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THE ADDLED PARLIAMENT OF 1614

By Thomas L. Moir, M.A.

June 1954

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THE ADDLED PARLIAMENT OF 1614

By Thomas L. Moir, M.A.

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in Dublin University



Although the addled parliament poses some fascinating problems, it has been almost neglected by recent historians. The only substantial account is one of about twenty-five pages by J. H. Gardiner three-quarters of a century ago. D. M. Stowe's The Privy Counsellors in the House of Commons 1604-1629 is interested in its preliminaries, but not in the parliament itself.

This thesis is entirely my own work, and it has not been submitted as an exercise for a degree at any other university. A full list of the authorities consulted is contained in the bibliography.

Dates in this thesis are given in old style except when the original document is dated in new style, but the year is always regarded as beginning on January 1. In the case of documents dated in new style, both days

Preface

of the south are given. Thus, a document dated 10 January. This thesis is a development from earlier work in the same general field. My interest in the addled parliament was aroused during the preparation of a thesis entitled The Members of Parliament from the Counties of Essex, Cambridge, and Huntingdon from 1604 to 1629, which was submitted at the university of Minnesota in 1941 for the degree of M.A. of the Trinity College Library, the

Although the addled parliament poses some fascinating problems, it has been almost neglected by recent historians. The only substantial account is one of about twenty-five pages written by S. R. Gardiner three-quarters of a century ago. D. H. Willson in The Privy Councillors in the House of Commons 1604-1629 is interested in its preliminaries, but not in the parliament itself.

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of the month are given. Thus, a document dated 10 January 1613 old style in the original would appear as 10 January 1614. A document of the same date new style would appear 20 January 1614 in the original, but 10/20 January 1614 here.

The author's thanks are due to those who so patiently endured his many requests for obscure volumes, particularly to the staffs of the Trinity College library, the Institute of Historical Research, the British Museum, the Public Record Office, and the House of Lords. His gratitude is due in particular to Prof. T. W. Moody of Dublin University for patient and indispensable guidance.

Dublin

26 December 1950

Thomas L. Moir

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Chapter I

Spheres of Conflict between Crown and Parliament in the Early Stuart Period

The second parliament of James I, which lasted only from 5 April to 7 June 1614, formed one of the links in the long chain of events stretching from 1603 to 1649. Even this period of nearly half a century can be regarded as no more than a conventional unit. The causes of the civil war had roots striking much deeper than 1603, and the climax of 1649 was but one scene in a drama¹ which was even then far from its conclusion.

Because few segments of history can be studied independently, the historian, particularly when dealing with a brief period, is faced with the problem of a starting-point. For the purposes of this work the last years of Elizabeth's reign seem to offer the best beginning.

For well over a century the Tudor monarchs had led

1. The material in this chapter, which is introductory and does not claim to be based on the writer's own research, is drawn chiefly from the following books: Read, The Tudors; Black, Reign of Elizabeth; Neale, Elizabethan House of Commons; Tanner, English Constitutional Conflicts of the Seventeenth Century; Davies, The Early Stuarts 1603-1660; Willson, Privy Councillors in the House of Commons 1604-1629; and Dietz, English Public Finance 1558-1641.

England through many crises with conspicuous success. But as Elizabeth, the last of her line, approached the end of her long reign, signs of change were already apparent. The Tudors had combined a strong monarchy with the machinery of parliament in a unique way. While they maintained their royal authority with the staunch support of public opinion, they allowed parliament to share in its exercise.

In this connexion it is well to bear in mind the meaning of such terms as "public opinion" in the Tudor and early Stuart periods. While much of the jargon of the twentieth century appeared at least as early as 1614, twentieth-century meanings must not be read into these expressions. When public opinion or the people or even a rudimentary form of the social contract were referred to at this time, it is quite evident that the speakers had no idea of democracy in mind. Society to them meant the elements which controlled it and spoke for it. The nobility, the gentry, the middle classes in the towns, and perhaps the yeomanry were its only articulate elements. The great bulk of the population in both town and country had no voice and probably little interest in the great movements of the age.

A similar error must be avoided in politics. Because of the limitations of language, terms such as "party" and

"opposition leaders" are convenient in referring to parliament. But nothing like the machinery of modern party politics must be read into such terms. A "party" in 1614 was a loose and fluctuating group of individuals in general agreement on the major issues of the time. The leaders were those who best voiced the sentiments of their fellows, or who could usually exercise a personal dominance over them. But no organized group with set policies presented itself to the electors. The house of commons was a body of individuals who often came to Westminster without a clear notion of their opinions on many matters of public policy. They represented the middle classes of England both urban and rural in the sense that they were a typical cross-section of those classes.

The Tudors were able to dominate the government for three basic reasons. In the first place the sixteenth century was a time of revolutionary change, particularly in the Christian religion, but also in economics and in international relations. Internal upheavals in foreign lands were everywhere apparent to Tudor Englishmen. Civil tumult blazed forth again and again in France, the Netherlands, Scotland, and Germany, reviving memories of the Wars of

the Roses. Scarcely a country in Europe passed through the reformation period without strife and bloodshed. But England remained almost wholly free from these calamities, and its people believed that the Tudor monarchy had been their salvation.

In the second place Tudor policies usually had popular support. The Tudor monarchy was essentially a middle-class monarchy, ruling in the interests of the merchants and the gentry. It took its tone from Henry VII, who crushed the nobility, the greatest threat to both crown and middle class. Henry VIII and his children (except for the Marian reaction) removed the only other obstacle to themselves and their supporters. Once the nobility and the church had been placed securely under royal control, the Tudors and the middle class were triumphant.

The Tudors, then, fulfilled the aspirations of the merchants and gentry. Their success was so great that minor inconveniences were overlooked. While men might dislike Henry VII's extortionate financial methods or feel that Elizabeth's church settlement was too rigid, they believed that their position was enviable compared to that of foreign nations. Although the weight of authority might

gail, it did not crush them, and there could be no civil war with a strong hand at the helm. It was everywhere apparent that the monarch and the middle classes were united by interests basically common to both. Except during Mary's reign an essential harmony prevailed in England between governing and governed.

But the monarchs contributed much to this basic harmony. The last great prop of the Tudor state was the ability of the dynasty itself. The Tudors had a genius for ruling, a combination of strength, tact, and showmanship coupled with a keen understanding of human nature. Sensitive to public opinion, they were careful not to antagonise their middle-class supporters. In part the monarchs led the people, but in part they also placed themselves in the van of movements which they had not initiated.

Toward the end of the sixteenth century, however, the foundations of Tudor government were crumbling at the same time that the crown was faced with an increasingly articulate opposition. By this time the revolutionary period was past, and the great changes had been made. The danger of religious civil war had been removed, and no internal power could challenge the crown with its

long arm reaching into every corner of the realm.

But the changed international situation was more important than domestic tranquility. Shortly after James ascended the English throne it became abundantly clear that the danger of foreign invasion had ended. While the issue had really been decided in 1588, the treaty with Spain in 1604 was the recognition of England's triumph. At the same time Ireland had finally been reduced to submission on one flank while the United Provinces had succeeded in establishing an independent protestant republic on the other. With the accession of James the ancient enemy to the north became a partner instead of a rival. By 1603 the major problem in English political life had ceased to be international relations. Men could turn their attention to domestic problems without fear of endangering national security. Domestic abuses, which had been neglected in the time of peril, were everywhere ripe for reform.

While the Tudors had almost of necessity left these abuses unchecked, they had also created an instrument to focus public opinion on the shortcomings of the government. The paradox of the strong Tudor monarchy was that parliament grew and flourished. The great change took

place with the summoning of the reformation parliament in 1529. While under Henry VII and Wolsey the Tudor monarchy seemed to be following the absolutist tendencies of continental states, Henry VIII changed the pattern when he called on parliament to share in the break with Rome. It was by act of parliament that the medieval division of the world into secular and ecclesiastical spheres was destroyed.

Because the Tudor monarchs preferred to use parliament as the instrument to effect these reforms, its stature increased in the eyes of the nation. Although a subservient parliament suited the purposes of the crown for the time being, all the while it was amassing a store of precedents and privileges, as well as creating a spirit of self-confidence and corporate unity among its members. At the same time the great mass of business forced the two houses to devise procedures to deal with it. By 1603 the clumsy medieval institution of 1485 had been converted into a body capable of taking a real part in the government of England.

Parliament even in the last years of Elizabeth's reign began to feel its growing importance in the government, once the old threats at home and abroad were

losing their force. In the parliament of 1601 the crown found it difficult to check the audacity of the opposition. But for a variety of reasons this challenge to the crown was not pushed home. The queen was old and full of honour, and men remembered the perils through which she had led them in safety. It was fitting that she should spend her declining years in peace. The ills of the nation could be borne for a few more years until a new monarch arrived to set things right. Elizabeth, with the genius of her race and with evident sincerity, appealed to these emotions of chivalry and loyalty, evoking her personal magnetism once more to good effect. But still another reason, nearly forgotten today, may well have checked the popular leaders in the last years of the queen. Lurking in the back of men's minds was perhaps an unvoiced fear of the day when the queen would rule no more. The succession was far from clear, and memories of the past gave gloomy precedents for the future.

But when that day came, James of Scotland succeeded to the English throne with an ease which surprised many and pleased all. Now that the last great fear had passed,

men anticipated a new golden age under a new dynasty. Both sides saw only the favourable aspects, and failed to consider the problems of adjustment which faced king and country. Not the least of these problems was the man James Stuart. When it is once realised that James was neither a fool nor a pedant, two aspects of his character become the more difficult to understand. Although James had hoped for a dozen years to succeed his cousin on the throne of England, he had made little attempt to familiarize himself with English law, customs, or institutions. Even on his journey from Edinburgh to London, he evinced his ignorance of the king's position in the English constitution. Nor did he ever acquire a fundamental understanding of the English political system. It is remarkable that James made so little effort to prepare himself for the role which he hoped to fill.

In the second place James came to England after a long and on the whole successful reign in Scotland. When he reached manhood, he found himself a princeling in a feudal state on which had been grafted a presbyterian kirk filled with all the unbending zeal of orthodox Calvinism. In danger of being crushed between powerful

nobles and a powerful church, James had made himself supreme over both by adroit manipulation and deft intrigue. Allying himself with those middle-class elements which preferred a strong king as the least of three evils, he created a firm foundation for the Scottish monarchy. Yet in England, where he faced a far less desperate situation, he failed to find a solution.

James's failure in England came partly from his own character and partly from the circumstances of the time. His faults arose from bad training and from basic weaknesses in his character. James's youthful experiences in Scotland had left indelible marks on his outlook. His struggle with the presbyterians had given him an exaggerated dislike and suspicion of all puritanism, and had rendered him incapable of differentiating between the varieties of dissent from the system of the established church. He suspected all puritans of trying to undermine the power of the bishops, and once the bishops had fallen, he believed that the king was sure to follow them. Despite his advanced theories of toleration, he believed that there was no place for a larger comprehension in the established church.

Long before he came to England James had developed his doctrine of the divine right of hereditary kings to parry the claims of the Scottish kirk. This theory, however, was ill adapted for dealing with the English parliament. The king's claim of divine, hence basically absolute, authority rendered Elizabeth's tactful handling of the house of commons both unfitting and unnecessary. Since their privileges rested on his royal will, the king had no need to conciliate them. To their demands, he answered with a blind and dogmatic conservatism, often made more irritating by his superfluous excursions into constitutional theory.

James, as already mentioned, governed Scotland by a complicated system of manipulation and intrigue, coupled with a show of force and a middle-class alliance. While this system had had considerable success in Scotland, in England it resulted in a stalemate, particularly as the king made no effort to attract supporters from the middle classes. Although the king showed a great interest in parliament, his undignified and tactless interference in its affairs was ineffective. His fruitless meddling irritated the house of commons instead of guiding it.

Another defect in the new king's character was

laziness. An abhorrence of governmental routine kept him from giving the administration the close day-to-day scrutiny that it needed. Petulant and irritable, he had difficulty in following a consistent policy and was confused by a diversity of advice. This lack of self-confidence led him to rely on favourites who pandered to his self-esteem. James was so harassed by suitors that whenever possible he fled to the country leaving the government without a leader or a policy. Although the king faced many serious problems, the worst of them was his own character.

Of the many problems before him the religious question had the widest ramifications. Religion was inseparably connected with politics, and it was not even limited to the forms, ceremonies, and organisation of the established church. In particular the broader field of foreign policy had a strong religious colouring.

Through the perspective of more than three centuries the decline of Spain by 1603 is much clearer than it was to contemporaries. In the early seventeenth century a panic fear of Spain and popery still lurked near the surface of men's minds, rendering Englishmen incapable of comprehending a diplomacy which sought Roman Catholic alliances

or a domestic policy which groped in the direction of toleration. Especially after the gunpowder plot all the old fears revived. Not only was toleration felt to be dangerous, and a Spanish alliance anti-national, but also men felt that Roman Catholics were gradually infiltrating into the court. In an age which generally recognised the right of the ruler to choose the religion of his subjects, Roman Catholic influence at court was a potent cause of suspicion. Men believed that even if the king's foreign and domestic policies were good in themselves, the popish courtiers would use them to force their religion on the nation.

The attitude of the king toward the puritans gave no comfort to those who feared the rising power of Rome. The term "puritan" was applied loosely at the time of James's accession to many different groups between which the king was unable or unwilling to distinguish. Two broad classifications, however, may be made. Only a small number of Englishmen were puritans in the narrower and more extreme sense of those who wanted to reject the prayerbook entirely and repudiate all episcopal authority. But probably a majority of the articulate elements in

society were puritans in the broader sense. In general they favoured a relaxation of forms and ceremonies to make the Anglican church conform more nearly to the ideals of Calvin. The surplice, for example, should not be compulsory, and the communion table should be in the body of the church and not placed "altarwise" in the east end.

Preaching should be emphasized as the chief duty of the ministry, and the arbitrary powers of bishops and ecclesiastical courts should be checked.

The king had no sympathy with the proposed reforms. He believed that they would lead unerringly to a presbyterian system on the Scottish model in which the king would be subordinate to the kirk. While the king regarded the bishops as the buttresses of monarchy, the bishops were acutely aware of their dependence on the king. As early as 1604 the commons ranged themselves on the side of the puritans, forming an alliance which lasted in one form or another for half a century. The bishops realized at once that if they were to keep the establishment intact, they must do so under royal protection. The bishops became staunch supporters of the crown in parliament and threw all the weight of ecclesiastical authority on the side of divine right. They enforced conformity with the king's full approval, seeking to drive all recalcitrant

opponents out of the establishment and to reduce them to silence. In supporting divine right the bishops and their followers used their political influence against the house of commons. As a counter-poise to the lower house they also tried to exalt convocation and the ecclesiastical courts. The puritans and the house of commons (often the same persons) reacted violently against this programme. Again and again remedial legislation was introduced, and debates on religion frequently inflamed the lower house.

Their fostering of ecclesiastical courts brought the bishops into conflict with the courts of common law. The arbitrary acts of the ecclesiastical courts also roused resentment in the house of commons, where the legal aspects of any problem attracted the attention of the many lawyers who were members. Although the jurisdictional phase of the conflict was ultimately settled by the courts, as late as 1614 it added fuel to the flames.

Another sphere of conflict between the king and the commons was the question of privileges. During Elizabeth's reign the commons had come to occupy a more and more important place in the constitutional scheme. Their frequent meetings had given them a sense of unity and dignity as well as a new skill in coping with the problems

of growth. The machinery of the lower house had been developed to handle the increasing mass of business, and the members had become better acquainted with the problems of government.

For these reasons as well as for the more fundamental ones already discussed, the commons were inclined to encroach on matters which the crown regarded as being within its own province. Even under Elizabeth, questions of privilege arose, which the queen dealt with in a manner characteristic of her family. She approached the house with a mixture of imperiousness, flattery, and tact, and in the end she had her way without ever outlining sharply the issues at stake. Each case was handled in a manner fitting its circumstances. Above all, Elizabeth took care never to define basic principles or to enquire into the nature of fundamental issues.

Not only did James face a more factious house without the benefit of Elizabeth's prestige, but also he exhibited far less skill in handling the problem. Lack of dignity, failure to understand his new subjects, and an instinct for meddling characterised his dealings with the house of commons. With none of the imperial remoteness which his predecessor had assumed, he interfered too often and in a

tactless manner. His commands and his appeals to the loyalty due a sovereign lost their force with frequent repetition.

But the king had a more basic fault in dealing with the privileges of parliament. He was forever raising fundamental constitutional questions when he could have avoided them. While Elizabeth had refused to consider the precise origin, nature, and extent of parliamentary privileges, such speculations in political theory had an irresistible fascination for James's scholarly mind. Also his doctrine of divine right, which he expounded on these occasions, seemed to the commons a threat to the ancient constitution of England. Forced by the king's reasoning to justify themselves, they twisted and tortured medieval precedents to support their ideas of the place of parliament in the constitution. This conflict, once aroused, necessarily went beyond privileges to the deeper questions of the relationship of crown to commons and of both to the state.

The third great sphere of conflict was public finance, a problem far older than 1603. Here again James faced a difficult problem aggravated by his own weaknesses. Even under the parsimonious Elizabeth the

ordinary revenue did not meet the ordinary expenses of government. The new king was caught in a net pressing on him from all sides. For one thing, instead of a large treasure Elizabeth bequeathed him a debt of nearly half a million. In the second place, new standards and new governmental functions increased the costs of the administration, but they were so little realised that no attempt was made to cope with them. Thirdly, the rise in prices was gradually undermining the entire system. The old estimates had little relevance to the new standard of living. Finally, the old revenues suffered in two ways. On one side, the rise in prices rendered them inadequate. On the other, these older revenues were in a state of decay, so that their actual money value was less. In a time of rising prices and increasing expenditures, the fixed revenue of the crown actually declined. While the country as a whole was enjoying a period of great and increasing prosperity, the government did not share in the general increase. The system of taxation did not go behind the old rigid valuations which by 1603 absurdly underestimated the true wealth of the country.

2. Dietz, English Public Finance 1558-1641, p.113.

During the Tudor period England enjoyed better government than it paid for. The crown avoided new taxes by plundering the nobles, the church, the recusants, or the Spaniards. By 1603 the time had come for a general reorganisation of public revenues, and in asking for larger grants the crown had a better cause than it realised. On the other hand the commons were not yet mature enough to consider public finance in a statesmanlike manner. They were still obsessed with the obsolete notion that in normal times the king should live of his own. Parliamentary grants were extraordinary measures for extraordinary emergencies. Because the commons had not yet learned that good government has a price, they were unwilling to grant the revenue so urgently needed.

But of course in the reign of James the commons had no assurance that an increase in revenue would produce good government. On the contrary, the popular mind pictured James as an extravagant and wasteful king. But he was not so extravagant as is often supposed even though he did waste a great deal of money, especially in the early years of his reign. On the whole the wastefulness of the crown resulted more from an absence of supervision over expenditures than from extravagant gifts to favourites. The king's besetting sin of laziness left

the exchequer without a guiding hand over day-to-day expenditures. Those who kept the king constantly on the verge of bankruptcy were not entirely court favourites. Many a tradesman dealing with the royal household conspired to cheat his sovereign scandalously. The improvement in royal finance in the latter part of the reign came largely from Cranfield's success in reducing ordinary expenses to sensible proportions.

What figures are available show clearly the financial state of the crown in this period. Elizabeth's average annual expenditures had been about £220,000, but her successor's came nearer £400,000. In 1607 James spent £500,000, and about the same time his average annual deficit was £50,000 on a revenue of £315,000. By 1606 the crown's debts, which were a little over £400,000 in 1603, amounted to £735,000 even though the king had received a grant of £375,000 from parliament. After Salisbury's death matters became much worse, with the deficit mounting to £200,000 annually. Even though Salisbury had at one time reduced the debt to £300,000, by 1613 it amounted to £680,000 despite the increased revenue obtained from impositions. By 1614 the crown

had edged so near to bankruptcy that a parliamentary grant³ seemed to be the only solution for the financial problem.

Such was the state of public affairs after the Tudor constitution guided by the first of the Stuarts had creaked and groaned through a decade. This constitution, which had served England's needs well in the previous century, was breaking down. This breakdown was partly due to the personalities involved, for James lacked the ability of Elizabeth. But the breakdown had causes more fundamental than the change of rulers, for even in the queen's last years there had been signs of the approach of a new era.

The fundamental problem arose from the fact that crown and commons now ranged themselves on opposite sides in a number of basic questions. Religious reform, foreign policy, and finance separated them, of which the first two in particular tended to create suspicion and mistrust. New constitutional machinery was necessary to determine which policy should prevail in a deadlock. But as yet

3. Gardiner, History of England, i. 293-6 and note; ii. 13-4 and note, 199-201, 260. Dietz, English Public Finance 1558-1641, pp. 49, 100-58, 392 and note.

both crown and commons were seeking power without responsibility. Until one side or the other had grown to mature political stature, no lasting solution was possible.

Chapter II

The First Parliament of King James

The new king had been less than a year on the throne when he summoned his first parliament. This parliament, elected in 1604, was the longest of his reign. It had five separate sessions (1604, 1605-6, 1606-7, February-July 1610, and October-November 1610). This parliament was finally dissolved on 9 February 1611.¹

The proclamation summoning this parliament was issued on 11 January 1604. It forbade the election of bankrupts and outlaws in a section advising the country on the type of men to choose. The final provision of the proclamation ordered that election returns should be sent to chancery, where their lawfulness would be determined. In spite of the proclamation, little seems to have been done to elect royal supporters to the commons, with the result that the official group was particularly weak. Already weakened by the elevation of Cecil to the peerage, the

1. This chapter like the first is introductory and does not claim to be based on the writer's own research. The references are the same as for chapter 1 plus Gardiner, History of England, vols. 1 and 11.

privy council was represented in the house of commons by only three men; the second secretary Sir John Herbert, Sir John Stanhope, and (for the time being) Sir John Fortescue.

The management of elections was a responsibility of the earl of Salisbury,² and he seems to have left them to chance. Perhaps he was already so overwhelmed with his many public duties that he was unable to deal with elections. Or he may have felt that with a new and popular king on the throne parliament could be managed easily. At any rate the group of royal supporters was smaller than usual, and Salisbury's neglect of elections proved costly. Although he attempted to place his supporters in the commons through by-elections, he was never able to overcome the initial disadvantage.

The first parliamentary crisis of James's reign came shortly after parliament met on 19 March 1604. The election of Sir John Fortescue, a privy councillor, has been mentioned. He had at first been defeated in Buckinghamshire by Sir Francis Goodwin. But in accordance with the royal proclamation, chancery judged Goodwin's

² Sir Robert Cecil was created Baron Cecil in 1603, Viscount Cranborne on 20 August 1604, and earl of Salisbury on 4 May 1605. Here his later title is used to avoid confusion even though he was actually only Lord Cecil at this time.

election void because he was a technical outlaw, and Fortescue was chosen in the resulting by-election. As soon as the case came before the commons, the house awarded the seat to Goodwin and excluded Fortescue. After a dispute in which the king claimed that all parliamentary privileges rested on his grace, the question was settled by a compromise. As a personal favour to the king, the commons agreed to set aside both elections, and a new election was held at which neither Goodwin nor Fortescue was a candidate. Although the settlement was ostensibly a compromise, the advantage lay with the commons. Their right to judge disputed elections was not challenged again.

The session so unhappily begun did not improve with time. Although a bill declaring the king's hereditary right to the crown was hurried through all stages as a demonstration of loyalty, the financial problem caused immediate difficulty. Early in the session the lower house proposed that the old royal rights of purveyance and wardship should be given up. Although some compensation was offered to the crown at the suggestion of the upper house, the whole matter was finally postponed until the next session. Meanwhile parliament did not authorize any new grants of supply.

On another project also, parliament made little progress. One of the plans nearest James's heart, and actually one of his wisest schemes, was the union with Scotland. But however well-meaning he was and however advantageous the union was to prove after 1707, the house of commons in 1604 was unable to consider the question on its merits. Parliament refused to authorize the title of king of Great Britain, and it could be induced to do nothing except to appoint commissioners to negotiate with the Scottish government.

Religion caused still another dispute. At the Hampton Court Conference in January 1604 the king had shown himself completely hostile to all that puritanism stood for. Supported by convocation he threatened to expel from their livings those clergymen who refused to conform to his ecclesiastical policy. The commons took up the cause of the puritan clergy, and a series of bills was passed for their protection.

When the king took exception to the actions of the commons and upbraided them for their attitude, they proceeded to justify themselves in the famous Apology of 1604, passed on June 20. In this Apology the lower house first vindicated its privileges as matters of right, not

of the king's grace, and asserted its power to decide disputed elections. In regard to the Scottish union, the commons declared without complete candour that they had acceded to the king's wishes as soon as they had been informed of the implications of this novel proposal. As for religion, they intended to make no radical changes, but desired only the reform of abuses and the relaxation of rigid conformity. They also declared that ecclesiastical legislation was within the sphere of parliamentary jurisdiction. Finally, they asserted that parliament was the proper source of information for the king on governmental affairs. Although the Apology was never officially presented to the king, it was a clear statement of the position of the lower house, and it reflected the tension which was already apparent between crown and commons.

A further attempt by the crown to secure additional revenue had no more success than before. When the royal advisers asked for a grant of supply to meet rising expenses, the commons pointed out that the grant made in 1601 had not been entirely collected. While they did not directly refuse to vote supply, they cited the custom that a new grant should not be made until the last one had been fully paid. Because the tone of the debate was

unfavourable to the crown, the king made a virtue of necessity and informed the house that he was unwilling to lay a new burden of taxation upon them.

The commons next attacked trading monopolies. They passed a bill to throw all trade open to individuals, but it died in the house of lords. By this time the king had concluded that there was nothing to gain by prolonging the session. The next day, 7 July 1604, he prorogued parliament, taking advantage of this opportunity to upbraid the lower house for its failure to adopt his programme.

The second session of this parliament met on 5 November 1605 despite the unnerving discovery of the gunpowder plot the previous day. But on the ninth the king commanded an adjournment until 21 January 1606 so that a further inquiry could be made into the conspiracy. At the beginning of this session the privy council was in a unique position in relation to the commons. The elevation of Sir John Stanhope to the peerage left Sir John Herbert, the second secretary, as the only councillor in the lower house. But in February 1606 his position was strengthened when Sir John Fortescue, who had failed to obtain a seat in 1604, was chosen at a by-election.

Under the stress of the gunpowder plot, crown and parliament cooperated more harmoniously than in 1604. A bill of attainder against the conspirators was passed, and new legislation was framed to control the recusants.

But the old question of puritanism emerged when convocation drew up a new set of canons and presented them to the king. To the astonishment of the clergy he condemned their doctrine of non-resistance to a de facto ruler. Not only did the king object to the text of the canons, but also the commons attacked convocation for usurping their functions. They maintained that by passing canons binding on laymen convocation was invading the legislative field, which belonged solely to parliament. The unhappy clergy discovered that they had alienated their protector and at the same time had aroused their opponents.

For the time being, however, the commons pursued the question no farther. Once more the financial condition of the crown forced them to consider a grant of supply instead of occupying their time with matters of ecclesiastical policy. On 10 February 1606, when the gunpowder plot was still fresh in their minds, the commons proposed a grant of £250,000. By the time it was passed, this

grant was increased to £390,000 payable by 1610. Although an attempt to check abuses in purveyance was made, no legislation resulted. Parliament was prorogued on 27 May 1606, leaving Westminster on far better terms with the king than in 1604.

The third session of this parliament, which opened on 18 November 1606, was occupied chiefly with the king's favourite project, the Scottish union. Two proposals of the commissioners appointed in 1604 were subject to little opposition. Both sides agreed to repeal laws designed to protect their own country against surprise attacks by the other, and both nations favoured an arrangement for the mutual extradition of criminals.

But beyond that point the English parliament was reluctant to go. Except for wool, cattle, and a few other articles of commerce, the commissioners recommended complete freedom of trade between the two countries. They also recommended that natives of either country should be allowed to share in the commercial enterprises of the other. They made still another recommendation that each nation should naturalize the inhabitants of the other. This last proposal was complicated by a legal problem, for some authorities maintained that Scots born after

James became king of England (the post-nati) were no more aliens than native-born Englishmen because they had been born subjects of the king of England.

As soon as the report of the commissioners was read in the commons, the house indulged in a violent attack on the Scots. Fearing the competition of the frugal and industrious northerners, they declared that free trade would be ruinous to the English economy. One of the leading opponents of the Scottish project was Nicholas Fuller, who was to sit in the lower house again in 1614. Other members delivered even more violent speeches, painting in vivid colours the dangers implicit in the doctrine of the post-nati.

On the other hand, few persons were wholeheartedly in favour of the union. Salisbury himself was unenthusiastic. The one person of influence who favoured the plan was Bacon, but he found that he could not carry the commons with him. In a conference with the lords Sir Edwin Sandys, like Bacon and Fuller a member in 1614, led the attack on the post-nati while the great Coke declared that the common law made them English subjects. But despite Coke's reputation for legal learning the commons refused to be convinced.

The lower house next advanced a bold proposal to settle the question. They suggested that all Scotsmen, ante-nati and post-nati alike, should be naturalized by statute with a proviso barring them from many official positions. When this proposal met with a cool reception, the commons went even farther, proposing to unify the legal systems of the two countries. But this project was too extreme for adoption. Despite an earnest and moderate speech by the king, all that resulted from these long negotiations were acts repealing hostile laws and providing for the extradition of criminals. With only these slight accomplishments to its credit parliament was prorogued on 4 July 1607 and did not reassemble until 1610.

Meanwhile on two occasions the judges had helped the king solve his problems. In 1608 in Calvin's case they ruled that the post-nati were English subjects by birth with all the rights of Englishmen. But after this judgment in the exchequer chamber, the king must have realized that it was hopeless to expect the English parliament to consent to a commercial union. Before the next session the project for a closer union with Scotland had been abandoned.

In the same year the king found a way out of his financial difficulties, based on a judicial decision of 1606. Prior to 1603 the Levant Company had levied a small duty on currants imported into England. When its charter was surrendered in that year, this imposition lapsed temporarily, but it was reimposed by the crown in 1604. In 1606 a merchant named Bates was brought into court for refusing to pay the imposition. Although he pleaded that it was not authorised by statute, the judges of the court of exchequer decided unanimously that impositions levied on the sole authority of the crown were legal. During the session of 1606-7 not a single objection was voiced to this decision, which was handed down in November 1606, a few days before parliament met. In 1608 Salisbury, now lord treasurer, took advantage of this decision. He issued a new book of customs rates levying impositions not authorised by parliament on various imports. By means of impositions and other financial expedients he was able to effect a marked improvement in the exchequer during the next few years. The crown's debt, which had reached a million in 1608, was reduced to about £300,000 at the beginning of 1610.

The fourth session of James's first parliament

began on 9 February 1610. Although Sir John Fortescue had died in December 1607, leaving Sir John Herbert as the only privy councillor in the commons, now two new councillors Sir Julius Caesar and Sir Thomas Parry joined him. Supporters of the crown had also been chosen at several other by-elections, so that the official group was stronger than it had been in previous sessions.

The session opened with a request from Salisbury for a grant of supply to pay the crown's debts. But the commons decided to defer this grant until they had found some means to increase the crown's regular revenue and to do away with the annual deficit. They suggested that levies from feudal tenures, except feudal aids, should be abolished, and offered to grant revenues of £100,000 per year in exchange. But no formula could be found which satisfied both sides. Salisbury on his part demanded twice the revenue that the commons offered as well as levies to replace those that would be lost. On 4 May 1610 the commons refused these terms, and for the time being negotiations were suspended on the great contract, as the proposal was called.

Meanwhile the lower house began to debate the legality of impositions, but the king forbade them to

discuss his right to levy them. In a subsequent speech he offered to hear their objections to any new impositions, but he refused to be bound by them. He also affirmed without equivocation his absolute right to levy impositions. This speech so roused the house of commons that they drew up a petition maintaining their right to debate any matter concerning the rights and interests of the subject. Before this storm the king retreated. When the petition was presented to him on May 24, he graciously conceded the position of the commons.

The great contract was now resumed. On June 11 Salisbury demanded a grant of supply to pay the crown's debts. But at the same time he asked the commons to defer until the next session in October both the proposal for additional annual revenue and the presentation of grievances. His suggestion that grievances should be deferred so angered the lower house that they refused to vote supply until they had drawn up a petition of grievances. The most important subject in the ensuing debate was the question of impositions, which was taken up on June 23. When the debate was concluded after several days, the great majority of the house sided

with those who maintained that impositions not authorized by parliament were illegal.

On July 11 the petition of grievances was presented to the king. His answer was satisfactory to the commons on most points. On the thorny question of impositions the king offered to compromise. He would retain those impositions already established, but he would agree to a law prohibiting any new impositions. The next day the commons voted a small grant of supply, just large enough to relieve the king's most pressing necessities, so that he would have to ask them for money to pay his debts when the next session commenced.

The lower house now took up the problem of the great contract in earnest. After offers and counter-offers, both sides agreed to £200,000 as the amount of additional revenue to be provided. The exact concessions that the king was to make and the manner in which the additional revenue was to be raised were postponed until the October session. The king's answer to the petition of grievances was read just before the prorogation. Unluckily for the future of the great contract, his answers failed to satisfy the commons on church reform, the powers of the council of Wales in the border shires, and the legal force

of proclamations. On 23 July 1610 the commons dispersed in a disturbed and uneasy mood.

When this parliament assembled for its fifth and last session on 16 October 1610, the commons returned listlessly to their task. Perhaps during the interval they had learned from their neighbours at home that the great contract was unpopular with the country. At any rate the lower house hesitated to implement the agreement made at the end of the last session. On October 31 the king asked the house whether or not they intended to go on with the great contract, at the same time informing them that if they did not, he would find other means of supplying his wants.

In reply, Sir Roger Owen, a member in 1614, outlined a position to the commons. He proposed that the king should give a full answer to all grievances, and should abandon all claims to levy impositions. The king should be prohibited from alienating his new revenues, and all disputes arising from the great contract should be settled by parliament. Whether Owen's proposal was adopted or not is uncertain, but its effects were instantaneous.

Even when parliament met, the king was not so favourable to the great contract as he had been in July. When

he heard of Owen's proposal, he immediately increased his demands because it now looked as if the arrangement would not do away with his annual deficit. As soon as he understood that grievances would be included in the contract, he demanded £500,000 to pay his debts before he would consider it further. He informed the commons that when the contract was taken up again, he would ask for £300,000 in additional yearly revenue to replace what he would lose by his concessions.

The commons on their side refused to accept the proposal, and negotiations came to an end at last without any agreement. Salisbury now asked for a grant of supply to relieve the crown's most pressing wants. In return he offered several minor concessions which reappeared in 1614, as well as a bill against impositions. But the commons were in no mood to compromise. Even when the king offered to grant in addition their requests concerning proclamations and ecclesiastical courts, they still balked and said sharp things about the Scotsmen at court.

The king, goaded on by Carr, his chief Scottish favourite, was fast losing his patience, and the attack on the Scots proved to be the last straw. Parliament was adjourned for a few days on 24 November 1610, and

it was prorogued before it reassembled. At last, on 9 February 1611, it was dissolved without meeting again.

On the whole the first parliament of King James was a failure. Of its five sessions the only really successful one was that of 1605-6, held under the shadow of the gunpowder plot. In the course of the other sessions all the main points in dispute between king and commons had been raised. Privileges, religion, and the problem of balancing expenses and income one after another had embroiled the king and the lower house. Partly because of the nature of the issues and partly because of the king's weakness for theorizing, these disputes had raised the fundamental issue of the relationship of crown and commons. Until some solution was found for this problem, disputes could not be settled by reference to the practical necessities at hand. By 1611 political problems were indissolubly related to the deeper principles behind them.

Finally, it was particularly unfortunate that the dissolution was accompanied by ill-feeling on both sides. If the parliament had come to a harmonious conclusion, earlier disputes might have been forgotten. But as it was, what remained uppermost in men's minds was the

unresolved clash of the concluding session. Much tact and a spirit of compromise would be needed if the next parliament was to meet under conditions favourable to its success.

After several unsuccessful attempts to reach an agreement on 7 February 1911, the parliament adjourned for the day and resumed its work on 8 February. The day's proceedings were devoted to the consideration of the report of the committee on the subject of the proposed amendments to the constitution and the proposed amendments to the constitution.

The decision to call the parliament to meet on 7 February was a result of the fact that the parliament had not met since 21 January 1911. The decision was taken by the king and the prime minister, and the parliament was called to meet on 7 February. The day's proceedings were devoted to the consideration of the report of the committee on the subject of the proposed amendments to the constitution and the proposed amendments to the constitution.

The parliament adjourned for the day and resumed its work on 8 February. The day's proceedings were devoted to the consideration of the report of the committee on the subject of the proposed amendments to the constitution and the proposed amendments to the constitution.

Chapter III

The Decision to Summon a New Parliament

The fifth session of the parliament of 1604 opened on 16 October 1610, and was adjourned on 24 November 1610. After several prorogations this parliament was dissolved on 9 February 1611. The only parliament to meet in the next decade was the brief "addled parliament", the subject of this study, which was summoned for 5 April 1614 and was dissolved on 7 June following.

The decision to call this parliament seems to have been made on 16 February 1614, but proposals for it began when the ink was scarcely dry on the proclamation dissolving James's first parliament. On 11/21 January 1611 the Venetian ambassador reported that parliament would be summoned as soon as the king had obtained a loan. An attempt would be made to exclude those hostile to the king and to obtain a pliable majority. Despite some opposition to these electoral maneuvers, subsidies could be obtained more easily by adopting them.¹

But the plan to summon a new parliament at once was soon abandoned. Three weeks after his first letter the

1. Spedding, Letters and Life of Bacon, v. 12-3. P.R.O. S.P. Dom. 14/76:22, 24. Cal. S.P. Venice, 1610-13, p.110.

Venetian ambassador wrote that the loan had been postponed until far-reaching reforms could be made in royal finances. Expenses were to be cut, and certain revenues were to be allotted for definite purposes. It was hoped that the latest expedient of creating baronets would bring in more revenue than a subsidy so that a parliament could be avoided.²

Nevertheless the pressure of necessity continued, and in the autumn new rumours of a parliament were rife. By this time the consideration of the question had developed from the naive hope that parliament would vote supply to the idea of wooing the commons with a programme of reforms. The Venetian ambassador reported in October 1611 that when parliament met in the spring concessions might be made to the opposition.³

About this time the name of Sir Henry Neville first appeared in connexion with a new parliament. A member of five previous parliaments and ambassador to France 1599-1600, Neville had been a follower of the earl of Essex and was a member of the coterie surrounding Prince Henry. His friends included Lionel Cranfield, Arthur

2. Cal. S.P. Venice, 1610-13, pp.121-2, 146-7. B.M.
Stowe MSS. 172, ff.28-9.

3. Cal. S.P. Venice, 1610-13, pp.230, 240.

Ingram, Sir Robert Phelps, John Hoskyns, Christopher Brooke and other prominent parliamentarians of 1610 and 1614. He was also on friendly terms with many courtiers, including the brilliant earl of Southampton, Lord Rochester (Robert Carr, later the earl of Somerset) the king's favourite, and the ill-starred Sir Thomas Overbury. In 1610 he had sided with the opposition in parliament and had advised the king to make concessions.⁴

The first full account of Neville's proposals for parliament was found in a letter of 29 October 1611 by John More, a London letter-writer, to Sir Ralph Winwood, the English agent at the Hague and a friend of Neville. More referred to a rumour at court that Neville was to be secretary of state or at least a privy councillor. But he thought the report was untrustworthy partly because Neville lived in retirement in the country suffering from poor health and partly because in the last parliament Neville had supported the "patriots" against the courtiers. Still, it was rumoured that Neville sought advancement through Overbury and Rochester. Neville proposed to "undertake to deal with the Lower House," and would no doubt be successful unless Salisbury

4. H.M.C. Sackville Papers, 1.271 (Cranfield papers). For biographical information on Neville as well as other members of the house of commons in 1614 see appendix vi.

interfered. More believed that the new parliament would meet in February 1612.⁵

All the elements of Neville's parliamentary programme appeared in this letter in their strength and weakness except his detailed plans for dealing with the house of commons. Even the word "undertake" occurred here for the first time in connexion with the parliament of 1614. Neville's problems were clearly brought out in this letter. He was unpopular at court both as one who did not "belong" and as an opponent of the royal policies in 1610. His dependence on Overbury and Rochester bred jealousy among the courtiers. Also at this time he was at odds with Salisbury. Finally, the crippling physical weaknesses which Chamberlain noticed in 1614 were already limiting his activity. Neville's parliamentary programme may have been basically sound, but even in 1611 he faced well-nigh insurmountable obstacles in his attempt to realize it.⁶

As the year 1611 drew to its close parliament was postponed once more while the king fell back on a loan from the merchants. Even though desperate attempts were made to raise the money during January and February 1612,

5. H.M.C. Buccleuch MSS. 1. 101-2 (Winwood papers).

6. Letters of Chamberlain, 1. 509-10.

rumours persisted of a parliament in May.⁷

But in the spring the first of those incidents occurred which more than once were the ostensible reasons for postponing parliament. By April the earl of Salisbury, James's "prime minister", was so ill that the session was postponed from May to September. But the next month Salisbury took a turn for the worse and died on⁸ 24 May 1612.

When Salisbury died, the office of secretary of state became vacant. From this time almost until the day that parliament met nearly two years later, the question of summoning it was closely connected with the contest for the secretaryship.

The candidates for the office were numerous. They included Sir Charles Cornwallis, Sir Thomas Edmondes, Sir Francis Bacon, Sir John Holles, Sir William Waad, and old Sir John Herbert, the ineffective second secretary. But the four serious candidates were Sir Henry Neville, Sir Ralph Winwood, Sir Thomas Lake, and Sir Henry Wotton. Winwood and Wotton were career diplomats. The former was ambassador to France 1601-2 and since 1603 had acted as the English envoy to the Hague. The latter, a half-

7. Cal. S.P. Venice, 1610-13, pp.275-6, 277-8, 294.

8. Cal. S.P. Venice, 1610-13, pp/332-5.

brother of Lord Wotton the comptroller of the household and a privy councillor, had served as ambassador to Venice since 1604. Today he is perhaps better remembered as Izaak Walton's angling companion. Lake, a protege of the Howard family, became a minor official in 1600. By 1612 he had risen to the post of keeper of the records at Whitehall.

In the late summer of 1612 these four were mentioned frequently for the position. But before the end of the year Wotton's chance had been ruined because James learned of the cynical epigram on ambassadors which he was said to have composed at Altdorf in 1604. By the autumn of 1612 James decided to put his "kingcraft" into practice. For almost two years he acted as his own secretary, relying on Rochester for advice and on Lake for clerical assistance.⁹

But the contest continued to upset public affairs until Winwood secured the post on 29 March 1614, just before parliament met. At first Neville had the support of Rochester while the Howards and the pro-Spanish faction backed Lake. The Howards, a worthless and

9. Letters of Chamberlain, i. 355. Willson, Privy Councillors in the House of Commons 1604-1629, p.131. H.M.C. Buccleuch MSS. 1. 112-4.

treacherous lot, vied with Rochester for dominance at court and with the king. By 1614 they held six peerages and had three members on the privy council. The leading figure in the family was Henry Howard, created earl of Northampton in 1604. A born master of intrigue, Northampton secured a strong influence over the king through suppleness, flattery, and a stupendous lack of principle. He was secretly a Roman Catholic and a pensioner of Spain even when negotiating the Spanish peace treaty in 1604. With the rest of his family he opposed a parliament 1611-4 because it would act as a focal point for the anti-Spanish feelings of the English, and might force the king to go to war with Spain. Northampton lived just long enough to witness the failure of the parliament of 1614, dying on 15 June of that year.¹⁰

Strife in the privy council was an obstacle to orderly and efficient government. The Howards were eventually joined by Rochester, Lord Knollys, Lord Wotton, and the earl of Worcester in support of Spain. Lord Chancellor Ellesmere, Archbishop Abbot, the earl of Pembroke, and perhaps Lord Zouch and Sir Julius Caesar formed the protestant faction. The three Scots, Lennox, Fenton, and Dunfermline, were partisans of France.

¹⁰. For an abbreviated geneology of the Howard family, see appendix vii.

divided internally and surrounded by an atmosphere both venal and mercenary, the council could not even keep its own secrets. It busied itself with routine administrative duties while the king relied on favourites for advice on matters of state.¹¹

Despite Salisbury's death rumours of a parliament persisted. On 25 June 1612 Chamberlain reported that it would meet at Michaelmas. The Venetian ambassador also expected a session in September, but by August he believed it would come in November. Both reported royal plans to influence elections.¹²

Immediately after Salisbury's death Sir Francis Bacon made a bid to become the king's parliamentary manager. On 31 May 1612 he wrote to James, urging him to summon a parliament partly to obtain supply and partly to strengthen the tie between the king and his subjects. While Bacon presented no specific programme, he pointed out that he had been popular in the commons even though he staunchly defended royal policies. Although he

11. Willson, Privy Councillors in the House of Commons 1604-1629, pp.17-23. Willson, 'Summoning and Dissolving Parliament 1603-25', in A.H.R. xlv. 285-8 (Jan. 1940). Francisco de Jesus, Narrative of the Spanish Marriage Treaty, pp.111-2 and note. Cal. S.P. Venice, 1610-13, pp.332-5, 437-9.
12. Letters of Chamberlain, 1. 362. Cal. S.P. Venice, 1610-13, pp.382-4, 412.

expressed the desire to present a memorandum on parliament, he probably went no farther at this time.¹³

During the summer of 1612 various financial expedients were proposed in an attempt to meet the mounting deficit. In August Sir Thomas Parry the chancellor of the duchy was placed at the head of a commission to devise projects for raising money. The commission considered debasing the coinage (an inflationary measure), the sale of crown property, compounding for wardships, and other schemes. But they searched in vain for a practical solution to the financial problem.¹⁴

Probably at this time Sir Henry Neville approached the king with a detailed draft of his parliamentary programme. In July 1612 Neville conferred with the king, and he had a second conference in September. At the second conference he gained the king's approval for those suggestions which James had opposed at first. But as yet there was no indication that the king would adopt his plan. Probably following the advice of Rochester and Overbury, Neville refrained from pressing his scheme until the time was ripe. Meanwhile he consulted leaders of the 1610 opposition, including Sir Maurice Berkeley and Sir Robert

13. Spedding, Letters and Life of Bacon, iv. 279-80.

14. Letters of Chamberlain, i. 377. P.R.O. S.P. Dom. 14/70:39-42, 44.

Phelips, and tried to gain their approval for his
15
measures.

In the state papers domestic for 1613 there exist two undated documents, one entitled "An Advice touching the holding of a Parliament", and the other "A Collection of such things as have been by severall men desired to bee obtained of his Majesty for the good of his People." The first document refers to "a Memoriall hereunto adjoined" of proposed concessions to parliament. Probably these two documents are copies of the ones which Neville presented to the king in 1612. The list of concessions closely resembles a similar list in Neville's hand found among the Cottonian manuscripts. Carte, who had a copy of this or of a very similar document before him, declared that it was Neville's. The first of the two documents in the public record office recommended that parliament should meet at Michaelmas (September 29), so it could scarcely have been presented later than July. Probably Neville presented his memorial to the king soon after Salisbury's death. But a later conference was necessary

15. H.M.C. Buccleuch MSS. i. 112-4 (Winwood papers). Commons' Jn. i. 485. Phelips MSS. quoted in Farnham, 'Somerset Election of 1614', in E.H.R. xlvi. 581 note (Oct. 1931).

to prove that results could be obtained without
16
endangering the prerogative.

These two documents may, however, belong to mid-summer 1613 instead of midsummer 1612. There seems to be no way to determine this point definitely. The reference to a royal progress is indecisive because the king was on progress in the late summer of both years. While projects for raising money are mentioned in these documents, a commission on the subject was appointed in August 1612, and it (or a second commission) presented its report on 1 July 1613. In any case the exact date is a matter of secondary importance. Evidence from later documents indicates that Neville's proposals were still
17
substantially unchanged early in 1614.

Neville began by considering the breach with parliament in 1610. He pointed out that the king's prestige had suffered severely, and he played on James's fears of plots and assassins. But he was firm in his belief that the breach created in 1610 could be repaired only by a

16. P.R.O. S.P. Dom. 14/74:44, 46. B.M. Cott. MSS. Titus F iv. f.34. Carte, History of England, iv. 17 and note ("Penes me C.C.C. 50").
17. Nichols, Progresses of King James, ii. 451, 671, 675-6. Letters of Chamberlain, i. 377. Spedding, Letters and Life of Bacon, iv. 358-63.

harmonious session of parliament. Although Neville maintained that a new parliament would relieve the king's wants, he recognised its inherent dangers. A new parliament might be as intractable as the last, or it might extort unreasonable concessions from the king as the price of financial aid. But Neville maintained that these dangers would exist only if the last parliament had been fundamentally opposed to the king. He declared, however, that he knew the 1610 leaders intimately, and they were not so refractory as they seemed. He declared unequivocally, "So as I dare undertake for the most of them that [the king] shall finde those gentlemen exceeding willing to doe him service."

But Neville next pointed out the necessity of a quid pro quo. Some concessions should be made to bind both sides together. He went so far as to declare that without these concessions he could promise nothing. While he admitted that parliament's demands would be hard to put into writing, he had drawn up a list of proposals after consulting with some of the leading members of the last parliament, who would probably sit in the next one also. Neville maintained that these concessions would cost the crown nothing of fundamental importance, but would be welcome to the subject. They were listed in

detail in the accompanying memorial.

The next portion of the first document dealt with the best time to summon parliament. As has already been mentioned, Neville favoured Michaelmas. He felt that with care the main business of supply could be completed in a month or five weeks.

Neville's suggested preparations were really suggestions for the king's conduct. The king should be careful not to irritate parliament by his speeches, and should act as if he was sure of their goodwill. On his progress before the session he ought to act graciously toward those who flocked to see him, and especially take notice of the principal gentlemen. A hint of ecclesiastical interference in politics was contained in the suggestion that the archbishop should ban all books and sermons opposed to parliament. Neville strongly recommended that grievances complained of in the last parliament should be corrected. To create confidence in the royal programme the king should be especially careful to carry out all his promises made to parliament in 1610.

There were also some concrete suggestions for dealing with the commons. The king should deal with the commons personally or through ministers who were members

of the lower house, and he should avoid approaching the commons through the lords. Neville also felt that when the king wished to confer with a committee from the commons, the house should be allowed to determine its composition, and the committee's actions should not bind the house.

Aside from the list of concessions, which will be considered shortly, these were the main points in Neville's programme. In the light of subsequent events one thing is striking. There was absolutely no suggestion of a plan to influence elections or to pack the house of commons. In fact, Neville favoured the very opposite. He spoke of "the principall & most understanding Gentlemen, that were of the last Parliament and are like to bee of this." Thus he anticipated that the leaders in 1610 would be re-elected, and he felt that the crown should conciliate them.

The accompanying memorial contained a list of suggested concessions plus eight additional reforms offered by the king in November 1610. The main list was as follows:

1. A new law defining treason. This reform would prevent unwitting violations, and would keep

- judges from extending the loosely-drafted laws beyond their original intent.
2. Permission for the defendents to plead not guilty when the crown challenged the validity of titles to land. In effect this change would force the crown to prove a title defective instead of requiring the defendent to prove it valid.
 3. A law to prevent anyone from being required to answer an "office" (i.e. an accusation obtained under oath) unless he had been given prior notice of it. This reform would prevent persons from being harassed by accusations which they could have refuted in the beginning.
 4. A law to declare all royal grants, especially of land, irrevocable. The purpose of this concession was to prevent the revocation at pleasure by the king of valid grants made by himself or his predecessors.
 5. Abolition of fees paid to the exchequer by sheriffs and other collectors of royal revenues, and to set a time limit for the officials to audit their accounts and release them from the liability for errors.

6. A law to prevent the exchequer officials from forcing the registration of land transfers in the exchequer when they were already licensed under the great seal. This reform, again, was to check the venality of officials against whom the subject had no recourse.
7. A general pardon should be granted containing everything included in the last general pardon plus the following additional concessions:
 - (1) All debts owed to the crown which were contracted before the death of Queen Elizabeth should be cancelled.
 - (2) All transfers of land before March 1612 on which the fees had not been paid should be confirmed, and the fees should be remitted.
 - (3) All payments due on grants of land made before March 1612 which were based on the statutes of 18 and 43 Elizabeth should be remitted. This provision would make land titles secure and would prevent lawsuits based on technical irregularities.
 - (4) All wards whose fathers had died before March 1611 (?) and who had not compounded for their wardships were to be pardoned.

- (5) All fines imposed by royal courts before September 1611 and not yet levied should be remitted.
- (6) All charges of killing deer or cutting wood in royal forests should be pardoned. This concession was included as a favour to the poorer classes who should not be completely neglected. All the other items in the pardon concerned the landed and wealthy classes.

There followed these eight additional concessions which had been offered to the commons by the king in 1610 after the great contract had broken down.

1. Possession of land for sixth years should give a clear title against the crown.
2. No lease of royal lands should be terminated by non-payment of rent on the due date, but instead there should be a penalty of double the rent.
3. Fees for respite of homage should be abolished.
4. Clear titles should be granted to assart lands (lands granted to individuals by justices of the forest or by forest commissions) and to drowned lands (lands sometimes flooded).
5. Impositions on imports and exports should not be increased without the consent of parliament.

6. The statutes authorising changes in Welsh law by proclamation should be repealed.
7. Obsolete and unprofitable laws should be repealed.
8. Forfeitures for violation of the penal laws should be abolished, and some other penalty should be substituted.

This, then was the programme with which Neville hoped to gain the cooperation of the commons. Its defects were immediately obvious. Throughout his proposals Neville reiterated that the concessions would cost the king nothing. Neville had to devise a list which would be acceptable to the king because he would lose no real advantages by granting it, and which would still be important enough to induce the commons to vote supply in exchange for it. Neville was faced with the insoluble problem of reconciling the irreconcilable.

What is apparent at once from the proposals is their failure to grapple with the real questions at issue between crown and commons. No attempt was made to deal with the questions of religious reform, monopolies, or purveyance. Nor was there any suggestion of satisfying the commons on the question of recusants. The greatest bone of contention, the dispute over impositions, was

passed over almost in a footnote in the slender hope that both king and commons would agree to a solution really unacceptable to either side. All of the proposed concessions would have removed minor irritations and vexatious nuisances, but it is hard to believe that Neville regarded them as a real basis for a settlement. Possibly he felt that the first step toward a solution was to summon parliament. Without a parliament there was no hope of success. He may have believed that once parliament was in session a compromise solution based on the course of events could be reached. Any programme, however hopeless in itself, was acceptable to him if it could be used to persuade the king to summon a parliament. But whatever hope there may have been for a session late in 1612 soon faded away. While the death of Prince Henry on 17 November 1612 postponed the move for a parliament temporarily, in the long run it increased the pressure for a session. Rumour now gave February 1613 as the date for parliament. The prince's death reconciled differences at court, and events on the continent at the same time caused a feeling of national insecurity. But more especially Prince Henry's death destroyed the hope that his bride's dowry might ease the financial plight. So desperate had the king's financial problem

become that even his eldest son's marriage was considered¹⁸
as an opportunity for obtaining money.

This rumour of a parliament early in 1613 persisted for some little time, only to collapse under a multitude of interminable delays. By February 1613 the Palatine marriage and the meeting of the Irish parliament had caused a postponement until May. But Sir Henry Wotton, who had many connexions at court, doubted that parliament would meet at all. By March the session had been delayed¹⁹ until the late summer.

So the king's necessity ground on and on, becoming worse as it went. On June 1 Caesar's commission for increasing the revenue made its report. Although they doubted that parliament would grant additional money, they could discover only £309,681 in extraordinary revenue outside parliament. Their labours also added a mere £35,776 to the ordinary revenue. The commissioners were forced to admit that their proposals would do little to reduce the debt of £500,000 and the annual deficit

18. Letters of Chamberlain, i. 391.

19. Cal. S.P. Venice 1610-13, pp.452, 491-2. Smith, Life and Letters of Wotton, ii. 13. H.M.C. Downshire MSS. iv. 66-7 (Trumbull papers).

of £160,000.²⁰

Still, parliament was again postponed although it had been expected at Michaelmas. Behind this decision perhaps there lay the fine hand of Northampton working in close conjunction with Sarmiento. In July the earl wrote of its postponement in a letter to Sir Thomas Lake, his candidate for the vacant secretaryship. He implied that the Spanish faction on the council had adopted a policy of procrastination for parliament in place of
21
outright opposition.

But still necessity spurred them on, and still the pressure for a parliament continued. In the late summer Sarmiento, that shrewd observer of all things English, reported that James was in such difficulties that he had pawned his rents and had sold offices and titles. Sarmiento also revealed the Spanish faction's view of parliament. They had told the king that it would oppose him and grant none of his requests. The anti-Spanish faction urged him to go to war as a means of replenishing his coffers and gaining parliamentary support. Probably by

20. Letters of Chamberlain, 1. 442. Spedding, Letters and Life of Bacon, iv. 358-63.

21. H.M.C. Downshire MSS. iv. 158 (Trumbull papers).
P.R.O. S.P. Dom. 14/77:23.

this time the countess of Essex had secured Rochester's²² support for both the Howards and the Spanish faction.

Other persons well connected at court were also doubtful of the final decision. Winwood did not believe that the king would be "suffered" to summon parliament. The earl of Southampton felt that the reports of a session were apathetic, and even if parliament met, he²³ believed that it would end in failure.

So the year 1613 ended as it had begun with the crown's finances dependent on a series of ingenious projects, all of which had one thing in common --- they produced no money. In a letter of December 9 Chamberlain gave a vivid picture of the straits to which the court was reduced. He related how Carleton's brother went day after day to the chancellor of the exchequer and to other officials in a vain attempt to collect the allowance due Carleton as an ambassador. All that he received was a continual stream of promises and fair words putting him off from day to day and from week to week. The lack of money was so great that even the king's bodyguards were unpaid. The postriders were so far in arrears that they

22. P.R.O. Spanish transcripts, 12/34 (Sarmiento to Philip III, 27 Aug./6 Sept. 1613).

23. P.R.O. S.P. Dom. 14/74:60. H.M.C. Downshire MSS. iv. 256.

had presented petitions to the king himself. There was no hope of improvement because the various financial projects, despite the promises of their originators, came to nothing.²⁴

About this time Bacon began to take a renewed interest in parliament, for one of his memoranda on the subject still remains among the Cottonian manuscripts. Although it is undated, it was obviously written before February 1614, when the decision to summon parliament was reached. Spedding dated it in the midsummer of 1613 while Gardiner placed it six months later. The document appears to be Bacon's personal memorandum, probably a recapitulation of his ideas on the subject drawn up before he presented a more formal series of arguments to the king.²⁵

The first section of Bacon's private memorandum dealt with the reasons for summoning parliament. He felt that failure to summon it would be just as harmful as a parliament which refused to vote supply. Bacon also believed that the king was on better terms with his people than he had been in 1610. Salisbury, who had

24. P.R.O. S.P. Dom. 14/75:44.

25. Spedding, Letters and Life of Bacon, iv. 363-8.
B.M. Cott. MSS. Titus F iv. ff.334-6. Gardiner, History of England, 11. 204-6.

many enemies, was dead, and the old grievances had lost their force. Bacon also believed that the opposition of 1610 had gone to pieces. He cited a number of its more prominent members as no longer active in its ranks. Of those Bacon mentioned, Martin was not in the parliament of 1614. Thomas Crew (the brother of the speaker in 1614) and Sir Henry Neville had been at least partially won over by the crown. But Brooke was not dead, and Lawrence Hyde joined the opposition in 1614. More important, Sir Edwin Sandys was more clearly the opposition leader in 1614 than he had been in 1610. Bacon's opinion that the opposition had disintegrated was almost entirely incorrect. He went on to state that the failure of James's first parliament was due to Salisbury's bargaining tactics and to opposition stirred up by outside influences. At the end of the first part of his memorandum Bacon concluded that a session of parliament was essential. The outcome depended on the policy followed during the session.

