliamentary proceedings portray 'a world of flux and doubt, not one of resolution and certainty, a clash of personality not principle, a quarrel about forms and methods not about fundamentals.¹³ He contended that more consideration should be given to the court and Privy Council whose members often failed to contain factional disputes and intrigues which spilled over into the parliamentary arena through the machinations of networks of patronage.¹⁴ Allegiances and connections ran in all directions; factions at court and in the Lords had clients in the Commons, and members of the Commons had patrons, fathers and other relations who were members of the Lords. For Sharpe, the spectre of George Villiers, first Duke of Buckingham and his monopoly of favour and patronage, his political manoeuvres coupled with the large number of new offices created for his followers, and his manipulation of faction which made it difficult for James to work with the Council, were major contributory factors in the causes of the political instability of the late 1620s.15

Kevin Sharpe's focus clearly concentrated on the 1620s, so the purpose of my initial research was to test his general hypothesis through an examination of the Parliament of 1614 and the furore caused rumours of parliamentary undertakings. As the involvement of the crypto Catholic Henry Howard, first Earl of Northampton became a

¹³ Sharpe: *Perspective;* 13.

¹⁴ Sharpe: *Perspective*; K. Sharpe, 'A Commonwealth of Meanings: Languages, Analogues, Ideas and Politics' in K. Sharpe, *Politics & Ideas in Early Stuart England* (London: Pinter Publishers Ltd, 1989) 3-71.

¹⁵ K. Sharpe, 'Faction at the Early Stuart Court', in *History Today*, Volume 33 (October 1983) 43; Sharpe: *Perspective*, 42.

central feature of the discussions, the enquiries uncovered a surprising number of members of the House of Lords who were either Catholic, had close Catholic connections, and had close links with members of the House of Commons, through ties of electoral patronage or family. As these findings ran so contrary to perceived notions of Catholic proscription at this time, they provided an excellent opportunity to investigate further. And, while the contention that there were Catholic peers in the House of Lords is not itself novel, as indeed histories of this period are strewn with the odd asides relating to one Catholic personality or another, evidence does indicate that Catholic involvement in all aspects of Parliament was far greater than hitherto assumed.

The irony is that the revisionists claimed to have raised all sorts of fundamental questions about the workings of Parliament, its strength as an institution, the relationship between the Commons and the Lords and indeed made important breakthroughs relating to the power of the Lords over the Commons, the effectiveness of the Commons with regard to legislation, procedural developments, how the committee system worked, and the changing nature of the electoral system. And, while attention was deflected away from a 'Puritan choir,'¹⁶ emphasizing instead groups determined by faction or the rise of Arminianism, especially during James's later Parliaments, they did not move on to the next stage of saying that there were also groups of pro-active Catholics busying themselves in the election process before a Parliament convened, and in the everyday business of parliamentary proceedings in a way that we really ought to know about. Admittedly these historians were trying to find answers to the problems experienced by James and Charles with their Parliaments, and it is not the contention of this study that the Catholic peers identified here were in any way the cause of those problems, but their presence did excite Protestant hysteria during the Parliament of 1624.

Neale: Elizabeth I, 91-92.

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Needless to say, the value of the revisionists work has been considerable. By establishing a blueprint for providing new interpretative frameworks for understanding the political world of the early Stuarts and its relationships beyond the confines of Westminster, it has helped to break down some of the barriers and open up the world inhabited by James I's Catholic subjects. From the point of view of this study, the most important areas the revisionists have highlighted have been the need to consider the reign of James I as a period in its own right, the significance of the role of members of the House of Lords in the direction of affairs, and the interaction of all three components of Parliament (King, Lords and Commons). These factors are crucial to these enquiries because roughly one third of members of the Jacobean House of Lords still had enduring associations with Catholicism and many also had clients, friends and relatives in the House of Commons.

The responses to the new historiography were mixed with much of the scholarship emanating from the James I and Parliament direction moving forward to encompass some original and innovative work.¹⁷ On the other hand, for several years the work of historians of post Reformation English Catholicism tended to remain focused on the few issues that emerged from the revisionists' debates. Nonetheless, more recent work undertaken by historians such as Michael Questier and Ethan Shagan,¹⁸ has led the way in calling for ways of looking at how Catholics were integrated in wider society, rather than how they were isolated, and have highlighted the need to carry such investigations further by looking at London, the court and Parliament.

Notwithstanding this renewed emphasis, there is still a heavy concentration on the House of Commons and the reigns of Elizabeth I and Charles I. And, even though many histories of this period do acknowledge the presence of Catholic peers in the House of Lords, it seems that the poor attendance record of some has been used as a yardstick

¹⁷ See, for instance, Wormald: James VI and I; Kyle & Peacey: Parliament at Work; Chris R. Kyle, Theater of State: Parliament and Political Culture in Early Stuart England (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2012); Pauline Croft, 'Capital Life: Members of Parliament outside the House' in R. Cogwell, R. Cust & P. Lake (Eds.) Politics, Religion and Popularity in Early Stuart Britain: Essays in Honour of Conrad Russell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002) 65-83.

¹⁸ Questier: *Conversion;* Questier: *Community;* Shagan: *Protestant Nation.*

to expunge any interest in, or enquiry of, the conduct of those who did attend and participate in the proceedings. In an article challenging the view that opposition in the House of Lords was of a personal nature, and that it was unorganised and sporadic, J. S. Flemion acknowledged the presence of a group of Catholic peers in the House of Lords, and even listed them in a footnote. Flemion calculated that even 'after a half century of recusancy laws' Catholic peers outnumbered this opposition group by at least ten, arguing further that unlike the Catholics, the group acquired the ability to influence affairs in the Upper House; ¹⁹ a contention that will be challenged in subsequent chapters.

Extant accounts of individual members' performance in the House of Lords usually take the form of an adjunct to the main focus of scholars' enquiries. For instance, biographies such as those of Henry Howard, first Earl of Northampton,²⁰ or George Villiers, first Duke of Buckingham,²¹ while based on exhaustive research and invaluable in many respects, tend to moderate their subject's poor reputation, so much of their coverage of events in the House of Lords has been shaped accordingly. For instance, Pauline Croft has shown that Linda Levy Peck underplayed the antagonism between Robert Cecil, first Earl of Salisbury and Northampton that is portrayed in Northampton's letters to Robert Carr, first Earl of Somerset.²² And Michael Young, by examining Buckingham's commitment to war in the 1620s, contended that Lockyer's vindication of Buckingham is so extreme that it represents 'revisionism gone too far.'²³

The process by which members of the House of Commons were chosen in the seventeenth century is an area of scholarship that could have huge potential for the study of Catholic involvement in the political arena. As many Catholics were still significant land-owners and some held important government offices either locally or nationally, they were able to wield influence in the selection of members of Parliament, but to date historians seem to have been disinclined to examine just how

¹⁹ Flemion: *Opposition*.

²⁰ Levy Peck: *Northampton.*

²¹ Lockyer: *Buckingham*.

²² Croft: *The Reputation of Robert Cecil,* 63.

²³ Young: *Buckingham*.

influential these Catholics were. Instead, debates that centre on early Stuart elections have largely concentrated on the process and timing of the transformation of the electoral process which, it is argued, ultimately led to a decline in court influence and the rise of a politically aware electorate. It is generally agreed that during the earlier years of James I's reign at least, contested elections were in the minority and John Gruenfelder has calculated that between 1604 and 1628 perhaps 24-30 per cent of Commons seats were filled by nominees of the peerage.²⁴ But, although he referred to a number of leading Catholic patrons in particular areas by name, he failed to discuss their religious affiliation or its implications in respect of the choice of their candidate. The main terms of reference for Catholicism in the context of parliamentary elections is in connection with the election of godly candidates and opposition to popery, especially in the 1620s when the ramifications of James's dynastic and foreign policies produced widespread anger among many English Protestants.

Catholic history, on the other hand, although potentially given new vitality by revisionist historians, had become so entrenched in notions of social isolation and debates about the ways and means of its survival that the opportunity to broaden discussions of the Catholic community's relationship with the Protestant regime was, for a time lost, at least on a national scale. J. C. H. Aveling did cite a number of Catholic officeholders and discussed the widespread practice of heads of families and their heirs conforming as a means of avoiding the legislation, but again he stopped short of pursuing this theme as he was chiefly concerned with demonstrating the significance of this practice for sustaining the 'Old Faith'.²⁵

County studies, which began to emerge during the second half of the last century,²⁶ have shed more light on Catholic involvement within their local communities and pieced together some of their familial and patronage associations. Indeed a number of

²⁴ Gruenfelder: *Influence*, 213-14, 222-3.

²⁵ Aveling: *Handle & Axe*.

For instance, Manning: Elizabethan Sussex; Watts: Northumberland; Peter Clark, English Provincial Society from the Reformation to Revolution: Religion, Politics and Society in Kent 1500-1640 (Hassocks, Sussex: The Harvester Press Limited, 1977); M. James, Family, Lineage and Civil Society: A Study of Society, Politics and Mentality in the Durham Region, 1500-1640 (Oxford: Oxford University Press; revised edition, 1974).

these studies have used religion as their central theme and, while generally setting Catholics firmly within their local, and largely Elizabethan, context, they have offered important insights into their participation in local officeholding and highlight just how ordinary the lives of many English Catholics tended to be, especially among the upper echelons of society. Admittedly, Catholics in the localities were subject to the force of the law at irregular intervals, or even the force of local animosity which might often be motivated merely by localised disputes, but in general terms the picture portrayed by these local studies does not sit well with the images of persecution that prevailed for so long. However, none of these studies managed to shift dominant views of political history. In her study of Warwickshire Ann Hughes²⁷ focused on the landed elite, and showed that individuals living in county communities took a great deal of interest in parliamentary proceedings, court scandals, foreign policy and other political matters, which could be characterized by contemporaries through verse, libels, or from printed accounts in the form of newsletters and separates.²⁸

It is clear from the above that the contention that there were Catholics in the House of Lords, and indeed in all walks of Jacobean society, is not at all new, but throughout the work discussed so far the value of investigating its significance has not been fully appreciated. However, as mentioned above, a number of key writers are beginning to recognise that Catholic involvement in many aspects of Jacobean life was much more significant than hitherto assumed. And while these historians have been working in all sorts of areas that touch upon Catholics in the public domain including the legacy and personality of James I,²⁹ his court, bedchamber, significant personalities and the

²⁷ Ann Hughes, *Politics, Society, and Civil War in Warwickshire 1620-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002). These factors were also highlighted by the debates centred on the electoral process primarily in Hirst: *Representative of the People* and Cust: *Politics & the Electorate*.

See also Croft: *The Reputation of Robert Cecil;* Richard Cust, 'News and Politics in Early Seventeenth-Century England' in *Past & Present,* Volume 112 (1986), 60-90; Stephen Clucas and Rosalind Davies (Eds.), *The Crisis of 1614 and The Addled Parliament: Literary and Historical Perspectives* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2003); Pauline Croft, 'Libels, Popular Literacy and Public Opinion in Early Modern England' in *Historical Research,* 68 (1995) 266-285 and A. Bellany, 'Raylinge rymes and vaunting verse', in K. Sharpe and P. Lake (Eds.) *Culture and Politics in Early Stuart England* (Stanford, California Stanford University Press, 1993) 285-310.

²⁹ Croft: *King James;* Houston: *James I;* Lockyer: *James VI & I.*

sale of titles,³⁰ they have stopped short of moving on to the next stage by saying there were Catholics in Parliament and a study of them is long overdue. Such works have, however, been of enormous assistance in defining the subject of this thesis and providing some assurances as to the validity of examining the participation of Catholics in the parliamentary arena.

For the purposes of this thesis, the reputation and legacy of James I is fundamental for setting the contextual framework for the study of English Catholics during his reign. Important work has been undertaken that has transformed perceived notions of the reign and it is now recognised that in many respects James was a much better king than centuries of bad press had allowed. For over 300 years, popular perceptions of James I were adversely coloured by the writings of seventeenth century commentators. The most influential of these was Sir Anthony Weldon who, having accompanied James I to Scotland in 1617, wrote a xenophobic invective against the Scots and Scotland, which came to the attention of the king.³¹ As a result Weldon was sacked from his post as Clerk of the Green Cloth and took his revenge by writing The *Court and Character of King James I*³² and although it was not published until after Weldon's death and the breakdown of censorship in the 1640s, it became a bestseller. Two further works of criticism by Arthur Wilson, The history of Great Britain being the Life and Reign of King James I Relating to what passed from his first Access to the Crown, till his Death (1653); and Francis Osborne, Some Traditional Memoryes on the Raigne of King James the First (1658), written long after the death of James were based largely on court gossip, and gave further impetus to the negative image of James ١.

Over the last few decades, historians have generally discarded the familiar image of James I satirized by Sellar and Yeatman in *1066 and All That*: 'James I slobbered at the mouth and had favourites; he was thus a Bad King.' As a result important inroads have

³⁰ Neil Cuddy, 'The Revival of the Entourage: The Bedchamber of James I 1603-1625' in David Starkey et al (Eds.), *The English Court from the Wars of the Roses to the Civil War*, London (1992); Levy Peck: *Court Patronage;* Levy Peck: *Northampton*.

³¹ Sir A. Weldon, 'A Perfect Description of the People and Country of Scotland' in P. Hume Brown (Ed.), *Early Travellers in Scotland* (Edinburgh: James Thin, 1978).

³² Sir Anthony Weldon, The *Court and Character of King James* (London: 1650).

been made into achieving a fuller understanding of James's motives and aspirations, as well as his court. It is important to discuss key aspects of James's role as king of England in order to explain the ethos that determined the climate in which Catholics functioned, and thereby how it was that Catholics were able to engage in both local and national affairs.

One of the most influential and innovative contributors to these debates was Jenny Wormald who initially challenged the traditional 'English' view of James, arguing instead that in political and ecclesiastical terms, James's Scottish experience had long been seriously undervalued and, in order to understand James I, one must look to his reign in Scotland.³³ The publication of her article was one of the pivotal moments for Jacobean history as it is key to understanding James's motives as king of England - and especially for this study - his attitude towards Parliament and Catholics. She asked why, as king of Scotland, James was considered such an astute ruler whose achievements in both church and state were manifold,³⁴ but as king of England after 1603 he became a drunken, dribbling buffoon? Was he two kings or one? Wormald argued that James's experiences in Scotland 'may have been a very great advantage' at least in political terms. She contended that it was in Scotland that he recognised and put into practice the need for personal and binding contact with his government and administrative officers, and to separate extremists from moderates, both puritan and Catholic. By balancing the interests of conflicting power bases, including Protestant and Catholic, he was able to turn things to his advantage and bring a period of peace unprecedented in Scotland's turbulent history.³⁵ Indeed, examples of this can be seen in James's lenient stance with the troublesome Catholic earls in the north of Scotland led by George Gordon, sixth Earl of Huntly,³⁶ and his appointment of Catholics to a commission, known as the Octavians, formed in 1595 by James VI to control the royal

³³ Wormald: James VI and I.

³⁴ For a more detailed discussion of James's Scottish achievements see, Jennifer M. Brown, 'Scottish Politics, 1567-1625', in Alan G. R. Smith (Ed.), *The Reign of James VI and I*, (1973) and Caroline Bingham, *James VI of Scotland* (Littlehampton: Littlehampton Book Services Limited, 1979).

³⁵ Wormald: *James VI and I,* 197-198.

³⁶ Created first Marquess of Huntly in 1599. For a concise account see Houston: *James I*, 6-7.

finance.³⁷ Thus his willingness as king of England to work with loyal Catholics, and even promote them to positions of influence and power, was not novel. A number of other correctives of James's reign have appeared since Jenny's Wormald's article, each offering a broader context from which to view the reign.

For instance, S. J. Houston provided an excellent overview of recent work which also analysed the problems, weaknesses and achievements of James I by examining some of the significant issues that arose during the reign.³⁸ Roger Lockyer reappraised James's achievements and, while acknowledging the king's limitations, emphasized the importance of considering him in the context of his fellow European rulers.³⁹ Lockyer also reminded us that although anti-Catholicism characterised the period, there was a clear difference between the heated debate of Westminster and the more peaceable nature of local communities where the individual Catholic neighbour or kinsman was tolerated. Pauline Croft⁴⁰ on the other hand, emphasized his role as king of multiple kingdoms and Glenn Burgess has edited a series of articles that consider the significance for English and British history, literature and culture as well as the Scottish, Welsh and wider European and colonial contexts.⁴¹

James I's strategy of separating moderates from extremists was given extensive treatment in an important article by Kenneth Fincham and Peter Lake, which examined the king's ecclesiastical policy by charting the development and collapse of his strategy for unity in the English church.⁴² The main thrust of their argument was that by isolating and excluding the radical elements of popery and Puritanism, James also tried to weaken the political dangers they both contained. The main tenor of his policy was extremely ambiguous, but this was essential for its success, affording James the maximum room for manoeuvre in his dealings with Catholics at home and abroad. Much of the article, although extremely informative, is not directly relevant to this

The eight commissioners were known from their number as the Octavians, but were relieved of their functions about two years later owing to the unpopularity of the reforms they proposed.
 Houston: I cannot leave leav

³⁸ Houston: *James I.*

³⁹ Roger Lockyer, *James VI & I* (Harlow: Addison Wesley Longman Ltd, 1998).

⁴⁰ Croft: *King James*.

⁴¹ Glenn Burgess, Rowland Wymer and Jason Lawrence (Eds.), *The Accession of James I: Historical and Cultural Consequences* (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2006).

⁴² Fincham & Lake: *Ecclesiastical Policy*.

thesis, covering James's policy towards the Puritans, theological and doctrinal distinctions, and factional and personal rivalries among the episcopate. However, included within all of this, is a section that deals with James's policy towards Catholics, and another that examines the polarisation of his church after 1618. Of particular interest for the purposes of this thesis is a résumé of James's view of the Church of Rome. This is especially important because it is the basis upon which the defence of his lenient stance towards moderate English Catholics rested. James made a distinction between core Catholic doctrines to be held *de fide* and other issues on which debate and disagreement were acceptable among Christians. This allowed him to argue that although some areas of belief and practice had been corrupted, the Church of Rome remained a true church since it professed the crucial doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation. It was papal pretensions of supremacy and the power to depose secular rulers at which James levelled his main criticism. Thus James welcomed moderate Catholics who were prepared to deny the papal deposing power and conform into his court, employed them as ambassadors abroad and even promised to be 'a friend to their persons if they be good subjects'.⁴³ However, while Fincham and Lake contended that the main evidence of James's moderate policy towards loyal Catholics could be demonstrated by the presence of many crypto-papists at the Jacobean court, they failed to make the connection that several of these cryptopapist courtiers also had seats in both houses of Parliament.

For the purposes of these enquiries the importance of the two articles discussed above is unequivocal for establishing the basic framework from which to develop this thesis. As an absolute monarch, James is key to understanding the context in which any examination of the reign can be undertaken. His Scottish experiences had taught him that the loyalty of his subjects was the means by which stability could be maintained and as king of England he adopted tried and tested methods in order to achieve this. James I's willingness to accommodate divergent confessional allegiances is an essential consideration in building a case for the significance of exploring the participation of Catholic peers in the parliamentary arena.

Fincham & Lake: Ecclesiastical Policy: James, 184.

Divergence is also an important theme that has been explored within Catholic scholarship as historians are recognising that the nature of English Catholicism during this period was much more complex than former narrow interpretations based on the myopic concentration on the recusant records allowed. In recent years Alexandra Walsham⁴⁴ and Michael Questier⁴⁵ have highlighted this complexity by placing more emphasis on church papists, and the political and religious motives underlying conversion to and from the Church of Rome. They have argued that a state of flux in religion existed at a time of prolonged religious transition, which caused a great deal of anxiety that was manifested in an uneasy conflict within the minds of individuals caught between politico-religious convictions. By exploring the grey areas of church papistry and conversion this work has portrayed a clearer, albeit more intricate, picture of post Reformation Catholicism by emphasizing how different individuals perceived their own Catholicism, and how, in the face of government legislation, they struggled to realise that perception through their everyday life. From the point of view of this thesis, this work has been central for trying to determine the criteria for selecting the Catholics under discussion in this study.

Alexandra Walsham has analysed the shape and significance of these anxieties and examined the ways religious deviance was defined and confessional identities created in Elizabethan and early Stuart England. She contended that in order to avoid imprisonment and impoverishment, church papistry was often an unavoidable patriarchal responsibility whereby 'heads of otherwise model dissenting gentry households resorted to occasional conformity to prevent the shattering of their property and the derogation of their status.'⁴⁶

By defining the anxieties and tensions faced by these individuals and emphasizing the prevalence of church papists, Walsham's work is of considerable importance for highlighting some of the ways and means by which Catholics were able to avoid the full censure of the law, enabling them to maintain their status and prosperity, as well as

⁴⁴ Walsham: *Church Papists.*

⁴⁵ Questier: *Conversion*.

⁴⁶ Walsham: *Church Papists*, 77-78

ensuring their inclusion in the local and national setting. But, from the point of view of my own focus, her contention that part of her aim was to offer some speculative comments on the consequences of focusing on religious and cultural integration as well as segregation, on co-operation as opposed to separation, turned out to be somewhat of a damp squib. Having reached the last few pages of her book, one learns that her speculative comments were directed at the potential prospect of Church Papists at a parochial level, as the possible forerunners of Arminianism and, as such should be afforded more consideration in Protestant history.⁴⁷ This is disappointing because a great deal more mileage could have been gained if Walsham had extended her examination of Church Papists' integration and co-operation into the material world, but she says little about their involvement in Jacobean life beyond the confines of their local communities.

Michael Questier, on the other hand, argued that defining religious allegiance in this period is much more problematical than the 'rigid and stultifying classification of people in terms of principled resistance or cynical accommodation with the State.⁴⁸ He pointed out that because people acted outwardly in similar ways, it does not follow that they shared identical thought patterns, and many Catholics were indifferent towards the requirement to attend a Protestant church. Of course, all this makes it virtually impossible to determine which Catholics who attended their local church did so because they had changed their religious allegiance and those who had not. In addition, as demonstrated by responses of students at the English College in Rome, even among those families who professed a papist background, an assortment of religious opinion and emphasis was expressed.⁴⁹

Instead, Questier contended that in order to unravel the nature of religious allegiance in this period, it is necessary to examine the different elements of the countless political and religious motives that caused an individual to change religion. By so doing, a much more complex state of flux in religion is exposed. These political and

⁴⁷ *ibid.* 97-98.

⁴⁸ Questier: *Conversion*, 2.

⁴⁹ *ibid.* 100.

religious motives were 'maintained in a constant tension; they do not fuse, nor is one subordinated to the other.⁵⁰ Thus he reminded us that conversion was not always a one-off event but was often a painful and protracted experience undertaken over long periods of wavering.

By examining the process of conversion,⁵¹ Questier's work has made an enormous impression on our understanding of what it meant to be a Catholic during this period, and how individuals differed in their perception of their own religious identity. This is fundamental for the purposes of this thesis as by emphasizing the multi-faceted nature of Catholicism at this time, the protracted and often faltering process of conversion, it is possible to take a much broader view of the heterogeneous group of individuals who comprised the 'Catholic' members of James I's Parliaments. Indeed, a manifest feature of these individuals is that they by no means constituted a unified group, adhering to a rigid set of qualifying doctrines, guidelines or rules. As the writs to attend a Parliament came directly from the king, it is reasonable to assume that the recipients were acceptable to James and were considered to be loyal and trustworthy. Not so, Lord William Howard, the brother of one of the king's senior government officials, of whom the king wrote to Robert Cecil, first Earl of Salisbury,

For notwithstanding the infinite trust I had in the faithfulness of his brother [Earl of Suffolk] and uncle [Earl of Northampton], yet I durst never bestow any preferment upon him in my days only because of his religion and devotion to Jesuits.⁵²

It is not entirely clear whether Howard's proclivity towards Jesuits was the sole reason for his exclusion, as a number of other Lords clearly had some connection with Jesuit priests.⁵³

⁵⁰ *ibid.* 3.

⁵¹ *ibid.* 11.

⁵² *HMC Salisbury*, Volume 19, 52-53.

⁵³ Henry Somerset, Baron Herbert (eldest son of Edward Somerset, fourth Earl of Worcester) was a member of the Jesuit church of Robert Jones; William Petre, second Baron Petre was a member of the Jesuit church of Anthony Hoskins; Henry Mordaunt, fourth Baron Mordaunt was a member of the Jesuit church of Michael Walpole and John Lumley, sixth (or first) Baron Lumley was a member of the Jesuit church of Thomas Abercrombie. Questier: *Community*, 289.

In an important article, Pauline Croft discussed the new title of baronet which represents a clear example of James's policy towards Catholics at work.⁵⁴ The project was devised to create no more than 200 baronets at a cost of £1,095 (payable in three instalments), which was to be allocated to maintain 30 foot soldiers in Ireland for three years at eight shillings a day.⁵⁵ Croft calculated that as many as 26 of the 88 new baronets created in 1611 came from recusant backgrounds, including a core of four interlinked families that had been deeply implicated in the gunpowder plot in 1605.

Among these was Sir John Tufton, the father-in-law of Francis Manners, sixth Earl of Rutland and Francis Tresham. He was also the father of Richard Tufton, Member of Parliament for Grantham in 1614, and Sir Nicholas Tufton, Member of Parliament for Peterborough in 1601 and Kent in 1624, when he was accused of popery during the election by supporters of Sir Edwin Sandys.⁵⁶ Another baronet with close associations with the gunpowder conspirators was Sir Thomas Gerard who was Member of Parliament for Lancashire in 1614 and Wigan in 1621, and brother of the 'hard-line' Jesuit John Gerard, a close friend of Robert Catesby.⁵⁷ But, as Croft convincingly pointed out, from the government's point of view, as well as its fiscal usefulness, it was also a policy that enabled the distinction to be made between the 'infested spirits' and reliable Catholic gentlemen that Cecil had written about immediately after the gunpowder plot.⁵⁸ Croft also contended that by 1611 James and Salisbury must have been confident enough that these relatives of the gunpowder traitors no longer posed a threat to national security. Thus the sale of baronetcies to these individuals was a means to reintegrate substantial landed families back into national and county life, and strengthen the bonds of loyalty which might help to prevent or reveal any other Catholic conspiracies.59

Croft: Baronets. 55 Lawrence Stone pointed out that as the payments were received direct into the Exchequer there was no guarantee what the money would be used for, but he did contend that while all the money may not all have been used for its designated purpose in Ulster, it was employed in Ireland. Stone: Crisis, 85.

⁵⁶ See Chapter 7 below.

⁵⁷ Pauline Croft also named Thomas Brudenell of Deene in Northamptonshire, and Lewis Tresham. Croft: Baronets, 274-276.

⁵⁸ Pauline Croft, 'The Religion of Robert Cecil' in The Historical Journal, Volume 34, Issue 4 (December 1991) 783.

⁵⁹ Croft: Baronets, 278-279.

By identifying and analysing a specific area of James's policy towards his Catholic subjects, Croft has made crucial inroads into establishing an inclusive element of early Stuart history which reflects the concerns of this thesis. While she does not consider the impact of the new title on the lives of individuals, more importantly, by acknowledging that these individuals were taking part in the same process as their Protestant neighbours, her study represents a significant breakthrough in the integration of Catholic and mainstream history of the period. Moreover, assuming Croft is correct and James did feel confident that it was appropriate to reintegrate these Catholics into national and county life, then surely after 400 years it must be appropriate for historians to set aside passé notions about the relationship of Catholics with the Protestant state, and broaden their discussions in order to reintegrate these groups of people into British history.

Another important area of research that has resonance for this thesis is patronage. As patronage was the cohesive force that bound the Crown, government and country together, it is essential to understand how it worked in order to appreciate how Catholics were able to function as both patron and client, but especially as it relates to the exercise of electoral patronage. Linda Levy Peck has carried out extensive research on the system of patronage, and has produced invaluable work that has analysed the language, context, configuration and consequences of royal patronage and corruption in early Stuart England.⁶⁰ She has shown how court patronage was transformed on the accession of James I, emphasizing how, compared with the parsimonious Elizabeth, his bounty was claimed by a larger elite that had been bolstered by population and economic growth and the expansion of the gentry. Acknowledging his responsibility to reward his subjects, James I increased the numbers of honours, titles, offices, pension and annuities, and many Catholics were among the beneficiaries.

James's court, his household and bedchamber were the focus of power and influence but also represented arenas into which loyal Catholics were able to gain access and pursue careers in royal service. Their composition has been the subject not only of

Levy Peck: Court Patronage.

recent scholarship, but also contemporary comment as disappointed place seekers lamented what they perceived as the presence of James's avaricious fellow Scots, while others bemoaned the presence of an unacceptable number of Catholics. Levy Peck dealt quite specifically with one such individual, in her biography of Henry Howard, first Earl of Northampton,⁶¹ a member of the House of Lords who was condemned by his contemporaries as an instrument of Spain and shelterer of Jesuits.⁶² From the point of view of this thesis Professor Peck's biography of Northampton is important from two perspectives. Not only does she give a detailed account of the involvement at the centre of government and administration of a Catholic who happened to be one of James's most important privy councillors and an active member of the House of Lords, by focusing on the actual workings of the Jacobean court, she has shed light on the practicalities of the patronage system and how local elites were connected to central government.

Northampton's extensive family landholdings coupled with his prestigious position at court and in government (especially after the death of the Lord Treasurer, Robert Cecil, first Earl of Salisbury in 1612 when he became *de facto* James's most important minister), ⁶³ enabled him to exert wide ranging influence through the creation of an extensive network of patron-client connections. While Northampton's patronage network encompassed a range of religious affiliation, including moderate puritans, of particular interest is Levy Peck's calculation that 17 (25 per cent) of Northampton's court clients were either recusants or Catholic sympathizers.⁶⁴ And, although she pointed out that Northampton was not able to offer advancement to practising Catholics, and his ability to employ Catholics even within his own service was subject to the limitation of the king, he was able to use his influence to assist them in other ways including the mitigation of punishment or assisting in the administration of their affairs during their exile.

⁶¹ Levy Peck: *Northampton*.

⁶² After the accession of James I in 1603 until just prior to his death in 1614, Northampton conformed to the established church when 'conscience had bowed to the realities of power'. *Ibid.* 55.

See Northampton's biographical sketch in Chapter 4 for details of his offices.
 Deale Market Constraints

Levy Peck: Northampton, 55-57.

The Earl of Northampton is simply a classic, well documented example of what other Catholic peers could also do; his patronage network operated on a grand scale. More particularly, Levy Peck discussed Northampton's parliamentary patronage contending that through his position as Lord Warden, he was able to name one of the two burgesses from each of the Cinque Ports, and as Chancellor of Cambridge University⁶⁵ he nominated one burgess in 1614, and was probably responsible for some of the nominees for Norfolk's five boroughs. Since the publication of Levy Peck's biography of Northampton, the *History of Parliament* Trust have published their volumes covering the parliaments of 1604 to 1629 and these confirm most of Levy Peck's findings about Northampton's electoral patronage. Levy Peck also discussed Northampton's participation in the House of Lords and the way he was able to influence the selection of a number of the first batch of recipients of the new title of baronet,⁶⁶ which, she suggested, represents the 'clearest and fullest picture of his patronage.' According to her calculations Northampton was connected with 34 of this group.⁶⁷

The significance of the above-mentioned works is that they recognise that under James Catholics were very much part of English society, government and administration. The value of this work to the course of these enquiries has been enormous. Not only has it increased the bank of knowledge already available, it has freed up some of the constraints of considering the role of Catholics within a Protestant historical tradition.

In 2005 a major breakthrough occurred in the historiography of post Reformation England with the publication of a series of essays edited by Ethan Shagan.⁶⁸ These essays combined the interests of both Catholic and Protestant historians in a concerted effort to 'pull Catholicism back into the mainstream of English historiography'.⁶⁹ The common characteristic of this group of historians was the

⁶⁵ This appointment came in 1612.

 ⁶⁶ According to Levy Peck, 92 baronets were created in 1611. *ibid.* 54. Croft, on the other hand calculated the figure as 88.
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⁶⁷ Levy Peck: *Northampton*, 51.

⁶⁸ Shagan: *Protestant Nation.*

⁶⁹ *ibid.* 1.

recognition that there are many aspects of both Catholic and Protestant history that cannot be fully understood in isolation; without considering the interaction of one with the other. And, while the focus is largely on the reign of Elizabeth I and the emphasis on ecclesiastical issues, at last, not only do we have an acknowledgement of the need to penetrate the barrier that has prevented the incursion by one discipline into territory of the other, but we have a determined effort to commence remedial work.

What is being claimed here is that we might at last be in a position to fill long-standing historiographical lacunae and join the two traditions outlined above. So, being firmly ensconced in the parliamentary tradition and taking advantage of the revisionists in this field both in terms of areas of research they have highlighted and omissions they have exposed, I am asking the same sorts of questions they have asked, but the focus of my questions is the role played by Catholic peers in Parliament. At the same time I am crossing the threshold into Catholic historiography by trying to establish what was happening in the lives of Catholics in post Reformation England through an examination of the role they played in the parliamentary arena. By following this course I hope to add a further aspect to the work of Professor Shagan et al by showing that neither parliamentary nor Catholic history can be fully understood without considering their interaction. By pursuing a group of Catholics through the electoral process, attendance, proxies and committees, their responses to specific issues through their speeches or even their absences, I hope to demonstrate that their role was too significant to be ignored, thereby giving a new dimension to the lives of Jacobean Catholics and to the nature of early modern English Parliaments.

CHAPTER 3 METHODS AND SOURCES

The purpose of this chapter is to establish the nature of this project and to explain the methods and sources used in its formulation. The discussions will loosely follow the framework of the thesis. As much of the evidence that has helped to build a picture of Catholic involvement in Jacobean Parliaments is scattered among countless letters, diaries and journals, this chapter will focus primarily on the sources that have been key to these enquires.

This thesis is a prosopographical study that explores the involvement of Catholic peers in Jacobean Parliaments. The broader contextual framework centres on the reign of James I whose Parliaments have remained a largely neglected area of research despite the clamour of the revisionist era for new ways of looking at the early Stuarts which emphasized the need the look at the reign of James I as a period in its own right. Moreover as the reign commenced in a climate of optimism with Catholic titles being restored after attainder under Elizabeth I, and other Catholics being promoted to the English peerage, it also provides an opportunity to chart the responses of Catholic peers to the changes that occurred in the religio-political climate which in the Parliament of 1624, culminated in several of their number being denounced in the House of Commons.

The structure is thematic but with a clear chronological element to reflect changes in the membership of the House of Lords, and the responses of Catholics peers to issues as they arose. After the preliminary introductory chapters, the main body comprises four chapters which explore different aspects of the participation of Catholic peers in the parliamentary arena. The first considers the membership of the House of Lords, especially in relation to its growth and the prevalence of Catholics within it. The next two chapters examine Catholic attendance and committee appointments by undertaking comparative analyses with Protestant peers and focusing on the effects of developments in the prevailing religio-politcal climate. Finally, the extent of the participation of Catholic peers in the electoral process will be assessed.

The methodological approach to the research is empirical and is based on printed primary sources combined with secondary material covering relevant aspects of parliamentary and Catholic history. Technological advances have also afforded on-line access to important primary and resource based secondary material. The website of *British History Online* with its burgeoning store of primary sources includes parliamentary journals, *Calendars of State Papers Domestic* and Foreign, *Cecil Papers* and *APC*, which together with prosopographical projects such as the *ODNB*, *HOP* and more recently, the *Nuns Project* have all played a vital role in the formulation of this project.

An extensive database has been created consisting of relevant aspects of the parliamentary activity of the entire membership of the House of Lords, but with an emphasis on those members who were Catholic or had close Catholic associations, including a series of biographical sketches. The database has helped to answer many questions relating to individuals' links with Catholicism and the extent of their involvement in the parliamentary arena. This has involved some considerable statistical analysis and in order to contextualise the data, comparisons have been made with the participation of Protestant peers. By facilitating comparative analysis and exposing flaws in our understanding of the relationship between Jacobean Catholicism and Parliaments, the database has been fundamental in the development of the thesis. Because of its importance as an analytical tool, the database will be the main focus of this chapter with discussions following its development alongside an evaluation of the sources that have assisted both in its creation and the analysis of its contents.

In the first instance it was necessary to establish the names of all members who received a writ to attend the four Parliaments of James I from the attendance lists entered in Volumes 2 and 3 of *LJ*. Although useful as a starting point it was necessary to be mindful that several titles changed hands over the period, which is not evident from these lists.

To this end a trawl through *GEC Peerage* and *ODNB* confirmed the identity of the individual peers, the date they succeeded to their title and, where available, their birth and death dates as well as their parentage. As a result the names of 150 have been listed in the database. For ease of reference and to maintain consistency, it was deemed more appropriate to list the membership in alphabetical order according to the family name of peers rather than the title. This was also essential to avoid confusion because the promotion of some peers changed the order of precedence. Furthermore, the title of 'Earl of Northampton' was bestowed on two quite separate individuals; after the death of Henry Howard, first Earl of Northampton in 1614, the title went into abeyance until another creation of the title was bestowed on William Compton, second Baron Compton in 1618.

Problems of Definition and Identification

The next task was to identify members whose associations with Catholicism were close enough to qualify for inclusion in this investigation, and while the Catholicism of a number of peers is well documented throughout secondary texts on the period, the religious sympathies of others are not quite as evident. The most problematic aspect of the research, therefore, has concerned the concept of 'definition'. What did it mean to be a Catholic at this time and how is it possible to identify an individual as a Catholic at a time when it meant different things to different people, as many individuals shaped their own religious identity in response to the erratic enforcement of the penal laws?

In the Literature Review I discussed the invaluable work of Michael Questier and Alexandra Walsham that has highlighted the often transient nature of, and diversities within English Catholicism as individuals tried to balance their religious allegiance with their own interpretation of conformity to the established church. Conformity or 'church papistry' did not therefore equate with conversion as it was generally a pragmatic response to the law that enabled Catholics to go about their everyday lives largely unimpeded. Often it would be left to the heads of families to resort to occasional conformity in order to preserve the family's property and status. As peers

too were particularly adept at this practice, it has been difficult to determine the degree to which their attitude towards Catholicism reflected their own religious sympathies.

It has therefore been necessary to look beyond the individuals to their families and associates, which itself raises as many questions as it answers owing to the many variables both between and within the families of peers and their wider circle. For instance, the first obvious place to start looking is an individual's family; their parents, spouse(s), in-laws, siblings, and children, but even close family members did not always share each other's religious sympathies. The problem also arises of how far into the extended family network enquires should venture, as there still existed in almost every family an enduring element of Catholicism somewhere along the line. As Linda Levy Peck reminded us in 'a highly structured society as sixteenth and seventeenth century England within that small élite almost everyone was related to someone else of standing if not everyone,'¹ so asking even simple questions of the immediate family network does not always evoke straightforward answers.

For instance, while the majority of marriage alliances seem to have been entered into with co-religionists, it is evident that cross confessional alliances were also common as religion did not always a feature in such arrangements. In a period of enormous extravagance and gross indebtedness the prospect of a large dowry was an important factor to consider in the search for a wife. As a result, some of the peers in the House of Lords had wives of a contrary religious outlook to their own, but whether that alliance was reflected in support or sympathy for Catholics or the causes of Catholicism is not at all clear.

One example is William Knollys who was elevated to the peerage as Baron Knollys in 1603. In 1605, for reasons that do not seem to have anything to do with religion, he allied himself to the increasing powerful Howard family by marrying Elizabeth, a daughter of Thomas Howard, first Earl of Suffolk, a senior member of the government

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Linda Levy Peck, 'Goodwin –v- Fortescue: The Local Context of Parliamentary Controversy' in *Parliamentary History,* Volume 3 (1984) 44.

of James I.² Elizabeth was a Catholic and according to Knollys' biographer, suspicion fell on both of them as a result.³

Other marriage alliances across the confessional divide were made between the Catholic William Paulet, fourth Marquess of Winchester and Lucy Cecil, daughter of Thomas Cecil, first Earl of Exeter, a Protestant,⁴ and William Eure, fourth Baron Eure, who married into the Protestant Noel family. As Eure's son Ralph, married Katherine a daughter of the Catholic Thomas Arundell, first Baron Arundell of Wardour and three of his daughters became Benedictine nuns, it seems reasonable to assume that his wife did not share her parents' Protestantism. Some members of the House of Commons also had wives who were Catholics; one of the most notable being Sir James Perrott who, in 1624, was obliged to admit that he too had a wife who was a Catholic.

An examination of the children of peers exposes the same sorts of problems. For instance, one of the many Catholics within the ambit of the conformist Lord Treasurer, Thomas Sackville, first Earl of Dorset was his son Thomas, who was a patron to a wide range of secular clergy and contributed financially to the founding of the Collège d'Arras, an institution for senior English secular clergy.⁵ Dorset was at the centre of an extensive network that probably included as many Catholics as Protestants.⁶ There is also the well documented case of Tobie Matthew, Archbishop of York whose son converted to Catholicism in 1607 and was ordained as a priest in 1614. Of course, while, rather bizarrely, the archbishop was among those listed in the House of Commons' petition against recusant officeholders in 1624 owing to his son's recusancy, there is no suggestion here that he may have had Catholic tendencies. Unlike Richard Neile who, as Bishop of Durham, was 'lenient with Catholics' choosing

² As a result of his alliance with the Howards he was promoted in 1616 to Viscount Wallingford, and in 1626 he became first Earl of Banbury.

³ Victor Stater, 'Knollys, William, first Earl of Banbury (*c*.1545–1632)', in *ODNB*.

⁴ Thomas Cecil was the eldest son of William Cecil, first Lord Burghley, Elizabeth I's Chief Minister.

⁵ Questier: *Community*, 333-334.

⁶ Zim: *Thomas Sackville*, 892-917 and Questier: *Community*, 59-60, 262-263. See also Chapter 7 below for a discussion of his electoral patronage.

persuasion over persecution,⁷ Matthew was 'assiduous in enforcing the laws against Catholics' and employed a network of spies in his pursuit of missionary priests, some of whom were executed during the 1590s.⁸ These examples demonstrate clearly that it was even possible for Protestants at the highest level of the established church, to have a Catholic element within their close family network.

A further difficult area surrounds those peers who had been wards of the Crown. It was customary during this period for male children of Catholic parents to be placed with a Protestant family on the death of the father. Thus in 1581, at the age of eight, Henry Wriothesley, third Earl of Southampton⁹ became a royal ward under the guardianship of William Cecil, first Baron Burghley who ensured that he received a Protestant education. Simon Adams has pointed out that Southampton's 'personal religious position' was far from clear.¹⁰ He remained loyal to his Catholic servants and continued to allow his Catholic friends and family to use Southampton House. In January 1605 John Chamberlain reported that 'Eight or ten days since there was above two hundredeth pounds worth of popish books taken about Southampton house and burned in Poules Churchyard.'¹¹ In Hampshire, Southampton also assisted local Catholic families such as the Philpots by taking nominal possession of their estates that had been forfeited to the law.¹² Included among his friends and associates were a number of Catholics including local families such as the Cottons and the Leedses as well as Francis Manners, sixth Earl of Rutland, Thomas Darcy, third Baron Darcy of Chiche, Sir Thomas and Lady Savage and Lady Lumley.¹³

Andrew Foster 'The function of a bishop: the career of Richard Neile, 1562-1640' in R. O'Day and F. Heal (Eds.), *Continuity and Change: personnel and administration of the Church of England*, 1500–1642 (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1976) 44.

⁸ William Joseph Sheils, 'Matthew, Tobie (1544?–1628)', in *ODNB*.

⁹ Henry Wriothesley, second Earl of Southampton was an ardent Catholic.

¹⁰ Questier: *Community*, 83.

¹¹ McClure: *Chamberlain*, Volume 1, 202.

¹² Akrigg: Southampton, 181; Victoria County History. Parishes: Thruxton', A History of the County of Hampshire: Volume 4 (1911) 387-391. <u>URL: http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/hants/vol4/387-399</u>. John Philpott married Elizabeth Mary Arundell, daughter of Thomas Arundell, first Baron Arundell of Wardour and his first wife Mary Wriothesley, Southampton's sister.

¹³ Akrigg: Southampton, 146.

On the other hand, Southampton was associated with the more radical elements of James I's Parliaments, and in 1620 a proposal was afoot that, being the ablest peer in terms of popularity and experience, he should lead forces in defence of the Palatinate although the king raised objection owing to his distrust of the Earl, and because it was 'not fitting that a member of his own Privy Council, such as Southampton, should engage in a matter in which he does not wish to declare himself openly.'¹⁴

Another ward was George Clifford, third Earl of Cumberland who as a child had spent some time being educated at the Catholic home of his aunt Magdalen Browne, Viscountess Montague.¹⁵ When his father died in 1570 his wardship was granted to the very Protestant Francis Russell, second Earl of Bedford, whose daughter Margaret, 'a zealous puritan,'¹⁶ he married in 1577. The marriage had been arranged between his father and his guardian when the third Earl was 12 years old. However, despite spending his formative years against this Protestant background, in 1585 a spy in France reported that Cumberland was a friend of 'papistes' and that the 'lordes of Comberland and Rutland' were 'moche labored' by the priests John Ballard and Christopher Dryland.'¹⁷ In 1603 Robert Spiller also reported that Cumberland was 'thought to be a Catholic' and 'favourable to a peace with the condition of freedom of conscience'.¹⁸

So here are two examples of sons of Catholics who became wards of Protestant guardians but whose eventual paths took very different courses. Southampton became linked with the more puritan inclined members of the House of Lords whereas there is evidence to suggest that Cumberland's religious outlook was at least conservative, and for this reason it seems appropriate to involve him in this study even though he only attended the first session of James's first Parliament.¹⁹

¹⁴ *C.S.P. Venetian,* (1618-1621) Volume 19, 266.279.

¹⁵ Questier: *Community,* 98 and Peter Holmes, 'Clifford, George, third Earl of Cumberland (1558– 1605)' in *ODNB.* The Viscountess was the sister of Cumberland's mother, Anne.

¹⁶ Richard T. Spence, 'Clifford, Margaret, countess of Cumberland (1560–1616)', in *ODNB*.

¹⁷ Questier: *Community*, 99.

¹⁸ Loomie: *Spain, Volume 64, 7*.

¹⁹ He died in 1605.

One of the most problematic aspects of identifying or defining who was a Catholic relates to individuals who, on the face of things, changed their religious allegiance. Sometimes individuals chose to convert to Catholicism later in life but how did this change of allegiance manifest itself beforehand? As these decisions were usually made after years of wavering, it seems likely that such peers had suppressed or concealed their Catholicism for some time prior to their conversion.

During the reign of James I, Henry Howard, first Earl of Northampton was an inveterate conforming Catholic who was secretly reconciled to the Roman Catholic church in February 1614, five months before his death. The occasion was reported to Philip III by Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, the Spanish Ambassador:

The earl made general confession and with deep tears and devotion asked to be reconciled to the Catholic church. The secretary did so and he confessed him on two other occasions and gave him the most blessed sacrament.²⁰

Northampton's will, which he made just two days before his death, confirmed that 'he died as an obedient son of the Roman Catholic church ...' and ordered that his body be 'buried at Dover, in a chapel within the castle,'²¹ According to Acuña, Northampton chose Dover because it was a 'site far closer to the land of Catholics so that his ashes might be moved the more easily in the event that the affairs of religion in England are not set aright.'²²

Equally problematic are those peers like William Paget, fifth Baron Paget and Thomas Howard, fourteenth Earl of Arundel who conformed during James I's reign. Paget's father was Thomas Paget, fourth Baron Paget who was closely connected with the Jesuit Edmund Campion. After being implicated in the Throckmorton plot²³ he fled to the continent where he remained in exile for the rest of his life. His estates in England

²⁰ Loomie: *Spain,* Volume 68, 39 and 93.

²¹ McClure: *Chamberlain*, Volume 1, 541.

Loomie: *Spain,* Volume 68, 40.

²³ The Throckmorton Plot was an attempt by Catholics in 1583 to murder Elizabeth I and replace her with Mary Stuart. The plot is named after the key conspirator, Francis Throckmorton, who confessed to the plot under torture.

were sequestered and he was convicted of treason by the act of attainder. William became a ward of the Crown under the guardianship of Sir George Carey, but when was restored to his title in 1603 he was still regarded as a Catholic according to Ralph Fetherstonhalgh, who wrote,

What! say they, hath not the King restored Arundel, Westmoreland and Paget, all of them known favourers, if not professors of the Romish religion. ²⁴

Furthermore, Linda Levy Peck says that in the third session of the 1604-10 Parliament Henry Howard, first Earl of Northampton received 'only those [proxies] of the Catholics Lumley and Lord Paget²⁵ although it is not clear what basis she has for saying that he was a Catholic at this time. On the other hand, according to the diary of his daughter, Anne, Paget's children received a "strickt' and deeply religious' education influenced by a family friend Sir Gilbert Gerard, a puritan.²⁶ Also, by the 1620s he seems to have aligned himself with J. S. Flemion's 'opposition' peers, some of whom shared Paget's interest in colonial trade and other overseas projects.²⁷

There is also the well documented case of Thomas Howard, fourteenth Earl of Arundel whose parents had converted to Catholicism during the 1580s. His father, Philip, was arrested while trying to flee the country to avoid the harsh penalties for his recusancy and was convicted of treason in 1589, suffering the loss of the Arundel title, confiscation of his property and imprisonment in the Tower of London, where he died 10 years later. Arundel's early Catholicism was well known. In 1606 he married Aletheia Talbot, the Catholic daughter of Gilbert Talbot, seventh Earl of Shrewsbury and in 1612, and again in 1613, he and his wife and family travelled to Tuscany²⁸ ostensibly for reasons of health, stopping at the Spa in the Spanish Netherlands. Gondomar, the

²⁴ Michael A. R. Graves, 'Paget, William, fifth Baron Paget (1572–1629)', in *ODNB*.

²⁵ Levy Peck: *Northampton*, 176.

²⁶ Julia Gasper, 'Waller , Anne, Lady Waller [*other married name* Anne Harcourt, Lady Harcourt] (*d.* 1661)', in *ODNB*.

²⁷ Michael A. R. Graves, 'Paget, William, fifth Baron Paget (1572–1629)', in *ODNB*; *Flemion: Opposition*, 13, n.23, 15 & 19-20.

²⁸ 'My Lord of Arundel hath taken a risolution to winter in Toscany which because he liketh Sena best hee hath chosen the towne for his aboad, whither likewise *his* lady and all his family are removed from hence ...' Loomie: *Spain, Volume 68,* 40. n.6.

Spanish ambassador, had other ideas about Arundel's travels which are clear from his letter to Philip III reporting the death of Northampton:

For he is a very genuine Catholic for whom he [Northampton] had a deep love and very full trust. This Earl of Arundel has been in Italy three years ... to have the opportunity to see Italy but the more certain reason is to enable him to live as a Catholic in public.²⁹

It was also rumoured that during his visit to Rome he had been in contact with the 'papal enemies of the king'.³⁰ In July 1616, however, Arundel was appointed to the Privy Council. Andre Paul, a member of the Elector Palatine's Privy Council, was unable to

understand how such an appointment could have been made, considering that his very religion makes him susceptible to the influence of the greatest enemies of the King of England, and that he has just returned from Rome where all the conspiracies directed against his Majesty are hatched: and where he will have been so well conditioned and informed that your English Papists can hope to see their cause prosper, now that those who publicly profess their faith are favoured and promoted in this fashion.³¹

Then on Christmas Day in December 1616 Arundel publicly received communion in the established church. According to George Carew, first Baron Carew, there was now 'no doubt but he is as firmelye settled in our religion as may be wished, which is a good leading example to other of our noblemen, which are refractory to conformitie.'³²

Because of the short time span between Arundel's appointment to the Privy Council and his taking communion it is tempting to assume, as Kevin Sharpe did,³³ that his appointment to the Privy Council was contingent upon him conforming. According to contemporary reports, however, 'he much protested he did in detestation of pope and

²⁹ Loomie: *Spain, Volume 68,* 39.

³⁰ R. Malcolm Smuts, 'Howard, Thomas, fourteenth Earl of Arundel, fourth Earl of Surrey, and first Earl of Norfolk (1585–1646)', in *ODNB*.

³¹ *HMC Downshire*, Volume V, 569.

³² *Carew Letters*, 70.

³³ Sharpe: *Arundel*, 211.

al poperie³⁴ and that 'in his discourses with his Majestie is sharp against the Papists, which is a good argument of his synceritie.' ³⁵ Nonetheless, it is possible that the date for the performance of his public act of conformity was agreed prior to, or simultaneously with his appointment to the Privy Council, as Christmas Day was no doubt chosen to achieve maximum publicity. Furthermore, the restoration of the dukedom of Norfolk to its previous status was one of his prime objectives and conformity would have been a pragmatic step towards achieving this.

Despite his outward conformity, Arundel remained close to,³⁶ and sympathetic with the condition of English Catholics. He also remained close to Gondomar whom he assured that English Catholics would not be harmed because of Spain's involvement in the Palatinate crisis in Germany. During the reign of Charles I, he and his wife became close friends of the papal envoy, George Conn, and despite his dismay over his grandson Philip, heir to the Arundel title, becoming a Dominican monk in 1646, the Earl had already reconverted to Catholicism.³⁷

The above examples are just a few instances of the sorts of problems that arise when trying to ascertain individuals' religious sympathies. With so many variables to consider, and in the absence of definitive statements regarding peers' associations with Catholicism, it has been difficult to establish fixed criteria for determining which peers should or should not be included in this study. As a consequence some of the decisions made about individuals' religious sympathies may appear to be somewhat haphazard. Some are certainly grounded in flimsy or unsubstantiated evidence and thus open to question and even refutation, but it is hoped that such incidences will be few enough not to adversely affect the overall impression that this thesis is trying to convey.

³⁴ Hervey: *Arundel*, 116.

³⁵ *Carew Letters*, 70, n. (a).

³⁶ See Chapter 7: The Catholic Peerage and Elections.

³⁷ R. Malcolm Smuts, 'Howard, Thomas, fourteenth Earl of Arundel, fourth Earl of Surrey, and first Earl of Norfolk (1585–1646)', in *ODNB*.

The process of identifying those peers with close Catholic associations began with a search of the on-line version of the ODNB. Its effective search engine gives it such a great advantage over the printed version, as it facilitates quick and easy access to information relating to specific individuals and their familial and kinship networks in a wide range of biographies. This was particularly important for this project because of the 150 peers entitled to sit in the House of Lords during this period, 54 are not included among the biographies contained in the ODNB, including 20 of the 46 peers who are the subject of this study. In general terms each biography gives details of full titles, dates of birth and death, parentage and details of spouses and their parents, all of which provide an important basis for further investigation. Also included are details of the individual's early life, career and achievements including membership of the House of Commons, overseas ventures, cultural and other interests but only sometimes religious allegiance. Other sources used to establish supplemental details of peers officeholdings have been Robert Somerville, Office-holders in the Duchy and County Palatine of Lancaster from 1603³⁸ and J. C. Sainty, Lieutenants of the Counties, 1585-1642.³⁹ Each one gives a useful summary of the development of the offices and list the officeholders in chronological order under their various headings, which has been important for confirming the dates during which the offices were held by different individuals.

A trawl through indexes of collections of contemporary letters and reports contained in *C.S.P. Domestic* and *HMC Salisbury* uncovered accounts of individuals' dealings with the authorities, and the reports of the Venetian ambassadors found in *C.S.P. Venetian* have offered a further perspective. Additionally, the correspondence in *HMC Downshire*, which contains the papers of William Trumbull, James I's resident agent in Brussels from 1605 to 1609 and *McClure: Chamberlain*, have provided a personal view of news and gossip as well as reports of events as they unfolded in Europe.

³⁸ Robert Somerville, *Office-holders in the Duchy and County Palatine of Lancaster from 1603* (Chichester: Phillimore & Co. Ltd, 1972).

³⁹ J. C. Sainty, *Lieutenants of the Counties, 1585-1642* (Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, Special Supplement No. 8, May 1970).

Most of these letters are, however, very circumspect in their treatment of individuals who were clearly closet Catholics, but not without reason. In 1612 Richard Sackville, third Earl of Dorset, apparently unaware that his own brother Thomas had been corresponding with the nuncio in Brussels, reported to a friend that the Privy Council had admonished a chaplain of Prince Charles for preaching that some councillors

would heare a Masse in the morning, be present at noone with the King att an English sermon, sitt in Counsell all afternoon, and at night tell unto their wives all that had past, who being Papists would relate all againe unto their confessors and they send itt unto Fraunce, Spaine and Italy.⁴⁰

After the death of Robert Cecil, first Earl of Salisbury in 1612, Henry Howard, first Earl of Northampton became the target of a defamation campaign to thwart his ambitions to become Lord Treasurer. In 1612 and again in 1614, he sued individuals in Star Chamber for libels that accused him of involvement in the gunpowder plot. They alleged that he had instructed Cardinal Bellarmine, an Italian Jesuit polemicist, to ignore his denunciation of Father Garnet and the gunpowder plotters, for which the libellers were heavily fined,⁴¹ and that he and Edward Wotton, first Baron Wotton had 'suppressed and discountenanced some witnesses and proofes.'⁴² In 1613 Sir Peter Buck was brought before the Star Chamber for writing to a friend that "some of the Lords had kneeled down to the King for a toleration in religion;' besides some particular aspersion in the said letter of my Lord Privy Seal,⁴³ whom likewise of late a preacher or two have disquieted.⁴⁴ John Chamberlain went further and reported that the letter had specified that 'the Lord Privie Seale was principall' among the said privy councillors. In this instance the culprits were 'fined 5,000 marks a peece and censured further to stand on the pillorie, loose theyre eares and be whipt from thence thorough the streets;⁴⁵ a compelling deterrent to casting doubt about individual's religious allegiances.

⁴⁰ A. J. Loomie, *Spain and the Early Stuarts 1585-1655* (Aldershot: Variorum, Ashgate Publishing Limited, 1996) 317.

⁴¹ Levy Peck: *Northampton*, 81-82;

⁴² McClure: *Chamberlain*, Volume 1, 508-509.

⁴³ Henry Howard, first Earl of Northampton.

⁴⁴ L. P. Smith (Ed.), *The Life and Letters of Sir Henry Wotton* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907) (Forgotten Books Reprint 2012), Volume 2, 23.

⁴⁵ McClure: *Chamberlain*, Volume 1, 453.

Of particular importance for the purpose of identifying Catholics among the members of the House of Lords, have been the letters contained in the volumes compiled by A. J. Loomie and Michael Questier.⁴⁶ These represent excellent portrayals of news and gossip written from two different but purely Catholic perspectives free of the above constraints. Loomie's volumes comprise reports that passed from the Spanish Embassy in England to Philip III in Spain and reveal the names of individuals the Ambassador or his spies considered to be Catholic, and their activities on behalf Spain and English Catholics. Michael Questier's volumes, on the other hand, comprise collections of newsletters from the Westminster Cathedral archive. Published in three volumes they consist of letters passing between Catholic clergymen and laymen in England and throughout northern Europe, Rome and Venice. Each volume has its own timescale and together they shed light on Catholic responses to the Oath of Allegiance controversy, James I's proposals for a marriage alliance with Spain and then France and their associated political difficulties, as well as the discord among English Catholics caused by the proposal to supplant a Catholic bishop appointed by the papacy to rule over English Catholics, and court news and gossip.

Unconstrained by possible royal reprimand or lawsuit, the frankness of these correspondents reveals aspects of the lives of English Catholics that are not always available elsewhere, particularly their association with and patronage of secular and Jesuit priests, and as such their letters represent an invaluable source for determining the Catholicism of several English peers. While recognising that sometimes the letters contain erroneous information that is often based on conjecture or gossip, they are nonetheless an essential aid for uncovering information relating to the lives and fortunes of many members of Jacobean society, together with their familial and kinship networks.

A more recent resource based project is a database that is being been created in association with Queen Mary College, University of London entitled '*Who Were the Nuns*.' Accessible online, it is a prosopographical study of the women who entered

Loomie: Spain, Volume 64; Loomie: Spain, Volume 68; Questier: Birkhead Newsletters; Questier: Dynastic Policy; Questier: Caroline Newsletters.

English convents in exile between 1600 and 1800. As many of the records kept by the nuns have survived, it has been possible to identify daughters of several Catholic peers among their members. This database therefore represents a welcome addition to the existing bank of evidence that helps to identify those peers who were Catholic.

Secondary texts of early modern Catholic history have also provided some helpful detail, although it has been essential to remain mindful of the fact that fathers and sons did not always share the same religious outlook as it is not always clear which particular peer is being discussed. For instance, Aveling: Handle & Axe which devoted a chapter to Court Catholicism during the period 1603-1660, mentioned a handful of Catholic members of the Jacobean House of Lords one of whom was Baron Abergavenny who was educated at Oxford. However, Aveling failed to elucidate which of the barons he was referring to and it is left to the reader to work out that it must have been Edward as his son Henry Neville who succeeded to the title in 1622 went to Cambridge University.⁴⁷ Several Jacobean peers were also members of the House of Lords during the reigns of Elizabeth I and Charles I and eight were members of the House of Lords across three reigns.⁴⁸ In this context A. Morey, *The Catholic Subjects of Elizabeth 1*⁴⁹ and Martin J. Havran, '*The Catholics in Caroline England*⁵⁰ provided a glimpse of the sorts of things some of the more prominent Catholics peers were up to during those reigns. County studies⁵¹ have placed Catholic peers in their local context, but do not always mention their religious sympathies.⁵²

⁴⁷ *HOP 1604-1629,* Volume 5, 503-504.

⁴⁸ Anthony Maria Browne, second Viscount Montague, Thomas Darcy, third Baron Darcy of Chiche (created first Viscount Colchester in 1621), Thomas Howard, first Earl of Suffolk, William Paulet, fourth Marquess of Winchester, Henry Percy, ninth Earl of Northumberland, Edward Somerset, fourth Earl of Worcester, William Stanley, sixth Earl of Derby, Edward Stourton, ninth Baron Stourton.

⁴⁹ A. Morey, *The Catholic Subjects of Elizabeth I* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1978).

Martin J. Havran, '*The Catholics in Caroline England* (London: Oxford University Press, 1962).
 Addison: *Essex Heyday* contains an Essex 'Who's Who' which omitted Thomas Darcy whose

main residence was St. Osyth Priory, near Colchester; Peter Clark, English Provincial Society from the Reformation to Revolution: Religion, Politics and Society in Kent 1500-1640 (Hassocks, Sussex: The Harvester Press Limited, 1977); Fletcher: County Community; Manning: Elizabethan Sussex; Watts: Northumberland.

⁵² For example, J. W. F. Hill, *Tudor & Stuart Lincoln* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956) failed to mention the conversion to Catholicism of Francis Manners, sixth Earl of Rutland.

One of the most important publications has been Michael Questier's study of the entourage of the Viscounts Montague which explores its political and religious concerns, its relationship with the Protestant regime as well as the Catholic familial, kinship and patronage networks that crossed county boundaries. By examining the role of Anthony Maria Browne, second Viscount Montague, in the politics of the Catholic community and the quarrels between clerical factions, the book has also exposed the involvement of other Catholic peers and as such has confirmed and expanded the data already accrued on the Catholic peerage of James I.

From the above material it has been possible to suggest that during the reign of James I, 46 peers with close associations with Catholicism sat in the House of Lords, just under one third of the total membership across the four Parliaments. The database does not pretend to be a definitive statement of the Catholic peerage in the reign of James I, but based on the available evidence, coupled with a measure of informed conjecture; it portrays a fairly realistic picture of the Catholic membership of the House of Lords at this time. It is hoped therefore that the database represents a useful potential research tool for anyone concerned with the religio-political history of the period.

As the number of peers in the House of Lords increased from 51 in the last Parliament of Elizabeth I to 94 in the last Parliament of James I, it was important to examine the changing composition of the Upper House and assess how Catholic peers fared in the distribution of new titles in relation to their Protestant colleagues. This was achieved primarily by using the database which includes a note of the years in which peers succeeded to their title or were promoted to or within the English peerage. It was also important to include in these discussions an explanation of the conventions governing membership in order to provide a contextual framework and to explain the inclusion of Catholics in the House of Lords at this time. For this Elsyng: *Manner* provides a contemporary account of the applicable precedents, forms and procedures for holding a Parliament, and E. R. Foster, *The Painful Labour of Mr. Elsyng*⁵³ adds

⁵³

E. R. Foster, *The Painful Labour of Mr. Elsyng⁵³* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, New Series – Volume 62, Part 8, December 1972)

supplementary unpublished material by Henry Elsyng who was clerk of the Parliaments between 1621 and 1635. More recent studies include Foster: *Lords 1604*-1649 which examines the structure of the House, how it operated, the nature of its business and how it was carried out, and Smith: *Parliaments* with its longer time frame, gives an overview of how Stuart Parliaments operated and their relationship with successive kings. Both these volumes provide excellent guides for the study of the House of Lords at this time.

On a technical note, owing to the disparity in the levels of peers' association with Catholicism, the original intention was to divide the Catholic peers into two groups according to the extent of their association with Catholicism.⁵⁴ However, an impasse was reached regarding appropriate labelling that would both allow for effective analysis and avoid clumsy syntax so, as the peripheral group is relatively small, the idea was dropped. As a consequence, the entire subject base i.e., a group of 46 peers with disparate links with Catholicism, are labelled as Catholics throughout the thesis even though the Catholicism of a few has been defined by association only, albeit usually with a staunchly Catholic background.

The Catholic Peerage and Attendance

Having established the group of peers who were to be included in this study, the next step was to explore their participation in the proceedings of the House of Lords commencing with attendance. This was achieved by undertaking comparative analysis with their Protestant colleagues. An important aspect of these discussions is an examination of the absenteeism of Catholic peers. In a period when it was not always advisable to openly oppose royal policy, it was customary to express that opposition either through silence or avoidance. By examining the absence of Catholic peers it has been possible to offer some suggestions about the extent to which it reflected their responses to the issues confronting Parliament, their apathy or withdrawal from the

Pauline Croft identified three groups – those with miscellaneous Catholic links; those more closely linked with recusancy, some of whom conformed; those who made no effort to conceal their Catholicism and continued to pay recusancy fines. Croft: *Baronets*, 270-273.

political arena as well as perfectly mundane factors that impeded their attendance. As absent peers were entitled to bestow a proxy on another member of the House, an examination of the distribution of proxies is also important for trying to determine groupings and the extent of Catholic cohesion within the House.

To facilitate the above analysis it was essential to commence with a tabulation of the daily attendance of the entire secular membership for each of the four Parliaments from the records contained in Volumes 2 and 3 of LJ, including the final three Parliaments of Elizabeth I. Although laborious, the process was fairly straightforward as each day the full membership was listed in order of precedence, and those present would have the letter 'p' annotated against their name. As the House often sat twice in one day it soon became apparent that it would be more effective to talk of 'sittings' rather than 'daily attendance' to allow for instances when peers only sat once on these days. As well as listing the daily attendance of members, the clerk sometimes recorded the reasons for peers' absence. The LJ also records the proxies received. Sometimes the shortness of a session did not allow time for all proxies to arrive, a detail that was noted by Henry Hastings, fifth Earl of Huntingdon in his journal of the 1614 Parliament.⁵⁵ Despite there being three clerks to the Parliaments during the period, each of whom left their own mark on the record,⁵⁶ the form of the attendance record remained the same throughout. The LJ is, however, flawed in a number of respects.

For instance, lists of members would be copied from previous Parliaments so peers who had succeeded to their title as minors might be listed but not entitled to attend,⁵⁷ or excluded peers recorded as being present,⁵⁸ and the attendance of those who

⁵⁵ *HMC Hastings*, Volume 4, 285-286.

⁵⁶ The clerks were Thomas Smith (1597 to 1609), Robert Bowyer (1609 to 1621) and Henry Elsyng (1621 to 1635). One example of the differences in style is in the wording used to record absences which is evident from 1621. See Table 2.2 of Appendix 2.

⁵⁷ George Berkeley, eighth Baron Berkeley was 12 years old when he succeeded to his title on the death of his grandfather in 1613 but his name appeared on the attendance list throughout the parliament of 1614. The error was subsequently rectified as his name was omitted from the 1621 attendance lists.

⁵⁸ Henry Percy, ninth Earl of Northumberland was imprisoned in the Tower for his alleged knowledge of the gunpowder plot from 23rd November 1605 until 16th July 1621 but was

arrived late was not recorded at all. A further difficulty arises when trying to establish who had leave of absence, or the reason for absence, as such details are often omitted from the *L*. This occurred on 18th April 1610 when the Archbishops of Canterbury and York⁵⁹ were absent together with Robert Sidney, first Viscount Lisle and Thomas Gerard, first Baron Gerard. Robert Bowyer, the clerk of the Parliaments noted separately that these members had been excused by the Lord Chancellor but there is no such record in the *LJ*.⁶⁰ Sometimes absences were merely recorded as follows:

The Absence of divers Earls, Bishops, and Barons, excused particularly by several Lords, for Sickness, and necessary Business; and for some it was alledged, they had Leave of Absence from His Majesty.⁶¹

Sometimes a peer was not listed although his proxy was recorded. For instance, in January 1621 William Seymour was summoned to the House of Lords in his grandfather's barony as Baron Beauchamp. According to Edward Nicholas⁶² Beauchamp's writ was issued the day before the opening of Parliament but his name was never entered in the attendance lists in the *LJ*, although receipt of his proxy was recorded.⁶³ When he succeeded his grandfather as second Earl of Hertford the following April, the king was initially reluctant to issue a writ for him to attend according to his new title.⁶⁴ It is possible, therefore, that his name was purposely omitted from the *LJ* as he was still in disgrace following his illegal marriage to the king's cousin, Lady Arabella Stuart. Usually, however, in instances such as these, the names of excluded peers would be listed. Despite its limitations the records contained in *LJ* provide sufficient material to undertake a meaningful analysis of peers' attendance in the House of Lords during the Parliaments of James I.

recorded as being present on four occasions between 13th December 1606 and 12th May 1607. LJ, Volume 2 (1578-1614), 465, 468, 491, 507.

⁵⁹ Richard Bancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, Tobie Matthew, Archbishop of York.

⁶⁰ *LJ*, Volume 2 (1578-1614) 578; Foster: *Lords 1610*, 207.

⁶¹ *LJ*, Volume 2 (1578-1614) 579-580. These omissions can, however, often be remedied by reference to diaries and private journals as in this instance whereby Braye MSS 61 (diary of Robert Bowyer, Clerk to the Parliaments 1609-1621) lists several absent peers but omits some of the reasons for absence. Foster: *Lords 1610*, 208-209.

⁶² *P D House of Commons 1620 & 1621,* Volume 1, 26.

LJ, Volume 3 (1620-1628), 4.

⁶⁴ *ibid.* 98.

The Catholic Peerage and Committees

This thesis also explores the participation of Catholic peers in the proceedings of the House of Lords by examining their appointment to committees. For this the *LJ* has been heavily relied on as it contains lists of all those nominated to each of the 401 committees appointed across the four Parliaments of James I. Allowing for minor inconsistencies between the manuscript and printed versions⁶⁵ and the quirk of human error, the *LJ* clearly records the names of those appointed to committees in order of precedence, the time and venue, reports and some adjournments. A close examination of the scheduling of committees also shows that, unlike the House of Commons, there were no overlaps in committees provide a valuable tool for undertaking an analysis of Catholics at work in Parliament. Unfortunately, unlike the *CJ* there is no record of the debates. However, because membership of the House of Lords was much smaller - roughly about a quarter of the membership of the Commons - the manner of choosing committees was far more orderly than that of the Commons where

Every one of the House may call upon the name of any one of the House to be a Committee, and the Clark ought in his journal to write under the title of the Bill the name of every one so call'd upon, and leastwise of such whose names (in that confusion) he can distinctly hear.⁶⁶

From the committee lists a database of Catholic committee appointments both individually and collectively was created,⁶⁷ and to ease management the committees were grouped into seven categories. From these tables it has been possible to reconstruct a picture of Catholic involvement by asking a series of questions relating to the number and types of committees they were appointed to and through comparative analysis with Protestant peers, and to make more specific comments about their responses to some of the key issues. During this process questions also arose about the credentials of those nominated to committees, their officeholdings,

⁶⁵ I am grateful to Simon Healy of the History of Parliament Trust for pointing this out to me.

⁶⁶ Hakewill: *Modus Tenendi*, 145.

⁶⁷ See Table 3.8 of Appendix 3.

education, overseas experience, military service and colonial interests all of which has been incorporated within the database in case such factors had a bearing on the committees to which peers were nominated.

Some detail of the debates that took place in the House is available in volumes of Henry Elsyng's notes taken from his scribbled book and published by the Camden Society,⁶⁸ and the Royal Historical Society,⁶⁹ and in two volumes of parliamentary journals collated by E. R. Foster⁷⁰ for the House of Lords and the House of Commons. These volumes contain records of the debates that occurred when the Lords met as a committee of the whole House, but accounts of debates that occurred in the committee room are thin on the ground. They are also limited in their scope in terms of the record of speeches made by Catholic peers, but have nonetheless been used to good effect in gauging the tenor of debates, as have other diaries and letters such as those kept by Henry Hastings, fifth Earl of Huntingdon,⁷¹ and Edward Montagu, first Baron Montagu of Boughton and John Holles, first Baron Haughton (created Earl of Clare in 1624),⁷² that have provided supplemental detail.

Records of the proceedings of the House of Commons have been useful for following the progress of issues through both Houses, and as some members were promoted to the House of Lords during the reign, they shed light on the issues that occupied them in the Lower House.⁷³ As well as Foster: *Commons 1610* alluded to above, the anonymous diaries and other accounts in Maija Jansson, *Proceedings in Parliament 1614 (House of Commons)* and *P D House of Commons 1620 & 1621* which has been

⁶⁸ Gardiner: *Debates 1610;* Gardiner: *Debates 1621;* Gardiner: *Debates 1624 and 1626.*

⁶⁹ Relf: *Debates*.

⁷⁰ Foster: *Lords 1610;* Foster: *Commons 1610.*

⁷¹ *HMC Hastings,* Volume 4; *HMC Buccleuch*, Volume 3.

⁷² *HMC Portland*, Volume 9; Seddon *Holles Letters*.

⁷³ For instance, of the peers who are the subject of this study, Francis Clifford, fourth Earl of Cumberland was Member of Parliament for Yorkshire until October 1605 when he succeeded to the Earldom of Cumberland; Theophilus Howard, Baron Howard of Walden (eldest son of Thomas Howard, first Earl of Suffolk) was Member of Parliament for Maldon from November 1605 until February 1610 when he was summoned to the House of Lords in his father's barony, Sir Henry Neville who was Member of Parliament for Kent in 1601 and Lewes in 1604, succeeded to the barony of Abergavenny in 1622 and Sir Mervyn Touchet, Member of Parliament for Dorset in 1614, succeeded to the barony of Audley (and Earl of Castlehaven in the Irish peerage) in 1617. A further 25 peers sat in both Houses during the reign of James I.

ascribed to Edward Nicholas, Member of Parliament for Winchelsea,⁷⁴ contain detailed accounts of debates from the more mundane matters to those concerning parliamentary undertakings, religion and the crisis in the Palatine. Robert Bowyer's diary of the 1606 session of James I's first Parliament has been particularly useful for the debates that took place in conferences between the two Houses, as detailed evidence of the proceedings of the House of Lords during James I's first Parliament is scarce.

Secondary sources have been important for providing some background and more specific detail of the issues that arose, some of which have been discussed more fully in the Literature Review. The three standard texts of James I's Parliaments, Moir: 1614, Zaller: *1621* and Ruigh: *1624* have provided useful narratives of the key issues and Britton: *House of Lords* has offered some interesting analysis of the passage of religious bills during the first two Parliaments of James I. Hurstfield: *Queen's Wards*, Tite: *Impeachment* and B. Galloway, *The Union of England and Scotland 1603-1608*⁷⁵ have provided essential background reading for some of the finer detail of these issues, and biographies together with the *ODNB* have provided some detail of the parliamentary activity of more prominent peers. For details of the conventions and procedures relating to committees Foster: *Lords 1603-1649* and Smith: *Parliaments*, have once more proved invaluable, and have been supplemented by Elsyng: *Method* and Hakewill: *Modus Tenendi* which provide helpful information regarding the procedure for passing bills through both Houses.

The Catholic Peerage and Elections

The final part of this investigation is an exploration of the involvement of Catholic peers in the election of members to the House of Commons through the exercise of electoral patronage. The performance of this task has been helped immeasurably by the publication in 2010 of *HOP 1604-1629,* and more particularly by the subsequent

⁷⁴ Foster: *Lords 1604-1649*, 218; Maija Jansson, *Proceedings in Parliament 1614 (House of Commons)* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1988); Zaller: *1621*, p. xi.

⁷⁵ B. Galloway, *The Union of England and Scotland 1603-1608* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers Ltd, 2003).

online access. Consisting of six volumes of members' biographies and a separate volume charting the parliamentary history of each of the 259 constituencies as well as an informative Introductory Survey, this groundbreaking work has provided an important fillip for the study of early Stuart Parliaments.

The significance of these volumes as a basis for researchers of members' lives, their participation in Parliament, their responses to local and national politics, and particularly for this thesis, the means by which they acquired their seat in the House of Commons, cannot be overstated. In addition, used in conjunction with earlier volumes and some additional material such as that already mentioned, they have proved to be an invaluable source for tracing familial, kinship and patronage networks, as well as supplemental material on the 53 Jacobean peers who had been members of the House of Commons, several of whom have no entry in *ODNB*.

Contributors clearly acknowledge when data is inconclusive, some of which relates to factors that are relevant for this thesis in so far as the involvement of peers in the election of some members has been difficult to firmly establish, coupled with the interminable problems associated with determining an individual's religious affiliations. Even so, allowing for such limitations, by typing peers' titles, their officeholdings, terms such as 'Catholic,' 'papist,' 'recusant,' into the website's search engine it has still been possible to build a picture of the electoral patronage of Catholic peers, their successes and failures, the nature of their relationship with, and the religious sympathies of their nominees.

The availability of the search engine also allows for extensive cross-referencing that has uncovered information that ties in with my own research and that probably would not have been uncovered otherwise. It has also enabled me to put together some case studies of the electoral patronage of individual peers which are included in my discussions, and to create charts and maps that reflect the geographical distribution of Catholic electoral patronage and of those members of the House of Commons with close associations with Catholicism. Three important factors that emerge from the geographical survey are the way it reflects the concentration of Catholic peers in

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Sussex and exposes the incidence of Members of Parliament with close Catholic associations in the county, and the significance of the restoration of the Howards at the beginning of the reign in terms of regional as well as central power and influence. The search also revealed a surprising number of Members of Parliament with close associations with Catholicism who owed their election to local interests, and these deserve further investigation as their presence runs so contrary to perceived notions of a puritan House of Commons.

In the above discussions I hope to have clarified the nature of this thesis and the methodological process by which the investigations have been undertaken. In essence, from a parliamentary perspective, this thesis is chasing the tail of the revisionist historians discussed in the previous chapter. It also ties in neatly with recent approaches to Catholic history by historians who have highlighted the transient nature of English Catholicism at this time, as well as those who stress the importance of integrating the history of Catholicism with mainstream history in order to fully understand aspects of both.

By considering the reign of James I and examining the sources from a different perspective by combining parliamentary and more general sources with those that relate to Catholics and Catholicism, it has been possible to engage in a meaningful dialogue that will hopefully encourage other researchers to pursue some of the themes explored in this thesis. It has also demonstrated the integrated nature of Catholic participation in the parliamentary arena that will overturn long held perceptions of apathy and withdrawal from the political scene. The database has shown definitively that Catholics were involved in every aspect of the parliamentary arena through their attendance, use of proxies, committee appointments and their electoral patronage, albeit to a lesser degree as the reign progressed. Some of the tables and charts present an immediate impression of the different aspects of the highs and lows and these are included within the Appendices.

Online access to important sources has made the process of searching and analysing easier. Information is now available that would otherwise have been inaccessible

within the scope and financial constraints of this thesis, owing to its fragmentary nature, and its location in other countries, from mainland Europe to America. This relates chiefly to *The Nuns Project* which has been of enormous help in gathering data about peers' links with Catholicism, and *HOP* which has enabled me to build a picture of the electoral patronage of Catholic peers. Moreover, instant 24 hour access to important documents has proved to be invaluable for answering questions as they arise during analysis and the writing process. *British History Online* has been used extensively; particularly the parliamentary journals although searches of entries in the journals that relate to specific persons can sometimes prove tricky as the names of people and places can be abbreviated or spelled in a variety of ways that bear little relation to modern spelling. Often the titles of peers are in old English, especially in the attendance and committee lists. Nonetheless, the inroads that have been made into the accessibility of documentary evidence have transformed the research process and the study of early modern England.



Frontispiece to 'Vox Regis' by Thomas Scott, c.1624 (engraving) (Reproduced under Licence from Bridgeman Art Library)

Chapter 4

THE CATHOLIC PEERAGE AND MEMBERSHIP OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS

This chapter has two main objectives. The first is to outline the background conventions that determined who was entitled to sit in the House of Lords during the reign of James I, and examine the changes in the composition of the House. This is essential for explaining the presence of Catholics in the Upper House at this time and will provide a contextual framework for the next objective which is to introduce the 46 peers who are the subject of this study, namely, those that have been identified as Catholic or as having close Catholic associations. This will be achieved by the inclusion at the end of this chapter, of a Prosopography¹ containing biographical sketches of each of the peers involved.

During the Jacobean period the number of peers in the House of Lords increased considerably. The membership of the House of Lords in Elizabeth I's last Parliament in 1601 consisted of 51 secular lords comprising one marquess, 16 earls, two viscounts, and 32 barons.² Of these, 18 were Catholic or closely associated with Catholicism.³ Historians generally seem to differ over the number of peers at James's accession, but for the purposes of this thesis the number has been calculated from those listed in the *L J* on 19th December 1601, the last day of Elizabeth's final Parliament. Over the course of the reign of James I, 47 English peerages were created (including nine Catholics), four peers were restored to their titles which had been forfeited as a result of attainder under Elizabeth (including one Catholic), one successfully claimed a barony (Catholic), and seven sons of earls were summoned to the House of Lords in their fathers' baronies⁴ (including four Catholics).

1

Unless otherwise stated the biographical detail contained in the Prosopography has been collated from the relevant entries in *ODNB* and *GEC Peerage*.

² David Smith says the number was 55, Smith: *Parliaments*, 20.

³ See Table 1.2 of Appendix 1, which lists the membership of the House of Lords in Elizabeth I's last parliament and highlights those members who were Catholic.

⁴ This figure includes William Seymour, Baron Beauchamp who, in 1621, was summoned to the House of Lords in the barony of his grandfather, Edward Seymour, first Earl of Hertford.

So why were so many new peers created and why did so many Catholics feature among them? Of course, accounts of James's inflation of honours are legion, but his early creations at least were part of his judicious and calculated strategy of appeasement and reward. Robert Cecil, first Earl of Salisbury⁵ reminded Parliament in 1610, that the king 'being unknown to the people and they most importunate and unmannerly in asking, could not deny them.'⁶ His experiences as king of Scotland had also made him acutely aware of the importance of drawing to him potential enemies. Some of the new peers were therefore promoted for political ends as James was confronted with disappointed Catholics who had hoped for a Catholic succession in the person of Arabella Stuart,⁷ or at least Catholic toleration under the new king. Those who actively supported James's succession and his mother, Mary, were rewarded, including followers of Robert Devereux, second Earl of Essex who, before his failed coup and subsequent execution, had been engaged in trying to ensure the peaceful accession of James to the English throne.

Also, unlike Elizabeth, particularly after the death of Robert Dudley, first Earl of Leicester in 1588 and Sir Francis Walsingham in 1590, James was anxious to consult a wide range of advisers. During the last few years of Elizabeth's reign the faction centred around the Cecils enjoyed an administrative monopoly and control of patronage so firmly entrenched that they deprived their rivals of access to the ageing queen. In his correspondence with James prior to the queen's death, Henry Percy, ninth Earl of Northumberland expressed the discontent of English peers 'that offices of trust are not laid in there handes to manage as they are wont; that her maiestie is percimoniws and sloe to reliefe there wants.⁸ James's experiences in Scotland had, however, made him wary of independent powerful nobility and he resolved to bring England's elite into the Crown's orbit. In 1603 he immediately embraced those who

 ⁵ He was appointed Lord Treasurer in 1608 on the death of Thomas Sackville, first Earl of Dorset.
 ⁶ Foster: *Lords 1610.*

Arabella Stuart was first cousin to James I. Because she was born in England it was believed in some circles that she had a prior claim to the English throne.

⁸ Bruce: *Correspondence of King James VI*, 59.

had engineered and ensured a peaceful succession, including a number of Catholics who were immediately made privy councillors.⁹

In defence of the king's largesse, Robert Cecil also stressed that James,

held the same opinion which other learned authors do that there is no greater a slave than money and not worthy to be accounted amongst wise men, it being good for nothing but for use And for a king not to be bountiful were a fault, for that duty is best and surest tried where it is rewarded, which is the cause and makes men the willinger to do service.¹⁰

But Cecil was not merely trying to excuse James's perceived extravagance; he was reiterating the common view of royal bounty shared by Renaissance kings and their politically important subjects. This reflected the mirror for princes literature of the fifteenth century humanist theorists which stressed that liberality and magnificence were among the greatest virtues of all. The concept of royal bounty also dovetailed nicely with ideas about the godlike nature of the king whereby like God, the king gave freely to his people and honoured the political elite by rewarding them with honours and positions at court.¹¹ Duty and deference would follow from grateful recipients through a system of court patronage, a point that James stressed in *Basilikon Doron*, written in 1599 for Prince Henry,

.... the more frequently that your court can be garnished with them; thinke it the more your honour; acquainting and employing them in al your greatest affairs; then it is, they must be your arms and executors of your laws as may make the greatest of them to think, that the chiefest point of their honour, stands in striving with the meanest of the land in humility towards you, and obedience to your laws Use true liberality in rewarding the good and bestowing frankly for your honour and weal.¹²

⁹ These were the crypto catholic Lord Henry Howard, soon to become first Earl of Northampton, his nephew, Thomas Howard, Baron Howard of Walden whom James promoted to first Earl of Suffolk in 1603 and Henry Percy, ninth Earl of Northumberland who was generally accepted to be the voice of moderate Catholics.

¹⁰ Foster: *Lords 1610,* 6.

¹¹ Levy Peck: *Court Patronage*, 13-14.

¹² McIlwain: *Political Works of James I*, 25-26 and 42.

Although the ideal espoused by James in *Basilikon Doron* was shared by early seventeenth century theorists and governments alike, the involvement of money in the exchange between patron and client became increasingly evident and eventually began to play a central role, thereby undermining the fundamental purpose of the system of patronage. This situation was partly driven by the Crown's policy of selling titles and offices in response to inadequate income from Crown revenues, when Parliament voted inadequate subsidies.

The king was therefore in a strong position to shape the House of Lords by creating and promoting peers and by appointing archbishops and bishops who would support royal policies. The bench of bishops included 24 bishops and two archbishops. Kenneth Fincham has shown that unlike Elizabeth, who preferred to choose her advisers from secular peers and gentry, James I placed enormous importance on the advice and assistance of a 'hand-picked' episcopate to 'maintain his power in the Church and commonwealth.' James considered bishops as 'grave and wise men, and the best companions for princes,' and enhanced the status and authority of court prelates on his accession. ¹³ During his 22 year reign he appointed seven bishops to the Privy Council¹⁴ whereas Elizabeth appointed only one in 45 years.

In 1621 Girolamo Lando, the Venetian Ambassador thought that a recent spate of creations was not just a means to obtain money, but also

... to render the old ones [peers] less proud by increasing the numbers of their order In order to obtain a majority in the parliament both the realm and the king have devoted extraordinary attention to choosing the members. Those members who belong to the Spanish party now show themselves the strongest supporters of his Majesty, prepared to oppose the opinions and harshness of the others.¹⁵

When the first Parliament of James I met on 19th March 1604, 15 new peers had already been created, restored or summoned in their fathers' baronies, and

¹³ Fincham: *Prelate,* 35-36 & 58.

¹⁴ See Appendix 5.

¹⁵ *C.S.P. Venetian,* Volume 16 (1619-1621) 548-566.

represented an increase of 29 per cent over the last Parliament of Elizabeth I. By the end of that Parliament on 6th December 1610, this figure had increased to 31¹⁶ and included 10 Catholics. In addition, five peers had been promoted to an earldom, and one to a viscountcy.¹⁷ By 1624 the number of peers in the House of Lords had increased to 94, and consisted of one duke, one marquess, 37 earls, nine viscounts and 46 barons, an increase of 43 over the last Parliament of Elizabeth I. Thirty two Catholic peers were included in these figures. Individually, however, only 26 of those peers present during James I's first Parliament were listed in the *LJ* in 1624. So, as well as increasing in size, turnover was high with some titles changing hands two or three times or becoming extinct in the absence of a male heir.

	1	601	1	604	16	506/7	1	610	1	614	1	621	1	.624
Catholics	18	34%	25	36%	26	34½%	25	33%	27	33%	31	32%	32	34%
Protestants	33	66%	44	64%	49	65½%	51	67%	53	67%	63	68%	62	66%
Total	!	51	(69		75	•	76	8	80	9	94		94



Table A above shows that the total number of Catholic peers increased steadily throughout the period,¹⁹ and by 1624 had almost doubled, as had the number of Protestant peers. In percentage terms, however, membership of each group remained fairly constant with roughly two thirds of the House being Protestant and one third Catholic. The figures in Table A also reflect instances of peers who died without male issue, whose successors were minors, and those whose successors adopted a contrary religious affiliation, such as William Eure, fourth Baron Eure, who was openly Catholic but whose father, Ralph Eure, the third Baron, was a Protestant.

¹⁶ This figure includes Robert Devereux, third Earl of Essex who was still a minor in 1610.

¹⁷ See Table 1.4 of Appendix 1, which lists the peers who owed their title to James I.

¹⁸ For a breakdown of members in terms of rank see Table 1.3 of Appendix 1.

¹⁹ Aveling has calculated that this figure had risen to 40 by 1640, although he does argue that their 'contribution to the anguished parliamentary debates of those years was either absence of backbench silence'. Aveling: *Handle & Axe*, 131.

The distribution of new peers in the House of Lords is shown in Table B below, and Table 1.3 of Appendix 1 shows the changing distribution of peers in terms of rank.

	Creations		Restorations		Summoned in Father's Barony		Total
	1603- 1610	1611- 1624	1603- 1610	1611- 1624	1603- 1610	1611- 1624	1603- 1624
Catholics	5	4	2	0	3	1	15
Protestants	16	22	3	0	2	0	43
Total	47		5		6		58

Table BDistribution of New Peers in the House of Lord 1603-1624

From the figures in Table A above, it is clear that almost one third of the Catholic members of the House of Lords in 1604 were new, and Table B shows that in excess of one third of the new peers were Catholic. So who were the Catholic recipients of these new titles?

The accession of James I the English throne represented a major turning point in the fortunes of the Catholic Howards who reaped the greatest rewards after years of obscurity following the family's disgrace and attainder during the reign of Elizabeth. In recognition of their efforts to secure his peaceful accession²⁰ the new king immediately appointed Thomas Howard, Baron Howard of Walden²¹ to the office of Lord Chamberlain of the Household, made him a privy councillor and elevated him to first Earl of Suffolk. Suffolk's uncle, Lord Henry Howard, a loyal supporter of James's

²⁰ Howard was already known to James VI, who from at least 1596 had been corresponding with Howard's patron, Robert Devereux, second Earl of Essex., Following Essex's execution in 1601, Sir Robert Cecil (created Baron Cecil in 1603 and first Earl of Salisbury in 1605), also entered into secret correspondence with James, who recommended 'his long aproued and trustie' [Lord Henry] to him. Bruce: *Correspondence of King James VI*, 1. Howard became indispensable to both James and Cecil as he often acted as intermediary, receiving James's letters on behalf of Cecil to avoid discovery. Pauline Croft, 'Howard, Henry, Earl of Northampton (1540–1614)', in *ODNB*.

²¹ It is possible that he too had been involved in the secret correspondence passing between England and Scotland in the last years of Elizabeth I's reign. Pauline Croft, 'Howard, Thomas, first Earl of Suffolk (1561–1626)', in *ODNB*.

mother, Mary, was also made a privy councillor and elevated to first Earl of Northampton. After the death of Robert Cecil, first Earl of Salisbury in 1612, Suffolk and Northampton dominated the court and Privy Council. Suffolk's nephew, also Thomas, was restored as fourteenth Earl of Arundel and fourth Earl of Surrey.²²

Two further earls were created prior to the opening of the first Parliament of James I in 1604. Thomas Sackville, Baron Buckhurst who had been appointed Lord Treasurer by Elizabeth in 1599 and was closely associated with Catholicism, became firth Earl of Dorset, and Charles Blount, Baron Mountjoy became first Earl of Devonshire.²³ James also restored the titles of the Henry Wriothesley, third Earl of Southampton and Robert Devereux, third Earl of Essex, although the latter was a minor in 1604.²⁴ So, altogether there were six new earls in the House of Lords when the first Parliament of James I opened in 1604, three of whom were Catholics or closely associated to Catholicism.

There were also six Catholics among the 16 new barons in the House of Lords in 1604. Sir Edward Wotton was raised to the peerage as first Baron Wotton of Marley in 1603. He had been a privy councillor and comptroller of the household²⁵ since December 1602. Another member of Elizabeth's Privy Council, Sir William Knollys, who had been appointed Treasurer of the Household in 1602, and was closely associated with Catholicism, was elevated to the peerage as first Baron Knollys of Greys. Sir John Petre who had inherited vast estates, mainly in Essex, acquired by his father Sir William Petre at the Dissolution,²⁶ was considered by William Cecil, first Baron Burghley among

²² He was the son of Philip Howard, thirteenth Earl of Arundel who was convicted of treason in 1589 resulting in the loss of the Arundel title and all his property, and grandson of Thomas Howard, fourth Duke of Norfolk.

As Lord Deputy of Ireland he was instrumental in crushing the rebellion by Hugh O'Neill, second Earl of Tyrone in 1603, and in laying the foundations of a new system of government.
 Christopher Maginn, 'Blount, Charles, eighth Lord Mountjoy and Earl of Devonshire (1563–1606)', in ODNB.

Henry Wriothesley, third Earl of Southampton had been involved in the failed rebellion in 1601 of Robert Devereux, second Earl of Essex, whose son was restored to the title by James, and made his first appearance in the House of Lords in 1614.

²⁵ The holder of this office was responsible for services 'below stairs', such as supplies, food, and transport.

²⁶ Secretary of State to Henry VIII, Mary I, Edward VI and Elizabeth I. His estates included Thoby Priory, and six abbeys, Waltham, Barking, Stratford, Coggeshall, St. John's at Colchester and St.

the 'knights of great possessions'.²⁷ Petre was actively involved in county affairs and the family was one of only two in the county to own as many as 30 manors.²⁸ He was elevated to the peerage as first Baron Petre. In 1604 Henry Somerset, Baron Herbert, son of Edward Somerset, fourth Earl of Worcester was summoned to sit in the House of Lords in his father's barony, and Edward Neville was successful in his claim to the barony of Abergavenny.²⁹ William Parker, Baron Monteagle, brother-in-law of the gunpowder conspirator Francis Tresham was also new to the House of Lords in 1604 but it is not clear whether he was summoned in the barony of his maternal grandfather, or whether his title was a new creation.³⁰

In 1605 the number of barons in the House of Lords increased by five including one Catholic, Thomas Arundell who became first Baron Arundell of Wardour, three Protestant peers were promoted to earls and one became a viscount. For a few years after the gunpowder plot James was less generous in creating peerages. Only two further barons were created before the end of his first Parliament and two were summoned in their fathers' baronies, including Theophilus Howard, the son of the first Earl of Suffolk.³¹

Between 1610 and 1615 the only two new titles were created. The first was bestowed on the king's favourite, Robert Carr, who was created Viscount Rochester in 1611 and Earl of Somerset in 1613, and the second, on the king's cousin, Ludovick Stuart, second Duke of Lennox in the Scottish peerage, who was created first Earl of Richmond in 1613. By the end of 1615, with the failure of the Great Contract in 1610 and then the debacle of the Addled Parliament in 1614, the Crown's attempts to manage without parliamentary supply had proved unsuccessful. It did achieve some success in raising

Osyth's. William Addison, *Essex Heyday*, (1949), 41. The latter, St. Osyth's, later became the seat of the Barons Darcy of Chiche.

²⁷ *HOP 1588-1603*, Volume 3, 209.

²⁸ *HOP 1604-1629*, Volume 2, 121.

²⁹ It was customary for the king to refer peerage claims to the House of Lords, where each claim would be carefully examined, after which the House's recommendations reported back to the king. Foster: *Lords 1603-1649*, 146.

³⁰ See page 141, note 1 below.

³¹ The other was Thomas Clinton, son of Henry Clinton, second Earl of Lincoln.

revenue from the sale of baronetcies from 1611 and as discussed above,³² Pauline Croft has examined the popularity of this new title among Catholics, and the willingness of the regime to allow Catholics to take advantage of the opportunity to acquire a measure of status, and demonstrate their loyalty to the king, although the new title did not confer a seat in the House of Lords.

Monetary considerations often coupled with the intercession of George Villiers, (created Marquess of Buckingham in 1618 and Duke of Buckingham in 1623), the king's favourite from about 1616, began to play a more prominent role in the creation of new titles as the favourite promoted large numbers of his own followers, reaping the financial rewards both for the Crown and for himself. Money was also raised this way to finance royal projects including embassies abroad and sometimes to repay Crown debts. In 1615 it was reported that £8,000 of the £10,000 paid by the Catholic Sir Robert Dormer for his baronage, was used to pay Edmund Sheffield, third Baron Sheffield's commutation of a pension associated with his rights over the alum mines in Yorkshire, 'besides other driblettes ells where.'³³ A large proportion of the funds raised either in the form of money or tangible assets, however, went directly to Buckingham who would sometimes bestow a title as part of the bargain to acquire an individual's lucrative office or even their house.³⁴

Table 1.5 of Appendix 1 shows that between 1616 and 1624 at least nine creations and six promotions in the English peerage alone were probably due to Buckingham's influence, including those of four Catholics: Sir John Roper became first Baron Teynham in 1616, Richard Burke, Earl of Clanricarde in Ireland became first Viscount Tunbridge 1624, William Compton, second Baron Compton was promoted to first Earl

³² See Chapter 2: Historiographical Approaches to this Subject.

C.S.P. Domestic, James I (1611-1618) Volume 80, 288-291; Carew Letters, 13; Stone: Crisis, 107.
 In 1617 Sir Edward Noel sold his estate at Dalby in Leicestershire to Buckingham for £29,000 and a peerage, and in 1618 Mountjoy Blount (eldest son of Charles Blount, first Earl of Devonshire), gave Buckingham his house at Wanstead in return for an Irish baronage. According to Lawrence Stone, between 1618 and 1622 the duke and his agents raised £24,750 from the sale of Irish titles. In 1624 there was a new round of sales of titles to raise £30,000 to pay for the Duke of Buckingham's embassy to Paris. John Holles, first Baron Haughton paid Buckingham £5,000 for his earldom in 1624. Stone: Crisis, 113 and Lockyer: Buckingham, 53-54.

of Northampton in 1618 and Thomas Darcy, Baron Darcy of Chiche, was promoted to first Viscount Colchester in 1621.³⁵

Other Catholics elevated to or within the peerage during this period, for whom I can find no association with Buckingham, were William Knollys, first Baron Knollys who became first Viscount Wallingford in 1616, Esmé Stuart, brother of Ludovick Stuart, first Earl of Richmond, was created first Earl of March in 1619, and John Paulet, eldest son of William Paulet, fourth Marquess of Winchester, was summoned to the House of Lords in his father's barony of St. John of Basing in 1624.

Despite the decline in the promotion of new Catholic peers, overall, 46 individuals who were either Catholic or were closely associated with Catholicism received writs to attend the House of Lords during the reign of James I, representing just short of 30 per cent of the total membership for the entire period.

In order to familiarise the reader with the Catholic peers who are the focus of this study, and to provide a rationale for their inclusion, the remainder of this chapter comprises a series of biographical sketches.³⁶ As explained in the Chapter 3 above, this thesis has been plagued with problems of definition and, as a result, it has been difficult to establish fixed criteria for determining which peers should or should not be included in this study. It is freely admitted that evidence relating to the Catholicism of some peers is somewhat tenuous. It is also possible that not all Catholic peers have been captured. Indeed, Thomas Howard, third Viscount Howard of Bindon is a case in point. Very little is known about him although vague clues suggest he may have been a Catholic, but as he never attended any of the sittings of the Parliaments of James I he was not pursued any further. Nonetheless, it is hoped that the biographies below will at least provide a useful basis from which to explore the involvement of Catholic peers in Jacobean government and administration, and give some context to the discussions that follow.

³⁵ See Table 1.5 of Appendix 1.

³⁶ Unless otherwise stated the information contained in each biography was collated from *ODNB* and *GEC Peerage*.

HOUSE OF LORDS 1604-1624 LIST OF THE 'CATHOLIC' MEMBERS

		Page Number
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BURKE, RICHARD (1572–1635) First Viscount Tunbridge (c. 1624), (creat (fourth Earl of Clanricarde 1601 - Irish tit		81
CLIFFORD, GEORGE (1558-1605) Third Earl of Cumberland (s. 1570)		83
CLIFFORD, FRANCIS (1559-1641) Fourth Earl of Cumberland (succeeded 1		87
, , , , , ,	9), First Earl of Northampton (created 1618)	91
DARCY, THOMAS (1565-1640) Third Baron Darcy of Chiche (succeeded First Viscount Colchester (created 1621)	•	95
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PAULET, WILLIAM (d. 1629) Fourth Marquess of Winchester (succeeded 1598)	147
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STOURTON, EDWARD (<i>c.</i> 1555-1633) Tenth Baron Stourton (succeeded 1588)	193
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VAUX, EDWARD (1588-1661) Fourth Baron Vaux (succeeded 1595)		209
WINDSOR, HENRY (1562-1605) Fifth Baron Windsor (succeeded 1585)		213
WINDSOR, THOMAS (1591-1641) Sixth Baron Windsor (succeeded 1605)		215
WOTTON, EDWARD (1548-1628) First Baron Wotton (created 1603)		217

ARUNDELL, THOMAS (1560-1639)

First Baron Arundell of Wardour (created 1606)

Offices	Colonel of the English Regiment serving the archduke in Spanish Flanders 1605
House of Commons	-
House of Lords	1606-1610, 1614, 1621 – Absent, 1624 - Absent
Proxies given	1621 and 1624 – Thomas Howard, fourteenth Earl of Arundel (1585-1646). (conforming Catholic)
Oath of Allegiance	12 th July 1610
Family	Father - Sir Matthew Arundell (<i>c</i> .1532–1598) of Wardour Castle, Wiltshire (Member of Parliament - Shaftesbury 1555, Breconshire 1563).
	Mother - Margaret, (courtier to Elizabeth I) daughter of Sir Henry Willoughby of Wollaton, Nottinghamshire.
	 Wife – (1) Mary (c.1567–1607) daughter of Henry Wriothesley, second Earl of Southampton (b.1545-1581) (Catholic), and his wife Mary (c.1552-1607) (Catholic), daughter of Anthony Browne, first Viscount Montague (1528–1592). (2) Anne (d.1637) daughter of Miles Philipson of Crook, Westmorland.
	Brother-in-law - Henry Wriothesley, third Earl of Southampton (1573–1624).
	 Son – (of Mary Wriothesley) (1) Thomas Arundell, second Baron Arundell of Wardour (<i>c</i>.1586–1643) (Catholic) (member of the Jesuit church of Michael Walpole)¹ married Blanche (1583/4–1649) daughter of Edward Somerset, fourth Earl of Worcester (1550-1628) (conforming Catholic). (2) William married Mary (<i>d</i>.1692) (Catholic), daughter of Anthony Maria Browne, second Viscount Montague (1574-1629) (Catholic) and Jane (<i>d</i>.1651 (2) daughter of Themas Catholic).
	(Catholic) and Jane (<i>d</i> .1651/2) daughter of Thomas Sackville, first Earl of Dorset (<i>c</i> .1536-1608) (possibly conforming Catholic) , and widow of William Paulet, Lord Paulet (styled Lord St. John from 1598) (1587/8-1621) eldest son of William Paulet, fourth Marquess of Winchester (<i>d</i> .1629) (Catholic) . ²
	Daughter (of Mary Wriothesley) – Elizabeth Mary married Sir John Philpott of Thruxton, Hampshire. (Catholic) Grand-daughter – Mary became an Augustinian nun in Louvain. ³

	 Daughter – (of Anne Philipson) (1) Katherine (<i>d</i>.1657) married Ralph (<i>d</i>.1640) (Catholic) son of William Eure, fourth Baron Eure (<i>c</i>.1579- <i>c</i>.1646) (Catholic). (2) Mary married Sir John Somerset, son of Henry Somerset, Baron Herbert (1577-1646) (succeeded as fifth Earl of Worcester in 1628, created first Marquess of Worcester in 1643) (Catholic).⁴ Grandson – (i) Charles became a Jesuit. (ii) Thomas became a Jesuit.⁵ (3) Ann married Cecil Calvert, second Baron Baltimore (1605–1675) (Catholic).⁶ (4) Frances (<i>d</i>.1652) married John Talbot, tenth Earl of Shrewsbury (<i>bef</i>.1601-1654) (Catholic) son of John Talbot (<i>d. c.</i> 1607) of Longford, Shropshire (brother of George Talbot, ninth Earl of Shrewsbury (1567-1630)). (Catholic). Grand-daughter Anne Mary became a Benedictine nun in Boulogne.⁷ (5) Margaret married Sir John Fortescue of Saldon, Buckinghamshire. (6) Clara married Humphrey Weld who bought Lulworth Castle estates, Dorset.
Education	Tour of Europe 1579 during which he visited the Duke of Guise in Paris (first cousin of Mary, Queen of Scots).
Religion	Catholic ⁸
	As a reward for his service in Hungary in 1595 the Emperor Rudolph made him a count of the Holy Roman Empire. On his return to England he was committed to Fleet prison because Queen Elizabeth 'would not have my sheepe branded with another man's mark'.
	He was in trouble again in June 1597 because his house 'hath been haunted with massing priests, though he pretend ignorance thereof.' His father was instructed by the Earl of Essex and Sir Robert Cecil that his son should reside with him 'until there be better demonstration of his discreet and dutiful carriage, testimony of which the Queen will be content to receive from you. It is not without cause for a State to be jealous of him, considering by how strait an obligation he confesseth himself bound to a prince so nearly allied to the Queen's greatest enemy; and his own precious valuation of the honour he has received, which all other men do hold of little worth, doth give cause to believe that his own heart's love must be divided between the Queen and the Emperor, and so diminished though not alienated.' ⁹
	He was named by Guy Fawkes and suspected of complicity in the gunpowder plot. ¹⁰

In 1606 he wrote to Robert Cecil, first Earl of Salisbury asking him to intercede with the king for financial help which he felt he deserved because 'In my first travels I was persuaded by the Duke of Guyse that then was to offer my services to his Majesty's mother, which I did, yet with a reservation of my allegiance to our late Queen. Which offer being graciously accepted, and a letter of thanks with promise of advancement returned, it happened that that letter was intercepted by Sir Francis Wallsingame; whereupon I was banished out of the Court for 13 months, and the displeasure which ensued thereof was so great, that being still reputed Scottish I was debarred from all those favours whereby I might have advanced my fortunes had not my zeal to his Majesty's title procured me this disgrace.'¹¹

He made Holborn house available to Jesuits.¹²

William Bishop, the leading secular priest who was appointed Bishop of Chalcedon in 1623 thought Lord Arundell to be among the 'fittest men' and one of the 'two best qualified' to become members of the Privy Council on the marriage of Prince Charles to Maria Anna the Spanish Infanta.¹³

In October 1625 he was one of the 'lords recusantes' whose houses were searched for arms which were removed from Wardour Castle. $^{\rm 14}$

Together with John Paulet, fifth Marquess of Winchester he was favourable to the appointment by the papacy of Bishop Richard Smith, 'though they were said to think that it was not now the right time to restore Catholic Episcopal jurisdiction in England.'¹⁵

He and his wife were patrons of Richard Smith, bishop of Chalcedon. $^{\rm 16}$

Property	Wardour Castle, Wiltshire
	Extensive former monastic lands
	Holborn, London

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¹ Questier: *Community*, 289.

