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GEORGE GORING, CAROLINE COURTIER AND ROYALIST GENERAL (1608-1657)

by

FLORENE S. MEMEGALOS

Volume I

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in History in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York.

1999

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ABBREVIATIONS

AHA	American Historical Association
Add. MS.	Additional Manuscript
BL	British Library, London
Bodl.	Bodleian Library, Oxford
CCC	*Calendar of the Proceedings of the Committee for Compounding*
CSPD	*Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series*
CSPVen	*Calendar of State Papers, Venice Series*
CSPIreland	*Calendar of State Papers, Ireland Series*
DNB	*Dictionary of National Biography*
E. Sussex R. O.	East Sussex Record Office, Lewes
EHR	*English Historical Review*
GEC	*Cockayne's Peerage*
Harl. MS.	Harley Manuscript
HMSO	His/Her Majesty's Stationery Office
IHR	Institute of Historical Research
NPG	National Portrait Gallery, London
RHS	Royal Historical Society
SAC	*Sussex Archaeological Collections*
TT	Thomason Tracts
W. Sussex R. O.	West Sussex Record Office, Chichester

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INTRODUCTION

George Goring was one of the leading royalist commanders in the first English civil war of 1642-46. He had acquired his military skill on the Continent in the Dutch Wars, and he would finish his days as an exile under the Commonwealth, serving in the armies of the king of Spain. But no simple soldier was Goring who, as heir to a wealthy and influential Sussex family, at various times in his career served as courtier, envoy, royal governor and Member of Parliament. By all reports, he was not only bold and courageous on the battlefield, but also a man of intelligence and wit who pursued an excessive lifestyle and had a penchant for becoming involved in controversial situations. In fact, an examination of his life illuminates various aspects of the tumultuous times in which he lived. Yet, surprisingly, historians have paid scant serious attention to Goring in the vast literature pertaining to the period.

This neglect stems primarily from the damning assessment made of George Goring by one of his contemporaries, Sir Edward Hyde, later Earl of Clarendon. Although both men were active supporters of Charles I, a great antipathy developed between them in the final stages of the first civil war as they struggled for control of the royalist war effort in the West Country. These internecine clashes were still fresh in Hyde's mind in 1646 as he began to write his monumental *History of the Rebellion*, the first history of the civil wars, and his highly biased portrayal of Goring has survived and been cited--all too often with little critical reappraisal--by historians over the years. Only in this century has George Goring's career and contribution to the royalist war effort come under more open-minded scrutiny, although he is sometimes still treated as a peripheral figure and no major study of his life has been written to date.

The primary purpose of this study, therefore, is to examine and reassess George Goring's life, character and actions. In this process the dissertation will also illustrate

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various developments in the first half of the seventeenth century. In the area of English social history, the Goring family provides an example of upward mobility, from gentry to courtiers to nobility, and the mutually advantageous relationship formed with the Stuart monarchy. Within the family itself, we have a case study of the close relationship between father and son in an order based on primogeniture, where the excesses of the son at times severely tested the limits of paternal duty and affection. Additionally, George Goring's arranged marriage, typical of his class, provides insight into the way in which the families and friends of a married couple intervened to hold together an unhappy and disintegrating union. The manner in which George's wife attempted to cope with her situation at a time when women had few courses of action available to them offers some insight into gender relationships.

In the area of political and military history, George Goring's participation in the politics of the early 1640's--particularly his involvement in the Army Plot of 1641--will help shed light on the events leading up to the start of the first civil war in 1642. His various commissions in the king's armies thereafter should increase our understanding of the royalist command structure and provide insight into Charles I's pursuit of the war and the king's relationship with both his military commanders and his civilian advisers. Goring, in turn, exemplifies those who willingly risked their lives and fortunes in the royalist cause, but remained ever vigilant in maintaining their personal honor and reputation. Of course, George Goring's military actions will be studied to see how his successes and failures helped to shape the ultimate outcome of the war, and Clarendon's version of events and his influence on subsequent historiography will come under close scrutiny and reappraisal.

Finally, there is the broader international context, for George Goring's military career illustrates the two-way link between the European wars and the English civil wars of the period. Despite over a century of domestic peace in England, the royalist, Parliamentarian and Scots armies would be able to draw upon experienced native officers who had learned the techniques of modern warfare in the continental wars. Then, after the Parliamentary victory, many skilled royalist officers could offer their services to the

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European powers in their continuing conflicts. George Goring's career typifies this international aspect of military service in the period preceding the formation of national standing armies. Nevertheless, despite his many years spent abroad both before and after the first civil war, George Goring would remain an Englishman at heart, with his last concerns centering on his family, his English patrimony, and his hope of serving Charles II.

The primary sources available have determined the focus of this study. Even though there are two archival sources of Goring family documents--the Danny Archives at the East Sussex Record Office at Lewes and the Wiston Archives at the West Sussex Record Office at Chichester--few of George Goring's personal letters still exist. The fact that he spent the last twelve years of his life in exile may account for this loss of his family correspondence. The majority of his available letters are his military correspondence from the first civil war, located primarily at the British Library in London in the Additional Manuscripts collection and at Oxford's Bodleian Library in the Clarendon Manuscripts. Following the sources, therefore, this study places emphasis on Goring's military career in England, although enough of his contemporaries wrote about him--in letters, pamphlets and published memoirs--so that it is possible to reconstruct other aspects of his life. His father's correspondence has survived in greater abundance, so that the senior George Goring, who was so instrumental throughout his son's career, can provide additional insight into his son's life.

One final note on editorial practice: English dates have been kept in the Old Style, but with the new year dated from January. Spelling and punctuation in quotations have been updated to modern usage.

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PART I.

FAMILY FORTUNES: THE GORINGS OF HURSTPIERPOINT, SUSSEX

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CHAPTER 1
THE RISE OF A COURTIER FAMILY, TO 1622

There would be four generations of George Gorings who would participate in English court life and politics in the period spanning the mid-sixteenth to the mid-seventeenth century. Although the last of these four is the subject of the dissertation, the actions of his predecessors, particularly his father, would shape his character and his career. This chapter, therefore, provides background information on the earlier generations of George Gorings to determine the legacy of each.

The main focus, however, will be on the third George Goring (1585-1663) who would have to rebuild the family fortunes after eliminating the huge debts left by his grandfather. He would become Sir George in 1608--the year in which his eldest son and namesake would be born--and would go on to advance his career at the court of James I. Over the next two decades, as his son grew to maturity, Sir George would greatly benefit from the patronage of two of the king's chief favorites, the Earl of Carlisle and the Duke of Buckingham. This chapter, therefore, also presents a portrait of the Jacobean court and the opportunities it offered.

There is very little information available on the fourth George Goring during these, his formative years. Nevertheless, by tracing his father's steady rise in wealth and social position we can delineate the world in which he grew up. Through this examination of his background we can try to understand the very extravagant young man who would emerge at the age of twenty and take his own place at the court of Charles I.

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The Gorings of Sussex

In 1618 Sir George Goring would write to his patron, George Villiers, Marquis of Buckingham, King James's all-powerful favorite, requesting certain financial favors. To justify this and his other similar petitions, Sir George decided to bare his soul, to confide "both fears and hopes," as he explained how his genteel but impoverished childhood motivated his desire to better his lot in life: "[I was] so sunken in debt from my cradle as I never knew what freedom was." He continued by explaining how he had patiently built up his fortune, step by step, to provide a better life for his family, so that they would be "freed from the daily fears of their ruin whom God and nature hath committed to my charge . . . and he that honestly seeks not to prevent it is worse than an infidel."[1]

This self-revealing missive underscores two points. One, which will be explored throughout this study, concerns the very differing attitudes towards money held by the elder Goring, who grew up poor, and by his son, who would grow up rich. The other question centers on family background and why Sir George, who was of a well-established gentry family, found himself in such dire straits in his youth. In fact, he and his son represented the cadet branch of a Sussex landowning family which could trace its roots back to one John Goring who appeared in the official records of the reign of Edward II in the early fourteenth century. By the sixteenth century, the family's influence at both the county and court levels was notable. Sir William Goring of Burton (d. 1554), besides serving as sheriff of Sussex and Surrey, was a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber to young Edward VI who rewarded him with additional lands.[2]

Sir William had several sons, the eldest, his heir, Sir Henry of Burton, and the youngest, George of Ovingdean and Lewes, who established the junior branch of the family. These two branches became doubly related when the two brothers married sisters, Dorothy and Mary Everard. (See figure 1.) This first George Goring, the grandfather of Sir George, would follow his father's example and serve both in the county and at court. He was a Member of Parliament (MP) for Lewes in 1562-63, and he also served as sheriff of Sussex and Surrey. He accumulated various properties in his lifetime, the most

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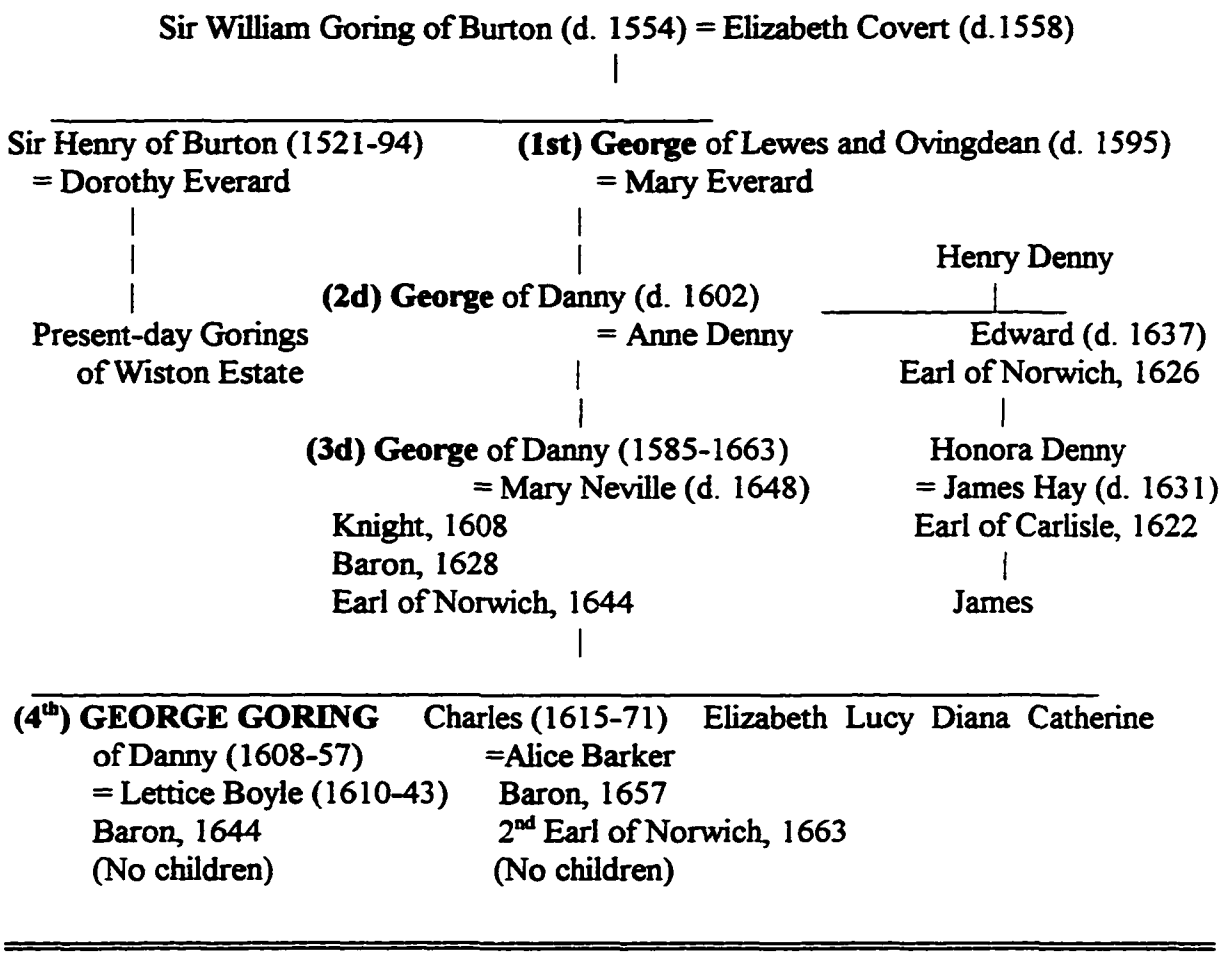
important being Danny Park at Hurstpierpoint which he purchased in 1582 as part of a transaction totaling £8,166 13s. 4d.[3]

Figure 1. Goring Family Pedigree



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Danny, which derived its name from the Saxon "Daneghithe" meaning valley and haven, is located one mile south of Hurstpierpoint and nine miles north of Brighton. The previous owner, Gregory Fiennes, Lord Dacre, had converted a pre-existing hunting lodge into a family home. After their purchase of the property, George Goring and his wife Mary had additional work done, for Danny was to serve as the main residence for their descendants. The upper timber-framed story was encased in brick and a wing was added on to create an E-shaped house containing one of the last Elizabethan great halls to be built in England. (See figure 2.) To commemorate their work, the proud owners had their initials, G and M, dated 1593, engraved on the ceiling in the north wing.[4]

Figure 2. Danny, Hurstpierpoint, Sussex

Photo by the Country Houses Association.

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Building on such a scale required a vast amount of money, and George Goring would greatly increase his fortune at the court of Elizabeth I, although his methods would not be entirely legal and would nearly result in that ruin so lamented by his grandson years later. Goring completed his term of office as sheriff of Surrey in 1579, and in the years thereafter concentrated on his career at court. On several occasions he participated in one of the most celebrated festivals, Accession Day, 17 November, the date in 1558 when Elizabeth had succeeded her half-sister Mary I to the throne of England. The occasion not only focused on the queen's sovereignty, but could also be seen as a deliberate attempt to replace the externals of Catholicism eliminated by the Reformation, particularly the cult of the Virgin. In 1570, after the failed Catholic-led Northern Rebellion, the celebration was transformed into a festival of national thanksgiving. Jousts were held outside of Whitehall Palace, where fancifully dressed courtiers would parade before the queen to pay homage before entering into ritual combat. George Goring was among the chosen courtiers who participated in these celebratory games before his monarch.[5]

Catching the eye of the ruler could be a most important career step at the early modern court where the sovereign was considered the fountain--a popular image of the time--from which all favors flowed to the subjects as rewards for their loyalty and service.[6] George Goring seemed to have benefitted from his good showings at court, for in 1584 he was named Receiver General of the Court of Wards, one of the fiscal institutions developed by Henry VIII's chief minister, Thomas Cromwell, in the 1530's to better exploit the crown's feudal right to wardship and its lucrative revenues. Throughout Elizabeth's reign and into the early Stuart period, the Court sold guardianships of wealthy orphaned children to the highest bidders; the purchasers in turn attempted to make a profit on their investments by exploiting their ward's property or perhaps even by arranging a marriage of their ward into their own family.[7]

George Goring would continue in this post until his death in 1595. During his lifetime his eldest son, George, married Anne Denny, daughter of Henry Denny of Waltham Abbey, Essex, and sister to Edward, who would later provide an important link to the Jacobean court. In 1585 the founder of this branch of the Goring family also saw

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his first grandson born (the third George Goring); in 1587 he became a justice for the Rape (district) of Lewes, and, as previously noted, he was busy with the reconstruction and expansion of Danny throughout this period.[8]

The sour note in this seeming success story was that Goring's lavish construction projects were financed by the revenues he collected as Receiver of the Court of Wards, revenues which rightfully belonged to Queen Elizabeth! Corruption among public officials has of course been known throughout history, but the queen had always been rather parsimonious in handing out rewards and honors which might have helped encourage some of her servants to reward themselves. The second George Goring, upon his father's death, had to repay the misappropriations, a huge debt valued at £19,142 9s. 7¾d. which would absorb most of his revenues and force him to mortgage some of his properties. As a small recompense, he was made a Gentleman Pensioner, one of the sixty such court positions open to men of good family and good appearance whose main function was to serve as the queen's decorative escort on state occasions. He also served as MP for Lewes in 1592-3 and 1601.[9]

At Easter time in 1600, despite his ongoing financial difficulties, Goring sent his fifteen-year-old eldest son and heir, one of nine siblings, to Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge. There is no record that this third generation George Goring ever received a degree, but most probably his studies were interrupted by the death of his father in 1602. Since he was only seventeen at the time, his mother retained control of the property until he came of age.[10] This is the young man who would become Sir George in 1608 as he started his own family, and who would continue the struggle begun by his father to overcome the financial burden left by his grandfather.

It was only by coincidence, but this George Goring would have the opportunity to make a fresh start at court, for just as he came into his majority, a momentous change was taking place on the national scene. On 24 March 1603 Queen Elizabeth died, and so "did set the most glorious sun that ever shined in our Firmament of England," a contemporary commentator, Sir Anthony Weldon, lamented.[11] Thus closed the Tudor Century, a time of growing consolidation of the central monarchy, begun by her grandfather Henry VII,

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continued by her father Henry VIII, and brought to a height of great popularity by Elizabeth herself, Gloriana. Although the aging queen never named a successor, her councilors had been secretly corresponding with her cousin James VI Stuart of Scotland, a great-great-grandson of Henry VII. The transition, therefore, went smoothly as the English council proclaimed the Scottish king as James I of England. So began the saga of the Stuart Century which would last until 1714 and encompass an era of tremendous transformations.[12] The last two George Gorings, father and son, would be active participants in their times, serving the Stuart monarchy and reaping rewards for that service, but eventually risking everything--theirs lives and their estates--in defense of the Stuarts' throne.

At the Court of James I

To live up to the reputation left by Elizabeth would be difficult for any successor. "No Prince has been a greater courtier of the people, nor any actress known better how to move her audience to transports of love and admiration," concedes one of her modern biographers, J. E. Neale; while in a more recent study, Wallace MacCaffrey believes that Elizabeth "had won her people's loving devotion, and achieved a degree of personal popularity unequaled by her predecessors or successors."[13] The queen and her peripatetic court had been on display for all to see as she presided over popular festivals like Accession Day, traveled between palaces, made summer progresses through the countryside, and returned to London in full pomp and procession.

Elizabeth, even beyond such carefully crafted efforts at image making, had benefitted from fortuitous circumstances on the international scene, thanks mainly to her former brother-in-law, Philip II of Spain (Mary I's husband). When England withstood the attack of the Invincible Armada in 1588, Elizabeth was thrust into the role of Protestant champion of Europe. Not that the English queen had actively sought the part, being rather wary of foreign entanglements and their high price tags. But in 1585 she had signed the Treaty of Nonsuch in support of Philip's rebellious Dutch subjects--only at the

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point when the rebellion, bereft of leadership, appeared to be on the brink of collapse--and so had brought Philip's wrath down upon England in the form of his attempted invasion. Even in that dark hour, while awaiting the approach of the enemy fleet, the queen had managed to endear herself to her people when she joined her soldiers on the coast at Tilbury and publically pledged "to lay down for my God and for my kingdom and for my people, my honour and my blood, even in the dust."[14]

But such a bravura performance was not to be the style of King James. Nor would he pretend to be a warrior king, for he would always consider himself primarily as a peacemaker. As such, James would not only end the long-running conflict with Spain in 1604, but in a total policy reversal--neither understood nor appreciated by his subjects--he would set off in pursuit of the chimerical marriage alliance for his heir with the Spanish Habsburgs, as shall be seen. Nor would James ever attempt to court popular opinion as Elizabeth had. Even to this day, the first Stuart to sit on the English throne is a controversial figure, and only recently have historians begun to reevaluate James's rule in a more positive light. However, the long-held conventional wisdom, while granting James a certain amount of success in ruling Scotland and managing to inherit the English crown, views much of his reign in England as something akin to early retirement, with the king more interested in disporting himself amongst his favorites at his various rural retreats than ruling the country.[15]

As James embarked on his grand procession south in April 1603 to claim his new crown, perhaps he had a right to feel self-satisfied in his achievements to date. He had survived Scottish politics and English intrigues--no mean feat considering his family history: from his birth in 1566 to Mary Queen of Scots and Henry, Lord Darnley, a candidate for the English throne through both his parents; his father murdered within a year, with his mother implicated; Mary forced to abdicate and eventually flee, leaving the thirteen-month-old infant crowned James VI of Scotland; the first two regents, his uncle and grandfather, murdered in 1570-71; and the unkindest cut of all, in 1587, after nineteen years in English captivity, Mary sent to the block--and to Catholic martyrdom--by Queen Elizabeth. It was no exaggeration when James explained to his Scottish subjects in 1589

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why he had delayed in marrying: "The reasons were that I was alone, without father or mother, brother or sister, king of this realm and heir apparent of England."[16]

Beyond these public turmoils, the young king was tutored from the age of four, under the guidance of the ruling Scottish Protestant nobility, to become an exemplary prince of the Reformed Presbyterian Kirk. James was an eager student, but the regimen was an extremely harsh one for a boy so young. In fact, the first person to show young James any affection was his cousin Esme Stuart, Lord d'Aubigny, who arrived in Edinburgh in 1579. The polished Esme, a courtier to Henry III of France, during his three-year sojourn in Scotland taught James lessons in governing and self-confidence, and in return was created Duke of Lennox by his cousin. Probably through this first affectionate (possibly sexual) relationship, James thereafter would prefer the company of handsome young men.[17]

But as monarch of Scotland, James had a duty to fulfill by marrying and producing children, something his three Tudor cousins--Edward VI, Mary I and Elizabeth I--never accomplished. In 1589 he had gone to Denmark to marry Princess Anne, daughter of King Frederick II, and by 1603 he had three children--Henry (b. 1594), Elizabeth (b. 1596) and Charles (b. 1600)--to show off to his new English subjects. While James had established the outward structure of a conventional family, his deepest affections would always belong elsewhere--to his favorites--as the English court quickly came to realize.[18] "The king no sooner came to London, but notice was taken of a rising favourite, the first meteor of that nature appearing in our climate; as the king cast his eye upon him for affection, so did all the courtiers, to adore him; his name was Mister James Hay. . . .[Hay] was indeed made for a courtier, who wholly studied his master, and understood him better than any other," reported Sir Anthony Weldon.[19]

James Hay would provide an important link to the Jacobean court for the last two George Gorings, and, as shall be seen in Chapter 3, he would be the younger Goring's mentor on his coming-of-age grand tour of the Continent in 1628. To understand James Hay, his court career and lavish lifestyle, will help fill in the background of young George Goring's formative years. Hay himself was just a young man of twenty-three, of an

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impoverished cadet branch of a Scottish noble family, when he followed King James south in 1603. Like Esme Stuart, he had learned the ways of a polished courtier in France. The king began showing his favor to the young man immediately upon his arrival in London, as Weldon noted, by making him a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber that May and a Gentleman of the Bedchamber in August. He was never to be out of royal favor thereafter, managing to rise above court factions and remain a chief courtier to James and then Charles. He would be knighted in 1604; made Master of the Great Wardrobe, 1613-18; and, within the English peerage, be created Baron Hay of Sawley in 1615, Viscount Doncaster in 1618, and the Earl of Carlisle in 1622. He would even get along with his successors to the royal affection, Robert Carr and George Villiers, and would never be subjected to their overweening power. But Hay would be more than a court ornament, for he would come to serve James as his chief diplomat. In 1604 he was sent on his first mission, to Henry IV of France, and over the next twenty years he would go on embassies to every major court of Europe, working to implement James's policy of peace in a period when Europe was sliding into a prolonged period of strife.[20]

With these titles and positions would come great wealth, for, unlike Queen Elizabeth, King James was extremely generous in granting titles and monetary rewards. It is estimated that James awarded a total of £3.5 million during his reign, and nine of the most favored courtiers--Hay among them--would share close to half of this largesse. "That great getter, the Earl of Carlisle," as Weldon labeled him, also happened to be the most magnificent spender in an age when conspicuous consumption ruled in the early modern European courts. Even though rewards increased at the Jacobean court, so too did expenses. A courtier was expected to display the rank and prestige of his family by dressing magnificently, maintaining accommodations in London as well as a stately home in the country, and having sufficient funds to both entertain and gamble on a grand scale.[21]

Particularly in the area of lavish entertainment would Hay far exceed all known standards with his feasts becoming legendary in their excesses. The most notable example would occur in 1621, when, in honor of the French ambassador, the king and court "were feasted by the Lord of Doncaster . . . with that sumptuous superfluity, that the like hath

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not been seen nor heard in these parts," the contemporary court observer and prolific letter-writer John Chamberlain noted. Over one hundred cooks had worked for eight days to prepare 1,600 dishes, the highlight of which, according to Chamberlain, consisted of "six or seven Muscovy salmons whereof some were above six-foot-long." Even Anthony Weldon was awed by "fish of that immensity . . . that dishes were made to contain them (no dishes in all England before could ne'er hold them. . . .)."[22] Hay, on his foreign embassies, would carry on in the same splendid fashion, in his dress, his entourage, and with public displays as when in Paris he once allowed his horse's loosely shod silver shoes to fly off into the crowd as souvenirs.[23] Clearly, neither subtlety nor understatement were part of the agenda of the early seventeenth century.

But the James Hay who came south in 1603 had no wealth, so that King James decided he could guarantee his new favorite a good source of income by providing him with an heiress for a wife, and the king had a candidate in mind. On his initial progress through England among those who had greeted James had been the sheriff of Hertfordshire, Sir Edward Denny, the third George Goring's maternal uncle. Sir Edward had lavishly entertained his new sovereign and presented him with a well-received gift of a horse, reportedly a "gallant beast," and saddle. Sir Edward had one other asset to recommend him to his sovereign--an unmarried daughter, Honora, his only child and heir. One of James's dreams was to bring together his two peoples, Scots and English, into one union. Although he would fail on the national level (resulting in one of his early grievances against the English Parliament), James could pursue this goal on a more personal level as he played matchmaker, for Honora Denny was the prize he now sought for James Hay.[24]

It is interesting to note that although the king himself was brokering this match, Sir Edward Denny needed a great deal of inducement to allow his daughter to marry Hay, an upstart and outsider at the English court. James first granted his favorite certain trading privileges including the right to export undressed cloth duty free in order to give him an income and thus make him a more attractive bridegroom. Additionally, in 1604 the king offered to make Edward Denny a baron and to give the newlyweds a £3,000 settlement.

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Apparently this was still not enough, for later that year James granted Hay and his intended various manors in Northamptonshire and Yorkshire. John Chamberlain was certain that these inducements would suffice: "Sir James Hay is as good as sure to his young wife. . . . So as we see the two immediate ways of a great fortune, which is [*sic*] a prince's favor and a good marriage, do both concur to this man."[25]

Chamberlain was premature in predicting the forthcoming nuptials. Perhaps the extravagant lifestyle already exhibited by his prospective son-in-law gave Sir Edward further pause, for he still withheld his consent to the match. Finally, in 1606, King James undertook to repay the debts of Hay and two other courtiers, reportedly £44,000 in total, even "though money go low in the exchequer."[26] This incentive worked, for on 6 January 1607 James Hay married Honora Denny. The nuptial sermon, attended by the king himself at Whitehall, was preached by Robert Wilkinson, Prince Henry's chaplain, and the wedding festivities included a banquet and a masque written for the occasion by Thomas Campion, who also wrote such pieces for the king's court.[27]

Listed among the nine masquers that day was "Master Goring." This most probably was the twenty-two-year-old (third) George Goring of Danny, who was Honora Denny's first cousin. He would soon be dancing at his own wedding with his bride, Mary Neville, second daughter of Edward, 6th Lord Abergavenny, and Rachel Lennard of Chevening, Kent. George and Mary Goring would have ten children, six of whom would survive to adulthood: George, born 16 July 1608; a second son Charles, born about 1615; and four daughters, Elizabeth, Lucy, Diana and Catherine.[28]

Knighted by King James in May 1608, Sir George Goring now enjoyed various links to the Jacobean court through his uncle, Lord Denny; his cousin by marriage, James Hay; and another important tie through cousin Honora who on her mother's side was of the Cecil family. William Cecil, created Lord Burghley, had been one of Queen Elizabeth's most trusted advisors from the very start of her reign. His younger son, Robert, had eventually replaced him in the queen's service, and, just as importantly, Sir Robert Cecil had been a prime mover in paving the way for James's peaceful succession to the English throne. James rewarded him by creating him Earl of Salisbury in 1605 and by

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allowing him to carry on with the daily business of government as his chief minister, thus giving some semblance of continuity to the political life of the nation. Honora Denny Hay was a grandniece to Salisbury.[29]

Even though the hard-working chief minister was a steadying influence on national politics, he did fail to obtain Parliament's approval of the king's cherished union of England and Scotland in 1604 (which would not occur until 1707). In 1610 Parliament also rejected Salisbury's proposed Great Contract whereby the crown would give up certain feudal prerogatives--including wardship--in return for a steady voted income (another plan ahead of its time, for a similar solution to royal finances would be adopted after the Restoration of 1660). With these defeats, King James was left believing that Parliament was a most unsatisfactory instrument of government.[30]

Another emerging figure on the national political scene was Prince Henry, James's eldest son and heir apparent. Unlike his father, the young prince was seen as a sober and serious champion of the international Protestant cause who embodied the virtues of his godmother, Queen Elizabeth, much more than his father ever would. In 1610 Henry was invested as Prince of Wales at a ceremony attended by Edward Lord Denny and various younger generation Cecils who were among the prince's inner circle of friends. Probably with the help of these family ties, Sir George Goring became a Gentleman in Ordinary of the Privy Chamber to the Prince of Wales that year, and in the following year he would become a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber to King James.[31]

At the same time, a third figure of importance was emerging at James's court. In 1607, Robert Carr, another French-educated Scot and a page to James Hay, caught the king's eye when he was injured in a tournament. Once the king's interest was perceived, "Lord! how the great men flocked to see him [Carr] and to offer to his shrine in such abundance," reported Sir Anthony Weldon.[32] In 1608 James was requesting Salisbury to distribute certain posts to "Robin Carr," who was created Viscount Rochester in 1611. Nevertheless, Carr might have remained another apolitical favorite, much like Hay, but for three occurrences. First, in May 1612 Salisbury died and James decided he would take closer charge of his own government, assisted by Carr as his secretary of state. Then, in

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November 1612, Prince Henry died suddenly, thus removing an emerging political voice and leaving the twelve-year-old Prince Charles heir to the thrones of England and Scotland. Finally, among those who "flocked" to Carr as he grew in royal favor was Sir Thomas Overbury who saw the political power to be gained through manipulating the royal favorite.[33]

But Overbury's control of Carr was threatened in 1613 when Carr began an affair with Frances, the wife of the young Robert Devereaux, 2nd Earl of Essex. King James stepped in to play matchmaker, despite the lady's marital status, and allowed her to obtain an annulment on the grounds of her husband's alleged impotence. (After having endured such a public humiliation, sponsored by the king, Essex would be no supporter of the Stuart monarchy but instead would champion Parliament's cause in 1642.) Frances and Carr were then married in the king's presence in 1613, with the groom being created the Earl of Somerset shortly thereafter. To keep Overbury quiet while all this came to pass, he had been placed in "protective custody" in the Tower where he mysteriously expired. So as Somerset reached the height of his power in 1614, the seeds of his destruction had already been sown by Frances who had commissioned Overbury's murder.[34]

In addition, there appeared at court another handsome, but poor, young man, French-educated--as had been all his predecessors--who soon caught the king's attention. "Love came late to James I," as J. P. Kenyon notes,[35] and no matter what one thinks of the last favorite, there can be no doubt that the most beloved of all by James would be George Villiers, the future Duke of Buckingham.

The Rise of Buckingham

The year 1614 would witness the beginning of major political shifts in England. On the national scene, the so-called Addled Parliament refused to vote King James the revenues he requested. Some members even began to speak openly of the right of the governed to oppose tyrants. James, who had written *The True Law of Free Monarchies* in 1598, claimed to rule by divine right, free from all human interference. James could

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have only become more disillusioned with Parliamentary politics in 1614 and his response was to dispense with Parliament's services until 1621.[36] James's relationship to his Parliaments is noteworthy because it provides background for his son's future problems in this arena.

At court, Somerset, whom the king "loved above all others," as John Chamberlain recorded, was further rewarded by being made Lord Chamberlain and Keeper of the Privy Seal in July 1614, with his father-in-law, Sir Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk, becoming Lord Treasurer. In addition, Suffolk's son, Lord Walden, was made captain of the Gentlemen Pensioners, and Sir George Goring was named his lieutenant.[37]

Goring was in part following in his family's tradition of court service--his own father had been a Gentleman Pensioner--but the connections through his cousin and her husband were proving to be especially useful. Lord Hay was still greatly benefitting from the king's favor, while cousin Honora--Lady Hay--had become one of Queen Anne's favorite attendants. According to Venetian Secretary Rizzardo, Lady Hay was known both for her great wealth and her ability to carry off courtly intrigues, some of which amused the king himself. There were even rumors of her own liaison with a Venetian diplomat. Honora did bear her husband two children, a son James born in 1612 and a daughter, but in 1614 she died during premature labor. Nevertheless, Hay would remain on close terms with his father-in-law, Lord Denny, and he would also continue to foster Sir George Goring's career.[38]

Moreover, Goring was about to forge a new link at court, for 1614 was also the year that George Villiers, a young gentleman from Leicestershire, just twenty-one years old, came to London to seek his fortune. He was considered too poor to make a decent match, but he had good looks and the courtly skills he had learned in France to recommend him to the king's service. James first saw Villiers on his summer progress and within a month gossip was circulating about the king's growing attention.[39]

Villiers was made one of the royal cup-bearers, and, as Sir Anthony Weldon reported, the king began "to eat abroad" instead of in his bed chamber to be in the company of this young man. Weldon continued:

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> [The King] would come forth to see pastimes and fooleries, in which Sir Edward Zouch, Sir George Goring, and Sir John Finit were the chief and Master Fools, and surely this fooling got them more than any other's wisdom, far above them in dessert: Zouch, his part to sing bawdy songs and tell bawdy tales; Finit to compose these songs; then were a set of fiddlers brought up on purpose for this fooling, and Goring was master of the game for fooleries, sometimes presenting David Drohman and Archer Armstrong, the King's fools, on the back of the other fools, to tilt one at another, 'til they fell together by the ears; sometimes antic dances. . . . With this jollity was this favourite ushered in. . . .[40]

Another contemporary reference, an anonymous satirical poem about James, placed him in his country retreats, enjoying the same company of courtiers:

> At Royston and Newmarket he'll hunt till he be lean,
> But he hath many boys that with masks and toys
> Can make him fat again
> Ned Zouch, Harry Rich, Tom Badger
> George Goring and Jack Finit
> Will dance a heat till they stink of sweat
> As if the Devil were in it.[41]

Sir George Goring, established at the king's court that summer of 1614 with his lieutenancy of the pensioners, in effect benefitted from perfect timing--being in the right place, at the right time, as Villiers rose to power. James clearly approved of these "fooleries" and those who carried them out, so that Goring established himself not only in the king's favor, but also had the opportunity to forge close ties with the rising favorite.