Bacon's suggested policy recognised the king's problems in dealing with parliament, but it did not always propose definite solutions. On impositions Bacon simply stated that they should be dealt with so that

"the matter may be buried and silenced." While this phrase certainly defined the object to be achieved, it gave not a hint about the method. Bacon wanted to handle grievances so that they would not come up for debate until supply was well advanced. Projects should be publicised to minimize the king's financial necessities. Some measures should be introduced to placate public opinion, and the crown should also try to conciliate the people before parliament met. Recognising the important part that lawyers played in the opposition, Bacon wanted to find a method of silencing them.

Bacon next considered the various groups in the house of commons. He believed that attempts should be made to win the support of the burgesses of corporations, the justices of the peace, the gentry, the courtiers, and the officials. In regard to the courtiers and the officials he wanted to follow a course that would make them firm and zealous in support of royal policies as they had been in former times, not overawed by the opposition as in the parliament of 1604. This statement showed how faction and incompetence at the top had destroyed the morale and discipline of the royal

supporters in parliament by 1610. Bacon's final point in this section was that some plan should be devised to weaken, divide, and win over the members of the "popular party."

Bacon now approached the problem of strengthening the group of royal supporters in parliament. He believed in the first place that the king should make certain that the judges would uphold the crown on any points of law submitted to them during parliament. There followed a list of proposals for electing royal supporters to the house of commons. Because of the furor over undertakers in 1614 these statements are given in full.

"12. What persons in particular, in respect of their gravity, discretion, temper, and ability to persuade, are fit to be brought in to be of the house, bonis artibus, without labouring or packing.

"13. What use may be made of the Boroughs of the Cinq Ports, and of the Duchy, and other boroughs at the devotion of diverse the King's counsellors, for the placing persons well affected and discreet.

"14. What use may be made of the unlawful custom

and abuse, for the sending up and returning of blankes, which if it be restrained perchance it may stumble many a one's entrance that think themselves secured of places.

"[15.] What course may be taken that though the King do use such providence as is before remembered and leave not things to chance, yet it may be so handled as it may have no shew nor scandal nor nature of the packing or briguing [sic] of a Parliament truly free and not packed against him."

It is hard to see how Bacon's memorandum differed from those election practises which he condemned after 1614. It is also important that Bacon suggested the manipulation of elections while Neville was completely silent on the subject. From the character of their proposals Bacon would seem far more guilty than Neville of advocating the scheme laid at the door of the undertakers.

Bacon also suggested that the members of parliament should be discouraged from forming parties. They should be left to vote freely as their consciences told them, and the influence of great men should be curbed so that

the proceedings would be truly free. Apparently Bacon believed that the king's service was perfect freedom.

The few remaining provisions of the memorandum concerned the conduct of the session itself. Bacon believed that the position of privy councillors in the house of commons should be re-examined. Now that Salisbury was dead, conferences between the two houses would be less successful in advancing the royal programme. The date on which to summon parliament should be considered carefully, and the session should be brief. Finally, care should be exercised in choosing the speaker because he was one of the key figures for controlling the commons.

Shortly after he drew up this document Bacon probably presented the king with his memorandum on the same subject containing many similar arguments. Again he divided his statement into two parts: reasons for summoning parliament, and suggestions for conducting the session itself. Bacon declared once more that the old grievances had become dead issues, and that few new ones had appeared. He believed that the swift justice meted out to Lord Sanquhar had produced a favourable reaction in the popular mind. He also expanded his former comments on the conversion of opposition leaders, and he added Sir

Maurice Berkeley, Sir Dudley Digges, and Sir John Holles to the list of converts. But of the three, both Digges and Holles joined the opposition in 1614. Bacon maintained that the great contract had stimulated opposition by its bargaining spirit. He concluded this section with a slur on Salisbury, making the scarcely understandable comment that he could not "excuse him that is gone of an artificial animating of the Negative."²⁶

In dealing with parliament Bacon believed that the king should not haggle like a merchant, but as befitted him he should rest confident in the loyalty of his subjects. Furthermore, it was well known that the king made such a small profit from his right of wardship that his offer to relinquish it in return for a grant of supply was valueless. Bacon recommended that the king should be on good terms with parliament at the end of the session, however little satisfaction it actually yielded him, for parliament had to be cultivated gradually.

Bacon's next proposal was that the session should be "a little reduced to the more ancient form." By this somewhat enigmatic statement he meant that the ostensible

²⁶ Spedding, Letters and Life of Bacon, iv. 368-73.

B.M. Cott. MSS. Titus F iv. ff.337-9.

reason for summoning parliament should not be the king's financial needs. The house of commons should be given other subjects to debate, such as the increase of trade, or the plantation of Ireland. Bacon also believed that the king should try to convince parliament that his financial needs could be satisfied by other means than a parliamentary grant so that he would not be reduced to dependence on the commons.

In Bacon's memorandum to the king he omitted several important items included in his private memorandum. For one thing he did not include the section suggesting that the various groups in the lower house should be pacified. More important still, he omitted entirely his comments on influencing elections and introducing royal supporters into the commons.

These omissions may reflect a behind-the-scenes struggle between Bacon and Neville. As pressure for a parliament increased in January 1614, the king was probably in communication with the group later called the undertakers, no doubt Neville and his friends. Bacon's opinion of this group was reflected in a letter which he wrote to the king about this time. Bacon had been discussing the question of a parliament with the

king, and he wanted to reiterate certain points. He believed that "those gentlemen which profess to do you [the king] service in Parliament" should be employed if they offered good advice, but they should not be allowed to serve as brokers with the commons. If their plans were impractical, the king should suggest a more suitable course to them. The king should be careful to avoid sessions of the English and Irish parliaments at the same time. But on the other hand the English parliament would vote supply more willingly if Ireland was in an unsettled state. While this letter has no date, its comment that "time runneth" and its reference to the recent birth of a royal grandchild, which took place in Germany on 9 January 1614, limit it on one side. On the other side there is no reference to the decision to summon parliament made February 17. Its probable date was late January or early February 1614.²⁷

Bacon's programme, like Neville's, was not without defects. The most serious of them was his lack of imagination where public opinion was concerned. Like some other great and wise men Bacon had difficulty in understanding the psychology of his opponents, and of

27. Spedding, Letters and Life of Bacon, v. 1-2.
B.M. Cott. MSS. Titus F iv. f.333.

the articulate portion of society as a whole. He believed that the opposition in parliament was merely a faction which represented no fundamental tendencies in English society. Once its leaders had been won over to the court and minor concessions had been made to the various groups in the house of commons, the opposition would wither away like the rootless thing that he believed it to be.

Bacon also believed that the articulate elements in the nation had short memories and could be influenced easily by such primitive propoganda methods as the crown had at its disposal. According to him the grievances of 1610 would have lost their appeal because they had not been debated for three years. Despite widespread knowledge of the king's penury, people could be induced to believe that a lack of money was not the reason for summoning parliament. In the final analysis Bacon did not realize (or perhaps would not admit even to himself) that James was incapable of filling the kingly role assigned to him in the Baconian theory of government.

As already mentioned, rumours of a new parliament grew rife once more early in 1614. On January 20 the omniscient Chamberlain wrote that it would almost certainly meet before Easter. So definite was the report,

that parliamentary leaders were already conferring in London. The final decision would be made by the king at Audley End, where he was staying.²⁸

But the weekend passed with no decision. On January 27 Lake reported that parliament would probably meet around Easter. Those most opposed to the court in 1610 were now the strongest advocates of a parliament. A few days later the French ambassador wrote that the king was on the verge of summoning a parliament. He predicted with uncanny accuracy that the king would not obtain money from it easily, or else would have to accept such unpalatable conditions that he would regret his decision.²⁹

After a week of inactivity the whole question of summoning a parliament came to a head at last. On February 6 the council recommended a session to the king. He then returned to Royston, leaving the decision to the council. During that week uncertain rumours filled the court, but no final decision was taken.³⁰

Various documents among the state papers domestic give a detailed account of the final decision. The

28. Letters of Chamberlain, i. 502. H.M.C. Downshire MSS. iv. 296 (Trumbull papers).
29. P.R.O. S.P. Dom. 14/76:9. P.R.O. French transcripts, 3/47 (Puisieux to Buisseaux, 1/11 Feb. 1614).
30. Letters of Chamberlain, i. 507. H.M.C. Downshire MSS. iv. 308-9 (Trumbull papers). P.R.O. Spanish transcripts 12/35 (Sarmiento to Philip III 7/17 Feb. 1614).

council met once during the week of Sunday February 6 to consider the question. Northampton reported in a letter to Somerset,³¹ who was with the king, that the matter had been fully discussed. There was no opposition to summoning parliament, only a suggestion to delay it until preparations to insure its success could be made. It was agreed to make some concessions to gain the ends desired, provided the prerogative was not touched. Although the majority of councillors were apprehensive of the results of a parliament, they could suggest no other means to raise money. The final decision was to be made when the council met on Saturday February 12.³²

A series of reasons for and against a parliament was probably enclosed with this letter. It may, however, have been sent with Northampton's letter of February 13 to Somerset. Among the arguments against a parliament were these: all the reasons for a grant of supply had been urged unsuccessfully in 1610; the king's needs had been well understood at that time; the attitude of France was uncertain; the value to the king of wardship, fines on alienation, and uncollected fines had proved to be

31. Robert Carr, Viscount Rochester, had become earl of Somerset in November 1613.

32. B.M. Cott. MSS. Titus F iv. ff.329-30. Also B.M. Lansd. MSS. 487. ff.224-6.

slight since 1610; there was now no need to provide for the marriage of the Lady Elizabeth to the Elector Palatine (it had taken place in 1613); dissatisfaction had arisen against baronets; and insolence in the last parliament had not been punished. The only reasons in favour of a parliament were that supply was necessary for the security of the state, and that the hope of office had won over some opposition leaders.³³

At five o'clock in the evening on Sunday February 13 Northampton wrote to Somerset again, immediately after the council had adjourned. Once more he stated that the whole council favoured a parliament, but rather because the alternatives were so uncertain than because they were completely convinced of its success. April 5 was suggested as the best date for parliament to open because it would not conflict with Passion Week (the week of April 17-23). Northampton said that the council would send a warrant for issuing the writs to the king as soon as they knew that the date was agreeable to him.³⁴

Somerset must have replied at once to Northampton saying that the king preferred April 10 as the date for

33. B.M. Cott. MSS. Titus F iv. f.331. Also Lansd. MSS. 487. f.226.

34. B.M. Cott. MSS. Titus F iv. f.332.

the opening of parliament. The earl immediately reassembled the council, which submitted to the king a joint report dated Wednesday February 16.

Meanwhile the king had called upon some of his learned counsel and the two chief justices for advice on parliamentary matters. They had been so busy, however, that they were unable to reply until Thursday evening, and even then they only requested more time for deliberation. There is no definite indication as to what these "propositions for Parliament delivered ... by his Majesty" were, but they may have been the rival proposals of Bacon and Neville.³⁵

On the previous day, Wednesday February 16, at any rate the council had sent a report to the king advising him to summon parliament on April 5. This report covered in detail the council's deliberations of the previous week, which had lasted three days. The first day, there was a general debate on the whole question of a parliament. The second day, a programme of conciliation was discussed. Some of the recommendations were based on the grievances which had arisen in 1610, especially those that might be redressed without any great prejudice to

³⁵. P.R.O. S.P. Dom. 14/76:26.

the prerogative. Other recommendations came from "certain Propositions which were presented unto us, from some Authors" who appeared to have the same dutiful regard for the prerogative. This reference, again, may be to Bacon and Neville. The council's programme for parliament was not submitted to the king because it required more time and leisure for its consideration.

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The third day (Sunday February 13), every member of the council expressed his opinion, and the question was put to a vote. Despite misgivings they agreed to recommend a parliament. While the council merely expressed their opinion on the date when parliament should meet, they strongly advised April 5, the date finally adopted. They felt that April 10, the date that the king favoured, was too near Passion Week (April 17-23). Also, the English parliament should not begin near the date for reassembling the Irish parliament (May 3). Since they believed that the English parliament should be begun and settled before the Irish parliament met, they must have envisaged a short session for the English parliament, or at least a smooth one in which all important matters would be settled in the first few weeks. The council

closed by urging the king to make an immediate decision because the writs had to be issued forty days before parliament met. The letter was signed by Archbishop Abbot, Lord Chancellor Ellesmere, the earls of Northampton, Suffolk, Shrewsbury, Worcester, and Pembroke, lords Knollys, Wotton, and Stanhope, old Sir John Herbert, Sir Julius Caesar, Sir Thomas Parry, Lord Chief Justice Coke, and the two Scots, the duke of Lennox and Viscount Fenton.

Northampton sent a letter to Somerset along with this report. In this letter he stated that if parliament was to meet before May, it was impossible for the king to confer with the council before the writs were issued. A warrant authorising the issue of the writs must have been sent to the king at once, for he had signed it before Saturday February 19. Still, some further difficulty seems to have occurred because Northampton soon wrote to Somerset again. The king had told Lake to inform Northampton and Suffolk that he had not heard what the council had decided about parliament. Northampton was puzzled because the council had received the warrant signed by the king authorising writs summoning parliament for April 5. Northampton informed Lake that the writs had

been issued on Monday although they were dated Saturday. These writs, none of which are known to exist, were probably dated Saturday February 19, the forty-fourth day before April 5.³⁷

So at last, after three years of delay, expediency, and intrigue, the die was cast. The king had agreed to summon once more the only organ of the English government which reflected the temper of his subjects.

Although the earl of Northampton wrote to the king, he found that the town's records had already contained the corporation.

The elections themselves, the first in a decade, produced an extraordinary number of contests. Chamberlain wrote to the king of the hostility for seats and of letters sent out to great numbers. He feared that the letters would cause the royal cause because they could give rise to reports of packing. Later he mentioned the bitterness of the contests and numerous threats of lawsuits over elections.

For the Chamberlain the only one who could this

37. P.R.O. S.P. Dom. 14/76:24. B.W. Cott. MSS. Titus C vi. f.107, Titus F iv f.342. P.R.O. St. Ch. 8/293:11.
1. ...
2. Letters of Chamberlain, i. 513-5, 517-9, 521, 523-4.

Chapter IV

The Elections

The news that parliament had been summoned was abroad by February 17, and rumours of it had been current for some days before the information was released. Even prior to the decision, electioneering had begun. On February 13 the corporation of Rochester wrote to Somerset offering him the nomination of one of their members. Although the earl of Northampton wrote to Totnes on the twentieth, he found that the town's recorder had already canvassed the corporation.¹

The elections themselves, the first in a decade, produced an extraordinary number of contests. Chamberlain wrote of the bustling for seats and of letters sent out by great personages. He feared that the letters would injure the royal cause because they would give rise to reports of packing. Later he mentioned the bitterness of the contests and numerous threats of lawsuits over elections.²

Nor was Chamberlain the only one who noted this extraordinary activity. Sir John Bennet and Sir Thomas

1. Letters of Chamberlain, i. 509-10. P.R.O. S.P. Dom. 14/76; 21. H.M.C. rep. 3, appen. 346-7 (Corporation of Totnes).

2. Letters of Chamberlain, i. 515-6, 517-9, 521, 523-4.

Roe, both members in 1614 with connexions at court, echoed Chamberlain. Probably in March 1614 Bacon wrote of attempts to defeat candidates dependent on the king. In 1615 he again mentioned the number of contests and the rumours of undertaking. When the council discussed parliament in September 1615, several councillors made similar observations. Sir Edward Coke in particular spoke of the popular reaction to recommendations by peers and councillors in 1614. There can be no doubt that seats were much sought after in 1614.³

The first reports of the election which reached the court caused a panic. As early as February 19 unsettling rumours were rife. The king was told by courtiers who hoped to sit in parliament that the gentry in the shires wanted to defeat court candidates. If this report was true, the parliament would be a failure. It would be better to postpone the session than to face a parliament made up of men so hostile to royal dependents. The king directed the council to use their influence in

3. Spedding, Letters and Life of Bacon, v. 176-91, 194-207. P.R.O. S.P. Dom. 14/81:115. Also B.M. Harl. MSS. 4289, ff.224v-232. B.M. Add. MSS. 34,079, f.29. H.M.C. Downshire MSS. iv. 340-1 (Trumbull papers). B.M. Cott. MSS. Titus F iv. ff.351-2.

his name wherever they had power or prestige to secure the choice of members favourable to him. A month later Chamberlain noted that letters even to smaller boroughs⁴ were proving less influential than was expected.

But the results of the county elections did not bear out the fears of the courtiers. Three of the four privy councillors in the house of commons sat for counties, and many other knights of the shire had connexions at court. In Berkshire the court faction secured both seats, probably without a contest. Sir Thomas Parry, the chancellor of the duchy and a privy councillor, held one seat while the other went to Sir Henry Neville, a leading candidate for the secretaryship. In Middlesex a threatened contest was avoided. The two official candidates were Sir Julius Caesar, chancellor of the exchequer and a privy councillor, and Sir Thomas Lake, who missed the secretaryship but became a member of the council on March 29. One opposition candidate, Sir Walter Cope, the master of the wards, withdrew from the contest. (Parry secured a seat at Stockbridge for him.) But a spokesman for Sir Francis Darcy declared that the king had forbidden Darcy to stand.

4. Nichols, Progresses of King James, ii. 755. Also B.M. Cott. MSS. Titus F iv. f. 342. Letters of Chamberlain, i. 517-9.

Caesar and Lake were chosen, but Darcy was called before the council. He had his revenge in 1620 when he carried Middlesex against a privy councillor.⁵

In Kent there was a spirited contest between Sir Thomas Walsingham, keeper of the queen's wardrobe, and Sir Edwin Sandys, prominent in the 1610 opposition. The first seat in the shire went by unanimous choice to Sir Peter Manwood, more a scholar than a politician. Sandys had the support of an unusual combination: Sir Robert Mansell, treasurer of the navy, and Sir Dudley Digges, a prominent opposition leader. But despite their combined efforts he failed to secure the seat and withdrew from the contest.⁶

Although puritanism was strong in both Buckinghamshire and Essex, court candidates were successful, probably without a contest. In Buckinghamshire Sir Francis Goodwin, whom the council supported in a by-election of 1606, was chosen with Sir William Borlase. In Essex the two knights were Sir Robert Rich and Sir Richard Weston, both with court connexions. In Oxfordshire, where Roman Catholicism

5. Letters of Chamberlain, 1. 517-9. Willson, Privy Councillors in the House of Commons 1604-1629, p.99.

6. Letters of Chamberlain, 1.517-9.

was strong, the two seats went to Sir John Croke, a son of a justice of the king's bench, and to Sir Anthony Cope, a prominent puritan. In Carnarvonshire Richard Wynn of a prominent local family was elected probably without opposition even though he was a follower of the earl of Suffolk (Thomas Howard), the lord chamberlain.⁷

While positive information of victories for the crown was found only in these counties, many other county seats were held by persons with connexions at court. Sir George More, the chancellor of the order of the Garter and the most active royal supporter in this parliament, sat for Surrey, where the earl of Nottingham (Charles Howard) had great influence as lord-lieutenant. Sir Thomas Howard, a relative of Nottingham and master of the prince's horse, sat for Wiltshire. Sir Roger Wilbraham, a master of requests, was elected in Cheshire. Gloucestershire returned Sir William Cooke, a clerk of the liveries. Sir Thomas Jermy, a courtier and perennial office-seeker, represented puritan Suffolk. Another courtier representing a puritan county was the eldest son of Lord Hunsdon,

7. Letters of Chamberlain, i. 517-9, 521, 523-4. Allen, English Political Thought 1603-1660, i. 121 and note. B.M. Add. MSS. 11,402. f.110. Victoria History of the County of Oxford, ii. 43. Calendar of Wynn (of Gwydir) Papers, p.102.

Sir Henry Carey, who sat for Hertfordshire. Sir Oliver Cromwell, the protector's royalist uncle, was elected as usual in Huntingdonshire. Two other courtiers, Sir William Cavendish, second son of Lord Cavendish, and Henry Howard, a son of the earl of Suffolk, sat for Derbyshire. Cumberland elected Sir Thomas Penruddock, who became a sewer to the king about 1614. Sir Thomas Gerrard, who became a gentleman of the queen's privy chamber about 1615, was elected in Lancashire. Sir James Scudamore, captain of Kidwelly Castle in Wales, sat for Herefordshire. Sir William Selby, a member for Northumberland, was in receipt of a royal pension. Carmarthenshire elected Sir Robert Mansell, treasurer of the navy.⁸

Two names which might have appeared in this list have been omitted. Sir John Holles of Nottinghamshire, who had been comptroller of Prince Henry's household, lost favour after the prince's death and had joined the opposition by 1614. Sir Herbert Croft, who sat for Herefordshire, later declared vociferously that he had

⁸ Allen, English Political Thought 1603-1660, i. 121 and note. Victoria History of the County of Surrey, i. 379. Victoria History of the County of Huntingdon, ii. 14, 27.

supported the crown in 1614, but the records belie his protests.

In some few counties, however, the crown candidates met difficulties. The fiercest contest of all raged in Somerset, where Sir Edward Phelps, the master of the rolls, tried to force his son Sir Robert on his home county. Sir Edward, who represented the county 1604-11 when he was speaker, no doubt wished to secure his son's political inheritance. But Sir Maurice Berkeley, who represented the county in 1601, and John Poulett, who won a by-election there in 1610, considered that they had a better claim. Also, Poulett maintained just before the election that the county seemed well disposed toward him and Berkeley, and asked them to stand. While Berkeley and Poulett joined forces against young Phelps, Sir Edward used all his influence for his son and staked his reputation on the result. He rallied to his support most of the justices, the earls of Hertford and Rutland, Lord Arundell, and James Montague, the bishop of Bath and Wells. Nevertheless, despite attempts at trickery by Phelps and his associates, Berkeley and Poulett were successful.⁹

9. Letters of Chamberlain, i. 517-9, 521, 523-4. Farnham, 'Somerset Election 1614' in E.H.R. xlvi. 579-99 (Oct. 1931).

This story has an ironical sequel. Sir Robert Phelps, who fell back on a seat at Saltash, opposed the court so violently in 1614 that he broke his father's heart, and in the 1620's he became one of the real leaders of the opposition. Berkeley, who had inclined toward the opposition in the previous parliament, took a moderate course in 1614. As he died three years later, it is impossible to predict how his political career would have developed. Poulett, who took little part in the parliament of 1614, became a baron in 1627 and fought for King Charles in the civil war. So in the long run the court's defeat was more apparent than real.

A court candidate was also defeated in Lincolnshire. Here Sir Thomas Monson, the keeper of the naval arsenal in the Tower, contested the county against Sir George Manners, a brother of the earl of Rutland, and Sir Peregrine Bertie, a brother of Lord Willoughby de Bresby. Against such a powerful combination of local interests headed by his social superiors, Monson quite naturally failed despite his family connexions in Lincolnshire. But here again the court's defeat was less significant because both Manners and Bertie had relationships and interests which would lead them to support the crown.

One of the most remarkable county elections was in Norfolk, where Sir Henry Rich, a favourite of the king, was defeated. A detailed account of this election is found in a document among the house of lords manuscripts headed "The humble Petition of many thousand of the Free houlders of the County of Norfolk ther grevances thus humblie sheweth". On 9 April 1614 the house of commons received a petition on the Norfolk election, "but no Hands, nor Affidavit". Since the document cited above has no signatures or authentication, it is doubtless the petition referred to in the Journal, probably the only surviving election petition for this parliament. ¹¹

Rich entered the contest confidently, supported by letters from the lord chamberlain, Thomas Howard earl of Suffolk. The sheriff's county court opened at the castle in Norwich, the customary place, on March 7 at about seven o'clock in the morning. About three thousand freeholders had assembled for the election, most of them supporters of Rich. But within half an hour, after some routine business had been despatched, the sheriff's deputy suddenly adjourned the court to Swaffham, twenty miles away. The high sheriff, who was already at Swaffham, proceeded to hold the election there in the presence

of a few freeholders assembled for the purpose. Before eight o'clock in the morning two young knights, Sir Henry Bedingfield and Sir Hamon L'Estrange, had been elected. This maneuver, although a trick of the sheriff, was apparently legal. There is no record of any further action by the house of commons, and Rich secured a seat at Leicester¹² borough.

Here again local interests triumphed over outside influence, for both L'Estrange and Bedingfield belonged to leading families of Norfolk gentry. But the election has interesting sidelights. Probably Sir Henry Rich had sufficient support to be elected. The "popular" candidates succeeded only because they tricked the court candidate. Also in a county with many puritans, a near-recusant was chosen. Although Sir Henry Bedingfield was conforming in 1614, he was a recusant most of his life. Finally, both successful candidates came from strong royalist families, and both suffered for their loyalty during the civil war.¹³

In Hampshire Sir Henry Wallop was defeated by Sir William Uvedale and Sir Richard Tichbourne. Wallop,

12. Letters of Chamberlain, i. 517-9.

13. Catholic Record Society Miscellany, vi. 1-3, 431.

a Hampshire squire, must have had connexions at court, for Sir Thomas Parry secured a seat for him at Stockbridge when he failed in Hampshire. Uvedale was a favourite of Somerset and a minor officeholder. Tichbourne was a member of a prominent Hampshire family which included many recusants, and his father enjoyed the favour of James I.

The real contest was between Wallop and Tichbourne. As soon as news of a new parliament reached the county, feverish electioneering began. An attempt to avoid a contest failed because Wallop would not agree to a compromise. Tichbourne secured two great advantages at the start: he persuaded Uvedale to join forces with him against Wallop; and he secured the aid of the sheriff Sir Richard Norton, the steward of the bishop of Winchester. On the other side Wallop circulated slanderous tales about Tichbourne, probably accusing him of Roman Catholicism.¹⁴

The election was held on March 21 in the hall of Winchester Castle, which was leased by the Tichbourne family. The Tichbourne faction adopted every available

14. P.R.O. St. Ch. 8/293:11. Victoria History of the County of Hampshire, 11. 84-5. Letters of Chamberlain, 1. 521.

device to defeat Wallop. First they packed the hall with their own supporters. Then, after Wallop demanded a poll, they took a view of the electors, but instructed their followers to confuse the issue. Finally and with great reluctance the sheriff agreed to a poll, but he detained the voters all day before taking it. Although food was given to the supporters of Uvedale and Tichbourne, it was denied to Wallop's followers, and any of his supporters who left the enclosure where the poll was taken were not readmitted. In polling the voters, the sheriff excluded Wallop's followers on any pretext, but allowed almost all the votes of his opponents. Wallop claimed that a thousand of Tichbourne's votes were illegal, while eight hundred of his own voters were excluded. The sheriff and his men also tallied up the vote, but did not allow Wallop to keep a count. Although polling was finally completed late in the evening, the sheriff did not add up the votes until the next morning, when he proclaimed Tichbourne and Uvedale elected. The final count was 1,673 for Tichbourne, 1,657 for Uvedale, and 1,028 for Wallop.

In view of the strenuous efforts at every step to prevent Wallop's election, it can scarcely be doubted that he was defeated by fraud. Although he carried his case to the star chamber, the record of its judgments in

this period has been lost. But here again there was no clear issue between court and country. It appears that both Uvedale and Tichbourne had closer connexions at court than Wallop.

A contest certainly took place in Northamptonshire, but its nature is obscure. The only reference found was a list of voters pledged to Sir Robert Spencer and "Mr. Edward Montague, Esquire." The official return gives the two members as Sir William Tate and Sir Edward Montague, who was knighted in 1603 and who appears frequently in the Journal. In any event, no prominent supporter of the crown seems to have been involved. Sir Edward was one of its more vigorous opponents, and Sir William Tate was inactive in this parliament.¹⁵

Other counties returned few leaders of the opposition. As already mentioned, Sir Anthony Cope, a strong puritan, was elected in Oxfordshire with Sir John Croke, a supporter of the crown. Sir Herbert Croft, representing Herefordshire, later declared that he "was cried downe for a turne server and a turne coate" by the opposition in 1614. But the records show that he opposed the crown, and he admitted that he had been in the opposition

15. H.M.C. Buccleuch MSS. iii. part vi. 172-3 (Montague papers).

in 1610. Sir Samuel Sandys of Worcestershire, a brother of Sir Edwin Sandys, may well have been elected as an opponent of the court. Sir John Holles, who sat for Nottinghamshire, was probably an outright opponent of the court by 1614. Sir Roger Owen from Shropshire had been a violent member of the opposition in 1610. But aside from these few men, probably no prominent opposition figures were elected by the counties in 1614.

There remain a considerable number of counties about which some information was found, but where the contests seem to have had no more than local significance. The commons received an election petition from Yorkshire, but it was postponed until Sir John Savile's arrival, and was never investigated. In Northumberland the sheriff had manipulated the election in favour of a particular candidate. Sir George Selby was excluded because he was sheriff of Durham even though he maintained that the bishop had discharged him from that office before he was elected in Northumberland. But the sheriff of Northumberland, Ralph Selby, was accused of trickery when his kinsman was elected. It was said that the sheriff called

by name those voters favouring Sir George and ignored the supporters of Sir Ralph Gray. As soon as he had assembled the necessary twenty-four freeholders, he declared Sir George and Sir Henry Widdrington elected and refused to take any further steps. Even though Sir George Selby was excluded and Ralph Selby suffered a reprimand from the house of commons, the Selby interest in Northumberland was unshaken. At a by-election to fill Sir George's place, Sir William Selby was chosen.

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In Cambridgeshire a bitter struggle raged between two local factions among the small county families. One faction was led by Sir John Cutts, jr., of Childerly and Sir Thomas Chichley of Wimpole. The other was headed by Sir John Cotton of Landwade and Sir John Cage. The validity of this election turned on the sheriff's refusal to take a poll. At the election Cutts and Chichley were supported by at least five hundred more freeholders than Cotton and Cage, despite threats of reprisals by the latter. Cutts and Chichley were declared elected without a poll. Two hours after the election, when most of the supporters of Cutts and Chichley had returned home,

17. Commons' jn. 1. 457, 463, 494, 495. Karraker, The Seventeenth-Century Sheriff, pp.6-7. Bean, The Parliamentary Representation of the Six Northern Counties of England, p.470.

Cotton demanded a poll. The sheriff refused, and his action was ultimately upheld by the house of commons.¹⁸

Social position and prestige still played a considerable part in elections, for close relatives of peers occupied many county seats. The choice of Sir Robert Rich, the eldest son of Lord Rich, in Essex; of Sir Henry Carey, the eldest son of Lord Hunsdon, in Hertfordshire; of Sir Thomas Howard, second son of the earl of Suffolk, in Wiltshire; and of Henry Howard, Suffolk's third son, and of Sir William Cavendish, the second son of Lord Cavendish, in Derbyshire have been mentioned, as well as the election of Sir George Manners and Sir Peregrine Bertie, brothers of the earl of Rutland and Lord Willoughby de Eresby respectively, in Lincolnshire. Other heirs to peerages representing counties included Sir Mervin Audley, the eldest son of Lord Audley, in Dorset; and Henry, Lord Clifford, the eldest son of the earl of Cumberland, and Sir Thomas Wharton, the eldest son of Lord Wharton, in Westmorland. Sampson Lennard, whose son succeeded his mother as Baron Dacre in 1612, represented Sussex. The earl of Pembroke found no difficulty in securing the election of a Herbert in Montgomeryshire.

18. Commons' jn. 1. 468, 485. Victoria History of the County of Cambridge, 11. 411. Cooper, Annals of Cambridge, 111. 62.

The two universities were constituencies which the crown might hope to influence, and in both of them it made a clean sweep, but not without opposition. Oxford University chose as one of its members Sir John Bennet, chancellor to Queen Anne, a master in chancery, and a judge of the prerogative court of Canterbury. Its other member was Sir Daniel Dunn, dean of the court of arches and also a master in chancery. Dunn was opposed by Dr. Thomas James, the first librarian of the Bodleian. Dunn was elected through the partiality of the heads of colleges¹⁹ despite widespread support for James among the electors.

At Cambridge University the crown succeeded in electing Sir Francis Bacon and Sir Miles Sandys, the candidate of the earl of Northampton (Henry Howard), despite desperate attempts by the university authorities to defeat Sandys. Bacon was acceptable to the elements opposing Sandys, and the contest was confined to the second seat. The right to elect the university's members belonged to the senate, composed of all masters of arts. But in 1614 the heads of ten houses led by Dr. Corbett, the master of Trinity Hall, attempted to gain control of the elections. Failing in this maneuver, they enlisted the aid of Dr. Duport, the deputy vice-chancellor, to

19. Letters of Chamberlain, 1. 524-6.

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elect their candidate.

The candidate of Dr. Corbett and his associates was Dr. Gooch, the master of Magdalen College, who had represented the university in the parliament of 1604. When the senate assembled on April 2 for the election, Dr. Duport, who presided, stressed the requirement that the members had to be residents of the university, a maneuver aimed at Sandys, who was a Cambridgeshire squire and an alumnus of Cambridge. Duport also refused to be influenced by letters from Northampton's secretary recommending Sandys.

The voting was done by ballot. When the votes were counted, by far the largest number were for Bacon and Sandys. Gooch received seventy-four, and Dr. Corbett sixty-four. Although Dr. Duport had planned to suppress the record of Sandys's votes, the senate grew so tumultuous that he began to fear violence. He boldly declared that the election of Sandys was void because he was not a resident of the university. After declaring Bacon and Gooch elected, Duport dissolved the assembly and forced his way out with some difficulty, aided by the beadles.

20. Mullinger, The University of Cambridge from the Royal Injunctions of 1535 to the Accession of Charles the First, pp.112, 223, 463-4. Cambridge Antiquarian Society Communications, iii. 203-9.

But the discontented masters were far from giving up the struggle. They seized the ballots for Bacon and Sandys from the registrar, and remained for some time in the regent house debating a course of action. Finally a large number of them went to King's College, where in the name of the doctors, masters, and scholars they signed a certificate of the election of Bacon and Sandys. They persuaded the sheriff to accept this certificate and to return their candidates. Dr. Duport was forced to certify the election of his candidates in an irregular manner without the participation of the sheriff.

Despite Dr. Duport's protest, the election of Bacon and Sandys was accepted by the house of commons. Since there is no mention of an election contest, Dr. Duport and his associates must have felt that their case was too weak for an appeal to the house, or official pressure may have been exerted to persuade them to drop the matter. As in Norfolk, the crown candidate had popular support, and trickery was the only weapon available to defeat him. In both cases the sheriff was the key figure. He caused Rich's defeat in Norfolk, and Sandys's victory at Cambridge University.

21. Letters of Chamberlain, 1. 524-6.

In the city of London, perhaps the most important constituency in the kingdom, the crown encountered considerable opposition. According to contemporary nomenclature, the first two of the city's four members were its knights, and the other two were its burgesses. The crown nominated Sir Henry Montague, the recorder of London and one of the city's knight's in the parliament of 1604. Since 1611 he had been the king's serjeant. On February 28 the city elected Sir Thomas Lowe as its first knight, but rejected Montague. Their first burgess was Nicholas Fuller, an opponent of the crown in the previous parliament, while the fourth seat went to a man named Toursom. Germain Marsham, a London letter-writer, said on March 4 that Lowe had been chosen speaker. He added that the city had rejected Montague, and that someone else would be chosen in his place.²²

The first round, then, went decisively against the government. Not only was Montague rejected, but also the uncompromising Fuller had secured a seat. Perhaps Marsham's puzzling reference to Lowe as the choice for speaker is the key to the ultimate solution. If he was the speaker-designate when the London election took place,

²². Letters of Chamberlain, 1. 515-6. H.M.C. Downshire MSS. iv. 325 (Trumbull papers).

the city may well have objected to having both its knights spokesmen of the crown. Perhaps the government persuaded the corporation to elect Montague by dropping Lowe as speaker. This maneuver would account for the fact that Ranulph Crew, the speaker, sat for the obscure government pocket-borough of Saltash, especially if he replaced Lowe as speaker-designate at the last minute. Chamberlain did not report until March 17 that Crew was to be speaker.²³

At any rate, whatever compromise was made, the crown had its way in the end, and Montague was elected one of the city's knights. For some unknown reason Tourson was replaced by Robert Middleton, the brother of both Sir Thomas Middleton, lord mayor 1613-4, and of Sir Hugh Middleton, the projector of the New River Company and the member for Denbighshire in 1614.

A number of examples have been discovered of court influence in parliamentary boroughs. The first in point of time was the city of Rochester. As early as February 13, a few days before a new parliament was decided on, the mayor wrote a letter to Somerset allowing him to choose one member. Sir Robert Mansell probably forwarded this letter to Somerset on February 23, enclosing a letter

23. Letters of Chamberlain, i. 517-9.

of his own. He told Somerset that he would have been granted the nomination of both members, had Rochester not been approached by several gentlemen who were still²⁴ contending over the second place.

The first seat at Rochester went to Sir Edward Hoby, a seasoned courtier, who was doubtless Somerset's nominee. But Mansell's letter may have had a deeper motive than appeared. As treasurer of the navy he must have had much influence in Rochester, and he was canvassing for Sir Edwin Sandys in Kent. Perhaps he foresaw Sandys's defeat in the county and wished to reserve a seat at Rochester for him. Certainly Sandys did lose out in the county, and he was chosen for the second place at Rochester. Despite a comparatively wide franchise extending to all freemen, Rochester was completely under official²⁵ influence in 1614.

Cambridge borough was a constituency with a much narrower franchise, the electorate being limited to eight members of the corporation. Lord Chancellor Ellesmere, the high steward of Cambridge, wrote to the corporation wishing to nominate one of its members. The

24. P.R.O. S.P. Dom. 14/76;21. B.M. Cott. MSS. Titus B vii. ff.465-6.

25. Smith, Rochester in Parliament, p.12.

mayor answered that Sir Robert Hitcham, the queen's attorney-general and the counsel for Cambridge, wanted one seat. The corporation desired to elect Francis Brakin, their recorder, as one member and a resident of the town as the other. Nevertheless they promised to carry out Ellesmere's wishes. He must have been satisfied with Hitcham, who was chosen as one member, while
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Brakin became the other.

The borough of Leicester as a duchy town was under Sir Thomas Parry's influence, but the earl of Huntingdon, who lived at Ashby-de-la-Zouch nearby, was also influential. Furthermore, a spirit of independence had grown up within the town, which was beginning to resent outside interference in parliamentary elections. A series of letters among the borough records illustrates the contention of the various factions in 1614. First in the field was Sir William Hericke, who had been chosen at a by-election in 1605. He offered himself as a candidate, recommending Francis Harvey, the recorder of Leicester, for the other seat. Meanwhile the earl of Huntingdon had made recommendations for both seats. His candidates were his brother George Hastings and his cousin Sir Henry Rich, a son of Lord Rich and a favourite of the king. Rich,

whose defeat in Norfolk has been mentioned, had been
elected at Leicester in 1610 on Huntingdon's recom-
mendation.²⁷

The corporation hoped to solve its problem by offering one seat to George Hastings and the other to Harvey. But they feared to alienate the earl of Huntingdon because then he might use his influence against a new charter which the corporation was seeking for the Leicester almshouse. At this point the town escaped from one dilemma only to land directly in another. Huntingdon informed them that his brother would be elected for Leicestershire, but he still demanded the election of Rich. Now it seemed as if the corporation was free to choose Rich and Harvey. But belatedly Parry exercised his traditional right, and nominated Henry Felton. Once more the town had three candidates for two seats plus the still insistent Hericke.

The recorder now stepped in to solve the problem. He refused to stand, and suggested that the corporation

27. Thompson, History of Leicester from the Time of the Romans to the End of the Seventeenth Century, pp. 326, 342, 344. Stocks and Stevenson (eds.), Records of the Borough of Leicester, iv. 137 (Hall papers unbound no. 89), 147-9 (Hall papers unbound, A nos. 74 and 78). Nichols, History and Antiquities of the County of Leicester, i. pt. 11. 341.

should consult Huntingdon about Parry's request. If the earl abandoned Rich, then Hericke would be a suitable candidate. The result was a foregone conclusion. Huntingdon continued to support Rich, and the corporation dared not flout Parry for fear of losing the almshouse charter. At the last minute Felton was unable to stand, so Parry substituted Sir Francis Leigh, a son-in-law of Lord Chancellor Ellesmere. Rich and Leigh were duly chosen on April 2. The town also wrote to Hericke, advising him to secure Parry's support if he wanted to represent the borough in the next parliament.

Perhaps the most heavy-handed case of interference in an election was Parry's action at Stockbridge, which caused his expulsion from parliament. The case was simple. Even though Stockbridge was a duchy town with only twenty-eight electors, Parry was unable to influence their choice. A candidate named St. John received twenty-one votes, and Sir Richard Gifford received twenty-two. While Sir Walter Cope, the master of the wards, had some support in the town, Parry's other

28. Stocks and Stevenson (eds.), Records of the Borough of Leicester, iv. 140 (Hall papers unbound, A no. 57).
Nichols, History and Antiquities of the County of Leicester, i. pt.ii. 425.

nominee, Sir Henry Wallop, was not even mentioned. Official pressure was used to secure the election of Parry's candidates. Parry wrote threatening letters, and several voters who did not comply with his advice were arrested. But he did manage to frighten Gifford into declining his seat for fear of revenge. In the end Parry simply instructed the bailiff to insert the names of Cope and Wallop on the writ. Although Cope's return was defended on the ground that Gifford had declined, the house of commons ordered a new election for both seats. Even though Parry was a privy councillor, he was expelled from parliament for his part in the affair.

Parry as chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster had influence in many other boroughs both in Lancashire and elsewhere, for the duchy property was scattered over England. In 1614, courtiers and officials secured seats in many of these boroughs. Lancashire itself gave one seat to Sir Thomas Gerrard, a courtier. The borough of Lancaster elected two Fanshawes, father and son, both duchy officials. Edward Mosley, the attorney-general of the duchy, sat for Preston, while Edward Wymarke, an obscure courtier, was chosen at Liverpool. Although Clement Coke, Sir Edward's choleric son, sat for

29. Commons' Jn. 1. 477-81, 502.

Clitheroe, he probably owed his seat to Sir Gilbert Hoghton, a courtier and neighbouring magnate. But in Newton and Wigan (where a Gerrard of a different family was elected) no court candidates seem to have been chosen.³⁰

Outside Lancashire, Wymarke may have owed his election at Newcastle-under-Lyme, another duchy town, to Parry. Here Robert Needham, the other member and the son of a courtier, may also have been Parry's nominee. Wymarke was elected for Peterborough also, perhaps through the influence of Thomas Dove, the politically-minded bishop. At East Grinstead, another duchy town, Sir George Rivers, a minor official, was elected. Monmouth, also a duchy town, chose as its single member Sir Robert Johnson, an officer in the ordnance. Henry Binge, one of the members for Sudbury, a duchy town, was a minor legal official. In Yorkshire there were several duchy boroughs, but duchy influence was weak. At Knaresborough one member was William Beecher, an official, and the other belonged to a family of local magnates. Sir Thomas Posthumous Hoby, an old courtier, sat for Ripon, but he may have owed his seat to the archbishop of York, who was

³⁰. Neale, Elizabethan House of Commons, p.226. Victoria History of the County of Huntingdon, II. 15, 25, 124.

influential in the borough. But no courtier or official secured a seat at Aldborough or Boroughbridge. At Huntingdon, a duchy town, the Cromwell influence was probably responsible for the choice of an official and a courtier. Two other duchy towns, Higham Ferrers and Thetford, remained outside Parry's influence. But in all, he probably had some part in the choice of fourteen members.

The earl of Northampton (Henry Howard), lord warden of the Cinque Ports, took pains to influence the choice of their "barons" in parliament. On 28 February 1614 he wrote to the mayor of Hythe asserting his "ancient privilege" to nominate one member from each of the ports. As soon as the writ was received, Lionel Cranfield, Northampton's candidate, was elected without opposition. Although no other records were found of Northampton's interference, his influence may be deduced from the list of members. At Dover both members were officers of Dover Castle, so in this case the lord warden may have secured both seats. Sir Arthur Ingram, the capitalist-courtier, sat for Romney. Thomas Watson, a teller of the exchequer, was probably Northampton's nominee at Rye. But as the other member, Edward Hendon, became a serjeant in 1616, he may have been Northampton's candidate also. Winchelsea was a similar case. One member was the captain of Deal

Castle, and the other had formerly been in Northampton's service. Sir Thomas Smyth, who sat for Sandwich, was a fiscal official of the crown. Only in Hastings did Northampton fail to secure a seat.

The Howards also had influence in a number of other boroughs. Thomas Hitchcock was Northampton's nominee at Bishop's Castle. At Portsmouth, where Northampton's rival the earl of Pembroke was governor, Northampton nevertheless secured the election of John Griffith, his secretary. Lord Howard of Effingham, the son of the lord admiral the earl of Nottingham, was the lord of the manor of Bletchingley. The borough obediently elected Sir John Trevor, Nottingham's secretary, and Sir Charles Howard, Jr., Nottingham's nephew. Nottingham himself was the lord of Reigate, which elected his son Sir Edward Howard and John Suckling, a courtier and official, the father of the post.³¹

The earl of Arundel (Thomas Howard) was the lord of Bramber, and most of its voters were his tenants. Sir

31. Wilks, The Barons of the Cinque Ports and the Parliamentary Representation of Hythe, pp.66-9. Victoria History of the County of Surrey, iii. 233, 235. iv. 255-7. P.R.O. S.P. Dom. 14/77:42.(Sir Charles Cornwallis to James I, 22 June 1614). East, Extracts from Records of the Borough of Portsmouth, p.637.

John Leeds, a courtier, was probably his candidate in 1614. Arundel also dominated Horsham, where Sir Thomas Vavasor, knight marshal of the household, was elected in 1614. Sometime during the 1620's Arundel tried to influence the election at Steyning. While evidence is lacking, the colourful Sir Thomas Shirley may have been his nominee in 1614. Thomas Howard earl of Suffolk, Arundel's uncle, shared political influence in Dunwich with Sir Edward Coke. In 1614 Henry Dade was elected at the request of Suffolk and others, while Philip Gawdy was elected by Coke's influence.³²

In Cornwall crown influence appeared in many of the boroughs. Camelford returned George Cotton, a brother of the bishop of Exeter, and Robert Naunton, a clerk in the secretary's office. Edward Leech and Sir Henry Vane, both officials, sat for Lostwithiel. St. Mawes elected Francis Vivian, captain of the castle, and Sir Nicholas Smith, a customs official. The speaker, Ranulph Crew, and Sir Robert Phelps, son of the master of the rolls, probably represented Saltash. The strongly royalist Killigrew

³². Cartwright, Parochial Topography of the Rape of Bramber, ii. 209-10, 346. Albery, Parliamentary History of the Ancient Borough of Horsham 1295-1885, pp.4-5, 16, 18. H.M.C. MSS. in Various Collections, vii. 93 (corporation of Dunwich).

family held seats in Helston, Penryn, and St. Ives, though probably their success was due to their own influence. Courtiers, minor officials, and officers of the duchy of Cornwall also gained seats at Bossiney, Launceston, Liskeard, East and West Looe, Newport, Penryn, Tregony, and Truro. Of the forty Cornish borough seats for which names have been found, the crown had twenty supporters.

The earl of Pembroke, the head of the Herbert family and a leader of the protestant faction in the council, had influence in a number of boroughs. Since 1600 he had been lord of the manor of Shaftesbury and a large landowner in the borough. He waged a long struggle for control fraught with numerous lawsuits. Probably in 1614 he secured the election of Henry Croke, a son of a judge of the king's bench. Even in this period Old Sarum had achieved that state of decay which was the wonder of later generations. Control in 1614 was shared by the earls of Salisbury and Pembroke, but Pembroke had the greater influence. William Price, his agent in Glamorganshire, was probably his nominee in 1614, but the other member, William Ravenscroft, a minor official, probably owed his

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seat to Pembroke or Salisbury.

At Wilton, the home of the Pembrokes, both members were probably the earl's nominees. One, Thomas Morgan, was his steward. The other, Sir Robert Sidney, was the heir of Viscount Lisle, a prominent courtier. At Downton Gilbert Raleigh, a kinsman of Sir Walter, may have owed his seat to Pembroke, who supported Raleigh's projects. William Kent, Pembroke's chief steward, sat for Devizes. Although Pembroke was lord of Cardiff, in 1614 its member was a lawyer apparently not connected with the Herberts. Of the thirty-two Wiltshire members whose names are recorded, seventeen were followers of Pembroke or had other court connexions.

Lord Knollys, likewise a privy councillor, exercised influence in a group of four boroughs in 1614. As high steward of Oxford he nominated Sir John Ashley. He was also high steward of Reading, where his nephew Robert Knollys and Francis Moore, a legal supporter of the crown, were elected. Abingdon's single member was his brother Sir Robert Knollys. At Wallingford he nominated William

33. Rowe, 'The Influence of the Earls of Pembroke on Parliamentary Elections 1625-41', in E.H.R. vol.50. 243-5 and note 8 (April 1935). Mayo, Municipal Records of the Borough of Shaftesbury, pp.7-8, 10, 19, 45-6, 51, 54-8.

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Reynolds.

Gatton, like Old Sarum, was already decayed in the early Stuart period. After 1584 it was under the control of the council. The council's nominee in 1614 was probably Sir John Brooke, a follower of the earl of Dunfermline, lord chancellor of Scotland and a member of the English privy council. After 1571 the council had a seat available at Poole. In 1614 it went to Sir Thomas Walsingham, jr., whose father, a well-known figure at court, defeated Sir Edwin Sandys in Kent. Haslemere was created a parliamentary borough in 1584 to provide seats for court supporters. In 1614 one of its members was Sir William Brown, who had served in the Low Countries and had been lieutenant-governor of Flushing.³⁵

At Dorchester, where the duke of Lennox was high steward, Francis Ashley, a legal supporter of the crown, was chosen. Lord Chancellor Ellesmere was high steward of St. Albans, where the crown secured both seats. One went to Sir Francis Bacon, who chose to sit for Cambridge University, and the other went to Henry Finch, a legal

34. Victoria History of the County of Berkshire, iii. 536. Hedges, History of Wallingford, ii. 200, 242. Coates, History and Antiquities of Reading (appendix, unnumbered). Clark (ed.), Survey of the Antiquities of the City of Oxford by Anthony Wood, iii. 57. Salter, Oxford Council Acts 1583-1626, p.232.
35. Victoria History of the County of Surrey, i. 398. iii. 196-7. Victoria History of the County of Dorset,

supporter of the crown. Bacon was also chosen at
Ipswich.³⁶

Sir Edward Coke secured the election of his son Sir Robert at Coventry. Sir Edward Phelps, the master of the rolls, controlled a seat at Taunton, which went to John Dunn, whose father was an ecclesiastical lawyer and judge. The borough of Northampton was a supreme example of family influence coupled with official position. The mecca of English non-conformists and a center for the production of Marprelate pamphlets, it had been represented repeatedly by Peter Wentworth in the latter part of Elizabeth's reign. In 1604 Sir Henry Yelverton, whose family influence was strong in Northampton, was elected. Although he deserted the opposition during the parliament of 1604 and became solicitor-general in 1613, he was again elected in 1614, carrying his brother-in-law Francis Beale with him. Here
37
a traditional alignment fell before family influence.

A few boroughs showed a mixture of political principles, or influence. In 1614 Gorfe Castle was absolutely

36. Hutchins, History and Antiquities of the County of Dorset, ii. 362. Gibbs, Corporation Records of St. Albans, p.296. Bacon, Annals of Ipswich, pp.454, 455.
37. Victoria History of the County of Warwick, ii. 40. Farnham, 'The Somerset Election of 1614' in E.H.R., xlv. 581 note (Phelips MSS.). Victoria History of the County of Northampton, iii. 12.

under the control of Lady Hatton, the wife of Lord Chief Justice Coke and a daughter of the earl of Exeter. She nominated John Dackombe, an official close to the first earl of Salisbury, and James Whitelocke, a leader of the opposition. When Whitelocke chose to sit for Woodstock, she replaced him with Sir Thomas Tracy, a royal official. Sir Robert Killigrew, a strong royalist, controlled both seats at Helston. He occupied one himself and gave the other to Whitelocke, who nominated his brother-in-law. The third case also concerned Whitelocke. In Woodstock, where he was the recorder, he contested a seat against the earl of Montgomery, the steward of the manor and a favourite of the king. Although Whitelocke defeated Montgomery's nominee, the other seat went to a courtier. 38

In a few boroughs there is definite evidence that the crown encountered difficulties. Although the earl of Northampton wrote to Totnes as early as February 20, the corporation replied that they had promised one seat to their recorder, and wished to elect one resident member. Although they asked the recorder to forego his privilege, he stood firm, assuring them that his nominee would please Northampton. The recorder named Nathaniel Rich, certainly no friend of the Spanish faction, while the

second member was a merchant of Totnes. Northampton also asked to nominate one member at Dartmouth, but the corporation apparently refused. Both members were local merchants, one of whom was coincidentally named Thomas Howard.³⁹

Sir Robert Hitcham, the queen's attorney-general, and Sir Henry Spelman, a courtier, tried to secure election at King's Lynn. But the corporation rejected them on the pretext that a statute of 1413 forbade the election of non-residents. One seat went to the mayor, and the other to their recorder, who was also a local merchant.⁴⁰

The most peculiar case was the borough of Carmarthen. In Welsh boroughs the single burgess was elected at the shire-town with the smaller towns of the county participating. A man named Thomas was chosen, but the sheriff refused to make the return because the writ required a burgess to be returned "de burgo vocat' l'Shire-town," and no town in Carmarthenshire was named "Shire-town": What lay back of this strange interpretation is not clear, and no record remains of the final result.⁴¹

39. H.M.C. rep. 3, app., pp. 346-7 (corporation of Totnes).
Merewether and Stephens, History of the Boroughs and Municipal Corporations of the United Kingdom, ii. 982.

40. B.M. Add. MSS. 24,346. f. 31.

41. Commons' jn. 1. 461 (12 April 1614).

Two questions remain to be considered; whether or not the election was a defeat for the crown; and to what extent the parliament was packed. In regard to the first question, the traditional view, given by Gardiner and repeated by Tanner, is that the court candidates were "everywhere rejected." While evidence points to the opposite conclusion, this concept of the election as a contest between court and country is fundamentally unsound. In 1614 England was far from being divided into two political camps on the issue of royal policies. Such a concept carries political ideas of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries back into a period when these ideas did not exist. While England's political consciousness made great strides between 1621 and 1649, in 1614 it was still dormant. No single case has been found of a clear-cut contest between the court faction and the popular faction in 1614.⁴²

On the contrary, there are a number of examples which show a complete confusion in alliance. Men had no hesitation about changing their colours from one place to another. The earl of Rutland supported Sir Robert Phelps, a court candidate, in Somerset. But in

⁴². Gardiner, History of England, ii. 229-31. Tanner, English Constitutional Conflicts of the Seventeenth Century, pp.46-7.

Lincolnshire, Rutland backed his brother against Sir Thomas Monson, a royal official. Thomas Mansell, the treasurer of the navy, canvassed Kent for Sir Edwin Sandys, the opposition leader in 1614, against a courtier. When Sandys lost out in Kent, Mansell probably secured a seat for him at Rochester. In Hampshire Sir Henry Wallop stood against two candidates with connexions at court. But when he failed, he secured a seat through a privy councillor. Lady Hatton offered a seat to James Whitelocke, a leading opposition figure. When he chose another constituency, she replaced him with a courtier. Sir Robert Killigrew, a staunch royalist, also offered a seat to Whitelocke, and accepted his brother-in-law as the member. An understanding of the 1614 election requires the substitution of personalities for political parties.

But since the latter part of Elizabeth's reign, politics and elections had undergone a subtle change. The election of 1614 marked a turning-point. Two lines of development were open until this parliament met. After the session only one remained if parliament was to survive at all. In the later Elizabethan days the house of commons was made up primarily of three elements. One of these comprised local gentry; the second was a group

of royal officials and courtiers; the third was made up of followers of great nobles and important court figures. Even in Elizabeth's later parliaments the genuine townsmen were a dwindling group. Of course the three groups were far from clear-cut, but they were distinguishable. As Neale has shown, patronage was an important element in society and politics in the late sixteenth century. Even those who were able to stand alone preferred dependence on some great lord. This social institution appeared also in the house of commons, giving it a certain cohesion against conditions tending toward disunity. While a nobleman's followers in the commons were certainly not mere puppets, they did tend to form a group. This framework gave the crown, the greatest patron of all, the foundation on which to lay its policies. A house of four hundred members lacking this element of cohesion would have proved unmanageable and ineffective. When English life as a whole was still localized, some unifying element was essential in the house of commons.

But by 1614 this unifying element had almost completely disappeared, leaving no successor. With the accession of James I, the court changed its character. Instead of remaining the center of English national life,

⁴³
43. Neale, Elizabethan House of Commons, passim.

it became the domain of a faction. To the swarm of Scottish favourites was added the influence of the anti-national and anti-protestant Howards. As the court's influence declined, so did the influence of the peerage. The few prominent Elizabethan peers who remained were old, and the successors of Elizabethan magnates did not fill the places of their fathers. Their influence in their own districts declined, or more probably they were no longer interested in exercising it. The marquess of Winchester, a great man under Elizabeth, seldom came to James's court, and never appeared in the parliament of 1614. The earls of Huntingdon and Rutland were but feeble reflections of their Elizabethan predecessors. The earls of Bedford and Lincoln were absent from parliament in 1614. The Dorset influence was small. The earl of Leicester left no successor, and the new earl of Essex had no pretensions to his father's eminence. Only the Howards aspired to something like their Elizabethan position.