² *ibid.* 88.

³ Nuns Project.

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⁵ Anstruther: *Seminary Priests*, 1603-1659, 302.

⁶ Francis J. Bremer, 'Calvert, Cecil, second Baron Baltimore (1605–1675)', in *ODNB*.

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⁸ See Questier: *Community*, 87-91; Williamson: *Arundells of Wardour*, 30-33.

⁹ *HMC Salisbury,* Volume 7 (1597) 228-250.

¹⁰ *C.S.P. Domestic,* James I (1603-1610) Volume 16, 238-264.

¹¹ *HMC Salisbury,* Volume 17 (1606) 371-462.

¹² Questier: *Community*, 427.

¹³ *ibid.* 389; Questier: *Dynastic Policy*, 54, 155.

¹⁴ *APC*, Volume 40 (1625-1626) 227-229; *C.S.P. Domestic*, Charles I (1625-1626) Volume 11, 166-178.

¹⁵ Questier: *Caroline Newsletters*, 79.

¹⁶ *ibid.* 75.

BROWNE, ANTHONY MARIA (1574-1629) Second Viscount Montague (succeeded 1592)

Offices	-
House of Commons	-
House of Lords Elizabeth I James I	1601 – Absent 1604, 1606-10 – Absent, 1614 – Absent, 1621 (4 sittings), 1624 (4 sittings)
Proxies given	1604 – William Parker, fifth (or first) Baron Monteagle (and thirteenth Baron Morley from 1618) (1574/5-1622) (conforming Catholic)
Oath of Allegiance	No record in <i>LJ</i>
Family	Father – Anthony Browne (1552-1592) son of Anthony Browne, first Viscount Montague (<i>c</i> .1528-1592) (Catholic) and Jane (1531/2– 1552) daughter of Robert Radcliffe, first Earl of Sussex (1482/3– 1542) and his second wife, Margaret.
	Mother – Mary Dormer, daughter of Sir William Dormer (Catholic) and Dorothy, daughter of Anthony Catesby of Whiston, Northants.
	Step-grandmother - Magdalen (1538–1608) (Catholic) daughter of William Dacre, third Baron Dacre of Gilsland (1500–1563).
	 Aunt – (1) Mary Browne (c.1552-1607) (Catholic) married Henry Wriothesley, second Earl of Southampton (b.1545-1581). (Catholic) Cousin – Mary (c.1567–1607) married Thomas Arundell, first Baron Arundell of Wardour (1560-1639). (Catholic) (2) Elizabeth (d.1631) married Robert Dormer, first Baron Dormer of Wing (1551-1616). (Catholic) Cousin –Sir William Dormer (d.1616) married Alice, daughter of Sir Richard Molyneux. Second cousin - Robert (c.1610-1643) (Catholic) married Anna Sophia, daughter of Philip Herbert, fourth Earl of Pembroke (1584–
	1650) and Susan (1587–1629), daughter of Edward de Vere, seventeenth Earl of Oxford (1550–1604).
	Wife – Jane Sackville (<i>d</i> .1651/2) daughter of Thomas Sackville, first Earl of Dorset (<i>c</i> .1536-1608). (possibly conforming Catholic)
	Son - Francis (1610-1682) third Viscount Montague, married Elizabeth (<i>d</i> .1684), daughter of Henry Somerset, Baron Herbert (1577-1646) (succeeded as fifth Earl of Worcester 1628, created first Marquess of Worcester in 1642). (Catholic)

	Grand-daughter – Elizabeth married Christopher Roper, fifth Baron Teynham (<i>d</i> .1689) (Catholic) grandson of John Roper, third Baron Teynham (<i>c</i> .1581-1628) (Catholic) and Mary (1600-1640) daughter of William Petre, second Baron Petre (1575-1637). (Catholic)
	 Daughter – Mary (d.1692), married William Paulet, Lord Paulet (styled Lord St. John from 1598) S87/8-1621), eldest son of William Paulet, fourth Marquess of Winchester (d.1629) (Catholic) William Arundell, second son of Thomas Arundell, first Baron Arundell of Wardour (1560-1639). (Catholic). Catherine married William Tirwhit (Catholic) son of Robert Tirwhit (d. 1617) (Catholic) and Bridget (1572-1604) daughter of John Manners, fourth Earl of Rutland (d.1588),¹ sister of Roger S76-1612) and Francis (1578-1632) Manners, fifth and sixth Earls of Rutland. Mary (1602-1684/5) married Robert Petre, third Baron Petre S99-1638). (Catholic) Grand-daughter – Mary married Edward Stourton (c.1617-1643/4) eldest son of William Stourton, eleventh Baron Stourton (1594-1672). (Catholics) Lucy (d.1653) became a Bridgettine nun in Rouen.
Education	Possibly matriculated from Gloucester Hall, Oxford in 1589. ³
Religion	Catholic. ⁴
	In June 1611 he was granted a pardon for refusing to take the Oath of Allegiance, for harbouring Seminary Priests, and for sending his children abroad on the payment of £6,000 at fixed terms. ⁵
	In October 1625 he was one of the 'lords recusantes' whose houses were searched for arms. 6
	Patron of the Society of Jesus. ⁷
Property	Battle Abbey Drury Lane, London

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- ¹ Nuns Project.
- ² ibid.
- ³ Alumni Oxonienses 1500-1714, 171-200 lists an Anthony Browne of Sussex who was aged 15 when he matriculated in 1589.
- ⁴ See particularly, Questier: *Community*.
- ⁵ *C.S.P. Domestic,* James I (1611-1618) Volume 64, 38-51.
- ⁶ APC, Volume 40 (1625-1626) 227-229; C.S.P. Domestic, Charles I (1625-1626) Volume 11, 166-178.
- ⁷ Questier: Dynastic Policy, 330; Questier: Community, 444-446.

BURKE, RICHARD, (1572– First Viscount Tunbridge First Earl of St Albans (cre Fourth Earl of Clanricarde	(created 1624)
Offices	President of Connaught 1604 Governor of Galway 1616
House of Commons	-
House of Lords	1624 - Absent
Oath of Allegiance	No record in <i>LJ</i>
Family	Father – Ulick Burke, third Earl of Clanricarde (d.1601).
	Mother - Honora (<i>b</i> .1534/5 <i>, d</i> . in or after 1615) daughter of John Burke of Clogheroka.
	Wife – Frances (1567–1632) the widow of Sir Philip Sidney (1554– 1586) and Robert Devereux, second Earl of Essex (1565–1601) and daughter of Sir Francis Walsingham (<i>c</i> .1532–1590).
	Son – Ulick (1604–1658) (Catholic) married Lady Anne (<i>d</i> .1675) daughter of William Compton, second Baron Compton (1568-1630) (created first Earl of Northampton in 1618). (conforming Catholic) Grand-daughter – Honora (1638-1652) became a Benedictine nun in Ghent (against her parents' wishes).
	Daughter - Honora (<i>b</i> .1610) married John Paulet, Baron St. John of Basing (<i>c</i> .1598–1675). (Catholic)
Education	He spent much of his childhood in the household of the Robert Devereux, second Earl of Essex (1565-1601). Christ Church, Oxford 1584. MA 1598. ¹
	In the last years of the campaign against Hugh O'Neill, second Earl of Tyrone (c.1550–1616) he helped to defend the province of Connaught and the vicinity of Galway in 1599–1600 and was knighted Lord Deputy Mountjoy (Charles Blount, eighth Baron Mountjoy (1563-1606) (created first Earl of Devonshire in 1603).
Religion	Catholic
	Both James I and Charles I granted him legal immunity from potential prosecution owing to his Catholicism although in July 1625 the Countess wrote to Buckingham that: 'The Earl of Clanrickard has fallen of late extreme sick, and is not able to express himself with his own hand. At the last Assizes at Maidstone, he was indicted for recusancy, notwithstanding the late King's directions to stop any such proceedings. Prays the Duke to procure the King's directions to the Judges to free his Lordship from 81

this vexation.'2

William Bishop, the leading secular priest who was appointed Bishop of Chalcedon in 1623 thought Lord Clanricarde to be among the 'fittest men' to become members of the Privy Council on the marriage of Prince Charles to Maria Anna the Spanish Infanta.³

In 1631 both he and his son Ulick gave their assent but did not sign a protestation against the appointment by the papacy of Bishop Richard Smith.⁴

Property

Somerhill, near Tonbridge, in Kent.

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¹ Alumni Oxonienses 1500-1714, 201-227.

² *C.S.P. Domestic*, Charles I (1625-1626) Volume 4, 52-78.

³ Questier: *Community*, 389; Questier: *Dynastic Policy*, 54, 155.

⁴ Questier: *Caroline Newsletters*, 79.

CLIFFORD, GEORGE, (1558-1605) Third Earl of Cumberland (succeeded 1570)

Offices	Queen's champion 1590 Constable and Steward Knaresborough 1597 Governor of Carlisle and Harbottle Castle <i>Custos rotulorum</i> Cumberland Warden of the West and Middle Marches 1603 Privy Council 1603
	Knight of the Garter 1592
House of Commons	-
House of Lords Elizabeth I James I	1584, 1587 and 1589 – Absent (at sea), 1593, 1597, 1601 1604
Oath of Allegiance	Died before 1606.
Family	Father - Henry Clifford, second Earl of Cumberland (1517–70) (Catholic tendencies).
	Mother - Anne (c.1538–1581) (Catholic) , daughter of William Dacre, third Baron Dacre (1500–1563) (Catholic) and Elizabeth (d. c.1559) daughter of George Talbot, fourth Earl of Shrewsbury (1468–1538).
	Ward of Francis Russell, second Earl of Bedford (1526/7–1585).
	Aunt - Magdalen (1538–1608), wife of Anthony Browne, first Viscount Montague (1528–1592). (Catholics)
	Brother – Francis Clifford, fourth Earl of Cumberland (1559-1641). (possible Catholic sympathies)
	Sister - Frances (1556-1593), married Philip Wharton, third Baron Wharton (1555-1625). Niece – Margaret (<i>d</i> .1659) (Catholic) married Edward Wotton, first Baron Wotton (1548-1628). (Catholic)
	Wife - Lady Margaret Russell (1560–1616) daughter of Francis Russell, second Earl of Bedford (1526/7–1585).
	Daughter – Anne married – (1) Richard Sackville, third Earl of Dorset (1589-1624) son of Robert Sackville, second Earl of Dorset (1560/61–1609) and Margaret (c.1560–1591) (Catholic) daughter of Thomas Howard, fourth Duke of Norfolk (1538–1572). Grand-daughter – (i) Isabella (1622-1661) married James Compton, third Earl of Northampton (1622–1681) grandson of William Compton, second Baron Compton (1568-1630) (created first Earl of Northampton in 83

	 1618). (conforming Catholic) (ii) Margaret (1614-1676) married John Tufton, second Earl of Thanet (1609-1664) son of Sir Nicholas Tufton (1578-1631) (Catholic?)¹ and Frances (d.1653), daughter of Thomas Cecil, first Earl of Exeter (1542-1623). (2) Philip Herbert, fourth Earl of Pembroke and first Earl of Montgomery (1584–1650) son of Henry Herbert, second Earl of Pembroke (d.1601), and younger brother of William Herbert, third Earl of Pembroke (1580–1630).
Education	Early education was Roman Catholic. At the age of 11 he was sent to Sussex to be educated in the home of the Catholic Brownes (Anthony Browne, first Viscount Montague) (1528–1592). ² Trinity College, Cambridge 1571-4, MA 1576. MA Oxford 1592. He was in France in 1585.
Religion	In 1585 spy in France reported that the 'papistes have to their frendes in the Courte of England the lorde of Cumberland', together with 'the lorde of Rutland, the Lorde Compton [and] the Lorde Morley. The lordes of Comberland and Rutland' were 'moche labored' by the priests John Ballard and Christopher Dryland.). ³ In a speech to his guests in 1592 the Anthony Browne first Viscount Montague (<i>c</i> .1528-1592) said that 'this Christmas tyme last', the Earl of Cumberland 'my wyves good kynsman and his good ladye, beinge here' at West Horsley 'with me', 'used at theyre pleasure in this my house excersyse of preachinge, and prayer' with a priest appointed by Montague's stepmother, Elizabeth, dowager countess of Lincoln. ⁴
	In 1602 Doctor Robert Taylor, a Spanish agent, reported that the Earl of Cumberland had said that 'he was willing to do what he could in the matter of peace and toleration for Catholics, but 'when the greater part of the Council votes for war he must stay with them'.' ⁵
	In 1603 Robert Spiller reported that Cumberland was 'favourable to a peace (with Spain) with the condition of freedom of conscience. He is thought to be a Catholic, as well as his brother who has done much good for the Spanish.' ⁶
Property	Skipton Castle, Yorkshire Estates in Yorkshire, Derbyshire, Carlisle, Boughton Castle, Westmorland Londesborough Hall, Yorkshire

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⁵ Loomie: *Toleration*, 18-19.

He was a trustee of the Catholic William Parker, Baron Morley and Monteagle (see below), and during the elections to the parliament of 1624 he was accused by his opponents in Kent of being a papist. Three sisters were married to Catholics – Anne married Francis Tresham, the gunpowder conspirator, whose daughter Lucy became a Benedictine nun in Brussels; Mary married Henry Constable, first Viscount Dunbar and Cecily married Francis Manners, sixth Earl of Rutland. In 1631 Viscount Dunbar was one of the peers who supported the appointment by the papacy of Bishop Richard Smith. Questier: *Caroline Newsletters*, 79.

² Questier: *Community*, 98.

³ *ibid,* 98-99.

⁴ *ibid.,* 194.

⁶ Loomie: *Spain, Volume 64, 7*.

CLIFFORD, FRANCIS (1559-1641) Fourth Earl of Cumberland (succeeded 1605)

Offices ¹	JP – East and West Ridings of Yorkshire 1592-1641; Beverley, Yorkshire 1604-1641; Ripon, Yorkshire 1607-1641; Cawood, Yorkshire 1609-1641 JP and <i>custos rotulorum</i> Cumberland 1606-1639 Sheriff – Yorkshire 1600-1601; Westmorland 1605-1641 Commissioner oyer and terminer – Northern circuit 1602-1641; Midland circuit 1612-1615 Commissioner sewers - East and West Ridings 1603-1641; North Riding 1627-1641; Hatfield Chase, Yorkshire 1637 Keeper – Carlisle Castle, Cumberland 1605-1641; Carlisle gaol 1606-1641 Lord Lieutenant – Cumberland 1607-1641; Northumberland, Westmorland, Newcastle upon Tyne 1611-1639 Steward Knaresborough 1604 Member of the Council in the North 1619-1641
House of Commons	Westmorland 1584 and 1586
	Yorkshire 1604-29 th October 1605
House of Lords	1606-1610, 1614, 1621, 1624
Proxies given	1605 - Robert Cecil, first Earl of Salisbury (1563-1612) 1621 and 1624 – George Villiers, first Duke of Buckingham (1592- 1628)
Oath of Allegiance	7 th June 1610
Family	Father - Henry Clifford, second Earl of Cumberland (1517–1570). (Catholic tendencies)
	Mother - Anne (c.1538–1581) (Catholic) , daughter of William Dacre, third Baron Dacre (1500–1563) (Catholic) and Elizabeth (<i>d. c.</i> 1559) daughter of George Talbot, fourth Earl of Shrewsbury (1468–1538).
	Aunt - Magdalen (1538–1608) married Anthony Browne, first Viscount Montague (1528–1592). (Catholics) .
	Brother – George Clifford, third Earl of Cumberland (1558-1605). (Catholic tendencies) .
	Sister - Frances (1556-1593) married Philip Wharton, third Baron Wharton (1555-1625). Niece – Margaret (<i>d</i> .1659) married Edward Wotton, first Baron Wotton (1548-1628). (Catholic)

	Wife - Grissell (<i>bap</i> .1559, <i>d</i> .1613), daughter of Thomas Hughes of Uxbridge, Middlesex, widow of Edward Neville, seventh Baron Abergavenny (1526-1588).
	Son - Henry (<i>c</i> .1591-1643) married Frances, daughter of Robert Cecil, first Earl of Salisbury (1568-1612).
	Daughter – (1) Margaret (<i>d</i> .1622) married Thomas Wentworth (1593-1644) (created first Earl of Strafford in 1640). (2) Frances (<i>d</i> .1627) married Sir Gervase Clifton, first Baronet (1587- 1666).
Education	He was privately tutored. Gray's Inn 1583–1584.
Religion	Possible Catholic sympathies.
	In 1595 the Catholic exile Francis Dacre (brother of Magdalen (1538–1608) (Catholic) daughter of William Dacre, third Baron Dacre of Gilsland (1500–1563) and wife of Anthony Browne, first Viscount Montague (1528–1592)) wrote that Francis Clifford was one of his 'dear friends.' ²
	On 31 st March 1603 John Dalston, Captain of Carlisle Castle reported to Sir John Stanhope that 'with 6 servants, Mr. Francis Dacre [came] into this county; and this night Mr. Francis Clifford is here with me at Carlell, upon his journey towards the King.' ³
	Patron of William Byrd (Catholic) and Thomas Campion. (possibly Catholic)
Property	Skipton Castle and Londesborough Hall, Yorkshire Estates in Yorkshire, Derbyshire, Carlisle Boughton Castle, Westmorland

Calendar of the Cecil Papers in Hatfield House (1965). <u>URL: http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-cecil-papers</u>.

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³ *ibid.*, Volume 15, 1-24. See also Questier: *Community*, 99.

¹ *HOP 1604-1629,* Volume 3, 542.

² *HMC Salisbury*, Volume 13, 532-549.

COMPTON, William (1568-1630) Second Baron Compton (succeeded 1589) First Earl of Northampton (created 1618)

Offices	Master of the Leash 1596 Lord Lieutenant - Warwickshire 1603; North and South Wales with Worcester, Hereford & Shrewsbury 1617; Gloucester 1622 High Steward Manor of Henley 1603 Joint Keeper with son Spencer of Olney Park, Buckinghamshire 1603/4 and Whittlewood Forest, Northants 1617 Lord President of the Council of Wales 1617-1630
House of Commons	Knight of the Bath 1605
House of Commons	-
House of Lords	1604-1610, 1614, 1621, 1624
Proxies received ¹	1604 – Henry Mordaunt, fourth Baron Mordaunt (1568-1609) (Catholic) (brother-in-law)
Oath of Allegiance	16 th June 1610
Family	Father – Henry Compton, first Baron Compton (1544-1589) (Catholic) son of Peter Compton of Compton Wyniates and Anne, daughter of George Talbot, fourth Earl of Shrewsbury (1468–1538). ²
	Mother - Frances (<i>d</i> .1574), daughter of Francis Hastings, second Earl of Huntingdon (1513/14–1560) and Katherine, daughter of Henry Pole, first Baron Montagu (1492–1539).
	Stepfather – Robert Sackville, second Earl of Dorset (1560/61– 1609). ³
	Brother - (1) Sir Thomas Compton ($d.1626$) married Mary Villiers, <i>suo</i> <i>jure</i> Countess of Buckingham ($c.1570-1632$), Buckingham's mother. (Catholic) (2) Sir Henry Compton ($c.1584-c.1649$) married (i) Cecily ($d.1624$), daughter of Robert Sackville, second Earl of Dorset ($1560/61-1609$) and Lady Margaret Howard ($d.1591$), (Catholic) ⁴ daughter of Thomas Howard, fourth Duke of Norfolk ($1538-1572$) (ii) Mary ($d.1656$) (Catholic) ⁵ daughter of Sir George Browne of Wickhambreaux, Kent, cousin of Anthony Maria Browne, second Viscount Montague ($1574-1629$). (Catholic) Sister – Margaret ($d. c.1645$), married Henry Mordaunt, fourth
	Baron Mordaunt (c.1568-1609). (Catholic)

	Niece – Frances married (1) Sir Thomas Neville, son of Henry Neville, ninth (or second) Baron Abergavenny (1573-1641) (Catholic) and Mary (<i>d</i> .1613) daughter of Thomas Sackville, first Earl of Dorset (<i>c</i> .1536-1608) (possibly conforming Catholic) (2) Sir Basil Brooke (1576–1646). (Catholic) ⁶
	Aunt - Elizabeth Hastings (<i>d</i> .1621) (Catholic) married Edward Somerset, fourth Earl of Worcester (1550-1628). (conforming Catholic)
	Wife - Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Spencer of Canonbury, Islington, Lord Mayor of London 1594-95 and Alice, daughter of Roger Bromfield, London.
	Daughter - Anne (<i>d</i> . 1675) married Ulick Burke (1604–1658) (Catholic) son of Richard Burke, fourth Earl of Clanricarde (1572– 1635) (created Viscount Tunbridge in 1624) (Catholic) and Honora (<i>b</i> .1534/5, <i>d</i> . in or after 1615), daughter of John Burke of Clogheroka.
	Grand-daughter – Honora (1638-1652) became a Benedictine nun in Ghent (against her parents' wishes).
Education	Gray's Inn 1593 ⁷ MA Cambridge 1594-1595 MA Oxford 1605
Religion	Conforming Catholic
	On 29 th April 1624 it was reported that the 'lower House have censured foure noblemen as unworthy to beare office, namelie the Earle of Rutland, lieutenant of the sh[ir]e, the Earle of Worchester, lord privie seale, the Earle of Northampton, president of Wales, the Lord Croope [sic], president of the Northe.' ⁸ However, although on 27 th April 1624 the Earl of Northampton was reported to the House of Commons as being 'justly suspected,' after consideration it was concluded that as it was only his daughter who was a recusant 'but no Wife, or Servant, but good Protestants, to be spared.' ⁹ His name did not appear on the list contained in the petition of the Commons against Catholics 'charged with places of trust' in the shires. ¹⁰
	employed as Compton's domestic chaplain 1616.
Property	Castle Ashby, Northamptonshire House in the Savoy

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URL: http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1604-1629.

¹ See Table 2.3 of Appendix 2.

² Questier: *Community*, 98; *HOP* 1588-1603, Volume 1, 635.

³ HOP 1604-1629, Volume 3, 623.

⁴ Questier: *Community*, 86.

⁵ HOP 1604-1629, Volume 3, 623.

⁶ Burke's Peerage and Baronetage, Volume 1, 18; Questier: Caroline Newsletters, 42, 80-81, 109, 121, 258.

⁷ Alumni Oxonienses 1500-1714, 304-337; Foster: Gray's Inn 1521-1889.

⁸ Questier: *Dynastic Policy*, 266.

⁹ *CJ*, Volume 1 (1547-1629) 702-703. On 3 April it was ordered that 'the Knights and Burgesses of every Place, by themselves, shall present unto the House the Names of such convicted, or justly suspected. Popish Persons, as are in any Places of Charge or Trust, in their several Counties, or Boroughs. Any Lieutenants or Justices of Peace, to do the like. *CJ*, Volume 1 (1547-1629) 03 April 1624.

¹⁰ *LJ*, Volume 3 (1620-1628) 392-396.

DARCY, THOMAS, (1565-1640)Third Baron Darcy of Chiche (succeeded 1581)First Viscount Colchester (created 1621)First Earl Rivers (created 1626)OfficesCommissioner of the Peace EssexHouse of Commons-House of Lords1584, 1587, 1589, 1593, 1597, 1601James I1604-1610, 1614, 1621, 1624

Proxies received1604 – John Lumley, sixth (or first) Baron Lumley (c.1533-1609)
(brother-in-law) (Catholic)
1608 – Robert Rich, third Baron Rich (c.1559–1619) (created first
Earl of Warwick in 1618) (Essex neighbour and second cousin)
1621 – Edward Vaux, fourth Baron Vaux (1588-1661) (Catholic)Proxies given1604 – Henry Howard, first Earl of Northampton (1540-1614)
(Catholic)

1621 – Ludovick Stuart, first Earl of Richmond (1574-1624) (created first Duke of Richmond in 1623) **(possibly Catholic)** 1624 – Francis Manners, sixth Earl of Rutland (1578-1632) **(Catholic)**

Oath of Allegiance No record in LJ

Family Father - John Darcy, second Baron Darcy of Chiche (1532-1581).

Mother – Frances, daughter of Richard Rich, first Baron Rich (1496/7–1567).

Sister - Elizabeth (*d*.1617) married John Lumley, sixth (or first) Baron Lumley (*c*.1533-1609). (Catholic)

Wife - Mary (*d*.1644), daughter of Sir Thomas Kitson (*c*.1565-1640) of Hengrave, Suffolk (**Catholic**)

Nephew – George Talbot, ninth Earl of Shrewsbury (1567-1630) (succeeded 1618). **(Catholic priest)** Niece – Gertrude married Robert Winter (*c*.1566–1606) (gunpowder conspirator). Second cousin - Mary (*d*.1624) became an Augustinian nun in Louvain.¹

Daughter –

(1) Elizabeth (1581–1651) **(Catholic)** (Lady of the bedchamber of Queen Henrietta Maria) married Thomas Savage (c.1586-1635) (created Viscount Savage in 1626) (Chancellor to Queen Henrietta Maria). **(Catholic)**²

	Grandson – John married Catharine, daughter of William Parker, thirteenth Baron Morley & fifth (or first) Baron Monteagle (1574/5- 1622) and Elizabeth Tresham (1573-1647/8) (Catholic) sister of the gunpowder conspirator Francis Tresham. Grand-daughter – (i) Katherina (1620-1687) became a Benedictine nun in Ghent and in 1662 helped to found another convent in Dunkirk. ³
	 (ii) Jane Savage (<i>d.</i> 1631) married John Paulet, Baron St. John of Basing (<i>c</i>.1598–1675). (Catholic) (2) Penelope married Sir John Gage, first baronet of Firle (<i>d</i>.1633). (Catholic)⁴
Education	?
Religion	Catholic
	In December 1612 Isaac Wake reported to Dudley Carleton that the 'Council have had meetings to suppress recent assemblies of Catholics, who speak too boldly. Lord Darcy sent for by his friends, lest his lands be forfeited for recusancy.' ⁵
	In 1624 his name appeared on the list contained in the petition of the House of Commons against Catholics 'charged with places of trust' in the shires. ⁶
	In October 1625 he was one of the 'lords recusantes' whose houses were searched for arms. ⁷
	In 1631 he was one of the peers who signed a protestation against the appointment by the papacy of Bishop Richard Smith. ⁸ In 1634, however, it was reported that he was among those who had 'lately and seriously expressed' that they 'would readily obey, prostrating themselves at his feet with all religious humility.' His son-in-law Thomas, first Viscount Savage gave his assent to the protestation but did not sign it. ⁹
Property	St. Osyth Priory, Essex

Acts of the Privy Council (1907). URL: http://www.british-history.ac.uk/acts-privy-council.

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¹ Nuns Project.

John Walter, 'Savage, Elizabeth, sue jure Countess Rivers (1581–1651)', in ODNB. In 1631 Viscount Savage was among the peers who gave their assent to, but did not sign a protestation against the appointment by the papacy of Bishop Richard Smith. Questier: *Caroline Newsletters*, 79.

³ Nuns Project

⁴ Questier: *Community*, 40, 268, 429 and 458. In 1624 his name appeared on the list contained in the petition of the House of Commons against Catholics 'charged with places of trust' in the shires. *U*, Volume 3, *1620-1628*, 392-396. He was listed again in 1626 in the petition of the House of Commons against 'Recusants, Papists, or justly suspected remain in places of Government and Authority, and trust' in the counties of England and dominion of Wales. Rushworth: *Collections*, 396.

⁵ *C.S.P. Domestic* (1611-1618) Volume 71, 162.

⁶ *LJ*, Volume 3 (1620-1628) 392-396.

APC, Volume 40 (1625-1626) 227-229. C.S.P. Domestic, Charles I (1625-1626) Volume 12, 178-194.

⁸ Questier: *Caroline Newsletters*, 79.

⁹ *ibid.* 217-218.

EURE, WILLIAM (*c*.1579-*c*.1646) Fourth Baron Eure (succeeded 1617)

Offices	Commissioner for the Peace, East Riding of Yorkshire Commissioner for the Sewers, East Riding of Yorkshire Member of the Council in the North
	Knighted before 1612 ¹
House of Commons	Scarborough 1601
House of Lords	1621 – Absent 1624 – Absent
Proxies given	1621 – George Villiers, first Marquess of Buckingham (1592-1628) 1624 – Francis Manners, sixth Earl of Rutland (1578-1632) (Catholic)
Oath of Allegiance	No record in <i>LJ</i>
Family	Father – Ralph Eure, third Baron Eure (1558-1617) son of William, second Baron Eure (1529 –1594) and Margaret, daughter of Sir Edward Dymoke of Scrivelsby, Lincolnshire.
	Mother – Mary (<i>d</i> .1612) daughter of Sir John Danway of Sessay, Yorkshire.
	Wife – Lucy (<i>d</i> .1616), daughter of Sir Andrew Noel of Dalby, Leicestershire and Mabel, daughter of Sir James Harington of Exton, Rutland.
	Son – Ralph (<i>d</i> .1640) (Catholic) married Katherine (<i>d</i> .1657) daughter of Thomas Arundell, first Baron Arundell of Wardour (1560-1639). (Catholic)
	Daughter – (1) Anne (1610-1662) became a Benedictine nun in Cambrai. (2) Catherine (<i>d</i> .1635) became a Benedictine nun in Cambrai. (3) Margaret (<i>d</i> .1635) became a Benedictine nun in Brussels. ²
Education	Queen's College, Oxford 1593 Gray's Inn 1595 ³ Tour abroad for three years ⁴
Religion	Catholic
	William Bishop, the leading secular priest who was appointed Bishop of Chalcedon in 1623 thought Baron Eure to be among the 'fittest men' to become members of the Privy Council on the marriage of Prince Charles to Maria Anna the Spanish Infanta. ⁵

In 1624 his name appeared on the list contained in the petition of the Commons against Catholics 'charged with places of trust' in the shires.⁶

In December 1625 he was one of the 'lords recusantes' whose houses were searched for arms.⁷

He was listed again in 1626 in the petition of the House of Commons against 'Recusants, Papists, or justly suspected remain in places of Government and Authority, and trust' in the counties of England and dominion of Wales.⁸

He made private lodgings available to priests.⁹

He was mentioned in connection with a protestation in 1631 against the appointment by the papacy of Bishop Richard Smith.¹⁰

Property

Malton Castle, North Yorkshire

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¹ Alumni Oxonienses 1500-1714, 440-479.

² Nuns Project.

³ Foster: *Gray's Inn 1521-1889*.

⁴ *HOP 1588-1603,* Volume 2, 93.

⁵ Questier: *Community*, 389; Questier: *Dynastic Policy*, 54, 155.

- ⁹ Questier: *Community*, 427.
- ¹⁰ Questier: *Caroline Newsletters*, 79.

⁶ *LJ*, Volume 3 (1620-1628) 392-396.

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⁸ Rushworth: *Collections,* 392.

HOWARD, HENRY (1540-1614) Earl of Northampton (created 1604)

Offices	Privy Council 1603 Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports 1604 Constable of Dover Castle 1604 Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal 1608 Commissioner to expel Jesuits and seminary priests 1604 Commissioner to investigate the gunpowder plot and report the results at the plotters' trial in 1606 ¹ Commissioner to expel Jesuits 1610 Knight of the Garter 1605
House of Commons	-
House of Lords	1604-1610, 1614 – Absent
Proxies received	 1604 – (1) George Touchet, eleventh Baron Audley (1550/51-1617) (2) Thomas Darcy, third Baron Darcy of Chiche (1565-1640) (created Viscount Colchester in 1621 and Earl Rivers in 1626) (Catholic) 1604 - 1605 and 1610 - Henry Berkeley, seventh Baron Berkeley (1534-1613) (brother-in-law) 1605 - 1608 - John Lumley, sixth (or first) Baron Lumley (c.1533-1609) (Catholic) 1608 – (1) William Paget, fifth Baron Paget (1572-1629) (2) Richard Fiennes, eighth Baron Saye & Sele (c.1557–1613) 1610 - (1) Roger Manners, fifth Earl of Rutland (1576-1612) (Catholic sympathies) (2) Emanuel Scrope, eleventh Baron Scrope (1584-1630) (created first Earl of Sunderland in 1627) (probably Catholic) (3) George Touchet, eleventh Baron Audley (above)
Oath of Allegiance	1610
Family	Father - Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey (1516/17–1547).
	Mother - Frances de Vere (1517–1577) daughter of John de Vere, fifteenth Earl of Oxford (1482–1540).
	Brother - Thomas Howard, fourth Duke of Norfolk (1538–1572). Nephew – Thomas Howard, first Earl of Suffolk (1561-1626). (conforming Catholic)
	Nephew - Thomas Howard, fourteenth Earl of Arundel (1585-1646). (Catholic)
	Sister - Catherine, married Henry Berkeley, seventh Baron Berkeley (1534-1613).

Education	1553-1558 he was a page in the household of the Catholic John White, Bishop of Lincoln and Winchester. On her accession, Elizabeth I took charge of his education. King's College, Cambridge 1564. MA 1566. Middle Temple 1603. ²
Religion	Conforming Catholic
	During the reign of Elizabeth I, he was imprisoned for his support of Catholic causes and his close relations with Mary, Queen of Scots.
	For two years from 1582 Howard received a regular pension from the Spanish government for providing information from Elizabeth's court to the Spanish Ambassador, Mendoza. ³
	On the accession of James in 1603 when 'conscience had bowed to the realities of power', he adopted the established religion in outward show. ⁴
	In 1603 Robert Spiller thought Northampton 'to be very Catholic but at present, because of his ambitions, he gives signs of the opposite. He is of inconstant mind and not as straight as he might seem in his speech. ⁵
	He was a patron of loyal recusants and Catholic sympathizers. His clients and the members of his household were religiously conservative. ⁶
	His Catholicism was common knowledge as expressed in popular libels. In one he was described as 'The great Archpapist, learned Curio' and in another ', his maiestie's erwigg, With a Papistical bald crowne, & a Protestant perewigg.' ⁷
	In 1609 he visited the Spanish ambassador, Pedro de Zúñiga 'to speak about religion since his conscience has been pressing him to an extent that in return for his services, he wanted the king to allow him to retire to some place where he could live as a Catholic.' ⁸
	Alonso de Velasco wrote to Philip III in July 1610 that at a meeting of the Privy Council, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Richard Bancroft, had told the king 'that he should not trust some councillors since they were never seen to assist at the services of the Communion Supper, and to point out the Earls of Northampton, Suffolk and Worcester as reputed to be among the Catholics. ⁹
	According to the Spanish ambassador, Diego Sarmiento de Acuña (the future count of Gondomar), James exerted strong pressure on Northampton to accompany him to church to which he succumbed, James stated publicly that he had occasioned his conversion although he never wanted to receive the host or take the oath. ¹⁰
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In February 1614 he was secretly received back into the Roman Catholic church by a priest sent by the Spanish ambassador (above).¹¹

He was the most influential ally of the Spanish ambassador (above), who wrote to Philip III that he was 'unique in his qualities and virtues and in his devotion to your Majesty's service.'¹²

Property Lands in East Anglia and Clun, south-west Shropshire Houses – Charing Cross, Greenwich Park, St. Martin in the Fields

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- ² Alumni Oxonienses 1500-1714, 748-784.
- ³ Mendoza was expelled from England in 1594.
- ⁴ Levy Peck: *Northampton*, 66.
- ⁵ Loomie: *Spain, Volume 64, 7.*
- ⁶ Levy Peck: *Northampton*, 55 and 59-61.

¹ With the help of the antiquary, Sir Robert Cotton Northampton wrote the official response to the gunpowder plot 'A True and Perfect Relation of the whole proceedings against the late most barbarous Traitors, Garnet, a Jesuite, and his Confederats', Pauline Croft pointed out that the choice of a known cry pro-Catholic to prepare the official statement on the plot and its aftermath helped to highlight the point that 'the plotters were abhorrent to their own coreligionists, whose political loyalty had not wavered in 1605'. Pauline Croft, 'Howard, Henry, Earl of Northampton (1540-1614)', in ODNB.

⁷ Pauline Croft, Libels, Popular Literacy and Public Opinion in Early Modern England in *Historical Review* 66 (1995), 278.

⁸ Loomie: *Spain,* Volume 64, 128.

⁹ *ibid.* 157.

¹⁰ Loomie: *Spain,* Volume 68, 38.

¹¹ *ibid.* 39.

¹² *ibid.* 40.

HOWARD, THOMAS (1561-1626)

Earl of Suffolk (created 1603)

Offices	Lord Lieutenant of Cambridgeshire & Isle of Ely 1598 Constable of the Tower of London 1601 Lord Chamberlain of the Household 1603 Privy Council 1603 Lord Lieutenant of Suffolk 1605 Lord Lieutenant of Dorset 1613 Chancellor of Cambridge University 1614 Lord Treasurer 1614 Knight of the Garter 1597
House of Lords Elizabeth I James I	1598, 1601 1604-1610, 1614, 1621, 1624
Proxies received	 1604 - 1610 - Thomas Howard, third Viscount Howard of Bindon (<i>d</i>.1611) 1605 - (1) Roger Manners, fifth Earl of Rutland (1576-1612) (possibly conforming Catholic) (2) William Paget, fifth Baron Paget (1572-1629) 1605 - 1610 - Charles Willoughby, second Baron Willoughby of Parham (1536/7-1612) 1608 - Thomas Gerard, first Baron Gerard (<i>d</i>.1618) 1608 - 1610 - Philip Wharton, third Baron Wharton (1555-1625) 1614 - (1) William Paulet, fourth Marquess of Winchester (<i>d</i>.1629) (Catholic) (2) Henry Clinton, seventeenth Earl of Lincoln (1542-1616) (3) Thomas Clinton, Baron Clinton (1568-1619) (4) Thomas Gerard, first Baron Gerard (above) (5) Grey Brydges, fifth Baron Chandos (1578/9-1621) 1621 - (1) William Knollys, first Viscount Wallingford (1545-1632) (son-in- law) (possible Catholic sympathies) (2) Edward Wotton, first Baron Wotton (1548-1628) (Catholic)
Oath of Allegiance	1610
Family	Father - Thomas Howard, fourth Duke of Norfolk (1538–1572).
	Mother - Margaret (1540–1564) daughter of Thomas Audley, first Baron Audley of Walden (1487/8–1544).
	Brother - William Howard, Lord Howard of Naworth (1563–1640) (Catholic) married Elizabeth Dacre daughter of Elizabeth Leybourne ¹ his father's third wife, and her previous husband Thomas Dacre, fourth Baron Dacre of Gilsland (1526?–1566). (Catholic)

Half Brother - Philip Howard, thirteenth Earl of Arundel (1557–1595) married Anne Dacre (1557–1630), sister of Elizabeth (above).

Nephew – Thomas Howard, fourteenth Earl of Arundel (1585-1646). (Catholic)

Uncle – Henry Howard, first Earl of Northampton (1540-1614). (Catholic)

Wife -

(1) Mary Dacre (1563–1578) daughter of Elizabeth Leybourne
(above) and Thomas Dacre, fourth Baron Dacre of Gilsland
(Catholic)
(2) Kathoring (a 1564–1628) daughter of Sir Lloppy Knowett (a 157

(2) Katherine (*c*.1564-1638) daughter of Sir Henry Knyvett (*c*.1537–1598).

Son –

(1) Theophilus, Baron Howard of Walden (1584–1640) married Elizabeth Home (*c*.1599–1633) daughter of George Home, first Earl of Dunbar (*d*.1611) and Elizabeth, daughter of Sir George Gordon of Gicht. **(Catholic)**

(2) Thomas (1590-1669) first Viscount Andover (*c*.1622) married Elizabeth, daughter of William Cecil (1566-1640) second Earl of Exeter (1566-1640).

(3) Sir Robert (*c*.1598-1653) (Member of Parliament Bishop's Castle 1624, 1625, 1626, 1628, 1640 (April), November 1640-1646 September 1642, 1644 (Oxford Parliament)) married Katherine, daughter of Henry Neville, ninth (or second) Baron Abergavenny (1573-1641). **(Catholic)**

Daughter –

(1) Elizabeth (*bap.* 1586-1658) married
(i) William Knollys, first Baron Knollys (1545-1632) (created first Viscount Wallingford in 1616 and Earl of Banbury in 1626).
(ii) Edward Vaux, fourth Baron Vaux (1588-1661). (Catholic)
(2) Frances married
(i) Robert Devereux, third Earl of Essex (1591-1646).
(ii) Robert Carr, first Earl of Somerset (1585/6–1645).
(3) Katherine married William Cecil, second Earl of Salisbury (1591-1668).

Education 1568–9 tutored by Gregory Martin, a Catholic who fled to Douai in 1569 or 1570 St. John's College, Cambridge MA 1605 Gray's Inn 1598²

Religion

Conforming Catholic

Alonso de Velasco wrote to Philip III in July 1610 that at a meeting of the Privy Council, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Richard Bancroft, had told the king 'that he should not trust some councillors since they were never seen to assist at the services of the Communion Supper, and to point out the Earls of Northampton, Suffolk and Worcester as reputed to be among the Catholics.³

Property Audley End, Essex Estates in Wiltshire

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¹ Elizabeth Leybourne was the sister of Anne Leybourne, mother-in-law of Edward Parker, twelfth Baron Morley (1551-1618). See below.

Alumni Oxonienses 1500-1714 (1891).

³ Loomie: *Spain, Volume 64,* 157.

HOWARD, THEOPHILUS (1584-1640)

Baron Howard of Walden (summoned in his father's barony 1610) Second Earl of Suffolk (succeeded 1626)

Offices ¹	Joint Constable, Tenby Castle, Pembrokeshire (<i>c</i> .1604- <i>c</i> .1622) Constable of Dover Castle and Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports 1628-1640 Vice Admiral - Dorset (1611- <i>c</i> .1639), Cumberland, Northumberland and bishopric of Durham (1611- <i>c</i> .1638), Westmorland (<i>c</i> .1614- <i>c</i> .1638) Keeper of Greenwich Park, Kent (1611- <i>c</i> .1624), the Tower Lodge, Greenwich Park (1614- <i>c</i> .1633) Commissioner oyer and terminer –numerous Joint Lord Lieutenant – Cumberland, Northumberland, Westmorland 1614-39 Lord Lieutenant - Cambridgeshire, Dorset, Suffolk (1626-1640), Cinque Ports (1628-1640) Justice of the Peace –numerous <i>Custos rotulorum</i> Dorset (1614- <i>c</i> .1629), Essex (1624-?), Suffolk (1624- <i>c</i> .1636) Captain - garrison, Berwick-upon-Tweed, Northumberland (<i>c</i> .1616). Knight of the Garter 1626
House of Commons	Maldon 4 th November 1605 - 8 th February 1610
House of Lords	1610, 1614, 1621, 1624
Oath of Allegiance	7 th June 1610
Family	Father –Thomas Howard, first Earl of Suffolk (1561–1626). (conforming Catholic)
	Mother - Katherine Howard, Countess of Suffolk (<i>c</i> .1564-1638). (conforming Catholic) ²
	Uncle – (1) William Howard, Lord Howard of Naworth (1563–1640) (Catholic) married Elizabeth Dacre (1564–1639) daughter of Thomas Dacre, fourth Baron Dacre of Gilsland (1526?–1566) (Catholic) and his wife, Elizabeth Leybourne. (2) Philip Howard, thirteenth Earl of Arundel (1557–1595) married Anne Dacre (1557–1630) sister of Elizabeth (above). Brother – (1) Thomas (1590, 1660) first Viscount Andover (c. 1622) married
	(1) Thomas (1590-1669) first Viscount Andover (<i>c</i> . 1622) married Elizabeth, daughter of William Cecil (1566-1640) second Earl of Exeter (1566-1640).

	(2) Sir Robert (<i>c</i> .1598-1653) (Member of Parliament Bishop's Castle 1624, 1625, 1626, 1628, 1640 (April), November 1640-6 September 1642, 1644 (Oxford Parliament)) married Katherine, daughter of Henry Neville, ninth (or second) Baron Abergavenny (1573-1641). (Catholic)
	Sister – (1) Frances married (i) Robert Devereux, third Earl of Essex (1591-1646). (ii) Robert Carr, first Earl of Somerset (1585/6–1645). (2) Elizabeth (1586–1658) (Catholic) married (i) William Knollys, first Baron Knollys (1545-1632) (created first Viscount Wallingford in 1616 and first Earl of Banbury in 1626). (ii) Edward Vaux, fourth Baron Vaux (1588-1661). (Catholic)
	Wife - Elizabeth (<i>d</i> .1633) daughter of George Home, first Earl of Dunbar (<i>d</i> .1611) and Elizabeth, daughter of Sir George Gordon of Gicht. (Catholic)
Education	Magdalene College, Cambridge MA 1605 Tour of France, Italy, Rome and Lorraine 1603-1605 Gray's Inn 1606 ³ Member of the council of the Virginia Company Charter member of the North-West Passage Company
Religion	Conformist but possible Catholic sympathies owing to his Howard and Home family connections.
Property	Audley End, Essex Estates in Wiltshire and Northumberland

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¹ For a full list of his offices, see *HOP 1604-1629*, Volume 4, 815-816.

² Loomie: *Spain, Volume 64*, 71.

³ Alumni Oxonienses 1500-1714 (1891).

HOWARD, THOMAS (1585-1646) Fourteenth Earl of Arundel (succeeded 1595), restored 1603		
Offices	Privy Council 1616 Scottish Privy Council 1617 Council for the Plantation of New England Earl Marshal 1621 Knight of the Garter 1611	
House of Lords	1606-1610, 1614 – abroad, 1621, 1624	
Proxies received	 1621 – (1) George Talbot, ninth Earl of Shrewsbury (1567-1630) (Catholic) (2) Thomas Arundell, first Baron Arundell of Wardour (1560-1639) (Catholic) (3) William Sandys, third Baron Sandys (d.1629) 1624 – (1) George Talbot, ninth Earl of Shrewsbury (above) (2) Thomas Arundell, first Baron Arundell of Wardour (above) 	
Oath of Allegiance	7 th June 1610	
Family	Father - Philip Howard, thirteenth Earl of Arundel (1557–1595). (Catholic)	
	Mother -Anne Dacre (1557-1630) daughter of Thomas Dacre, fourth Baron Dacre. (Catholic)	
	 Uncle - (1) Thomas Howard (1561-1626) first Earl of Suffolk. (conforming Catholic) (2) William Howard, Lord Howard of Naworth (1563–1640) (Catholic) married Elizabeth Dacre daughter of Elizabeth Leybourne his father's third wife, and her previous husband Thomas Dacre, fourth Baron Dacre of Gilsland (1526?–1566). (Catholic) 	
	Great Uncle – Henry Howard, first Earl of Northampton (1540-1614). (Catholic)	
	Wife – Aletheia (<i>d</i> .1654) (Catholic) daughter of Gilbert Talbot, seventh Earl of Shrewsbury (1552–1616). (conforming Catholic)	
	Son – (1) Henry Frederick, fifteenth Earl of Arundel (1608–1652), married Lady Elizabeth Stuart (<i>d</i> .1674), daughter of Esmé Stuart, second Earl of Richmond (third Duke of Lennox in Scotland) (1579-1624). (possible Catholic sympathies)	
	Grandson – (1) Philip (<i>d</i> .1694) became a Cardinal and founder of the English Dominican Nuns at Brussels. ¹ 113	

	 (2) Henry, sixth Duke of Norfolk (1628–1684) was, with his brother Philip (above), received into the Roman Catholic church at Antwerp in 1642. (2) Sir William Howard, Viscount Stafford (1612–1680) married Mary Stafford (1620/21–1694) grand-daughter of Edward Stafford, fourth Baron Stafford (1572-1625) (Catholic). The marriage was conducted by a Catholic priest. Grand-daughter – Aletheia (1637-1684) became an Augustinian nun in Paris. Mary (d.1714) became a Dominican nun in Brussels. Ursula (d.1714) became an Augustinian nun in Bruges.
Education	Westminster School Trinity College, Cambridge Possible Tour of Europe, including St. Omer ³
Religion	Catholic/conforming Catholic after 1616
	He was brought up as a Roman Catholic but conformed in 1616.
	According to the biographer of Richard Blount (<i>c</i> .1565–1638) in 1609 the priest ministered to the Earl of Arundel and his mother, Anne (Dacre) Howard, Countess of Arundel with others, and Blount's London base was probably a house belonging to the Arundels. ⁴
	A cipher list from 1609 revealed that the Earl of Arundel and his mother were among the members Richard Blount's church. ⁵
	The countess was a benefactor of the Jesuit province of England under Richard Blount. ⁶
	He was identified with Catholic interests at court in the years preceding the civil war.
	He and his wife had a close relationship with the papal envoy George Conn who they assisted in trying to persuade Prince Rupert to convert to Rome in order to recover the Palatine. In a letter written in 1637 to Cardinal Francesco Barberini in Rome, Conn noted that the countess was 'Catholic in all but outward profession.' ⁷
	In 1633 the Arundels purchased Tart Hall where Lady Arundel entertained her Catholic circle, including priests.
	Arundel Castle House in Highgate

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⁷ Hervey: Arundel, 399.

¹ Nuns Project.

² *ibid.*

³ Hervey: *Arundel*, 17.

⁴ Thomas M. McCoog, 'Blount, Richard (c.1565–1638)', in ODNB.

⁵ Questier: *Community*, 289.

⁶ Thomas M. McCoog, 'Blount, Richard (c.1565–1638)', in ODNB.

KNOLLYS, WILLIAM (1545-1632) First Baron Knollys (created 1603) First Viscount Wallingford (created 1616) First Earl of Banbury (created 1626)

Offices ¹	Deputy Lord Lieutenant Oxfordshire 1587 and Berkshire 1593 Joint Lord Lieutenant Oxfordshire and Berkshire 1596 (sole 1601) Comptroller of the Household and Privy Council 1596 Treasurer of the Household 1602-1616 Justice of the Peace – Gloucestershire, Wiltshire, Oxfordshire, Berkshire Cofferer to Henry, Prince of Wales 1606 Treasury Commissioner 1614 Master of the Court of Wards 1614-1619 Knight of the Garter High Steward – Reading, Abingdon, Wallingford, Banbury, Oxford Constable Wallingford Castle 1604
	Knighted 1586 Knight of the Garter 1615
House of Commons	Stafford 1571 Tregony 1572 Oxfordshire 1584, 1593, 1597, 1601
House of Lords	1604-1610, 1614, 1621, 1624
Proxies given	1621 - Thomas Howard, first Earl of Suffolk (1561-1626) (father-in- law)
Proxies received	1604 – (1) William Russell, first Baron Russell (1553-1613) (2) Robert Rich, third Baron Rich (1559?-1619) (created Earl of Warwick in 1616) (3) Henry Grey, first Baron Grey of Groby (1547-1614)
Oath of Allegiance	1610
Family	Father - Sir Francis Knollys (1511/12–1596).
	Mother - Katherine (1529/30–1569) daughter of William Carey of Aldenham, Hertfordshire and Mary, a niece of Anne Boleyn.
	Uncle – Henry Carey, first Baron Hunsdon (1526–1596).
	 Wife – (1) Dorothy (d.1605), daughter of Edmund Bray, Baron Bray of Eaton Bray, Bedfordshire (d.1539) and widow of Edmund Brydges, second Baron Chandos of Sudeley (d.1573). (2) Elizabeth (c.1586-1658) (Catholic) daughter of Thomas Howard, first Earl of Suffolk (1561-1626) and Katherine Howard, Countess of Suffolk (c.1564-1638). (conforming Catholics)² 117

Education	Eton Magdalen College, Oxford 1564. MA 1592. Middle Temple 1565.
Religion	Conformist but possible Catholic sympathies owing to his Howard family connections.
	His wife Elizabeth was involved with Edward Vaux, fourth Baron Vaux (1588–1661). (Catholic)
	According to <i>ODNB</i> , because of his wife's Catholicism, suspicion fell on them both. According to <i>HOP 1558-1603</i> , however, there is no evidence that he had any religious views apart from adherence to the established church. ³
	In 1624 there was some dispute among members of the House of Commons about whether his name should be included in the list contained in their petition against Catholics 'charged with places of trust' in the shires. It was acknowledged that although he had 'a Recusant to his Wife, doth himself, and his Servants come to Church, with all Zeal.' The dispute arose because his deputy Lieutenant in Oxfordshire was Sir Francis Stoner who was listed in the petition and certified as a popish recusant. ⁴ As Sir Francis confirmed that he did not owe his appointment to Viscount Wallingford, it was resolved that the latter should be spared. ⁵
Property	Rotherfield Greys, Oxfordshire Cholcey, Caversham, Berkshire

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¹ See also *HOP 1588-1603*, Volume 2, 417.

² Loomie: *Spain, Volume 64,* 71.

³ *HOP 1558-1603,* Volume 2, 417.

⁴ *LJ*, Volume 3 (1620-1628) 392-396.

⁵ *CJ*, Volume 1 (1547-1629) 702-702.

LUMLEY, JOHN (*c*.1533-1609) Sixth (or first) Baron Lumley (succeeded 1545)

Offices	Keeper of the great park of Nonsuch 1559 until his death High steward of the University of Oxford 1559 Commissioner for the trial of Mary, Queen of Scots despite being imprisoned for his support of her Commissioner for settling claims for the coronations of both Elizabeth I and James I Commissioner for the creation of the knights of the Bath in 1603 Knight of the Bath 1553
House of Commons	-
House of Lords Elizabeth I James I	1576, 1581, 1584, 1586, 1589 – Absent, 1593, 1597, 1601 (2 sittings) 1604-1607 - Absent
Proxies Given	1604 – Thomas Darcy, third Baron Darcy of Chiche (<i>c</i> .1565-1640) (created first Viscount Colchester in 1621 and first Earl Rivers in 1626) (Catholic) (brother-in-law) 1605 and 1608 - Henry Howard, first Earl of Northampton (1540- 1614) (Catholic)
Oath of Allegiance	Died before 1610.
Family	Father - George Lumley (<i>d</i> .1537) son of John Lumley, fifth Baron Lumley (<i>c</i> .1492-1545).
	Mother - Jane (<i>d</i> .1537) daughter of Sir Richard Knightley of Upton, Northamptonshire.
	 Wife – (1) Jane (1537–1577) daughter of Henry Fitzalan, twelfth Earl of Arundel (1512–1580) and his first wife, Katherine (<i>d</i>.1542) daughter of Thomas Grey, second Marquess of Dorset (1477–1530). (2) Elizabeth (<i>d</i>.1617) daughter of John Darcy, second Baron Darcy of Chiche (1532-1581) and his wife, Frances daughter of Richard Rich, first Baron Rich (1496/7–1567).
Education	Queens' College, Cambridge – matriculated 1549 ¹
Religion	Catholic ²
	His father was executed for high treason in 1537 for his part in the Pilgrimage of Grace.
	He was a member of the Jesuit church of Thomas Abercrombie. ³

Property

Estates in Durham including Lumley Castle near Chester-le-Street, Durham Properties in West Sussex including Stanstead, Sussex Nonsuch Palace, Surrey Hart Street near Tower Hill, London

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¹ Leo Gooch, A Complete Pattern of Nobility, John Lord Lumley (c.1534-1609) (Rainton Bridge:

The University of Sunderland Press, 2009), 14.

² See Questier; *Community* 143-4 and 289; Manning: *Elizabethan Sussex*, 221-237.

³ Questier: *Community* 289; Leo Gooch, *A Complete Pattern of Nobility, John Lord Lumley* (*c.1534-1609*) (Rainton Bridge: The University of Sunderland Press, 2009), 69.

MANNERS, ROGER (1576-1612) Fifth Earl of Rutland (succeeded 1588)

Offices	Constable Nottingham Castle 1600 Warden Sherwood Forest 1600 Lord Lieutenant Lincolnshire 1603 Steward Queen Anne's Manor at Grantham 1603 Keeper of Birkwood Park, Yorkshire 1603 Keeper of Clipstone Castle, Nottinghamshire 1603 Knighted 1599
House of Commons	-
House of Lords Elizabeth I James I	1597, 1601 – Absent (involved in Essex rebellion) 1604-25 th June 1610
Proxies given	1605 - Thomas Howard, first Earl of Suffolk (1561–1626) (conforming Catholic) 1610 - Henry Howard, first Earl of Northampton (1540-1614) (Catholic)
Oath of Allegiance	8 th June 1610
Family	Father - John Manners, fourth Earl of Rutland (<i>d</i> .1588).
	Mother - Elizabeth (<i>d</i> .1595) daughter of Francis Charleton of Apley Castle, Shropshire.
	Ward of William Cecil, first Baron Burghley (1520/21–1598).
	 Brother – (1) Francis, sixth Earl of Rutland (1578-1632). (Catholic) (2) Oliver (d.1613) (Catholic) was converted to Catholicism by John Gerard, SJ. He travelled to Italy just prior to the gunpowder plot. He entered the Jesuit order and was ordained by Cardinal Bellarmine in 1611.¹ (3) George (1580-1641) (Member of Parliament Grantham 1604, 1624, 1625, Lincolnshire 1614, 1621) married Frances, daughter of Sir Edward Carey of Aldenham.
	Sister – (1) Frances (1588–c.1643) (Catholic) married William Willoughby, third Baron Willoughby of Parham (1584–1617). (2) Elizabeth (<i>d</i> .1654) married Emanuel Scrope, eleventh Baron Scrope (1584–1630) (created Earl of Sunderland in 1627). (probably Catholic) (3) Bridget (1572-1604) married Robert Tyrwhit of Kettleby (<i>d</i> .1617). (Catholic) ²

	 Nephew – William Tyrwhit married Catherine, daughter of Anthony Maria Browne, second Viscount Montague (1574-1629) (Catholic) and Jane Sackville (d.1651/2) daughter of Thomas Sackville, first Earl of Dorset (c.1536-1608). (possibly conforming Catholic) Niece – Ursula married Sir William Babthorpe of Hemingbrough, Yorkshire. Great-niece – (i) Ursula became an Augustinian nun in Bruges. (ii) Elizabeth became a Mary Ward Institute choir nun in Munich. (iii) Mary became a Mary Ward Institute choir nun in Munich.³ Great-nephew – (i) Richard became a seminary priest. (ii) William became a seminary priest.⁴ Wife - Elizabeth Sidney (1585?–1612) (Catholic), daughter of Sir Philip Sidney (1554–1586) and Frances, daughter of Sir Francis
	Walsingham (<i>c</i> .1532–1590).
Education	Queens' College, Cambridge Corpus Christi College, Cambridge – MA 1595 Inner Temple Gray's Inn 1599 Tour of the Low Countries, Germany, Switzerland and France 1595- 1597 Matriculated at Padua University in 1596
Religion	Possibly Conforming Catholic
	During his examination following the gunpowder plot, 'Amb. Rokewood' said that Catesby had told him of the Plot and that they wished to save Lords Rutland, Mordaunt, and Montagu ⁵
	In her biography of Henry Howard, first Earl of Northampton (1540- 1614), Pauline Croft stated that the Earl helped to reintegrate several disaffected Essexians back into the fabric of political life including 'the Catholic Roger Manners, fifth Earl of Rutland.' ⁶
	His chaplain from 1603 was Thomas Morton (<i>c</i> .1564-1659), bishop of Durham from 1632, and author of several polemical works against the authority and pretensions of the Church of Rome. ⁷
	In 1605 he was granted the benefit of the fines of ten recusants with whom he was free to compound for his own profit in return for their release from the penalties. ⁸
	In May 1610, Sir Oliver Manners, (Catholic) ⁹ complained to Salisbury that his brother had detained his estates contrary to an order of the Council even though he was abroad by licence and 'associating with Lord Vaux (Catholic) and others who are licensed.' ¹⁰

According to Lawrence Stone, Roger's brother, Francis, sixth Earl of Rutland (1578-1632), was the first in the family to adopt Catholicism since the Reformation.¹¹

Wife and sister – members of the Jesuit church of William Wright.¹²

Property Belvoir Castle, Leicestershire Lands in Lincolnshire, Leicestershire and Nottinghamshire Rievaulx Abbey, North Yorkshire London

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¹ G. Anstruther: *Seminary Priests,* 1603-1659, 210; *HMC Rutland,* 413.

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³ ibid.

⁴ G. Anstruther: *Seminary Priests,* 1603-1659, 10.

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- ⁶ Pauline Croft, 'Howard, Henry, Earl of Northampton (1540–1614)', in *ODNB*. See also Levy Peck: *Northampton*, 72.
- ⁷ Brian Quintrell, 'Morton, Thomas (*bap.* 1564, *d*.1659)', in *ODNB*.
- ⁸ *HMC Salisbury,* Volume 17 (1605) 167-206.
- ⁹ See, for instance, Morey, *Catholic Subjects of Elizabeth*, 150.
- ¹⁰ *C.S.P. Domestic,* James I (1603-1610) Volume 54, 605-616.
- ¹¹ Stone: *Family and Fortune*, 195.
- ¹² Questier: *Community*, 289.

MANNERS, FRANCIS (1578-1632) Sixth Earl of Rutland (succeeded 1612)

Offices	Lord Lieutenant Lincolnshire 1612-1629 Constable of Nottingham Castle Warden of Sherwood Castle Knight of the Garter 1616 Privy Council 1617 Knight of the Bath 1605
House of Commons	-
House of Lords	1614, 1621, 1624
Proxies received	1624 – (1) Thomas Darcy, first Viscount Colchester (1565-1640) (created first Earl Rivers in 1626) (Catholic) (2) William Eure, fourth Baron Eure (<i>c</i> .1579- <i>c</i> .1646) (Catholic)
Oath of Allegiance	11 th April 1614
Family	Father - John Manners, fourth Earl of Rutland (d.1588).
	Mother - Elizabeth (<i>d</i> .1595) daughter of Francis Charleton of Apley Castle, Shropshire.
	Brother – (1) Roger, fifth Earl of Rutland (1576-1612) married Elizabeth Sidney (1585?–1612) (Catholic) , daughter of Sir Philip Sidney (1554–1586) & Frances, daughter of Sir Francis Walsingham (<i>c</i> .1532–1590). (2) Oliver (<i>d</i> .1613) was converted to Catholicism by John Gerard, SJ. He travelled to Italy just prior to the gunpowder plot. He entered the Jesuit order and was ordained by Cardinal Bellarmine in 1611. ¹ (3) George (1580-1641) (Member of Parliament for Grantham 1604, 1624, 1625, Lincolnshire 1614, 1621) married Frances, daughter of Sir Edward Carey of Aldenham.
	 Sister – (1) Frances (1588–c.1643) (Catholic) married William Willoughby, third Baron Willoughby of Parham (1584–1617). (2) Elizabeth Manners (d. 1654) married Emanuel Scrope, eleventh Baron Scrope (1584–1630) (created first Earl of Sunderland in 1627). (probably Catholic) (3) Bridget (1572-1604) married Robert Tyrwhit of Kettleby (d.1617). (Catholic)²
	Nephew – William Tyrwhit married Catherine, daughter of Anthony Maria Browne, second Viscount Montague (1574-1629) and Jane Sackville (<i>d</i> .1651/2) daughter of Thomas Sackville, first Earl of Dorset (<i>c</i> .1536-1608). (possibly conforming Catholic)

	Niece – Ursula married Sir William Babthorpe of Hemingbrough, Yorkshire. Great-niece – (i) Ursula became an Augustinian nun in Bruges. (ii) Elizabeth became a Mary Ward Institute choir nun in Munich. (iii) Mary became a Mary Ward Institute choir nun in Munich. ³ Great-nephew – (i) Richard became a seminary priest. (ii) William became a seminary priest. ⁴
	 Wife – (1) Frances (d.1605) daughter of Henry Knyvet of Charlton, Wiltshire, and widow of Sir William Bevill. (2) Cecily (d.1653) (Catholic) daughter of Sir John Tufton of Hothfield, Kent. (Catholic)
	Sister-in-law - Anne Tufton elder daughter of Sir John Tufton of Hothfield, Kent married Francis Tresham (<i>c</i> .1567–1605) of Rushton, Northants, gunpowder conspirator, and brother-in-law of William Parker, fifth (or first) Baron Monteagle (and thirteenth Baron Morley from 1618) (1574/5-1622). (conforming Catholic) . Niece – Lucy (1598-1665) became a Benedictine nun in Brussels. ⁵
	Daughter (of Frances Knyvet) – Katherine (1605–1649) (Catholic) married George Villiers, first Duke of Buckingham (1592-1628). As part of the marriage settlement she agreed to convert to Anglicanism, but after the Duke's death in 1628 she reverted to Catholicism.
Education	Christ's College, Cambridge Tour of France, Italy and the empire 1595 Inner Temple
Religion	Converted to Catholicism after 1608
	He was precluded from the office of high steward of East Retford on the death of his brother in 1612, because he was suspected of recusancy. ⁶
	He was the only member of the Lords to vote against a proposed declaration by the Commons of their willingness to contribute three subsidies and three fifteenths in support of the war that was likely to follow the termination of the Treaties with Spain. ⁷
	In 1624 he and his wife appeared at the top of the list contained in the petition of the Commons against Catholics 'charged with places of trust' in the shires. ⁸
	In 1626 he again headed a list contained in a petition of the Commons against Catholics. This time he was also accused of causing an affront to the Commissioners of the Peace of the North Riding of Yorkshire by licensing convicted recusants as an alehouse 126

keeper and as schoolmaster in his manor of Helmsley.⁹

According to Lawrence Stone, he was the first in the family to adopt Catholicism since the Reformation.¹⁰

Property Belvoir Castle, Leicestershire Lands in Lincolnshire, Leicestershire and Nottinghamshire Rievaulx Abbey, North Yorkshire London

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² Nuns Project.

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⁴ G. Anstruther: *Seminary Priests,* 1603-1659, 10.

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⁶ *HOP, 1604-1629*, Volume 2, 311.

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⁸ *LJ,* Volume 3 (1620-1628) 392-396.

⁹ Rushworth: *Collections*, 392.

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MORDAUNT, HENRY (*c*.1568-1609) Fourth Baron Mordaunt (succeeded 1601)

Offices	-
House of Commons	-
House of Lords Elizabeth I James I	1597 – Absent 1601 1604
Proxies given	1604 - William Compton, second Baron Compton (1568-1630) (created first Earl of Northampton in 1618)
Oath of Allegiance	Died before 1610
Family	Father – Lewis Mordaunt, third Baron Mordaunt (d.1601).
	Mother – Elizabeth (<i>d.</i> 1590) daughter of Sir Arthur Darcy and Mary, daughter of Sir Nicholas Carew.
	Wife - Margaret Compton (<i>d</i> . <i>c</i> .1645) daughter of Henry, first Baron Compton (1544-1589) (Catholic) ¹ and Frances, daughter of Francis Hastings, second Earl of Huntingdon (1513/14–1560), and sister of William Compton, second Baron Compton (1568-1630) (created first Earl of Northampton in 1618). (conforming Catholic)
	Son - John Mordaunt, fifth Baron Mordaunt (<i>c</i> .1599-1643) (created first Earl of Peterborough in 1628) married Elizabeth (1603–1671) daughter of William Howard, Baron Howard of Effingham (1577- 1615) son of Charles Howard, first Earl of Nottingham (1536-1624). Ward of George Abbot, Bishop of London. ²
	Daughter – Frances married (1) Sir Thomas Neville, son of Henry Neville, ninth (or second) Baron Abergavenny (1573-1641) (Catholic) and Mary (<i>d</i> .1613) daughter of Thomas Sackville, first Earl of Dorset (<i>c</i> .1536-1608) (possibly conforming Catholic) (2) Sir Basil Brooke (1576–1646). (Catholic) ³ Grand-daughter - Elizabeth (1629-1684) became an Augustinian nun in Bruges. ⁴
Education	Middle Temple
Religion	Catholic
	In 1587 he acted as surety for payment of fines incurred by Sir Thomas Tresham. ⁵
	According to toleration tract published in 1603, there was 'general joy and applause' at James's accession, and good offices were

performed towards him by Catholics 'with such alacrity in most places of the realme', particularly 'the Viscount Montigue largely casting money among the people', and other Catholic peers such as Lord Windsor and Lord Mordaunt.⁶

He was implicated in the gunpowder plot. Catesby had warned the Lords Montague, Mordaunt, and Stourton. 7

According to Guy Fawkes, in a conversation he had with Catesby about 'noblemen being absent from the meeting of Parliament; he said Lord Mordaunt would not be there, because he did not like to absent himself from the sermons, as the King did not know he was a Catholic ...'⁸

He was a member of the Jesuit church of Michael Walpole.⁹

Property Turvey, Bedfordshire

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¹ Questier: *Community*, 98; *HOP 1588-1603*, Volume 1, 636.

² Archbishop of Canterbury from 1611.

³ Burke's Peerage and Baronetage, Volume 1, 18; Questier: Caroline Newsletters, 42, 80-81, 109, 121, 258.

⁴ Nuns Project.

⁵ Morey: *Catholic Subjects of Elizabeth*, 163.

⁶ Questier: *Community*, 266.

⁷ *C.S.P. Domestic,* James I (1603-1610) Volume 17, 265-277.

⁸ *ibid.* Volume 18, 277-294.

⁹ Questier: *Community*, 289.

MORDAUNT, JOHN (1599-1644) Fifth Baron Mordaunt (succeeded 1609) Earl of Peterborough (created 1628)

Offices	Deputy Justice in Eyre, Rockingham Forest, Northants
	Deputy Lord Lieutenant Northamptonshire
	Knight of the Bath 1616
House of Commons	-
House of Lords	1621, 1624
Oath of Allegiance	No record in <i>LJ</i>
Family	Father – Henry Mordaunt, fourth Baron Mordaunt (<i>c.</i> 1568-1609). (Catholic)
	Mother - Margaret Compton (<i>d. c.</i> 1645) (Catholic) daughter of Henry, first Baron Compton (1544-1589) (Catholic) ¹ and Frances daughter of Francis Hastings, second Earl of Huntingdon (1513/14– 1560), and sister of William Compton, second Baron Compton (1568-1630) (created first Earl of Northampton in 1618). (Catholic)
	Ward of George Abbot, Bishop of London.
	Sister – Frances married (1) Sir Thomas Neville, son of Henry Neville, ninth (or second) Baron Abergavenny (1573-1641) (Catholic) and Mary (<i>d</i> .1613) daughter of Thomas Sackville, first Earl of Dorset (<i>c</i> .1536-1608) (possibly conforming Catholic) (2) Sir Basil Brooke (1576–1646). (Catholic) ² Niece - Elizabeth (1629-1684) became an Augustinian nun in Bruges. ³
	Wife - Elizabeth Howard (1603–1671) daughter of William Howard, Baron Howard of Effingham (1577-1615) son of Charles Howard, first Earl of Nottingham (1536-1624).
Education	At the house of George Abbot, Bishop of London (Archbishop of Canterbury from 1611). ⁴
Religion	Conforming Catholic
	In March 1621 John Chamberlain wrote to Dudley Carleton that 'The Lord Mordant and younge Mistris Howard, daughter to the Lady of Effingham are upon agreement, now that the greatest difficultie of his religion is removed by receiving the communion with her on Sonday last.' ⁵

Full conversion took place in 1625 as a result of a theological debate between Archbishop Usher of Armagh and a Catholic priest who was defeated.

In 1626 his name appeared on the list contained in the petition of the House of Commons against 'Recusants, Papists, or justly suspected according to the former Acts of State remain in places of Government and Authority, and trust'⁶ in the counties of England and dominion of Wales.

Property Turvey, Bedfordshire

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¹ Questier: *Community*, 98; *HOP 1588-1603*, Volume 1, 636.

² Burke's Peerage and Baronetage, Volume 1, 18; Questier: Caroline Newsletters, 42, 80-81, 109, 121, 258.

³ Nuns Project.

⁴ *HMC Salisbury,* Volume 21 (1609-1612) 26-39.

⁵ McClure: *Chamberlain*, 349.

⁶ Rushworth: *Collections,* 392.

NEVILLE, EDWARD (1550-1622) Eighth (or first) Baron Abergavenny (Claimed barony 1604)

Offices	-
House of Commons	New Windsor 1589
House of Lords	1604-1610, 1614, 1621
Oath of Allegiance	7 th June 1610
Family	Father – Edward Neville <i>de facto</i> seventh Baron Abergavenny (1526- 1588).
	Mother – Katherine, daughter of Sir John Brome of Halton, Oxfordshire. Maid of honour to Queen Mary.
	Brother – Francis (probably Catholic) ¹ married Mary daughter of Thomas Lewknor (1538-1596) (conforming Catholic) ² sister of Sir Lewis Lewknor.
	Wife - Rachel Lennard, daughter of John Lennard of Knoll and Elizabeth Harman.
	Son – (1) Henry (1573-1641) (Catholic) married (i) Mary, daughter of Thomas Sackville, first Earl of Dorset (<i>c</i> .1536- 1608) (possibly conforming Catholic) and Cicely (<i>d</i> .1615) daughter of Sir John Baker of London & Sissinghurst, Kent. (Catholic) (ii) Catherine, daughter of George Vaux (1564–1594) (Catholic) (son of William Vaux, third Baron Vaux of Harrowden) and Elizabeth, daughter of John Roper, first Baron Teynham (<i>c</i> .1534–1618) (Catholic) , and sister of Edward Vaux, fourth Baron Vaux (1588– 1661). (Catholic) Grand-daughter - (a) Mary (1605-1689) became a Benedictine nun in 1634 and was the founder of convents in Boulogne and Dunkirk. ³ (b) Anne became the Abbess at Pontoise, France. ⁴
	(2) Christopher (c.1578-1629) married Mary (d.1643) daughter of Thomas Darcy of Tolleshunt D'Arcy, Essex.
	Daughter - Mary (<i>d.</i> 1648) married Sir George Goring (1585-1663) (Member of Parliament for Lewes 1621-1628).
Education	?
Religion	Probably conforming Catholic
	According to J. C. Aveling he was 'heavily in debt and ready to try anything short of total apostacy' ⁵

Property

Abergavenny Castle The Manor, Birling, Kent

Sources

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¹ Questier: *Community*, 49 and 59.

² *HOP 1558-1603*, Volume 2, 475.

³ *Nuns Project.* There is some confusion as to the identity of Mary Neville. Her entry in the *Nuns Project* says she was the daughter of Henry Neville, ninth Lord Abergavenny and Lady Mary Sackville but cites as her place of birth, Holt, Leicestershire (the home of Colonel Henry Neville). The Abergavenny family seat was at Birling in Kent.

⁴ Burke's Peerage and Baronetage, Volume 1, 18.

⁵ Aveling: *Handle & Axe,* 125.

NEVILLE, HENRY (1573-1641) Ninth (or second) Baron Abergavenny (succeeded 1622)

Offices	Gentleman of the privy chamber 1604 Justice of the Peace, Kent 1602-1611 Commissioner of sewers, Kent 1603, 1618, 1628, Kent and Sussex 1604-1632, Sussex 1630, 1639 Subsidy Commissioner, Kent and Sussex, 1624 ¹
House of Commons	Kent 1601 Lewes 1604
House of Lords	1624 – 2 sittings
Proxies given	1624 – William Herbert, third Earl of Pembroke (1580-1630)
Oath of Allegiance	No record in <i>LJ</i>
Family	Father – Edward Neville, eighth (or first) Baron Abergavenny (1550- 1622). (possibly conforming Catholic)
	Mother - Rachel Lennard, daughter of John Lennard of Knoll and Elizabeth Harman.
	Wife – (1) Mary (<i>d</i> .1613) daughter of Thomas Sackville, first Earl of Dorset (<i>c</i> .1536-1608) (possibly conforming Catholic) and Cicely (<i>d</i> .1615) daughter of Sir John Baker of London & Sissinghurst, Kent. (Catholic) (2) Catherine (<i>d</i> .1649) daughter of George Vaux (1564–1594) (Catholic) (son of William Vaux, third Baron Vaux of Harrowden) and Elizabeth, daughter of John Roper, first Baron Teynham (<i>c</i> .1534– 1618) (Catholic), and sister of Edward Vaux, fourth Baron Vaux (1588–1661). (Catholic)
	Son (of Mary Sackville) – Thomas (<i>d</i> .1628) married Frances, daughter of Henry Mordaunt, fourth Baron Mordaunt (<i>c</i> .1568-1609) (Catholic) and Margaret Compton (<i>d</i> . <i>c</i> .1645) daughter of Henry Compton, first Baron Compton (1544-1589) (Catholic) ² and Frances daughter of Francis Hastings, second Earl of Huntingdon (1513/14– 1560) sister of William Compton, second Baron Compton (1568- 1630) (created first Earl of Northampton in 1618). (conforming Catholic) Grand-daughter - Elizabeth (1629-1684) became an Augustinian nun in Bruges. ³
	Daughter (of Mary Sackville) – (1) Mary (1605-1689) became a Benedictine nun in 1634 and was the founder of convents in Boulogne and Dunkirk. ⁴ (2) Anne became the Abbess at Pontoise, France. ⁵ Daughter (of Catherine Vaux) – Katherine married Sir Robert Howard (<i>c</i> .1598-1653) son of Thomas Howard, first Earl of Suffolk (1561-1626).

Education	Queens College, Cambridge Tour of Germany and Italy 1591-1594 with his future brother-in-law Thomas Sackville. (Catholic) ⁶
Religion	Catholic
	He was described as 'justly suspected for popery' in the 1626 petition of the House of Commons against Catholic officeholders. ⁷
	He made his private lodgings available to priests. ⁸
	In 1631 he was one of the peers who signed a protestation against the appointment by the papacy of Bishop Richard Smith. ⁹
Property	Abergavenny Castle The Manor, Birling, Kent

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¹ *HOP 1604-1629*, Volume 5, 503-504.

² Questier: *Community*, 98; *HOP 1588*-1603, Volume 1, 636.

³ Nuns Project.

⁴ *ibid.* There is some confusion as to the identity of Mary Neville. Her entry in the *Nuns Project* says she was the daughter of Henry Neville, ninth Lord Abergavenny and Lady Mary Sackville but cites as her place of birth, Holt, Leicestershire (the home of Colonel Henry Neville). The Abergavenny family seat was at Birling in Kent.

⁵ Burke's Peerage and Baronetage, Volume 1, 18.

⁶ *HOP 1604-1629*, Volume 5, 503-504.

⁷ Rushworth: *Collections*, 392.

⁸ Questier: *Community*, 427.

⁹ Questier: *Caroline Newsletters*, 79.

PARKER, EDWARD (1551-1618)

Twelfth Baron Morley (succeeded 1577)

Offices	-
House of Commons	-
House of Lords Elizabeth I James I	1581, 1584, 1587, 1589, 1593, 1597, 1601 – Absent 1604-1610, 1614
Oath of Allegiance	12 th July 1610
Family	Father - Henry Parker, eleventh Baron Morley (1531/2-1577). (Catholic exile)
	Mother - Elizabeth (Catholic exile) daughter of Edward Stanley, third Earl of Derby (1509–1572) and Dorothy, daughter of Thomas Howard, second Duke of Norfolk (1443–1524).
	Aunt - Ann Stanley married (1) Charles Stourton, eighth Baron Stourton (<i>d</i> .1557). (2) Sir John Arundell of Lanherne, Cornwall (<i>c</i> .1527–1590). (Catholic) Cousin –
	 (1) Edward Stourton, ninth Baron Stourton (1557-1633). (Catholic) (2) Gertrude became a Benedictine nun in Brussels. (3) Dorothea became a Benedictine nun in Brussels. (4) Cycil became a Bridgettine nun in Rouen.¹
	Wife - Elizabeth (<i>d</i> .1585) daughter of William Stanley, third Baron Monteagle (<i>d</i> .1581) (Catholic) and his wife, Anne Leybourne, ² daughter of Sir James Leybourne.
	Son – William Parker, fifth (or first) Baron Monteagle (and thirteenth Baron Morley from 1618) (1574/5–1622) (conforming Catholic) married Elizabeth Tresham (<i>b</i> .1573-1647/8) (Catholic) daughter of Sir Thomas Tresham (1543–1605) of Rushton, Northants (Catholic) and Muriel daughter of Sir Robert Throgmorton of Coughton, Warwickshire, and sister of the gunpowder conspirator Francis Tresham.
	Daughter – (1) Mary (<i>d</i> . after 1656) married Thomas Habington (1560–1647). (Catholic) (2) Helen (<i>d</i> .1639) became a nun at St. Omer's and founded the Poor Clares, Gravelines convent and Poor Clares, Aire convent. ³
Education	Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge Gray's Inn 1582-1583 ⁴
Religion	Catholic 137

In April 1573 he was kept close prisoner in the Fleet⁵ possibly in connection with the departure of his father⁶ to Bruges following his involvement in the uprising of the Northern Earls.

William Parker, his son, was brought up a Catholic.

In 1585 a spy in France reported that Lord Morley was close to Catholic activists. 7

Property

Great Hallingbury, Essex

Sources

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¹ Nuns Project.

Anne Leybourne was the sister of Elizabeth Leybourne, stepmother and mother-in-law of William Howard, Lord Howard of Naworth. See entry above for Thomas Howard, first Earl of Suffolk.

³ Nuns Project.

⁴ Foster: *Gray's Inn 1521-1889,* 62.

⁵ APC, Volume 18 (1571-75) 101.

⁶ A. Morey: *Catholic Subjects of Elizabeth,* 98.

⁷ Questier: *Community*, 98.

PARKER, WILLIAM (1574/5-1622)

Fourth (or first) Baron Monteagle (summoned/created 1604)¹ Thirteenth Baron Morley (succeeded 1618)

Offices	-
House of Commons	-
House of Lords	1604-10, 1614, 1621
Proxies received	1604 – Anthony Maria Browne, second Viscount Montague (1574- 1629) (Catholic)
Proxies given	1621 – Henry Wriothesley, third Earl of Southampton (1573–1624)
Oath of Allegiance	9 th June 1610
Family	Father – Edward Parker, twelfth Baron Morley (1551-1618) (Catholic)
	Mother - Elizabeth (<i>d</i> . 1585), daughter of William Stanley, third Baron Monteagle (<i>d</i> .1581) (Catholic) and his wife Anne Leybourne, ² daughter Sir James Leybourne of Conswyke, Westmorland.
	Sister – (1) Mary (<i>d</i> . after 1656) married Thomas Habington (1560–1647). (Catholic) (2) Helen (<i>d</i> .1639) became a nun at St. Omer's and founded the Poor Clares, Gravelines and Poor Clares, Aire convents. ³
	Wife - Elizabeth Tresham (1573-1647/8) (Catholic) daughter of Sir Thomas Tresham (1543–1605) of Rushton, Northants and Muriel (<i>d</i> .1615) daughter of Sir Robert Throgmorton of Coughton, Warwickshire.
	Brother-in-law – Francis Tresham (gunpowder conspirator) married Anne Tufton of Hothfield, Kent, sister-in-law of Francis Manners, sixth Earl of Rutland (1578-1632). (Catholic) Sister-in-law - Frances Tresham married Edward Stourton, ninth Baron Stourton (1557-1633). (Catholic)
	Son – Henry (1600-1655) (Catholic) married Philippa (<i>c</i> .1600-1660) daughter of Sir Thomas Caryll of Shipley, Sussex and Mary, daughter of Sir John Tufton. (Catholics) ⁴
	Daughter – (1) Frances (1606-1653) became a Benedictine nun in Brussels, after which she joined the Augustinians in Louvain. ⁵

	(2) Catharine married John Savage (1603-1654) (Catholic) son of Thomas Savage (<i>c</i> .1586–1635) (created Viscount Savage in 1626) (Catholic) and Elizabeth, <i>suo jure</i> Countess Rivers (1581–1651) daughter of Thomas Darcy, third Baron Darcy of Chiche (1565-1640) (created Viscount Colchester in 1621 and Earl Rivers in 1626). (Catholic)
Education	Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge
	Invested in (1) the Virginia Company and became a member of its council in May 1609 (2) the East India Company (3) discovery of north-west passage.
	He was involved in the rebellion of the Robert Devereux, second Earl of Essex (1565-1601) in February 1601, imprisoned in the Tower, fined £4000 and released from the Tower three months later.
Religion	Conforming Catholic
	During the reign of Elizabeth I he was involved with extremist Catholic groups.
	He was a Catholic in 1604. ⁶
	In August 1609 Sir William Waad, a clerk of the Privy Council (a role that included 'the pursuit of recusants and foreign Jesuits sent into England) ⁷ reported to Robert Cecil, first Earl of Salisbury (1563-1612) that Henry Parry, a 'fisherman, and his son, confess that two young men came over with the packets of books brought from St. Omer, and were thought to go to Lord Monteagle's, the disorders in whose house are an offence to the country.' ⁸
Property	Great Hallingbury, Essex Hornby Castle, Lancashire

Sources

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¹ As a daughter of William Stanley, third Baron Monteagle, William Parker's mother was known as *suo jure* Baroness Monteagle but it is not known whether the letters patent issued in respect of the barony, which originated by a proclamation of Henry VIII, restricted the succession to male heirs only, in which case the summons of 1604 would constitute a new creation. Mark Nicholls, 'Parker, William, thirteenth Baron Morley and fifth or first Baron Monteagle (1574/5– 1622)', in *ODNB*.

- ⁵ Nuns Project.
- ⁶ Questier: *Community*, 272.
- ⁷ Gary M. Bell, 'Waad, Sir William (1546–1623)', in *ODNB*.
- ⁸ *C.S.P. Domestic,* James I (1603-1610) Volume 47, 524-540.

² Anne Leybourne was the sister of Elizabeth Leybourne, stepmother and mother-in-law of William Howard, Lord Howard of Naworth. (See entry above for Thomas Howard, first Earl of Suffolk).

³ Nuns Project.

⁴ Questier: *Community*, 53.

PARKER, HENRY (1600-1655)

Fourteenth Baron Morley and Sixth (or second) Monteagle (succeeded 1622)

Offices	Commissioner of the Peace in Lancashire
House of Commons	-
House of Lords	1624
Oath of Allegiance	1 st March 1624
Family	Father – William Parker, fifth (or first) Baron Monteagle (and thirteenth Baron Morley from 1618) (1574/5-1622). (conforming Catholic)
	Mother - Elizabeth Tresham (<i>b</i> . 1573-1647/8) (Catholic) sister of the gunpowder conspirator Francis Tresham.
	 Sister – (1) Frances (1606-1653) became a Benedictine nun in Brussels, after which she joined the Augustinians in Louvain.¹ (2) Catharine married John Savage (1603-1654) (Catholic), son of Thomas Savage (c.1586–1635) (created Viscount Savage in 1626) (Catholic) and Elizabeth, suo jure Countess Rivers (1581–1651) daughter of Thomas Darcy, third Baron Darcy of Chiche (1565-1640) (created Viscount Colchester in 1621 and Earl Rivers in 1626). (Catholic)
	Aunt – (1) Mary (<i>d</i> . after 1656) married Thomas Habington (1560–1647). (Catholic) (2) Helen (<i>d</i> .1639) became a nun at St. Omer's and founded the Poor Clares, Gravelines convent and Poor Clares, Aire convent. ²
	Wife - Philippa (<i>c</i> .1600-1660) daughter of Sir Thomas Caryll of Shipley, Sussex (Catholic) and Mary (or Margaret), daughter of Sir John Tufton. (Catholics) ³
Education	MA Cambridge
	In December 1619 he was granted a licence to travel abroad for three years with a proviso that 'he repare not to the citty of Rome' ⁴ and in March 1621/2 he was granted a further licence to travel abroad for three years with the same proviso. ⁵
Religion	Catholic
	In 1623 he served as Vice Admiral of the fleet that brought Prince Charles back to England from Spain. It was reported that he was nearly thrown overboard for provoking the sailors over the 'type of divine service to be celebrated on board' and trying to impose the Masse over the prayer book. ⁶ 143

It is probable that he was one of the peers who, in the Parliament of 1624, were excluded for refusing to swear the Oath of Allegiance but who were subsequently admitted having changed their minds.⁷ He swore the said Oath on 1st March 1624.⁸

In 1624 his name appeared on the list contained in the petition of the Commons against Catholics 'charged with places of trust' in the shires.⁹

In December 1625 he was one of the 'lords recusantes' whose houses were searched for arms. It was found that 'eightie muskets or there about [had] been conveyed away from Hornby Castle and in the following January it was ordered that they should be seized and put into safe custody.¹⁰

In March 1626 Secretary Conway wrote to Secretary General, Sir Robert Heath instructing him to 'stay proceedings against Lord Morley, who had taken the Oath of Allegiance, and been to church.'¹¹

Possibly, between 1631 and 1633 the priest William Hyde (1597– 1651) spent a year in the Essex home of Baron Morley and Monteagle.¹²

In 1631 he was one of the peers who gave his assent to, but did not sign, a protestation against the appointment by the papacy of Bishop Richard Smith.¹³

Property

Great Hallingbury, Essex Hornby Castle, Lancashire

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1	Nuns Project.	
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- ² ibid.
- ³ Questier: *Community*, 53.
- ⁴ APC, Volume 37 (1619-21) 101.
- ⁵ *ibid.* Volume 38 (1621-23) 170.
- ⁶ Questier: *Dynastic Policy*, 45.
- ⁷ *C.S.P. Venetian,* Volume 18 (1623-1625) 240-248.
- ⁸ *LJ,* Volume 3 (1620-1628) 236-238.
- ⁹ *ibid.* 392-396.
- ¹⁰ APC, Volume 40 (1625-1626) 227-229, 308; C.S.P. Domestic, Charles I (1625-1626) Volume 12, 178-194.
- ¹¹ *C.S.P. Domestic*, Charles I (1625-1626) Volume 22, 268-284.
- ¹² D. Milburn, 'Hyde [Bayaert], William (1597–1651)' in *ODNB*.
- ¹³ Questier: *Caroline Newsletters*, 79.

PAULET, WILLIAM (*d*.1629) Fourth Marquess of Winchester (succeeded 1598)

Offices	-
House of Commons	-
House of Lords Elizabeth I James I	1601 – 3 sittings 1604-1610 – 9 sittings 1614 - Absent, 1621 – Absent, 1624 - Absent
Proxies given	 1604 – Charles Blount, first Earl of Devonshire (1563-1606) 1608-1610 - Edward Somerset, fourth Earl of Worcester (1550-1628) (conforming Catholic) 1614 - Thomas Howard, first Earl of Suffolk (1561-1626) (conforming Catholic) 1621 – Edward Somerset, fourth Earl of Worcester (1550-1628) (conforming Catholic) 1624 – John Paulet, Baron St. John of Basing (1598-1675) (son) (Catholic)
Oath of Allegiance	No record in <i>LJ</i>
Family	Father – William Paulet, third Marquess of Winchester (1532-1598).
	Mother – Agnes, daughter of William, first Baron Howard of Effingham (<i>c</i> .1510–1573) and half sister of Charles, second Baron Howard of Effingham, first Earl of Nottingham (1536–1624).
	Wife - Lucy Cecil (1567-1614) second daughter of Thomas Cecil, first Earl of Exeter (1542–1623).
	Son – (1) William Paulet, Lord Paulet (styled Lord St. John from 1598) (1587/88-1621) married Mary Browne, daughter of Anthony Maria Browne, second Viscount Montague (1574-1629) (Catholic) and Jane Sackville (<i>d</i> .1651/2) daughter of Thomas Sackville, first Earl of Dorset (<i>c</i> .1536–1608) (possibly conforming Catholic). (In 1627 she married William Arundell, son of Thomas Arundell, first Baron Arundell of Wardour (1560-1639)) (Catholic) .
	 (2) John Paulet, Baron St. John of Basing (c.1598-1675) (Catholic) married – (i) Jane Savage (d.1631) daughter of Thomas Savage (c.1586–1635) (created Viscount Savage in 1626) (Catholic) and Elizabeth, suo jure Countess Rivers (1581–1651) daughter of Thomas Darcy, third Baron Darcy of Chiche (1565-1640) (created Viscount Colchester in 1621 and Earl Rivers in 1626) (Catholic) and Mary Kitson (d.1644) daughter of Sir Thomas Kitson (c.1565-1640) of Hengrave, Suffolk. (Catholic)

	Sister-in-law - Katherina Savage (1620-1687) became a Benedictine nun in Ghent and founded a Benedictine convent in Dunkirk. ¹ (ii) Lady Honora De Burgh (<i>b</i> .1610) daughter of Richard Burke, first Earl of Clanricarde and St Albans (1572–1635) (Catholic). (iii) Isabella Theresa Lucy Howard (<i>b</i> .1644) daughter of William Howard (1612–1680) (created Viscount Stafford in 1640) (Catholic) fifth son of Thomas Howard, fourteenth Earl of Arundel (1585– 1646) (Catholic), and Aletheia (<i>d</i> .1654) daughter of Gilbert Talbot, seventh Earl of Shrewsbury (1552-1616) (conforming Catholic), and Mary (1620/21–1694) daughter of Edward Stafford, thirteenth Baron Stafford (1572-1625) (Catholic) and sister of Henry Stafford, fifth (or fourteenth) Baron Stafford (1621-1637). (Catholic) (3) Henry Paulet (styled Lord Paulet by 1626) (1602-1672) married – (i) Lucy, daughter of Sir George Philpot of Thruxton, Hampshire.(Catholics) ² (ii) Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Francis Dowse of Broughton, Hampshire.
Education	?
Religion	' probably the most socially exalted Catholic patron of the period' 3
	In October 1625 he was one of the 'lords recusantes' whose houses were searched for arms. ⁴
Property	Basing House

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¹ Nuns Project.

² *HOP 1604-1629,* Volume 5, 616-617.

³ Questier: *Community,* 476.

⁴ *APC*, Volume 40 (1625-1626) 227-229.

PAULET, JOHN (*c*.1598–1675)

Baron St. John of Basing (summoned in his father's barony 1624)

0(())	
Offices	Captain of Netley Castle - 1626 Keeper of the royal forest of Pamber, Hampshire 1629
House of Commons	St. Ives 1621
House of Lords	1624
Proxies received	1624 – William Paulet, fourth Marquess of Winchester (<i>d.</i> 1629) (father)
Oath of Allegiance	23 rd February 1624
Family	Father – William Paulet, fourth Marquess of Winchester (<i>d</i> .1629). (Catholic)
	Mother - Lucy Cecil (1567-1614) daughter of Thomas Cecil, first Earl of Exeter (1542–1623).
	Brother - William Paulet, Lord Paulet (styled Lord St. John from 1598) (1587/88–1621) married Mary Browne, daughter of Anthony Maria Browne, second Viscount Montague (1574-1629) (Catholic) and Jane Sackville (<i>d</i> 1651/2), daughter of Thomas Sackville, first Earl of Dorset (<i>c</i> .1536–1608) (possibly conforming Catholic) (In 1627 she married William Arundell, son of Thomas Arundell, first Baron Arundell of Wardour (1560-1639) (Catholic)).
	Wife - (1) Jane Savage (<i>d.</i> 1631) daughter of Thomas Savage (<i>c.</i> 1586–1635) (created Viscount Savage in 1626) (Catholic) and Elizabeth, <i>suo</i> <i>jure</i> Countess Rivers (1581–1651) daughter of Thomas Darcy, third Baron Darcy of Chiche (1565-1640) (created Viscount Colchester in 1621and Earl Rivers in 1626) (Catholic) and his wife, Mary Kitson (<i>d.</i> 1644) daughter of Sir Thomas Kitson(<i>c.</i> 1565-1640) of Hengrave, Suffolk.
	Sister-in-law - Katherina Savage (1620-1687) became a Benedictine nun in Ghent and founded a Benedictine convent in Dunkirk. ¹
	(2) Lady Honora De Burgh (b.1610) daughter of Richard Burke, first Viscount Tunbridge (1572–1635) (succeeded as first Earl of Clanricarde in 1601 (Irish title), created first Earl of St Albans in 1628). (Catholic)
	(3) Isabella Theresa Lucy Howard (<i>b</i> .1644) daughter of William Howard (1612–1680) (created Viscount Stafford in 1640) (Catholic) fifth son of Thomas Howard, fourteenth Earl of Arundel (1585– 1646) (Catholic) , and Aletheia (<i>d</i> .1654) daughter of Gilbert Talbot, seventh Earl of Shrewsbury (1552-1616) (conforming Catholic) , and Mary (1620/21–1694) daughter of Edward Stafford, thirteenth

	Baron Stafford (1572-1625) (Catholic) and sister of Henry Stafford, fifth (or fourteenth) Baron Stafford (1621-1637). (Catholic)
Education	Educated at home Exeter College, Oxford Tour of France 1612-15
Religion	Catholic
	In October 1625 he was one of the 'lords recusantes' whose houses were searched for arms. The following April he wrote to Secretary Conway requesting the return of four barrels of powder that had been assigned for Netley Castle. ²
	His name appeared in the 1626 petition of the House of Commons against Catholic officeholders. ³
	On 25 th March 1624 Sir Francis Nethersole reported to Dudley Carleton that Lord St. John of Basing was the only 'dissentient' against a bill reviving anti-Catholic legislation. ⁴
	Together with Thomas Arundell, first Baron Arundell of Wardour (1560-1639) he was favourable to the appointment by the papacy of Bishop Richard Smith, 'though they were said to think that it was not now the right time to restore Catholic Episcopal jurisdiction in England.' ⁵
	The Jesuit Peter Wright (1603–1651) was Winchester's chaplain at his London house where he was arrested on 2 February 1651 and tried for high treason for being a priest in England. ⁶
	William Case (alias Morgan) – chaplain. Paulet was scandalised by Benedictine monks in Hampshire permitting Catholics to have their children christened in Protestant churches. ⁷
Property	Basing House Englefield, Berkshire

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¹ Nuns Project.

² APC, Volume 40 (1625-1626) 227-229; C.S.P. Domestic, Charles I (1625-1626) Volume 25, 311-324.

³ Rushworth: *Collections*, 392.

⁴ *C.S.P. Domestic,* James I, (1623-1625) Volume 161, 199.

⁵ Questier: *Caroline Newsletters*, 79.

⁶ Thompson Cooper, 'Wright, Peter (1603–1651)', rev. Geoffrey Holt, in *ODNB*.

⁷ Questier: *Caroline Newsletters*, 46 and especially 99.

PERCY, HENRY (1564-1632) Ninth Earl of Northumberland (succeeded 1585)

Offices	JP - Sussex, Cumberland, Westmorland, Northumberland, and the North, East, and West Ridings of Yorkshire Governor of Tynemouth 1591 Privy Council 1603 Knight of the Garter 1593
	Kinght of the Galter 1555
House of Commons	-
House of Lords Elizabeth I James I	1586, 1589, 1597, 1601 1604, 1606-10 – Absent, 1614 – Absent, 1621 – Absent, 1624 - Absent
Proxies given	1621 – James Hay, first Viscount Doncaster (1580-1636) (son-in-law)
Oath of Allegiance	No record in <i>LJ</i>
Family	Father - Henry Percy (<i>c</i> .1532–1585) eighth Earl of Northumberland (<i>c</i> .1532–1585). (Catholic)
	Mother - Katherine Neville (1545/6–1596) daughter of John Neville, third Baron Latimer (1493–1543).
	Uncle – Thomas Percy, seventh Earl of Northumberland (1528– 1572) married Anne (c.1526-1591) daughter of Henry Somerset, second Earl of Worcester (1495/6–1549) and his second wife, Elizabeth. Niece - Mary (1570-1642) became a Benedictine nun in Brussels and an Abbess in 1616. ¹
	Brother – Charles (Catholic) was nominated as Colonel of the English Regiment in the service of the Archduke in the Low Countries in 1605 but the earl prevented him from assuming command. ²
	Sister – Eleanor (Catholic) married Sir William Herbert, cousin of William Herbert, third Earl of Pembroke (1580–1630). She was reported to the Commons as an 'obstinate papist' in 1624. ³ Nephew – Percy Herbert (1597-1667) (MP Shaftesbury 1621 and Wilton 1624) and his wife Elizabeth (<i>d</i> .1662) daughter of Sir William Craven converted to Catholicism in the 1630s. ⁴
	Wife - Lady Dorothy Perrott (<i>d</i> .1619) widow of Sir Thomas Perrott, son of Sir John Perrott, the late lord deputy in Ireland, and sister of Robert Devereux, second Earl of Essex (1565–1601).
	Son – Algernon (1602-1668) married Anne (<i>bap</i> . 1612-1637) daughter of William Cecil, second Earl of Salisbury (1591-1668).

	Daughter – (1) Dorothy (1598–1659) married Robert Sidney, second Earl of Leicester (1595–1677). (2) Lucy (1599–1660) married James Hay, first Earl of Carlisle (1580– 1636).
Education	Early education - Protestant Completed education abroad.
	According to his biographer, the eighth Earl, had several of his sons educated in Paris by Charles Paget, ⁵ brother of Thomas Paget, third Baron Paget (<i>c</i> .1544-1590) and an associate of Francis Throckmorton, where Robert Persons hoped that the children would be 'made firm in the Catholic religion.' ⁶
	As Northumberland finished his education abroad and was in Paris in 1585 when he succeeded to the title, it is possible that he was one of these sons. On his return to England, one of his brothers, William (1574–1648), went to Oxford where studied under Doctor John Case, 'the great tutor for Roman Catholic scholars ¹⁷ and belonged to a Catholic literary coterie.
	Middle Temple 1594 Oxford – MA 1605
Religion	Conformist but possible Catholic sympathies owing to his family connections and his efforts on behalf of Catholics.
	According to his biographer, he avoided any attachment to Catholicism and was a member of the established church throughout his adult life. ⁸
	Prior to the accession of James I he sent his cousin Thomas Percy (1560–1605) to Edinburgh to gain assurances regarding toleration for English Catholics.
	He presented to James a petition for toleration from English Catholics.
	He was thought to be a man 'who troubled not much himself' about religion.
	On examination in the wake of the gunpowder plot William Durnford of Hamworth, Dorset, servant to Henry Carey, senior said that a meeting of priests and masses had been held at his master's house.
	Thomas Howard, third Viscount Howard of Bindon (<i>d.</i> 1611) reported to the Council that 'Henry Carey senior, had granted lands to Thomas Loader, alias Thomas Suttell, a seminary priest, whom he has placed in the service of the Earl of Northumberland, or his brother, where he now is.' ⁹ 154

On the eve of the gunpowder plot Thomas Percy one of the chief conspirators had dined with him at Syon House.

He was tried for contempt and misprision of treason. It was stated that

(1) he had sought to become chief of the papists in England;

(2) knowing Thomas Percy to be a recusant he had admitted him to be a gentleman pensioner without administering to him the oath of supremacy;

(3) after the discovery of the plot he had written to friends in the north about securing his own moneys, but gave no orders for Percy's apprehension.

Property Alnwick Castle Syon House Petworth House

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¹ Nuns Project.

² Loomie: *Spain, Volume 64*, 6 and 9.

³ *CJ,* Volume 1 (1547-1629) 27 April 1624.

⁴ *HOP 1604-1629,* Volume 4, 647.

⁵ Charles Paget, was a supporter of Mary, Queen of Scots and involved in the Throckmorton and Babington conspiracies. Peter Holmes, 'Paget, Charles (*c*.1546–1612)', in *ODNB*.

⁶ Reavley Gair, 'Percy, William (1574–1648)', in *ODNB*. William Percy was brother to Henry, ninth Earl of Northumberland.

⁷ ibid.

⁸ Mark Nicholls, 'Percy, Henry, ninth earl of Northumberland (1564–1632)', in *ODNB*.

⁹ *C.S.P. Domestic,* James I (1603-1610) Volume 18, 277-294.

PETRE, JOHN (1549-1613) First Baron Petre (created 1603)

Offices ¹	Justice of the Peace Essex 1573 Sheriff Essex 1575-1576 Deputy Lord Lieutenant Essex 1590-1598 Victualling commissioner 1573 Piracy commissioner 1577 Grain commissioner 1586 Commissioner for the subsidy 1587 Collector of loans 1590, 1591, 1596-1598 Commissions Musters 1599-1603. Knighted 1576
House of Lords	1604-1610
House of Commons	Essex 1584 and 1586
Oath of Allegiance	7 th June 1610
Family	Father - Sir William Petre (1505/6–1572) a principal secretary to Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Queen Mary from 1544 to 1557.
	Mother – Anne (<i>d</i> .1582) (Catholic) , daughter of John Tyrrell of Heron and widow of William Browne of Flambard's Hall.
	Sister – (1) Thomasine married Ludovick, son of Sir Edward Greville. (2) Catherine (1545- <i>c</i> .1596/7) married John Talbot of Grafton, Worcestershire (<i>d</i> .1610/11). (Catholic) Nephew – George Talbot, ninth Earl of Shrewsbury (1567-1630) (succeeded 1618). (Catholic priest) Niece – Gertrude married Robert Winter (<i>c</i> .1566–1606) (gunpowder conspirator). Second cousin - Mary (<i>d</i> .1624) became an Augustinian nun in Louvain. ²
	Half sister - (1) Dorothy (1534/5–1618) founder of Wadham College, Oxford married Nicholas Wadham (1531/2–1609) of St. Botolph, Aldersgate, London. (2) Elizabeth married John Gostwick.
	Wife – Mary (<i>d.</i> 1604) (Catholic) daughter of Sir Edward Walgrave (or Waldegrave). (Catholic) ³
	Son – William Petre, second Baron Petre (1575-1637) (Catholic) married Katherine (1575-1624) daughter of Edward Somerset, fourth Earl of Worcester (1550-1628) (conforming Catholic) and Elizabeth (<i>d</i> .1621) daughter of Francis Hastings, second Earl of

	Huntingdon (1513/14–1560).
	Grandson – (1) Robert, third Baron Petre (1599–1638) (Catholic) married Mary (1603–1685) daughter of Anthony Maria Browne, second Viscount Montague (1574-1629) (Catholic) and Jane Sackville (d .1651/2) daughter of Thomas Sackville, first Earl of Dorset (c.1536-1608). (possibly conforming Catholic) (2) Henry married Anne Gage daughter of Sir John Gage, first baronet of Firle, Sussex (d.1633) (Catholic) and Penelope, daughter of Thomas, third Baron Darcy of Chiche (1565-1640) (created Viscount Colchester in 1621 and Earl Rivers in 1626) (Catholic) and Mary Kitson (d.1644) daughter of Sir Thomas Kitson (c.1565-1640) of Hengrave, Suffolk (Catholic).
	Grand-daughter – (1) Mary (1600-1640) married John Roper, third Baron Teynham (1591-1627) (Catholic) son of Christopher Roper, second Baron Teynham (1561-1622) (Catholic) and brother of Margaret Roper, a Benedictine nun in Ghent. ⁴ (2) Catherine married John Caryll of Warnham and Harting, Sussex. (Catholic)
Education	Middle Temple 1567
Religion	Catholic
	He conformed to the extent of attending Anglican services (though not taking communion). 5
	Both his wife and his mother were presented for recusancy in 1581. ⁶
	Patron of musicians – (1) Richard Mico [Meco] (<i>c</i> .1590–1661) was employed in 1608 as resident musician at Thorndon Hall in Essex, the Petre family's main residence and by 1614 had converted to Catholicism. ⁷ (2) William Byrd (1539/43–1623). (Catholic) ⁸
Property	Ingatestone Hall, Essex Thorndon Hall, Essex Estates in Devon, Cornwall and Essex House in Aldersgate Street, London

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¹ See also *HOP 1588-1603*, Volume 3, 209-210.

² Nuns Project.

³ Ann Weikel, 'Waldegrave, Sir Edward (1516/17–1561)', in *ODNB*.

⁴ Nuns Project.

⁵ *HOP 1588-1603,* Volume 3, 209-210.

⁶ ibid

Andrew J. Hanley, 'Mico, Richard (c.1590–1661)', in ODNB.

Craig Monson, 'Byrd, William (1539x43–1623)', in ODNB.

