

Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History

POLITICS, SOCIETY AND
CIVIL WAR IN
WARWICKSHIRE,
1620–1660

Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History

Series editors

ANTHONY FLETCHER

Professor of History, University of Durham

JOHN GUY

Reader in British History, University of Bristol

and JOHN MORRILL

Lecturer in History, University of Cambridge, and Fellow and Tutor of Selwyn College

This is a new series of monographs and studies covering many aspects of the history of the British Isles between the late fifteenth century and the early eighteenth century. It will include the work of established scholars and pioneering work by a new generation of scholars. It will include both reviews and revisions of major topics and books which open up new historical terrain or which reveal startling new perspectives on familiar subjects. It is envisaged that all the volumes will set detailed research into broader perspectives and the books are intended for the use of students as well as of their teachers.

Titles in the series

The Common Peace: Participation and the Criminal Law in Seventeenth-Century England

CYNTHIA B. HERRUP

Politics, Society and Civil War in Warwickshire, 1620–1660

ANN HUGHES

London Crowds in the Reign of Charles II: Propaganda and Politics from the Restoration to the Exclusion Crisis

TIM HARRIS

Criticism and Compliment: The Politics of Literature in the Reign of Charles I

KEVIN SHARPE

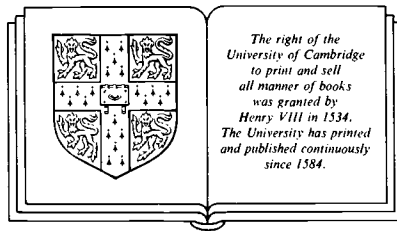
Central Government and the Localities: Hampshire 1649–1689

ANDREW COLEBY

POLITICS, SOCIETY AND
CIVIL WAR IN
WARWICKSHIRE,
1620-1660

ANN HUGHES

Lecturer in History, University of Manchester



CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge

London New York New Rochelle

Melbourne Sydney

PUBLISHED BY THE PRESS SYNDICATE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE
The Pitt Building, Trumpington Street, Cambridge, United Kingdom

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS
The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 2RU, UK
40 West 20th Street, New York NY 10011-4211, USA
477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia
Ruiz de Alarcón 13, 28014 Madrid, Spain
Dock House, The Waterfront, Cape Town 8001, South Africa
<http://www.cambridge.org>

© Cambridge University Press 1987

This book is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception
and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements,
no reproduction of any part may take place without
the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 1987
First paperback edition 2002

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication data

Hughes, Ann.

Politics, society and Civil War in Warwickshire, 1620-1660.
(Cambridge studies in early modern British history).

Bibliography.

Includes index.

1. Great Britain - History - Civil War, 1642-49.
2. Great Britain - Politics and government - 1603-1714.
3. Warwickshire - History. I. Title. II. Series.
DA415.H84 1987 942.4'8062 86-34329

ISBN 0 521 33252 4 hardback
ISBN 0 521 52015 0 paperback

*For my mother and my sister and
in memory of my father*

CONTENTS

<i>List of maps and plan</i>	page viii
<i>List of tables</i>	ix
<i>Preface</i>	xi
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xiii
<i>Abbreviations and notes</i>	xv
1 The social context	I
2 Peers and gentlemen before the Civil War	21
3 Public affairs 1620–1639	51
4 The coming of the Civil War 1639–1642	114
5 Military rule 1642–1649	169
6 Militancy and localism in Warwickshire politics 1643–1649	220
7 The impact of the Civil War	255
8 Politics and religion 1649–1662	291
<i>Appendix 1</i> Local governors 1620–1660	344
<i>Appendix 2</i> Active county committeemen 1643–1647	360
<i>Bibliography of manuscript and printed sources</i>	365
<i>Index</i>	377

MAPS

1	The river Avon and farming regions	<i>page</i>	3
2	Towns, administrative divisions and main roads		19
3	Civil War garrisons		209
4	Parishes claiming contributions to royalist forces		211
5	Parishes whose losses are discussed in the text		261

PLAN

	'Wastage' in Colonel Castle's company 1643-6		201
--	--	--	-----

TABLES

1	'Open villages' by hundred	<i>page</i>	7
2	The origins of the Warwickshire gentry		29
3	The wealth of the Warwickshire gentry		31
4	Marriage connections of 1640 heads of families		39
5	The educational experience of 1640 heads of families		44
6a	Thomas Basnet's receipts and payments 1642-50		185
6b	Receipts from proposition money		185
6c	Money received from sequestrations		186
7a	The Coventry Subcommittee of Accounts		240
7b	The Warwick Subcommittee of Accounts		241
8	Numbers of taxpayers 1628-64		260
9	Civil War losses		262
10	Orders and indictments concerning alehouses 1625-65		287

PREFACE

Many different motives, intellectual and personal, can inspire research and writing on local history.¹ Much work from the sixteenth to the twentieth centuries has been based on an affection for a native area and its people, or on the desire to trace the impact of dramatic 'outside events' such as the Civil War on a particular locality. Since the Second World War, local history has often served as a laboratory in which general historical theories could be tested. The county has been a logical unit for assessing the various theories about the fortunes of landed élites, summed up as the 'gentry controversy'.² Village studies have been used to assess demographic patterns or processes of social and cultural differentiation.³ This present work is influenced, distantly it may sometimes seem, by the approach of Alan Everitt, who developed the concept of the 'county community', and who, like others of the 'Leicester school' of local historians has emphasised the importance of seeing local communities of all types as entities with their own character and integrity, not simply as arenas for 'national events' or collections of manageable sources for the testing of general theories.⁴

In the course of the over-long gestation of this study of Warwickshire, I have become more self-conscious or critical about the use of such phrases as the 'local' or the 'county community'. The complacent use of these

¹ For a cogent recent discussion: Stephen K. Roberts, *Recovery and Restoration in an English County. Devon Local Administration 1646-1670* (Exeter, 1985), Introduction.

² J.T. Cliffe, *The Yorkshire Gentry From the Reformation to the Civil War* (1969); B.G. Blackwood, *The Lancashire Gentry and the Great Rebellion 1640-1660* (Chetham Society, 3rd series, 25, 1978).

³ Margaret Spufford, *Contrasting Communities: English Villagers in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Cambridge, 1974); Keith Wrightson and David Levine, *Poverty and Piety in an English Village: Terling, 1525-1700* (New York, 1979).

⁴ See especially Alan Everitt, *The Community of Kent and the Great Rebellion* (Leicester, 1966); Alan Everitt, *The Local Community and the Great Rebellion* (Historical Association Pamphlet, 1969). Two wide-ranging studies which broadly, although not uncritically, follow Everitt are J.S. Morrill, *Cheshire 1630-1660: County Government and Society during the 'English Revolution'* (Oxford, 1974) and Anthony Fletcher, *A County Community in Peace and War: Sussex 1600-1660* (London, 1975).

terms has too often meant the existence of a community is assumed rather than demonstrated or analysed.⁵ I have tried, therefore, to isolate the various elements – economic, social, religious, administrative and political – which created a variety of overlapping local communities in Warwickshire, involving both the county gentry's relationships with each other, and their relationships with different social groups. 'Communities' are seen not as naturally existing, but as created and developing in specific and concrete ways.

Two further considerations have been important in this work. Firstly, I have examined the links between the county and the national polity from the 1620s to the early 1660s, and in the process I have become sceptical about notions of a sharp contradiction between local and general concerns. In the second place I have, immodestly, undertaken this study in the belief that particular analyses can illuminate general problems. Although I hope something of the specific character of Warwickshire in the first half of the seventeenth century is here revealed, I would not wish to justify another county study on the basis of the unique nature of this particular county. In part, and sometimes over-polemically, I have attempted in my work on Warwickshire to demonstrate how certain ideas about the 'county community' and about relationships between the centre and the localities have been closely linked with a particular interpretation or approach to the origins and nature of the Civil War.⁶ More discursively, and perhaps more subtly I have tried to unravel the complex interactions of social, religious and political developments in the coming, impact and aftermath of the Civil War in Warwickshire. I hope the discussion that follows will contribute in some measure to the general understanding of the political and religious history of England in its social context from the 1620s to the 1660s.

⁵ Cf. Clive Holmes, 'The County Community in Stuart Historiography', *J.B.S.*, vol. 19 (1980); Ann Hughes, 'Warwickshire on the Eve of the Civil War: A "County Community"?'', *Midland History*, vol. 7 (1982).

⁶ Hughes, 'County Community'.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This book began life more years ago than I care to admit as a doctoral thesis. I owe a great debt to my supervisor Dr Brian Quintrell for his meticulous criticism, extensive knowledge of the sources and, above all, for never seeming to doubt that I would finish. During my years of research in London I enjoyed the friendship of many others working on early modern England; I would like to thank in particular Teri Moores, Patricia Croot, Trish Crawford, Stephen Roberts, David Hebb, Rod Martin, Terry Smith and Jacky Levy. I am grateful to Gerald Aylmer, Anthony Fletcher, Clive Holmes, Mark Kishlansky, Peter Lake, John Morrill, Ian Roy and Conrad Russell for comments on all or part of my thesis, and to Christopher Hill for much encouragement and advice. My Special Subject students at Manchester, 1981-5, helped me to clarify and develop my ideas.

I would like to thank the owners of all the private manuscript collections I have consulted and the staff of all the record offices and libraries I have used. I am especially grateful to the archivists at Coventry, Stratford and Warwick for their help over many years. Barbara Medley, with the help of other members of the History Department Office, typed the book with skill, speed and enthusiasm; I thank them very much.

The care and support of many friends who are not seventeenth-century historians has been crucial in enabling me to finish this book. I thank them all, singling out only Les Garner who was there at the beginning, and Karen Hunt who has seen the book completed. During most of the time I was writing this work I lived with John Booker, and Angela, David and Michael Trikic, and I am very grateful for the happy environment they provided.

The dedication records my earliest debts, and my greatest debt is to Richard Cust. Many years ago he revived my flagging interest in seventeenth-century England; ever since he has provided vital encouragement, and a steady stream of useful suggestions and important references.

Our daughter Alice has been a delightful distraction in the later stages of my work on this book.

Ladybarn, July 1986

ANN HUGHES

ABBREVIATIONS AND NOTES

A. and O.:	<i>Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum</i> , C.H. Firth and R.S. Rait, eds., 3 volumes (1911)
A.P.C.:	<i>Acts of the Privy Council of England</i>
B.A.S.T.:	<i>Birmingham Archaeological Society, Transactions</i>
B.I.H.R.:	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research</i>
B.L.:	British Library
B.Ref.Lib.	Birmingham Reference Library
C.C.A.M.:	<i>Calendar of the Committee for Advance of Money</i>
C.C.C.:	<i>Calendar of the Committee for Compounding</i>
C.J.:	<i>Journals of the House of Commons</i>
Cov. C.R.O.:	Coventry City Record Office
C.R.O.:	County Record Office
C.S.P.D.:	<i>Calendar of State Papers, Domestic</i>
C.S.P.V.:	<i>Calendar of State Papers, Venetian</i>
D.N.B.:	<i>Dictionary of National Biography</i>
Dugdale:	William Dugdale, <i>The Antiquities of Warwickshire</i> (1656)
Dugdale (Hamper):	<i>The Life, Diary and Correspondence of Sir William Dugdale</i> , William Hamper, ed. (1827)
Dugdale (Thomas):	William Dugdale, <i>The Antiquities of Warwickshire . . .</i> revised and continued by William Thomas, 2 volumes (1730)
Ec.H.R.:	<i>Economic History Review</i>
E.H.R.:	<i>English Historical Review</i>
F. and D.:	C.H. Firth, assisted by Godfrey Davies, <i>The Regimental History of Cromwell's Army</i> , 2 volumes (1940)
H.J.:	<i>Historical Journal</i>

H.M.C.:	Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, Reports
<i>J.B.S.:</i>	<i>Journal of British Studies</i>
<i>J.M.H.:</i>	<i>Journal of Modern History</i>
Lich.J.R.O.:	Lichfield Joint Record Office
<i>L.J.:</i>	<i>Journals of the House of Lords</i>
P.R.O.:	Public Record Office
Q.S.O.B.:	Warwick County Records volumes I-IV: <i>Quarter Sessions Order Books 1625-1665</i> , S.C. Ratcliff and H.C. Johnson, eds. (Warwick, 1935-8)
S.B.T.:	Shakespeare Birthplace Trust, Stratford-on-Avon, Records Department
<i>T.R.H.S.:</i>	<i>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</i>
V.C.H.:	<i>Victoria County History</i> (for Warwickshire, unless otherwise stated)
W.C.R.O.:	Warwick County Record Office

All dates are given 'old style' except that the year is taken to begin on 1 January.

The place of publication for all printed works cited is London unless stated.

The social context

County boundaries are no guides to social and economic characteristics. Although Warwickshire was a comparatively small county, it was split into several regions which often had more in common with the economies of neighbouring counties than they had with other parts of Warwickshire. This diversity is not simply a matter to be noted as ‘background’ but was an important influence on the social and political character of the county. All sixteenth- and seventeenth-century writers agreed that the county was divided into two distinct parts: the forest region of ‘Arden’, north of the river Avon, and the fielden region to the south. Leland, for example, wrote:

the most part of the shire of Warwick that lieth as Avon river descendeth on the right hand or ripe of it, is in Arden, (for so is the ancient name of that part of the shire); and the ground in Arden is much enclosed, plentiful of grass, but no great plenty of corn.

The other part of Warwickshire that lieth on the left hand or ripe of Avon river, much to the south, is for the most part champion, somewhat barren of wood, but very plentiful of corn.¹

The fielden was an area of mixed farming: barley, wheat and peas were grown, sheep kept and some dairying carried on though not on the same scale as in the north of the county.² To the south-east of this region lay the great sheep pastures on the heavy clay soils of the limestone belt, where the Spencers of Wormleighton and Althorpe in Northamptonshire had their estates. This region continued into the neighbouring county of Northamptonshire.³ Though still largely open field in the mid seventeenth century, this was the part of the county that had undergone the

¹ L. Toulmin Smith, ed., *The Itinerary of John Leland in or about the Years 1535–1543*, vol. 2 (1906–8), 47.

² Joan Thirsk, ‘The Farming Regions of England’ in Thirsk, ed., *The Agrarian History of England and Wales*, vol. 4 (Cambridge, 1967), 91.

³ E.G.R. Taylor, ‘Camden’s England’ in H.C. Darby, ed., *An Historical Geography of England before AD 1800* (Cambridge 1936), 370. For the Spencers: H. Thorpe, ‘The Lord and the Landscape’, *B.A.S.T.*, vol. 80 (1962), 38–77.

depopulating enclosures of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries: in Hodnell and Radbourne a shepherd or two were the only inhabitants remaining.⁴ The south-west of the fielden from the Avon valley south to Edgehill and Oxfordshire was the granary of the county, one of the most fertile parts of England; an area, Camden wrote: 'whose fertile fields of corn and verdant pastures, yield a most delightful prospect'.⁵ The division of the county into two farming regions is thus an oversimplification as was the use of the Avon as the boundary between them (see map 1). The evidence of glebe terriers suggests that the wood-pasture region did not begin immediately north of the Avon: villages like Arrow, Aston Cantlow, and Wootton Wawen between the Avon and the river Arrow to the north remained largely open field mixed farming areas.⁶ Here, in the western Avon valley, agricultural improvement was encouraged and the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries saw much piecemeal enclosure and the consolidation of holdings. Wasperton was enclosed in 1664; Charlecote between 1635 and 1714; the glebe at Hampton Lucy was already in large pieces by the sixteenth century.⁷ In the eastern Avon valley, on the higher country of the east Warwickshire plateau and Dunsmore Heath, the soil was poorer and the region, like the adjacent parts of Leicestershire and Northamptonshire, was given over mainly to sheep farming and grazing. Rugby was thus 'a market town abounding with butchers'.⁸ Enclosure was common here too, and in 1607 had contributed to the violent struggle of the Midlands revolt when some 3,000 villagers from Warwickshire and the two adjacent counties had risen against the decay of tillage, the lack of work and high grain prices. By the mid seventeenth century however, enclosure was carried out mainly by agreement as at Clifton on Dunsmore in 1650 and Frankton in 1656.⁹

⁴ W.C. Tate, 'Enclosure Acts and Awards Relating to Warwickshire', *B.A.S.T.*, vol. 65 (1943-4), 45-104. *V.C.H.*, vol. 6: 198, 114.

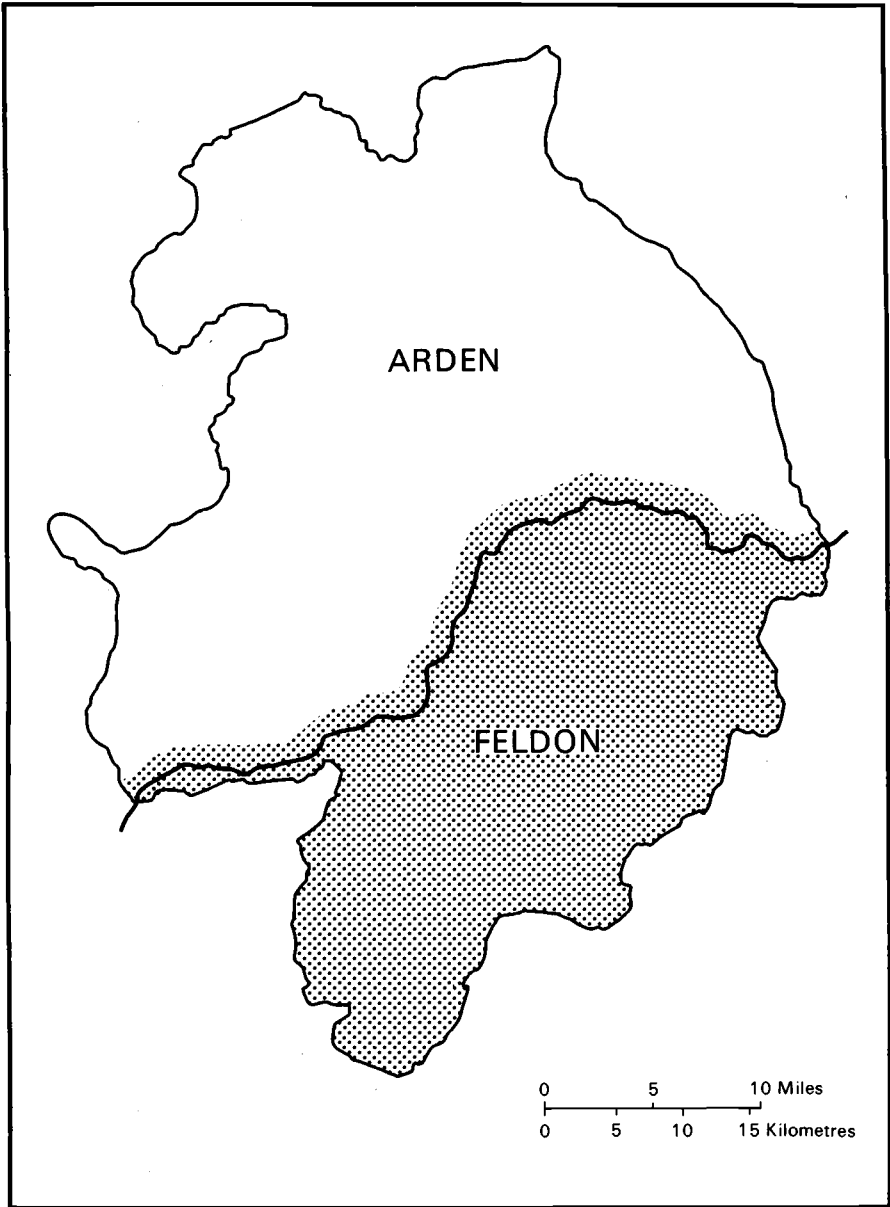
⁵ J.N.L. Barker, 'England in the Seventeenth Century' in H.C. Darby, ed., *Historical Geography*, 403. William Camden, *Britannia*, vol. 1 (1722), 598.

⁶ D.M. Barratt, ed., *Ecclesiastical Terriers of Warwickshire Parishes*, vol. 1 (Dugdale Society, 22, 1955), liii-liv.

⁷ D.M. Barratt, 'The Enclosure of the Manor of Wasperton in 1664', *University of Birmingham Historical Journal*, vol. 3 (1952), 138-52. Barratt, *Ecclesiastical Terriers*, vol. 1: 74-5, 100-1.

⁸ A.W. Macpherson, *Warwickshire* (1946), Part 62 of L. Dudley Stamp, ed., *The Land of Britain: the Report of the Land Utilization Survey of Britain*, 663; Thirsk, 'Enclosing and Engrossing', in Thirsk, ed., *Agrarian History*, 232. Camden, *Britannia*, 601.

⁹ Thirsk, 'Enclosing and Engrossing', 233. E.F. Gay, 'The Midland Revolt and the Inquisitions of Depopulation of 1607', *T.R.H.S.* new series, vol. 18 (1904), 195-244. A. Gooder, *Plague and Enclosure: A Warwickshire Village in the Seventeenth Century* (Coventry and Warwickshire History Pamphlets no. 2, Birmingham, 1965), for Clifton on Dunsmore. *V.C.H.*, vol. 6: 92 (Frankton). Tate, 'Enclosure Acts', 71 gives other examples of enclosure in this area: Bilton, Cosford, Brownsover.



1 The river Avon and farming regions

North of the Avon valley was the area of the old forest of Arden, though by the mid seventeenth century changes in agriculture and the growing iron industry around Birmingham had led to the disappearance of much of the timber. In the early sixteenth century the sandy infertile soil had supported a mainly pastoral economy, but the succeeding century had seen rapid change. The growing demand for food as the population doubled and industrial areas in particular expanded, had stimulated the development of a more complex agriculture. Indeed, Skipp's study of five Arden parishes reveals that agricultural improvement was vital in maintaining a steady population increase up to the mid seventeenth century after a serious 'ecological disequilibrium' in the 1610s when resources were strained by earlier and rapid population growth. Through the use of marling and convertible husbandry rather than merely through extension of the cultivated area, mixed farming developed. The basis of this new agriculture was dairying, although sheep were still kept and an increasing amount of cereals grown.¹⁰ Camden believed that when he wrote the Arden was already self-sufficient in corn; and Walter Blyth, writing in 1649, used his native Arden to illustrate the achievements of a more enterprising agriculture:

why do men give double rents to till and plough above what they do to graze, and if thou art not satisfied, consider but the woodlands who before enclosure, were wont to be relieved by the fielden, with corn of all sorts, And now are grown as gallant corn countries as be in England, as the western parts of Warwickshire and the northern parts of Worcestershire, Staffordshire, Shropshire, Derbyshire, Yorkshire and all the countries thereabouts.¹¹

The diversity of the county's economy was matched by differences in social structure and relationships. In the fielden and the western Avon valley the nucleated village was the typical community; society was close knit, traditional and highly manorialised. The pattern of settlement in the Arden remained that of a forest, slowly cleared and settled by individuals or families rather than by communities. A traditional open-field system had never existed in the Arden: much of the arable land had always been enclosed, and where open fields were present, their pattern was highly irregular. Enclosure continued throughout the seventeenth century, usually undertaken by gentry in co-operation with yeomen and richer husbandmen. Medieval Arden had had more freeholders and lighter labour services than the south of the country and in the sixteenth and

¹⁰ Murray, *General View*, 17–18. Thirsk, *Agrarian History*, 94–6, 211. V.H.T. Skipp, 'Economic and Social Change in the Forest of Arden 1530–1649' in Joan Thirsk, ed., *Land, Church and People: Essays Presented to Professor H.P.R. Finberg* (British Agricultural History Society, Reading, 1970), 84–111; Skipp, *Crisis and Development: An Ecological Case Study of the Forest of Arden 1570–1674* (Cambridge, 1978), 38–54.

¹¹ Camden, *Britannia*, 597. Walter Blyth, *The English Improver* (1649), 72.

seventeenth centuries it remained an area where landholding and wealth were comparatively broadly dispersed and where the moderately wealthy could prosper.¹² Smaller freeholders did as well as richer yeomen and gentry in the era of rising prices and stable rents after 1540; and such men profited also from the industrial developments of the Arden. In the mid seventeenth century the Arden was a broader based society than the south where there were more rich yeomen and gentry: the north had fewer rich but more landless poor amongst its larger population. The century of rising prices and rapid economic change had its social cost in the Arden, bringing increasing polarisation within local society and the creation of a landless proletariat. By the 1660s, 40% of the inhabitants of Skipp's parishes were landless labourers; their numbers are almost equal to the population rise since the 1570s.

Similarly, Martin's analysis of the Hearth Tax reveals higher levels of poverty in the north than in most fielden parishes.¹³ Most of the greater gentry lived in the south of the county, and they occupied the pinnacle of a tightly knit hierarchical society, very different from the more open, mobile society of the Arden. Differences in social relations can be indicated by an analysis of the manorial structure in different parts of the county. Thirsk and Spufford have pointed to the importance of 'open villages' as stimulators of economic change and cradles of religious radicalism.¹⁴ With this in mind, the parishes of Warwickshire have been examined to see how many manors they contained; whether manorial rights had lapsed or were disputed; and whether the lord of the manor was resident (see table 1). Significant differences emerge between the north and south of the county. Thus in the Arden Hundred of Hemlingford only fourteen out of forty-two parishes comprised a single manor with a lord who lived nearby, while several large parishes contained as many as seven or eight manors.¹⁵ The pattern in Knightlow Hundred, in the east and south-east of the county, was similar. Authority here was remote and often divided while the parish church, too, was frequently far away. The result seems to have been a less deferential society to which the social

¹² Thirsk, *Agrarian History*, 88–98; R.H. Hilton, *The Social Structure of Warwickshire in the Middle Ages* (Dugdale Society, Occasional Paper, 1950), 12–26. In 1632 Solihull manor had seventy-five freehold, five copyhold and nine leasehold tenures: Skipp, *Crisis and Development*, 45–6.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 78–82; J.M. Martin, 'The Parliamentary Enclosure Movement and Rural Society in Warwickshire', *Agricultural History Review*, vol. 15 (1967).

¹⁴ Joan Thirsk, 'Seventeenth Century Agriculture and Social Change' in Thirsk, ed., *Land, Church and People*, 148–77; Margaret Spufford, *Contrasting Communities: English Villagers in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Cambridge, 1974), 313. Religious dissent in Cambridge was found typically in large villages, split between several manors.

¹⁵ V.H.T. Skipp and R.R. Hastings, *Discovering Bickenhill* (Birmingham University Department of Extra-Mural Studies, 1963), 8–9: Bickenhill in Hemlingford Hundred included seven manors.

mobility caused by rapid economic change and population growth contributed. The actions of the independent 'middling sort' of the Arden were vitally important in Parliament's taking control of the county in 1642 despite the royalism or neutralism of many of the greater gentry.¹⁶ In contrast, more parishes in Barlichway Hundred, centred on the western Avon valley, and in the mainly fielden Hundred of Kineton were made up of close-knit communities where the leading landowners could more easily exert control. In two-thirds of the parishes of Barlichway, and over half those of Kineton there was a single manor with a resident lord; here people attended the same parish church and the same manorial court along with their neighbours and were in intimate contact with their local leading landowners. In these southern areas too, economic changes had been less profound, leaving a society where traditional landmarks remained more intact.

The population of Warwickshire rose by some 90% between the 1560s and the 1660s, a rise similar to the latest estimates of national trends. In the 1563 Diocesan returns for the county 8,950 families were listed; the households exempt and assessed in the 1664 Hearth Tax numbered 17,100, giving a population estimate for the 1660s of some 80,000.¹⁷ Neither the rise in population nor its distribution was evenly proportioned throughout the county. The Warwickshire figures illustrate Thirsk's conclusion that population rose fastest in 'open village areas with possibilities of industrial employment'. Such open villages were not able to discourage immigration as closed, highly manorialised communities were; the problems of food supply and underemployment consequent on a rising population were a stimulus to a more labour intensive and productive agriculture, and to the development of rural industries.¹⁸ Thus

¹⁶ See chapter 4 below. Areas similar to the Arden in economic and social structure and in political initiative were found in Somerset and in the Durham uplands: David Underdown, *Somerset in the Civil War and Interregnum* (Newton Abbot, 1973), 116–17; M. James, *Family, Lineage and Civil Society: A Study of Society, Politics and Mentality in the Durham Region 1500–1640* (Oxford, 1974), 128. See Underdown, *Revel, Riot and Rebellion: Popular Politics and Culture in England 1603–1660* (Oxford, 1985) for a full discussion, based on the west country, of regional contrasts in environment, culture and politics.

¹⁷ 1563 figures are from B.L. Harl. MS 594 (Diocese of Coventry and Lichfield); Harl. MS 595 (Diocese of Worcester); 1664 Hearth Tax: P.R.O. E179/259/10. In some parts of Warwickshire, particularly in Hemlingford and Knightlow Hundreds, Hearth Tax returns show considerable under-registration compared with later figures and so 1670 returns have been preferred in some cases (taken from *Hearth Tax Returns* vol. 1, M. Walker, ed. (Warwick County Records, Warwick 1957), table 5. A multiplier of 4.75 has been used to calculate population. National figures are from Keith Wrightson, *English Society 1580–1680* (London, 1982), 122–3. A fuller discussion of Warwickshire's population can be found in appendix 1 of my doctoral thesis, 'Politics, Society and Civil War in Warwickshire 1620–1650' (Ph.D. thesis, University of Liverpool, 1980), 457–66. This appendix is the source of the detailed figures here.

¹⁸ Joan Thirsk, 'Industries in the Countryside' in F.J. Fisher, ed., *Essays in the Economic and Social History of Tudor and Stuart England in Honour of R.H. Tawney* (Cambridge, 1961); 'Agriculture and Social Change', 156–7.

Table 1 'Open villages' by hundred^a

Hundred	Total parishes	With 2 ^b manors	Parishes with 3 manors	With 4+ manors	Other open parishes: where manorial rights had been sold to freeholders; were disputed; or where the lord was not resident ^c
Barlichway	39	7(2)	4	2 ^d	1
Hemlingford	42	7(1)	7(1)	9	5
Kineton ^e	52	12(3)	4(1)	2	5
Knightlow	59	18(4)	8	7(2)	4

^a The information is taken from *V.C.H.* vols. 3–6; Dugdale, *Warwickshire* (1656) *passim*.

^b The figures in brackets refer to parishes where manorial rights had also been sold or were disputed, or which had a non-resident lord.

^c Where the lord of the manor lived in a neighbouring parish he is not counted as non-resident, so these are minimum figures. This column does not include parishes already contained in the previous categories.

^d These parishes are that of Wootton Wawen on the fringe of the Arden, and the urban parish of Stratford-on-Avon.

^e Kineton Hundred included three detached 'Arden' parishes: Lapworth, Tanworth and Packwood. They were all open.

in Hemlingford Hundred the population had risen by an average 125%, and by at least 140% in the industrial areas around Birmingham; in the 1670s the hundred supported 32.8 households, every 1,000 acres, making the old forest area the most densely populated part of the county. This picture is somewhat distorted by the heavily settled 'Black Country', for places like Shuttington and Newton Regis in the north-east supported many fewer families. The population of the mainly fielden Kineton Hundred, excluding Warwick borough, had risen by almost as much (121%) presumably because of the high productivity of its agriculture; but it was much less densely populated with 20.2 households per 1,000 acres, though its Arden parishes of Lapworth, Tanworth and Packwood all had a density of more than 30. The population of Barlichway Hundred had risen by only 77% but this highly efficient farming region had a population density of nearly 26 families per 1,000 acres. Knightlow Hundred contained the greatest variety of population distribution: from the two families per 1,000 acres in the sheep pastures of Radburn, Watergall and Hodnell to 136 in the coal-mining parish of Bedworth.¹⁹

The population rise in the north of the county had encouraged the move away from a pastoral economy to one based on dairying and arable farming, which produced more food and employed more labour. Equally, the expansion of industry in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was both a response to the population rise and a contribution to the scale of that rise. Again the major developments took place in the north of the county where the necessary raw materials – coal and wood – were available; and the more open society encouraged immigration and gave room for enterprise to flourish.²⁰ By the early seventeenth century Birmingham was already the thriving marketing and credit centre of the Black Country covering southern Staffordshire, northern Worcestershire and north-western Warwickshire. This was one of the most prosperous iron smelting areas of the country, and Birmingham was, said Camden, 'swarming with inhabitants and echoing with the noise of anvils (for here are great numbers of smiths)', and Rowland's research indicates that in the 1650s over 60% of Birmingham's inhabitants were involved in trade, mainly in the metal-work industries.²¹ By the late seventeenth century, with a population between 7,000 and 8,000, Birmingham was one of the larger urban areas in England whereas its population in the early

¹⁹ The population of Knightlow Hundred had risen by 72.3% (1563–1664) or by 88% on 1670 figures. ²⁰ Thirsk, 'Agriculture and Social Change', 167, 171.

²¹ W.H.B. Court, *The Rise of the Midland Industries 1600–1838* (1953), 133–40. Camden, *Britannia*, 609. Marie Rowlands, *Masters and Men: The West Midlands Metalware Trade Before the Industrial Revolution* (Manchester, 1975), 20, 1, 88; research based on probate inventories. Leland wrote in the early sixteenth century, 'a great part of the town is maintained by smiths': Leland, *Itinerary*, vol. 2: 97.

sixteenth century had been no more than 1,500. Its population in the mid seventeenth century was probably about 5,000. Nailmaking and cutlery were the main Birmingham trades, the work being done under the putting-out system, often on a part-time basis, but the organisation of the trades was coming increasingly into the hands of commercial capitalists who dominated marketing, and the great ironmongers who controlled the production of raw materials. Technological innovation facilitated such developments; the blast furnace was introduced in the Black Country in the second half of the sixteenth century; and from the 1620s the slitting mill, using water power to produce narrow rods of iron from bar iron, caused a dramatic rise in productivity in the nail-making industry, increasing capital investment and the number of large scale concerns.²²

The Birmingham area thus underwent a great transformation in this period: new industrial methods and a greatly increased and mobile population produced a society very different from the more traditional rural areas. The local gentry, apart from leasing their land for mills, were not greatly involved in the iron industry; more typical were men who had made their own way in the world like John Jennens, the greatest of the Birmingham ironmongers and his brother Ambrose who marketed his product in London.²³ Birmingham had no resident lord of the manor from 1530 on, and in this relatively free society enterprising men found opportunities to make their fortunes in new ways and social relationships became increasingly based on commercial ties rather than deference and paternalism. This area, to contemporaries, was one where traditional loyalties seemed weaker. Birmingham's Puritan lectureship in the 1630s attracted listeners from the adjacent counties such as the future Presbyterian Thomas Hall of Kings Norton, Worcestershire, who regarded it as a formative experience in his life. In 1642 the royalist William Dugdale described the inhabitants as 'sectaries and schismatics' and saw their actions as vital in securing the county for Parliament.²⁴ Birmingham also had contacts much wider than the immediate local area: although much Black Country production was sold in the surrounding counties, Birmingham ironwares were sold as far afield as East Anglia by

²² D.C. Coleman, *Industry in Tudor and Stuart England* (Studies in Economic and Social History, edited for the Economic History Society by M.W. Flinn, 1975), 33; Rowlands, *Masters and Men*, 153-4; Court, *The Rise of the Midland Industries*, 72-3, 83, 101, 107. The slitting mill was first introduced by Richard Foley in his Stourbridge, Worcestershire, works: R.H. Pelham, 'The Growth of Settlement and Industry c 1100-1700' in M.J. Wise, ed., *Birmingham and its Regional Setting: A Scientific Survey* (British Association, Birmingham, 1950), 154.

²³ Rowlands, *Masters and Men*, 12. V.C.H., vol. 8: 83.

²⁴ Pelham, 'The Growth of Settlement and Industry', 152; R. Moore, *A Pearl in an Oyster Shell* (1675), (Hall's funeral sermon), 75. *Dugdale* (Hamper), 17. See also chapter 4 below.

the sixteenth century; and by the early seventeenth century the London Company of Ironmongers was casting uneasy glances at its Birmingham competitors.²⁵

The county's other main industrial area also lay north of the Avon; the east Warwickshire coalfield stretching from Wyken on the outskirts of Coventry, north to Chilvers Coton on the outskirts of Nuneaton. Warwickshire coal, like Birmingham ironware, had a more than local market, despite the lack of water transport until the Avon was made navigable in the late seventeenth century. In 1631 the 'undertakers' of one of the main pits, at Bedworth, claimed: 'The greatest part of the counties of Warwick, Leicester, Northampton and Oxford have for many years past and still are furnished with coals from Bedworth.'²⁶ They gave employment they said to 120 men, on whom nearly 1,000 people depended; and indeed, in the 1660s, the coal industry made Bedworth a crowded and poor parish: in 1664 it included 294 households of whom 242 were too poor to pay the Hearth Tax.²⁷ Coal mining attracted only the adventurous for the risks, both physical and financial, and the technical problems were enormous. Such were two 'not quite' gentlemen, John Buggs of Bedworth and Thomas Robinson of London and Bedworth, who, together with William Rolfe of the Inner Temple leased mines in Griffie and Bedworth from the early 1620s.²⁸ Their attempts to make profits led to great conflicts with their neighbours and little apparent success. Frequently in the 1620s and 1630s the lessees of the adjoining mines (belonging to Coventry Corporation) complained to the Privy Council that Buggs and Robinson were flooding their pits with the water courses driven to drain the Bedworth mines, forcing the colliers: 'for haste and safeguard of their lives, some of them to climb the shaft and leave some of their clothes behind'.²⁹

Drainage was a perennial problem of seventeenth-century mining and it is probable that, as the Privy Council believed, disputes over flooding, like others over rights of way, were caused mainly by the proximity of the various mining concerns.³⁰ Other accusations made by the lessees of Coventry's mines do indicate the competitive spirit engendered by risky

²⁵ Rowlands, *Masters and Men*, 8, 11, 93-5.

²⁶ P.R.O. SP16/204/83. Similar claims were made about the market for coal from the Newdigate manor of Griffie in 1657: W.C.R.O. CR136/C3774. Most sales went to the local Coventry-Nuneaton area, see A.W.A. White, *Men and Mining in Warwickshire* (Coventry and North Warwickshire History Pamphlets no. 7, 1970), 6. ²⁷ SP16/204/83; E179/259/10.

²⁸ W.C.R.O. CR136/C866. A.P.C. 1621-3, 348.

²⁹ SP16/204/82 December 1631: report by the Warwickshire and Coventry J.P.s appointed by the Privy Council to examine the dispute.

³⁰ Examples of conflict over rights of way: A.P.C. *July 1628-April 1629*, no. 118 (August 1628); A.P.C. *May 1629-May 1630*, 288-9 (February 1630).

mining operations: the leases of the Coventry mines included an obligation to sell coal cheaply in the city and this caused resentment at the higher prices Buggs and Robinson were able to charge.³¹ The lease of the Newdigate mines by Buggs and Robinson was seen as an attempt by them to buy up competitors; while the Earl of Dover accused them of 'enticing and inveigling' away his workmen.³²

The 'middling sort' like Buggs and Robinson were not necessarily typical of those attracted to coal mining: Coventry merchants like Matthew Collins, local gentlemen like Edward Stratford of Nuneaton, Richard Chamberlain of Chilvers Coton and the Newdigates of Arbury were also involved; and, amongst the outsiders who leased the Coventry coal mines in the pre-Civil War period were the Earl of Dover, Sir Endymion Porter, Richard Knightley and John Pym.³³ One thing, at least, that they had in common was that they ran, as Edward Stratford said, 'a great hazard of ruin',³⁴ and such information as is available suggests that profits were rare and losses great. Within three and a half years of taking up the lease, the Earl of Dover was 18 months in arrears with his rent and his coal was seized by the corporation.³⁵ His successors, Knightley and Isaac Bromwich, complained in turn to the mayor of Coventry in November 1640: 'we are compelled to run upon two desperate conclusions either proceed at a vast charge and hazard, or else to give over and lose all'. Knightley's heir was very relieved when someone was found to take over the lease in 1646, claiming losses of £10,000 in the undertaking.³⁶ Even Thomas Robinson, perhaps the most determined and enterprising 'adventurer' in the Warwickshire coalfield, seems to have failed to recoup his investment: by 1640 he had been reduced to working as a manager for Edward Stratford, presumably because he could no longer finance an independent undertaking. Six months' accounts for Serjeant at Law, Richard Newdigate's pits in 1657 show a net profit of almost £50 for an outlay of £145, but it seems that these charges do not include initial costs like drainage and, as Newdigate was mining his own

³¹ The agreements with Matthew Collins and other Coventry merchants in 1622, with the Earl of Dover in 1635, and with Isaac Bromwich, Richard Knightley and John Pym in 1639 all included such an obligation: Cov. C.R.O. A14a (Council Minute Book) ff.248r, 338r, 362r. For conflict caused by this see SP14/133/67-8 (1622), SP16/204/83 (1631).

³² SP14/133/67-8; PC2/49/355 (July 1638).

³³ Collins *et al.*: Cov. C.R.O. A14a f.248r; Chamberlain and John Newdigate: P.R.O. PC2/42/84 (1630); Richard Newdigate: W.C.R.O. CR440/26 (1650s); Edward Stratford: J.U. Nef, *The Rise of the British Coal Industry*, 2 vols. (1932), vol. 1: 442 (1640); W.C.R.O. CR440/25 (1650s); Dover and Porter: Cov. C.R.O. A14a f.338r (1635); Pym and Knightley: *ibid.* f.362r (1639).

³⁴ Nef, *The Rise of the British Coal Industry*, vol. 2: 67, quoting a remark made in Chancery case, 1641. ³⁵ Cov. C.R.O., A14a, f.356r, August 1638.

³⁶ Cov. C.R.O. A79 (letters), P204, P210A.

land, he did not, of course, have the rent charges of the other projectors.³⁷ The massive population growth in this area, the number of families in Bedworth itself increasing more than tenfold between 1563 and 1664 suggests that the coal industry expanded dramatically in spite of the risks involved. Like the Black Country, the coal parishes presented a discordant contrast to the more settled agricultural villages of the county. A great number of poor labourers, many of them recent immigrants or temporary settlers away from their families worked at a novel and risky occupation.³⁸ Their employers, too, were often newcomers or strangers, and were driven by technological problems and the desire to make profits towards attitudes and actions more sharply competitive than those generally considered acceptable.³⁹

Despite the expansion of Birmingham and its own decline since the fifteenth century, the city of Coventry remained the largest manufacturing and commercial centre in the county. At the start of the sixteenth century Coventry had been one of the major regional centres of England, ranked fourth amongst provincial cities in the subsidies of 1523–7. In the 1520s, however, it had been hit by changes in the location, techniques and fashion of the woollen industry; and as Leland said: ‘the town rose by the making of cloths and caps that now decaying the glory of the city decayeth’.⁴⁰ In 1635 the corporation, petitioning the Privy Council for an abatement in its ship money assessment, complained of: ‘The great decay of trading in that city, visibly appearing as well by the number of shops there shut up as of houses untenanted, and the ruin of many houses.’⁴¹ Although the corporation was obviously concerned here to maximise its plight, the relative decline in Coventry’s prosperity is generally accepted. It was not until the end of the sixteenth century that Coventry recovered its population level of the 1510s, and the population was again stagnating at around 7,000 in the seventeenth century. In contrast to the 1520s Coventry ranked only eighteenth amongst provincial cities in the number of hearths on which it was assessed in 1662.⁴²

The early seventeenth century saw frequent outbursts of social unrest in the city, probably because of its economic difficulties and the

³⁷ Nef, *The Rise of the British Coal Industry*, vol. 2: 422; W.C.R.O. CR440/26.

³⁸ In 1631 Buggs and Robinson claimed to the Privy Council that their pits provided work for the settled inhabitants of Bedworth whereas workmen at other pits ‘have no families except in other countries whither they may again return’ (P.R.O. SP16/204/83).

³⁹ Cf. coal mining in Durham: James, *Family, Lineage and Civil Society*, 91–6.

⁴⁰ W.G. Hoskins, *Local History in England* (1959), 176; Peter Clark and Paul Slack, eds., *Crisis and Order in English Towns* (1972), 10–11; E.G.R. Taylor ‘Leland’s England’ in Darby, ed., *Historical Geography*, 330–53. Leland, *Itinerary*, vol. 2: 108.

⁴¹ Cov. C.R.O. A35, ‘This Booke touching Ship Money’, no pagination.

⁴² Hoskins, *Local History in England*, 177.

increasing domination of the city by a narrow oligarchy of aldermen and members of the First Council. In many English towns in this period access to political power became much harder, often in response to social and economic problems: power became concentrated in the hands of the most important guilds – close restrictions were put on entry into craft companies; corporation governing bodies became self-selecting.⁴³ In Coventry members of the Drapers, Mercers and Dyers Companies tended to monopolise power: seventeen out of twenty-three mayors of Coventry between 1620 and 1642 came from these groups. Under the 1621 Charter the First Council of the city recruited itself and this seemed to have strengthened an existing tendency towards the development of urban dynasties. The First Council was to consist of no more than thirty-one members, but in practice it usually numbered about fifteen, ten of whom were aldermen; and it was made up to thirty-one only to elect officers of the corporation. The second or Common Council of twenty-five was supposed to advise on matters referred to it by the First Council, but it never operated in this way. It seems to have served instead as an honorific stepping-stone towards membership of the First Council, especially for younger members of prominent families. A small interrelated group of families had several members as officers of the corporation, and sons tended to follow fathers on to the Common and First Councils, and as mayors and aldermen. John Barker, a draper, entered the First Council in April 1632 and became alderman of Jordanwell ward in November 1635, the year after he had been mayor. His father, also an alderman, had died in December 1634 and the younger Barker filled the first vacancy amongst the aldermen after the replacement of his father. Samson Hopkins and Christopher Davenport, admitted to the Council House in June 1639, were both the sons of former mayors and aldermen, and Hopkins' father had also been M.P. for the city in 1621.⁴⁴

The will of William Jesson, an extremely wealthy dyer, reveals the cohesion amongst the leading Coventry families. Jesson was admitted to the council in 1629, Mayor in 1631, an alderman from 1634 and one of the city's M.P.s in the Long Parliament. His will included bequests to his

⁴³ Clark and Slack, eds., *Crisis and Order in English Towns*, 16, 21–2.

⁴⁴ Frederick Smith, *Coventry: Six Hundred Years of Municipal Life* (Coventry, 1945), 88–91; A.A. Dibben, *Coventry City Charters* (Coventry City Papers, 2, 1969). The material on leading Coventry families is based on the Council Minute Book 1630–42: Cov. C.R.O. A14a; lists of Common Councillors ff. 340r (1636), 370v (1640); membership of the First Council ff. 343v (1636), 359v (1639). For Barker see ff. 311v, 328r, 333v, for Hopkins and Davenport f. 361r. There is a list of mayors in Benjamin Poole, *Coventry, Its History and Antiquities* (1870), 372. Developments in Coventry are broadly similar to those in Gloucester: Peter Clark, “‘The Ramoth-Gilead of the Good’: Urban Change and Political Radicalism at Gloucester 1540–1640” in Clark, A.G.R. Smith and N. Tyacke, eds., *The English Commonwealth 1547–1640: Essays in Politics and Society Presented to Joel Hurstfield* (Leicester, 1979), especially 177–8.

'cousins' Thomas Norton and Henry Smith, and his kinswomen Joan Snell and Sarah Rogerson, all members of aldermanic families; and to his 'cousin' Humphrey Burton, Coventry's town clerk. His daughter had married Richard Hopkins, another son of the 1621 M.P. and his sister had married into the same family. Jesson's younger brother Richard was also prominent in the corporation: a member of the Common Council in the 1630s and the First Council by the 1640s, while another brother Thomas, who made a fortune in London, left £2,000 to his native city on his death in 1634.⁴⁵

In any conflict in the city, those whose interests differed from those of the small ruling group found it very difficult to obtain satisfaction of their grievances. Divisions within the contracting clothing industry, particularly frequent during the depression of the 1620s, provide illustration. Several times in these years the weavers, spinners and fullers of Coventry petitioned the Privy Council against the import of Gloucestershire cloth into Coventry for finishing.⁴⁶ Such imports were an acute threat to their livelihood and they wanted a ban, or at least a strict limitation, on the introduction of cloth from outside. The powerful drapers and dyers were more interested in the finishing and sale of cloth than in its production, and it seems that through their influence on the corporation they were able quietly to ignore the Privy Council's attempts to impose a compromise. In April 1629 the weavers and clothiers complained that an order of the Privy Council was not being enforced because of the opposition of the mayor and the city magistrates who were 'chiefly interested' in the matter.⁴⁷

The other main flashpoint between the oligarchy and the 'commonalty' of Coventry before the Civil War was the use of the city's lands. The belief that the lands were being used for the private gain of members of the corporation rather than for the benefit of the city as a whole was behind the frequent popular assaults on the city commons which usually involved the breaking down of hedges. The City Annals record several such outbreaks from 1606 onwards such as that of 1639 when: 'The Barn Field and Herbert Quarry broke open on Lammas Day for which five persons were put in prison, but on the night 400 persons came with crows of iron to break down the gaol upon which they were released.'⁴⁸

⁴⁵ P.R.O. Prob 11/219 f.215 (will made in 1650); Cov. C.R.O. A14a ff.295v, 323v; Smith, *Coventry*, 81.

⁴⁶ For example June 1622: SP14/131/80-1, *A.P.C. July 1621-May 1623*, 265; November 1627: SP16/66/3, SP16/527/97, *A.P.C. September 1627-June 1628*, 152-3; 1628-1629: *A.P.C. July 1628-April 1629*, 80, 399. ⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 399.

⁴⁸ Cov. C.R.O. A48 (Annals) f.41r. For similar incidents: *ibid.*, f.33v-34r (c. 1607), and f.39v (1628). In connection with the 1639 conflict a petition was sent to the Privy Council from the poor freemen of

In 1632 the First Council declared all acts of the Leet Court reflecting on the privileges of the corporation 'utterly repealed and void' and forbade the leet to meddle again with the letting of the town lands.⁴⁹ It seems that there was some truth in the allegations made against the corporation. Many of the leases noted in the Council Minute Book in the 1630s were to members of the council or their families: William and Richard Jesson each leased two city properties between 1634 and 1639; John Barker was granted a 21-year lease of Stoke farm in 1636 for £4 p.a. and a fine of £40; the previous rent had been £10 p.a.⁵⁰

It is thus not surprising that concern for social order and attempts to make provision for the poor are frequently found amongst the council's business. In 1625 inspectors were ordered to examine the city's alehouses to check on the behaviour of the 'poor and disorderlier sort of people' whose attendance there was: 'a means not only of the prophanation of the name of God and of his Sabbath but a consumption of their means to the great burden of this City'. A month later a committee of six of the council was appointed to 'take into consideration of the state of the poor of the City and how they may be provided'.⁵¹

Despite economic decline and social conflict, Coventry remained a proud, important urban centre. The Warwickshire sheriff during the 1635 ship-money conflict spoke of its: 'great trading, the benefit of travellers, the City being a great thorough fare town'; and Coventry was in fact the road centre of the Midlands. It lay on the main route from London to Chester and North Wales, as well as having major roads running south-west to Gloucester, south to Banbury and Oxford, east to Leicester and south-east to Northampton.⁵² The expansion of the coal industry stimulated Coventry's trade: grain and wool were brought to the city from areas like Oxfordshire and Northamptonshire while coal and cloth were brought back in return. The city also had a well known cattle market.⁵³

Coventry thus remained sufficiently prosperous to foster a proud élite

Coventry requesting that the city lands be used as common pasture, as had been customary, rather than be ploughed up and used for private advantage: SP16/475/70. This issue was exploited by two 'outsider' gentry candidates in the 1628 election and helped them defeat the corporation's nominees; see below chapter 3. See also Derek Hirst, *The Representative of the People? Voters and Voting in England under the Early Stuarts* (Cambridge, 1975), 46–7 for tension over the town lands in Coventry and other towns. ⁴⁹ Cov. C.R.O. A14a f.312r.

⁵⁰ Cov. C.R.O. A14a *passim*; and for Richard Jesson ff.346v, 350v; William Jesson ff.326r, 358r; Barker f.338r. ⁵¹ *Ibid*, ff.278v, 279r.

⁵² Cov. C.R.O. A35; J.N.L. Baker, 'England in the Seventeenth Century' in Darby, *Historical Geography*, 427; John Ogilby, *Brittannia* (1675), preface map of principal roads, 43, 121, 139, 163–4.

⁵³ White, *Mining and Men*, 8. A. Everitt, 'The Marketing of Agricultural Produce' in Thirsk, ed., *Agrarian History*, 492, 534.

who were probably all the keener to emphasise their status in a period of economic difficulty when they were under attack from their social inferiors. The leading merchants, often the second or third generation of a ruling Coventry family, had a strong sense of corporate solidarity and were especially conscious of Coventry's administrative identity as a separate county from Warwickshire. This legal separation, which had been granted in 1451, was reinforced by the relative lack of social contacts between Warwickshire gentlemen and Coventry merchants. The county gentry borrowed money from Coventry men, but they rarely married their daughters, and although they visited its markets, the city was not a social centre for them. Only one important gentry family had a permanent residence within the city – the Hales of White Friars – and John Hales esq. was not active in Warwickshire affairs until the Civil War; and apart from acting as a subsidy commissioner and, briefly, as captain of Coventry's Artillery Company did not play an active part in the life of the city.⁵⁴

In Coventry, therefore, traditional political issues were blurred by the consistent opposition of the Coventry élite towards any attempts by outsiders to gain control of their city and county, particularly if these outsiders came from the county of Warwick. Coventry's Members of Parliament from 1621 to the Long Parliament were from leading city families except in the special circumstances of 1628, and in 1624 and 1625 when their recorder, Sir Edward Coke, was chosen.⁵⁵ One major source of the trouble over the first ship-money payment in 1635 was the fact that the assessment was to be carried out by the sheriff of Warwickshire. Even when the rating dispute was resolved Coventry sent its share directly to London rather than to Sir Greville Verney, the sheriff of Warwickshire.⁵⁶ In 1639 opposition to the government's military demands merged with the city's sense of an identity separate from Warwickshire: they informed the lord lieutenant, the Earl of Northampton, that they had not contributed to a levy of troops because: 'in his Majesty's letter for raising of those 230 men, it is expressly required that they should be levied in the county of Warwick, so as those letters extended not (as is conceived) unto the County of the City of Coventry'.⁵⁷ Civic pride emerges clearly again in William Jesson's similar explanation to Northampton of his failure to pay coat and conduct money for his Coventry lands although he had paid it in Warwickshire and Northamptonshire:

⁵⁴ P.R.O. E179/194/315. Cov. C.R.O. A79, P.136.

⁵⁵ *Return of Members of Parliament*. Part One 1213–1702 (1878).

⁵⁶ Cov. C.R.O. A35. January 1636.

⁵⁷ Cov. C.R.O. A79, P.185, 5 June 1639.

being a member of the City of Coventry sworn to maintain the Customs, liberties, Franchises and privileges of the same, and Coventry being a distinct City and County in itself and so held and reputed, and divided by marks and bounds from the County of Warwick and no part or parcel of the said county of Warwickshire there being no charge from the King's Majesty neither from the Honorable Board jointly or distinctly that we yet ever have seen is the cause why myself and brothers do refuse the payment, not yet understanding whether it be his Majesty's pleasure to spare, or charge us of the City of Coventry.⁵⁸

Until the county committee made its headquarters there in the Civil War, Coventry thus remained aloof from the general life of Warwickshire, although it was the county's major commercial and industrial centre. Warwick, the county town, was the administrative centre, where Quarter Sessions and assizes were always held; and, unlike Coventry, it was greatly influenced by, or, as its corporation believed, preyed upon by the local gentry. Its road communications were much poorer than Coventry's: although there were reasonably good roads from Warwick to Coventry and south-west to Stratford, the way north-west to Birmingham was much poorer. Thus it was mainly gentry from the south-west of the county, and the area between Warwick, Coventry and Stratford who saw it as a natural centre. There was thus no single town in Warwickshire that was sufficiently large, conveniently placed, and all embracing in its functions to provide a focus for the whole county.⁵⁹

Warwick's population in the mid seventeenth century was about 3,000, having doubled over the previous century, but it remained half that of Coventry. By the 1660s over half its population was involved in trade or industry: the mercers were the most powerful trading group and tanners the largest craft. It was an important centre for the local corn trade, and had a horse fair that attracted visitors from adjacent counties. However, Warwick's corporation was frequently in debt and the town had a high proportion of poor to provide for; it was heavily dependent for its continuing prosperity on its position as the legal and administrative centre of the county. Hence Warwick townsmen could not afford to alienate the local gentry and their relationship with them contrasted sharply with the attitude of Coventry.⁶⁰ A townsman, John Townsend,

⁵⁸ SP16/459/99: 2 c. June 1640. For further discussion of pre-Civil War conflicts between city and county, see chapter 3. Coventry's hostility towards outsiders persisted after 1642 with antagonism between the corporation and the county committee – see below chapter 7. Again there are parallels with Gloucester: Clark 'The Ramoth-Gilead of the Good', 180–4.

⁵⁹ Ogilby, *Britannia*, plan opposite p. 139. Cf. Alan Dyer, 'Warwickshire Towns under the Tudors and Stuarts', *Warwickshire History*, vol. 3 (1976/7), 122–34, especially 122.

⁶⁰ Philip Styles, 'The Social Structure of Kineton Hundred in the Reign of Charles II', *B.A.S.T.*, vol. 78 (1962), 96–117, especially 100. A. Dyer, 'Warwickshire Towns', 124, 131. *V.C.H.*, vol. 8: 504–6. For corporation indebtedness see W.C.R.O. CR1618/W21/6, 'The Remonstrance', 259. For poverty: the Hearth Tax returns of 1670 listed 238 poor households out of a total of 611.

was returned as borough M.P. in 1614 but thereafter until the nineteenth century the gentry monopolised the parliamentary seats, with the Grevilles, Lords Brooke of Warwick Castle, the Lucys of Charlecote and the Puckerings of the Priory, Warwick, the most frequent contenders.⁶¹

It was usually the corporation that came off worse when the local gentry quarrelled about the spoils to be obtained at Warwick. In the early seventeenth century the corporation was troubled by several legal proceedings against their administration of the town lands, and in his 'Remonstrance' written in the 1640s, the town clerk, Edward Rainsford, attributed these troubles to the machinations of disgruntled gentry. A 1615 Chancery case was blamed on Sir Thomas Leigh of Stoneleigh who had been passed over for recorder in favour of Sir Fulke Greville, later the first Lord Brooke. Leigh had a powerful kinsman and ally in Lord Chancellor Egerton. Attacks on the corporation's religious patronage and further accusations of mismanagement were believed to originate with Sir Thomas Puckering who had been defeated in the 1626 election. Rainsford was forced to conclude:

gentlemen were naturally enemies to corporations and the truth whereof this corporation hath experiently tasted; all their troubles and suits proceeding from distate proudly and causelessly taken by neighbouring gentlemen who will be satisfied with no reasonable respects except such croaching observance as standeth not with the honour of a corporation to perform . . . who make no other use of them but as they do of their stirrups to mount their horse, so to serve their times they will bestow a salute of them or some formal compliment when they have scorn in their hearts.⁶²

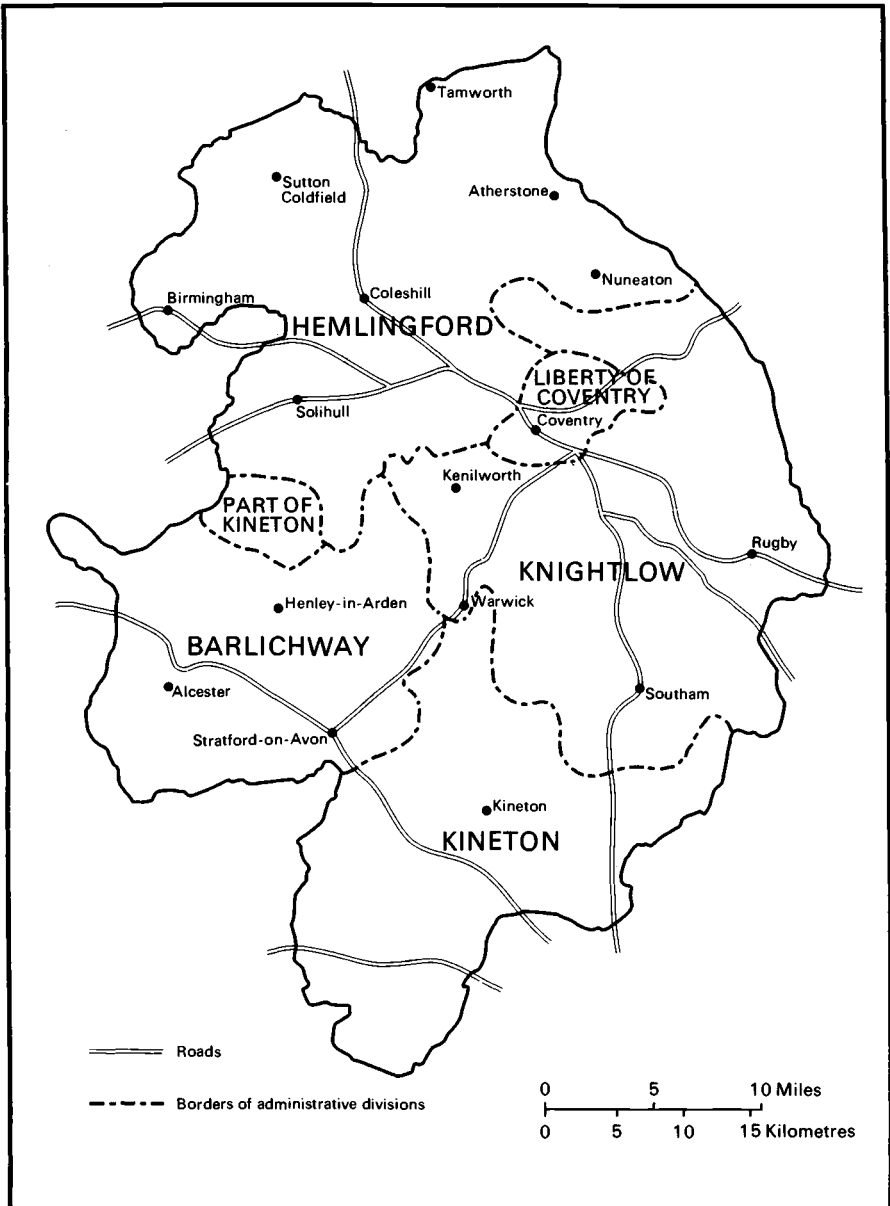
Stratford-on-Avon, with a population of just under 2,000 was the only other town of any size in the county. It had important glove-making and malting trades, but its prosperity was founded on its function as a market town, particularly its horse fair which attracted buyers and sellers from all over the Midlands.⁶³ Stratford, like Warwick and Alcester was one of several towns that benefited from the county's geographical position as a transitional zone between different farming regions. Such towns were the means through which corn from the fieldon region was sold to the north of the county, with cheese and other dairy products passing the other way. Towns like Kington or Henley-in-Arden, stranded well within a particular region, rather than on the fringes of one, remained small, or as in the case of Solihull, lost their markets altogether (see map 2).⁶⁴

⁶¹ Philip Styles, *The Corporation of Warwick 1660-1835* (1938), 53.

⁶² W.C.R.O. CR1618/W21/6, 269; see also 259-61 (Leigh), 264 and 269-71 (Puckering). For the identification of Rainsford as the author of the 'Remonstrance', which is at the back of the corporation minute book, see Styles, *The Corporation of Warwick*, 11.

⁶³ Levi Fox, *The Borough Town of Stratford on Avon* (Stratford, 1953), 61-3. Dyer 'Warwickshire Towns', 125. In September 1646 the horse fair attracted sellers from Leicestershire, Northamptonshire and north-west Warwickshire, while most buyers came from areas to the south and west of Stratford - the Cotswolds and Worcestershire, for example: *V.C.H.*, vol. 3: 236.

⁶⁴ Dyer, 'Warwickshire Towns', 124-5.



2 Towns, administrative divisions and main roads

Other Warwickshire towns flourished in this period because of their positions on main roads, especially the road from London to the north: Atherstone, Coleshill and Nuneaton all profited from this. Warwickshire was more urbanised than the country as a whole, with each market town serving an area of sixty-one square miles, compared to seventy-seven for the whole country;⁶⁵ and its towns, particularly Coventry and Birmingham in 1642, played a more influential role than towns in some other counties. It remained, though, a predominantly rural society with most of its towns too small, in any case, to have a way of life crucially different from that in the larger villages.

The most influential of modern local historians has written that: 'the England of 1640 resembled a union of partially independent county states'.⁶⁶ Little in this description of the economy of Warwickshire lends support to Alan Everitt's view. The county lacked a basic unity of economy or social structure. It included two sharply distinctive farming regions, apart from several sub-divisions, and many areas of the county had more in common economically with parts of adjacent counties than with other parts of Warwickshire. The two industrial areas, where the way of life had little in common with that in the more traditional rural communities, added to the diversity. There was no urban centre to which people from all over the county would naturally turn. For many people the local community, as far as their day-to-day economic affairs were concerned, was a unit to which county boundaries were irrelevant. Inhabitants of the eastern part of Warwickshire went to the markets at Hinckley or Leicester as often as they went to Coventry; those from the south and west to Banbury and Evesham as often as to Alcester or Stratford.⁶⁷ Conversely, the trading and industrial centres of Warwickshire had regular contact with inhabitants of nearby counties. For the many important affairs dealt with by the church courts, the county unit was again unimportant. Warwickshire was divided between two dioceses, Worcester, and Coventry and Lichfield, both of which had their headquarters outside the county. The geography of Warwickshire did not naturally help the growth of a 'county community' as it did perhaps in Kent or Cornwall. The next chapter will consider whether the social lives of the dominant landed classes contributed, nonetheless, to the creation of such a community.

⁶⁵ Everitt, 'The Marketing of Agricultural Produce' in Thirsk, ed., *Agrarian History*, 475.

⁶⁶ A.M. Everitt, *The Local Community and the Great Rebellion* (Historical Association Pamphlet, 1969), 8.

⁶⁷ For example: Ezekias Skarning of Wolvey sold beef at Hinckley in 1631: P.R.O. SP46/60 f.211; Sir Edward Peyto of Chesterton sold oxen at Banbury in 1638; S.B.T. DR98/1711; the stewards of Lionel Cranfield, Earl of Middlesex, of Milcote, bought and sold at Evesham, Stowe and Banbury as well as at Warwick, Alcester, Stratford and Coventry in the 1620s and 1630s: Kent County Archives Department: U269/A418/1,8,11: stock accounts 1628-36.

Peers and gentlemen before the Civil War

Although the Earl of Northampton and the Lord Brooke, at least, were considerably richer than the vast majority of the county gentry, most of the peers frequently resident in Warwickshire were not crucially separated from the leading gentry in wealth, status or influence. No peer held an unquestioned predominance in county society or monopolised links between the county and the central government. This was probably a recent development in Warwickshire for in the 1570s and 1580s the Dudley brothers, Ambrose Earl of Warwick and Robert Earl of Leicester, commanded a wide following amongst the county gentry and, of course, were also closely linked with the central government.¹

For most peers, and for many of the leading gentry too, the county was not important enough to be the sole or even the main arena of their activities. The government service, or court favour, to which many of them owed their ennoblement took peers away from regular involvement in county society; the extreme example of this process being Sir Robert Digby of Coleshill, created Baron of Geashill in Ireland in 1620. The Digbys had built up a large estate in north Warwickshire since the early sixteenth century, and Sir Robert had been knight of the shire in 1601. His marriage to an Irish heiress, and his own and his son's government service in Ireland meant that their visits to Coleshill became more and more infrequent and they cannot be considered part of county society in the pre-Civil War period.² By a reverse process new peers were introduced to Warwickshire like Robert Carey, Earl of Monmouth, granted Kenilworth Castle by Charles I in 1625. The part Monmouth played in county affairs was also small, however.³ The most eminent of the newcomers

¹ Thomas Kemp, ed., *The Black Book of Warwick* (Warwick, 1898), 30-1, 210-11, 389 gives examples of the Dudleys' influence.

² G.E.C., *Complete Peerage* s.v. Digby. Dugdale, 715, 726, 732-3, 736. In November 1636 the historian William Dugdale reported to Sir Simon Archer that he had not been able to see Digby's 'evidences' because of Digby's short stay in the county. He was over from Ireland for the winter but would stay with his brother, the Earl of Bristol, in Somerset: *Dugdale* (Hamper), 160.

³ Dugdale, 168 for the grant of Kenilworth. Henry Lord Carey was a pre-war J.P.: *Q.S.O.B.*, vol. 1: xxi, but was described as non-resident by Dugdale in 1642: *W.C.R.O.* Z237.

was Lionel Cranfield, Earl of Middlesex, who gained control of the estates of the impoverished Sir Edward Greville on the Warwickshire–Gloucestershire border in the 1620s. Although Middlesex frequently lived at Milcote after his fall from office, he too played little part in Warwickshire affairs, although he had close links with the town of Stratford.⁴

The Comptons, Earls of Northampton since 1618, were the senior of the Warwickshire peers proper. Their fortunes had been founded in the early sixteenth century by Sir William Compton who, as Groom of the Stool and close confidant to Henry VIII, was able to increase the family estates in south Warwickshire and Northamptonshire, and rebuild their Warwickshire seat at Compton Wynyates. The family's rise continued steadily throughout the sixteenth century, and William's grandson Henry was created Baron Compton by Elizabeth in 1572. The marriage of William Compton, the first earl, to the heiress of Sir John Spencer, a wealthy Lord Mayor of London further enriched the family so that their annual income in the 1630s was over £6,000. The bulk of the family estates was still in Warwickshire and Northamptonshire though they also held property in London and six other counties, as far afield as Essex and Somerset. William Compton was, however, as extravagant as he was wealthy and on his death in 1630 left debts of over £10,000. This led his heir to mortgage the Middlesex and Somerset estates in 1633 and by the outbreak of the Civil War the debts of the second earl, Spencer Compton, approached £30,000.⁵ William and Spencer Compton monopolised the lord lieutenancy of Warwickshire from 1603 to 1642, but in the absence of lieutenancy papers or personal Compton papers it is difficult to assess how they utilised this potential influence. Both earls had other concerns that lessened their involvement in Warwickshire: William Compton was Lord President of Wales from 1618 and thus Lord Lieutenant of the Welsh and border counties too; Spencer Compton, a close friend of Charles I, and his Master of the Robes until 1628, spent much of his time at court.⁶

An even greater reliance on court favour ensured the rise of the

⁴ M. Prestwich, *Cranfield: Politics and Profits Under the Early Stuarts* (Oxford, 1966), 70, 402–9. For an example of Middlesex's links with Stratford, see chapter 3 below.

⁵ W.B. Compton, Marquess of Northampton, *History of the Comptons of Compton Wynyates* (1930) and G.W. Bernard, 'The Rise of Sir William Compton, Early Tudor Courtier', *E.H.R.*, vol. 96 (1981) for the family's rise. Castle Ashby MS 1085/7: income at November 1631; W.C.R.O. CR556/274 f.13r gives a similar figure for November 1630; *ibid.*, ff.13r, 19v debts totalled £10,500 in November 1630, £11,500 in May 1631; *ibid.*, f.18r and SP17/B/11 for the mortgages; Castle Ashby MS 1086 gives a total of £27,000 for pre-Civil War debts though this figure may be exaggerated for purposes of composition.

⁶ J.C. Sainty, *Lieutenants of Counties, 1585–1642*, (*B.I.H.R.* Special Supplement number 8, 1970), 35–6, 41, SP16/108/65, Castle Ashby MS 997–8 for Spencer Compton as Master of the Robes. For further discussion of the Comptons' influence in the county see chapter 3 below.

Feildings, Earls of Denbigh. The Feildings of Newnham Paddox came from the east of the county and had substantial estates, built up since the fifteenth century, in Warwickshire, Leicestershire and Rutland. Their annual landed income by the 1630s was still something under £2,000 and they would have remained merely one amongst several leading county families had it not been for the marriage of William Feilding to Susan Villiers in 1606. She brought her husband a portion of £2,500, but more importantly, after her brother's meteoric rise to royal favourite and ultimately to become Duke of Buckingham, she launched him on a chase after office and honour that he seems to have found bewildering rather than fulfilling. Feilding became a baron in 1620, Master of the Wardrobe on Cranfield's fall, and Earl of Denbigh in 1622; his second son was given an earldom in reversion; his heir married the daughter of Lord Treasurer Portland and his three daughters all married noblemen.⁷ Denbigh's control of the Wardrobe was noted for its inefficiency and extravagance; of his service as vice admiral in the Cadiz expedition of 1625 Gardiner noted: 'his only known qualification for the post lay in the accident that he was married to Buckingham's sister', and he was no more successful as commander of the La Rochelle expedition in 1628. Denbigh became *Custos Rotulorum* of Warwickshire on the death of Lord Brooke in 1628, and his father, Basil, was a J.P. until his death in 1637;⁸ but for the younger Feildings the priority was to seek and maintain favour at court. Denbigh's heir, Basil, Lord Feilding spent the 1630s as ambassador in Venice, writing weekly to his brother-in-law the Marquis of Hamilton to seek reassurance about his standing at the court. The Warwickshire estates were neglected to the extent that Denbigh's bailiff absconded with the rents in 1632 while his master was on a voyage to the East Indies.⁹

More substantial government service, and more consistent involvement in county affairs marked the careers of two other Warwickshire peers: the cousins Fulke Greville first Baron Brooke, and Edward first Viscount Conway. The Grevilles were a younger branch of a family prominent in Oxfordshire and then Warwickshire since the fourteenth century; their prosperity had been created in the sixteenth century by

⁷ Dugdale, 58 for the origins of the family; W.C.R.O. CR2017 F29 for the marriage settlement; P.R.O. SP16/342/88 for the family's estates in 1633; G.E.C. under Denbigh for the Villiers marriage. The size of the Villiers portion does, however, indicate that the family was less insignificant before Buckingham's rise to power than contemporary gossip suggested. (I owe this point to Professor Conrad Russell). C.S.P.D. 1619-1623, 204, 335-6, 446; D.N.B. under William Feilding for Denbigh's court career. One of the articles against Buckingham in the impeachment proceedings of 1626 was his procuring of titles for relatives who did not have estates sufficient to support the honour and who were thus dependent on pensions from the crown: *L.J.*, vol. 3: 622.

⁸ Prestwich, *Cranfield*, 262; S.R. Gardiner, *History of England from the Accession of James I to the Outbreak of the Civil War*, vol. 6 (1896), 11, P.R.O. C231/4 f.260r, December 1628.

⁹ W.C.R.O. CR2017/C1/69; C2/186-7.

judicious land buying, and an advantageous marriage to the heiress of Lord Willoughby de Broke. Fulke Greville owed most of his wealth to the rewards of office, mainly through a customs farm on wine and lucrative offices in the Council of Wales which he had held since the 1580s.¹⁰ Greville's career at Elizabeth's court, where he and his close friend Sir Philip Sidney were members of the 'radical Protestant party' of Walsingham and Leicester, ended temporarily on James I's accession, but from 1614 he was again prominent at court and was raised to the peerage as Baron Brooke of Beauchamps Court in 1621. Greville combined his role in the central government with considerable local influence, based on the new seat of Warwick Castle which he had been granted by James in 1604. He was a frequent knight of the shire before 1621; Custos Rotulorum 1626–8, and exerted a great deal of control over Warwick Borough elections through his position as Recorder of the Town. Amongst the executors of his will were the leading Warwickshire gentry Sir Francis Leigh of Kings Newnham, and Basil Feilding esq., Denbigh's father.¹¹

Brooke's adopted heir, Robert Greville, his cousin's son, did not have such a secure place in county society. Lacking the first lord's profits of office, his income was probably much less although with a landed income of some £4,500 p.a. from London and twelve counties he was, of course, a very wealthy landowner. The first lord's executors had bought much property on his behalf and there is evidence that he was anxious to improve his estates, raising fines on at least one Warwickshire manor, Knowle, before the Civil War.¹² It was rather the quarrels that broke out

¹⁰ Dugdale, 570–5, 739; Ronald A. Rebholz, *The Life of Fulke Greville, First Lord Brooke* (Oxford, 1971), 3–5; Thomas Spencer, *The Genealogie, Life and Death of the Right Honourable Robert Lord Brooke, Baron Brooke of Beauchamps Court* . . . Philip Styles ed. in *Miscellany One*, Robert Bearman, ed. (Publications of the Dugdale Society, vol. 21, 1977), 167. Greville inherited a landed income of £1,850 in 1606. By 1619, through purchases and grants from Elizabeth and James this had increased to over £4,000, while his profits from official sources reached over £3,000: Rebholz, *Fulke Greville*, 188–90.

¹¹ Greville was Chancellor of the Exchequer from 1614 to 1621, and after a break, was again a moderately important Privy Councillor from 1623 until his health broke in August 1625: Rebholz, *Fulke Greville*, 236–7, 266–7. *D.N.B.* s.v. Fulke Greville. *Q.S.O.B.*, vol. 1: xx. For his influence on Warwick elections see, for example, SP16/523/16 and chapter 3 below. Warwick Castle MS now W.C.R.O., CR1866, Box 598 (Legal Papers); B.Ref.Lib. MS 272811.

¹² The estimate of Brooke's income has had to be pieced together from accounts covering various parts of the country in W.C.R.O. CR1866, Box 411 (Draft rent accounts, Michaelmas 1639–Michaelmas 1640); Rent Accounts of Joseph Hawkesworth, Midsummer 1640–Midsummer 1641; and Accounts for 1643. Spencer, *The Genealogie, Life and Death*, 172, estimated Robert Greville's income at £6,000, but this seems to be an exaggeration for the pre-Civil War period. By the late 1650s, after more land purchases, the Greville family's landed income was over £7,000. CR1866 Box 412: Accounts for 1657–8. For the land buying by Fulke Greville's executors see B.Ref.Lib. MS/272812. For the raising of fines see CR1618, W14/26; the customs of the manor of Knowle, 1636.

amongst the descendants of the first Lord Brooke that seem to have damaged Robert Greville's standing with the Warwickshire gentry. Robert was by no means Fulke Greville's closest blood relation and it is obvious that much resentment was caused by his inheritance of the vast estates. Nearer relations, in particular Sir Fulke Greville of Harold Park, Nazeing, Essex, the first lord's cousin, and Sir Greville Verney of Compton Verney, Warwickshire whose mother had been Fulke Greville's sister, repeatedly claimed that lands promised to them by the first lord had not been confirmed to them by Robert Greville. The second Lord Brooke was, equally clearly, determined to hang on to as much of the estates as possible: as well as many legal contests with his kinsmen, including a star chamber suit against the Verneys, he challenged the first lord's executors' handling of the property before it came under his control on his twenty-fourth birthday.¹³

The concern of Brooke's biographer to stress that he was, 'no new man or Gentleman of the first head, but stocked in a long race of worthy Ancestors' may be intended to counteract local feeling that he was something of an interloper. His father was a minor Lincolnshire gentleman and one hostile commentator, Laud's biographer Peter Heylin, asserted that he had served the first Lord Brooke as a gamekeeper and been barred from eating at table with him. The Verneys were considerably aggrieved at their treatment, and a suggestion in an edition of Fulke Greville's poetry that he had helped pay for Greville Verney's education brought an indignant protest by Verney's brother to Greville's friend Secretary of State John Coke. Some at least of the Warwickshire gentry sympathised with the Verneys: the antiquarian William Dugdale told his friend Sir Simon Archer that he hoped to see Brooke's 'evidences' 'for that worthy Sir Greville Verney's sake'.¹⁴

As an opposition peer of a very uncompromising kind Brooke was not able to continue his predecessor's role of linking the county gentry with the government. With the Conways, too, close involvement with county society and with central government did not survive the death of the first viscount. The Conways were substantial Warwickshire landowners by the late sixteenth century but their prominence in the pre-Civil War period owed most to the official career of Sir Edward Conway. Long military service to the crown was succeeded by Conway's appointment, under Buckingham's patronage, as Secretary of State in 1623. He became

¹³ For the conflict with Sir Fulke Greville: CR 1866, Box 598; PC2/44, 395-7, February 1635; with the Verneys: SP16/126/5; CR 1866 Box 598; B.Ref.Lib. MS272812; Brooke was ordered to pay Greville Verney £2,200 compensation and settle on him lands equalling £500 p.a.; for the 1631 case against the first lord's executors: B.Ref.Lib. MS272812.

¹⁴ Spencer, *The Genealogie, Life and Death*, 173; Heylin quoted in Rebholz, *Fulke Greville*, 198; H.M.C. 12th Report, appendix 1 (Cowper MSS), 483-4; Dugdale (Hamper), 164 (April 1637).

a baron in 1625 and an Irish and then an English viscount in 1627. The rewards of office enabled him to add to his Warwickshire estates which were centred on Ragley near Stratford-on-Avon; and Conway, despite his official duties, remained very much involved in the running of these estates, improving them by enclosing and raising rents in the 1620s.¹⁵ Though he held no official position in the county apart from that of J.P. and was, in fact, Lord Lieutenant of Hampshire 1625–31, Conway's surviving papers amongst the State Papers Domestic reveal that he remained closely involved in county society, doing frequent favours for his friends and kinsmen amongst the county gentry.

Conway died in 1631; his son within months let Ragley Hall to the second Lord Brooke and thereafter, until the Civil War lived mainly in Ireland or London.¹⁶ No other peer emerged to perform the same role as Brooke and Conway had done in the 1620s. The only new peer created before the Civil War was Sir Francis Leigh, baronet, of Kings Newnham made Baron Dunsmore in 1628. Leigh came from the junior of two Warwickshire gentry families established through extensive land buying by a Lord Mayor of London in the mid sixteenth century. Like Denbigh he owed his peerage to a link with the Duke of Buckingham whose niece Audrey Boteler he had married as his second wife. Dunsmore had no important position at court, and his landed income which amounted to some £3,000 p.a. from properties in three counties, was not significantly more than that of some of the leading gentry families.¹⁷

In the absence of a single dominant peer, the nature of the county gentry was crucial to the social and political character of Warwickshire. Inadequate sources and confused methodologies bedevil discussions of the English gentry yet precise definitions and statistical elaborations can block understanding of social reality. Many questions are begged in this cursory account.¹⁸ The notion of gentility involved many complex,

¹⁵ Dugdale, 528, 624–5, 627. *D.N.B.* s.v. Conway. Conway was Viscount of Killultagh in Ireland and Conway in Wales. The State Papers include many examples of Conway's concern with his Warwickshire estates: for land buying and enclosing SP16/522/61, SP16/525/7 (1625–6); for raising rents SP16/143/24 (1629); in 1628 Conway sent a Dutch expert to Ragley to see to the planting of vines (SP16/107/38). By the 1630s, Ragley alone was bringing in £900 p.a. (SP16/220/47). The first Viscount also inherited lands in Ireland from a brother and received a pension of £2,000 p.a. from the crown. In his will the Irish property was charged with annuities of £400 (Prob.11/160/121).

¹⁶ For the lease of Ragley: SP16/196/84 (July 1631); for Conway's absences from the county: SP16/220/47.

¹⁷ Dugdale, 21–2. G.E.C. *Complete Baronetage*, vol. 1: 118–19. For Dunsmore's income I have used his composition records: SP23/193/295. Dunsmore had had to mortgage a third of his property in 1643.

¹⁸ A full discussion of the sources for the Warwickshire gentry, and the problems associated with them, is in Hughes, 'Politics, Society and Civil War', 51–4. Recent work showing contrasting approaches to this thorny issue includes: J.P. Cooper, 'Ideas of Gentility in Early Modern England' in G.E. Aylmer and J.S. Morrill, eds., *Land, Men and Beliefs* (1983); B.G. Blackwood, *The*

contested and intangible matters such as an ancient and honourable lineage, the acknowledged right to bear arms, and a leisured, cultivated and conscientious life style including the exercise of a governing role. The gentry were not an economically defined group: although wealth and status corresponded to some extent, the sources of a family's wealth could be as important as the amount, and there were wide variations in the economic position of the gentry. Grave problems arise in deciding who to include as part of gentry society but some quantification is nonetheless useful in suggesting major characteristics of a county's gentry. The following account is based on a group of 288 families generally accepted as gentry in 1640; 148 living north of the Avon valley, 140 to the south. The 140, however, were concentrated in the smaller area of the county so that it was southern Warwickshire that was most densely populated with gentry. In constructing this group I have followed those historians who argue that the gentry comprise a wider group than those whose pedigrees and coats of arms were ratified by the heralds, but included also those generally accepted as gentlemen by their neighbours. Thus I have included those described as gentry in Heraldic Visitations, and also those in subsidy rolls, the records of distraint for knighthood proceedings, and in the list of gentry and their Civil War allegiances drawn up in 1642 by the Warwickshire gentleman and herald William Dugdale.

It must be emphasised that at the lower end of this gentry group there was particular confusion about status. This is not merely a problem of inadequate sources but reflects the fluid nature of gentry society in early seventeenth-century Warwickshire. Contemporaries as well as historians found it difficult to decide who was a gentleman, and the status of many gentry was extremely precarious. Ninety-nine Warwickshire men were described as gentlemen in the distraint for knighthood, but rarely elsewhere: two examples are Basil Goode of Stretton-on-the-Foss and Edward Brandwood of Aston, neither of whom is described as 'gent' in the subsidy rolls. Goode was, however, treasurer of one of the county funds in 1640; and when Brandwood's powerful neighbour Sir Thomas Holte, knight and baronet, made Brandwood one of the trustees of the almshouses he established in his will he granted him the title 'gent'. Another of the trustees of these almshouses, Humphrey Holden of Erdington, was described firmly as 'yeoman' by Holte; he is not called 'gent' in the subsidy rolls, or included in the distraints for knighthood, yet the family had an impressive pedigree in the 1682-3 Visitation and provided high constables for Hemlingford Hundred before 1640.¹⁹

Lancashire Gentry and the Great Rebellion (Chetham Society, 3rd series, vol. 25, 1978); J.S. Morrill, 'The Northern Gentry and the Great Rebellion', *Northern History*, vol. 15 (1979).

¹⁹ Goode: Q.S.O.B., vol. 2: 71. Brandwood: Prob.11/249/336 (Holte's will). Holden: *ibid*; P.R.O. E179/193/295. Only the last two have been included in the group of 288 gentry.

The uncertainty that seems to have existed in county society as to who was to be included amongst the socially superior, and the struggles many gentry had to assert their status were, perhaps, a product of their recent origins compared to those of the gentlemen of a county like Kent.²⁰ Though a significant number of the wealthiest gentry had been settled in the county long before 1500, including such leading families as the Lucys of Charlecote, the Archers of Tanworth in Arden and the Holtes of Aston, it is clear that the sixteenth century was the crucial period for the formation of the Warwickshire gentry. It was then that most gentry entered the county or first acquired gentle status and also the time when many medieval families like the Boughtons of Little Lawford and the Throckmortons of Coughton and Haseley consolidated their position and rose to county prominence. For many leading families the availability of monastic land in the county was an important factor. Fully a quarter of manors in the county were former monastic possessions and went to increase the estates of families like the Boughtons or to provide an opening for new families like the Fishers of Packington who entered the county as the protégés of the Earl of Leicester, or, most notably, the Leighs of Stoneleigh and Kings Newnham. Sir Thomas Leigh, a Cheshire mercer who was Lord Mayor of London in 1558 and whose fortune was increased by his marriage to the niece and heiress of another London merchant Rowland Hill, was able to establish all three of his sons as county gentry, two of them in Warwickshire. Lord Dunsmore has been discussed above, and his cousin Sir Thomas Leigh of Stoneleigh, knight and baronet, was also a leading county figure on the eve of the Civil War and one of the richest of the gentry with a landed income of at least £2,500.²¹

Definitive statements about the economic position of the majority of the Warwickshire gentry are not possible. Many economic and county historians have discussed the inadequacy of general sources such as composition papers, lay subsidy rolls or inquisitions *post mortem*. In Warwickshire, as elsewhere, family collections do not really fill the gap. The scepticism necessary in dealing with the (rare) account books or rentals, is amply indicated by the exasperated comments of Sir Edward Peyto to his bailiff:

²⁰ Alan Everitt, *The Community of Kent and the Great Rebellion* (Leicester, 1973, paperback edition), 36: 80–90% of the Kentish gentry had been established in the county or had acquired gentle status before the Tudor period. Warwickshire is similar to Lincolnshire where only 17% of the gentry were of medieval origins: Clive Holmes, *Seventeenth Century Lincolnshire* (History of Lincolnshire, vol. 7, Lincoln, 1980), 66.

²¹ Ninety-nine out of 380–26% of the county's manors were former monastic possessions. (V.C.H., vols. 3–6). For the Boughtons: Dugdale, 9, 19, 22; for the Fishers: Dugdale, 714–24; for the Leighs: Dugdale, 21–2, 173–9. The income of Sir Thomas Leigh and his son as stated in their Composition Settlement was £2,540 p.a.: SP23/200/777, SP23/197/161.

Table 2 *The origins of the Warwickshire gentry*^a

	Number known	Medieval	Early and mid 16th century	Elizabethan	17th century
Subsidy assessment less than £5	130	9 (7%)	38 (29%)	45 (35%)	38 (29%)
£5 and over	97	32 (33%)	23 (24%)	22 (23%)	20 (21%)
Total	227	41 (18%)	61 (27%)	67 (30%)	58 (26%)

^a The table refers to the period when families entered the county, or to when they first acquired gentle status. It is based mainly on information in the *Visitations*, Dugdale, and *V.C.H.*, vols 3–6.

It is not the use of Masters to make up their servants' accounts, but I must either do it or take Robin Hood's reckonings to boot for in most of them there is neither the day when they were either received or paid, or if there be, they be not placed in the same order as they were received and paid, but preposterously, promiscuously and for the most part the cart before the horse, the disbursements before the receipts, and sometimes for fear of failing the disbursements are twice set down. To conclude, they are so confused that they might not be understood.²²

To give a very broad picture of economic stratification of the gentry on the eve of the Civil War, use has been made of the assessments in lay subsidy rolls. These bore no relation to the absolute wealth of the gentry for the landed classes notoriously under-assessed themselves for taxation: real income may have been as much as fifty times greater. However, subsidy assessments do provide a view of the relative positions of different gentlemen: they show the gap between a J.P. assessed at £20 or over, and a minor gentleman assessed at 20-40s in lands, whose income was not above £100 p.a. It must be emphasised that the results arrived at are very crude, for frequent accusations were made about the general inequality and inaccuracy of subsidy assessments, especially the comparative over-assessing of smaller men. Certain specific difficulties are attached to the Warwickshire figures: the 1641 subsidy has not survived and so the subsidy assessments from 1621-8 have been used. Another difficulty arises with magisterial families. J.P.s were supposed to be assessed at £20 in lands at least, and in Warwickshire this instruction of the Privy Council was adhered to. However, as several of the wealthiest families in the county were Roman Catholics, men often had to be appointed to the commission of the peace whose income was probably below the £1,000 p.a. a subsidy assessment of £20 might be thought to indicate. Robert Arden esq. of Park Hall, Aston, had an income of about £700 p.a. according to his composition settlement, yet he and his grandfather were consistently on the commission of the peace before the Civil War.²³ Thus where any other information available for families conflicts with their assessments in the subsidies, they have been put in the category indicated by the fuller sources.

It is equally difficult to be precise about changes in the economic fortunes of the gentry. The land market in the county was active with a third of all manors changing hands at least once during the period 1601-40, indicating that the opportunity was there for gentry to amass land from families that were forced to let it go.²⁴ Certainly some prominent families disappeared in the years before the Civil War. Sir Edward Greville of Milcote, already impoverished by his father's over-ambitious

²² S.B.T. DR 98/1708. A less evasive discussion of gentry wealth and the problems of the sources is in Hughes, 'Politics, Society and Civil War', 58-9.

²³ SP23/22/104. For examples see Hughes, 'Politics, Society and Civil War', 60, n. 2.

²⁴ Dugdale. *V.C.H.*, vols. 3-6.

Table 3 *The wealth of the Warwickshire gentry*^a

Subsidy assessment	Number	Per cent
up to £4 10s in land	157	63
£5 9s in land	47	19
£10 19s in land	30	12
£20 and over	17	7

^a Information is available for 251 families, 87% of the 288 total. Of the 47 gentry assessed at over £10 in land 29 came from the Avon valley or the south of the county so that greater gentry were thinner on the ground in the Arden and other northern areas.

house building and his own careless management of his estates was attracted in 1607 by the potential profits in a new salt monopoly. By 1610 he had lost £1,000 and become indebted to his partners, Sir Arthur Ingram and Sir Lionel Cranfield who, as Prestwich writes, 'got a grip on him which they never relaxed until he died in 1634, a whining and impoverished dependant'. Eventually Greville was forced to hand over his estates to Ingram in exchange for an annuity, and by 1625 he had been forced to leave Milcote. The estates, on the Warwickshire–Gloucestershire border, passed eventually to Cranfield who received £3,400 from them in 1630.²⁵ Other Warwickshire families disappeared through the failure of the male line – such a fate eliminated the Puckerings and the Alderfords; while it is clear that several gentlemen were severely indebted by the Civil War.²⁶

In general though, the years 1601–42 seem to have been a period of stability and increasing prosperity for most of the forty or fifty wealthiest county families. There is little sign of extensive land sales and many gentlemen were adding to their estates. Several gentry houses date from this period: Anthony Stoughton and Sir Thomas Puckering built mansions in Warwick, and, most notably, Sir Thomas Holte built Aston Hall. Other gentry substantially improved their homes as the Peytoes did at Chesterton, the Ferrers at Baddesley Clinton, and the Leighs at Stoneleigh.²⁷

Landed wealth was the basis of this prosperity, and a changing attitude

²⁵ Prestwich. *Cranfield*, 70, 402–9.

²⁶ For example: Sir Simon Clarke had debts of £1,500, three times his annual income (SP19/97/115); Robert Arden esq. had to mortgage one of his manors to William Boughton of Little Lawford in 1637, and had debts of over £3,000 by 1642 (B.Ref.Lib. Norton Collection no. 490; SP23/222/104); Thomas Wagstaffe of Warwick esq. had debts of about £1,000 in 1639, about twice his annual income (W.R.C.O. L6 (Lucy Collection) 221).

²⁷ Nicholas Pevsner and Alexandra Wedgewood, *The Buildings of England: Warwickshire* (1966), 81, 149, 230, 408, 460, 462.

to their estates became noticeable amongst the gentry. Some traditionalists, usually from the south of the county, saw their estates as bases for social influence rather than commercial gain: Sir Greville Verney of Compton Verney exhorted his children in his will: 'that they be no strangers to the country they have beene born and bred in, I charge them to be kind and neighbourly one to another' and forbade them to change the use of the land he had left them; while Sir Thomas Lucy of Charlecote was widely known for his charity and hospitality and specified in his will that several long leases at low rents be provided for favoured tenants and servants.²⁸ Most gentry, though, from all parts of the county were exploiting their estates with increasing intensity. Andrew Archer esq. of Umberslade inherited a small estate of three manors and other lands near Stratford-on-Avon. He and his son, the antiquarian Sir Simon Archer, added consistently to their estates from 1605 onwards acquiring four more manors in Warwickshire as well as property in Worcestershire and Shropshire. The family were very concerned to increase the profits from these lands: one of their major purchases, Tanworth Manor, was carefully surveyed before it was purchased, with notes of how its rents could be improved. From one part of this manor, worth £16 p.a. in 1605, Sir Simon Archer was receiving £66 in 1655.²⁹ Part of the benefit Sir Simon reaped from his antiquarian researches was the chance to reclaim lapsed rents and fines from tenants. In 1629 he wrote that he was very anxious to see a book listing freeholders' dues in Warwickshire in the fourteenth century: 'which if it doth so for Tanworth it will be a great strengthening unto my father's Court Rolls and the seizures of such heriots as my father hath been possessed of'.³⁰

Along with other Warwickshire gentry like William Boughton of Little Lawford, Archer added to his income by lending money at interest, mainly to his tenants for rent arrears but also to several of the local gentry.³¹ The Boughtons, whose fortunes were based on monastic lands, had increased their estates further in the early seventeenth century and improved them by enclosure. Edward Boughton, William's father, was said to have raised £1,000 in fines through the enclosure of Brownsover in the 1620s, and almost doubled his rental. William Boughton rack-rented his lands, taking no fines. Edward Boughton had thus been able to establish both his sons as leading county gentry, William the heir

²⁸ Verney: Prob 11/189/83; Lucy: Robert Harris, *Abner's Funeral* (1641) (Lucy's funeral sermon) 26; Prob 11/185/20.

²⁹ Dugdale, 577–82, 690; P. Styles, 'Sir Simon Archer, "A lover of Antiquity and of the lovers thereof"' in Styles, *Studies in Seventeenth Century West Midlands History* (Kineton, 1978), 6–8; survey of Tanworth, 1604, S.B.T. DR37/Box 74; Archer's rents in 1655, DR37/Box 75.

³⁰ Bodl. MS Eng.lett.b.1. f.29.

³¹ Archer account books of money lent: S.B.T. ER109/14, ER1/141.

inheriting an income of £1,000 p.a.; the younger, Thomas of Bilton, receiving £500 p.a.³²

Most of the leading county gentry had purely landed origins. Only one of the new entrants to the élite group of families had mercantile roots. Sir Robert Lee of Billesley was the son of a Lord Mayor of London who had bought substantial estates in south Warwickshire in 1600.³³ Law and public office were more common routes to prominent positions in county society. Rowley Warde of Barford, from a junior branch of a minor gentry family, rose through the legal profession to become a serjeant at law in 1627 and in 1626 won a place on the commission of the peace which he kept until the Civil War.³⁴ Richard Chamberlain of Chilvers Coton used the profits from his position as Clerk of the Court of Wards to build up substantial estates near Nuneaton while Sir Thomas Puckering knight and baronet of the Priory, Warwick, inherited lands in six counties worth at least £2,000 p.a. from his father, Sir John, Elizabeth's Lord Keeper. The younger Puckering benefited also from links with the household of Prince Henry whose secretary Adam Newton married Puckering's sister. The importance of court favour is succinctly revealed in Newton's remarks to Puckering after the prince's premature death: 'By this great loss I shall be the better at leisure to be employed in your occasions, though not able to go through with them.'³⁵ Minor gentry, too, frequently advanced their fortunes through law and office, acquiring a more secure place in gentry society than their small landed incomes could provide. At least thirty-seven heads of 1640 families (or 13%) gained the major part of their income from the legal profession and public office. Amongst the smaller men were Edward Lapworth of Sowe, escheator of the county in 1634 and under-sheriff in 1640, and Job Dighton, originally a Leicestershire man, who was town clerk of Stratford from the 1630s, and the lawyer to senior southern families like the Verneys.³⁶

³² William Boughton as a lender of money: B.Ref.Lib. Norton Collection, no.499; Prob 11/260/447. Boughton was owed over £3,000 on his death. The improvement of the Boughton estates in the 1620s: W.C.R.O. CR162/710-1. The younger Boughton's inheritance: CR162/472.

³³ V.C.H., vol. 3: 58. ³⁴ 1619 Visitation, 275; P.R.O. C231/4 ff.204v, 216r.

³⁵ H.E. Bell, *An Introduction to the History and Records of the Court of Wards and Liveries* (1953), 26-9; W.C.R.O. CR136/vol. 82, 123-6, for Chamberlain's land buying. D.N.B. s.v. John Puckering. P.R.O. SP28/248, no numbering, a note by the Civil War county committee of Puckering's estate; Thomas Birch, *The Life of Henry, Prince of Wales* (1760), 14-15, 130, 325-6; B.L. Harl MS 7004 f.67, Newton to Puckering, January 1613.

³⁶ S.B.T. DR98/1688 - Lapworth's supervision of the Inquisition Post Mortem of Sir Richard Verney. Maxstoke Castle: Fetherstone-Dilke MSS; Dining Room, wooden chest by the door, bundle 25, number 29: Petition to the House of Commons on the Long Parliament by-election. Lapworth was also lawyer to northern families like the Ardens. (B.Ref.Lib. Norton Collection, 506). S.B.T. BR2/C. (Stratford-on-Avon, Council Minute Book), 88 and *passim*. C.W. Brooks, 'The Common Lawyers in England, c1558-1642' in Wilfred Prest, *Lawyers in Early Modern Europe and America* (1981), 42-64, is an interesting discussion of the various experiences of legal

The last typical method whereby a gentry family added to their estates was through advantageous marriages. The Lucys of Charlecote were especially adept at this: three heads of the family in turn married substantial heiresses and were able to greatly extend their medieval estates. Sir Thomas (died 1600) married the heiress of Thomas Acton of Sutton, Worcestershire and gained a manor and other lands in that county; his son, Sir Thomas (died 1605) did even better, marrying the heiress of Richard Kingsmill, an official of the Court of Wards, who brought him a massive portion and three manors in Hampshire; the third Sir Thomas, head of the family in 1640, married Alice, daughter and heir of Thomas Spencer of Claverdon esq. He did less well than his father and grandfather for the bulk of the Spencer estates were entailed on the male line but he received a reasonable portion of £2,000 (in 1614) and his father-in-law's personal estate. Such alliances enabled the Lucys to surmount the perhaps inevitable problem arising from successful marriages – that of providing for large families. The second Sir Thomas's sons included a baronet established through another profitable marriage amongst the Hertfordshire gentry; a cleric who became a bishop after 1660; a Cheshire gentleman and a barrister who was M.P. for Warwick in all parliaments from 1624–8. The third Sir Thomas died holding manors and many other properties in eight counties, worth over £3,500 p.a. He was able to provide landed endowments for all five of his sons, and portions of £4,000 for one daughter and £2,500 for three others. Though such bequests strained the family resources Sir Thomas's eventual heir, his third son Richard, was still a leading figure in Warwickshire society after 1660, despite a dispute with his elder brother's widow which meant his giving up the Worcestershire, Gloucestershire and Hertfordshire estates to pay a £10,000 portion to his niece and £800 p.a. to his sister-in-law.³⁷

Such concrete examples of provisions for children and evidence about life-style from wills and inventories give a better picture of the contrasts between the greater and the minor gentry than stark statistical tables from subsidy rolls. Only the richest families could afford to give substantial landed endowments to younger sons and portions of over £1,000 to their daughters. The Verneys, like the Lucys, managed in successive generations to leave landed estates to younger sons. Sir Richard (died 1630) left a

practitioners, the increasing numbers and professionalism of common law attorneys, with much material from Warwickshire.

³⁷ Alice Fairfax Lucy, *Charlecote and the Lucys* (1958), 31, 66–7, 106, 122–3; the extent and value of the estates in the 1640s is given in the certificate of Spencer Lucy to the Committee for the Advance of Money: SP/19/95/151; Sir Thomas Lucy's marriage settlement: W.C.R.O. L6/1156; the conflict over the estates in the 1650s: L6/86, 1157. *D.N.B.* s.v. Lucy.

portion of £1,500 to one of his unmarried daughters; Sir Greville (died 1642) £4,000 to his only daughter.³⁸ Other leading gentry left their younger sons annuities as with the £150 p.a. bequeathed to his younger son by Sir William Boughton in 1656.³⁹ Gentry below the élite left their younger sons money portions to set themselves up in the world, usually in a profession. These portions were usually between £500 and £1,000 for families assessed at between £5 and £10 in the subsidies. Sir Henry Gibbes of Honington in 1648 left £800 to his second son and £500 each to the three youngest although he was probably being a little optimistic here as he had to authorise his executors to raise as many fines as possible on his estate by converting copyholds into the leaseholds in order to pay these bequests.⁴⁰ John Stanton esq. of Longbridge in 1650 left £800 each to two sons and two daughters, although occasionally larger sums were left to daughters than to sons as a successful marriage was their only way of finding a comfortable living.⁴¹

The minor gentry, those assessed at less than £5 in land in the subsidy, had no hopes of providing for younger children in any real way and in most cases only the heir would continue to be considered a gentleman. Edward Chamberlain of Princethorpe, gent., was assessed at only 40s in the 1620s subsidies, and although he had extra income from his official positions as a feodary of the Court of Wards before the Civil War and as a county sequestrator in the 1650s, he had the mixed blessing of a family of at least twelve children, from two marriages, to provide for. With the portion from his second wife he was able to set forth two of his sons with portions of £300 and £100 and leave £100 to one of his daughters. The heir of his second marriage was given a small landed estate in Northamptonshire, and another son was given some clothes and some books. Six of the children, though, received nothing at all, but were left to their mother to do the best for them she could.⁴²

The precise mention Chamberlain made in his will of his black legal cloaks, his law books and his manuscripts concerning the office of feodary indicates the importance such possessions held for a minor gentleman. The lavish life style of the major families was far removed from this. Two inventories left by leading gentry before the Civil War

³⁸ Sir Richard Verney: S.B.T. DR98/1512; Sir Greville Verney: Prob 11/189/83. Sir Richard Shuckburgh in 1656 and Sir Thomas Leigh in 1672 were among the other leading gentry who left land to younger sons: Prob 11/259/372; Prob 11/338/50. Sir Simon Archer left portions of £1,500 each to three daughters: S.B.T. DR37 Box 90 (1662). ³⁹ Prob 11/260/447.

⁴⁰ S.B.T. ER109/6.

⁴¹ Prob 11/231/360. Thomas Newsham in 1654 left £40 p.a. to one son, and a lump sum of £500 to another while his two daughters were to receive £600 or £800 depending on whether they married with their guardian's consent: Prob 11/245/111.

⁴² Prob 11/264/193, will made in 1657; C.C.C., 172, 672-3.

provide some illustration. Sir Thomas Puckering's house, The Priory, Warwick, contained over forty rooms, many of them hung with tapestries and Turkish carpets, and filled with gilt furniture. There were more than one hundred pictures, twenty-four maps of towns and cities, and a 'table of the names and arms of divers Baronets'. Sir Thomas's clothes were worth over £100 and his books £60, besides others in the possession of his lawyer. He was described by his doctor as 'very learned, much given to study, of a rare and lean constitution' and lived a comparatively retired life in the county after a youth spent as the companion of Henry, Prince of Wales. He served, though, as an M.P. for Tamworth in the 1620s, while frequent newsletters kept him in touch with political events in England and Europe. His inventory includes no crops or livestock apart from horses, and he was less involved in the running of his estates, and perhaps less interested in many of the customary duties of a landowner than some other greater gentry. The town clerk of Warwick compared him unfavourably with Sir Thomas Lucy: 'but a stranger in the country and not so commodious by sending corn to market for the overall good of the people nor a man of such noble hospitality as that worthy family of the Lucyes'.⁴³

Sir Greville Verney, who died in 1642, was perhaps more typical in that his inventory, including over 1,000 sheep, reveals him as an active farmer; and his injunction to his children in his will that they be good neighbours, shows that he was more concerned with the gentry's social influence with local people. But the luxury in which Verney lived was comparable to Puckering's: his house had more than thirty rooms, furnished with velvet, tapestry, and pictures and musical instruments, including a 'pair of Virginals'. His clothes, too, were worth £100; and he shared some of Puckering's more intellectual interests, with a 'study of Books over the Hall'.⁴⁴

Were the social relationships and personal interests of the Warwickshire gentry local and insular in nature? The gentry of Kent, as described by Everitt, made up a self-contained society: most of them had estates only within the county; they chose their brides and their friends from among their neighbours and rarely left Kent at all. In short their lives centred on their 'county community' which was the framework for their

⁴³ *D.N.B.*, s.v. John Puckering. Puckering's inventory is in S.B.T., DR37/Box 90 (Puckering died in 1637). Birch, *Henry, Prince of Wales*, 325–6. Many of the newsletters in Birch, *James I*, and Thomas Birch, ed., *The Court and Times of Charles I* (2 vols. 1848) are addressed to Puckering. For Puckering's doctor: John Hall, *Select Observations on English Bodies* (1657), 187. For the comment by Edward Rainsford, W.C.R.O. CR1618, W21/6, 269.

⁴⁴ Verney's inventory: S.B.T. DR98/898; Verney's will: Prob 11/189/83. His books were valued at £100.

social and political lives. These intense local loyalties were combined with ignorance of and antipathy towards national political developments.⁴⁵

In the next chapter the more public concerns of the gentry will be discussed – their involvement with local administration, religious affairs, and national political developments; and an assessment will be made of how far they correspond with the traditional picture of a local–national dichotomy. Here I am concerned with the more private aspects of their lives: with their estates, their families, neighbours and friends, with their education and personal interests, and with whether these were experienced within a ‘county community’. It should be remembered that the gentry of Warwickshire inhabited a county that was diverse in its social and economic structure, with no obvious geographical centre; and one that, unlike Kent, was undergoing rapid economic change. Many of the gentry were comparative newcomers to the shire, and the minor gentry were often of very insecure status. All these factors tended to lessen the cohesiveness of the gentry.

The gentry’s social life began with their families. Personal affection was coming to be seen as more important in family life, and as a necessary prerequisite for a successful marriage, but property considerations were still vital. In 1613 Thomas Spencer of Claverdon wrote to Andrew Archer about his son, Simon:

your son having been at London the most part of this term that is past and falling further into liking with Mistress Elizabeth Branthayt and she likewise with him . . . And considering further where there is a true love conceived that it is pity to break the same, knowing further that in motions of marriages there may be several opinions in demands of jointure and assurance of land and that often by such differences and variances in opinion many times true love be broken which is a great cross wheresoever it falls.

The young woman’s family were demanding a jointure of £300 p.a. in return for her portion of £1,500, and as the Archers would offer only £200 the marriage never occurred. However the ‘great cross’ suffered by Simon Archer was soon overcome, and he was married to Anne Ferrers by the autumn of 1614.⁴⁶

The husband usually had total control of the family property and of his wife’s activities. Some gentry were beginning to allow their wives more

⁴⁵ Everitt, *The Community of Kent and the Great Rebellion*, 41–4. For recent critiques of this approach see Clive Holmes, ‘The County Community in Stuart Historiography’, *J.B.S.* vol. 19 (1980); David Underdown, ‘Community and Class: Theories of Local Politics in the English Revolution’ in Barbara C. Malament, ed., *After the Reformation* (Manchester, 1980); Ann Hughes, ‘Warwickshire on the Eve of the Civil War: a “county community”?’ *Midland History*, vol. 7 (1982).

⁴⁶ S.B.T. DR37/Box 87; Styles, ‘Sir Simon Archer’, 7.

freedom and responsibility: Sir Simon Archer and Sir Richard Newdigate both left much control of their estates and the provision for younger children to the discretion of their wives. Several made their wives executrices of their wills. The most striking testimony of affection and shared responsibility between husband and wife was that of Sir Robert Lee of Billesley who died in 1637, although again a concern for property is also present:

I give and bequeath to my dear and only deserving wife and best friend Dame Anne Lee (of whose honest just and sincere love to me and mine, I have now had almost six and thirty years experience, who under God hath been the principal cause of the advancement of my estate and fortune) all my lands and tenements, rectories and advowsons not formerly by deed disposed of.⁴⁷

The wills of most gentry, though, reveal the prevalent fear that their wives would soon marry again, and they tried to ensure that the estates of their heirs would not be harmed by such a move. Sir Greville Verney who died in 1642 left his wife an increase of her jointure and £150 of household goods, but added a proviso:

if she continue unmarried after my death and lead a constant country life in these parts for the good of my children (but otherwise not) my will is that kind respect be showed to her for the use sometimes of her own chamber and my chamber and the new parlour in Compton with allowance of moderate fuel and with the furniture of these rooms.⁴⁸

Daughters, too, were allowed a greater measure of independence by the Civil War. Some of the older gentry like Sir Thomas Leigh granted portions only if their daughters and granddaughters married with the consent of their guardians; and Sir Thomas Holte left £300 to his granddaughter Katherine: 'although she hath undone herself by her marriage without consent which her husband shall have nothing to do with'.⁴⁹ Most gentlemen, however, left portions to their daughters absolutely on their twenty-first birthday and Sir Greville Verney in addition made a house available to his daughter, 'in case she decide not to marry at all'.⁵⁰

The fact that family ties involved a combination of personal affection and property rights makes it necessary to be cautious when discussing how kinship links led to close social bonds amongst the county gentry. Marriage connections have often been used as evidence for social cohesion amongst the gentry,⁵¹ but it must not be forgotten that marriages between gentry families sometimes led to personal quarrels

⁴⁷ Archer's will: S.B.T. DR37/Box 90; Newdigate's will: Prob 11/358/143; Lee's will: Prob 11/176/1.

⁴⁸ Prob 11/189/83. ⁴⁹ Prob 11/249/336 (Holte); Prob 11/338/50 (Leigh, 1672).

⁵⁰ Prob 11/189/83; cf. Fletcher, *A County Community in Peace and War*, 30.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 44-8; T.G. Barnes, *Somerset 1625-1640: A County's Government During the Personal Rule* (Oxford, 1961), 29: 'the effects of this inter-marriage on local government cannot be overstressed'.

Table 4 *Marriage connections of 1640 heads of families^a*

Bride's county of origin	Total known	Subsidy assessment below £5	Subsidy assessment above £5
Warwickshire	65 (43%)	44 (48%)	21 (34%)
6 contiguous counties	51 (34%)	31 (34%)	20 (33%)
elsewhere	36 (24%)	16 (18%)	20 (33%)
Total	152	91	61

^a Information is taken mainly from the *Visitations*, Dugdale, and *Dugdale* (Thomas); with some additional information from family collections. The marriages of 53% of heads of families are known. There is a very slight bias in favour of the richer gentry: 41% of the marriages known are for men whose subsidy assessment was more than £5; these make up 38% of the total group of 288.

and disputes over property rather than to harmony. The dispute between Sir Thomas Lucy and his son-in-law Sir William Spencer of Yarnton, Oxfordshire, over the latter's treatment of his wife reached the Privy Council; while William Boughton alleged that disputes arising from the marriage of his sister Katherine to a fellow J.P., William Combe of Stratford, had led his father to wish that the 'said Katherine had been buried when she went to be married'.⁵²

Though marriage links cannot automatically be equated with close personal ties between families, marriage patterns on the eve of the Civil War do reveal the extent to which the gentry's social horizons were wider than county boundaries. It is remarkable that under half of even the minor gentry had married within the county; and it should also be pointed out that amongst the third of the richer gentry who had married Warwickshire women were several newcomers like Sir Simon Clarke of Bidford, baronet, who owed their position in county society to marriage to a Warwickshire heiress. The county thus contrasts sharply with the Kent or

⁵² P.R.O. PC2/43, 323, 366 (1633); W.C.R.O. CR162/472 (1620). The Willis family of Fenny Compton and Connecticut illustrates the bitterness that could develop over second marriages. George Willis junior quarrelled with his step-mother over the disposition of his father's estates, alleging that undue influence had brought his father to favour his second wife and her children. Father and son had already quarrelled however over the latter's delay in emigrating to New England: *The Wyllys Papers* (Collections of the Connecticut Historical Society, 21, Hartford, Connecticut, 1924), 6, 66-78, 82-114.

Lancashire of the mid seventeenth century where over 70% of gentry families married within the county, but the looser kinship ties of Warwickshire are probably typical of the Midland counties for under half of the Worcestershire gentry married within the county.⁵³ Such out of county marriages could lead to a widening of the horizons of the Warwickshire gentry. A daughter of the Temples of Frankton married a Sussex gentleman in the 1630s and for the next twenty years members of both families frequently stayed at each other's houses, and kept one another informed of events in each county.⁵⁴

Further evidence of the lack of insularity of the gentry, and the degree to which the county was a base for broader interests rather than an exclusive focus is found in the variety of links the Warwickshire gentry had with other counties: 36% of the 1640 families and 55% of the richer group had close ties with other shires, such as a residence, extensive estates or close relatives there, or London legal practices or government office.⁵⁵ The greater gentry had these connections as a matter of course. Sir Thomas Lucy's extensive estates and the establishment of his brothers in other shires have been described above; but several lesser men also had such ties: Edward Chamberlain of Princethorpe or Thomas Leving of Grendon who was also an official of the Court of Wards and had a residence in Derby are examples.⁵⁶ It is difficult to assign some leading families to one particular county at all: several had favoured residences in two, and their involvement in a particular county at a particular time seems to have depended on which estates were settled on a widowed mother. Roger Burgoyne of Wroxall, Warwickshire and Sutton, Bedfordshire was sheriff of Warwickshire in 1629; his son Sir John, baronet, was sheriff of Bedfordshire in 1640, but M.P. for Warwickshire 1645-8 while his grandson Sir Roger was M.P. for Bedfordshire 1641-8, but one of the most influential conservatives in Warwickshire during the 1650s and

⁵³ Everitt, *The Community of Kent*, 42; B.G. Blackwood, 'The Marriages of the Lancashire Gentry on the Eve of the Civil War', *The Genealogists' Magazine*, vol. 16 (1970), 321-2; R.H. Silcock, 'County Government in Worcestershire 1603-1660' (Ph.D. thesis, London University, 1974), 319: marriages of heads of families and their heirs, 1600-60: 44% Worcestershire, 32% contiguous counties, and 24% further afield.

⁵⁴ East Sussex C.R.O., Dunn MS 51/47-68, correspondence of the Busbridge and Temple families. I was made aware of these papers by Fletcher, *A County Community in Peace and War*, 66-7, 105-6.

⁵⁵ Information comes from Visitations of other counties, wills and family collections. The richer group is those whose subsidy assessments were £5 or over; the designation is a comparative one as many of these families were by no means rich in absolute terms. 'Close relatives' in other counties means a brother, uncle, first cousin, or nephew established there with a family. The estimate is a minimum one because of the elusiveness of such cross-county information. Cf. the similar situation in Berkshire: C.G. Durston, 'London and the Provinces: The Association between the Capital and the Berkshire County Gentry of the Early Seventeenth Century', *Southern History*, vol. 3 (1981). ⁵⁶ C.S.P.D. 1625-1649, 643-4, 1619 Visitation, 321.

M.P. for that county 1656–8.⁵⁷ In a similar way the Ferrers of Tamworth Castle and the Burdetts of Bramcote were also greatly involved in Derbyshire society, while the recusant Throckmortons alternated between their residences at Coughton, Warwickshire, and Weston Underwood, Buckinghamshire.⁵⁸

Given these extensive links with the world outside the county boundary it is not surprising that an examination of the more intangible social links amongst the gentry undermines further the usefulness of the concept of a 'county community' as far as Warwickshire is concerned.⁵⁹ County-wide ties amongst the gentry were very rare, nor were the gentry's friendships usually confined to Warwickshire. For Cheshire John Morrill has drawn a distinction between the parochial gentry whose social relationships were almost solely with their neighbours, and the county gentry who were involved with a county-wide network of families.⁶⁰ In Warwickshire, too, there were of course many minor gentry whose friends and estates were confined to a small area, but this area was frequently not a sub-unit of Warwickshire, but a social and economic entity that ignored county boundaries: Henry Kendall of Austrey, for example, made a Leicestershire Minister the overseer of his will; and the wills and land settlements of Birmingham men reveal Staffordshire connections; Southam men often had close links with Northamptonshire.⁶¹

Amongst the middling gentry, those whose subsidy assessments were £5–10, social relationships were usually confined to one part of the county and adjacent counties: the executors and trustees of Thomas Newsham of Chadshunt were all from southern gentry families – Charles Bentley of Kineton, John Stanton of Longbridge, Warwick, and Samuel Ayleworth of Wellesbourne; and the wills of Bentley and Stanton reveal similar links.⁶²

For the leading gentry families, the arena of social relationships was both narrower and wider than the county. The general pattern was that a man's friends were drawn from his immediate neighbours, often from a

⁵⁷ V.C.H., vol. 6: 217. M.F. Keeler, *The Long Parliament 1640–1: A Biographical Study of its Members* (American Philosophical Society Memoirs, 36, Philadelphia, 1954), 122–3; David Underdown, *Prides Purge: Politics in the Puritan Revolution* (Oxford, 1971), 369.

⁵⁸ For the Ferrers and Burdetts see chapter 3 for their activities on the commission of the peace of both counties. For the Throckmortons: SP23/115/223, 225; E.A.B. Barnard, *A Seventeenth Century Country Gentleman: Sir Francis Throckmorton 1640–1680* (Cambridge, 1944), 4–5.

⁵⁹ What follows is based on the gentry's friendships as revealed by the bequests in their wills, and by their choice of executors and trustees of land settlements.

⁶⁰ J.S. Morrill, *Cheshire, 1630–1660: County Government and Society During the English Revolution* (Oxford, 1974), 15–16.

⁶¹ Kendall will: Lich.J.R.O. will proved 19 November 1673.

⁶² Newsham: Prob 11/245/111; Stanton: Prob 11/231/360; Bentley: Prob 11/354/71.

lower rank, from gentry in the same part of Warwickshire and from further afield. Sir William Boughton of Little Lawford in the east of the county, for example, made a nearby Leicestershire minister and a local yeoman the executors of his will; his overseers were Sir Thomas Cave of Northamptonshire and Richard Shuckborough, a leading east Warwickshire gentleman. All the debts Boughton noted in his will were owed by east Warwickshire men – the Earl of Denbigh, Thomas Temple of Frankton, and Robert Glover of Manceter. Besides his friendship with Cave, Boughton had other links that were wider than the county: both he and his brother had married Essex women.⁶³ Very few of the élite gentry had close ties with men from the remoter parts of Warwickshire: the northern, southern and eastern gentry formed distinct social groups. Thus there were close kinship and friendship ties amongst the northern magisterial families: the Dilkes of Maxstoke, the Reppingtons of Amington, the Fishers of Great Packington, and the Devereux of Sheldon, and between them and Staffordshire families like the Littletons; but the southern gentry of Warwickshire do not figure amongst the executors of their wills and the only recent cross-county marriage was between the sister of Sir Robert Fisher and Sir Clement Throckmorton of Haseley (who died in 1636).⁶⁴ The most enduring enmities as well as the closest friendships tended to be between gentry of the same locality. The conflicts over influence at Warwick mainly involved gentry from its immediate surroundings with little participation by northern gentry; while a more personal example is the forty-year-long dispute between the Newdigates of Arbury and their neighbours the Chamberlains of Temple House, Chilvers Coton. Two disputed purchases of a manor by John Newdigate and Richard Chamberlain of the Court of Wards led to decades of litigation until the Chamberlains, impoverished by the Civil War, were bought up by Richard Newdigate.⁶⁵ Thus even the leading gentry were little known outside their immediate locality: in March 1660 when the sons of two pre-war J.P.s were planning their election campaign for the county parliamentary seats a friend wrote to one of them, Thomas Archer of Tanworth, just within the Arden: ‘Tis true you are not yet rightly understood about that side of Rugby, And others about Wellesborne-tide

⁶³ Prob 11/260/447.

⁶⁴ *Visitations* of 1619 and 1682–3 for marriage links. Kinship and friendship ties amongst the northern gentry are illustrated in the wills of Sir George Devereux and Sir Thomas Holte: Prob 11/321/97, 249/336. Holte’s trustees and executors included very local minor gentry and yeomen from around Birmingham, leading north Warwickshire men and kinsmen from Staffordshire and Kent. The southern magnate, Sir Richard Verney, also had kinsmen from outside Warwickshire, while his friendships were with other southern families like the Lees and Conways: S.B.T. DR98/1512, SP16/172/92.

⁶⁵ For Warwick see pp. 17–18 above; Newdigate and Chamberlain: W.C.R.O. CR136 vol. 82, an account of the disputes over the manorial rights of Griffe and Chilvers Coton.

that know Mr Browne better have made the like objections . . . but if Mr Browne promote your interest there yours in the Woodland will advance his in a greater measure'.⁶⁶

The activities of professional gentry, especially lawyers, also indicate the lack of a 'county community' in Warwickshire. Lawyers, if they were moderately successful, served families from one area of the county only; as Edward Rainsford and James Prescott served the Peytoes, Lucys and Verneys from the south and south-east, and Edward Lapworth served Arden families like the Fetherstones of Packwood, and the Ardens of Park Hall.⁶⁷ The greatest lawyers had a clientele that stretched beyond Warwickshire: Serjeant John Whitwick, for example, was the legal adviser of Sir Thomas Puckering, Sir John Ferrers, and Sir Simon Archer of Warwickshire, but also of Sir George Gresley of Derbyshire. Similarly, the editor of the Stratford-on-Avon physician John Hall's *Select Observations on English Bodies*, commented: 'his practice was very much, and that amongst most eminent persons in the county where he lived, and those adjacent', and the patients who provided the 'raw material' for Hall's book, included residents of Worcestershire, Oxfordshire (where he treated Lord Saye's daughter), Northamptonshire, Gloucestershire and Shropshire, where in 1622 he visited the Earl of Northampton at Ludlow. Most of his Warwickshire patients were from the south and east of the county.⁶⁸ These social and professional networks were probably influenced by the contrasts of geography and economy within the county. The gentry of north and south Warwickshire had different relationships with their social 'inferiors' and generally divergent economic experiences. A common environment, plus practical questions of distance, helped make friendships locally not county focused.

It has been argued that education, particularly at a university, was not a solvent of local loyalties, but rather sharpened the gentry's attachment to their 'county communities'. Many colleges had close ties with particular areas, and a student would often be tutored by a man from his home area, using books, plate and scholarships donated by his county gentry.⁶⁹

⁶⁶ S.B.T. DR 37/Box 87, 1 March 1660: Henry Puckering to Thomas Archer.

⁶⁷ Rainsford: P. Styles, 'The Social Structure of Kineton Hundred in the Reign of Charles II' in *Studies in Seventeenth Century West Midlands History*, 172. Prescott: executor of the wills of Sir Thomas Lucy, Prob 11/185/20; and of Sir Edward Peyto, Prob 11/202/227. He was also steward to the Lucys and under-sheriff to Peyto's son in 1654 (W.C.R.O. L6/Manorial Documents 37-8 (1632-4) S.B.T. DR 98/1117-8); Lapworth: B.Ref.Lib. Norton Collection number 490; the Fetherstone correspondence, microfilm of MS at Maxstoke Castle, 92-3. Whitwick: B.L. Stowe MS 150 f.216 Harl. MS 7000 ff.421, 449. S.B.T. DR 37/Box 88 letters between Whitwick and Archer.

⁶⁸ John Hall, *Select Observations on English Bodies*, preface and *passim*. No patients from the Arden region were mentioned by Hall.

⁶⁹ Victor Morgan, 'Cambridge University and "The Country" 1560-1640' in L. Stone, ed., *The University in Society*, vol. 1 (London, 1975), 183-245.

Table 5 *The educational experience of 1640 heads of families^a*

Attendance at	Gentry as a whole	Those assessed at under £5 in subsidy	Those assessed at £5 and over in subsidy
Inn only	39 (13%)	18 (12%)	21 (22%)
University only	27 (9%)	11 (7%)	16 (17%)
Inn and university	26 (9%)	5 (3%)	21 (22%)
Total with some kind of higher education	92 (32%)	34 (22%)	58 (62%)
Total in group ^b	288	157	94

^a Information is from: J. Foster, ed., *Alumni Oxonienses*, being the matriculation register of the university, 1500–1700, 4 vols. (Oxford, 1891–2); J. and J.A. Venn, compilers, *Alumni Cantabrigienses, Part One: to 1751*, 4 vols. (Cambridge, 1922–7); Joseph Foster, *The Register of Admissions to Grays Inn 1521–1889* (1889). *Students Admitted to the Inner Temple, 1547–1660* (1877); H.A.C. Sturgess, compiler, *Register of Admissions to the Honourable Society of the Middle Temple from the Fifteenth Century to the Year 1944*, vol. 1 (1949). The Records of the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn, vol. 1, *Admissions 1420–1799* (1896).

In theory information is available for all 288 heads of families, but as Oxford was the university most favoured by the majority of the Warwickshire gentry and as Foster, which records only matriculations, is probably incomplete, there are very likely some omissions. The printed Inner Temple Register is also defective.

^b Information on subsidy assessments is available only for 250 families, so the totals do not tally and the percentage totals in columns 2 and 3 are slightly distorted.

However, Warwickshire gentry, although they overwhelmingly attended Oxford rather than Cambridge did not show the same attachments to particular colleges as did the East Anglian gentry studied by Morgan. Of the gentlemen who attended university, forty-four out of fifty-three went to Oxford: eight to Magdalen College and eight to Magdalen Hall, but no other college attracted more than five of the 1640 gentry.⁷⁰ It is likely that absence from home, often for the first time, did reveal to a young man how he differed in dialect, habits and experience from men in other parts of the country – a consciousness that Warwickshire was distinct from Yorkshire or Kent. It must surely though have been a consciousness that Warwickshire, or part of it, was a specific part of England, not a unit independent of or opposed to the nation state.

⁷⁰ Attendance at the Inns of Court does reveal a greater regional bias: thirty-two of the sixty-five 1640 heads of families who had attended an Inn went to Middle Temple (49%); sixteen went to Gray's Inn, ten to Lincoln's Inn, seven to the Inner Temple. W.R. Prest, *The Inns of Court under Elizabeth I and the Early Stuarts: 1590–1640* (1972), however, is sceptical about the importance of regional links with particular Inns (37–9).

The growing tendency of the gentry to send their sons to university testifies to a desire for wider experience than the local area could afford; and this desire is even more marked amongst those of the richest gentry who travelled abroad or sent their sons there. Foreign travel was becoming increasingly common amongst the leading gentry. Greville Verney had visited France, Italy and Genoa in 1610, and amongst the younger generation, the sons of Sir Thomas Lucy and Sir Simon Archer were sent abroad. Thomas Habington, the Worcestershire antiquarian, praised Archer's sending of his son to Paris for it was: 'the academy of learning and experience contrary to the ordinary course of homebred gentlemen who waste in idleness'.⁷¹

The intellectual and cultural interests of several of the gentry provide further evidence that their horizons were wider than their local community. Sir Henry Goodere, an extravagant and impoverished gentleman, was a close friend of John Donne who kept up a weekly correspondence with him until Goodere's death in 1628, sending news from the English court and from Europe, and discussing current religious controversies. Donne and Ben Jonson were frequently entertained at Goodere's home at Polesworth, and Donne preached the sermon at the marriage of Sir Francis Nethersole to Goodere's daughter in 1620.⁷² Sir Thomas Lucy of Charlecote was another friend and correspondent of Donne, and although his own religious inclinations were towards moderate Puritanism, his great library held many kinds of divinity books, amongst them the Koran, and his other friends included the unconventional Lord Herbert of Cherbury.⁷³ A representative of an older generation, Sir John Newdigate of Arbury (died 1610) had an ambitious, if rarely fulfilled, programme of study and meditation, which has been meticulously analysed by Vivienne Larminie. Newdigate's commonplace books reveal extensive, albeit conventional, reading – the Scriptures and religious commentaries, humanist conduct books, historical and legal works, classical histories and literature (in translation); all this reading was marshalled to help Newdigate construct and fulfil his aspirations as a 'godly magistrate'.⁷⁴ A minor gentleman, Waldive Willington of Hurley,

⁷¹ Verney: H.M.C. Cowper 1, 68; Lucy's sons were abroad when he made his will: Prob 11/185/20; Archer: B.L. Add. MS 28564 f.236v. Amongst gentry from just below the élite, Sir Edward Peyton (S.B.T. DR98/1663) and William Purefoy had travelled abroad (A.P.C. 1621–3, 282).

⁷² For Goodere's financial position see Hughes, 'Politics, Society and Civil War', 62; Edmund Gosse, *The Life and Letters of John Donne* (2 volumes, 1899), *passim*, but especially vol. 1: 80, 154, 221–7; vol. 2: 25, 66, 166–8. Newdigate, *Michael Drayton and his Circle*, 82. Ben Jonson's Epigrams 85 and 86 were addressed to Goodere: Ben Jonson, *Poems*, Ian Donaldson, ed. (Oxford, 1975), 44–5. G.R. Potter and Evelyn M. Simpson, eds., *The Sermons of John Donne*, vol. 11 (1955), 335.

⁷³ Gosse, vol. 1: 173–7, 315–16; D.N.B.; Styles, 'Sir Simon Archer', 34.

⁷⁴ Vivienne M. Larminie, *The Godly Magistrate: The Private Philosophy and Public Life of Sir John Newdigate 1571–1610* (Dugdale Society, Occasional Papers, 28, 1982).

whose subsidy assessment was £4, left to his sons books on 'Phisick & Chirurgery', history, and divinity books in Latin and English.⁷⁵

One intellectual activity which involved wide sections of the county gentry was antiquarianism. The widespread interest of the literate classes in heraldry and historical research and the spate of county histories produced in the first half of the seventeenth century – what Clark has called the 'advent of county myth-making' – are often used as evidence of the growth of the 'county community' as the gentry's main social and political reality.⁷⁶ *The Antiquities of Warwickshire* (1656) by William Dugdale was one of the most professional of seventeenth-century county studies and the product of over twenty years' work by Dugdale and his friend, patron and collaborator, Sir Simon Archer of Tanworth. Archer and Dugdale built on the work of an earlier Warwickshire antiquary, Henry Ferrers of Baddesley Clinton who acquired a vast collection on local families from the late sixteenth century onwards and had been a friend and correspondent of Camden, Stow and Richard Carew.⁷⁷

Sir Simon Archer was part of the only important friendship network that included families from all over the county. His wife, Anne Ferrers, daughter of Sir John of Tamworth, was the niece of Sir Thomas Puckering who became a close friend of Archer's. Another niece of Puckering's, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Adam Newton baronet, of Kent married Sir Edward Peyto of Chesterton in south Warwickshire; and Peyto, Ferrers, Archer and Puckering, along with the lawyer John Whitwick and relatives from other counties such as Thomas Rous of Worcestershire, and James Enyon of Northamptonshire, often acted as each others' trustees and executors.⁷⁸ Through their historical work Archer and Dugdale probably had the most widespread contacts amongst the Warwickshire gentry.⁷⁹ They visited the collections or borrowed the

⁷⁵ Lich.J.R.O. will proved 5 May 1676.