This decline in the position of the nobility left a considerable gap in the house of commons. Many seats formerly preserves of noble patrons now were open to the crown or to local gentry. In 1604, when the same conditions were already appearing, the crown made little

effort to secure seats. Consequently the official group in 1604 fell below normal. In 1614 the crown tried to retrieve its position and to assume in addition the role formerly played by the nobility. On the other hand, the local gentry also sought after the new seats now open to them.⁴⁴

The answers to the questions posed are now apparent even though their relevancy has become less important. The election was not a defeat for the crown. On the contrary, the official and court element was somewhat stronger than usual. Probably few of this element who desired seats were denied them. The crown did not seek a majority of pliable members who would obey its will without protest. It simply wished to have many of its servants in the house, those who understood its policies and were sympathetic toward them. This group would provide the nucleus around which a heterogeneous group of rural gentry could be stabilized, so that the business of government could be conducted.

In this sense parliament was packed, but in no other. An analysis of the house of commons in the next chapter will show that its composition was quite normal. But the

⁴⁴, Willson, 'The Earl of Salisbury and the 'Court' Party in Parliament 1604-1610', in The American Historical Review, xxxvi. 274-94 (Jan. 1931).

resentment of the gentry at "interference" in local elections found tumultuous expression during the session. The result was to discredit the crown so far that it abandoned not only the extension of its influence which it attempted in 1614, but also its traditional practice of finding places in the house for many of its followers.

The gentry quickly took advantage of their opportunity. Until the 1620's they had been the largest element in the house of commons, but their lack of unity had given the leadership to the official element. By the 1620's they were so overwhelming a majority that dominance could no longer be denied them. The unifying principle, which they lacked even in 1614, was found in religion. Puritanism, a secondary factor before 1621, gave the gentry the nucleus around which their political philosophy was formed.

In 1614 two courses were open for parliament. If the crown had succeeded to the place of the nobility, it could have reduced parliament in time to a mere instrument for registering its decrees. But when the gentry withstood this expansion of royal influence, they opened the way for their own triumph. The 1620's provided the opportunity for the gentry to exploit their victory of 1614.

The Composition of the House of Commons

The only known list of members of the house of commons in 1614 was found among the Kimbolton papers belonging to the duke of Manchester. This list is printed in the appendix of the official return of members. In this period two "books" of the members of the lower house were kept. One of them, usually called the crown office list, was drawn up by the clerk of the crown in chancery from the writs returned by sheriffs. A second list was kept by the serjeant-at-arms. In both cases, names were altered as members died or vacated seats, and by-elections were held.

Probably the Kimbolton list was copied from the serjeant's list, the usual source for a private member's list. It is not the crown office list or the serjeant's list because alterations in it have been made only up to a certain date. This fact enables us to determine with some precision when this list was copied. Thomas Perrient, who was elected at St. Albans on April 14 in

1. Neale, Elizabethan House of Commons, pp.344-5. Interim Report of the Committee on House of Commons Personnel and Politics 1264-1832, passim. Official Return of Members, pt.1. 448-9. pt.iii. xxxvii-lxi.

place of Bacon, is included. Sir George Selby and Robert Berry, who were disqualified on April 13, are omitted. The name of Sir Simeon Steward, who was elected on April 17, is pasted over that of Sir Miles Sandys, whom he replaced. On the other hand, Sir John Egerton, who died on April 27, is included, and William Cage, who was elected in another borough the same day, is omitted. It is clear that the list was drawn up after April 17 and before the news of the events of April 27 had reached London. As parliament recessed on April 20 and did not reassemble until May 2, this list was probably drawn up when the recess began.

There is no definite evidence of the ownership or purpose of the list, but some information on these points is available. The list was found among the Kimbolton papers, which include many papers belonging to the Montague and Rich families. Four Montagues and three Riches sat in the house of commons in 1614 while Lord Rich and Bishop Montague were in the house of lords. The most active parliamentarians at this time were Sir Henry Montague, the king's serjeant, Sir Robert Rich, and Nathaniel Rich. Probably the list belonged to one of them. Unfortunately, over the years the Kimbolton papers became so disorganised that the original place

of the list in this collection cannot even be conjectured. But as the Rich papers are almost exclusively concerned with colonial affairs, it seems probable that this list belonged to Sir Henry Montague.

The next question arising is his reason for obtaining the list. If it was to be used during the session, corrections after April 17 would have been made. Consequently he seems to have needed it during the recess. The only substantial reason for his having a list at that time would be to communicate with the members directly or indirectly to influence their opinions in the remaining weeks of the session. But it seems clear that whatever plan Montague contemplated, he did not carry it out. Any such plan would have involved a considerable bulk of correspondence, of which the sender would surely have kept copies. As no trace of such letters was found, there is good reason to assume that none ever existed. It would be a coincidence if no single one of so many letters survived. But the fortunate accident of Montague's intention has preserved a record of members which would otherwise have been lost.

As well as errors and omissions resulting from subsequent changes in the house, the list has a few

discrepancies. But on the whole it is substantiated by many casual contemporary references to individual borough and county members. The only definite mistake is for Wallingford. Although Sir Carey Reynell is on the list, the Wallingford statute book gives William Reynolds. But Sir Carey was certainly a member.

Three other errors are explainable as copyist's mistakes. Sir Robert Coke is given as Sir Richard, and Sir Wilfred Lawson as Sir William. Probably the serjeant's list had Sir R. Coke and Sir W. Lawson. The copyist assumed wrongly that the initials stood for Richard and William. The third case is more complex. If the list was drawn up after April 17, as it must have been, the omission of Ranulph Crew, the speaker, is puzzling. But one of the members for Saltash, a Cornish borough firmly under government control, was Ralph Carew. A diligent search of all the branches of the Cornish Carew family yielded not a single Ralph at this period. Probably the member for Saltash was the speaker. A careless copyist might write "Carew" for "Crew", especially as one Carew sat for the county of Cornwall. Although the speaker signed himself "Ranulph", contemporaries used both "Randall" and "Randolph". At least one writer, not a contemporary, used "Ralph". The

vagary about the speaker's Christian name, coupled with the lack of information on Ralph Carew, gives strong support to the presumption that Ranulph Crew sat for ² Saltash.

In 1614 the house of commons had 477 members. A corrected version of the Kimbolton list given in appendix iii contains 468 names. Three members chosen at by-elections are included. Seven persons are known to have been members, but their constituencies were not discovered. The net number results in 465 members at any one time, leaving ten places vacant. In only two cases are there complete vacancies for two-membered constituencies. A notation on the list implies that no election was held at Minehead, and Bury St. Edmunds, which received the right to return two members in 1607, ³ is omitted entirely.

The usual opinion of the parliament of 1614 is that the lower house was composed of new men, young, inexperienced, and excitable. There were three contemporary estimates of the new members. On April 18 Hakewill gave the figure of over 300. A few days later

2. Hedges, History of Wallingford, ii. 200, 242.
Palmer (ed.), Manchip's History of Great Yarmouth, pp. 340-1.

3. Interim Report of the Committee on House of Commons Personnel and Politics 1264-1832, p. 116.

Sir Edwin Sandys made the same estimate. Probably the next year in a letter to the king Bacon declared that three-quarters of the house were new members, an estimate which would set the figure at about 356.⁴

A careful study of the membership of the lower house in 1614 gives the figure of 281 new members against 183 members who had had previous parliamentary service. Of these 281 new members, 144 saw service in later parliaments, while 137 served only in 1614. The proportion of new members was 61%. According to Neale, in Elizabethan parliaments about 50% were usually new members. But Elizabethan parliaments met at frequent intervals. The only two general elections comparable to 1614 were 1571, the first in nearly eight years, and 1584, the first in over twelve years. In 1571, 62% were new members, while the figure was 70% in 1584. Consequently, the percentage of new members in 1614 was slightly lower than average if the ten-year break since the 1604 election is considered. Likewise, the proportion of new members in 1614 who served in later parliaments is slightly higher than the usual Elizabethan percentage. It is quite clear that the parliament of 1614 did not deviate from the normal Elizabethan pattern in the

⁴ Commons' Journal, i. 467, 473. Spedding, Letters and Life of Bacon, v. 176-91.

number of inexperienced members.⁵

A second widespread belief about the parliament of 1614 is that it lacked the normal group of royal officials. But actually the reverse was true. In this respect it was probably more typical than the parliament of 1604, in which the official element was weak. While four privy councillors were elected in 1614, there were only two in the lower house during most of James's first parliament. For a time early in 1606 Sir John Herbert was the only privy councillor in the commons. Not until 1610 did the number of councillors rise to three, their effective strength in 1614 after the expulsion of Sir Thomas Parry.

There were also many other members of the lower house in 1614 who had court connexions. They included 6 other leading officials, 22 legal supporters, 32 officials of lesser rank, and 67 courtiers and petty officials, plus 25 close relatives and 9 miscellaneous supporters. The total of this group reached the substantial figure of 165 out of 475 members. The house of commons in 1614 was unusual because it contained more officials and

5. Neale, Elizabethan House of Commons, p.309.

courtiers instead of fewer.⁶

In occupation and social status the house of commons followed the general pattern of the later Elizabethan parliaments. If the members are classed on broad lines according to their principal interest, we find that 208 were gentry or the sons of gentry. Another 17 belonged to the families of peers or were their dependents. Professional officials numbered 50, exactly equalling the number of courtiers. Lawyers outnumbered merchants by 48 to 42, while the house contained one soldier and one doctor of medicine. The figures given here for courtiers and officials are less than earlier figures because a number of borderline cases have been classed here as primarily lawyers, gentry, or dependents of peers even though they held royal posts. The only significant variation from the figures given by Neale for the parliament of 1584 is an increase in the official and court element.⁷

Likewise, the number of members having higher education remained constant. Members with a university education numbered 65, and members educated at the inns

6. See appendix iv for a detailed list.

7. Neale, Elizabethan House of Commons, pp.301-2.

of court numbered 49, while 138 others had attended both. The total with higher education came to 252, exactly the same as the figure for the parliament of 1593. But there had been some detailed changes. Although a few more members had attended Oxford in preference to Cambridge in 1593, the parliament of 1614 overwhelmingly preferred Oxford. Of 203 members with a university education, 135 had attended Oxford, but only 68 had attended Cambridge.

The house of commons in 1614 did not vary significantly in its composition from its later Elizabethan counterparts. Consequently the causes of its utter failure must be sought elsewhere. While a general consideration of these causes will be postponed until a later stage, one of the factors becomes apparent when the membership is considered in detail. One great weakness of this parliament was incompetent leadership. However brilliant individual members of a legislature may be, they must be organised and guided if they are to avoid futility.

Among the supporters of the crown, the nominal leaders were inexperienced. The secretary of state, Sir Ralph Winwood, had never sat in parliament before,

and the speaker, Ranulph Crew, had been a member only in 1593. Other important officials or leading figures like Caesar, Yelverton, Bacon, Neville, and Wotton, gave the royal cause little support. The burden fell on more obscure figures like Sir Henry Montague, Sir George More, and Francis Ashley. They tried to increase their influence over the house by ceaseless activity, but they never succeeded in wielding the authority which belonged to their inactive superiors. On the whole, the royal supporters lacked unity, experience, and initiative. Again and again control slipped from their hands because they sat silent at a crucial moment. They repeatedly yielded opportunities to the opposition by default, and the opposition was quick to seize its advantages.

The opposition leaders were a diverse group. Some, like Sir Edwin Sandys and Sir Dudley Digges, were well-connected men who might have been expected to support the crown. As a matter of fact, there was much shifting from one side to the other. A few months before the 1614 parliament met, both Sandys and Digges were said to be seeking employment at court, and toward the end of their lives both of them were reconciled to the crown.

Other opposition leaders like Nicholas Fuller, John

Hoskyns, and Christopher Brooke, were connected with the commercial and legal classes. The legalistic aspect of political disputes in this period owed much of its character to the lawyers in the lower house and to the legal education of many other members.

Another opposition element was drawn from the landed gentry of established local families, important in their own counties but not well known outside them. Sir Roger Owen, Sir Herbert Croft, and Sir John Savile were representative of this group. Although some opposition leaders in 1614 were undoubtedly puritans, puritanism was not the common element of the opposition that it later became. But a large section of the commons was in agreement on important questions in dispute even in 1614. Both merchants and gentry attacked impositions. Indeed, everyone was reluctant to vote supply until reforms had been made. After only ten years on the throne the king had alienated most of the important elements in English society.

But in 1614 the opposition leaders had not learned to make their weight felt. To some degree they suffered from the same defects as the supporters of the crown. The parliament of 1614 formed a hiatus between two

periods of parliamentary development. From the 1580's through 1604 a constant series of new parliaments made it possible for younger men to enter a house dominated by older and wiser leaders. The five parliaments of the 1620's provided the opportunity for real leadership to develop. But the parliament of 1614 was isolated from both chains of development. Inexperienced leaders tried to control an untried house. While they could conduct a controversial matter well enough at first, the smooth course of events was easily disturbed. The house reacted violently to any curb, and the opposition leaders found themselves powerless to check its headlong course. Although they might plead for moderation, they could not control the forces which they themselves had loosed.

The king never gained a practical understanding of legislative machinery. He did not realize that in parliament as in everything else experience was necessary for smooth and efficient operation. A new house of commons could not be expected to conduct itself soberly under inexperienced leadership.

Chapter VI

The House of Lords

The principal difference in composition between the house of lords in 1614 and the present house of lords was the matter of size. Of the 84 lay peers in 1614, only the marquess of Winchester held a higher title than earl although the earl of Richmond was the duke of Lennox in Scotland. There were 27 earls in the house, as well as 2 viscounts and 54 barons. The lords spiritual included the 2 archbishops and the 24 English and Welsh bishops. The total membership of the house of lords was 110, including 3 minors.¹

Contrary to modern opinion the house of lords has been flooded with new creations in the past as well as at present. In 1614 exactly one half of the peerage had been ennobled since the death of Henry VIII. Of course, a difference of opinion on technical matters might alter the figure slightly without destroying its essential validity. In this calculation a cadet branch of a noble family has been placed among new creations when it received a new title. Sixteen peers held titles granted

¹. For the membership of the house of lords see appendix ii.

prior to 1300. Eight held fourteenth-century titles. Seven held titles granted between 1401 and 1485, but not a single noble family in 1614 had entered the house of lords under Henry VII. Eleven peers owed their original creations to Henry VIII. Although there were twelve peerages dating from Edward VI and Mary, Elizabeth's creations numbered only eight. But in ten years James I had created twenty-two new peers. In 1614 there were two Scots (Richmond and Somerset) in the house of lords. The earl of Oxford held the oldest title, dating from 1142, but the earl of Richmond's Scottish title was nearly as old.

If promotions and restorations are considered, James I had an even greater part in creating the house of lords in 1614. Thirty-four of the lay peers owed their titles in some way to him. He had restored to the earl of Southampton the title which he had lost in 1601. The earls of Essex and Arundel and Lord Paget had been restored to titles forfeited by their fathers. The earls of Suffolk and Exeter had been advanced from barons to the higher rank since 1603, and the earl of Dorset's father had also been advanced from the rank of baron. The duke of Lennox (in Scotland) had received

his English earldom of Richmond from the king. The eldest sons of four earls had been summoned to the upper house in their fathers' baronies since 1603: Herbert (Worcester), Howard de Walden (Suffolk), Howard of Effingham (Nottingham), and Clinton (Lincoln). Three earls (Montgomery, Northampton, and Somerset) and Viscount Lisle owed their elevation to the peerage to the king. James had also raised the father of the earl of Salisbury to the peerage. In addition, fifteen barons, who are listed in appendix ii, had received their titles since 1603. The fathers of two other barons, Russell and Petre, had also received their titles from James I.

Of the lords spiritual, both archbishops and 14 of the bishops owed their elevation or promotion to the king. Of those who did not, 6 (Bangor, Carlisle, Hereford, Norwich, St. David's, and Salisbury) never took their seats in 1614. The 4 Elizabethan bishops who sat in this parliament were Exeter, Llandaff, Peterborough, and Winchester.

If attendance is considered, the recent creations outnumbered the older peerages in 1614. Only 19 peers whose creations dated before 1485 were present, while 46 newer peers sat. Even if the dividing line is placed

at the death of Henry VIII, the older peerages were still in the minority. The ratio was then 25 old titles to 40 new titles. The single marquess, seven earls, one viscount, and ten barons were absent in 1614. Of these, only the earl of Arundel, Lord Clinton, and Lord Clifton owed their titles to the king. The maximum number of members attending in 1614 was: twenty earls, one viscount, forty-four barons, two archbishops, and eighteen bishops, or a grand total of eighty-five. The highest attendance at one time was seventy-four on 6 June 1614, the day before parliament was dissolved.

Fifteen members of the house of lords had seats on the privy council. They included the archbishop of Canterbury, 9 earls, and 5 barons. The archbishop, 5 of the earls, and 4 of the barons owed their titles to the king.

The dominant faction both at court and in the house of lords centered around the Howard family, which held six peerages in 1614. Three of its members were on the privy council. In addition, Lord Knollys and the earl of Somerset, both privy councillors, were married to Howard women. The leading figure in the family was the earl of Northampton, a partisan of Spain

and Roman Catholicism. In alliance with Somerset, the king's favourite, Northampton had the upper hand over his chief adversaries, the archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Chancellor Ellesmere, and the earl of Pembroke.²

In 1614 the crown still held a dominant position in the house of lords. This dominance was partly the result of natural advantages, but it came partly from the close bond between the crown and the peerage. In 1614 the feudal tradition, which regarded the lords as the personal councillors of the king, had not entirely disappeared.

The large proportion of privy councillors in the house of lords also gave the crown a marked advantage. In the house of commons there were only three or four councillors out of perhaps 340 members in attendance. In the house of lords ten or a dozen councillors were usually present in a house of 50 to 65. Even though the council suffered from internal divisions, it presented an unbroken front to the opposition in the upper house. In the absence of a well-organised system of political parties, the councillors had a marked advantage.

2. For an abbreviated genealogy of the Howard family, see appendix vii.

In addition to the councillors, the crown had a firm block of supporters in the bishops, about 15 of whom were usually present. In one of the most crucial tests of the session only the archbishop of York deserted the crown. In the parliament of 1614 this solidarity was probably normal. The council and the bishops gave the crown a solid block of about 27 members. With attendance normally around 65, the support of only about half a dozen other peers was enough to give the crown a majority.

On the other hand, the opposition was loosely-knit, casual, and unorganised. Although its leader, the earl of Southampton, was a brilliant man, he had many other interests. His chief concern in life was not politics, and he did not let politics interfere with his other activities. His followers supported the opposition for many different reasons, not the least of which was personal advancement. At this time few of them seem to have been moved by deep religious or political convictions. Their attendance in the house was often irregular, and their interest was wavering.

Finally, the crown had one great advantage inseparable from politics in the early Stuart period, the support of the dominant faction at court. When the 1614

Chapter VII

The Royal Programme

The last two chapters have been concerned with the membership of the new parliament. Even while elections were in progress, royal officials were at work on a programme to be presented to this parliament. Despite all that could be done to disguise the fact, it was perfectly apparent that the king had summoned parliament to obtain a grant of supply. Even Bacon, who believed that the real reason for the session should be concealed, privately admitted that the chief end of summoning this parliament was money.¹

The object of the royal programme, then, was to obtain a grant of supply. The crown's advisers had the difficult task of finding concessions which would satisfy the commons without encroaching on the prerogative. They were caught between the popular demand for major reforms and the king's stubborn insistence on retaining all of his powers undiminished. Furthermore, factionalism within the council made agreement difficult. Each faction tried to gain the king's ear and was quite ready to betray its allies for even a temporary advantage.

1. B.M. Cott. MSS. Titus F iv. ff.351-2. Willson, Privy Councillors in the House of Commons 1604-1629, pp.31-2 and note.

Because Neville and his associates were the proponents of concessions to the commons, the initiative in drafting a programme lay with them, but they were forced to present it through their friends on the council. In March 1614 the council was at work on the programme, but even then the majority had little faith in the undertakers. About this time Suffolk, who had temporarily thrown his support to Neville, reported to Somerset on the approaching parliament. He said that Pembroke, Neville's chief supporter on the council, was alarmed because several councillors had reported that many parliamentary leaders had rejected the undertakers' offers. Pembroke and Suffolk were the only firm supporters of the undertakers in the council. Two or three minor councillors gave lukewarm support, but they were so unenthusiastic that Pembroke believed that they had lost confidence in his friends:²

Suffolk mentioned in the same letter that he and Pembroke were to present a list of proposed concessions to the council. These concessions would be moderate enough to satisfy the king, and yet they would be attractive inducements to the opposition. But despite his

² B.M. Cott. MSS. Titus F iv. ff.340-1.

³ B.M. Cott. MSS. Titus F iv. ff.341-2.

dealings with Pembroke, Suffolk was quite prepared to throw over the undertakers as soon as it suited his purpose. He was quite content to betray them if he served the king's interest.

Bacon had an even more contemptuous opinion of the undertakers. He advised the king to use their services, but to avoid their methods. He disliked their bargaining attitude and their belief that parliament would demand reforms.³

In another letter written about the same time Bacon condemned the undertakers even more scathingly, but his counterproposal was so harebrained and ill-advised that it is hard to believe that he proposed it seriously. He spoke of the rumour that a few members of the 1610 opposition would undertake to carry the king's proposals in the new parliament in return for promotion to particular offices. These proposals had so aroused other members that they might cause trouble in parliament.⁴

Bacon ridiculed the pretensions of the undertakers as men of small estate and secondary rank. He did not believe that they could command the loyalty of the new members, who came from distant shires where the

3. B.M. Cott. MSS. Titus F iv. f.333. Also in Spedding, Letters and Life of Bacon, v. 1-2.

4. B.M. Cott. MSS. Titus F iv. ff.351-2.

undertakers were completely unknown. They should not undertake to manage the commons before they knew who would be elected or what their principles were. He believed that the undertakers might easily prove more harmful than helpful to the king because opposition to them would react against the king's proposals.

Bacon then proposed a unique method for handling grievances and supply. The king should appoint a commission of the lord lieutenant and the leading gentry in each shire to negotiate with the persons of quality in that shire for the redress of grievances in return for a grant of money. Then each shire should send two or three gentlemen before the council to make a final bargain. After such an agreement had been made in every shire, parliament could do nothing but acquiesce. This proposal indicates that Bacon was completely out of touch with the articulate elements in English society. It is difficult to see how he could have believed that the people would consent to the practical abolition of parliament, or that they would cooperate in a scheme transparently designed to overthrow the traditional constitution. If this letter really reflects his political theories, he would have been no more successful than the king in managing parliament.

Neville's chief contribution to the royal programme was a recapitulation of his earlier proposals. A list of them among the Harleian manuscripts bears this significant title: "A collection of sum graces, which ye King may perfourm to ye subiect, with out preiudice to his honor & profitt; which was dispersed abrode before ye beginning of ye Parliament the 5. of Aprill, 1614. These have been by severall persons desired to be obtained of his Majesty for ye good of his people." This list was probably the chief basis of the undertaking rumours. Neville circulated it in the hope that the promise of these concessions would secure the return of moderate men ready to make a reasonable compromise with the crown. Probably this list was the "paper" which Neville admitted to be his work in the house of commons on 14 May 1614. The list itself agrees with the one (presumably Neville's) discussed in chapter III except that it omits the pardon of reprisals arising out of 18 and 43 Elizabeth.⁵

A list of bills already drafted or proposed was made in preparation for the session. Two copies of

⁵ B.M. Harl. MSS. 4289. ff.231v-3. Also in B.M. Lansd. MSS. 486. ff.17-20. P.R.O. S.P. Dom. 14/74;46. See also above pp.51-9.

this list were found, one among the Harleian manuscripts and the other in the Cottonian collection. The first of the four sections in the list comprised bills of grace drawn up by order of the king, but based on certain proposals presented to him. The Harleian list contains eight bills with a subtitle after the fourth bill stating that the others were based on certain additional proposals given to the king. The Cottonian list has eleven titles with no division, the first eight of which are identical with those in the Harleian list.⁶

Following the Cottonian form, the titles are:

1. A bill to pass the accounts of sheriffs and other collectors of revenue.
 2. A bill to prohibit secret "offices" (accusations under oath) and inquisitions.
 3. A bill to set up a commission to codify the penal laws.
 4. A bill to relieve royal tenants in cases of forfeiture.
- (Here the second Harleian subdivision begins.)
5. A bill to reform respite of homage.

⁶ B.M. Harl. MSS. 6258 A. ff.45-6. B.M. Cott. MSS. Titus F iv. f.345. Printed in Spedding, Letters and Life of Bacon, v. 14-19.

6. A bill to reform pleadings on alienation in the
exchequer.

7. A bill to allow pleas of the general issue
against the crown.

8. A bill to repeal 34 Henry VIII, allowing the
king to alter Welsh law by proclamation.

(Here the Harleian list ends.)

9. A bill against the long continuance of liveries.

10. A bill to prohibit the assignment of debts to
the crown.

11. A bill to make the estates of attainted persons
liable for their debts.

In the Cottonian version there are three more proposals concerning cart-taking, assart lands, and a liberal pardon.

Of the eleven bills in the Cottonian list, seven are found among the fourteen in the list in S.P. Dom. 14/74;46, as well as the additional items of a liberal pardon and assart lands. This list in the state papers domestic was Neville's proposal of 1612 or 1613. The third bill on the Cottonian list is a combination of the items on the earlier list concerning treason and the repeal of obsolete laws. Only the last three bills

on the Cottonian list and the suggestion on cart-taking are entirely new.

The next section of the list is a group of bills drawn up by the king's direction for the good of the commonwealth upon other subjects than those suggested to him. A marginal notation gives the first five a sub-heading of civil policy.

This list contains nine bills in two divisions:

1. A bill against extortion and to fix court fees.
2. A bill to limit the number of attorneys in the king's courts.
3. A bill against harbourers of pirates.
4. A bill to repress duelling.
5. A bill against seditious books maintaining the authority of the pope.

(Here the civil policy ends.)

1. A bill to restrain building in or near London.
2. A bill against the consumption of gold and silver in unnecessary display.
3. A bill to increase the supply of timber.
4. A bill to enforce the laws concerning depopulation and tillage.

The next section of the list is a memorandum of secret bills containing ten titles:

1. A bill to naturalise the Count Palatine.
2. A bill to improve the administration of justice and to define the jurisdiction of courts.
3. A bill for the improvement and better government of London.
4. A bill "for the suppressing and supply of Boroughs of Parliament according to the present state of the towns of this realm."
5. A bill to improve the plantation of Ireland.
6. A bill to promote fishing by "busses" (an improved type of fishing vessel developed by the Dutch).
7. A bill to stimulate the sale of cloth.
8. A bill to declare and confirm the reasonable liberties of corporations.
9. A bill against usury.
10. A bill to reform the issue of letters of administration.

The last section of this list is devoted to bills not yet discussed. Many of the twenty-eight titles in this section refer to bills of a private nature.

1. A bill to moderate the excessive price of food.
2. A bill for the control of resident aliens.
3. A bill against false weights and measures.

4. A bill to abolish certain liberties and areas exempt from ordinary law.
5. A bill to improve the Virginia plantation.
6. A bill to limit the fees of serjeants, counsellors-at-law, and their clerks.
7. A bill to repeal the statute prohibiting the importation of barrelled fish.
8. A bill to give part of the fine against an inn-keeper to the informer.
9. A bill to provide for the representation of the county of Durham in the house of commons.
10. A bill to build a harbour at Astworth.
11. A bill to punish abuses on the sabbath.
12. A bill to naturalise two daughters of Sir Horace Vere.
13. A bill to naturalise Elizabeth Murray.
14. A bill to confirm a decree in chancery for Sir Thomas Windham against a grant to Queen Elizabeth and one Burtram.
15. A bill to prevent brewers and alehouse-keepers from being justices of the peace.
16. A bill to confirm a decree in chancery between Henry Jernegan and his tenants concerning certain customs.

17. A bill to enable Sir William Sandys to grant his wife a life tenancy against Lord Sandys and Sir William's heir.
18. A bill to authorise the sale of certain lands of Sir William Forth.
19. A bill to reform abuses in the manufacture of brick and tile.
20. A bill for the preservation of the records of sessions of the peace.
21. A bill to reform abuses in dyeing silk.
22. A bill to enable Sir Warwick Hele to lease his lands for three lives.
23. A bill to establish the hospital provided for by the earl of Dorset's will.
24. A bill to enable Dame Jane Skinner to have her dower.
25. A bill to enable William Thetcher to sell certain lands.
26. A bill to reverse a decree in chancery for Sir William Lacy.
27. A bill to abolish fees exacted from merchants by customs officials.
28. A bill to limit the time for beginning suits.

privy council had already discussed the bill. His

Of this whole list, the first section of eleven bills and three additional items was probably the work of Neville and the undertakers. The second and third sections were probably prepared by the council. Some of these bills, such as the one against new buildings in London, were to give statutory authority to royal proclamations. Others, like the bill to naturalise the Count Palatine or the bill on the Irish plantation, represented phases of governmental policy. In the light of subsequent history, the bill for a general reform of parliament (no.4 on the secret list) seems far ahead of its time.

The last section of the list is a hodgepodge of private bills and matters of secondary importance. None of these bills touched highly controversial matters.

The way in which many of these bills were drafted is indicated by a letter of 23 February 1614 from Ellesmere to Lake concerning the bill to increase timber (no.3 in the second part of the second section of the list). Ellesmere had an objection to the bill as it stood. He wanted a conference on it with the judges and the learned counsel, or with some members of the privy council who had already discussed the bill. His

objection to the bill was that some of its provisions⁷ would antagonise parliament.

It is clear from this letter that these bills were drafted soon after the decision to summon parliament was made. While there is no specific information about the actual drafting of the bills, their provisions were known to the king, and they were discussed in the council. Then they were probably entrusted to the lord chancellor until the session began. The judges and the learned counsel also gave advice on the legislative programme. Finally, at least the more conscientious members of the council tried to draft the bills with an eye to the prejudices and preferences of the house of commons. Bacon then suggested that the king should propose

while the council was at work on the legislative programme, Bacon was drafting a memorial to the king on his opening speech to parliament. A number of Bacon's suggestions appeared in the king's speeches of April 5 and April 9. The central idea of this memorial was that the king should not bargain with his subjects like a merchant. He should simply expect them to relieve his wants because of their natural affection

7. P.R.O. S.P. Dom. 14/76:31. *of Bacon*, v. 22-30.

for the crown.. But he should declare that parliament had been summoned to give counsel and consent to important national problems, not to bargain or to indulge in endless orations.

After this introduction Bacon advised the king to explain why he had summoned parliament. He should declare that the main reason was to naturalise the Count Palatine and his issue. Then he should mention the financial problem, dwelling on the extraordinary peacetime drain on his finances, and on the dangers of an empty treasury. But he should not give details of the financial situation, and he should not offer concessions or make threats.

Bacon then suggested that the king should promise bills of grace at the beginning of the session and a general pardon at its conclusion. The bills of grace were intended to anticipate the complaints of the commons. The king should then state that he would confer with parliament on other problems when all these matters had been settled. In a significant marginal note Bacon declared that this reference was intended to raise the hope of an agreement on impositions.

8. Spedding, Letters and Life of Bacon, v. 24-30.

In the next section, the king should explain how he meant to deal with parliament. In the last parliament he had bargained like a merchant, and the commons had haggled like contractors. But in this parliament he would act the part of a gracious king, relying on the love of his subjects.

Bacon advised the king to have a separate bill for each grievance. In this way one bill would not be delayed while new provisions for other grievances were added. The king should promise the commons free access to ask for additional graces, and he should deal directly with them instead of through conferences between the two houses. He should ask for a short and harmonious session, with a second session to follow.

In the last part of his speech the king should declare that he would not abandon any of his lawful powers, but that he would not extend his prerogative at the expense of his subjects. He should also say that while he could meet his financial obligations by selling crown property and by economising, he preferred to depend on the affection of the commons.

The king should caution the commons not to believe rumours of undertaking. He should state that he relied on the whole lower house, rather than on a few individuals.

In his peroration he should declare his affection for parliament. ⁸ He hinted at such activity in a letter of

10
Despite his earlier suggestions to the contrary, in this memorandum Bacon advised the king to admit his financial difficulties and to ask for a grant of supply. In his earlier memorandum Bacon had suggested that the supply question should be allowed to arise naturally, and he had even declared that it was better to end a session harmoniously without a grant of supply than to ask for subsidies. By 1614 the king's financial plight could not be concealed. Even the feeble suggestion that the king could increase his revenue out of his own resources was not convincing. Although Bacon still advocated an approach based on loyalty instead of one based on a bargaining spirit, he had to admit that financial necessity was the real reason for summoning parliament.⁹

It is remarkable that Bacon advised the king to refer to the undertakers in this memorandum. Rumours of their activities must have been widespread even before parliament met. This persistence of unfounded rumours may have been the work of the same elements.

⁹. See above chapter iii. 63-70.

which finally conspired to break up this parliament.¹¹
Sir Thomas Roe hinted at such activity in a letter of
March 17. He said that those who were opposed to the
parliament had spread many reports of some of its mem-
bers, perhaps to bring to pass their own reasons against
it. But whatever the source of the rumours, they cer-
tainly had a wide currency at the time that Bacon wrote
his memorandum.¹⁰

Bacon had much influence on the king's speeches of
April 5 and April 9. These speeches, which combined
the programmes of Bacon and Neville, are considered in
detail in the next chapter.

The choice of a new secretary of state was the
final step in the preparations for parliament. The
leading candidates were still Winwood, Lake, and Neville.
Early in February Winwood's appointment seemed certain,
but it failed to materialize. Although Neville was
crippled with gout, he was again pushed forward, probably
to vex Winwood and to provoke a quarrel between the two.
But they remained on good terms. Both relied on Somer-
set, whose mediation at court was essential. By this
10. H.M.C. Downshire MSS. iv. 340-1 (Trumbull papers).

time Lake's candidacy had sunk into the background. Meanwhile court intrigues prompted the Howards to support Neville, who already had the support of Southampton and Sheffield, two leading opposition peers. The sudden improvement in Neville's prospects was probably the result of the Howard influence. Although Pembroke and his followers were pleased, the Howards regarded it as a temporary maneuver. Suffolk, who was acting on Somerset's instructions, encouraged Pembroke in the belief that Neville would be appointed, without committing himself irrevocably.

12

Although the report persisted that Neville enjoyed the favour of the Howards, such astute observers as Chamberlain and Sir Thomas Roe prophesied the eventual success of Winwood, who had the supreme advantage of Somerset's support. One explanation of the Howards' maneuvers is that they realized the hopelessness of Lake's candidacy, and they were using Neville to block

11. H.M.C. Downshire MSS. iv. 318-9 (Trumbull papers). Letters of Chamberlain, i. 507, 509-10. P.R.O. S.P. Dom. 14/76:34. P.R.O. S.P. Venice 99/15. f.213.
12. P.R.O. S.P. Dom. 14/76:34. B.M. Cott. MSS. Titus F iv. ff.340-1. Willson, Privy Councillors in the House of Commons 1604-1629, pp.136-7.

13. H.M.C. Downshire MSS. iv. 315-6. (Trumbull papers). Letters of Chamberlain, i. 521. P.R.O. S.P. Dom. 14/76:34. P.R.O. S.P. Venice 99/15. f.213.
transcribed by ...
30 April/...

Winwood's appointment. As an inducement to drop Neville,¹³ they would demand an office for Lake.

On March 29, after a delay of almost two years, Winwood became the principal secretary of state. Lake became a privy councillor without receiving any other office, while Neville refused the position of treasurer of the chamber. Sarmiento regarded Winwood's appointment as a triumph for the puritan elements, who looked on Lake as a papist.¹⁴

So the issue was settled at last, but too late to be of much advantage. The fact that the appointment was made only seven days before parliament met caused the suspicion that it had been done to influence the commons.

Although the appointment of Winwood was a concession to public opinion, he was suspected of having paid hard cash for Somerset's support. Lake, Caesar, Herbert, and other officials were jealous of the new secretary. Although Winwood's hatred of Spain and Roman Catholicism gave him some popularity in the house of commons, this attitude made him the enemy of the powerful Howard family. His interest in the reform of ecclesiastical

13. Letters of Chamberlain, 1. 515-6. H.M.C. Downshire MSS. iv. 340-1 (Trumbull papers).

14. Letters of Chamberlain, 1. 521. P.R.O. Spanish transcripts, 12/35 (Sarmiento to Philip III, 30 April/9 May 1614).

abuses alienated the higher clergy, who suspected him of puritanism.

Winwood laboured under a threefold disadvantage in dealing with the house of commons. In the first place, he became secretary so shortly before parliament met that he had no time to prepare for the session. The extensive preparations already detailed had been made by others and were thrust upon Winwood at the last moment. He had scarcely time to familiarise himself with the routine duties of his office before the session began. He had no time at all to change the programme so that it would suit his own capabilities or be more palatable to the house.

In the second place Winwood was totally without parliamentary experience. He afterwards said that the first speech he ever heard in the house of commons was his own. A comparatively insignificant bureaucrat, he could not be left to work out the details of the programme as Salisbury had done. So a greater burden was thrown on the king, who disliked daily routine and did not possess the tact and forbearance necessary to deal with the commons. The appointment of Winwood at this time, when he laboured under such manifest disadvantages, was a remarkable instance of the king's naive optimism.

Finally, Winwood's character was his greatest weakness. His virtues were honesty, straightforwardness, courage, and resolution. But in spite of them his personality irritated the house of commons. His vehement, rash, and combative nature soon gained him a reputation for tactlessness and arrogance. The house of commons, when confronted with his harsh and blunt manner, was goaded into attacks of increasing violence on royal policies. In the end the situation passed beyond the control of any leader in the house. Winwood could perhaps have been successful as the second ranking spokesman of the crown in the lower house. But he needed experience, an opportunity for preparation, and above all the guidance of a competent statesman acting as the crown's spokesman in the house of commons.¹⁵

results. As early as March 5 he made a remarkably accurate prediction for the coming session. He believed that the crown had already escaped from one predicament into another by summoning parliament. There was more opposition than had been expected, and lack of courage or initiative on the part of the leading officials would be disastrous. As yet, Chamberlain felt that the

15. Willson, Privy Councillors in the House of Commons 1604-1629, pp. 84, 137-40, 145-6. Court and Times of James I, i. 307-8, 318-20.

1. Traskull Papers, iv. 340-1, 340-1 (Traskull papers).

prediction was, in a Chapter VIII which he would see
it fulfilled.² The Opening of Parliament

The second parliament of the reign opened with

great With elections over, a programme prepared, and a
new secretary appointed, the court looked forward to
the coming parliament with mingled foreboding and
optimism. Sir Thomas Roe was hopeful of a reconcil-
iation between the king and his subjects. As late as
April 20 even more optimistic reports were reaching
Sir John Throgmorton at Flushing. He wrote that
parliament was expected to make a generous grant to
the king.¹ Officials, and others. The members of the

But Chamberlain, who had better connexions at
court, was more realistic. He had few illusions about
the seriousness of the situation and its probable
results. As early as March 3 he made a remarkably
accurate prediction for the coming session. He believed
that the crown had simply escaped from one predicament
into another by summoning parliament. There was more
opposition had been expected, and lack of courage or
initiative on the part of the leading officials would
be disastrous. At best, Chamberlain felt that the
crown would simply hold its own. Gloomy as his

2. H.M.C. Downshire MSS. iv. 340-1, 380-1 (Trumbull

1. H.M.C. Downshire MSS. iv. 340-1, 380-1 (Trumbull
papers).

prediction was, in a scant three months he would see it fulfilled.²

The second parliament of the reign opened with great pomp on Tuesday 5 April 1614. At about eleven o'clock the long procession moved from Whitehall to Westminster Abbey. It was an imposing sight even though the spectacle was marred by bad weather. The procession had various divisions in ascending rank, which were marked by groups of heralds. First came the court messengers followed by a double rank of esquires and gentlemen, clerks, knights, baronets, judges, officials, and others. The members of the upper house followed. After them came the earl marshal, the lord steward, and the lord chamberlain, followed by Prince Charles. At the end of the procession the king rode on a fine horse wearing a crown.³

Even in the procession the hidden passions of religious controversy were apparent. Puritan jested at bishop, and Roman Catholic taunted both. Sarmiento's influence at court was apparent to all. Through an error he was half an hour late, keeping the king and the other ambassadors waiting. His position was clear

2. Letters of Chamberlain, 1. 515-6.

3. B.M. Harl. MSS. 5176. f.32.

enough to the crowd, who shouted when he arrived, "Here comes the ambassador of Spain! Now the king will come forth!" Because strangers were excluded from parliament, a special place in the house of lords was arranged for Sarmiento and the archduke's ambassador from Flanders. Accompanied by the Danish ambassador, they were seated in a recess behind a curtain to hear the king's speech.⁴ After a service at the abbey, the king and his followers proceeded on foot to the house of lords in Westminster Palace. Meanwhile the four privy councillors in the house of commons (Winwood, Caesar, Parry, and Lake) had been waiting for some time in the Court of Requests,⁵ which was in the palace adjoining St. Stephen's Chapel, where the lower house met. The earl of Nottingham, the lord high steward, arrived about noon. He administered the oaths of allegiance and supremacy to the four councillors and to about twenty other members. These members then divided into three sections, and administered the oaths to the remaining members in groups of ten or twelve. Although about 160 members

4. P.R.O. S.P. Spanish 15/40:56. P.R.O. Spanish transcripts, 12/35 (Sarmiento to Anover 7/17 April 1614). Cal. S.P. Venice, 1613-15, pp.115-6. Court and Times of James I, i. 307-8.

5. Cal. S.P. Venice, 1613-15, pp.115-6. P.R.O. Spanish transcripts 12/35 (Sarmiento to Anover 7/17 April 1614).

were present, the whole process was completed in about an hour. Then the members sat in the house for another hour awaiting a summons to the lords. Finally, when a messenger came, they went to the upper house to hear the king's opening speech. But arrangements there were faulty, an ill omen for the session. When the commons reached the house of lords, they found the space allotted to them nearly filled with strangers. Most of the members drifted back to St. Stephen's, leaving only a few to hear the king's speech. There was muttering and grumbling among the discontented members as they sat waiting until half past four, when the king finished.⁵ The king delivered his speech from the throne in the house of lords. Before him sat the peers in their robes, while among the throng which pressed up to the bar were the few members of the lower house who had managed to find room. The king spoke well, but his eloquence was lost upon most of his intended audience, who sat disconsolately in St. Stephen's, awaiting the return of their more fortunate fellows.⁶

5. Commons' jn. i. 455. H.M.C. Hastings MSS. iv. 230.

Cal. S.P. Venice, 1613-15, pp.115-6.

6. Cal. S.P. Venice, 1613-15, pp.115-6. P.R.O. Spanish transcripts 12/35 (Sarmiento to Anover 7/17 April 1614). appendage of Ireland, Ireland would never be

The king's speech was divided into three main parts. First he spoke of religion under the heading of bona animi. Although he declared that the papists were increasing, he asked for a revision and better enforcement of existing penal laws rather than new legislation. Here James displayed one of those flashes of vision which occasionally revealed his mental capacity. He declared that no belief could be destroyed by persecution, and by implication at least, he supported general toleration. If protestantism was the true religion, popery would fall through its own errors. But otherwise persecution would simply increase the number of papists. He declared categorically that no religion, true or false, ever gained by persecuting its enemies.

In the second part of his speech the king spoke of the good of the state under the title bona corporis, meaning the security of the dynasty. He declared that he had arranged the marriage of his daughter to a protestant to prevent her conversion to Roman Catholicism. In the case of England and the Palatinate, as with England and Scotland, the greater power would attract the lesser. While the Palatinate might eventually become an appendage of England, England would never be

subordinate to the Palatinate. He asked parliament to naturalise the Count Palatine and his descendents, and to declare them eligible for succession to the throne. In the third part of his speech the king spoke of bona fortunae, meaning his financial necessity. He referred in particular to the expense of the Palatine marriage and to Ireland. He then denied any intention of bargaining with the commons. He regarded the affection of his subjects as their greatest gift to him. He wanted nothing from them except what they would grant out of love, and he even left the amount to them.

After these three main sections of his speech, the king disclaimed any intention of extending his prerogative. He also denied that he had dealt with the undertakers, had interfered with elections, or had even wanted a packed parliament. After these disclaimers, he stated that he would offer his bills of grace at another meeting. He cautioned parliament not to prefer trivial matters above these important affairs of state. Although he would welcome a consideration of grievances, complaints should not be heard from everyone outside parliament. He also denied that he intended to give proclamations the force of law.

The king opposed frequent conferences between the houses. He wanted this session devoted mainly to finance, while a second session at Michaelmas would consider grievances. He then elaborated on his affection for parliament, saying that he hoped for a parliament of love. To avoid misunderstandings he would deal personally with the two houses. In the Michaelmas session he would ask for nothing, so that the entire session could be devoted to reforms.⁷

The king's speech showed Bacon's influence in almost every line. Even the mirror simile with which it began was suggested by Bacon. But nothing like the section on religion occurred in Bacon's memorandum. Although this section may have been suggested by Neville, probably it was original with the king. The whole section on the Count Palatine, even to the Latin quotations, followed Bacon's model. The surprising portion was the section on supply, in which the king was not so emphatic as Bacon. Indeed, he tended to follow Bacon's earlier advice to allow the commons much latitude on the supply question. While the speech did not emphasize procedure, here it also followed Bacon in what it included.

7. H.M.C. Hastings MSS. iv. 230-4.

8. Speeches, Letters and Life of Bacon, v. 24-30.

As Bacon had suggested, the king denied any connexion with the undertakers, and expressed his affection for only in the parliament of 1597-8, when he took an inopportune part. He concluded by asking them to choose an essential one, in which the king departed from Bacon's plan was to promise bills of grace at the beginning of the session. The real departure from Bacon's policies to the house. Winwood and Caesar then escorted Crew to the speaker's chair and the general applause of the commons. When the king had finished his speech, the commons retired to their own house to choose a speaker. As a dead silence fell, Sir Ralph Winwood rose for his maiden speech. Although well-organised, it must have been largely committed to memory, for it was delivered in a kind of singsong. Nevertheless Winwood showed much self-assurance for a man who had never before even heard a speech in the commons. He simply pointed out the importance of the parliament and the need for an able speaker. Then he named Ranulph Crew as a wise choice. Shortly afterward the commons were summoned to the house of lords. There Winwood and Lake presented Crew dictating voices. Crew's nomination, however, could not have been a surprise, for Chamberlain had known of it for almost three weeks.

After another silence Crew rose in the traditional manner to protest his unworthiness. He spoke of his

8. Spedding, Letters and Life of Bacon, v. 24-30.

infirmities, and reminded the house that he had served only in the parliament of 1597-8, when he took an inconspicuous part. He concluded by asking them to choose someone else. In reply Sir Julius Caesar, a privy councillor, declared that Crew's modesty commended him to the house. Winwood and Caesar then escorted Crew to the speaker's chair amid the general applause of the commons. The speaker-elect, still protesting his unworthiness, asked leave of the house to request the king to excuse him from this service. Then he announced that the house would present the speaker to the king on Thursday afternoon.⁹ When the lord As Crew had requested, the house assembled at one o'clock on Thursday April 7. This time the serjeant was sent to the house of lords to see that the area reserved for the commons was kept unoccupied until their arrival. Shortly afterward the commons were summoned to the house of lords. There Winwood and Lake presented Crew to the king in full parliament. Crew made the customary speech protesting his unworthiness. This oration, however, appears to have been shorter and simpler than the

9. Lords' jn. 11. 687. Commons' jn. 1. 454. Court and Times of James I, 1. 307-8. Letters of Chamberlain, 16. 1. 517-9. Hastings MSS. iv. 20-5. Seale, Elizabethan House of Commons, pp. 383-84.

ornate efforts of Elizabethan speakers. Perhaps its simplicity was another result of the delay in choosing a speaker. Crew may not have had sufficient time to prepare an elaborate oration. The lord chancellor replied that the king wished Crew to act as speaker, and he commended the commons on their choice.

Crew then humbly accepted the position, asking the king for the three traditional rights: freedom of speech, freedom from arrest, and freedom from misrepresentation. In his answer granting the speaker's request, the lord chancellor urged the commons to act prudently and emphasized their duty to grant supply. When the lord chancellor had concluded, the commons returned to their own house with the mace borne before the speaker. After the formality of the first reading of a minor bill against false bail, and one or two other trivial matters, the commons adjourned until the next day.

On Friday the lower house plunged headlong into the first controversy of the session, the question of excluding the attorney-general Sir Francis Bacon. Edward Duncombe, an active member of the opposition, first brought the matter to the attention of the house.

10. Lords' jn. 11. 688. Commons' jn. 1. 455-6. H.M.C. Hastings MSS. iv. 234-6. Neale, Elizabethan House of Commons, pp. 359-61.

He maintained that the attorney-general's proper place was in the upper house. Although Sir Henry Hobart had served in the commons when he was attorney-general, he had received that office only after his election.

With the general support of the house Edward Alford, an opposition leader, moved that the commons should decide whether or not to admit Bacon. Sir Roger Owen, speaking with characteristic rashness and violence, went so far as to declare that privy councillors had been excluded in the medieval period. Only Sir John Savile defended Bacon, and even he merely commended the attorney-general's personal abilities.

When the house began to call for a vote, the speaker finally roused himself to stem the debate. Although he attempted to procrastinate and tried to divert the question into innocuous channels, only Francis Moore, a staunch defender of the crown, came to his support.

Fortunately for Bacon, Sir Herbert Croft now suggested a compromise, despite the general clamour of the house for a vote on Alford's motion. While Croft declared that Bacon should be excluded, he asked for a committee to collect precedents. Otherwise the king would believe that the commons had acted hastily. Even

William Hakewill, a leading opposition spokesman, saw the good sense in this suggestion and gave his support. A committee was appointed to search for precedents, but the final decision was left to the house. Significantly, there were no privy councillors on this committee, and it included only three important adherents of the court. In the general debate not a single privy councillor or important official except the speaker had defended Bacon. In fact, if Croft had not intervened, Bacon would have been excluded at once. On the first day of real business, the initiative was completely in the hands of the opposition.¹¹

Meanwhile the house of lords had taken up the bill to naturalise the Count Palatine and to declare that the Lady Elizabeth's issue were lawful heirs to the throne. The bill reached its second reading on Saturday, when the archbishop of Canterbury gave the only speech in favour of it. As there was no opposition, the lord chancellor ordered the bill engrossed to speed its passage.¹²

At two o'clock the same afternoon (Saturday

11. Commons' Jn. i. 456. B.M. Add. MSS. 34,079. ff. 29-30.

12. Lords' Jn. ii. 689-90. H.M.C. Hastings MSS. iv. 236-8.

April 9) both houses assembled in the banqueting hall at Whitehall Palace to hear the king's second speech. In this speech the king largely abandoned Bacon's ideas in favour of Neville's advice. He again emphasized his desire for a parliament of love. As he was willing to satisfy any just grievances, he hoped that parliament would show its affection by paying his debts and granting him revenue. He also repeated his intention of dealing with the papists and with Ireland.

The king once more declared his abhorrence of bargaining. He would not act like a merchant making a contract, but he would freely grant certain graces to his subjects as a loving prince. In return, parliament had the duty of relieving his necessities. He would leave the amount and the manner of raising it to parliament. In the future, although he would need no extraordinary revenue except in time of war, he would summon parliament periodically to satisfy their grievances.

The king declared once more that he had not dealt with the undertakers. He stated that he had never objected to anyone elected by the people. He went so far as to state that whoever doubted the truth of his protestation would be accusing him of falsehood.

After exhorting the houses to consider supply and

graces together, the king had the lord chancellor read to the following list of bills of grace:

1. To pass the accounts of sheriffs and other collectors of revenue without charge or delay. This bill would prevent royal officials from extorting illegal fees as the price for auditing accounts.
2. To prohibit secret offices and inquisitions by the crown. By an "office" a man was put under oath and then forced to answer questions which then became the basis of a charge against him.
3. To appoint a commission to revise the penal laws, which had become so ambiguous and obscure that a man might violate them unwittingly.
4. To allow tenants of the crown to retain their leases by paying a penalty if they did not pay their rent on the due date.
5. To abolish the fees for respite of homage.
6. To prevent the exchequer from exacting fees from tenants of the crown for transfers of real estate.
7. To allow the defendant to enter a plea to the general issue without forfeiting possession in suits over defective land titles against the

to the crown. This concession would force the crown to
his own prove a title defective instead of forcing the
defendant to prove it valid. A combination of
8. To abolish long suits and the requirement for
unnecessary evidence in the court of wards.
9. To repeal certain sections of 34 Henry VIII
bills allowing the king to alter Welsh law without
the consent of parliament.
10. To prohibit the assignment of private debts to
the crown to facilitate their collection.
11. To make the estates of attainted persons liable
for their debts.
Three further provisions were added which had not
been drafted in the form of bills. They concerned
cart-taking (seizure of carts for the use of the court),
assart lands (lands granted to individuals in royal
forests), and a liberal pardon, which was usually
granted by the sovereign at the close of a session of
parliament.
In the concluding portion of his speech the king
touched once more on the question of supply. He
expressed his belief that parliament would relieve his
necessities in view of his concessions to them. He con-
cluded his speech with the promise of a broad general

pardon and the redress of any other grievances, provided
his prerogative was not curtailed. ¹³

This second speech of the king, a combination of
Neville's suggestions and his own wheedling half-
measures, made a poor impression. The bills of grace
were identical with those in the first section of the
bills to be offered to parliament, probably Neville's
final list of concessions. Chamberlain believed that
the king had lost face by this speech. He received the
impression that the king had descended to entreaty to
gain the goodwill of parliament. Chamberlain was
unimpressed by the bills of grace. Even so friendly a
critic as Sir John Bennet did not wax eloquent over this
speech. At all events, James did not act the part of a
gracious king as Bacon had suggested, but came to the
commons almost as a suppliant, a poor start indeed for
the parliament of love. ¹⁴

On the following Monday Sir Henry Yelverton, the
solicitor-general, delivered a long speech in the
commons on the bills of grace. After praising James
as a loving and gracious king, he discussed the bills

13. Commons' jn. 1. 458. Lords' jn. 11. 689. H.M.C.
Hastings MSS. iv. 239-41.

14. B.M. Add. MSS. 34,079. ff.29-30. Letters of Cham-
berlain, i. 524-6. See above chapter vii. 145-7.

of grace in detail. He concluded by introducing at
15
once a bill granting two of the graces.

Despite Yelverton's speech, the house returned to
the vexing question of the attorney-general. The com-
mittee for precedents reported that the only case was
the inapplicable one of Sir Henry Hobart. At this
point Winwood rose to defend Bacon. He maintained that
the same rules of eligibility should apply to the
attorney-general, the king's serjeant, and the solicitor-
general, who performed the same duties, and were distin-
guished only by their difference in precedence. In
spite of his strong case, Winwood asked that Bacon
should be admitted as a special favour to the king.
Then the house should determine the eligibility of
future attorney-generals.

Sir Roger Owen once more opposed Bacon's admission
simply because there was no precedent in his favour.
Owen even declared that the house admitted privy
councillors only on sufferance. Sir Richard Williamson,
a master of requests, tore Owen's argument to shreds.

He declared that the burden of proof rested on Bacon's
opponents, and maintained that it was illogical to

admit the king's serjeant and the solicitor-general, but to exclude the attorney-general. Although James Whitelocke, an opposition leader, admitted that there was no precedent for excluding the attorney-general, he proposed that Bacon should be admitted, but that future attorney-generals should be excluded. After some further debate the house adopted Whitelocke's solution. 16

So the crown suffered a serious and perhaps unnecessary defeat at the very beginning of the session. Even though the final compromise originated with the king, he lost for the future the services of a valuable official in the lower house. Also the crown's prestige suffered because the attorney-general was admitted on such precarious tenure. It was apparent to contemporaries that the crown had been forced to compromise because it feared to face a showdown. The dispute became so acrimonious that the concession had to be made to pacify the house. Those who favoured the court were apprehensive of the effects that might stem from this initial defeat. 17 18

16. Commons' jn. i. 459-60. see next set, on Tuesday
17. H.M.C. Downshire MSS. iv. 380-1 (Trumbull papers).
B.M. Add. MSS. 34,079. ff.29-30. Letters of the
Chamberlain, i. 524-6. P.R.O. Spanish transcripts,
18. 12/35 (Sarmiento to Philip III, 29 April/9 May 1614).

The official group had ample time to prepare for this debate, they had a strong case, and they had a measure of support in the house. Although Bacon's eligibility was first challenged on Friday April 8, the house reached its decision only after a long debate on the following Monday. Sir Richard Williamson, no prominent court supporter, delivered a devastating and completely unanswerable attack on Bacon's opponents. But the official group, perhaps on orders from the king, simply let a strong case go by default. Already the crown felt compelled to conciliate the commons at any price.

The same day (Monday the eleventh) the lords passed the Palatine bill through its final stages and sent it to the lower house. The commons paused long enough in their debate on the attorney-general to give the bill its first and second readings. But when an opposition leader objected to a provision naturalising the Palatine's family for twenty generations, the bill was referred to the committee of the whole.

When the house of commons next met, on Tuesday April 12, it was in a stormy mood. First, members from

18. Lords' jn. 11. 691. Commons' jn. 1. 459.

19. Commons' jn. 1. 461.

Plymouth and Bristol attacked the monopoly of the London merchants. Then Robert Middleton of London, the lord mayor's brother, took the bull by the horns and introduced a bill against impositions. After that, the house grappled with the explosive religious question. Sir Maurice Berkeley, fresh from his triumph over the master of the rolls in Somerset, attacked the ecclesiastical courts. He was followed by Thomas Wentworth (the son of Peter Wentworth, not the future earl of Strafford), who demanded puritanical alterations in the service, a reform of the ministry, and drastic measures against papists. Then John Hoskyns devoted a long speech replete with references to hell and the devil to an attack on the ecclesiastical courts.¹⁹ Winwood chose this inopportune time to propose a grant of supply. In a carefully prepared speech he set forth in detail the conditions at home and abroad which made the grant necessary. After an appeal for an unprejudiced hearing, he declared that he spoke not for the king alone, but for the public good as a true Englishman. He believed that true religion and the liberties of England demanded a grant of supply. Winwood tried to identify the welfare of the king

^{19.} Commons' Jn. 1. 461.

with the welfare of the subject. He stated that the king had chosen the right way to reform abuses and to relieve his wants when he summoned parliament. Winwood then touched on various expenses facing the crown, such as the navy, the garrisons in the Low Countries, the danger of rebellion in Ireland, and Roman Catholic intrigues on the continent. He also said that the commons should vote supply in gratitude for the bills of grace. Winwood concluded by asking for an immediate vote on the question.²⁰

This unexpected request provoked an unfavourable reaction in the house. There was an immediate suggestion that reforms should come before supply. One member proposed a committee free from official domination to consider the bills of grace and to propose reforms. Nicholas Fuller, an extreme opposition leader, suggested that the house should wait until the bills of grace had been introduced. Then it should measure its generosity by the benefits received.