PETRE, WILLIAM (1575-1637) Second Baron Petre (succeeded 1613)

Offices ¹	JP – Essex 1623-1625
	Knighted 1603
House of Commons	Essex 1597
House of Lords	1614, 1621, 1624
Oath of Allegiance	11 th April 1614
Family	Father – John Petre, first Baron Petre (1549- 1613).
	Mother – Mary (<i>d</i> . 1604) (Catholic) daughter of Sir Edward Walgrave (or Waldegrave). (Catholic) ²
	 Aunt – (1) Dorothy (1534/5–1618) founder of Wadham College, Oxford married Nicholas Wadham (1531/2–1609) of St. Botolph, Aldersgate, London. (2) Elizabeth married John Gostwick. (3) Thomasine married Ludovick, son of Sir Edward Greville. (4) Catherine (1545-c.1596/7) married John Talbot of Grafton, Worcestershire (d.1610/11). (Catholic) Cousin – (1)George Talbot, ninth Earl of Shrewsbury (1567-1630) (succeeded 1618). (Catholic priest) (2) Gertrude Talbot married Robert Winter (c.1566–1606)
	(gunpowder conspirator). (3) Mary Talbot (<i>d</i> .1624) became an Augustinian nun in Louvain. ³
	Wife – Katherine (1575-1624) daughter of Edward Somerset, fourth Earl of Worcester (1550-1628) (conforming Catholic) and Elizabeth (<i>d</i> .1621) daughter of Francis Hastings, second Earl of Huntingdon (1513/14–1560).
	Son – (1) Robert Petre, third Baron Petre (1599–1638) (Catholic) married Mary (1603–1685) daughter of Anthony Maria Browne, second Viscount Montague (1574-1629). (Catholic) (2) Henry married Anne Gage daughter of Sir John Gage, first baronet of Firle, Sussex (<i>d</i> .1633) (Catholic) and Penelope, daughter of Thomas, third Baron Darcy of Chiche (1565-1640) (created Viscount Colchester in 1621 and Earl Rivers in 1626) (Catholic) and Mary Kitson (<i>d</i> .1644) daughter of Sir Thomas Kitson (<i>c</i> .1565-1640) of Hengrave, Suffolk (Catholic) . Grand-daughter – Mary (1644-1692) became an Augustinian nun in Bruges.

	Daughter – (1) Mary (1600-1640) married John Roper, third Baron Teynham (1591-1627) (Catholic) son of Christopher Roper, second Baron Teynham (1561-1622) (Catholic) and brother of Margaret Roper, a Benedictine nun in Ghent. ⁴ Grand-daughter – Mary (1623- <i>c</i> .1672) became a Benedictine nun in Ghent. ⁵ (2) Catherine married John Caryll of Warnham & Harting, Sussex. (Catholic)
	Grand-daughter – (1) Elizabeth (1626-1682) became a Carmelites nun in Antwerp. (2) Catherine (<i>b</i> .1636) became a Benedictine nun in Dunkirk. (3) Mary (1630-1712) became a Benedictine nun in Ghent. (4) Frances (1639-1654) became an Augustinian nun in Bruges. (5) Barbara (1639-1683) became an Augustinian nun in Bruges.
Education	Exeter College, Oxford Middle Temple
Religion	Catholic
	He was a member of the Jesuit church of Anthony Hoskins. ⁷ His house in Aldersgate Street, London was open to the Jesuits. ⁸
	In October 1625 he was one of the 'lords recusantes' whose houses were searched for arms. ⁹
	In 1626 he was presented for non-attendance at church; and in 1628-1629 Charles I intervened to stay his trial for recusancy. ¹⁰
	He was a benefactor of the Jesuit vice-province of England that included England, Wales, and English Jesuit foundations in the Spanish Netherlands of which Richard Blount (<i>c</i> .1565–1638) was vice-provincial. ¹¹
	In 1631 he was one of the peers who signed a protestation against the appointment by the papacy of Bishop Richard Smith. ¹²
	In the 1630s he established the College of the Holy Apostles in East Anglia. ¹³
	On his death in 1637 it was reported that he had bequeathed £15,000 to the Jesuits and perhaps £500 to the secular priests. ¹⁴
Property	Ingatestone Hall, Essex Thorndon Hall, Essex Estates in Devon, Cornwall and Essex House in Aldersgate Street, London

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³ Nuns Project.

¹³ Thomas M. McCoog, 'Walpole , Edward (*bap.* 1560, *d.* 1637)', in *ODNB*.

¹ See also *HOP 1588-1603*, Volume 3, 211.

² Ann Weikel, 'Waldegrave, Sir Edward (1516/17–1561)', in *ODNB*.

⁴ ibid.

⁵ *ibid.*

^b ibid.

Questier: Community, 289.

[°] ibid. 427.

⁹ APC, Volume 40 (1625-1626) 227-229; C.S.P. Domestic, Charles I (1625-1626) Volume 12, 178-194.

¹⁰ *HOP 1588-1603*, Volume 3, 211.

¹¹ Thomas M. McCoog, 'Blount, Richard (*c*.1565–1638)', in *ODNB*.

¹² Questier: *Caroline Newsletters*, 79.

¹⁴ Questier: *Caroline Newsletters*, 310.

ROPER, CHRISTOPHER (1561-1622) Second Baron Teynham (succeeded 1618)

, ,	
Offices	-
	Knighted 1603
House of Commons	-
House of Lords	1621 – Absent
Proxies given	1621 – George Villiers, first Marquess of Buckingham (1592-1628)
Oath of Allegiance	No record in <i>LJ</i>
Family	Father – Sir John Roper (<i>c</i> .1534–1618) (created first Baron Teynham in 1616). (Catholic)
	Mother - Elizabeth, daughter of Richard Parke of Kent.
	Sister – (1) Elizabeth (<i>c</i> .1585–1625) married George Vaux (1564–1594) son of William Vaux, third Baron Vaux (1535–1595) and Mary daughter of John Tresham of Rushton, Northamptonshire. (Catholics)
	Nephew – Edward Vaux, fourth Baron Vaux (1588-1661). (Catholic)
	Niece – (i) Joyce (<i>d</i> .1667) became a Mary Ward Institute nun at St Omer. (ii) Catherine (<i>d</i> .1649) married Henry Neville, ninth (or second) Baron Abergavenny (1573-1641). (Catholic)
	(2) Jane (c.1564-1628) married Sir Robert Lovel, soldier, of Martin Abbey, Surrey. As a widow she became a Benedictine nun in Brussels ¹ and founder of the English Carmelite convent at Antwerp, ² Niece - Christina (1597–1639) became a Benedictine nun at Brussels. ³
	Second cousin – Thomas (<i>d</i> .1567) married Lucy Browne sister of Anthony Browne, first Viscount Montague (<i>c</i> .1528-1592). (Catholic) ⁴
	Wife – Katharine, daughter of John Seaborne (Catholic) of Sutton St. Michael, Herefordshire.⁵
	Son – John (c.1581-1628) married Mary (1600-1640), daughter of William Petre, second Baron Petre (1575-1637). (Catholic) Grandson – Christopher married Mary, daughter of Sir Francis Englefield. (Catholic)
	Great-grandson – Christopher (<i>d</i> .1689) married Elizabeth, daughter of Francis Browne, third Viscount Montague (1610-1682) (Catholic) and Elizabeth (<i>d</i> .1684) daughter of Henry Somerset, Baron Herbert (1577-1646) (succeeded as fifth Earl of Worcester in 1628, created 165

	Marquess of Worcester in 1643). (Catholic) Grand-daughter - Mary (1623- <i>c</i> .1672) became a Benedictine nun in Ghent. ⁶
	 Daughter – (1) Margaret (<i>d</i>.1641) became a Benedictine nun in Ghent. (2) Mary Roper (<i>d</i>. 1650) became a Benedictine nun in Brussels and was a founder member of a Benedictine convent in Ghent.⁷ (3) Bridget married Sir Robert Huddleston, son of Henry Huddleston and Dorothy, daughter of Sir Robert Dormer. Sir Robert Huddleston's brother John became a Jesuit.⁸
Education	-
Religion	The Ropers were part of an extensive network of Catholic families.
Property	The Lodge, Lynsted, Kent Manor of Teynham, Kent Clerkenwell, London

Journal of the House of Lords (1767-1830). URL: http://www.british-history.ac.uk/lords-jrnl.

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¹ Nuns Project.

² Colleen M. Seguin, 'Lovel, Mary, Lady Lovel (c.1564–1628)', in ODNB.

³ Nuns Project.

⁴ *ibid;* Questier: *Community*, 87.

⁵ *ibid.* 327.

⁶ Nuns Project.

⁷ ibid.

⁸ G. Anstruther: *Seminary Priests,* 1603-1659, 162-3; Questier: *Community,* 338.

ROPER, JOHN (*c*.1581-1628) Third Baron Teynham (succeeded 1622)

Offices	-
House of Commons	-
House of Lords	1624 – Absent.
Proxies given	1624 – George Villiers, first Duke of Buckingham (1592-1628)
Oath of Allegiance	No record in <i>L</i> J
Family	Father – Christopher Roper, second Baron Teynham (1561-1622).
	 Uncle – Edmund married Anne Noble. Cousins – (1) Catherine (c.1646-1700) became a Benedictine nun in Pontoise. (2) Elizabeth Roper (1644- 1709) became a Benedictine nun in Pontoise. (3) Mary (c.1639-1690) became a Benedictine nun in Boulogne.¹
	Mother - Katharine, daughter of John Seaborne (Catholic) of Sutton St. Michael, Herefordshire. ²
	 Sister – (1) Margaret (<i>d</i>.1641) became a Benedictine nun in Ghent. (2) Mary Roper (<i>d</i>.1650) became a Benedictine nun in Brussels and was a founder member of a Benedictine convent in Ghent.³ (3) Bridget married Sir Robert Huddleston son of Henry Huddleston and Dorothy, daughter of Sir Robert Dormer. Sir Robert's brother John became a Jesuit.⁴
	Aunt – (1) Elizabeth (c.1585–1625) married George Vaux (1564–1594) son of William Vaux, third Baron Vaux (1535–1595) and Mary daughter of John Tresham of Rushton, Northamptonshire. (Catholics) Cousin – (i) Joyce (d.1667) became a Mary Ward Institute choir nun at St Omer. (ii) Catherine (d.1649) married Henry Neville, ninth (or second) Baron Abergavenny (1573-1641) (Catholic) .
	Second cousin – Edward Vaux, fourth Baron Vaux (1588-1661). (Catholic)
	(2) Jane (<i>c</i> .1564-1628) married Sir Robert Lovel, soldier, of Martin Abbey, Surrey, became a Benedictine nun in Brussels ⁵ and founder of the English Carmelite convent at Antwerp. ⁶

	Cousin - Christina (1597–1639) became a Benedictine nun at Brussels. ⁷
	Wife – Mary (1600-1640), daughter of William Petre, second Baron Petre (1575-1637). (Catholic)
	Son – Christopher married Mary, daughter of Sir Francis Englefield. (Catholic)
	Grandson – Christopher (<i>d</i> .1689) married Elizabeth, daughter of Francis Browne, third Viscount Montague (1610-1682) (Catholic) and Elizabeth (<i>d</i> .1684), daughter of Henry Somerset, Baron Herbert (1577-1646) (succeeded as fifth Earl of Worcester in 1628, and created first Marquess of Worcester in 1643). (Catholic)
	Daughter - Mary (1623- <i>c</i> .1672) became a Benedictine nun in Ghent. ⁸
Education	?
Religion	Catholic
	In June 1625 Sir Thomas Wilsford, Member of Parliament for Canterbury, reported to the House of Commons that 'some papists' together with a Catholic priest, had torn two pages from the Bible in Canterbury Cathedral. Despite a complaint to the dean, the priest escaped punishment because, it was alleged, he 'belongs to the Lord Teynham.' The Lower House included this episode in a proposed petition to the king, but the House of Lords opposed its inclusion and the article was omitted from the final petition. On 4 th July 1625 Lord Teynham was reported as having 'renounced' the said priest. ⁹
	In October 1625 he was one of the 'lords recusantes' whose houses were searched for arms. 10
	He made Clerkenwell house available to Jesuits and Benedictines. ¹¹
Property	The Lodge, Lynsted, Kent Manor of Teynham, Kent Clerkenwell, London

Acts of the Privy Council (1907). <u>URL: http://www.british-history.ac.uk/acts-privy-council</u>. Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Charles I. <u>URL: http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-</u>papers/domestic/chas1.

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¹ Nuns Project.

² Questier: *Community*, 327.

³ Nuns Project.

⁴ G. Anstruther: *Seminary Priests*, 1603-1659, 162-3; Questier: *Community*, 338.

⁵ Nuns Project.

⁶ Colleen M. Seguin, 'Lovel, Mary , Lady Lovel (c.1564–1628)', in ODNB.

⁷ Nuns Project.

⁸ *ibid.*

⁹ Jansson & Bidwell: *Parliament 1625,* 231, 264, 299.

¹⁰ APC, Volume 40 (1625-1626) 227-229; C.S.P. Domestic, Charles I, (1625-1626) Volume 11, 178.

¹¹ Questier: *Community*, 427.

SACKVILLE, THOMAS (c.1536-1608)

First Baron Buckhurst (created 1567) First Earl of Dorset (created 1604)

Offices	Feodary, duchy of Lancaster lands in Sussex 1561 Joint Lord Lieutenant Sussex 1569 Commissioner for the trial of Duke of Norfolk 1572 Ambassador to France 1571-2, 1591, to Netherlands 1587, 1598 <i>Custos roturolum</i> Sussex c.1573-1608 Commissioner for the trial of Mary, Queen of Scots 1586 Privy Council 1586 Chancellor Oxford University 1589 High Steward of Winchester c.1590 Joint Commissioner of the Great Seal November 1591-May 1592 Lord Treasurer 1599-1608 Lord High Steward for trial of the Earl of Essex 1601 Joint Commissioner for the office of Earl Marshal 1601 Knighted 1567
House of Commons	Westmorland 1558 East Grinstead 1559 Aylesbury 1563–1566
House of Lords Elizabeth I James I	1571, 1572, 1584, 1586, 1589, 1593, 1597 1604-7
Proxies received	1605 – Edward Stafford, fourth Baron Stafford (1572-1625)
Oath of Allegiance	Died before 1610
Family	Father - Sir Richard Sackville (<i>d</i> . 1566), privy councillor, chancellor of the court of augmentations (1548–54) and under-treasurer of the exchequer from 1559 to 1566 (and a first cousin of Anne Boleyn).
	Mother - Winifred Brydges of London (<i>d</i> .1586). (Catholic)
	Wife - Cicely (<i>d</i> .1615), (Catholic) daughter of Sir John Baker of London and Sissinghurst, Kent, privy councillor, attorney-general (1536–40) and chancellor of the exchequer (1540–58). (Catholic)
	Son – (1) Robert married - (i) Lady Margaret Howard (c.1560–1591) (Catholic) daughter of Thomas Howard, fourth Duke of Norfolk (1538–1572). At the beginning of the seventeenth century Robert was a collector of funds for Catholic clergy. ¹

	Grand-daughter - Cecily (Catholic) married Sir Henry Compton (<i>c</i> .1584- <i>c</i> .1649) son of Anne (below), Member of Parliament East Grinstead 1601-1640, ² half brother of William Compton, second Baron Compton (1568-1630) (created Earl of Northampton in 1618). (conforming Catholic) (ii) Anne (<i>d</i> .1618), daughter of Sir John Spencer of Althorp and widow in turn of William Stanley, third Baron Monteagle ³ (<i>d</i> .1581) and Henry Compton, first Baron Compton (<i>d</i> .1589). (Catholic) ⁴ (2) Thomas. (Catholic) ⁵
	Daughter - (1) Jane married Anthony Maria Browne, second Viscount Montague (1574-1629). (Catholic) Grandson - Francis (1610-1682) third Viscount Montague, married Elizabeth (<i>d</i> .1684) daughter of Henry Somerset, Baron Herbert (1577-1646) (succeeded as fifth Earl of Worcester in 1628, created Marquess of Worcester in 1643). (Catholic) Grand-daughter –
	 (i) Mary (<i>d</i>.1692), married (a) William Paulet, Lord Paulet (styled Lord St. John from 1598) (1587/8-1621) eldest son of William Paulet, fourth Marquess of Winchester (<i>d</i>.1629) (Catholic) (b) William Arundell, second son of Thomas, first Baron Arundell of
	Wardour (1560-1639). (Catholic) (ii) Catherine, married William Tirwhit. (Catholic) (iii) Mary (1602-1684/5) married Robert Petre, third Baron Petre (1599-1638). (Catholic)
	 (iv) Lucy (d.1653) became a Bridgettine nun in Rouen. (v) Brigit (d.1658) became a Bridgettine nun in Rouen.⁶ (2) Anne married Sir Henry Glemham of Glemham in Suffolk . (3) Mary married Henry Neville, ninth (or second) Baron Abergavenny (1573-1641). (Catholic) Grand-daughter –
	 (i) Mary (1605-1689) became a Benedictine nun in 1634 and was the founder of convents in Boulogne and Dunkirk.⁷ (ii) Anne became the Abbess at Pontoise, France.⁸
Education	Possibly Hart Hall, Oxford (Catholic ethos) Possibly St. John's College, Cambridge. MA 1571 ⁹ Inner Temple 1555
Religion	Possibly conforming Catholic
	He only enforced the law against recusants when under external pressure and censured his deputy lieutenants of Sussex for attempting to imprison a Catholic in 1586, warning them not assume anyone's guilt before they had been able to respond to accusations.
	Thomas Morgan, a supporter of Mary, Queen of Scots, wrote to her in 1586 advising that 'some hold Buckhurst for a Catholic in his harte, but if he be, he dissembleth the mater egregiouslye.' 172

Just prior to the Somerset House peace conference in 1604 between England and Spain, Juan de Tassis reported to the Spanish Council of State that he had learned that Lord Buckhurst was inclined to a peace with Spain and even to liberty of conscience.'¹⁰ Robert Spiller described Lord Buckhurst as 'always favouring a peace as a Catholic might, with the condition that freedom of conscience be given to Catholics and in no other way.¹¹

He was reported to have reminded the king at a meeting of the Privy Council in September 1604 that he would 'derive much money' from an increase in Catholics.¹²

Architectural evidence at Knole, his main house, suggests that a hiding place to protect Catholic clergy was constructed during the Earl's residence there.

In 1584 a Humphrey Cartwright alleged that he had become a Catholic in Lord Buckhurst's house by reading Catholic books there.

According to the Jesuit, Robert Persons, Lord Buckhurst assisted him when he was ejected from Balliol College. $^{\rm 13}$

According to Thomas McCoog the Jesuit, Richard Blount, reconciled Thomas Sackville, Earl of Dorset to the Roman Catholic church shortly before the Earl's death.¹⁴

Property Estates in Essex, Kent, Oxfordshire, Sussex and Yorkshire Knole House, Kent Dorset House, Fleet Street, London

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¹ *Questier: Community,* 86.

² *HOP, 1604-1629* Volume 3, 623.

³ The entry in *GEC Peerage* differs from Michael A. R. Graves, 'Sackville, Robert, second Earl of Dorset (1560/61–1609)' in *ODNB* which states that this William Stanley was the 'fifth' Lord Monteagle.

⁴ *HOP 1588-1603,* Volume 3, 316-317.

 ⁵ See, for instance, Thomas M. McCoog, 'Blount, Richard (*c*.1565–1638)' in *ODNB*. He was patron to a wide range of secular clergy and contributed financially to the founding of the Collège d'Arras, an institution for senior English secular clergy. Questier: *Community*, 333-334.

⁶ Nuns Project.

⁷ ibid.

⁸ Burke's Peerage and Baronetage, Volume 1, 18. See Henry Neville, ninth (or second) Baron Abergavenny.

⁹ The entry in *GEC Peerage* differs from Rivkah Zim, 'Sackville, Thomas, first Lord Buckhurst and first Earl of Dorset (*c*.1536–1608)', in *ODNB* which states that he is merely 'traditionally associated with Hart Hall' and that there are no records of him attending either Oxford or Cambridge although in 1608 his chaplain, George Abbot, described him as Oxford educated. *Alumni Oxonienses* states that he attended St. John's College, Cambridge as above.

¹⁰ Loomie: *Toleration*, 16; *Manning: Elizabethan Sussex*, 233.

¹¹ Loomie: *Spain,* Volume 64, 5.

¹² Loomie: *Toleration*, 56.

¹³ Questier: *Community*, 86.

¹⁴ Thomas M. McCoog, 'Blount, Richard (*c*.1565–1638)' in *ODNB*.

SCROPE, EMANUEL (1584-1630) Eleventh Baron Scrope (succeeded 1609) First Earl of Sunderland (created 1627)

Offices	Bailiff and Steward of Richmond Constable Richmond and Middleham Castles 1609-1630 Lord President of the Council in the North 1619-1628 Lord Lieutenant York <i>c.</i> 1619-1628 Ecclesiastical Commissioner York 1620
House of Commons	-
House of Lords	1610, 1614, 1621, 1624
Proxies given	February 1610 – Henry Howard, first Earl of Northampton (1540- 1614)
Oath of Allegiance	11 th April 1614
Family	Father - Thomas Scrope, tenth Baron Scrope (c.1567–1609).
	Mother - Philadelphia (<i>d</i> .1627) daughter of Henry Carey, first Baron Hunsdon (1526–1596) and Mary (<i>c</i> .1499–1543) daughter of Thomas Boleyn, first Earl of Wiltshire and of Ormond (1476/7–1539) and Elizabeth, <i>née</i> Howard (<i>d</i> .1538) a cousin of Queen Elizabeth I.
	Wife - Lady Elizabeth Manners (<i>d</i> .1654) daughter of John Manners, fourth Earl of Rutland (<i>d</i> .1588) and Elizabeth (<i>d</i> .1595) daughter of Francis Charleton of Apley Castle, Shropshire.
	Brothers-in-law – George Manners (1576-1612) and Francis Manners (1578-1632), fifth and sixth Earls of Rutland. (Catholic)
	Daughter (illegitimate) - Elizabeth, married Thomas Savage (c.1628– 1694) eldest son of John Savage, second Earl Rivers (1603-1654) and Catharine, daughter of William Parker, fifth (or first) Baron Monteagle (and thirteenth Baron Morley from 1618) (1574/5-1622) (conforming Catholic) and Elizabeth Tresham (b.1573-1647/8). (Catholic)
Education	Queen's College, Oxford 1596
Religion	Probably Catholic
	In 1624 he appeared on the list contained in the petition of the Commons against Catholics 'charged with places of trust' in the shires. ¹ In the House of Commons on 27 th April Hugh Cholmeley, member for Scarborough reported that 'Lord Scrope will satisfy this House, and receive the Communion, at what Day soever shall be prefixed,' and that the 'Reason, why he hath forborn thus long, not any Scruple of Conscience.' ²

	 In 1626 he again appeared on a list contained in a petition of the Commons against Catholics. Among the indictments were 1. excluding from the Commission of Sewers those 'firm in the Religion established' and appointing 'ill-affected persons in Commission of the Council of Oyer and Terminer, and of the Sewers, and in other places of Trust;' 2. lodging with Lord Eure 'whom he knew to be a convict Recusant and did notwithstanding refuse to disarm him although he had received Letters from the Lords of the Council to that effect; 3. allowing 'one Kerton a convict Recusant, and suspected to be a priest,' to assist the Lord Dunbar, Sir William Wetham and Sir William Alford to view the Forts and Store of Munition in the Town of Kingston upon Hull; 4. allowing a 'great increase of Recusants' since his appointment as President of the Council; 5. refusing to attend church on holy days, violating them by hunting;
	 6. neither fasting or receiving communion.³ Despite appearing on the above petitions he remained in his office as Lord President of the Council in the North until December 1629 when he received £3,000 for his office. He was succeeded by Sir Thomas Wentworth. He was regarded in the north as a patron of recusants.
	J. C Aveling described him as 'a clear (if slackly conformist and horribly corrupt) Papist' ⁴
Property	Extensive estates in Wensleydale Langar in Nottinghamshire

Journal of the House of Lords (1767-1830). URL: http://www.british-history.ac.uk/lords-jrnl.

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- ² *CJ*, Volume 1 (1547-1629) 691-692.
- ³ Rushworth: *Collections*, 392-3.
- ⁴ Aveling: *Handle & Axe*, 124.

¹ *LJ*, Volume 3 (1620-1628) 392-396.

SOMERSET, EDWARD (1550-1628) Fourth Earl of Worcester (succeeded 1589)

Offices	Member of the Council of Wales and the Marches 1590 Deputy Master of the Horse 1597 Master of the Horse 1601 Privy Council 1601 Earl Marshal 1601 Lord Lieutenant of Monmouthshire 1602 Master of the Horse 1604-1616 Commissioner to expel Jesuits 1604 Lord Privy Seal 1616 Commissioner to examine Raleigh 1618 Judge of Requests 1621 Knight of the Garter 1593
House of Commons	-
House of Lords Elizabeth I James I	1593, 1597, 1601 1604-1610, 1614, 1621, 1624
Proxies received	 1604 – George Hastings, fourth Earl of Huntingdon (1540-3rd) December 1604) 1608 - 1610 – (1) William Paulet, fourth Marquess of Winchester (<i>d</i>.1629) (Catholic) (2) Henry Somerset, Baron Herbert (1577-1646) (succeeded as fifth Earl of Worcester in 1628, and created Marquess of Worcester in 1643) (son) (Catholic) 1614 - Henry Somerset, Baron Herbert (above) 1621 - William Paulet, fourth Marquess of Winchester (above)
Oath of Allegiance	1610
Family	Father - William Somerset, third Earl of Worcester (1526/7–1589).
	Mother - Christian North (<i>b</i> .1533) daughter of Edward North, first Baron North (<i>c</i> .1504–1564).
	Wife - Elizabeth (<i>d</i> .1621) (Catholic) daughter of Francis Hastings, second Earl of Huntingdon (1513/14–1560).
	Son – (1) Henry (1577-1646) (Catholic) married Anne (<i>d</i> .1639) daughter of John, Lord Russell (<i>d</i> .1584) (second son of Francis Russell, fourth Earl of Bedford (1527-1601)) and Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Anthony Cook of Gidea Hall, Essex.

Grandson -

(i) Edward Somerset, second Marquess of Worcester (1602/3-1667) married

(a) Elizabeth Dormer (*d*.1635) daughter of Sir William Dormer (baronet) (*d*.1616) and Alice, daughter of Sir Richard Molyneux, and sister of Robert Dormer, first Earl of Carnarvon (1610?–1643). (Catholics)

Great grand-daughter Anne Somerset (1631–1662) married Henry Howard, sixth Duke of Norfolk (1628–1684) **(Catholic)** grandson of Thomas Howard, fourteenth Earl of Arundel (1585–1646) and Aletheia (*d*.1654) **(Catholic)** daughter of Gilbert Talbot, seventh Earl of Shrewsbury (1552–1616). **(conforming Catholic)** (b) Margaret (*d*.1681), daughter of Henry O'Brien, fourth Earl of Thomond.

 (ii) John married Mary Arundell daughter of Thomas, first Baron Arundell of Wardour (1560-1639). (Catholic)¹
 Great grandson –

(a) Charles became a Jesuit.

(b) Thomas became a Jesuit.

(iii) – Thomas became a Jesuit.²

Grand-daughter – Elizabeth (d.1684) married Francis Browne, third Viscount Montague (1610-1682) **(Catholic)**. The ceremony took place in the chapel of the papal agent George Con.³

(2) Thomas (*c*.1578-1650) (created Viscount Somerset of Cashel, county Tipperary *c*.1626) **(Catholic)** married Helen, daughter of David Barry, third Viscount Buttevant⁴ (1550–1617) **(Catholic)** and Ellen, daughter of David, Viscount Roche of Fermoy.

(3) Charles (1587/8–1665) **(Catholic)** married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir William Powell of Llansoy, Monmouthshire.

Daughter –

(1) Katherine (1575-1624) married William Petre, second Baron Petre (1575-1637). **(Catholic)**

(2) Blanche (1583/4–1649) married Thomas Arundell, second Baron Arundell of Wardour (*c*.1586–1643). **(Catholic)**

(3) Ann married Sir Edward Winter.

Grand-daughter - Mary became a Benedictine nun in Brussels.⁵ (4) Elizabeth married Sir Henry Guildford of Hemsted Place, Kent. (possibly Catholic) A Sir Henry Guildford is listed in the House of Commons 1626 petition against recusants.⁶ At some time during 1628 a priest, George Fisher, was resident at Sir Henry Guildford's property in Maidenhead.⁷

(5) Frances married William Morgan of Llantarnam, patron of Robert Jones, Jesuit priest (*c*.1564–1615). **(Catholic)**⁸

(6) Catherine married Thomas Windsor, sixth Baron Windsor (1591-1641). **(Catholic)**

Education	Middle Temple MA Oxford University
Religion	Conforming Catholic.
	In 1586 one of Walsingham's spies reported that he, together with Lewis, third Baron Mordaunt, had travelled by wherry down the river to Ratcliff, where the Red Lion was frequented by the recusant Francis Brown. ⁹
	In 1592 he sheltered the Jesuit superior Robert Jones at Raglan and a few years later he granted the order some Welsh lands and farms.
	He was one of the interrogators of the gunpowder plotters in the Tower.
	His wife was a member of the Jesuit church of Richard Blount. ¹⁰
	According to his biographer in the <i>Dictionary of National</i> Biography published in 1897 he became a favourite with Queen Elizabeth, who said that he 'reconciled what she believed impossible, a stiff papist to a good subject.' ¹¹
	In 1603 Robert Spiller reported that 'he has been a Catholic and is believed to remain one within his heart. He has always favoured peace but is timid by character and anxious to protect his prestige.' ¹² In 1604 Juan de Tassis, Spanish Ambassador to France reported that 'they say he (Earl of Worcester) is a Catholic and not unfriendly to us' ¹³
	Alonso de Velasco wrote to Philip III in July 1610 that at a meeting of the Privy Council, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Richard Bancroft, had told the king 'that he should not trust some councillors since they were never seen to assist at the services of the Communion Supper, and to point out the Earls of Northampton, Suffolk and Worcester as reputed to be among the Catholics. ¹⁴
	John Smith [Colleton] reported to Thomas Rant in April 1624 that 'The lower House have censured foure noblemen as unworthy to beare office, namelie the earle of Rutland, lieutenant of the sh[ir]e, the earle of Worchester, lord privie seale, the earle of Northampton, president of Wales, the Lord Croope [<i>sic</i>] president of the North.' ¹⁵ However, although on 27 April 1624 the Earl of Worcester was named by Sir John Saville as being among the recusant officeholders in Yorkshire, after consideration it was concluded that as he 'hath no Children in his House, or Servant, but goeth to Church he shall be spared.' ¹⁶ His name did not appear on the list contained in the petition of the Commons against Catholics 'charged with places of trust' in the shires. ¹⁷

He was the main patron of Monmouthshire's Catholic community.¹⁸

He was a long time friend and patron of William Byrd **(Catholic)** who, in 1589, dedicated *Liber primus sacrarum cantionum* (1589) to Worcester.¹⁹

Property

Raglan Castle

Sources

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⁹ *HOP 1588-1603*, Volume 3, 77.

¹ Nuns Project.

² G. Anstruther: *Seminary Priests,* 1603-1659, 302-304.

³ Questier: *Community*, 91.

⁴ Burke's Peerage and Baronetage, Volume 1, 221 says he was the fifth Viscount Buttevant.

⁵ Nuns Project .

⁶ Rushworth: *Collections,* 396.

⁷ Questier: *Community*, 427.

⁸ Thomas M. McCoog, 'Jones, Robert (c.1564–1615)', in ODNB.

¹⁰ Questier: *Community*, 289.

A. F. Pollard 'Somerset, Edward, fourth Earl of Worcester (1553–1628)' in *Dictionary of National Biography* (1897).

Loomie: *Spain, Volume 64,* 6.

¹³ Loomie: *Toleration*, 53.

¹⁴ Loomie: *Spain, Volume 64,* 157.

¹⁵ Questier: *Dynastic Policy*, 266.

¹⁶ CJ, Volume 1 (1547-1629) 702-703. On 3 April it was ordered that 'the Knights and Burgesses of every Place, by themselves, shall present unto the House the Names of such convicted, or justly suspected. Popish Persons, as are in any Places of Charge or Trust, in their several Counties, or Boroughs. Any Lieutenants, or Justices of Peace, to do the like. *CJ*, Volume 1, 1547-1629, 03 April 1624.

¹⁷ *LJ*, Volume 3 (1620-1628) 392-396.

¹⁸ *HOP: 1604-1629*, Volume 2, 269.

¹⁹ Craig Monson, 'Byrd, William (1539/43–1623)', in *ODNB*.

SOMERSET, HENRY (1577-1646) Baron Herbert (summoned in his father's barony 1604) Fifth Earl of Worcester (succeeded 1628) First Marquess of Worcester (created 1643)		
Offices	Joint Lord Lieutenant of Glamorgan and Monmouthshire with his father, Edward Somerset, fourth Earl of Worcester (1550-1628) until 1628, thereafter sole Lord Lieutenant Member of the Council in the Marches 1601	
House of Commons	-	
House of Lords	1604-1610, 1614 – one day, 1621 – Absent, 1624 – Absent	
Proxies given	1608-1610 and 1614 - Edward Somerset, fourth Earl of Worcester (1550-1628). (conforming Catholic) (father) 1621 and 1624 ¹ - Ludovick Stuart, first Earl of Richmond (1574-16 th February 1624) (created first Duke of Richmond in 1623) (possibly conforming Catholic)	
Oath of Allegiance	No record in <i>LJ</i>	
Family	Father – Edward Somerset, fourth Earl of Worcester (1550-1628). (conforming Catholic)	
	Mother - Elizabeth Hastings (<i>d</i> .1621) (Catholic) daughter of Francis Hastings, second Earl of Huntingdon (1513/14–1560).	
	 Brother – (1) Thomas (c.1578-1650) (created Viscount Somerset of Cashel, county Tipperary c.1626) married Helen, daughter of David Barry, third Viscount Buttevant² (1550–1617) (Catholic) and Ellen, daughter of David, Viscount Roche of Fermoy. (2) Charles (1587/8–1665) (Catholic) married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir William Powell of Llansoy, Monmouthshire. 	
	 Sister – Katherine (1575-1624) married William Petre, second Baron Petre (1575-1637). (Catholic) Blanche (1583/4–1649) married Thomas Arundell, first Baron Arundell of Wardour (c.1560–1639). (Catholic) Ann married Sir Edward Winter. (Catholic) Ann married Sir Edward Winter. (Catholic) Kiece - Mary became a Benedictine nun in Brussels.³ Elizabeth married Sir Henry Guildford of Hemsted Place, Kent. (possibly Catholic) A Sir Henry Guildford is listed in the House of Commons 1626 petition against recusants.⁴ At some time during 1628 a priest, George Fisher, was resident at Sir Henry Guildford's property in Maidenhead.⁵ Frances married William Morgan of Llantarnam, (Catholic) patron of Robert Jones, Jesuit priest (c.1564–1615).⁶ Catherine married Thomas Windsor, sixth Baron Windsor (1591-1641). (Catholic) 	

	Wife - Anne (d. 1639) daughter of John, Lord Russell (d.1584) (second son of Francis Russell, fourth Earl of Bedford (1527-1601) and Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Anthony Cook of Gidea Hall, Essex.
	Son – (1) Edward Somerset, second Marquess of Worcester (1602/3-1667) married (i) Elizabeth Dormer (<i>d</i> .1635) daughter of Sir William Dormer (<i>d</i> .1616) and Alice, daughter of Sir Richard Molyneux, and sister of Robert Dormer, first Earl of Carnarvon (1610?–1643). (Catholics) Grand-daughter - Anne Somerset (1631–1662) married Henry Howard, sixth Duke of Norfolk (1628–1684) (Catholic) grandson of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel (1585–1646) and Aletheia (<i>d</i> .1654) (Catholic) daughter of Gilbert Talbot, seventh Earl of Shrewsbury (1552–1616). (conforming Catholic) (ii) Margaret (<i>d</i> .1681) daughter of Henry O'Brien, fifth Earl of Thomond. (2) John married Mary Arundell daughter of Thomas Arundell, first Baron Arundell of Wardour (1560-1639). (Catholic) ⁷ Grandson – (i) Charles became a Jesuit. (ii) Thomas became a Jesuit. (3) Thomas became a Jesuit. ⁸
	Daughter – (1) Elizabeth married Francis Browne, third Viscount Montague. (Catholic) The ceremony took place in the chapel of the papal agent George Con. ⁹ (2) Anne (1612-1650/1) became a Carmelite nun in Antwerp. ¹⁰
Education	Magdalen College, Oxford Middle Temple
Religion	Catholic
	He was a benefactor of the Jesuit vice-province of England that included England, Wales, and English Jesuit foundations in the Spanish Netherlands of which Richard Blount (<i>c</i> .1565–1638) was vice-provincial. ¹¹
	He was a member of the Jesuit church of Robert Jones. ¹²
	William Bishop, the leading secular priest who was appointed Bishop of Chalcedon in 1623 thought Lord Herbert to be among the 'fittest men' to become members of the Privy Council on the marriage of Prince Charles to Maria Anna the Spanish Infanta. ¹³
	In December 1625 he was one of the 'lords recusantes' whose houses were searched for arms. The search was to be made by Francis Godwin, Bishop of Hereford who reported back on 13 th December that he had asked Herbert to deliver up his arms who 'replied that he was very sorry that his loyalty was called in 186

question, but as to arms, he had none, having never bought any but what he ventured to sea, where he was robbed of them by Turks and pirates.' Herbert also wrote to the Council to explain that he had no house of his own in Monmouthshire, 'but lived as a servant to his father, subject to be removed at his pleasure, and was not charged with any arms.'

On 28th December 1625 the Deputy Lieutenants of Monmouthshire wrote to the Edward Somerset, fourth Earl of Worcester as Lord Lieutenant (Herbert's father) with a list of other 'recusants disarmed, with an account of the arms taken from them'. ¹⁴

In 1631 together with his brother Thomas (above) and son Edward, he was one of the peers who signed a protestation against the appointment by the papacy of Bishop Richard Smith.¹⁵

Property

Raglan Castle

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¹ The proxies were entered on 12 February 1624, four days prior to the death of the Earl of Richmond. *LJ*: Volume 3 (1620-1628) 205.

² Burke's Peerage and Baronetage, Volume 1, 221 says he was the fifth Viscount Buttevant.

³ Nuns Project.

⁴ Rushworth: *Collections*, 396.

⁵ Questier: *Community*, 427.

⁶ Thomas M. McCoog, 'Jones, Robert (c.1564–1615)', in ODNB.

- 7 Nuns Project .
- ⁸ G. Anstruther: *Seminary Priests*, 1603, 302-304.
- ⁹ Questier: *Community*, 91.
- ¹⁰ Nuns Project .
- ¹¹ Thomas M. McCoog, 'Blount, Richard (*c*.1565–1638)', in *ODNB*.
- ¹² Questier: *Community*, 289.
- ¹³ *ibid.* 389; Questier: *Dynastic Policy*, 54, 155.
- APC, Volume 40 (1625-1626) 227-229, 308; C.S.P. Domestic, Charles I (1625-1626) Volume 11, 166-178; Volume 12, 178-194.
- ¹⁵ Questier: *Caroline Newsletters*, 79.

STAFFORD, EDWARD (1572-1625) Fourth Baron Stafford (succeeded 1603)

Offices	-
House of Lords	1604-10, 1614, 1621, 1624
Proxies given	1605 - Thomas Sackville, first Earl of Dorset (c.1536-1608)
Oath of Allegiance	16 th June 1610
Family	Father – Edward, third Baron Stafford (1535/6-1603) (Catholic sympathizer) ¹
	Mother – Mary, daughter of Edward Stanley, third Earl of Derby (1509–1572) (Catholic) and Dorothy, daughter of Thomas Howard, second Duke of Norfolk (1443–1524).
	Uncle – Henry Stanley, fourth Earl of Derby (1531-1593). Cousin – William Stanley, sixth Earl of Derby (1561-1642). (possibly conforming Catholic)
	 Aunt – (1) Anne (d.1602) married Charles Stourton, eighth Baron Stourton (d.1557) – hanged for murdering his father's steward. (Catholic) Cousin – Edward Stourton, tenth Baron Stourton (c. 1555-1633). (Catholic) (2) Elizabeth (d.1589/91) married Henry Parker, eleventh Baron Morley (1532–1577). (Catholic exile). Cousin – Edward Parker, twelfth Baron Morley (1551-1618). (probably conforming Catholic). (3) Jane (d.1569) married Edward Sutton, fourth Baron Dudley (d.1586).
	Wife – Isabel, daughter of Thomas Forster of Tong and Ursula, daughter of Humphrey Vise of Staundon, Staffordshire.
	Son - Edward (1601-1621) (Catholic) married Anne, daughter of James Wilford of Newman Hall, Quendon, Essex. (Catholic) ² Grandson – Henry, fifth Baron Stafford (1621-1637) – ward of Thomas Howard, fourteenth Earl of Arundel (1585–1646). (Catholic) Grand-daughter - Mary (1620/21–1694) married William Howard, Viscount Stafford (1612–1680) son of Thomas Howard, fourteenth Earl of Arundel (above) and Aletheia (<i>d</i> .1654) (Catholic) daughter of Gilbert Talbot, seventh Earl of Shrewsbury (1552–1616). (conforming Catholic) The marriage was conducted by a Catholic priest. Great grand-daughter – (1) Aletheia (1637-1684) became an Augustinian nun in Paris. (2) Mary (<i>d</i> .1714) became a Dominican nun in Brussels. (3) Ursula (<i>d</i> .1714) became an Augustinian nun in Bruges. ³

Education	Gray's Inn 1609 ⁴
Religion	Catholic
	A priest, Oliver Almond, resided with a Lord Stafford. ⁵ Almond claimed that 'amongst many of his worthy labours converted the Lord Stafford.' ⁶
	When Stafford's grandson Henry Stafford, fifth Baron Stafford died unmarried in 1637 i was reported to the Catholic Bishop Richard Smith that 'in him is a most noble Catholic family extinguished.' ⁷
Property	Stafford Castle

Calendar of State Papers Domestic: James I. <u>URL: http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/domestic/jas1</u>.

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¹ *HOP 1588-1603*, Volume 3, 430.

² Burke's Peerage and Baronetage, Volume 2, 2680; C.S.P. Domestic, James I (1611-1618) Volume 92, 462-470.

³ Nuns Project.

⁴ *Foster: Gray's Inn 1521-1889, 120.*

Questier: *Community*, 105.

⁶ Questier: *Dynastic Policy*, 164.

⁷ Questier: *Caroline Newsletters*, 317.

STANLEY, WILLIAM (1561-1642) Sixth Earl of Derby (succeeded 1594)

Offices	Privy Council 1603 Chamberlain county palatine of Chester 1603-1620 Lord Lieutenant Lancaster and Chester 1619-1638 Admiral Isle of Man 1609
House of Commons	-
House of Lords Elizabeth I James I	1597, 1601 1604-1610, 1614, 1621 – one day, 1624 - Absent
Proxies given	1621 and 1624 – William Herbert, third Earl of Pembroke (1580– 1630)
Oath of Allegiance	8 th June 1610
Family	Father - Henry Stanley, fourth Earl of Derby (1531–1593). (possible Catholic sympathies) ¹
	Mother - Margaret (1540–1596) daughter of Henry Clifford, second Earl of Cumberland (1517–1570). (Catholic tendencies)
	Brother - Ferdinando, fifth Earl of Derby (<i>c.</i> 1559–1594) married Alice Spencer (1559–1637) daughter of Sir John Spencer of Althorp, Northamptonshire. Niece –
	 (1) Anne (1580–1647) married (i) Grey Brydges, fifth Baron Chandos (c.1579–1621) (ii) Mervyn Touchet, twelfth Baron Audley (1593–1631) (second Earl of Castlehaven in Ireland). (Catholic)
	(2) Frances married John Egerton, first Earl of Bridgewater (1579– 1649).
	(3) Elizabeth married Henry Hastings, fifth Earl of Huntingdon (1586–1643).
	Wife - Elizabeth (1575–1627) daughter of Edward de Vere, seventeenth Earl of Oxford (1550-1604) and Anne (1556-1588) daughter of William Cecil, first Baron Burghley (1520/21–1598).
Education	St John's College, Oxford 1572-1576? Gray's Inn 1576–1582 Lincoln's Inn – matriculated 1594 1582-1585 - tour of the continent that included Paris, the Loire region, and, according to his biographer, probably to Henri of Navarre's academy at Nérac in the region of Aquitaine. In 1585 he accompanied his father on an embassy to Paris to award Henri III the Order of the Garter. Unlicensed foreign travel 1585–1587.

Religion	He was an outward conformist, but was tolerant towards Lancashire Catholics and may have harboured Catholic tendencies. ²
	According to his biographer it is likely that he was accompanied on his unlicensed foreign travels by John Donne (a Catholic until the beginning of the seventeenth century) and that he was the addressee of the epistolary sonnet that Donne titled 'To E. of D. with Six Holy Sonnets' written at the end of the sixteenth century when both were at Lincoln's Inn.
Property	Knowsley Hall, Prescot, Merseyside Isle of Man On the death of his father he inherited lands in York, Somerset, Oxfordshire, and Middlesex.

Journal of the House of Lords (1767-1830). <u>URL: http://www.british-history.ac.uk/lords-jrnl</u>. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. <u>URL: http://www.oxforddnb.com</u>.

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¹ *Questier: Community*, 24-25. According to his biographer in *ODNB*, as a member of the Council of the North, he vigorously enforced the laws against recusants, and at the same time helped Catholic family friends and in 1587 was accused of being too lenient towards Catholics.

² Leo Daugherty, 'Stanley, William, sixth earl of Derby (*bap.* 1561, *d.* 1642)', in *ODNB*.

STOURTON, EDWARD (*c.* 1555-1633) Tenth Baron Stourton (succeeded 1588)

Offices	-
House of Commons	-
House of Lords	1604, 1606-1610 – Absent, 1614 – Absent , 1621, 1624
Oath of Allegiance	12 th February 1621
Family	Father – Charles Stourton, eighth Baron Stourton (<i>d</i> .1557 – hanged for murdering his father's steward). (Catholic)
	Mother – Anne (Catholic) daughter of Edward Stanley, third Earl of Derby (1509–1572) and Dorothy, daughter of Thomas Howard, second Duke of Norfolk (1443–1524). After the death of her first husband she married John Arundell of Lanherne, Cornwall (<i>c</i> .1527– 1590). (Catholic)
	 Half sisters – (1) Gertrude became a Benedictine nun in Brussels. (2) Dorothea became a Benedictine nun in Brussels. (3) Cycyl became a Bridgettine nun in Rouen.¹
	Cousin – Edward Parker, twelfth Baron Morley (1551-1618). (possibly conforming Catholic)
	Second cousin and brother-in-law – William Parker, fifth (or first) Baron Monteagle (and thirteenth Baron Morley from 1618) (1574/5-1622) married Elizabeth Tresham (<i>b</i> .1573-1647/8) (Catholic) daughter of Sir Thomas Tresham (1543–1605) of Rushton, Northants and Muriel (<i>d</i> .1615) daughter of Sir Robert Throgmorton of Coughton, Warwickshire, and sister of the gunpowder conspirator Francis Tresham. (Catholics)
	Wife – Frances, daughter of Sir Thomas Tresham (1543–1605) (as above).
	Son – William (c.1594-1672) (Catholic) married Frances, daughter of Sir Edward Moore of Odiham. Grandson – Edward (c.1617-1643/4) married Mary, daughter of Robert, third Baron Petre (1599-1638) and Mary (1602-1684/5) daughter of Anthony Maria Browne, second Viscount Montague (1574-1629. (Catholics)
Education	Exeter College, Oxford
Religion	Catholic
	He was implicated in the supposed or plat

He was implicated in the gunpowder plot.

He made his Clerkenwell house available to Jesuits and Benedictines.²

Property

Clerkenwell, London

Sources

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¹ Nuns Project.

² Questier: *Community*, 427.

STUART, LUDOVIC (1574-1624) First Earl of Richmond (created 1613) First Duke of Richmond (created 1623) Second Duke of Lennox (Scottish title - succeeded 1583)

Offices	Scotland Gentleman of the Bedchamber 1583 First Gentleman of the Bedchamber 1590 Great Chamberlain 1583 England First Gentleman of the Bedchamber 1603 Privy Council 1603 September 1605 he was appointed king's alnager ¹ Deputy Earl Marshal 1614 Lord High Steward of the Royal Household 1616 Lord Lieutenant Kent 1620 Joint Commissioner of the Great Seal 1621
House of Commons	-
House of Lords	1614, 1621
Proxies received	 1621 – (1) Henry Somerset, Baron Herbert (1577-1646) (succeeded as fifth Earl of Worcester in 1628, created Marquess of Worcester in 1643) (Catholic) (2) Thomas Darcy, first Viscount Colchester (1565-1640) (created Earl Rivers in 1626) (Catholic) 1624² - Henry Somerset, Baron Herbert (above)
Oath of Allegiance	11 th April 1614 5 th February 1621
Family	Father - Esmé Stuart, first Duke of Lennox (<i>c.</i> 1542–1583).
	Mother - Catherine de Balsac d'Entragues (d. c.1631).
	 Wife – (1) Lady Sophia (d.1592) daughter of William Ruthven, first Earl of Gowrie (c.1543–1584). (2) Jean (d.1610) daughter of Sir Mathew Campbell of Loudon and widow of Robert Montgomerie, master of Eglinton. (3) Frances (1578–1639) daughter of Thomas Howard, first Viscount Howard of Bindon (1520–1582) widow of Henry Prannell and Edward Seymour, first Earl of Hertford (1539?–1621).
	Sister – (1) Gabrielle, retired to a French convent at Glatigny. (2) Henrietta married George Gordon, sixth Earl of Huntly (1561/2– 1636) (created first Marquess of Huntly in 1599). (Catholic) Marie married John Erskine, eighteenth or second Earl of Mar (c.1562–1634).

Education	?
Religion	Possibly conforming Catholic
	His close family were all Catholic and he was suspected of Catholicism on a number of occasions. These suspicions became more frequent after his sister married George Gordon, sixth Earl of Huntly (above). For much of his later life he avoided religious confrontation.
	Enclosed with a communication dated 5 th March 1589 from William Asheby to Walsingham was a list of 'Papist and Protestant Earls in Scotland. At the top of the list of ' <i>The Papists and discontented</i> <i>Earls and Lords</i> ' was The Duke of Lennox, followed by the Earls of Huntly, Montrose, Erroll, Crawford, Bothwell, Cathness, Athol, Sutherland, Murray, the Lords Maxwell, Claud Hamilton, Seton, Hume, Graye, Livingston. ³
Property	Manors of Settrington, Temple-Newsam, and Wensleydale in Yorkshire Manor of Cobham in Kent

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¹ Inspector of woollen cloth.

² The proxies were entered on 12 February 1624, four days prior to his death. *LI*: Volume 3 (1620-1628) 205.

³ *C.S.P. Scotland,* Volume 9 (1586-88) 700-710.

STUART, ESMÉ (SEIGNEUR D'AUBIGNY) (c.1579–1624) First Earl of March (created 1619) Third Duke of Lennox (Scottish title - succeeded 1624)	
Offices	Joint Lord Lieutenant Huntingdonshire 1619 Gentleman of the royal bedchamber 1603
	Knight of the Garter 1624
House of Commons	-
House of Lords	1621, 1624
Oath of Allegiance	5 th February 1621
Family	Father - Esmé Stuart, first Duke of Lennox (<i>c</i> .1542–1583).
	Mother - Catherine de Balsac d'Entragues (d. c.1631).
	Brother – Ludovick Stuart, first Earl of Richmond (1574-1624) (created first Duke of Richmond in 1623).
	Wife - Catherine (c.1592–1637) daughter of Gervase Clifton, first Baron Clifton of Leighton Bromswold, Huntingdonshire (1579- 1618).
	 Son – (1) James (1612–1655) married Lady Mary Villiers (1622–1685) daughter of George Villiers, first Duke of Buckingham (1592–1628). (2) Henry (1616-1632). Died unmarried in Venice. Educated at Bourges Orléanais and Paris, France. Naturalized French. (3) George (1618-1642) married Katherine Howard (<i>d</i>. 1650 in exile at the Hague), daughter of Theophilus, Baron Howard of Walden (1584-1640) (possible Catholic sympathies) and Elizabeth (<i>d</i>.1633) daughter of George Home, first Earl of Dunbar (<i>d</i>.1611). (4) Ludovick (1619-1665). (Catholic) He became a Jesuit priest. Ordained by Bishop Richard Smith in 1652 and was made a canon of Notre Dame. Died unmarried at the Chartreux, Paris on his was to Rome to receive the cardinal's hat.¹
	Daughter – (1) Elizabeth (<i>d</i> .1674)) married Henry Frederick Howard, fifteenth Earl of Arundel (1608–1652), son of Thomas Howard, fourteenth Earl of Arundel (1585–1646) (Catholic) and Aletheia (<i>d</i> .1654) (Catholic) daughter of Gilbert Talbot, seventh Earl of Shrewsbury (1552–1616). (conforming Catholic) Grandson – Philip (<i>d</i> .1694) became a Cardinal and founder of English Dominican Nuns at Brussels. ²

	 (2) Frances (1617–1694) (Catholic) married Jerome Weston, second Earl of Portland (1605–1663) (possibly Catholic) son of Richard Weston, first Earl of Portland (<i>c</i>.1577-1635) (probably Catholic), and Frances (<i>d</i>.1645) daughter of Nicholas Waldegrave of Borley, Essex. (Catholic)³ Grand-daughter – (1) Catherine (1636-1688) became a Poor Clares nun in Rouen. (2) Elizabeth (1638-1713) became a Poor Clares nun in Rouen. (3) Frances (1637-1693) became a Poor Clares nun in Rouen.
Education	University of Bourges Served in the ceremonial guard of the <i>cent gentilhommes</i> at the French court. Gray's Inn 1618.
Religion	Possibly conforming Catholic
Property	Cobham Hall in Kent Lands in Norfolk, Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, Bedfordshire, Huntingdonshire, Hampshire, Berkshire, Gloucestershire, and Wiltshire.

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¹ G. Anstruther: *Seminary Priests,* 1603, 312-313.

² Nuns Project.

³ Frances had two sisters who were nuns: Barbara (1600-1638) who became a Benedictine nun in Brussels, and Hieronyma (1603-1635) who became a Benedictine nun in Ghent. *ibid.*

⁴ Nuns Project.

TALBOT, GILBERT (1552-1616) Seventh Earl of Shrewsbury (succeeded 1590)

Offices	Justice of the Peace – Cumberland, Derbyshire 1573, Herefordshire 1577, Nottinghamshire, Shropshire, Yorkshire <i>c</i> . 1596 Constable of Pontefract, Radnor, Tutbury and Wigmore castles 1589 Embassy to Henri IV of France 1596 Privy Council 1601 Chief Justice of the Forests beyond Trent 1603 Northern Ecclesiastical Commission 1605 Lord Lieutenant Derbyshire 1605 Constable and Steward of Newark and Forester of Sherwood 1607 Knight of the Garter 1592
House of Commons	Derbyshire 1572
House of Lords	1589, 1593, 1597, 1601 1604-1610, 1614
Proxies Received	1604-1610 and 1614 - Henry Grey, eighteenth Earl of Kent (c.1583– 1639) (son-in-law) 1605 – 1608 and October 1610 - John Darcy, third Baron Darcy and Menell (1579-1635) February 1610 – Robert Bertie, fourteenth Baron Willoughby of Eresby (1582-1642)
Oath of Allegiance	1610
Family	Father - George Talbot, sixth Earl of Shrewsbury (c.1522–1590).
,	(Catholic) ¹
. anny	•
	(Catholic) ¹ Mother - Lady Gertrude Manners (<i>d</i> .1566/7) daughter of Thomas
	 (Catholic)¹ Mother - Lady Gertrude Manners (<i>d</i>.1566/7) daughter of Thomas Manners, first Earl of Rutland (<i>c</i>.1497–1543). Wife - Mary Cavendish (1557–1632) (Catholic) daughter of Sir William Cavendish (1508–1557) and Elizabeth (<i>c</i>.1527–1608)

According to Robert Spiller's report of 1603 Shrewsbury was 'not religious',² and Juan de Tassis, Spanish Ambassador reported that the Earl of Shrewsbury was among those for whom there was little hope that they would change their anti-Catholic sentiments.³

There is, however, evidence to suggest that he was very much inclined towards Catholicism. In 1592 Robert Bainbridge, of Derby reported to the Privy Council, 'of notorious Papists and dangerous recusants in the household of, or in great account with, Lord Shrewsbury. Thomas Markham, of Kirby Bellars, his chief friend and secret councillor, whose wife is chief companion to the young Countess when she is in Nottinghamshire, and whom she calls sister. She is no doubt a great persuader of weak women to Popery.'⁴

In 1593 Shrewsbury instructed Sir Thomas Williams to protect his recusant servant Nicholas Williamson from arrest, as Williamson's expertise was needed to assist the earl in dealing with disputes over fishing in the River Trent.⁵ Admittedly, this incident was probably motivated more from a need of Williamson's expertise than any empathy with his Catholicism.

According to his biographer he was implicated in the main and bye plots, and possibly in the gunpowder plot.

It was also customary for Catholics to acquire old monastic property and in 1603 Shrewsbury took a lease of 'Gledthorpe Grange, part of the manor of Norton, Nottinghamshire, which previously belonged to the monastery of Welbeck.'⁷

In 1607 Shrewsbury petitioned the Earl of Salisbury on behalf of Lady Montague in connection with criticism from her Sussex neighbours concerning her non attendance at church. 'I would not have written if I could have stayed until you had been waken, to have moved you to give order for the old Lady Montacue, whose case is such by reason of the sessions within these 3 or 4 days, as unless the order that may be taken for her be not had this day, so as it may come thither in time, it will be too late. I beseech you do this charitable deed forthwith, for her pitiful lamentation to me her kinsman moves me very much. I will be here again in the afternoon, God willing.—This Thursday very early, 16 April, 1607.'8

In June 1611 Sir John Holles reported to Prince Henry and the Earl of Salisbury regarding 'his visit to the Earl of Shrewsbury's abbey of Rufford in search of recusants and a priest harboured by the countess.'⁹ He found no recusants or priests as they had 'dislodged' but in the grounds he found 'books, beads, crosses, and pictures, I chanced upon this most wretched paper which with much difficulty reading seems to me to harbour most dangerous opinions against his Majesty's person.'¹⁰

The countess was put in the Tower in 1611 for assisting her niece Lady Arabella Stuart to escape. In June 1611 John More reported in a letter to William Trumbull, agent of James I in Brussels that, 'The good earl is found untainted with her faults', it was reported on 28 June, 'but forebears the Council table for her sake.'¹¹ The countess was more closely confined from 1613. Shrewsbury secured her release in 1615. She was fined £20,000 for refusing to swear the oath of allegiance.

Property Sheffield Castle Rufford Abbey, Nottinghamshire Gledthorpe Grange, part of the manor of Norton, Nottinghamshire Tutbury Castle, Pontefract Castle Clerkenwell, London

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⁶ Questier: *Birkhead Newsletters*, 224-5.

¹ Questier: *Community*, 24.

² Loomie: *Spain, Volume 64*, 6.

³ Loomie: *Toleration*, 16.

⁴ *C.S.P. Domestic*, Elizabeth (1591-1594) Volume 241, 163-176.

⁵ Questier: *Community*, 21. Professor Questier has used this instance to illustrate that just because peers such as Shrewsbury chose to protect recusants from arrest, they were not necessarily seeking 'to disrupt or circumvent the law on conformity for the benefit of Catholicism or the Catholic community.'

⁷ *C.S.P. Domestic,* James I (1603-1610) Volume 1, 1-13.

⁸ *HMC Salisbury*, Volume 19, 96-114. See also Questier: *Community*, 230.

⁹ *Letters of John Holles 1587-1637*, Thoroton Society Record Series, Volume 31, 3 Volumes (Nottingham: Derry & Sons Ltd, 1983) Volume 1, 32.

¹⁰ *HMC Portland,* Volume 9, 49.

¹¹ *HMC Downshire,* Volume 3, 99.

TALBOT, GEORGE (1567-1630) Ninth Earl of Shrewsbury (succeeded 1618)

Offices	-
House of Commons	-
House of Lords	1621 - Absent 1624 - Absent
Proxies given	1621 and 1624 - Thomas Howard, fourteenth Earl of Arundel (1585-1646)
Oath of Allegiance	No record in <i>LJ</i>
Family	Father – John Talbot of Grafton, Worcestershire (<i>d</i> .1610/11). (Catholic) Mother – Catherine (1545- <i>c</i> .1596/7) daughter of Sir William Petre (1505/5-1572) a principal secretary to Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Queen Mary from 1544 to 1557.
	Sister – Gertrude Talbot married Robert Winter (<i>c</i> .1566–1606), gunpowder conspirator. (Catholic) Niece - Mary Winter (1599-1624 became an Augustinian nun in Louvain in 1617. ¹
	Uncle – John Petre, first Baron Petre (1549-1613). (Catholic) Cousin – William Petre, second Baron Petre (1575-1637) (Catholic) married Katherine (1575-1624) (Catholic) daughter of Edward Somerset, fourth Earl of Worcester (1550-1628) (conforming Catholic) and Elizabeth (<i>d</i> .1621) daughter of Francis Hastings, second Earl of Huntingdon (1513/4-1560).
	Nephew – John Talbot (<i>bef</i> .1601-1654) tenth Earl of Shrewsbury married Frances (<i>d</i> .1652) daughter of Thomas Arundell, first Baron Arundell of Wardour (1560-1639). (Catholic)
Education	-
Religion	Ordained a priest prior to succeeding to the title in 1618.
	Benefactor of English Jesuits including the Jesuit vice-province of England that included England, Wales, and English Jesuit foundations in the Spanish Netherlands of which Richard Blount (<i>c</i> .1565–1638) was vice-provincial. ²
	Chief founder, with Duke Maximillian of Bavaria, of the college at Liége.
	He made his house in Clerkenwell available to Jesuits. ³

In 1624 it was reported that a servant of his was arrested in Warwick. $\!\!\!^4$

In October 1625 he was one of the 'lords recusantes' whose houses were searched for arms although he protested that 'he had no manner of arms, not so much as a musket, caliver, or birding piece. Ten brown-bills were all he had provided for defence of his house.'⁵

Property Grafton Manor, Bromsgrove, Worcestershire Clerkenwell, London

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¹ Nuns Project.

² Thomas M. McCoog, 'Blount, Richard (*c*.1565–1638)', in *ODNB*.

³ Questier: *Community*, 427.

⁴ Questier: *Dynastic Policy*, 251.

⁵ APC, Volume 40 (1625-1626) 227-229; C.S.P. Domestic, Charles I (1625-1626) Volume 12, 178-194.

TOUCHET, MERVYN (1593-1631)

(In his youth he adopted his future peerage title as a surname in preference to Touchet)¹ Twelfth Baron Audley (12th) (succeeded 1617) Second Earl of Castlehaven (Irish title - succeeded 1617)

Offices	Justice of the Peace - Dorset by 1614-25, Somerset and Wiltshire by 1614-26. Commissioner oyer and terminer, Western circuit 1618-26. ²
House of Commons	Dorset 1614
House of Lords	1621 1624 - Absent
Proxies given	1621 – William Herbert, third Earl of Pembroke (1580-1630) 1624 – Bishop John Williams (1582-1650), Bishop of Lincoln, Dean of Westminster, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal
Oath of Allegiance	5 th February 1621
Family	Father - George Touchet, eleventh Baron Audley (1550/51–1617) (created first Earl of Castlehaven (Irish title) in 1616).
	Mother - Lucy Mervyn (<i>d</i> .1609/10) daughter and heir of Sir James Mervyn of Fonthill Gifford, Wiltshire, and his wife, Amy Clarke.
	Aunt - Alice married Sir Francis Bacon (1561–1626) (created Viscount St. Alban in 1621).
	 Wife – (1) Elizabeth Barnham (1592–<i>c</i>.1622) daughter of London alderman Benedict Barnham. (2) Lady Anne Brydges, née Stanley (1580–1647) daughter of Ferdinando Stanley, fifth Earl of Derby (<i>c</i>.1559-1594) widow of Grey Brydges, fifth Baron Chandos and sister of William Stanley, sixth Earl of Derby (1561-1642). (possibly Catholic).
	 Son – (1) James (b.1612-1684). (Catholic) During the Civil War in Ireland he was Commander-in-Chief of the Catholic armies.³ Grand-daughter – Susanna became a Dominican choir nun in Brussels.⁴ (2) George [name in religion Anselm] (d. before 1689?) became a Benedictine monk in 1643.⁵
Education	Middle Temple 1611
Religion	According to Walter Yonge, in 1622 Castlehaven 'turned Papist Catholic.' ⁶

Castlehaven was openly Catholic by the early 1620s. At least two of his servants were Catholics, and his second son became a Benedictine monk.⁷

Castlehaven's mother, Anne-Noël, was a benefactress of St. Bonaventure's convent at Douai and may have converted John Anketill, Castlehaven's page and son-in-law, to Catholicism while he was resident at Fonthill Gifford. Anketill's marriage to Lucy was performed privately by a Catholic priest as well as publicly by the prebendary of Kilkenny.

It has been suggested that he returned to the Church of England in order to remarry in 1624 and he affirmed his faith in the Church of England on the scaffold in 1631.

In 1624 his name appeared on the list contained in the petition of the Commons against Catholics 'charged with places of trust' in the shires.⁸

In December 1625 his house was searched for arms and although some were found they were not removed.⁹ Later that month John Davenant, bishop of Salisbury, reported that he 'had received from Fonthill the arms belonging to the Earl of Castlehaven, who sent direction to his brother Sir Ferdinando Audley to deliver them up,' and on 23rd December Castlehaven wrote to the bishop of Gloucester, Godfrey Goodman that he' would be ready on the morrow to deliver up all such arms as he had at Sudeley' declaring that 'from his infancy he has been ever conformable to the Church of England, and is ready to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. He desires that this declaration may be made known to the Council, for he fears some malicious suggestions have traduced his loyalty.¹⁰

At his trial for rape and sodomy in 1631, the attorney general, Sir Robert Heath (1575–1649) said that the Earl treated religion as a fashion - he would be a papist in the morning and a Protestant in the afternoon.¹¹

In October 1631 his son James was one of the peers who signed a protestation against the appointment by the papacy of Bishop Richard Smith.¹²

Property Nether Stowey in Somerset and Stalbridge in Dorset Wiltshire estates of Compton Bassett and Widcombe Fonthill Gifford, Wiltshire Sudeley Castle, Gloucestershire Properties in Middlesex, Essex, Hampshire, Kent and London (Wife's inheritance)

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² *ibid.*

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⁴ Nuns Project.

⁵ Questier: *Caroline Newsletters,* 312.

⁶ Yonge: *Diary*, 64.

HOP: 1604-1629, Volume 3, 43; Thompson Cooper, 'Touchet, George (d. before 1689?)', rev. Dominic Aidan Bellenger, in ODNB.

⁸ *LJ*, Volume 3 (1620-1628) 392-396.

⁹ *C.S.P. Domestic,* Charles I (1625-1626) Volume 11, 166-178.

¹⁰ *APC*, Volume 40, 1625-1626, 227-229; *C.S.P. Domestic*, Charles I (1625-1626) Volume 12, 178-194.

¹¹ C. B. Herrup, A House in Gross Disorder: Sex, Law, and the 2nd Earl of Castlehaven (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999) 68.

¹² Questier, *Caroline Newsletters*, 79; Thompson Cooper, 'Touchet, George (*d.* before 1689?)', rev. Dominic Aidan Bellenger, in *ODNB*.

VAUX, EDWARD (1588-1661) Fourth Baron Vaux (succeeded 1595)

Offices	-
House of Commons	-
House of Lords	1614 – In the custody of the dean of Westminster (see below). 1621 – Absent, 1624 – 3 sittings
Proxies given	1621 - Thomas Darcy, first Viscount Colchester (1565-1640) (created first Viscount Colchester in 1621 and first Earl Rivers in 1626) (Catholic) - Absent 1621 – Oliver St. John, fourth Baron St. John of Bletsoe (1584-1646)
Oath of Allegiance	No record in <i>LJ</i>
Family	Father - George Vaux (1564–1594) son of William Vaux, third Baron Vaux (1535–1595). (Catholics)
	Mother - Elizabeth (<i>fl</i> .1585–1625), daughter of John Roper, first Baron Teynham (c.1534–1618) (Catholic) and his wife, Elizabeth Parke (<i>d</i> .1567).
	Sister – (1) Joyce (<i>d</i> .1667) became a Mary Ward Institute choir nun at St Omer. (2) Catherine (<i>d</i> .1649) married Henry Neville, ninth (or second) Baron Abergavenny (1573-1641). (Catholic) Niece - Mary (1605-1689) became a Benedictine nun in 1634 and was the founder of convents in Boulogne and Dunkirk. ¹
	Wife - Elizabeth (1586–1658) (Catholic) widow of William Knollys, first Earl of Banbury (1545-1632) daughter of Thomas Howard, first Earl of Suffolk (1561-1626) (conforming Catholic) and his second wife, Katherine (<i>c</i> .1564-1638).
Education	Privately tutored at Harrowden He travelled to Italy with Sir Oliver Manners in 1609–11
Religion	Catholic
	He was committed to the Fleet for refusing to take the oath of allegiance on his return from the continent in 1611 and sentenced to perpetual imprisonment and lost all his lands. In 1612 he was pardoned, transferred to the custody of the dean of Westminster, George Montaigne and his lands were restored. He was finally released in 1614-15 on payment of £1500.
	From 1500 his mother shaltered the locuit priost John Corord

From 1598 his mother sheltered the Jesuit priest John Gerard.

Together with his mother he was suspected of being involved in the gunpowder plot.

He served as a colonel of an English regiment in the Spanish service in Flanders in 1622–1624.

He was a member of the Jesuit church of John Percy.²

He made private lodgings available to priests.³

He was excluded from the Parliament of 1624 for refusing to swear the Oath of Allegiance.⁴

In October 1625 he was one of the 'lords recusantes' whose houses were searched for arms. When asked he 'replied that he had no armour; his progenitors left him none; neither did he ever buy any. He led them through all the rooms of his house, and they found none.' Nonetheless a scuffle ensued, as a consequence of which Vaux was committed to the Fleet.⁵

In 1631 he was one of the peers who gave his assent to, but did not sign, a protestation against the appointment by the papacy of Bishop Richard Smith.⁶

Property

Harrowden

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¹ Nuns Project.

² Questier: *Community*, 289.

- ⁴ *C.S.P. Venetian* (1623-25) Volume 18, 225-40.
- APC, Volume 40 (1625-1626) 227-229; C.S.P. Domestic, Charles I (1625-1626) Volume 9, 1-17;
 Volume 10, 152-166; Questier: Dynastic Policy, 125-127.
- ⁶ Questier: *Caroline Newsletters*, 79.

³ *ibid.* 427.

WINDSOR, HENRY (1562-1605) Fifth Baron Windsor (succeeded 1585)

Offices	-
House of Lords	1604
Proxies given	1604 – Henry Wriothesley, third Earl of Southampton (1573-1624)
Oath of Allegiance	Died before 1606
Family	Father – Edward, third Baron Windsor (<i>d</i> .1574/5).
	Mother – Katherine (d.1599/1600) daughter of John de Vere, sixteenth Earl of Oxford (1516–1562) and Dorothy, daughter of Ralph Neville, fourth Earl of Westmorland (1498–1549).
	Wife – Anne, daughter of Sir Thomas Rivett and Grisel, daughter of William, first Baron Paget (1505/6–1563).
	Brother – Anthony married Ann Peche. Niece - Mary (1593-1656) became an Augustinian nun in Louvain. ¹
	Sister (possibly) – Margaret (<i>d</i> .1642) became a Bridgetine nun in Rouen. ²
	Wife's uncle – Charles Paget (<i>c</i> .1546-1612), agent to Mary, Queen of Scots in Paris, and conspirator. (Catholic) ³
	Son - Thomas, fourth Baron Windsor (1591-1641) (Catholic) married Catherine, daughter of Edward Somerset, fourth Earl of Worcester (1550-1628) (conforming Catholic) and Elizabeth Hastings (<i>d</i> .1621) (Catholic) daughter of Francis Hastings, second Earl of Huntingdon (1513/14–1560).
Education	Middle Temple
Religion	Catholic
	According to toleration tract published in 1603, there was 'general joy and applause' at James's accession, and good offices were performed towards him by Catholics 'with such alacrity in most places of the realme', particularly 'the Viscount Montigue largely casting money among the people', and other Catholic peers such as Lord Windsor and Lord Mordaunt. ⁴
	On 8 November 1605 the Bailiffs at Warwick reported to the Council a 'Seizure of horses at Warwick Castle. Assembly of persons at Rob. Winter's house; they went to Lord Windsor's, and thence to Dudley Castle ⁵

Appointed Henry Howard, first Earl of Northampton (1540-1614) **(Catholic)** as executor of his Will and guardian of his son, Thomas.⁶

Property

Tradebigg, Worcestershire

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- ³ Peter Holmes, 'Paget, Charles (*c*.1546–1612)', in *ODNB*. In the parliament of 1604 Henry, fourth Lord Windsor was appointed to the committee that considered the restitution of Charles Paget. The opinion of members of the committee was divided. The bill was left to the independent of the House and rejected. *(L)* Volume 2 (1578, 1614) 270, 271
- judgement of the House and rejected. *LJ*, Volume 2 (1578-1614) 270-271.
- ⁴ Questier: *Community*, 266.

⁶ Levy Peck: *Northampton*, 55.

² *ibid.* There is some confusion over the identity of Margaret Windsor. It is also possible that she was the daughter of Anthony Windsor and Anne Peche.

⁵ *C.S.P. Domestic,* James I (1603-1610) Volume 16, 238-264.

WINDSOR, THOMAS (1591-1641) Sixth Baron Windsor (succeeded 1605)

Offices	Commissioner of the Peace Buckinghamshire
House of Lords	1606-1610 – Minor, 1614, 1621, 1624
Oath of Allegiance	11 th April 1614
Proxies given	1621 – William Paget, fifth Baron Paget (1572-1629) (second cousin)
Family	Father – Henry Windsor, fifth Baron Windsor (1562-1605). (Catholic)
	Mother – Anne, daughter of Sir Thomas Rivett and Grisel, daughter of William Paget, first Baron Paget (1505/6–1563).
	Uncle – Anthony Windsor married Ann Peche. Cousin - Mary (1593-1656) became an Augustinian nun in Louvain. ¹
	Aunt (possibly) – Margaret (<i>d</i> .1642) became a Bridgetine nun in Rouen. ²
	Uncle (grandmother's brother) – Charles Paget (<i>c</i> .1546-1612), agent to Mary, Queen of Scots in Paris and conspirator. (Catholic) ³
	Wife - Catherine, daughter of Edward Somerset, fourth Earl of Worcester (1550-1628) (conforming Catholic) and Elizabeth Hastings (<i>d</i> .1621) (Catholic) , daughter of Francis Hastings, second Earl of Huntingdon (1513/14–1560).
Education	Middle Temple
Religion	Catholic
	Ward of Henry Howard, first Earl of Northampton (1540-1614). (Catholic) ⁴
	In 1623 he served as Rear Admiral of the fleet that brought Prince Charles back to England from Spain.
	In 1624 his name appeared on the list contained in the petition of the Commons against Catholics 'charged with places of trust' in the shires. ⁵
	In a letter dated March 1625 Richard Smith, Bishop of Chalcedon asked Thomas More to 'doe my most kind and respective commendations to my L[ord] Winsor ⁶
	In October 1625 he was one of the 'lords recusantes' whose houses were searched for arms. ⁷

In 1631 he was one of the peers who signed a protestation against the appointment by the papacy of Bishop Richard Smith.⁸

Property

Tradebigg, Worcestershire

Sources

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² *ibid.* There is some confusion over the identity of Margaret Windsor. It is also possible that she was the daughter of Anthony Windsor and Anne Peche.

³ Peter Holmes, 'Paget, Charles (*c*.1546–1612)', in *ODNB*. In the parliament of 1604 Henry, fourth Lord Windsor was appointed to the committee that considered the restitution of Charles Paget. The opinion of members of the committee was divided. The bill was left to the judgement of the House and rejected. *LJ*, Volume 2 (1578-1614) 270-271.

⁴ Levy Peck: *Northampton*, 55.

⁵ *LJ,* Volume 3 (1620-1628) 392-396.

⁶ Questier: *Caroline Newsletters*, 360.

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⁸ Questier: *Caroline Newsletters*, 79.

WOTTON, EDWARD (1548-1628) First Baron Wotton (created 1603)

Offices	Ambassador to Portugal and Spain 1579, Scotland 1585, France 1586, 1610 Gentleman of the Privy Chamber 1589 Justice of the Peace Kent (c.1593) Sheriff of Kent 1594-5 Privy Council 1602-1625 Comptroller of the Household 1602-1616 Lord Lieutenant of Kent 1604-1620 Treasury Commissioner 1612-1614 Treasurer of the Household 1616-1618 Commissioner for the trial of Raleigh 1603, against Jesuits 1603-22, recusant lands 1606, for the surrender of Flushing and Brill 1616, ecclesiastical causes 1620 Knighted 1591
House of Commons	Kent 1584
House of Lords	1604-1610, 1614, 1621, 1624 - Absent
Proxies given	1621 - Thomas Howard, first Earl of Suffolk (1561-1626)
Proxies received	1605 – Philip Wharton, third Baron Wharton (1555-1625) (father-in- law)
Oath of Allegiance	1610
Family	Father - Thomas Wotton of Boughton Malherbe, Kent (<i>d</i> .1586/7).
	Mother – Elizabeth (<i>d</i> .1564) daughter of Sir John Rudston, Lord Mayor of London.
	Half brother - Sir Henry Wotton (1568–1639) (diplomat).
	Wife – (1) Hester (<i>d</i> .1592) daughter of Sir William Pickering (1516/17–
	1575.
	(2) Margaret (<i>d</i> .1659) (Catholic) daughter of Philip Wharton, third Baron Wharton (1555-1625) and Frances (1556-1593) daughter of Henry Clifford, second Earl of Cumberland (1517–1570) (Catholic tendencies) and Anne (<i>c</i> .1538–1581) (Catholic) .
	Daughter – Philippa (<i>d</i> .1626) married Sir Edmund Bacon (<i>c</i> .1570- 1649) (MP for Eye 1589, Suffolk 1593 and 1625 and nephew of Francis Bacon, Viscount St. Alban (1561-1626)). ¹
Education	He was educated on the Continent where he became fluent in French, Italian and Spanish. Gray's Inn 1588

Religion	Catholic
	In 1603 Robert Spiller reported that he had 'a favourable view towards the Catholic religion' and that he was 'seeking a peace under the condition of freedom of conscience.' ²
	He had private conversations with Queen Anne (Catholic) and Henry Howard, first Earl of Northampton (1540-1614) (Catholic) about how to improve the lot of English Catholics.
	In 1610 he revealed his Catholicism to Alonso de Velasco, the Spanish Ambassador in London whom he asked to obtain from the Pope a bull granting 'him absolution at the time of his death without inserting his name' because he could not risk making his Catholicism known. The Spanish Ambassador relayed the request to Philip III who wrote to Don Francisco de Castro, the Spanish ambassador in Rome enclosing a signed petition 'on behalf of a person for whom I have a very high regard' but advised secrecy. The request was granted in April 1612. ³
	He was formally received into the Roman Catholic church in April 1618 by Fray Diego de la Fuente, the chaplain of the Spanish embassy. He kept his conversion secret and excused himself from attendance at church service for six years due to illness, but in 1624 he was summoned to the Maidstone assizes for recusancy.
	He resigned as Lord Lieutenant of Kent in May 1620 and added to the commission for ecclesiastical causes. He continued in his roles as privy councillor, Justice of the Peace and to make appointments to benefices in the established church.
	In 1624 his name appeared on the list contained in the petition of the House of Commons against Catholics 'charged with places of trust' in the shires. ⁴
Property	Boughton Manor, Boughton Malherbe, Kent.

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¹ *HOP 1558-1603*, Volume 1, 373; *HOP 1604-29*, Volume 3, 82.

² Loomie: *Spain, Volume 64*, 6.

³ *ibid.* 158.

⁺ *LJ*, Volume 3 (1620-1628) 392-396.

Chapter 5

THE CATHOLIC PEERAGE AND ATTENDANCE

This chapter will demonstrate that despite the enduring reputation for poor parliamentary attendance suffered by early modern peers generally, Catholic peers are very much in evidence in the records of attendance contained in the *L J* for the Parliaments of James I. Peers placed enormous emphasis on their right to attend Parliament which they perceived derived from their inheritable honour as barons, 'so their coming to Parliament hath even been reckoned an essential point of inheritable honour.'¹ In this way attendance at Parliament was important for Catholic peers too. It was also a means by which they could demonstrate their loyalty to the regime and participate in some of the decisive debates of the day, as well as availing themselves of the social opportunities that proliferated in the capital during a Parliament.

By addressing a series of questions, this chapter will show that for the most of the reign the attendance of Catholic peers was comparable with, and at times greater than that of Protestants. Even during the later Parliaments, when overall attendance was generally lower, the attendance of some Catholic peers still exceeded that of many Protestants. To give definition to the attendance of Catholic peers some comparative analysis with their Protestant colleagues will be undertaken. The discussions will focus on the patterns of attendance that reflected responses to royal policy and the religio-political climate that developed in the second half of the reign. This chapter will also consider peers' absence and their use of proxies, to see what they can tell us about Catholic peers' responses to such developments, whether they reflected a sense of solidarity among their co-religionists, and the importance of patron-client relationships, and familial and kinship alliances.

As it is important to establish a context for Catholic peers' attendance, these discussions will commence with an outline of the actual time scale involved, and some of the traditions and procedures associated with peers' attendance generally.

1

Elsyng: Manner, 54.

The length of each of the four Jacobean Parliaments varied considerably from six years and nine months to just two months, as did each session which ranged from 182 sittings in the 1606/7 session of the first Parliament to 29 in 1614. In total the House of Lords sat for 99 weeks² which equates to roughly 25 months, or 10 per cent of the 22 year reign, and highlights the very transitory nature of its meetings emphasized by historians such a Conrad Russell.³ The Lords were called to attend on the third day of each session, the first day being set aside for delivery of their writs, and the second for the presentation by the Commons of their Speaker. Once the session had got under way the House sat from Monday to Saturday each week, although it had become customary to avoid Wednesday and Friday mornings during a law term to allow several of the peers, and the judges who sat in the Upper House as assistants, to perform their obligations in the court of Star Chamber.

Similarly, meetings would sometimes clash with Convocation⁴ which assembled when Parliament met and convened on Wednesday and Friday. In 1621 George Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, formally requested the House not to sit on those days

which Motion was generally allowed, with Provision, That the Lord Chancellor do propose unto the House, on *Tuesdays* and *Thursdays*, whether the Court will sit the next Day or not, or shall be adjourned as before, as by the Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury* was moved.⁵

The House usually broke up for two weeks over Easter and never sat on Christmas day (except once during the reign of Edward VI 'occasioned through the troublesome business of the duke of Somerset'). ⁶ Additionally, although the House sat on Sunday

² According to David Smith parliamentary sessions during the reign of James I lasted a total of 148 weeks, but it would seem that he has included periods of adjournment within this figure. Smith: *Parliaments*, 76.

³ *ibid*, 76; Russell: *Parliaments*; Russell: *Nature of a Parliament*, 124-125.

⁴ This was the bishops' parliament. Each province had its own bicameral Convocation, the northern province which met at York and the southern which met at Westminster or St. Paul's Cathedral. It was believed by many bishops that Convocation had the exclusive right to enact ecclesiastical law, as evidenced in the parliament of 1610 when Richard Bancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury and William Barlow, Bishop of Lincoln argued that the bill against non-residence introduced into the House of Lords from the House of Commons came under the jurisdiction of Convocation, not parliament. Fincham: *Prelate*, 64 and Foster: *Lords 1610*, 225 & 233.

⁵ *LJ*, Volume 3 (1620-1628) 31-33.

⁶ *Elsyng: Manner,* 115.

on several occasions during Edward VI's reign,⁷ by the early seventeenth century Sunday was set aside for meetings of the Privy Council. It was not until Charles I determined to visit Scotland in 1641 that the House again chose to meet on Sunday.⁸

On the days the House of Lords actually sat members assembled at 9 a.m. and rose again at about noon. Occasionally, the House reconvened at 2 p.m., depending on the volume and weight of the business in hand, or if the session was nearing an end and outstanding business needed to be finalised. During the Parliament of 1604-10 afternoon sittings represented no more than 10 per cent of the total sittings, but in 1621 and 1624 when the House was busy conducting impeachment proceedings against Lord Chancellor Francis Bacon, first Viscount St. Alban and Lord Treasurer Lionel Cranfield, first Earl of Middlesex, afternoon sittings increased to roughly 20 per cent of the total sittings in each of those Parliaments.

When Parliament assembled each day the clerk's assistant would list the names of peers as they arrived and record them in the Journal Book in order of precedence, while the clerk recorded excuses made for absent peers together with any proxies that were forthcoming. The accuracy of the precedence of peers recorded in the Journal Book was extremely important, and peers whose titles had changed ensured that their new positions in the hierarchy were recorded. Although the heralds served as guides, precedence was ultimately decided by the lords themselves, and to ensure accuracy of the record the Lord Treasurer, Thomas Sackville, first Baron Buckhurst⁹ moved in 1597 that the Journal Books should be examined each Parliament by appointed Lords,

for as much as the Journal Books kept heretofore, by the Clerks of the Parliament, seemed to have some Error in them, in misplacing the Lords, so as it was doubted how the same might be of true Record, That it would please the Lords to take Order, that the said Books, that henceforth should be kept by the Clerk of the Parliament, may be viewed and perused every Parliament, by certain Lords of the House, to be appointed for that Purpose; and the List of the Lords in their Order to be subscribed by them;

⁷ *ibid.* 114.

⁸ *LJ*, Volume 4 (1629-1642) 347-353.

⁹ Created first Earl of Dorset in 1604.

taking unto them, for their better Information, the King at Arms: And that this Order might begin this present Parliament.¹⁰

Upon receipt of a complaint from a lord not ranked in the correct place the House appointed a committee to search the records. In 1597 Thomas West, second Baron de la Warr refused to take his seat because he felt he was not ranked in the correct place, and upon petition to the queen his case was favourably decided by the House.¹¹ His father William, nephew and heir of Thomas West, ninth Baron de la Warr had tried to poison his uncle in 1548 and was disinherited by an act of Parliament in 1550. He was, however, restored by Elizabeth I in 1563, knighted and created Baron de la Warr in 1570, but as this was classified as a new creation he sat in the House of Lords as a junior baron. In 1597 his son Thomas, second Baron de la Warr, successfully claimed the precedency within the peerage that had belonged to the title before his father's skulduggery.

The conventions governing attendance in the House of Lords had remained pretty much the same for many years but were not formally recorded until 1621.¹² These procedures were gradually set down in what became the roll of Standing Orders. As soon as the king chose to call a Parliament he would summon peers individually to attend the Upper House. Instructions were given to the clerks of the Petty Bag to prepare writs of summons (in Latin) for the great seal which were then issued at least 40 days before the date set for a meeting. In general terms those who were summoned to attend the Upper House were the lords spiritual comprising the Archbishops of Canterbury and York and twenty four bishops,¹³ the secular lords comprising the hereditary peers: dukes, marquesses, earls, viscounts and barons together with senior government officials, and also the assistants comprising senior

¹⁰ *LJ,* Volume 2 (1578-1614) 194-195.

¹¹ Elsyng: *Manner*, 114. Michael Riordan, 'West, Thomas, eighth Baron West and ninth Baron de la Warr (1472–1554)', in *ODNB*.

¹² In 1621 a committee for privileges was appointed at the suggestion of Thomas Howard, fourteenth Earl of Arundel.

¹³ All prelates, apart from the bishop of Sodor and Man and the suffragan bishop of Colchester, were members of the House of Lords by virtue of the temporal baronies annexed to their sees. R. Burn, *Ecclesiastical Law*, ninth edition, Volume 1 of 4 (Dublin, Andrew Miliken, 1842) 216 and Fincham: *Prelate*, 58.

judges and legal officers of the Crown who were only eligible to contribute towards the proceedings when their expertise was required.¹⁴

By the reign of Elizabeth I no peers were precluded from receiving a writ of summons. Instead, according to Henry Elsyng, 'they which are in the king's displeasure, have had their summons, but with a letter from the lord chancellor, or lord keeper, not to come, but to send a proxy.'¹⁵

In 1601 Anthony Maria Browne, second Viscount Montague, being out of favour was advised by the Privy Council that he would receive his writ but was not to attend

so as by the writte your Lordship hath your righte and honor of your place acknowledged without prejudice and by your absence you are to shew your dutie to her pleasure and absolute commandment.¹⁶

It is not clear why Montague was instructed not to attend Parliament. In April 1600 he was under restraint in Sackville House, possibly as a result of the attempts by his greatuncle, Francis Dacre, a Catholic, to curry favour of James VI of Scotland. Michael Questier has suggested that Montague had 'been tainted by support for the recently executed Earl of Essex,'¹⁷ as indeed peers involved in the Earl's rebellion in 1601 were to receive their writs because 'touchinge your place in Parlament she will not debarre you of that which to your said birthe and qualitie appertayneth',¹⁸ but were ordered not to attend and to send proxies.

Even the Henry Percy, ninth Earl of Northumberland and Edward Stourton, ninth Baron Stourton who had been implicated in the gunpowder plot continued to receive their writs during their imprisonment. In 1621, while still imprisoned in the Tower, the Earl of Northumberland petitioned the House for his writ which was delayed 'though His Majesty was then pleased, and is still so graciously disposed, that he shall enjoy his

¹⁴ Smith: *Parliaments*, 19.

¹⁵ Elsyng: *Manner*, 59.

¹⁶ Foster: *Lords 1604-1649,* 233 n.147.

¹⁷ Questier: *Community*, 243 and 262.

¹⁸ APC, Volume 32 (1601-1604) 218-219.

Rights therein.' When the Lord Chancellor confirmed the king's 'Gracious Pleasure herein,' the Lords ordered the writ to be drawn.¹⁹ There was obviously no doubt in Northumberland's mind that he would receive his writ, as in the previous November his proxy, which he had bestowed on his son-in-law, James Hay, first Viscount Doncaster, was entered in the L'.²⁰

Angela Britton contended that contrary to Elizabeth, James 'did not bar them [peers] from attendance by ordering them not to come or by attainder'. Certainly I can find no evidence of James forbidding peers to take their seats in the Parliaments of 1604-14, but in 1621 and again in 1624, peers who were out of favour were asked to absent themselves and to send proxies instead. In 1621 Henry Wriothesley, third Earl of Southampton and Henry de Vere, eighteenth Earl of Oxford were asked to stay away after the summer adjournment owing to their outspokenness and pursuit of investigations into patents in which George Villiers, Marquess of Buckingham was heavily involved. To ensure the continued absence of the Earl of Oxford, Buckingham engineered his appointment to command a fleet patrolling the English Channel from December 1621 until March 1622.²¹ In 1624 John Chamberlain reported that the Earls of Northumberland and Hertford, Viscount St. Alban and Baron Saye²² were not called 'or yf they had writs pro forma, yet they were willed to forbeare and absent themselves.'²³ He was certainly correct in relation to the Earls of Northumberland and Hertford who were listed but absent²⁴ and Viscount St. Albans who had been forbidden to take his seat in Parliament under item 4 of the judgement against him in

¹⁹ *LJ*, Volume 3 (1620-1628) 126-129.

²⁰ *ibid.* 3-4.

²¹ Russell, *Parliaments*, 122-23; Victor Stater, 'Vere, Henry de, eighteenth earl of Oxford (1593– 1625)' in *ODNB*.

Henry Percy, ninth Earl of Northumberland, William Seymour, second Earl of Hertford, Francis Bacon, first Viscount St. Alban and William Fiennes, eighth Baron Saye and Sele.

²³ McClure: *Chamberlain,* Volume 2, 546.

L.J. Volume 3 (1620-1628) 208-9. The Earl of Northumberland had been released from the Tower in June 1621 as part of an amnesty to mark James's 55th birthday. William Seymour, second Earl of Hertford was out of favour with James due to his illicit marriage in 1610 to Arabella Stuart. The couple were cousins and they each had a remote claim to the throne. They were imprisoned and escaped, but Arabella was recaptured and imprisoned in the Tower where she died in 1615. Seymour remained in exile until January 1616. In the parliament of 1621 a committee of six persuaded James to agree that he should receive his writ following the death of his grandfather midway through the session. David L. Smith, 'Seymour, William, first marquis of Hertford and second duke of Somerset (1587–1660)' in ODNB and LJ, Volume 3: (1620-1628) 88-91, 97-103, 126-129 & 129-131.

1621: 'That he shall never sit in Parliament, nor come within the Verge of the Court.'²⁵ William Fiennes, eighth Baron Saye and Sele on the other hand, was present in 1624.²⁶

Also on 23rd February 1624 it was ordered that all peers were required to take the Oath of Allegiance before being admitted into the Chamber. This innovation must have come as quite a shock to some peers, as although calls for peers to take the Oath had been a recurrent feature of the day to day business of the House since the assassination of Henry IV of France in 1610, the requirement had never been enforced. Fray Francisco understood the reasons for the stipulation to be twofold,

the one, in order to put the Catholics out of hope of any of the advantages which they had promised themselves by means of this marriage, now that they were being deprived of one which was so just, so common, and so long established. And the other, in order that when the question of the marriage, which they intended to raise, came to be discussed, there might not be one present of those who were principally interested in the advantages secured by it, but those only who mortally abhorred it, on account of the obstinacy with which they adhered to their sects, the Puritans forming the majority.²⁷

The Venetian Ambassador Alvise Valaresso reported to the Doge and Senate that as 'six Catholic lords would not take this they were excluded, and in order to make more certain of shutting out all the Catholics all will be obliged to take the communion publicly.'²⁸ Antonio Moresini, the Venetian Ambassador in the Netherlands identified four of the peers as the Lords Windsor, Morley, Vaux and Montague.²⁹ Valaresso subsequently reported that the six unnamed peers had

re-entered parliament, as they have changed their minds and taken the oath which they previously refused. It is not known whether the change was due to their consciences or from the absolution of their confessors.³⁰

²⁵ *ibid.* 104-106.

²⁶ *ibid.* 208-9.

²⁷ Gardiner: *Spanish Marriage*, 277.

²⁸ *C.S.P. Venetian,* Volume 18 (1623-1625) 225-240.

²⁹ *ibid.* 240-248. Thomas Windsor, sixth Baron Windsor, Henry Parker, sixth (or second) Baron Monteagle and fourteenth Baron Morley, Edward Vaux, fourth Baron Vaux and Anthony Maria Browne, second Viscount Montague.

³⁰ *ibid.* 240-248.

Michael Questier, however, pointed out that Valaresso must have been mistaken as far as Viscount Montague and Baron Vaux were concerned because they had so publicly 'pinned their colours to the mast of refusal.'³¹ Vaux was, however, absent on 23rd February but he was present the following day to hear Buckingham's 'Relation' of what had occurred during his, and the Prince's, recent excursion to Spain, after which he disappeared. Viscount Montague (along with several other peers, both Catholic and Protestant) had leave from the king to be absent 'for a time.'³² Montague did manage to gain access to the Chamber on 8th March to hear the king's response to the advice of both Houses concerning the treaties with Spain, and again on 17th March to hear the report from the committee appointed to consider some dispositions of his property.³³

It is difficult to identify three of the remaining four peers mentioned by Valaresso, as only Baron Morley was recorded as having subsequently taken the Oath of Allegiance on 1st March.³⁴ Another possibility is Thomas Darcy, first Viscount Colchester as there is no previous record of him taking the Oath. He was absent on 23rd February, the day the order was made, and for several days after, with only sporadic attendance during the following month, usually to hear speeches by the king or reports concerning the treaties with Spain. From the records of attendance, other possibilities are Henry Neville, ninth (or second) Baron Abergavenny who was absent from 23rd February and John Roper, third Baron Teynham who appeared on 19th and 21st February, after which he disappeared. It is unlikely that Baron Windsor was one of those who were excluded as he had already taken the Oath of Allegiance in 1614. He was, however, absent from 12th March. As mentioned above, another stipulation was that all peers should publicly receive communion and while some Catholic peers were prepared to take the Oath, communion was in all probability just a step too far.

Charles I occasionally, but unsuccessfully, attempted to withhold a writ of summons for political reasons³⁵ For instance, he tried to withhold those of John Digby, first Earl

³¹ Questier: *Community*, 410.

³² *LJ*, Volume 3 (1620-1628) 213-215.

ibid. 249-251 and 264-267.

³⁴ *ibid.* 236-238.

³⁵ Smith: *Parliaments,* 20; Foster: *Lords 1604-1649,* 16-18.

of Bristol and Bishop John Williams in 1626, and of Viscounts Saye and Sele, and Maundeville and Baron Brooke³⁶ in the Short Parliament. Conrad Russell suggested that during the 1620s the king, particularly Charles, regarded Parliament as an extension of the court and believed he could exclude those that displeased him.³⁷

Each of the 46 peers identified in the previous chapter as being Catholic or closely associated with Catholicism received a writ from the king to take his seat in the House of Lords. The rest of this chapter will analyse the attendance of these Catholic peers by asking some basic questions about who attended and how often. What factors influenced attendance, and did peers avoid at specific times or during specific debates? Within this ambit I will also discuss the use of proxies and consider whether they were used for political or religious reasons, or reflected religious or patronage alliances, or family and kinship relationships. Table A below gives an overview of the attendance record of both Catholic and Protestant peers. It is immediately apparent that in percentage terms, the number of Catholic peers who attended the Parliaments of 1604-10 and 1614 was comparable with, and sometimes greater than that of their Protestant colleagues.

It is also clear from Table A that for the duration of James I's reign the number of peers, Catholic and Protestant, attending more than five sittings was consistently over 50 per cent, as was the average number of sittings attended. Admittedly, the average number of sittings attended by Protestant peers did dip marginally below 50 per cent during the 1606/7 session of James's first Parliament but this can probably be explained largely in terms of disaffection with James's proposed scheme for Union between England and Scotland. A similar scenario occurred in 1610 when opposition to the Great Contract, the Earl of Salisbury's³⁸ scheme to resolve the Crown's financial problems, found expression in the failure of peers to return to Parliament after the summer recess.

³⁶ William Fiennes, first Viscount Saye and Sele, Henry Montagu, first Viscount Maundeville, Robert Grevile, second Baron Brooke of Beachamps Court.

³⁷ Russell: *Parliaments*, 16.

³⁸ Robert Cecil, first Earl of Salisbury, Lord Treasurer.

	Total Number of Members	Members Absent	Members Attending 1-5 sittings	Members Attending 6+ sittings	% of Members Attending 6+ sittings	Average % of Sittings Attended
1604						
Catholic	25	1	1	23	92%	69½%
Protestant	44	3	4	37	84%	62%
1606/7						
Catholic	26	5	1	20	77%	60½%
Protestant	49	4	4	41	83½%	47%
1610						
Catholic	25	3	1	21	84%	55%
Protestant	51	6	2	43	84%	53%
1614						
Catholic	27	6	1	20	74%	74%
Protestant	53	12	0	41	77%	69%
1621						
Catholic	31	8	2	21	68%	54%
Protestant	63	9	2	52	82%	63%
1624						
Catholic	32	11	5	16	50%	51½%
Protestant	62	10	1	51	82%	62%

Table AAn Overview of Attendance of the Membership of the House of Lords

While the number of Catholic peers listed in the *U* increased from 25 in 1604 to 32 in 1624 and represented roughly 30 per cent of the total membership throughout the period, the number of Catholic peers who actually attended for more than five sittings fluctuated between 23 in 1604 and 16 in 1624. However, Table A shows that when these figures are converted into percentages, the disparity in the proportion of Catholic peers attending across the four Parliaments becomes much more apparent, from a high of 92 per cent in 1604 to just 50 per cent in 1624. This downturn in

Catholic attendance is significant in terms of its timing which coincided with intensified anti-Catholic sentiment associated with the crisis in Bohemia and the breakdown of the Spanish marriage negotiations, and will be considered more fully in connection with peers' absence.

Attendance in the Upper House was generally greater during James's first Parliament, and reflects the climate of optimism engendered by his accession. What also sets this Parliament apart from those that had gone before was the unprecedented large number of new members. On 19th March 1604, the opening session of James's first Parliament, the *LJ* listed 13 newly created peers who, after years of waiting in the sidelines owing to Elizabeth's austerity, were in all probability itching to take their seats in Parliament. This is borne out by the fact that of the 12 new peers who were present during the first session,³⁹ 10 attended over 50 cent of the sittings, while seven (including all four new Catholic peers (Henry Howard, first Earl of Northampton; William Knollys, first Baron Knollys; Edward Wotton, first Baron Wotton and John Petre, first Baron Petre) attended over 75 per cent. There were also five new peers who had succeeded to their titles since the last Parliament of Elizabeth I in 1601,⁴⁰ and two of these, John Carey, third Baron Hunsdon and Edward Stafford, fourth Baron Stafford, a Catholic, attended over 90 per cent of sittings during the first session.

These figures contrast quite starkly with the Parliament of 1621 when financial considerations played an important part in the creation of several of the 18 new titles. At this time, of the 14 new peers who were created prior the commencement of that parliament,⁴¹ two were absent, seven attended less than 50 per cent of sittings, and four attended more than 75 per cent. From the perspective of parliamentary

³⁹ In October 1603 John Harington, first Baron Harington was appointed guardian to Princess Elizabeth. Jan Broadway, 'Harington, John, first Baron Harington of Exton (1539/40–1613)' in *ODNB*. On 23rd February 1604 was granted licence to be absent from parliament 'on account of his charge of the Princess.' *C.S.P. Domestic,* James I (1603-1610) Volume 6, 64-90.

Grey Brydges, fifth Baron Chandos (s. 1602); John Darcy, third Baron Darcy and Menell (s. 1602); Thomas West, third Baron de la Warr (s. 1602); John Carey, third Baron Hunsdon (s. 1603) and Edward, Stafford, fourth Baron Stafford (s. 1603).

⁴¹ This figure does not include Robert Dormer, created Baron Dormer in 1615, who died in November 1616. He was succeeded by his grandson, Robert Dormer (1610?-1643), a minor in 1621.

attendance, therefore, it seems possible that some of the concerns expressed by seventeenth century commentators, and by subsequent historians, about the diminishing effect of Buckingham's influence on the quality and status of the peerage were well founded.⁴² However, that is not to say that the character of particular individuals always determined the measure of their attendance as there were many and varying extraneous influences that kept members away from Westminster.

Of the 16 members who had succeeded to their titles since the Parliament of 1614, five were absent altogether, three of whom were Catholics. On the face of things, it might seem that these peers were continuing a tradition of withdrawal from the parliamentary arena, but such is not the case as far as these peers are concerned. William Eure, fourth Baron Eure succeeded his Protestant father, John Roper, the father of Christopher Roper, second Baron Teynham, died just two years after his promotion to the peerage in 1616 so was never able to take his seat, and George Talbot succeeded his cousin Edward, who died within a year of inheriting the title in 1616 from his brother Gilbert, seventh Earl of Shrewsbury, a conscientious member of the Upper House.

It is, however, possible that their absence can be explained in terms of indifference owing to their own Catholicism as although during 1621 there was, in the minds of Catholics, a very real prospect of toleration owing to the negotiations to marry Prince Charles to the Spanish Infanta, at the same time latent anti-Catholic sentiment had surfaced as a result. As mentioned earlier, George Talbot, ninth Earl of Shrewsbury was a Catholic priest and William Eure, fourth Baron Eure and Christopher Roper, second Baron Teynham were closely associated with a network of Catholic families that included Anthony Maria Browne, second Viscount Montague, Thomas Arundell, first Baron Arundell of Wardour, Edward Vaux, fourth Baron Vaux and Henry Neville ninth (or second) Baron Abergavenny, and both had daughters who became nuns. Furthermore, both of these peers were included in the Commons petition against recusant officeholders in the locality. Apart from the odd occasion, all of these peers

42

See, for instance, McClure: *Chamberlain*, 33.

were absent from Parliament in 1621 and 1624. On the other hand, Barons Arundell and Mervyn Touchet, twelfth Baron Audley who was absent in 1624 and was also closely associated with priests and nuns, were still disposed to participate in the proceeding of these Parliaments as they were both involved in the election of members to the House of Commons.⁴³ They also sent in their proxies Parliaments, and significantly, in 1624 they nominated proctors who supported a continuation of the Spanish marriage treaty.⁴⁴

The most revealing example of Catholic attendance can be found during James's first Parliament when it can be shown that overall Catholic peers attended more sittings than Protestant peers. In particular, Table A shows that Catholic attendance was exceptional during the first session when 92 per cent of Catholic peers attended an average of 69½ per cent of the 70 sittings, compared with 84 per cent of Protestant peers whose average attendance was 62 per cent. Even after the gunpowder plot and the imprisonment of the Henry Percy, ninth Earl of Northumberland, Anthony Maria Browne, second Viscount Montague, Henry Mordaunt, fourth Baron Mordaunt and Edward Stourton, ninth Baron Stourton, the average number of sittings attended by Catholic peers exceeded that of Protestants for the remainder of James I's first parliament. In 1614 too, Catholic peers were attending a higher proportion of sittings than their Protestant colleagues.

By considering the attendance record of individuals it can also be shown that this high attendance rate was not confined to just a few. By the last day of James I's first Parliament on 6th December 1610, a total of 30 Catholic peers had received writs to attend the House of Lords over the course the three sessions, 28 of whom attended more than six sittings of the Upper House. Eight Catholic peers were present at over half, and a further nine at over three quarters. In comparison, of the 50 Protestant peers who attended more than six sittings, 18 were present at over half of the sittings of the sessions they attended and 18 at more than three quarters. When these figures

⁴³ See Chapter 7: The Catholic Peerage and Elections.

⁴⁴ Mervyn Touchet, twelfth Baron Audley nominated Bishop John Williams (1582–1650), Bishop of Lincoln, Dean of Westminster and Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, and Thomas Arundell, first Baron Arundell nominated Thomas Howard, fourteenth Earl of Arundel.

are converted into percentages it becomes clear that during the first Parliament of James I, the proportion of Catholic peers who attended more than three quarters of the sittings was more than double that of Protestant peers. Table B below illustrates the overall trend of peers' attendance across the four Parliaments.

	Number of Members attending 6+ days	Percentage of Members attending less than 50% of sittings	Percentage of Members attending 50- 75% of sittings	Percentage of Members attending over 75% of sittings	
1604-1610					
Catholics	28	39½%	28½%	32%	
Protestants	50	50%	36%	14%	
1614					
Catholics	20	10%	30%	60%	
Protestants	41	22½%	36½%	41%	
1621					
Catholics	21	33½%	33½%	33%	
Protestants	53	28½%	30%	41½%	
1624					
Catholics	16	50%	12½%	37½%	
Protestants	51	22%	37%	41%	

Table B Percentage Attendance of Peers in the House of Lords

Catholic peers represented a significant proportion of the total membership of the House of Lords at this time and, as I hope to have demonstrated, contrary to their traditional reputation of indifference, at this stage at least, their attendance was comparable with, and often better than that of their Protestant colleagues. In 1621, however, there was a reversal in attendance ratios as the number of Catholic peers who were either absent from Parliament, or made only fleeting visits, increased to one third, while the number of Protestant peers attending more than six sittings increased by one quarter over the previous Parliament, owing largely to the creation of several new titles.⁴⁵ In 1624 the disparity increased even further with only 16 Catholic peers, 50 per cent, attending compared with 82 per cent of Protestant peers.

In the above I have tried to give a fairly general representation of the extent of Catholic participation in Jacobean Parliaments through a comparison with the attendance of Protestant peers, and with an emphasis on James I's first Parliament. To attribute any single reason either for the higher Catholic attendance at the beginning of the reign or for its decline in the second half is unrealistic, but part of the explanation may be discerned from an examination of the attendance of senior members of the House.

Apart from the bishops whose attendance was consistently far higher than the secular lords, the most frequent attenders were senior government officials and other members of the Privy Council whose average attendance was 75 per cent, and sometimes 100 per cent, despite the fact that some were often called away by the king in order to attend to other business. Because of their higher attendance rate it should be possible to shed some light on the reason for the overall decline in Catholic attendance later in the reign. As discussed in Chapter 4, James retained all of Elizabeth I's privy councillors and several of her senior government officials remained in their posts⁴⁶ well into the new reign. On his accession James immediately appointed further 11 secular privy councillors, including four Scots. In 1604 therefore, there were 15 secular privy councillors in the House of Lords including nine with close associations to Catholicism, seven of whom held senior government and Crown offices.