⁷⁶ F. Smith Fussner, *The Historical Revolution: English Historical Writing and Thought 1580–1640* (1962) especially 175, 182. Peter Clark, *English Provincial Society from the Reformation to the Revolution: Religion, Politics and Society in Kent, 1500–1640* (1977), 217–19, 346. Everitt, *The Community of Kent*, 45–6. Most county histories were perhaps more prosaic than Clark's comment suggests.

⁷⁷ Elizabeth K. Berry, *Henry Ferrers, An Early Warwickshire Antiquary, 1550–1633* (Dugdale Society Occasional Papers, 16, 1965) especially 20, 26–8.

⁷⁸ See for example, Peyto's marriage settlement: S.B.T. DR98/1063; Archer's will: S.B.T. DR37/Box 90; Puckering's will: Prob 11/175/157.

⁷⁹ Styles, 'Sir Simon Archer', is the basic and magnificent work on Archer. The most important source for the collaboration of Dugdale and Archer on historical research is their correspondence. Most of the letters of Dugdale and some of Archer's have been printed in William Hamper, ed., *The Life, Diary and Correspondence of Sir William Dugdale* (1827). Archer's letters are found in his letter book in Bodl. MS Eng.lett.b.1.; amongst the Archer collection in S.B.T. DR37; and amongst the collections copied by a nineteenth-century collector R.B. Wheler, B.L. Add. MS 28564. There is a great deal of overlap between all these sources, but all include letters not found elsewhere.

manuscripts of Catholic gentry like the Sheldons of Weston, and Puritans like Peyto and Lucy; northern gentry like Holte and Arden, southern families like the Verneys and the Somervilles of Edstone; and eastern gentry like the Shuckboroughs and the Newdigates. All Archer's contacts through the commission of the peace or through distant kinship ties were pressed into service. If 'county-mindedness' had any great influence on the life and thought of the Warwickshire gentry, it is here that it should surely be found. Local and county interests and loyalties were undoubtedly one important stimulus for Archer's work. His plans for a county history originated in the 1620s and he took on Dugdale as a collaborator in the mid 1630s, initially to work on a history of the Archers, but later to help with the *Warwickshire*. The project only became Dugdale's in 1638 when Sir Christopher Hatton took over financial responsibility provided Dugdale was made sole author – an arrangement which Archer happily accepted. In a fleeting moment of disillusion, Dugdale wished to abandon the work in late 1638 and could think of no one better suited to completing the *Warwickshire* than Archer who had 'so good an affection to your country's honour'.⁸⁰

The motives behind the gentry's interest in antiquarianism were mixed, however, and in Archer's case, and even more in the case of those who merely loaned their manuscripts, the desire to see their county's history written was but one influence amongst many. Heraldry could provide a valuable bolster to a gentleman's personal status: it could give reassurance to families of ancient origins in a time of social change, and validation to new gentry anxious to find or invent impressive connections that would make them a proper part of a long established élite. Sir Simon Clarke, of Bidford, one of the most enthusiastic helpers of Dugdale and Archer was a newcomer to the county, and Styles suggested that his need for reassurance was one reason for his antiquarian activities. For Clarke and others such studies were: 'at once the expression of a belief in an ordered hierarchy, of social achievement and of social aspiration'.⁸¹ In counties more economically and socially homogenous, concerns about status merged with an interest in the 'county community' for it was within this community that a gentleman measured his worth against his fellows,⁸² but in Warwickshire county society does not seem to have provided this focus and the gentry were more concerned with a smaller area. Thus Richard Verney was anxious to help with a map of Kineton Hundred for inclusion in Dugdale's *Warwickshire*.⁸³

⁸⁰ Styles, 'Sir Simon Archer', 13, 22–3, 26. *Dugdale* (Hamper), 182.

⁸¹ Philip Styles, 'Sir Simon Clarke', *B.A.S.T.*, vol. 66 (1945–6), 12.

⁸² I owe this point to Dr B.W. Quintrell.

⁸³ *Dugdale* (Hamper), 257. Edward Ferrers made the collection of his father, Henry, available to Archer and Dugdale, but his own concerns, as indicated in his letters to Archer, were almost exclusively with his own family's history: Bodl. MS Eng.lett.b.1. ff.94–104.

Old manuscripts could also be useful in a gentleman's litigation with his neighbours, and to a man trying to improve his estates. As mentioned above, Archer used his researches to buttress his claims to fines and dues from tenants. He enjoyed combining intellectual controversy with personal profit; relishing a dispute with a tenant, Mr Charles Waring, who himself had antiquarian interests and who conducted an amicable, scholarly struggle with Archer, swapping court roll for court roll until he succumbed and paid the heriot demanded. The law suits stimulated by the publication of the *Warwickshire* are clear indications of the contemporary relevance of historical research.⁸⁴ The gentry's uninterested or partisan attitudes towards historical research often infuriated Dugdale. Typical was his complaint that one family collection was 'utterly rotted with wet and rain'. Most gentry, he said 'were suspicious of prying into their estates' unless they could exploit his researches for some personal gain. When the minister of Lapworth wanted Dugdale's help in obtaining evidence to support his claims to tithes, Dugdale reluctantly agreed but was moved to comment to Archer: 'I hope he will consider that my studies are not supported without great charge and much labour which I leave to you to intimate.' He was scathing about the gentry's appetite for semi-fictitious heralds' pedigrees and dubious of their ability to appreciate his findings: 'I should be tender in communicating such rarities to them that understand them not.' Dugdale obtained some revenge for the years of exasperation in the Preface to the *Warwickshire* where he listed those families whose pedigrees he had omitted because their present heads would not contribute to the costs of publication, plus those whom he would have left out had he known they would not pay up.⁸⁵

If for many of the gentry their interest in antiquarianism was narrower and more personal than 'county myth-making', for both Archer and Dugdale their historical work was a profound, professional interest broader than an affection towards their own county. They were both part of a group of 'lovers of antiquities' that included not only other Midland historians and collectors like William Burton of Leicestershire, Thomas Habington of Worcestershire, and Sir Christopher Hatton of Northamptonshire, but also Sir Edward Dering and Sir Simonds D'Ewes (who helped Dugdale with his Anglo-Saxon). All these men were closely involved in each others' work, doing research for one another in London and elsewhere, and providing introductions to helpful patrons and

⁸⁴ S.B.T. DR37/Boxes 87 and 88: letters between Archer and Waring, 1629. Styles, 'Sir Simon Archer', 9, 16, 266 n.61. Cf. Everitt, *The Community of Kent*, 46, for how antiquarianism fitted in with the day-to-day concerns of the gentry.

⁸⁵ *Dugdale* (Hamper), 164, 184, 190, 203; Styles, 'Sir Simon Archer', 35-6; Dugdale, 'Preface'.

collectors. Dugdale spent most of each year in London throughout the 1630s, 'to the neglect of my affairs at home' even before Hatton found him a place in the herald's office. The *Warwickshire* Preface emphasised the general applicability of much of Dugdale's research:

divers discourses therein are of general importance, as to matters of knowledge, pointing out the original or antiquity of several things whereof most men are perhaps not as yet so far informed, *scil.* of parishes, consecration and dedication of churches . . . fairs, solemnities anciently used at the baptizing of children, the sacred and courtly ceremonies in conferring the honour of knighthood . . . grants by charter.

The *Warwickshire* was dedicated 'To my honoured friends, the gentry of Warwickshire' but Dugdale also quoted Raleigh to emphasise the general didactic value of history which 'hath given us life in our understanding since the world itself had life and beginning'.⁸⁶

Dugdale's work is well known but Archer too studied areas outside Warwickshire. In 1638 he wrote to Hatton: 'What collections I have are at your command and if any antiquity casually happen into my hands that may concern you, it shall be yours'; and among the collections he offered Hatton was his 'Church notes of Northamptonshire'. Dugdale's *Warwickshire* owed much to Archer's research and inspiration, and he performed a similar role for Habington. In 1636 Habington wrote that Archer was 'my especial benefactor for Antiquities' and in 1642 he promised: 'I will present my first book to you without whom it had never had life or light'.⁸⁷ For neither Dugdale nor Archer was their historical work incompatible with a lively interest in contemporary events, as their correspondence shows, nor in Dugdale's case at least, with active involvement in the crisis of the Civil War.⁸⁸

The antiquarian activities of the gentry, as with most of the other facets of their lives presented in this chapter, show that the county of Warwick was not their sole interest, but one of the several spheres in which they moved. Their personal and social involvements were both narrower and wider than the county. There is no sign either that local interests conflicted with wider national activities. Rather, amongst the greater gentry, there were ever-widening areas of responsibility from the family through to the nation. A no doubt idealised view of the situation was presented by Robert Harris, the preacher of Sir Thomas Lucy's funeral sermon in 1640:

⁸⁶ Dugdale (Hamper), 166–7, 170–1, 176, 182, 186–7, 195–6; Dugdale, 'Preface'; cf. Styles, 'Sir Simon Archer', 2, for the comment that 'the distinction between local and national history' would not have occurred to Archer and Dugdale.

⁸⁷ Dugdale (Hamper), 172–3; B.L. Add. MS 28564 f.222; S.B.T. DR37/Box 87; Styles, 'Sir Simon Archer', 19. Archer's correspondence on antiquarian matters came, like Dugdale's, from all over England.

⁸⁸ Philip Styles, 'Dugdale and the Civil War', *B.A.S.T.*, vol. 86 (1974), 132–47.

A noble Lady hath lost not an husband (as she saith) but a father.

Many children have lost not a father, but a counsellor.

A houseful of servants have lost, not a master but a physician, who made (as I am informed) their sickness his, and his physic and cost theirs.

Towns full of tenants have lost a landlord that could both protect and direct them in their own way.

The whole neighbourhood have lost a light.

The County a leader.

The Country a Patriot, To whom he was not wanting, till he was wanting to himself, in his former vigor and health.⁸⁹

Lucy was obviously untypical in the range of his activities for until 1640 he was probably the predominant gentleman in the county, knight of the shire in all Parliaments from 1614 to the Short Parliament, but he is not untypical in his ability to operate in different arenas from the very local outwards.

The next chapter will deal with the more public range of the gentry's activities as depicted in this sermon: with the nature of religion and politics in the county before 1640, and the relationship between local and national developments.

⁸⁹ Robert Harris, *Abner's Funeral* (1641), 25–6.

Public affairs 1620–1639

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

The expansion in the powers and functions of local administration was an important influence on the development of county loyalties in the century before the Civil War.¹ The leading gentry meeting at Quarter Sessions enforced law and order in the county, arbitrated in disputes between parishes, and occasionally functioned as a kind of local parliament when the sessions became a forum for united discussions or action over a demand of the central government. An example of this last role in Warwickshire is found in the refusal of the J.P.s, on behalf of all 'men of ability' in the county, to contribute to a free gift to the king in December 1614, offering supply through Parliament only. The decision followed a meeting of all Warwickshire tax-payers, probably at Quarter Sessions.²

Although Warwickshire was socially and economically so diverse, its administrative structure was more united than that of many other counties. A single bench met constantly at Warwick: Quarter Sessions did not rotate between several towns as in Somerset or Wiltshire, neither were there separate benches for different parts of the county as there were in practice in Lincolnshire or Sussex.³

The county's J.P.s between 1620 and 1640 are listed in table 4a of appendix 1. No evidence survives to show how they were appointed. Historians of other counties have described the great competition amongst the pool of leading gentry to secure a place that brought prestige

¹ See, for example, Conrad Russell, *Parliaments and English Politics 1621–1629* (Oxford, 1979), 70 n. 2 for the problems of revising J.P.s' manuals to take account of the flood of sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century legislation.

² A.P.C. 1613–1614, 655–6. The assizes too could serve as an arena for discussing current issues: the Warwickshire gentry considered their attitude to the Palatinate benevolence there in August 1620: Harl. MS 7000 f.13, Sir John Ferrers to Sir Thomas Puckering.

³ Barnes, *Somerset*, 69–70; J. Hurstfield, 'County Government 1530–1660' in *VCH Wiltshire*, vol. 5 (1957), 80–110, especially 88; Fletcher, *A County Community in Peace and War*, 134–5; Holmes, *Seventeenth Century Lincolnshire*, 83.

and status as well as substantial power over one's neighbours; and have judged that the Privy Council took the advice of assize judges, bishops and county magnates with influence at court in making their decisions.⁴ In Warwickshire one can conjecture that the lord lieutenants, the Earls of Northampton, and the Privy Councillors with local links, the first Viscount Conway, and the first Lord Brooke, had some say; but in very few cases is it possible to be sure that an individual owed his appointment to a particular backer. The Earl of Northampton, possibly, secured the appointment of Sir Francis Browne as a J.P., for Browne had no known links with the county and had been knighted at Castle Ashby, Northampton's home, a year before he was added to the commission of the peace.⁵ Indeed it is most likely that the main concern of the Privy Council was to ensure an adequate coverage of the whole county by J.P.s; and there is no indication of factional or political considerations overriding this aim except perhaps in the late 1630s. William Purefoy of Caldecote, added to the commission in 1632, had already distinguished himself as an opponent of the forced loan and the knighthood fines, and was the least wealthy of all pre-war J.P.s. His appointment was probably due to the need to have a working J.P. in the north-east of the county, around Nuneaton, where there were rarely any gentry of magnate status resident. John Newdigate of Arbury was a J.P. but was largely inactive,⁶ spending most of his time in London, as did his neighbour, Richard Chamberlain of Astley, the Clerk of the Court of Wards. Purefoy's only important friend was the second Lord Brooke, whose influence at court was minimal. In the north of the county as a whole there were few really wealthy gentry and men like John Lisle or Sir George Devereux had to be appointed to do the work, whilst gentry of comparable wealth and status in the south such as Sir Edward Peyto or Sir Henry Gibbes never became J.P.s and perhaps did not expect to. Most of the rarely resident J.P.s who were appointed to the commission before the Civil War had homes in the north; even if they did not attend Quarter Sessions they could be useful in dealing with occasional out-of-sessions business while they were in the county.⁷ In the west of the county, near Stratford-on-Avon, the men whose wealth and status made them obvious J.P.s, like Robert Throckmorton of Coughton and Sir Charles Smith of Wotton Wawen, were recusants, and again one of the J.P.s from this area, William Combe of Stratford, ranked well below the magnates like Lucy, Verney and Leigh.

⁴ Barnes, *Somerset*, 42–3; A. Hassell Smith, *County and Court: Government and Politics in Norfolk 1558–1603* (Oxford, 1974), 58–66.

⁵ See appendix 1: table 4a; W.A. Shaw, *The Knights of England*, vol. 2 (1906), 173.

⁶ See appendix 1: table 4b.

⁷ As for example Sir John Ferrers of Tamworth Castle and Derbyshire was: appendix 1: table 4b.

Geographical considerations apart, the gentry who were of the commission of the peace tended to be from families long established in the county, and men of longer than average educational experience. Almost half of the forty-five county gentry who sat on the bench from 1620 to 1640 were from families established in Warwickshire before 1500 and only eight were newcomers.⁸ Several of these eight were lawyers whose special expertise was necessary to the bench: Edward Stapleton and Sir Stephen Harvey are examples. It was when a gentleman did not fit the general criteria for inclusion that influential friends at court seem to have been important. Sir Thomas Puckering, the son of Elizabeth's Lord Keeper, and Sir Robert Lee of Billesley, a friend of Conway and the brother-in-law of Secretary of State, Sir John Coke, were new entrants to the county who became J.P.s while Sir Simon Clarke, baronet, another newcomer who lacked such connections did not, although he served in the less-prestigious office of sheriff.⁹ Families with influential links with the central government were more likely to retain membership of the commission of the peace over more than one generation; although there were some families, notably the Lucys, whose local status alone ensured a continuing place on the bench. Sir John Reppington of Ammington died in 1626 and his heir was not appointed to the commission until 1641; the sons of Sir William Browne and Sir Clement Throckmorton, who both died in 1637, were not made J.P.s until the Restoration. In contrast, Robert Lee, the son of Sir Robert was made a J.P. the year after his father's death while the heirs of Sir Thomas Leigh and Sir Richard Verney were appointed within weeks.¹⁰

There was little change in the composition of the commission of the peace from 1625 to 1640. No magistrate was removed for political reasons except for the non-resident Earl of Essex for his opposition to the forced loan in 1627.¹¹ There was a 'purge' of the bench in December 1625 but this does not seem to have been politically motivated; rather, as in Sussex, it was an attempt to remove the inefficient and those whose wealth or status did not justify a magistrate's role.¹² The Crown Office Docquet Book does not specify who was omitted but there are seven men who were J.P.s between 1622 and 1625 and who are not included in the *Liber Pacis* of

⁸ See appendix 1: table 4a. Twenty-one of the forty-five came from medieval families. 73% of pre-war J.P.s (thirty-three out of forty-five) had had some form of higher education, a proportion similar to that of the benches of other counties: J.H. Gleason, *The Justices of the Peace in England 1558–1640* (1969), 84.

⁹ For Puckering, see pp. 33, 36 above. For Lee's links with Conway and Coke: SP16/525/7; H.M.C. (Cowper) vol. 1: 209, 237, 371; vol. 2: 136. For sheriffs see appendix 1: table 5.

¹⁰ See appendix 1: table 4a and for the younger Reppington see chapter 4 below.

¹¹ *Q.S.O.B.*, vol. 1, xix, June 1627. Essex was restored in December 1628: C231/4 f.26of. For the major changes in the composition of the bench 1640–2 see chapter 4 below.

¹² Fletcher, *A County Community in Peace and War*, 129.

January 1626.¹³ Three of these, Robert Arden, John Lisle and Sir Simon Archer, were restored by October 1626; the remaining four are Sir Thomas Burdett, a non-resident, and John Temple, Sir Henry Goodere and John Hugford, all of whom were less wealthy than most of their fellow J.P.s. Only Temple, the brother-in-law of Saye, and a militant Puritan, is at all likely to have been politically unacceptable to the crown. From 1626 the commission remained significantly smaller than in 1625 with the number of J.P.s who were not of the quorum especially reduced. This adds to the impression that the aim of the purge was to raise the status and improve the efficiency of the bench.¹⁴

The Warwickshire commission lacked the struggles for pre-eminence between lay and clerical magnates that affected Sussex, for example. Warwickshire was divided into two dioceses, both of which had their administrative centres outside the shire. The county thus had no great ecclesiastical centre and only a small resident hierarchy. Even so it is remarkable that only one ecclesiastical J.P. was appointed to the bench between 1620 and 1642.¹⁵

It is difficult to estimate how far the administration of Warwickshire mitigated the social and economic disunity discussed in earlier chapters. Obviously the meeting of the leading gentry four times a year at Warwick to deal with the affairs of the county as a whole did something to overcome particularism within the county, especially as the composition of the bench altered very little from 1626 to 1640. However even here some qualifications have to be made. The J.P.s of Warwickshire shared the characteristics of the gentry as a whole in that they were a less cohesive group than the magistrates of other counties. Many of them had lands and relations in other counties and some were on other commissions of the peace.¹⁶ Comparatively few had marriage and kinship ties with their fellow J.P.s for only a third had married brides from Warwickshire, while nearly half came from families new to county administration as was predictable in a county where the sixteenth century was decisive in the development of the county élite.¹⁷

¹³ C231/4 f.194v, 22 December 1625, 'divers' were left out of the commission. The seven do not include Edward Boughton, Sir Francis Leigh and Sir Roland Rugely who died in these years. For *Libri Pacis* used in this study see the notes to appendix 1: table 1.

¹⁴ Appendix 1: table 1, for the size of the commission of the peace.

¹⁵ Fletcher, *A County Community in Peace and War*, 129. Thomas Morton, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield sat as a J.P. but his successor Robert Wright did not: SP16/212, C193/13/2; *Libri Pacis* 1632 and 1634-7. There were ten clerical J.P.s in Somerset in this period: Barnes, *Somerset*, 46.

¹⁶ This applied mainly to the rarely resident J.P.s: Burdett and Ferrers sat on the Derbyshire bench throughout; Sir Walter Devereux on the Worcestershire bench; but Sir Thomas Leigh of Stoneleigh was a J.P. in Staffordshire and Warwickshire, Sir Thomas Lucy in Herefordshire and Warwickshire. Most were active J.P.s in only one county, however.

¹⁷ See appendix 1: table 4a. The marriage alliances of forty J.P.s are known: fifteen had married Warwickshire brides; nineteen were from families new to county administration.

It must also be remembered that the number of J.P.s actively involved in county administration was smaller than the number on the commission. There is evidence of some activity by thirty-four of the forty-five pre-war J.P.s but in some cases this was confined to brief periods or to out-of-sessions business only.¹⁸ A comparison between the total commissions and the numbers actually turning up at sessions (see appendix 1: tables 1 and 2) indicates that barely half of the J.P.s attended Quarter Sessions in the 1630s although the proportion was nearer two-thirds in the 1620s.¹⁹ The most interesting aspect of the behaviour of the pre-war J.P.s at Quarter Sessions and an important factor impeding the development of a 'county community' was the comparative inactivity of the gentry other than those from the south of the shire and from the area between Warwick and Coventry. Some of these northern J.P.s, like Sir Robert Fisher of Packington, who neither attended sessions nor did much out-of-sessions business, were simply uninterested in the work as opposed to the prestige of being a J.P. Others, like Robert Arden of Park Hall, or Sir Thomas Holte of Aston, were active out of sessions but made the often difficult journey to Warwick only once or twice a year, if at all. While such men saw the relevance of acting in their immediate localities they do not seem to have been very interested in becoming involved in the affairs of the county as a whole. A similar contrast between out-of-sessions activity and sporadic attendance at Quarter Sessions can be seen in the records of J.P.s from the east of the county: William Boughton, Basil Feilding and Richard Shuckborough. On the other hand nearly all the southern J.P.s were active in and out of sessions and several like Sir Thomas Lucy, Sir William Browne and Sir Robert Lee had an almost perfect record of attendance at Quarter Sessions.²⁰

The Book of Orders of January 1631 has usually been at the centre of discussions of the relationship between local and central government before the Civil War. The Book remains the obvious focus, although its impact on the provinces must now be examined in the light of important recent studies which have shown that its reputation as a startlingly novel initiative by the centre and as a source of resentment in the localities is largely ill-founded. There is no reason to assume any divergence between local and central interests over the Book's aim of improving the

¹⁸ See appendix 1: table 4b for active J.P.s and for discussion of the sources available for such an analysis.

¹⁹ This calculation assumes that the size of the commission remained constant between the dates when precise information exists – i.e. that deaths were cancelled out by new appointments. This does not distort the position unduly except for the period after 1635. For problems with the sources for attendance at Quarter Sessions see note to table 2. The proportion of active J.P.s is similar to that found in other counties: Gleason, 106–12.

²⁰ Appendix 1: table 4a. The only J.P.s from the north of the county who consistently attended more than half the sessions in each year were Sir George Devereux, John Lisle and William Purefoy.

administration of poor relief during a prolonged economic crisis created by war, bad harvests and a trade depression. It is clear, too, that the Book was not part of 'Thorough', not a conscious policy by an aggressive central government. Rather it had many precedents and was the product of diverse influences within the government.²¹ The experiences of Warwickshire J.P.s which would have increased the familiarity of the council's 1631 proposals to supervise local government included correspondence with the assize judges in 1620 over a Privy Council proposal for a corn magazine in each county, and reports to the council in 1623 on the suppression of alehouses.²² It has been suggested that while there was 'general agreement on objectives' between court and country, there was provincial resentment at the elevation of prerogative control in the means employed in 1631. The scope and proposed continuity of the programme was new: the usual contacts between J.P.s and assize judges were reinforced by a complicated system of supervision whereby the justices sent reports of their monthly meetings to the sheriffs who passed them on to the judges and to a Committee of Privy Councillors.²³ However, there is no evidence of such resentment in Warwickshire, unless it is implicit in the limited number of certificates sent up to the council. A contrast may be drawn between the 1631 procedure which 'left the J.P.s to provide their own testimony to their efforts', and the earlier patent given to Sir Giles Mompessan to license alehouses. This latter not only removed an important function from the control of J.P.s, but also had the effect (if not the aim) of increasing the number of alehouses which were seen, especially by Puritans, as a major source of disorder and immorality. Sir Clement Throckmorton pointed out: 'he chiefly intends the multitude of offences because thereby more gain accrueth to him', and the result would be 'marvellous great disorder in the commonwealth'.²⁴

It seems that local governors did not automatically oppose central 'interference', and indeed social policy is an instructive example of creative co-operation between centre and localities. As Paul Slack has pointed out, 'The Tudor Poor Law itself was founded on local experiments' while one of the models for the Book of Orders was existing practice in Northamptonshire, communicated to the Earl of Manchester by his brother. The counties were not passive, backward objects of centralising efficiency and reform, and the Book of Orders is conspicu-

²¹ B.W. Quintrell, 'The Making of Charles I's Book of Orders', *E.H.R.*, vol. 95 (1980); Paul Slack, 'Books of Orders: the Making of English Social Policy 1577-1631', *T.R.H.S.*, 5th series, vol. 30 (1980).

²² *A.P.C. July 1619-June 1621*, 112-13; *SP14/113/142*; *SP14/138/70*, 88.

²³ Slack, 'Books of Orders', 15, 18-19; *A.P.C. June 1630-June 1631*, item 604.

²⁴ Quintrell, 'The Making of Charles I's Book of Orders', 556; *SP14/109/21*, 9 May 1619, Throckmorton to Mr Thomas Wilson. See also n. 34 below.

ously missing from the Grand Remonstrance's catalogue of the grievances of the personal rule.²⁵ But, if the Book's political impact was minimal, what was its administrative effect?

The institution of regular monthly meetings in Warwickshire, at least, was a tightening up of existing practices.²⁶ Apart from regular referrals of business to two or more J.P.s out of sessions the Book of Orders occasionally mentions more formal meetings of justices before 1631. In Easter 1629 reference was made to provision for a Salford weaver by Sir Robert Lee and Thomas Spencer 'at their meeting in Henley-in-Arden . . . touching the relief of the poor' in March 1627. J.P.s were not always conscientious in their attendance at such meetings. A matter delegated to J.P.s 'at their sitting at Wellesborne for Kineton Hundred' in Easter 1625 had to be dealt with again at the Trinity sessions as no justice had turned up.²⁷ The number of J.P.s attending sessions rose in the period immediately following the issuing of the Book of Orders but fell again in the succeeding years and the 1630s as a whole saw lower attendances than most of the 1620s.²⁸ The number of orders passed at Quarter Sessions did not rise significantly either, but it is hard to be sure how important the number of orders is. Poor relief orders tended to fluctuate with economic difficulties and increased efficiency by J.P.s out of sessions could lead to a decline in business done in sessions.²⁹ Out-of-sessions work seems to have improved through the institution of formal monthly meetings: after 1631 there are no more references to matters not being dealt with and the meetings continued at least until early 1641.³⁰ The magistrates' closer control of their subordinates, constables and overseers of the poor, was maintained. The records of a meeting held for Kineton Hundred in April 1639 survive amongst Sir Simon Archer's papers, and include reports

²⁵ Slack, 'Books of Orders', 7. Quintrell, 'The Making of Charles I's Book of Orders', 572.

²⁶ As it was in Essex, but not in Somerset: B.W. Quintrell, 'The Government of the County of Essex 1603–1642' (Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1965), 47–62; Barnes, *Somerset*, 81–5.

²⁷ *Q.S.O.B.*, vol. 1: 74, 5, 12. At the Trinity Sessions in 1630, Sir Simon Archer, Sir Robert Lee and William Combe were asked to meet to deal with poor relief at Henley-in-Arden and Wootton Wawen, but did not do so: *ibid.*, 101, 104.

²⁸ See appendix 1: table 2. It must be remembered that there is no evidence for the attendance of baronets after 1632; but of these only Sir Thomas Puckering who died in 1637 was a conscientious attender. The other baronets who were active J.P.s, Sir Thomas Holte and Sir Thomas Leigh, rarely attended more than half the sessions in the 1620s and so it is likely that the 1630 figures do not unduly distort the picture.

²⁹ See appendix 1: table 3: A.L. Beier, 'Poor Relief in Warwickshire 1630–1660', *Past and Present*, vol. 35 (1966), 77–100, especially 87–92. Conversely the massive rise in business done by Quarter Sessions after the Civil War may well reflect a shift away from out-of-sessions work: see chapter 7 below.

³⁰ The last reference in the Order Book is to a poor relief order by the J.P.s of Kineton Hundred made in April 1641; (*Q.S.O.B.*, vol. 2: 102, Michaelmas 1641). Monthly meetings revived briefly after 1645.

from parish officials. Some of these are no doubt conventional – such as that from Priors Hardwick which said glibly that all was well – but more included detailed reports especially concerning the provision of poor relief.³¹

It is unlikely that supervision of J.P.s by the Privy Council lasted that long. The earliest surviving J.P.s' reports consist of one from Hemlingford Hundred explaining that the plague had prevented the holding of monthly meetings; a complacent certificate from Kineton Hundred, mainly concerning the activities of Catholics, and a detailed account of proceedings at monthly meetings in Knightlow Hundred from June to September 1631.³² The Privy Council complained to sheriffs in April 1632 that: 'whilst the business was fresh it was well put in execution and much good came of it, but now of late is so much slackness as all returns again to the former course';³³ and by 1635, when J.P.s were asked to report to assize judges on alehouses in their divisions, the resulting replies were uniformly stereotyped. The last extant report is from Knightlow Hundred in February 1636.³⁴

Barnes described in Somerset how the burden of work imposed by the Book of Orders along with ship money and the Bishops' Wars, added to the increasing disaffection from the government and led to a reluctance to serve as J.P.s amongst the county gentry. As mentioned above, in Warwickshire too the size of the bench decreased as heirs were not appointed in succession to their fathers. Seven new J.P.s were appointed between 1630 and 1634, but only two in the next five years: Richard Shuckborough in June 1635 and Robert Lee in May 1639. This may reflect a decline in the gentry's desire for the office, but may also stem from the government's reluctance to appoint men of whose reliability they could no longer be confident.³⁵ There was certainly no shortage of new recruits to the bench during the period 1640–2 when a political settlement was sought. The two most notable non-appointments, the heirs of Sir William Browne and Sir Clement Throckmorton, were to become moderate

³¹ S.B.T. DR37/Box 85. At Priors Hardwick it was reported that the poor were provided for; there were no rogues, recusants or disorderly alehouses and 'the assize of breads and ale is kept so far as we know' but there were detailed accounts from Lapworth, Brailes, and Wellesborne Mountford.

³² SP16/200/40; 198/48; 199/65. The last included reports on the binding of apprentices, the suppression of alehouses and control of recalcitrant constables. ³³ PC2/41, p. 545.

³⁴ SP16/293/44, 65; 305/75; cf. Barnes, *Somerset*, 192–4; SP16/314/116. Warwickshire, with Essex and Northamptonshire was amongst the counties sending fewest certificates to the council. They got on with the work without seeing the need to account to the central government: Quintrell, 'The Making of Charles I's Book of Orders', 569.

³⁵ Barnes, *Somerset*, 305–7; appendix 1: table 4a; Fletcher emphasises 'the restrictive and competitive conditions of Coventry's Lord Keepership': *A County Community in Peace and War*, 130.

Parliamentarians and both came from families noted for their Puritanism.

A contrast is sometimes drawn between the two major organs of county government with the magistracy seen as the stronghold of localism while the lieutenancy is regarded as an agency of centralisation.³⁶ The Warwickshire deputy lieutenants who coped with the government's military demands in the 1620s were all active J.P.s however: Thomas Spencer, Sir Thomas Lucy, Sir Richard Verney and Sir Thomas Puckering.³⁷ Although all had links with the centre there is no evidence that their work as deputy lieutenants altered their attitudes, or marked them out in any way from their fellow magistrates, while as M.P.s Lucy and Puckering seem to have acted as typical 'country gentlemen'. That such men could easily act as both J.P.s and deputy lieutenants indicates again that there was not necessarily any conflict between local and national interests: it depended on what the government was calling on local governors to do. Lucy and Verney, for example, who were conscientious deputy lieutenants were, as will be seen, conspicuously absent from the ranks of active forced-loan commissioners. What is noticeable about the active deputies of the 1620s is that they all came from the south of the county. Indeed after the death of Sir Thomas Leigh in early 1626 only two of the county's four hundreds were represented: Barlichway in the west and Kineton in the south. As the J.P.s who most often attended Quarter Sessions tended to come from the same parts of the county the possibility of conflict between the two branches of county government was minimised. The deputy lieutenants were a closely-knit group: Spencer was Lucy's father-in-law; Puckering and Lucy were close neighbours who shared a newsletter. These factors no doubt enabled the deputies to work together easily, but the raising of troops from all over the county, and the supervising of the trained bands of all the hundreds, was perhaps more difficult.

The second Earl of Northampton, lord lieutenant in succession to his father from 1630, appointed deputy lieutenants to cover the whole county: Sir Thomas Holte and Sir Robert Fisher from Hemlingford Hundred in the north and William Boughton from Knightlow Hundred in the east were active in 1638–9 along with Sir Thomas Leigh, the younger, and Sir Thomas Lucy, the only survivor from the 1620s. The better geographical coverage this achieved was counteracted by a more pronounced distinction between the lieutenancy and the magistracy for

³⁶ Robert Ashton, *The English Civil War: Conservatism and Revolution 1603–1649* (1978), 51–4. Ashton also points out the ambiguities in this dichotomy; and his discussion of the relationship is based mainly on Norfolk.

³⁷ For pre-Civil War deputy lieutenants, see Hughes, 'Politics, Society and Civil War', 114, table 7; active deputies as revealed in State Papers and correspondence in Cov. C.R.O. A79.

only Lucy was an active J.P.; and only he and Leigh came from the same parts of Warwickshire as the gentry who were traditionally most involved in county life.

How far the lord lieutenants themselves acted as mediators between the county and the centre (as ideally their role was perceived)³⁸ is difficult to decide, given the lack of sources. William Compton, the first Earl of Northampton, had a reputation as an efficient and skilled lieutenant and some indication of this can be seen in his encouragement of the Artillery Yard for military training in Coventry. But as President of the Council of Wales, and lord lieutenant of many other counties, it was not possible for him to devote much of his attention to Warwickshire and his presence in the county in December 1624 to help levy 250 men for Mansfeldt's expedition was exceptional.³⁹ His tenuous relationship with the county was illustrated when his deputies were faced with a refusal to contribute towards the charges of raising men in October 1627 and wrote to their neighbour Lord Conway for advice, rather than to Northampton.⁴⁰ Brooke and Monmouth were the Privy Councillors sent to supervise the collection of the forced loan; while Northampton's lack of success in pushing the 1628 plan to collect ship money and his apparent failure to even attempt to raise loans on the Privy Seal in 1625–6 indicate that his policy towards the county was based primarily on an instinctive sense of when to leave well alone.

Spencer Compton, the second earl, was lord lieutenant only of Gloucestershire besides Warwickshire but seems to have spent as little time as his father did on the affairs of this county. He promoted the distraints of knighthood in Warwickshire, and in 1638 was reported as having helped Sir Simon Clarke avoid a second term as sheriff. He was primarily a courtier, however, and in the 1630s too the deputy lieutenants were left mostly to themselves. The earl's lack of success in winning the support of the trained bands, or even their captains, in 1642 reveals how little Northampton had realised the potential of his office.⁴¹

³⁸ Ashton, 53; but Barnes, *Somerset*, 102 saw the lord lieutenant in Somerset merely as a one-man committee of the Privy Council for the county, rather than as a link between the two; here the lord lieutenant was rarely resident, however.

³⁹ L. Boynton, *The Elizabethan Militia* (1967), 241; Cov. C.R.O. A14(a) ff.230r, 231r, 267v, 291v; A79, P117, P137, P148, P152. SP14/176/4, Northampton to the Privy Council, 1 December 1624, complaining that the captains had not arrived to collect the men raised in Warwickshire.

⁴⁰ SP16/80/19, 3 October 1627. There was possibly some conflict between Northampton and his deputies over the refuser Edward Standish. Standish was released from attendance on the Privy Council after Northampton had persuaded him to pay up: SP16/84/49, 55, 76 (November 1627).

⁴¹ SP16/172/92, Sir Robert Lee to Conway on the knighthood proceedings, August 1630; *Dugdale* (Hamper), 189, Dugdale to Archer, November 1638. The position was what the lord lieutenant made of it and an energetic leader like the Earl of Warwick in Essex could become the most influential officer in county government. Quintrell, 'The Government of the County of Essex', 118–21.

The deputies dutifully raised the men and organised the billeting required by the war effort of the 1620s; whether this was done out of loyalty to the king and to the international Protestant cause, because they feared the council's displeasure or because they saw an opportunity to rid the county of undesirable elements through the press, it is not possible to judge. There is no sign that the deputies treated their own parts of the county over-favourably: information available on the men raised shows that they came from all over Warwickshire.⁴² Although the deputy lieutenants had to be careful of Coventry's autonomy, the city co-operated in the raising of men in the 1620s although they were obstructive by 1638–9. Their motives may well have been mixed; the city annals report for 1625: 'The Mayor and Alderman to rid the City of some loose and unthrifty persons pressed to furnish the shire with 20 persons upon a press and from that time they were compelled to do it whereas before this City was free.'⁴³

It seems that the deputy lieutenants were less conscientious about the trained bands within the county. The instructions that were annually issued by the Privy Council as Charles I sought to create an 'exact militia', met with little response. Warwickshire was one of the counties that failed to return a certificate of the state of the trained bands under the orders for a general county muster of July 1626, and only musters by hundred were apparently held.⁴⁴ In 1634 the Privy Council complained that no muster rolls had been received from Warwickshire for three years, and definite evidence of a general muster in the county exists for 1635 only.⁴⁵ The leading gentry were not greatly involved in the militia: the captain of the troop of horse was a senior gentleman: Sir Thomas Lucy in 1616 and Robert Lee of Billesley (a very young man) in 1635; but the captains of foot in 1635 were younger sons or heads of lesser families – Thomas Combe for Barlichway Hundred, Peter Burgoyne (Hemlingford), Thomas Newsham (Kineton), and John Shuckborough (Knightlow).⁴⁶ With a lack of interest amongst the gentry and an easy-going lieutenant, it is not surprising that there was no serious opposition to the lieutenancy in Warwickshire. It was not likely that quasi-constitutional challenges to

⁴² SP14/178/20, 27: 16, 17 December 1624; SP16/76/8, 1 October 1627. For further details of the military levies of the 1620s see Hughes, 'Politics, Society and Civil War', 117–18.

⁴³ B.L. Add MS 11364 f.15v. The annalist in fact underestimated the city's contribution: Coventry provided 30 of the 100 men raised in August–September 1625, but the deputy lieutenants assured the city it would not be seen as a precedent, and Coventry paid only the usual fifteenth of the cost: Cov. C.R.O. A79, P141: 1 and 2, 16 September 1625.

⁴⁴ In August 1626, the deputy lieutenants arranged for the replenishment of the county magazine following hundred musters: Cov. C.R.O. A79, P146. A.P.C. *June–Dec 1626*, 72–7, *Jan–Aug 1627*, 131–3; *July 1628–April 1629*, no. 1332; PC2/44 p. 536 for council concern with the militia.

⁴⁵ PC2/44 p. 181; Cov. C.R.O. A79, P247. ⁴⁶ Cov. C.R.O. A79, P126, P247.

the muster-master's levies, for example, would occur where the muster-master had spent the months since his appointment at sea.⁴⁷

RELIGION

Warwickshire was divided in its ecclesiastical government between the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield which encompassed most of the county, and the diocese of Worcester which covered south-western Warwickshire, including Warwick itself. The county was thus comparatively remote from the ecclesiastical hierarchy and this perhaps contributed to the diverse religious life of the shire, for Warwickshire included significant groups outside, or unhappy with, the established church. On the one hand, the county was noted for a strong Roman Catholic presence which caused disquiet to English Protestants from the Gunpowder Plot to the Popish Plot of November 1641; while on the other wing there was, from the earliest years of Elizabeth's reign, an important body of Puritan opinion aiming for the further reformation of the church.

General surveys of the strength of Catholicism in England in the seventeenth century agree that Warwickshire was among the counties with the highest proportions of Catholics. From the evidence of lay subsidy rolls and the sequestration records of the 1640s and 1650s, it appears that 18 of the 288 1640 gentry families had Catholic recusant heads.⁴⁸ This 6% was in itself a significant figure, but what tended to alarm their neighbours, at times of crisis at least, was the number of the most wealthy gentry who were Catholics. Three recusant families, the Smiths of Wootton Wawen, the Sheldons of Weston and Worcestershire and the Morgans of Weston-under-Wetheley and Northamptonshire,

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 166. For trouble in other counties: Ashton, *The English Civil War*, 55–9. The lieutenantancy could arouse potentially constitutional opposition because after 1604 its legitimacy was based largely on the prerogative rather than on statute.

⁴⁸ For example: John Bossy, *The English Catholic Community 1570–1856* (1975), 404–5 estimates that 1.8% of households in the county were Catholic, a proportion exceeded by only four other counties; Andrew Browning, ed., *English Historical Documents 1660–1714* (1966 edition), map p. 415, based on the Compton census of 1676: Worcester was the diocese with the highest proportion of Catholics while Lichfield and Coventry had the third highest (the map deals with the southern province only). Recusants were, in theory, charged double in the subsidies if they were liable to pay while poorer Catholics were charged an 8d poll tax. The subsidy commissioners of the 1620s were not always consistent in carrying out these provisions but at least two lay subsidy rolls, naming recusants, are available for each hundred. The total number of Catholics below gentry status is no doubt unreliable, but the subsidy rolls give a picture of the general incidence of Catholicism within the county. The impression given from this source is confirmed for the Diocese of Coventry and Lichfield by presentments of recusants in the metropolitan visitation of 1635 and the episcopal visitation of 1639. Lich. J.R.O. B/V/1/56, 63. See also, David F. Mosler, 'Warwickshire Catholics in the Civil War', *Recusant History*, vol. 15 (1980).

had incomes above £1,000 p.a.; while just below them in wealth and status were the Middlemores of Edgbaston and the Throckmortons of Coughton and Buckinghamshire.⁴⁹ In contrast to the Warwickshire gentry as a whole, the recusants were a cohesive group with close marriage and friendship ties. Sir Robert Throckmorton married a Smith of Wootton; corresponded with his ‘cousins’ Richard Middlemore and Thomas Morgan; and made William Sheldon an overseer of his will in 1651. He had links, too, with prominent Catholics in other counties: the Brudenells of Northamptonshire were also cousins and correspondents.⁵⁰

Catholicism was a ‘seigneurial’ religion: most of the recusants amongst the minor gentry were clients or ‘servants’ of the élite group; while in the villages dominated by magnates like the Throckmortons and the Sheldons recusancy flourished in all ranks of society. A typical recusant minor gentleman was Richard Kempson of Oversley who managed the Throckmorton estates in the 1640s and 1650s and in 1656 leased the sequestered estate of Blaze Sheldon of Temple Grafton, a junior member of the great Weston Family.⁵¹ With this dependence on gentry protection, recusancy was strongest in the west of the county, from Henley-in-Arden to the border with Worcestershire where the Throckmortons, the Smiths and the Sheldons had most of their estates. Samuel Clarke, who became minister of Alcester in 1633, blamed the town’s drunkenness and general profanity on the fact that it was ‘placed in the midst of many great papists, which made it their rendezvous’.⁵² Another Catholic stronghold was in the far south of the county, especially at Brailes, an occasional residence of William Sheldon, where fifty-seven recusants were listed in the 1628 subsidy rolls. There were very few places in the county with more than five recusants listed in the lay subsidies, where there was not a leading gentleman resident: Offchurch, the home of the Catholic Knightleys, and the Morgans’ seat at Weston-under-Wetheley were the only places in

⁴⁹ The estimates of the income of the Middlemores and the Morgans are taken from subsidy rolls: the Sheldons’ income was estimated at £2,500 p.a. in 1649: SP25/125/28–35; the Smiths’ at £1,700 in the same year: *ibid.*, 48–9; the Throckmortons’ Warwickshire estates alone were worth £500 p.a. in 1648: S.B.T. DR5/3391.

⁵⁰ *Visitations* 1619, 1682–3. W.C.R.O. CR 1998, Throckmorton MS: Strongroom Box 60, Folder 2 No. 12 (Brudenells); Box 61, Folder 3 No. 10 (Throckmorton’s will); Box 60, Folder 4 No. 17 (Thomas Morgan); Tribune, Chest of Drawers, Draw 10, Folder 48 No. 5 (Richard Middlemore).

⁵¹ Cf. K.J. Lindley, ‘The Lay Catholics of England in the Reign of Charles I’, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, vol. 22 (1971), 199–221, especially 206–8. For Kempson’s links with Throckmorton: S.B.T. DR5/3391; CR 1998, Strongroom Box 86, No. 46; with Sheldon: C.C.C. 3205–6.

⁵² Samuel Clarke, *The Lives of Sundry Eminent Persons in this Later Age* (1683), 6. In 1628 there were seventeen recusants listed at Wootton, thirty-two at nearby Rowington and fifteen at Temple Grafton although only five at Coughton. Many were relatives or servants of the great Catholic gentry.

Knightlow Hundred with a significant Catholic presence.⁵³ The influence of the gentry over their immediate localities was less strong than in the north and west of England: only a fifth of the adult population of Coughton was recusant in 1676, for example.⁵⁴

In quiescent periods the indications are that the Catholic gentry were tolerated amicably enough by most of their Protestant counterparts. Andrew Archer solicited gifts of game from his neighbour Edward Sheldon, and his son Sir Simon did not differentiate between Catholic and Protestant when hunting for 'evidences'. In the 1650s the young Sir Francis Throckmorton visited the third Lord Brooke, the Earl of Northampton and Sir Charles Lee, as well as his Catholic kin at Wootton and Weston.⁵⁵ An underlying tension existed, however, which erupted at periods of crisis like 1605 and was exploited by Lord Brooke in the summer of 1642; it could also emerge at less troubled times as in 1631 when most of the report from the J.P.s of Kineton Hundred to the sheriff on their monthly meetings was taken up with complaints about Catholics who were 'so cunning, and confident in declining, subterfuging and withstanding all our warrants'.⁵⁶

The staunch Protestant element in Warwickshire was of long standing. The Dudley brothers, Ambrose Earl of Warwick, and Robert Earl of Leicester, both important Puritan patrons, had residences in Warwickshire and large followings amongst the county gentry. Warwickshire was heavily involved in nearly all the attempts made in Elizabeth's reign to bring further reformation to the church. 'Propheysings', or conferences of local ministers for discussion and preaching to a lay and clerical audience were held at Coventry and at Southam in south Warwickshire. The latter was always attended by three or four magistrates and was described by Leicester as 'the best exercise in this realm'. When this prophesying was suppressed on the Queen's orders, Leicester protected the gentry involved.⁵⁷ The 1584-5 parliamentary attempt at religious reform was supported by a petition from the

⁵³ E179/194/310; E179/194/306. Similarly Catholics in Hemlingford Hundred were concentrated in the north-west of the county around Solihull and Knowle where the Catholic Hugfords, Greswolds and Warings lived: E179/194/316.

⁵⁴ V.C.H., vol. 2: 46. Bossy, *The English Catholic Community*, 174-7.

⁵⁵ S.B.T. DR37/Box 87, July 1614. E.A.B. Barnard, *A Seventeenth Century Country Gentleman*, 7, 37-8, 44-6, 53.

⁵⁶ For the Gunpowder Plot in Warwickshire: C.S.P.D. 1580-1625 Addenda, 468-9; C.S.P.D. 1603-1610, 241-61; SP16/198/48; the J.P.s involved were Sir Thomas Puckering, Sir Greville Verney and Sir Simon Archer. For 1641 see chapter 4.

⁵⁷ Patrick Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement* (1967), 51-4, 168-175, 193-4. The Coventry prophesying was established by Thomas Lever, a leading Marian exile who became archdeacon there at the start of Elizabeth's reign. Collinson, ed., *Letters of Thomas Wood, Puritan 1566-1577* (B.I.H.R., Special Supplement 5, 1960), xxi-xxii, and 18, Leicester to Wood on Southam, September 1576.

county presented to the Commons by Sir Thomas Lucy, and Warwickshire was the subject of one of the most colourful Puritan surveys of the state of the ministry.⁵⁸ From about 1583 some twelve Warwickshire ministers took part in the more extreme attempt to establish a 'shadow' Presbyterian organisation within the church. The Warwickshire classis met at Coventry and Wolston, under the leadership of Thomas Cartwright, Master of Leicester's Hospital at Warwick, and Humphrey Fen, of Coventry, and was very near to schism when it was discovered by the council in 1590.⁵⁹ Repression ended the Presbyterian experiment in England, and the broader Puritan movement too faced difficulties by the end of the sixteenth century. In Warwickshire, the deaths of Leicester in 1588 and Warwick in 1590 removed the most influential protectors of Puritanism, but individual ministers and lay people remained convinced of the need for reformation of the church: as many as twenty-seven Warwickshire ministers may have been suspended for non-subscription to the canons of 1604–5.⁶⁰

Whilst this strong Puritan tradition is important in itself, one aspect deserves further discussion: Elizabethan Puritanism in Warwickshire was a movement that transcended county boundaries. The exercise at Southam attracted gentry from Northamptonshire and Oxfordshire while there were close links between the Presbyterian ministers of Warwickshire and Northamptonshire in the 1580s. The radical Protestants who published the 'Martin Marprelate' tracts from 1588–90 included several prominent Midland gentry: Job Throckmorton of Haseley, Warwickshire, Christopher Hales of Coventry and Sir Richard Knightley of Fawsley in Northamptonshire. Such links continued into the seventeenth century: Sir Thomas Lucy's sister married a younger Richard Knightley; the borough of Stratford recruited lecturers from the leading ministers of Oxfordshire, Robert Harris of Hanwell in 1629 and the great William Whately of Banbury in 1631. In the 1630s, when the Warwick schoolmaster Thomas Dugard wanted a break from routine he would travel to Banbury to hear sermons by Whateley, Charles Chauncey and Harris.⁶¹

Puritanism in seventeenth-century Warwickshire is not susceptible to

⁵⁸ Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement*, 280–3; J.E. Neale, *Elizabeth I and her Parliaments*, vol. 2 (1957), 61.

⁵⁹ Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement*, 233, 317–28, 410–12; R.G. Usher, *The Presbyterian Movement* (Camden Society, 3rd series, 8, 1905), 17–18.

⁶⁰ Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement*, 415–18, 431; SP14/12/68: this petition from the non-conforming ministers of Warwickshire states that twenty-seven have been suspended, but does not give names.

⁶¹ Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement*, 391–5. S.B.T. BRV2/C: Council Book 1625–37, p. 14; V.C.H., vol. 3: 281; B.L. Add. MS 23, 146 ff. 51r, 53r, 75r (Diary of Thomas Dugard). For Chauncey, who fled to New England in 1637, see *D.N.B.*

the statistical analysis attempted for Catholic recusancy. We have learnt from Collinson, Lake and Tyacke that Puritans cannot be neatly separated from the mass of English Protestants and counted. Before the rise of the Laudian or Arminian party in the early years of Charles's reign, it is not easy to distinguish between 'Puritan' beliefs and those of English Protestants in general.⁶² Presbyterians and open non-conformists were but a small minority of those who can be described as Puritans. Many of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, before 1626, shared a Calvinist theology with their Puritan critics, while most of these Puritans did not wish for wholesale change within the church – episcopacy was accepted until 1640, for example – but for a greater emphasis on the basic tenets of Protestantism, above all on the preaching of the word. A concentration on the Scriptures, rather than on the ceremonies and sacraments inherited from popery, a stricter adherence to and enforcement of godly moral discipline, plus a desire for active measures against Catholicism were what distinguished Puritans from those whose attachment to the church was more complacent. Most important of all, however, was the great emphasis on the internal experience of the religion, apparent in many Puritans: a strong sense of God's involvement in all aspects of personal life, a profound consciousness of sin and a determined search for assurance of redemption through God's grace. The quest for assurance was characterised by introspection but also by determined attempts to act as a member of the community of the godly in the world.

Such nuanced and personal characteristics make it impossible to define Puritans by a number of simple, formal tests. For example, any attempts to describe the gentry's religious attitudes systematically through analysis of the ministers they presented to their livings, seem doomed to failure. It is impossible to discover much about the majority of parish clergy who never published and who escaped the notice of the successive religious authorities from 1626–1662. Even where more information is available the difficulties in attaching precise labels to ministers are illustrated by the careers of Bryan, Trapp and Dugard described shortly. Bryan is not the only Puritan among them because he was the only one not to conform in 1662. In addition, most evidence indicates that it was only a minority of gentry who took care to present ministers holding views compatible with their own. A patron's role was essentially passive and there were many reasons why he would choose a particular minister out of the several who sought a living from him: the desire to help the son of a local family might

⁶² Collinson, works cited and 'Lectures by Combination: Structures and Characteristics of Church Life in Seventeenth Century England', *B.I.H.R.*, vol. 48 (1975); Peter Lake, *Moderate Puritans and the Elizabethan Church* (Cambridge, 1982), especially conclusion; Nicholas Tyacke, 'Puritanism, Arminianism and Counter Revolution' in Conrad Russell, ed., *The Origins of the English Civil War* (1973).

be as important as religious factors.⁶³ Sir Thomas Lucy can be described, roughly, as a moderate Puritan yet among the men he presented to his local living at Charlecote were Abraham Olney, deprived for recusancy in 1626, and Michael Walford, a pluralist who lost one of his livings in the 1650s.⁶⁴ The leading Arminian minister in the county was Francis Holyoake of Southam who published a standard Latin–English dictionary in 1633 which was dedicated to Laud and defined ‘Praedestinatiani’ as heretics. It is disillusioning to discover that the gentleman who presented him to Southam, admittedly in 1605, and ‘his singular good patron’, was the Puritan J.P. Sir Clement Throckmorton, son of a man widely believed to be Martin Marprelate.⁶⁵

Obviously some patrons were conscientious: Rowley Warde’s successive presentations of the Puritans Bryan and Dugard to Barford suggests he was one example, while the second Lord Brooke’s use of his two livings in the county is a better documented case of a careful patron. When the living of Alcester fell vacant he offered it to Samuel Clarke whom he knew well as a lecturer in Warwick, and whom he had wanted as a private chaplain a few years earlier. Clarke was formally presented as vicar only after he had preached before the inhabitants and been approved by them. Although he refused to read the Book of Sports in 1633 and was reported to Brent in 1635 by an old enemy Thomas Hall, vicar of St Mary’s, Warwick, Clarke avoided suspension through a letter to Brent from Richard Knightley. The incumbent of Brooke’s other living, John Gilpin at Knowle, was also presented to Brent: for giving the communion sitting, and omitting the sign of the cross in baptism.⁶⁶

Mention of Brooke’s two livings in the county indicates the most striking aspect of religious patronage in Warwickshire, its fragmented nature.⁶⁷ The presentation rights of 136 of the 199 livings in the county

⁶³ R. O’Day, ‘Clerical Patronage and Recruitment in England in the Elizabethan and early Stuart Periods with Special Reference to the Diocese of Coventry and Lichfield’ (Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1972), 164–81.

⁶⁴ P.R.O., Institution Books, Series A, 1556–1660, vol. 4, under Charlecote. A.G. Matthews, *Walker Revised* (Oxford, 1948), 366. The incumbent of Lucy’s Herefordshire living of Rochford was described in a 1640–1 Puritan survey of the county’s ministry as ‘neither preacher, nor of good life’. Transcript of survey in Hereford Cathedral Muniments Room 6Avi p. 204. (The original survey is Bodleian Library Corpus Christi MS 206.) I am grateful to Jackie Levy for this information.

⁶⁵ Tyacke, ‘Puritanism, Arminianism and Counter Revolution’, 138; Institution Books, Southam; Francis Holyoake, *A Sermon of Obedience* (Oxford, 1610), dedication.

⁶⁶ Clarke, *The Lives of Sundry Eminent Persons*, 6–7. Lich.J.R.O. B/V/1/56, Metropolitan Visitation, June–August 1635. Gilpin was, said Calamy, ‘the picture of an old Puritan’, a friend of Hildersham and Dod, and had often been suspended for non-conformity: Samuel Palmer, ed., *The Non Conformists Memorial* (1777), vol. 2: 481–2.

⁶⁷ The discussion of patronage in the county is based on the ownership of advowsons found in Dugdale (1656 and 1730 editions); and V.C.H., vols. 3–6, corrected where possible by details of

were held by individuals, the other 63 being held by the crown, the ecclesiastical hierarchy, town corporations and educational bodies. No gentry or aristocratic family had more than four livings so there was nothing to compare with the concentrated religious influence of the Dudleys in the sixteenth century or with the patronage of the Earl of Warwick in contemporary Essex.⁶⁸ If no one family or group could gain a dominant influence on the local church, the gentry as a whole controlled the majority of the county's livings and formed a block to any thoroughgoing changes, whether these were initiated by Laud or by the later parliamentary authorities.

Analysis of patronage has thus been rejected as a guide to Puritanism. A further difficulty arises from the lack of dramatic public campaigns for reform of the church between 1605 and 1640. This again removes one way of making obvious identifications of Puritans but, more importantly, it may also indicate that Puritanism, as an active campaigning movement had lost the initiative to a more overtly conformist strand of Protestantism. There is some Warwickshire evidence to support such a view. In 1610, Francis Holyoake had published *A Sermon of Obedience, especially unto Authority Ecclesiastical, wherein the principal controversies of our church are handled, and many of their objections which are refractory to the government established*. The sermon, preached at an archidiaconal visitation at Coventry, attacked those who criticised non-preaching ministers as 'dumb-dogs' and alleged that people whose expectations of the ministry were too high were more dangerous than those who attacked all ministers. In contrast to Puritan attitudes, Holyoake denied that the ability to preach was the *sine qua non* of an adequate minister. The efficacy of the sacraments was not affected by the skill of the minister administering them, and the reading of homilies was perfectly 'acceptable service to God'. The necessity of uniformity in and conformity to the practices of the church was urged, for the church's traditions were 'partly humane and partly divine . . . part of that order and decorum that God hath commanded in general, leaving the particulars to the discretion of the church'.⁶⁹ Ten years later an assize sermon preached at Warwick by Samuel Burton, Archdeacon of Gloucester, covered some of the same themes, arguing that while the ceremonies of the church were indifferent in themselves, once commanded by authority they 'cease to be indifferent

who actually presented ministers from the Institution Books: *pro hac vice* rights to make a presentation were often sold by the permanent owner of an advowson: R. O'Day, 'Ecclesiastical Patronage: Who Controlled the Church?' in Felicity Heal and Rosemary O'Day, eds., *Church and Society in England Henry VIII–James I* (1977), 137–55, especially 152–3.

⁶⁸ Quintrell, 'The Government of the County of Essex', 274.

⁶⁹ Holyoake, *A Sermon of Obedience*, 9–12, 22–3.

to private men' and should always be obeyed. Another of Burton's targets were preachers who spent their time inveighing against 'trifles' like maypoles and morris dancing instead of emphasising the duties of obedience.⁷⁰ It is not straining the evidence to suggest that both these sermons were, in part, designed to force the Warwickshire gentry to tacitly repudiate the radical Puritan enterprises of some of their predecessors. Burton attacked Martin Marprelate as 'a very scurrilous and dull book', while the preface to Holyoake's sermon claimed Clement Throckmorton for the conformist cause, pointedly describing his 'uprightness every way, his settled judgement in religion and his integrity of practice, giving himself an example of obedience in all things'.⁷¹ No similar printed sermons survive for the 1630s but it is noticeable in Thomas Dugard's list of preaching in Warwick that the ministers who performed big set-piece sermons on important occasions (at Quarter Sessions or assizes) were more likely to be thorough-going conformists than 'Puritans' especially in the second half of the decade.⁷²

In some respects, then, Protestantism in seventeenth-century Warwickshire had a rather conformist public face. On the other hand only one J.P. dying before 1640, revealed in his will anything other than traditional Calvinist Protestantism, at least.⁷³ This might support Barnes' remark that Puritanism, for the majority of the gentry, was 'the established faith, practised in the established church'.⁷⁴ There were few public controversies, no general campaigns because there were few issues of substance separating the more enthusiastic Protestants (Puritans) from their fellows, or from the evangelical elements within the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Before the rise of Arminianism it has been argued that there was 'a static, even sterile, Calvinist consensus' into which Puritanism can be collapsed.⁷⁵ But both these characterisations of Warwickshire Protestantism – conformist backlash or general consensus – are misleading over-simplifications. If we examine Puritanism as defined earlier in the light of a variety of available evidence it becomes clear that it can be distinguished, in a subtle and personal way, from Protestantism or Calvinism in general, and it becomes apparent, also, that Puritanism in a

⁷⁰ Samuel Burton, *A Sermon Preached at the General Assizes in Warwick* (3 March 1620), 11, 13.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 17; Holyoake, *A Sermon of Obedience*, preface. The dedication to Throckmorton was unsolicited and penned by Holyoake's editor, Archdeacon Hinton of Coventry.

⁷² B.L. Add MS 23, 146 ff.99r–100v. A notable example is Richard Wright, rector of Atherstone, holder of three other local livings, and a commissioner for charitable issues in 1638. Wright preached at Quarter Sessions three times between 1638 and 1639. He was sequestered during the Civil War: P.R.O. Institution Books; C192/1; B.L. Add MS 35098 f.99v.

⁷³ The exception is Sir Francis Leigh whose will (1625) showed a marked concern for a more sacramental religion: W.C.R.O. CR136/C1935.

⁷⁴ Barnes, *Somerset*, 15.

⁷⁵ Lake, *Moderate Puritans*, 279.

diffuse and informal sense, was not on the retreat, despite the absence of the campaigns of the sixteenth century. The discussion that follows is based, necessarily and unashamedly, on impressionistic sources – wills, letters, a schoolmaster's diary, requests for funeral sermons, dedications in ministers' printed works. Such sources, used sensitively, reveal the subjective experiences and personal connections amongst those who recognised each other as godly, which are at the heart of Puritanism.

Wills are a source that has to be used with care, for preambles were often conventional and could owe more to the scribe's practice than to the beliefs of the testator, but some distinctive preambles do reveal the importance of a gentleman's felt relationship to God; Sir William Browne wrote in 1637:

I commit my soul to God who gave it in assurance of faith that by the death of Christ the forgiveness of sins, and by his righteousness the favour of God and everlasting life is obtained for me. And that this is no groundless persuasion following true humiliation though weak and imperfect, for my sins in truth I confess to be many and great, I know by two infallible witnesses the word of God and the spirit of God, witnessing the same.⁷⁶

The letters between the members of the Temple family of Frankton and their local curate, Simon Moore, reveal the same sense of God's involvement with all aspects of their lives. A letter from John Temple to his Sussex son-in-law dealing with a minor financial matter was peppered with biblical quotations drawing parallels between spiritual and financial storehouses, while his wife wrote to her pregnant daughter: 'Consider you are in the hands of a wise and merciful father who hath promised to make all things work together for the best unto his, which you are and therefore it cannot but go well with you come life or death, being the Lord's.'⁷⁷ The right to present to Frankton rectory was not held by the Temples, and a non-resident pluralist, John Byker, vicar of Dunchurch, was appointed by John Shuckborough of Bourton on Dunsmore. Moore was presumably made curate with the consent of the Temples, and the hospitality he received from the family added to the meagre £15 p.a. he was allowed by Byker. Thus the Temples could arrange that the services in their local church were to their liking: Simon Moore was suspended by Sir Nathaniel Brent on his 1635 visitation for administering the communion to 'non-kneelants'.⁷⁸ Such close links between staunchly Protestant gentlemen and local ministers were common. Sir Edward Peyto in 1640, and Clement Throckmorton in 1667 made their local

⁷⁶ Prob 11/174/f.71.

⁷⁷ East Sussex C.R.O. Dunn MS 51/2: John Temple to John Busbridge; 51/48 Anna Temple to Anne Busbridge, November 1632; 51/55 is a letter from Simon Moore to Anne Busbridge on similar lines. ⁷⁸ Lich.J.R.O. B/V/1/63. For Brent's visitation: SP16/293/128 f.10v.

ministers trustees of their estates: Throckmorton describing Simon Dingley as his ‘loving friend’.⁷⁹

Another typical Puritan characteristic, the attempt to lead a rigorous religious life within a ‘godly’ household, is well described in the funeral sermons of Sir Thomas and Lady Alice Lucy of Charlecote. Robert Harris used the example of Sir Thomas’s life to urge his gentry listeners to ‘So live, that there may be use of you whilst you live, and miss of you when you are dead. That is, be humble, modest, godly, sober in yourselves. Be helpful, comfortable, profitable unto others.’⁸⁰ Particularly commendable were Lucy’s charity towards his tenants and neighbours and his support for a preaching ministry. Lady Alice Lucy was an invalid in the years of her widowhood and, unable to go to church, ‘she made a church of her house’. Thomas Dugard, schoolmaster at Warwick and Lady Alice’s household preacher for three years, described how she and her children read the Bible and other godly books throughout the day. A sermon was read to the household every evening before supper, and everyone sang a psalm and received a blessing from their mistress before going to bed.⁸¹ The example of the Lucys is a reminder that strict doctrinal tests will not suffice in definitions of Puritanism: Sir Thomas’s friendship with the future moderate Presbyterian Robert Harris was compatible with an earlier affection for John Donne, and an eclectic library of divinity books, the Koran amongst them.⁸²

Perhaps the most revealing source for pre-Civil War Puritanism in the county is the laconic tantalising diary of Thomas Dugard, covering the years 1632–42. Although it is mainly a brief record of his reading, his contacts, and the sermons he gave or heard it nonetheless provides a clear picture of a ‘godly’ connection, laymen and clerics, who clearly recognised each other as involved in the same enterprise and provided mutual religious and social support. Dugard was educated at the Puritan college, Sidney Sussex, Cambridge, where his uncle, Richard Dugard, was a noted tutor. This background gave him useful contacts, notably Thomas Gataker, through whom he met the second Lord Brooke, on a trip to London in May 1633.⁸³ By July he was established as schoolmaster at Warwick – but teaching was only a part of his professional activities in the county. He read prayers and increasingly preached sermons for fellow

⁷⁹ S.B.T. DR98/1086a (Peyto); Prob 11/336 f.69 (Throckmorton).

⁸⁰ Robert Harris, *Abner’s Funeral*, 23–4, 26–8.

⁸¹ Thomas Dugard, *Death and the Grave* (1649), 49–51. This funeral sermon was the basis for Samuel Clarke’s life of Lady Alice in his *Lives of Sundry Eminent Persons*. An idea of her status as a godly matron is suggested by the dedication to her and Lady Brilliana Harley in John Ley, *A Pattern of Piety or the Religious Life and Death of that grave and gracious matron Mrs Jane Ratcliffe* (1640). ⁸² See p. 45.

⁸³ For Dugard’s education and career: Venn and Venn; B.L. Add MS 23, 146 ff.16v–19v.

ministers. He wrote petitions, testimonials, and edited manuscripts, mainly for ministerial colleagues but also for Brooke and Lucy; and was frequently called on to provide poems and dedications for books, obituaries and celebrations for marriage.⁸⁴ He was thus able to enjoy the kinds of literary and scholarly activity which loomed so large in the lives of the educated clergy.

Dugard's most regular contacts were the clergy of Warwick and the surrounding parishes; in this part of Warwickshire, distances between parishes were small and daily association amongst ministers, to dine together or to read and discuss sermons was possible. Dugard's activities on Ascension Day 1635 were unusually full but not untypical in nature. He rose early and with his assistant, Simon King, went to Newbold Pacey to see its minister Thomas Richardson; from there they went on to visit Henry Butler, minister at Wasperton. Dugard then spent a short time with his fiancée at Charlecote before returning to Butler's for lunch. The next stop was Barford where King and Dugard heard a sermon by John Bryan, probably the schoolmaster's closest friend. Another hearer at the sermon was John Trapp, schoolmaster at Stratford and minister of Luddington and Weston-on-Avon. Dugard and King returned to Warwick at ten in the evening.⁸⁵ Dugard preached thirteen times at Butler's church, twelve times at Bryan's in the 1630s; he edited manuscripts for Bryan and Trapp and provided dedicatory verses for the latter. An important institutional means through which ministerial association was maintained was the weekly lecture at Warwick, preached by local ministers in rotation and regularly attended by many ministers: those already mentioned; Thomas Spencer of Budbrooke, John Dowley and Thomas Wilson of Stratford and its environs, Thomas Pilkington of Claverdon, John Underhill of Hatton and James Sutton of Fenny Compton, to mention only those most frequently appearing in Dugard's diary.⁸⁶

If the Warwick lecture was one focus for Dugard, Lord Brooke and Warwick Castle was another, equally important. Through the friendship of Brooke, Dugard, Bryan and other south Warwickshire ministers had links with a broader Puritan connection. Throughout the 1630s, Warwick

⁸⁴ B.L. Add MS 23, 146 *passim*; especially 98r–98v for his preaching; f.42r: clerical work for Brooke (in the absence of Samuel Clarke, the baron's usual aide); f.85r work for Lucy. Dugard received an annuity of £10 from Brooke in the early 1640s: W.C.R.O. CR1866, Halford Accounts.

⁸⁵ Add MS 23, 146 f.39r.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.* On lectures see below. An important activity of this group of ministers and schoolmasters was the unofficial training and encouragement of young entrants to the profession. Daniel Evans, a college friend of Dugard's became Bryan's curate at Barford in 1638. He was found a place in the Warwick lecture rota and preached an assize sermon in March 1639. Dugard went through this sermon with him, the day before it was delivered. A second interesting example (because of his later career) is one of Dugard's first star pupils Abiezer Coppe. On returning to his native town of Warwick after Oxford, Coppe was allowed to preach on two Sundays and five times at the lecture in 1641: Add MS 23, 146 ff.111r, 80r, 83r (Evans); ff.31v, 92v–96r (Coppe).

Castle provided shelter for several ministers harassed by the Laudians, and its chapel was the venue for regular preaching by both local ministers and outside Puritans. The most important, regular chaplain at the castle was Simeon Ashe, who had been ejected from a Staffordshire living for refusing to read the Book of Sports. Ashe seems, from the diary, to have travelled with Brooke, but he preached every Sunday in the castle when he was in Warwick and became firm friends with Dugard, lending him manuscripts and joining him in personal financial transactions.⁸⁷ In the late 1630s and early 1640s Ashe gave way as the regular Warwick Castle preacher to another of Brooke's protégés, Peter Sterry, the Cambridge Platonist who later became Cromwell's chaplain and an opponent of Presbyterians (such as Ashe).⁸⁸ Other ministers Dugard met when they came to Warwick to preach included John Poynter, an expelled London lecturer and friend of Robert Harris; George Hughes, another lecturer, and a future prominent Presbyterian in Devon; Thomas Hill of Tichmarsh in Northamptonshire; and John Ball, a Staffordshire minister frequently in trouble with the authorities. Dugard visited both Hill and Ball and was an avid reader of the latter's famous catechism. Dugard's meeting with Ball in Staffordshire in June 1634 drew what was, for this diary, the extended fulsome comment that Bell was 'a man as learned as he was religious'.⁸⁹ Through Warwick Castle then, young provincial ministers and schoolmasters forged personal contacts with men who in the 1640s became influential national figures. Two entries from the diary give a hint of the nature of their experience. In July 1638, Dugard dined at the castle with Sterry, Samuel Clarke and William Overton, while in November 1639 he and his wife attended a remarkable dinner party given by the new vicar of St Mary's Warwick, Richard Venour. The other guests were Lord and Lady Brooke, Mr and Mrs Bryan, Mr and Mrs Butler, and Peter Sterry.⁹⁰

Dugard's regular contacts were not confined to the clergy; the diary

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, especially ff.27v, 86v. Ashe left Warwick for good on 16 November 1641 when Dugard noted, 'I said goodbye to Mr Ashe and his wife and all his family', *ibid.*, 96r. The diary is in Latin and all translations are my own. For Ashe see also *D.N.B.* Ashe became chaplain to the Earl of Manchester during the Civil War.

⁸⁸ Add MS 23, 146, e.g. ff.80r, 83v, 95v. Sterry was paid an annuity by Brooke: Halford Accounts. For his later career see *D.N.B.*

⁸⁹ Add MS 23, 146 ff.21r (Poynter), 41v, 99r, 100r (Hughes), 19v, 44v, 62v, 82r (Hill), 27v, 28r–28v, 44r, 54v, 62r, 85v (Ball). For more detail on the careers of these men see A.G. Matthews, *Calamy Revised* (Oxford, 1934), 281, 397; Paul Seaver, *The Puritan Lectureships* (Stanford, 1970), 246–7; *D.N.B.* Hill became a member of the Westminster Assembly and a prominent member of the university establishment in the 1640s.

⁹⁰ Add MS 23, 146 ff.77r, 86v. Overton, Clarke's brother-in-law, was the minister of Budbrooke until 1635 when he obtained an Oxfordshire living. He returned to Warwick regularly: Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, 376. Venour's dinner is notable for the honour done him by the Brookes. Almost without exception, the baron entertained local ministers at his own table, he did not dine at their homes.

provides much further evidence of the close links between local gentry and Puritan ministers. Naturally enough, his most frequent meetings and dinners were with Warwick burgesses and the town's resident gentry, Anthony Stoughton and Sir Thomas Puckering, but he also had close associations with other south Warwickshire notables. William Combe of Stratford went to Barford to hear Dugard preach for Bryan in April 1636 and frequently entertained the schoolmaster at Stratford. The junior members of the Burgoynes of Wroxall who were close contacts of Brooke, the Brownes of Radford, the Hales of Snitterfield, Sir Thomas Lucy, and Lady Harvey of Morton Morell were regular hosts to Dugard and he associated only slightly less frequently with Sir Simon Archer, George Willis of Fenny Compton, Serjeant Rowley Ward and John St Nicholas.⁹¹

Through Brooke Dugard's lay contacts were extended beyond his neighbours. He dined several times with Brooke's step-brother Godfrey Bosvile who frequently visited his Wroxall estates from Yorkshire; he ate at the castle in September 1635 when Richard Knightley and John Pym were also guests; and met Lord Saye at Brooke's in October 1636, along with Sir Thomas Lucy. But the most remarkable gathering witnessed by Dugard at the castle was in September 1638 when Brooke entertained the Earl of Bedford, Lords Digby and Russell, Knightley and Pym. On this occasion, a sermon was given by Richard Roe, minister at St Nicholas, Warwick.⁹² Brooke's backing and his own university links, gave Dugard opportunities outside county boundaries. His visits to Oxfordshire preachers have been mentioned above while in London he heard John Davenport and William Gouge in 1633, and met Stephen Marshall in Ashe's company in July 1641. He preached for Richard Baxter at Kidderminster in May 1641 and for Samuel Kem at Low Layton, Essex, in August 1641. A notable lay contact outside Warwickshire was the Earl of Lincoln whom Dugard met in September 1639 while visiting his uncle and ex-tutor.⁹³ Indeed Dugard's contacts are further illustrations of the nature of social networks in Warwickshire: he was well acquainted with the lay and clerical Puritans of south Warwickshire and had many avenues into the wider world, but his contacts with north Warwickshire

⁹¹ B.L. Add MS 23, 146 *passim*, and f.51r for the Combe reference. Many of Dugard's lay contacts seem to have developed from his clerical friendships. He was invited to preach at Radford, Barford or Morton, and, as a consequence, was entertained by Browne, Ward and Lady Harvey. Thereafter he cultivated these relationships independently. More general meetings with leading Warwickshire gentry were facilitated by Dugard's participation in the dinners given for the judges at the assizes from March 1635 onwards.

⁹² *Ibid.*, ff.44v, 83v (Bosvile); ff.43v, 57v, 79r. Dugard visited Knightley on three occasions between 1633 and 1637: (Digby's presence at this dinner is explained by the fact that he was Brooke's brother-in-law): *ibid.*, ff.21r, 64v, 68v.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, ff.18r, 94r, 93r, 94v, 86r. Lincoln has been identified by Richard Cust as the most outspoken lay opponent of the forced loan in the 1620s.

men were very rare. Before 1640 he had heard the eminent preacher Anthony Burgess of Sutton Coldfield only once, in Birmingham on the way to a visit in Staffordshire; whilst the visit of William Purefoy J.P. to Dugard's school with Brooke and Bosvile in December 1638, is a very isolated example of a meeting with a north Warwickshire layman.⁹⁴

Beyond this extended catalogue of names, provincial and eminent, what does Dugard's diary reveal about the character of Warwickshire Puritanism and its relationship with the ecclesiastical hierarchy in the 1630s? Clearly it would be too crude to designate these groupings as a radical underground. The majority of Dugard's contacts amongst the local ministry retained their livings throughout the 1630s without much harassment; the troubles of men like Clarke or Gilpin with the authorities are not typical. There are obviously problems in defining a man's standpoint by his later development, but there is a distinct pattern in the subsequent careers of Dugard's closest associates, most becoming moderate Presbyterians during the Interregnum, signatories of the 1648 Testimony against toleration, and several conforming in 1662. Dugard himself was a member of the Presbyterian classis at Kenilworth in the 1650s but remained within the national church after 1662 although he was the object of some suspicion.⁹⁵ His friend Bryan, probably the local minister closest to Brooke, was also patronised by Rowley Warde (who presented him to Barford) and was close to Sir Thomas Puckering. Bryan was praised by a servant of Lord Saye as 'a man of a thousand . . . truly laborious and of great wisdom'.⁹⁶ During the Civil War Bryan moved to Coventry and became one of the county's leading Presbyterian ministers and a renowned teacher of young clergymen. He was staunch opponent of sectaries in the 1650s and was ejected in 1662.⁹⁷ A last detailed example from amongst Dugard's friends may be given: John Trapp, whose patrons and dedications illustrate how one man negotiated the political and religious changes of the period 1630–60. Trapp also signed the 1648 Presbyterian Testimony and had broad ties with the Warwickshire gentry before the Civil War. He owed his place at Luddington to the first Lord Conway who paid his salary and his Weston living to Lionel Cranfield,

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, ff. 59v, 81r.

⁹⁵ SP29/85/101: in 1663 Dugard was reported as blaming the Civil War on Charles I's reissue of the Book of Sports. In 1664 he published a book of execrable poetry and prose, *Philobasileus, Philoepiscopus, Philophilus* which emphasised his loyalty to moderate episcopacy and to the monarchy. See further chapter 8 below.

⁹⁶ Dugard's diary, Warwick Borough MS, and Bryan's Civil War activities as Brooke's treasurer all testify to the close relationship. Bryan preached a funeral sermon for Puckering's daughter, *The Vertuous Daughter* (1636) – a work edited by Dugard (Add MS 23, 146 f. 51v). For the comment by Saye's associate: B.L. Harl MS 3785 f. 29r, a letter to William Sancroft, Master of Emmanuel College, September 1633.

⁹⁷ See chapter 8 for the details of ministerial careers after the Civil War.

Earl of Middlesex while he referred in 1662 to the many kindnesses shown him by Sir Robert Lee of Billesley. In the 1640s and 1650s his works included dedications to or commendations from the county's parliamentary leaders like Colonel John Bridges and from fellow Presbyterian ministers such as Dugard, Bryan, Obadiah Grew and John Ley. Trapp kept his two livings in 1662 and a volume of his 'Commentary on the Old and New Testaments' published in the same year was dedicated to Sir Charles Lee, a prominent member of the restored county gentry.⁹⁸

But it would be equally misleading to categorise Dugard and his friends simply as moderate conformists. They were obviously determined to persevere with a preaching ministry and with their general intellectual and religious intercourse and were clearly apprehensive about and out of sympathy with current religious developments. Some further analysis of Dugard's contacts and activities will substantiate these points. It is notable, for instance, that very few of the ministers mentioned by Dugard were ejected by the Parliamentarians after 1642,⁹⁹ while the schoolmaster's relationships with the two vicars of Warwick, Thomas Hall and Richard Roe suggest that he had a clear idea of where his closest allies were in the spectrum of Protestant opinion. Dugard was personally friendly with Hall, who had co-operated with the authorities against his former lecturer Samuel Clarke. He comforted Hall on his death-bed, wrote his will and preached his funeral sermon; but it was Roe with whom Dugard worked most often, reading prayers and perambulating for him, during Roe's frequent absences after 1636. In June 1635 Dugard consulted Roe about the ceremonies imposed by the Vicar General, Sir Nathaniel Brent, three days after Brent's visitation in south Warwickshire. The two Warwick vicars drew the following comments from Brent to Laud:

Mr Hall who is comformable, and Mr Roe, an Emmanuel man who is much suspected. I could not fasten anything upon him, though I charged him with many things. A petition was delivered to me against him, but the petitioner was proved to be a drunkard and the contents of the petition were disproved by many of good credit.

⁹⁸ D.N.B., under 'Trapp': for his links with Conway: SP16/201/37; his *God's Love Tokens and the Afflicted Man's Lessons* (1637) was written as comfort for the death of Cranfield's daughter; *A Commentary upon the XII Minor Prophets* (1654) had prefaces by Bryan, Grew and Samuel Clarke. The 1867-8 edition of a *Commentary on the Old and New Testament*, five volumes, includes the dedications and prefaces to the original editions published from 1647 to 1662. Trapp's attitude to the Cranfields in the 1640s was notably less respectful: see chapter 8 below. Again Dugard did editing work for several of Trapp's publications: Add MS 23, 146 ff.70r, 92r.

⁹⁹ Only two ministers mentioned more than rarely by Dugard were purged, Bartholemew Dobson of Wellesborne and Henry Twitchet of Stratford. Neither were very frequently associated with him.

Roe, but not Hall was a regular visitor to the castle and it is notable that Hall was never invited to preach in Brooke's chapel.¹⁰⁰

If Roe, Bryan and Dugard himself retained their posts throughout the 1630s they were well aware of the dangers of the Laudian attack through the examples of Ashe, Ball and other Warwick Castle preachers who were victims of the hierarchy. Furthermore, their circle comprehended people whose alienation from and despair at religious developments in England drove them to emigration. Ephraim Huitt, incumbent of the Burgoyne living at Wroxall, was a close friend of Ashe; Dugard and Ashe had a regular arrangement whereby they took it in turns to attend Huitt's weekday sermon and bring back notes to discuss with the other. By 1639 Huitt was in New England.¹⁰¹ In March of the previous year Dugard noted his farewell to 'Ursula' who was leaving for New England as a servant to the Willises of Fenny Compton. Two days later he wrote, 'I was at a sermon by Mr Hall who strongly inveighed against those leaving for New England.' And Brooke himself of course seriously contemplated emigration.¹⁰²

The Dugard–Huitt–Ashe connection reveals that it was not just Dugard's associates but also many of his activities which were implicitly antagonistic to the Laudian programme. The diary mentions many private meetings to discuss sermons or the Scriptures, some involving Dugard and ministerial colleagues, some occurring in lay families. For some bishops such meetings were a wholly beneficial expression of religious zeal but to Laudians they were 'conventicles', dangerous Puritan cells. On the anniversary of the Gunpowder Plot in 1635 Dugard heard Bryan preach and then went to Wasperton to discuss his notes with Butler; in September 1636 he met with John Trapp, Thomas Wilson and William Combe to go over 'many sermons'; in April 1637 he discussed four sermons, including two of Ashe's with his own family.¹⁰³

At times, Dugard's reading of manuscript and printed works does almost fit him for inclusion in a radical underground. He was a voracious

¹⁰⁰ B.L. Add MS 23, 146 ff.84r–84v (Hall's death); f.40r (Roe and the ceremonies); SP16/293/128 f.11v. Roe received an annuity from Lord Brooke for his son's education: W.C.R.O. CR1866, Halford's Accounts.

¹⁰¹ B.L. Add MS 23, 146 ff.70r, 74r. For Huitt's career see Venn and Venn. In 1644 he published *The Whole Prophecy of Daniel Explained*. In Huitt's absence in New England the dedication to Brooke's widow was composed by Ashe, William Overton and Samuel Clarke.

¹⁰² B.L. Add MS 23, 146 ff.73v–74r. *Ibid*, f.84r for Dugard's correspondence with George Willis senior. Willis, Huitt, Brooke and Bosvile co-operated over New England property transactions from the early 1630s. In 1633 George Willis warned his son against listening to the preaching of the 'present corruptions' at the Inner Temple. By 1642 he was Governor of Connecticut where John St Nicholas also had land: *Wyllys Papers*, xxii–iii, xxvii, 5, 16.

¹⁰³ B.L. Add MS 23, 146, ff.45v, 56r, 63v.

reader of all kinds of books, religious and secular, but two notable items are the radical opposition tracts, *Tom Tell-Truth* (in June 1633) and *News from Ipswich* (in May 1637).¹⁰⁴ Of the manuscripts he read, and circulated, the most interesting involve an important contact of Dugard's not already discussed, John Ley, the Warwick-born Cheshire minister. Ley visited his family about once a year when he always also spent time with Dugard and occasionally preached. In 1637 Ley left with Dugard his work on the sabbath and his letter to the Bishop of Chester against the erection of an altar, both of which remained unpublished until 1641. Dugard read through the work on the altar to Bryan and sent a copy of it to his old tutor, while he spent a month in the following year editing the sabbath treatise.¹⁰⁵

The most obvious and important way in which the diary describes a religious life at odds with the Laudian ideal concerns preaching. Dugard's own insatiable gadding to sermons has already been suggested but equally remarkable are his own preaching activities. Dugard began his preaching career with a sermon for William Overton at Budbrooke in October 1633 and preached on twelve other occasions including a Sunday at St Mary's Warwick, and another at Warwick Castle *before* he was ordained as a deacon in December 1634. He had preached on twenty-five days before his ordination as priest in June 1636. In 1635 he spent only five days preaching (because of the metropolitan visitation?) but during both 1639 and 1640 he acted as preacher on thirty-seven occasions. Without the diary, Dugard would merely appear as a frustrated graduate schoolmaster, but he clearly had ample opportunities to preach.¹⁰⁶ These opportunities occurred largely through the inveterate habits of the south Warwickshire clergy of preaching in each other's churches, in a form of clerical musical chairs. To give just one of many examples, in February 1640 Dugard preached at Wasperton for Butler because Butler was filling in for Venour at Warwick.¹⁰⁷ Above all, however, the diary reveals the sheer quantity of preaching available in Warwick and nearby parishes.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, ff.18r, 64v.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, ff.25v, 41r, 63r-63v, 77r, 84v-85r, 93r, 97r for Ley's visits and preaching. In 1637 Ley absented himself from church because of the ceremonies but was prevailed on to preach the following Sunday. For Dugard's editing and circulation of Ley's manuscripts *ibid.*, ff.63r, 64v, 73r-73v. *Sunday a Sabbath or a Preparative Discourse for Discussion of Sabbatory Doubts* was published in 1641 as was 'A letter against the erection of an altar' - in an appendix to *Defensive Doubts, Hopes and Reasons for Refusal of the Oath imposed by the sixth Canon of the late Synod*. Dugard also read Ley's funeral sermon for Recorder Whitley of Chester which was never published, (Add MS 23, 146 ff.84v, 89r, 1639 and 1641). Ley was friendly with Puckering and Archer B.L. Harl MS 7000 f.333v; Ley, *A Monitor of Mortality* (1643) was dedicated to Archer and his wife and occasioned by the death of their son.

¹⁰⁶ Dugard listed his preaching in Add MS 23, 146 ff.98r-98v. In July 1638 he preached an assize sermon. ¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, f.87v.

Afternoon sermons were one of Laud's targets while in 1635 Brent ordered that the sermons in Coventry's two churches be delivered at the same time; previously 'sermons were at such times as that everyone might be at both if he pleased'. But in Warwick it was possible to hear three sermons on most Sundays throughout the 1630s. Customarily, in the middle years of the decade, Dugard heard Hall and his assistant, Timothy White, in St Mary's and Ashe in the castle; it was still possible for Dugard to hear Ashe and one St Mary's sermon on Sundays when he was preaching for Roe in St Nicholas. Alternatively, Dugard sometimes attended a Sunday sermon at Warwick and then went to Barford or Morton to hear another minister.¹⁰⁸

In sum, Dugard describes in his diary an alternative church structure independent of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. This association of clergymen and schoolmasters offered training and preaching opportunities for aspirant ministers like Dugard himself; it provided a pool of clerical labour to assist established incumbents in preaching and other parochial duties; and it gave social, religious and intellectual support of less tangible but inestimable value, with the mutual discussion of Scriptures and sermons, and the editing and circulation of potential publications. In their meetings and dinners, Warwickshire ministers, through Brooke, had remarkable contacts with crucial political and religious figures who came to prominence after 1640. The diary reveals a quasi-Presbyterian clerical community and indeed, makes it not surprising that in the 1640s and 1650s, the clergy in Warwickshire, as elsewhere, accommodated themselves very easily and even welcomed a moderate Presbyterian established church. Their association could be enjoyed without involvement in any dangerous campaigns for overall religious change, and without the drawbacks of formal lay participation in a full Presbyterian system.

Many of the activities revealed by Dugard were not formally illegal (although some were extremely dubious); most of them would have been benevolently ignored by any evangelical, Calvinist bishop. In the context of the 1630s, however, Dugard's experiences are a remarkable illustration of the failure of the Laudian programme in an area where the perennial difficulties of enforcement in any early modern administration were compounded by the presence of an unenthusiastic bishop and an important lay patron. I will return to the impact of Laudianism below; here it is worth emphasising that the practical failure of the Laudians is less important than the threatening impact of their attempt. Dugard and

¹⁰⁸ SP16/293/128 f.10r. B.L. Add MS 23, 146 *passim*, see ff.44r, 89r for examples. A similar arrangement seems to have operated in a group of parishes to the north of Warwick – Knowle, where Brooke was patron and the Burgoynes' livings, Honiley and Wroxall. On 15 September 1639 Dugard heard Gilpin at Knowle and then a Mr Root at Honiley: *Ibid.*, f.86r.

his friends were not contentedly carrying on as normal in the 1630s; they had many justifications for perceiving the precariousness of their liberty and were eager opponents of the regime when opportunity arose in 1640.

The impression has been given that Puritanism was strongest in south Warwickshire and in Warwick itself but this is to some extent an illusion created by the balance of the surviving sources. Zealous Protestantism flourished also in Coventry and the northern towns. Coventry, described by Richard Montagu as a 'second Geneva', was the object of conformist and royal suspicion about its religious tendencies throughout the early seventeenth century. In 1610 Archdeacon Hinton in his preface to Holyoake's *Sermon of Obedience*, alleged that the sermon had been severely attacked in Coventry as worse than heresy or treason; he also opposed the iconoclasm of the city's 'giddy heads' who had removed a picture of Christ from the marketplace 'as a monument of superstition'.¹⁰⁹ In 1621, James I refused to renew the city's charter until he had received a certificate from the bishop that the communion was administered kneeling, while in 1637 Coventry was threatened with *quo warranto* proceedings against its charter after an enthusiastic welcome for William Prynne who passed through Coventry on his way to prison. Conformist fears were perhaps exaggerated, however, for one godly visitor, Robert Woodford, the steward of Northampton, was very disappointed with Coventry's religious life in 1638. At Trinity church the minister was a 'poor preacher' while Arminian doctrines were propounded at dinner by members of the corporation. 'Oh Lord restore and establish thy gospel in that city' was the heartfelt diary entry when Woodford recorded how few members of the corporation had supported his own defence of predestination.¹¹⁰

Towns like Rugby and Sutton Coldfield had prominent Puritan ministers while regular lectures were given at Birmingham and Nuneaton, apparently throughout the 1630s. The widely held view that lecturers were a subversive element within the church has been challenged by Collinson. Many lecturers were beneficed clergy often serving in rotation in a 'combination' lecture in a market town or other major

¹⁰⁹ Montagu quoted in Perez Zagorin, *The Court and the Country* (1969), 185; Holyoake, *Sermon of Obedience*, preface.

¹¹⁰ 1621 charter: Cov. C.R.O. A34: 'Humphrey Burton's Book', f.157v-158r. Bishop Morton certified that all the city magistrates and all the inhabitants except for a few, conformed: Thomas Sharp, *Illustrative Papers of the History and Antiquities of Coventry* (Birmingham, 1871). In 1611 James had reprimanded the city for taking the communion standing: A48 f.35v. For the reception of Prynne and the *quo warranto* proceedings: SP16/368/14; PC2/48/185, 359, 373-4; Cov. C.R.O. F.15. The proceedings against Coventry were amongst the charges against Laud in his trial in 1644: H.M.C. (House of Lords), XI, 1514-1714 (Addenda), 380-1. New College Oxford MS 9502 ff.50, 86v, 125. I am very grateful to John Fielding of Birmingham University for the extracts from this diary.

centre, rather than unbeneficed ‘extremists’. The Birmingham lecture, like the Warwick one, was probably of this type: in his youth the Worcestershire Presbyterian minister Thomas Hall was ‘a diligent frequenter of the learned lectures of sundry orthodox divines at Birmingham’. The lecturers at Stratford, mentioned above, held livings in Oxfordshire, while another conformist Puritan, Richard Vines, preached a fortnightly lecture at Nuneaton. Such provisions for preaching were in the mainstream of English Protestantism and, until the rise of Arminianism, more encouraged than discouraged by the hierarchy.¹¹¹

Despite these qualifications, lectures could be a source of conflict within the church even before the supremacy of Laud. They drew people away from their parish church and introduced elements of choice into religion. Hall came from Worcestershire to hear the Birmingham lectures and Vines attracted a wide audience to his Nuneaton lecture: ‘unto which multitudes resorted, both of the Gentry, Ministry, and private Christians, whereof many came from places divers miles off’. The lecture was attractive, it was said, ‘in those days when preaching was a rare commodity’. Hearing a better sermon on a weekday could lead people into rejecting their own parish’s services: in 1639 the servants of Thomas Boughton of Bilton, a Puritan gentleman, were presented at the bishop’s visitation for attending Rugby church on a Sunday; the incumbent at Rugby was James Nalton, a well known Puritan minister.¹¹²

In towns like Coventry, and Warwick, where the right to present to the main livings was held by the crown, the employment of a lecturer could give the corporation control over some of their religious provision.¹¹³ Conflict between the lecturer and the established minister resulted in both towns. Loss of prestige and influence if a lecturer proved more popular than the incumbent was compounded by financial grievances: in both Coventry and Warwick the beneficed clergy felt that the first priority was

¹¹¹ Collinson, ‘Lectures by Combination’, but cf. Paul Seaver, *The Puritan Lectureships*; R. Moore, *A Pearl in an Oyster Shell* (1675), Hall’s funeral sermon, 75. T. Jacombe, *Enoch’s Walk and Change* (1656), (Vines’ funeral sermon), 37. Vines held the nearby livings of Caldecote and Weddington. Seaver, 279, lists lectures at Coventry, Warwick and Tamworth only. At least Birmingham, Nuneaton and Stratford need to be added. At Wolston, a centre of Elizabethan Puritanism, fast sermons preached by visiting ministers continued into the 1620s. It was after several Coventry aldermen had heard Samuel Clarke, the son of the vicar there, preach at Wolston that they invited him to become their lecturer: Clarke, *The Lives of Sundry Eminent Persons*, 5.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 48; Jacombe, 37. Cf. Christopher Hill, *Economic Problems of the Church from Archbishop Whitgift to the Long Parliament* (1956), 345–7; Lich.J.R.O./B/V/1/63. Dugard’s experiences lend further weight to these points.

¹¹³ Coventry’s lecturers were always appointed by the corporation and included the veteran Presbyterian Humphrey Fen who preached in Bablake hospital in 1624. In 1633 it was agreed, after long negotiations between the vicar and the corporation, that the corporation would choose the lecturer although Samuel Buggs, the vicar, could raise objections and the lecturer had to be licensed by the bishop: A14(a) f.271r, 273r, 318r–319r.

to improve their own inadequate maintenance. Samuel Clarke's experiences in Coventry and Warwick highlight these points. As a curate in Cheshire he was harassed for non-conformity: 'just at the same time when I was thus molested, there came a letter to me from the Mayor, Aldermen, old Mr Fen, and some other godly people in Coventry, importuning me to come to preach a lecture in that great City'. Soon he came into conflict with Samuel Buggs, vicar of Coventry's two parishes who 'seeing his hearers go from him' barred Clarke from the pulpits of both churches. The corporation allowed Clarke to preach in Bablake hospital, which they owned, but then, at Buggs' urging, Bishop Morton barred him from preaching. Still he continued, by virtue of a licence granted earlier by Archbishop Abbott, but his maintenance was removed when a new mayor was chosen who was a friend of Buggs and less zealous in the cause of religion. Clarke then moved to Warwick where the corporation employed him to preach on Sunday afternoons and Tuesday mornings. In his years at Warwick, Clarke got 'much room in the hearts of all the godly in the town' but he was under continual attack from the minister of St Mary's, Thomas Hall. One threat was staved off when the recorder, the Earl of Warwick, made Clarke his preacher and wrote to Hall to ask him to admit the lecturer as his assistant; but on being threatened with the High Commission after Hall had complained of him to Laud, Clarke decided to take Brooke's Alcester living. As we have seen, ample preaching continued at Warwick.¹¹⁴

The concern of urban hierarchies to provide regular godly preaching was not of purely religious origins. The moral exhortations and discipline attempted by men like Clarke had important social functions in towns with a large, potentially unruly, poor population. Clarke saw his own influence on Alcester as dramatic: 'the town, which before was called Drunken Alcester, was now exemplary, and eminent for religion all over the county'.¹¹⁵ Despite the jettisoning of Clarke at Coventry, most of the city élite were united on the need to provide adequate preaching even if they were not all prepared to defy the hierarchy for the sake of a particular minister. Lectures every Wednesday and Friday as well as on Sundays continued throughout the 1630s.¹¹⁶ However, in town like Stratford, where the ruling group was less united, social and political conflicts

¹¹⁴ Clarke, *The Lives of Sundry Eminent Persons*, 5–6. Clarke was appointed lecturer at Coventry in 1628: A14(a) f.219r. He probably left the city within a year, and was at Warwick for four, rather than the five years he claimed. In February 1633, the town corporation ordered him to cease lecturing until the differences between him and Hall were sorted out: W21/6, p. 111. In 1633 Clarke became vicar of Alcester, and, as stated above, Hall's moves against him continued.

¹¹⁵ Clarke, *The Lives of Sundry Eminent Persons*, 7.

¹¹⁶ For the appointment of lecturers at Coventry in the 1630s: A14(a) ff.322r, 325r, 335r–335v, 354r (1634–8).

spilled over into religious matters. From his appointment in 1619, the vicar Thomas Wilson was assailed by elements in the town as a hypocritical Puritan. Wilson was presented after the previous minister had been removed for pluralism and his appointment caused a riot led by a group of the town's gentry during which the church windows were smashed and Wilson was threatened with violence. A series of 'libels' in poetry and prose ensued and these were solemnly analysed in a star chamber case. Those who had obtained Wilson's appointment were attacked as men who disguised their attempts to dominate the town and oppress the poor with a godly veneer:

Stratford is a Town that doth make a great show
 But yet it is governed but by a few,
 O Jesus Christ of heaven
 I think they are but seven
 Puritans without doubt
 For you may know them,
 They are so stout,
 They say 'tis no sin, their neighbour's house to take
 But such laws their father the devil did make . . .
 One of the Chiefest hath read far in Perkin's works,
 The rest are deep dissembling hypocrites.¹¹⁷

An important element in the early opposition to Wilson was focused on his attempts to impose a 'godly' discipline: the removal of the maypole was one flashpoint; and the Act Book of the Peculiar Court at Stratford reveals that the vicar attempted to remove drunkenness and impose Sabbatarianism.¹¹⁸ However, Wilson was obviously anxious to emphasise the dignity of his office against all the laity of the town, and ultimately antagonised even some of those responsible for his appointment. From 1629 to 1638 he was in dispute with the corporation over his maintenance and was himself brought before the High Commission by his previous ally Alderman Henry Smith in 1636. Amongst the accu-

¹¹⁷ P.R.O. St Ch 8/26/10, January 1621. This particular example is from 'A Satyre to the Chiefe Rulers in the Synagogue of Stratford'. The opposition to Wilson was led by the most important resident gentleman in Stratford, John Nash, and the town clerk, Thomas Rutter. The case was brought by the attorney general on Wilson's behalf.

¹¹⁸ Kent C.A.D. Sackville MS U269, Q24: Thomas Wilson's Visitation Book and Act book of the Peculiar Court 1622 and 1624. It is revealing of Wilson's personality and general approach that the jurisdiction of this court was revived by him after his predecessors had allowed it to lapse. His claims were resisted by the Bishop of Worcester, and on this issue he was supported by the corporation who regarded it as a recovery of 'our liberties': U269, Q27, papers concerning the jurisdictional dispute with the Bishop of Worcester. The maypole was the occasion for religious conflict and a star chamber case at Brinklow, in east Warwickshire, too, when the Puritan constable Thomas Robinson tried to stop the mayday celebrations in 1621; St Ch 8/245/27. Robinson associated the maypole with drunkenness, profanation of the sabbath and general immorality. Cf. Underdown, *Revel, Riot and Rebellion*, 53–60.

sations made against him were that he had 'scandalised' leading members of Stratford in his sermons, and had sat in the pulpit to prevent his curate preaching a funeral sermon for Smith's wife. This was not a simple conflict between a Puritan minister and a lukewarm corporation who did not want their own moral shortcomings to be revealed, for Wilson had the support of Middlesex, who was no Puritan, in his campaign for better maintenance. Although Sir Nathaniel Brent suspended him for three months in 1635 for 'grossly particularising in his Sermons' and misuse of the church, Brent was hopeful of 'a serious amendment for the future' and did not convict Wilson of the more serious accusations of non-conformity and keeping conventicles. At Stratford rival lay and clerical notions of the function of the ministry resulted in a decade of bitter disputes.¹¹⁹

The trouble caused by Laudian innovations in Warwickshire in the 1630s focused on issues with social and economic implications as well as on doctrinal matters. The Laudian attempt to improve the status of the ministry exacerbated the existing financial tensions between the clergy and the laity in town and countryside. Lay attitudes to the ministry were often ambiguous for improvements in the standards and maintenance of the clergy could threaten secular property rights with demands for an increase in tithes or attempts to recover lay impropriations.¹²⁰ The vicars at Warwick, Coventry and Stratford all sought better maintenance in the 1630s and the last two, at least, obtained it; while in the same years there are several examples of gentry opposing demands for an increase in tithes. At Astley the vicar's demand even led to a temporary unity between the two feuding gentlemen: John Newdigate and Richard Chamberlain.¹²¹ The changes imposed by the Laudians on seating within churches to heighten the importance of the altar and the sacraments, and to bring

¹¹⁹ This extremely abbreviated discussion of the complex disputes at Stratford is based on: Sackville MS U269, Q28 – papers concerning the disputes over maintenance; Cranfield's mediation and Wilson's chancery case of 1634–5 against the corporation; SP16/324 f.19r–19v, /320/59 (proceedings in the High Commission); S.B.T. ER1, vol. 1, no. 97: Brent's judgement; BRV2/Cpp. 57, 88, 96, 132, 134, 144, 146, 156, 160: council minutes concerning Wilson. In September 1638 after a dispute lasting more than nine years, the corporation agreed to pay Wilson £70 p.a. but by December the minister was dead. The corporation's first choice as his successor, Robert Harris of Hanwell, indicates that there was no general opposition to a 'Puritan' minister: *ibid.*, 164, 166. I hope to deal with religious conflict in Stratford more fully on a future occasion.

¹²⁰ Hill, *Economic Problems of the Church*, 80–93, 318–19. One Warwickshire example of a gentleman's interest in ecclesiastical property – the holdings of William Pawlett of Maxstoke – illustrates how lay interests conflicted with a properly maintained ministry. Pawlett held the impropriation of Maxstoke worth £30 p.a. and provided for the church by hiring a reader by the week at a cost of £10 p.a. He also held the impropriation of Shustoke worth £100 p.a. while the vicar had tithes worth only about £35 p.a.: Lich.J.R.O./B/V/1/63.

¹²¹ Cov. C.R.O. A14(a) f.337v; Warwk. Boro. MS W21/6, 100, 116–17; for Stratford see above. W.C.R.O. CR136/1129 (1635); in 1636 the tenants of the second Viscount Conway were in dispute with the vicar of Exhall over tithes: SP16/321/74, 85.

more decorum to worship also upset social relationships in some parishes. The arrangement of pews within churches reflected the social hierarchy within the parish: George Warner and his occasional neighbour Sir Peter Wentworth quarrelled over the best pew in Wolston church in 1636; while two women of Nether Whitacre were presented to Brent for fighting over a seat.¹²² The Laudian changes affected Coventry most severely. In 1636 the diocesan officials ordered the removal of pews blocking the chancel in St Michael's church and of all new pews. Henceforth only those owning substantial amounts of land in both city parishes were to have pews in both churches. This offended the sensibilities of the corporation because St Michael's, rather than Trinity, was seen as the most important city church and it was the church in which all the companies of Coventry had special pews – which were among those removed. The mayor's council decided to consult civil lawyers about their own powers to arrange seating in the two churches.¹²³

It is clear from the preceding discussion that the rise of Laudianism from 1626 had an impact on the county, but it is also apparent that this impact was muted. The split between the two dioceses, both of which had their headquarters in other counties, meant that the ecclesiastical authorities were comparatively remote from the religious life of Warwickshire. However, the character of the hierarchy was equally important. The Bishop of Worcester throughout this period was John Thornborough who had little sympathy with Arminian developments in the church and belonged to an earlier Protestant tradition. Thomas Hall's attempts to silence Clarke at Warwick foundered on the bishop's easygoing approach: Thornborough, 'an old man and peaceable, dealt so fairly that I still got off' wrote Clarke.¹²⁴ The Diocese of Coventry and Lichfield seems, at first sight, to illustrate the changes in approach put forward by Laud. The bishop until 1632 was the Calvinist Thomas Morton, a man with much sympathy for 'Puritans' on such matters as the need for a learned, preaching ministry although he enforced conformity on ceremonial matters.¹²⁵ In 1632 Morton was succeeded by the

¹²² H.M.C. (Cowper MS), vol. 2, 123, Wentworth to Sir John Coke; B/V/1/56. At Stratford in 1635 there were 'many contentions about seats in the Church' between the aldermen's wives and the family of the physician John Hall. Brent decided the dispute in favour of the latter: SP16/293/128 f. 11r; S.B.T. ER1 vol. 1, no. 96. See James, *Family, Lineage and Civil Society*, 122–4, for the trouble caused in Durham by the rearrangement of pews. Underdown, *Revel, Riot and Rebellion*, 29–33, points out that disputes over pews reflect the tensions arising during a period of social change.

¹²³ SP16/330/40; A14(a) f. 341v; A48, f. 40v.

¹²⁴ Clarke, *The Lives of Sundry Eminent Persons*, 6. Thornborough was accused of laxity by Brent in 1635: SP16/293/128 ff. 10v–11r.

¹²⁵ Tyacke, 132–3, 139; O'Day, 'Clerical Patronage and Recruitment', 43; James, *Family, Lineage and Civil Society*, 120, 130–1. Laud's distrust of Morton extended to setting a spy on him in Durham in the 1630s.

'Arminian' Robert Wright and the resulting switch in attitudes is illustrated in the dispute between Coventry Corporation and the vicar, Samuel Buggs, over the employment of a lecturer. In June 1632 Morton wrote a sharp letter to Buggs, asking him to agree to the city's desire for a lecturer: it was 'so equal, religious and Christian request of devout minds, that in the first place I do move you to yield unto this their desire, or else to give me such reason of your refusal which may stand upon terms of good conscience, otherwise I must peremptorily require the same'. He also warned Buggs against taking 'some privilege from your doctorship to remit your former pains of preaching'. The new bishop wrote to Buggs in very different terms in November: 'I hear very well of you and your proceedings unto which I shall ever be a close friend'; and Wright was very suspicious of religious opinions within Coventry, asking Buggs for 'a short lecture on the body of Coventry, what are the parts affected and what the affections of the parts'.¹²⁶

Wright turned out to be a severe disappointment to Laud despite this promising beginning. His main concern was apparently to feather his own nest rather than to pursue a consistently Arminian policy. The best example of his approach in Warwickshire was the agreement he made with Coventry Corporation over the positioning of the altar in St Michael's church. In 1636 the bishop's officials supervised the moving of the communion tables in both city churches to the east end. They were raised up 'altar wise', and surrounded by rails. In March 1637, though, Wright agreed that the 'altar' at St Michael's could be moved back into the body of the church while the communion was actually celebrated. Although Wright's indignant subordinates complained to Laud, this procedure probably continued: in 1641 the altar at Trinity was levelled and its rails removed but no changes were apparently necessary at St Michael's.¹²⁷ Pre-Civil War religious developments in Warwickshire were thus undramatic. The metropolitanical visitation of 1635 had a limited and short-lived impact as Brent's difficulties at Warwick reveal. The pressure exerted by the local hierarchy was spasmodic at best. Dugard's diary gives a vivid picture of the survival of Puritan practices and groupings in the Laudian heyday. From the regime's point of view, this situation was the worst of all worlds. Puritanism had not been crushed, but its adherents had become all too well aware of the dangers of

¹²⁶ SP16/218/77; /229/122.

¹²⁷ For Wright's covetousness see *D.N.B.*; and, for example, the complaints made by his successor as Bishop of Bristol and his dean at Lichfield in 1638: SP16/386/2. Wright's reply to Laud: SP16/387/64. For the altars at Coventry: Cov. C.R.O. A48 f.40v; SP16/330/40, /350/52, 351/18. Wright was reprimanded by Laud: P. Heylyn, *Cyprianus Anglicus* (1668), 288. For the changes at Trinity in 1641: Poole, *Coventry, its History and Antiquities*, 188. Conrad Russell has pointed out to me that Wright was following the practices laid down in the Elizabethan injunctions.

episcopal repression, and conscious that they were living on borrowed time. When they emerged from the sullen 1630s, ‘the godly’ had maintained the structures and resources necessary to commence the religious and political reformation of the 1640s. The ‘godly’ were, however, a disparate group, and the attempted reformation revealed the differences which had remained latent in the face of a common enemy in the 1630s.

POLITICS

Much recent historical work has cast doubt on Everitt’s contention that ‘the conflict between loyalty to the nation and loyalty to the county community’ was the most urgent problem facing the gentry in the seventeenth century.¹²⁸ Rather than a simple dichotomy, many historians have perceived a more complex, subtle interrelationship between local and national concerns. A local gentleman sought powerful friends at court in order to obtain office and privileges while the standing of a government official was enhanced if he had local influence. Particularist disputes within counties inevitably took on a more than local dimension as the participants appealed to the centre for help.¹²⁹

The experiences of the gentry in pre-Civil War Warwickshire lend no support to the Everitt thesis: all the evidence suggests that the gentry succeeded in combining local and national concerns at least until the later 1630s. Examples have been given in earlier chapters of very local and personal disputes, such as the perennial conflicts over the Warwickshire coalfields, or Sir Thomas Lucy’s disagreement with his son-in-law, that were brought before the Privy Council; and the importance of backing at court or in the council was even more apparent in extended disputes such as the rivalry between the local gentry for influence at Warwick. Possibly the most serious local conflict before the Civil War was that between Coventry and the county of Warwick over the first ship-money assessments. Here the local combatants automatically and naturally appealed to outside authorities for help. Within days of their failure to persuade the sheriff to reduce their assessment, Coventry council dispatched their town clerk and an alderman to London with a letter for the Privy Council; this was the first of several journeys. The ship-money dispute underlines the vital role that could be played by men with ties to

¹²⁸ Everitt, *The Local Community and the Great Rebellion*, 8.

¹²⁹ See for example, J.P. Cooper, ed., *The Wentworth Papers 1597–1628* (Camden Society, fourth series, 12, 1973), 5–7. Barnes, *Somerset*, 24–5; Ashton, *The English Civil War*, chapter 3; Derek Hirst, ‘Court, Country and Politics before 1629’ in Kevin Sharpe, ed., *Faction and Parliament: Essays on Early Stuart History* (Oxford, 1978), 105–37.

both the court and the country. A near panic ensued at Coventry when they heard that Richard Chamberlain of the Court of Wards 'was the man that followeth the business to the Lords of the Council for the County of Warwick against the City of Coventry' and they immediately ordered their own London contact, the city steward John Whitwick, to dissuade Chamberlain from his opposition.¹³⁰

Such contacts between the county and the centre had been very strong in the late sixteenth century when Ambrose and Robert Dudley occupied influential positions in both arenas; and the links were maintained in the 1620s by the Privy Councillors Brooke and, especially, Conway. Brooke did occasional favours for his relations among the county gentry but his introspective character limited his usefulness. In the opinion of the town clerk of Warwick, at least, he was: 'one more remote, living in London and a long time in that private and obscure manner caused him to be disregarded . . . he was so extremely covetous and so subtly cautious that he would neither by purse or power be seen in the affairs of the corporation'.¹³¹ The gregarious Conway was a much more successful mediator between the county and the central government. We have already shown how the Warwickshire deputy lieutenants occasionally used Conway rather than Northampton to contact the Privy Council and the viscount had continuous less formal contacts with his friends among the Warwickshire gentry, most of whom were from the influential southern families. Conway helped men like Sir Simon Clarke and Sir Richard Verney with legal suits and his 'loving cousin' Verney was an executor of his estate. Practical help did not only flow one way: another friend of Conway was Sir Robert Lee who often helped the absentee Conway over problems with his estates.¹³²

The function of men like Brooke and Conway was not simply to dispense patronage to the local gentry. Both, despite the compromises of their later years, were staunch Protestants and supporters of an active Protestant foreign policy; as such they were in touch politically with the beliefs and prejudices of gentlemen like Sir Thomas Lucy or Sir Clement

¹³⁰ Cov. C.R.O. A35, no foliation. For detailed discussion of the ship-money dispute, see below. Chamberlain in fact denied that he was helping the sheriff of Warwickshire in any way.

¹³¹ W.C.R.O. CR1618 W21/6, p. 272. The writer Edward Rainsford was regretting the choice of Brooke as the town's recorder in preference to Sir Thomas Leigh with his powerful Egerton links. An example of Brooke doing favours for his relations was his recommendation of his nephew John Verney as steward of Coventry: Cov. C.R.O. A79 P123 (1623).

¹³² Conway's help for Clarke: SP14/167/5 (1624) where he describes Clarke as 'my neighbour in Warwickshire and good friend'; his links with the Verneys: SP14/167/43, 52 (1624) and his will: Prob 11/160 f.121; Lee's involvement with Conway's estates: SP16/527/7 (1626). In 1625 it was proposed that Lee's son marry one of Conway's daughters although the marriage did not in fact take place: H.M.C. (Cowper), 1, 237.

Throckmorton who set the tone of Warwickshire's political life.¹³³ They were part of the last manifestation of the Elizabethan style of central government which ensured that relatively broad strands of opinion, particularly religious opinion, were represented in the Privy Council. Moderate Puritan gentry were not alienated from the government but felt they had sympathisers there. The deaths of Brooke in 1628 and Conway in 1631 meant that the county gentry found it harder to get favours done, but were also symbolic of the narrowing of the political and religious views represented at the centre, and emphasised the growing ideological divide between the court and the local gentry.¹³⁴ No one really replaced Conway and Brooke as mediators between the gentry, especially the predominant southern group, and the court: Conway's heir spent little time in the county and Brooke's was an uncompromising opponent of the government while the influence of the Earls of Denbigh and Northampton was stronger at court than in Warwickshire.

It is clear that the county gentry were interested in the political activities of the central government and did not see it simply as a source of patronage. There is ample evidence of the hunger for news from London and on the struggle in Europe. Letters from friends, London lawyers and sons at Inns of Court were popular methods of transmitting news, besides more formal newsletters, while important parliamentary speeches and legal decisions are found in many of the surviving family collections: Sir Thomas Leigh collected information on the Spanish match, while Robert Throckmorton asked for the arguments on both sides in the Hampden ship-money case. Archer too was interested in this case: in May 1638 Dugdale lent Sir Simon his copy of Judge Croke's speech in Hampden's favour: 'they are sold for 10s a piece in London. If you desire a copy thereof, I think I can procure one at a cheaper rate (from Mr. Freeman) which the Judge hath since (upon command) renewed and enlarged.'¹³⁵

¹³³ Brooke's political and religious views are described in Rebholz, *Fulke Greville*, especially 16–20, 260–3; 293–9. Conway's concern for religion is illustrated by his patronage of ministers like Thomas Case and John Trapp in Warwickshire, and his friendship with 'Puritans' like John Davenport: SP16/201/37; Prob 11/160 f.121; Isabel M. Calder, *Letters of John Davenport, Puritan Divine* (New Haven, 1937), 13–14, 17, 22–3. For Lucy and Throckmorton, the knights of the shire for most 1620s Parliaments see below. Sir Thomas Puckering, with his background in Prince Henry's circle and his interest in foreign news, shared their attitudes: see n. 143 below.

¹³⁴ Conrad Russell, *The Crisis of Parliaments: English History 1509–1660*, *The Short Oxford History of the Modern World*, J.M. Roberts, ed. (1971), 310–11; Hirst, 'Court, Country and Politics', 111.

¹³⁵ For example: CR136/B345 letters of Richard Newdigate from university and the Inn; W.C.R.O., M1/351, political tracts and newsbooks from the Newdigate Collection; DR37/Box 91: an account of the 'Five Knights' case in the Archer Collection: DR18 (Stoneleigh Collection) Series B, Warwickshire Papers bundle 2; CR1998: Strongroom, Box 60, Folder 2 No. 10, 20 December 1637: Richard Betham to Robert Throckmorton; *Dugdale* (Hamper), 184.

Some gentlemen clubbed together to obtain contemporary information: in 1631 Sir Thomas Puckering and Sir Thomas Lucy agreed to pay 25s each for 'five excellent discourses' including a 'Character of Cardinal Richelieu' and a 'Pathetical Remonstrance' from the princes and states at Leipzig to the House of Austria.¹³⁶ Of course, an interest in national and international politics was only one part of a gentleman's interests and the degree of concern varied, but some gentry were remarkably conscientious. Sir Thomas Puckering was the recipient of several newsletters which he rigorously compared, drawing the following shame-faced explanation from one of his sources, John Beaulieu in February 1633:

I do endeavour to keep my judgements even and upright in the receiving of such relations as are daily made us of foreign occurrences, wherein I have found many times untruths as confidently affirmed and believed as certain truths, and find myself as prone to express my fears and wishes or joys in the relating thereof, which may be the cause that made you to find such difference between my last advertisements and those you had from other parts as I perceive by your letter of the 6 of this month; and I confess that of some of those things I wrote the worse because I did fear it, and I give God thanks that that worse is proved false.¹³⁷

In the 1620s and in 1640, the key institution relating local and national concerns was the Parliament. The process worked in two ways: M.P.s brought to London their local experiences which were developed into national issues, but also took back to their localities information acquired in London about national or international affairs. Involvement in this process was not confined to the gentry as the work of Hirst has shown, and the pressure of responsibility towards their constituents – gentlemen and others – led some M.P.s to oppose the demands of the crown in the 1620s: they had to be able to show they had attempted to redress the grievances of those who had sent them to Parliament.¹³⁸ Warwickshire M.P.s can be seen acting as the representatives of their constituents in the 1620s Parliaments – but there is little surviving evidence of popular involvement in elections before 1640 and the gentry's interest in county elections seems to have been limited by the regional separation of gentry society. In the Elizabethan period, the county seats were distributed

¹³⁶ B.L. Harl MS 7000, f.33v. Puckering, Lucy and the second Lord Brooke shared the Pory newsletters, many of which are printed in Birch, *Court and Times of Charles I*. The news-gathering process also illustrates the close interrelationship between the localities and the centre. Pory sent news to Warwickshire but he solicited it there too, asking for information on the riots in the Forest of Dean in 1631: *Court and Times of Charles I*, vol. 2: 100, 106.

¹³⁷ B.L. Harl MS 7010 f.212r. The 'worse' that Beaulieu feared was the death of Hamilton on the continent. Other Puckering correspondence is in Harl MS 7002, 7004. For a more sceptical view of the significance of the gentry's interest in news see Morrill, *Revolt of the Provinces*, 22. I have gained much from Richard Cust's article, 'News and Politics in Early Seventeenth-Century England', *Past and Present*, vol. 112 (August 1986).

¹³⁸ Hirst, *The Representative of the People?*, chapters 8 and 9; Ashton, *The English Civil War*, 70.

widely amongst the gentry but under the early Stuarts they, like other influential county positions, were the preserve of the leading southern gentry. From 1604 to the Short Parliament, only one knight of the shire came from outside the south: Sir Francis Leigh the younger, elected in a by-election in 1621 after Sir Fulke Greville had been made a peer. Sir Thomas Lucy was knight of the shire in every parliament from 1614 to the Short Parliament and Sir Clement Throckmorton was his partner in all three parliaments between 1624 and 1626.¹³⁹ There is no evidence of contested elections in the county before 1640 and it is likely that the northern gentry were again not very interested in county politics: they seem to have rarely attended the county court at Warwick. Thus when Lucy presented grievances from Warwickshire as he did in 1621 on the glass and alehouse patents; or when Throckmorton was active on religious committees in 1624, arguing that a ‘Protestant of state is worse than a professed papist’; it was perhaps a limited section of county society for whom they were speaking.¹⁴⁰

Electioneering at Warwick Borough presents a great contrast to the quiescence of the county: every election was contested in the 1620s except possibly for that of 1625. The origins of these disputes have been analysed by Hirst, and only a brief account is necessary here. The poverty of the borough led to continuing friction between the Commons and the corporation and elections were one of several flashpoints, with the Commons pressing their claims to the franchise. The franchise disputes were exploited by the local gentry seeking a place in Parliament. Here

¹³⁹ J.E. Neale, *The Elizabethan House of Commons* (1949), 51–2; *Return of the names of every member returned to serve in each Parliament* (1878). Leigh was the future Lord Dunsmore and came from the east of the county. Lucy’s co-member in 1614 was Sir Richard Verney; in 1628 Sir Thomas Leigh of Stoneleigh; in the Short Parliament, William Combe of Stratford.

¹⁴⁰ Hirst, *The Representative of the People?*, 221. In 1628, however, the sheriff was sent for when the Parliament opened for delaying the return of the knights of the shire: the significance of this is not known although it could possibly indicate hostility to Sir Thomas Leigh who, although he lived in the south, was not as well integrated into the dominant group of gentry as Verney, Lucy or Throckmorton: *C.J.* vol. 1: 873; Robert C. Johnson and Maija Jansson Cole, eds., *Commons Debates 1628* vol. 2 (Yale Center for Parliamentary History, New Haven, 1977), 28, 37. Election indentures survive only for 1621: in the first return all the senior gentry signing were from the south; in the return for the November by-election very few leading gentry signed, most signatures were those of minor gentry and yeomen from Sir Francis Leigh’s immediate locality: P.R.O. C219/37 PT 2, 268, 266. No county M.P. was a prominent member of the Commons except for Greville in 1621, and he was acting for the government rather than for the county. Throckmorton was on several committees in 1624 and 1625, mainly ones dealing with religion although he sat also on the Committee for General Grievances in 1624. In 1625 he spoke against supply: ‘that it is a pretended necessity and therefore not to give’: *C.J.*, vol. 1: 703, 714, 819; S.R. Gardiner, ed., *Debates in the House of Commons in 1625* (Camden Society, N.S. 6, 1873), 147. Lucy sat on the occasional committee; for his presentation of evidence on patents in 1621: Wallace Notestein, Francis H. Relf, Hartley Simpson, eds., *Commons Debates 1621* (Yale Historical Publications, Manuscripts and Edited Texts, vol. 14, New Haven, 1935), vol. 3: 257; vol. 6: 7.

again it is interesting that all the gentry involved in these contests were from the south. Patronage at the borough was dominated by the Grevilles who were usually able to pick at least one member, while in 1621 Sir Fulke Greville secured both seats: the M.P.s were his friend Sir John Coke and his nephew Greville Verney. Sir Thomas Lucy was the other influential figure: he secured a seat for his younger brother Francis in 1624–6 and both 1628 elections.¹⁴¹

Both Lucy and Brooke worked through the corporation so that any gentleman who wished to break this stranglehold had to appeal to the Commons. In 1621 the people declared: 'if we have any voices we choose Sir Clement Throckmorton and Sir Bartholomew Hales and so cried altogether'. It was generally held that the right to elect lay with the corporation, though, and Hales accepted this, withdrawing after he had been shown the town's charter. When Francis Lucy was preferred to Sir Thomas Puckering in 1626 the defeated candidate was less amenable.¹⁴² Puckering began a campaign to get the franchise extended to the commonalty. As M.P. for Tamworth he pressed for an extension in the 1626 Parliament, but the dissolution came before the Committee of Privileges finished their consideration of the case. In 1628, however, Puckering obtained a decision that the franchise belonged to the inhabitants. The election of Francis Lucy and Robert Greville was declared void and in the by-election, Lucy was again returned along with Puckering's friend, Anthony Stoughton of Warwick of whom the town clerk wrote 'the corporation conceived little worthiness' in him.¹⁴³

¹⁴¹ Hirst, *The Representative of the People?*, 210–12. Sir Thomas Puckering (M.P. for Tamworth in all parliaments of the 1620s except for 1624) presented a petition to the Commons on the Warwick election, 25 June 1625, so there was trouble in this year too: *C.J.*, vol. 1: 800. However, in the dispute between Sir Fulke Greville and Sir Thomas Leigh over the recordership in 1615, Leigh was supported by northern gentry like Sir Clement Fisher and Sir John Ferrers: CR1618, W21/6, 259–61; see chapter 1 above. Brooke could not usually nominate both members: in January 1626 he apologised to Lord Conway for his inability to secure a seat for Sir Edward Conway, junior, as he had already made his choice (SP16/523/3); his nominations were Conway junior in 1624; Francis Leigh, junior in 1625 and 1626; and his heir Robert Greville in 1628. Attempts by the council of the Prince of Wales to influence elections at Warwick failed: J.K. Gruenfelder, *Influence in Early Stuart Elections, 1604–1640* (Columbus, Ohio, 1981), 26 n. 32, 89, 93.

¹⁴² Thomas Kemp, ed., *The Black Book of Warwick* (1898), 410. As mentioned in chapter 2, Puckering was rejected because he came from a less ancient family than Lucy and because he was not as noted for his charity towards the town as Sir Thomas Lucy was: W21/6, 269. Political differences between Lucy and Puckering are unlikely to have been a factor. The two men were close enough to share newsletters in the 1630s.

¹⁴³ For 1626: *C.J.*, vol. 1: 816, 857, 867. In 1628 a wary corporation elected Puckering as one of their M.P.s but he preferred to sit for Tamworth: *C.J.*, 1, 876. The decision on the town's franchise was made on 31 May 1628: *C.J.*, 907. Mary Frear Keller, Maija Jansson Cole and William B. Bidwell, eds., *Common Debates 1628*, vol. 4 (Yale Center for Parliamentary History, New Haven, 1978), 37–8, 46. Hirst, *The Representative of the People?*, 212, attributes Puckering's perseverance to revenge or principle. It is at least possible that Puckering believed that an extended franchise was a good thing in itself. He was a strongly Protestant country gentleman with links with Puritan

There is no sign of substantive religious or political differences between the rival gentry at Warwick and it seems that the vulnerability of the corporation simply made it a focus of the gentry's competition for local influence and a parliamentary seat. At Coventry the situation was different. Outsiders rarely influenced this independent corporation. Sir Edward Coke sat for Coventry in 1624 and was chosen in 1625, although he chose to sit elsewhere, but Coke was the city's recorder. Court nominations were never successful: in January 1624 the Prince of Wales' Council recommended that Sir Thomas Edmondes be picked as one of the city's members; and in May 1625 Bishop Morton and the Earl of Northampton backed the claim of Sir John Suckling. Both men were made free of the city so that they were capable of election but this was done merely to keep their influential supporters happy. No effort was made by the corporation to secure their election, and neither became one of Coventry's M.P.s. Hirst considers that Edmondes lost a contested election, but there is no contemporary mention of such a contest and it is more likely that in both 1624 and 1625 the corporation simply went ahead and pushed their real preferences from amongst their own members.¹⁴⁴ It was only in 1628 that there was a serious contest in Coventry, and it is possible that here political issues were involved. A newsletter reported: 'At Coventry they have done as at London, admitted 2 gentlemen recusants [i.e. refusers of the forced loan] in the country to be of their Corporation that they might choose them and pass by against their custom all their own, as being not that way qualified.'¹⁴⁵ In fact the two local gentlemen, William Purefoy of Caldecote and Richard Greene of Wyken, were not made freemen or members of the corporation, and although they obtained most support from the 600 freemen who appeared in the election, one of the city sheriffs believed they were incapable of election because they were neither residents nor freemen. He returned instead two aldermen, Isaac Walden and Thomas Potter, but the

ministers like John Bryan and John Ley of Cheshire. As a young man he had been a member of Prince Henry's circle and the prince's death had led to an apparently disillusioned retirement in Warwick. In 1625 he spoke against supply, proposing instead 'an humble remonstrance unto his Majestie, and to show him the reasons, and the danger that may ensue by our breach of liberties': *D.N.B.* under John Puckering; B.L. Harl MS 7000 f.333v; Gardiner, *Debates in the House of Commons in 1625*, 146. Gruenfelder's reference to Puckering's 'Selfish alliance with Warwick Commoners' (*Influence in Early Stuart Elections*, 12) seems unjustified.

¹⁴⁴ A14(a) ff.268r, 276v. Hirst, *The Representative of the People?*, 221. A contest is mentioned in nineteenth-century histories of the city, but not in the seventeenth-century annals. See also Gruenfelder, *Influence in Early Stuart Elections*, 93 for abortive court efforts to secure nominations at Coventry. The Hopkins incident described here, however, seems to me to refer to post-1660 rather than 1624.

¹⁴⁵ B.L. Harl MS 390 f.356v: Joseph Mede to Sir Martin Stuteville, 1 March 1628. I owe this reference to Richard Cust. There is in fact no evidence that Greene was a loan resister.

Commons decided that there was no residence qualification and that Purefoy and Greene were validly elected. This contest has been seen as essentially a conflict like that at Warwick, between the Commons and the corporation, with Purefoy and Greene taking advantage of popular discontent over the use of the town lands, rather than presenting a distinct political position.¹⁴⁶ There is no local evidence to support the views of Joseph Mede apart from the, possibly coincidental, fact that William Purefoy was a leading opponent of the forced loan. However a paper drawn up by the supporters of Walden and Potter, containing the points they hoped to make to the Committee of Privileges indicates that there was no simple division in the city between Commons and corporation. Two aldermen and three common councilmen were amongst those giving evidence for Walden and Potter, but many prominent members of the oligarchy are absent; and one, Henry Harewell, was accused of undue practices on Greene's behalf. He ordered Sampson Hopkins, who was checking the poll in Trinity church on Walden's behalf 'to be thrust out, which was violently done'. One of the sheriffs, Godfrey Legg, was also active against the aldermen: he refused to check that Greene's supporters were freemen and kept many of Walden's voters out of the poll in St Michael's church.¹⁴⁷

An obvious way in which national developments had an impact on local society was through the financial expedients of the government. There was a mixed reaction in Warwickshire to the earliest projects of Charles's reign. The request for loans on Privy Seals in September 1625 was more or less ignored; Brooke reported to Sir John Coke: 'The Privy Seals have been amongst us and our lieutenants concerted take their leaves to sleep awhile. Unless by their votes the Catholics help them the reviving of them again is in wiser men's hands than I suppose knows whether they shall end or draw on a parliament.' In December 1625 Northampton was among six lord lieutenants reprimanded by the council for not returning the names of those fit to contribute and there is no record of money having been paid in from Warwickshire. Warwickshire and Essex are the only counties absent from the returns and we know from other sources that Essex did not co-operate at all.¹⁴⁸ Perversely the attempt to raise a free gift in July 1626, which fell completely flat in most

¹⁴⁶ *C.J.*, vol. 1: 881; *Debates 1628*, vol. 2: 374, 375n, 376 (9 April). Coke, the recorder, was amongst those supporting Purefoy and Greene. Hirst, *The Representative of the People?*, 225. For popular discontent in the city in 1628 see B.L. Add MS 11364 f.15v, and chapter 1 above.

¹⁴⁷ Hampshire County Record Office, 44M69 (Sherfield MS): XXIX/25. I am grateful to Richard Cust for giving me a copy of this document.