Even the leading officials did not give Winwood's proposal the support that they owed to official measures. Sir Julius Caesar did give a speech in which he maintained

²⁰ Commons' Jn. 1. 461. H.M.C. Downshire MSS. iv. 366-9 (Trumbull papers).

the afternoon.

that the security of the state was threatened by lack of money. While he gave no details of royal finance, he offered to disclose the crown's indebtedness to members privately. But instead of supporting Winwood's proposal, Caesar called for a large committee on the Elizabethan plan to consider supply and graces together.

Bacon also made a long speech in favour of a grant. He detailed the difficulties which faced the king in his dealings with foreign nations. He called on the house to show their affection for the king by granting supply, as he had shown his affection for them by offering graces. The king's business and the business of the commonwealth should proceed together. But in spite of his eloquence Bacon must have sensed the crown's weakness. Instead of supporting Winwood's demand for an immediate decision, he moved for a committee of the whole on supply.

Sir George More, an official of secondary rank, likewise spoke in favour of supply. But he moved that the house should consider graces one day and supply the next. Sir Henry Montague, the king's serjeant, followed More's suggestion. He proposed that the bills of grace should be considered the next morning, and supply in the afternoon.

But various other speakers opposed such prompt consideration of the supply question. Some declared that many members of the house had not yet taken their seats. Others hinted at the rumours of undertaking. Even Thomas Crew, the speaker's brother, suggested a delay until after Easter, so that the reaction of the country to the bills of grace could be determined. Despite the unexpected support of Whitelocke, Winwood's proposal failed of adoption. After more talk of undertaking, the supply question was deferred until the second Monday after Easter.²¹

Thus the crown suffered an initial defeat on the most important question before parliament. Even though Winwood's timing was bad (perhaps this was not his fault), he had done his best, and his speech was well received. His manner of delivery, which had improved, made up in part for the distastefulness of his proposal.²²

But once again Winwood was hampered because his colleagues did not support him. In such an important matter, where unity was essential, Caesar and Bacon made their own proposals. Lake and Parry did not speak at all. Almost the only other officials to support

21. Commons' Jn. 1. 461-3.

22. Letters of Chamberlain, 1. 524-6.

23. Letters' Jn. 11. 692-3. Commons' Jn. 1. 464-5.

Winwood were Sir Henry Montague and Sir George More. Despite Winwood's single-handed effort the royal policy suffered a severe defeat, at least partly because its natural supporters did not come to its defense.

On Wednesday April 13 the commons decided to receive communion together on Palm Sunday (April 17) at St. Margaret's Church instead of at Westminster Abbey. Probably the connexion between the lower house and St. Margaret's dates from this incident. Although the change was made because the house disliked the high church service at the abbey, the puritanism of the commons should not be overemphasized.

The same day Bacon reported on the Palatine bill from the committee with but one minor change. The next day at a conference the lords accepted the commons' amendment, and by April 15 the bill had passed through all its stages in both houses.

The lower house spent the rest of the week on election controversies, minor bills, and nebulous attacks on the undertakers. But on Monday April 18 the important bill against impositions received its second reading. While many members spoke in favour of the bill,

23. Commons' jn. 1. 457, 463. Letters of Chamberlain, 1. 524-6.

24. Lords' jn. 11. 692-3. Commons' jn. 1. 464-5.

few defended impositions. Sir George More pointed out that the court of exchequer had declared impositions legal, and Sir Henry Montague feebly defended the king's position. Most of those who attacked impositions were moderate in their tone. Whitelocke and Fuller maintained that the house should not reverse its 1610 judgment against impositions. Christopher Brooke feared that impositions would become lawful through precedent unless the commons took action.

But Sir Herbert Croft made a sweeping declaration that impositions made all property insecure. Sir Dudley Digges boldly stated that the exchequer judgment in favour of impositions was incorrect. William Hakewill, who had accepted the court's judgment at first, declared that he had changed his mind after hearing the debate in 1610. Hoskyns, getting to the nub of the issue, proposed that supply should be deferred until the imposition question was settled. Finally the bill was referred to a committee of the whole house on May 3, after the Easter recess.

On Wednesday April 20 Sir George More protested that the house was considering the bills of grace and postponing supply, even though it had decided to take

them up together. Promptly and without debate the house ordered that supply should be deferred until May 5. After a brief debate on monopolies the house adjourned until May 2 for the Easter recess. The first stage of this parliament ended with the adjournment for Easter. From the crown's point of view the first two weeks of the session were neither successful nor reassuring. Parliament's single accomplishment was the passage of the Palatine bill. On the other hand Bacon had been admitted only on sufferance, and the thorny question of impositions had already arisen. The bills of grace had not mollified the commons, and the attempt to obtain supply had failed. All the while just beneath the surface were rumours of undertaking and traces of puritanism, which continually appeared in debates on other issues, like ominous prophecies for the future. By the Easter adjournment contemporaries were under no illusions about the temper of the commons. Chamberlain wrote that the house was busy attacking the undertakers. The young lawyers were especially vehement, and the only way to gain credit in the commons was to join in the attack. The initiative was passing from

26. Commons' jn. 1. 469.

the former leaders of the opposition to the younger
and less responsible elements.²⁷

Sir John Holles, viewing the house from within,
gave a similar account. Apprehensive from the start,
he believed that his forebodings were becoming realities.
He had been elected unwillingly, for he had realized
that this parliament would begin where the last one had
left off. Impositions had already been brought up as
an antidote for supply. Parliament would not grant money
to the king lest it encourage undertaking, which would
be fatal to parliament and to their liberties. The
bills of grace were so trivial that they irritated the
commons instead of appeasing them. Holles hoped that
the temper of the commons would improve after Easter
under the influence of the lords. He also hoped for
new concessions from the king.²⁸

Archbishop Abbot and others shared Holles's
pessimism. Almost the only optimistic observer was
Viscount Lisle, who had attended only four of the nine
sessions of the upper house.²⁹

Winwood himself, harassed almost to death by his

27. Letters of Chamberlain, i. 524-6.

28. H.M.C. Portland MSS. ix. 27-8 (Holles's letter book).

29. F.R.O. S.P. Dom. 14/77:11. H.M.C. Downshire MSS.
iv. 388-9, 395 (Trumbull papers).

problems and duties, and hindered by the jealousy of his rivals at court, was haunted at times by nightmares of failure and ruin. Even his slightest gesture was misconstrued, and in the house he had to ignore many petty slights. While Winwood might appear indifferent to taunts and rebuffs, he clearly realized his problems. He also knew that the king's financial straits would throw the administration into confusion if he received no money from parliament. Those at court who hoped for a harmonious session must have looked forward to the end of the recess with a chill in their hearts.³⁰

But this offer of concessions had no effect on the house. Sir Robert Cecil, a particularly violent member, immediately denounced the undertakers, declaring that they were worse than the perpetrators of the Gunpowder Plot. Even now he was to confess his master who had used his own name to support them. Even Sir Robert Phillips, the son of the master of the rolls, joined in the attack. John Hesketh with characteristic vigour also attacked the party for undertaking. The debate was not entirely one-sided. Sir Robert Phillips pointed out that he had offered any

30. Letters of Chamberlain, i. 524-6. P.R.O. S.P.
see Venice 99/15. f.227 (no.275).

Undertakers and Impositions

When parliament reassembled on Monday May 2 after the Easter recess, the house of commons plunged at once into the two most controversial subjects of the session: undertakers and impositions. The government probably sensed the temper of the opposition, for it attempted a counterstroke at the very start of business. Bacon introduced four bills of grace with a conciliatory speech emphasizing the king's bounty. But this offer of concessions had no effect on the house. Sir Roger Owen, a particularly violent member, immediately denounced the undertakers, declaring that they were worse than the perpetrators of the Gunpowder Plot. Owen went so far as to condemn any member who owed his seat to a peer. Even Sir Robert Phelps, the son of the master of the rolls, joined in the chase. John Hoskyns with characteristic puritan bias blamed the papists for undertaking.

But the debate was not entirely one-sided. Sir Henry Poole pointed out that no one had offered any proof. The charges of undertaking were vague rumours not even mentioning a single individual. Sir Dudley

Digges was forced to admit that he had spread baseless¹ rumours of popery.

Bacon then attempted to stem the tide with a long and eloquent speech. He scoffed at the whole concept as unsound because the members of the house did not make up their minds until they had heard the debates. He pointed out that no individual had been accused of undertaking and that the king had twice denied having any part in it. But the question should be settled, because otherwise a cloud of suspicion would rest on the whole house. No one could defend royal policies without being suspected of undertaking. The people would be uneasy if they thought that parliament had betrayed them.

Bacon then differentiated between proper and improper advice to the king on parliament. He declared that it was quite proper to advise the king to summon parliament and even to suggest concessions. But it was improper to attempt to drive the commons like sheep, or to spread rumours of undertaking and packing. He opposed an investigation of undertaking because he could not see where it should begin. He ended with the

1. Commons' Jn. 1. 470-1. Widdings, Letters and Life of

the Commons Debates 1551, vii. 651-3.

suggestion that the commons should send a message to the king denying that they were tainted with undertaking. But the house decided to examine the question on Wednesday May 4 in the committee of the whole.²

On Wednesday afternoon the commons were summoned before the king for his third speech of the session. He declared that his right to levy impositions rested on a judgment of the court of exchequer chamber. While he would not permit any infringement on his prerogative, he would allow the case to be reheard.

The king expressed the hope that he would not have to ask parliament for financial relief again. He declared that he would not bargain with them, but would depend on their love. He also denied once more that he had dealt with the undertakers. The king maintained that his declaration would free the commons from the necessity of discussing the question further.³

But the king's speech had no effect on the commons. Although Sir George More reminded the house that they had proposed to consider supply on that date, they decided to hear the report from the committee on impositions first. Sir Edwin Sandys, who delivered the

2. Commons' in. 1. 471. Spedding, Letters and Life of Bacon, v. 42-8.

3. Commons Debates 1621, vii. 631-3.

report, made a long speech citing the usual medieval precedents. He concluded with a motion to defer supply until the question of impositions had been settled. Various members of the house had diverse ideas of how to proceed. Some suggested a petition to the king while others favoured a bill. Although the various speakers were in agreement on the basic question, the house became more and more disorderly until it resembled a cockpit. Moderate opposition leaders like James Whitelocke advised the house to continue with supply while they considered impositions, but less experienced members spoke of postponing subsidies, and resurrected the old red herring of the undertakers.

When Leonard Bawtrey, a legal supporter of the crown, tried to defend the king's stand on impositions, he met with a hostile reception. First he condemned irresponsible speeches on undertaking. But when he declared that the king should decide whether or not supply should be postponed, he was hissed down by the house.

Sir Edwin Sandys and other members then condemned a suggestion for a conference with the lords on impositions in the king's presence. They feared that the king would overawe the commons as he had done on 11.

previous occasions. On Sandys's proposal, the house finally voted for a conference with the lords on impositions to decide on procedure by petition or bill.

A new attempt was now made to obtain a grant of supply. Robert Middleton, who had introduced the bill against impositions, offered a compromise. He suggested that a subsidy should be collected while the question of impositions was being settled, so that an immediate cash grant could be made to the king as soon as an agreement had been reached. When this proposal fell flat, Sir Thomas Lake, a privy councillor, moved for a vote on supply at once. But various other members opposed him, predicting a defeat for the crown and dissatisfaction in the country.

Sir Edwin Sandys now entered the debate on supply. Although he favoured a grant, he believed that there was no emergency demanding its passage so early in the session. Sandys proposed a message to the king stating that the commons intended to vote supply unanimously at the proper time. Winwood supported Sandys, asking the house to set a definite date for supply. Hakewill closed the debate by suggesting that the privy councillors should inform the king of the decision of the house to

4. Commons' Jn. 1. 472-4. Commons Debates 1621, vii.
633-4.

grant subsidies unanimously near the end of the session.⁵

On Monday May 9 the house of commons took up the Stockbridge election case. Sir Thomas Parry, the chancellor of the duchy and a privy councillor, was accused of unlawful interference in the Stockbridge election, the details of which have already been given in chapter iv. The lower house, which believed that it had finally discovered one of the elusive undertakers, suspended Parry from his seat while the case was investigated.⁶

The next day the commons returned to the Stockbridge case with relish, even William Fanshawe, the auditor of the duchy, joining in the chase.

Supporters of the crown could find little to say in Parry's defense. Sir George More cited Parry's age and long public career, and tried to shift the blame to his subordinates. Sir Robert Phelps suggested that Parry should be suspended temporarily and then pardoned. Bacon cited Parry's age and service, and asked the house to be generous because they did not live in an ideal commonwealth. He maintained that the chancellor of the duchy had the prescriptive right to nominate one member from each duchy town, and he suggested legislation

5. Commons' Jn. 1. 475.

6. Commons Jn. 1. 477. See above pp.104-5.

to reform electoral abuses. Sir Henry Montague and Edward Moseley, the attorney-general of the duchy, also defended Parry.

But the official group failed to stem the tide. Some members believed that the punishment of so great an official would be a salutary lesson. Others accused him of undertaking. Still others demanded the abolition of the duchy's separate chancery court.

Although Lake did little for Parry, Winwood finally came to his defense. But he too was forced to admit the seriousness of the charge. He simply declared the king's intention to punish Parry unless the commons interceded for him.

As usual, the king's message only irritated the house, and several members protested that his interference violated their liberties. Finally the house ordered Winwood to thank the king, but to tell him that they wished to deal with Parry themselves. They set the following morning for the final disposition of the case.

The next morning (May 11) when Parry's case came up again, Winwood informed the house that the king would suspend Parry from the council. Without further

7. Commons' jn. i. 478-9. Commons Debates 1831, vii. (1831, Parliament 1831, ix. 132 (Winwood's letter book)).

debate Parry was expelled from the house. After more discussion the commons voided the election of Sir Walter Cope and Sir Henry Wallop at Stockbridge. Although some prominent opposition leaders wished to extend mercy to Parry, the house concluded the case by sending a message to the king saying that it was doubly satisfied with its own censure and with the king's punishment of Parry.⁸

Thus Sir Thomas Parry fell into disgrace with little attempt on the part of the crown (futile though it might have proved) to defend him. To some extent Parry was betrayed by his associates. William Fanshawe, the auditor of the duchy, did Parry more harm under pretense of defending him than those who attacked him most bitterly. Aside from his message offering to punish Parry, the king took no part in the case. Perhaps Parry had become so useless with advancing years (he was over sixty) that the king was glad of this opportunity to get rid of him. Also Parry's conduct was almost indefensible. His own letters to the persons involved in the case were produced in the house, and so well-disposed a commentator as Lorkin had to admit that the accusation

⁸. Commons' Jn. 1. 480-1. Commons Debates 1621, vii. 637. H.M.C. Portland MSS. ix. 132 (Holles's letter book).

was true.⁹ This event, relegated by Gardiner to a footnote, must have shaken the prestige of the council to its foundations. For a type of electioneering which was not uncommon in that period, one of the king's close advisers had been expelled from the lower house. Not only had the commons deprived him of his seat, but also their action had led to his suspension from the council-table. Any privileged position in the house which had protected the councillors from attack now disappeared completely. This development would force them to act with care lest they lay themselves open to attack by the hostile commons. Hence their sphere of activity narrowed, and they felt more acutely the dilemma of serving two masters. While the house would mistrust them as tale-bearers for the king, the king would demand services of the councillors which would bring down upon them the wrath of the house. Finally, Parry's condemnation was certain to lower the prestige of councillors elected to the lower house. Now that the commons had proved a councillor to have feet of clay, all the councillors

9. Letters of Chamberlain, i. 528-9. Court and Times of James I, i. 314-8.

10. Parry, i. 1. 483. Parry, i. 1. 483. Parry, i. 1. 483. (Hollis's letter book).

11. Parry, i. 1. 483.

were reduced to the level of ordinary mortals, and could be dealt with accordingly. On the other hand, the commoners who sat at the council-table lost prestige in the eyes of the peers on the council. If they had so little influence in the commons that they could not protect themselves, their opinions were valueless, and their usefulness was limited to service as clerks or messenger-boys. Once the commons had forced the king to dismiss a councillor even for a heinous offence, the development had begun which led ultimately to parliamentary control of the executive.

Meanwhile the commons were coming almost to blows over the undertakers. On Thursday May 12 in the committee on undertakers Sir William Herbert and Sir Robert Killigrew, both supporters of the crown, accused the chairman, Sir Roger Owen, of partiality. Then they tried to drag him from the chair as they were leaving the meeting, so that he could not trick them after they had gone.

The next day the house considered undertaking again. Because this debate was the last one of importance on the subject, the whole question is reviewed

16. Commons' in. 1. 483. H.M.C. Portland MSS. ix. 132
(Hollis's letter book).

11. Commons' in. 1. 462-3.

here. The undertakers first came to the attention of the lower house on April 12 during a debate on subsidies. The opposition made vague statements in the house and personal attacks outside it, while the court faction contented itself with references to the king's denials in his speeches of April 5 and April 9. The only definite fact that came to light was Sir Herbert Groft's complaint that some members had called him an undertaker outside the house.

11

The next day a committee was appointed to draft a message to the king on undertaking. At the same time Sir Roger Owen declared that sometime earlier copies of many of the concessions now offered by the king had been circulated. On April 16 Sir Walter Chute, the king's carver, offered to admit the offense, and delivered something in writing to the house. But to his chagrin no one thought him worth suspecting, and the house refused to appoint a committee to investigate his confession. On April 28 Sir John Holles wrote that undertaking had caused a schism in the commons, and had hindered public business. He mentioned that the undertakers presumed to guide the house and make it obedient to their wills. But he named no one. He did not mention

11. Commons' jn. 1. 462-3.

elections or packing, and he confined himself to speaking of the few who would lead the house in return for rewards from the king.

12

On the first day after the Easter recess (Monday May 2) Sir Roger Owen brought up undertaking again, but he added nothing except some new polemics. Another member pointed out that the only undertaker so far discovered was the self-confessed and harmless Chute. Fuller added the vague statement that "some one great man" had secured the election of sixty members. Hoskyns laid the whole blame on popery. In the end, the matter was referred to a committee of the whole.

13

In the committee the next Wednesday afternoon it was said that particular men had gone to the king to betray their country, and that undertaking therefore had its roots among the Roman Catholics. Francis Ashley reluctantly admitted that he had been shown the bills of grace when he first came to town. He had also heard rumours that several noblemen had engrossed eight or ten seats each. Except for third or fourth hand rumours, the committee discovered nothing else.

14

12. Commons' Jn. i. 464, 466. Letters of Chamberlain, i. 528-9. H.M.C. Portland MSS. ix. 27-8 (Hollis's letter book).
13. Commons' Jn. i. 470-1.
14. Commons Debates 1621, vii. 634.

The Parry incident was hailed as a case of undertaking, although such practises were at least as old as Thomas Cromwell's time. A paper was also produced at Owen's committee containing articles and a comment on them which seemed to refer to undertaking. The whole affair finally came to a head on May 14. This same paper was read in the house. It contained more articles of grace than had been offered to parliament, and it had been circulated long before parliament met. Sir Henry Neville, who admitted openly that he was the author of the paper, said that he had communicated the whole plan to the king at Windsor in July 1612. His only purpose was to create harmony between the king and parliament, and he had never undertaken to lead the house of commons. Although the house approved of his explanation, it condemned the private circulation of papers on parliamentary matters. While the undertaking question was left unsettled, the commons never resumed their debate on the subject.

There can be little doubt that this paper was a copy of the one referred to in chapter vii. The remarks of contemporaries bear out the contention that the

15. Commons' Jn. i. 485. Commons Debates 1621, vii. 639-40. H.M.C. Portland MSS. ix. 132-3 (Hollis's letter book).

undertaking rumours were based on nothing but Neville's scheme to woo the house by a programme of concessions after it was elected. Lorkin, Chamberlain, and Holles all gave accounts of what had happened, but none of them hinted at packing except for Chamberlain's one reference to letters sent out by great men. Lorkin and Chamberlain also remarked that Neville's admission quieted the rumours. No evidence was found of any widespread and nefarious conspiracy to undermine parliament. Indeed, several well-informed sources, including the Spanish, French, and Venetian correspondence, ignored undertaking altogether. The conclusion is that undertaking was simply a combination and exaggeration of Neville's proposal plus the council's election activities detailed in chapter iv.¹⁶

Still, undertaking had an unfortunate effect on the parliament. To begin with, it wasted time. Day after day the commons pursued will-o'-the-wisps, each member feeling impelled to add his mite to the debate. Day after day really important matters were postponed. Nerves on both sides were thin because no progress was

¹⁶. Letters of Chamberlain, i. 515-6, 528-9, 530-1. Court and Times of James I, i. 314-8. H.M.C. Portland MSS. ix. 27-8, 132-3 (Holles's letter book). See also above chapter iv passim and chapter vii. 145.

made in solving the problems facing parliament. In the second place the very nebulous character of the whole matter bred suspicion of all who supported the crown, and especially of the leading officials. Parry's expulsion, of course, served to increase this feeling of mistrust. This aura of suspicion undermined the leadership of the officials and paved the way for a complete break between the king and the commons. Thirdly, the passions of the house were inflamed by violent speeches on undertaking. With many young and inexperienced members and with only untried officials to guide it, the house tended more and more to get beyond control. Even the seasoned leaders of the opposition lost their influence in the end, and the commons became more an unruly mob than a legislature. Finally, the officials fell between two stools when they attempted to regain their lost prestige by supporting popular measures. Neither side regarded them as sincere or trustworthy. They alienated important elements at court without securing the firm support of the commons.

Sensing the temperament of the house, Winwood and Lake decided that they could best restore their waning prestige by advocating reforms in the established church. On Friday May 6, just after the attack on

impositions, Winwood moved that a committee on recusants should meet the next Monday afternoon. At this committee he attacked the clergy for their neglect of preaching and catechising. He condemned non-residence, pluralities, and the low moral tone of the clergy.

Winwood also accused Henry Spiller, the official who received the fines paid by recusants, of misappropriating the money. On May 12, the day after Parry's expulsion, the bill against non-residence and pluralities had its second reading. Sir Thomas Lake, who owed his position on the council to the Howards, supported the bill and attacked the bishops.¹⁷

While these maneuvers did assist Winwood in the house, they brought the whole of the clergy down on his back. The best thing that they could call him was a puritan, and many of the bishops accused him of being associated with the extreme sect of Brownists. They tried to convince the king that Winwood wanted to lead the puritan faction, and they assailed him bitterly both in the pulpit and in convocation. But Winwood, who remained in the king's good graces, was able to withstand them. Still, between parliament in the morning, committee-meetings in the afternoon, and the other

17. Commons' Jn. 1. 475, 482-3. Commons Debates 1621, vii. 636, 639.

duties of an office in which he was not yet thoroughly settled, Winwood found himself so overwhelmed with business that he scarcely had time for even the sketchiest planning of his parliamentary strategy. ¹⁸

Meanwhile the house had gone back to impositions, and on May 12 Sir Edwin Sandys reported from the committee on the subject. He declared that impositions affected the whole kingdom indirectly even though their direct effects fell only on the merchants. The committee recommended that the commons should confer with the lords on the subject because impositions not authorized by parliament were illegal. Most of the report dealt with the details of the statement which the commons would make at this conference. ¹⁹

On May 16 the whole question was debated once more in the house, and the commons agreed not to ask the lords for a conference until everyone was prepared. Some of the leading officials, especially Sir Henry Montague and Sir Francis Bacon, had important parts assigned to them for the conference. Some few members of the house were still unconvinced of the illegality of impositions. But when the house questioned the officials, Bacon,

18. Letters of Chamberlain, i. 528-31.

19. Commons' Jn. i. 481-2. Commons Debates 1621, vii. 638-9.

Montague, and Solicitor-General Yelverton denied that there were any records which proved the legality of the king's stand. In this debate and in a succeeding one on the same subject, a few members, especially Leonard Bawtreay and Thomas Hitchcock, who owed his seat to the earl of Northampton, defended the king's power to levy impositions.²⁰

On May 19 the commons sent Winwood to the upper house to ask for a conference on impositions, but the lords had already risen. The next time that the lords met, on Saturday May 21, he was sent to them again. After the lords had replied that they would send an answer on Monday, the commons debated impositions again. Because this debate had such a direct bearing on succeeding events,²¹ it is considered in the next chapter.

The events narrated in this chapter struck contemporaries as matters of extreme importance. Winwood believed that his difficulties in parliament stemmed principally from the dispute over impositions. Although he admitted that they presented a difficult problem, at least as late as May 10 he hoped to find a solution.

20. Commons' jn. 1. 486-7. Commons Debates 1621, vii. 640-2. H.M.C. Portland MSS. ix. 133 (Holle's letter book).

21. Commons' jn. 1. 490, 492. Lords' jn. 11. 705. H.M.C. Hastings MSS. iv. 249.

Lorkin maintained that the officials blundered when they did not force a vote on the supply question on May 5. He felt that once Sandys, Digges, and the other opposition leaders had drawn the house away to impositions, the strength of the court faction was bound to wane rapidly. Puyseux, the French envoy, saw the connexion between the two questions. Although he realised how distasteful any restrictions would be to the king, he could see that the king would have to compromise in the end if he wanted supply. According to Puyseux the crown could not be sure of support even in the house of lords. More discerning (or perhaps more frank) than Lorkin, he predicted that the king would dissolve this parliament in a fit of anger as he had the last one.

The three weeks after the Easter recess proved the case of those who had opposed a session of parliament. The commons had been led into greater and greater violence by the rumours of undertaking. More and more the house took on the character of a cockpit, when members delivered more violent attacks on the court than they

22. P.R.O. S.P. 99/16. f.21 (Venice correspondence).
Court and Times of James I, i. 314-8. P.R.O. French transcripts, 3/47 (Puyseux to Buisseau 11/21 May 1614). P.R.O. French transcripts, 3/48 Puyseux to Buisseau 22May/1 June 1614).

may have intended under the influence of a supercharged atmosphere. The main purpose of the session (from the crown's point of view) had been forced into the background. Despite Winwood's forcefulness and Bacon's cajolery, the house refused to vote on subsidies. As the days passed, the hope of an eventual grant waned.

The programme put forward by Neville and his associates to conciliate the commons had failed completely. Although the commons regarded the concessions offered by the crown as trivial, nevertheless these concessions suggested to the commons that they should demand reforms before voting subsidies. At this point the fundamental issue of impositions leaped to the fore. Both sides seemed to have an instinctive understanding of its importance. The real issue at stake was the question of sovereignty, and the king was quite right when he maintained that he would diminish his prerogative seriously if he conceded this point. On the other hand, the commons were doomed to be junior partners, or perhaps no partners at all, in the government if they did not succeed. As the astute French envoy informed his superiors, the atmosphere at Westminster was so tense that only a spark was needed for an explosion. consent of their diets. Yet every petty Italian prince levied

Chapter X. In Spain the king
Bishop Neile's Attack on the Commons
monarch, but not in America, where he was elected. The
king. Only a few days after Puyssieux's despatch, the
explosion which he had predicted destroyed all hope of
a harmonious session. On Saturday afternoon May 21,
while the commons were waiting for the lords to answer
their request for a conference, they quite naturally
discussed impositions once more. For the first time,
leading courtiers attempted an uncompromising defense
of impositions. The first speaker was Sir Henry Wotton, whose long
service as ambassador to Venice had given him a wide
knowledge of continental affairs. He declared that pre-
cedents did not clearly deny the king's power to impose.
Then he divided kings into two classes: elective and
hereditary. Elective kings could not impose because
they received their thrones by the will of the people
and were dependent on the people. But hereditary kings
had greater powers because they inherited their crowns.
Wotton then cited examples to support his arguments.
The emperor and the king of Poland, both of whom were
elected, levied impositions only with the consent of
their diets. But every petty Italian prince levied

impositions on his own authority. In Spain the king could impose in Castile, where he was an hereditary monarch, but not in Aragon, where he was elected. The king of France not only levied impositions, but he forced the people to buy salt, on which there was an internal levy.

Winwood supported Wotton's contentions. He maintained that foreign princes did not impose by law, but by their royal prerogative. He cited the princes of Germany and Italy and the king of Spain as princes using their prerogative powers to impose. He also denied the opposition's contention that the French estates had consented to the levy of impositions in France.

Most of the leading opponents of the court replied to Wotton and Winwood. Sir Roger Owen declared that the kings of Spain and France violated their own laws by levying impositions. He referred to history as proof that the French kings gained the power to impose by seldom summoning their estates. Owen also stated boldly that all kings had originally received their crowns by election and with the consent of their subjects. But he made a more telling point when he said that in the last analysis not history, but the ancient

laws of England should determine the question. Sir Thomas Roe attacked the facts cited by Wotton and Winwood, while Sir Dudley Digges expanded Owen's final point. Sir Edwin Sandys developed Owen's contract theory in a long and bitter speech. He maintained that the power to impose had led to tyranny in France. At first, all kings were elected, and there were reciprocal conditions between the king and his people. Sandys also declared emphatically that the king of England had no right to impose simply because the French king levied impositions. The boldest speech of all was delivered by Thomas Wentworth, the puritan member for Oxford city. Only a fragmentary record of the speech remains, but it is sufficient to indicate its character. With typical puritan zeal Wentworth maintained that impositions were sinful, calling down divine wrath most justly on those who levied them. The Spaniards had been punished by the loss of the Low Countries, and Henry IV of France had died for this sin like a calf under the butcher's knife. Wentworth cited various texts from the Revelation and Ezekiel, but especially Daniel xi, verse 20: "Then shall stande up in his place in the glorie of the

kingdome, one that shall rayse taxes: but after fewe dayes hee shall bee destroyed, neither in wrath, nor in battell. And in his place shal stand up a vile person, to whome they shall not give the honour of the kingdome: but hee shall come in peaceably, and obtaine the kingdome by flatteries." This speech practically ended the debate. But it soon reached the ears of the king together with the name of the speaker.

Meanwhile the lords had considered the request of the commons for a conference on impositions. When the lords received the message from the lower house on Saturday May 21, they replied that they would send an answer as soon as it was convenient. At the beginning of their debate on this question, Bishop Neile of Lincoln rose. In an uncompromising speech he declared that it was dangerous for the upper house to confer with the commons on impositions. He stated further that the question was a noli me tangere, and that no one who had taken the oaths of supremacy and allegiance could debate it with a clear conscience. In the oath of allegiance

1. Commons' Jn. 1. 492-3. Commons Debates 1621, vii. 644. P.R.O. French transcripts 3/48 (Puisieux to Buisseaux 30 May/8 June 1614). The Biblical quotation is from the Geneva version, probably the one with which Wentworth was familiar.

they had sworn to maintain the privileges of the crown, but in such a conference they would strike at the very foundations of royal power.

The lord chancellor then brought up what eventually became the crucial point at issue in the upper house. He suggested that the lords should consult the judges on the legality of impositions before they answered the commons. The earl of Southampton, the leading opposition peer, suggested a meeting with the commons, at which the lords would hear their arguments, but would not debate the issue. This proposal met with general agreement, and it was adopted by the committee of the whole.

When the upper house met on Monday, 71 lords were present, of whom 55 were lay peers and 16 were bishops. As Saturday's debate on the conference had been in a committee of the whole, the question came up again on Monday. Although Lord St. John, an opposition peer, contended that the lords had decided on a meeting on Saturday, and asked them to set the time and place, he was opposed by the privy councillors in the upper house. The lord chancellor once more suggested a consultation with the judges. He was supported by the earls of Suffolk, Nottingham, Pembroke, and Worcester, as well

as by Nottingham's heir, Lord Howard de Walden. Two
other privy councillors, Lord Knollys and Lord Zouch,
also supported the lord chancellor.

Among the lords spiritual, Archbishop Abbot of
Canterbury and Bishop Montague of Bath and Wells, the
brother of the king's serjeant, spoke in support of the
lord chancellor. Bishop Neile made his second speech
on the question, as uncompromising as the first. He was
unequivocally opposed to a meeting or a conference. He
wanted the lords to suspend their decision until they
heard the opinion of the judges. He also warned them
once more that the commons would make seditious and
unfit speeches.

Several opposition peers attacked the privy
councillors' position. The earl of Southampton main-
tained that they were debating whether or not to meet
the commons, and that the opinion of the judges on that
point was unnecessary. He was supported by the earl of
Dorset and Lord de la Warr. Lord Chandos, Lord Saye,
and Lord Spencer criticised Bishop Neile for accusing
the commons before they had been heard. At the con-
clusion of the debate the lord chancellor speaking as
a baron reiterated his contention that the judges should
be consulted.

The lords then voted on the question of consulting the judges before they decided whether or not to meet the commons. Those who wanted to consult the judges had a majority of 39 to 30. The earl of Pembroke, a privy councillor, and the earl of Southampton, who acted as tellers, accounted for the two missing votes. The backbone of the majority was made up of bishops and privy councillors. All of the 16 spiritual lords present except the archbishop of York supported the crown. Ten lay privy councillors should probably be added to the bishops, all the councillors present except Pembroke, who acted as a teller. The two Scotsmen in the house of lords (Richmond and Somerset) are included among the councillors. Of the remaining 43 lay lords, only 14 voted with the court, while 29 were in opposition.²

The narrow margin of the court's victory was striking. The 55 lay peers present, including privy councillors, were divided 30 to 25 against the court. The 14 lay lords outside the council who supported the court probably included several who were under obligation to the crown or were close relatives of councillors,

² Lords' Jn. 11. 705-6. H.M.C. Hastings MSS. iv. 249-55. B.M. Lansd. MSS. 513, ff.143-52. Court and Times of James I, i. 312-4.

such as the earl of Montgomery, Viscount Lisle, Lord Danvers, Lord Howard de Walden, and Lord Howard of Effingham. Even in 1614 only about a quarter of the independent lay peers would support the crown on so vital an issue as impositions. ~~As a result of the debate~~ After this division six of the judges retired to the lord chancellor's lodgings and spent half an hour in conference. At the end of this time the judges returned and gave their answer through Lord Chief Justice Coke, whose principles dominated their reply. He declared that the judges were sworn to deliver opinions on judicial questions between party and party, and between king and subject. On one side, the subject claimed as his birthright freedom from impositions levied by the king's absolute power. But the king maintained that his power to impose was a sovereign right of his prerogative. If it was part of his prerogative, it was warranted by law, for the king had only those prerogatives given him by the law. Coke went on to state that the judges were not called before the lords to dispute, but to advise. A case should be argued by the king's learned counsel, who should by rights attend the house of lords. The judges would deliver their opinion after the lords and commons

had argued the case, but not before. Coke concluded by condemning both those who would restrict the prerogative to gain popularity, and those who would extend it beyond its lawful limits to gain favour at court.³

This somewhat anticlimactic result of the debate typified Coke's theory of the position of the judges. He believed that they should be non-political umpires between king and commons, deciding great questions of state on the principles of the common law. They would hold themselves aloof from the wrangling of everyday debate, and would be immuned from royal or popular pressure. But this exalted ideal of the judicial function fell to the ground when Coke's dismissal opened the way for the king to influence the decisions of the judges. It could never have become a reality, however, when the two contending parties did not share Coke's veneration for the common law and its interpreters.

The next day (Tuesday May 24) the lords considered whether or not to have a meeting with the commons on impositions. Once more the opposition peers favoured a meeting, and the privy councillors opposed it. The earl of Southampton made the principal speech in favour

³. Lords' jn. 11. 706. B.M. Lansd. MSS. 513. ff.143-52.
H.M.C. Hastings MSS. iv. 256-7.

of the proposal. His chief reason was that a refusal would irritate the commons and injure the king. He also condemned those who accused the commons of sedition. Lord Chandos maintained that they did not need to ask the king's permission to debate impositions. Lord Rich, Lord Spencer, and Lord North supported Southampton without adding any new arguments to his case.

The privy councillors were the most prominent speakers on the other side. Lord Knollys contended that the abolition of impositions would harm the king without benefitting the subject. The merchants would simply charge the same prices, and would pocket the difference. The earl of Nottingham maintained that impositions should not be questioned without the king's consent. The lord chancellor asserted that a meeting would accomplish nothing. In a conference the lords would be at a hopeless disadvantage because they had no legal counsel. He suggested that impositions should come before the lords in their judicial capacity on writ of error. Three other privy councillors, the earls of Pembroke and Suffolk, and Lord Zouch, also opposed the meeting.

Several spiritual lords spoke in support of the

privy councillors. They included Archbishop Abbot of Canterbury, Bishop Parry of St. Asaph, Bishop Montague of Bath and Wells, Bishop Bilson of Winchester, and Bishop James of Durham. For the third time Bishop Neile of Lincoln took a strong stand against the commons. He cited the king's speech maintaining his power to impose, and the refusal of the judges to dispute with the lower house. Neile declared that the lords should not question the royal power unless an appeal came before them on writ of error.

The motion to hold a meeting with the commons on impositions was defeated without a division. On Thursday May 26⁴ the lords informed the commons of their decision.

Reports of these debates in the house of lords spread abroad rapidly although not in an entirely accurate form. Chamberlain believed that the division on Monday May 23 was on a motion to hold a conference, while it was actually on a motion to consult the judges. But nevertheless this motion was so conclusive a test of strength that there was no division on the more important question. Chamberlain did realize that the

⁴. Lords' In. 11. 706-8. H.M.C. Hastings MSS. iv. 257-64.

decision of the upper house would irritate the commons beyond measure. Furthermore he sensed the importance of Bishop Neile's remarks. They must have spread abroad rapidly, for both Chamberlain writing on May 26 and Lorkin writing on May 28 had heard of them. The lord chancellor must also have realized the importance of the decision of the lords, for he drew up a memorandum⁵ justifying their stand.

On Wednesday May 25 Neile's speech of the previous Saturday came to the attention of the house of commons. Sir Robert Phelps first identified Neile as the bishop who had charged the commons with striking at the roots of the crown by questioning the legality of impositions. Although he admitted that there was no evidence for the speech but common fame, he wanted Neile punished. He also proposed that the commons should send a message to the lords.

Other members supported Phelps. Sir William Strode first suggested that the commons should suspend all other business until they were vindicated. John Hoskyns made a general attack on the whole episcopal order. Another member declared that Neile should be

5. Court and Times of James I, 1. 312-8. B.M. Cott.
MSS. Titus F iv. ff.257-8.

executed. A third charged Neile with sedition. Sir Roger Owen declared that Neile's offence was worse than treason, and he charged that the clergy favoured absolutism. These violent attacks on Neile alarmed the more sensible opposition leaders. Sir Dudley Digges cautioned the commons to proceed carefully until they had reliable evidence against Neile. Edward Alford suggested that a committee should search for precedents. Christopher Brooke opposed a suspension of business because it would punish the king and the commons instead of the bishop. Winwood also protested against the suspension of business. The house finally appointed a committee to consider the case.

The next day (Thursday May 26) the dispute came before the committee. They considered three different proposals: to ask the lords if the report of Neile's speech was true, to complain to the lords, or to go directly to the king. William Hakewill reported to the house from the committee that they had agreed that common fame was strong enough proof for words spoken in the house of lords. By a vote of 21 to 18 the

6. Commons' Jn. 1. 496-8. Court and Times of James I,
1. 312-4.

committee recommended a message direct to the king, and by a vote of 30 to 14 it recommended a suspension of business. The commons first concerned themselves with the advisability of a message to the king. Most of the more moderate opposition leaders favoured a message to the lords. Sir Edwin Sandys said that a message to the king opened the way for the king to punish a member of the lower house on complaint of the lords. Sir Dudley Digges, Sir Robert Phelps, Sir James Perrot, Nicholas Fuller, and Sir Thomas Roe all supported Sandys. Sir Roger Owen, who wanted a message to the king because he was afraid that the lords would not punish Neile, was heckled so continually that he finally resumed his seat. When Hakewill announced that he was converted to a message to the lords, the commons decided on that procedure without a division. Despite the speaker's opposition, the commons also decided to suspend business until the lords answered their message on Neile.

On Friday the twenty-seventh Sir Roger Owen, a violent opponent of Neile, reported from the committee which had been appointed to draft a message to the lords.

7, Commons' Jn. 1. 498-9. H.M.C. Portland MSS. ix. 133 (Holles's letter book). Commons Debates 1621, vii. 646.

After the message had been read, Sir George More, a strong supporter of the crown, objected that the commons has ordered a suspension of business until they received an answer from the lords about Neile. But Owen's committee had made the material change that the suspension would last until the wrong was redressed. The house sent the message back to the committee, which was enlarged by the inclusion of several new members, including Sir George More.

Meanwhile the house indulged in a bitter attack on Neile. Nicholas Fuller accused him of papist tendencies and declared that he discriminated against puritanical clergymen. Other members maintained that he had exacted money from his dioceses for his own gain. After the speaker had warned the house not to criticise Neile without proof, the house agreed on its message to the lords.

The speaker then read a letter from the king to the house. The king stated in his letter that he had heard of the commons' cessation of business because they had received reports of Neile's speeches based on common fame. The king reminded the house that little time remained for much important business. He also declared that he alone could summon and dissolve

parliament, and asked the commons to explain their cessation.

Sir George More seized the opportunity to propose that the house should continue with business of extraordinary importance, but his compromise fell flat. Various members of the opposition declared that the king had been misinformed about the intention of the commons. Sir Roger Owen even charged that the king was misinformed about his powers over parliament.

Sir Samuel Sandys, who had been in parliament for thirty years, charged that sinister forces were at work to disrupt the session. Then he accused the speaker of having shown the commons' order book to the king.

Speaker Crew was forced to admit that he had shown a copy of the order on cessation to the king. He explained that the king could see no difference between "cessation" and "forbearance". The speaker concluded by declaring his desire to uphold the privileges of the house.

The following day (Saturday May 28) the commons drafted their answer to the king's letter. This reply was nothing more than a quibble of words. They declared

8. Commons' Jn. 1. 499-500. Commons Debates 1621, vii. 646-7. H.M.C. Portland MSS. ix. 133-4 (Hollis's letter book).

that their suspension of business was not a cessation or recess, but only a forbearance, or the exercise of their right to prefer one matter of business to another. They failed to explain how they were exercising their preference when they brought all business to a halt. The commons also declared that they would resume business just as soon as they were satisfied. The king replied to this message by summoning the speaker and forty members of the commons to an audience at Whitehall on Sunday afternoon. When the house appointed this committee, it took the extraordinary and significant step of excluding all the privy councillors from it.

On Saturday the commons sent their message on Neile to the lords. This message contained a report of Neile's speeches. The commons asked the lords to join with them in some course that would yield them satisfaction, and also stated that they would forbear from all other business until their message was answered.

The lords answered that they would make a definite reply as soon as possible. Meanwhile, despite the pleas of individual members, the commons remained firm in their resolution to suspend all business until they

had received an answer from the lords.⁹

Many contemporaries noted the decision of the commons to postpone business until they received satisfaction for Neile's remarks. But some of them were hopeful of a successful session even as late as the end of May. John More writing on May 26 admitted that the effect of these animosities was bad, but he had some expectation of a happy outcome. Foscarini, the Venetian ambassador, in his report of the following day was optimistic of a grant of supply, and ignored Neile completely. But his colleague Puyssieux writing on May 29 stated that few people expected anything but an unhappy conclusion for the parliament. Lorkin also felt that the king would receive little satisfaction from this parliament.¹⁰

The events of the next few days did little to reassure the pessimists, whose worst fears were to be realized sooner, perhaps, than even they expected. When the lords received the commons' message about

9. Commons' jn. 1. 500-1. H.M.C. Portland MSS. ix. 134-5 (Holles's letter book). H.M.C. Hastings MSS. iv. 267-8.

10. H.M.C. Downshire MSS. iv. 410 (Trumbull papers). Cal. S.P. Venice, 1613-15, pp.129-30. P.R.O. French transcripts, 3/48 (Puyssieux to Buisseau, 29 May/8 June 1614). Court and Times of James I, 1. 314-8.

Neile on Saturday May 28, they began to consider their answer at once. The formerly solid block of privy councillors split over this issue. The earl of Worcester, Lord Knollys, and Archbishop Abbot of Canterbury joined with Lord Rich and Viscount Lisle in demanding an explanation from Neile. But the earls of Nottingham and Suffolk, and Lord Zouch objected to an accusation based on common fame. The lord chancellor, who had consulted the judges, held the same opinion. On his suggestion the lords decided to draft an answer on Monday saying that they would not proceed without more substantial proof of Neile's guilt.

11

On Monday May 30 the speaker reported to the house of commons on his audience with the king at Whitehall the previous afternoon. The king had expressed his pleasure that the lower house wanted to be cleared of charges of disloyalty, but he said that they were neglecting important business for a trivial matter. He warned them to be careful with precedents, for he might discover broad powers for the crown by searching precedents. The king advised the commons to continue with those matters for which he had summoned them, and

11. Lords' jn. ii, 708-9. H.M.C. Hastings MSS. iv.
267-72.

that the papists were trying to subvert parliament.

he declared that he could not see the difference between a forbearance and a cessation. He went on to say that the commons should not be so immature that they would refuse to do any business until they had gained one particular point. While there was still time, the commons should take the opportunity to deal with matters of importance. Instead of discussing an answer to the king's message, the commons, urged on by John Glanville and Edward Alford, postponed it in accordance with their decision to abstain from all business except Neile's case. The house proceeded with routine matters. Sir Roger Owen

The arrival of messengers from the upper house cut short the debate on this question. The messengers stated that the lords would not take any action against Neile on the ground of common fame alone. Sir Edward Hoby rose immediately and said that on the previous day Bishop Neile had singled him out and had tried to excuse himself. Hoby said that Neile had protested with tears in his eyes that he had never charged the commons with seditious words or with striking at the root of the prerogative. The commons, they should infer the commons

But the house was in no mood to accept Neile's penance. Sir William Cope, a strong puritan, hinted that the papists were trying to embroil parliament.

He demanded that Neile should clear himself of the suspicion of Romanism. Although the more extreme members of the opposition like Sir Roger Owen and Sir Jerome Horsey wanted to continue the suspension of business, the saner counsels of Fuller, Alford, Sandys, and Sir Maurice Berkeley prevailed. The house appointed a committee to draft a new message to the lords, and then returned to ordinary business.

On Tuesday the last day of May this committee drafted a new message to the lords, while the house of commons proceeded with routine matters. Sir Roger Owen delivered to the house the report of this committee, which recommended vigorous action against Neile. Owen declared that even though the first message had accomplished nothing, a second message might have better results. Because the committee believed that they could not offer better proof to the lords, the second message was the same as the first, with the addition that the lords knew what had been said in their own house. The message also stated that if the lords refused to punish Neile, they should inform the commons that the charge against him was false. The commons appointed as their messenger Sir Roger Owen, one of

their most hot-headed members, and then proceeded with
12
routine business.

When the lords received this message, they answered that they would reply as soon as they could, the same day if possible. By this time almost all of the lords had deserted Neile. Even the earl of Nottingham joined with Archbishop Abbot, Lord Spencer, and Lord Saye in asking him for an explanation. Only the earl of Suffolk and Bishop Bilson of Winchester attempted to protect Neile. Finally, after the earl of Southampton had demonstrated the unanimity of the house, Neile rose to make his defense. With a great show of emotion and even tears he tried to excuse himself. He paraded his humble origin and personal poverty, but made no real defense. In substance he said that he had not intended to offend the lords or to displease the commons. Without attempting any detailed explanation of his words, he stated that he was willing to give satisfaction to either house.

Lord Knollys, a privy councillor, now spoke in Neile's defense. He declared that the lords were not

12. Commons' Jn. 1. 501-3. H.M.C. Portland MSS. ix. 135 (Hollis's letter book). Commons Debates 1621, vii. 647-9.

obliged to render an account to the commons of what took place in the upper house. He expressed the hope that the lords would accept Neile's explanation and submission. The earl of Suffolk, another councillor, condemned the commons for attacking Neile's character. He also declared that he would have accused the commons of attacking the prerogative if they had questioned impositions. But other peers, including Lord Chandos and the earl of Southampton, felt that Neile should admit that he had spoken the offending words. At last Neile denied that he had spoken the offending words, but he declared that he would make any submission ordered by the lords. In their reply, the lords stated that Neile had declared with tears in his eyes that he had spoken nothing of evil intent against the commons. He protested that he had been misinterpreted, and that his meaning had been strained far beyond what he had intended. The lords declared that they had accepted Neile's explanation. They went on to say that they would have punished him, had they believed that he had cast any aspersions on the lower house. The lords concluded their message with the statement that they had satisfied the commons

on this occasion in order to expedite the king's business, but in the future they would not allow a member of their house to be accused on common fame alone. The lords sent this reply to the commons the same day. ¹³

Here the whole matter might well have ended, but by this time the temper of the commons had reached a fever pitch. Rumours were rife that some cunning hand was working behind the scenes to disrupt the parliament. With good reason Chamberlain became progressively gloomier about the results of the session. The atmosphere of the lower house was so tense and so charged with suspicion that the best of friends were affected. On Tuesday May 31 Sir Edwin Sandys and Sir Dudley Digges, firm friends and two pillars of the opposition, quarreled so violently that Digges complained to the house. Although this breach was soon healed, it was indicative of the atmosphere in the commons. The accusations against Neile had gone to such extremes that even obscure members, who reveled in such excitement, had begun to find them distasteful. The commons were becoming so ungovernable that even

13. Lords' Jn. 11. 712-3. H.M.C. Hastings MSS. 1v.

14. 273-7. Court and Times of James I, 1. 318-20.

their chosen leaders were losing the power to guide them
on any sensible course.

14

Unfortunately the reply of the lords in regard to
 Bishop Wille served only to arouse the commons still
 more and to hasten what was by this time well-nigh
 inevitable -- an angry and bitter dissolution. Although
 the commons received this message on Tuesday
 May 21, the hour was so late that a general debate was
 postponed until the next day. But it was clear that
 the lower house was far from satisfied with the lords'
 answer. On Wednesday Sir Roger Owen declared that Wille's
 explanation was inadequate, and demanded that the
 commons should have the opportunity to interpret his
 words for themselves. He suggested still another ses-
 sion to consider the next move against Wille. Although
 Sir Walter Chute, the king's counsel, opposed
 at a dissolution, several other members including Sir
 Robert Wroth, Sir Maurice Berkeley, and Sir Thomas
 ... attacked Wille bitterly, and supported ...

14. Commons' In. 1. 503. Court and Times of James I,
 In. 1. 318-23. Lovell, a recusant.

debate, the house order Chapter XI to be taken into custody, and appoint The Dissolution to consider further action against Neile.

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Although Sir Walter Chute, the king's carver, hinted at a dissolution, several other members including Sir Robert Phelps, Sir Maurice Berkeley, and Sir Thomas Roe, attacked Neile bitterly, and supported Owen's suggestion. Sir James Perrot accused Neile of shielding against 439 for Neile's account and 439 for the one Francis Lovett, a recusant. After considerable

debate, the house ordered Lovett to be taken into lower custody, and appointed a committee to consider further action against Neile. ^{covered that he was dining with}
The Next, the house considered whether or not to meet on Ascension Day (the next day). When the house divided after debating the question, those who did not want to sit on Ascension Day won handsomely 248 to 141. This vote is an interesting commentary on puritanism in the house of commons in 1614. Certainly a staunchly puritan house would have decided to meet on Ascension Day. The very size of the margin in a large house indicates that its puritanism has been overemphasized. No doubt many members of the house wanted to reform ecclesiastical abuses, and almost all of them were haunted by fears of popery. But the majority would have been satisfied with reforms which would not have changed the establishment drastically. The house of lords seems to have agreed not to meet on Ascension Day without debate or division.

1. Commons' jn. 1. 503-5. Commons Debates 1621, vii. 649-50. H.M.C. Portland MSS. ix. 135-6. Holles in the Portland MSS. gave the division as 248 to 191, but such a large house seems unlikely. In the only two other divisions found, 305 and 334 (or 354) voted against 439 for Holles's account and 389 for the Commons' jn. out of about 472 members.

The same afternoon the three members of the lower house who had been sent to apprehend Lovett made their report. They had discovered that he was dining with the bishop of Bristol, John Thornborough. When the three boldly entered the bishop's dining room, Thornborough lost his temper and issued such a fiery defiance that they had to leave without apprehending Lovett.

After this unsuccessful venture they found a man who was acquainted with Lovett. He deposed that Lovett had paid Neile a pound for his certificate of conformity, but had not taken the two oaths. The deponent also stated that Lovett, who had been imprisoned in Warwickshire as a recusant, had subsequently moved into Buckinghamshire to be in the diocese of Lincoln, where Neile was the bishop. Sir Thomas Lake now reported that the king had sent for Neile because he was so concerned about Lovett. Lake added that the king had ordered an examination of the book which was signed by those taking the oath of allegiance, and that Lovett's signature appeared.

The next time that the commons met (Friday June 3) a message from Lovett was read in the house. While Lovett admitted that he had not received communion,

he declared that he had taken the oaths. This message appears to have mollified the house. While Lovett repeated his statements the same day at the bar of the house, his case was dropped because a more important matter came before the commons.²

This new development was a message from the king which struck the lower house like a bombshell. First, he told them to prepare a bill for the continuance of statutes and also such other bills as they thought advisable. Then he informed the commons that unless they granted him supply quickly and effectually, parliament would be dissolved on Thursday June 9, less than a week away.

This message affected the members of the house in different ways. Some, seeing their reign nearing its end, moderated their conduct. But the majority, far from being cowed, became more violent than ever. For the few remaining days of the session the commons were completely beyond the control of anyone.³

2. Commons' jn. 1. 503-5. Commons Debates 1621, vii. 649-51. H.M.C. Portland MSS. ix. 135 (Holles's letter book).

3. Commons' jn. 1. 505. Commons Debates 1621, vii. 651. H.M.C. Portland MSS. ix. 136 (Holles's letter book). Court and Times of James I, 1. 320.

The supporters of the crown made a final attempt to salvage the session. Sir George More maintained that a dissolution would harm both the king and his subjects because they were all members of the same commonwealth. Sir Julius Caesar proposed a committee on supply, and defended as legal the king's stand on impositions. Sir Thomas Lake and Sir Robert Hitcham also warned the house that parliament would be dissolved unless supply was voted at once.

A number of other members supported the officials. Francis Ashley urged the commons to relieve the king's wants. He also suggested that they should determine how the case over impositions could be retried before the law courts. Sir James Perrot suggested a committee to consider supply and impositions together. Even Sir Thomas Roe and Thomas Wentworth, the Oxford puritan, joined in the proposal for an immediate grant of supply.

But other members stood firm in the face of the king's message. Christopher Neville, a younger son of Lord Bergavenny and no relation to Sir Henry Neville, delivered a curious speech drafted for some other occasion. Neville, who was a young man straight from school, strung together all the appropriate Latin

quotations that he could find, repeating, "O tempora! O mores!" over and over again like a parrot. He also attacked the courtiers, criticised impositions, and made disparaging remarks about the bills of grace. Although this speech merely amused contemporaries, it had dire results for the author.

John Hoskyns attacked the king's Scottish favourites. He charged them with impoverishing the king, and concluded with a reference to the Sicilian Vespers. Sir William Strode urged the house to petition the king on impositions. Nicholas Fuller and John Whitson supported him and attacked the papists. Nicholas Hyde protested against the illegality of impositions and also condemned the king's extravagance. The house ultimately decided to meet in the afternoon as a committee of the whole to consider how they might pacify the king.

The officials tried blunt tactics again in the afternoon at the committee which was drafting a reply to the king. Winwood and Lake declared that the king did not want an answer to his message. They stated

4. Commons' Jn. 1. 505-6. H.M.C. Portland MSS. ix. 136, 138 (Hollis's letter book). Court and Times of James I, i. 320-3. Smith, Life and Letters of Wotton, ii. 36-9. P.R.O. S.P. Venice 99/16. ff.104-5.

regard to impositions. They stated that these were

that there were only two choices before the commons. If they did not grant supply, the king would dissolve parliament. But despite this statement the committee proceeded with its deliberations, and appointed a sub-committee to draft a reply by the following morning.

But on Saturday morning (June 4) the speaker sent word that he was in bed with the mumps. Whether or not his illness was feigned is an open question. The speaker may have absented himself in the expectation that the commons would not meet. Perhaps the government believed that the lower house would come round to their point of view after a breathing-space of two days. But Chamberlain, who was in close touch with the court, did not even hint that the speaker had feigned illness.

In any case, the commons did assemble on Saturday without the speaker, and discussed their message to the king. In this message they acknowledged with all humility that the king possessed the exclusive right to summon and dissolve parliament, and they stated that they would be content with his decision, whatever it might be. But they protested that they could not act effectually or as they had intended when they were so pressed for time unless they received satisfaction in regard to impositions. They stated that there were

far more impositions now than in earlier times, and that the king had declared in parliament on two occasions his inherited right to levy them. They feared that they would confirm forever his right to impose if they granted supply before impositions were canceled. They believed that they would wrong the country if they granted supply to the king while that question remained unsettled. The commons concluded by offering a grant to the king if he would hear them on impositions. The house then chose forty members to deliver this message to the king on Monday. ⁵ Although he had previously ~~decided~~ Meanwhile the king had decided to dissolve parliament. Although the commission was dated Monday June 7, it is reported to have been signed on Sunday. But the decision was certainly made on Saturday, for messengers were sent to the lodgings of peers in London and Westminster that evening asking them to be in the parliament house at eight o'clock on Monday morning for the ⁶ dissolution. ~~to continue the session if they pro-~~

5. Commons Debates 1621, vii. 1651-2. H.M.C. Portland MSS. ix. 136 (Holle's letter book). Court and Times of James I, i. 320-3. Cal. S.P. Venice, 1613-15, pp. 134-5.

6. Lords' Jn. ii. 717. H.M.C. Portland MSS. ix. 136 (Holle's letter book). H.M.C. Hastings MSS. iv. 280.

When the commons met on Monday morning, they knew that the commission to dissolve parliament had been signed. In fact, the lords sent word to them that they were sitting in their robes waiting for instructions to execute the commission. The speaker also read a letter from the king to the house. Although the king did not demand a vote of supply, he reminded the commons that they had been in session for two months, the usual period for parliaments in the past. He also stated that supply should come at this time because its proper place was at the end of a session. Although he had previously decided to dissolve parliament on the following Thursday, he had now changed his mind. But he would suspend until Tuesday a commission already signed for dissolving parliament on Monday.