The number of Catholic senior government officials in the House of Lords remained fairly constant throughout James's first two Parliaments although positions within the hierarchy altered on the death in 1608 of Thomas Sackville, first Earl of Dorset and Lord Treasurer, and the appointment in 1608 of Henry Howard, first Earl of Northampton as Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. Moreover, when Robert Cecil, first Earl of Salisbury died in 1612, the Treasury was put in commission comprising the Catholic

⁴⁵ See Table 1 above. This increase is discussed in the previous chapter.

⁴⁶ See Appendix 6.

Earls of Northampton, Suffolk, Worcester and Edward Wotton, first Baron Wotton together with the Protestant Edward Ia Zouche, eleventh Baron Zouche and Sir Fulke Greville.

After the Parliament of 1614 the number of Catholic peers holding senior government and Crown offices declined considerably as individuals either died, retired or became victim to the machinations of political or factional alignments, especially during the latter half of the reign. By the Parliament of 1621 the number of Catholic peers holding senior government offices had reduced to just three: Edward Somerset, fourth Earl of Worcester, Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, Ludovick Stuart, first Earl of Richmond, Lord Steward of the Household and Thomas Howard, fourteenth Earl of Arundel who was appointed Earl Marshal in the summer of 1621.⁴⁷ This was due largely to the death of Henry Howard, first Earl of Northampton in 1614 and the downfall of the Howards which brought with it the demise of William Knollys, first Viscount Wallingford, Suffolk's son-in-law. Another senior Catholic officeholder was Edward Wotton, first Baron Wotton who resigned from his office of Treasurer of the Household in 1618.

Because of the customary higher than average attendance rate of government officials, this downward trend was reflected in the overall attendance of Catholic members of the House of Lords, and helps to explain why there was such a disparity in attendance between Parliaments of 1604-10 and 1614 and those of 1621 and 1624. It does not explain, however, why James did not appoint more Catholics to senior positions in court and government, but from the evidence of later appointments, it is clear that some of the answers might be found in the sway of Buckingham who certainly had a hand in the appointment of successive Lords Treasurer: Henry Montagu, Viscount Maundeville and Lionel Cranfield, Earl of Middlesex.

47

R. Malcolm Smuts, 'Howard, Thomas, fourteenth Earl of Arundel, fourth Earl of Surrey, and first Earl of Norfolk (1585–1646)' in *ODNB*.

Consideration of the Privy Council as a whole reveals a similar pattern. The number of Catholic privy councillors at the beginning of James's reign was 11,⁴⁸ representing half the total secular membership of 22. These proportions were not, however, sustained as the composition of the Privy Council changed radically during the reign when individuals died or were expelled and others appointed. Indeed, five had already died before the end of James I's first Parliament, three of whom were Catholic.⁴⁹ Not all privy councillors were appointed to high office. For instance, Gilbert Talbot, seventh Earl of Shrewsbury, a senior Catholic peer who died in 1616, was one of the most regular attenders, averaging 83 per cent attendance in the Parliaments of 1604-10 and 1614. In 1604 Henry Percy, ninth Earl of Northumberland attended 63 per cent of sittings before his committal in 1606 for his alleged involvement in the gunpowder plot, and Francis Manners, sixth Earl of Rutland attended 64 per cent of sittings following his appointment to the Privy Council in 1617. The attendance of their Protestant colleagues on the Privy Council was much more variable with about half attending more than 60 per cent of sittings.

Of the initial Catholic councillors in the House of Lords only Edward Somerset, fourth Earl of Worcester still held a senior government office, and while Thomas Howard, first Earl of Suffolk, William Knollys, first Viscount Wallingford and Edward Wotton, first Baron Wotton retained their seats on the Privy Council until 1625,⁵⁰ by 1624 their attendance in the House of Lords had reduced substantially.

As illustrated in Table 2.1 of Appendix 2, other Catholic peers were consistently high attenders. The most industrious was Edward Stourton, ninth Baron Stourton who, apart from the years he was excluded for his alleged involvement in the gunpowder plot, was present for 89 per cent of the sittings of the three Parliaments he attended.⁵¹ Even during the Parliament of 1624 when anti-Catholic sentiment was running at fever pitch, he attended 87 per cent of sittings, and continued to attend regularly well into

⁴⁸ This figure includes Sir John Fortescue, Chancellor of the Exchequer from 1589 to 1603.

⁴⁹ Thomas Sackville, first Earl of Dorset, Charles Blount, first Earl of Devonshire, George Clifford, third Earl of Cumberland, Edward Cromwell, third Baron Cromwell and Sir John Fortescue.

 ⁵⁰ April 1625, along with Lionel Cranfield, first Earl of Middlesex, Francis Bacon, first Viscount St.
 Alban and George Calvert, first Baron Baltimore. McClure: *Chamberlain*, Volume 2, 609.
 ⁵¹ 1604, 1621 and 1624.

the next reign, sitting on numerous committees, despite being reported in 1628 for making his Clerkenwell establishment available to the Jesuits.⁵² John Petre and his son William, the first and second Barons Petre, were also keen Parliament men attending over 75 per cent of sittings each, as was Theophilus Howard, Baron Howard of Walden who attended 79 per cent. Edward Neville, eighth (or first) Baron Abergavenny no doubt relished his seat in the Upper House after years of wrangling over his title, and attended 74 per cent of sittings, although his son and heir Henry, was less enthusiastic attending only once during the 1624 Parliament. It is clear from the above that, apart from Edward Stourton, ninth Baron Stourton, and some privy councillors, the most frequent attenders owed their title in one way or another to James I. This may not in itself surprising but some of these members of the Upper House were actively involved in supporting Jesuits and priests, and in the politics surrounding the appointment of a Catholic bishop.

Admittedly, the attendance rate of some peers was far from high; in fact it was often very mediocre with several Catholic peers regularly attending less than 50 per cent of sittings, including four who made just fleeting visits here and there, usually for the opening ceremony, and six who never attended at all. But notwithstanding the poor attendance record of some, I hope to have shown that for the first half of James I's reign at least, the general attendance of Catholic peers in the House of Lords was equal to, and sometimes higher than that of Protestant peers, particularly during the early parliamentary sessions. This is of real significance for the study of post Reformation Catholic segregation and isolation, and helps to show that Catholics were very much involved in the parliamentary arena. Certainly, the attendance of Catholic peers did decline during the Parliaments of 1621 and 1624, but I would suggest that to a large extent this represented a response to the prevailing impetus for war with Spain being pursued by Prince Charles and Buckingham, coupled with the climate of increased anti-Catholic sentiment stirred by events on the continent.

⁵²

Questier: Community, 427.

Indeed, avoidance was not uncommon in an age when it was not considered *de rigueur* to be seen opposing government policy. In 1603 Robert Cecil, first Earl of Salisbury expressed his concerns about potential avoidance at the forthcoming Parliament to his friend, Gilbert Talbot, seventh Earl of Shrewsbury 'from whence whosoever is absent I will protest they do it purposely because they wold say "No to y^e Union.'⁵³ As mentioned above, in 1610 peers failed to return after the summer recess owing to disaffection with the Great Contract, and it was the same scenario in the House of Commons when 'seeing so small a number there (for there were not 100) thought it convenient not to call the House at that time.'⁵⁴ Angela Britton suggested that on this occasion several peers also disregarded correct procedure for absenteeism by omitting to send their proxies,⁵⁵ although another plausible explanation is that the shortness of this session⁵⁶ did not allow time for all proxies to arrive, as happened in 1614.⁵⁷

Nevertheless, all this sits well with the emphasis on 'unity' and 'harmony' pursued by revisionist historians,⁵⁸ but bearing in mind this was an era when personal advancement depended on the goodwill and influence of a powerful patron in the government or at court, it is possible that some peers chose to adopt the tactic of avoidance as a means of sidestepping blatant opposition to government policy. Furthermore, in 1624 even some of the peers who were in favour of war were faced with the real dilemma of having to choose between loyalty to the king, or to Prince Charles and Buckingham. Perhaps like Fulke Greville, first Baron Brooke, 'they opted for a strategy of evasion.'⁵⁹

Bearing in mind the meagre attendance rate of a sizeable proportion of peers, it is worthwhile examining the procedures that were in place to deal with absence, how these procedures worked in practice and how and to what extent peers were still able

⁵³ J. Nichols (Ed.), *The Progresses, Processions and Magnificent Festivities of King James the First, His Royal Consort, Family and Court,* Volume I (London: 1828) 301. (Kessinger Publishing's Legacy Reprints).

⁵⁴ Foster: *Commons 1610*, 296.

⁵⁵ Britton: *House of Lords,* 209.

⁵⁶ This session sat for only 21 days.

⁵⁷ *HMC Hastings,* Volume 4, 285-286.

⁵⁸ Russell: *Nature of a Parliament*, 132-133; Sharpe: *Perspective*, 16-17.

⁵⁹ John Gouws, 'Greville, Fulke, first Baron Brooke of Beauchamps Court (1554–1628)', in *ODNB*.

to have a voice in Parliament. It is also worthwhile exploring some of the reasons why peers generally did not attend Parliament, as there were numerous extraneous factors that could influence peers' attendance in the Upper House, consideration of which might help to assuage their poor reputation.

Should a peer wish to be absent from Parliament he was required to obtain a licence from the king, which included the right to bestow a proxy on another member of the House. Only Lords that were present were able to receive proxies on behalf of an absent member. If the proctor was subsequently absent then the proxy became void. This issue was raised in 1626 by the Committee for Privileges during their deliberations over whether the imprisonment in the Tower of Thomas Howard, fourteenth Earl of Arundel during a Parliament breached the privileges of the House.⁶⁰ In his report to the House, William Seymour, second Earl of Hertford said that the validity of those proxies given to a peer who did not sit himself had been questioned because it was found that the House had been 'deprived of Five Suffrages, by the Absence of the Earl of Arundell, to whom they were intrusted.⁶¹

During the Jacobean period peers were free to bestow their proxy on whichever member they chose as long as the consent of the chosen member had first been obtained. The proxies that were bestowed and received during the Parliaments of James I have been collated and are shown in Tables 2.3 and 2.4 of Appendix 2. There was no limit on the number of proxies a lord could hold, but in 1626 the proxy system was reformed when the Committee for Privileges presented an order to the House

⁶⁰ Arundel, together with William Herbert, third Earl of Pembroke, Bishop John Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, Dean of Westminster and Lord Keeper of the Great Seal and George Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury had provoked Charles's displeasure during the 1625 parliament by manoeuvring against Buckingham. Subsequently, Arundel's eldest son, Henry Frederick, eloped with the king's ward Lady Elizabeth Stuart, daughter of Esmé Stuart, third Duke of Lennox, whom Charles had planned was to marry Archibald, Lord Lorne. Charles blamed Arundel for his son's offence and was ejected from the Council, arrested and committed to the Tower while the young couple were confined at Lambeth under the supervision of Archbishop Abbot. Following peers' protests, during which they refused to consider any other business until Arundel was permitted to take his seat, Charles gave way. R. Malcolm Smuts, 'Howard, Thomas, fourteenth Earl of Arundel, fourth Earl of Surrey, and first Earl of Norfolk (1585–1646)' in *ODNB*; Gordon Goodwin, rev. J. T. Peacey, 'Howard, Henry Frederick, fifteenth Earl of Arundel, fifth Earl of Surrey, and second Earl of Norfolk (1608–1652)' in *ODNB*.

⁶¹ *LJ*, Volume 3 (1620-1628) 551-554. See also Gardiner: *Debates 1624 and 1626*, 139.

that no Lord should receive more than two proxies. ⁶² During the reign of James I it was customary for bishops to grant their proxies to fellow bishops and peers to grant proxies to peers.⁶³ Although it was quite common for a bishop to bestow his proxy on more than one of his colleagues, generally speaking peers nominated just one proctor.⁶⁴ Proxies were then registered with the clerk or his assistant when the House was called, usually on the third day of a new session. The decision to use proxies was made by the House after votes had been counted, presumably in circumstances when the result was close.⁶⁵

An examination of proxies, to whom they were given and by who, and how they were used, should give us some clues about groupings in the House of Lords, the extent of Catholic cohesion and the nature of cross-confessional relationships, as well as highlighting the importance of patron/client relationships.

Peers usually bestowed their proxies on friends and family, or someone they could depend upon to use the proxy in accordance with their wishes. In 1624, for instance, Edward la Zouche, eleventh Baron Zouche, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, on giving his proxy to William Herbert, third Earl of Pembroke, a fellow privy councillor, 'begged' him 'to protect the privileges of these towns'.⁶⁶ Angela Britton observed that for James's first two Parliaments the majority of proxies were given to privy councillors⁶⁷ and indeed this trend seems to have persisted throughout the reign. As mentioned above, the attendance of privy councillors was generally high, so absent peers could feel fairly confident that their votes had a reasonable chance of being counted when required. This practice is particularly evident in the inordinate numbers of proxies bestowed on the two most powerful patrons of the reign, Robert Cecil, first Earl of

⁶² *LJ*, Volume 3 (1620-1628) 506-507. See also Elsyng: *Manner*, 132.

⁶³ In 1626 the Committee for Privileges presented an order to the House that confirmed this practice. *LJ V*olume 3 (1620-1628) 506-507. See also Elsyng: *Manner*, 132. There was an exception in 1624 when Mervyn Touchet, twelfth Baron Audley, a Catholic, gave his proxy to the Lord Keeper, Bishop John Williams an advocate of continued negotiations with Spain. *LJ*, Volume 3 (1620-1628) 205.

In 1593 Henry Hastings, second Earl of Huntingdon nominated William Cecil, first Baron
 Burghley and Robert Devereux, second Earl of Essex. *LJ*, Volume 2 (1578-1614) 168-169.

Elsyng: *Method*, 118.

⁶⁶ Foster: *Lords 1604-1649*, 20.

Britton: *House of Lords*, 6.

Salisbury and George Villiers, first Duke of Buckingham and, to a slightly lesser extent, Henry Howard, first Earl of Northampton. On the other hand, Buckingham's attendance rate was far below average which suggests that those who chose to appoint him as their proctor, did so for reasons other parliamentary votes. At least three of the peers who appointed Buckingham as their proctor, Francis Norris, first Earl of Berkshire, and Christopher and John Roper, second and third Barons Teynham, owed their titles to him.⁶⁸

The evidence does suggest, however, that some peers generally preferred to nominate the most senior or influential member of government. In 1601, following the deaths of Sir Francis Walsingham, principal secretary, William Cecil, first Baron Burghley and Robert Devereux, second Earl of Essex; Charles Howard, first Earl of Nottingham emerged as Elizabeth I's favourite councillor and his position is reflected in the fact that he received nine of the 17 proxies bestowed in that Parliament.⁶⁹ In previous Parliaments the majority of proxies had been given to Essex and Burghley. In 1604 proxies were quite evenly distributed, but as soon as it became clear that Robert Cecil, first Earl of Salisbury had emerged as the main source of influence and power, in subsequent parliamentary sessions the number of proxies bestowed on him was far greater than any other peer. Francis Clifford, fourth Earl of Cumberland who appointed Buckingham in 1621 and 1624 had appointed Salisbury in 1605. William and Edward Bourchier, third and fourth Earls of Bath also successively appointed Buckingham in 1621 and 1624 while the third Earl had previously appointed Salisbury, as had Ralph Eure, fourth Baron Eure,⁷⁰ the father of William who appointed Buckingham in 1621.

As mentioned above, William Eure, fifth Baron Eure, was a Catholic and it is significant that in 1624 he changed allegiance to Buckingham's father-in-law, the Catholic Francis Manners, sixth Earl of Rutland, who opposed termination of the Spanish marriage Treaty. In 1624 Thomas Darcy, first Viscount Colchester also changed his choice of

⁶⁸ See Table 1.5 of Appendix 1.

⁶⁹ *LJ,* Volume 2 (1578-1614) 226-227.

⁷⁰ In October 1610 he changed his proctor, choosing instead the Lord Chancellor, Thomas Egerton, Baron Ellesmere, possibly because he opposed the Great Contract.

proctor from Ludovick Stuart, first Earl of Richmond a favourer of war and cessation of the Spanish marriage Treaty, to Rutland. In 1621 and 1624 the Catholic peers George Talbot, ninth Earl of Shrewsbury and Thomas Arundell, Baron Arundell of Wardour gave their proxies to the Thomas Howard, fourteenth Earl of Arundel, another peer who opposed war.

Another politically active Catholic was Anthony Maria Browne, second Viscount Montague. In 1604 he nominated William Parker, fifth (or first) Baron Monteagle, the brother-in-law of Francis Tresham one of the gunpowder conspirators. John Lumley, sixth (or first) Baron Lumley nominated Thomas Darcy, third Baron Darcy of Chiche in the three successive Parliaments of 1597, 1601 and 1604, and then moved his allegiance to the more influential Henry Howard, first Earl of Northampton,⁷¹ while William Paulet, fourth Marquess of Winchester chose Edward Somerset, fourth Earl of Worcester on four occasions, Thomas Howard, first Earl of Suffolk once and his son, John Paulet, Baron St. John of Basing in 1624.⁷²

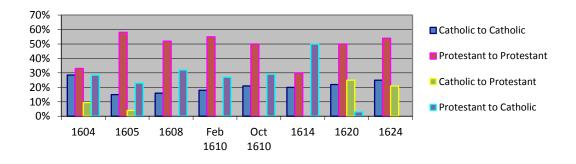


Table C The Distribution of Proxies

As illustrated by Table C above, it was not unusual for proxies to be bestowed on peers of a contrary religious outlook as kinship and patronage alliances could transcend differences in religion. In this respect Thomas Darcy, third Baron Darcy of Chiche, received the proxy of his cousin, the more puritan inclined Robert Rich, third Baron

⁷¹ John Lumley, first Baron Lumley died in 1609. He nominated Northampton as his proctor in 1605 and 1608. Northampton was the brother of Thomas Howard, fourth Duke of Norfolk, Lumley's brother-in-law.

⁷² Edward Somerset, fourth Earl of Worcester was Master of the Horse, and Thomas Howard, first Earl of Suffolk, at the time of his nomination, was Lord Chamberlain of the Household.

Rich, and Gilbert Talbot, seventh Earl of Shrewsbury received that of his son-in-law Henry Grey, eighteenth Earl of Kent.

As peers were required to obtain permission from the king to be absent from Parliament, a formal record was kept in the *LJ*. Table 2.2 of Appendix 2 lists all the entries relating to peers' absence that are contained in the *LJ* for each of the four Parliaments of the reign, and reflects the difference in style of the three clerks, Thomas Smith, Robert Bowyer and Henry Elsyng. Smith and Bowyer recorded more detail than Elsyng who merely recorded that peers had 'leave of absence.' On the one occasion that Elsyng did record that a peer was 'excused, by reason of his Sickness, and hath Leave to be absent,' ⁷³ it was in connection with the Henry Wriothesley, third Earl of Southampton who, as discussed above, had been precluded from taking his seat.

The most common excuse that is evident from the *LJ* was ill health of which there seems to have been spates at the beginning and end of 1606, in 1614 and at the beginning of 1621. It is tempting to assume that the reports of illness in 1606 were a smoke screen for avoidance by Catholic peers in the aftermath of the gunpowder plot, but none of the peers listed are among the Catholic peers identified in this thesis. There was certainly plague in the City at this time as the absence of Henry Clinton, second Earl of Lincoln was excused 'by Reason the Sickness of the Plague was in an Alley near adjoining to his Lordship's House.'⁷⁴ Indeed, James I's first Parliament had to be postponed because of such an outbreak in 1603. Adverse weather conditions also affected attendance. During the final days of the first session of Parliament in 1610, Sir Edwin Sandys complained

the 4 elements have mustered themselves to bring a curse to this kingdom. What great fires have there been in many great towns of this kingdom. The air how wonderfully hath it been infected that the plague hath so spread itself into most parts. How have the waters raged and burst forth that never in our times, nay long before we were, hath there been heard of the like inundation ... The seasons so unseasonable that our

⁷³ *LJ,* Volume 3 (1620-1628) 163-164.

⁷⁴ *LJ*, Volume 2 (1578-1614) 382-383.

winters have been like our usual springs, springs summer, summer autumn and autumn winter.⁷⁵

There were other genuine reasons for absence from Parliament, including attendance on the king's business, accompanying him on one of his many hunting trips,⁷⁶ attending to business at home, family illness and bereavement or undertaking embassies abroad. In 1625 Philip Wharton, third Baron Wharton was excused because he was 'aged and weakly.'⁷⁷

It was quite typical for the House to be sparsely occupied on the one or two days either side of an Easter or Christmas adjournment. On two of the occasions that the king admonished the House, in 1606 and 1610, attendance was particularly poor after the Easter break as many peers only gradually returned to Westminster. On 18th December 1606, the final day before the Christmas break, he not only admonished the Lords 'for their more diligent Attendance in Parliament' but also reminded members that although he 'had been pleased graciously to grant Licence, in the Beginning of this Session' to certain Lords,

for their Absence, in regard either of Sickness or Business, His Majesty's Meaning was not that thereby Advantage should be taken for a continual Absence; but that, upon Recovery of Health, and Dispatch of their Business, they should give their Attendance; and that such as had their Proxies should give them Notice thereof.⁷⁸

On this occasion, although the five peers licensed to be absent at the beginning of the session⁷⁹ had subsequently returned, it would appear that two chose to start their Christmas break early, along with several others.⁸⁰

⁷⁵ Foster: *Lords 1610,* 159-160.

⁷⁶ On 1st May 1606 Thomas Gerard, first Baron Gerard was absent because he 'was to make his present Repair unto *New Market*, there to give his Attendance on the King's Majesty's Person....'. *LJ*, Volume 2 (1578-1614) 421-422.

⁷⁷ *C.S.P. Domestic,* James I (1623-1625) Volume 158, 144-157.

⁷⁸ *LJ*, Volume 2 (1578-1614) 467-468.

⁷⁹ Richard Fiennes, seventh Baron Saye and Sele, Charles Howard, first Earl of Nottingham, Edmund Sheffield, third Baron Sheffield, John Stanhope, first Baron Stanhope of Harrington, Edward Wotton, first Baron Wotton.

⁸⁰ *LJ,* Volume 2 (1578-1614) 465-468.

At stake were two of the major issues of the reign, the Union and the Great Contract, and James was clearly concerned that these matters should be given the attention he felt they deserved. In April 1610 James not only remonstrated with the House through the Lord Chancellor 'His displeasure for the negligent Attendance of the Members,' he also made it clear that 'He taketh it in ill Part that His Service in that Behalf is so much neglected.' The House was then reminded of the wording of their Writ of attendance and of the 'Greatness of the Contempt, which, by infringing thereof, is committed.'⁸¹ But James was not the only early modern monarch who felt compelled to issue such commands to errant peers.⁸² In 1597 William Cecil, first Baron Burghley, Elizabeth's Lord Treasurer

moved the House, That such Lords as were absent from the Parliament, and had not sent their Proxies, and such others as had made their Appearance in the Beginning of the Parliament, and have since neglected their Attendance, may be admonished to reform the same.⁸³

In 1601 the Gentleman Usher was directed to seek out and admonish 'such Lords as are absent from the Parliament, and have not sent their proxies.'⁸⁴ During the reign of Charles I the House expressed its impatience by agreeing in 1626 that 'an Order shall be drawn and set down, whereby all Lords may know the Danger they incur by being absent at the First Meeting of Parliament, except they have Leave from the King.'⁸⁵

During a Parliament a great deal of time was spent dealing with issues that concerned only specific interest groups or a few individuals. It is possible, therefore, that certain members might have found much of the subject matter irrelevant thereby obviating their need to attend. Towards the end of the last Parliament of Elizabeth I in 1601, the queen evidently thought too much time had been spent on private issues and admonished members to attend only to public business.⁸⁶

⁸¹ *ibid.* 579-580.

⁸² Angela Britton has argued erroneously that the practice by the Crown of trying to enforce attendance was introduced after 1603. Britton: *House of Lords,* 11.

⁸³ *LJ*, Volume 2 (1578-1614) 196-197.

⁸⁴ *ibid.* 231-232.

⁸⁵ *LJ*, Volume 3 (1620-1628) 506-507.

⁸⁶ *LJ*, Volume 2 (1578-1614) 246-247.

Towards the end of Elizabeth's last Parliament in 1601, the queen evidently thought too much time had been spent on private issues and admonished members to attend only to public business:

The Lord Keeper did signify unto their Lordships, That he received Commandment from Her Majesty, to let them understand Her Pleasure to be, That the Parliament shall end upon *Thursday* the 17th, or *Friday* the 18th of this Instant, at the farthest; to the End their Lordships may repair Home into their Countries against *Christmas*; and therefore she required them to employ and spend that Time which remaineth in Matters concerning the Publick, and not in private Causes.⁸⁷

James too was very critical of private acts because they occupied too much parliamentary time,⁸⁸ and was compelled on several occasions to direct peers, through the Lord Chancellor, to attend and to follow the correct procedure by procuring his special licence which was entered at the Signet Office⁸⁹ and sending a proxy if they were unable to be present.

From the above it is clear that in general terms, peers' reputation for poor parliamentary attendance is justified. However, this chapter has shown that the attendance of Catholic peers was largely comparable with that of Protestants. Much of the downturn in their attendance can be attributed to a corresponding decline in the number of Catholics in the House coupled with generational shifts that converged with religious and political tensions brought about by events on the continent and the Spanish marriage negotiations, as well as more mundane factors such as dismissal from senior government office, ⁹⁰ old age⁹¹ and ill health.⁹²

⁸⁷ *LJ, V*olume 2 (1578-1614) 246-247.

⁸⁸ McIlwain: *Political Works of James I*, 277 & 288.

⁸⁹ Foster: *Lords 1604-1649*, 19.

⁹⁰ For example, Thomas Howard, first Earl of Suffolk who was dismissed from his office as Lord Treasurer in 1618 having been charged with embezzlement.

⁹¹ Edward Somerset, fourth Earl of Worcester, William Knollys, first Viscount Wallingford and Edward Wotton, first Baron Wotton were over 70 years old in 1621.

⁹² William Parker, thirteenth Baron Morley and fifth (or first) Baron Monteagle died in 1622, so his low attendance in 1621 was possibly due to ill health.

The exceptional circumstances of the first Parliament of James I, the restoration of the Howards and the promotion of Catholics to the English peerage, augured well for the future of English Catholicism. It is understandable therefore, why the attendance of Catholic peers in the House of Lords was so high in the early years of James I's reign. Those who did not attend were still able to participate in the proceedings by nominating a proctor who was often carefully chosen from those who shared the same religious or political view. Proxies could therefore used for political purposes although there was no guarantee that they would be counted in any voting procedures. More often, though, proxies were bestowed on family members or individuals who wielded the most power such as Salisbury and Buckingham. There is no real evidence of Catholic peers acting together by avoiding *en bloc*, although it is clear from their bestowal of proxies that there was a sense of Catholic cohesion. On the other hand Catholic peers also bestowed their proxies on Protestants as did Protestant peers on Catholics, thereby reinforcing the notion an integrated English society.

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Imaginary View of the Painted Chamber, Westminster by William Capon (1757-1827) (Reproduced under Licence from the Bridgeman Art Library)

CHAPTER 6

THE CATHOLIC PEERAGE AND COMMITTEES

This chapter will build on the theme of Catholic participation in Jacobean Parliaments by exploring their involvement in the committees of the House of Lords. The discussions will focus on two main premises. The first is that every Catholic peer who attended the House of Lords at some time during the period (other than those who only made the odd sporadic appearance), was appointed to committees. Even during the Parliaments of 1621 and 1624 which saw a dramatic dip in attendance as a whole, Catholics were still very much in evidence in the records of committee appointments contained in *U*, albeit on a reduced scale. Secondly, Catholics were appointed to every type of committee from private bills to those dealing with more weighty issues.

As parliamentary committees played a central role in managing the work of the House, it is within this milieu that much of the detail of members at work is in evidence. It is also where Catholic peers would have had the opportunity to respond to the myriad of issues that arose, and make a real contribution to the proceedings of the House and to some of the important decision-making of the period. By asking some fairly basic questions about their involvement in committees, it is possible to demonstrate that Catholics played a full and inclusive role in all aspects of the business of the House of Lords. For instance, how many Catholics were nominated to committees and what types of committees were they were appointed to? Were they able to wield any influence? Were they excluded, either collectively or individually, from any committees or did they decline to sit? Is it possible to discern whether they actually attended the committee meetings? Finally, is it possible to identify any factors that may have determined how many and to which committees Catholic peers were appointed?

The answers to these questions will not only tell us about Catholics at work in Parliament but also, as no comprehensive study exists of the personnel involved in the committees of the House of Lords, they will increase our understanding of this

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important component of parliamentary procedure and of Jacobean Parliaments generally. The significance of all this becomes even more apparent when set against the backdrop of the extraordinary challenges that confronted the Parliaments of James I. The proposed Union of England and Scotland, the aftermath of the gunpowder plot, the Great Contract, the Oath of Allegiance controversy, the Spanish marriage negotiations, war, and the plethora of religious issues all affected the lives of English Catholics, and were all debated by committees in the House of Lords.

In order to provide some context the first part of this chapter will discuss the structure of committees and their function. Then, with the help of a database of tables and charts,¹ the main body will address the questions outlined above in three stages. The emphasis will, of course, be on Catholic peers but for the purposes of clarity will include some comparative analysis involving Protestant peers. In general terms the first stage will examine the overall numbers and reflect on the changing nature of Catholic involvement, and the second will examine the nomination of Catholic peers to some of the committees that considered the important issues of the day. The final stage will identify some links between the official and personal responsibilities and interests of members of the Upper House and the committees to which they were nominated. On a technical note, in early modern parlance a 'committee' was an individual member assigned to perform a specific function either with other committees i.e., individuals, or alone. However, unless required to retain the integrity of a citation, this thesis will use the term in its modern style i.e., to describe a collective group.

When the first Parliament of James I met on 19th March 1604 the committee structure in the House of Lords consisted of just one category - select committees. These were appointed to deal with specific matters that concerned a broad range of issues from private bills, to religion, and those affecting the nation state, privilege, procedure, grievances, petitions, and even conveying messages to and from the king and, from 1621, judicature. Select committees were also appointed to attend conferences with

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See Appendix 3.

the House of Commons which were increasingly used to expedite important business or to resolve difficulties with bills or major projects such as the Union and Great Contract. These were between a large proportion of the members of each House, (usually consisting of twice as many members from the House of Commons as from the Lords). Sometimes, sub-committees, or joint committees were appointed to undertake more detailed work that had arisen such as drafting bills or bringing matters to fruition when an impasse had been reached. The size of committees varied considerably depending on the weight of the matter in hand, and according to Henry Elsyng, comprised members nominated 'promiscue by any of the Lords.'² In certain circumstances the numbers might be increased at a later date,³ but when this occurred the names of those newly appointed were usually recorded. Occasionally a peer might ask to be excused from sitting on a committee,⁴ or anyone with an interest in a particular matter might also be invited to attend.

The committee system also presented members of the House of Lords with an opportunity to try to influence the progress of the issues in hand for both political and personal ends. It is widely acknowledged that some bills were left to 'sleep' once they reached the House of Lords and sometimes attempts would also be made to block bills even before they had reached the committee stage. Angela Britton suggested that Archbishop Bancroft deliberately hindered the progress of certain ecclesiastical bills by failing to ensure the committees actually met.⁵ Among the letters contained in *HMC Portland* is one dated 1608 from Henry Percy, ninth Earl of Northumberland entreating his friend Sir John Holles on behalf of his sister, 'to be against the Bill that is come into the House for the returning the land back to the king for want of heirs male' and 'to use your power in defending a poor lady from ruin.'⁶ And in 1629 Michael Oldsworth , secretary to William Herbert, third Earl of Pembroke wrote to Sir John Eliot asking him to prevent the second reading of a private bill, called Brookers Bill, which concerned

² Elsyng: *Method*, 114-115.

³ *LJ*, Volume 2 (1578-1614) 408-409.

⁴ Inner Temple, Petyt Manuscripts 538/7, fols. 205v and 231v, 1621. See also Relf: *Debates*, 20-21.

⁵ Britton: *House of Lords*, 239.

⁶ *HMC Portland*, Volume 9, 156.

the settlement of land in Kent.⁷ Even after the committee stage attempts could be made to halt or postpone the passage of a bill. On 22nd November 1610, at the suggestion of Gilbert Talbot, seventh Earl of Shrewsbury whom Henry Hastings, fifth Earl of Hastings recorded as 'moovinge my Lord Chancellor in his eare'⁸ a bill for making good leases and grants made by Prince Henry was for an unknown reason, apart that is 'upon some matter by his Lordship suddenly apprehended,'⁹ stayed in the middle of its third reading until the following Saturday, 24th November.

On the other hand, it was also customary for members of familial, kinship and client groups to rally round in order to steer private bills through the committee stage. So, for instance, the committees appointed in 1604 to consider the restitution of Thomas Howard, fourteenth Earl of Arundel¹⁰ and his uncle William, Lord Howard of Naworth,¹¹ a proposed exchange of lands between Trinity College, Cambridge and Sir Thomas Monson,¹² and the sale of land by Anthony Maria Browne, second Viscount Montague in 1621 and 1624¹³ all contained a high proportion of friends, relatives and associates. Indeed, in his study of the parliamentary influence of Charles Howard, first Earl of Nottingham, R. W. Kenny illustrated how the committees appointed to consider matters of immediate interest to his family consisted largely of members of the Earl's circle.¹⁴ The significance of all of this is that it establishes that members of both Houses were able to implement a variety of measures in an effort to influence the outcome of certain issues. This is, of course, particularly important in the context of this thesis because Catholics too were able to take advantage of these devices, potentially giving them the opportunity to influence the progress of the issues in hand.

⁷ Harold Hulme, *The Life of Sir John Eliot, 1592 to 1632: Struggle for Parliamentary Freedom* (London: George Allen & Unwin Limited, 1957), 305.

⁸ *HMC Hastings,* Volume 4, 228.

⁹ Foster: *Lords* 1610, 255.

¹⁰ *CJ*, Volume 1 (1547-1629) 161-162 and 2 April 1604 (second scribe).

¹¹ *ibid.* 208-210 and 5 May 1604 (second scribe).

¹² First nominee of Henry Howard, first Earl of Northampton (1540-1614) in 1604, and nominee of Thomas Howard, first Earl of Suffolk (1561-1626) at Castle Rising at Cricklade in 1614.

¹³ LJ, Volume 3 (1620-1628) 131-132 and 253-255. Of those nominated to these committees, Richard Sackville third Earl of Dorset was his brother-in-law; John Paulet, Lord St. John of Basing was the brother of Montague's deceased son-in-law William Paulet, Lord Paulet (styled Lord St. John from 1598) and Henry Wriothesley, third Earl of Southampton was his cousin and a Protestant.

¹⁴ Kenny: *Nottingham*, 231.

A second category the 'committee of the whole House,' was introduced in 1606 to facilitate discussions on the Union when

it was thought the best and readiest Means for Speed, not to insist upon the usual and formal Order of the House, according to the Manner of speaking to Bills but to confer all together, and yet after the Manner of a Committee, and with the same Liberty of Speech that is usual in Committees, that every one may deliver his Mind and Meaning upon any Point, as Occasion may serve, by as often Speech as he will; ...¹⁵

This procedure was not used again until 1610 when negotiations were underway in connection with the Great Contract,¹⁶ but it became a regular feature thereafter. A committee of the whole House was the only occasion when no selection of individuals was made and all those present at the time the committee was agreed, or who chose to attend on subsequent days, were permitted to debate freely.

In 1621 two further developments occurred when both Houses began to meet together in conferences, and two standing committees were appointed. The first standing committee, to consider the 'Customs and Orders of this House, and of the Privileges of the Peers of the Kingdom and Lords of Parliament,' was appointed at the suggestion of Thomas Howard, fourteenth Earl of Arundel because, he contended, 'many privileges belonging to us and divers orders which weare anciently observed in this house that by disuse and want of puttinge in practise are now almost lost.'¹⁷ This committee dealt with all aspects of the privileges of peers and lords of Parliament as individuals and as members of Parliament, and the procedures and rights of the House itself. The second standing committee was appointed to consider petitions which varied enormously from those of little consequence to complaints (or appeals) against judgements in the many courts, local church practices and church officers, or administration of local government.¹⁸

¹⁵ *LJ*, Volume 2 (1578-1614) 456-457.

¹⁶ *ibid.* 555.

¹⁷ Lady de Villiers (Ed.), 'The Hastings Journal of the Parliament of 1621' in *Camden Miscellany, Volume 20, Camden Third Series, Volume 53* (London: Camden Society, 1953) 7.

¹⁸ For a detailed explanation of the work of the Committee for Petitions see *Foster: Lords 1604-1649*, 101-111.

So to what extent have historians already investigated parliamentary committees? Their importance as a vehicle for expediting parliamentary business has meant that enquiries into this area of parliamentary procedure have been essential for investigations of some of the important issues of the day, as well the careers of prominent individuals. Historians have, however, tended to shy away from systematic analyses of committees, their composition, attendance, and debates especially as they relate to the reign of James I and the House of Lords. While Elizabeth Read Foster¹⁹ offered some invaluable insights into procedural developments of the committee structure of the Upper House, and David Smith²⁰ provided a useful synopsis of the committee systems of both Houses, their primary objective was not concerned with the minutiae of committees at work or, indeed, the personnel involved. Similarly, Andrew Thrush has provided an outline of the House of Commons' committee system as part of the *Introductory Survey* of the 1603-1629 volumes of the History of Parliament project²¹ and, where possible, each subsequent biographical entry contains a rundown of members' committee appointments.

More particularly, the records of appointments to committees have been widely used to measure the importance and interests of individual members or groups. For Kenneth Fincham, a key feature of the leading role played by bishops in the House of Lords was that 'they sat on almost all standing and select committees.'²² Angela Britton also referred to the appointment of bishops to committees as evidence of their influence in the House,²³ while Linda Levy Peck saw the considerable committee work of Henry Howard, first Earl of Northampton, as evidence of his role as an important privy councillor and a conscientious parliamentarian.²⁴ David Smith has reminded us of the political uses to which committees could be put once established, arguing that 'the presence of privy councillors in each House and their appointment to committees could advance the Crown's interest whereas their paucity ... could give those critical of

¹⁹ *ibid.* 87-125.

²⁰ Smith: *Parliaments*, 71-75.

²¹ *HOP 1604-1629,* 307-311 and 342-365.

²² Fincham: *Prelate*, 59.

²³ Britton: *House of Lords,* 118-119.

²⁴ Levy Peck: *Northampton*, 175-180.

royal policies greater influence.²⁵ And for J. S. Flemion the 'disciplined organisation' of a group of 'opposition' peers in the 1620s ensured that their daily attendance in the Upper House far exceeded that of peers aligned to the Crown, enabling them to control debate and maximise their chances of being appointed to committees.²⁶

Assertions such as these are, however, too often based on the broad assumption that appointment to a committee equates with attendance. In his analysis of some 31 committee attendance lists for the House of Commons, Professor Chris Kyle has shown that this was not always the case, which has some resonance for the House of Lords. He has highlighted the error of relying entirely on the record kept by the Under Clerk which does not reflect what actually happened in the committees, how often they met and who attended.²⁷ These lists revealed what he described as 'a prodigious apathy amongst those named to committees' even among those who, on the face of things, had a vested interest in the matter in hand. Even the thorny issue of purveyance, a major bone of contention throughout this period, failed to attract more than three members to the 1624 committee.²⁸

Although we are denied the luxury of such lists for the Upper House, there is evidence that poor committee attendance was a recurring problem there too. In May 1621 Henry Wriothesley, third Earl of Southampton reported that the Bill relating to the Sabbath and Supersedeas had been unable to proceed the preceding afternoon because 'soe fewe appeared'. He suggested setting a quorum by moving that 'though the greater number meet not' the committee should proceed 'yf a considerable number appeare' though not a majority. But Lord Sheffield pointed out that '..... Committees have not proceeded here unless the major part meete;' a strong indication that the problem was by no means new. It was ordered that the quorum

²⁵ Smith: *Parliaments,* 73.

²⁶ Flemion: *Opposition*, 5-21.

²⁷ Kyle: *Parliamentary Committees*, 43-58.

²⁸ Chris R. Kyle, 'It will be a Scandal to Show What We Have Done with such a Number:' House of Commons Committee Attendance Lists, 1606-1628 in Chris R. Kyle (Ed.), *Parliament, Politics and Elections, 1604-1648* (London: Cambridge University Press, 2001) 179-235. The lists cover committees appointed to deal with local issues, private matters, trade, legal process as well as matters that concerned the commonweal such as purveyance and debt collection.

should be set at one third,²⁹ notwithstanding the fact that 39 of the 48 members nominated to this committee were recorded as being present in the House when these discussions were taking place. The question arose again later that year when, of the 48 lords nominated, only 18 attended the committee appointed to consider a bill against the exportation of money in gold or silver, (on this occasion barely half (25) of the nominees are recorded as being present that morning), and a general order was made that they could proceed if only 'ten or upwards of any Committee do meet (though not Half of their Number).'³⁰

It is my contention that for the House of Lords at least, it is important not to attribute poor attendance at committee meetings merely to indifference or apathy on the part of those appointed. I have already shown in the previous chapter how absence from Parliament could have political connotations. As it is clear that poor committee attendance could have a detrimental effect on the progress of a bill, and that the manipulation of committees was fairly commonplace, it seems reasonable to suppose that committee avoidance was yet another deliberate, albeit covert, means to impede a bill's progress or even to oppose a bill where it was deemed unwise to do so openly.

The remainder of this chapter will address the questions outlined above. The first task will be to assess the appointment of Catholics to committees generally over the four Parliaments. This will illustrate the numbers involved and, by highlighting the overall trend, will give a sense of change over time. Then more specifically, consideration will be given to the types of committees they were appointed to and, because of the numbers involved, this will be achieved by grouping the committees into three broad categories – key issues, religion and church issues and general issues. It is hoped that this analysis will demonstrate that Catholics were, for the first half of the reign at least, fully integrated in the parliamentary process through their appointment to committees several of which they actually dominated, as illustrated in Table A below.

Gardiner: *Debates 1621*, 53. A total of 48 members were appointed to the committee in question comprising George Villiers, first Marquess of Buckingham, 13 earls, 13 bishops and 21 barons.

³⁰ *LJ,* Volume 3 (1620-1628) 175-176.

	Catholics exceed Protestants	Catholics equal to Protestants	Protestants exceed Catholics	Total Number of Committees		
1604	20	16	32	68		
1606/7	23	9	83	115		
1610	8	5	43	56		
1621	2	0	59	61		
1624	2	0	91	93		

Table ADistribution of Committee Appointments 1604-1624

Of the 40 Catholic peers who attended the House of Lords at some time during the four Parliaments of James I, 35³¹ were able to play an active role in the proceedings through their appointment to committees. This figure equates to almost one third of all the members of the Upper House who were appointed to committees during this period.³² One of the clearest indications of the extent of Catholic appointments to committees can be derived from a comparison with their Protestant colleagues. By measuring the numbers of Protestant and Catholic members appointed to committees in each Parliament against the numbers recorded as being present in the House for at least one sitting,³³ Table B below highlights two important features of Catholic involvement. First, apart from 1624, as the numbers of Catholic peers appointed to committees to committees generally. And, in 1624, the reduced number of Catholic peers appointed to committees appointed to committees can be attributed to the fact that only 16 attended more

³¹ Those Catholic peers appointed to no committees were William Paulet, fourth Marquess of Winchester, Henry Neville, ninth (or second) Baron Abergavenny (succeeded 1622), Henry Parker, fourteenth Baron Morley and sixth (or second) Monteagle (succeeded 1622), John Roper, third Baron Teynham and Edward Vaux, fourth Baron Vaux (succeeded 1595).

According to my calculations 86 of the 92 Protestants who attended at some time during the course of the four parliaments, were appointed to committees.

³³ Because of the numerous shifts in personnel the first parliament of James I has been split into three sessions. Thomas Howard, third Viscount Howard of Bindon was appointed to a committee in 1604 even though he only attended three sessions, it has therefore been necessary to break with the previous calculation practice based on attendance of 6+ days.

than five sittings, thereby reducing the opportunity to be nominated. Secondly, Protestant peers as well as Catholic peers were appointed to no committees at all.

Parliamentary Session	Number of Protestant Peers in House	Number of Protestant Peers appointed to Committees	Number of Catholic Peers in House	Number of Catholic Peers appointed to Committees
1604	41	36	24	21
1606/7	45	41	21	20
1610	45	42	22	21
1614	41	33	21	20
1621	54	51	23	18
1624	52	47	21	14

Table B Numbers of Peers appointed to committees against numbers in the House

However, taking into account the increase in the number of Protestant peers, and that the number of opportunities available for nomination to committees was determined by the number and size of committees appointed in each session, it is evident from Table C below that individually some Catholic peers were being appointed to far fewer committees in 1621 and 1624. Nevertheless, it is also clear that during the Parliaments of 1604-10 and 1614 the appointment of Catholic peers to more than one third of committees was disproportionate to their actual number in the House compared with their Protestant colleagues.

Parliamentary Session	Prote	estant	Catholic				
	Number of peers	% of Protestant peers in House	Number of peers	% of Catholic peers in House			
1604	6	14½%	9	37½%			
1606/7	15	33%	9	43%			
1610	14	31%	7	32%			
1614	13	29%	8	38%			
1621	16	29%	3	9%			
1624	6	11½%	0	0%			

Table CNumbers appointed to over one third of Committees

These figures become more compelling when translated into percentage terms which show that the proportion of Catholic peers appointed to over one third of the committees actually exceeded that of Protestants throughout the 1604-1610 Parliament. As the Parliament of 1614 was somewhat of an anomaly owing to the reduced number of only eight committees, the data shows the percentage of peers appointed to over half the committees. Yet again the proportion of Catholic peers exceeded that of Protestants, even though Henry Howard, first Earl of Northampton, one of their most prominent members, was absent due to ill health.

By 1621 the size and character of the House of Lords had changed dramatically, as had the distribution of committee appointments, which is reflected in the percentage figures of those appointed to over one third of committees. From the total of 23 Catholic peers who took their seats in 1621, only three were appointed to over one third of the 62 committees, compared with 16 of the 54 Protestants. And, although nearly twice as many committees were appointed in the Parliament of 1624,³⁴ even Catholic senior privy councillors such as Thomas Howard, fourteenth Earl of Arundel, the Earl Marshal, or Edward Somerset, fourth Earl of Worcester, the Lord Privy Seal, were nominated to less than one third of the committees.

	1604	1606/7	1610	1621	1624
Catholic	3	1	0	3	3
Protestant	6	1	3	4	6

Table D35Numbers Appointed to No Committees

At the other end of the scale things did not change. Table D shows that throughout the four Parliaments, there were always some peers, both Protestant and Catholic, who were appointed to no committees. Furthermore, although by 1621 Catholic peers generally were no longer among the most prolific appointees to committees, they

According to my calculations 93 committees were appointed in 1624.

³⁵ As only eight committees were appointed in 1614 the data is not representative, so has not been included.

were not wholly excluded and more particularly, nor were they necessarily being singled out from their Protestant colleagues.

Because of the wide disparity in the scale of Catholic involvement in committees, the following discussions will consider some possible explanations based on the data contained in Table E below, which illustrates the extent of the decline in terms of individuals' participation in committees.

Much of the decline can be attributed to the inevitable corollary of the dip in Catholic attendance coupled with the increase in the number of Protestant peers discussed in the previous chapters. Another discernible difference between the earlier and later Parliaments is the reduction in the size of many of the committees, especially in 1624.³⁶ Other possible explanations include commonplace factors such as death, old age, illness or even relegation and retirement from senior government office. As mentioned in the previous chapter, three privy councillors and key committee appointees during the earlier Parliaments: Edward Somerset, fourth Earl of Worcester, William Knollys, Viscount Wallingford and Edward Wotton, Baron Wotton were over 70 years old in 1621. Meetings of committees could be long, recurring and arduous, as evidenced by complaints from members of the Commons who were required to stand during conferences.³⁷ Furthermore, by 1621 the influence of these individuals within the hierarchy had dwindled as they had each either relinquished or resigned from senior offices in the government. Thomas Howard, first Earl of Suffolk, as a privy councillor, was appointed to many committees in the earlier Parliaments, but following his downfall in 1618 his committee appointments reduced substantially. By reference to Table E it can be seen that some peers just stopped attending Parliament altogether. As William Parker, thirteenth Baron Morley and fifth (or first) Baron Monteagle died in 1622, his low attendance in 1621 was possibly due to ill health.

³⁶ See Table 3.8 of Appendix 3.

D. H. Willson (Ed.), *The Parliamentary Diary of Robert Bowyer 1606-1607* (Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1931) 158 and 232-233.

	1604		1606		1610		1614		1621		1624	
	С	Α	С	Α	С	Α	С	Α	С	Α	С	Α
Peers who 'drifted' away from Parliament	_			•								
Arundell, Thomas, Baron Arundell of Wardour (c. 1605)	-	-	8	50	5	50	1	12	-	А	-	A
Clifford, Francis, Earl of Cumberland (s.1605)	18	31	23	113	17	97	2	22	1	16	0	1
Somerset, Henry, Baron Herbert* ³⁸	8	50	24	64	4	17	0	1	-	A	0	A
Stanley, William, Earl of Derby	3	23	3	13	3	30	2	27	0	1	-	A
Wotton, Edward, Baron Wotton*	26	59	65	153	28	92	4	26	2	12	-	A
Peers' Reduced Committee Appointments	•											
Compton, William, Baron Compton, Earl of Northampton (c.1618)	14	51	31	90	3	30	4	26	11	80	6	68
Darcy, Thomas, Baron Darcy of Chiche* Viscount Colchester (c.1621)	8	38	22	116	4	24	1	20	0	14	0	13
Howard, Thomas, Earl of Suffolk	24	62	56	143	29	95	4	28	10	76	3	21
Knollys, William, Baron Knollys, Viscount Wallingford (c.1616)	36	70	77	156	34	98	7	28	0	9	10	45
Somerset, Edward, Earl of Worcester*	27	59	71	146	24	85	2	19	10	58	15	69
Successors' Reduced Committee Appointme	ents											
Manners, Francis, Earl of Rutland (s.1612) *	10	34	15	58	9	40	4	25	4	76	5	54
Neville, Henry, Baron Abergavenny (s. 1622)	10	34	52	160	10	70	1	24	7	71	0	2
Parker, Henry* Baron Morley & Monteagle (s.1622)	20	50	37	83	16	61	4	20	5	10	0	16
Petre, William, Baron Petre (s.1612) *	33	56	62	134	35	96	3	25	14	85	14	68
Windsor, Thomas, Baron Windsor (s.1605)*	12	43	Mi	nor	Mi	nor	3	26	7	64	2	14
Deceased												
Sackville, Thomas, Earl of Dorset (died 1608)	32	60	75	149	Protestant successor.							
Howard, Henry, Earl of Northampton (died 1614)	28	54	76	156	36 100 0 A No successor.							
Talbot, Gilbert, seventh Earl of Shrewsbury (died 1616)	33	62	64	141	29	102	5	24 Absent successo		sor.		

Table E39The Decline in Catholic Involvement in Committees

³⁸ An asterisk has been inserted against the names of those peers who were included in the 1624 petition against recusant officeholders.

³⁹ The figures shown in *italics* represent the data relating to peers' predecessors. 'C' = Committees. 'A' = Attendance.

Another factor in the decline of Catholic participation in committees is succession. By 1621 three Catholic privy councillors who had been key players in the 1604 Parliament, Thomas Sackville, first Earl of Dorset, Henry Howard, first Earl of Northampton and Gilbert Talbot, seventh Earl of Shrewsbury had died. Dorset's successor was his grandson Richard who did have some links to Catholicism, but in 1624 was being associated with the more puritan inclined Earls of Oxford, Warwick and Southampton,⁴⁰ Northampton had no successor and Shrewsbury's successor in 1621 was his fourth cousin, George Talbot, a Catholic priest.⁴¹ In addition, Henry Neville, the son of Edward Neville, eighth (or first) Baron Abergavenny who succeeded to his title in 1622, attended only two sittings in 1624. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that the overall figures for Catholic committee appointments declined significantly.

It is also clear that the next generation of Catholic peers were being nominated to far fewer committees than their predecessors. John Petre, first Baron Petre had been a regular committee appointee but his son, William, was appointed to only a few committees despite his above average attendance, and in 1622 Baron Morley and Monteagle was succeeded by his son Henry who was appointed to no committees at all.

It is contended here that the known Catholicism of some of these individuals, coupled with the uncertain religio-political climate that prevailed during the early 1620s, is almost certainly part of the reason for the decline. In the previous chapter I discussed the reports that were sent in 1624 to the Doge and Senate in Venice that some Catholic peers had refused to take the Oath of Allegiance and, although they only represent a handful of peers, their refusal does indicate that some of the second generation of James's Catholic peers were of a different calibre (in terms of being

 ⁴⁰ Henry de Vere, eighteenth Earl of Oxford, Robert Rich, first Earl of Warwick, Henry Wriothesley, third Earl of Southampton. Ruigh: *1624*, 187-188. In 1609 Dorset married Anne Clifford, daughter of George Clifford, third Earl of Cumberland. His uncle was Anthony Maria Browne, second Viscount Montague.

⁴¹ *GEC Peerage,* Volume 11, 717. He was a major benefactor of the Jesuits and chief founder with Duke Maximilian of Bavaria of the College at Liége. See also Thomas M. McCoog, 'Blount, Richard (c.1565–1638)', ODNB and Thomas M. McCoog, 'More, Henry (c.1587–1661)', ODNB.

more open about their confessional allegiance) than their predecessors for whom there is no such record.

Most of these peers were known Catholics and on 29th April 1624 it was reported that the

lower House have censured foure noblemen as unworthy to beare office, namelie the Earle of Rutland, lieutenant of the sh[ir]e, the Earle of Worchester, lord privie seale, the Earle of Northampton, president of Wales, the Lord Croope [sic], president of the Northe.⁴²

In addition, eight of the peers listed in Table E were denounced as popish officeholders in the list compiled by the House of Commons and presented to the Lords on 20th May 1624. Significantly though, despite the disapproval of their officeholdings by the Lower House, the Lords concluded that as a house of judicature their normal course was to 'proceed upon Oath; and to hear the Parties Defence' which shortness of time did not allow. If they publicly joined in the petition to the King they 'should strike deep into the Reputation of the Parties, and give His Majesty and the whole World Occasion to think that we did both judge and condemn before we had heard.' The Lords suggested that instead they should ask Prince Charles to acquaint the king with the petition privately. As a consequence Edward Somerset, fourth Earl of Worcester, Francis Manners, sixth Earl of Rutland and William Compton, first Earl of Northampton, together with Emanuel Scrope, eleventh Baron Scrope and William Petre, second Baron Petre continued to be appointed to committees.⁴³

But is it possible to perceive whether any limits were being imposed on Catholic members participating in committees, and what conclusions can be drawn from an examination of their involvement or otherwise? Part of the answer to the first question is that in James's first two Parliaments at least, no restrictions were placed on Catholics participating in committees. They were nominated to every category of committee from those dealing with more weighty matters, including all aspects of

⁴² Questier: *Dynastic Policy*, 266.

⁴³ *'LJ,* Volume 3 (1620-1628) 396-399.

religion, to private bills. The decline in the appointment of Catholic peers to committees, however, certainly suggests that by the early 1620s either the attitude of the House or that of the peers themselves may have changed.

One way to assess the extent of Catholic involvement is to consider the types of committees to which they were appointed, and how those appointments compare with Protestant peers. In order to maintain some control over the huge number of committees appointed across the four Parliaments, the following discussions will concentrate on three broad areas of committee work. The first of these will comprise key issues - the proposed Union between England and Scotland, the gunpowder plot and the Great Contract in the first Parliament of James I, the revival of the judicial function of the Lords in 1621 and the cessation of the marriage treaty between Prince Charles and the Infanta Maria Anna of Spain and preparations for war in 1624.⁴⁴ The second area will comprise the miscellaneous issues that fall under the general heading of 'religion and church issues.'⁴⁵ Finally, consideration will be given to the involvement of Catholic peers in the more general issues which covered a broad range of topics.⁴⁶

The Parliament of 1604-1610 The Union, the Gunpowder Plot and the Great Contract

In his opening speech to Parliament on 19th March 1604 James I set out his vision for a 'a sinceir and perfyte unioun'⁴⁷ 'of two ancient and famous kingdoms'⁴⁸ including a change to the royal style from 'King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland' to 'King of Great Britain.' The proposed union not only had profound implications for the political and legal infrastructure of England, it also provoked a great deal of interest among Catholic polemicists on both sides of the border.⁴⁹ English and Scottish Catholics were acutely aware that the recusancy laws in Scotland were far harsher than in England, hence the Scottish Jesuit, Alexander MacQuhirrie favoured the Union

⁴⁴ See Tables 3.10 and 3.11 of Appendix 3 for details of the appointment of Catholics to committees in these categories.

⁴⁵ See Table 3.12 of Appendix 3.

⁴⁶ See Tables 3.13 and 3.14 of Appendix 3.

⁴⁷ D, Masson (Ed.), *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, Volume 6 (1884) 596.

⁴⁸ C. H. Mcllwain, *Political Works of James* I, 271-272.

⁴⁹ Christopher Highey, *Catholics Writing the* Nation, 101-102.

in the belief that English law would become the law of the new united kingdom, thus easing the plight of Scottish Catholics. In England, however, both Catholics and moderate Protestants feared that closer ties with Scotland would result in the radical Presbyterianism of the Scottish kirk infiltrating south of the border.

Then, in the midst of the furore that had developed over the proposed Union, Parliament was confronted with the fallout from the gunpowder plot. This involved a review of the laws to ensure the preservation of religion, the monarchy and the state, more stringent legislation to deal recusants and seditious speeches against the King, as well as the punishment and attainder of those involved. By participating in the committees that dealt with these matters, Catholic peers were able to demonstrate their loyalty to the Crown and distance themselves from any association with the plot or the conspirators.

Finally, in 1610 Robert Cecil, first Earl of Salisbury who had taken over as Treasurer on the death of Thomas Sackville, first Earl of Dorset in 1608, introduced his ambitious long term scheme to resolve the Crown's financial woes once and for all. The Great Contract consisted of a two part programme of 'supply' in the form of subsidies amounting to £600,000 which would wipe out the debt, and 'support' of £200,000 a year in perpetuity for meeting both everyday needs and emergency expenses like the campaign in Ireland.⁵⁰ In return Salisbury offered to surrender 10 of the Crown's feudal 'incidents', or prerogatives, including purveyance and wardships.⁵¹ The inclusion of provisions to abolish wardships in the negotiations for the Great Contract gave the issue a dimension that had direct implications for peers, including Catholics, who had strong vested interests in both its abolition and retention. Since they held their lands as tenants in chief of the Crown, they were subject to the jurisdiction of the Court of Wards and Liveries,⁵² so many had themselves been wards.⁵³

⁵⁰ Foster: *Lords 1610*, 3-8; Foster: *Commons 1610*, 9-27; Gardiner: *Debates 1610*, 1-9.

⁵¹ *ibid.* 15-16.

⁵² If an heir was a minor (under 21 for a male heir, under 14 for an heiress) then the wardship of the heir, custody of their lands and the right to arrange their marriage passed to the monarch, until the heir came of age.

⁵³ For instance Edward de Vere, seventeenth Earl of Oxford, Roger Manners, fifth Earl of Rutland, Henry Wriothesley, third Earl of Southampton, George Clifford, third Earl of Cumberland,

found such honourable dealing of the Lord Burghley, then Master thereof, in his wardship, as he thought it better it should rest as it doth than to be altered or taken away. For greater favour is to be expected from the King whosoever falleth into his mercy than from a subject.

Salisbury agreed adding 'my lord Chamberlain and divers others in that House could witness how well they had been dealt with all in that court.'⁵⁴

But as a wardship was usually sold on to courtiers who could then sell them either to a ward's family or simply to the highest bidder at a considerable profit, peers could also benefit from this lucrative scheme.⁵⁵ For instance, Henry Howard, first Earl of Northampton was executor of the will of the Catholic Henry Windsor, fifth Baron Windsor who died in 1605 and was granted the wardship of Windsor's heir Thomas, for which he paid £570 but which he calculated to be worth £940. Northampton was also granted the wardship of his great nephew, George Berkeley, eighth Baron Berkeley and William, son Sir Thomas Culpepper a distant relative who was a member of a well-known recusant family. Peers also possessed their own wardships through tenants who were subject to the lords' feudal rights.⁵⁶ The Earls of Rutland, Pembroke, Cumberland, Warwick and Barons Rich and Berkeley were noted by Joel Hurstfield as peers who profited from their private wardships during the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.⁵⁷ Bishops too possessed private wardships. Bishop William James of Durham complained in 1610 that 'without these things I cannot entertain the judges or justices besides I have been at great charges to hang men in chains,' and

Edward Russell, fifth Earl of Bedford, and William Paget, fifth Baron Paget. See the relevant entries in the *ODNB*. George Berkeley, eighth Baron Berkeley and Thomas Windsor, sixth Baron Windsor who were minors in 1610, were both wards of the Henry Howard, first Earl of Northampton. Levy Peck: *Northampton*, 69. Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk and Edward Zouche, eleventh Baron Zouche were also wards. Foster: *Lords 1610*, 17. See also Hurstfield: *Queen's Wards*.

⁵⁴ Foster: *Lords 1610*, 17.

⁵⁵ Levy Peck: *Northampton,* 69 and 55.

⁵⁶ Foster: *Lords 1610*, 164.

⁵⁷ Roger Manners, fifth Earl of Rutland, William Herbert, third Earl of Pembroke, George and Francis Clifford, third and fourth Earls of Cumberland, Robert Rich, second Earl of Warwick and Robert Rich, third Baron Rich and Henry Berkeley, seventh Baron Berkeley. Hurstfield: *Queen's Wards*, 96-107.

Archbishop Bancroft added 'a caution that we may not be hurt that are of the poor clergy, which we shall be unless our wardships be considered.' In the House of Lords on 31st March 1610, Salisbury confirmed that 'if the King do depart and lose those tenures, then both myself and the rest of your Lordships shall lose your tenures and wardships that so depend of you.'⁵⁸

It was therefore clearly essential for Catholics to be involved in these issues. Table 3.10 of Appendix 3 lists the Catholic membership of the committees appointed to deal with them, and shows that of the 30 Catholic peers listed only Edward Morley, twelfth Baron Morley, and Edward Stourton, ninth Baron Stourton had no involvement, and 12 were nominated to committees in all three categories.

More particularly, all but two were appointed to committees dealing with the Union, and even though Henry Percy, ninth Earl of Northumberland, Anthony Maria Browne, second Viscount Montague, Henry Mordaunt, fourth Baron Mordaunt and Edward Stourton, ninth Baron Stourton had been implicated in the gunpowder plot,⁵⁹ 12 of the 21 Catholic peers present in 1606 were nominated to committees dealing with matters pertaining to that particular issue. The five Catholic peers who were not appointed to these committees were not alone, however, as they were joined by several Protestant peers.⁶⁰

In 1610 when proceedings were dominated by the Great Contract, 16 Catholic peers were nominated to committees appointed to confer with the Lower House about that issue. To illustrate the real extent of these committee appointments Table F below shows them in terms of their percentage of the total secular committee membership

⁵⁸ Foster: *Lords 1610,* 57.

⁵⁹ These peers were all imprisoned in the Tower. Henry Percy, ninth Earl of Northumberland was not released until 16th July 1621. Mark Nicholls, 'Percy, Henry, ninth Earl of Northumberland (1564–1632)' in *ODNB*. Anthony Maria Browne, second Viscount Montague was released on 20th August 1606 probably through the intercession of his father-in-law, Thomas Sackville, first Earl of Dorset. *C.S.P. Domestic,* James I (1603-1610) Volume 23, 328-336. Henry Mordaunt, fourth Baron Mordaunt was released on 3rd June 1606. *GEC Peerage*, Volume 9 (1953), 197. Edward Stourton, ninth Baron Stourton was released from the Tower between 12 August and the end of September 1606 when he was sent to the Fleet. He was excused from personal attendance in the parliament of 1614. *GEC Peerage*, Volume 12, Part 1, 310.

⁶⁰ See *LJ*, Volume 2 (1578-1614) 360-361, 363-363, 366-368, 400-401.

for each category, which more or less corresponds with average Catholic attendance during this Parliament of roughly one third.

Union	Gunpowder Plot	Great Contract
38%	37%	35%

Table F1604-1610Catholic appointments to key committees as percentages of total secular committeemembership

These figures demonstrate the scale of Catholic involvement in the debates that concerned some of the most important issues of the reign, and establish the total inclusivity of loyal Catholic peers in the parliamentary arena at this time. They also represent a clear indication of the early success of James's pursuit of the *via media* by marginalising the more radical elements at each end of the religious spectrum, and welcoming moderates who were prepared to give an outward obedience to the law.

The picture that emerges from an examination of the key issues of the Parliaments of 1621 and 1624, impeachment, the cessation of the marriage treaty with Spain and preparations for war in 1624, is in stark contrast to the one revealed of James's first Parliament and is illustrative of the general decline in Catholic involvement in committees discussed above.⁶¹ It is to these that the following discussions will turn.

The Parliaments of 1621 and 1624 The Revival of the Judicial Function of the House of Lords

In 1621 the revival of the judicial function of the House of Lords⁶² represented a significant procedural development which, as Conrad Russell reminded us, 'also

⁶¹ See Tables 3.9 and 3.10 of Appendix 3.

See Tite: *Impeachment*. While Tite seemed to overlook the fact that in the 1620s impeachment required the king's consent in order to be effective, arguing instead that parliament was able to deal head on with what he described as 'one of the central constitutional problems of the seventeenth century – the need to criticise ministers appointed by a king who could do no

accentuated the political power of the House of Lords.⁶³ Although it had no direct bearing on the lives of English Catholics, a discussion of the involvement of Catholics in this extension in the role of the House of Lords is important for achieving an inclusive account of their work, and for demonstrating the extent of the above-mentioned decline.

Apart from hearing a few cases of writs of error from the King's Bench and those that affected its own privileges, the Upper House had not served as a criminal court since the middle of the fifteenth century. This changed as a result of investigations by the House of Commons into abuses by certain patentees, the most notorious being Sir Giles Mompesson. The patents in question were primarily those for surveying inns, licensing alehouses, making gold and silver thread and concealed lands. One of the main objections to these patents was that they conferred on the patentee the right to enforce certain laws as well as non-statutory regulations, and were viewed by the justices of the peace as potential rival agencies of local government. It was during their investigations into the referees (men whose opinions were sought about the legality of proposed patents) that evidence of corrupt practices emerged concerning the Lord Chancellor, Francis Bacon.⁶⁴ As the Lower House had no jurisdiction to punish anyone who was not one of its members, except with the Lords or by special authority from the king, they turned to the Lords citing precedents from the reigns of Edward I to Henry VI.⁶⁵

The membership of the seven committees assigned to investigate the various patents and the accusations against Giles Mompesson is particularly illustrative of the decline in Catholic participation. Only six Catholic peers were nominated⁶⁶ to these committees compared with 35 Protestant peers, and Thomas Howard, fourteenth Earl of Arundel, as a senior privy councillor, was the only Catholic peer to be nominated

wrong' which ultimately 'assisted in weakening the foundations of the Stuart monarchy' (p.1), he does provide a useful narrative of events as they unfolded.

⁶³ Russell: *Parliaments*, 106.

⁶⁴ He was created Viscount St. Alban in 1621. For a comprehensive account of the proceedings against Francis Bacon, see Zaller: *1621*, 104–113.

⁶⁵ *CJ* Volume 1 (1547-1629) 531-532. 49; *P D House of Commons 1620 & 1621*, Volume 2, 5.

⁶⁶ See Table 3.11 of Appendix 3.

alongside 15 Protestant peers, to the committees appointed to investigate the accusations against Lord Chancellor Bacon.

In 1624 the judicial function of the Lords was employed again when the Lord Treasurer, Lionel Cranfield, first Earl of Middlesex was charged with corruption. He had openly opposed the scheme advocated by Prince Charles and Buckingham to terminate the Spanish marriage treaty, and pursue a war policy. Middlesex's opposition to the war was based on financial grounds. His stringent efforts to reduce the Crown's expenditure had caused a great deal of animosity among large numbers whose income had been affected, and a Spanish dowry would prove extremely beneficial. While the Prince and Buckingham were in Spain, Middlesex had tried to supplant the duke with a rival for the king's affections. In June 1624 the Venetian Ambassador reported that in the absence of Buckingham who had 'gone away from the Court on the pretence of a change of air; John (sic) Bret, the treasurer's kinsman, is now frequently seen at Court, about whom chiefly the quarrel with Buckingham arose.⁶⁷ The proceedings against the Middlesex were instigated as a result of investigations by the House of Commons into the legality of some impositions for which no royal authority could be found. As a result of these investigations he was charged with the illicit use of the signature stamp in the Court of Wards and with taking bribes.⁶⁸ His downfall was, in effect, orchestrated by Buckingham, and as one observer commented 'smelled of private grudges between Buckingham and him.'69 This whole episode is indicative of what revisionist historians such as Kevin Sharpe meant when they talked about factional rivalries spilling over into the parliamentary arena.70

On this occasion 21 peers were nominated to consider the various aspects of the allegations. Only two of the marginally Catholic peers, Theophilus Howard, Baron

⁶⁷ Arthur Brett, a relative of Lionel Cranfield. See, for example, Russell: *Parliaments*, 198-202 for a concise account of Buckingham's role in the downfall of Cranfield and Ruigh: *1624*, 316-344 for a more comprehensive account of the general animosity felt towards Cranfield. See also *C.S.P. Venetian*, Volume 18 (1623-1625) 338-353.

⁶⁸ For the charges against the Lord Treasurer see *LJ*, Volume 3 (1620-1628) 316-320.

⁶⁹ The comment was made by Dudley Carleton, junior and is cited in Russell: *Parliaments*, 201.

⁷⁰ See Chapter 2: Historiographical Approaches to this Subject; Smith: *Parliaments*, 111 and Russell: *Parliaments*, 201.

Howard of Walden (the son of Thomas Howard, first Earl of Suffolk whose own demise as Lord Treasurer had occurred just six years earlier) and William Knollys, first Viscount Wallingford, had any involvement in the investigations. The only role assigned to Thomas Howard, fourteenth Earl of Arundel was as part of a deputation to the king to persuade him to deprive the Lord Treasurer of his staff. As a partisan of Middlesex he was the only senior household official not included in the committees appointed to examine witnesses in the matter.⁷¹

The Parliament of 1624 <u>The Palatine, Cessation of the Spanish Marriage Treaty and War</u>

Another issue that dominated much of the committee work in the House of Lords in 1624 concerned foreign policy and the ongoing problems associated with recovery of the Palatine,⁷² of which James I's son-in-law Frederick V, Elector Palatine had been deprived in 1623 by means of an Imperial edict. In 1618 Frederick had accepted an offer of the Crown by the largely Protestant estates of Bohemia following a rebellion against their Catholic King Ferdinand. He was, however, forced to flee to Holland in 1622 when Imperial forces invaded his Palatinate lands. Associated issues were the breakdown of the marriage negotiations involving Prince Charles and Maria Anna, the Spanish Infanta, and calls to pursue a policy of war. These were issues that were of enormous consequence for English Catholics as the prospect of a Catholic bride for Prince Charles had brought hopes of a relaxation or abolition of anti-Catholic laws. During the negotiations James made a number of goodwill gestures including a relaxation of the financial penalties against recusants and the release of priests from prison.⁷³ A war would jeopardise the ability of Spain to continue to support them and lead to intensified persecution at home.

⁷¹ *LJ, V*olume 3 (1620-1628) 306-311.

The parliament of 1621 was called specifically to raise funds for the recovery of the Palatine.
 Questier: *Dynastic Policy*, 219 and McClure: *Chamberlain*, Volume 2, 531. There exists among the Winwood Papers a letter written in August 1623 supposed to be from George Abbot, the Archbishop of Canterbury to King James. In it, the Archbishop berates the king for propounding toleration of religion and beseeches him 'to consider the consequences, lest he set up "that most damnable doctrine of the Church of Rome," against whose heresies he (the King) has often disputed and learnedly written.' *HMC Buccleuch*, 211. Christopher Highey has also

Because of its direct link with the lives of English Catholics both at home and abroad, it is worthwhile considering this issue more closely as it provides an opportunity to show that contrary to perceived notions of parliamentary inactivity by Catholic peers, some at least were prepared openly to adopt a position that deviated from the main tenor of the House.

Six Catholics were nominated to a range of committees appointed to investigate all aspects of the matter and advise the king. On the face of things these appointments might seem to be at odds with perceived notions of friendship and loyalty to a long-standing ally of English Catholics. However, two of the nominees, William Compton, first Earl of Northampton⁷⁴ and Theophilus Howard, Baron Howard of Walden⁷⁵ were closely associated with Buckingham so their support for his scheme was almost certainly assured. As far as the others are concerned, it is possible that confronted with the machinations of both Prince Charles and Buckingham to secure support for their scheme, which ran contrary to the wishes of King James,⁷⁶ they chose instead to adopt a strategy of self preservation. As early as November or December of 1623 Alvise Valaresso, the Venetian Ambassador in England, reported to the Doge and Senate that he had 'heard something of an exclamation of the prince upon one occasion, threatening to remember those who have participated in the evil counsels of his father.'⁷⁷

considered the potential benefits of the Spanish Match for English Catholic exiles. Highey: *Catholics Writing the Nation*, 193-198.

According to Roger Lockyer, Buckingham's mother, Mary Villiers, married Sir Thomas Compton, Northampton's brother because his connections represented a gateway 'to open the way to a career at Court for her favourite son.' Lockyer: *Buckingham*, 10. In 1621 Northampton's son, Spencer, had married Buckingham's first cousin Mary Beaumont and was appointed Master of the Robes to the Prince Charles. In 1623 he accompanied the Prince and Buckingham to Spain. Martyn Bennett, 'Compton, Spencer, second Earl of Northampton (1601–1643)', in *ODNB*.

⁷⁵ He was the son of Thomas Howard, first Earl of Suffolk and a friend of Buckingham who became godfather to one of Baron Walden's children in 1621. Victor Stater, 'Howard, Theophilus, second Earl of Suffolk (1584–1640)' in *ODNB*.

⁷⁶ See, for example, Willson: *Privy Councillors*, 162-163; Ruigh: *1624*, 32; Sharpe: *Arundel*, 208-244.

⁷⁷ *C.S.P. Venetian,* Volume 18 (1623-1625) 156-170.

The Earl of Arundel's rift with Buckingham and his preference for a Spanish alliance are well documented.⁷⁸ Conrad Russell suggested that with most of his career before him 'this was a threat to which [he] could hardly be indifferent,'⁷⁹ implying that Arundel had opted to fall in with Prince Charles and Buckingham. Robert Ruigh too, considered that Arundel's wish to revive Howard power and prestige and restore the family's dukedom 'was probably of more consequence than the attainment of any political or religious objective.'⁸⁰ Kevin Sharpe, on the other hand, posited the contrary view that Arundel had no such qualms about opposing termination of the treaty with Spain.⁸¹ The evidence is persuasive and for the purposes of this thesis presents a clear example of a Catholic, albeit a conforming one, trying to exert some influence over proceedings.

In 1623 Arundel, along with four other senior ministers, opposed the summoning of Parliament and voted to continue negotiations with Spain.⁸² Then on 28th February 1624, shortly after Parliament had convened, Arundel proposed that a committee should be appointed 'to serche into former presidents, howe the King hathe ben used in former times.'⁸³ This, Sharpe suggested, was an attempt by Arundel to delay proceedings in the matter pending the return from Spain of John Digby, first Earl of Bristol, England's ambassador there, which promised a full report of the marriage negotiations⁸⁴ including an account of Buckingham's damaging role. The committee was duly appointed with Buckingham as chairman and Arundel and Thomas Howard, Baron Howard of Walden as members, although it is not clear whether it actually met. But, on 2nd March the three main opponents of the cessation of the Treaties with Spain, Lionel Cranfield, first Earl of Middlesex, Thomas Howard, fourteenth Earl of

⁷⁸ For example see Ruigh: *1624*, 260 and 31; and Sharpe: *Arundel*, 208-244; On 12th April 1624 Alvise Valaresso the Venetian Ambassador wrote to the Doge And Senate that 'The Lord Treasurer is almost openly trying to oust Buckingham, assisted secretly by the Earl of Arundel.' *C.S.P. Venetian*, Volume 18 (1623-1625) 260-271.

⁷⁹ Russell: *Parliaments*, 147.

⁸⁰ Ruigh: *1624,* 260.

⁸¹ Sharpe: *Arundel*, 222.

⁸² The Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, Bishop John Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, Dean of Westminster; Lord Treasurer, Lionel Cranfield, first Earl of Middlesex; Secretary of State, Sir George Calvert and Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Richard Weston. Salvetti Correspondence, 5th January 1624, British Library MS.Add.27962. Volume III, fol.88 cited in Willson: *Privy Councillors*, 162.

⁸³ Gardiner: *Debates 1621*, 13.

⁸⁴ Sharpe: *Arundel,* 222.

Arundel and Bishop John Williams, were omitted from the committee appointed to attend the king with the Advice of both Houses to terminate the Treaties with Spain. When the two Houses agreed to make an open offer of assistance to James if he accepted their Advice, Arundel, together with Middlesex, provoked the ire of Prince Charles and Buckingham when they argued that the offer 'ought not to be made in general terms merely.'⁸⁵

It is difficult to discern whether Arundel's association with Catholicism had any bearing on the stance he took over this issue. R. Malcolm Smuts⁸⁶ certainly thought it did and along with Mary Hervey,⁸⁷ contended that Arundel's personal sympathies accorded with the pro-Spanish orientation of royal policy. On the other hand, perhaps Arundel hoped that by remaining loyal to the king's cause he would be duly rewarded with a much coveted restoration of the family dukedom. In April 1623 rumours were circulating that patents had been prepared for the creation of dukedoms for Arundel, Buckingham, Ludovick Stuart, first Earl of Richmond and James Hamilton, first Earl of Cambridge. In May only Buckingham's and Richmond's materialised. It is possible that Arundel refused a new creation because Buckingham's title would have precedence, opting instead to hold out for a restoration of the title forfeited in 1572. His support in 1624 did pay some dividends as his standing with James increased. In June that year the Venetian Ambassador reported that Arundel 'seems to rise hourly in the king's favour. Twice within a few days the king slept at one of his country houses near the city,'⁸⁸ although restoration of the dukedom was not forthcoming.⁸⁹

In a climate of heightened anti-Catholic sentiment, the fact that more Catholic peers were not appointed to the committees concerned with the preparations for war with

⁸⁵ This view echoed the opinion of James himself. *C.S.P. Domestic,* James I (1623-1625) Volume 160, 173-193.

⁸⁶ R. Malcolm Smuts, 'Howard, Thomas, fourteenth Earl of Arundel, fourth Earl of Surrey, and first Earl of Norfolk (1585–1646)' in *ODNB*.

⁸⁷ Hervey: Arundel, 221.

⁸⁸ *C.S.P. Venetian,* Volume 18 (1623-1625) 338-353. See also McClure: *Chamberlain,* Volume 2, 563.

⁸⁹ McClure: *Chamberlain,* Volume 2, 488; Hervey: *Arundel*, 545-557 and R. Malcolm Smuts, 'Howard, Thomas, fourteenth Earl of Arundel, fourth Earl of Surrey, and first Earl of Norfolk (1585–1646)' in *ODNB*.

their ally Spain in 1624 is not particularly surprising, but neither should it assume a lack of interest on their part. During the afternoon of 24th February, a conference with the House of Commons was held at which the Buckingham, with the help of Prince Charles, presented his 'Relation'⁹⁰ of what had occurred during their recent excursion to Spain. Eleven of the 16 Catholic peers who attended more than five sessions of this Parliament⁹¹ were present in the chamber in the morning of the conference, and so was Edward Vaux, fourth Baron Vaux who attended just three sessions. As those Catholics who were appointed to the committees were either senior government officials or closely linked to Buckingham, it is also clear that factional rivalries could cut across the religious divide, ⁹² especially when at their centre was such a powerful patron as Buckingham.

Committees were not the only medium through which to voice a dissenting opinion. When on 22nd March, the Commons submitted to the Lords a draft declaration of their willingness to contribute three subsidies and three fifteenths in support of the war that was likely to follow the termination of the Treaties with Spain, Francis Manners, sixth Earl of Rutland (Buckingham's father-in-law), was the only member of the Lords to vote against it, despite the efforts of Prince Charles and Buckingham to persuade him otherwise.⁹³

	1621		1624	
	Giles Mompesson & Grievances	Impeachment Lord Chancellor Bacon	Treaty & War with Spain	Impeachment Lord Treasurer Cranfield
Total	14.6%	6%	19.4%	12%

Table G Catholic Peers' Involvement in the Key Issues as Percentages of Total Secular Committee Membership.

⁹⁰ *LJ, V*olume 3 (1620-1628) 219-235.

⁹¹ This figure excludes six Catholic peers who were present at the beginning of the parliament but were excluded for refusing the Oath of Allegiance.

⁹² This was also evident in some elections of members to the House of Commons.

⁹³ Ruigh: *1624*, 228 and Gardiner: *Debates 1621*, 39 which does not name Rutland as the dissenting Lord.

Table G above shows the involvement of Catholic peers in the above issues in terms of their percentages of the total secular committee membership for each of the categories.

I have already discussed some plausible reasons for the general decline in the nomination of Catholics to committees but for these issues particularly, two other factors should be added into the mix. The first is the decline in the number of privy councillors among the Catholic members of the House of Lords. In 1604, 10 of the 25 Catholic peers were privy councillors, in 1606/7 there were eight and in 1610 there were seven. As discussed above the Earls of Dorset, Northampton and Shrewsbury had died before 1621, as had George Clifford, third Earl of Cumberland, and Henry Percy, ninth Earl of Northumberland had been dismissed. In addition, Thomas Howard, first Earl of Suffolk, William Knollys, first Viscount Wallingford and Edward Wotton, first Baron Wotton no longer held senior government office, and although they retained their seats on the Privy Council until 1625, their parliamentary activity was much reduced. These councillors had played a major role in the committees that considered the key issues in the first Parliament of James, and their absence had a considerable impact on the record of Catholic involvement in the later Parliaments.

In the meantime Ludovick Stuart, second Duke of Lennox (Scottish title) received an English title in 1613 when he was created Earl of Richmond. He attended Parliament in 1621 but died in February 1624 causing the opening of that Parliament to be postponed. Thomas Howard, fourteenth Earl of Arundel was admitted to the Privy Council in 1616, and Francis Manners, sixth Earl of Rutland was admitted in 1617. However, by 1621 the number of Catholic privy councillors holding senior government office had reduced to three, and in the parliament of 1624 it was just two. Three of the offices previously held by Catholic peers were filled by Protestant peers and two by members of the House of Commons.⁹⁴

⁹⁴ See Appendix 6.

The second factor to consider is the presence of George Villiers, created Marquess of Buckingham in 1618 and a Duke in 1623. As access to the king was a prerequisite to political power, Buckingham's position as the favourite of the king made him an enormously powerful patron; a position he was able to exploit to great effect. Those who made things difficult for him were dealt with swiftly as evidenced by his treatment of his former client, Lord Treasurer Lionel Cranfield, Earl of Middlesex. Furthermore, in 1618 Thomas Howard, first Earl of Suffolk (at that time Lord Treasurer) had tried unsuccessfully to supplant Buckingham in the king's affections with William Monson the son of Admiral Sir William Monson. Buckingham, aware of allegations that creditors of the Crown were required to pay a large bribe to the Countess of Suffolk in order to obtain payment from the exchequer, instigated a programme of financial and administrative reform which uncovered the malpractice and resulted in Suffolk and his wife being charged with embezzlement. It is difficult, therefore, to gauge how much the spectre of Buckingham may have influenced the decline in the involvement of Catholic peers in the committees that dealt with issues in which he was involved. Certainly, assuming they were pro Spanish, their contribution to the debates concerned with the cessation of the marriage treaty and war with Spain would have been most unwelcome.

Religion and the Church

If there was one area of committee work where the notion of Catholic involvement might seem particularly anomalous, it is among the issues concerned with religion and the established church. On the other hand, for those Catholic peers wishing to exert some influence over, or at the very least keep abreast of the direction of potential legislation that could have profound implications for themselves and their coreligionists, these committees offered an excellent opportunity.

The following discussions will therefore examine the nomination of Catholic peers to committees concerned with the miscellaneous issues that fall under the general heading of 'religion and church issues.' Because of their number and range they have been divided into four sub-categories – rites and practices of the established church,

legislation directed at Catholics, episcopal jurisdiction and possessions and parish matters.⁹⁵ By setting out the data under these headings, it has been possible to gauge, whether collectively or individually, Catholic peers were consistently nominated to every category, or was their participation in these committees restricted to the less weighty matters?

During the reign of James I the House of Lords appointed 38 committees to consider a wide range of issues that concerned religion and the church.⁹⁶ Of the 150 peers who were members of the House of Lords during this period, 122 (81 per cent) were nominated to at least one of these committees, including 32 (80 per cent)⁹⁷ of the 40 Catholic peers who attended at least one sitting during one or more sessions. Of those who were not nominated, five were new to the House in 1624, and of these, one attended three sittings and two attended just two sittings. By way of comparison the proportion of Protestants peers nominated to these committees was only marginally higher at 81 per cent, and there are instances of Catholic nominations actually exceeding those of Protestants.⁹⁸

It is immediately apparent from Table 3.12 of Appendix 3 that, apart from 1624, Catholic peers were consistently appointed to every type of religious committee. Furthermore, as there was no marked discrepancy in the numbers of Catholics nominated to committees in each category for the individual Parliaments, it is clear that their participation in these sensitive issues was generally considered an accepted feature of proceedings in the Upper House. In order to assess the extent of that participation, the following paragraphs will examine the nomination of Catholics to,

⁹⁵ See Table 3.12 of Appendix 3 for details of the appointment of Catholics to committees in this category.

⁹⁶ See Table 3.12 of Appendix 3.

⁹⁷ The Catholic peers nominated to no committees in this category were Henry Mordaunt, fourth Baron Mordaunt and Edward Stourton, ninth Baron Stourton who were implicated in the gunpowder plot and imprisoned; Henry Neville, eighth (or first) Baron Abergavenny, Henry Parker, fourteenth Baron Morley and sixth (or second) Baron Monteagle, John Paulet, Lord St. John of Basing and John Roper, third Baron Teynham who were all new to the House of Lords in 1624, together with Edward Stafford, fourth Baron Stafford whose attendance throughout the four parliaments was well above average, but his committee appointments were minimal. 98

See Table 3.9 of Appendix 3.

and where possible their involvement in, the committees appointed to consider some of the issues that arose.

At local level, issues that concerned the parish generally involved aspects of local administration or philanthropic measures to install and maintain a preacher or establish almshouses, free schools and hospitals. Not surprisingly, among the members of the committees appointed to consider these matters were important local land owners and government officials under whose jurisdiction the parish fell. Thus in 1610, six members of the Catholic Howard family⁹⁹ and Thomas Arundell, Baron Arundell of Wardour were nominated to committees appointed to consider the foundation of a school and installation of a preacher at Thetford, Norfolk¹⁰⁰ and Frome Whitfield, Dorset,¹⁰¹ and in 1614 Edward Somerset, fourth Earl of Worcester together with the Protestant William Herbert, third Earl of Pembroke and his brother, Philip, first Earl of Montgomery, were nominated to a committee to consider the erection of an almshouse and free school and establishment of a preacher in Monmouth.¹⁰²

Perhaps more surprising is the scale of Catholic involvement in some of the contentious issues that touched the fundamental rites, practices and authority of the church and its government, as well as anti-Catholic legislation. In 1604, Catholics represented 37 per cent of the total secular membership of the committee appointed to consider proposals by the House of Commons for further reform of the established church, and in 1606 the proportion of Catholic peers nominated to these committees increased to 41 per cent.¹⁰³ On the face of things, bearing in mind the recent debacle

⁹⁹ Henry Howard, first Earl of Northampton, Charles Howard, first Earl of Nottingham, Thomas Howard, first Earl of Suffolk, his son Theophilus, Baron Howard of Walden, his son-in-law William Knollys, first Baron Knollys and Thomas Howard, fourteenth Earl of Arundel.

¹⁰⁰ The Howards were major landowners in Norfolk. In 1608 Henry Howard, first Earl of Northampton established an almshouse at Castle Rising. Levy Peck: *Northampton*, 75.

¹⁰¹ Arundell's father, Sir Matthew, inherited extensive former monastic lands in Dorset. Andrew J. Hopper, 'Arundell, Thomas, first Baron Arundell of Wardour (*c*.1560–1639)' in *ODNB*.

¹⁰² Other members of this committee were past, present and future Presidents of the Council of Wales and the Marches: Edward Zouche, eleventh Baron Zouche 1602-1607, Ralph Eure, third Baron Eure 1607-1617 and William Compton, second Baron Compton 1617-1630.

¹⁰³ In 1604 the number of Protestant peers appointed to consider church reform was 19. In 1606 this number rose by just one, whereas the number of Catholic peers increased from 11 in 1604 to 14 in 1606. Of the 1604 Catholic members of these committees, in 1606 Henry Percy, ninth Earl of Northumberland was in the Tower and John Petre was absent on the days when two of

in November 1605, this increase, although small, seems somewhat extraordinary. On the other hand, however, it is possible that it could have been a deliberate manoeuvre to bolster the conservative element against the Commons' drive for church reform.

In 1604 when the House of Commons tried to petition for further reform within the church, Convocation objected to its members dealing in matters of religion.¹⁰⁴ Furthermore, towards the end of the session Richard Bancroft, Bishop of London said, 'they conceived the Privilege of Parliament to stand upright; therefore wished, there might be no more ado made of it.¹⁰⁵ The outcome of some of the matters raised in 1606 does suggest that conservative opinion prevailed. For instance, members of the Commons took exception when the Lords returned their bill for the Establishment and Continuance of True Religion with 'certain Amendments agreed upon by the greater number of the said Committees.¹⁰⁶ Robert Bowyer reported that 'the Bill is in my conceit a worthy Bill, and the Amendements and Provisoe very strange' and went on to complain that 'there were in the Upper House only 8. Temporall Lords of whom Six, and three Bishops were against the Amendements and Provisoe.¹⁰⁷ The Lords' amendments and proviso were entirely unacceptable to members of the Commons who, when asked whether the bill with its amendments should be committed there was 'a great Cry to cast it out.' ¹⁰⁸ Whether any of the 13 Catholic peers nominated to the committee of 29 secular lords (together with 15 bishops) contributed to the amendments is unknown. Evidence that exists for the Parliament of 1610 shows that ecclesiastical debates generally seem to have been dominated by the episcopate, but peers too made a contribution.

¹⁰⁸ *CJ,* Volume 1 (1547-1629) 311.

the committees were appointed. Five new Catholic committee members were nominated in 1606: Thomas Arundel, fourteenth Earl of Arundel who was new to the House in 1606, William Compton, second Baron Compton, Edward Parker, twelfth Baron Morley, William Parker, fifth (or first) Baron Monteagle and Henry Somerset, Baron Herbert.

¹⁰⁴ At a conference with the Commons concerning 'the Reformation of certain Matters and Rites of the Church' the Bishop of London produced an Instrument from Convocation that expressed 'A Mislike that the House of the Commons should deal in any Matters of Religion. - Dislike of the Conference of the Bishops with us. - That it prejudged the Liberties of the Church.' CJ, Volume 1 (1547-1629) 234-235.

¹⁰⁵ *CJ,* Volume 1 (1547-1629) 251.

¹⁰⁶ *LJ*, Volume 2 (1578-1614) 432-434.

¹⁰⁷ Willson: *Bowyer*, 178. The *LJ* records 18 bishops and 10 secular lords as present on 20th May 1606 when the Bill with its amendments was read for the third time. *LJ*, Volume 2 (1578-1614) 437-438.

Another instance of possible Catholic involvement in an ecclesiastical matter in 1606 was in connection with a Commons' grievance against the excessive use of excommunication in ecclesiastical courts.¹⁰⁹ A bill was framed by Richard Bancroft, now Archbishop of Canterbury¹¹⁰ together with 'such others as were called and appointed for his assistance,'¹¹¹ and committed on 19th May 1606 to a predominantly Catholic committee (in terms of secular lords) that consisted of seven Catholics and only five Protestant peers.¹¹² The bill passed through the House of Lords but it was rejected by the House of Commons who 'doubting some Tricke, and willing, as it seemed to argue their universall, just mislike of the Bill, did cast it away upon the 1st. reading.'¹¹³ After 1606 the Commons desisted from any further attempts to push for reform of the established church.¹¹⁴ However, concerns over permitted activities of Sunday recurred across all four Parliaments, and Catholic peers were appointed each time the issue was committed, even in 1624¹¹⁵ when the bill was finally passed in the House of Lords.

Of particular note is the number of Catholic peers nominated to the committees that considered legislation against Catholics. Of the 24 Catholic peers in the House of Lords in 1604, 15 were nominated representing 28 per cent of the total secular membership of these committees. In 1606, however, only 11 Catholic peers were nominated, but it would be premature to attribute this dip wholly to the fallout from the gunpowder plot, as the number of Protestant peers nominated also dropped, from 27 to 22 and, more significantly, the proportion of Catholic peers increased slightly to 31½ per cent. Moreover, of the 1604 Catholic committee members Henry Windsor, fifth Baron Windsor died in 1605, and the exclusion of the John Petre, first Baron Petre and

¹⁰⁹ This grievance was introduced by the House of Commons together with another three to be incorporated into a petition to the king.

¹¹⁰ He was appointed in December 1604.

¹¹¹ *LJ*, Volume 2, 1578-1614, 417.

¹¹² Four bishops were also nominated - Richard Bancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, Richard Vaughan, Bishop of London, William James, Bishop of Durham and Thomas Bilson, Bishop of Winchester.

¹¹³ Willson: *Bowyer*, 178.

¹¹⁴ For a discussion of the early success of James's ecclesiastical policy see Fincham & Lake: *Ecclesiastical Policy*, 27-33. See also, *Houston, James I*, 56-66 for a résumé of James's handling of the church.

¹¹⁵ On this occasion only William Knollys, Viscount Wallingford, one of the peripheral Catholic peers was appointed.

Thomas Darcy, third Baron Darcy of Chiche can be probably be explained by reference to the correlation of the 1606 committees with those of 1604.¹¹⁶

By way of explanation, two committees were appointed in 1606. The membership of the committee appointed to consider legislation directed at Catholics in 1606, An Act for Reformation of divers Abuses, in bringing into the Land, printing, buying and selling of seditious, Popish, vain, and lascivious Books, was identical to the corresponding 1604 committee. It is also clear that the list of those appointed to the second 1606 committee which considered three Acts, 1. An Act for the better Discovering and Repressing of Popish Recusants, and the Education of their Children in True Religion; 2. An Act to prevent and avoid Dangers which may grow by Popish Recusants; 3. An Act against such as, coming to Church, do refuse to receive the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, was an amended version of the 1604 list. Significantly these amendments included the addition of two Catholic peers, Thomas Howard, fourteenth Earl of Arundel and Francis Clifford, fourth Earl of Cumberland, (together with two Protestant barons), and the omission of Henry Somerset, Baron Herbert as well as three Protestant peers. As the Barons Petre and Darcy of Chiche were appointed to neither of these committees in 1604, the fact that they did not appear on the lists for the 1606 committees is not, therefore, surprising. The committee was appointed in the morning of 29th April 1606, but 12 members of the committee, including the Earl of Arundel, were recorded as being absent, as were the Barons Darcy of Chiche and Petre. It is possible, therefore, that the Barons Darcy of Chiche and Petre were in fact present in the House at the time the committee was appointed. Only Baron Herbert's omission from the 1606 list cannot be explained in simple terms, which leaves Anthony Maria Browne, second Viscount Montague whose imprisonment from November 1605¹¹⁷ until August 1606¹¹⁸ is clearly explicable in terms of the said Plot.

Moreover, in 1606 Catholic representation on these committees increased to 31½ per cent, and in 1610 it was 41 per cent, thereby demonstrating that the entitlement of

¹¹⁶ *LJ*, Volume 2 (1578-1614) 418-421.

¹¹⁷ G. Goodman, *The Court of James I*, (London: Richard Bentley, 1839). (Elibron Classics Replica Edition, 2005) 117.

¹¹⁸ *C.S.P. Domestic,* James I (1603-1610) Volume 23, 328-336.

Catholic peers to participate in the proceedings of the House of Lords was indisputable. To question that entitlement would also question the king's authority.

Two of the issues referred to committees in 1610 concerned the Oath of Allegiance which had originally been incorporated into the 1606 penal legislation,¹¹⁹ and which posed an enormous dilemma for many English Catholics. The first, *An Act That all such as are to be Naturalized, or restored in Blood, shall first receive the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and the Oath of Allegiance, and the Oath of Supremacy,* was committed on 2nd June, and while there is no record of the discussions that took place at the committee meeting, on its third reading on 30th June 'the Lord Privy Seal,¹²⁰ Earl of Arundel, Earl of Worcester, Lord Wotton and Lord Petre gave their voices against it.'¹²¹ Each of these peers had sworn the Oath earlier that month¹²² and, apart from Thomas Howard, fourteenth Earl of Arundel, all had been members of the committee.

It was not the first time Catholic committee members had chosen to speak against a bill after its third reading. In 1604, Anthony Maria Browne, second Viscount Montague was committed to the Fleet for his tirade against the anti-Catholic legislation after its third reading,¹²³ having been a member of the committee that had considered it. And he was not alone in opposing the Bill which 'being put to the Question, was passed by far the greater Part of the House.'¹²⁴

Article V of the second bill, An Act for administering the Oath of Allegiance, and reformation of Married Women Recusants, was designed to compel husbands to encourage their wives to conform, and provided that recusant women should take the Oath of Allegiance, but if they refused, their husbands should pay either £10 for every month of the offence or 'else the third part (in three parts to be divided) of all his lands

¹¹⁹ An Act for the better discovering and repressing of Popish Recusants.

¹²⁰ Henry Howard, first Earl of Northampton.

¹²¹ Foster: *Lords 1610*, 121-122.

¹²² On 7th June 1610, as a result of a petition for the king's safety made by both Houses following the assassination of Henry IV of France, a proclamation was issued for all persons to take the Oath of Allegiance. *LJ*, Volume 2 (1578-1614) 607-608.

¹²³ *LJ*, Volume 2 (1578-1614) 327-330. See also Questier: *Community*, 274-279.

¹²⁴ *LJ*, *V*olume 2 (1578-1614) 327-328.

and tenements.¹²⁵ This represented a major *volte face* on the provisions of the 1606 Act when, together with other amendments, the Lords had 'provided that no man be impeached for his Wives not Communicating.¹²⁶ Of the seven Catholics nominated to consider this bill, Henry Howard, first Earl of Northampton was unmarried, but Thomas Howard, fourteenth Earl of Arundel, William Parker, fifth (or first) Baron Monteagle John Petre, Baron Petre, and probably Edward Wotton, Baron Wotton,¹²⁷ had wives who were openly Catholic, so it is likely that these peers had something to say about the provisions, as indeed did members of the House of Commons who were divided on the issue.¹²⁸

In accordance with the general downward trend, in 1621 and 1624, Catholic representation in the committees in this sub-category dropped significantly. Anti-Catholic feeling in the Commons found expression in three petitions and while they were generally similar in design, the backdrop against which they were presented (in terms of England's relationship with Spain) was very different. The first was presented to the king on Saturday, 17th February 1621 and was prompted by alarm at the growing numbers and confidence of 'Popish Recusants about this City; many Multitudes of Jesuits, and Seminaries, ready for Mischief; hidden heretofore, now shew themselves,'¹²⁹ and required that the laws against Jesuits, seminary priests and popish recusants should be more rigorously enforced. The timing could hardly have been worse. The king was in the midst of negotiations to resolve the Bohemian problem as well the marriage treaty with Spain, and England's ambassador to Spain, John Digby, first Baron Digby, was about to travel to Brussels to negotiate on the Palatinate. Spain, on the other hand, had just had sent its emissary to Rome to seek papal dispensation for the marriage treaty. A committee of 30 secular lords (together with 10 bishops)

¹²⁹ *CJ*, Volume 1 (1547-1629) 507-510.

¹²⁵ J.R. Tanner, *Constitutional Documents of the Reign of James I 1603-1625* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961), 109.

¹²⁶ Willson: *Bowyer*, 183.

¹²⁷ Edward Wotton, first Baron Wotton married Margaret, daughter of Philip Wharton, third Baron Wharton. Both Wotton and his wife were named in the 1624 petition against recusants and non-communicants.

¹²⁸ When put to the question in the House of Commons, 91 members voted for this provision and 88 voted against it. *CJ*, Volume 1 (1547-1629) 445-446. See also Foster: *Commons 1610*, 250-252.

was appointed on 14th February when 10 Catholic peers were present in the Upper House, but only five were nominated.

By 1624 anti-Catholic sentiment had intensified following the breakdown of the Spanish marriage negotiations. Catholic involvement in committees dropped to only one in total, but it is possible that some Catholic peers chose to absent themselves at critical times. Two petitions against 'Popish Recusants' were presented to the House of Lords. The response of the Lords to the inflammatory tone of the first petition was that to ask for more than the execution of the laws already in force against recusants, might be construed as persecution, and as a result produced an abridged version to present to the king.¹³⁰

The first petition was presented to the Lords at a conference with the Commons on 3rd April 1624. Perhaps understandably, given the prevailing hostile climate, only four Catholic peers are recorded as being present in the House on that day.¹³¹ On this occasion no Catholic peers were nominated to the committee, not even Thomas Howard, fourteenth Earl of Arundel who was the only senior privy councillor in the House on that day who was not nominated. Significantly, of the 14 Catholic peers present over, say, the two weeks at the end of March and beginning of April, nine were absent on 3rd April,¹³² and to varying degrees, the days immediately before and after that date. As these peers no doubt had prior notice of what was afoot, it seems reasonable to assume that they chose to adopt the customary tactic of avoidance, unlike Protestant peers whose attendance increased from 23 and 28 on the 1st and 2nd April, to 40 on 3rd April.

¹³⁰ *LJ, V*olume 3 (1620-1628) 288-290.

¹³¹ The Catholic peers recorded as being present on this day were the Francis Manners, sixth Earl of Rutland, Thomas Howard, fourteenth Earl of Arundel, Edward Stourton, ninth Baron Stourton and Theophilus Howard, Baron Howard of Walden. *LJ*, *V*olume 3 (1620-1628) 286-288.

¹³² These were Edward Somerset, fourth Earl of Worcester, William Compton, first Earl of Northampton, William Knollys, first Viscount Wallingford, Edward Stafford, fourth Baron Stafford, Emanuel Scrope, eleventh Baron Scrope, John Mordaunt, fifth Baron Mordaunt, John Paulet, Baron St. John of Basing and William Petre, second Baron Petre.

On 20th May 1624 the same committee was appointed to consider the second petition for the removal of 'all justly-suspected Recusants from the Offices of Trust' whose names were listed on the petition.¹³³ On that day Rutland, Arundel, Stourton and Howard of Walden were joined in the House by Edward Somerset, fourth Earl of Worcester and William Petre, second Baron Petre, whose name also appeared on the list. This time, although the Lords agreed with its general tenor they reminded the Commons that as a house of judicature they could only 'proceed upon Oath; and to hear the Parties Defence.' Thus, to join in the petition before the parties were heard

should strike deep into the Reputation of the Parties, and give His Majesty and the whole World Occasion to think that we did both judge and condemn before we had heard. ¹³⁴

Instead, at the Lords' suggestion, it was agreed between the Houses that the petition should be presented to the king in private by Prince Charles.

From the above examples it has been possible to show that for the first two Parliaments at least there were no discernible impediments to Catholic involvement in the work of the committees that dealt with some of the most important issues of the reign of James I. This is significant because it could represent an early indication of the success of the king's ecclesiastical, as well as revealing much about Catholic integration in the work of Parliament. Contrary to popular notions of Catholic indifference to political activity, evidence suggests that throughout the period Catholics were prepared to voice their opinion when it ran contrary to the majority position, oppose legislation and even try to influence the course of events. On occasions their opinions were shared by members of the House of Commons, and it is

LJ, Volume 3 (1620-1628) 392-396. The list included the following 11 members of the House of Lords – Francis Manners, sixth Earl of Rutland, Mervyn Touchet, second Earl of Castlehaven (Irish title) (twelfth Baron Audley), Thomas Darcy, first Viscount Colchester, Henry Somerset, Baron Herbert, William Petre, second Baron Petre, Henry Parker fourteenth Baron Morley and sixth (or second) Baron Monteagle, Thomas Windsor, sixth Baron Windsor, William Eure, fourth Baron Eure, Edward Wotton, first Baron Wotton, John Roper, third Baron Teynham and Emanuel Scrope, eleventh Baron Scrope. Castlehaven and the Barons Eure and Teynham never attended parliament at all.

¹³⁴ *LJ*, *V*olume 3 (1620-1628) 396-399.

also possible that the bench of bishops enlisted the support of Catholic peers to bolster the conservative vote against attempts by members of the House of Commons to meddle in the affairs of the church.

General Issues

As discussed above, Parliament also provided members of both Houses with an opportunity to transact their own business, and a great deal of time was spent dealing with issues that concerned specific interest groups or individuals. The committees that fall under this heading comprise the remaining five categories as set out in Table 3.8 of Appendix 3 - Legal Process and Punitive, Local and Trade, Private, Social, and General and Parliament.

So can anything more be revealed about Catholic peers and parliamentary committees from an examination of their involvement in the committees that considered more general issues?

	Catholics exceed Protestants	Catholics equal to Protestants	Total Number of Committees
1604	20	14	58
1606/7	18	12	91
1610	7	3	47
1621	1	1	52
1624	2	0	74

TABLE H

Total Numbers of Committees concerned with General Issues with a higher or equal proportion of Catholic Members

The overall picture that emerges from Table H almost mirrors that already discussed, but of particular note is the incidence of committees at the beginning of the reign with a greater number of Catholic members. In addition, Catholics were still very much involved in these committees in the later Parliaments, albeit at a reduced level,¹³⁵ and continued to be nominated to committees in every category.¹³⁶

This section will address questions relating to the inter-relationship between individual Catholic peers, the various responsibilities associated with their government office, familial and patron client relationships or landed interest, and the committees to which they were nominated. For instance, is it possible to draw any conclusions about why individuals were chosen as members of certain committees, or what inclined them to particular issues? It might be assumed that as House was often sparsely occupied, the choice of committee members was a somewhat random affair, determined simply by whoever had bothered to turn up. The following discussions will show, however, that those who did attend often did so because they had a vested interest in the issues scheduled to be raised.

Many of the appointments to committees in this category were determined by the above-mentioned responsibilities, interests and relationships. In her biography of Henry Howard, first Earl of Northampton, Linda Levy Peck showed how his nomination to committees that considered private bills was often shaped by these factors. Michael Questier also talked about familial representation in a committee that considered a bill to allow Anthony Maria Browne, second Viscount Montague to sell some lands. As a large proportion of parliamentary time was taken up with such bills, an examination of the committees that dealt with these issues in the context of peers' regional, patron-client, familial or other commitments and interests, will give a good indication of how well they responded to the responsibilities associated with their different roles, as well as their efficacy as parliamentarians.

Of course, an important element of this assessment is whether or not peers actually attended committee meetings, evidence of which is scarce. However, many of these

¹³⁵ See Table 3.9 of Appendix 3 for an itemised list of all the committees appointed during the course of the four parliaments, together with the numbers of peers nominated from each group. By the later parliaments, particularly 1624, the size of many of the committees that considered the more general issues had dwindled to only six.

¹³⁶ See Table 3.8 of Appendix 3.

committees were appointed to meet in the morning, so it is possible to undertake an evaluation of peers' involvement in them based on the valid assumption that committee members recorded as being present on those days did attend the committees. This assumption becomes even more plausible when the fact that several of the members of these committees had an interest in the issues under consideration, is taken into account.