¹⁴⁸ *A.P.C. March 1625–July 1626*, 167–71, 288–9: 9 September, 28 December. H.M.C. (Cowper) 1, 230–1: 26 November 1625. No payments from Warwickshire are recorded by the Exchequer Auditors between October 1625 and September 1626 or in the Receipt Books (Pells) for Easter and

counties and prompted the launching of the forced loan, had some success in the county.¹⁴⁹

The Privy Council gave a great deal more thought to the raising of money through the forced loan. The demand for a loan equal to five subsidies was issued in September 1626; great care was taken over the appointment of commissioners for the counties, and in January 1627 Privy Councillors with local links were sent out to promote the loan. Particular emphasis was put on the government's need for money to help the European war effort.¹⁵⁰ There are many hints in contemporary correspondence that Warwickshire was one of the counties where opposition to the loan was very strong, despite all the council's precautions. A Cheshire commentator described opposition to the loan as a 'Northampton and Warwickshire infection', and the Privy Councillors sent to Northamptonshire confirmed the links between the two counties; there was much opposition to the loan in the west of Northamptonshire which: 'would not only frustrate the service in this county, but infuse the confidence of contradiction into the next adjacent shires with which an intercourse was maintained by cockings and such like meetings (as may be conceived) to that end'.¹⁵¹

Unfortunately no local sources survive for the loan so that discussion of its impact has to be based on the state papers and the records of the Privy Council. However some of the most interesting effects can be discerned. Barnes has pointed out that the loan forced J.P.s for the first time to choose between doing as the king had ordered and doing as many of their neighbours wished. The loan commissioners in Warwickshire were made up of J.P.s with the addition of the Earl of Monmouth and the rarely resident Sir Thomas Burdett.¹⁵² None of them openly opposed the loan but very few seem to have actively aided its collection. Of the twenty-two gentry appointed, only eight turned up to the meeting with the Privy Councillors, Brooke and Monmouth, at Warwick in January although two others sent apologies, excusing themselves through age or ill health.

Michaelmas 1626: E401/2441–2; E401/1915. There are no items for Warwickshire in E401/2586 and 2590 which contain material on the Privy Seal loans in other counties. I owe the information on Essex to Richard Cust.

¹⁴⁹ E401/2442 (Carne): £156 18s was received from Knightlow Hundred, 9 September 1626. This free gift was intended to equal the subsidies offered but not passed by the 1626 Parliament: *A.P.C. June–December 1626*, 132–4 (26 July).

¹⁵⁰ R.P. Cust, 'A List of Commissioners for the Forced Loan of 1626–7', *B.I.H.R.*, vol. 51 (1978), 199–206; *A.P.C. June–December 1626*, 268, *January–August 1627*, 21–2.

¹⁵¹ SP16/53/18, 4 February 1627; SP16/49/8, 12 January 1627. I am grateful to Richard Cust for this reference and for much useful discussion on the forced loan in general. Western Northamptonshire bordered on eastern Warwickshire where there was much opposition to the loan.

¹⁵² Barnes, *Somerseset*, 168. P.R.O. C193/12/2; there is a copy in the Archer Collection: DR37/Box 84.

Ironically, four of these eight were not usually resident in Warwickshire and did not usually turn up to Quarter Sessions.¹⁵³ There is no evidence that any of these eight men subsequently helped to collect the loan: none of them are found reporting to the Privy Council on the progress made in the individual hundreds, although there are no surviving letters from Barlichway Hundred, where William Combe and Sir Clement Throckmorton who attended the January meeting would have been active.

It was the influential southern gentry who were the most reluctant to undertake the service. Although only one commissioner from the northern hundred of Hemlingford went to the Warwick meeting, four different commissioners signed letters to the Privy Council, more than in any other hundred.¹⁵⁴ Three commissioners were active in Knightlow Hundred although one of these, Sir Simon Archer, lived outside it.¹⁵⁵ In the mainly southern hundred of Kineton, such leading gentry as Sir Thomas Lucy, Sir Richard Verney and Sir Thomas Puckering (all active deputy lieutenants at this time) were conspicuous by their absence. Lucy was mentioned by a correspondent of Sir Robert Phelps as a probable opponent of the loan, although not one who was likely to take his opposition too far. He was apparently anxious to be left out of the commission so that he could avoid difficult decisions. Lucy and Verney paid their own loans in London, perhaps an indication that they deliberately absented themselves from the county during the collection of the loan.¹⁵⁶ In Kineton Hundred then the work was carried on by Sir Simon Archer who lived in the detached northern section of the hundred, and Sir William Browne, who lived in Knightlow Hundred and was the most active loan commissioner there. Active commissioners like Archer, Browne and Basil Feilding did not necessarily see themselves as carrying out the king's wishes regardless: they tried to reconcile the needs of the king and of the locality, appealing to the Privy Council that poorer subsidymen might be excused at least a part of the loan.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵³ SP16/50/54. The eight who attended were William Combe and Sir Clement Throckmorton (Barlichway Hundred); Serjeant Rowley Warde (Kineton); Edward Stapleton (Hemlingford); and the four non-residents: Sir Walter Devereux, Sir John Ferrers, Sir Thomas Burdett and Sir Francis Browne. Sir Thomas Beaufoy and Sir Thomas Leigh sent excuses.

¹⁵⁴ SP16/59/42 (April 1627); /75/95 (August); 80/32 (October). The commissioners (and J.P.s) involved were Robert Arden, Sir Thomas Holte, George Devereux and John Lisle.

¹⁵⁵ SP16/53/54, 58 (February); /73/89 (August). The other two commissioners were Sir William Browne and Basil Feilding, father of the Earl of Denbigh.

¹⁵⁶ Somerset C.R.O. DD/PH (Phelips MS) 219/35: Nathaniel Tompkins to Sir Robert Phelps. I am grateful to Conrad Russell for giving me a copy of this document. For the loan payments of Lucy (10 May 1627) and Verney (2 June): P.R.O. E401/2323 (unfoliated). I owe this reference to Richard Cust.

¹⁵⁷ SP16/54/29 (February); /73/70 (August); /53/58.

Opposition to the loan came from all over Warwickshire but the variations in the social composition of resisters in the different parts of the country, interestingly parallel the differences in the activity of commissioners. In the north and east (Hemlingford and Knightlow Hundreds) there were many minor gentry and yeomen amongst the opponents of the loan although some more important gentry were also represented: William Purefoy of Caldecote and his cousin Gamaliel of Bulkington, John Temple of Frankton and Thomas Boughton of Bilton are prominent examples.¹⁵⁸ It is indicative of the situation among lesser gentry and yeomen in Knightlow Hundred that Browne and Feilding had to appoint their own servants to collect the money whereas in Kineton Hundred where the leading gentry were apathetic, it was still possible to appoint the four high constables as collectors.¹⁵⁹ Most of the opposition in Kineton Hundred came from substantial gentlemen: John Stanton of Longbridge and Robert Barford of Woodloe refused the Privy Councilors in the country in January and thus appeared before the Privy Council on 6 February; Edward Bentley of Kineton, George Willis of Fenny Compton and Thomas Newsham of Chadshunt all refused either to lend or to be bound to appear before the council in February before the hundred commissioners.¹⁶⁰ The most prominent resister came from the south: Sir Edward Underhill of Nether Easington who was to become a J.P. and a sheriff in the 1630s. Underhill however submitted within ten days of his appearance before the Privy Council.¹⁶¹ There are interesting parallels between opposition to the loan and the support given to the Parliament in 1642 when Lord Brooke won a lot of popular support in the north and some gentry followers in the south while most of the leading northern gentry supported the king. Many personal parallels can also be seen: many of those who resisted the loan, opposed the knighthood fines too, and became leading Parliamentarians in 1642: John Hales of Coventry, William Purefoy and John Temple are the best examples of

¹⁵⁸ Details of resistance to the loan are found in the report of the January meeting; the later letters from three of the four hundreds, and in the notes of appearances of the recalcitrant before the Privy Council. William Purefoy appeared before the council on 6 February; Boughton and Gamaliel Purefoy on 15 February. All were bound to attend until discharged although Boughton had to be sent for by warrant again on 2 June. Temple was sent for by the same warrant and the commissioners of Knightlow reported in August that he had refused either to lend or to be bound to appear before the council: SP16/56/70, 173/89; *A.P.C. January–August 1627*, 52, 61, 314. For lists of yeomen and minor gentlemen resisters in Knightlow and Hemlingford Hundreds: SP16/73/89, 175/95.

¹⁵⁹ SP16/53/58, (Knightlow); 154/29 (Kineton).

¹⁶⁰ SP16/50/54, *A.P.C. January–August 1627*, 52; SP16/54/29. These last three were apparently never summoned by the Privy Council.

¹⁶¹ SP16/54/29; *A.P.C. January–August 1627*, 61, 84; Underhill appeared on 12 February; Monmouth reported his submission 23 February.

consistent opponents of the crown. All the loan resisters so far mentioned who were still alive in 1642 played some part on the parliamentary side. Men like the Purefoys and Temple no doubt had clear-cut political positions developed by the 1620s but it would be artificial to imagine that two 'sides' were already clearly defined. Other loan resisters included the future royalist William Dugdale who refused Brooke and Monmouth in January although he had submitted by April 1627, while his friend Sir Simon Archer, one of the most active loan commissioners, acquiesced in the Civil War parliamentary regime.¹⁶²

Despite the resistance, the efforts of the Privy Council ensured that much of the loan was paid. For many the threat of proceedings was enough: forty-seven refusers were bound by Brooke and Monmouth to appear before the council in January, but twenty-six of these had submitted by April and only one had gone before the council first.¹⁶³ Eighteen Warwickshire men are listed as appearing before the council and although only two of them are known to have submitted, the rest apparently being kept in London until the amnesty issued for the 1628 Parliament, their fate lessened outright resistance in the county. By the summer of 1627 most opposition consisted of evasion of payment of the promised amount rather than of refusal to lend at all. Some pleaded poverty, but the peremptory refusals of some, and the commissioners' comments on others suggests that many had principled reasons for their obstructiveness. Alice Castleton refused 'because she sayeth the king is in her debt' while Thomas Hulowe of Clifton 'did first stand out, afterwards consented but is behind both payments'.¹⁶⁴

Patchy and conflicting sources bedevil accurate attempts to estimate the financial success of the forced loan in the various hundreds of Warwickshire. By November 1627, Warwickshire was said to have paid £2,504 out of £4,022, and Exchequer Receipts indicate that the county had paid £2,572 by March 1628. If Warwickshire did pay only five-eighths of the yield expected it was one of the most recalcitrant counties, but it is possible that some of the missing £1,500 is accounted for by abatements for the poverty of subsidymen or the debt of the crown for purveyance. Much of it was clearly the result of outright refusal however. Coventry was reported to have £110 uncollected out of £550 due while

¹⁶² SP/16/50/54; /59/42. An apparent consistency between loan resistance and Parliamentarianism hides many contradictions. Thomas Boughton and William Purefoy were amongst the most recalcitrant loan refusers and both were supporters of Parliament yet they were sharply opposed in the 1640s when Purefoy headed the county committee and Boughton was the leading ally of the Earl of Denbigh.

¹⁶³ SP16/50/54 includes notes of those who had recently submitted. Later submissions are in /53/54; 59/42.

¹⁶⁴ SP16/75/95; /73/89 (August 1627).

Exchequer Receipts for the city amount only to £250, but the arrears reported from two hundreds in October are much smaller. In Knightlow £11 7s 4d was due from thirty-six defaulters, plus an unspecified amount from six more; in Hemlingford £27 12s remained uncollected and there were twenty-five refusers. Comparisons of Exchequer Receipts with subsidy returns indicate that Knightlow Hundred (the home of Temple and the Purefoys) paid under half of the sum due, a dreadful result for the government, Kineton about 60%, Hemlingford 75% and Barlichway almost 90%.¹⁶⁵ Resistance did not prevent most people paying the loan but the resulting bitterness was seen when the king attempted to extend ship money to all counties in February 1628. It was reported: ‘unto my Lord of Northampton, Lord Lieutenant of Warwickshire, those gentlemen gave a flat denial, saying his Lordship promised that they should be paid the last loan at the next parliament, and would he now draw them to a new one’.¹⁶⁶

It remains impossible to make definitive pronouncements about the nature of political life during the 1630s or to answer questions concerning provincial attitudes to Charles I’s government during that enigmatic decade. After 1629 there was no war, which lessened the exactions imposed on the localities, but there were also no parliaments which significantly affected the ways in which reactions to government measures could be framed. Many recent historians have emphasised the dangers of hindsight – of interpreting all signs of discontent or opposition in the 1630s as if they were inevitable harbingers of 1642 – and have hinted that the absence of foreign war and parliaments led to a general lowering of the political temperature and to a period more tranquil than the 1620s.¹⁶⁷ While hindsight can mislead, the present account of Warwickshire is nonetheless written in the conviction that it is equally

¹⁶⁵ For reports of totals paid: SP16/84/89, /85/76; arrears from Coventry and the two hundreds: SP16/83/56–58. Exchequer Receipts: E401/2322–2324. For this last reference I am indebted to the generosity of Richard Cust. The comparisons with the subsidy returns are rather approximate. The 1625 subsidy was the basis for the loan calculations but this subsidy survives only for Hemlingford and Knightlow Hundreds (E179/194/307, 306). For Barlichway, Kineton and Coventry the 1628 subsidy has been used (E179/194/312, 310, 315). Two examples will illustrate the problems with these calculations: the total arrived at by multiplying the subsidy receipts by five is £3,815, not £4,022, and Coventry’s total is £443, not £550. The proportions in the text are therefore slight over-estimates of what was paid, which is to err in the direction of caution. Figures (to the nearest £1) are: Barlichway £390 paid out of £435 due; Hemlingford £926 out of £1,220; Kineton £408 out of £715; Knightlow £540 out of £1,102, Coventry £251 out of £443. Knightlow was the hundred bordering on Northamptonshire, so there is backing for the newsletter writer’s comment.

¹⁶⁶ A.P.C. *September 1627–June 1628*, 284 (12 February); R.J.W. Swales, ‘The Ship Money Levy of 1628’, *B.I.H.R.*, vol. 50 (1977); Birch, *Court and Times of Charles I*, vol. 1. 325.

¹⁶⁷ Russell, *Origins of the English Civil War*, introduction; Russell, ‘Parliamentary History in Perspective’, *History*, vol. 61 (1976).

misleading to forget that 1640 saw widespread and dramatic non-cooperation with Charles's government and that the early reforms of the Long Parliament were enthusiastically welcomed by the majority of the political nation. It has been suggested that local opposition to ship money, for example, was based largely on practical objections to the amount demanded and to the novel and disruptive methods of assessment. There was little sign of principled, constitutional questioning of the king's right to the levy. With no parliament, however, the council and the court were the only arenas where local grievances or disputes over ship money and other matters could be aired and settled. Only the most determined or foolhardy were prepared to challenge the king's prerogative in the king's own council; it was much more sensible to accept the king's fundamental rights and petition for a mitigation in the effects of his policies.¹⁶⁸ The case of ship money highlights a general problem about the 1630s: there was no forum for concerted opposition and people were very cautious in expressing their views. The surface calm of the 1630s therefore, seems likely to be a product of the sources generated rather than of the situation itself. Without blowing up minor examples and incidents into fully-fledged, perfectly worked-out constitutional opposition to the crown, it is essential to be alive to the significance of hints in the sources. There were no concerted protests against the personal rule from the county as a whole, but Dugard's diary reveals the contacts of some south Warwickshire men with the radical Puritan peer, Brooke, and through him with other national figures, Pym, Saye and Knightley, a network whose opposition to government policy was sophisticated and determined. For me, the position of these latter men is summed up by the entries in Dugard's diary on King Charles's visit to Warwick on 20 August 1636. This was a proud day for Dugard himself: he gave the oration of welcome to the king and in the following weeks he copied out extracts from it to send to friends like Ley and Puckering. Lord Brooke's approach to the occasion was rather different. Brooke spent July in Warwick, as he did in most years to attend the assizes, but he pointedly returned to London on 15 August. The Warwick townspeople could not have failed to notice the contrast between this snub and the extravagant welcome given James I by the first Lord Brooke during a similar royal visit in 1617.¹⁶⁹

The financial exactions of the 1630s, as before, provide the best avenue

¹⁶⁸ Morrill, *Revolt of the Provinces*, 24–8; Peter Lake, 'The Collection of Ship Money in Cheshire during the Sixteen-thirties: A Case Study in Relations Between Central and Local Government', *Northern History*, vol. 17 (1981), 70.

¹⁶⁹ See pp. 74 above. B.L. Add MS 23, 146 ff. 55r–56r, 58r; W.C.R.O. CR 1618 W21/6 p. 119; Dugard's oration is printed in his *Philobasileus*. For 1617, C.S.P.D. 1611–1618, p. 477.

for an analysis of the relations between the county and the central government. The first major attempt to raise money was the distraint for knighthood launched after much discussion in January 1630. All those who had held lands worth more than £40 p.a. for three years before the coronation and had not then been knighted, were required to pay a fine equal to two and a half times their subsidy assessment. In 1631 this rate was raised to three and a half times the assessment with a minimum of £25 for J.P.s and £10 for others. Thus this levy had a more limited range than the forced loan, paid by all subsidy men, but the individual payments, especially for poorer gentry were much higher. Initially those liable were to compound in London but under this procedure it was mainly men from the home counties who paid up. No fines were paid by Warwickshire men until 28 April 1630, and only five had paid by the end of May.¹⁷⁰ Consequently in June 1630, the government decided that local commissioners should supervise compositions and collect the fines.

Four commissions were issued for Warwickshire: on 16 June 1630, 12 February and 29 June 1631, and 13 February 1632. For the first three writs at least, the service was led by the second Earl of Northampton, 'on his first entrance into business', and involved a senior gentleman from each hundred of the county. Sir Richard Verney, who died in August 1630 and was succeeded by his son Sir Greville, was the commissioner for Kineton Hundred; Sir Thomas Holte for Hemlingford; Basil Feilding for Knightlow; and Sir Robert Lee, who also acted as collector, for Barlichway.¹⁷¹

Initial lists of those liable had been compiled by the sheriffs from November 1627, but the instructions issued to local commissioners in June 1630 gave powers to consult a wide range of local officials and sources. In fact, in Warwickshire, the commissioners seem to have relied mainly on lay subsidy rolls: some fines were paid jointly by two men, who were not always related, as joint lessees of important estates were charged in the subsidy. There was much inconsistency, however, and the arbitrary allocation of many fines increased the resentment of those affected. The unfairness affected the poorest and richest of the gentry in particular. The £10 minimum meant that men whose subsidy assessments were below £3 paid more than the three and a half times rate. In Warwickshire this

¹⁷⁰ H.H. Leonard, 'Distraint of Knighthood: The Last Phase 1625-1641', *History*, vol. 63 (1978), 23-37 is the most recent general study, and the source for general procedures in the succeeding paragraphs. For Warwickshire town fines before June 1630: E401/1916-17; E401/2448.

¹⁷¹ Details of the activities of the first commission are in P.R.O. E178/7154/186-8; under the second and third E178/5687. All that is known of the proceedings under the fourth is the amount paid: Lee's accounts E101/634/2; and E401/2452: £36 paid in June 1632; E401/1920, £20 paid in June 1633. For the death of Sir Richard Verney and the activities of Northampton: SP16/172/92: Lee to Conway, 24 August 1630.

involved almost half of the men paying fines: 101 out of 231.¹⁷² Why some men whose subsidy assessments were 40s or 20s were singled out for distraint when many others were left alone is impossible to decide; it may be that the commissioners had more up-to-date information. The resulting bitterness of men who had to pay five or even ten times their subsidy assessment is easy to imagine, especially as their fines were often the same as those of men with much higher subsidy assessments. Thomas Corbin of Hall End, for example, paid the £10 minimum although he was rated at £6 for the subsidy. At the highest level it is clear that J.P.s were treated very leniently compared with other gentry of comparable wealth. Seven J.P.s had to compound for knighthood: four paid the £25 minimum despite subsidy assessments of at least £20 in each case.¹⁷³ Two of the three paying more than £25 opposed the first county commission, and the other paid very late in the town yet none of their fines was more than £30.¹⁷⁴ In contrast John Temple, who was another opponent of the fines, but not a J.P., paid the full £35 on a subsidy assessment of £10, while Sir Simon Clarke, baronet, paid £50 on a subsidy rate of £20.

Considering the anomalies in the selection and fining of the 'victims', there was limited resistance, most of it confined to the first writ. In the autumn of 1630, 66 of those summoned agreed to compound; and 64 of these paid their fines promptly: Lee sent the money to the Exchequer in November and December 1630. Fourteen did not bother to turn up while 18 refused to compound. Several excused themselves on grounds of poverty but others gave more defiant answers: George Willis, John Temple and William Combe J.P. said they would take legal advice and answer in the Exchequer while William Purefoy simply said: 'he believeth himself not legally liable to be fined'. Another J.P., Thomas Dilke, tried to get his proposed fine of £27 reduced because his mother held most of the family lands, and for the time being paid nothing.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷² The fines paid in the county are recorded in E407/35 ff.186r-189r: 221 men paid 215 fines (i.e. 6 fines were paid jointly); 10 Warwickshire men paid their fines directly to the Exchequer in London: E/401/2448-2450, 2454. The discussion of fines has been based on these sources. As the names of those paying under the fourth commission are not available they could not be included in this analysis. The £56 received by virtue of the last commission (see p. 101, n. 171) represents a maximum of 5 more fines.

¹⁷³ The four were Robert Arden, George Devereux and John Lisle, and Basil Feilding. All were assessed at £20 in the subsidy except for Feilding whose assessment varied from £20-30.

¹⁷⁴ William Combe (subsidy assessment £10) paid a fine of £26; Thomas Dilke (£10) paid £27. Rowley Warde, whose subsidy assessment of £5 did not reflect his wealth from his legal practice, paid £30 in July 1631: E401/2450. One J.P. escaped altogether: John Newdigate of Arbury argued that as he had been sheriff in 1625-6 he could not leave his county to go to the coronation: E178/7154/186.

¹⁷⁵ Compositions and answers: E178/7154/186-8; fines paid: E407/35 ff.186r-186v; Lee's payments: E401/2449 total - £1074 6s 8d. For further discussions of these figures see Hughes, 'Politics, Society and Civil War', 175 n. 1. Warwickshire's success should be compared with £444 10s raised from 33 men in Northamptonshire: Leonard, 27.

The renewal of the commission in February 1631 followed the confirmation of the king's right to distrain after a challenge in the Exchequer by Edward Stephens of Gloucester. This setback to the opponents of the fines, coupled no doubt with local pressure, resulted in 22 of the 1630 defaulters finally paying in 1631. To emphasise their capitulation the prominent resisters headed the list of compositions for each hundred: Dilke and Purefoy for Hemlingford, Combe in Barlichway and John Hales in Coventry. The other resister among the senior gentry, John Temple of Frankton, paid his fine straight to the Exchequer in April 1631. The commissioners cast their net more widely this time, especially among the minor gentry and yeomen of Hemlingford Hundred: 118 fines were paid (by 123 men) bringing a total to the Exchequer of £1,396 5s, paid in May. Probably 4 men who agreed to compound defaulted on the actual payment. There was less opposition to this commission: no one doubted the legality of the fines; 5 gave reasons why they should not have to pay but at least 15 of those summoned failed to appear. None of the 5, and only one of the 15 were fined under later commissions; the others were all very minor gentry, presumably not worth pursuing.¹⁷⁶

The last two commissions were merely mopping-up operations. In November and December 1631 £340 was collected from 33 fines (paid by 34 men). Only two of these were previously defaulters: William Pawlett of Maxstoke who had pleaded poverty under the first commission and William Replingham of Harborough who had not appeared in the spring of 1631. The commissioners were obviously having trouble finding men to fine: 10 of the compounders were from Coventry and Stratford and their gentry status was open to question.¹⁷⁷ Under the commission of February 1632 only £56 was collected, very slowly; the names of those

¹⁷⁶ Leonard, 29–31; compositions, answers and defaulters: E178/5687, first and second membranes; fines paid E407/35 ff.187r–188v; Temple's fine and Lee's payments: E401/2450. It is difficult to be certain of the number of compositions made because the membrane for Hemlingford and Knightlow Hundreds is faded. One compounder from Barlichway Hundred and 2 from Kineton did not pay the fines they had agreed on. Two of these men, plus William Perkins of Hemlingford are recorded in Lee's accounts as non-payers: E101/634/2 n.d., but after June 1633. Amongst the papers of the sheriff William Purefoy for Trinity Term 1631 there is a long list of names said to be resisters of the knighthood fines. Most of them though had paid recently (or were to shortly) whilst several others were liable in another county. However there are 15 gentry names not recorded elsewhere, 10 are listed amongst those who paid in May 1631, 5 amongst the payers of November–December. They include some reasonably wealthy gentry, Nicholas Conningsby of Morton Bagot, Thomas Stanton of Wolverton, and Wortley Goodall of Atherstone, and also Brooke's solicitor John Bridges of Alcester. The discrepancies between this list and the commissioners' returns may arise from a combination of Purefoy's desire to maximise difficulties in the county and the commissioners' desire to appear as successful as possible. Purefoy's list also includes Robert Lord Brooke, widely reported as an opponent of the distrains. P.R.O. E202/697, Part 2. I am grateful to Conrad Russell for this reference.

¹⁷⁷ Compositions: E178/5687, third membrane. No refusals were recorded in the official returns and all compounders paid their fines: E407/35, ff.189r–189v. See also previous note.

paying are not known although they may have included some of those whose fines were outstanding from earlier commissions.¹⁷⁸ The commissioners were not over-zealous in locating the recalcitrant apart from those who were too prominent to be ignored: 8 men who refused to compound and 22 who did not turn up to the first two commissions escaped altogether.¹⁷⁹ The last of the county's victims was John Okely of Great Wolford who paid the £10 fine outstanding from the second commission in June 1634.¹⁸⁰ Thus the vast majority of the knighthood fines demanded in Warwickshire were paid, but as with the forced loan this was at the cost to the crown of increased bitterness within the county: it was the first time, for example, that any J.P.s attempted to defy the government.¹⁸¹

A total of £3,106 18s 4d was raised from knighthood fines in Warwickshire, probably more than came in on the forced loan.¹⁸² The other great financial expedient of the 'personal rule', ship money, involved an annual levy of more than this. In August 1635, when the levy was extended to all inland counties, Coventry and Warwickshire were assessed at £4,000. The city's comment on ship money was that 'no man alive ever knew or heard the like'; in important respects the system for levying the rate differed from the usual form of national levy, the subsidy, and was to become the basis for the parliamentary taxation of the 1640s. A fixed sum was allocated to each county, and although the writ laid down the proportions to be paid by major towns the sheriff was to supervise the allocation of the rest within the county. The subsidy, on the other hand, was based on assessments of individual taxpayers; its yield was uncertain and declining. The instructions to the sheriff on the rating procedure were ambiguous; he was to proceed on traditional lines but could modify customary assessments for poor taxpayers and those who held little land but had great wealth in stocks and money. He could also modify the town assessments if they seemed to be unfair. Another difference from subsidy procedure was that people were to pay for all their lands and wealth in the places where they lay: the subsidy was paid only in one place although a taxpayer's wealth in other areas was supposed to be taken into account in the subsidy assessment.¹⁸³

¹⁷⁸ These fines were not recorded in E407/35. Lee's payments are in E101/634/2; and E401/2452, £36, 23 June 1632; E401/1920, £20, 5 June 1633. The five fines outstanding from the first two commissions totalled £52.

¹⁷⁹ All the refusers were very minor gentry, if that, whose pleas of poverty were probably accepted. Amongst the non-attenders, though, were some comparatively wealthy gentry such as Anthony Stoughton of Warwick and Charles Stanford of Abbots Salford. ¹⁸⁰ E401/2454.

¹⁸¹ Cf. Barnes, *Somerset*, 170-1. This expedient launched opposition to the king's policies in Somerset.

¹⁸² Calculated from Lee's payments and the 'town' fines recorded in E401/2548-2450, 2452-2454; E401/1920.

¹⁸³ For the writ and instructions: PC2/45/71-9, 12 August 1635; the Coventry comment is in Cov.

The novelty and ambiguities of ship-money rating were a source of much conflict, as was the position of the sheriff as the local official in charge of the system. The shrievalty before 1635 was the least prestigious of the major county offices: in Warwickshire many of its holders were not of magisterial rank. It was often difficult for the sheriff to exert his authority over all parts of the county and especially over the corporate towns. In Warwickshire the men appointed after 1635 were of considerably higher rank but the maladroit proceedings of Richard Morden, who began the service, had a long term effect.¹⁸⁴ There was conflict over ship money in the county from the first, although this involved a dispute between the city and county of Coventry and the rest of Warwickshire over the administration of the levy rather than open principled opposition.

Coventry's objections were twofold: they felt the £500 allocated to them in the writ was too high; and they were incensed by the fact that the sheriff of Warwickshire was given the power to rate them. Coventry, of course, had its own J.P.s and sheriffs and administered subsidy collections independently of Warwickshire. Their indignation was embodied in a narrative of the conflict written by the town clerk, Humphrey Burton, soon after 1635.¹⁸⁵ After the under-sheriff brought the writ for £500 the corporation decided to campaign for a reduction on the grounds that they should have to pay only £266, a fifteenth of the total which was the proportion they paid in military levies with the county of Warwick. The case was argued at a meeting of the representatives of corporate towns held on 12 September, but won little support. The sheriff, Richard Morden, a comparatively minor gentleman who is presented throughout the Coventry account as a hot-tempered, bewildered man, pressured the other towns, saying they would have to pay for any abatement granted to Coventry. Birmingham at first sided with Coventry: 'but the high sheriff stood up and began with threats and big looks to say take heed, beware, lest you be fifty pounds more anon'. Both the sheriff and the city then took their case to the Privy Council who first ordered Morden to assess the city at the usual rate, and when Morden took the usual rate to be £500, referred the whole dispute to Bishop

C.R.O. A35, no foliation; for ship money in general: M.D. Gordon, 'The Collection of Ship Money in the Reign of Charles I', *T.R.H.S.* third series, vol. 4 (1910), 141–62.

¹⁸⁴ Cf. Barnes, *Somerset*, 209–11; for sheriffs in Warwickshire, see appendix 1: table 5.

¹⁸⁵ Cov. C.R.O. A35. The book includes brief notes of rating disputes up to 1677 but the vivid narrative of the conflict with Richard Morden suggests that it was written soon after the events described. The following account is based largely on A35 so the picture of the sheriff's failings is perhaps overdrawn.

Wright and those he should consult.¹⁸⁶ The sheriff maintained that £500, one-eighth of the total, was the proportion Coventry paid to the subsidy but the city claimed that changes in rating procedure made this unfair: many who paid the subsidy in Coventry were 'strangers who have not any estates with us in Coventry but have great estates peradventure elsewhere both real and personal'. Such men would be only liable for small ship-money payments, if any, in Coventry.¹⁸⁷

The meeting to settle the dispute took place on 19 October in the presence of the sheriff, Warwickshire's deputy lieutenants and muster-master, plus representatives from Coventry. The city's argument that military precedents were most appropriate convinced the bishop although the county gentry made some attempt to ease Warwickshire. A warrant signed by the deputy lieutenants in the 1620s asking Coventry for a fifteenth of a military levy was shown to Sir Thomas Lucy and Sir Thomas Puckering who: 'denied not but that the same were their handwriting albeit they said they were but young men and did not so well know the proportions of the country whereunto was answered that old Sir Thomas Leigh was old enough and no one better than he knew the proportions of the country, dwelling so nigh Coventry all his time'. On 29 October Wright formally certified that Coventry should pay a fifteenth and this was accepted by the Privy Council on 4 November.¹⁸⁸ Although Morden knew of the bishop's decision soon after the meeting, he sent another demand for £500 to the city on 23 October but forgot to sign it. The city took much pleasure in relating their last encounter with the unfortunate sheriff. Armed with the bishop's certificate two aldermen visited Morden on 29 October to ask him if he had sent the mysterious unsigned warrant. Morden 'fetched a deep sigh, saying that it will be said that I have retarded the service'; two days later he was dead.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁶ A35; The Privy Council's order for an assessment at the usual rate was dated 21 September but on the 25th Morden refused to accept it and renewed his demand for £500. On 30 September Morden in turn appealed to the Privy Council. The matter was discussed in London on 4 October and the reference to the bishop was made on the 7th: PC2/45, 108-9, 140; SP16/298/68; Cov. C.R.O. A79, P. 155, 156. The city's petition and Morden's counter arguments are discussed in chapter 1 above. For Coventry's use of their London contacts see p. 88 above.

¹⁸⁷ A35.

¹⁸⁸ A35; A79, P. 157; PC2/45, p. 200.

¹⁸⁹ A35. It must be admitted that a less dramatic account of Morden's death exists. Lionel Cranfield's steward reported that it followed a robbery at his house rather than a fright from the Coventry deputation. The steward noted though that the service was much retarded in Warwickshire, especially compared to Gloucestershire where Cranfield also had to pay ship money: Kent C.A.D. unlisted, Cranfield MS: Warwickshire estate correspondence, main stewards, John Fitzherbert to Middlesex, 1 November 1635. The new sheriff accepted that Coventry's proportion should be £266 although with some reluctance. The city's last show of independence was to refuse to pay the money to Warwickshire's sheriff but to send it straight to Sir William Russell, the treasurer of the navy in London: A35; A79, P. 153, P. 158, i. This procedure was followed in all the writs. Tensions

Sir Greville Verney, the new sheriff, began work in December faced with many problems. The £240 abated from Coventry's original assessment had to be raised elsewhere, but the high and petty constables disputed Verney's right to make new assessments while other places, notably Birmingham, had been prompted by Coventry's success into seeking reductions for themselves: in general the sheriff's authority had been weakened by the overruling of Morden by the bishop and the Privy Council. Apart from the difficulties arising from the Coventry–Warwickshire conflict Verney had other complaints: he lived at the far south of the county and knew little about land values in other areas; individuals as well as towns and constabularies were challenging the rating system: 'The richer sort insist upon former usage against all equity' while the poor complained of unjust assessments based on traditional levies. 'In general', Verney wrote to the Privy Council, 'it groweth to be a piece of cunning in the country not to agree of any levies or assessments but leave me to be puzzled.'¹⁹⁰

The council's initial sympathy for Verney, taking over the middle of the service, rapidly evaporated and throughout 1636 the unlucky sheriff was castigated for his 'wilful neglect' and told that Warwickshire was the county where the collection was most retarded. A year after the writ had been issued only three-fourths of the £3,000 had been collected: some of the remaining £1,000 would be paid from tithe income when the harvest was gathered but most of the rest would be obtained only through distress and there were 'many that threaten to question us for the sale of their goods and demand our warrant for that purpose'. By 1637 the arrears were down to some £300 and it seems likely that the reduction granted Coventry was never collected from elsewhere: £260 remained outstanding in June 1638.¹⁹¹

Although the first levy of ship money caused the most overt conflict in the county before 1639, the sum raised was greater than under any subsequent writs. The sheriff for 1636–7, Sir Thomas Leigh, had learned that it was unwise to antagonise Coventry and they paid their £266

between counties and 'cities and counties' were frequently exacerbated by ship money: Peter Clark 'The Ramoth-Gilead of the Good'; Peter Lake, 'The Collection of Ship Money in Cheshire'. The disputes between Chester and Cheshire involving trivial financial sums, helped the central government as both sides appealed to the Privy Council for support. To gain central backing, local rivals were forced to demonstrate their general enthusiasm for ship money – by collecting the levy. The actual sums involved in Warwickshire were too much for the process to work in the same way here.

¹⁹⁰ Verney's letters to the Privy Council, 1636: SP16/313/105, 15 February; /315/68, 7 March; /321/79, 22 May; /322/8, 25 May. Birmingham's share was reduced from £100 to £80.

¹⁹¹ PC2/45, p. 448, 17 February; /46, p. 178–9, 18 May; p. 338, 29 August. SP16/330/62; Verney's accounts, 20 August 1636. Arrears in April 1637 totalled £333 6s 8d; PC2/47, p. 317; in June 1638 £260: PC2/49, p. 284.

although not until nearly a year after the demand was made.¹⁹² On a minor scale the problems of 1635 were repeated: Warwick petitioned for a reduction; there were complaints of unjust assessments; difficulties in selling distresses which had to be sent up to London to be used by the navy; and 'factious' attacks on the under-sheriff.¹⁹³ Again the money came in very slowly: in September 1637 the under-sheriff had to appear before the Privy Council to explain the arrears of over £1,000 but £634 remained outstanding in February 1638. Part of the shortfall was Birmingham's share: the town had been severely affected by the plague in 1637 and had been paid an allowance by the rest of the county for four months. The plague had prevented Leigh collecting other sums but he attributed some of the difficulties to the slackness of his predecessor: Verney, he claimed, had not bothered to collect in some areas in 1635-6.¹⁹⁴

Barnes described how in Somerset practical objections to ship money, especially focused on rating, progressed through individual refusals and obstruction by constables to constitutional opposition to the levy, stimulated by the Hampden case. Dr Morrill, however, has argued that opposition remained pragmatic and 'localist'.¹⁹⁵ The discussion of the reaction to the first two writs in Warwickshire has revealed some of the problems caused by the novel way of assessment – both in rating individuals and in apportioning the cost throughout the county. The disruption was increased when attempts were made to use ship-money methods for tapping wealth in other local levies. In 1636 there were seven orders at Quarter Sessions occasioned by rating disputes compared to one in 1635. The most serious was caused by Nicholas Knight, a high constable in Barlichway Hundred who 'hath of late time without the allowance of the Justices of the Peace or any order of this Court, altered the manner of the ancient levies and taxations within the several towns hereafter mentioned, which this court doth altogether dislike'.¹⁹⁶ All the disputes arose from attempts in rating for constables' or poor-relief levies to adopt the ship-money method of taxing by true yearly value or real

¹⁹² A35 reported Leigh saying 'he did not mean to trouble himself in the business farther than he must needs and seemed not to offer to over charge us in the assessment'. The writ was issued 9 October 1636: PC2/46 pp. 378-83; Coventry paid 30 September 1637: SP16/368/107.

¹⁹³ Warwick petition: SP16/341/42 n.d. but referred to Leigh 21 December 1636: PC2/47/p. 51; Complaints of unequal assessments: SP16/357/142; PC2/47/pp. 132, 476; problems over the sale of distresses and defiance of the under-sheriff: PC2/47/156, 166.

¹⁹⁴ Warwickshire arrears, 2 September 1637: £1300: SP16/367/13; the appearance of the under-sheriff: PC2/48/201-2; February 1638 arrears and Leigh's justification of his proceedings: S.B.T. Stoneleigh MS, DR18, Series D, Warwickshire Papers, bundle 2. In November 1639, £484 still remained unpaid: PC2/51/p. 101.

¹⁹⁵ Barnes, *Somerset*, 209-10, 226. Morrill, *Revolt of the Provinces*, 24-8.

¹⁹⁶ *Q.S.O.B.*, vol. 1: 249.

income of the inhabitants and in all cases the justices affirmed the traditional ways and rejected ship money as a precedent.¹⁹⁷

Although no ship-money assessment for the whole county survives, the unprecedented costliness of the levy can be demonstrated. At Lea Marston, which formed one-sixth of Whitacre constabulary, 30 men paid towards ship money in 1637 at a rate of 2½d in the pound. The total levied was just under £4 10s, whereas the total of one subsidy in 1628 for the whole constabulary was £10 15s paid by 32 people. At Packwood there were three subsidy men in 1628 paying 28s for one subsidy; the ship-money assessment there in 1640 totalled £10. For the gentry it was the regularity of the demand that hurt rather than the amount paid under ship money: John Fetherstone of Packwood was asked for 25s 6d for ship money whereas he paid 16s for each subsidy in 1628. The shipping levy, though, hit smaller men for the first time: 32 people were taxed at Packwood in 1640.¹⁹⁸ Hence it is not surprising that the most persistent ship-money defaulters were men below gentry rank. The earliest surviving list of arrears, from the first writ, named 214 individuals and 22 constables. Only 36 gentry are included, most of whom owed arrears for land away from their usual residence; they were unaccustomed to paying national taxation for their lands 'where they lay'. Amongst the gentry named as defaulting on payments due for their home estates were many figures who had opposed previous royal levies or who were to become Parliamentarians in the 1640s: Thomas Boughton, Gamaliel Purefoy, Hastings Ingram of Little Wolford, George Willis of Fenny Compton, and Clement Throckmorton. Few persisted in their obstruction however, in two late lists of defaulters on the first writ there are only 12 individuals ranked as gentlemen or above, out of over 150 names.¹⁹⁹

The practical objections to ship money are indisputable but it should not be forgotten it was difficult to argue a more principled case – openly – in the 1630s. Ship money depended for its legality on the prerogative and authority of the crown; the enforcement of this disruptive levy forced people comparatively low down on the social scale to consider whether or

¹⁹⁷ Q.S.O.B.: vol. 1, 209–53. As Verney commented in 1635 the ancient methods (usually rating by yardlands) favoured the richer gentry.

¹⁹⁸ Lea Marston: B. Ref. Lib., Norton Collection, 472. Only twenty-three of the inhabitants contributed to militia charges in 1627: Packwood: Maxstoke Castle, Fetherstone–Dilke MS, Dining Room, Wooden Chest by Door, Bundle 25/54; 1628 subsidy: E179/194/310, 316 (Kineton and Hemlingford Hundreds); cf. Fletcher, *A County Community in Peace and War*, 360–4.

¹⁹⁹ Arrears on the first writ: E179/275/14, two lists from February and July 1636; E179/259/3, 272/55 together provide a similar listing to the later one in E179/275/14. Amongst gentry owing money for lands away from their home were both past and future 'opposition' figures (John Temple, William Combe and Thomas Willoughby are examples) and the recusant Robert Throckmorton. Arrears on the second writ, 1638: E179/272/58; 124 individuals and 8 constables are included. Of the 124, 19 were gentry or above, 6 were clergymen. Cf. Morrill, *Revolt of the Provinces*, 25–7.

not they should obey royal commands. Until the later 1630s, most people decided to obey, but the regular, heavy demands for this non-parliamentary taxation may well have brought opposition beyond a localist framework into a more general, ideologically based position.²⁰⁰ It is perhaps unreal, therefore, to distinguish sharply between opposition to the local effects of royal policies and a questioning of the king's rights to levy such rates, for the second developed out of the first. Again, we must be sensitive to hints in the sources. The gentry's interest in the Hampden case (which the regime had tried hard to avoid) has been indicated above, while Coventry's town clerk noted the judges' decision on ship money in his account of the second writ and included brief remarks on the Hampden case with the third writ. Coventry's resistance to ship money was expressed in the 'traditional' way of a dispute with Warwickshire, but no other issue concerning the two jurisdictions aroused sufficient misgivings amongst the city élite to bring them to draw up a detailed account of the proceedings as they did over ship money.²⁰¹ Some of the early opposition to ship money in the county suggests that objections were not only practical: the unwillingness of the constables to act in 1635–6 and the refusals to buy distrained goods in 1636–7 were an outright defiance of authority.

In this respect, 1638 rather than 1640 proved a watershed in Warwickshire and although there is no direct evidence, the example of Hampden was probably important. The sheriff for the 1637 writ was Sir Edward Underhill, an objector to the loan, who seems to have made limited efforts to collect ship money.²⁰² No money at all was collected until the Privy Council had turned down a petition from the county asking that their charge be halved because of the 1637 plague.²⁰³ Less than half had been gathered by the time the judges had finished their deliberations on the Hampden case in June 1638: and in November, Underhill told the council that it was very difficult to collect the arrears because constables were being threatened with legal action. The council refused to make any allowances for this, but even their continued threats had a limited effect: only 80% of the total was in by the end of 1639.²⁰⁴ The under-sheriff for

²⁰⁰ This view is argued by Peter Lake, 'The Collection of Ship Money in Cheshire' esp. 59–60, 71. See also p. 100 above.

²⁰¹ Cov. C.R.O. A35.

²⁰² There was, for example, no meeting of the corporate towns: A35; the writ was issued on 20 October 1637 but not delivered to Stratford until 20 December: PC2/48/236–42; S.B.T. BRV2/C/p. 153.

²⁰³ SP16/379/101; PC2/48, p. 541, 16 January 1638 for the rejection of the petition; Stratford also sought a 'mitigation': BRV2/C/ p. 153.

²⁰⁴ No money had been received from the county on 25 April 1638; on 30 June £2,350 was still outstanding: PC2/49/123–4; SP16/393/81. For the Council's letters of exhortation to Underhill: PC2/49/308, 353–4, 575–6. Underhill had to appear before the Council on 22 August 1638.

1636–7 was still attempting to collect his arrears in the summer of 1638 and he too met outright defiance: inhabitants of three parishes in Warwickshire were brought before the Privy Council for ‘using violence to the said under-sheriff’.²⁰⁵

Interference by the central government in local affairs is often seen as an important cause of the alienation of many of the gentry from the court revealed in 1640. It has been shown above, however, that the gentry and townsmen of Warwickshire considered that links between the centre and the localities were vital. Far from being a reaction to intensified central involvement, the tensions of the late 1630s were to an extent a result of the reduction in ties between the localities and the central government. The Privy Council had very few contacts with the leading gentry of Warwickshire in the late 1630s; its impact was felt mainly by the unhappy sheriffs who received regular rebukes or encouragement as they attempted to collect ship money. Personal ties with leading figures at court were more tenuous than they had been for the previous seventy years. Through the Dudleys and, latterly, through Brooke and Conway the influential southern gentry had had a channel of communication with the court through men for whom they felt ideological sympathy. By 1633, however, when Sir Thomas Lucy was seeking aid in his dispute with his son-in-law, he wrote through an intermediary to Secretary of State Sir John Coke: ‘let him from you understand he is the only Councillor left whom I have had the honour to be acquainted with’. Sir Greville Verney too turned to Coke, who was an old family friend, when he wanted someone to speak to the council on his behalf over his ship-money problems in 1636.²⁰⁶ Coke, however, was an aged and isolated figure in the government of the 1630s and could not overcome, single handedly, the feeling of isolation.

By the 1630s, then, it was the ‘court’ that had separated itself from the ‘country’ rather than the other way round. I hope it has been shown above that there was no necessary dichotomy between the ‘country’ – in the sense of ‘county’ – and the ‘court’. In seventeenth-century Warwickshire the word ‘country’ had several applications, however, from a gentleman’s immediate locality to the widest concept of a political or social unity – the ‘Commonwealth’, but it was usually used to refer to something to which

Arrears in April 1639 were £1,000, in November £800; over the country as a whole it has been estimated that 90% of the total was collected by September 1638: Morrill, *Revolt of the Provinces*, 24. However this may be incorrect: Gordon ‘The Collection of Ship Money’, 143–4 calculated that 90% of the sum due was eventually collected – but not necessarily within the year of the Hampden case as Morrill suggests.

²⁰⁵ PC2/49/192, 289 (16 May, 22 June 1638). William Hickman of Barnacle was also brought before the council for attempting to dissuade a constable from executing the under-sheriff’s warrants: *ibid.*, 185, 193 (14, 17 May). ²⁰⁶ H.M.C. (Cowper), vol. 2: 36, 119, 136.

loyalty was due.²⁰⁷ When Sir Greville Verney asked his children to 'be no strangers to the country they have been born and bred in',²⁰⁸ he probably meant the immediate area of southern Warwickshire and northern Oxfordshire in which he was most at home. The 'country' which Sir Thomas Lucy had served as a patriot²⁰⁹ was, though, the nation or commonwealth. There was nothing here either, that necessarily excluded the court, but by the end of the 1630s the court was in opposition to many of the ideals embodied in the idea of a commonwealth. Indeed, in the 1620s and the 1630s, the necessity and desire for practical links between county and court did not preclude ideological tensions between the country and the court. Such tensions did not involve a simple localist desire to be free of central control but rather a disapproval of the moral and especially of the religious tone of the court and, by 1640, a positive desire for reform, through Parliament.²¹⁰

There is no sign of a broad, open, opposition movement in Warwickshire before 1640 and given the fragmented nature of local society and the conditions of the 1630s this is not surprising. The leading gentry maintained local government until the very eve of the Civil War although they made less and less effort to collect the king's revenue after 1638. The cumulative bitterness caused by the religious policies and financial expedients of the personal rule were to find expression in the Short Parliament elections in Warwickshire when there were again hopes that grievances would be redressed. Most of the county paid up and kept quiet throughout the 1630s. Behind the scenes, however, contacts were being made between disgruntled local men and national 'opposition' figures. Through Brooke, some south Warwickshire clergymen and gentry like Sir Thomas Lucy and the Burgoyne family had met Saye, Pym, and Knightley. Some of Thomas Dugard's local contacts also suggest that Brooke had increasingly clear ideas on likely allies. The schoolmaster frequently visited William Colemore of Birmingham in the mid 1630s; on a trip to Coventry in 1638 he made a point of contacting Alderman Thomas Basnet. There is no way of knowing for certain whether Dugard knew these men through Brooke but it is interesting that they both came rapidly to prominence in 1642-3 as county committeemen for the

²⁰⁷ For important discussions of the 'country' see Lawrence Stone, *The Causes of the English Revolution 1529-1642* (1972, paperback edition) 105-8; Zagorin, *The Court and the Country*, 32-9; Richard Cust and Peter Lake, 'Sir Richard Grosvenor and the rhetoric of Magistracy', *B.I.H.R.*, vol. 54 (1981).

²⁰⁸ Prob 11/189/83.

²⁰⁹ Harris, *Abner's Funeral*, 26.

²¹⁰ Cf. Peter Lake, 'Constitutional Consensus and Puritan Opposition in the 1620s: Thomas Scott and the Spanish Match' *H.J.*, vol. 25 (1982); Hirst, *The Representative of the People?*, 182-3.

Parliament.²¹¹ Also in Brooke's circle were some members of that minority among the gentry who had a history of determined opposition to the government's policies going back to the 1620s; the most notable examples were John Temple of Frankton (Saye's brother-in-law) and William Purefoy of Caldecote. The triumph of this minority in 1642 was in no sense pre-determined but we have only a partial picture of developments in the 1630s if we ignore the extent to which links forged in that problematic decade contributed to their success.

²¹¹ B.L. Add MS ff.43v, 57v, 79r for Warwickshire contacts with Saye etc; *ibid*, ff.41r, 42v–43r, 49v, 77v for Dugard's meetings with Colemore and Basnet.

The coming of the Civil War 1639–1642

The summer of 1642 saw the inhabitants of Warwickshire intensively involved in the skirmishes and jockeyings for support that heralded the onset of the Civil War; indeed this county was probably the one where divisions were most sharply felt and forcefully pursued.¹ This situation developed not from the intrusion of outside, national forces into a passive locality: as this chapter seeks to demonstrate, the nature of local society, the character of local leadership and the decisions of humbler inhabitants all helped to bring about military conflict.

As we have seen, the delays and difficulties in collecting the third levy of ship money were greater in Warwickshire than in some other counties. However, the county's response to the king's military demands for the war against the Scots was reasonably speedy and efficient, a success attributable to the efforts of the deputy lieutenants alone for at no time in 1639–40 did the Earl of Northampton feel it necessary to be in the county himself.²

The efficiency in Warwickshire was not matched by the city and county of Coventry. After the 1635 ship-money conflict Warwickshire's deputy lieutenants were meticulous in keeping the city authorities fully informed of their proceedings and in requesting no more than a fifteenth of the cost of any levy. Despite this, the city fell back on its jurisdictional autonomy in order to evade, as far as possible, the military demands of the government. In January 1639 an exasperated Northampton had written to urge the city to train the (two) horse it contributed to the militia along with the Warwickshire horse, giving the example of Gloucester as a less scrupulous city and county. The city reluctantly sent its horse in March, but refused to pay the share of the cost of raising 230 men for the north arguing that the council's letters had not specifically mentioned Coven-

¹ Anthony Fletcher, *The Outbreak of the English Civil War* (London, 1981), 366.

² For the organisation of the levies for the Scots wars see Hughes, 'Politics, Society and Civil War', 193–4. All Northampton's letters in SP16 or Cov. C.R.O. were written from London, his residence in Olney, Buckinghamshire, or from the army in the north.

try.³ The desire to preserve its separate identity from Warwickshire compounded the grievances the city had against the government by the end of the 1630s – the attack on religious patronage, the threat to the charter, ship money – to produce a generally obstructive attitude.

Little private correspondence survives for the few years before 1642 and consequently, at several points, political trends in the county have to be discerned from official and public sources. It is clear, however, that opposition to the government of Charles I mounted in Warwickshire in 1639 as it did all over England. Barely half of the reduced ship-money levy of November 1638 had been paid in by November 1639 while a fifth of the 1637 levy was still outstanding. The hapless sheriffs, Sir Edward Underhill and John Lisle were ordered to distrain for the arrears or appear before the council; and on 21 February 1640 they were amongst the sheriffs threatened with star chamber proceedings and told that the arrears showed 'your ill affections to his Majesty's service besides your disobedience to the directions of the Board'.⁴

Charles's writ for a full levy of ship money in the winter of 1639–40 after the 1638 reduction, coupled with his plans to re-open the war against the Scots multiplied the unpopularity of his government. He was seemingly unaware of the effect this would have on top of the military levies of 1639.⁵ At Stratford-on-Avon where previous writs had been met with co-operation, or latterly with petitions for a reduction in the amount assessed on them, the Council Book recorded: 'Mr Bailiff brought in at this Hall the writ for the ship-money and here is no agreement to assess the same.'⁶

Along with the renewal of the demands for ship money came a political purge of the commission of the peace. On 16 February William Combe esq. of Stratford and Sir Thomas Lucy of Charlecote, probably the county's leading gentleman, were summoned to appear before the Privy Council; on the 24th they were removed from the commission of the peace, and on the 26th Combe, appearing before the council, was ordered to be kept in custody. What their offence was is not known. They were both Puritans and contacts of Lord Brooke who was one of the most conspicuous of the government's opponents but there is no evidence of any specific act of opposition on their part. Lucy, who was to die within

³ Cov. C.R.O. A79 P167, P184, P185 (the last letter was quoted in chapter 1).

⁴ PC2/51, 101, 30 November 1639. The 1637 arrears stood at £800 out of £4,000; the 1638 arrears at £780 out of the reduced sum of £1,450. PC2/51, 314: 21 February 1640. The 1636 sheriff Sir Thomas Leigh was still being pursued for the £484 he was still in arrears. In November 1639 the bailiffs of Coventry were ordered to send in the arrears due under the 1638 writ and in February 1640 the bailiff of Birmingham was threatened with star chamber proceedings for the arrears due since 1636. (PC2/51, 69, 315). ⁵ PC2/51, 25; Morrill, *Provinces*, 28–9.

⁶ S.B.T. BRV2/C, 183.

the year, was too sick to attend the council and reported to Secretary Vane that they had not been told the reasons for their summons.⁷ A likely explanation is that they were supposed to be behind the increasing obstruction of ship money: several Warwickshire men, including the high constable of Kineton Hundred where Lucy lived, were brought before the Privy Council between February and April 1640 for opposition to the levy.⁸

The inhabitants of Warwick were made aware of the wider implications of royal policy through Lord Brooke. On Sunday 29 December 1639, Dugard as usual attended three sermons in the town, one by Richard Venour at St Mary's, one by Simeon Ashe in the castle, and the third by 'Dr Rutterford, a Scot', who may well have been Samuel Rutherford, the eminent Presbyterian leader and resistance theorist. On the following Tuesday Rutherford gave the lecture, taking Bryan's place, and the next day Dugard heard him preach after dinner at the castle. Although Brooke had barely escaped imprisonment by the Privy Council for his correspondence with the Scots in February 1639, this spreading of Scottish propaganda in the provinces seems to have gone unnoticed.⁹ Dugard, for his part, noted reading propaganda from the Covenanters in October 1638 and in February 1639 when he also read Charles's declaration against the Scots.¹⁰

Positive sympathies for the Scots were no doubt rare, but the county's general disapproval of the government found expression of the election of the disgraced Combe and Lucy as knights of the shire for the Short Parliament, apparently despite the opposition of the sheriff, George Warner of Wolston. A newsletter alleged on 28 February 1640 that the sheriff was attempting to hold the election precipitately, before 'the tenth part of the freeholders' could be present at the county court. In fact, the strategy seems to have been the reverse – to delay the election. Dugard recorded on 24 February: 'a crowd of country people gathered here to elect Sir Thomas Lucy and Mr Combes knights for Parliament. The business remained unfinished because the under-sheriff was not come from London with the writs.' Lucy and Combe were elected without

⁷ PC2/51, 311, 318. C231/5, 370. SP16/448/82, Lucy to Vane 25 March 1640.

⁸ PC2/51, pp. 311–12; PC2/52, pp. 427, 460.

⁹ B.L. Add MS 23, 146 f.87r; SP16/413/92, 120. The only Scottish Dr Rutherford I have been able to trace is the famous author of *Lex Rex* (1644) etc., although I have no proof that the Warwick preacher is the same man. Halford's accounts record the payment of £7 by Peter Sterry to a Dr Rutherford and a Mr Frost in January 1641. Gualter Frost, who ultimately became Secretary to the Commonwealth Council of State, was an intermediary between English opposition figures and the Scots: G.E. Aylmer, *The State's Servants* (1973), 254–6. Frost journeyed to Yorkshire with a servant of Brooke's in the summer of 1640: Halford Accounts.

¹⁰ B.L. Add MS 23, 146 ff.80v, 82v.

difficulty on 23 March.¹¹ This election has been seen as a battle for influence between the court and opposition peers Northampton and Brooke, but there is no evidence of Northampton putting up a candidate. At Warwick Borough, Brooke's stepbrother Godfrey Bosvile of Gunthwaite, Yorkshire and, occasionally, of Wroxall, Warwickshire, and his friend William Purefoy of Caldecote, a veteran opposition figure in the county, were elected the day after the county election.¹² At Coventry, court nomination was disdainfully spurned. In December 1639, Lord Keeper Coventry wrote to the corporation to recommend his son-in-law, Henry Thynne, as one of their burgesses. Whereas in 1620s elections the corporation had at least made government nominees freemen so they were capable of election, in 1640 not even this courtesy was forthcoming; and two Coventry aldermen and dyers William Jesson and Simon Norton were elected.¹³ At Tamworth the corporation chose George Abbott, another Yorkshireman, who was Purefoy's stepson, probably elected through the influence of the Earl of Essex, and Sir Simon Archer whose wife's family held Tamworth Castle. A petition to Parliament opposed their election on the grounds that they were not local men and that the right of election lay with the commonalty, but political divisions may also have been present for William Comberford whose signature headed the petition was to become an early and committed royalist.¹⁴ With the possible exception of Archer to whom Dugdale wrote: 'I am right glad that we shall enjoy you in London some time, and the rather in that you are a Parliament man. I wish there were many more of your judgement and moderation, whose zeal and knowledge might worthily commend them, so should we all hope of a happy issue', all the members sent up to London were typical of those elected to the Short Parliament all over England, men committed to ending the grievances of the personal rule. 'The Parliament . . . gives many hopes of better times' wrote George Willis to his father in justification of his delay in emigrating to New England.¹⁵

But the hopes ended in fiasco, which did not deter Charles from

¹¹ B.L. Add MS 11,045 f.96, newsletter to the first Lord Scudamore; Add MS 23, 146 f.88r. For the Short Parliament M.P.s in general see Rushworth, vol. 3: 1112.

¹² Add MS 23, 146 f.88r.

¹³ J.K. Gruenfelder, 'The Election to the Short Parliament, 1640' in Howard S. Reinmuth, ed., *Early Stuart Studies: Essays in Honor of David Harris Willson* (Minneapolis, 1970), 197; Cov. C.R.O. A79 P190, 17 December 1639, Thomas Lord Coventry to the mayor and corporation: *D.N.B.* under Sir Thomas Thynne; see also chapter 3 above.

¹⁴ Petition: B.L. Add MS 28175, f.109r; for Abbott see chapter 5 below; for Comberford, W.C.R.O. Z237, C.C.C. 1960.

¹⁵ *Dugdale* (Hamper), 202. Hamper dates this letter as 4 March 1640/1, but it must be 1639/40. *Wyllys Papers*, 9.

continuing the war against the Scots, and the attempts to raise men and money continued through the summer of 1640. Despite the government's confusing changes of plan, the deputy lieutenants (except for the ailing, and out of favour Lucy) sent all but 30 of the 500 men required to Newcastle by the middle of July. The 30 missing were of course Coventry's share: as in 1639 the city ignored all the persuasions of the lord lieutenant. It proved more difficult to collect the coat and conduct money for these troops. Men from throughout Warwickshire were presented to the Privy Council for refusing to pay, and in many villages the constables would not assess for the levy at all, or return the names of refusers. In the midst of these difficulties, the hard-pressed deputies must have resented the council's rebuke for their lack of decisive measures when Captain Thomas Lunsford's troops mutinied at Warwick on their way to the north. Lunsford alleged that local people fomented his troops' 'dislikes' of the service rather than assisting in their punishment.¹⁶

Above all the government's projects, however, ship money fared the worst, although George Warner, the 80-year-old sheriff, seems to have been genuinely doing his best. A mere £470 had been collected by June of which only £107 had been forwarded to the treasurer of the navy.¹⁷ On 28 August, Thomas Leving the escheator of Warwickshire and Leicestershire, reported on ship-money proceedings to the Privy Council:

the sheriff of the county of Warwick hath likewise by distress levied some part of the said moneys and in respect he cannot get assessments from several constables he hath lately assessed the said townships and hamlets and resolveth with all expedition by himself, his under sheriff and servants to collect and levy the same as soon as he possibly can, the greatest part of the country refusing to pay any moneys but by distress. And the service being so generally distasted there can no special baylies be had or hired to undertake the levying thereof but what is done must be done by himself and his own servants which will occasion the moneys to be longer in raising.¹⁸

By the end of September the situation had deteriorated still further: Leving reported that the distresses taken by Warner had been 'by force taken away from him and some others taken away in the night by stealth'; his own servants were no longer willing to help him.¹⁹

¹⁶ PC2/51 pp. 397-400, 450, 503, 525; PC2/52 p. 658; Cov. C.R.O. A79, P189, P192 for the raising of forces against the Scots. SP16/454/55, 58; 455/71; 456/12; 457/84; PC2/52 pp. 503, 531, 569-73, 662 for coat and conduct money. SP16/457/91; PC2/52 p. 586 for Lunsford's troops.

¹⁷ SP16/457/85. On 27 July 1641 Warner petitioned the Lords claiming he had collected £470, not knowing how to avoid the service and had paid in £107 under pressure. He asked if he could pay the surplus proportionately to those from whom it had been collected. (*L.J.*, vol. 4: 330; *H.M.C.* vol. 4 (House of Lords), 91.)

¹⁸ SP16/465/30. The Privy Council had decided to appoint officials such as escheators or feodaries to stimulate further activity by sheriffs. (PC2/52, 625; Barnes, *Somerset*, 233). For later harassment of sheriffs by the council, see PC2/52, 481 - 11 May 1640; PC2/53, 33 - 21 October 1640. ¹⁹ SP16/468/49, 26 September 1640.

Until the autumn of 1640, Warwickshire's experience was little different from that of other counties: the unprecedented demands made by the government to meet the Scottish crisis were met with a strike by taxpayers and extremely reluctant co-operation, or none at all, from local officials from constables upwards.²⁰ At the same time, the routine of local government was maintained; the obstructive attitudes were extended specifically to the central government's financial exactions. From the elections to the Long Parliament onwards, however, significant differences emerge between Warwickshire and other counties as described by their modern historians. In Kent the Long Parliament election 'was essentially a struggle between different family connexions'; and in Cheshire too, local pre-eminence has been seen by Morrill as the dominant issue.²¹ In Warwickshire, though, the two county elections involved, at least in part, a struggle between two groups who were overtly and completely committed to different 'sides' in the national struggle, the Earl of Northampton heading a court interest, and the Lord Brooke, the campaigner for the 'country' opposition.

The distinctive nature of the struggle in Warwickshire owed much to the lack of cohesion amongst the leading gentry and to the diversity of its social structure; but the nature of the leadership provided by the two peers is also important. Northampton was much the simpler figure. As discussions above have indicated, it is very difficult to assess the influence Northampton wielded through the lieutenancy. Clarendon's account of him, however, confirms the impression that he was not very active in the county until the crisis of 1640–2:

a person of great courage, honour and fidelity, and not well known until his evening, having in the ease and plenty of that too happy time, indulged to himself with that license which was then thought necessary to great fortunes: but from the beginning of these distractions, as if he had been awakened out of a lethargy, he never proceeded with a lukewarm temper.²²

Spencer Compton does not seem to have had any definite political views beyond a straightforward loyalty to the crown, through whose favours his family had come to prominence. He never held any government office but remained a courtier. He was very prompt in starting a campaign for the county seat in the Long Parliament election, writing to his wife from York on 29 September 1640: 'I pray you be mindful about making James Knight of the shire and send to all those gentlemen of the country in whom I have any interest. I have sent to the sheriff and to Mr Chamberlain of the

²⁰ Morrill, *Provinces*, 28. ²¹ Everitt, *The Community of Kent*, 83; Morrill, *Cheshire*, 34.

²² W. Dunn Macray, ed., *The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England Begun in the Year 1641*, by Edward Earl of Clarendon, six volumes (Oxford, 1888), volume 2: 477–8.

Court of Wards.²³ James, who was his 18-year-old heir the Lord Compton, was speedily summoned home from an educational tour of the Low Countries.

Lord Brooke was a very different man, an ideologically committed opponent of Charles's government almost from his youth. But with Brooke too, there is sad lack of personal sources which creates particular difficulties in discussing his local activities. His initiatives at a national level were widely reported in the letters and newsbooks of the time and his philosophical and religious beliefs can be discovered from his published works, but his friendships and contacts amongst the Warwickshire gentry can be suggested only from hints in the correspondence of other families, from Dugard's diary and from his personal accounts which survive for 1640–2.²⁴ Brooke's early death, in March 1643, also presents problems for a discussion of his character. It has been seen as a severe blow to the parliamentary cause in that it removed the one man who could have reconciled moderate and radical Parliamentarians; but it also means that accounts of Brooke's life show him as a stereotyped martyr for the cause, and give little impression of a real personality.²⁵ His death at an early stage in the war removed Brooke from the necessity of taking the difficult decisions parliamentary leaders faced as the struggle continued. We can only conjecture on the path he would have taken as divisions intensified on the Parliament's side.

Brooke was the son-in-law of the Earl of Bedford, and the most heavily committed member of the Providence Island Company; Hexter saw him as a 'middle group' leader.²⁶ But most contemporaries considered that Brooke was more radical than peers like Bedford or Essex. Clarendon saw Brooke and Viscount Saye and Sele as the only peers in 1641 who were 'positive enemies to the whole fabric of the Church', and felt Brooke's death helped the cause of peace by removing one of the most

²³ SP16/468/87. Northampton wrote this letter before a Parliament was actually summoned by Charles.

²⁴ B.L. Add MS 23, 146; W.C.R.O., CR1866: The Accounts of John Halford, Midsummer 1640 – Midsummer 1642; the only modern biography of Brooke: Robert E.L. Strider, *Robert Greville, Lord Brooke* (Cambridge, Mass. 1958) deals mainly with Brooke's intellectual beliefs and very little with his local activities. It is based on printed sources only.

²⁵ Conrad Russell, *The Crisis of Parliaments: English History 1509–1660* in *The Short Oxford History of the Modern World*, J.M. Roberts, ed. (1971), 347, 356. Thomas Spencer, *The Genealogie, Life and Death of the Right Honourable Robert Lord Brooke* is one example of hagiography. Its author was minister at Budbrooke near Warwick. His manuscript was edited and annotated for its expected publication by the familiar figure of Thomas Dugard.

²⁶ J.H. Hexter, *The Reign of King Pym* (Cambridge, Mass. 1941), 84–8. For the Providence Island Company: P.R.O. CO124/1, 176v: the company owed Brooke £4,149 in February 1639, £1,000 more than was due Pym, the next greatest debtor; CR1866, Box 457: in August 1642, Brooke was liable for £2,000 of the company's debts of just over £9,000. His younger brother William and his stepbrother Bosville were also involved in the company.

irreconcilable of the king's enemies; while Baxter coupled Brooke with the younger Vane as the only 'noted gross sectary' before the Civil War.²⁷ Brooke helped to found the Saye Brooke colonising project in 1632 and was also involved with the Massachusetts Bay Company. These last two were rather different from the down to earth activities of the Providence Island Company. Both were in some ways attempts to build godly Puritan utopias, where a degree of religious toleration and political experiment went hand in hand with plans to advance industry, agriculture and science.²⁸

Brooke's national activities in 1639–40 also mark him out as one of the most radical of the government's opponents. When the first Scottish war was imminent in the winter of 1638–9, it was at first believed that Brooke would refuse outright the king's request to his peers to attend him in the north: 'only my lord Brooke who stands alone and refuseth to attend unless it be adjudged he should by parliament', and his restraint was discussed by the Privy Council because of his treasonous correspondence with the Scots. Finally Brooke and Saye were imprisoned at York when they refused the oath of loyalty required by the king.²⁹ In the following year Brooke felt again the king's displeasure; his papers were among those seized after the dissolution of the Short Parliament.³⁰

Brooke's influence and activities in Warwickshire are more elusive. He was briefly M.P. for Warwick Borough in 1628 before the death of Fulke Greville took him to the House of Lords. He was clearly the dominant figure in the town, although the burgesses remained suspicious of magnate influence, resenting particularly Brooke's evasion of tithes due to the corporation. This resentment played a part in the Long Parliament by-election at Warwick Borough; but difficulties could sometimes be overcome through the mediation of men like Dugard or Bryan who were close to urban figures as well as to Brooke.³¹ Brooke was a J.P. from 1631 but the sources do not permit an assessment of his involvement. He

²⁷ Clarendon, ed. Macray, vol. 1: 309; vol. 2: 277. Matthew Sylvester, ed., *Reliquiae Baxterianae* (1696), 63.

²⁸ Charles Webster, *The Great Instauration: Science and Reform 1626–1660* (1975), 40, 46. Valerie Pearl, *London and the Outbreak of the Puritan Revolution* (1961), 92, 97, 169, also deals with Brooke's involvement with colonial projects: his part in the struggle against the Directors of the East India Company and his help for the foundation of New Haven by the parishioners of St Stephen, Coleman Street, London. Brooke was a friend of Hartlib and Comenius and backed many of their educational and scientific projects: Webster, 37, 42–3. See also Strider, *Robert Greville*, 21–2; Morrill, *Provinces*, 19; A.P. Newton, *The Colonising Activities of the English Puritans* (New Haven, 1914), 67, 83, 181–4, 210–11.

²⁹ SP16/413/92, 120; H.M.C. 12th Report, appendix, part 4 (Rutland MS vol. 1), 507, 509. See p. 116 above, for Brooke's entertainment of a Scottish minister at Warwick.

³⁰ SP16/453/24, 12 May 1640. It was reported that Brooke's papers included many petitions from silenced ministers for relief.

³¹ For Brooke and Warwick: W.C.R.O. CR1618/W21/6 p. 277; Add MS 23, 146 f.93v.

clearly spent much time in London but Dugard's diary shows that he came regularly each year to Warwick for the summer assizes, and for an extended period from late autumn to the new year. His visits in 1639 and 1640 were longer and more frequent. All surviving evidence suggests that Brooke's contacts with the leading Warwickshire gentry were limited. He was friendly with William Purefoy and shared a newsletter with his near neighbours Sir Thomas Lucy and Sir Thomas Puckering in the 1630s; but when Dugard visited Warwick Castle he tended to meet Brooke's 'servants', ministers, and on occasion, national figures who were the Baron's allies or kinsfolk. The only Warwickshire gentry whom Dugard mentioned as fellow guests in the 1630s were Lucy, the Burgoynes of Wroxall, and Anthony Stoughton of Warwick.³² The Dugard evidence is reinforced by the accounts kept by Brooke's steward John Halford between 1640 and 1642 which record letters and gifts sent by Brooke, and gratuities given to the servants of those who brought Brooke gifts.³³ In other words, they record to some extent the normal social intercourse of the locality. It is significant that even during the Long Parliament election, Brooke's social contacts were mainly with men from outside the county élite. He sent his young son to stay with Lucy at the time of the election, and was in contact with Lord Dunsmore who, with his son-in-law the Earl of Southampton, was at this time prominent among the opposition peers. Purefoy and Combe, who were at least J.P.s although not of the quorum, were also mentioned; but more typical of his contacts were men like John Hales, Sir Richard Skeffington, and Peter Burgoyne of Wroxall and Coventry. All three played little part in county politics before 1642 but were to become prominent in the Civil War administration of the county thereafter. Also represented were minor gentry and yeomen from the area, particularly from Brooke's own town of Alcester.³⁴

Why did Brooke have so few friends amongst the county élite? It has been suggested that the quarrels that succeeded his inheritance of the Greville estates damaged his standing amongst the longer-established gentry, but Brooke's intellectual beliefs and the nature of his opposition to Charles I are equally significant. His first published work, *The Nature*

³² In 1636 Dugdale arranged for Archer to ask Purefoy if he would persuade Brooke to give the historian access to his evidences: *Dugdale* (Hamper), 156; Birch, *Charles I*, vol. 2: 184ff.; Add MS 23, 146 *passim*. Dugard's presence at dinners with Pym, Bedford and the like suggests that Brooke would not have excluded him from hospitality with gentry company. Dugard was often at the castle daily while Brooke was in residence.

³³ CR1866: The Accounts of John Halford.

³⁴ Brooke owned the manor of Alcester, recruited many of his estate officials there; and received much support there in 1642; V.C.H., vol. 3: 13-17; *Some Speciall Passages from Warwickshire . . . This fourth of August 1642*, B.L. E109 (3). For Dunsmore, Hales, Skeffington and Burgoyne, see below.

of *Truth*, was a platonic treatise emphasising the unity of all things and their essential goodness; ‘everything that is, is good, and good to me’. In the search for truth, reason and faith were entirely compatible and were both given directly by God. Brooke demonstrated a ‘commonsense’ and optimistic attitude to all things and a belief that all were equal in the quest for truth. Hence obtuse disputes about religion were futile, the truth could be reached in many different ways, and a wide degree of toleration was essential.³⁵

In 1641 Brooke published *A Discourse opening the Nature of that Episcopacy which is exercised in England*, his contribution to the Smectymnuan debate.³⁶ This work shows how far he was from the moderate anti-Laudian consensus of most gentry opposition to Charles I. Drawing on his wide reading from classical and scholastic authors as well as the church fathers and contemporary theologians, Brooke developed a broad critique of episcopacy. There was no historical justification he said, for bishops to hold any secular position, or for them to exercise any dominion over other ministers; their office had developed only in the second century, a period when religion was declining and Antichrist busy.³⁷ Many of the educated classes in 1640–1 opposed the Laudian bishops but very few sympathised with outright attacks on episcopacy itself, or shared Brooke’s overt support for the Scottish rebellion: ‘But blessed be God that hath delivered that Church and State from tyrannical Prelates and will ere long deliver us also’;³⁸ or would support his view that good government in the church and in the state was government where power was fixed in the people.³⁹

Brooke’s treatise exhibited an almost modern rational attitude to his sources; at many points he subjected scriptural authorities to searching textual criticism.⁴⁰ Equally startling, in seventeenth-century terms was Brooke’s belief in the separation of church and state and his almost total belief in toleration. Brooke’s belief in the supremacy of individual reason and his view that the truth could appear in many different guises led him to hold that what men described as heresy or sectarianism, was in fact a good thing. Compulsion in matters of religion led only to a ‘Unity of Darkness and Ignorance’ as existed in Spain. His ideal was the United

³⁵ *The Nature of Truth, its Union and Unity with the Soule*, (1640), 119, 156. See Mervyn James, *English Politics and the Concept of Honour* (Past & Present supplement 3, 1978), 80–3 for a very interesting discussion of Brooke’s ideas.

³⁶ William Haller, ed., *Tracts on Liberty in the Puritan Revolution 1638–1647* (New York, 1965), volume 1: commentary; volume 2: facsimiles, including Brooke’s *Episcopacy*. All references are to the Haller edition.

³⁷ *Episcopacy*, 45–6. Cf. Christopher Hill, *Milton and the English Revolution* (1977), 84–5 for Milton’s espousal of similar beliefs at this time. ³⁸ *Episcopacy*, 87.

³⁹ *Episcopacy*, 123–7. ⁴⁰ E.g. *Episcopacy*, 111–12, 119–20; see also Haller, vol. 1: 20–2.

Provinces: 'let every Church please her self in her own way, so long as she leaveth the State to herself. And how Religion doth flourish there is known to most men . . . even Nature herself as much abhors a forced violent Union as a Rent or division.'⁴¹ Brooke maintained that where an individual's conscience differed from another's, no one, least of all the state, had any power to compel conformity. He excepted Papists and Anabaptists from toleration because their activities threatened the civil power; but even in the case of Anabaptists, the typical bogeymen of the seventeenth century, he saw nothing wrong in itself with their views on adult baptism and saw them as less of a danger than supporters of 'Lord Prelacy'. He defended the Brownists, and other gathered congregations, and spent several pages giving the arguments of poor unordained preachers, as he had heard them presented at ecclesiastical trials. He himself refused to condemn or condone their arguments.⁴²

Brooke's biographers commended his rigorous private and family devotions, and his religious patronage mirrored his belief in the diversity of truth. Thomas Spencer, himself a conformist, wrote in a nice reversal of more conventional compliments: 'A dear foster-father he was to many ministers and schoolmasters, allowing them yearly pensions or salaries. Not only those that went his way, but also such as did conform to the Church-government were his beneficiaries.'⁴³ An ex-coachman of Brooke's founded a separatist congregation in London in 1639 and the baron had several contacts amongst the capital's sectaries in the early 1640s. The heterogeneous circle of ministers surrounding Brooke in Warwickshire in the 1630s was described in the previous chapter. Halford's accounts again strengthen this impression. They include payments to Roe, Dugard and Sterry, and also to a 'Grecian Bishop'.⁴⁴

It is clear from the Short Parliament election and the taxpayers' strike in 1640 that there was widespread opposition to the government in Warwickshire; and in the summer of 1642, also, there were gentry from the leading families who were prepared to support the Parliament: George Browne of Radford, Clement Throckmorton of Haseley and Thomas Boughton of Bilton, for example. There is no evidence, however, that the opposition of such men went beyond the typical desire to return to the pre-Laudian church, and to ensure, through parliamentary

⁴¹ *Episcopacy*, 135. Brooke had been educated by a Dutch tutor, and studied at Leyden University: Spencer, *The Genealogie, Life and Death*, 170-1.

⁴² *Episcopacy*, 74, 90-2, 103, 140-4, 150-8; again John Milton's attitude is comparable: Hill, *Milton*, 96.

⁴³ Spencer, *The Genealogie, Life and Death*, 173-4; cf. Samuel Clarke, *A General Martyrologie* (1651), sig A3.

⁴⁴ Murray Tolmie, *The Triumph of the Saints* (Cambridge, 1977), 26, 49. CR1866, Halford Accounts.

reforms, that there could be no repetition of the personal rule. It seems that Brooke did not fail to win the support of such men; rather, by 1642, he was not trying to obtain it. In both his national and his local political activities he was uncompromising in his choice of supporters, as he was in his ideas. Despite his well known attack on the low birth of bishops, and his emphasis on the independent political role of the peerage, the main tendency of his theory and practice was towards broad participation. Like Cromwell he preferred militants of lower social origins to half-hearted gentry support. The captains of his regiment in Essex's army included John Lilburne, the Laudian martyr and future Leveller, and John Okey, who became a prominent republican.⁴⁵ In Warwickshire in 1643 he rejected an offer of help from German mercenaries, saying, 'we must rather employ men who will fight merely for the cause sake',⁴⁶ and in Warwickshire he relied on men like William Purefoy who shared his determined views, or on those below gentry ranks.

Brooke seems to have been campaigning in Warwickshire for the summoning of a Parliament during the summer of 1640, in parallel with his participation in the Remonstrance of the opposition peers to the same end. On 16 September Thomas Dugard noted a gathering at the Swan, Warwick, attended by Brooke, Dunsmore and 'many knights and gentlemen': the schoolmaster himself wrote out a petition to be presented to the king.⁴⁷ But when the election itself came, Brooke's lack of gentry support, plus an election campaign delayed by his attendance at the council of the peers at York until late October, limited his success. The heightened political atmosphere is indicated by the first known contest for knights of the shire since 1604, and by the increased involvement of gentry from outside the south of the county. Northampton's two allies mentioned above, Chamberlain and the sheriff George Warner, both came from the north-east. The backing of the sheriff and his early start, perhaps encouraged Northampton to hold the election precipitately: Dugard reported an unfinished contest for the county seats as early as 5

⁴⁵ Brooke, *Episcopacy*, 47; James, *English Politics and the Concept of Honour*, 83–8; P.R.O. SP28/1a f.209 (Lilburne); SP28/266/202 (Okey).

⁴⁶ *A Worthy Speech Made by the Right Honorable the Lord Brooke*, 26 February 1643, B.L. E90 (27) p. 7. Cf. Brian Manning, 'Religion and Politics: The Godly People' in Manning, ed., *Politics, Religion and the English Civil War*, esp. 118–19, where a similar account of Brooke is found. James C. Farnell, 'The Social and Intellectual Basis of London's Role in the English Civil War' *J.M.H.*, vol. 49 (1977) contains interesting information on Brooke's part in radical, popular politics in London. I would not necessarily accept Farnell's interpretation of the city populace's manipulation by Brooke.

⁴⁷ Add MS 23, 146 f.90r. Dugard, concise as ever, does not mention the contents of the petition but it is difficult to imagine what else it could have been about. A petition from London asking for a parliament was presented to Charles at York on 22 September: C.V. Wedgewood, *The King's Peace* (1972, paperback), 321–2.

October. In the event the knights were not chosen until 2 November, a day before the Parliament was due to meet. Brooke's lack of confidence over the county election is revealed in the fact that one of his candidates, William Purefoy, was also returned at Warwick Borough: he thus had a safety net should things go amiss in the shire. Brooke's search for allies amongst the leading gentry was probably not helped by his links with Lord Dunsmore, a quarrelsome and unpopular man.⁴⁸ The first contest, in November, was a draw: Northampton's heir, Lord Compton was elected along with William Combe, a prominent opponent of the court. However a petition from the Warwickshire freeholders, supported by the evidence of Combe, alleged that the sheriff had acted irregularly, adjourning the court to several places, at first delaying the poll and then breaking it off abruptly, declaring Compton and Combe elected although Purefoy had three voices to one. Combe said Warner had told him Purefoy could not be elected as he was already returned for Warwick Borough. The unfortunate Warner was sent for as a delinquent, fined £100, imprisoned in the Tower and ordered to make a formal submission to the House of Commons, and at the next county assizes.⁴⁹

There are again signs that the Brooke opposition was none too confident of their success in any new contest for an attempt was made to have Combe and Purefoy declared knights of the shire by the Commons without the necessity of a by-election. This is an early example of Brooke's co-ordination of local and national activities; in this case he was trying to make up for his lack of influence with the local gentry with his allies in Parliament. Unfortunately for his plans both Compton and Combe were declared unduly elected and a new writ was issued.⁵⁰ By challenging the first election, Brooke ended in a worse position for in the new contest neither of his candidates was returned. The survival of a draft of a petition against Combe and his fellow candidate makes possible a

⁴⁸ Add MS 23, 146 ff. 90r–90v; For Dunsmore see the unfavourable testimony of Clarendon and of William Boughton: Clarendon ed. Macray, vol. 2: 533; SP19/46/11. Dunsmore's cousin, Sir Thomas Leigh seems to have supported Compton (see p. 128). There is almost no evidence about Brooke's campaign apart from small payments in his accounts for feasting his tenants.

⁴⁹ The petition was delivered on 9 November (C.J., vol. 2: 23). All petitions in support of the opposition candidates in the county elections were from the 'freeholders' rather than, in the usual formula, from the 'gentry and freeholders'. Brooke and his supporters were consciously portraying themselves as 'popular' candidates. Thomas Spencer, *Genealogie, Life and Death*, 178 later claimed that in 1640 Brooke's support came from the ranks below the gentry. C.J., vol. 2: 25, 43; W. Notestein, ed., *The Journal of Sir Simonds D'Ewes* (New Haven, 1923), 95–6.

⁵⁰ Two separate questions were put as to whether Combe and Compton should continue to sit, and D'Ewes thought that Purefoy 'should have his right', and be declared knight of the shire in place of Compton. If Purefoy had taken the county seat Brooke could almost certainly control the election of his successor at Warwick. (C.J., vol. 2: 43; Notestein, ed., *The Journal of Sir Simonds D'Ewes*, 96.)

fuller picture of this second contest.⁵¹ Although it contains obvious biases it has an impressive amount of detailed information which suggests an accurate view of the proceedings.

At this contest there were four candidates, Combe now standing with Sir Francis Nethersole of Polesworth although it was alleged that he had promised in London to help Compton's re-election.⁵² Nethersole, though he was to take no part in the Civil War, was at this time a committed opponent of the government. He was a staunch Protestant and as the lifelong champion and servant of Elizabeth of Bohemia had no cause to support the king. Charles I had forced his sister to dismiss Nethersole from her service in 1634 and imprisoned him in the Tower. After this Nethersole had lived a retired, intellectual life in the country. He was a newcomer to the county, inheriting Polesworth through his wife, a daughter of Sir Henry Goodere, and played only a minor part in its affairs.⁵³

Compton again stood, and again relied on the sheriff, Warner, and on Richard Chamberlain of Chilvers Coton and the Court of Wards, who kept the Poll Books. He hoped for gentry support generally, including that of the recusant gentry. On 20 December Thomas Morgan of Weston wrote to his 'cousin' and fellow Catholic, Robert Throckmorton of Coughton, obviously in reply to a letter urging support for Compton: 'I have been already solicited by a messenger from my Lord and in that respect I am by promise engaged.'⁵⁴ There were suggestions, though, that Northampton and Compton had been too casual with their gentry support and were in a weaker position than in the previous contest:

the greatest part of my diligence must be denied from your letter, wherein you express yourself to be a noble friend to his Lordship, but if I may speak freely the best office that could be done him were to persuade him to desist and not to be too prodigal of his purse and honour, for I doubt all that is employed in this service will be cast away: my Lord has lost some that were for him last time and those not of the meanest, amongst which Sir

⁵¹ 'The Humble Remonstrance & Peticon of the Knights, esquires, gents & freeholders'. Maxstoke Castle: Fetherstone–Dilke MS N.R.A. reference: Dining room, wooden chest by door, bundle 25 number 9. Hirst, *The Representative of the People?* states that the chest is now by the window in the drawing room, and the bundle is differently numbered. I am grateful to the staff of Warwick County Record Office for making this and other Maxstoke MSS available at Warwick.

⁵² There is no other record of this promise apart from the Maxstoke petition, which may have been an attempt to prevent a bitter contest or to ensure the election of at least one opposition figure.

⁵³ *D.N.B.* s.v. Nethersole. *Reliquiae Baxterianae*, 34, 150 where he is classified as a Presbyterian. He was never a J.P. but had served as a commissioner for swans, and for charitable uses, in the county: P.R.O. C181/5, C192/1 (both appointments were in 1639). On 1 January 1641 Dugard dined with Nethersole and Combe at Warwick: Add MS 23, 146 f.91v.

⁵⁴ W.C.R.O. CR1998: Box 60, Folder 4 number 17. There is no year to his letter, and no specific reference to Northampton or Compton, but it seems from the context that it must refer to the second election to the Long Parliament.

Thomas Leigh is in the first place, a man that both for his worth, and respectful carriage to my Lord in that business, deserved a great deal of regard, but was payed with a most unspeakable deal of neglect.

It was perhaps because of some dissatisfaction with Northampton that a fourth candidate, Richard Shuckborough of Over Shuckborough, stood in the by-election. Shuckborough was to be a belated royalist but there is no evidence he was associated with the court or with Compton in 1640. He was the son-in-law and close associate of Sir Thomas Holte of Aston who was also apparently disaffected from the government in 1640. His will reveals him as a convinced Calvinist and he co-operated fully in the anti-papist moves the Long Parliament instigated in the county.⁵⁵ He was an active J.P. but living on the south-east of the county near the Northamptonshire border, he was not part of the group of dominant southern gentry and his candidacy is another indication that the Long Parliament election saw an attempt by all the gentry of the county to influence Warwickshire politics rather than leaving control to the southern gentry.

The Maxstoke petition described how the supporters of Combe and Nethersole met at Coventry to co-ordinate their campaign: 'some active [sniping?] persons presuming much of their power and ability in procuring voices did undertake to do what they could possibly to that purpose'. The poll itself was a turbulent affair, spread over five days from 28 December until 1 January, at the insistence, it was claimed, of Combe and Nethersole who were hoping to gather support. It saw many 'uncivil speeches' especially by Nethersole who attempted to smear Compton: 'It was given out that the said Lord Compton was a recusant or that ways inclined and affected'; and personal attacks on some of the leading gentry who supported Compton like Chamberlain, Sir George Devereux of Sheldon, and Robert Lee of Billesley. In the general confusion, a servant of Combe's was reported to the J.P.s for an attack on a freeholder. The petition claimed that Combe's breaking of his promise to support Compton in the by-election cost him support: 'which being observed by the most part of the gentry and well tem[p]ered freeholders of the county

⁵⁵ D.N.B. s.v. Shuckborough. Will: Prob. 11/259/£.372. W.H. Coates, ed., *The Journal of Sir Simonds D'Ewes from the first recess of the Long Parliament to the withdrawal of King Charles from London* (New Haven, 1942), 327; on 21 December 1641 Shuckborough delivered to the House papist writings discovered in the county. However, one diarist reported that Shuckborough was 'put forth' of the House of Commons on 2 February 1642 for speaking against the imprisonment of Derinc: W.H. Coates, et al., eds., *The Private Journals of the Long Parliament* (New Haven, 1982), 263. Neither Holte nor Shuckborough were on the commission of array but Shuckborough gained a minor notoriety through being the gentleman who met Charles I on the eve of the battle of Edgehill while out hunting. He claimed to know nothing about the Civil War but joined the king's army the next day: S.R. Gardiner, *History of the Great Civil War*, 4 volumes (1901), vol. 1: 41; *Dugdale* (Thomas), vol. 1: 309.

they thereupon gave their voices, for the said Lord Compton and Mr Shuckborough'. Compton headed the poll with 1,369 'voices'; Shuckborough had 902, Combe 837, and the newcomer Nethersole trailed far behind with 403.⁵⁶

The losers again tried to recover their position in Parliament. A petition from the freeholders of the county was presented to the Commons by Purefoy on 18 January and read on 30 January. It accused Warner of again 'managing' the election unjustly by excluding Combe and was followed on 1 February by a similar petition from Combe himself. On 12 February a counter-petition from the gentry and freeholders (presumably the Maxstoke petition) denied that the election had been made in an undue manner. All these petitions were referred to the Committee of Privileges whence they never emerged, and Compton and Shuckborough continued to sit.⁵⁷

Turning to the borough elections, in contrast to the Short Parliament, Tamworth returned candidates with few local links in either Warwickshire or Staffordshire. Dugdale was expecting Archer to sit again, but the influence of Essex and the Ferrers' interests were mobilised for outsiders.⁵⁸ In Coventry, Northampton failed to make much use of his position as recorder and two aldermen were again elected, Simon Norton, and the draper, John Barker who was to become a leading figure in the Civil War administration of Warwickshire. On Norton's death, the other Short Parliament M.P., William Jesson, replaced him.⁵⁹ At Warwick Borough Brooke again secured Purefoy's election and Sir Thomas Lucy, who was probably too ill to contest a county election, took the other seat. On Lucy's death in December Brooke sought to elect his step-brother Bosvile, but found that his influence was opposed: 'My Lord Brooke had engaged many of the better sort of the town to give their voices for Mr Bosvile which they did accordingly but the votes of the major part prevailed.'⁶⁰ The choice of the Commons was the local man, Sir Thomas's heir Spencer Lucy, against the intruder. The deputy recorder Rainsford, who disliked Brooke because of his tithe evasion insisted against the

⁵⁶ Based entirely on the Maxstoke petition. Hirst, *The Representative of the People?*, 146, described the accusation against Compton as 'overt manipulation' of the antipopery of the voters but it was shown above that Compton had at least solicited the support of leading recusants. Compton's minority was also argued against his election.

⁵⁷ C.J., vol. 2: 69, 75-6, 83. Notestein, ed., *The Journal of Sir Simonds D'Ewes*, 263, 303. No signed copy of the petitions survived. It is worth noting that no claim was made that Nethersole had been unjustly dealt with.

⁵⁸ Bodl. MS Eng. Lett. b1, f. 329; Keeler, *The Long Parliament*, 63. Because of double returns and the disabling of an army plotter, Henry Wilmot, four men sat as M.P.s for Tamworth before the outbreak of war.

⁵⁹ Cov. C.R.O. A14 (b) f.4r; M.F. Keeler, *The Long Parliament*, 69, 96-7, 238, 288.

⁶⁰ CR1618/ W21/6, 276-7: Edward Rainsford's account of the election in the Remonstrance.

wishes of the bailiff that both indentures be sent to Parliament. The prevailing mood of the Commons in early 1641 ensured that Bosvile's election stood, although the franchise was supposed to be in the commonalty.⁶¹

We know from chance remarks in the parliamentary diaries that Warwickshire was one of the counties that sent up a 'root and branch' petition to Parliament in January 1641.⁶² Nothing is known of the organisation of this petition and not even a printed copy of it survives. Apart from this, there seems to have been a lull in political activity in the county from the Long Parliament elections almost until the military struggles of summer 1642. Warwickshire saw none of the petitioning and counter-petitioning over matters of religion that exercised the people of Kent and Cheshire, for example, in 1641-2.⁶³ The anti-papist scare of November 1641, and an apparently personal dispute within the lieutenancy are the only examples in the parliamentary journals of proceedings in the county.⁶⁴

Does this indicate that the inhabitants of Warwickshire were unconcerned about national developments, and that the leading gentry simply concentrated on keeping local government going. Certainly the county's administration survived well until the summer of 1642: the number of orders passed at Quarter Sessions, for example, did not fall at all until Easter 1642, and did not noticeably decline until Trinity. The heavy taxation demands of 1640-2 were dealt with successfully.⁶⁵ There were, however, unprecedented changes in the commission of the peace which suggest that the king was not confident of the political support, or even quiescence of the leading gentry. Until the removal of Combe and Lucy in February 1640, there had been no change in the commission since Shuckborough was added in June 1635. Between March 1640 and August 1641, besides the reinstatement of Combe, there were seven additions to the commission, important changes in a bench composed of between twenty and twenty-five resident gentry in the 1630s. Two J.P.s from the south of the county, Lucy and Sir Edward Underhill, died during this

⁶¹ C.J., vol. 2: 88 (18th February); Notestein, ed., *The Journal of Sir Simonds D'Ewes*, 364, 369.

⁶² Notestein, ed., *The Journal of Sir Simonds D'Ewes*, 249n. Peyton's diary records a petition from Warwickshire against the bishops on 13 January 1641; D'Ewes himself (*ibid.*, 283) said the knight of the shire (Shuckborough?) delivered the petition on 25 January. The *Commons Journals* on both days record the delivery of petitions from several counties against the bishops but do not mention one from Warwickshire specifically. Dugard wrote out a petition to Parliament on 23 January, and wrote it 'de novo' on 6 February. Unfortunately these dates do not fit easily with either the anti-episcopal petition or the election petitions: Add MS 23, 146f. 92r.

⁶³ Everitt, *The Community of Kent*, 86-90, 96-107; Morrill, *Cheshire*, 46-55.

⁶⁴ Hughes, 'Politics, Society and Civil War', 222n.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.* and see also D.H. Pennington, 'The Making of the War, 1640-1642' in Pennington and Keith Thomas, eds., *Puritans and Revolutionaries* (Oxford, 1978).

time, and a third, Sir Greville Verney who died in 1642, was probably ailing. Only one of the newcomers, Anthony Stoughton of Warwick, came from this area. The other appointments were all of men from outside the south; and three of them were semi-non residents. All but one were to become royalists in 1642.⁶⁶ If Charles I felt that the addition of greater northern gentry and outsiders would strengthen his support on the commission of the peace, Parliament too seems to have considered that the traditional county leaders were not reliable for all tasks. The commissioners to execute the Parliamentary Ordinance for the disarming of recusants included Sir Richard Skeffington and John Hales esq. of Coventry, both of whom were to become militant Parliamentarians, as well as Combe and Shuckborough.⁶⁷

This by-passing of the pre-war leaders of county society by both king and Parliament suggests that the dominant gentry were not apolitical. The family correspondence that survives from this period supports this view. The letters to the Catholic Robert Throckmorton of Coughton from 1639 to 1641 include news on the situation in Scotland and the trial of Strafford as well as matters of more personal concern such as the likelihood of harsh proceedings against recusants. From a diametrically opposed position Anna Temple rejoiced at the beginning of the religious reformation:

God is exceeding good to us every way, both for bodies and souls and hath done wonderful things among us already and gives us hope of more and that we shall see idolatry and superstition rooted out and God's ordinances set up in the purity and power of them. Altars begin to go down apace and rails in many places; and yours must follow if it be not down already; let us labour to be thankful and continue our prayers.⁶⁸

In the town of Warwick, at least, the inhabitants were clearly aware of national political affairs, as the speech made by the town clerk Edward

⁶⁶ Excluding the appointment of assize judges and of Robert Lee esq. in succession to his father. Stoughton was added in August 1641: C231/5, 469. He was a militia commissioner in 1642 and his appointment, like Combe's reinstatement in January 1641, was probably intended as a concession by Charles I. (Combe's reinstatement: C213/5, 425.) The non-residents were James Enyon, also of Northamptonshire, appointed 31 March 1640, and Walter Chetwynd of Staffordshire and Sir Francis Willoughby of Nottinghamshire, both appointed 18 March 1641: C231/5, 377, 436. The other three newcomers were Serjeant John Whitwick (10 July 1640) and Sir John Reppington of Amington (18 March 1641) and Robert Arden of Park Hall (6 April 1641) two northern gentlemen belatedly granted the honour held by their father and grandfather: C213/5, 395, 436, 441. Willoughby was the only non-royalist.

⁶⁷ *L.J.* vol. 4: 385, 30 August 1641. Skeffington too was semi-non resident with a home in Staffordshire as well as in Coventry.

⁶⁸ CR1998: In the Tribune, Chest of Drawers, Drawer 10, Folder 48; In the Strong Room, Box 60, Folders 2, 4; East Sussex County Record Office: Dunn MS 51/54. This letter from Anna Temple to her daughter in Sussex, was written from her brother, Viscount Saye and Sele's house at Broughton, Oxfordshire, but presumably refers to her experience in Warwickshire too. George Willis relayed news to his father in Connecticut: *Wyllys Papers*, 17.

Rainsford on Brooke's appointment as recorder reveals. Clearly, the tone was required by the occasion, but it was Rainsford's awareness of events and issues that enabled him to compose the flattering oration.⁶⁹ Brooke was, 'so religious, so noble and so prudent a peer of this realm, and of all which there hath been so ample testimony in this happy parliament'. Parliament itself was equally praised:

blessed be God that so many puissant champions have risen up in this present parliament for defence of our religion and rights . . . therefore let the Lord of heaven and earth have his due praise and glory . . . especially for these two things, first as I may say for the restitution of our religion, for our sky became fearfully darkened, papal innovation coming on apace upon us, as also for the reformation of the oppressions and grievances amongst us, so that now our propriety in our goods are continued, and therefore let us never forget thankfully to consider and acknowledge that as we have heard with our ears so have we seen with our eyes the wonders the Lord hath done even in these our days.

Public fasts and thanksgivings related to national events were held in the town, infrequently from Christmas 1640, but twice monthly at least after the news of the Irish rebellion and the passing of the Grand Remonstrance. Thomas Dugard not only read newsbooks, parliamentary speeches and the Grand Remonstrance in the early years of the Long Parliament, he was also inspired to compose his own verse on the 'troubles of the commonwealth'.⁷⁰

Many of the inhabitants of Warwickshire were thus in touch with national developments. However, the nature of local society militated against general political initiatives from the county. United, conventional political activity emerged most easily in areas where there existed a 'county community' of shared friendships and interests amongst the gentry.⁷¹ In Warwickshire where there was no cohesive gentry community, moderate political activity did not coalesce in the 1630s nor in 1640–2, whereas those like Brooke and Northampton, who had more clear-cut views, could outflank the majority of the gentry and take the initiative early on. Furthermore, a comparison of Warwickshire and other counties suggests that local activities alone could not be politically effective without a national dimension. The petitioning campaigns in Kent and Cheshire, led by Dering, Aston and their opponents, occurred because groups in these counties were operating within a local and a national framework. They brought to their counties views and experiences developed in the Long Parliament and provided an avenue through which different strands of local opinion could be brought before Parliament and the court. Local activities and pressures, in turn

⁶⁹ CR1618/W21/6, pp. 277, 281.

⁷⁰ Add MS 23, 146 ff.91v, 94r, 95r, 96r–97v for fasts and thanksgivings; ff.89r, 92v, 96r, 97r, 93r for Dugard's reading and verse.

⁷¹ See, on Kent, Peter Clark, *English Provincial Society*, 345–6.

influenced the national struggle.⁷² In other counties, such as Nottinghamshire or Herefordshire, the complete exclusion of significant episcopalian and later royalist currents of opinion from the parliamentary arena (because of the Puritanism of Sir Thomas Hutchinson and Sir Robert Harley) resulted by 1642 in attempts to outflank the county M.P.s with public declarations intended both to mobilise local opinion and to make a national impact.⁷³ In Warwickshire political activities were not integrated on a local and national level as they were in Kent and Cheshire, nor was national representation as one-sided as it was in Herefordshire or Nottinghamshire. Nonetheless the Warwickshire gentry, particularly the influential southern gentry, were in effect cut off from the national arena. The Straffordian Compton was totally committed to the court; Shuckborough was not from the region where the dominant gentry lived which made it difficult for him to perform a general mobilising role; while Brooke relied locally on a group of like-minded friends who shared his own distinctive national stance. The southern gentry, and the more moderate gentry in general, had no link in Parliament through which they could participate in national developments. On a more contingent level, the deaths of influential southern gentry like Lucy, Underhill and Verney in the months before the Civil War, removed some obvious leaders of broad movements within the county.

Struggles over religion in the years 1640–2 also suggest that the county was not a major focus for activity. The letter of Anna Temple indicates that reform of Laudian innovations was occurring at parochial level, and at least one Laudian minister was attacked by his parishioners in a petition to the House of Lords. Quarter Sessions indictments reveal the heightened religious atmosphere in the county: there were five cases of trouble between ministers and their parishioners in the years 1640–2, compared to only one between 1631 and 1640. A Birmingham saddler was accused of saying ‘the Book of Common Prayer is mere popery and those that take part with it are no better than papists’; while Robert Caddyman, the vicar of Rowington was said to have called his church warden a ‘hell hound’; there was violence in Napton church between the minister and members of the congregation on at least two occasions.⁷⁴ The two broadest attacks on Laudianism involving Warwickshire ministers were

⁷² Everitt, *The Community of Kent*, 86–90, 96–107; Derek Hirst, ‘The Defection of Sir Edward Dering, 1640–1641’ *H.J.*, vol. 15 (1972); Morrill, *Cheshire*, 46–55.

⁷³ Fletcher, *The Outbreak of the English Civil War*, 302–7.

⁷⁴ John Doughty, vicar of Beaudesert, was attacked as an associate of papists. I have not been able to find this petition amongst the records of the House of Lords; but it is mentioned in A.G. Matthews, *Walker Revised* (Oxford, 1948), 363 as undated; and in William Cooper, ed., *The Records of Beaudesert, Henley in Arden, Co. Warwick* (Leeds, 1931), p. xxvi, as 1640. In 1644 Doughty published *The King’s Cause*, a strong defence of divine right monarchy. Warwick County Records, vol. 6: *Quarter Sessions Indictment Book 1631–1674* (1941), 56, 65, 67–8.

focused on the diocese of Worcester, and stimulated by national developments. In the Convocation of 1640, Thomas Warmstrey, rector of Whitchurch, Warwickshire and clerk to the Worcester delegation, made a speech against images, altars, the new Canons and the 'et-cetera' oath. The church's concentration on ceremonial at the expense of true doctrine and preaching was driving many to separation yet not attracting converts from Catholicism. Indeed the church was laying itself open to accusations of popery. Warmstrey's suggestion of a petition against the innovations was adopted and Samuel Clarke was one of those who attempted to present it to Charles at York in the summer of 1640. Here they received a dusty answer and so resolved to petition the Long Parliament 'for the freeing us of the share of the oath'.⁷⁵ On the meeting of the Long Parliament, however, the Worcester petition was swallowed up in a broader, nationally organised ministers' Remonstrance, co-ordinated in Warwickshire by Thomas Dugard on the suggestion of Simeon Ashe. In December 1640 Ashe returned briefly to Warwick from London where he was attending on Brooke. He left a petition with Dugard who took it to be signed by the ministers of Warwick and Stratford and then on 28 December hosted a meeting of seventeen prominent ministers from all over the county where the final signatures were presumably added. Amongst those present were Dugard's close friends Henry Butler, John Bryan and John Trapp, Brooke's ministers Clarke and Gilpin, but also important north Warwickshire ministers, little known to Dugard, like Anthony Burgess of Sutton Coldfield, and Thomas Blake of Tamworth as well as the Temple's minister Simon Moore of Frankton. The fruits of such activity in Warwickshire and elsewhere were seen when Robert Harley presented the Remonstrance of 750 ministers against Arminian theology and church government to the Commons early in February 1641.⁷⁶

At four in the morning of 18 November 1641, the inhabitants of Warwick were woken by an emissary from the sheriff who brought a warning from the Lord Keeper that papists were about to lay waste the county with sword and flame. Three days earlier, Parliament had been

⁷⁵ Thomas Warmstrey, *A Convocation Speech* (1641, B.L. E199 (23)), 3-4, 22. Thomas Dugard edited Warmstrey's manuscript in August 1641 and arranged its publication the following month: B.L. Add MS 23, 146 ff.94v-95r. Clarke, *Lives of Sundry Eminent Persons*, 7-8. Warmstrey became a royalist and lost his living in the 1640s: Matthews, *Walker Revised*, 178; *D.N.B.* His alienation in 1640 is a useful illustration of the degree to which Laudianism had affronted moderate opinion.

⁷⁶ Add MS 23, 146 f.91v; Fletcher, *Outbreak of the English Civil War*, 97-8. Samuel Clarke's recollection was that the Worcester ministers' petition was not merged with the general Remonstrance until the Worcester delegates arrived in London but Dugard's contemporary account indicates a national dimension from the start: Clarke, *Lives of Sundry Eminent Persons*, 7-8.

told that Warwickshire was one of the counties at the heart of the Catholic plot, with Robert Throckmorton, Thomas Morgan, Sir Charles Smith and several members of the Sheldon family named as suspects. The Sheldons were summoned in custody for questioning. As Dugard noted, however, by God's grace the plot proved fictitious, the Sheldons were released by the end of November; and few anti-Catholic moves seem to have occurred in Warwickshire although fear of popish risings may explain the order at the 1642 Epiphany Quarter Sessions doubling the night watch, 'upon the motion of divers inhabitants and upon consideration had of the present time'.⁷⁷

One concrete, indirect result of the anti-Catholic feeling intensified by the Irish rising was the nomination by Parliament of new lords lieutenants who they believed were reliable. Brooke was thus chosen to replace Northampton as lord lieutenant for Warwickshire on 11 February 1642.⁷⁸ Over this day, and the next, a Warwickshire petition giving thanks for the Grand Remonstrance was delivered to both Houses of Parliament. As Mr Fletcher, in particular, has described, parliamentary petitions were important, ritualised means whereby the interdependence of local and national concerns could be demonstrated and reinforced. The Warwickshire petition is in many ways a dynamic and vivid example of this process. As Brooke was granted the crucial local office of lord lieutenant by Parliament his Warwickshire followers entered London:

many hundreds of the gentry and freeholders of the best rank, who came into London the 11 day of February, riding orderly, all well mounted, two in a rank, through the city to the old Exchange, and the next day met altogether at Merchant Taylors Hall, and thence went on foot, two in a rank to Westminster; where the said petitioners were most thankfully accepted by both Houses, and the petitioners went away glad and merry in heart for the gracious answer which they received.⁷⁹

The Warwickshire petitioners had indeed reacted to national developments on the road from the Midlands. On their way, 'with heavy hearts', fearing the Catholics, 'wherewith their county swarms and of whose rising they are in continual fears', the petitioners heard of the Lord's agreement to the bills for the relief of Ireland, and the removal of bishops from the Lords and other temporal employment. This news transformed their mood, leading them to expect 'glorious and happy times' and put new life into all 'the countries as they passed'. They thanked God and the

⁷⁷ Add MS 23, 146 f.96r; C.J., vol. 2: 316, 325; L.J., vol. 4: 439–41, 449, 456; SP16/485/82; Q.S.O.B., vol. 2: 116; for the background to this crisis and its contrived and manipulative aspects, Robin Clifton, 'Fear of Popery' in Russell, ed., *Origins of the English Civil War*, 159–60.

⁷⁸ C.J., vol. 2: 426.

⁷⁹ Fletcher, *The Outbreak of the English Civil War, 1642–9; The Two Petitions of the County of Warwick and Coventry (1642)* B.L. E135 (27).

House of Commons – ‘in special for acquainting them by your Remonstrance of their sad condition and cure thereof’. The Commons were praised for their ‘unwearied pains’ and ‘undaunted courage’ despite ‘all the perils which Satan – the enemy of peace and author of confusion hath raised up’. They were urged ‘not to faint in your great work of Reformation’ and to assist the king and the House of Peers in removing obstacles to reform. Their detailed requests were for the removal of papists from the Lords and other anti-popish measures; for a purge of evil counsellors and magistrates and for the replacement of scandalous ministers by ‘godly, able, painful, preaching ministers . . . with plentiful maintenance for their encouragement’. They prayed that ‘the abominable idol of the mass’ be rooted out:

The kingdom of Jesus Christ advanced in the power and purity of sacred ordinances, Parliament privileges cleared and vindicated, and life speedily given by His most sacred Majesty, to the Bills passed in both Houses, and that a speedy and powerful relief be dispatched for Ireland, where our Protestant brethren and Religion are most cruelly persecuted.

Most of these requests were repeated in the petition to the peers and in addition they asked the Lords specifically that the universities be reformed; delinquents punished; a magazine established in each county for its defence; and, in a phrase that would no doubt appeal to Brooke, they asked for the vindication of the parliamentary privileges, ‘which your noble ancestors (to their eternal honour) procured, and left as a legacy to posterity’.

Mr Fletcher has seen these county petitions in support of the Grand Remonstrance as an ‘authentic expression of deeply felt local opinion’. However, this Warwickshire example is rather less significant than its rhetoric and the drama of its presentation would suggest. Despite its claim for wide support from those of the ‘best rank’, no copy of the petition with signatures survives, and given Brooke’s lack of contacts amongst those of the best rank one suspects that it came mainly from his own supporters in the county, or was perhaps organised in London. Certainly, Thomas Dugard, who was often the scribe for Warwickshire petitions did not mention this one until he read it, three days after it had been delivered to Parliament.⁸⁰

The relative quiet of Warwickshire in the pre-Civil War years was rudely shattered in the summer of 1642 as Brooke and Northampton led the struggle for control of the local militia, and of the county as a whole. Two months of confused lobbying and skirmishing, between June and

⁸⁰ Fletcher, *The Outbreak of the English Civil War*, 192–4, 208; B.L. Add MS 23, 146 f.97v. The Herefordshire petition was not fully circulated by Harley; Fletcher, 193.

August 1642; led to victory for Brooke and the Parliament, a victory that was achieved despite lack of support from most of the greater gentry. In the following narrative of this conflict, I will try to suggest reasons for Parliament's success; and then analyse how the county gentry divided in the summer of 1642.

Parliament passed the militia ordinance on 5 March 1642, and the Commons began to nominate new deputy lieutenants for Warwickshire on 18 March, but the Lords were reluctant to put the ordinance into operation, as this would imply acknowledgement of the open breach with the king. Thus although the Commons ordered on 3 June that the militia was to be executed in the county on the 7th, the Lords did not agree to the instructions for the deputy lieutenants until the 24th, and it was only after this that Brooke went down to the county.⁸¹ To combat the militia ordinance, the king turned to the medieval precedent of the commission of array, issued on 11 June.

A newsletter commented that the commission of array for Warwickshire included: 'all the Baronets, Knights and Esquires of note in the county except such as Mr Combe, Mr Purefoy and those of that strain which are not many'.⁸² This was something of an exaggeration for several J.P.s and other leading gentry remained aloof from the struggle, but a comparison between the commissioners of array and the militia commissioners shows that, in social terms, the king had by far the more impressive support. The commission of array⁸³ included two peers, Northampton and Dunsmore, and Sir Roger Feilding, the younger brother of the Earl of Denbigh. Sir Thomas Leigh, Sir Robert Fisher knights and baronets, Sir William Boughton baronet, Sir George Devereux knight, Robert Arden and Robert Lee esquires were all J.P.s; Spencer Lucy was the heir of another J.P.; while Sir Simon Clarke baronet, had been sheriff. Two government servants with estates in the county completed the commission: Richard Chamberlain of Temple House, Chilvers Coton and the Court of Wards, and Sir Charles Adderley of Hams Hall, Nether Whitacre, a personal servant of Charles I. With the exception of Adderley, whose estates were small,⁸⁴ all the commissioners were amongst the thirty wealthiest and most influential gentry in the

⁸¹ *C.J.*, vol. 2: 485, 606; *L.J.*, vol. 5: 157. Brooke had been fortifying Warwick Castle since early 1642, however, and repairing its walls since the previous summer: CR1866: Box 411, accounts of Joseph Hawkesworth, Midsummer 1641–Midsummer 1643; Halford accounts.

⁸² SP16/491/21: 17 June 1642, from York; (also in H.M.C., vol. 5 (Duke of Sutherland), 141).

⁸³ W.C.R.O. Z237: (a xerox copy) of the listing made by Dugdale of the commissioners of array, the Militia Commissioners and those gentry that supported them in 1642. (The original is in Northamptonshire Record Office, Finch Hatton MS 4284). For the accuracy of this list, see below. ⁸⁴ SP23/221/267–9.

county. In contrast the eight militia commissioners active in June⁸⁵ included only two J.P.s, William Purefoy and William Combe, neither of them of the quorum. Only two others could be described as county gentry: John Temple of Frankton and Sir Edward Peyto of Chesterton. Temple, the brother-in-law of Saye, lived in the east of the county, and was but moderately wealthy; his strong Puritanism has been described in the last chapter.⁸⁶ Sir Edward Peyto, a member of the Archer circle, was a more substantial gentleman. The estates of his family were less extensive than they had been in the medieval period, but Sir Edward was an energetic landowner with many schemes for improvement such as brickmaking and woadgrowing. His income was at least £500 p.a. In his fifties in 1642, Peyto was man of wide intellectual interests: his library amounted to 600 books and his funeral monument recorded him as: 'Viro bonarum literarum maxime mathematicarum peritissimo'. He also had a lively sense of humour, illustrated in his comment on his bailiff's accounts quoted above (this he used to good effect at the siege of Warwick in August 1642), and in general he acted as an inspiring second in command to Brooke during the latter's frequent absences from the county. He may well have had some military experience for until his death in September 1643 he acted as lieutenant general of the artillery in Essex's army. He had never been a J.P. and his frequent absences in the 1630s, added to his distinctive character, made him an uneasy member of the county élite.⁸⁷ The other deputy lieutenants can in no sense be counted part of the élite in Warwickshire. Sir Peter Wentworth was a determined Parliamentarian who owned an estate at Wolston, Warwickshire but had been active mainly in Oxfordshire before the Civil War. As M.P. for Tamworth he concentrated on Westminster and did not live in the county until he

⁸⁵ The eight are those who signed the report on the execution of the militia sent to Parliament on 5 July: *L.J.*, vol. 5: 195. Dugdale's list of nine militia commissioners has several differences, and shows either that Dugdale was less well informed about the parliamentary leadership or that he was referring to a later stage in the 1642 campaign. The general social composition is the same, however. John Temple, who died in early August; William Combe, who withdrew from activity; and Thomas Basnet are not included. George Abbott, Purefoy's Yorkshireman stepson, John Hales esq. and Peter Burgoyne gentleman of Coventry, and Anthony Stoughton esq. of Warwick are added. Stoughton, a J.P., but not of the quorum; Hales and Burgoyne are discussed further in chapter 5 below.

⁸⁶ Birch, ed., *The Court and Times of Charles I*, volume 2: 140: Temple was pricked as sheriff in 1631 but avoided the service because of the meanness of his estate.

⁸⁷ S.B.T. DR98 (Willoughby de Broke MS) 1708, 1711. Walter Blyth, *The English Improver* (1649), 27, commended Peyto as an enterprising landowner; A.M. Mimardiere, *The Warwickshire Gentry, 1660–1730*. (M.A. thesis, University of Birmingham, 1963), 79: most of Peyto's books were classical and biblical texts, and farming manuals; funeral monument, Chesterton Church, Warwickshire; DR98/1704: 'Monies Disbursed and paid by me Richard Deane for the use of Sir Edw. Peytoe to the traine of Artillery'; SP28/2–10, 13 *passim*. Peyto's absences are revealed by his accounts: DR98/1708–9, 1711.

retired from politics after the dissolution of the Rump in 1653.⁸⁸ Two Coventry merchants helped to organise the militia: John Barker the draper and M.P., and Thomas Basnet, a mercer who was to become the treasurer to the county committee; and the fourth outsider was the Yorkshireman, Bosvile, the M.P. for Warwick Borough.⁸⁹

Despite his socially more significant support, Northampton's initial attempts to raise the county through the commission of array were unsuccessful. About 25 June Northampton tried to win over the Coventry Corporation and probably made an attempt to seize the county magazine from the city, helped by two sympathetic aldermen, John Clark and Henry Million. John Barker reported to Brooke in London that many of the aldermen were lukewarm towards Parliament and that the mayor, Christopher Davenport had refused to execute the militia commission, but could perhaps be won over. At the meeting of the aldermen, Barker had argued against the earl: [I] 'acquainted his Lordship that both the Houses of Parliament had voted the Commission of Array illegal and that it was one of the greatest oppressions to the subject that ever was'. Barker found the sheriffs willing to support the militia along with many of the inhabitants and had armed these potential supporters. Northampton was forced to withdraw from the city without a proclamation of the commission of array and without the magazine; according to one account he had to escape through the back door of the Black Bull because of the strong support for Parliament.⁹⁰

The news that Northampton had begun to move prompted the execution of the militia ordinance. On 30 June Brooke held musters at Stratford-on-Avon, on 1 and 2 July at Warwick, on the 4th at Coleshill and finally, on the 5th at Coventry. Dugdale reported that only thirty-five gentry and one peer attended, including the militia commissioners themselves; but the parliamentary accounts of the musters reported great support from below gentry ranks. The deputy lieutenants claimed 2,850 volunteers besides nearly all the trained bands while a pamphleteer said that Brooke: 'hath gained the hearts of all the people unless it be a few of the Gentlemen that never were known to do any good to the Common-

⁸⁸ D.N.B. sv Wentworth; Keeler, *The Long Parliament*, 385. D. Underdown, *Pride's Purge* (1971), 389; Josiah C. Wedgwood, *Staffordshire Parliamentary History*, volume 2, part 1, 'Collections for a history of Staffordshire' (William Salt Archaeological Society, 1920), 88.

⁸⁹ For their later involvement with the parliamentary administration, see chapter 5 below.

⁹⁰ *L.J.*, vol. 5: 163–4; Barker's letter, 25 June; Cov. C.R.O. A48 f.41v: the city annals. The annals are confused about the order of events for they place Northampton's attempt to seize the magazine in mid July, after Brooke had taken it to Warwick. Northampton's plans to hold musters in the county in early July were also thwarted by Parliament's supporters: William Salt Library Stafford, Chetwynd Collection bundle 110: Sir Robert Fisher to Walter Chetwynd, 28 June, asking him to come to the first meeting of the commission of array at Warwick on 4 July.

wealth'.⁹¹ When, at Coleshill, it was feared that Northampton would bring 500 horse to oppose the militia:

The Country hearing of it, came many hundreds of them to wait upon the Lord Brooke. Three hundred horsemen well armed came from his Castle of Warwick with him, but before he came to the Town of Coleshill where they were to train, there met him 400 horse bravely fitted for war, and fully resolved to spend every drop of their blood before his Lordship should be hindered in the service that the Parliament had entrusted him with.

On 1 July Brooke took the county magazine from Coventry and lodged it safely in Warwick Castle. At each muster those present were asked to consent to a petition to Parliament asking, belatedly, for the magazine's removal and giving thanks for the militia ordinance.⁹²

No doubt the reports of the militia included an element of wishful thinking: the numbers of volunteers given in the two accounts do not tally; and no mention is made of the fact that the hundred of Knightlow usually mustered at Southam, not Warwick. Southam, described in August as a 'very malignant town both minister and people' was presumably felt to be unsafe.⁹³ Brooke's accounts include payments of £85 14s 6d for food and drink at the musters at Coventry, Stratford and Coleshill, hardly sufficient for thousands. However three of the four captains of the county militia attended Brooke's musters and this would have helped draw the support of the trained bands.⁹⁴ It will be seen below that there is more objective evidence of Brooke's popular support, especially at moments of crisis.

The struggle for control of the county had not yet been won despite Brooke's head start. Northampton was still unable to execute the commission of array, partly because of the absence of the sheriff, and on 10 July Charles wrote to the commissioners ordering them to proceed without him.⁹⁵ As part of a nationwide royalist propaganda initiative for the summer assizes, on 21 July Robert Lee attempted to have Brooke and Purefoy indicted before the Grand Jury for raising the militia; the royalists were obviously gaining support because it was reported that there were many 'about the Hall with swords' and 'a great shout' went up when the indictment was presented. Brooke and Purefoy were confident enough to ask that the evidence against them be given in open court

⁹¹ W.C.R.O. Z237; *L.J.*, vol. 5: 195; *A True Relation of the Lord Brooke's settling the militia in Warwickshire* (July 1642, B.L. 669 f.6(50)).

⁹² *L.J.*, vol. 5: 187–8. There are no signatures on the copy in the House of Lords MSS: Main Papers 6 July 1642. The petition called also for the punishment of malignants and the exclusion of evil counsellors. ⁹³ SP16/491/133.

⁹⁴ CR1866: the accounts of Joseph Hawkesworth, 29–33; W.C.R.O. Z237.

⁹⁵ Castle Ashby: Compton MS 1083/2. The sheriff was Isaac Astley, a Norfolk gentleman with lands in Warwickshire. He was a moderate supporter of Parliament in Norfolk: R.W. Ketton-Cremer, *Norfolk in the Civil War, A Portrait of a Society of Conflict* (1969), 152.

although they then claimed privilege of Parliament for their actions.⁹⁶ While the royalists prevaricated, Brooke was busy obtaining national reinforcement for his local moves: on 18 July the Commons gave him authority to garrison Warwick Castle to protect the magazine; and on the 22nd nine pieces of ordnance were sent to Warwick.⁹⁷

If the popular support for Brooke in Warwickshire was exaggerated, his support in Coventry and other towns was undoubted and was to be crucial to his victory in 1642. The king summoned the mayor and sheriffs of Coventry to attend him at Leicester so they could explain the failure to execute the commission of array. Most of the city corporation, unlike the county gentry, do seem to have formed a cohesive community in 1642, anxious to offend neither side and on 24 July the first council resolved that Davenport should go: 'to give satisfaction to his Majesty that so no prejudice shall happen against the City or the Liberties thereof'. However the officials did not leave the city; the Annals reported: 'they were taking horses on a Lords day morning to go but some that favoured the Parliament compelled them to stay at home'; while a hostile witness, Dr Samuel Hinton, claimed that this popular reaction was contrived: 'the mayor procured a rabble to say he should not go, nor went not'.⁹⁸ The attitude of the mayor, as reported by Barker in June, does not bear out Hinton's view and the king's tactlessness in summoning the mayor of a Puritan city on the sabbath must have fuelled popular hostility to the move.

The king moved back to Yorkshire from Leicester rather than visiting Warwickshire as was expected, but the delayed commission of array proceeded 28–30 July at Southam, Stratford and Coleshill.⁹⁹ Several historians have commented on the strangeness of the commission of array and claimed that many of the gentry saw it as a dangerous innovation. The postponement of its execution in Warwickshire may have been due to the need to overcome such fears, but in this county at least the king and his commissioners made strenuous efforts to avoid traditionalist prejudices and the royalists consistently presented themselves as the defenders of moderation, bulwarks against social and religious upheaval, and

⁹⁶ Fletcher, *The Outbreak of the English Civil War*, 300–1; House of Lords Main Papers, 21 July 1642: Justice Reeve to Lord North; *L.J.*, vol. 5: 241–2.

⁹⁷ *C.J.*, vol. 2: 682, 690 (as printed, *recte*, 678, 686). Arms were sent to Coventry on 23 July.

⁹⁸ Cov. C.R.O. A79, P206: the city's steward Serjeant John Whitwick wrote from Leicester on the king's behalf on 13 July. Cov. C.R.O. A14(b) f.28v. Neither of the most committed parliamentarian aldermen, Barker and Basnet, were present at this meeting. Cov. C.R.O. A48 f.41v; Staffordshire County Record Office: Leveson MSS D868/5/66, 27 July 1642, Samuel Hinton, Archdeacon of Coventry to Sir Richard Leveson.

⁹⁹ SP19/146/17: copy of a warrant summoning the trained soldiers of Alveston to the muster at Stratford on 29 July; *Some Speciall Passages from Warwickshire . . . This fourth of August 1642* (B.L. E109 (3)), 5; Staffordshire County Record Office, Leveson MS D868/5/66:

guardians of the laws and liberties of England – as Charles sought to present himself in national politics with the advice of Hyde and Falkland.¹⁰⁰ Charles's instructions to the commissioners of array renounced the theoretical power to train all the able men of the county and to compel contributions. Only volunteers were to be trained along with the 'ancient and freehold bands of the County'; all subscriptions were to be voluntary; and the J.P.s alone amongst the commissioners were to proceed against seditious preachers and others who impugned the king's authority. Although the commission of array gave powers to take forces outside the county, the commanders were to be: 'such persons as are persons of quality, having considerable estates and interests in the County, and not strangers'.¹⁰¹

A petition to the king from the Warwickshire gentry drawn up sometime in July (possibly at the musters) again showed the royalists occupying the middle ground:

We do with all thankfulness acknowledge ourselves highly sensible of those sundry good laws which now through your great grace and goodness have been obtained for us in his Parliament.

And we do no less rejoice when we consider your Majesty's most pious and tender care . . . to defend & maintain the true Protestant religion by law established against separatists of what kind soever, that the laws of the land shall be the rule of your government whereby the subjects propriety is defended. And that you will preserve the freedom and just privileges of Parliament. With all which we are so abundantly satisfied that we do no whit distrust your Majesty's constancy in these resolutions.¹⁰²

This approach won a response from the gentry: Dugdale listed seventy-eight gentlemen and two peers at the royalist musters, including the commissioners themselves; and from all sources almost twice as many of the county gentry gave some support to the king as supported Parliament.¹⁰³ The royalists gained stronger greater-gentry support, as is shown in the behaviour of the county's J.P.s in 1642. There were twenty-one resident or partly resident J.P.s in 1642: eleven attended the king's musters although two of them were inactive after 1642;¹⁰⁴ six more remained aloof from the early struggles but two of the six had joined the king by the end of

¹⁰⁰ Joyce L. Malcolm, 'A King in Search of Soldiers: Charles I in 1642', *H.J.*, vol. 21 (1978), 256–7; Morrill, *Provinces*, 40; Robert Ashton, *The English Civil War: Conservatism and Revolution* (1978), 163.

¹⁰¹ Rushworth, vol. 4: 675; Castle Ashby, Compton MS 1083/2: slightly different versions of the king's instructions to the commissioners. The proviso about local commanders could be waived in emergencies.

¹⁰² Castle Ashby, Compton MS 1083/1; no date, and, unfortunately, no signatures.

¹⁰³ W.C.R.O. Z237; see below.

¹⁰⁴ Northampton, Dunsmore, Sir Robert Fisher, Sir Thomas Leigh, Sir John Reppington, Sir William Boughton, Sir George Devereux, Sir James Enyon, Robert Arden, Robert Lee, and Serjeant John Whitwick. Devereux and Boughton withdrew from activity in the autumn of 1642.

the year;¹⁰⁵ while only four J.P.s supported Parliament.¹⁰⁶ The turn around in aristocratic and gentry support for Charles I between 1640 and 1642 cannot be traced in the majority of cases but Lord Dunsmore provides an individual example of such development. Dunsmore was known as a critic of the court in the 1630s and in the Short Parliament he was one of the peers to vote against supply taking precedence over the redress of grievances. In the summer of 1640 he was in contact with Brooke in the county and was one of the 'popular men' appointed to negotiate with the Scots. By August 1641 though, he was willing to join the Privy Council and in January 1642 he and his son-in-law Southampton were the only peers to dissent from the thanks voted to petitioners from Hertfordshire who urged the Lords to end their opposition to the Commons.¹⁰⁷ It is unlikely that Dunsmore's own views had changed: like others from the peerage and gentry who had supported attacks on the crown in 1640–1, he now felt that the king's position was closest to his own. This was especially apparent in Warwickshire where the Parliamentarians under Brooke were particularly militant in their religious and political ideals and greatly dependent on popular support.

If many gentry were convinced that the king's position best guaranteed law and order, the manner of the royalists' success in July and August 1642 may have tended rather to confirm Parliament's strength amongst ranks to whom actions meant more than petitions and declarations. Caution is obviously essential in interpretation of the pamphlet literature of the 1640s; much of the news from Warwickshire in the summer of 1642 is exaggerated, and some is totally fictitious.¹⁰⁸ There remain, however, several detailed accounts of royalist excesses, usually involving the forcible disarming of towns and the harassment of Puritan ministers, especially in the east of the county where Dunsmore, Feilding and Chamberlain were active in July. Mary Temple reported to her sister in Sussex:

My Lord Northampton and Dunsmore have trained, and they send out warrants to the King's cavaliers who are in troops about 125 to take away our arms, and Rugby have delivered theirs, they coming in the night to them cocking their pistol at their breasts, and

¹⁰⁵ Sir Simon Archer, Sir Thomas Holte, Sir Francis Willoughby, John Lisle, Richard Shuckborough, and Serjeant Rowley Warde. Holte and Shuckborough became royalists, Archer a member of the Subcommittee of Accounts.

¹⁰⁶ Brooke, William Combe, William Purefoy and Anthony Stoughton. Combe and, to some extent Stoughton, were very moderate Parliamentarians.

¹⁰⁷ Brian Manning, 'The Aristocracy and the Downfall of Charles I' in Manning, ed., *Politics, Religion and the English Civil War*, 42; C.S.P.D. 1640, 66; Clarendon edited Macray, vol. 1: 203, vol. 2: 533; PC2/53 p. 176; M.J. Mendle, 'Politics and Political Thought' in Russell, ed., *The Origins of the English Civil War*, 241.

¹⁰⁸ For examples see Hughes, 'Politics, Society and Civil War', 243n.

to several houses so being unprovided to resist them, and so they have secured Woscote, and we here do hourly expect them, they threatening us that we have had letters to expect them.

Simon Moore, the curate of Frankton, fled to Coventry when he heard that Dunsmore had a warrant out for his capture, while James Nalton eventually took refuge in London after being 'violently assaulted' in his church at Rugby by armed men who wanted him to read the king's propaganda from his pulpit.¹⁰⁹ One unenthusiastic parliamentary supporter considered that the disarming of Leicester by the king, along with the similar actions by royalists in the county, did much to encourage Warwickshire volunteers for Brooke and the Parliament.¹¹⁰

On the king's removal north, Brooke discharged part of his army and the royalists seem to have been in the ascendant during much of August. Robert Fawdon reported to his master the Earl of Middlesex that the royalist muster held at Stratford on 29 July had been more successful than that held by Brooke: 'in this country I verily believe my Lord of Northampton will have the greater party'.¹¹¹ Hence Brooke and Northampton were evenly matched on 30 July when they met near Banbury where Brooke had collected the ordnance sent down from London to defend Warwick Castle. Mary Temple described the encounter:

my Lord Northampton, Dunsmore and such such [sic] like rabble, 4 hundred met them to keep them back, and they could of our side have cut them all off, they stood much at my Lord Brooke's march, and they treated them of peace, my Lord Brooke being loath to shed blood, though they came to take away the ordnance, and so they concluded that my Lord Brooke must carry them to Banbury Castle where they lie, and that when they fetch them away they must give them three days warning, and in Banbury they stand in their guard.¹¹²

Parliamentary pamphlets agreed that Brooke's motive for this parley was the desire to avoid bloodshed and that he had the greater popular support: 'the country came in very thick to his assistance and but few to the Earl of Northampton' so that the earl 'swore bitterly that he was come into the

¹⁰⁹ East Sussex C.R.O.: Dunn MS 51/55 (n.d., c. 10 August); 51/56 (18 August); *The Copie of a Letter from Warwickshire* 8 August (B.L. E111 (11)). *D.N.B.* s.v. Nalton. Other evidence for royalist activity in east Warwickshire includes: SP16/539/99; W.C.R.O., CR2017/C9/1, William Bosworth to his master Basil, Lord Feilding; *The Proceedings at Banbury* (B.L. E111 (11)).

¹¹⁰ *Some Speciall Passages from Warwickshire . . . This fourth of August* (B.L. E109 (3)). This pamphlet does not contain the abuse of Northampton typical of other parliamentary newsletters, and is uniquely critical of aspects of Brooke's activities: issuing warrants in the name of Parliament alone, rather than king and Parliament, for example. For the general impact of Charles's seizure of local arms see Fletcher, *The Outbreak of the English Civil War*, 327–9; Malcolm, 'A King in Search of Soldiers', 268.