For James, however, Villiers' appearance on the scene did not necessarily mean Somerset's decline. Quite to the contrary, it would appear that Somerset, out of jealousy, became his own worst enemy by turning on his benefactor and protector, King James, and by trying to hold on to him through emotional blackmail. By early 1615, the king was warning Robin Carr against such prideful behavior: "I told you twice or thrice that ye might lead me by the heart and not by the nose. . . . Hold me thus by the heart, ye may build upon my favour as upon a rock that shall never fail. . . ."[42]

But Somerset did not heed such warnings and his behavior remained erratic, nor would he befriend Villiers, as the king hoped. Finally, with rumors circulating about Overbury's death, James had little choice but to arrest Somerset and his wife on charges of murder. They were placed in the Tower of London in November 1615, with their trial

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scheduled for the following spring. James, concerned about what might come out in open court about his own relationship with the earl, did try to make a deal with Somerset by negotiating through the lieutenant of the Tower. While Somerset refused all these overtures, he did ask to see Lord Hay, who managed to bring this affair to a satisfactory conclusion. Although maintaining his innocence at his trial, Somerset said nothing untoward touching the king. The couple were found guilty, but the king commuted their sentence to imprisonment and in 1624 would set them free.[43]

Lord Hay's reputation as a skillful negotiator was greatly enhanced by his behind-the-scenes handling of this case. He had discretion and a sense of magnificence, attributes which qualified him to be King James's special ambassador to the French court of young Louis XIII, presided over by the queen mother, Marie de Medici. James was beginning to negotiate for a bride for his heir, Prince Charles, although nothing concrete would be achieved at this time.[44]

Sir George Goring made his own debut in international diplomacy when he joined Hay's embassy in 1616. But their departure was delayed that spring while the Somerset affair played itself out. Hay had had twenty suits made for the journey--one for each day away--but was disappointed to hear French styles had changed. To cheer him up, one of the ladies of the court, Lady Haddington, said that the true "flower and beauty" of the embassy consisted of Lord Hay and the gentlemen of his entourage, particularly the three "mignards"--Hay himself, Sir Harry Rich and Sir George Goring. This comment, placing Goring among the handsome gallants of the Jacobean court, leads to an interesting inventory of some of the requirements needed for advancement: good connections, good looks, and an ability to amuse and entertain. Goring's "fooleries" would lead to increasing rewards and opportunities, and he was now entering the world of diplomacy under Hay's tutelage. He was also rebuilding his finances, for he was receiving an annual pension of £200 from the king.[45] These were the small beginnings to a career which would grow and bear plentiful fruit in the reign of Charles I.

Once returned from France to the English court, Goring continued to do what he did best--star in the courtly entertainments. The next occasion of note was a supper and

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masque given by Lord Hay in February 1617 in honor of French Ambassador de la Tour. The principal players were Goring and Sir Henry Rich on an evening noted for its excessiveness, labeled by the disapproving Chamberlain as "monstrous waste." Shortly thereafter, in March 1617, Sir George, as lieutenant of the pensioners, accompanied King James on his first trip back to Scotland since his departure in 1603.[46]

Lord Hay, however, did not return to Scotland with the king. He remained in London, in pursuit of a new bride, young Lucy Percy. Once again, his future father-in-law, in this case Henry Percy, 9th Earl of Northumberland, was initially opposed to the match, reportedly "because he was a Percy and could not endure that his daughter should dance any Scottish jig. . . ."[47] The Percys were one of the old established noble families of England, and Lucy's mother was a Devereaux, sister to the 2nd Earl of Essex. Obviously, Hay, despite his fourteen years at the English court, was still considered a foreign upstart in this exalted company. But, being the good negotiator that he was, Hay finally won Northumberland's blessing. The wedding was celebrated in November 1617 with the king and Prince Charles in attendance.[48]

Another wedding guest on that occasion was George Villiers, now firmly established in the royal affection. In the period 1616-18, Villiers embarked upon his rapid ascent to the heights of power. In January 1616 he became Master of the Horse, a position which had been given by Elizabeth to her two favorites, Leicester and Essex. He became Knight of the Garter in April 1616 (one instance when Hay was disappointed in not gaining the same honor) and Viscount Villiers in August 1616. In January 1617 he was created Earl of Buckingham, and in February he was made a Privy Councilor. On 1 January 1618 the twenty-five-year-old Villiers became the Marquis of Buckingham.[49]

"And now begins the new favorite to reign, without any controlment; now he rises in honour as well as swells with pride, being broken out of the modest bounds . . . to the highway of pride and scorn, turning out and putting in all he pleased."[50] Commentators still tend to agree with Weldon's assessment that Buckingham came to control the patronage of the kingdom. The relative merits of that monopoly depended on one's point-of-view. For King James, it certainly simplified matters to have one person whom he

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implicitly trusted handing out the rewards. Roger Lockyer believes that the system was "not as pernicious as it seems" since there never had been any unbiased criteria to fill positions and having patronage dispensed by one person avoided factional struggles.[51]

On the other hand, from the very start of James's reign, the English nobility and gentry had had to deal with what Linda Levy Peck calls two "wild cards" in the game of preferments: the Scottish place seekers who flocked to the English court and the royal favorites. (Northumberland's attitude towards Hay as late as 1617 is a good example of this continuing resentment.) In addition, James had inherited a pent-up demand for honors created by Elizabeth's miserly policy. For example, in her forty-four-year reign, Elizabeth had created just 878 knights, while James and Charles would create 3,281 between the years 1603-1641. In turn, many of these honors and titles were sold by the Stuarts as a money-making device for the crown. Alternatively, the king could reward his courtiers--without any cost to himself--by allowing them to nominate candidates (and collect fees) for preferment. Buckingham would become particularly involved in the latter practice, leading to the perception that the favorite, and not the king, was enriching himself through the excessive sale of honors and offices.[52]

Sir George Goring became part of Buckingham's patronage network. In January 1618, when the newly-created marquis lavishly feted the king and Prince Charles for the holidays, Sir George helped provide the entertainment by acting in a play "of Tom of Bedlam, the tinker and such other mad stuff."[53] As the year progressed, Goring's growing reliance on Buckingham can be traced in a series of surviving letters written by Sir George to the marquis. The central theme that emerged from this correspondence was Goring's constant pursuit of financial favors tied to profuse expressions of loyalty and gratitude. In one instance, when asking Buckingham to intervene on his behalf with Queen Anne, Sir George concluded: "You, who of your own mere goodness have thus taken me to your noble care, which if I acknowledge not to my last, let me die accursed."[54] Over the course of the year, Sir George sought to entertain his patron, and the marquis' formidable mother, by issuing them an invitation to dine "under my poor roof." A thank you note for favors past was combined with a request for favors anew, and, as preface to yet another

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petition, Sir George declared: "All I am, all I have, is at your service: to say more can but repeat the same, as a whole year doth but one day."[55]

On the occasion of Prince Charles's eighteenth birthday, in November 1618, Sir George Goring had the opportunity to emulate the two masters of ostentation, Hay and Buckingham, at a celebration held at Newmarket where the king and prince were then staying. All the nobles, knights and squires in attendance decided that every man should bring a dish of his choice in what might be termed a seventeenth-century potluck dinner. "Some strove to be substantial, some curious, and some extravagant. Sir George Goring's invention bore away the bell, and that was four huge, brawny pigs, piping hot, bitted and harnessed with ropes of sausages, all tied to a monstrous bag-pudding."[56]

But spending and getting were tied hand-in-hand at the early modern court. Such a lavish presentation would have been well-appreciated by the king, who, after Queen Anne's death in the spring of 1619, promised Sir George £3,000 for eleven years from his late wife's jointure. But even the promise of this pension was not enough, for on 9 April Sir George was so concerned about his deferred debts soon to come due that he entreated Buckingham's favor to make sure this new pension was promptly paid, so that "forever after I shall be at ease, a pasture wherein yet I never fed." When the queen's funeral was held in May, Lady Goring was part of the procession.[57]

Money matters continued to be a major theme of Sir George's letters, although by November 1619 he was hopeful of soon receiving £7,000 with which to repay his debts. Also, at this time, he received what he considered to be his first employment directly from the king: instructions to mediate with the Earl of Suffolk, Somerset's father-in-law, who had been made Lord Treasurer in 1614, as noted above. The earl had not had much success in shoring up the king's deteriorating finances while in office; moreover, he had used crown revenues to build himself a palatial home, Audley End in Essex. Suffolk not only lost his position in 1618, but in 1619 he and others in his administration faced charges in Star Chamber for "misemploying the King's treasure many ways . . . and [for] foul corruptions in all that passed through their hands."[58]

Even though Suffolk and his wife were found guilty, fined £30,000 and placed in

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the Tower, they were quickly released after having paid only one-third of their fine. According to court rumors, it was believed that a behind-the-scenes deal was being negotiated whereby Suffolk's two sons, Lord Walden and Sir Thomas Howard, would give up their respective places as captain of the pensioners and in the household of Prince Charles as part of a deal to free their parents.[59] Sir George Goring's letters to Buckingham confirmed the speculation, for he was the designated go-between in these negotiations, much as Hay had been with Somerset in 1616. But Suffolk was torn between his duty to his king and to his family--as Sir George relayed--and the earl hoped that the king would only "punish him in his own fortune [rather] than in his sons' final overthrow." Despite Goring's protest that he would never dare to advise his patron--"you having made me and I most depending on you"--he did suggest that Buckingham intervene on Suffolk's behalf, so that "all may see your power and goodness." He also added a personal plea for Buckingham's assistance, for the negotiations were not going well and he did not want to appear to be failing in the king's business.[60]

The matter would not be immediately resolved, and this negotiation, beyond the earl's intransigence, must have been difficult for Goring. First, his own promotion in 1614 to lieutenant of pensioners had been alongside Suffolk and his son, Lord Walden. Second, he was probably reminded of the very similar situation in his own family, where he and his father had been left to bear the financial burden created by his grandfather's misappropriations of royal revenues. Finally, Sir George had a personal link to this affair. One of the officials condemned in Star Chamber along with Suffolk was Sir John Bingley, Remembrancer of the Exchequer, who was fined £2,000 and imprisoned. Bingley was Sir George's brother-in-law, married to Lady Elizabeth Neville, sister to Sir George's wife. Lady Elizabeth sought out the king at Newmarket in January 1620 to try to have her husband restored to his position, but, according to John Chamberlain, she "might have spared the journey especially having there at hand continually her brother-in-law Sir George Goring who followed that business as faithfully and carefully as she could do, and with as much hope of success."[61]

Despite these setbacks in his negotiations, Sir George apparently did not suffer

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any negative repercussions personally. He was soon back in his usual company, among an elite troupe of holiday masquers, led by Buckingham himself, who made the rounds of parties the first week of January 1620. At the French ambassador's residence, dancing went on until two in the morning with a "store of ladies and beauties the greatest and best about this town." The masque was repeated for five nights, with James Hay, now Viscount Doncaster, hosting the last performance.[62]

Sir George continued in these courtly amusements along side his patrons, Buckingham and Doncaster, as the year progressed. All of them performed in a twelve-part extravaganza that summer for the king at Salisbury. The merrymakers continued their idles "in the wilds of the country," following the king in pursuit of his "ceaseless hunting," as the Venetian ambassador reported in September. The king even refused to meet with the Bohemian ambassador who had come on urgent business, for such audiences were only held in London.[63] James, however, had only postponed facing a growing international crisis which involved his daughter and her family.

Foreign Policy--Domestic Repercussions

King James would always try to pursue a policy of peace in his international dealings. Perhaps he had seen enough turbulence and bloodshed in his youth in Scotland to set him on the path of peaceful negotiations for the rest of his life. Besides, war was expensive and wasteful, so, as the new king of England, he had ended Elizabeth's long-running war with Spain in 1604. James further believed that through marriage alliances, with both Protestant and Catholic powers, he could take on the role of mediator in continental politics. He had implemented part of this policy in 1613 when he married his only daughter, Elizabeth, to Frederick V, Elector Palatine, head of the Protestant Union within the Holy Roman Empire. A match for Charles was next on the agenda, and in 1614 James had sent Sir John Digby to Spain to open negotiations for the Infanta Maria, a daughter of King Philip III.[64] But talks had also been initiated with the French by the Hay embassy of 1616.

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Unfortunately for James, events overtook any hopes he had of becoming the arbiter of European affairs. A rebellion in Bohemia in 1618 provided the spark which ignited that tinderbox, the Holy Roman Empire, into a conflagration we today call the Thirty Years War. In truth, the war represented a series of conflicts encompassing religious warfare; a constitutional crisis within Germany over the question of who would be sovereign?--the princes or the emperor; a dynastic struggle between Habsburg and Bourbon; and a renewal of the Dutch war of independence from Spain. And in the vortex of the maelstrom was Frederick, Elector Palatine, James's son-in-law.

How he got there was basically his own doing, for, immediately following the opening round in the Bohemian rebellion, the so-called Defenestration of Prague of May 1618, Frederick seriously considered becoming the new king of Protestant Bohemia, replacing the militantly Catholic Austrian Habsburg, Ferdinand of Styria. In early 1619 King James planned to send a special embassy to the Continent, headed by James Hay, Viscount Doncaster, to try to arbitrate a peaceful solution to events in central Europe even though it appeared to some observers that all Christendom was ready "to fall into combustion on this occasion."[65]

The embassy's departure was delayed until May 1619, first due to Queen Anne's death, and secondly, James himself became seriously ill. To further complicate matters, in March 1619 the Holy Roman Emperor Matthias had died. Doncaster's mission, therefore, became twofold: to restrain Frederick from any rash action and to try to find an alternate candidate for the imperial title, for Archduke Ferdinand was the most likely successor. The English embassy would spend the rest of the year trudging across Europe, from Brussels, to Heidelberg (Frederick's capital), to Bavaria, to Austria, and back through the Hague. Despite Doncaster's best efforts, everything King James most feared came to pass in just one fateful week. In late August 1619 the Bohemian Estates formally deposed Ferdinand as their king and officially offered the crown to Frederick, while the imperial diet, sitting in Frankfurt, elected Ferdinand as the new Holy Roman Emperor.[66]

Against the advice of his father-in-law, King James; of his own mother, Louisa Juliana, a daughter of the great Dutch patriot William the Silent, Prince of Orange; of

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many of his own councilors, on 28 September 1619 Frederick secretly wrote to Prague accepting the proffered crown. "It is a divine calling which I must not disobey," Frederick reasoned, but by responding to this "calling" he was entering into rebellion against his new emperor. The elector and his pregnant wife left the Palatinate in October 1619 to journey to their new kingdom of Bohemia. In Prague, in December 1619, Elizabeth gave birth to her third son, Rupert,[67] who would figure so prominently in the English civil wars, as shall be seen in Part III.

As 1619 drew to a close, Frederick and Elizabeth, and their growing family, were in possession of Bohemia, although their position remained precarious since Emperor Ferdinand did not accept the loss of this kingdom. Doncaster, on the final stage of his embassy, spent a convivial Christmas holiday with Sir Dudley Carleton, the English ambassador at the Hague. This stopover also gave Doncaster the opportunity to meet with the Dutch leader, Prince Maurice, son of William the Silent and uncle to Frederick. Maurice and the Dutch, who faced a renewal of their own struggle for independence from Spain in 1621 at the end of a twelve-year truce, could prove to be useful allies to Frederick if he were threatened by the Habsburgs. In January 1620 Doncaster returned to London where he privately reported to King James on his mission.[68]

Frederick's first call for assistance came sooner than expected, for in March 1620 he was requesting a loan from his father-in-law to keep his troops in the field. In London, public notice was given calling for volunteers for the Bohemian army, but recruiting went so poorly that by July the Spanish ambassador, Gondomar, could openly joke about how brave the English recruits were to go off to face forces vastly superior in number. Even John Chamberlain had to agree that Sir Horace Vere, an English veteran of the Dutch wars, marched off to the Continent "so slenderly accompanied as to command but 2,000 men."[69]

That summer of 1620, as described above, James and his entourage spent in their usual leisurely summer frolics, and not even an ambassador from his son-in-law could divert the king's attention. But the urgent news from Germany quickly became public knowledge in London: Marquis Spinola, the brilliant Genoese-born general in the service

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of Spain and the Spanish Netherlands, had begun an invasion of the Palatinate. The Spanish Habsburgs were giving aid to their Austrian cousins as well as positioning themselves for a renewal of hostilities against the Dutch. The only defense being made of the Palatinate was by Sir Horace Vere and his little army of recruits who would manage to hold Frankenthal and Mannheim, fortified cities directly to the northwest of Heidelberg, for two years. These English forces included Sir Thomas Fairfax, grandfather to the future civil war general of the same name, and his son, Ferdinando, the future second Lord Fairfax and Parliamentary commander in the north in the first civil war.[70]

Frederick could do nothing himself for his homeland because his newly-acquired kingdom of Bohemia was also under attack by Catholic forces. Elizabeth, in desperation, wrote to her brother Charles, asking him to intercede with their father for a firm commitment for armed assistance rather than more goodwill embassies. But embassies were all James was prepared to send, so that on 8 November 1620 Frederick's army was routed outside Prague at the Battle of White Mountain. "The Winter King and Queen," as the Catholics derisively called Frederick and Elizabeth, were forced to flee Prague in such haste that the infant Rupert was almost left behind. Elizabeth, pregnant again, had to rest in Brandenburg in January 1621 to deliver her fourth son, Maurice (another future English civil war general), thoughtfully named after his Dutch great-uncle. This compliment would be rewarded, for the Dutch invited the exiles to take up residence in the Hague that April as the hostilities with Spain recommenced. From there the popular Elizabeth, nicknamed the Queen of Hearts by her Protestant admirers, would hold court for the next forty years.[71] Both George Gorings, father and son, were to become part of the steady stream of English courtiers, diplomats and soldiers who would pass through her court-in-exile.

King James, as the leading Protestant prince of Europe and as father to the exiles, had to take a more positive stand in the growing continental conflict. He supported the restoration of the Palatinate to Frederick, but not Bohemia since he had never supported his son-in-law's acceptance of that crown. But rather than sending an army to back his position, James continued to try diplomacy. His master plan centered on renewing

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negotiations for the Infanta Maria, whose brother had ascended the Spanish throne as Philip IV in April 1621. James believed that through this marital alliance the Spanish Habsburgs would persuade their Austrian cousins to restore Frederick's homeland. His reasoning was flawed, however, for Spain's Army of Flanders depended on the corridor along the Rhine to move supplies and men northward in the ongoing war against the Dutch, so that the Spanish would be most reluctant to have the Palatinate pass back to Protestant control.[72]

Another English diplomatic initiative centered on renewed overtures to the French, even though France's international prestige and active foreign policy had declined under the regency of Marie de Medici. But young Louis XIII (b. 1601) had taken control from his mother by 1617, and in the spring of 1621 the French king set off on his first campaign to ensure the obedience of his Huguenot subjects. These French Calvinists had been granted a great amount of autonomy, including the right to defend themselves in fortified towns, by Louis's father, Henry IV, in the Edict of Nantes of 1598. King James was concerned that a France once again torn by religious wars, as it had been in the last half of the sixteenth century, could be no counterweight to Habsburg power; plus the English did not wish to sit idly while their co-religionists came under attack. James, therefore, proposed to send his favorite ambassador, James Hay, Viscount Doncaster, on a mission to mediate between Louis and his Protestant subjects.[73]

Sir George Goring received the king's command in July 1621 to accompany Doncaster's delegation to France. In one of the few existing letters dated from Danny, the family home in Sussex, Sir George wrote Buckingham, expressing thanks for such a great honor coming from the hands of the king himself and professing unbounded love and honor towards Doncaster. He also remembered to thank his patron and the king for his improving fortunes. However, all this effusive gratitude was but a prelude to Sir George's turning down the assignment. He argued that leaving the country at this time would endanger his entire estate, for he had just resumed receiving his pension--which had been going directly to his creditors--into his own hands, leaving instead his main residence and estate as collateral. In eight months he would have to pay off a debt of £6,000 "at the

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hour" to the merchants (so these were debts incurred in support of his lifestyle) or he stood to lose his home. As a final touch, Sir George used his wife's pregnancy-- "a good wife's great belly within a month of her time"--as another reason why his presence was required more in England than in France.[74]

Goring was excused from the mission; he kept his chief residence safe from his creditors; and his third son, Edward, was born, although the child did not survive. In August he wrote all the latest court news to his friend Doncaster, then in France as the English Ambassador Extraordinary, a title Goring himself would hold some twenty years later. Sir George passed on the latest news of the European wars, that Count Mansfeld (the mercenary commander in Frederick's employ) was causing "disorder" for the emperor, and, closer to home, a new Lord Treasurer had been named.[75]

Goring was referring to Sir Lionel Cranfield, a successful London merchant and excellent financial administrator who had become part of Buckingham's circle, as the favorite tried to improve the king's finances. Cranfield had already instituted various savings in the king's household, so that when Parliament had met in January 1621, he could assure the House of Commons that the king was paying his own ordinary expenses; any request for additional revenues would be for extraordinary expenses, such as those which might be required for the Palatinate crisis. In return, Parliament had voted two subsidies worth £160,000 before adjourning.[76]

Sir George Goring, as the MP for Lewes, was part of the Sussex delegation sent to the House of Commons in 1621. He and his fellow members were scheduled to reconvene on 8 February 1622, but, on short notice, the date was advanced to 20 November 1621 because of urgent business. Lord Digby had just returned from Vienna and reported that Emperor Ferdinand seemed most unwilling to restore the Palatinate to Frederick and Elizabeth. What would England now do? Debate in the Commons was lively and solutions ranged from direct intervention of English arms, to subsidizing Mansfeld's mercenary forces, to a war of diversion against Spain. John Chamberlain wrote Sir Dudley Carleton that he himself considered a war against Spain "the only way, and not to stand pottering and pelting in the Palatinate only to consume our men and means."[77]

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The king and Buckingham were at Newmarket while this debate was going on, but Sir George Goring reported all that had occurred in the Commons to his patron in a letter dated 3 a.m., 27 November. A committee was considering sending additional supplies to the English forces already in the Palatinate, and the House had been in better order and temper today than yesterday when the members had been carried away by their zeal but had "intended no way to cross upon his [Majesty's] prerogative or direct him in his councils," Sir George assured Buckingham. He would report back the next day, but as self-effacing as ever, he would leave judgment and advice to others.[78]

On 28 November the committee endorsed one subsidy "for the relief of the Palatinate" to be paid in February 1622, to which the House agreed unanimously. On the following day, as the Commons carried on with other business, Sir George Goring took the floor and reintroduced foreign policy. He said King James had written to Philip IV, asking him to bring about a cessation of hostilities in Germany, or, if the emperor refused this, to withdraw Spanish troops. If the Habsburg powers would not accept either proposal, the Commons should ask King James "to declare unto them that he will not spare to denounce war as well against the King of Spain . . . as against the Emperor" or anyone else who would dispossess Frederick and Elizabeth of their rightful inheritance.[79]

Writing to Buckingham that same Thursday night, Goring reported that with "all care and diligence" he had followed Buckingham's "directions" and had made the motion which "took wonderfully well" in the Commons. Goring, almost gleefully, noted the surprise he had caused by being the author of such a proposal. He further recounted that some members even believed that "I have undone myself at court," by presenting such a bellicose policy, seemingly contrary to the pacificist James's wishes.[80] But most members knew that Goring was one of Buckingham's chief clients, so that they did interpret Sir George's proposal as a signal from the king himself. Enthusiastically, the Commons sent the proposal to a committee on Friday, and by Saturday, 1 December, a draft had already been drawn up in which the zealous MPs had added the phrase--not in Goring's original proposal--that Prince Charles should "be timely and happily married to one of our own religion."[81]

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The Commons had been correct to assume that Goring was speaking for the government, but they had missed the subtlety of the king's policy. James was still set on a diplomatic resolution to the Palatinate crisis, and the key would be the marriage of Prince Charles to the Spanish Infanta. James was trying to use his Parliament's bellicose outcry as a bluff to speed up the marriage negotiations--not to end them. On 3 December the draft was presented to the Commons for debate, and that night Sir George wrote to Buckingham that there was not much new to report! Either Goring did not understand the implications of the additional clause or was not informed as to the true intentions of the king and Buckingham.[82]

In turn, the Commons must have been unpleasantly surprised when James shot back a reply to the Speaker, saying that the petition tended "to our high dishonor and breach of prerogative royal."[83] There had been too many subtleties and missed signals in the whole incident, and an accidental confrontation turned into a question of constitutional rights. The Commons had entered into a discussion of foreign policy, believing that they had the king's approval. The escalating exchange between king and Parliament culminated in the House of Commons' Protestation of 18 December 1621 which spoke of Parliamentary liberties being the "undoubted birthright and inheritance" of English subjects, and Parliament's right to debate and offer counsel on "urgent affairs concerning the King, state and defense of the realm and of the Church of England." James's reply was to first adjourn, then dismiss Parliament, and, finally, to personally tear out the Protestation from the Commons' Journal, symbolically showing that the king was the ultimate judge of all disputes.[84]

Sir George Goring apparently did not suffer any personal damage in this Parliamentary fiasco. Loyalty seemed to be the most important virtue a client could offer his patron, and Sir George, in March 1622, was pledging himself "to the death" as he chirped his constant "song" to Buckingham: "I shall faithfully watch and pray for you, and though I am not capable to serve you with counsel, yet shall I not forbear, as occasion shall serve, to let your Lordship know the truth of whatsoever concerns you without partiality, and hereof, my dearest lord, be confident."[85]

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In July 1622 news at court centered on various promotions, including James Hay's forthcoming creation as the Earl of Carlisle. Also mentioned was a possible promotion to Captain of the Guard for Goring, but the vacancy did not materialize. Sir George did, however, receive a £6,000 advance on his pension from the Exchequer. Another story circulating that month told of how King James had visited an ill Buckingham at home. The favorite, who had Sir George Goring in attendance, was about to have a barber extract a bad tooth, but the king had thrown away the barber's tools and threatened to hang the man who in mock terror hid under Sir George's cloak. Such operations could prove fatal, and the king professed himself afraid of losing his friend. Hugging Buckingham, the king reportedly burst forth, "'By God man, never one loved another more than I do thee. . . .'"[86] Sir George's relationship with Buckingham can sound rather formal as reflected in his correspondence, but this type of incident is a reminder that the "fooleries" and horseplay continued.

News on the international front that fall was discouraging. James's diplomatic maneuvers were still proving inconclusive, while Frederick had failed in his attempt to launch a counteroffensive. His defenders even lost the last cities still held in his name to the Catholic armies: Heidelberg, his capital, fell on 19 September, followed by Mannheim on 2 November; and in March 1623 King James would order the English garrison to surrender Frankenthal. To further darken Frederick's prospects, Duke Maximilian of Bavaria, a distant relation who coveted the electoral title, had provided much needed military support to his cousin Emperor Ferdinand in the early stages of the fighting. His reward was to be the Upper Palatinate and the electoral dignity. In January 1623 the emperor undertook repayment of this debt, although the electoral title was only granted for Maximilian's lifetime. "The Emperor hath now spewed the uttermost of his unquenchable malice against my unfortunate son-in-law," King James would rail upon receiving this news.[87]

Desperate situations called for desperate measures. In 1623 Buckingham and Charles would make one final attempt to bring success to James's long-standing pursuit of the Spanish match as they set off for Madrid to personally woo the Infanta. Sir George

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Goring would join their party, so that he would continue to closely serve his patron and also move within the orbit of the heir to the throne. In the fourteen years since he had been knighted, Sir George had gone from being an impoverished country gentleman to a member of the inner circle of court life. Good looks, high spirits, affability and a driving desire to improve his and his growing family's lot in life--combined with good luck and good timing--had brought him this far. His oldest son was now fourteen and would soon be drawn into his father's world.

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1. British Library, London (hereafter, BL), Harley MS. 1580, f. 405, Sir George Goring to the Marquis of Buckingham, 9 September 1618.

2. West Sussex Record Office, Chichester, Wiston Archives 5969, f. 1, Goring family pedigree, comp. Captain Francis Goring (1936); Judith A. Wooldridge, ed., *The Danny Archives: A Catalogue* (Lewes: The East Sussex County Council, 1966), viii and Goring pedigree facing xii; BL Additional (hereafter, Add.) MS. 38486, ff. 184, 187, Goring family pedigrees.

3. W. Sussex R. O., Wiston Archives 5969, f. 2, Goring family pedigree; Wooldridge, ed., *Danny Archives*, xii, and Goring pedigree facing xii; East Sussex Record Office, Lewes, Danny Archives, f. 1127, sale of manors including Danny, 24 January 1582, from Gregory Fiennes, Lord Dacre, to George Goring, Esq. Among the current descendants of Sir Henry Goring (the senior branch of the family) is R. Harry Goring who owns the 5,000-acre Wiston Estate in Steyning, West Sussex. Keeping up the family tradition, in 1994 Mr. Goring served as county high sheriff. I thank Mr. Goring and Ms. Jill Turner of the Wiston Estate Office for providing both hospitality and this information.

4. Country Houses Association, *Danny, Hurstpierpoint, Sussex* (London: Country Houses Association Limited, [1990]), 1-2. The initials are still visible in the ceiling today. Danny is currently owned by the Country Houses Association.

5. *Reports of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1870, et. seq.; hereafter, *HMC*), Vol. 6, 7th Report, Part I, Appendix, Molyneux MS., 633; Roy Strong, *The Cult of Elizabeth: Elizabethan Portraiture and Pageantry* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), 16, 114, 134-35, 206; J. E. Neale, *Queen Elizabeth: A Biography* (London: Jonathan Cape Limited, 1934; Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, Inc., Anchor Books, 1957), 209. According to Strong, the College of Arms only began to keep lists of the participants in the Accession Day jousts in 1581. George Goring appeared in 1581, 1583-4, with the records for 1582 being lost.

6. Linda Levy Peck, *Court Patronage and Corruption in Early Stuart England* (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1990), 1; Lawrence Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558-1641* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, Oxford University Press, 1965), 402-3; Norbert Elias, *Power and Civility, Vol. 2: The Civilizing Process*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (New York: Pantheon Books, 1982), 267.

7. Wooldridge, *Danny Archives*, xii; G. R. Elton, *The Tudor Revolution in Government: Administrative Changes in the Reign of Henry VIII* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953), Chapter 3 on financial reforms; Norman Jones, *The Birth of the Elizabethan Age: England in the 1560s*, A History of Early Modern England, genl. ed. John Morrill (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993), 178-79.

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8. G. E. Cockayne, *The Complete Peerage or a History of the House of Lords and All Its Members from the Earliest Times*, (hereafter *GEC*), rev. and enlarged ed. by H. A. Doubleday and Lord Howard de Walden (London: The St. Catherine's Press, 1936), 9:767-69; Wooldridge, *Danny Archives*, xii.

9. Stone, *Crisis*, 467, 489; Strong, *Cult of Elizabeth*, 135; Wooldridge, *Danny Archives*, xii-xiii; Walter H. Godfrey, *At the Sign of the Bull, Lewes* (Lewes: Sussex Archeological Society, 1938) 4; W. Sussex R. O., Danny Archives 1126, ff. 161-2, 28 November 1600, which gives the amount of the debt owed to the queen. Another example of private building done on a grand scale with the queen's misappropriated revenues is represented by Wiston House, which today is a Goring family property. (See note 3 above.) Sir Thomas Sherley, another upwardly mobile member of the Sussex gentry, built Wiston in 1573-75 from monies he collected as Elizabeth's Treasurer-at-War. Unlike the first George Goring, his double-dealings were discovered in his lifetime; he was imprisoned and many of his goods were seized. I thank Mrs. Janet Pennington for making her unpublished Master's thesis available to me: "The Wiston Estate, Sussex: Crown Sequestrations and Its Effects," (M. A. thesis, Brighton University, 1989), 75.

10. *HMC*, Vol. 2, 3rd Rpt., App., Sidney Sussex College Registers, 327; *The Book of Matriculations and Degrees: A Catalogue of those who have been Matriculated or been admitted to any Degree in the University of Cambridge, from 1544-1659*, comp. John Venn (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1913), 294; *GEC*, 9:769.

11. Sir Anthony Weldon, *The Court and Character of King James, Written and taken by Sir A. W., being an Eye, and Eare Witnesse*, reprinted in Smeeton's Historical and Biographical Tracts, vol. 1 (St. Martin's Churchyard, Charing Cross [London]: G. Smeeton, 1817), 1.

12. Elizabeth apparently tacitly accepted that James would succeed her. See Wallace MacCaffrey, *Elizabeth I* (London: Edward Arnold, a division of Hodder & Stoughton, 1993), 436-44. As to the importance of the seventeenth century, Christopher Hill labels this period "perhaps the most decisive in English history." See his *The Century of Revolution, 1603-1714*, The Norton Library History of England, genl. eds. Christopher Brooke and Denis Mack Smith (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, Ltd., 1961; New York, W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1966), 1. Mark Kishlansky begins his study of the period: "It is astonishing to reflect on the achievements of Britain's seventeenth century." See his *A Monarchy Transformed: Britain 1603-1714*, The Penguin History of Britain (London: Allen Lane, The Penguin Press, 1996), 1.

13. Neale, *Queen Elizabeth I*, 209; McCaffrey, *Elizabeth I*, 445.

14. Elizabeth's Tilbury speech of 9 August 1588 is quoted in Garrett Mattingly, *The Armada* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, Sentry Edition, 1959), 349-50. Also, R. Malcolm Smuts, *Court Culture and the Origins of a Royalist Tradition in Early Stuart*

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England (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987), 5; Charles Wilson, *Queen Elizabeth and the Revolt of the Netherlands* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970), 40, 82-83, 86.

15. David Harris Willson, *King James VI and I* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956; paperback ed. 1967), *passim.*, is the modern standard in scholarship, but Willson strongly believes that after his prolonged wait to gain the English throne, James allowed complacency to set in, as he let others rule for him. Caroline Bingham thoroughly--and sympathetically--examines the first seventeen years of James's life in *The Making of a King: The Early Years of James VI and I* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1969), but she too relegates James's successes to his rule in Scotland and the capture of the English throne, and sees his twenty-two-year rule in England draw to a "discreditable conclusion" (13). Among the revisionists, Maurice Lee, Jr., in *Great Britain's Solomon: James VI and I in His Three Kingdoms* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1990), xi, at the very outset states: "It would be difficult to imagine a more absorbing companion than this intelligent, learned, witty Scot. . . . And, be it said at once, a successful king."

16. G. P. V. Akrigg, ed., *Letters of King James VI and I* (Berkeley: University of California Pres, 1984), 97, Open Letter to the people of Scotland, [22] October 1589.

17. Bingham, *Early Years of James VI*, 51-55, 86, 129, 132; Willson, *James VI and I*, 25, 32-33, 36; Lee, Jr., *Britain's Solomon*, 44-46; David M. Bergeron, *Royal Family, Royal Lovers: King James of England and Scotland* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 1991), 30-31. Bingham believes that Mary's own tumultuous emotional history left its mark on her son, who also was influenced by the misogynist teachings of his chief tutor, the eminent Scottish scholar George Buchanan. Willson labels Esme's influence on James as "sinister" and "malignant," a view opposed by both Bingham and Bergeron.

18. Bergeron, *Royal Family*, 3, 52-54; John Kenyon, *The Stuarts: A Study in English Kingship* (London: B. T. Batsford Ltd., 1958; Glasgow: Fontana/Collins, 1970), 34; Willson, *James VI and I*, 85, 116. The question of homosexuality at James's court would be another grievance among contemporaries who viewed the enlarged Renaissance court as "extravagant, overblown, parasitic." See Alan Bray, *Homosexuality in Renaissance England* (Boston: Gay Men's Press, 1982), 37.

19. Weldon, *Court of King James*, 6-7.

20. Roy E. Schreiber, *The First Carlisle: Sir James Hay, First Earl of Carlisle as Courtier, Diplomat and Entrepreneur, 1580-1636*, (Philadelphia: Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, Vol. 74, Part 7, 1984), 1, 6-8, 14; *GEC*, 3:32.

21. Stone, *Crisis*, 449, 475; Weldon, *Court of King James*, 19; Norbert Elias, *The Court Society*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (New York: Pantheon Books, 1983), 68, 96.

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22. John Chamberlain, *The Letters of John Chamberlain*, ed. Norman Egbert McClure (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, Memoirs, vol. 12, parts 1 and 2, 1939; reprint, Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, Publishers, 1979), 2:333; Weldon, *Court of James I*, 6-7.

23. Stone, *Crisis*, 566.

24. John Nichols, comp., *The Progresses, Processions, & Magnificent Festivities of King James the First, his Royal Consort, Family, and Court* (London: printed by and for J. B. Nichols, 1828; reprint New York: Amsterdam Press, 1977), 1:104-5; *GEC*, 9:767-68; Lee, Jr., *Britain's Solomon*, 113-21; Stone, *Crisis*, 607, 625.