The supporters of the crown now made a final attempt to save the session from utter failure. They proposed a message to the king which would acknowledge his grace and would ask him to continue the session if they promised a liberal grant of supply. They were able to persuade the house to send a message to the lords certifying that the king had deferred the dissolution until Tuesday. Then, on their part, the commons would vote an immediate grant

Various officials then tried to persuade the house to adopt their plan. The king's serjeant, Sir Henry Montague, reported that the king and his learned counsel agreed that impositions could be levied only on imports and exports, not on internal trade. Winwood now made a last attempt to save the situation. He declared that only an immediate grant of supply would persuade the king to prorogue parliament instead of dissolving it. He also pointed out that foreign affairs were critical, and that England's trade would suffer unless the king had money for negotiations with Russia. The treasurer of the navy, Sir Robert Mansell, supported Winwood's arguments. Sir Edwin Sandys replied to the officials in a long and doleful speech. He declared that the king's claim to levy impositions threatened the security of property and the liberties of parliament. He maintained that a grant of supply at this time would imply an acknowledgement of the king's power to impose. Sandys suggested that they should ask the king to extend the life of this parliament. They should also ask him to promise that he would allow parliament, the ancient judge of the liberties of the kingdom, to decide the imposition question. Then, on their part, the commons would make an immediate grant

of supply. ~~They were already in place.~~

The house held a long debate on these proposals. The knowledge of the impending dissolution caused much confusion, and the commons had never been more disorderly. The house resembled a cockpit more than a grave assembly, and the members acted like roaring boys instead of wise councillors. In the end, the house appointed a committee to redraft Sandys's proposals in a milder and more palatable form. ~~to delay the execution of the commission.~~

A rumour had already reached the house that some of its members would be charged with seditious speeches after the dissolution. When Sir Henry Wotton demanded an explanation of Hoskyns's reference to the Sicilian Vespers, Hoskyns managed to convince the house that he had intended no sedition. But Hoskyns was soon to learn that a vote of the commons was too frail a protection against the king.
7

At the same time the house of lords was debating the question of executing the commission to dissolve parliament. When they met on Monday morning, everything was prepared for the dissolution. The peers were robed, and the commission lay on the table. Benches for the

7. H.M.C. Portland MSS. ix. 137 (Holle's letter book).
Commons Debates 1621, vii. 652-4. Court and Times of James I, i. 320-3, 345-6.

commissioners were already in place. After a long silence the lord chancellor spoke. He announced that the king had issued a commission to dissolve parliament on this day. But if the lords expected a message from the lower house, and wanted to postpone the execution of the commission until the next day, he would agree provided the other commissioners gave their consent. Although the earl of Suffolk believed that they could not delay the execution of the commission, the earl of Southampton declared that the question concerned only the commissioners. At his suggestion the commissioners retired to the lord chancellor's chamber, where they conferred for half an hour. When they returned, the lord chancellor announced that the commissioners were willing to delay the execution of their commission until the next day. The lords then sent a message to the commons that they would not act on the dissolution until Tuesday in the hope that the lower house would take some step to grant supply. The commons replied that they had received a letter from the king postponing the dissolution until Tuesday. After the lords had waited several hours without any further message from the commons, they informed the latter that they would adjourn until two

o'clock on Tuesday (the next day), and that they would expect an answer from the commons at that time.⁸

The house of commons met as usual on Tuesday June 7. The draft of their latest message to the king varied only slightly from Sandys's proposals. But the house demanded security for the hearing on impositions, and they stated in strong terms that this question was outside the jurisdiction of the judges.

A final attempt at a compromise was now made. Sir Maurice Berkeley asked the house to grant supply in gratitude for the king's graces. John Hoskyns suggested a grant of subsidies on condition that the money should be returned if impositions were not cancelled by October. Sir Herbert Croft suggested an immediate grant accompanied by a declaration of the security of property.

But other members opposed any compromise despite the imminence of the dissolution. Francis Ashley suggested a committee for supply on a definite date, so that grievances could be presented to the king in the meantime. He still maintained that the subsidies granted should be in proportion to the grievances redressed.

8. Lords' Jn. 11. 715-6. H.M.C. Hastings MSS. iv.280-2.
Commons Debates 1621, vii. 654.

9. Lords' Jn. 1621, vii. 654-6. H.M.C. Debates
1621, 12. 137 (Hollis's letter book). Court and Times
of James I. 1. 320-3.

Sir William Walter flatly opposed any grant made for fear of a dissolution. The question was hotly debated until three o'clock, with the majority in favour of a committee on supply in the traditional manner.⁹ June 1621

In the meantime the lords had assembled, and the commissioners' bench had been set in place. After some time had elapsed and the commons did not appear, the lords sent a message to summon them for the dissolution. When it became clear to Winwood and his colleagues in the commons that no subsidies would be voted without a delay, they asked the lords whether the commissioners were obliged to dissolve parliament or also had the authority to continue it. When the three privy councillors returned to the lower house without an answer, the speaker tried to put the subsidy to a vote, but the commons flatly refused to act.

By this time the lord chancellor had realized that the dissolution could not be avoided. As soon as the lords had donned their robes, the commons were summoned. The commissioners sat on a long bench, with the archbishop of Canterbury in the center and the lord chancellor on his right. After the clerk had read the

9. Commons Debates 1621, vii. 654-6. H.M.C. Portland MSS. ix. 137 (Hollis's letter book). Court and Times of James I, i. 320-3.

commission in Latin, the lord chancellor declared that according to its terms this assembly was to be no parliament, but it was dissolved and annihilated as though no such thing had ever been. Thus, on Tuesday 7 June 1614 at about three o'clock in the afternoon the second parliament of King James came to its end after existing for almost exactly two months.

This parliament was dissolved in this particular manner so that certain statutes would remain in force which would otherwise have lapsed if it had been a lawful parliament. Because the Palatine bill had passed through both houses and had been confirmed by the king, there was some question whether or not the meeting had actually been a session of parliament, but in the end the form of the dissolution was not challenged. The nickname "addled" for this parliament must have been in common use shortly after the dissolution, for Lorkin used it (in the form "addle") on June 18 and again on September 11. The name obviously referred to the fact that no legislation had resulted from the session.

10. Lords' jn. 11. 716-7. H.M.C. Hastings MSS. iv. 282-3. H.M.C. Portland MSS. ix. 137-8 (Holles's letter book).
11. H.M.C. Portland MSS. ix. 138 (Holles's letter book). Court and Times of James I, 1. 323, 346. Letters of Chamberlain, 1. 546.

The crown was prepared for quick action after the dissolution. On Wednesday, the day after parliament was dissolved, the king returned from Greenwich by water and summoned a meeting of his council. Warrants had already been despatched for the arrest of various members of the lower house, who were called before the council at this time. When they appeared at the council-table, the king watched the proceedings secretly through an aperture in the hangings. Those who had been assigned parts in the conference on impositions had to produce all their notes and papers, which were burned. A day or so later the king expressed his indignation at parliament by tearing up all its bills and papers publicly in the banqueting house at Whitehall.

But the king's actions were not confined to such innocuous measures. Four members of the lower house, Hoskyns, Chute, Christopher Neville, and Thomas Wentworth of Oxford, were summoned before the council, charged with seditious speeches, and sent to the Tower. Sir Charles Cornwallis and Dr. Lionel Sharpe were imprisoned the following Monday on the charge that they had incited Hoskyns. Sir John Savile, Sir Roger Owen, Sir Edward Giles, Sir James Perrot, and Sir Edwin Sandys were ordered to remain in London, but by July 10 they had

all been discharged. Owen, Savile, Nicholas Hyde, and others were struck off the rolls of justices of the peace.¹²

As to the other six, the most serious offenders were Hoskyns, Cornwallis, and Sharpe. Christopher Neville was imprisoned for his schoolboyish attack on the court. But on making his submission, he found some favour and was removed from the Tower to the Fleet before the end of June. Neville secured his release on July 10. Wentworth was charged with quoting the book of Daniel against impositions and with citing the assassination of Henry IV of France as a case of divine judgment, but he was regarded as foolish instead of dangerous. Wentworth, who was imprisoned mainly to satisfy the French ambassador, secured his release on June 29, once the ambassador had declared himself satisfied. Sir Walter Chute suffered because he attacked impositions even though he was carver to the king. Also the king may have felt that he had acted as a tale-bearer for the opposition, and perhaps a letter which he wrote to the

12. H.M.C. Portland MSS. ix. 138-9 (Holle's letter book). Acts privy council 1613-14, pp.459-60, 465, 466, 491, Court and Times of James I, 1. 325-31, 345-6. P.R.O. Spanish transcripts 12/35 (Sarmiento to Philip III 20/30 June 1614). Liber famelicus of Sir James Whitelocke, pp.41-3.

king justifying his conduct exasperated James still further. Chute, who was not released until October 2, also lost his place and was confined to the vicinity of his father's house.

13

The offenses of Hoskyns, Cornwallis, and Sharpe were closely connected with each other and with the whole breakup of the parliament. In order to understand them, it is necessary to go beyond the bare bones of the story to the maneuvers which took place behind the scenes in the last days of the session.

The crucial question is the source of Hoskyns's speech of Friday June 3, in which he referred to the Sicilian Vespers. The king apparently became badly frightened after the wild and violent speeches delivered on that day. He sent Sir John Digby to Sarmiento to ask if the king of Spain would help him in case of an emergency. Digby also told Sarmiento that the king was

13. H.M.C. Portland MSS. ix. 138 (Holles's letter book). Acts privy council, 1613-14, pp.476, 490, 576-7. Court and Times of James I, i. 323-9. Cal. S.P. Venice, 1613-15, pp.138-9. P.R.O. Paris transcripts 3/48 (Puyseux to Buisseau 30 June/10 July and 18/28 June 1614). Smith, Life and Letters of Wotton, ii. 36-8. H.M.C. Downshire MSS. iv. 427-8 (Trumbull papers). P.R.O. S.P. 99/16. ff.104-5 (Venice correspondence).

has already been told.

trying to decide whether or not to dissolve parliament. Digby stated further that on his own authority he had told the king that he could rely on the king of Spain and the duke of Lerma. Sarmiento confirmed all that Digby had promised. According to Sarmiento, his assurance gave the king enough courage to break with the puritans and dissolve parliament.

But the king had also sought support in other quarters. On Saturday June 4, the day after Hoskyns's speech, he consulted the earl of Northampton. Northampton, it must be remembered, was the leader of the Spanish faction in the council and had opposed a parliament from the beginning. The king probably decided to dissolve parliament under the influence of Sarmiento and Northampton.

As soon as the news was out, Winwood and Lord Chancellor Ellesmere tried desperately to save the situation. But all that they could obtain was a letter from the king postponing the dissolution for a single day. They were so late in gaining even this slight respite that the king signed the letter in bed on Monday morning. The story of the last hours of this parliament has already been told. Winwood's efforts failed, and

the Spanish party triumphed. When Hoskyns was called before the council, he admitted reluctantly that he was not well versed in history, and had only a vague knowledge of the Sicilian Vespers. But he stated that Dr. Sharpe had suggested this part of his speech to him. When Hoskyns wished to know who would protect him if he was questioned about the speech, Sharpe assured him that Sir Charles Cornwallis would secure him the protection of the earl of Northampton. In this manner Cornwallis was dragged into the case. The charges went even farther, for Sharpe and Cornwallis were accused of having bought Hoskyns's support with hard cash. A Gloucestershire gentleman named John Kettleby and his brother were also implicated. Although Kettleby was sent to the Tower, his exact connexion with the plot is not clear.

Cornwallis attempted to clear himself in a letter to the king. He declared that he had expected to secure a seat at Ipswich, but the election took place earlier

14. See above pp. 240, 242-9. P.R.O. Spanish transcripts 12/35 (Sarmiento to Philip III, 20/30 June 1614.

The same to the same, same date.)

15. Court and Times of James I, 1. 323-9. Smith, Life and Letters of Wotton, 11. 36-9. P.R.O. Paris transcripts 3/48 (Puyseux to Buisseau 18/28 June 1614). P.R.O. 99/16. ff. 104-5 (Venice correspondence). Cal. S.P. Venice, 1613-15, pp. 146-7.

than he had anticipated, and he lost out. He was so confident of being elected there that he had nominated two gentlemen recommended by Dr. Sharpe for burgessships made available to him by the earl of Northampton. Cornwallis said that he had prepared a speech for delivery in the house of commons to aid the royal programme. When he found that he had not secured a seat, he gave the material for his speech to Dr. Sharpe, who suggested Thomas Hitchcock, a member for Bishop's Castle, as a fit person to deliver it. Hitchcock was one of those for whom Cornwallis had obtained seats through Northampton's interest. Cornwallis included a lengthy text of his proposed speech in the letter. A large section of it contained fulsome praise of the king and his policies, combined with a plea for a grant of subsidies as the subject's natural duty toward his king. The attack on the Scots was reduced to an innocuous suggestion that no more Scots should be given official positions in England. Cornwallis suggested that Sharpe must have persuaded Hoskyns to deliver a speech against the Scots after Hitchcock had refused to act for them. Cornwallis denied that he had promised Hoskyns £20 for delivering the speech even though Sharpe had sworn to the offer.

17. See above chapter III, *passim*. House of Commons *Journal*, i. 500, 501, 506.

Cornwallis's letter appears to have been an attempt to excuse himself by confessing less damning offences than those charged against him.

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If it is agreed that Sharpe and Cornwallis incited Hoskyns, the next question is whether or not someone else instigated them. While there is no absolutely conclusive evidence, many contemporaries hinted that the person behind the whole plot was the earl of Northampton, who died on Wednesday 15 June 1614, a week after the added parliament was dissolved. It is well known that as the leader of the Spanish faction he had opposed the summoning of parliament at all. On several occasions during the session members of the lower house declared that those opposed to parliament from the beginning had popish inclinations and were deliberately causing trouble in the commons with the intention of breaking up the

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session. At the dissolution of parliament, Northampton, who had lain sick at Greenwich, returned to London in triumph accompanied by a large retinue on horseback. Holles mentioned that only Sir Charles Cornwallis rode in the coach with Northampton. He added significantly that two days before Northampton died, Cornwallis was imprisoned

16. P.R.O. S.P. Dom. 14/77:42.

17. See above chapter iii, passim. Commons' Jn. 1. 500, 501, 506.

for inciting Hoskyns. Chamberlain gave much the same account, adding only that the manner and time of Northampton's return to London were much noted. Winwood blamed the dissolution mainly on impositions. But he listed the lords' refusal to confer, Neile's speeches, the king's irritating messages, and the wild oratory of Hoskyns and the others as the events leading up to the dissolution. Winwood knew of the actions of Cornwallis and Sharpe, and he concluded by saying that only Cornwallis rode with Northampton in his coach when he returned to London.

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While Holles and Lorkin hesitated to give additional details, the latter implied that he had information which he feared to reveal. Other contemporaries were not so cautious. Chamberlain made a vague statement that there was much ado and great dispute before a parliament was decided upon, and those opposed to it, to prove their case, tried to embroil it and break it up by any means available. Sir Roger Wilbraham, who represented Cheshire in the addled parliament, wrote after Northampton's death that the earl was said to have resorted to underhanded means to block a subsidy. The French

18. Court and Times of James I, i. 320-9. H.M.C. Port-
20. land MSS. ix. 138-9. P.R.O. S.P. 99/16. ff. 104-5.

ambassador reported that despite an implied denial by Sir Thomas Edmondes, he had been told that Hoskyns's speech had a higher source involving Northampton deeply, and that the earl had little reason to regret the results. ¹⁹

Sir Henry Wotton made the strongest statement of all in a letter which he wrote on 16 June 1614, the morning after Northampton's death. Wotton said that his timely death perhaps had prevented one more drastic change in his fortunes. He added that there was general agreement that Northampton was involved in the Hoskyns affair. He then repeated the assertion that Sharpe had promised Hoskyns the protection of Northampton and others whom Wotton did not name. Cornwallis was to act as the link with the earl. One of the others to whom Wotton referred as Hoskyns's protectors was perhaps the earl of Somerset, by that time a son-in-law of the earl of Suffolk and an ally of the Howards. In a letter to his wife written 17 October 1617, Hoskyns accused Somerset of having ²⁰ promised to speak for him and then speaking against him.

While no single piece of conclusive evidence against Northampton has been cited, there is an impressive mass

19. Court and Times of James I, i. 323-9. Journal of Sir Roger Wilbraham, pp.113-4. P.R.O. Paris transcripts 3/48 (Puyseux to Buisseaux, 18/28 June 1614).
20. Smith, Life and Letters of Wotton, ii. 38-9. Osborn, Life, Letters, and Writings of Hoskyns, pp.73-5.

when it is all taken together. There can be little doubt that the Howards and the Spanish faction wanted the parliament to end in failure. In all probability Northampton incited Hoskyns through Sharpe and Cornwallis to make his violent attack on the crown and the Scots. Then, when the king asked for advice, Northampton, supported by Sarmiento, urged him to dissolve parliament. Their combined influence, strengthened by the concrete evidence of wild speeches in the lower house, was too strong for the king to resist. Although the Spanish faction might have failed to gain its ends if parliament had behaved reasonably, the commons played into the hands of their enemies and made an angry dissolution inevitable.

The king dealt severely with Hoskyns, Sharpe, Cornwallis, and their minor accomplice Kettleby. All four remained in prison until June 1615. Then they were released after signing submissions. The king's resentment pursued Hoskyns even farther. When he was elected mayor of Hereford, his old constituency, in the summer of 1616, the king refused to allow him to serve and forced the corporation to make a new choice. But in good time even Hoskyns was restored to favour. He became a serjeant in 1623 and ultimately a member of the

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council of the Marches. Sir Edward Phelps, the master of the rolls, also felt the king's wrath. Not only was his son Sir Robert a leading figure in the opposition, but also Hoskyns was his close friend. In spite of his position the king suspected that Sir Edward was involved with Hoskyns because he was jealous of Winwood. Some observers felt that the chief cause of Phelps's death in September 1614 was grief over his disgrace.

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On the other hand, some supporters of the crown received prompt rewards. Despite the dismal failure of the parliament, no blame fell on the speaker. In fact, the king was so pleased with his services that before the end of June he was knighted and created a serjeant. Several other members of the lower house also became serjeants about the same time, including the queen's attorney-general, Sir Robert Hitcham, Leonard Bawtrey, Henry Finch, Francis Moore, and William Towse.

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Royal favour was extended even farther for the king's supporters. Robert Wolverston, who sat for

21. B.M. Add. MSS. 11,053. f.77. Acts privy council, 1615-1616, pp.191-4, 232-3.

22. Liber famelicus of Sir James Whitelocke, p.43. Court and Times of James I, 1. 325-9.

23. Court and Times of James I, 1. 325-9. Pulling, Order of the Coif, pp.xvi-xxv.

Cardigan borough in 1614, took no recorded part in the session. Yet he so impressed the king with the value of his services in the commons that in August and October 1614 James intervened for him in a case before chancery. At least two royal letters to Lord Chancellor Ellesmere instructed him to show Wolverston all possible consideration. Clearly, service to the crown in parliament had material rewards. But whatever rewards were given to the king's supporters and whatever punishment was meted out to his opponents, the failure of the parliament left him facing serious problems aggravated by the events of the session.

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the first step, ... the chief problem was to meet daily expenses, for the royal coffers were almost empty of hard cash. ... the first ray of hope in this desperate situation came from the ... further ... of ... responsibility for the dissolution, or grateful to ... his ... support of episcopacy, they ... a free gift in the form of the ... by ... while ... their ... their ... was followed by ... nobles, the privy councillors, many officials, and ...

of the judges. Chapter XII

The Effects of the Addled Parliament on Royal Policy

and viewed with reference to the

The dissolution of the addled parliament left the financial crisis farther from a solution than ever.

Early in 1614 the council had reluctantly concluded that the crown could avoid bankruptcy only through a parliamentary grant of supply, and now that hope was dashed.

Also the treasury had been thrown into confusion by the death of the earl of Northampton, the chief commissioner of the treasury, and the king was urged to appoint a treasurer as the first step. Meanwhile the chief problem was to meet daily expenses, for the royal coffers were almost bare of hard cash.

The first ray of hope in this desperate situation came from the bishops. Perhaps sensible of Neile's responsibility for the dissolution, or grateful to the king for his steadfast support of episcopacy, they decided to offer the crown a free gift in the form of the best piece of plate possessed by each bishop. While some presented the plate itself, others redeemed their gifts with sums of money. Their example was followed by many nobles, the privy councillors, many officials, and some

I. Court and Times of James I, 1. 325-9.

of the judges. Most of these presents were in cash. Among others, Suffolk, Somerset, Salisbury, Hertford, and Winwood made contributions. Although Coke made a handsome present of some £200, his colleagues were niggardly. One judge offered as little as £20, which was refused. Some at court hoped that the total would be large, but others were pessimistic of the sum that would be contributed.² This spontaneous contribution by court circles suggested to the government the idea of a nation-wide benevolence on similar terms. Meanwhile Winwood approached the London merchants in the king's name. Anticipating his move, they offered a voluntary contribution of 5,000 marks, which was refused. On 26 June 1614 Winwood asked them to lend the crown £100,000. They now raised their offer of a free gift to £10,000, and in the end escaped the loan by this means.³

Meanwhile the crown, realizing the ill feeling which the dissolution had engendered, decided to grant by proclamation many of the graces offered to parliament.

2. Court and Times of James I, 1. 325-9. P.R.O. S.P. Dom. 14/77:39. P.R.O. S.P. 99/16. ff.104-5, 177 (Venice correspondence).

3. Letters of Chamberlain, 1. 546. Court and Times of James I, 1. 325-9.

It was hoped that this move would stimulate the collection of the benevolence. Among other graces, the king granted partial exemption from the council of Wales to the border counties, and prohibited secret inquiries to determine the crown's claim to land. Some steps were also taken to codify the law.⁴

By early July the council had sent letters to the sheriff and justices of the peace of every shire requesting a benevolence. These letters, which included a list of the contributors at court, instructed the sheriffs and justices to publish the information. A list of the contributors in every shire was to be sent to the king, and the success of the proposal in each county was declared to be an indication of the zeal and loyalty of the sheriff and justices. Finally, the letter stated that the money would be used solely to pay the crown's debts.

But the benevolence proved to be no great success. In Devon, for example, thirty justices of the peace sent a negative reply to the council on August 26. They stated that they had given the request careful consideration, and that they had consulted other leading men of the county. Their final decision was that they would

4. Cal. S.P. dom. 1611-18, pp.241, 262-3. Spedding, Letters and Life of Bacon, v. 84-6.

and of those who refused to contribute.

set a precedent injurious to their posterity by making a contribution in this manner, so they would make no attempt to carry out the council's instructions.

But the council was not disposed to give up so easily. Some of the leading men of the county were called to London in November, thoroughly frightened, and sent back with a second letter. This letter stated that the legality of such gifts made without coercion had been proved to these gentlemen at the council-board. Since the scruple of the Devonshire justices had no foundation, they could now proceed with this free and voluntary collection.

This time the justices in Devon attempted to collect the benevolence. Sir John Dodridge, an eminent lawyer who had recently become a judge, headed the list of contributors. In all probability the council sent him to Devonshire to supervise the collection. The justices divided the whole county into districts, and appointed a small committee from among themselves to be responsible for each district. A series of meetings were held, to which the constables summoned those who paid subsidies and others able to contribute. The constables were ordered to send to the justices lists of contributors and of those who refused to contribute.

The government hoped that throughout the country everyone would contribute the equivalent of two subsidies at least. In fact, some at court murmured against the bishops as the originators of the benevolence because they had contributed less than a quarter of the sum that they would have paid toward a single subsidy. Actually the amount collected fell far short of two subsidies. While a single subsidy of the laity was £68,000, both clergy and laity contributed only £66,100 to the benevolence. Of this sum, £23,500 came from the city of London, the bishops, and the courtiers. The remainder of the country contributed only £42,600⁵ altogether.

On 10 July 1614 Northampton's nephew the earl of Suffolk became lord treasurer, but the substitution of one Howard for another did little to improve matters. Indeed, in 1618 Suffolk was finally removed from office for gross irregularities in his conduct of treasury business. Once it became obvious that the benevolence would not come up to expectations, Suffolk's solution for the financial problem was to multiply the money-raising projects resorted to between 1610 and 1614.

⁵ Hamilton, Quarter Sessions from Queen Elizabeth to Queen Anne, pp.48-51 and note. Letters of Chamberlain, 1. 546. Court and Times of James I, 1. 325-9. P.R.O. S.P. 99/16. f.177 (Venice correspondence).

⁶ Letters of Chamberlain, 1. 559, 560.

Among other schemes, a commission was set up to survey all buildings erected within seven miles of London since 1603 contrary to various proclamations. The government anticipated that the owners would pay fines rather than remove the buildings, but the crown realized little profit because many of the owners were too poor to pay. On the other hand, the project aroused much resentment because the commission proceeded as severely against houses surrounded by ample acreage as against those crowded together. A second scheme was a levy of two pence per barrel on beer in lieu of its seizure to supply the royal household. This levy was bitterly resented, for men realized clearly that the two pence could become two shillings, and that such exactions had no limit.

Although similar projects abounded, they produced little cash. Indeed, how the crown avoided bankruptcy during the next four years is something of a mystery. Late in 1614 affairs had reached such a state that almost no royal officials, not even the humblest, were paid, and there was talk of cancelling all pensions. But no one had yet been driven to the extremity of suggesting a general financial reorganisation.

6. Letters of Chamberlain, 1. 559, 566.

Despite the dismal failure of the addled parliament, rumours of a new session were rife almost before its members had left Westminster. On 2 July 1614 Lorkin reported this news to a friend. Although he was skeptical of any result, he had gone so far as to talk to various persons about a seat for his correspondent in the new house of commons. A few days later Chamberlain also mentioned rumours of a session during the next winter.⁷

But little more was heard of a new parliament until the following summer. By July 1615 the king was in more desperate straits than ever, but the old factions in the council hampered any decision. Although a parliament seemed to be the only solution to the problem, the Spanish faction opposed it, fearing that the commons would demand war with Spain as the price of financial support. The two strongest opponents of a parliament were Suffolk and Somerset, who feared that their plundering of the public treasury would be revealed. Sarmiento believed that Suffolk's influence had forestalled a session.⁸

7. Letters of Chamberlain, 1. 546. Court and Times of James I, 1. 330-1.

8. Cal. S.P. Venice, 1613-15, pp.227, 512-3. P.R.O. Spanish transcripts 12/36 (Sarmiento to Lerma 21 June/1 July and 18/28 July 1615); 12/38 ("Memorandum of the feigned names which are used in England").

But by early September the rumour was abroad again, this time with some basis in fact. Late in that month the council spent several days considering the whole question of finance. One by one the councillors expressed their views. Lake, Caesar, Parry, Coke, Winwood, Lord Wotton, Lord Knollys, Zouch, Bishop Andrewes of Ely, Fenton, Exeter, Pembroke, Lennox, and Archbishop Abbot of Canterbury were all heartily in favour of a parliament. But Nottingham, Suffolk, and Lord Chancellor Ellesmere gave only grudging approval, and spoke of the difficulty of settling the old question of impositions.

Apparently the Spanish faction continued to work on the king behind the scenes. In spite of the apparent unanimity in the council, both Sarmiento and the Venetian ambassador were convinced of the Spanish ascendancy at court. About the same time Bacon advised the king to summon parliament, but it is probable that his letter was written after the council had debated the question. Bacon was as strongly in favour of a parliament as he had been in 1613. In general, his advice followed his earlier memorandum, but it included a severe condemnation of undertaking as well. Bacon realized that the royal household was weakened by internal factions. He also believed that the question of impositions had to be

solved, but he had no real solution to offer. No parliament was summoned as a result of all this activity. Whatever chance there may have been for a session at this time disappeared when the king's attention was turned to the Overbury case in October 1615. This case kept the court in a turmoil until the following spring. Even when the hue and cry after Somerset had died down, popular feeling was so aroused against the court that the time was inopportune for a parliament.⁹

Somehow or other the royal treasury dragged on through 1616 and 1617 without actually becoming bankrupt. Although contemporaries could see little hope of solvency unless parliament was summoned, the government did nothing. The Spanish faction, still fearful of the strength of public opinion, was able to resist all demands for a session of parliament. When Lake was appointed joint secretary early in 1616, the Spanish faction became more influential than ever, but opposition to a parliament came partly from the king himself. Nevertheless, in early 1617 it was rumoured that the

9. Cal. S.P. Venice, 1615-17, pp. 33-4, 37-8, 43-5, 57, 88-9, 116-7. P.R.O. Spanish transcripts 12/36 (Sarmiento to Lerma, 29 Sept./8 Oct. 1615). P.R.O. S.P. dom. 14/81:115; 14/83:68. Spedding, Letters and Life of Bacon, v. 176-91.

10. Cal. S.P. Venice, 1615-17, pp. 37-4, 88-9, 116-7. P.R.O. Spanish transcripts 12/36 (Sarmiento to Lerma, 29 Sept./8 Oct. 1615). P.R.O. S.P. dom. 14/81:115; 14/83:68. Spedding, Letters and Life of Bacon, v. 176-91.

Spanish marriage negotiation was simply a lever to force parliament to grant supply. The whole report of an impending session, however, dissolved by the autumn of 1617.¹⁰

A singular occurrence early in 1618 exhibited both the popular hatred of Spain and the king's determination not to be stampeded by public opinion. One Dr. Willet, a clergyman of Cambridgeshire, wrote a long memorandum designed to persuade influential persons in the counties to promise a grant of supply if the king would summon parliament. He circulated this document to various gentlemen in Norfolk and Suffolk, and particularly at the Norwich sessions. In general his scheme proposed a grant of supply if the king would abandon the Spanish match. Willet was promptly arrested and kept in custody for a month. After Yelverton, the attorney-general, had examined him, the council decided that he was a harmless crank and turned him loose. But his arrest gave ample warning to any would-be imitators not to force the

government's hand.¹¹

10. Cal. S.P. Venice, 1615-17, pp.165, 570-2, 585-7. P.R.O. S.P. dom. 14/93:134. P.R.O. Spanish transcripts 12/37 (Sarmiento to Philip III, 20/30 Jan. 1616).

11. Letters of Chamberlain, 11. 140. P.R.O. S.P. dom. 14/96:10, 48. Acts privy council, 1618-19, pp.37-9, 69. B.M. Cott. MSS. Titus F iv. ff.353-62.

The year 1618 passed with little mention of parliament except for the Willet affair, which perhaps served to discourage the rumours which had persisted since 1614. The king may well have realized the inadvisability of testing public opinion just after Raleigh had fallen victim to Spanish vengeance. Also, when Suffolk had so recently fallen into disgrace for his defalcations in the treasury, the king was in no position to plead with parliament for new grants. Furthermore, despite Suffolk's plundering of the treasury, Cranfield was slowly improving the crown's financial position by careful management. The overall deficit, which stood at £150,000 in 1617, was reduced to £100,000 in 1618. With the increase in customs revenue which came from growing commercial prosperity, Cranfield hoped to balance the ordinary budget in 1618, and for 1619 he looked forward to a surplus of £45,000 in the ordinary accounts. At this time the crown's debts amounted to £726,000.¹²

Barring a crisis calling for a vast increase in expenditures, the king could anticipate a better financial position than he had enjoyed for almost a decade. But before the end of 1618 this crisis was in the making,

12. P.R.O. S.P. dom. 14/97:6. Gardiner, History of England, iii. 196-8, 200, 206.

reached a decision, resorted to a benevolence, having

a crisis which touched the king in one of his most sensitive spots ----- his family. When James's son-in-law Frederick accepted the crown of Bohemia and thereby precipitated a general European war, a session of the English parliament became almost inevitable. The king was assured of the support of the commons for the defense of protestantism and for the protection of the heritage of his daughter's husband.

But still the king hesitated, postponing parliament until November 1620. His reluctance stemmed partly from memories of 1610 and 1614, and partly from the realization that once parliament met, his favourite scheme of a Spanish marriage would be ruined. He could see that this scheme, which he hoped would lead to a general pacification of Europe, could not survive exposure to a bitterly anti-Spanish house of commons. Despite the opinions of observers, the king believed sincerely in the Spanish marriage. It was not simply a threat to extract money from a reluctant parliament. He consented to abandon the policy on which he had set his heart only when he finally realized the futility of his negotiations and the duplicity of Spain.

In the autumn of 1619 the king, who had not yet reached a decision, resorted to a benevolence, hoping

that it would be more successful in a popular cause than it had been in 1614. In January 1620 the Venetian¹³ ambassador wrote that the king regarded the idea of a parliament with a horror beyond anything else. In the fear that parliament would prove a yoke, the king spent the late winter and spring dodging the issue. Only when his son-in-law's fortunes waned as the year wore on, would he consider a decision. Finally, with the greatest reluctance and after exploring every alternative, the king issued a summons for parliament on 6 November 1620.¹³

Throughout the period from June 1614 to November 1620 several different factors intertwined to postpone a parliament. One of these factors was a succession of events which would have interfered with a session. In 1615 the Irish parliament met. From the end of that year well into 1616 the Overbury case kept the court in a turmoil. In 1617 the king visited Scotland. In 1618 public opinion was inflamed by Raleigh's execution. All of these events made a concurrent session of the English parliament difficult if not entirely impossible. In

¹³. Cal. S.P. Venice, 1619-21, pp.34-5, 76-8, 93, 152-4, 175-7, 210-2, 219-24, 237, 283-5, 376-8, 415-9, 432-5, 439-41, 449-52, 456, 478-82, 489-91. Cal. S.P. dom. 1619-23, p.190. Court and Times of James I, II. 209-11. Letters of Chamberlain, II. 322-3. P.R.O. S.P. dom. 14/97:6; 14/109:112; 14/112:93; 14/117:10, 55.

fact, the Overbury case seems to have been the principal factor in preventing a session in the autumn of 1615. When 1618 was reached, the second factor became closely involved with the first. This second factor was the Spanish influence in the English court. One reason for its success was purely personal. Count Gondomar (still Sarmiento in 1614), the Spanish ambassador, acquired a remarkable ascendancy over the king. His influence was strengthened by the consistently pro-Spanish attitude of the powerful Howard family, with whom Somerset was allied for a time. Also, the king had in his mind a scheme for the general pacification of Europe by a great Anglo-Spanish agreement based on a royal marriage alliance. This revolution in international politics would reconcile protestant and Catholic, and would elevate James to the position of peacemaker and arbiter of Europe. The great flaw in this scheme was that everyone but the king realized that he was a pawn in the hands of Spain. The Spanish government was quite willing to go along with James as long as his policy served their ends. But they did not for one instant consider making any major concessions to the English. The aim of Spanish

policy in England was to secure English neutrality while Spain gained its ends by force or intrigue. The point which some contemporaries misunderstood was the king's sincerity in the Spanish marriage negotiations. Although an ample dowry might have freed him from dependence on parliament for a time, he had no intention of using the Spanish marriage as a threat to force parliament to grant supply. ~~was his duty toward his relatives and his~~

Whether or not the full significance of Spanish diplomacy was clearly realized in England, after 1614 public opinion was bitterly and increasingly hostile to Spain. While the Spanish threat to protestantism may have been exaggerated, the popular detestation of Spain served the same ends, whatever its cause. It was clear throughout this period that if parliament met, it would be so violently anti-Spanish that at least any attempt to reconcile the two countries would break down. Even before 1618 some observers predicted that parliament would be able to force the king into war against Spain.

This situation compelled Gondomar to forestall a session of parliament in his master's interest. The Howards and their allies had the same end in view. While the king had no reason to promote Spanish policy

as such, his great international scheme would have been ruined by a breach with Spain. So Gondomar worked on the king and through the Howards to prevent parliament from meeting. After Raleigh's execution, no specific internal problem lay in the path of a parliament. But events in Germany beginning in 1618 inflamed public opinion against Spain more strongly than ever. The king was torn between his duty toward his relatives and his reluctance to abandon his great experiment in "king-craft" on an international scale.

The third factor working against parliament was more subtle, and therefore it is less capable of demonstration. But hints and opinions of contemporaries, especially those of the Venetian ambassador, leave the impression that the king was fundamentally opposed to summoning parliament for any reason. This factor ran through the whole period after 1614 reinforcing the other factors already mentioned. The events of early 1620 shook the king's resolution, but even then he tried all possible expedients before he came to a decision. Finally, when no other means of raising money remained, and it was clear that Frederick was faced with the loss of the Palatinate as well as Bohemia, the king reluctantly

Chapter XIII

summoned a parliament.

The effects of the 1614 Parliament on the Opposition
The events of 1614 were still so clear in the king's mind that only this threat to the position of his daughter could drive him to take a step fatal to all his grandiose plans. While the rush of events and the Spanish influence might have prevented the king from summoning parliament earlier, the strife and bitterness in the seven years, the continuity of development, the unadmitted parliament were powerful arguments in favour of his policy of personal rule after 1614.

1614, this fact has a simple explanation. From the latter part of Elizabeth's reign until 1604 parliament met at almost regular intervals. Sessions began in 1588, 1593, 1597, 1601, and 1604. Naturally many members served in several of these parliaments, so that the number of new members in any one parliament did not bulk large. Since the parliament of 1604 lasted until 1611, the general election of 1614 was the first in a decade. If the proportion of new members in 1614 is compared to the new members in 1571 or 1584, when there had been no general election for eight and twelve years respectively, it is found to be slightly higher. Likewise, the proportion of members in 1614 who served in later parliaments compares favourably with the figures for Elizabethan parliaments.

Chapter XIII

The Effects of the Added Parliament on the Opposition

... from Elizabethan parliaments in the occupations,

station, and background of the members. The majority

The added parliament was not the isolated event that a casual knowledge of the early Stuart period would indicate. Although this parliament lasted only two months and its successor was not summoned for almost seven years, the continuity of development remained unbroken. While 61% of the commons were new members in

1614, this fact has a simple explanation. From the latter

part of Elizabeth's reign until 1604 parliament met at almost regular intervals. Sessions began in 1589, 1593, 1597, 1601, and 1604. Naturally many members served in several of these parliaments, so that the number of new members in any one parliament did not bulk large. Since the parliament of 1604 lasted until 1611, the general election of 1614 was the first in a decade. If the proportion of new members in 1614 is compared to the new members in 1571 or 1584, when there had been no general election for eight and twelve years respectively, it is found to be slightly higher. Likewise, the proportion of members in 1614 who served in later parliaments compares favourably with the figures for Elizabethan parliaments.

Also, the addled parliament showed no important variation from Elizabethan parliaments in the occupations, station, and background of the members. The majority were gentry, with lawyers, merchants, and officials forming smaller groups. A somewhat higher proportion, but not significantly so, had been educated at one of the universities or at the inns of court. In its composition the addled parliament showed no contrast to earlier or later parliaments.¹

This continuity is demonstrated not only by statistics, but also by a continuity of leadership in the opposition. Sir Edwin Sandys, Nicholas Fuller, Sir Roger Owen, and others took a leading part in the parliament of 1604. The influence of members of the addled parliament was even more pronounced in the stormy parliaments of the 1620's. Sandys, Sir Dudley Digges, William Hakewill, and Edward Alford all sat in 1621, and at least one of this group sat in every parliament of that decade. Several inconspicuous members in 1614 became leading figures in the later Jacobean parliaments. They included Sir Thomas Wentworth (the future earl of Strafford), James Whitelocke, Sir Robert Phelips, and John Eliot,

¹. See chapter v, passim.

who did not become a knight until 1618. Although none of these men were prominent leaders in 1614, all of them had seats. . . . Because only three years elapsed between To these men as well as to their less conspicuous brethren, the addled parliament taught several valuable lessons. One of these lessons, well-learned by the 1620's, was the opposition's need for leadership. The complete failure of the addled parliament from any point of view stemmed most immediately from lack of control. Neither the royal officials nor the leading members (scarcely leaders) of the opposition were able to check its turbulent course. While the officials were completely unable to influence the house, the leading members of the opposition found that they could initiate a course of debate, but could not control its later stages. Once the commons began to debate a question, they lost their sense of proportion, becoming more and more violent and ceasing to heed the moderate counsels of experienced members. Ill-feeling and suspicion increased to such an extent under the stimulus of violent and irresponsible conduct that even the opposition leaders themselves quarreled publicly. Before any opposition to the crown could become effective, it had to create the internal discipline which would prevent the ill-judged outbursts of 1614.

In the second place, after 1614 the opposition discovered to its sorrow that the king could exist without parliament. Because only three years elapsed between the dissolution of 1611 and the parliament of 1614, its members may well have felt secure in the belief that the government could not function unless parliament met every three or four years. The next seven years, the longest period without a parliament since the reformation, was a rude shock to those who overestimated the place of parliament in the constitutional structure.

There was little comfort in the obvious fact that parliament met in 1621 only because of the crisis on the continent. If the Thirty Years' War had not involved the king's son-in-law, there was no telling how long parliament might have been postponed. Perhaps simply by summoning it only on rare occasions, the king could have left it to atrophy from disuse. With examples all about them of legislative bodies reduced to shadows or relegated to mere tradition, the commons had a very real fear that the boasted parliament of England might share the same fate.

The third lesson of the addled parliament for the opposition arose from the second. If parliament was not to disappear, it would have to play a greater role than

the mere obstructionism of 1614. If it could do nothing in reality but reject royal policy and embarrass the crown, its days were numbered. Blind opposition in parliament was not enough, once it became clear that it would not paralyze the government. The king was in the stronger position, for he could gain his ends merely by retaining his position and powers. Fortunately for parliament, in the early Stuart period it was dealing with James I and Charles I. If a Charles II unembarrassed by the religious issue had been on the throne, the civil war might never have been possible.

After 1614 it was clear that parliament could not maintain a static position. The only alternative to an increase in its power was loss of power. If it contented itself with a negative obstructionism, it would inevitably lose its place in the constitutional scheme. Parliament had no hope of retaining merely the position that it had occupied from 1601 to 1614. If it did not advance, it would certainly regress.

Naturally advancement would have the greater appeal. Whatever concept of the late medieval constitution the parliamentarians may have had, they were really advancing into new territory when they tried to expand their powers

in the 1620's. If the crown was not to swallow up all the important functions of parliament, parliament would have to encroach, to some extent at least, on the spheres of royal authority. Of course in such a development two questions would immediately arise. One was the extent of parliamentary encroachment on the royal authority. The other was the machinery through which this control would be exercised.

In both of these fields, only a slight advance was made in 1614. Except for finance, no area of royal authority was threatened. Here parliament attacked extra-parliamentary taxation as it had in 1610. But foreign affairs were not touched, and despite Parry's expulsion parliament did not attempt to tamper with the executive. There was simply a hint that taxes should be expended as parliament might direct. Even that modest proposal received no conspicuous support. For the opposition, the added parliament simply posed the problems without suggesting even tentative solutions. If it had succeeded, the house of commons might have declined until it represented no real force in the government. Parliament might have remained, but only in the same status as the inconspicuous diets of the continent. Even had it continued to exist, it would not have been

Conclusion

The rapid and complete failure of the addled parliament struck contemporaries with ominous significance, yet later historians have largely ignored it. The reason is perhaps the negative character of this parliament. The important questions are what it did not do, and why it accomplished nothing. But in the welter of confusion, one important accomplishment of the addled parliament was perhaps unrealized even by its authors. The uproar raised over the undertakers certainly resulted from no great conspiracy to pack the lower house. Yet it did reflect the contest between the court and the gentry over the seats no longer under the patronage of the nobility. While the crown had no intention of electing a compact and stable majority party, it did grope in the direction of succeeding to the patronage of the declining nobility. If it had succeeded, the house of commons might have declined until it represented no real force in the government. Parliament might have remained, but only in the same status as the innocuous diets of the continent. Even had it continued to exist, it would not have been

a check on royal power, and it would not have been a focal point for public opinion. England might have followed various continental powers on the road to absolutism cloaked by vestigial representative institutions.

But the clamorous attack on the undertakers discredited the crown's efforts. After 1614 the crown made no attempt to contest the ascendancy of the gentry in the shires. The middle way of an absolutism disguised behind a parliamentary facade disappeared in 1614. After 1614 two courses remained: either the king must suppress parliament entirely, or he must be prepared to share his power.

But the negativism of the addled parliament was more apparent than its accomplishments. While this negativism pervaded the whole parliament, it was most striking in the leadership of the principal officials. With much justice, the responsibility for failure fell heavily on them. An examination of the day-to-day proceedings of the house of commons reveals one striking fact: the leading officials failed largely because they did not lead. The initiative passed from the crown because no one of its spokesmen could fill the position of a real leader in the house of commons. A casual survey that the officials were at fault, their failings had deeper causes

This failure of leadership was continually apparent. The house of commons debated inflammatory issues because the officials did not lead it in other directions. When important questions arose or when the interests of the crown were attacked, the leading officials, especially the privy councillors, were slow to speak and sometimes did not speak at all. Not only were they reluctant to engage in debate, but also even when they had ample notice, they made little preparation. Perhaps they might have been excused for lacking an adequate answer for an unexpected attack. But they were equally feeble when they had had several days' notice.

Worse even than this lack of preparation was their failure to adapt themselves to the changing course of a debate. The arguments of the opposition were often crabbed and illogical, based on a strained interpretation of precedents really inapplicable. Even when other members of the house blasted the arguments of the opposition and reduced them to nonsense, the official leaders would not seize their opportunities. They remained mute in their places while the house passed from one attack on the crown to another.

While it would appear from a casual survey that the officials were at fault, their failings had deeper causes

than themselves. Although they fell down badly in their parliamentary duties, their inadequacies reflected more on their master than on themselves. If the privy councillors acted incompetently in the house of commons, it must be remembered that the king placed them there. In 1614 the king determined entirely the composition of his council, and he was certainly able to secure seats for his advisers in the lower house.

In choosing his councillors, the king laboured under a number of handicaps largely of his own creation. For one thing, he liked to grant peerages to able officials as rewards for their services. Among the councillors in 1614 he had promoted Stanhope, Knollys, and Wotton to the upper house, so that their services in the commons were lost to him. When parliament was summoned in 1614, only Caesar, Parry, and Sir John Herbert among the councillors were eligible for election to the commons. As far as is known, Herbert did not try to secure a seat. Possibly advancing years had so reduced his efficiency that the king felt that he would be useless in parliament. Parry was promptly expelled from the house, leaving Caesar as the only experienced councillor in the commons.

his position against his rivals at court, it is no wonder

It is true that Caesar was joined by two new councillors, Sir Ralph Winwood, the principal secretary, and Sir Thomas Lake. But both of them were appointed to the council only a week before parliament met, so they were completely unacquainted with council business. Winwood's case was the more striking of the two. Although he was expected to be the leader of the house of commons, he had never been a member of parliament before. It was complete folly to suppose that an inexperienced official could fill this position after the difficulties in the parliament of 1604. But Winwood laboured under even greater difficulties. While his long service abroad had given him a good knowledge of foreign affairs, he had lost touch with domestic problems. This difference in experience and outlook proved irritating to both sides.

Winwood was more handicapped than Lake by receiving his appointment to office so shortly before parliament met. Although Winwood was supposed to present the council's programme to parliament, he had no part in drafting the programme and little time to acquaint himself with it. Furthermore, he was overwhelmed by the extra-parliamentary duties of his office. With all these demands on his time plus the necessity of maintaining his position against his rivals at court, it is no wonder

that Winwood often seemed unprepared for the business of the lower house.

Not only was Winwood lacking in experience, but also another key figure in the commons had scarcely more experience than he. Ranulph Crew, the speaker, had previously sat only in the parliament of 1597, nearly twenty years before. To expect an inexperienced secretary and an inexperienced speaker to control a factious house was a case of overoptimism bordering on foolhardiness. The king's meddling in the affairs of the lower house created still another difficulty. Almost invariably his proposals irritated the commons even when he was trying to make a conciliatory gesture, as in Parry's case. Winwood's first request for supply may have been so poorly timed because he was acting on inflexible orders from the king.

This same incident revealed another aspect of the divergence among royal officials. The very considerable bloc of officials and courtiers which should have formed a cohesive group in the house was sundered even at the top. On this first occasion when the officials asked for supply, both Caesar and Bacon deviated from Winwood's proposal and advocated other methods of approaching the question. Among the lesser officials and courtiers the

disintegration was even more apparent. Although a few were persistent defenders of royal policies, the great majority remained completely silent. Some of them went so far as to become outright opponents of the court faction. If the privy councillors and important officials are excluded, only 14 members of the official group spoke in support of the crown. Of its 141 remaining members, 110 were completely silent, 22 were moderates, and 9 opposed the court. So the group of court adherents failed absolutely to form a nucleus around which the crown could rally its supporters. The opponents of the court in this group almost equalled its articulate supporters. Motivated by jealousy or pique or self-esteem as well as by principle, they changed their colours completely. In this connexion it should be remembered that among the four members of the commons imprisoned after the dissolution, Christopher Neville was the son of a peer, and Sir Walter Chute was carver to the king.

All of these facts about officialdom great and small point unerringly to the main defect in the royal administration. Neither Winwood nor Crew was responsible for his lack of experience or for the collapse of morale among the officials. The services of competent men could not be secured and the cohesion of the official group

could not be maintained because of the weakness at the top. This essential and fundamental weakness was certain to persist until the king took firm control over the government and freed it from the venal and selfish interests which dominated it. This step, however, was one that the king would not take. Unless some earth-shaking crisis could bring him to his senses, there was no hope of thorough-going reforms.

The opposition on its part suffered from equally glaring defects. Most of its supporters had little acquaintance with the problems facing the crown. Problems requiring a broad and statesman-like approach were treated on a parochial basis. The members of the opposition were so dominated by their own local interests that they ignored the wider problems of the government. In particular, they approached financial policy unrealistically, not realizing that as prosperity grew, the treasury should share in the increasing wealth of the nation. However hard-headed they were in business, the commons had not yet learned that good government has a price.

But the worst defect of the opposition was their irresponsibility. This was perhaps inevitable as long

as their role was negative. In any case, they were able critics of the crown up to a point. When that point was reached, the opposition reflected in its own way the tendency toward disintegration exhibited by the official group. In both cases the nominal leaders lost control. While in the case of the official group, loss of control resulted in muteness and desertion, in the case of the opposition it led to extremes of violence and disorder. The official group melted away behind its leaders. The opposition rushed forward pell-mell to overwhelm its leaders and convert the house into a cockpit. Until the opposition had learned internal discipline, it could not hope to gain any lasting victories. Both sides, then, were still incompetent to rule in 1614. So it is not surprising that the government limped along for another generation without solving its basic problems. The only government capable of governing had come to an end in 1603. England had developed to the point where it had outgrown the strong monarchy of the Tudors. Although the personality of the new monarch made the change more abrupt than it otherwise might have been, change was in the air when the seventeenth century dawned.

Unfortunately the sixteenth century had trained no other power to exercise the sovereignty wielded by the Tudor monarchs, nor had it pointed to any solution of the constitutional problem. While crown and parliament could no longer work in harmony, neither one was capable of assuming the burden of government alone. After the failure of the addled parliament the king tried personal rule, foreshadowing the years 1629-40. But another series of parliaments and a second period of personal rule were necessary to bring matters to a head.

The addled parliament set problems that it could not solve. It proved beyond any doubt that the Tudor constitution had died with Queen Elizabeth. While the parliament of 1604 might have been regarded as a case of unfortunate incidents between a new king and a tactless parliament, there was no superficial excuse for the failure of the addled parliament. The collapse of the old system was all too evident. The addled parliament also indicated that no solution to the constitutional problem was in sight. No stable structure of government would develop before the first of the Stuarts had followed his predecessor to the grave.

This subject is found in the Cottonian collection. Some of the material is found in Titus B vii, c vi, and v iv.

Critical Note on Bibliography

The material available for the study of the addled parliament has increased markedly since Gardiner did his great work. Although the Commons' Journals must always remain the basic source, many supplementary sources have come to light in recent years.

The manuscript sources include the state papers domestic, scattered through which there is a wealth of material on all aspects of early Stuart government. The volumes numbered 14/70, 14/74, 14/75, 14/76, 14/77, 14/81, 14/83, 14/90, 14/93, 14/96, and 15/40 were especially useful for this work. Other material was found in state papers 99/15 and 99/16 (Venice correspondence). The star chamber records (St. Ch. 8/293:11) contain one election case for 1614.

Two other sources in the public record office were the Spanish and French transcripts (12/34, 12/35, 12/36, and 12/37, and 3/47 and 3/48). These despatches of Sarmiento and Puyseux throw additional light on the events of 1614.

In the British Museum the best-known manuscripts on this subject are found in the Cottonian collection. Most of the material is found in Titus B vii, C vi, and F iv.

It covers many phases of early Stuart government.

Some important material is found in the Harleian manuscripts. A list of the bills of grace with enlightening notations is in no. 4289. The text of the king's speech of 9 April 1614 is found in no. 6258 A, and no. 5176 has information on the opening of parliament in 1614.

In the Lansdowne manuscripts, nos. 486 and 487 are more legible transcripts of the Cottonian Titus F iv material. No. 165 has a list of Jacobean pensions, and no. 222 a list of grants of office, both useful for this work. No. 513 has an extremely important account of the debate in the house of lords on impositions. This account, which seems not to have been used before, throws considerable light on the most important debate of the session in the upper house. *in H.M.C., Portland MSS., volume IX.*

The Additional manuscripts have little interesting material. Nos. 11,053, 24,346, and 34,079 throw some light on elections and on the first days of the session. The extracts from the privy council registers in no. 11,402 are valuable. *is an account of considerable*

On the whole, the manuscripts in the house of lords are of little use. They consist mainly of drafts of minor bills, mostly private ones, plus the original of the commission dissolving parliament. But the election

petition from Norfolk (calendared in H.M.C. Rept. 4, appendix, supplemental calendar) is extremely interesting and throws some light on popular opinion and election practises in 1614.

The printed sources are really of greater value than the less well-known manuscript sources. Some printed sources, such as the various Calendars of State Papers and The Court and Times of James the First, have been known for years.

But three new sources on the addled parliament have come to light recently. In volume vii of Commons Debates for 1621, edited by Notestein, Relf, and Simpson, there is a diary of events in the house of commons in 1614. A short account by Sir John Holles, a member of this parliament, occurs in H.M.C., Portland MSS., volume ix. It is taken from his letter book. These two accounts are the only ones known for this parliament besides the Commons' Journals.

An even more important source is in H.M.C., Hastings MSS., volume iv. This is an account of considerable length of proceedings in the house of lords in 1614, evidently written by a peer. It serves to fill out the scanty record of the Lords' Journals and is the single most valuable new source.

The Historical Manuscripts Commission's publications have yielded much other useful material. The chief sources were the Trumbull papers (Downshire, iv), the Winwood papers (Buccleuch, i), and the Montague papers (Buccleuch, iii).

Much financial information, primary and secondary, is found in the works of F. C. Dietz. Two little-known sources written by members of the addled parliament are The Liber Famelicus of Sir James Whitelocke and The Journal of Sir Roger Wilbraham. The Interim Report of the Committee on House of Commons Personnel and Politics 1264-1832 has a good account of the compilation of lists of members of the lower house, and its bibliography of borough records is very useful. The numerous collections of individual borough records are, of course, of particular interest for elections and biographical data.

The secondary sources have been divided into biographical sources and other works. The division has been made on the basis of their use in this particular work. The most useful secondary sources were the histories of local parliamentary representation, such as the works of Alexander, Williams, and Wedgwood. Also, local histories sometimes proved enlightening on elections.

The chief gap in information on this parliament is still in local history. As more local and family records become available to the historian, the election picture will become more complete.

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Members of the House of Lords in 1614.

Members of the House of Commons in 1614.

The dates are those of admission to the office.

Appendix I

The Privy Council in 1614

- *George Abbot, archbishop of Canterbury. 1611
- *Lord Ellesmere, lord chancellor. 1596
- *Earl of Exeter. 1603
- *Earl of Northampton, lord keeper of the privy seal. 1603
- *Earl of Nottingham, lord admiral. c.1585
- *Earl of Pembroke. 1611
- *Earl of Shrewsbury. 1601
- *Earl of Somerset. 1612
- *Earl of Suffolk, lord chamberlain. 1603
- *Earl of Worcester, master of the horse. 1601
- *Lord Knollys, treasurer of the household. 1596
- *Lord Stanhope, vice-chamberlain and treasurer of the chamber. c.1596
- *Lord Wotton, comptroller of the household. 1602
- *Lord Zouch. c.1612
- *Duke of Lennox (Scottish title. Earl of Richmond in England.) 1603
- Earl of Dunfermline (Scottish title), lord chancellor of Scotland. 1609
- Earl of Mar (Scottish title). 1603
- Viscount Fenton (Scottish title). 1610
- **Sir Julius Caesar, chancellor of the exchequer. 1607
- **Sir Edward Coke, lord chief justice. 4 November 1613
- **Sir John Herbert, second secretary. 1600
- **Sir Thomas Lake. 29 March 1614
- **Sir Thomas Parry, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster. 1607
- **Sir Ralph Winwood, principal secretary of state. 29 March 1614.
- *Robert Carr (died 1645). Created Viscount Rochester 1611 and earl of Somerset 1613.
- Southampton (Henry Wriothesley, 1573-1624). Succeeded 1602, but abjured 1601. Re-created earl of Southampton 1603.
- *Thomas Howard, 1561-1626. Created Baron of Suffolk 1603.

*Members of the house of lords in 1614.

**Members of the house of commons in 1614.

The dates are those of admission to the privy council.

Privy councillors in 1614.

Appendix II

The House of Lords in 1614

Peers present in 1614

Lord Chancellor

- *Lord Ellesmere (Thomas Egerton, 1540?-1617). Lord chancellor and a baron 1603. Created Viscount Brackley 1616.

Earls

- Cumberland (Francis Clifford, 1559-1641). Succeeded 1605.
- Derby (William Stanley, c.1561-1642). Succeeded 1594.
- Dorset (Richard Sackville, 1589-1624). Succeeded 1609.
- Essex (Robert Devereux, 1591-1646). Title restored 1604.
- *Exeter (Thomas Cecil, 1542-1622). Succeeded as Lord Burghley 1598. Created earl of Exeter 1605.
- Hertford (Edward Seymour, 1539?-1621). Created earl of Hertford 1559.
- Huntingdon (Henry Hastings, 1586-1643). Succeeded 1604.
- Montgomery (Philip Herbert, 1584-1650). Created earl of Montgomery 1605.
- *Northampton (Henry Howard, 1540-1614). Created earl of Northampton 1604. Lord privy seal 1608.
- *Nottingham (Charles Howard, 1536-1624). Succeeded as Lord Howard of Effingham 1573. Created earl of Nottingham 1596. Lord admiral 1585.
- *Pembroke (William Herbert, 1580-1630). Succeeded 1601.
- *Richmond (Ludovic Stuart, 1574-1624). Succeeded as duke of Lennox in Scotland 1583. Created earl of Richmond in England 1613 and duke of Richmond 1623.
- Rutland (Francis Manners, 1578-1632). Succeeded 1612.
- Salisbury (William Cecil, 1591-1668). Succeeded 1612.
- *Shrewsbury (Gilbert Talbot, 1553-1616). Summoned to parliament in his father's barony 1588. Succeeded 1590.
- *Somerset (Robert Carr, died 1645). Created Viscount Rochester 1611 and earl of Somerset 1613.
- Southampton (Henry Wriothesley, 1573-1624). Succeeded 1581, but attainted 1601. Re-created earl of Southampton 1603.
- *Suffolk (Thomas Howard, 1561-1626). Created Baron Howard de Walden 1597, and earl of Suffolk 1603. Lord chamberlain 1603.

*Privy councillors in 1614.

Privy councillor in 1614.