¹¹¹ Staffs C.R.O. Leveson MS 868/5/66; Kent C.A.D. Cranfield MS, Warwickshire correspondence, main stewards, 1 August 1642. ¹¹² Dunn MS 51/55.

mouth of all the devils and roundheads in the country'. It seems much more likely that Brooke was vulnerable and playing for time. This pact was clearly a product of pragmatic consideration by the committed rather than a genuine attempt to maintain local neutrality.¹¹³

Brooke's return to London for consultation with Parliament encouraged further royalist advance. On 8 August John Fiennes delivered up the ordnance to Northampton¹¹⁴ who marched with it to Warwick where he planted it on the steeple of St Mary's Church and proceeded to bombard Brooke's own castle. Northampton had control of the town but the commanding position of the castle made it almost impregnable.¹¹⁵ Sir Edward Peyto, with very few troops, was able to present a resolute defiance to the besiegers: when summoned to surrender by Dugdale he said he had been entrusted with the castle by Parliament and would defend it accordingly – 'a submission would but increase their oppression'. The inexperienced royalist troops did more damage to themselves in response to Dugdale's proclamation declaring him a traitor than to the castle with their guns and Peyto cheerfully hung a bible and a winding sheet from the ramparts to indicate his willingness to die for the cause.¹¹⁶

Northampton again summoned the trained bands to Warwick to support the siege and one town at least obeyed him although one writer's view was that the country 'stirreth not'.¹¹⁷ In addition strenuous efforts were made to enlist support from outside the county. Such efforts were characteristic of both sides through the summer of 1642 and suggest that some historians have misunderstood the nature of local reactions to the outbreak of the Civil War and underestimated the interrelationship between local and national events. Everitt has claimed that in Kent the

¹¹³ E.g. *The Proceedings at Banbury*, 2. See Morrill, *Provinces*, 37 and Fletcher, *The Outbreak of the English Civil War*, 390 for the general problems of unravelling the different motivations of such pacts.

¹¹⁴ *The Proceedings at Banbury*, 3–4, predictably attributed Northampton's success to a variety of underhand behaviour but again, parliamentary weakness is a more likely explanation. See M.D.G. Wanklyn and Brigadier P. Young, 'A King in Search of Soldiers: Charles I in 1642: A Rejoinder' *H.J.*, vol. 24 (1981), 250–1, for royalist strength in Warwickshire at this time.

¹¹⁵ The siege of Warwick was described in many letters and pamphlets of August 1642. The sources used in this account are *True and New Newes with an Example from Warwick Castle*, 19 August 1642 (B.L. E239(7)); *A True and Exact Relation of the most remarkable passages which have happened at Banbury and Warwick* 20 August 1642 (B.L. E113 (1)); *Dugdale* (Hamper), 17; Spencer, *The Genealogie Life and Death*, 176, 180–1; a letter from Edward Reed to ex-Secretary Coke, 14 August: H.M.C. 12th Report, appendix 11 (Cowper vol. 2), 320; Mary Temple to her sister, 18 August: Dunn MS 51/56.

¹¹⁶ SP28/4/71–93: The Accounts of Warwick Castle 1 June 1642–19 May 1643, include payments of just twenty-two troops on 4 August; *Dugdale* (Hamper), 17; Spencer, *The Genealogie Life and Death*, 176; *True and New Newes with an Example from Warwick Castle*.

¹¹⁷ SP16/539/347, 24 January 1646: the examination of the 1642 constable of Tanworth in Arden by the Subcommittee of Accounts; H.M.C. Cowper 2, 320.

gentry who took strongly defined positions in 1642 were not truly representative of county society.¹¹⁸ It is true that in Warwickshire the Parliamentarians were not representative of the county élite (which is not necessarily the same) and something has already been shown of Brooke's ability to co-ordinate his activities on both the local and the national level through the reading of Parliament's declarations, the organisation of petitions and requests for practical aid. However the commissioners of array were representative of the county élite and proceeded in a similar way. It was shown above how Charles in his instructions for the commissioners of array took account of localist prejudices as part of his general moderate stance. The commissioners themselves, although they too adopted a moderate position did not feel the need to use a specifically localist approach. The royalist petition described above, a constitutional appeal to moderate opinion, ended with a plea for a national authority to help in the struggle within the county; they asked Charles 'to vouchsafe us a journey hither in person whereby we may give the clearer testimony of our true and hearty affections'.¹¹⁹ In their appeals to the royalists of adjacent counties the Warwickshire commissioners showed they were conscious of being part of a general struggle.¹²⁰ On 11 August in letters to Northamptonshire and Worcestershire they requested help against the Parliament's reinforcements expected from London, emphasising that the king himself was expected to give his aid in person. Any help would be for 'the mutual strength of us all' and would 'much redound to our common safety and the peace of this kingdom'. The Worcestershire commissioners, in offering assistance, recognised that 'the vicinity of counties involves a vicinity of interest'.¹²¹

Both local circumstances and national intervention were decisive influences on the struggle within the county. Brooke's support from the ranks below the gentry and an army sent from London combined to defeat the king's attempt to seize the vital stronghold of Coventry and

¹¹⁸ Everitt, *The Community of Kent*, 119: 'The one characteristic which the Cavaliers held in common with the parliamentarians, and which distinguished them from the moderates, was that they were often relative newcomers to the shire and derived part of their income from some other source than the land. In other words, neither parliamentarians nor Cavaliers represented the deepest interests of the county.' ¹¹⁹ Castle Ashby MS 1083/1.

¹²⁰ Letter to Northamptonshire: H.M.C. (Lord Montague of Beaulieu 1900) 157; Letter to Worcestershire: J.W. Willis Bund, ed., *Diary of Henry Townshend of Elmley Lovett 1640-1663* (The Worcestershire Historical Society, two volumes, 1920) vol. 2: 72-3. Both letters were written from Warwick; the one to Worcestershire is quoted. At the end of July, Northampton had successfully solicited help from Henry Hastings, the sheriff of Leicestershire: H.M.C., Hastings, vol. 2 (1930), 86.

¹²¹ *Townshend Diary*, vol. 2: 73. A second appeal from Warwickshire to Worcestershire on 15 August spoke of the 'dangerous consequence, not only to these parts but to the kingdom in general' if resistance was not offered to Parliament's growing forces: *Townshend Diary*, vol. 2: 74.

resulted in a confused withdrawal of the royalists from Warwickshire. On 20 August Charles made his long-awaited journey to the county and asked the city of Coventry to admit him and his army. Although the corporation had arranged for most of the inhabitants to be armed at the end of July, the aldermen remained anxious to offend neither side. On 17 August, as the king approached the city, the corporation borrowed £300 for gifts and entertainment for Charles and the prince.¹²² When John Whitwick begged the aldermen to admit the king in a letter on 20 August, he appealed to their sense of a united community.¹²³ He addressed the letter to his 'Gentlemen and Neighbours' and spoke of his being:

sworn to that City, and in that respect tied to a more than ordinary care thereof, besides the bond of love which is inseparably united between it and me, the consideration whereof, and the state, and condition in which you and it now stand, incites me to move, persuade and for god's sake, your own sakes, and your wives', children's, and mine and your servants' sakes, with whom we are trusted, not to be drawn or persuaded by any ill counsel to your own overthrow or theirs but that you presently and seriously consider of your own danger, and that you embrace peace and quietness speedily whilst it may be had . . . if you have for the present suffered the government of that City to be transferred into other hands, that it be reduced presently into your own power.

There is every indication that the majority of the corporation wished to embrace peace but it seems that some decisions were no longer in their hands. The city had been in a ferment since July; minority groups among the aldermen, John Clark and Henry Million for the king, Basnet and Barker for the Parliament, had been raising parties among the people who wore different coloured ribbons to identify themselves so that 'nearest neighbours were in great fear of each other'.¹²⁴ Parliament was the more successful in this campaign for popular support especially as volunteers from all over the county gathered in the city during August. The city annals record the arrival of 400 men from Birmingham on 19 August, and Dugdale claimed that the Parliamentarians prevailed in the city 'through the aid of many sectaries and schismatics which flocked unto them with arms and ammunition especially from that populous town of Birmingham'.¹²⁵ Ministers like Simon Moore had already begun to take refuge in

¹²² Cov. C.R.O. A14 (b) ff.29r, 30v. ¹²³ Cov. C.R.O. A79 P208.

¹²⁴ Cov. C.R.O. A48 f.42r; ribbons were adopted by each side in Bristol, also: R. Howell, 'The Structure of Urban Politics in the English Civil War', *Albion*, vol. 11 (1979), 118n.

¹²⁵ Cov. C.R.O. A48 f.42v. *Dugdale* (Hamper), 17. The letter from the Warwickshire commissioners of array to their colleagues in Worcestershire, 15 August, claimed that 'great numbers of men from several parts of this county have since we sent to you gathered themselves together in a warlike manner and are already entered in the City of Coventry': *Townshend Diary*, vol. 2: 74. *Speciall Passages* 23–30 August 1642 (B.L. E114 (36)) gave the Birmingham men especial praise for Coventry's resistance, and the plunder of the town by Prince Rupert's cavaliers in the following spring was seen by royalists as a just revenge for Birmingham's 1642 stance: *A Letter Written from Walshall*, 14 April 1643 (B.L. E96 (22)).

the city, and when Nehemiah Wharton arrived there on 24 August as part of the relieving army, he found Coventry in a godly frenzy; a heady atmosphere where rousing sermons were preached, malignants execrated and whores pilloried.¹²⁶

Thus the corporation did not get an opportunity to entertain the king. In answer to Charles's summons, Robert Phippes, a Coventry physician and captain of a company of volunteers, said that the king could come in with a personal escort only. His army would be resisted. Charles retired to Stoneleigh, the house of Sir Thomas Leigh while his army ineffectually bombarded the city, and, it was alleged, plundered the surrounding countryside, while the defenders hastily improvised fortifications.¹²⁷ Though popular pressure had rebuffed Charles the city could not be held indefinitely against a sizeable army and it took forces from outside the county to strike the decisive blow. Parliament ordered on 15 August that 4,800 foot and 11 troops of horse under Brooke, John Hampden and Nathaniel Fiennes be sent to Warwickshire and their march was hastened by a breathless letter to Brooke sent from Coventry on 21 August: 'that the king lay now before Coventry, and he was playing upon the town with his ordnance and desired his Lordship's aid'.¹²⁸

These forces entered Warwickshire on the morning of 22 August, by which time Charles himself had slipped away and ridden towards Nottingham and the raising of his standard. The parliamentary army spent the day at Southam pillaging the 'malignant' minister Francis Holyoake and awaiting the enemy. A minor skirmish took place the next day when the parliamentary army forced the royalists to retreat with some loss. The royalists were probably the besiegers of Warwick Castle for Northampton decided to evacuate his forces when he heard of Brooke's approach. The party at Coventry also retreated towards Nottingham, without offering battle, while a company of foot placed by Northampton in Kenilworth Castle left at about the same time.¹²⁹ The

¹²⁶ SP16/491/138; 30 August Nehemiah Wharton to George Willingham.

¹²⁷ The siege of Coventry is described in the City Annals: Cov. C.R.O. A48 f.42v; and in several contemporary pamphlets including: *A True Relation of his Majesties Coming to Coventry* 22 August 1642, (B.L. E114 (1)); *The True Proceedings of the Severall Counties of Yorke, Coventry, Portsmouth, Cornwall* 22 August 1642 (B.L. E114 (6)); *The King's Majesties alarum for Open War* 25 August 1642 (B.L. E114 (10)); *News from the Citie of Norwich . . . with a true Relation of the Siege of Coventry* (B.L. E114 (15)). The king's forces are variously estimated at 1,500, 6,000 and 11,000 men.

¹²⁸ C.J., vol. 2: 724, 735 (as printed, recte 720, 731); L.J., vol. 5: 313.

¹²⁹ Nehemiah Wharton to George Willingham, 26 August, SP16/491/133; *A True and Exact Relation of the manner of his Majesties setting up of his Standard at Nottingham* (B.L. E115 (4)); L.J., vol. 5: 321; *A True and Perfect Relation of the first and victorious Skirmish . . . in Southam Field* 27 August 1642, (B.L. E114 (25)); Wharton estimated the royalist forces at 800 horse and 300 foot; the

London forces continued in triumph to Coventry ‘where the country welcomed us and gave us good quarter’ and where they vowed to ‘valiently fight the lord’s battle’.¹³⁰

Although the parliamentary administration of the county was not secured until mid 1643 – Warwickshire was threatened by the royalist army during the Edgehill campaign; and the fringes of the county remained subject to royalist attack throughout the Civil War – the events of 20 to 23 August were in fact decisive. Coventry, Warwick and other garrisons held the county for Parliament and the royalist Warwickshire gentry made no further concerted attempt to regain control. Two factors made for Parliament’s success: the first, and most obvious, was that Brooke obtained the most effective outside aid; the second is that his support within the county, mainly from the ranks below the gentry, was more powerful than the overwhelming advantage Northampton had amongst the gentry. Had the king’s army been admitted to Coventry, it is unlikely that his forces would have meekly retreated before the army sent from London. In Warwickshire, the majority of the gentry were irrelevant in 1642: most of them, as will be seen below, were either royalist or neutral, yet the county remained a parliamentary stronghold throughout the Civil War. The parliamentary propagandists consistently claimed that Brooke had the support of the ‘country’, by which they seem to have meant the honest ‘middling sort’ of people: ‘the yeomen of our country stands out very well, but the malignants draw abundance of the rascality of the country after them’.¹³¹ Royalist commentators like Dugdale and Clarendon also blamed their failure on lack of public support, although they tended to say that it was Parliament that the ‘rascality’ or rabble supported. Clarendon described Warwickshire as a strongly parliamentary county;¹³² Birmingham was a town ‘generally wicked . . . declaring a more peremptory malice to his majesty than any other place’ while the far south of the county, where the battle of Edgehill was fought, ‘being between the dominions of the Lord Saye and the Lord Brooke, was the most eminently corrupted of any county in England’. From both sides

commanders of his army put them at 1,200 horse and 300 foot in the report they sent to Parliament. Castle Ashby MS 1083/4: Accounts for a company of foot 8–23 August. A battle at Dunsmore Heath was reported by some parliamentary newsletters but Wharton states that the army was just sighted there and no report of a second skirmish was made to Parliament. (E.g. *The Manner and Good Success of the Lord Brookes Forces in Pursuing the Cavaliers from Coventry*, 24 August 1642; (B.L. 669 f.6 (73)).

¹³⁰ SP16/491/133. Simeon Ashe returned to Warwickshire as one of the chaplains to this army: Fletcher, *The Outbreak of the English Civil War*, 345.

¹³¹ *The Copie of a Letter from Warwickshire*, 8 August; cf. *The English Intelligencer* 12–18 November 1642 which reported that many ‘able yeomens sons’ offered themselves to the service during recruitment in Warwickshire. ¹³² Clarendon edited Macray, vol. 2: 359.

such evidence is open to question, and on its own is inconclusive.¹³³ However the two occasions on which Coventry defied Charles I were not initiated by the corporation, and there is ample evidence amongst early military accounts in the Commonwealth Exchequer Papers of hundreds of men already in arms for the Parliament. Clarendon's view of southern Warwickshire is not supported by these accounts for Brooke's strength was not based on seigneurial ties but on an ideological appeal. His military organisation in the south, where most of his estates lay, remained sketchy until the spring of 1643. Only 22 soldiers were in pay at Warwick Castle in August 1642, and only 83 in September. It was not until November that the garrison reached 200 men and the troops could be organised into squadrons and companies. Volunteers came in at the time of the siege and again during the Edgehill campaign, but they returned home when the crises were over, and no horse were formally listed until the spring of 1643.¹³⁴ In contrast, in the north, volunteers were swiftly raised. Captain Thomas Willoughby, a minor gentleman from Sutton Coldfield, was commissioned on 13 June 1642 to raise men in his own town, Tamworth, and in the surrounding areas. In August 105 men were in pay and 90 continued in his company in December. At Coventry Colonel John Barker, commissioned on 27 June, listed 207 men in August and 160 continued in pay into the autumn while Captain Samuel Ward, also in Coventry listed 116 men and still commanded 100 in November.¹³⁵ It has recently been argued that such volunteers, by accepting pay, became mercenaries rather than committed supporters of a particular cause and that therefore they became alien to some naturally pacific and uninvolved 'local community'.¹³⁶ This view seems to overestimate the lure of the

¹³³ See for example, J.S. Morrill, 'Provincial Squires and "Middling Sorts" in the Great Rebellion', *H.J.*, vol. 20 (1977), 229–36, a review of B.S. Manning, *The English People and the English Revolution* (1976); Ronald Hutton, 'Clarendon's "History of the Rebellion"', *E.H.R.*, vol. 97 (1982).

¹³⁴ SP28/4/71–93: the accounts of Warwick Castle 1 June 1642–19 May 1643; SP28/353 f.268: the examination of Corporal Thomas Eyres of Warwick garrison by the Subcommittee of Accounts. It was in the south, indeed in Warwick itself, that Brooke met with defiance from one of the 'middling sort': the armourer Thomas Tibbetts refused to give up arms left by the royalist gentry for repair, saying that if Brooke 'or any other of his company took any away he would kill them though he were hanged': SP16/491/89, 25 July 1642, Innocent Rash to his master Sir Thomas Leigh.

¹³⁵ Willoughby: SP16/539/91: commission; SP28/147/363: accounts. Barker: SP16/539/92: commission; SP28/145/432: accounts. Ward: SP28/121A/73–5: accounts. Independent evidence of the proportion of these volunteers who came from Birmingham would be very difficult to obtain. However the town's Proposition Accounts show that forty-two Birmingham people, none of them gentry, lent £453 3s 6d 'willingly and freely at the first out of their good affection to the parliament'. In many other parts of the county loans on the Propositions were much harder to come by: SP28/186 (no numbering); see chapter 5 below.

¹³⁶ Ronald Hutton, *The Royalist War Effort* (1981), 19–21.

modest and precarious maintenance on offer besides ignoring the fact that one side in particular attracted these followers in significant numbers and discounting the specific social pattern to the parliamentary appeal. The north of the county, the old forest area with its abundance of enterprising small landholders and industrial craftsmen, was typical of the areas where Parliament obtained support in 1642: Underdown has described how the yeomen and clothiers rallied to the cause in Somerset enabling Parliament to seize control (temporarily) in another county where the gentry were predominantly royalist or neutral. In a brilliant article, Jill R. Dias has argued for a 'correlation between regional economic and social differences and the choice of sides' in Civil War Derbyshire and suggested that Parliament found most support in industrial and pastoral areas where independent and prosperous freeholders were numerous.¹³⁷ In Warwickshire, also, areas where gentry control was weak and where there were few resident magnates were particularly in favour of Parliament. In such areas smaller men had, relatively speaking, more control over their own lives and were more susceptible to the call from Parliament to come to the defence of liberty, property and the true religion, against arbitrary government and popery. In addition, many of the towns of north Warwickshire had Puritan ministers: Blake in Tamworth, Burgess in Sutton Coldfield, Nalton in Rugby; who, if the attention paid to them by the royalists is any indication, played an important part in rallying support to Parliament's side. Unfortunately there is very little direct evidence of the activities of local ministers after 1640 except that John Bryan of Barford acted as Brooke's treasurer for proposition money at Warwick in 1642–3. However, several ministers, including Bryan, John Trapp and Richard Baxter, later acted as chaplains to the county's military forces, while two ministers served as military captains.¹³⁸

Towns outside the north of the county showed less enthusiasm for the Parliament's cause. Ultimately Warwick had little choice but to support Brooke but the town did little to oppose Northampton during the two weeks of the siege in August. Stratford seems to have been royalist in sympathy, if anything: many of its inhabitants were later accused of raising the town for the king in late 1642 and early 1643. The importance of religion is again indicated: Stratford was divided over religion before the Civil War and her minister Henry Twitchet was expelled by the

¹³⁷ David Underdown, *Somerset in the Civil War and Interregnum* (Newton Abbot, 1973), 31–40, 116–17; Jill R. Dias, 'Lead, Society and Politics in Derbyshire Before the Civil War', *Midland History*, vol. 6 (1981), 52 and see Underdown, *Revel, Riot and Rebellion*, on general social and cultural patterns in allegiance. ¹³⁸ See chapters 5 and 8.

county committee in 1644 after he had left his home to live in royalist garrisons.¹³⁹

The royalists were much less successful in raising popular support. Some of Dunsmore's tenants were imprisoned for joining the royalist army¹⁴⁰ but even Northampton himself felt he had to make concessions to his tenants to rally them to the king. When he summoned his tenants to join him at Banbury garrison he promised that if any died in the service 'I myself, nor my heirs or assigns shall or will take any benefit thereby': no wardships, fines or heriots would be demanded.¹⁴¹ Brian Manning has emphasised the importance for Parliament of the support of the 'middling sort' of people, and north Warwickshire is one of the examples he uses. Manning has presented this popular activity as autonomous: the economic grievances and class hostility of the people were the driving force of the English Revolution, forcing the leaders of the parliamentary side to a reluctant war against the king. These leaders were little more than disgruntled would-be courtiers.¹⁴² My own research supports what Manning says about the Parliamentarianism of significant sections of the 'people' of north Warwickshire, and about the important part this support played in Parliament's success. There is no evidence, though, that they pushed Brooke and his gentry allies further than they wished to go, and every indication that Brooke deliberately adopted a militant, popular campaign. As an especially uncompromising Parliamentarian, Brooke's potential support among the county gentry was likely to be small but he consciously limited it still further. Parliament nominated several leading gentry as deputy lieutenants in 1642: Thomas Boughton, Clement Throckmorton and Robert Lytton. This was not simply over-optimistic angling for support as Boughton and Throckmorton attended the musters of the militia commission. The militia ordinance, however, gave the choice of deputies to the lord lieutenant, and Brooke did not admit

¹³⁹ No Stratford man compounded but a quarter of the Warwickshire cases before the Committee for the Advance of Money that involved accusations of royalism but did not result in sequestration (8/33) concerned Stratford men. Caution is necessary over these figures: the accusations may reflect tension within the town – a greater willingness to accuse, rather than a greater commitment to royalism: C.C.A.M. passim. Matthews, ed., *Walker Revised*, 366; B.L. Add MS 35098 f.36v.

¹⁴⁰ H.M.C. 13th Report, Appendix 1 (Portland one), 59. One of Dunsmore's men had been denounced by a neighbour for speaking on Dunsmore's behalf.

¹⁴¹ Castle Ashby MS 1083/20, n.d., probably late 1642. Cf. Malcolm, 263, the king himself had to make similar concessions to the Yorkshire freeholders before he could get their support; he too relinquished his claims to the wardships of those who died in his service. The scepticism of Wanklyn and Young, 'A Rejoinder', *H.J.*, vol. 24 (1981), concerning Charles I's unpopularity in 1642 does not seem justified for Warwickshire.

¹⁴² Brian Manning, *The English People and the English Revolution* (1978, paperback edition), especially 218–25 on Coventry and Birmingham.

such men to the parliamentary leadership.¹⁴³ Brooke chose men he could rely on to fight: Purefoy, Peyto and Temple among the leading gentry; the northern minor gentry and Coventry merchants whom he made captains of the militia – Samuel Ward and Robert Phippes of Coventry, Thomas Willoughby of Sutton Coldfield, and Waldive Willington of Hurley; and, if need arose, those outside the gentry altogether. Leading gentry like William Combe, whose resolve faltered as the conflict developed, were swiftly dropped from the leadership.

Brooke welcomed his following from the ranks below the gentry for it was here that he could get support for his militant campaign against evil counsellors and papists, and for a godly reformation. He was obviously a skilled popular leader; his accounts and the pamphlet descriptions of his raising of the militia show that he was careful to provide feasts and music to rally the volunteers. At Coventry the county magazine was seized to the accompaniment of the church bells, and the ringers were again paid when Brooke dined at the Lord Mayor's. He was good at involving people in the struggle: the officers for the volunteer companies were to be elected with the consent of the rank and file; while the petition in favour of the militia ordinance, read and agreed to at the musters, was another means by which ordinary people were made to feel part of a national movement.¹⁴⁴

Although both sides in the county claimed to be involved in a defensive struggle, a war to prevent war, the declarations of Parliament unlike those of the royalists, made little attempt to occupy the middle ground, or to present themselves as moderates. In the absence of many private letters from this period such declarations provide the best means of showing the motivation, or what was seen as effective motivation, of the Parliamentarians in the county and the spirit in which they took up arms. The enemy are seen as the king's 'wicked and evil counsellors, who like so many Machiavellians daily project mischievous designs' to subvert the laws and liberties of the land and especially to attack the true religion, for nearly all the pamphlets point out the importance of the sense that they were fighting in God's cause.¹⁴⁵ The royalist appeal to law and order and social stability was, by its nature, limited (in 1642 at least) to the upper ranks of

¹⁴³ C.J., vol. 2: 634, 638; A. and O. vol. 1: 2.

¹⁴⁴ W.C.R.O. CR1866: Hawkesworth Accounts, 29–32; *A True Relation of the Lord Brooke's settling of the militia*. For the election of officers by the volunteers see, for example, Brooke's commission to Thomas Willoughby: SP16/539/91. Such a procedure was very unusual; I am grateful to Dr Ian Roy for advice on this point.

¹⁴⁵ *His Majesties Declaration and Propositions to the Mayor, Aldermen and Inhabitants of Coventry* (ironical) 22 October 1642, (B.L. E124 (3)). Cf. Morrill, *Provinces*, 47, for the importance of religion to activists in all counties. See also n. 187.

society whereas the call to defend the Protestant religion could be democratic. The most sustained exposition of this position can be found in a speech made by Brooke at the election of his officers at Warwick Castle in February 1643. It shows again Brooke's skill as a rallier of men, in his ability to link their personal concern for the safety of their homes and families to the wider struggle, and also reveals the issues that Brooke thought would appeal to the men:

we behold the flourishing and beauteous face of this kingdom over-spread with the leprosy of a Civil War. In which, since we are forced for the safeguard of our lives, the preservation of our liberties, the defence of God's true Religion (invaded by the practices of Papists and Malignants) to become actors, I doubt not but each of you will play your part with that noble resolution and Christian courage as the greatness and meritoriousness of the work does challenge.

Brooke spoke of the way in which the papists had plundered their towns and their neighbours, but also put this in a wider context and a (crude) historical perspective: referring to '88' and the Gunpowder Plot as evidence of the continuous threat from papists. They were a threat to the liberties of the subject, the true religion, the commonwealth, and indeed to 'all goodness'. Typically, Brooke ended with a prayer:

that God Almighty will arise and maintain his own cause, scattering and confounding the devices of his enemies, not suffering the ungodly to prevail over his poor innocent flock. Lord we are but a handful in consideration of thine and our enemies, therefore O Lord fight thou our battles, go out as thou didst in the time of King David before the hosts of the servants, and strengthen and give us hearts that we show ourselves men for the defence of thy true Religion, and our own and the kingdom's safety.¹⁴⁶

The spirit thus instilled can be seen in the letters Mary Temple of Frankton wrote to her sister in Sussex in August 1642.¹⁴⁷ The letters are a confused jumble of military and political news coupled with discussion of family affairs: 'forgive my nonsense in my many employments that take off my mind almost from any writing'. This is understandable. Frankton lay on the east of the county where Dunsmore was active at this time; Mary's mother had died on 6 July and her father, John Temple followed on 7 August shortly after he had helped to organise the militia; Mary was the oldest left at home with both her brothers under age. The house was threatened with siege by Dunsmore's forces and saved, she believed, by the help they received from neighbouring towns: 'we for our joy have

¹⁴⁶ *A Worthy Speech Made by the Right Honourable the Lord Brooke, at the election of his Captaines and Commanders at Warwick Castle*, 26 February 1643 (B.L. E90 (27)), 4–6, 8. The worst aspect of royalist plunder was not the stealing of ready money or food, but their carrying away of cattle and horses 'the instruments of their husbandry and tillage' – another example of Brooke's awareness of the realities of ordinary people's lives.

¹⁴⁷ East Sussex County Record Office, Dunn MS 51/55–56. For the deaths of the Temples: *Dugdale* (Thomas), 293.

heard since that they had come but that they heard how well we were provided for them and that they came at their peril'.

On 8 August the volunteers escorted John Temple to his grave, 'according as soldiers used to be buried'; on the 9th the family fled to Coventry, and on the 15th they finally reached safety in London. Despite all her problems, Mary remained resilient: 'many troubles have we been in and great distractions but god doth put such courage in us. For the generality that I cannot say our fears for I thank god I fear not to die . . . I much pity those that be of fearful minds, methinks nothing should trouble one but thoughts of a life of eternity in woe, and not to die any death, but only to be ready.' Of her brother-in-law who was an officer in Essex's army, she wrote: 'thus we are resolved for the worst that if he die it will be with great honour', and in London she summed up her experiences: 'you may see how god hath to accomplish that which he gave my father and mother faith to believe which would say he knew god would do well for them . . . as my mother would often say we had a god to provide for us when she was gone'.

Manning found in the attitude of Parliament's popular support evidence of class hostility towards landowners in general; and he uses Wharton's letters as one example for the plundering of the gentry. One parliamentary pamphlet from Warwickshire does add a socially radical tinge to the usual mixture of fighting for God and the liberties of England against papist conspiracy:

The enemies thou art to fight withal, are Court Parasites, Papists, both Gentry and Laic, Prelates, and their adherents, the Courts, and Ministers of the Law, who have abused the Law, selling Justice to the adversary, and the poor innocent to ruin and destruction; Projectors and Monopolizers, who for private gain have robbed thee of thy liberty; so that between the Prelate and the Projector, thou enjoyedest but the tythe to whom the whole did belong.¹⁴⁸

It is clear from the Wharton letters that the soldiers in the garrison of Coventry and in the London army were willing to relieve the gentry of their property: 'several of our soldiers both horse and foot sallied out of the City unto the Lord Dunsmore's park and brought from thence great store of venison which is as good as ever I tasted and ever since they make it their daily practice so that venison is almost as common with us as beef with you';¹⁴⁹ and there is no reason to doubt that social antagonisms played a part here. There is little evidence, however, of any developed general attack on landowners as such; rather, specific attacks on leading royalists and Catholics were sanctioned or even initiated by the

¹⁴⁸ *Joyfull Newes from the King* 2 September 1642. (B.L. 808 d 48, not in Thomason).

¹⁴⁹ SP16/491/138.

parliamentary leaders. The turncoat Dunsmore was especially singled out: three asses were taken from his park and paraded before the troops who 'dignified them with the name of the Lord Dunsmore'; and Sir Robert Fisher was another victim.¹⁵⁰ The accounts of goods taken by Warwickshire troops in 1642–3 also show that plunder was confined mainly to 'papists and malignants'. The Catholic Robert Knightley of Offchurch lost goods worth, he claimed, over £400 in the summer and autumn of 1642, and many cattle were taken from Stoneleigh.¹⁵¹ If the soldiers threatened to go too far their commanders quickly cracked down: when they began to plunder a 'malignant' in Coventry, Brooke threatened them with martial law for such proceedings would prejudice their welcome in the city on which they were quartered.¹⁵² As the popular forces on Parliament's side were under the control of their aristocratic and gentry leaders, so they were very dependent on them. There is no reason to doubt the genuineness and spontaneity of the popular support for Parliament, but this support was not effective without leadership; when Brooke was absent from the county, the cause floundered: 'Our Lord Brooke is not with us, we think him very long'.¹⁵³

The contrasts between the appeal of Parliament and that of the king can now be drawn out more explicitly. The royalists' consistent attempts to occupy the middle ground confined their appeal to the upper classes; in October Charles declared: 'Our determination tendeth to no other end than the whole kingdom's happiness; establishing the same flourishing religion professed in the tranquil days of Queen Elizabeth, and confirmed by Our Royal Father, likewise to maintain the Law and Liberty of the Subject, with the just privileges of Parliament.'¹⁵⁴ It was, perhaps, a negative appeal when compared to the Parliamentarians' belief that they were zealous servants of the Lord: in August 1642 it was the supporters of Parliament who showed the greater spirit and determination. Furthermore, while the Parliamentarians allowed their troops the satisfaction of

¹⁵⁰ SP16/492/2, Wharton to Willingham, 3 September 1642. See J.S. Morrill and J.D. Walter, 'Order and Disorder in the English Revolution' in Anthony Fletcher and John Stevenson, eds., *Order and Disorder in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 1985) for the generally limited nature of attacks on landowners.

¹⁵¹ SP28/247/540: Knightley's claims; SP28/253B, no numbering: the examination of Gilbert Stockton of Warwick Castle by the Subcommittee of Accounts, concerning plunder by the garrison (January 1646). ¹⁵² SP16/491/138.

¹⁵³ *The Copie of a Letter from Warwickshire . . . August 8 1642*. Another pamphleteer lamented (accurately) also during an absence of Brooke's: 'we are almost borne downe with great ones': *True and New Newes with an Example from Warwick Castle* 19 August 1642.

¹⁵⁴ *His Majesties Declaration and Manifestation to all his souldiers by himselfe declared in the Head of His Army at Southam . . . Octo 21 1642* (B.L. E124 (19)). Cf. the discussion above of the commission of array and the royalist petition of July.

strictly contained plundering of prominent opponents, the king's army in July and August threatened a general disarming of towns.

The royalist defence of social stability was more attractive to some sections of the gentry than to others. The figures for side-taking among the county gentry in 1642 reveal few significant differences in the areas of Warwickshire where each side got most support. One noticeable characteristic, however, is the behaviour of the greatest northern gentry, those of magisterial rank or just below. As a whole the northern gentry were slightly less active in the Civil War than those of other parts of the county: 52% of the southern gentry; 47% of the eastern gentry; 44% of the northern gentry; and 42% of the gentry of the city and county of Coventry took sides in the Civil War. The northern magnates were however the most committed royalists of all the county gentry. Sir Thomas Holte, Robert Arden, Sir John Reppington, Sir George Devereux, and Sir Robert Fisher of the northern J.P.s, were all royalists of varying degrees of commitment while the only Parliamentarian among them was William Purefoy, whose income was probably much less.¹⁵⁵ The northern gentry were almost certainly the most conscious of the dangers of popular support for the Parliament: their social position was less secure than that of the southern magnates who lived in a more settled society; and they had been the closest witnesses in 1642 of the enthusiasm for Parliament amongst their social inferiors. The southern J.P.s were less alarmed and were more equally divided between the two sides, while more of them remained neutral.

Reliance on gentry support in a county where the gentry had little experience of social contact or political organisation on a county-wide level was a royalist weakness in itself. And another point to be made against Manning's emphasis on the decisiveness of popular support for Parliament in general, is that in Warwickshire it was only decisive because the gentry were not a cohesive group. The royalists' willingness to call on outside help has been noted above, and their lack of any specific loyalty to the county is shown by their failure to make any concerted effort to regain control of the county although Parliament's hold remained insecure. Half of those described by Dugdale as royalists in 1642 remained committed to the king's side, and leading neutral gentry like Holte and Shuckborough joined them before the end of the year; the county was surrounded on all

¹⁵⁵ Sir Walter Devereux of Castle Bromwich also supported Parliament, but he rarely resided in Warwickshire and was not active there at all during the Civil War; Sir Simon Archer who was a very lukewarm office holder under the Parliament lived just within the north of the county but was a J.P. mainly for Kineton Hundred, largely a southern area. John Lisle, and the mainly non-resident Sir Francis Willoughby were the neutrals among the northern J.P.s.

its borders by royalist garrisons – Lichfield, Ashby, Banbury, Oxford, Worcester. Yet the royalist cause fragmented with its leaders scattering to these garrisons: many like Arden, Lucy and Chamberlain joined the king at Oxford; Fisher spent much of the war in Hereford; Reppington in Ashby; Robert Lee in Worcester.¹⁵⁶ This pattern of royalists abandoning their locality is found in other counties in 1642 – Lancashire and Gloucestershire for example. The personal loyalty to an individual monarch which was an important element in royalism, ‘went against the grain of localism’ and, combined in Warwickshire with the lack of a distinctive gentry county community, it gave an important advantage to the Parliamentarians whose representative and institutionalised cause provided more opportunity for blending the local and the national.¹⁵⁷

It is artificial, though, to consider just those of the gentry who were committed to each side, for, as local historians have been foremost in pointing out many of the gentry were committed to neither side but wanted to compose differences or remain aloof from them. Neutralism has been linked to the supposed conflict between the gentry’s loyalty to their locality, particularly their county, and their loyalty to their nation. It has been seen as an attempt to prevent the national struggle from dividing the ‘county community’.¹⁵⁸ How strong was neutralism in Warwickshire, then, and how significant was the proportion of the gentry who took sides?

Immense source problems arise in any attempt to quantify side-taking. Analysis has to be based not necessarily on what people did, but on what they were reported as (or accused of) doing. For the summer of 1642 William Dugdale’s account of the attitude of certain of the gentry is available.¹⁵⁹ There is no reason to suspect the accuracy of Dugdale’s lists of the attendance of the gentry at the two musters, or at neither, as far as they go: Dugdale was present in the county in summer 1642, and involved in the royalist organisation; and, of course, he knew many of the county gentry through his historical work. The lists were drawn up before the autumn of 1642.¹⁶⁰ However, the disparity between royalist and

¹⁵⁶ Arden: B.L. Add MS 35098 f.9v; Lucy: *Dugdale* (Hamper), 84; Chamberlain: C.C.C. 1172–4; Fisher: C.C.C. 1458; Reppington: C.C.C. 1290; Lee: C.S.P.D. 1645–7, 456.

¹⁵⁷ G.A. Harrison, ‘Royalist Organisation in Gloucestershire and Bristol 1642–1645’ (M.A. thesis, Manchester University, 1961), 55; Blackwood, *The Lancashire Gentry*, 50–1; Fletcher, *Outbreak of the English Civil War*, 327.

¹⁵⁸ Morrill, *Cheshire*, 54–9.

¹⁵⁹ W.C.R.O. Z237; Dugdale drew up lists for the whole country but is, of course, likely to have had particular knowledge of side-taking in Warwickshire.

¹⁶⁰ Thomas Bird of Coventry who was created D.C.L. in 1643 is still described as ‘Mr’; however the lists were not drawn up immediately as they note the later allegiances of some gentleman: James Enyon is noted as having joined the king although he attended neither muster for example; but Richard Shuckborough who became a royalist in October is down only as a neutral.

parliamentarian gentry is probably exaggerated, partly because of Dugdale's royalist bias; but also because he was less likely to know about the minor gentry who supported Brooke: Thomas Willoughby, the Sutton Coldfield captain of the militia, is not down as attending Brooke's musters although he was commissioned in June 1642. The criteria by which Dugdale selected the gentry to be included in his lists are mysterious. The list of those who attended neither muster is obviously the most arbitrary; most of the inactive greater gentry are included, along with several non-residents who were unlikely to attend Warwickshire musters in normal times, but who presumably were required to contribute horses or arms. Probably the lists in general were compiled on the basis of some category of obligation to the trained bands. There is no obvious reason why some minor gentry are included while over 100 of the group of 288 gentry families are not.¹⁶¹

Other information for royalists has been taken mainly from the records of the local and national sequestration committees and the central Committees for Compounding and for the Advance of Money.¹⁶² Royalism, and sequestration leading to composition were not necessarily identical. Some who definitely took some active part on the royalist side avoided sequestration and composition altogether through luck, repentance, influential relatives or bribery.¹⁶³ Some who were sequestered consistently protested their innocence. Both accusations and (as is less often recognised) justifications and excuses were retrospective, filtered through later experiences. Sir Henry Gibbes of Honnington, for example, attended neither muster in 1642, and there is no record of any later royalist activity on his part, although he paid £50 in 1645 for the release of

¹⁶¹ Amongst gentry assessed at only 20s in the subsidies but included by Dugdale are: William and Nicholas Knight of Ullenhall (royalist); Richard Dalby of Brokehampton (neutral); and Henry Cookes of Snitterfield (Parliamentarian).

¹⁶² Information from the Warwickshire Committee of Sequestrations is found in SP28/215/-accounts from 1643; and B.L. Add MS 35098: Order Book 1646–9; the papers of the Committee of the Lords and Commons for Sequestrations are in P.R.O. SP20; the records of the Committee for Compounding are in P.R.O. SP23 and C.C.C.; those of the Committee for the Advance of Money are in P.R.O. SP19 and C.C.A.M. All of the population with estates worth more than £100 were initially required to lend to the Parliament; but after 1647 only delinquents were assessed for a loan (C.C.A.M. introduction).

¹⁶³ For example Sir George Devereux was nominated as a commissioner of array and although his signature is not found on any of the surviving warrants of the commission, he was imprisoned by Parliament on 10 September 1642 for sending horses to Coventry when the king was there. (C.J., vol. 2: 764 as printed, *recte* 760). No later activity of his is recorded and although he was accused of royalism in 1651 he was never sequestered probably because of the influence of his parliamentary kin. A few of his goods were seized in the county in 1642 but he remained unmolested thereafter: C.C.A.M. 1412; SP28/215, First Sequestration Account Book f.11. Other commissioners of array went unsequestered: for William Boughton see below; for Robert Lee of Billesley there is no information and there is no obvious reason why he should have been treated leniently.

his younger son, a royalist soldier, from prison. In 1649, however, Sir Henry and both his sons were accused of helping the king, and in June 1649 Sir Henry and his heir petitioned to compound: 'doubting that they are liable to sequestration for something by them said or done in relation to the first war, although they never were sequestered nor judicially impeached by delinquency'.¹⁶⁴ Were they just being cautious, or did they have significant royalist activity behind them? Some men were sequestered in the county but discharged at Westminster (or sometimes vice versa) either because one authority did not agree that the charges were sufficiently serious¹⁶⁵ or, as seems to have happened in Richard Shuckborough's case, because it was felt he had suffered enough and should not be required to compound. Shuckborough was imprisoned by the Commons in late September 1642 but was bailed in October when he returned to the county where, as is notorious, he belatedly joined the king at Edgehill and then, as the story has been told in the family since the eighteenth century, 'went to his own seat and fortified himself on the top of Shuckborough hill where being attacked by some of the Parliament forces he defended himself till he fell with most of his tenants about'.

Shuckborough was sequestered by the county committee and imprisoned for a time. Even with the apparently clear-cut nature of the charges against him, the Sequestration Committee at Westminster finally acquitted him in March 1647.¹⁶⁶ The most complex case was perhaps that of Shuckborough's aged father-in-law Sir Thomas Holte who also remained uncommitted in the struggle between Brooke and Northampton in July and August 1642. By late August, though, he was reported to have joined other royalists in Lichfield and in 1643 he admitted a royalist garrison sent from Dudley Castle into Aston Hall. He was sequestered in the county but discharged by the Lords and Commons Sequestration Committee in December 1646; threatened with renewed sequestration in March 1647 and actually sequestered again in October 1648. He finally petitioned to compound in September 1650 following another accusation

¹⁶⁴ SP28/215 Third Account Book f.45r; C.C.A.M., 1077; SP23/213/492. Compare Sir William Boughton's explanation of his activities in 1642, below.

¹⁶⁵ An example is John Huband of Ipsley: see chapter 6 below.

¹⁶⁶ C.J., vol. 2: 779, 802 (as printed, *recte* 775, 798); *Dugdale* (Thomas) vol. 1: 309; B.L. Add MS 35098 f.6v, 45r; SP20/3/p. 219; SP20/12. The county committee did include in their charge against Shuckborough his help for the king at 'Kineton fight' for which he was knighted; and his keeping his house as a garrison – so there was some foundation for the myth. Shuckborough, like Devereux and others, had powerful friends: one of the charges made by William Purefoy and his allies against the second Earl of Denbigh was his 'favouring of delinquents' such as Shuckborough: SP18/3/103-4; Shuckborough survived another attempt to convict him in November 1651; SP19/22/322.

made against him before the Committee for the Advance of Money.¹⁶⁷

Despite all these complexities, it has been decided to accept all accusations of royalism (along with Dugdale's 1642 list) as indicating some kind of commitment to the royalist cause even if the 'delinquent' was ultimately discharged or excused. The major drawback is that this decision ignores the fact that some royalists claimed that they had helped the king only under pressure from a nearby royalist garrison or a powerful royalist leader. Indeed such a justification was often accepted by the parliamentary authorities, both within the county, and in London, as permitting the discharge of a sequestration.¹⁶⁸ However in equally balanced counties, as Warwickshire was before the entrance of an army from outside, claims of being forced by Northampton to help the king contain an element of special pleading because gentry in such areas faced a real choice in 1642, however reluctantly they took it. In such counties actions do seem to indicate something of the actors' real motives and intentions.¹⁶⁹ Indeed an element of choice existed in Warwickshire throughout the Civil War as rival garrisons were within a few miles of each other. True neutrals tended to try to obey both sides.¹⁷⁰ Claims of pressure by royalists were accepted by Parliament partly through an understandable desire to avoid believing that anyone would have freely helped the royalist side; they were more often accepted after the first Civil War was over when generosity was a luxury the Parliamentarians could afford.¹⁷¹

From all sources then a total of 90 out of the 288 county gentry gave some support to the king; but it cannot be emphasised too strongly that their commitment ranged from that of men like Sir Robert Fisher of Packington who took a leading part in organising the commission of array, spent the war in royalist garrisons, and compounded only when the

¹⁶⁷ *Remarkable Passages from Nottingham, Lichfield, Leicester, and Cambridge* 1 September 1642 (B.L. 669 f.6 (75)); SP28/215, first account book ff.22r–23r; SP20/3 p. 47; B.L. Add MS 35098 ff.44r, 117v; C.C.A.M. 1239–40; SP23/222/625–63.

¹⁶⁸ Examples of such discharges are those of John Stanford of Salford whose sequestration for helping at the commission of array was discharged in April 1648; and Richard Canning of Foxcote who had been forced to aid a garrison in Worcestershire (sequestration discharged in January 1648): B.L. Add MS 35098 ff.97v, 82r. Huband also gave a similar explanation for some of his compromising activities. Cf. Morrill, *Cheshire 69–74* who emphasises the importance of such 'accidental' influences on side-taking.

¹⁶⁹ Cf. Malcolm 'A King in Search of Soldiers', 273; Morrill, 'The Northern Gentry and the Great Rebellion', *Northern History*, vol. 15 (1979).

¹⁷⁰ Morrill, *Provinces*, 42, and see the discussion of William Boughton below.

¹⁷¹ The most common accusations of forcing lesser men to join the king were made against Robert Arden of Park Hall and the second Earl of Northampton, both conveniently dead. It is possible that there was less bitterness towards the defeated in a county which had never been under royalist control, than there was in counties like Cheshire or Somerset.

war was lost, to the reluctant acquiescence or momentary impulse of men like Richard Canning of Foxcote who under pressure brought help to the royalist garrison of Stoke, Worcestershire, which was half a mile from his home the night before it fell to the Parliament's forces. In addition Dugdale noted 10 men who supported the commission of array in 1642 but who do not satisfy the criteria for inclusion in the group of 288 gentry.¹⁷²

Problems of a different nature accompany the classification of Parliamentarians. Although, as we have seen, the county was never completely secure during the Civil War, its administration was always under parliamentary control and gentry who took office under it may have done so not out of any particular commitment but because it was the line of least resistance. Gentry who accepted public office only after 1646 when there was no alternative have not been counted as Parliamentarians, but those who took office prior to the end of the war have been added to Dugdale's list of 1642 Parliamentarians. This category thus includes not only county committeemen and military commanders but also members of the Subcommittees of Accounts and the gentlemen who became commanders in the Earl of Denbigh's army. As will be explained below, these men were very moderate Parliamentarians concerned mainly to limit the disruption caused by the war. Even including such men only 48 out of the 288 gentry are known to have given any support to Parliament, although another 7 minor gentry and semi-outsiders are mentioned by Dugdale.¹⁷³

Thus for only 48% of the county gentry is there any evidence of commitment to either side.¹⁷⁴ Some of the rest, mainly richer gentry, were noted by Dugdale as being absent from both musters in 1642, but for the majority there is not even a negative mention of their attitude. The natural assumption is that the 110 who were never mentioned were never active but it should be emphasised that they are men for whom we have no evidence of activity. Most of them are very minor gentry; only 15 have subsidy assessments of more than £5, and in some cases their commitment may simply not have been noticed. One of them, Samuel Eborall of Balsall, was a J.P. after the Civil War and, as his memorandum book

¹⁷² C.C.C., 1548; B.L. Add MS 35098 f.82r; these ten are mainly very minor gentry or younger sons, but one was Denbigh's brother Sir Roger Feilding, the commissioner of array.

¹⁷³ Five of these were the Yorkshiresmen, Coventry men and minor gentry on the militia commission – another indication of how unrepresentative the commissioners were of the pre-war élite.

¹⁷⁴ One hundred and thirty-seven of the gentry took sides, rather than 138 because William Sandbach of Bilton (according to Dugdale) attended the musters of the militia commission and later declared for the king. Four of the 110 never mentioned were sequestered for recusancy but never accused of royalism. At least 5 of the 151 gentlemen for whom there is no evidence of activity were minors, and 1 was a lunatic so perhaps half of the gentry who could have taken sides, did so.

shows, an active Puritan reformer.¹⁷⁵ In this case, Eborall was probably just not interested in military administration; but most gentry were no doubt quiescent. Of the 49 neutrals noted by Dugdale, 45 are also in the group of 288 families. Of the 45, 29 remained neutral throughout the Civil War; 9 were later accused of royalism of whom 7 were sequestered, 1 for recusancy only, and 4 of these compounded. Before the end of the Civil War 7 took parliamentary office but 6 of these supported Denbigh or the Subcommittees of Accounts only; just 1, briefly, was more militant.¹⁷⁶

The figures given so far still underestimate the degree to which the gentry attempted to remain aloof from the conflict. Many who committed themselves did so reluctantly and briefly. Indicative of wider trends are the later actions of those of the 288 heads of families described by Dugdale as royalists or Parliamentarians in 1642. Of the 64 royalists, only half were ever accused of giving subsequent help to the king; the most eminent defaulters were the two commissioners of array, William Boughton and Sir George Devereux. Boughton's procrastinations provide a classic example of a gentleman anxious to offend neither side. In 1651 Boughton claimed that he had been named to the commission of array through the malice of Lord Dunsmore, an old enemy, and had been present at the siege of Coventry only because he had been trying to prevent the king taking it, and feared Charles would go on from there to dissolve the Parliament by force. The Committee for the Advance of Money laconically handed Boughton a warrant from the commissioners of array which included his signature, but discharged him because he had paid £500 to the county committee in 1643 to satisfy any offence against the Parliament. At about the same time in 1643, however, Boughton was in touch with the third Earl of Northampton who promised to help him escape nomination as royalist sheriff of the county, and had offered the king £200 on Boughton's behalf.¹⁷⁷

Superficially Parliament was more successful in retaining support: of the 28 men who supported the militia commission in 1642, 20 continued to play some part in the Civil War administration; 1 died and 1 became a royalist. However, of this 20, 12 were active only on the Subcommittees of Accounts, or as supporters of the Earl of Denbigh so very few gentry

¹⁷⁵ Bodl. Lib. MS Top Warws. c. 11.

¹⁷⁶ The exception was Hastings Ingram of Little Wolford who was briefly Governor of Kenilworth Castle. Suspected of being a double agent, he was imprisoned by the county committee and thereafter became a supporter of Denbigh. See chapter 5 below. Of the four minor gentry also included in Dugdale's list of neutrals, one became a member of a Subcommittee of Accounts, the other three remained neutral.

¹⁷⁷ SP19/146/7–17; Boughton's payments are included in the Proposition Accounts: B.L. Add MS 35209; SP28/186, for February and May 1643; B.L. Add MS 29570 f.80v: n.d. but after March 1643 (death of the second earl), James, Earl of Northampton to Boughton.

indeed remained active supporters of the more militant county committee. All of the militia commissioners listed by Dugdale remained active and militant Parliamentarians but of the deputy lieutenants who organised the militia in early July there was one prominent gentleman who drew back as the implications of the Civil War became apparent: William Combe of Stratford, seen in 1640–1 as one of the most committed opponents of the king in the county. In 1644 he was accused of trying to stop Brooke defending Warwick Castle against Northampton and saying that the king would take for enemies those who were his truest friends, and that they would be starting a civil war. Combe did not deny the charges, but said he was influenced by military considerations only.¹⁷⁸

Thus in Warwickshire, as in most other counties, there were many types of neutralism: gentry who tried to remain aloof for as long as possible but who were finally driven into some commitment, usually on the royalist side; gentry who retreated into pacifism after activity in 1642; and the largest group of all – gentry who apparently never stirred. Recently, Anthony Fletcher has written that ‘it is hard to believe . . . that many well-informed men were pure neutrals at heart’, but clearly there were many gentry whose opinions were not strong enough to overcome their horror of active participation in civil war.¹⁷⁹ As mentioned above it is the neutralist gentry who are portrayed by historians of other counties as the true custodians of the peace of the county community in contrast to the extremists on either side who put national considerations first. In fact, neutrals in Warwickshire, like those committed to either side, expressed their political views in national terms; there are no invocations of the local community. John Fetherstone of Packwood wrote to his neighbour William Dugdale of his dilemma over the rival musters:

I am in a great distraction concerning my armour being altogether unable to satisfy myself in my judgment and conscience what to do by reason of the several commands of the king and parliament: my protestation puts me in mind that I am bound, both in conscience to serve both, and yet there seems now a very great difference between them which I humbly desire Almighty God if it be his will may be peacably and timely composed and settled for the good of his kingdom.¹⁸⁰

Fetherstone resolved his dilemma by appearing himself at Brooke’s musters while sending his armour to Dugdale whence it presumably reached Northampton; like Boughton and neutrals in other counties, he

¹⁷⁸ SP28/246/no numbering; SP28/247/585–6: the county committee’s objections to the proposed members of the Subcommittees of Accounts.

¹⁷⁹ Fletcher, *The Outbreak of the English Civil War*, 400.

¹⁸⁰ B. Ref. Lib. Photocopy of the Fetherstone correspondence (Maxstoke Castle MSS) number 110 (number 104 in N.R.A. catalogue). See G.E. Aylmer, ‘Crisis and Regrouping in the Political Elites: England from the 1630s to the 1660s’ in J.G.A. Pocock, ed., *Three British Revolutions* (Princeton, 1980), 145, for a general argument that neutralism could be a national stance.

wished to obey both sides, or rather, he wished there were no sides at all.¹⁸¹ Though different kinds of neutral behaviour can be described amongst the gentry of the county, no brand of neutralism was organised and there were no attempts to keep the war out of the county, to arrange formal neutrality pacts, or even to petition for accommodation.¹⁸² Neither was there any attempt to keep the county administration going, rather a general withdrawal from activity. At the Trinity Sessions of the peace, held in early June before there was any military disruption, only six orders were passed compared with fourteen at the previous Easter Sessions, and sixteen in Trinity 1641. At the Michaelmas Sessions only two old J.P.s, John Lisle of Moxhull and Sir Thomas Holte, bothered to turn up: 'within one hour after the Lord Rochford entered Warwick with 800 soldiers, and the noise of the drums and trumpets (which came with him) so disturbed the court that the court was instantly adjourned to the Swan, which was so filled with his Lordship and his soldiers that nothing could be there done'.¹⁸³ Quarter Sessions were not held again until Michaelmas 1645. In contrast to this abandoning of the county administration by the uncommitted, the organs of local government were used for partisan purposes, as with the indictment of Brooke and Purefoy at the assizes.

It is perhaps a peculiarity of Warwickshire, or at least of some of the Midland counties with their complex economies and their lack of a cohesive gentry society, that no organised appeal to the stability of the county community was made by moderates and neutrals.¹⁸⁴ In no county though, was any neutrality agreement or attempt to keep the war from the shire successful for long. This points again to the weakness of local sentiment, on its own, as a political force; and raises doubts as to whether the moderate gentry were more concerned about their locality than those who took sides. As has been seen above, those who took sides in Warwickshire tried to integrate local and national activities, and automatically, without apology, asked for outside help when they felt it to be necessary. Fetherstone, Shuckborough, and those who held the same views were paralysed or forced into uncongenial positions because

¹⁸¹ Cf. Richard Shuckborough's answer to the Committee of the House of Commons considering the defence of the kingdom on 11 June 1642: 'he hath horses in readiness to defend the king, the Commonwealth, the laws and the Parliament': H.M.C., vol. 5 (House of Lords), 28.

¹⁸² Unless Boughton's 1651 testimony is accepted. Even if it is not judged as special pleading the attempt to prevent the king's moves against Coventry involved only Boughton and one other. Indeed, Anthony Fletcher's *The Outbreak of the English Civil War*, map 4: 269, interestingly demonstrates that initiatives for accommodation were not promoted in the West Midlands.

¹⁸³ *Q.S.O.B.*, vol. 2: 125–6. It was perhaps this experience that finally decided Holte to declare for the king.

¹⁸⁴ But there was a neutrality pact in Staffordshire: Morrill, *Provinces*, 37; Fletcher, *Outbreak*, 385.

there was no national authority to appeal to: no one organising effectively for a consensus between king and Parliament, law and liberties. I would argue that in places where a 'county community' existed, where gentry society was cohesive, moderates fell back on localism precisely because what they regarded as the correct harmony between local and national developments could not be maintained. This process was not necessarily inevitable; and moderates were not always the most representative of county society: in Warwickshire the royalists were at least as representative of the county élite. In Warwickshire where there was no county community neutralist gentry simply stayed at home.

It remains necessary to discuss, briefly, any differences between those gentry who took sides. As in other counties these are few. The most significant contrasts have already been mentioned: the royalism of the northern magnates, and the general lack of support for the parliamentary cause from the greater gentry, particularly the magisterial class. In general the richer gentry were more active than the poorer (or at least, more is known of their activity) and were more inclined to be royalist.¹⁸⁵ Insufficient evidence exists on the economic fortunes of the gentry to form any significant conclusions about which side had the greatest proportion of declining or prospering gentry; and, as in other counties, gentry with incomes from the land, law and trade are found on both sides.¹⁸⁶ Nine of the parliamentary gentry and seventeen of the royalists were newcomers to the county, a proportion of 19% in each case; but a slightly higher proportion of the royalists were of medieval origins (21% as compared with 15%).

Over the gentry as a whole Parliament got most support in the east of the county, perhaps as an indirect result of Dunsmore's activities; and proportionately, their support was less underrepresented among the northern gentry than those in the south – but the differences are not great. The tendencies amongst the top thirty or forty gentry were different, as was stated above. A striking difference between the sides is in their educational attainments: twenty-three of the Parliamentarians had some higher education (48%) compared with twenty-seven royalists (30%). Any conclusions to be drawn from this, however, are no doubt limited by the small parliamentary sample, and distorted by the presence of Catholics on the royalist side.

Historians are once again stressing the importance of religion in side-taking, and as the discussion of motivation has indicated, religious affiliation was clearly important in Warwickshire. Militant Puritans like

¹⁸⁵ Twenty of the 48 Parliamentarians (42%), 43 of the 90 royalists (48%) had subsidy assessments of £5 and above; 24 Parliamentarians and 41 royalists were assessed at under £5. Under 40% of all the 288 gentry were assessed at over £5. ¹⁸⁶ Cf. Morrill, *Cheshire*, 69–74.

Temple or Purefoy tended to be supporters of Parliament although staunch, but middle of the road, Calvinists like Shuckborough and Holte were found on the king's side along with people like Sir Thomas Leigh whose will revealed a commitment to a more ceremonial religion.¹⁸⁷ Catholics gave some support to the king; 18 of the 288 gentry were Catholics: 11 attended the commission of array but of these 8 were later sequestered for recusancy only.¹⁸⁸ Two Catholics were in Dugdale's list of neutrals; 1 was later accused of royalism but both were sequestered only for recusancy. Of the 5 Catholics not mentioned by Dugdale, one was suspected of royalist sympathies but all 5 were sequestered for recusancy only. There was thus some factual basis for the anti-popery of Brooke and the pamphleteers, and an element of truth in the belief that Northampton's lack of popular support was in part because 'they saw the Papists most forward in this business'¹⁸⁹ – but perhaps not as much that was claimed.

One of the most important contributions local studies have made to an understanding of the crisis of 1642 is the undermining of the view that most gentry were committed wholeheartedly to one side or another. The natural desire of many to carry on their normal lives is perceived most strongly in a local context. However this is perhaps now overemphasised. What finally remains surprising is not that a majority preferred peace to war, or were unwilling to fight their friends and neighbours, but that so many, albeit a minority, were prepared to take up arms for what they believed in; and that several, albeit a smaller minority, were, in a hierarchical, deferential society, prepared to fight the supreme authority in the land. An influential recent body of historical scholarship has argued that the Civil War invaded the counties from 'outside'; it was 'an artificial insemination of violence into the local community'. Such local side-taking as occurred was based on local factions and pre-existing connections.¹⁹⁰ This chapter has, however, tried to demonstrate how the social and ideological character of Warwickshire is crucial to the manner

¹⁸⁷ J.S. Morrill, 'The Religious Context of the English Civil War', *T.R.H.S.*, 5th series, vol. 34 (1984). For Shuckborough see above; Holte: Prob 11/249 f.336 (will made 1650); Leigh: Prob 11/338 f.50 (will made 1672).

¹⁸⁸ The argument of Keith Lindley, 'The Part Played by the Catholics' in Brian Manning, ed., *Politics, Religion and the English Civil War*, 127–76, that the enthusiasm of Catholics for the king has been overestimated has now in turn been convincingly challenged by P.R. Newman. See, for example, 'Catholic Royalist Activists in the North', *Recusant History*, vol. 14 (1977). It should be pointed out that it was often easier for the parliamentary authorities to sequester for recusancy only as it could be proved in a straightforward way, unlike many nebulous charges of royalism.

¹⁸⁹ Spencer, *The Genealogie, Life and Death of . . . Brooke*, 180.

¹⁹⁰ Hutton, *The Royalist War Effort*, 201; Morrill, *Provinces*, 43–6. Fletcher, *The Outbreak of the Civil War* and Derek Hirst, 'Unanimity in the Commons, Aristocratic Intrigues and the Origins of the English Civil War', *J.M.H.*, vol. 50 (1978) are amongst recent challengers to this work.

in which civil war emerged from within as well as from outside the county. It must be emphasised also that pre-existing alignments were often themselves based on shared political and religious beliefs, as with Brooke's friends in Warwickshire; and in this county, in any case, many of the links that bound men together when they made their wills and settled their estates burst apart in a time of ideological crisis. Amongst divided families were those of the Earl of Denbigh and the Boughtons of Little Lawford and Bilton. Nothing in the interests or circle of friends of Sir Thomas Lucy before the Civil War explains the royalism of his young heir, Spencer Lucy. The most striking example is found in the only county-wide friendship network based on Sir Simon Archer and his Ferrers kin. While Sir Simon himself stayed at home, his friend John Whitwick begged the city of Coventry, for the sake of peace and law and order, to admit the king; and his 'cousin', Sir Edward Peyto, defied the Earl of Northampton with his bible hung from the ramparts of Warwick Castle. All is testimony to the way the different ideological and social issues outlined in this chapter could override a personal desire for peace and for the maintenance of kinship and friendship ties.

Military rule 1642–1649

There are stark contrasts between the experiences of Warwickshire before and after the outbreak of the Civil War. In place of the established leaders of county society who formed the commission of the peace in the 1620s and 1630s, a parliamentarian county committee, consisting of comparatively obscure men, took control of the county. The responsibilities of Warwickshire's rulers were as different as their personnel: instead of the comparative routine of the pre-1642 period they were faced with the hectic demands of military administration in a frontier area. Parliament controlled the main body of the county throughout the Civil War but its hold was always precarious: neighbouring royalist garrison continually raided Warwickshire and levied contributions on many border parishes. The county was the site of one major battle, Edgehill, and was a frequent thoroughfare for the armies of both sides. Consequently the experiences of the ruled changed as sharply as the duties of the rulers.

There are great differences, also, in the sources available for a study of the county between 1620–42 and 1642–9. For many aspects of the earlier period, the sources are inadequate but for the Civil War period the sheer bulk of material that survives for the military administration of the county creates problems in itself. There are many hundreds of letters, warrants and orders of the county committee, and many scores of working accounts of civilian officials and military commanders. Much of this material is of a random rather than systematic nature: there is, for example, just one surviving order book of the county committee, starting after the war was over, and covering sequestration business only.¹ The impression given by the surviving committee material is of an improvised, hand-to-mouth organisation, preoccupied by the immediate needs of the military situation. This view is probably largely accurate, but perhaps

¹ Most of this material is in the Commonwealth Exchequer Papers (P.R.O. SP28); there is as much Warwickshire material amongst the general bundles as in those officially listed for the county. The Sequestration Order Book covers August 1646 to July 1649 and is B.L. Add MS 35098.

something of the picture of barely organised chaos has been derived from the nature of the surviving evidence. This evidence is largely the result of the work of the Committee for Taking the Accounts of the Kingdom and their local subcommittees: it is thus overwhelmingly financial. This bias must also be taken into account in discussion of the administrative work of the county committee. There is much evidence on money and goods received by soldiers, but little on how troops were raised or on their military service because these were not the main concerns of the Subcommittees of Accounts. There is no sign that the county committee took over any of the civilian functions of justices of the peace between 1642 and 1645 when Quarter Sessions did not meet; but again this may be a result of the preoccupations of auditing bodies.² The members of the Subcommittees of Accounts in Warwickshire were all moderate men, whose political presuppositions were very different from those of the county committeemen; as a result the failings of the county committee are almost certainly exaggerated.

With all these qualifications in mind, the next four chapters are an attempt to analyse the main characteristics of the experience of the Civil War in Warwickshire. The structure and achievements of the parliamentary administration will be discussed. Chapter 6 deals with the political conflicts of the 1640s, as moderate men, led by the established county gentry, attempted to wrest control from the county committee through support for the Earl of Denbigh, the commander in chief of the West Midlands Association. Finally an attempt will be made to assess some of the effects of the Civil War on local society, administration, politics, and religious life.

A committee for Warwickshire and Coventry was first formally established by the ordinance passed on 31 December 1642, for the Association of Warwickshire and Staffordshire under the command of Lord Brooke.³ A less formal organisation had existed since the previous summer however, involving those militia commissioners who remained in the county. Strictly speaking, these men were deputy lieutenants and in early 1643 Brooke, Bosvile and Purefoy borrowed money in London as the lord and deputy lieutenants of Warwickshire and Staffordshire; more often, however, the local organisation eschewed these quasi-traditional titles and described themselves as the 'Council of War'. In contrast to Cheshire, where deputy lieutenants controlled the militia throughout the

² However, the accounts of the county committee's treasurer and the backlog of business dealt with by Quarter Sessions in 1645-6, particularly concerning poor relief and the appointment of constables, certainly suggest that civilian administration came to a standstill; see chapter 7. The committee did occasionally deal with rating disputes, usually the province of J.P.s, as part of their tax-collecting duties. ³ *L.J.*, vol. 5: 520-2; *A. and O.*, vol. 1: 53-8.

first Civil War, in Warwickshire the term deputy lieutenant is not found after Brooke's death.⁴ The Association Ordinance conveyed wide powers which the Warwickshire committee continued to exercise after Brooke's death and the dissolution of the Association. They were empowered to raise volunteers and to organise these forces, and the trained bands, into regiments which could be taken out of the county. Money was to be raised through soliciting contributions from those who had not already lent on the 'propositions' and through levying sums in the same manner as the £400,000 taxation of March 1642 had been raised. Distress and imprisonment could be used against those who would not contribute voluntarily and those who defaulted at musters were also liable to imprisonment. The money thus raised was to be used to maintain the military forces but also for all 'necessary public charges, tending to the safety and preservation of the said Cities and Counties', as warranted by at least three committeemen.⁵ These vague powers, especially the fact that no limit was placed on the money that could be raised, caused this measure to be christened the 'unlimited ordinance', and to become one of the grievances of the opponents of the county committee. More precise powers were given the county committee by three ordinances in the spring of 1643: in February a committee was established to levy the sum of £600 per week on Warwickshire and Coventry; in March a committee for the sequestration of the estates of 'notorious delinquents'; and in May a committee to raise money from those who had not previously lent – in effect to collect forced loans.⁶ Except for sequestration, these powers were included in the December Ordinance of Association although in fact the weekly tax was not collected until May 1643.

The personnel of these committees⁷ was almost the same in all cases: the assessment committee was the Association Committee with the addition of Gamaliel Purefoy and Thomas Willoughby; the Sequestration Committee included the militia commissioner Sir Edward Peyto along with all the members of the assessment committee; Peyto died shortly after, and was thus the only exclusion from the committee for raising loans. Indeed, in Warwickshire, as in many counties there was just one committee carrying out all the functions delegated by parliamentary ordinances, rather than several separate committees.⁸ To some extent,

⁴ SP28/5/249; for use of the title 'Council of War': Cov. C.R.O. A14(b) f.31r; SP28/247/650. For Cheshire: Morrill, *Cheshire*, 83-9.

⁵ *A. and O.*, vol. 1: 53-8; see also D.H. Pennington and I.A. Roots, eds., *The Committee at Stafford 1643-1645* (Collections for a History of Staffordshire, 4th series, vol. 1, Manchester, 1957), xxxiii.

⁶ *A. and O.*, vol. 1: 88-100 (24 February); 106-16 (27 March); 145-55 (7 May).

⁷ As recorded in *A. and O.*, vol. 1: 53-8 and as in n.6 above.

⁸ See for example, Pennington and Roots, eds., *The Committee at Stafford*, xvi-xvii.

sequestration business was kept distinct, in 1646–9 at least, as the existence of an order book suggests, but orders of the committee in 1643 are sometimes variously headed ‘The Committee of Safety and for Sequestrations’, the ‘Committee of Safety’ only, or the ‘Committee for Sequestrations’.⁹ Usually orders and warrants are headed the ‘Committee of Safety’, if they are headed at all; and even when sequestrations were dealt with apart, they were carried out by the same men wearing different hats, rather than by a separate committee.¹⁰ In a frontier county of course, these functions could not be separated: the main duty of the county committee was military defence, and the raising of money to pay for this defence, whether through taxation, sequestration or loans.

Except when dealing with sequestration, the committee sat only at Coventry, a city that had previously held itself aloof from the general life of Warwickshire. There was nothing in this county to correspond to the system of local or lathal committees that existed in Kent or Sussex.¹¹ From July 1647 the Sequestration Committee sat alternately at Warwick and Coventry, perhaps in response to the gentry critics of the committee, who complained in 1644–6 of its sitting only at Coventry.¹² This was hardly a separate committee, however, for most of the same men moved from town to town, and the same order book was used. On some occasions parliamentary ordinances included a provision for a distinct committee for the city of Coventry but, again, I have found no evidence that this operated, except perhaps for rating purposes. The sequestration ordinance provided for a separate committee but although a collector was appointed specifically for Coventry, there is no evidence that a committee sat.¹³

In effect therefore a single committee dealt with all aspects of the Civil

⁹ SP28/246. In SP28/248 there are several 1643 sequestration orders headed ‘The Committee of Safety’; but it seems that later the committee did deal separately with sequestration business: SP28/253B, examination of Walter Blyth, before the Subcommittee of Accounts, June 1646.

¹⁰ This single committee also took over the duties imposed by later ordinances of Parliament: to raise money for the British army in Ireland (October 1644 and February 1648), and for the New Model Army (February 1645, June 1647): *A. and O.*, vol. 1: 531–53, 630–46, 958–84, 1072–94.

¹¹ Everitt, *The Community of Kent*, 130; Fletcher, *A County Community in Peace and War*, 326. I have found no evidence to support D.H. Pennington’s view that a distinct committee sat at Warwick from October 1644 (see ‘The Accounts of the Kingdom 1642–1649’ in F.J. Fisher, ed., *Essays in the Economic and Social History of Tudor and Stuart England* (1961)). The Committee of Both Kingdoms sent instructions to the governor of Warwick Castle, John Bridges, not to a Warwick committee, although the *Worcestershire* county committee did sit at Warwick until its own county was cleared of royalists in 1646.

¹² B.L. Add MS 35098 e.g. ff.104v, 108r. For the criticism of Coventry as the committee’s headquarters, see chapter 6 below.

¹³ SP28/246: order of December 1643 appointing Samuel Gilbert, sequestration collector for Coventry. As in so many other cases the committee tended merely to change the headings on their orders when dealing with Coventry: for example SP28/247/395; 15 August 1645. The usual committeemen signed, although John Barker described himself as mayor rather than colonel.

War administration. The active membership of this body has been reconstructed from the signatures on letters, orders and warrants in SP28. The results of this analysis are presented in appendix 2. The lists of committeemen printed in *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum* are misleading. Some men who were frequently nominated to Warwickshire committees never signed a single order while several committeemen were active before, or without, any formal nomination. This latter paradox is more apparent than real, however: the printed lists of committeemen omit *ad hoc* nominations made by Parliament. Sir Richard Skeffington, Peter Burgoyne and Humphrey Mackworth were all active on the committee from 1643, yet Skeffington does not appear in *Acts and Ordinances* until the New Model Assessment of February 1645; Burgoyne until the Assessment Ordinance of February 1648, while Mackworth does not appear at all. All, however, were among the additions made by Parliament to the Association Committee in February 1643.¹⁴ It was by no means unusual for active committeemen in the counties to be fewer than those formally nominated: as Pennington and Roots have pointed out, many early listings, in particular, were ‘optimistic anglings for support’ rather than nominations of those known to be willing to serve.¹⁵ The explanations for inactivity in Warwickshire are rather more complex. Until the ‘Recruiter’ election of 1645 the Warwickshire men active at Westminster, and presumably thus responsible for nominations to committees, were mainly from the more radical parliamentary groups: Brooke until March 1643, William Purefoy, and Godfrey Bosvile.¹⁶ Very few of the established moderate gentry were ever nominated to a committee except at times of ‘Presbyterian’ domination of Parliament such as June 1647 or December 1648.¹⁷ Several of those nominated, but never active, were high-ranking Parliamentarians who held land in Warwickshire, but whose main seats were elsewhere: in this category were Sir Peter Wentworth of Oxfordshire, named to every committee between December 1642 and the Restoration; and Sir Christopher Yelverton of Northamptonshire, appointed to the Assessment Committee of August

¹⁴ *A. and O.*, vol. 1: 614–20; *C.J.*, vol. 2: 956. Similarly many of those nominated by Parliament as additions to Warwickshire committees in November 1645, like Christopher Hales and Paul Wentworth, are not included in *A. and O.* lists until February 1648: *C.J.*, vol. 4: 345–6. Hales and Wentworth were active on the committee in the summer of 1645, however, before they had been formally co-opted.

¹⁵ Pennington and Roots, eds., *The Committee at Stafford*, xxi–xxii; see also Morrill, *Provinces*, 67.

¹⁶ Although the moderate Coventry M.P. William Jesson nominated the members of the Subcommittee of Accounts in 1644: see chapter 6 below.

¹⁷ *A. and O.*, vol. 1: 958–84, 1233–55. The militia committees, established by the ordinance of 2 December 1648 were a roll call of the leading non-royalist gentry in most counties; the Rump repealed the ordinance two weeks later: see G. Aylmer, ‘Who was Ruling in Herefordshire 1645 to 1661?’, *Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists Field Club* 40, part three (1972), 373–87.

1643.¹⁸ Such men were not expected to be active, their nomination was probably intended to add a little of the social prestige the committee so noticeably lacked. Others of the nominated committeemen apparently excluded themselves on political grounds. William Jesson and Thomas Boughton were named to all committees between December 1642 and December 1648 but are never found signing warrants. Jesson, as an M.P., was in London a great deal but he was certainly out of sympathy with the militancy of the active committeemen.¹⁹ Boughton's case is the most interesting of all and casts some doubt on the use of signatures as a guide to committeemen's activity. In 1644, the county committee, commenting on the choice of Boughton as a member of the Subcommittee of Accounts, alleged that he had refused to sign its warrants. On the other hand, in December 1643, the Earl of Denbigh complained that his allies amongst nominated committeemen, of whom Boughton was the chief, were excluded from the committee's discussions; the committee had: 'set their hands to that information [against Denbigh's conduct in the county] at an unusual place and hour of meeting, others of the Committee, of as good quality and fortunes, and of as unquestionable integrity to the Parliament . . . not consulted with'.²⁰ Boughton was never allowed, or never agreed to sign warrants, and he illustrates a general point about the Warwickshire county committee: there does not seem to have been much political division within it; anyone who was out of sympathy with the militant majority was simply excluded, or excluded himself.

It remains to discuss the character of the county committee as revealed by those committeemen who did serve. The dominant figure in Warwickshire politics from the death of Brooke to the eve of the Restoration was William Purefoy of Caldecote, a 'county boss' whose role was similar to that of John Pyne of Somerset or Sir Anthony Weldon in Kent.²¹ Purefoy's earlier activities as an opponent of the government of Charles I and an ally of Brooke, have been described in previous chapters, but it was only after the outbreak of the Civil War that Purefoy, already in his sixties, became a really formidable figure. As the war continued, Purefoy became increasingly prominent in Parliament, and increasingly identified with the 'war party' and then with the 'Independents' in the Commons until he was one of the most influential members of the Rump.

¹⁸ Wentworth: *A. and O.* passim; Yelverton: *A. and O.*, vol. 1: 235.

¹⁹ Jesson's activities as an ally of the Subcommittees of Accounts will be discussed in chapter 6; his attempts to keep the city of Coventry independent of the county committee in chapter 7. In August 1642 Jesson refused to assent to a Commons' resolution to support the Earl of Essex with their lives and fortunes: Fletcher, *The Outbreak of the English Civil War*, 341.

²⁰ SP28/247/585-6; Bodleian Library Tanner MS 62, f.420, Denbigh to the Speaker of the House of Lords, 8 December 1643; a draft of this letter is in W.C.R.O. CR2017/C10/134.

²¹ Underdown, *Somerset*, 121-6; Everitt, *The Community of Kent*, 127.

His political activity was bolstered by his confident Calvinism; in his will he trusted 'that when I shall be removed from this house of clay, I shall be taken into those blessed mansions of everlasting happiness, prepared for and predestined, to the elect by the eternal decree of Almighty God'.²² Purefoy was in many ways the archetypal 'conservative revolutionary' or 'Presbyterian Independent': unrelenting in his pursuit of papists and royalists, and an unrepentant regicide, he was nonetheless unhappy about Pride's Purge and made attempts to save the House of Lords. He was an opponent of religious toleration and social upheaval, and in favour of a Presbyterian church settlement and strong measures against levellers. Out of sympathy with Cromwell's military rule, he was to some extent under a cloud after 1653, but in 1659, on the eve of his death, he kept Coventry loyal to the Parliament during Booth's rising.²³ Purefoy's duties at Westminster meant that he was only intermittently active on the county committee, but he kept in touch by letter and could exert influence through his cousin Gamaliel Purefoy and his stepson George Abbott. Gamaliel Purefoy, a minor gentleman from the north-east of the county was a rare attender of the committee in 1643 but gradually played a more important part until in 1646–7 he was one of the most conscientious committeemen. George Abbott came originally from Yorkshire and was thus one of several strangers on the committee, although he had settled in Warwickshire for many years and owned land in the county at Baddesley Clinton. Abbott was a close friend of the Puritan minister of Caldecote, Richard Vines, and his own interests were primarily theological. He published commentaries of the Book of Job and the Psalms, and most of his will consisted of religious and educational bequests, including provision of a bible and a copy of Mr Ball's 'large catechism' for each poor family in Caldecote. Abbott was elected to the Commons as Recruiter M.P. for Tamworth in 1645; his duties at Westminster coupled with his poor health, meant that he was unable to be as active on the committee in 1646.²⁴

The second Yorkshireman on the committee, Brooke's stepbrother

²² D.N.B., under William Purefoy; Underdown, *Prides Purge*, 383; A.B. Worden, *The Rump Parliament* (Cambridge, 1974), 390; Prob. 11/304 f.77.

²³ Worden, *The Rump*, 46, 49, 58, 126–7, 207. See C.J., vol. 5: 332 for Purefoy acting as a teller in favour of a Presbyterian system with no time limit, 13 October 1647; C.J., vol. 6: 97, 101, 115, 121, 132 for Purefoy's attempts to save the House of Lords December 1648–February 1649. See also chapter 8.

²⁴ D.N.B. under George Abbott, J.C. Wedgewood, *Staffordshire Parliamentary History* (1920), 64–71; Richard Vines' dedication to Abbott's *The Whole Book of Psalms Paraphrased* (1650) where Vines writes that Abbott 'lived under my Ministry and in intimate correspondence with me' for twenty years. Prob. 11/207 f.54. Abbott died in 1649, aged 46. He was ill at a call of the House of Commons in 1647. Abbott is described by most authorities as William Purefoy's son-in-law, but it is clear from both their wills that this cannot have been the case.

Godfrey Bosvile of Gunthwaite, was also a close associate of William Purefoy: the two men addressed each other as 'brother' and often worked together in the Rump. Bosvile had been involved with the Providence Island Company and was a patron of Puritan ministers in Yorkshire. He lived on his estate at Wroxall, Warwickshire, during the Civil War and attended the committee quite frequently until 1 June 1645. He lost the command of the Warwick foot regiment after the Self-denying Ordinance and thereafter seems to have taken little interest in his adopted county.²⁵

None of the men discussed so far were among those who carried out most of the routine business of the Civil War administration. The most active committeeman until 1645 was John Barker; thereafter it was Thomas Willoughby. These two were successively Governors of Coventry and thus most involved with the routine payments for fortifications, scouts, and the care of prisoners, which make up the bulk of the surviving warrants in SP28. Barker was a Coventry draper, an alderman from 1635, mayor in 1634 and 1644, and one of the city's M.P.s in the Long Parliament. By 1645 he was perhaps slightly out of sympathy with the militancy of the committee: the Subcommittee of Accounts reported him as opposing the imprisonment of its messenger by the county committee; he was less active as a county committeeman; and, on occasions, he co-operated with his fellow M.P., the moderate William Jesson, in attempts to lessen Coventry's burdens. However, he was still willing to work with the committee in 1649, and his temporary exclusion at Pride's Purge is seen by Blair Worden as a mistake: he was a man whose opinions were not well known or strongly argued, rather than one whole-heartedly opposed to the developments of the Civil War.²⁶ Thomas Willoughby, a minor gentleman from Sutton Coldfield in north Warwickshire, was heavily involved in the work of the committee throughout the Civil War.²⁷ Second only to Barker, and then Willoughby, in the level of his activity on the committee was John Hales of Coventry. Hales was descended from an important Protestant family established in Coventry in the mid sixteenth century through the purchase of monastic lands; he was a friend of Brooke, Purefoy and Sir Thomas Lucy, but had played no part in the affairs of Warwickshire before the Civil War.²⁸

²⁵ SP28/299: Bosvile to Purefoy, April 1643; Worden, *The Rump Parliament*, 46; Cliffe, *The Yorkshire Gentry*, 270, 310; Lady Alice MacDonald of the Isles, *The Fortunes of a Family: Bosvile of New Hall, Gunthwaite and Thorpe*, (Edinburgh, 1928), 51-61.

²⁶ For Barker's position in Coventry: Cov. C.R.O. A14(a) f.333v, A14(b) f.44r; Poole, *Coventry*, 372. His attitude to the Subcommittee of Accounts: SP28/255, 10 February 1645; his co-operation with Jesson: Cov. C.R.O. A79 P212, February 1648; Worden, *The Rump*, 24.

²⁷ Willoughby's father, Edward, was warden of Sutton Coldfield in 1635: Cov. C.R.O. A35.

²⁸ Poole, *Coventry*, 147. D.N.B. (Corrections) under Christopher and John Hales. Hales' contacts with Brooke are revealed in the accounts of John Halford (W.C.R.O. CR1866); he was an executor of Lucy's will and acted with Purefoy in a land transaction in 1636: Prob 11/185 f.20; B. Ref. Lib. MS 257399.

The busiest committeeman of all, however, was Thomas Basnet, another Coventry alderman who served as the committee's treasurer and left voluminous evidence of his industry in the Commonwealth Exchequer Papers. Basnet was a mercer, and had been mayor of Coventry in 1637 and an alderman since 1638. Apparently a more radical figure than Alderman Barker, he was, according to his opponent William Jesson, the leader of the group in Coventry who were prepared to sacrifice the city's independence to the needs of war administration. He served as an excise commissioner for Warwickshire in the 1650s, was active as a militia commissioner on behalf of the Rump in 1659 and only dropped out of political life in February 1662, resigning his position in Coventry before he could be purged. The same year saw the ejection of his son Samuel, a congregational minister, from his Coventry living.²⁹

Peter Burgoyne of Coventry was one of the most active committeemen except in 1645, when as governor of Kenilworth Castle he was preoccupied with military duties. He was a junior member of the important Wroxall and Bedfordshire family, the uncle of Sir John Burgoyne, Recruiter M.P. for Warwickshire. Peter Burgoyne, like committeeman William Colemore, a minor gentleman of Birmingham, had been a captain of trained bands before the Civil War and both men had some contacts with Brooke before the outbreak.³⁰ Colemore, like Barker, may have been out of sympathy with the rest of the committee by the end of the Civil War as he seems to have given up his military command in April 1646; but, again like Barker, he was still signing warrants in April 1649. Thereafter Colemore seems to have become increasingly conservative. He never acted as a J.P. in the 1650s although he was usually named to the commission and he was an associate of the ex-royalist Sir Thomas Holte. Indeed, Colemore ended his life as a Tory: he was one of the members of Parliament who voted against declaring the throne vacant on 5 February 1689.³¹

²⁹ Cov. C.R.O. A14(a) ff.346v, 355r; for Jesson's view: Cov. C.R.O. A79, P214, and see chapter 7 below. For Basnet's career in the 1650s: E113/1/2; SP18/220/71; for his retirement in 1662: Cov. C.R.O. A14(b) f.143r; for Samuel Basnet: Matthews, ed., *Calamy Revised*, 33–4.

³⁰ Prob 11/242 f.509, Burgoyne's will, which reveals the links with the senior branch of the family and suggests a small estate. Details of the Civil War military career of Burgoyne and other officers are based mainly on musters, October 1643–August 1646, SP28/121A, 122–3. A full account of the Warwickshire county forces is given in Hughes, 'Politics, Society and Civil War', appendix 4. Burgoyne was a captain in the Coventry foot regiment from the early stages of the war, and governor at Kenilworth, from June 1645 to June 1646. For Burgoyne and Colemore as captains of the trained bands: Cov. C.R.O. A35; W.C.R.O. Z237. W.C.R.O. CR 1866 Halford Accounts and Dugard's diary, B.L. Add MS 23, 146, show close ties between Brooke and the Burgoynes, while Dugard himself brought Colemore into Brooke's orbit: *ibid.*, ff.41r, 42v–43r, 49v.

³¹ Colemore was a captain of the Coventry foot and then colonel of the horse regiment from May 1645. For his appointment as J.P. see appendix 1. He was an executor of Holte's will: Prob 11/249 f.336. For 1689: Eveline Cruikshanks, John Ferris and David Hayton, 'The House of Commons' Vote on the Transfer of the Crown, 5 February 1689', *B.I.H.R.*, vol. 52 (1979), 46.

Sir Richard Skeffington was another semi-stranger amongst the county committeemen: he held land at Arley and Coventry, but he was primarily a Staffordshire man and was elected as a Recruiter M.P. for that county in 1646 through the influence of his brother-in-law and close associate Sir William Brereton. Skeffington, in Richard Baxter's view, 'a most noble, holy man', was wholeheartedly committed to the Parliament's cause; he had, for example, been bitterly disappointed at the 'defection' of his cousin, Sir Edward Dering from the Parliament. He was consistently active on the Warwickshire Committee until shortly before his death in April 1647.³²

There were no additions to the regular committeemen until the summer of 1645 when Christopher Hales, son of John, and Paul Wentworth are found signing warrants. Wentworth may have been related to Sir Peter Wentworth but his pedigree is unknown; both he and Hales were active committeemen until 1649. Two other new members, Waldive Willington, Governor of Tamworth garrison from 1643–6, and John Bridges, governor of Warwick Castle 1643–7 and colonel of the Warwick foot after the Self-denying Ordinance, were infrequently active in 1645–6, presumably when their military duties permitted. Both are interesting examples of the type of man who rose to prominence in county life through the Civil War. Willington, a minor gentleman from Hurley in north Warwickshire, was commissioned as captain of foot by Brooke in September 1642 and served the parliamentary regime as a conscientious J.P. and committeeman right through to the Restoration. Thereafter he returned to comparative obscurity, and died in 1676 leaving a small estate and a large library revealing extensive scholarly and practical interests.³³ Bridges came of a quasi-gentle family, from the Greville town of Alcester, which made its way in the world through more than half a century of service to successive Lords Brooke. John Bridges had been the second lord's solicitor and was an executor of his will; his father and four brothers also served the Grevilles as legal advisers or estate managers. Bridges was named to all commissions of the peace for Warwickshire from 1645 until 1660 and to county committees in the late 1640s and early 1650s, but after the Civil War he lived mainly in Worcestershire where he had bought land. He was a J.P. and M.P. for that county in the 1650s, and an intimate of Richard Baxter. In the 1650s also, he held a military

³² Wedgewood, *Staffordshire Parliamentary History*, 48–9; Stebbing Shaw, *The History and Antiquities of Staffordshire* (1798), vol. 1: 365; B.L. Add MS 11 332 ff. 44r, 45r; Prob 11/214 f.160; *Reliquiae Baxterianae*, 44; B.L. Stowe MS 744 f.1; Stowe MS 184 ff.19, 51.

³³ Willington gave an account of his Interregnum career in P.R.O. E113/1/2; for his service as a J.P. and committeeman see appendix 1 and *A. and O.*, vol. 2, *passim*. His will, Lich. J.R.O. proved 5 May 1676, is discussed also in chapter 2, p. 45–6 above.

command in Ireland, and on the eve of the Restoration, was one of a group of officers who secured Dublin for a free parliament.³⁴ Finally, in this account of leading committeemen, Richard Lucy, the third son but eventual heir of Sir Thomas, was infrequently active in 1646-9.

To Richard Baxter, who sheltered in Coventry during the war, the committeemen were 'many very godly and judicious gentlemen'; Barker, in whose house Baxter lodged, Abbott, Bosvile and Skeffington were especially praised although Baxter was no friend of William Purefoy.³⁵ The majority of the non-royalist gentry had a different view; for them, the committeemen were 'men of inconsiderable fortunes, others of little or no estate, and strangers in our county, and therefore cannot be sensible of our burthens and payments'.³⁶

The account of the committeemen given above shows the accuracy of the view of their social status: William Purefoy, as a pre-war J.P., although never of the quorum, was at least on the fringes of the pre-war élite, but this could be said of no other regular committeeman. In a county where hitherto the southern gentry had played the dominant role in politics and administration, the committee was controlled by minor northern gentry, Coventry men and strangers. Indeed, we have not yet mentioned all the strangers on the committee; the Shropshire gentleman Humphrey Mackworth and Isaac Bromwich of Herefordshire took refuge in Coventry during the Civil War and were involved with the work of the committee until they were able to return to their native counties.³⁷ The consistency in the membership of the committee is also worthy of comment. Warwickshire was not a county where moderate Parliamentarians from the established gentry were gradually pushed out by militants of lower rank as the war progressed; its committee was 'unfamiliar and

³⁴ CR1866, Box 411, Household Accounts; Box 412, Draft Rent Accounts; MS 2833, will of the second Lord Brooke; SP28/136, accounts of Charles Johnson, treasurer of Warwick Castle garrison; V.C.H., Worcestershire, vol. 3:172; appendix 1 below; A. and O., vol. 1: 1094, 1244; vol. 2: 45, 311, 480, 677; *Reliquiae Baxterianae*, 70, 88-9; John Bridges, *A Perfect Narrative of the Securing of Dublin Castle* (1660). ³⁵ *Reliquiae Baxterianae*, 43-4.

³⁶ House of Lords Record Office, Main Papers, 21 August 1644.

³⁷ Bromwich was a co-lessee with John Pym of the Coventry coal mines; a captain of horse in Brooke's Association Army, and later an ally of the moderate Harleys in Herefordshire. In December 1646 Sir Robert Harley secured Bromwich's release from imprisonment following a dispute with the more radical John Birch. I am grateful to Dr Jackie Levy for advice on Bromwich. Cov. C.R.O. A14(a) f.362r; SP28/6/157; D. Underdown, 'Party Management in the Recruiter elections 1645-1648', *E.H.R.*, vol. 83 (1968), 245; *Military Memoir of Colonel John Birch*, J. and T.W. Webb, eds. (Camden Society, 1873), 140-4. Mackworth, a lawyer, was steward of Coventry in 1645, but had been mainly involved with his native Shropshire since 1644. In June 1646 he became governor of Shrewsbury and was a prominent legal official and member of Cromwell's council in the 1650s: D.N.B. under Sir Humphrey Mackworth; Cov. C.R.O. A14(b) f.43v; SP/21/19/42-3; C.J., vol. 6: 561.

suspect from the beginning'.³⁸ Most of the active committeemen had taken power along with Lord Brooke during the execution of the militia ordinance in 1642, and with very few exceptions they were consistently active throughout the 1640s. All of the committeemen described, who were still alive, and still resident in the county were nominated as J.P.s in the 1650s, although Colemore and Christopher Hales were never active.³⁹

The only time at which the committee was seriously affected by political defections was in the summer of 1643. Robert Phippes, the Coventry physician who had been the hero of the 1642 siege of the city, was accused of 'affronts' to some of the other committeemen. Although the trouble blew over, Phippes was a rare attender of the committee thereafter, and supported the Earl of Denbigh in 1644.⁴⁰ At the same time, Anthony Stoughton of Warwick, with Richard Lucy the only southern gentlemen ever to attend the committee, and with William Purefoy the only pre-war J.P., withdrew from activity. Stoughton also was a supporter of Denbigh, but an ineffectual one; he seems to have been reluctant to commit himself to any wing of the parliamentary cause for long and was again attending the committee in 1646-7.⁴¹

It was only by the middle of 1643, too, that the Coventry committee established a stable military and financial organisation. Before the summer, Warwickshire Parliamentarians were militarily insecure and in desperate financial straits. In January 1643, the royalists led by Robert Arden were planning to hold Quarter Sessions at Stratford or even Warwick; while the Worcestershire royalists were plundering the goods of Sir Edward Peyto and other suspected Warwickshire men and the Earl of Northampton was harassing at least one Stratford gentleman over contributions to the king.⁴² In February Brooke ordered the disarming of the politically unreliable town of Stratford-on-Avon and after his death at Lichfield in early March came two disasters: Parliament's stronghold, Birmingham, was extensively plundered and burnt by Rupert's men;

³⁸ D.H Pennington, 'The County Community at War' in E. W. Ives, ed., *The English Revolution 1600-1660* (1971), 68.

³⁹ See appendix 1. The Coventry merchants were never nominated to the commission of the peace for Warwickshire.

⁴⁰ Phippes was the son of a Coventry surgeon and the grandson of a Kenilworth yeoman. The origins of the dispute between him and the rest of the committee are obscure: Speaker Lenthall wrote to the committee in July 1643 to ask them to 'pass by' their allegation against Phippes for the sake of unity. In 1644 however, William Purefoy got the rest of the committee to certify that he had never opposed Phippes: S.B.T. DR23 pedigree of the Phippes family; Tanner MS 62 f.145; CR2017/C10/51. For Phippes and Denbigh: H.M.C., vol. 4 (Denbigh), 270.

⁴¹ Stoughton acted as Denbigh's treasurer for money raised in Warwickshire, but the earl's other associates frequently complained of Stoughton's 'great neglect': CR2017/C10/20.

⁴² SP28/298, notes made on a receipt by Barker, January 1643; Kent County Archives Department, Unlisted Cranfield MSS, Miscellaneous Estate Correspondence, Thomas Combe of Stratford to Lionel, Earl of Middlesex, 3 March 1643 describing royalist activity.

further south, Hastings Ingram, governor of Parliament's new garrison, Kenilworth Castle was implicated in a plot to betray Warwick to the royalists and removed from his post under armed guard by William Purefoy in early April.⁴³ The committeemen had to borrow extensively and use their own money to pay the troops at Coventry while the garrison at Warwick was dieted only throughout the winter, 'money failing' after Edgehill. According to royalist intelligence, many of the Warwick troops deserted as soon as Brooke left for Staffordshire.⁴⁴ Only limited attempts to collect proposition money seem to have been made in the summer of 1642 and the succeeding months saw frequent appeals to London for funds. The pacific Jesson lent £1,000 and Brooke's Association was financed mainly through borrowing – from London citizens and Warwickshire- and Staffordshire-born merchants now living in the capital.⁴⁵ Brooke's Association, a London as much as a Midlands-based initiative, helped this situation only briefly. His death at Lichfield in early March led to the disintegration of his army: at Hopton Heath all his forces ran away except for the reformadoe horse and Willoughby's foot.⁴⁶ The Warwickshire committee was left wondering how to pay Brooke's bills; they had yet to raise any horse of their own and were forced to disband many of the foot for want of money.⁴⁷

The great achievement of the Coventry committee was that it managed, out of this chaos, to create a military and financial organisation

⁴³ *The Last Weeks Proceedings of the Lord Brooke* (1643) B.L. E91(19); *Prince Rupert's Burning Love to England, discovered in Birmingham's Flames* (1643) B.L. E100(8). Ingram had garrisoned Kenilworth in January shortly after escaping from prison in Oxford. Letters implicating him in the Warwick plot were found on the body of the Earl of Northampton after the battle of Hopton Heath: *Dugdale* (Hamper), 47; SP28/139 Part 3 accounts of Rowland Wilson, Treasurer of Brooke's Association: £1 'Given amongst the soldiers by Colonel Purefoy's appointment at Kenilworth Castle, when he went to apprehend Mr Ingram' (7 April); SP28/37/126, examination of Ingram by the Subcommittee of Accounts, March 1646. After a period of imprisonment, Ingram was an active supporter of the Earl of Denbigh: H.M.C., vol. 4 (Denbigh), 270.

⁴⁴ SP28/4/116; SP28/254/5 ff.32v–33r, 98r, for committee borrowing; for Warwick see the examinations of Ensign John Bridges and George Ainge, scout, January 1646: SP28/253B; SP/16/511/57, v. B.L. Add MS 18980 f.23, Earl of Northampton to Sir Edward Nicholas, 2 March 1643.

⁴⁵ For the propositions see below. *C.J.*, vol. 2: 815 (Jesson). SP28/139/ Part 3, Wilson's accounts; *L.J.*, vol. 5: 569, 627–8 for the loans for the Association. Wilson's accounts list receipts of £1,720 only, all but £100 raised through borrowing.

⁴⁶ *England's Losse and Lamentation* (1643), B.L. E92 (18) for Brooke's death. For the disintegration of his regiment and army: Godfrey Davies, 'The Parliamentary Army under the Earl of Essex, 1642–1645', *E.H.R.*, vol. 49 (1934), 38. Hopton Heath: Shaw *Staffordshire*, 57; *The Battaile on Hopton Heath in Staffordshire* (April 1643) B.L. E99 (18). Ironically Brooke's old enemy the Earl of Northampton, was killed at this battle.

⁴⁷ SP28/248, 12 May 1643, notes of a meeting of the committees of Staffordshire and Warwickshire to discuss Brooke's debts. H.M.C., vol. 10, appendix 6 (Bouverie, Pym), 95. Cf. Holmes, *Eastern Association*, 75–8 for similar problems in 1642–3. Officers' accounts also reveal a general reduction in the numbers of foot companies.

that was, by Civil War standards, efficient. The absence of a general order book means that any comments about the administrative routine of the committee must remain tentative. In comparatively normal periods, it appears that a full committee met weekly although some business was done on other days: forty-one warrants or orders of the committee survive for November 1644 and forty-one also for December; thirty-four of the November documents and thirty-five of those for December are from the weekly dates, 2–30 November and 7–28 December. The material covers ten separate days in November and nine in December. In busier times like July 1645 when the committee was occupied with supplying the Scots army quartered on the county and with caring for soldiers wounded at Naseby, orders and warrants exist for sixteen days in the month.⁴⁸ When the war was over and sequestration business was the main duty of the committee, it usually met twice a week, on consecutive days in Coventry and Warwick.⁴⁹

Most of the routine documents surviving from the committee's work are the bills presented to Basnet by men responsible for work on the fortifications or for the care of prisoners: they were usually signed by three committeemen and this seems to have served as Basnet's authorisation for their payment. Some were signed by two committeemen only, or even by just one, usually the Governor of Coventry.⁵⁰ The impression is certainly of a very casual administration: that Basnet simply presented his bills to whomever he could find. This may be unjust, however, for although none of the eight warrants surviving from 15 March 1645⁵¹ have more than three signatures, eight committeemen in all were active on that day. More important orders such as those for the weekly tax were usually signed by five or six committeemen, while letters, especially those to the Parliament, were signed by up to eight. For most of the period 1643–7, twelve or thirteen committeemen were active at any one time.⁵²

The most important of the committee's officials, after Basnet, was its clerk, Abraham Boune, a Coventry attorney in his early forties, from a family just coming to be recognised as gentry. Boune was paid 10s per week as clerk and a further 10s per day for occasional duties as advocate at the Council of War. He also acted as sequestration solicitor for Coventry, for which he received 2d for every £1 raised. After 1649 he

⁴⁸ Analysis based on material in SP28/246–8. The Staffordshire committee, however, met daily. Pennington and Roots, eds., *The Committee at Stafford*, xxiv–xxv.

⁴⁹ B.L. Add MS 35098. Meetings were held more frequently around the main leasing period, Lady Day and Michaelmas.

⁵⁰ For example: SP28/247/514–26 which are orders from Willoughby only to Basnet's deputy John Watson to pay the gunners at Coventry (September and October 1645).

⁵¹ In SP28/246. ⁵² See appendix 2.

served as clerk of the peace although he lost this office shortly after the Restoration.⁵³ The solicitor for sequestrations, responsible for bringing charges against ‘delinquents’, for surveying their lands and arranging leases was Walter Blyth of Allesley. Blyth was the second son of a small farmer from the Arden region and may have acquired his post through a distant Brooke connection, for his elder brother was married to the sister of Sir Arthur Haselrig. As solicitor he received 5d for each £1 of sequestration revenue, plus 14s per week for assistants and horses, but the indirect benefits of Blyth’s experience were greater. His wide knowledge of land use was deployed to good effect in *The English Improver* (1649), ‘the best and most comprehensive textbook on husbandry of the middle seventeenth century’. Blyth’s approach was both practical and idealistic; he was linked to the circle of reformers around Samuel Hartlib, influenced by Baconian and religious ideas. He supported enclosure, and hoped that poverty could be eliminated by the efficient exploitation of land. In the early 1650s he was heavily involved in surveying crown lands and purchased extensive crown property, mainly as an agent for various regiments. He died in Lincolnshire in 1654, probably after a period working on fen draining schemes.⁵⁴

The committee’s collectors were responsible for the gathering of both sequestration and proposition money, further evidence that there was no clear differentiation in the functions of the committee. All four men were of below-gentry status although most of them were calling themselves gentlemen by the 1640s. Robert Gresbrooke of Middleton and Robert Binckes of Shustoke acted for Hemlingford and Knightlow Hundreds; Joshua Yardley and Robert Haynes, both of Warwick, for Barlichway and Kineton. It is difficult to discern much about the characters and attitudes of such men. Binckes seems to have come to regret his activism during the Civil War for his burial at Shustoke in 1658 drew the following doggerel from the parish clerk: ‘in this bed of earth here lies to mellow Robin Roundhead turned good-fellow’.⁵⁵ Gresbrooke, on the other hand, displayed strong Puritan sentiments in his will of 1671, including a belief in a physical resurrection.⁵⁶ Haynes was the collector whose conduct was most criticised during the war, especially by the local Subcommittee of

⁵³ 1682–3 *Visitation*: E178/6506: Boune was 64 in 1662; Q.S.O.B., vol. 2: xxix. Boune also acted as a receiver of crown lands in the 1640s. The salaries of Boune and the other officials are taken from Basner’s third book of disbursements: SP28/137 Part two.

⁵⁴ Joan Thirsk, ‘Plough and Pen: Agricultural Writers in the Seventeenth Century’ in T.H. Aston *et al.*, eds., *Social Relations and Ideas: Essays in Honour of R.H. Hilton* (Past and Present Publications, Cambridge, 1983), 307–13. *The English Improver* (1649); Webster, *The Great Instauration*, 469–70, 473–7; G.E. Fussell, *The Old English Farming Books* (1947), 51–2; Prob. 11/235 f.142. ⁵⁵ P. Styles, ‘Dugdale and the Civil War’, *B.A.S.T.*, vol. 86 (1974), 135.

⁵⁶ Will proved at Lichfield, 15 September 1671. Gresbrooke’s career is outlined in E113/1/2.

Accounts. Their accusations of embezzlement will be dealt with below.⁵⁷ Each collector received £4 10s per week to pay for his assistants and horses, plus 6d in the £1 on all sums raised. This allowance was considerably more than the maximum 3d in the £1 permitted by Parliament and was severely criticised by the Subcommittees of Accounts. The county committee argued, in their defence, that the threat from enemy garrisons made collection dangerous and reduced the amount collected.⁵⁸

The main responsibility of the committee was military organisation, as stated before. This is clearly illustrated by the payments in Basnet's accounts; of the £5,705 spent by the treasurer between March and November 1645, £3,953 (69%) went on military expenditure: supplements for soldiers pay; the purchase of arms and ammunition; work on Coventry's fortifications, the guarding of prisoners; scouts; and £296 to the Scots army. Apart from this there were payments to military chaplains, to surgeons for care of the wounded, and to soldiers' widows. The only expenses comparable to these military burdens were the salaries of committee officials on which Basnet spent over £900. Collection of revenue was certainly expensive: payments to Blyth and the collectors totalled £777, in return for which, £1,515 proposition money and £3,577 sequestration money was collected. Basnet's other charges included repayments of loans, ministers' augmentations and annuities due out of sequestered estates, and payments to messengers, including in this account 11s to 'him that brought news from Sir Thomas Fairfax of routing the King's Army' (at Naseby). There is no sign in this, or in any of Basnet's accounts, that the committee spent any money on civilian administration – apart from *ad hoc* payments for the relief of refugees, often from Ireland.⁵⁹

The decentralised military organisation, under which most of the money for soldiers' pay went directly to military commanders rather than to Basnet, means that the committee's central accounts give little idea of the true cost of the war effort or of the burdens imposed on the local population. Basnet's total receipts and payments in the 1640s are given in table 6. He received a total of £60,736, a sum which was sufficient to cover his outgoings until 1647–8 when proposition money no longer came in.

⁵⁷ See p. 193, below. Haynes died in 1650: will Prob 11/214 f.178. Yardley's Warwick links are revealed in the will of his cousin John Yardley, bailiff of the town: Prob 11/303 f.14 (1661). There were, in addition, separate collectors for Coventry and Tamworth.

⁵⁸ SP28/246 n.d. Subcommittee of Accounts to their London committee; SP28/247/182, the county committee's explanation. SP28/254/5 ff.53r, 68v, 105r, 108v.

⁵⁹ Basnet's third account SP28/137, Part 2: the account also included reimbursements of expenses incurred by county committeemen in the campaign against Denbigh in 1646. These payments were frowned on by the Subcommittee of Accounts.

Table 6
(a) *Thomas Basnet's receipts and payments 1642-50*

Dates	Receipts	Payments (both to nearest £1)
September 1642-29 September 1644:	£18,642	£18,399
29 September 1644-25 March 1645:	£4,639	£4,554
25 March 1645-1 November 1645:	£5,765	£5,705
1 November 1645-13 June 1646:	£8,558	£7,287
9 June 1646-4 November 1646:	£3,825	£4,000
1 November 1646-25 May 1647:	£4,643	£4,600
18 May 1647-31 January 1648:	£4,407	£4,489
31 January 1648-29 September 1648:	£3,923	£4,086
29 September 1648-25 March 1650:	£6,334	£5,826 ^a

^a The surplus on this last account was forwarded to the Commissioners for Compounding at Goldsmiths' Hall.

Sources: Basnet's First Disbursement Book: SP28/137, part 3; Second-Fifth Books: SP28/137, part 2; Sixth Book: SP/215; Seventh Book: SP28/136; Eighth Book: SP28/183/34; Ninth Book: SP28/184. The dates are those given by Basnet.

(b) *Receipts from proposition money*

<i>a. by Abraham Boune</i>	
September 1642-April 1643:	£5,378
<i>b. by John Bryan (at Warwick)</i>	
August 1642-June 1643:	£2,487
<i>c. by Thomas Basnet.</i>	
March 1643-September 1644:	£8,707
September 1644-March 1645:	£1,425
March 1645-November 1645:	£1,515
October 1645-June 1646:	£1,037
June 1646-November 1646:	£317
November 1646-May 1647:	£190

Sources: a. B.L. Add MS 35209; Boune's accounts of money received before the Ordinance for a fifth and twentieth.

b. House of Lords, Main Papers, 26 August 1643.

c. SP28/186, Basnet's 'Proposition' Books.

Table 6 (cont.)
 (c) *Money received from sequestrations*

<i>a. by Basnet</i>	
March 1643–September 1644:	£6,941
September 1644–March 1645:	£2,667
March 1645–November 1645:	£3,577
November 1645–June 1646:	£7,221 ^a
June 1646–November 1646:	£2,166
November 1646–May 1647:	£3,828
May 1647–January 1648:	£4,149
January 1648–September 1648:	£3,923
September 1648–March 1650:	£6,010
<i>b. by Sequestration Commissioners John Halford, William Thornton and Edward Chamberlain</i>	
March 1650–September 1651:	£12,000
September 1651–September 1652:	£6,168

^a This sum includes £2,678 found in the house of John Whitwick; it belonged to the estate of Sir Thomas Puckering whose executor Whitwick was, and was not, in law, sequestrable.

Source: SP28/215: sequestration accounts.

This was largely because Warwickshire, like most counties, ignored the provisions in the money-raising ordinances for sending money to London.⁶⁰

Only £4,171 of Basnet's receipts were from the 'weekly pay', £2,995 of it collected in the first eighteen months after February 1643. Yet the money raised under the February 1643 ordinance for the weekly assessment was the most productive source of supply for the committee's soldiers. Most of the sums received by Basnet under this ordinance probably came in the first three months of the tax's operation for only the initial levy was to be returned to Basnet at Coventry. Thereafter the committee worked out a decentralised financial system to ensure constant pay for their troops. In July 1643 the county's parishes were divided amongst the three regiments while by October the decentralisation had been carried a stage further: each captain of foot and each corporal of horse was allotted a small group of parishes whose

⁶⁰ For example: Morrill, *Cheshire*, 94–5; Pennington and Roots, eds., *The Committee at Stafford*, xxxiii–xxxvi.

weekly tax was to provide the pay for himself and his men. This continued until the end of a general weekly assessment in the summer of 1646.⁶¹

In some ways the ‘assignment’ system was remarkably effective. The Warwickshire forces did not compete with each other for supply as the military did in other counties.⁶² As the troops were collecting their own pay, and as they were ready to distrain if payment was not forthcoming, a large proportion of the amounts levied was collected. Between October 1643 and December 1644 Major Castle and Captain Slade of the Warwick foot both received 93% of the sums assigned to them; in the next eighteen months the proportion had risen to 98%.⁶³ Major Gamaliel Purefoy of the Coventry foot received 94% of his weekly tax between November 1644 and November 1645: the same proportion was received by Astley garrison from February 1644 to June 1645.⁶⁴ The horse troops were less successful, probably because they more often served outside the county, but the amounts raised were still impressive for a frontier county where the population were subjected to many demands in contribution, plunder and quarter by both sides. Captain Ottway’s troop received 66% of the taxation due, while the Subcommittees of Accounts calculated that the troop commanded first by Major Pont and then by Captain Cotton had received 72%.⁶⁵ The success of the weekly tax was the main cause of the comparatively good pay of the Warwickshire troops, to be discussed below.

However, the system had its drawbacks. As we shall see, the Warwickshire county forces were usually reluctant to move far from their sources of supply. In addition the taxation was, not surprisingly, very unpopular with the local population. One important reason for this was the unprecedented heaviness of the burdens imposed. The amount levied

⁶¹ SP28/247/2–3: Basnet’s abstracts of his receipts; SP28/136, the accounts of Major James Castle (foot) and Captains Thomas Leyfield and Richard Creed (horse) give examples of the system at work. The accounts of Lieutenant Abraham Owen for the Coventry foot company of Captain Matthew Randall show that these forces had their own assignments from August 1643: SP28/131/ Part 15.

⁶² Pennington and Roots, eds., *The Committee at Stafford*, xxxii–xxxiii. The Earl of Denbigh’s soldiers were excluded, however; see chapter 6 below.

⁶³ SP28/182, accounts of Major Castle and Captain Slade. Castle received £1,426 out of £1,539, October 1643–December 1644. Castle £1,753 out of £1,786, Slade £1,694 out of £1,736, December 1644–June 1646.

⁶⁴ Gamaliel Purefoy £1,062 out of £1,125: SP28/144/10; Astley £612 out of £648: SP28/182, accounts of Henry Kendall. Captain Matthew Randall’s foot company also received over 90% of their assignments in Coventry city between August 1643 and March 1645, although the proportion raised from country parishes seems, in a rather confused account, to have been less. The accounts of this company also reveal frequent recourse to distraint: SP28/131/ Part 15.

⁶⁵ Ottway: £5,514 out of £8,316: SP28/136, accounts of Anthony Ottway. Pont and Cotton: £2,582 out of £3,600: SP28/22/205.

on the county by the ordinance of February 1643 was £600 per week; this can be compared with the ship-money levy of only £4,000 in a full year, or to the county's share of the £400,000, itself an unheard-of degree of taxation, which was under £6,000.⁶⁶ The situation was even worse than this, for it seems clear that, as their opponents alleged, the committee ignored the provisions in the weekly pay ordinance and levied considerably more than £600 per week, relying on the 'unlimited ordinance' of association for authorisation. At the height of the Earl of Denbigh's campaign against the county committee, the House of Commons ordered William Purefoy to bring in an ordinance reducing the county's weekly tax to 'some certainty' but the legislation never materialised.⁶⁷ Information in parish accounts and in assessment orders of the committee show that 129 of the county's 199 parishes were paying £514 each week in early 1644. This does not include the substantial sums levied on Coventry and Warwick. The total levied on the county must have approached £1,000 per week at this time, and many parishes had already had their rates considerably reduced since 1643. Any estimate of the total raised in Warwickshire from the weekly tax must be little better than a guess, given the fragmentary evidence; but if the surviving officers' accounts of sums raised are representative it cannot have been less than £100,000 between February 1643 and August 1646, and may have been as much as £150,000.⁶⁸

In addition sums were raised from the neighbouring counties that were mainly under royalist control: both Compton garrison and Warwick Castle received contributions from Oxfordshire, the latter collecting £618 from Oxfordshire between January 1645 and October 1646 when they received £6,342 from Warwickshire. Captain Thomas Leyfield's troop of horse, part of Tamworth garrison, had assignments in Derbyshire as well as Staffordshire and Warwickshire in 1645.⁶⁹ This disregard of county boundaries was justified on the rather dubious grounds that the inhabitants of neighbouring counties were protected from the royalists by

⁶⁶ Coventry and Warwickshire were to pay £5,767 under the £400,000: *Townshend Diary* 11, 49–50. ⁶⁷ *C.J.*, vol. 3: 708, 29 November 1644.

⁶⁸ The weekly tax was greatly reduced in August 1646 when most of the local military forces were disbanded. Sums were still raised to pay the troops kept on and much of the money was still collected despite the increasing unpopularity of such burdens once the war was over: Gamaliel Purefoy received £683 out of £770 due August 1646–May 1647: SP28/136, accounts of Gamaliel Purefoy. The weekly assessment was replaced by the monthly assessment in June 1647; this went to the New Model Army – in theory, and, this time in practice, unlike the weekly assessment which had been intended for Essex's army: *A. and O.*, vol. 1: 958; Warwickshire and Coventry paid £700 per month.

⁶⁹ Compton: SP28/136, accounts of George Purefoy; Warwick: SP28/201, accounts of the treasurer to the garrison, Lieutenant Charles Johnson; Leyfield: accounts SP28/139/ Part 17.

the Warwickshire troops; Captain Thomas Wells directed a warrant to the inhabitants of Weston-on-Avon, Gloucestershire in October 1643: 'many soldiers both horse and foot are enforced to continue in the said garrisons [in Warwickshire] for the defence of themselves and other neighbouring towns in the counties adjacent of which your town is one'.⁷⁰ As Weston-on-Avon had for many months been paying contribution to the royalists of Gloucestershire, and had been subject to much quarter and plunder from both sides, this warrant was probably received sardonically. But such demands could rarely be resisted; as the Earl of Middlesex's steward, who received Wells' warrant, frequently commented: 'the soldiers will have their taxes if cattle be anywhere',⁷¹ and the peremptory methods of collection compounded the unpopularity of the tax.

The weekly assessment, like the £400,000 on which it was based, was an attempt to tap the real wealth of all the population except for servants on yearly wages. As with ship money, everyone was to pay for their lands and goods where they lay, and where the land was rack-rented the landlord was to pay all the sums assessed; where it was let at below the true yearly value, the tax was to be shared-out between the owner and the tenant, in an unspecified manner. The committee thus made several copies of the £400,000 rolls 'to direct the levies by' and at least one military commander went round to each house in his assigned parishes, with the rolls, telling each inhabitant what he was to pay.⁷² The weekly sum must have amounted to about a sixth of the total £400,000 assessment. This immense increase in the burden of taxation led to a rapid rise in the number of rating disputes between individuals in parishes, and between parishes after the war was over; and, as with ship money again, but this time successfully, to growing pressure for all assessments to be levied according to the true yearly value of lands rather than on traditional 'yardland' valuations. Little could be done, however, until Quarter Sessions began again in 1645. Particular problems were caused by the apportionment of the taxation burden between landlords and tenants: the ordinance gave no detailed guidance on how this was to be done; and in the general economic dislocation caused by war, when

⁷⁰ Kent County Archives Dept. U269/0269.

⁷¹ Kent C.A.D. U269/C249, Robert Fawdon to the second Earl of Middlesex, 28 August 1645; cf. Fawdon to Middlesex, 26 January 1645: 'I know not which way to turn me to get money to pay these great taxes and paid they must be, if any stock be kept or anything else on the ground': U269/C249. For further discussion of the impact of the Civil War on the Cranfield estates, see chapter 7 below.

⁷² A. and O., vol. 1: 85–100; B.L. Add MS 35209 f.22v for the copying of the £400,000 rolls; SP28/136, the examination of Captain Benjamin Lovell.

tenants were hard to come by, many landlords had little choice but to abate most of the taxation due out of rents due.⁷³ The Sequestration Committee never succeeded in forcing the tenants of the recusant Robert Knightley to share in the tax of Offchurch, while Hastings Ingram claimed he had been plundered by Captain Wells for non-payment of taxes which his tenants had in fact paid and which he had abated out of their rents.⁷⁴

Before discussing the troops to whom the weekly tax was paid, it is necessary to deal briefly with the committee's administration of the two money-raising ordinances most important for the central treasury: the Sequestration Ordinance and the ordinance for loans on the 'propositions', bolstered by the 1643 ordinance for a 'fifth and twentieth' part. 'Proposition money', as Basnet termed the 'loans' he received accounted for just over £13,000 of his £60,000 receipts, most of it raised before September 1644. In addition nearly £9,000 was collected in Warwick and Coventry by John Bryan and Abraham Boune; these sums were paid out almost immediately for the use of the respective garrisons.⁷⁵ This total of £22,000 compares very unfavourably with the £30,000 raised in Cheshire, a county where the royalist presence was stronger and it seems that in Warwickshire, as in Staffordshire, no attempt was made to collect contributions from all those liable.⁷⁶ In the summer of 1642 contributions were collected mainly in the areas surrounding Coventry, Warwick and Birmingham; and, apart from the two collectors, only Brooke and Peyto can be found promoting the business. Only 123 of the group of 288 gentry can be found contributing, either to the Warwickshire collectors or to the Committee for the Advance of Money in London.⁷⁷ The ordinance of May 1643, authorising compulsory payments, seems to have made little difference in Warwickshire, either to the sums raised or to the methods used in collection. Boune's accounts include the receipt of £37 13s 4d in plate from the commissioner of array, Sir Roger Feilding, in October 1642 and £29 7s 6d in plate in September from the royalist Archdeacon of Coventry. It is not likely that either of these contributed willingly to the Parliament.

Most of Basnet's revenue came from sequestrations: £40,482 was

⁷³ As happened on the Cranfield estate. See chapter 7 below for further discussion of these points and of the general impact of taxation of the local population. See also Morrill, *Provinces*, 59; Pennington and Roots, eds., *The Committee at Stafford*, xxix–xxxiii for the weekly tax and the problems it caused. ⁷⁴ B.L. Add MS 35098 ff.113v, 136v. SP28/37/126–7.

⁷⁵ See table 6; payments are included in Boune's and Bryan's accounts.

⁷⁶ Morrill, *Cheshire*, 101–2; Pennington and Roots, eds., *The Committee at Stafford*, xxxiv–xxxv: in Staffordshire only some £8,000 had been collected by May 1645. Under the ordinance for a fifth and twentieth part all those worth more than £50 p.a. in land or £100 in personal estate were liable: *A. and O.*, vol. 1: 145–6. ⁷⁷ SP28/298; accounts as in table 6; C.C.A.M. *passim*.

raised by 1650. As the only surviving Order Book dates from 1646 when most 'delinquents' had already been convicted, little is known about how the committee proceeded when trying suspected royalists. A comparison between their decisions and those of the parliamentary Committee for Sequestrations sitting at Westminster suggests that the county committee had the harder line, particularly with leading men suspected of royalism: the Earl of Monmouth, Sir Richard Shuckborough, John Huband and Sir Thomas Holte, (temporarily) were all discharged in London after they had been sequestered in the county.⁷⁸ John Huband of Ipsley's estate was seized by the county committee in early 1644 merely, he claimed, for trying to lead his normal life – which was to travel around the country, visiting friends and relations to save money on 'housekeeping'. The committee took exception to the fact that some of these friends happened to live in Worcester and other royalist garrisons but after a four year wrangle with the Westminster Committee they discharged Huband from the sequestration.⁷⁹ It took five months for the county committee to carry out the London order that Shuckborough's wife should have the fifth part of the estate, and when they received the order for the discharge of Shuckborough's sequestration, the Warwickshire Committee ordered that this was to be done in two months.⁸⁰ The county committee only agreed to Holte receiving his rents if he would give security for their repayment should he again be found liable to sequestration.⁸¹ This is not necessarily to suggest that the county committee's proceedings were as Mr Fletcher has described those of Sussex 'arbitrary and spiteful'. Holte was ultimately sequestered again and had to compound, while Shuckborough's support for the king was notorious in the county.⁸² With less eminent men the committee appears to have been scrupulously fair: John Stanford's sequestration was discharged when he alleged the Earl of Northampton had forced him to help the commissioners of array; while it was decided, reluctantly and after long deliberation, that Thomas Spencer of Harbury was not liable to sequestration: 'although divers passages showed his disaffection, yet nothing is proved which might occasion the sequestration of his estate'.⁸³

As I have already suggested, by 1646 when the war was over, the Parliamentarians could afford some leniency towards the less eminent of their defeated opponents. In the case of sequestered estates, the

⁷⁸ SP20/1/23–4, 26–7, 204; Monmouth's sequestration was suspended in May 1643, and discharged in February 1644. ⁷⁹ B.L. Add MS 35098 ff.23v, 49v, 89v, 98r; SP20/11.

⁸⁰ SP20/2/273; /3/223. B.L. Add MS 35098 f.6v, 45r. The order for the fifth part was made in London in April 1646, in Warwickshire in September. The sequestration was discharged in London in March 1647. ⁸¹ Add MS 35098 f.54r.

⁸² Fletcher, *A County Community in Peace and War*, 330; for Holte and Shuckborough see chapter 4 above. ⁸³ B.L. Add MS 35098 ff.97v, 52r.

committee showed no desire to ruin their opponents. Basnet's earliest sequestration accounts show that the committee at first received the rents of sequestered estates directly from the immediate tenants; but by 1644 they had developed their own local system of 'compositions' with delinquents, before a formal system of composition had been set up by Parliament.⁸⁴ By 1646-7 the vast majority of sequestered estates were let as single units and most were let to the royalists themselves or their agents. When the estate of the recusant Walliston Betham was about to be let, his wife was given two weeks' notice so that she could find a tenant, and in the event she herself leased the estate throughout the period covered by the Order Book.⁸⁵ In all, thirty of the thirty-eight new leases made at Michaelmas 1646 and Lady Day 1647 were to the 'delinquents' themselves or their agents; six were to soldiers or committee officials; and one was to the immediate tenant.

This policy did not derive altogether from the altruism of the committee or from social solidarity with fellow landowners. The reality facing the committee was that very few other people were likely to rent the estates. Walter Blyth, in testimony to the Subcommittees of Accounts, explained that it was very difficult to get tenants, partly because of the burdens of taxation which took away half the value of the lands, and partly because men feared the royalists' revenge: under-tenants were particularly afraid of what their landlord would do if they took over the demesnes.⁸⁶ It is also clear that under-tenants were very reluctant to pay their rents to the outsiders who took over their sequestered estates: there are repeated orders in the Sequestration Book for the tenants of the manor of Alvecote and Shuttington, sequestered from Lady Finch, to pay their rents to Captain Harcourt who leased the estate from the committee.⁸⁷

The Subcommittee of Accounts alleged⁸⁸ that sequestrations were 'unwarrantably, fraudulently and deceitfully discharged, let or sold at undervalues' but it is more likely that the economic dislocation caused by the Civil War, and the county committee's recognition of this situation were the real factors limiting the revenue raised by sequestration. The committee frequently leased lands at less than their surveyed value: 'in consideration of the illness of the times, and the great taxes to be payed on the parliament's side which he is wholly to pay' in the case of Ferrers Randolph of Wood Bevington; or 'his lands lying near the road and so

⁸⁴ As happened also in Staffordshire: Pennington and Roots, eds., *The Committee at Stafford*, xxxviii; for the earlier procedure in Warwickshire see Basnet's accounts: SP28/215.

⁸⁵ B.L. Add MS 35098 ff. 31v, 77v, 85r. ⁸⁶ SP28/255, n.d.

⁸⁷ B.L. Add MS 35098 ff. 61r, 67v, 80v. The only comparable trouble was with the tenants of the absentee Lord Conway, whose estates were leased by an agent; *ibid.*, ff. 61r, 108r.

⁸⁸ SP28/254/5 f. 73v, March 1646.

very subject to free quarter' in the case of Sir John Knottesford of Studley; both men were leasing their own estates. Allowances were made for delinquents, heavily in debt, like Viscount Conway, or for those, like Fulke Grosvenor of Sutton Coldfield, who had large families.⁸⁹ Although the committee made attempts to lease to the highest bidder, it is clear that estates brought in nothing like their pre-war value. Sir Robert Fisher's estates brought in only £115 between November 1646 and May 1647, Sir Thomas Holte's only £163; when these men compounded their estates were said to be worth over £1,000 p.a.⁹⁰ Table 6c shows that considerably more revenue was raised in the early 1650s when recusants only remained under sequestration.

In March 1647 the committee tightened up their leasing procedure: no lease was to be made unless a rent roll was brought to the committee showing the value of the lands 'in the best times' and the tenures they were held by; leases were to be void if more wood was felled by a tenant than had been agreed in the lease or composition. The committee paid any weekly tax still levied by local forces while the tenant was to be responsible for all other taxes. Rent was to be paid in advance, unlike in earlier leases when it had often been six months behind.⁹¹ By Basnet's last account, most compositions were made for the same rent that was to be charged in the 1650s which suggests that most earlier problems were the fault of the war rather than of the committee.

Some maladministration there undoubtedly was, however. Robert Haynes, one of the collectors, was accused by the Subcommittee of Accounts of plundering the lead from the steeples of Rowington and Wootton churches, and of taking some of the profits of sequestered estates to his own use. The Sequestration Committee itself in 1648 had to order Haynes to stop taking the rents of Ralph Huband and Richard Canning who were no longer under sequestration.⁹² It is strange that the substantial estates of Spencer Lucy brought only £20 to the treasury at Lady Day 1646, but Lucy had influential friends on the Parliament's side including his younger brother, Richard, who was a member of the committee.⁹³ In general, though, the committee's policy seems to have been harsh in the conviction of delinquents at least until the war was over, but more considerate in its leasing of estates.

⁸⁹ B.L. Add MS 35098 ff. 18v, 47r, 64v, 97r, 127r. Conway's estates were let at £300 p.a. in 1647, £260 in 1648 and £160 in 1649.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, ff. 28r, 37r, 52v. The highest, and indeed often the only, bidder was often the delinquent himself or his agent. SP28/215, Basnet's sixth Sequestration Book; SP23/205/473, /204/309, Fisher; SP23/222/645, Holte. ⁹¹ Add MS 35098 ff. 29v, 32v, 37v.

⁹² SP28/11/54; B.L. Add MS 35098 ff. 109v, 110v.

⁹³ SP28/215, Basnet's fifth Sequestration Book, Lucy compounded in August 1646 however.

Most of this revenue was spent on the county's military forces.⁹⁴ As stated above, a stable military force was not created in the county until the summer of 1643. Most of the Coventry foot companies under the command of Colonel John Barker were raised by August 1642, although much reorganisation took place during the following winter: a quarter of Matthew Randall's company was discharged in February 1643. Three companies of foot garrisoned Warwick Castle by Christmas 1642.⁹⁵ In January 1643 Brooke raised his army for the two associated counties: most of the finance was raised in London; men were recruited in London and the Midlands, while the officers were apparently personal connections of Brooke from the capital and the provinces. The treasurer of the Association, for example, was Rowland Wilson, a prominent London radical, and lieutenant-colonel of the Orange Regiment of the London-trained bands which were raised in the area around Brooke's Holborn residence. Wilson was one of the City's Independent leaders in the mid and late 1640s.⁹⁶ Brooke's army did not really survive his death, although some officers, like Captain Edward Foley, stayed in Warwickshire for a few months, and others like Major Pont of the horse regiment and Captains Castle and Slade of the Warwick foot took permanent service under the county committee.⁹⁷ Other Association officers later joined the regiment in Walker's army commanded by Brooke's brother-in-law Sir Arthur Haselrig, perhaps again through personal and family connections.⁹⁸

After March 1643, the Warwickshire committee abandoned any formal co-operation with Staffordshire, and began to organise their own

⁹⁴ A full account of the numbers of men, officers and pay of the forces under the Warwickshire committee is given in Hughes, 'Politics, Society and Civil War', appendix 4. The main sources are the accounts and musters in SP28.

⁹⁵ For the Coventry foot see chapter 4, p. 150 above, and SP28/131/ Part 15. The Warwick foot captains were John Bridges, John Halford, and John Needham, the last of whom moved to garrison Kenilworth in early 1643: SP28/253B, examination of Ensign John Bridges, January 1646.

⁹⁶ SP28/139/ Part 3, Wilson's Accounts: SP28/34/375, accounts of Captain Edward Foley. *D.N.B.*, Rowland Wilson; L.C. Nagel, 'The Militia of London, 1641-1649' (Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1982), 49, 54, 268, 289.

⁹⁷ SP28/34/375; SP28/139/ Part 3, Wilson's accounts include payments to several officers on their discharge in April and May 1643. Pont was perhaps a survivor of Brooke's 1642 regiment in Essex's army as he was a reformado officer in the Association forces: SP28/136, accounts of Lieutenant Richard Creed, and Cornet Thomas Baldwin. Castle's and Slade's accounts are both in SP28/182.

⁹⁸ Edward Foley, Samuel Gardiner, Thomas Egerton and John Okey are examples: SP28/34/375; 147/558; 38/353; 266/202. Samuel Gardiner is an interesting example of the type of officer Brooke recruited in the Midlands. He was mayor of Evesham, Worcestershire in 1625, 1633, 1642 and 1653; Recruiter M.P. for the town from 1645, until his seclusion at Pride's Purge, and a Worcestershire committeeman in the 1650s: Silcock, 'County government', 277, 332.

armed forces, financed with local resources. The regiment of horse under Colonel William Purefoy was raised from April: Major Pont, for example, had ten troopers in May, with a full complement of officers; in August he had thirty-five and by October about sixty. The captains provided the horses or levied them from the county, although Captain Anthony Ottway's troop was raised partly through the contributions of Warwickshire ministers.⁹⁹ At about this time, also, a second regiment of foot, based at Warwick, was listed under Colonel Godfrey Bosvile. The only hint we have as to how these forces were raised is in Wilson's accounts: in early April 30s was spent on a dinner for two colonels and several captains 'upon the calling in of the county'.¹⁰⁰ By the end of 1643, when the earliest musters are available, the horse under the control of the county committee numbered about 550, most of them in the seven troops of Purefoy's regiment but also in two independent troops under Colonel John Barker and Major John Bridges. The Coventry foot regiment amounted to some 750 men while at Warwick there were about 330 foot under Bosvile's command, and the same number at the castle under Bridges. Permanent garrison forces at Tamworth, Kenilworth, Maxstoke and Astley numbered about 250. Although the numbers in most troops and companies stabilised at a lower level in 1644-5, the total forces under the committee's control remained the same: a further troop of horse was raised (under Captain Leyfield) and a new garrison established at Compton House.¹⁰¹ As many members of the county committee were officers in the army too, Warwickshire did not experience the conflict between military and civilian authorities seen in some counties.¹⁰² The three colonels, Barker, Bosvile and Purefoy, were all committeemen, and when, as M.P.s, they lost their commands under the Self-denying Ordinance, they were replaced by three other members of the committee: John Bridges took over the Warwick foot; Thomas Willoughby the Coventry foot; and William Colemore the horse. Peter Burgoyne and Gamaliel Purefoy, in addition to Willoughby and Colemore served as captains of the Coventry foot from 1642. Four of Gamaliel Purefoy's sons were officers in Compton garrison. The Warwickshire forces were under local control although they were in theory part of Essex's army until 1645

⁹⁹ Pont: SP28/253B, Book of Soldiers' Depositions f.75v, evidence of Lieutenant John Mackbride, August 1647; the horse in general: SP28/42/391.