25. Chamberlain, *Letters*, 1:38, 66; *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1603-1610* (hereafter *CSPD*), ed. John Bruce (London: HM Public Record Office, 1856-72), 88, 149.

26. Chamberlain, *Letters*, 1:237-38, 241; Schreiber, *Carlisle*, 9.

27. Nichols, *Progresses*, 2:103-4, 108, 120. A masque was a dramatic entertainment, involving costumes, music and dancing, to be performed by amateurs. Spectacle was more important than plot, although English court masques often did have political overtones. For a brief definition, see *The Oxford Companion to English Literature*, ed. Margaret Drabble, 5th ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 628.

28. Nichols, *Progress*, 2:108; in fn.10 Nichols suggests that the Master Goring at Hay's wedding might have been William Goring of Burton, of the senior branch of the family, but this branch was not related to the Dennys. Also, *GEC*, 9:772; *Dictionary of National Biography* (hereafter *DNB*), eds. Sir Leslie Stephen and Sir Sidney Lee (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1917), 22:250; Wooldridge, *Danny Archives*, genealogy facing xii.

29. Schreiber, *Carlisle*, 9; Neale, *Elizabeth I*, 54-55, 342, 403; Kenyon, *The Stuarts*, 38; Willson, *James VI and I*, 176-77, 333.

30. Roger Lockyer, *The Early Stuarts: A Political History of England, 1603-1642* (London: Longman, 1989), 173-82; Lee, Jr., *Britain's Solomon*, 121.

31. Roy Strong, *Henry, Prince of Wales, and England's Lost Renaissance* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1986), 9, 14-15, 25-26, 30, 44-46; Strong, *Cult of Elizabeth*, 187-88; Lockyer, *Early Stuarts*, 174; *GEC*, 9:768, 770; Nichols, *Progresses*, 2:197, fn. 4.

32. Weldon, *Court of King James*, 20.

33. Ibid., 19; Akrigg, *Letters of James*, 302; Lee, Jr., *Britain's Solomon*, 242-43; Schreiber, *Carlisle*, 11; Roger Lockyer, *Buckingham, the Life and Political Career of George Villiers, First Duke of Buckingham, 1592-1628* (London: Longman, 1981), 14.

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34. Lee, Jr., *Britain's Solomon*, 153; Kenyon, *The Stuarts*, 46, 48; Strong, *Henry*, 80. Frances was a Howard by birth and so a member of a politically influential family which had supported James's succession. Frances also might have been Prince Henry's mistress. Essex was son of Queen Elizabeth's last favorite who had been beheaded in 1601 after his failed revolt. See MacCaffrey, *Elizabeth I*, 415.

35. Kenyon, *The Stuarts*, 49.

36. Lockyer, *Early Stuarts*, 185-86; Lee, Jr., *Britain's Solomon*, 63-65, 87. Lee believes James's real purpose in writing *True Law* was to establish his claim by primogeniture to the English throne; by his birth, God had given him the right to succeed Elizabeth.

37. Chamberlain, *Letters*, 1:548; Lockyer, *Early Stuarts*, 372-73.

38. *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian Series, 1615*, (London: HM Public Record Office, 1864-98; hereafter, *CSPVen*), 480-82, Secretary Rizzardo (unless otherwise specified, all Venetian dispatches are to the Doge and Senate of Venice), 18 June 1615 [N. S.]; Schreiber, *Carlisle*, 19-20.

39. Lockyer, *Buckingham*, 3, 10-12.

40. Weldon, *Court of James I*, 28-29.

41. Oxford, Bodleian Library (hereafter, Bodl.), Malone MS. 23, 20 v. This reference was shared with me by the late Mr. John Chidell, a resident of Danny.

42. Akrigg, *Letters*, 335-40.

43. Ibid., 350-54; Weldon, *Court of James I*, 32; Lockyer, *Buckingham*, 21-23; Lee, Jr., *Britain's Solomon*, 246-47; Kenyon, *The Stuarts*, 49.

44. Schreiber, *Carlisle*, 14-17.

45. *CSPD 1611-18*, 363, 381; Chamberlain, *Letters*, 2:13-14.

46. Chamberlain, *Letters*, 2:55-56; Nichols, *Progresses*, 3:255-56, 329-30.

47. Chamberlain, *Letters*, 2:58.

48. Ibid., 2:114; *GEC*, 3:32; Schreiber, *Carlisle*, 21.

49. Chamberlain, *Letters*, 2:13; Lockyer, *Buckingham*, 25-32.

50. Weldon, *Court of James I*, 39.

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51. Lockyer, *Buckingham*, 39, and *The Early Stuarts*, 254-55; Levy Peck, *Court Patronage*, 4; Willson, *James VI and I*, 386.

52. Levy Peck, *Court Patronage*, 20, 48; Stone, *Crisis*, 82, 103-104; Lee, Jr., *Britain's Solomon*, 156-57, 253.

53. Chamberlain, *Letters*, 2:127.

54. BL Harl. MS. 1580, f. 396, Goring to Buckingham, [1618].

55. BL Harl. MS. 1580, ff. 399, 403, 405, Goring to Buckingham, dated 1618, 3 and 9 September 1618, respectively.

56. Nichols, *Progresses*, 3:495, quoting a letter from Sir Philip Mainwaring, Newmarket, to the Earl of Arundel, 22 November 1618.

57. BL Harl. MS. 1580, ff. 409-410, Goring to Buckingham, 9 April 1619; *CSPD 1619-23*, 25; Nichols, *Progresses*, 3:538, 541; Chamberlain, *Letters*, 2:219.

58. Chamberlain, *Letters*, 2:269; BL Harl. MS. 1580, ff. 411, 413, Goring to Buckingham, 16 November and 7 December 1619; Lockyer, *The Early Stuarts*, 86-87.

59. Chamberlain, *Letters*, 2:272-74, 277. According to Chamberlain, one of the jokes circulating at court was that a council of state could be held at the Tower since the prisoners included a Lord Treasurer (Suffolk), a Lord Chamberlain (Somerset), and a captain of pensioners (Walden).

60. BL Harl. MS. 1580, f. 415, Goring, London, to Buckingham, 3 December 1619.

61. Chamberlain, *Letters*, 2:278, 283.

62. Ibid., 2:282.

63. *CSPVen 1620*, 390, Ambassador Lando, London, 10 September 1620 [N. S.]

64. Lockyer, *Early Stuarts*, 12, 15-17; Lee, Jr., *Britain's Solomon*, 263; Alison Plowden, *The Stuart Princesses* (Phoenix Mill, Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing Limited, 1996), 18-19; Lois G. Schwoerer, *"No Standing Armies!" The Antimilitary Ideology in Seventeenth-Century England* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974), 12.

65. Thomas Birch, comp., *The Court and Times of James the First* (London: Henry Colburn Publisher, 1849) 2:75, which quotes the letter from Rev. Thomas Larkin, Greenwich, to Thomas Puckering, Bart., 16 June 1618. A similar sentiment was expressed by Sir Dudley Carleton, English Ambassador at the Hague; see Geoffrey Parker, *The Thirty Years' War*, rev. ed. (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1987), 51, 55.

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66. Schreiber, *Carlisle*, 24-32; Parker, *Thirty Years' War*, 52, 56.

67. C. V. Wedgwood, *The Thirty Years War* (London: Jonathan Cape Ltd., 1938; London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., University Paperback, 1984), 97-98, 100, 105, which includes quoted letter from Frederick to his uncle, the Duke of Bouillon.

68. Maurice Lee, Jr., ed., *Dudley Carleton to John Chamberlain 1603-1624: Jacobean Letters* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1972), 272; Chamberlain, *Letters*, 2:280; Schreiber, *Carlisle*, 32, 34.

69. Chamberlain, *Letters*, 2:294, 307, 310; Wedgwood, *Thirty Years War*, 118.

70. *CSPVen 1620*, 16:390, Ambassador Lando, 10 September 1620 [N. S.]; Chamberlain, *Letters*, 2:317; Wedgwood, *Thirty Years War*, 121-22; C. R. Markham, *The Fighting Veres* (London: Sampon Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington Ltd., 1888), 365, 397-401, 415.

71. Plowden, *Stuart Princesses*, 39-46; Josephine Ross, *The Winter Queen: The Story of Elizabeth Stuart* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson Ltd., 1979; New York: Dorset Press, 1986), 79-88; Wedgwood, *Thirty Years War*, 137.

72. Parker, *Thirty Years' War*, 63-65; see also Parker's detailed study on *The Army of Flanders and the Spanish Road, 1567-1659: The Logistics of Spanish Victory and Defeat in the Low Countries Wars*, Cambridge Studies in Early Modern History, eds. J. H. Elliott and H. G. Koenigsberger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), *passim.*

73. Victor-L. Tapie, *France in the Age of Louis XIII and Richelieu*, trans. D. M. Lockie (Paris: Flammarion, 1952; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 97, 120; Schreiber, *Carlisle*, 39.

74. BL Harl. MS. 1580, f. 426, Goring, Danny, to Buckingham, 13 July 1621.

75. BL Egerton MS. 2594, f. 83, Goring, Woodstock, to Doncaster, 24 August 1621; Chamberlain, *Letters*, 2:390-91; Wooldridge, *Danny Archives*, genealogy facing xii.

76. Lockyer, *Early Stuarts*, 87-90, 196, and *Buckingham*, 48-49.

77. Chamberlain, *Letters*, 2:409-10, 412; Lockyer, *Early Stuarts*, 200-1; *GEC*, 9:770.

78. BL Harl. MS. 1580, f. 428, Goring to Buckingham, 27 November 1621.

79. BL Harl. MS. 1580, f. 401, Goring to Buckingham, [29 November 1621]; Lockyer, *Early Stuarts*, 202-3.

80. BL Harl. MS. 1580, f. 401.

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81. Draft proposal quoted in Lee, Jr., *Britain's Solomon*, 287; Conrad Russell, *Parliaments and English Politics, 1621-1629* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, Oxford University Press, 1979), 133.

82. BL Harl. MS. 1580, f. 430, Goring to Buckingham, 3 December 1621; Russell, *Parliaments*, 134-35; Lee, Jr., *Britain's Solomon*, 287; Lockyer, *Early Stuarts*, 203, and *Buckingham*, 109-10.

83. Quoted in Russell, *Parliaments*, 135.

84. Protestation quoted in Lockyer, *Early Stuarts*, 140-41; Russell, *Parliaments*, 138; Lee, Jr., *Britain's Solomon*, 288.

85. BL Stowe MS. 743, f. 32, Goring, London, to Buckingham, 30 March 1622.

86. Elizabeth Bourcier, ed., *The Diary of Sir Simonds D'Ewes, 1622-1624: Journal d'un etudiant londonien sous le regne de Jacques Ier*, Publications de la Sorbonne, Litteratures 5 (Paris: Didier, n. d.), 87; Chamberlain, *Letters*, 2:446; Schreiber, *Carlisle*, 48, *CSPD 1619-23*, Warrant to Exchequer, 31 July 1622.

87. Akrigg, *Letters*, 393-94, King James to the Prince of Wales and Buckingham, 11 March 1623; Parker, *Thirty Years' War*, 65.

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CHAPTER 2
FROM COURTIERS TO NOBILITY, 1623-1628

The fourth generation George Goring grew up in a household where his father had become more a visitor than a permanent resident, for, as demonstrated in Chapter 1, Sir George's life was centered on court, where he had progressed from one of King James's dancing boys, to minor functionary, to "Buckingham's creature treading the stairs to further office and court favoritism."[1]

Beginning in 1623, Sir George would become more involved in the diplomatic missions sent out to find a bride for Prince Charles. Here we find the first evidence of the younger George Goring entering into his father's world which was so dominated by the greatest luminaries of lavish spending, Buckingham and Carlisle. His father had studied the art of conspicuous consumption under these masters, an art he would pass onto his son. In 1625 young George would make his debut at the English and French courts, acting as a courier between his father's two patrons, a small start to a future career.

On the national level, if one theme dominated the period under discussion, 1623-1628, it was Buckingham's growing power. Not even King James's death in 1625 would put an end to the favorite's ascendancy, much to the surprise and dismay of many contemporaries. Ironically, Buckingham would have Sir George Goring elevated to the peerage in April 1628 in order to have a trusted confidant in the House of Lords. Four months later Buckingham would be gone, while Lord Goring and his son would go on to greater wealth and position at court. Additionally, the Gorings' participation in the negotiations which had brought the French princess Henrietta Maria to England as Charles's bride would gain them a lifelong friend and patron in the queen.

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Negotiating for a Spanish Princess

The year 1623 brought worsening fortunes to King James's daughter, son-in-law and six grandchildren. Their recently acquired kingdom of Bohemia was firmly reestablished under the control of Emperor Ferdinand II; their hereditary lands of the Palatinate were occupied by Spanish and Bavarian forces; the electoral title had been snatched away; and all of King James's diplomatic remedies had proven futile to date. At this point, Prince Charles and Buckingham decided to literally take matters into their own hands in one last attempt to bring success to James's cherished policy of the Spanish match: they would travel to Spain "incognito" to personally woo the Infanta Maria.[2]

On 17 February 1623, traveling as Jack and Tom Smith, the Prince of Wales and the favorite departed the court "to the amazement of all wise men."[3] The small initial party included Sir Francis Cottington, Charles's secretary, and Endymion Porter, married to Buckingham's niece, Olive Boteler. Porter would become one of King Charles's chief courtiers, and, as will be seen, his eldest son and heir would marry one of Sir George Goring's daughters and also go on to soldier with his brother-in-law, the younger George Goring.[4]

On 27 February, King James, who would write a series of twenty-seven letters to his "sweet boys" during their six-month adventure, advised them that the "secret" was out in France about their travels, and explanations would have to be made to Louis XIII. Now others could be sent to join the party, particularly Carlisle and Mountjoy Blount, another Buckingham in-law, married to niece Anne Boteler, and the future Earl of Newport and close friend to the younger George Goring. James also instructed "Baby Charles" (who was twenty-two!) to write a note of explanation to the French king once he had reached the Spanish border.[5]

On 7 March, Charles and Buckingham arrived in Madrid, where the resident English ambassador was John Digby, now the Earl of Bristol and no particular friend to the favorite. Although they had received some advanced notice about the impending arrival, Bristol's wife Beatrice noted that she and her husband "could not but fear and

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admire the strangeness of the enterprise."[6] The Spanish, not forewarned, were initially taken by surprise, but Philip IV and his chief minister, the Count Duke of Olivares, were soon lavishly entertaining their unexpected guests. So began the protracted negotiations. As Charles's modern-day biographer Charles Carlton states: "Thus the Spanish continued what they had been doing so well for over a decade: in public they were all hospitality, playing on Charles's emotion and Buckingham's vanity, while in private they were tough bargainers who played for time."[7]

Back in London, before James received the good news of the reception in Madrid, he heard of Frederick's loss of the electoral title and despairingly wrote his boys: "But if my baby's [Charles's] credit in Spain mend not there things, I will bid farewell to peace in Christendom during our times at least."[8] Buckingham, receiving updates on court news from Sir George Goring, was determined not to disappoint James--or Charles, who now had his heart set on this match--and to succeed with the treaty negotiations. His elevation to a dukedom in the spring of 1623 demonstrated Buckingham's continuing royal favor, notwithstanding rumors to the contrary.[9]

Among those summoned that spring to join Prince Charles in Madrid were Sir Henry Rich (now Lord Kensington), Sir Thomas Jermyn, Lord Edward Montagu, and Sir George Goring. On 3 April Sir George wrote Buckingham to thank him for such a great honor and to let him know that he and the others planned to leave the following week. Sir George looked forward to being reunited with his friend and promised: "[W]e shall post through France with all diligence."[10] On 9 April letters of safe conduct were issued for the travelers who, making good on Goring's promise to speed to their destination, did not even wait to be accompanied by their trunks or their servants who would follow by sea. On 22 May, Sir George was happily writing back to the English court from Madrid, telling the king's secretary, Sir Edward Conway, that Buckingham had spoken favorably of him and then rapturously going on to call his patron the "bravest, worthiest soul alive."[11]

Carlisle, who had helped smooth the ruffled feathers of the French before joining the growing English establishment in Madrid, did not remain there long, perhaps because he was considered to be too pro-French by Charles and Buckingham. By late May he was

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back in London, so that King James could report: "Carlisle came yesterday morning, 'todos castellanos' and a devoted servant to the Conde d'Olivares." The ever-fashionable diplomat returned not just with a new wardrobe, but also carried a letter from Philip IV to James. Carlisle confirmed to the king that Prince Charles had received the jewels which were to be distributed as gifts at the Spanish court. While James in England concerned himself with the proper distribution of these gifts, Buckingham in Madrid was coming to realize that the Spanish might not be negotiating in good faith, particularly because they kept escalating their demands concerning the Catholics in England. But Charles would not so easily give up his dream of the Infanta, so that on 25 July he signed a secret pact to repeal the laws against recusants in England and to allow his children to be raised Catholic to the age of twelve.[12] That Parliament and the English people might have major objections to such a policy did not deter him.

One particular person who had already been upset by the whole Spanish escapade was his sister Elizabeth (who in all English correspondence would continue to be styled queen of Bohemia despite her husband's loss of that kingdom). Buckingham wanted to reassure her that the Spanish negotiations were furthering the restoration of the Palatinate, so he decided to send a personal emissary, Sir George Goring, to the Netherlands. Sir George arrived at the Hague on 7 August and delivered the duke's letters to "the blessed (though most unfortunate) Queen" who reportedly was somewhat cheered up by this news. Sir George also informed his patron: "It is impossible for a sister to love or trust a brother more."[13]

There was not much Elizabeth could do at this point other than to trust in Charles and Buckingham. The defeat of her most ardent German champion, Christian of Brunswick, at the battle of Stadtlohn that August had been another major blow to any hopes of a military victory for her husband's cause. Elizabeth obviously realized that she would need Buckingham's support for any English assistance; therefore, when her seventh child was born on 21 August, the duke was asked to be one of the godparents. Sir George Goring, his sailing from the Hague stalled due to lack of winds at the beginning of September, reported to his patron that he had seen "this blessed queen" since her recent

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delivery of another prince "on whom she requests your blessing." The delicate baby, named Louis in honor of the king of France, would be the first of her children not to survive infancy.[14]

In fact, by the time Charles and Buckingham departed the Spanish court at the end of August, Elizabeth had no further need to worry about a Spanish Habsburg sister-in-law. Although the farewells had been outwardly amicable, Charles, on the journey home, began to reflect more realistically on what had and--more importantly--had not happened: he had made all the concessions, while the Spanish had promised nothing concrete on the return of the Palatinate. His mission had been a failure. Nevertheless, Charles was given a hero's welcome on his return to London on 5 October. Popular opinion held that he had been "delivered" from the clutches of the Spanish. As 1623 drew to a close, the prince himself began to believe this version of events, prompted by Buckingham who had decided that a French match was now the best policy. Carlisle was also anxious to renew the French diplomatic initiative. Only King James had not yet totally abandoned his dream of the Habsburg match.[15]

Sir George Goring had returned to England from the Hague in September, and after five months abroad, finally had some time to spend with his family. His recent service brought him new rewards, for he was named Knight Marshal of the Household that October. By then he was back at the side of the recently returned Buckingham, attending the king on his travels. But Sir George would not remain in England long. Buckingham, supported by Prince Charles who had become more attached to and reliant on his father's favorite during their Spanish sojourn, was about to embark on his own policy making. Perhaps Buckingham had been encouraged to strike out in this new direction by the example of Olivares who made policy for Philip IV. Moreover, Buckingham believed that his proposed French match for Charles might bring Spanish enmity, if not outright war with the Habsburgs over the Palatinate, so that other allies must be sought. Who better than the Dutch? Sir George Goring was to be entrusted with the task of making the first overtures at the Hague.[16]

Sir George returned to the Netherlands on 30 November. Ostensibly, his mission

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was to carry personal letters to Elizabeth, but, as the Venetian ambassador in London correctly guessed, the choice of Goring to act the role of messenger signaled more important matters were at stake. John Chamberlain confirmed how well-known the link between Goring and Buckingham was in his letter of 6 December to Sir Dudley Carleton, the English ambassador at the Hague: "If Sir George Goring be with you, as we say he is . . . you are sufficiently informed of all that is here current, for he brings it from the well head, whereas we are driven to draw our intelligence from by-channels which many times alter both colour and taste."[17]

Sir Dudley Carleton replied on 21 December that his holidays were indeed being brightened by the presence of his houseguest, Sir George Goring, who had brought comforting messages for Frederick and Elizabeth "that the king is resolved to see them absolutely restored before he proceed in the match with Spain." Carlton, however, doubted that such a favorable resolution to the conflict would come to pass considering the current unfavorable military situation on the Continent.[18]

But Goring's real mission was to persuade the Prince of Orange to make overtures to James for an alliance. This was part of Buckingham's behind-the-scenes attempt to manipulate the king into an anti-Spanish policy. Even though the English and the Dutch were both Protestant nations, overseas trade rivalry had kept them at odds. In addition, King James greatly disliked "rebels" of any sort, even rebels against the king of Spain. But Buckingham's policy and Sir George's diplomacy would lead to increasing cooperation in 1624 and an alliance in 1625.[19]

Next, Buckingham had to bring the king to break off the marriage negotiations with Spain. In late December 1623 James was persuaded to summon a new Parliament in the coming year and also to recall the pro-Spanish Earl of Bristol from Madrid. The Spanish ambassadors in London reacted by making concrete offers to bring the Infanta to London for the marriage and by agreeing to work for the restoration of the Palatinate. But they were denied private access to King James and had to make their proposals in front of an openly hostile Prince Charles and Buckingham. In late January, when Buckingham failed to win the Privy Council over to his anti-Spanish policy--besides Prince

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Charles, only Carlisle and Secretary Conway sided with him while the other nine members remained neutral or opposed him--the duke decided to resort to using the forthcoming Parliament to force the king's hand.[20]

James opened what was to be his last Parliament on 19 February 1624. It is hard to judge exactly what condition the fifty-seven-year-old monarch was in at the time, for modern historians sharply differ in their interpretations of James at this stage of his life. However, the portrait left by Venetian Ambassador Valaresso in March 1624 offered some insight: "The king is the same as ever, variable, tricky, inscrutable, determined upon peace, dominated by fear only and the forger of every mischief."[21] Not quite the picture of a doddering old man, and yet James finally did give way to Charles and Buckingham who proved to be the better manipulators of Parliament. The king formally ended the negotiations for the Spanish match; in return, Parliament voted him subsidies, but not specifically for war with the Habsburg powers. Buckingham also set a dangerous precedent, as he would soon discover, by using Parliament to impeach his former protégée, Lord Treasurer Lionel Cranfield, Earl of Middlesex, whose major crime had been to oppose Buckingham's anti-Spanish policy. All this had been accomplished by May 1624.[22]

Sir George Goring was as busy as ever in this period, managing to serve his king, his patron and himself. He was beginning to deal in various patents, and earlier that year he, Secretary Conway and Solicitor General Heath had been granted by the king the surveyorship of the soap works with the power to make contracts with patentees. He was also reelected to the House of Commons as MP for Lewes, and he had accompanied Buckingham to a crucial meeting with James in mid-March when the duke had persuaded the king to give up the Spanish treaties in return for the Parliamentary subsidies, which had been done in a formal ceremony at Whitehall on 23 March.[23]

Sir George was also becoming an intermediary in Buckingham's patronage network. For example, in early May 1624 Secretary of State Calvert became ill and wanted to sell his post for £6,000 to Sir Dudley Carleton. Sir George was the chosen instrument to seek Buckingham's approval which was not forthcoming at this time. In

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August, Solicitor General Heath used Sir George to ask for Buckingham's assistance in settling the profitable Virginia tobacco trade.[24] But it was in the field of diplomacy that Sir George Goring would prove most useful by helping to carry through Buckingham's remaining foreign policy goal, the French marriage contract.

Negotiating for a French Princess

In February 1624 the English opened negotiations for a French bride for the Prince of Wales. The new object of Charles's affections was to be Princess Henrietta Maria, the last child born to Henry IV and Marie de Medici, and the sister of Louis XIII. Buckingham chose to send Henry Rich, Viscount Kensington, on the mission to the French court. Rich, already part of James's courtly entertainment clique encountered in Chapter 1, was second son to Robert Rich, Earl of Warwick, and brother to Robert, the future second earl and Parliamentary naval commander during the civil wars.[25]

James Hay, Earl of Carlisle, who had conducted various embassies for King James to Paris since 1604, would seem to have been a more obvious choice. But perhaps because Carlisle was James's creature--and not Buckingham's--the duke chose someone over whom he had more direct control. Although Carlisle had backed Buckingham's pro-French policy in the Privy Council in January 1624, there were grounds for rivalry between the two men, and not just for the king's favor and largesse. Lucy, Countess of Carlisle, who was considered one of the great beauties and wits of the Jacobean court, was also Buckingham's mistress. The favorite was considered a notorious womanizer, a label also attached to others of his courtly circle: Henry Rich, Mountjoy Blount and Sir George Goring. Even Buckingham's marriage to the extremely wealthy heiress Lady Katherine Manners in 1620--after stormy negotiations with her father, the Earl of Rutland--had not ended his affair with Lucy. Carlisle apparently accepted an "open marriage" arrangement with his wife as long as no great public scandal occurred.[26]

In fact, Carlisle was sent by the king to join Kensington in Paris in May 1624 to form a joint embassy and bring a successful end to the negotiations. Sir George Goring--

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in the interesting position of being close to both Carlisle and Buckingham--wrote to the former in Paris in mid-July. It seems that Sir George was watching over the ailing Countess of Carlisle while her husband was away and was happy to report an improvement in the health of "my sweet dear mistress." He was to visit her the next day "to kiss her hands again and there with an unanimous prayer make your honor happy happissimo." Otherwise, all went well at court, and Sir George concluded: "Blessed Buckingham, your noblest friend, never more confirmed in his master's favour than at present."[27]

Goring's easy-going manner and ability to get along with most people made him the perfect candidate to go to Paris in early September 1624. The marriage negotiations had stalled at that point, for the French were proving to be hard bargainers, especially in their demands for English Catholics. Furthermore, Cardinal Richelieu, after a seven-year exile from court, had just gained ascendancy in Louis XIII's council and represented a firm and extremely capable hand in charge of the French negotiations. Across the table, the two English ambassadors found themselves at odds with one another over how to proceed, with Kensington more willing to give in to French demands for English recusants than Carlisle. Buckingham, who also was more willing to compromise, dispatched Sir George Goring, as Chamberlain noted, to bring about "a final conclusion of that match one way or another, and withal that the Lord of Carlisle and Lord Kensington draw not one way in that business or at least not by one line." The Venetian ambassador in London believed that Sir George could achieve a reconciliation because of his discretion and friendship with both Carlisle and Kensington.[28]

The stalled negotiations were indeed recommenced, so that by 10 November 1624 the marriage treaty was signed in Paris. In the end, the English bargained away as much to the French as the Spanish had demanded. On the positive side, Henrietta Maria would bring a dowry of 800,000 crowns, but she would be allowed to practice her religion in England and to raise her children Catholic to the age of thirteen. The king of France would select his sister's servants and advisers, and English recusants would be tolerated.[29]

Moreover, the marriage treaty did not specify French military assistance for the

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recovery of the Palatinate. But Count Ernst von Mansfeld, the mercenary commander who had fought for Frederick and Elizabeth, had left his poorly supplied troops in East Friesland in early 1624 to try some personal diplomacy to gain funds for a new campaign. He had succeeded in London in April 1624 when James had finally authorized the raising and funding of 12,000 men. France eventually agreed to contribute 3,000 cavalry to link up with the English-raised infantry to go to the relief of the Palatinate. But this verbal understanding was never formalized by a signed agreement which was desired by King James but not by the French who feared that James might use such a document to entice Spain into reopening negotiations. As 1624 drew to a close, the marriage could not be undertaken because a Papal dispensation had not yet been granted and Louis still had to set up his sister's household, over which he and his strong-minded mother, Marie de Medici, were arguing.[30]

To keep the French marriage alliance on track, Buckingham once again chose Sir George Goring as his intermediary. Throughout the winter and spring of 1625, Sir George would practice "shuttle diplomacy" as he crossed between London and Paris to bring a successful conclusion to the marriage treaty. Henrietta Maria, unlike the Infanta Maria, greatly desired this match, so that Sir George's intervention in this crucial phase surely helped him gain her lifelong affection and patronage for himself and his son.

Sir George was one of several English diplomats sent to Paris in early January 1625, a trip for which he was given £500 from the treasury. One of his tasks was to bring his friend Carlisle his newly-awarded Order of the Garter. His primary purpose, however, was to obtain settlement of Henrietta Maria's household and have all in readiness for Buckingham, who planned to travel to France to fetch the bride personally. Other members of the English delegation were trying to ensure that the French would provide the assistance that they had promised for Mansfeld's expedition. But the French had reconsidered and decided not to become involved, so that when Mansfeld's recruits sailed from England, their ships were denied access to French ports. Instead, Mansfeld and his ill-prepared troops ended up as forced guests of the Dutch. No pay, insufficient supplies and a harsh winter caused illness, death and massive desertions, yet King James had given

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strict orders that the expedition could not be used to aid the Dutch in their fight against Spain. The relief of the Palatinate was the only permissible objective, but one that proved unobtainable.[31]

Sir George would have better luck with his particular mission, although the final negotiations appear to have taken longer than anticipated. Throughout February Goring's return was expected in London, but only in mid-March were the finishing touches put on the ordering of the princess's household. The French then sent another messenger to the Pope to obtain his approval, which still had not been received, and Buckingham was notified that he should plan to come for Prince Charles's bride.[32]

King James had fallen ill in early March, but soon seemed to be recovering his health, so much so that he began to indulge in his usual drinking bouts. Buckingham, therefore, started preparations for his journey to Paris. He sent his baggage and horses on ahead, yet he lingered in England. The king was still not totally recovered; the papal dispensation had not been received; and his personal envoy, Sir George Goring, was not yet returned. Whether or not Buckingham had a premonition of what was about to occur is not known, but his decision to remain in England proved to be correct, for King James suddenly took a turn for the worse. On 27 March 1625 the king died at one of his favorite rural retreats, Theobolds, with Charles and Buckingham at his bedside. Of the two, Buckingham appeared to be the more distraught. The English populace at large, however, probably did not share the duke's grief. James had been a distant monarch, so unlike his publicity-conscious predecessor. Yet even Sir Anthony Weldon, clearly not one of James's great admirers, had to admit that the king had lived and died in peace, "and left all his kingdoms in a peaceable condition."[33]

The Venetian ambassador in London, Zuane Pesaro, in his dispatch home on the day of the king's death, left an interesting epitaph for James: "He spent his days in study, in peace, in hunting. He distributed his treasures with great liberality; his servants, attendants, and the Scots having drained and impoverished the crown. . . ." Pesaro also noted that guards were posted throughout London, although there had been no disturbances, and that the Duke of Buckingham had postponed his trip to France.[34]

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What role, if any, would Buckingham have under Charles seemed to be the foremost question on people's minds. With the gift of hindsight, we know that Charles had already formed his own attachment to his father's favorite, but contemporaries were not so certain. After all, Charles was very different from his father, so much more reserved. Perhaps the prince had been forced to accept the situation while James had been alive, but now, as king, he would be able to rid himself of the upstart duke. Ambassador Pesaro communicated this air of suspense as Charles was proclaimed king "amid universal applause and rejoicing." Charles then comforted Buckingham, "promising that though he had lost one master he had gained another, who would be even more gracious." As the astute diplomat concluded, the duke would have even greater control of policy.[35] The general surprise at Buckingham's continuing favor was succinctly captured by the great seventeenth-century Parliamentary chronicler, John Rushworth: "An example rare in this nation, to be favourite of two succeeding Princes."[36]

But contemporaries were correct to believe that there would be a change in style at court, even if the personnel remained the same. By 9 April, John Chamberlain could already report on the noticeable shift: "The King shows himself every way very gracious and affable, but the court is kept more straight and private than in former times."[37] The Tuscan resident, Amerigo Salvetti, also noted the change from James's rather open court, for now no one could visit the king without his summons. "Dignity, respectful demeanor, and regularity are insisted upon."[38]

News of King James's serious illness--but not of his death--had reached Paris by the end of March, as Sir George Goring prepared to return to England to fetch Buckingham. Alternate plans were already being discussed in case the duke could not leave England. Marc Antonio Morosini, the Venetian ambassador to France, noted that the English might authorize the Duke of Chevreuse to stand in for the groom in a proxy marriage with the princess whom he would then accompany to England. All of which would make the English happy, the ambassador slyly observed, since this expedient of having the wedding take place in France would be much cheaper for them.[39]

Sir George arrived back in England on 2 April to be greeted with the news of King

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James's death. He reported that all was in readiness for the marriage to take place in one month's time. The princess's household was arranged with only the office of vice-chamberlain still to be filled, and Buckingham was awaited in Paris. But the duke was in no condition to go anywhere. Sir George found that his patron his taken to his bed, laid low by both grief and illness. John Chamberlain reported that an "impostume" or abscess in the head had afflicted the duke who was "yet somewhat crazy," but Ambassador Pesaro saw more method than madness in Buckingham's refusal to leave England: "The real reason is that the duke does not want to abandon his fortunes with the king at the outset. . . ."[40]

Probably a combination of emotional stress, physical illness and calculated design led Buckingham to decide to remain in England. Besides, he had to be present for James's funeral. The late king's body, accompanied by all the court, was brought from Theobolds to lie in state at Denmark House in London on 4 April. Foul weather marred the procession "so that there was nothing to be seen but coaches and torches," John Chamberlain complained. Additionally, the royal treasury was so empty that Charles would have to postpone his father's funeral until money could be raised, which would not be until 7 May.[41]

In the meantime the French were left wondering if the marriage would go through as planned. They had been negotiating with King James for the Prince of Wales but now were dealing directly with the intended groom, King Charles. However, within a few days of Goring's return to London, Walter Montague was dispatched to Paris to confirm that the wedding would take place, although Buckingham was too ill to attend. Montague brought with him the proxy for the Duke of Chevreuse, a Protestant and a distant relation of Charles's, to stand in for the bridegroom, and, as an added good omen, the long-awaited Papal dispensation finally arrived at the French court.[42]

Despite the good news, last minute preparations and quarreling courtiers became too much for the fifteen-year-old Henrietta Maria to cope with, who, exhausted, fled Paris to recuperate her health at a nearby spa. When news of his bride's illness reached King Charles, he immediately dispatched Sir George Goring "to wish her good health with

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compliments of love." Besides bringing the king's message, Sir George could also advise the English ambassadors who had remained in France, Carlisle and Henry Rich (now the Earl of Holland), about the political climate with Charles on the throne and about Buckingham's continuing favor.[43]

Goring also took advantage of this opportunity to introduce his eldest son to the world of international diplomacy. Probably Sir George's family had joined him in London for the procession from Theobolds and the delayed funeral. When he received Charles's summons to travel back to France in mid-April, he decided to take his son along. In a letter dated from Paris, 20/30 April 1625, Sir George reported to Buckingham that he would have to remain in France awhile longer to carry out the duke's orders, "which hath caused me to dispatch my boy with Madam's return to his Majesty's letter." Sir George confirmed that Henrietta Maria was much better and that the English ambassadors would forward details about the marriage date and the party's departure from France. He estimated all should be completed within two weeks. Sir George then warned Buckingham that he would be reading this news twice, for Carlisle and Holland had allowed his son to carry the first report back home. It had been their pleasure "to give George a little start before the old beaten riders."[44]

The senior Goring was clearly beginning to think about his son's future, for he added: "This young bearer comes for the same blessing from you by which his father hath ever prospered. Deny it him not, my dearest Lord. I will warrant him thankful to the last drop of his blood or my curse shall follow him to the grave." Sir George also suggested that Buckingham might keep his son in mind in case some preferment became available. His recommendation of young George concluded: "All I can say for him is he is a gentleman born and the son of your Grace's creature which is his father's happiest and best attribute."[45] Sir George Goring was constant in his loyalty and never forgot to express his gratitude and appreciation. He was now hoping to include his oldest son, once his university studies were completed, within Buckingham's patronage network.