Sussex (Robert Radclyffe, c.1560-1629). Succeeded 1593.
*Worcester (Edward Somerset, 1553-1628). Succeeded 1589.

Viscount Lisle (Robert Sidney, 1563-1626). Created a baron 1603 and Viscount Lisle 1605.

Barons

Arundell (Thomas Arundell, c.1560-1639). Created a baron 1605.

Bergavenny (Edward Neville, c.1550-1622). Successfully claimed the barony 1604.

Carew (George Carew, 1555-1629). Created a baron 1605 and earl of Totnes 1626.

Cavendish (William Cavendish, died 1626). Created a baron 1605 and earl of Devonshire 1618.

Chandos (Grey Brydges, 1579?-1621). Succeeded 1602.

Compton (William Compton, c.1568-1630). Succeeded 1589. Created earl of Northampton 1618.

Dacre (Henry Lennard, 1570-1616). Succeeded mother 1612.

Danvers (Henry Danvers, 1573-1644). Created a baron 1603 and earl of Danby 1626.

Darcy and Meinill (John Darcy, 1579?-1635). Succeeded 1602.

Darcy of Chiche (Thomas Darcy, c.1565-1640). Succeeded 1581. Created Viscount Colchester 1621 and Earl Rivers 1626.

De La Warr (Thomas West, 1577-1618). Succeeded 1602.

Denny (Edward Denny, 1569-1637). Created a baron 1604 and earl of Norwich 1626.

Eure (Ralph Eure, 1558-1617). Succeeded 1594.

Gerard (Thomas Gerard, died 1618). Created a baron 1603.

Grey de Groby (Henry Grey, died 26 July 1614). Created a baron 1603.

Herbert (Henry Somerset, 1577-1646). Eldest son of the earl of Worcester. Summoned in his father's barony 1604. Succeeded as earl of Worcester 1628.

Created marquess of Worcester 1643.

Howard de Walden (Theophilus Howard, 1584-1640). Eldest son of the earl of Suffolk. Summoned in his father's barony 1610. Succeeded as earl of Suffolk 1626.

Howard of Effingham (William Howard, 1577-1615). Eldest son of the earl of Nottingham. Summoned in his father's barony 1604. Died before his father.

Hunsdon (John Carey, died 1617). Succeeded 1603.

*Privy councillor in 1614.

- *Knollys (William Knollys, 1547-1632). Created a baron 1603, Viscount Wallingford 1616, and earl of Banbury 1626.
- Knyvet (Thomas Knyvet, died 1622). Created a baron 1607.
- Monteagle (William Parker, 1575-1622). Eldest son of Lord Morley. Created a baron 1605. Succeeded as Lord Morley 1618.
- Morley (Edward Parker, c.1551-1618). Succeeded 1577.
- Norris (Francis Norris, 1579-1623). Succeeded 1601. Created earl of Berkshire 1621.
- North (Dudley North, 1581-1666). Succeeded 1600.
- Paget (William Paget, 1572-1629). Title restored 1603.
- Petre (William Petre, 1575-1637). Succeeded 1613.
- Rich (Robert Rich, c.1560-1619). Succeeded 1581. Created earl of Warwick 1618.
- Russell (Francis Russell, 1593-1641). Succeeded 1613. Succeeded as earl of Bedford 1627.
- St. John (Oliver St. John, died 1618). Succeeded 1596.
- Saye and Sele (William Fiennes, 1582-1662). Succeeded 1613. Created Viscount Saye and Sele 1624.
- Scrope (Emanuel Scrope, 1584-1630). Succeeded 1609. Created earl of Sunderland 1627.
- Sheffield (Edmund Sheffield, 1564?-1646). Succeeded 1568. Created earl of Mulgrave 1626.
- Spencer (Robert Spencer, died 1627). Created a baron 1603.
- Stafford (Edward Stafford, 1573-1625). Succeeded 1603.
- *Stanhope (John Stanhope, 1545?-1621). Created a baron 1605.
- Wentworth (Thomas Wentworth, 1591-1667). Succeeded 1593. Created earl of Cleveland 1626.
- Wharton (Philip Wharton, 1555-1625). Succeeded 1572.
- Willoughby de Eresby (Robert Bertie, 1572-1642). Succeeded 1601. Created earl of Lindsey 1626.
- Willoughby of Parham (William Willoughby, 1584-1617). Succeeded 1603.
- Windsor (Thomas Windsor, 1591-1641). Succeeded 1605.
- *Wotton (Edward Wotton, 1548-1626). Created a baron 1603.
- *Zouch (Edward la Zouch, 1556?-1625). Succeeded 1569.
- Peterborough (Thomas Peterborough, 1559-1631). Consecrated Bishop of Peterborough 1601.
- Rochester (John Rochester, c.1569-1631). Consecrated Bishop of Rochester 1611. Translated to St. Asaph 1604.
- St. Asaph (Richard St. Asaph, 1560-1623). Consecrated Bishop of St. Asaph 1604.

*Privy councillors in 1614.

*Privy councillor 1614.

Spiritual lords present in 1614

Archbishops

- *Canterbury (George Abbot, 1562-1633). Consecrated a bishop 1609. Translated to Canterbury 1611.
York (Tobias Matthew, 1546-1628). Consecrated a bishop 1595. Translated to York 1606.

Bishops

- Bath and Wells (James Montague, c.1568-1618). Consecrated bishop of Bath and Wells 1608. Translated to Winchester 1616.
Bristol (John Thornborough, 1551-1641). Consecrated a bishop 1593. Translated to Bristol 1603 and to Worcester 1617.
Chester (George Lloyd, 1560-1615). Consecrated a bishop 1600. Translated to Chester 1605.
Chichester (Samuel Harsnett, 1561-1631). Consecrated bishop of Chichester 1609. Translated to Norwich 1619 and to York 1629.
Coventry and Lichfield (John Overall, 1560-1619). Consecrated bishop of Coventry and Lichfield 1614. Translated to Norwich 1618.
Durham (William James, 1542-1617). Consecrated bishop of Durham 1606.
Ely (Launcelot Andrewes, 1555-1626). Consecrated a bishop 1605. Translated to Ely 1609 and to Winchester 1619.
Exeter (William Cotton, died 1621). Consecrated bishop of Exeter 1598.
Gloucester (Miles Smith, c.1568-1624). Consecrated bishop of Gloucester 1612.
Lincoln (Richard Neile, 1562-1640). Consecrated a bishop 1608. Translated to Lincoln 1614, to Durham 1617, to Winchester 1628, and to York 1632.
Llandaff (Francis Godwin, 1562-1633). Consecrated bishop of Llandaff 1601. Translated to Hereford 1617.
London (John King, c.1559-1621). Consecrated bishop of London 1611.
Oxford (John Bridges, died 1618). Consecrated bishop of Oxford 1604.
Peterborough (Thomas Dove, 1555-1630). Consecrated bishop of Peterborough 1601.
Rochester (John Buckeridge, c.1562-1631). Consecrated bishop of Rochester 1611. Translated to Ely 1628.
St. Asaph (Richard Parry, 1560-1623). Consecrated bishop of St. Asaph 1604.

*Privy councillor 1614.

Winchester (Thomas Bilson, 1547-1616). Consecrated a bishop 1596. Translated to Winchester 1597.
Worcester (Henry Farry, 1561-1616). Consecrated a bishop 1607. Translated to Worcester 1610.

Peers absent in 1614

Marquess of Winchester (William Paulet, before 1560-1629). Succeeded 1598.

Earls

Arundel (Thomas Howard, 1586-1646). Created an earl 1603. Abroad in 1614.

Bath (William Bourchier, 1557-1623). Succeeded 1561.

Bedford (Edward Russell, 1572-1627). Succeeded 1585.

Kent (Henry Grey, 1541-1615). Succeeded 1573.

Lincoln (Henry Clinton otherwise Fiennes, c.1542-1616). Succeeded 1585.

Northumberland (Henry Percy, 1564-1632). Succeeded 1585. In the Tower 1605-21.

Oxford (Henry de Vere, 1593-1625). Succeeded 1604. Abroad in 1614.

Viscount Montague (Anthony Maria Browne, 1574-1629). Succeeded 1592.

Barons

Audley (George Tuchet, 1551-1617). Succeeded 1563. Created earl of Castlehaven in Ireland 1616.

Berkeley (George Berkeley, 1601-58). Succeeded 1613. A minor in 1614.

Clifton (Gervase Clifton, c.1569-1618). Created a baron 1608.

Clinton (Thomas Clinton otherwise Fiennes, c.1568-1619). Eldest son of the earl of Lincoln. Summoned in his father's barony 1610. Succeeded as earl of Lincoln 1616.

Cromwell (Thomas Cromwell, 1594-1653). Succeeded 1607. A minor in 1614. Created Viscount Lecale 1624 and earl of Ardglass 1645, both in Ireland.

Dudley (Edward Sutton or Dudley, 1567-1643). Succeeded 1586.

Privy Counsellors in 1614.

Mordaunt (John Mordaunt, 1599-1644). Succeeded 1609.
A minor in 1614. Created earl of Peterborough 1628.
Sandys (William Sandys, died 1623). Succeeded c.1560.
Stourton (Edward Stourton, c.1557-1633). Succeeded 1588.
Vaux (Edward Vaux, 1588-1661). Succeeded 1595.

Lord Howard of Effingham (William Howard) 1604 (earl of Nottingham)

Bishops absent in 1614

Bangor (Henry Rowlands, 1551-1616). Consecrated bishop of Bangor 1599.

Carlisle (Henry Robinson, c.1553-1616). Consecrated bishop of Carlisle 1598.

Hereford (Robert Bennet, died 1617). Consecrated bishop of Hereford 1603.

Norwich (John Jegon, 1550-1618). Consecrated bishop of Norwich 1603.

St. David's (Anthony Rudd, c.1549-1615). Consecrated bishop of St. David's 1594.

Salisbury (Henry Cotton, died 1615). Consecrated bishop of Salisbury 1598.

Peers restored to their titles by King James

Earl of Arundel (Thomas Howard) 1603. Father attainted 1595. Absent in 1614.

Earl of Essex (Robert Devereux) 1604. Father attainted 1601.

Earl of Southampton (Henry Wriothesley) 1603. Attainted 1601.

Lord Paget (William Paget) 1605. Father attainted 1587.

Peers owing promotions to King James

Earl of Dorset (Richard Sackville). Father promoted from baron to earl 1604.

*Earl of Exeter (Thomas Cecil) 1605. Succeeded as Lord Burghley 1598.

*Earl of Suffolk (Thomas Howard) 1603. Created a baron 1597.

*Earl of Richmond (Ludovic Stuart) 1613. Succeeded as duke of Lennox in Scotland 1583.

*Privy councillors in 1614.

Russe Eldest sons of peers summoned in their fathers' baronies by King James

- Spencer (Robert)
- *Stanhope (John Stanhope) 1603
- Lord Herbert (Henry Somerset) 1604 (earl of Worcester).
- Lord Howard de Walden (Theophilus Howard) 1610 (earl of Suffolk).
- Lord Howard of Effingham (William Howard) 1604 (earl of Nottingham).
- Lord Clinton (Thomas Clinton otherwise Fiennes) 1610 (earl of Lincoln). Absent in 1614.

Total

Members

April

New Creations by King James

Earls

- Montgomery (Philip Herbert) 1605
- *Northampton (Henry Howard) 1604
- Salisbury (William Cecil). Father created a baron 1603, a viscount 1604, and an earl 1605.
- *Somerset (Robert Carr). Created a viscount 1611 and an earl 1613.

Viscount Lisle (Robert Sidney). Created a baron 1603 and a viscount 1605.

Barons

- *Ellesmere (Thomas Egerton) 1603. (lord chancellor)
- Arundell (Thomas Arundell) 1605
- Carew (George Carew) 1605
- Cavendish (William Cavendish) 1605
- Clifton (Gervase Clifton) 1608. Absent in 1614.
- Danvers (Henry Danvers) 1603
- Denny (Edward Denny) 1604
- Gerard (Thomas Gerard) 1603
- Grey de Groby (Henry Grey) 1603
- *Knollys (William Knollys) 1603
- Knyvet (Thomas Knyvet) 1607
- Monteagle (William Parker, the eldest son of Lord Morley) 1605
- Petre (William Petre). Father created a baron 1603.

*Privy councillors in 1614.

of privy councillors.

Russell (Francis Russell). Father created a baron 1603.
 Spencer (Robert Spencer) 1603.
 *Stanhope (John Stanhope) 1605
 *Wotton (Edward Wotton) 1603

Attendance in the house of lords 1614**

Date	Lay Lords	Lords Spiritual	Total	Privy Councillors
Total Members	84	26	110	15
April 5	53	20	73	12
8	50	15	65	12
9	45	11	56	11
11	52	16	68	11
14	44	14	58	9
15	38	15	53	8
16	38	16	54	9
18	35	14	49	9
19	38	14	52	9
May 2	30	15	45	10
3	36	14	50	12
5	42	18	60	11
7	42	16	58	10
9	48	16	64	12
12	43	17	60	10
14	45	18	63	10
16	47	16	63	10
19	45	17	62	8
21	52	17	69	11
23	55	16	71	12
24	54	17	71	12
26	51	17	68	12
28	48	18	66	13
30	49	18	67	12
31	50	18	68	13
June 4	43	17	60	11
6	55	19	74	13
7	53	18	71	13

*Privy councillors in 1614.

**Although the house of lords met on April 7, there is no record of attendance, so this meeting is omitted from these tables. The first three columns are inclusive of privy councillors.

Attendance of individual privy councillors in 1614
Sessions attended

	Spanish faction	out of 28
Earl of Northampton		2
Earl of Nottingham		26
Earl of Suffolk		28
Earl of Somerset		16
Earl of Worcester		19
Lord Knollys		28
Lord Wotton		26

	Protestant faction	
Lord Chancellor Ellesmere		28
Archbishop Abbot of Canterbury		28
Earl of Pembroke		27

	French faction	
Earl of Richmond (Duke of Lennox)		21
Lord Zouch		23

	Others	
Earl of Exeter		2
Earl of Shrewsbury		24
Lord Stanhope		7

1. Expelled 11 May 1614.
2. Elected for both Berkshire and Clipping Wycombe, Bucks.

Appendix III

The House of Commons in 1614 by Counties

County Bedfordshire
County (Sir Henry Grey
(Sir Oliver Lake
Bedford (Sir Alexander St. John
borough (John Leigh

Berkshire
County (Sir Thomas Parry 1
(Sir Henry Neville 2
Abingdon (Sir Robert Knollys
Reading (Francis Moore
(Robert Knollys
Wallingford (William Reynolds
(George Simeon
Windsor (Sir Richard Lovelace
(Thomas Woodward

Buckinghamshire
County (Sir Francis Goodwin
(Sir William Borlase
Aylesbury (Sir John Dormer
(Samuel Backhouse
Buckingham (Sir Thomas Denton
borough (Sir Ralph Winwood
Chipping (Sir Henry Neville 2
Wycombe (William Borlase

1. Expelled 11 May 1614.

2. Elected for both Berkshire and Chipping Wycombe, Bucks.

Cambridgeshire

County (Sir John Cutts, jr.
(Sir Thomas Chichley

Cambridge (Sir Francis Bacon
University (Sir Miles Sandys

Cambridge (Sir Robert Hitcham
borough (Francis Brakin

Cheshire

County (Sir William Brereton
(Sir Roger Wilbraham

Chester (Edward Whitby
city (John Bingley

Cornwall

County (Richard Carew, jr.
(John St. Aubyn

Bodmin (Christopher Sprey
(-----

Bossiney (John Wood
(Sir Jerome Horsey

Callington (William Rolle
(Humphrey Weare

Camelford (George Cotton
(Robert Naunton jr.

Fowey (Jonathan Rashleigh
(-----

Grampond (Sir Francis Barnham
(Thomas St. Aubyn

Helston (Sir Robert Killigrew
(Henry Bulstrode

Launceston (Sir Charles Wilmot
(William Croft

1. Not in the Devonshire, Hampshire or Sussex, who sat for
for the County of Devon, who sat for the County of Devon,
2. Elected for both Devon and Gloucestershire,
Gloucestershire.

Liskeard (Richard Connock
(John Glanville

East (Sir Reginald Mohun
Looe (George Chudleigh

West (Sir Edward Lewkenor
Looe (John Harris

(Edward Leech
Lostwithiel (Sir Henry Vane

(Christopher Hodson
Michel (Walter Hickman

(Thomas Trevor
Newport (Sir Thomas Cheke 1

(Sir William Killigrew
Penryn (Francis Crane

(John Eliot
St. Germans (John Trott

(Sir Anthony Maney 2
St. Ives (Sir Joseph Killigrew

(Francis Vivian
St. Mawes (Sir Nicholas Smith

(Ranulph Crew
Saltash (Sir Robert Phelps

(William Hakewill
Tregony (Thomas Mallet

(Thomas Russell
Truro (Thomas Burgess, jr.

Cumberland
(Sir Wilfred Lawson
County (Sir Thomas Penruddock

1. Not to be confused with Thomas Cheke, who sat for Southampton, Hampshire, or Thomas Cheke, jr., who sat for Yarmouth, Hampshire.
2. Elected for both St. Ives and Cirencester, Gloucestershire.

Carlisle (George Butler
(Nathaniel Tompkins

Derbyshire

County (Henry Howard
(Sir William Cavendish
Derby (Sir Gilbert Kniveton
borough (Arthur Turner

Devonshire

County (Sir Edward Giles
(John Drake
Barnstaple (John Goslyn
(John Delbridge
Beeralston (Thomas Crew
(Sir Richard White
Dartmouth (Thomas Howard
(Thomas Gourney
Exeter (John Prouse
(Thomas Martin
Plymouth (Sir William Strode
(Thomas Sherwill
Plympton (Sir Warwick Hele
(Sampson Hele
Tavistock (Francis Glanville
(Edward Duncombe
Totnes (Nathaniel Rich
(Lawrence Adams

Dorset

County (Sir Mervyn Audley
(Sir John Strangways
Bridport (Sir William Bampffield
(John Jeffrey
Corfe (John Dackombe
Castle (Sir Thomas Tracy
Dorchester (Francis Ashley
(George Horsey
Lyme (Sir Edward Seymour
Regis (George Brown
Poole (Walter Erle
(Sir Thomas Walsingham, jr. 1
Shaftesbury (Henry Croke
(Sir Simeon Steward
Wareham (John Freke
(William Pitt
Weymouth (Sir Charles Caesar
and (Robert Bateman
Melcombe Regis (Bernard Michell
(John Roy

Essex

County (Sir Robert Rich
(Sir Richard Weston
Colchester (Robert Barker
(Edward Alford
Harwich (Sir Harbottle Grimston
(----- 2

1. Not to be confused with Sir Thomas Walsingham, who sat for Kent.

2. Sir Robert Mansell was elected for Harwich, but chose to sit for Carmarthenshire.

Maldon (Sir John Sammes
(Charles Chibborne

Southampton (Sir Thomas ...
Borough Gloucestershire

County (Sir William Cook
(Richard Barkley

Bristol (Thomas James
(John Whitson

Cirencester (Sir Anthony Maney 1
(Robert Strange

Gloucester (Thomas Machen
city (John Brown

Tewkesbury (Sir Dudley Digges
(Sir John Ratcliffe

Hampshire

County (Sir Richard Tichbourne
(Sir William Uvedale

Andover (Richard Venables
(Peter Noyes

Christchurch (Sir Thomas Norton
(Henry Breton

Lymington (Philip Fleming
(Charles Thynne

Newport (Sir Richard Worsley
(John Searle

Newtown (William Hickford
(-----

Petersfield (Sir Walter Tichbourne
(Edward Savage

1. Elected for both Cirencester and St. Ives, Cornwall.

Portsmouth (John Griffith
(George Thorpe

Southampton (Sir Thomas Fleming
borough (Thomas Cheke 1

Stockbridge (Sir Henry Wallop 2
(Sir Walter Cope 2

Whitchurch (Sir Edward Barrett
(Sir Richard Pawlett

Winchester (Sir William Sandys
(Sir Thomas Bilson

Yarmouth (Arthur Bromfield
(Thomas Cheke, jr. 3

Herefordshire

County (Sir James Scudamore
(Sir Herbert Croft

Hereford (John Hoskyns
city (John Warden

Leominster (Sir Humphrey Baskerville
(Thomas Coningsby

Hertfordshire

County (Sir Henry Carey
(Sir Ralph Coningsby

St. Albans (Thomas Perrient
(Henry Finch

1. Not to be confused with Thomas Cheke, jr., who sat for Yarmouth, Hampshire, or Sir Thomas Cheke, who sat for Newport, Cornwall.
2. The Stockbridge election was declared void by the house of commons 11 May 1614. A by-election was ordered, but the result could not be located.
3. See note 1 above.

Huntingdonshire
County (Sir Oliver Cromwell
(Sir Robert Payne
Huntingdon (Sir Christopher Hatton
borough (Sir Miles Fleetwood
Kent
County (Sir Peter Manwood
(Sir Thomas Walsingham 1
Canterbury (George Newman
(Sir William Levelace
Maldstone (Sir Francis Fane
(Sir John Scott
Queenborough (Roger Palmer
(Robert Hatton
Rochester (Sir Edward Hoby
(Sir Edwin Sandys 2
Lancashire
County (Sir Thomas Gerrard
(Sir Cuthbert Halsall
Clitheroe (Sir Gilbert Houghton
(Clement Coke
Lancaster (Thomas Fanshawe
borough (William Fanshawe

1. Not to be confused with Sir Thomas Walsingham, jr.,
who sat for Poole, Dorset.

2. Not to be confused with Edwin Sandys, who sat for
Droitwich, Worcestershire.

Newcastle-under-Lyme, Staffordshire.

Liverpool (Edward Wymarke 1
(Thomas Ireland
(William Ashton
Newton (Roger Charnock
(Edward Mosley
Preston (Henry Banastre
(Sir Richard Molyneux, jr.
Wigan (Gilbert Gerrard

Leicestershire

County (George Hastings
(Sir Thomas Hesilrig
Leicester (Sir Henry Rich
borough (Sir Francis Leigh

Lincolnshire

County (Sir George Manners
(Sir Peregrine Bertie
(Anthony Irby
Boston (Leonard Bawtrey
(Sir George Reynell
Grantham (Richard Tufton
Great (Sir John Wray
Grimsby (Richard Toothby
Lincoln (Sir Thomas Grantham
city (Edward Bash
(Richard Cecil
Stamford (John Jay

1. Elected for Liverpool, Peterborough, Northants, and
Newcastle-under-Lyme, Staffordshire.

Middlesex
 County (Sir Julius Caesar)
 (Sir Thomas Lake)
 London (Sir Thomas Lowe)
 (Sir Henry Montague)
 (Nicholas Fuller)
 (Robert Middleton)
 Westminster (Sir Humphrey May)
 (Edmund Doubleday)
 Monmouthshire
 County (Sir Walter Montague)
 (William Jones of Treowen 1)
 Monmouth borough (Sir Robert Johnson)
 Norfolk
 County (Sir Henry Bedingfield)
 (Sir Hamon L'Estrange)
 Castle Rising (Sir Robert Wynd)
 (Thomas Binge)
 King's Lynn (Matthew Clerke)
 (Thomas Oxborough)
 Norwich (Sir Thomas Herne)
 County (Rice Gwynn)
 Thetford (Sir William Twisden)
 (Framlingham Gawdy)
 Great Yarmouth (Sir Theophilus Finch)
 (George Hardware)

1. Elected for Peterborough, Liverpool, Lancaster, Newcastle-under-Lyne, Staffordshire.
 Apparently not the same as the William Jones who sat for Beaumaris, Anglesey. he was sheriff of Durham.

Northamptonshire
County (Sir Edward Montague
(Sir William Tate
(William Spencer
Brackley (Arthur Terringham
Higham Ferrers (Rowland St. John
Northampton (Sir Henry Yelverton
borough (Francis Beale
Peterborough (Sir William Walter
(Edward Wymarke 1
Northumberland
County (Sir Henry Widdrington
(Sir George Selby 2
(Sir William Selby
Berwick- (Sir John Selby
on-Tweed (Meredith Vorgan
(Sir William Button
Morpeth (Arnold Herbert
Newcastle- (Sir Henry Anderson
on-Tyne (William Jennison
Nottinghamshire
County (Sir Gervase Clifton
(Sir John Holles
Nottingham (Sir William Gregory
borough (Robert Stables

1. Sir William Jennison was elected here, but chose to sit for Yorkshire.

1. Elected for Peterborough, Liverpool, Lancashire, and Newcastle-under-Lyme, Staffordshire.
2. Sir William Selby elected 12 May at a by-election. Sir George Selby declared ineligible April 13 because he was sheriff of Durham.

East (----- 1
Retford (Sir Walter Chute

Oxfordshire

County (Sir Anthony Cope
(Sir John Croke
Banbury (Sir William Cope
Oxford (Sir Daniel Dunn
University (Sir John Bennet
Oxford (Sir John Ashley
city (Thomas Wentworth 2
Woodstock (Sir Philip Cary
(James Whitelocke

Rutlandshire

County (Sir Guy Palmes
(Basil Feilding

Shropshire

County (Sir Roger Owen
(Richard Newport
Bishop's (Thomas Hitchcock
Castle (Edward Littleton
Bridgnorth (John Peirse
(Richard Synge

1. Sir William Cavendish was elected here, but chose to sit for Derbyshire.
2. Not the same as Sir Thomas Wentworth, the future earl of Strafford, who sat for Yorkshire.

1. Lloyd chose as a by-election.
2. Anthony Dyott was probably elected in place of Sir John Egerton, who died 21 April 1666.

(Sir Henry Townsend
Ludlow (Robert Berry 1
(Robert Lloyd
(Lewis Prowde
Shrewsbury (Francis Barkley
Much (Rowland Lacon
Wenlock (Edward Lawley

Somerset
County (Sir Maurice Berkeley
(John Poulett
(Sir James Ley
Bath (Nicholas Hyde
(Thomas Ware
Bridgwater (Robert Halswell

(-----
Minehead (-----

(John Dunn
Taunton (James Clerke

(Thomas Southworth
Wells (Sidney Montague

Staffordshire
County (Sir Walter Chetwynd
(Thomas Crompton

(Sir John Egerton
Lichfield (William Wingfield
(Anthony Dyott 2

1. Disqualified April 14 as bailiff of Ludlow. Robert Lloyd chosen at a by-election 11 May 1614.
2. Anthony Dyott was probably elected in place of Sir John Egerton, who died 27 April 1614.

Newcastle- (Edward Wymarke 1
under-Lyme (Robert Needham

Stafford (Sir Walter Devereux 2
borough (Thomas Gibbs

(Sir Thomas Roe
Tamworth (Sir Percival Willoughby

Suffolk

(Sir Thomas Jermy
County (Sir Robert Gardiner

(Sir William Woodhouse
Aldeburgh (Sir Henry Glemham

Bury (-----
St. Edmunds(-----

Dunwich (Philip Gawdy
(Henry Dade

(Sir Robert Drury
Eye (Huntingdon Colby

(Robert Shelling
Ipswich (William Cage

(Sir William Cornwallis
Orford (Sir Francis Baildon

(Sir Robert Crane
Sudbury (Henry Binge

Surrey

(Sir George More
County (Sir Edmund Bowyer

1. Elected for Newcastle-under-Lyme, Liverpool, Lancashire, and Peterborough, Northants.
2. Not to be confused with Walter Devereux, who sat for Pembroke borough.

Bletchingley (Sir John Trevor
(Sir Charles Howard, jr. 1

Gatton (Sir Thomas Gresham
(Sir John Brooke

Guildford (Sir Robert More
(George Stoughton

Haslemere (Sir Thomas Grymes
(Sir William Brown

Reigate (Sir Edward Howard
(John Suckling

Southwark (Edward Cox
(Richard Yarwood

Sussex

County (Sir Walter Covert
(Sampson Lennard

Arundel (Henry Spiller
(Edward Morley

Bramber (Sir John Leeds
(Henry Shelley, jr.

Chichester (Sir John Morley
(Adrian Stoughton

East Grinstead (Henry Crompton
(Sir George Rivers

Horsham (Sir Thomas Vavasor
(John Middleton

Lewes (Christopher Neville
(Richard Amherst

Midhurst (Thomas Bowyer
(William Courteman

1. Not to be confused with Sir Charles Howard, sr., who sat for Shoreham, Sussex.

Shoreham (Sir Charles Howard, sr. 1
(Thomas Shelley

Steyning (Sir Thomas Shirley
(Sir Edward Francis

Warwickshire

County (Sir Thomas Lucy
(Sir Richard Verney

Coventry (Sir Robert Coke
(Sampson Hopkins

Warwick (Greville Verney
borough (John Townsend

Westmorland

County (Henry, Lord Clifford
(Sir Thomas Wharton

Appleby (Sir George Savile, jr.
(Sir Henry Wotton

Wiltshire

County (Sir Thomas Howard 2
(Sir Henry Poole

Great (Giles Mompesson
Bedwin (Robert Hyde

Calne (Sir Edward Cary
(Richard Lowe

1. Not to be confused with Sir Charles Howard, jr., who sat for Bletchingley, Surrey.
2. Not to be confused with Thomas Howard, who sat for Dartmouth, Devonshire.

1. Sir Edwin Sandys was elected here, 1627, and sat for Rochester, Kent.

- Chippenham (Sir William Maynard
Thomas Culpepper
- Cricklade (Sir Thomas Monson

- Devizes (Edward Baynton
William Kent
- Worcester
Downton (Gilbert Raleigh
John Rives
- Heytesbury (Henry Ludlow
Walter Gowen
- Hindon (Sir Edmund Ludlow

- Ludgershall (Charles Danvers
James Kerton
- Malmesbury (Sir Roger Dallison
Sir Neville Poole
- Marlborough (Sir Francis Popham
Richard Digges
- Old Sarum (William Ravenscroft
William Price
- Salisbury (Giles Tooker
Roger Gauntlet
- Westbury (Matthew Ley
Henry Ley
- Wilton (Sir Robert Sidney
Thomas Morgan
- Wootton Bassett (Sir William Willoughby
Edward Hungerford
- Worcestershire

1. Not to be County (Sir Thomas Bromley
Rochester, Kent. (Sir Samuel Sandys

2. The future earl of ... Not to be confused with

1. Sir Edwin Sandys was elected here, but chose to sit
for Rochester, Kent.

Bewdley (James Button
Droitwich (Edwin Sandys 1
(Ralph Clare
Evesham (Thomas Bigge
(Anthony Langston
Worcester (Thomas Chettle
city (John Cowcher
Yorkshire
County (Sir John Savile
(Sir Thomas Wentworth 2
Aldborough (Sir Henry Savile
(John Wetherid
Beverley (Edmund Scott
(William Towse
Boroughbridge (Sir Ferdinando Fairfax
(George Marshall
Hedon (----- 3
(William Sheffield
Hull (Sir John Bouchier
(Richard Burgess
Knaresborough (Sir Henry Slingsby
(William Beecher
Richmond (Sir Richard Williamson
(Talbot Bowes
Ripon (Sir Thomas Posthumous Hoby
(William Mallory
Scarborough (Edward Smith
(William Conyers

1. Not to be confused with Sir Edwin Sandys, who sat for Rochester, Kent.
2. The future earl of Strafford. Not to be confused with Thomas Wentworth, who sat for Oxford city.
3. Clement Coke was elected here, but chose to sit for Clitheroe, Lancashire.

Thirsk (Sir Thomas Belasyse
(Sir Robert Yaxley

York (Robert Askwith
city (Christopher Brooke

Cinque Ports

Dover (Sir George Fane
(Sir Robert Brett

Hastings (Sir Edward Hales
(James Lasher

Hythe (Sir Richard Smyth
(Sir Lionel Cranfield

Romney (Sir Arthur Ingram
(Robert Wilcock

Rye (Edward Hendon
(Thomas Watson

Sandwich (Sir Thomas Smyth
(Sir Samuel Peyton

Winchelsea (William Byng
(Thomas Godfrey

Wales

Anglesey

County (Sir Richard Bulkeley

Beaumaris (William Jones 1

Brecknockshire

County (Sir Charles Vaughan

Brecknock borough (Sir John Crompton

1. Apparently not the same as William Jones of Treowen, who sat for Monmouthshire.

Cardiganshire

County (Sir Richard Price

Cardigan borough (Robert Wolverston

Carmarthenshire

County (Sir Robert Mansell

Carmarthen borough (----- 1

Carnarvonshire

County (Richard Wynn

Carnarvon borough (Nicholas Griffith

Denbighshire

County (Simon Thelwall

Denbigh borough (Sir Hugh Middleton

Flintshire

County (Robert Ravenscroft

Flint borough (John Eyton

Glamorganshire

County (Sir Thomas Mansell

Cardiff (Matthew Davies

1. A ----- Thomas was elected, but the sheriff refused to return him because of a technicality in the writ. Whether or not he took his seat is not clear.

Merionethshire
County (Elisha Lloyd)

Montgomeryshire

County (Sir William Herbert)

Montgomery borough (Sir John Danvers)

Pembrokeshire

County (John Wogan)

Haverfordwest (Sir James Perrot)

Pembroke borough (Walter Devereux 1)

Radnorshire

County (James Price)

Radnor borough (Rowland Merrick)

Members whose constituencies were not identified

----- Bartlett
Sir Hugh Beeston
----- Griffin 2
----- Mervyn
Sir Carey Reynell 3
----- Richardson
Sir Oliver St. John

1. Not to be confused with Sir Walter Devereux, who sat for Stafford borough.
2. Possibly the same as John Griffith (Portsmouth, Hampshire), or Nicholas Griffith (Carnarvon borough).
3. According to the Official Return he sat for Wallingford, Berks, but this was probably William Reynolds.

Legal Appendix IV

The Official Group in the House of Commons

Privy councillors		
Sir Julius Caesar	Middlesex	Chancellor of the exchequer 1606. Privy councillor 1607.
Sir Thomas Lake	Middlesex	Privy councillor 29 March 1614.
Sir Thomas Parry	Berkshire	Chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster and a privy councillor 1607. Expelled 11 May 1614.
Sir Ralph Winwood	Buckingham borough	Principal secretary of state and privy councillor 29 March 1614.
Other leading officials		
Sir Francis Bacon	Cambridge University	Attorney-general 1613. One of the king's learned counsel.
Ranulph Crew	Saltash borough	Speaker 1614.
Sir George More	Surrey	Courtier. Chancellor of the order of the Garter 1611.
Sir Charles Wilmot	Bath Launceston	Irish privy coun- ciller 1607. Mar- shal of Ireland 1611.
Sir Henry Wotton	Appleby	Ambassador to Venice 1604-12. Half-brother of Lord Wotton, a privy councillor 1602.
Sir Henry Yelverton	Northampton borough	Solicitor-general 1613. One of the king's learned counsel.

Legal supporters of the crown

Francis Ashley	Dorchester	Legal supporter. Serjeant 1617.
Robert Barker	Colchester	Serjeant 1603.
Leonard Bawtrey	Boston	Serjeant July 1614.
Sir John Bennet	Oxford University	Chancellor to Queen Anne c.1604. A master in chancery 1608.
John Dackombe	Corfe Castle	A master of requests 5 January 1614.
Sir Daniel Dunn	Oxford University	Dean of the court of arches 1598. A master in chancery c.1601.
Anthony Dyott	Lichfield	A lawyer in the pay of the crown 1612.
Henry Finch	St. Albans	Serjeant July 1614.
Edward Hendon	Rye	Serjeant 1616.
Sir Robert Hitcham	Cambridge borough	Attorney-general to Queen Anne 1603.
Sir Francis Leigh	Leicester borough	Courtier. A son-in- law of Lord Chancellor Ellesmere. A master of requests 1614.
Sir James Ley	Bath	Attorney to the court of wards 1608.
Sir Henry Montague	London	King's serjeant 1611. One of the king's learned counsel.
Francis Moore	Reading	Serjeant July 1614.
Edward Mosley	Preston	Attorney-general of the duchy of Lancaster by 1614.

George Newman	Canterbury	Ecclesiastical lawyer. Chancellor of the diocese of Canterbury.
Lewis Prowde	Shrewsbury	Justice in North Wales 1611.
Sir Henry Townsend	Ludlow	Associate to the chief justice of Chester by 1611.
William Towse	Beverley	Serjeant July 1614.
Thomas Trevor	Newport (Cornwall)	The prince's solicitor by 1614. One of the king's learned counsel.
Sir Roger Wilbraham	Cheshire	Master of requests.
Sir Richard Williamson	Richmond	A master of requests in 1614.
Lesser officials		
William Beecher	Knaresborough	Diplomatic official. Auditor of the court of wards 1615.
Henry Binge	Sudbury	Keeper of the records of the king's bench 1607.
John Bingley	Chester city	Writer of tallies in the exche- quer by 1609.
Sir Robert Brett	Dover	Gentleman usher at court. Pension 1607. Lieutenant of Dover Castle 1614. Deputy warden of the Cinque Ports.
Sir Edward Cary	Calne	Master of the jewel house by 1614.
Richard Connock	Liskeard	Auditor of the duchy of Cornwall 1609.

Sir William Cook	Gloucestershire	Clerk of the liveries 1610.
Sir Walter Cope	Stockbridge	Master of the wards 1613. Election voided 11 May 1614.
Sir William Cornwallis	Orford	Treasurer of Prince Henry's household 1609-12.
Francis Crane	Penryn	Clerk of parliament 1606. Secretary to Prince Charles.
Sir Lionel Cranfield	Hythe	Surveyor-general of the customs 1613.
Sir Roger Dallison	Malmesbury	Lieutenant of the ordnance c.1607.
Edmund Doubleday	Westminster	Warden of the mint.
Thomas Fanshawe	Lancaster borough	Surveyor-general and auditor of the duchy of Lancaster by 1610.
William Fanshawe	Lancaster borough	Auditor of the duchy of Lancaster. Son of Thomas Fanshawe.
Sir Miles Fleetwood	Huntingdon borough	Receiver of the court of wards 1610.
John Griffith	Portsmouth	Secretary and assistant to the lord warden of the Cinque Ports by 1612.
Sir Robert Johnson	Monmouth borough	An officer of the ordnance.
Sir Robert Mansell	Carmarthenshire	Treasurer of the navy 1604.
Sir Humphrey May	Westminster	Groom of the king's privy chamber 1604.

Sir Thomas Monson	Cricklade	Master falconer 1605. Keeper of the naval arsenal in the Tower 1612.
Robert Naunton	Camelford	Clerk in the secretary's office 1611.
William Pitt	Wareham	A minor official.
William Ravenscroft	Old Sarum	Clerk of the petty bag 1598.
Sir George Rivers	East Grinstead	In the alienation office.
Thomas Russell	Truro	Minor official by 1611.
Sir Nicholas Smith	St. Mawes	Receiver-general for Middlesex, Herts, Essex, and London.
Sir Thomas Smyth	Sandwich borough	Receiver of the duchy of Cornwall.
John Suckling	Reigate	A minor official.
Simon Thelwall	Denbighshire	Proctor of the court of arches.
Sir John Trevor	Bletchingley	Surveyor of royal ships 1598.
Thomas Watson	Rye	Teller in the exchequer 1605.
Close relatives of officials		
Francis Beale	Northampton borough	Brother-in-law of Sir Henry Yelverton, solicitor-general and MP 1614.
Sir Charles Caesar	Weymouth and Melcombe Regis	Son of Sir Julius Caesar, a privy councillor and MP 1614.

Sir Philip Cary	Woodstock	Son of Sir Edward Cary, master of the jewel house and MP 1614.
Sir Richard Cecil	Stamford	Second son of the earl of Exeter, a privy councillor.
Thomas Chettle	Worcester city	Son-in-law of one Hanbury, an auditor to King James.
Clement Coke	Clitheroe)	Sons of Sir Edward Coke, lord chief justice.
Sir Robert Coke	Coventry)	
Henry Croke	Shaftesbury)	Sons of Sir John Croke, a justice of the king's bench.
Sir John Croke	Oxfordshire)	
John Dunn	Taunton	Son of Sir Daniel Dunn, a master in chancery.
Philip Fleming	Lymington)	Sons of Sir Thomas Fleming, lord chief justice 1607-13.
Sir Thomas Fleming	Southampton borough)	
Sir Robert Knollys	Abingdon	A brother of Lord Knollys, a privy councillor.
Robert Knollys	Reading	Nephew of Lord Knollys.
Henry Ley	Westbury	Son of Sir James Ley, attorney to the court of wards.
Matthew Ley	Westbury	Brother of Sir James Ley.
Edward Littleton	Bishop's Castle	Son of the chief justice of North Wales.
Sir Thomas Mansell	Glamorganshire	Brother of Sir Robert Mansell, treasurer of the navy.
Sir Hugh Beeston	(v)	Receiver-general of the Mint, and Chancellor of the Exchequer 1604.

Sir Edward Montague Northamptonshire) Brothers of
Sidney Montague Wells) Sir Henry
Sir Walter Montague Monmouthshire) Montague, the
king's
serjeant.

Sir Robert Phelips Saltash Son of Sir Edward
Phelips, master of
the rolls.

Robert Ravenscroft Flintshire Son of William
Ravenscroft, clerk of
the petty bag and
MP 1614.

Sir Henry Savile Aldborough A son of Sir John
Savile, a baron of
the exchequer 1598-
1607.

Sir Richard Smyth Hythe Brother of Sir Thomas
Smyth, receiver of the
duchy of Cornwall and
MP 1614.

Sir William Tate Northamptonshire Son-in-law of
Lord Zouch, a
privy councillor.

Courtiers and Petty Officials

Sir John Ashley Oxford Courtier. Pension 1608.
city Reversion of the deputy
mastership of the revels
1612.

Sir William Bampffield Bridport Captain of Sands-
foot Castle c.1612.

Sir Edward Barrett Whitchurch Courtier.

Sir Hugh Beeston (?) Receiver-general in Cheshire,
Flint, and Carnarvonshire
1604.

Sir Peregrine Bertie	Lincolnshire	Formerly in Prince Henry's service. Brother of Lord Willoughby de Eresby.
Sir John Brooke	Gatton	Pension 1611.
Sir William Brown	Haslemere	Lieutenant-governor of Flushing c.1601-4.
Sir William Button	Morpeth	By 1614 in attendance on foreign ambassadors and receiving a pension.
William Byng	Winchelsea	Captain of Deal Castle by 1608.
Sir Henry Carey	Hertfordshire	Courtier. A son of Lord Hunsdon.
Sir William Cavendish	Derbyshire	Courtier. A son of Lord Cavendish.
Sir Walter Chute	East Retford	Carver to the king by 1614.
Ralph Clare	Droitwich	Courtier. In Prince Henry's service c.1606-12. In royal service continuously after c. 1606.
Sir Oliver Cromwell	Huntingdonshire	Gentleman of the privy chamber to the queen by 20 May 1614.
Henry Dade	Dunwich	Courtier
Sir John Danvers	Montgomery borough	Pension by 1614. A brother of Lord Danvers.
Sir John Dormer	Aylesbury	Royal huntsman and falconer by 1614.

Sir John Egerton	Lichfield	Courtier. Pension 1610. Died 27 April 1614.
Sir George Fane	Dover	Temporary lieutenant of Dover Castle.
Philip Gawdy	Dunwich	Courtier
Sir Thomas Gerrard	Lancashire	Gentleman of the privy chamber to the queen by 1614.
Thomas Gibbs	Stafford borough	Courtier
Robert Hatton	Queenborough	Courtier. Steward of the archbishop of Canterbury.
Arnold Herbert	Morpeth	Pension 1611.
Sir Edward Hoby	Rochester	Courtier. Gentleman of the privy chamber to King James.
Sir Thomas Posthumous Hoby	Ripon	Courtier. Several posts of honour.
Sir Gilbert Houghton	Clitheroe	Courtier. Carver to the king c. 1614.
Sir Jerome Horsey	Bossiney	A receiver of the king's lands for life c. 1604.
Sir Charles Howard, sr.	Shoreham	Courtier. Pension by 1614. Second son of the earl of Nottingham, a privy councillor.
Sir Charles Howard, jr.	Bletchingley	Courtier. A nephew of the earl of Nottingham.
Sir Edward Howard	Reigate	Courtier. King's cup- bearer 1604. A son of the earl of Nottingham.

Henry Howard	Derbyshire	Courtier. Third son of the earl of Suffolk.
Sir Thomas Howard	Wiltshire	Courtier. Master of the prince's horse by 1614.
Sir Thomas Reynolds	Gloucester	A son of the earl of Suffolk.
Sir Arthur Ingram	Romney	The moneyed man at court.
Sir Henry Rich	Leicester	A secretary of the council of the north 1612. Pension by 1614.
Sir Thomas Jermy	Borough	
Sir Thomas Jermy	Suffolk	Courtier and perennial office-seeker.
Sir Thomas Jermy	Wimborne	
James Kerton	Ludgershall	Pension by 1614.
Sir Robert Killigrew	Helston	Pension by 1614. A favourite of Somerset.
Sir Edward Seymour	Lyons Regis	
Edward Leech	Lostwithiel	Tin assayer in Cornwall and Devon 4 March 1614.
Henry Spiller	Marundel	
Sir John Leeds	Bramber	Courtier
Sir William Strode	Plymouth	
Robert Lloyd	Ludlow	Sewer to the queen.
George Marshall	Boroughbridge	One of the king's equerries in 1612.
Sir William Maynard	Chippenham	Courtier
Giles Mompesson	Great Bedwin	Courtier
Sir William Uvedale	Hampshire	
Sir Robert More	Guildford	One of the gentlemen pensioners. Son of Sir George More, chancellor of the order of the Garter and MP 1614.
Sir Henry Vane	Lostwithiel	
Meredith Morgan	Berwick-on-Tweed	A minor treasury official.
Roger Palmer	Queenborough	Cupbearer to Prince Charles before 25 July 1614.

Sir Thomas Penruddock	Cumberland	A sewer to the king c.1614.
Sir Carey Reynell	(?)	Courtier
Sir George Reynell	Grantham	Marshal of the king's bench.
Sir Henry Rich	Leicester borough	A favourite of King James. Gentleman of the bed-chamber to Prince Charles. Second son of Lord Rich.
Sir Thomas Roe	Tamworth	Courtier
Sir Miles Sandys	Cambridge University	Courtier
Sir William Selby	Northumberland	Pension by 1614.
Sir Edward Seymour	Lyme Regis	Courtier
Henry Spiller	Arundel	Courtier. Official receiving payments from recusants by 1611.
Sir William Strode	Plymouth	Courtier. Royal surveyor by 1614.
Sir Thomas Tracy	Corfe Castle	A farmer of customs 1612.
Sir William Twisden	Thetford	Gentleman usher of the privy chamber.
Sir William Uvedale	Hampshire	A gentleman of the privy chamber to the queen by 1615.
Sir Henry Vane	Lostwithiel	Courtier. Sewer to the king c.1614.
Sir Thomas Vavasor	Horsham	Knight marshal of the household 1612.
Sir Thomas Walsingham	Kent	Courtier. Chief keeper of the queen's wardrobe c.1604.

Sir Thomas Walsingham, jr.	Poole	Courtier
Sir Richard Weston	Essex	Minor official since 1604.
Sir William Woodhouse	Aldeburgh	Pension by 1614.
Edward Wymarke	Liverpool, Peterborough, and Newcastle-under-Lyme	Courtier
Richard Wynn	Carnarvonshire	Courtier. Groom of the chamber to Prince Charles.

Other royal supporters

George Chudleigh	East Looe	Western royalist.
Sir Francis Goodwin	Buckinghamshire	Elected at Buckingham borough 1606 with council support.
Sir William Killigrew	Penryn	Chamberlain of the exchequer 1605-6. Father of Sir Robert Killi- grew, a royal supporter in parliament in 1614.
Sir Reginald Mohun	East Looe	A western royalist.
Robert Needham	Newcastle-under-Lyme	Son of a courtier.
Sir Henry Neville	Berkshire and Chipping Wycombe	Candidate for secretary 1612-4.
Sir Henry Wallop	Stockbridge	Owed his election to the council. Election voided 11 May 1614.
Sir William Walter	Peterborough	Supporter of the court.

Robert Wolverston

Cardigan
borough

Received favours from the
king in the autumn of 1614
for his services in par-
liament.

Successor as Lord Audley
and earl of Castlehaven
(Ireland) 1617.

Eldest son of Lord
Audley. Succeeded
1617. Later Viscount New-
port and earl of Dover.

Eldest son of the
earl of Denbigh.
succeeded 1641. Taken Cliff-
ord 1645. In 1646 he married
a daughter of the Earl of
Salisbury.

Eldest son of Lord Rich, who
was created earl of Warwick
in 1616. Succeeded 1619.

(?) Eldest son of Lord St.
John. Succeeded 1618.
Later earl of Bolingbroke.

Wilton

Eldest son of Viscount
Lisle, who was created
earl of Lichfield in 1618.
Succeeded 1621.

Westmorland

Eldest son of Lord
Thurton. Died before
his father.

Immediate families of peers

Lincolnshire

Successor of Earl
Wiltshire as

Earl. His wife was a
daughter of the Earl of

Appendix V

Connexions of the Peerage in the House of Commons

Eldest sons of peers

Sir Mervyn Audley	Dorset	Only son of Lord Audley. Succeeded as Lord Audley and earl of Castlehaven (Ireland) 1617.
Sir Henry Carey	Hertfordshire	Eldest son of Lord Hunsdon. Succeeded 1617. Later Viscount Rochfort and earl of Dover.
Henry, Lord Clifford	Westmorland	Eldest son of the earl of Cumberland. succeeded 1641. Baron Clifford 1628. In 1610 he married a daughter of the earl of Salisbury.
Sir Robert Rich	Essex	Eldest son of Lord Rich, who was created earl of Warwick in 1618. Succeeded 1619.
Sir Oliver St. John	(?)	Eldest son of Lord St. John. Succeeded 1618. Later earl of Bolingbroke.
Sir Robert Sidney	Wilton	Eldest son of Viscount Lisle, who was created earl of Leicester in 1618. Succeeded 1626.
Sir Thomas Wharton	Westmorland	Eldest son of Lord Wharton. Died before his father.

Immediate families of peers

Sir Peregrine Bertie	Lincolnshire	Brother of Lord Willoughby de Eresby. His mother was a daughter of the earl of Oxford.
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Sir William Cavendish	Derbyshire	Second son of Lord Cavendish, who was created earl of Devonshire in 1618. Succeeded his father in 1626.
Sir Richard Cecil	Stamford	Second son of the earl of Exeter.
Sir John Danvers	Montgomery borough	A brother of Lord Danvers, who became earl of Danby in 1626.
Walter Devereux	Pembroke borough	A son of the earl of Essex.
Sir Francis Fane	Maidstone	Mother was the only daughter and heiress of Lord Bergavenny. In 1604 she was restored to the title of Baroness Le Despencer. Sir Francis Fane became earl of Westmorland in 1624.
Sir Henry Grey	Bedfordshire	Nephew of the earl of Kent. His father became earl of Kent in 1615. Succeeded 1623.
George Hastings	Leicestershire	Brother of the earl of Huntingdon.
Sir Charles Howard, sr.	Shoreham	Younger sons of the earl of Nottingham.
Sir Edward Howard	Reigate	
Henry Howard	Derbyshire)	Younger sons of the earl of Suffolk.
Sir Thomas Howard	Wiltshire)	
Sir Robert Knollys	Abingdon	A brother of Lord Knollys, who became Viscount Wallingford in 1616 and earl of Banbury in 1626.
Sampson Lennard	Sussex	His wife, who died in 1612, became Baroness Dacre in 1594. His son succeeded as Baron Dacre in 1612.

Sir George Manners	Lincolnshire	Brother of the earl of Rutland. Succeeded 1632.
Christopher Neville	Lewes	Second son of Lord Bergavenny.
Sir Henry Rich	Leicester borough	Second son of Lord Rich, who was created earl of Warwick in 1618. Sir Henry Rich was created Baron Kensington in 1623 and earl of Holland in 1624.
Sir Alexander St. John Rowland St. John	Bedford borough) Higham Ferrers)	Younger sons of Lord St. John.
William Spencer	Brackley	Second son of Lord Spencer. Succeeded his father in 1627. A son-in-law of the earl of Southampton.
Sir Henry Wotton	Appleby	Half-brother of Lord Wotton.

Other close connexions of the peerage
in the house of commons

Sir Thomas Cheke	Newport (Cornwall)	Son-in-law of Lord Rich.
Sir Henry Glemham	Aldeburgh	Son-in-law of the earl of Dorset.
Sir Cuthbert Halesall	Lancashire	Wife a natural daughter of the earl of Derby.
Sir John Holles	Nottinghamshire	Grandson of Lord Sheffield. Holles was created a baron in 1616 and earl of Clare in 1624.

Sir Charles Howard, jr. Bletchingley A nephew of
the earl of
Nottingham.

Robert Knollys Reading A nephew of Lord Knollys.

Sir Francis Leigh Leicester
borough A son-in-law of Lord
Chancellor Ellesmere.

John Poulett Somerset Grandson of Lord Norris.
Poulett was created a baron
in 1627.

Nathaniel Rich Totnes Father an illegitimate son
of Lord Rich.

Sir William Tate Northamptonshire Son-in-law of
Lord Zouch.

Close connexions of the bishops
in the house of commons

Sir Thomas Bilson Winchester A son of the bishop
of Winchester.

George Cotton Camelford Younger brother of the
bishop of Exeter.

Sir Edward Montague Northamptonshire) Brothers of
Sir Henry Montague London) the bishop
Sidney Montague Wells) of Bath and
Sir Walter Montague Monmouthshire) Wells.

Appendix VI

Alphabetical list of members of the house of commons with constituencies, education, service in other parliaments, and biographical notes.

- Adams, Lawrence
Totnes, Devon
Local merchant. Mayor of Totnes 1633-4.
- Alford, Edward
Colchester, Essex
(1565-1632). Educated at Trinity College Oxford, and Lincoln's Inn. Father a teller in the exchequer. Owned property in Sussex and Bucks. Sheriff of Surrey and Sussex 1625-6 to exclude him from parliament. MP 1593, 1597-8, 1604-11, 1614, 1621, 1624, 1625, and 1628-9.
- Amherst, Richard
Lewes, Sussex
(c.1565-c.1632). Educated at St. John's College Oxford, and Gray's Inn. Admitted to the bar 1593. Lawyer. Serjeant 1623. Earl of Dorset's steward in Sussex. Resided at Bay Hall, Pembury, Kent. MP 1614 and 1621.
- Anderson, Sir Henry
Newcastle-on-Tyne,
Northumberland
(born c.1582). Educated at Christ Church Oxford, and Gray's Inn. Member of the gentry. Resided at Long Cowton, Yorkshire. Sheriff of Northumberland 1615-6. Knight 1608. MP 1614, 1621, 1624, 1625, 1626, and 1640. Disabled 1643 as a royalist.
- Ashlèy, Francis
Dorchester, Dorset
(died 1635). Educated at Magdalen Hall Oxford, and the Middle Temple. Admitted to the bar 1596. Lawyer. Legal supporter of the crown. Serjeant 1617. Recorder of Dorchester 1611. MP 1614, 1621, and 1625.
- Ashley, Sir John
Oxford city
(died 1641). Courtier. Pension 1608. Deputy master of the revels 1622-3. Nominee of Lord Knollys.

- Ashton, William
Newton,
Lancashire
Second son and eventual heir of James Ashton of Ashton in Makersfield, Lancashire, who died c.1630. Living 1664. Member of the gentry.
- Askwith, Robert
York city
Sheriff of the city 1599-1600. Alderman 1602. Mayor 1606-7 and 1617-8. MP 1589, 1604-11, and 1614.
- Audley, Sir Mervyn
Dorset
(c.1593-1631). Only son of Lord Audley. Surname otherwise Tuchet. Educated at the Middle Temple. Knight 1608. Succeeded his father as Lord Audley and earl of Castlehaven (an Irish creation of 1616) in 1617. Beheaded for high crimes 1631.
- Backhouse, Samuel
Aylesbury,
Bucks
Son of a London merchant. Educated at Trinity College Cambridge, and Gray's Inn. Resided at Swallowfield, Berks. Sheriff of Berkshire 1600-1. MP 1604-11 and 1614.
- Bacon, Sir Francis
Cambridge University
(1561-1626). Son of Sir Nicholas Bacon, the lord keeper. Educated at Trinity College Cambridge, and Gray's Inn. Attorney-general 1613. MP 1584-5, 1586-7, 1589, 1593, 1597-8, 1601, 1604-11, and 1614.
- Baildon, Sir Francis
Orford, Suffolk
- Bampfild, Sir William
Bridport, Dorset
Younger son of Sir Amias Bampfild of Pottsmore, Devon, who died 1626. Captain of Sandfoot Castle, Dorset, 1612.
- Banastre, Henry
Preston, Lancashire
Member of the gentry, Resided at Bank Hall, Lancashire. Family recusant. MP 1614 and 1625.

- Barker, Robert
Colchester,
Essex
Educated at Trinity College and Pembroke College, Cambridge, and Lincoln's Inn. Lawyer. Serjeant 1603. Lived in Suffolk. MP 1601, 1604-11, and 1614.
- Barkley, Francis
Shrewsbury,
Shropshire
(born c.1584). Educated at Brasenose College Oxford, and Lincoln's Inn. Admitted to the bar 1612. Chosen at a by-election in place of Sir Roger Owen, who chose to sit for Shropshire.
- Barkley, Richard
Gloucestershire
(c.1578-1661). Member of the gentry. Lived at Stoke and Rendcomb, Gloucestershire. Educated at Magdalen Hall Oxford.
- Barnham, Sir Francis
Grampond,
Cornwall
(1576-1646). Member of the gentry. Educated at Trinity College Cambridge, and Gray's Inn. Resided at Boughton Monchelsea, Kent. Supported parliament in the civil war. MP 1604-11, 1614, 1621, 1624, 1626, 1628-9, short parliament, and long parliament.
- Barrett, Sir Edward
Whitchurch,
Hampshire
(1581-1645). Educated at Queen's College, Oxford, and Lincoln's Inn. Courtier. Ambassador to France 1625. Chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster 1629-44. Lived at Belhouse, Essex. Staunch supporter of the Stuarts. Scottish baron 1628. MP 1614 and 1621.
- Bartlett, -----
(?)
Name occurs only in Commons' jn.
- Bash, Edward
Lincoln city
Member of the gentry. Lived at Stanstead, Herts. Sheriff of Herts 1584-5. Knight 1616. MP 1614 and 1628-9.