¹⁰⁰ Evidence for the Warwick foot is taken from officers' commissions and SP28/7/178, payments for listing men in May. Wilson: SP28/139/ Part 3.

¹⁰¹ The Edgbaston forces under John Fox, which were independent of the committee, have not been included in these totals.

¹⁰² E.g. Herefordshire: Underdown, *Pride's Purge*, 77; Staffordshire: Pennington and Roots, eds., *The Committee at Stafford*, liv-lv.

and their contribution to the national war effort was limited. Members of the trained bands who had volunteered in 1642 were not kept distinct from other soldiers as they were, for instance, in Cheshire.¹⁰³

Like the committeemen, the officers of the county forces were comparatively obscure men, rarely of gentle status, and many, like Pont, Creed, Castle and Slade, who had served under Brooke were probably strangers to the county. Several had been 'servants' of Lord Brooke: besides John Bridges, Brooke's secretary Joseph Hawkesworth was a captain of horse: his rent receivers John Halford and Matthew Bridges, captains in the Warwick foot.¹⁰⁴ Several more, on the evidence of family names at least, came from Brooke's town of Alcester: John Cheshire, captain-lieutenant of Purefoy's own troop from August 1643 until his death in action in June 1644, was described by the royalists' *Mercurius Aulicus* as an Alcester chandler, while Richard Round, who rose through the ranks to become John Bridges' captain-lieutenant of horse in the closing months of the war, was from the same town.¹⁰⁵ Where more definite identifications have been possible, officers come from a variety of middle-ranking social groups. Captains from a landed background include Henry Kendall, gentleman, of Austrey who had been a high constable in the 1620s and served as governor of Maxstoke from c. 1643 to 1645, and Thomas Leyfield, a humbler man from Sutton Coldfield whose inventory on his death in 1648 totalled only £70.¹⁰⁶ Coventry figures included Thomas Hobson, butcher and captain of foot, Thomas Wells, goldsmith and captain of horse, and Thomas Hunt, captain of dragoons, governor of Astley and, according to *Mercurius Aulicus* 'a broken mercer'.¹⁰⁷ Goodere Hunt, brother of Thomas and his lieutenant, was one of the officers whose military power affronted many notions of local hierarchy. Goodere was for long periods *de facto* governor at Astley, despite being illiterate and contemptuously dismissed by Dugdale as a

¹⁰³ Morrill, *Cheshire*, 84; Morrill, *Provinces*, 55.

¹⁰⁴ For Matthew Bridges see n.34 above. William, yet another Bridges brother, served briefly as a captain of horse before returning to full-time estate management for Brooke's widow. Hawkesworth: W.C.R.O., CR1866, Box 411, Hawkesworth accounts; E. Carey-Hill, 'The Hawkesworth papers, 1601-1660', B.A.S.T., vol. 54 (1929). Halford: CR1866, Halford accounts.

¹⁰⁵ Alcester names have been noted mainly from CR1866, Box 411, Draft Rent Accounts. *Mercurius Aulicus* 5 October 1644; SP28/136 accounts of Richard Round.

¹⁰⁶ E179/194/316; B. Ref. Lib. MS, 277075, Leyfield's inventory. Leyfield succeeded Kendall as governor of Maxstoke and had been lieutenant and then captain of a troop of horse based at Tamworth. His son, a London goldsmith, was prospering and buying land in Sutton by the 1660s: W.C.R.O. CR354/1-2.

¹⁰⁷ Hobson: E113/1/2; Wells: Lich. J.R.O. will proved 18 October 1661; Hunt: *Mercurius Aulicus* 21 April 1644. Another captain with an urban background was Robert Colemore of Birmingham, brother of William the committeeman. He ended his life as a London merchant: Prob 11/394 f.17 (1689).

shoemaker.¹⁰⁸ Finally, some professional men took up military service. Matthew Randall, captain in the Coventry foot was, like committeeman Robert Phippes, a physician in the city before the war, while more remarkably Benjamin Lovell, rector of Preston Bagot from 1636 and Lapworth from 1643, served briefly as a captain of horse, until, on his own account, William Purefoy forced him to give up his troop to Pont.¹⁰⁹ Saying much about the origins of rank and file soldiers is immensely difficult. Meticulous local research on the village of Austrey has made possible the identification of some members of the small garrison of Maxstoke commanded by Henry Kendall of Austrey. In addition to members of the Kendall family, three reasonably substantial inhabitants of Austrey served under their neighbour: Joseph Orton, the son of a yeoman, and William Smart, the son of a joiner were both family men in their thirties; John Crispe, another yeoman's son, was in his mid-twenties. Two other Maxstoke soldiers probably came from areas of Leicestershire bordering on Austrey and the other troops were probably also local men.¹¹⁰ More impressionistically, a note on muster abstracts in the Earl of Denbigh's manuscripts states that the Coventry foot regiment was half 'countrymen' and half townsmen besides Captain Waldive Willington's company which was presumably raised in Tamworth. Richard Baxter, an eyewitness, believed that most of the 'countrymen' were from the county's northern towns: Birmingham, Sutton Coldfield, Tamworth, Rugby and Nuneaton.¹¹¹ All the indications are that the men who served in the county's regiments were volunteers, those who were recruited to keep up numbers, as well as those who joined up in 1642–3. The trained bands were called out occasionally in the first months of the war and men were pressed for the national forces in 1646, but the committee do not seem to have pressed men for local service in the first Civil War, although there was impressment in 1651.¹¹² Some sensitivity in

¹⁰⁸ Goodere Hunt could put only a mark to a letter to Thomas Basnet, 23 October 1647: SP28/248; *Dugdale* (Hamper), 84. He was an innkeeper on his death in 1672: Lich. J.R.O. will proved 16 March 1672.

¹⁰⁹ Randall: Lich. J.R.O. B/U/1/56, 1636 Metropolitan Visitation. SP28/255, Lovell's accounts May 1647; P.R.O. Institution Books; Matthews, *Walker Revised*, 363. The case of Richard Wootton a cleric who masqueraded as a military commander, is dealt with below, p. 205.

¹¹⁰ Information kindly supplied by Alan Roberts of the University of South Australia. Maxstoke musters for 1644–5 are in SP28/121A ff.610, 616, 745, 749, 755; SP28/122/446.

¹¹¹ CR2017/C9/39; *Reliquiae Baxterianae*, 45.

¹¹² The constables' accounts of Nether Whitacre and Fillongley give good indications of demands: W.C.R.O. DRB 27/9; DR404/85. The committee paid for the pressing of men for Fairfax's army in May 1647: SP28/303. Castle Ashby MS 1083/23 is a copy of a warrant from the committee calling in June 1643 for double the number of trained band soldiers from each parish to serve at Warwick for two weeks, but there is no evidence of regular demands in parish records, committee material or accounts committee investigations.

recruiting men on the part of the committee is revealed in a note in the accounts of Matthew Randall's foot company for 7 September 1644: 'disbanded by Colonel Barker's command 8 soldiers that were married men and had charge of children'.¹¹³

The obvious cause for this eagerness to volunteer is that the Warwickshire forces were remarkably well paid, by Civil War, or even by general early modern standards. We have described the success of the 'assignment' system in raising money for the troops, and it ensured that the arrears of the Warwickshire forces were kept well below those of other parliamentary armies. The Eastern Association cavalry received eighteen weeks' pay in 1644, and four to five weeks' in the early part of 1645; although the information is scanty, it seems that only two of the Warwickshire horse troops were more than thirty weeks in arrears for three years' service. Troopers who had served under Major Pont or Captain Wells claimed some six months' arrears for up to three years' service in the certificates redeemed for crown lands after 1649.¹¹⁴ Captain Henry Flower's troop, one of the few for which accounts survive, was more fortunate. The men had received only a third of their pay in the early months after enlisting between April and August 1643, but they obtained 90% between November 1644 and October 1645 when their assignments were secure.¹¹⁵ Foot soldiers seem to have done even better. In the Coventry regiment, the worst arrears were the eleven weeks claimed by Captain Willoughby's men for service up to January 1645 but thereafter until their disbanding in June 1646 they had been paid in full.¹¹⁶ Captain Castle's company of the Warwick town foot was nineteen weeks in arrears from October 1643 to June 1646, but Captain Slade's men were probably luckier: their arrears between December 1644 and June 1646

¹¹³ SP28/131/ Part 15.

¹¹⁴ In the absence of officers' accounts estimates for the cavalry have been derived mainly from troopers' certificates for the sale of crown lands: P.R.O. E121. Troopers who had served in all the county's horse troops are represented. A full account of the pay of the Warwickshire forces, with sources, is given in Hughes, 'Politics, Society and Civil War', appendix 4. See Holmes, *Eastern Association*, 143–7; Morrill, *Cheshire*, 126–7 for comparisons. As Mark Kishlansky has pointed out (*The Rise of the New Model Army* (Cambridge, 1979) 66–8), it was not necessarily full pay, so much as regular pay, which ensured contentment amongst the soldiers. All forces under the Warwickshire Committee received regular pay after the summer of 1643. The independent forces under John Fox and the Earl of Denbigh's men had a very different experience: see chapter 6 below.

¹¹⁵ SP28/11/46; SP28/136, the accounts of Henry Flower. The troopers commanded by Captain Creed were only one or two weeks in arrears for service June 1645–April 1646. The officers in this troop had received only some 40% of their (half) pay up to 1645, however: SP28/183/26; 145/83–104; 136, Accounts of Corporal Day.

¹¹⁶ SP28/147/363; SP28/186, Willoughby's accounts. Other Coventry companies for which accounts are available include Colonel Barker's own company who were seven weeks in arrears for service October 1643–November 1645; and Matthew Randall's company who were only two weeks in arrears for the period December 1642–March 1645: SP28/145/432; SP28/131/15.

amounted to three weeks only.¹¹⁷ At Warwick Castle, the foot companies of John Bridges and John Halford were two and three weeks respectively in arrears for service between May 1643 and December 1644; Matthew Bridges' men, listed in August 1643, had been paid in full up to December 1644, while later accounts indicate that this last company was two weeks in arrears between December 1645 and August 1646. When Matthew Bridges delivered his personal accounts, he claimed none of his men was owed more than three weeks' pay.¹¹⁸ This evidence, from officers' accounts, is patchy and not infallible, while most officers had much greater arrears, but the good pay of the Warwickshire forces did attract the attention, and the envy, of other commanders; Edward Massey complained in April 1645: 'Our troops daily leave me and now they see the Warwick troops so well clothed, horsed and armed, and so well paid, I fear I shall not keep one quarter part of those I have.'¹¹⁹ There was no mutiny or threat of mutiny over pay in Warwickshire after 1643.

The relatively high level of pay ensured that the numbers in the county's armed forces were kept up, but it could not ensure that the same men served throughout the Civil War. 'Wastage' from the regiments was high, but unfortunately the available evidence does not permit analysis of the relative importance of the possible causes of loss: death in battle, disease, dismissal or desertion. Captain Anthony Ottway's troop of horse mustered at forty-two in January 1644, forty-four in September 1644, and forty-eight in March 1646. Only twenty-four of those present in January were still serving in September, however, and only fourteen of these were still in the troop in 1646. In all nineteen troopers continued in service between September 1644 and January 1646.¹²⁰ Ottway's was one of the more disorderly troops, however, and the 'wastage' in Major Joseph Hawkesworth's troop, probably the best paid and best led of the regiment, was less. This troop mustered at forty-six in January 1644, sixty-two in December 1644 and fifty-six in August 1645. Twenty-nine troopers served throughout 1644,¹²¹ and twenty-two of these were again mustered in August 1645. In all forty-three of the sixty-two men present in December were still serving in August 1645. The 'wastage' rate in

¹¹⁷ SP28/28/182, accounts of James Castle and Henry Slade.

¹¹⁸ E101/612/64, accounts of Warwick Garrison; SP28/201, accounts of Matthew Bridges, 1651. Evidence for other garrisons is more sketchy but some representative figures can be given: at Kenilworth, the men had arrears of two weeks in the period August 1644–February 1645; Henry Kendall's foot at Maxstoke were one week in arrears between November 1643 and October 1645; Thomas Leyfield's horse at Tamworth were significantly worse off – eleven weeks arrears for the thirteen months August 1644–August 1645: SP28/136, accounts of John Mascall, treasurer at Kenilworth; SP28/182, accounts of Lieutenant Henry Kendall; SP28/139/17.

¹¹⁹ Bodleian Library: Tanner MS, 60 ff.127–8.

¹²⁰ Musters in SP28/121A ff.228, 349; SP28/123/268.

¹²¹ One of the twenty-nine was cashiered just before the December muster.

Hawkesworth's troop over these eighteen months was about 3% per month. In the month before the August muster, though, one man had left and two had been cashiered.¹²²

No detailed musters of the Coventry foot survive for before 1645, so analysis of their losses has to cover a shorter period. As with the horse, a company with a poor reputation, that of Lieutenant Colonel Phippes, and a well paid, stable company, commanded by Captain, later Colonel Willoughby, have been studied. Phippes' company was in effect commanded by his lieutenant, Thomas Hobson, and it declined rapidly in size but there was a remarkable continuity amongst those soldiers that continued to serve. Phippes was said to have eighty-five soldiers in January 1644;¹²³ his company mustered at sixty-two in September 1645 but at only forty-six a month later. The same forty-six men, though, made up the company in January 1646; the only change had occurred with the demotion of a corporal to the ranks and the promotion of one of the rank and file in his place.¹²⁴ Willoughby, with a much larger company, was also very successful in keeping his men. He had ninety-two soldiers in September 1645 and eighty-one of these were among the ninety-three men in his company in January 1646. A further two men had left only in December. Fifty-nine of the men mustered in September 1645 continued in service in Willoughby's enlarged company in September 1646.¹²⁵

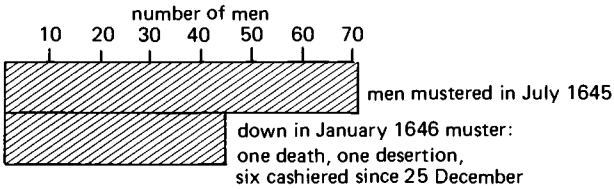
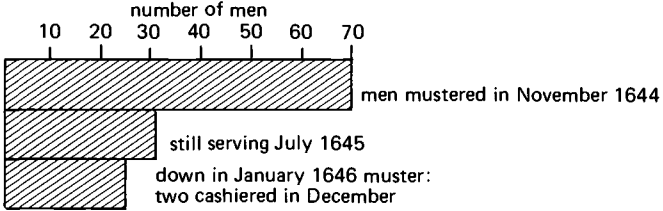
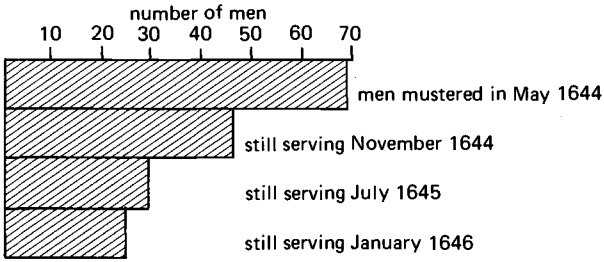
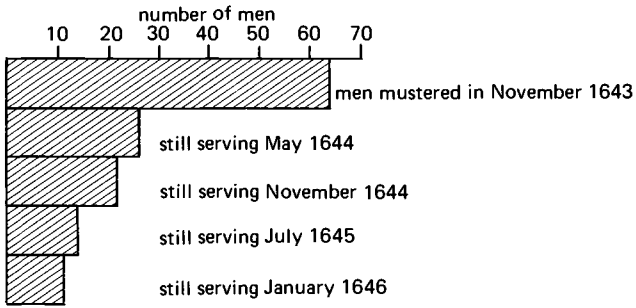
The better pay of the foot soldiers is only a part of the explanation for the success of the Coventry commanders in keeping their men. Even if it was usually paid, 4s 8d per week was not an irresistible temptation, and the Warwick foot company under Major James Castle suffered much more serious losses, although it was at least as well paid, and had a commander who was a good enough soldier to be made colonel of a regiment sent to Ireland in 1647. Yet Castle's company lost over half its men (thirty-eight out of sixty-four) between November 1643 and May 1644, and although the 'wastage' rate declined, eight out of about seventy men left the company in the month before the last available muster in January 1646 (see plan).¹²⁶ The total numbers in the company were maintained, however, which suggests that recruitment was not a

¹²² Hawkesworth musters: SP121A ff.167, 178, SP28/122 f.225; cf. Geoffrey Parker, *The Army of Flanders and the Spanish Road* (Cambridge, 1972), 207–13; in the army of Flanders the Spanish units lost 1.5% men per month in war time; the other units 2–7%.

¹²³ W.C.R.O. CR2017/C9/39. This gives totals but no names.

¹²⁴ SP28/136, musters of the Coventry foot in September and October 1645; SP28/123/389, muster for January 1646. In the Eastern Association infantry between June and October 1644, a tenth of the men ran away: Holmes, *Eastern Association*, 168–9.

¹²⁵ SP28/136, SP28/123/389, 66. Willoughby's company had 155 men in September 1646; it included men who had served in other companies of the regiment, which had been largely disbanded in August. ¹²⁶ See plan, p. 201.



Plan 'Wastage' in Colonel Castle's company 1643-6

Source: Musters in SP28/121A/84, 115, 154; SP28/122/536; SP28/123/149.

problem. The most likely explanation for the greater losses in the horse and the Warwick foot is that they, unlike the Coventry foot in 1645–6, were involved in actual fighting. Some of the Coventry foot served at the siege of Banbury in the summer of 1645, but thereafter they were on garrison duty in Coventry. Matthew Randall's company was apparently part time; they lived at home and were paid for one or two 'watches' per week.¹²⁷ The horse, on the other hand, frequently served outside the county, while the Warwick foot often skirmished with royalists in Worcestershire and Oxfordshire.

The close relationship between the committee and its soldiers did not always guarantee good behaviour on the part of the latter. Indeed the committee was dependent on the support of the military to keep its power in the county and thus, whether it wished or not, allowed the troops a great deal of latitude. According to the Subcommittees of Accounts some of the Warwickshire commanders indulged in the malpractices common in early modern armies. Ottway was said to have recruited his troop just before each muster, and Lieutenant Thomas Hobson continued to claim pay for soldiers who had run away: 'he took the pay of them to himself and called one after he was dead'.¹²⁸ Hobson, too, only recruited his company when he heard 'speech concerning a muster'.

Many of the captains treated the local population with scant respect, particularly those whom they suspected of 'malignancy'. Captains Ottway and Flower were said to have taken much plunder at Althorpe House, the Northamptonshire home of the Spencers, and many accusations of plundering were made against John Bridges and his Warwick troops. 'Delinquents' were kidnapped and ransomed at Kenilworth.¹²⁹ Perhaps the most unsavoury commander was Major George Purefoy at Compton House, and the inhabitants of the south Warwickshire and Oxfordshire parishes around this garrison suffered particularly from forced labour and kidnapping. Purefoy directed his warrants to 'the most base malignant constable and town of Tysoe' and ordered the inhabitants on 'pain of death' (November 1644) or 'upon pain of imprisonment' (December 1644) to come in and work on his fortifications. As *Mercurius Aulicus* commented these were 'in such a prerogative style as if the youth were Wat Tyler himself'. One old couple had been badly upset by

¹²⁷ SP28/131/15, accounts of Abraham Owen.

¹²⁸ SP28/332, examinations of Ottway's soldiers, February 1647; SP28/201, 'The Charge against Thomas Hobson junior'. For similar practices in the Spanish army see Parker, *The Army of Flanders*, 161.

¹²⁹ Ottway: SP28/145/176; for Bridges see below; Kenilworth: SP28/253B, Examination of Captain Samuel Hill, February 1646.

Purefoy: 'the sudden fright hath made them both so sickly and weak that they are altogether unable for to get their living'.¹³⁰

The proceedings of the Indemnity Committee and Commissioners offer more detailed insights into the inevitable tensions between civilians and Parliament's soldiers and officials during and after the Civil War. Between 1647 and 1653, ninety-two cases involving Warwickshire inhabitants came before the Indemnity Committee; two-thirds of these occurred between 1647 and 1649. One-third (thirty-one) of these cases involved soldiers, a proportion similar to that found elsewhere.¹³¹ Appeals for indemnity resulted when Parliament's agents were sued in civilian courts for acts which they had committed during the war. While civilian officials were to be granted indemnity only for actions warranted by ordinance, soldiers were given a much broader pardon for 'any offences, trespasses, injuries and other misdemeanours whatsoever' committed while employed in the army.¹³² It is important to emphasise that very particular circumstances surround indemnity proceedings. Only causes first prosecuted in the courts led to cases appearing before the Indemnity Committee. The initial offence thus had to have been committed by an identifiable individual or small group available for prosecution. Consequently, offences by local soldiers appear rather than those committed by members of national armies in the county temporarily. Confused, mass actions where the perpetrators could not be identified are missing. Common soldiers and junior officers appear more frequently than the more powerful commanders and committeemen whom it would be risky to prosecute. Indemnity records do not give a full picture of the impact of the Civil War; they do not mention, for example, the burning of Lionel Cranfield's mansion at the order of the county committee, while oblique evidence only is provided of the impact of the Scots army on the county in 1645. The widespread plundering by the Scots could not be subject to legal redress but the Constable of Birmingham was taken to court by a local yeoman for requisitioning horses to provision the Scots in

¹³⁰ SP28/184, parish accounts of Tysoe. Most of the inhabitants were tenants of the Earl of Northampton, so there was perhaps some justification for Major Purefoy's attitude; *Mercurius Aulicus*, 16–23 March 1645; SP28/43/576–657 gives evidence of Purefoy's misdeeds in Oxfordshire. /43/577 is a warrant of 1644: 'these are to certify your town of Over-Norton that you are in arrears £60 and if it be not brought in by the fifteenth day of this month, I will plunder our town and hang your constable'.

¹³¹ General discussions of Indemnity material are found in G.E. Aylmer, *The State's Servants* (1973), 299–302; J.S. Morrill, 'The Army Revolt of 1647' in *Britain and the Netherlands*, vol. 6 (1977). For a complete analysis of Warwickshire Indemnity proceedings see Ann Hughes, 'Parliamentary tyranny? – Indemnity Proceedings and the Impact of the Civil War', *Midland History* (1986).

¹³² Indemnity Ordinance: *A. and O.*, vol. 1: 936–8, 953–4: The ordinance of course resulted from army pressure in the summer of 1647.

a more formal manner.¹³³ Indemnity evidence can though provide important insights into the more personal and intimate conflicts of the war.

The most common way in which tensions emerged between civilians and soldiers was through the requisition of goods and, especially, horses by the military. To the soldiers such seizures were necessary for the use of the state, to a non-partisan civilian they were simple theft. The dispute between Lieutenant Goodere Hunt, of Astley garrison and George Pudsey, gent. of Sutton Coldfield is typical. While on the march into Staffordshire, Hunt took a horse from Pudsey because his own mount was about to foal and could not carry on. In his petition Hunt said he had left the mare with Pudsey in exchange and claimed that Pudsey had, in any case, sent horses to the royalists at the start of the war. Nonetheless Pudsey had prosecuted Hunt in the Court of Common Pleas. As in most cases of this sort, especially in 1647–8, Hunt was rapidly granted indemnity although a dispute over £5 costs dragged on for six months.¹³⁴ Free-quarter, the system whereby householders were obliged to give hospitality to armed men, often strangers, also caused problems. Thomas French had been quartered in a Warwick house:

Elizabeth Wright, servant in the said house, being desired by the petitioner one night to make ready his bed, she having mislaid a bunch of keys, which she not finding them on a sudden, did charge the petitioner with the stealing of the said keys at two several times, before several companies then in the said house, and the petitioner desiring her in a fair way to forbear the charging of him with any such thing, she again repeated the same words before the same company, that the petitioner had stole the said keys which she afterwards found where she had mislaid them, the petitioner thereupon being moved with the said slander and scandal did strike the said Wright with his sword then being in his scabbard.

French was reprimanded by a J.P. at the time but he was being prosecuted by Wright's husband in several courts, before the Indemnity Committee ordered the suits stayed in June 1648.¹³⁵

The Indemnity papers reveal also how service in the army allowed men to take the law into their own hands in a manner very galling to their victims. A soldier from Birmingham, Humphrey Davis, whose horse had been stolen, simply took it back when he saw it a year later and obtained indemnity for the subsequent suit for assault at Warwick assizes.¹³⁶ Those believed to be 'malignants' or 'disaffected' were sometimes regarded as fair game. One of Gamaliel Purefoy's soldiers heard that two royalists were drinking at an alehouse just over the border in Leicestershire; with a

¹³³ SP24/41, *Abraham Colemore v. Ralph Hall*; SP24/1 f.191r, /3 f.6v. A fuller discussion of the impact of the war is provided in chapter 7.

¹³⁴ SP24/56, *Hunt v. Pudsey*; SP24/1 ff.181r–18v, 142v, 163v, June 1647–February 1648.

¹³⁵ SP24/48, *French v. Wright*; SP24/1 f.166v; /2 ff.106r–106v, 170v–171r.

¹³⁶ SP24/43, *Humphrey Davis v. Thomas Derby and Henry Lane*; SP24/4 ff.111r–111v, 80v.

friend he took advantage of this preoccupation to steal a horse from the king's men and in 1649 received indemnity for a suit for theft in Hinckley court. In a later incident during the 1651 Worcester campaign three young soldiers justified their seizure of a local alehouse keeper on the grounds that he was 'a dangerous disaffected person to the Commonwealth'.¹³⁷

The privileges afforded by a military role made it worthwhile for one individual to masquerade as a cavalry captain. Richard Wootton of Warmington was an unsavoury cleric in trouble with the authorities before the war and ultimately expelled from his living in 1656. In 1648–9 he claimed indemnity for suits against him by several Warwick householders for unpaid quarter. Wootton maintained he 'hath hazarded his life' in Parliament's service and was due 'a great sum of money' for his pay. But he was basically an imposter. The county committee responded indignantly when asked for details of Wootton's arrears: 'The Truth is his son had a commission for a troop and under pretence thereof the said Mr. Wootton having gotten some horse was reputed to be a Captain and abused the country, but refused to be under command.'¹³⁸ The indemnity for this ingenious method of acquiring free board and lodging was hastily withdrawn.

Hints of the troops' religious or political opinions are unfortunately rare. The close relationship with the county committee and the high levels of pay limited the need for independent mobilisation by the armed forces. *Mercurius Aulicus* reported in November 1643 that Serjeant Nicholas Hawes, of Matthew Bridges' company, had been imprisoned by the bailiff for preaching in Warwick, but had been released by Joseph Hawkesworth, with Bosvile's approval. Richard Baxter, though, wrote that 'anabaptism' and other radical ideas made little progress in Coventry; and most of the committeemen, like Bosvile and Purefoy, were 'Presbyterian' in their religious views. They may have been reluctant to allow civilian interference with their troop's behaviour, but they gave little encouragement to 'extreme' views. The chaplains who served the county forces were not, in the main, radicals; although Abiezer Coppe preached at Compton House, he had yet to enter his 'ranter' period, and John Bryan and John Trapp, successive preachers at Warwick Castle, were more typical. Troops serving close to home were, in any case, less likely to be

¹³⁷ SP24/86, *Robert Wise v. Henry Cowley*; SP24/3 f.155v, /4 f.5v. SP24/57, *Anthony Ingram et al. v. James Beck*; SP24/10 ff.135v, 138v. /11 ff.11r, 67r, 86v; /12 ff.37v–38r, 62r–62v, 64v–65r, 75v, 93r–93v, 99v.

¹³⁸ Wootton was summoned before the High Commission in 1640; condemned at Quarter Sessions in 1647 as 'a man of that refractory and perverse condition' who would not pay his taxes, or serve his cure; he lost his Warmington living finally in 1656: SP16/434 f.79r; *Q.S.O.B.*, vol. 2: 162–3; Matthews, *Walker Revised*, 367. SP24/86, *Richard Wootton v. Anthony Benfield, John Theobalds et al.*; SP24/2 ff.166r–166v; /3 ff.36r, 55v, 100v, 102r; /4 f.133r; /7 ff.4r, 67v, 73r–73v.

open to new ideas than those serving out of their usual environment in a national army, under commanders who were themselves radical.¹³⁹

But there are signs that the troops were aware of the ideals to which Brooke had originally rallied Warwickshire in 1642. In the winter of 1645 there was some trouble in the horse regiment, most of which was serving in Cheshire under Major Joseph Hawkesworth. When the colonel and committeeman William Colemore arrived to take over the command, Hawkesworth and the other captains refused to accept him. The county committee were highly indignant on Colemore's behalf, writing to the Cheshire commander in chief, Sir William Brereton, of the 'great disorder in our regiment . . . whose long absence hath thus changed their tempers' and complaining 'to be thus disgraced in a strange country, it is intolerable'. The correspondence between Brereton, Hawkesworth and the committee, as the parties sought to smooth over the conflict, suggests that Hawkesworth doubted Colemore's zeal and godliness, and that he may have feared Colemore had come to take the regiment home. However, the regiment also preferred Hawkesworth's command because he was a skilled, and by this time experienced, cavalry commander, often singled out for praise after engagements with the enemy, whereas Colemore's previous experience had been with the infantry.¹⁴⁰ The most prominent radical figure to emerge from the Warwickshire armed forces was Hawkesworth's lieutenant at the time of this incident, Richard Creed. Creed had been a captain in Brooke's Association army, and subsequently a lieutenant under Major Pont. He took over Colemore's troop as captain when the colonel retired prematurely from military activity. In 1647 Creed's troop was part of Thornhaugh's regiment in the New Model Army and Creed its representative at the army debates. He remained in the army for much of the 1650s and was a radical opponent of the Protectorate. As a close associate of Lambert he shared in the general's futile last stand in 1659–60 and was imprisoned for much of the next twenty years.¹⁴¹

¹³⁹ *Mercurius Aulicus*, 18–25 November 1643; *Reliquiae Baxterianae*, 45–6. Chaplains are listed in the musters of the county forces (SP28/121A, 122–3). Coventry and all other garrisons had their own preachers while the horse regiment had two: one for the regiment as a whole, and one attached to Captain Ottway's troop. For Coppe: Christopher Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down* (1975 edition), 210. I am grateful to Anne Laurence for discussion of army chaplains.

¹⁴⁰ B.L. Add MS 11333 ff.15r–15v, the county committee and Sir Richard Skeffington to Brereton, December 1645; *ibid.*, ff.68r, 71r. Colemore returned to Warwickshire and the horse remained with Brereton, and under Hawkesworth. For Hawkesworth as a military commander, see, for example: John Vicars, *The Burning Bush not Consumed* (1646), 138–9, 397–9, and also Brereton's opinion.

¹⁴¹ SP28/136, accounts of Richard Creed; *A. and O.*, vol. 2: 160, 260, 279–85; *Biographical Dictionary of British Radicals in the Seventeenth Century*, R.L. Greaves and Robert Zaller, eds., vol. 1 (Brighton, 1982), 189–90. Creed is perhaps the man who died in Abingdon in 1683 leaving land in

When the Subcommittee of Accounts at Warwick imprisoned a trooper of Captain Wells' for contempt, the actions of some of his fellow soldiers showed that they had absorbed Parliament's political rhetoric. The trooper was forcibly released and Wells' men harangued the accounts committeemen, saying that they were fighting for the privileges of the subject: 'this is not the [liberty of] the subject, this is more like a monarchy'. They attacked the lawyer on the committee, Richard Townsend of Warwick, saying that all his years of training at the Temple did not give him the right to commit their fellow trooper without trial.¹⁴² Reflections on the law surface in some of the Indemnity material. A soldier imprisoned at Warwick in 1647 for the accidental (or so he claimed) killing of a Middleton man who attacked him, 'Reviling at the Parliament and abusing their authority as also your petitioner for his service therein', begged General Fairfax and the Committee for Indemnity 'not to suffer a true and faithful soldier to the state neither by or upon any other indirect and corrupt dealing of clerks or other officers in the law, or upon any other fained and indirect pretence or colour to languish, starve and pine away'.¹⁴³ In the autumn of 1649, Edward Billing, a soldier witnessed the committal of a man 'who had served the parliament' by the bailiff of Stratford-on-Avon:

The petitioner repaired to him to mediate for the prisoner and to know the offence, the said bailiff answered he would keep him there, the petitioner only replied, Sir, he hath served the Parliament and hopes every man's will shall not be law, for we have fought against tyrants and tyranny, the said bailiff bid the standers-by bear witness that the petitioner was one of those that helped put the king to death, and thereupon committed the petitioner to prison.¹⁴⁴

Amongst some of the troops, at least, a sense of involvement in a cause, and reflections on the questions of legality and necessity, inescapable during the pressure of civil war developed into an ideologically expressed commitment. At its least sophisticated level this was exhibited in the simple division between the well-affected, godly adherents to Parliament and disaffected malignants; a division that was mutually reinforced in the bitter clashes between civilians and soldiers in the later 1640s. A Warwick Castle soldier was attacked with a club in the streets of Stratford by 'an inveterate malignant' collar-maker, 'crying, have at you, you Parliament rogue'. Robert Mountford, the murderer discussed above, believed his imprisonment was brought about by the malice of 'malignant and disaffected persons that have said they would spend half of their estates,

Warwickshire and a legacy towards 'relieving of poor prisoners in the county of Berks which suffer for conscience sake towards God': Prob 11/374 f.102.

¹⁴² SP28/35 ff.10–40; unfortunately the examinations relating to this incident are damaged.

¹⁴³ SP24/65, case of Robert Mountford. ¹⁴⁴ SP24/34, *Edward Billing v. Bailiff of Stratford*.

but they would hang your petitioner because he is a Roundhead and hath been a soldier in the Parliament's service'.¹⁴⁵ This service of the Parliament affronted some of the local population but of course implies no breach between Parliament's soldiers and local civilian activists on the county committee. Both troops and committee offended peacetime notions of the law; both were well-affected hounders of malignants, and the two wings of the Civil War administration nearly always presented a united front. The Subcommittees of Accounts apparently never got any support from the county troops, whereas in some counties the soldiers saw the subcommittees as allies in their struggle for their arrears.¹⁴⁶ The House of Commons ordered the general disbanding of most of the county forces in August 1646, and this was carried out without fuss; indeed the county committee began to disband its forces in April 1646 although they were still paying soldiers' arrears in 1648.¹⁴⁷ Many Warwickshire soldiers had obviously found a military career to their liking: many of them were in service in the national army in the early 1650s and others went to Ireland in Castle's foot regiment, or in the horse troops of Ottway and Hunt.¹⁴⁸

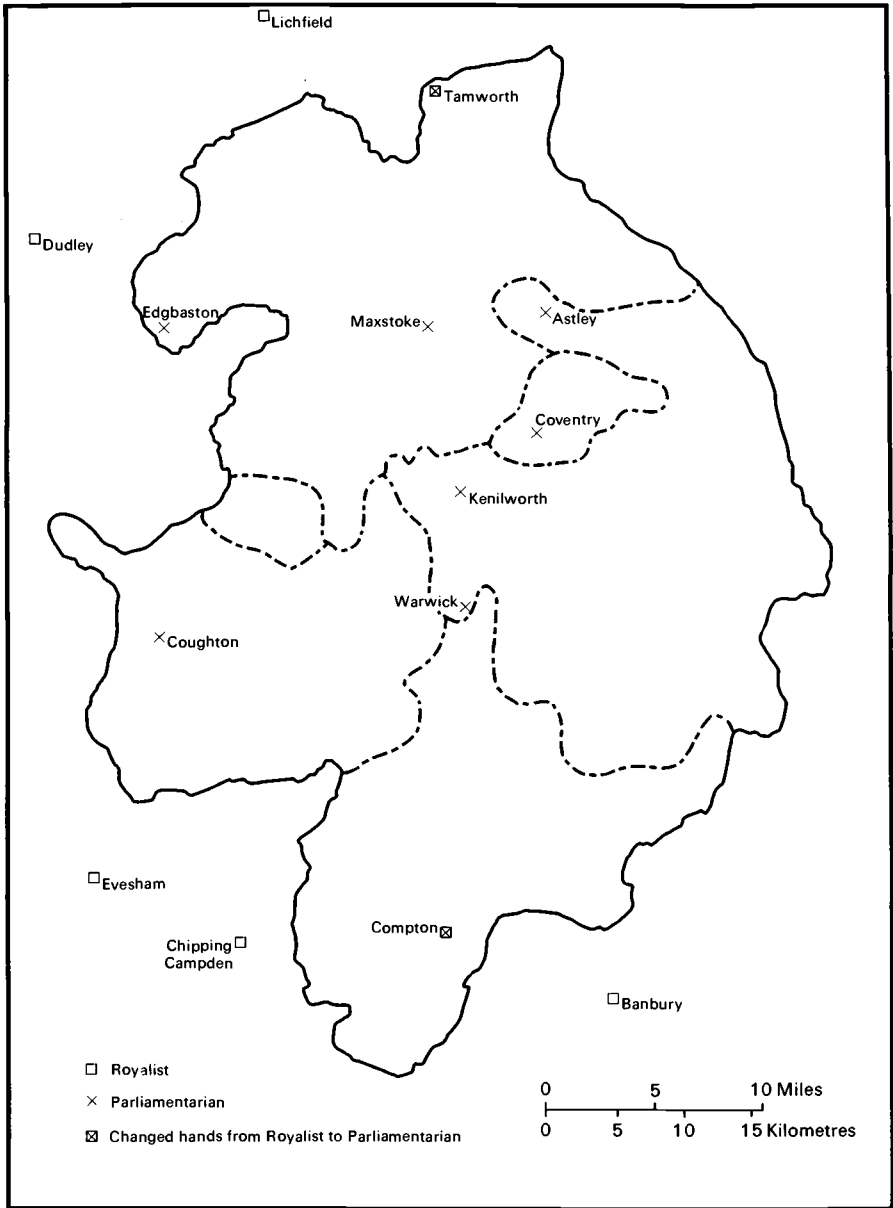
It is now necessary to evaluate the success of the Civil War administration in Warwickshire. The committee managed throughout the war to keep the county as a stronghold for the Parliament but it was never successful in eliminating the royalist threat altogether. The last royalist garrison in the county, Compton House, was not taken until June 1644 while the powerful garrisons that surrounded Warwickshire on all sides – Dudley, Lichfield, Ashby, Banbury and Worcester – were not taken until the very end of the war (see map 3). The royalist forces continually raided the county: as late as October 1645, the Earl of Denbigh's bailiff was taken prisoner by the Banbury forces as a hostage for payment of contribution; and in May 1645 the sheriff, William Colemore, was given permission by Parliament to reside in Coventry, the only town felt to be absolutely safe from the royalists. In May 1646 John Trapp of Stratford reported to friends in New England that he had been forced to take shelter at Warwick Castle for the last eighteen months. Perhaps Trapp was over-cautious; he had been captured by royalists in

¹⁴⁵ SP24/75, *Thomas Sharpe v. William Greene* (1649); SP24/65, case of Robert Mountford. Cf. Underdown, *Revel, Riot and Rebellion*, 217–18, 289 on the 'politicisation' of local quarrels.

¹⁴⁶ J.S. Morrill, 'Mutiny and Discontent in English Provincial Armies, 1645–1647', *Past and Present*, vol. 56 (1972), 49–74.

¹⁴⁷ C.J., vol. 4: 633–4; SP28/247/104–5; SP28/201, Basnet's accounts.

¹⁴⁸ E121: certificates of the sale of crown lands give information on the later careers of Warwickshire soldiers. For those who went to Ireland: CSP *Ireland* 1633–1647, 516, 527; H.M.C. 8th Report (Trinity College, Dublin), 591, 595–6. The later careers of Warwickshire captains are given in Hughes, 'Politics, Society and Civil War', appendix 4.



3 Civil War garrisons

the summer of 1643 and in May 1644 had feared a renewed attack by the cavaliers who wanted an exchange for 'a rotten doctor, my neighbour' imprisoned by Warwick Parliamentarians.¹⁴⁹ It is clear, however, that some areas of the county were under fairly systematic control until 1646. Dudley and Lichfield levied contribution on some northern parishes; the Earl of Northampton at Banbury and Colonel Croker of Prince Rupert's regiment had assignments in south Warwickshire; whilst in August 1644 the royalist authorities in Worcestershire ordered that £167 for dragoons in Colonel Sandy's regiment was 'to be got out of Warwickshire Quarters unassigned'.¹⁵⁰ All this evidence comes from the fragmentary survivals of royalist administration, but it is confirmed by the parish accounts given in to the Subcommittees of Accounts after 1645. In Hemlingford Hundred in north Warwickshire, the inhabitants of Grendon and Wishaw claimed to have contributed to Ashby, Dudley and Lichfield as well as to the Parliament; 'besides' added the latter, 'the daily losses we sustained by continual pillaging and plundering of our goods and cattle is greater than we can well express'.¹⁵¹ The most startling example of royalist strength in the north of the county is found in the accounts of the Dilke family of Maxstoke Castle. Although their own home was a parliamentary garrison, the Dilkes contrived to pay taxes to the royalists at Lichfield and Dudley throughout 1644 (see map 4).¹⁵²

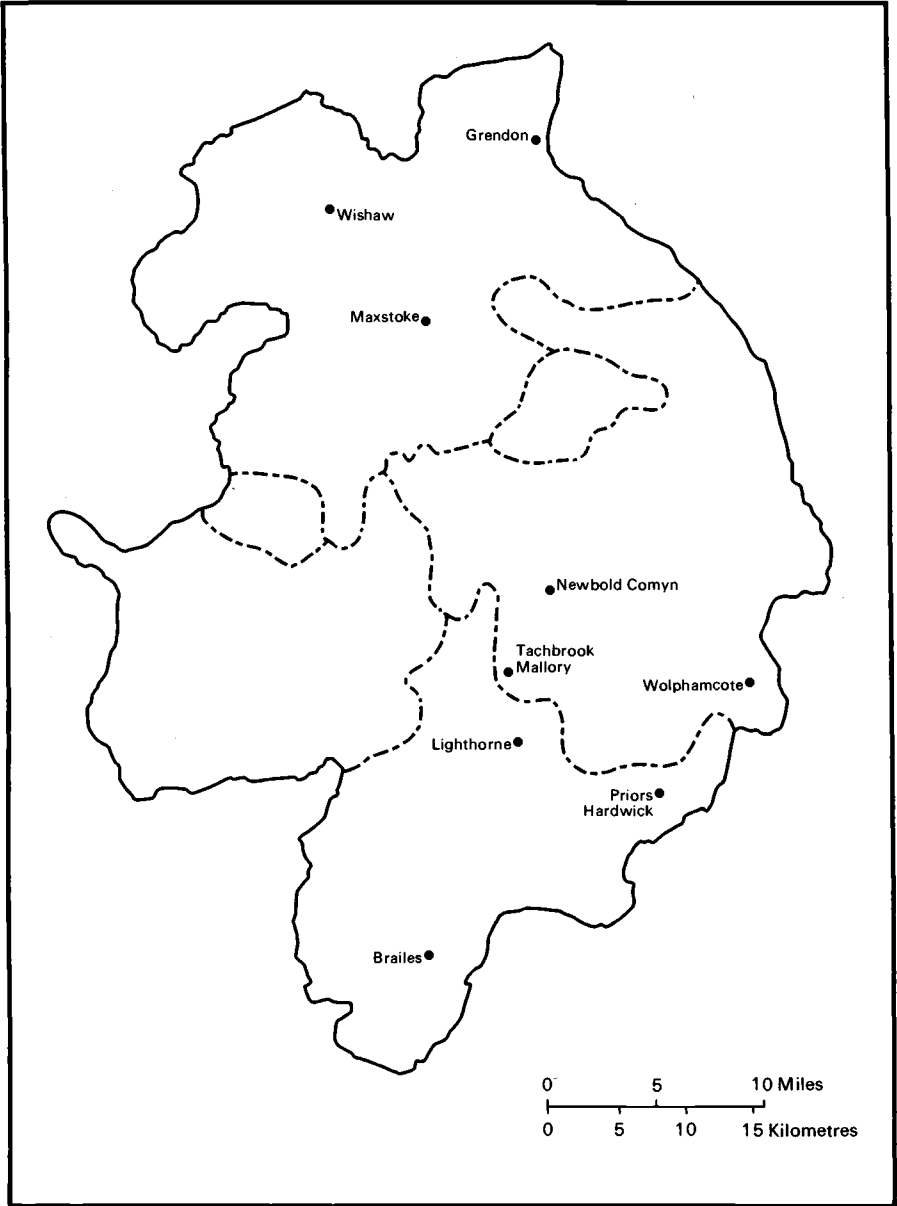
In the south of the county, many parishes near the borders with Oxfordshire and Northamptonshire claimed payments had been made to both sides: the people of Brailes did not pay any contributions to the Parliament until the fall of Compton House in June 1644, and had to pay a large 'composition' for their former neglect. Priors Hardwick was perhaps the most unfortunate parish; they claimed to have paid the Parliament's weekly tax since June 1643, but on the fall of Banbury to Edward Whalley in 1646, they were forced to pay an additional levy to

¹⁴⁹ W.C.R.O. CR2017/C10/97-8; *C.J.*, vol. 4: 141, 148; other accounts of royalist raids are found in *A Letter from Serjeant Major Purefoy, Governor of Compton House* (February 1645) B.L. E268 (12); *A Letter from Colonel Bridges, Governor of Warwick Castle* (April 1645) B.L. E278 (27); *Wyllys Papers*, 62-3, 80-1.

¹⁵⁰ Dudley and Lichfield: B.L. Harl MS, 6802/55, April 1644; Dudley was said to be receiving £500 per month from Hemlingford Hundred and was protesting because Lichfield was trying to collect a similar amount. Banbury and Oxford: Castle Ashby MS 1083/9a, 11, 18-19, 21, 21b, 26, 32-3; Harl MS, 6804 f.176-7; Harl MS, 6851 ff.70, 77; Harl 6842 f.81. Northampton was also authorised to press men in Warwickshire. Here too there was conflict between the royalist commanders over resources. Worcestershire: *Townshend Diary*, 11, 178.

¹⁵¹ SP28/183/18, Grendon. SP28/185 ff.390-401, Wishaw. Nether Whitacre also paid to both sides: W.C.R.O. DRB 27/9.

¹⁵² Maxstoke Castle, Fetherstone-Dilke MS, Dining room, in cabinet under left-hand window, Drawer 6/3, 'payments' May-November 1644.



4 Parishes claiming contributions to royalist forces

him, 'after the rate that we formerly paid to Sir William Compton'.¹⁵³ The royalist influence reached far into the county, however. Lighthorne, Tachbrook Mallory, and Newbold Comyn were all within a few miles of the important parliamentary garrison at Warwick, yet all claimed to have paid almost as much to Banbury as to the Parliament. The inhabitants of Newbold Comyn were particularly forthright: 'near as much contribution paid unto the King's Army at the Garrison of Banbury as unto the Parliament, our horses taken from us, our houses plundered for want of protection'.¹⁵⁴

The compelling danger from the royalists meant that the committee's first priority was local defence and that the county's contribution to the national parliamentary struggle was limited. In financial terms, as we have seen, much of the money raised was used locally. Although Basnet's accounts in 1650 included two sums of over £10,000 sent up to London for the British army in Ireland, raised under the ordinance of October 1644, and for the New Model Army, under the ordinance of February 1645, these sums were only levied after long delay, and much prodding from Westminster.¹⁵⁵ Nothing was collected under the ordinance of 21 February 1645 for a monthly assessment for the Scots army because, as the county committee pointed out in 1648, the Scots army was quartered in the county in 1645 and the inhabitants had paid large sums to them, anyway.¹⁵⁶

The committee was equally reluctant to allow its military resources to be used outside the county. After much prompting from the Committee of Both Kingdoms, the Warwickshire forces served with Massey and Waller in 1644, with Massey and Brereton in 1645, and joined in the sieges

¹⁵³ Brailes: parish account, SP28/184. Castle Ashby MS, 1083/33 is an undated list of arrears of royalist contribution due from Brailes. Priors Hardwick: SP28/184; SP28/183/31. Wolphamcote was another parish that paid to both sides: SP28/184. George Willis junior reported to his family in New England that it was unsafe to live at Fenny Compton, and 'little or nothing' could be made of the estate until the fall of Banbury: *Wyllys Papers*, 60, 86, 94. The idea of penalising those who had contributed to the royalists was taken up by Sir William Brereton. In April 1646 he and the county committee agreed that those in Hemlingford Hundred who had paid tax to Dudley garrison were to pay the same sums to Brereton's forces who were besieging Lichfield. The Whalley precedent was explicitly cited: B. Ref. Lib. MS, 595611 pp. 100-1.

¹⁵⁴ Newbold Comyn: SP28/184; Lighthorne and Tachbrook Mallory: SP28/182.

¹⁵⁵ SP28/247/2-3: £10,320 was raised for the Irish forces and £10,248 for the New Model. No money had been raised for the Irish army by March 1646, however: SP21/23/8-9. The sum finally raised was nearly all that due: the county was rated at £100 per week for the two years the tax operated: *A. and O.*, vol. 1: 531, vol. 3: xxxix, lxxv. Under the 1645 assessment the county should have paid £300 per month; under the ordinance of June 1647 for the New Model, it was charged at £700 per month: *A. and O.*, vol. 1: 614, 958. In August 1647 none of the first levy had been collected: Ian Gentles, 'The Arrears of Pay of the Parliamentary Army at the End of the First Civil War', *B.I.H.R.*, vol. 48 (1975), 62. Taxation records for the parish of Newton and Biggin show that the levies for the English and Irish forces were raised August-October 1647: W.C.R.O.: CR1456.

¹⁵⁶ *A. and O.*, vol. 1: 630; Tanner MS, 58 f.719, county committee to Lenthall, February 1648.

of Banbury in 1644–6. Until the spring of 1646, however, the troops were swiftly followed out of the county by appeals from the committee for their return.¹⁵⁷ This attitude did not stem from blinkered localism on the committee's behalf, or from any compelling desire to defend the 'county community'. As has been shown in earlier chapters, such a community was very elusive in Warwickshire, and certainly the outsiders on the committee, who were always as anxious for the return of the troops as the native members, were hardly likely to have been motivated by local patriotism. The committee were aware of the demands of the wider struggle but their resources were limited and they were dependent on their military forces for local defence and for the maintenance of their political power in the county.¹⁵⁸ Hence they were in a continual dilemma, performing a balancing act between local and national needs.

This dilemma emerged very clearly in the committee's relationship with Sir William Brereton, while the Warwickshire horse were serving with him in Cheshire. The horse were in the north from October 1645, and from November the committee sent a series of letters to Brereton, asking for the return of the horse: 'whose absence is the cause of such misery to this county . . . you know the condition of our country, how it is encompassed with the enemy's garrisons whereby our sufferings are extreme in the favourablest time, but now they grow upon us'. The requests become more urgent after the defiance of Colemore by his subordinate officers in December 1645. However, the postscript to one of the most pathetic appeals reads: 'if you judge their stay necessary to the effecting your present design, let the issue be what it will be, we will consent to it'. In the event most of the Warwickshire horse stayed with Brereton, in Cheshire, and on his 'mopping up' operations in the Midlands, until the end of the Civil War.¹⁵⁹

All modern authorities agree that Parliament had to overcome 'localism' to win the Civil War, but perhaps some qualification is necessary to this view, in the light of recent challenges to the central–local dichotomy. Obviously major field battles were best waged by a properly financed and co-ordinated national army but much of the Civil War was rather a war of attrition – a matter of minor garrisons controlling their

¹⁵⁷ See, for example: SP21/18 p. 103: the Committee of Both Kingdoms to the Coventry committee, May 1644, asking them to let their horse stay a little longer with Massey; and SP21/16 p. 94, Waller to the Committee of Both Kingdoms, July 1644, complaining that the Warwickshire authorities (among others) wanted their horse 'home again'.

¹⁵⁸ See further chapter 6, below; and for a briefer discussion of these issues, Hughes, 'Militancy and Localism: Warwickshire Politics and Westminster Politics, 1643–1647', *T.R.H.S.*, 5th series, vol. 31 (1981).

¹⁵⁹ B.L. Add MS, II, 332 f.98r; II, 333 f.15r. For the Warwickshire regiment's service with Brereton at Lichfield, Stow and Dudley: B. Ref. Lib. MS, 595611, pp. 33–5, 100–1, 231.

immediate area, and engaging in small skirmishes with the enemy.¹⁶⁰ In Warwickshire, at least, a purely local form of organisation proved the most effective way of running this type of war. In 1642–3, the county was dependent on handouts from London which were never sufficient to pay their troops; from 1643, the system established by the committee ensured a military strength adequate to hold the main body of the county for the Parliament despite the royalist predominance in most of the neighbouring counties. In addition, at the end of the war, Warwickshire troops participated to an important extent in wider campaigns. The Committee of Both Kingdoms, which tried, not always successfully, to co-ordinate the Parliament's war effort appreciated the need to conduct the struggle on both a local and a national level. In April and May 1645 the committee bombarded Warwickshire with requests for troops to help Colonel Massey, to garrison Evesham, and to join a rendezvous at Aylesbury. Then Leicester fell, and in June Coventry was urged to be vigilant, and 'to strengthen your garrisons'.¹⁶¹ What the national authorities do not seem to have realised was that local resources were finite.

Seen in this light, the Warwickshire committee's resistance to the moves made by Parliament from 1646 to reduce the powers of county committees do not appear merely as local obstructionism or attempts to retain their own power although these elements were undoubtedly present. The committee's protests against demands to send sequestration revenue up to London were also motivated by fears that the financing of the local garrisons, still felt to be necessary, would be jeopardised. Thus two days after Parliament ordered in January 1648 that all sequestration revenue was to be sent to Goldsmiths' Hall in London, William Purefoy wrote from Westminster to urge the county committee to grant some of this revenue to Warwick garrison which was in a 'sad and necessitous condition'.¹⁶² When a similar move was made by Parliament in August 1648 the county committee again objected, particularly as they were having to pay for troops raised to defend Warwickshire during the second Civil War.¹⁶³ When, as a member of the Rump, William Purefoy acquiesced in the end of county committees, it is likely that he felt there

¹⁶⁰ Morrill, *Provinces*, 55; Holmes, *Eastern Association*, 2, for the need to overcome 'localism'. Cf. Hutton, *The Royalist War Effort*, 102–4 for the importance of small garrisons with the power to maintain themselves on local contributions and to raid neighbouring areas.

¹⁶¹ SP21/18/185, 215, 289; SP21/20/320.

¹⁶² C.J., vol. 5: 435; SP16/516/7, Purefoy to Basnet, 19 January 1648. The county committee protested to the Committee for the Advance of Money about the order, arguing that they still needed sequestration revenue to pay debts outstanding from the first years of the war: SP19/83/12.

¹⁶³ C.J., vol. 5: 633; B.L. Add MS, 5508 f.156, a letter of protest very similar to that of February 1648. In 1648 the county committee raised a foot company under Willoughby and two horse troops under Hawkesworth and Willoughby: SP28/124 ff.274–98; B.L. Add MS, 35098 f.100v.

were by then alternative methods of keeping the county politically reliable.¹⁶⁴

Chapter 6 will show how contemporary opponents of county committees propounded the view that their rule was arbitrary and corrupt, and that their excesses were much worse than anything done by Charles I in the 1630s. This view has its modern holders, too: John Morrill, especially, has castigated the Civil War parliamentary administration as tyrannical.¹⁶⁵ Were the Warwickshire Committee and its military commanders corrupt and tyrannical in their administration of the county? Many examples have been given above of the misbehaviour of military officers in Warwickshire and of the committee exceeding even the wide powers granted it by ordinance of Parliament, as with the amount of weekly tax collected or the allowances paid to its collectors. The examples given have been selected from a much larger amount of surviving evidence.

A note of caution is necessary however, for it must be remembered that the evidence was accumulated by the members of the Subcommittees of Accounts who were irreconcilably opposed to the political line of the county committeemen. That some of the charges were, at least, exaggerated, is illustrated by the case of John Bridges, the governor of Warwick Castle. The Subcommittee of Accounts at Warwick spent many months and produced many scores of depositions alleging that Bridges had kidnapped people, plundered widely in Warwickshire and Oxfordshire, and, most seriously, had embezzled goods worth up to £50,000 which had been taken by countrymen from the king's baggage train just before Edgehill. Such goods, not taken by soldiers in battle, were not lawful prize. Sinister stories were gathered of meetings between Bridges and his confederates in the cellars of Warwick Castle in the dead of night as they shared out the spoils; and Bridges was said to have confessed to his ex-scoutmaster Andrew Yarranton that he had been pushed into the plot by his wife: 'that it was his Mistress's doing who was a very hard woman'.¹⁶⁶ It was probably not coincidental, however, that the examinations began soon after Bridges had stood as the committee's candidate in the recruiter election when he had been strongly opposed by most of the accounts committeemen. He himself attributed the accusations to the 'unparalleled malice of one Mr. Thomas Newsham a disaffected

¹⁶⁴ County committees' functions were confined to supervision of the militia and rating for assessment after 1650 when they lost control of the spending of sequestration revenue: Underdown, *Pride's Purge*, 301.

¹⁶⁵ Morrill, *Provinces*, especially 52-3, 64-6, 73-80. For contemporary comment see chapter 6 below.

¹⁶⁶ See, amongst much other evidence, examinations in SP28/36/143, 365-6; SP28/255-6; SP16/511/57 i-xi; SP28/253B.

person¹⁶⁷ – and a member of the Subcommittee of Accounts. After a long dispute Bridges' defence that he had used any goods taken for the supply of the garrison, was accepted and he was acquitted of the charges in June 1651.¹⁶⁸ But he was not able to present his accounts and claim arrears until an order was passed in Parliament in 1657 and the malice of his opponents pursued him beyond the Restoration when their accusations were directed through the attorney-general in an Exchequer investigation. In 1663 the old stories were again rehearsed. Elizabeth Hierne told how her step-father, the marshall to the castle garrison, had lent Bridges and Bryan money to pay troops and been offered in return cutlery engraved, 'C.R.'. He was naturally enough indignant: 'Must I lend them my money and be paid again with the King's spoons?' Accounts committee members, officials, and their children queued up to describe Bridges' misdeeds. Mary Somerville, the 25-year-old daughter of Edward, the accounts committeeman, remembered that her father had seen plate and jewels taken from the castle by the 'apronfull' by Bridges' wife and daughter; spoke of rumours that treasure had been taken secretly to Ireland by Bridges during his service there; and ended cuttingly: 'she this deponent hath seen the defendant's wife and daughter wear very rich jewels such as she believes were never of their own providing and beyond the usual wearing of such persons'. Even in the harsher political atmosphere, Bridges was again cleared.¹⁶⁹

Undoubtedly there were many cases in which such a defence would not have been justified, but a second point to be made against the 'Parliamentary tyranny' argument, a naive one perhaps, is that a civil war was raging. It was impossible to follow traditional, orderly, legal procedures in these circumstances. As Parliament instructed the circuit judges in June 1645:

Whereas, sithence the beginning of this war, many and great sessments, and other charges, have been laid upon them by the Parliament, to the impoverishing of them in their estates; and unusual and vast powers have been exercised over them by governors of forts, castles and towns, by committees of Parliament, and otherwise, by authority from the Parliament; to let them know, that the Parliament, in this time of war, was necessitated thereunto, for the good of the kingdom, and that what hath been done at such a time of necessity shall not be drawn into example to their future prejudice.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁷ SP28/253B, 10 June 1651.

¹⁶⁸ SP28/253A, Order Book of the Committee at Duchy House, ff.114r–114v.

¹⁶⁹ C.J., vol. 7: 500; P.R.O. E134, 14 + 15 Chas. II, Hilary 20; 15 Chas. II, Easter 23. Edward Somerville, George Willis, and Matthew Holbeach, accounts committeemen; John Newsham, son of Thomas, and Thomas Smith, the clerk to the subcommittee were amongst those giving evidence against Bridges. Richard Baxter described the harassment of his friend after the Restoration: *Reliquiae Baxterianae*, 105–6. Impecunious ex-royalists offered to convict Bridges in exchange for a share in the hoped-for spoils, despite his acquittal in the Exchequer: C.S.P.D. 1663–4, 120, 170, 242, 247. ¹⁷⁰ C.J., vol. 4: 594.

Although arguments from necessity could obviously lead to abuses,¹⁷¹ the belief that the ends justified the means was strongly felt by the county committeemen who were committed to winning the war for the Parliament. The conflict between legality and necessity is at the heart of most indemnity cases, and the division between them and the accounts committeemen also lay here: the county committeemen were fighting an enemy, and would sacrifice constitutional procedures in order to defeat him; the members of the Subcommittee of Accounts, all lukewarm in their allegiance to the Parliament, did not feel the same enmity towards royalists, and considered that the first priority was to maintain the traditional ways of doing things.

Many incidents in Civil War Warwickshire illustrate this point: the county committee's justification for the rates it paid its collectors or for the level of taxation was always based on the need to defend the county and defeat the royalists. The (very few) indemnity cases involving the county committee or their officials centred on conflicting notions of what was justifiable in terms of the war effort. One man sued three committeemen as private individuals to recover the full forfeiture due by bond on money lent them to pay troops; another started a foolhardy suit to recover his fifth and twentieth part.¹⁷² After long examination of the county committee's record, the accounts committee drew up 'A true collection of all such payments as we conceive are not warrantable by any ordinance of Parliament'.¹⁷³ Many of the objections of the accounts committee were purely formal and the payments could easily be seen as necessary to the war effort: many items were objected to on the grounds that they had not been authorised by three committeemen; payments to officers for their arrears, given before the official auditing of their accounts were not allowed. The county committee, at least, could even justify the payment of expenses incurred in the campaign against Denbigh, on the grounds that it was necessary to defeat 'neuters'. The subcommittees interviewed disgruntled common soldiers in attempts to uncover the corruption of their commanders; many undoubted abuses were revealed but it is not hard to see valid reasons for the county

¹⁷¹ Ashton, *The English Civil War*, 197 points out both the validity of this argument and its inherent dangers.

¹⁷² SP24/51 *Hales, Bromwich, Phippes v. Richard Taylor*; SP24/3 f.153v; /4 f.103v; 5/ ff.122v.123r. Taylor was given most of his principal back, less the sums the committee had paid in lieu of his taxes; SP24/33 *John Barker et al. v Thomas Robinson*; SP24/3 f.163r. There were only eleven indemnity cases involving Warwickshire's parliamentary civilian administrators, and five of those resulted from Exchequer prosecutions of officials who had used revenue for local military needs, rather than sending it to the Exchequer. It was presumably harder to prosecute committeemen, many of whom were J.P.s by the end of the war, than it was to challenge the actions of the troops. ¹⁷³ SP28/201.

committee's objections, especially as in many cases the examinations were conducted before the war was over.¹⁷⁴

The majority of the abuses perpetrated by the county committee and its officers were against those whom they deemed 'malignants' or 'delinquents' and considered to be fair game. The Subcommittee of Accounts had a different attitude: an examination of the servant of the royalist Sir Thomas Holte was conducted in order to uncover details of plunder committed by Bosvile's men.¹⁷⁵ The general approach of the county committee was shrewdly summed up by Lionel Cranfield's steward, explaining why he feared the royalist forces in Worcestershire and Gloucestershire more than the Warwickshire Parliamentarians: 'the soldiers dare not meddle with any men's goods without order from the Committee and that they will give order for none to suffer but delinquents, yet I fear they will make upon very small information delinquents'.¹⁷⁶ The committee did indeed have a wide definition of 'delinquent' as Cranfield himself was to find out to his cost, in probably the most callous action of the Civil War administrators of Warwickshire against one of the landed élite. His steward had paid taxes to both sides throughout the war, though not without protest. On 5 December 1644, 200 horse led by Hawkesworth, Wells and Potter rode up to Milcote, Cranfield's main residence, and, as the steward Robert Fawdon reported: 'the Major [Hawkesworth] then told me they must either pull down the house or fire it, for they had certain intelligence that the enemy was very near coming to garrison the house which would undo the country and endanger their safety'.¹⁷⁷ Fawdon protested that there was no evidence that this was the case and begged for time to remove the goods from the house. At first, Hawkesworth agreed and sent to Coventry for further instructions from the committee, but he tired of waiting for a reply and fired the house before many of the household goods could be removed. The troops did not leave until they had made sure the fire was unquenchable. A few weeks later Captain Wells was still pressing Fawdon for £90 in taxation arrears, requests which Fawdon had believed he would not 'for shame' continue.¹⁷⁸

There were certainly blemishes on the conduct of the county committee and its soldiers but tyranny is probably an inappropriate description of the administration, given the circumstances of civil war. It is worth

¹⁷⁴ This occurred in the cases of Bridges, Ottway and Hobson discussed above.

¹⁷⁵ SP28/253B, the examination of Elizabeth Johnson, 15 November 1645.

¹⁷⁶ Kent C.A.D.: Cranfield Papers unlisted; Warwickshire Estate Correspondence, Main Stewards, Robert Fawdon to the first Earl of Middlesex, 1 June 1643. ¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 17 December 1644.

¹⁷⁸ Kent C.A.D.: U269/C249 Fawdon to the second Earl of Middlesex, 26 January 1645. For more discussion of the effects of the Civil War on the Cranfields' Midlands estates see chapter 7 below.

pointing out that none of the committeemen or officers appear to have made their fortunes through the Civil War; in 1670 an aged John Barker begged Coventry Corporation for an allowance of 50s per quarter 'having lost my whole estate so my condition is sad'; while even Anthony Ottway owned little but his cavalry equipment and his potential pay arrears when he died in Ireland in 1650.¹⁷⁹ In their administration of sequestrated lands, for which we have the fullest evidence, the committeemen seem to have been fair although they were determined in their prosecution of royalists. Baxter's 'godly and judicious gentlemen' believed that the end justified the means. A close associate of the committee, the minister John Bryan, argued in 1646 in a sermon in Coventry:

We are displeas'd and murmur at taxes and impositions whereat we should not quarrel, seeing we enjoy our Lives, Liberties, Privileges, Estates and Religion (all which were at stake and almost lost) for so great a difference is there betwixt these taxes the Parliament at present imposeth and those which formerly our Taskmasters laid upon us. Those were in design to ruin and enslave us to arbitrary power, these are to preserve us from it.¹⁸⁰

Bryan was obviously answering local critics, and it is to the campaigns of some of these against the committee that we now turn.

¹⁷⁹ Cov. C.R.O. A79, P268a; Prob. 11/215 f.30.

¹⁸⁰ John Bryan, *A Discovery of the Probable Sin* (December 1646) B.L. E370 (7), 3.

Militancy and localism in Warwickshire politics 1643–1649

Ever since the important work by Alan Everitt on the ‘county community’, political divisions in the counties controlled by Parliament during the Civil War have usually been seen in terms of a conflict between moderates who sought to defend the local community and ‘extremists’ who were nationally minded. In a characteristic formulation David Underdown wrote of ‘the now familiar conflict between nationally minded militants and locally minded moderates [which] can be found in all the parliamentary counties’. Clive Holmes has mounted the major challenge to this consensus.¹

It has been recognised that political conflicts in Warwickshire during the Civil War do not fit this ‘familiar’ pattern. In 1643–4 the militant county committee, described in the previous chapter, was apparently the champion of localism, blocking all the efforts of the Earl of Denbigh, the moderate commander in chief of the West Midland Association, to raise an effective army that could contribute to the wider war effort.² The interpretation of this paradox is usually that the committee’s localism contradicted or limited its militancy. As I have shown in chapter 5, however, the committeemen had compelling military reasons for their localist attitudes and I will show below that politically too, their ‘localism’ was perfectly in harmony with their militancy, rather than in conflict with it. Moreover, Warwickshire politics suggest that a division between localists and those who were nationally minded may not always

¹ David Underdown, ‘Honest Radicals in the Counties 1642–1649’ in Donald Pennington and Keith Thomas, eds., *Puritans and Revolutionaries: Essays in Seventeenth Century History Presented to Christopher Hill* (Oxford, 1978) 191; for similar views see Pennington, ‘The County Community at War’ in Ives, ed., *The English Revolution*, 73; Morrill, *Provinces*, 111, but cf. Clive Holmes, *The Eastern Association* and ‘Colonel King and Lincolnshire Politics, 1642–1646’, *H.J.*, vol. 16 (1973), 451–84 where he emphasises the interrelationships between local and national politics. A slightly different version of this chapter is found in Hughes, ‘Militancy and Localism: Warwickshire Politics and Westminster Politics, 1643–1647’.

² E.g. Ashton, *The English Civil War*, 221–2.

provide an appropriate analysis. Rather there was a more subtle interrelationship between local and national politics.

Any ambiguity between the powers of the county committee and those of the Association commander was unimportant in Warwickshire as long as Brooke was that commander, for the committeemen were his associates and friends, and had come to power in the county precisely because they agreed with his views. Brooke's successor, Basil Feilding, second Earl of Denbigh, who was appointed commander in chief of the associated counties of Warwickshire, Staffordshire, Shropshire and Worcestershire in June 1643,³ was in a different position. In contrast to Brooke who had been a radical opponent of Charles I almost from his youth, Denbigh was in many ways an unlikely Parliamentarian. As the nephew of Buckingham, Denbigh had spent all his adult life in court service, spending most of the 1630s as ambassador to Venice.⁴ His father had been killed at Birmingham in April 1643, riding in Prince Rupert's troop of horse, while his mother remained the intimate friend of Henrietta Maria, a circumstance that was to cause her son some embarrassment. A plausible if cynical explanation of the second earl's political stance is that he felt slighted at his lack of preferment at court following his return from Venice in 1639.⁵

Both contemporaries and later historians have tended to be cynical about Denbigh. He was in many ways an unashamed survivor of the mid-century conflicts. A moderate Parliamentarian in the early 1640s, he had by 1647 become identified with more militant policies and sided with the army in the summer of that year. Despite a shadowy involvement in last-minute attempts to save the life of Charles I and an undoubted commitment to the House of Lords he nonetheless sat on the Council of State in 1649–50 and was named to local committees and to the Warwickshire commission of the peace throughout the 1640s. He was the object of interest from royalist conspirators by the end of the 1650s but never gave any active commitment to royalism before 1660. Nothing daunted, he surfaced in 1661 to petition Charles II for repayment of debts he and his father had incurred in the royal service, asking the new king to put 'a fair construction on intermediate accidents and revolutions of affairs'. Reimbursement for part of these debts had been voted him in September 1649 when Denbigh had claimed over £10,000 from the public

³ *C.J.*, vol. 3: 121, 127.

⁴ For the background of the Feilding family see chapter 2 above. Basil Feilding became ambassador in 1634: *C.S.P.V.* 1632–1636, 243.

⁵ In 1639 Feilding expected to become ambassador to France: *C.S.P.V.* 1640–1642, 33; *H.M.C.*, 6 (Denbigh), 283b.

revenue for arrears of a royal pension and of 'entertainment' of £6 per diem as ambassador to Venice. A committee chaired by a forgiving William Purefoy had suggested a figure of £9,000 but the House had voted 'only' £1,774.⁶ Denbigh's commitment to Parliament was widely suspected in 1643-4, and his old friend Edward Hyde summed him up at Uxbridge as a man who 'would shift the best he could for himself'.⁷

This picture of Denbigh fits uneasily with praise from the unlikely figure of Edmund Ludlow, describing Denbigh's stance during discussions in the Lords on retribution in August 1660:

The Earl of Denbigh, whose sister Duke Hamilton had married, was called upon to name one [regicide, to be excepted from pardon] to make satisfaction for the death of the Duke his brother-in-law. He named one who was dead; which being taken notice of by some of the House, he was desired to name some other. He refused so to do, alleging that seeing providence had so directed it, he desired to be excused from naming any other (and very probable that what he did was of set purpose, being very much a gentleman in his spirit, and deportment, and a lover of his country).⁸

Ludlow reminds us that it is too easy to be cynical about those Parliamentarians who were not obviously identified with militant or radical positions. Denbigh remained a consistent Parliamentarian from early 1642 despite his courtier background and the pleas of his royalist relations. For the rest of his life he was a committed non-Laudian Protestant, with possible Presbyterian sympathies, and a supporter of limited monarchy with a strong stress on the honour and public role of the peerage. The validity of such a moderate position has been hidden by some of the preoccupations of recent historiography.⁹ Denbigh had a staunch Protestant upbringing: his tutor Reynolds being arrested in 1624 for spreading militant propaganda in favour of intervention over the Palatinate. During the 1640s he took a consistent interest in the ministers appointed to the livings near his home and he protected at least two local

⁶ *L.J.*, vol. 9: 351-74 for 1647; Ashton, *The English Civil War*, 344-5 for 1648-9; *C.S.P.D. 1649-50*, introduction and appendix 1, tables 4c, 4d for Interregnum office holding; David Underdown, *Royalist Conspiracy in England 1649-1660* (New Haven, 1960), 81-2, 192, 222. Denbigh's Memorial was presented in 1661 and apparently again in 1674: SP29/28/89: i, H.M.C., 7 (Denbigh), 223-4. The latter version is quoted. *C.J.*, vol. 6: 292.

⁷ For doubts about Denbigh's loyalty see below and accusations dating from 1644 but misplaced in the State Papers at 1649: SP18/3/103-4. I am grateful to Joe Godwin for discussion over the dating of this document. Clarendon edited Macray, vol. 3, 496; for Hyde's friendship with Feilding in the 1630s: H.M.C., vol. 6 (Denbigh), 278, 281.

⁸ Edmund Ludlow, *A Voyage from the Watch Tower*, A.B. Worden, ed. (Camden Society, 4th series, 21, 1978), 170; *L.J.*, vol. 11: 119. Denbigh named William Wyberd: H.M.C., 5 (Duke of Sutherland), 155.

⁹ In this revision of the view of Denbigh presented in Hughes, 'Politics, Society and Civil War' or Hughes, 'Militancy and Localism' I have been greatly influenced and assisted by the undergraduate dissertation by Joe Godwin on Denbigh's career, presented at Manchester University in 1985.

Presbyterians ejected after 1660. Along with close associates like Lord Wharton he opposed the repressive legislation against 'dissenters' in the 1660s and was deeply critical of the 'popish' policies of the early 1670s.¹⁰ In February 1649 he would not take the initial oath of a member of the Council of State because 'there are some particulars that look backward that he conceives he cannot with honour subscribe as being contrary to what he acted as a peer in the House of Lords, then acknowledged a third estate of this kingdom'. In his agreement to serve, however, he summed up his career to date, in terms which can be seen as self-regarding but not necessarily opportunistic:

He hath formerly had the honour to be employed by the late king to the state of Venice and to other princes and served in it faithfully. That he was since employed by both Houses in arms and was also faithful in that. That now there is no other power in England but that of the House of Commons in whom the liberty and freedom of the people is so involved as he is resolved to live and die with them. And doth acknowledge them the supreme power of the nation.¹¹

Rather Denbigh was giving qualified support to the regime in being and continuing as a loyalist public servant with a consistent, basic objection to arbitrary monarchy and popery.¹²

As a local commander in Warwickshire, Denbigh supported the view – shared by most of the leading non-royalist gentry – that the Civil War should not be allowed to undermine the existing social structure. He was accused of saying of committees, 'they are not born to it', and in sharp contrast to the county committee, he recruited his political support and his military officers from the leading gentry: Sir Simon Archer's son Thomas and Edward Peyto, the young son of Sir Edward, both served as colonels in his army.¹³ Denbigh was concerned to limit the extent to which political division affected the solidarity of the leading ranks of society, frequently intervening to secure lenient treatment for sequestered neighbours like Lord Conway and the wife of Sir Thomas Leigh of Stoneleigh. William Purefoy claimed that when the county committee had discussed the case of Sir Richard Shuckborough Denbigh had 'excused his going to the king and said it might be to do good offices'.¹⁴

¹⁰ SP14/171/49; H.M.C., 4 (Denbigh), 274, William Purefoy to Denbigh on a new minister for Lutterworth, Leicestershire. A.G. Matthews, ed., *Calamy Revised* (Oxford, 1934), 328, 342. G.F. Trevallyn Jones, *Saw-Pit Wharton: The Political Career from 1640 to 1691 of Philip, fourth Lord Wharton* (Sydney, 1967), 215, 218; for Denbigh's criticisms of Charles II see W.C.R.O., CR2017/R13, a manuscript annotated by Denbigh and entitled, 'The steps of descent whereby of late this Monarchy hath much declined, and lessened itself'. ¹¹ SP25/62/2-3.

¹² C.f. John Wallace, *Destiny his Choice: The Loyalty of Andrew Marvell* (Cambridge, 1968).

¹³ Archer: C.S.P.D. 1644, 386; Peyto: SP28/136, accounts of Colonel Peyto. For more discussion of Denbigh's gentry support see the account of the August 1644 petition, below.

¹⁴ Conway: W.C.R.O. CR2017/C9/96; H.M.C. (Denbigh), 78; SP16/501/71; April–May, 1644. In March 1645 Denbigh intervened, unsuccessfully, on Lady Leigh's behalf with Sir Samuel Luke

From the petitions that survive among his family papers it appears that poorer men and women, too, felt that he would respond to complaints about the burdens of civil war.¹⁵

It was not to be expected that such a man would work easily with William Purefoy and the rest of the committee. Indeed it is possible that Denbigh's appointment was obtained by early opponents of the committee. It followed shortly on a petition from the county calling for a new commander.¹⁶ This spoke of 'the sad and dangerous condition of the county . . . by reason of distractions and divisions amongst us which have darkened and trouble our councells, blocked and obstructed our proceedings to the great dismaying of our country which like sheep without a shepherd, longingly attend the coming and commands of some man of honour and moderation'. No signatures survive with the petition but its wording, and a comment made in 1644 by Sir Simonds D'Ewes who was a member of a parliamentary committee dealing with Denbigh's Association, suggests a moderate attempt to limit the committee's powers in which dissident committeemen like Phippes and Stoughton may well have been involved.¹⁷

However, there is little sign of any immediate hostility to Denbigh from the committee. As discussed above, in the spring of 1643 the committee was just beginning to repair the military and financial chaos in which they had been left on Brooke's death. There were defections from the committee, and suspected treachery by Hastings Ingram, the commander at Kenilworth Castle. In this general panic, increased by the loss of Bristol, the siege of Gloucester, and the feeling that Coventry was next, the committee seems to have initially welcomed a powerful commander. In July the committee appealed to Denbigh for help in getting additional supplies sent down from London and urged him to 'vouchsafe us your presence'.¹⁸ But Denbigh did not in fact reach Coventry until the end of November 1643 and in the interim the position changed. Much of the delay was caused by doubts raised about Denbigh's political stance. At the end of August, Denbigh and his newly-raised troops were hastily recalled from their march from London to the Midlands when a letter from Denbigh's mother was intercepted, begging her son to 'leave those

who farmed her Bedfordshire estates: B.L. Egerton MS 785 f.58v; 787 f.8or. Shuckborough: SP18/3/103-4. He also intervened on behalf of the Catholic royalist Earl of Shrewsbury who had been plundered by the Edgbaston garrison: CR2017/C25/1-2, May-June 1644.

¹⁵ CR2017/C9/54, 89; C10/73, 77. The petitions include a complaint of the Warwick butchers against the excise, and a request from a constable to be released from office.

¹⁶ The petition was read in the Lords on 2 June: *L.J.*, vol. 6: 78; a copy dated 20 May and without signatures is in House of Lords Record Office, Main Papers 2 June 1643.

¹⁷ B.L. Harl. MS378/4 mentions an anti-Purefoy petition of 1643. For defections from the committee in 1643 see chapter 5 above. ¹⁸ Tanner MS 62 f.201.

that murdered your dear father . . . let me know and I shall make your way to the best advantage . . . I do know you shall be welcome'.¹⁹ Denbigh vindicated his loyalty before the Committee of Safety but further delays resulted when the earl expressed doubts about taking the Covenant.²⁰

In addition the committee began to realise how the demands of the Association would affect the military organisation it was perfecting. The troops Denbigh had sent ahead from London competed for scarce resources at Coventry, and, lacking pay and senior officers, they became disorderly. In October many were unilaterally disbanded by the committee, 'the discharge of their quarters being burthensome to our small treasury'. They further informed Denbigh: 'nor did we believe your Lordship meant them a sole charge to this county, who we conceived came down for the service of the Association'.²¹

When Denbigh finally got to Coventry he tried hard to overcome any prejudices against him. He issued a declaration²² exhorting his men to avoid all ungodly behaviour and to take the Covenant. In a ceremony at St Michael's church Denbigh himself took the Covenant before all his men. He insisted that his intention was 'not to impose burthens but with all possible means to moderate and lessen them', emphasising that he had been granted £6,000 by ordinance of Parliament. His aim was 'to reconcile differences' and to defend 'my native country'. Indeed, in taking up this command, Denbigh was assuming a local importance that his family, who owed their national prominence to the Buckingham connection, had hitherto lacked.

¹⁹ CR2017/C1/24, n.d. but the most compromising of his mother's letters and most probably the one intercepted. For other examples *ibid* C1/18–29, and for a similar letter to Denbigh from his sister Lady Kinaelmeaky: *ibid* C2/131.

²⁰ The Committee of Safety were especially alarmed because Denbigh had left without permission and it was feared that he was headed for Oxford. Hastings reported to Rupert that the earl had been escorted back to London under guard: William Salt Library, Stafford, Salt MS 550/14, 7 September 1643. For the Committee of Safety's vindication: *C.J.*, vol. 3: 226; *L.J.*, vol. 6: 202; B.L. Add MS 31116 (Laurence Whitaker's Diary of Proceedings in the House of Commons) f.75r. The Commons voted Denbigh's attitude to the Covenant unsatisfactory: *C.J.*, vol. 3: 249; and in December 1643 it was alleged, unfairly, that he had refused to allow his troops to take the Covenant: B.L. Add MS 18, 779 (Walter Yonge's parliamentary diary) f.28v. I am extremely grateful to Christopher Thompson who has provided me with transcripts of Yonge's references to the Denbigh conflicts. Denbigh's attitude to the Covenant was typical of 'peace party' adherents although some peers like Saye were motivated by hostility to the Scots: Valerie Pearl, 'Oliver St John and the "middle group" in the Long Parliament, August 1643–May 1644' *E.H.R.*, vol. 81 (1966), 497–8.

²¹ CR2017/C9/33, 16 October. A petition to Denbigh from around this time went, 'we your poor soldiers have pawned all our clothes and spent all our means that we were able to make, lying here in Coventry for divers months together since your honour went back to London and can make shift no longer to live': SP28/34/248, Denbigh ordered payment on this petition in April 1644.

²² Tanner MS 62 f.381, 20 November. An earlier draft in CR2017/C9/34 has no important differences.

But differences were not to be reconciled, for the committee immediately refused to accept Denbigh's command. In the aftermath of Brooke's death, Essex had issued a hasty commission to William Purefoy, Gell, Haselrig and Brereton, to take over command in the West Midlands.²³ Purefoy thus commissioned officers in the county forces as commander in chief, even after Denbigh's appointment.²⁴ Purefoy was too astute a politician to assert his own authority, however, and the county commanders claimed instead that they were part of Essex's army.²⁵ Denbigh's early attempts to move to the relief of Shropshire were sabotaged: 'Colonel Purefoy to disobey me produced an order of Serjeant Major General Skippon . . . which confined his regiment to Coventry or Warwick till his further summons'.²⁶ By virtue of another commission from Essex, acquired only a month previously, Barker, not Denbigh, was regarded by the committee as the supreme commander in Coventry. Barker, 'interpreting himself Commander in Chief, both of that City and County, refused to receive my orders and . . . takes the militia of this City and County wholly into his own manage and disposal as if myself were not at all concerned in the same'.²⁷ This was Denbigh's view; the committeemen, for their part, claimed to Essex that to displace Barker would lead to mutiny in the garrison and risk 'occasioning fear in the well affected', because the fidelity of Denbigh's officers was suspect.²⁸ This particular dispute blew over but throughout the spring of 1644 the committee continued to put the needs of Warwickshire before those of the Association and the relief of Wem in Shropshire was held up for many months. After long discussion, the committee apparently agreed that Denbigh could 'call in the country' to raise horse, but when the earl went to Warwick to implement these arrangements the committee sent a warrant after him authorising voluntary contributions only;²⁹ neither would they lend any of their own best troops to the Shropshire expedition, offering only 'broken companies . . . of little use'. According

²³ H.M.C., 9th Report, part 2 (Pole-Gell), 391, 24 March 1643.

²⁴ See for example, the commission to Cornet Thomas Baldwin, 1 September 1643, in his accounts, SP28/136.

²⁵ The desire to be associated with Essex was unusual: cf. Clive Holmes, 'The Affair of Colonel Long: relations between Parliament, the Lord General and the County of Essex in 1643', *Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society*, 3rd series II (1970).

²⁶ There were rumours that the Irish had landed in the north-west. Denbigh sent a stream of complaints against the county committee to Essex and the Speakers of both Houses in the first week of December; Tanner MS 62 ff.404-5, 420; CR2017/C9/13; C10/133-4; *L.J.*, vol. 6: 325-6. The comment about Purefoy is from C10/133, draft of a letter to Lenthall, 1 December.

²⁷ CR2017/C9/13, a Protestation sent to the House of Lords, c. 5 December.

²⁸ *L.J.*, vol. 6: 321.

²⁹ SP16/501/59, Denbigh to the Committee of Both Kingdoms, 2 April 1644; H.M.C., vol. 6: (House of Lords), 8, Humphrey Mackworth to Denbigh 13 March 1644 explaining the arrangements made by the committee.

to Denbigh, at least, some of the committee's troops took direct action against his forces, stealing their horses for their own use.³⁰ The committee argued that the defence of Warwickshire and aid for a convoy to Gloucester were the priorities.

The greatest humiliation for an English earl with a more than adequate sense of his own esteem came at the end of March 1644. With great difficulty, Denbigh had persuaded Colonel William Purefoy and Commissary General Behr, who was in Warwickshire waiting for a chance to get to Gloucester, to move their troops into Leicestershire in an attempt to retrieve something of the Parliament's disaster at Newark. Almost immediately Behr, a mere Dutchman, ordered Purefoy's regiment back to Warwickshire. Denbigh reported: 'whereupon I put myself upon the head of the regiment, and gave peremptory commands they should make a stand telling them that if they were resolved to march on they should march over me'. But Behr sent a second command: 'which though I opposed with all the persuasions and threats I could use, they got of one side of me and by force prevailed'.³¹ Denbigh was left to the consolation of forces from Northamptonshire, 'moved with the honour of our nation and the barbarity of my usage'. In the end Denbigh limped north from Warwickshire in late April with the few unpaid forces he had raised through voluntary contribution, still complaining of his experiences in the county:

Colonel Barker's troop, contrary to your Lordship's order and my summons, is gone the second time with Colonel Purefoy to Gloucester, and with him another troop of Major Bridges without my privity or consent, and if whole counties must be thus exposed to ruin, and your Lordship's orders neglected to maintain persons (who have no great interest in this county, and less in their affections) in that power and authority which is conferred upon me by ordinance of Parliament, I know not what can be expected but ruin and confusion to these parts.³²

The fact that much of the Warwickshire horse had thus co-operated with the relief of Gloucester might suggest that the county committee's 'localism' was merely a stratagem to defeat Denbigh. However we have seen that the committee was always reluctant to allow its forces out of Warwickshire for long. We saw, too, that simple military common sense went some way toward explaining this attitude; but the committee's localism stemmed as much from political considerations. Professor Holmes has suggested that in many areas the more radical and socially

³⁰ SP16/501/75, 79, Denbigh to the Committee of Both Kingdoms, 15, 16 April 1644. The earl had wanted Colemore's and Willoughby's companies, but had been offered only poor troops from Maxstoke. CR2017/C182, Denbigh to Captain Pont.

³¹ SP16/501/59, Denbigh to the Committee of Both Kingdoms, 2 April.

³² SP16/501/98, Denbigh to the Committee of Both Kingdoms, 28 April.

obscure Parliamentarians tended to put national before local considerations because they owed their position to the Parliament's commissions rather than to any power base in county society.³³ Undoubtedly this was true in many counties but it perhaps assumes that only the gentry could provide such a local power base. During the Civil War this was not necessarily the case: Brooke and the county committeemen had come to power in Warwickshire in 1642–3 in spite of the local gentry and through the significant support of men of lesser rank.

To a large extent their chance of success had come because of the lack of co-operation among the moderate leading gentry – the lack of a 'county community'. By the spring of 1644, however, it is clear that the obscurity of the committeemen and the burdens they imposed on the county were driving the previously apathetic gentry into action. Denbigh provided a focus for this opposition to the rule of obscure committeemen and officers. A petition in his support, organised in the summer of 1644 attracted over 2,000 signatures collected despite the military dominance of Denbigh's opponents.³⁴ All the senior gentry who were not in royalist garrisons signed this petition: men like Sir Simon Archer and Sir Henry Gibbes who had remained neutral in 1642; Thomas Boughton and Clement Throckmorton who had supported Brooke in 1642 but had not been admitted to the parliamentary leadership;³⁵ and men like William Combe, Anthony Stoughton and Robert Phippes who had played some part in the early parliamentary organisation of the county but had withdrawn as the war continued. Thirty-two local ministers, including three who were later secluded from their livings,³⁶ and twenty-nine members of the corporations of Coventry, Warwick and Stratford, including the mayor and the two bailiffs, added their support to the earl. Obviously the 'natural rulers' of the county had little reason to approve of the rule of William Purefoy and his allies; the number of signatories, and the committee's failure in the 1645 recruiter election indicate that much of the popular support for Parliament had evaporated as ordinary people, as well as gentlemen, felt the burdens of civil war.

Support for the committee continued, however, amongst those who received rather than paid the Civil War taxation: the Warwickshire military forces. Here is the key explanation of the committee's general

³³ Holmes, 'Colonel King', 483.

³⁴ House of Lords M.P., 21 August 1644: this copy of the petition includes signatures. The content and organisation of the petition will be discussed below.

³⁵ Clement Throckmorton claimed in 1663 that he had been imprisoned by John Bridges at Warwick Castle for refusing to hand over £330 left at Haseley by soldiers fleeing from Edgehill: E134, 15 Chas. II, Easter 23.

³⁶ A.G. Matthews, ed., *Walker Revised* (Oxford, 1948), 362, 366–7.

approach in which localism and militancy were coherent rather than conflicting parts. The committee's radicalism lost it any hope of local influence based on the leading gentry so its political control of the county was dependent almost entirely on military force. Indeed the committee was in a vicious circle because the more it enforced the taxation necessary to recruit and pay the troops, the more unpopular it became and then the more dependent on the military to survive. The same political dependency meant that the military commanders were allowed much freedom in their behaviour with the results described in chapter 5. In Warwickshire we thus have the apparently bizarre situation where the moderate or neutral established gentry were only too anxious for the local military forces to co-operate in the wider war effort. Their motives were, however, entirely consistent with their political stance: they regarded the troops as the prop of an oppressive and upstart committee. The committee, on the other hand, had compelling political and military motives for keeping the troops in the county as much as possible.

It is important to emphasise that the county committeemen were not preying on a helpless county merely to preserve their own tyrannical power. They believed 'they who are now assailed by neuters were those who in the first breaking out of the war, saved the county from the cavaliers'.³⁷ From the committee's standpoint there was much accuracy in this view: Archer and Gibbes, for instance, had shown little concern for Parliament's success in 1642, and indeed Gibbes ultimately compounded; while most of the other petitioners had either shown no sign of commitment to Parliament or had only briefly been active.

Thus Denbigh's Association was met with particularly intense localist resistance because, unlike the temporary loan of troops to a Massey or a Waller, it was a potentially permanent threat to the committee's own power, and it was believed, to Parliament's whole control of the county. Several of the county officers accepted new commissions from Denbigh in the spring of 1644. In many cases – like that of George Purefoy of Compton, or Waldive Willington of Tamworth who a few months later summarily ejected Denbigh's troops from his garrison – this was undoubtedly just a precaution to ensure continued employment should the political complexion of the county change; but others seem to have switched out of political conviction. When Captain Richard Turton joined Denbigh's army, his men lost the assignments which had provided them with constant pay for a year, but Turton continued to serve the

³⁷ H.M.C., 6 (House of Lords), 27–8, the committee's 'Remonstrance' to the Parliament, 23 September 1644, in answer to the charges of Denbigh and the petitioners.

earl.³⁸ Denbigh complained to the Committee of Both Kingdoms that the Warwickshire authorities acted as if 'they feared and apprehended nothing so much as my raising forces' and he was absolutely correct.³⁹ In the spring of 1644, as Denbigh's and the committee's soldiers competed for local resources,⁴⁰ the committee faced the prospect of losing the main prop of their political power. The committeemen's determination to keep control of their military and financial resources, along with the opposition to Denbigh in the other counties of his Association,⁴¹ ultimately ensured that the earl never assembled an army that could be effective, militarily or politically. Denbigh's total receipts for his Association were about £5,300, a sum equivalent to six months' revenue of the Warwickshire committee.⁴² The accounts of his officers make sad reading, especially in contrast to those of the Warwickshire county forces. Denbigh's treasurer, Samuel Roper, waived his claims to any salary as he had received only £5 on Denbigh's behalf; while the pay claims of Thomas Leving, Denbigh's muster-master, were disallowed because the accounts committee did not believe the troops had ever been mustered. As Denbigh himself testified: 'in regard I wanted pay for the forces under my command he could never muster my horse nor my foot so often as he ought for fear of mutiny'.⁴³ Edward Peyto's command lasted only two weeks, then 'for want of further supply some of them ran away with horses and arms. And the rest for the like reason, and having liberty from the said Earl of Denbigh for their better preferment were dispersed under several other commanders.'⁴⁴

The semi-independent garrison, led by John Fox (at Edgbaston) gained little from putting itself under Denbigh's protection. In April 1644 Fox

³⁸ H.M.C. (Denbigh), 77, Turton to Denbigh 24 April 1644. Turton was an associate of the conservative Presbyterian minister, Thomas Hall of King's Norton. Thomas Hall's copy of Giles Workman *Private-men no Pulpit-men* (1646) a work against lay preaching (in Birmingham Reference Library) is marked as being a gift from his 'dearest friend' Richard Turton. SP28/253B, examination of Turton by the Subcommittee of Accounts, October 1646; E113/1/2, Purefoy's and Willington's commissions; B.L. Add MS 28, 175 f.114r for the trouble at Tamworth.

³⁹ SP16/501/59, 2 April 1644.

⁴⁰ For conflict over resources at Tamworth: H.M.C. (Denbigh), 76, Willington to Denbigh complaining that his men were taking horses from parishes that paid weekly tax to Tamworth; for friction at Warwick between the two forces: CR2017/C10/20.

⁴¹ Pennington and Roots, eds., *The Committee at Stafford*, lxxiv-lxxxii.

⁴² There are several copies of Denbigh's accounts: e.g. SP28/34/290; SP16/501/127. The contrast is even greater when it is remembered that most of the Warwickshire revenue went straight to the military.

⁴³ SP28/36/23, account of Lieutenant Colonel Roper, Denbigh's treasurer after July 1644; SP28/36/69-70, accounts of Thomas Leving.

⁴⁴ SP28/136, accounts of Lieutenant Colonel Peyto. Examples of the misfortunes of Denbigh's officers could be multiplied almost indefinitely. Two captains who understandably later served under the Warwickshire committee will have to serve: John Cotton received £27 for nine months' service; his brother Philip £7 12s 6d for over a year: SP28/45/4, 10.

complained to Denbigh of 'the extreme want of money not only to pay my soldiers but to buy victualls for the maize and hay and oats for horse . . . it needs no enemies to destroy us for this garrison will destroy itself'. Two months later a muster of Fox's forces showed that only 74 of the 256 cavalry, dragoons and scouts present had complete arms and horses. About this time Fox made a series of proposals to Denbigh for the improvement of the garrison's position. He wanted a grant of assignments in the Black Country Districts of Staffordshire and Worcestershire amounting to almost £100 per week, 'according to what they have paid to the king's army' although 'many are absent, the lands unstocked, many poor, so that upon collection, it will fall much short'. In addition, he asked for the profits of sequestration of papists' and delinquents' estates 'lying under his power' and for the right to 'fetch in men to advance money upon the propositions' because 'such regularity cannot be used in these frontier parts'. The proceeds of all these would be used to pay Fox's debts already incurred and to support the garrison for the future. Denbigh would supply a treasurer and his forces would cooperate with the Edgbaston garrison to 'awe' the 'malignant country' into paying 'contributions duly'. But little seems to have materialised of this plan although Fox was commissioned a colonel by Denbigh and Parliament ordered that the sequestered estates of the Catholic Middlemores of Edgbaston be granted to the garrison. The numbers Fox commanded declined steadily from 1644 and when the Warwickshire Committee tried to disband the garrison in August 1646 and to grant the Middlemore estates to someone else, the soldiers refused to leave until their arrears were paid. They were still there in May 1648 while Fox's widow was still petitioning Parliament for his arrears in 1654.⁴⁵

Lack of local resources does not fully explain Denbigh's failure, however. As we saw in chapter 5 there were limits to the committee's military localism for they were aware of the wider national struggle. Similarly, Warwickshire politics were inextricably bound up with Westminster politics. Manchester faced the same problems in the Eastern Association as Denbigh faced in the Midlands, but as Holmes has shown between August 1643 and January 1644 Manchester obtained legislative backing from Parliament which enabled him to establish centralised control over the financial and military resources of his region.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ CR2017/C9/76A; SP28/204, the garrison also included some thirty officers; CR2017/C184, 'The Request of Colonel Fox'; CR2017/C9/54, for the commission; *C.J.*, vol. 3: 515, 523. Hughes, 'Politics, Society and Civil War', 513 for analysis of Edgbaston musters: in 1645 there were still twenty-three officers but only seventy-seven men; in 1646 twenty-three officers and about thirty men. B.L. Add MS 35098 ff.14v, 22r, 68r, 100r, 138r for disputes with the Warwickshire committee; H.M.C., vol. 6 (House of Lords), 183-4, 189-90 for Mrs Fox's petitioning.

⁴⁶ Holmes, *Eastern Association*, 89-107.

Denbigh's ordinance of appointment gave him only vague powers and it specifically confirmed existing officers in their posts; a clause the committee exploited to the full in December 1643.⁴⁷ In the spring of 1644, Denbigh suffered too from lukewarm backing from the Committee of Both Kingdoms, which agreed with the county committee that the relief of Gloucester should take precedence over the Shropshire expedition, and often showed impatience with Denbigh's complaints.⁴⁸ Denbigh fully appreciated the need for more legislative power. He complained to the Committee of Both Kingdoms that he could hardly be successful as long as the revenues of Warwickshire were 'wholly and only disposed of by the committee of Coventry'; and he pressed allies in the Commons, like John Moore of Liverpool or John Wilde of Worcestershire, to secure him an ordinance giving the same powers as Manchester had.⁴⁹

There were two main periods in which these disputes in Warwickshire were intimately related to parliamentary politics. The first was between November and December 1643 when both Denbigh and the committee appealed to Westminster to settle the question of Denbigh's power to command Barker and Purefoy who had been commissioned by Essex. Partly because of the elusiveness of Denbigh's own position, but mainly because of the fluid and confused nature of groupings in Parliament at this time, local and national divisions do not dovetail in any clear-cut way. Rather, the adversaries in Warwickshire manipulated national divisions, seeking backing for their local position wherever they could. In the summer of 1643, the military setbacks suffered by Parliament had encouraged the more radical members of the Commons to attack the authority of the Earl of Essex and to support the creation of armies independent of him. Waller was initially the main beneficiary, but Manchester and Denbigh to some extent owed their commands to the same moves. More moderate members – the 'middle group' – attempted to combine conciliation of Essex with support for other commanders who would aid the efficient prosecution of the war; while less political M.P.s supported new commanders who would help their own areas.⁵⁰ Thus at

⁴⁷ *L.J.*, vol. 6: 92 for Denbigh's ordinance.

⁴⁸ For an example see SP21/18 pp. 60–1, Committee of Both Kingdoms to Denbigh, 12 April 1644, where the committee agreed with the county committee that Colonel Purefoy's forces should go to Gloucester and said that affairs were too urgent for discussion of Denbigh's problems. For Denbigh's injured reply: SP16/501/75.

⁴⁹ SP16/501/125, 14 May 1644; Tanner MS 62 f.402, 1 December 1643, Denbigh to Moore asking him to consult with Wilde and Michael Noble, a Staffordshire M.P., about the passing of an ordinance. In July 1644 Denbigh's secretary passed on to him a message from the moderate Coventry M.P. William Jesson who urged Denbigh to come to London to press for more powers: CR2017/C10/15.

⁵⁰ For the parliamentary situation in the winter of 1643/4 see Hexter, *The Reign of King Pym*, 118–32; Ashton, *The English Civil War*, 109–10; Holmes, *The Eastern Association*, 109–14, 184–5; Pearl, 'Oliver St John and the Middle Group', especially 494–5.

Westminster in the summer and winter of 1643, the local moderate Denbigh was backed by radical M.P.s like Sir Peter Wentworth and John Wilde, while the radical county committee appealed to the Earl of Essex and the House of Lords. As an M.P., William Purefoy was increasingly identified with a 'war party' that was suspicious of Essex but as a local committeeman he headed the signatories of a letter sent by the committee to Essex in November in which it was disingenuously claimed that Denbigh's attempt to command Barker and Purefoy was a disparagement of Essex's authority.⁵¹

The attitudes of the two Houses to the disputes in Warwickshire are thus not as one would expect. The Lords saw Denbigh's command as a threat to Essex, but most of the Commons were anxious to preserve unity and promote a variety of military forces.⁵² The support Denbigh got in the Commons was half-hearted however. Denbigh was always politically suspect and never showed the military skill of even a Waller or a Manchester. An ordinance giving him power to execute all the previously passed money-raising measures was read in the Commons on 30 October 1643, and again on 2 November when, as Whitaker said, 'the commission being thought too large it was recommitted'.⁵³ The ordinance never emerged from committee although the powers it gave Denbigh were in fact no greater than those given Manchester and less than those given Brooke. The December conflict of authority between Denbigh and the county committee similarly got bogged down in a parliamentary committee which never reported.⁵⁴

After his experiences in Warwickshire, and to a lesser extent in Staffordshire and Shropshire, Denbigh decided in July 1644 on a concerted campaign to improve his position; a campaign conducted on both the local and the national level. In Warwickshire a petition was organised in Denbigh's support. Thomas Leving, the pre-war escheator of the county, who several times fell foul of the committee reported that 'divers gentlemen of worth' decided on the petition on 23 July. Thomas Boughton,

⁵¹ Wentworth took Denbigh's ordinance for £6,000 to the Lords on 20 June 1643: *C.J.*, vol. 3: 137. In this section information about the political affiliations of M.P.s is taken, unless otherwise stated, from Underdown, *Pride's Purge*, Appendix. *L.J.*, vol. 6: 321, 27 November – the letter quoted above. There was a similar conflict of authority between Manchester and Lord Willoughby of Parham: Holmes, *Eastern Association*, 105.

⁵² Hughes, 'Militancy and Localism', 61–2, gives further details. Yonge's diary provides a full account of parliamentary proceedings concerning Denbigh. There are clear signs of sympathy for the earl in the Commons: Add MS 18779 ff.19r, 20v, 28r–29r, 36v.

⁵³ *C.J.*, vol. 3: 295, 298; Add MS 31116 f.89v.

⁵⁴ *C.J.*, vol. 3: 335, 337, 352; *L.J.*, vol. 6: 324–6, 335–6, 354. The conflict was initially referred to Essex who referred it back to Parliament as it concerned the interpretation of its ordinances. After Denbigh came in person to Westminster in mid December 1643, the Lords moved to a neutral position between him and Essex.

the reluctant committeeman, was prominent in its promotion.⁵⁵ The clauses of the petition, along with a paper of grievances accompanying it, reveal very clearly the objections to the committee's rule.⁵⁶ The petitioners complained of the unlimited taxation levied on the county under the powers given in the Association Ordinance of December 1642, so that the county paid 'double at the least if not treble to other neighbouring counties', and they asked that the weekly assessment be reduced to a fixed sum. In addition there were 'losses suffered by free quarter, frequent plunderings almost throughout the whole county'. It was alleged that quarter and plunder were taken from those who had already paid the tax; that whole villages were distrained for the arrears of a few inhabitants; that distresses taken far exceeded the value of any tax owed; and that in general soldiers behaved in a 'harsh and insolent manner' towards freeholders and gentlemen. There were particular objections to the fact that committeemen served also as military officers – they were both receivers and assessors of the vast sums raised; the petitioners therefore asked for the removal of officers from the committee. The dominance of Coventry was greatly resented: some of the committee was asked to 'sit constantly in the Borough of Warwick'. A long list of objections to the county committee apparently drawn up at about this time by Anthony Stoughton of Warwick, particularly emphasised this point.⁵⁷ Warwick was said to be over-assessed in comparison to Coventry while its bailiff, John Yardley, had been causelessly imprisoned by the committee.

The leading gentry were equally affronted by the personnel of the committee. The members were 'men of inconsiderable fortunes, others of little or no estate and strangers in our county' while Stoughton singled out Thomas Basnet as 'a very poor man before these times of trouble'. But it was William Purefoy who bore the brunt of the criticism: 'whose estate being inconsiderable, his actions so harsh and resolutions so disconsonant to the welfare of the country that he hath wholly lost himself in his reputation there'.⁵⁸

The gentry aimed to regain their positions in the county through

⁵⁵ Leving was imprisoned by the Commons in June 1643 after he had raised 'scandal' against the county committee: Tanner MS 62 f.145. In September 1645 he was ejected from Coventry garrison as 'a constant stirrer up of strife and mutiny': SP16/510/119. CR2017/C10/20, Leving to Denbigh, 23 July.

⁵⁶ House of Lords, M.P. 21 August 1644 for the petition and the accompanying paper.

⁵⁷ W.C.R.O. CR1866, unnumbered Stoughton papers; no date but from the content which is strongly in favour of Denbigh it seems likely that this paper is part of the summer 1644 campaign. Stoughton also mentioned the committee's mismanagement of sequestrations and the unruliness of the soldiers; he claimed that the assignation system was little better than organised plunder.

⁵⁸ House of Lords, M.P. 21 August 1644 (see chapter 5 for a longer extract); CR1866, Stoughton MS; House of Lords, M.P. 8 November 1644; evidence given to the parliamentary committee set up to deal with the conflicts in Denbigh's Association.

support for Denbigh. They asked Parliament to give 'all possible encouragement' to Denbigh's Association; specifically the petitioners wanted him to have control of the county's sequestration and proposition revenue. They wanted their grievances to be referred to Denbigh and those he should appoint, and asked that some 'gentlemen of quality, known estate in the said county and approved integrity', again nominated by Denbigh, should be added to the committee. They asked Parliament and Denbigh to nominate deputy lieutenants for Warwickshire in an attempt to return to more familiar forms of local government. Specifically they wanted Parliament and the earl to take care of the government of Warwick Castle and Compton House; obviously the gentry did not like the powers wielded by the minor lawyer John Bridges at Warwick while it had taken the governor of Compton, George Purefoy, little more than a month to alienate county society.⁵⁹

This petition was presented to the Lords on 21 August, shortly after Denbigh had inaugurated the campaign against his opponents in his associated counties with a Remonstrance presented to the Lords on 3 August, and an attack, directed mainly against the Warwickshire committee, delivered on the 14th at a conference between the two Houses, managed by Denbigh himself.⁶⁰ It is worth emphasising, in view of the usual picture given of Civil War political conflicts, that this second resort to the national arena was initiated by the moderates in Warwickshire. There are perhaps two reasons for this. In the first place, Denbigh and his allies were getting nowhere on the local level, as we have seen; but secondly it is clear that it was the moderates who had local popular opinion, as opposed to military strength, on their side. Only Denbigh's allies seem to have been able to conduct a credible petitioning campaign in the counties, as the 2,000 signatures on the Warwickshire petition suggest. The county committeemen fully realised the need to react on a national level to these attacks against them, but they had to rely on allies in the Commons and on the Shropshire and Staffordshire committees. In answer to Denbigh's Remonstrance of 3 August describing the obstructions with which he had been faced, the committee in turn accused the earl of military incompetence and his soldiers of disorder, and claimed that they had done their best to co-operate; Warwickshire was 'unhappily the first of the Association his Lordship had to do [with]' and had thus 'smarted beyond them all in large expenses and extreme trouble'. The

⁵⁹ House of Lords, M.P. 21 August 1644. Compton House had only been taken from the royalists in June.

⁶⁰ Remonstrance: House of Lords, M.P. 3rd August 1644; *L.J.*, vol. 6: 651-4, 669, 670; *C.J.*, vol. 3: 589. For Denbigh's managing of the conference: B.L. MS Harl 166 (D'Ewes' Journal of the House of Commons) f.107r.

committeemen's political objections to Denbigh came out clearly: it was strange, they said, that he accused the committee of lack of forwardness 'whereas both we and others observed (in our opinion) no such disposition in his Lordship'. Denbigh had encouraged 'neuters' and 'malignants' to 'appear in a popular way against the committee in a late petition'.⁶¹ In its answer to the petitioners the committee used several different approaches: it denied some of the abuses had occurred; others it regretted and promised to prevent in the future; still others, particularly the level of weekly tax, it argued, were essential for the war effort. Again the main thrust of the counter-attack was political: as seen above, the committee believed it was 'assailed by neuters', those who 'have done nothing but secretly favour the enemy'.⁶²

The committeemen claimed that they had not organised a counter-petition because they did not wish to increase divisions but their opponents in the House of Commons put it down, more accurately, to lack of popular support; and treated the committee's Remonstrances with some derision. Sir Simonds D'Ewes, a staunch supporter of Denbigh, described the delivery of a Staffordshire petition which called for Denbigh's return to his command, and had 3,000 signatures. Immediately William Purefoy presented a counter-petition, 'pretending to be the petition of Staffordshire, Shropshire and Warwickshire but that proved false in the issue for it was a private petition made in Town here, framed by some nine persons.'⁶³

This second period of parliamentary concern with the Earl of Denbigh and Warwickshire, from August to November 1644, is interesting because it reveals how parliamentary politics had shifted since the previous winter although there is still no absolute correspondence between local and national divisions into radicals and moderates. The House of Lords was now firmly behind Denbigh: the criticisms of aristocratic generals following the military failures of the autumn of 1644 meant that Essex, Denbigh and Manchester were now allies rather than rivals. William Purefoy thus argued strongly in the debate following the conference of both Houses on 14 August that Denbigh's accusations should be dealt with by a committee of the Commons alone, not by one that included the Lords. When it was clear that the mood of the House

⁶¹ House of Lords, M.P. 3 August 1644, filed with Denbigh's Remonstrance, but obviously of a later date. ⁶² H.M.C. vol. 6 (House of Lords) 27b-28a, 23 September.

⁶³ Harl MS 166 f. 126v. This Staffordshire petition of 30 September was one of a series which pressed for Denbigh's return to the Midlands: *C.J.*, vol. 3: 636, 644. Whitaker agreed with D'Ewes that Purefoy's counter-petition had only '9 or 10 hands' while the Staffordshire petition was presented 'by divers Gentlemen of the best quality in Staffordshire subscribed with 3000 hands': Add MS 31116 f. 163v.

was against this, Purefoy and Bosvile moved, again unsuccessfully, for the matter to be deferred, and not committed at all.⁶⁴ When the committee of both Houses reported on the dispute, on 8 November, its decisions, which were in Denbigh's favour, were all accepted by the Lords. Denbigh was declared 'clear of any disaffection to the public service, or breach of the trust reposed in him', and the Lords urged that he be sent back down to the Association with sufficient powers to carry out his command.⁶⁵

In the Commons, on the other hand, Denbigh's support had declined, especially amongst the more militant members. When the Commons were informed of the Lords' votes of 8 November, D'Ewes reported⁶⁶ that the 'war party' adherent William Strode 'did very impudently condemn the House for referring it at first to a Committee of Lords and Commons . . . for now they saw the fruit of it, with some more of such unsavoury stuff'. On 20 November the Commons devoted most of the day to a discussion of the Denbigh committee's report – a day that saw four divisions on the matter. All but one of the tellers against Denbigh were identified with the more radical wing of the Commons; they included Sir Peter Wentworth who had been active on Denbigh's behalf a year previously.⁶⁷ Denbigh's supporters in these divisions were a more heterogeneous group – mainly moderates like Stapleton and Sir John Potts, but also more militant members like Sir William Strickland. It seems that regional considerations played a part here: some members, who wanted a more effective army in the north-west, still supported Denbigh. In August John Moore of Liverpool had been the main opponent of Purefoy's proposal to exclude the Lords from the committee to discuss the disputes in Denbigh's Association. He is usually identified with the 'war party' but here he argued on regional grounds: the obstruction put in Denbigh's way at Coventry 'was the cause of loss in Cheshire'.⁶⁸ Radicals like Wentworth who had first-hand experience of Denbigh's military skill and political approach no longer gave him any support, whatever their particular regional concerns were.

In general the Commons seem to have considered that there was little point in rehabilitating Denbigh's Association on the eve of general military reform although many M.P.s wished to avoid condemning the earl. When the Commons considered the Lords' vote clearing Denbigh of any breach of trust, the division over whether the question should be put passed by just one vote. On the substantive motion, a majority of fifteen

⁶⁴ Harl MS 166 f.107r. For the Lords' attitudes at this time: Mark Kishlansky, 'The Creation of the New Model Army', *Past and Present*, vol. 81 (1978), 58.

⁶⁵ *L.J.*, vol. 7: 51; House of Lords, M.P. 8 November 1644. ⁶⁶ Harl MS 166 f.153r.

⁶⁷ *C.J.*, vol. 3: 700; for details of the tellers see Hughes, 'Militancy and Localism', 64nn.52–3.

⁶⁸ Harl MS 166 f.107r.

voted that Denbigh was not so cleared; while the decision that Denbigh should not be sent down to his Association passed without a division. Finally, perhaps in an attempt to conciliate the Lords, the Commons tactfully resolved 'that this house is of opinion that the earl of Denbigh is deservedly employed upon the service of going with the propositions for a safe and well grounded Peace to his Majesty'.⁶⁹

So Denbigh went to Uxbridge and never again held military command in Warwickshire but the county committee was not thereby freed from opposition. One of the requests of the petitioners of August 1645 was for a Subcommittee of Accounts to be established in the county. These subcommittees were the local branches of the Committee for Taking the Accounts of the Whole Kingdom (otherwise known as the 'Grand Committee'), an extra-parliamentary body established in November 1643 to audit the accounts of those who had received money on the Parliament's behalf.⁷⁰ In the summer of 1644 a subcommittee for Warwickshire was nominated, its members being chosen by the moderate Coventry M.P. William Jesson, probably in a concession to the opponents of the county committee.⁷¹

For the next four years there was intense conflict between the accounts committeemen and the county committee in Warwickshire as there was in many other counties. Those who had previously received money for the Parliament were declared to be ineligible for the auditing committees: in a frontier area like Warwickshire, those who had not previously taken part in the war administration were almost automatically suspect as neutrals. In frontier counties, too, there were more likely to have been 'hand to mouth fiscal expedients which did not lend themselves to the production of the proper warrants, acquittances and neatly organised account books demanded by the subcommittee'.⁷²

The county committee's predictable reaction came quickly. In September 1644 the new accounts committeemen reported to their London headquarters that many of those nominated had been discouraged from

⁶⁹ *C.J.*, vol. 3: 700. The parliamentary side of these disputes rumbled on for a further year although the focus shifted to divisions in Staffordshire: finally on 28 September 1645 the Commons agreed to accept the Lords' view of Denbigh's 'fidelity and affection to the public'; and initiated measures for the payment of his own salary as major-general and his soldiers' quarters: *C.J.*, vol. 4: 9, 286; *L.J.*, vol. 7: 121.

⁷⁰ The subcommittees were established under an additional accounts ordinance of July 1644: *C.J.*, vol. 3: 548-9. For a general discussion of the accounts committees, with much information on Warwickshire, see D.H. Pennington, 'The Accounts of the Kingdom'.

⁷¹ SP28/255, 17 September 1644, list of members with an endorsement that they were chosen by Jesson.

⁷² Holmes, 'Colonel King', 474; there are many parallels between the conflict in Lincolnshire and that in Warwickshire. Cf. Colonel Fox's view of frontier warfare above.

acting and that the county committee was refusing to give vital account books and other papers.⁷³ In October the county committee explained to the Grand Committee why they had not handed over their muster rolls:

We conceive it exceeding dangerous so to do, divers of those whom we protest against as those that ought not to be in office, having by several words and actions of dangerous consequence and delinquency shewed their disaffection to the Parliament's service, the being of which kind of men in places of authority gives great scandal and causeth fears and jealousies in the well-affected.

By these proceedings 'the good and well-affected receive discouragement and the Neuter-Malignant party encouragement'.⁷⁴ They had many more specific objections: William Combe had opposed Brooke's fortification of Warwick Castle in 1642; Sir Simon Archer, Charles Bentley and Thomas Newsham had frequented enemy garrisons; Richard Townsend had never shown any affection to the Parliament and 'that little he contributed was by compulsion'.⁷⁵ The London committee rejected all the objections except that they agreed that Thomas Leving, who had been Denbigh's muster-master, was ineligible as an accountant. It warned the county committee that refusals to give in accounts would leave them open to charges of contempt.⁷⁶

From late 1645 two subcommittees sat in the county, at Warwick and Coventry. Tables 7a and 7b show the active committeemen for each branch. The exclusion of accountants meant that subcommitteemen in many counties were of even lower rank than many county committeemen.⁷⁷ At Coventry this was certainly the case: only Richard Hopkins was a substantial gentleman; a J.P. after 1649, he was knighted at the Restoration. Davenport, Harewell, Love, Monck and Whitwick were members of the first council at Coventry while John Moody was a townsman of lesser rank, a member of the Common Council only. Monck had been removed as mayor of the city in 1644 because of disaffection to the Parliament and had been replaced by Barker. John Mattock of Allesley, Coventry, was Harewell's father-in-law and owned a small estate in Warwickshire and Northamptonshire.⁷⁸ All the other Coventry accounts committeemen who can be identified were minor gentry from

⁷³ SP28/255, 5 September. ⁷⁴ SP28/255, 14 October. ⁷⁵ SP28/247/585-6.

⁷⁶ SP28/252, Warrant and Letter Book of the Committee for Taking the Accounts of the Whole Kingdom, f.10v, 14 November 1644. Leving continued to serve, though, as table 7a shows.

⁷⁷ Pennington, 'The Accounts of the Kingdom', 192-3.

⁷⁸ *Visitation of Staffordshire*, 1663-4; appendix 1: tables 4c, 4d. Moody: Cov. C.R.O. A14(a) f.340r, list of common councillors in 1636. Davenport had been the major in 1642 and had been willing to obey Charles I's summons to Leicester: A 14(b) f.28v. For the other Coventry men: A 14(b) *passim*. Poole, *Coventry*, 78, for Monck's removal. Mattock: Lich. J.R.O. will proved 13 July 1674; Harewell's will: Prob 11/201 f.129, reveals that he and Whitwick were close friends.

Table 7
 (a) *The Coventry Subcommittee of Accounts^a*

	1645 January– May August– December	1646 January– December	1647 January– September	Latest signing ^b
<i>Total possible:</i>	43	37	11	
Eustace Barnaby	5	3	–	January 1649
Edmund Bateman*	40	19	7	May 1647
Christopher Davenport*	8	1	2	July 1647
Timothy Gibbard	18	18	6	April 1648
Henry Harewell*	39	31	9	July 1647
Richard Hopkins	–	3	–	November 1646
Daniel Jackson*	28	17	6	June 1648
Thomas Leving	7	2	–	July 1646
Thomas Love*	4	1	–	October 1646
Henry Matthews*	33	17	2	June 1648
John Mattock	18	33	11	June 1648
George Monck	17	3	–	June 1646
John Moody	22	8	3	May 1647
John Whitwick	23	4	5	January 1649
Robert Wilcox	21	14	7	June 1648
Anticle Willington	11	14	–	July 1646

^a Based on signatures in SP28/254/5, the 'warrant and letter book' of the Coventry subcommittee, and on letters and warrants of the subcommittee in SP28/246–8, 252, 255. There are other papers of the subcommittee scattered about SP28 but this selection is a large proportion of the surviving evidence.

* Indicates that the subcommitteeman was active in the autumn of 1644 also.

Thomas Boughton who was nominated to the subcommittee but was, in theory, a county committeeman and thus not eligible, signed one examination: that of Thomas Basnet in May 1645: SP28/247/345.

^b No analysis of activity after September 1647 is possible as only four items survive for the period: letters in January, April and June 1648 and January 1649.

(b) The Warwick Subcommittee of Accounts^a

	1645 August– December	1646 January– November	1647 February– October
<i>Total possible:</i>	10	14	12
Sir Simon Archer*	10	11	11
Charles Bentley	–	7	9
William Combe	9	6 ^b	–
Thomas Fullwood	–	4	3
Matthew Holbeach*	10	8	11
Thomas Nash	10	10	1 ^c
Thomas Newsham	–	7	9
Edward Somerville	6	10	7
Richard Townsend*	9	8	6
George Willis	3	4	3 ^d

^a No letter book for the Warwick subcommittee survives so this analysis of activity is less reliable than that for the Coventry subcommittee. It is based on signatures on letters, warrants and examinations in SP16, and SP28/246–8, 254–5, 257. Again these form a fair proportion of all surviving material. In 1663 when George Willis, Matthew Holbeach and Thomas Smith (the clerk of the Warwick subcommittee) gave evidence in the Exchequer case concerning John Bridges, they remembered all the men mentioned in the table except Thomas Fullwood and Thomas Nash: E134, 15 Charles II, Ea 23.

* Indicates that the subcommitteemen also signed letters in the autumn of 1644 before two separate subcommittees were established.

^b Combe's last signing was in March.

^c Nash signed in October 1647.

^d Willis last signed in May 1647.

the north or east of Warwickshire, men from the rank that provided high constables or subsidy collectors before the Civil War.⁷⁹ Edmund Bateman of Newton was beneath the notice of the knighthood commissioners of the 1630s and does not qualify for inclusion in the 288 gentry families used in this study. Henry Matthews of Berkswell, Anticle Willington of Tamworth (a cousin of Waldive) and Robert Wilcox of Brandon all paid the minimum knighthood fine.⁸⁰ The Warwick subcommitteemen were of significantly higher rank. They included two pre-war J.P.s in Combe and Archer while Charles Bentley of Kinton and Thomas Newsham of

⁷⁹ I have not been able to identify Daniel Jackson or Timothy Gibbard, although they were assessed for weekly taxation by Captain Matthew Randall in Coventry: SP28/131/11.

⁸⁰ Bateman: W.C.R.O. CR1456; for knighthood fines see chapter 3; the wills of Wilcox (Prob 11/226 f.77, 1652) and Matthews (Prob 11/287 f.54, 1659) suggest modest estates. Barnaby came from a more substantial Coventry and Rugby gentry family but he died very much in debt in 1681: *Visitation*, 1619; *Visitation of Northamptonshire* 1618; V.C.H., vol. 6: 205; Prob 11/376 f.53.

Chadshunt were substantial southern gentlemen of just below magisterial status and Edward Somerville was the younger son of an important Warwickshire and Gloucestershire family.⁸¹ Richard Townsend of Warwick, and Matthew Holbeach, originally of Meriden, but later town clerk of Warwick, were prosperous lawyers.⁸² The others – Thomas Fullwood of Little Alne, Thomas Nash of Stratford and George Willis of Fenny Compton – were lesser men, but they were all undoubted gentlemen, long established in the county.⁸³ Several of these men had close personal links: Bentley and Newsham were brothers-in-law, while John Stanton, the treasurer of Warwick subcommittee, was Newsham's cousin. Archer, Bentley and Holbeach continued to be friendly throughout the 1650s.⁸⁴ The surviving evidence suggests that Warwick was the less active of the two subcommittees, but the status of its members made it potentially the greater threat to the position of a county committee which lacked social respectability.

The subcommitteemen had all signed the pro-Denbigh petition of August 1644; as the county committee frequently pointed out, none of them had shown much inclination to promote actively the parliamentary war effort before 1644; and in their auditing work they were to show the strong disapproval they felt at the county committee's by-passing of orderly procedures. Indeed, the subcommittee attempted to transform their auditing role into a general supervision of the work of the county committee. Immediately on their appointment the accounts committeemen issued warrants to the county committee and many of its officers and officials to give in their accounts but the county committee continued to bar the giving of evidence of any kind. They urged Jonathon Grew, Ottway's treasurer, to give no help to the subcommittee: 'for that we believe that so doing will be dangerous both to the public and to many well-affected persons to the parliament'.⁸⁵ Thus encouraged, many of the county committee's subordinates were openly scornful of the accounts committee: Benjamin Ash, Barker's clerk, said that he had already accounted to Barker and 'whilst he lived he would not give any other account'.⁸⁶

After these early setbacks the subcommittee seems to have become

⁸¹ Bentley: *V.C.H.*, vol. 5: 105–7; Prob 11/354 f.71 (will proved 1677); Newsham: Dugdale, 284; *V.C.H.*, vol. 5: 31–2; Prob 11/245 f.111 (1635); Somerville: Dugdale, 611.

⁸² For Holbeach's appointment as town clerk in 1652: CR1618/W21/6 p. 152.

⁸³ *Visitation*, 1619; Fullwood: will of his father Robert: Worcester C.R.O. will proved 1623, number 52; Willis: Prob 11/334 f.155 (1670); Nash: Prob 11/200 f.127 (1647).

⁸⁴ Prob 11/245 f.111; Prob 11/231 f.360 (Stanton's will, proved 1653); *Dugdale* (Hamper), 239–40, 258.

⁸⁵ SP28/246, 14 October 1644; for the orders to appear before the subcommittee and the lack of response: SP28/254/5 ff.2v–6v. ⁸⁶ SP28/254/5 f.4v.

discouraged and the early part of 1645 saw little achieved.⁸⁷ In August 1645 the accounts committeemen divided into two subcommittees, sitting at Warwick and Coventry. The two subcommittees briefly became involved in a dispute amongst themselves over their relative status and jurisdiction, but after the arbitration of the Grand Committee in October, the auditing began in earnest.⁸⁸ We dealt with many of the irregularities in the county committee's procedure uncovered by the Subcommittees of Accounts in chapter 5 and the amount of evidence gathered by the subcommittees is a credit to their industry, especially given the continual hostility from the county committee. One of the main aims of the subcommittees was the reduction of the county's burdens. This is illustrated by the attack on the generous rates paid by the county committee to its collectors, by the minute examinations into plunder committed by officers like Bridges and Ottway, and by the sceptical attitude to the county committee's musters.⁸⁹ Two sets of queries sent from the Warwick subcommittee to the Grand Committee reveal the attempts to move beyond simple auditing.⁹⁰ The subcommittee asked if it could sequester those whom the county committee had omitted to charge; if soldiers who had not conformed to the lord general's code of behaviour could be denied their pay; if it could hold officers responsible for everything done by their men; and if the soldiers could be made to give back any distresses taken which exceeded the value of arrears of taxation. In many cases, such as that of the unruly soldiers and their pay, the Grand Committee had to moderate the zeal of their subordinates.

But the aspect of their work that seems to have concerned the subcommittees the most, was the desire to bring the county committee and the soldiers to account, in the widest sense, for what they had taken. The accounts committeemen showed an almost obsessive concern to draw up the 'country's charge', conducting scores of examinations of accountants and commissioning all the parishes in the county to bring in detailed accounts of all taxation, plunder and quarter taken from them

⁸⁷ SP28/254/5: the letter book of the committee shows that little business was conducted between November 1644 and September 1645. The men who were to form the Warwick subcommittee do not seem to have acted between the autumn of 1644 and August 1645. After September 1645, SP28/254/5 was used by the Coventry subcommittee only.

⁸⁸ The dispute was triggered by the Warwick subcommittee's claims to have the same number of officials as Coventry, and by their resentment at only receiving copies of the commissions and letters sent from London to Coventry: SP28/246, 255, letters of the Warwick subcommittee, September 1645; SP28/254/5 ff.19v, 23v-27r, 30r. After October 1645 the two subcommittees were careful to respect each other's jurisdiction: e.g. SP28/254/5 ff.35r, 57r.

⁸⁹ See chapter 5 above; and a paper in SP28/332, n.d. interrogatories to be administered to Rowland Wilson, the muster master; this showed the subcommittee's strong belief that musters were fraudulent and that the captains were defrauding the country.

⁹⁰ SP28/332, n.d.; SP28/260/304-5, n.d.

since the meeting of the Long Parliament. These parish accounts were commissioned from late 1646 and on their receipt, the subcommitteemen meticulously extracted all the money and goods taken by individual commanders. Robert Wilcox compiled a 134-page book which detailed all the commanders (not just from Warwickshire) who had taken taxation, plunder or quarter from a group of parishes in Hemlingford and Knightlow Hundreds.⁹¹ The subcommittees were consistently reluctant to pass any officers' accounts before they had been checked against these accounts and the muster rolls.⁹²

The county committee regarded these activities as 'rigid and troublesome vexations' and continually obstructed the work of the subcommittees.⁹³ The attempts to block access to their accounts continued: although the subcommittees saw some papers they were still complaining about the county committee's reluctance to part with its records in November 1646. When the subcommittee sent their messenger to summon Thomas Basnet to give in his accounts Basnet retorted: 'suffer this, and suffer all, whereupon Captain William Colemore, standing up, cried up commit him, take him Marshall'.⁹⁴

The county committee also used more subtle methods. The Coventry subcommitteemen were heavily taxed on the houses they rented in the city although they paid full taxes on their main estates elsewhere.⁹⁵ Charles Bentley of the Warwick subcommittee was nominated by the county committee in January 1646 as a collector for the New Model Army assessment: this made him an accountant and thus ineligible for the subcommittee. On being reprimanded by the Grand Committee the county committee retorted that Bentley had not yet acted as an accounts committeeman (which was true), and that the subcommittee was retarding the collection of taxes by their objection to Bentley's appointment, and renewed the accusations of delinquency made against Bentley in 1644.⁹⁶

The subcommittees did not take all this peacefully. Thomas Hobson was imprisoned by the Coventry accounts committee for contempt in

⁹¹ The Coventry subcommittee summoned parishes to bring in accounts in October 1646: SP28/254/5 ff.115r-118v; Warwick followed suit in December 1646 and January 1647: SP16/514/20, a general form of the warrant; S.B.T. DR3/712, the warrant to Rowington which includes details of the information required; SP28/136; another book is in SP28/201.

⁹² SP28/253A (letter book of the Grand Committee) ff.19r, 21r, where the subcommittees ask for a delay in passing the accounts of Ottway and Pont so that the 'country's charge' could be brought in. ⁹³ SP16/513/35, county committee to the Grand Committee, February 1646.

⁹⁴ SP28/254/5 ff.105r-105v, Coventry subcommittee to Thomas Boughton M.P., 2 November 1646; SP28/255, subcommittee to Grand Committee, 10 February 1645.

⁹⁵ The dispute over the assessment of the Coventry subcommitteemen lasted from November 1645 to May 1647: Cov. C.R.O. A79, P213; SP28/254/5 ff.34r-34v, 105v, 119r.

⁹⁶ SP16/513/35; SP28/254/5 ff.55v-56v. SP28/252 (letter book of the Grand Committee) ff.43r-43v.

May 1647 although the county committee soon released him.⁹⁷ Rowland Wilson, the Warwickshire muster-master, was not so lucky. Given the subcommittees' suspicions of the musters, his was a peculiarly sensitive position; and his refusal to give in any accounts was strengthened by the subcommittee's attempts to deny him a salary, claiming that the Accounts Ordinance of July 1644 forced the county committee to take its own musters. For his defiance, Wilson was imprisoned from December 1644 until after August 1645. Although the intervention of the Grand Committee secured his release, Wilson could not be persuaded to hand over the muster rolls.⁹⁸

The tedious and often petty details of the disputes between the subcommittees and the county committees should not lead to underestimation of the importance of the issues behind them. Questions of accounts had a significant resonance in disputes concerning the functioning of early modern governments. Responsible and honest dealings with public finances were ideals shared by both popular and élite groups and the demand for a disinterested audit of financial affairs was often made during political conflicts. In Montelimar and Romans in the 1570s 'accounts' were a means of creating an alliance between the lawyers and the populace against corrupt municipal élites. In 1579 the people of Romans demanded 'that the accounts be gone over by those who will be named by the public so that oppression caused to the poor people may be stopped'.⁹⁹ In the England of the 1640s equally the cry for officials and soldiers to be brought 'to account' united, sometimes in contradictory and ambiguous ways, 'popular' notions of equity and fair dealing and more 'élite' ideas of legal procedure and correct administrative practice.¹⁰⁰ The 1645 election in Warwickshire is one sign that the work of the accounts committees had wide support. In England during the Civil War disputes over accounting were inextricably linked with fundamental cleavages over the degree of sacrifice acceptable in order for Parliament to win the war. The Warwickshire county committee believed that the need to defeat the enemy justified all kinds of irregular actions while the Subcommittees of Accounts held that the first priority was the preserva-

⁹⁷ SP28/248, order for Hobson's imprisonment 14 May; SP28/254/5 ff.122r-122v.