There is no record of what young George Goring thought of his trip to the French court. By his father's letter, however, we can briefly place him within the heart of his

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father's world of the courtier. How much of that milieu he had been exposed to in his youth can only be a matter of conjecture. But by sixteen, he had attended both the English and French courts, a small beginning to a future career. George then returned to his studies at Cambridge and disappeared from the public record. He would not reemerge until 1628, as will be seen in the following chapter.

His father, on the other hand, remained very much in the center of affairs as he saw the marriage through to completion. On 24 April he reported to Buckingham that all was just about done. The wedding would take place the next Sunday, 1 May (by English dating). He had seen Henrietta Maria the night before and she had conveyed her mother's wishes to meet King Charles. He added that the Duke of Chevreuse, now nicknamed "M. Le Procureur," was thrilled by the great honor bestowed on him. In his next letter, written on 30 April, the very eve of the wedding, with an almost audible sigh of relief Goring reported: "This great business is now done." The princess was happy, healthy and planned to depart Paris on 8 May. "My joy is that there is so little to write," Sir George concluded.[46]

The magnificent wedding took place at Notre Dame Cathedral. The Duke of Chevreuse, in a black suit lined with cloth of gold and beset with diamonds, was accompanied by the two English ambassadors, Carlisle and Holland, who wore suits of beaten silver. Henrietta Maria, in a dress covered with golden fleurs-de-lys, walked between her two brothers, Louis XIII and Gaston, Duke of Orleans, and was followed by her mother, Marie de Medici, and Anne of Austria, Louis' queen. The actual wedding ceremony took place on a platform at the west door of the cathedral, according to a medieval tradition. There, "Madame, sister to the King, was married by proxy, with all the solemnity, to the Duke of Chevreuse, in the name of the King of England." The eye-witness reporter was Peter Paul Rubens, the great Baroque painter who also served Spain and the Spanish Netherlands on diplomatic missions. Through his contacts, Rubens had joined the English ambassadors' party on a balcony opposite the cathedral,[47] perhaps the location from which Sir George Goring viewed the proceedings.

Carlisle and Holland, as well as the Duke of Chevreuse, as Protestants and King

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Charles's representatives, did not attend the two-hour nuptial mass that followed, but the entire wedding party was reunited at the palace of the archbishop of Paris for the wedding supper. While the celebrations continued in Paris throughout the week, Sir George Goring dashed back across the Channel to arrive in London on Saturday, 7 May, the day of King James's funeral. In the procession, following the casket, walked the Duke of Buckingham who, as Master of the Horse, led the late king's royal steed. King Charles was supported by the Earl of Arundel, the Earl Marshal of England, and the Earl of Rutland, Buckingham's father-in-law.[48]

Sir George would find Buckingham restored in health and spirits. The old king's funeral marked the end of that phase of the duke's life, but Buckingham already knew that he had the loyalty and support of the new king. For the next three years, George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, would make English policy. Unfortunately for England--and for King Charles--most of his efforts would bring disastrous results. For twenty-two years King James had managed to keep England at peace. Within two years, Buckingham and Charles would manage to plunge England into war with both Spain and France.

The Rule of Buckingham

When Sir George Goring arrived back in London on 7 May, he reported that Henrietta Maria was now rescheduled to leave Paris on 12 May. In a quick decision which caught the court gossips by surprise, Buckingham set off for France on Wednesday morning, 11 May, accompanied only by the Earl of Montgomery, Secretary Morton, Sir Thomas Badgar, Wat Montague, and the ever-faithful and well-traveled Sir George Goring. Was the duke going to greet the new queen of England and bring gifts, or were the French using delaying tactics to up their demands for English Catholics, a wary John Chamberlain speculated. The Tuscan resident in London, Amerigo Salvetti, echoed Chamberlain's suspicions that the duke's journey had some unknown purpose beyond greeting the queen.[49]

Even the French were caught off guard when the dazzling duke arrived in Paris on

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the evening of 14 May and was met by Carlisle. The Duke of Chevreuse put up the surprise visitor who claimed he had come to speed up Henrietta Maria's departure, for Charles was impatient for his bride. But the Venetian ambassador in Paris did not accept this explanation either, believing, like the London commentators, that there was some hidden agenda. The diplomat also feared that Carlisle, who particularly had come to dislike Cardinal Richelieu, might turn the duke against France.[50]

Even if Carlisle, the far more experienced diplomat, did preach caution in dealing with Richelieu, Buckingham followed his own counsel. He had indeed come for a secret purpose: to propose an immediate anti-Habsburg alliance between England and France. Richelieu was in no position at the time to make such a far-reaching commitment; his first priority was still the restoration of royal authority in France against the independent powers of the Huguenots and the nobility. So a rather disappointed Buckingham, whose offer to mediate with the rebellious Huguenots was also rebuffed, had to settle for an outward display of hospitality by the French, including a week of festivities with the Cardinal offering the greatest feast of all.[51]

There at the French court in May 1625 an interesting reunion of sorts took place; the quartet who so often had entertained King James in town and country--Villiers and Hay, Rich and Goring--had the opportunity to pursue some personal pleasure now that business had been completed. Buckingham, in particular, set off on a most daring endeavor as he openly paid court to King Louis' queen. Anne of Austria was actually of the Spanish branch of the Habsburg family (which had originated in Austria). She was the eldest child of Philip III and had come to France to be Louis' bride at the age of fourteen. By 1625, after ten years of a childless marriage, an indifferent husband, and a meddling mother-in-law, the young queen was open to various forms of diversion, including a courtly flirtation. Enter George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, described by one of Anne's servants as "the best built and best looking man in the world" who inspired "pleasure and something more in the ladies."[52]

We can judge for ourselves the man who inspired this description because of a fortuitous circumstance. Peter Paul Rubens was still in Paris when Buckingham arrived;

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the duke commissioned a portrait of himself from the artist and sat for a preliminary sketch.[53] Rubens' unadorned chalk drawing lets us plainly see the thirty-three-year-old duke--with a slightly receding hairline and without lavish costume or rich jewels--and George Villiers still presents a striking visage across the centuries. This is a sketch of Buckingham triumphant in his reconfirmed favor at home, unafraid to tackle a bold new enterprise like the seduction of a queen. (After all, he had already emotionally seduced two kings.) That the queen was a Spanish Habsburg by birth--sister to the haughty Maria who had caused Charles and Buckingham so much grief in 1623--must have made Anne seem an even more coveted prize to be won.

Figure 3. George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham

Peter Paul Rubens,
"Portrait of George Villiers,
Duke of Buckingham"
Vienna, Graphische Sammlung,
Albertina

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Anne, although admittedly attracted to the duke, would never respond to Buckingham's more amorous advances, made on the journey when they both accompanied Henrietta Maria to the port of Boulogne. That Buckingham would eventually lead England to war against France, however, was not due to unrequited love, a version of events popularized by Alexander Dumas in his great adventure novel *The Three Musketeers*. But the duke's courting of the queen did demonstrate his overconfident state of mind. He could take on royalty, why not those lesser beings who made up Parliament? This episode--along with other dalliances of the English courtiers in France--illustrated the continuing licentious lifestyle Buckingham and his circle would indulge in, even with the monogamous Charles on the throne.[54] These outwardly refashioned Caroline courtiers--including Sir George Goring--still had Jacobean hearts.

Despite Charles's insistence on more public decorum, this type of behavior continued among some of his leading courtiers. Did he not know what was going on around him, as a contemporary commentator, Lucy Hutchinson, suggested?[55] Or did he choose not to know? This very question will be raised about Charles and the younger George Goring. Historian John Kenyon finds it strange that such "reprobates" like Goring "should have captured and held the confidence of a strictly sober, rather prudish man like Charles I."[56] But from the very start of his reign, Charles seemed to accept tacitly this double-standard of behavior. Perhaps because of his own physical inadequacies--rickets in his youth and a life-long stammer--he looked to Buckingham as the dazzling man he would like to emulate. Charles would accept courtiers similar in style to the duke, as the younger Goring would emerge, men who were self-confident, flamboyant, extravagant, audacious and licentious.

Charles himself, however, would remain faithful to this wife, who he finally met at Dover on 13 June 1625. Yet just six weeks later, the two would begin to lead separate lives. The reasons are not hard to fathom: a teenaged bride--separated by language, custom and religion from her new land--married to a husband who was not accustomed to a young woman's company and who had pressing state affairs to monopolize his attention. In addition, there was Buckingham. As long as the duke was there to support Charles

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emotionally, Henrietta Maria would continue to play a secondary role in her husband's life.[57]

Sir George Goring had been part of the embassy which accompanied Henrietta Maria to her new home, and the English had been dismissed from France "with bountiful presents." While Buckingham had reaped the most rewards, Carlisle and Holland had also been greatly enriched for their efforts. Sir George, in turn, received from King Louis a diamond valued at £1,000; another from the queen mother worth £300; and plate valued at £1,200. In addition, despite the royal treasury's poor condition, he continued to collect his English pension according to "the late King's direction."[58]

Sir George Goring had done well in helping to carry through the marriage negotiations. Buckingham had relied on him time and again to keep matters on track. That the duke implicitly trusted his client cannot be doubted; since 1623 he had been using the senior Goring on a variety of missions, both at home and abroad.[59] As an MP in the House of Commons, Sir George Goring would have an additional role to play beginning in 1625, as he came to defend his patron from increasingly harsh attacks from a Parliament becoming more and more alienated by the government's foreign policy blunders.

One of the very first decisions Charles had made upon becoming king was to allow what was left of the Mansfeld expedition, reduced from 12,000 to 3,000 men, to aid the Dutch who were trying to hold the border town of Breda against a Spanish siege. In April 1625 the Dutch lost their leader, Prince Maurice, who was succeeded by his half-brother, Frederick Henry, the youngest son of William the Silent. But the new Prince of Orange, even joined by the remnants of the English expedition, could not force General Spinola to raise the siege. On 5 June the starving garrison was forced to surrender. England's first attempt at intervention in Europe had ended in failure.[60] Only in 1637 would the Dutch recapture Breda with the assistance of four regiments of English volunteers. One of those regimental commanders would be the younger George Goring, as will be detailed in Chapter 4.

On 18 June 1625 King Charles opened his first Parliament even though plague was then spreading through London. Charles had promised to make good on his father's huge

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debts, although two-thirds of the crown's income for 1625 had already been spent. Charles, therefore, needed supply, particularly for his avowed foreign policy goals of restoring the Palatinate to his sister's family and for building up the navy which meant challenging Spain on the seas. Only two subsidies worth £160,000 were voted, however, and the Commons merely offered tonnage and poundage for a year instead of the customary term of the monarch's life. These customs revenues were supposed to be used to keep the seas open for English trade, but, with Buckingham as Lord Admiral, there were suspicions about how the money would really be spent. In addition, MPs were fleeing London to avoid the plague, so those few who remained did not want to make a long-term financial commitment.[61]

The London Parliament adjourned on 11 July but was reconvened by Charles on 1 August at Oxford. The king needed additional supply to accomplish his foreign policy goals. The request was met with growing complaints about Buckingham's monopoly of offices. In response, the duke himself addressed a joint session to request the funds required to launch a navy although no war had as yet been declared. "Make the fleet ready to go," Buckingham asked, and "my master gave me command to bid you name the enemy yourselves." But even dangling the bait of a naval war against Spain did not lure the Commons into action. No further subsidies were voted and Charles dissolved Parliament.[62]

As would occur over the next three years, open attacks on the duke would only stiffen King Charles's support of his friend. So that despite Buckingham's failure to obtain additional funds from the summer session, Sir George Goring could write to Sir Dudley Carleton on 8 September: "His Grace was never in better estate for will or power than at present." The real purpose of this letter, however, was to advise Carleton that the secretaryship, available with the recent death of Sir Albert Morton, was already spoken for. Sir John Coke would get it, but Sir George reassured Carleton that he would not be forgotten, and in 1628 Sir Dudley would finally become a secretary of state.[63]

Goring was clearly becoming more involved in helping the duke in distributing favors and offices. Another example of his intervention occurred when Charles dismissed

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the Lord Keeper, Bishop John Williams of Lincoln. Williams had been James's own choice for that post in 1621, and he had supported James's pro-Spanish policy even after Buckingham had determined on the French match. Williams now became the scapegoat for Charles's failed 1625 Parliament, and so lost his office on 23 October. Just one week later, the bishop wrote Sir George Goring, asking for his intervention with Buckingham who had not responded to the bishop's written pleas as yet. Williams complained that he not only found himself out of office, but he was forced to live on his own resources.[64] Evidently, Sir George was considered to be an accessible contact who had sufficient influence to intercede with the duke.

But in this case, the king himself continued in his opposition to Williams, who would not even be allowed to attend the coronation ceremony the following February. Besides, Charles and Buckingham had more important matters to attend to in the fall of 1625, as they pressed forward with their naval preparations. By the use of forced loans, they managed to launch a sizable fleet of eighty-five ships with over 16,000 men in October 1625, a rather remarkable accomplishment in itself. But Buckingham chose one of his clients as commander, Sir Edward Cecil, a veteran soldier, not a sailor. Also, the goal of the expedition was the restoration of the Palatinate by the rather circuitous means of harassing Spanish shipping or even by capturing the annual Spanish treasure fleet from the New World.[65]

Without more precise orders, the officers decided to attack the Spanish port of Cadiz in the hope of duplicating Sir Francis Drake's dramatic raid of 1587 in which the famed Elizabethan seaman had destroyed about thirty ships in the harbor, some of which had been destined for Philip II's Armada. Sadly, the 1626 attempt to recreate this feat turned into a pathetic parody. All that the English managed to capture after they had landed was a large supply of wine which was quickly imbibed. The Spanish treasure ships safely slipped by, and, in the end, the storm-battered English fleet limped home in mid-November. The whole enterprise had been a fiasco, but since the Lord Admiral would have had to bear the blame, Charles chose to greet the returning officers as heroes. But as the broken ships discharged their sickly crews, the English people could see for themselves

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what had really happened.[66]

Who was to blame? The king was young and inexperienced. Perhaps many Englishmen would have agreed with the observations made by Peter Paul Rubens at the end of 1625: "When I consider the caprice and the arrogance of Buckingham, I pity the young King who, through false counsel, is needlessly throwing himself and his kingdom into such an extremity. For anyone can start a war when he wishes, but he cannot so easily end it."[67] It is noteworthy that this theme of King Charles being misled by "false counsel" began at the very start of his reign and would be used with increasing frequency by his political opponents into the 1640's.

The Parliament of 1626 would be thinking along similar lines as it set itself the task of challenging Buckingham's authority. But first there was the long-delayed coronation to get through. The lingering plague caused all festivities to be canceled other than the six-hour ceremony at Westminister Abbey on 2 February 1626. Sir George Goring participated, dressed in robes representing the duchy of Normandy. But the queen of England, Henrietta Maria, chose not to attend because she would not accept her crown from Protestant hands. This was seen as another indication that Charles was definitely not master in his own house.[68]

Nor did the queen attend the opening of Parliament a few days later, which might have been taken as an ill omen of things to come, for Charles's second Parliament would end even more disastrously than his first. From the very start, the House of Commons launched an attack on Buckingham, and the king was put on the defensive to save the duke. Sir John Eliot, up until that point a friend of the duke's, initiated the onslaught by questioning the whole Cadiz expedition since he had personally witnessed the return of the tattered fleet and was outraged at the waste of men and money. Sir George Goring was one of those who stood to defend the government's policy in the initial debates, but not even King Charles's subsequent intervention could not stem the rising tide against the favorite.[69]

Instead of voting the crown any supply, the Commons decided to impeach Buckingham. The duke remained calm while the whirlwind swirled around him, so certain

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was he of the king's support, and he continued to reward those who remained faithful to him. Goring again functioned as his intermediary, in this case on 1 April, when Sir George passed on to Secretary Conway the duke's request for the king to reward Sir Arthur Ingram for his good service in Parliament by making him a Councilor in the North.[70]

Despite Buckingham's calm assurance, open opposition to him spread to the House of Lords. The Earl of Arundel, the Earl Marshal of England, had never been a supporter of the upstart duke and had openly clashed with Buckingham over the inflation of honors shortly after Charles's accession. But an even more implacable enemy was John Digby, Earl of Bristol, who Charles now charged with high treason, trying to blame Bristol for his own former pro-Spanish stance. On 1 May, Bristol turned his own trial in the Lords into a vocal attack on Buckingham. That same day the Commons presented articles of impeachment against the duke. Buckingham's leading supporters in the lower house, including Goring and Sir Dudley Carleton, suggested that instead of asking for the duke's removal, which the king would not accept, they should request his reformation. In other words, let the king deal with the duke, not Parliament.[71]

The proposal failed and on 8 May the charges were made at a conference of both houses. Sir John Eliot once again presented the most inflammatory oration against his former friend, a speech which landed him in the Tower briefly. On 8 June, as Buckingham began his own defense in the House of Lords, the Commons started to prepare a Remonstrance which basically meant that no new supply would be granted "until this great person be removed from intermeddling with the great affairs of state. . . ."[72]

Charles's defiant response was first to increase--not decrease--the duke's offices as he had Buckingham elected chancellor of Cambridge University, and secondly to dissolve Parliament on 15 June 1626.[73] So at a serious financial cost to himself, the king saved the duke along with his vast patronage network, which included Sir George Goring. If the duke had fallen from power in June 1626, Sir George might not have taken on his next important office in the queen's household, and the future careers of the Gorings might have taken a very different trajectory. Moreover, Buckingham would perform one more important service for one of his closest clients when he would have Sir George elevated to

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the peerage.

Baron Goring of Hurstpierpoint

As the summer of 1626 progressed, King Charles's problems shifted to his domestic life, although a royal marital spat could have international repercussions. By the first week of August, the king had had enough of his wife's French entourage, most of whom he unceremoniously dismissed and sent back to France. The queen's household could then be restaffed with candidates selected by Buckingham and Carlisle. The duke placed his mother, sister and niece among Henrietta Maria's ladies, while Carlisle (who as first Gentleman of the Bedchamber to the king remained on as good terms with Charles as he had with James) offered his wife for the queen's service. While Henrietta Maria had previously rejected these English "spies," she would eventually become close to all of the them, especially the Countess of Carlisle.[74]

Probably the queen had few objections to her new vice-chamberlain, Sir George Goring, whom she had come to know during the time he had spent in Paris working on the marriage negotiations. Sir George, who had the backing of both Buckingham and Carlisle for this appointment, was following his patrons in accumulating a plurality of offices; he still served as lieutenant of the Gentlemen Pensioners, and he would take on additional offices in the years up until 1642.[75]

This reordering of Henrietta Maria's household did not, however, guarantee marital bliss nor did it help the deteriorating relations between England and France. In late September the French sent Marshal Bassompierre to London to try to heal both the marital and diplomatic ruptures. The marshal worked to renegotiate the terms of the queen's household, while the English demanded the payment of the rest of the dowry. On a more intimate level, Bassompierre counseled both king and queen on their marital duties and actually achieved some success in reconciling the couple. The Tuscan resident in London confirmed that Henrietta Maria seemed more cheerful that autumn and that she was much better served by her new household officers, particularly Sir George Goring.

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He also believed that the queen was extremely pleased with the lavish farewell dinner and entertainments Buckingham gave in honor of Bassompierre on 4 November.[76]

Nevertheless, the Venetian ambassador, Alvise Contarini, remained pessimistic about the long-term relations between England and France. He thought that both sides were only stalling due to lack of funds and that a true rapprochement had not been achieved, despite Bassompierre's personal success at the English court. There was also the possibility that Sir George Goring, "a courtier but not a man of birth," would be sent to the French court to try to get the rest of the dowry. Contarini faulted the English government for its constantly shifting policies which he blamed on Buckingham, "because what the Council decrees the duke changes to suit his interest, without any reason but that of self will."[77] Contarini's bleak forecast proved to be accurate, for Louis XIII and Richelieu rejected the new terms agreed upon by Bassompierre, and the two countries drifted into war in 1627. On the other hand, Henrietta Maria did become more settled at the English court and in her marriage, as she and Buckingham came to accept one another.[78]

Although Sir George Goring's diplomatic mission did not materialize, he did remain in the queen's service. At the same time, he was becoming more involved in various contracts such as granting the sugar import impositions, and he continued to receive his annuities from the royal treasury while others were not so fortunate. Moreover, as both the English navy and privateers began to capture French shipping in the spring of 1627, he was one of ten commissioners appointed by Buckingham to sell the French prize goods.[79]

The money brought into the royal treasury through this unofficial naval warfare, added to the revenue from new forced loans, enabled Charles and Buckingham to pursue their latest foreign policy goal, to aid the French Huguenots of La Rochelle who were under siege by their king to bring them into submission. Without Parliamentary supply, the king and the duke prepared an expeditionary force consisting of eighty-four ships, 6,000 infantry and 1,000 cavalry, a force which Buckingham was determined to lead in person.[80]

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Sir George Goring, who contributed horsemen to the expedition, was most upset when he missed seeing the duke off at the fleet's departure from Portsmouth. In a letter dated 25 June 1627, to his "ever and above all most honored Lord," Sir George admitted that he had even ignored a summons from the king to return to court in his attempt to bid his friend a personal farewell. He was also forwarding letters from the queen, with her best wishes. He added that the duke was "safe with the Queen; if she fail him, let Goring suffer for it, so well he knows her, and therefore believes her."[81] In other words, while he was away, the duke need not fear any trouble being fomented at home by Henrietta Maria.

In early July, Sir George busied himself with preparing the queen's summer progress. Henrietta Maria was beginning to worry that she had not yet become pregnant; so on the advice of the Duchess of Buckingham, she visited a spa at Wellingborough in Northamptonshire, accompanied by her courtiers and the Earl of Carlisle. Charles eventually joined her and in August reported to Buckingham how well he and his wife were getting along. While such news might have not been particularly welcomed by the duke, he had far more immediate concerns to worry about. On 12 July Buckingham had led the assault on the Isle of Rhe, off the coast of La Rochelle. For almost four months the English would try to dislodge French royalist forces from their fortresses, but, in the end, to no avail.[82]

While King Charles tried to keep the English expedition supplied, the necessary financial support at home was not materializing, Sir George wrote the duke on 5 November. Lenders were either hostile to the court or feared that the king, already so deep in debt, would repudiate or delay repayments. Sir George advised his patron to rethink his policy and preserve his resources for a return expedition at a later date, and he also warned that no assistance would be coming from Lorraine, Savoy or the Duke of Chevreuse.[83]

This advice was somewhat belated, for Buckingham--despite his courage under fire (as his ship's newsletter reported)--had already been defeated and forced to withdraw with a loss of about half his men. He returned to England that November, and when he arrived back in London, he was greeted by his family and friends, Sir George Goring among them.

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Buckingham then spent the night with King Charles, explaining his version of events. Thereafter it was apparent that the king in no way faulted the duke; others were to blame for this new military disaster--the king even blamed himself--but never Buckingham.[84]

Rather than reconsider their entire foreign policy thrust in the face of mounting defeats, Charles and Buckingham decided to escalate their war efforts, even though this meant resorting to Parliament to obtain the necessary funding (a situation not unlike the one in which the king would find himself in 1640). On 17 March 1628 Charles, somewhat reluctantly, opened his third Parliament. At first it seemed that both sovereign and Commons were more conciliatory towards one another, especially since Secretary Coke, speaking for the crown, admitted that there had been some abuse of power with the forced loans and the subsequent imprisonment of those who would not pay. The Commons responded on 4 April by agreeing in principle to five subsidies.[85]

While Charles assumed the money would be forthcoming, the Commons wanted first to ensure that their basic rights were protected. The crown had imprisoned the loan refusers without showing cause which was a royal prerogative in cases of state security but which many deemed inappropriate in this situation. The challenge in the courts of five of the imprisoned--the Five Knights Case--had not resolved this conflict. The Commons, working with the Lords, wanted a Petition of Right to redress their grievances which included the forced billeting of troops.[86]

Against this background, the king and Buckingham decided to create five new peers to help strengthen their cause in the House of Lords. They needed totally reliable candidates, and who had proven himself more faithful and trustworthy over the years than Sir George Goring? On Monday, 14 April 1628, George Lord Goring of Hurstpierpoint entered the House of Lords between two barons, "as the Manner is," and delivered the patent of his creation to the Lord Keeper. Then the newly created Baron Goring took his seat in the house where he would serve until the eve of the first civil war.[87]

But even this attempt to gain influence in the Lords did not gain Charles his desired result. With the Commons leading the way, the Lords eventually agreed to the Petition of Right, which Charles accepted on 2 June, but not in the traditional manner to

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give it the force of law. Buckingham was blamed for the king's vacillation, and a frenzied renewed attack on the duke was launched in the House of Commons. On 7 June Charles finally gave in--once again to save the duke--and accepted the Petition in the correct form. While there was great joy in Parliament and throughout London, Charles was not pleased, especially when tonnage and poundage were not renewed. So the first session of the 1628 Parliament ended on 26 June on a rather sour note from the king's point of view. Buckingham had, however, survived another Parliamentary attack and did look to reward his supporters, although he also sought to reconcile his opponents. Positions in the queen's household were redistributed with the Earl of Dorset becoming chamberlain and Henry Jermyn, vice-chamberlain, while Lord Goring was promoted to the queen's Master of the Horse.[88]

The Earl of Carlisle had departed in May on a new grand embassy to the Continent. His rather loosely defined mission included looking for allies against France as well as trying to find a solution to the ongoing German conflict. But the timing of his departure, in the midst of the Parliamentary session, suggested another motive: the earl feared if he remained in England he might be dragged down with Buckingham, although he did give the duke his proxy prior to his departure.[89] One continues to get a sense of outward amicability masking deep-seated rivalries between these two powerful courtiers.

Carlisle spent two weeks at the Hague, meeting with the Prince of Orange, but then he went directly to enemy territory (from the Dutch point of view) as he visited the Spanish Netherlands, raising suspicions about his true aims. The Venetian ambassador at the Hague even suggested that Carlisle's embassy "has no real motive beyond some affection of Buckingham for Carlisle's wife."[90] In other words, Carlisle had been sent on a wild goose chase just to give Buckingham a clear field with Lucy! All of which provided a rather sad commentary on how English diplomacy was being viewed from abroad at this time.

Carlisle and his entourage would spend six months traveling through Europe, going from the Hague to Antwerp, and continuing to Lorraine, Switzerland, Savoy and Venice. During his extended absence from home, Carlisle was kept informed on court

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activities by Lord Goring, who on 19 June sent his friend the warm regards of "the blessed sweet queen, my mistress." Goring also expressed his deep gratitude to the earl for including his son George on his mission: "Never poor boy was so much bound to a good old man. . . ."[91] As befitted the son and heir of a peer of the realm, the younger George Goring was off on a grand tour of the Continent. His mentor on this coming of age journey, which will be further detailed in the following chapter, was the master of magnificence himself, the Earl of Carlisle.

On 18 August 1628 the English embassy reached Venetian territory. The news from home that summer had been about the king and Buckingham outfitting another fleet in preparation for a renewed attempt to assist La Rochelle. But at Portsmouth, on 23 August, a disaffected officer named John Felton plunged a knife into Buckingham's chest and accomplished what many had long wished for--the permanent removal of the duke from the center of English political life. Even a sympathetic modern biographer, Roger Lockyer, admits that the duke "was without a doubt the most unpopular man in England" at the time of his death.[92] While King Charles mourned, the rest of the country rejoiced: "Live ever Felton! For thou hast brought to dust/Treason, ambition, murder, pride and lust."[93]

On 3 September Henry Percy wrote to his brother-in-law, Carlisle, about the good news that Buckingham, "the desirer and plotter of your ruin and destruction," was dead. The big question now, he further reported, was who would get the duke's various titles and posts,[94] for something akin to a feeding frenzy occurred at the early modern court whenever a person of importance died. But by the end of September, no positions had been reassigned. "We are in a dead calm," Lord Goring wrote to Carlisle and added that he believed the king "will guide his own people his own way."[95]

Lord Goring was correct in his assessment of Charles's actions; there would be no new all-powerful favorite. Even though Goring was probably one of the few people who shared the king's grief at the death of Buckingham, he had to look to the future and not dwell on the past. As we have seen, Goring was already firmly established with both king and queen; he was a peer; and he was involved in various lucrative monopolies. He would

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have to take care of his own fortunes and those of his family, particularly those of his eldest son. On 16 September Goring wrote Carlisle: "Let George attend you home and leave off his further journey up into Italy, for now the case is altered much since that was my purpose."[96] The senior George Goring's new goal would be to find a suitable bride for his heir.

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1. Anthony Fletcher, *A County Community in Peace and War: Sussex, 1600-1650* (London: Longman, 1975), 232.

2. Weldon, *Court of King James*, 45; John Rushworth, *Historical Collections of Private Passages of State* (London: G. Thomason, 1659-80), 1:76; Kenyon, *The Stuarts*, 58.

3. Weldon, *Court of King James*, 45.

4. Rushworth, *Collections*, 1:76; Lockyer, *Buckingham*, 74-75, and *Early Stuarts*, 289.

5. Akrigg, *Letters*, 388-89; *DNB*, 5:249; Lockyer, *Buckingham*, 74-75.

6. Quoted in H. G. Tibbutt, *The Life and Letters of Sir Lewis Dyve, 1599-1669*, The Publications of the Bedfordshire Historical Record Society, Vol. 27 (Streatly, Bedfordshire: 1948), 2-3. John Digby and Buckingham "hated each other mortally," according to Weldon (*Court of James I*, 45). At the New Year's festivities of 1621, Sir George Goring, probably speaking in defense of his patron Buckingham, had gotten into such a heated argument with Digby that King James had to make peace between them. See Chamberlain, *Letters*, 2:334.

7. Charles Carlton, *Charles I, The Personal Monarch* (London: ARK Paperbacks, Routledge & Kegan Paul, plc., 1984), 40; *CSPVen 1621-23*, 630, Ambassador Valaresso, Madrid, 14 April 1623 [N. S.].

8. Akrigg, *Letters*, 394, 11 March 1623.

9. BL Harl. MS. 1580, f. 432, Goring to Buckingham, 10 March 1623; Chamberlain, *Letters*, 2:488; Carlton, *Charles I*, 40-41. Both Weldon (*Court of James I*, 45) and Rushworth (*Collections*, 1:102) repeated contemporary rumors that James had actually come to fear Buckingham's power and his control of Prince Charles. However, a letter from James to the duke in December 1623, wherein James spoke of their making "a new marriage ever to be kept hereafter," would seem to dispel any such gossip as probably being nothing more than wishful thinking on the part of Buckingham's enemies. See Akrigg, *Letters*, 431.

10. BL Harl. MS. 1580, f. 433, Goring to Buckingham, 3 April 1623; Chamberlain, *Letters*, 2:487-88.

11. *CSPD 1619-23*, 555, 562, 587.

12. Akrigg, *Letters*, 413; in this letter, James also suggested that instead of a jewel, Olivares might better appreciate horses, dogs, and hawks, the type of gifts James himself would have preferred. Also, Schreiber, *Carlisle*, 50; Carlton, *Charles I*, 44; Lockyer, *Buckingham*, 465.

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13. BL Harl. MS. 1580, f. 436, Goring, Hague, to Buckingham, 15 August 1623; Lockyer, *Buckingham*, 158.

14. BL Harl. MS. 1580, f. 485, Goring, Hague, to Buckingham, 5 September 1623; Wedgwood, *Thirty Years War*, 149-50, 184; Ross, *Winter Queen*, 96.

15. Carlton, *Charles I*, 44-48; Pauline Gregg, *King Charles I* (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., 1981; Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1984), 86-89; Schreiber, *Carlisle*, 55.

16. *CSPD 1623-25*, 74, 104-5; *GEC* , 9:770; Lockyer, *Buckingham*, 268, 435; Lee, Jr., *Britain's Solomon*, 254; Gregg, *Charles I*, 89; J. H. Elliott, *Richelieu and Olivares*, Cambridge Studies in Early Modern History, J. H. Elliott, et. al. eds. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 40. Elliott believes that Buckingham's strong presence at the side of Prince Charles in Madrid helped Olivares consolidate his position at the Spanish court since an equally strong adviser was needed by Philip IV.

17. Chamberlain, *Letters*, 2:528; *CSPVen 1623-25*, 170, Ambassador Valaresso, 15 December 1623 [N. S.]; Bourcier, *D'Ewes Diary*, 172. Chamberlain in his next letter to Carlton, dated 20 December 1623 (2:535), continued to complain about the untrustworthiness of the court rumor mill: "[W]e mint more news than the Tower doth money."

18. Lee, Jr., *Carleton Letters*, 312.

19. Lockyer, *Buckingham*, 172, and *Early Stuarts*, 23.

20. *CSPVen 1623-25*, 200-1, Ambassador Valaresso, 26 January 1624 [N. S.]; Carlton, *Charles I*, 40; Lockyer, *Early Stuarts*, 205.

21. *CSPVen 1623-25*, 254, Valaresso, 29 March 1624 [N. S.]. As for King James's condition at the time, D. H. Willson (*James VI and I*, 378) believes that James was already prematurely aging in 1616 when Villiers first gained ascendancy. G. P. V. Akrigg uses 1619, the year of James's serious illness, as the beginning of a precipitous decline in the king's mental powers; see Akrigg's *Jacobean Pageant or the Court of King James I* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1962), 395. J. P. Kenyon (*The Stuarts*, 58-59) portrays the king as a "pathetic figure," being bullied by his son and the favorite by 1623-24. But both Maurice Lee, Jr. (*Britain's Solomon*, 247, 254-55) and Roger Lockyer (*Buckingham*, 464-65) continue to see James as a policy-maker, even though he was being opposed in his policies by those closest to him.

22. Lockyer, *Early Stuarts*, 205-14; Carlton, *Charles I*, 51-53.

23. *CSPD 1623-25*, 154, 160; *GEC*, 9:770; *CSPVen 1623-25*, 254, Valaresso, 29 March 1624 [N. S.]; Lockyer, *The Early Stuarts*, 210.

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24. *CSPD 1623-25*, 231, 269, 320.

25. *DNB*, 16:997; Carlton, *Charles I*, 55.

26. BL Harl. MS. 1581, f. 134, Buckingham to Rutland, [1620]; Lockyer, *Buckingham*, 60; Schreiber, *Carlisle*, 21, 135; Stone, *Crisis*, 665.

27. BL Egerton MS. 2596, f. 14, Goring to Carlisle, Ambassador to France, 15 July 1624.

28. Chamberlain, *Letters*, 2:580; *CSPVen 1623-25*, 434-35, Valaresso, 13 September 1624 [N. S.]; *CSPD 1623-25*, 333-34; *DNB*, 16:997; Tapie, *Louis XIII*, 129-30; Gregg, *Charles I*, 105.

29. Carlton, *Charles I*, 56; Tapie, *Louis XIII*, 147; Rosalind K. Marshall, *Henrietta Maria: The Intrepid Queen* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1990), 26.

30. Lee, Jr., *Carleton Letters*, 313; Wedgwood, *Thirty Years War*, 186-87; Lockyer, *Early Stuarts*, 24; Marshall, *Henrietta Maria*, 21.

31. BL Harl. MS. 1580, f. 442, Goring to Buckingham, 14 February 1625; *CSPVen 1623-25*, 566-8, 578-9, Ambassador Pesaro, London, 31 January, and Secretary Rosso, London, 14 February 1625 [N. S.], respectively; Parker, *Thirty Years' War*, 76; Wedgwood, *Thirty Years War*, 201-2; Carlton, *Charles I*, 57.