To achieve a fairly representative picture a handful of less prominent peers have been selected. These are listed in Table 3.14 of Appendix 3 together with the dates of the committees, and a note of peers' offices and education. Of course, any conclusions that are reached will be extremely tentative, but it is argued that by considering attendance at committees in this way, it is possible to comment on three important aspects of Catholic peers and Parliament. The first is that by ensuring they were in the chamber on the day the committees were appointed and by attending those committees, it is clear that these peers took the responsibilities associated with their offices seriously. Secondly, their involvement in regional issues highlights the importance of their role as members of Parliament in the relationship between centre and locality, and thirdly, the selection of committee members was not entirely as 'promiscue' as Henry Elsyng may have led us to believe.

One striking feature of the data contained in Table 3.14 is that, on the face of things, each of these peers attended most of the morning committees to which they were nominated. The data also confirms that peers were often nominated to committees in which they had a vested interest. For instance, as major landholders in the north of the country, Francis Clifford, fourth Earl of Cumberland and Gilbert Talbot, seventh Earl of Shrewsbury attended committees concerned with moor burning and the execution of justice there. Among those also nominated to these committees were the Protestant peers Edmund Sheffield, third Baron Sheffield, President of the Council of the North,¹³⁷ and John Stanhope, Baron Stanhope of Harrington¹³⁸ also a member of the Council of the North and major landholder in Yorkshire and Durham. Cumberland

 ¹³⁷ Victor Stater, 'Sheffield, Edmund, first Earl of Mulgrave (1565–1646)', in ODNB.
 ¹³⁸ Michael Hicks, 'Stanbarg, John, first Paren Stanbarg, (s 1540–1621)', in ODNB.

Michael Hicks, 'Stanhope, John, first Baron Stanhope (c.1540–1621)', in ODNB.

and Shrewsbury were also nominated to a committee appointed to meet at 2 p.m. on 6th June 1604 that considered bills to repair Whitby and Bridlington Harbours,¹³⁹ along with Henry Percy, ninth Earl of Northumberland who also attended a committee concerned with Berwick of Tweed. These appointments also reflect Cumberland's position as Lord Lieutenant of Cumberland, Northumberland and Westmorland, and as a member of the Council of the North and Sheriff of Westmorland and Yorkshire. An excellent example of local representation on a committee is in connection with a bill concerning Welsh Cottons in 1606. Among the 15 peers nominated were Edward Somerset, fourth Earl of Worcester, a member of the Council of Wales and the Marches¹⁴⁰ and Lord Lieutenant of Glamorgan and Monmouthshire, who resided at Raglan Castle, his son Henry, Baron Herbert together with the Protestant peers Edward la Zouche, eleventh Baron Zouche, President of the Council of Wales and William and Philip Herbert, third Earl of Pembroke and first Earl of Montgomery whose family were major landholders in Wales. In addition, seven of the eight bishops nominated, the bishops of Worcester, St. David's, Bangor, Llandaff, Hereford, St. Asaph and Gloucester, were from local dioceses.¹⁴¹ The committee met on 10th April 1606¹⁴² and four of the five peers attended together with each of the eight of the bishops. The Earl of Worcester was again prominent in committees that concerned Wales in the Parliaments of 1614, 1621 and 1624, together with William Compton, first Earl of Northampton who was appointed Lord President of the Council of Wales and Lord Lieutenant of Wales (excluding Glamorgan and Monmouthshire) in 1617.

As discussed above, nominations to committees also reflected family and friendship connections, so in the Parliament of 1606 John Petre, first Baron Petre attended a committee that dealt with land transactions of his Essex neighbours Sir Thomas Cheeke and Sir Michael Hickes. A close friend of the latter, Gilbert Talbot, seventh Earl of Shrewsbury also attended that committee as well as one concerned with land transactions of another of his close friends, Robert Cecil, first Earl of Salisbury. In 1610, Francis Clifford, fourth Earl of Cumberland can be seen attending committees

¹³⁹ *LJ, V*olume 2 (1578-1614) 310-311.

¹⁴⁰ Pauline Croft, 'Somerset, Edward, fourth Earl of Worcester (*c*.1550–1628)' in *ODNB*.

¹⁴¹ *LJ, V*olume 2 (1578-1614) 408-409.

¹⁴² The bill was returned from the committee later that day. *LJ*, *V*olume 2 (1578-1614) 408-409.

concerned with establishing the estates of his nephew, William Stanley, sixth Earl of Derby, including the Isle of Man.¹⁴³ And, in 1621 and 1624 the committees appointed to confirm the incorporation of Wadham College included Dorothy Wadham's nephew, William Petre, second Baron Petre who attended the 1624 committee.¹⁴⁴

While there seems to be no evidence to suggest that a university education influenced the nomination of peers to particular committees, old university ties (including those of Catholic peers) did endure and are reflected in the membership of committees appointed to deal with the business and affairs of Oxford and Cambridge Universities.¹⁴⁵ For instance, Gilbert Talbot, seventh Earl of Shrewsbury was educated at St. John's College, Oxford and, together with others from the same university, attended the committee appointed to confirm the king's letters patent for the maintenance of a divinity reader there. In the same Parliament he was nominated to a committee that concerned Corpus Christi College, Oxford. Similarly, the majority of members appointed to the committee to confirm the king's letters patent for the maintenance of a divinity reader at Cambridge University had received an education there, as had those nominated to a committee appointed to consider a land transaction between the University and Sir Thomas Monson.

The above paragraphs have discussed just a few examples of the link between committee appointments and the regional government offices or personal interests of Catholic peers and other members of the Upper House. These examples demonstrate that the nomination of committee members was not such an *ad hoc* procedure as Mr. Elsyng might have implied. By making the assumption that peers who are recorded as present on the morning a committee to which they had been nominated was scheduled to meet almost certainly attended that committee, it has been possible to

¹⁴³ On the death of Ferdinando Stanley, fifth Earl of Derby, a dispute arose between his three daughters and the sixth Earl about the right to the island. Pending a settlement the island transferred to the Crown who assumed responsibility for its administration on behalf of the family. Although the dispute was resolved against William, in 1609 he bought his nieces' shares, and by an act of parliament they surrendered their right, title and interest. Moore, *Isle of Man*, 223-225.

¹⁴⁴ The 1621 committee was appointed on 17th May 1621 to meet that afternoon. *LJ, V*olume 3 (1620-1628) 125-126.

¹⁴⁵ See Table 3.13 of Appendix 3.

introduce a further level to our knowledge of the involvement of peers generally, and Catholic peers particularly, in this aspect of parliamentary procedure. This premise becomes more convincing when the link is made between the issues considered by many of these committees and the peers nominated. By showing that Catholic members of the Upper House were an important element in the link between the centre and the locality, the above examples add weight to current trends in the history of post Reformation English Catholicism that belie notions of Catholic withdrawal or inertia.

By examining the role of Catholic peers in parliamentary committees, in conjunction with some comparative analysis with Protestant peers, this chapter has introduced a new dimension to this aspect of parliamentary history. It does not pretend to be a definitive study of House of Lords committees, but by examining the role of Catholic peers it has been possible to show, contrary to some long held assumptions, that several of these peers played a full and active role in the proceedings of Parliament through their committee work. Many of the key issues in which they were involved had important implications for English Catholics as well as the country as a whole, and the level of participation of Catholics in the first half of the reign reflects early success of the king's ecclesiastical policy and of his self image as *rex pacificus*.

While it is tempting to attribute the significant dip in Catholic participation in key committees purely to concerns associated with the marriage treaty and Bohemian crisis, together with fears of radical changes in the church at home, this hypothesis seems too simplistic. Those concerns did find expression in reduced attendance in the Upper House but it is suggested here that the interplay of factors associated with the high turnover of peers, especially the reduction in the number of Catholic privy councillors, was also an important contributory feature of the decline. And without much evidence of what occurred during the process of nominating members of committees, one can only surmise about whether Catholic peers chose not to be nominated, or whether they were excluded. It has not been possible within the scope of this chapter to undertake a full comparison with Protestant peers, but a glance at the committee record of those Protestant peers who attended all four Parliaments

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shows much more consistency in their nominations. On the other hand, some Protestant peers too were among those nominated to very few or no committees.

It is hoped, therefore, that this analysis will make an important contribution to our understanding of Catholic integration in the work of the House of Lords, but more particularly it will highlight their inclusive role in decisions concerning all aspects of legislation and judicature as well as more weighty matters, and at the same time enhance our knowledge of this important function of the parliamentary process.

Chapter 7

THE CATHOLIC PEERAGE AND ELECTIONS

In the early modern period the House of Commons was, to some degree, shaped by members of the House of Lords, including bishops. This was achieved by means of the electoral patronage afforded to them by the rights and customs attached to their extensive landholdings and government or regional offices. As Catholic peers were also in possession of large swathes of land and some were important officeholders, they too were in a position to nominate members to the House of Commons. The aim of this chapter is to examine their involvement in this important aspect of the parliamentary process by addressing a series of general and more specific questions relating to the incidence and nature of their electoral patronage. By so doing three important features of that involvement will be demonstrated.

The first is that there is little clear evidence to suggest that any Catholic peer was excluded or that his nominees were rejected, specifically on the grounds of religion, even during the 1620s when fears of Catholicism were heightened. Familial and kinship ties could transcend religious differences, especially when pitted against local factional rivalries. It is not argued here that religion was not an important factor in election contests, as indeed the concerns expressed throughout the period testify. In Worcestershire in 1604, for instance, the efforts of a Catholic faction to secure a seat in parliament were quashed and in Hampshire in 1614 Sir Henry Wallop wrote of the need to send (to parliament) persons well affected in religion. In Suffolk too, Samuel Ward preached in 1621 that 'a religious care was to be taken in such elections, and heed to be taken of such as were of suspected affection to our religion.'¹ Sir Nicholas Tufton, a brother-in-law of Francis Manners, sixth Earl of Rutland, was accused by his opponents in Kent of being a papist in 1624, and Sir Richard Grosvenor the sheriff of Cheshire, instructed the electorate there to insist that their knights in parliament should 'in the name of the Country make public protestation against a Toleration of

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T. Birch, Court and Times, Volume I, 232.

Religion, or the Repealing of the laws formerly made against Recusants.² It is against this background that Catholic peers achieved their successes in the election of members to the House of Commons.

Secondly, in general terms, there was nothing particularly remarkable or extraordinary about the involvement of Catholic peers in the electoral process that differentiated them from their Protestant colleagues. By nominating members for seats in the House of Commons Catholic peers, like other patrons, were simply exercising rights and fulfilling obligations associated with their manorial and official status. Some faced opposition and rejection, and sometimes their nominees chose a seat controlled by another patron. Of course, one seemingly obvious difference could be that several of these peers nominated candidates with close associations with Catholicism, but such individuals can also be found among the nominees of Protestant peers - albeit to a lesser extent. For instance, Edward la Zouche, eleventh Baron Zouche who succeeded Henry Howard, first Earl of Northampton as Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports,³ successfully nominated Emanuel Gifford, an old friend who was also a crypto-Catholic courtier, at Rye in 1621. The Catholicism of Sir Lewis Watson was never an issue for his puritan neighbour and kinsman Edward Montagu, first Baron Montagu of Boughton, who recommended him serve for Northamptonshire in 1624.⁴ However, Robert Spencer, first Baron Spencer reminded Montagu that 'the Papists will work hard this Parliament, and they must do it by such friends as favour them' and that members should be chosen for their 'abilities and fitness for the place, and not merely for kindred as your Lordship doth.' He strenuously opposed Watson's candidature who he considered 'the unfittest of any on that part of the shire,' because of his religion,⁵ a view that he still maintained in 1626 when Montagu proposed Watson's candidature once more.

² Hirst: *Representative of the People*, 164-165. See also 145-147 for his discussion about Catholicism as an issue in elections.

³ It has been asserted that George Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury nominated him in order to thwart the pro-Spanish nominee of Robert Carr, first Earl of Somerset . Louis A. Knafla, 'Zouche, Edward Ia, eleventh Baron Zouche (1556–1625)', in *ODNB*. According to George Carew, first Baron Carew, Zouche's appointment was 'displeasinge to the priests,' who were no doubt worried that Zouche would enforce more stringent control over those entering the country through the ports than his predecessor. Carew: *Letters*, 14.

⁴ *HMC Buccleuch*, Volume 1, 259-60.

⁵ *HMC Montagu*, 105-6.

English society at this time was far too complex to make hasty assumptions about religious, political or familial alliances and this is particularly pertinent to the sphere of parliamentary elections. That complexity was clearly evident in the contest for knights of the shire to represent Essex in 1604 when the Catholic Thomas Darcy, third Baron Darcy of Chiche rallied the voters of Braintree, Witham and Harwich⁶ to support his cousin, the puritan Robert Rich, first Baron Rich, in the election of Sir Francis Barrington, another puritan, for the senior seat. However, Thomas Howard, first Earl of Suffolk, a member of the Catholic Howard family nominated Sir Edward Denny for the senior seat and Rich and Darcy were compelled to concede. By 1624 Barrington seems to have forgotten any obligation he may have owed Darcy (Viscount Colchester since 1621), as on 27th April he presented the Viscount as a recusant. However, rather bizarrely, but perhaps an indication of a dichotomy between conduct in the counties and that in Westminster, or even as a show of indifference towards House of Commons' petitions, in 1625 Darcy was once again busy rallying support for his cousin's candidates Sir Francis Barrington and Sir Arthur Herrys (Harris). Suffolk was involved in another curious contest in 1614, when he nominated Henry Rich, the son of his 1604 opponent in Essex for a county seat in Norfolk. On this occasion his candidate was defeated when the under-sheriff adjourned the court from Norwich to Swaffham where Sir Hamon L'Estrange was returned with Sir Henry Bedingfield a convicted recusant. Bedingfield was closely associated with the Howards through his first marriage to Suffolk's niece,⁷ and as Henry Howard, first Earl of Northampton's deputy lieutenant in Norfolk.

The above examples of Catholics working with Puritans, and Catholics and family members supporting opposing camps, demonstrate how it was possible for a candidate's pursuit of a parliamentary seat to cause family and kinship ties, religious allegiances, patron/client relationships to become immaterial in one set of circumstances and jumbled up in a topsy-turvy melange in another.

⁶ Gruenfelder: *Influence*, 155.

He married Mary, a daughter of Suffolk's very Catholic brother, William, Lord Howard of Naworth.

Finally, while it is apparent that several nominees shared a similar religious outlook as their Catholic patrons or were closely associated with a Catholic circle, there is no evidence to suggest that Catholic peers tried to create a Catholic bloc or 'party' in the House of Commons, or indeed anything like John Hoskins' Trojan horse⁸ or a contrary version of Neale's 'puritan choir.'⁹ Neither is there any suggestion that these peers tried to control their nominees once they had taken their seats, although there was often a tacit assumption that members nominated by privy councillors would support the Crown.¹⁰ Of course, it is possible that such an assumption existed between Catholic peers and their nominees and that certain members of the House of Commons voted in the same way on particular issues, but in the absence of evidence it is impossible to know. Certainly in 1624, Sir George Chaworth, Thomas Howard, fourteenth Earl of Arundel's nominee at Arundel, supported his patron's pro Spanish stance, but it was not uncommon for members to adopt a contrary position to their patron. For instance, Sir Thomas Edmondes, who was returned by the Earl at Chichester, fuelled anti-Spanish sentiment in the Lower House by recounting a conversation he had with the Spanish Ambassador. He alleged he had declared that:

Spaine needed not seek to advance themselves by Alliance: - The best Blood among them in Christendom. - But, to advance their Religion, would bring their Indies. The Thing, his Master aimed at, was, to advance his Religion.¹¹

In order to demonstrate the above aspects of the electoral patronage of Catholic peers the following discussions will be undertaken in three stages. The first will commence with a brief overview of the debates that early Stuart elections have stimulated, and the sources employed. This will be followed by a general discussion of the peers in terms of numbers, those involved and not involved, contests, rejections and whether things changed in response to the dynastic and foreign policies of the early 1620s. The second stage will consider the involvement of Catholic peers within a geographical

⁸ During the furore that ensued in the House of Commons in 1614 as a result of rumours of parliamentary undertakings, John Hoskins, member for Hereford, feared, that the undertaking 'proceedeth from a rotten Foundation of Popery This the Argument that brought in the Trojan Horse, and overthrew the City.' *CJ*, Volume 1 (1547-1629) 471.

⁹ Neale: *Elizabeth I*, 91-92.

¹⁰ Levy Peck: *Northampton*, 174; Kenny: *Nottingham*, 216.

¹¹ *CJ*, Volume 1 (1547-1629) 4 March 1624.

context, especially in relation to the resurgence of Howard influence after the accession of James I which is clearly evident when their electoral successes are revealed on a map. Finally, as the scope of this chapter does not allow for a detailed analysis of the electoral patronage of each of the peers listed in Table A below owing to the complexity and uncertainty of many relationships, four case studies will evaluate the evidence as it relates to specific peers. By considering the candidates they nominated and the nature of their relationship, their associations with Catholicism, if any, and their activity in the Lower House in terms of the issues upon which they were vocal, the committees to which they were appointed, and their loyalty to the interests of their patrons and to their constituencies, it should be possible to start to recreate a picture of some of the experiences of Catholic peers in the choice of members to sit in the House of Commons, which has hitherto been viewed as the exclusive domain of those with contrary confessional allegiances.

Early Stuart elections have been the subject of much debate for many years as historians have grappled with concepts relating to their changing nature, a more politically aware electorate, a rise in the numbers of contested elections and the decline of court influence.¹² It is not the intention here to enter into these debates, but rather to comment when aspects of them coincide with the theme being explored. Individual elections have also attracted attention¹³ and so too has the electoral patronage of individual peers,¹⁴ but apart from the Worcestershire election of 1604 which saw the end of a tradition of local Catholic involvement in the county's elections, the religious affiliation of those involved, except perhaps in the context of anti-Catholicism, has not been their primary concern.

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¹² Hirst: *Representative of the People;* Gruenfelder: *Influence;* Cust: *Politics & the Electorate* and Mark. A. Kishlansky, *Parliamentary Selection: Social and Political Choice in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

The most recent and up to date of these is HOP 1604-1629.

Kenny: Nottingham; Levy Peck: Northampton 171-174; John, K. Gruenfelder, 'The Electoral Patronage of Sir Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, 1614-1640' in *JMH*, Volume 49 (December 1971), 557-575; J. K. Gruenfelder, 'The Electoral Influence of the Earls of Huntingdon 1603-1640' in *Transactions of the Leicestershire Archaeological Society*, Volume 50 (1974-75), 17-29.

This chapter is based almost entirely on the superb body of research that comprises the *HOP 1604-1629* volumes, and in order to avoid the need for extensive footnotes, unless otherwise stated, all detail has been drawn from relevant entries contained therein. This chapter also draws upon parliamentary journals, published diaries and letters, the *ODNB* as well as the earlier *HOP* volumes covering the periods 1509-1558 and 1558-1603 all of which have been invaluable in trying to piece together familial and other connections. *Moir: 1614* and *Ruigh: 1624* also provide useful analyses of the relevant elections.

It is recognized that much of the *HOP* data upon which this chapter relies is inconclusive, for instance it has not always been possible to establish the identity of members, or the involvement of electoral agents. The recommendations made by third parties suggest that patrons may not always have known their candidates, and in several instances the involvement of peers has been difficult to establish. Finally, the customary problems of determining an individual's religious affiliations have also been a matter of contention. However, despite these problems, it is still possible to reconstruct a fairly coherent picture of the nature and incidence of the involvement of Catholic peers in this integral part of the parliamentary process.

The following pages will consider the overall picture that has emerged of Catholic peers' electoral patronage, and will focus on the question of whether their Catholic associations proved to be an impediment to their involvement in the electoral process. The discussions will be broadly based on the data contained in Table A below which lists the Catholic peers involved over the four parliaments of James I and the number of returns for which they were responsible, together Table 4.1 of Appendix 4 which gives an overview of the patrons and their successful candidates in terms of their residential and relationship status, the nature of elections, levels of activity and Catholic associations.

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Electoral Patron	1604	1614	1621	1624	Total Returns
Arundell, Thomas,	3	2	3	1	9
first Baron Arundell of Wardour					
Browne, Anthony Maria,	2	2	2	2	8
second Viscount Montague					
Clifford, George, third Earl of Cumberland	2	Died 1605			2
Clifford, Francis, fourth Earl of Cumberland	-	5	5	1	11
Compton, William, First Baron Compton first Earl of Northampton	0	0	1	1	2
Howard, Henry, first Earl of Northampton	13	13	13 Died 1614		26
Howard, Thomas, first Earl of Suffolk	6	16	5	6	33
Howard, Thomas, fourteenth Earl of Arundel	1	0	11	7	19
Knollys, William, first Baron Knollys first Viscount Wallingford	2	3	4	3	12
Lumley, John, sixth (or first) Baron Lumley	1	Died 1609			1
Manners, Roger, fifth Earl of Rutland	2	Died 1612			2
Manners, Francis, sixth Earl of Rutland	-	2	3	3	8
Neville, Edward,	1	1	1	2	5
eighth (or first) Baron Abergavenny					
Paulet, William,	1	1	1	1	4
fourth Marquess of Winchester					
Percy, Henry, ninth Earl of Northumberland	2	2	2	1	7
Sackville, Thomas, first Earl of Dorset	12	Died 1608		12	
Scrope, Emanuel, eleventh Baron Scrope	0	0	3	0	3
Somerset, Edward, fourth Earl of Worcester	2	2	1	1	6
Talbot, Gilbert, seventh Earl of Shrewsbury	2	3	Died 1616		5
Stanley, William, sixth Earl of Derby	0	1	0	0	1
Touchet, Mervyn, twelfth Baron Audley	0	0	2	2	4
Windsor, Henry, fifth Baron Windsor	1	Died 1605			1
Total Returns of Catholic Peers	53	53	44	31	181
Total Percentage Returns of Catholic Peers	11%	11%	9%	6%	9½%
Total Number of Seats available ¹⁵	468	471	477	481	1897
Number of Peers	15	12	14	14	

Table ANumbers of Returns achieved by Catholic Peers 1604-1624

So, 22 of the 46 Catholic peers identified in previous chapters successfully exercised electoral patronage during the period. Over the four parliaments they were possibly instrumental in the return of 181 (9½%) of the 1,897 members elected to represent 69

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of the 253 constituencies in the House of Commons. For the individual parliaments the numbers of peers involved ranged from just 16 of the 25 Catholic peers eligible to sit in 1604, 13 out of 27 in 1614, 14 of the 31 peers in 1621 and 13 of the 32 in 1624. In total, however, they secured the return of no more than 11 per cent of the total number of seats available between 1604 and 1621, and only six per cent in 1624. Even so, the individual successes achieved by Thomas Sackville, first Earl of Dorset in 1604-10, Henry Howard, first Earl of Northampton and Thomas Howard, first Earl of Suffolk in 1614 and Thomas Howard, fourteenth Earl of Arundel in 1621, were comparable with those of William Herbert, third Earl of Pembroke who was described as 'the greatest electoral patron' by J. K. Gruenfelder,¹⁶ and who Andrew Thrush calculated secured an average of 16 seats per parliament between 1614 and 1628.¹⁷

From a cursory glance at Table 4.1 of Appendix 4 it is clear that the majority of the above elections were uncontested and that several members were non-residents, suggesting that the candidates nominated by Catholic peers were generally acceptable to the electorate, even those closely associated with Catholicism. The residential status of candidates seems to have been quite arbitrary, although as discussed below, on occasions patrons did face opposition when they tried to break the traditional electoral independence of some constituencies. On the other hand, many impoverished constituencies welcomed an interloper who was happy to serve without charge; a consideration that Henry Howard, first Earl of Northampton exploited at the Rye bye-election in 1607 when he stressed that his nominee, Heneage Finch, was willing to serve without parliamentary wages, and in 1604 John Tey, Thomas Sackville, first Earl of Dorset's nominee at Arundel, was returned on the condition that he should serve without wages.

The data contained in Table 4.1 also shows that the religious sympathies of the members nominated by Catholic peers varied enormously. These ranged from individuals inclined to Puritanism such as William Brocke, William Paulet, fourth Marquess of Winchester's nominee, who was returned for St. Ives in 1604, and Sir

¹⁶ Gruenfelder: *Influence*, 124.

¹⁷ *HOP 1604-1629*, Volume 1, 178.

Edward Wardour, Thomas Howard, first Earl of Suffolk's nominee for Malmesbury in 1621, to Henry Britton, Thomas Arundell, first Baron Arundell of Wardour's nominee at Christchurch in 1604, who was convicted for recusancy in 1608, and John Anketill, the nominee of Mervyn Touchet, twelfth Baron Audley at Hindon in 1621, whose marriage was performed privately by a Catholic priest. Although several of these peers nominated individuals who were closely associated to Catholicism, it is clear that religion was not their primary motive as in many cases family, kinship, patron or client relationships, which would have included a Catholic element, usually far outweighed any other considerations. In this respect it is notable that very few of the candidates returned by Henry Howard, first Earl of Northampton and Thomas Howard, first Earl of Suffolk, had any association with Catholicism. Northampton's nominees largely comprised clients and servants together with local Cinque Port officials, while Suffolk's were a mixture of family, clients, friends and candidates nominated by third parties. On the other hand, of the 18 members nominated by their nephew Thomas Howard, fourteenth Earl of Arundel, who were drawn from his circle of family and friends (including the renowned architect Inigo Jones who accompanied him on his tour of Italy in 1613-14), eight were closely associated with Catholicism.

As well as a means of demonstrating status and prestige, membership of the House of Commons was also an important element of young men's education which generally followed a tour of the continent undertaken during their late teens. In this way, William Paulet, fourth Marquess of Winchester, Francis Clifford, fourth Earl of Cumberland, Thomas Sackville, first Earl of Dorset, Edward Somerset, fourth Earl of Worcester and William Compton, first Earl of Northampton each returned a son. Edward Neville, eighth (or first) Baron Abergavenny returned two sons while Thomas Howard, first Earl of Suffolk arranged for the return of five of his sons. Indeed, Cricklade returned one of his sons to four consecutive parliaments between 1621 and 1626.

Apart from the minimal impression made on the overall numbers of members returned to the House of Commons by the involvement of these peers, one obvious feature of Table A above is the decline in the number of members who owed their returns to Catholic peers in 1624. It is impossible to attribute a single explanation for the downturn that fits neatly into any of the models espoused by J. K. Gruenfelder, Mark Kishlansky or Derek Hirst. And, while there appears to have been a correlation between this decline and the general downturn in attendance and committee appointments discussed in previous chapters, an examination of the individual elections suggests that such an explanation is far too general. Moreover, it is clear from Table 4.1 of Appendix 4 that some constituencies were happy to accept the candidates nominated by these peers across all four parliaments. The decline in Thomas Howard, first Earl of Suffolk's involvement was no doubt associated with his downfall in 1618, and although it is possible that Thomas Howard, fourteenth Earl of Arundel's failure at Aldeburgh did owe something to the electorate asserting their independence, in the following parliament they reverted to the previous practice of accepting Howard nominees.

The failure of Emanuel Scrope, eleventh Baron Scrope to repeat his 1621 successes can be attributed to various factors in respect of two constituencies,¹⁸ but in Yorkshire religion played a greater part in the elections. In January 1624 Sir Thomas Wentworth wrote that he had proposed to go to York 'upon a sudden noise in the country of an intention in some to have elected persons suspected of religion, which to us all would have been full of danger and scandal' and confirmed his support for his previous adversary Sir John Savile and his son, because of their 'soundness of religion.' It has been suggested that Wentworth was possibly referring to Sir Thomas Fairfax, Scrope's nominee in 1621 who had conceded his place to Wentworth, and a kinsman of Scrope, Sir Thomas Belasyse, who both had Catholic wives.

Another notable factor that has emerged from this investigation has been that peers' involvement in the electoral process did not always equate with their attendance or participation in the House of Lords, or their seniority within government circles. For instance, included in Table A above are William Paulet, fourth Marquess of

¹⁸ His nominee at Boroughbridge in 1621 was his secretary, George Wetherid who, in 1623, acquired the office of Receiver for Yorkshire so was probably otherwise engaged. At Scarborough, Sir Richard Cholmley his nominee in 1621 secured the return of his son Hugh in 1624.

Winchester,¹⁹ John Lumley, sixth (or first) Baron Lumley and Mervyn Touchet, twelfth Baron Audley who all exercised electoral patronage even though they rarely, if ever, set foot in the Upper Chamber.²⁰ These peers also regularly sent in their proxies,²¹ which suggests that they were still very much disposed to engage in the parliamentary process whatever the reasons for their absence. On the other hand John Petre, first Baron Petre who attended parliament regularly and was appointed to more committees than several privy councillors, seems to have made no impression at all on Jacobean elections.

Anthony Maria Browne, second Viscount Montague²² and Henry Percy, ninth Earl of Northumberland, only attended the first session of the parliament 1604-10, but appear to have continued to exercise electoral patronage thereafter. Admittedly Montague's patronage was exercised through an intermediary, his agent Sir Richard Lewkenor, but he certainly must have known those nominated through family and kinship connections. Whether Northumberland continued to exercise electoral patronage while in the Tower is difficult to establish but it is possible that, having secured the return of Sir Edward Fraunceys, the steward of his Petworth estate, at Haslemere in 1604, he had some say in his election at Steyning in 1614 and 1621, and he may also have been involved in the return of his cousin Sir Edward Cecil at Chichester in 1621.

It was not uncommon for the candidates of peers to be rejected. For instance, Henry Howard, first Earl of Northampton's position as High Steward of Dartmouth was not sufficient to break the corporation's hold over electoral patronage in 1614. At Totnes where he was also High Steward, he met with further rejection when the corporation claimed that his request had arrived too late, as one place was reserved for a townsman and the other for a nominee of the town's Recorder. In 1614 Northampton

¹⁹ William Paulet, fourth Marquess of Winchester was only present in the House of Lords during the opening days of the first three sessions of the 1604-10 Parliament, and he attended the installation of Henry, Prince of Wales on 4th June 1610. *LJ*, Volume 2 (1578-1614) 607; Foster: *Lords 1604-1649*, 97.

²⁰ William Bourchier, third Earl of Bath was also absent from parliament throughout the period and successfully nominated Barnstaple's members in 1604 (Thomas Hinson) and 1614 (John Gostlin).

²¹ See Chapter 5: The Catholic Peerage and Attendance.

²² Montague did, however, attend four sittings of the parliament of 1624.

nominated Sir George Fane for re-election at Sandwich, but he was rejected because he was 'so disliked of the most part of our assembly as that upon nomination he was no way pleasing to them.'

In 1619 Thomas Howard, fourteenth Earl of Arundel acquired the borough of Steyning, which, along with other Howard property, had been forfeited to the Crown on the attainder of his grandfather Thomas Howard, fourth Duke of Norfolk in 1572. Traditionally, the town seems to have returned members who were at least resident in Sussex so when Arundel tried to assert his right of nomination in 1621, his candidates Philip Mainwaring, a courtier, and William Gardiner, were rejected in favour of Sir Edward Fraunceys²³ and Sir Thomas Shirley,²⁴ two local candidates who had represented the borough in the previous parliament. Arundel tried to intercede on behalf of Mainwaring and Gardiner in 1624, but the town was still reluctant to yield to outside pressure and Arundel's candidates²⁵ were again rejected in favour of local candidates.²⁶

At Aldeburgh, on the other hand, Howard nominees had been acceptable in each of the previous Jacobean parliaments, but in 1624 the voters broke with tradition and rejected Arundel's nominees, Charles Glemham and someone with the initials 'R.G.', possibly a member of the Glemham family, in favour of two local candidates. The reason for their rejection is unknown but it seems unlikely that it was attributable to any differences in religious outlook, attitudes towards the Spanish marriage negotiations or events on the continent, as neither of the Aldeburgh members, nor Charles Glemham,

²³ Fraunceys was the steward of the Petworth estate of Henry Percy, ninth Earl of Northumberland. Northumberland was probably instrumental in securing Fraunceys' return at Haslemere in 1604 and it is vaguely possible that he had some say in the latter's return at Steyning in 1614. However, bearing in mind the town's persistent reluctance to accept Arundel's nominees, it seems the voters were opposed to outside influence. In addition Fraunceys had recently acquired property at Wappingthorne, a few miles north of Steyning.

Sir Thomas Shirley had also represented Steyning in the House of Commons in 1584 and 1593.
 Steyning also rejected Sir Edward Greville, the candidate of Lionel Cranfield, Earl of Middlesex who had purchased the Wiston estate. Greville was the father-in-law of Sir Arthur Ingram a close associate of the Howards who had acquired some property from Cranfield in exchange for Greville estates.

²⁶ Sir Edward Fraunceys and Sir Thomas Farnefold. Steyning re-elected Fraunceys again in 1625 and 1626 and Sir Thomas Farnefold in 1625, 1628 and 1640.

were involved in any of the debates on those issues. Nor, would it seem, were the voters trying to wrestle control of elections from Arundel as in 1625 his nomination of Charles Glemham, and possibly of Sir Henry's son Sir Thomas Glemham,²⁷ was successful. At Morpeth in 1621, the nominees of Arundel's uncle William Howard, Lord Howard of Naworth²⁸ were rejected when the borough broke with tradition in retaliation for the harsh manner with which Howard had enforced his tenurial rights, and chose to return two prominent local figures.

None of the above examples of rejection seem to have had anything to do with the Catholic associations of the electoral patrons or their nominees. Dartmouth's and Steyning's rejection of Howard candidates were on account of their reluctance to break their own hold over control of the choice of their candidates. As for Aldeburgh and Morpeth, the failure of Arundel and his uncle to secure seats for their candidates was merely a temporary glitch in an otherwise unbroken chain of Howard electoral successes.

Edward Wotton, first Baron Wotton does not feature at all in Table A above despite his position as a senior privy councillor. In Kent, (his county of residence where he was Lord Lieutenant), his landholding was apparently insufficient to enable him to influence elections which were dominated by ongoing factional rivalries between remnants of the supporters of the disgraced Henry Brooke, eleventh Baron Cobham²⁹ and the Sidneys.³⁰ He was also unsuccessful when he recommended Sir Roger Nevinson³¹ to Edward la Zouche, eleventh Baron Zouche in 1621 'as a man of worth

²⁷ Sir Thomas Glemham was re-elected in 1626.

²⁸ He was the brother of Thomas Howard, first Earl of Suffolk but was not a member of the House of Lords.

²⁹ See Table 1.2 of Appendix 1. In 1603 Lord Cobham was tried and convicted for his involvement in the Bye Plot (a scheme to kidnap King James in order to secure guarantees of toleration for Catholics in England) and the Main Plot (a scheme to overthrow King James and replace him with Arabella Stuart). He was attainted and remained in the Tower for many years. See Mark Nicholls, 'Brooke, Henry, eleventh Baron Cobham (1564–1619)', in *ODNB* for a concise account of Cobham's involvement.

³⁰ The family owned Penshurst Place. In 1604 Sir Robert Sidney was raised to the peerage as Baron Sidney, created Viscount Lisle in 1605 and Earl of Leicester in 1618.

³¹ He was the brother-in-law of Sir Edwin Sandys.

and sufficiency, living near Sandwich,' for a seat there 'or some other of the ports.' ³² Nothing is known of Nevinson but it would be wrong to assume that Zouche's decision not to support his candidature was on the grounds of religion as he was not averse to nominating such individuals himself. Nonetheless, in view of some aspects of Wotton's behaviour after his clandestine conversion, it does seem possible that Wotton's religious sympathies may have been a contributory factor in his general failure to achieve electoral success.

It is also clear from the Table A above, that the most prolific electoral patrons were Thomas Sackville, first Earl of Dorset and the Howards, which it not surprising bearing in mind their position in the senior ranks of James I's court and government. Dorset had been a senior privy councillor since 1586 and Lord Treasurer since 1599, and he was a significant electoral force during the reign of Elizabeth I, partly because as Lord Treasurer he was able to exert his influence in constituencies that were under Crown control. These included four former Howard possessions in Sussex; Arundel, Bramber, Horsham and Steyning, which had been sequestered on the attainder of the Thomas Howard, fourth Duke of Norfolk in 1572 and of his son Philip, thirteenth Earl of Arundel in 1589. Dorset's extensive influence is also evident during the first parliament of the next reign. The ability of the Howards to exercise electoral patronage received a considerable boost on the accession of James I because as well as restoring them to favour, he returned their extensive landed interests in Sussex and East Anglia, the family's ancestral heartland. The extent of Howard electoral influence during the reign of James I demonstrates that the scope of the power conferred by their restoration, their land and officeholdings, was not confined to the court, but extended across large swathes of the country and clearly re-established their position as one of the most powerful families in the country.

An examination of the geographical distribution of Catholic electoral patronage will highlight the significance of the Howards' return to power and set it in context with other Catholic peers. This will be undertaken with the help of the series of maps (Maps 1-7) contained in Appendix 4 which illustrate the geographical distribution of

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C.S.P. Domestic, James I (1619-1623) Volume 117, 188-196.

electoral successes. Table 4.2 of Appendix 4 gives a county perspective by showing electoral successes in relation to the number of constituencies in each county. By listing the counties from north to south it has been possible to identify three clear areas, the far north, East Anglia and Sussex, with a greater incidence of members with close associations with Catholicism that owed their return to Catholic peers. In each of these areas the dominant electoral patrons were the Howards. Map 1 covers the four parliaments between 1604 and 1624, while Maps 2, 3, 4 and 5 represent the individual parliaments which, viewed together, demonstrate the overall downward trend of successful electoral patronage. Finally, Map 6 which shows Howard influence, and Map 7 which shows the influence of all remaining peers listed in Table A above, have been created to demonstrate the significance of Howard influence.

Map 1 shows two fairly concentrated bands of Catholic electoral patronage, one stretching from Dorset and southern Wiltshire to Sandwich on the east coast of Kent, and the other from northern Wiltshire north eastwards to Castle Rising in north Norfolk. Of significance is the county of Sussex where Catholic electoral patronage was evident in each of the 10 constituencies at some time during the period, including the county seat. Sussex was particularly unique owing its concentration of resident aristocratic families which, in the sixteenth century was considered by Richard Curteys, bishop of Chichester to be 'more than one shire can well bear.' ³³ The Howards, Brownes, Nevilles, and Percys were all resident in the county and although the Sackvilles' family seat was at Knole in Kent, their main power base was concentrated in East Sussex. All these families had close associations with Catholicism, as did several members returned with their support. Furthermore, Table 4.2 shows that as a consequence of the patronage of these peers, each of the constituencies within the county was represented by members with close associations to Catholicism in at least one parliament between 1604 and 1624. Indeed at Arundel, each parliament was represented by such an individual and in 1614 and part of 1621³⁴ both members were closely associated with Catholicism. Henry Howard, first Earl of Northampton's appointment in 1604 as Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports ensured that Catholic

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Manning: Elizabethan Sussex, 222.

³⁴ See Table 4.1 of Appendix 4.

electoral patronage dominated the south-eastern corner of the country until his death in 1614.

The second band is comprised almost entirely of Howard family influence, the full extent of which is set out on Map 6. In Wiltshire, Thomas Howard, first Earl of Suffolk was in possession of large estates inherited from his father-in-law Sir Henry Knyvett, while his son-in-law William Knollys, first Baron Knollys as Lord Lieutenant of Oxfordshire and Berkshire, and high steward of Reading, Abingdon, Wallingford, Banbury, and Oxford, was able to exert his influence there. Suffolk also enjoyed limited success in Essex where his seat, Audley End, was located close to Saffron Walden. After a fiercely contested election in 1614, Henry Howard, first Earl of Northampton as Lord Chancellor of Cambridge University achieved electoral success there, and together with the Earls of Suffolk and Arundel enjoyed mixed successes in East Anglia.

A mixture of landholding and government office also enabled the Howards to exercise electoral influence in the east and far north of the country. Suffolk, a Treasury Commissioner in 1614,³⁵ was able to take advantage of the fact that Bewdley was under the control of the exchequer³⁶ and influence the return of James Button, the brother of one of his clients. In 1610 and 1614 Northampton, who owned the lordship of Clun, exercised electoral patronage at the neighbouring borough of Bishop's Castle, and at Stafford in 1614, his ongoing support in the borough's negotiations for a new charter to establish a corporation, ensured his success there despite the efforts of Thomas Cradock who contended that 'it was ordinary to deny noblemen's letters'. The return of Northampton's secretary, John Griffith, at Portsmouth in 1614 is difficult to explain but may have been made possible after Privy Council intervention quelled strained relations that had developed between the garrison and the town.

Further north at Lancaster, Suffolk was able to use his influence with Sir John Fortescue, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster and fellow privy councillor, to return

³⁵ He was appointed Lord Treasurer in July 1614.

³⁶ The Manor of Bewdeley was transferred to Prince Charles in 1617.

one of his sons; and at Berwick-on-Tweed where his daughter-in-law³⁷ had inherited the estates of her father George Home, first Earl of Dunbar he placed his secretary, Meredith Morgan. Another member of the Howard family was Suffolk's brother, the staunchly Catholic William, Lord Howard of Naworth and although he was not a member of the House of Lords, he was nonetheless a powerful patron in the far north of the country where he achieved electoral success in Cumberland and Morpeth in Northumberland.

On 16 May 1604, when Sir Francis Bacon defended Howard's restitution bill he emphasized the responsible manner in which he exercised his electoral patronage as testimony of his loyalty:

Sir Fr. Bacon doth justify the Proceeding of the Committee, upon Reasons, general, and particular for the Person. - The Eye of Law doth not take Notice of Matter of Religion : It is but the Eye of Fame. The Names of divers Burgesses, where he had Interest by the Earl of Arundell, read in the House; as a Testimony of the Choice of such Men, as were religious, and a Testimony of his good Mind in the Choice.³⁸

Despite these assurances, William Howard's patronage in Cumberland saw the return of three members with close associations to Catholicism for the county seat. Sir Thomas Penruddock (1614), was a client and kinsman of Arundel who married into a Catholic family; George Dalston (1621 and 1624) also married into a Catholic family and Ferdinand Huddleston (1624) together with his wife, came to the notice of the authorities in 1607 for not attending church regularly and were presented for recusancy in 1622. Howard's nominee at Morpeth in 1604 was Sir Christopher Parkins a discharged Jesuit priest who, with his colleague John Hare, had been recommended by Robert Cecil, first Baron Cecil.³⁹ Both nominees in 1614 had been recommended to Howard by his brother Suffolk, while in 1624 he nominated Thomas Reynell, the husband of a daughter of Sir Henry Spiller, who was no doubt recommended by his nephew Arundel.

³⁷ Lady Elizabeth Home married Suffolk's son and heir Theophilus Howard, Baron Howard of Walden.

³⁸ *CJ*, Volume 1 (1547-1629) 16 May 1604 (second scribe).

³⁹ Created Earl of Salisbury in 1605.

Other smaller pockets of electoral patronage linked to landholdings are also evident across the northern half of the country. For instance, George and Francis Clifford, third and fourth Earls of Cumberland had some success at Carlisle and in Westmorland, especially Appleby where one of their main residences Appleby Castle was situated. Appleby was a poverty-stricken borough, too poor to pay a single member's travelling expenses or parliamentary wages. As a result all ten members returned between 1604 and 1628 were outsiders. Gilbert Talbot, seventh Earl of Shrewsbury achieved limited electoral success in Derbyshire. One of his nominees was Sir John Harpur, his agent for his Derbyshire estates,⁴⁰ whose absence from Parliament on 5 November 1605 was cited as evidence that the Earl had been forewarned of the gunpowder plot.⁴¹ Shrewsbury achieved more success in Nottinghamshire, the location of his main residence of Worksop Manor, where it is possible that he secured at least one county seat for his candidates in five consecutive parliaments⁴² As the new High Steward of East Retford, he also was able to ensure the return of his nephew Sir William Cavendish in 1614.

The Manners family (Earls of Rutland), whose seat was at Belvoir Castle, enjoyed electoral successes in Lincolnshire and in East Retford, Nottinghamshire, where Roger Manners, the fifth Earl, was High Steward. Possibly owing to the recusancy of Francis, the sixth Earl, the Manners' electoral patronage ceased at East Retford on the death of the fifth Earl in 1612, when the borough chose Gilbert Talbot, seventh Earl of Shrewsbury as its new High Steward. Francis did however replace his brother as Steward at Grantham and as Lord Lieutenant of Lincolnshire, and although the extent of his personal involvement is uncertain, the influence of the Manners' family is evident in each election of the period. Notwithstanding his brother's Catholicism, during the fifth session of James's first parliament, Sir George Manners who had been returned for Grantham, and Sir Thomas Grantham a puritan member for Lincoln, agreed to increase the revenue from Lincolnshire recusants by £2,000. Grantham was also one of the members who presented the sixth Earl as a recusant officeholder on 27

⁴⁰ Harpur also represented Derbyshire in 1597.

⁴¹ *HMC Shrewsbury and Talbot,* Volume II, 283.

⁴² 1593, 1597, 1601, 1604, 1614.

April 1624,⁴³ and Sir George was one of five members appointed to examine the certificates of Catholic officeholders, which would have included that of his brother.

Edward Neville, eighth (or first) Baron Abergavenny, Mervyn Touchet, twelfth Baron Audley, and Henry Windsor, fifth Baron Windsor each exercised electoral patronage in just one constituency. The Nevilles owned half of the honour of the barony of Lewes⁴⁴ and in 1604 Abergavenny secured the return of his son and heir Henry who became a professed Catholic in the 1610s.⁴⁵ In 1614 and 1624 another of Abergavenny's sons Christopher, a Protestant, was returned while his son-in-law Sir George Goring was returned in 1621 and 1624. Audley, who succeeded to his father's titles in 1617, also secured the return of members of his family. As mentioned above, in 1621 John Anketill, his page and son-in-law, was returned. Another of Audley's nominees who had close associations with Catholicism was Lawrence Hyde, a nephew of Nicholas Hyde, Thomas Arundell, first Baron Arundell's nominee at Christchurch in 1604, who married into the Titchbornes, a Catholic family resident in Hampshire. Finally, Henry Windsor, fifth Baron Windsor who was High Steward of Chipping Wycombe successfully nominated Sir John Townshend in 1604. Townshend later became a servant to Thomas Howard, first Earl of Suffolk and although a conformist himself, his wife was a Catholic, as was his father, who was among those who joined the priest William Watson⁴⁶ in 1603 in a petition to James I for toleration.

In Yorkshire Emanuel Scrope, eleventh Baron Scrope who was appointed Lord President of the Council in the North in 1619, successfully nominated three candidates in 1621 with assorted links to Catholicism. His secretary George Wetherid⁴⁷ was returned for Boroughbridge where the dominant, and indeed the only, gentry family among the electorate was the Tankards who were Catholics. Thomas Tankard, the head of the family who conformed to avoid prosecution, returned a family member to

⁴³ Sir Thomas Grantham was a member for Lincoln. Francis Manners, sixth Earl of Rutland was also presented by Sir William Spencer, a son of Robert Spencer, first Baron Spencer and one of the members for Northamptonshire. *CJ*, Volume 1 (1547-1629) 27 April 1624.

⁴⁴ The other half was owned by the Howards and Sackvilles in equal shares.

⁴⁵ Questier: *Community*, 60. He succeeded his father in 1622.

⁴⁶ He was one of the ringleaders of the Bye and Main Plots.

⁴⁷ George Wetherid had been secretary to Scrope's predecessor Ralph Eure, third Baron Eure who nominated him at Aldborough in 1614.

three successive parliaments in the 1620s.⁴⁸ It is also possible that in the same year Scrope nominated his cousin Sir Richard Cholmley at Scarborough which, according the puritan Sir Thomas Hoby was among 'the most dangerous parts of Yorkshire for hollow hearts, for popery.' Indeed Sir Richard Cholmley's family had been in trouble with the authorities on a number of occasions as a result of their Catholicism and although the family subsequently conformed more rigorously, Sir Richard continued to be accused, among other things, of 'bearing inward love and affection to such as are obstinate popish recusants and having many obstinate popish recusants that depend on him.'

In 1621 Scrope also nominated Secretary of State Sir George Calvert and his kinsman Sir Thomas Fairfax for the county seat of Yorkshire. Fairfax, however, resigned his interest to Sir Thomas Wentworth and found a seat at Hedon-in-Holderness where his in-laws were influential. Fairfax's wife was Catherine, whose parents, Sir Henry Constable and his wife Margaret, were Catholics. ⁴⁹ Sir Henry Constable's son, also Henry (created Viscount Dunbar in the Scottish peerage in 1620), also a Catholic, ⁵⁰ married Mary Tufton, sister of Cicely, the wife of Francis Manners, sixth Earl of Rutland. Calvert on the other hand was descended from a Roman Catholic family in Yorkshire and although he publicly conformed to the established church while in office, he was sympathetic to Catholicism and converted in 1625.⁵¹

It is clear from Map 1 that four large areas of the country remained untouched by the influence of Catholic peers. In Lancashire the knights of the shire had traditionally been chosen by the Earls of Derby, but William Stanley, the sixth Earl, showed no such inclination. The choice was therefore left to a small group of old gentry families and in the first two parliaments at least, reflected the strength of Catholicism that still

⁴⁸ In 1604 he returned Sir Henry Jenkins who was married to Dorothy a daughter of William Tankard, and in 1624, 1625 and 1626, Tankard's wife's nephew Philip Mainwaring was returned. He was a client of the Thomas Howard, fourteenth Earl of Arundel who had nominated him twice at Steyning, but he was rejected on both occasions.

⁴⁹ Sir Henry Constable was a 'conforming Catholic' although in 1631 he was one of the peers who supported the appointment by the papacy of Bishop Richard Smith. Questier: *Caroline Newsletters,* 79. His wife Margaret, was a daughter of Sir William Dormer of Wing.

⁵⁰ He was well known as a 'hard-drinking, heavy-gambling papist.' In 1630 he compounded for his recusancy and was later excused from attending church by King Charles. Jack Binns, 'Constable, Henry, first Viscount Dunbar (1588–1645)' in *ODNB*.

⁵¹ Questier: *Dynastic Policy*, 149-150 & 366.

prevailed in the county. In the boroughs, elections were largely shared between the chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and local gentry. Elections in the Welsh counties seem to have been largely controlled by the Herbert (Earls of Pembroke) family and local gentry, and in Devon, apart from Tavistock which was controlled by the Russells (Earls of Bedford) and Barnstaple, constituencies were largely left to elect their own members. In Cornwall where there was no resident peer, most members were returned with local influence - although Prince Charles' Council asserted its influence in boroughs owned by the Duchy in 1621 and 1624. William Herbert, third Earl of Pembroke, as Lord Lieutenant of the county enjoyed some electoral successes there, and the Marquesses of Winchester and the Barons Mountjoy⁵² shared influence in St. Ives and Bere Alston. Electoral influence in the centre of the country was controlled by a mixture of Protestant peers, leading local gentry and corporations despite power struggles and infighting.

While acknowledging that some of the connections between patron and electoral candidate are based on little hard evidence and much informed conjecture, it is clear that Catholic electoral patronage, although not always significant in terms of the number of members returned, was evident throughout most of the country thanks largely to the restoration of the Howards on the accession of James I in 1603.

As the above analysis has provided only a broad picture of aspects of the electoral patronage of Catholic peers, the remainder of this chapter will comprise a series of case studies. These will provide a closer insight into the varied nature of their involvement in the elections of each of their constituencies, in terms of their relationship with nominees, the diversity of religious affiliation among them and the committees to which members were appointed. The first will examine the role played by Thomas Sackville, first Earl of Dorset ⁵³ who ranked among the dominant electoral patrons of the period.

⁵² William (*c.* 1561-1594) and Charles (1563–1606) Blount, seventh and eighth Barons Mountjoy. Charles Blount was created Earl of Devonshire in 1603.

⁵³ He was created Earl of Dorset on 13 March 1604 but for the purposes of simplicity and to avoid presenting a confusing narrative, I have used this title in the discussions of his electoral patronage although even though some references relate to a time just prior to that date.

The final three case studies will examine the electoral patronage of peers more closely associated with Catholicism and will show a picture similar to that revealed by Dorset's patronage, except in relation to their nominees' involvement in the proceedings of the House, which was far less evident. The peers in question are Anthony Maria Browne, second Viscount Montague, Thomas Arundell, first Baron Arundell of Wardour whose Catholicism was the most pronounced among members of the House of Lords; and Edward Somerset, fourth Earl of Worcester who experienced some electoral difficulties in the parliaments of 1621 and 1624. These discussions will show that the close association each of these peers had with Catholicism was unlikely to be an issue in their exercise of influence in constituencies where their primacy was unquestioned.

Thomas Sackville, first Earl of Dorset

The concentration of Dorset's nominees in just one Jacobean parliament provides a useful example of one patron's electoral patronage portfolio, particularly as the majority of his nominees were very busy with committee work, unlike most of the members returned by each of the other peers featured in this chapter. Furthermore, the range of religious opinion among Dorset's nominees is indicative of his pragmatic approach to religious belief and conscience that tolerated diversity in those who posed no threat to political and social order.⁵⁴ In just one parliament he nominated six members (half his total) with close associations to Catholicism; which was more than Henry Howard, first Earl of Northampton did over two parliaments and Thomas Howard, first Earl of Suffolk over all four parliaments. Although none of Dorset's patronage was associated with his land holdings in Kent where Knole, his main family seat, was situated, his property also extended into Sussex and Surrey which, together with his position as joint Lord Lieutenant of Sussex and as feodary for the Duchy of Lancaster's lands in the county, it gave him a fairly broad patronage base. As mentioned earlier, the scope of his influence was enhanced by his ability to exert influence in four former Howard possessions that were still under Crown control. As far as I have been able to discern, in his only parliament after the accession of James I,

⁵⁴ See Zim: *Thomas Sackville*, 892-917 for a detailed analysis of his 'politic' attitude toward religion.

Dorset was responsible for the return of 12 members to the House of Commons, eight of whom represented constituencies in Sussex.

Dorset was the dominant electoral patron at East Grinstead⁵⁵ where he owned substantial property and held the office of steward of the honour of Eagle, a collection of estates belonging to the Duchy of Lancaster.⁵⁶ In 1604 Dorset secured the return of Sir John Swinarton and Sir Henry Compton, two individuals from opposite ends of the religious spectrum.⁵⁷ Compton was the stepson of Dorset's son Robert, and halfbrother of William Compton, second Baron Compton.⁵⁸ His first wife, a recusant, died in 1624 and later that year he married another recusant.⁵⁹ In the parliaments of 1626 and 1628 he was presented as a Catholic officeholder because of his wife's recusancy; and his wife, children and servants were all presented as recusants in 1640, 1641 and 1642 when Sir Henry himself was presented for failing to attend communion for a year.⁶⁰ Swinarton, on the other hand seems to have been more inclined to Puritanism, as before his death he left instructions that at his funeral a sermon should be preached 'by some godly learned preacher.' He was known to Dorset through various financial transactions, particularly his farm of the French and Rhenish wines. He was also associated with the Catholic Henry Howard, first Earl of Northampton as a fellow member of a syndicate that failed in its attempts to win the great farm of the customs.

At Ipswich too, where Dorset was High Steward, he secured the return of two members with contrary religious attachments. The first was his son-in-law Sir Henry Glemham, a Suffolk resident, who was also returned at Aldeburgh by the Howards in

⁵⁵ In 1606 he purchased the lordship of the borough. Dorset's heir Robert, did not live long enough to influence the borough's elections, but Robert's son Richard, the third Earl, successfully nominated both candidates throughout the reign, as did his brother Edward, the fourth Earl in 1625, but thereafter the family's dominance was broken by the election of a local man, Robert Goodwin who retained his seat until 1640.

⁵⁶ The town and castle of Pevensey with their dependencies (including East Grinstead) were gifted to Gilbert de Aquila (Eagle) by Henry I and were subsequently settled on John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster and fourth son of Edward III.

⁵⁷ He sat for the borough in 1601 and continued to represent the borough in every parliament until 1640.

⁵⁸ He was created Earl of Northampton in 1618.

⁵⁹ His first wife was Cecily Sackville, the daughter of his stepfather and Margaret, daughter of Thomas Howard, fourth Duke of Norfolk. His second wife was Mary, daughter of Sir George Browne of Wickhambreaux.

⁶⁰ Fletcher: *County Community*, 97.

1614 and 1621, but within just six weeks after parliament commenced, he obtained a licence to go overseas to the Spa⁶¹ after which he disappeared from the record. In 1602 Glemham's wife was accused with her father, brother Robert and the family's servants of being

odious to the most part of the kingdom that are Protestants' and that, 'the Lo.[rd] T.[reasurer], Sir Henry Glemham and others their friends will set up Popery and bring in the Infant. All true-hearted subjects quake for fear.⁶²

After some adroit negotiations on the part of Dorset, Glemham was joined by Sir Francis Bacon who had represented the borough in the last two parliaments of Elizabeth I and was returned again in 1614.

Another of Dorset's nominees with close associations with Catholicism was Sir Thomas Bishopp,⁶³ who was returned at Steyning. He was a family friend who had become a ward of Dorset in 1560 and although he was a conformist, his parents were Catholics, and in 1589 he married Jane Weston, a member of a Catholic family, and a cousin of Thomas Arundel, first Baron Arundell of Wardour. In 1582 he was censured for his lenient approach to the recusancy laws; in 1587, in his capacity as sheriff, he reduced by half the assessment of local recusants' ability to contribute to the equipping of light horsemen for service in Ireland;⁶⁴ and in 1594 he was accused of sheltering a recusant⁶⁵ who had smuggled two priests into London from Cornwall.⁶⁶

As joint Lord Lieutenant of Sussex, Dorset secured the fifth return to the county seat for his son Robert⁶⁷ whose first wife Margaret, the daughter of Thomas Howard, fourth Duke of Norfolk, was a Catholic. She was the sister of Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk and William Howard, Lord Howard of Naworth whom Robert Sackville⁶⁸

- ⁶¹ *C.S.P. Domestic* James I (1603-1610) Volume 8, 104.
- ⁶² *HMC Salisbury*, Volume 12, 528-581.

⁶³ He represented the borough in 1586.

⁶⁴ The recusants included John Leedes, Edward Gage of Bentley and John Shelley of Michelgrove. Manning: *Elizabethan Sussex*, 140-141.

⁶⁵ *C.S.P. Domestic*, Elizabeth (1591-1594) Volume 248, 495-513.

⁶⁶ Manning: *Elizabethan Sussex*, 157.

⁶⁷ He had represented Sussex in 1584, 1593, 1597 and 1601, and Lewes in 1589.

⁶⁸ He succeeded as second Earl of Dorset in 1608.

appointed, together with his friend George Rivers, to be responsible for the foundation of Sackville College for the poor at East Grinstead. This partnership of an ardent Catholic with a conscientious recusancy official is somewhat curious bearing in mind the latter's heavy-handed approach to his official duties. It seems to be illustrative of the separation that could occur between the public and private spheres in matters that involved familial and associated alliances. Robert's close friend William Twyneho who married into the Catholic Mordaunt family of Bedfordshire, and whose father and uncle had both served the Catholic Barons Paget, was returned at Bishop's Castle with the help of Sir Richard Lewknor, who probably enlisted the aid of his partner on the Cheshire assize circuit, Sir Henry Townsend, a Shropshire lawyer who was High Steward of Shrewsbury.

Dorset's nominee at Reigate, where he owned half the manor, ⁶⁹ was his kinsman Herbert Pelham, whose overall conduct seems to have been indicative of the vacillating nature of some factional and religious alliances. In 1584 together with George Goring, ⁷⁰ he unsuccessfully led the opposition, made up of remnants of the old Fitzalan faction, against Dorset's nominations.⁷¹ Pelham's first marriage was into the Catholic Thatcher family of Westham, Sussex, ⁷² but in 1594 he married into a family with a contrary religious outlook by taking as his second wife, Elizabeth, a daughter of Thomas West, second Baron de la Warr and Anne, daughter of Sir Francis Knollys.⁷³ Although Pelham and his brother-in-law Thomas West signed the Sussex petition in favour of Puritanism shortly after the Millenary Petition was presented to James in 1603, Roger Manning has warned of the mistake in assuming that such an act in an age when signing petitions seemed almost fashionable was 'proof of Puritan leanings without corroborative evidence.' As Herbert Pelham and another 'petitioner' John Ashburnham both had Catholic relatives living in their households they may have had

⁶⁹ The other half was owned by Charles Howard, first Earl of Nottingham (1536-1624).

⁷⁰ It seems likely that he was the father of Sir George Goring, the son-in-law of Edward Neville, eighth (or first) Baron Abergavenny (1550-1622) who was the member for Lewes in each parliament of the 1620s.

⁷¹ Questier: *Community*, 63 and Manning: *Elizabethan Sussex*, 232.

⁷² Questier: *Community*, 103, 261 and 429.

⁷³ The brother of William Knollys, Baron Knollys (1545-1632) (created Viscount Wallingford in 1616).

other motives for subscribing to the petition.⁷⁴ Furthermore, according to Roger Manning, he was the only J.P. 'who could be classified as Catholic,'⁷⁵ but in the House of Commons his committee appointments included those that considered the provision of a learned ministry and non-residence and pluralities.

The remainder of Dorset's nominees all seem to have been staunchly Protestant albeit of the conforming kind, and included officers involved at all levels in central and local administration. At Arundel⁷⁶ he nominated John Tey, one of his servants who despite being returned only on the condition that he served without wages, later sued Arundel's constituents for payment.⁷⁷ In the late Elizabethan period Dorset had achieved electoral success in Bramber and it is possible that he was responsible for the return there of another kinsman, Henry Shelley, in 1604. At Horsham, it seems probable that Dorset secured the re-election of the financier Michael Hickes and the election of Solicitor General John Doddridge on the recommendation of Robert Cecil, first Baron Cecil. Hickes was already well known to Dorset as, among other things, in February 1604 he assisted the Lord Treasurer in instigating measures to reform the Crown's copyhold lands.⁷⁸

Southwark was outside of Dorset's customary area of influence, but it is possible that he was able to secure the return of his client George Rivers there in 1604 because the borough needed Dorset's support in the renewal of the Crown lease on the rectory attached to St. Saviour's. In his role as justice of the peace in 1598, Rivers led an unsuccessful search for the Jesuit superior Richard Blount at Scotney Castle, the residence of the Catholic Darell family; although he was more successful in 1601 when he led a commission that sequestered a major part of the Darell estates. It has also been suggested that Rivers was later involved with his colleague Sir Thomas May, in an

 ⁷⁴ Manning: *Elizabethan Sussex*, 209-210. See also R. B. Manning 'Catholics and Local Office Holding in Elizabethan Sussex' in *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, XXXV (May 1962) 47-61.

⁷⁵ Manning: *Elizabethan Sussex*, 245.

⁷⁶ Dorset had exercised electoral patronage at Arundel in the previous three parliaments and as Arundel was still under Crown control when elections to James I's first parliament were taking place, he was able to continued exerting influence there.

⁷⁷ *CJ*, Volume 1 (1547-1629) 427.

⁷⁸ Smith: *Sir Michael Hickes*, 126-127.

attempt to destroy the Catholic network of the dowager Countess of Montague,⁷⁹ the step-grandmother of his patron's son-in-law.⁸⁰ However, in April 1607 the countess's cousin, Gilbert Talbot, seventh Earl of Shrewsbury wrote to Robert Cecil, first Earl of Salisbury asking him to intercede on behalf of the dowager countess.⁸¹ Shrewsbury's letter was followed up by one from the Privy Council instructing the Attorney General 'that no sentence should proceed against her,' 'in regard that she is a noblewoman, aged, and by reason of her fidelity in the time of Queen Elizabeth was never called in question, it pleaseth the King's Majesty that in her old years she be free from molestation.'⁸²

An examination of the committee appointments of Dorset's nominees shows that most of them were actively involved in the proceedings of the House, which often reflected particular interests and concerns. John Doddridge who was promoted to the office of King's Sergeant in 1607, was involved in all the key issues of the parliament as was his rival Sir Francis Bacon, although there is no evidence that Bacon played any part in the investigations or trials that followed the discovery of the gunpowder plot. Several other members including Henry Shelley, George Rivers, Sir Michael Hickes, Robert Sackville, Sir Thomas Bishopp and Sir John Swinarton were all appointed to committees that concerned the proposed Union. Some committee appointments related to specific areas of interest so, for instance, John Tey, Sir John Swinarton and George Rivers were concerned with matters relating to London and Tey, as deputy alnager of London, was interested in all aspects of the cloth trade.

Other committees to which Dorset's nominees were appointed concerned measures that related specifically to their patron's family and circle. In this respect George Rivers was nominated to the committee appointed to consider the restoration in blood of William Howard, Lord Howard of Naworth and the children of his deceased sister Margaret, wife of Robert Sackville, which would cancel the effect on Sackville's children of their grandfather's attainder. William Twyneho and Sir Thomas Bishopp

⁷⁹ Questier: *Community*, 44.

⁸⁰ Anthony Maria Browne, second Viscount Montague.

⁸¹ *HMC Salisbury,* Volume 19, 96-114.

⁸² A. C. Southern, (Ed.), *An Elizabethan Recusant House comprising The Life of the Lady Magdalen Viscountess Montague (1538-1608)* (London: Sands & Co. (Publishers) Limited, 1954) 54.

were appointed to consider the bill to enable Robert Sackville's son Richard, a minor, to surrender his rights as chief butler of England, and because of the Sackvilles' involvement in the Wealden iron industry, Bishopp and Robert Sackville were appointed to consider a bill to prevent the export of ordnance, while Henry Shelley and Sir Henry Compton were appointed to the committee that considered the Neville estate bill.⁸³ Furthermore, among the committee appointments of Sir Michael Hickes were three that concerned his patron and friend Robert Cecil, first Earl of Salisbury. Two of these were concerned with land transactions while the other was concerned with the restoration in blood of the children of Salisbury's brother-in-law, George Brooke.

Two of Dorset's nominees, Sir John Doddridge and John Tey, were particularly vocal on religious matters. In the aftermath of the gunpowder plot, Doddridge was nominated to the committee appointed to consider 'severe proceeding against Jesuits, Seminaries, and all other Popish Agents and Practisers; and for the Preventing and Suppressing their Plots and Practices.'⁸⁴ He was also involved in drawing up revised anti-Catholic legislation and, in response to the proposed articles for the new bill, he thought that it was impractical to prohibit recusants from keeping house. He also questioned whether legislation would compell a 'mere Spiritual Action' suggesting instead that to 'Discover a Counterfeit' 'A True Token of his conversion if he receive the Communion twice,' and he agreed that husbands should not be fined for their wives' recusancy.⁸⁵ In the debates concerning the bill to prevent the importation and distribution of popish books, Tey noted that 'bishops have licensed popish books, and against the state.'

Among Robert Sackville's committee appointments were those for religion, to attend conferences with the Lords on the recusancy laws and ecclesiastical grievances. Although there is no record in the parliamentary records of his thoughts on the recusancy legislation, he allegedly expressed his concern in a conversation with a member of the Sussex recusant Gage family, who Francis Tresham reported had

⁸³ Sir Henry Neville was Dorset's son-in-law.

⁸⁴ *CJ,* Volume 1 (1547-1629) 257.

⁸⁵ *ibid.* 263.

'marvelled that such severe laws were in making against recusants when they had been promised far better', and stated that 'as you punish us so the puritans will in time grow to punish you.' According to Tresham, Sackville was in agreement.⁸⁶

The above examination of the electoral influence of the Earl of Dorset has demonstrated the variable nature of his choices that reflected the different aspects of his official and personal life, and his pragmatic response to diversity of religious belief. The remainder of this chapter will consider the electoral patronage exercised by three peers who had closer associations to Catholicism which on the one hand will offer a comparative context, but will also show that their experiences were very similar. Each of these peers secured the return of at least one of their nominees to their main centre of electoral patronage for each of the four parliaments which, of course, was never going to be possible for Dorset during the reign of James I.

Anthony Maria Browne, second Viscount Montague

As lords of the manor of Midhurst, the Brownes had exercised electoral patronage there since the beginning of the reign of Edward VI.⁸⁷ However, after 1566 when members were required to take the oath of supremacy Anthony Browne, first Viscount Montague relinquished much of the responsibility to others, primarily the family's legal adviser and friend of the second Viscount, Sir Richard Lewknor,⁸⁸ and Sir Richard Weston, a cousin of the second Viscount. Presumably with the second Viscount's approval, they were responsible for the return of each of the eight members sent to Westminster during the Jacobean period.

In 1604 Sir Richard Weston, whose Catholic connections are well documented,⁸⁹ was returned at Midhurst, and in 1621 he secured a seat at Arundel with the support of his

⁸⁶ Questier: *Community*, 87, n. 78.

⁸⁷ http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1509-1558/constituencies/midhurst

⁸⁸ Many of Lewknor's family were Catholics and he offered private legal services to Catholic conservative gentry. Questier: *Community*, 44-45, 59-60.

⁸⁹ Michael Van Cleave Alexander, *Charles I's Lord Treasurer; Richard Weston, Earl of Portland* (1577-1635) (London and Basingstoke: The MacMillan Press Limited, 1975); Brian Quintrell, 'Weston, Richard, first Earl of Portland (*bap.* 1577, *d.* 1635)', in *ODNB*.

friend Thomas Howard, fourteenth Earl of Arundel. His colleague in 1604 was Francis Neville, a recusancy commissioner who was related to the Lewknors through his marriage to Mary, Sir Richard Lewknor's niece. Suspicions about Neville's religion were raised shortly before the wedding in 1579, when his failure to attend West Wittering church over Easter made the vicar 'doubt he is of another church and not of the church of God.' His second wife Alice, was a daughter of John Apsley of Pulborough, Sussex who had been suspected of harbouring a 'massing priest' in 1579.⁹⁰ He was also the brother of Edward Neville, eighth (or first) Baron Abergavenny and uncle of Sir Henry Neville, ⁹¹ Montague's brother-in-law. As aspects of his brother's claim to the barony of Abergavenny still required clarification, and entailed lands needed to be sold to cover the costs incurred, it is probable that Neville's sole motivation for seeking election was to oversee the passage of the necessary legislation. The parliament of 1604 was the only occasion upon which he sat in the House of Commons and of the four committees to which he was appointed, three related to the Neville estate bill.

There is no indication that either of the members returned in 1614 had any association with Catholicism. Thomas Bowyer was a cousin of Robert Bowyer whose patron was Montague's father-in-law, Thomas Sackville, first Earl of Dorset. His father had been a friend of Sir Richard Lewknor who was also a great uncle of Bowyer's first wife. In 1624 when he sat for Bramber, he was nominated to the committee that considered the bill for settling Montague's estate.⁹² Bowyer's colleague was William Courtman, a complete outsider, who probably owed his return to Richard Weston to whom he was known through the latter's father.

Richard Lewknor, a grandson of Sir Richard, was returned in 1621 and 1624 ⁹³ and in 1621 was joined by John Smith, the steward of the seventh and eighth Barons

⁹⁰ *HOP 1558-1603*, Volume 1, 348.

⁹¹ Henry Neville who succeeded his father as ninth (or second) Baron Abergavenny in 1622, married Mary, the sister of Montague's wife Jane, and daughter of Thomas Sackville, first Earl of Dorset.

⁹² *CJ,* Volume 1 (1547-1629) 755a.

⁹³ He was returned again in 1625, 1626 and 1628.

Berkeley⁹⁴ at their estates in Gloucestershire and Bosham, West Sussex. The circumstances of Smith's nomination at Midhurst are less clear, but it is likely that his motive for seeking election was to introduce a bill to confirm the Chancery decree on the Bosham customs on behalf of Lady Berkeley. Smith was probably known to Sir Richard Lewknor as they were both employed by Henry Percy, ninth Earl of Northumberland.⁹⁵ It is also possible that he was recommended through his employer whose kinsman Henry Howard, first Earl of Northampton had been one of the executors of Anthony Browne, first Viscount Montague, and in 1611 had been instrumental in brokering an agreement that allowed Anthony Maria Browne, the second Viscount, to compound with the authorities for refusing to swear the Oath of Allegiance rather than suffer total forfeiture.⁹⁶

Richard Lewknor's partner in 1624 was Sir Anthony Mayney who was married to the lady-in-waiting of Lucy, wife of William Paulet, fourth Marquess of Winchester. He was also a close friend of Sir Richard Weston, and acted with him as trustee for Montague's daughter Mary on her marriage to William Paulet, Lord Paulet, Winchester's eldest son. Another friend, Thomas Savage, (created Viscount Savage in 1626) was the husband of Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Darcy, third Baron Darcy of Chiche, and father of Jane who married John Paulet, Winchester's second son, and heir on the death of his brother William in 1621. In 1614 the Paulets secured a seat for Mayney at St. Ives but he chose to sit for Cirencester which he had represented in the previous parliament thanks to a cousin of Marchioness of Winchester, Henry Danvers, first Baron Danvers, who owned the borough.⁹⁷ Mayney was clearly closely connected to the Catholic network of the Winchesters and in 1622 he was described as 'a great Papist'.⁹⁸ Some members of his family were recusants while other members together with some friends were suspected of Catholicism.

⁹⁴ Henry Berkeley, seventh Baron Berkeley and his grandson George Berkeley, eighth Baron Berkeley.

⁹⁵ G.R. Batho (ed.), *Household Papers of Henry Percy, Ninth Earl of Northumberland* (Camden Society, Series 3, xciii), 34.

⁹⁶ Questier: *Community*, 359-361.

⁹⁷ He was returned at a by-election in 1610.

⁹⁸ Birch: *Court and Times,* Volume 2, 105.

The above members for Midhurst were chosen by a third party, yet they all seem to have been drawn from Montague's circle of family and friends. Apart from Sir Richard Weston who was nominated to 12 committees, none of which concerned any of the key issues debated in the first parliament of the reign, and John Smith who was relatively vocal on a few minor matters, Montague's nominees played no discernible part in any of the four parliaments. Four of them had close associations with Catholicism, but none of these members seem to have had anything to say about any of the religious issues that arose throughout the period.

Thomas Arundell, Baron Arundell of Wardour

The electoral patronage of Thomas Arundell, first Baron Arundell of Wardour was concentrated in Christchurch, Dorset where he owned the castle and hundred, but he also enjoyed some influence at Shaftesbury in Wiltshire, where his father, Sir Matthew Arundell, had inherited extensive monastic lands.⁹⁹

In 1604 Arundell nominated two outsiders at Christchurch. The first, Richard Martin was his legal counsel whom he regarded 'a very discreet, sufficient and honest man.' He was an active parliamentarian and during the Union debates in 1606 was closely associated with Sir Edwin Sandys, and was described by Theodore Rabb as one of the 'prominent critics of government policies.'¹⁰⁰ He was also sensitive to the needs of Catholics and had no qualms about expressing his views. In 1601 he spoke against fining recusants £20 a month (under the 1581 Act)¹⁰¹ as well as one shilling a week, and argued that 'the law will not tolerate two remedies for one inconvenience ... I can never agree in conscience to consent to a double remedy for one offence.'¹⁰² In 1606 he joined John Doddridge in arguing against fining the husbands of recusant wives 'in respect of many Particulars, that are good Subjects.'¹⁰³ The second seat went to

⁹⁹ Andrew J. Hopper, 'Arundell, Thomas, first Baron Arundell of Wardour (*c*.1560–1639),' in *ODNB*.

¹⁰⁰ Theodore K. Rabb, *Jacobean Gentleman: Sir Edwin Sandys, 1561-1629,* (Princeton, USA: Princeton University Press, 1998) 105.

¹⁰¹ Under the 1581 Act, it became a treasonable offence to convert or be converted to Catholicism, and recusancy became an indictable offence with a fine of £20 per month.

¹⁰² *HOP 1558-1603*, Volume 3, 22.

¹⁰³ *CJ*, Volume 1 (1547-1629) 263.

Nicholas Hyde who was probably recommended to Arundell by John Foyle¹⁰⁴ who had witnessed the will of Arundell's father, of which he was also a beneficiary.¹⁰⁵ It is clear that Arundell supported Hyde's candidacy as in 1614 he wrote to the mayor saying that 'whereas at the last Parliament you did grant unto me the nomination of both your burgesses, ... now I do again desire that I may have the nomination of both your burgesses ... being so near a neighbour unto you and meaning, God willing, to live amongst you'.

Christchurch acceded to Arundell's request and returned his kinsman Henry Britton, to whom he was related through the family of Henry Wriothesley, third Earl of Southampton,¹⁰⁶ and Sir Thomas Norton who was resident in Kent. Britton was a recusant in 1608¹⁰⁷ and in 1613 his house at Great Bookham in Surrey was searched for arms. In 1621 he was returned for Gatton but the underhand tactics employed to secure his election by the lord of the manor William Copley, a Catholic, resulted in the loss of his seat following an investigation by the Committee for Privileges which also reported that he was 'suspected for his religion.'¹⁰⁸ It is possible that Norton was also a Catholic as in 1626 he was reported by the church wardens of Reculver, Kent, for not attending church or receiving communion since arriving in the parish in 1625. Neither of the 1614 members was appointed to any committees, although Sir Henry Britton did contribute to the debates generated by the parliamentary undertakings and, ironically in view of the circumstances of his election at Gatton in 1621, Sir Thomas Parry's manipulation of the Stockbridge election.

In 1621 Arundell successfully nominated Sir Robert Phelips who held property at Corfe Mullen and, as the borough was happy to accept Arundell's nominees in previous

During the reign of Charles I, Foyle was employed by Edward Stourton, ninth Baron Stourton and John Paulet, fifth Marquess of Winchester, both of whom were Catholics.
 ¹⁰⁵ Sin Author and John Paulet, the paulet has a start to be paulet and be paulet.

⁵ Sir Matthew Arundell bequeathed a cloak each to John Foyle and John Budden, the second witness of the will. *HOP 1558-1603*, Volume 1, 352.

 ¹⁰⁶ Britton's great aunt was the sister of the Thomas Wriothesley, first Earl of Southampton, and Arundell's first wife was Mary, daughter of Henry Wriothesley, second Earl of Southampton.
 ¹⁰⁷ C.C.P. Demostic Journal (4602, 4640) Melaware 24, 444

C.S.P. Domestic, James I (1603-1610) Volume 31, 414.

¹⁰⁸ *P D House of Commons 1620 & 1621,* Volume 1, 20. His sister was in the same Augustinian convent in Flanders as two daughters of William Copley.

parliaments, it is feasible that his cousin Sir George Hastings, ¹⁰⁹ a local resident, was also returned as a result of his support. When Phelips chose to represent Bath where he was a leading member of the Somerset gentry, Arundell nominated his London neighbour Nathaniel Tomkins, a close friend of Phelips and servant of the Prince of Wales. Once again neither of the members returned seem to have made any significant contribution to the proceedings, although as there was another member in the House called 'Hastings' it is difficult to be certain who the records referred to. Phelips on the other hand, in a major snub to Arundell's earlier assistance, gave unequivocal support for the petition against Catholics in this parliament and again in 1624, when Christchurch re-elected Hastings and Tomkins.

At Shaftesbury it is possible that Arundell nominated John Boden in 1604 as Arundell's father had employed him in a number of roles, but as he was also a prominent member of the local community, it is possible that he was returned without Arundell's support. Boden had served as steward to the Catholic Edward Stourton, ninth Baron Stourton who was implicated in the gunpowder plot and imprisoned, and was also associated with Thomas, Viscount Howard of Bindon,¹¹⁰ the lord lieutenant of the county, who later interceded with Robert Cecil, first Earl of Salisbury on his behalf.

In 1614 Sir Henry Croke, an outsider may have been recommended to Arundell by members of his mother's family who were recusants,¹¹¹ although as Croke's sister-in-law¹¹² had inherited property in Motcombe a few miles to the north of Shaftesbury, his nomination may have emanated from that quarter. In 1621 Thomas Sheppard, a Shrewsbury lawyer was returned with Arundell's support, but he was swiftly ejected

¹⁰⁹ Their mothers were cousins. Hastings' mother was Dorothy, daughter of Sir Francis Willoughby of Wollaton, Nottinghamshire, the brother of Sir Henry Willoughby whose daughter Margaret, (courtier to Elizabeth I) was Arundell's mother. As no letter of recommendation exists in respect of Sir George Hastings' electoral success in 1621 it is unclear whether Arundell was involved. In 1624 Hastings wrote to Arundell asking for his recommendation which could suggest that Arundell had recommended him in 1621, but on this occasion Arundell declined Hastings' request in favour of John Eltonhed, although the borough chose to elect Hastings again.

It is possible that he was a Catholic, or closely associated with Catholicism, but owing to a lack of evidence, he is not included among the 'Catholic' peers who are the main focus of this study.
 Her father was Sir Michael Blount of Mapledurham, Oxfordshire.

¹¹² His brother Sir John Croke, Member of Parliament for Oxfordshire in 1614 and Shaftesbury in 1628, married Rachel, daughter and heiress of Sir William Webb of Motcombe.

from the House as a result of a speech deriding a bill for punishing abuses committed on the Sabbath.¹¹³ Simonds D'Ewes later described Sheppard as 'a base, jesuited Papist' after he made 'foul and slanderous speeches against the late memorable Queen Elizabeth and her mother'¹¹⁴ for which he was committed to Marshalsea prison. Perhaps ironically, Sheppard's replacement was Percy Herbert,¹¹⁵ who converted to Catholicism in the 1630s, and although there is no indication of his religious views before that date, it probable that he temporised for some while before his final conversion. He was also a nephew of Henry Percy, ninth Earl of Northumberland whose sister (Percy Herbert's mother) was reported to the Commons as an 'obstinate Papist' 1624.¹¹⁶

Edward Somerset, fourth Earl of Worcester

Despite his senior position within government circles, the electoral patronage of Edward Somerset, fourth Earl of Worcester was limited to Monmouthshire where his family seat, Raglan Castle, was situated, and where he was lord lieutenant, and Monmouth Boroughs, the county's only constituency. As well as the town of its name, Monmouth Boroughs consisted of a number contributory boroughs four of which, Caerleon, Newport, Trellech and Usk, were owned by the Earls of Pembroke, while the Earls of Worcester owned just one, Chepstow, and the Nevilles owned Abergavenny. Nonetheless, it appears that Worcester was able to maintain control over the elections throughout the period.

Robert Johnson, who had been an auditor for the south Wales estates of Worcester's father, and seems to have been inclined to Puritanism, was returned for Monmouth Boroughs in 1597, 1601, 1604 and 1614, but in a complete *volte face*, Thomas Ravenscroft who was closely associated with the local Catholic community, was returned in 1621. The election of the Scottish courtier, Walter Steward, Worcester's candidate in 1624, caused a stir in the Lower House owing to his denizen status.

¹¹³ Birch: *Court and Times,* Volume 2, 79.

¹¹⁴ E. Bourcier (ed.): *D'Ewes Diary, 1622-4,* 142 *cited in HOP 1604-1629,* Volume 6, 298.

¹¹⁵ He was a cousin of William Herbert, third Earl of Pembroke.

¹¹⁶ *CJ,* Volume 1 (1547-1629) 27 April 1624.

Steward's decision not to sit until his eligibility had been confirmed brought the whole question of the election of members who were not naturalized before the privileges committee. Such members had sat in the House before, but because no one had raised the question of their eligibility to sit at the time, it was concluded that they had not set a precedent. Steward's naturalization bill passed both Houses in 1624, but as he was not naturalized at the time of his election, it was ruled that he could not take his place.

Monmouthshire was an English county, but the rules governing elections resembled those of Welsh counties in so far as only one member was permitted to be returned for each constituency. In 1604 Worcester successfully nominated his son, Thomas, for the county seat.¹¹⁷ He was a member of Prince Henry's circle, but in 1616 he married Ellen, a daughter of David Barry, third Viscount Buttevant, a Catholic and active supporter of the Earl of Desmond's¹¹⁸ rebellion in 1579. In the 1624 parliament he was presented as a 'Popish Recusant'¹¹⁹ officeholder and in the 1630s was involved with the group a Catholic peers who signed a protestation against the appointment by the papacy of Bishop Richard Smith,¹²⁰ but it is difficult to say whether he was a Catholic in 1604. He was educated by a Protestant tutor but one of his friends at Magdalen College in the 1590s, William Tayler, was seminarist. In 1614 Worcester secured the return of his steward William Jones, who was married to Jane Gwillim, a Catholic, for which reason he was also presented as a recusant officeholder in 1624. After 1614 Worcester's electoral patronage at county level seems to have ceased and in his stead William Herbert, third Earl of Pembroke, appointed Lord Chamberlain in 1615, emerged as the dominant influence.

There are two possible explanations for the demise in Worcester's influence. The first could be associated with the decline of his influence in government circles, as in 1616 he was compelled to resign his office as Master of the Horse to George Villiers, then Earl of Buckingham. He was compensated with an annuity of £1,500 and appointment

¹¹⁷ He sat for the county in the parliament of 1601.

¹¹⁸ Gerald fitz James Fitzgerald, fourteenth Earl of Desmond (*c*.1533–1583).

¹¹⁹ *CJ,* Volume 1 (1547-1629) 27 April 1624.

¹²⁰ Questier: *Caroline Newsletters*, 78.

to the lesser office of lord privy seal. At about the same time Pembroke was promoted to the position of Lord Chamberlain, one of the three most important offices, thereby increasing the scope of his power as a patron. Worcester's exodus from county elections may also have occurred as a result of the growing concern over the activities of the substantial Catholic community resident in Monmouthshire as expressed in 1609 by Ralph Eure, third Baron Eure, Lord President of Wales, who considered that 'few causes arise in the shire which are not made a question betwixt the Protestant and the recusant,' and by Sir William Morgan, member for the county in 1624 and 1625. Worcester was, after all, the main patron to the large number of Catholics in the county and both his nominees, Somerset and Jones, appeared on the 1624 petition against recusant officeholders. It is possible that this is another instance where religion determined the involvement of a Catholic peer in the electoral process, although it has been suggested that Worcester may have willingly conceded his influence to Pembroke.

The above examples of the electoral patronage of a conformist peer who was at the centre of an extensive Catholic network, as well as being one of the most senior officials in the government of James I, and that of three peers whose Catholicism was more pronounced, have given an inclusive representation of the involvement of Catholic peers in this important element of the parliamentary process. They demonstrate that there was nothing extraordinary about the participation of these peers, except perhaps the obvious Catholic associations of some of their nominees. By asserting their influence in the return of members to the House of Commons, these peers were merely carrying out their duties and exercising the rights associated with their tenurial and official status that, in common with the rest of the English peerage, were also an important element of their traditional role within the governing elite. The significance of this is highlighted by the involvement of peers who, other than sending in their proxies, participated no further in the day to day proceedings of parliament.

Overall Catholic peers faced very little opposition as a consequence of their own or their nominees' associations with Catholicism, as indeed some Protestant peers too

were not averse to nominating such individuals. The refusal of some constituencies to accept their candidates was more often based on a determination to retain control of their own elections rather than differences in religion or an increase in political awareness. Even when fears of Catholicism were growing, in 1621 the number of constituencies that returned members with Catholic associations actually increased. Admittedly there was a relatively significant decline in 1624 but it is too simplistic to attribute all rejections to James I's dynastic policy, concerns over religion, events on the Continent or a more politicised electorate.

Extensive use of the *HOP* online search engine has also revealed links that point to the existence of extensive Catholic family networks among members of the House of Commons that reached far beyond county boundaries. In this respect Michael Questier observed that the 'policy on the marriage market of some of the leading Catholics of the period was to arrange clearly Catholic matches for their children, often outside their own county.'¹²¹ However the scope of this chapter has only allowed for these to be touched upon very briefly. Moreover, during these investigations numerous members of the House of Commons who were either closet Catholics or closely associated with Catholicism, but who owed their return to local interests, have also come to light. While acknowledging that it is impossible to be precise, Andrew Thrush calculated that some 24 closet Catholics or Catholic sympathizers sat in the House of Commons in the parliaments of 1604 and 1614, reducing to 18 in 1624. I would suggest, however, that it is worthwhile investigating this element of the membership of the House of Commons more closely, as it seems likely that these figures may require some revision.

It is acknowledged that the number of members returned by these peers was insignificant when set against the total membership of the House of Commons over the period, but even so, this chapter has added a further important dimension to the participation of Catholic peers in the parliamentary process. This research does not contend that the House of Commons was awash with Catholics, or that 'soundness in religion' was not increasingly an important factor in elections, but the readiness of

¹²¹ Questier: *Community*, 60.

many Catholics to conform to the established church is further evidence that conformity was not just a means of avoiding potentially ruinous recusancy fines. It also represented an effective pragmatic response to the prevailing religio-political climate which enabled these individuals to reinforce their local status and exercise patronage and family preferment, and at the same time demonstrate their loyalty to the regime and participate in politics at a national level.

This investigation has shown that the involvement of Catholic peers in the choice of members to sit in the House of Commons was an important aspect of their role as members of the English peerage. In general terms, their patronage was just as acceptable to their nominees and the electorate as that of Protestant peers. It is clear, therefore, that Catholic peers' involvement in elections is yet another example of their participation in the parliamentary process that belies any notion of their withdrawal from the political arena. It is also hoped that these enquiries have offered some further insight into the nature of the membership of the Jacobean House of Commons, and highlighted some of the complexities within English society as a whole that will contribute towards current debates about the nature of English Catholicism at this time.

Chapter 8

CONCLUSION

It is hoped that this thesis has achieved its two main aims, namely to contribute to our understanding of Jacobean Parliaments through enhanced appreciation of the role of Catholic peers in the House of Lords. This may be seen as part of a wider movement amongst many historians - of both Protestant and Roman Catholic persuasions - to reintegrate the history of English Catholicism within our wider understanding of early modern society. This is seen as imperative to coming to any full appreciation of the place of English Catholics in their localities and also, most important, the return of many Catholic peers to positions of power at court and in Westminster.

This thesis has discussed the problematic matter of definition, nor is it completely definitive even now. Much has also changed over the course of writing this thesis as evidence has been uncovered that has challenged earlier impressions of peers' religious allegiances. What is significant is that we can talk meaningfully about 46 Catholic peers playing a role in the workings of the Jacobean parliaments, something largely overlooked to date.

English Catholics received a substantial boost on the accession of James I, something well captured by the number of Catholics promoted to the peerage at the beginning of the reign, and provision of baronetcies to large numbers in 1611, alongside so many Protestants. Thomas Howard was restored to his title as Earl of Arundel, while Edward Neville successfully claimed his peerage as Baron Abergavenny. Approximately half of the Privy Council that emerged after 1603 were Catholics or those with strong Catholic ties; this included one Scotsman. Pauline Croft has examined the willingness of the regime in 1611 to allow other Catholics to take advantage of the opportunity to acquire a measure of status, and demonstrate their loyalty to the king, and has demonstrated the popularity of the new title of baronet among Catholics.¹

Croft: Baronets.

It is important to emphasize that English Catholic peers were summoned to Parliament as of right, commanded even, to play their part in 'government.' They not only regularly attended the House of Lords under James I, indeed, sometimes as much as or even more often than their Protestant counterparts, but they also played a full part in the operation of committees, even those that considered some of the key issues of the reign.

Even those Catholics who did not attend, played a small part in proceedings by use of the proxy system and their involvement in electoral patronage, and thus should still be considered as part of the parliamentary process. An examination of their absence has shown how wrong it is to assume that the failure of Catholic peers to attend the House of Lords was as a result of their indifference or withdrawal, as it was customary for members of the Upper House to adopt a strategy of avoidance rather than be seen to openly oppose government policy. While this sits neatly with notions of 'harmony' and 'unity,' in an era when position and status depended heavily on the support of a powerful patron, and the font of all patronage was the king, it is probable also that an important consideration in their policy of avoidance was self preservation. This was especially apparent in 1624 when peers had to choose between their loyalties to James I or to his son, Charles, the future king, who was reported to have 'threatened to remember those who have participated in the evil counsels of his father.'²

There is also clear evidence that Catholic peers used their proxies for political ends, and could change their allegiance and appoint different proctors whose political position was closer to their own. For instance, in 1621 the Catholic William, fourth Baron Eure appointed Buckingham as his proctor in 1621 because at that time he was in favour of the proposed marriage of Prince Charles to the Spanish Infanta. By the parliament of 1624, however, the Duke was advocating a completely contrary policy of cessation of the Spanish treaties and war. In response, Eure chose to appoint the Catholic Francis Manners, sixth Earl of Rutland who opposed the policy being pursued by Buckingham and Prince Charles. Thomas Darcy, Viscount Colchester changed his

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proctor too, from Ludovick Stuart, Earl of Richmond to Rutland, probably for the same reasons.

An examination of peers' proxies also gives a sense of Catholic cohesion, while at the same time emphasizes the integrated nature of English society by demonstrating how familial, kinship and patronage ties could transcend differences in religious outlook. Indeed one of the overriding themes that has emerged from these enquiries is that of Catholic integration at least in the higher echelons of society.

This has been particularly evident from enquiries directed at the electoral system. Perhaps a rather surprising finding – although it should not have been surprising really given other work on parliamentary patronage³ – is that Catholic peers did play a strong part in influencing the election of members to the House of Commons. An important element of the rights and duties attached to their position as manorial lords was to nominate members to sit in the House of Commons.

These enquires have also shown that there is little clear evidence to suggest that any Catholic peer was excluded or that his nominees were rejected, specifically on the grounds of religion. Familial and kinship ties could transcend religious differences, especially when pitted against local factional rivalries. Catholic peers were not averse to influencing the election of Protestants to the House of Commons, neither were Protestant peers averse to nominating candidates with close associations to Catholicism. Nor was it was unheard of for Catholic peers to collude with those more inclined to Puritanism and support a puritan's candidacy, or for their clients to align themselves against them when a seat in the House of Commons was at stake. Hence one major finding of this thesis is that both at Westminster and in their counties, English Catholics played an important part as full members of the political establishment after 1603.

3

See for instance, Gruenfelder: Influence; Levy Peck: Northampton.

Catholic peers were not averse to doing the same kind of deals as those conducted by so many who sought to influence early modern Stuart elections. Much more work is needed, probably through close interrogation of the biographies produced by the *History of Parliament Trust*, to extrapolate larger patterns or networks of association between Catholics in the Commons and in the Lords. My findings to date (see maps) reflect the electoral patronage of Catholic peers and this has uncovered networks of families associated with Catholicism who had members in the House of Commons. Moreover, from my trawl through the volumes of the above biographies, it has become clear that the extent of such networks was much greater than we have hitherto appreciated.

We are not dealing with simple polarities here. English Catholics may frequently be found to be intermarrying with Protestant families. The distinction made by contemporaries between 'conforming' and 'converting' is not at all clear, as labels such as 'papist' were generally banded about quite randomly, although more purposefully during times when anti-Catholic sentiment was heightened. It is not until one delves further into the lives of conforming Catholics that a clearer picture emerges of individuals' religious affiliation. In this respect the importance of Michael Questier's⁴ volumes of letters that passed between networks of Catholic priests both in England and the continent, has been immeasurable, as has the more recent work of the *Nuns Project*. ⁵

When employing the concept of 'spheres of influence', it is apparent that Catholics returned to court in numbers, operated openly in many London households and were treated by their peers as equals. This is an area that has received some attention from historians such as David Starkey, Neil Cuddy,⁶ and Linda Levy Peck,⁷ but it is also an area with potential to be explored from the point of view of the number of Catholics that had access to the royal households, especially the bedchamber. Those closest to

 ⁴ Questier: Birkhead Newsletters; Questier: Dynastic Policy; Questier: Caroline Newsletters. Nuns Project

⁶ Neil Cuddy, 'The Revival of the Entourage: The Bedchamber of James I 1603-1625' in David Starkey et al (eds.), *The English Court from the Wars of the Roses to the Civil War* (London: Longman, 1992).

⁷ Levy Peck: *Court Patronage.*

the monarch were in the enviable position of controlling access to James, and therefore patronage, and there is evidence to suggest that several Catholics were among them. As important landowners in their counties Catholic peers would serve as Lords Lieutenant and on commissions for the peace. A glance through the biographical sketches contained in Chapter 4 above gives some indication of the number of regional offices they held, and this is an area that might be worthwhile externalizing in order to gain broader picture of role of Catholics in early modern government and administration, as well as the relationship between centre and localities.

It is not claimed that Catholics had an easy time, or that their service continued at the same rate throughout the reign, or grew or declined in any particular pattern. Rather, their appearance in parliament was subject to all of life's vagaries and contradictions regarding how some members of the same family might be more or less prominent in parliament. 1621 did mark the disappearance of a number of old parliamentarians, leading to a 'power vacuum' as far a leading Catholics were concerned. 1624 was different in that for the very first time in the reign, Catholics were asked to swear the Oath of Allegiance and even take communion before they were permitted to enter the Chamber. This in turn, however, is an interesting comment on how late in the reign such considerations of tests of loyalty came to matter. This requirement to take the Oath had theoretically always existed, but had never really been enforced before.

Although there was a discernible change first registered in 1621, but clearer in 1624, when Catholics were not appointed in large numbers, they still appeared on most committees. What appears to have caused the change was the death of leading English Catholic peers – the change from one generation to another – coupled with the developments in the political climate of the mid 1620s.

What becomes apparent from this study though, is that the tumultuous events of the reign surrounding the gunpowder plot and the later assassination of Henry IV of France had little impact on the participation of English Catholics in Parliament, even if a few did spend some time in prison! The later problems surrounding the Spanish Match,

did have some impact, but again this became more apparent in the reign of Charles I rather than that of James. It was in 1625 that the House of Commons considered large lists of those in government with Catholic family connections, a device first employed in the Parliament of 1624. There is, however, very little evidence that their fellow peers ever attacked them on grounds of their Catholic faith or leanings; indeed, there is evidence of support for them when those lists were compiled for investigation in 1624.

It is not claimed that Catholics ever represented a group or bloc in the House of Lords in the manner that some have presented the puritan 'choir' in the past. Moreover, in seeing their distribution across all committees, it is possible to speculate how their votes might have weighed with a conservative establishment. It is suggestive for example, that the increase in the number of Catholics on bills concerning religious matters in the parliamentary session of 1606, might have been useful to Archbishop Bancroft in his mobilising of bishops and potential allies in combating calls from the Commons for ecclesiastical reform. It might even be possible to claim, in line with the views of Fincham and Lake on ecclesiastical policy under James I,⁸ that Catholics in Parliament were used to promote the broader policy of carving out middle ground for moderates between puritans and Catholic recusants. Likewise, it might be possible to argue that the problems caused by shifting foreign policy later in the reign, left Catholics exposed just as it did the newly emerging Arminians.

On occasions when Catholic peers got into trouble in the Upper House, it was not to do with their religion, but rather with their factional alliances. Hence, for example, Arundel's problems in 1624 stemmed from his close association with Cranfield. The big counter example, of course, is the case of Anthony Maria Browne, second Viscount Montague who was expelled in 1604 for being too critical of anti-Catholic legislation. This may have been a case of poor presentation and it also remains a counter example that proves the rule.

8

Fincham & Lake: Ecclesiastical Policy: James.

I hope this research has demonstrated the value of asking basic questions about the workings of parliament and the status of Catholics in post Reformation English society. It has been a long journey for me, one in which I have frequently despaired, yet one which I hope has produced useful information for others to mine. The field has changed substantially over the last 20 years and what I hope I have now contributed – if nothing else – is a useful stab at providing a prosopographical list of English Catholics in the House of Lords, together with tables and maps charting their attendance, committee work and networks of influence.