- Baskerville, Sir Humphrey (c.1587-1648). A member of the gentry. Educated at Leominster, Herefordshire Gloucester Hall Oxford, and the Inner Temple. Resided at Erdsey. Sheriff of Herefordshire 1610-1. Knight 1609.
- Bateman, Robert (1561-1644). A son of Richard Weymouth and Melcombe Regis, Dorset Bateman of Hartington, Derbyshire. A skinner. Alderman and chamberlain of London. Interested in the East India Company by 1614. MP 1614, 1621, 1624, 1625, and 1626.
- Bawtrey, Leonard (died 1626). Educated at Trinity Boston, Lincolnshire College Cambridge. Lawyer. A legal supporter of the crown. Serjeant July 1614.
- Baynton, Edward (1593-1657). Member of the gentry. Devizes, Wilts Educated at Christ Church Oxford. Sheriff of Wilts 1638-9. Puritan. Supported parliament in the civil war. Appointed a commissioner for the trial of Charles I, but refused to act. MP 1614, 1621, 1624, 1625, 1626, short parliament, and long parliament.
- Beale, Francis Eldest son of Robert Beale (c.1540- Northampton borough 1601), an Elizabethan official and MP. Educated at Gray's Inn. Brother-in-law of Sir Henry Yelverton, solicitor-general and MP for Northampton borough 1604-11 and 1614.
- Bedingfield, Sir Henry (died 1657). Member of the Norfolk gentry. Lived at Oxburgh Hall, Norfolk. Royalist in the civil war. Usually a recusant, but conforming in 1614.

Beecher, William
Knaresborough,
Yorkshire

Father was clerk of the privy council. Educated at Cambridge. English agent in Paris 1609-11 and 1617-8. Auditor of the court of wards 1615. Clerk of the council by 1622. Knight 1622.

Beeston, Sir Hugh
(?)

(died 1626). Family gentry. Lived in Cheshire. Knight 1603. Receiver-general in Cheshire, Flint, and Carnarvonshire 1604. MP 1601, 1604-11, and 1614.

Belasyse, Sir Thomas
Thirsk, Yorkshire

(1557-1652). Member of the gentry. Lived at Newborough, Yorkshire. Father a baronet. Created Baron Fauconberg in 1627 and Viscount Fauconberg in 1642. Royalist in the civil war. MP 1614, 1621, and 1624.

Bennet, Sir John
Oxford
University

(died 1627). Educated at Christ Church Oxford, and Gray's Inn. MA and DCL. Chancellor to Queen Anne and a master in chancery. Ecclesiastical lawyer. MP 1597-8, 1601, 1604-11, 1614, and 1621.

Berkeley, Sir Maurice
Somerset

(c.1577-1617). Family had long been influential Somerset gentry. Educated at Queen's College Oxford, and the Middle Temple. Lived at Hanworth. MP 1597-8, 1601, 1604-11, and 1614.

Berry, Robert
Ludlow,
Shropshire

(died 1618). Lived at Ludlow. Burgess of Ludlow 1579. Bailiff 1589-90, 1592-3, 1601-2, 1611-2, and 1614. Porter of Ludlow Castle. Disqualified 14 April 1614 as bailiff of Ludlow. MP 1584-5, 1586-7, 1589, 1593, 1601, 1604-11, and 1614.

Bertie, Sir Peregrine
Lincolnshire

(c.1575-1640). Brother of Lord Willoughby de Eresby. Educated at Corpus Christi College Cambridge, and the Middle Temple. KB 1610. Had been in Prince Henry's service.

- Bigge, Thomas
Evesham,
Worcestershire
(c.1577-1621). Family gentry. Educated at Queen's College Oxford, and the Middle Temple. Lived at Lenchwick, Worcestershire. Baronet 1620. MP 1614 and 1621.
- Bilson, Sir Thomas
Winchester,
Hants
(c.1592-1649). A son of Bishop Bilson of Winchester (died 1616). Educated at New College Oxford, and Lincoln's Inn. Knight 1613.
- Binge, Henry
Sudbury,
Suffolk
(died 1635). A son of Thomas Binge, an ecclesiastical lawyer and DCL, not the MP for Castle Rising. Educated at Clare College Cambridge, and Gray's Inn. Lawyer. Keeper of the records of the king's bench 1607.
- Binge, Thomas
Castle Rising, Norfolk
- Bingley, John
Chester city
Educated at Gray's Inn. A writer of tallies in the exchequer 1604. Lived in Westminster. A dependent of Suffolk. Imprisoned 1618 for his part in Suffolk's defalcations in the treasury. MP 1610-1 and 1614.
- Borlase, Sir William
Buckinghamshire
(c.1564-1629). Family gentry. Educated at Magdalen Hall Oxford, and Gray's Inn. Held manor of Little Marlow, Bucks. MP 1604-11 and 1614.
- Borlase, William
Chipping Wycombe,
Bucks
(c.1589-1630). Son and heir of Sir William Borlase. Educated at Magdalen College Oxford. Knight 1617. MP 1614 and 1628-9.
- Bourchier, Sir John
Hull, Yorkshire
(died 1660). Family gentry. Probably educated at Christ's College Cambridge, and Gray's Inn. Held manor of Barton-le-Street, Yorkshire. Member of the council in the north 1611-27. Knight 1609. Sheriff of Yorkshire 1645-6. Supported parliament in the civil war. Regicide, MP 1614 and 1647-53.

Bowes, Talbot
Richmond,
Yorkshire

Wealthy alderman of Richmond.
Royal steward of Barnard Castle.
MP 1593, 1601, 1604-11, 1614, 1621,
1624, 1625, and 1628-9.

Bowyer, Sir Edmund
Surrey

(died 1627). Member of the gentry.
Educated at Lincoln's Inn. Lived
at Camberwell, Surrey. Sheriff of
Surrey and Sussex 1600-1. Knight
1603. MP 1593, 1597-8, 1604-11,
1614, and 1624.

Bowyer, Thomas
Midhurst,
Sussex

(1586-1650). Father a successful law-
yer. Lived at Leyghthorne, Sussex.
Baronet 1627. Royalist in the civil
war. MP 1614, 1621, 1624, 1625, 1626,
1628-9, short parliament, and long
parliament until disabled in 1642.

Brakin, Francis
Cambridge
borough

Educated at Queen's College and Clare
College Cambridge, and Gray's Inn.
Lawyer. Recorder of Cambridge. MP
1614 and 1624.

Brereton, Sir William
Cheshire

(1550-1631). Family gentry.
Educated at Gray's Inn. Lived
at Brereton Hall, Handforth,
Cheshire. Knight 1588. Sheriff
of Cheshire 1589-90. Baron
Brereton of Leighlin (Irish
peerage) 1624. MP 1614 and 1621.

Breton, Henry
Christchurch, Hampshire

Lived in Surrey. Knight
1617.

Brett, Sir Robert
Dover,
Cinque Ports

Knight 1603 or 1604. Gentleman
usher at court. Pension 1607,
increased in 1609 and 1610.
Lieutenant of Dover Castle 1614.
Deputy warden of the Cinque Ports
by 1614.

Bromfield, Arthur
Yarmouth, I.O.W.,
Hampshire

Family gentry. Lived at Tich-
field, Isle of Wight. Had landed
interests in Carisbrooke. MP
1604-11, 1614, and 1621.

Bromley, Sir Thomas
Worcestershire

(c.1585-1641). Family gentry. Educated at Queen's College Oxford. Lived at Holt Castle, Worcestershire. Knight 1603. MP 1614 and 1628-9.

Brooke, Christopher
York city

Son of Robert Brooke, an alderman and twice mayor of York. Educated at Lincoln's Inn. Lawyer. Minor poet. Close friend of John Hoskyns. MP 1604-11, 1614, 1621, 1624, 1625, and 1626.

Brooke, Sir John
Gatton, Surrey

A follower of the earl of Dunfermline, lord chancellor of Scotland. Pension 1611.

Brown, George
Lyme Regis,
Dorset

Younger son of John Brown of Frampton, Dorset. Family gentry. Educated at the Middle Temple. Lawyer. Admitted to the bar 1609. Bencher of his inn 1627.

Brown, John
Gloucester city

Alderman and sheriff of Gloucester city 1603-4. MP 1614, 1621, 1624, 1625, 1626, and 1628-9.

Brown, Sir William
Haslemere,
Surrey

(born 1558). Family lived at Snelston, Derbyshire. In 1604 he settled in Sussex. Soldier in Flanders c.1585-1604. Lieutenant-governor of Flushing 1601. Knight 1604. MP 1614 and 1621.

Bulkeley, Sir Richard
Anglesey

(died 1646). Family the leading gentry of Anglesey. Large estates in Cheshire, Carnarvonshire, and Anglesey. Sheriff of Anglesey 1601-2. Knight 1604. MP 1589 and 1614.

Bulstrode, Henry
Helston,
Cornwall

(c.1589-1632). Educated at University College Oxford, and the Inner Temple. Brother-in-law and nominee of James Whitelocke. MP 1614 and 1625.

- Burgess, Richard
Hull, Yorkshire Alderman. Sheriff of Hull 1606-7.
Mayor 1608-9.
- Burgess, Thomas, jr.
Truro, Cornwall Merchant of Truro. Son of Thomas
Burgess of Truro. MP 1604-11,
1614, and 1624.
- Butler, George
Carlisle, Cumberland MP 1614 and 1621.
- Button, James
Bewdley,
Worcestershire Brother of Sir William Button.
By 1608 collector for the bishop
of Worcester. A dependent of
Northampton and Somerset.
- Button, Sir William
Morpeth,
Northumberland (c.1584-1655). Family gentry.
Educated at Queen's College
Oxford. Lived at Alton, Wilts.
Baronet 1621. Royalist in the
civil war. By 1614 attendant
for foreign ambassadors. MP
1614 and 1628-9.
- Byng, William
Winchelsea,
Cinque Ports Educated at Gray's Inn. Lived at
Wrotham, Kent. Captain of Deal
Castle by 1608. MP 1610-1 and
1614.
- Caesar, Sir Charles
Weymouth and
Melcombe Regis,
Dorset (1590-1642). Son of Sir Julius
Caesar. Educated at All Souls
College Oxford. Ecclesiastical
lawyer. Master in chancery
1615-39. Master of the rolls
1639.
- Caesar, Sir Julius
Middlesex (1558-1636). Educated at Magdalen
Hall Oxford, Paris University, and
the Inner Temple. Civil lawyer.
Master in chancery 1584. Master of
requests 1591. Chancellor of the
exchequer 1606. Privy councillor
1607. Master of the rolls October
1614. MP 1589, 1593, 1597-8, 1601,
1604-11, 1614, and 1621.

- Cage, William
Ipswich,
Suffolk (c.1574-1645). Father was bailiff of Ipswich 1592-3 and 1598-9. Burgess of Ipswich 1605. Portman and chamberlain 1606-7. Bailiff 1610-1, 1616-7, 1623-4, 1630-1, 1636-7, and 1640-1. Captain in the train bands. Lived at Burstall, Suffolk. Elected 27 April 1614 in place of Sir Francis Bacon, who chose to sit for Cambridge University. MP 1614, 1621, 1624, 1625, 1626, 1628-9, short parliament, and long parliament.
- Carew, Richard
Cornwall (c.1580-1643). Family leading Cornish gentry. Educated at Merton College Oxford, and the Middle Temple. Travelled in Poland, Sweden, and France. Lived at Antony, Cornwall. Baronet 1642. Friend of Sir Henry Neville. Writer on education. MP 1614 and 1621.
- Carey, Sir Henry
Hertfordshire (c.1580-1666). Eldest son of Lord Hunsdon. Courtier. KB 1610. Succeeded his father 1617. Viscount Rochfort 1621, and earl of Dover 1628. MP 1601, 1604-11, and 1614.
- Cary, Sir Edward
Calne, Wilts Master of the jewel house by 1614. Lived at Aldenham, Herts. Close friend of John Hoskyns.
- Cary, Sir Philip
Woodstock,
Oxfordshire (c.1580-1631). Son of Sir Edward Cary. Educated at Queen's College Oxford, and Gray's Inn. Lived at Caddington, Bedfordshire, and Hunslet, Yorkshire. MP 1614, 1621, 1624, and 1625.
- Cavendish, Sir William
Derbyshire (c.1591-1628). Second son of Lord Cavendish. Courtier. Succeeded his father as earl of Devonshire 1626. Educated at Cambridge and Gray's Inn. MP 1610-1, 1614, 1621, 1624, 1625, and 1626.

- Cecil, Richard
Stamford,
Lincolnshire (1570-1633). Second son of the earl of Exeter. Educated at St. John's College Cambridge, and Gray's Inn. Knight 1616. Lived at Wakerley, Northants. MP 1604-11, 1614, and 1621.
- Charnock, Roger
Newton,
Lancashire (c.1587-1632). Family gentry. Lived at Leyland, Lancashire. Recusant in 1626.
- Cheke, Sir Thomas
Newport,
Cornwall Eldest son of Henry Cheke, secretary to the council of York. Family gentry. Lived at Pirgo, Essex. Knight 1603. Married a daughter of Lord Rich (died 1619). A distant relative of the Cheke family of the Isle of Wight. MP 1614, 1621, 1624, 1626, and 1628-9.
- Cheke, Thomas
Southampton,
Hampshire (died 1618). Family gentry. Lived at Mottistone, Isle of Wight. Recorder of Southampton 1612-8. MP 1604-11 and 1614.
- Cheke, Thomas, jr.
Yarmouth, I.O.W.,
Hampshire (born c.1590). Son of Thomas Cheke of Mottistone. Educated at Brasenose College Oxford.
- Chettle, Thomas
Worcester
city (c.1552-c.1640). Of an old Worcester family. Member of the weavers' guild. Bailiff of Worcester 1603-4 and 1605-6. Alderman 1621. Mayor 1631-2. Son-in-law of one Hanbury, an auditor to James I.
- Chetwynd, Sir Walter
Staffordshire (c.1560-1638). Family gentry. Educated at Gray's Inn. Lived at Ingestre, Staffordshire. Mayor of Newcastle-under-Lyme 1613. Knight 1604. Sheriff of Staffordshire 1607-8. MP 1584-5, 1586-7, 1604-11, and 1614.
- Chibborne, Charles
Maldon, Essex Educated at Lincoln's Inn. Lawyer. Serjeant. Lived in Essex. Knight 1619.

- Chichley, Sir Thomas
Cambridgeshire
Family gentry. Educated at Gray's Inn. Lived at Wimpole, Cambridgeshire. Sheriff of Cambridge and Huntingdon 1590-1.
- Chudleigh, George
East Looe,
Cornwall
(c.1578-c.1657). Family gentry. Educated at New College Oxford. Lived at Ashton, Devon. Baronet 1622. Fought against the king 1642-3, but joined him 1643. MP 1601, 1614, 1621, 1624, and 1625.
- Chute, Sir Walter
East Retford,
Notts
(born c. 1584). Educated at Oxford and Gray's Inn. Knight 1603. Carver to the king, but imprisoned and lost his place after the addled parliament.
- Clare, Ralph
Droitwich,
Worcestershire
(1589-after 1664). Family gentry. Educated at Hart Hall and St. John's College Cambridge, and at the Middle Temple. Courtier. In royal service after 1606. In Prince Henry's service 1606-12. Royalist in the civil war. MP 1614, 1621, 1624, 1625, 1626, 1628-9, and long parliament.
- Clerke, James
Taunton,
Somerset
Second son of John Clerke of Norton, Somerset. Educated at the Middle Temple. Called to the bar 1593.
- Clerke, Matthew
King's Lynn,
Norfolk
(c.1564-1623). Educated at Christ's College Cambridge. Merchant of King's Lynn. Freeman c.1589. Mayor 1605-6 and 1613-4. MP 1614 and 1621.
- Clifford, Henry Lord
Westmorland
(1591-1643). Only son of the earl of Cumberland. Educated at Christ Church Oxford, and Gray's Inn. Created Baron Clifford 1628. Succeeded as earl of Cumberland 1641. MP 1614 and 1621.

- Clifton, Sir Gervase
Nottinghamshire (1587-1666). Family gentry. Lived at Clifton, Notts. Sheriff of Notts 1610-1. Baronet 1611. Royalist. MP 1614, 1621, 1624, 1625, 1626, 1628-9, short parliament, long parliament until 1643, and 1661-6.
- Coke, Clement
Clitheroe,
Lancashire (1594-1629). Youngest son of Sir Edward Coke. Educated at Trinity College Cambridge, and the Inner Temple. Lived at Longford, Derbyshire. MP 1614, 1621, 1626, and 1628-9.
- Coke, Sir Robert
Coventry, Warwickshire Eldest son of Sir Edward Coke. MP 1614 and 1624.
- Colby, Huntingdon
Eye, Suffolk Family gentry. Educated at Gray's Inn. Lived at Beccles, Suffolk. Knight 1616.
- Coningsby, Sir Ralph
Hertfordshire (died 1615). Family gentry. Educated at Exeter College Oxford, and Lincoln's Inn. Lived at North Mimms, Herts. Knight 1603. Sheriff of Herts 1596-7.
- Coningsby, Thomas
Leominster,
Herefordshire Son of Richard Coningsby of Leominster. Family gentry. Distantly related to the Coningsby family of Herts. MP 1604-11 and 1614.
- Connock, Richard
Liskeard,
Cornwall Family lived in Liskeard. Educated at the Middle Temple. Auditor of the duchy of Cornwall 1609.
- Conyers, William
Scarborough
Yorkshire (died 1635). Family gentry. Lived at Sockburn, Yorkshire. MP 1614, 1621, and 1624.
- Cook, Sir William
Gloucestershire Family gentry. Lived at Highnam, Gloucestershire. Clerk of the liveries 1610.

- Cope, Sir Anthony
Oxfordshire
(c.1549-July 1614). Family gentry. Lived at Hanwell, Oxfordshire. One of the foremost men of the county. Strong puritan. Baronet 1611. MP 1571, 1572-83, 1586-7, 1589, 1593, 1597-8, 1601, 1606-11, and 1614.
- Cope, Sir Walter
Stockbridge,
Hampshire
(died July 1614). Brother of Sir Anthony Cope. Master of the wards 1613. MP 1601, 1604-11, and 1614. Election voided 11 May 1614.
- Cope, Sir William
Banbury,
Oxfordshire
(c.1577-1637). Son and heir of Sir Anthony Cope. Educated at Queen's College Oxford. MP 1604-11, 1614, 1621, 1624, and 1625.
- Cornwallis, Sir William
Orford, Suffolk
(died June 1614). Eldest son of Sir Charles Cornwallis, who was imprisoned after the addled parliament for inciting Hoskyns. Treasurer of Prince Henry's household 1609-12. Knight 1602. Spent most of his life in studious retirement. Wrote essays.
- Cotton, George
Camelford,
Cornwall
Son of John Cotton, a citizen of London. Younger brother of William Cotton, bishop of Exeter 1598-1621.
- Courteman, William
Midhurst, Sussex
Educated at Lincoln's Inn.
- Covert, Sir Walter
Sussex
Family prominent Sussex gentry. Lived at Slaugham, Sussex. Sheriff of Surrey and Sussex 1592-3. Deputy lieutenant of Sussex 1618. MP 1614 and 1626.
- Cowcher, John
Worcester
city
(c.1561-after 1648). Member of the clothiers' company in Worcester. Alderman 1621. MP 1604-11, 1614, 1621, 1624, 1628-9, short parliament, and long parliament.

- Cox, Edward
Southwark,
Surrey
Third son of William Cox of Shel-
worth, Worcestershire. Educated at
the Middle Temple. Called to the bar
1599.
- Crane, Francis
Penryn,
Cornwall
(died 1636). Clerk of parliament
1606. Secretary to Prince Charles.
Established Mortlake tapestry works
1619. MP 1614, 1621, and 1624.
- Crane, Sir Robert
Sudbury,
Suffolk
(died 1643). Family gentry. Lived
at Chilton, Suffolk. Baronet 1627.
Sheriff of Suffolk 1631-2. MP 1614,
1621, 1624, 1625, 1626, 1628-9,
short parliament, and long parlia-
ment.
- Cranfield, Sir Lionel
Hythe, Cinque Ports
(1575-1645). Successful
London merchant. A receiver
of customs 1605. Surveyor-
general of customs 1613.
Privy councillor 1620. Baron,
lord treasurer, and earl of
Middlesex 1622. Impeached
1624. MP 1614 and 1621.
- Crew, Ranulph
Saltash,
Cornwall
(1558-1646). Educated at Christ's
College Cambridge, and Lincoln's Inn.
Lawyer. Serjeant and Knight July
1614. Lord chief justice 1624-6,
but removed because of his opposition
to the forced loan. MP 1597-8 and
1614. Speaker 1614.
- Crew, Thomas
Beerlston,
Devon
(1564-1635). Brother of Ranulph Crew.
Educated at Gray's Inn. Lawyer. In
opposition 1614-22. Serjeant and
knight 1624. King's serjeant 1625.
MP 1604-11, 1614, 1621, 1624, and
1625. Speaker 1625.

- Groft, Sir Herbert
Herefordshire (died 1622). Family gentry. Educated at Christ Church Oxford. Became a Roman Catholic about 1616 and retired to a monastery at Douay. MP 1593, 1597-8, 1601, 1604-11, and 1614.
- Groft, William
Launceston,
Cornwall (c.1591-1645). Son of Sir Herbert Groft. Educated at Christ Church Oxford. Knight 13 June 1614. MP 1614, 1626, and 1628-9.
- Croke, Henry
Shaftesbury,
Dorset (c.1588-1659). A son of Sir John Croke, a justice of the king's bench 1607-20. Educated at St. John's College Oxford, and the Inner Temple. Knight 1615. Clerk of the pipe in the exchequer 1616-59. MP 1614 and 1628-9.
- Croke, Sir John
Oxfordshire (c.1586-1640). Brother of Henry Croke. Educated at University College Oxford, and the Inner Temple. Lived at Chilton, Bucks. MP 1614 and 1628-9.
- Crompton, Henry
East Grinstead, Sussex (died 1621). Son of Lord Denbigh. Lived at Barton, Wiltshire.
- Crompton, Sir John
Brecknock borough Knight 1608. MP 1614 and 1621.
- Crompton, Thomas
Staffordshire (c.1580-1645). Son of a Stafford merchant. MP 1614, 1621, and 1628-9.
- Cromwell, Sir Oliver
Huntingdonshire (1563-1655). Uncle of the protector. Family gentry. Educated at Queen's College Cambridge, and Lincoln's Inn. Lived at Hinchingbrooke, Hunts. By 1614 gentleman of the privy chamber to the queen. Royalist. MP 1589, 1593, 1597-8, 1601, 1604-11, 1614, 1624, and 1625.

- Culpepper, Thomas
Chippenham,
Wilts (1578-1662). Family gentry. Educated at Hart Hall Oxford, and the Middle Temple. Lived at Leeds Castle, Kent. Knight 1619. Nominee of Sir Francis Fane. MP 1597-8, 1601, 1614, and 1628-9.
- Denton, Sir Thomas
Buckingham
- Cutts, Sir John, jr.
Cambridgeshire (died 1646). Family gentry. Lived at Childerley, Cambridgeshire. Knight 1603. MP 1604-11, 1614, 1621, 1624, 1625, and short parliament.
- Dackombe, John
Corfe Castle,
Dorset Son and heir of Richard Dackombe of Motcombe, Dorset. Educated at the Middle Temple. Close friend of the first earl of Salisbury. A master of requests January 1614.
- Dade, Henry
Dunwich, Suffolk Courtier.
- Dallison, Sir Roger
Malmesbury,
Wiltshire Home in Lincolnshire. Knight 1603. Lieutenant of the ordnance c.1607-15. MP 1604-11 and 1614.
- Danvers, Charles
Ludgershall,
Wiltshire (died 1626). Cousin of Lord Danvers. Family gentry. Lived at Baynton, Wilts.
- Danvers, Sir John
Montgomery
borough (1588?-1655). Brother of Lord Danvers. Educated at Brasenose College Oxford, and Lincoln's Inn. Courtier. Knight 1609. Drawing a pension in 1614. Supported parliament in the civil war. Regicide. MP 1610-1, 1614, 1621, 1624, 1625, 1626, 1628-9, short parliament, and 1645-53.
- Digges, Richard
Northampton
- Davies, Matthew
Cardiff,
Glamorganshire A son of Sir John Davies, prominent in the Irish parliament of 1613-5. MP 1604-11, 1614, and 1624.

- Delbridge, John
Barnstaple,
Devon Local merchant. Mayor of Barnstaple
1600-1, 1615-6, 1633-4. MP 1614, 1621,
1624, 1625, 1626, and 1628-9.
- Denton, Sir Thomas
Buckingham
borough (c.1574-1633). Family gentry.
Educated at All Souls College
Oxford. Lived at Hillsden, Bucks.
Sheriff of Bucks 1600-1. Knight
1603. MP 1604-11, 1614, 1621,
1624, 1626, and 1628-9.
- Devereux, Sir Walter
Stafford borough (died before 1658). Family
gentry. Cousin of the earl of
Essex. Lived in Worcestershire.
Baronet 1622. Sheriff of Warwick-
shire 1637-8. Supported parlia-
ment in the civil war. Became
Viscount Hereford on his cousin's
death in 1646. MP 1614, 1621,
1624, and 1625.
- Devereux, Walter
Pembroke borough (1591-1641). A son of the earl
of Essex. Educated at Queen's
College Oxford. Knight 1617.
MP 1614, 1624, 1626, 1628-9,
short parliament, and long par-
liament.
- Digges, Sir Dudley
Tewkesbury,
Gloucestershire (1583-1639). Family gentry.
Educated at University College
Oxford. A leader of the oppo-
sition until 1630, then recon-
ciled to the court. Master
of the rolls 1636. MP 1614,
1621, 1624, 1625, 1626, and
1628-9.
- Digges, Richard
Marlborough,
Wiltshire (died 1633). Family was related to
the Kentish Digges family, and had
settled in Wiltshire in the time of
Elizabeth. Educated at Oxford and
Lincoln's Inn. Admitted to the bar
1589. Lawyer. Bencher of his inn
1608. Serjeant 1623. MP 1597-8,
1601, 1604-11, 1614, 1621, 1624,
1625, 1626, and 1628-9.
- Esorton, Sir John
Lichfield,
Staffs

- Dorner, Sir John
Aylesbury,
Bucks
Family gentry. Educated at the Middle Temple. Lived at Tame, Oxfordshire. Sheriff of Bucks 1597-8. Knight 1603. King's huntsman and falconer by 1614. MP 1614 and 1621.
- Doubleday, Edmund
Westminster,
Middlesex
(died 1618). Dependent of Lord Knyvet. A warden of the mint 1609.
- Drake, John
Devonshire
(c.1560-1628). Family gentry. Educated at Hart Hall Oxford, and the Middle Temple. Lived at Ashe, Devonshire. MP 1614, 1621, 1624, 1625, and 1626.
- Drury, Sir Robert
Eye, Suffolk
(c.1575-1615). Family gentry. Educated at Corpus Christi College Cambridge. Lived at Hawstead, Suffolk. Knight 1591. MP 1604-11, and 1614.
- Duncombe, Edward
Tavistock,
Devon
Educated at St. John's College Cambridge, and Gray's Inn. Lived at Battlesden, Bedfordshire. MP 1604-11 and 1614.
- Dunn, Sir Daniel
Oxford University
(died 1617). Educated at All Souls College Oxford. Ecclesiastical lawyer. Master in chancery 1601. Dean of the court of arches 1598. MP 1601, 1604-11, and 1614.
- Dunn, John
Taunton,
Somerset
(born c.1590). Son of Sir Daniel Dunn. Educated at Gloucester Hall Oxford, and Gray's Inn.
- Dyott, Anthony
Lichfield,
Staffs
(died 1622). Educated at the Inner Temple. Lawyer. Bencher of his inn 1599. In the pay of the crown by 1612. Recorder of Tamworth. MP 1601, 1604-11, and 1614.
- Egerton, Sir John
Lichfield,
Staffs
(1551-1614). Educated at Lincoln's Inn. Courtier. Acquired great wealth and purchased land in Staffordshire and Cheshire. Died 27 April 1614. MP 1601, 1607-11, and 1614.

- Eliot, John
St. Germans,
Cornwall
(1592-1632). Family gentry. Educated at Exeter College Oxford, and one of the inns of court. Lived at Port Eliot, Cornwall. The great leader of the opposition 1626-9. MP 1614, 1624, 1625, 1626, and 1628-9.
- Erle, Walter
Poole, Dorset
Fane, William
Lancaster
borough
Faulding, Cecil
Rutlandshire
(c.1586-1665). Family prominent Dorset gentry. Educated at Queen's College Oxford, and the Middle Temple. Lived at Charborough, Dorset. Puritan. Knight 1616. A parliamentary leader in Dorset in the civil war. MP 1614, 1621, 1624, 1625, 1628-9, short parliament, long parliament, 1654-5, 1659, and 1660.
- Eyton, John
Flint borough
St. Albans, Hertfordshire
Family gentry. Educated at Hart Hall Oxford. Lived at Leeswood, Flintshire. Sheriff of Flintshire 1638-9.
- Fairfax, Sir Ferdinando
Boroughbridge,
Yorkshire
Faulkner, Sir Theophilus
Great Yarmouth,
Norfolk
(1584-1648). Family gentry. Succeeded father as Lord Fairfax 1640. Supported parliament in the civil war. MP 1614, 1621, 1624, 1625, 1626, 1628-9, short parliament, and long parliament.
- Fane, Sir Francis
Maidstone, Kent
Maidstone borough
(died 1629). Family gentry. Mother Baroness Le Despencer. Educated at Queen's College Cambridge, and Lincoln's Inn. Created earl of Westmorland 1624. MP 1601, 1604-11, 1614, 1621, and 1624.
- Fane, Sir George
Dover, Cinque Ports
Faulding, Philip
Lynnington,
Wiltshire
(c.1581-1640). Educated at Queen's College Cambridge, and Lincoln's Inn. Knight 1603. Temporary lieutenant of Dover Castle. MP 1601, 1604-11, 1614, 1621, 1624, 1626, 1628-9, and short parliament.

- Fanshawe, Thomas
Lancaster
borough (died 1631). Father remembrancer of the exchequer. Educated at Queen's College Cambridge, and the Inner Temple. Lawyer. Admitted to the bar 1606. Bencher of his inn 1614. Auditor and surveyor-general of the duchy of Lancaster. MP 1604-11, 1614, 1621, 1624, 1625, 1626, and 1628-9.
- Fanshawe, William
Lancaster
borough Son of William Fanshawe. Auditor of the duchy of Lancaster. MP 1614, 1621, 1624, and 1625.
- Feilding, Basil
Rutlandshire Family gentry. Educated at King's College Cambridge. Lived at Newnham Paddock, Warwickshire. Father of first Viscount Feilding (1620) and earl of Denbigh (1622).
- Finch, Henry
St. Albans, Herts (died 1625). Educated at Oriel College Oxford, and Gray's Inn. Lawyer. Admitted to the bar 1585. Serjeant July 1614. Knight 1616. MP 1593, 1597-8, and 1614.
- Finch, Sir Theophilus
Great Yarmouth,
Norfolk (c.1573-c.1619). Family gentry. Educated at Magdalen College Oxford. Knight 1599. Father a baronet. Lived at Eastwell, Kent.
- Fleetwood, Sir Miles
Huntingdon borough (died 1641). Receiver of the court of wards. MP 1614, 1621, 1624, 1625, 1626, 1628-9, short parliament, and long parliament.
- Fleming, Philip
Lymington,
Hants (born c.1587). Brother of Sir Thomas Fleming. Educated at Christ Church Oxford, and Lincoln's Inn. Admitted to the bar 1612. MP 1614, 1621, 1624, 1625, 1626, and 1628-9.
- Gawdy, Philip
Dunwich, Suffolk Educated at the Inner Temple. Courtier. MP 1582, 1583, 1597-8, 1601, and 1614.

Fleming, Sir Thomas
Southampton,
Hampshire

(died 1623). Son of Sir Thomas Fleming, chief baron of the exchequer 1607-13. Family had settled at Stoneham, Hampshire, during Elizabeth's reign. Related to the Cromwells and strong puritans. MP 1614 and 1621.

Francis, Sir Edward
Steypning, Sussex

(died 1624). Family gentry. Lived at Petworth, Sussex. MP 1604-11, 1614, and 1621.

Freke, John
Wareham, Dorset

Family gentry. Lived at Hilton, Dorset. MP 1614, 1621, and 1624.

Fuller, Nicholas
London,
Middlesex

(c.1544-1620). Son of a London merchant. Educated at Christ's College Cambridge, and Gray's Inn. Lawyer. Treasurer of his inn 1591. Interested in the Virginia Company. Imprisoned by the high commission 1607 for pleading a case too boldly. Represented to King James as a champion of non-conformity. Died in prison 1620. MP 1604-11 and 1614.

Gardiner, Sir Robert
Suffolk

(1586-1621). Younger brother of Francis Claville. Educated at Lincoln's Inn. Lawyer. In the open

Gauntlet, Roger
Salisbury, Wilts

Alderman and justice of the peace of Salisbury. MP 1614, 1621, and 1624.

Gawdy, Framlingham
Thetford, Norfolk

(1589-1654). Family gentry. Educated at Gray's Inn. Lived at West Harling, Norfolk. MP 1614, 1621, 1624, 1625, 1626, short parliament, and long parliament.

Gawdy, Philip
Dunwich, Suffolk

Uncle of Framlingham Gawdy. Educated at the Inner Temple. Courtier. MP 1589, 1593, 1597-8, 1601, and 1614.

- Gerrard, Gilbert
Wigan,
Lancashire
(died 1670). Educated at Gray's Inn. Baronet 1630. Supported parliament in the civil war. MP 1614, 1621, 1624, 1625, 1626, and long parliament.
- Gerrard, Sir Thomas
Lancashire
(1560-1621). Educated at Brasenose College Oxford, and the Inner Temple. Gentleman of the privy chamber to the queen. Knight 1603. Baronet 1611. MP 1589, 1593, 1597-8, 1614, and 1621.
- Gibbs, Thomas
Stafford borough
Family gentry. Home at Hodnell, Warwickshire. Courtier.
- Giles, Sir Edward
Devonshire
(1566-1637). Family gentry. Educated at Exeter College Oxford, and the Middle Temple. Lived at Dean Prior, Devonshire. Knight 1603. MP 1597-8, 1614, 1621, 1624, 1625, and 1628-9.
- Glanville, Francis
Tavistock,
Devon
Eldest son of Sir John Glanville, a judge of the court of common pleas 1598-1600. Lived in Tavistock. MP 1614, 1621, 1625, and 1628-9.
- Glanville, John
Liskeard,
Cornwall
(1586-1661). Younger brother of Francis Glanville. Educated at Lincoln's Inn. Lawyer. In the opposition 1625-9. On good terms with the king by 1639. Royalist. Speaker of the short parliament. MP 1614, 1621, 1624, 1625, 1626, 1628-9, short parliament, and long parliament.
- Glemham, Sir Henry
Aldeburgh,
Suffolk
Family gentry. Educated at the Inner Temple. Lived at Glemham Hall, Suffolk. Marrier the earl of Dorset's aunt. Knight 1591. MP 1593, 1601, 1604-11, 1614, and 1621.
- Godfrey, Thomas
Winchelsea,
Cinque
Ports
(1586-1664). Formerly in Northampton's service. MP 1614, 1628-9, and short parliament.

- Goodwin, Sir Francis
Buckinghamshire
(died 1634). Family gentry.
Involved in the case of Goodwin
and Fortescue 1604. Council
urged his election in 1606.
MP 1586-7, 1597-8, 1606-11, 1614,
1621, 1625, and 1626.
- Goslyn, John
Barnstaple,
Devon
(c.1566-1625). Educated at Gonville
and Caius College Cambridge. Doctor
of medicine. Master of his college
1618-23. Vice-chancellor of the
university 1618-25.
- Gourney, Thomas
Dartmouth, Devon
Merchant of Dartmouth. Mayor
1603. MP 1604-11 and 1614.
- Gowen, Walter
Heytesbury, Wilts
MP 1604-11 and 1614.
- Grantham, Sir Thomas
Lincoln city
(c.1573-1630). Family gentry,
Educated at Christ Church Oxford,
and Lincoln's Inn. Lived at St.
Katherine's, near Lincoln.
Knight 1603. MP 1604-11, 1614,
1621, 1624, 1625, 1626, and 1628-9.
- Gregory, Sir William
Nottingham borough
Family gentry. Educated at
Gray's Inn. Lived at East
Stokwyth, Lincolnshire.
MP 1601 and 1614.
- Gresham, Sir Thomas
Gatton, Surrey
(died 1630). Family gentry.
Educated at St. Alban Hall, Oxford.
Lived at Limpsfield, Surrey.
Knight 1603. MP 1604-11, 1614,
1621, and 1625.
- Grey, Sir Henry
Bedfordshire
(c.1583-1639). Eldest son of Charles
Grey, brother of the earl of Kent.
Knight 1603. His father became earl
of Kent in 1615. He succeeded as
earl 1623.
- Griffin, -----
(?)
Name occurs only in Commons' jn.
Perhaps the same as John or Nicholas
Griffith.

- Griffith, John
Portsmouth,
Hampshire
Secretary to the earl of Northampton,
the lord warden of the Cinque Ports.
Assistant to the lord warden 1612.
- Griffith, Nicholas
Carnarvon
borough
(born c.1573). Family gentry. Son
of Sir William Griffith of Penrhyn,
Carnarvonshire. Educated at Hart
Hall, Oxford, and Gray's Inn.
Family represented Carnarvon repeat-
edly 1555-1621. MP 1597-8, 1601,
1614, and 1621.
- Grimston, Sir Harbottle
Harwich, Essex
(c.1577-1648). Family gentry.
Lived at Bradfield, Essex.
Baronet 1611. Puritan.
MP 1614, 1626, 1628-9, short
parliament, and long parliament.
- Grymes, Sir Thomas
Haslemere, Surrey
Family gentry. Lived at Peck-
ham, Surrey. MP 1614 and 1621.
- Gwynn, Rice
Norwich, Norfolk
Of Welsh descent. Lived at
Baron's Hill, Norfolk. Educated
at the Inner Temple. Lawyer.
Bencher of his inn 1605. Recor-
der of Norwich 1612-48.
- Hakewill, William
Tregony,
Cornwall
(1574-1655). Educated at Exeter
College Oxford, and Lincoln's Inn.
Lawyer. A leader of the opposition.
Supported parliament in the civil
war. MP 1601, 1604-11, 1614, 1621,
and 1628-9.
- Hales, Sir Edward
Hastings,
Cinque Ports
(1576-1654). Family gentry.
Lived at Tenterden, Kent. Sheriff
of Kent 1608-9. Baronet 1611.
Opposed the king in the civil war.
MP 1605-11, 1614, 1625, 1626,
short parliament, and long par-
liament.
- Halsall, Sir Cuthbert
Lancashire
(c.1573-1619). Family gentry.
Educated at Oxford and Gray's
Inn. Lived at Halsall and Clifton,
Lancashire. Knight 1599. At
times a recusant.

- Halswell, Robert
Bridgwater,
Somerset (c.1586-1626). Family gentry. Educated at Christ Church Oxford, and Lincoln's Inn.
- Hardware, George
Great Yarmouth,
Norfolk (c.1570-1635). Merchant of Great Yarmouth. Alderman. A bailiff 1612-3 and 1621-2. Took a leading part in town politics. MP 1614 and 1624.
- Harris, John
West Looe,
Cornwall (c.1564-1623). Family gentry. Lived at Lanrester, Cornwall. MP 1614 and 1621.
- Hastings, George
Leicestershire (died 1641). Brother of Henry, earl of Huntingdon (died 1643). Educated at Sidney College Cambridge, and Gray's Inn. Knight 1615. Lived at Ashby-de-la-Zouch, Leicestershire. Family puritan. MP 1614, 1625, and 1626.
- Hatton, Sir Christopher
Huntingdon borough
Leicestershire (died 1619). A cousin of Elizabeth's lord chancellor. Lived at Kirby, Northants. Son-in-law of Thomas Fanshawe, an MP 1614. MP 1601, 1606-11, and 1614.
- Hatton, Robert
Queenborough,
Kent Courtier. Steward of the archbishop of Canterbury. MP 1614, 1621, 1624, and 1625.
- Hele, Sampson
Plympton,
Devon (c.1582-c.1653). Family gentry. Educated at Broadgates Hall, Oxford. Lived at Holbeton, Devon. Brother-in-law of John and Francis Glanville, MP's 1614. Distant cousin of Sir Warwick Hele. MP 1605-11, 1614, 1621, 1624, and 1625.
- Hele, Sir Warwick
Plympton,
Devon (died 1625). Family gentry. Lived at Wembury, Devon. MP 1597-8 and 1614.

Hendon, Edward
Rye, Cinque Ports

(c.1568-1644). Educated at Balliol College Oxford, and Gray's Inn. Lawyer. Admitted to the bar 1591. Serjeant 1616. A baron of the exchequer 1639.

Herbert, Arnold
Roby, Morpeth,
Northumberland

One of the king's gentlemen pensioners 1611. Knight 1617. A dependent of the earl of Suffolk. MP 1614 and 1625.

Herbert, Sir William
Montgomeryshire

(died 1655). Cousin of the earl of Pembroke. Educated at Oxford and Lincoln's Inn. KB 1603. Created Lord Powis 1629. Sheriff of Montgomeryshire 1612-3. MP 1597-8, 1604-11, 1614, 1621, 1624, 1625, 1626, and 1628-9.

Herne, Sir Thomas
Norwich, Norfolk

Mayor of Norwich 1604-5, 1609-10, and 1616-7. A sheriff of Norwich 1597-8. Sheriff of Norfolk 1620-1.

Hesilrig, Sir Thomas
Leicestershire

(1564-1629). Family gentry. Educated at University College, Oxford. Lived at Noseley, Leicestershire. Sheriff of Leicestershire 1612-3. Knight 1608. Baronet 1622. Son a zealous parliamentarian 1642-60. MP 1614 and 1624.

Hickford, William
Newtown, I.O.W., Hants

Hickman, William
Michel, Cornwall

Educated at Gray's Inn.

Hitcham, Sir Robert
Cambridge
borough

(1572?-1636). Educated at Pembroke Hall Cambridge, and Gray's Inn. Lawyer. Attorney-general to Queen Anne 1603. Serjeant July 1614. King's serjeant 1616. MP 1597-8, 1614, and 1625.

Hopkins, Sampson
Coventry,
Warwickshire

Hitchcock, Thomas
Bishop's Castle,
Shropshire

(born c.1557). Educated at Trinity College Oxford, and Lincoln's Inn. Lawyer. Treasurer of his inn 1615. Owed his seat at Bishop's Castle to the earl of Northampton.

Hoby, Sir Edward
Rochester,
Kent

(1560-1617). Father ambassador to France 1566. Educated at Eton, Trinity College Oxford, and the Middle Temple. Courtier. Knight 1582. Gentleman of the privy chamber to James I. MP 1586-7, 1589, 1593, 1597-8, 1601, 1604-11, and 1614.

Hoby, Sir Thomas Posthumous
Ripon, Yorkshire

(c.1566-1641). Brother of Sir Edward Hoby. Educated at Trinity College Oxford, and Gray's Inn. Puritan. Knight 1593. Owned Hackness manor, Yorkshire. Member of the council of the north 1603-22. Held several posts of honour. MP 1597-8, 1604-11, 1614, 1621, 1624, 1625, 1626, and 1628-9.

Hodson, Christopher
Michel, Cornwall

Hoghton, Sir Gilbert
Clitheroe,
Lancashire

(1591-1648). Family gentry. Lived at Hoghton Tower, Lancashire. Courtier. Knight 1606. Carver to the king c.1614. A leading Lancashire royalist in the civil war. MP 1614, 1621, 1625, 1626, and short parliament.

Holles, Sir John
Nottinghamshire

(c.1564-1637). Family gentry. Educated at Cambridge and Gray's Inn. At court, but had lost favour by 1614. Created a baron 1616, and earl of Clare 1624. MP 1610-1 and 1614.

Hopkins, Sampson
Coventry,
Warwickshire

Member of the drapers' company in Coventry. Mayor 1609-10. MP 1614 and 1621.

- Horseley, George
Dorchester,
Dorset (born c.1588). Family gentry. Educated at Trinity College, Oxford. Lived at Clifton Maubank and Melcombe Horseley, Dorset.
- Horseley, Sir Jerome
Bossiney,
Cornwall (died after 1627). A receiver of the king's lands. Sheriff of Bucks 1611-2. Connected with the Russian trade before 1591. MP 1593, 1597-8, 1601, 1604-11, 1614, and 1621.
- Hoskyns, John
Hereford city (1566-1638). Educated at Westminster School, Winchester School, New College Oxford, and the Middle Temple. Lawyer. Imprisoned after the addled parliament. In royal favour by 1623. MP 1604-11, 1614, and 1628-9.
- Howard, Sir Charles, sr.
Shoreham, Sussex (c.1579-1642). Second son of the earl of Nottingham. Courtier. Receiving a pension by 1614. Educated at Gray's Inn. Succeeded his father in 1624. MP 1597-8, 1601, 1604-11, and 1614.
- Howard, Sir Charles, jr.
Bletchingley, Surrey (c.1580-1660). Nephew of the earl of Nottingham. Educated at Cambridge. Courtier. MP 1610-1, 1614, 1625, 1626, and 1628-9.
- Howard, Sir Edward
Reigate, Surrey A younger son of the earl of Nottingham. Courtier. The king's cupbearer since 1604. MP 1601 and 1614.
- Howard, Henry
Derbyshire Third son of the earl of Suffolk. Married the daughter and heiress of William Bassett of Blore, Staffordshire. Courtier. Quarreled with the earl of Essex 1613 over the Essex divorce.

Howard, Sir Thomas
Wiltshire

(c.1579-1669). Second son of the earl of Suffolk. Educated at Magdalen College, Cambridge. Courtier. KB 1605. Master of the prince's horse 1614-9. Created Viscount Andover 1622, and earl of Berkshire 1626. MP 1614 and 1621.

Howard, Thomas
Dartmouth, Devon

Local merchant.

Hungerford, Edward
Wootton Bassett,
Wiltshire

(died 1648). Member of an old and prominent family of Wiltshire gentry. Sheriff of Wiltshire 1631-2. Parliamentary leader in the civil war. MP 1614, 1621, 1624, 1628-9, short parliament, and long parliament.

Hyde, Nicholas
Bath, Somerset

(c.1572-1631). Educated at Exeter College Oxford, and the Middle Temple. Lawyer. Admitted to the bar 1598. Treasurer of his inn 1626. Recorder of Bath. In opposition at first, but supported the crown by 1627. Knight 1627. Lord chief justice 1627-31. MP 1601, 1604-11, 1614, and 1625.

Hyde, Robert
Great Bedwin,
Wiltshire

(c.1562-1642). Brother of Nicholas Hyde. Family gentry. Father a lawyer. Lived at West Hatch, Wilts. MP 1614, 1621, 1625, and 1626.

Ingram, Sir Arthur
Romney,
Cinque Ports

(died 1642). Son of a London merchant. Successful merchant. Put his wealth at the king's disposal. A secretary of the council of the north 1613-33. Also operated the royal alum works at York. Receiving a pension by 1614. MP 1610-1, 1614, 1621, 1624, 1625, 1626, and 1628-9.

Johnson, Sir Robert
Bournemouth
Borough

- Irby, Anthony (died 1625). Family gentry. Educated at Gonville and Caius College Cambridge, and Lincoln's Inn. Lawyer. Bencher of his inn 1589, and treasurer 1599-1600. Lived at Whaplode and Moulton, Lincolnshire. Recorder of Boston 1613. MP 1589, 1593, 1597-8, 1601, 1604-11, 1614, and 1621.
- Ireland, Thomas (died 1625). Member of a Lancashire family. Educated at Gray's Inn. Lawyer. Knight 1617.
- James, Thomas (died 1619). Merchant of Bristol. Sheriff of Bristol 1591-2. Common councillor by 1599. Alderman 1604. Mayor 1605-6 and 1614-5. MP 1604-11 and 1614.
- Jay, John Lived at Holston, Lincolnshire. Family gentry.
- Jeffrey, John (born c.1590). Educated at Queen's College, Oxford, and the Inner Temple.
- Jennison, William Merchant of Newcastle. Sheriff of Newcastle 1593-4. Mayor 1610-1 and 1621-2.
- Jermyn, Sir Thomas (1572-c.1644). Family gentry. Educated at Emmanuel College Cambridge. Lived at Rushbrooke, Suffolk. Courtier and perennial office-seeker. Knight 1591. Comptroller of the household 1640-1. MP 1604-11, 1614, 1621, 1624, 1625, 1626, 1628-9, and long parliament.
- Johnson, Sir Robert Lived in London. Made a knight and an officer in the ordinance 1604. MP 1597-8, 1601, 1604-11, and 1614.

- Jones, William of Treowen (living 1628). Family gentry.
Monmouthshire Lived at Treowen, Monmouthshire.
- Jones, William (c.1566-1640). Educated at St. Edmund's
Beaumaris, Hall Oxford, and Lincoln's Inn. Lawyer.
Anglesey Chief justice of Ireland 1617-20.
Judge of the common pleas 1621-4.
Judge of the king's bench 1624-40.
MP 1597-8, 1604-11, and 1614.
- Kent, William Educated at the Middle Temple.
Devizes, Wilts Chief steward of the earl of
Pembroke.
- Kerton, James (died 1620). Lived in Somerset.
Ludgershall, Receiving a pension in 1614. Knight
Wilts 1618. MP 1593, 1601, 1604-11, and
1614.
- Killigrew, Sir Joseph A kinsman of Sir Robert and
St. Ives, Cornwall Sir William Killigrew.
- Killigrew, Sir Robert (1579-1633). Family gentry.
Helston, Cornwall Son of Sir William Killigrew.
Educated at Christ Church,
Oxford. Courtier. A favourite
of Somerset, and involved in the
Overbury case. Receiving a pen-
sion in 1614. MP 1601, 1604-11,
1614, 1621, 1624, 1625, 1626,
and 1628-9.
- Killigrew, Sir William (died 1622). Family gentry.
Penryn, Cornwall Connected by marriage to the
Cecils. Courtier. Chamberlain
of the exchequer 1605-6.
MP 1572-83, 1584-5, 1597-8,
1604-11, and 1614.
- Kniveton, Sir Gilbert (died c.1641). Family gentry.
Derby borough Educated at Oxford and Gray's
Inn. Knight 1605. Father a
baronet 1611. Lived at Myrcaston,
Derbyshire. Sheriff of Derbyshire
1623-4.

Knollys, Sir Robert
Abingdon, Berks

(died 1625). Father (died 1596) treasurer of the chamber to Queen Elizabeth. His brother, Lord Knollys, a privy councillor 1596-1632. MP 1572-83, 1584-5, 1586-7, 1589, 1593, 1597-8, 1601, 1604-11, 1614, 1621, 1624, and 1625.

Knollys, Robert
Reading, Berks

(born c.1590). Nephew of Sir Robert Knollys and Lord Knollys. Educated at Queen's College Oxford, and the Middle Temple. Knight 1619. MP 1614 and 1626.

Lacon, Rowland
Much Wenlock,
Shropshire

Family gentry. Son of Sir Francis Lacon of Kinlet, Shropshire. Mother a daughter of Viscount Montague. Family sometimes recusant. Royalist in the civil war.

Lake, Sir Oliver
Bedfordshire

Lake, Sir Thomas
Middlesex

(c.1567-1630). Educated at Cambridge. Government official. Keeper of the records at Whitehall 1604. Partisan of the Howards. Privy councillor 29 March 1614. Joint secretary 1617. MP 1601, 1604-11, 1614, 1625, and 1626.

Langston, Anthony
Evesham,
Worcestershire

Appointed royal steward of King's Norton by Salisbury in 1604. Royalist in the civil war. MP 1614, 1621, 1625, and 1626.

Lasher, James
Hastings,
Cinque Ports

Jurat of Hastings. Captain of the Hastings train band 1619. MP 1605-11, 1614, and 1621.

Lawley, Edward
Much Wenlock,
Shropshire

(born c.1587). Educated at Brasenose College Oxford, and the Inner Temple. Knight 1619. Became clerk of the crown and prothonotary for South Wales. MP 1614 and 1621.

- Lawson, Sir Wilfred
Cumberland (1545-1632). Family gentry. Educated at Trinity College, Cambridge. Lived at Isell, Cumberland. Sheriff of Cumberland 1588-9, 1597-8, 1606-7, and 1612-3. Knight 1604. MP 1593, 1604-11, and 1614.
- Leech, Edward
Lostwithiel,
Cornwall Royal tin assayer in Cornwall and Devon by 1614. Knight 1621. Master in chancery 1622-52.
- Leeds, Sir John
Bramber, Sussex Lived at Wappingthorne, Sussex. Courtier. MP 1614 and 1621.
- Leigh, Sir Francis
Leicester
borough Family gentry. Lived at Newnham Regis, Warwickshire. Sheriff of Warwickshire 1618-9. Courtier. Son-in-law of Lord Chancellor Ellesmere. A master of requests by 1614. MP 1601, 1604-11, 1614, and 1621.
- Leigh, John
Bedford borough (died 1620). Family gentry. Lived at Caldwell near Bedford. Sheriff of Beds and Bucks 1604-5.
- Lennard, Sampson
Sussex Family Kentish gentry. His wife (died 1612) was Baroness Dacre in her own right. In 1614 his son sat in the house of lords as Lord Dacre. MP 1571, 1584-6, 1586-7, 1589, 1593, 1597-8, 1601, and 1614.
- L'Estrange, Sir Hamon
Norfolk (1583-1654). Family gentry. Educated at Queen's College, Cambridge. Lived at Hunstanton, Norfolk. Knight 1604. Sheriff of Norfolk 1608-9. Royalist in the civil war. MP 1614, 1621, and 1625.
- Lewkenor, Sir Edward
West Looe,
Cornwall (died 1618). Family gentry. Educated at Emmanuel College, Cambridge. Lived at Denham Hall, Suffolk. Sheriff of Suffolk 1617-8. Expelled his position by 1620. Expelled from parliament as a monopolist 1621. MP 1614 and 1621.

Ley, Henry
Westbury, Wilts

(1595-1638). Son of Sir James Ley. Summoned to the house of lords as Lord Ley in 1626. Succeeded his father as earl of Marlborough in 1629. MP 1614, 1621, 1624, 1625, and 1626.

Ley, Sir James
Bath, Somerset

(1550-1629). Educated at Brasenose College Oxford, and Lincoln's Inn. Lawyer. Chief justice of Ireland 1604-8. Attorney to the court of wards 1608-22. Lord chief justice 1622-4. Lord treasurer, a privy councillor, and a baron 1624. Earl of Marlborough 1626. MP 1597-8, 1604-5, 1610-1, 1614, and 1621.

Ley, Matthew
Westbury, Wilts

(c.1545-1632). Brother of Sir James Ley. MP 1597-8, 1601, 1604-11, and 1614.

Littleton, Edward
Bishop's Castle,
Shropshire

(1589-1645). Educated at Christ Church Oxford, and the Inner Temple. Lawyer. Chief justice of North Wales 1621 in succession to his father. In the opposition until 1629, but reconciled to the court by 1631. Chief justice of the common pleas 1640. Lord keeper and a baron 1641. Royalist in the civil war. MP 1614, 1625, 1626, and 1628-9.

Lloyd, Elisha
Merionethshire

Family gentry. Lived at Rhiwgoch, Merionethshire. His father had been MP for Merionethshire 1586-7 and 1601.

Lloyd, Robert
Ludlow, Shropshire

Elected 11 May 1614 in place of Robert Berry, who was unseated. A sewer to the queen and in high favour at court. Rose from a low position. By 1616 a knight and an admiral. Fell from favour 1618, but recovered his position by 1620. Expelled from parliament as a monopolist 1621. MP 1614 and 1621.

- Lovelace, Sir Richard
Windsor, Berkshire (c.1572-1634). Family gentry. Educated at Merton College, Oxford. Lived at Hurley, Berkshire. Knighted at Dublin 1599. Became a baron 1627. MP 1601, 1604-11, 1614, and 1621.
- Lovelace, Sir William
Canterbury, Kent (1561-1629). Family gentry. Lawyer. Lived at Bethersden, Kent.
- Lowe, Richard
Calne, Wiltshire (living 1623). Son and heir of William Lowe of Shrewsbury. Father had received a patent of gentility 1585. Lived at Shrewsbury and Calne. MP 1597-8, 1601, and 1614.
- Lowe, Sir Thomas
London,
Middlesex (died 1623). A haberdasher of London. Alderman 1593. Sheriff 1595-6. Mayor 1604-5. Knight 1603. MP 1606-11, 1614, and 1621.
- Lucy, Sir Thomas
Warwickshire (1585-1640). Family gentry. Grandson of the Lucy connected with Shakespeare. Educated at Magdalen College Oxford, and Lincoln's Inn. Lived at Charlecote, Warwickshire. Sheriff of Warwickshire 1632-3. MP 1614, 1621, 1624, 1625, 1626, 1628-9, short parliament, and long parliament.
- Ludlow, Sir Edmund
Hindon, Wilts Family gentry. Long established at Hill Deverill, Wilts. Sheriff of Wilts 1586-7. Father of Henry Ludlow. MP 1597-8, 1604-11, and 1614.
- Ludlow, Henry
Heytesbury,
Wilts (c.1592-1643). Educated at Brasenose College Oxford, and the Inner Temple. Lived at Maiden Bradley, Wilts. An extreme member of the opposition. Sheriff of Wilts 1633-4. Father of Edmund Ludlow, the regicide. MP 1614, 1621, 1624, and long parliament.

- Machen, Thomas
Gloucester city (c.1541-1614). Member of an old Gloucester family. Mayor 1579-80, 1588-9, and 1601-2. Died October 1614.
- Wallet, Thomas
Tregony,
Cornwall (c.1582-1665). Educated at the Middle Temple. Lawyer. Judge of the king's bench 1641-5 and 1660-5. Royalist. MP 1614 and 1621.
- Mallory, William
Ripon, Yorkshire (c.1578-1646). Family gentry. Educated at Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. Lived at Studley, Ripon, Yorkshire. Royalist in the civil war. MP 1614, 1621, 1624, 1625, 1628-9, short parliament, and long parliament.
- Maney, Sir Anthony
St. Ives, Cornwall,
and Cirencester,
Gloucestershire Knight 1609. Lived in Kent. MP 1610-1, 1614, and 1624.
- Manners, Sir George
Lincolnshire (c.1580-1641). Brother of the earl of Rutland. Educated at Christ's College, Cambridge. Served in Ireland under the earl of Essex, who knighted him there in 1599. Implicated in Essex's plot. Lived at Fulbeck, Lincolnshire. Wife a daughter of Sir Edward Cary, MP 1614. Succeeded as earl of Rutland 1632. MP 1604-11, 1614, 1621, 1624, and 1625.
- Mansell, Sir Robert
Carmarthenshire
Wiltshire (1573-1656). Family gentry. Educated at Brasenose College Oxford. Knight 1596. Naval officer 1596-1604. A connexion of the earl of Nottingham, the lord admiral. Treasurer of the navy 1604-18. MP 1601, 1604-11, 1614, 1624, 1625, 1626, and 1628-9.