32. BL Add. MS. 35382, f. 189, Secretary Conway to Goring, 25 February 1625; *CSPVen 1623-25*, 588, 619, Secretary Rosso, London, 26 February, and Ambassador Morosini, Paris, 25 March 1625 [N. S.], respectively.

33. Weldon, *Court of King James*, 58; *CSPVen 1623-25*, 620, 623-25, Ambassador Pesaro, London, 28 March and 4 April 1625 [N. S.], respectively; Carleton, *Charles I*, 61; Lockyer, *Buckingham*, 234. While cynics might think that Buckingham's behavior at James's deathbed was prompted by concerns for his own future welfare, Roger Lockyer believes that the duke truly loved his master and was genuinely grieving at his passing.

34. *CSPVen 1623-25*, 627, Pesaro, 6 April 1625 [N. S.].

35. *CSPVen 1625-26*, 2-3, Pesaro, 9 April 1625 [N. S.].

36. Rushworth, *Collections*, 1:167.

37. Chamberlain, *Letters*, 2:609.

38. *HMC*, 11th Report, Part I, Appendix, MS. of Henry Duncan Skrine, Esq., Letters from the Archives of Florence, 6-7, dated 25 April 1625 [N. S.].

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39. *CSPVen 1625-26*, 7, Morosini, Paris, 11 April 1625 [N. S.]. The apparent frugality of the English was also commented upon by Ambassador Pesaro in London, who, on 30 March, wrote that plans were underway to arrange the funeral; the wedding and coronation ceremony would follow and take place together to save money. See *CSPVen 1625-26*, 2, Pesaro, 9 April 1625 [N. S.]. One cannot help but recall Hamlet's famous cry: "Thrift, thrift, Horatio! The funeral bak'd meats/Did coldly furnish forth the marriage tables." William Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, 1.2.180-81.

40. Chamberlain, *Letters*, 2:609; *CSPVen 1625-26*, 11-12, Pesaro, 18 April 1625 [N. S.]; *HMC*, 11th Report, Pt. I, App., Skrine MS., 7.

41. Chamberlain, *Letters*, 2:609; Carlton, *Charles I*, 61.

42. Chamberlain, *Letters*, 2:610; *CSPVen 1625-26*, 11; Marshall, *Henrietta Maria*, 21-22. Charles's grandmother, Mary Queen of Scots, was of the French Guise family on her mother's side, which provided the link with Chevreuse.

43. *CSPVen 1625-26*, 20, Pesaro, London, 25 April 1625 [N. S.]; *HMC*, 11th Report, Pt. I, App., Skrine MS., 8-9; Marshall, *Henrietta Maria*, 22; Russell, *Parliaments*, 12.

44. BL Harl. MS. 1580, f. 453, Goring, Paris, to Buckingham, 20/30 April 1625.

45. Ibid.

46. BL Harl. MS. 1580, f. 455, Goring, Paris, to Buckingham, 4 May 1625 [N. S.], and f. 440, Goring, Paris, to Buckingham, 9 May 1625 [N. S.].

47. *The Letters of Peter Paul Rubens*, ed. and trans. Ruth Saunders Magurn (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1955; Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1991), 107-8, Paris, 13 May 1625 [N. S.]; *CSPVen 1625-26*, 44, Morosini, Paris, 16 May 1625 [N. S.]; Rushworth, *Collections*, 1:168-69; Marshall, *Henrietta Maria*, 22-23.

48. *CSPVen 1625-26*, 44; *HMC*, 11th Report, Pt. I, App., Skrine MS., 14-16; Marshall, *Henrietta Maria*, 23.

49. Chamberlain, *Letters*, 2:617; *HMC*, 11th Report, Pt. I, App., Skrine MS., 14; *CSPD 1625-1649, Addenda*, 13.

50. *CSPVen 1625-26*, 49, 59, Morosini, Paris, 24 and 25 May 1625 [N. S.].

51. Rushworth, *Collections*, 1:170; Lockyer, *Buckingham*, 236-37; Tapie, *Louis XIII*, 147-48; Elliott, *Richelieu and Olivares*, 64-65.

52. Ruth Kleinman, *Anne of Austria, Queen of France* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1985), 4, 25-52. The quote (on p. 64) is from Pierre de la Porte, Anne's cloak

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bearer.

53. Frans Baudoin, *Peter Paul Rubens*, trans. Elsie Callander (Antwerp: Mercatorfonds, 1977; New York: Portland House, 1989) 208-9.

54. Kleinman, *Anne of Austria*, 64-68; Lockyer, *Buckingham*, 240-41; Marshall, *Henrietta Maria*, 26-27; *DNB*, 16:997. Henry Rich, Earl of Holland, was having an affair at this time with Anne's closest companion, the Duchess of Chevreuse, born Marie Rohan, a court beauty and wit in the style of Lucy, Countess of Carlisle. The earl and the duchess even tried to assist Buckingham in his suit.

55. Hutchinson believed that the court became more "temperate, chaste, and serious" under Charles I, but "the nobility and courtiers, who did not quite abandon their debaucheries, yet so reverenced the King as to retire into corners to practice them." Quote from Hutchinson's *Memoirs* in Bray, *Homosexuality*, 55.

56. John Kenyon, *The Civil Wars of England* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1988), 61.

57. Carlton, *Charles I*, 66-67; Marshall, *Henrietta Maria*, 39-40.

58. *CSPD 1625-26*, 40; Chamberlain, *Letters*, 2:623.

59. Both Conrad Russell and Roger Lockyer believe, as I do, that Sir George Goring played a vital role in Buckingham's circle. Russell (*Parliaments*, 12) believes that by 1625 Goring was Buckingham's "closest confidant." Lockyer (*Buckingham*, 268) agrees that Goring was among the closest few entrusted by the duke to carry out his policies, but that Sir George did not help to formulate those policies.

60. Gregg, *Charles I*, 124; Wedgwood, *Thirty Years War*, 200-2. In fact Spinola honored the courage of his defeated foe when he saluted the Dutch commander, Justin of Nassau. On the tenth anniversary of this victory, Diego Velazquez, another of the great Baroque artists, painted this scene of the surrender (which he had not witnessed) in what has become one of his most famous works, "La rendicion de Breda." The painting is now at the Prado in Madrid. See Maurice Serullaz, *Velazquez* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1987), 84-5.

61. *CSPVen 1625-26*, 12, Pesaro, London, 18 April 1625 [N S.]; Lockyer, *Early Stuarts*, 326-28; Carlton, *Charles I*, 69.

62. Quoted in Lockyer, *Early Stuarts*, 331-32.

63. *CSPD 1625-26*, 100; Lockyer, *Early Stuarts*, 254-55.

64. *CSPD 1625-26*, 136; Lockyer, *Early Stuarts*, 254; Carlton, *King Charles*, 72.

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65. *CSPD 1625-26*, 100; Carlton, *Charles I*, 73-74; Gregg, *Charles I*, 138-39.

66. Mattingly, *The Armada*, 93-109; Carlton, *Charles I*, 76-77; Gregg, *Charles I*, 139-42.

67. *Letters of Rubens*, 122-23, 26 December 1625 [N. S.]. However, earlier in the same letter, Rubens did acknowledge Buckingham's "generosity" for his commissioned portrait.

68. W. Sussex R. O., Wiston Archives, f. 5973, from the Duke of Portland MSS., Belvoir; Carlton, *Charles I*, 77-79.

69. *CSPD 1625-26*, 253; Carlton, *Charles I*, 79-80; Gregg, *Charles I*, 144-46.

70. *CSPD 1625-26*, 300.

71. *CSPVen 1625-26*, 12, Pesaro, London, 18 April 1626 [N. S.]; Gregg, *Charles I*, 146-47; Russell, *Parliaments*, 16-17; Carlton, *Charles I*, 81; Lockyer, *Early Stuarts*, 335, and *Buckingham*, 320.

72. Quoted in Gregg, *Charles I*, 150; Lockyer, *Early Stuarts*, 335-36.

73. Gregg, *Charles I*, 149-52.

74. *GEC*, 3:32; Carlton, *Charles I*, 88-89; Gregg, *Charles I*, 160; Schreiber, *Carlisle*, 98-99. Both Carlton and Schreiber believe that Buckingham and Carlisle were really hoping that Lucy, Countess of Carlisle, would become the king's mistress, but Charles was not interested.

75. Schreiber, *Carlisle*, 99; G. E. Aylmer, *The King's Servants: The Civil Service of Charles I, 1625-1642*, rev. ed. (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1974), 126-27.

76. *HMC*, 11th Rpt., Pt. I, App., Skrine MS., 85; *CSPVen 1625-26*, 591, Contarini, 30 October 1626, and *CSPVen 1626-28*, 10, Contarini, 13 November 1626 [N. S.]; Carlton, *Charles I*, 90; Gregg, *Charles I*, 160.

77. *CSPVen 1626-28*, 21-22, Contarini, 20 November 1626 [N. S.].

78. Tapie, *Louis XIII*, 177; Carlton, *Charles I*, 91; Gregg, *Charles I*, 161; Marshall, *Henrietta Maria*, 47.

79. *CSPD 1625-26*, 573; *CSPD 1627-28*, 100, 181; *CSPD 1625-1649, Addenda*, 211, 215.

80. Carlton, *Charles I*, 92-93; Gregg, *Charles I*, 164-65.

81. *CSPD 1627-28*, 228-29, 494.

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82. Ibid., 242; Carlton, *Charles I*, 93-95; Gregg, *Charles I*, 165-68; Marshal, *Henrietta Maria*, 50-51.

83. *CSPD 1627-28*, 422.

84. Ibid., 423; *CSPVen 1626-28*, 499, Contarini, 2 December 1627 [N. S.]; Carlton, *Charles I*, 96.

85. Lockyer, *Early Stuarts*, 227, 337-38; Gregg, *Charles I*, 170-71.

86. Lockyer, *Early Stuarts*, 223-24, 338-41; Schwoerer, *No Standing Armies!*, 20-22.

87. *Journals of the House of Lords* (hereafter *Lords Journal:* London), 3:738; Stone, *Crisis*, 105; Gregg, *Charles I*, 172.

88. *CSPD 1628-29*, 218; Lockyer, *Early Stuarts*, 338-45, and *Buckingham*, 448; Carlton, *Charles I*, 101-3; Aylmer, *King's Servants*, 126.

89. Schreiber, *Carlisle*, 102-4.

90. *CSPVen 1628-29*, 108, Soranzo, The Hague, 29 May 1628 [N. S.]. Roy Schreiber points out (*Carlisle*, 106) that James would have avoided such suspicions by sending out two ambassadors in such a situation.

91. *CSPD 1628-29*, 169; Schreiber, *Carlisle*, 107-12.

92. Lockyer, *Buckingham*, 463; Schreiber, *Carlisle*, 112; Carlton, *Charles I*, 110-12; Gregg, *Charles I*, 175-76.

93. *CSPD 1629-1646 Addenda*, 291, anonymous poem.

94. Ibid., 291-92.

95. Ibid., 296-97, dated 29 September 1628.

96. Ibid., 294-95.

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PART II

THE MAKING OF A MILITARY CAREER

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CHAPTER 3
A YOUNG MAN OF THE WORLD, 1628-1633

In Part I we saw how the senior George Goring, when just seventeen, had inherited a heavily indebted estate. To help restore his family fortunes, he had developed his court connections through two of King James's chief favorites, and at the age of forty-three he had attained the ranks of the nobility. But social position was not Lord Goring's sole aim, for accumulation of wealth would remain a lifelong pursuit.

In contrast, his eldest son and heir grew up in a more secure household where material sustenance was provided. Unlike his father, George in his late teen years bore no burden of family or financial responsibilities, and by the age of nineteen, young George was heir to a peerage. One lesson he did learn well from his father and his father's court circle was the art of conspicuous consumption. Another was a rather reckless, flamboyant attitude towards life, in which George more closely resembled Buckingham than his own father. Buckingham had been the senior Goring's guiding star from the time when young George was just six years old, so that the favorite had been there in the background as something of a role model throughout the boy's adolescence and teen years. And what a role model! To play the bold and witty courtier--in the hopes of catching the king's eye--might have appeared the easiest path to wealth and power to a young man who never had to work or struggle for anything in his life. His father's constant concern about monopolies, rents, patents and all sorts of financial dealings might have seemed rather tedious to a young man ready to make his mark in the world.

As we shall see, spending would become the credo of the younger George Goring, to the point that his own father would often be driven to despair. Even marriage to a daughter of the extremely wealthy Earl of Cork--another self-made man--would not have

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the desired effect of settling George down to the responsibilities of family life. As George's debts and escapades mounted, his father and father-in-law, as a last resort, would buy him a regiment and send him off to the Dutch Wars, where, much to everyone's surprise, he would do well. In this backhanded manner, the military career of George Goring would be launched. In this chapter, we shall explore young Goring's life up to the point when this fortuitous "career choice" was made for him.

The Education of a Gentleman

For the years we have already traced the senior Goring's career, we can only surmise the activities of his eldest son. An infant of his class would have started life with a wet nurse, for mothers of the upper classes did not nurse their own children. Young George would then have been raised at home by nurses or governesses while his parents had other duties to occupy them--his father, making a "living" at court; his mother, supervising the household and bearing more children. Moreover, the infant mortality rate was so high that parents often did not become too emotionally involved with their newborns; only when a child survived infancy was a closer parental bond formed. As for his early education, George would have had a private tutor, and perhaps even a special instructor for a subject like French.[1]

University study had become an accepted step in the education of a young gentleman, for by the mid-sixteenth century administrative skills were required to serve the state. Whereas in the Middle Ages boys had been sent to serve in great aristocratic households to learn the arts of war, they were now being sent to Oxford and Cambridge (or the Inns of Court) to study the arts needed for governing. In turn, the universities, once primarily the domain of those seeking church careers, experienced major shifts in the size and composition of their student bodies. At Cambridge, enrollment grew from 1,267 in 1563 to 3,050 in 1622. The changing character of the student body is attested to by the number of sumptuary regulations issued against the wearing of courtly dress and the carrying of swords and rapiers. In 1602 Robert Cecil, then Chancellor of Cambridge,

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complained how students "now go in their silks and velvets liker to courtiers than scholars."[2]

Lord Goring had attended Sidney Sussex College at Cambridge where he had been admitted as a fellow-commoner in 1600; there is no record that he ever received a degree. While his father's death in 1602 had probably interrupted his education, it was also quite common for young gentlemen to attend university for a brief interval to pick up a smattering of knowledge to support public careers and public lifestyles.[3]

Since there was no set age for university admission, and the various surviving documents pertaining to student matriculations are incomplete, it is difficult to know precisely when the younger George Goring entered Cambridge. His name does not appear in the existing admission registers nor on the lists of matriculations. He may have gone to Sidney Sussex, as his father had, but there is no specific proof, and his younger brother Charles would attend Jesus College. The only documented fact is that in 1626 George Goring received a Master of Arts degree from Cambridge. The Bachelor of Arts in this period was considered a transitional status, and about two-thirds of those holding the B.A. went on to receive their M.A.[4]

George Goring, therefore, may have gone to Cambridge as early as 1620-21. The statutory curriculum called for four years of study for the Bachelor's and three additional years for the Master's, but practice did not necessarily match the formal requirements. While undergraduates often did not attend lectures, candidates for the M.A. were usually excused entirely from residency requirements. As a 1608 Cambridge regulation stated, a scholar with a B.A. "is sufficiently furnished to proceed in study himself." So when young George accompanied his father to Paris in April 1625, he was probably already "studying on his own." But he would have had to participate in the commencement exercises at Cambridge, which included giving lectures, disputations and various other ceremonies. He also would have had to submit three testimonials from clergy that he had "lived in the meantime soberly and studiously the course of a scholar's life."[5]

Coincidentally, two men who would become Goring's most illustrious and tenacious adversaries in the first civil war also attended Cambridge. Oliver Cromwell,

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born in 1599, had matriculated at Sidney Sussex in 1616, although, like the senior Goring, his father's death the following year had forced him to quit. Thomas Fairfax, just fourteen, was admitted to St. John's in 1626, the same year that young George completed his studies.[6]

What would these students have studied at university? Humanism had influenced the curriculum, which included classical history and literature, logic, ethics, metaphysics, rhetoric, natural philosophy (science), math, Latin, Greek, and modern languages. How the students lived depended on their social rank, for sons of the wealthy, especially of the aristocracy, maintained themselves in proper style, bringing servants and all the comforts of gracious living with them.[7]

Exactly what subjects George Goring studied or how he lived at Cambridge is not recorded. But throughout this study, his own writings as well as the comments of his contemporaries--friends and foes--will bear witness that he was a man of education and intelligence. In fact, George Goring would emerge from all this tutoring, training and scholarly study with the skills of a courtier. The most famous handbook on the subject was Baldesar Castiglione's *The Book of the Courtier* of 1528, which had been translated from its original Italian into English by Sir Thomas Hoby in 1561. Castiglione's ideal courtier, while still well-practiced in the arts of war, could also speak and write well, based on sound knowledge, and be able to mix easily in polite society. Yet all these abilities were to be cloaked by a graceful nonchalance.[8]

Beyond absorbing the form and substance of such basic gentlemanly skills as riding, swordsmanship, and dancing, as well as the book learning of the university, a young English gentleman of means had one further step to take to complete his education: the grand tour of the Continent. The most popular destinations for traveling Englishmen in the seventeenth century were France and Italy, where culture and language could be imbibed. (As previously noted, all three of King James's chief favorites had polished their courtly skills in France.) Germany was cut off by the ongoing wars in this period, and Spain was considered too remote and uncomfortable a journey for the pleasure traveler.[9]

A young man making his coming-of-age tour would need an older tutor or

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companion to accompany him, and one of the most sought after mentors was the Earl of Carlisle. His embassies, while elegant in style, were also extremely orderly and disciplined. Lord Goring would have had an additional reason to send his son with the earl, as he did in 1628--family ties. In particular, Carlisle on this embassy took along his own sixteen-year-old son, James,[10] who was second cousin to young George Goring. Thus, Carlisle's 1628 embassy served, in part, as a coming-of-age journey for the two young cousins and heirs.

The last major stop on this embassy, as detailed in the previous chapter, was Venice. The Republic had important trading ties to England but was politically allied with France to balance its powerful Spanish and Austrian Habsburg neighbors. The city itself, with its great art traditions, was a favorite stop on the grand tour,[11] so while Carlisle pursued his diplomatic goals, his two young charges would have had the opportunity to take in the local culture and atmosphere.

Carlisle and his party, accompanied by Sir Isaac Wake, the resident English ambassador to both Savoy and Venice, had been greeted at the gates of Venice with a hundred-gun salute. The earl was later given a public audience in the Collegio, one of the governing bodies where, speaking in French, he exchanged niceties with the Doge, the elected head of the Venetian Republic. As a special sign of respect, the Venetians paid to house Carlisle in a *palazzo* of twenty-four rooms, with 120 servants in attendance.[12]

Carlisle remained on Venetian territory through September and into October despite the news from home of Buckingham's death and the alarming report of his wife's bout with smallpox. But Lord Goring wrote his friend on 16 September to advise him that the countess was "miraculously" out of danger and recovering. On 29 September, Goring assured Carlisle that Lucy ran "no danger of an imprinted face," and added: "My thanks for your favour to my George."[13]

In the first week of October Carlisle and his party began their return journey, traveling via Desenzano and Brescia, both Venetian cities. The detailed description of the local festivities at Brescia, as the mayor and captain would report back to the Doge and Senate, offer a vivid example of the lifestyle George Goring would have been experiencing

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on this journey. The captain and his guards greeted the English dignitaries at Brescia's gates and accompanied them to the palace where Mayor Francesco Zea and the leading citizens were waiting. A great feast had been prepared and the guests were divided by rank and seated in different rooms for the meal. Carlisle, Wake and six others were at the first table. Young James Hay and four companions--George Goring, although not specifically named, possibly among them--were accommodated in the mayor's rooms. The meal lasted for three hours, after which the visitors retired to their rooms where they spent the entire night "over good fires, with tobacco and wines, which they asked for and received in abundance." The next day the English party departed in six coaches, heading west to Palazzolo, then to Bergamo. The mayor and the captain reported that the English ambassadors had thanked them, and they then congratulated themselves for doing such a good job on short notice.[14]

If we multiply this one reception perhaps a hundredfold, we can get some feeling for the lifestyle twenty-year-old George Goring was experiencing during the course of this journey. He would have had few responsibilities, other than making a respectable appearance--and his father would have been responsible for outfitting him in proper style. He would have had to maintain a certain public decorum, but once the official formalities were over, there was time to drink and enjoy the convivial company of his companions. Such were the lessons being learned on this journey, the plans for which originally had George leaving the embassy and remaining behind in Italy. But, as previously noted, Lord Goring, after Buckingham's death, had asked for his son to accompany Carlisle home in mid-September. On 20 October the senior Goring urged the earl to return to England, for there was some possibility of peace being made with France. He concluded by sending his blessing to the two young travelers, young James Hay and George.[15]

Carlisle only received his official recall to England on 1 November, and it would take him another two months to make his way home. In this interval young George did have the opportunity to do some independent sightseeing (perhaps with his cousin who managed a visit to Rome), for his father in his letter of 22 November to Carlisle hoped that his son had rejoined the earl by then. A month later Lord Goring updated Carlisle on the

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latest court news. The elder Goring expressed his continuing grief at Buckingham's death, but was astute enough to note that the king and queen had become closer than ever. Parliament was to reconvene on 20 January 1629, he noted, and once again the writer thanked the earl for his favor to "[my] poor boy George."[16]

When the Carlisle embassy finally did return in early 1629, King Charles met with his ambassador for a week of private discussions. While Carlisle had not made any concrete alliances, his conclusion was that if England hoped to bring about the restoration of the Palatinate, peace must be made with Spain or France. But contrary to his former pro-French policy, the earl now championed peace with Spain, not a particularly popular policy. Carlisle, nevertheless, remained on extremely close terms with the king, to whom he had direct, unlimited access, a most powerful privilege.[17]

As for George Goring, he had now completed his apprenticeship in preparation for becoming one of the ruling elite of England. Educated and drilled, polished and refined, he lacked only one asset: a wife. But even while he had been away touring, that aspect of his life was being decided for him back in London.

New Family Ties: Richard Boyle, Earl of Cork

Richard Boyle--soon to become young George Goring's father-in-law--was English by birth, born in Canterbury in 1566, the second son of a gentry family. In 1588, after his parents had died and money for his education had run out, he decided to seek his fortune in Ireland. Despite various false starts, he finally managed to prosper, particularly after the failed Irish rebellion led by Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, at the end of Elizabeth's reign. His marriage to the daughter of an English official helped open doors, and he was able to enrich himself while serving as Clerk of the Council of Munster and as an Irish privy councilor.[18]

Richard Boyle became one of the greatest land speculators and industrialists in Ireland, "the personification of the planter . . . [and] exemplar of the New English entrepreneurs. . . ."[19] With his wealth in 1616 he purchased himself the Barony of

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Youghal for £4,000, and in 1620 he was created Earl of Cork, which cost him an additional £4,000. His wealth was such that he kept £3,000 to £5,000 cash-on-hand in an iron chest at his home, Lismore Castle, in the southwestern county of Cork. But the earl's voracious appetite for land acquisition eventually brought him up against Buckingham, who also had profited greatly by crown grants of Irish lands. In fact, 42,000 acres in Munster which had belonged to Sir Walter Raleigh were being contested in August 1627; Cork had laid claim to this tract, while Buckingham argued that the land should revert to the king (who could then choose to present it to the duke as a gift). But Secretary Conway was instructed to take no action on this matter while Buckingham was away on his expedition to La Rochelle.[20]

Buckingham was back in England in 1628, and Cork decided some personal diplomacy might be the best course of action. He armed himself with a letter of introduction to the English Privy Council, issued on 6 April 1628 by Lord Deputy Falkland, his political ally, and the council in Dublin. His fellow Irish councilors recommended the earl for being "forward, painful and diligent" in defense of the country. He was a successful "Anglicizer," who could raise more troops than anyone else in Munster. Cork had built towns, castles, bridges, churches, almshouses and schools; he employed many workmen and had lent money to the king's service.[21] Or, as C. V. Wedgwood reinterprets Cork's achievements in more caustic terms: "In unscrupulous and astute speculation, in bold ventures and energetic pursuit of gain, Cork was outstanding. . . ."[22]

On 21 April 1628 the Earl of Cork departed Lismore, accompanied by his wife Catherine, and by his third and fourth daughters, Lettice and Joan, both unmarried, for husband-hunting was to be another goal of this trip. Cork already had fourteen children. (His seventh and last son, born in 1627, was Robert Boyle, the future renowned scientist.) Of his children, five sons and seven daughters would survive to adulthood, and the earl would work diligently to find suitable matches for all of them. The girls were pre-contracted at early ages, but with the proviso that the partners would approve of one another when they came of age. The fact that Lettice Boyle was eighteen when she

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accompanied her parents to London and was as yet unspoken for was somewhat unusual in this family, but two earlier proposed matched for her had fallen through.[23]

The earl and his party landed at Minehead in England on 9 May and reached London on 16 May. The very next day the earl dined at court with Buckingham and was presented to King Charles. Shortly thereafter the duke received a thank you gift of a horse from the earl. This personal diplomacy was paying off, for at a meeting of the Privy Council on 8 July, and king and Buckingham took up Cork's grievances against the Lord Chancellor of Ireland, Adam Viscount Loftus, Cork's chief political rival back in Dublin.[24]

Although Cork did not record in his notes any specific meeting with Lord Goring in 1628, the two men were both at court and would have had the opportunity to become acquainted. When did they first talk about a possible marriage alliance? While Buckingham was still on the scene, he might have had some say about who his chief client's eldest son should marry. After all, besides his own marriage, the favorite had already arranged matches for various siblings and half-siblings, nieces and nephews, with noble and courtier families.[25] But once Buckingham was gone, Lord Goring would have had a freer hand in this arrangement. Could these two self-made men, Goring and Cork, have felt some affinity of interests from the very start? Lord Goring was well-positioned at court, well-placed with both the king and queen. A good court connection was of vital importance to someone like Cork whose seat of power was so far away from London. The earl, in turn, offered immense wealth and a career opportunity for young George Goring in Ireland. So when Lord Goring recalled his son from Italy on 16 September 1628, shortly after Buckingham's death, his new "purpose"[26] for his son most probably was a proposed match.

Cork, in the meantime, spent the remainder of 1628 traveling and visiting, dividing his time between London and the countryside. Two of his daughters already lived in England, the widowed Katherine and his second daughter, Sara, married into the Digby family. At Christmas time, Cork gave Katherine, Lettice and Joan £10 in gold "to buy them trifles," while his New Year's gifts to various government officials cost him £216 10s.[27] When one reviews the five volumes of Cork's personal papers, it becomes quite

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evident that the earl was rather meticulous in recording every penny spent.

Cork continued his sojourn in England as 1629 began, while Lord Goring, awaiting his son's return, had various court and government affairs to occupy him. His court duties centered on the queen (who was now finally pregnant), and as a peer of England, Lord Goring had a new session of Parliament to attend. Everyone, including King Charles, hoped that the Parliament which opened on 20 January 1629 would have a more positive outcome than recent past sessions. If Buckingham had been a cause of discord, as the Commons had claimed, that cause had been removed. Charles wanted Parliament to vote him tonnage and poundage, even though this grant would not actually increase his revenues since he was continuing to collect these customs duties without Parliamentary approval. The king hoped to regain the support of his people, and he had not given up on parliamentary government.[28]

Lord Goring predicted that the Commons, besides dealing with this revenue question, would also take up religion, an item definitely not on the king's agenda. Charles, like his father before him, supported the Elizabethan settlement which had created an Anglican Church basically Calvinist in doctrine but still resembling Roman Catholicism in ritual and hierarchy. Goring was proven correct, for the House of Commons decided that it should define the faith, which meant an attack on Arminianism, or the high church Anglicanism Charles preferred. Moreover, no vote on tonnage and poundage appeared to be forthcoming. On 2 March, the speaker of the House of Commons tried to adjourn the session, but, as some MPs correctly guessed, the king was preparing to dissolve Parliament. In the ensuing fracas, the speaker was forcibly held in place, the doors of the chamber locked, and in a tumultuous scene, the Commons voted to condemn both Arminianism and the unauthorized collection of tonnage and poundage.[29]

Did this disorderly ending of the Parliament of 1629 and its failure to vote revenues lead directly to the eleven-year personal rule of Charles which followed? Kevin Sharpe, in his recent monumental study of this period, does not believe that the king in 1629 intended never to call Parliament again, particularly because the king only blamed the "ill-affected" few for causing the problems.[30] Charles made that clear in a proclamation

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published on 10 March 1629 in which he explained his reasons for dissolving this Parliament. He condemned "these innovations" being pursued by some members who were trying "to erect a universal over-swaying power to themselves, which belongs only to us, and not to them." He further attacked the few rabble-rousers, "those envenomed spirits," for trying to break the harmony between himself and his subjects. He concluded by promising to maintain the Church of England and the rights and liberties of his subjects.[31]

King Charles had the right to dissolve Parliament, but he still faced the dilemma of trying to fund his government. One solution was to cut spending, particularly war expenditures. With Buckingham gone, peace with France was attainable, even on good terms for England, since France still feared an English rapprochement with the Habsburgs. Another fiscal device the crown relied on consisted of loans from wealthier citizens. On 1 April the Earl of Cork agreed to lend King Charles £15,000; one installment of £1,000 had already been disbursed in Ireland; an additional £2,000 was paid into the Exchequer; and the rest would be paid at a later date. The loan was to be repaid in twenty-seven months from the king's rents. The earl's "generosity" ingratiated him not just with the king, but also with one of his chief ministers, Lord Treasurer Weston.[32]

There is also evidence that in the spring of 1629 Lord Goring began to intervene in various matters on behalf of the Earl of Cork. In one instance, Lord Goring interceded in the Attorney General's case against Cork for his unlicenced ironworks, a case which would be decided in the earl's favor in May. Goring also petitioned his old friend, Sir Dudley Carleton, Viscount Dorchester, now the king's chief secretary, to ask the king for letters to stay all court proceedings in Ireland against Cork until his return home. As an added good measure, Cork made sure to ingratiate himself with the recently returned Earl of Carlisle by offering him a brace of Irish greyhounds.[33]

Lord Goring's activities on Cork's behalf were connected to the planned marital alliance of their two families. In late March 1629 the first rumors began to circulate at court about the impending marriage plans. The earl's daughter reportedly would come with a £10,000 dowry, to be paid in two installments over a two-year period. The

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intended bride was the Lady Lettice, Cork's third daughter and third surviving child, born 25 April 1610. Yet even as he planned for his daughter's wedding, Cork became a father once again on 30 April, when his wife gave birth to their eighth daughter (and fifteenth and last child). But as the earl noted, his own good news was tempered by sad tidings about the queen's pregnancy. Ironically, while celebrating the announced peace between England and France in early May, Henrietta Maria had fallen, causing premature labor. The newborn boy lived just two hours, then died "to the unspeakable loss and grief of all faithful subjects," the Earl of Cork recorded.[34]

In June Lord Goring and Cork entered into a bond pertaining to the £10,000 dowry, which was a rather sizable amount by the standards of the day. Lawrence Stone, in a survey of forty-five marriage portions offered by peers between 1625-1649, finds twelve in the range of £10,000-14,000, and only one over £15,000. The average dowry for the aristocracy was a little over £5,000.[35] Obviously, the Earl of Cork was most anxious to forge this marital alliance with the Gorings, not in particular for any personal traits the intended groom exhibited, but rather for the well-placed court contacts he would be gaining.

On 25 July 1629 George Goring married the Lady Lettice Boyle. The groom was just twenty-one; the bride, nineteen. The wedding took place at Newington Green, then a northern suburb of London where Cork had temporarily settled his family. Lord Goring had to hurry off to attend the queen who, after a farewell dinner for the French ambassador in London, had gone to take the spa waters at Tunbridge to regain her health. On 27 July, the senior Goring wrote from there to Carlisle at court to act on his behalf and take George, "this new married man to be presented to the king." Lord Goring promised to outfit his son to attend the king on his present progress "and so on the whole progress of his life after." He further advised he would be returning to court the next day to see both the king and his new relation by marriage, the Earl of Cork.[36]

Lord Goring apparently was happy with the deal he had struck; he had made excellent provisions for his son and heir. For his part, Cork had obtained a family alliance he deemed most useful. In addition, Lord Goring helped Cork arrange a match (through

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the purchase of a wardship) for his fourth daughter, Joan, to George, Earl of Kildare. In fact, by the time the Earl of Cork departed England in the fall of 1629, he had accomplished a great deal, for he returned to Ireland as a Lord Justice. On 26 October 1629, at Rings End outside of Dublin, departing Lord Deputy Falkland handed over the king's sword and the government of Ireland to the Earl of Cork and Lord Chancellor Loftus. Until the arrival of the new Lord Deputy, Thomas Wentworth, in 1633, Cork and Loftus--uneasy allies--would share the reins of government.[37]

On 26 October, the very day he took on his new governmental duties in Ireland, Cork wrote to Lord Goring.[38] The two men had obviously established a good working relationship in person which they intended to maintain, even when apart. Their formal link through the marriage of their children was meant to further seal this bond. What neither of these crafty gentlemen had counted upon was the subsequent behavior of young George Goring, or his attitude towards marriage, money and life in general. As young George's debts and escapades would grow out of all proportion, the Earl of Cork and Lord Goring would find themselves increasingly at odds with one another, particularly over the question of who would pay off George's never-ending debts. By 1633, Lord Deputy Wentworth would have to step in to mediate between the feuding fathers-in-law.

"This new married man"

While it is easy to trace the dealings of Cork and Lord Goring as they planned their family alliance, two other voices are missing from the record: those of George and Lettice. Parents in this period still arranged marriages, particularly this type of aristocratic match which had such overt political, social and financial dimensions. An oldest son and heir, like George, was particularly restricted by parental choice, as were daughters. Yet some changes in attitude were already discernible in the seventeenth century, for offspring were beginning to acquire veto power. Before marriage negotiations were finalized, the young people were given the opportunity to meet one another. If one partner had strong objections to the match, the families might reconsider.[39] That is probably why the formal

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negotiations for this match did not take place until George Goring had returned to England in early 1629 and had the opportunity to meet Lettice.

Although we have no record of their initial impressions, they both did go along with the match. We do not even know if George Goring found his intended bride attractive, or was he totally entranced and dazzled by his prospective father-in-law's vast resources? While there were many men of new wealth, including Lord Goring himself, the Earl of Cork must be placed within context. In 1629 Cork's annual income from rents alone was £20,000, which made him the richest landowner in Britain. The average income of a peer at this time was about £5,000 per annum (as compared to an unskilled laborer who earned £10 a year).[40]

Lord Goring, in turn, had not yet achieved that type of wealth, although he would come to rival Cork in income just prior to the start of the first civil war. His annual gross rents on his Sussex properties brought in less that £2,200 a year, but his government positions provided additional income, particularly when he acquired the posts of Secretary, Clerk of the Signet, and Clerk of the Council for the Principality of Wales in 1630.[41]

The senior Goring's greatest source of income, however, would flow from the various monopolies, some of which he had begun to acquire under Buckingham. One of these lucrative ventures pertained to wine licenses, which were first let to Goring in 1627 for 21 years at £2,700 per annum. John Williams, who had enjoyed this monopoly under King James, unsuccessfully challenged this grant in 1628, for he claimed that too much profit would go to Goring instead of the king.[42] In other words, Goring would keep the difference between what the licensees paid him and the amount he had to pay the king up front on an annual basis.