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LEGEND

Not yet succeeded or elevated to title	\bigcirc
Group 1 Catholic (as defined by this study)	\bigcirc
Deceased	
Minor	\bigcirc
Attending	
Excluded	\bigcirc
New to House	\bigcirc
	\bigcirc
Absent	А
Created	с.
Succeeded	s.
Summoned	su.
Restored	r.
Member of Parliament	MP
Married	m.
Member of the Privy Council as mentioned in Proclamation	P/C
Elizabeth I	Е
James I	J

HOUSE OF LORDS 1604-1624 MEMBERSHIP AND ATTENDANCE¹

Parliament	1604	1606/7	1610	1614	1621	1624
Total Number of Sessions	70	182	116	29	107	93
Arundell, Thomas (1560-1639)		50	50	12	A	A
Baron Arundell of Wardour (c. 1605)						
Bacon, Francis (1561–1626)					25	
Baron Verulam (c. 1618)						
Viscount St. Alban (c. 1621)						
Berkeley, Henry (1534-1613)	8	A	A			
Baron Berkeley (s. 1534)	_					
Berkeley, George (1601-1658)						65
Baron Berkeley (s. 1613)						
Bertie, Robert (1582-1642)	21	62	70	25	37	70
Baron Willoughby of Eresby (s. 1601)						
WRIT - 5.4.1604						
Blount, Charles (1563-1606)	41	17				
Baron Mountjoy (s. 1581)						
Earl of Devonshire (c. 1603)						
Bourchier, William (1557-1623)	3	2	6	Α	Α	
Earl of Bath (s. 1561)						
Bourchier, Edward (b.1575-1636)						Α
Earl of Bath (s. 1623)						
Browne, Anthony Maria (1574-1629)	44	Α	Α	Α	4	4
Viscount Montague (s. 1592)						
Brydges, Grey (1578/9-1621)	45	90	2	17	45	
Baron Chandos (s. 1602)						
Burke, Richard (1572-1635)						Α
Viscount Tunbridge (c. 3.4.1624)						
Carew, George (1555-1629)		84	20	21	67	68
Baron Carew (c. 1605)		04	20	21	07	08
Carey, John (1563-1617)	66	148	72	27		
Baron Hunsdon (s. 1603)	00	140	12	27		
. ,					02	00
Carey, Henry (c. 1580- 1666)					93	86
Baron Hunsdon (s. 1617) Viscount Rochford (c. 6.7.1621)						
						70
Carey, Robert (1560-1639)						73
Baron Carey (c. 1622)						
Carr, Robert (1585/6?–1645)				14	А	Not
Viscount Rochester (c. 1611)						in LJ
Earl of Somerset (c. 1613)						
Cavendish, William (1551–1626)		66	97	24	98	78
Baron Cavendish (c. 1605)						
Earl of Devonshire (c. 1618)						
Cavendish, William (<i>b</i> .1593, <i>d</i> .1676)					20	38
Viscount Maunsfield (c. 1620)						

Parliament	1604	1606/7	1610	1614	1621	1624
Total Number of Sessions	70	182	116	29	107	93
Cecil, Robert (1563-1612)	32	129	72			
Baron Cecil (c. 1603)						
Earl of Salisbury (c. 1605)						
Cecil, William (1591-1668)				18	72	69
Earl of Salisbury (s. 1612)						
Cecil, Thomas (1542-1623)	32	75	64	Α	Α	
Baron Burghley (s. 1598)						
Earl of Exeter (c. 1605)						
Cecil, William (1566-1640)						61
Earl of Exeter (s. 1623)						
Clifford, George (1558-1605)	31					
Earl of Cumberland (s. 1570)						
Clifford, Francis (1559-1641)		113	97	22	16	1
Earl of Cumberland (s. 1605)						
Clifton, Gervase (1579-1618)			7	А		
Baron Clifton (c. 1608)						
Clinton, Henry (1542-1616)	35	35	3	А		
Earl of Lincoln (s. 1585)						
Clinton, Thomas (1568-1619)			30	А		
Baron Clinton (su. 1610)						
Earl of Lincoln (s. 1616)						
Clinton, Theophilus (1600-1667)					65	76
Earl of Lincoln (s. 1619)						
Compton, William (1568-1630)	51	90	30	26	80	68
Baron Compton (s. 1589)						
Earl of Northampton (c. 1618)						
Cranfield, Lionel (1575-1645)					13	32
Baron Cranfield (c. 9.7.1621)						
Earl of Middlesex (c. 1622)						
Cromwell, Edward (<i>c</i> .1559-1607)	15	9				
Baron Cromwell (s. 1592)						
Cromwell, Thomas (<i>c</i> .1594-1653)					84	76
Baron Cromwell (s. 1607)						
Danvers, Henry (1573-1644)	45	71	61	14	96	54
Baron Danvers (c. 1603)						
Darcy, John (1579-1635)	25	22	78	27	57	41
Baron Darcy and Menell (s. 1602)						
Darcy, Thomas (1565-1640)	38	116	24	20	14	13
Baron Darcy of Chiche (s. 1581)						
Viscount Colchester (c. 1621)						
Denny, Edward (1569-1637)	Not	108	45	23	84	73
Baron Denny (c. 1604)	in LJ					

Parliament	1604	1606/7	1610	1614	1621	1624
Total Number of Sessions	70	182	116	29	107	93
Devereux, Robert (1591-1646)				24	93	88
Earl of Essex (r. 1604)						
Digby, John (1580-1653)					44	A
Baron Digby (c. 1618)						
Earl of Bristol (c. 1622)						
Egerton, Thomas (1540-1617)	68	176	111	28		
Baron Ellesmere (c. 1603)						
Viscount Brackley (c. 1616)						
Egerton, John (1579-1649)					99	76
Viscount Brackley (s. 1617)						
Earl of Bridgewater (c. 1617)						
Eure, Ralph (1558-1617)	42	82	72	19		
Baron Eure (s. 1594)						
Eure, William (c.1579-c.1646)					А	А
Baron Eure (s. 1617)						
Feilding, William (1587-1643)					89	68
Viscount Feilding (c. 1620)						
Earl of Denbigh (c. 1622)						
Fiennes, Richard (c.1557–1613)	64	133	110			
Baron Saye and Sele (s. 1573)						
Fiennes, William (1582-1662)				21	82	87
Baron Saye and Sele (s. 1613)						
Gerard, Thomas (d.1618)	62	116	90	13		
Baron Gerard (c. 1603)						
Gerard, Gilbert (<i>d</i> .1622)					66	
Baron Gerard (s. 1618)						
Greville, Fulke (1554-1628)					21 ²	30
Baron Brooke (c. 1621)						
Grey, Henry (1541-1615)	1	Α	Α	Α		
Earl of Kent (s. 1573)						
Grey, Charles (1545-1623)					Α	
Earl of Kent (s. 1615)						
Grey, Henry (1583-1639)						69
Earl of Kent (s. 1623)						
Grey, Henry (1547-1614)	26	1	Α	А		
Baron Grey of Groby (c. 1603)		-				
Grey, Henry (1599-1673)					71	49
Baron Grey of Groby (s. 1614)					, ,	.5
Grey, William (1593/4-1674)						76
Baron Grey de Warke (c. 1624)						,0

Parliament	1604	1606/7	1610	1614	1621	1624
Total Number of Sessions	70	182	116	29	107	93
Hamilton, James (1589-1625)					85	69
Earl of Cambridge (c. 1619)						
Harington, John (1539/40-1613)	Not	Not	16			
Baron Harington (c. 1603)	in LJ	in LJ				
Hastings, George (1540-3.12.1604)	Α					
Earl of Huntingdon (s. 1595)						
Hastings, Henry (1586-1643)		35	94	24	74	А
Earl of Huntingdon (s. 1604)						
WRIT - 19.2.1607						
Hay, James (1580-1636)					52	46
Baron Hay (c. 1615)						
Viscount Doncaster (c. 1618)						
Earl of Carlisle (c. 1622)						
Herbert, Philip (1584-1650)		51	57	26	77	69
Earl of Montgomery (c. 1605)						
Herbert, William (1580-1630)	52	143	86	28	77	69
Earl of Pembroke (s. 1601)						
Holles, John (<i>d</i> .1637)					59	54
Baron Haughton (c. 1616)						
Howard, Charles (1536-1624)	51	128	85	26	A	A
Earl of Nottingham (c. 1596)						
Howard, William (1577-1615)	60	121	14	13		
Baron Howard of Effingham (su. 1604)						
Howard, Henry (1540-1614)	54	156	100	A		
Earl of Northampton (c. 1604)						
Howard, Thomas (1561-1626)	62	143	95	28	76	21
Baron Howard of Walden (su. 1597)						
Earl of Suffolk (c. 1603)						
Howard, Theophilus (1584-1640)			57	18	95	77
Baron Howard of Walden (su. 1610)	.		76			
Howard, Thomas (1585-1646)	Not	93	76	A	88	74
Earl of Arundel (r. 1603)	in LJ		_			
Howard, Thomas (d. 1611)	3	A	8			
Viscount Howard of Bindon (s. 1590)						70
Howard, Thomas (1590-1669)						70
Baron Howard of Charlton (c. 1622)						
Viscount Andover (c. 1622)	70	150	0.0	20	0	45
Knollys, William (1545-1632)	70	156	98	28	9	45
Baron Knollys (c. 1603) Viscount Wallingford (c. 1616)						
			67	25	10	
Knyvett, Thomas (1558-1622) Baron Knyvett (c. 1607)			67	25	48	

Parliament	1604	1606/7	1610	1614	1621	1624
Total Number of Sessions	70	182	116	29	107	93
Lennard, Henry 1569/70-1616) Baron Dacre (s. 1612)				22		
					F 2	7
Lennard, Richard (1596-1630) Baron Dacre (s. 1616)					53	/
Lumley, John (c.1533-1609)	А	Α				
Baron Lumley (s. 1545)		A				
Manners, Roger (1576-1612)	34	58	40			
Earl of Rutland (s. 1588)		50	40			
Manners, Francis (1578-1632)				25	76	54
Earl of Rutland (s. 1612)						
Montagu, Edward (c.1562-1644)					19	75
Baron Montague of Boughton (c. 1621)						
Montague, Henry (<i>c</i> .1564-1642)					88	80
Baron Kimbolton (c. 1620)						
Viscount Maundeville (c. 1620)						
Mordaunt, Henry (1568-1609)	18	Α				
Baron Mordaunt (s. 1601)						
Mordaunt, John (1599-1644)					32	41
Baron Mordaunt (s. 1609)						
Neville, Edward (1550-1622)	34	160	70	24	71	
Baron Abergavenny (r. 1604)						
Neville, Henry (1573-1641)						2
Baron Abergavenny (s. 1622)						
Noel, Edward (<i>b</i> .1582-1643)					49	54
Baron Noel (c. 1617)						
Norris, Francis (1579-1622) ³	48	61	37	6	22	
Baron Norris (s. 1601)						
Earl of Berkshire (c. 1621)						
North, Dudley (b.1581/2-1666)	51	68	85	21	93	58
Baron North (s. 1600)	Nut	70	0.2	24	0.4	
Paget, William (1572-1629)	Not	70	92	24	94	80
Baron Paget (r. 1603)	in LJ	102	17	0		
Parker, Edward (1551-1618) Baron Morley (s. 1577)	52	102	47	9		
Parker, William (1574/5-1622)	50	83	61	20	10	
Baron Monteagle (su. 1604)	50	63	61	20	10	
(and Morley s. 1618)						
Parker, Henry (1600-1655)						16
Baron Morley and Monteagle (s. 1622)						10

Parliament	1604	1606/7	1610	1614	1621	1624
Total Number of Sessions	70	182	116	29	107	93
Paulet, William (d.1629)	2	3	4	Α	А	А
Marquess of Winchester (s. 1598)						
Paulet, John (1598-1675)						56
Baron St. John de Basing (su. 1624)						
Percy, Henry (1564-1632)	44	А	А	А	А	А
Earl of Northumberland (s. 1585)						
Petre, John (1549-1613)	56	134	96			
Baron Petre (c. 1603)						
Petre, William (1575-1637)				25	85	68
Baron Petre (s. 1613)						
Radcliffe, Robert (1573-1629)	42	61	54	14	52	43
Earl of Sussex (s. 1593)						
Ramsay, John (1580-1626)					41	18
Baron Kingston-upon-Thames (c. 1621)						
Earl of Holderness (c. 1621)						
Rich, Robert (<i>c</i> .1559-1619)	10	55	16	20		
Baron Rich (s. 1581)						
Earl of Warwick (c. 1618)						
Rich, Robert (1587-1658)					87	27
Earl of Warwick (s. 1619)						
Rich, Henry (1590-1649)						А
Baron Kensington (c. 1623)						
Roper, Christopher (1561-1622)					А	
Baron Teynham (s. 1616)						
Roper, John (<i>c</i> .1581-1628)						2
Baron Teynham (s. 1622)						
Russell, Edward (1572-1627)	21	41	49	А	А	А
Earl of Bedford (s. 1585)						
Russell, William (1553-1613)	39	98	92			
Baron Russell (c. 1603)						
Russell, Francis (1593-1641)				22	88	79
Baron Russell (s. 1613)						
St. John, Oliver (1545-1618)	58	155	106	26		
Baron St. John of Bletsoe (s. 1596)						
St. John, Oliver (1584-1646)					94	83
Baron St. John of Bletsoe (s. 1618)						

Parliament	1604	1606/7	1610	1614		21	16	
Total Number of Sessions	70	182	116	29	107		9	3
Sackville, Thomas (c.1536-1608)	60	149						
Baron Buckhurst (c. 1567)								
Earl of Dorset (c. 1604)								
Sackville, Richard (1589-28.3.1624)			85	22	8	7	31	
Earl of Dorset (s. 1609)								
Sackville, Edward (1590-1652)								А
Earl of Dorset (s. 1624)								
Sandys, William (d.1623)	Α	A	А	А	Å	7		
Baron Sandys (s. 1560)								
Scrope, Thomas (1567-1609)	51	101						
Baron Scrope (s. 1592)								
Scrope, Emanuel (1584-1630)			16	23	6	5	3	8
Baron Scrope (s. 1609)								
Seymour, Edward (1539-6.4.1621)	54	83	66	19	3			
Earl of Hertford (c. 1559)								
Seymour, William (1587-1660)						Α	ļ	1
Baron Beauchamp (su. 1621)								
Earl of Hertford (s. 1621)								
Sheffield, Edmund (1565-1646)	44	115	43	17	9	2	7	0
Baron Sheffield (s. 1568)								
Sidney, Robert (1563-1626)	43	116	64	18	5	3	6	9
Baron Sidney (c. 1603)								
Viscount Lisle (c. 1605)								
Earl of Leicester (c. 1618)								
Somerset, Edward (1550-1628)	59	146	85	19	5	8	6	9
Earl of Worcester (s. 1589)								
Somerset, Henry (1577-1646)	50	64	17	1	A	7	ŀ	7
Baron Herbert (su. 1604)								
Spencer, Robert (1570-1627)	57	28	80	25	7	1	6	5
Baron Spencer (c. 1603)								
Stafford, Edward (1573-1625)	64	86	59	25	9	2	3	0
Baron Stafford (s. 1603)								
Stanhope, John (1540-9.3.1621)		140	90	7	1			
Baron Stanhope of Harrington (c. 1605)								
Stanhope, Charles (1595-1675)						18	4	5
Baron Stanhope of Harrington (s. 1621)								
Stanhope, Philip (1583/4-1656)					2	8		3
Baron Stanhope of Shelford (c. 1616)								
Stanley, William (<i>b</i> .1561-1642)	23	13	30	27		L	ļ	1
Earl of Derby (s. 1594)	_	_	_					
Stourton, Edward (1555-1633)	61	Α	А	Α	9	8	8	1
Baron Stourton (s. 1588)						-		-

Parliament	16	604	1606/7	1610	1614	1621	1624
Total Number of Sessions	7	0	182	116	29	107	93
Stuart, Ludovick (1574-16.2.1624)	İ 🗌				21	75	
Earl of Richmond (c. 1613)							
Duke of Richmond (c. 1623)							
Stuart, Esmé (1579-1624)						90	А
Earl of March (c. 1619)							
Sutton, Edward (1567-1643)	5	0	46	49	А	77	83
Baron Dudley (s. 1586)							
Talbot, Gilbert (1552-1616)	6	52	141	102	24		
Earl of Shrewsbury (s. 1590)							
Talbot, George (1567-1630)						А	А
Earl of Shrewsbury (s. 1616)							
Touchet , George (1550/51-1617)		5	2	25	А		
Baron Audley (s. 1594)							
Touchet , Mervyn (1593-1631)						13	А
Baron Audley (s. 1617)							
Vaux, Edward (1588-1661)						0	3
Baron Vaux (s. 1595)							
Vere, Edward de (1550–1604)	А						
Earl of Oxford (s. 1562)							
Vere, Henry de (1593-1625)					А	74	52
Earl of Oxford (s. 1604)							
Villiers, George (1592-1628)						53	39
Viscount Villiers (c. 1616)							
Marquess of Buckingham (c. 1618)							
Duke of Buckingham (c. 1623)							
Villiers, Christopher (<i>d.</i> 1630)							62
Earl of Anglesey (c. 1623)							
Villiers, John (1591-1658)						А	А
Viscount Purbeck (c. 1619)							
Wentworth, Thomas (1591-1667)					8	74	79
Baron Wentworth (s. 1593)							
West, Thomas (1577-1618)	5	2	79	А	19		
Baron de la Warr (s. 1602)							
West, Henry (1603-1628)						А	53
Baron de la Warr (s. 1618)							
Wharton, Philip (1555-1625)	6	52	3	10	6	2	Not
Baron Wharton (s. 1572)							in LJ
Willoughby, Charles (1536/7-1612)	2	.8	25	A			
Baron Willoughby of Parham (s. 1570)							
Willoughby, William (1584-1617)					22		
Baron Willoughby of Parham (s. 1612)							

Parliament Total Number of Sessions	1604 70	1606/7 182	1610 116	1614 29	1621 107	1624 93
Windsor, Henry (1562-1605) Baron Windsor (s. 1585)	43					
Windsor, Thomas (1591-1641) Baron Windsor (s. 1605)				26	64	14
Wotton, Edward (1548-1628) Baron Wotton (c. 1603)	59	153	92	26	12	A
Wriothesley, Henry (1573-1624) Earl of Southampton (r. 1603)	48	117	68	27	74	84
Zouche, Edward la (1556-1625) Baron Zouche (s. 1569)	64	147	99	23	69	A

¹ For ease of reference and to maintain consistency, the membership is in alphabetical order according to the family name of peers rather than the title. This was essential to avoid confusion because the promotion of some peers changed the order of precedence. The colour coding is in accordance with the Legend.

² He was created Baron Brooke of Beauchamps Court on 29th January 1621 but as the patent was not sealed until July of that year, he continued to sit in the House of Commons and was introduced into the House of Lords of 19th November 1621. *GEC Peerage*, Volume 2, 332; *LJ*, Volume 3: *1620-1628*, 161-163.

³ *C.S.P.* Domestic, James I (1619-1623) Volume 127, 341-353 and McClure: *Chamberlain*, Volume 2, 423. *GEC Peerage*, Volume 2, 150, incorrectly states the date of death of Francis Norris, Earl of Berkshire as '29 Jan. 1623/4.'

HOUSE OF LORDS 1601¹ MEMBERSHIP

William Paulet, Marquess of Winchester	Sir Thomas Egerton, Lord Keeper
Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford	Sackville, Thomas, Baron Buckhurst
Lord Great Chamberlain	Lord Treasurer
Robert Radcliffe, Earl of Sussex	Henry Carey, Baron Hunsdon
Earl Marshal	Lord Chamberlain
Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham	George Touchet, Baron Audley
Lord Admiral	Edward la Zouche, Baron Zouche
Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland	Thomas West, Baron de la Warr
Gilbert Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury	Henry Berkeley, Baron Berkeley
William Stanley, Earl of Derby	Edward Parker, Baron Morley
Henry Grey, Earl of Kent	Henry Brooke, Baron Cobham ²
Edward Somerset, Earl of Worcester	Edward Stafford, Baron Stafford
George Manners, Earl of Rutland	Thomas Grey, Baron Grey of Wilton ³
George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland	Thomas Scrope, Baron Scrope
George Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon	Edward Sutton, Baron Dudley
William Bourchier, Earl of Bath	John Lumley, Baron Lumley
Edward Russell, Earl of Bedford	Edward Stourton, Baron Stourton
William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke	Charles Blount, Baron Mountjoy
Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford	John Darcy, Baron Darcy and Menell
Henry Clinton, Earl of Lincoln	William Sandys, Baron Sandys
	Henry Windsor, Baron Windsor
Anthony Maria Browne	Henry, Baron Mordaunt
Viscount Montague	Edward Cromwell, Baron Cromwell
Thomas Howard, Viscount Howard of Bindon	Ralph Eure, Baron Eure
	Philip Wharton, Baron Wharton
	Robert Riche, Baron Riche
	Charles Willoughby,
	Baron Willoughby of Parham
	Edmund Sheffield, Baron Sheffield
	Thomas Darcy, Baron Darcy of Chiche
	William Brydges, Baron Chandos
	Oliver St. John, Baron St. John of Bletsoe
	Thomas Cecil, Baron Burghley
	William Compton, Baron Compton
	Francis Norris, Baron Norris
	Thomas Howard, Baron Howard of Walden

¹ Unless otherwise stated the information in this table has been obtained from *LJ* Volume 2 (1578-1614) 255-257 and from the relevant entries in *GEC Peerage* and *ODNB*.

² In 1603 Lord Cobham was tried and convicted for his involvement in the Bye Plot (a scheme to kidnap King James in order to secure guarantees of toleration for Catholics in England) and the Main Plot (a scheme to overthrow King James and replace him with Arabella Stuart). He was attainted and remained in the Tower for many years.

³ In 1603 Lord Grey of Wilton was implicated in the Bye and Main Plots and imprisoned in the Tower. See note 2 above.

HOUSE OF LORDS 1601-1624 MARQUESSES, EARLS, VISCOUNTS, BARONS¹

	Ba	rons	Visco	ounts	Ea	irls	Marquesses		Total
	Catholic	Protestant	Catholic	Protestant	Catholic	Protestant	Catholic	Protestant	
2									
1601 ²	11	21	1	1	6	10	1	0	51
1604 ³	14	30	1	1	9	12	1	0	68
1606/7 ⁴	14	32	1	2	10	15	1	0	75
1610 ⁵	14	35	1	2	9	14	1	0	76
1614 ⁶	15	35	1	1	10	17	1	0	80
1621 ⁷	16	30	3	5	11	27	1	1	94
1624 ⁸	17	29	4	5	10	27	1	1 Duke	94

¹ The figures in this Table represent the actual numbers of peers listed in the *LJ*, and reflect instances of death without male issue or succession of a minor, as well as generational shifts in religious allegiance.

² *LJ, V*olume 2 (1578-1614) 258-259.

³ *ibid.* 264-265.

⁴ *ibid.* 537-539.

⁵ *ibid.* 682-683.

⁶ *ibid.* 716-717.

⁷ *LJ, V*olume 3 (1620-1628) 199-201.

⁸ *ibid.* 420-425.

Name	Title	Date
Cr	eations 1603-1610	
Knollys, William (1545-1632)	Baron Knollys	1603
Petre, John (1549-1613)	Baron Petre	1603
Wotton, Edward (1548-1628)	Baron Wotton	1603
Howard, Henry (1540-1614)	Earl of Northampton	1604
Arundell, Thomas (1560-1639)	Baron Arundell of Wardour	1605
Cecil, Robert (1563-1612)	Baron Cecil	1603
Danvers, Henry (1573-1644)	Baron Danvers	1603
Egerton, Thomas (1540-1617)	Baron Ellesmere	1603
Gerard, Thomas (d.1618)	Baron Gerard	1603
Grey, Henry (1547-1614)	Baron Grey of Groby	1603
Harington, John (1539/40-1613)	Baron Harington	1603
Russell, William (1553-1613)	Baron Russell	1603
Sidney, Robert (1563-1626)	Baron Sidney	1603
	Viscount Lisle	1605
Spencer, Robert (1570-1627)	Baron Spencer	1603
Denny, Edward (1569-1637)	Baron Denny	1604
Herbert, Philip (1584-1650)	Earl of Montgomery	1605
Carew, George (1555-1629)	Baron Carew	1605
Cavendish, William (1551–1626)	Baron Cavendish	1605 £2,000 ²
Stanhope, John (1540-1621)	Baron Stanhope of Harrington	1605
Knyvett, Thomas (1558-1622)	Baron Knyvett	1607
Clifton, Gervase (1579-1618)	Baron Clifton	1608
Res	torations 1604-1610	
Howard, Thomas (1585-1646)	Earl of Arundel	18.4.1604
Neville, Edward (1550-1622)	Baron Abergavenny	su. 26.5.1604
Wriothesley, Henry (1573-1624)	Earl of Southampton	16.5.1603
Devereux, Robert (1591-1646)	Earl of Essex	18.4.1604
Paget, William (1572-1629)	Baron Paget	18.4.1604
		su. 5.11.1605
Peers Sum	nmoned in Fathers' Barony	
Somerset, Henry (1577-1646)	Baron Herbert	1604
	(son of Earl of Worcester)	
Parker, William (1574/5-1622)	Baron Monteagle ³	1604
	(son of Baron Morley)	
Howard, Theophilus (1584-1640)	Baron Howard of Walden	1610
	(son of Earl of Suffolk)	
Howard, William (1577-1615)	Baron Howard of Effingham	1604
	(son of Earl of Nottingham)	
Clinton, Thomas (1568-1619)	Baron Clinton	1610
	(son of Earl of Lincoln)	

CREATIONS, RESTORATIONS, SUMMONS and PROMOTIONS 1603-1624 $^{\rm 1}$

CREATIONS, RESTORATIONS,	SUMMONS and PROMOTIONS 1603-1624

Name	Title	Date	
<u>C</u> 1	reations 1611-1624		
Stuart, Ludovick (1574-1624)	Earl of Richmond	1613	
Dormer, Robert (1551-1616)	Baron Dormer	1615	$\pm 10,000^4$
Roper, John (<i>d</i> .1627)	Baron Teynham	1616	£10,000 ⁵
Stuart, Esmé (1579-1624)	Earl of March	1619	•
Burke, Richard (1572-1635)	Viscount Tunbridge	1624	
Carr, Robert	Viscount Rochester	1611	
Hay, James	Baron Hay	1615	
Holles, John (d.1637)	Baron Haughton	1616	$\pm 10,000^{6}$
Stanhope, Philip (1583/4-1656)	Baron Stanhope of Shelford	1616	£10,000 ⁷
Villiers, George (1592-1628)	Viscount Villiers	1616	
Noel, Edward (<i>b</i> .1582-1643)	Baron Noel	1617	
Bacon, Francis (1561–1626)	Baron Verulam	1618	
Digby, John (1580-1653)	Baron Digby	1618	
Hamilton, James (1589-1625)	Earl of Cambridge	1619	
Villiers, John (1591-1658)	Viscount Purbeck	1619	
Cavendish, William (1593-1676)	Viscount Maunsfield	1620	
Montague, Henry (c.1564-1642)	Viscount Maundeville	1620	£20,000 ⁸
Feilding, William (1587-1643)	Viscount Feilding	1620	
Greville, Fulke (1554-1628)	Baron Brooke	29.1.1621 but	
		patent	t sealed
		July 16	521.
Ramsay, John (1580-1626)	Earl of Holderness	22.1.1	621
Montague, Edward (1562/3–1644)	Baron Montagu of Boughton	29.6.1	621
Cranfield, Lionel (1575-1645)	Baron Cranfield	09.7.1	621
Howard, Thomas (1590-1669)	Viscount Andover	22.1.1	622
Carey, Robert (1560-1639)	Baron Carey	1622	
Rich, Henry (1590-1649)	Baron Kensington	1623	
Villiers, Christopher (d.1630)	Earl of Anglesey	1623	
Grey, William (1593/4-1674)	Baron Grey of Warke	1624	£ ?9
Peers Sum	moned in Fathers' Baronies		
Seymour, William (1587-1660)	Baron Beauchamp	1621	
· · · · ·	(grandson of Edward Seymour,		
	Earl of Hertford)		
Paulet, John (1598-1675)	Baron St. John of Basing	1624	
	(son of Marquess of		
	Winchester)		

Name	Title	Date	
Pro	motions 1604-1610		
Howard, Thomas (1561-1626)	Earl of Suffolk	1603	
Baron Howard of Walden (su. 1597)			
Sackville, Thomas (1536-1608)	Earl of Dorset	1604	
Baron Buckhurst (c. 1567)			
Blount, Charles (1563-1606)	Earl of Devonshire	1603	
Baron Mountjoy (s. 1581)			
Cecil, Thomas (1542-1623)	Earl of Exeter	1605	
Baron Burghley (s. 1598)			
Cecil, Robert (1563-1612)	Earl of Salisbury	1605	
Baron Cecil (c. 1603)			
Sidney, Robert (1563-1626)	Viscount Lisle	1605	
Baron Sidney (c. 1603)			
Pro	motions 1611-1624		
Knollys, William (1545-1632)	Viscount Wallingford	1616	
Baron Knollys (c. 1603)			
Compton, William (1568-1630)	Earl of Northampton	1618	
Baron Compton (s. 1589)			
Darcy, Thomas (1565-1640)	Viscount Colchester	1621	
Baron Darcy of Chiche (s. 1581)			
Carr, Robert (1586/6-1645)	Earl of Somerset	1613	
Viscount Rochester (c. 1611)			
Egerton, Thomas (1540-1617)	Viscount Brackley	1616	
Baron Ellesmere (c. 1603)			
Holles, John (<i>d</i> .1637)	Earl of Clare	1624	£5,000 ¹⁰
Baron Haughton (c. 1616)			
Villiers, George (1592-1628)	Marquess of Buckingham	1618	
Viscount Villiers (c. 1616)	Duke of Buckingham	1623	
Cavendish, William (1551–1626)	Earl of Devonshire	1618	£10,800 ¹¹
Baron Cavendish (c. 1605)			
Hay, James (1580-1636)	Viscount Doncaster	1618	£ ? ¹²
Baron Hay (c. 1615)	Earl of Carlisle	1622	
Rich, Robert (1559?-1619)	Earl of Warwick	1618	
Baron Rich (s. 1581)			
Sidney, Robert (1563-1626)	Earl of Leicester	1618	
Baron Sidney (c. 1603)			
Viscount Lisle (c. 1605)			
Bacon, Francis (1561–1626)	Viscount St. Alban	1621	
Baron Verulam (c. 1618)			
Carey, Henry (c. 1580- 1666)	Viscount Rochford	1621 ¹³	5
Baron Hunsdon (s. 1617)			

CREATIONS, RESTORATIONS, SUMMONS and PROMOTIONS 1603-1624

Name	Title	Date				
Promotions 1611-1624 (continued)						
Norris, Francis (1579-1622) Baron Norris (s. 1601)	Earl of Berkshire	1621				
Cranfield, Lionel (1575-1645) Baron Cranfield (c. 9.7.1621)	Earl of Middlesex	1622				
Feilding, William (1587-1643) Viscount Feilding (c. 1620)	Earl of Denbigh	1622				
Digby, John (1580-1653) Baron Digby (c. 1618)	Earl of Bristol	1622				
Stuart, Ludovick (1574-1624) Earl of Richmond (c. 1613)	Duke of Richmond	1623				
Fiennes, William (1582-1662) Baron Saye and Sele (s. 1613)	Viscount Saye and Sele	1624				

CREATIONS, RESTORATIONS, SUMMONS and PROMOTIONS 1603-1624

- ⁵ In 1615 the king promised Buckingham the reversionary rights of the office of Chief Clerk for the enrolment of pleas in the Court of King's Bench, worth about £4,000 per annum, an office previously in the possession in the disgraced Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset. The actual office was in the possession of Sir John Roper who was willing to pay £10,000 for a barony in exchange for allowing Buckingham to succeed him in the office. In 1616 the large sums required to launch James Hay, first Baron Hay on an expensive embassy to Paris and Madrid and were raised by selling two baronies to Sir John Holles and Sir John Roper (above) for £10,000 each. Stone: *Crisis*, 53; Lockyer: *Buckingham*, 30-32; *C.S.P. Domestic*, James I (1611-1618) Volume 88, 380; Volume 89, 407; Volume 90, 433. For a concise account of the downfall of Robert Carr, first Earl of Somerset (above) see Alastair Bellany, 'Carr, Robert, earl of Somerset (1585/6?–1645)' in *ODNB*.
- ⁶ P. R. Seddon, 'Holles, John, first earl of Clare (*d*.1637)', in *ODNB*.
- ⁷ P. R. Seddon, 'Stanhope, Philip, first earl of Chesterfield (1583/4–1656)', in *ODNB*.
- ⁸ He paid £20,000 for the office of Lord Treasurer. Brian Quintrell, 'Montagu, Henry, first earl of Manchester (*c*.1564–1642)', in *ODNB*.
- ⁹ On 21st February 1624 John Chamberlain reported to Dudley Carleton that the 'youngest baron was Sir ... Gray that maried Sir John Wentworths daughter, who came newly out of the mint, his patent beeing scant drie. He was made at the suit of the Duke of Richmond, for his brother the earle of March, but when yt came to the payment Secretarie Conway has 4,000*l*. of the monie, till he had found another for himself, and then to repay yt.' *McClure: Chamberlain,* Volume 2, 546.

¹ Unless otherwise stated the information in this table has been obtained from the relevant entries in *GEC Peerage* and *ODNB*. For instances where new peerages, promotions or death within the peerage occurred during a parliament, the full date of the creation/promotion/death has been given.

² This is the earliest evidence of the sale of a title during the reign of James I. Arabella Stuart had been given a patent for a peerage in 1605 and nominated Sir William Cavendish who paid £2,000 for his baronage. Stone: *Crisis,* 50-51.

³ It is unclear whether he was summoned in the barony of his maternal grandfather, or whether his title was a new creation. See page 141, note 1.

⁴ *C.S.P. Domestic,* James I (1611-1618) Volume 80, 288-291; *Carew Letters*, 13 and Stone: *Crisis* 107.

¹⁰ See notes 3 and 4 above. During the parliaments of 1621 and 1624 he remained on the bench of barons as he was not created Earl of Clare until 2nd November 1624.

¹³ As he was promoted to Viscount Rochford on 6th July 1621 he did not sit in the House of Lords under his new title until November 1621.

¹¹ This transaction again involved Arabella Stuart. Carole Levin, 'Cavendish, William, first earl of Devonshire (1551–1626)', IN *ODNB*.

¹² See note 3 above. On Hay's return he was made a viscount in return for money which was used to buy hangings to furnish houses along the route of James's journey to Scotland in 1617. He was also given patents to create two barons although I have not been able to discover to whom these were bestowed. Stone: *Crisis*, 53

CREATIONS AND PROMOTIONS IN THE ENGLISH PEERAGE PROBABLY ATTRIBUTABLE TO OR INVOLVING BUCKINGHAM 1616-1624

Date	Creation/ Promotion	Name	Relationship/ Circumstances
1616	Creation	John Roper, Baron Teynham ¹	See note 1 below.
1617	Creation	Edward Noel, Baron Noel ²	Sale of his Dalby estates to Buckingham coincided with his peerage.
1618	Promotion	Francis Bacon, Baron Verulam Viscount St. Alban ³	Friend and Adviser.
1618	Promotion	William Compton Baron Compton Earl of Northampton ⁴	Brother, Sir Thomas Compton, married Buckingham's mother.
1619	Creation	James Hamilton Earl of Cambridge⁵	Friend. In 1622 his son and heir, James, married Buckingham's niece Lady Mary Feilding.
1619	Creation	John Villiers Viscount Purbeck ⁶	Brother
1620	Creation	Henry Montagu Viscount Maundeville	He paid £20,000 for the office of Lord Treasurer. The transaction was listed as part of Buckingham's impeachment in 1626. ⁷
1621	Promotion	Francis Norris, Baron Norris Earl of Berkshire ⁸	Condition of a marriage alliance between Buckingham's friend Edward Wray and Norris's daughter, Elizabeth.
1621	Promotion	Thomas Darcy, Baron Darcy of Chiche Viscount Colchester ⁹	Linked with Buckingham.
1622	Creation	Thomas Howard Viscount Andover ¹⁰	Condition of a property transaction involving the sale of Wallingford House by Viscount Wallingford to Buckingham.
1622	Creation	William Feilding Earl of Denbigh ¹¹	Brother-in-law.
1622	Creation	Lionel Cranfield Earl of Middlesex ¹²	Client. In 1620 he married Buckingham's cousin, Anne Brett.
1623	Creation	Christopher Villiers Earl of Anglesey ¹³	Brother.
1623	Creation	Henry Rich Baron Kensington ¹⁴	Client.
1624	Promotion	William Fiennes Viscount Saye and Sele ¹⁵	Buckingham's influence.
1624	Creation	Richard Burke Viscount Tunbridge ¹⁶	Friend and Client.

- ¹ *GEC Peerage*, Volume 12A, 680. See Table 1.4 above, note 3.
- ² *GEC Peerage*, Volume 2, 516; Martyn Bennett, 'Noel, Edward, second Viscount Campden (*bap.* 1582, *d.* 1643)', in *ODNB* and *Lockyer: Buckingham*, 53-54.
- ³ *GEC Peerage*, Volume 11, 282-285 and Markku Peltonen, 'Bacon, Francis, Viscount St Alban (1561–1626)', in *ODNB*.
- ⁴ *GEC Peerage*, Volume 9, 677-678 and *Lockyer: Buckingham*, 10.
- ⁵ *GEC Peerage,* Volume 6, 259; David Stevenson, 'Hamilton, James, second marquis of Hamilton (1589–1625)', in *ODNB* and *Lockyer: Buckingham,* 36.
- ⁶ *GEC Peerage*, Volume 10, 684 and Stuart Handley, 'Villiers, John, Viscount Purbeck (1591–1658)', in *ODNB*.
- ⁷ Brian Quintrell, 'Montagu, Henry, first earl of Manchester (*c*.1564–1642)', in *ODNB*.
- ⁸ *GEC Peerage*, Volume 9, 646-647; and F. D. A. Burns, 'Norris, Francis, earl of Berkshire (1579–1622)' in ODNB.
- ⁹ *GEC Peerage*, Volume 3, 361 and John Walter, 'Savage, Elizabeth, suo jure Countess Rivers (1581–1651)', in *ODNB*. Sir Thomas Savage, son-in-law of Thomas Darcy, third Baron Darcy of Chiche (created first Viscount Colchester in 1621), was a close friend of Buckingham and assisted in the negotiations for the marriage of Buckingham to Katherine Manners, daughter of Francis Manners, sixth Earl of Rutland. *Lockyer: Buckingham*, 59.
- ¹⁰ The promotion of Thomas Howard, the second son of Thomas Howard, first Earl of Suffolk, to Viscount Andover was part of a deal involving Buckingham's acquisition of Wallingford House from William Knollys who had been promoted to Viscount Wallingford in 1616. The house was in a prime position next to the royal palace of Whitehall and overlooking St. James's Park. Knollys was not only Howard's brother-in-law but also brother-in-law to Frances Carr (née Howard) Countess of Somerset, who had been a prisoner with her husband in the Tower following their conviction for involvement in the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury in 1613. Wallingford agreed that Buckingham could buy the house for £3,000, a sum that fell well short of its true value, on the condition that the Earl and Countess of Somerset were freed, and Thomas Howard was promoted to Viscount. *Lockyer: Buckingham*, 19. 'The Marquis of Buckingham hath contracted with the Lord and Lady Wallingford for their house neere Whitehall, for some monies, and the making of Sir Thomas Howard baron of Charleton and Viscount Andover, and some thincke the deliverie of the Lord of Somerset and his Lady out of the Towre was part of the bargain.' McClure: *Chamberlain*, Volume 2, 421.
- ¹¹ *GEC Peerage*, Volume 4, 178; Andrew Thrush, 'Feilding, William, first earl of Denbigh (*c*.1587–1643)', in *ODNB* and Lockyer: *Buckingham*, 16.
- ¹² *GEC Peerage*, Volume 8, 688; Michael J. Braddick, 'Cranfield, Lionel, first earl of Middlesex (1575–1645)', in *ODNB* and Lockyer: *Buckingham*, 48-50, 54 & 71-75.
- ¹³ *GEC Peerage*, Volume 1, 132 and A. F. Pollard, 'Villiers, Christopher, first earl of Anglesey (*d.* 1630)', rev. Sean Kelsey in *ODNB*.
- ¹⁴ *GEC Peerage*, Volume 6, 538; and R. Malcolm Smuts, 'Rich, Henry, first earl of Holland (*bap.* 1590, *d.* 1649)' in *ODNB*.
- ¹⁵ *GEC Peerage*, Volume 11, 486. In the 1624 parliament Saye supported Buckingham in his attack on the Lord Treasurer, Lionel Cranfield, first Earl of Middlesex. Through Buckingham's influence he was created Viscount Saye and Sele on 7 July 1624. David L. Smith, 'Fiennes, William, first Viscount Saye and Sele (1582–1662)' and *Lockyer: Buckingham*, 175.
- ¹⁶ *GEC Peerage*, Volume 3, 230-231 and Colm Lennon, 'Burke, Richard, fourth earl of Clanricarde and first earl of St Albans (1572–1635)', in *ODNB*.

HOUSE OF LORDS 1610-1624 PEERS WHO TOOK THE OATH OF ALLEGIANCE¹

	1610	1614	1621	1624
Arundell, Thomas (1560-1639)	✓		А	Α
Baron Arundell of Wardour (c. 1605)				
Bacon, Francis (1561-1626)			✓	
Lord Verulam (c. 1618), Viscount St. Alban (c. 1621)				
Berkeley, Henry (1534-1613)	А			
Baron Berkeley (s. 1534)				
Berkeley, George (1601-1658)				\checkmark
Baron Berkeley (s. 1613)				
Bertie, Robert (1582-1642)	✓			
Baron Willoughby of Eresby (s. 1601)				
Blount, Charles (1563-1606)				
Baron Mountjoy (s. 1581), Earl of Devonshire (c. 1603)				
Bourchier, William (1557-1623)	✓	Α	А	
Earl of Bath (s. 1561)				
Bourchier, Edward (b 1575-1636)				А
Earl of Bath (s. 1623)				
Browne, Anthony Maria (1574-1629)	Α	А		
Viscount Montague (s. 1592)				
Brydges, Grey (1578/9-1621)				
Baron Chandos (s. 1602) No oath recorded in LJ				
Burke, Richard (1572-1635)				
Viscount Tunbridge (c. 1624) No oath recorded in LJ				Α
Carew, George (1555-1629)		\checkmark		
Baron Carew (c. 1605)				
Carey, John (1563-1617)				
Baron Hunsdon (s. 1603) No oath recorded in LJ				
Carey, Henry (c.1580- 1666)			\checkmark	
Baron Hunsdon (s. 1617), Viscount Rochford (c. 1621)				
Carey, Robert (1560-1639)				\checkmark
Baron Cary (c. 1622)				
Carr, Robert (1586/6-1645)		\checkmark	А	Not
Viscount Rochester (c. 1611), Earl of Somerset (c. 1613)				in LJ
Cavendish, William (1551-1626)	\checkmark			
Baron Cavendish (c. 1605), Earl of Devonshire (c. 1618)				
Cavendish, William (b.1593-1676)			\checkmark	
Viscount Maunsfield (c. 1620)				
Cecil, Robert (1563-1612)				
Baron Cecil (c. 1603), Earl of Salisbury (c. 1605)	P/C			
Cecil, William (1591-1668)		✓		
Earl of Salisbury (s. 1612)				

HOUSE OF LORDS 1610-1624 PEERS WHO TOOK THE OATH OF ALLEGIANCE

	1610	1614	1621	1624
Cecil, Thomas (1542-1623)	✓	А	Α	
Baron Burghley (s. 1598), Earl of Exeter (c. 1605)				
Cecil, William (1566-1640)				
Earl of Exeter (s. 1623) No oath recorded in LJ				
Clifford, George (1558-1605)				
Earl of Cumberland (s. 1570)				
Clifford, Francis (1559-1641)	✓			Α
Earl of Cumberland (s. 1605)				
Clifton, Gervase (1579-1618)		А		
Baron Clifton (c. 1608) No oath recorded in LJ				
Clinton, Henry (1542-1616)	✓	А		
Earl of Lincoln (s. 1585)				
Clinton, Thomas (1568-1619)	✓	А		
Baron Clinton (su. 1610), Earl of Lincoln (s. 1616)				
Clinton, Theophilus (1600-1667)				
Earl of Lincoln (s. 1619) No oath recorded in LJ				
Compton, William (1568-1630)	✓			
Baron Compton (s. 1589), Earl of Northampton (c. 1618)				
Cranfield, Lionel (1575-1645)			✓	
Baron Cranfield (1621), Earl of Middlesex (c. 1622)				
Cromwell, Edward (<i>c</i> .1559-1607)				
Baron Cromwell (s. 1592)				
Cromwell, Thomas (<i>c</i> .1594-1653)			✓	
Baron Cromwell (s. 1607)				
Danvers, Henry (1573-1644)	✓			
Baron Danvers (c. 1603)				
Darcy, John (1579-1635)	✓			
Baron Darcy and Menell (s. 1602)				
Darcy, Thomas (1565-1640)				
Baron Darcy of Chiche (s. 1581)				
Viscount Colchester (c. 1621) No oath recorded in LJ				
Denny, Edward (1569-1637)	\checkmark			
Baron Denny (c. 1604)				
Devereux, Robert (1591-1646)		\checkmark		
Earl of Essex (r. 1604)				
Digby, John (1580-1653)			~	А
Baron Digby (c. 1618), Earl of Bristol (c. 1622)				
Egerton, Thomas (1540-1617)	P/C			
Baron Ellesmere (c. 1603), Viscount Brackley (c. 1616)				
Egerton, John (1579-1649)			~	
Earl of Bridgewater (s. 1617)				

HOUSE OF LORDS 1610-1624 PEERS WHO TOOK THE OATH OF ALLEGIANCE

	1610	1614	1621	1624
Eure, Ralph (1558-1617)	✓			
Baron Eure (s. 1594)				
Eure, William (c.1579-c.1646)			А	А
Baron Eure (s. 1617)				
Feilding, William (1587-1643)			✓	
Earl of Denbigh (c. 1622)				
Fiennes, Richard (c.1557-1613)	✓			
Baron Saye and Sele (s. 1573)				
Fiennes, William (1582-1662)		✓		
Baron Saye and Sele (s. 1613)				
Gerard, Thomas (d.1618)	✓			
Baron Gerard (c. 1603)				
Gerard, Gilbert (d. 1622)			✓	
Baron Gerard (s. 1618)				
Greville, Fulke (1554-1628)			\checkmark	
Baron Brooke (c. 1621)				
Grey, Henry (1541-1615)	Α	А		
Earl of Kent (s. 1573)				
Grey, Charles (1545-1623)			А	
Earl of Kent (s. 1615)				
Grey, Henry (1583-1639)				✓
Earl of Kent (s. 1623)				
Grey, Henry (1547-1614)	А	А		
Baron Grey of Groby (c. 1603)				
Grey, Henry (1599-1673)			✓	
Baron Grey of Groby (s. 1614)				
Grey, William (1593/4-1674)				✓
Baron Grey of Warke (c. 1624)				
Hamilton, James (1589-1625)			✓	
Earl of Cambridge (c. 1619)				
Harington, John (1539/40-1613)	✓			
Baron Harington (c. 1603)				
Hastings, George (1540-3.12.1604)				
Earl of Huntingdon (s. 1595)				
Hastings, Henry (1586-1643)	~			А
Earl of Huntingdon (s. 1604)				
Hay, James (1580-1636)			\checkmark	
Baron Hay (c. 1615), Viscount Doncaster (c. 1618)				
Earl of Carlisle (c. 1622)				
Herbert, Philip (1584-1650)	\checkmark			
Earl of Montgomery (c. 1605)				

HOUSE OF LORDS 1610-1624 PEERS WHO TOOK THE OATH OF ALLEGIANCE

	1610	1614	1621	1624
Herbert, William (1580-1630)	✓			
Earl of Pembroke (s. 1601)				
Holles, John (d.1637)			✓	
Baron Haughton (c. 1616)				
Howard, Charles (1536-1624)	\checkmark		Α	А
Earl of Nottingham (c. 1596)				
Howard, William (1577-1615)		\checkmark		
Baron Effingham (su. 1604)				
Howard, Henry (1540-1614)	P/C	А		
Earl of Northampton (c. 1604)				
Howard, Thomas (1561-1626)	P/C			
Baron Howard of Walden (s. 1597)				
Earl of Suffolk (c. 1603)				
Howard, Theophilus (1584-1640)	 ✓ 			
Baron Howard of Walden (su. 1610)				
Howard, Thomas (1585-1646)	 ✓ 	A		
Earl of Arundel (r. 1603)				
Howard, Thomas (d.1611)				
Viscount Howard of Bindon (s. 1590) No oath recorded in LJ				
Howard, Thomas (1590-1669)				✓
Viscount Andover (c. 1622)				
Knollys, William (1545-1632)	P/C			
Baron Knollys (c. 1603), Viscount Wallingford (c. 1616)				
Knyvett, Thomas (1558-1622)	~			
Baron Knyvett (c. 1607)				
Lennard, Henry (1569/70-1616)		~		
Baron Dacre (s. 1612)				
Lennard, Richard (1596-1630)			~	
Baron Dacre (s. 1616)				
Lumley, John (c.1533-1609)				
Baron Lumley (s. 1545)				
Manners, Roger (1576-1612)	✓			
Earl of Rutland (s. 1588)				
Manners, Francis (1578-1632)		✓		
Earl of Rutland (s. 1612)				
Montague, Henry (c. 1564-1642)			~	
Baron Kimbolton (c. 1620), Viscount Maundeville (c. 1620)				
Mordaunt, Henry, (1568-1609)				
Baron Mordaunt (s. 1601)				
Mordaunt, John (1599-1644)				
Baron Mordaunt (s. 1609) No oath recorded in LJ				

HOUSE OF LORDS 1610-1624 PEERS WHO TOOK THE OATH OF ALLEGIANCE

	1610	1614	1621	1624
Neville, Edward (1550-1622)	✓			
Baron Abergavenny (r. 1604)				
Neville, Henry (1573-1641)				
Baron Abergavenny (s. 1622) No oath recorded in LJ				
Noel, Edward (<i>b</i> .1582-1643)			✓	
Baron Noel (c. 1617)				
Norris, Francis (1579-1622)	✓			
Baron Norris (s. 1601), E. Berkshire (c. 1621)				
North, Dudley (b.1581/2-1666)	✓			
Baron North (s. 1600)				
Paget, William (1572-1629)	✓			
Baron Paget (r. 1603)				
Parker, Edward (1551-1618)	✓			
Baron Morley (s. 1577)				
Parker, William (1574/5-1622)	✓			
Baron Monteagle (c. 1605), (and Morley s. 1618)				
Parker, Henry (1600-1655)				✓
Baron Morley and Monteagle (s. 1622)				
Paulet, William (d.1629)		А	А	А
Marquess of Winchester (s. 1598) No oath recorded in LJ				
Paulet, John (1598-1675)				~
Baron St. John of Basing (su. 1624)				
Percy, Henry (1564-1632)	A	А	А	Α
Earl of Northumberland (s. 1585)				
Petre, John (1549-1613)	✓			
Baron Petre (c. 1603)				
Petre, William (1575-1637)		\checkmark		
Baron Petre (s. 1613)				
Radcliffe, Robert (1573-1629)	✓			
Earl of Sussex (s. 1593)				
Ramsay, John (1580-1626)			✓	
Earl of Holderness (c. 1621)				
Rich, Robert (1559?-1619)				
Baron Rich (s. 1581)				
Earl of Warwick (c. 1618) No oath recorded in LJ				
Rich, Robert (1587-1658)			\checkmark	
Earl of Warwick (s. 1619)				
Rich, Henry (1590-1649)				А
Baron Kensington (c. 1623)				

HOUSE OF LORDS 1610-1624 PEERS WHO TOOK THE OATH OF ALLEGIANCE

	1610	1614	1621	1624
Roper, Christopher (1561-1622)			Α	
Baron Teynham (s. 1618)				
Roper, John (1581-1628)				
Baron Teynham (s. 1622) No oath recorded in LJ				
Russell, Edward (1572-1627)	\checkmark	Α	Α	А
Earl of Bedford (s. 1585)				
Russell, William (1553-1613)	\checkmark			
Baron Russell of Thornhaugh (c. 1603)				
Russell, Francis (1593-1641)		\checkmark		
Baron Russell (s. 1613)				
St. John, Oliver (1545-1618)	\checkmark			
Baron St. John de Bletsoe (s. 1596)				
St. John, Oliver (1584-1646)			✓	
Baron St. John de Bletsoe (s. 1618)				
Sackville, Thomas (c.1536-1608)				
Baron Buckhurst (c. 1567), Earl of Dorset (c. 1604)				
Sackville, Richard (1589-28.3.1624)	\checkmark			
Earl of Dorset (s. 1609)				
Sackville, Edward (1590-1652)				A
Earl of Dorset (s. 1624)				
Sandys, William (d.1623)	А	А	А	
aron Sandys (s. 1560)				
Scrope, Thomas (1567-1609)				
Baron Scrope (s. 1592)				
Scrope, Emanuel (1584-1630)		\checkmark		
Baron Scrope (s. 1609)				
Seymour, Edward (1539-6.4.1621)	\checkmark			
Earl of Hertford (c. 1559)				
Seymour, William (1587-1660)			A	А
Baron Beauchamp (su. 1621)				
Earl of Hertford (s. 1621)				
Sheffield, Edmund (1565-1646)	\checkmark			
Baron Sheffield (s. 1568)				
Sidney, Robert (1563-1626)	\checkmark			
Baron Sidney (c. 1603), Viscount Lisle (c. 1605)				
Earl of Leicester (c. 1618)	P (5			
Somerset, Edward (1550-1628)	P/C			
arl of Worcester (s. 1589)				
Somerset, Henry (1577-1646)			A	A
Baron Herbert (su. 1604) No oath recorded in LJ				
Spencer, Robert (1570-1627)	~			
Baron Spencer (c. 1603)				

HOUSE OF LORDS 1610-1624 PEERS WHO TOOK THE OATH OF ALLEGIANCE

	1610	1614	1621	1624
Stafford, Edward (1573-1625)	✓			
Baron Stafford (s. 1603)				
Stanhope, John (1540-9.3.1621)	P/C		Α	
Baron Stanhope of Harrington (c. 1605)				
Stanhope, Charles (1595-1675) No oath recorded in LJ				
Baron Stanhope of Harrington (s. 1621)				
Stanhope, Philip (1583/4-1656)			\checkmark	
Baron Stanhope of Shelford (c. 1616)				
Stanley, William (b.1561-1642)	✓			Α
Earl of Derby (s. 1594)				
Stourton, Edward (1555-1633)	А	А	\checkmark	
Baron Stourton (s. 1588)				
Stuart, Ludovick (1574-16.2.1624)		\checkmark	\checkmark	
Earl of Richmond (c. 1613), Duke of Richmond (c. 1623)				
Stuart, Esmé (1579-1624)			~	A
Earl of March (c. 1619				
Sutton, Edward (1567-1643)	✓	А		
Baron Dudley (s. 1586)				
Talbot, Gilbert (1552-1616)	P/C			
Earl of Shrewsbury (s. 1590)				
Talbot, George (1567-1630)			Α	Α
Earl of Shrewsbury (s. 1616)				
Touchet , George (1550/51-1617)	\checkmark	А		
Baron Audley (s. 1594)				
Touchet , Mervyn (1593-1631)			\checkmark	Α
Baron Audley (s. 1617)				
Vaux, Edward (1588-1661)			Α	
Baron Vaux (s. 1595) No oath recorded in LJ				
Vere, Edward de (1550-1604)				
Earl of Oxford (s. 1562)				
Vere, Henry de (1593-1625)		А	✓	
Earl of Oxford (s. 1604)				
Villiers, George (1592-1628)			~	
Baron Whaddon and Viscount Villiers (c. 1616)				
Marquess Buckingham (c. 1618)				
Duke of Buckingham (c. 1623)				
Villiers, Christopher (<i>d</i> . 1630)				
Earl of Anglesey (c. 1623) No oath recorded in LJ				
Villiers, John (1591-1658)			A	A
Viscount Purbeck (c. 1619)				
Wentworth, Thomas (1591-1667)		\checkmark		
Baron Wentworth (s. 1593)				

HOUSE OF LORDS 1610-1624 PEERS WHO TOOK THE OATH OF ALLEGIANCE

	1610	1614	1620	1624
West, Thomas (1577-1618)	А			
Baron de la Warr (s. 1602) No oath recorded in LJ				
West, Henry (1603-1628)			✓	
Baron de la Warr (s. 1618)				
Wharton, Philip (1555-1625)				Not
Baron Wharton (s. 1572) No oath recorded in LJ				in LJ
Willoughby, Charles (1536/7-1612)				
Baron Willoughby of Parham (s. 1570) No oath recorded in LJ				
Willoughby, William (1585-1617)		\checkmark		
Baron Willoughby of Parham (s. 1612)				
Windsor, Henry (1562-1605)				
Baron Windsor (s. 1585)				
Windsor, Thomas (1591-1641)		✓		
Baron Windsor (s. 1605)				
Wotton, Edward (1548-1628)				А
Baron Wotton (c. 1603)				
Wriothesley, Henry (1573-1624)				
Earl of Southampton (r. 1603)				
Zouche, Edward la (1556-1625)	P/C			А
Baron Zouche (s. 1569)				

1

Following the announcement of the assassination of Henry IV of France on 7th June 1610 a Proclamation was issued to the House Lords in the following terms:

'Proclamation issued for all Persons to take the Oath of Allegiance.

His Lordship further shewed, That, according to such Petition as was made by both the said Houses, Thirteen of the Lords of the Council have already been sworn; to divers of whom the King Himself did, in the Presence of the Prince, give the same Oath; and the rest, except One who came late, were sworn in the Presence of the King and Prince; that the Lower House have generally taken the same Oath; lastly, that His Majesty's Pleasure is, that all the Residue of the Lords of this House do likewise take the same Oath, which, his Lordship declared, is, by the Statute, to be ministered by Six of the Council unto them.' *LJ*, Volume 2: 1578-1614, 607-608.

Source : *Journal of the House of Lords* (1767-1830), Volume 2: 1578-1614 and Volume 3:1620-1628. <u>URL: http://www.british-history.ac.uk/lords-jrnl.</u>

The Lord Chancellor, in a very grave Speech, declared, That the great Care which their Lordships and the Lower House had of His Majesty's Safety, hath brought forth a Proclamation, which containeth a Clause, commanding all Bishops, Justices of Assize, Justices of Peace, and all other His Majesty's Officers whom it may concern, to minister the Oath of Allegiance, according to the Law.

Total Number of Sittings	1604 70	1606/7 182	1610 116	1614 29	1621 107	1624 93
Arundell, Thomas (1560-1639) Baron Arundell of Wardour (c. 1605)		50	50	12	A	A
Browne, Anthony Maria (1574-1629) Viscount Montague (s. 1592)	44	A	A	A	4	4
Burke, Richard (1572-1635) Viscount Tunbridge (c. 3.4.1624)						A
Clifford, George (1558-1605) Earl of Cumberland (s. 1570)	31					
Clifford, Francis (1559-1641) Earl of Cumberland (s. 1605)		113	97	22	16	1
Compton, William (1568-1630) Baron Compton (s. 1589) Earl of Northampton (c. 1618)	51	90	30	26	80	68
Darcy, Thomas (1565-1640) Baron Darcy of Chiche (s. 1581) Viscount Colchester (c. 1621)	38	116	24	20	14	13
Eure, William (<i>c</i> .1579- <i>c</i> .1646) Baron Eure (s. 1617)					A	А
Howard, Henry (1540-1614) Earl of Northampton (c. 1604)	54	156	100	A		
Howard, Thomas (1561-1626) Baron Howard of Walden (c. 1597) Earl of Suffolk (c. 1603)	62	143	95	28	76	21
Howard, Theophilus (1584-1640) Baron Howard of Walden (su. 1610)			57	18	95	77
Howard, Thomas (1585-1646) Earl of Arundel (r. 1603)	Not in LJ	93	76	А	88	74
Knollys, William (1545-1632) Baron Knollys (c. 1603) Viscount Wallingford (c. 1616)	70	156	98	28	9	45
Lumley, John (<i>c</i> .1533-1609) Baron Lumley (s. 1545)	A	A				
Manners, Roger (1576-1612) Earl of Rutland (s. 1588)	34	58	40			
Manners, Francis (1578-1632) Earl of Rutland (s. 1612)				25	76	54
Mordaunt, Henry (1568-1609) Baron Mordaunt (s. 1601)	18	A				

HOUSE OF LORDS 1604-1624 THE ATTENDANCE RECORD OF THE CATHOLIC PEERAGE

HOUSE OF LORDS 1604-1624 THE ATTENDANCE RECORD OF THE CATHOLIC PEERAGE

Total Number of Sittings	1604 70	1606/7 182	1610 116	1614 29	1621 107	1624 93
Mordaunt, John (1599-1644) Baron Mordaunt (s. 1609)					32	41
Neville, Edward (1550-1622) Baron Abergavenny (r. 1604)	34	160	70	24	71	
Neville, Henry (1573-1641) Baron Abergavenny (s. 1622)						2
Parker, Edward (1551-1618) Baron Morley (s. 1577)	52	102	47	9		
Parker, William (1574/5-1622) Baron Monteagle (su. 1604) (and Morley s. 1618)	50	83	61	20	10	
Parker, Henry (1600-1655) Baron Morley and Monteagle (s. 1622)						16
Paulet, William (<i>d</i> .1629) Marquess of Winchester (s. 1598)	2	3	4	А	А	А
Paulet, John (1598-1675) Baron St. John of Basing (su. 1624)						56
Percy, Henry (1564-1632) Earl of Northumberland (s. 1585)	44	A	A	A	A	A
Petre, John (1549-1613) Baron Petre (c. 1603)	56	134	96			
Petre, William (1575-1637) Baron Petre (s. 1613)				25	85	68
Roper, Christopher (1561-1622) Baron Teynham (s. 1616)					A	
Roper, John (<i>c</i> .1581-1628) Baron Teynham (s. 1622)						2
Sackville, Thomas (c.1536-1608) Baron Buckhurst (c. 1567) Earl of Dorset (c. 1604)	60	149				
Scrope, Emanuel (1584-1630) Baron Scrope (s. 1609)			16	23	65	38
Somerset, Edward (1550-1628) Earl of Worcester (s. 1589)	59	146	85	19	58	69
Somerset, Henry (1577-1646) Baron Herbert (su. 1604)	50	64	17	1	A	A
Stafford, Edward (1573-1625) Baron Stafford (s. 1603)	64	86	59	25	92	30

Total Number of Sittings	1604 70	1606/7 182	1610 116	1614 29	1621 107	1624 93
Stanley, William (<i>b</i> .1561-1642) Earl of Derby (s. 1594)	23	13	30	27	1	A
Stourton, Edward (1555-1633) Baron Stourton (s. 1588)	61	A	A	A	98	81
Stuart, Ludovick (1574-16.2.1624) Earl of Richmond (c. 1613) Duke of Richmond (c. 1623)				21	75	
Stuart, Esmé (1579-1624) Earl of March (c. 1619)					90	А
Talbot, Gilbert (1552-1616) Earl of Shrewsbury (s. 1590)	62	141	102	24		
Talbot, George (1567-1630) Earl of Shrewsbury (s. 1616)					A	А
Touchet , Mervyn (1593-1631) Baron Audley (s. 1617)					13	A
Vaux, Edward (1588-1661) Baron Vaux (s. 1595)					0	3
Windsor, Henry (1562-1605) Baron Windsor (s. 1585)	43					
Windsor, Thomas (1591-1641) Baron Windsor (s. 1605)				26	64	14
Wotton, Edward (1548-1628) Baron Wotton (c. 1603)	59	153	92	26	12	A

HOUSE OF LORDS 1604-1624 THE ATTENDANCE RECORD OF THE CATHOLIC PEERAGE

HOUSE OF LORDS 1604-1624 ABSENT LORDS¹

3rd April 1604 Earl of Lincoln 'Licence to be absent for a few days.' Baron Wotton Want of Health 5th April 1604 Baron Audley 'Licensed by the King to travel to The Bath, for Recovery of his Health.' 21th April 1604 Baron Russell 'Given leave by the King to be absent for some Time, to go to The Bath for his Health.' 30th April 1604 Earl of Cumberland III 5th May 1604 Viscount Montague III 5th May 1604 Earl of Sussex 'Fell off his Horse.' 24th May 1604 Baron Eure 'Given leave by the King to be absent for a few days.' Baron Willoughby of Parham 'Given leave by the King to be absent for some time, but to return again.' 7th June 1604 Earl of Dorset Absent p.m. – on King's Business 21th January 1606 Earl of Bath Granted licence by King to be absent for some time, but to return again.' 7th June 1604 Earl of Groby Granted licence by King to be absent 8aron Norris III III 8aron Norris III Baron Naris 8aron Narton III Earl of Kent 8aron Marton III Earl of Kent 8aron Marton III	Date	Name	Reason for Absence
5th April 1604Baron Audley'Licensed by the King to travel to The Bath, for Recovery of his Health.'21st April 1604Baron Russell'Given leave by the King to be absent for some Time, to go to The Bath for his Health.'30th April 1604Earl of CumberlandIII5th May 1604Earl of Sussex'Fell off his Horse.'24th May 1604Earl of Sussex'Fell off his Horse.'24th May 1604Baron Eure'Given leave by the King to be absent for a few days.'Baron Willoughby of Parham'Given leave by the King to be absent from henceforth, during this whole Session of Parliament.'Baron Mordaunt'Given leave by the King to be absent for some time, but to return again.'7th June 1604Earl of DorsetAbsent p.m. – on King's Business21st January 1606Earl of BathGranted licence by King to be absent Baron NorrisBaron HaringtonIIIBaron HaringtonIIIBaron HaringtonIIIBaron AudleyIIIBaron AudleyIIIBaron AudleyIIIBaron AudleyIIICoscut Howard of BindonIIIBaron Baron Darcy and MenellIII26th February 1606Earl of DorsetIIIBaron Darcy and MenellIII26th February 1606Earl of DorsetIII7th March 1	3 rd April 1604	Earl of Lincoln	'Licence to be absent for a few days.'
21st April 1604Baron Russell'Given leave by the King to be absent for some Time, to go to The Bath for his Health.'30th April 1604Earl of CumberlandIII5th May 1604Earl of Sussex'Fell off his Horse.'24th May 1604Earl of Sussex'Fell off his Horse.'24th May 1604Baron Eure'Given leave by the King to be absent for a few days.'24th May 1604Baron Eure'Given leave by the King to be absent for a few days.'24th May 1604Baron Willoughby of Parham'Given leave by the King to be absent for a few days.'24th May 1604Baron Mordaunt'Given leave by the King to be absent for some time, but to return again.'7th June 1604Earl of DorsetAbsent p.m on King's Business21st January 1606Earl of BathGranted licence by King to be absent Baron SandysBaron HaringtonIIIBaron HaringtonIIIBaron HaringtonIIIBaron HaringtonIIIBaron HaringtonIII20th Baron BarkeleyIII21st April 1606Earl of KentBaron Darcy and MenellIII21st April 1606Earl of Dorset21st March 1606Earl of Morcester21st March 1606Earl of Morcester21st March 1606Earl of Morcester21st March 1606Earl of Worcester21st March 1606		Baron Wotton	Want of Health
21st April 1604 Baron Russell 'Given leave by the King to be absent for some Time, to go to The Bath for his Health.' 30th April 1604 Earl of Cumberland III 5th May 1604 Earl of Sussex 'Fell off his Horse.' 24th May 1604 Earl of Sussex 'Fell off his Horse.' 24th May 1604 Baron Eure 'Given leave by the King to be absent for a few days.' Baron Willoughby of Parham 'Given leave by the King to be absent for a few days.' Baron Mordaunt 'Given leave by the King to be absent for some time, but to return again.' 7th June 1604 Earl of Dorset Absent p.m. – on King's Business 21st January 1606 Earl of Bath Granted licence by King to be absent for some time, but to return again.' 8aron Norris III in France Viscount Howard of Bindon III Baron Harington III Baron Marton III Baron Berkeley III Baron Berkeley III Baron Berkeley III Baron Darcy and Menell III 26th February 1606 Earl of Dorset III Baron Darcy and Menell III 26th February 1606 Earl of Do	5 th April 1604	Baron Audley	'Licensed by the King to travel to The
for some Time, to go to The Bath for his Health.'30th April 1604Earl of CumberlandIII5th May 1604Viscount MontagueIII8th May 1604Earl of Sussex'Fell off his Horse.'24th May 1604Baron Eure'Given leave by the King to be absent for a few days.'24th May 1604Baron Willoughby of Parham'Given leave by the King to be absent from henceforth, during this whole Session of Parliament.'8aron Mordaunt'Given leave by the King to be absent for some time, but to return again.'7th June 1604Earl of DorsetAbsent p.m. – on King's Business21st January 1606Earl of BathGranted licence by King to be absent Baron Sandys8aron NorrisIII in France11st January 1606Earl of GrobyGranted licence by King to be absent Baron Norris11st Baron NorrisIII11st Baron AudleyIII12st Saron MartonIII12st Saron MartonIII13t Saron AudleyIII13t Aug 1606Earl of KentIII26th February 1606Earl of DorsetIII26th February 1606Earl of DorsetIII7th March 1606Baron de la WarrUrgent business in the country7th March 1606Earl of WorcesterIII			Bath, for Recovery of his Health.'
his Health.'30th April 1604Earl of CumberlandIII5th May 1604Viscount MontagueIII8th May 1604Earl of Sussex'Fell off his Horse.'24th May 1604Baron Eure'Given leave by the King to be absent for a few days.'24th May 1604Baron Willoughby of Parham'Given leave by the King to be absent from henceforth, during this whole Session of Parliament.'Baron Willoughby of Parham'Given leave by the King to be absent from henceforth, during this whole Session of Parliament.'7th June 1604Earl of DorsetAbsent p.m on King's Business21st January 1606Earl of BathGranted licence by King to be absent for some time, but to return again.'21st January 1606Earl of BathGranted licence by King to be absent Baron SandysBaron NorrisIII in FranceViscount Howard of BindonIIIBaron AudleyIIIBaron AudleyIIIBaron AudleyIIIBaron Darcy and MenellIII26th February 1606Earl of DorsetIII26th February 1606Earl of DorsetIII7th March 1606Earl of DorsetIII7th March 1606Earl of DorsetIII7th March 1606Earl of DorsetIII7th March 1606Baron de la WarrUrgent business in the country	21 st April 1604	Baron Russell	'Given leave by the King to be absent
30th April 1604Earl of CumberlandIII5th May 1604Viscount MontagueIII8th May 1604Earl of Sussex'Fell off his Horse.'24th May 1604Baron Eure'Given leave by the King to be absent for a few days.'24th May 1604Baron Willoughby of Parham'Given leave by the King to be absent from henceforth, during this whole Session of Parliament.'8aron Mordaunt'Given leave by the King to be absent for some time, but to return again.'7th June 1604Earl of DorsetAbsent p.m on King's Business21st January 1606Earl of BathGranted licence by King to be absent for some time, but to return again.'8aron NorrisIIIIII in France9aron NorrisIII in France9aron HaringtonIII9aron AudleyIII9aron AudleyIII9aron BarkeleyIII9aron Darcy and MenellIII26th February 1606Earl of Lincoln71th March 1606Earl of Dorset11th TorneIII24th Baron Darcy and MenellIII24th Baron Darcy and MenellIII25th February 1606Earl of Lincoln11th TorneIII26th February 1606Earl of Dorset11th TorneIII26th February 1606Earl of Dorset21th March 1606Earl of Dorset21th March 1606Earl of Dorset21th March 1606Earl of Dorset21th March 1606Baron de la Warr21th March 1606Baron de la Warr21			_
5th May 1604Viscount MontagueIII8th May 1604Earl of Sussex'Fell off his Horse.'24th May 1604Baron Eure'Given leave by the King to be absent for a few days.'Baron Willoughby of Parham'Given leave by the King to be absent from henceforth, during this whole Session of Parliament.'Baron Mordaunt'Given leave by the King to be absent for some time, but to return again.'7th June 1604Earl of DorsetAbsent p.m. – on King's Business21st January 1606Earl of BathGranted licence by King to be absent for some time, but to return again.'8aron NorrisIII in France9aron NorrisIII in France9aron WhartonIII9aron AudleyIII9aron AudleyIII9aron BarkeleyIII9aron Darcy and MenellIII26th February 1606Earl of Dorset1st March 1606Baron de la Warr1st March 1606 </td <td></td> <td></td> <td>his Health.'</td>			his Health.'
8 th May 1604 Earl of Sussex 'Fell off his Horse.' 24 th May 1604 Baron Eure 'Given leave by the King to be absent for a few days.' Baron Willoughby of Parham 'Given leave by the King to be absent from henceforth, during this whole Session of Parliament.' Baron Mordaunt 'Given leave by the King to be absent for some time, but to return again.' 7 th June 1604 Earl of Dorset Absent p.m. – on King's Business 21 st January 1606 Earl of Bath Granted licence by King to be absent Baron Norris Ill in France Viscount Howard of Bindon Ill Baron Audley Ill Baron Berkeley Ill Baron Darcy and Menell Ill 26 th February 1606 Earl of Lincoln 'The Plague was in an Alley near adjoining to his house.' 1 st March 1606 Earl of Dorset Ill	•	Earl of Cumberland	111
24th May 1604 Baron Eure 'Given leave by the King to be absent for a few days.' Baron Willoughby of Parham 'Given leave by the King to be absent from henceforth, during this whole Session of Parliament.' Baron Mordaunt 'Given leave by the King to be absent for some time, but to return again.' 7th June 1604 Earl of Dorset Absent p.m. – on King's Business 21st January 1606 Earl of Bath Granted licence by King to be absent Baron Norris Ill in France Viscount Howard of Bindon Ill Baron Audley Ill Baron Berkeley Ill Baron Darcy and Menell Ill 26th February 1606 Earl of Lincoln 'The Plague was in an Alley near adjoining to his house.' 1st March 1606 Earl of Dorset Ill	5 th May 1604	Viscount Montague	111
Image: second	8 th May 1604	Earl of Sussex	'Fell off his Horse.'
Baron Willoughby of Parham'Given leave by the King to be absent from henceforth, during this whole Session of Parliament.'Baron Mordaunt'Given leave by the King to be absent for some time, but to return again.'7th June 1604Earl of DorsetAbsent p.m. – on King's Business21st January 1606Earl of BathGranted licence by King to be absent Baron SandysBaron NorrisIIIBaron NorrisIII in FranceViscount Howard of BindonIIIBaron HaringtonIIIBaron AudleyIIIBaron Darcy and MenellIII21st March 1606Earl of LincolnThe Plague was in an Alley near adjoining to his house.'1st March 1606Earl of DorsetIst March 1606Baron de la WarrUrgent business in the countryEarl of WorcesterIII	24 th May 1604	Baron Eure	'Given leave by the King to be absent
from henceforth, during this whole Session of Parliament.'Baron Mordaunt'Given leave by the King to be absent for some time, but to return again.'7th June 1604Earl of DorsetAbsent p.m on King's Business21st January 1606Earl of BathGranted licence by King to be absentBaron SandysGranted licence by King to be absentBaron Grey of GrobyGranted licence by King to be absentBaron NorrisIII in FranceViscount Howard of BindonIIIBaron HaringtonIIIBaron AudleyIIIBaron BerkeleyIIIBaron Darcy and MenellIII26th February 1606Earl of LincolnThe Plague was in an Alley near adjoining to his house.'1st March 1606Earl of DorsetIIIIII7th March 1606Baron de la WarrUrgent business in the countryEarl of WorcesterIII			for a few days.'
Session of Parliament.'Baron Mordaunt'Given leave by the King to be absent for some time, but to return again.'7th June 1604Earl of DorsetAbsent p.m. – on King's Business21st January 1606Earl of BathGranted licence by King to be absentBaron SandysGranted licence by King to be absentBaron Grey of GrobyGranted licence by King to be absentBaron NorrisIII in FranceViscount Howard of BindonIIIBaron HaringtonIIIBaron AudleyIIIBaron Darcy and MenellIII26th February 1606Earl of LincolnCarl of Dorset'The Plague was in an Alley near adjoining to his house.'1st March 1606Baron de la WarrUrgent business in the countryFahr of WorcesterIII		Baron Willoughby of Parham	· •
Baron Mordaunt'Given leave by the King to be absent for some time, but to return again.'7th June 1604Earl of DorsetAbsent p.m. – on King's Business21st January 1606Earl of BathGranted licence by King to be absentBaron SandysGranted licence by King to be absentBaron Grey of GrobyGranted licence by King to be absentBaron NorrisIll in FranceViscount Howard of BindonIllBaron HaringtonIllBaron AudleyIllBaron BerkeleyIllBaron Darcy and MenellIll26th February 1606Earl of Lincoln'The Plague was in an Alley near adjoining to his house.'1st March 1606Baron de la WarrUrgent business in the countryEarl of WorcesterIll			
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21st January 1606Earl of BathGranted licence by King to be absentBaron SandysGranted licence by King to be absentBaron Grey of GrobyGranted licence by King to be absentBaron OrrisIII in FranceViscount Howard of BindonIIIBaron HaringtonIIIBaron AudleyIIIBaron BerkeleyIIIEarl of KentIIIBaron Darcy and MenellIII26th February 1606Earl of LincolnThe Plague was in an Alley near adjoining to his house.'1st March 1606Baron de la WarrUrgent business in the countryEarl of WorcesterIII			
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Baron SandysGranted licence by King to be absentBaron Grey of GrobyGranted licence by King to be absentBaron OrrisIll in FranceViscount Howard of BindonIllBaron HaringtonIllBaron WhartonIllBaron AudleyIllBaron BerkeleyIllEarl of KentIllBaron Darcy and MenellIll26 th February 1606Earl of LincolnT* March 1606Earl of DorsetIll7 th March 1606Baron de la WarrUrgent business in the countryEarl of WorcesterIll			
Baron Grey of GrobyGranted licence by King to be absentBaron NorrisIII in FranceViscount Howard of BindonIIIBaron HaringtonIIIBaron WhartonIIIBaron AudleyIIIBaron BerkeleyIIIEarl of KentIIIBaron Darcy and MenellIII26 th February 1606Earl of LincolnThe Plague was in an Alley near adjoining to his house.'1 st March 1606Earl of DorsetIIIIII7 th March 1606Baron de la WarrUrgent business in the countryEarl of WorcesterIII	21 st January 1606	Earl of Bath	Granted licence by King to be absent
Baron NorrisIII in FranceViscount Howard of BindonIIIBaron HaringtonIIIBaron WhartonIIIBaron AudleyIIIBaron BerkeleyIIIEarl of KentIIIBaron Darcy and MenellIII26 th February 1606Earl of LincolnThe Plague was in an Alley near adjoining to his house.'1 st March 1606Earl of DorsetT th March 1606Baron de la WarrUrgent business in the countryEarl of WorcesterIII		Baron Sandys	Granted licence by King to be absent
Viscount Howard of BindonIIIBaron HaringtonIIIBaron WhartonIIIBaron AudleyIIIBaron BerkeleyIIIEarl of KentIIIBaron Darcy and MenellIII26 th February 1606Earl of Lincoln1st March 1606Earl of Dorset7 th March 1606Baron de la WarrUrgent business in the countryEarl of WorcesterIII		Baron Grey of Groby	Granted licence by King to be absent
Baron HaringtonIIIBaron WhartonIIIBaron AudleyIIIBaron AudleyIIIBaron BerkeleyIIIEarl of KentIIIBaron Darcy and MenellIII26 th February 1606Earl of Lincoln1 st March 1606Earl of Dorset7 th March 1606Baron de la WarrUrgent business in the countryEarl of WorcesterIII		Baron Norris	III in France
Baron WhartonIIIBaron AudleyIIIBaron AudleyIIIBaron BerkeleyIIIEarl of KentIIIBaron Darcy and MenellIII26 th February 1606Earl of Lincoln1st March 1606Earl of Dorset7 th March 1606Baron de la WarrUrgent business in the countryEarl of WorcesterIII		Viscount Howard of Bindon	III
Baron AudleyIIIBaron BerkeleyIIIBaron BerkeleyIIIEarl of KentIIIBaron Darcy and MenellIII26 th February 1606Earl of Lincoln1 st March 1606Earl of Dorset7 th March 1606Baron de la WarrUrgent business in the countryEarl of WorcesterIII		Baron Harington	III
Baron BerkeleyIIIEarl of KentIIIBaron Darcy and MenellIII26 th February 1606Earl of Lincoln'The Plague was in an Alley near adjoining to his house.'1 st March 1606Earl of DorsetIII7 th March 1606Baron de la WarrUrgent business in the countryEarl of WorcesterIII		Baron Wharton	111
Earl of KentIIIBaron Darcy and MenellIII26th February 1606Earl of Lincoln1st March 1606Earl of Dorset7th March 1606Baron de la WarrUrgent business in the countryEarl of WorcesterIII		Baron Audley	111
Baron Darcy and MenellIII26th February 1606Earl of Lincoln'The Plague was in an Alley near adjoining to his house.'1st March 1606Earl of DorsetIII7th March 1606Baron de la WarrUrgent business in the countryEarl of WorcesterIII		Baron Berkeley	111
26th February 1606Earl of Lincoln'The Plague was in an Alley near adjoining to his house.'1st March 1606Earl of DorsetIII7th March 1606Baron de la WarrUrgent business in the countryEarl of WorcesterIII		Earl of Kent	111
adjoining to his house.'1st March 1606Earl of Dorset7th March 1606Baron de la WarrEarl of WorcesterIII		Baron Darcy and Menell	
1st March 1606Earl of DorsetIII7th March 1606Baron de la WarrUrgent business in the countryEarl of WorcesterIII	26 th February 1606	Earl of Lincoln	'The Plague was in an Alley near
7 th March 1606 Baron de la Warr Urgent business in the country Earl of Worcester III			adjoining to his house.'
Earl of Worcester III	1 st March 1606	Earl of Dorset	111
	7 th March 1606	Baron de la Warr	Urgent business in the country
Baron Spencer III		Earl of Worcester	
		Baron Spencer	111
10 th March 1606 Earl of Dorset III	10 th March 1606	Earl of Dorset	
Earl of Devonshire Attendance on King		Earl of Devonshire	Attendance on King
Earl of Montgomery Attendance on King			

Date	Name	Reason for Absence
7 th April 1606	Baron Stafford	Licence to return home
	Baron Dudley	Licence to return home
1 st May 1606	Baron Gerard	Attendance on King at Newmarket
20 th November 1606	Baron Sheffield	
	Baron Saye and Sele	
	Lord Admiral	
	Baron Wotton	
	Baron Stanhope	
20 th April 1607	Earl of Derby	'Ten Days, in regard of his Want of Health at this Time.'
14 th February 1610	Baron Morley	III
	Baron Sheffield	III
	Baron Scrope	111
19 th February 1610	Earl of Lincoln	111
	Earl of Sussex	111
	Baron Rich	111
3 rd March 1610	Baron Compton	'Decease of his Father-in-Law, Sir John Spencer, this present Morning.'
5 th March 1610	Earl of Oxford	Leave to be absent
	Baron Scrope	Leave to be absent
	Baron Berkeley	Leave to be absent
5 th April 1610	Baron Audley	Licence from the King to travel to <i>The Bath</i> , for Recovery of his Health
18 th April 1610	Viscount Lisle	Leave to be absent
	Baron Gerard	Leave to be absent
19 th April 1610	The Absence of diverse Earls, Bishops, and Barons, excused	'Sickness, and necessary Business; and for some it was alledged, they had Leave of Absence from His Majesty.'
20 th April 1610	Baron Abergavenny	
21 st April 1610	Earl of Salisbury	King's Service
26 th April 1610	Baron Sheffield	'A hurt lately happened in one of his Legs.'
28 th April 1610	Earl of Salisbury Earl of Northampton and diverse privy councillors	King's Service
a oth A sta	Baron Paget	
30 th April 1610	Earl of Salisbury	King's Service
1 st May 1610	Baron Arundell of Wardour	
	Baron Petre	
	Baron Carew	

Date	Name	Reason for Absence
3 rd May 1610	Earl of Hertford	
12 th May 1610	Earl of Northampton	
15 th May 1610	Privy Council	King's Service
19th May 1610	Baron Hunsdon	
21 st May 1610	Earl of Salisbury	Leave to be absent
24 th May 1610	Privy Council	King's Service
30 th May 1610	Baron Morley	'Illness of a Servant in his Chamber.'
2 nd July 1610	Baron Abergavenny	111
6 th July 1610	Earl of Pembroke	King's Service re Earl of Shrewsbury
	Earl of Montgomery	King's Service re Earl of Shrewsbury
16 th October 1610	Earl of Huntingdon	Special Occasion
	Baron Herbert	King's Licence to be absent
	Baron Darcy and Menell	King's Licence to be absent
	Marquess of Winchester	King's Licence to be absent
	Earl of Kent	King's Licence to be absent
20 th October 1610	Earl of Lincoln	'Sickness in the Town of Chelsey, where his Lordship abode, and in the Town in Lincolnshire, where the Earl's House is, at this Time is visited; Ill- health.'
5 th November 1610	Sundry Lords	King's Service
10 th November 1610	Baron Compton	'Sickness in The Savoy, in Baron Mordant's Lodging, near to Baron Compton's House.'
14 th April 1614	Earl of Hertford	
	Baron Zouche	
	Viscount Lisle	
	Baron North	Special Occasion
18 th April 1614	Baron Wentworth	
	Baron Willoughby of Parham	
2 nd May 1614	Earl of Sussex	Special Business
2 may 1011	Earl of Dorset	Special Business
	Baron Gerard	Special Business
7 th May 1614	Earl of Cumberland	
	Baron Eure	
	Baron Rich	
9 th May 1614	Earl of Bedford	
	Baron Wentworth	
12 th May 1614		

Date	Name	Reason for Absence
14 th May 1614	Earl of Salisbury	111
19 th May 1614	Baron Wentworth	111
26 th May 1614	Earl of Richmond	
	Baron Sheffield	
26 th May 1614	Baron Arundell of Wardour	
	Baron Eure	
30 th May 1614	Baron Abergavenny	
4 th June 1614	Earl of Hertford	
	Baron Dacre	
8 th February 1621	Earl of Lincoln	Leave to be absent
	Earl of Suffolk	
	Baron Stanhope of Shelford	Law Causes
10 th February 1621	Earl of Montague (probably	'Excused by the Earl of Arundel as
	Anthony Maria Browne,	having formerly Licence from the King
	second Viscount Montague)	to be absent.'
	Baron Darcy of Chiche	111
	Baron Chandos	111
	Baron Wotton	111
	Baron Saye and Sele	111
	Baron Arundel	111
14 th February 1621	Baron Audley/Earl of	111
	Castlehaven	
	Baron Chandos	111
	Earl of Leicester	Leave to be absent
15 th February 1621	Baron Carew	111
17 th February 1621	Baron Dacre	111
21 st February 1621	Viscount Maundeville	King's Service
	Earl of Leicester	111
	Baron Chandos	111
22 nd February 1621	Baron Chandos	111
23 rd February 1621	Baron Paget	Ш
	Baron Chandos	Ш
	Baron Carew	
26 th February 1621	Baron Zouche	
	Baron Sheffield	
	Baron Windsor	

Date	Name	Reason for Absence
6 th March 1621	Marquess of Buckingham	Leave to be absent
	Earl of Salisbury	Leave to be absent
	Earl of Suffolk	Leave to be absent
	Baron Chandos	Leave to be absent
	Baron Spencer	Leave to be absent
8 th March 1621	Earl of Berkshire	King's Licence to be absent
	Baron Beauchamp ²	King's Licence to be absent
13 th March 1621	Baron Mordaunt	Leave to be absent
26 th March 1621	Duke of Buckingham	Asked to be excused p.m.
	Baron Spencer	Leave to be absent
	Baron Scrope	Leave to be absent
	Earl of Worcester	Leave to be absent
	Baron Haughton	Leave to be absent
17 th April 1621	Earl of Rutland	Leave to be absent
18 th April 1621	Earl of Richmond	Leave to be absent
26 th April 1621	Earl of Dorset	Leave to be absent
	Earl of Leicester	Leave to be absent
28 th April 1621	Earl of Leicester	Leave to be absent
4 th May 1621	Earl of Suffolk	Leave to be absent
	Baron Spencer	Leave to be absent
	Baron Russell	Leave to be absent
	Earl of Pembroke	Leave to be absent
	Earl of Dorset	Leave to be absent
5 th May 1621	Baron Denny	Leave to be absent
8 th May 1621	Earl of Sussex	'Leave to be absent for 2 or 3 days.'
	Baron Abergavenny	Leave to be absent
	Earl of Holderness	Leave to be absent
30 th May 1621	Baron Spencer	Leave to be absent
21 st November 1621	Earl of Southampton	Sickness
22 nd November 1621	Viscount Wallingford	Leave to be absent
	Baron Herbert	Leave to be absent
	Baron Wentworth	Leave to be absent
	Baron Wotton	Leave to be absent
26 th November 1621	Baron Spencer	Leave to be absent
1 st December 1621	Earl of Huntingdon	Leave to be absent
	Earl of Salisbury	Leave to be absent
1 st December 1621	Baron Cromwell	Leave to be absent
	Baron Danvers	Leave to be absent

Date	Name	Reason for Absence
4 th December 1621	Earl of Richmond	Leave to be absent
	Earl of Warwick	Leave to be absent
	Baron Abergavenny	Leave to be absent
	Baron St. John of Basing	Leave to be absent
5 th December 1621	Earl of Middlesex	Leave to be absent
	Baron Mordaunt	Leave to be absent
	Earl of Dorset	'Leave to be absent For 3 or 4 days.'
8 th December 1621	Baron Spencer	Leave to be absent
24 th February 1624	Earl of Arundel	Leave to be absent
	Earl of Pembroke	Leave to be absent
	Baron Haughton	Leave to be absent
25 th February 1624	Baron Berkeley	Leave to be absent
26 th February 1624	Earl of Rutland	Leave to be absent
1 st March 1624	Earl of Suffolk	Leave to be absent
	Baron Spencer	Leave to be absent
6 th March 1624	Viscount Maundeville	Leave to be absent
	Baron North	Leave to be absent
10 th March 1624	Earl of Middlesex	Leave to be absent
	Baron Grey	Leave to be absent
11 th March 1624	Earl of Pembroke	Leave to be absent
13 th March 1624	Earl of Essex	Leave to be absent
16 th March 1624	Earl of Warwick	Leave to be absent
18 th March 1624	Earl of Pembroke	Leave to be absent
20 th March 1624	Baron Spencer	'Leave of absence until after the holidays.'
23 rd March 1624	Baron Grey	Leave to be absent
5 th April 1624	Earl of Suffolk	Leave to be absent
	Baron St. John of Basing	Leave to be absent
20 th April 1624	Earl of Devonshire	Leave to be absent
3 rd May 1624	Baron Willoughby	Leave to be absent

¹ See entries in *LJ* Volume 2 (1578-1614) and Volume 3 (1620-28).

² William Seymour. He had been summoned to sit in the House of Lords in his grandfather's barony although there is no record of him taking his seat during the reign of James I. He succeeded his grandfather as tenth Earl of Hertford 6th April 1621. HOP 1604-1629, Volume 6, 939; PD House of Commons 1620 & 1621, Volume 1, 26.

Table 2.3¹

	MARCH	NOVEMBER	NOVEMBER	FEBRUARY	OCTOBER	APRIL	NOVEMBER	FEBRUARY
	1604	1605	1608	1610	1610	1614	1620	1624
Charles,								Henry Danvers
Prince of Wales								B. Danvers
Bacon, Francis							Thomas Cecil	
V. St. Alban							E. Exeter	
Bertie, Robert							Henry de Vere	
B. Willoughby of							E. Oxford	
Eresby								
Blount, Charles	William Paulet							
E. Devonshire	M. Winchester							
Carr, Robert						Francis Norris		
E. Somerset						B. Norris		
Cecil, Robert	1. William Bourchier	,	1. Wm. Cavendish	1. Grey Brydges	1. Edmund Sheffield	d.1611		
E. Salisbury				B. Chandos	B. Sheffield			
				William Sandys	2. William Bourchier			
	-		, , ,	B. Sandys	E. Bath			
			3. Edward Cromwell		3. Henry Grey			
	0 .			B. Sheffield	B. Grey of Groby			
		4. William Bourchier		4. William Bourchier	4. William Sandys			
				E. Bath	B. Sandys			
		5. Edward Seymour		5. Gervase Clifton				
				B. Clifton				
		6. Edward Cromwell		6. George Carew				
				B. Carew				
			7. William Bourchier					
				B. Grey of Groby				
		8. Thomas Cecil		8. Thomas West				
		E. Exeter		B. de la Warr				
		9. Francis Clifford		9. George Carew				
		E. Cumberland		B. Carew				

	MARCH	NOVEMBER	NOVEMBER	FEBRUARY	OCTOBER	APRIL	NOVEMBER	FEBRUARY
	1604	1605	1608	1610	1610	1614	1620	1624
Compton, William	Henry Mordaunt							
B. Compton	B. Mordaunt							
Darcy, Thomas	John Lumley		Robert Rich				Edward Vaux	
B. Darcy of Chiche	B. Lumley		B. Rich				B. Vaux	
Devereux , Robert							William Seymour	William Seymour
E. Essex							B. Beauchamp	E. Hertford
Egerton, Thomas	Edward Cromwell	1. Henry Clinton	1. Henry Clinton	1.Henry Clinton	1. Henry Clinton			
B. Ellesmere	B. Cromwell	E. Lincoln	E. Lincoln	E. Lincoln	E. Lincoln			
		2. Robert Spencer	2. Henry Hastings	2.Robert Spencer	2. Ralph Eure			
		B. Spencer	E. Huntingdon	B. Spencer	B. Eure			
		3. Edward Sutton	3. Robert Spencer		3. Robert Spencer			
		B. Dudley	B. Spencer		B. Spencer			
			4. Edward Sutton					
			B. Dudley					
Fiennes, William								Fulke Greville
B. Saye and Sele								B. Brooke
Hastings, Henry							Philip Stanhope	
E. Huntingdon							B. Stanhope of	
-							Shelford	
Hay , James							Henry Percy	
V. Doncaster							E. Northumberland	
Herbert, Philip		Robert Bertie	Robert Bertie				1.Henry Hastings	
E. Montgomery		B. Willoughby of	B. Willoughby of				E. Huntingdon	
. .		Eresby	Eresby				2. John Ramsay	
		,	,				E. Holderness	

	MARCH 1604	NOVEMBER 1605	NOVEMBER 1608	FEBRUARY 1610	OCTOBER 1610	APRIL 1614	NOVEMBER 1620	FEBRUARY 1624
Herbert, William E. Pembroke							 William Stanley Derby Mervyn Touchet Audley 	1. William Stanley E. Derby 2. Henry Neville B. Abergavenny
							 Edward Russell Bedford Charles Grey Kent Philip Wharton Wharton 	 Edward Russell Bedford John Darcy Darcy and Menell Edward la Zouche Zouche
Howard, Henry E. Northampton	1.George Touchet B. Audley 2. Thomas Darcy B. Darcy of Chiche 3. Henry Berkeley B. Berkeley	1. John Lumley B. Lumley 2. Henry Berkeley B. Berkeley	 John Lumley Lumley William Paget Paget Richard Fiennes Saye and Sele 	 Roger Manners Rutland Emanuel Scrope Scrope George Touchet Audley Henry Berkeley Berkeley 	1.Roger Manners E. Rutland 2.Henry Berkeley B. Berkeley			
Howard, Thomas E. Arundel							 George Talbot Shrewsbury Thomas Arundell Arundell William Sandys Sandys 	1. George Talbot E. Shrewsbury 2. Thomas Arundell B. Arundell

	MARCH	NOVEMBER	NOVEMBER	FEBRUARY	OCTOBER	APRIL	NOVEMBER	FEBRUARY
	1604	1605	1608	1610	1610	1614	1620	1624
Howard, Thomas	Thomas Howard	1. Thomas Howard	1. Thomas Howard	1. Thomas Howard	Charles Willoughby	1. William Paulet	1. William Knollys	
E. Suffolk	V. Howard of	V. Howard of	V. Howard of	V. Howard of Bindon	B. Willoughby of	M. Winchester	V. Wallingford	
	Bindon	Bindon	Bindon	2. Philip Wharton	Parham		2. Edward Wotton	
		2. Roger Manners	2. Philip Wharton	B. Wharton		2. Henry Clinton	B. Wotton	
		E. Rutland	B. Wharton	3. Charles Willoughby		E. Lincoln		
		3. William Paget	3. Thomas Gerard	B. Willoughby of		3. Thomas Gerard		
		B. Paget	B. Gerard	Parham		B. Gerard		
		4. Charles	4. Charles			4. Thomas Clinton		
		Willoughby	Willoughby			B. Clinton		
		B. Willoughby of	B. Willoughby of			5. Grey Brydges		
		Parham	Parham			B. Chandos		
Knollys, William	1. William Russell							
B. Knollys	B. Russell							
	2. Robert Rich							
	B. Rich							
	3. Henry Grey							
	B. Grey of Groby							
Manners, Francis								1. Thomas Darcy
E. Rutland								V. Colchester
								2. William Eure
								B. Eure
Paget, William							Thomas Windsor	
B. Paget							B. Windsor	
Parker, William	Anthony Browne							
B. Monteagle	V. Montague							

	MARCH	NOVEMBER	NOVEMBER	FEBRUARY	OCTOBER	APRIL	NOVEMBER	FEBRUARY
	1604	1605	1608	1610	1610	1614	1620	1624
Paulet, John B. St. John of Basing								William Paulet M. Winchester
Russell, William B. Russell	Robert Rich B. Rich	Robert Rich B. Rich		Robert Rich B. Rich				
Sackville, Thomas E. Dorset		Edward Stafford B. Stafford						
St. John, Oliver B. St. John of Bletsoe							Edward Vaux B. Vaux	
Sidney, Robert V. Lisle	1. John Harington B. Harington 2. Edward Russell E. Bedford	John Harington B. Harington	John Harington B. Harington					
Somerset, Edward E. Worcester	George Hastings E. Huntingdon			William Paulet M. Winchester	 William Paulet M. Winchester Henry Somerset B. Herbert 	Henry Somerset B. Herbert	William Paulet M. Winchester	
Spencer, Robert B. Sidney							Henry Wriothesley E. Southampton	
Stuart, Ludovick E. Richmond							1. Thomas Darcy V. Colchester 2. Henry Somerset B. Herbert	Henry Somerset B. Herbert
	Henry Grey E. Kent		E. Kent 2. John Darcy B. Darcy and Menell	1. Henry Grey E. Kent 2. Robert Bertie B. Willoughby of Eresby	1. Henry Grey E. Kent 2. John Darcy B. Darcy and Menell	Henry Grey E. Kent		

	MARCH	NOVEMBER	NOVEMBER	FEBRUARY	OCTOBER	APRIL	NOVEMBER	FEBRUARY
	1604	1605	1608	1610	1610	1614	1620	1624
De Vere, Henry E. Oxford							 Richard Lennard Dacre Robert Bertie Willoughby of Eresby 	Philip Stanhope B. Stanhope of Shelford
Villiers, George M. Buckingham D. Buckingham							 Francis Clifford Cumberland William Eure Eure Christopher Roper Teynham William Bourchier Bath Charles Howard Nottingham Francis Norris Berkshire Wm. Cavendish Maunsfield John Digby Digby Edward Noel Noel 	 Francis Clifford Cumberland John Roper Teynham Edward Bourchier Bath John Villiers Purbeck Henry Rich Kensington Edward Noel Noel William Russell Russell
Wentworth, Thomas B. Wentworth							John Darcy B. Darcy and Menell	
Williams, John Bp. Lincoln								Mervyn Touchet B. Audley

HOUSE OF LORDS 1604-1624 PROXIES RECEIVED

	MARCH	NOVEMBER	NOVEMBER	FEBRUARY	OCTOBER	APRIL	NOVEMBER	FEBRUARY
	1604	1605	1608	1610	1610	1614	1620	1624
Wotton, Edward		Philip Wharton						
B. Wotton		B. Wharton						
Wriothesley, Henry	Henry Windsor					1. Edward Russell	William Parker	Henry Hastings
E. Southampton	B. Windsor					E. Bedford	B. Morley and	E. Huntingdon
						2. Henry Grey	Monteagle	
						B. Grey of Groby		
Zouche, Edward la		Edward Denny						
B. Zouche		B. Denny						

¹ This Table has been created from the lists of proxies contained in the *Lords Journals*. For the parliament of 1604-1610 - *LJ*, Volume 2 (1578-1614) 263-264, 355, 449, 548, 666. For the parliament of 1614 - *LJ* Volume 2 (1578-1614) 686-687. For the parliament of 1621 - *LJ*, *V*olume 3 (1620-1628) 3-5. For the parliament of 1624 - *LJ*, *V*olume 3 (1620-1628) 205.

For the purposes of tabulation the following abbreviations have been used:

- D Duke
- M Marquess
- E Earl
- V Viscount
- B Baron.

Table 2.4¹

	MARCH	NOVEMBER	NOVEMBER	FEBRUARY	OCTOBER	APRIL	NOVEMBER	FEBRUARY
	1604	1605	1608	1610	1610	1614	1620	1624
Arundell, Thomas							Thomas Howard	Thomas Howard
B. Arundell							E. Arundel	E. Arundel
Berkeley, Henry	Henry Howard	Henry Howard		Henry Howard	Henry Howard	Died 1613		
B. Berkeley	E. Northampton	E. Northampton		E. Northampton	E. Northampton			
Bertie, Robert		Philip Herbert	Philip Herbert	Gilbert Talbot			Henry de Vere	
B. Willoughby		E. Montgomery	E. Montgomery	E. Shrewsbury			E. Oxford	
of Eresby								
Bourchier, William	Robert Cecil		George Villiers	Died 1623				
E. Bath	E. Salisbury		M. Buckingham					
Bourchier, Edward								George Villiers
E. Bath								D. Buckingham
Browne, Anthony	William Parker							
V. Montague	B. Monteagle							
Brydges, Grey				Robert Cecil		Thomas Howard		Died 1621
B. Chandos				E. Salisbury		E. Suffolk		
Carew, George				Robert Cecil				
B. Carew				E. Salisbury				
Cavendish, William			Robert Cecil					
B. Cavendish			E. Salisbury					
Cavendish, William							George Villiers,	
V. Maunsfield							M. Buckingham	
Cecil, Thomas	Robert Cecil	Robert Cecil,					Bacon, Francis	Died 1623
B. Burghley	E. Salisbury	E. Salisbury					V. St. Alban	
E. Exeter								
Clifford, Francis		Robert Cecil					George Villiers	George Villiers
E. Cumberland		E. Salisbury					M. Buckingham	D. Buckingham
Clifton, Gervase				Robert Cecil			Died 1618	
B. Clifton				E. Salisbury				

	MARCH	NOVEMBER	NOVEMBER	FEBRUARY	OCTOBER	APRIL	NOVEMBER	FEBRUARY
	1604	1605	1608	1610	1610	1614	1620	1624
Clinton, Henry		Thomas Egerton	Thomas Egerton	Thomas Egerton	Thomas Egerton	Thomas Howard	Died 1616	
E. Lincoln		B. Ellesmere	B. Ellesmere	B. Ellesmere	B. Ellesmere	E. Suffolk		
Clinton, Thomas						Thomas Howard	Died 1619	
B. Clinton						E. Suffolk		
Cromwell, Edward	Thomas Egerton	Robert Cecil	Died 1607					
B. Cromwell	B. Ellesmere	E. Salisbury						
Danvers, Henry								Charles, Prince of
B. Danvers								Wales
Darcy, John		Gilbert Talbot	Gilbert Talbot		Gilbert Talbot		Thomas Wentworth	William Herbert
B. Darcy and Menell		E. Shrewsbury	E. Shrewsbury		E. Shrewsbury		B. Wentworth	E. Pembroke
Darcy, Thomas	Henry Howard						Ludovick Stuart	Francis Manners
B. Darcy of Chiche	E. Northampton						E. Richmond	E. Rutland
V. Colchester								
Denny, Edward		Edward la Zouche						
B. Denny		B. Zouche						
Digby, John							George Villiers	
B. Digby							M. Buckingham	
Eure Ralph			Robert Cecil		Thomas Egerton		Died 1617	
B. Eure			E. Salisbury		B. Ellesmere			
Eure William							George Villiers	Francis Manners
B. Eure							M. Buckingham	E. Rutland
Fiennes, Richard			Henry Howard			Died 1613		
B. Saye and Sele			E. Northampton					
Gerard, Thomas			Thomas Howard			Thomas Howard	Died 1618	
B. Gerard			E. Suffolk			E. Suffolk		
Greville, Fulke								William Fiennes
B. Brooke								B. Saye and Sele

	MARCH	NOVEMBER	NOVEMBER	FEBRUARY	OCTOBER	APRIL	NOVEMBER	FEBRUARY
	1604	1605	1608	1610	1610	1614	1620	1624
Grey, Henry	Gilbert Talbot	Gilbert Talbot	Gilbert Talbot	Gilbert Talbot	Gilbert Talbot	Gilbert Talbot	Died 1615	
E. Kent	E. Shrewsbury	E. Shrewsbury	E. Shrewsbury	E. Shrewsbury	E. Shrewsbury	E. Shrewsbury		
Grey, Charles							William Herbert	Died 1623
E. Kent							E. Pembroke	
Grey, Henry	William Knollys	Robert Cecil	Robert Cecil	Robert Cecil	Robert Cecil	Henry Wriothesley	Died 1614	
B. Grey of Groby	B. Knollys	E. Salisbury	E. Salisbury	E. Salisbury	E. Salisbury	E. Southampton		
Harington, John	Robert Sidney	Robert Sidney	Robert Sidney			Died 1613		
B. Harington	B. Sidney	V. Lisle	V. Lisle					
Hastings, George	Edward Somerset	Died 1604						
E. Huntingdon	E. Worcester							
Hastings, Henry			Thomas Egerton				Philip Herbert	Henry Wriothesley
E. Huntingdon			B. Ellesmere				E. Montgomery	E. Southampton
Howard, Charles							George Villiers	Died 1624
E. Nottingham							M. Buckingham	
Howard, Thomas	Thomas Howard	Thomas Howard	Thomas Howard	Thomas Howard		Died 1611		
V. Howard of Bindon	E. Suffolk	E. Suffolk	E. Suffolk	E. Suffolk				
Knollys, William							Thomas Howard	
V. Wallingford							E. Suffolk	
Lennard, Richard							Henry de Vere	
B. Dacre							E. Oxford	
Lumley, John	Thomas Darcy	Henry Howard	Henry Howard	Died 1609				
B. Lumley	B. Darcy of Chiche	E. Northampton	E. Northampton					
Manners, Roger		Thomas Howard		Henry Howard	Henry Howard	Died 1612		
E. Rutland		E. Suffolk		E. Northampton	E. Northampton			
Mordaunt, Henry	William Compton	Died 1609						
B. Mordaunt	B. Compton							
Neville, Henry								William Herbert
B. Abergavenny								E. Pembroke

	MARCH 1604	NOVEMBER 1605	NOVEMBER 1608	FEBRUARY 1610	OCTOBER 1610	APRIL 1614	NOVEMBER 1620	FEBRUARY 1624
Noel, Edward	1004	1005	1008	1010	1010	1014	George Villiers	-
B. Noel							M. Buckingham	George Villiers D. Buckingham
Norris, Francis		Robert Cecil				Robert Carr	George Villiers	Died 1622
B. Norris		E. Salisbury				E. Somerset	M. Buckingham	Dieu 1022
E. Berkshire		E. Jansbury				E. Somerset	Wi. Duckingham	
Paget, William		Thomas Howard	Henry Howard					
B. Paget		E. Suffolk	E. Northampton					
Parker, William							Henry Wriothesley	Died 1622
B. Monteagle							E. Southampton	
(and Morley 1618)								
Paulet, William	Charles Blount		Edward Somerset	Edward Somerset	Edward Somerset	Thomas Howard	Edward Somerset	John Paulet
M. Winchester	E. Devonshire		E. Worcester	E. Worcester	E. Worcester	E. Suffolk	E. Worcester	B. St. John of Basing
Percy, Henry							James Hay	
E. Northumberland							V. Doncaster	
Ramsay, John							Philip Herbert	
E. Holderness							E. Montgomery	
Rich, Henry								George Villiers
B. Kensington								D. Buckingham
Rich, Robert	William Russell	William Russell	Thomas Darcy	William Russell			Died 1619	
B. Rich	B. Russell	B. Russell	B. Darcy of Chiche	B. Russell				
	William Knollys B. Knollys							
Roper, Christopher							George Villiers	Died 1622
B. Teynham							M. Buckingham	
Roper, John								George Villiers
B. Teynham								D. Buckingham
Russell, Edward	Robert Sidney	Robert Cecil				Henry Wriothesley	William Herbert	William Herbert
E. Bedford	B. Sidney	E. Salisbury				E. Southampton	E. Pembroke	E. Pembroke

	MARCH	NOVEMBER	NOVEMBER	FEBRUARY	OCTOBER	APRIL	NOVEMBER	FEBRUARY
	1604	1605	1608	1610	1610	1614	1620	1624
Russell, William	William Knollys							George Villiers
B. Russell	B. Knollys							D. Buckingham
Sandys, William	Robert Cecil	Robert Cecil	Robert Cecil	Robert Cecil	Robert Cecil		Thomas Howard	Died 1623
B. Sandys	E. Salisbury	E. Salisbury	E. Salisbury	E. Salisbury	E. Salisbury		E. Arundel	
Scrope, Thomas			Robert Cecil	Died 1609				
B. Scrope			E. Salisbury					
Scrope, Emanuel				Henry Howard				
B. Scrope				E. Northampton				
Seymour, Edward		Robert Cecil						Died 1621
E. Hertford		E. Salisbury						
Seymour, William							Robert Devereux	Robert Devereux
B. Beauchamp							E. Essex	E. Essex
E. Hertford								
Sheffield, Edmund				Robert Cecil	Robert Cecil			
B. Sheffield				E. Salisbury	E. Salisbury			
Somerset, Henry			Edward Somerset		Edward Somerset	Edward Somerset	Ludovick Stuart	Ludovick Stuart
B. Herbert			E. Worcester		E. Worcester	E. Worcester	E. Richmond	D. Richmond
Spencer, Robert		Thomas Egerton	Thomas Egerton	Thomas Egerton	Thomas Egerton			
B. Spencer		B. Ellesmere	B. Ellesmere	B. Ellesmere	B. Ellesmere			
Stafford, Edward		Thomas Sackville						
B. Stafford		E. Dorset						
Stanhope, Philip							Henry Hastings	Henry de Vere
B. Stanhope of Shelford							E. Huntingdon	E. Oxford
Stanley, William							William Herbert	William Herbert
E. Derby							E. Pembroke	E. Pembroke
Sutton, Edward		Thomas Egerton	Thomas Egerton					
B. Dudley		B. Ellesmere	B. Ellesmere					
Talbot, George							Thomas Howard	Thomas Howard
E. Shrewsbury							E. Arundel	E. Arundel

	MARCH	NOVEMBER	NOVEMBER	FEBRUARY	NOVEMBER	1614	1621	1624
	1604	1605	1608	1610	1610			
Touchet, George	Henry Howard			Henry Howard			Died 1617	
B. Audley	E. Northampton			E. Northampton				
Touchet, Mervyn							William Herbert	John Williams
B. Audley							E. Pembroke	Bp. Lincoln
								Dean Westminster
Vaux, Edward							Thomas Darcy	
B. Vaux							V. Colchester	
							Oliver St. John	
							B. St. John of	
							Bletsoe	
Vere, Henry de							Robert Bertie	
E. Oxford							B. Willoughby of	
							Eresby	
Villiers, John								George Villiers
V. Purbeck								D. Buckingham
West, Thomas				Robert Cecil			Died 1618	
B. De La Warr				E. Salisbury				
Wharton, Philip		Edward Wotton	Thomas Howard	Thomas Howard			William Herbert	
B. Wharton		B. Wotton	E. Suffolk	E. Suffolk			E. Pembroke	
Willoughby, Charles		Thomas Howard	Thomas Howard	Thomas Howard	Thomas Howard	Died 1612		
B. Willoughby of Parham		E. Suffolk	E. Suffolk	E. Suffolk	E. Suffolk			
Windsor, Henry	Henry Wriothesley		Died 1605					
B. Windsor	E. Southampton							
Windsor, Thomas							William Paget	
B. Windsor							B. Paget	
Wotton, Edward							Thomas Howard	
B. Wotton							E. Suffolk	

HOUSE OF LORDS PROXIES GIVEN 1604-1624

	MARCH 1604	NOVEMBER 1605	NOVEMBER 1608	FEBRUARY 1610	NOVEMBER 1610	1614	1621	1624
Wriothesley, Henry E. Southampton							Robert Spencer B. Spencer	
Zouche, Edward la B. Zouche								William Herbert Earl of Pembroke

For the purposes of tabulation the following abbreviations have been used:

D - Duke

M - Marquess

- E Earl
- V Viscount
- B Baron.

¹ This Table has been created from the lists of proxies contained in the *Lords Journals*. For the parliament of 1604-1610 - *LJ*, Volume 2 (1578-1614) 263-264, 355, 449, 548, 666. For the parliament of 1614 - *LJ* Volume 2 (1578-1614) 686-687. For the parliament of 1621 - *LJ*, Volume 3 (1620-1628) 3-5. For the parliament of 1624 - *LJ*, Volume 3 (1620-1628) 205.

Table 3.1

HOUSE OF LORDS – 1604-1624 CATHOLIC ATTENDANCE & COMMITTEE APPOINTMENTS¹

	16	04	160	6/7	16	10	16	14	16	521	16	524
	C ²	A ³	С	Α	С	Α	С	Α	С	Α	С	Α
	68	70	115	182	56	116	8	29	61	107	86	93
Arundell, Thomas, Baron Arundell of Wardour	c. 1605		8	50	5	50	1	12	-	Absent	-	Absent
Browne, Anthony Maria, Viscount Montague	11	44	-	Absent	-	Absent	-	Absent	0	4	0	4
Clifford, George, Earl of Cumberland	18	31	Died	1605								
Clifford, Francis, Earl of Cumberland	s. 1605		23	113	17	97	2	22	1	16	0	1
Compton, William, Baron Compton, Earl of Northampton (c. 1618)	14	51	31	90	3	30	4	26	11	80	6	68
Darcy, Thomas, Baron Darcy of Chiche, Viscount Colchester (c. 1621)	8	38	22	116	4	24	1	20	0	14	0	13
Howard, Henry, Earl of Northampton	28	54	76	156	36	100	-	Absent	Died	1614		
Howard , Thomas, Earl of Suffolk	24	62	56	143	29	95	4	28	10	76	3	21
Howard, Theophilus, Baron Howard of Walden			su.1610		18	57	4	18	26	95	24	77
Howard, Thomas, Earl of Arundel	r. 1604		28	93	15	76	-	Abroad	29	88	30	74
Knollys , William, Baron Knollys Viscount Wallingford (c. 1616)	36	70	77	156	34	98	7	28	0	9	10	45
Manners , Roger, Earl of Rutland	10	34	15	58	9	40	Died	1612				
Manners, Francis, Earl of Rutland					s. 1612		4	25	4	76	5	54
Mordaunt, Henry, Baron Mordaunt	3	18	Tower		Died	1609						
Mordaunt, John, fifth Baron Mordaunt					s. 1609		Minor		4	32	3	41

HOUSE OF LORDS – 1604-1624 CATHOLIC ATTENDANCE & COMMITTEE APPOINTMENTS

	16	604	160	6/7	16:	10	16	14	16	21	16	524
	С	Α	С	Α	С	Α	С	Α	С	Α	С	Α
	68	70	115	182	56	116	8	29	61	107	86	93
Neville, Edward, Baron Abergavenny	10	34	52	160	10	70	1	24	7	71	Died	1622
Neville, Henry, Baron Abergavenny										s. 1622	0	2
Parker, Edward, Baron Morley	15	52	16	102	7	47	1	9	Died	1618		
Parker, William, Baron Monteagle, (and Baron Morley s. 1618)	20	50	37	83	16	61	4	20	5	10	Died	1622
Parker, Henry, Baron Morley and Monteagle										s. 1622	0	16
Paulet, William, Marquess of Winchester	0	2	0	3	0	4	-	Absent	-	Absent	-	Absent
Paulet, John, Baron St. John of Basing										su.1624	2	56
Percy, Henry , Earl of Northumberland	27	44	Tower		Tower		Tower		Tower ⁴		-	Absent
Petre, John, Baron Petre	33	56	62	134	35	96	Died	1613				
Petre, William, Baron Petre						s. 1613	3	25	14	85	14	68
Roper, John, Baron Teynham											0	2
Sackville, Thomas, Earl of Dorset	32	60	75	149	Died	1608						
Scrope, Emanuel, Baron Scrope			s. 1609		5	16	2	23	19	65	7	38
Somerset, Edward, Earl of Worcester	27	59	71	146	24	85	2	19	10	58	15	69
Somerset, Henry, Baron Herbert	8	50	24	64	4	17	0	1	-	Absent	-	Absent
Stafford, Edward, Baron Stafford	0	64	7	86	1	59	1	25	2	92	1	30
Stanley , William, Earl of Derby	3	23	3	13	3	30	2	27	0	1	-	Absent
Stourton, Edward, Baron Stourton	0	61	Tower		Tower⁵		-	Absent ⁶	4	98	4	81

HOUSE OF LORDS – 1604-1624 CATHOLIC ATTENDANCE & COMMITTEE APPOINTMENTS

	16	04	160	1606/7		1610		1614		1621		524
	С	Α	С	Α	С	Α	С	Α	С	Α	С	Α
	68	70	115	182	56	116	8	29	61	107	86	93
Stuart, Ludovick, Earl of Richmond						c. 1613	2	21	13	75	Died	1624
Stuart, Esmé, Earl of March								c. 1619	3	90	-	Absent
Talbot, Gilbert, Earl of Shrewsbury	33	62	64	141	29	102	5	24	Died	1616	-	
Touchet, Mervyn, Baron Audley									0	13	-	Absent
Vaux, Edward. Baron Vaux								Minor	0	0	0	3
Windsor, Henry, Baron Windsor	12	43	Died	1605	-		-		-		-	
Windsor, Thomas, Baron Windsor		s. 1605				Minor	3	26	7	64	2	14
Wotton, Edward, Baron Wotton	26	59	65	153	28	92	4	26	2	12	-	Absent

¹ This Table lists all Catholic peers who attended the House of Lords during the period, and shows the number of committees to which each peer was appointed together with the number of occasions they sat in the House. As no clear patterns emerge the names are listed in alphabetical order.