⁹⁸ SP28/254/5 ff.5r, 7v-9r, 13v, 24r-24v; SP28/252 (letter book of the Grand Committee) ff.17r, 19r-19v, 20v.

⁹⁹ Emmanuel Le Roy Ladourie *Carnival in Romans* (1981, paperback), 88-9, 108, 155-8.

¹⁰⁰ Demands for accounts had varying political implications. In Warwickshire and other counties they were linked to 'moderate' Parliamentarianism but the radical levellers also asked for the satisfaction of the people, 'in point of accounts, in such a manner, as that it may not, as formerly, prove a snare to such as have been most faithful and a protection to the most corrupt': *England's New Chains Discovered* (1649) in *The Leveller Tracts*, William Haller and Godfrey Davies, eds. (New York, 1944), 167.

tion of orderly and legal procedures. Chapter 5 gave examples of the subcommittees' readiness to risk disruption of the county's military organisation by asking rank and file soldiers to give evidence against their superior officers and of their ignoring of political divisions in the investigations of the plunder of royalist estates. The very triviality of some of the accounts committees' investigations shows the depth of their hostility to the county committee: one of the charges against Wilson was that he had embezzled twenty-two pieces of ribbon taken from a London merchant in 1642 when he had been treasurer of Brooke's Association.¹⁰¹ The county committee continued to profess a belief in the 'malignancy' of the subcommitteemen to which the accounts committeemen retorted that 'we believe none suspect us of malignancy but them that are suspected accountants'.¹⁰²

The subcommittees were highly conscious of the challenge to the county hierarchy presented by the Civil War administration. The Coventry branch reported indignantly to the Grand Committee on Hobson's defiance: 'If the parliament and you who employed us will not take cause to punish this open affront against the parliament, yourselves and us, especially it being by so mean a fellow as a butcher, we shall desire to be excused from acting.'¹⁰³ The complaints against the county committee remained those that had been made in the 1644 campaign in support of Denbigh:

Be pleased to take notice that all of the Committee of Safety but one are accountants or officers, assessors, receivers, judges in all complaints against themselves or attendants, many of them (if not strangers) yet of small estate in our county and of little payments, unwilling if not apprehensive of the countries' burthens and slighting this business of accounts though it hath been and is much desired by the country for their satisfaction and encouragement for the future to supply the occasions of the parliament if need should require.¹⁰⁴

It has been argued that such disputes were in part a conflict between localist county committees and subcommittees, which, being subordinate to a central London committee, were a 'very important agency of centralised control'. 'Localist susceptibilities' were bound to be aroused in this situation even where no factional divisions or financial irregularities were present.¹⁰⁵ If there is any truth in this, it again emphasises the point that moderates were as likely as militants to be 'nationally minded', for the subcommittees in Warwickshire, as in Lincolnshire, Somerset and elsewhere, were following a classically

¹⁰¹ SP28/332, undated list of interrogatories for Wilson's examination.

¹⁰² SP28/252, Part 2, Coventry subcommittee to the Grand Committee, 24 February 1645.

¹⁰³ SP28/254/5 f.130r, May 1647. ¹⁰⁴ SP28/254/5 f.15r, February 1645.

¹⁰⁵ Ashton, *The English Civil War*, 276.

moderate line, concerned to limit the effects of the war and to return to traditional procedures.¹⁰⁶

Many difficulties arise in any attempt to fit such disputes into any simple 'local against national' framework, however. In the first place, despite the formal position, the London Committee for Taking the Accounts of the Whole Kingdom and its subcommittees did not necessarily follow the same line. The Grand Committee played an ambiguous role in the Warwickshire disputes. Frequently it responded to the requests of the local subcommittees and issued sharp rebukes to the county committee; a letter of August 1646 on the county committee's refusal to give up its accounts, and another of May 1647 concerning the release of Hobson are examples.¹⁰⁷ But the Grand Committee was vulnerable to pressure from M.P.s like Bosvile, Barker and Purefoy, and his influence led them on occasion to urge the speedy processing of senior officers' accounts despite the doubts of the subcommittees.¹⁰⁸

Secondly, as we have seen already in the Denbigh disputes, adversaries in the county needed and sought national backing to ensure success on the local level. Hence the frequent appeals to the Grand Committee from the two subcommittees, and hence, too, the vital role played by local M.P.s. Wider than local considerations thus moved the county committeemen to push hard for the election in the autumn of 1645 of knights of the shire who would support them. The committee's candidates in the recruiter election were John Bridges, the minor lawyer who was governor of Warwick, and Richard Lucy, the third son of Sir Thomas Lucy of Charlecote, who was presumably chosen in the hope that his impeccable family credentials would prove attractive. Opposing them were Thomas Boughton of Bilton, as usual, and Sir John Burgoyne who owned land in Wroxall, Warwickshire but who lived mainly at Sutton in Bedfordshire and had previously been involved primarily with Bedfordshire politics.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁶ Holmes, 'Colonel King'; Morrill, *Provinces*, 69–70; SP28/256 includes the 'Certificate of the Committee for Taking the Accounts of the Whole Kingdom' of the obstructions faced by its subcommittees (10 October 1646). This reveals a startling similarity in the details of the conflicts in many counties. County committees in Warwickshire, Gloucestershire, Montgomery, and Lincolnshire had all released people committed to prison by Subcommittees of Accounts for contempt, to give just one example.

¹⁰⁷ SP28/253A (letter book of the Grand Committee) ff.15r, 50v–51r; for earlier rebukes see: SP28/252 (letter book of the Grand Committee) ff.10v, 14v, 17r, 26v, 36r, 43r–43v.

¹⁰⁸ SP28/253A f.1v (Purefoy, April 1646), f.66r (Bosvile and Barker, March 1648).

¹⁰⁹ For Bridges see above; Burgoyne: *V.C.H.*, vol. 3: 217; G.E.C. *Complete Baronetage*, vol. 2: 104. He had been sheriff of Bedfordshire in 1640 and was nominated to parliamentary committees for that county: *A. and O.*, vol. 1: 89, 146 etc. He was not named to any committee for Warwickshire before 1645. D. Underdown, 'Party Management in the Recruiter elections', 246–7, used Warwickshire as an example of how military influence failed when not backed up by local interests. The choice of an outsider like Burgoyne over a local gentleman like Lucy rather shows that local predominance was not sufficient to overcome the opposition to military rule.

These two men, a second son and an outsider, would not have been acceptable knights of the shire before 1642 and their candidacy bears witness to the continuing reluctance of the Warwickshire gentry to work together whole-heartedly, in spite of the provocations of the Civil War administration. The success of Burgoyne and Boughton in the election is strong testimony to the unpopularity of military rule in Warwickshire. William Purefoy himself secured the issuing of the writ for the election¹¹⁰ and the committee could rely on the sheriff, William Colemore, and on their military power.

All the sources describing this contest are hostile to the committee but if only a small portion of what they say is true, the committee used all these resources to the full. The county court met at Warwick on 27 October where soldiers under Waldive Willington and George Purefoy were said to have forced men in to vote for Lucy and Bridges, 'with threats if they came not, to plunder them'. This continued until the end of the week and despite the attempts of the troops to exclude supporters of Burgoyne and Boughton, and Colemore's frequent adjournments of the poll, most voters persisted in the choice of the opponents of the county committee. Many gentlemen and freeholders, including Brooke's younger brother, William Greville, were attacked by the soldiers, and the accounts committeeman, Thomas Newsham was imprisoned.¹¹¹ Six years later Newsham was still bitter about the election. Bridges' soldiers had tried, 'by violence to wrest their voices from them' so that 'freedom of our election was taken from us'; while Bridges himself was 'no gentleman by birth, a man of mean fortune and of mean abilities to perform so great a trust'. The aim of Newsham and the other gentry had been 'to avoid the reproach that the county would for ever have lain liable to by so unworthy a choice'.¹¹² At the end of the week the committee decided to adjourn the county court to Coleshill:

hoping by removing the same to the northern part of the county there to obtain more voices to their faction, but the people of those parts were so awed by his Majesty's garrisons of Lichfield and Dudley as that they durst not come in, nor the Committeemen stay themselves above an hour, but adjourned to Meriden, where Sir John Burgoyne and Mr Boughton were declared knights of the shire.¹¹³

¹¹⁰ SP28/247/116. The election was to replace Richard Shuckborough and Lord Compton (from 1643 third Earl of Northampton) both disabled because of their royalism.

¹¹¹ *The Scottish Dove* 7–12 November 1645. The *Dove* also alleged that many of the voters brought in by George Purefoy were royalists (presumably Northampton's tenants from Compton).

¹¹² SP28/259, Newsham to the committee at Duchy House, July 1651.

¹¹³ Dugdale's diary, 5 November: *Dugdale* (Hamper), 83. *The Scottish Dove* also mentioned the adjournment. Two indentures for the election survive, presumably one for Warwick and one for Meriden; both are damaged but it is interesting that William Purefoy (bowing to the inevitable) signed one of them: C219/43/55, 58.

As well as confirming the hostility to the committee, the election result also reflects the importance of the prior mobilisation of moderate opinion in support of Denbigh's Association and the Subcommittees of Accounts. Given the strength of royalism in surrounding areas it was crucial for Parliament in Warwickshire that opponents of the county committee could find a voice within alternative parliamentary structures, on a county, regional or central level. Moderates did not need to despair of the possibility of obtaining redress of their grievances against the soldiers and committeemen and could hope for changes in Parliament's policies rather than risk joining the royalists.¹¹⁴ The Subcommittees of Accounts made full use of their parliamentary allies, writing frequently to Burgoyne and Boughton, complaining of the obstructiveness of the county committee and asking for an ordinance that would give them more power. When they were sent details of the accusations against Bridges, the new knights of the shire replied that they would use them for a move in the Commons to reduce the county's taxation.¹¹⁵ Another example of attempts to use national institutions to help in local disputes is found in the Grand Committee's report to the House of Commons of the abuses faced by its subcommittees in January 1647: amongst the evidence given in was an order from the Warwickshire county committee banning the giving of evidence to the subcommittee.¹¹⁶

Links between local and national politics were more profound than this, however, for in a general sense the issues that divided men in the counties, and in the Parliament, were the same. Boughton and his allies on the Subcommittees of Accounts, and William Purefoy and the county committee were not simply conducting a factional struggle for the control of one English county. They represented two profoundly different attitudes to the prosecution of the war: the subcommittees were concerned to limit the county's burdens; to follow traditional procedures, and to attack the abuses of power committed by men outside the usual ruling élite. On the other hand, the county committee, believing that it alone prevented Warwickshire falling to the hands of 'malignants' was prepared to cut corners and entrust power to socially obscure men in order to win the war. The intimate connections between local and national concerns became clearer after 1645 as much of the House of Commons became increasingly separated into two 'parties', ideologically divided on the same lines as men were locally. From the spring of 1646,

¹¹⁴ Cf. Ann Hughes, 'The King, the Parliament and the Localities', *J.B.S.*, Spring 1985.

¹¹⁵ SP28/254/5 f.70r, February 1646. No such move seems to have been made although the disbanding of the county forces began soon after. For other contacts between the M.P.s and the subcommittees: SP28/254/5 ff.99v, 108v, 122r, 130r.

¹¹⁶ *C.J.*, vol. 5: 62-3.

Holles and the Presbyterians followed a national policy very similar to that of the Warwickshire Subcommittees of Accounts: they wanted financial reform, the disbanding of military forces, and in general sought to minimise the disruption caused by the war.¹¹⁷ Naturally enough, modern historians' analyses of the struggle between 'Independents' and 'Presbyterians' have centred on major issues like the attempt to disband the New Model Army or the search for peace with the king. However it is clear from the *Journals* that supposedly 'local' questions such as the disbanding of county forces or the obstructions faced by accounts committees were approached on the same 'party' lines. Boughton, Jesson and Burgoyne were identified with the 'Presbyterians' on local and national issues as Purefoy and Bosvile were with the 'Independents'.¹¹⁸

Parliament at the end of the Civil War, as earlier in the seventeenth century, was in part an agency through which concrete, localised experiences were transformed into general national issues: a clear example of this process at work can be seen in the attacks on county committees from 1646 to 1647. M.P.s, like men active mainly in the localities, began from specific experiences of the social obscurity or arbitrary proceedings of committees in their own areas, but their views did not remain confined to the purely local. Thomas Boughton received from the Subcommittees of Accounts details of the county's 'charge' or financial claims against William Purefoy which they desired him to 'take notice of and make use of as occasion shall serve'.¹¹⁹ He used such information on occasions such as the debate in March 1647 on whether Coventry should remain a garrison when he made a sharp attack on the committee's military rule in the county.¹²⁰ Through Parliament, such experiences, and such attacks, became generalised into an attempt, on principled grounds, to do away with county committees altogether. In February 1646, the Commons first began to consider 'easing the people from their sufferings under committees' while the Lords followed suit in April when they set up a committee to frame an ordinance for the abolition of 'country' committees. This ordinance was introduced on 28 August 1646 and was given its three readings the same day. At conferences

¹¹⁷ For national divisions see: Mark Kishlansky, 'The Emergence of Adversary Politics in the Long Parliament', *J.M.H.*, vol. 9 (1977) 617-40.

¹¹⁸ See for example the votes on whether there should be an addition to the Warwickshire committee (16 November 1646) and on whether Coventry should be 'disgarrisoned' (3 March 1647): *C.J.*, vol. 4: 722; *C.J.*, vol. 5: 104. The three moderate M.P.s were excluded at Pride's Purge while Purefoy and Bosvile became prominent Rumpers. But see Morrill, *Provinces*, 122-4 who argues that the correspondence between local and national divisions was rarely clear cut.

¹¹⁹ SP28/254/5 f.108v, 11 December 1646. The message was sent through Jesson.

¹²⁰ B.L. Add MS 31116 f.305v. A petition from the county committee called for the garrison to continue; one from the city corporation called for its removal.

between the two Houses the Lords justified the ordinance on the grounds that county committees exercised an arbitrary power and that the people, who had fought the Civil War to remove such power, would not tolerate its continuance in another form, especially now that the war was over. The Presbyterian majority in the Commons agreed that it was essential 'to bring things into the old course and way of government'; and an ordinance to remove the arbitrary power of county committees was read twice in February 1647.¹²¹

Parliament's function as a blender of local into national issues is well known. However another means by which local experiences became part of national political conflict in the 1640s has perhaps not been given due recognition – that is the London press. Many newsbooks obviously had good sources of information on developments in the different counties for they contain detailed accounts of local incidents that can be confirmed from other sources – an example can be found in the descriptions of the recruiter election in Warwickshire. Local men presumably found it useful to make such information available to a wider audience. On the other hand, newspapers provided relatively detailed accounts of the national conflicts in Parliament for a provincial audience, as well as examples of parallel experiences in other counties. Many newsbooks, such as the *Weekly Account, or Perfect Occurrences*¹²² carried attacks on county committees in 1646–7, but perhaps the most interesting, from a Warwickshire point of view, is the Presbyterian *Scottish Dove*. The *Dove* made a habit of publicising the misdemeanors, real and imagined, of the county's committee and military officers – such as the story it carried in May 1646 of Major George Purefoy's accident in London. The major was said to have ridden his horse into a tree in Hyde Park, knocking himself out and losing a hat decorated with diamonds worth £150. In a couple of sentences the editor thus suggested both Purefoy's corruption, and his inadequacy as a cavalry officer.¹²³ Again, in March 1646, *The Scottish Dove* lamented, in atrocious prose, the sad decline in the standards of Warwickshire's political leadership since 1642: 'Warwick's grave encircling Brooke whose swelling and full flowing streams made fertile much unworthy and barren soil, the corruption of which fatness, since the ebb of those sweet waters hath engendered several hurtful vermin . . . valour is ejected and innocency driven out.'¹²⁴ This newsbook also

¹²¹ C.J., vol. 4: 435; L.J., vol. 8: 287, 474; L.J., vol. 9: 131; C.J., vol. 5: 85. See also Ashton, *The English Civil War*, 284; Morrill, *Provinces*, 122–4.

¹²² See, for example, *Weekly Account* 20–27 January 1647; *Perfect Occurrences* 14–21 August 1646; *Perfect Occurrences of Everie Daie Journall in Parliament* 9–16 April 1647. Cf. Hutton, *Royalist War Effort*, 103–4 on garrison governors who became the 'staple material of the newspapers'.

¹²³ *The Scottish Dove* 13–20 May 1646. ¹²⁴ *The Scottish Dove* 4–11 March 1646.

supported the general abolition of county committees and commented in January 1646 that 'no committees of counties at this time do so good service as the Committees for accounts, which other Committees seek to obstruct'.¹²⁵

It was a commonplace in 1646–7 that the 'tyranny' of county committees was worse than anything suffered under the rule of Charles I: 'every Committee is a Star Chamber, a High Commission' wrote one pamphleteer.¹²⁶ We saw in chapter 5 that John Bryan, the Coventry minister, attempted to rebut such arguments in a sermon of December 1646 on the grounds that Charles's exactions 'were in design to ruin and enslave us to arbitrary power' while the Parliament's taxation was designed for the preservation of liberty.¹²⁷ Such arguments that the burdens of civil war were to be endured because they supported a good cause, were frequently used by the more militant Parliamentarians, but the link between taxation and freedom was lost on the many satirists of county committees. *The Poore Committeeman's Accompt*, for example, included the lines:

Free Poll money, free money lent
Upon the Propositions
Free money raised for Irish lands
 but God knows the conditions,
Free money lent on Ordinance,
Free subsidies full fifty,
If our Committees grow not rich
I'll never think them thrifty.

The royalist Samuel Sheppard contributed a play to the debate. It was called *The Committeeman Curried* and its characters included Suck-dry, a committeeman and Sneake his clerk; Common-Curse an Exciseman, and his clerk Shallow Brains.¹²⁸

In 1647 the issue of county committees was over-shadowed by the conflict regarding the disbanding of the New Model and the militants in the Commons were able to block the abolition ordinance in committee. In 1648 county committees were needed to organise local forces during

¹²⁵ *The Scottish Dove* 21–29 January 1646.

¹²⁶ *England's Remembrancer of London's Integrity, or Newes from London* (February 1647), 17.

¹²⁷ Bryan, *A Discovery of the Probable Sin*, 3.

¹²⁸ *The Poore Committeeman's Accompt, avouched by Britannicus* (August 1647). S [amuel] S. [heppard], *The Committeeman Curried* (1647). For a recent survey of the 'parliamentary tyranny' debate, which perhaps does not sufficiently allow for variations in the views expressed within a 'parliamentary tyranny' framework: Robert Ashton, 'From Cavalier to Roundhead Tyranny, 1642–1649' in John Morrill, ed., *Reactions to the English Civil War* (London, 1982). See also Ann Hughes, 'Parliamentary Tyranny? – Indemnity Proceedings and the Impact of the Civil War', *Midland History*, vol. 11 (1986), 49–78.

the second Civil War; and it was not until after Pride's Purge that they were deprived of most of their powers, ironically by many of the members – William Purefoy among them – who had defended them in 1646–7.¹²⁹

In Warwickshire itself, there is less evidence for political conflicts after 1647. The Coventry subcommittee seems to have become much less active after May 1647 while no material has been found for the Warwick subcommittee after October 1647.¹³⁰ The lack of national backing was one discouragement to the work of accounts. In June 1647 the Grand Committee informed the Coventry subcommittee that it could do little about the county committee's releasing of Hobson, 'in regard the sudden distractions of the army intervene' and the increasing identification of the central committee with the 'Presbyterians' meant that it had little influence in Westminster in late 1647.¹³¹ The work of the subcommittees was also disrupted by a parliamentary order of December 1646 that county committees should draw up preliminary accounts for their officers.¹³²

The indications are that the county committee's dominance of Warwickshire continued. Many moderates from amongst the leading gentry were appointed to the commission of the peace in 1646: Clement Throckmorton, Sir Simon Archer and Boughton and Burgoyne themselves, were among them. Clearly such men were acceptable to the Westminster authorities, and regarded as within the parliamentary 'Cause'. The moderates, however, were not themselves willing to be active in local government in the circumstances of the later 1640s. No justice active before 1649 was a committed opponent of Purefoy and his allies except possibly for Anthony Stoughton.¹³³ In January 1648 the Coventry Subcommittee of Accounts wrote disconsolately to the Grand Committee: 'till times change, that we may be more countenanced in our proceedings, we conceive it best to sit but twice a week'.¹³⁴ In August 1648, Warwickshire was one of several counties that petitioned Parliament in support of the army and against its disbandment. No signed copy

¹²⁹ Morrill, *Provinces*, 122–4 suggests that county committees were preserved through back bench support and that Independent M.P.s, because of their alliance with the army, were hostile to the committees. The behaviour of the Warwickshire M.P.s, at least, does not bear this out.

¹³⁰ SP28/254/5 and table 7.

¹³¹ SP28/253A (letter book of the Grand Committee) f.55r. For the 'Presbyterianism' of the London Committee: Pennington, 'The Accounts of the Kingdom', 201–2.

¹³² *L.J.*, vol. 8: 602. This aimed to discourage the soldiers who came to Parliament to petition for their arrears.

¹³³ See appendix 1, tables 4c, 4d. The only active J.P.s 1645–9 were John Bridges, John Hales, Richard Lucy, Gamaliel and William Purefoy, Anthony Stoughton, Waldive Willington and Thomas Willoughby. For Stoughton's variable political attitudes see chapter 5.

¹³⁴ SP28/254/5 ff.133r–133v.

of the petition survives so it is not possible to assess the support it attracted.¹³⁵ Many more counties petitioned the Parliament to press for an accommodation with the king from May 1648, and the lack of any such petition from Warwickshire suggests that it remained a county where 'honest radicals' held sway.¹³⁶ The 'military rule' established by the committee was, of course, a major factor in the success of radical Parliamentarians. The political conflicts over military rule described in this chapter made a more paradoxical contribution. Their immediate impact was to obstruct the war effort but the moderate support for Denbigh and the accounts committees and the existence of further outlets for moderate critiques of the committee in the House of Commons, and the London press ensured that senior gentry like Archer, Boughton and Throckmorton were integrated into a parliamentary framework, albeit in a reluctant and ambiguous manner. Until the end of 1648 they had several avenues through which they could hope for victory over the policies represented by the county committeemen.¹³⁷

Developments in national politics were more influential than local events in determining the final outcome of the struggles in Warwickshire. On 2 December 1648 the moderate majority in Parliament made a last attempt to return local government to the traditional rulers, when they passed the Militia Ordinance. The Earl of Denbigh headed the forty-seven men entrusted with the militia in Warwickshire and only fifteen of them, at most, were in sympathy with the county committee.¹³⁸ Four days later came the purge, and on 15 December the Militia Ordinance was repealed.¹³⁹ Although William Purefoy seems to have regretted the military domination of Parliament he cannot have mourned the downfall of his local rivals: Jesson and Burgoyne were secluded while Thomas Boughton, the arch enemy of the county committee, was imprisoned.¹⁴⁰ Purefoy became one of the most important members of the Rump while his dominance of Warwickshire was assured for the next three years.

¹³⁵ C.J., vol. 5: 674; *The Warwickshire Petition to the Parliament . . . Delivered August 17 1648* B.L. E460(8).

¹³⁶ Ashton, *The English Civil War*, 330-1; Underdown, 'Honest Radicals in the Counties' in Pennington and Thomas, eds., *Puritans and Revolutionaries 186-205*, especially 196-205.

¹³⁷ Cf. Hughes, 'The King, the Parliament and the Localities'.

¹³⁸ *A. and O.*, vol. 1: 1233-55. ¹³⁹ *A. and O.*, vol. 3: lxx-lxvi.

¹⁴⁰ Underdown, *Pride's Purge*, 368-9, 377.

The impact of the Civil War

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC EFFECTS

It has been well said, 'There is no counting the cost of the civil war. The records are too patchy and too ambiguous.'¹ A full study of the social and economic impact of the war in a frontier county like Warwickshire would, in any case, involve minute study of the development of individual urban and rural communities over much of the century in order to assess the specific importance of Civil War exactions. This section has more modest aims: to show the sort of burdens the Civil War involved for those who paid them, rather than as in earlier chapters, for those who administered them; and to indicate the possible long-term effects.

Something has been said in chapter 5 of the vastly increased burden of taxation brought about by the war.² The weekly assessment alone may have cost the county £1,000 per week between 1643 and 1646 but this was one among the many exactions. From 1640 to 1646 six subsidies, the poll money, the contribution to the £400,000, taxes for the British army in Ireland and for the New Model Army all had to be paid to the national treasury. In addition there was an unprecedented purchase tax, the excise, levied on many essential commodities; and the 'loans' of a fifth of landed income or a twentieth of personal estate. In Warwickshire, besides the 'weekly pay', most parishes contributed to a levy to raise horse for Lord Brooke and many paid a similar levy for the Earl of Denbigh. Villages near the county's many garrisons were frequently called upon for forced labour on fortifications as the inhabitants of Tysoe were for Compton. Twenty-two towns were fined by the commander at Kenilworth for their failure to send men and teams to the garrison in 1644 and 1645.³ As we

¹ Morrill, *Provinces*, 84. The most recent survey is Christopher Clay, 'Landlords and Estate Management in England . . . The Civil War and Interregnum' in Joan Thirsk, ed., *The Agrarian History of England and Wales*, vol. 5 (Cambridge, 1985).

² What follows is based on study of the county's surviving parish accounts. More detailed analysis of a few of these is presented below.

³ SP28/186, Tysoe accounts; SP28/136, accounts of John Mascall, treasurer at Kenilworth. Such demands continued after the war when work was required to render Maxstoke and Kenilworth Castles indefensible: W.C.R.O. DR404/85.

saw earlier, many areas of the county paid more or less formal contributions to the royalists for much of the Civil War in addition to payments to the Parliament.

As important as the formal burdens of taxation were the charges of quartering soldiers and losses through plunder. These rarely amounted to less than half as much again as taxation, and often to much more. Local forces frequently took free quarter in parishes that were also paying to the weekly tax, and Warwickshire's geographical position made it a thoroughfare for the major armies of both sides. In the autumn of 1642 both armies quartered on the county before the battle of Edgehill and 700 'maimed' parliamentary soldiers were still being cared for in Warwickshire in July 1643.⁴ Waller and Commissary General Behr quartered their forces on Warwickshire in 1644, Brereton in 1646, but the heaviest burden came in the summer of 1645 when both the Scots and the New Model passed through the county.⁵ The Scots seem to have caused the most expense and the most trouble. Their own commanders complained of their reception in Warwickshire: 'We think ourselves ill-used, we are called to march, march, that a plentiful country is still before us . . . but we find nothing by the way but solitude – pleasant places indeed for grass and trees but no other refreshment, the country people looking upon us as enemies to take from them without paying for it.' The county committee, however, claimed to have provided fourteen days' provision for the Scots at a cost of £120 per day, while many parish accounts claimed heavy losses to the Scots: at Shustoke forty people had paid £100, at Austrey forty-nine had paid £163, while Studley claimed £560 had been taken by the Scots in quarter and plunder.⁶ Heavy free-quarter remained a threat in Warwickshire after the first Civil War. In 1647 the constable of Fillongley paid 7s to a lieutenant serving under Fairfax so he would go 'another way which otherwise should have come to our town'. Two years later Fillongley spent 2s summoning the county militia 'to free us from other soldiers'.⁷

As we shall see in more detail below, all these burdens meant that the rents of substantial landowners declined while the charges on their estates

⁴ *C.J.*, vol. 3: 187; the bailiff of Warwick petitioned the Commons for help in the care of these soldiers on 31 July. SP28/184, the accounts of Warwick, show the townspeople's payments for their care.

⁵ In May 1645 Bridges reported to Sir Samuel Luke that he had dined with Cromwell and Browne while their forces were near Warwick: B.L. Egerton MS 3514 f.22r. In June Fairfax was at Warwick and on 9 July the Commons asked Jesson to write to Coventry to thank the city for the provisions and the welcome offered to the New Model: *C.J.*, vol. 4: 187, 202.

⁶ H.M.C. (Portland 1), 233–4. Bodleian Library, Tanner MS 58 f.719; SP28/332, Shustoke's claims against the Scots; SP28/246, Coleshill's claims; SP28/185 ff.438r–478r, parish accounts of Studley.

⁷ DR404/85.

multiplied to an unprecedented level. Tenants and small landholders found most of their cash surpluses used up in taxation while they, especially, could worst afford to lose the grain, cattle and horse blithely carried off by soldiers. Thomas Bird, of Shottery, for example, paid no taxes except for 1s 6d poll money from 1640 to 1646, but he had lost two horses worth £5 10s, one taken by Denbigh's men, one by the Scots; had paid 9s 6d to redeem a colt taken by the Warwickshire Captain Lovell; and had spent over £2 on free-quarter.⁸ He probably felt these losses more than a gentleman who suffered from much heavier burdens in monetary terms. Edward Ferrers of Baddesley Clinton assessed his charges between May 1643 and February 1646 at £468, of which £320 was thirty-two months of weekly pay. Quartering charges were not included, however: 'Those troops I have entertained and refer it to the Commissioners of accounts to rate it as they please.'⁹ Amongst the goods lost by Ferrers were eight 'milk kine' and three yoke of oxen taken by Ottway's men, and weapons, saddles, a silver spoon and a Geneva bible taken by Hawkesworth's lieutenant, Creed, but such a man had reserves to fall back on.

The yield of farming land probably declined in the war years and, as the experience on the Cranfield estates shows, the amount of land cultivated decreased as tenants could no longer afford to take up leases.¹⁰ Even where surpluses were still produced, marketing them was difficult for trade in the West Midlands was severely disrupted. In 1643 Robert Fawdon wrote to his master Lionel Cranfield: 'I was on May day at Stow Fair, that usual great fair for sheep, where thousands used to be sold, and I am assured there was not 100 sold that day there.'¹¹ Throughout the war Fawdon found it hard to contrive secure ways of sending money to Cranfield in London or Essex. Two Dudley traders, Margery Davies, a haberdasher, and Henry Finch, an ironmonger, complained to Denbigh that they were prevented from selling their wares by local garrisons while trade between Coventry and the royalist counties to the north was hampered by the forces of both sides.¹² Butchers at Warwick claimed that

⁸ SP28/136, parish accounts of Shottery. ⁹ S.B.T. DR3/711.

¹⁰ For the Cranfield estates see below. For many of these points, and a more detailed discussion of the effects of civil war in the Severn Valley: Ian Roy, 'England Turned Germany? The Aftermath of Civil War in its European Context', *T.R.H.S.*, 5th series, vol. 28 (1978) especially 137-44.

¹¹ Kent C.A.D. unlisted Cranfield Papers; Warwickshire estate correspondence, main stewards, Robert Fawdon to the (first) Earl of Middlesex, 7 May 1643.

¹² H.M.C., vol. 4 (Denbigh), 267; H.M.C. (Denbigh), 79. In July 1643 the county committee reported to Lenthall that they had seized the goods of Shrewsbury carriers in retaliation for Prince Rupert's attacks on their own traders. In December 1645 the Commons ordered Midland committees and garrisons to prevent all trade between London and the royalist garrisons of Worcester and Hereford because the profits of this trade helped to pay royalist taxation. This was a reversal of earlier policies: in May 1644 Coventry and Warwick had been ordered to allow West Midlands cloth through to London: Tanner MS 62 f.147; *C.J.*, vol. 3: 510; SP21/22, 115-17.

the decline in the numbers of chapmen at the town market meant that they had to sell most of their produce 'at a great under rate' yet they were still required to pay out large sums in excise.¹³

The very face of the county was altered by the war. Much of Birmingham was burnt by Prince Rupert and many of Coventry's suburbs were pulled down in 1643 to strengthen the city's defences. Several of Warwickshire's great houses were damaged or destroyed: we have mentioned the burning of Cranfield's home at Milcote because of rumours that it was to become a royalist garrison and the same fate befell the Spencers' home at Wormleighton at the hands of royalist forces, for parallel reasons. Compton, Astley, Coughton Court, Maxstoke Castle and Edgbaston all suffered through their use as garrisons while Kenilworth Castle was pulled down after the war was over. Edgbaston church was ruined by Fox's men.¹⁴ A final general effect of civil war may be mentioned: troop movements and economic dislocation brought disease – in 1645 plague hit Stratford, a town through which nearly all armies marching from north to south passed. There was a significant population crisis in the Warwickshire parishes studied by the Cambridge population group.¹⁵

The parish accounts commissioned by the Subcommittees of Accounts after 1646 enable us to assess a little more precisely the scale of Civil War exactions. These survive for three quarters of the county's parishes but it has not been possible to analyse them all in a general study. Indeed the great variation in the form of these accounts, and in their probable reliability makes it hard to see how they could be used to provide definitive statements of the cost of the war in Warwickshire. The best of them list individual payments to all local and national taxes from the six subsidies of 1640 to the levies for the New Model and the British army in Ireland; charges for free-quarter including the names of soldiers' commanders and the length of their stay; and losses through plunder with detailed descriptions of what was lost, and who took it. Others just include the losses of leading inhabitants or merely include general totals, often suspiciously vague, for the parish as a whole. Even with the best

¹³ CR2017/C10/77, a petition against the excise.

¹⁴ For Birmingham and Milcote see chapter 5. Coventry: SP18/69/21, a petition from several citizens to the Protector in 1654 complaining that they had not received compensation promised them by Basner and the county committee. Wormleighton: Thorpe, 'The Lord and the Landscape', 71; Kenilworth: C.S.P.D. 1649–1650, 241, 247. SP28/183/32, parish accounts of Edgbaston.

¹⁵ S.B.T. BRV 15/13/131; E.A. Wrigley and R.S. Schofield, *The Population History of England, 1541–1871* (London 1981), 681: five out of the fourteen Warwickshire parishes under observation were affected making a serious population crisis as less than 40% of parishes were hit even in the worst national crises. The population losses of the early 1640s seem in general to be concentrated in areas affected by troop movements.

accounts, one may be sceptical about the values put on payments and losses as a major motive of those who gave in accounts seems to have been to get some of their money back, in the case of loans and informal losses through quarter and plunder at least. Where parish accounts of weekly tax paid can be checked against officers' accounts of their receipts totals rarely tally. Captain Anthony Ottway claimed to have received £849 10s in assignation money from Austrey and Newton; interestingly the inhabitants themselves claimed payments of only £845. Ottway said he had received only £498 from Wolphamcote but the very detailed parish accounts listed individual payments adding up to £625 10s.¹⁶

Ottway's reputation makes it difficult to regard him as any more reliable than the people of Wolphamcote, and it is hard to imagine a foolproof method of checking the accuracy of parish accounts. Some seem obviously defective, simply multiplying the weekly rate of taxation by the period during which it was levied to arrive at a 100% payment rate. But we saw in chapter 5 that many officers themselves claimed to have collected nearly all the weekly tax assigned to them so perhaps even these accounts are not far wrong. It is difficult to accept completely the blithe assertion of the inhabitants of Cherrington: 'we have paid all that was imposed on us'.¹⁷ Many people, as would be expected, had not kept exact accounts of what they had paid; as the inhabitants of Temple Grafton protested: 'not knowing that these things were to be accountable hereafter [they] did not leave the same in mind so well as they might have done'.¹⁸ They contented themselves with an estimate that their losses exceeded £2,000. The return of Wolford asked that they be excused from making a more detailed account 'forasmuch as the most part of the said inhabitants are husbandmen and unlearned men and have kept no account of their great charges and losses',¹⁹ while several parishes, like Kenilworth and Dunchurch, stated that inhabitants had simply forgotten what they had paid.²⁰

If it would be unreasonable to expect twentieth-century standards of accuracy, it seems likely that those parish accounts with much circumstantial detail approach a true estimate of Civil War losses. Some of the best accounts, from different parts of Warwickshire, have been used to indicate the scope and scale of exactions (see table 8 and map 5). The fullest accounts suggest that, for the first time, almost all the population, apart from paupers and the landless, were being forced to contribute, in quarter and plunder if not in formal taxation. The exceptions to this,

¹⁶ SP28/136, Ottway's accounts; SP28/184, parish accounts of Wolphamcote; SP28/186, parish accounts of Austrey and Newton. ¹⁷ SP28/184, parish accounts of Cherrington.

¹⁸ SP28/184, parish accounts of Temple Grafton. ¹⁹ SP28/185 ff.177r-185r.

²⁰ SP28/183/38 (Dunchurch); SP28/185 ff.375r-383v (Kenilworth Duchy).

Table 8 Numbers of taxpayers 1628–64

Parish	1628 ^a (subsidy)	Civil War ^b	1664 liable	(Hearth Tax) ^c not liable
Snitterfield: B.	8	32	42	21
Studley: B.	7	54	54	62
Kingsbury: H.	26 ^d	73	100	36
Sheldon: H.	10	19	50	5 ^e
Halford: Ki.	4	15	28	11
Ilmington: Ki.	9	40	48	33
Southam: Kn.	14	63	75	33
Wolphamcote: Kn.	15	59	63	22

^a The 1628 subsidy figures are from: E179/194, /312 (Barlichway Hundred); /316 (Hemlingford); /310 (Kineton); /311 (Knightlow).

^b This figure includes all individuals in the parish accounts who suffered some loss, whether through taxation, quarter or plunder. For the parish accounts: SP28/183/35, Southam; SP28/184, Sheldon, Snitterfield, Wolphamcote; SP28/185 ff.438r–478r, Studley; SP28/186, Halford, Ilmington, Kingsbury.

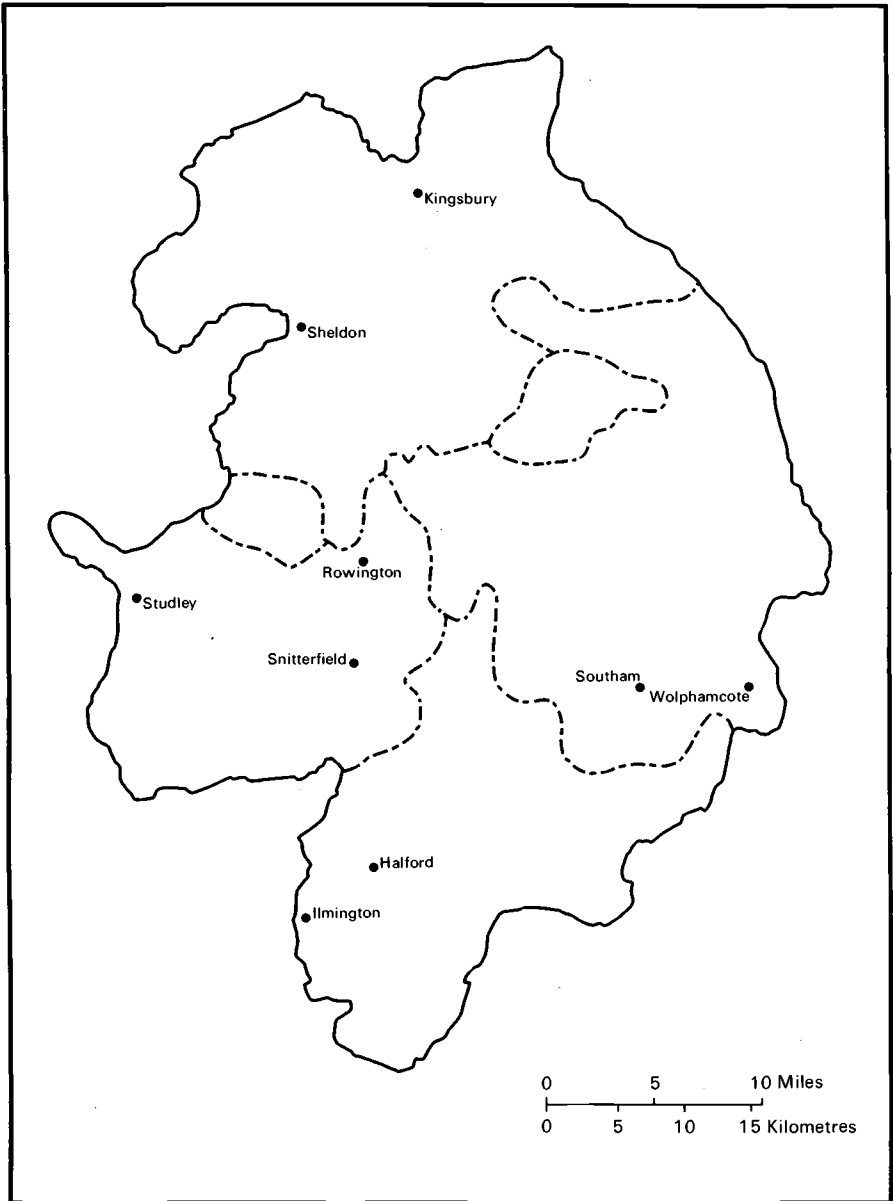
^c E179/259/10; M. Walker, ed. *Hearth Tax Returns*, vol. 1 (Warwick County Records, 1957). For full discussion of the Hearth Tax see Hughes, 'Politics, Society and Civil War', appendix 1.

^d Of the 26, 10 paid the subsidy as 5 couples.

^e The Hearth Tax return for Sheldon is obviously incomplete: Skipp, *Discovering Sheldon*, 28, estimates the population at 400 in 1631, although it was declining for the rest of the century.

Halford and Sheldon, were either extremely fortunate or, as is more probable, their accounts are not complete. The distribution of the losses between taxes and informal charges varied greatly, as table 9 shows, although exact comparisons are impossible because the parish accounts vary in what they list. Halford, whose accounts may not be complete, paid a total of £320: £114 in plunder and quarter, £188 in weekly pay, £6 to provide horses for Brooke and Denbigh and £12 to the taxes of 1640–2. At Sheldon, though, plunder and quarter came to only £91 out of a total of £1,071.²¹ The accounts of Studley and Snitterfield are presented in a way that makes separation of the different charges difficult: Snitterfield claimed total losses of £1,037, Studley of £1,245, £560 of which had been lost to the Scots. A few comparisons with the £400,000, itself a heavy tax of unprecedented proportion, vividly illustrate the scale of Civil War

²¹ For sources see notes to table 8; Sheldon weekly tax totalled £914, other taxes £94, loans £63.



5 Parishes whose losses are discussed in the text

Table 9 *Civil War losses*

Parish	Taxation ^a	Plunder, quarter	Loans	Excise	Total
Ilmington	£603	£123	£45	—	£771
Kingsbury	£1,655	£208	£112	—	£1,975
Southam	£815	£800	£115	£26	£1,756
Wolphamcote	£759	£730	£105	—	£1,594 ^b

^a This total includes national taxation as well as the weekly assessment; Southam and Wolphamcote gave details of all taxation 1640–6; Ilmington and Kingsbury gave only the 1640–2 levies in addition to the weekly pay.

^b This is the total contribution to the Parliament; Wolphamcote also claimed losses to the royalists (including taxation) of £1,048.

burdens: Southam paid £10 6s 11d, Kingsbury £55 10s, Sheldon £30.²² Stratford-on-Avon paid £150 to all the levies of 1640–2; between July 1643 and January 1646 it paid out £1,528 towards the weekly pay while the total losses of 127 inhabitants were £2,944.²³

It is difficult to assess the proportion of individual income taken by taxation and the other charges. In 1643 the Newdigates were paying the weekly tax on their Griffie lands at a rate of 1s in the pound, half that charged in Buckinghamshire or Kent.²⁴ The comments of Robert Fawdon, Cranfield's steward, on the £400,000 suggest a higher rate than the Newdigates paid, however. He calculated that the 'easiest rated' lands in Warwickshire paid 20s for every £100 of landed income towards the first half of the £400,000. This tax was the basis for weekly pay assessments, as we saw in chapter 5, and if Fawdon was correct, the weekly pay would take about a tenth to a sixth of annual income, where the landlord paid all the tax.²⁵ The £400,000 basis meant that 1642 values were used for rating and the tax took a much higher proportion of actual landed income. When the costs of quarter, plunder and, in many areas, losses to the royalists are considered, there seems to be little reason to quarrel with Professor Holmes' estimate that a third to a fifth of the rental

²² Southam probably did not pay all the assessment for this total seems very low.

²³ SP28/136, parish accounts of Stratford; another, not quite complete, version is in B.L. Add MS 28565.

²⁴ W.C.R.O. CR136 (Newdigate Collection) C1130; Morrill, *Provinces*, 85 quotes a rate of 2s in Buckinghamshire and 2s 6d in Kent.

²⁵ Kent C.A.D., Warwickshire Estate Correspondence, Fawdon to Middlesex 11 May 1642. Fawdon's comments applied to rack-rented lands where the landlord paid all the tax. The weekly tax was between five and eight times as heavy as the £400,000 assessment in Warwickshire.

of the gentry was going to pay for the war.²⁶ When Richard Newdigate handed over his widowed sister-in-law's half-year jointure in July 1645 a quarter of the income had been deducted for payments to the Parliament's war effort.²⁷ Where royalist taxation was suffered as well, as on Lionel Cranfield's estate, Holmes' estimates may even have been exceeded.

One should be cautious about attempting statistical assessments of the impact on poorer people. The parish accounts are usually silent about the income of those who presented bills, and family papers are absent. The fragmentary evidence that does exist, however, suggests almost unimaginable burdens. One parish account, for Rowington, does give information on landholdings.²⁸ This suggests that small landowners were having to sell stock as well as use up any surplus to pay Civil War taxation. Clement Tibbatts and his son owned, or rented, just one yardland, but their payments in weekly tax between May 1643 and April 1646 were £28 10s and their total charges since 1640 amounted to £62. Thomas Cowper and Matthew Walford held half a yardland each, a farm that was probably barely viable in normal times. Yet Cowper had to find £23 and Walford £29 to cover Civil War losses, enormous sums given the estimates of £3–5 as the average annual surplus for a small arable farmer after essential expenditure.²⁹ The local historian of Rowington has described extensive upheavals in population and landholding from the 1640s to the 1660s. The 1640s saw the population rise by over 50% through large scale immigration, very probably facilitated by the uncertainties and difficulties of the war years and the perceived, if illusory, opportunities of an 'open' parish. But over half of this increase was lost in the following decade as the population slumped. In the early 1660s the numbers of tenants in the parish declined by 17.5% and, again, the problems brought by heavy taxation and war, particularly to small landholders, are surely part of the explanation for this process.³⁰

We can get a more detailed picture of the effects of taxation, declining rents and the other burdens of the Civil War on a large landowner from the accounts and letters of the steward of the Warwickshire and

²⁶ Holmes, *Eastern Association*, 137; see also John Broad, 'Gentry Finances and the Civil War: The Case of the Buckinghamshire Verneys' *Ec.H.R.*, 2nd series, vol. 32 (1979), 188; the effective taxation rate on the Verney estates in 1644–5 was more than 36%.

²⁷ CR136/C1292: £50 out of £200 due was deducted for taxation.

²⁸ SP28/185 ff.49v–112r, 115r–166r, Rowington parish accounts. In all 83 people claimed losses of some £2,700. In the Hearth Tax eighty-three inhabitants were liable, forty-three not.

²⁹ Spufford, *Contrasting Communities*, 52–3, 165, states that outside the fen areas a half yardland (about 14–20 acres) was disappearing as a viable farming unit in seventeenth-century Cambridgeshire. Peter Bowden in Thirsk, ed., *Agrarian History*, vol. 4: 657 for the surplus on an arable farm of 30 acres.

³⁰ Joy Woodall, *From Hroca to Anne* (Shirley, Warwickshire, 1974), 56–7.

Gloucestershire estates of the Earls of Middlesex. The degree to which these estates suffered was greater than many others but the nature of the problems experienced was not untypical. Many in Warwickshire paid taxation to both sides, but the Cranfield estates were particularly unfortunate in paying contribution to three different authorities. As chapter 5 mentioned, the Warwickshire committee taxed Cranfield's Gloucestershire estates as well as Milcote, which was in Warwickshire, arguing that border areas were protected by their troops. The Gloucestershire Parliamentarians also claimed contribution from these estates after 1643, as did the royalist garrisons at Cambden, Gloucestershire, and Evesham, Worcestershire. The cost of all this is difficult to assess because Fawdon became adept at delaying payments and buying off the importunate soldiers. Prestwich claims that taxation amounted to £104 per month in early 1645, two-thirds of the pre-war return of the estates, but this seems excessive. Warrants listed by Fawdon totalled £53 for November 1644.³¹ Paying tax on both sides left Fawdon open to the suspicions of both sides. At first he suffered especially from the Gloucestershire cavaliers who believed he supported the Parliament: Fawdon listed losses to the royalists of almost £2,000 by late 1644, only a quarter of which was contribution. Parliament's exactions in free-quarter and plunder were about £350 at this stage, but shortly afterwards came the disaster of the burning of Milcote to prevent its use as a royalist garrison.³²

Taxation did not just cost Fawdon (or Cranfield) some £600 p.a., it also took up considerable time and trouble. There were problems caused by unfair ratings as when the Welford townsmen 'cunningly' made a levy which, alleged Fawdon, charged half the cost on all the inhabitants, including labourers, and all the other half on Middlesex, who owned less than half the land.³³ There were the charges of journeys to Oxford or Coventry to plead for abatements, and, worst of all, there were the frequent attempts to retrieve cattle distrained by soldiers for arrears of taxation. These points are illustrated by the stewards' accounts.³⁴ In December 1643, Fawdon paid £24 tax to the royalists and £45 to the Coventry committee to redeem cattle distrained by Captain Wells. He also spent £2 4s 6d on journeys to Oxford, once, to solicit the help of the

³¹ Prestwich, *Cranfield*, 575, the pre-war return here is perhaps an underestimate. Kent C.A.D. U269/0268, Fawdon's account of all losses and payments to both sides up to November 1644.

³² U269/0268; see chapter 3 above for the loss of Milcote.

³³ Kent C.A.D., Warwickshire estate correspondence, Fawdon to Middlesex, 8 April 1644.

³⁴ U269/A425/1. The bailiff of the Earl of Salisbury's Gloucestershire estates had similar experiences. He also paid tax to the Warwickshire Parliamentarians and was twice taken prisoner to Warwick because of taxation arrears: H.M.C. (Salisbury, Cecil, vol. 22), 375-9.

Earl of Northampton in lessening the taxation; to Coventry, twice, about the lost cattle; and to Lord Chandos and the Gloucestershire commissioners, three times. He spent 30s 6d on an affidavit against royalist soldiers who had stolen cattle. In March 1644 Fawdon was equally busy: he went to Cambden, Evesham, Stratford and Warwick, twice, about taxation; paid 5s 4d to troops 'to save the sheep' and small sums on provision for troops. Formal taxation to the Parliament was £20, and to the king, £40.

Through all this the revenue from the estates was dwindling, and Fawdon's letters are full of the difficulties of collecting rents and the demands of tenants to give up their leases. In the 1630s Cranfield's receipts from these estates were between £3,400 and £3,700 p.a.;³⁵ between March 1643 and July 1644 only £2,600 was received, of which £1,121 was rent; £4,027 was received between November 1645 and January 1647 but this period included three rent days which brought in only £1,605.³⁶ It seems that Fawdon was selling stock to keep up the receipts and that the income from rents had dropped substantially, probably by more than a half.³⁷ In January 1647, Fawdon calculated that £950 was outstanding of old rents while £327 was owed for the current year; these totals did not include a few tenants who were still negotiating for abatements in rents.³⁸ The question of abatements for Civil War losses caused many problems. Fawdon believed that the provisions in the weekly tax ordinance for sharing the burden between landlord and tenant encouraged Cranfield's tenants to refuse to pay their rents until some allowance had been granted: 'they will not part with much money (if any) until they may know what allowance they may have for their bills of losses'.³⁹ Richard Dowdeswell, a Gloucestershire estate official, complained to the second Earl of Middlesex in January 1646: 'the hearts of most men are hardened especially of tenants towards their landlords as if they only in these times were ordained to be saved harmless out of their landlords' estates'.⁴⁰ Tenants frequently petitioned the Earls of Middlesex for abatements, usually hinting, or threatening, that they would abandon their leases unless some allowance was made. Henry Cowper cited to the first earl the example of other local landlords and pointed to 'the cheap rate of all commodities whereby rent should be raised and the great dangers these parts are in by the passage of armies and

³⁵ U269/A418/6, 8-10. ³⁶ U269/A425/1-2.

³⁷ From 1648 the annual rental was £2,500: see below. The Warwickshire rents of the Earl of Leicester were also halved: H.M.C. (*De L'Isle and Dudley*, vol. 6), 554, 558. The usual decline in rents seems to have been about a third: Broad, 'Gentry Finances and the Civil War', 186-7.

³⁸ U269/A425/2. ³⁹ U269/C249 Fawdon to the second earl 28 August 1645.

⁴⁰ U269/C250, Cf. Morrill and Walter, 'Order and Disorder', 144.

soldiers'⁴¹ as reasons for a reduction. Amongst neighbouring landlords, Saye and Conway apparently granted abatements, and the tensions between tenants and landlords created or exacerbated by the provisions of the weekly pay ordinance are further illustrated by the four Warwickshire cases before the Indemnity Committee where tenants appealed for protection against their landlords' attempts to recover arrears of rent through the courts. These arrears, it was claimed, were in fact sums deducted for payments in taxation and quarter. As it was probably the bolder tenants who sought to challenge their landlords in this fashion it seems likely that such legal cases were more common than the indemnity proceedings indicate.⁴² Middlesex's problems were not solely with small tenants emboldened by the Civil War into defiance of their social superiors. Fawdon spent several years trying to get arrears of Stratford rents out of William Combe J.P. He felt that Combe would pay little 'as long as these troubles last' and lamented the bad example shown to the other Stratford tenants.⁴³

As early as September 1642, Fawdon informed Middlesex that tenants wished to give up their leases and as the war continued, keeping and finding tenants was an increasing problem. In August 1645 he reported to the second earl: 'Truly such hath been these bad times that some of them hath been disenabled to hold, others finding ground to be let in other places at such easy rates . . . have left your ground and taken in other places.'⁴⁴ Several went to landlords who were more willing to grant abatements.⁴⁵ After the war was over it became easier to find tenants for pasture land but corn lands remained hard to lease, 'corn being at so great a price for food that men are fearful to adventure'.⁴⁶

⁴¹ Kent C.A.D., Warwickshire estate correspondence, miscellaneous bundle, 19 August 1644; Cowper wanted to pay £20 p.a. rather than £29. For a similar petition from Mary Milward, widow, see U269/E243/2 (September 1644). Richard Brent, who also gave examples of other landlords, refused to pay any rent until he was granted an abatement and in the end took away his cattle and gave up his lease. When Middlesex protested, Brent, rather nastily, offered to go to the Coventry committee for arbitration: Warwickshire estate correspondence, miscellaneous bundle, Brent to the first earl, 25 March 1645, 12 April 1645; main stewards, Fawdon to the first earl, 9 March, 14 April, 5 May 1645.

⁴² Conway: SP16/500/48; Saye: Fawdon to the second earl, 15 June 1646: U269/C249. P.R.O. SP24/3 f.106v; /2 f.166v; /6 ff.78r-78v; /58 (*Kenish v. Dunsmore*).

⁴³ U269/C249, 8 August 1648 Fawdon to the second earl; *ibid*, 31 May 1646, Fawdon to the second earl also discussed Combe's arrears. In 1648 Combe was equally reluctant to pay full rents for the tithes he rented from Stratford Corporation: S.B.T. ER 1/1/108.

⁴⁴ U269/C249; the steward of the Hampshire gentleman William Kingsmill reported very similar problems on Kingsmill's Warwickshire estates: Hamp. C.R.O., 19 M61/1362, Thomas Wilkins to Kingsmill, May 1644. I am grateful to Richard Cust for this reference.

⁴⁵ John Holtham left Cranfield's estate and leased land from Conway: Warwickshire estate correspondence, Fawdon to the first earl, 22 May 1644.

⁴⁶ U269/C249, Fawdon to the second earl 22 October 1647. Fawdon reported similar problems, 18 February 1647, 30 August 1647, and 27 January 1650 (U269/C249).

Yet it is clear that the Cranfield estates survived the war, if not unscathed, at least capable of recovery. In October 1648, Fawdon reported that all the Michaelmas rents would be in within a month. In 1647 total receipts from the estates were almost £5,000; although only £1,514 came in current rents, much money was raised through the sale of stock to new tenants.⁴⁷ In both 1648 and 1649 over £2,500 was raised in rents; total receipts were £3,600 and £3,100 respectively and taxation was reduced to about £250.⁴⁸ A similar impression of resilience is given by the accounts of the Greville family. Only fragmentary accounts survive for the years of the war which suggest disruption caused by the war itself, the death of Brooke, and the fact that much of the estate staff was serving in the army. The 1646–7 rents from the Brooke manors of Alcester and Oversley were almost at the 1639–40 level, however, and the family's income rose steadily through the 1650s.⁴⁹

Large landowners could economise and improve their estates to overcome Civil War losses,⁵⁰ and no Warwickshire gentlemen are known to have been ruined by the exactions of the 1640s. What, though, of those royalist gentry who suffered the more drastic penalties of sequestration and composition? Forty-nine Warwickshire men compounded, of whom 3 were peers and 26 were gentry in the group of 288.⁵¹ Again it appears that retrenchment and estate improvement enabled most to survive without substantial land sales. As several modern studies have suggested, royalist landowners were not as badly hit by their losses as contemporary mythology maintained, and only those in difficulty before 1642 seem to have gone under.⁵² The Comptons, Earls of Northampton, despite their pre-war indebtedness and a composition fine of over £14,000, returned to the pinnacle of county society at the Restoration.⁵³ Where gentry

⁴⁷ U269/C249; U269/A425/3. £400 was collected in rent arrears. ⁴⁸ U269/A425/4–5.

⁴⁹ W.C.R.O. CR1866, Box 411, draft rent accounts and draft receivers' accounts. See also chapter 2 above.

⁵⁰ Cf. Broad, 'Gentry Finances and the Civil War', 195–200.

⁵¹ C.C.C., *passim*. The others were five described as gentlemen but not so accepted in this study; two ministers and thirteen of below gentry rank. These smaller men are excluded from the following discussion.

⁵² H.J. Habakkuk, 'Landowners and the Civil War', *Ec.H.R.*, 2nd series, vol. 18 (1965), 130–51 (based on 32 Northamptonshire and Bedfordshire families). P.G. Holiday, 'Royalist Composition Fines and Land Sales in Yorkshire, 1645–1665', (Ph.D. thesis, Leeds, 1966). Holiday, 316, calculated that 52 of 141 royalist families were in decline in the second half of the century. In only 7 cases were the difficulties attributable to Civil War losses alone while in 4 cases Civil War sufferings seem to have been irrelevant. In the other 41 cases, many factors explain the decline. The 89 remaining families recovered their pre-war position. See also Blackwood, *Lancashire Gentry*, chapter 4; Thirsk, 'The Sale of Royalist Lands during the Interregnum' *Ec.H.R.*, 2nd series, vol. 5 (1953); Thirsk, 'The Restoration Land Settlement', *J.M.H.*, vol. 26 (1954); Clay, 'Landlords and Estate Management'.

⁵³ C.C.C. 1247–8. The Comptons claimed Civil War losses of over £60,000 through sequestration and contributions to the king: Castle Ashby MS 1083/41. Habakkuk, 'Landowners and the Civil

families are known to have been in great difficulty after 1660, their decline is not attributable to sequestration and composition fines alone. Sir Simon Clarke's grandson asked to be excused from paying fees at the Herald's Visitation of 1682, claiming: 'it is not unknown to Sir William Dugdale that our family have been great sufferers in his Majesty's father's service' but many of Clarke's lands had been mortgaged before the war broke out.⁵⁴ The Chamberlains of Temple House, Astley, sold most of their estates to their old rivals, the Newdigates, in the 1660s but many developments contributed to their decline: the legal costs of the long feud with the Newdigates; the intransigence of the head of the family, Richard Chamberlain, Clerk of the Court of Wards, who at the age of one hundred (or so he claimed) refused to take advantage of the Oxford Articles; and the resulting dispute between Chamberlain and his heir who wished to compound.⁵⁵

Even the Catholic gentry, who were not allowed to compound continued, in the main, to hold their estates in the later seventeenth century.⁵⁶ Some families, like the Middlemores of Edgbaston, the Spencers of Ufton, and most notably, the Throckmortons of Coughton, underwent a temporary conversion in the 1650s: the heir, a minor in each case, was declared a Protestant, and the sequestration was lifted.⁵⁷ Three of the leading Catholic families suffered confiscation of their estates: the Sheldons of Weston, the Morgans of Weston-under-Wetheley and the Smiths of Wootton Wawen. The loss of the estates was more apparent than real, however. They were probably sold to the families' agents for all three were in possession after 1660.⁵⁸ The short term economic problems for landowners who suffered sequestration or sale were clearly significant, however, and besides the purely financial problems, these changes in the ownership or management of estates embittered social relationships. In the indemnity records there are two examples of landlords who tried to recover their sequestered estates through normal legal process against tenants; six landlords who sued tenants for the rents paid to the

War' deals with the Comptons' recovery. For the third Earl of Northampton as lord lieutenant after 1660: Castle Ashby MS 1088/1-3, 1089.

⁵⁴ Styles, 'The Herald's Visitation', 125. C.C.C., 1134. See also chapter 2, above.

⁵⁵ C.C.C. 1172-4; W.C.R.O. CR136/B68A, B84, V82. The manor of Griffie, bought by Richard Chamberlain in 1631 for £3,700, was sold, heavily mortgaged, to Richard Newdigate in 1660 for £2,370.

⁵⁶ Fifteen of the 288 families were sequestered for recusancy, along with 20 minor families. SP23/259/661 is a list of those, all recusants, who were still under sequestration in 1655.

⁵⁷ C.C.C. 2923, 2965-6, 2710.

⁵⁸ For the sale of these estates: C.C.C. 1898-1902 (Morgans); SP25/125/28-35 (Sheldons), /40-9 (Smiths). For ownership after 1660: V.C.H., vol. 3: 198-9; vol. 5: 18; vol. 6: 249. The Sheldons owned one of the largest houses in Kineton Hundred in the reign of Charles II: Styles, 'The Social Structure in Kineton Hundred', 105.

parliamentary authorities during the period of sequestration; and fourteen cases where sequestered royalists brought legal actions against those who had paid to the 'State' debts due to them.⁵⁹ More complex, and more dramatic problems occurred where sequestered estates were in the hands of strangers and aggrieved royalists and their tenants could combine to obstruct the intruders. The attempts of Captain Walter Harcourt and his wife, Grace, to profit from their lease of Sir John Finch's manor of Alvecote and Shuttington were continually frustrated by the well known trouble-maker, Thomas Leving, who stirred up some of the existing tenants to molest the Harcourts, especially when they tried to sell wood or collect rents. In 1648 Leving got Captain Harcourt arrested, 'laying violent hands upon him, notwithstanding he showed them his commission and was that instant time on the service for the safety of that county, and threatened by the said Leving not to be left worth 4d'.⁶⁰ The widow and daughter of the recusant Thomas Morgan similarly caused a great deal of trouble for the trustees for John Pym's debts, to whom the Morgan estates had been assigned. Again, the sale of timber, a valuable capital asset, proved a flashpoint. As Alexander Pym complained, the tenants 'came in an hostile manner with threatening speeches, forcing your petitioners to forbear . . . putting us and other well-affected persons in danger of our lives'.⁶¹ The degree of statistical continuity in the personnel of the county's landed élite after 1660 should not blur our understanding of the real economic and social tensions of the 1640s.

Nevertheless few families seem to have left the economic élite of the county as a result of the Civil War; did any newcomers enter the leading ranks of local society through their participation in the war? As the discussion, below, of county administration after 1645 will show, several hitherto obscure men like Robert Beake, Matthew Bridges and Joseph Hawkesworth who had discovered a talent for soldiering became J.P.s. Soldiers and officials participated in the purchase of crown lands in the 1650s: Hawkesworth, Richard Creed and many of their troopers held large estates in Kenilworth for much of the 1650s while Walter Blyth, the sequestration solicitor bought crown lands in Berkshire, Essex, Surrey and Northamptonshire, probably as an agent of soldiers owed arrears.⁶²

⁵⁹ SP24/8 f.120r; /14 f.100v; /5 f.153v; /1 f.5r; /4 f.103v; /67 (*Oughton v. Pawlett*); /6 f.90r; /86 (*Woodcock v. Sheldon*); /1 ff.5r, 11r, 67v, 74v, 155r, 156r, 188r; /2 f.176v; /4 f.92v; /6 f.33v; /10 f.70v; /15 f.78r.

⁶⁰ SP24/52 (*Harcourt v. Draper*). For another indemnity case arising from the Harcourts' difficulties see: SP24/52 (*Harcourt v. Storer*).

⁶¹ SP24/69 (*Pegg v. Garrett; Pym v. Morgan*).

⁶² P.R.O. E121/5/1, lists purchasers of crown lands in Warwickshire. Most were soldiers although the immediate tenants bought Hampton-in-Arden and the third Lord Brooke bought a small estate in Warwick. For Blyth's purchases elsewhere: E121/1/2, /2/5, /2/9, /4/1, 8; Thirsk, 'Plough

However, this success was temporary: the lands were lost in 1660-1, and many of the old ruling families returned to the commission of the peace in 1660, along with many newcomers with royalist or neutral backgrounds.⁶³ Parliamentary allegiance seems to have definitely benefited only three men: Robert Beake who rose from very humble origins to become a substantial Coventry draper; John Bridges, before the war a minor lawyer, was established as a Worcestershire gentleman; and the committeeman William Colemore, who moved up a rung in Warwickshire society in the 1650s.⁶⁴ It is perhaps significant that Colemore and Bridges passed as moderates by the 1650s and could live down their 1640s political stances in the changed atmosphere of Restoration society. Bridges was harassed though as we have seen above, while the more committed Beake was barred from political and administrative office by the measures against dissenters. Perhaps predictably, political commitment and defeat were rarely conducive to individual economic advancement. As mentioned before, John Barker, a third generation Coventry draper, was granted handouts by the city corporation throughout the 1660s and 1670s; in August 1662 £5 was doled out, his estate being 'very low'. John Halford, Brooke's servant, was less fortunate than his colleague Bridges. His service as a captain in Parliament's army, and then as a sequestration commissioner in the early 1650s left him practising as an attorney by December 1653.⁶⁵ Probably the only important success story is the traditional one of Birmingham, whose rise to become an important industrial town was hastened by the increased demand for arms.⁶⁶ Coleman has written: 'We can be reasonably certain that the upheavals of civil war in themselves did little to alter the basic characteristics of the pre-industrial English economy.'⁶⁷

But apparent continuities should not blind us to the extent to which the Civil War intensified trends already apparent in the English economy. Lands and goods were taxed at least at their economic value, for the first time; landed estates changed hands, albeit temporarily, on a vast scale. There was thus a great stimulus to the ending of subsistence agriculture and to the development of a money economy and of flexible credit

and Pen'; Ian Gentles, 'The Purchasers of Northamptonshire Crown Lands 1649-1660', *Midland History*, vol. 3 (1976), 215-16; Gentles, 'The Debentures Market and Military Purchases of Crown Lands 1649-1660' (Ph.D. thesis, London, 1969), 271, records resales of Kenilworth but these seem to have been to old associates of the officers and were probably trusts.

⁶³ For discussion of the Restoration commission of the peace see chapter 8 below.

⁶⁴ Beake: Hughes, 'Politics, Society and Civil War', 507; *The House of Commons 1660-1690*, B.D. Henning, ed. (3 vols., History of Parliament, 1983) vol. 1: 611-12. Bridges: V.C.H. Worcestershire, vol. 3: 172; Colemore: above.

⁶⁵ Cov. C.R.O. A14b f.145v; Hughes, 'Politics, Society and Civil War', 509; SP24/56 (*Humphrey v. Townsend*). ⁶⁶ Pelham, 'The Growth of Settlement and Industry', 153-6.

⁶⁷ Coleman, *The Economy of England*, 106.

mechanisms.⁶⁸ The good harvests of the war years prevented catastrophe for the poorest sections of the population while the very lean years of the late 1640s came at a time when local government in general and poor relief, in particular, were becoming re-established. The position of labourers was no worse in the 1640s and 1650s than in the first four decades of the century and opportunities to serve in Civil War armies and garrisons were probably important here.⁶⁹ The burdens of Civil War taxation and disruption fell most heavily on small landowners as the example of Rowington reveals and the war-time losses may well have accelerated the decline of small farmers, the growth in the numbers of the poor and the increasing social differentiation of later seventeenth-century England. The relative continuity in the personnel of the leading landowners in Warwickshire is perhaps less important than the changes in attitude Civil War upheavals brought. All landowners had to economise and to intensify the exploitation of their estates in order to recover from Civil War burdens or from sequestration and composition. As Richard Dowdeswell said, the hearts of men were hardened by the economic difficulties and the tense social atmosphere of the 1640s, although it was not the hardness of tenants towards landlords that was most significant.⁷⁰ In economic terms the Civil War contributed to the process whereby the relationship between landlord and tenant became purely commercial; and in social and political terms the problems of the late 1640s, even in an area remote from the dramatic radical movements of London, must have made the kind of broad social alliance led by Lord Brooke in Warwickshire in 1642 much less likely in the future. After 1660, it seems the political and administrative structure of Warwickshire was more significantly altered than the bare economic hierarchy.

ADMINISTRATIVE CHANGES?

In a county where the majority of senior gentry were royalist or neutral, the most obvious administrative impact of the Civil War, that 'fatal division in the political nation', was on the personnel of local governors.⁷¹

⁶⁸ Habakkuk, 'Landowners and the Civil War'.

⁶⁹ Ian Roy, 'The English Civil War and English Society' in Brian Bond and Ian Roy, eds., *War and Society* (1976), 30. Thirsk, ed. *Agrarian History*, vol. 4: 864. Throughout the first half of the seventeenth century labourers' wages were worth, in real terms, only half of their late fifteenth-century value.

⁷⁰ Spufford, *Contrasting Communities*, 54–5; W.G. Hoskins, *The Midland Peasant* (London, 1957), 215; Keith Wrightson, *English Society, 1580–1680* (London, 1982), chapter 5. Morrill and Walter, 'Order and Disorder' argue that 'moral panic' amongst élites was at least as significant as subversion amongst lower social ranks. For Dowdeswell see n. 40 above.

⁷¹ David Underdown, 'Settlement in the Counties, 1653–1658' in G.E. Aylmer, ed., *The Interregnum* (London, 1972), 181.

Less obvious, but equally important, is the vexed issue of whether relationships between local governors and central authority were changed by Parliament's victory, particularly during the episode of the major-generals. The most difficult and perhaps most interesting questions, however, are concerned with the degree to which the procedures and policies of local government altered in the late 1640s and 1650s. The changed status of local governors, the heavier or different burdens which were a legacy of war, and ideological factors, particularly a more determined application of conscientious Calvinist Puritanism whereby godly magistrates sought both internal assurance of their own election, and an external improvement of society, through energetic 'godly reformation',⁷² are all possible forces for change.

An analysis of personnel indicates that the men who served post-1645 regimes were of significantly lower status than the county governors of the 1620s and 1630s. Between 1645 and the spring of 1660, 42 men were named to the commission of the peace for Warwickshire; only 4 had been J.P.s before the Civil War although the fathers of 4 more had sat on the bench; 11 of the 42 were to continue as J.P.s after the Restoration, but most of these had not been active before 1660.⁷³ All J.P.s before 1642 were leading county gentry, yet 18 of the Interregnum justices do not even qualify for inclusion in the group of 288 used in this study. These fall into two main categories. Six men were not of gentry origins but had risen to political prominence in the county through their participation in the Civil War administration: Matthew Bridges and Joseph Hakesworth of the active J.P.s are examples. The other 12 were men not normally resident in the county; usually men of high rank like Sir William Palmer of Middlesex or Sir John Dryden of Northamptonshire, they were presumably included on the commission to improve its social composition. Few of them were active J.P.s and the actual government of the county was undertaken mainly by comparatively minor gentry. One indication of the lower status of post-war J.P.s is the fact that only 42% of them had had any form of higher education compared to 73% of those on the bench between 1625 and 1640.

The varying course of national politics in the 1640s and 1650s meant that the membership of the bench was less stable than in the pre-war period. In Warwickshire the main changes came in 1649 when moderate men like Boughton, Throckmorton and the Burgoynes were removed from the commission; and then in the confusing years of 1652-3. It is hard

⁷² For a discussion of this imperative in an earlier period see Richard Cust and Peter Lake, 'Sir Richard Grosvenor and the Rhetoric of Magistracy', *B.I.H.R.*, vol. 54 (1981), 40-53.

⁷³ See appendix 1: table 4c for the names and personal details of the Interregnum J.P.s. Table 4d lists active J.P.s.

to see a pattern in the latter period. The Rump Parliament rather than the nominated Assembly removed the most moderate figures: Anthony Stoughton was left out in March 1652; William Colemore, John Rous and Christopher Hales in July when Joseph Hawkesworth, not a likely moderate, was also omitted. These men were all restored in September 1653 when Matthew Bridges and John Bromwich, both men of undoubted parliamentary zeal and unimpressive social origins, were added to the bench, in appointments which better fit the stereotypes of the 'Barebones' regime. More surprisingly, Sir Roger Burgoyne was also restored to the bench for the first time since 1649. Contemporaries found these changes bewildering; at the height of all these comings and goings, the Indemnity Commissioners referred a case to a number of J.P.s only to find that one of their nominees, Joseph Hawkesworth, was not in fact on the bench.⁷⁴ The Protectorate, in contrast saw less change in the commission of the peace than Underdown found in many counties.⁷⁵ Even Sir Peter Wentworth, a staunch Rumper who was alleged to be obstructing tax collection in 1654, was restored to the bench in 1656 after a three-year interval.⁷⁶ Apart from Wentworth's years off the bench the most dramatic changes were additions to or removals from the quorum. Less than half of those nominated as J.P.s are known to have been active: only 20 out of 42 compared to 34 active justices from forty-five nominations during the period 1625 to 1640. Between 5 and 10 justices only were present at each Quarter Sessions from 1645 to the Restoration; before 1640 there were between 8 and 11 at each sessions, with more at the sessions immediately following the stimulus of the Book of Orders. After 1645 there were more non-residents on the bench but political uncertainties also contributed to the greater reluctance to serve.

At a lower level of administration, a similar trend is apparent: 21 of the 48 pre-war high constables who have been identified were from the 288 gentry families, but only 9 of the 62 who served after 1642.⁷⁷ The choice of sheriffs after 1645 shows more surprising features. Only 4 of the 14 men who held the post 1645–58 had shown any commitment to the Parliament; one, Sir Henry Gibbes who served 1650–1, had compounded in 1649 for royalism. Most sheriffs were of much higher social status than most J.P.s: Greville Verney, Robert Holte and William Somerville were amongst the representatives of leading county families.⁷⁸ One is tempted

⁷⁴ SP24/79 (*Taylor v. Joyner*); SP24/13 f.65r. Underdown, *Pride's Purge*, 309–10, 341, notes general changes in the commission of peace 1649–53; *conservative* opponents of the Rump were added to the bench along with godly zealots in several counties in 1653.

⁷⁵ Underdown, 'Settlement in the Counties', 165–82.

⁷⁶ SP18/100/44; S.R. Gardiner, *From Commonwealth to Protectorate*, vol. 3: 301–2.

⁷⁷ See Hughes, 'Politics, Society and Civil War', appendix 2: table 6. ⁷⁸ Appendix 1: table 5b.

to conclude that these appointments, to the most expensive and least prestigious of the senior county offices, were made as punitive measures.

The impact of political division on county governors was not matched in scale by developments in the city of Coventry although the comparatively minor changes have left behind more record of bitterness and recrimination. The Coventry mercantile élite formed a much more cohesive ruling group, a more united 'community' than was found amongst the Warwickshire gentry. They were more able to resist widespread change but also more liable to resent such change as was forced by those in Coventry whose first priority was loyalty to the parliamentary cause. The corporation's independence had been weakened by the military rule of the 1640s; in 1645 the election of the mayor had been overturned after the county committee had complained of his malignancy to the House of Commons.⁷⁹ William Jesson led the later attempts of the élite to prevent political conflict transforming the corporation. In 1647 he tried to obtain the removal of the garrison from the city and successfully delayed a purge of 'royalist' aldermen. Basnet was, according to Jesson, the main enemy: if the 'suffering city of Coventry' allowed their 'slavish fears' to 'destroy your own liberties' then Jesson and his allies would 'sit in the house upon their good behaviour, so long as they did please Alderman Basnet'.⁸⁰ The garrison was finally removed in November 1648; the corporation noted its passing by declaring that it had been found 'very inconvenient to have any main guard constantly kept at the Mayor's parlour in Cross Cheaping . . . in case any future garrison be kept in Coventry then the committee to be desired to keep their main guard in some other place'.⁸¹ In 1642 two aldermen, Clark and Million, had clearly sided with Northampton and the royalists; in 1645 Clark had compounded.⁸² But this did not mean that they were generally considered unfit to remain members of the corporation. They continued on the first council, and in April 1644 were both added to the quorum of the city's commission of the peace.⁸³ A petition against Million's continued involvement in public affairs was delivered to the Indemnity Committee in late 1647 but the case was not proceeded with.⁸⁴ There was no purge in Coventry until July 1651 when Clark,

⁷⁹ *C.J.*, vol. 4: 314. Ironically enough the moderate Jesson, along with Bosvile was instructed to inform the city corporation.

⁸⁰ *Cov. C.R.O.* A79 P214, 29 April 1647: Jesson to the corporation reporting on his London discussions with Basnet and Purefoy. A further grievance of the moderates in Coventry was the committee's attempt to associate gentry like John Hales with the citizens in control of the Coventry militia.

⁸¹ *Cov. C.R.O.* A14 (b) f.79r. Except in 1651 and 1659, there does not seem to have been a significant military presence in Coventry after 1648.

⁸² SP20/1/pp. 545, 593; *C.C.C.*, 881. Clark was treated leniently because many 'well-affected' Londoners, to whom he owed money, would have suffered if he'd been heavily fined.

⁸³ A14 (b) f.38v. ⁸⁴ SP24/42 (*Coventry v. Million*); SP24/1 f.47v.

Million and Jesson were removed from all their posts by a reluctant corporation which emphasised that it was acting under orders of Parliament. Indeed, in March 1651 the corporation had been told by the Indemnity Committee to replace Clark after a complaint that he had not taken the engagement.⁸⁵ Joseph Chambers was removed from office in 1655 as alderman by Major General Whalley after complaints by some of the city constables that he was blocking their campaigns against swearing and alehouses. Significantly Chambers preferred to be dismissed by the House rather than reported to Cromwell although the Council Minute Book does not record any proceedings.⁸⁶ On the whole, though, the personnel of the corporation was little altered in the 1650s, or indeed at the Restoration, although the city's deserved reputation for Puritanism plus its defiance of Charles I in 1642 ensured some humiliations after 1660.⁸⁷ In 1660 Chambers made a fuss, complaining to Basnet of his treatment by Whalley at a time when 'there was a door open for every inconsiderable, ill-conditioned fellow to throw dust in the face of authority'; and petitioning the king for reinstatement, especially as 'others more disloyal are continued in'.⁸⁸ In February 1661 Chambers was finally restored but only five of the élite left public life in 1662. The radical Thomas Hobson, an 'anabaptist', did not serve as mayor in autumn 1661 and quietly dropped out of the corporation over the following year. Robert Beake and Thomas Basnet resigned in February 1662 while a third alderman, Robert Bedford, and a sheriff were disabled under the Corporation Act.⁸⁹ Corporate solidarity predominated at Coventry and for many, the most crucial public issues remained the tensions between corporation and freemen over the use of the corporation's common lands.⁹⁰ In the other corporate towns of Warwickshire there was also little change in ruling élites: Warwick apparently had no purges before 1662, and only three burgesses refused the corporation oath; at Stratford, Whalley was called upon to dismiss an alderman for his 'scandalous carriage' but the man was restored in 1659.⁹¹

⁸⁵ A14 (b) f.99v; SP24/8 f.46v.

⁸⁶ *Thurloe State Papers*, vol. 4: 273-4, 284. Robert Beake recorded Chambers' resignation on 5 December 1655: 'The Diary of Robert Beake' in Robert Bearman, ed., *Miscellany I* (Dugdale Society Publications, 31, 1977), 117.

⁸⁷ For evidence of religious and moral attitudes in Coventry in the 1650s see pp. 311-14 below; and for the Restoration see pp. 338-9.

⁸⁸ A79 P242a May 1660; SP29/13/98, August 1660.

⁸⁹ C.S.P.D. 1661-1662 (pp. 90-1). The third Earl of Northampton on Hobson; A14 (b) ff.143v, 144r.

⁹⁰ See H.M.C., vol. 6 (House of Lords MS), 56; *L.J.*, vol. 7: 339; P.R.O. E134 13 Charles II Easter 25 for signs of this tension.

⁹¹ Styles, *Corporation of Warwick*, 30; Thomas Hobson did complain to the Indemnity Committee in December 1650 that Alexander Dongan, a former official of the Subcommittee of Accounts, and a Warwick J.P., had not taken the engagement: SP24/54 (*Hobson v. Dongan*). S.B.T. BRV/C pp. 437, 443; /D p. 23.

Central authority thus had an obvious impact on the personnel of local government, an impact more marked in the county than in the towns of Warwickshire. Some historians have pointed to the 'interregnum' as a period of increasing 'centralisation' in England, a process which involved greater supervision of local government procedures, particularly by the major-generals, and greater interference with personnel.⁹² But the personnel of local government was always chosen centrally and there seems to be an assumption in some analyses that appointing governors of lower social status was *ipso facto* an 'erosion of the county community'.⁹³ If the county community is equated with the 'traditional' pre-war ruling élite then the argument is valid, if tautological, but it can as easily be maintained that while pre-Civil War central government chose local governors from a small, socially defined, minority, the post-1649 regimes simply selected from a different minority, defined through a varying combination of ideological commitment and social respectability. The system in the 1650s was more controversial because it offended accepted notions of social and political hierarchy, lacked the backing of the socially dominant, and operated in a period of greatly intensified political division. It cannot, however, be seen simply as a more 'centralised' system, although the military presence in the provinces in the 1650s clearly provided a limiting framework for local activities.⁹⁴ This study has argued for a close interrelationship between local and central affairs before 1640 and I would further suggest that such a symbiosis persisted after 1649 but in a socially shifted and politically contentious fashion. In the place of the lord lieutenants and Privy Councillors of the 1620s and 1630s who mediated between county gentry and kingdom, there were men like William Purefoy and Edward Whalley. As a dominating figure in the Rump and in the county's commission of the peace, William Purefoy could be seen as one of the revolution's 'intendants', but is better regarded as an extremely effective link with the centre of power for his political allies in the county.⁹⁵ Clearly, one of the tasks Whalley hoped to carry out as major-general in Warwickshire was an investigation of local government in the cause of 'reformation' but this was a briefer intervention than the Privy Council made with the Book of Orders in the 1630s and like the Privy Councillors before him any success Whalley had was dependent on the co-operation of local men, on the activities of the godly magistrates against the wicked.⁹⁶ The opposition aroused by the major-generals may

⁹² Everitt, *Community of Kent*, 286; Underdown, *Pride's Purge*, 298–9; Underdown, *Revel, Riot and Rebellion*, 267. ⁹³ Underdown, *Pride's Purge*, 314.

⁹⁴ See pp. 298–9 below for discussion of the military in Warwickshire in the 1650s.

⁹⁵ Underdown, *Pride's Purge*, 308–9 for 'intendants'; cf. Fletcher, *A County Community*, 299 where Herbert Morley's role, similar to Purefoy's, is described.

⁹⁶ *Thurloe State Papers* vol. 4: 273–4, Whalley's complaints to Thurloe, December 1655, that the wicked magistrates of Coventry, led by Joseph Chambers 'overpower' the godly. 'The Diary of

in any case have been exaggerated, but the resentment that undoubtedly existed amongst the leading gentry came not from the increasing centralisation they represented but because of social and political differences. Whereas the lord lieutenant before the war had provided a link between the central government and the dominant gentry, Whalley played a similar role, but for very different people. Whalley was a channel of communication for the 'godly' and an intermediary for the lesser gentry and 'middling sort' who sat on grand juries.⁹⁷ One must conclude that the whole idea of increasing centralisation in this decade is misconceived.

Turning to possible changes in the practices of county government, the most obvious contrast with the pre-war situation is the massive increase in the work done by (fewer) J.P.s.⁹⁸ There were two major causes for the rise in the number of orders passed at Quarter Sessions: the burdens of poor relief and problems over taxation. These categories usually accounted for over two-thirds of orders passed at sessions until 1652, and for between a half and two-thirds of the business during the rest of the decade.⁹⁹ Dr Beier has calculated that three times the business concerning poor relief done in Charles I's reign was undertaken by Interregnum J.P.s at Quarter Sessions, although it must be remembered that the number of orders of all kinds more than doubled.¹⁰⁰ The economic distress of the late 1640s was compounded by a poor relief system which had broken down in many areas during the war. From 1646 to 1648, twenty-six orders passed at sessions mentioned arrears of poor relief allowances longer than six months: at Priors Marston in 1647, poor relief was four years behind, while the 'out-towns' of Stratford-on-Avon had not contributed to the town's poor for six years by 1648. In 1649, however, there was only one order mentioning poor relief arrears of longstanding.¹⁰¹ The increased

Robert Beake', 116-17, 129-30 describes his co-operation with Whalley after initial tensions at Coventry over corporate independence.

⁹⁷ For a cogently argued attack on the view that the major-generals were part of a centralising process see Stephen Roberts, 'Local Government Reform in England and Wales during the Interregnum: A Survey' in Ivan Roots, ed, *Into Another Mould: Aspects of the Interregnum* (Exeter Studies in History, no. 3, Exeter, 1981), 24-41; Ivan Roots, 'Swordsmen and Decimators' in R.H. Parry, ed., *The English Civil War and After* (London, 1970), 78-92, is the most recent general account of the major-generals; *Thurloe State Papers*, vol. 4: 686: in April 1656 Whalley transmitted to Thurloe the presentments of grand juries in Leicestershire and Warwickshire against enclosures, abuses in market regulation, and 'false' weights and measures.

⁹⁸ See appendix 1, table 3.

⁹⁹ This (rough) calculation is based on orders passed at Epiphany and Easter sessions in alternate years.

¹⁰⁰ Beier, 'Poor Relief in Warwickshire', 80, 86-7; Julian Hill, 'A Study of Poverty and Poor Relief in Shropshire, 1550-1685' (M.A. thesis, University of Liverpool, 1973), 255-6, has added some qualifications to Beier's calculations.

¹⁰¹ *Q.S.O.B.*, vol. 2: 128-257; especially 176-7, 189. The Cranfield estate accounts record no regular poor relief payments to Stratford from 1642 until the winter of 1646/7: U269 /A425/1-3.

trouble over ratings was clearly a consequence of the dramatic rise in the tax burden, brought by the Civil War, coupled with changes in methods of assessment (to be discussed below). In 1646–8, for example, thirty-five orders dealt with refusals to pay levies; 1649 saw only one but there were six in 1650.¹⁰²

The J.P.s were increasingly exercised, also, by the reluctance of subordinate officials to take up new posts. Between 1625 and Trinity 1642 three constables but no other officials refused to serve. Between Michaelmas 1645 and Epiphany 1660, twelve constables, five high constables and five overseers of the poor refused. This problem seems to have continued after the Restoration: three constables and one overseer of the poor had declined their offices by Epiphany 1665.¹⁰³ Local officials were not necessarily politically disaffected themselves; it is clear that the heavier, and ideologically controversial burdens of the 1640s and 1650s made their job much more difficult. Seven Warwickshire indemnity cases concern local officials who had to ask for protection after being legally challenged by their neighbours for executing Parliament's commands. The Long Compton constable had used a mare belonging to Robert Joyner to deliver supplies to the forces besieging Banbury in 1646. The mare died and a very bitter case occupied the Indemnity Committee and commissioners for more than four years from 1650.¹⁰⁴ Humphrey Wood of Stratford refused to pay a levy of 5s 8d and then sued the bailiff and constables of the town in the Court of Common Pleas for distraining on him. The consequent indemnity case lasted from November 1652 until July 1654. Wood claimed he had 'always been in his affections for the Parliament' but the tenacity with which he pursued a legal process over a trivial sum of money might suggest otherwise.¹⁰⁵ The justices themselves recognised the problems of constables and overseers: 'the refusing to pay officers their levies makes men unwilling to take their oaths or to execute their offices'.¹⁰⁶ Besides the indirect contributions of Civil War burdens and political upheaval to the increased business at Quarter Sessions there was also the direct, although quantitatively limited, impact of legislative change: the abolition of church courts and the devolution of some of their responsibilities upon the justices.

There were procedural changes also after 1646. In quantitative terms there was some shift in the balance between sessions and out-of-sessions

¹⁰² Q.S.O.B., vol. 2: 128–270; Q.S.O.B., vol. 3: 1–42. ¹⁰³ Q.S.O.B., vols. 1–4: *passim*.

¹⁰⁴ SP24/79 (*Taylor v. Joyner*). The other indemnity cases concerning normal local government officials are: SP24/30 (*Aldridge v. Baldwin*); /41 (*Colemore v. Hall*); /51 (*Hanbury et al. v. Archer and Smith*); /71 (*Reynolds and Walderne v. Wilde*); /83 (*Watts v. Tompkins*), (*Walker v. Wood*). Four of the cases involved the requisitioning of horses; three, objections to taxation.

¹⁰⁵ SP24/83; SP24/16 ff.162r–163r.

¹⁰⁶ Q.S.O.B., vol. 3: 203.

work, but more importantly there seems to have been a qualitative change. Between Michaelmas 1637 and Trinity 1642, the Order Book records 112 references of matters to one or more J.P.s out of sessions; in the next fifteen years there were 689 such references, and from Easter 1660 to Epiphany 1665, 180.¹⁰⁷ Whereas before the Civil War, difficult disputes were often referred to J.P.s, after 1645 the most routine business was done out of sessions. The Order Books suggest that the binding over of accused persons to appear at sessions and taking the oaths of subordinate officials predominated. A scrappy notebook kept by the clerk to Waldive Willington and Samuel Eborall at various periods from 1647 until the mid 1650s confirms that these justices were very busy out of sessions: in July and August 1647 Willington took depositions more than once a week. Also confirmed is the routine nature of much of their business. Willington and Eborall took recognisances, examined witnesses in criminal cases, licensed alehouses, and performed civil marriages.¹⁰⁸ The Interregnum J.P.s were clearly willing and able to spend much time on local government but they lacked the individual status and authority of pre-war justices and thus preferred to rely more heavily on the corporate authority of the bench.¹⁰⁹ Perhaps also, Parliamentarianism led to a greater emphasis on collective, committee-like procedures.

In Cheshire, after 1645, 'committees of godly and responsible men in each parish' played an important part in local administration.¹¹⁰ There is little sign of such a development in Warwickshire although heavy taxation led to frequent parish meetings. In one way formal participation seems to have declined after the war. Before 1642 the Grand Jury was frequently consulted over administrative matters, such as the reforming of the House of Correction, while in 1645-6 it nominated high constables. Thereafter it is not mentioned in any consultative role in local administration until Trinity 1663 when its advice was sought over bridge repairs.¹¹¹ Informal participation in local government by men other than J.P.s increased, however. Before the war there was only one reference by Quarter Sessions to a non-J.P. to examine or settle a dispute. Between 1645 and Epiphany 1660 there were 124 such references.¹¹² Some of these were to men who in different political circumstances would probably have been J.P.s: Sir Francis Nethersole was entrusted with a bridge repair in his home parish in 1651 along with the J.P.s Waldive Willington and

¹⁰⁷ Q.S.O.B., vols. 2-4: *passim*; Q.S.O.B., vol. 4: xxviii. Of course, the increased work-load after 1645 must be remembered.

¹⁰⁸ Bodl. Libr. MS Top. Warws c11. Sixty-seven marriages were performed by Eborall between October 1654 and September 1655; they involved couples from all over north Warwickshire.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. Morrill, *Cheshire*, 234-7. ¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 239-41.

¹¹¹ DR 404/85, Fillongley constables' accounts. Q.S.O.B., vol. 1: 56, 72, 99; vol. 2: 126, 128-9; vol. 4: 248. ¹¹² Q.S.O.B., vols. 1-4, *passim*.

Thomas Willoughby; and John Lisle, the son of a pre-war J.P., was similarly involved in bridge repairs in 1652.¹¹³ More often the referees were the minor gentry or substantial yeomen of a parish; they were used particularly to examine disputes over ratings. Again this practice ended at the Restoration; only six delegations to non-J.P.s were made between 1660 and 1665, none of them after 1663. The Restoration also saw the definite return of petty sessions. These occurred regularly between 1645 and 1649 but are rarely mentioned in the Order Book after 1650, and are not clearly indicated by constables' accounts or by Eborall's and Willington's notebook. Annual special sessions for the licensing of alehouses were, however, held throughout the period.¹¹⁴

The lower social status of justices was one of the crucial influences on administrative procedure after 1645. The Order Books provide little evidence that the governed became less respectful of their governors on that account. There were four orders dealing with slander or abuse of justices between 1625 and 1642, and the same number between 1645 and 1660.¹¹⁵ More significantly, there are hints that a bench of magistrates who were not, in the main, from the pre-war county élite, dealt fairly rigorously with uncooperative members of that élite. In Epiphany 1653, Henry Beaufoy of Edmondscote esq., the son of a pre-war J.P., was indicted for swearing ten oaths while in the previous year Sir Thomas Leigh and his steward had been ordered in no uncertain terms to pay local levies by the pound rent, and to allow a habitation to a poor inhabitant of Stoneleigh.¹¹⁶ Before the war Sir Thomas had been a J.P. himself; in the 1650s he received peremptory orders. The Earl of Middlesex's steward, discussing a poor relief dispute with his master, lamented his lack of access to local power.¹¹⁷

The justices' attitudes to taxation and poor relief also suggest that important and neglected aspects of local government after the Civil War were suspicion of privilege and a concern for equity not present before 1642. Dr Beier's investigation of poor relief in Warwickshire did not substantiate the historical stereotypes of Puritan rule. He found little

¹¹³ *Q.S.O.B.*, vol. 3: 67, 100, 130. In Cheshire also, matters that would have been considered by a monthly meeting before 1642 were sometimes referred to royalist former justices: Morrill, *Cheshire*, 261.

¹¹⁴ Regular meetings had clearly returned by 1661: *Q.S.O.B.*, vol. 4: 156. For some of the meetings before 1650: *Q.S.O.B.*, vol. 2: 159, 163, 182. Only two meetings are mentioned between 1650 and 1660: *Q.S.O.B.*, vol. 3: 121, 223: Trinity 1652 and Easter 1654. MS Top. Warws C11, especially ff.18–23. For alehouses see further below.

¹¹⁵ *Q.S.O.B.*, vol. 1: 103, 234; vol. 2: 21–2, 112; vol. 3: 91, 281; vol. 4: 50, 95.

¹¹⁶ *Quarter Sessions Indictment Book*, 123; *Q.S.O.B.*, vol. 2: 90–1.

¹¹⁷ Kent C.A.D. U269, C249. The dispute concerned Milcote's contribution to the poor of Stratford-on-Avon, and was decided against Middlesex: *Q.S.O.B.*, vol. 3: 6.

evidence of a harsher approach to the poor, of an increasing concern to set the poor on work, or of what is now known as a 'culture of discipline'.¹¹⁸ What was evident was a religious zeal and a personal concern for the poor, absent from the more prosaic pronouncements of the 1620s and 1630s.¹¹⁹ At Easter 1652 for example, the justices ordered a collection for a Bedworth butcher whose property had been destroyed by fire, commending it as 'so charitable a work not knowing whom it shall please Almighty God to cast next into the conditions of want and necessity'. Here a lively Puritan faith is revealed not simply in social activism but also in a vivid sympathy for human predicaments.¹²⁰ The rationale for such collections was presented differently after 1660: in Easter 1663 a collection for a minister was ordered: 'not looking upon this as a common but extraordinary occasion, considering how sad it is for a person of worth to fall into such want as from a former free giver to become a present forced petitioner'.¹²¹

In their role as arbiters of taxation disputes the J.P.s revealed similar attitudes. Encouraged no doubt by national policies they promoted a true economic rating of estates for all local levies. Between Epiphany 1646 and Epiphany 1660 the J.P.s passed seventy-four orders laying down the rating procedures for individual parishes: sixty-nine declared that the assessment should be based on the pound rent or true yearly value of lands; only five decisions were for yardland or traditional assessments, which usually favoured larger land holders.¹²² Occasionally a pound-rent valuation was said to be more efficient, but the usual justification was that it was 'the more equal way of assessing' while the old customs were 'contrary to right'.¹²³ The inhabitants of Warmington were, declared the justices, 'oppressed by inequality of levies . . . this oppression riseth from the power and pretences of those who will have their lands valued by the reputation of yardlands',¹²⁴ while the uncooperative vicar was said to be

¹¹⁸ Beier, 'Poor Relief in Warwickshire'; cf. William Hunt, *The Puritan Moment: The Coming of Revolution in an English County* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1983), especially 70–85; Paul Slack, 'Poverty and Politics in Salisbury, 1597–1666' in Clark and Slack, eds., *Crisis and Order* also suggests that Puritan zeal involved greater generosity to the poor and more ambitious poor relief schemes as well as a concern for 'social control'.

¹¹⁹ Beier 'Poor Relief in Warwickshire', 98–9 and Morrill and Walter, 'Order and Disorder', 156–7, make similar points.

¹²⁰ *Q.S.O.B.*, vol. 3: 116. See *Q.S.O.B.*, vol. 4: 31–2, 62–3 for similar examples.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 237–8.

¹²² *Q.S.O.B.*, vol. 2: 128–270; vol. 3: *passim*; vol. 4: 1–116. Fifty-eight of these ratings orders were passed between 1646 and 1653. See the discussion in *Q.S.O.B.*, vol. 4: xxix; and G.E. Aylmer's comment in *The State's Servants: The Civil Service of the English Republic, 1649–1660* (London, 1973), that the state's fiscal system was 'certainly more equitable as well as more onerous than anything England had previously known' (283).

¹²³ *Q.S.O.B.*, vol. 2: 214 (Temple Grafton); vol. 3: 3 (Bagginton); vol. 2: 252 (Maxstoke).

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 162–3.

of a 'refractory and perverse condition'. Clearly, local governors of the Interregnum did not seek to challenge the social order, but to see the local regimes of the 1650s straightforwardly as governments of the rich is to miss important if subtle contrasts with the 1660s.¹²⁵ The lower social status and the religious zeal of local governors after 1645, along with the fact that they had come to prominence as a result of the struggle of broad social groups against the king meant they were more aware of the problems of middling and poorer elements in society and were not solely concerned with social hierarchy and social control. Here, what Stephen Roberts has called 'the self-consciously antiquarian' practices of Restoration local government, the 'quite deliberate revivals of discredited or outmoded procedures' reflect a closing of ranks and a hardening of attitudes.¹²⁶ The process is well illustrated in Warwickshire by the reversal of taxation policies. Of eighteen ratings orders passed between Easter 1660 and Michaelmas 1664, thirteen were in favour of yardland assessments.¹²⁷ The enthusiasm for 'tradition' was revealed at length in a Fenny Compton order at the Michaelmas Sessions in 1662; after the parish's leading gentleman George Willis had complained of over-rating under the new system: 'their levies there have been all made by the yardland until the time of the said late troubles, which appeared by testimony of witnesses upon oath who spake knowingly for fifty years last past, and the same appeared also in an ancient book belonging to the said town'.¹²⁸ The justices, predictably, 'declared their sense of maintaining the ancient custom'.

Christina Lerner has pointed out¹²⁹ that it is 'characteristic of new regimes in their search for legitimacy that they demanded a high level of social control and of conformity in behaviour as well as belief'. The obvious problems of legitimation faced by the novel regimes of the 1650s and the intensified desire for godly reformation both contributed to a greater general reforming energy in local government and to more involvement by J.P.s in matters of personal conduct.¹³⁰ Most initiatives though were in line with earlier trends rather than completely new departures, for attempts to regulate sexual morality, to limit alehouses and drunkenness, and to reform local festivities had been promoted by important currents in the English political nation for a century before

¹²⁵ Cf. Underdown, *Somerset*, especially chapter 10.

¹²⁶ I owe these points to Stephen Roberts' article, 'Public or Private?: Revenge and Recovery at the Restoration of Charles II', *B.I.H.R.* vol. 61 (1986). ¹²⁷ *Q.S.O.B.*, vol. 4: 117-306.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 206: for earlier references to ratings disputes in Fenny Compton see *ibid.*, 83-4; *Q.S.O.B.*, vol. 2: 195.

¹²⁹ Christina Lerner, *Enemies of God* (Oxford, 1983), 195.

¹³⁰ Fletcher, *A County Community in Peace and War*, 114; Stephen Roberts, 'Fornication and Bastardy in Mid-Seventeenth Century Devon' in John Rule, ed., *Outside the Law* (Exeter Papers in Economic History, Exeter, 1982).

1650. Evangelical Protestant reform and an increasingly ambitious government were not novelties although the reforming aspirations of the 1650s were more generally endorsed by national and local governors whereas earlier attempts were usually more contentious.¹³¹

The absence of crucial sources for Warwickshire, notably Quarter Sessions rolls, makes it difficult to form definite conclusions on the range and impact of godly reformation on county government. The diary kept by Robert Beake during his mayoral year at Coventry (and Whalley's period of activity in the area) provides an excellent picture of a Puritan activist at work in local government. Beake tried very hard to fulfil Whalley's exhortation to magistrates,¹³² 'that as they are called to be magistrates, so they should answer the end of their magistracy viz depress sin, and wickedness, and encourage godliness'. He attempted to stir up the constables in the city and in the surrounding country parishes to engage in general drives against alehouses, sabbath-breakers, and 'all idle rogues and vagrants'. Whalley ordered the closure of twenty-seven alehouses in February 1656 but the campaign against rogues fizzled out with the 'country' constables reporting that there were none. The diary mentions 140 individual offences or conflicts dealt with by Beake, 38 concerned alehouses or drunkenness, 25 sabbath-breaking. Beake's determined actions on both these issues illustrate all the problems and complexities of attempts at a 'reformation of manners'. The mayor's zeal was regarded as excessive even by men of undoubted Puritan and Parliamentary commitment. Beake was a fanatical seeker out of sabbath-breakers. On 2 and 9 March 1656 he sent troopers out into Warwickshire to apprehend those travelling on the Lord's Day; on 28 April, 'Being Lord's Day, I went to the park and observed who idly walked there.'¹³³ But in December 1655 Thomas Basnet secured the release of one sabbath traveller convicted by Beake, arguing that his journey was justified. Beake even considered prosecuting the servants of Lady Archer (Sir Simon's wife) who had travelled to Coventry on the sabbath to buy torches to bury her son, 'who died last night of the pox and could not be kept longer than this night'. It was only when a fellow

¹³¹ See, for example, Oliver Cromwell's opening speech to his second parliament in September 1656 where he praised the major-generals' campaigns against vice and profaneness: W.C. Abbott, ed., *The Writings and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell*, vol. 4 (Cambridge, Mass. 1947), 273-5. Cf. S.K. Roberts, 'Initiative and Control: The Devon Quarter Sessions grand jury 1649-1670', *B.I.H.R.*, vol. 57 (1984), 165-77, where the close co-operation of those within the governing circle in the mid 1650s is emphasised.

¹³² *Thurloe State Papers*, vol. 4: 273, Whalley to Thurloe 1 December 1655 describing his moves to put down unnecessary alehouses in Coventry.

¹³³ 'Diary of Robert Beake', 115, 118-19, 121-2, 129-30, 132, 134-5; November 1655-April 1656. The drive against alehouses was the most frequent. *Ibid.*, 130-1, 136.

magistrate and the Coventry ministers Obadiah Grew and Samuel Basnet, 'resolved I might let him pass' that the servant was allowed to proceed.¹³⁴ Beake's proceedings against alehouses reveal the problems of enforcement even in a well-ordered city. On 25 January, 'I went in the afternoon into all the unlicensed alehouses in Much Park Street Ward, Gosford Ward and Jordan Ward and found most of their barrels full notwithstanding their promises to give over. Bretford opposed me that he raised all the street but at length I prevailed and sent him to the House of Correction.' Bretford himself proved incorrigible: he was released from the House of Correction with the falling sickness in February and, as Beake proudly noted, he 'engaged never to sell ale more and professed that it did him good that he was put down for he was undone by it before'. But in May, Beake was again taking bail from Bretford, presumably for the usual offence.¹³⁵ Again Beake's colleagues were often more lenient, and his proceedings against alehouses are an excellent illustration of how the drive to improve a godly reformation could cause more trouble and disorder than a more easy-going policy.¹³⁶ For many committed Puritans alehouses were clearly a centre of immorality, disorder, waste, and the profanation of God, but Beake's campaign aroused direct action against him and increased the burden of poor relief. On 16 April, 'The churchwardens met this day about assessing the poor books. I ordered they should have respect to men that were put down for selling ale.'¹³⁷

Despite all his problems Beake's diary does reveal that an energetic local magistrate with the encouragement and backing of Major-General Whalley could make an impact on 'wickedness'. There are signs that Whalley reinvigorated county government also. Dr Beier calculated that the highest number of poor relief orders between 1630 and 1660 was passed at sessions in 1656 when Whalley was most active in the county.¹³⁸ At the Easter 1656 sessions the Elizabethan and Jacobean statutes against 'rogues, vagabonds and sturdy beggars' and those 'taken begging, wandering or misordering themselves' were ordered to be put into effectual execution along with provision for the impotent poor, and work or apprenticeships for the able-bodied. Funds were raised to reimburse constables' charges for whipping rogues back to their home parish. There

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, 117–18, 120. These differences led to a month of more lenient reactions by Beake: in January he was allowing travellers to visit the sick or go to sermons away from home: *ibid.*, 122–3, 126.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, 126, 128, 137. Bretford's wife was found selling ale while he was in the house of correction.

¹³⁶ For an example of Coventry magistrates outvoting Beake over the licensing of an alehouse: *ibid.*, 122. Cf. Keith Wrightson, 'Two concepts of Order: Justice, Constables and Jurymen in Seventeenth Century England', in John Brewer and John Styles, eds., *An Ungovernable People* (London, 1980), 21–46.

¹³⁷ Peter Clark, *The English Alehouse: A Social History, 1200–1830* (London, 1983), 167–8. 'The Diary of Robert Beake', 135. ¹³⁸ Beier, 'Poor Relief in Warwickshire', 97.

was nothing specifically Puritan or Parliamentary about such policies however. They echoed the Books of Order and were continued after 1660.¹³⁹

More distinctive perhaps, were systematic measures for the 'suppression of vice' in Warwickshire, which made the national press.¹⁴⁰ In January 1656 on instruction from Whalley the J.P.s sent warrants to all high constables to suppress a third of all inns and alehouses, 'with all such as stand remote and in by-places, to the end that the current of vice may be stayed, none being permitted hereafter within the country to keep entertainment, but such as shall have the repute of well affected inhabitants, to be of the soberest life and conversation, and fittest for quartering of soldiers and lodging of travellers'. In Birmingham and Aston alone, forty alehouses were to be suppressed.

A comprehensive analysis of the general approach of Warwickshire J.P.s towards alehouses is not possible because it is clear that most licensing and supervision was done out of sessions, usually at monthly meetings in the 1630s and at special hundred licensing sessions after 1646.¹⁴¹ The cases that occur in the Order and Indictment Books therefore are distinctive rather than routine and the evidence produced must be treated cautiously. As the report in *Mercurius Politicus* also suggests few, even amongst the 'godly', disapproved of alehouses completely and there is no evidence that total elimination was ever an aim of Warwickshire magistrates.¹⁴² There is consequently a great degree of continuity in attitudes before, and after, the Civil War. Alehouses were consistently seen as necessary on 'great roads' and as permissible where the premises were 'ancient' victualling houses and the licensee's character was vouched for by the local minister and the 'better sort' of inhabitants. Indeed after 1646 an efficient licensing system based on such criteria was established in Warwickshire some thirty years before it became common.¹⁴³ Both before and after the Civil War it was axiomatic for Warwickshire magistrates that where there were coal mines, there alehouses were necessary. Indeed it was frequently the staunch Puritan

¹³⁹ Q.S.O.B., vol. 3: 312-13, 340; vol. 4: 10, 70, 182-3. A further possible product of Whalley's 'quickening' of local administration might be the general order at the Easter 1657 sessions for the regulation of wages under the Elizabethan Statute, 'Upon Conference of the Justices of the Peace for this County and amongst themselves and upon consultation with divers discreet and grave persons of the said county': Q.S.O.B., vol. 4: 11. This is the only general order on wages between 1625 and 1665. ¹⁴⁰ *Mercurius Politicus*, 295 (31 January-7 February 1656).

¹⁴¹ See, for example, MS Top. Warws c11 ff.18-23; Q.S.O.B., vol. 2: 23 (1638); Q.S.O.B., vol. 2: 141, 144, 149, etc. (orders to license those overlooked at special sessions after 1645).

¹⁴² Clark, *The English Alehouse*, 168 for the general range of views.

¹⁴³ For pre-war examples: Q.S.O.B., vol. 1: 240; vol. 2: 23, 51, 89. For the system after 1646: MS Top. Warws c11 ff.18-23 where sureties of £5 plus certificates of fitness were required. Q.S.O.B., vol. 2: 131, 138, 169. Clark, *The English Alehouse*, 179-80 for the general picture.

William Purefoy, in other respects an archetypal reformer, who proposed the erection of an alehouse. In Epiphany 1640 Purefoy reported that a house in Nuneaton was 'very convenient for the uttering of victuals and beer to the colliers'. In Michaelmas 1654 the bench heard of the 'great necessity of a victualling house to be erected at Griffie in this county in respect of the coal-delphs there for entertainment of carters'.¹⁴⁴

Table 10 suggests that both before and after the Civil War steady campaigns against alehouses were rare. Rather Quarter Sessions saw bursts of activity often as a result of pressure on, or in, a particular part of the county. However, if there are no complete contrasts in approach after 1645 there were differences of degree. Quarter Sessions was more concerned to suppress alehouses in the 1640s and early 1650s than in the 1630s (except on very isolated occasions) and in the early 1660s. The immediate post-war regime and the justices under the Rump were more militant than those under the major-generals or in the late 1650s – at least according to this evidence. We cannot assess the out-of-sessions activity and the report in *Mercurius Politicus* does suggest that the visibility of alehouses in Quarter Sessions records may not always be a good guide to the general policies of magistrates. They probably do provide an indication of trends, however, except perhaps during the immediate post-war years when the system of out-of-sessions licensing was being established and during Whalley's attempts to crack down through high constables. It seems probable then that more alehouses were being shut in the 1640s and 1650s and, less tangibly, it seems that sharper criticisms of alehouses found expression in local government. They were 'the nurseries for the gaol, the seminary for the gallows and the suburbs of hell' preached William Durham in an assize sermon in July 1651. The minister, churchwardens, and many of the 'substantial' inhabitants of Brinklow petitioned against their seven alehouses at the Easter 1645 sessions: 'by means whereof the children, and servants of the said inhabitants are often drawn into many inconveniences and so neglect their callings to the great trouble and grief of their parents and masters and begetting of quarrels and other disorders amongst them'.¹⁴⁵ Tippling on the Lord's Day figured much more often as a reason for opposition than it had done in the 1630s. It is also significant that there was a sharp decline in the opposition to alehouses after 1660, except for isolated outbursts such as that against the

¹⁴⁴ Q.S.O.B., vol. 2: 57; vol. 3: 240 for the quoted cases. For others see: Q.S.O.B., vol. 2: 150, 155; vol. 3: 172–3. See J.T. Rutt, ed., *The Diary of Thomas Burton* (London, 1828), vol. 1: 237 for William Purefoy's entirely typical attendance at Parliament's thin sitting on 25 December 1656.

¹⁴⁵ William Durham, *Maran-Atha: The Second Advent or Christ's Coming to Judgement* (1652), 46; Q.S.O.B., vol. 2: 136.

Table 10 *Orders and indictments concerning alehouses 1625–65*

	Indictments				Orders	
	Unlicensed	Breaking assize	Sabbath breaking	Miscell- aneous	Licensed	Suppressed
Easter–Epiphany 1625–31					1	7
Easter–Epiphany 1631–6	42 ^a	36 ^b	4	10	3	8
Easter–Epiphany 1636–41 (Easter–Easter) (1641–2)	16	12	6	3	10	8
Mich.–Trinity 1645–50	51 ^c	0	10	14	16 ^d	19 ^e
Mich.–Trinity 1650–5	46 ^f	5	5	9	5	22
Mich.–Trinity 1655–60	17	6	1	2	7	9
Mich.–Trinity 1660–5	1	3	2	2	0	0

^a Includes 25 suppressed as unfit in Birmingham, Easter 1633.

^b Includes 31 suppressed at once, Easter 1631.

^c Includes 27 suppressed at once, mainly in Hemlingford and Knightlow Hundreds, Michaelmas 1647.

^d All licences are before Epiphany 1648 and concern premises overlooked at special sessions.

^e Includes 6 (out of 7) alehouses suppressed in Brinklow, Easter 1646, 4 in Lapworth, Epiphany 1650.

^f Includes 15 in Kinton Hundred, Trinity 1655.

Charlecote victualler who kept a disordered house 'to the high displeasure of Almighty God and the evil example of others'.¹⁴⁶

The visibility of the Rump justices in the campaigns against alehouses may not be just a reflection of the sources for they seem to have been the most energetic over other issues of concern to godly reformers. In April 1650 Waldive Willington attempted, unsuccessfully, to ban 'a riotous and tumultuous assembly' at Solihull on Easter Monday; it nevertheless proceeded, accompanied by much 'drunkenness and disorder'. This was presumably an attempt to ban a customary festival in an area not noted for godliness.¹⁴⁷ Such action as Warwickshire justices took against swearing and blaspheming was also concentrated in the years of the Rump. Two cases are found in Quarter Sessions records before the Civil War; just ten in the years 1650–9, five of these were prosecuted from Epiphany 1652 to Easter 1653; one a year only in 1655, 1656 and 1657 and a last at Easter 1659.¹⁴⁸

A final stereotype of Interregnum local government is worth examining: the view that it was a period of intensified moral, and sexual repression. Again the clichéd picture finds little support from Warwickshire evidence. Keith Thomas has pointed out that the Adultery Act of 1650 was not an anomaly but 'the culmination of more than a century's legislative pressure'; while Stephen Roberts' examination of the legislation in operation has shown that in Devon there was more recourse to older laws on bastardy and fornication than to the new act – adultery itself was rarely punished.¹⁴⁹ In the Warwickshire Indictment Book there is only one accusation of adultery, in Michaelmas 1653, and only six cases of 'carnal knowledge' from Easter 1654 to Trinity 1656. The next case is not until 1664. The accused in all cases are, predictably, women.¹⁵⁰ But if the 'double standard' operated in Warwickshire, as elsewhere, throughout the period an equally striking and surprising aspect, of cases concerning bastardy in particular in these years, was the greater humanity of the justices. On a couple of occasions they bitterly criticised villagers who had driven pregnant women from their midst: 'Diana Stanley, being a vagrant and being great with child, and ready to travail of a bastard child, was barbarously carried by the inhabitants of Lea Marston in a chair to a tree supposed to be the bounds of the two parishes of

¹⁴⁶ Q.S.O.B., vol. 4: 148–9; Clark, *The English Alehouse*, 179; opposition had revived by the late 1660s, however.

¹⁴⁷ Q.S.O.B., vol. 3: 2; for Solihull's religious character see further chapter 8 below.

¹⁴⁸ Q.S.O.B., vols. 2–4, *passim*; *Quarter Sessions Indictment Book* *passim*.

¹⁴⁹ Keith Thomas, 'The Puritans and Adultery: the Act of 1650 Reconsidered' in Pennington and Thomas, eds., *Puritans and Revolutionaries*, 281; Roberts, 'Fornication and Bastardy'.

¹⁵⁰ *Quarter Sessions Indictment Book*, 108, 111, 113, 119, 121, 243.

Curdworth and Lea Marston, thinking thereby to avoid the keeping of the child.¹⁵¹ The overseers of Lea Marston were ordered to 'forthwith provide for the said Diana and her child both houseroom and maintenance to preseve them from famine and starving this winter'. It is only after the Restoration that women attending unmarried pregnant women in labour are overtly encouraged to withhold any assistance until the woman named the father of the child.¹⁵² As with other aspects of local government, a lively godliness seems to have encouraged a sympathy for the poor and even for sinners which qualified the merely repressive implications of energetic, godly reformation.

All the indications are that in Warwickshire as in Cheshire, justices who were not from the old county élite successfully repaired the damage the Civil War had done to local administration and then proceeded to govern the county as efficiently as their predecessors had done, indeed more efficiently from some points of view. This study, like Morrill's for Cheshire, does not support Everitt's belief that the Interregnum proved it was necessary to employ the senior county gentry in county government.¹⁵³ Social and political change, not administrative failure, was behind the transformation in local government personnel after the Restoration.

There was little continuity between the 1650s and 1660s in either personnel or in the *distinctive* policies introduced by justices after 1646, such as rating methods, although there was more continuity in more conventional procedures. A more permanent consequence of the Civil War and its aftermath was probably the politicisation of local government. Before 1642 issues that were ultimately political or ideological were implicit in local government: the necessity for a justice of the peace to be of a certain social status, or for him to be a Protestant; the preference, in some quarters, for justices who were conscientious godly activists on social and moral issues, or doughty defenders of the 'country' on fiscal matters. The Civil War forced into prominence a more overt, if very crude, polarisation between the malignant and the well-affected, the wicked and the honest, godly 'party'. At the higher levels of local government, the letters of the major-generals abound with this kind of rhetoric. Whalley wrote of the division in corporations between 'wicked magistrates' and 'godly magistrates'; at Coventry he regarded Beake as 'one of the honest aldermen' with 'a very great interest with the godly'.

¹⁵¹ Q.S.O.B., vol. 3: 96, Epiphany 1652. Cf. *ibid.*, 153-4 where the people of Fillongly are sharply criticised for 'uncivilly and unmercifully' driving a woman in labour from their parish. They too were ordered to provide for the child. ¹⁵² See, e.g. Q.S.O.B., vol. 4: 153-4; 173.

¹⁵³ Morrill, *Cheshire*, 223 questions Everitt's judgement on this matter.

When he purged Chambers, the godly rejoiced while the 'worsor sort' were struck with 'fear and amazement'.¹⁵⁴ The polarisation reached far down in county society and county government however. Humble constables were confronted with the dilemma of whether to take the Engagement. The overseers of Studley had to be sternly ordered to relieve one John Dewes: 'who having served the Parliament and being grown into poverty and weakness through infirmities and lameness, which hath disabled him to get his living, and for that some of the overseers of the poor instead of showing compassion to him and relieving him, abraid him with his service, telling him that he had made a foolish voyage and now should suffer for it'.¹⁵⁵ A Priors Hardwick hayward was discharged as 'a dangerous fellow, and one that hath been in arms against the Parliament and a means of much loss to some of his neighbours'. A 'more fit and honest' replacement was to be found.¹⁵⁶ Political divisions remained very visible after 1660 in cases concerning soldiers' pensions, in cases of seditious language or religious disaffection, but also in more mundane matters as when a Baddesley Clinton labourer claimed he was over-rated in levies because he had been a royalist soldier.¹⁵⁷ The validity of such a claim is less important than its obvious plausibility; the next chapter will consider more directly the political and religious developments which made such village divisions probable.

¹⁵⁴ *Thurloe State Papers*, vol. 4: 272-3, 284.

¹⁵⁵ W.C.R.O. DR.404/85, Fillongley Constables' accounts, 1650, for the Engagement; Q.S.O.B., vol. 3: 94 (Epiphany, 1652). ¹⁵⁶ *Ibid*, 313. (Easter 1656).

¹⁵⁷ E.g. Q.S.O.B., vol. 4: 192, 225, 305; 215 (for the Baddesley Clinton case).

Politics and religion 1649–1662

A study of the political developments of the 1650s raises problems similar to those met with in the 1630s. For both decades the denouement of the story has threatened to distort the earlier narrative: in the light of the Restoration it is easy to overestimate the provincial hostility to the political experiments of the 1650s. For both decades, too, the sources are limited and elusive; for the 1650s a complete analysis is not possible and a detailed narrative would be banal. Insights into the political atmosphere have to be gleaned from particular episodes or from the careers of the politically active. The changing views of three broad groups can be most easily discerned. In the first place, there were a range of men prepared to participate in the administrative and political structures of 1650s regimes; these included enthusiasts of varying opinions but also more moderate or passively acquiescent figures. A much smaller group, in Warwickshire at least, involved the most zealous or 'extreme' Parliamentarians who sought further political and religious reform. Finally there are those, whether ex-royalists or ex-moderate Parliamentarians who were sullenly hostile or opposed to a non-monarchist England. In the main it is the views of social and political élites that are most easily discerned. In this period, however, political élites include the socially obscure military and official figures who had risen during the war while members of the pre-war élite had to make a painful adjustment to new political realities. There is also evidence, indicated in the last chapter, that sharpened political tensions and divisions affected and involved a broad range of provincial society.¹

The individual opinions of those active in national politics as well as locally, are most accessible. The two M.P.s for Coventry in all the Protectorate Parliaments (1654, 1656–8, 1659), the veteran William Purefoy and the newcomer Robert Beake, were the most prominent

¹ For interesting suggestions about political élites, and about problems with sources for the 1650s see G.E. Aylmer, 'Crisis and Regrouping in the Political Elites: England from the 1630s to the 1660s' in J.G.A. Pocock, ed., *Three British Revolutions* (Princeton, 1980), especially 148–54.

Warwickshiremen on the national stage. As one of the most active members of the Rump Purefoy retained an affection for a commonwealth and for commonwealthsmen, but unlike them he was no doctrinaire republican. He remained active in local government throughout the Protectorate and took the recognition oath required of members of Oliver's first Parliament. He protested against the Council of State's exclusion of several M.P.s from the 1656 Parliament and had no enthusiasm for the offer of the crown to Cromwell although he sat on several heavyweight committees concerned with the drafting of the Petition and Advice. In 1658 he was one of the few senior members of the Commons prepared to take Sir Arthur Haselrig's oath when the republican returned to the Commons despite the Protector's mischievous nomination of him to the new Upper House. The restrictive religious clauses of the Petition and Advice were to his taste: in 1654 he had been prominent in attempts to enumerate 'damnable heresies' and so to limit the freedom of conscience established by the Instrument of Government; and he was usually to be found on committees planning restrictive religious and moral reform – over alehouses, vagrancy and the sabbath.² By now nearing eighty, Purefoy was clearly in failing health in Richard Cromwell's Parliament but as a respected senior politician he was still named to important committees. But the army's restoration of the Rump seems to have rejuvenated him: he was again active on crucial committees and performed a last service to the parliamentary cause which was to supervise Coventry's security during Booth's rising in August 1659. That same month he made his will.³

Although a member of an Independent congregation in Coventry, Robert Beake seems to have differed little in his religious views from the Presbyterian Purefoy. In a speech described by the Parliament's diarist a 'dark', Beake called for grisly punishments on the Quaker James Naylor and was a regular intermediary between the Parliament of 1656–8 and prominent Presbyterian preachers. His political differences with Purefoy are indicated by his view that it was the Rump that was most to blame for browbeating the 'godly ministry' and that 'all errors, opinions,

² Worden, *The Rump*, 388, 390; *C.J.*, vol. 7: 371, 399 (1654); 426, 430, 493, 502, 511, 538, 540, 559 (1656/7). In May 1657 Purefoy acted with Whalley as a teller in an unsuccessful move to adjourn the House during the kingship debates: *ibid.*, 529. *Burton's Diary*, vol. 2: 347 for Haselrig. See also *Burton's Diary*, vol. 1: 237 for Purefoy's attendance on 'Christmas Day' 1656 when he could combine hostility to superstition with discussion of another favourite topic – harassing ex-royalists through the decimation.

³ *C.J.*, vol. 7: 594, 611: Purefoy was one of several elderly M.P.s who had to be excused at the end of a long day's debate on the other House. *ibid.*, 648, 672, 691, 726 for the Rump; *Calendar of the Clarendon State Papers*, vol. 4: F.J. Routledge, ed. (Oxford, 1932), 319–21; Prob 11/304 f.77.

and blasphemies got root in that time'.⁴ By preference Beake seems to have been a conservative Cromwellian. He supported Whalley's regime in the Midlands after some conscientious hesitation, presumably based on moderate objections: Beake, now, wrote Whalley, 'acts very cheerfully; I find, having some intimacy with him, that he hath exceedingly changed his judgement and is zealous for the present government, which, as he protests to me, is upon a full conviction, upon reading and studying it. There is none here, I am confident, will be more faithful to his highness, none I am sure so able to serve him in these parts, having a great interest with the godly.'⁵ On his parliamentary debut in 1654 Beake was active on committees including the prestigious Committee of Privileges but he really came into his own as a promoter of kingship, and especially of the other House, against the tenacious sniping of the old Rump republicans, the most experienced politicians in the House in 1658–9.⁶ His activities and his speeches, 'dark' indeed often, usually tactless and sometimes embarrassing, reveal also a capacity for sophisticated political and historical analysis on the part of a man whose political role was made possible only by the Civil War. Beake's career is an indication of the talent wasted by systems more socially closed. His views of politics were straightforward: Beake was sceptical of arguments derived from providence, force or 'nature' but a supporter of 'tradition':

As we have been tossed about, the rule to bring us to stability is to have recourse to the ancient constitution . . . they that say set not up a king, a House of Lords, for God hath poured contempt upon them; let me retort upon them, God hath also poured contempt upon a Commonwealth. Was there so much as one drop of blood shed when it went out. Nay I am confident, it did extinguish with the least noise that ever Commonwealth did.⁷

By Richard Cromwell's Parliament he was arguing for the return of the old House of Lords, not simply for the 'Other House' of the Petition and Advice. The Commons need have no fear of the Lords 'overtopping' them

⁴ B.D. Henning, ed., *The House of Commons 1660–1690* (History of Parliament Trust, 3 vols., London, 1983), vol. 1: 611 for Beake's religion. *C.J.*, vol. 7: 425, 579, 588 contacts with Jenkins, September 1656, and Calamy, January 1658; *Burton's Diary*, vol. 1: 58–9, 90, for Beake on Naylor; *ibid.*, vol. 3: 113–4 for his comments on the Rump, and his praise for the moderate Presbyterian, Edward Reynolds, who was to accept a bishopric in 1660 as 'that worthy patriarch', February 1659. ⁵ *Thurloe State Papers*, vol. 4: 272, December 1655.

⁶ *C.J.*, vol. 7: 366, 374, 399, 415 (committees in 1654); 424, 430, 489, 505, 514, 515, 520, 521, 576–7 (committees in 1656–7, especially those promoting Kingship and the Petition and Advice). *Cov. C.R.O.* A79, P302, Beake to Leonard Piddock, March 1657, (wrongly catalogued as 1687) also indicates support for kingship.

⁷ *Burton's Diary*, vol. 2: 414–17, 2 February 1658. A speech equally hostile to the Rump was delivered a year later in Richard Cromwell's Parliament when Beake attacked the Engagement and claimed the Rump's rule was 'not such halcyon days, but they brought tears from eyes of the best men': *ibid.*, vol. 3: 113–14, 7 February 1659.

‘for by experience we found the numerous nobility of King James was the destruction of his son’. Rather, the Lords was necessary as a beam between the two scales of the constitution – the single person and the Commons:

Both scales are subject to factions and tyranny and extravagances. The beam is prudential. The power, for seven hundred years transmitted to them, they have as much right to it as the gentleman has to his cloak. Usage is a good right, if ancient. If nothing be right but what is natural, he has not right to his victuals, his meat and drink . . . It is so twisted with the constitution that five hundred for one upon the poll would be for a House of Lords. I never knew any Christian against the constitution, only against persons.

The Lords were essential for scrutiny of the laws and for their judicial powers: ‘We have been tumbling ever since they were taken away. We have sworn by the Covenant to maintain the two Houses; and the Parliament might as well take away *meum* and *tuum*, as a House of Lords.’⁸ In early 1659 Beake was equally uncompromising in his support for the Protector: on 11 February he moved that Richard Cromwell was ‘undoubted’ Protector; in the last hours of the Parliament’s sitting he moved that the militia ‘be declared to be in three estates, and that his Highness take care of it’. Both proposals led to predictably hysterical reactions from republicans like Scot, Haselrig and Vane.⁹ Beake’s adherence to the Protectorate led to a post as an Admiralty Commissioner in 1656 but neither the fall of the Cromwells nor his own moderation led to defection from his bedrock Parliamentarianism: the suspicions of his loyalty to the restored Rump in August 1659 do not seem strongly founded.¹⁰

Richard Lucy of Charlecote also found lucrative office in the central government, particularly as a probate judge from 1653 to 1659, and was also a regular and fairly active M.P. sitting for Warwickshire in ‘Barebones’ Parliament and in the 1654, 1656 and 1659 Protectorate assemblies. He did little in the nominated assembly and was regarded as a moderate, defender of ‘the godly learned Ministry and Universities’. Like Beake, his preference seems to have been for Cromwell’s moves towards reconciliation with the traditional order. In 1654 he pushed for leniency for a belated Warwickshire compounder, George Raleigh; in the 1656 Parliament he opposed the pre-emptive purge by the Council of State and supported the offer of the crown to Cromwell.¹¹

⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. 3: 362–3, 19 February 1659. ⁹ *Ibid.*, vol. 3: 218–31; vol. 4: 472.

¹⁰ *C.S.P.D.* 1656–7, 98; *C.S.P.D.* 1659–60, 71.

¹¹ Aylmer, *State’s Servants*, 238–9; Austin Woolrych, *From Commonwealth to Protectorate* (Oxford, 1982), 403, 422–3; SP18/72/42; Tanner MS 52 f.156; *A Collection of Scarce and Valuable Tracts* (Somers Tracts), edited Walter Scott (2nd edn., London, 1811) vol. 6: 349 for his support for kingship. *C.J.*, vol. 7: 374, 388 (1654); 442, 493, 519, 538, 591 (1656–8); 609, 642 (1659) for Lucy’s activities in the Protectorate Parliaments.

The precise 1650s stances of stalwarts of the Civil War regime in Warwickshire who did not make an impact on national politics are impossible to define. Of the committeemen and leading officers only William Colemore seems to have found all post-1649 experiments politically unacceptable. Others may have had their preferences but were sufficiently committed to preserving the victory of the 1640s to serve all non-monarchical regimes. Prominent examples are the ex-majors Waldive Willington and Matthew Bridges, active throughout the 1650s in local government; Thomas Basnet who served as a Coventry J.P., an assessment and militia commissioner in Warwickshire and Coventry, and as a farmer of the excise in the county; and Joseph Hawkesworth, Governor of Warwick, M.P. for the county in 1656 and 1659, and an active local governor.¹²

Amongst leading Warwickshire Parliamentarians only one seems to have actively opposed the Protectorate from a republican standpoint. Sir Peter Wentworth retired to Warwickshire, 'to secure himself in some dark corner' after Cromwell had expelled the Rump, and singled out Wentworth for moral disapproval. For the first time, Wentworth exerted himself locally, obstructing the payment of assessments after the dissolution of Cromwell's first Parliament. Wentworth refused to pay taxation, disingenuously holding that the levy was contrary to the Instrument of Government; he managed to persuade the sheriff of Coventry to arrest Thomas Basnet, the assessment commissioner, and the high collector for Knightlow Hundred which 'doth at present and I fear will hereafter much obstruct the coming in of monies'.¹³

Basnet went on to complain that the active commissioners in 1654–5 were 'small in number compared with the whole list'.¹⁴ In fact, for uncommitted or moderate men as for undoubted Parliamentarians like Lucy or Beake, it was the Protectorate especially in its more conservative guise, that was the most acceptable regime of the 1650s. During the elections of 1654 several moderate senior gentry showed themselves willing to participate in the political process, albeit in a negative way. George Browne, Clement Throckmorton, William Colemore, Stephen Hales and John Rous were amongst those who petitioned against the

¹² For William Colemore see chapter 5 above; other absentees, such as John Hales or Gamaliel Purefoy were probably suffering from old age or ill health; for local government see appendix 1; for Basnet as assessment commissioner and excise commissioner: SP18/100/44; SP25/78, 328–9. Hawkesworth sat on a few committees in the first session of the 1656–8 Parliament but is not mentioned in the *Journal* for 1659: C.J., vol. 7: 430, 493, 501–2, 505, 563. Somers Tracts, vol. 6: 349 does not list Hawkesworth as a supporter of kingship.