In addition, Lord Goring became involved in sugar imports, tobacco retailing, butter exports, the gold and silver thread trade, and eventually would hold a share of the Great Farm of the Customs. As he built up these monopolies throughout the 1630's, not without many setbacks as well as advancements, Goring's estimated income would grow to the astronomical sum of £26,000 in 1641. As Lawrence Stone summarizes: "Lord

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Goring emerged as the greatest of the customs entrepreneurs of them all, a peer who was the exception to the rule in that he took a direct personal interest in his affair instead of acting merely as a sleeping partner or parasite."[43]

Such was the financial background that young George Goring had behind him--his father's increasing wealth and his father-in-law's immense resources--when he came to court in 1629, where he became one of more brilliant "jovial lads" of the day. Among those George drew into his circle was his brother-in-law, Richard Boyle, Viscount Dungarvan, Cork's eldest surviving son and heir, born in 1612. In the spring of 1630, Dungarvan left his studies at Oxford for a fortnight to visit Lettice and George in response to "the longing desire . . .[they] had to see me," as he explained to his father.[44]

That spring of 1630 was a happy time throughout King Charles's kingdoms, for Henrietta Maria, on 29 May--just one year after the death of her first child--gave birth to a big, healthy baby boy, christened Charles. Furthermore, Spain had sent Don Carlos Coloma as ambassador extraordinary to negotiate a peace treaty with England.[45] Thus King Charles had an heir to his thrones and the promise of peace for his kingdoms, and less immediate need to resort to Parliamentary subsidies.

Lord Goring at this time had to complete his part of his son's marriage negotiations, for he had to make provision for his new daughter-in-law in case she outlived her husband. A jointure was the prescribed form, land and income designated to support the widow. There was to be some correlation between the amount of the marriage portion or dowry and the jointure, although the increase in the number of marriageable daughters since the sixteenth century had resulted in an inflation of dowries but a downward valuation of jointures. The growing birthrate (while there remained only one eldest son and heir per family) coupled with the Reformation's removal of convents as a catchall for excess daughters had brought about these shifting economics. Moreover, the jointure was merely a potential source of income, payable only if the husband died first--which would not be the case with George and Lettice--while the dowry was an up front payment by the bride's father.[46] Nevertheless, "in consideration of the sum of ten thousand pounds of good and lawful money of England given and paid by the said Richard

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Earl of Cork for the marriage portion of the said Lady Lettice," a substantial settlement was made by Lord Goring in the indenture of 16 July 1630. If widowed, Lettice would receive the manor of Hurstpierpoint and Danny House, along with numerous other properties, dwellings and leases.[47]

Were the young newlyweds living beyond their means as early as 1630? While there is no direct evidence, a curious omission does occur in the Earl of Cork's records. His wife Katherine had died in Dublin in February 1630, and in November the earl distributed her clothing and jewels to four of his five eldest daughters. Noticeably missing from the list was Lettice.[48] Did Cork already fear that these mementos of his wife's might be used to pay off his son-in-law's expenses?

George would have had some extraordinary expenditures about this time, in the fall of 1630, when he was sent to the French court with the news that Henrietta Maria was thought to be pregnant again, although this diagnosis proved to be false. But the young messenger received a "very good present" for his journey. In December 1630, back in London, he was appointed one of the court masquers, a player in the elaborate entertainments staged before the king and queen. Young George's link to Carlisle also continued at court. On 15 February 1631, Spanish Ambassador Don Luis Coloma had his last formal reception with Charles and Henrietta Maria. It had taken over thirteen months to hammer out a peace treaty, but the task was now accomplished. The king chose the Earl of Carlisle to accompany Don Carlos to this final audience, and Carlisle chose to be attended "only by his own son and the Lord Goring's. . . ."[49]

That spring of 1631 George and Lettice sailed off to Ireland, where they landed at Howth, north of Dublin, on 22 May. They had come for a prolonged visit with her father. This habit of freeloading off the earl was not just practiced by young Goring, for Cork constantly complained about his various thankless sons-in-law, among them, the Earl of Barrymore, who departed Dublin on 15 June 1631 without a word of appreciation "for the year and a half's diet I gave him and his family," Cork crankily noted.[50]

Part of the summer was spent in Dublin, where Cork presented George with a gift of a falcon. Once his government duties were attended to, the earl returned to Lismore

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accompanied by various offspring and their spouses: George and Lettice; Sara and Lord Robert Digby; sons-in-law Kildare and Arthur Jones; and Richard Boyle, Viscount Dungarvan.[51]

Cork, since his departure from England in the fall of 1629, had maintained a regular correspondence with Lord Goring, who kept the earl informed of court news and also handled various financial dealings in London for his friend. But some confusion and cross-purposes in these transactions had first appeared in January 1631 when Cork believed that £200 had been paid to Lord Goring without his approval. The matter must have been amicably resolved by the fall when Cork agreed to lend the senior Goring £2,000. At the same time, in October 1631, young George wanted to share in his father-in-law's bounty, so he applied for his own loan of £1,000. Cork, now in the fifth month of hosting his daughter and son-in-law, agreed to lend George the money but only when he would have the funds available, at some future, unspecified date. George reportedly became "melancholy" at this reply and said such a vague offer did not meet his needs.[52]

On 14 October, the day following this exchange, George Goring got up early, saddled the grey gelding Cork had given him, and rode away. He said goodbye to neither his wife nor his father-in-law, but spurred his horse on, out of Ireland and back home to England. As the Earl of Cork lamented, his son-in-law's "sudden and unknown departure hath much disquieted me, his wife and friends."[53]

George Goring's behavior might best be described as irresponsible and immature. He was a twenty-three-year-old married man, the son and heir of an English peer, and yet he seemed to know no loyalty or responsibility beyond satisfying his own needs at this point in this life. It appears that George had indeed married the Earl of Cork's money and not his daughter. Despite such behavior, the marriage would survive, but there is enough further evidence to show that it would never be a stable match, consisting instead in a series of separations and reconciliations. Certainly fidelity had never been a major concern in the court circle inhabited by Lord Goring, but he, Buckingham, Carlisle and Holland had all maintained a family life since procreation of legitimate heirs was a primary goal of marriage. In particular, where property was at stake, the need for a male heir was so great

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that "even the most disastrous of marriages tended to hold together until it had been achieved."[54]

But George and Lettice would never have children. Was it because they would spend too much time apart, caused by their break-ups as well as by the demands of his military career after 1633? There would, however, be periods when they were reconciled and lived together, but in the existing family records there is no mention of any pregnancies. There is the possibility, therefore, that one or both were sterile. Infertility was more prevalent in the seventeenth century than today and was caused by various factors including diet. There is insufficient evidence to determine the reason for the childless state of this union, but the lack of children had to put an additional strain on the marriage, and on Lettice in particular, for usually the wife was blamed for failing in this, her primary duty.[55] So George Goring, who would predecease his father, would die without heirs, and the few remnants of the family estate would pass to his brother Charles, who also would die without heirs, although George's sisters and Lettice's siblings would produce offspring.[56] (See Chapter 14 for a fuller discussion of the Goring inheritance.) Perhaps children would have given this marriage some stability and George, responsibility, but it was not to be.

Another question arises from the incident of 1631: why did George, then living at his father-in-law's expense, need the £1,000 loan? One suspects that most of the money would have gone for gambling. Although many would decry this vice in European society, including the Puritans in England, gambling was a great lure to young men of wealth. While cards and dice were favorite court pastimes--King Charles was an avid card player--bets also would be taken on races, cockfights, hunting, tennis, bowling, or even on political events and impending births. In addition, a major increase in stakes had occurred since the mid-sixteenth century, when one or two pounds might be wagered on a horse race, to the mid-seventeenth century, when a bet could be as high as one thousand pounds.[57] That George Goring was a gambler all his life there can be no doubt. Not only is there the evidence of his later political foes, like Sir Edward Hyde, but his own father and father-in-law would try to dissuade him from gambling and living extravagantly time

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and again, but to little avail, as shall be seen.

After this first break-up, George and Lettice would be reconciled back in London. But Cork apparently remained so disenchanted with his son-in-law that he made no mention of him in the memorial of his family he wrote in 1632, wherein the earl carefully listed all fifteen of his children and the spouses of those already married, conspicuously omitting the name of George Goring.[58]

Court Intrigues

George Goring's marriage was already in trouble; his expenditures were about to balloon out of control; and in 1633 he would become involved in a multifaceted affair of honor at court which King Charles would personally have to mediate. As background to this episode, we must first look at the Caroline court, the world inhabited by Lord Goring and his son.

King Charles, unlike his immediate predecessors on the English throne, had personally visited the mighty Catholic courts at Madrid and Paris, and had been influenced by their style and grandeur. Charles, from the very start of his reign, had tried to establish a more closed, refined and exalted court than that of his father's time, a court that reflected his own formal and reserved manner. Over the years, he continued to narrow and regulate his inner circle. In 1630 the king issued rules to improve behavior in the royal chapel and privy chamber; in 1631 he prohibited the wearing of boots and spurs in the royal presence at court, and no one below the rank of a baron could appear in the "inner closet."[59]

Within this narrowing circle, a constant jostling went on to gain royal favor, for--as Lord Goring had predicted after Buckingham's death--Charles chose no single chief advisor to guide his government. So various factions began to form. One centered on Sir Richard Weston, one of Buckingham's clients who had been elevated to the peerage alongside the senior Goring in April 1628. In July 1628 Weston had become Lord Treasurer, a position he would hold until his death in 1635, and in 1633 he was created the

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Earl of Portland. Even though Weston did become one of Charles's most important ministers in the early 1630's, he never achieved the same power or control of patronage that Buckingham had held.[60]

Moreover, Weston had the difficult task of keeping King Charles's government financially solvent without Parliamentary subsidies. As Lord Treasurer he made no radical changes to increase royal revenues, as he maintained the practice of customs farming. He did, however, increase the collection of certain fees, including recusancy fines, and he revived some obsolete financial rights such as the fines for all those who were eligible for knighthood but had not taken it up (distraint of knighthood). Weston also attacked government spending and had championed peace with Spain as an important means of improving royal finances. But the measure which probably gained him the most enemies at court consisted of reducing royal pensions and household expenses.[61]

The household cost-cutting efforts particularly incensed Henrietta Maria, who also disliked the Lord Treasurer's rather curt manner and the fact that he had counseled the king to keep her exiled mother, Marie de Medici, from settling in England. By 1630, the time of her first child's birth, the young queen was happy in her marriage and was beginning to shine within a circle of her husband's male courtiers. The queen, however, was not political, for she chose her friends based more on personalities than politics. She liked witty courtiers and wealthy noblemen, and those who gathered around her--and against Weston and his policies--included the Earl of Holland, "the wooing ambassador," one of the chief negotiators of Henrietta Maria's marriage; Henry Percy, Carlisle's brother-in-law; Wat Montagu, younger brother to the future Parliamentarian general, the Earl of Manchester; and Thomas and Henry Jermyn, both household officers. [62]

Lord Goring and his son were also an integral part of this circle. Young George, the same age as the queen, was a participant in her courtly entertainments, while the senior Goring served Henrietta Maria as her Master of the Horse. Lord Goring attended on his mistress on official occasions, as in December 1631 when he accompanied the ambassadors who had come to congratulate Henrietta Maria on the birth of her second child, Mary, born on 4 November 1631. He also offered his own entertainments for the

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queen in early 1632 when he staged a masque at his London townhouse for her. On that occasion, one of the court wits, possibly the poet Will Davenant, found the masque somewhat boring. In a poem entitled "In the Person of a Spy, At the Queen's Entertainment by the Lord Goring," the writer light-heartedly addressed the queen:

> What though the Owner of the Building knows,
> That to your influence he entirely owes
> His preservation, instant breath, and all
> We fortune's gifts, or Nature's bounty call;
> But therefore must he needs select this rude
> Dull way to trouble you with gratitude? [63]

Despite the mocking nature of the verse, it contained an important truth: Lord Goring, who in the past had owed everything to his chief patron Buckingham, now was beholding to the queen. This close link must be remembered to understand the younger George Goring's career advancements in the years to come.

King Charles, despite his wife's dislike of Weston, chose to show his minister favor by arranging a marriage between the Lord Treasurer's son and heir, Jerome, and his own kinswoman, Frances Stuart. Since the bride's father, the Duke of Lennox, was deceased, Charles himself gave the bride away in June 1632 and bestowed a generous gift of £10,000 on the newlyweds. The wedding was commemorated by Ben Jonson in his "Epithalamion" or nuptial song, in which, besides celebrating the bride and groom, the poet remembered to praise his patron, Lord Treasurer Weston, "that mine of wisdom and counsels deep."[64]

In the spring of the following year, King Charles was preparing to make a long overdue trip to Scotland. He had yet to be crowned there, and this delay of eight years was becoming scandalous to his Scottish subjects. So the imbroglio which broke out at the English court on the eve of his departure, involving his new relation-by-marriage, Jerome Weston, and various other leading courtiers including young George Goring, could not have come at a more inopportune time for King Charles.[65]

Furthermore, by deciding to resolve their differences by duels, these courtiers would be taking the law into their own hands. Justice, the monarch believed, should be dispensed by his courts and not by the rapier. The king's uncontested sovereignty could

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only be based on an obedient, law-abiding nobility. Nevertheless, dueling and personal violence were still major factors in early modern European society. In France, Cardinal Richelieu in Louis XIII's name had issued a strict edict against dueling in 1626. When two noblemen blatantly ignored this prohibition the following year, they were executed for a breach of the king's peace. In England, King James had also tried to curb dueling with a proclamation in 1613, although he had not enforced the law with the same ruthless determination as Richelieu would show. While acts of unregulated violence did begin to decline in England after 1620, dueling would long remain a problem.[66]

The incident which would require King Charles's attention began when Henrietta Maria, in early 1633, wrote to the French court on behalf of the Chevalier de Jars. In 1626 the chevalier had fled France because of his opposition to Richelieu and had established himself at the English court where he befriended both the king and queen. Upon his return to France he intrigued anew against Richelieu which had earned him a death sentence. Now Henrietta Maria was trying to intervene with her brother on de Jars' behalf. Her plea was seconded by the Earl of Holland, and they dispatched their letters in the royal diplomatic pouch.[67]

Jerome Weston, riding through France on his way home from a diplomatic mission, intercepted the English official dispatches, which, as King Charles's representative, he had a right to inspect. Only letters from the king or his secretaries belonged in the official pouch. Therefore, the Earl of Holland's letter was considered private--and unauthorized--correspondence, as was the enclosed letter from the queen. Weston removed both letters and brought them back home to King Charles, who officially sanctioned young Weston's actions. At the same time, the king realized that this could turn into an affair of honor if Holland and the queen took Weston's actions as a personal affront (as they would), so Charles forbade Jerome Weston from accepting any challenge over this matter.[68]

Despite the king's rapid intercession, Henry Rich, Earl of Holland, was so incensed that he decided he could not let this insult go unanswered. The earl, aged forty-three, sent a challenge to the twenty-seven-year-old Jerome Weston, newly married and about to

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become a first-time father. Henry Jermyn, another of the queen's courtiers, acted as Holland's second and delivered the challenge. The duel was to be fought in a garden by the Lord Treasurer's house, where Jerome Weston's wife, Lady Frances, "the king's kinswoman, great with child, would have watched murder."[69]

Jerome told his father about the challenge, justifying his actions based on the king's injunction against dueling, and the Lord Treasurer in turn told the king. At this point, young George Goring jumped into the fray by loudly impugning Jerome Weston's courage for not responding to the challenge. This attack on Weston's character then brought George his own challenge from Lord Basil Feilding, a Buckingham nephew who was married to Jerome Weston's sister. Goring accepted Feilding's challenge, but bloodshed was averted on all sides by King Charles's renewed intervention.[70]

The king presided at a special meeting of his council on 13 April 1633 to investigate the matter. All the offenders had to make submissions, and no one was to intercede for them. To stem any further spread of this affair, Charles threatened any privy councilor who accepted a challenge with instant dismissal. The Earl of Holland, in response to the king's inquiry, acknowledged his challenge but claimed that it had nothing to do with Weston's actions as the king's envoy. He also denied that the duel would have been fought outside the Lord Treasurer's house--and within sight of Lady Frances--but rather claimed that the garden was only to have served as a rendezvous point. Henry Jermyn also acknowledged his part as the bearer of the challenge.[71]

The king temporarily banished both offenders from court. Holland had to apologize and was placed under house arrest at his home in Kensington. Despite the king's orders that no one should visit him, friends flocked to see the earl showing him their support. Henry Jermyn was also placed under house arrest. The queen did try to intercede for her two courtiers and may have helped to mitigate their punishments.[72]

As for the secondary squabble, Lord Feilding acknowledged his offense of having challenged George Goring to a duel. In turn, Goring admitted that he had accepted the challenge, but had to add to his written statement, edited by the king himself, that he had "no intention to lay any blemish upon Lord Weston, for courage or otherwise, for

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obedience to his Majesty's commands."[73] George had to retract his words, but that was the extent of his punishment, nothing more than a royal rap across the knuckles.

How would George Goring have fared in a duel? Only one commentator appeared to be worried about the outcome, but for rather self-serving reasons. John Ashburnham, who would be one of King Charles's last and most faithful companions during the civil wars, happened to be distantly related by marriage to both Goring and Feilding. What concerned Ashburnham, however, was that Lord Feilding owed him money and had made no provision for repayment if "his lordship had miscarried in his duel with George Goring."[74] On that final note, the affair of honor sputtered to its anticlimactic conclusion. Nevertheless, this theme of personal honor and reputation will appear again and again in this study. George Goring and other men of his station would be willing to lay down their lives in defense of the king in the coming years, and yet their ultimate concern would continue to be for their honor and repute. How detrimental that *mentalite* would be for the royalist cause--and more specifically, how it would affect George Goring's relations with the king--will be further examined.

"Transported . . . beyond all bounds of moderation"

Apparently George Goring had no intention of being killed, for as the duel affair played itself out, he was looking to his financial future and still trying to pry money out of his father-in-law. George and Lettice had reconciled and were living in England that spring of 1633 when they applied to the Earl of Cork for a loan of £5,000, to be repaid over ten years at £500 per annum out of the rents from their property, Colepits. As can be seen, one of the great advantages of borrowing money from the earl was that he did not charge relatives any interest. However, on 10 April Cork refused the loan.[75]

The earl did make the final payment of £5,000 on Lettice's dowry on 2 June 1633. Despite this infusion of cash, the senior George Goring faced financial difficulties that summer. In pursuit of new business opportunities, he had organized a syndicate to open trade and settle the mouth of the Amazon River in South America. But the one-ship

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expedition returned to England in failure in June 1633, which meant Lord Goring's investment was lost.[76]

At the same time, the senior George Goring became entangled in a verbal affair of honor. It stemmed from his visit to the Hague in January 1633 as part of the official English delegation sent to pay respects to Elizabeth, erstwhile queen of Bohemia, whose husband Frederick had died in November 1632. Through his envoys, Charles had invited his sister and her ten children to reside in England, but Elizabeth had refused the offer, fearing that her removal from the Continent would jeopardize her eldest son's chance of recovering the Palatinate. But Sir Francis Nethersole, her faithful secretary since 1619, had a plan to ask for private contributions in England to support Elizabeth's cause. Nethersole visited King Charles in Scotland--the king had finally departed London on 8 May for his journey north--and received the king's approval for this benevolence scheme, although the Privy Council in London had not been consulted on the matter. Nethersole had collected pledges of about £30,000 when word of this private appeal--and opposition to it--began to spread. Who had leaked this information? Sir Francis Nethersole decided that the culprit must be Lord Goring.[77]

On 2 June 1633 Nethersole wrote the senior Goring that he suspected a "great wrong" had been done him because of Goring's personal ill-will. He accused Goring of forgetting his duty to the king and his friendship with Elizabeth by leaking word of this secret appeal. If there was to be any inquiry into this affair, Nethersole threatened, he would reveal Goring's name.[78]

Lord Goring was apparently so incensed at this accusation, this attack on his honor, that he immediately rushed off to show the letter to Secretary Windebank, Chancellor of the Exchequer Cottington, and to Henrietta Maria herself. The war of words escalated so rapidly that on 4 June the queen wrote her husband in Scotland, asking for a speedy hearing in defense of her servant, Lord Goring. Charles, bombarded with letters from all the involved parties, agreed to allow the council in London to hold a hearing during his absence.[79]

On 22 June Secretary Windebank wrote to the king to advise of the council's

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findings. Lord Goring denied that he had leaked news of the contributions, of which he claimed he had no knowledge prior to the receipt of the accusatory letter. The council agreed that "Lord Goring is very clear and innocent of the charge," especially since Nethersole had no proof to back his suspicions, "saving an imagination of his own." The councilors would have censored Sir Francis for such a scandalous attack on a peer of the realm but decided to reserve final judgment for the king.[80]

Sir Francis, whose devotion to Elizabeth may have caused him to make rash accusations when his plan began to unravel, wrote Charles on 25 June, asking the king for his support so he would not be oppressed by "Lord Goring's popularity."[81] Nethersole was placed under house arrest by the king, but, by late August, Sir Francis would be reconciled with Lord Goring and the king, at least for the time being. Only Elizabeth lost in the end. No private contributions were to come from England since the council opposed the scheme, nor was there to be any official Parliamentary subsidy for her. As Venetian Ambassador Gussoni noted, King Charles would not soon hold a Parliament, "the calling of which he hates."[82]

This whole episode underscored Henrietta Maria's devotion to her servant, Lord Goring. Every afternoon he attended on his mistress, who was once again pregnant and "sad in extremity" at the absence of her husband in Scotland.[83] But just as the senior Goring's jovial spirits and wit had served him well with King James, so too was he able to cheer up Henrietta Maria that summer. On one occasion, the queen, on her way by boat to visit the widowed Duchess of Buckingham, turned the excursion into a race on the Thames with Lord Goring as her challenger. The royal barge not only won the race, but the queen won a wager of 500 crowns from Goring, as many ladies and gentlemen rowed along to watch "this curious spectacle" of the queen of England and one of her courtiers speeding down the river.[84]

Clearly, Lord Goring had the affection of the queen, the support of the king, and the confidence of the English Privy Council. The only person he seemed to lack any influence with was his son, whose spending habits were now wildly out-of-control. In the midst of his public quarrel with Sir Francis Nethersole, Lord Goring had the additional

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burden of trying to rescue his son from financial ruin. As he wrote to Secretary Coke on 15 June 1633, he was dealing on the Exchange for George "who is for a little time retired to France til I can settle a huge debt for him of near £9,000 which almost breaks my back."[85]

In dashing off to the Continent, George Goring left behind not only his creditors, but also his wife, who packed up and went home to her father. An infuriated Earl of Cork came to meet Lettice at Bath and bitterly complained that his sweet, innocent daughter was handed over to him in "this disgraceful manner as if she were some bad woman."[86] To which Lord Goring retorted that Lettice had been well-treated in London, but she herself had chosen to return to her father.[87]

The growing rancor between Lord Goring and the Earl of Cork had to be mediated, a task which would fall to the king's representative in Ireland, the new Lord Deputy, Sir Thomas Wentworth (created Earl of Strafford in 1640). Wentworth had been named Lord Deputy in late 1631, and the king had sent notice of the appointment to his interim governors, Cork and Loftus, in January 1632. But Wentworth did not arrive in Ireland until mid-1633, just in time to mediate the Goring-Cork rift.[88]

Sir Thomas Wentworth (b. 1593), another major figure in English history who still causes much debate among historians, was a wealthy landowner from Yorkshire who had been part of the Parliamentary opposition to the crown until 1628 when he became one of Charles's servants as President of the Council of the North. Now, as Lord Deputy of Ireland, he would become one of Charles's most important political supporters during the period of the king's personal rule.[89]

Wentworth, prior to his arrival in Ireland, did not know the men he was about to replace. In his initial letter to Loftus and Cork, dated 18 January 1632, he introduced himself to the two Lord Justices "whereas I am altogether a stranger to your Lordships in person."[90] So there was no prior personal history or enmity between the new Lord Deputy and the Earl of Cork. Actually, Cork even tried to use one of his favorite strategies--a marriage alliance--offering the twice-widowed Wentworth one of his daughters. Whereas Wentworth chose to remarry elsewhere, his niece, Elizabeth Clifford,

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in 1635 would marry Cork's eldest son, Viscount Dungarvan. Nevertheless, as the Lord Deputy's authoritarian power would grow, he would come into increasing conflict with the earl, who remained Lord Treasurer of Ireland, as well as with many of the other New English settlers.[91]

Even in his role as mediator between the Gorings and the Earl of Cork, the Lord Deputy tended to side with the Gorings. But in his first attempt at reconciliation, in August 1633, Wentworth was confronted by a very angry Earl of Cork (as he wrote to Lord Goring), who complained "how he and his daughter had been used," then proceeded to rehash all the past marital and monetary difficulties of George and Lettice. The earl was particularly upset because he had contributed £2,000 to help Lord Goring clear all of George's past debts "so as now to hear Mr. Goring should owe £8,500 he cannot but conceive it marvelous strange,"[92] a reference to the backbreaking debt of "near £9,000" that Lord Goring had been frantically trying to clear for his son since June.

Wentworth continued this interview by suggesting that Cork should put his daughter's happiness first and work for a reconciliation. Then he played on the earl's emotions: no cohabitation, no children. If Cork kept George and Lettice apart "that there would be the best of their youth run over without hope of issue betwixt them." To avoid such an outcome, the Lord Deputy suggested a resolution to the problem. Lord Goring could cover £4,000 of his son's debt, while Cork would lend the remaining £4,500, to be repaid in nine years. "His answer was redoublements of his complaints. . . ." George should have had some of his father's court offices, including the lieutenancy of pensioners, the earl retorted and asserted he would pay no more. Furthermore, since he was now maintaining his daughter, the earl threatened to sell part of her jointure leases to cover her living expenses. The earl was alluding to the fact that while a wife's property became her husband's upon marriage, a husband was responsible for his wife's debts, even if the spouses were living apart.[93]

Despite this initial failure, Lord Deputy Wentworth assured Lord Goring, in his letter of 19 August, that he would continue to pursue the matter. But Wentworth soon received help from an unexpected quarter, from the chief instigator himself, George

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Goring. George was back in England by August 1633 and decided he would fetch his wife and personally present his case to the Lord Deputy and his father-in-law in Dublin. For he had a new scheme to advance: he now needed money to embark upon a military career in the Low Countries.[94]

Finding a "career" for George appeared to be the senior Goring's one hope of saving his son from ruin. In a candid letter to Wentworth of 23 September 1633, Lord Goring profusely thanked the Lord Deputy for his good offices in helping to heal this rift and admitted that his son's youth had "transported him beyond all bounds of moderation. . . ." But with new responsibilities and experience, he hoped that, with God's assistance, his son would "become capable of better employments than now he is in. . . ."[95]

George's personal diplomacy plus the thought of military glory accruing to his rather useless son-in-law finally softened the heart of the Earl of Cork. Or maybe, more hard-headedly, he calculated that a soldier in the field would have less time and need for an expensive lifestyle. Whatever the reason, Cork wrote Lord Goring how happy he was to hear the news that "our son hath obtained a regiment in the Low Countries. . . . It will be a step to his further grace and advancement."[96]

But George and his father wanted more than the Earl of Cork's good wishes; they needed his money to help pay the £4,000 purchase price for Lord Vere's foot regiment and a troop of horse in the States' service. Even though the sale of offices and military commands had abated under King Charles (after Buckingham's death), this sale was one of the few exceptions made, thanks to Lord Goring's favor at court.[97]

On 7 October 1633 Lord Deputy Wentworth wrote to the Earl of Carlisle at court in London: "Mr. Goring's business is settled reasonably well, I hope." Wentworth believed that he had persuaded Cork to cover £2,000 of the purchase price, or at least to excuse that amount from Lord Goring's previous loan from him, "for so good a purpose" as purchasing Lord Vere's regiment. The Lord Deputy then offered his own evaluation of George Goring's potential:

> I judge him to be of frank and sweet, generous disposition; and if, by the assistance of my Lord his father, and other his noble friends, he be provided of this place, which suits certainly extremely well with his genius, I am

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> persuaded [that with] his mind set in ease and quiet, you should see him do very well, and be an honour and comfort to himself and his friends.

Wentworth concluded by asking Carlisle to pass this news along to Lord Goring-- "I value him as a passing noble gentleman"--and promised to continue to do his utmost "towards the setting forward and consummating so good a work."[98]

George Goring had looked Lord Deputy Wentworth in the eye and persuaded him of his good intentions, despite his known history of past transgressions. George obviously was able to charm just about anyone, including his oft-neglected wife, for Lettice pleaded her husband's case with her father, and, as Wentworth had surmised, the Earl of Cork finally gave in and contributed. Succumbing to the "importunate entreaties of my daughter Lettice Goring, and at the unavoidable persuasions of the Lord Deputy," Cork advanced the money required to purchase a troop of horse, but stipulated that the loan could not be used to repay any of his son-in-law's current debts nor was the money "to be consumed in his profuse expenses."[99]

It may seem strange that George Goring's family and friends all thought that he would be better off on a battlefield than continuing his life at court. Of course, sending George off to the wars would not be a panacea for all his bad habits, despite the optimistic prognosis of his father and Lord Deputy Wentworth. While he would do surprisingly well at soldiering, Goring's old excessive habits, accumulated over his first twenty-five years, would not so easily go away. One small, telling incident pointed this out. In early October 1633, after having successfully completed his self-serving mission in Ireland, George lacked the funds to return to England. So the start of his military career had to be postponed while Lettice applied to her father for £200 to cover her husband's transportation expenses from Dublin to London.[100] On this rather inauspicious note, George Goring's military career was about to be launched.

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1. Stone, *Crisis*, 683-84; Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500-1800*, abridged ed. (New York: Harper Torchbooks, Harper & Row, 1979), 82-84; Olwen Hufton, *The Prospect Before Her: A History of Women in Western Europe, 1500-1800* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1996), 197; David Cressy, *Birth, Marriage, and Death: Ritual, Religion, and the Life-Cycle in Tudor and Stuart England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 88-89. Lady Goring had at least ten pregnancies. This large number of pregnancies was typical for the wealthier classes and occurred because these mothers used wet nurses and therefore avoided the period of infertility which accompanies breastfeeding, a phenomenon recognized in the seventeenth century. See Dorothy McLaren, "Marital fertility and lactation, 1570-1720" in *Women in English Society, 1500-1800*, ed. Mary Prior (London: Methuen, 1985), 22-25, 43.
The younger George Goring may have spoken French by the time that his father took him to Paris in 1625. An undated holograph letter by Goring totally in French does exist, but, based on its contents, was written post-1645. See BL Add. MS. 10039, f. 75.

2. Quoted in Mark H. Curtis, *Oxford and Cambridge in Transition, 1558-1642: An Essay in Changing Relations between the English Universities and English Society* (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1959), 3, 54-55; Stone, *Crisis*, 672-73, 683.

3. *Alumni Cantabrigienses: A Biographical List of all Known Students, Graduates and Holders of Office at the University of Cambridge, from the Earliest Times to 1900, Part I. From the Earliest Times to 1751*, comp. John Venn and J. A. Venn (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1922), 2:241; *Book of Matriculations*, 294; Curtis, *Oxford and Cambridge*, 91; Stone, *Crisis*, 689-90.

4. *Book of Matriculations*, v-vi, xv-xvi, 294.

5. Regulations quoted in Curtis, *Oxford and Cambridge*, 92, 97-98.

6. *Book of Matriculations*, 187, 241; Antonia Fraser, *Cromwell, The Lord Protector* (New York; Alfred A. Knopf, 1973), 3, 19-20.

7. Curtis, *Oxford and Cambridge*, 87, 93, 130; Stone, *Crisis*, 688-89.

8. Baldesar Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier*, trans. and introduced by George Bull (London: Penguin Books, 1976), 21 (translator's note), 57-70.

9. John Walter Stoye, *English Travellers Abroad 1604-1667: Their Influence in English Society and Politics* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1952), 239, 259, 327-28.

10. Schreiber, *Carlisle*, 112, 135. As shown in Chapter 1, this boy's mother was Honora Denny Hay, Lord Goring's first cousin.

11. Ibid., 112; Stone, *Crisis*, 719; John Julius Norwich, *A History of Venice* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1982), 530-31, 539.

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12. *CSPVen 1628-29*, 267-68, Venetian Senate to ambassador in London, 5 September 1628 [N. S.]; Schreiber, *Carlisle*, 112; Norwich, *Venice*, 166, 499, 561, explains the rather complicated system of Venetian government elections instituted in the thirteenth century and still in place four centuries later.

13. *CSPD 1625-49 Addenda*, 294-97. It is interesting to note that various correspondents in England, including Lord Goring, believed it was important to stress to Carlisle that his wife's face had not been scarred by the smallpox. As William, Earl of Pembroke, wrote: "The smallpox hath but kissed her face."

14. *CSPVen 1628-29*, 347-48, Mayor Zea, 14 October 1628 [N. S.].

15. *CSPD 1625-49 Addenda*, 294-95; *CSPD 1628-29*, 356.

16. *CSPD 1628-29*, 391, 413; Schreiber, *Carlisle*, 115, 135.

17. Schreiber, *Carlisle*, 113-14, 125.

18. BL Add. MS. 19832, ff. 23-28, Cork's autobiographical notes for his son, Richard, Lord Dungarvan [1632-33]; R. F. Foster, *Modern Ireland, 1600-1972* (London: Allen Lane, The Penguin Press, 1988), 3, 7.

19. Foster, *Modern Ireland*, 14.

20. BL Add. MS. 19832, f. 28, Cork autobiography; *Calendar of State Papers, Ireland 1625-32* (hereafter, *CSPIreland*), ed. Robert Pentland MaHaffy (London: 1900), 262; Stone, *Crisis*, 112, 116, 140, 509; Lee, Jr., *Britain's Solomon*, 210.

21. *CSPIreland 1625-32*, 321-22; Hugh Kearney, *Strafford in Ireland, 1633-1641, A Study in Absolutism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1959; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 10-11.

22. C. V. Wedgwood, *Thomas Wentworth, First Earl of Strafford, 1593-1641: A Revaluation* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1961), 132.

23. Cork, Richard Boyle, Earl of, *Autobiographical Notes, Remembrances and Diaries of Sir Richard Boyle, 1st Earl of Cork; The Lismore Papers, First Series* (hereafter, *Lismore*, ser. 1), ed. Reverend Alexander B. Grosart (privately published, 1886), 2:262; BL Add. MS. 19832, f. 29; Sara Heller Mendelson, *The Mental World of Stuart Women: Three Studies* (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1987), 67; J. R. Jacob, *Robert Boyle and the English Revolution: A Study in Social and Intellectual History*, Studies in the History of Science, genl. ed. L. Pearce Williams (New York: Burt Franklin & Co., Inc., 1977), 7-8. According to Jacob, Robert, who early showed his intellectual abilities, was a favorite with his father.

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24. *Lismore*, ser. 1, 2:262-65; Kearney, *Strafford in Ireland*, 11.

25. Lockyer, *Buckingham*, 74-75. Some of these matches were mentioned in Chapter 2.

26. *CSPD 1629-46 Addenda*, 294-95; see Chapter 2.

27. *Lismore*, ser. 1, 2:272-83, 292-93; BL Add. MS. 19832, f. 29, Cork autobiography.

28. *Lismore*, ser. 1, 2:307, 317; Marshall, *Henrietta Maria*, 56; Kevin Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 52; Carlton, *Charles I*, 118-19; Lockyer, *Early Stuarts*, 345-46.

29. Sharpe, *Personal Rule*, 53; Carlton, *Charles I*, 119-20; Lockyer, *Early Stuarts*, 346-50; Stuart E. Prall, *Church and State in Tudor and Stuart England*, The European History Series, ed. Keith Eubank (Arlington Heights, IL: Harlan Davidson, Inc., 1993), 112-13.

30. Sharpe, *Personal Rule*, 56, 59. A similar idea is expressed by Conrad Russell, "The Nature of a Parliament in Early Stuart England," ed. Howard Tomlinson, *Before the Civil War: Essays on Early Stuart Politics and Government* (London: The Macmillan Press, 1983), 124-25, 142.