⁶ Baron Stourton was excused attendance at parliament in 1614. *GEC Peerage*, Volume 12, Part 1, p. 310.

² C = Committees. The figures in these columns represent the total number of Committees appointed in each session.

 $^{^{3}}$ A = Attendance. The figures in these columns represent the total number of sittings in each session.

⁴ Henry Percy, ninth Earl of Northumberland was incarcerated in the Tower from 27th November 1605 until 16th July 1621.

⁵ It is unclear when Edward Stourton, ninth Baron Stourton was released from the Tower.

Table 3.2

HOUSE OF LORDS 1604 PEERS' OFFICEHOLDINGS AND COMMITTEE APPOINTMENTS

	Privy Council	MP	Central Office	Regional Office	Local Office	Lord Lieut.	68
Zouche, Edward la (1556-1625)	✓	-	-	✓	-	✓	44
Baron Zouche (s. 1569)							
Knollys, William (1545-1632)	✓	Е	✓	-	\checkmark	✓	36
Baron Knollys (c. 1603)							
Viscount Wallingford (c. 1616)							
St. John, Oliver (1545-1618)	-	Е	-	-	\checkmark	✓	34
Baron St. John of Bletsoe (s. 1596)							
Talbot, Gilbert (1552-1616)	✓	Е	-	-	\checkmark	✓	33
Earl of Shrewsbury (s. 1590)							
Petre, John (1549-1613)	-	Е	-	~	\checkmark	Deputy	33
Baron Petre (c. 1603)							
Sheffield, Edmund (1565-1646)	-	-	-	✓	1616	✓	31
Baron Sheffield (s. 1568)							
Sackville, Thomas (<i>c</i> .1536-1608)	✓	Е	✓	-	✓	✓	32
Baron Buckhurst (c. 1567)							
Earl of Dorset (c. 1604)							
Cecil, Robert (1563-1612)	✓	Е	✓	✓	√	✓	28
Baron Cecil (c. 1603)							
Earl of Salisbury (c. 1605)							
Howard, Henry (1540-1614)	✓	-	✓	-	✓	1605	28
Earl of Northampton (c. 1604)							
Percy, Henry (1564-1632)	✓	-	-	-	✓	✓	27
Earl of Northumberland (s. 1585)							
Somerset, Edward (1550-1628)	✓	-	✓	✓	-	✓	27
Earl of Worcester (s. 1589)							
Wotton, Edward (1548-1628)	✓	E	✓	-	√	✓	26
Baron Wotton (c. 1603)		_					
Eure, Ralph (1558-1617)	-	Е	-	1607	√	1607	25
Baron Eure (s. 1594)		-		1007		1007	20
Cecil, Thomas (1542-1623)	✓	E	-`	✓	√	✓	24
Baron Burghley (s. 1598)		-					- ·
Earl of Exeter (c. 1605)							
Howard, Thomas (1561-1626)	✓	-	✓	-	✓	✓	24
Baron Howard of Walden (c. 1597)							- ·
Earl of Suffolk (c. 1603)							
Fiennes, Richard (<i>c</i> .1555–1613)	-	E	_	-	_	-	22
Baron Saye and Sele (s. 1573)							
Blount, Charles (1563-1606)	✓	E	✓	✓	✓	✓	21
Baron Mountjoy (s. 1581)		L .					
Earl of Devonshire (c. 1603)							
Carey, John (1563-1617)	_	E	_	_	✓	-	20
Baron Hunsdon (s. 1603)		L .					20
Parker, William (1574/5-1622)	-	-	_	_	-	-	20
Baron Monteagle (su. 1604)		_	_	_	-	_	20
(and Morley s. 1618)							
Wriothesley, Henry (1573-1624)	1619				✓	✓	19
Earl of Southampton (r. 1603)	1019	-	-	-		04/04	13
		I	L	I		0 7/04	

HOUSE OF LORDS 1604 PEERS' OFFICEHOLDINGS AND COMMITTEE APPOINTMENTS

Earl of Cumberland (s. 1570) - E - <td< th=""><th>68</th><th>Lord</th><th>Local</th><th>Regional</th><th>Central</th><th>MP</th><th>Privy</th><th></th></td<>	68	Lord	Local	Regional	Central	MP	Privy	
Earl of Cumberland (s. 1570) - E - <td< th=""><th></th><th>Lieut.</th><th>Office</th><th>-</th><th>Office</th><th></th><th>Council</th><th></th></td<>		Lieut.	Office	-	Office		Council	
Earl of Cumberland (s. 1570) Image: Comparison of the comparis	18	-	-	-	-	-	\checkmark	Clifford, George (1558-1605)
Baron Sidney (c. 1603) Viscount Lisle (c. 1603) Viscount Lisle (c. 1605) Farl of Leicester (c. 1618) Howard, Charles (1536-1624)								
Viscount Lisle (c. 1605) - </td <td>17</td> <td>-</td> <td>-</td> <td>-</td> <td>✓</td> <td>Е</td> <td>-</td> <td>Sidney, Robert (1563-1626)</td>	17	-	-	-	✓	Е	-	Sidney, Robert (1563-1626)
Earl of Leicester (c. 1618) <t< td=""><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td>Baron Sidney (c. 1603)</td></t<>								Baron Sidney (c. 1603)
Howard, Charles (1536-1624) ✓ E ✓ - - ✓ Earl of Nottingham (c. 1596) - E - - 1609 1613 Brydges, Grey (1578/9-1621) - E - - 1609 1613 Baron Chandos (s. 1602) - - ✓ ✓ 1608 ✓ Herbert, William (1580-1630) - - ✓ ✓ 1608 ✓ Baron Danvers (c. 1603) - - - 1607 1613 - Baron Gerard (c. 1603) - - - 1616 - 1617 Baron Gerard (c. 1603) - E ✓ 1616 - 1617 Seymour, Edward (1551-1618) - - - - ✓ ✓ Baron Morley (s. 1577) - - 1617 ✓ ✓ ✓ Compton, William (1568-1630) - - - - - - Baron Compton (s. 1589) - - - - - - - Baron Compton (Viscount Lisle (c. 1605)
Itoward, Chantes (1500-1024) Itoward, Chantes (1500-1024) Itoward, Chantes (1500-1024) Brydges, Grey (1578/9-1621) - E - 1609 1613 Baron Chandos (s. 1602) - - V V 1608 V Herbert, William (1580-1630) - - V V 1608 V Earl of Pembroke (s. 1601) - - - 1607 1613 - Baron Danvers, Henry (1573-1644) - - - 1607 1613 - Baron Danvers (c. 1603) - - - 1616 - 1617 Baron Gerard (c. 1603) - E ✓ 1616 - 1617 Baron Gerard (c. 1603) - - - - - - - Seymour, Edward (1551-1618) - - 1615 -								
Brydges, Grey (1578/9-1621) - E - 1609 1613 Baron Chandos (s. 1602) - - - 1609 1613 Herbert, William (1580-1630) - - - 1608 ✓ Earl of Pembroke (s. 1601) - - - 1607 1613 - Danvers, Henry (1573-1644) - - - 1607 1613 - Baron Danvers (c. 1603) - E ✓ 1616 - 1617 Baron Gerard (c. 1603) - E ✓ 1616 - 1617 Baron Gerard (c. 1603) - - - - - - - Seymour, Edward (1559-64.1621) - - - - - - - - - Baron Morley (s. 1577) - - 1615 - <td< td=""><td>17</td><td>✓</td><td>-</td><td>-</td><td>✓</td><td>Е</td><td>✓</td><td>Howard, Charles (1536-1624)</td></td<>	17	✓	-	-	✓	Е	✓	Howard, Charles (1536-1624)
Baron Chandos (s. 1602) - - ✓ ✓ 1608 ✓ Herbert, William (1580-1630) - - ✓ ✓ 1608 ✓ 05/04 Danvers, Henry (1573-1644) - - - 1607 1613 - Baron Danvers (c. 1603) - - - 1616 - 1617 Baron Gerard (c. 1603) - E ✓ 1616 - 1617 Baron Gerard (c. 1603) - E ✓ 1616 - 1617 Baron Morley (s. 1539) - <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td>Earl of Nottingham (c. 1596)</td>								Earl of Nottingham (c. 1596)
Herbert, William (1580-1630) - - ✓ 1608 ✓ Earl of Pembroke (s. 1601) - - - 1607 1613 - Danvers, Henry (1573-1644) - - - 1607 1613 - Baron Danvers (c. 1603) - E ✓ 1616 - 1617 Baron Gerard (c. 1603) - E ✓ 1616 - 1617 Baron Gerard (c. 1603) - - - - ✓ ✓ Seymour, Edward (1539-64.1621) - - - - ✓ ✓ Earl of Hertford (c. 1559) - - 1615 - - - Parker, Edward (1551-1618) - - 1617 ✓ ✓ ✓ Baron Morley (s. 1577) - - 1617 ✓ ✓ ✓ - Compton, William (1568-1630) - - - ✓ 1617 ✓ ✓ Baron Compton (s. 1589) - - - ✓ - - - - <	16	1613	1609	-	-	Е	-	Brydges, Grey (1578/9-1621)
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Earl of Pembroke (s. 1601) - - - 1607 1613 - Baron Danvers (c. 1603) - - - 1607 1613 - Gerard, Thomas (1564-1618) - E ✓ 1616 - 1617 Baron Gerard (c. 1603) - E ✓ 1616 - 1617 Seymour, Edward (1539-64.1621) - - - - ✓ - Earl of Hertford (c. 1559) - - - - ✓ - Parker, Edward (1551-1618) - - 1615 - - - Baron Morley (s. 1577) - - 1617 ✓ ✓ - Compton, William (1568-1630) - - - - - - Baron Compton (s. 1589) - - - ✓ - - - Earl of Northampton (c. 1618) - E - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	16	√	1608	√	✓	-	-	
Danvers, Henry (1573-1644) - - 1607 1613 - Baron Danvers (c. 1603) - E ✓ 1616 - 1617 Gerard, Thomas (1564-1618) - E ✓ 1616 - 1617 Baron Gerard (c. 1603) - - - - 1616 - 1617 Seymour, Edward (1539-6.4.1621) -		05/04						
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Gerard, Thomas (1564-1618) - E ✓ 1616 - 1617 Baron Gerard (c. 1603) - - - - - 1616 - 1617 Seymour, Edward (1539-6.4.1621) - - - - - ✓ ✓ Earl of Hertford (c. 1559) - - 1615 - - - - Parker, Edward (1551-1618) - - 1615 - - - - Baron Morley (s. 1577) - - 1617 ✓ ✓ - - Compton, William (1568-1630) - - - 1617 ✓ ✓ - Baron Compton (s. 1589) - - ✓ 1617 ✓ ✓ - Earl of Northampton (c. 1618) - E - - ✓ - - Clinton, Henry (1542-1616) - E - - ✓ - - Baron Scrope (s. 1592) - E - - ✓ - - Spencer, Robe								
Baron Gerard (c. 1603) - <td>16</td> <td>1617</td> <td>-</td> <td>1616</td> <td>✓</td> <td>Е</td> <td>-</td> <td></td>	16	1617	-	1616	✓	Е	-	
Seymour, Edward (1539-6.4.1621) -								
Earl of Hertford (c. 1559) - - 1615 - - - Parker, Edward (1551-1618) - - 1615 - - - Baron Morley (s. 1577) - - 1615 - - - - Compton, William (1568-1630) - - - - 1617 ✓ ✓ Baron Compton (s. 1589) - - - - 1617 ✓ ✓ Earl of Northampton (c. 1618) - - E - - - - Clinton, Henry (1542-1616) - E - - - - - Scrope, Thomas (1567-1609) - E - - - - - Baron Scrope (s. 1592) - E - - - - - - - Baron Spencer (c. 1603) - E - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	15	✓	\checkmark	-	-	-	-	
Parker, Edward (1551-1618) - - 1615 - - - Baron Morley (s. 1577) - - 1615 - - - - Compton, William (1568-1630) - - - 1617 ✓ ✓ - Baron Compton (s. 1589) - - - ✓ 1617 ✓ ✓ Earl of Northampton (c. 1618) - E - - ✓ - - Clinton, Henry (1542-1616) - E - - ✓ - - Earl of Lincoln (s. 1585) - E - - ✓ - - Scrope, Thomas (1567-1609) - E - - ✓ - - Baron Scrope (s. 1592) - E - - ✓ Deputy 1601 Russell, William (1553-1613) - E - ✓ - - - Baron Russell (c. 1603) - E - ✓ - - -								
Baron Morley (s. 1577) - - - 1617 - - Compton, William (1568-1630) - - - 1617 - - Baron Compton (s. 1589) - - - 1617 - - Earl of Northampton (c. 1618) - E - - - - Clinton, Henry (1542-1616) - E - - - - Earl of Lincoln (s. 1585) - E - - - - Scrope, Thomas (1567-1609) - E - - - - Baron Scrope (s. 1592) - E - - - - Spencer, Robert (1570-1627) - E - - - - Baron Spencer (c. 1603) - E - - - - - Baron Russell (c. 1603) - E - - - - -	15	-	-	-	1615	-	-	
Compton, William (1568-1630) - - - 1617 ✓ ✓ Baron Compton (s. 1589) Earl of Northampton (c. 1618) - E - - ✓ - Clinton, Henry (1542-1616) - E - - ✓ - - Earl of Lincoln (s. 1585) - E - - ✓ - - Scrope, Thomas (1567-1609) - E - ✓ ✓ - - Baron Scrope (s. 1592) - E - ✓ ✓ - - Spencer, Robert (1570-1627) - E - - ✓ Deputy Baron Spencer (c. 1603) - E - ✓ - - Baron Russell (c. 1603) - E - ✓ - -								
Baron Compton (s. 1589) Earl of Northampton (c. 1618) - E -	14	✓	\checkmark	1617	✓	-	-	
Earl of Northampton (c. 1618) - E - - - E - - - E - <t< td=""><td></td><td></td><td></td><td>-</td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td> ,</td></t<>				-				,
Clinton, Henry (1542-1616) - E - <								
Earl of Lincoln (s. 1585) - E - - Scrope, Thomas (1567-1609) - E - ✓ - Baron Scrope (s. 1592) - E - ✓ - - Spencer, Robert (1570-1627) - E - - ✓ Deputy Baron Spencer (c. 1603) - E - ✓ - - Russell, William (1553-1613) - E - ✓ - - Baron Russell (c. 1603) - E - - - -	13	-	\checkmark	-	-	E	-	
Scrope, Thomas (1567-1609) - E - ✓ - - Baron Scrope (s. 1592) - E - ✓ Deputy Spencer, Robert (1570-1627) - E - ✓ Deputy Baron Spencer (c. 1603) - E - ✓ Deputy Russell, William (1553-1613) - E - ✓ - Baron Russell (c. 1603) - E - ✓ -	_							
Baron Scrope (s. 1592) - E - ✓ Deputy Spencer, Robert (1570-1627) - E - ✓ Deputy Baron Spencer (c. 1603) - E - ✓ Deputy Russell, William (1553-1613) - E - ✓ - - Baron Russell (c. 1603) - E - ✓ - - -	13	-	\checkmark	✓	-	Е	-	
Spencer, Robert (1570-1627) - E - F Deputy Baron Spencer (c. 1603) - E - ✓ Deputy 1601 Russell, William (1553-1613) - E - ✓ - - Baron Russell (c. 1603) - E - ✓ - -								
Baron Spencer (c. 1603) 1601 Russell, William (1553-1613) - E -	13	Deputy	\checkmark	-	-	E	-	
Russell, William (1553-1613) - E - ✓ - - E -								
Baron Russell (c. 1603)	12	-	-	✓	-	E	-	
IVVINGSOF, HENTY (1562-1605)	12	-	-	-	-	-	-	Windsor, Henry (1562-1605)
Baron Windsor (s. 1585)								
Browne, Anthony Maria (1574-1629)	11	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Viscount Montague (s. 1592)								
	10	✓	\checkmark	-	-	-	-	
Earl of Rutland (s. 1588)								
	10	-	-	-	-	E	-	
Baron Abergavenny (r. 1604)	-					-		
Egerton, Thomas (1540-1617)	9	1607	✓	✓	✓	E	✓	
Baron Ellesmere (c. 1603)						-		o , , , , ,
Viscount Brackley (c. 1616)								
Wharton, Philip (1555-1625)	9	-	✓	-	-	-	-	
Baron Wharton (s. 1572)								

	Privy	MP	Central	-	Local	Lord	68
	Council		Office	Office	Office	Lieut.	
Darcy, Thomas (1565-1640)	-	-	-	-	-	-	8
Baron Darcy of Chiche (s. 1581)							
Viscount Colchester (c. 1621)							
Norris, Francis (1579-1622)	-	-	-	-	-	-	8
Baron Norris (s. 1601)							
Earl of Berkshire (c. 1621)							
North, Dudley (<i>b</i> .1581/2-1666)	-	-	-	-	-	1640	8
Baron North (s. 1600)							
Somerset, Henry (1577-1646)	-	-	-	✓	-	1626	8
Baron Herbert (su. 1604)							
Willoughby, Charles (1536/7-1610/12)	-	-	-	-	-	-	8
Baron Willoughby of Parham (s. 1570)							-
Grey, Henry (1547-1614)	-	Е	_	-	√	Deputy	7
Baron Grey of Groby (c. 1603)						1586	
West, Thomas (1577-1618)	-	E	_	_	-		7
Baron de la Warr (s. 1602)		L .					,
Radcliffe, Robert (1573-1629)		_	_		-	✓	6
Earl of Sussex (s. 1593)	-	-	-	-	-		0
	_						6
Sutton, Edward (1567-1643)	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
Baron Dudley (s. 1586)		-			✓		
Howard, William (1577-1615)	-	E	-	-	v	-	4
Baron Howard of Effingham (su. 1604)							
Rich, Robert (1559?-1619)	-	E	-	-	1608	-	4
Baron Rich (s. 1581)							
Earl of Warwick (c. 1618)	,						
Stanley, William (<i>b</i> .1561-1642)	✓	-	-	\checkmark	-	1607	3
Earl of Derby (s. 1594)							
Russell, Edward (1572-1627)	-	-	-	-	\checkmark	-	3
Earl of Bedford (s. 1585)							
Bertie, Robert (1582-1642)	-	-	-	-	-	Deputy	3
Baron Willoughby of Eresby (s. 1601)						1612	
WRIT – 5.4.1604							
Mordaunt, Henry (1568-1609)	-	-	-	-	\checkmark	-	3
Baron Mordaunt (s. 1601)							
Cromwell, Edward (c.1559-9/1607)	✓	-	-	-	✓	-	2
Baron Cromwell (s. 1592)							
Howard, Thomas (d.1611)	-	Е	-	-	\checkmark	✓	1
Viscount Howard of Bindon (s. 1590)							
Paulet, William (<i>d</i> .1629)	-	-	-	-	✓	-	0
Marquess of Winchester (s. 1598)							-
Bourchier, William (1557-1623)	-	-	_	✓	-	✓	0
Earl of Bath (s. 1561)							5
Grey, Henry (1541-1615)		_			√	✓	0
Earl of Kent (s. 1573)		-	_	-			0
						┼──┤	0
Berkeley, Henry (1534-1613)	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Baron Berkeley (s. 1534)							

	Privy Council	MP	Central Office	Regional Office	Local Office	Lord Lieut.	68
Darcy, John (1579-1635)	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Baron Darcy and Menell (s. 1602)							
Stafford, Edward (1573-1625)	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Baron Stafford (s. 1603)							
Stourton, Edward (1555-1633)		-	-	-	-	-	0
Baron Stourton (s. 1588)							
Touchet , George (1550/51-1617)	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Baron Audley (s. 1594)							

Table 3.3

	Privy Council	MP	Central Office	Regional Office	Local Office	Lord Lieut.	115
Knollys, William (1545-1632)	✓	E	✓	-	√	✓	77
Baron Knollys (c. 1603)							
Viscount Wallingford (c. 1616)							
Howard, Henry (1540-1614)	✓	-	\checkmark	-	✓	\checkmark	76
Earl of Northampton (c. 1604)							
St. John, Oliver (1545-1618)	_	-	-	-	√	✓	76
Baron St. John of Bletsoe (s. 1596)							70
Sackville, Thomas (<i>c</i> .1536-1608)	✓	E	✓	_	\checkmark	✓	75
Baron Buckhurst (c. 1567)							75
Earl of Dorset (c. 1604)							
Zouche, Edward la (1556-1625)	✓	E	-	✓	✓	\checkmark	71
Baron Zouche (s. 1569)		L	_	,	•	ŗ	/1
Somerset, Edward (1550-1628)	✓	_	✓	\checkmark	-	\checkmark	71
		-	•	•	-	•	/1
Earl of Worcester (s. 1589)	✓	-	✓		✓	✓	65
Wotton, Edward (1548-1628)	v	E	v	-	v	v	65
Baron Wotton (c. 1603)							
Talbot, Gilbert (1552-1616)	~	E	-	-	\checkmark	~	64
Earl of Shrewsbury (s. 1590)					1		
Petre, John (1549-1613)	-	E	-	-	\checkmark	Deputy	62
Baron Petre (c. 1603)							
Cecil, Robert (1563-1612)	\checkmark		\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	57
Baron Cecil (c. 1603)							
Earl of Salisbury (c. 1605)							
Howard, Thomas (1561-1626)	\checkmark	-	\checkmark	-	\checkmark	\checkmark	56
Baron Howard of Walden (c. 1597)							
Earl of Suffolk (c. 1603)							
Wriothesley, Henry (1573-1624)	1619	-	-	-	✓	✓	55
Earl of Southampton (r. 1603)							
Fiennes, Richard (c. 1555–1613)	-	E	-	-	-	-	54
Baron Saye and Sele (s. 1573)							
Sheffield, Edmund (1565-1646)	-	-	-	✓	1616	✓	54
Baron Sheffield (s. 1568)							
Howard, Charles (1536-1624)	✓	-	✓	-	-	✓	53
Earl of Nottingham (c. 1596)							
Neville, Edward (1550-1622)	-	-	-	-	-	-	52
Baron Abergavenny (r. 1604)							52
Herbert, William (1580-1630)	_	-	\checkmark	✓	1608	✓	49
Earl of Pembroke (s. 1601)					1000		75
Carew, George (1555-1629)	1616	E&J	✓	✓	✓	_	49
Baron Carew (c. 1605)	1010	LQJ	•	•	•	-	49
Brydges, Grey (1578/9-1621)					1600	1612	47
	-	E	-	-	1609	1613	47
Baron Chandos (s. 1602)					✓		45
Carey, John (1563-1617)	-	E	-	-	v	-	45
Baron Hunsdon (s. 1603)		-	✓	4.545	/	101-	
Gerard, Thomas (d.1618)	-	E	Ý	1616	\checkmark	1617	44
Baron Gerard (c. 1603)	,						
Stanhope, John (1540-9.3.1621)	\checkmark	E	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	-	44
Baron Stanhope of Harrington (c. 1605)							

	Privy Council	MP	Central Office	Regional Office	Local Office	Lord Lieut.	115
Sidney Debart (1562 1626)	Council		v	Unice	Office	Lieut.	40
Sidney, Robert (1563-1626)	-	E	v	-	-	-	40
Baron Sidney (c. 1603) V. Lisle (c. 1605)				✓			20
Russell, William (1553-1613)	-	-	-	•	-	-	39
Baron Russell (c. 1603)							27
Parker, William (1574/5-1622)	-	-	-	-	-	-	37
Baron Monteagle (su. 1604)							
(and Morley s. 1618)	-	<u> </u>					
Eure, Ralph (1558-1617)	-	E	-	1607	\checkmark	1607	35
Baron Eure (s. 1594)		-					
Egerton, Thomas (1540-1617)	~	E	\checkmark	~	\checkmark	1607	33
Baron Ellesmere (c. 1603)							
Compton, William (1568-1630)	-	-	\checkmark	1617	\checkmark	~	31
Baron Compton (s. 1589)							
Earl of Northampton (c. 1618)							
Cecil, Thomas (1542-1623)	\checkmark	E	-	✓	\checkmark	✓	30
Baron Burghley (s. 1598)							
Earl of Exeter (c. 1605)							
Howard, Thomas (1585-1646)	1616	-	1621	✓	-	-	28
Earl of Arundel (r. 1603)							
Denny, Edward (1569-1637)	-	J	-	-	\checkmark	-	24
Baron Denny (c. 1604)							
Somerset, Henry (1577-1646)	-	-	-	✓	-	1626	24
Baron Herbert (su. 1604)							
Rich, Robert (1559?-1619)	-	E	-	-	1608	-	23
Baron Rich (s. 1581)		-			1000		20
Earl of Warwick (c. 1618)							
West, Thomas (1577-1618)	_	E	_	_	-	_	23
Baron de la Warr (s. 1602)		^L					25
Clifford, Francis (1559-1641)		E & J		✓	✓	1607	23
Earl of Cumberland (s. 1605)			_		·	1007	25
Darcy, Thomas (1565-1640)							22
Baron Darcy of Chiche (s. 1581)	-	-	-	-	-	-	22
Viscount Colchester (c. 1621)		-					22
Howard, William (1577-1615)	-	E	-	-	-	-	22
Baron Howard of Effingham (su. 1604)	-	-	-			1610	- 10
Paget, William (1572-1629)	-	-	-	-	-	1640	19
Baron Paget (r. 1603)		-					
Cavendish, William (1551-1626)	-	E	-	-	1615	1619	19
Baron Cavendish (c. 1605)							
Earl of Devonshire (c. 1618)							
North, Dudley (<i>b</i> .1581/2-1666)	-	-	-	-	-	1640	18
Baron North (s. 1600)							
Bertie, Robert (1582-1642)	-	-	-	-	-	Deputy	18
Baron Willoughby of Eresby (s. 1601)						1612	
Spencer, Robert (1570-1627)	-	E	-	-	~	Deputy	17
Baron Spencer (c. 1603)						1601	
Seymour, Edward (1539-4/1621)	-	-	-	-	✓	✓	17
E.arl of Hertford (c. 1559)							

HOUSE OF LORDS 1606/7
PEERS' OFFICEHOLDINGS AND COMMITTEE APPOINTMENTS

	Privy Council	MP	Central Office	Regional Office	Local Office	Lord Lieut.	115
Danvers, Henry (1573-1644)	-	-	-	1607	1613	-	16
Baron Danvers (c. 1603)							
Parker, Edward (1551-1618)	-	-	1615	-	-	-	16
Baron Morley (s. 1577)							
Manners, Roger (1576-1612)	-	-	-	-	\checkmark	✓	15
Earl of Rutland (s. 1588)							
Scrope, Thomas (1567-1609)	-	Е	-	✓	\checkmark	-	13
Baron Scrope (s. 1592)							
Herbert, Philip (1584-1650)	1624	-	√	-	1615	1624	11
Earl of Montgomery (c. 1605)							
Norris, Francis (1579-1622)	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
Baron Norris (s. 1601)							
Earl of Berkshire (c. 1621)							
Arundell, Thomas (1560-1639)	-	-	-	-	-	-	8
Baron Arundell of Wardour (c. 1605)							-
Blount, Charles (1563-1606)	√	E	✓	✓	\checkmark	✓	7
Baron Mountjoy (s. 1581)		_					-
Earl of Devonshire (c. 1603)							
Radcliffe, Robert (1573-1629)	-	-	-	_	-	✓	7
Earl of Sussex (s. 1593)							•
Stafford, Edward (1573-1625)	-	-	_	-	-	_	7
Baron Stafford (s. 1603)							,
Russell, Edward (1572-1627)	-	-	_	_	\checkmark	-	6
Earl of Bedford (s. 1585)							U
Sutton, Edward (1567-1643)	_	-	-	_	-	-	5
Baron Dudley (s. 1586)							5
Willoughby, Charles (1536/7-1610/12)	_	-	-	_	-	_	5
Baron Willoughby of Parham (s. 1570)							5
Clinton, Henry (1542-1616)		E	_	_	✓		3
Earl of Lincoln (s. 1585)		L .					5
Darcy, John (1579-1635)		_		_	-		3
Baron Darcy and Menell (s. 1602)							5
Hastings, Henry (1586-1643)			-		\checkmark	1614	3
Earl of Huntingdon (s. 1604)						1014	5
Cromwell, Edward	✓	_	_	_	✓		3
Baron Cromwell (s. 1592)							5
Stanley, William (b.1561-1642)	✓	-	_	✓	_	1607	3
Earl of Derby (s. 1594)						1007	5
Paulet, William (<i>d</i> .1629)		-	_	-	✓	_	0
Marquess of Winchester (s. 1598)	-	_		-			0
Bourchier, William (1557-1623)				✓		 ✓ 	0
Earl of Bath (s. 1561)	-	-	_		-		U
Grey, Henry (1547-1614)		E	_	_	✓	Deputy	0
Baron Grey of Groby (c. 1603)	-	E C	_	-	*	1586	0
Touchet , George (1550/51-1617)		-		_	-	1300	0
Baron Audley (s. 1594)	-	-	_	-	-	-	0
Wharton, Philip (1555-1625)			}		\checkmark	-	0
	-	-	-	-	•	-	0
Baron Wharton (s. 1572)			1				

Table 3.4

	Privy Council	MP	Central Office	Regional Office	Local Office	Lord Lieut.	56
Howard, Henry (1540-1614)	✓	-	✓	-	\checkmark	✓	36
Earl of Northampton (c. 1604)							
Petre, John (1549-1613)	-	E	-	-	\checkmark	Deputy	35
Baron Petre (c. 1603)							
Knollys, William (1545-1632)	✓	E	✓	-	\checkmark	✓	34
Baron Knollys (c. 1603)							
Viscount Wallingford (c. 1616)							
Zouche, Edward Ia (1556-1625)	✓	E	-	~	✓	✓	34
Baron Zouche (s. 1569)							
Talbot, Gilbert (1552-1616)	✓	E	-	-	\checkmark	✓	29
Earl of Shrewsbury (s. 1590)							
Howard, Thomas (1561-1626)	✓	-	\checkmark	-	\checkmark	✓	29
Baron Howard of Walden (c. 1597)							
Earl of Suffolk (c. 1603)							
St. John, Oliver (1545-1618)	-	-	-	-	✓	✓	29
Baron St. John of Bletsoe (s. 1596)							
Wotton, Edward (1548-1628)	✓	E	✓	-	\checkmark	✓	28
Baron Wotton (c. 1603)							
Eure, Ralph (1558-1617)	-	E	-	~	\checkmark	✓	26
Baron Eure (s. 1594)							
Fiennes, Richard (c.1555–1613)	-	E	-	-	-	-	26
Baron Saye and Sele (s. 1573)							
Somerset, Edward (1550-1628)	✓	-	✓	✓	-	✓	24
Earl of Worcester (s. 1589)							
Herbert, William (1580-1630)	-	-	✓	✓	\checkmark	✓	22
Earl of Pembroke (s. 1601)							
Paget, William (1572-1629)	-	-	-	-	-	1640	22
Baron Paget (r. 1603)							
Sheffield, Edmund (1565-1646)	-	-	-	~	1616	✓	22
Baron Sheffield (s. 1568)							
Stanhope, John (1540-9.3.621)	✓	E	✓	~	✓	-	21
Baron Stanhope of Harrington (c. 1605)							
Howard, Charles (1536-1624)	✓	-	✓	-	-	✓	20
Earl of Nottingham (c. 1596)							
Cecil, Robert (1563-1612)	✓	E	✓	~	\checkmark	✓	19
Baron Cecil (c. 1603)							
Earl of Salisbury(c. 1605)							
Wriothesley, Henry (1573-1624)	1619	-	-	-	\checkmark	✓	19
Earl of Southampton (r. 1603)							
Darcy, John (1579-1635)	-	-	-	-	-	-	19
Baron Darcy and Menell (s. 1602)							
Gerard, Thomas (d. 1618)	-	E	✓	1616	\checkmark	1617	19
Baron Gerard (c. 1603)							
Knyvett, Thomas (1558-1622)	-	E & J	✓	-	\checkmark	-	19
Baron Knyvett (c. 1607)							
Carey, John (1563-1617)	-	E	-	-	✓	-	18
Baron Hunsdon (s. 1603)							

	Privy Council	MP	Central Office	Regional Office	Local Office	Lord Lieut.	56
Howard, Theophilus (1584-1640)	1626	J	1628	-	1614	1614	18
Baron Howard of Walden (su. 1610)							
North, Dudley (<i>b</i> .1581/2-1666)	-	-	-	-	-	1640	18
Baron North (s. 1600)							
Russell, William (1553-1613)	-	-	-	✓	-	-	18
Baron Russell (c. 1603)							
Clifford, Francis (1559-1641)	-	E&J	-	✓	✓	\checkmark	17
Earl of Cumberland (s. 1605)							
Cavendish, William (1551–1626)	-	E	-	-	1615	1619	16
Baron Cavendish (c. 1605)							
Earl of Devonshire (c. 1618)							
Hastings, Henry (1586-1643)	-	-	_	-	\checkmark	1614	16
Earl of Huntingdon (s. 1604)							
Parker, William (1574/5-1622)	-	-	-	-	-	-	16
Baron Monteagle (su. 1604)							-
(and Morley s. 1618)							
Howard, Thomas (1585-1646)	1616	-	1621	✓	-	-	15
Earl of Arundel (r. 1603)	1010						
Seymour, Edward (1539-6.4.1621)	-	-	_	-	√	✓	13
Earl of Hertford (c. 1559)							10
Bertie, Robert (1582-1642)	-	_	_	_	-	Deputy	12
Baron Willoughby of Eresby (s. 1601)						1612	12
Cecil, Thomas (1542-1623)	✓	E	_	✓	✓	1012 ✓	11
Baron Burghley (s. 1598)							11
Earl of Exeter (c. 1605)							
Radcliffe, Robert (1573-1629)	-	-	_		-	✓	11
Earl of Sussex (s. 1593)		_		-	-		11
Neville, Edward (1550-1622)		-	_		-		10
Baron Abergavenny (r. 1604)	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
		E			\checkmark	Deputy	10
Spencer, Robert (1570-1627)	-	E	-	-	v	Deputy	10
Baron Spencer (c. 1603)					\checkmark	1601	0
Manners, Roger (1576-1612)	-	-	-	-	v	v	9
Earl of Rutland (s. 1588)						1612	0
Sackville, Richard (1589-28.3.1624)	-	-	-	-	-	1612	9
Earl of Dorset (s. 1609)					4640		
Danvers, Henry (1573-1644)	-	-	-	\checkmark	1613	-	8
L. Danvers (c. 1603)							_
Sidney, Robert (1563-1626)	-	E	~	-	-	-	8
Baron Sidney (c. 1603)							
Viscount Lisle (c. 1605)							
Sutton, Edward (1567-1643)	-	-	-	-	-	-	8
Baron Dudley (s. 1586)							
Parker, Edward (1551-1618)	-	-	1615	-	-	-	7
Baron Morley (s. 1577)							
Egerton, Thomas (1540-1617)	\checkmark	E	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	✓	5
Baron Ellesmere (c. 1603)							
Viscount Brackley (c. 1616)							

	Council		Central Office	Regional Office	Local Office	Lord Lieut.	56
Herbert, Philip (1584-1650)	1624		√	Once	1615	1624	5
Earl of Montgomery (c. 1605)	1024	-	•	-	1012	1024	5
Arundell, Thomas (1560-1639)							5
Baron Arundell of Wardour (c. 1605)	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
Scrope, Emanuel (1584-1630)			_	✓	-		5
Baron Scrope (s. 1609)	-	-	-	·	-	-	5
Russell, Edward (1572-1627)			-		✓		4
Earl of Bedford (s. 1585)	-	-	-	-	•	-	4
Darcy, Thomas (1565-1640)							4
Baron Darcy of Chiche (s. 1581)	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
,							
Viscount Colchester (c. 1621)	-	-	-	\checkmark	_	1626	4
Somerset, Henry (1577-1646)	-	-	-	•	-	1626	4
Baron Herbert (su. 1604)							л
Touchet, George (1550/51-1617)	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Baron Audley (s. 1594)	✓			✓			2
Stanley, William (<i>b</i> .1561-1642)	Ý	-	-	×	-	~	3
Earl of Derby (s. 1594)			✓	4647	✓	 ✓ 	-
Compton, William (1568-1630)	-	-	v	1617	v	v	3
Baron Compton (s. 1589)							
Earl of Northampton (c. 1618)			1		1		
Carew, George (1555-1629)	1616	E & J	\checkmark	~	\checkmark	-	3
Baron Carew (c. 1605)					,		
Denny, Edward (1569-1637)	-	J	-	-	\checkmark	-	3
Baron Denny (c. 1604)							
Norris, Francis (1579-1622)	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Baron Norris (s. 1601)							
Earl of Berkshire (c. 1621)							
Harington, John (1539/40-1613)	-	E	-	-	\checkmark	Deputy	2
Baron Harington (c. 1603)							
Rich, Robert (1559?-1619)	-	E	-	-	\checkmark	-	2
Baron Rich (s. 1581)							
Earl of Warwick (c. 1618)							
West, Thomas (1577-1618)	-	Е	-	-	-	-	2
Baron de la Warr (s. 1602)							
Wharton, Philip (1555-1625)	-	-	-	-	\checkmark	-	2
Baron Wharton (s. 1572)							
Clifton, Gervase (1579-1618)	-	E	-	-	-	-	1
Baron Clifton (c. 1608)							
Stafford, Edward (1573-1625)	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Baron Stafford (s. 1603)							
Paulet, William (d.1629)	-	-	-	-	\checkmark	-	0
Marquess of Winchester (s. 1598)							
Clinton, Henry (1542-1616)	-	E	-	-	\checkmark	-	0
Earl of Lincoln (s. 1585)							
Brydges, Grey (1578/9-1621)	-	E	-	-	√	1613	0
	1	1					

	Privy Council	MP	Central Office	Regional Office	Local Office	Lord Lieut.	56
Clinton, Thomas (1568-1619)	-	Е	-	-	\checkmark	-	0
Baron Clinton (su. 2.6.1610)							
Earl of Lincoln (s. 1616)							
Howard, William (1577-1615)	-	Е	-	-		-	0
Baron Howard of Effingham (su. 1604)							

Table 3.5

	Privy Council	MP	Central Office	Regional Office	Local Office	Lord Lieut.	8
Knollys, William (1545-1632)	✓	Е	✓	-	\checkmark	✓	7
Baron Knollys (c. 1603)							
Viscount Wallingford (c. 1616)							
St. John, Oliver (1545-1618)	-	-	-	-	\checkmark	✓	7
Baron St. John of Bletsoe (s. 1596)							
Herbert, William (1580-1630)	✓	-	✓	✓	\checkmark	✓	6
Earl of Pembroke (s. 1601)							
Talbot, Gilbert (1552-1616)	✓	E	-	-	\checkmark	✓	5
Earl of Shrewsbury (s. 1590)							
Sheffield, Edmund (1565-1646)	-	-	-	✓	1616	✓	5
Baron Sheffield (s. 1568)							
Zouche, Edward la (1556-1625)	✓	E	-	✓	\checkmark	✓	5
Baron Zouche (s. 1569)							
Carr, Robert (1585/6?–1645)	✓	-	-	-	✓	-	4
Viscount Rochester (c. 1611)							
Earl of Somerset (c. 1613)							
Hastings, Henry (1586-1643)	-	-	-	-	✓	1614	4
Earl of Huntingdon (s. 1604)							
Howard, Thomas (1561-1626)	✓	-	✓	-	\checkmark	✓	4
Baron Howard of Walden (c. 1597)							
Earl of Suffolk (c. 1603)							
Manners, Francis (1578-1632)	1617	-	-	-	\checkmark	✓	4
Earl of Rutland (s. 1612)							
Wriothesley, Henry (1573-1624)	1619	-	-	-	✓	✓	4
Earl of Southampton (r. 1603)							
Compton, William (1568-1630)	-	-	✓	1617	\checkmark	✓	4
Baron Compton (s. 1589)							
Earl of Northampton (c. 1618)							
Darcy, John (1579-1635)	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Baron Darcy and Menell (s. 1602)							
Eure, Ralph (1558-1617)	-	E	-	✓	\checkmark	✓	4
Baron Eure (s. 1594)							
Howard, Theophilus (1584-1640)	1626	J	1628	-	1614	1614	4
Baron Howard of Walden (su. 1610)							
Knyvett, Thomas (1558-1622)	-	E&J	✓	-	✓	-	4
Baron Knyvett (c. 1607)							
Parker, William (1574/5-1622)	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Baron Monteagle (su. 1604)							
(and Morley s. 1618)							
Rich, Robert (1559?-1619)	-	E	-	-	✓	-	4
Baron Rich (s. 1581)							
Earl of Warwick (c. 1618)							
Spencer, Robert (1570-1627)	-	Е	-	-	✓	Deputy	4
Baron Spencer (c. 1603)						1601	
Willoughby, William (1585-1617)	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Baron Willoughby of Parham (s. 1603)							
Wotton, Edward (1548-1628)	✓	E	\checkmark	-	\checkmark	✓	4

	Privy Council	MP	Central Office	Regional Office	Local Office	Lord Lieut.	8
Bertie, Robert (1582-1642) Baron Willoughby of Eresby (s. 1601)	-	-	-	-	-	Deputy 1612	3
Howard, Charles (1536-1624)	√	-	✓	-	-	\checkmark	3
Earl of Nottingham (c. 1596)							
Sackville, Richard (1589-8.3.1624)	-	-	-	-	-	1612	3
Earl of Dorset (s. 1609)							
Carew, George (1555-1629)	1616	E&J	✓	✓	\checkmark	-	3
Baron Carew (c. 1605)							
Carey, John (1563-1617)	-	E	-	-	\checkmark	-	3
Baron Hunsdon (s. 1603)							
Cavendish, William (1551–1626)	-	E	-	-	1615	1619	3
Baron Cavendish (c. 1605)							
Earl of Devonshire (c. 1618)							
Gerard, Thomas (d. 1618)	-	E	✓	1616	✓	1617	3
Baron Gerard (c. 1603)							
Lennard, Henry (1569/70-1616)	-	E	-	-	-	-	3
Baron Dacre (s. 1612)							
North, Dudley (<i>b</i> .1581/2-1666)	-	-	-	-	-	1640	3
Baron North (s. 1600)							
Paget, William (1572-1629)	-	-	-	-	-	1640	3
Baron Paget (r. 1603)							
Petre, William (1575-1637)	_	E	_	-	1623	-	3
Baron Petre (s. 1613)							
Windsor, Thomas (1591-1641)	-	-	_	-	-	-	3
Baron Windsor (s. 1605)							-
Cecil, William (1591-1668)	-	J	_	-	\checkmark	✓	2
Earl of Salisbury (s. 1612)							
Clifford, Francis (1559-1641)	-	E&J	_	✓	\checkmark	✓	2
Earl of Cumberland (s. 1605)							
Devereux, Robert (1591-1646)	-	-	-	-	-	✓	2
Earl of Essex (r. 1604)							
Somerset, Edward (1550-1628)	✓	-	✓	✓	-	✓	2
Earl of Worcester (s. 1589)							
Stanley, William (b.1561-1642)	✓	-	-	✓	-	✓	2
Earl of Derby (s. 1594)							
Stuart, Ludovick (1574-1624)	✓	-	✓	-	-	1620	2
Earl of Richmond (c. 1613)							_
Duke of Richmond (c. 1623)							
Sidney, Robert (1563-1626)	-	E	✓	-	-	-	2
Baron Sidney (c. 1603)							
Viscount Lisle (c. 1605)							
Denny, Edward (1569-1637)	-	J	-	-	✓	-	2
Baron Denny (c. 1604)							-
Russell, Francis (1593-1641)	-	J	-	-	✓	1623	2
Baron Russell (s. 1613)						1025	-
	1	I				1	
Scrope, Emanuel (1584-1630)	-	-	-	\checkmark	-	-	2

	Privy	MP	Central	Regional	Local	Lord	8
	Council		Office	Office	Office	Lieut.	
Egerton, Thomas (1540-1617)	\checkmark	Е	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	1
Baron Ellesmere (c. 1603)							
Viscount Brackley (c. 1616)							
Herbert, Philip (1584-1650)	-	-	\checkmark	-	1615	1624	1
Earl of Montgomery (c. 1605)							
Seymour, Edward (1539-6.4.1621)	-	-	-	-	\checkmark	\checkmark	1
Earl of Hertford (c. 1559)							
Arundell, Thomas (1560-1639)	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Baron Arundell of Wardour (c. 1605)							
Brydges, Grey (1578/9-1621)	-	Е	-	-	\checkmark	1613	1
Baron Chandos (s. 1602)							
Darcy, Thomas (1565-1640)	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Baron Darcy of Chiche (s.1581)	-						
Viscount Colchester (c. 1621)							
Fiennes, William (1582-1662)	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Baron Saye and Sele (s. 1613)							
Viscount Saye and Sele (c. 1624)							
Neville, Edward (1550-1622)	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Baron Abergavenny (r. 1604)							
Parker, Edward (1551-1618)	-	-	1615	-	_	-	1
Baron Morley (s. 1577)			1010				-
Stafford, Edward (1573-1625)	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Baron Stafford (s. 1603)							-
Radcliffe, Robert (1573-1629)	-	-	-	-	-	✓	0
Earl of Sussex (s. 1593)							Ũ
Danvers, Henry (1573-1644)	-	-	_	✓	613	-	0
Baron Danvers (c. 1603)					015		Ū
Howard, William (1577-1615)	_	Е	_	-		-	0
Baron Howard of Effingham (su. 1604)							U
Norris, Francis (1579-1622)			_				0
Baron Norris (s. 1601)	_	-	_	-	-	-	0
Earl of Berkshire (c. 1621)							
				✓		1626	0
Somerset, Henry (1577-1646) Baron Herbert (su. 1604)	-	-	-	•	-	1626	0
	✓	г	✓	✓	~		0
Stanhope, John (1540-9.3.1621)	, v	E		•	•	-	0
Baron Stanhope of Harrington (c. 1605)					~	1625	0
Wentworth, Thomas (1591-1667)		-	-	-	v	1625	0
Baron Wentworth (s. 1593)		_					~
West, Thomas (1577-1618)	-	E	-	-	-	-	0
Baron de la Warr (s. 1602)							
Wharton, Philip (1555-1625)	-	-	-	-	\checkmark	-	0
Baron Wharton (s. 1572)							

Table 3.6

Council Connecti Office Office Office Office Use Sheffield, Edmund (1565-1660) - - - V V V 40 Baron Sheffield (s. 1568) - - - V V - 34 Baron Danvers (c. 1603) 1641 J - - V V - 34 Baron Sheffield (s. 1568) V - V V - 29 33 Baron Spencer (sbest (1570-1627) E - - V Depose - 1622 28 Spencer (1584-1646) - E & J - - V Depose 1624 27 Viscount Maundeville (c. 1620) V E & J V - V V 26 Baron North (s. 1600) - - - - 1640 27 North, Dudley (b. 1581/2-1666) - - - 1640 28 Baron Ansort (s. 1601)		Privy	MP	Central	Regional	Local	Lord	61
Sheffield, Edmund (1565-1646) - - - - - - - 40 Baron Sheffield (s. 1563) - - - - - 34 Baron Darvers, (LTS8)-1641) 1641 J - - - - - 29 Baron Russell (S. 1613) - - - - - - 29 Baron Russell (S. 1613) - - - - - 29 Baron Staber (1570-1627) - E - - - 1625 28 Baron St. John, Oliver (1584-1646) - E & J - - 1624 27 Viscount Maundeville (c. 1560-1642) - E & J - - 1640 27 Baron St. John Childey (b.1581/2-1666) - - - - 1640 27 Baron Howard Theophilus (1584-1640) 1626 J 1628 - - 1640 26 Baron Howard Malden (su. 1610) - - - - 1640 26 Baron Haget (r. 1603		-			-			01
Baron Sheffield (s. 1568) Image: Constraint of the second se	Sheffield, Edmund (1565-1646)	-	-	-		✓	✓	40
Danvers, Henry (1573-1644) - - - - - 34 Baron Danvers (c. 1603) 1641 J - - - - 34 Baron Russell (s. 1613) 1641 J - - - - 23 33 Baron Russell (s. 1613) 1641 J - - - 29 23 33 Earl of Arundle (r. 1603) - - - - - 29 29 28 29 29 29 29 29 29 29 29 29 20 29 29 20 20 20 29 20 20 29 20								-
Baron Danvers (c. 1603) Image: Content of the second		-	-	-	✓	✓	-	34
Russell, Francis (1593-1641) 1641 J - - - 1623 33 Baron Russell (s. 1613) - - - - - 29 Earl of Arundel (r. 1603) - - - - 29 Baron Spencer (c. 1603) - E - - - 29 Baron Spencer (c. 1603) - E - - - 1625 28 Montague, Henry (c.1564-1642) - E & J - - - 1624 27 Viscount Maundeville (c. 1620) - E & J - - - 1640 27 North, Dudley (b.1581/2-1666) - - - - 1640 27 Baron North (s. 1600) 1626 J 1628 - - 1640 26 Baron Howard, Theophilus (1584-1640) 1626 J 1628 - - 1640 26 Baron Howard, Stabi/2-1660 - - - - 4 26 Baron Howard, Stabi/2-1660 - J <td< td=""><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></td<>								
Baron Russell (s. 1613) - - - - - 29 Howard, Thomas (1585-1646) - - - - 29 Spencer, Robert (1570-1627) - E - - V Deputy 29 Baron St. John Oliver (1584-1646) - E & J - - V 1625 28 Baron St. John of Bletsoe (s. 1618) - E & J - - V 1624 27 Viscount Maundeville (c. 1620) V E & J - - - 1640 27 Baron North (s. 1600) - - - - - 1640 27 Baron Howard of Walden (su. 1610) - - - - 1640 26 Baron Howard of Walden (su. 1610) - - - - - 25 Baron Howard of Stab: 1666) - J - - - 24 Paet, William (1572-1624) - - - - - 23 Baron Howard of Kabifo? - J -		1641	J	-	-	√	1623	33
Howard, Thomas (1585-1646) ✓ - ✓ - - 29 Earl of Arundel (r. 1603) - E - ✓ Deputy 29 Baron Spencer (c. 1603) - E - - ✓ Deputy 29 Baron St. John of Bletsoe (s. 1618) - E & J - - ✓ 1622 28 Baron St. John of Bletsoe (s. 1618) - E & J - - ✓ 1624 27 Viscount Maundeville (c. 1620) - - - - - 1640 27 Baron North, (s. 1600) - - - - - 1640 27 Baron Howard, Theophilus (1584-1640) 1626 J 1628 - ✓ ✓ 26 Baron Hward of Walden (su. 1610) 1626 J 1628 - - 1640 26 Baron Hunsdon (s. 1617) 1626 J - - - 1640 26 Baron Saye and Sele (s. 1613) Viscount Saye and Sele (s. 1613) - - - 23 <td< td=""><td></td><td>2012</td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td>1010</td><td></td></td<>		2012					1010	
Earl of Arundel (r. 1603) C Deputy 29 Baron Spencer (c. 1603) - E L - - I622 28 Baron St. John of Bletsoe (s. 1618) - E & J - - - I624 27 Viscount Maundeville (c. 1620) - - - - - I624 27 Baron North (s. 1600) - - - - - - 26 Baron Paget (r. 1603) - - - - - 26 Baron Paget (r. 1603) - - - - - 26 Baron Paget (r. 1603) - - - - - - 27 Seance Paget (r. 1603) - - - - -		✓	-	✓	✓	_	-	29
Spencer, Robert (1570-1627) - E - - V Deputy 29 Baron Spencer (c. 1603) - E & J - - V 1625 28 Baron St. John of Bletsoe (s. 1618) - E & J - - V 1624 27 Viscount Maundeville (c. 1620) V E & J - - - 1640 27 Baron St. John of Bletsoe (s. 1618) - - - - - 1640 27 Viscount Maundeville (c. 1620) V - V V V 26 Baron North (s. 1600) - - - - - 1640 27 Baron Paget (r. 1603) 1626 J 1628 - V V 26 Baron Paget (r. 1603) 1626 J 1628 - - 1640 27 Paget, William (1572-1629) - - - - 1640 28 Baron Paget (r. 1633) - - - - 24 24 Earl of Southampton	, , , ,							20
Baron Spencer (c. 1603) - E & J - - 1601 St. John, Oliver (1584-1646) - E & J - - 1625 28 Baron St. John of Bletsoe (s. 1618) - E & J - - - 1624 27 Viscount Maundeville (c. 1620) - - - - - 1640 27 Baron North (s. 1600) - - - - - 1640 27 Baron North (s. 1600) - - - - - 1640 27 Baron Howard of Walden (su. 1610) 1626 J 1628 - - - 26 Baron Howard of Walden (su. 1610) 1 1626 J 1628 - - 1640 26 Baron Housdon (s. 1617) - - - - - 27 25 Baron Housdon (s. 1617) - - - - - 24 25 Baron Housdon (s. 1617) - - - - - 23 23 Baro		-	F	_	-	\checkmark	Denuty	29
St. John, Oliver (1584-1646) - E & J - - - 1625 28 Montague, Henry (c.1564-1642) ✓ E & J ✓ - - 1624 27 Viscount Maundeville (c. 1520) ✓ E & J ✓ - - 1640 27 North, Dudley (b.1581/2-1666) - - - - - 1640 27 Baron North (s. 1600) ✓ - ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ 26 Baron Howard of Walden (su. 1610) 1626 J 1628 - ✓ ✓ 26 Baron Howard of Kalden (su. 1610) 1626 J 1628 - ✓ ✓ 26 Baron Howard of (s. 1661) - - - - 1640 26 Baron Hunsdon (s. 167) Viscount Rochford (c. 1621) - - - ✓ 24 Earl of Southampton (r. 1603) - - - ✓ - 23 Baron Magnton (s. 1617) Viscount Rochford (c. 1621) - - ✓ - 23			-					25
Baron St. John of Bletsoe (s. 1618)			F&I	_	_	✓	1	28
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Paget, William (1572-1629) - - - - 1640 26 Baron Paget (r. 1603) - J - - - 1640 26 Carey, Henry (c. 1580- 1666) - J - - - - 25 Baron Hunsdon (s. 1617) Viscount Rochford (c. 1621) ✓ - - - ✓ 24 Wriothesley, Henry (1573-1624) ✓ - - - - ✓ 24 Earl of Southampton (r. 1603) - - - - ✓ 23 Baron Saye and Sele (s. 1613) - - - ✓ - 23 Baron Haughton (c. 1637) - J ✓ - 23 Baron Denny (c. 1604) - J - - 21 Baron Denny (c. 1604) - J - - 21 Baron Haughton (s. 1604) - - - - 21 Baron Denny (c. 1604) - - - - 1625 21 Baron Scope (s. 1609)	,	1626	J	1628	-	v	v	26
Baron Paget (r. 1603) - J - - Z Carey, Henry (c.1580-1666) - J - - - 25 Baron Hunsdon (s. 1617) Viscount Rochford (c. 1621) - - - - - 24 Wriothesley, Henry (1573-1624) - - - - - - 24 Earl of Southampton (r. 1603) - - - - - 23 Baron Saye and Sele (s. 1613) - - - - 23 Viscount Saye and Sele (s. 1624) - - - - 23 Baron Pauget (r. 1667) - - - - 23 Baron Denny (c. 1604) - J - - 23 Baron Denny (c. 1604) - J - - 21 Baron Denny (c. 1604) - - - - 21 Baron Mungdon (s. 1604) - - - - 21 Baron Denny (c. 1604) - - - - 1625 21 <		-					1640	
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Baron Hunsdon (s. 1617) Viscount Rochford (c. 1621) V - - - V 24 Wriothesley, Henry (1573-1624) V - - - V 24 Earl of Southampton (r. 1603) - - - - V 24 Earl of Southampton (r. 1603) - - - - V 23 Baron Saye and Sele (s. 1613) - - - - V - 23 Baron Hunghton (c. 1616) - - - - - 23 Baron Haughton (c. 1616) - - - - - 23 Baron Haughton (c. 1616) - J - - - 23 Baron Haughton (c. 1604) - J - - - 23 Baron Denny (C. 1604) - J - - - 21 Baron Wentworth, Thomas (1591-1667) - - - - 1625 21 Baron Scrope (s. 1609) - - - - - 1625 <td< td=""><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td>1</td><td></td></td<>							1	
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Wriothesley, Henry (1573-1624) ✓ - - - ✓ 24 Earl of Southampton (r. 1603) - - - - ✓ 23 Fiennes, William (1582-1662) - - - - ✓ - 23 Baron Saye and Sele (s. 1613) - J ✓ - - 23 Molles, John (d.1637) - J ✓ - 23 Baron Haughton (c. 1616) - J ✓ - 23 Denny, Edward (1569-1637) - J - - 21 Baron Denny (c. 1604) - - - - 21 Hastings, Henry (1586-1643) - - - - 21 Earl of Huntingdon (s. 1604) - - - - 1625 21 Baron Wentworth, Thomas (1591-1667) - - - - 19 19 Baron Scrope (s. 1609) - - - - - 19 16 Baron Scrope (s. 1609) - - - <								
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Fiennes, William (1582-1662) - - - - - 23 Baron Saye and Sele (s. 1613) Viscount Saye and Sele (c. 1624) - J ✓ - 23 Holles, John (d.1637) - J ✓ - 23 Baron Haughton (c. 1616) - J ✓ - 23 Denny, Edward (1569-1637) - J - - 23 Baron Denny (c. 1604) - J - - 23 Hastings, Henry (1586-1643) - - - - 21 Earl of Huntingdon (s. 1604) - - - - - 21 Wentworth, Thomas (1591-1667) - - - - 1625 21 Baron Scrope (s. 1609) - - - - 19 1625 21 Baron Scrope (s. 1609) - - - - - 19 Devereux, Robert (1591-1646) - - - - - 16 Earl of Essex (r. 1604) - - -		\checkmark	-	-	-	\checkmark	~	24
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Holles, John (d.1637) Baron Haughton (c. 1616)-J \checkmark - \checkmark 23Denny, Edward (1569-1637) Baron Denny (c. 1604)-J \checkmark 21Baron Denny (c. 1604) \checkmark 21Hastings, Henry (1586-1643) Earl of Huntingdon (s. 1604) \checkmark 21Wentworth, Thomas (1591-1667) 								
Baron Haughton (c. 1616) - J - - 21 Baron Denny (c. 1604) - J - - ✓ - 21 Baron Denny (c. 1604) - - J - - ✓ 21 Baron Denny (c. 1604) - - - ✓ 21 Baron Denny (c. 1604) - - - ✓ 21 Baron Muntingdon (s. 1604) - - - ✓ 21 Wentworth, Thomas (1591-1667) - - - ✓ 1625 21 Baron Scrope (s. 1609) - - - - ✓ 19 19 Devereux, Robert (1591-1646) - - - ✓ - 19 Baron Scrope (s. 1609) - - - - - 16 Earl of Essex (r. 1604) - - - - 16 Baron Carew (c. 1605) - - - ✓ - 16 Baron Carew (c. 1605) - - - ✓ - <td>Viscount Saye and Sele (c. 1624)</td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td>	Viscount Saye and Sele (c. 1624)							
Denny, Edward (1569-1637) - J - - ✓ - 21 Baron Denny (c. 1604) Hastings, Henry (1586-1643) - - - - ✓ 21 Earl of Huntingdon (s. 1604) - - - - ✓ ✓ 21 Wentworth, Thomas (1591-1667) - - - - ✓ 1625 21 Baron Wentworth (s. 1593) - - - - ✓ 1625 21 Scrope, Emanuel (1584-1630) - - - - - 19 Baron Scrope (s. 1609) - - - - - 19 Devereux, Robert (1591-1646) - - - - 16 Earl of Essex (r. 1604) - - - - 16 Carew, George (1555-1629) ✓ E & J ✓ - 14 Baron Carew (c. 1605) - - - - 14 Vere, Henry de (1593-1625) - - - - 14 Earl of Oxford (s. 1604		-	J	\checkmark	-	\checkmark	-	23
Baron Denny (c. 1604) Image: Constraint of Huntingdon (s. 1604	Baron Haughton (c. 1616)							
Hastings, Henry (1586-1643) Earl of Huntingdon (s. 1604)21Wentworth, Thomas (1591-1667) Baron Wentworth (s. 1593)162521Baron Wentworth (s. 1593)162521Baron Scrope, Emanuel (1584-1630) Baron Scrope (s. 1609)19Devereux, Robert (1591-1646) Earl of Essex (r. 1604)19Carew, George (1555-1629) Baron Carew (c. 1605) \checkmark E & J \checkmark \checkmark -16Vere, Henry de (1593-1625) Earl of Oxford (s. 1604) \checkmark -14Cromwell, Thomas (c.1594-1653)14	Denny, Edward (1569-1637)	-	J	-	-	\checkmark	-	21
Earl of Huntingdon (s. 1604) - - - - - 1625 21 Baron Wentworth, Thomas (1591-1667) - - - - - 1625 21 Baron Wentworth (s. 1593) - - - - - 1625 21 Baron Wentworth (s. 1593) - - - - - 1625 21 Baron Scrope (s. 1609) - - - - - 19 Devereux, Robert (1591-1646) - - - - 16 Earl of Essex (r. 1604) - - - - 16 Carew, George (1555-1629) ✓ E & J ✓ - 16 Baron Carew (c. 1605) - - - - 16 Vere, Henry de (1593-1625) - - - - 14 Earl of Oxford (s. 1604) - - - - 14 Cromwell, Thomas (c.1594-1653) - - - - 14	Baron Denny (c. 1604)							
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Scrope, Emanuel (1584-1630) - - - - 19 Baron Scrope (s. 1609) - - - - - 19 Devereux, Robert (1591-1646) - - - - - 16 Earl of Essex (r. 1604) - - - - - 16 Carew, George (1555-1629) ✓ E & J ✓ ✓ - 16 Baron Carew (c. 1605) ✓ E & J ✓ ✓ - 16 Vere, Henry de (1593-1625) - - ✓ - 14 Earl of Oxford (s. 1604) - - - - 14 Cromwell, Thomas (c.1594-1653) - - - - 14	Wentworth, Thomas (1591-1667)	-	-	-	-	\checkmark	1625	21
Baron Scrope (s. 1609) - - - - - - 16 Devereux, Robert (1591-1646) - - - - - 16 Earl of Essex (r. 1604) - - - - - 16 Carew, George (1555-1629) Image: Comparison of the system of the sys	Baron Wentworth (s. 1593)							
Baron Scrope (s. 1609) Image: marked stress of the str	Scrope, Emanuel (1584-1630)	-	-	-	✓	-	-	19
Earl of Essex (r. 1604) ✓ E & J ✓ F & J ✓ 16 Carew, George (1555-1629) ✓ E & J ✓ ✓ 16 Baron Carew (c. 1605) ✓ E & J ✓ ✓ 16 Vere, Henry de (1593-1625) - - ✓ - 14 Earl of Oxford (s. 1604) - - - - 14 Cromwell, Thomas (c.1594-1653) - - - - 14								
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Carew, George (1555-1629) Image: Carew (c. 1605) Image: Carew (c. 1604) Image: Carew (c. 1604) Image: Carew (c. 1594-1653) Image: Carew (c. 1594-1653) <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td>								
Baron Carew (c. 1605) Image: Constraint of the second		✓	E&J	✓	✓	✓	-	16
Vere, Henry de (1593-1625) - - · · - 14 Earl of Oxford (s. 1604) - - - - - 14 Cromwell, Thomas (c.1594-1653) - - - - - 14								-
Earl of Oxford (s. 1604) - - - - 14 Cromwell, Thomas (c.1594-1653) - - - - 14		-	- 1	✓	-	✓	-	14
Cromwell, Thomas (c.1594-1653) - - - - 14								-
		-	-	-	-	-	_	14
	Baron Cromwell (s. 1607)							- '

	Privy	MP	Central	Regional	Local	Lord	61
	Council		Office	Office	Office	Lieut.	
Petre, William (1575-1637)	- 1	Е	-	-	1623	-	14
Baron Petre (s. 1613)						1	
Stuart, Ludovick (1574-16.2.1624)	✓	-	~	-	-	\checkmark	13
Earl of Richmond (c. 1613)							
Duke of Richmond (c. 1623)						1	
Montagu, Edward (c.1562-1644)	-	E & J	-	-	\checkmark	~	13
Baron Montagu of Boughton (c. 1621)							
Darcy, John (1579-1635)	-	-	-	-	-	-	12
Baron Darcy and Menell (s. 1602)							
Villiers, George (1592-1628)	\checkmark	-	\checkmark	-	-	\checkmark	11
Marquess of Buckingham (c. 1618)							
Duke of Buckingham (c. 1623)							
Egerton, John (1579-1649)	1626	E	-	✓	\checkmark	1631	10
Earl of Bridgewater (s. 1617)							
Hamilton, James (1589-1625)	\checkmark	-	1624	-	-	-	10
Earl of Cambridge (c. 1619)							
Howard, Thomas (1561-1626)	-	-	-	-	✓	\checkmark	10
Earl of Suffolk (c. 1603)							
Rich, Robert (1587-1658)	-	J	-	-	-	-	11
Earl of Warwick (s. 1619)							
Sackville, Richard (1589-28.3.1624)	-	-	-	-	-	\checkmark	11
Earl of Dorset (s. 1609)							
Compton, William (1568-1630)	-	-	✓	✓	\checkmark	\checkmark	11
Baron Compton (s. 1589)							
Earl of Northampton (c. 1618)							
Sutton, Edward (1567-1643)	-	-	-	-	-	-	11
Baron Dudley (s. 1586)							
Howard, Thomas (1561-1626)	-	-	-	-	√	✓	10
Baron Howard of Walden (c. 1597)							-
E. Suffolk (c. 1603)							
Somerset, Edward (1550-1628)	✓	-	✓	✓	-	\checkmark	10
Earl of Worcester (s. 1589)							
Bertie, Robert (1582-1642)	-	-	-	_	-	Deputy	10
Baron Willoughby of Eresby (s. 1601)						1612	
Brydges, Grey (1578/9-1621)	_	E	_	-	√	 ✓	10
Baron Chandos (s. 1602)		-					10
Grey, Henry (1599-1673)	_	-	-	-	-	1625	10
Baron Grey of Groby (s. 1614)						1025	10
Noel, Edward (<i>b</i> .1582-1643)	_		_	_	✓	_	10
Baron Noel (c. 1617)							10
Zouche, Edward la (1556-1625)	✓	E	_	✓	✓	\checkmark	10
Baron Zouche (s. 1569)		L					10
Cranfield, Lionel (1575-1645)	✓	J	✓	✓	✓		9
Baron Cranfield (c. 9.7.1621)	·	1				-	9
Earl of Middlesex (c. 1622)							
Bacon, Francis (1561–1626)	✓	E&J	✓		\checkmark	+	0
Bacon, Francis (1561–1626) Baron Verulam (c. 1618)	ľ	EQJ		-	•		8
Viscount St. Alban (c. 1621)							

	Privy Council	MP	Central Office	Regional Office	Local Office	Lord Lieut.	61
Greville, Fulke (1554-1628)	✓	E&J	✓	✓	\checkmark	✓	5
Baron Brooke (c. 1621)							
Digby, John (1580-1653)	✓	J	✓	-	-	-	7
Baron Digby (c. 1618)							
Earl of Bristol (c. 1622)							
Lennard, Richard (1596-1630)	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
Baron Dacre (s. 1616)							
Neville, Edward (1550-1622)	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
Baron Abergavenny (r. 1604)							
Sidney, Robert (1563-1626)	-	E	✓	-	-	-	7
Baron Sidney (c. 1603)							
Viscount Lisle (c. 1605)							
Earl of Leicester (c. 1618)							
Windsor, Thomas (1591-1641)	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
Baron Windsor (s. 1605)							
Knyvett, Thomas (1558-1622)	-	E&J	✓	-	\checkmark	-	6
Baron Knyvett (c. 1607)							
Hay, James (1580-1636)	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
Viscount Doncaster (c. 1618)							
Earl of Carlisle (c. 1622)							
Herbert, Philip (1584-1650)	1624	-	✓	-	\checkmark	1624	5
Earl of Montgomery (c. 1605)							
Gerard, Gilbert (d.1622)	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
Baron Gerard (s. 1618)							
Parker, William (1574/5-1622)	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
Baron Monteagle (su. 1604)							
(and Morley s. 1618)							
Clinton, Theophilus (1600-1667)	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Earl of Lincoln (s.1619)							
Manners, Francis (1578-1632)	-	-	-	-	\checkmark	✓	4
Earl of Rutland (s. 1612)							
Mordaunt, John (1599-1644)	-	-	-	-	\checkmark	1640	4
Baron Mordaunt (s. 1609)							
Stourton, Edward (1555-1633)	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Baron Stourton (s. 1588)							
Cavendish, William (1551–1626)	-	E	-	-	\checkmark	✓	3
Baron Cavendish (c. 1605)							
Earl of Devonshire (c. 1618)							
Stuart, Esmé (1579-1624)	-	-	-	-	-	✓	3
Earl of March (c. 1619)							
Stafford, Edward (1573-1625)	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Baron Stafford (s. 1603)							
Stanhope, Philip (1583/4-1656)	-	-	-	-	\checkmark	-	2
Baron Stanhope of Shelford (c. 1616)							
Wotton, Edward (1548-1628)	✓	E	-	-	\checkmark	-	2
Baron Wotton (c. 1603)							

	Privy Council	MP	Central Office	Regional Office	Local Office	Lord Lieut.	61
Clifford, Francis (1559-1641)	-	E & J	-	√	\checkmark	✓	1
Earl of Cumberland (s. 1605)							
Radcliffe, Robert (1573-1629)	-	-	-	-	-	✓	1
Earl of Sussex (s. 1593)							
Cavendish, William (b.1593-1676)	-	J	-	-	-	1626	1
Viscount Maunsfield (c. 1620)							
Norris, Francis (1579-1622)	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Baron Norris (s. 1601)							
Earl of Berkshire (c. 1621)							
Stanhope, John (1540-9.3.1621)	✓	E	✓	✓	\checkmark	-	1
Baron of Harrington (c. 1605)							
Stanhope, Charles (1595-1675)	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Baron Stanhope of Harrington (s. 1621)							
Cecil, William (1591-1668)	-	J	-	-	\checkmark	~	0
Earl of Salisbury (s. 1612)							
Ramsay, John (1580-1626)	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Earl of Holderness (c. 1621)							
Seymour, Edward (1539-6.4.1621)	-	-	-	-	\checkmark	✓	0
Earl of Hertford (c. 1559)							
Stanley, William (b.1561-1642)	✓	-	-	✓	-	✓	0
Earl of Derby (s. 1594)							
Browne, Anthony Maria (1574-1629)	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Viscount Montague (s. 1592)							
Darcy, Thomas (1565-1640)	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Baron Darcy of Chiche (s. 1581)							
Viscount Colchester (c. 1621)							
Knollys, William (1545-1632)	✓	E	✓	-	\checkmark	\checkmark	0
Baron Knollys (c. 1603)							
Viscount Wallingford (c. 1616)							
Wharton, Philip (1555-1625)	-	-	-	-	\checkmark	-	0
Baron Wharton (s. 1572)							

Table 3.7

	Privy Council	MP	Central Office	Regional Office	Local Office	Lord Lieut.	93
Wentworth, Thomas (1591-1667)	-	-	-	-	✓	1625	44
Baron Wentworth (s. 1593)							
Montague, Henry (c.1564-1642)	✓	E&J	✓	-	√	1624	43
Viscount Maundeville (c. 1620)							
Montagu, Edward (c.1562-1644)	-	E&J	-	-	√	✓	43
Baron Montagu of Boughton (c. 1621)							
Russell, Francis (1593-1641)	1641	J	-	-	√	\checkmark	37
Baron Russell (s. 1613)							
Fiennes, William (1582-1662)	-	-	-	-	√	-	36
Baron Saye and Sele (s. 1613)							
Viscount Saye and Sele (c. 1624)							
Paget, William (1572-1629)	-	-	-	-	-	1640	32
Baron Paget (r. 1603)							
Howard, Thomas (1585-1646)	✓	-	✓	✓	-	-	30
Earl of Arundel (r. 1603)							-
St. John, Oliver (1584-1646)	-	E&J	-	-	√	1625	30
Baron St. John of Bletsoe (s. 1618)							
Denny, Edward (1569-1637)	-	J	-	-	√	-	28
Baron Denny (c. 1604)							
Howard, Theophilus (1584-1640)	1626	J	1628	-	√	✓	24
Baron Howard of Walden (su. 1610)	1020	3	1020				- ·
Wriothesley, Henry (1573-1624)	✓	-	_	-	√	✓	23
Earl of Southampton (r. 1603)							25
Herbert, William (1580-1630)	-	-	✓	✓	√	✓	22
Earl of Pembroke (s. 1601)							22
Sheffield, Edmund (1565-1646)	-	-	_	✓	√	✓	20
Baron Sheffield (s. 1568)							20
Spencer, Robert (1570-1627)	-	E	_	-	√	Deputy	20
Baron Spencer (c. 1603)		L .				1601	20
Holles, John (<i>d</i> .1637)		J	✓		✓		19
Baron Haughton (c. 1616)		5	-		-		15
Devereux, Robert (1591-1646)						✓	18
Earl of Essex (r. 1604)	-	-	-	-	-		10
Danvers, Henry (1573-1644)				✓	✓		17
Baron Danvers (c. 1603)	-	-	-		•	-	17
Darcy, John (1579-1635)		-					17
Baron Darcy and Menell (s. 1602)	-	-	-	-	-	-	17
Hamilton, James (1589-1625)	✓		✓				15
Earl of Cambridge (c. 1619)		-		-	-	-	15
	✓		✓	✓		 ✓ 	1 -
Somerset, Edward (1550-1628)	v	-	× ·	v	-	v	15
Earl of Worcester (s. 1589)						+	1 -
North, Dudley (b.1581/2-1666)	-	-	-	-	-	1040	15
Baron North (s. 1600)		-			✓	1640	~ ~
Petre, William (1575-1637)	-	E	-	-	v	-	14
Baron Petre (s. 1613)		·					
Carew, George (1555-1629)	\checkmark	E & J	~	~	\checkmark	-	13
Baron Carew (c. 1605)							

	Privy Council	MP	Central Office	Regional Office	Local Office	Lord Lieut.	93
Carey, Robert (1560-1639)	-	E&J	✓	1628	✓	1627	13
Baron Carey (c. 1622)							
Sidney, Robert (1563-1626)	-	E	✓	-	-	-	13
Baron Sidney (c. 1603)							
Viscount Lisle (c. 1605)							
Earl of Leicester (c. 1618)							
Carey, Henry (c.1580-1666)	-	-	-	-	-	-	12
Baron Hunsdon (s. 1617)							
Viscount Rochford (c. 1621)							
Cromwell, Thomas (c.1594-1653)	-	-	-	-	-	-	12
Baron Cromwell (s. 1607)							
Greville, Fulke (1554-1628)	√	J	-	✓	-	-	12
Baron Brooke (c. 1621)							
Sutton, Edward (1567-1643)	-	-	-	-	-	-	12
Baron Dudley (s. 1586)							-
Egerton, John (1579-1649)		E	-	✓	✓	1631	11
Earl of Bridgewater (s. 1617)	1626	_				1001	
Vere, Henry de (1593-1625)	-	_	✓	-	✓	_	10
Earl of Oxford (s. 1604)							10
Bertie, Robert (1582-1642)		_	_	_	_	Deputy	10
Baron Willoughby of Eresby (s. 1601)						1612	10
Grey, William (1593/4-1674)	-	J	_	-	_	1012	10
Baron Grey of Warke (c. 1624)	_	1	_	_	-	_	10
Knollys, William (1545-1632)	-	E	-		✓	✓	10
Baron Knollys (c. 1603)	-	L L	_	_	·		10
Viscount Wallingford (c. 1616)							
Cranfield, Lionel (1575-1645)	✓	J	 ✓ 		✓		9
Earl of Middlesex (c. 1622)	· ·	J		-	·	-	9
Noel, Edward (<i>b</i> .1582-1643)		-	_		✓		9
Baron Noel (c. 1617)	-	-	-	-	·	-	9
			 ✓ 	✓	✓	 ✓ 	7
Villiers, George (1592-1628)	•	-	· ·	•	v	v	/
Marquess of Buckingham (c. 1618)							
Duke of Buckingham (c. 1623)		<u> </u>					7
Cecil, William (1591-1668)	-	J	-	-	v	v	/
Earl of Salisbury (s. 1612)							
Berkeley, George (1601-1658)	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
Baron Berkeley (s. 1613)							
Scrope, Emanuel (1584-1630)	-	-	-	~	-	-	7
Baron Scrope (s. 1609)							
Compton, William (1568-1630)	-	-	\checkmark	~	\checkmark	\checkmark	6
Baron Compton (s. 1589)							
Earl of Northampton (c. 1618)							
Herbert, Philip (1584-1650)	1624	-	~	-	\checkmark	1624	6
Earl of Montgomery (c. 1605)							
Grey, Henry (1599-1673)	-	-	-	-	-	1625	6
Baron Grey of Groby (s. 1614)							
Manners, Francis (1578-1632)	-	-	-	-	\checkmark	~	5
Earl of Rutland (s. 1612)							

	Privy Council	MP	Central Office	Regional Office	Local Office	Lord Lieut.	93
Rich, Robert (1587-1658) Earl of Warwick (s. 1619)	-	J	-	-	-	-	5
Sackville, Richard (1589-28.3.1624) Earl of Dorset (s. 1609)	-	-	-	-	-	~	5
West, Henry (1603-1628) Baron de la Warr (s. 1618)	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
Cavendish, William (1551–1626) Baron Cavendish (c. 1605) Earl of Devonshire (c. 1618)	-	E	-	-	~	~	4
Howard, Thomas (1590-1669) Baron Howard of Charlton (c. 1621) Viscount Andover (c. 1622)	-	J	-	-	-	1628	4
Stanhope, Charles (1595-1675) Baron Stanhope of Harrington (s. 1621)	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Stourton, Edward (1555-1633) Baron Stourton (s. 1588)	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Clinton, Theophilus (1600-1667) Earl of Lincoln (s. 1619)	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Howard, Thomas (1561-1626) Baron Howard of Walden (c. 1597) Earl of Suffolk (c. 1603)	-	-	-	-	~	~	3
Mordaunt, John (1599-1644) Baron Mordaunt (s. 1609)	-	-	-	-	~	1640	3
Cecil, William (1566-1640) Baron Burghley (c. 1605) Earl of Exeter (s. 1623)	-	E	-	-	\checkmark	~	2
Paulet, John (1598-1675) Baron St. John of Basing (su. 1624)	-	J	-	-	-	1626	2
Windsor, Thomas (1591-1641) Baron Windsor (s. 1605)	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Feilding, William (1587-1643) Earl of Denbigh (c. 1622)	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Hay, James (1580-1636) Viscount Doncaster (c. 1618) Earl of Carlisle (c. 1622)	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Cavendish, William (1593-1676) Viscount Maunsfield (c. 1620)	-	J	-	-	-	1626	1
Stafford, Edward (1573-1625) Baron Stafford (s. 1603)	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Clifford, Francis (1559-1641) Earl of Cumberland (s. 1605)	-	E&J	-	~	~	~	0
Radcliffe, Robert (1573-1629) Earl of Sussex (s. 1593)	-	-	-	-	-	~	0
Ramsay, John (1580-1626) Earl of Holderness (c. 1621)	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Villiers, Christopher (<i>d</i> .1630) Earl of Anglesey (c. 1623)	-	-	-	-	-	-	0

	Privy Council	MP	Central Office	Regional Office	Local Office	Lord Lieut.	93
Browne, Anthony Maria (1574-1629)	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Viscount Montague (s. 1592)							
Darcy, Thomas (1565-1640)	-		-	-	-	-	0
Baron Darcy of Chiche (s. 1581)		-					
Viscount Colchester (c. 1621)							
Lennard, Richard (1596-1630)	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Baron Dacre (s. 1616)							
Neville, Henry (1573-1641)	-	E & J	-	-	-	-	0
Baron Abergavenny (s. 1622)							
Parker, Henry (1600-1655)	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Baron Morley and Monteagle (s. 1622)							
Roper, John (<i>c</i> .1581-1628)	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Baron Teynham (s. 1622)							
Stanhope, Philip (1583/4-1656)	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Baron Stanhope of Shelford (c. 1616)							
Vaux, Edward (1588-1661)	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Baron Vaux (s. 1595)							

Table 3.8¹

HOUSE OF LORDS 1604-1624 THE CATHOLIC PEERAGE – COMMITTEE CATEGORIES - 1604

Private		Social		General/		Legal Process/		Local /Trade		Religion and Church		Key Issues		Total
			_	Parliament		Punitive								
Number of	26		2		1		15		14		6		5	68
Committees														<u> </u>
V. Montague	5					V. Montague	2	V. Montague	2	V. Montague	1	V. Montague	1	11
B. Compton	6					B. Compton	1	B. Compton	3	B. Compton	3	B. Compton	1	14
E. Cumberland	8	E. Cumberland	1			E. Cumberland	1	E. Cumberland	4	E. Cumberland	1	E. Cumberland	1	18
B. Darcy of Chiche	1			B. Darcy of Chiche	1	B. Darcy of Chiche	1	B. Darcy of Chiche	1	B. Darcy of Chiche	2	B. Darcy of Chiche	1	8
E. Northampton	6	E. Northampton	1	E. Northampton	1	E. Northampton	6	E. Northampton	4	E. Northampton	6	E. Northampton	4	28
E. Suffolk	9			E. Suffolk	1	E. Suffolk	2	E. Suffolk	4	E. Suffolk	4	E. Suffolk	4	24
B. Knollys	11	B. Knollys	1	B. Knollys	1	B. Knollys	8	B. Knollys	4	B. Knollys	6	B. Knollys	5	36
E. Rutland	4							E. Rutland	2	E. Rutland	1	E. Rutland	3	10
B. Mordaunt	1					B. Mordaunt	1					B. Mordaunt	1	3
B. Abergavenny	1	B. Abergavenny	1	B. Abergavenny	1	B. Abergavenny	2	B. Abergavenny	3	B. Abergavenny	2			10
B. Morley	5					B. Morley	6			B. Morley	1	B. Morley	2	15
B. Monteagle	6			B. Monteagle	1	B. Monteagle	3	B. Monteagle	5	B. Monteagle	2	B. Monteagle	3	20
E. Northumberland	11			E. Northumberland	0	E. Northumberland	3	E. Northumberland	7	E. Northumberland	2	E. Northumberland	3	27
B. Petre	9	B. Petre	2	B. Petre	1	B. Petre	8	B. Petre	4	B. Petre	4	B. Petre	5	33
E. Dorset	10	E. Dorset	1	E. Dorset	1	E. Dorset	4	E. Dorset	5	E. Dorset	6	E. Dorset	5	32
E. Worcester	9	E. Worcester	1	E. Worcester	1	E. Worcester	6	E. Worcester	3	E. Worcester	4	E. Worcester	3	27
B. Herbert	1			B. Herbert	1			B. Herbert	2	B. Herbert	2	B. Herbert	2	8
						E. Derby	1	E. Derby	1			E. Derby	1	3
E. Shrewsbury	12	E. Shrewsbury	1	E. Shrewsbury	1	E. Shrewsbury	7	E. Shrewsbury	3	E. Shrewsbury	5	E. Shrewsbury	4	33
B. Windsor	3	B. Windsor	1			B. Windsor	1	B. Windsor	1	B. Windsor	2	B. Windsor	4	12
B. Wotton	5			B. Wotton	1	B. Wotton	4	B. Wotton	5	B. Wotton	6	B. Wotton	5	26

HOUSE OF LORDS 1604-1624 THE CATHOLIC PEERAGE – COMMITTEE CATEGORIES – 1606/7

Private		Social		General/		Legal Process/		Local /Trade		Religion and Church		Key Issues		Total
Number of Committees	31		5	Parliament	1	Punitive	16		40		11		11	115
B. Arundell of Wardour	2					B. Arundell of Wardour	3	B. Arundell of Wardour	1	B. Arundell of Wardour	1	B. Arundell of Wardour	1	8
B. Compton	5	B. Compton	1	B. Compton	1	B. Compton	5	B. Compton	10	B. Compton	4	B. Compton	5	31
E. Cumberland	4	E. Cumberland	1			E. Cumberland	3	E. Cumberland	8	E. Cumberland	3	E. Cumberland	4	23
B. Darcy of Chiche	4					B. Darcy of Chiche	5	B. Darcy of Chiche	8	B. Darcy of Chiche	2	B. Darcy of Chiche	3	22
E. Northampton	16	E. Northampton	1	E. Northampton	1	E. Northampton	11	E. Northampton	27	E. Northampton	10	E. Northampton	10	76
E. Suffolk	11	E. Suffolk	2	E. Suffolk	1	E. Suffolk	7	E. Suffolk	21	E. Suffolk	7	E. Suffolk	10	56
E. Arundel	3	E. Arundel	1			E. Arundel	2	E. Arundel	10	E. Arundel	5	E. Arundel	7	28
B. Knollys	16	B. Knollys	2	B. Knollys	1	B. Knollys	10	B. Knollys	28	B. Knollys	10	B. Knollys	10	77
E. Rutland	2	E. Rutland	1	E. Rutland	1	E. Rutland	4	E. Rutland	5			E. Rutland	3	15
B. Abergavenny	3	B. Abergavenny	3			B. Abergavenny	5	B. Abergavenny	27	B. Abergavenny	7	B. Abergavenny	7	52
B. Morley	4	B. Morley	1			B. Morley	1	B. Morley	8	B. Morley	2			16
B. Monteagle	6	B. Monteagle	2			B. Monteagle	3	B. Monteagle	7	B. Monteagle	9	B. Monteagle	10	37
B. Petre	17	B. Petre	2	B. Petre	1	B. Petre	7	B. Petre	23	B. Petre	3	B. Petre	9	62
E. Dorset	15	E. Dorset	3	E. Dorset	1	E. Dorset	11	E. Dorset	26	E. Dorset	9	E. Dorset	10	75
E. Worcester	16	E. Worcester	3			E. Worcester	10	E. Worcester	24	E. Worcester	8	E. Worcester	10	71
B. Herbert	8	B. Herbert	1			B. Herbert	1	B. Herbert	8	B. Herbert	3	B. Herbert	3	24
B. Stafford	1							B. Stafford	2	B. Stafford	1	B. Stafford	3	7
								E. Derby	1			E. Derby	2	3
E. Shrewsbury	11	E. Shrewsbury	3	E. Shrewsbury	1	E. Shrewsbury	9	E. Shrewsbury	22	E. Shrewsbury	9	E. Shrewsbury	9	64
B. Wotton	13	B. Wotton	3	B. Wotton	1	B. Wotton	9	B. Wotton	20	B. Wotton	9	B. Wotton	10	65

HOUSE OF LORDS 1604-1624 THE CATHOLIC PEERAGE – COMMITTEE CATEGORIES – 1610

Private		Social		General/ Parliament		Legal Process/ Punitive		Local/Trade		Religion and Church		Key Issues		Total
Number of Committees	16		0		0		9		20		8		3	56
						B. Arundell of	1	B. Arundell of	1	B. Arundell of	3			5
						Wardour		Wardour		Wardour				
E. Cumberland	6					E. Cumberland	5	E. Cumberland	4			E. Cumberland	2	17
						B. Compton	2					B. Compton	1	3
B. Darcy of Chiche	3									B. Darcy of Chiche	1			4
E. Northampton	13					E. Northampton	6	E. Northampton	6	E. Northampton	8	E. Northampton	3	36
E. Suffolk	9					E. Suffolk	4	E. Suffolk	8	E. Suffolk	6	E. Suffolk	2	29
B. Howard of	6					B. Howard of	4	B. Howard of	3	B. Howard of	3	B. Howard of	2	18
Walden						Walden		Walden		Walden		Walden		
E. Arundel	7					E. Arundel	3	E. Arundel	1	E. Arundel	3	E. Arundel	1	15
B. Knollys	10					B. Knollys	6	B. Knollys	9	B. Knollys	7	B. Knollys	2	34
E. Rutland	2					E. Rutland	1	E. Rutland	5			E. Rutland	1	9
B. Abergavenny	4					B. Abergavenny	3			B. Abergavenny	2	B. Abergavenny	1	10
B. Morley	1					B. Morley	1	B. Morley	3	B. Morley	2			7
B. Monteagle	6					B. Monteagle	2	B. Monteagle	4	B. Monteagle	2	B. Monteagle	2	16
B. Petre	14					B. Petre	5	B. Petre	8	B. Petre	6	B. Petre	2	35
B. Scrope	1					B. Scrope	2	B. Scrope	2					5
E. Worcester	5					E. Worcester	6	E. Worcester	7	E. Worcester	5	E. Worcester	1	24
B. Herbert	1					B. Herbert	1			B. Herbert	1	B. Herbert	1	4
B. Stafford														1
						E. Derby	2					E. Derby	1	3
E. Shrewsbury	9					E. Shrewsbury	5	E. Shrewsbury	9	E. Shrewsbury	4	E. Shrewsbury	2	29
B. Wotton	7					B. Wotton	6	B. Wotton	7	B. Wotton	6	B. Wotton	2	28

HOUSE OF LORDS 1604-1624 THE CATHOLIC PEERAGE – COMMITTEE CATEGORIES – 1614

Private		Social		General/Parliament		Legal		Local/Trade		Religion and Church		Key Issues		Total
Number of 2 Committees	2		0		0	Process/Punitive	3		1		2		0	8
						B. Arundell of Wardour	1							1
E. Cumberland	1					E. Cumberland	1							2
B. Compton						B. Compton	2			B. Compton	1			4
						B. Darcy of Chiche	1							1
E. Suffolk	1					E. Suffolk	3							4
B. Howard of	1					B. Howard of								4
Walden						Walden	3							
B. Knollys	2					B. Knollys	3			B. Knollys	2			7
E. Rutland	1					E. Rutland	1	E. Rutland	1	E. Rutland	1			4
						B. Abergavenny	1							1
						B. Morley	1							1
B. Monteagle	1					B. Monteagle	2			B. Monteagle	1			4
B. Petre	1					B. Petre	2							3
B. Scrope	1					B. Scrope	1							2
						E. Worcester	1			E. Worcester	1			2
						B. Stafford	1							1
						E. Derby	2							2
						E. Richmond	2							2
E. Shrewsbury	2					E. Shrewsbury	3							5
						B. Windsor	1	B. Windsor	1	B. Windsor	1			3
B. Wotton	1					B. Wotton	3							4

HOUSE OF LORDS 1604-1624 THE CATHOLIC PEERAGE – COMMITTEE CATEGORIES – 1621

Private		Social		General/Parliament		Legal Process /Punitive		Local /Trade		Religion and Church		Key Issues		Total
Number of Committees	15		4		4		14		14		2		8	61
E. Cumberland	1													1
E. Northampton	2	E. Northampton	1	E. Northampton	1	E. Northampton	2	E. Northampton	5					11
E. Suffolk	3			E. Suffolk	1	E. Suffolk	1	E. Suffolk	2	E. Suffolk	1	E. Suffolk	2	10
B. Howard of Walden	3	B. Howard of Walden	3	B. Howard of Walden	2	B. Howard of Walden	7	B. Howard of Walden	6	B. Howard of Walden	2	B. Howard of Walden	4	26
E. Arundel	3	E. Arundel	1	E. Arundel	2	E. Arundel	7	E. Arundel	7	E. Arundel	2	E. Arundel	5	29
E. Rutland	2							E. Rutland	2					4
						B. Mordaunt	2	B. Mordaunt	1					4
B. Abergavenny	1	B. Abergavenny	1			B. Abergavenny	1	B. Abergavenny	4					7
						B. Morley and Monteagle	3	B. Morley and Monteagle	2					5
B. Petre	8	B. Petre	1	B. Petre	1	B. Petre	1	B. Petre	2	B. Petre	1			14
B. Scrope	6	B. Scrope	2	B. Scrope	1	B. Scrope	4	B. Scrope	3	B. Scrope	2	B. Scrope	1	19
		E. Worcester	2	E. Worcester	1	E. Worcester	3	E. Worcester	3	E. Worcester	1			10
B. Stafford	1					B. Stafford	1							2
B. Stourton	2	B. Stourton	1			B. Stourton	1							4
						E. March	1	E. March	1	E. March	1			3
E. Richmond	2	E. Richmond	1			E. Richmond	2	E. Richmond	5			E. Richmond	2	13
		B. Windsor	1			B. Windsor	1	B. Windsor	4			B. Windsor	1	7
						B. Wotton	1	B. Wotton	1					2

HOUSE OF LORDS 1604-1624 THE CATHOLIC PEERAGE – COMMITTEE CATEGORIES – 1624

Private		Social		General/Parliament		Legal		Local/Trade		Religion and Church		Key Issues		Total
						Process/Punitive								
Number of	28		4		5		21		15		8		12	93
Committees														
E. Northampton	1			E. Northampton	1	E. Northampton	2	E. Northampton	2					6
				E. Suffolk	1	E. Suffolk	2							3
B. Howard of	4	B. Howard of	2			B. Howard of	6	B. Howard of	4	B. Howard of	1	B. Howard of	7	24
Walden		Walden				Walden		Walden		Walden		Walden		
E. Arundel	5	E. Arundel	3	E. Arundel	2	E. Arundel	5	E. Arundel	4	E. Arundel	3	E. Arundel	8	30
V. Wallingford	2	V. Wallingford	1			V. Wallingford	4	V. Wallingford	1	V. Wallingford	1	V. Wallingford	1	10
E. Rutland	1	E. Rutland	1	E. Rutland	1	E. Rutland	1	E. Rutland	1					5
B. Mordaunt	1					B. Mordaunt	2							3
B. St. John of Basing	2													2
B. Petre	6	B. Petre	2			B. Petre	1	B. Petre	4	B. Petre	1			14
B. Scrope	1					B. Scrope	2	B. Scrope	3			B. Scrope	1	7
E. Worcester	3	E. Worcester	2			E. Worcester	2	E. Worcester	6			E. Worcester	2	15
B. Stafford	1													1
B. Stourton	1					B. Stourton	3							4
B. Windsor	2													2

1

Peers are listed according to their family name, but for the purposes of tabulation, only their title has been included.