¹³ Worden, *The Rump*, 336, 340. Wentworth and Marten prompted Cromwell's attack on whoremasters and drunkards. SP18/100/44; SP25/76, pp. 248, 252, August 1655. Wentworth gave up his suit against the officials. ¹⁴ SP18/100/44, August 1655.

election of Richard Temple to a county seat. Temple, whose local base was mainly in Buckinghamshire, and who was to become an extremely prominent Restoration politician may have been seen as an intruder by the Warwickshire men, but their overt objection was that Temple was still a minor.¹⁵ No other evidence survives concerning this election but it seems that politically moderate members of the social élite were not yet willing to enter a Cromwellian Parliament themselves or able to recover local dominance from the political heirs of the militant county committee. Besides Lucy and Temple the other county M.P.s were the ex-committeeman Thomas Willoughby of Sutton Coldfield and a lawyer and outsider, Edmund Temple who replaced William Purefoy when the latter decided he would rather sit for Coventry.¹⁶ None of these M.P.s were active. In 1656 however, after the experiment with the major-generals, the position was very different. Clement Throckmorton sat for Warwick Borough while Edward Peyto and Sir Roger Burgoyne joined Lucy and Hawkesworth as county members.¹⁷ Throckmorton had been excluded from the commission of the peace after 1649 while neither Peyto nor Burgoyne were consistently active in local government in the 1650s, yet all now felt that intervention in national politics was worthwhile. Peyto and Throckmorton were both listed amongst the M.P.s whose sitting was prevented by the Council of State,¹⁸ yet the *Journal* indicates that Throckmorton was named to a few committees from October 1656 while Peyto was occasionally active from November.¹⁹ Peyto was extremely suspicious of the regime, trying unsuccessfully to insert a clause in the assessment bill for the Spanish war that no money was to be levied without the consent of Parliament.²⁰ Throckmorton, though, became increasingly willing to participate as the session went on. He was a teller in votes against Naylor and very active on committees concerned with the Petition and Advice. Predictably he supported the offer of the crown.²¹ Inexperience or over-enthusiasm for general issues led Throckmorton and Peyto into apparent neglect of local advantage in this Parliament. In a vote on whether Warwick or Coventry should be the place where Warwickshire's wills be proved, Beake and Purefoy mustered seventy-

¹⁵ SP18/74/71.

¹⁶ *A Perfect List of Members Returned . . . September 1654* (B.L. 669 f.19(8)). Under the Instrument of Government Warwickshire had four M.P.s, Coventry two and Warwick Borough one. Warwickshire was unusual in 1654: in Sussex 'the gentry turned to their natural leaders': Fletcher, *A County Community in Peace and War*, 301. ¹⁷ Somers Tracts, vol. 6: 344.

¹⁸ Tanner MS 52 f.156.

¹⁹ *C.J.*, vol. 7: 434, 457, 489. Peyto who died in 1658 unsurprisingly does not appear in the second session of this Parliament. Burgoyne was rarely active: *C.J.*, vol. 7: 429, 588 for his nominations to committees in September 1656 and January 1658. ²⁰ *Ibid.*, 489, 10 February 1657.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 469, 475, 502, 511, 514, 521, 524, 540. Somers Tracts, vol. 6: 349. He is not mentioned in the *Journal* during the second session.

four votes for Coventry while Richard Lucy and his fellow teller, John Claypole, Cromwell's son-in-law, managed only seventy-three for the county town.²² The predominance of Coventry over Warwick in the 1640s and 1650s was not to be forgotten in 1660. While some moderates found it increasingly possible to use national political institutions, another moderate stance was represented by Sir Simon Archer who returned to the commission of peace in 1650 and, eschewing politics, concentrated on the maintenance of local government. Well into his seventies, Archer continued to be one of the most active J.P.s. The Earl of Denbigh, also, left national politics in the early 1650s but accepted local office throughout the decade.

The regimes of the 1650s were certainly not popular in the provinces but until the summer of 1659 it seems that a fairly broad range of men were willing to accept and work for them in Warwickshire. Apart from the biographical sketches above, a more general indication of this is found in nominations to committees. Predictably, Purefoy, Lucy, Hawkesworth, Basnet, Willington, Matthew Bridges and John St Nicholas (Lucy's fellow member in the 'Barebones' Parliament) were on all the Rump's assessment committees while more obscure ex-military figures like Beake and John Halford were added in 1651-2. But from the beginning of the Republic several moderate names were also included: Denbigh, Archer and his son Thomas, Peyto, Anthony Stoughton and William Combe are the most notable examples. The first assessment committee of the Protectorate, in June 1654, simply confirmed the existing members in their places.²³ There are obvious reasons why the collection of the heavy taxation of the 1650s should have been entrusted to a broad grouping and it is interesting that a more positive initiative of the 1650s, the reformation of the ministry through the Committee for Scandalous Ministers ('the ejectors') of August 1654 involved a slimmer selection. Here were represented the respectable 'godly' of Warwickshire: Purefoy, Basnet, Beake and Hawkesworth along with several less well-known figures.²⁴ After the narrower regime of the year of the major-generals, the assessment committee of December 1657 was the broadest and most forgiving of the decade: to the moderates appointed earlier were added the third Viscount Conway and the semi-non resident Sir Thomas Trevor who brought much needed social distinction. The pasts of Thomas Boughton, Sir Roger Burgoyne and Sir Peter Wentworth were all

²² *Ibid.*, 463, 2 December 1656. Peyto was absent at a call of the House in late December, *ibid.*, 477.

²³ *A. and O.*, vol. 2: 45, 120, 311, 480, 677, 904-5 (April 1649-June 1654); *C.J.*, vol. 7: 54 for additions in December 1651; Woolrych *Commonwealth to Protectorate*, 426-7 for St Nicholas and Barebones. St Nicholas was, like Lucy, a moderate member of the Assembly, and was only slightly more active than his colleague. ²⁴ *A. and O.*, vol. 2: 975.

forgotten while more radical figures, notably Major Richard Creed, were also added to the usual stalwarts.²⁵ Very few sources survive for the work of the committees, apart from the evidence left by the flurry of activity during the Scots' invasion in 1651 and a few notes of his own role in Beake's diary.²⁶ No systematic analysis of active committeemen is thus possible but isolated references show men of a variety of opinions active in local government. An assessment dispute in Coventry was referred by the council in May 1655 to a group including staunch Parliamentarians like Beake, St Nicholas and William Thornton, former accounts committee moderates like Richard Hopkins and Timothy Gibbard, and Arthur and Richard Caley, newcomers to Coventry whose pasts were neutral or even royalist. In March 1658 the moderates Sir Simon Archer, Hopkins and William Le Hunt worked with a variety of more 'political' J.P.s, Temple, Willington, Eborall and Hawkesworth, on the repairs of Edgbaston church.²⁷

It would be misleading, however, to see Warwickshire in the 1650s as completely tranquil. While many did participate in government others held aloof or even worked for political change. In the early 1650s, significant garrisons of regular troops were kept in the county augmented by a local militia of 500 in the crisis of summer 1651. As the Scots approached the Midlands local royalists such as William Dugdale and Sir Clement and Francis Fisher were examined and confined to their houses with heavy penalties if they jumped bail.²⁸ In the autumn garrisons of 80 men plus officers at Warwick Castle and 200 plus officers at Coventry and Kenilworth were continued. But by early 1653 a token force of 30 men at Warwick Castle was all that remained suggesting that the county's loyalty was regarded as fairly secure.²⁹ Warwickshire was not under military occupation in the 1650s, then, and threats from irreconcilable opponents of the successive regimes were limited. There was some occasional alarm about radical or republican opponents of the Parlia-

²⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. 2: 1083.

²⁶ 'Beake's Diary', 114-31, mentions six meetings of the Committee for Scandalous Ministers between November 1655 and January 1656 and fortnightly meetings of the committee dealing with the militia, the decimation and the 'public safety' between November and March.

²⁷ SP25/76A p.73; SP18/181/4. For Caley and Le Hunt see below.

²⁸ C.S.P.D. 1649-50, 304 (September 1649); SP25/65 pp. 142-8 (March 1651) for troops in the early years of the Republic. C.S.P.D. 1651, 229-30; 317-18, 340, 345; *Dugdale* (Hamper), 97 for troops in 1651. Lambert's regiment was in the county in September: S.B.T. BRV2/C p. 344.

²⁹ C.J., vol. 7: 18 (September 1651). C.S.P.D. 1652-3, 95 (January 1653). The same force was there in July 1655: SP18/99/43. Forces from neighbouring areas could be called upon if necessary as when Major Boteler in Northamptonshire was warned to watch a meeting of 10,000 Warwickshire people on his border: SP25/75 p. 4 (September 1653). SP28/65-118, lists monies paid to Coventry and Warwick, and then Warwick alone from 1650 to 1659. By August 1659 the Warwick troops' pay was almost six months in arrears.

ment, whose strength derived from military and radical religious circles. In August 1649 Thomas Dafthorne was arrested at Warwick Castle for spreading ‘leveller’ ideas amongst the soldiers; the marshal was said to be a sympathiser but in fact the regime’s panic soon evaporated.³⁰ A ‘fifth monarchist’ congregation apparently met at Warwick in 1656–7 but its activities remain appropriately mysterious, and the town was regarded also as a promising ground for military republican agitation. In 1654–5, it was later alleged, the ex-leveller Colonel Edward Sexby took the petitions and declarations of the three republican colonels, Saunders, Alured and Okey, to Warwick where he met with ‘many countrymen’ and a major and cornet in Saunders’ regiment. The republican propaganda was circulated also in Coventry.³¹ More characteristic of Warwickshire, however, was a more specifically religiously radical opposition to the policies prevailing in the 1650s (discussed below).

Royalist opposition from within the county was equally exiguous. Some Warwickshire people muttered against ‘roundheads’ and the killing of the king, and opposition to the religious reforms of the period may have connections with general support for a return to the old political system also. If 10,000 inhabitants did gather on the Warwickshire/Northamptonshire border in September 1653, ‘upon pretence or occasion of a bear baiting’, as the government feared, this may be further shady evidence of conservative opposition to the regime.³² More certain, however, is the inaction of most royalist leaders in the county. Although his younger brother was a leading royalist conspirator, the Earl of Northampton resisted pleas to join in, giving lip service at best to various royalist plots of the 1650s. In summer 1653 the earl was willing to sue to the ‘usurped’ authority for protection against legal action by clothiers whose goods he had seized while a military commander in the 1640s. Royalist hopes of his support were particularly strong in the summer of 1659 when he promised to seize Warwickshire as part of a general rising. As usual, however, the hopes were dashed and although Northampton was put in custody he was released from the Tower in November.³³ Only fourteen Warwickshire royalists were registered by Major-General Whalley as suspected persons whose movements were to be monitored

³⁰ SP25/63 p. 65; /94 p. 473.

³¹ B.S. Capp, *The Fifth Monarchy Men* (London, 1973), 77; *Thurloe State Papers*, vol. 6: 187, 829 (testimony of Sexby’s ex-servant February 1658). The major could perhaps have been Richard Creed.

³² *Q.S.O.B.*, vol. 3: 2 for an Easter 1650 adherence to traditional festivals (discussed in chapter 7 above); SP25/75 p. 4. See also below.

³³ Underdown, *Royalist Conspiracy*, 236–8, 270–1; 287; SP18/37/36; SP18/38/114; *Calendar of Clarendon State Papers*, vol. 4: 222, 227–8, 340, 342, 432.

although their number did not include such undoubtedly disgruntled men as Northampton and Dugdale. Prominent gentry such as Sir William Sheldon, Sir John Knottesford, Lord Leigh, John Reppington and Sir Charles Adderley were closely watched in 1655–6 but none of their activities were considered worth mentioning by Whalley in his letters to London.³⁴ Perhaps William Dugdale's activities were typical. The historian continued to work hard on his local research leading to the publication of the *Warwickshire* in 1656 and he let off political steam in the comments he included in the almanacs he bought each year. In 1649 he listed all the M.P.s removed at the Purge, noted the sad omens accompanying the king's execution and copied out eulogies on the Duke of Hamilton. His enemies were satirised in bitter poems and sketches; that for 1649 was 'The Holy Reformation':

Beggars are lords, and lords are beggars made,
This holy war has had a gallant trade
Knaves are enriched, good men undone we see
Can a more thorough reformation be?

In 1657 he noted the arms of 'Sir John Presbyter' which included the four matches of the 'families of Amsterdam . . . in a field of toleration . . . House of Geneva . . . in a field of separation, marginal notes on the bible false quoted . . . Country of New England. She bears for her arms a prick-eared preacher perched upon a pulpit, proper; holding forth to the people a schismatical Directory' with finally Scotland with 'the field rebellion, charged with a stool of repentance'.³⁵

Cutting across the confusing political alignments amongst leading figures were two simpler patterns of social relationships. A minority grouping, in terms of social prestige and influence amongst the gentry at least, consisted of those like Purefoy, Basnet, Beake, Hawkesworth and Willington, who were united by their common Civil War background, and by a continuing ideological adherence to the 'Good Old Cause' despite differences in attitudes to specific post-1649 regimes. Purefoy made no attempt to become reconciled to the leading gentry: when he wanted trustees for his land or executors for his will he chose old comrades like Beake, or the sequestration commissioners and soldiers, John Halford and William Thornton.³⁶ Beyond these men, there are indications of increasing social solidarity amongst the leading gentry, whatever their political backgrounds. Those who helped Dugdale and Archer in the final stages of the publication of the *Warwickshire* included

³⁴ B.L. Add MS 34013–34014, 19516.

³⁵ W.C.R.O. Z65/2, 3. Many of the comments in these almanacs foreshadow Dugdale's intemperate interpretation of the Civil War as an anabaptist conspiracy: *A Short View of the Late Troubles in England* (Oxford, 1681). ³⁶ W.C.R.O. CR1866/3383/4; Prob 11/304 f.77.

Parliamentarians like John Boune, son of Abraham, and John Hales; former accounts committee colleagues of Archer's like Matthew Holbeach and Charles Bentley; the royalist Sir Richard Shuckborough and Sir Thomas Holte's heir, Robert; and former neutrals like the Verneys and Henry Beaufoe. As early as 1650, Shuckborough was dining with Archer and another former royalist Sir Thomas (or Lord) Leigh was acting as godfather to a son of the lawyer Richard Newdigate who accepted high legal office under all regimes before 1659.³⁷ The contacts of the Earl of Denbigh, as revealed in his accounts for 1654–7, had in common their social distinction rather than their political unity: Denbigh frequently visited his near neighbours Newdigate and the royalist/neutral Sir William Boughton and kept in touch with fellow peers like Lords Leigh, Saye, Wharton and Grey, as well as Lady Brooke. He bought many books from Dugdale and consulted him over his own family tree.³⁸

By the late 1650s the tide was running in favour of those who wanted to ignore political divisions. The stance of a younger generation is illustrated through the deaths of Francis third Lord Brooke and Edward Peyto, sons and heirs of the parliamentary leaders of 1642, in 1658. At young Brooke's funeral old parliamentary figures were indeed represented prominently in the procession: Colonel Joseph Hawkesworth carried the standard while William and Matthew Bridges followed the pall. But they were present as household servants not as old comrades of the second lord for the funeral was conducted according to the traditional pattern for a peer with the Garter King of Arms and mourners from the Grevilles' kin and leading neighbours, whatever their political pasts: the Earl of Carlisle, a Russell, a Bosville, Sir Henry Puckering, Clement Throckmorton and Richard Lucy. The mace bearer, bailiff and aldermen of Warwick and the knights and gentlemen of the county completed the display. The moderate Presbyterian Thomas Manton preached Brooke's funeral sermon – a contrast to the religious preferences of his father. Edward Peyto's funeral sermon was a sharper reminder of how times were altered. The preacher, Thomas Pierce, an aggressive anti-Calvinist, was able to say that the only blemish on an otherwise exemplary life was that he had been persuaded by his father, Sir Edward, into becoming an active Parliamentarian, to his later regret.³⁹ Anthony Stoughton in the 1640s had wavered between support for the Earl of Denbigh and for the county committee, and he remained adept at perceiving a changing atmosphere. In a will of 1652 he made John Halford, Joseph Hawkesworth and John St Nicholas, trustees of part of his lands. In 1656

³⁷ Dugdale (Hamper), 239–40, 245, 248, 257–8, 285, 287; W.C.R.O. CR136/B828.

³⁸ W.C.R.O. CR2017/A1.

³⁹ SP18/184/60; Thomas Pierce, *The Lifelessness of Life* (1659), dedication.

he wrote another version of his will in which he reiterated his strong consciousness of sin and his apologies to his family for the mess he had made of managing his estates, but his 1652 trustees were replaced by two substantial gentlemen, Thomas Archer and George Browne, son of the pre-war J.P, Sir William.⁴⁰

If moderation and reconciliation were increasingly characteristic of the mid and late 1650s, this does not necessarily mean a drift towards royalism. Until the autumn of 1659 provincial Parliamentarians were sufficiently united, and provincial moderates were sufficiently willing to participate in government for the regime to survive. Few, if any, Warwickshire royalists were willing to take direct action to restore the monarchy as the non-emergence of any rising simultaneous with Booth's in the summer of 1659 reveals. The moves towards Restoration came only with the emergence of unbridgeable differences amongst previously committed Parliamentarians. Despite the rehabilitation of traditional patterns of social intercourse and practice amongst the élite, it must be emphasised that the polarisation of the 1640s had had a significant impact on the political atmosphere of the county, an impact which went beyond the ranks of the landed gentry.

The emergence of a more overtly 'political' approach within local government has already been touched on, and the changing social and political content of the county militia will be discussed below. In a more general sense, several Warwickshire indemnity cases reveal how the conflicts of the Civil War had forced some people to reflect on questions of legality and necessity, justice and tyranny; and show the wider use of a rhetoric of political partisanship and commitment, as already seen in some flare-ups between soldiers and civilians in the later 1640s and in Whalley's letters on the godly and the wicked. Cases concerning officials who had not taken the Engagement obviously involved a distinction between the malignant and the well-affected. The chief master of Birmingham School was denounced, unfairly it would seem, as 'very much disaffected unto the State and refractory against this Engagement' whereas the undermaster was 'constantly well-affected to the Parliament and present State and hath freely taken the Engagement being diligent in his place and calling and of an upright life and conversation'. Thomas Hobson obtained some revenge for his harassment by the Subcommittee of Accounts by denouncing Alexander Dongan, an ex-official of the subcommittee and a Warwick J.P. in December 1650. Dongan served 'to the great discontent of the well-affected in these parts having committed

⁴⁰ 1652 will W.C.R.O. CR 1866/, Stoughton papers; 1656 version proved in 1661; Prob 11/305 f.117.

the petitioner to prison for bidding him come off the bench, telling him he was not a friend to the State having not taken the Engagement and ought not to sit there'.⁴¹

Such confrontations perhaps underlay Robert Beake's description of the Engagement almost ten years later as 'that woeful discrimination . . . between the good people of this nation' but Beake clearly accepted the broader division between the good people and the rest.⁴² Bitter political cleavages were present in some local communities. Stratford-on-Avon, with its history of social tension and religious divisions from the 1590s to the Civil War provides some good examples.⁴³ Indemnity cases from the town illustrate sharp political polemic and conflicting notions of legitimacy. A soldier, Robert Evans, claimed that wartime necessity and the validity of Parliament's case justified his seizure of a horse from the royalists. But the Stratford shoemaker, Francis Billing, to whom Evans had sold the horse prosecuted Evans in the town's court (following his own prosecution by Harrison, the original owner). On that occasion Evans

produced four sufficient witnesses that he had taken and possessed himself of the horse in manner aforesaid, and the said Harrison did confess that the horse was taken from him by the enemy out of Evesham . . . Notwithstanding one Mr Dighton, steward of the said court gave notice to the jury that he did not know neither did the law take note of any enemy in the land (although your petitioner produced an order of parliament that testified the lawfulness of any such prize goods) and by that means the jury found for the plaintiff.⁴⁴

In the following year, 1650, a veteran soldier, Edward Billing intervened with the bailiff of Stratford on behalf of a man imprisoned in the town, as described in chapter 5, only to have the bailiff 'bid the standers-by bear witness that the petitioner was one of those that helped put the king to death and thereupon committed your petitioner to prison'.⁴⁵ The Warwick soldier assaulted in a Stratford street by an 'inveterate malignant', complained that this type of trouble was frequent in the town.⁴⁶ The bitter and longlasting conflict between Humphrey Wood and the town's constables over a 5s 8d assessment was mentioned earlier.⁴⁷ There are other signs of division and alienation in Stratford: notably the lack of co-operation with the county Quarter Sessions over

⁴¹ SP24/49 (*Girdler v. Governors and Master of Birmingham School*). For a full discussion see Ann Hughes, 'Parliamentary Tyranny'; SP24/54 (*Hobson v. Dongan*).

⁴² *Burton's Diary*, vol. 3: 113, February 1659. See also chapter 7.

⁴³ See chapter 3 above and the cases in C.C.C., 1521; C.C.A.M., 1170, 1413-4, 1420, 1423, 1427.

⁴⁴ SP24/46 (*Evans v. Billing*) 29 March 1649.

⁴⁵ SP24/34 (*Billing v. Bailiff of Stratford*). See p. 207 above.

⁴⁶ SP24/75 (*Sharpe v. Greene*); SP24/4 f.133r, July 1649; see also p. 207 above.

⁴⁷ SP24/ (Walker et al. v. Wood); see also chapter 7.

poor relief in the late 1640s, and over bridge repairs and the apprenticeship of a former parliamentary soldier in the early 1650s.⁴⁸

Indemnity cases do not simply reveal the increasing politicisation in provincial England: success in indemnity proceedings depended on petitioners' ability to present themselves as 'well-affected' servants of a particular parliamentary state or public interest, and consequently the existence of the Indemnity Committee in itself encouraged and helped to construct political division. It offered an additional forum for the prosecution of local disputes whose origins might not lie in politics but which had to be recast in a political form for the Indemnity Committee. The long case between John Taylor, constable of Long Compton, and Robert Joyner seems to illustrate some such process. The case lasted over four years having begun four years after the incident in dispute when Taylor had requisitioned Joyner's horse to take provisions to the 1646 siege of Banbury. The horse had died, Joyner had sued Taylor, and the other villagers had refused to raise a levy to compensate Joyner. When the Indemnity Commissioners ordered a levy Joyner refused to accept the money; an act of self-defeating obstruction which suggests the material issue was not in itself crucial. Long Compton was clearly a bitterly divided village, perhaps over politics (although the evidence is not as strong as for Stratford) but certainly over taxation: throughout the late 1640s and 1650s there was trouble over constables' levies and resistance to assessment by the pound rent rather than the older custom of yardlands. Indemnity provided another avenue through which tensions over levies could be channelled, an avenue where both sides portrayed themselves as true servants of the state. Taylor claimed he had done no more than his duty as a servant of Parliament, while Joyner claimed his horse had been taken because he had been 'very forward in promoting the Parliament's cause' and 'was made a prey to the merciless rage of a disaffected person', the constable, who had always obeyed the king's warrants. Both Taylor and Joyner sought certificates from outsiders to their 'well-affectedness', Taylor more successfully with an approbation from the senior army officer, John Desborough.⁴⁹

While political élites promoted changes of regime or decided how to react to changes, Stratford townsmen brawled with 'Roundheads' and debated the competing claims of the familiar common law and the demands of wartime 'necessity', and village notables competed to be regarded as the most loyal servants of the state. Although they have been distinguished for the sake of convenience in this analysis, the religious

⁴⁸ See chapter 7 and *Q.S.O.B.*, vol. 3: 93, 134-5, 161-2, 245-6.

⁴⁹ SP24/79 (*Taylor v. Joyner*) proceedings 1650-4; *Q.S.O.B.*, vol. 2: 186-9, 209; vol. 3: 70, 98-9, 155 for disputes over levies.

divisions and upheavals of the 1640s and 1650s were not clearly separable from political attitudes and conflicts. The collapse of episcopal authority and of the censorship, the lack of a generally accepted replacement for a national church and the turnover in the personnel of the parish clergy all contributed to the complex religious developments of these years. Also important was the war itself, which broadened horizons and weakened social bonds. Between 1642 and 1645 Thomas Nash, the moderately important gentleman who sat on the Subcommittee of Accounts, entertained in his Stratford home Nathaniel Fiennes, Lord Willoughby of Parham, Lord Brooke, Sir Philip Stapleton and the Dutch Commissary General Hans Behr who quartered with their troops in the town.⁵⁰ Prince Rupert and Queen Henrietta Maria are also said to have lodged with Nash on their way south to Oxford in 1643. The expense, inconvenience and even the danger of free-quarter are obvious but there was also the excitement of new experiences as local men and women had sustained contact with troops from distant places. For some the Civil War weakened habits of subordination. John Trapp, schoolmaster of Stratford, and the incumbent of Cranfield's living at Weston-on-Avon was not a radical, as we have seen, but during the war years he showed an almost contemptuous attitude to the family to whom he had fulsomely dedicated books before 1640. He gave the Earl of Middlesex no protection against the parliamentary forces he served as chaplain; despite being the 'intimate friend' of Major Hawkesworth, Trapp gave no warning of the attack on Milcote. In 1646 when the second earl wanted to appoint a new vicar to a second parish Trapp unofficially occupied, the minister ridiculed his patron: 'Yesterday Mr Trapp in public and in the presence of all the congregation read again your honour's letter sent to the parishioners of Welford (in the behalf of Dr Bowen) and as he read it, did descant and comment thereon to the auditors and told them that such and such places therein was true and that such and such places therein was false, in great derogation to your honour.'⁵¹ Trapp's employment as a garrison preacher at Warwick freed him to some extent from normal dependent relationships. Indeed, to an extent rarely indicated in current historiography, parliamentarian allegiance and Parliament's victory brought great opportunities and significant advantages to many orthodox Puritan ministers of Trapp's type – to the men who had formed Dugard's circle in the 1630s. Many of their lay and clerical acquaintances were now close to centres of power and Parliament in the 1640s and more ambiguously the regimes of the 1650s were committed to the programme of godly

⁵⁰ SP28/136, Stratford accounts.

⁵¹ Warwickshire estate correspondence, Fawdon to Middlesex, 7 February 1644, 17 December 1644; U269/C249.

reformation espoused by zealous Protestants since Elizabeth's reign. This programme was summed up by one Warwickshire minister who made good, Anthony Burgess of Sutton Coldfield, preaching before the Long Parliament in 1643.⁵² Its essentials were the reformation of 'doctrine, discipline and the worship of God'; and Burgess's audience was urged to 'especially provide against the general ignorance in people by a solid and serious catechizing; and against the prophaneness of people by a powerful discipline, that so the sacraments may be dispensed comfortably. As in the kingdom, the lawyer, the tradesman, can go comfortably in his calling, so provide that the pastor also in the dispensation of ordinances, may do it with joy and not with grief.' The move to secure, at last, a well-paid, well-educated, preaching ministry was, naturally enough, a prime aim of the orthodox parliamentary clergy. However, others were stimulated by the experience of the Civil War into more radical positions which challenged the orthodox, particularly on the need for a state church or a specialised ministerial caste. For still others, and this was probably the largest group, the orthodox reformation was a harsh and over-demanding assault on comfortable habits of worship and behaviour. Orthodox men were well aware of these twin threats to their endeavours – from, in their own view, the profane and ungodly on the one hand, and the radicals who pretended to too much godliness on the other. Burgess preached on 'the ingratitude and discontents of a people . . . under reformers'. Satan was at his busiest when reformation was attempted: 'the April showers, that make the grass grow, and the flowers sweet, do likewise cause many croaking frogs to come forth'.⁵³ Anthony Burgess's fellow Warwickshire representative in the Westminster Assembly, Richard Vines, another frequent preacher before the Parliament, also acknowledged the difficulties of reformation: 'He must needs be afraid to hedge in the sacrament, and to make it inaccessible to the scandalous and prophane, or to settle a faithful and searching ministry in the place he lives in, that knows he shall but thereby make a rod for himself'.⁵⁴

Three themes, then, are crucial to an analysis of religious developments in provincial England in the 1640s and 1650s: the experiences, advances and disappointments of orthodox Puritan reformers; the burgeoning of religious radicalism as ordinary people had a chance, unique in the seventeenth century, to participate in radical movements and to articulate

⁵² Anthony Burgess, *The Difficulty of, and Encouragement to a Reformation* (1643), preached September 1643; dedication to the House of Commons.

⁵³ Burgess, *Public Affections, Pressed in a Sermon* (1646), preached February 1646, 4, 17.

⁵⁴ Richard Vines, *The Purifying of Unclean Hearts and Hands* (1646), preached at a House of Commons fast, January 1646, 18.

unorthodox views; and the opposition or resistance of those with more 'traditional' opinions.

For orthodox ministers the Civil War at the simplest and individual level enhanced career opportunities. Ministers found increased openings for preaching – in garrisons, at parliamentary fasts, or in special lectures or exercises established where unsatisfactory clerics had been ejected. Publication became easier with the expansion of London printing and publishing from the 1640s and the cultivation of useful contacts generated especially through the Westminster Assembly. Some Warwickshire ministers left the provinces for plum London livings: Samuel Clarke of Alcester and James Nalton of Rugby are the prime examples.⁵⁵ Vines and Burgess, the county's representatives in the Assembly, found national prominence as preachers before the Long Parliament: Vines became master of a Cambridge college and retained a London living even after his refusal of the Engagement lost him the university post; Burgess returned to Warwickshire.⁵⁶

More generally, and within the county itself, many ministers benefited from Parliament's attempts to establish a better maintained ministry.⁵⁷ Some 63 Warwickshire livings (out of 200) received an augmentation from the Committee of Plundered Ministers before 1654. In theory an additional £2,800 p.a. was being paid to Warwickshire clergy but it is clear that there were many problems in practice and much of this revenue may not have been received. After 1654 the Trustees for the Maintenance of Ministers established a more limited but more secure list of augmentations to only 23 of the 63 livings previously awarded grants plus 5 new ones. Revenue in the later 1650s amounted to some £940 p.a. paid to these 28 livings. Alcester, both Warwick parishes, and Michael's Coventry, received augmentations throughout this period and the bounty was not restricted to parochial ministers: Samuel Basnet, the son of Thomas and pastor of an independent congregation in Coventry, accepted the state's money from 1656.⁵⁸ The lay authorities in Warwickshire clearly endorsed these moves to support the ministry. In early 1653 a petition from the county urged the Rump to encourage 'a

⁵⁵ D.N.B. A metropolitan career was not without its pitfalls: Nalton was implicated in the royalist-Presbyterian 'Love' plot in 1651 and spent six months in exile.

⁵⁶ J.F. Wilson, *Pulpit in Parliament: Puritanism During the English Civil Wars, 1640–1648* (Princeton, 1969), 110–13. Vines was one of the four most active preachers before the Parliament; Burgess one of thirteen in the next most active group.

⁵⁷ This paragraph is based on Rosemary O'Day and Ann Hughes, 'Augmentation and Amalgamation: was there a systematic approach to the reform of parochial finance, 1640–1660' in F. Heal and R. O'Day, eds., *Princes and Paupers in the English Church* (Leicester, 1981), especially 175–6, 178, 183, 186. ⁵⁸ Lambeth Palace MS Comm. VII/2 p. 15.

pious, conscientious, orthodox and learned ministry', and to continue its established maintenance, ignoring 'poisonous defamations' of the clergy. Thus Warwickshire was part of what Worden has termed a general petitioning movement of 'growing Presbyterian assertiveness . . . urging the Rump to take a firm stand behind the established ministry and to silence the radical crescendo'. Richard Baxter played a major role in encouraging these petitions and that from his county of Worcester was presented to Parliament by John Bridges, once governor of Warwick Castle.⁵⁹ With the end of the Rump the Committee for Plundered Ministers also lapsed, leaving no body to organise preaching provisions in vacant livings. Despite the controversy over tithes in the 'Barebones' Parliament then sitting, the Warwickshire J.P.s noted in June 1653 that the ordinance for the payment of tithes was still in force and so appointed a receiver for the tithes of Bulkington to pay 'godly' ministers to preach there during the vacancy in the cure 'conceiving it a matter of necessity for the upholding the service of God that there be a preaching ministry maintained'. There were close relationships between leading ministers and J.P.s: John Ley, who held the Archer living at Solihull in the late 1650s, dedicated a work to Samuel Eborall, in recognition of 'your good neighbourhood, your friendly visits and many other affectionate offices'.⁶⁰

Besides their specific support for the ministry, many of the local J.P.s, like national regimes, lent their support to general moves for moral reform. As we have seen, the practical results of 'reformation' were not clear-cut, but nonetheless the identification of royalism with profanity, and Parliamentarianism with reform, was attractive to many clerics. The fullest example of this identification is seen in the writings and life of Thomas Hall, the minister at Kings Norton, whose cure was technically in Worcestershire, but who worked in Warwickshire also and co-operated closely with Warwickshire clergy in the 1640s and 1650s. Hall's 'Life', written by a close associate, records his entry to King's Norton in 1641:

⁵⁹ The petition, of February 1653, was copied into his parish register by Thomas Pilkington, vicar of Claverdon: Philip Styles, 'A Seventeenth Century Warwickshire Clergyman', *B.A.S.T.*, vol. 65 (1943-4), 116-17 gives it in full. I have found no record of its presentation in the *Commons Journals*; Worden, *The Rump*, 322-6.

⁶⁰ *Q.S.O.B.*, vol. 3: 176-7; John Ley, *A Discourse of Disputations* (1658), dedication. Eborall attended the dispute between John Bryan and John Onley discussed below. An assize sermon preached at Warwick in July 1651 linked the magistracy and the ministry as 'Samson's two pillars' and urged the judges to support ministers' demands for better maintenance, and to protect them from the attacks of 'Papists, atheist, libertine and sectary': William Durham, *Maran-Atha*, 34-6.

Here he . . . came amongst a rude and ignorant people, amongst drunkards, papists, atheists, sabbath-profaners, *etc.* but it pleased God to bring him amongst them in a fit juncture of time, *viz* when the Parliament began to sit, and the work of Reformation began to appear, which was some check to profane spirits. But it pleased God so to bless his Ministry that in a short time they were civilized, and became in the general tractable and teachable, only some old knots and knuckles were to be hewed and squared.⁶¹

The majority of Warwickshire's parliamentary ministers wanted a purified and strengthened 'national' church; they were not advocates of independency and 'liberty of conscience'. In March 1648 forty-three ministers, a fifth of the county's clergy, followed the example of the London Presbyterians and issued a 'Testimony' in favour of the Solemn League and Covenant, and against toleration, 'errors and schisms'. Those signing included Hall, John Bryan and Obadiah Grew of Coventry, Henry Butler and Richard Venour of Warwick, Alexander Bean of Stratford, Anthony Woodhull of Kenilworth, Trapp, Dugard and Samuel Tickner, Clark's successor at Alcester.⁶² The still-birth of the Presbyterian system generated by the Assembly was obviously a severe setback to such men. It is important, however, not to overestimate the degree of disintegration of the national parochial church or to underestimate the influence of senior, orthodox Puritan ministers and laymen within the loose structure of the 1650s. Warwickshire J.P.s throughout the decade supervised parochial elections of clerks and churchwardens, and intervened in disputes over churchwardens' accounts or levies for church repairs. Southam levies occupied the justices from 1651 until 1661, while for Alcester in 1657 the bench disallowed £1 of the £8 levied as 'useless' and ordered the rood loft and 'all superstitious paints' to be 'demolished and defaced'.⁶³ In the 1650s a group of leading ministers formed the 'Kenilworth Classis' or 'Associated Presbytery within the county of Warwick and the city and county of Coventry'. This was obviously a very belated response to the legislative enactment of Presbyterianism in the 1640s, and probably limited in scope for the names of only thirteen participants are known. It nonetheless provided an opportunity for collective action by ministers freed from episcopal or

⁶¹ Hall, 'Life', 53. A copy of this manuscript life has been consulted in Birmingham Reference Library. The original is in Dr Williams' Library. *Ibid.*, 56, 58 are examples of Hall's association of royalism with immorality, especially the drinking of healths. The 'Life' seems virtually an autobiography transcribed by another into the third person. Hall, *Funebria Florae, The Downfall of May Games* (1660) is probably the best example of the treatment of these issues in print. In general see Underdown, *Revel, Riot, Rebellion*, especially chapter 9.

⁶² *The Warwickshire Ministers' Testimony to the Trueth of Jesus Christ and to the Solemn League and Covenant* (1648). B.L. E432 (14).

⁶³ *Q.S.O.B.*, vols. 3, 4: *passim*; examples are from vol. 3: 61–2; vol. 4: 145, 160.

other superior control. The classis held monthly meetings from 1654 or 1655 and ministers attempted to establish 'gospel order' in their parishes. In December 1655 a lecture was begun which sought to settle doubts over this 'gospel order' (presumably a Presbyterian eldership) and which provoked a challenge from a Baptist pastor John Onley of Lawford to John Bryan of Coventry (in which Bryan apparently came off worse). The classis also performed ordinations.⁶⁴

Divisions over church government in the 1640s had clearly weakened the moves for orthodox reform. The specifically Presbyterian initiative in Warwickshire attracted the doctrinaire Thomas Hall who refused to participate in Richard Baxter's broader Worcestershire association.⁶⁵ Nonetheless by the 1650s, the crucial division did not lie between Presbyterians and Independents. Respectable Independents, like Samuel Basnet, who tacitly accepted a state church and opposed sectaries, were clearly distinguishable by most 'Presbyterians' from profane episcopalians and from the more dangerous radicals. The real division, amongst Parliamentarians, lay between those who accepted an educated, maintained ministry, Calvinist doctrine and some form of national church, and those who rejected all these; rather than between those who differed on the details of church organisation. In his epistle to the disputation with Onley, John Bryan contrasted this conflict with a more scholarly and gentlemanly debate he had conducted with 'a godly brother of the Congregational Way'.⁶⁶ In a defence of baptism Thomas Hall attacked 'Anabaptist' claims to Independents' support: 'the wiser and better sort of them will not own you; yea, those three New England worthies, Cotton, Hooker, Cobbett have writ excellently against you'.⁶⁷ In his dedication to friends in Birmingham, Hall praised the town's inhabitants for remaining largely 'an unanimous people . . . when other congregations have been miserably rent with heresies and errors'. Those few who had 'fallen off' were 'as yet moderate', Independents rather than Ranters, blasphemers or mortalists.

⁶⁴ John Bryan and John Onley, *A Public Disputation at Killingworth* (1655), Bryan's epistle; Ley, *Disputations*, 73. Thirteen ministers signed an order of July 1656 forbidding further disputations without the consent of the 'brethren of the society': Bryan, Grew, Ley, Dugard, Trapp, Thomas Hall, Woodhull, Bean, Butler, Daniel Eyres of Haseley, Samuel Hawes of Honiley, Thomas Evans (successor to Vines at Caldecote and Weddington) and Luke Milbourne of Wroxhall (Ley, 6). The order was a result of Bryan's experience: Onley had published the disputation and managed to make Bryan look 'as if he had suffered a failing of his faculties' (*ibid.*, 78). Worcester Diocesan Records BA 2049/1/47 is the ordination of Thomas Hawes in January 1658 by six members of the Presbytery. ⁶⁵ *Reliquiae Baxterianae*, 91, 97.

⁶⁶ Bryan and Onley, *A Public Disputation*. Even in the 1640s Burgess and Vines distinguished in their sermons between Independents and heretics or sectaries: Burgess, *Public Affections, Pressed in a Sermon* (1646), 17; Vines, *The Authours, Nature and Danger of Haeresie* (1647), especially 70. ⁶⁷ Thomas Hall, *The Font Guarded* (1652), 84, and dedication.

The city of Coventry was noted by the 1650s for the co-operation of the orthodox 'godly'. Religious radicalism is often associated with towns but Coventry was characterised rather by a sternly disciplined Puritanism which could discourage the most determined sectary whether Ranter or Quaker. During the war the city provided a refuge for ministers driven from their own livings; amongst the more eminent were Vines, Burgess, Baxter and George Hughes. Vines established a lecture held every morning at 7.30 a.m. which the refugees 'kept by turns' and the 'weekly days of fasting and prayer, that were then kept with uncommon strictness and solemnity' were still remembered in the early eighteenth century.⁶⁸ In July 1644 the city authorities felt it necessary to count the number of strangers in Coventry with special reference to two particularly dangerous groups: single women 'that work at their own hands' and 'separatists that come not to church'.⁶⁹ The ministers' labours seem to have contained these 'threats', however. Richard Baxter claimed that no soldiers and very few townspeople identified with the sectaries, and that his departure in 1645 to preach to the New Model led to great discontent in the garrison.⁷⁰ Baptism briefly attracted some, but two 1644 disputations, between Baxter and Benjamin Cox, and between the Coventry ministers Grew and Bryan, and the London Baptist leaders, Hanserd Knollys and William Kiffin, 'thoroughly satisfied' any waverers.⁷¹ In January 1650 the Warwick-born Ranter, Abiezer Coppe, was imprisoned at Coventry with his companions Joseph Salmon and Andrew Wyke, but most of those who came to hear them preach from prison reportedly came from outside the city. Some, indeed, came to scoff like the future Quaker leader George Fox who challenged their claims to be God by asking if it would rain tomorrow. On his own account, Joseph Salmon's recantation was due to the sober influences of Beake and Purefoy.⁷² The city was no more receptive to Fox himself: at Coventry in 1655 he noted 'there they was closed up with darkness'.⁷³

In 1658 John Ley described Coventry as a model of Geneva, where magistrates and ministers both Presbyterian (Bryan and Grew) and Independent (Basnet) worked together to enforce true religion and 'godly'

⁶⁸ *Reliquiae Baxterianae* 30, 44; Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, 164, 281, 462, 471; Clarke, *Lives of Sundry Eminent Persons*, 48; John Sibree and M. Caston, *Independency in Warwickshire* (Coventry, 1855), 4, quoting a 1716 account. ⁶⁹ Cov. C.R.O. A14 (b) f.40v.

⁷⁰ *Reliquiae Baxterianae*, 46–52.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 46; Ley, *Discourse of Disputations*, 75. Obviously the ministers had every reason to exaggerate their success against sectarian challenges.

⁷² H.M.C. (Leyborne Popham), 57, 59; *A Perfect Diurnall*, 14–21 January, 11–18, 18–25 March, 1–8 April 1650. *The Journal of George Fox*, J.L. Nickalls, ed. (Cambridge, 1952), 199. Joseph Salmon, *Heights in Depths and Depths in Heights* (1651), dedication.

⁷³ *The Journal of George Fox*, N. Penney, ed. (Cambridge, 1911), vol. 1: 36.

discipline.⁷⁴ The diary of Robert Beake as mayor in 1655–6, discussed in the previous chapter, showed the conscientious Puritan magistrate working for reform with the advice of Bryan, Grew and Basnet. We saw also, however, the tensions aroused by ‘reformation’ and it would not be accurate to portray the city straightforwardly as a godly Genevan utopia. There were continual problems, for instance, over the payment of Grew’s and Bryan’s maintenance; despite a 1647 order of the city council and a 1651 Act of Parliament, the two ministers were driven to protest in May 1653 that their plight represented, ‘a robbing of God’.⁷⁵ In May 1652 Bryan was persuaded only with difficulty from taking up a Shropshire living. The town clerk, Humphrey Burton, wrote sadly to Richard Baxter begging him to intervene:

The Dr not truly apprehending the sincere affections of his people here . . . and taking a dislike at some few irregular passages . . . thereupon went to Salop and made an engagement. [But] the Dr having been with us eight years, and so laborious in his calling and so successful in his ministry amongst us that the whole parish will not by any means part with him . . . to this end above 200 of them subscribed to a letter.⁷⁶

Burton feared ‘his going will cause such a rent in this church and people especially to us that have adhered to the Dr and his opinions touching presbyterial government and those of the Independent party, that it will upon the point set us all together by the ears and produce scandal and shame to the gospel and the true professors thereof’.

Bryan was persuaded to stay and despite some problems the situation suggested by Burton where Presbyterians and Independents were mutually regarded as ‘true professors’ continued. Robert Beake attended Samuel Basnet’s congregation, proudly noting Basnet’s ordination by the eminent Independent John Owen and pleading on Basnet’s behalf for an adequate maintenance from the city. But he also supported London Presbyterian preachers while sitting in Parliament, was close to Grew and Bryan, and wrote to support Richard Baxter’s moves for church unity.⁷⁷ His attitude to radical opinion was markedly more hysterical in London than in Coventry. In the winter of 1655 he put three Quakers in the ‘cage’ for travelling on the Lord’s Day: ‘it grieved me that this poor deluded people should undergo punishment of such a nature’. James Naylor, though, was not regarded as poor or deluded: ‘it was a fit punishment to

⁷⁴ Ley, *Discourse of Disputations* dedication to Richard Hopkins, Steward of Coventry.

⁷⁵ Cov. C.R.O. A14 (b) f.69r; C.J., vol. 6: 443, 458, 551. Cov. C.R.O. A79 P. 228. A79 P. 227–31; A14 (b) f.110v, 123v, 126r, 130v for letters and orders concerning the city ministers’ maintenance, 1653–8. ⁷⁶ Dr Williams Library, Baxter letters, vol. 6, f.143, 16 May 1652.

⁷⁷ Beake, ‘Diary’, 135, April 1656; A79 P. 230, August 1656; Baxter letters vol. 1, f.41, October 1657. For links with Presbyterian preachers in London see pp. 292–3 above. Basnet was supported also by the Presbyterian recorder of the city, William Purefoy who gave his 1659 fee to Basnet’s congregation for the repair of their meeting place, the Bablake Hospital: Cov. C.R.O. A79 P. 238.

cut out his tongue, and cut off his right hand, and then turn him beyond seas, and let him go with the mark of a blasphemer'.⁷⁸ The regime involving co-operation amongst the orthodox and a reformatory, 'more in sorrow than in anger' approach towards radicals and the 'ungodly', does seem to have won the acquiescence, at least, of a large proportion of the townsmen. Eleven hundred men from the city signed a petition in support of the Protectorate's balancing act in civil and religious affairs.⁷⁹ The petitioners complained that 'As Christians and Commonwealthsmen . . . it hath seemed to us to be neither day nor night.' Through the Protector's rule they had now 'found a safe path to walk in' although 'our own unthankfulness, murmurings and other provocations under your highness' government' had prevented 'full rest and settlement in things spiritual and civil' and encouraged the 'common adversary'. In civil matters they supported Cromwell's rule which had been authorised by Parliament and sanctioned by 'many remarkable providences': 'we judge that our weale and happiness, lives and religion and the interest of the Protestant Cause lie greatly wrapped up and folded in the safety of your highness' person and the success of your counsels. We hold ourselves bound faithfully to stand by you against the opposition of old or new enemies.'

The petitioners urged Cromwell to preserve 'the principles of our spiritual and civil liberty that the late war and good old cause were grounded on' but, 'to curb and restrain more and more all prophaneness and ungodliness on the one hand, so also discriminate a true stated christian liberty from the practice of damnable errors and blasphemy'. This support for Cromwell's stand against the twin enemies of the orthodox godly came from men with a wide variety of political backgrounds and religious opinion. Bryan, Grew and Samuel Basnet all signed as did determined laymen like Thomas Basnet, John Crichlow, William Purefoy (despite his supposed republican sympathies), Beake and the 'Anabaptist' Thomas Hobson. Former moderate accounts committeemen were also represented: Love, Eustace Barnaby, Timothy Gibbard and Matthew Smith. The petition is a remarkable illustration of the breadth of support acquired by the Protectorate in certain circumstances.

⁷⁸ Beake, 'Diary', 115; *Burton's Diary*, vol. 2: 90.

⁷⁹ SP18/158/114. The petition is undated and is indeed difficult to date. Some of its rhetoric echoes Cromwell's opening speech to his first Parliament: W.C. Abbott, *The Writings and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell*, vol. 3 (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1945), 434. No mention is made of the kingship issue or the Naylor case in the 1656/7 session of the second Protectorate Parliament yet it is difficult to accept references to the 'good old cause' before 1656. The petition could be reaction to Venner's plot of 1657 or to the failure of the second Protectorate Parliament in early 1658. I am grateful to Anthony Fletcher for help with this petition.

Coventry was largely an orthodox success story and cannot illustrate the problems faced by respectable godly opinion. For other counties there is evidence of difficulties suffered by Presbyterian ministers in particular through their opposition to the regicide and the Engagement of loyalty to the Republic. It seems likely that many of the signatories to the Warwickshire 'Testimony' shared the views of their London and Lancashire fellows but evidence survives only for Thomas Hall who lost his augmentation for 'non-engaging'.⁸⁰ The problem most frequently mentioned by Warwickshire orthodox ministers themselves was the emergence of a religious radicalism which rejected a state church and, most painfully, assaulted the whole notion of an educated, specialised ministerial caste. The challenge was the more traumatic in that it came often from men and women who had been the most 'godly', the close associates of their pastors. Samuel Clarke lamented the situation in Alcester:

During the wars, many of the inhabitants of the younger sort had retired to Warwick for safety, where falling into the company of anabaptists and other sectaries, they were leavened with their errors, and being now returned home, they had set up private meetings to the neglect of the public, and many young men, whom I looked upon before as children begotten by my ministry to God, were turned preachers.⁸¹

Thomas Hall bitterly expressed the bewildered indignation of those who felt the Civil War had been fought to establish orthodox religious reform. Dedicating his publication of a 1650 disputation with lay preachers at Henley-in-Arden, to his Kings Norton parishioners, Hall complained:

So soon as I began to exercise [my ministry] my refusing to read the Book of Sports on the Sabbath endangered me. That lustre of years which I spent at Moseley, I was threatened by the episcopal party for non-conformity; since I am come to you I have suffered deeply by the cavaliering party; oftentimes plundered, five times their prisoner; oft cursed, accused, threatened *etc.* And now at last I have been set upon by the sectaries who sometimes have spoken to me in the middle of sermons; sometimes after; sometimes challenge me to dispute.⁸²

Thomas Dugard, at the end of the 1650s, expressed his disillusion in a verse preface to Samuel Clarke's *A Generall Martyrologie*;⁸³ how the English martyrs would grieve,

⁸⁰ Hall, 'Life', 108.

⁸¹ Clarke, *Lives of Sundry Eminent Persons*, 9. Clarke rapidly left Alcester for a London living.

⁸² Thomas Hall, *The Pulpit Guarded* (1650) dedication to the parishioners of Kings Norton. Hall, 'Life', 74 has a similar lament.

⁸³ Clarke, *A Generall Martyrologie* (1651) preface. Dugard preached against attacks on the ministry and on the growth of error in his 1648 funeral sermon for Lady Alice Lucy: *Death and the Grave*, dedication, 4, 46. Vines, *The Authours, Nature and Danger of Haeresie*; Durham, *Marantha* are further examples of orthodox critiques of radical views.

To see God's oracles not prized
 His faithful messengers despised
 His day made little of, his house
 A stable, Baptism frivolous.
 His zealous people that oppose
 Abaddon's fury, counted foes.
 Repentance folly, prayer a babel,
 Nor better the communion table . . .
 Ancient and new-sprung heresies,
 With saddest schisms that ever were
 (Made without either wit or fear)
 And more than can be enumerated,
 (They are so many) tolerated.

In their clashes with radical opinion the orthodox godly inevitably appear as conservative or reactionary. When they saw what their assault on episcopacy had helped to unleash, Puritan ministers hastened to create a propagandist image of themselves as moderate and respectable: the carefully chosen biographical works of Samuel Clarke were a major part of this enterprise.⁸⁴ After the regicide, and still more after the Restoration most ministers found it prudent to distance themselves publicly from enthusiasm for Parliament. Their regret in the 1650s at the weakness of the national church and their support for a conscientious, well-paid, high-status preaching ministry cannot be doubted. 'Church division' was 'as great a sin as adultery or theft' declared Bryan against Onley, while Hall highlighted the social threat involved in challenges to the ministry: 'let the nailer keep to his hammer, the husbandman to his plough . . . the soldier to his arms *etc.* They must not leap from the shop to the pulpit.'⁸⁵ In this discussion I have tried to emphasise, however, the advantages rather than the drawbacks to the godly parliamentarian allegiance. Much of the historiography has concentrated on orthodox objections to sectarianism and in the process sight has been lost of their enthusiasm for Parliament. Richard Vines would have accepted a modified episcopal church; he opposed the regicide and refused the Engagement. It is easy to forget that in 1642 he compared lukewarm ecclesiastical reformers to 'run-aways from Edgehill' and in 1644 preached at the thanksgiving for Marston Moor, urging adherence to reform even if the enemy should revive and

⁸⁴ Patrick Collinson, "'A Magazine of Religious Patterns': an Erasmian topic transposed in English protestantism" in his *Godly People: Essays in English Protestantism and Puritanism* (London, 1983); see also Ann Hughes, 'Thomas Dugard and his Circle', *H.J.* vol. 29 (1986) for further discussion of this 'myth-making'.

⁸⁵ Bryan and Onley, *A Public Disputation*, 28; Hall, *The Pulpit Guarded*, 25. Rosemary O'Day, 'Immanuel Bourne: A Defence of the Ministerial Order', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, vol. 27 (1976) is a full discussion of the orthodox position.

enter London.⁸⁶ A cautious man like Thomas Dugard covered his tracks carefully after the Restoration although in the 1640s his wife Hannah and his close friends John and Mary Trapp were optimistic as well as alarmed in their reports to the New England Willises on English religious developments. In May 1646 Hannah Dugard apologised for her failure to find the Willises a maidservant: 'now here being liberty of conscience . . . and since we have hopes of peace and reformation of our church discipline, there is not any speech or inclination in any that I hear of towards New England'. The more combative Thomas Hall was unrepentant throughout. In 1652 despite regicide, the growth of 'heresy' and the execution of the Presbyterian Christopher Love, Hall could still praise Birmingham for its Parliamentarianism and its defiance of Prince Rupert:

'twill be your glory when you are dead and gone, that you have been a willing people in the day of Christ's power, you cheerfully put your necks to the yoke of the Lord: you ventured your lives and estates in the high places of the field and freely came with the first, to the help of the Lord against the mighty: many of your houses have been turned to ashes which you have thrown into the eyes of Antichrist.⁸⁷

Even after the Restoration Hall refused to recant. With every justification he emphasised his loyalty to monarchy but:

If any shall object that we were for king and parliament, I freely confess it, so we were, and so we are still, and so I think is every honest-hearted-subject, who understands anything of the frame of this government. To this we are bound by the Protestation, Covenant and other obligations. I look upon him as an enemy to the land of his nativity who goes about to separate the king from the Parliament or the Parliament from the king. As for the lawfulness of the Parliament's war against those that withdrew the king from the Parliament . . . [Parliament took up arms] (though against the king's personal commands) for the just defence of the king's person, the laws of the land and liberties of the subject; yea they are bound by the oath of allegiance so to do.⁸⁸

If Parliament's victory had ambiguous implications for the orthodox reformers it had the more clear-cut, if unintended effect, of facilitating the expression of more radical opinion. It is necessary to say something about the character of religious radicalism in Warwickshire in its own right, rather than simply as an irritant to more conservative opinion. Later denominational labels are often misleading for the 1650s: a gathered congregation led by James Cooke who had been the Greville family doctor and surgeon to Warwick garrison, met in the town throughout the

⁸⁶ *D.N.B.*, s.v. Vines; Vines, *Caleb's Integrity* (1642), 4; Vines, *Magnalia Dei* (1644), 17–18.

⁸⁷ *Wyllys Papers*, 61–2, 81, 91, 106–8. Hannah Dugard was less hopeful by 1648, however. Hall, *The Font Guarded*, dedication. Hall's Library, now part of Birmingham Reference Library contains well-annotated copies of material arising from Love's execution.

⁸⁸ Hall, *Funebria Florae*, 40.

1650s and on the recommendation of Richard Cromwell was allowed free use of the Grand Jury chamber by J.P.s in April 1659 for public worship. Until Cooke's death in 1688 this congregation combined Independents and some Baptists.⁸⁹ Despite the danger of oversimplification it is possible to isolate varying strands of radical opinion. There were the strict separatists who argued that the only true church was a gathered body of saints and often combined this view with a rejection of adult baptism but nonetheless retained Calvinist theology and some notion of the ministry. Such groups were at times almost part of the parliamentary mainstream as the Cromwellian approval for Cooke indicates. The best documented examples for Warwickshire are the Particular Baptist congregations who helped form the Midland Association. Others though rejected Calvinism with its idea of an elect minority and had no time for a separate ministry. The Scriptures, the fundamental basis for Protestant faith, were subjected to mystical or inspirational critiques, most obviously by the Quakers. General Baptists, with Quakers, are representative in Warwickshire of these more thoroughgoing views.

Daniel King, a prominent Calvinist, or Particular Baptist preacher in the Midlands referred to Baptist congregations in Coventry and Warwick in a work of 1651 but nothing else is known of the Coventry group.⁹⁰ Warwick took the initiative in the formation of a Midland Association of Baptists in December 1654, contacting the pre-existing Abingdon association for advice.⁹¹ The other Warwickshire congregation involved was from Alcester; groups came also from Derbyshire, Gloucestershire and Oxfordshire. The Association's irregular meetings which continued to April 1659 gave general advice to the congregations, discussed controversial points, organised poor relief and exchanged preachers. These Baptists were strict separatists: they opposed members marrying non-Baptists; held that 'baptized believers ought not to hear the national ministers preach nor join with them in their public worship, their pretended ministry being Babylonish'; and admonished brethren 'who contrary to our faith and the resolution of most of the churches in

⁸⁹ In general see Patrick Collinson, 'Towards a Broader Understanding of the Early Dissenting Tradition' in his *Godly People; Quarter Sessions Records Trinity 1682 to Epiphany 1690* (Warwick County Records, vol. 8, H.C. Johnson, ed., Warwick, 1953), xcvi–xcviii; *Q.S.O.B.*, vol. 4: 87. ⁹⁰ Daniel King, *A Discovery of Some Troublesome Thoughts* (1651) epistle.

⁹¹ This account of the Midland Association is based on W. Stokes, *History of the Midland Association of Baptist Churches* (1853); B.R. White, ed., *Association Records of the Particular Baptists of England, Wales and Ireland to 1660*, part 1 (Baptist Historical Society, 1977); White, 'The Organisation of the Particular Baptists 1644–1660', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, vol. 17 (1966).

England . . . live upon the hire that is commonly given by the state' – although as the wording suggests, this last issue caused controversy.⁹² Qualified approval only was given to the role of 'gifted brethren': at the third meeting it was emphasised that they could not 'go forth to preach' without the approval of their church, and their activities were not to interfere with 'effectual endeavour after an official minister'.⁹³ In other matters, these Particular Baptists sought to reconcile their scripturalism and their desires for respectability. Women were not to 'so speak as that their speaking shall show a not acknowledging of the inferiority of their sex and so be usurping of authority over the man'. They could thus testify to their own faith or repentance, and act as witnesses or messengers but had no public role as teachers or judges. Obedience was recommended to children and servants although 'God is to be obeyed rather than men'.⁹⁴ Their political pronouncements showed a special care. In October 1656 they discussed 'the present powers, whether in civil things to submit unto them and to live what in them lieth peaceable under them', and decided 'rather to suffer patiently . . . than to rise up in rebellion' if given unlawful commands.

We must take heed that we do not suffer as evil doers nor as busybodies in other men's matters . . . when the Lord shall make his people a smiting people will he not first clearly put a just and lawful power and authority into their hands or cause such a power to be at their sides and to command them as that in the exercise thereof or in yielding obedience thereunto their actions shall be clearly just and good.⁹⁵

While clearly preferring a more republican political settlement to the Protectorate, these Midland Baptists do not seem to pose the drastic political or social threat perceived by the orthodox, despite their rejection of a national church. It is possible that in their political utterances the congregations were exercising a public caution for the Warwick group may have been linked with the republican and 'fifth monarchist' plotters who came to Thurloe's attention.⁹⁶ The social conventionality convinces however. More plebeian and more 'extreme' radical preachers were active in the county. Thomas Hall disputed at Henley-in-Arden in 1650 with five lay preachers: 'a nailor public preacher, a baker and a baker's boy', Thomas Hinde, 'a ploughwright public preacher' and Serjeant Oakes, a weaver.⁹⁷ Where the Particular Baptists shunned the 'world' these radicals challenged it openly. In east Warwickshire in the late 1640s:

⁹² *Association Records*, 21–3 (2nd meeting June 1655); 25 (5th meeting, June 1656); 31 (6th meeting, October 1656). The issue of state maintenance caused trouble again in 1657/8: *ibid.*, 33, 45–50. ⁹³ *Ibid.*, 22–3. ⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 28, 29. ⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 30. ⁹⁶ See pp. 299 above.

⁹⁷ Hall, *The Pulpit Guarded*, title page. Serjeant Oakes is Samuel Oates, the General Baptist preacher and father of Titus. (I am grateful to Anne Laurence for this information.)

Richard Martin, minister of Monks Kirby . . . desires the right Honourable the Earl of Denbigh to send for Henry Gammage of Easenhull and John . . . the son of the same . . . both weavers . . . and also one John Onley of Long Lawford, for maintaining in public upon Wednesday the 31 of July last that baptism of infants was unlawful and that the ministers of the Church of England were unlawful and anti-Christian, and for that the said John Onley affirmed in public that himself was as much an apostle as St Paul . . . divers of their abettors were there present to maintain the said opinions . . . the doors of the said church were violently broken open.⁹⁸

John Onley who, according to John Ley, worked as a husbandman in the week, was an energetic evangelist, particularly in east Warwickshire. He signed the 'General Baptist' Confession of 1651 as pastor of Easenhull along with a representative of a Priors Marston congregation and in 1655 argued against John Bryan that the godly should shun the 'openly wicked' and that any brother with ability should preach publicly.⁹⁹ Well into the 1660s, Onley, 'the Anabaptist' was exercising the restored episcopal authorities at Lichfield and several 'conventicles' were active in the east of the county. The imprecise designations given these groups by the authorities suggest that their denominational status was less clear than Onley's own affiliation would indicate.¹⁰⁰

By the mid 1650s Quakers were holding large meetings in similar north and north-eastern areas, which often led to conflict with Baptists, and were developing a following also in southern areas of Warwickshire. In 1645–6, George Fox had begun his individual search for truth in the border area of Leicestershire and Warwickshire where he had been born. He found the well-praised orthodox ministers of the area a bitter disappointment. At Tamworth the minister was 'an empty hollow cask'; others were 'miserable comforters' while at Coventry Fox realised that 'being bred at Oxford or Cambridge was not enough to fit and qualify men to be ministers of Christ'.¹⁰¹ In their more public ministry of the 1650s Fox and other early Quakers like Richard Farnworth rejected and harassed the 'hiring' anti-Christian ministry of the world. They emphasised direct inspiration from God – the acceptance of God's inner light as the hallmark of true religion and salvation. This straightforward, comforting view brought reassurance to many who had come to find the formalist and demanding rigours of a separatist or Baptist conversion too much to live up to.¹⁰² The Quakers' rejections of a literal (or obsessive)

⁹⁸ CR2017/ C10/52, n.d.

⁹⁹ Ley, *Doctrine of Disputations*, 86; Warwick County Records, vol. 8: lxxxiv; Bryan and Onley, *A Public Disputation*, 51–2.

¹⁰⁰ Warwick County Records, vol. 8: lxxxiv–lxxxv. Baptist histories often refer to a very early (1620s) Coventry General Baptist congregation but there is little sign of its existence from the 1640s to the 1680s: W.H. Burgess, *John Smith the Se-Baptist* (London, 1911), 333.

¹⁰¹ *Journal of George Fox*, Nickalls, ed., 46.

¹⁰² See Michael R. Watts, *The Dissenters*, vol. 1 (Oxford, 1978), 200–6; Daniel King, the Midland

attitude to the Scriptures opened their movement to men and women who had not developed a sophisticated or intellectual faith under the tutelage of godly Calvinists. The Quakers thus had followers in several of the large villages of the Oxfordshire border, Ettington, Radway, Geydon and Brailes where many people were imprisoned for holding Quaker meetings in the 1650s and 1660s. Brailes, especially, was an area of Catholic rather than Puritan leanings.¹⁰³ Rivalry with the Baptists hampered Fox's work. After a 'precious meeting' at Warwick in 1655, 'some of the baptists began to jangle' and, with the acquiescence of the bailiff, Fox and his followers were stoned from the town. In the next year a 'mighty powerful' meeting was held on Edgehill which was 'very rude for there came ranters, baptists and several sorts of rude people' but eventually many were 'turned to the Lord Jesus Christ by his power and spirit . . . free teaching and feeding with his eternal and heavenly food'.¹⁰⁴ In the north-east, centres of Quaker support included Grendon, Shuttington, Tamworth and especially Baddesley Ensor, where the first and greatest Quaker meeting was based.¹⁰⁵

The Quakers' refusal to pay tithes, and their defiant challenges to the habits and conventions of social subordination (such as 'hat-honour' or respectful language) along with their dramatic success meant that they aroused the hostility of broad sections of the population and especially that of social élites. Barry Reay has claimed that the self-confidence of the Quakers in 1659 was a major factor in the conservative reaction which brought about the Restoration.¹⁰⁶ Certainly there are many examples from Warwickshire of assaults on the Quakers, concentrated in the years 1659 and 1661. Not only did anti-Quaker feeling fuel the moves towards Restoration, the resurgent conservatives also saw Quakers as prime targets for revenge. In comparison with the Quakers many non-royalists were 'conservatives'. In east Warwickshire the republican Sir Peter Wentworth dispossessed a tenant: 'He had affronted the ministers and

Baptist, wrote *Troublesome Thoughts* as comfort for 'some whose hearts were exceedingly shaken with doubts and scruples and fears concerning the condition of their souls'. (Sig A₂).

¹⁰³ Warwickshire Village History Society: *History of Ettington* (Long Compton, Warwickshire, 1934), 24–5; *History of Radway* (Long Compton, 1937), 10–11; Joseph Besse, *A Collection of the Sufferings of the People Called Quakers* (London, 1753), 762–7; Underdown, *Revel, Riot and Rebellion*, 251 also found that Quakers had a following in 'conservative' areas.

¹⁰⁴ *Journal of George Fox*, Penney, ed., vol. 1: 198–9, 262.

¹⁰⁵ Besse, *Sufferings*, 763; [R. Farnworth], *Witchcraft Cast Out from the Religious Seed and Israel of God* (1655), 1–2, 16–17; *Journal of George Fox*, Penney, ed., vol. 1: 152, 262, 353; William White, *Friends in Warwickshire in the 17th and 18th Centuries* (Birmingham, 1873), 105.

¹⁰⁶ Barry Reay, 'The Quakers, 1659 and the Restoration', *History*, vol. 63 (1978). Reay, 'Popular Hostility Towards Quakers in Mid-seventeenth Century England', *Social History*, vol. 5 (1980). The Quakers' systematic record-keeping has, of course, led to more awareness of their sufferings than those of other groups.

kept meetings at his house, adding that he would see all Quakers hanged, before they should meet in any House of his.¹⁰⁷ The ‘godly’ of Birmingham had little time for Quakers and a ‘rude multitude armed with swords and staves’ broke up a Quaker meeting in 1659. There was violence against Quakers at Radway in the same year while in 1660–1 meetings at Coleshill, Baddesley Ensor, Alcester, Ettington, Long Compton and Brailes were broken up. At Warwick in 1660 Quakers were attacked ‘for opening our shops upon that idolized day which the world calls Christmas’; and 140 Quakers from Warwickshire were said to be in prison by 1661, mostly from the south or the north-east of the county and mostly for non-payment of tithes. Sir Charles Lee and Sir William Underhill, new ‘royalist’ additions to the commission of the peace were regarded as the main persecutors. Underhill’s zeal was increased by his personal position as impropiator of the tithes of Ettington: his victims included a 60-year-old widow Dorothy Lucas imprisoned for non-payment of tithes in Warwick and London in 1661.¹⁰⁸

Something briefly must be said of the social and geographical distribution of radical religion in Warwickshire. It was not necessarily rooted in the larger towns: Birmingham and Coventry were usually closely controlled by orthodox Puritan opinion. At Alcester and Warwick, however, radical developments of orthodox beliefs occurred often with encouragement from the soldiery.¹⁰⁹ The more thoroughgoing challenges to Protestant orthodoxy associated loosely with Quakers and General Baptists had a largely rural base particularly amongst the scattered and semi-industrial areas of the north-east and east and in larger southern villages. There is little sign of religious radicalism in smaller, tightly-knit, nucleated villages of the county. The nature of social relationships and the relative opportunities for independent action seem to be important in this pattern but other factors are relevant. The absence of strict Puritan control meant that radical speculation often flourished in areas like Brailes or the town of Henley which the ‘godly’ saw as profane or popish. Finally the patterns of evangelism by men like Onley and Fox have an obvious impact. Information on the social background of radicals in this period is very scanty but most people mentioned by conservatives or in Quaker records were from the middle ranks of society – craftsmen and women, husbandmen or yeomen. Systematic analysis from after the Restoration found that Protestant dissenters were

¹⁰⁷ Besse, *Sufferings*, 762.

¹⁰⁸ Warwick County Records, vol. 8: cviii–cix, cxv–cxviii; White, *Friends in Warwickshire*, 31; Besse, *Sufferings*, 763–5.

¹⁰⁹ For comment on the influence of the military, Thomas Edwards, *Gangraena* (1646), part 1: 149; part 3: 107, 250–1.

wealthier than the norm for the population but this was largely because respectable Presbyterians and Independents had now been made into dissenters; Quakers and Baptists were poorer and their social character mirrored that of the general population.¹¹⁰

Increasingly, research into the religious developments of the Interregnum, and indeed of the whole post-Reformation period, emphasises conservative 'traditional' views rather than radical beliefs.¹¹¹ 'Parish', 'folk' or 'popular' Anglicanism apparently flourished despite the exhortations of the godly. This Anglicanism was in essence an adherence to a non-Laudian but also non-Puritan Church of England with a deep affection for the liturgy of the Common Prayer Book which was rarely overcome by the Westminster Assembly's austere Directory of Worship. Anglican worship maintained a regular rhythm through the year; it accepted that ritual, ceremony, festivities, and images as well as preaching and the Scriptures could help people to faith; it saw the 'communion' as an embodiment of parochial unity not as a means of separating out the 'scandalous and prophane'. 'Anglican' preachers stressed the simple fundamentals of faith and laid more emphasis on ordinary day to day good behaviour: as a prominent episcopalian preached after the Restoration: 'a man should first be honest, then holy, first just and then religious'. This was much more comforting than the alarming denunciations of sin combined with the Calvinist insistence that leading a good life was no guarantee of salvation that were the hallmarks of the godly reformers.¹¹² It is indeed plausible that this set of beliefs and practices was more acceptable to many people than either the orthodox reforming programme or the risky radical enterprises. However, investigation of these issues in a Warwickshire context suggests two qualifications to recent work. In the first place, the Anglicanism of the 1640s and 1650s is often seen as a pre-existing 'tradition', defended against the Puritan onslaught. It seems at least as likely that it was the self-confident, demanding and intrusive Puritanism of the Interregnum which crystallised and intensified a diffuse body of attitudes and behaviour which could be called 'Anglican'. There is little sign of a flourishing Anglican position before 1640 although some discrete aspects can be discerned: an adherence to festivities or a belief in conformity almost for its own sake

¹¹⁰ Judith J. Hurwich, 'Dissent and Catholicism in English Society: A Study of Warwickshire, 1660-1720', *J.B.S.*, vol. 16 (1) (1976), especially 37, 40, 53.

¹¹¹ See especially John Morrill, 'The Church in England' in Morrill, ed., *Reactions to the English Civil War*; Underdown, *Revel, Riot and Rebellion*, chapter 9.

¹¹² See Vines, *The Purifying of Unclean Hearts* p. 18 (quoted p. 306 above) for a 'Puritan' view of the communion. John Riland, *Moses the Peace Maker* (Oxford, 1662), 20 (bound with his *Elias the Second*, separate pagination).

are examples.¹¹³ Secondly, all discussions assume that Anglicanism is the faith of the (silent) majority. This is certainly plausible but it is important to recognise that the sources survive only for the identification of another minority who resisted Puritan reforms or defended ‘Anglican’ practices. Known ‘Anglicans’ like the godly or the radicals are another minority.

Churchwardens’ accounts are now much used by historians to assess the impact of religious changes at the parochial level. John Morrill’s extensive survey for this period has shown that the ‘Anglican’ practice of Easter communion survived for much of the 1640s, despite Puritan disapproval, and revived again when reforming pressure was relaxed in the mid 1650s. A frequent effect of the introduction of the Directory was the suspension of the sacrament altogether.¹¹⁴ The Directory laid down that ‘The communion or supper of the Lord is frequently to be celebrated’ but also asserted that ‘the ignorant and the scandalous are not fit to receive this sacrament’ so that very careful preparation was needed.¹¹⁵ Many Puritan ministers felt that where this preparation was not possible, often because no parochial eldership had been created, it was better not to hold communion at all while ministers of varying opinions might consider the whole process too divisive to attempt. Very few churchwardens’ accounts from this period survive for Warwickshire and they do not indicate widespread Anglican ‘survivalism’. There is more sign of the suspension of the sacrament. At St Nicholas, Warwick, which had an orthodox Puritan minister, communions (measured by spending on communion wine) continued almost at the pre-war level for the 1640s but no ‘wine money’ is listed in the accounts from 1650–1 until 1662–3. It is not possible to tell if communion was celebrated specifically at Easter or Whit. No copy of the Directory is listed in an inventory of church property of 1649 but the parish purchased a copy of the Covenant in 1643 and two acts for ‘the better observation of the sabbath’ in 1657.¹¹⁶ At Fillongley, in north Warwickshire the accounts for the 1640s and 1650s are scrappy, and missing altogether from 1655 to 1662 which may indicate a lack of interest in the affairs of the parish as a whole and a retreat by a Puritan minister into a concentration on the godly of the community only.¹¹⁷ Such exclusivity or such a suspension of communal, parochial ritual was no doubt often resented. Signs of division in Fillongley are hinted at in the constables’ accounts: £5 was spent in 1655, ‘for keeping an

¹¹³ See chapter 3 above.

¹¹⁴ Morrill, ‘The Church in England’, 107.

¹¹⁵ *A Directory for the Publique Worship of God*, Ian Breward, ed. (Bramcote, 1980), 21.

¹¹⁶ W.C.R.O. DR87/2.

¹¹⁷ W.C.R.O. DR404/49. William Brooks, minister of Fillongley from 1652, was ejected at the Restoration and licensed in the parish as a Presbyterian in 1672: Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, 80.

extraordinary watch to keep quiet on the Wake Monday at night'.¹¹⁸ Resistance, or better, imperviousness to the godly impulse is revealed also at Alcester, despite the endeavours of Samuel Clarke and his Puritan successor Samuel Tickner, where 'superstitious paints' in the church had not been removed by 1657.¹¹⁹ The fullest, although still anecdotal evidence for more positive support for traditional festivities and more aggressive opposition to godly reform comes from Henley-in-Arden, in Thomas Hall's view, a town where profanity and sectarianism both flourished and indeed fed on each other.¹²⁰ In the early 1650s the Henley cure was vacant, with orthodox preachers authorised to serve there on an *ad hoc* basis; on at least two occasions there ministers were attacked by hostile parishioners. One such 'intruded' minister, John Fawkes complained to the Indemnity Commissioners in 1653: 'Sarah, the wife of Edward Biggs and divers other women of that parish with the assent of their husbands (whose custom it was to disturb such as were authorized to preach there by the sequestrators) came up . . . and with threatening and abusive language commanded your petitioner Fawkes to come forth.'¹²¹ In the same year, several inhabitants of Henley were indicted at Quarter Sessions for a riotous assembly which disturbed James Cooke who had been authorised to preach there. The inhabitants had then retained the keys to their chapel to prevent any more unwelcome preaching.¹²² Finally Henley inhabitants came to the attention of J.P.s at Easter 1655:

The court was informed that usually heretofore there have been at Henley in Arden in this county several unlawful meetings of idle and vain persons about this time of the year for erecting of may-poles and may-bushes, and for using of morris dances and other heathenish and unlawful customs, the observations whereof tendeth to draw together a great concourse of loose people and consequently to the hazard of the public peace.¹²³

Discontent at the godly regime was articulated also by individuals: William Dugdale's private satires on Puritanism were mentioned above while one humble man was braver. In 1658 Warwickshire J.P.s complained to the Council of State that Ralph Blick, constable of Budbrooke, had at the last assizes maliciously prosecuted William Whitehead a Budbrooke man who attended Warwick Congregational Church for non-attendance at his parish church. As the Council realised, such action tended 'to the abridging of that liberty which the law allows, as also to the unjust vexation of peaceable minded people . . . the disquiet

¹¹⁸ DR404/85. ¹¹⁹ Q.S.O.B., vol. 4: 6. ¹²⁰ Hall, 'Life', 53.

¹²¹ SP24/47 (*Fawkes and Kirby v. Biggs*). The case came before the Indemnity Commissioners because Fawkes and an ally had been prosecuted at Worcester assizes for an assault arising from a brawl in the church. ¹²² Q.S.O.B., vol. 3: 196.

¹²³ *Ibid*, 271-2; Solihull, not far from Henley, was the object of a similar, unsuccessful attempt by J.P.s, to prevent Easter festivities in 1650: *Ibid*, 3; see discussion in chapter 7, above.

and discouragement of many peaceable and godly persons in Christian conversation'.¹²⁴

The most prominent 'victims' of Parliament's attempts at religious reform were, of course, those clergy who lost their livings because of scandalous lives or on account of their political or religious views. Thirty-eight parish clergy from Warwickshire are recorded in Matthews, *Walker Revised* of whom thirty-four were ejected while the other four were harassed temporarily.¹²⁵ Five of the thirty-four ejected ministers were pluralists who kept one living or men who subsequently accepted another living. A further fifteen are noted in the records of the county committee or the Committee for Plundered Ministers as accused, or under sequestration, but in most cases the outcome of proceedings against them is unknown.¹²⁶ Information on reasons for ejection is available in thirteen cases: in only two instances was doctrine mentioned; two ministers were purged for pluralism; four were accused of scandal in life and seven of 'malignancy' – or political opposition to Parliament.¹²⁷ Acceptance, at least, of the Laudian Church was a more prominent characteristic of these clergy than the bare statistics suggest. In forty-four of the fifty-three cases the date of the cleric's first entrance to a living can be discovered: thirty had entered a cure after 1626; only fourteen had served in the more easy-going Jacobean church – and this category included the prominent Arminian Francis Holyoake of Southam. The ejected Warwickshire clergy had a narrower background and were less inclined to 'after-conformity' in the Interregnum church than the general group of purged clergy studied by Green.¹²⁸ This perhaps explains the lack of much discernible reaction to the disruption of over a quarter of the county's parishes. Morrill has shown how in parts of England many parishioners defended their ejected ministers and their use of the Common Prayer Book in particular; a 'prayer-book rebellion' erupted in some areas in 1647.¹²⁹ Apart from the Henley incidents already discussed there is little

¹²⁴ SP25/78 p. 874, May 1658.

¹²⁵ Matthews, *Walker Revised*, especially 362–7. For a general account of these purges: Ian Green, 'The Persecution of "Scandalous" and "Malignant" Clergy During the English Civil War', *E.H.R.*, vol. 94 (1979). ¹²⁶ B.L. Add MS 15669–15671, 35098.

¹²⁷ Information from *Walker Revised* and Committee of Plundered Ministers Records; the total does not add up to thirteen because some ministers were accused of several offences.

¹²⁸ Green, 'The Persecution of "Scandalous" and "Malignant" Clergy'. This is not to imply that Parliament's purge was completely systematic. Obvious candidates like Holyoake and the extreme royalist, John Doughty did lose their livings but Christopher Harvey of Clifton suffered only temporary harassment. Yet he had raised doubts about the legality of the Protestation in March 1642 and written a treatise against rebellion in 1645. Sensibly, he did not publish this until 1661, but his views could not have been completely unknown: H.M.C. 5th Report (House of Lords), 15; Harvey, *The Right Rebel* (1661), preface; *D.N.B.*

¹²⁹ Morrill, 'The Church in England', 111–12.

sign of widespread support for the royalist or Anglican clergy. Trouble over the ejections did occur and is recorded in the records of the Committee of Plundered Ministers and Indemnity. But it mainly involved the individual cleric trying to obstruct proceedings or defend his property rights against the intruders. Ideological conflict does not appear in the sources (which is not to imply it was absent in fact).¹³⁰

The hopes and aspirations of the orthodox, godly reformers, which had remained high despite setbacks in the 1640s and the 1650s, faltered and then slumped between 1660 and 1662. Although he welcomed the return of the monarchy Thomas Hall found other developments ominous: 'The year 1660 was a great year of combating with profane and superstitious persons; before he contended with white devils that pretended to extraordinary sanctity, now he was to grapple with black ones; drunkards, atheists, papists, liars, and the rest of those black-guards.'¹³¹ During an illness in August 1661, Hall welcomed death; he would be 'set free from a debauched, superstitious, apostatising generation and be hid from those fearful evils which he foresaw were coming upon the land. He looked upon it as a very good time to die.'

Not all Puritan ministers were as prescient as Hall. Few of the orthodox had ever been wedded irrevocably to particular forms of church government and in the immediate aftermath of the Restoration a moderated episcopal settlement seemed possible. When Richard Baxter refused a bishopric in 1660, amongst the replacements he suggested were John Bryan, Obadiah Grew, John Trapp and Anthony Burgess.¹³² Two years later, all except Trapp lost their livings when they were unable to subscribe the oaths required by the Act of Uniformity. George Morley, Bishop of Worcester, surveyed the clergy of his diocese in the autumn of 1661 and several who were to be ejected within the year acknowledged his authority and exhibited a variety of authorisations of their own positions: Alexander Bean of Stratford presented his certificate of ordination by an Irish bishop; Samuel Tickner of Alcester and James Wright of Wootton Wawen showed their Presbyterian ordination certificates.¹³³ Only six Warwickshire ministers lost their livings to returning royalists in 1660 but thirty-three ejections took place under the 1662 act. Thirty-six incumbents of parochial livings in all were removed along with three

¹³⁰ A very complex set of indemnity proceedings over the tithes of Ilmington, sequestered from Dr Thomas King, involved many parishioners and suggests a very divided parish. But the overt cause of dispute is property not religious practice: SP24/33 (*Barker v. Brent*); /47 (*Flower v. Barker*); /76 (*Taylor v. Barker*). Of five other indemnity cases involving ministers, only *Fowler v. Biggs* (n.121 above) is not concerned with property. ¹³¹ Hall, 'Life', 82; cf. Hall, *Funebria Florae*.

¹³² *Reliquiae Baxterianae*, 283.

¹³³ Worcester Diocesan Records BA2951, *Liber Cleri*, ff.15r, 18v, 20v.

lecturers or schoolmasters.¹³⁴ Many of the county's most eminent pastors left their posts: Basnet, Grew and Bryan at Coventry, Bean, Tickner, Butler of St Nicholas, Warwick, Samuel Wills at Birmingham and Anthony Burgess at Sutton Coldfield. Predictably, many of those ejected had first entered the church in the 1640s and 1650s but ten of the ejected parochial clergy had conformed before 1642: they included Burgess, Bryan, Wills and Tristram Diamond of Foleshill who renounced the living he had held for half a century.¹³⁵ Of all the vicissitudes godly reformers had faced since the 1620s, this was the cruellest. Men who had spent the previous twenty years arguing against separatists and sectaries now faced the prospect of separating themselves (or being separated) from the ministry of the national church. The agonising dilemma shattered many intimate personal and professional relationships. Henry Butler found himself replaced at St Nicholas, Warwick by Thomas Glover, Master of the Leicester Hospital in the town, with whom Butler had acted as a trustee in Glover family settlements.¹³⁶ Of the thirteen 'brethren' of the Kenilworth classis listed by Ley, ten were still alive in 1662 and eight of these could not bring themselves to conform, although one of this eight, Samuel Hawes of Honiley had been reconciled to the church by 1667.¹³⁷ Two prominent members of the classis however, Thomas Dugard and John Trapp, conformed despite their previously close links with many of the deprived. A brief résumé of some individual reactions to the 1662 dilemma adds to our understanding of its poignancy. The conformist Richard Venour of St Mary's Warwick had not participated in the Kenilworth classis but he had co-operated in a non-dogmatic way with the Interregnum orthodox signing the 1648 'Testimony' and acting as an 'assistant' to the local ejectors in 1654. In 1662 he published a speech given at St Mary's in September 1660, 'upon my beginning to read the book of Common Prayer again publicly in the Church after sixteen years discontinuance'. Initially he claimed that many religious people had hoped 'some few things both in the hierarchy and frame of Church-government by episcopacy, as also in the liturgy . . . might (in that noise or tumult) have been regulated and altered for the prevention of inconveniences'. But things had got out of hand and the liturgy and episcopacy had been destroyed in 'a most terrible, barbarous and bloody civil war' which had culminated in the execution of the

¹³⁴ Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, *passim*.

¹³⁵ Eleven of the ejected first acquired a living in the 1640s, fourteen in the 1650s and there is one for whom no information is available. (Information from Matthews, *Calamy Revised* and standard biographical sources.)

¹³⁶ BA2951 f.18v; CR1866/2610, 6695 for Glover family settlements of 1650 and 1660 in which Thomas Dugard was also concerned. ¹³⁷ Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, 253.

Archbishop of Canterbury and 'the most execrable murder of the late King's Majesty'. Hence there had been 'abundance of non-sense (if not worse) uttered by men of weak abilities, parts and gifts, in celebrating the mysteries of God . . . hence have sprung those swarms of sectaries that have so long annoyed us'. The previous twenty years had convinced Venour 'that there is ground enough in the gospel and the practice of the primitive and succeeding ages, for the continuance of evangelical, paternal, primitive, episcopacy in the church to the end of the world' and that there was a need for a common public form of worship. It was dangerous to set the liturgy 'too high and deify it' for it was not the equal of the Scriptures but, equally, to vilify the Book of Common Prayer was an attack on the first reformers of the Church of England, many of them martyrs.¹³⁸ Anthony Burgess, like Venour, had served in an episcopal church but he felt that the 1662 settlement was a different proposition; as Richard Baxter described, 'though in the old conformity he was before a comformable man, yet he was so far from the new conformity, that on his deathbed he professed great satisfaction in his mind that he had not conformed'.¹³⁹

The doctrinaire Thomas Hall, who had not died in 1661, spared no sentimentality on either bishops or the Book of Common Prayer. In 1662 he had an argument with John Gauden, Morley's successor at Worcester about set prayers which the bishop defended and Hall opposed. Hall added for good measure that the Book of Common Prayer was 'nauseous and odious' and that bishops had failed to improve the standards of the clergy while 'Presbyterians admitted of none but such as could both pray and preach'. Hall ended his anecdote by declaring, 'from proud self-seeking prelates Good Lord deliver us' and noted with self satisfaction that within a month 'the proud prelate was dead'.¹⁴⁰ For a former colleague of Hall in the Kenilworth classis, but one who was less brave and more accommodating, Gauden's death contributed to the difficult process of self-rehabilitation after the Restoration. In December 1663, Thomas Dugard of Barford, who had conformed in 1662, was reported by some of his parishioners to the J.P.s and by them to the Privy Council, for preaching 'that the book of liberty, which was set forth by the late king was the cause of all the war and bloodshed in this nation, which if this king should tolerate the like, which God forbid he should, then we might very well say, farewell England'.¹⁴¹ A year later, Dugard published a collection of his verse which included poems bewailing the execution of Charles I, extolling the book of Common Prayer and praising several of

¹³⁸ *A and O*, vol. 2: 983; Venour, *Panoplia, or the whole armour of God Explained and Applied* (1662), preface. ¹³⁹ *Reliquiae Baxterianae*, part three: 93. ¹⁴⁰ Hall, 'Life', 83.

¹⁴¹ SP29/85/101.

his colleagues and friends amongst the clergy. All the clergy commemorated were either dead or conformists. John Ley who died in 1662 is included as are John Trapp and Richard Venour but there is no mention of non-conformists like Henry Butler or John Bryan yet Dugard had worked very closely with Butler and had been an intimate of Bryan's for thirty years. Typical Dugard lines were inspired by Gauden's death:

When Bishop Gauden was about to go
A visiting, the Bishop of Souls said NO . . .
The orphan clergy with Elisha cries,
My father, my dear father from us flies . . .
Yea his whole flock accounteth the translation
Of this rare bishop a sore visitation.¹⁴²

While the godly clergy covered their tracks or left their livings, with sadness or defiance, parish administration apparently reacted in a down to earth manner. Parishes who had painted over the king's arms in 1650–1, set them up again in 1660–1 and purchased the new Book of Common Prayer in 1662–3. Episcopal visitations recommenced.¹⁴³ But the ecclesiastical peace indicated in churchwardens' accounts was illusory for it proved impossible to undo the impact of the 1640s and 1650s and reunite English Protestants. As we have seen, Quakers and, in a more precarious fashion, Baptists continued to meet despite frequent severe persecution between 1660 and 1689. Bryan, Grew and Wills continued to preach in Coventry, Birmingham and other towns despite the harassment of the 1660s and emerged into a temporary legality with the 1672 Declaration of Indulgence.¹⁴⁴ The 1676 survey of non-conformity, the 'Compton Census' suggested that almost 5% of Warwickshire men and women were Protestant 'dissenters' while one modern analysis claims that in the 1670s and 1680s as many as 13% of the county's households were dissenting; this figure does seem very high, however.¹⁴⁵ Of these non-conformists 70% were not radical separatists but respectable Presbyterians with some Congregationalists, many of whom found it very difficult to conceive of themselves as 'dissenters'. Although the post-Restoration period saw a dramatic defection of the landed gentry from 'Puritanism' or non-conformity, respectable Protestant non-conformists were wealthier men than the average of the population because of their support amongst prosperous urban groups. As with more radical religious groupings, Warwickshire Presbyterianism was found especially in the north and east

¹⁴² Thomas Dugard, *Philobasileus, Philoepiscopus, Philophilus* (1664) *passim* and 29–30 for Gauden.

¹⁴³ E.g. St Nicholas Warwick, Fillongley and Alcester: W.C.R.O. DR87/2; DR404/49; DR360/63. (These last, Alcester accounts, cover the early 1660s only.)

¹⁴⁴ Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, 83, 236, 534. ¹⁴⁵ Hurwich, 'Dissent and Catholicism'.

of the county, in Hemlingford and Knightlow Hundreds, but it was much more concentrated in the towns: half the congregations licensed in 1689 were located in Birmingham, Warwick, Coventry and Stratford.¹⁴⁶ By the time of the Toleration Act of 1689 Presbyterians were slowly coming to accept that they were not going to achieve a thoroughgoing reform of church and society and were settling for a marginal, although significant position as part of an urban middle-class culture. The political developments of 1659–62 were crucial to the beginning of this process of marginalisation and it is to these developments that we must now turn.

The sources for political developments in Warwickshire become fuller from the winter 1659, reflecting no doubt increasing political activity, particularly by moderate gentry, but suggestive also of the fact that many did not need to be ashamed of these political initiatives after 1660. While the restoration of the Rump in May 1659 aroused enthusiasm amongst a small group of radicals, half-hearted attempts at a royalist rising in August flopped. William Purefoy, with a few old comrades like Basnet, Hobson and Hawkesworth, and some more recent zealots like William Thornton of Manceter, a sequestration commissioner from the early 1650s, and a Coventry merchant John Crichlow who was Basnet's son-in-law, organised the militia and tried to recreate the machinery of sequestration.¹⁴⁷ This group managed to organise a petition in support of the Republic from the 'well-affected gentlemen, freeholders and others' of the county but more ominous for Parliamentarians was the estrangement of former colleagues; notably in Warwickshire the absence of the Cromwellian Beake from the militia committee and the suspicions over his loyalty.¹⁴⁸ Following the second dispersal of the Rump and the confusion of late 1659, it was men like Beake who began the moves against army rule in England as Monck crossed the border from Scotland. Lucy Hutchinson later recalled that her husband, Colonel Hacker, Robert Beake and 'another Colonel' at Warwick, presumably Hawkesworth, planned to rise for a free parliament and a commonwealth in

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid*; *Warwick County Records*, vols. 7 and 8, introductions, survey post-Restoration 'dissent', using the evidence of ecclesiastical records, Quarter Sessions, and non-conformist histories. Until the eighteenth century respectable dissent in Warwickshire was Presbyterian: only two significant congregations, at Coventry and Warwick, were Independent.

¹⁴⁷ For the militia: the very large militia committee of July 1659 is in *A. and O.*, vol. 2: 1334; for active commissioners and officers (a smaller group): SP18/220/71: 1; *C.J.*, vol. 7: 772, 779 for the sequestrations (including Basnet, Crichlow, Thornton along with Robert King and Samuel Ayres, two obscure figures): SP23/264/52. For the Crichlow, Basnet connection: Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, 34. W.C.R.O. M1 229/1, Finch-Knightley of Packington MS, Militia Book 1659, suggests (despite confused recordings) that very few men and very little money were raised for the militia in the summer of 1659. Approximately a quarter of the sums assessed were received.

¹⁴⁸ *C.J.*, vol. 7: 793 for the petition; for Beake see above pp. 291–4.

December. No rising was necessary: on 26 December, the very day the Rump returned for the last time, the mayor of Coventry reported to Speaker Lenthall that the city was secured for the Parliament and that Hawkesworth had promised to secure Warwick within hours. In the view of royalist commentators and of the authorities in London who thanked him fulsomely on 6 January, Beake's initiative was crucial.¹⁴⁹ As yet, this local coup had secured Warwickshire for the Rump, but the agitation for a *free* parliament soon gathered strength. These days were probably a vital turning-point on the way to a Restoration but there was no headlong or straightforward rush in the county towards royalist enthusiasm. The undoubted Parliamentarian Beake stimulated a process whereby more moderate Parliamentarians, especially those alienated by the events of 1648, the non-aligned and enthusiastic royalists jostled for dominance of the county in a manner unprecedented for the seventeenth-century Warwickshire gentry. It is hardly too fanciful to suggest that Beake's despair at the results of parliamentarian divisions in December 1659 helped to trigger a chain reaction which culminated in his own political eclipse in 1662. The Rump's assessment committee of late January 1660 showed few changes since the previous summer's militia list, although the most well-known radical figures, Richard Creed and Thomas Hobson, were absent and some respectable names were added – Thomas Boughton, son of the Recruiter M.P., and Chief Justice Richard Newdigate.¹⁵⁰ In the county, however, the leading gentry were meeting regularly to organise a petition for the freedom of the Parliament and the peace of the county, as one leading participant, the third Lord Conway described it.¹⁵¹ Moderate Parliamentarians seem to have been prominent in the organisation: Conway regarded himself as a '48er' whose priorities were reconciliation; congratulating his cousin Edward Harley on his re-admission to Parliament in February, he wrote: 'If I were admitted (who I think may pretend to be a secluded member) my vote should be that all parties might be put into a secure, peaceable and quiet condition both for conscience and estate, which is the only way to take off that edge of war which runs through the nations'.¹⁵² Thomas Archer who had held military command under Denbigh in the 1640s and accepted the 1650s

¹⁴⁹ Lucy Hutchinson, *Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson*, James Sutherland, ed. (Oxford, 1973), 222; H.M.C. Portland I, 689. *Calendar of Clarendon State Papers*, vol. 4: 508–12; *C.S.P.D.* 1659–60, 302. Beake raised soldiers in Coventry who were paid for out of the assessment ordered by the Rump in July 1659: E178/6506. For similar initiatives in other counties, usually more directly for a *free* parliament, see Ronald Hutton, *The Restoration* (Oxford, 1985), 89.

¹⁵⁰ *A. and O.*, vol. 2: 1380–1; 1380/1; *C.J.*, vol. 7: 822.

¹⁵¹ B.L. Loan 29/177 f.182r, Conway to his cousin Edward Harley.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, f.188r, 25 February.

regimes was active in soliciting support for the petition.¹⁵³ As sent to Monck at the end of January, the Warwickshire petition differed significantly from those of other counties. It did contain the conventional request for a free parliament although this was linked to a non-moderate rhetoric:

The cause of our present calamities (we conceive) proceeds from the many revolutions, through maladministration of government, and want of the right constitution of Parliaments. And that after all our great and intolerable sufferings, the vast expense of blood and treasure, for our rights and liberties, and privileges, of Parliament (which we take to be the good old cause) we, with most of counties of this nation, have not our representatives in a free parliament.

We therefore do declare, that we shall not consent to pay any tax or imposition, but by our representatives freely elected, according to the fundamental laws of this nation; it being the indubitable and indisputable right of all the free-born people of England, that no tax or imposition whatsoever, be put upon, or exacted from them, but by their consents had by their Representatives in Parliament.¹⁵⁴

Many of the other demands, however, indicate the continuing determination, if not necessarily the numerical strength, of parliamentary zealots in Warwickshire, besides the presence of a large group of gentry who were in no sense unconditional monarchists. Thus they called for 'the burying of all animosities and differences – by a full and general act of oblivion and indemnity, and consideration to be had of purchasers claiming by act of parliament'. Arrears were to be paid, 'that no officer or soldier who hath ventured his life for the freedom of his country, and shall continue faithful to those principles, should be hereby discouraged'. (It was, presumably, difficult by January 1660 to judge who exactly these faithful soldiers were.) Finally, in contrast to other county petitions which attacked religious 'extremism', the Warwickshire men asked, 'that such liberty be allowed to tender consciences as is agreeable to the revealed will of God in the holy scriptures'.

The addition of the secluded members to the Rump on 21 February encouraged greater aggression amongst moderates. Two concerns occupied them, and the more royalist gentry, for the next two months: the election campaign for the 'Convention' and securing control of the county militia. Although Sir Peter Wentworth and Sir Roger Burgoyne sat in the restored Long Parliament, both Warwickshire M.P.s (Thomas Boughton and Sir John Burgoyne) were dead, and Conway's cousin Edward Harley

¹⁵³ Fetherstone Correspondence, xerox Birmingham Reference Library, vol. 1, 1, Archer to Fetherstone January 1660; S.B.T. DR37/Box 87 has a copy of the petition signed by Thomas Temple of Frankton and forty others.

¹⁵⁴ SP18/219/36. Other examples of county petitions include 219/37 (Kent) which did not mention support for the army and /38, 39 (Buckinghamshire, Cheshire, Shropshire and Staffordshire) which were overtly hostile to the military. The Kent petition attacked religious radicals.

M.P. acted as an intermediary to 'manage the affairs of the county'. On 3 March Conway transmitted the gentry's nominations for the commission of the peace, and the militia, 'in which they have not omitted the principal of such as have been employed in all changes, the rest were in actual service for the Parliament till 48, or very great promoters of their late petition for a free Parliament'. Conway himself had 'waived all employment ever since you did so yourself, but it is my intention for the future to act with them'.¹⁵⁵ The militia committee of 12 March was certainly a hybrid body, nonetheless drastically altered from most Warwickshire committees since 1642.¹⁵⁶ Headed by three peers, Denbigh, Conway and Brooke, it brought back moderate men who had been absent in 1659, like Beake, Temple and Burgoyne, and included those whose Parliamentarianism was ambiguous or very far behind them, as Charles Bentley, Hastings Ingram and William Colemore. Along with the usual names from the 1650s such as Lucy, the Archers, Hawkesworth and Willington (but not Crichlow or Basnet), came in the uncommitted and some with royalist connections: Sir Robert Holte, William Somerville and William Underhill. The officers of the militia whose names were sent up to Harley on 31 March were also a compromise group. Although Conway complained that 'the contrary party' (those with more sympathy for the regimes of the 1650s) had outnumbered his and Brooke's allies at recent meetings, they had confined their opponents' 'share to little more than two companies of foot' out of two horse troops and six foot companies. Brooke, the commander, had reserve nominations for the two companies if the Council of State agreed.¹⁵⁷ Certainly the horse officers, whose names are known, were a thoroughly respectable group, socially and politically, of peers and gentry with royalist, moderate parliamentarian or neutral pasts with the exception of two Purefoys – a repentant George Purefoy, once the Wat Tyler of Compton House, as a quarter master and the regicide's unloved nephew, namesake and heir as a lieutenant. Brooke's major was Kildare, Lord Digby; his captains, Holte, Thomas Archer and Somerville, while junior officers included a Dilke, a Newsham, a Clopton, and a Knottesford.¹⁵⁸ Conway and Brooke were confident of gaining control providing Hawkesworth could be induced to surrender Warwick Castle:

¹⁵⁵ B.L. Loan 29/177 f.198r.

¹⁵⁶ *A. and O.*, vol. 2: 1444–5; Ingram and Underhill were added only after debate in the Commons: *C.J.*, vol. 7: 870. ¹⁵⁷ B.L. Loan 29/177 f.209r.

¹⁵⁸ Commission of Thomas Fetherstone as cornet in Sir Robert Holte's troop of horse, 20 April 1660: Fetherstone–Dilke Manuscripts. William Purefoy senior's will seems to regret that he could not alter the settlement of his estates upon his nephew: Prob 11/304 f.77.

though by reason of his long dependence upon my Lord Brooke, and some considerable engagements of money which he is in for the soldiers, that his Lordship will clear him of, he is very willing to deliver it up to him, yet upon all other occasions he will go against us, and thereby obstruct the principal design which we fancy in this militia, that is, that under the protection of it, the gentry and the whole country may gather unanimously together to serve the Parliament.¹⁵⁹

The reference to the gentry echoes Conway's remark in an earlier letter that the moderates' aim in Warwickshire was to establish a 'very gallant militia' of gentry and freeholders only, eschewing figures like Hawkesworth, a household official of Brooke's father, who had risen to military power in the Civil War. As recent historians as various as Christopher Hill and Ronald Hutton have noted, the return of the militia to the nobility and gentry in March 1660 was a crucial moment in the Restoration.¹⁶⁰ The nature of the militia in the early 1660s is profoundly suggestive of the political and social changes that had occurred since the 1620s and justifies a brief résumé, looking backwards and forwards from April 1660. Before the Civil War the county militia comprised the 'people' of the shire, a combination of the gentry and the respectable representatives of individual communities, a taken-for-granted embodiment of an ordered hierarchy; in Warwickshire for much of the pre-war period the militia was treated in an easy-going fashion. The summer of 1642, when Brooke and Northampton competed for dominance of Warwickshire's militia heralded the start of almost two decades of direct politicisation of the militia. Until 1660, and most notably in the early 1650s, in the year of the major-generals and in the summer of 1659, the militia was a narrower and contentious body of the politically committed, the honest godly adherents of Parliament – in intention at least. The abortive militia ordinance of December 1648 and the successfully established militia committee of March 1660 represented attempts to return to a socially, rather than politically ordered militia.¹⁶¹ From 1660, however, the militia was a more aggressive, more self-conscious and more ideologically limited representation of a gentry-dominated society: there was no return

¹⁵⁹ B.L. Loan 29/177 f.209r. Hawkesworth's position is a good illustration of how desertion of the Committee of Safety in December 1659 was by no means a sign of moderation let alone royalism: Brooke had removed Hawkesworth by May 1660; Staffs R.O. D 868/3/9a, Rachel, Lady Newport to her brother Sir Richard Leveson.

¹⁶⁰ B.L. Loan 29/177 f. 198r; C. Hill, *The Experience of Defeat* (London, 1984), 283. Hutton, *The Restoration*, 103.

¹⁶¹ The militia committee and officers of 1659 have been discussed above. For the officers of 1650 see *C.S.P.D. 1650*, 504–13. The men nominated were overwhelmingly staunch supporters of Parliament, ex-Civil-War military or official figures: Barker, Purefoy, Hawkesworth, John Halford, Willington, Samuel Ward, William Thornton, Robert Girdler, Gilbert Dukeson, etc. Exceptions might be the more ambiguous figures of Edward Peyto and Robert Phippes. Hawkesworth led the militia established under Whalley in June 1655: SP25/77 p. 870.

to the pre-1642 position.¹⁶² The first deputy lieutenants appointed after the Restoration by James, Earl of Northampton, the returned royalist lord lieutenant, did include three non-royalists out of eight but the militia's most important duty in the early 1660s was searching out the 'factious and turbulent persons' still retaining 'their wicked and rebellious principles'.¹⁶³ By the time the county militia was mustered at Warwick in October 1660, Brooke, Archer and the Purefoys had been dropped from the list of officers, and a phenomenon, characteristic of the Restoration militia made its first appearance: volunteer troops and companies consisting only of peers and gentlemen. One horse troop of officers and eighty-one members had Northampton as its captain, Digby as its lieutenant while the rank and file included Sir Francis and Clement Throckmorton, Charles, son of Lord Leigh, Sir John Reppington, Verneys, Holbeaches and many others.¹⁶⁴ Such exclusive bodies were the most vivid use of the militia to embody landed status, power and indeed pleasure, as they paraded and exercised in their arms.

The vigorous campaign for the county seats in the Convention was conducted by peers and gentry from all parts of Warwickshire and with a variety of political backgrounds. The latest general account suggests that Sir Henry Puckering, the cavalier adopted heir of Sir Thomas, 'managed' the election in the 'royalist interest' but there seems to be little evidence for this besides a letter of encouragement from Puckering to Thomas Archer, whose candidacy, along with that of George Browne of Radford, Puckering was supporting.¹⁶⁵ Archer and Browne were no doubt supporters of monarchy but they were moderate rather than straightforwardly royalist figures; Archer especially had served 1650s regiments. The rivals to Archer and Browne were Sir Edward Boughton and Lord Digby, whose royalist connections were slightly better, but political

¹⁶² The heightened interest in the militia from the summer of 1659 into the early 1660s is reflected in the extensive sources that, for the first time, survive for the Warwickshire militia. W.C.R.O. M1 229/1, Militia Book, 1659; Stowe MS 441 f.104r, Warwickshire militia levies; SP29/19/75, muster at Warwick, 1660; B. Ref. Lib. MS 418427, list of horse in Knightlow and Kineton Hundreds 1662; and the commissions and lists of deputy lieutenants in SP29/11/197–8; B. Ref. Lib. MS 348062; Castle Ashby MS 1088–89; Fetherstone–Dilke MS.

¹⁶³ Castle Ashby MS 1088–89; SP29/4/98 for information about some arms searches in Warwickshire in the summer of 1660. The non-royalist deputies were Sir Richard and Thomas Temple and Sir George Browne. Those with royalist connections were Holte, Puckering, Sir John Shuckborough, Sir Charles Lee and Sir Clement Fisher. Those rejected out of a broader list of nominations in August 1660 were a similarly mixed bunch: the ex-Parliamentarians Lucy and Thomas Archer; the outsiders like George Fane and William Bromley; royalists from families just below the first rank such as John Raleigh and William Underhill and Sir Edward Boughton and Clement Throckmorton who were perhaps just unlucky: SP29/11/197.

¹⁶⁴ SP29/19/75; Hutton, *The Restoration*, 129 for the 1660 militia in general.

¹⁶⁵ *The House of Commons 1660–1690*, vol. 1: 428; S.B.T. DR37/Box 87, Puckering to Archer 1 March 1660; from this letter, Conway again emerges as a crucial figure.

divisions were by no means clear cut. Conway supported Archer and Browne as did Charles Lee of Billesley while Puckering had solicited the help of Thomas Temple, son of the 1642 leader John Temple and succinctly summed up as a 'leader in that part of Israel'. The Cromwellian officials Sir Richard Temple and Richard Lucy were seen as threats to Archer and Browne but ultimately found seats elsewhere. Lord Brooke and the sheriff Sir Robert Holte, with Boughton's consent, were working for 'a general meeting upon results of which they all should acquiesce' and this is probably what occurred for Archer and Browne were elected apparently without a formal contest.¹⁶⁶ In Warwick Borough John Rous and Clement Throckmorton, who had given some support to the conservative side of the Protectorate were returned, but Throckmorton quickly revealed himself as a supporter of episcopacy.¹⁶⁷ Beake was again elected for Coventry along with another moderate supporter of 1650s regimes the lawyer Richard Hopkins. But, in a foreshadowing of changes to come the election was challenged: 'divers names were doubly polled; and some names entered of strangers and persons unknown, as also of almsmen, and others that paid not scot and lot'. The case being 'so various and perplexed', a new election was ordered and although Hopkins was again returned, Beake was replaced by William Jesson, son of the Long Parliament M.P. and therefore member of a long-established leading Coventry family.¹⁶⁸

In 1642 the lack of 'county mindedness' amongst the senior gentry had contributed to the victory of Brooke and his militant and obscure allies. The vicissitudes of the Civil War and Interregnum had perhaps forced the old governing classes of Warwickshire into forming, at last, a 'county community', visible most obviously in the electioneering and the moves to control the militia in the months around the Restoration. Certainly something more like a 'county community of the gentry' seems to have been emerging and the co-operation of the landed classes in the early 1660s seems to have been less qualified by the complexity of the county's economy or the variety of relationships the gentry had with their social inferiors. The 1640s and 1650s had shown most of the gentry very clearly what they had in common. In the place of the implicit and often unacknowledged ideological divisions of pre-1642, there was an acceptance of a strictly limited range of political views: former moderate

¹⁶⁶ S.B.T. DR37/Box 87, Lee to Archer, 21 February 1660; Puckering to Archer; *The House of Commons*, vol. 1: 428; *Return of MPs*, 516 for 1660 M.P.s.

¹⁶⁷ *The House of Commons*, vol. 3: 560 – Throckmorton supported episcopacy and opposed Presbyterianism in a July speech in which he noted the challenge to monarchy mounted by Presbyterians like Knox and Buchanan.

¹⁶⁸ C.J., vol. 8: 106. Until his removal Beake was a very active member of the Convention, as was Hopkins. The other Warwickshire members made little impact.

Parliamentarians were within the political fold but more zealous figures were shunned along with redefined unorthodox religious opinion. In addition an aggressive social, political and administrative backlash was permitted in several spheres of provincial life. An analysis which emphasises the return of some united 'community' along with the monarchy does not do justice to the early 1660s: many were excluded from the reconciliation, while it was not exactly the 'old' community or even the old élites that returned.

No doubt many in Warwickshire shared William Dugdale's enthusiasm for the Restoration: present at Coleshill when Charles II was proclaimed on 10 May 1660, by 13 May he was reported to be riding south all day to meet the king on his return to England.¹⁶⁹ 'The humble address of the nobility and gentry of the county of Warwick' with 108 signatures including Archer's and Lucy's was a formal and general welcome to Charles II from the élite although they were careful to couple support for the law with enthusiasm for monarchy:

As we are not a little sensible of the great felicity which these kingdoms formerly enjoyed in all respects as well ecclesiastical as civil under the prudent government of your Majesty's royal father and grandfather of blessed memory so long as the known laws of the land in reference to both had their due cause and power so are we no less joyful now that by this unspeakable mercy of God your Majesty after so long an interruption is thus peaceably restored to us, we and our posterities both are and shall be made happy in the re-employment of those excellent laws. In defence and maintenance whereof as also of your Majesty's royal person, crown and dignities, we are resolved to adhere to your sacred Majesty with our lives and fortunes.¹⁷⁰

But the county was not unanimously enthusiastic for the Restoration: in April 1660 several Warwickshire men joined the local military figure Major Richard Creed in the futile republican last stand led by Okey and Lambert at Edgehill. As Dugdale rode to meet the king Creed was already in the Tower; at Coventry in June, the militia searched for arms used in Lambert's rising; and the prisoners in Warwick Castle in January 1661 included several of Creed's troop and associates, often from Warwickshire and Northamptonshire, along with religious radicals from the county and elsewhere. The news of Venner's abortive rising in London provoked Warwickshire deputy lieutenants into a flurry of activity against 'fanatics' like Robert Girdler and William Thornton.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁹ *Dugdale* (Hamper), 105; Staffs C.R.O. D868/5/68, Samuel Hinton to John Langley.

¹⁷⁰ SP29/1/49. Northampton and Conway headed the signatories. Notable absentees include Denbigh, Burgoyne, Beake and Basnet.

¹⁷¹ For Lambert's rising see: Hutton, *The Restoration*, 115-16; H.M.C. (Leybourne-Popham MS), 177, 181. C.S.P.D. 1659-60, 297-9; Thomas Hobson was said in 1661 to have acted with Lambert: C.S.P.D. 1661-62, 91; C.J., vol. 8: 34, 39; SP29/4/98 for arms searches; SP29/29/104 for the prisoners - Independents and Anabaptists from Warwickshire were mentioned. H.M.C., 3rd Report, Appendix, 259. (I owe this reference to Hutton, *The Restoration*).

Despite this crackdown in late 1660 on those the government regarded as subversive, more orthodox non-episcopalians remained hopeful into 1661. Letters from London to provincial Presbyterians, ironically intercepted by the authorities, rejoiced at the results of the London elections to the new Parliament in March 1661. John Billingsley, a Birmingham trader, wrote:

I pray God you in the county make so good a choice for we have chosen four very honest men and able men . . . for their judgements as we use to distinguish men, two of them are Presbyterians and two Independents. I believe none of the four will be for bishops. It is a good choice . . . you may acquaint Mr Girdler with it and other honest men.¹⁷²

Young Thomas Hobson wrote home to his father the Coventry 'anabaptist' in similar terms although his 'four honest sober men' included three Independents while Abel Roper, the printer, wrote to one of his authors, the Sutton Coldfield minister Anthony Burgess in praise of 'four able and honest men' and hopeful of a compromise religion settlement.¹⁷³ An unknown correspondent of the mayor of Coventry, John Woolrych, hoped that city would follow London by choosing men loyal to monarchy but sympathetic to 'good ministers': this would happen, he felt, if the 'fanatics' of the city could be induced to support 'sober Presbyterians'.¹⁷⁴ This judgement was way off the mark, for in a startling reversal of earlier practice Coventry's two seats went to outsiders – the royalist gentleman Sir Clement Fisher and a lawyer Thomas Flint who had recently purchased land near the city.¹⁷⁵ In the county and at Warwick Borough, men of more wholehearted royalist and Anglican sentiments than the 1660 members were returned: Sir Robert Holte and Sir Henry Puckering for the shire, Puckering's son and Clement Throckmorton, now Sir Clement, for the borough. This 'Cavalier' Parliament inaugurated the repressive religious settlement, the impact of which was discussed earlier and which had the effect of coupling the sober Independents and Presbyterians with the 'fanatics' already in trouble in 1660.

Other aspects of the backlash are worth highlighting. The corporate pride of the city of Coventry was the most notable casualty. Although the purge through the Corporation Act had a limited impact,¹⁷⁶ the 1661 election was an ominous example of the county gentry's, and also, the Anglican gentry's desire to acquire dominance of the city which had overshadowed the county of Warwickshire since 1642. At the Epiphany 1662 Quarter Sessions the county J.P.s solemnly enrolled an order which

¹⁷² SP29/32/86. ¹⁷³ SP29/32/106, 109. ¹⁷⁴ SP29/32/125.

¹⁷⁵ *House of Commons 1660–1690*, vol. 1: 429.

¹⁷⁶ Hutton, *The Restoration*, 160–1 discusses the varying impact of the act.

some of them at least must have known was untrue.¹⁷⁷ Coventry, they said, had ‘anciently and heretofore’ paid a seventh or an eighth of all ‘great taxes and payments’ imposed on Warwickshire and the city, ‘which proportion hath long continued until the time of the late wars and distractions within this kingdom, and then the citizens of the said city, having the power in their hands (by reason of a committee of Parliament, commonly called The Committee of Safety for the County of Warwick and the city and county of Coventry there sitting) have altered the proportion’ to a fifteenth or sixteenth. In 1661–2, government representatives and informers kept a close eye on this ‘populous and arrogant’ city and as we have seen, all three of the city’s ministers were ejected on Bartholomews Day.¹⁷⁸ The most visible humiliation was in August 1662 when the lord lieutenant, Northampton, accompanied by the leading Warwickshire gentry and the militia, and acting on the king’s orders, ‘razed and demolished’ the city’s gates, walls and fortifications. The king’s rationale was that the city was a stronghold tempting to ‘mutinous and turbulent spirits’ such as those who had recently risen with the fifth monarchist Venner, and that destruction of its defences was preferable to installing a garrison. There was also undoubtedly a large element of spiteful revenge for the city’s role in the Civil War – shown especially in the towns subject to the same fate: Northampton, Gloucester and Taunton too had heroic parliamentary reputations.¹⁷⁹

On a more personal level, leading royalists sought recompense for sufferings at the hands of the Parliamentarians¹⁸⁰ and, more humbly, postmasters of varying political sympathies were restored or replaced.¹⁸¹ Forty-one Warwickshire men claimed a share of £60,000 granted to relieve ‘loyal and indigent’ officers while for the royalist rank and file, an extra £230 p.a. was added by the justices to the stock for maimed soldiers and reserved for those who had served Charles II or his father ‘of ever blessed and glorious memory’.¹⁸²

¹⁷⁷ Q.S.O.B., vol. 4: 175. As the discussion of ship money above reveals, the claims to pay a fifteenth of levies had a long history.

¹⁷⁸ C.S.P.D., 1661–2, 90–1, 145; *Calendar of the Clarendon State Papers*, vol. 5, F.T. Routledge, ed. (Oxford, 1970), 247, 259. ¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 254–5; C.S.P.D. 1661–2, 423–4.

¹⁸⁰ For example, Sir Henry Puckering renewed the attempts to recover all his uncle’s goods seized from the lawyer John Whitwick by the county committee and Lord Leigh petitioned for the restoration of a lease of Windsor dean and chapter lands which he had been forced to sell to John Okey: H.M.C., 7th Report, House of Lords MS, 123; SP29/13/107.

¹⁸¹ Examples include a petition from Thomas Holbeach who claimed his royalism had cost him the postmastership of Coleshill and the replacement of Richard Terry (a scoutmaster in the war) ‘a most rigid enemy to the royal family’ as Coventry’s postmaster by John Bowyer, ‘a constant, faithful and loyal subject to his late Majesty’: SP29/6/115–17; /29/77. The importance of politically reliable postmasters is amply indicated in the interception of the Presbyterian letters quoted above.

More general signs of reversal or recrimination have been discussed: the archaism of aspects of county administration and the self-confident, socially exclusive character of the Restoration militia. A final example may be given: the irritating and alarming investigations into 'defaulting accountants' conducted in Warwickshire from May 1662 until June 1663.¹⁸³ Commissioners authorised by the attorney general chased up Parliament's military officers, county committeemen and their officials, and 'civilian' collectors of routine assessments of the 1640s and 1650s in search of a (presumably arbitrary) deficit of £50,000 due to the Exchequer from Warwickshire. Management of sequestered estates was probed and the familiar story of the plunder of Charles I's baggage train before Edgehill was rehearsed. John Bryan, Robert Gresbrooke, Abraham Boune and Joseph Hawkesworth were amongst those harassed in this way. William Colemore protested that he had 'never acted in any public employment' between the regicide and 'the coming in of General Monck' while Waldive Willington claimed he had acted as a lieutenant colonel of foot under Purefoy in the 1650 militia only 'upon the importunity and persuasions of the said Purefoy (who then pretended much friendship to this defendant)'.¹⁸⁴ Purefoy was of course conveniently dead, his estates briefly confiscated but then transferred to the respectable nephew, and his old colleagues were ultimately left alone, but not before some nasty moments.

In chapter 7 it was difficult to connect the upheavals of the 1640s and 1650s with any general pattern of social and economic change amongst the leading landed families. An examination of the post-Restoration political and administrative élite reveals more significant differences from before the war. The election of the northern gentleman Sir Robert Holte to the Cavalier Parliament was indicative of a new trend: in sharp contrast to the southern dominance of the county seats in the 1620s, only three out of the eleven knights of the shire who sat between 1660 and 1690 came from south of the Avon.¹⁸⁵ The commission of the peace between 1660 and 1665 showed much continuity in the Warwickshire peers appointed but much change in the gentry.¹⁸⁶ The Earls of Denbigh and

¹⁸³ E178 /6506; E113/1/2. In a forthcoming article, Stephen Roberts draws attention to the importance of these investigations. I have benefited greatly from reading a draft of this. Cf. the pursuit of John Bridges over the goods taken from the king's train before Edgehill, already discussed. A similar accusation was made against Waldive Willington and his neighbour Richard Bickley by a Shropshire royalist petitioning for office in 1661: SP29/5/111; /7/122.

¹⁸⁴ Both quotations are from E113/1/2. ¹⁸⁵ *House of Commons 1660-1690*, vol. 1: 428.

¹⁸⁶ *Q.S.O.B.*, vol. 4: xx-xxiii lists the J.P.s between 1660 and 1665. Information on family background and political affiliation has been taken from standard reference sources: *V.C.H.*, *Visitations*, sequestration and compounding records with some family papers. The officers of state and legal appointments have been excluded from this discussion.

Northampton and Lords Conway, Brooke and Digby were included while the Leighs of Stoneleigh had been elevated from the gentry. Only the Earl of Monmouth of the pre-war peers was missing but several gentry families prominent before 1642 no longer provided justices. In no case can this be attributed to political unacceptability although the William Purefoy on the commission was a rather distant connection of the regicide while the startling omission of Richard Lucy from the quorum was probably a product of his political stance in the 1640s and 1650s.¹⁸⁷ Some families had failed in the male line: the Stapletons and Gooderes before the war, and later the Ardens, Anthony Stoughton of Warwick, and, in 1660, the Brownes of Radford. The economic decline of families like the Hugfords and the Beaufoes was well advanced by 1642 and explains their omission; by 1660 the Hales of Snitterfield were also in difficulties while Rowley Warde's heir had not continued his legal success. Twenty-seven gentry J.P.s (out of fifty-eight) came from families not on the commission between 1625 and 1642, and in these additions, political considerations do seem to have been important. Eight of the twenty-seven were 'semi-non residents' with estates in the county but more important interests elsewhere: they included Sir Roger Burgoyne and Sir Richard Temple whose ancestors had been involved in Warwickshire affairs but also newcomers like the Shropshire courtier Sir Francis Lawley. Burgoyne and Temple only of the eight had parliamentary backgrounds, the others being neutrals or royalists.¹⁸⁸ Of those totally resident in Warwickshire Samuel Eborall, appointed very briefly in 1661, was the only post-1660 newcomer with a zealous parliamentary past. Seven men had recently become established in the county usually through marriage to Warwickshire heiresses, two had been neutral in the Civil War, the others had royalist and courtier connections: Sir Arthur Cayley of Newlands, Coventry and John Bridgeman of Coleshill are examples.¹⁸⁹ Eleven new J.P.s came from families long established in Warwickshire: Sir Richard Hopkins of Coventry and Charles Bentley of Kineton had been fairly moderate Parliamentarians while Henry Ferrers of Baddesley Clinton had been neutral although the family had Catholic connections. Eight men thus had royalist backgrounds of varying commitment: Sir Charles Adderley, Sir John Knightley of the Catholic Offchurch family, for

¹⁸⁷ The discussion does not include J.P.s who only sat in the 1640s and 1650s.

¹⁸⁸ The others were Sir William Bromley and Walter Chetwynd of Staffordshire, Sir William Palmer of Bedfordshire, Sir Thomas Pope of Oxfordshire and Thomas Rawlins of Gloucestershire. Only Bromley and Rawlins were active J.P.s.

¹⁸⁹ The neutral newcomers were Stephen Bolton and John Rous; the other royalist entrants were Sir Richard Bishop of Stratford-on-Avon, Sir George Fane of Hunningham a younger son of the Earl of Westmorland, and Sir Simon Fanshawe of Wasperton.

example. Two men were Coventry royalists who had recently acquired landed status: Thomas Flint of Allesley, the son of an illiterate yeoman had risen to prosperity through the law, while Sir Thomas Norton came from a mercantile family.¹⁹⁰ Henry Dighton, the town clerk of Stratford and Giles Palmer of Compton were only moderately wealthy but they too had political loyalty to recommend them. It is difficult to sum up succinctly these changes in the élite but some important aspects are clear. The pre-war dominance of southern gentry, usually with paternalist, moderate Puritan attitudes like those of Sir Thomas Lucy, Sir Richard Verney, Sir William Browne or the older Clement Throckmorton, was ended. The new men were often 'glossier', with courtier or official connections and a substantial number were committed royalists. Another interesting tendency was the appointment of Coventry gentry such as Flint, Norton, Cayley and Hopkins. This represents attempts to detach landed interests from the city's mercantile groups and parallels the attempts by the county gentry to overawe the city, already discussed.

Much stimulating recent work on the social context of the Civil War has concentrated on the importance of the social relationships between landed élites and poorer people. Hence Brian Manning has characterised the royalists of 1642 as a party of order alarmed by threats to social hierarchy while William Hunt sees Essex Parliamentarianism as a social alliance of upper and middling ranks, united by a militant Puritanism which sought the transformation of society and particularly the reform and 'discipline' of the poor. There are problems, of course, with both interpretations: on Manning's view it is hard to explain why any member of the social élite sided with Parliament; on Hunt's it is royalism which becomes inexplicable.¹⁹¹ Nonetheless an emphasis on social relationships rather than social categories seems to hold most promise for furthering our understanding of Civil War divisions. In chapter 4 I tried to suggest some various connections between social relationships and Civil War allegiance in Warwickshire, drawing attention to contrasts between the north and south of the county. The shift from south to north in the choice of county M.P.s, the elusive but important transformations in the commission of the peace, and the alarming political, religious and economic upheavals of the 1640s and 1650s, all seem to amount to a hardening and narrowing of social attitudes on the part of the gentry. The militant popularity of Brooke and his allies in the early 1640s and the traditional paternalism of many southern gentlemen were both over-

¹⁹⁰ *The House of Commons*, vol. 2: 335; Norton was the son of the Coventry dyer and Short Parliament M.P. Simon. The other entrants to the commission with (slightly) royalist backgrounds were William Somerville of Edstone and Edward Underhill of Crimscott.

¹⁹¹ Manning, *The English People and the English Revolution*; Hunt, *The Puritan Moment*.

shadowed by a more straightforward emphasis on élite solidarity, social hierarchy and control. The new archdeacon of Coventry, John Riland, summed up the Restoration atmosphere in an assize sermon at Warwick in August 1661. ‘Government comes from above’, he asserted, ‘the uppermost link whereof (they said of old and so do we still) is fastened to God’s throne in Heaven.’ Order depended on hierarchy: ‘our king is worth ten thousand of us’ while ‘a religious gentry and a pious and obedient clergy’ were also vital: ‘All we lie in a low flat (as it were) but the gentry are the rising ground in a kingdom and as it was in Noah’s flood, so was it also in our late deluge, the very first sign of the abatement of those waters was, when the tops of the mountains were seen, I mean when the gentry began to lift up their heads’.¹⁹² The enthusiasm and broad social content of Warwickshire Parliamentarianism in 1642 was gone forever.

Looking back on the 1640s, or the 1620s, from the vantage points of the first year of the Restoration leads perhaps to an over-emphasis on dramatic change. An analysis of the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in their own right would no doubt reintroduce complexity to social and political developments. Certainly, within a political context more circumscribed than in the 1640s and 1650s, similar political divisions and allegiances reappeared and signs of continuity are apparent. The moderate Parliamentarian Thomas Archer took a ‘country party’ position in 1679 while Coventry recovered its reputation as an opponent of the court and Catholicism in the late 1670s and early 1680s – greeting Monmouth with enthusiasm in 1682. Robert Beake entered Parliament again in the first Parliament of 1679. He voted for exclusion and was searched for arms after the Rye House Plot. It seems appropriate to conclude with Beake, who was perhaps a representative of a forgotten era, but was nonetheless obnoxious to Coventry Tories to the end of his life, pelted with stones and turnips on the way to vote in the election of 1701.¹⁹³

¹⁹² Riland, *Elias the Second, His Coming to Restore all Things* (Oxford 1662), 14, 24, 41–2. The sermon was dedicated to ‘The Nobility, The Knights, Esquires and Gentry’ of the county with each rank given a separate line on the page.

¹⁹³ *V.C.H.*, vol. 8: 250–1, 266; *House of Commons 1660–1690*, vol. 1: 543, 612.

Appendix I Local governors 1620–1660

Table I
Size of the commission of the peace 1621–62¹

Date	Gentry J.P.s
November 1621–July 1622: ²	28(10) ³
January 1626: ⁴	21(3)
October 1626: ⁵	21(3)
February 1632: ⁶	24(4)
July 1634–c. 1637: ⁷	17–24(7)
July 1636: ⁸	22 (not given)
January–February 1650: ⁹	23(6)
Michaelmas 1650: ¹⁰	26(5)
March 1652: ¹¹	25(4)
May 1652–October 1653: ¹²	33(10) – probable maximum figure
September 1656–April 1657: ¹³	29(8)
March 1657–March 1658: ¹⁴	28(8)
October 1660–December 1662: ¹⁵	51–5(28)
1661: ¹⁶	52(34)

¹ Sources and their dates have been taken, except where stated, from T.G. Barnes and A. Hassell Smith, 'Justices of the Peace from 1588–1688 – a Revised List of Sources', *B.I.H.R.*, vol. 32 (1959), 221–42. Most of these sources were also used by the editors of the printed *Quarter Sessions Order Books*, vols. 1–4; but the lists of J.P.s in the Order Books were based mainly on commissions recorded in the Patent Rolls, regarded by Barnes and Hassell Smith as unreliable. A list for early 1627 previously thought to be a *Liber Pacis* has now been identified as a list of Forced Loan commissioners: Richard Cust, 'A List of Commissioners for the Forced Loan of 1626–7', *B.I.H.R.*, vol. 51 (1978), 199–206. This book P.R.O., C193/12/2, has thus not been used. The figures given above do not include great officers of state or peers but they do include semi-non resident gentry, especially numerous on the commissions of the 1650s.

² P.R.O. C193/13/1, *Liber Pacis* or Crown Office working copy.

³ The figure in brackets is of J.P.s who were not of the quorum. The number of local J.P.s should perhaps be 29: Sir Edward Conway who became a Privy Councillor at this time has not been included.

⁴ B.L. Harl. MS 1622, *Liber Pacis*.

⁵ P.R.O. E163/18/12. List of lord lieutenants and magistrates.

⁶ SP16/212, *Liber Pacis*; used by Q.S.O.B., vol. 1.

⁷ C193/13/2, *Liber Pacis* or Crown Office working copy. The volume is extensively corrected and the figures in the table are possible minimum and maximum figures. Barnes and Hassell Smith judged that this *Liber Pacis* extended to July 1635 but for Warwickshire it extends into 1637 as it records the deaths of Sir Thomas Puckering and Sir William Browne. This was used by Q.S.O.B., vol. 1.

⁸ SP16/405.

⁹ C193/13/3, *Liber Pacis*, used by Q.S.O.B., vol. 2.

¹⁰ B.L.E.1238(4), list of justices of the peace for the Michaelmas Term, used by Q.S.O.B., vol. 3.

¹¹ B.L. Stowe MS 577, used by Q.S.O.B., vol. 3.

¹² C193/13/4, Crown Office Working List, very extensively corrected, and no definite minimum figure can be given; used by Q.S.O.B., vol. 3.

¹³ C193/13/6, Crown Office Working List, used by Q.S.O.B., vols. 3–4.

¹⁴ C193/13/5, Crown Office Working List, used by Q.S.O.B., vols. 3–4.

¹⁵ C220/9/4, *Liber Pacis*, the figures include three sons of peers, used by Q.S.O.B., vol. 4.

¹⁶ B.L. Egerton MS 2557, includes three sons of peers, used by Q.S.O.B., vol. 4.

Table 2
Numbers of gentry J.P.s attending Quarter Sessions 1624-60¹

October 1624-June 1625	20
October 1625-June 1626	15
October 1626-May 1627	14
October 1627-June 1628	14
October 1628-June 1629	14
October 1629-June 1630	16
October 1630-June 1631	11
October 1631-May 1632	15
October 1632-June 1633	11
October 1633-June 1634	8
October 1634-June 1635	not available
October 1635-June 1636	11
October 1636-June 1637	not available
October 1637-July 1638	11
October 1638-July 1639	11
October 1639-July 1640	11
October 1640-July 1641	9
<hr/>	
October 1645-July 1646	6
October 1646-July 1647	not available
October 1647-July 1648	7
October 1648-July 1649	7
October 1649-July 1650	not available
October 1650-July 1651	8
October 1651-June 1652	10
October 1652-June 1653	8
October 1653-July 1654	9
October 1654-July 1655	not available
October 1655-July 1656	9
October 1656-July 1657	9
October 1657-July 1658	8
October 1658-July 1659	8
October 1659-October 1660	17: five men attended the first four sessions held in this period; twelve attended the last one. There is no overlap

¹ The table is based on information about the attendance of individual J.P.s in *Q.S.O.B.*, vol. 1: xvii-xviii; vol. 2: xx-xxii; vol. 3: xx-xxi; vol. 4: xxiv-xxv. The information is based on allowances paid to active J.P.s by the sheriff and recorded in the Pipe Rolls. There are several problems with this source: attendance allowances were not paid to those above the rank of banneret; thus peers were not recorded and baronets were not paid after October 1632 although they received the allowance before this date, and again in the 1650s. Three baronets were active J.P.s in the 1630s: Sir Thomas Puckering, Sir Thomas Holte and Sir Thomas Leigh. The figures for the 1630s are probably an underestimate. It is believed that a J.P. who attended the first day of a session received an allowance for the whole time the sessions took up and this accounts for some of the discrepancies between the Pipe Rolls and the occasional lists of justices present given in the Order Books (for example Easter 1638, *Q.S.O.B.*, vol. 2: 18). Other discrepancies cannot be explained in the same way (for example, Michaelmas 1650, *Q.S.O.B.*, vol. 3: 42) so the table cannot be regarded as definitive. See J. Hurstfield, 'County Government 1530-1660' in *V.C.H. Wiltshire*, vol. 5 (1957), 80-110, especially 91; and the notes to table 4 on the activities of individual justices.