31. Sir Charles Petrie, ed., *The Letters, Speeches and Proclamations of King Charles I* (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1908, 1935), 74-77.

32. *Lismore*, ser. 1, 2:307, 309; Kearney, *Strafford in Ireland*, 13; Sharpe, *Personal Rule*, 65-66.

33. *Lismore*, ser. 1, 2:303, 305, 311.

34. Ibid., 2:317, 320; BL Add. MS. 19832, f. 29, Cork authobiography; *CSPD 1628-29*, 506; Marshall, *Henrietta Maria*, 56-58.

35. Stone, *Crisis*, 790; *Lismore*, ser. 1, 2:327.

36. *CSPD 1629-31*, 20; Thomas Birch, ed., *The Court and Times of Charles the First* (London: Henry Colborn, Publisher, 1848), 2:23-24; W. Sussex R. O., Wiston Archive 5969, f. 2, Goring family pedigree; *Lismore*, ser. 1, 2:325, 334. Newington Green today is in London, south of Hackney and east of Islington.

37. *Lismore*, ser. 1, 2:336-37, 3:1, 5; *CSPD 1629-31*, 35, 38; Foster, *Modern Ireland*, 54-55.

38. *Lismore*, ser. 1, 3:6.

39. Stone, *Crisis*, 594-99, 611, and *Family, Sex and Marriage*, 37; Heller Mendelson, *Stuart Women*, 67-69; Hufton, *Prospect Before Her*, 108.

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40. Stone, *Crisis*, 7, 140; Kearney, *Strafford in Ireland*, 10.

41. *CSPD 1629-31*, 533; Stone, *Crisis*, 140, 761; Aylmer, *King's Servants*, 132-33.

42. *CSPD 1625-49 Addenda*, 268; *CSPD 1627-28*, 517-18; *CSPD 1628-29*, 52, 560; BL Egerton MS.2978, f. 24, Lord Goring's petition and reply to King Charles, 18 June 1628.

43. Stone, *Crisis*, 428; *CSPD 1628-29*, 80; *DNB* 22:248-49; David Thomas, "Financial and Administrative Developments," in Tomlinson, *Before the English Civil War*, 120; Ronald G. Asch, "The Revival of Monopolies: Court and Patronage during the Personal Rule of Charles I, 1629-40," in *Princes, Patronage, and the Nobility: The Court at the Beginning of the Modern Age, c. 1450-1650*, ed. Ronald G. Asch and Adolf M. Birke, Studies of the German Historical Institute London (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 363, 371-73.

44. Cork, Richard Boyle, Earl of, *Selections from the Private and Public (or State) Correspondence of Sir Richard Boyle; The Lismore Papers, Second Series* (hereafter *Lismore*, ser. 2), ed. Reverend Alexander B. Grosart (privately published, 1887), 3:157; BL Add. MS. 19832, f. 29, Cork autobiography; *DNB*, 22:245.

45. Antonia Fraser, *Royal Charles: Charles II and the Restoration* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979), 3-4; John Finit, *Ceremonies of Charles I: The Note Books of John Finit*, ed. Albert J. Loomie, S. J. (New York: Fordham University Press, 1987), 72-73.

46. Stone, *Crisis*, 633, 643, 646-47; Hufton, *Prospect Before Her*, 67; Antonia Fraser, *The Weaker Vessel* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1984), 10.

47. E. Sussex R. O., Danny Archives 141, ff.1-8, indenture dated 16 July 1630.

48. *Lismore*, ser. 1, 3:62.

49. Finit, *Ceremonies*, 100; *CSPD 1629-31*, 416.

50. *Lismore*, ser. 1, 3:84-87.

51. Ibid., ser. 1, 3:90, 98.

52. Ibid., ser. 1, 3:70-71, 104-5; Sheffield City Libraries, Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, (hereafter Wentworth MS.), 8/8, Wentworth to Lord Goring, 19 August 1633. Use of the Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments in Sheffield City Libraries is made possible by the Olive, Countess of Fitzwilliam's Wentworth Settlement Trustees and the Director.

53. *Lismore*, ser. 1, 3:105.

54. Stone, *Crisis*, 167. Also, Hufton, *Prospect Before Her*, 177.

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55. Stone, *Crisis*, 167-68; Hufton, *Prospect Before Her*, 177-78; Cressy, *Birth, Marriage, and Death*, 18.

56. W. Sussex R. O., Wiston Archives 5969, f. 2, Goring family pedigree.

57. Stone, *Crisis*, 567-70; Roger Chartier, ed., *A History of Private Life*, vol. 3, *Passions of the Renaissance*, genl. eds. Philippe Aries and Georges Duby, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press at Harvard University Press, 1989), 551-52. The latter work underscores the passion for gambling as reflected in the art of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the most noted English example being William Hogarth's gambling scene in "A Rake's Progress." (Reproduced on 553.) Gregg, *Charles I*, 228, has a reproduction of a very informal scene of King Charles playing cards, attributed to the studio of Rubens.

58. Sheffield Libs., Wentworth MS. 8/8; BL Add. MS. 19832, ff. 29-30, Cork autobiography.

59. Smuts, *Court Culture*, 2; Gregg, *Charles I*, 246; Sharpe, *Personal Rule*, 211-12.

60. *Lords Journal*, 3:738; Aylmer, *King's Servants*, 346; Lockyer, *Early Stuarts*, 247-48; Sharpe, *Personal Rule*, 145-49; Asch, "Monopolies," in *Princes and Patronage*, 389-90; Michael Van Cleave Alexander, *Charles I's Lord Treasurer: Sir Richard Weston, Earl of Portland (1577-1635)* (London: The Macmillan Press Ltd., 1975), 173, 177.

61. Thomas, "Financial Developments," in Tomlinson, *Before the English Civil War*, 119; Lockyer, *Early Stuarts*, 247-48, 267; Sharpe, *Personal Rule*, 147; R. Malcolm Smuts, "The Puritan Followers of Henrietta Maria in the 1630's," *English Historical Review* (hereafter *EHR*) 93, no. 366 (January 1978) : 28.

62. Smuts, "Henrietta Maria," *EHR* 93, no. 366 (January 1978) : 27-31; Quentin Bone, *Henrietta Maria, Queen of the Cavaliers* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1972), 78-79; Alexander, *Sir Richard Weston*, 178; Gregg, *Charles I*, 250-51.

63. Sir William Davenant, *The Shorter Poems, and Songs from the Plays and Masques*, ed. A. M. Gibbs (Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1972), lines 17-22 on 171, 423-24; Finit, *Ceremonies*, 116-17; *CSPD 1625-49 Addenda*, 381-82; Gregg, *Charles I*, 250-51; Smuts, "Henrietta Maria," *EHR* 93, no. 366 (January 1978) : 27, 30.

64. Ben Jonson, "Epithalamion," *Ben Jonson and the Cavalier Poets*, ed. Hugh Maclean, A Norton Critical Ed. (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1974), line 98, 80-85; Alexander, *Sir Richard Weston*, 170.

65. Carlton, *Charles I*, 187-88.

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66. Klaus Malettke, "The Crown, *Ministeriat*, and Nobility at the Court of Louis XIII," in Asch and Birke, *Princes and Patronage*, 436-37; Tapie, *Louis XIII*, 139, 163-65; Stone, *Crisis*, 246-50, 770.

67. *CSPD 1633-34*, 3; Bone, *Henrietta Maria*, 80-82, 84-85.

68. *CSPD 1633-34*, ix, 3, 14.

69. Ibid., 16, from Secretary Windebank's notes on the Council meeting [13 April] 1633; *DNB*, 16:997-98.

70. *CSPD 1633-34*, ix-x, 3; *CSPD 1625-49 Addenda*, 381-82; Gregg, *Charles I*, 247. There had been some past unpleasantness at court between the Lord Treasure and Lord Goring, although the two were reportedly on more amicable terms by the time of this incident.

71. *CSPD 1633-34*, 12, 14-15.

72. Ibid., x, 3; *DNB* 16:998; Bone, *Henrietta Maria*, 85; Smuts, "Henrietta Maria," *EHR* 93, no. 366 (Jan. 1978) : 34-35.

73. *CSPD 1633-34*, 55, 58.

74. Ibid., 17; BL Harley MS. 6164, ff. 7, 31, Sussex family pedigrees; Lockyer, *Buckingham*, 74-75; Carlton, *Charles I*, 306.

75. *Lismore*, ser. 1, 3:189; Heller Mendelson, *Stuart Women*, 64.

76. *Lismore*, ser. 1, 3:195; W. Sussex R. O., Wiston Archives 5973, quoting from Coke MS., Goring to Coke, 22 June 1633; Stone, *Crisis*, 373-74.

77. Birch, *Court of Charles I*, 2:218; *CSPD 1633-34*, xxviii, 90; *DNB*, 19:229-30; Ross, *Winter Queen*, 108-12; Carlton, *Charles I*, 188.

78. *CSPD 1633-34*, 83.

79. Ibid., 84-85, 87, 89-91.

80. *State Papers collected by Edward, Earl of Clarendon*, eds. R. Scrope and T. Monkhouse (Oxford, 1767-86), 1:124-26.

81. Ibid., 114.

82. *CSPVen 1632-36*, 137-38, 140, Gussoni, London, 19 and 26 August 1633 [N. S.], respectively; *CSPD 1633-34*, xxviii.

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83. Quoted in Sharpe, *Personal Rule*, 171, from the Coke MS., 18 May 1633; *CSPD 1633-34*, 87.

84. *CSPVen 1632-36*, 127, Gussoni, 17 July 1633 [N. S.].

85. W. Sussex R. O., Wiston Archives 5973, quoting Coke MS., Goring to Coke, 15 June 1633.

86. Sheffield Libs., Wentworth MS. 8/8, Wentworth to Lord Goring, 19 August 1633.

87. Sheffield Libs., Wentworth MS., 8/26, Lord Goring to Wentworth, September 1633.

88. Sheffield Libs., Wentworth MS., 8/8; William Knowler, ed., *The Earl of Strafford's Letters and Dispatches* (London: William Bowyer, 1739), 1:63, King to Lord Justices Loftus and Cork, 12 January 1632; Wedgwood, *Strafford*, 124, 127, 135, 204.

89. One of the problems historians have encountered when dealing with Strafford was that many of his papers only became available after World War II (as the Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments in the Sheffield City Libraries). C. V. Wedgwood had to write "A Revaluation" in 1961 of her own earlier Strafford biography since she felt that the newly available papers shed light on "Strafford's unscrupulous treatment of his political opponents and business rivals." (11) Hugh Kearney summarizes the current debate in his new introduction (1989) to his *Strafford in Ireland* (1959), and raises the important question of did Wentworth "sell out" to the king in 1628? (xiv) An interesting presentation on this topic was made by Richard Cust at the Strafford Symposium, University of Sheffield, 4-5 July 1994, which I attended. Dr. Cust argued that Strafford had only been a moderate critic of the crown, whereby he kept his reputation with his electorate while still keeping his options open for court advancement. The symposium papers have since been published by J. F. Merritt, ed., *The Political World of Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, 1621-1641* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

90. Knowler, *Strafford Letters*, 1:63.

91. Wedgwood, *Strafford*, 11, 122-23, 127.

92. Sheffield Libs., Wentworth MS. 8/8-9, Wentworth to Lord Goring, 19 August 1633; Kearney, *Strafford in Ireland*, 69-70, 200; *DNB*, 2:1024, 20:1194.

93. Sheffield Libs., Wentworth MS. 8/9; Lawrence Stone, *Uncertain Unions: Marriage in England 1660-1753* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 15.

94. Sheffield Libs., Wentworth MS. 8/9; BL Add. MS. 19832, f. 36 b, Cork to Lord Goring, 20 September 1633.

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95. Sheffield Libs., Wentworth MS. 13/53, Lord Goring to Wentworth, 23 September 1633.

96. BL Add. MS.19832, f. 36 b, Cork to Lord Goring, 20 September 1633.

97. Aylmer, *King's Servants*, 230-31.

98. Knowler, *Strafford Letters*, 1:119-24.

99. *Lismore*, ser. 1, 3:213, 6 October 1633.

100. Ibid., ser. 1, 3:212.

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CHAPTER 4
IN THE SERVICE OF THE DUTCH, 1633-1637

As 1633 drew to a close, George Goring was ready to embark upon a soldier's life. But this new endeavor would not automatically provide solutions to past debts, marital discord and in-law troubles. Moreover, in between campaign seasons, George would return home to England and resume his costly lifestyle. So Lord Goring would have to continue his interventions on his son's behalf, and both Gorings, father and son, would repeatedly call upon Lord Deputy Wentworth for assistance in dealing with a rather wary Earl of Cork.

While these old problems persisted, George would have the opportunity to better employ his talents in the service of the Dutch in their continuing fight for freedom from Spanish rule. In turn, "the Netherlands wars proved a splendid school for English officers."[1] This conflict, as well as the ongoing wars in Germany, would provide military training for many of the men--like Goring--who would eventually lead the royalist, Parliamentary and Scots armies in the English civil wars. Not that any of these men could as yet have foreseen that their military skills would be put to such use at home, for King Charles still ruled over peaceful kingdoms. However, by 1637 several challenges to Charles's personal rule would emerge, and open conflict with Scotland over religion would soon erupt.

The year 1637 would also mark a turning point in both the Dutch war effort and in George Goring's military career, as Prince Frederick Henry of Nassau-Orange, the Dutch commander under whom Goring served, initiated a campaign to win back the border city of Breda. During the siege, Goring would be seriously wounded when a bullet shattered his ankle as he led an advanced party attempting to mine the town walls. He would

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recuperate for over three months and at the end of the year return to England, permanently lame, but greeted as a war hero. His military reputation thus established, George Goring would be ready to take on important military posts at home as King Charles's kingdoms headed towards unsettled times.

The Dutch Wars

Once George Goring received the Earl of Cork's promise of financial assistance for his new military career--a commitment made in the presence of Lord Deputy Wentworth--he returned to London in October 1633. That was a happy time at the English court, for, on 14 October, Henrietta Maria gave birth to her third child, James. Venetian ambassador Gussoni recorded that King Charles was particularly pleased at the birth of another son, and various messengers were dispatched to carry the good news throughout Europe. On 29 October, the Venetian ambassador in Paris reported: "Mr. Gorin [*sic*] has arrived from England to inform the king of the delivery of the queen, his sister."[2]

While George once again served as royal messenger to the French court, Lord Goring was completing the negotiations for Lord Vere's regiment at a total cost of £4,000. A colonel was considered the proprietor of his regiment and had the right to sell his command, but subject to the approval of the prince he served. Therefore, as soon as the sale was settled in England, George departed for the Low Countries on 7 November to attend on Prince Frederick Henry of Nassau-Orange. The prince was the captain general (commander-in-chief) of the Dutch army which consisted primarily of English, Scots, German and French mercenaries, and he exercised the sole right to appoint all foreign captains. But leaving little to chance, Lord Goring had already obtained and forwarded a letter of recommendation from King Charles to the prince to smooth the way for his son's commission.[3]

On 19 November, John Dinley, in service to Elizabeth, erstwhile queen of Bohemia, reported from the Hague to Sir Francis Nethersole: "Mr. Goring is come thither

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with noble desires to leave the court for a soldier's life." Dinley favored George's appointment and was only mildly concerned about "the youth and inexperience which is all [that] can be objected against him."[4] Frederick Henry did make the appointment, and Goring was sworn in as a colonel in the States' service in late November, prompting Dinley to note: "He is come in with universal love."[5]

As Dinley had suggested, the newly-commissioned Colonel Goring had absolutely no military experience. He did have the correct heritage, connections and the purchase price, for the belief still persisted that the upper classes had a role to play as the military elite of the nation (and the purchase of commissions would last until 1871 in the British army).[6] However, a competing idea was already emerging in the early seventeenth century which held that merit and experience were more important in an officer than birth, an idea which later would be put to use in Parliament's New Model Army. John Cruso expressed this theory in his important manual, *Military Instructions for the Cavalry*, published in 1632 and based primarily on his observations of the Dutch wars. Cruso asserted that there were "other things more real and essential required in an officer; namely, knowledge, experience, valour, dexterity, etc."[7]

Although George Goring had obtained his command by patronage and purchase, he would have ample opportunity to develop all the skills which Cruso thought so important in an officer. The Dutch revolt against Spanish overlordship, begun in 1566, had long provided a military training ground for Englishmen. During the reign of Queen Elizabeth, English volunteers had come as early as 1572, while official military assistance began with the Anglo-Dutch Treaty of Nonsuch of 1585. Over the years, it had become commonplace for a young English gentleman or nobleman to incorporate a campaign season into his coming-of-age journey and so have a chance to learn the basic skills of war while displaying courage under fire. But the ongoing wars also provided long-term professional careers opportunities, and many of the leading royalist commanders in the English civil wars would gain their expertise in the Dutch wars, among them: Princes Rupert and Maurice, Henry Wilmot, Jacob Astley, Ralph Hopton, Charles Lucas, John Byron, Richard Grenvile and George Goring.[8] In addition, Goring would have the

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opportunity to build on the most illustrious reputation of English service in the Low Countries--that of the Veres.

The brothers Francis (b. 1560) and Horace (b. 1565) Vere were the two foremost English commanders in Dutch service. Sir Francis had arrived as a volunteer in 1586, but in 1589 he had become general of Elizabeth's forces in the Netherlands, where he served until his death in 1609. Sir Horace had joined his brother in 1590 and served the Dutch until the beginning of their twelve-year truce with Spain in 1609. As mentioned in Chapter 1, Sir Horace Vere had led the small English volunteer force sent to protect the Palatinate in 1620. After being recalled by King James in 1623, Lord Vere (created a baron in 1625) returned to the renewed Spanish-Dutch conflict where he would continue on active service through the 1632 campaign season. The two brothers thus represented almost fifty years of English military history.[9]

The Veres, in turn, had learned their trade by fighting under the command of one of the important military innovators of the period, Prince Maurice of Nassau-Orange. Just seventeen when his father William the Silent, the leader of the Dutch revolt, had been assassinated, Maurice applied his readings on ancient Roman warfare to build up a more mobile, well-drilled, well-disciplined army which excelled in siege warfare. The growth of Dutch wealth also allowed him to pay his troops on a regular basis, a practice not too common in this age. (Mutinies for pay arrears were more the norm in the opposing Spanish Army of Flanders, and the difficulties encountered by Charles and Buckingham in financing their wars have been noted.) Maurice standardized artillery and used massive barrages against a limited point of defense in sieges, where he also utilized extensive field fortifications.[10]

Maurice died in 1625, and his half-brother Prince Frederick Henry took up the task of continuing the war. However, the nature of the struggle had changed: Spain was no longer fighting to regain control of the seven northern provinces since the truce of 1609 had granted the Dutch *de facto*, if not *de jure*, recognition. When the truce expired in 1621, Spain had again resorted to arms, but primarily in the hopes of getting better terms of settlement. For their part, the Dutch war party, led by Maurice, then Frederick Henry,

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hoped to extend control into the southern provinces still controlled by the Spanish Habsburgs.[11]

Frederick Henry, using his late brother's tactics, launched a series of successful sieges. In one important action, he captured 's Hertogenbosch, one of Brabant's principal towns, in the summer of 1629. Serving under Lord Vere's command in the ten-week siege was the seventeen-year-old Thomas Fairfax. This was the first military action experienced by the future commander of Parliament's forces. Fairfax was distantly related to the Veres and was following in his family's tradition of serving under their kinsmen in the continental wars. Young Thomas would forge even closer family ties in 1637 when he would marry Anne Vere, Horace's fourth daughter and co-heiress.[12]

The year prior to Goring's arrival in the Low Countries marked another major advance in the Dutch offensive. The campaign launched by Frederick Henry and Lord Vere benefitted from the diversion of part of the Spanish Army of Flanders into Germany where King Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, himself a student of the Maurician reforms and a great innovator in cavalry tactics, had taken up the Protestant cause in 1630 and had turned the tide against the Catholic armies. The Dutch army, taking advantage of this turn of events in Germany, captured several southeastern border towns and then set down before Maestricht on 10 June 1632. General Vere commanded twenty-three companies while Sir Charles Morgan, a veteran of both Dutch and Danish service, was the next ranking English officer with eleven companies. The other two English regimental commanders were Colonels Herbert and Packenham.[13]

Frederick Henry methodically carried out his attack on Maestricht--just as he had done at 's Hertogenbosch in 1629 and just as he would do at Breda in 1637. His men advanced the trenches under the cover of heavy artillery barrages and lay underground shafts for blasting. A belated attempt by Spanish and Imperial forces to break the siege failed, for on 20 August the town walls were mined and on 23 August Maestricht fell to the besiegers. Despite Dutch losses of about 900 men, 423 of whom belonged to the English command, this was considered a great victory for the Dutch forces and a major defeat for the Spanish. On that triumphant note, Lord General Vere decided to retire to

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England, where he put his regiment up for sale and afforded Lord Goring a chance to buy his son a career.[14]

"A good and honourable career"

To take up the mantle of such a revered military leader as Lord Vere might have seemed a daunting task to an unproven young man of twenty-five. But, quite to the contrary, George Goring's primary concern was that he had not gotten as large a command as he had hoped for. In good seventeenth-century fashion, he believed more was better or at least more honorable. He did receive a total of twenty-three companies of foot, the same number Lord Vere had led at Maestricht, while the veteran field commanders--Colonels Morgan, Packenham and Herbert--received just seventeen companies each in the reordering of the English command. Goring's complaint was that he had not been assigned General Vere's troop of horse, for the States-General, the Dutch government, had an edict which prohibited an infantry colonel from commanding any horse. But Goring was pursuing the matter with the Prince of Orange, as he told Lord Deputy Wentworth in a letter dated 12 December from the Hague, in which he also expressed his gratitude for all of Wentworth's past assistance.[15]

The question of this horse troop became further entangled in court intrigues, again demonstrating that military matters were often not resolved based on military considerations. Elizabeth Stuart, continuing her life in exile at the Hague, had influence in the granting of commissions among the English in Dutch service. But she chose not to support George Goring's petition for the horse troop, in part because of the ongoing problems her trusted servant Sir Francis Nethersole was having at the English court. By unwisely complaining about the lack of English support for his mistress, Sir Francis again managed to antagonize King Charles and the English Privy Council at the end of 1633, although Lord Goring was not directly involved in Nethersole's new misfortunes which included a stay in the Tower. Elizabeth, waiting to hear how things stood between Nethersole and Lord Goring, decided to put forward her own candidate for the cavalry

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command.[16]

Despite this minor setback, Lord Goring was quite satisfied with his son's success in obtaining the greatest share of companies within the English command, as he reported to Lord Deputy Wentworth in December. He had already paid Lord Vere £2,000, and he asked Wentworth to remind the Earl of Cork that he was to pay the other half of the purchase price. Lord Goring had also covered £4,000 of his son's "most crying debts," which left £5,500 unpaid. Who would pay and how were George and Lettice to live? "There's the question," Lord Goring posed, clearly hoping that the Lord Deputy would intervene again with Cork. As he had done with Buckingham in the past, the senior Goring told Wentworth of this own impoverished youth and admitted that he feared matters might come full circle with his son if George left behind such large debts. He thought the obvious solution was for Cork to pay off the remaining debts to save his daughter and son-in-law from ruin.[17]

While the Gorings thought that this was a reasonable solution, the Earl of Cork did not. He had better investments to make in early 1634, as he continued to expand his holdings in Ireland with the purchase of Skarruff Castle and ironworks for £1,500. But Lord Deputy Wentworth, following up on Lord Goring's request, did meet with the earl in January and encountered a noticeably cold reception. Cork alluded to his other business matters which had to be settled first, before "he would be a liberal father." Wentworth, judging the earl to be in a most unaccommodating mood, added his own personal warning that he distrusted Cork and renewed his offer to do everything he could to support George, telling Lord Goring that he wished his son "all possible honour and contentment in this new employment."[18]

Although the Earl of Cork was not anxious to take on his son-in-law's debts, he did wish to reach an amicable settlement over a disputed amount of about £600 which Lord Goring personally owed him. He assigned this negotiation to this eldest son, Lord Dungarvan, who had recently returned from his own grand tour of Europe and was in London where Lord Goring had been serving him as a most useful contact at the English court.[19]

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The earl also believed that there was one other matter of importance to be settled with the Gorings: Lettice's place in her husband's new life. At times the constant financial bickering between the Gorings and Cork tended to obscure the human dimension. In particular, Lettice Goring--abandoned by her husband on more than one occasion, shuttled back and forth between her father and her in-laws--seemed to disappear from view within the framework of family alliances and finances. But the Earl of Cork never lost sight of his daughter's happiness, for as soon as he had heard of George's proposed military career he had written very candidly to Lord Goring, speaking father to father. How did the Gorings now intend to care for Lettice "that she might find rest and contentment," the earl had inquired. He had advised his daughter to look to her father-in-law for guidance in all things, and the earl had concluded by appealing to the senior Goring on his daughter's behalf: "I beseech your Lordship to encourage and cherish her, and give her boldness to have freedom with you, and then I cannot doubt but all things will succeed contentfully, which I beseech God to grant."[20]

In January 1634 Lettice was in England, waiting to join her husband at the Hague. Her father was seeing to her household as he reassigned a Mrs. Edwards from his daughter, Joan, Countess of Kildare, to attend Lettice abroad where she would also be accompanied by a cousin, Ann Qwyn. The earl prepared letters to be delivered to George, "our new colonel," as he now called his son-in-law, and he sent Dungarvan and Lettice various instructions on carrying out his financial and court dealings in London for him.[21]

But Lettice remained in England until April 1634. That there was some trouble brewing surfaced in a letter George Goring wrote to Lord Deputy Wentworth from the Hague, dated 4/14 March. After again thanking Wentworth for his assistance in dealing with Cork, George complained that the earl wanted him to take "persons into my wife's service as would dispossess us both of our honour."[22] It is difficult to know exactly what objections George had against Mrs. Edwards and cousin Qwyn, who did accompany Lettice when she sailed from Gravesend on 11 April 1634. The only other members of the party were a chambermaid and two footmen.[23] Perhaps George felt that the two companions chosen by his father-in-law might act as the earl's spies and report back on his

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and his wife's life abroad.

This disagreement, however, was only one facet of a larger problem for which there exists Lettice's version of events. Writing to her father at the time of her departure, Lettice poured out her woes. Lady Goring, her mother-in-law, had treated her poorly in her house, "for it was as bad as bitter words could make it, of which my dearest brother is witness." As for Lord Goring, Lettice could not judge him, for he spoke kindly, but his actions proved otherwise. "He is to me the cruelest man living." Why this indictment of her normally good-natured father-in-law? Because he had promised to take her to the Hague to attend on Elizabeth, but "neither he nor his lady nor any of his daughters did so much as bring me one foot of the way, which all the town and court wondered at." Lettice wailed on: "What I suffered in their house, God only knows, I do not desire your Lordship should."[24]

Lettice then claimed that the only reason she was now on her way abroad was because of the intervention of the Countess of Denbigh, "the best of women," who had made all the necessary arrangements at court. The countess was Buckingham's sister, Susan, married to William Feilding, Earl of Denbigh, and mother to Basil Feilding, the young man who had challenged George Goring to a duel the previous year. Lettice had secret instructions from her father to talk over certain matters with these two important courtiers, for the Earl of Denbigh was the king's Master of the Robes, and the countess not only served as the queen's Mistress of the Wardrobe but also maintained her own close friendship with King Charles. Among the matters Lettice put forward for her father was a possible match between Cork's second son, Lewis, and Denbigh's daughter, Elizabeth, a marriage which would take place in 1639.[25]

Lettice further reported to her father that she had managed to spend just two days with the countess who had brought her to court to take leave of the king and queen and had provided her with letters of introduction to the queen of Bohemia. Lettice ominously added that her "enemies" had plotted to keep her in the country, away from the court. On that disquieting note, the Lady Lettice Goring departed England.[26] The whole tone of this farewell letter was petulant, even paranoid, and called into question Lettice's emotional

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stability.

Her own brother, Lord Dungarvan, hinted at this in his letter to Cork after Lettice's departure. On 16 April he wrote that Lord Goring (and not the Countess of Denbigh) had sent Lettice to the Low Countries where she was graciously received by the queen of Bohemia "and heartily greeted by her husband, as she doth express to me in her letters." Dungarvan concluded: "Now she is in a place where there is the greatest likelihood of her happiness."[27]

However, in a letter dated 17/27 April to Lord Deputy Wentworth, George Goring did not dwell on his wife's arrival. Lettice did bring her husband letters from her father but apparently not the money George was hoping to receive. After again apologizing to the Lord Deputy for involving him in his personal affairs, George blasted his father-in-law for not sending him £1,800 "which I cannot pay without him and for which I must suffer extremely in my honour and fortune." He fumed on about the "backwardness my Lord Cork shows which is all I expect of him."[28] To which the Lord Deputy could only reply with renewed words of encouragement, for, as he related to George, Cork still refused to part with any more money.[29]

It is interesting to note that husband and wife never directly blamed one another or themselves for their frustrations and disappointments. Instead, each blamed the other's family for all their unhappiness, although the childless state of their marriage had to have caused additional anxiety for both of them. But now, in the spring of 1634, George and Lettice were reunited, away from both their families, and, in effect, had a chance to make a new start together. At the same time, George had a new occupation on which to concentrate, "a good and honourable career," as Lord Deputy Wentworth reminded him that spring.[30]

As a regimental colonel, Goring would receive money from the Dutch States-General to muster men for his companies and to supply them with weapons and their subsistence. His second-in-command was Lieutenant Colonel Hollis, and he inherited Lord Vere's veteran quartermaster, Captain Henry Hexham, who would see to matters such as lodging the men. As indicated previously, this was a well-established, highly

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professional organization Goring was joining. The English had even set up their own entertainments, such as the annual horse race they held at the Hague. Every officer contributed twenty shillings a year to buy the £50 trophy cup awarded to the winner.[31]

Goring's first campaign season, that of 1634, coincided with a downturn in Dutch fortunes. The capture of Maestricht in 1632 had not led to any further gains of importance nor had negotiations brought about reconciliation between north and south. In addition, Frederick Henry was now experiencing his own financial squeeze, for the wealthy province of Holland was becoming war-weary and refused to vote extra subsidies for the army. This in turn resulted in a late start to the prince's campaign season which allowed the Spanish to mount a major effort to retake Maestricht. Rather than try to break the siege, the Dutch army set down before Breda. This diversionary tactic worked, for the Spanish lifted the siege of Maestricht to come to the assistance of Breda, only to find the Dutch army safely withdrawn by 1 September.[32]

George Goring's first active duty for the Dutch, therefore, was before Breda, where he would return in three years for a more fateful encounter. But that summer of 1634 his only life-threatening battle came from within the ranks of the Dutch army, when he fought a duel with one of the German noblemen. Duels were not necessarily fought to the death and in this case both combatants survived. The precise cause of the dispute was not recorded, but Gilbert Coke, serving with the English, in a letter to Sir John Coke, his kinsman and King Charles's secretary, hinted that this affair of honor was somewhat frivolous: "[T]hat Colonel Goring came off so well is no little satisfaction to all us English; yet for my part, I approve no duel except when they cannot be avoided."[33]

George and Lettice remained at the Hague into the fall of 1634. Although the Dutch state was a republic, Frederick Henry and his wife, Amalia van Solms, maintained a splendid, French-speaking, princely court. There, in the winter, after the completion of the campaign season, an international gathering of soldiers, courtiers and diplomats could relax in a convivial atmosphere. In fact, the Hague hosted a second, overlapping court. Although smaller and more impoverished than the prince's, it still attracted its share of soldiers and diplomats, scholars and artists, and belonged to Elizabeth Stuart. Any

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lingering feelings of resentment Elizabeth may have had against the Gorings because of he Nethersole affair seemed to have been forgotten by the time Lettice arrived that spring. While George had been on campaign, Lettice most probably remained in the company of Elizabeth and her ladies. So that in the fall of 1634, perhaps as a thank you gift, the Earl of Cork forwarded to Lettice a brace of wolf hounds to be presented to Elizabeth, who was known for her love of dogs and pets of all sorts.[34]

Colonel Goring, having spent a year learning his new profession, and with his men in winter garrison, returned to England with his wife. One lesson that George had definitely not learned, however, was a more frugal lifestyle, for Lord Goring, given a year's respite, would soon be trying to rein in his profligate son once again.