Table 3.9

1604 Committees - 68	Catholics	Protestants
Private Issues - 26		
Catholics exceed Protestants		
Jernegan's Lands to Pay Debts	6	2
Throgmorton's Lands to Pay Debts	5	1
Charges of the King's Household	4	2
Agreement - Baron Chandos et al	4	2
Simpson's Debts and Sir Thomas Shirley	5	3
Confirm Letters Patent to Sir George Hume	11	10
Rectory of Godmanchester and Lady Osborn	4	3
Restitution of Charles Paget	6	5
Neville and Fane - Barony of Abergavenny	11	10
Catholics equal to Protestants		
Annexing Lands to HM and his Posterity	9	9
Decree Le Grys and Cotterell	3	3
Explain Act Elizabeth 43 - Neville to Sell Lands	5	3
Restitution of William Paget	3	3
Naturalization of Sir James Areskin	9	14
Restoration of Thomas Lucas	4	4
Protestants exceed Catholics		
Sir Henry Unton's Debts	2	8
Relief of Thomas Lovell Esq.	7	12
Trinity College, Cambridge and Sir Thomas Mounson	1	6
Jointure of Wife of Martin Colthrop	2	3
Sir Thomas Rowse's Lands to Pay Debts	1	3
Jointure of Wife of John Tebold	2	5
Naturalization of Baron Kinloss	9	12
Naturalization of the Earl of Marr	8	15
Naturalization of Sir Thomas Areskin	8	14
Request HM re Barony Abergavenny	5	7
Naturalization of William and Thomas Copley	2	3

1604 Committees (continued)	Catholics	Protestants
Social Issues - 2		
Catholics equal to Protestants		
Married Men in Universities	6	6
Protestants exceed Catholics		
Persons infected by Plague	4	6
General Issues and Parliament - 1		
Protestants exceed Catholics		
Bishop of Bristol's Book	13	20
Legal Process and Punitive - 14		
Catholics exceed Protestants		
Process Court of Exchequer	10	5
Tippling Inns, Alehouses etc.	4	2
Stealing Deer and Conies	5	9
Continue and Revive Laws	5	6
Preservation of Game	4	3
Continue and Revive Laws - Conference with House of Commons	10	11
Catholics equal to Protestants		
Stewards of Court Leets	4	4
Confirmation of Letters Patent	5	5
Vagabonds	3	3
Swearing	4	4
Protestants exceed Catholics		
Witchcraft	9	11
Adultery	3	7
Drunkards	2	9
Marriage	2	5
Excess in Apparel	2	7

1604 Committees (continued)	Catholics	Protestants
Local Issues and Trade - 14		
Catholics exceed Protestants		
Tanning of Leather	5	5
Well-garbling of Spices	5	1
Wherrymen and Watermen	3	1
Free Liberty of Trade - Conference with House of Commons	9	8
Catholics equal to Protestants		
Explain Statute re Labourers	4	4
Confirm Berwick-upon-Tweed	3	5
Redress Abuses etc. in Painting	3	3
Abuses re Herrings etc. in Cornwall	3	3
Protestants exceed Catholics		
Repair and maintain Bridlington Harbour	4	7
Repair Whitby Harbour	4	7
Explain Boundaries of Exeter	4	9
Restrain Numbers of Inhabitants in London	2	4
Reform Pawnbrokers	4	11
Exportation of Iron Ordnance	8	16
Religion and Church - 6		
Catholics exceed Protestants		
Jesuits, Recusants etc Conference with House of Commons	10	11
Process and Pleadings in Ecclesiastical Courts	9	7
Catholics equal to Protestants		
Against Diminution Archbishopric	11	11
Protestants exceed Catholics		
Ecclesiastical Affairs - Conference with House of Commons	8	14
Ecclesiastical Affairs - Sub-Committee	2	3
Convocation - Conference with House of Commons	10	11
Importing/Printing Seditious Books	8	12
Execute Laws against Jesuits, Recusants etc.	13	23

1604 Committee (continued)	Catholics	Protestants
Key Issues - 5		
Catholics exceed Protestants		
Subsidy to HM – Conference with House of Commons	9	7
Catholics equal to Protestants		
Wardships – Conference with House of Commons	11	13
Protestants exceed Catholics		
Tonnage and Poundage - Conference with House of Commons	11	16
Union - Conference with House of Commons	16	19
Commission concerning the Union	1	3
Commissioners to Treat with Commissioners of Scotland	3	8
Wardships - Conference with House of Commons	9	19
Purveyors etc Conference with House of Commons (Appt'd 3 rd May 1604)	11	16
Purveyors etc Conference with House of Commons (Appt'd 5 th May 1604)	4	5

1606-7 Committees - 115	Catholics	Protestants
Deixeda January 21		
Private Issues - 31		
Catholics exceed Protestants		
Agreement Baron Bruce and Michael Doily re Ibgrave Lands	4	3
Assure Lands to King, Queen and Earl of Salisbury	8	5
Assure Lands to Sir William Smith and Sir Michael Hickes	4	3
Downe's Lands to Pay Debts	4	1
Confirm Lands to Sir William Smith	10	4
Assure Lands in The Strand to Earl of Salisbury	6	3
Baron Windsor's Lands to Pay Debts	7	5
Manor of Lachelade to Bathurst	5	4
Manor of Bardesley to Bourchier	5	4
Sir David Foulis Naturalization	4	2
Catholica, anual to Drotostante		
Catholics equal to Protestants Goode to convey Lands to the King	5	5
Preserve Royalties of the Crown	7	7
Relief of John Roger against Robert Tailer et al	3	3
	5	5
Protestants exceed Catholics		
Relief of John Holditch	3	3
Assure Manors and Lands to Baron Rich	4	6
Sale of Lands to Sir Thomas Lake	2	6
Assure Countess of Essex Jointure	3	9
Sir Jonathan Trelawny deceased's Lands to Pay Debts (Appt'd 22 nd February 1606)	3	7
Assure Lands to Thomas Pelham Esq.	4	6
Establish Possessions etc. Edmund Baron Chandos deceased	4	8
Sir Christopher Hatton to Sell Lands	7	9
Decree William Le Gris and Robert Cotterell	5	8
Settle Manor of Rye on Throckmorton	6	9
Sir Francis Gaudy's Lands to Pay Debts	4	7
Jernegan's Lands to Pay Debts	5	9
William Cardinall deceased's Lands to Pay Debts	3	4
Evelyn's Lands to Pay Debts	3	4
Establish Earl of Derby deceased's Estates	13	18
Sir Jonathan Trelawny deceased's Lands to Pay Debts	2	5
(Appt'd 16 th March 1607)		
Waller's Lands - Decree in Chancery	4	5
Annexing Lands to the Crown Forever	12	21

1606-7 Committees (continued)	Catholics	Protestants
Social Issues - 5		
Social issues - 5		
Catholics exceed Protestants		
Confirm HM Patent - Divinity Reader Oxford	9	8
,		
Catholics equal Protestants		
Oriel College Oxford	3	3
Protestants exceed Catholics		
Northlech Free School	5	12
Corpus Christ College, Oxford	5	7
Confirm HM Patent - Divinity Reader Cambridge	6	9
General Issues and Parliament - 1		
Catholics exceed Protestants		
Election of MPs to serve in Parliament	6	5
		5
Legal Process and Punitive - 16		
Catholics exceed Protestants		
Avoid Inconveniences re Fines and Amerciaments	8	6
Catholics equal to Protestants		
Repressing Odious Sin of Drunkenness	8	8
Protestants exceed Catholics		
Preservation of Woods	11	22
Unnecessary Delays in Execution	5	10
Prisoners in Execution and their Creditors	1	8
Explanation of Statute 21 Henry VIII	8	10
Relief in Cases in Executions of Wills	3	9
Reform Numbers and Misdemeanours of Attorneys	3	9
Confirm Letters Patent	10	14
More Credit required in Wills of Land	9	15
Confirm Grants to Amend Defective Titles	11	21
Grants by HM of Copyhold Lands etc.	7	13
Unlawful Hunting and Stealing Deer and Conies	8	11
Reform Sin of Swearing etc.	4	12
Attainders Cobham and Brooke	4	9
Further Repressing Usury	7	12

1606-7 Committees (continued)	Catholics	Protestants
Local Jacuas and Trade 40		
Local Issues and Trade - 40		
Catholics exceed Protestants		
Reform Abuses in Marshalsea Court (Appt'd 19 th May 1606)	15	16
Lesnes and Fantes Marshes	7	3
Welsh Cottons	9	6
Restrain Use of Horse hides or Hog skins	6	1
Unlicensed Alehouse keepers	4	2
Beer and Ale	8	7
Tanners, Curriers, Shoemakers	8	6
Relief of Curriers in London	8	6
Repair of Chepstow Bridge	5	2
Catholics equal to Protestants		
Unnecessary Buildings in London etc. (Appt'd 7 th March 1606)	9	9
Fresh Running Water to London	5	5
Avoid Suits re Fens and Wastes in Isle of Ely	4	4
Relief of Skinners	5	5
Protestants exceed Catholics		
Decayed Cities and Towns	7	9
Clear River Thames to Oxford	6	12
Carriage of Wood on River Tow	4	9
Government of Wales	9	11
Multitude Buildings in London (Appt'd 6 th December 1606)	6	13
Disorderly Houses in London etc. (Appt'd 8 th December 1606)	6	13
Confirm Lands to Companies in London	10	12
Provide Meadow and Pasture in Marden etc. Herefordshire	5	10
Reform Abuses in Marshalsea Court (Appt'd 1 st June 1607)	11	13
Confirm Charter to Southampton	6	8
Reform Numbers of Brokers	4	6
Weavers Estates in Worcester	3	6
Wherrymen & Watermen (Appt'd 18 th March 1606)	4	6
Merchants of York, Hull and Newcastle	6	12
Free Liberty of Trade – France, Portugal, Spain	6	15
Free Trade - Conference with House of Commons	12	22
Explain Act - Free Trade - France, Spain	3	12
Repeal Act made Elizabeth 14 re Length of Kersies	6	8
Exportation of Undressed Cloths	9	11
Obstructions in Navigable Rivers	7	13
Importation of Wines	9	11

1606-7 Committees (continued)	Catholics	Protestants
Local Issues and Trade (continued)		
Protestants exceed Catholics (continued)		
Exportation of Beer	8	10
Reform Abuses of Mariners and Sailors	3	8
Hoord's Legacy to Repair Highways	10	13
Wherrymen and Watermen (Appt'd 11 th June 1607)	4	5
Exporting Gold and Silver	17	29
Woollen Cloth	12	13
Religion and Church - 11		
Catholics exceed Protestants		
Restraint of Excommunication	7	5
Protestants exceed Catholics		
Seditious Books	8	12
Keeping the Sabbath	7	11
Matters Ecclesiastical	3	4
Matters Ecclesiastical - Conference with House of Commons	13	16
Establish and Continue True Religion	13	16
Popish Recusants x 2	10	22
Sacrament	10	22
Manor and Prebend of Cutton - Minister	6	7
Canons Ecclesiastical not confirmed by Parliament	16	17
Establish Act to Exchange Lands of Archbishopric of	9	15
Canterbury Incorporation of Churchwardens St. Saviours, Southwark	5	7

1606-7 Committees (continued)	ees (continued) Catholics	
Key Issues - 11		
Protestants exceed Catholics		
Purveyance (Appt'd 12 th February 1606)	6	15
Execution of Statutes re Purveyors (Appt'd 5 th April 1606)	8	10
Purveyance - Conference with House of Commons	12	22
Grievances in the Spanish Trade	17	29
Preserve Religion, HM and State	10	23
Punishment of Offenders in Gunpowder Plot	5	8
Attainder of Offenders in Gunpowder Plot	10	17
Seditious Speeches against HM	10	17
Persons Returning and going Overseas	4	9
Union	12	22
Instrument for the Union - Conference with House of	17	23
Commons		
Union - Naturalization of Scots	12	22
Abolish Hostilities England/Scotland	17	29

1610 Committees - 56	Catholics	Protestants	
Private Issues - 16			
Catholics exceed Protestants			
Sale of Charles Waldgrave's Lands to Pay Debts	7	2	
Assure and Confirm Wentworth's Lands to Pay Debts etc.	7	4	
Sale of William Essex's Lands to Pay Debts	7	6	
Reginald Rous to sell part Lands etc.	4	2	
Sir Robert Drury - revoke Conveyances	6	4	
Catholics equal to Protestants			
Fraudulent Conveyances of Sir Henry Crisp's Lands	11	11	
Protestants exceed Catholics			
Against Assignment of Debts to HM	11	17	
Establish Leases by the Prince etc.	13	22	
Confirm Sale Henry Jernegan deceased's Lands	6	7	
Settlement Baron Abergavenny Lands	11	12	
Assurance of Sutcliffe's Portion	2	8 4	
Sir John Biron's Inheritance	2		
Earl of Oxford's Sale of Bretts and Purchase of Haveningham	5	4	
Assure Lands to Bishop of Durham and Earl of Salisbury	6	9	
Explain Act to Establish Earl of Derby's Estates	5	7	
Confirm Fines Arundel to Arundel	4	11	
Social Issues - 0			
General Issues and Parliament - 0			
Legal Process and Punitive - 9			
Catholics exceed Protestants			
Cancel Leases to King to try Men's Titles	5	4	
Protestants exceed Catholics			
Preservation of Timber	12	17	
Double Payment of Debts	4	8	
Execution of Justice in the North	5	10	
Avoiding Suits touching Wills of Land	12	21	
Dr. Cowell's Book Offensive to Parliament	16	23	

1610 Committees (continued)	Catholics	Protestants	
Legal Process and Punitive (continued)			
Protestants exceed Catholics (continued)			
Discovery of Thieves and Retail Brokers	2	13	
Against Profane Swearing	3	10	
Sir Stephen Proctor	6	13	
Local Issues and Trade - 20			
Catholics exceed Protestants			
Confirm Lands to Companies of Salters and Brewers in London	5	4	
Catholics equal to Protestants			
Repair and Maintain Minehead Harbour	6	6	
Punish Fraud in Manufacture of Wool	6	6	
Repeal one branch of statute re Maintenance of the Navy	3	3	
Silk Dyers Petition	3	3	
Protestants exceed Catholics			
Assure Farm and Demesnes of Damerham	2	6	
Decrees HM and Copyholders of Wakefield	4	5	
Copyhold Lands in Lancaster	4	6	
Moor Burning in the Northern Counties	3	9	
Assure and Establish Isle of Man	4	10	
Repair Wear on River Exe	2	9	
Marshlands Norfolk and Suffolk	5	6	
Water from Hackney to London	1	5	
Reform Abuses of Mariners	4	8	
Erection of Brewhouses (Appt'd 10 th May 1610)	4	6	
Erection of Brewhouses (Appt'd 23 rd October 1610)	5	8	
Continuance and Maintenance of Husbandry	7	11	
Sea Sand in Cornwall and Devon	2	7	
Enlarge Act for Keeping Milch Kine and Breeding Calves	7	11	
Explain Statute re Traders of Butter and Cheese	1	8	
Against Exportation of Iron Ordnance etc.	6	15	

610 Committees (continued) Catholics		Protestants	
Religion and Church - 8			
Catholics exceed Protestants			
School, Preacher etc. Thetford	8	5	
Protestants exceed Catholics			
School, Preacher etc. Dorchester	5	6	
Non-Residence and Plurality of Benefices	8	14	
Disunite Parishes of Ashe and Deane	4	8	
Ecclesiastical Canons not confirmed by Parliament	9	18	
Scandalous and Unworthy Ministers	7	17	
Persons Naturalized etc. to take Oath	10	13	
Administer Oath of Allegiance to and Reform Married	7	13	
Women Recusants			
Key Issues - 3			
Key 150005 - 5			
Protestants exceed Catholics			
Supplies to HM – Conference with House of Commons	16	30	
Petition to HM re His Safety	5	9	
Better Safety of HM's Person	5	10	

1621 Committees - 61	Catholics	Protestants	
Private Issues - 15			
Catholics exceed Protestants			
Manor of Little Munden to Woodhall	4	2	
Protestants exceed Catholics			
Confirm Leases by Prince Charles	3	15	
Grants by Collegiate Churches to Queen Elizabeth	5	14	
Exchange Lands - Prince Charles and Watson	0	6	
Killingworth Castle etc. to Prince Charles	3	9	
Assure Sale of Lands by Walgrave	2	7	
Confirm Patent to Cary et al of Minster, Kent	3	15	
Earl of Bedford deceased's Lands (Appt'd 20 th February 1621)	3	11	
Earl of Bedford deceased's Lands (Appt'd 9 th May 1621)	0	6	
Temple Newsham to Esmé Stuart	3	15	
Confirm Sale of Rectory of Dorking	4	11	
Sale Sir Richard Lumley's Lands to Pay Debts	2	4	
Viscount Montague's Lands to Pay Debts etc.	1	5	
Stewart et al Naturalization	2	4	
Turner's Naturalization	1	5	
Social Issues - 4			
Catholics equal to Protestants			
Confirm and Continue Hospitals etc.	3	3	
Protestants exceed Catholics			
Academy	6	32	
, Confirm Wadham College, Oxford	2	4	
Confirm Charterhouse Hospital	3	15	
General Issues and Parliament - 4			
Protestants exceed Catholics			
Earl of Hertford's Writ of Summons	0	5	
Session not to be closed	1	5	
Morrall's Ten Public Bills	2	10	
Customs and Orders – Standing Committee	5	20	
Customs and Orders – Sub Committee	1	8	

1621 Committees (continued)	Catholics	Protestants	
Legal Process and Punitive - 14			
Protestants exceed Catholics			
Punish Abuses in procuring Process and Supersedeas etc.	6	29	
Process and Supersedeas - Sub-Committee	0	7	
Against Relators, Informers etc.	5	13	
Contentious Suits against JPs etc.	1	5	
Confirm Judgement against Heron	0	6	
Limit and Avoiding Law Suits	2	11	
Subject to Plead General Issue in Informations of Intrusion	4	12	
Estates of Attainted Persons	5	13	
Licences of Alienation	4	14	
Levying Fines without Consent	2	4	
Prevent and Reform Profane Swearing and Cursing	1	8	
Examinations re Sir John Bennett	3	12	
Repress Drunkenness and Alehouses	2	7	
Gentlemen exempted from Whipping	0	9	
Women convicted of small Felonies	2	7	
Local Issues and Trade - 14			
Protestants exceed Catholics			
Clearing River Thames to Oxford	2	17	
Confirm Decree re Manors of Cannock, Rudgelty etc.	0	9	
Petition of Fishermen etc. Milton, Hultsoe etc. Kent	2	10	
Ordinances in Wales	4	9	
Confirm copyhold estates - Manors of Stepney and Hackney	1	5	
Relief of Patentees Tenants etc. of Crown and Duchy Lands	2	7	
Restrain Exportation of Ordnance	8	24	
Against Exportation of Gold and Silver Money	7	30	
Free Trade of Welsh Cloths etc.	6	16	
Against False Dying of Silks	3	9	
Free Buying and Selling of Wool and Yarn	0	9	
Restore Free Trade in Export of Wool	6	17	
Exportation of Welsh Butter	2	4	
Tobacco	3	12	

1621 Committees (continued)	Catholics Protestant	
Religion and Church - 2		
Protestants exceed Catholics		
Laws against Priests, Recusants etc.	5	25
Punish Abuses committed on the Sabbath	6	29
Sabbath Bill - Sub-Committee	0	7
Explain Statute James 3 re Popish Recusants	2	16
Key Issues -8		
Protestants exceed Catholics		
Apprehension of Giles Mompesson	3	30
Grievances	4	12
Grievances of Inns	1	8
Grievances of Gold and Silver Thread	2	7
Grievances of Concealments	0	9
Objections of Quo Warranto	1	5
Impeachment Lord Chancellor Bacon	1	15
Monopolies and Dispensation of Penal Laws	2	17
Against Pretence of Concealments	1	21

1624 Committees - 93	Catholics	
Private Issues - 28		
Catholics exceed Protestants		
Manor of Little Munden to Woodhall	4	2
Protestants exceed Catholics		
Exchange Lands- Prince Charles and Sir Lewis Watson	0	6
Killingworth Castle etc. to Prince Charles	0	6
Enable Prince Charles to make Leases	0	9
Exchange York House – Archbishop of York and HM	0	6
Against Assignment of Debts to HM	1	9
Preservation of HM's Revenue	2	7
Establish Earl of Oxford's Lands	1	11
Viscount Montague's Lands to Pay Debts etc.	2	10
Sir Richard Lumley's Lands to pay Debts	1	5
Establish Starkey deceased's Lands	1	10
Lands of Sir Horacio Palavicine deceased	1	5
Earl of Hertford's Lands to Pay Debts etc.	0	6
Explain Act re Lands of Lucas and Flowerdew	0	6
Assure Manors Newlangport and Sevans	2	7
Assure Lands to Sir Thomas Cheeke	1	5
Sale Alcocke's Lands	1	5
Sir John River's Inheritance	1	5
Settle Sir Reynold Mohun Lands	1	5
Sale Sir Francis Clerke's Lands to Pay Debts	1	5
Sir James Pointz deceased's Lands	2	4
Edwards -v- Edwards and Sherbourne	2	10
Vere's Naturalization	0	6
Stewart, Maxwell etc. Naturalization	0	3
Vandeputt Naturalization	0	6
Rawleigh's Restitution in Blood	1	5
Sir Francis Englefield Petition	2	10
Relief of Tenants of Crown Lands	2	7

1624 Committees (continued)	ommittees (continued) Catholics	
Social Issues - 5		
Protestants exceed Catholics		
Confirm Wadham College, Oxford	2	7
Erecting Hospitals and Workhouses	1	6
Confirm Hospitals and Freeschools	2	10
Maintain Hospitals and Almshouses	4	8
Establish College in East Grinstead	2	4
General Issues and Parliament - 4		
Protestants exceed Catholics		
Customs and Orders - Standing Committee	3	22
Customs and Orders - Sub Committee	1	15
Suppress Outrages of Lords Servants	1	3
Durham to send Members to Parliament	1	5
To receive and examine Petitions	0	9
Legal Process and Punitive - 21		
Catholics exceed Protestants		
Preservation of Bastards	4	2
Protestants exceed Catholics		
Trials by Battail Abolished	3	7
Limit Actions and Avoid Suits at Law	4	8
Relief against Informations - Penal Statutes	1	11
Subject to Plead General Issue	0	8
Further Reformation of Jeofails	1	5
Licences of Alienation	0	6
Prohibition Bill	2	9
Abuses - Process and Supersedeas of the Peace	1	11
Restitution of Possession	2	7
Levying Fines without Consent	1	5
10		7
Confirmation of Judgement against Heron	2	,
• •	2	8
Confirmation of Judgement against Heron Continue and Repeal Laws		
Confirmation of Judgement against Heron	1	8

1624 Committees (continued)	Committees (continued) Catholics	
Local Draces and Dunitive (continued)		
Legal Process and Punitive (continued)		
Protestants exceed Catholics (continued)		
Sheriffs' Accounts Bill	0	6
Prevent and Reform Profane Swearing and Cursing	1	5
Better Repressing of Drunkenness	0	6
Against Usury	1	8
Against Secret Foreign Pensions	2	4
Local Issues and Trade - 15		
Protestants exceed Catholics		
River Thames navigable to London	1	6
Confirm Decree - Manor of Painswick	1	5
Repeal part of Bill of Grace for Wales	2	7
Confirm copyhold estates - Stepney and Hackney	0	6
Repair etc. Haven and River of Colchester	3	6
Brewhouses in and about London	1	5
Free Trade in Welsh Cloths	4	10
Goldsmiths Bill	2	4
Cutlery Ware in Yorkshire	1	5
True Making of Woollen Cloths	1	11
Statutes - Trade in Butter and Cheese	1	5
Prohibit Export of Wool etc. and Fullers Earth	4	8
Inn-holders Bill	0	10
Relief of Feltmakers in London	3	9
Erecting and Ordering of Inns	1	3
Religion and Church - 8		
Protestants exceed Catholics		
Punish Abuses committed on the Sabbath	1	5
Explain part of an Act re Discovery of Recusants	0	12
Remittances by Papists out of the Kingdom	1	12
Petition re Recusants – Conference - House of Commons	0	18
Popish Recusants - Sub-Committee	0	6
Whetenhall deceased Divinity Lectures	0	6
Bishop Coventry and Lichfield's Bill	1	5
Advowson of Sutton on Darcy	1	5
Conference with House of Commons- Bishop of Norwich	2	10

1624 Committees (continued)	Catholics	Protestants
Key Issues - 12		
Protestants exceed Catholics		
Monopolies and Dispensation of Penal Laws	4	20
Purveyance	0	12
Concealments	0	10
Making Arms Serviceable	1	11
Search Precedents of Former Treaties etc.	2	10
View the Munitions	3	18
Spanish Ambassador's Charges against Buckingham	1	9
Advice to King of Both Houses re Treaties	1	18
Conference to clear doubts re King's Affairs	2	16
Conference re Assistance to King	3	17
Investigate Accusations against Lord Treasurer	2	21
Subsidies by the Temporality	2	11

Table 3.10

HOUSE OF LORDS 1604-1610 THE CATHOLIC PEERAGE AND KEY COMMITTEES

	Union	Gunpowder	Great
		Plot	Contract
Arundell, Thomas (1560-1639)	✓	Absent	Absent
Baron Arundell of Wardour (c. 1605)			
Browne, Anthony Maria (1574-1629)	✓	In Tower	Absent
Viscount Montague (s. 1592)			
Clifford, George (1558-1605)	✓	Died 1605	Died 1605
Earl of Cumberland (s. 1570)*			
Clifford, Francis (1559-1641)	✓	✓	✓
Earl of Cumberland (s. 1605)			
Compton, William (1568-1630)	✓	✓	✓
Baron Compton (s. 1589)			
Earl of Northampton (c. 1618)			
Darcy, Thomas (1565-1640)	✓		
Baron Darcy of Chiche (s. 1581)			
Viscount Colchester (c. 1621)			
Howard, Henry (1540-1614)	✓	✓	✓
Earl of Northampton (c. 1604)*			
Howard, Theophilus (1584-1640)	Summoned	Summoned	✓
Baron Howard of Walden (su. 1610)	1610	1610	
Howard, Thomas (1561-1626)	✓	✓	✓
Earl of Suffolk (c. 1603)*			
Howard, Thomas (1585-1646)	✓	✓	✓
Earl of Arundel (r. 1603)			
Knollys, William (1545-1632)	✓	✓	✓
Baron Knollys (c. 1603)			
Viscount Wallingford (c. 1616)*			
Manners, Roger (1576-1612)	✓	Absent from	✓
Earl of Rutland (s. 1588)*		14.02.06	
Mordaunt, Henry (1568-1609)	✓	In Tower	Died 1609
Baron Mordaunt (s. 1601)			
Mordaunt, John (1599-1644)	Succeeded	Succeeded	Minor
Baron Mordaunt (s. 1609)	1609	1609	
Neville, Edward (1550-1622)	✓		√
Baron Abergavenny (r. 1604)			
Parker, Edward (1551-1618)			
Baron Morley (s. 1577)			
Parker, William (1574/5-1622)	✓	✓	✓
Baron Monteagle (c. 1605) (and Morley s. 1618)			
Paulet, William (d.1629)			
Marquess of Winchester (s. 1598)			
Percy, Henry (1564-1632)	✓	In Tower	In Tower
Earl of Northumberland (s. 1585)*			

HOUSE OF LORDS 1604-1610 THE CATHOLIC PEERAGE AND KEY COMMITTEES

	Union	Gunpowder Plot	Great Contract
Petre, John (1549-1613)	✓	✓	✓
Baron Petre (c. 1603)			
Sackville, Thomas (<i>c</i> .1536-1608)	✓	✓	Died
Earl of Dorset (c. 1604)*			1608
Scrope, Emanuel (1584-1630)	Succeeded	Succeeded	
Baron Scrope (s. 1609)	1609	1609	
Somerset, Edward (1550-1628)	✓	✓	✓
Earl of Worcester (s. 1589)			
Somerset, Henry (1577-1646)	✓		✓
Baron Herbert (su. 1604)			
Stafford, Edward (1573-1625)	✓		
Baron Stafford (s. 1603)			
Stanley, William (<i>b</i> .1561-1642)	✓	Absent from	✓
Earl of Derby (s. 1594)		28.01.06	
Stourton, Edward (1555-1633)		In Tower	Absent
Baron Stourton (s. 1588)			
Talbot, Gilbert (1552-1616)	✓	✓	✓
Earl of Shrewsbury (s. 1590)*			
Windsor, Henry (1562-1605)	✓	Died 1605	Died
Baron Windsor (s. 1585)			1605
Wotton, Edward (1548-1628)	✓	✓	✓
Baron Wotton (c. 1603)*			

* privy councillors

Category	Comm	Committees/Conferences				
Union 1604		Committee for Conference with House of Commons				
		Sub-Committee to frame Bill for Commission				
		Commissioners to treat with Commissioners of Scotland				
	1606	Committee for Conference with House of Commons				
	1607	Naturalization of Scots				
		Abolish Hostile Laws etc.				
Gunpowder	1606	Consider Laws re Preservation of Religion, HM and State etc.				
Plot		Punishment of Offenders in the late Treason				
		Attainder of Offenders in the late Treason				
		Seditious Speeches etc. against the King				
Great Contract	1610	Committee for Conference with House of Commons				
		Committee to attend King				

Table 3.11

HOUSE OF LORDS 1621-1624 THE CATHOLIC PEERAGE AND KEY COMMITTEES

	16	21	16	24
	Giles	Impeach	Treaty &	Impeach
	Mompesson & Grievances	Lord Chancellor	War with Spain	Lord Treasurer
Browne, Anthony Maria (1574-1629)	& Grievances	Chancelloi	Spain	Treasurer
Viscount Montague (s. 1592)				
Clifford, Francis (1559-1641)				
Earl of Cumberland (s. 1605)				
			✓	
Compton, William (1568-1630)			v	
Baron Compton (s. 1589)				
Earl of Northampton (c. 1618)				
Darcy, Thomas (1565-1640)				
Baron Darcy of Chiche (s.1581)				
Viscount Colchester (c.1621)	✓			✓
Howard, Theophilus (1584-1640)	•		\checkmark	•
Baron Howard of Walden (su. 1610)				
Howard, Thomas (1561-1626)	√			
Earl of Suffolk (c. 1603)				
Howard, Thomas (1585-1646)*	✓	✓	✓	~
Earl of Arundel (r. 1603)				
Knollys, William (1545-1632)*			\checkmark	✓
Baron Knollys (c. 1603)				
Viscount Wallingford (c. 1616)				
Manners, Francis (1578-1632)				
Earl of Rutland (s. 1612)				
Mordaunt, John (1599-1644)				
Baron Mordaunt (s. 1609)				
Neville, Edward (1550-1622)			Died 1622	Died 1622
Baron Abergavenny (r. 1604)				
Neville, Henry (1573-1641)	Succeeded	Succeeded		
Baron Abergavenny (s. 1622)	1622	1622		
Parker, William (1574/5-1622)			Died 1622	Died 1622
Baron Monteagle (c. 1605)				
(and Morley s. 1618)				
Parker, Henry (1600-1655)	Succeeded	Succeeded		
Baron Morley & Monteagle (s. 1622)	1622	1622		
Paulet, John (1598-1675)	Summoned	Summoned		
Baron St. John of Basing (su. 1624)	1624	1624		
Petre, William (1575-1637)				
Baron Petre (s. 1613)				
Scrope, Emanuel (1584-1630)	 ✓ 		✓	
Baron Scrope (s. 1609)				
Somerset, Edward (1550-1628)*			✓	
Earl of Worcester (s. 1589)				

HOUSE OF LORDS 1621-1624 THE CATHOLIC PEERAGE AND KEY COMMITTEES

	16	21	162	24
	Giles	Impeach	Treaty &	Impeach
	Mompesson	Lord	War with	Lord
	& Grievances	Chancellor	Spain	Treasurer
Stafford, Edward (1573-1625)				
Baron Stafford (s. 1603)				
Stanley, William (<i>b</i> .1561-1642)			Absent	Absent
Earl of Derby (s. 1594)				
Stourton, Edward (1557-1633)				
Baron Stourton (s. 1588)				
Stuart, Esmé (1579-1524)			Absent	Absent
Earl of March (c. 1619)				
Stuart, Ludovick (1574-16.2.1624)	✓		Died 1624	Died 1624
Earl of Richmond (c. 1613)				
Duke of Richmond (c. 1623)				
Windsor, Thomas (1591-1641)	✓			
Baron Windsor (s. 1605)				
Wotton, Edward (1548-1628)*				
Baron Wotton (c. 1603)				

* privy councillors

HOUSE OF LORDS 1621-1624 THE CATHOLIC PEERAGE AND KEY COMMITTEES

Category	Committees/Conferences
1621	
Giles	Apprehension of Giles Mompesson
Mompesson &	Conference with the House of Commons – Whole House
Grievances	Joint committee concerning Grievances complained of by House of
	Commons
	Grievances of Inns
	Grievances of Gold and Silver Thread
	Grievances of Concealments
	To give King James satisfaction of the reasons for objections against Writs of
	<i>Quo Warranto</i> ¹ in the business of Inns
Impeachment	To receive letters etc. from the House of Commons
Lord	To take examinations
Chancellor	To search precedents for Judicature
Bacon	Attend the Lord Chancellor regarding his confession
1624	
Treaty & War	Conference with the House of Commons – Whole House
with Spain	To search for Precedents of Former Treaties and Supplies
	View the Munitions
	Joint Committee re Spanish Ambassador's charge against Buckingham
	Conference with House of Commons regarding Advice to give King James
	touching the Treaty of the Prince's Match with Spain, and the Recovery of
	the Palatinate
	Sub-Committee to set down Reasons for the Advice to King James
	Joint Committee to attend King James with Resolution of both Houses
	Conference with House of Commons to clear doubts re King James's affairs
	Conference with House of Commons re Assistance to King James
	Subsidies by the Temporality
Impeachment	Sub-Committee (of the Committee for Munitions) to Examine Accusations
Lord Treasurer	against the Lord Treasurer
Cranfield	Sub-Committee to draw up Heads of Charges against the Lord Treasurer
	Sub-Committee to Examine how to Proceed against the Lord Treasurer
	To Examine Witnesses
	Special Committee to Answer Lord Treasurer's Petition
	To hear Sir Philip Cary's Petition (re office of Surveyor General of HM's
	Customs sold to him by Sir Lionel Cranfield)
	Examine the Lord Treasurer's Petition and Answer
	To visit the Lord Treasurer to know if he was ill and to signify the House's
	displeasure
	To move King James to deprive the Lord Treasurer of his Staff etc.
	Sale of Earl of Middlesex's Land to Pay his Debts

Latin for 'by what warrant (or authority)?' A writ *quo warranto* was used to challenge a person's right to hold a public office.

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Table 3.12

HOUSE OF LORDS 1604-1624 THE CATHOLIC PEERAGE AND RELIGIOUS COMMITTEES

	1604	1606/7	1610	1614	1621	1624
Arundell, Thomas (1560-1639)		✓	✓		Α	А
Baron Arundell of Wardour (c. 1605)						
Browne, Anthony Maria (1574-1629)	✓	А	А	Α		
Viscount Montague (s. 1592)						
Clifford, George (1558-1605)	✓					
Earl of Cumberland (s. 1570)						
Clifford, Francis (1559-1641)	-	✓	~			
Earl of Cumberland (s. 1605)						
Compton, William (1568-1630)	✓	✓		✓		
Baron Compton (s. 1589)						
Earl of Northampton (c. 1618)						
Darcy, Thomas (1565-1640)		✓	\checkmark	✓		
Baron Darcy of Chiche (s. 1581)						
Viscount Colchester (c. 1621)						
Howard, Henry (1540-1614)	✓	✓	\checkmark	Α		
Earl of Northampton (c. 1604)						
Howard, Theophilus (1584-1640)			\checkmark		✓	✓
Baron Howard of Walden (su. 1610)						
Howard, Thomas (1561-1626)	✓	✓	\checkmark		✓	
Earl of Suffolk (c. 1603)						
Howard, Thomas (1585-1646)	А	✓	\checkmark	Α	✓	✓
Earl of Arundel (r. 1603)						
Knollys, William (1545-1632)	✓	✓	\checkmark	✓		✓
Baron Knollys (c. 1603)						
Viscount Wallingford (c. 1616)						
Manners, Roger (1576-1612)	✓					
Earl of Rutland (s. 1588)						
Manners, Francis (1578-1632)				✓		
Earl of Rutland (s. 1612)						
Mordaunt, Henry (1568-1609)		In				
Baron Mordaunt (s. 1601)		Tower				
Mordaunt, John (1599-1644)					 ✓ 	
Baron Mordaunt (s. 1609)						
Neville, Edward (1550-1622)	 ✓ 	✓	\checkmark			
Baron Abergavenny (r. 1604)						
Neville, Henry (1573-1641)						
Baron Abergavenny (s. 1622)						
Parker, Edward (1551-1618)			✓			
Baron Morley (s. 1577)						
Parker, William (1574/5-1622)		✓	✓	 ✓ 		
Baron Monteagle (c. 1605)						
(and Morley s. 1618)						

HOUSE OF LORDS 1604-1624 THE CATHOLIC PEERAGE AND RELIGIOUS COMMITTEES

	1604	1606/7	1610	1614	1621	1624
Parker, Henry (1600-1655)						
Baron Morley and Monteagle (s. 1622)						
Paulet, William (<i>d</i> .1629)				A	Α	Α
Marquess of Winchester (s. 1598)						
Paulet, John (1598-1675)						
Baron St. John de Basing (su. 1624)						
Percy, Henry (1564-1632)	✓	In Tower				
Earl of Northumberland (s. 1585)						
Petre, John (1549-1613)	✓	✓	✓			
Baron Petre (c. 1603)						
Petre, William (1575-1637)						✓
Baron Petre (c. 1613)						
Roper, John (c.1581-1628)						
Baron Roper (s. 1622)						
Sackville, Thomas (<i>c</i> .1536-1608)	✓	✓				
Earl of Dorset (c. 1604)						
Scrope, Emanuel (1584-1630)					✓	
Baron Scrope (s. 1609)						
Somerset, Edward (1550-1628)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
Earl of Worcester (s. 1589)						
Somerset, Henry (1577-1646)	✓	✓	✓		Α	
Baron Herbert (su. 1604)						
Stafford, Edward (1573-1625)						
Baron Stafford (s. 1603)						
Stanley, William (<i>b</i> .1561-1642)			✓			
Earl of Derby (s. 1594)						
Stourton, Edward (1557-1633)		In Tower	In Fleet	А		
Baron Stourton (s. 1588)						
Stuart, Ludovick (1574-16.2.1624)						
Earl of Richmond (c. 1613)						
Duke of Richmond (c. 1623)						
Stuart, Esmé (1579-1624)					 ✓ 	
Earl of March (c. 1619)						
Talbot, Gilbert (1552-1616)	 ✓ 	 ✓ 				
Earl of Shrewsbury (s. 1590)						
Vaux, Edward (1588-1661)						
Baron Vaux (s. 1595)						
Windsor, Henry (1562-1605)	✓					
Baron Windsor (s. 1585)						
Windsor, Thomas (1591-1641)				√		
Baron Windsor (s. 1605)						
Wotton, Edward (1548-1628)	✓	✓	✓			
Baron Wotton (c. 1603)						

HOUSE OF LORDS 1604-1624 RELIGION AND CHURCH ISSUES 1604-1610

	CHURCH	LEGISLATION DIRECTED AT	ECCLESIASTICAL JURISDICTION &	PARISH
		CATHOLICS	POSSESSIONS	
1604	1. Reformation of certain Matters	1. Importing and Printing Seditious	1. Process etc. in Ecclesiastical	
	and Rites of the Church.	Books.	Courts.	
		2. Against Jesuits, Priests, Recusants	2. Diminution Possessions of	
		etc.	Archbishoprics .	
			3. Prejudicial Instrument from	
			Convocation.	
1606/7	1. Establish and Continue True	1. Seditious Books.	1. Restrain Excommunication in	1. Convert Manor and Prebend of
	Religion.	2. Better Discovering and Repressing	Ecclesiastical Courts.	Cutton-Maintain Preaching Minister.
	2. Better Observing and Keeping	Popish Recusants etc.	2. Restrain Canons Ecclesiastical not	2. Incorporation of Churchwardens
	Holy the Sabbath Day, or Sunday.	3. Prevent Dangers which may grow	confirmed by Parliament	in Parish of St. Saviours, Southwark.
		from Popish Recusants.	3. Exchange of Lands belonging to	
		4. Against those who refuse to	Archbishop of Canterbury.	
		receive the Sacrament.		
1610	1. Non Residence and Pluralities.	1. Administration of Oath of	1. Restrain Canons Ecclesiastical not	1. Assure Rectory of Frome
	2. Against Scandalous and Unworthy	Allegiance and Reformation of	confirmed by Parliament.	Whitfield for maintenance of a
	Ministers.	Married Women Recusants.		Preacher and Free School.
		2. To deliver to HM the Petition of		2. Disunite Parsonages of Ashe and
		both Houses concerning His Safety.		Deane, county of Southampton.
		3. Better Safety of His Majesty's		3. Foundation of a Hospital,
		Person.		Grammar School and Maintenance
		4. Persons Naturalized or restored in		of a Preacher in Thetford.
		Blood to take the Oaths etc.		

HOUSE OF LORDS 1604-1624 RELIGION AND CHURCH ISSUES 1614-1624

	CHURCH	LEGISLATION DIRECTED AT CATHOLICS	ECCLESIASTICAL JURISDICTION & POSSESSIONS	PARISH
1614	1. Punishing Abuses committed on the Sabbath Day.			Erect and Establish an Almshouse, Free Grammar School and Preacher in Monmouth.
1621	1. Punishing Abuses committed on the Sabbath Day.	 Better Execution of Laws against Priests, Recusants etc. Explanation of the Statute [1606] An Act for the better discovering and repressing of Popish Recusants. 		
1624	1. Punishing of Abuses committed on the Lord's Day, called Sunday.	 Explanation of a Branch of the Statute, made [1606] - An Act for the better discovering and repressing of Popish Recusants. Petition against Popish Recusants. Remittances out of the Kingdom by Papists. 	 Conference with House of Commons re Bishop of Norwich Explain former Act for Assurance of £82.10s to the Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, and his Successors forever, out of certain Manors, Lands, etc. thereby assured to Edward Fisher, Esq. and his Heirs. 	 Settle Josse Glover, Clerk in the Church of Sutton, in the County of Surrey; and to settle the Inheritance of the said Advowson in Edward Darcy and his Heirs, as appendant to the Manor of Sutton. Establish three Lectures in Divinity, according to Will etc. of Thomas Whetenhall.

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HOUSE OF LORDS 1604-24 RELIGION AND CHURCH ISSUES

The Church

1604	1606/7	1610	1614	1621	1624
Earl of Dorset Earl of Northampton Earl of Northumberland Earl of Shrewsbury Earl of Suffolk Earl of Worcester Baron Abergavenny Baron Darcy of Chiche Baron Knollys Baron Petre Baron Wotton	Earl of Arundel Earl of Dorset Earl of Northampton Earl of Shrewsbury Earl of Suffolk Earl of Worcester Baron Abergavenny Baron Compton Baron Darcy of Chiche Baron Herbert Baron Knollys Baron Monteagle Baron Morley Baron Wotton	Earl of Arundel Earl of Northampton Earl of Shrewsbury Earl of Suffolk Earl of Worcester Baron Arundell of Wardour Baron Knollys Baron Petre Baron Wotton	Earl of Rutland Baron Knollys Baron Monteagle	Earl of Arundel Earl of March Baron Howard of Walden Baron Mordaunt Baron Petre Baron Scrope	Baron Knollys
37%	41%	28%	16½%	16½%	16½%

HOUSE OF LORDS 1604-24 RELIGION AND CHURCH ISSUES

Legislation directed at Catholics

1604	1606/7	1610	1614	1621	1624
Earl of Dorset Earl of Northampton Earl of Shrewsbury Earl of Suffolk Earl of Worcester Viscount Montague Baron Abergavenny Baron Compton Baron Darcy of Chiche Baron Herbert Baron Herbert Baron Knollys Baron Monteagle Baron Petre Baron Windsor Baron Wotton	Earl of Arundel Earl of Cumberland Earl of Dorset Earl of Northampton Earl of Shrewsbury Earl of Suffolk Earl of Worcester Baron Compton Baron Knollys Baron Monteagle Baron Wotton	Earl of Arundel Earl of Cumberland Earl of Northampton Earl of Shrewsbury Earl of Suffolk Earl of Worcester Baron Abergavenny Baron Howard of Walden Baron Knollys Baron Monteagle Baron Petre Baron Wotton		Earl of Arundel Earl of Suffolk Earl of Worcester Baron Howard of Walden Baron Scrope	Earl of Arundel
28%	31½%	41%	n/a	21½%	4%

HOUSE OF LORDS 1604-24 RELIGION AND CHURCH ISSUES

Episcopal Jurisdiction and Possessions

1604	1606/7	1610	1614	1621	1624
Earl of Cumberland Earl of Dorset Earl of Northampton Earl of Northumberland Earl of Rutland Earl of Shrewsbury Earl of Shrewsbury Earl of Suffolk Earl of Worcester Baron Abergavenny Baron Compton Baron Darcy of Chiche Baron Herbert Baron Herbert Baron Morley Baron Petre Baron Windsor Baron Wotton	Earl of Arundel Earl of Cumberland Earl of Dorset Earl of Northampton Earl of Shrewsbury Earl of Suffolk Earl of Worcester Baron Abergavenny Baron Darcy of Chiche Baron Herbert Baron Knollys Baron Monteagle Baron Morley Baron Petre Baron Wotton	Earl of Northampton Earl of Shrewsbury Earl of Suffolk Earl of Worcester Baron Abergavenny Baron Arundell of Wardour Baron Knollys Baron Petre Baron Wotton			Earl of Arundel Baron Howard of Walden Baron Petre
46%	42%	33%	n/a	n/a	19½%

HOUSE OF LORDS 1604-24 RELIGION AND CHURCH ISSUES

Parish Matters

1604	1606/7	1610	1614	1621	1624
	Earl of Northampton Earl of Shrewsbury Earl of Worcester Baron Abergavenny Baron Compton Baron Knollys Baron Monteagle Baron Petre Baron Wotton	Earl of Arundel Earl of Northampton Earl of Suffolk Earl of Worcester Baron Arundell of Wardour Baron Darcy of Chiche Baron Herbert Baron Howard of Walden Baron Knollys Baron Morley Baron Petre Baron Wotton	Earl of Worcester Baron Compton Baron Knollys Baron Windsor		Earl of Arundel
n/a	36%	42%	33%	n/a	16½%

Table 3.13

HOUSE OF LORDS 1604-1624 UNIVERSITY COMMITTEES - CAMBRIDGE

An Act for an Exchange to be made between the Master, Fellows, and Scholars of the College of the Holy and Undivided Trinity, within the Town and University of Cambridge, and Sir Thomas Mounson, Knight, of certain Lands and Tenements, in the Counties of Lincoln and Cambridge. (Appointed 18th April 1604) Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk St. John's College, Cambridge Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham _ John Still, Bishop of Bath and Wells Christ's College, Cambridge Gervase Babington, Bishop of Worcester Trinity College, Cambridge Christ Church, Oxford Martin Heton, Bishop of Ely Robert Bennett, Bishop of Hereford Robert Cecil, Baron Cecil St. John's College, Cambridge Edward la Zouche, Baron Zouche Trinity College, Cambridge Dudley North, Baron North Trinity College, Cambridge Oliver St. John, Baron St. John of Bletsoe Peterhouse College, Cambridge Thomas Cecil, Baron Burghley Trinity College, Cambridge

An Act for Confirmation of the King's Letters Patents, made to the Chancellor, Masters, and			
Scholars of the University of Cambridge, for the better Maintenance of the Two Divinity			
Readers within the same University. (Appointed 3 rd March 1606)			
Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk St. John's College, Cambridge			
Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel	Trinity College, Cambridge		
Edward Somerset, Earl of Worcester	-		
Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton	King's College, Cambridge		
Henry Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton	St. John's College, Cambridge		
Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury	St. John's College, Cambridge		
Richard Bancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury	Christ's College, Cambridge		
Richard Vaughan, Bishop of London	St. John's College, Cambridge		
Gervase Babington, Bishop of Worcester	Trinity College, Cambridge		
John Still, Bishop of Bath and Wells	Christ's College, Cambridge		
Thomas Dove, Bishop of Peterborough	Pembroke College, Cambridge		
John Jegon, Bishop of Norwich	Queen's College, Cambridge		
William Barlow, Bishop of Rochester	St. John's College, Cambridge		
Lancelot Andrewes, Bishop of Chichester	Pembroke College, Cambridge		
Edward la Zouche, Baron Zouche	Trinity College, Cambridge		
Oliver St. John, Baron St. John of Bletsoe	Peterhouse College, Cambridge		
William Fiennes, Baron Saye and Sele	New College, Oxford		
Thomas Gerard, Baron Gerard	-		
Edward Denny, Baron Denny	St. John's College, Cambridge		
John Stanhope, Baron Stanhope of Harrington	Trinity College, Cambridge		
William Cavendish, Baron Cavendish	Clare College, Cambridge		
Edward Parker, Baron Morley	Caius College, Cambridge		
William Parker, Baron Monteagle -			

HOUSE OF LORDS 1604-1624 UNIVERSITY COMMITTEES - OXFORD

An Act for the President and Scholars of <i>Corpus Christi College</i> , in the University of <i>Oxford</i> . (Appointed 11 th February 1606)		
Thomas Sackville, Earl of Dorset	-	
Gilbert Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury	St. John's College, Oxford	
William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke	New College, Oxford	
Charles Blount, Earl of Devonshire	?, Oxford	
Tobie Matthew, Bishop of Durham	Christ Church, Oxford	
Thomas Bilson, Bishop of Winchester	New College, Oxford	
Henry Robinson, Bishop of Carlisle	Queen's College, Oxford	
Martin Heton, Bishop of Ely	Christ Church, Oxford	
Edward la Zouche, Baron Zouche	Trinity College, Cambridge	
Thomas West, Baron de la Warr	Queen's College, Oxford	
Oliver St. John, Baron St. John of Bletsoe	Peterhouse College, Cambridge	
William Russell, Baron Russell	Magdalen College, Oxford	

An Act for Confirmation of the King's Majesty's Letters Patents, made to the Chancellor, Masters, and Scholars of the University of *Oxford*, for the better Maintenance of His Highness's Divinity Reader within the same University. (Appointed 3rd March 1606)

Divinity Reader within the same University. (Appointed 3 March 1606)		
Thomas Sackville, Earl of Dorset	-	
Gilbert Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury	St. John's College, Oxford	
Edward Somerset, Earl of Worcester	-	
William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke	New College, Oxford	
Charles Blount, Earl of Devonshire	?, Oxford	
Philip Herbert, Earl of Montgomery	New College, Oxford	
Tobie Matthew, Bishop of Durham	Christ Church, Oxford	
Thomas Bilson, Bishop of Winchester	New College, Oxford	
Martin Heton, Bishop of Ely	Christ Church, Oxford	
Francis Godwin, Bishop of Llandaff	Christ Church, Oxford	
John Bridges, Bishop of Oxford	Peterhouse, Cambridge	

Table 3.14

HOUSE OF LORDS 1604-1624 THE CATHOLIC PEERAGE – APPOINTMENT TO MORNING COMMITTEES¹

CLIFFORD, GEORGE, EARL OF CUMBERLAND

Education		Offices		
Trinity College, Cambridge,		Constable and Steward Knaresborough 1597 Warden of the West and Middle Marches 1603 Governor of Carlisle and Harbottle Castle <i>Custos rotulorum</i> Cumberland Privy Council 1603		
Colthrop's Jointure	4 th June 1604	Waller's Lands	2 nd May 1607	
Preservation of Game	14 th June 1604	Lands to King, Queen and Earl of Salisbury	28 th May 1607	
Coheirs of Giles Chandois	3 rd July 1604	Relief of Curriers in London	4 th June 1607	
Unnecessary Delays in Execution	30 th January 1606 12 th February 1606	Use of Horse Hides	22 nd June 1607	
Preserve Woods	22 nd June 1607			

Education		Offices	
Privately tutored. Gray's Inn		OfficesJP – East and West Ridings of Yorkshire 1592; Beverley, Yorkshire 1604; Ripon, Yorkshire 1607; Cawood, Yorkshi 1609JP and custos rotulorum Cumberland 1606-1639Sheriff – Yorkshire 1600-1601; Westmorland 1605Commissioner oyer and terminer – Northern circuit 1602-1641; Midland circuit 1612-1615Commissioner sewers - East and West Ridings 1603; 	
Repress Usury	18 th February 1607	Member of the Council in the Thieves & Retailing Brokers	e North 1619-1641 3 rd May 1610
Northlech Free School	6 th June 1607	Assurance Sutcliffe's Portion	
Ibgrave's Lands	22 nd June 1607	Rous's Bill for Sale of Manors (Suffolk)	
Moor Burning in the North	19 th May 1610	Erection of Common Brewhouses	15 th May 1610 16 th June 1610
Assuring & Establishing Isle 26 th May 1610 of Man		Establishing Leases by Prince and His Officers	
Establishing Earl of Derby's Estates	18 th June 1610	Avoid Suits re Wills of Land.	22 nd November 1610
Better Execution of Justice in the North	25 th June 1610 2 nd & 13 th July 1610	Sir Philip Cary's etc. Grant of Minster (Kent)	19 th February 1621
Use of Horse Hides	27 th June 1610		

WILLLIAM COMPTON, BA	ARON COMPTON, EARL	OF NORTHAMPTON	
Education		Offices	
MA Cambridge 1595 MA Oxford 1605		Master of the Leash 1597 Lord Lieutenant - Warwickshire 1603; North and South Wales, Worcester, Salop. Hereford 1617; Gloucester 162 High Steward Manor of Henley 1603 Joint Keeper with son Spencer of Olney Park, Bucks 1603 Keeper Whittlewood Forest, Northants 1617 Lord President of the Council of Wales 1617	
Pawnbrokers	16 th April 1604	Preservation & Increase of Wood Timber	20 th November 1610
Sir George Hume's Letters Patent	17 th April 1604	Avoid Suits re Wills of Land	18 th April 1614
Throgmorton to Sell Lands	8 th May 1604	Erect & Establish Almshouse & Grammar School in Monmouth	31 st May 1614
Diminution Possession Archbishopric	17 th April 1604	Repeal Statute re Ordinances in Wales	25 th May 1621
Unnecessary Delays in Execution	12 th February 1604 6 th March 1604	Sir Philip Cary's etc. Grant of Minster	19 th February 1621
Countess of Essex Jointure	25 th February 1606	Cursing and Swearing	4 th & 9 th May 1621
Attainder Cobham Brooke	25 ^{tj} February 1606 6 th & 20 th March 1606	Drunkenness, Alehouses etc.	
Export of Beer	5 th May 1606	Welsh Cloths	8 th May 1621
Preserve Woods	24 th February 1607	Exportation of Welsh Butter	7 th December 1621
Amend Defective Titles	17 th February 1607 26 th March 1607	Bill of Grace for Wales	23 rd March 1624
Lands to Companies in London	5 th March 1607	Against Profane Swearing	9 th March 1624
Repress Usury	18 th February 1607	Preservation of Bastards	11 th May 1624
St. Saviours, Southwark	2 nd June 1607	Free Trade in Welsh Cloths	17 th & 22 nd April 1624

HOUSE OF LORDS 1604-1624 THE CATHOLIC PEERAGE – APPOINTMENT TO MORNING COMMITTEES

JOHN PETRE, BARON PETRI	E			
Education		Offices		
Middle Temple		Justice of the Peace Essex 1573 Sheriff Essex 1575-1576 Deputy Lord Lieutenant Essex 1590-1598 Essex - Victualling commissioner 1573; Piracy commissioner 1577; Grain commissioner 1586; Commissioner for the subsidy 1587; Collector of loans 1590, 1591, 1596-1598; Commissions Musters 1599- 1603		
Restore Thomas Lucas	31 st March 1604	Wastes in Isle of Ely (Cambridgeshire)	19 th May 1606	
Diminution Possession of Archbishopric	17 th April 1604	Fines & Amerciaments	1 st December 1606	
Sir George Hume's Letters Patent	17 th April 1604	Jernegan's Lands to Pay Debts (Suffolk)	11 th December 1606	
Boundary of Exeter	3 rd & 8 th May 1604	Amend Defective Titles	17 th February 1607	
Stealing Deer or Conies	10 th May1604	Repress Usury	18 th February 1607	
Charges HM's Household	15 th May 1604	Wills of Land	23 rd February 1607	
Vagabonds	26 th May 1604 5 th June 1604	Preserve Woods	24 th February 1607	
Stewards of Court Leets	26 th May 1604	Unlicensed Alehousekeepers	16 th March 1607	
Норѕ	14 th June 1604	Repress Drunkenness	17 th March 1607	
Well-garbling of Spices	16 th June 1604	Repairing & Maintaining Minehead Harbour	26 th April 1610	
Tebold to make Jointure	21 st June 1604	Assure Wentworth Lands	26 th April 1610	
Plague	23 rd June 1604	Lands to Salters & Brewers	12 th May 1610	
Married Men in Universities	30 th June 1604	Sea Sands-Cornwall & Devor	15 th May 1610	
Explain Act E43. re Nevile of Birlinge to Sell Lands (Sussex)	3 rd July 1604	Wherry & Water Men	16 th June 1607	
Corpus Christi College	14 th February 1606	Ibgrave's Lands	22 nd June 1607	
Land etc. of Baron Riche	22 nd February 1606	Use of Horse Hides	27 th June 1607	
Jonathan Trelawny Lands (Cornwall)	24 th February 1606	Earl of Oxford sale of Bretts & Purchase of Haveningham	14 th June 1610	
Reform Multitude etc. of Buildings in London	10 th March 1606	Establishing Earl of Derby's Estates	19 th June 1610	
Lands to William Smith & Sir Michael Hicks	15 th March 1606	Confirm Fines – Arundel to Arundel	23 rd June 1610	
Divinity Reader Oxford	26 th March 1606	Cancel Leases made to HM to try Men's Titles	30 th June 1610	
Lands to Earl of Salisbury	1 st May 1606	Sir Robert Drury's bill to revoke Conveyances	2 nd July 1610	
Chepstow Bridge	3 rd May 1606	Repair Wear on the Exe	2 nd July 1610	
Down's Lands to Pay Debts	3 rd May 1606	Punishing Frauds in Manufacture of Wool	3 rd July 1610	
Export of Beer	5 th May 1606	Rous's Bill for sale of Manors (Suffolk)	11 th July 1610	
Election of MPs	17 th May 1606	Water from Hackney to Chelsea College	17 th July 1610	
Manor of Rye	19 th May 1606	Establishing Leases by Prince & His Officers	15 th November 1610	

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Education		Offices		
		Member Council of Wales and the Marches 1590 Privy Council 1601 Earl Marshal 1601 Lord Lieutenant of Monmouthshire 1602 Master of the Horse 1604-1616 Commissioner to expel Jesuits 1604 Lord Privy Seal 1616		
Simpson's Debts	26 th April 1604	Tenements & Houses of Disorder	19 th February 1607	
Excess in Apparel	15 th May 1604	Wills of Land	23 rd February 1607	
Stewards of Court Leets	26 th May 1604	Preserve Woods	24 th February 1607	
Vagabonds	5 th June 1604	Lands to Companies in London	5 th March 1607	
Inns, Alehouses, and other Victualling Houses	14 th June 1604	Unlicensed Alehousekeepers	16 th March 1607	
Married Men in Universities	30 th June 1604	Lesnes & Fantes Marshes	18 th March 1607	
Herrings in Devon & Cornwall	4 th July 1604	Marden Bodenham Sutton	27 th May 1607	
Conference with Commons re Lands to HM	5 th July 1604	Goode Convey Lands to HM	15 th June 1607	
Free Liberty of Trade	5 th July 1604	Wherry & Watermen	16 th June 1607	
Annexing Lands etc. to the King & his Posterity	5 th July 1604	Securing Lands to Salters & Brewers	12 th May 1610	
Lands in Middlesex to Sir	20 th February 1606	Settlement Baron	12 th June 1610	
Thomas Lake		Abergavenny's Lands	26 th June 1610	
Countess of Essex Jointure	25 th February 1606	Double Payment of Debts	12 th June 1610	
Attainder of Cobham Brooke	25 th February 1606 6 th March 1606	Cancel Leases made to HM to try Men's Titles	2 nd July 1610	
Divinity Reader Oxford	26 th March 1606	Swearing	7 th July 1610	
Divinity Reader Cambridge	26 th March 1606	Repeal Part Act E.5 - Maintenance of Navy	18 th July 1610	
Skinners	31 st March 1606	His Officers	15 th & 20 th November 1610	
Welsh Cottons	10 th April 1606	Preserve & Increase of Wood & Timber	1610	
Revive Statute for the bringing in of Wines etc.	10 th April 1606	Preserve Wood & Timber	5 th May 1614	
Export Undressed Cloths	10 th April 1606 15 th May 1606	Almshouse & Grammar School in Monmouth	31 st May 1614	
Lands to Pelham	12 th April 1606	Charterhouse Hospital	5 th March 1621	
Land to Earl of Salisbury	1 st May 1606	Repeal Statute re Ordinances in Wales		
Fines & Amerciaments	1 st December 1606	Export of Welsh Butter	7 th December 1621	
Lachelade to Bathurst	27 th November 1606	Sir Richard Lumley Lands	13 th & 16 th March 1624	
(Gloucestershire)	1 st December 1606			
Manor of Bardesley to Bourchier (Gloucestershire)	2 nd December 1606	Bill of Grace for Wales	23 rd March 1624	
Free Trade with Spain, Portugal, and France	15 th December 1606	Confirm Wadham College	24 th March 1624	
Amend Defective Titles	17 th February 1607	Free Trade Welsh Cloths	17 th & 22 nd April 1624	

GILBERT TALBOT, EARL OF S	HREWSBURY			
St. John's College, Oxford MA Cambridge		Offices JP – Cumberland, Derbyshire 1573; Herefordshire 1577; Nottinghamshire, Shropshire, Yorkshire c. 1596 Privy Council 1601 Chief Justice of the Forests beyond Trent 1603 Northern Ecclesiastical Commission 1605 Lord Lieutenant Derbyshire 1605 Constable & Steward of Newark ; Forester of Sherwood 1607		
Restitution of William Paget	28th March 1604	Lesnes & Fantes Marshes (London)	21 st March 1607	
Sir George Hume's Letters Patent	17th April 1604	Establish Earl of Derby's Estates	26 th March 1607	
Simpson's Debts/T. Shirley	26th April 1604	Lands to King, Queen & Earl of Salisbury	28 th May 1607	
Bridlington Harbour	26 th April 1604	Marden Bodenham Sutton	30 th May 1607	
Throgmorton to Sell Lands	8th May 1604	Northlech Free School	6 th June 1607	
Stealing Deer or Conies	10th May 1604	Confirm Letters Patents etc by HM of any Copyhold Lands etc.	18th June 1607	
Moor Burning in the North	19 th May 1610	Ibgrave's Lands	22 nd June 1607	
Confirm of Letters Patent	25th June 1604	Use of Horse Hides	27 th June 1607	
Married Men in Universities	30th June 1604	Moor Burning in the North	19 th May 1610	
Explain Act E.43 re Nevile of Birlinge to Sell Lands (Sussex)	3rd July 1604	Avoiding Suits touching Wills of Land	22 nd November 1610	
Jonathan Trelawny Lands (Cornwall)	24th February 1606	Settlement Baron Abergavenny's Lands	12 th & 26 th June 1610	
Reform Nos. of Attorneys	6th March 1606	Assurance Sutcliffe's Portion	7 th June 1610	
Lands to William Smith & Sir Michael Hicks	15th March 1606	Double Payment of Debts	12 th June 1610	
Divinity Reader Oxford	26th March 1606	Sir John Biron's Bill (inheritance)	12 th June 1610	
Kersies	31st March 1606 14th April 1606	Establishing Earl of Derby's Estates	19 th June 1610	
Welsh Cottons	10th April 1606	Better Execution of Justice in the North	25 th June 1610 2 nd July 1610	
Export Undressed Cloths	10th April 1606 15th May 1606	Punishing Frauds in Manufacture of Wool	3 rd July 1610	
Revive Statute re Wines etc.	10th April 1606	Traders of Butter & Cheese	5 th July 1610	
Carry Wood on River Tow (Northants)	12th April 1606	Keeping Milch Kine & Breeding Calves	6 th July 1610	
Annexing Land etc. to the Crown	28th April 1606	Preservation & Increase of Wood & Timber	1610	
Land to E. Salisbury	1st May 1606	Exportation of Ordnance	24 th November 1610	
Chepstow Bridge	3rd May 1606	Establishing Leases by the Prince & His Officers	15 th & 20 th November 1610	
Election of MPs	17th May 1606	Wasteful Consumption of Gold & Silver	14 th April 1614	
Evelyn's Land to Pay Debts	12th December 1606	Avoid Suits re Wills of Land	18 th April 1614	
Wills of Land	23rd February 1607	Preserve of Wood & Timber	5 th May 1614	
Preserve Woods	24 th February 1607	Somerfscalls Portion	9 th May 1614	

WILLIAM PETRE, BARON PETRE				
Education Exeter College, Oxford Middle Temple		Offices		
		JP – Essex 1623-1625		
Avoiding Suits re Wills of Land	18 th April 1614	Town & Haven of Colchester, Essex	19 th May 1624	
Preserve Wood & Timber	5 th May 1614	Alcocke's Bill	20 th May 1624	
Walgrave (Debts)	15 th February 1621	Bishop Coventry & Lichfield	20 th May 1624	
E. Bedford's Lands	23 rd February 1621	Sir John River's Bill	20 th May 1624	
Manor of Little Munden to Woodhall (Hertfordshire)	25 th May 1621	Sir Reynold Mohun's Bill	20 th May 1624	
Confirm Wadham College	24 th March 1624	Sir Francis Clerke's Bill	22 nd May 1624	
Assure Lands to Thomas Cheek	30 th April 1624			

HENRY SOMERSET, BARON		Offices	
Magdalen, Oxford Middle Temple		Member of the Council of the Marches of Wales 1601 Joint Lord Lieutenant of Monmouthshire & Glamorganshire	
Pawnbrokers	14 th & 16 th April 1604	Manor of Rye	19 th May 1606
Explain Act E.43 re Nevile of Birlinge to Sell Lands (Sussex)	3 rd July 1604	Lachedale to Bathhurst	27 th November 1606 1 st December 1606
Welsh Cottons	10 th April 1606	Manor of Bardesley to Bourchier.	2 nd December 1606

HENRY PERCY, EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND			
Education		Offices	
Educated in France possible under Charles Paget		JP - Sussex, Cumberland, Westmorland, Northumberland, and North, East, and West Ridings of Yorkshire Governor of Tynemouth 1591 Privy Council 1603	
Sir George Hume's Letters Patent	17 th April 1604	Herrings in Devon & Cornwall	4 th July 1604
Throgmorton to Sell Lands	8 th May 1604	Free Liberty of Trade	5 th July 1604
Berwick on Tweed (Border)	31st May 1604		

¹ This Table shows a sample of Catholic peers who were recorded as being present in the House of Lords on the same morning as Committees to which they were nominated were appointed to meet. The highlighted Committees are those that peers had a specific interest in.

Table 4.1

	Constituency	Parliament	Member	Outsider/ Local?	Election contested?	Patron	Active ? ¹
Thomas Arundell	Christchurch	1604	Richard Martin	Outsider	No	Arundell's legal counsel.	Yes
Baron Arundell of Wardour			Nicholas Hyde	Outsider	No	Probably recommended John Foyle, the town's first choice.	? ²
		1614	Sir Thomas Norton ³	Outsider	No	None known.	No
			Henry Britton	Outsider	No	Kinsman.	No
		1621	Sir George Hastings	Local	Yes	Resident and kinsman.	
Shaftesbury		1621 1624	Nathaniel Tomkins	Outsider	No	Recommended by a friend, Sir Robert Phelips, Arundell's first choice, who chose to represent Bath instead.	1S No
	1604	John Boden (possible)	Local	No	Local official and resident. Employed by Arundell's father.	No	
		1614	Henry Croke	Outsider	No	Local family connections.	No
		1621	Thomas Sheppard (presumably)	Local	No	Local lawyer.	No ⁴

Patron	Constituency	Parliament	Member	Outsider/ Local?	Election contested?	Relationship	Active?
Anthony Maria Browne	Midhurst	1604	Sir Richard Weston	Outsider	No	Cousin.	12C, 0S
Viscount Montague (via Sir Richard		1604	Francis Neville	Local	No	Nephew Henry Neville was the brother-in-law of Montague.	4C
Lewknor)		1614	Thomas Bowyer	Local	No	Cousin of Robert Bowyer, a client of Montague's father-in-law, Thomas Sackville, Earl of Dorset.	No
			William Courtman	Outsider	No	Recommended by Sir Richard Weston.	2C
		1621	Richard Lewknor	Local	No	Son of Sir Richard Lewknor, Montague's electoral agent.	No
			John Smith	Outsider	No	Connected through Sir Richard Lewknor and the Howards.	4C, 8S
		1624	Richard Lewknor	Local	No	See above.	No
			Sir Anthony Mayney	Outsider	No	Close friend of Sir Richard Weston. Trustee for Montague's daughter Mary on her marriage to William Paulet, Lord Paulet (styled Lord St. John from 1598), the eldest son of the fourth Marquess of Winchester.	No

Patron	Constituency	Parliament	Member	Outsider/ Local?	Election contested?	Relationship	Active?
George Clifford	Appleby	1604	Sir John Morice	Outsider	No	Kinsman of the countess.	5C
Earl of Cumberland		1604	Sir William Bowyer	Outsider	No	An Exchequer official, probably recommended by Robert, Cecil, Baron Cecil.	Yes
Francis Clifford Appleby Earl of Cumberland	1614	Sir George Savile (possible)			Married a sister of Sir Thomas Wentworth, Cumberland's son-in- law. It is possible that he was nominated by Henry Clifford, Baron Clifford, Cumberland's son.		
		Sir Henry Wotton			Half brother of Edward Wotton, Baron Wotton, husband of Cumberland's niece and executor of the Will of George Clifford, third Earl of Cumberland. In 1610 Sir Henry accompanied Henry Clifford, Baron Clifford to France.		
		1621 1624 1625	Thomas Hughes			A nephew of Cumberland's wife.	
		1621	Arthur Ingram ⁵			Via Sir Thomas Wentworth whose candidature at Yorkshire he supported.	

Patron	Constituency	Parliament	Member	Outsider/ Local?	Election contested?	Relationship	Active?
Francis Clifford Earl of Cumberland (continued)	Carlisle	1614 1621	George Boteler	Local	No	Friend of Henry Clifford, Baron Clifford. It is possible that he was nominated by Lord Clifford.	No
	Westmorland	1614 1621	Henry Clifford Baron Clifford	Local	No	Son.	3C, 1S Yes
		1614 1621	Sir Thomas Wharton	Local	No	Nephew. Son of Philip Wharton, third Baron Wharton.	4C, 2S 1S
William Compton Earl of Northampton	Ludlow	1621	Spencer Compton Baron Compton	Local	No	Son.	No
	Bewdley	1624	Ralph Clare	Local	No	Keeper of Bewdley Park. Nominated at behest of Prince's Council.	3C

Patron	Constituency	Parliament	Member	Outsider/ Local?	Election contested?	Relationship	Active?
Henry Howard	Bishops Castle	1604	Sir William Cavendish	Outsider	No	Son of a client.	No
Earl of Northampton		1614	Thomas Hitchcock	Outsider	No	Known to Northampton's nephew, Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk.	Yes
	Cambridge University	1614	Sir Miles Sandys	Local and Student	Yes	Probably recommended by Suffolk who was Lord Lieutenant of Cambridgeshire.	6C
	Castle Rising	1604	Sir Thomas Monson	Outsider	No	Client.	Yes
			Sir Robert Townshend	Local	No	Longstanding association with the Howards.	5C, 2S
		1614	Thomas Byng	?	No	Family connections with various members of the Howard family.	?
			Sir Robert Wynde	Local	No	Sold property adjacent to Castle Rising to Northampton.	No
	Dover	1604	Sir Thomas Waller	Local	No	Deputy to the lieutenant of Dover Castle, Sir Thomas Fane.	Yes
		1614	Sir George Fane	Local	No	Local official.	No
			Sir Robert Brett	Local	No	Lieutenant of Dover Castle.	5C, 0S
	Hastings	1604	Sir George Carew	Outsider	Yes	Queen's vice chamberlain. Probably at behest of Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury.	Yes

Patron	Constituency	Parliament	Member	Outsider/ Local?	Election contested?	Relationship	Active?
Henry Howard Earl of Northampton	Hastings (continued)	1605 1614	Sir Edward Hales	Local	No	Local official.	6C 1C
(continued)	Hythe	1614	Sir Lionel Cranfield	Outsider	No	Client.	No
	New Romney	Sept 1610	William Byng	Local	No	Northampton's servant.	No
		1614	Sir Arthur Ingram	Outsider	No	Client.	1C, 1S
	Portsmouth	1614	John Griffith	Outsider	No	Northampton's secretary.	1C, 2S
	Rye	1604	John Young	Local	No	Client.	2C
		1607	Heneage Finch	Outsider	No	Brother-in-law of Northampton's client Sir William Twysden (below).	
	Sandwich	1608	John Griffith	Outsider	Yes	Northampton's secretary.	No
		1614	Sir Thomas Smythe	Local	No	Friend.	Yes
	Stafford	1614	Thomas Gibbs	?	Yes	Not known.	?
	Thetford	1604	Sir William Paddy	Outsider	Yes	Northampton's physician.	Yes
		1606	Sir William Twysden	Outsider	No	Client.	Yes
		1614	Sir William Twysden	Outsider	Yes	Client.	No
	Winchelsea	1604	Thomas Unton	Outsider	Yes	Northampton's servant.	Yes
		1614	William Byng	Local	No	Northampton's servant.	?
		1614	Thomas Godfrey	Local	No	Northampton's former servant and former resident.	No

Patron	Constituency	Parliament	Member	Outsider/ Local?	Election contested?	Relationship	Active?
Thomas Howard Earl of Suffolk	Aldeburgh	1604 1614	Sir William Woodhouse (possible)	Outsider	Yes No	Client of the Howards.	1C No
		1614	Sir Henry Glemham (possible)	Local	No	One of Suffolk's deputy lieutenants.	1C No
	Berwick-upon- Tweed	1614	Meredith Morgan	Outsider	No	Suffolk's secretary.	No
	Bewdley	1614	James Button (possible)	Local	No	Brother of Sir William Button, a client of Suffolk.	No
	Bramber	1614	Sir John Leedes (possible)	Local	No	Brother-in-law of Howard client Sir Thomas Monson.	No
	Calne	1624	Sir Edward Howard	Outsider	No	Son.	No
Colchester	Colchester	1621 1624	William Towse	Local	No	In 1618 he was appointed town clerk of Colchester, an office within the gift of Suffolk as the borough's recorder, and one which conferred an obligation to represent Colchester in Parliament.	Yes Yes
	Cricklade	1614	Sir Thomas Monson	Outsider	No	Client of Suffolk's uncle, Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton.	No
			Sir John Eyre	Local	No	Known to Suffolk	1S

Patron	Constituency	Parliament	Member	Outsider/ Local?	Election contested?	Relationship	Active?
Thomas Howard	Cricklade	1621	Sir Thomas Howard	Local	No	Son.	1S
Earl of Suffolk (continued)	(continued)		Sir Carew Reynell (possible)	Outsider	No	Possibly recommended by Suffolk's son-in-law William Knollys, Reynell's neighbour in Charing Cross.	7C, 2S
		1624	Sir William Howard	Outsider	No	Suffolk's son.	1C
	Derby	1614	Arthur Turnor	Outsider	No	Son of Suffolk's legal counsel.	No
Derbyshire	Derbyshire	1614	Henry Howard	Local	No	Son.	1C
	Dorset	1614 1621 1624	Sir John Strangways	Local	No	Client.	11C Yes 9C, 6S
	Dunwich	1614	Henry Dade	Local	No	Local official.	No
	Essex	1604	Sir Edward Denny	Local	Yes	Via Robert Cecil, Baron Cecil.	8C
	Eye	1614	Huntingdon Colby	Outsider	No	Client.	No
	Horsham	1614	Sir Thomas Vavasour	Outsider	No	Cousin of the Countess of Suffolk.	1S, 3C
Lancaste	Lancaster	1605	Sir Thomas Howard (presumably)	Outsider	No	Son. Via Sir John Fortescue, Chancellor duchy of Lancaster.	7C
	Maldon	1605-1607	Theophilus Howard Baron Howard of Walden	Local	Yes	Son.	7C

Patron	Constituency	Parliament	Member	Outsider/ Local?	Election contested?	Relationship	Active?
Thomas Howard Earl of Suffolk (continued)	Malmesbury	1604 1614	Sir Roger Dallison	Outsider	No	Client of Northampton. His ward Elizabeth Bassett married Suffolk's son Henry.	13C
		1604	Sir Thomas Dallison	Outsider	No	Brother of Sir Roger Dallison (above).	7C, 0S
		1621 1624	Sir Edward Wardour (possible) (PURITAN)	Outsider	No No	He had local financial interests and as an Exchequer official who would have worked with Suffolk when he was lord treasurer between 1614 and 1618.	Yes Yes
		1624	Sir Thomas Hatton (presumably)	Outsider	No	Son. Sir Thomas married the niece of Lady Hatton.	7C
	Shaftesbury	1614	Sir Simeon Steward (probable)	Outsider	No	Unknown.	Yes
	Sudbury	1614	Henry Byng (possible)	Outsider	No	Client	?
	Wiltshire	1614	Sir Thomas Howard	Local	No	Son.	2C

Patron	Constituency	Parliament	Member	Outsider/ Local?	Election contested?	Relationship	Active?
Thomas Howard	Aldeburgh	1621	Sir Henry Glemham	Local	No	Employee of Arundel's father.	No
Earl of Arundel		1621	Charles Glemham	Local	No	Son of Sir Henry Glemham (above).	No
	Arundel	1610	Sir John Danvers	Outsider	No	Court connections with the Howards. He may have been recommended by Arundel's father- in-law, Gilbert Talbot, seventh Earl of Shrewsbury.	3C
		1621 1624	Henry Spiller	Outsider	No	Brother of dowager countess of Arundel's steward.	Yes 7C, 2S
		1621 to July 1621	Sir Lionel Cranfield	Outsider	No	Friend	Yes
		July 1621	Sir Richard Weston	Outsider	No	Friend and known to Henry Spiller.	2C
Castle		1624	Sir George Chaworth Ejected owing to electoral irregularities.	Outsider	Yes	Servant of Arabella Stewart, niece of Countess of Shrewsbury, Arundel's mother-in-law.	15
	Castle Rising	1621 1624	Robert Spiller	Outsider	No	Son of Henry Spiller.	1C No
		1621 1624	Robert Spiller	Outsider	No	Son of Henry Spiller.	1C No

Patron	Constituency	Parliament	Member	Outsider/ Local?	Election contested?	Relationship	Active?
Thomas Howard Earl of Arundel	Castle Rising (continued)	1621	John Wilson	?	No	Not known.	?
(continued)		1624	Thomas Bancroft	Local	No	In 1623 he purchased Santon Manor, Norfolk from Arundel.	1C, 3S
	Chichester	1624	Sir Thomas Edmondes (presumably)	Outsider	No	Privy councillor. Via William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, Arundel's brother-in-law.	Yes
	Horsham	1621	Thomas Cornwallis (possible)	Outsider	No	Via kinswoman Lady Cornwallis, neighbour of Arundel's mother.	No
		1624	Sir John Borough	Outsider	No	Secretary.	No
	New Shoreham	1621	Sir John Morley (possible)	Local	No	Brother of Edward Morley above. Trustee of Arundel and William, Lord Howard of Naworth.	No
		1621	Inigo Jones (possible) <i>vice</i> Leedes expelled	Outsider	No	Toured Italy with Arundel 1613-14. Employed in 1615 to make alterations to Arundel's house at Greenwich.	
	Thetford	1621	Sir Thomas Holland	Local	No	Chief steward of the Howards' East Anglian estates.	6C, 0S
		1624	Dru Drury	Local	Yes	Long standing connection with the Howards.	6C, 0S

Patron	Constituency	Parliament	Member	Outsider/ Local?	Election contested?	Relationship	Active?
Lord Howard of Naworth ⁶	Arundel	1604	Thomas Preston	Outsider	No	Steward of Howard's Henderskelf estate in Yorkshire and possible kinsman.	5C
		1614	Henry Spiller	Outsider	No	Brother of dowager countess of Arundel's steward.	1C
		1614	Edward Morley	Local	No	Stepson of Sir Edward Caryll, steward of Arundel's father and trustee of Arundel and Lord Howard of Naworth.	No
	Chichester	1610 1614	Sir John Morley <i>vice</i> Blincowe, deceased	Local	No	Brother of Edward Morley above. Trustee of Howard and Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel.	3C, 1S
	Cumberland	1614	Sir Thomas Penruddock	Outsider	No	Distant relative and client of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel	No
		1621 1624	Sir George Dalston (presumably)	Local	No	Howard's servant or 'catspaw.'	4C 3C, 2S
		1624	Ferdinand Huddleston (possible)	Local	No	Unknown.	No

Patron	Constituency	Parliament	Member	Outsider/ Local?	Election contested?	Relationship	Active?
William Howard Morpeth .ord Howard of	Morpeth	1604	Sir Christopher Parkins Discharged Jesuit priest	Outsider	No	Master of Requests recommended by Robert Cecil, Baron Cecil.	Yes
Naworth (continued)			John Hare	Outsider	No	Attorney in the Court of Wards recommended by Robert Cecil, Baron Cecil.	Yes
	1614	1614	Sir William Button	Outsider	No	Servant of his brother Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk.	1C
	1614	Arnold Herbert	Outsider	No	Servant of his brother Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk.	No	
		1624	Thomas Reynell	Outsider	No	Servant of his nephew Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel.	No

Patron	Constituency	Parliament	Member	Outsider/ Local?	Election contested?	Relationship	Active?
William Knollys Baron Knollys	Abingdon	1614 1624	Sir Robert Knollys (probable)	Local	No	Knollys' nephew.	No 1C
Viscount Wallingford	Berkshire	1604	Sir Francis Knollys (possible)	Local	No	Local landed interest and Knollys' brother.	5C
		1621	Sir Robert Knollys	Local	No	Knollys' nephew.	No
	Oxford	1614	Sir John Astley	Outsider	No	Unknown.	No
		1621	Sir John Brooke	Outsider	Yes	Connected with Suffolk through alum patent.	10C, 1S
	Reading1604Sir Jerome BowesOutsiderNoCourtier.1621Sir Anthony BarkerLocalNoClient.	Courtier.	Yes				
		1621	Sir Anthony Barker	Local	No	Client.	No
		1624	Sir Francis Knollys	Local	Yes	Knollys' nephew.	
	Wallingford	1614	Sir Carew Reynell	Outsider	No	Neighbour in Charing Cross.	2C, 7S
		1621	Samuel Dunch	Local	No	Unknown.	1S
		1624	Sir Anthony Forest	Outsider	No	Via William Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, Wallingford's brother-in-law by marriage.	12C, 1S
John Lumley Baron Lumley	Chichester	1604	George Blincowe	Local	No	Known to Lumley.	16C, 0S

Patron	Constituency	Parliament	Member	Outsider/ Local?	Election contested?	Relationship	Active?
Roger Manners Earl of Rutland	East Retford	1604	Sir John Thornhaugh	Local	No	His father was Rutland's deputy warden of Sherwood Forest.	1C
	Grantham	1604 1624	Sir George Manners	Local	No	Rutlands' younger brother.	9C Yes
Francis Manners Earl of Rutland	Grantham	1614	Richard Tufton (possible)	Outsider	No	Rutland's brother-in-law. Member biography says he was elected on the interest of Thomas Cecil, Earl of Exeter whose daughter had married Tufton's eldest brother.	No
		1621 1624	Sir Clement Cotterell (possible)	Local	No	Vice Admiral of Lincolnshire and servant of George Villiers, Marquess of Buckingham, Rutland's son-in- law.	1C 1C
	Lincoln (Francis or Sir George) 1621 Sir Lewis Watson (presumably) Outsider No	No	In 1620 Watson married a daughter the Manners' kinsman Sir George Manners of Haddon Hall, Derbyshire.	2C, 1S 5C			
	Lincolnshire	1614 1621	Sir George Manners	Local	Yes No	Rutlands' younger brother.	5C, 2S Yes

Patron	Constituency	Parliament	Member	Outsider/ Local?	Election contested?	Relationship	Active?
Edward Neville	Lewes	1604	Henry Neville	Local	No	Son.	6C? ⁷
Baron Abergavenny		1614	Christopher Neville	Local	No	Son.	2C, 1S
		1621	Sir George Goring	Local	No	Son-in-law.	1C, 3S
		1624	Sir George Goring	Local	No	Son-in-law.	10C, 4S
		1624	Christopher Neville	Local	No	Son.	2C, 0S
William Paulet Marquess of Winchester	St. Ives	1604	William Brocke PURITAN	Outsider	No	Married a daughter of Sir Benjamin Tichborne, member of a prominent Hampshire Catholic family.	Yes
		1614	Thomas Tyndal	?	No	May have been recommended by Sir Anthony Mayney, Winchester's first choice, who married a lady in waiting of the wife of Winchester's son, John.	?
		1621	Sir John Paulet	Outsider	No	Son.	5C, 1S
		1624	William Lakes	?	No	Not known but possibly a friend of Sir Anthony Mayney (above).	No

Patron	Constituency	Parliament	Member	Outsider/ Local?	Election contested?	Relationship	Active?
Henry Percy	Beverley	1604	Allan Percy	Outsider	No	Brother.	7C
Earl of Northumberland	Chichester	1621	Sir Edward Cecil	of Exeter.	Yes		
Haslem	Cumberland	1604 1614	Wilfrid Lawson	Local	No	Northumberland's deputy at Cockermouth Castle.	5C No
	Haslemere	1604	Sir Edward Fraunceys	Outsider	No	Steward of Northumberland's household 1593-1603 and of his estate at Petworth 1603-20.	12C, 0S
	Steyning	1614 1621 1624	Sir Edward Fraunceys (possible)	Local	No	-do-	No 2C 1C

Patron	Constituency	Parliament	Member	Outsider/ Local?	Election contested?	Relationship	Active?
Thomas Sackville	Arundel	1604	John Tey	Outsider	No	Servant	Yes
Earl of Dorset	Bishop's Castle	1604- Aug. 1610	William Twyneho	Outsider	No	Lived on Sackville estate. Friend of Sir Robert Sackville, Dorset's heir.	4C
	Bramber	1604	Henry Shelley (possible)	Local	No	Kinsman. Also owned significant property in adjoining parishes.	12C 0S
	East Grinstead	1604 1614 1621	Sir Henry Compton	Local	No	Married his step-sister, a daughter of Robert Sackville, Dorset's son and heir.	9C, 0S No 2C
		1604	Sir John Swinarton PURITAN	Outsider	No	Known to Dorset through several financial transactions.	16C
	Horsham	1604	Michael Hicks	Outsider	No	Probably via Robert Cecil, Baron Cecil.	Yes
	Horsham	1604	John Doddridge	Outsider	No	-do-	Yes
	Ipswich	1604	Sir Henry Glemham	Local	No	Dorset's son-in-Law	No
	Reigate	1604	Herbert Pelham	Outsider	No	Sussex kinsman of Dorset who had purchased property from Pelham.	Yes
	Southwark	1604	George Rivers (possible)	Local	No	Client.	Yes
	Steyning	1604	Sir Thomas Bishopp (possible)	Local		Dorset was his guardian since 1560.	Yes
	Sussex	1604	Robert Sackville	Local	No	Son.	Yes

Patron	Constituency	Parliament	Member	Outsider/ Local?	Election contested?	Relationship	Active?
Emanuel Scrope	Boroughbridge	1621	George Wetherid	Local	No	Secretary.	No
Baron Scrope	Scarborough	1621	Sir Richard Cholmley	Local	Yes	Cousin.	No
	Yorkshire	1621	Sir George Calvert	Local	Yes	Unknown.	Yes
Edward Somerset Earl of Worcester	Monmouth Boroughs	1604 1614	Robert Johnson PURITAN	Outsider	No	Employed by the third and fourthYeEarls of Worcester between c.1584Yeand 1592 as auditor for theirestates, and acted as agent in a landtransaction of 1605.Ye	
		1621	Thomas Ravenscroft (possible) Outsider No Unknown, apart from links to ?	?			
1624 Walter Steward	Walter Steward	Outsider	No	Courtier. His election declared void on 28 th May 1624 owing to his denizen status at the time of the election.	No		
	Monmouthshire	1604	Thomas Somerset	Local	No	Son.	9C
		1614	William Jones	Yes	No	Steward of Worcester's estates at Raglan, Llandenny, Dingestow, Clytha and Bettws, Monmouthshire	?

Patron	Constituency	Parliament	Member	Outsider/ Local?	Election contested?	Relationship	Active?
Gilbert Talbot,	Derby	1614	Sir Gilbert Knyveton	Local	No	Son of client.	No
Earl of Shrewsbury	Derbyshire	1604	Sir John Harpur	Local	No	Shrewsbury's agent for his Derbyshire lands.	Yes
	East Retford	1614	Sir William Cavendish	Outsider	No	Nephew	5C, 1S ⁸
	Nottinghamshire	1604	Sir Percival Willoughby	Local	No	Local connection.	10C, 0S
		1614	Sir Gervase Clifton	Local	No	Wardship purchased by Sir John Harpur (above) and others.	1C
Mervyn Touchet	Hindon	1621	John Anketill	Local	No	Page and son-in-law.	No
Baron Audley			Sir Henry Mervyn	Local	No	Brother-in-law.	No
Earl of Castlehaven		1624	Matthew Davies	Local	No	His uncle, Sir John Davies was Audley's brother-in-law.	No
			Lawrence Hyde	Local	No	Acquaintance of brother-in-law, Sir Henry Mervyn.	1C
Henry Windsor Baron Windsor	Chipping Wycombe	1604	Sir John Townshend	Outsider	No	Not known.	Yes

- ² It has not always been possible to differentiate between members with the same surname. In the case of Nicholas Hyde, his brother Lawrence sat for Marlborough in 1604.
- ³ Catholic associations are highlighted in purple in accordance with the Legend. Instances of tenuous connections between patron and candidate have been indicated although with regard to Frances Manners, sixth Earl of Rutland, William Knollys, Baron Knollys (created Viscount Wallingford in 1618) it has been difficult to discern whether or not the electoral patronage was exercised by them, or by a brother who also enjoyed a great deal of influence in the relevant counties. With regard to Frances Clifford, fourth Earl of Cumberland it is possible that his son Henry Clifford, Baron Clifford was responsible for some of the returns.

¹ C = Committees. S = Speeches. 'Yes' denotes a Member of the House of Commons whose level of activity was more than a handful of committees or speeches.

⁴ Sheppard was expelled from House on 26the February 1621 for ridiculing bill on Sabbath observance.

⁵ In 1624 Ingram was returned at Appleby, Old Sarum and York. He opted to represent York but the vacancy he left at Appleby was not filled.

⁶ William Howard, Lord Howard of Naworth was the brother of Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk but was not a member of the House of Lords. He is included here because some of his patronage was undertaken on behalf of his nephew, Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel prior to his restoration and also during the latter's trip to Venice 1613-1614.

⁷ In 1604 there were two members called Henry Neville in the House of Commons. The other member was Sir Henry Neville who was returned for Berkshire. Henry Neville (above) has been identified as being appointed to six committees but it is possible he was appointed to more.

⁸ In 1614 there were two members called William Cavendish in the House of Commons. The other member was his cousin, Sir William Cavendish who was returned for Derbyshire. One of the cousins was appointed to five committees and made one speech.

Table 4.2

Constituency ²	Patron	1604	1614	21	24
		16	16	1621	1624
2					
NORTHUMBERLAND (4) ³					
Berwick-upon-Tweed	Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk		✓		
Morpeth	William Howard, Lord Howard of Naworth	✓	✓		~
CUMBERLAND (3)					
County	Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland	✓	\checkmark		
	William Howard, Lord Howard of Naworth		✓	\checkmark	✓
WESTMORLAND (2)					
County	Francis Clifford, Earl of Cumberland		\checkmark	\checkmark	
Appleby	George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland	✓			
YORKSHIRE (15)	Emonuel Screene, Baron Screene			\checkmark	
County	Emanuel Scrope, Baron Scrope	✓		•	
Beverley	Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland Emanuel Scrope, Baron Scrope	•		✓	
Boroughbridge				•	
Scarborough	-do-			•	
LANCASHIRE (7)					
County	William Stanley, Earl of Derby		\checkmark		
Lancaster	Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk	✓			
NOTTINGHAMSHIRE (4)					
County	Gilbert Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury		\checkmark		
East Retford	Roger Manners, Earl of Rutland	✓			
CHESHIRE (2)					
Chester	William Compton, Earl of Northampton			✓	
DERBYSHIRE (2)					
County	Gilbert Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury				
		•	✓		
Darby	Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk		· ·		
Derby	Gilbert Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury		•		

Constituency	Patron	4	4	21	24
		1604	1614		1624
LINCOLNSHIRE (6)					
County	Francis Manners, Earl of Rutland		\checkmark	\checkmark	
Grantham	Roger Manners, Earl of Rutland	\checkmark			
	Francis Manners, Earl of Rutland		✓	~	✓
Lincoln	-do-			✓	\checkmark
SHROPSHIRE (6)		✓			
Bishop's Castle	Thomas Sackville, Earl of Dorset	▼ ▼	 ✓ 		
	Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton	•	•		
Ludlow	William Compton, Earl of Northampton			✓	
STAFFORDSHIRE (5)					
Stafford	Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton		\checkmark		
		_			
LEICESTERSHIRE (2)	-				
RUTLAND (1)	-				
WARWICKSHIRE (3)	-				
NORTHAMPTONSHIRE (5)	-				
HUNTINGDONSHIRE (2)	-				
HEREFORDSHIRE (4)	-				
BEDFORDSHIRE (2)	-				
WORCESTERSHIRE (5)					
Bewdley	Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk		\checkmark		
	William Compton, Earl of Northampton				✓
NORFOLK (6)		✓	✓		
Castle Rising	Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton	•	v	1	
The state set	Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel		√	v	✓
Thetford	Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton		•		✓
	Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel			V	v
SUFFOLK (8)					
Aldeburgh	Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk	✓	✓		
	Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel			\checkmark	
Dunwich	Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk		\checkmark		
Eye	-do-		\checkmark		
Ipswich	Thomas Sackville, Earl of Dorset	✓			
Sudbury	Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk		✓		

Constituency	Patron				
		1604	1614	621	1624
		<u> </u>	Ē		F
CAMBRIDGESHIRE (3)					
Cambridge University	Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton		\checkmark		
			-		
BUCKINGHAMSHIRE (8)					
Chipping Wycombe	Henry Windsor, Baron Windsor	\checkmark			
OXFORDSHIRE (5)					
Oxford	William Knollys, Viscount Wallingford ⁴		✓	✓	
ESSEX (4)					
County	Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk	✓			
Colchester	-do-			\checkmark	\checkmark
Maldon	-do-	✓			
BERKSHIRE (5)					
County	William Knollys, Viscount Wallingford	✓		\checkmark	
Abingdon	-do-		\checkmark		\checkmark
Reading	-do-	✓		\checkmark	\checkmark
Wallingford	-do-		\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark
MONMOUTHSHIRE (2)					
County	Edward Somerset, Earl of Worcester	\checkmark	\checkmark		
Monmouth Boroughs	-do-	✓	✓	✓	✓
GLOUCESTERSHIRE (5)	-				
SOMERSET (8)	-				
DEVON (15)					
HERTFORDSHIRE (3)					
LONDON (1)	- -				
MIDDLESEX (2)				-	
WILTSHIRE (16)					
County	Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk		\checkmark		
Calne	-do-				✓
Cricklade	-do-		✓	\checkmark	✓
Hindon	Mervyn Touchet, Baron Audley			✓	✓
Malmesbury	Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk	✓	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark

Constituency	Patron	1604	1614	621	1624
		–	-	H	H
SURREY (7)					
Haslemere	Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland	√			
Reigate	Thomas Sackville, Earl of Dorset	√			
Southwark	-do-	√			
CINQUE PORTS (8)					
Dover	Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton	✓	✓		
Hastings	-do-	\checkmark	\checkmark		
Hythe	-do-		\checkmark		
New Romney	-do-	\checkmark	\checkmark		
Rye	-do-	✓			
Sandwich	-do-	✓	✓		
Winchelsea	-do-	\checkmark	\checkmark		
SUSSEX (10)					
County	Thomas Sackville, Earl of Dorset	\checkmark			
Arundel	-do-	✓			
	William Howard, Lord Howard of Naworth	✓	\checkmark		
	Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel	\checkmark		>	✓
Bramber	Thomas Sackville, Earl of Dorset	\checkmark			
	Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk		\checkmark		
Chichester	John Lumley, Baron Lumley	\checkmark			
	William Howard, Lord Howard of Naworth	\checkmark	\checkmark		
	Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland			\checkmark	
	Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel				\checkmark
East Grinstead	Thomas Sackville, Earl of Dorset	\checkmark	5		
Horsham	-do-	\checkmark			
	Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk		\checkmark		
	Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel			\checkmark	\checkmark
Lewes	Edward Neville, Baron Abergavenny	\checkmark	✓	-	✓
Midhurst	Anthony Maria Browne, Viscount Montague	\checkmark	✓	\checkmark	\checkmark
New Shoreham	Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel			\checkmark	
Steyning	Thomas Sackville, Earl of Dorset	\checkmark			
	Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland		\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark
HAMPSHIRE (12)					
Portsmouth	Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton		\checkmark		

Constituency	Patron	1604	1614	1621	1624
DORSET (10)					
County	Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk		✓	✓	✓
Christchurch	Thomas Arundell, Baron Arundell of	✓	✓	✓	✓
	Wardour				
Shaftesbury	-do-	\checkmark	\checkmark	>	
	Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk		✓		
CORNWALL (20)					
St. Ives	William Paulet, Marquess of Winchester	✓	✓	~	\checkmark
WELSH COUNTIES					
BRECONSHIRE (2)	-				
CARDIGANSHIRE (2)	-				
CAERNARVONSHIRE (2)	-				
CARMARTHENSHIRE (2)	-				
MERIONETH (1)	-				
MONTGOMERYSHIRE (2)	-				
RADNORSHIRE (2)	-				

¹ Catholic associations are highlighted in purple in accordance with the Legend.

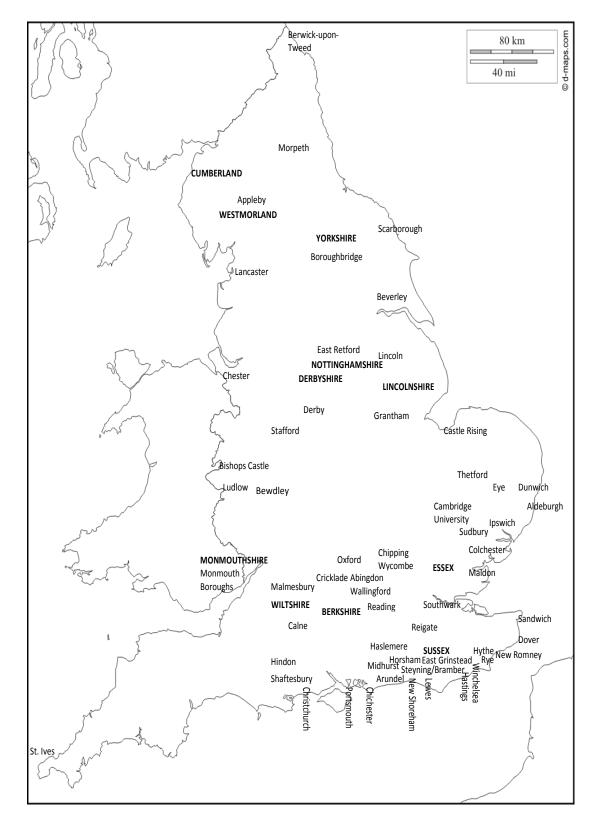
² In order to gauge the scope of Catholic electoral patronage effectively, the counties are listed geographically from north to south. The counties listed in *italics* are those for which I can find no evidence of successful electoral patronage by Catholic peers.

³ The numbers in brackets represent the number of constituencies within and including each county.

⁴ William Knollys, Baron Knollys was created Viscount Wallingford in 1616.

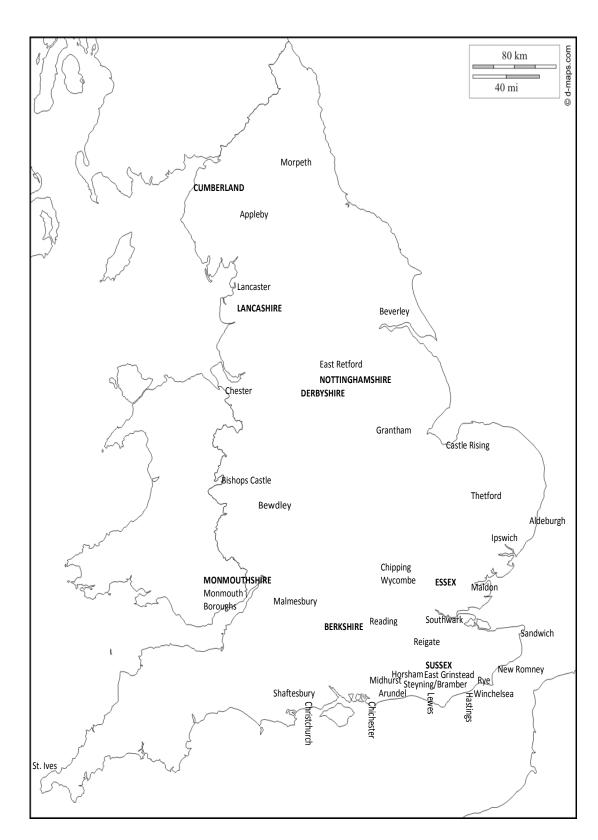
⁵ Sir Henry Compton was re-elected in 1614 and 1621.

Appendix 4.3



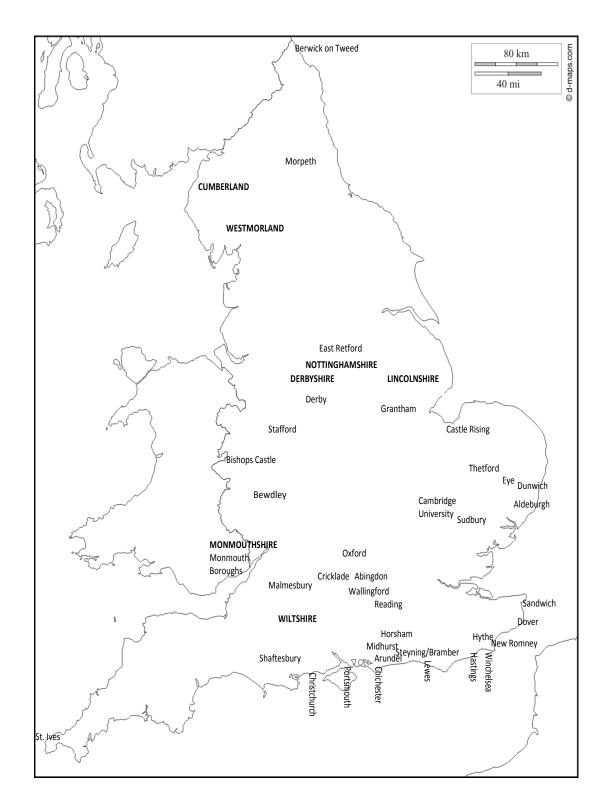
Map 1 ELECTORAL PATRONAGE OF THE CATHOLIC PEERAGE 1604-1624

Appendix 4.4



Map 2 ELECTORAL PATRONAGE OF THE CATHOLIC PEERAGE 1604-1610

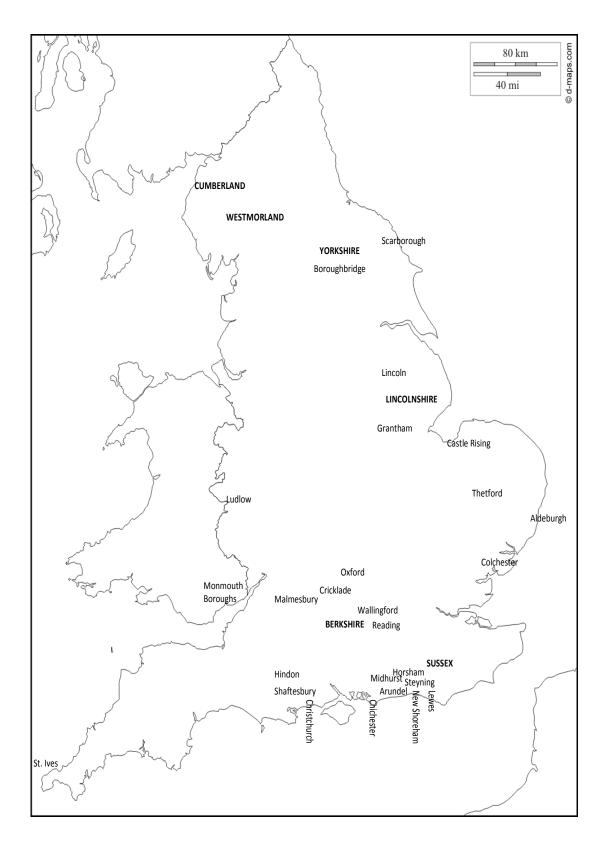
Appendix 4.5



Map 3 ELECTORAL PATRONAGE OF THE CATHOLIC PEERAGE 1614

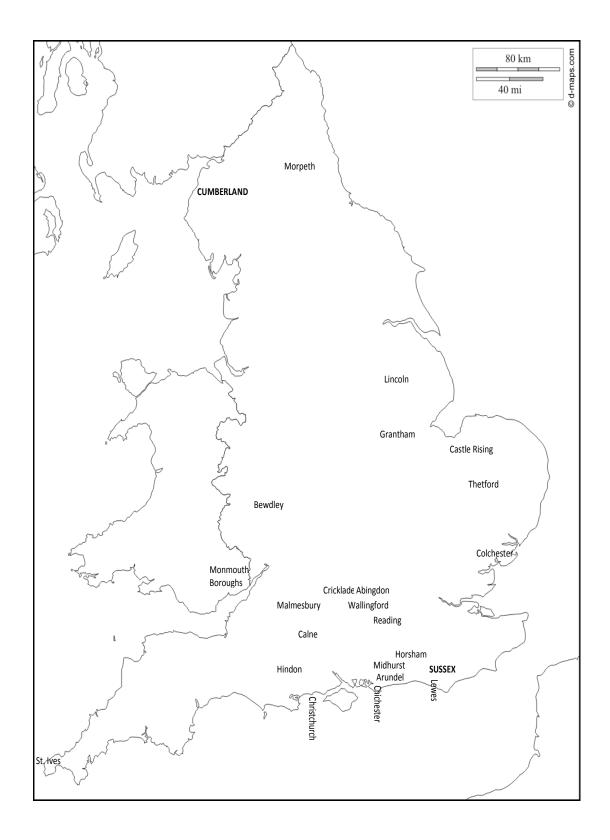
Appendix 4.6

Map 4 ELECTORAL PATRONAGE OF THE CATHOLIC PEERAGE 1621



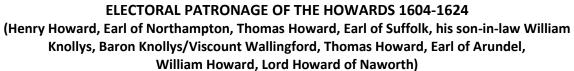
Appendix 4.7

Map 5 ELECTORAL PATRONAGE OF THE CATHOLIC PEERAGE 1624



Appendix 4.8

Map 6





Appendix 5

JAMES I'S PRIVY COUNCIL

Name	Offices	Privy Council Appointment
Howard, Charles (1536-1624) Earl of Nottingham (c. 1596)	Lord High Admiral	1584
Sackville, Thomas (1536-1608) Baron Buckhurst (c. 1567) Earl of Dorset (c.1604)	Lord Treasurer 1599 Lord High Steward	1586
Egerton, Thomas (1540-1617) Baron Ellesmere (c. 1603) Viscount Brackley (c. 1616)	Lord Chancellor 1603	1586
Fortescue, Sir John (1533–1607)	Under Treasurer and Chancellor of the Exchequer 1589-1603	1588
Cecil, Robert (1563-1612) Baron Cecil (c. 1603) Earl of Salisbury (c. 1605)	Secretary of State Lord High Steward to Queen Anne 1603 Lord Treasurer 1608	1591
Knollys, William (1545-1632) Baron Knollys (c. 1603) Viscount Wallingford (c. 1616)	Treasurer of the Household 1602 Treasury Commissioner 1614 Master of the Court of Wards 1614	1596
Herbert, Sir John (<i>c</i> .1540–1617)	Dean of Wells Second Secretary of State 1600	1600
Somerset, Edward (1550-1628) Earl of Worcester (s. 1589)	Master of the Horse Earl Marshal 1601 Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal	1601
Stanhope, John (1540-9.3.1621) Baron Stanhope of Harrington (c. 1605)	Vice Chamberlain and Treasurer of the Household 1601	1601
Talbot, Gilbert (1567-1630) Earl of Shrewsbury (s. 1590)		1601
Wotton, Edward (1548-1628) Baron Wotton (c. 1603)	Treasurer of the Household 1616	1602
Blount, Charles (1563-1606) Baron Mountjoy (s. 1581) Earl of Devonshire (c. 1603)		1603
Bruce, Edward (1548/9–1611) Baron Kinloss (1604)	Master of the Rolls 1603	1603
Cecil, Thomas (1542-1623) Baron Burghley (s. 1598) Earl of Exeter (c. 1605)	President of the Council of the North 1599	1603
Clifford, George (1558-1605) Earl of Cumberland (s. 1570)		1603
Cromwell, Edward (<i>c</i> .1559-1607) Baron Cromwell (s. 1592)		1603
Erskine, John (c.1562–1634) Earl of Mar		1603

Appendix 5

JAMES I'S PRIVY COUNCIL

Name	Offices	Privy Council Appointment
Whitgift, John (1530/31?–1604)	Archbishop of Canterbury 1586	1603
Home, Alexander (<i>c</i> .1566–1619) Earl of Home (England)(c. 1605)		1603
Home, George (<i>d</i> . 1611) Baron Home of Berwick (c. 1604) Earl of Dunbar (c. 1605)	Keeper of the great wardrobe Chancellor of the exchequer	1603
Howard, Thomas (1561-1626) Earl of Suffolk (c. 1603)	Lord Chamberlain of the Household 1603 Lord Lieutenant of Suffolk 1605 Lord Treasurer 1614	1603
Howard, Henry (1540-1614) Earl of Northampton (c. 1604)	Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports 1604 Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal 1608	1603
Percy, Henry (1564-1632) Earl of Northumberland (s. 1585)	Captain of the Gentlemen Pensioners 1603	1603
Bancroft, Richard (b.1544-1610)	Archbishop of Canterbury 1604	1604
Caesar, Sir Julius (<i>b</i> .1558-1636)	Chancellor of the Exchequer 1606-1614 Master of the Rolls 1614-1636	1607
Parry, Sir Thomas (1544–1616)	Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster 1607	1607
Erskine, Thomas (1566–1639) Baron Dirleton (c. 1604) Viscount Fenton (c. 1606) Earl of Kellie (c. 1619)		1610
Abbot, George (1562–1633)	Archbishop of Canterbury	1611
Herbert, William (1580-1630) Earl of Pembroke (s. 1601)	Lord Lieutenant Cornwall 1604 Lord Warden of the Stanneries 1604 Lord Chamberlain 1615 Lord Lieutenant of Somerset and Wiltshire 1621	1611
Carr, Robert (1585/6?–1645) Viscount Rochester (c. 1611) Earl of Somerset (c. 1613)		1612
Zouche, Edward la (1556-1625) Baron Zouche (s. 1569)		1612
Coke, Sir Edward (1552–1634)	Lord Chief Justice	1613
Lake, Sir Thomas (<i>b</i> .1561-1630)	Junior Secretary of State	1614
Greville, Fulke (1554-1628) Baron Brooke (c. 1621)	Secretary of the Council of the Welsh Marches 1603 Chancellor and Under Treasurer of the Exchequer 1614	1614
Winwood, Sir Ralph (1562/3–1617)	Principal Secretary of State	1614
Bilson, Thomas (1546/7–1616)	Bishop of Winchester 1597	1615

Appendix 5

JAMES I'S PRIVY COUNCIL

Name	Offices	Privy Council Appointment
Andrewes, Lancelot (1555–1626)	Bishop of Ely 1609 Bishop of Winchester 1619	1616
Bacon, Francis (1561–1626) Baron Verulam (c. 1618) Viscount St. Alban (c. 1621)	Attorney General 1613 Lord Chancellor 1618-21	1616
Carew, George (1555-1629) Baron Carew (c. 1605)	Vice-chamberlain and Receiver-general of Queen's Household Master of the Ordnance 1608-1629 Governor of Guernsey 1610-1616	1616
Howard, Thomas (1585-1646) Earl of Arundel (r. 1603)	Scottish Privy Council 1617 Earl Marshal 1621	1616
Hamilton, James (1589-1625) Marquess of Hamilton (Scotland)(s. 1604) Earl of Cambridge (c. 1619)	Scottish Privy Council 1613 Lord Steward of the Household 1624	1617
Edmondes, Sir Thomas (d. 1639)	Comptroller of the Household 1617 Treasurer of the Royal Household 1618	1617
Cary, Sir Henry (<i>c</i> .1575–1633) Viscount Falkland (Scotland) (c. 1620)	Comptroller of the Household 1617 Lord Deputy of Ireland 1622	1617
Manners, Francis (1578-1632) Earl of Rutland (s. 1612)	Lord Lieutenant of Lincolnshire Constable of Nottingham Castle	1617
Villiers, George (1592-1628) Marquess of Buckingham (1618) Earl of Coventry (c. 1623) Duke of Buckingham (c. 1623)	Lord High Admiral 1619	1617
Montagu, Henry (c.1564-1642) Viscount Maundeville (c. 1620)	Chief Justice of the King's Bench 1616 Lord Treasurer 1620 Lord President of the Council	1618
Naunton, Sir Robert (1563–1635)	Secretary of State 1618 [to 1623]	1618
Calvert, Sir George (1579/80-1632) Baron Baltimore (Ireland) (c. 1624)	Secretary of State 1619	1619
Wriothesley, Henry (1573-1624) Earl of Southampton (r. 1603)	Captain of IOW and Carisbrooke Castle 1604 Joint Lord Lieutenant of Hampshire 1604	1619
Williams, John (1582–1650)	Bishop of Lincoln 1612 Lord Keeper of the Great Seal 1621	1621
Weston, Sir Richard (b.1577-1635) Earl of Portland (c. 1633)	Deputy Lieutenant Essex 1612-1620 Chancellor of the Exchequer 1621 Lord Treasurer 1628	1621

Appendix 5

JAMES I'S PRIVY COUNCIL

Name	Offices	Privy Council Appointment
Sir John Suckling (b.1569-1627)	Master of Requests 1619	1622
	Secretary of State 1622	
	Comptroller of the Household 1622	
Conway, Edward (<i>c</i> .1564–1631)	Secretary of State 1623	1622
Baron Conway of Ragley (c. 1625)		
Viscount Killultagh and Viscount		
Conway (Ireland) (c. 1627)		
Sir Oliver St. John (1559–1630)	Irish Privy Council 1605	1622
Viscount Grandison (Ireland)	President of Munster and Vice President	
(c. 1621)	of Connaught	
	Chief Governor of Ireland	
	Lord Deputy of Ireland 1616-1622	

Appendix 6

JAMES I SENIOR GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS 1604-1624¹

	1604	1605/6	1606/7	1610	1614	1621	1624
Lord Treasurer	Thomas Sackville Earl of Dorset	Thomas Sackville Earl of Dorset	Thomas Sackville Earl of Dorset	Robert Cecil Earl of Salisbury	Commissioners: Edward Somerset Earl of Worcester Thomas Howard Earl of Suffolk Edward Wotton Baron Wotton Henry Howard Earl of Northampton	Henry Montagu Viscount Maundeville	Lionel Cranfield Earl of Middlesex
						Baron Cranfield MP Arundel until July 1621	
Lord Chancellor and Lord Keeper of the Great Seal	Thomas Egerton Baron Ellesmere	Thomas Egerton Baron Ellesmere	Thomas Egerton Baron Ellesmere	Thomas Egerton Baron Ellesmere		Dean of Westminster	(Lord Chancellor) In commission John Williams Bishop of Lincoln Dean of Westminster
Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal	Robert Cecil Baron Cecil	Robert Cecil Earl of Salisbury	Robert Cecil Earl of Salisbury	Henry Howard Earl of Northampton		(Lord Keeper) Edward Somerset Earl of Worcester	(Lord Keeper) Edward Somerset Earl of Worcester

Appendix 6 (continued)

JAMES I SENIOR GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS 1604-1624

	1604	1605/6	1606/7	1610	1614	1621	1624
Lord Admiral	Charles Howard Earl of Nottingham	George Villiers Marquess of Buckingham	George Villiers Duke of Buckingham				
Earl Marshal	In commission		Thomas Howard Earl of Arundel				
Lord Chamberlain of the Household	Thomas Howard Earl of Suffolk	William Herbert Earl of Pembroke	William Herbert Earl of Pembroke				
Lord Steward of the Household	Charles Howard Earl of Nottingham	Ludovick Stuart Earl of Richmond	James Hamilton Earl of Cambridge				
Master of the Horse	Edward Somerset Earl of Worcester	Edward Somerset Earl of Worcester	Edward Somerset Earl of Worcester		Edward Somerset Earl of Worcester	George Villiers M. Buckingham	George Villiers D. Buckingham
	William Knollys Baron Knollys	Sir Thomas Edmondes MP Bewdley	Sir Thomas Edmondes MP Chichester				
Lord President of the Council						Henry Montagu Viscount Mandeville	Henry Montagu Viscount Mandeville
Vice-Chamberlain of the Household and Treasurer of the Chamber	Sir John Stanhope	John Stanhope Baron Stanhope	John Stanhope Baron Stanhope	John Stanhope Baron Stanhope	John Stanhope Baron Stanhope	John Digby Baron Digby (Vice Chamberlain of the Household) <i>Sir William Uvedale</i> <i>MP Newport, IOW</i> (Treasurer of the Chamber)	John Digby Earl of Bristol (Vice Chamberlain of the Household) Sir William Uvedale MP Portsmouth (Treasurer of the Chamber)
Comptroller of the Household	Edward Wotton Baron Wotton	Edward Wotton Baron Wotton	Edward Wotton Baron Wotton	Edward Wotton Baron Wotton		Henry Cary Viscount Falkland MP Hertfordshire	Sir John Suckling MP Middlesex

Appendix 6 (continued)

JAMES I SENIOR GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS 1604-1624

	1604	1605/6	1606/7	1610	1614	1621	1624
Chancellor of the Exchequer	George Home Earl of Dunbar	George Home Earl of Dunbar	Sir Julius Caesar MP Westminster	Sir Julius Caesar MP Westminster	Sir Julius Caesar MP Middlesex	Fulke Greville Baron Brooke Sir Richard Weston MP Arundel (Nov)	Sir Richard Weston MP Bossiney
Lord Chief Justice	Sir John Popham	Sir John Popham	Sir John Popham	Sir Thomas Fleming	Sir Edward Coke	Sir James Ley MP Westbury until 19.1.1621	Sir James Ley
Chancellor of the	Sir John Fortescue	Sir John Fortescue	Sir John Fortescue/	Sir Thomas Parry	Sir Thomas Parry	Sir Humphrey May	Sir Humphrey May
Duchy of Lancaster		Sir Thomas Parry	MP St. Albans	MP Berkshire until May 1614	MP Lancaster	MP Leicester	
	Robert Cecil Baron Cecil	Robert Cecil Earl of Salisbury	Robert Cecil Earl of Salisbury	Robert Cecil Earl of Salisbury	Sir George Carew Sir Walter Cope	Lionel Cranfield	Sir Robert Naunton MP Cambridge
			William Knollys Baron Knollys		University		
Attorney-General	Sir Edward Coke	[Sir Henry Hobart]	[Sir Henry Hobart]	[Sir Henry Hobart]	Sir Francis Bacon	Sir Thomas Coventry	Sir Thomas Coventry
Solicitor-General	Sir John Doddridge	Sir John Doddridge	Sir Francis Bacon	Sir John Doddridge	Sir Henry Yelverton	Sir Robert Heath	Sir Robert Heath

1

This Table has been compiled from numerous sources, but primarily ODNB. The officials whose names are in *italics* were not Members of the House of Lords.

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