Mansell, Sir Thomas
Glamorganshire

(died 1631). Family gentry. Elder brother of Sir Robert Mansell. Lived at Margam, Glamorganshire. Baronet 1611. Sheriff of Glamorganshire 1593-4, 1603-4, and 1622-3. MP 1597-8, 1605-11, and 1614.

Manwood, Sir Peter
Kent

(died 1625). Family gentry. Father chief baron of the exchequer 1578-92. Educated at the Inner Temple. Lived at St. Stephen's, Kent. MP 1589, 1593, 1597-8, 1601, 1604-11, 1614, and 1621.

Marshall, George
Boroughbridge,
Yorkshire

Family gentry. Son of George Marshall. Family seated at Pickering, Yorkshire. One of the king's equerries by 1612.

Martin, Thomas
Exeter, Devon

Local merchant. Father was MP for Exeter 1597-8. Served as bailiff of Exeter 1605-6, senior bailiff 1611-2, sheriff 1612-3, and mayor 1618-9. Brother of Richard Martin, MP 1601, and 1604-11, and a close friend of John Hoskyns.

May, Sir Humphrey
Westminster,
Middlesex

(c.1573-1630). Son of a London merchant. Educated at St. John's College Oxford, and the Middle Temple. Groom of the privy chamber 1604. Royal official by 1611. Knight 1613. Privy councillor 1625. MP 1605-11, 1614, 1621, 1624, 1625, 1626, and 1628-9.

Waynard, Sir William
Chippenham,
Wiltshire

(before 1589-1640). Family gentry. Educated at St. John's College, Oxford. Lived at Little Easton, Essex. Courtier. Knight 1609. Baronet 1611. Irish baron 1620. English baron 1628. MP 1610-1 and 1614.

- Merrick, Rowland
Radnor borough (born c. 1584). Family gentry. Son of Sir Gelly Merrick, who was executed in 1601 for his part in Essex's plot. Educated at Jesus College, Oxford. Had estates at Gladestry, Radnorshire, and in Herefordshire.
- Mervyn, -----
(?) Name occurs only in Commons' jn.
- Michell, Bernard
Weymouth and
Melcombe Regis,
Dorset Alderman of Weymouth and Melcombe Regis. "Disclaimed" from the rank of gentleman 1623. MP 1610-1, 1614, 1625, and 1626.
- Middleton, Sir Hugh
Denbigh borough (died 1631). London merchant. Came from an old Denbigh family. Owned Chirk Castle, Denbighshire. Capital burgess of Denbigh. Alderman 1596-8 and 1603-4. Puritan. Promoter of the New River Company 1609. Baronet 1622. MP 1614, 1621, 1624, 1625, 1626, and 1628-9.
- Middleton, John
Horsham, Sussex Family gentry. MP 1614, 1624, 1625, 1626, and 1628-9.
- Middleton, Robert
London,
Middlesex (died 1616). Brother of Sir Hugh Middleton. Skinner of London. Interested in the East India Company. His brother Sir Thomas Middleton was lord mayor of London 1613-4. MP 1604-11 and 1614.
- Mohun, Sir Reginald
East Looe,
Cornwall (c.1564-1639). Family gentry. Lived at Boconnoc, Cornwall. Sheriff of Cornwall 1592-3. Royalist. Knight 1599. Baronet 1611. MP 1614 and 1625.

- Molyneux, Sir Richard, Jr.
Wigan, Lancashire
(1593-1636). Family gentry. Educated at Brasenose College Oxford, and Gray's Inn. Lived at Sefton, Lancashire. Father a baronet. Knight 1613. Irish viscount 1628. MP 1614, 1625, and 1628-9.
- Mompesson, Giles
Great Bedwin,
Wilts
(1584-c.1651). Family gentry of Little Bathampton, Wilts. Educated at Hart Hall Oxford, and Lincoln's Inn. Courtier. Knight 1616. Expelled from parliament 1621 as a monopolist, and fled abroad. MP 1614 and 1621.
- Monson, Sir Thomas
Cricklade,
Wilts
(1564-1641). Family gentry. Educated at Magdalen College Oxford, and Gray's Inn. Home at South Carlton, Lincolnshire. A favourite of James I. Baronet 1611. Master falconer 1605. Keeper of the naval arsenal in the Tower 1612. Involved in the Overbury case. MP 1597-8, 1604-11, and 1614.
- Montague, Sir Edward
Northamptonshire
(1562-1644). Family gentry. Educated at Christ Church Oxford, and the Middle Temple. Lived at Boughton, Northants. Baron 1621. Royalist in the civil war. Brother of Sir Henry, Sidney, and Sir Walter Montague, all MP's 1614, and of Bishop Montague of Bath and Wells. MP 1584-6, 1601, 1604-11, 1614, and 1621.
- Montague, Sir Henry
London,
Middlesex
(c.1563-1642). Brother of Sir Edward Montague. Educated at Christ's College Cambridge, and the Middle Temple. Lawyer. Knight 1603. Recorder of London 1603-16. King's serjeant 1611. Lord chief justice 1616. Lord treasurer and a viscount 1620. Earl of Manchester 1626. Lord privy seal 1628-42. MP 1593, 1597-8, 1601, 1604-11, and 1614.

- Montague, Sidney
Wells, Somerset
(died 1644). Brother of Sir Edward Montague. Educated at Christ's College Cambridge, and the Middle Temple. Lawyer. Called to the bar 1601. Knight 1616. A master of requests under Charles I. Royalist. Imprisoned 1642. MP 1593, 1601, 1614, and long parliament.
- Montague, Sir Walter
Monmouthshire
(died 1615). Brother of Sir Edward, Sir Henry, and Sidney Montague, all MP's 1614, and of Bishop Montague of Bath and Wells.
- Moore, Francis
Reading,
Berkshire
(1558-1621). Family gentry of East Tildesley, Berkshire. Educated at St. John's College Oxford, and the Middle Temple. Lawyer. Serjeant July 1614. Knight 1616. MP 1589, 1597-8, 1601, 1604-11, and 1614.
- More, Sir George
Surrey
(1553-1632). Family gentry long settled at Loseley, Surrey. Father several times MP for Surrey. Educated at Corpus Christi College Oxford, and the Inner Temple. Knight 1597. Sheriff of Surrey and Sussex 1597-8. Courtier. Receiver-general or treasurer to Prince Henry. Chancellor of the order of the Garter 1611-29. Lieutenant of the Tower 1615-7. MP 1584-6, 1586-7, 1589, 1597-8, 1601, 1604-11, 1614, 1621, 1624, 1625, and 1626.
- More, Sir Robert
Guildford,
Surrey
(1581-1626). Son of Sir George More. Educated at University College Oxford, and the Inner Temple. Knight 1603. Gentleman pensioner under James I and Charles I. MP 1601, 1604-11, 1614, 1621, 1624, and 1625.
- Morgan, Meredith
Berwick-on-Tweed,
Northumberland
A dependent of the earl of Suffolk. A minor treasury official.

- Morgan, Thomas
Wilton,
Wiltshire
A burgess of Wilton. Steward of the earl of Pembroke. Knight by 1623. MP 1607-11, 1614, 1621, 1624, 1625, 1626, and 1628-9.
- Morley, Edward
Arundel,
Sussex
Brother of Sir John Morley. Educated at Merton College Oxford, and the Inner Temple.
- Morley, Sir John
Chichester,
Sussex
(born c.1573). Family gentry. Educated at Christ Church Oxford, and the Inner Temple. Lived at Hainaker, Sussex. Knight 1603. MP 1601, 1610-1, 1614, and 1621.
- Mosley, Edward
Preston,
Lancashire
(1569-1638). Son of a London and Manchester merchant. Educated at Christ's College Cambridge, and Gray's Inn. Lawyer. Attorney-general of the duchy of Lancaster. Knight December 1614. Lived at the Bradley, Derbyshire, and Rolleston, Staffordshire. MP 1614, 1621, and 1624.
- Naunton, Robert
Camelford,
Cornwall
(1563-1635). Educated at Trinity College, Cambridge. Political agent abroad for the earl of Essex 1596-9. Fellow of Trinity Hall, Cambridge, 1592-1616. Public orator of the university 1594-1611. Senior proctor 1601-2. Clerk in the secretary's office 1611. Knight 1615. Secretary of state 1618-23. Master of the court of wards 1623-35. MP 1606-11, 1614, 1621, 1624, 1625, and 1626.
- Needham, Robert
Newcastle-under-Lyme,
Staffordshire
(c.1588-1653). Family gentry. Home at Adderly, Shropshire. Father a courtier who was created Viscount Kilmorey in Ireland in 1625. Educated at Christ Church, Oxford. Succeeded his father as viscount in 1631.

- Neville, Christopher
Lewes, Sussex
(died 1649). Second son of Lord Bergavenny. Educated at Queen's College, Cambridge. Lived at Newton St. Lo, Somerset. KB 1626. Imprisoned after the added parliament. MP 1614, 1621, and 1624.
- Neville, Sir Henry
Berkshire, and
Chipping Wycombe,
Bucks
(c.1564-1615). Family gentry. Educated at Verton College, Oxford. Lived at Billingsbear, Berkshire. Knight 1599. Ambassador to France 1599-1600. Involved in Essex's plot and imprisoned 1601-3. A candidate for secretary 1612-4. MP 1584-6, 1589, 1593, 1597-8, 1601, 1604-11, and 1614.
- Newman, George
Canterbury,
Kent
(c.1562-1627). Educated at Trinity Hall, Cambridge. LL.D. Ecclesiastical lawyer. Knight 1616. Chancellor of the diocese of Canterbury. Freeman of Canterbury 1608. MP 1601, 1614, and 1621.
- Newport, Richard
Shropshire
(1587-1651). Family gentry. Educated at Brasenose College, Oxford. Lived at High Erccall, Shropshire. Knight 1615. Baron 1642. MP 1614, 1621, 1624, 1625, and 1628-9.
- Norton, Sir Thomas
Christchurch,
Hampshire
(born c.1583). Family gentry. Educated at Queen's College, Oxford. Knight 1607. Lived at Nutley, Hampshire.
- Noyes, Peter
Andover, Hampshire
(born c.1576). Father a lawyer. Educated at Queen's College, Oxford, and Gray's Inn. Knight 1603. Dever to the king about 1603.
- Owen, Sir Roger
Shropshire
(c.1573-1617). Father a judge of the common pleas 1594-8. Educated at Christ Church Oxford, and Lincoln's Inn. Lawyer. Treasurer of his inn 1613. Knight 1604. Home at Condover, Shropshire. Sheriff of Shropshire 1603-4. MP 1597-8, 1601, 1604-11, and 1614.

- Oxborough, Thomas
King's Lynn,
Norfolk Mercer of Lynn. Freeman c.1585.
Recorder of Lynn. MP 1597-8, 1601,
1604-11, and 1614.
- Palmer, Roger
Queenborough,
Kent Family lived at Wingham, Kent. Father a
courtier. Cupbearer to the prince
by 1614. KB 1626 and master of
the household. MP 1614, 1624,
1625, 1626, and 1628-9.
- Palmes, Sir Guy
Rutlandshire Family gentry. Lived at Ashwell,
Rutlandshire. Sheriff of Rutland
1607-8, 1617-8, and 1625-6. Royal-
ist in the civil war. MP 1614, 1624,
1625, and 1628-9.
- Parry, Sir Thomas
Berkshire (died 1616). Ambassador to France
1601-5. Chancellor of the duchy of
Lancaster and a privy councillor
1607. Expelled from parliament 1614.
MP 1586-7, 1610-1, and 1614.
- Pawlett, Sir Richard
Whitchurch,
Hampshire (c.1558-1614). Family gentry.
Lived at Heriard, Hampshire.
Died 7 July 1614. MP 1604-11
and 1614.
- Payne, Sir Robert
Huntingdonshire Family gentry. Lived at Midloe,
Huntingdonshire. Represented the
Montague interest. MP 1614, 1621,
1626, and 1628-9.
- Peirse, John
Bridgnorth, Shropshire Lived at Oaksey. Sheriff
of Wiltshire 1636-7. Fought for
the king in the civil war.
- Penruddock, Sir Thomas
Cumberland (born c.1578). Father a lawyer.
Educated at Queen's College
Oxford, and Gray's Inn. Knight
1603. Sewer to the king about
1614. MP 1601 and 1614.
- Perrient, Thomas
St. Albans,
Herts (living 1636). Educated at Clare
College Cambridge, and Gray's Inn.
Lawyer. Knight 1616.

Perrot, Sir James
Haverfordwest,
Pembrokeshire

(1571-1637). Family gentry.
Educated at Jesus College Oxford,
and the Middle Temple. Lived at
Harroldston, near Haverfordwest.
Knight 1603. MP 1597-8, 1604-11,
1614, 1621, 1624, and 1628-9.

Peyton, Sir Samuel
Sandwich,
Cinque Ports

(c.1590-1623). Family gentry.
Educated at Exeter College Oxford,
and Gray's Inn. Lived at Knowl-
ton, Kent. Knight 1608. Baronet
1611.

Phelips, Sir Robert
Saltash,
Cornwall

(1586?-1638). Son of Sir Edward
Phelips, master of the rolls
1611-4. A leader of the opposition
1614-29. Reconciled to the court
by 1633. MP 1604-11, 1614, 1621,
1624, 1625, and 1628-9.

Pitt, William
Wareham, Dorset

A commissioner for the affairs
of the navy and the royal house-
hold. Knight 1619.

Poole, Sir Henry
Wiltshire

(c.1564-c.1631). Family gentry.
Educated at Trinity College, Oxford.
Lived at Oaksey, Wiltshire. Knight
1603. Sheriff of Wiltshire 1619-20.
MP 1604-11, 1614, 1621, and 1626.

Poole, Sir Neville
Malmesbury,
Wiltshire

(died c.1653). Son of Sir Henry
Poole. Lived at Oaksey. Sheriff
of Wiltshire 1636-7. Fought for
parliament in the civil war.
MP 1614, 1624, and 1626.

Popham, Sir Francis
Marlborough,
Wiltshire

(1573-1644). His father was lord
chief justice 1592-1607. Educated
at Balliol College Oxford, and the
Middle Temple. MP 1597-8, 1604-11,
1614, 1621, 1625, 1626, 1628-9,
and long parliament.

- Poulett, John
Somerset (c.1585-1649). Family gentry. Educated at University College Oxford, and the Middle Temple. Lived at Hinton St. George, Somerset. Baron 1627. Royalist in the civil war. MP 1610-1, 1614, and 1621.
- Price, James
Radnorshire (born c.1571). Family gentry. Educated at Brasenose College Oxford, and the Middle Temple. Lived at Monachty, Radnorshire. Sheriff of Radnorshire 1595-6. MP 1593, 1597-8, 1601, 1604-11, 1614, 1621, 1624, 1625, and 1626.
- Price, Sir Richard
Cardiganshire (died 1623). Family gentry. Educated at the Inner Temple. Lived at Gogerddan, Cardiganshire. Sheriff of Cardiganshire 1585-6 and 1603-4. MP 1584-6, 1589, 1593, 1601, 1614, and 1621.
- Price, William
Old Sarum, Wiltshire Agent of the earl of Pembroke. MP 1614, 1621, 1624, 1625, and 1626.
- Prouse, John
Exeter, Devon Family lived in Exeter. Father was MP for Exeter 1584-6. Bailiff of Exeter 1584-5. Senior bailiff 1598-9. Sheriff 1599-1600. Mayor 1608-9 and 1619-20. MP 1604-11, 1614, 1621, and 1624.
- Prowde, Lewis
Shrewsbury,
Shropshire (died 1616). Family came from Shrewsbury. Educated at St. John's College Cambridge, and Lincoln's Inn. Lawyer. Called to the bar 1586. Bencher of his inn 1602, and treasurer 1614-5. Justice of the assizes in North Wales.
- Raleigh, Gilbert
Downton,
Wiltshire Nephew of Sir Walter Raleigh. Family settled at Downton. Father MP for Downton 1604-11 and 1621.

- Rashleigh, Jonathan
Fowey, Cornwall
(c.1592-1675). Family ancient and powerful Cornish gentry. Had great influence in Fowey 1588-1832. Educated at Exeter College Oxford, and the Middle Temple. Lived at Menabilly, Cornwall. Sheriff of Cornwall 1627-8. MP 1614, 1621, 1625, short parliament, long parliament, and 1661-75.
- Ratcliffe, Sir John
Tewkesbury,
Gloucestershire
Educated at Gray's Inn. Knighted at Dublin by the earl of Essex in 1599.
- Ravenscroft, Robert
Flintshire
Son of William Ravenscroft. Lived at Bretton, Flintshire.
- Ravenscroft, William
Old Sarum,
Wiltshire
(c.1561-1628). Family gentry. Educated at Brasenose College Oxford, and Lincoln's Inn. Lawyer. Clerk of the petty bag 1598-1628. MP 1586-7, 1597-8, 1601, 1604-11, 1614, 1621, 1624, 1625, 1626, and 1628.
- Reynell, Sir Carey
(?)
(died 1624). Brother of Sir George Reynell. Knighted at Dublin by the earl of Essex 1599. Courtier. MP 1601, 1614, and 1621.
- Reynell, Sir George
Grantham,
Lincolnshire
(died c.1628). Family gentry. Of East Ogwell, Devon. Educated at Broadgates Hall, Oxford. Soldier in Ireland. Knight 1603. Marshal of the king's bench by 1616.
- Reynolds, William
Wallingford,
Berkshire
Nominee of Lord Knollys. Educated at the Middle Temple. Sheriff of Dorset 1606-7.

- Rich, Sir Henry
Leicester
borough (1590-1649). Second son of Lord Rich, and brother of Sir Robert Rich. Educated at Emmanuel College Cambridge, and the Inner Temple. Courtier and favourite of James I. KB 1610. Baron 1623. Earl of Holland 1624. MP 1610-1 and 1614.
- Rich, Nathaniel
Totnes, Devon (1585?-1636). Cousin of Sir Henry and Sir Robert Rich. Educated at Emmanuel College Cambridge, and Gray's Inn. Lived at Stondon, Essex. Prominent in the Virginia Company. MP 1614, 1621, 1624, 1625, 1626, and 1628-9.
- Rich, Sir Robert
Essex (1587-1658). Eldest son of Lord Rich. Educated at Emmanuel College Cambridge, and the Inner Temple. KB 1603. Succeeded his father as earl of Warwick 1619. Interested in the Virginia Company. Prominent parliamentarian in the civil war. MP 1610-1 and 1614.
- Richardson, -----
(?) (Name occurs only in Commons' jn.
- Rivers, Sir George
East Grinstead,
Sussex (died 1630). Son of Sir John Rivers of Chafford, Kent, lord mayor of London 1573-4. Educated at Trinity College Cambridge, and the Middle Temple. Knight 1605. Connected with the alienation office. High steward of Southwark. MP 1597-8, 1601, 1604-11, 1614, 1625, and 1626.
- Rives, John
Downton, Wiltshire Family gentry of Randelstone, Dorset. Educated at the Middle Temple. Sheriff of Dorset 1606-7.

- Roe, Sir Thomas
Tamworth,
Staffordshire (c.1580-1644). Grandfather a wealthy London merchant. Educated at Magdalen College Oxford, and the Middle Temple. Courtier. Knight 1604. Ambassador to India 1615-9, and to Turkey 1621-8. MP 1614, 1621, and long parliament.
- Rolle, William
Callington,
Cornwall (died 1652). Family gentry. Younger son of Henry Rolle of Heampton, Devon. MP 1604-11 and 1614.
- Roy, John
Weymouth and
Melcombe Regis,
Dorset Mayor of Weymouth and Melcombe Regis 1615-6.
- Russell, Thomas
Truro,
Cornwall (1577-1632). Family old Worcestershire gentry. Educated at St. John's College, Oxford. Sheriff of Worcestershire 1603-4. Master of the royal game by 1611. Lived at Strensham, Worcestershire. MP 1601 and 1614.
- St. Aubyn, John
Cornwall (c.1577-1639). Family gentry. Educated at Queen's College Oxford, and the Middle Temple. Lived at Glowance, Cornwall. MP 1614 and 1621.
- St. Aubyn, Thomas
Grampond,
Cornwall (died by 1637). Younger brother of John St. Aubyn. Educated at Queen's College Oxford, and the Middle Temple. MP 1614 and 1626.
- St. John, Sir Alexander
Bedford borough (died 1657). Younger son of Lord St. John, and brother of Sir Oliver and Roland St. John. Educated at Queen's College Cambridge. Knight 1608. MP 1614, 1621, 1624, 1625, 1626, and 1628-9.

- St. John, Sir Oliver (1580?-1646). Son and heir of Lord St. John. Educated at Peterhouse College Cambridge, and Gray's Inn. KB 1610. Succeeded his father 1618. Created earl of Bolingbroke 1624. MP 1601, 1604-11, and 1614.
- St. John, Roland (died 1645). Younger son of Lord St. John. Educated at Higham Ferrers, Northamptonshire Queen's College, Cambridge. KB 1616. MP 1614 and 1625.
- Sammes, Sir John Family gentry. Educated at Cambridge University. Knight 1599. Maldon, Essex Lived at Langford Hall, Essex. Sheriff of Essex, 1606-7. MP 1610-1 and 1614.
- Sandys, Sir Edwin (1561-1629). A son of Archbishop Sandys of York (1516?-1588). Brother of Sir Miles and Sir Samuel Sandys. Educated at Merchant Taylors School, Corpus Christi College Oxford, and the Middle Temple. Knight 1603. A leader of the parliamentary opposition. Interested in the Virginia Company. MP 1586-7, 1589, 1593, 1604-11, 1614, 1621, 1624, 1625, and 1626.
- Sandys, Edwin (c.1591-1623). Son of Sir Samuel Sandys and nephew of Sir Edwin Sandys. Educated at Droitwich, Worcestershire Corpus Christi College Oxford, and the Middle Temple. Knight 1617. MP 1614 and 1621.
- Savile, Sir John (1500-1570). Family leading Yorkshire gentry. Educated at Trinity College, Cambridge. Sheriff of Lincolnshire 1500-1. Knight 1603. Member of the council of the North 1603-70. Baron 1628. MP 1586-7, 1597-8, 1614, 1624, and 1626.

- Sandys, Sir Miles
Cambridge University
(1563-1645). Brother of Sir Edwin Sandys. Educated at Merchant Taylors School, and Peterhouse College Cambridge. Lived at Wilberton, Cambridgeshire. Courtier. Knight 1603. Baronet 1612. Sheriff of Cambridge and Huntingdon 1615-6. Supported at Cambridge University in 1614 by the earl of Northampton. MP 1614, 1621, and 1628-9.
- Sandys, Sir Samuel
Worcestershire
(1560-1623). Eldest son of Archbishop Sandys. Father of Edwin Sandys. Had an estate at Omberley, Worcestershire. MP 1586-7, 1610-1, 1614, and 1621.
- Sandys, Sir William
Winchester, Hampshire
Sheriff of Hampshire 1611-2.
- Savage, Edward
Petersfield, Hampshire
Alderman of Newcastle, 1589-90. Sheriff 1594-5. Mayor 1603-4, 1606-7, 1611-2, and 1622-3.
- Savile, Sir George, jr.
Appleby,
Westmorland
(c.1583-1614). Family gentry. His father (died 1622) a baronet of Thornehill, Yorkshire. Educated at Trinity College Cambridge, and University College Oxford. Knight 1603. Died August 1614.
- Savile, Sir Henry
Aldborough,
Yorkshire
(1579-1632). Father a baron of the exchequer 1598-1607. Educated at Merton College Oxford, and the Middle Temple. Knight 1603. Baronet 1611. Member of the council of the North 1609-32. MP 1604-11, 1614, and 1629.
- Savile, Sir John
Yorkshire
(1560-1630). Family leading Yorkshire gentry. Educated at Trinity College, Cambridge. Sheriff of Lincolnshire 1590-1. Knight 1603. Member of the council of the North 1603-30. Baron 1628. MP 1586-7, 1597-8, 1614, 1624, and 1626.

- Scott, Edmund MP 1614, 1621, and 1624.
Beverley, Yorkshire
- Scott, Sir John (c.1564-1616). Family influential
Maidstone; Kentish gentry. Educated at Hart
Hall Oxford. Lived at Scot's Hall,
Kent. Knight 1588. MP 1604-11 and
1614.
- Scudamore, Sir James (died 1619). Family gentry.
Herefordshire Lived at Holme Lacy, Herefordshire.
Captain of Kidwelly Castle 1612.
MP 1604-11 and 1614.
- Searle, John (born c.1570). Educated at
Newport, I.O.W., Queen's College Oxford, and
Hampshire Lincoln's Inn.
- Selby, Sir George Son of William Selby, mayor of
Northumberland Newcastle-on-Tyne 1573-4 and
1589-90. Alderman of Newcastle.
Sheriff 1594-5. Mayor 1600-1,
1606-7, 1611-2, and 1622-3.
Sheriff of Northumberland 1608-9,
and of Durham 1614-5 and 1625-6.
Knight 1603. Said to have been a
Roman Catholic. Unseated as MP
13 April 1614 because he was
sheriff of Durham. MP 1601,
1604-11, and 1614.
- Selby, Sir John Brother of Sir William Selby.
Berwick-on-Tweed, MP 1614, 1621, and 1625.
Northumberland
- Selby, Sir William (died 1637). Family gentry.
Northumberland Lived at Biddleston, Northumber-
land. Gentleman-porter of Berwick.
Sheriff of Northumberland 1603-4
and 1616-7. Elected in place of
Sir George Selby in 1614. MP 1601,
1604-11, and 1614.
- Seymour, Sir Edward (died 1659). Family gentry.
Lyme Regis, Devon.
Dorset Courtier. Baronet. MP 1601,
1604-11, 1614, 1621, 1624, and 1625.

- Sheffield, William
Hedon, Yorkshire
Family Yorkshire gentry. Home at Epworth, Yorkshire. Educated at Lincoln's Inn. MP 1614 and 1624.
- Shelley, Henry, jr.
Bramber, Sussex
(1582-1644). Family old Sussex gentry. Educated at New College Oxford, and Gray's Inn. Home at Warminghurst, near Bramber. Involved in Shelley's case.
- Shelley, Thomas
Shoreham, Sussex
(born c.1578). Elder brother of Henry Shelley. Educated at Magdalen College Oxford, and Gray's Inn.
- Sherwill, Thomas
Plymouth, Devon
Local merchant. MP 1614, 1621, 1624, 1625, and 1626.
- Shirley, Sir Thomas
Steyning, Sussex
(1564-c.1630). Family gentry. Educated at Hart Hall, Oxford. Home at Wiston, Sussex. Knight 1589. Soldier and privateer 1589-1605. MP 1584-6, 1593, 1601, 1604-11, 1614, and 1621.
- Sidney, Sir Robert
Wilton, Wiltshire
(1595-1677). Eldest son of Viscount Lisle. Educated at Christ Church Oxford, and Gray's Inn. KB 1610. Succeeded his father as earl of Leicester 1626. MP 1614, 1621, 1624, and 1625.
- Simeon, George
Wallingford, Berkshire
MP 1614, 1621, and 1624.
- Smelling, Robert
Ipswich, Suffolk
(died 1647). Merchant and member of Ipswich. Father's house east of town 1614. Home at field, near the church. MP 1614, 1619-20, 1621-2, 1624, 1625, 1626, and 1627.
- Southworth, Thomas
Wells, Somerset
(living 1625). Father's house merchant. Recorder of Wells. MP 1614, 1621, and 1624.

- Slingsby, Sir Henry
Knaresborough,
Yorkshire (1560-1634). Eldest surviving son of Francis Slingsby (died 1600) of Scriven, near Knaresborough. Family gentry. Knight 1602. Member of the council of the North 1603-34. Sheriff of Yorkshire 1611-2. Held various offices in the duchy of Lancaster, but in 1611 unjustly deprived of them by Sir Thomas Parry, the chancellor of the duchy. After 1600 embroiled in suits in the duchy court most of his life. Imprisoned by Parry 1615-6. MP 1601, 1604-11, 1614, 1621, and 1624.
- Smith, Sir Nicholas
St. Mawes,
Cornwall Family long in royal service. Educated at the Inner Temple. Lived in London. Receiver-general for Middlesex, Herts, Essex, and London 1595. Knight 1603. MP 1593, 1597-8, and 1614.
- Smyth, Sir Richard
Hythe, Cinque Ports Brother of Sir Thomas Smyth.
- Smyth, Sir Thomas
Sandwich,
Cinque Ports (1558?-1625). Father a London merchant and customs official. Wealthy London haberdasher. Interested in foreign trade. Alderman of London 1599. Sheriff 1587-8 and 1601-2. Knight 1603. Receiver of the duchy of Cornwall 1604. Ambassador to Russia 1604-5. MP 1604, 1614, and 1621.
- Snelling, Robert
Ipswich,
Suffolk (died 1647). Merchant and portman of Ipswich. Father was granted a coat of arms 1594. Lived at Whatfield, near Ipswich. Bailiff 1607-8, 1613-4, 1619-20, and 1626-7. MP 1614, 1621, 1624, 1625, and 1626.
- Southworth, Thomas
Wells,
Somerset (living 1623). Father a London merchant. Recorder of Wells. MP 1614, 1621, and 1624.

- Spencer, William John (c.1591-1636). Second son of Lord Brackley, Northants Spencer. Educated at Magdalen College, Oxford. Lived at Brington, Northants. KB 1616. Succeeded his father as Lord Spencer 1627. MP 1614, 1621, 1624, 1625, and 1626.
- Spiller, Henry Courtier and official dealing with Arundel, Sussex recusants. MP 1614, 1621, 1624, 1625, 1626, and 1628-9.
- Sprey, Christopher (c.1587-1617). Family gentry. Bodmin, Cornwall Educated at Exeter College Oxford, and the Middle Temple. Lived at Treglith, Cornwall.
- Stables, Robert Alderman of Nottingham. Sheriff of Nottingham borough the borough 1598-9. Mayor 1601-2 and 1615-6.
- Steward, Sir Simeon (died c.1629). Family gentry. Shaftesbury, Dorset Educated at Trinity Hall Cambridge, and Gray's Inn. Knight 1603. Sheriff of Cambridge and Hunts 1611-2. Minor poet. MP 1614 and 1628-9.
- Stoughton, Adrian (died 1614). Family gentry. Chichester, Sussex Educated at the Inner Temple. Lived at Stoke, Surrey, and Westoake, Sussex. Recorder of Chichester. MP 1593, 1597-8, 1601, 1604-11, and 1614.
- Stoughton, George (died 1624). Elder brother of Adrian Guildford, Surrey Stoughton. Lived at Stoughton, Surrey. Knight 1623. Puritan.
- Strange, Robert (born c.1587). Educated at Brasenose College Oxford, and Lincoln's Gloucestershire Inn.

- Strangways, Sir John
Dorset (c.1585-1665). Family gentry. Educated at Queen's College Oxford, and the Middle Temple. Lived at Melbury, Dorset. Royalist in the civil war. MP 1614, 1621, 1624, 1625, 1626, 1628-9, short parliament, long parliament, and 1661-5.
- Strode, Sir William
Plymouth,
Devon (1561-1637). Family gentry. Home at Newnham, Devon. Father of William Strode, the parliamentary leader. Courtier. Sheriff of Devon 1593-4. Knight 1597. Royal surveyor by 1614. MP 1601, 1604-11, 1614, 1621, and 1625.
- Suckling, John
Reigate,
Surrey (1569-1627). Educated at Gray's Inn. Official 1604-27. Father of the poet. MP 1601, 1614, 1624, 1625, and 1626.
- Synge, Richard
Bridgnorth,
Shropshire Family gentry. Lived at Bridgnorth. Father of George Synge, bishop of Cloyne 1638-53.
- Tate, Sir William
Northamptonshire (c.1559-1617). Family gentry. Educated at Magdalen Hall Oxford, and the Middle Temple. Lived at Delapre, Northants. Knight 1605. Son-in-law of Lord Zouch, a privy councillor. MP 1593 and 1614.
- Terringham, Arthur
Brackley,
Northants (c.1584-1642). Family Buckinghamshire gentry. Educated at Magdalen College Oxford, and the Middle Temple.
- Tichborne, Sir Richard
Berkshire (c.1580-1640). Younger brother of Sir Richard Tichborne. Knight 1603. Lived at Aldermaston, Berkshire. MP 1614 and 1625.
- Trotter, Daniel
Derbyshire
Derbyshire (c.1580-1640). MP 1601, 1602, 1604, 1625, 1626, and 1628-9.

- Theilwall, Simon
Denbighshire
Member of an important Denbighshire family. Originally an English 'garrison family', but completely Welsh by 1614. Educated at Balliol College Oxford, and Lincoln's Inn. Sheriff of Denbighshire 1611-2. Chief clerk to Sir Daniel Dunn, a judge of the prerogative court and MP 1614. Proctor of the court of arches. Registrar of the diocese of Bangor. MP 1593, 1597-8, 1604-11, and 1614.
- Toothby, Richard
Great Ouisby, Lincolnshire
Justice of the Peace for Lincolnshire 1601. Sheriff of Lincolnshire 1602. Member of the Council of the Marches of Wales 1606. Associate in the chief
- Townsend, Sir Henry
Justice of the Peace for Lincolnshire 1601. Sheriff of Lincolnshire 1602. Member of the Council of the Marches of Wales 1606. Associate in the chief
- Thorpe, George
Portsmouth, Hampshire
Member of the Council of the Marches of Wales 1606. Associate in the chief
- Thynne, Charles
Lymington, Hampshire
(born c.1568). Family gentry of Longleat, Wiltshire. Educated at Broadgates Hall Oxford. Lived at Cheddar, Somerset. MP 1614 and 1628-9.
- Townsend, John
Principal Burgess of Norwich
- Tichbourne, Sir Richard
Hampshire
(c.1578-1652). Family gentry and often recusants. Son of Sir Benjamin Tichbourne (died 1629) of Tichbourne, near Alresford, Hampshire, who became a knight in 1601 and a baronet in 1621, was a gentleman of the privy chamber to James I, and received Winchester Castle from him in fee farm. Sir Richard was knighted in 1603. Served as a gentleman of the bedchamber to Charles I and as his ambassador to the queen of Bohemia. Royalist. MP 1597-8, 1614, 1621, 1624, 1625, 1626, and 1628-9.
- Touse, William
Newbury, Berkshire
(c.1578-1652). Family gentry and often recusants. Son of Sir Benjamin Tichbourne (died 1629) of Tichbourne, near Alresford, Hampshire, who became a knight in 1601 and a baronet in 1621, was a gentleman of the privy chamber to James I, and received Winchester Castle from him in fee farm. Sir Richard was knighted in 1603. Served as a gentleman of the bedchamber to Charles I and as his ambassador to the queen of Bohemia. Royalist. MP 1597-8, 1614, 1621, 1624, 1625, 1626, and 1628-9.
- Touse, Sir Thomas
Windsor Castle, Berkshire
(c.1578-1652). Family gentry and often recusants. Son of Sir Benjamin Tichbourne (died 1629) of Tichbourne, near Alresford, Hampshire, who became a knight in 1601 and a baronet in 1621, was a gentleman of the privy chamber to James I, and received Winchester Castle from him in fee farm. Sir Richard was knighted in 1603. Served as a gentleman of the bedchamber to Charles I and as his ambassador to the queen of Bohemia. Royalist. MP 1597-8, 1614, 1621, 1624, 1625, 1626, and 1628-9.
- Touse, Sir John
Windsor Castle, Berkshire
(c.1578-1652). Family gentry and often recusants. Son of Sir Benjamin Tichbourne (died 1629) of Tichbourne, near Alresford, Hampshire, who became a knight in 1601 and a baronet in 1621, was a gentleman of the privy chamber to James I, and received Winchester Castle from him in fee farm. Sir Richard was knighted in 1603. Served as a gentleman of the bedchamber to Charles I and as his ambassador to the queen of Bohemia. Royalist. MP 1597-8, 1614, 1621, 1624, 1625, 1626, and 1628-9.
- Tichbourne, Sir Walter
Petersfield, Hampshire
(died 1640). Younger brother of Sir Richard Tichbourne. Knight 1603. Lived at Aldershot, Hampshire. MP 1614 and 1625.
- Tompkins, Nathaniel
Carlisle, Cumberland
MP 1614, 1621, 1624, 1625, 1626, and 1628-9.

- Tooker, Giles
Salisbury, Wiltshire
(died 1623). Family gentry of Mad-
dington, Wiltshire. Educated at
Balliol College Oxford, and Lincoln's
Inn. Treasurer of his inn 1618.
Lawyer. Lived in Salisbury. Recorder
of Salisbury. MP 1601, 1604-11, and
1614.
- Toothby, Richard
Great Grimsby, Lincolnshire
- Townsend, Sir Henry
Ludlow, Shropshire
(died 1621). Father was chief
justice of Chester. A member of
the council of the Marches of Wales
1586. Associate to the chief
justice of Chester 1603. Knight
1604. Lived at Cound, Shropshire.
A burgess of Ludlow 1584. Recorder
1577-1621. MP 1572-83 and 1614.
- Townsend, John
Warwick borough
A principal burgess of Warwick.
MP 1597-8, 1601, 1604-11, and
1614.
- Towse, William
Beverley, Yorkshire
(c.1551-1634). Educated at the Inner
Temple. Lawyer. Bencher of his inn
1594. Serjeant July 1614. Town clerk
of Colchester 1620-5. MP 1586-7,
1614, 1621, 1624, and 1625.
- Tracy, Sir Thomas
Corfe Castle, Dorset
By 1612 a farmer of the customs.
Later treasurer of the queen's
household. MP 1614 and 1621.
- Trevor, Sir John
Bletchingley, Surrey
Secretary to the earl of Nottingham,
the lord admiral, and surveyor of
royal ships by 1598. MP 1597-8,
1601, 1604-11, 1614, 1621, and 1625.
- Trevor, Thomas
Newport, Cornwall
(died 1656). Educated at the Inner
Temple. A lawyer ready to serve the
the crown. By August 1614 the prince's
solicitor and one of the learned counsel.
A baron of the exchequer 1625-49.

- Trott, John
St. Germans, Cornwall
MP 1604-11 and 1614.
- Tufton, Richard
Grantham,
Lincolnshire
(c.1585-1631). Family Kentish gentry. Educated at University College Oxford, and Gray's Inn. MP 1614 and 1628-9.
- Turner, Arthur
Denbigh borough
- Twisden, Sir William
Thetford, Norfolk
(1566-1628). Family gentry. Educated at Magdalen College Cambridge, and Gray's Inn. Lived at Roydon Hall, Kent. Baronet 1611. Gentleman usher of the privy chamber. MP 1593, 1601, 1606-11, 1614, and 1628.
- Uvedale, Sir William
Hampshire
(c.1592-1652). Family gentry. Educated at Queen's College Oxford, and the Middle Temple. Lived at More Crichill, Dorset. Knight 1613. By 1615 a gentleman of the privy chamber to the queen. Chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster 1618. Privy councillor 1629. MP 1614, 1621, 1624, 1625, 1626, 1628-9, short parliament, and long parliament.
- Vane, Sir Henry
Lostwithiel,
Cornwall
(1589-1655). Family Kentish gentry. Educated at Brasenose College Oxford, and Gray's Inn. Courtier. Sewer to the king by 1614. Held various offices 1617-40. Privy councillor 1630. Secretary of state 1640-1. Supported parliament in the civil war. Father of Sir Henry Vane (1613-62). MP 1614, 1621, 1624, 1625, 1626, 1628-9, short parliament, long parliament, and 1654-5.
- Vaughan, Sir Charles
Brecknockshire
Family gentry. Lived at Port-hamal, Denbighshire. MP 1614 and 1625.

- Vavasor, Sir Thomas
Horsham, Sussex
(died 1620). Family gentry. Educated at Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. Lived at Copmanthorpe, Yorkshire. Knight 1597. Marshal of the court 1604-11. Knight marshal of the household 1612. MP 1584-6, 1586-7, 1588-9, and 1614.
- Walsingham, Sir Thomas,
Poole, Dorset
- Venables, Richard
Andover, Hampshire
Family gentry of Andover and Ropley, Hampshire. MP 1614 and 1621.
- Verney, Greville,
Warwick borough
Peterborough,
Northants
(died 1642). Son and heir of Sir Richard Verney. Educated at Gray's Inn. Sheriff of Warwickshire 1635-6. MP 1614 and 1621.
- Verney, Sir Richard
Warwickshire
(1563-1630). Family gentry. Educated at Gray's Inn. Lived at Compton, Warwickshire. Acquired estates in Herts, Somerset, Cambridgeshire, Leicestershire, Wilts, and Staffs by marrying the Greville heiress. Sheriff of Warwickshire 1590-1 and 1604-6.
- Weyden, John
Hereford city
- Ware, Thomas
Bridgewater, Cheshire
- Vivian, Francis
St. Mawes, Cornwall
(c.1575-1635). Family gentry. Educated at Exeter College Oxford, and the Middle Temple. Lived at Treloarwarren, Cornwall. Sheriff of Cornwall 1617-8. Knight 1618. Captain of St. Mawes Castle 1603-32. MP 1604-11 and 1614.
- Ware, Humphrey
Callington,
Cornwall
- Wallop, Sir Henry
Stockbridge,
Hampshire
(1568-1642). Family gentry. Educated at St. John's College Oxford, and Lincoln's Inn. Lived at Farleigh-Wallop, Hampshire. Knight 1599. A member of the council of the Marches of Wales 1617. Election voided 11 May 1614. MP 1597-8, 1601, 1614, 1621, 1624, 1626, 1628-9, short parliament, and long parliament.

- Walsingham, Sir Thomas
Kent (1568-1630). Family Kentish gentry. Courtier. Chief keeper of the queen's wardrobe, c.1604. MP 1597-8, 1601, 1604-11, 1614, 1621, 1624, and 1625.
- Walsingham, Sir Thomas, jr.
Poole, Dorset (died 1669). Son of Sir Thomas Walsingham. Educated at King's College, Cambridge. Knight 1613. MP 1614, 1621, 1628-9, short parliament, and long parliament.
- Wentworth, Thomas
Oxford city (died 1629). Family gentry. Lived at Thingdon, Northants. Knight 1603. Friend of Sir Richard Weston (MP 1614 and official) and supporter of the court.
- Walter, Sir William
Peterborough,
Northants (died 1633). Family gentry. Lived at Thingdon, Northants. Knight 1603. Friend of Sir Richard Weston (MP 1614 and official) and supporter of the court.
- Warden, John
Hereford city Alderman of Hereford. Mayor 1604-5. MP 1610-1 and 1614.
- Ware, Thomas
Bridgwater, Somerset
- Watson, Thomas
Rye, Cinque Ports Educated at Gray's Inn. Lived at Halstead, Kent. A teller in the exchequer 1605. Knight 1618.
- Weare, Humphrey
Callington,
Cornwall (c.1569-1625). Educated at Exeter College Oxford, and the Inner Temple. Lawyer. Bencher of his inn 1612. MP 1614 and 1624.
- Wentworth, Thomas
Oxford city (c.1573-1629). Family gentry. Lived at Thingdon, Northants. Knight 1603. Friend of Sir Richard Weston (MP 1614 and official) and supporter of the court.
- Wentworth, Thomas
Oxford city (c.1573-1629). Family gentry. Lived at Thingdon, Northants. Knight 1603. Friend of Sir Richard Weston (MP 1614 and official) and supporter of the court.

- Wentworth, Sir Thomas
Yorkshire (1593-1641). Earl of Strafford
1640. Family gentry. Educated
at St. John's College Cambridge,
and the Inner Temple. Lived at
Wentworth-Woodhouse, Yorkshire.
Succeeded father as baronet 1614.
Opposed the court until 1628.
Baron and viscount 1628.
MP 1614, 1621, 1624, 1625, and
1628.
- Wentworth, Thomas
Oxford city (1568?-1628). A son of Peter Went-
worth, the Elizabethan puritan and
parliamentarian. Educated at
University College Oxford, and
Lincoln's Inn. Lawyer. Recorder
of Oxford 1607. Imprisoned after
the addled parliament. MP 1604-11,
1614, 1621, 1624, 1625, 1626, and
1628.
- Weston, Sir Richard
Essex (1577-1635). Family Essex gentry.
Educated at Trinity College Cam-
bridge, and the Middle Temple.
Minor official 1604-21. Pro-
Spanish and pro-Catholic. Privy
councillor 1621. Lord treasurer
and a baron 1628. Earl of Port-
land 1633. MP 1601, 1604-11,
1614, 1621, 1624, 1625, and 1626.
- Wetherid, John
Aldbrough, Yorkshire
- Wharton, Sir Thomas
Westmorland (c.1588-1622). Son and heir of
Lord Wharton. Educated at Caius
College, Cambridge. Lived at
Easby, Yorkshire. Knight 1611.
Died before his father. MP 1614
and 1621.
- Whitby, Edward
Chester city (c.1578-1639). Of a Chester family.
Father mayor 1612-3. Educated at
Brasenose College Oxford, and the
Inner Temple. Recorder of Chester
1613-39. MP 1614, 1621, 1624, 1625,
1626, and 1628-9.

White, Sir Richard
Beerston, Devon

Whitelocke, James
Woodstock,
Oxfordshire

(1570-1632). Son of a London merchant. Educated at Merchant Taylors School, St. John's College, Oxford, and the Middle Temple. Lawyer. Member of the opposition. Friend of Bacon. Chief justice of Chester 1619-24. Judge of the king's bench 1624-32. MP 1610-1, 1614, and 1621.

Whitson, John
Bristol,
Gloucestershire

(1557-1629). Greatest merchant of Bristol. Sheriff of Bristol 1589-90. Common councillor by 1599. Alderman 1600. Mayor 1603-4 and 1615-6. MP 1605-11, 1614, 1621, 1625, and 1626.

Widdrington, Sir Henry
Northumberland

(died 1623). Family Northumberland gentry. His son was created a baron 1643. MP 1604-11, 1614, and 1621.

Wilbraham, Sir Roger
Cheshire

(1553-1616). Educated at St. John's College Cambridge, and Gray's Inn. Lawyer. Solicitor-general of Ireland 1585. A master of requests 1600. Knight 1603. Surveyor of the liveries 1607. MP 1604-11 and 1614.

Wilcock, Robert
Romney, Cinque Ports

Received favours from the king in the autumn of 1614 for his services in parliament.

Williamson, Sir Richard
Richmond, Yorkshire

A master of requests by 1614. Royal steward of Retford, Notts.

Willoughby, Sir Percival
Tamworth,
Staffordshire

(c.1560-1643). Family gentry. Educated at Lincoln's Inn. Lived at Bore Place, Staffordshire. MP 1604-11 and 1614.

- Willoughby, Sir William
Wootton Bassett,
Wiltshire
(living 1623). Family gentry.
Lived at Knoll Odyern, Wilts.
- Wilmot, Sir Charles
Launceston,
Cornwall
(1570?-1644?). Family Oxfordshire
gentry. Educated at Magdalen College,
Oxford. Went to the Irish wars c.1590.
Colonel by 1598. Irish privy coun-
cillor 1607. Marshal of Ireland 1611.
President of Connaught 1616. Irish
viscount 1621.
- Wingfield, William
Lichfield,
Staffordshire
(c.1560-1639). Family gentry.
Friend of the earl of Essex.
MP 1614, 1621, 1624, 1625, 1626,
and 1628-9.
- Winwood, Sir Ralph
Buckingham
borough
(1563-1617). Educated at St. John's
College and Magdalen College, Oxford.
Fellow of Magdalen 1582-1601.
English agent in Holland 1603-13.
Knight 1607. Secretary of state
and a privy councillor 29 March
1614.
- Wogan, John
Pembrokeshire
(1588-1644). Family gentry. Edu-
cated at Jesus College, Oxford.
Lived at Wiston, Pembrokeshire.
Sheriff of Pembrokeshire 1629-30.
MP 1614, 1621, 1625, 1626, 1628-9,
short parliament, and long parlia-
ment.
- Wolverston, Robert
Cardigan borough
Received favours from the king
in the autumn of 1614 for his
services in parliament.
- Wood, John
Bossiney,
Cornwall
Family gentry. Lived at Orchard,
Devon, and Tintagel, Cornwall.
MP 1614 and 1621.
- Woodhouse, Sir William
Aldeburgh,
Suffolk
Family gentry. Lived at Hick-
lyng, Norfolk. Nephew of Sir
Francis Bacon. A dependent of
the earl of Suffolk. Receiving
a pension in 1614.

- Woodward, Thomas
Windsor, Berkshire
Educated at Lincoln's Inn.
MP 1614 and 1624.
- Worsley, Sir Richard
Newport, I.O.W.,
Hampshire
(c.1589-1621). Family gentry.
Educated at Magdalen College,
Oxford. Lived at Appuldurcombe,
Isle of Wight. Baronet 1611.
MP 1614 and 1621.
- Wotton, Sir Henry
Appleby,
Westmorland
(1568-1639). Family Kentish gentry.
Half-brother of Lord Wotton, a privy
councillor 1602-25. Educated at
New College and Queen's College
Oxford, and the Middle Temple.
Secretary to the earl of Essex
1595-1601. Ambassador to Venice
1604-12, 1616-9, and 1621-4.
Provost of Eton 1624-39. MP 1614
and 1625.
- Wray, Sir John
Great Grimsby,
Lincolnshire
(1586-1655). Family gentry.
Father a baronet. Educated at
Sidney College, Cambridge. Lived
at Glentworth, Lincolnshire.
Knight 1612. Member of the oppo-
sition. Supported parliament in
the civil war. MP 1614, 1625,
1628-9, short parliament, and
long parliament.
- Wymarke, Edward
Liverpool, Lancashire, and
Peterborough, Northants, and
Newcastle-under-Lyme,
Staffordshire
(died 1634). Family
gentry. Courtier.
Lived at Luffenham,
Rutland. MP 1597-8,
1601, 1604-11, and
1614.
- Wynd, Sir Robert
Castle Rising, Norfolk
Knight 1603. Lived in
Norfolk.

Wynn, Richard
Carnarvonshire

(c.1588-1649). Family gentry. Lived at Gwydir, Carnarvonshire. Courtier. A dependent of the earl of Suffolk. Groom of the chamber to Prince Charles. Succeeded his father as baronet 1626. MP 1614, 1621, 1624, 1625, short parliament, and long parliament.

Yarwood, Richard
Southwark,
Surrey

Resident of Southwark. Owned the Queen's Head Inn there. Step-father of John Harvard. MP 1614, 1621, 1624, 1625, 1626, and 1628-9.

Yaxley, Sir Robert
Thirsk, Yorkshire

Educated at Lincoln's Inn. Knighted at Dublin by the earl of Essex in 1599.

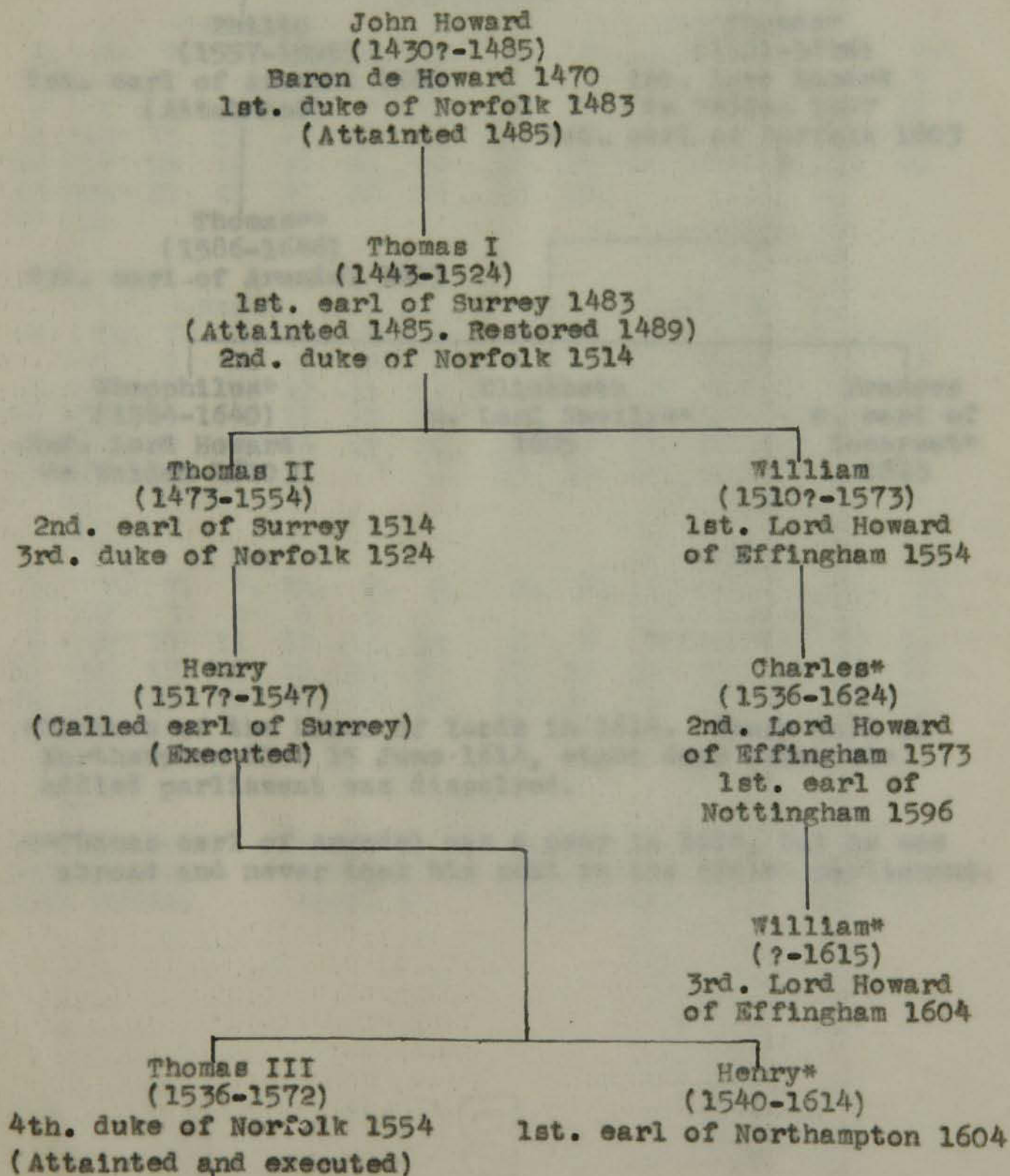
Yelverton, Sir Henry
Northampton
borough

(1566-1629). Father a judge of the king's bench 1602-12. Educated at Christ's College and Peterhouse College Cambridge, and Gray's Inn. Lawyer. Home at Easton Mauduit, Northants. Bencher of his inn 1607. Recorder of Northampton 1603. Solicitor-general 1613-7. Attorney-general 1617-21. Knight 1613. A judge of the court of common pleas 1625-9. MP 1604-11 and 1614.

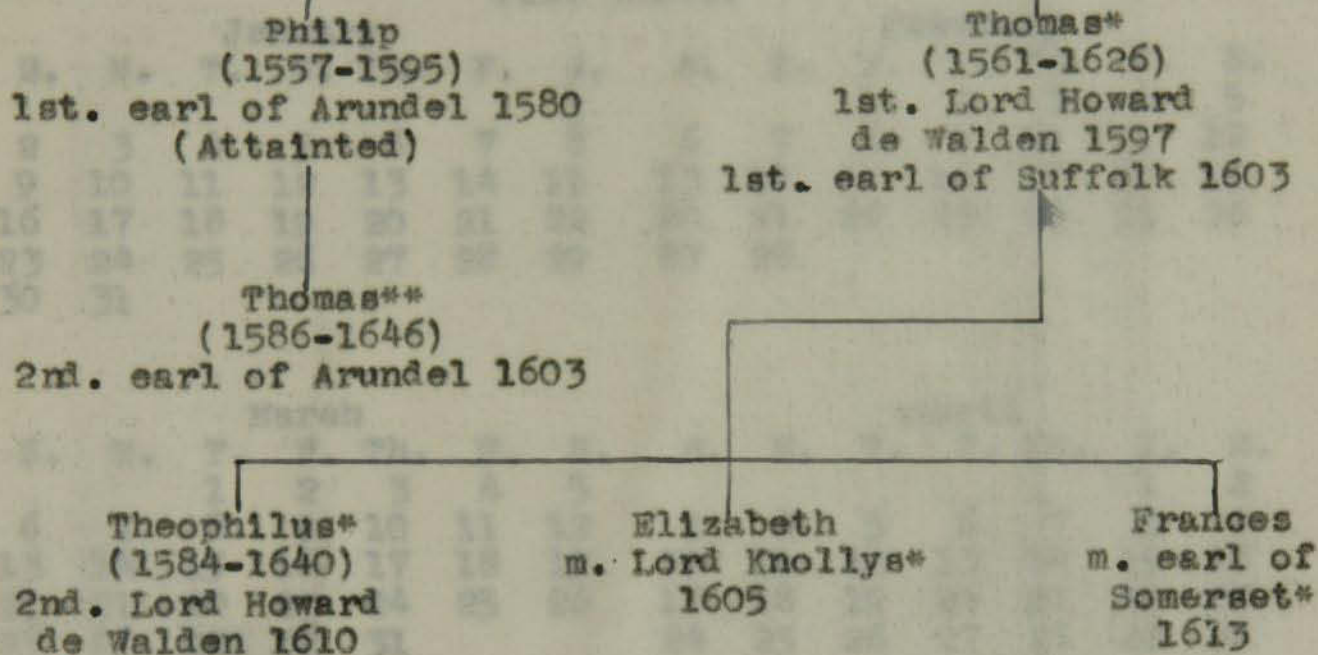
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Appendix VII

Abbreviated Geneology of the Howard Family



(See next page)



*Members of the house of lords in 1614. Henry earl of Northampton died 15 June 1614, eight days after the addled parliament was dissolved.

**Thomas earl of Arundel was a peer in 1614, but he was abroad and never took his seat in the addled parliament.

Appendix VIII

Calendar for January-June 1614
(Old Style)

January							February						
S.	M.	T.	W.	Th.	F.	S.	S.	M.	T.	W.	Th.	F.	S.
						1			1	2	3	4	5
2	3	4	5	6	7	8	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
9	10	11	12	13	14	15	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
16	17	18	19	20	21	22	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
23	24	25	26	27	28	29	27	28					
30	31												

March							April						
S.	M.	T.	W.	Th.	F.	S.	S.	M.	T.	W.	Th.	F.	S.
		1	2	3	4	5						1	2
6	7	8	9	10	11	12	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
13	14	15	16	17	18	19	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
20	21	22	23	24	25	26	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
27	28	29	30	31			24	25	26	27	28	29	30

May							June						
S.	M.	T.	W.	Th.	F.	S.	S.	M.	T.	W.	Th.	F.	S.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7				1	2	3	4
8	9	10	11	12	13	14	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
15	16	17	18	19	20	21	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
22	23	24	25	26	27	28	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
29	30	31					26	27	28	29	30		

Ash Wednesday	March 9	Easter Sunday	April 24
Palm Sunday	April 17	Ascension Day	June 2
Good Friday	April 22	Whitsunday	June 12