Table 3 *Orders passed at Quarter Sessions 1625-60*¹

1625: Ea:27 T:25 M:22	1634: Ep:14 Ea:17 T: 8 M: 8	1645: M: 7	1654: Ep:38 Ea:41 T:27 M:38
1626: Ep:16 Ea:16 T: 9 M:13	1635: Ep:19 Ea:13 T:11 M:11	1646: Ep:21 Ea:20 T: 9 M:39	1655: Ep:47 Ea:38 T:42 M:32
1627: Ep: 5 Ea: 7 T: 4 M:10	1636: Ep:23 Ea:11 T:16 M:10	1647: Ep:26 Ea:16 T:23 M:44	1656: Ep:48 Ea:36 T:37 M:44
1628: Ep: 8 Ea: 7 T:17 M:13	1637: Ep:16 Ea: 8 T:10 M: 9	1648: Ep:33 Ea:27 T:37 M:20	1657: Ep:43 Ea:37 T:37 M:37
1629: Ep:16 Ea:18 T:13 M:12	1638: Ep:17 Ea:18 T:13 M: 6	1649: Ep:25 Ea:34 T:32 M:37	1658: Ep:33 Ea:37 T:23 M:32
1630: Ep:15 Ea: 8 T:12 M:16	1639: Ep:18 Ea:20 T:12 M:14	1650: Ep:38 Ea:67 T:39 M:44	1659: Ep:42 Ea:44 T:42 M:31
1631: Ep:24 Ea:14 T:21 M:13	1640: Ep:18 Ea:17 T:16 M:16	1651: Ep:45 Ea:34 T:33 M:45	1660: Ep:23 Ea:26 T:17 M:21
1632: Ep:13 Ea:18 T:12 M:10	1641: Ep:22 Ea:23 T:16 M:31	1652: Ep:44 Ea:54 T:37 M:49	
1633: Ep:26 Ea:22 T:16 M:19	1642: Ep:22 Ea:14 T: 6 M: 0	1653: Ep:45 Ea:49 T:42 M:41	

¹ Based on *Q.S.O.B.*, vols. 1-4, *passim*.

Ep: Epiphany.

Ea: Easter.

T: Trinity.

M: Michaelmas.

Table 4 *J.P.s and their activity 1620–60*
 (a) *Gentry J.P.s 1620–1640*¹

A ²	B ³	C ⁴	D ⁵	E ⁶	F ⁷	G ⁸	H ⁹
<i>Sir Simon Archer</i> , knight July 1620–December 1625; October 1626– (sheriff November 1626– November 1627); of the quorum only after 1626	S? ¹⁰	med.	£1,000	no	G.I.	yes	yes
<i>Robert Arden</i> , esquire –December 1625; October 1626–death, <i>c.</i> 1635	N.	med.	£1,000–	yes	–	no	yes
<i>Sir Thomas Beaufoy</i> , knight –death, <i>c.</i> 1636	S.	med.	?	yes	–	yes	no
<i>Edward Boughton</i> , esquire –December 1625; not of the quorum	E.	med.	£1,000+	no?	M.T.	yes	yes
<i>William Boughton</i> , esquire (baronet, 1641). June 1630– (sheriff November 1631– November 1632)	E.	med.	£1,000	yes	M.T. Oxf.	no	yes
<i>Sir Francis Browne</i> , knight July 1620–? <i>c.</i> 1628	*?	–	–	no	–	–	yes
<i>Sir William Browne</i> , knight –death <i>c.</i> February 1637	S.	16	?	no	Oxf.	–	yes
<i>Sir Thomas Burdett</i> , baronet –December 1625; not of the quorum	N*.	med.	?	yes	Oxf.	no	no

Table 4(a) (cont.)

A ²	B ³	C ⁴	D ⁵	E ⁶	F ⁷	G ⁸	H ⁹
<i>William Combe</i> , esquire throughout until removed, February 1640; restored January 1641; not of the quorum	S.	16	£1,000-	no	M.T. Oxf.	yes	yes
<i>Sir Edward Devereux</i> , baronet. -death c. 1622	N.	med.	£1,000+	yes	-	yes	no
<i>George Devereux</i> (later knight). May 1624- (sheriff November 1628- November 1629)	N.	med.	£1,000-	yes	-	no	yes
<i>Sir Walter Devereux</i> , knight and baronet. June 1623-	N*.	med.	£1,000+	yes	-	no	no
<i>Thomas Dilke</i> , esquire February 1629-death c. 1634	N.	16	£1,000-	yes?	M.T.	yes	yes
<i>Basil Feilding</i> , esquire -death c. 1634	E.	med.	£1,000+	?	-	no	yes
<i>Sir John Ferrers</i> , knight -death 1633	N*.	med.	£1,000+	yes	L.I. Oxf.	no	yes
<i>Sir Robert Fisher</i> , knight and baronet February 1629-	N.	16	£1,000+	yes	Oxf.	no	yes
<i>Sir Henry Goodere</i> , knight -December 1625	N.	16	£1,000-	no	M.T.	no	no
<i>Sir Bartholomew Hales</i> , knight. -death c. 1626	S.	16	?	yes	G.I. Oxf.	no	yes

<i>Sir Thomas Holte</i> , knight and baronet; on commission throughout	N.	med.	£1,000+	yes	I.T. Oxf.	no	yes
<i>John Hugford</i> , esquire –December 1625	N.	med.	?	yes	–	yes	no
<i>Sir Robert Lee</i> , knight –death, before January 1638; not of the quorum until 1632	S.	17	£1,000+	no	Ca.?	no	yes
<i>Robert Lee</i> , esquire May 1639–	S.	17	£1,000+	yes	–	no	no
<i>Sir Francis Leigh</i> , knight and baronet. –death February 1625	E.	16	£1,000+	no	M.T.	no	yes
<i>Sir Thomas Leigh</i> , knight and baronet. –death, 1626	S.	16	£1,000+	no	–	yes	yes
<i>Sir Thomas Leigh</i> , knight and baronet. April 1626– (sheriff October 1636– September 1637)	S.	16	£1,000+	yes	Oxf.	no	yes
<i>John Lisle</i> , esquire –December 1625. May 1626– (sheriff November 1638– November 1639)	N.	med.	£1,000–	?	Oxf.	yes	yes
<i>Sir Thomas Lucy</i> , knight –February 1640, removed. (sheriff, November 1632– November 1633)	S.	med.	£1,000+	yes	L.I. Oxf.	yes	yes

Table 4(a) (cont.)

A ²	B ³	C ⁴	D ⁵	E ⁶	F ⁷	G ⁸	H ⁹
<i>John Newdigate</i> , esquire February 1630—death, March 1642; not of the quorum	E*	16	£1,000—	yes	I.T. Oxf.	no	yes
<i>Walter Overbury</i> , esquire June 1631—death, 1637; not of the quorum	S.	17	?	no	M.T. Oxf. barrister	no	yes
<i>Sir Thomas Puckering</i> , knight and baronet. —death, 1637	S.	17	£1,000+	no	M.T.	no	yes
<i>William Purefoy</i> , esquire June 1632— not of the quorum	N.	med.	£1,000—	no	G.I. Ca.	no	yes
<i>Sir John Reppington</i> , knight —death, 1626; not of the quorum	N.	16	£1,000—	no	G.I.	no	yes
<i>Sir Roland Rugeley</i> , knight —death, before 1625; not of the quorum	N.	med.	?	?	—	no	no
<i>Richard Shuckborough</i> , esquire (knighted 1642) June 1635— not of the quorum	E.	med.	£1,000	no	—	yes	yes
<i>Thomas Spencer</i> , esquire —death, 1630	S.	17	£1,000+	no	L.I. barrister	no	yes
<i>Edward Stapleton</i> , esquire —death c. 1636	N.	17	?	no	I.T. barrister	—	no
<i>John Temple</i> , esquire February—December 1625; (not of the quorum?) ¹¹	E.	16	£1,000—	yes?	L.I.	—	no
<i>Sir Clement Throckmorton</i> , knight, —death, late 1632	S.	16	£1,000—	yes	M.T. Ca. Oxf. M.A.	yes	yes
<i>Sir Edward Underhill</i> , knight. July 1633—death,	S.	med.	£1,000—	?	Oxf. M.A.	no	yes

1641. (sheriff October 1637–November 1638); not of the quorum								
<i>Sir Greville Verney</i> , knight November 1630– (sheriff December 1635– October 1636)	S.	med.	£1,000+	yes	G.I.	no	yes	
<i>John Verney</i> , esquire July 1633–death, before 1636; not of the quorum	S.	17	£1,000–	yes	M.T. barrister	–	no	
<i>Sir Richard Verney</i> , knight –death, August 1630	S.	med.	£1,000+	yes	G.I.	yes	yes	
<i>Timothy Wagstaffe</i> , esquire –death, 1626; of the quorum only briefly 1626	S.	16	£1,000–	no	M.T. barrister Oxf. B.A.	yes	yes	
<i>Rowley Warde</i> , sergeant at law. July 1626–	S.	16	£1,000–	no	M.T.	no	yes	

¹ For sources see the notes to table 1; for dates of appointment or removal: P.R.O. Crown Office Docquet Books C231/4–5. The first Lord Brooke and the first Viscount Conway have been excluded from the list: although they were on the commission of the peace before they became Privy Councillors and peers they were county gentry for only a brief part of the period covered by this table.

² Column A gives the name, rank and dates of service of J.P.s. Where there is no initial date service began before 1620 and where there is no final date the J.P. was still serving in 1642. For service as sheriff see: P.R.O. *Lists and Indexes* 9 (1898), 147. J.P.s were of the quorum unless stated.

³ Column B gives region of the county, * indicates non- or rarely-resident J.P.s

⁴ Column C gives origins of J.P.s' families. For sources see chapter 2.

⁵ Column D gives rough indication of wealth: whether the J.P.'s income was above or below the £1,000 p.a. considered normal for magistrates. For sources see chapter 2.

⁶ Column E indicates whether the J.P.'s father or grandfather had been a J.P. It is based on general family history and is not exhaustive.

⁷ Column F gives J.P.s' educational attainments: G.I. = Gray's Inn; L.I. = Lincoln's Inn; M.T. = Middle Temple; I.T. = Inner Temple; Oxf. = Oxford; Ca. = Cambridge.

⁸ Column G shows whether or not the J.P.'s wife came from Warwickshire.

⁹ Column H indicates whether or not there is an entry for the J.P. in table 4b on attendance and other activity.

¹⁰ Sir Simon Archer lived in Tanworth, an Arden parish in the north of the county; but the parish was a detached part of Kineton Hundred and thus Archer's main activities as a J.P. were concerned with the south of the county.

¹¹ Temple was added to the commission on 22 February 1625 and was, presumably, one of those removed in December: C231/4 ff.76v, 194v. He does not appear in any of the *Libri Pacis*, but as a comparatively lesser gentleman it seems unlikely that he was of the quorum.

Table 4a: nb. J.P.s who were added after 1640 have not been included. They were: Robert Arden, Walter Chetwynd, and James Enyon, esquires; Sir John Reppington, knight; Anthony Stoughton, esquire; Serjeant John Whitwick and Sir Francis Willoughby, knight. For their appointments see chapter 4. None of these men are noted as attending Quarter Sessions (although the Pipe Rolls do not exist after July 1641); and only Stoughton had any out of sessions business referred to him: *Q.S.O.B.*, vol. 2: 99–100, Michaelmas 1641.

(b) *Active justices 1625-1642*

	At Quarter Sessions ¹			Out of sessions ²		
	1	2	3	1	2	3
Sir Simon Archer	100%	100%	90%	2/6	4/4	11/6
Robert Arden	22%	0	—	6/9	7/4	—
Edward Boughton	20%	—	—	2/0	—	—
William Boughton	—	0	65%	—	2/6	5/7
Sir Francis Browne	12%	—	—	0/0	—	—
Sir William Browne	86%	95%	100%	1/7	3/5	0/0
William Combe	46%	89%	88%	0/2	4/2	2/4
Sir George Devereux	29%	82%	100%	1/4	2/3	9/6
Thomas Dilke	50%	40%	—	0/1	1/4	—
Basil Feilding	27%	40%	—	0/3	2/6	—
Sir John Ferrers	0	0	—	1/3 ³	0/0	—
Sir Robert Fisher	0	0	—	0/0	0/0	1/1
Bartholomew Hales	75%	—	—	1/5	—	—
Sir Stephen Harvey	75%	—	—	0/2	—	—
Sir Thomas Holte	46%	10%	—	1/4	1/4	4/2
Sir Robert Lee	67%	95%	100%	2/6	3/1	0/0
Sir Francis Leigh	50%	—	—	0/0	—	—
Sir Thomas Leigh, senior	100%	—	—	2/1	—	—
Sir Thomas Leigh, jr	50%	30%	—	1/4	2/3	0/3
John Lisle	71%	70%	88%	6/12	5/7	5/1
Sir Thomas Lucy	65% ⁴	95%	100%	0/1	4/2	2/2
John Newdigate	50%	0	0	0/0	2/0	0/0
Walter Overbury	—	52%	0	—	1/0	1/1
Sir Thomas Puckering	73%	30%	—	0/8	5/2	0/0
William Purefoy	—	67%	100%	—	3/1	3/1
John Reppington	13%	—	—	0/0	—	—
Richard Shuckborough	—	0	45%	—	2/0	3/3
Thomas Spencer	60%	—	—	2/1	—	—
Sir Clement Throckmorton	25%	0	—	2/3	3/0	—
Sir Edward Underhill	—	63%	100%	—	0/2	5/2
Sir Richard Verney	75%	—	—	0/4	—	—
Sir Greville Verney	—	64%	95%	—	4/1	1/2
Timothy Wagstaffe	13%	—	—	0/4	—	—
Rowley Warde	25%	46%	100%	2/0	4/0	2/1

¹ Activity at Quarter Sessions is based on the tables of attendance compiled from the Pipe Rolls, as described in table 2, n.1. As stated there certain problems arise with the use of this source, in particular 100% attendance may just mean attendance for some part of each sessions rather than on every day.

Column 1 covers October 1624–June 1630: 52 possible days of attendance.

Column 2: October 1630–June 1636: 56 possible days.

Column 3: October 1636–July 1641: 60 days.

The percentage for each justice is calculated out of individual possible totals. Some inaccuracy may be present where dates of death are uncertain. Allowance has been made for periods of exclusion from the bench in 1625 or 1640 and for service of sheriffs who could not also act as J.P.s (see Barnes, *Somerset*, 132; *Q.S.O.B.*, vol. 1: xx). As baronets are recorded only until 1632 their percentage attendance has been calculated only until then. In a column 0 means no attendance by a J.P. on the commission; - means that the J.P. could not have attended (or was a baronet). Dates of service for each J.P. are recorded in table 4a.

² Column 1: Easter 1625-Trinity 1630.

Column 2: Michaelmas 1630-Trinity 1636.

Column 3: Michaelmas 1636-Trinity 1642.

Indications of out of sessions activity have been compiled from references in *Q.S.O.B.* 1-2 to the work of individual J.P.s. The first figure in each column is the number of items dealt with by a J.P. out of sessions that came up in Quarter Sessions for ratification or on appeal, etc. The second figure is the number of matters delegated to J.P.s by Quarter Sessions for settlement or further investigation. Where a J.P. dealt with the same matter more than once it has been counted each time but simple repetitions of referrals or decisions of J.P.s out of sessions have not been counted.

The figures give only the roughest indication of the work done by individual J.P.s. The first figures especially could overestimate the activity of inefficient J.P.s for some matters came up at Quarter Sessions precisely because a J.P. had failed to deal with them out of sessions. The second column is more likely to reflect J.P.s' stature and activity for Quarter Sessions were unlikely to delegate matters to J.P.s who were inactive.

³ All Ferrers' out-of-sessions activity involved matters in the area immediately adjacent to his seat at Tamworth.

⁴ This low level of activity (by Lucy's standards) was perhaps caused by his attendance at the Parliaments of the 1620s.

(c) *Gentry J.P.s 1645-60*¹

A ²	B ³	C ⁴	D ⁵	E ⁶	F ⁷
Sir Simon Archer, Knight** March 1650-	S. ⁸	yes	G.I.	yes	yes
Robert Beake March 1656-60; not of the quorum [Godfrey Bosvile] 1645-death c. 1658	Cov.	no	-	no	no
Thomas Boughton* July 1646-9	E.	yes	-	no	no
John Bridges 1645-60; not of the quorum	S.	no	G.I.	yes	no
Matthew Bridges September 1653-60; not of the quorum	S.	no	-	yes	no
John Bromwich September 1653-death c. 1655; not of the quorum	E.	no	-	yes? ⁹	no

Table 4(c) (cont.)

A ²	B ³	C ⁴	D ⁵	E ⁶	F ⁷
Edward Bulstrode March 1650–death <i>c.</i> 1659	Cov.	yes	I.T. barrister Oxf. Ca.	yes	no
Sir John Burgoyne, baronet; July 1646–9	N.	no ¹⁰	M.T. Ca.	no	no
Peter Burgoyne, July 1646–death <i>c.</i> 1654	Cov.	no	–	yes	no
Sir Roger Burgoyne, knight; July 1646–9 September 1653–	N.	no ¹⁰	L.I. Ca.	no	yes
William Colemore 1645–July 1652; September 1653–60; not of the quorum after 1653; (sheriff November 1645– December 1646)	N.	yes	M.T.	no	no
William Combe** June 1649– [Sir John Dryden, baronet] 1650–September 1653; September 1656–60	S.	yes	M.T. Oxf.	yes	yes
Samuel Eborall September 1653–60 March 1661– not of the quorum	N.	yes	G.I.	yes	yes
John Fetherstone July 1646–9	N.	yes	I.T. barrister Oxf.	no	no
Christopher Hales January 1650–July 1652; September 1653–death 1659; not of the quorum until 1656	Cov.	yes	Oxf.	no	no
John Hales 1645–death <i>c.</i> 1653	Cov.	yes	G.I. Oxf.	yes	no
Joseph Hawkesworth March 1650–July 1652; September 1653–60; not of the quorum until 1656	S.	no	–	yes	no
Richard Hopkins June 1649–	Cov.	yes	I.T. barrister Ca.	yes	yes
[Sir Robert King, knight] October 1653–September 1656					
William Le Hunt March–September 1653; March 1655–60	N.	yes	G.I.	yes	no

Table 4(c) (*cont.*)

A ²	B ³	C ⁴	D ⁵	E ⁶	F ⁷
Richard Lucy* 1645- not of the quorum after 1660; (sheriff December 1646- November 1647)	S.	yes	G.I. Oxf.	yes	yes
Richard Newdigate serjeant at law; later a judge; January 1650- [Sir William Palmer, knight] January 1650-September 1653 1660-	E.	yes	G.I. Oxf.	no	yes
Edward Peyto July 1646-death 1658; not of the quorum until 1650; (sheriff November 1654-November 1655)	S.	yes	M.T. Oxf. (B.A.)	yes	no
Gamaliel Purefoy 1645-60; not of the quorum after 1656	N.	yes	Ca.	yes	no
William Purefoy** 1645-death, 1659 [Samuel Roper] March 1650-July 1652	N.	yes	G.I. Ca.	yes	no
John Rous January 1650-July 1652; September 1653-; not of the quorum	S.	no ¹¹	L.I.	no	yes
John St Nicholas June 1649-60	E.	yes	Ca.	yes	no
Anthony Stoughton** July 1646-March 1652; September 1653-death, 1660 [Sir Peter Temple, baronet] 1650-September 1653	S.	yes	-	yes	no
Sir Richard Temple, baronet September 1653- (aged 19)	S.	no ¹²	G.I. Ca.	yes	yes
Thomas Temple* May 1648-9; 1660-	E.	yes	L.I.	no	yes
Clement Throckmorton* July 1646-9; 1660-	S.	yes	Oxf.	no	yes
Richard Townsend July 1646-9	S.	yes	M.T. barrister Oxf.	no	no

Table 4(c) (cont.)

A ²	B ³	C ⁴	D ⁵	E ⁶	F ⁷
[Sir Peter Wentworth] 1645–September 1653; September 1656–60					
[Major General Edward Whalley] March 1656–60					
Waldive Willington 1645–60; not of the quorum	N.	yes	–	yes	no
George Willis September 1653–60; not of the quorum	S.	yes	M.T.	yes? ¹³	no
Thomas Willoughby 1645–60; (sheriff November 1655–November 1656)	N.	yes	–	yes	no

¹ Information on wealth, family origins and marriage ties has not been included because it is not available for a significant number of these more obscure post-Civil War J.P.s. For sources see the notes to table 1; dates of appointment and removal have been taken from C231/6. In many cases it is impossible to give exact dates of service because of the difficulties of precisely dating *Libri Pacis*. A new commission of the peace for Warwickshire was issued in April 1645 (C231/6 p. 10) but this is no longer extant; it has been assumed that J.P.s active before 1650 for whom there is no entry in C231 were on this commission. In September 1653 the commission of the peace was renewed according to the 'New Model': several named additions were made and 'divers', unnamed, were omitted; I have taken the omissions to be those justices whose names are crossed out in the *Liber Pacis* of 1652–3: C231/6 p. 268; C193/13/4. Only two local peers were named to commissions of the peace in this period: Leicester Devereux the son of Sir Walter Devereux a pre-war J.P., who became Viscount Hereford in 1650 was a J.P. between 1650 and 1653 but there is no evidence that he was active in or out of sessions; the second Earl of Denbigh was on the commission throughout the period and was presumably active: see table 4d, n. 1.

² Column A gives name and dates of service of J.P.s; where there is no final date, J.P.s were named to commissions after the Restoration; 1660 is given as the final date of service for those J.P.s not on post-Restoration commissions.

** indicates a J.P. who had also served on the commission before 1642.

* indicates a J.P. whose father or brother had done so.

Names in square brackets are of J.P.s who owned land in Warwickshire but who were rarely resident in the county and not involved in its affairs; no details of them have been given.

³ Column B gives region of the county.

⁴ Column C indicates whether or not the J.P. came from one of the 288 1640 gentry families (see above, chapter 2).

⁵ Column D gives J.P.s' educational attainments: for abbreviations see table 4a, n. 7.

⁶ Column E indicates whether or not the J.P. is included among the list of active justices: table 4d.

⁷ Column F indicates whether or not the J.P. was on the commission of the peace after the Restoration.

⁸ Archer lived in Warwick in this period.

⁹ See table 4d, n. 2.

¹⁰ The Burgoynes are not included in the group of 1640 gentry because they were usually resident in Bedfordshire although Sir John Burgoyne was Recruiter M.P. for Warwickshire and his son, Sir Roger, was M.P. for the county in 1656 and 1658.

¹¹ Rous was the younger son of a Worcestershire family and hence was not included in the 288 families.

¹² The Temples' main residence was in Stow, Buckinghamshire, and hence they have not been counted as Warwickshire gentry.

¹³ See table 4d, n. 4.

(d) Active justices 1645-60¹

Name	Periods of Activity	
	at sessions	out of sessions*
Sir Simon Archer	October 1649-July 1658	1650-9
John Bridges	October 1645-July 1649	1645-8
Matthew Bridges	October 1654-July 1660	1654-Ep. 1660
John Bromwich	-	1654-5 ²
Edward Bulstrode	October 1650-July 1651	-
Peter Burgoyne	Mich. 1650 ³	-
	October 1651-June 1652	1649
William Combe	October 1650-June 1653	1649-52
Samuel Eborall	October 1653-July 1660	1654-Mich. 1659
John Hales	October 1645-July 1649	1645-9
Joseph Hawkesworth	October 1656-July 1660	1657-Ep. 1660
Richard Hopkins	October 1649-July 1660	1649-50
		1652-3
		1656-8
William Le Hunt	October 1655-July 1659	-
Richard Lucy	October 1645-July 1649	-
	October 1651-June 1652	1649-51
	October 1658-July 1659	1658
Edward Peyto	October 1649-July 1654	1649-53
Gamaliel Purefoy	October 1645-July 1646	1645-6
William Purefoy	October 1647-July 1656	1649-50
	October 1657-July 1659	1652-6
John St Nicholas	October 1651-July 1657	1652-7
Anthony Stoughton	October 1645-July 1651	1646-9
		1651-Ea. 1652
Sir Richard Temple	October 1653-July 1655	1655
	October 1656-July 1657	1657
Waldive Willington	October 1647-July 1660	1649-60
George Willis	-	Ep. 1657 ⁴
Thomas Willoughby	October 1645-July 1650	1645-8
	October 1651-July 1656	1650-5-

* Out of sessions activity has been dealt with in a different manner from that of table 4b because of the very great number of routine references to such activity in this period.

¹ For sources of attendance at sessions see table 2, n.1; for out-of-sessions activity: references in *Q.S.O.B.* vols. 2-4, *passim*; if it is indicated in *Q.S.O.B.* that a J.P. did not in fact deal with a matter referred to him he has not been counted as active in that period.

The table again deals with gentry J.P.s only. The Earl of Denbigh as *Custos Rotulorum* presumably attended Quarter Sessions and was also present at monthly meetings for Knightlow Hundred in 1652 and 1655; *Q.S.O.B.*, vol. 3: 121, 268.

² Bromwich was not described as a J.P. although some matters were referred to him in these years: *Q.S.O.B.*, vol. 3: 209.

³ Burgoyne signed an order of Michaelmas 1650 but is not recorded on the Pipe Rolls as receiving payment; *Q.S.O.B.*, vol. 3: xx, 42.

⁴ A matter was referred to Willis at these sessions, but he was not described as a J.P.: *Q.S.O.B.*, vol. 3: 352.

Table 5 *Sheriffs 1620-60*¹
(a) 1620-41

Date ²	Name	Resident? ³	A J.P. ⁴
1620	Sir Thomas Temple, knight and baronet	no	no
1621	William Noell, esquire	no	no
1622	John Huband, esquire	yes	no
1623	Sir Thomas Puckering, knight and baronet	yes	yes
1624	Sir Hercules Underhill, knight	yes	no
1625	John Newdigate, esquire	yes	later
1626	Sir Simon Archer, knight	yes	yes
1627	Sir Robert Fisher, knight and baronet	yes	later
1628	George Devereux, esquire	yes	yes
1629	Roger Burgoyne, esquire	no	no
1630	William Purefoy, esquire	yes	later
1631	William Boughton, esquire	yes	yes
1632	Sir Thomas Lucy, knight	yes	yes
1633	Sir Simon Clarke, baronet	yes	no
1634	Richard Morden, esquire	yes	no
1635	Sir Greville Verney, knight	yes	yes
1636	Sir Thomas Leigh, knight and baronet	yes	yes
1637 ⁵	Sir Edward Underhill, knight	yes	yes
1638	John Lisle, esquire	yes	yes
1639	George Warner, esquire	yes	no
1640	Edward Ferrers, esquire	yes	no
1641	Sir Isaac Astley, knight and baronet	no	no

¹ Source: PRO, *List and Index IX, List of Sheriffs for England and Wales* (1898) 147.

² The sheriff's year began in the autumn, usually in November but always between September and December.

³ A sheriff normally had to reside in his county during his year of service but this column indicates whether Warwickshire was the normal county of residence.

⁴ 'No' indicates that the sheriff was never a Warwickshire J.P.; 'later' that he was appointed to the commission of the peace sometime after he served as sheriff (for details see table 4a); 'yes' means the sheriff was a J.P. at the time of his appointment.

⁵ The non resident Sir Walter Devereux was appointed sheriff in September 1637 but was replaced by Underhill in October.

(b) 1645-60

Date	Name	Political background	A J.P. ²¹
1645	William Colemore, gent.	Parliamentarian	1645-52 1653-60
1646	Richard Lucy, esquire	Parliamentarian	1645-77
1647	Greville Verney, esquire	neutral	no
1648	Thomas Combe, esquire ²	neutral	no
1649	Sir Francis Willoughby, ³ baronet	neutral	1641-2 1660-
1650	Sir Henry Gibbes	royalist ⁴	no
1651	William Somerville, esquire	neutral	1660-
1652	Ralph Bovey, esquire ⁵	neutral	no
1653	John Danvers, esquire	royalist ⁶	no
1654	Edward Peyto, esquire	son of a Parliamentarian	1646-58
1655	Thomas Willoughby, gent	Parliamentarian	1645-60
1656	Stephen Bolton, esquire	neutral	1660-
1657	George Pudsey, esquire	neutral	no
1658	Sir Robert Holte, baronet	son and grandson of royalists	1661-
1660 ⁷	Sir Edward Boughton, baronet	son of a neutral	1660-

¹ 'no' indicates that the sheriff was never a J.P.; in other cases approximate periods in which the sheriff was on the commission of the peace are given.

² George Browne esquire was appointed sheriff in November 1648 but was replaced by Combe in December: Browne had been neutral in the Civil War and was a J.P. after 1660.

³ Willoughby's main residence was in Nottinghamshire.

⁴ Sir Henry Gibbes compounded but denied he had been a royalist supporter: SP23/213/492-3.

⁵ Bovey owned land in Solihull but was basically a Londoner.

⁶ Danvers was accused of royalism but was acquitted: SP19/114/16; C.C.A.M., 1267-8.

⁷ No sheriff was appointed between November 1658 and November 1660.

Appendix 2 Active county committeemen 1643–1647

Table 1 Signatures on warrants 1643–1647¹
(a) March 1643–August 1644

	Number of warrants signed		Periods of activity
	March– November 1643	January– August 1644	
<i>possible total</i>	17	14	
George Abbott	7	9	June 1643–August 1644
John Barker	13	12	throughout
Thomas Basnet ²	5	6	April 1643–February 1644
Godfrey Bosvile	9	2	April 1643–February 1644
Isaac Bromwich	2	1	April–July 1643, June 1644
Peter Burgoyne	11	11	June 1643–August 1644
William Colemore	4	4	June 1643–August 1644
John Hales	16	11	April 1643–July 1644
Humphrey Mackworth	3	0	March–August 1643
Robert Phippes	2	2	March + August 1643
			April–June 1644
Gamaliel Purefoy	2	7	July–August 1643
			April–August 1644
William Purefoy	7	3	April–November 1643
			April–June 1644
Sir Richard Skeffington	8	8	June 1643–August 1644
Anthony Stoughton	3	0	March–August 1643
Thomas Willoughby	12	9	June 1643–August 1644

¹ For an explanation of these tables, and the sources used, see below.

² As the county treasurer, Basnet did not sign the many routine warrants authorising payments, and thus his degree of activity is greatly underestimated.

(b) October 1644-May 1647

Number of warrants used	October- December 1644	January- March 1645	April- June 1645	July- September 1645
	% signed in each period			
George Abbott	43	23	25	45
John Barker	65	70	76	58
Thomas Basnet	2	3	1	2
Godfrey Bosvile	19	13	14	0
Isaac Bromwich	2	0	8	0
Peter Burgoyne	42	20	11	4
William Colemore	12	20	15	10
Christopher Hales	0	0	1	7
John Hales	63	68	50	39
Humphrey Mackworth	2	6	0	0
Gamaliel Purefoy	22	16	20	17
William Purefoy	0	1	1	5 ¹
Sir Richard Skeffington	5	16	26	29
Anthony Stoughton	0	0	0	1 ²
Paul Wentworth	0	0	0	1 ³
Waldive Willington	0	0	1	0
Thomas Willoughby	33	53	56	84

¹ William Purefoy was active in July only.² Stoughton was active in July only.³ Wentworth was active in July only.

Table 1(b) (cont.)

	October– December 1645	January– March 1646	April– June 1646	July– September 1646
Number of warrants used	83	30	68	51
	% signed in each period			
George Abbott	39	23	0	0
John Barker	23	3	10	24
Thomas Basnet	2	0	3	0
John Bridges	0	0	0	14
Peter Burgoyne	1	3	3	29
William Colemore	12	27	12	29
Christopher Hales	16	13	34	25
John Hales	53	60	54	53
Robert Phippes	0	0	0	2 ⁴
Gamaliel Purefoy	29	20	53	29
William Purefoy	8 ⁵	0	0	0
Sir Richard Skeffington	36	17	28	16
Anthony Stoughton	0	0	0	4 ⁶
Paul Wentworth	12	67	50	14
Waldive Willington	1	7	0	0
Thomas Willoughby	67	70	78	78

⁴ Phippes signed only one order, which concerned the payment of arrears to soldiers of his own foot company.

⁵ Purefoy was active only in November 1645.

⁶ Stoughton was active only in August 1646.

Table 1(b) (cont.)

	October- December 1646	January- March 1647	April- May 1647	latest ⁷ recorded signing
Number of warrants used	33	46	27	
	% signed in each period			
George Abbott	18	20	7	March 1648
John Barker	15	0	0	April 1649
Thomas Basnet	0	0	0	April 1649
Godfrey Bosvile	0	0	0	June 1645
John Bridges	3	6	0	September 1647
Isaac Bromwich	0	0	0	June 1645
Peter Burgoyne	48	52	52	April 1649
William Colemore	30	33	11	April 1649
Christopher Hales	18	13	19	April 1649
John Hales	27	41	70	September 1648
Richard Lucy	3 ⁸	0	0	April 1649
Humphrey Mackworth	0	0	0	March 1645
Robert Phippes	4	0	0	December 1646
Gamaliel Purefoy	30	11	30	May 1647
William Purefoy	0	33	4	April 1649
Sir Richard Skeffington	0	0	0	August 1646
Anthony Stoughton	0	0	0	August 1646 ⁹
Paul Wentworth	30	33	41	April 1649
Waldive Willington	0	0	0	February 1646
Thomas Willoughby	76	74	74	October 1648

⁷ Only eight orders, letters and warrants of the committee survive for after May 1647 in SP28/248 and so no analysis of relative activity is possible. Several committeemen were active as militia commissioners in the 1650s but their work at this later period has been excluded from discussion.

⁸ Lucy was active only in October.

⁹ Stoughton continued to take part in the sequestration business of the committee in 1647, often taking the chair when it met at Warwick, although he was apparently not active in routine affairs: B.L. Add MS 35098 ff.104v, 108v (July and August 1647).

Table 2 *Number of committeemen active in each period*¹

March–November 1643	15
January–August 1644	13
October–December 1644	12
January–March 1645	12
April–June 1645	14
July–September 1645	13
October–December 1645	13
January–March 1646	12
April–June 1646	10
July–September 1646	13
October–December 1646	13
January–March 1647	11
April and May 1647	10

¹ In all cases Thomas Basnet has been included in the list of active committeemen although he is not found amongst the signatories of warrants in all periods: see pp. 360–3 above.

Sources for tables 1 and 2: Many hundreds of letters, orders and warrants of the Warwickshire county committee survive in the Commonwealth Exchequer Papers (SP28), not only in the Warwickshire bundles but also among the general records of the army in the 1640s. In addition there are letters in other Civil War collections such as the Tanner MS and the Denbigh Civil War Letters. It has not been considered possible to include all these in an analysis of committeemen's activity. Tables 1b and 2 are thus based on all the signed orders, letters and warrants found in the main Warwickshire bundles SP28/246–8. Material in other SP28 bundles is fullest for the same periods as are best covered in SP28/246–8, and the tables should therefore give a fair indication of committeemen's activity. It should be emphasised that the table shows those men who were most involved in the routine of Civil War administration, rather than those who were most influential in any policy making or political sense. (For this point, see chapter 5 above.)

For table 1a, letters from the Denbigh MS and the Tanner MS have also been used, because of the paucity of material in SP28/246–8 before October 1644. For the latest recorded activity of committeemen, a letter of September 1648 from the Warwickshire Committee to the Committee for Compounding (B.L. Add MS 5508 f.156) has been used in addition to material in SP28/248.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MANUSCRIPT AND PRINTED SOURCES

A. MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

NATIONAL DEPOSITORIES

i. Public Record Office

Chancery (C)

C66 Patent Rolls

C181/3-6 Crown Office, Entry Books of Commissions

C192/1 Crown Office, Miscellaneous Fiats (Commissions for Charitable Uses)

C193/12-13 Crown Office, Miscellaneous Books (*Libri Pacis*)

C219 Writs and Returns of Members to Parliament

C231/3-6 Crown Office, Docquet Books, 1620-60

Colonial Office (C.O.)

CO124/1-2 Records of the Providence Island Company

Exchequer (E)

a) King's Remembrancer

E101 Various accounts

/612/64 Accounts of Warwick Garrison, 1643-4

/634/2 Accounts of the receiver of knighthood fines in Warwickshire

/634/12 Accounts of work done at Warwick Garrison, 1645

E113 Bills and answers of defaulting accountants of the Civil War period
(reign of Charles II)

E121 Certificates of the sale of crown lands

E134 Depositions taken by commission

E163/18/12 Miscellanea, *Liber Pacis*, 1626

E178 Special commissions of inquiry

/5687 Compositions for knighthood, 1631

/6506 Investigation into moneys received during the Commonwealth (1661)

/7154/186-8 Compositions for knighthood, 1630

E179 Lay subsidy rolls; Hearth Tax records, 1621-64.

E202/697 Writ directed to the sheriff of Warwickshire

b) Exchequer of Receipt

E401/1915-1920 Receipt books (Pells), 1626-33

- E401/2441-2454 Auditors' receipt books, 1625-34
 E401/2586-2590 Receipts and papers concerning loans of the Privy Seal
 E407/35 Miscellanea, knighthood fines, 1630-2

Land Revenue Office

- LR2/266 Miscellaneous books, surveys of regicides' estates, 1660-2

Privy Council Office

- PC2 Registers of the Privy Council, 1631-42.

Probate Records

- Prob 11 Prerogative Court of Canterbury, wills

Star Chamber

- St Ch 8 Proceedings, reign of James I

State Paper Office (SP)

- SP14 State Papers, James I
 SP16 State Papers, Charles I
 SP18 State Papers, Interregnum
 SP19 Records of the Committee for the Advance of Money
 SP20 Records of the Committee for the Sequestration of Delinquents' estates
 SP21 Records of the Committee of Both Kingdoms and the Derby House Committee
 SP22 Records of the Committee for Plundered Ministers
 SP23 Records of the Committee for Compounding with Delinquents
 SP24 Records of the Committee and Commissioners of Indemnity
 SP25 Records of the Council of State
 SP28 Commonwealth Exchequer Papers
 SP29 State Papers, Charles II
 SP46 State Papers, supplementary
 /60 Papers of Ezekias Skarning of Wolvey
 /83/5 Papers of George Warner of Wolston
 /103 Papers of the Committee for Advance of Money
 /105, 108 Composition and Sequestration papers

Institution Books, Series A, 1556-1660

ii. British Library*Additional MSS*

- 5508 f.156 Letter from the Warwickshire Sequestration Committee, 1648
 11045 Newsletters addressed to the first Lord Scudamore, 1640-1
 11331-3 Letter books of Sir William Brereton, 1645-6
 11364 'Annals' of the city of Coventry
 15669-15671 Minute books of the Committee for Plundered Ministers
 18777-18780 Walter Yonge's journal of proceedings in the House of Commons 1642-5
 18980-2 Correspondence of Prince Rupert
 23146 Diary of Thomas Dugard
 28175 Collections for the history of Tamworth, by C.F.R. Palmer
 28564 Collections for a history of Warwickshire, by R.B. Wheler

- 28565 Stratford-on-Avon's contributions during the Civil War
 29570 Correspondence between Christopher, Lord Hatton and the Compton family
 31116 Lawrence Whitacre's diary of proceedings in the House of Commons, 1642-6
 35098 Order book of the Warwickshire Sequestration Committee 1646-9
 35209 Abraham Boune's account of money, plate and horses received 1642-3

Egerton MSS

- 785-7 Letter books of Sir Samuel Luke, 1643-5
 2541 Papers of Sir Edward Nicholas
 2557 *Liber Pacis*, 1661
 3514 Letter book of Sir Samuel Luke

Harleian MSS

- 166 Sir Simonds D'Ewes' journal of the House of Commons, 1643-5
 378/4 List of officers serving under the Earl of Denbigh, 1644
 390 Newsletters from Joseph Mede to Sir Martin Stuteville
 594 Return of households in the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield, 1563
 595 Return of households in the diocese of Worcester, 1563
 1622 *Liber Pacis*, 1626
 3785 Correspondence of William Sancroft, Master of Emanuel College
 6802, 6804, 6851-2 Papers of Sir Edward Walker
 7000 Miscellaneous correspondence, 1620-31
 7004 Puckering Newsletters

Stowe MSS

- 142 Miscellaneous correspondence
 150 Ferrers papers
 184-5 Miscellaneous papers
 190 Letter book of Sir Samuel Luke, 1644-5
 577 *Liber Pacis*, 1652
 744 Miscellaneous correspondence

iii. Bodleian Library, Oxford

- MS Eng. Lett. b1 Sir Simon Archer's letter book
 Tanner MS 52 List of M.P.s excluded from the 1656 Parliament
 Tanner MS 58, 60, 62 Letters to William Lenthall, Speaker of the House of Commons in the Long Parliament
 MS Top. Warws c 11 Memorandum book of Samuel Eborall and Waldive Willington, J.P.s

iv. House of Lords Record Office

Main Papers 1642-7

v. Dr Williams' Library

Correspondence of Richard Baxter

vi. Lambeth Palace Library

Comm VII/2 Proceedings of the Protector and Council concerning Ministers' Augmentations

LOCAL DEPOSITORIES

i. Warwick County Record Office

- CR136 Newdigate collection
 CR162 Ward-Boughton-Leigh collection
 CR354/1-2 Papers of Thomas Leyfield
 CR440 Additional Newdigate papers
 CR556/274 Accounts of the steward of the Earl of Northampton, 1629-35
 CR1059/1-4 Notebooks of Sir Simon Archer
 CR1456 Papers concerning taxation in Newton and Biggin
 CR1866 Warwick Castle Manuscripts
 CR1998 Throckmorton of Coughton Manuscripts
 CR2017 Denbigh Manuscripts
 L6 Lucy collection

Warwick Borough Manuscripts at Warwick County Record Office

- CR1618/W14/26 Customs of the manors of Samborne, Rowington, Kingswood,
 Hampton in Arden, Tardebigge, Salford Priors, Inkberrow and Knowle, 1630-60
 CR1618/W21/6 Corporation minute book, 1610-62

- DRB27 Parish records, Nether Whitacre
 DR87/2 Churchwardens' accounts, St Nicholas, Warwick
 DR360/63 Churchwardens' accounts, Alcester
 DR404/49 Churchwardens' accounts, Fillongley
 DR404/85 Constables' accounts, Fillongley

Microfilms and xeroxes consulted at Warwick County Record Office

- Z65 Sir William Dugdale's diaries
 Z237 Sir William Dugdale's account of the Proceedings of the commission of array and
 the Militia Commission, 1642. (Original in Northampton County Record Office)
 MI 229/1 Finch-Knightley of Packington Manuscripts, Militia Book, 1659

ii. Birmingham Reference Library*a) Family Collections*

- Holte MSS 195-6
 The Norton Collection
 Wingfield-Digby Muniments: A1233, A1244, A1344

b) Numbered MSS

- 176967 Levy in Bewsall, Hatton parish, 1659
 257399 Mortgage involving John Hales and William Purefoy, 1636
 257429-257444 Land transactions involving John Mattock, 1658-61
 272809-272812 Disputes arising out of the will of the first Lord Brooke
 277075 Inventory of Thomas Leyfield, 1648
 347952 Inventory of Sir Thomas Holte, 1654
 348053, 348062 Commissions of deputy-lieutenancy, 1638, 1660 (the Holte family)
 412977 The marriage settlement of Richard Shuckborough and Grace Holte
 434077-434081 Land transactions of the Purefoy families, 1622-6

- 460598 Mortgage involving Thomas Leyfield, 1646
 595611 Letter book of Sir William Brereton, 1646
 Xerox of the Life of Thomas Hall (original in Dr Williams' Library)

iii. Coventry City Record Office

- A14 (a) Council Minute book 1561-1640
 A14 (b) Council Minute book 1640-96
 A34 'Humphry Burton's Book'
 A35 'This Booke touching Ship Money'
 A37 City Annals
 A48 City Annals
 A79 Correspondence
 A105 Diary of Robert Beake 1655-6
 Acc 535/1 City Annals
 W964 Papers concerning the Trained Bands

iv. Shakespeare Birthplace Trust, Stratford on Avon

Stratford Borough MSS

- BRV2/C Council Book 1628-57
 BRV15/13 Volume of Miscellanea

Family Papers

- DR3 Ferrers of Baddesley Clinton MSS
 DR5 Throckmorton of Coughton MSS
 DR10 Gregory Hood Collection
 DR12 Fetherstone of Packwood MSS
 DR18 Leigh of Stoneleigh Collection
 DR23 Pedigree of the Phippes family
 DR37 Archer Collection
 DR98 Willoughby de Broke Collection
 ER1/1 Archer MSS
 ER109/6 Will of Sir Henry Gibbes, 1648
 ER109/14 Archer account book

v. East Sussex County Record Office

- Dunn MS 51/47-68 Correspondence of the Temple and Busbridge families

vi. Hampshire County Record Office

- 19 M61 Kingsmill MSS
 44M69/XXIX/35 Sheffield MSS, draft petition concerning the Coventry election, 1628

vii. Hereford and Worcester County Record Office (Worcester)

- Warwickshire wills proved at Worcester
 BA2049 Ordination Papers
 BA2951 Visitation of the clergy, 1661

viii. Kent County Archives Department

- U269 Sackville MSS
 Unlisted Cranfield papers: Warwickshire estate correspondence, 1630-45

ix. Lichfield Joint Record Office

Warwickshire wills proved at Lichfield

B/V/1/56 Laud's Visitation, 1635

B/V/1/62 *Liber Cleri*, 1639

B/V/1/63 Episcopal Visitation, 1639

x. Somerset County Record Office

DD/PH 219/35 Phelips MSS, Nathaniel Tomkins to Sir Robert Phelips on the 'forced loan'

xi. Stafford County Record OfficeD868 Correspondence of Sir Richard Leveson
Earl of Bradford Collection**xii. William Salt Library, Stafford**

William Salt MSS

454 Letters of John Swynfen

550 Hastings-Rupert correspondence

565 Chetwynd MSS

567-571 Compton correspondence

H.M. Chetwynd Collection, bundle 110

Private Collections

Castle Ashby, Northamptonshire Collections of the Marquess of Northampton

Maxstoke Castle, Warwickshire Fetherstone-Dilke Collection

New College, Oxford MS 9502 (Diary of Robert Woodford)

B. PRINTED MATERIAL**i. Contemporary Books and Tracts**Abbott, George. *The Whole Book of Psalms, Paraphrased* (1650)B[addley], R[ichard]. *The Life of Dr. Thomas Morton* (1669)Baxter, Richard. *Reliquiae Baxterianae* edited Matthew Sylvester (1696)*Saints Everlasting Rest* (1650)Blyth, Walter. *The English Improver* (1649)*A letter from Colonel Bridges, Governor of Warwick Castle* (1645)Bridges, John and others. *A Perfect Narrative of the Securing of Dublin Castle* (1660)Bryan, John. *A Discovery of the Probable Sin* (1647)*The Vertuous Daughter* (1638)Bryan with Onley, John. *A Public Disputation at Killingworth* (1655)Burgess, Anthony. *The Difficulty of, and Encouragement to a Reformation* (1643)*The Magistrate's Commission from Heaven* (1644)*Paul's Last Farewell* (1658)*Public Affections, Pressed in a Sermon* (1646)Camden, William. *Britannia* (1722)Clarke, Samuel. *A Generall Martyrologie* (1651)*The Lives of Sundry Eminent Persons in this Later Age* (1683)*The Lives of Two and Twenty English Divines* (1660)*The Marrow of Ecclesiastical History* (1650)

- Cleveland, John. *The Character of a County Committeeman* (1649)
- Cooke, James. *Mellificum Chirurgia* (1662)
- Coppe, Abiezer. *A Fiery Flying Roll* (1650)
- Dalton, Michael. *The Countrey Justice* (1655)
- Doughty, John. *The King's Cause* (1644)
- Dugard, Thomas. *The Change* (1641)
Death and the Grave (1649)
Philobasileus, Philoepiscopus, Philophilus (1664)
- Dugdale, William. *The Antiquities of Warwickshire* (1656)
A Short View of the Late Troubles in England (Oxford, 1681)
- Durham, William. *Maran-Atha: The Second Advent or Christ's Coming to Judgement* (1652)
- Edwards, Thomas. *Gangraena* (1646)
[Farnworth, Richard]. *Witchcraft Cast out from the Religious Seed and Israel of God* (1655)
- Fen, Humphrey. *The Last Will and Testament* (1641)
- Fuller, Thomas. *The History of the Worthies of England* (1662)
- Grent, John. *The Burthen of Tyre: A Sermon* (1627)
- Greville, Robert (Lord Brooke). *The Nature of Truth, Its Union and Unity with the Soule* (1640)
A Worthy Speech Made by the Right Honourable the Lord Brooke, at the election of his Captains and Commanders at Warwick Castle (1643)
- Hall, John. *Select Observations on English Bodies* (1657)
- Hall, Thomas. *The Font Guarded* (1652)
Funebria Florae: The Downfall of May Games (1660)
The Pulpit Guarded with XVII Arguments (1650)
Vindiciae Literarum (1655)
- Harris, Robert. *Abner's Funeral* (1641)
- Harrison, William. *An Historicall Description of the Islande of Britayne* (1577)
- Harvey, Christopher. *The Right Rebel* (1661)
- Heylyn, P. *Cyprianus Anglicus* (1668)
- Hunt, Richard. *The Bow of Jonathon* (1657)
- Jacombe, T. *Enoch's Walk and Change* (1656)
- King, Daniel. *A Discovery of Some Troublesome Thoughts* (1651)
- Ley, John. *A Discourse of Disputations* (1658)
- Massey, Christopher. *Microsmography or Speculum Mundi* (1650)
- Moore, R. *A Pearl in an Oyster Shell* (1675)
- Ogilby, John. *Britannia* (1675)
- Pierce, Thomas. *The Lifelessness of Life* (1659)
A letter from Serjeant Major Purefoy, Governor of Compton House (1645)
- Rushworth, John. *Historical Collections* (7 vols., 1659-1701)
- Salmon, Joseph. *Heights in Depths and Depths in Heights* (1651)
- S[heppard], S[amuel]. *The Committeeman Curried* (1647)
- Trapp, John. *The Commentary upon the XII Minor Prophets* (1654)
God's Love Tokens and the Afflicted Man's Lessons (1637)
- Venour, Richard. *Panoplia, or the whole armour of God Explained and Applied* (1662)
- Vicars, John. *The Burning Bush not Consumed* (1646)
God's Arke Overtopping the World's Waves (1646)
Jehovah Jireh, God in the Mount or England's Parliamentarie-Chronicle (1644)
Jehovah Jireh, God in the Mount or England's Remembrancer (1642)

- Vines, Richard. *The Authors, Nature and Danger of Haeresie* (1647)
Caleb's Integrity (1642)
Magnalia Dei (1644)
The Purifying of Unclean Hearts and Hands (1646)
- Warmstry, Thomas. *A Convocation Speech* (1641)

ANONYMOUS WORKS

- The Battaile on Hopton Heath in Staffordshire* (1643)
The Committeeman's Last Will and Testament (1647)
The Copie of a Letter from Warwickshire . . . August 8 (1642)
The Copie of a Letter sent from a speciall friend in Coventry (1642)
England's Losse and Lamentation (1643)
England's Remembrancer of London's Integrity, or Newes from London (1647)
A Famous Victory Obtained by the Right Honourable the Lord Brooks Against the Earle of Northampton neere Keinthith in Warwickshire on 3rd August 1642 (1642)
Horrible Newes from Warwickshire (1642)
An Imperfect List of the Names of the Several Members Returned . . . (1656)
Joyfull Newes from the King (1642)
The King's Majesties Alarum for Open War (1642)
The Last Weeks Proceedings of the Lord Brooke (1643)
A Letter Written from Walshall (1643)
His Majesties Declaration and Manifestation to all his souldiers by himselfe declared in the Head of His Army at Southam . . . Octo 21 1642
His Majesties Declaration and Propositions to the Mayor, Aldermen and Inhabitants of Coventry (1642)
The Manner and Good Successe of the Lord Brookes Forces in Pursuing the Cavaliers from Coventry (1642)
Newes from the Cite of Norwich . . . with a true Relation of the Siege of Coventry (1642)
A Perfect List of the Members Returned . . . September 1654 (1654)
The Poore Committee-man's Accompt avouched by Britannicus (1647)
Prince Ruperts Burning Love to England, discovered in Birmingham's Flames (1643)
The Proceedings at Banbury (1642)
Propositions from the King's most Excellent Majesty . . . to the Lord Brooks & the Gentry and Commonalty assembled at Warwick on Thursday last August 18 (1642)
Remarkable Passages from Nottingham, Lichfield, Leicester and Cambridge (1642)
Some Speciall Passages from Warwickshire . . . sent in a letter . . . This fourth of August 1642 (1642)
A True and Exact Relation of the manner of his Majesties setting up of his Standard at Nottingham (1642)
A True and Exact Relation of the most remarkable passages which have happened at Banbury and Warwick (1642)
True and New Newes with an Example from Warwick Castle (1642)
A true and Perfect Relation of the first and victorious Skirmish . . . in Southam Field (1642)
The True Proceedings of the Severall Counties of Yorke, Coventry, Portsmouth, Cornewall (1642)
A True Relation of the Lord Brook's settling of the militia in Warwickshire (1642)
A True Relation of his Majesties Coming to Coventry (1642)
The Two Petitions of the County of Warwick and Coventry (1642)

- The Warwickshire Ministers' Testimony to the Truth of Jesus Christ and to the Solemn League and Covenant* (1648)
Warwickshire Petition to the Parliament, Delivered August 17 1648 (1648)

NEWSBOOKS

- A Continuation of Certain Speciall and Remarkable Passages*
The English Intelligencer (1642)
The Kingdomes Weekly Intelligencer
Mercurius Aulicus
Mercurius Politicus
Mercurius Pragmaticus (1648)
The Moderate Intelligencer
The Parliament Scout
A Perfect Diurnall of the Passages in Parliament
Perfect Occurrences of Every Daie journall in Parliament, collected by Lu. Harruney, clerk (1646-7)
Perfect Occurrences of Parliament
The Scottish Dove
Speciall Passages (1642-3)
The Weekly Account

ii. Later Editions and Compilations

- Abbott, W.C., ed. *The Writings and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell*, volumes 3-4 (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1945-7)
Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum 1642-1660, C.H. Firth and R.S. Rait, eds., 3 volumes (1911)
Acts of the Privy Council of England 1618-1631, 11 volumes (1929-1964)
Barratt, D.M., ed. *Ecclesiastical Terriers of Warwickshire Parishes* (Dugdale Society Publications, 22, 27; Oxford, 1955, 1971)
Birch, Thomas, ed. *The Court and Times of Charles I*, 2 volumes (1848)
The Court and Times of James I, 2 volumes (1848)
Browning, Andrew. *English Historical Documents 1660-1714* (1966 edition)
Calder, I.M., ed. *Letters of John Davenport, Puritan Divine* (New Haven, 1937)
Calendar of the Clarendon State Papers, 5 volumes (Oxford, 1869-1970)
Calendar of the Proceedings of the Committee for Advance of Money 1642-1656, 3 volumes (1888)
Calendar of the Proceedings of the Committee for Compounding 1643-1660, 5 volumes (1889-93)
Calendar of State Papers Colonial: America and the West Indies 1574-1660 (1860)
Calendar of State Papers Domestic 1618-1661 (James I, Charles I, The Commonwealth, Charles II; 41 volumes, 1858-97)
Calendar of State Papers Relating to Ireland Charles I and Commonwealth, volumes 2-3 (1901-4)
Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts Relating to English Affairs, Existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice, 1623-42, volumes 23-25 (1922-5)
Carr, C.T., ed. *The Pension Book of Clements Inn* (Selden Society, volume 78, 1960)
The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England Begun in the Year 1641, by Edward Earl of Clarendon, W. Dunn Macray, ed., 6 volumes (Oxford, 1888)
Coates, W.H., ed. *The Journal of Sir Simonds D'Ewes from the first recess of the Long*

- Parliament to the withdrawal of King Charles from London* (Yale Historical Publications, Manuscripts and Edited Texts, 18; New Haven, 1942)
- Coates, W.H., Young, A.S. and Snow, V.F., eds. *The Private Journals of the Long Parliament* (New Haven, 1982)
- C[okayne], G.E. *The Complete Baronetage*, 5 volumes (1900-6)
- The Complete Peerage*, 13 volumes (1910-59)
- A Collection of Scarce and Valuable Tracts* (Somers Tracts), Walter Scott, ed. (London, 1809-15)
- Collinson, P., ed. *Letters of Thomas Wood, Puritan 1566-1577* (B.I.H.R. Special Supplement 5, 1960)
- Commons Debates 1628*, volumes 2 and 4 (Yale Center for Parliamentary History, New Haven, 1977-8)
- Cooper, J.P., ed. *The Wentworth Papers 1597-1628* (Camden Society, 4th series, 12, 1973)
- Cooper, William, ed. *The Records of Beaudesert, Henley in Arden, Co. Warwick* (Leeds, 1931)
- Dibben, A.A. *Coventry City Charters* (Coventry City Papers 2, Coventry, 1969)
- Dugdale, William. *The Antiquities of Warwickshire revised . . . and continued* by William Thomas, 2 volumes (1730)
- Fenwick, T.F. and Metcalf, W.C., eds. *The Visitation of Gloucestershire 1682-3* (Exeter, 1884)
- Fisher, F.J., ed. *Sir Thomas Wilson, The State of England A.D. 1600* (Camden Miscellany 16, 1936)
- Foster, J., ed. *Alumni Oxonienses, Being the Matriculation Register of the University 1500-1700*, 4 volumes (Oxford, 1891-2)
- The Register of Admissions to Gray's Inn 1521-1889* (1889)
- The Journal of George Fox*, Norman Penney, ed., 2 volumes (Cambridge, 1911)
- The Journal of George Fox*, J.L. Nickalls, ed., rev. edn. (Cambridge, 1952)
- The Short Journal . . . of George Fox*, Norman Penney, ed. (Cambridge, 1925)
- Fox, Levi, ed. 'The Diary of Robert Beake' in *Miscellany One* Robert Bearman, ed. (Publications of the Dugdale Society, volume 21, 1977)
- Gardiner, S.R., ed. *Debates in the House of Commons in 1625* (Camden Society, new series, 6, 1873)
- Gosse, Edmund. *The Life and Letters of John Donne*, 2 volumes (1899)
- Grazebrook, H.S., ed. *The Heraldic Visitations of Staffordshire 1614 and 1663-4* (1884)
- Haller, William. *Tracts on Liberty in the Puritan Revolution*, 3 volumes (New York, 1965 edn.)
- Haller, William and Davies, Godfrey, eds. *The Leveller Tracts* (New York, 1944)
- Hamper, William, ed. *The Life, Diary and Correspondence of Sir William Dugdale* (1827)
- The Publications of the Harleian Society: Visitations:
- Bedfordshire 1566, 1582, 1634*, volume 19 (1884)
- Buckinghamshire 1634*, volume 58 (1909)
- Leicestershire 1619*, volume 2 (1870)
- Northamptonshire 1681*, volume 87 (1935)
- Oxfordshire 1566, 1574, 1634*, volume 5 (1871)
- Shropshire 1623*, volumes 28-9 (1889)
- Warwickshire 1619*, volume 12 (1877)
- Warwickshire 1682-3*, volume 62 (1911)
- Worcestershire 1634*, volume 90 (1938)
- Hutchinson, Lucy. *Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson*, James Sutherland, ed. (Oxford, 1973)

- Jonson, Ben. *Poems*, Ian Donaldson, ed. (Oxford, 1975)
- Journals of the House of Commons 1614-1660*, volumes 1-8
- Journals of the House of Lords 1614-1649, 1660*, volumes 2-11
- Kemp, Thomas, ed. *The Black Book of Warwick* (Warwick, 1898)
- The Book of John Fisher, Town Clerk and Deputy Recorder of Warwick* (Warwick, 1900)
- Lee, Sidney, ed. *The Autobiography of Edward, Lord Herbert of Cherbury* (1906)
- The Records of the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn, volume 1: *Admissions 1420-1799* (1896)
- Matthews, A.G. *Calamy Revised* (Oxford, 1934)
- Walker Revised* (Oxford, 1948)
- Metcalf, W.C., ed. *The Visitation of the County of Worcester 1682-3* (Exeter, 1883)
- The Visitations of Northamptonshire 1564 and 1618-19* (1887)
- Nickolls, John. *Original Letters and Papers of State Addressed to Oliver Cromwell* (1743)
- Notestein, W., ed. *The Journal of Sir Simonds D'Ewes from the Beginning of the Long Parliament to the Opening of the Trial of the Earl of Strafford* (New Haven, 1923)
- Notestein, W., Relf, F.A. and Simpson, H., eds. *Commons Debates 1621* (Yale Historical Publications, Manuscripts and Edited Texts 14; 7 volumes, New Haven, 1935)
- Notestein and Relf, eds. *The Commons Debates for 1629* (Research Publications of the University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, 1921)
- Pennington, D.H. and Roots, I.A., eds. *The Committee at Stafford 1643-1645* (Manchester, 1957)
- Public Record Office, List and Index IX, *List of Sheriffs for England and Wales* (1898)
- Return of the names of every member returned to serve in each Parliament* (1878)
- Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts:*
- Fourth Report, Appendix 1 (1874), House of Lords, Earl of Denbigh
- Fifth Report, Appendix 1 (1876), House of Lords, Duke of Sutherland
- Sixth Report, Appendix 1 (1877), House of Lords, Earl of Denbigh
- Seventh Report, Appendix 1 (1879), House of Lords, Earl of Denbigh, Sir H. Verney
- Eighth Report, Part I, Appendix 1 (1881), Earl of Denbigh
- Ninth Report, Part II, Appendix 1 (1884), Chandos-Pole-Gell
- Tenth Report, Appendix IV (1885), Earl of Kilmorey
- Tenth Report, Appendix VI (1887), Pleydell-Bouverie
- Twelfth Report, Appendices I-II (1888), Earl Cowper (Coke MSS) I-II
- Twelfth Report, Appendix IV (1888), Rutland 1
- Thirteenth Report, Appendices I-II (1891-3), Portland I-II
- Fourteenth Report, Appendix II (1894), Portland III
- Buccleuch (Montagu House) I, III (1899, 1926)
- Lord De L'Isle and Dudley I-VI (1925-66)
- Earl of Denbigh V (1911)
- Hastings I-II (1928-30)
- Leyborne-Popham (1899)
- Lord Middleton (1911)
- Montagu of Beaulieu (1900)
- Portland VIII-IX (1907, 1923)
- Salisbury (Cecil) XXII (1971)
- Rutt, J.T., ed. *The Diary of Thomas Burton*, 4 volumes (1828)
- Smith, L. Toulmin, ed. *The Itinerary of John Leland in or about the Years 1535-1543*, 5 volumes (1906-8)
- Spencer, Thomas. *The Genealogie, Life and Death of the Right Honourable Robert Lord*

- Brooke, Baron Brooke of Beauchamps Court, Philip Styles, ed. in *Miscellany One*, Robert Bearman, ed. (Publications of the Dugdale Society, volume 21, 1977)
- Students Admitted to the Inner Temple 1547-1660* (1877)
- Sturgess, H.A.C. *Register of Admissions to the Honourable Society of the Middle Temple*, volume 1 (1949)
- Diary of Henry Townshend of Elmley Lovett 1640-1663*, J.W. Willis Bund, ed. (The Worcestershire Historical Society, 2 volumes 1920)
- Trapp, John. *A Commentary on the Old and New Testaments*, 5 volumes (1867-8)
- Usher, R.G. *The Presbyterian Movement* (Camden Society, 3rd series 8, 1905)
- Venn, J. and J.A., compilers. *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, Part 1, to 1751, 4 volumes (Cambridge, 1922-7)
- Warwick County Records:
- volumes 1-4: *Quarter Sessions Order Books 1625-1665*, S.C. Ratcliff and H.C. Johnson, eds. (Warwick, 1935-8)
- volume 6: *Quarter Sessions Indictment Book 1631-1674*, Ratcliff and Johnson, eds. (Warwick, 1941)
- volume 9: *Hearth Tax Returns 1*, Margaret Walker, ed. (Warwick, 1957)
- Weaver, F.W., ed. *The Visitation of Herefordshire 1569* (Exeter, 1886)
- Webb, J. and T.W., eds. *Military Memoir of Colonel John Birch* (Camden Society, 1873)
- White, B.R., ed. *Association Records of the Particular Baptists of England and Wales* (Part 1, Baptist Historical Society, 1977)
- The Wyllys Papers* (Collections of the Connecticut Historical Society, volume 21, Hartford, Connecticut, 1924)

INDEX

- Abbott, George, Archbishop of Canterbury, 82
- Abbott, George, county committeeman, 117, 138n, 175, 179, 360-3
- Accountants, investigations of, 340
- Accounts, 245
- committeemen, 162-3, 215, 217, 239-42
- parish, of Civil War losses, 243-4, 256-63
- subcommittees of, 170, 184, 192, 207-8, 238, 249-50, 254, 258; at Coventry, 239-40, 243, 246, 253; at Warwick, 215, 239, 241, 243, 253; conflict with county committee, 176, 192, 202, 215-19, 238-9, 242-7, 249, 302, *see also* Committee for Taking the Accounts of the Kingdom
- Acton, Sir Thomas, 34
- Adderley, Sir Charles of Nether Whitacre, 137, 300, 341
- Administrative structure, 51
- and county loyalties, 54-5
- Agriculture, 1-4, 6, 8
- Alcester, 18-20, 63, 82, 122, 178, 196, 309, 314, 317, 321, 324
- ministers of, 63, 67, 82, 307, 324 (*See also* Clarke, Samuel and Tickner, Samuel)
- Alderfords of Salford, 31
- Alehouses, 56, 58, 282-8
- Alehouse patent, 56, 91
- Alliance, Civil War, patterns of, 151-2, 155, 157, 166-7
- 'Anglicanism', 1650s, 322-6
- Anti-popery, 135-6, 154, 343, *see also* Popish Plot, Roman Catholics
- Antiquarianism, 46-9
- Archers of Tanworth and Umberslade, 28, 32, 308
- Andrew, 32, 37, 64
- Anne (née Ferrers), 37, 46, 283-4
- Sir Simon, 25, 35n, 37-8, 43, 45, 64, 74, 78n, 89, 96, 98, 117, 129, 254, 297, 300-1, 333, 358; and antiquarianism, 32, 46-9, 64; and Civil War, 157n, 168, 228-9; as accounts committeeman, 143n, 239, 241-2; as J.P., 54, 57, 253, 297-8, 347, 351n, 352-3, 356n, 357
- Thomas, 42, 223, 297, 302, 331, 333, 335-7, 343
- Arden region, 1, 4-6, 8
- Ardens of Park Hall, Aston; 33n, 43, 47, 341
- Robert, 30, 31n, 54-5, 96n, 102n, 131n, 347, 351n, 352; royalism of, 137, 142n, 157-8, 161n, 180
- Arminianism, 66-7, 69, 80-1, 86, *see also* Laudianism
- Arrow, 2
- Ashby-de-la-Zouch, 158, 208-10
- Ashe, Simeon, minister, 73-4, 77, 79, 116, 134, 149n
- Assessment commissioners, 1650s, 295, 297, 331
- Assizes, 100, 122
- assize judges, 51, 56
- Association
- of Staffordshire and Warwickshire, 170, 181, 194-5, 246; Committee, 171, 173; Ordinance, 170-1, 188, 234
- West Midlands, 170, 220-1, 225, 229-33, 236-7, 249, *see also* Feilding, Basil, Earl of Denbigh; Greville, Robert, Lord Brooke
- Astley, 84
- garrison at, 187, 195, 209, 258
- Astley, Sir Isaac, 141n, 358
- Aston, 285
- Aston Cantlow, 2
- Aston, Sir Thomas, 132
- Atherstone, 19-20
- Austrey, 256, 259
- troops from, 197
- Aylesbury, 214
- Ayleworth, Samuel of Wellesborne, 41
- Baddesley Clinton, 175, 290

- Baddesley Ensor, 320-1
 Ball, John, minister, 73, 76, 175
 Banbury, 15, 20, 144-5, 152, 158, 202, 208-10, 212-13, 278
 Baptists, 311, 317-22, 329
 Barford, 79
 Barford, Robert of Woodloe, 97
 Barker, John, alderman of Coventry, 13, 15, 129, 139, 141, 177, 219, 247, 270, 334n
 as county committeeman and colonel of foot, 150, 176, 179, 194-5, 198, 226-7, 232-3, 242, 360-3
 Barlichway Hundred, 6-8, 19, 59, 61, 96, 99, 101, 103, 108, 183
 Barnaby, Eustace, accounts committeeman, 240, 241n, 313
 Basnet, Samuel, Independent pastor, 177, 284, 307, 310-13, 327
 Basnet, Thomas, alderman of Coventry, 112, 138n, 139, 147, 274-5, 283, 295, 297, 300, 313, 330, 333, 337n
 as treasurer to the county committee, 177, 182, 184-6, 190, 192-3, 212, 234, 240n, 244
 Bateman, Edmund, accounts committeeman, 240-1
 Baxter, Richard, of Kidderminster, minister, 74, 121, 151, 178-9, 197, 205, 216n, 219, 308, 310-12, 326, 328
 Beake, Robert, alderman of Coventry, 270, 275, 289, 297-8, 300, 303, 311, 313, 343, 353; diary of, 283-4, 298, 312
 as J.P., 269
 as M.P., 291-6
 and Restoration, 330-1, 333, 336, 337n
 Bean, Alexander, minister of Stratford, 309, 310n, 326-7
 Beaudesert, 133n
 Beaufoes of Edmondscote, 341
 Henry, 280, 301
 Sir Thomas, 96n, 347
 Beaulieu, John, 90
 Bedford, Robert, 275
 Bedfordshire, 40
 Bedworth, 8, 10, 12
 Behr, Commissary General Hans, 227, 256, 305
 Benevolences, 1614, 51
 1620, 51n
 1626, 94-5
 Bentley of Kineton, Charles, 41, 301, 333, 341; as accounts committeeman, 239, 241-2, 244
 Edward, 97
 Berkshire, 269
 Betham, Walliston, 192
 Billering, 1620s, 61
 Billingsley, John, 338
 Binckes, Robert, 183
 Bird, Thomas, 158n
 Birmingham, 4, 8-10, 12, 17, 19-20, 75, 80-1, 105, 107-8, 115n, 133, 285, 287, 301, 310, 321, 329-30
 and Civil War, 147, 149, 150n, 180, 190, 197, 203, 221, 258, 270, 316
 Bishop, Sir Richard, 341n
 Bishops' Wars, 58, 114, 118-19, *see also* Scots
 Black Country, 8-9
 Blake, Thomas, minister of Tamworth, 134, 151
 Blyth, Walter, 4, 138n, 183-4, 192, 269
 Bolton, Stephen, 341n, 359
 Book of Orders, 1631, 55-8, 276, 285
 Book of Sports, 67, 73, 75n, 328
 Booth's Rising, 292, 302, 330
 Bosville, Godfrey of Wroxall and Yorkshire, 74-5, 77n, 117, 120n, 129-30, 139, 353
 as county committeeman and colonel of foot, 170, 176, 179, 195, 205, 218, 360-1, 363
 family of, 301
 as M.P., 173, 237, 247, 250
 Boughton, Thomas of Bilton, 33, 42, 81, 97, 98n, 109, 124, 152, 168, 240, 253, 272, 297, 353
 as M.P., 249-50, 254, 332
 as opponent of county committee, 174, 228, 233, 247-8
 Thomas, junior, 331
 Boughtons of Little Lawford, 28, 32-3, 168
 Edward, 32, 39, 54n, 347, 352
 Sir Edward, 335, 359
 Sir William, 31n, 32, 35, 39, 42, 55, 59, 301, 347, 352, 358; royalism of, 137, 142n, 159n, 161n, 163, 164n
 Boune, Abraham of Coundon, 182-3, 185, 190, 340
 Boune, John, 301
 Bovey Ralph, 359
 Brailes, 58n, 63, 210-11, 320-1
 Brandwood, Edward of Aston, 27
 Brent, Sir Nathaniel, 67, 70, 76, 79, 84-6
 Brereton, Sir William, 178, 206, 212-13, 226, 256
 Bridgeman, John, 341
 Bridges of Alcester, 178
 John, 76, 103, 270, 308, 340n; as county committeeman and colonel of foot, 178, 194n, 195-6, 199, 202, 215-16, 235, 243,

- 247-9; as J.P., 253n, 353, 357
 Matthew, 196, 199, 205, 295, 297, 301; as
 J.P., 269, 272-3, 353, 357
 William, 196n, 301
- Brinklow, 286-7
- Bristol, 224
- British army in Ireland, levies for, 212
- Bromley, Sir William, 335n, 341n
- Bromwich, Isaac, 11
 as county committeeman, 179, 360-1, 363
- Bromwich, John, 273, 353, 357
- Browne, Sir Francis, 52, 96n, 347, 352
- Brownes of Radford, 74, 341
 George, 43, 53, 58, 124, 295, 302, 335-6,
 359n
 Sir William, 53, 55, 58, 70, 96-7, 345n, 347,
 352
- Brudenells of Northamptonshire, 63
- Bryan, John, minister of Barford and
 Coventry, 66-7, 72-7, 93n, 116, 121, 134,
 205, 219, 252, 309-13, 315, 319, 326-7,
 329, 340
 as treasurer for proposition money, 151,
 185, 190
- Buckinghamshire, 63, 262
- Budbrooke, 324
- Buggs, John, 10-11
- Buggs, Samuel, minister of Coventry, 82, 84,
 86
- Bulstrode, Edward, 354, 357
- Burdetts of Bramcote and Derbyshire, 41
 Sir Thomas, 54, 95, 96n, 347
- Burgess, Anthony, minister of Sutton
 Coldfield, 75, 134, 151, 306-7, 311,
 326-8, 338
- Burgoyne, Peter of Coventry, 61, 122, 138n,
 354, 357
 as county committeeman and major of
 foot, 173, 177, 195, 360-3
- Burgoynes of Wroxall and Bedfordshire, 40,
 74, 112, 122, 356n
 Sir John, 40, 177, 247-8, 253, 272, 354; as
 M.P., 249-50, 254, 332
 Roger, 358
 Sir Roger, 40-1, 272-3, 297, 333, 341, 354;
 as M.P., 296, 332, 337n
- Burton, Humphrey, town clerk of Coventry,
 4, 105, 312
- Burton, Samuel, Archdeacon of Gloucester,
 68-9
- Burton, William, 48
- Butler, Henry, minister of Wasperton and
 Warwick, 72-3, 77-8, 134, 309, 310n,
 327, 329
- Byker, John, minister of Dunchurch, 70
- Caddyman, Robert, minister of Rowington,
 133
- Caldecote, 175
- Caley, Arthur, of Coventry, 298, 341-2
 Richard, 298
- Calvinism, 66, 69
- Cambden, 264-5
- Cambridge University, 44
- Camden, William, 2, 4, 8, 46
- Canning, Richard of Foxcote, 161n, 162, 193
- Carew, Richard, 46
- Carey, Lucius, Viscount Falkland, 142
- Careys, Earls of Monmouth, 341
 Henry, second Earl, 191
 Robert, first Earl, 21, 60, 95, 97n, 98
- Cartwright, Thomas, 65
- Case, Thomas, 89n
- Castle Ashby, 52
- Castle, Colonel James, 187, 194, 196, 198,
 200-2
- Castleton, Alice, 98
- Cave, Sir Thomas, 42
- Centralisation, and lieutenantancy, 59
 in 1650s, 276-7
- Chamberlain, Edward of Princethorpe, 35, 40, 186
- Chamberlain, Richard of Chilvers Coton and
 the Court of Wards, 11, 33, 42, 52, 84,
 88, 119, 125, 127-8, 268
 royalism of, 137, 143, 158
- Chambers, Alderman Joseph, 275, 290
- Chandos, Lord, 265
- Chaplains, army, 205-6
- Charlecote, 2, 67, 288
- Charles I, 61, 94, 99, 100, 130, 134, 137, 160,
 163, 300, 339
 opposition to, 110, 115-17, 119, 122-3, 127,
 131, 174, 215, 221
 and outbreak of Civil War, 140-4, 146-8,
 150, 152, 156, 275
- Charles II, 221, 275, 337, 339
- Chauncy, Charles, minister, 65
- Cherrington, 259
- Cheshire, 41, 95, 107n, 119, 130, 132-3, 161n,
 170, 190, 206, 213, 237, 279, 289
- Cheshire, John, 196
- Chetwynd, Walter, 131n, 139n, 341n, 351n
- Chilvers Coton, 10
- Clark, John, alderman of Coventry, 137, 147,
 274-5
- Clarke, Samuel, minister of Alcester, 63, 67,
 72n, 73, 75-6, 77n, 82, 85, 134, 307, 309,
 314-15
- Clarke, Sir Simon of Bidford, 31n, 39, 47, 53,
 60, 88, 102, 268, 358
 royalism of, 137

- Clergy
 ejected, 1640s and 1650s, 76, 325-6
 ejected, 1660-2, 75, 326-9
 parish, 66, 72-5, 79, 81, 84; and
 interregnum, 306-16
 Puritan and outbreak of war, 143-4
 surveys of, 65
 suspended, 1604-5, 65, *see also* ministers
- Clifton-on-Dunsmore, 2
- Cloptons, 333
- Coat and conduct money, 118
- Coke, Sir Edward, 16, 93
- Coke, Sir John, 25, 53, 92, 94, 111
- Colemore, William of Birmingham, 112, 270,
 295, 333, 340
 as county committeeman and colonel of
 horse, 177, 180, 195, 206, 208, 244, 248,
 360-3
 as J.P., 273, 354, 359
- Coleshill, 19-20, 139-41, 248, 321, 337
- Collins, Matthew, 11
- Combe of Stratford
 Katherine (née Boughton), 39
 Thomas, 61, 180n, 359
- William, 39, 74, 77, 91n, 96, 102-3, 109n, 122,
 131; as accounts committeeman, 239,
 241; and Civil War, 137-8, 143n, 153,
 164, 228, 266, 297; and election to Long
 Parliament, 126-9; as J.P., 52, 57n,
 115-16, 130, 348, 352, 354, 357
- Comberford, William, 117
- Commission of array, 137, 139, 140-2, 146
- Commission of the peace, 169, 221
 changes in: pre-war, 53-4, 130-1; post-war,
 253, 272-3, 276, 296, 333, 356
 size of, 344, *see also* Justices of the Peace,
 Quarter Sessions
- Committee(s),
 attacks on, 250-2
 for the Advance of Money, 159, 161, 163,
 190, 214n
 for Compounding, 159, 214
 for Plundered Ministers, 307-8, 325-6
 for Scandalous Ministers, 297
 for Taking the Accounts of the Kingdom,
 170, 238-9, 243-7, 249, 253
 of Both Kingdoms, 212-14, 230, 232
 of Safety (London), 225; (Warwickshire):
see county committee
see also accounts, assessment, county
 committee, indemnity, sequestration
- Common Prayer, Book of, 133, 322, 325, 327-9
- Commons, House of, in Long Parliament,
 134, 136-7, 233, 236-8, 249-50, 254, 274,
see also Parliaments
- 'Commonwealth', 111-12
- 'Compton Census', 329
- Comptons, Earls of Northampton, 21-2, 52,
 89, 267, 341
 James, third Earl, 119-20, 126-9, 133, 265,
 335, 337n, 339; royalism of, 163, 210,
 248n, 299-300
 Spencer, second Earl, 16, 22, 59, 101, 117;
 as lord lieutenant, 59-60, 114, 135; as
 royalist leader, 119, 125-7, 129, 132,
 136-7, 139-40, 142n, 143-5, 148, 152,
 161, 164, 167-8, 180, 181n, 191, 274, 334
 William, first Earl, 22, 43, 60, 93-4, 99
 Sir William, 212, 299
- Compton Wynyates, garrison of, 188, 195,
 202, 205, 208-10, 255, 258
- Coningsby, Nicholas of Morton Bagot, 103
- Constables, 119
 and Civil War, 278
 and coat and conduct money, 118
 and forced loan, 97
 levies, 108
 and ship money, 110, 118
- Convention of 1660, 332, 335-6
- Convocation, 134
- Conways of Ragley, 25, 341
 Edward, first Viscount, 23, 25-6, 52-3, 60,
 75, 88-9, 92n, 111, 351n
 Edward, second Viscount, 26, 84n, 89, 92n,
 192n, 193, 223, 266
 Edward, third Viscount, 297, 332-4, 335n,
 337n
- Cooke, James, 316-17, 324
- Cookes, Henry of Snitterfield, 159n
- Coppe, Abiezer, 72n, 205, 311
- Corbin, Thomas, 102
- Cornwall, 20
- Corporation Act, 275
- Cotton, Captain John, 187, 230n
 Captain Philip, 230n
- Coughton, 63n, 64, 209, 258
- Council of State
 1649-53, 223
 1654-9, 292, 296, 324
 1660, 333
- County committee, 17, 164, 169-72, 174,
 179-82, 208, 214, 339
 divisions in, 180
 and Earl of Denbigh, 217, 220-1, 224-30,
 232-3, 235-6, 246
 officials of, 182-4
 opposition to, 172, 179, 228, 234-5
 payments, 184-5
 powers of, 171-2
 receipts of, 185-6, 190

- and sequestrations, 160-1, 169, 171-2, 182, 190-3, 214
 and Subcommittees of Accounts, 215-19, 238-9, 242-7, 249
 and troops, 195, 205-6, 208, 212-14, 229
 County committeemen, 162, 170-1, 173-9, 217
 activity of, 360-4
 County community, concept of, x-xi, 20, 36-7, 41, 43, 46, 49-51, 54-5, 74-5, 87, 119, 132, 158, 164-7, 213, 220, 228, 336
 'Court' versus 'country', 111-12, 119
 Coventry, 19-20, 60, 103, 155, 264-5, 298, 307, 343
 and Booth's rising, 292
 charter, 80, 115
 and Civil War, 139-41, 144, 146, 153, 156, 179, 182, 188, 190, 208, 214, 219, 224-5, 228, 234, 236, 257-8, 274, 339
 coal mines, 10-11
 committees for, 170, 172
 corporate pride, 16-17, 61, 114-15, 118, 274-5
 corporation, 10, 12-13, 15-16, 219
 decline, 12-14
 during 1650s, 283-4, 289, 299
 economy, 12-15
 and forced loan, 98-9
 garrison of, 155, 176, 181, 187, 194-5, 197-8, 200, 202, 205, 209, 225-6, 298
 governors of, 176
 headquarters of county committee, 17
 M.P.s, 16, 93-4, 117, 129, 291-8, 336, 338
 population, 12
quo warranto proceedings, 80
 religion, 79, 80-2, 84-6, 147-8, 307, 311-14, 317, 319, 321, 329-30
 and Restoration, 175, 177, 275, 330-1, 337-9
 seige of 1642, 141, 148-50, 163, 168
 and ship money, 15-16, 87-8, 104-8, 110, 114-15
 social conflict, 14-15
 Coventry, committee at, *see* county committee
 Coventry, Thomas Lord, 58n, 117, 134
 Coventry and Lichfield, diocese of, 20, 62, 65, 86, 319
 Cox, Benjamin, 311
 Cranfield, Earls of Middlesex
 James, second Earl, 265, 305
 Lionel, first Earl, 20, 22-3, 31, 75, 84, 106n, 144
 estates and Civil War, 189, 203, 218, 257-8, 262-7, 305
 Creed, Major Richard, 187n, 196, 198n, 206, 257, 269, 298, 299n, 331, 337
 Crichlow, John, 313, 330, 333
 Croker, Colonel, 210
 Cromwell, Oliver, 175, 256n
 as Lord Protector, 292-6, 312-13
 Richard, 293-4, 317
 Curdworth, 289
 Custos Rotulorum, 23-4, 357n
 Dafthorne, 299
 Dalby, Richard of Brokehampton, 159n
 Danvers, John, 359
 Davenport, Christopher, 13, 139, 141
 as accounts committeeman, 239-40
 Davenport, John, 74, 89n
 Derbyshire, 4, 54n, 151, 188, 317
 Dering, Sir Edward, 48, 132, 178
 Devereux of Castle Bromwich and
 Worcestershire
 Leicester, 356n
 Sir Walter, 54n, 96n, 151n, 348, 358n
 Devereux of Sheldon, 42; Sir Edward, 348;
 Sir George, 42n, 52, 96n, 102n, 128, 348,
 352, 358; royalism of, 137, 142n, 157,
 159n, 160n, 163
 Devereux, Robert, Earl of Essex, 53, 117,
 120, 129, 138, 155, 194n, 195, 226, 232-3,
 236
 D'Ewes, Sir Simonds, 48, 224, 236-7
 Diamond, Tristram, minister of Foleshill, 327
 Digby, George, Lord, 74
 Digbys of Coleshill, 21, 341
 Kildare, Lord, 333, 335
 Robert, Lord, 21
 Dighton, Henry of Stratford, 342
 Job, 33
 Dilkes of Maxstoke, 42, 210, 333
 Thomas, 102-3, 348, 352
 Dingley, Simon, minister of Haseley, 71
 Directory of Worship, 322-3
 Dobson, Bartholemew, minister of
 Wellesborne, 76
 Dongan, Alexander, 302-3
 Donne, John, 45, 71
 Doughty, John, minister of Beaudesert, 133,
 325n
 Dowdeswell, Richard, 265, 271
 Dowley, John, minister of Alveston, 72
 Dryden, Sir John, 272, 354
 Dublin, 179
 Dudley, 257
 garrison of, 160, 208-10, 212n, 248
 Dudleys, 68, 111
 Ambrose, Earl of Warwick, 21, 64-5, 88
 Robert, Earl of Leicester, 21, 24, 28, 64-5,
 88

- Dugard, Hannah, 316
 Richard, 71, 78
 Thomas, schoolmaster of Warwick and minister of Barford, 66-7, 69, 71-80, 100, 112, 116, 121-2, 124-5, 130n, 132, 134-6, 305, 309-10, 314-16, 327-9; diary of, 70-1, 86, 100, 120, 122, 177n
- Dugdale, Sir William, 9, 25, 27, 46-9, 89, 98, 117, 129, 142, 145, 147, 149, 157-9, 161-4, 167, 268, 298, 300-1, 324, 337
- Dukeson, Gilbert, 334n
- Dunchurch, 259
- Durham, William, 286
- Eastern Association, 198, 200n, 231
- Easunhull, 319
- Eborall, Samuel, 162-3, 279-80, 298, 308, 341, 354, 357
- Ecclesiastical administration, 20, 54, 62, 85
- Ecclesiastical visitations, episcopal, 81, 326, 329
 metropolitan, 70, 76, 84-6
- Edgbaston, 298
 garrison, 209, 230-1, 258
- Edgehill, 149-50, 160, 169, 181, 215, 256, 320, 337
- Edmondes, Sir Thomas, 93
- Egerton, Thomas, Lord Ellesmere, 18
- Egerton, Captain Thomas, 194n
- Elections, parliamentary
 Coventry, 16, 93-4, 117, 129, 336, 338
 Tamworth, 117, 129
 Warwick, 24, 91-3, 117, 121, 129-30, 336
 Warwickshire, 91, 112, 116, 119, 122, 125-9, 173, 245, 247-9, 296, 335-6, *see also* M.P.s, Parliaments, recruiter election
- Elizabeth I, 62, 64-5
- Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia, 127
- Enclosures, 2, 4
- Engagement, 275, 290, 302-3, 314-15
- Enyon, James 46, 131n, 142n, 158n, 351n
- Episcopacy
 attitudes to, 123-4, 135-6
 petition against, 130
- Essex, 57n, 58n, 60n, 94, 269, 342
- Ettington, 320-1
- European affairs, interest in, 89-90
- Evans, Daniel, 72n
- Evans, Thomas, minister of Caldecote and Weddington, 310n
- Evesham, 20, 209, 214, 264-5
- Exchequer, 103, 216, 217n
- Excise commissioners, 177
- Eyres, Daniel, minister of Haseley, 310n
- Fairfax, Sir Thomas, 184, 197n, 207, 256n
- Fane, Sir George, 335n, 341
- Fanshawe, Sir Simon, 341n
- Farming regions, 1-5, 20
- Farnworth, Richard, 319
- Fawdon, Robert, 144, 189, 218, 257, 262, 264-6, 280
- Fawkes, John, 324
- Feildings of Newnham Paddox, 23, 168, 225
 Basil, 23-4, 55, 96-7, 101, 102n, 348, 352
 Basil, second Earl of Denbigh, 23, 42, 208, 221, 254, 257, 297, 301, 319, 331, 333, 337n, 346, 356n, 357; Commander of West Midlands Association, 162, 170, 220-1, 225-38, 255, 257; conflict with the county committee, 88, 217, 223-30, 232-3, 235-6, 246; political attitudes, 222-4; religious views, 222-3; supporters of, 163, 170, 174, 180, 220, 223, 228, 234-5, 242, 254
 Sir Roger, 137, 143, 162n, 190
 Susan (née Villiers) Countess of Denbigh, 23, 221, 224-5
 William, first Earl of Denbigh, 23, 89, 221
- Fen, Humphrey, 65, 82
- Fenny Compton, 282
- Ferrers of Baddesley Clinton, 31
 Edward, 47n, 257, 358
 Henry, 46, 47n
- Ferrers of Tamworth and Derbyshire, 41, 129, 168
 Sir John, 43, 46, 52n, 54n, 92n, 96n, 348, 352, 353n
- Fetherstones of Packwood, 43
 John, 164-5, 354
- Fielden region, 1-2, 4-6
- Fiennes, John, 145
 Nathaniel, 148
 William, Viscount Saye and Sele, 43, 54, 74-5, 100, 112-13, 120-1, 131n, 138, 149, 225n, 266, 301
- 'Fifth monarchists', 299, 318
- Fillongley, 256, 289n, 323-4
- Finch, Sir John, 269
 Lady, 192
- Fishers of Great Packington, 28, 42
 Sir Clement (fl. 1620s), 92n
 Sir Clement (fl. 1660s), 298, 338
 Francis, 298
 Sir Robert, 42, 55, 59, 348, 352, 358;
 royalism of, 137, 142, 156-8, 161-2, 193
- Flint, Thomas, 338, 342
- Flower, Captain Henry, 198, 202
- Foley, Edward, 194
- Forced Loan, 1627, 53, 59-60, 93-9, 104, 344n
- Fox, George, 311, 319-20

- Fox, Colonel John, 230-1, 258
 Frankton, 2
 Free gift, *see* benevolences
 Free-quarter, 204, 234, 256-7, 260, 305
 Fullwood, Thomas of Little Alne, accounts
 committeeman, 241-2
- Gardiner, Samuel, 194n
 Gataker, Thomas, 71
 Gauden, John, Bishop of Worcester, 328-9
 Gell, John, 226
- Gentry, 4-9, 16, 21
 and antiquarianism, 46-9
 Civil War allegiance, 137-8, 141-3, 149,
 153, 157-64, 166-7
 and Civil War exactions, 262-7, 270-1
 cultural interests, 45-6
 definitions of, 26-7
 education, 43-5
 families, 34-5, 37-40
 and foreign travel, 45
 friendships, 41-3
 and land sales, 268-9
 life-style, 35-6
 links with other counties, 40-1, 50, 54
 marriage links, 39-40, 54
 and officeholding, 33, 35, 40
 origins, 28-9
 religion, 62-7, 69-71, 74-5
 and the Restoration, 331, 334-5, 337, 342-3
 and sequestrations, 267-9
 support for the Earl of Denbigh, 228, 234-5
 wealth, 28, 30-6
- Geydon, 320
 Gibbard, Timothy, 298
 as accounts committeeman, 240-1, 313
 Gibbes, of Honington, 160
 Sir Henry, 35, 52, 159-60, 228-9, 273, 359
 Gilbert, Samuel, 172n
 Gilpin, John, minister of Knowle, 67, 75, 134
 Girdler, Captain Robert, 334n, 337
 Gloucester, 15, 107n, 114, 224, 227, 232, 317
 Gloucestershire, 34, 43, 158, 189, 218, 264-5
 Glover, Robert of Manceter, 42
 Glover, Thomas, minister of Warwick, 327
 Goodall, Wortley, 103
 Goode, Basil, 27
 Goodere, Sir Henry of Polesworth, 45, 54,
 127, 341, 348
 Gouge, William, 74
 Grand Jury, 279
 Grand Remonstrance, 57, 132, 135-6
 Greene, Richard of Wyken, 93-4
 Grendon, 210-11, 320
 Gresbrooke, Robert, 183, 340
- Gresley, Sir George, 43
 Greswolds of Solihull, 64n
 Grevilles of Beauchamps Court, 18, 21, 23-5,
 92, 267, 341
 Francis, third Lord Brooke, 64, 122, 301
 Fulke, first Lord Brooke, 18, 23-5, 52, 60,
 88-9, 91-2, 94-5, 98, 111, 121, 351n
 Katherine, Baroness Brooke, 301
 Robert, second Lord Brooke, 24-6, 71,
 74-5, 77, 82, 92, 134, 160, 251, 334; and
 Long Parliament elections, 125-30; and
 outbreak of Civil War, 64, 97, 135-41,
 143-6, 148, 156, 164-5, 180, 206, 228,
 336, 342; as parliamentary lord
 lieutenant, 135-7, 170, 190; as popular
 leader, 149-50, 152-4, 156; Commander
 of the Association of Staffordshire and
 Warwickshire, 170-1, 173, 178, 180-1,
 194, 221, 233, 246, 255, 305; contacts in
 Warwickshire, 79, 112-13, 115-17,
 120-2, 125, 168, 174, 176-7, 196; death,
 171, 180-1, 224; political stance, 89, 100,
 103n, 119-21, 125, 132-3; religious
 beliefs, 67, 72-3, 120, 123-4
 Robert, fourth Lord Brooke, 333-6
 William, 120n, 248
- Greville, Sir Edward of Milcote, 22, 30-1
 Greville, Sir Fulke, 25
 Grew, Jonathon, 242
 Grew, Obadiah, minister of Coventry, 76,
 284, 309-13, 326-7, 329
 Grey, Henry Lord, 301
 Grosvenor, Fulke of Surton Coldfield, 193
 Gunpowder Plot, 62, 64, 154
- Habington, Thomas, 45, 48-9
 Hacker, Colonel, 330
 Hales, of Whitefriars, Coventry, 16
 Christopher (fl. 1580s), 65
 Christopher, 178, 180, 273, 354, 361-3
 John, 16, 97, 122, 131, 274n, 301; as county
 committeeman, 176, 360-3; as J.P., 253n,
 354, 357
 Hales of Snitterfield, 74, 341
 Sir Bartholemew, 92, 348, 352
 Stephen, 295
 Halford, 260-1
 Halford Captain John, 122, 124, 186, 194n,
 196, 199, 270, 297, 300-1, 334n
 Hall, John, 43
 Hall, Thomas, minister of Kings Norton, 9,
 81, 230n, 308-10, 314-16, 318, 326, 328
 Hall, Thomas, minister of Warwick, 67, 76-7,
 79, 82, 85
 Hamilton, James, Marquis of, 23, 222, 300

- Hampden, John, 148
 ship money case, 89, 108, 110
- Hampshire, 34
- Hampton Lucy, 2
- Harcourt, Captain, 192, 269
- Harewell, Henry, 94
 as accounts committeeman, 239-40
- Harley, Edward, 331-3
 Sir Robert, 133-4
- Harris, Robert, minister of Hanwell, 49, 65,
 71, 73, 84n
- Hartlib, Samuel, 183
- Harvey, Christopher, 325n
- Harvey of Morton Morrell
 Lady, 74
 Sir Stephen, 53, 348, 352
- Haselrig, Sir Arthur, 183, 194, 226, 292, 294
- Hatton, Sir Christopher, 47-9
- Hawes, Serjeant Nicholas, 205
- Hawes, Samuel, minister of Honiley, 310n,
 327
- Hawkesworth, Colonel Joseph, 196, 199-200,
 205-6, 214n, 218, 257, 272, 295, 297,
 300-1, 305, 330-1, 333-4, 340
 as J.P., 269, 273, 298, 354, 357
 as M.P., 295-6
- Hay, James, second Earl of Carlisle, 301
- Haynes, Robert, 183-4, 193
- Hearth Tax, 5
- Hemlingford Hundred, 5, 7-8, 19, 27, 58-9,
 61, 64n, 96-7, 99, 101, 103, 183, 210, 244,
 287, 330
- Henley-in-Arden, 18-9, 57, 63, 314, 318, 321,
 324-5
- Henrietta Maria, 221, 305
- Henry, Prince of Wales, 33, 36, 93n
- Herbert, Lord Edward of Cherbury, 45
- Herefordshire, 54n, 133
- Hertfordshire, 34, 143
- Heylin, Peter, 25
- High constables, 108, 116, 279
 and Civil War, 273, 278
- Hill, Thomas, minister of Tichmarsh, 73
- Hinckley, 20
- Hinton, Samuel, Archdeacon of Coventry,
 69n, 80, 141, 190
- Hobson, Lieutenant Thomas, 196, 200, 202,
 244-7, 253, 275, 302, 313, 330-1
 Thomas, junior, 338
- Hodnell, 2, 8
- Holbeaches, 335
 Matthew, as accounts committeeman, 216n,
 241-2, 301
- Holden, Humphrey, 27
- Holles, Sir Denzil, 250
- Holtes of Aston, 28, 47
 Sir Robert, 273, 301, 333, 335n, 336, 338,
 340, 359
 Sir Thomas, 27, 31, 38, 42n, 59, 101, 128,
 165, 177; as J.P., 55, 57n, 345, 349, 352;
 royalism of, 143n, 157, 160-1, 167, 191,
 193, 218
- Holyoake, Francis, minister of Southam,
 67-9, 80, 148, 325
- Hopkins, of Coventry
 Sir Richard, 14, 298, 336; as accounts
 committeeman, 239-40; as J.P., 341-2,
 354, 357
 Sampson, 13, 94
- Hubaunds of Ipsley,
 John, 160, 161n, 191, 358
 Ralph, 193
- Hugfords, 64n, 31
 John, 54, 341
- Hughes, George, 73, 311
- Huitt, Ephraim, minister at Wroxall, 77
- Hulowe, Thomas, 98
- Humble Petition and Advice, 292, 295-6
- Hunt,
 Goodere, 196-7, 204
 Thomas, 196, 208
- Hutchinson,
 Colonel John, 330
 Lucy, 330
 Sir Thomas, 133
- Hyde, Edward, Earl of Clarendon, 119-20,
 142, 149-50, 222
- Ilmington, 260-2, 326n
- Indemnity
 cases, 203-5, 207-8, 217, 266, 268-9, 278,
 302-4, 324, 326
 committee and commissioners, 203, 274-5,
 304, 324, 326
- Independents (religious), 309-10, 312-13, 322,
 329-30, 338
- Industry, 6, 8-12, 20, 285-6
- Ingram, Sir Arthur, 31
- Ingram, Hastings of Little Wolford, 109, 163,
 181, 190, 224, 333
- Inns of Court, 44, 89
- Instrument of Government, 292, 295
- Irish rebellion, 132, 135
- Jackson, Daniel, accounts committeeman,
 240, 241n
- James I, 24, 80
- Jennens
 Ambrose, 9
 John, 9

- Jesson of Coventry
 Richard, 14-15
 Thomas, 14
 William, 13-15, 16-17, 174, 176-7, 181, 274-5; as M.P., 117, 129, 173n, 232n, 238, 250, 254
 William, junior, 336
- Jonson, Ben, 45
- Justices of the Peace, 30, 51-9, 108-9, 309, 324, 347-57
 attendance at Quarter Sessions, 345; pre-war, 55, 57, 352-3; post-war, 253, 273, 277, 357
 and Book of Orders, 56-9
 Civil War allegiance, 142-3
 and restraint for knighthood, 102, 104
 out of sessions activity: pre-war, 57-8, 352-3; post-war, 278-9, 357
 status of: post-war, 272, 280, 282; after Restoration, 341-2
see also commission of the peace, Quarter Sessions
- Kem, Samuel, 74
- Kempson, Richard, 63
- Kendall, Captain Henry of Austrey, 41, 187n, 196-7, 199n
- Kenilworth, 19, 259, 269
 garrison of, 148, 177, 181, 195, 202, 209, 255, 298
- Kenilworth Classis, 75, 309-10, 327-8
- Kent, 20, 28, 36-7, 39, 42n, 44, 119, 130, 132-3, 145, 172, 262
- Kiffin, William, 311
- Kineton, 18-19
- Kineton Hundred, 6-8, 19, 57-9, 61, 64, 96-7, 99, 101, 103n, 116, 183, 287
- King, Daniel, 317, 319n
- King, Sir Robert, 354
- King, Simon, 72
- King, Dr Thomas, 326n
- Kingsbury, 260-2
- Kingsmill, Richard, 34
- Knight, Nicholas, 108, 159n
- Knight, William, 159n
- Knighthood, restraint for, 60, 101-4
- Knightley of Fawsley,
 Sir Richard, 65
 Richard, 11, 67, 74, 100, 112
- Knightley of Offchurch, 63
 Sir John, 341
 Robert, 156, 190
- Knightlow Hundred, 5, 7-8, 19, 58-9, 61, 64, 96-7, 99, 101, 103n, 140, 183, 244, 287, 295, 330, 357n
- Knollys, Hanserd, 311
- Knottesford of Studley, 300, 333
 Sir John, 193
- Knowle, 64n
- Lambert, John, 206, 337
- Lancashire, 40, 158, 314
- Landlords and tenants, Civil War and, 189-90, 265-9, 271
- Lapworth, 7-8, 58n, 287
 minister of, 48
- Lapworth, Edward, 33, 43
- Laud, Archbishop William, 67, 76, 81, 328
- Laudianism, 66, 77-9, 84-7, 133-4, 325, *see also* Arminianism
- Lawley, Sir Francis, 341
- Lawyers, 33, 40, 43, 53
- Lea Marston, 109, 288-9
- Lectures, 72, 80-2, 85-6, 311, *see also* preaching
- Lees of Billesley, 33
 Anne, 38
 Sir Charles, 64, 76, 321, 335n, 336
 Sir Robert, 33, 38, 76, 88, 101-2, 103n, 104n; as J.P., 53, 55, 57-8, 349, 352
 Robert, 53, 58, 61, 128, 131n, 349; royalism of, 137, 140, 142n, 158, 159n
- Legg, Godfrey, 94
- Le Hunt, William, 298, 354, 357
- Leicester, 20, 144, 214
- Leicestershire, 2, 10, 15, 23, 33, 118, 146n, 197, 227, 319
- Leighs of Kings Newnham, 26, 28
 Sir Francis (d. 1625), 24, 349, 352
 Francis, first Lord Dunsmore, 26, 28, 91, 92n, 122, 125-6, 163; royalism of, 137, 142n, 143-4, 152, 154-6
- Leighs of Stoneleigh, 28, 31, 52, 341
 Charles, 335
 Sir Thomas (d. 1626), 60, 88n, 89, 91n, 92n, 106; as J.P., 53, 59, 349, 352
 Sir Thomas (d. 1672), 18, 28, 35n, 38, 96n, 107-8, 115n, 126n, 128, 280, 301, 335, 339n, 358; as J.P., 53, 57n, 59, 345n, 349, 352; royalism of, 137, 142n, 148, 167, 223, 300
- Leland, John, 1, 8, 12
- Levellers, 299
- Leving, Thomas of Grendon, 40, 118, 230, 233, 239, 269
 as accounts committeeman, 240
- Levy of £400,000, 188-9, 261-2
- Ley, John, minister, 76, 78, 93n, 100, 308, 310-11, 319, 327, 329
- Leyfield, Captain Thomas, 187n, 188, 196, 199n

- Lichfield, 158, 160, 180-1, 208-10, 212n, 248
- Lieutenancy, 59-62, 130, 235
- Lieutenants,
 deputy, 59-62, 88, 96, 106, 114, 118, 337;
 parliamentarian, 137, 139, 152, 164, 170-1
 lord, 22, 52, 59-60, 94, 119, 276;
 parliamentarian, 135-7, 152, 170
see also militia, trained bands
- Lighthorne, 211-12
- Lilburne, John, 125
- Lincolnshire, 28n, 51, 183
- Lisle, John, 52, 96n, 102n, 115, 165, 349, 352, 358
 neutralism of, 143n, 157n
 John, junior, 280
- Littletons of Staffordshire, 42
- Loans of a 'fifth' and 'twentieth', 171, 190, 217, *see also* 'Propositions'
- Local and national developments,
 interrelationship of, 49-50, 55-7, 87-90, 109, 111, 126, 132-3, 140-1, 145-7, 153, 164-6, 212-14, 220, 227-9, 231-3, 235-6, 246-8, 250-2, 254, 276-7
- Localism, 59, 146, 166, 229
- London, 9-10, 15, 40, 71, 74, 89, 98, 101, 108, 144-6, 148-9, 155, 181, 214, 314, 338
- Long Compton, 278, 304, 321
- Lords, House of, in Long Parliament, 132-3, 135-7, 175, 221, 223, 233, 235-8, 250-1
- Love, Christopher, 316
- Love, Thomas, accounts committeeman, 239-40, 313
- Lovell, Captain Benjamin, 197, 257
- Lucys of Charlecote, 18, 28, 34, 43, 52-3
- Lady Alice, 34, 71
- Francis, 92
- Richard, 34, 247-8, 295, 297, 301, 333, 335n, 336-7, 341, 359; as county committeeman, 179-80, 193, 363; as J.P., 253n, 355, 357; as M.P., 294, 296-7
- Spencer, 34n, 129-30; royalism of, 137, 158, 160, 193
- Sir Thomas (d. 1600), 34, 65
- Sir Thomas (d. 1605), 34
- Sir Thomas (d. 1640), 32, 34, 39-40, 45, 47, 49-50, 60-1, 65, 67, 71-2, 74, 87-8, 90, 96, 106, 111-12, 118, 122, 133, 168, 176, 179, 358; as J.P., 55, 59, 115-16, 130, 349, 352, 353n; as M.P., 91, 116, 129
- Ludlow, Edmund, 222
- Lunsford, Captain Thomas, 118
- Lytton, Robert, 152
- Mackworth, Humphrey, county committeeman, 173, 179, 360-1, 363
- Magdalen College, Oxford, 44
- Magdalen Hall, Oxford, 44
- Manorial structure, 5-7
- Mansfeldt's expedition, 60
- Manton, Thomas, minister, 301
- Marketing, during Civil War, 257-8
- Marshall, Stephen, minister, 74
- 'Martin Marprelate', 65, 67, 69
- Martin, Richard, minister of Monks Kirby, 319
- Massachusetts Bay Company, 121
- Massey, Edward, 199, 212, 214, 229
- Matthews, Henry of Berkswell, accounts committeeman, 240-1
- Mattock, John of Allesley, accounts committeeman, 239-40
- Maxstoke, garrison of, 195-7, 199, 209-11, 258
- Maypoles, 69, 83, 324
- Mede, Joseph, 93-4
- Members of Parliament, 16, 24, 50
 Convention, 336
 Long Parliament, 126, 129, 176, 247
 Recruiter, 175, 177-8, 248-9
 Short Parliament, 91n, 116-17
 1620s, 90-3, 121
 1650s, 291-4, 296-7
 1661, 338, 342
see also elections, Parliaments
- Meriden, 248
- Middlemores of Edgbaston 63, 231, 268
 Richard, 63
- Midlands Revolt, 2
- Milbourne, Luke, minister of Wroxall, 310n
- Military-civilian relations, 202-5, 207-8, *see also* troops
- Military commanders, Civil War, 162, 169, 176-7, 187, 196-7, 229-31
- Militia, 59-61, 114-15, 141
 and Restoration, 332-7, 340
 in 1642, 140-1
 in 1650s, 302, 334, *see also* trained bands
- Militia Commission
 1642, 137-9, 162n, 164, 170
 1650s, 177, 295, 330-1
 1660s, 333
- Militia Ordinance
 1642, 137, 139, 152-3, 180
 1648, 254
- Million, Henry of Coventry, 139, 147, 274-5
- Milton, John, 123n, 124n
- Ministers
 and troops, Civil War, 195
 augmentations, 184, 307
 Remonstrance, 1640, 124, *see also* clergy
- Mompesson, Sir Giles, 56

- Monck, George, accounts committeeman, 239-40
 Monck, General George, 330, 332
 Montagu, Edward, Lord, 36
 Edward, Earl of Manchester, 231-3, 236
 Henry, Earl of Manchester, 56
 Montagu, Richard, 80
 Moody, John, accounts committeeman, 239-40
 Moore, John, M.P., 232, 237
 Moore, Simon, minister of Frankton, 70, 134, 144, 147
 Morden, Richard, 105-7, 358
 Morgans of Weston-under Wetheley, 62-4, 268
 Thomas, 63, 127, 135, 269
 Morley, George, Bishop of Worcester, 326
 Morton, Thomas, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, 54n, 82, 85, 93
 Morton Morrell, 79
 Musters
 of trained bands, pre-war, 61; in 1642, 139-42, 158-9
 of troops during Civil War, 150, 197, 199-202, 245
 Muster-master, 62, 245

 Nalton, James, minister of Rugby, 81, 144, 151, 307
 Napton, 133
 Naseby, 182, 184
 Nash, Thomas of Stratford, accounts committeeman, 241-2, 305
 Naylor, James, 292, 296, 312
 Needham, Colonel John, 194
 Nethersole, Sir Francis of Polesworth, 45, 127-9, 279
 Nether Whitacre, 85, 109
 Neutralism, 158-9, 161-5, 167-8, 236
 Newark, 227
 Newbold Comyn, 211-12
 Newcastle, 118
 Newdigates of Arbury, 11, 42, 47, 268
 Sir John (d. 1610), 45
 John (d. 1642), 42, 52, 84, 102n, 350, 352, 358
 Richard, serjeant at law, 11-12, 38, 89n, 262-3, 301, 331, 355
 New England, 77, 316
 New Model Army, levy for, 212
 Newshams of Chadshunt
 John, 216n, 333
 Thomas, 35n, 41, 61, 97; as accounts committeeman, 215-16, 239, 241-2, 248
 Newton, Sir Adam, 33, 46
 Newton Regis, 8, 259

 Noble, Michael, M.P., 232n
 Noell, William, 358
 Northampton, 339
 Northamptonshire, 1-2, 10, 15-16, 22, 43, 49, 56, 58, 62-3, 65, 73, 95, 146, 210, 227, 269, 337
 Norton of Coventry,
 Simon, M.P., 117, 129
 Thomas, 14
 Sir Thomas, 342
 Nottingham, 148
 Nottinghamshire, 133, 359n
 Nuneaton, 10, 19-20, 33, 80-1, 197, 286

 Offchurch, 63
 Okely, John, 104
 Okey, Colonel John, 125, 194n, 299, 337
 Olney, Abraham, minister of Charlecote, 67
 Olney, John of Lawford, 310, 315, 319
 Ottway, Captain Anthony, 187, 195, 199, 202, 208, 242-3, 257, 259
 Overbury, Walter, 350, 352
 Overton, William, minister of Budbrooke, 73, 77n, 78
 Owen, John, 312
 Oxford, 15, 158, 264, 305
 Oxfordshire, 2, 10, 15, 43, 65, 138, 188, 202, 210, 215, 317
 Oxford University, 44

 Packwood, 7, 8, 109
 Palmer, Giles, 342
 Palmer, Sir William, 272, 341n, 355
 Parliament, popular support for, 149-53
 Parliamentary
 allegiance, 97, 162-4, 166
 control of Warwickshire, 1640s, 6, 97, 137, 143-6, 148-9, 157, 169
 Parliamentaryism, nature of, 143, 146-7, 153-8, 228, 343
 'Parliamentary tyranny', 215-19, 252
 Parliaments, 90, 92
 absence of, 99, 125, 332
 'Barebones', 294, 297
 Long, 100, 119, 122, 126, 128, 130-5, 139, 182, 214, 216-7, 231-3, 250-1, 306-7, 332; divisions in, 173, 221, 232-3, 236-8, 249-51
 Protectorate, 216, 292-4, 296-7
 Rump, 174, 176-7, 214-15, 254, 276, 286, 288, 292-5, 307-8, 330-1
 Short, 112, 117, 121, 124
 1628, 98
 see also Convention of 1660; Commons, House of; elections; Lords, House of; Members of Parliament; Pride's Purge; recruiter election; Upper House

- Pawlett, William of Maxstoke, 84, 103
 Peers, 21–6
 Perkins, William, 103
 Personal rule, 97, 104, 119, *see also* Charles I
 Petition(s)
 Coventry, to Cromwell, 313
 Warwickshire: to Charles I, 1640, 125; to Charles I, 1642, 142; to Parliament, 1642, 135–6, from trained bands, 1642, 140, 153; to House of Lords: June 1643, 224, August 1644, 228, 233–5; to Parliament, August 1648, 253–4; to the Rump: 1653, 307–8, 1659, 330; to General Monck, 1660, 331–2
 of Worcestershire clergy, 1640, 134
 Petty sessions, 280
 Pews, changes in, 84–5
 Peytoes of Chesterton, 31, 43
 Sir Edward (d. 1643) 20, 28, 30, 45n, 46–7, 53, 70, 180; parliamentary leader, 138, 145, 153, 168, 171, 190
 Edward (d. 1658) 223, 230, 301, 334n, 355, 357, 359; as M.P., 296
 Elizabeth (nee Newton), 46
 Phelps, Sir Robert, 96
 Phippes, Major Robert, 148, 228, 334n
 county committeeman, 180, 197, 200, 224, 360, 362–3
 Pierce, Thomas, minister, 301
 Pilkington, Thomas, minister of Claverdon, 72
 Plague, 58, 108, 258
 Plunder, 234, 256–7, 260
 Pont, Major Abraham, 187, 194, 196–8, 206
 Poor relief
 pre-Civil War, 56–8, 108
 post-Civil War, 277–8, 280–1, 284
 overseers of, 278
 Pope, Sir Thomas, 341n
 Popish Plot, 1641, 62, 130, 134–5
 Population, 4–8
 and Civil War, 258, 263
 Porter, Sir Endymion, 11
 Potter, Thomas of Coventry, 93–4
 Potter, Captain Vincent, 218
 Potts, Sir John, M.P., 237
 Poynter, John, 73
 Preaching, 1630s, 78–81, *see also* lectures
 Presbyterianism
 Elizabeth's reign, 65–6
 in Long Parliament, 173, 250–1, 253
 1640s and 1650s, 75, 79, 308–10
 1660s, 322, 328–30, 338
 Presbyterian Testimony, 1648, 75, 309, 314, 327, *see also* Kenilworth Classis
 Prescott, James, 43
 Press, London, 251–2, 254
 Pride's Purge, 175–6, 253–4, 300
 Prince of Wales' Council, 92n, 93
 Priors Hardwick, 58, 210–12, 290
 Priors Marston, 277, 319
 Privy Council, 10, 12, 14, 52, 56, 58, 61, 87–9, 95–8, 100, 105–11, 115–16, 118, 121, 143, 276, 328
 Privy Seal, loans on, 60, 94
 'Prophecysings', 64–5
 'Propositions', loans on, 171, 184–5, 190, 231
 Protestantism, conformist, 68–9, 80
 Providence Island Company, 120–1, 176
 Prynne, William, 80
 Puckerings of the Priory, Warwick, 18, 31
 Sir Henry (alias Newton), 301, 335–6, 338, 339n
 Sir Henry, junior, 338
 Sir Thomas, 18, 31, 33, 36, 43, 46, 59, 74–5, 78n, 81n, 90, 92, 93n, 100, 106, 122, 186, 335, 358; as J.P., 53, 57n, 344n, 345n, 350, 352
 Pudsey, George, 204, 359
 Purefoy of Bulkington,
 Gamaliel, 97–9, 109, 195; as county committeeman and major of foot, 171, 175, 187, 360–3; as J.P., 253n, 355, 357
 George, Major, 202–4, 229, 235, 248, 251, 333
 Purefoy of Caldecote
 William, 45n, 75, 93–4, 97–9, 102–3, 113, 122, 125–6, 129, 274n, 297, 300, 311, 313, 330, 333, 334, 340–1, 358; as county committeeman and colonel of horse, 179–81, 195, 197, 360–3; as J.P., 52, 253n, 286, 350, 352, 355, 357; as M.P., 117, 173–6, 188, 222, 247, 249–50, 254, 286n, 291–2, 296; opponent of Denbigh, 160n, 223–4, 226–8, 232–3, 236–7; parliamentary leader, 137–8, 140, 143n, 153, 157, 165, 170, 174–5, 214–15, 234, 248, 276; religious views, 167, 175, 205
 William, junior, 333, 340–1
 Puritanism, 47, 56, 62, 64–6, 68–84, 89, 321–3, 329–30
 and local government, 271, 280–9, *see also* Reformation
 Pym, Alexander, 269
 John, 11, 74, 100, 112, 120n, 269
 Pyne, John, 174
 Quakers, 313, 317, 319–22, 329
 Quarter Sessions, 51, 54–5, 57, 96, 108, 133, 135, 338–9, 345–6
 and Civil War, 130, 165, 170, 180, 189, 277–8, *see also* commission of the peace, Justices of the Peace

- Radbourne, 2, 8
- Radicalism, religious, 147, 306-7, 311, 314-17, 321-2, *see also* Baptists, Quakers
- Radway, 320-1
- Rainsford, Edward, town clerk of Warwick, 18, 36, 43, 129-30, 132
- Raleigh, George, 294, 335n
- Raleigh, Sir Walter, 49
- Randall, Captain Matthew, 187n, 194, 197-8, 202
- Randolph, Ferrers, of Wood Bevington, 192-3
- Ratings
 - changes in, 108-9
 - and Civil War taxation, 189, 262, 277-8, 281-2
 - disputes, 108, 189, 281
 - and Restoration, 282
 - and ship-money, 104-5, 107-9
- Rawlins, Thomas 341n
- Recruiter election, 173, 245, 247-9
- Reformation, 'godly', 131, 133, 135-6, 153, 156, 282-9, 306, 308-9
- Regicide, 315, 328
- Religion and Civil War allegiance, 166-7
- Religious patronage, 66-8
- Replingham, William, 103
- Reppingtons of Amington, 42
 - Sir John (d. 1626), 53, 350, 352
 - Sir John (d. 1662), 53, 131n, 335, 351n; royalism of, 142n, 157-8, 300, 351n
- Republicans, 292, 295, 298-9
- Restoration, 216, 267, 278, 280, 282, 291, 302, 315, 320-2, 326-9, 331-7, 343
- Rich, Robert, Earl of Warwick, 68, 82
- Richardson, Thomas, minister of Newbold Pacey, 72
- Riland, John, Archdeacon of Coventry, 343
- Robinson, Thomas of Bedworth, 10-11
- Robinson, Thomas of Brinklow, 83n
- Roe, Richard, minister of Warwick, 74, 76-7, 79, 124
- Rogerson, Sarah, 14
- Rogues, measures against, 284-5
- Rolfe, William, of the Inner Temple, 10
- Roman Catholics, 30, 47, 52, 58, 62-4, 66, 94, 124, 131, 134, 166-7, *see also* anti-popery, Popish Plot
- Roper, Abel, 338
- Roper, Samuel, 230, 355
- Round, Richard, 196
- Rous, of Rous Lench, Worcestershire
 - John, 273, 295, 336, 341, 355, 356n
 - Sir Thomas, 46
- Rowington, 63n, 133, 263, 271
- Royalism
 - 1642, 141-3, 146, 149, 152-3, 156-64, 166, 221, 339
 - during first Civil War, 169, 180, 184, 188-9, 208-13, 249, 256
 - after 1646, 299-300
- Rugby, 2, 19, 42, 80-1, 144, 151, 197
- Rugeley, Sir Roland, 54n, 350
- Rupert, Prince, 180, 210, 221, 305, 316
- Russells, 301
 - Francis, Earl of Bedford, 74, 120
 - William, Lord, 74
- Rutherford, Dr, 116
- Rutland, 23
- Rye House Plot, 343
- Sabbatarianism, 283-4
- Saint Nicholas, John, 74, 298, 301
 - as J.P., 355, 357
 - as M.P., 297
- Salford Priors, 57
- Salmon, Joseph, 311
- Sandbach, William, 162n
- Sandys, Colonel, 210
- Saunders, Colonel, 299
- Saye-Brooke Project, 121
- Scot, Thomas, 294
- Scots, 114-15, 118-19, 131, 143
 - army of, in Warwickshire, 182, 184, 203, 256-7, 260
 - contacts with, 116, 121, 123
 - invasion, 1651, 298, *see also* Bishops' Wars
- Scott, James, Duke of Monmouth, 343
- Self-denying Ordinance, 176, 178, 195
- Sequestrations, 62, 159-60, 171, 183-4, 186, 190-3, 231
 - Committee of Lords and Commons for, 160-1, 191
- Settlement patterns, 4-5
- Sexby, Colonel Edward, 299
- Sexual offenses, 288-9
- Sheldon, 260-2
- Sheldon, Blaze, 63
- Sheldons of Weston, 47, 62-4, 135, 268
 - Edward, 64
 - William, 63, 300
- Sheppard, Samuel, 252
- Sheriffs, 56, 60, 119, 248, 358-9
 - and Civil War, 273-4
 - ship-money, 15-16, 87, 104-8, 110-11, 115-16, 118
- Ship-money
 - 1628, 60, 99-100
 - 1630s, 104-11, 114-16, 118, 188-9
 - 1635 conflict between Coventry and Warwickshire, 15-16, 87-8, 105-7, 110, 114
- Shottery, 257

- Shropshire, 4, 32, 43, 226, 232-3, 235-6
- Shuckborough, John of Bourton on
Dunsmore, 61, 70
- Shuckborough of Over Shuckborough, 47
- Sir John, 335n
- Sir Richard, 35n, 55, 58, 131, 223, 301; as
J.P., 130, 350, 352; as M.P., 128-9, 130n;
royalism of, 143n, 157, 158n, 160, 165,
167, 191, 248n
- Shustoke, 256
- Shuttington, 320
- Sidney, Sir Philip, 24
- Skarning, Ezekias of Wolvey, 20n
- Skeffington, Sir Richard, 122, 131
as county committeeman, 173, 178-9, 360-3
- Skippon, Major General Philip, 226
- Slade, Captain Henry, 187, 194, 197-9
- Smith, Henry of Coventry, 14
- Smith, Henry of Stratford, 83-4
- Smith, Matthew, 213
- Smith, Thomas, 216n, 241n
- Smiths of Wootton, 62-4, 268
Sir Charles, 52, 135
- Snell, Joan, 14
- Snitterfield, 260-1
- Social structure, 4-9, 119, 342-3
and Civil War allegiance, 151-2, 155-7, 342
and religious radicalism, 321-2
- Solihull, 18-19, 64n, 288
- Somerset, 51, 54n, 57n, 58, 60n, 104n, 108,
151, 161n
- Somervilles of Edstone, 47
Edward, accounts committeeman, 216,
241-2
Mary, 216
William, 273, 333, 359
- Southam, 19, 64-5, 140-1, 148, 260-2, 309
minister of, 67, 141, 148, *see also*
Holyoake, Francis
- Spain, 123
- Spencer, Thomas of Budbrooke, minister, 72,
120n, 124
- Spencer, Thomas of Claverdon, J.P., 34, 37,
57, 59, 350, 352
- Spencer, Thomas of Harbury, 191
- Spencer, Sir William of Yarnton, 39
- Spencers of Ufton, 268
- Spencers of Wormleighton and Althorpe, 1,
202, 258
- Staffordshire, 4, 8, 42, 54n, 75, 165n, 170, 181,
188, 190, 192n, 194, 231, 233, 235-6
- Stanford of Abbots Salford
Charles, 104n
John, 161n, 191
- Stanton, John of Warwick, 35, 41, 97, 242
- Stanton, Thomas of Wolverton, 103n
- Stapleton, Edward, 53, 341, 350
- Stapleton, Sir Philip, 237, 305
- Stephens, Edward, 103
- Sterry, Peter, 73, 124
- Stoughton, Anthony of Warwick, 31, 74, 92,
104n, 122, 143n, 228, 234, 297, 301-2,
341
as county committeeman, 180, 224, 360-3
as J.P., 131, 253, 273, 351n, 355, 357
- Stow, John, 46
- Stratford, Edward of Nuneaton, 11
- Stratford-on-Avon, 7, 17-20, 22, 52, 103, 115,
134, 138, 140-1, 144, 265, 275
and Civil War, 151-2, 180, 207-8, 228, 258,
262, 277-8, 303-4
religion, 65, 81-4, 330
- Strickland, Sir William, 237
- Strode, William, 237
- Studley, 256, 260-1, 290
- Subsidies, 30, 62, 101-2, 104-5, 109
- Suckling, Sir John, 93
- Surrey, 269
- Sussex, 51, 54, 172, 191
- Sutton, James, minister of Fenny Compton,
72
- Sutton Coldfield, 19, 80, 150-1, 197
- Swearing, 280, 288
- Tachbrooke Mallory, 211-12
- Tamworth, 19, 150-1, 197, 320
garrison at, 178, 188, 195, 197, 199n, 209,
229, 230n
minister of, 319, *see also* Blake, Thomas
M.P.s, 117, 129, 175
- Tanworth in Arden, 7-8
- Taunton, 339
- Taxation, parliamentary, 104, 130, 172,
183-4, 188n, 189, 212, 217, 234, 255-60,
262-7, 270-1, 277-8, *see also* ratings,
weekly assessment
- Temple, Edmund, 296
- Temples of Frankton, 40, 70, 134
Anna, 70, 131, 133, 154-5
John, 54, 70, 97-9, 102-3, 109n, 113, 154-5,
336, 350, 351n; parliamentary leader,
137, 153, 167
Mary, 143-4, 154-5
Thomas, 42, 335n, 336, 355
- Temples of Stowe, 356n
- Sir Peter, 355
- Sir Richard, 296, 298, 333, 335n, 336, 341,
355, 357
- Sir Thomas, 358
- Temple Grafton, 63n, 259

- Thornborough, John, Bishop of Worcester, 83, 85
- Thornhaugh, Colonel, 206
- Thornton, Major William, 186, 298, 300, 330, 334n, 337
- Throckmortons of Coughton, 28, 41, 63, 268
- Sir Francis, 64, 335
- Sir Robert, 52, 63, 89, 109n, 127, 131, 135
- Throckmortons of Haseley, 28
- Sir Clement (d. 1636) 42, 67, 69; as J.P., 53, 56, 58; as M.P., 89, 91-2, 96
- Clement II (d. 1671), 53, 58, 70-1, 109, 124, 152, 228, 295, 301, 335; as J.P., 253-4, 272, 355; as M.P., 296-7, 338
- Clement III (d. 1664), 336
- Job, 165
- Thynne, Henry, 117
- Tickner, Samuel, minister of Alcester, 309, 326-7
- Tithes, 84, 320-1
- Toleration Act, 330
- Towns, 9-10, 12-20
- and Civil War, 141, 149, 151-3, 157
- and Puritanism, 80-4
- Townsend of Warwick
- John, 17
- Richard, 207, 355; as accounts committeeman, 239-42
- Trained bands, 59-61
- in 1642, 60, 141-2, 145, 171
- during Civil War, 196-7, *see also* militia
- Trapp, John, schoolmaster of Stratford and minister, 66, 72, 75-7, 89n, 134, 151, 205, 208, 210, 305, 309-10, 316, 326-7, 329
- Mary, 316
- Trevor, Sir Thomas, 297
- Troops, garrison, 1650s, 298-9
- Troops
- parliamentarian, 176-7, 181, 184, 194-6, 212-14, 229-31; behaviour, 202-3, 215-16, 218, 234-5, 243; pay, 186-9, 198-9; political and religious attitudes, 205-8; raising of, 150, 170-1, 194-7; wastage, 199-202, *see also* military-civilian relations
- raising of: in 1620s, 59-61; in 1639-40, 114-15, 118-19
- Trustees for the maintenance of Ministers, 307
- Turton, Captain Richard, 229-30
- Twitchet, Henry, minister of Stratford, 76, 151-2
- Tysoe, 202, 203n, 255
- Underhill, John, minister of Hatton, 72
- Underhill, Sir Edward of Nether Eatington, 97, 115, 130, 133, 350-2, 358
- Sir Hercules, 358
- Sir William, 321, 333, 335n
- Undersheriffs, 105, 108, 110-11, 116, 118
- Uniformity, Act of, 326
- United Provinces, 120, 124
- Upper House, 292-4
- Uxbridge, treaty at, 222, 238
- Vane, Sir Henry, 116
- the younger, 121, 294
- Venner's rising, 337, 339
- Venour, Richard, minister of Warwick, 73, 78, 116, 309, 327-9
- Verneys of Compton Verney, 25, 33-5, 43, 47, 53, 301, 335
- Sir Greville (d. 1642), 16, 25, 32, 35-6, 38, 45, 92, 101, 107-8, 109n, 111-12, 131, 133, 358; as J.P., 53, 351-2
- Greville (d. 1648), 273, 359
- John, 88n
- Sir Richard (d. 1630), 34, 42n, 59, 88, 91n, 96, 101; as J.P., 53, 351-2
- Richard, 47
- Villiers, George, Duke of Buckingham, 23, 25-6, 225
- Vines, Richard, minister of Caldecote and Weddington, 81, 175, 306-7, 310n, 311, 315-16
- Wagstaffe of Warwick
- Thomas, 31n
- Timothy, 351-2
- Walden, Isaac of Coventry, 93-4
- Walford, Michael, minister of Charlecote, 67
- Waller, Sir William, 194, 212, 229, 232-3, 256
- Ward, Captain Samuel, 150, 153, 334n
- Warde, of Barford, 341
- Serjeant Rowley, 33, 67, 74-5, 143n, 351-2
- Warings, 64n
- Charles, 48
- Warmington, 281
- Warmstrete, Thomas, minister of Whitchurch, 134
- Warner, George of Wolston, 85, 116, 118-19, 125-7, 129, 358
- Warwick, 8, 17-19, 42, 51, 54-5, 62, 74, 80-1, 87, 95, 100, 108, 116, 121-2, 131-2, 134, 138, 140-1, 144, 265, 299, 331
- and Civil War, 149-51, 165, 180-2, 188, 190, 195, 228, 234, 257-8
- elections, 24, 91-3, 117, 121, 129-30, 336
- garrison, 150, 178, 181, 187-8, 194-5, 198-200, 202, 205, 207, 209, 212, 214-15,

- Warwick, garrison (*cont.*)
 230n, 298-9, 316, 337
 religion, 67, 72-3, 76-9, 82, 84-6, 307,
 316-17, 320-1, 323, 327-8, 330
 and the Restoration, 275, 333
 siege of, 138, 145, 148, 151, 164, 168
- Wasperton, 2
- Watergall, 8
- Weekly assessment, 171, 182, 186-9, 215, 234,
 236, 255
- Weldon, Sir Anthony, 174
- Wellesborne, 42, 57, 58n
- Wells, Captain Thomas, 189-90, 196, 198,
 207, 218, 264
- Wem, 226
- Wentworth, Paul, county committeeman,
 173n, 178, 362-3
- Wentworth, Sir Peter, 85, 138-9, 173, 233,
 237, 273, 295, 297, 320-1, 332, 356
- Wentworth, Thomas, Earl of Strafford, 131,
 133
- Westminster Assembly, 306-7, 322
- Weston-on-Avon, 189
- Weston-under-Wetheley, 63
- Whalley, Edward, 210, 212
 as major-general, 275-7, 283-6, 289-90,
 293, 299-300, 302, 355
- Wharton, Nehemiah, 148, 155-6
- Wharton, Philip Lord, 223, 301
- Whateley, William, minister of Banbury, 65
- White, Timothy, 79
- Whitwick, Serjeant John, 43, 46, 88, 131n,
 186, 351
 royalism of, 142n, 147, 168
- Whitwick, John, accounts committeeman,
 239-40
- Wilcox, Robert of Brandon, accounts
 committeeman, 240-1, 244
- Wilde, John, M.P., 232-3
- Willington, Anticle, account committeeman,
 240-1
- Willington, Waldive of Hurley, 45-6, 295,
 297, 300, 333, 334n, 340
 as county committeeman and major of
 foot, 153, 178, 197, 229, 248, 361-3
 as J.P., 253n, 279-80, 288, 298, 356-7
- Willis of Fenny Compton and New England,
 39n, 77, 131n
 George, senior, 74, 97, 102, 117, 316
- George, junior, 109, 117, 212n, 282, 356-7;
 as accounts committeeman, 216n, 241-2
- Willoughby, Sir Francis, 131n, 143n, 157n,
 351n, 359
- Willoughby, Thomas of Sutton Coldfield, 109
 as county committeeman and colonel of
 foot, 150, 153, 171, 176, 181, 195, 198,
 200, 214n, 360-3
 as J.P., 253n, 280, 356-7, 359
 as M.P., 296
- Willoughby of Parham, Lord, 305
- Wills, Samuel, minister of Birmingham, 327,
 329
- Wilson, Rowland, 194-5, 245-6
- Wilson, Thomas, minister of Stratford, 72, 77,
 83-4
- Wiltshire, 51
- Wishaw, 210-11
- Wolford, 259
- Wolphamcote, 211, 212n, 259-62
- Wolston, 65, 85
- Woodford, Robert, 80
- Woodhull, Anthony, 309, 310n
- Woolrych, John, 338
- Worcester, 158, 191, 209
 diocese of, 20, 62, 85, 134
- Worcestershire, 4, 8, 32, 34, 40, 43, 54n, 62-3,
 146, 162, 202, 208-10, 218, 231
- Wormleighton, 1, 258
- Wootton, Richard, minister of Warmington,
 197n, 205
- Wootton Wawen, 2, 7, 57n, 63n
- Wright, James, minister of Wootton Wawen,
 326
- Wright, Richard, minister of Atherstone, 69n
- Wright, Robert, bishop of Coventry and
 Lichfield, 54n, 86, 106
- Wriothesley, Thomas, Earl of Southampton,
 122, 143
- Wyke, Andrew, 311
- Wyken, 10
- Yardley, John, 234
 Joshua, 183, 184n
- Yarranton, Andrew, 215
- Yelverton, Sir Christopher, 173
- Yeomen, 4-5
- York, 119, 121, 125
- Yorkshire, 4, 44, 176