Colonel Goring at Home and Abroad

At the beginning of 1635, upon their return from the Hague, George and Lettice spent some time in London. George performed in Will Davenant's court masque *The Triumph of Love*, which celebrated King Charles as a popular and exemplary ruler. The couple then retired to their country estate at Kireton, where it soon became evident that George had lost none of his verve for high living. By late February, Lord Goring was despairing anew over his son's imminent ruin.[35]

In a letter to William Moreton, in attendance at Kireton, Lord Goring explained that he had already written directly to George "with the best ink I have, laying aside all unkindness . . . first to persuade him from housekeeping at Kireton, and next to come to London and live here with his good mother who I am confident will undergo that trouble rather than see her son thus endangered." Lord Goring reasoned that, by coming to London, George "shall not only fly his ruin there but be so near to many opportunities here as I doubt not but with a little patience and some industry (without which ingredients nothing can thrive anywhere) to see him better his mind and his fortune both, or else let me partake of that shame as (I am sure) I shall of the grief if it succeed other ways."[36]

Lord Goring wanted Moreton and a Mr. Booth to care for the estate if George

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could be persuaded to leave. "I beg of you both, as ever you tender the blessing of a charitable act, to press this point close upon him," Lord Goring pleaded. Clearly he thought his own words insufficient to persuade his son, and he promised his correspondents any favor in return, a strong inducement considering Lord Goring's status at court.[37]

George and Lettice did eventually return to London in the spring and probably stayed with his family at Goring House, the town home Lord Goring had built in the early 1630's. The various parcels of land he had acquired for building did not all have clear title, for the land had originally been designated for a mulberry garden in 1609 by King James in the hope of fostering a native silk industry. When the enterprise failed, the land had passed into various hands and by 1635 Lord Goring claimed over four acres of the garden, which today is part of the grounds of Buckingham Palace.[38]

From London, George returned to his regiment in the Netherlands while Lettice chose neither to accompany her husband nor remain in England with her in-laws. Instead, she returned to her father in Ireland, arriving in Dublin on 21 June with letters to the earl from her husband and from the queen of Bohemia. Within the week, Cork wrote back to his son-in-law about plantation lands available in Connaught. On 1 July 1635, Cork, Dungarvan and his new bride, and Lettice departed Dublin and arrived at Lismore on 4 July.[39]

At the Hague in the spring of 1635, Colonel Goring found many changes had taken place in the international situation since the previous year. The Spanish Netherlands had a new, vigorous governor general, the Cardinal Infante Ferdinand, brother of Philip IV. To counter this renewed Spanish threat, the Dutch had entered into an alliance with France in February 1635, and the entire international scene shifted dramatically in May 1635 when Louis XIII and Richelieu did what Buckingham had proposed ten years earlier: they declared war on Spain and sent French troops into Germany against the emperor.[40]

In the summer campaign of 1635 in the Low Countries, France committed 20,000 infantry and 6,000 cavalry. The French forces, approaching through Luxembourg, joined up with Frederick Henry near Maestricht, and in June the two armies invaded westward

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into Brabant. The Dutch hoped to rally support among the south Netherlanders as they pushed towards Brussels, but when the invading armies sacked and burned the town of Tirlemont (Tienen), the southerners became more determined in their support of the Spanish regime. In addition, the threat of an approaching imperial army from Germany sent the Franco-Dutch forces fleeing back into the States' territory with heavy losses, due primarily to desertions among the ill-disciplined French troops. At the same time, the Cardinal Infante took the opportunity to strike into Dutch territory and captured the fortress of Schenkenschans on the Waal, close to the confluence of the Rhine. This left Holland open to further Spanish inroads until the fortress could be recaptured, which would not happen until 1636.[41]

The Dutch had to protect their southeastern frontier, and Colonel Goring was encamped there, in the vicinity of Roermond, in July 1635. However, in a letter to Lord Deputy Wentworth, his main concern was not the war but his wife's prolonged stay in Ireland. While he claimed he did not want to bother Wentworth with the reasons for her journey home, he did ask him to "alter her resolve of staying there."[42] Apparently George wanted Lettice to return to his family in England, for Lord Goring soon after wrote Wentworth that if his daughter-in-law did return, he would leave her alone, "having now resolved never to meddle more with her affairs." He believed she had "mischievous people about her," and he would not be troubled by her anymore.[43] Lettice, in fact, would chose to ignore her husband and would remain in Ireland until February 1636. Her behavior is interesting because it shows that a woman could achieve a certain amount of autonomy in a patriarchal society by moving among the different men in her life. If her husband or father-in-law failed to provide her with a satisfying life, she could turn to her father or even her brothers for support.[44]

Lord Goring in his letter to the Lord Deputy also hinted that he had other "misfortunes" to contend with at the time, although he did not want to bother Wentworth with a catalogue of his problems.[45] But those unspecified "misfortunes" made the senior Goring the butt of some court humor that summer. The Earl of Northumberland recorded: "[Lord Goring] had many disputes [with]in himself whether he should go and

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trail a pike under his son in the Low Countries or continue in the state he is in."[46]

Since there is no indication that he ever suffered any rift with his royal patrons, financial matters--beyond his son's extravagances--must have been the senior Goring's concern. In 1635 he was losing money on the licensing of butter exports. As he explained in his petition to the Privy Council, he had already paid for the right of licensing, but a large amount of butter--some 5,742 firkins (quarter barrels)--had been exported without payment of the customs fee. In recompense, in January 1636 the government did grant Lord Goring one-quarter of the fines collected for the illegal transport of butter. But the problem of unlicenced butter exports, moving primarily from Bristol and Wales, would resurface in 1637, causing Lord Goring to again seek redress from the king.[47]

In 1635 a problem also arose concerning Lord Goring's syndicate for licensing tobacco sales which lost £1,081 that year. The situation worsened the following year when Spanish merchants offered the English crown a better deal for the tobacco monopoly, forcing Lord Goring to raise his own offer to £10,000 the first year, and £20,000 thereafter. To help finance these commitments, he had to borrow from his kinsman John Denny in 1636, using Goring House in London as his security, and by 1637 Lord Goring's personal debt would grow to £19,385.[48]

Despite these setbacks, Lord Goring, fifty-years old in 1635, seemed to have a tremendous amount of energy and ambition as he pursued his multiple financial dealings, took care of family matters, and attended to his court functions. As the queen's Master of the Horse, he arranged transport for visiting ambassadors and also joined his court friends like Carlisle and Holland in presenting their own costly gifts to departing dignitaries. On occasion, Lord Goring provided a lavish farewell dinner, as when the Marquis di San Germano, the ambassador from Savoy, departed London in September 1634. Henrietta Maria always accorded special hospitality to the ambassadors from her sister, Christina of Savoy, as well as those from her brother, Louis XIII.[49]

King Charles had his own special guest arrive in England in the fall of 1635, his nephew Charles Louis, Elizabeth's eldest son. The Germans' effort to end their ongoing war at the Peace of Prague of May 1635 had not restored the young man to his father's

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former title of Elector Palatine (although the English accorded him that titular honor), so Charles Louis came to England to rally his uncle to his failing cause. Before he arrived in London for a formal reception at Whitehall Palace, the prince was greeted upon landing by the Earl of Arundel in the king's name and by Lord Goring who represented the queen.[50]

The following February King Charles invited Elizabeth's second surviving son, Prince Rupert, to join his brother in England. Rupert, born at the time of Frederick and Elizabeth's triumphant entry into Prague in 1619, had already begun his military training. When only thirteen, he had served under his great uncle Frederick Henry at the siege of Rheinberg and he had also taken part in the unsuccessful Franco-Dutch operation into Brabant the previous summer.[51] George Goring would have had the opportunity to meet Rupert during his first campaign seasons in the Low Countries and at Elizabeth's court; they would both be at the siege of Breda in 1637, and Rupert would eventually become Goring's commander in the first civil war. So the sixteen-year-old prince, who first visited his mother's homeland in 1636, would have a major part to play in George Goring's future career.

Elizabeth had actually worried that her second son was not as polished as his older brother and might not fare as well at court. Much to her surprise, Charles and Henrietta Maria were more drawn to Rupert's forthright manner than to Charles Louis's courtly politeness. As Elizabeth's London correspondent Sir Thomas Roe reported: "His majesty takes great pleasure in his [Rupert's] unrestfulness, for he is never idle, and in his sports serious, in his conversation retired, but sharp and witty when occasion provokes him." From this initial encounter, King Charles became attached to his nephew who, in return, would devote himself wholeheartedly to his uncle's cause beginning in 1642.[52]

But England was a country at peace in 1636 and courtly entertainments were more in vogue than martial arts. Will Davenant wrote *Triumphs of the Prince d'Amour*, a masque performed by the young gentlemen of the court for the Palatine princes on 24 February. Some uninvited guests attended that evening: Henrietta Maria and her ladies, without masks, in open "disguise of citizens' wives," accompanied by her courtiers, the Earl of Holland, Lord Goring and Henry Percy.[53]

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As a court masquer, George Goring may have participated in the evening's entertainment. He was back in England for the winter, and his wife finally left Ireland in February to rejoin him in London (after borrowing £120 from her father, who added this to the £200 debt "George Goring yet owes me.") Even when not on active duty, Goring had to recruit men to keep his regiment up to strength for the coming campaign season, so on 27 February 1636, Secretary Coke issued orders to allow John Blagg, company sergeant to Lieutenant Colonel Hollis, to embark twenty-five recruits for Colonel Goring's regiment in Holland.[54]

George was still in England when the Earl of Carlisle died on 20 April 1636. As previously shown, Carlisle had been a prominent court figure since the Stuarts first came to the English throne in 1603. The Gorings had greatly benefitted from his patronage, and young George had had the opportunity to observe and emulate this master of extravagance who managed to die £10,000 in debt. The funeral in May was attended by all the nobility, and Carlisle's widow, Lucy, found temporary consolation with the young Duke of Lennox (who would soon be replaced in her affections by Lord Deputy Wentworth). In a poem to the countess on the death of her husband, Will Davenant celebrated the earl's diplomatic efforts: "He whisper'd War abroad, then brought home peace," and hinted at the amicable nature of this courtier *par excellence*: "Cheerful his age, not tedious or severe."[55]

On 20 May 1636 George Goring departed the English court to return to the Low Countries. However, the major action for that campaign season had already been completed by Count William of Nassau who retook Schenkenschans on 30 April. That effort had cost the Dutch their entire military budget for 1636, so no further action of importance took place that year. Only in 1637 would Frederick Henry return to the offensive and begin the siege of Breda.[56]

"Thorough Government"

Every year when George Goring returned to his regiment, he sailed off to a

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continent torn by war, leaving behind a kingdom at peace. From our vantage point, however, we know England would slide into its own civil war in a few short years. Historians have thus focused on the relatively calm years of the 1630's to find the causes of the upheavals of the 1640's. Although their conclusions are often widely differing, some of the basic problems facing King Charles and his government can be discerned.

One problem which confronted all early modern governments was the growing fiscal needs of the state. Neither the Stuarts in their first four decades of rule in England nor Parliament had ever developed a mutually satisfactory new source of supply. Instead, in the 1630's Charles and his ministers continued to look for additional revenues without Parliament. The fiscal device used in 1634 was ship money, which supposedly was a onetime rate to provide emergency funds for naval defenses, which in the past had only been paid by coastal regions. But in 1635 ship money was levied throughout England and would continue to be collected through 1640. The money did go to the navy, as intended, and not into the Exchequer. The major complaints about ship money concerned ratings, but not its legality until John Hampden's failed test case of 1637. Moreover, of the four subsidies assessed between 1635-38 totaling £673, 109, ninety-five percent was collected.[57] Therefore, ship money, while one cause of discontent, did not in itself a rebellion make.

But beyond the fiscal weakness of the state, did Charles and his court become so out of touch with "the country" to ultimately provoke civil war? Was the court of the 1630's "an isolated place that knew little and cared even less about the rest of the country," as Charles Carlton suggests?[58] Revisionist historian Kevin Sharpe rejects this image of King Charles as a "fantasy dreamer," living in a world of masques and plays, and instead believes that the court was "not . . . [a] retreat from the world of reality, but rather a model for the reformed government of Church and state."[59]

After Lord Treasurer Weston's death in early 1635, Lord Deputy Wentworth and William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury since 1633, became the king's chief instruments in upholding the laws and hierarchy of church and state with the so-called policy of "thorough." Wentworth used this term for his administration in Ireland, whereby he

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wanted: "Thorough government to make every Irishman a loyal and prosperous English citizen."[60] The Lord Deputy was given great powers to govern, to maintain peace and order, and to produce wealth for the crown (and, incidentally, for himself). His policy was to divide the Old and New English interests and impose his policies, which outwardly seemed to be working in the 1630's. But the Earl of Cork was only one among many who resented the Lord Deputy's high-handed government, particularly after he lost a case brought against him by Wentworth in Star Chamber in May 1636. Cork had to pay a fine of £15,000 "or rather high ransom, thus undeservedly imposed upon me, God forgive the Lord Deputy." The outbreak of the Irish rebellion in 1641 would belie Wentworth's claim that the Irish had been "well-satisfied" with his government.[61]

The Lord Deputy visited England and was received by the king and queen at Hampton Court in June 1636. He would have had the opportunity to meet with political friends like Lord Goring who also was in attendance at court, and before returning to Ireland via his native Yorkshire, Wentworth probably would have sought out his closest ally, Archbishop Laud.[62]

Laud, the other pillar of "thorough," believed in the ceremony and hierarchy of the Anglican Church, as did King Charles. The Puritans, however, thought that the emphasis on ritual instead of preaching indicated a backsliding to Roman Catholicism, and they believed in a more horizontal church organization among communities of true believers. The fact that the king had a Catholic wife further complicated the issues, especially when several of her courtiers, among them Henry Jermyn and Wat Montague, converted to Catholicism. But Charles and Laud were not crypto-Catholics; they believed in the Anglican Church, and Charles wanted an end to theological debate, a respect for hierarchy, and the same liturgy used by all. But in his effort to enforce religious conformity on his Scottish subjects, Charles would soon unwittingly begin the end of his personal rule.[63]

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The Siege of Breda, 1637

While the events unfolding in Britain would ultimately shape George Goring's future, the war in the Netherlands was his immediate concern in 1637. Goring returned to the Hague earlier than usual that year, for he was also serving as King Charles's envoy to the Prince of Orange. The Dutch and the English navies had almost engaged one another in combat the previous year over the question of fishing rights off the coast of Scotland, but King Charles had chosen to back down and not enforce his claims. The matter was one of the topics Colonel Goring discussed with Frederick Henry.[64]

Goring also brought letters from the king to his sister Elizabeth. Charles had tried a renewed diplomatic initiative in 1636 to bring about the restoration of the Palatinate to her eldest son, Charles Louis. But while the Spanish government had given their usual assurances of their desire for an amicable solution to the problem, the emperor in Vienna had promised nothing. In January 1637 a group of English lords, led by the Earl of Warwick, told King Charles that they would vote funds for war against Spain if he would call Parliament. Elizabeth, writing to Archbishop Laud in February, recognized that her brother was not yet ready to break with Spain, although in his letters to her the king did mention plans to provide Charles Louis with ships.[65]

King Charles had also instructed Goring to ask Elizabeth if she wanted Rupert to return to her. Elizabeth felt that her son was too long at the English court, but George assured her that the king had said Rupert would be "capable of actions of honor" and would acquit himself well. Goring wrote this news to his father in a letter dated from the Hague, 4/14 February, and added that he was now awaiting orders from Frederick Henry. While claiming that the prince had shown his great kindness, George nevertheless was worried that he might miss some action taken by the English if King Charles chose to pursue war against Spain. George told his father that he would esteem himself "miserable" if he sat idly by "when there is action afoot where the King inclines to."[66]

Elizabeth, however, knew her brother better and doubted he would choose war with the Habsburgs. While the English continued to talk of naval adventures against Spain

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into the spring of 1637, Elizabeth more practically wanted 6,000 men for an army. King Charles even proposed an enterprise of sending Rupert off to be governor of Madagascar, a scheme Elizabeth labeled suitable for Don Quixote, but "a thing neither feasible, safe nor honourable" for her son.[67] As she confided in her friend Sir Thomas Roe, she knew her brother would not go to war with Spain, even though Spain had not upheld its promise to help restore the Palatinate.[68]

In late May 1637 Elizabeth wrote to Archbishop Laud that the Prince of Orange was preparing to take the field and she planned to send her third son, Maurice, with him "to learn that profession which I believe he must live by." She also wanted Rupert to return: "I think that he will spend this summer better in an army than idle in England . . . he will be better employed to see the wars."[69] Elizabeth actually had another motive for wanting Rupert back; she feared he was becoming too influenced by Henrietta Maria and her Catholicism. So the two princes completed their prolonged English stay at the end of June 1637. Charles Louis was awarded an annual pension of £12,000; Rupert, the more reluctant of the two to leave, a pension of £2,400, and both received a diamond ring personally from the queen.[70]

The princes were accompanied on their journey by an English retinue which included the Earls of Northampton and Warwick, Lords Grandison and Craven, and other gentlemen. But they arrived at the Hague several days too late, for Frederick Henry had already departed on 9 July for the rendezvous of his forces at Rammekens Castle in Zealand, the southernmost Dutch coastal province which bordered the Spanish Netherlands.[71]

The Dutch and their French allies had been debating over the aim and direction of the summer's campaign. Hercule Girard, Baron de Charnace, France's ambassador to the States-General since 1633 and also a regimental commander, wanted an attack on Dunkirk, the major port of the Spanish Netherlands at the time. While the Dutch would benefit from the seizure of this port from which the Spanish launched frequent attacks on their shipping, the French stood to gain even more. By the terms of the 1635 treaty with the Dutch, France was to be rewarded with part of the southern provinces, to include

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Dunkirk if it were captured.[72]

The initial preparations, therefore, were ostensibly for Dunkirk, but if unfavorable coastal winds prevailed, as they would, Frederick Henry had an alternate plan--to retake Breda, an important part of his heritage. The city, located in the geographic center of the Low Countries on the plain of north Brabant, had been the country seat of his father, William of Nassau, Prince of Orange. After William assumed the leadership of the Dutch rebellion, the Spanish had sequestered his vast estates at Breda. William had recaptured the city in 1577, only to lose it again in 1580.[73]

When Prince Maurice took up his slain father's mantle as leader of the rebellion, his first major success was to retake Breda in 1590, assisted by the English forces under Sir Francis Vere. However, in August 1624 Ambrogio Spinola and the Spanish began a siege which lasted until May 1625 when the Dutch defenders were finally forced out by starvation. Spinola then had the Jesuit Herman Hugo record the account of this retaking of Breda. That chronicle, in turn, would inspire George Goring's veteran quartermaster, Henry Hexham, to record the events of 1637: "It is now my turn (according to my weak ability) to write something also to succeeding ages. . . ." At the very beginning, Hexham pointed out the difference between Spinola's siege, "a town blocked up, which is a languishing death," and Frederick Henry's effort of 1637, "a town bravely besieged, and taken in by approaches, which, in a soldier's opinion, is counted more honorable."[74] Since Frederick Henry's retaking of Breda would be a textbook perfect example of how to carry out a successful siege, it is worth documenting in some detail, for siege warfare would be an important component in the English civil wars and in George Goring's subsequent military career.

Even when he had decided that Breda, and not Dunkirk, was to be his goal, Frederick Henry continued his preparations as if he were still planning a coastal attack on the south. He had used deception successfully in the 1634 campaign, Goring's first season, when the Dutch feint towards Breda had drawn the Spanish army away from Maestricht, and now the prince hoped to use a similar ploy. The Dutch forces completed their rendezvous at Rammekens on 12 July, which did lead the Spanish to expect an

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assault on the coast of Flanders. To reinforce their coastal defenses, they called out two regiments of foot and five hundred horse from Breda. On the evening of 19 July, the Dutch army left Rammekens and embarked on a flotilla of small boats. To keep up the subterfuge of a sea-attack, each soldier carried a ten-day supply of food and fresh water. But their journey was to be of much shorter duration, for the very next day some troops began landing at Bergen-op-Zoom. The English tercio or brigade was in the vanguard and struck out east to overnight at Roosendaal before continuing on to Breda. On 21 July the remainder of the Dutch army landed further along the Maas, at Diehtel, Swallwe and Geertruidenberg, and began marching south towards Breda.[75] (See figure 4.)

Frederick Henry had actually managed a double deception, for while the Spanish were watching the maneuvering of his main army, the prince had sent orders to Count Henry Casimir, governor of the northern Dutch province of Friesland, to surround Breda. Striking south on 17 July, the count with fifty-five companies of foot and thirty-eight troops of horse reached Breda on 21 July. The cavalry surrounded the town so quickly that the warning bells to bring in the cattle grazing beyond the town walls tolled too late, leaving Breda short of food. Two days later, on 23 July, Frederick Henry arrived with his main army, thanked his cousin Henry Casimir, and gave all the soldiers an evening of recreation.[76]

The next day Frederick Henry held a council of war. All the horse troops were scattered to keep watch over the surrounding countryside while the quarters were being set up and the entrenchments begun. The prince's headquarters was located about one mile south of Breda at the village of Ginneken, opposite one of the town's three ports or gates. The French and the English were quartered with the prince. The French tercio had five regiments, consisting of fifty-one companies, totaling 5,000 infantry and 600 cavalry. The senior regimental commander was Francois d'Aubespine, Marquis de Hauterive, and the other four colonels were Isaac de Perponcher de Maisonneuve, Henri Candale, de Chastillon, and the French ambassador to the States-General, Baron de Charnace.[77]

Located next to the French were the four English regiments under Colonels Sir Charles Morgan, Henry Herbert, George Goring and Thomas Colepepper. Each regiment

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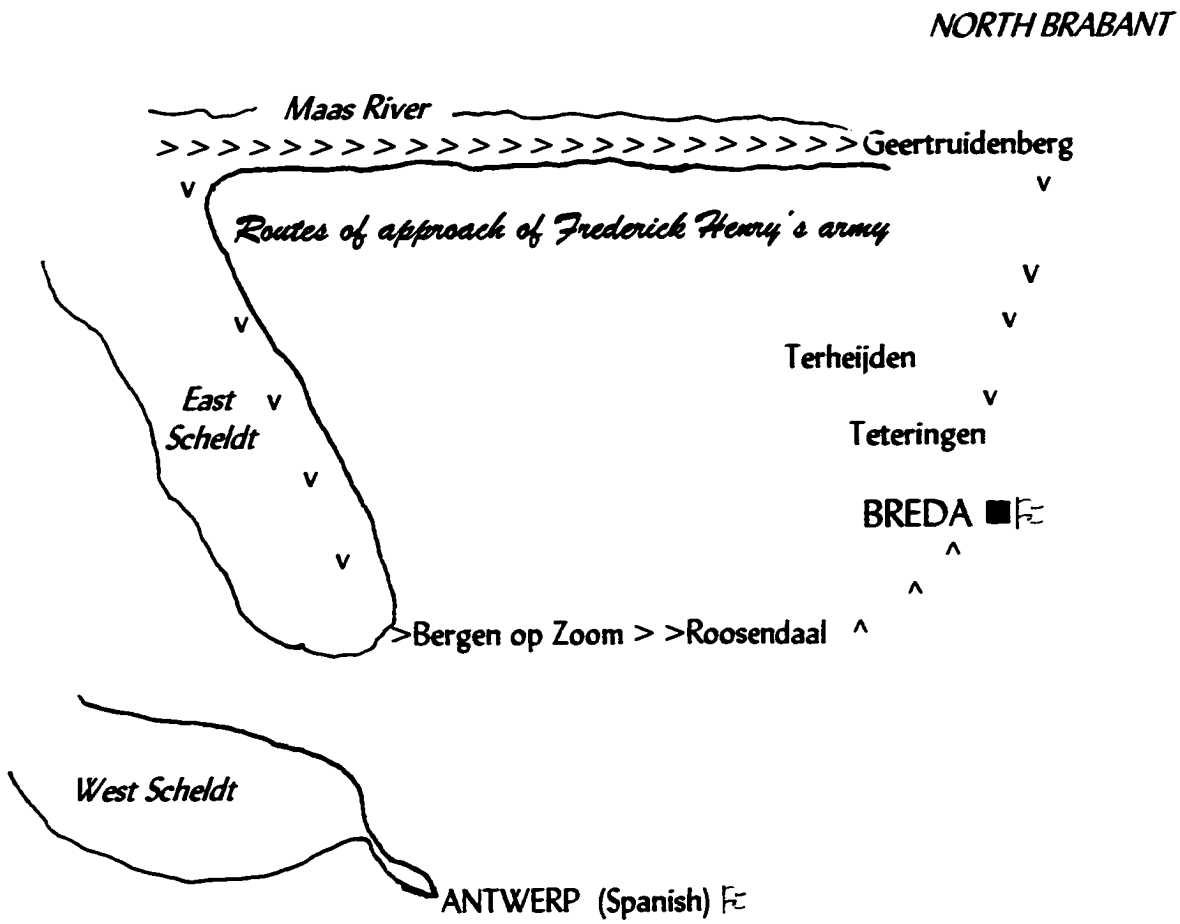
Figure 4. The Siege of Breda, 1637



Note: Map not precisely to scale.
F. S. Memegalos

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consisted of eleven companies, except for Colepepper's which had ten, for a total of forty-three English companies. The reduced size of the English command reflected the overall reduction in size of the Dutch armies since 1633. Two Dutch regiments, consisting of twelve companies and commanded by Count Maurice van Solms and Lord Brederode, were included in the English tercio to bring its strength up to fifty-five companies.[78]

The second quarters, under the command of Count William of Nassau, stood to the west of Breda, opposite the Westport or Antwerp gate. Three Scots regiments, under Colonels Lord Amon, Sir James Sandilands, and Sir David Balfoure, were part of Count William's command. It was with his fellow Scots that William Lithgow, a travel writer of some renown, found hospitality, "with kindly draughts of French, Rhenish and Spanish liquors," as he recorded his version of the events unfolding around him.[79] A third quarters was located northeast of Breda, one mile from the Busseport gate, at the village of Teteringen, and was commanded by Count Henry Casimir with his Dutch, Swiss and Walloon troops. A fourth quarters was established three miles to the northwest at Terheijden, where Colonel Philip van Varick had 2,000 men to guard access to the boats and to keep open the lines of supply from the province of Holland.[80]

Frederick Henry had a grand total of 24,000-25,000 men in his army, while Breda's garrison had been reduced--thanks to the prince's feint towards Flanders--to about 3,000 defenders. But a town situated in the middle of an embattled frontier zone had built up its defenses. The walls had fifteen bastions, surrounded by hornworks, all encircled by moat with thorny plants along its banks, and beyond the moat was a strong counterscarp wall.[81]

Before he could begin advancing on Breda's formidable defenses, Frederick Henry had to protect his own forces from attack from behind his lines. So the first order of business was to build a series of defensive ditches. Some 4,000-5,000 farmers and villagers from south Holland had followed the army, and on 25 July they began digging protective trenches around the Dutch army. It took just nine days to complete the outer ditch, twenty-one miles in circumference, and, with the help of additional civilians and the soldiers themselves, a second encircling ditch or fosse was dug, sixteen feet wide by eight

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feet deep, only five days later. The River Marck which ran through Breda was dammed above the town, so that the water was diverted into the fosse to further protect the besiegers from any relief force. As William Lithgow cheerily described this engineering feat: "By which means Breda stood in the midst of the center . . . like a maypole in the market place. . . ."[82]

As the furious digging was progressing at the end of July, the three eldest sons of Elizabeth--Charles Louis, Rupert and Maurice--and their train of English lords and gentlemen arrived at Frederick Henry's camp. The two younger princes reportedly joined in the basic tasks of soldiering, the same "as any needy cadet," while several of the English gentlemen placed themselves under Colonel Goring's command.[83]

Some prisoners were taken by the besiegers in July, so Frederick Henry learned of the defenders' depleted ranks, lack of food, and shortage of gun powder. In fact, Breda's only remaining hope was for a Spanish relief force to break the siege, but the Cardinal Infante had been in Artois and Flanders, guarding the southern borders from French attack when the siege began. By the time he reached Breda with his 17,000 men in early August, he was already too late. Frederick Henry had protected his army well, and the Spanish were left circling "without and about the trenches, peeping here and there. . . ."[84]

After two weeks of this cat-and-mouse game, the Spanish army withdrew, closely followed by eleven horse troops under the command of Sir Simon Harecourt, Colonel Goring's sergeant major, and Colonel Johan van Wynbergen. The Spanish, however, had no intention of doubling back, but instead used this opportunity to retake Venlo and Roermond. After an unsuccessful pass at Maestricht, the Cardinal Infante returned to guarding the southern frontier against France. Breda had been left to fend for itself.[85]

Frederick Henry could now begin to advance the approaches towards the town's outer defenses, a task to be undertaken by the English and French tercios. On 18 August, with a certain amount of ceremony, the senior colonels, Hauterive and Morgan, had the honor of breaking ground. The English dug to the left, the French to the right, for the Marquis de Hauterive was the oldest colonel present and so was accorded the precedence of digging to the right. As the trenches were advanced, the besiegers came within range

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of the town's guns, leaving "my Lord Morgan shot through the britches, which bullet grazed upon his buttock, without doing him any further harm," Henry Hexham recorded.[86]

Breda's garrison did send out parties to attack the advancing Dutch forces, after which the Spanish asked Frederick Henry for a truce to retrieve their dead. The wily prince decided to use that encounter to his advantage. He had Pierre de Perceval, quartermaster general and chief engineer of the French approaches, disguise himself as a sergeant and engage the enemy officers who came out of the town in conversation in the hope of gleaning further intelligence from them. But the Spanish also intended to do some scouting under cover of the truce, and sent out their own chief engineer to look over the advancing fieldworks and to treat the Dutch to some Rhenish wines and Breda beer, undoubtedly in the hopes of loosening their tongues. The two engineers ended up toasting the health of the Cardinal Infante and the Prince of Orange, and the Spanish engineer then proposed a toast to his French counterpart, never realizing he was drinking with the very man he assumed he was toasting in absentia![87] Whether either side gained any useful intelligence from that rather jovial exchange was not recorded.

The truce over, the besiegers went back to advancing their works. The order of business was to reach and penetrate the counterscarp wall by these trenches, dam the moat, take the outer defensive walls or hornworks, and finally breach the inner town walls. A rotation schedule was set up among the colonels of the English tercio; each would begin his shift in the evening, for the digging would be forwarded under cover of darkness. On 19 August Count Solms relieved Sir Charles Morgan; on 20 August Colonel Herbert commanded; and on Friday evening, 21 August, Colonel Goring. George, who had just turned twenty-nine that summer, on this his first shift entered the trenches accompanied by the Earl of Northampton, Lord Grandison, and other volunteers and "gentlemen of quality." The gunfire from the town was becoming more intense, so to encourage his men, Goring went into the advanced area of digging with his chief engineer, Captain Watkins, and Sergeant Adams, his master of the sap. He promised the men that in addition to their regular wages from the States, he would personally pay a bonus of two Rixdallers per man, "whereby he did not only encourage them for the present, but won

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their hearts for any further employment, as did afterwards appear."[88]

To keep the enemy from undoing his advanced work, Goring called in extra men to make blinds and musket entrenchments before he was relieved on 22 August by Colonel Thomas Colepepper. The casualties on Goring's shift included Sergeant Bagnell, who was shot in the jaw and lost some teeth, and one soldier killed. Constantijn Huygens, Frederick Henry's secretary as well as a scholar of international repute, reported back to the Princess of Orange, Amelia van Solms, that Colonel Goring and his French counterpart, Captain Glesser, had made good progress on their shift, for the besiegers were already approaching the counterscarp defenses.[89]

The advance continued unabated, despite the growing intensity of enemy fire. On 24 August, Quartermaster General Perceval, the French engineer-cum-spy, was shot in the shoulder. The two sides were now also within hand grenade range. On Wednesday evening, 26 August, George Goring was back in command of the English approaches, while Baron de Charnace led the French who were coming under particularly heavy fire that night. About one hour before dawn two enemy soldiers with firelocks crept up on the English position and shot two sappers dead just as Colonel Goring had turned to leave them. The work stopped. George had to bring in some of his veterans to build blinds to prevent a reoccurrence before the men could be persuaded to return to work. Cannon and muskets were brought up to protect the digging which was then advanced another twelve feet.[90]

As morning broke on 27 August the enemy sallied out of the town with hand grenades and pitch ropes to set fire to the blinds. Charnace counterattacked with one hundred men, and sword-to-sword, beat back the enemy. The French then managed to advance their sap to the foot of the counterscarp and took one palisade. Baron de Charnace could then claim Frederick Henry's promised reward of "as much money as would buy him a new suit of clothes, cloak and all." Henry Hexham was a bit chagrined that the French had beaten the English to the counterscarp wall. He argued that if the English had not run into a patch of marshy ground, they would have arrived first. But on the evening of 27 August, Colonel Colepepper advanced the English position to the

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counterscarp and took three palisades, thus also winning himself a new suit of clothes.[91]

For the next three nights the English and the French dug into the enemy's first line of defense, the counterscarp, with the men working under cover of wooden shelters. On 30 August Colonel Herbert was within twelve feet of the moat. Colonel Hauterive and the French actually reached the moat but were unable to cross it and so could not claim Frederick Henry's new reward of 2,500 guilders.[92]

George Goring came on duty on 31 August and, assured that the same reward money would be available if his men crossed the moat first, sought "the most expert and bold workmen of our nation," reported Hexham. The six soldiers who came forward were offered 1,500 guilders. Their task: to use "rise bushes" to dam the moat. Five of these first six volunteers were killed or wounded. Fifteen more men came forward and, as they fell, others replaced them. By the early morning hours, the English had dammed the moat to within fifteen feet of the far bank. But the enemy's gunfire became so deadly that the advance stopped. To offer some protection to the exposed men who were building the dam, Goring brought forward musketeers to keep up a continuous fire on the enemy. He also kept a fresh supply of men coming up and he himself stayed among the soldiers bringing forward the materials for the dam, "being an example unto them of singular diligence and boldness."[93]

Dawn was fast approaching and the cover of darkness would soon be lost. The work was at a standstill again, and Colonel Goring was not satisfied, for so little remained to be done. He, therefore, had his men lay blinds of fascines (bundles of twigs and brushwood) and under this cover four volunteers, promised 250 guilders each, completed the dam without any further loss of life. The work was finished by noon. Prince Frederick Henry personally came to inspect this remarkable achievement, for Goring and the English, under heavy fire, had built a dam fifteen feet wide by six feet deep, across a sixty-foot moat. The prince then immediately ordered the mining of the now accessible hornwork or outer wall.[94]

The first miner sent across, however, came scurrying back, complaining that it was too difficult to pass over the makeshift dam. Undaunted, Goring ordered his men to fix it

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up. The miner was then sent back across, and so "that no more needless excuses should be made, the Colonel himself went quite over it, and in his return, received a shot with a sling bullet in his left leg."[95]

Apparently the defenders had disappeared behind their hornwork when the dam was completed, but they had suddenly reappeared, just as George was trying to cross back, and caught him in their renewed heavy fire, aimed directly down on the English advanced works. Huygens reported that the enemy's "wickedness led to their success, to the great misfortune of poor Colonel Goring, whose foot and joints were broken. . . ."[96] According to Hexham, the bullet "tore away a great deal of his flesh," entering in the vicinity of the anklebone and splintering the end of the shin bone.[97]

The doctors and the surgeons deliberated and decided that the best procedure would be to amputate the shattered leg below the knee. Just one knife incision and a few strokes of the saw would do the job. A bullet wound was considered particularly dangerous because of the resultant internal bleeding, blood poisoning, and splintered bones. But George Goring, awake and alert, refused the procedure. He was considered to be in good health otherwise, and, despite the great pain, he wanted the wound dressed. The doctors agreed to wait and see whether or not gangrene set in. Upon hearing the news, the Prince of Orange rushed to Goring's side, only to find George making light of his situation, saying he feared that if he were crippled he would be reduced to begging for alms.[98]

But George's brave demeanor could not alter the fact that his injury was considered to be life-threatening. William Lithgow called the wound "a most dangerous and pitiful hurt," while Constantijn Huygens reported to the Princess of Orange that everyone in the camp was very sorry that such a "*grand malheur*" or great misfortune should have befallen such a brave young gentleman. Huygens explained that the best hope was still amputation and then a replacement pegleg, "if" George's life could be saved.[99]

While Goring's life thus hung in the balance, further disasters befell Frederick Henry's army that 1 September. The miner whose initial complaint about the dam had caused George to venture out was himself killed; as he tried to cross back he "had his

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brains shot out" by the same gun that wounded George.[100] The French, in turn, lost Baron de Charnace, diplomat and soldier, "who had his head shot off from his shoulders with the thundering messenger of a cannon bullet, and thereafter the rest of his dead body was sent to be interred in France."[101] With these losses, all worked stopped for the rest of the day, as "a universal damp of sadness seized on the hearts of all men."[102]

Goring's eventual recovery was apparently a slow process. A week later, Sir William Boswell, an English diplomat with the Dutch army at Breda, wrote that the wound had not yet begun "to come well," as George continued "to take rest."[103] Only after the dressing had been changed twice and no signs of gangrene appeared, did the doctors declare that amputation was finally ruled out and they would go for a cure instead. Henry Hexham reported that this news brought joy to the men, for George's "great wound was, and is the sorrow of all that love honor, virtue and soldiers."[104] While Hexham may have waxed overly poetic in praise of his own commander, the other eyewitness accounts did verify George Goring's actions under fire and the reaction of his comrades to his misfortune.

The advance resumed on 2 September and within a day the French had also dammed the moat. The English and French lines were brought up under the town's hornworks, in the vicinity of the Ginneken gate. On 6 September, Goring's normal rotation came up, but his second-in-command, Lieutenant Colonel Hollis, took his place. Twice that night the enemy sallied forth from the town in an attempt to throw back the besiegers who were laying mines, but Hollis and his men managed to beat them back.[105]

Finally, at seven o'clock on Monday morning, 7 September--with Frederick Henry and the three princes Palatine in attendance--the mines were set off and a breach was blown in the hornwork. Goring's regiment under Hollis was to lead the assault against about four hundred Spanish and Burgundian defenders. Heading the English charge was Captain George Monck, the very same man who would engineer the Stuart restoration in 1660. But in 1637 Monck was a twenty-nine-year-old officer serving under Goring who dashed into the breach with twenty musketeers, ten pikemen, and some workmen. More English followed him, "falling in pell mell." Among them was Prince Rupert, who had

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been allowed to carry the orders for the assault to Monck but with instructions that he himself was not to engage in the advance, an order which the prince promptly disobeyed as he entered into the thick of the action. As more English stormed in, they began shouting Goring's name as their rallying cry, "whether by order, out of an affection to the Colonel, or for a revenge upon the enemy."[106]

The hornwork was taken. The defenders reportedly lost two hundred men, while the English casualties were about eighteen slain and twenty to thirty wounded. The Scotsman William Lithgow had to pay homage to the "singular valour of the English" for this action. Henry Hexham noted that Frederick Henry personally thanked the English "who had performed so brave an action, as if he rejoiced that Colonel Goring was in some part thus revenged on the enemy by the valour of his company. . . ." The prince visited George in his hut and told him of the action and the bravery of his men.[107]

In the following days the English and the French brought up batteries in the captured area. The Scots, trying to enter another breach, initially lost about one hundred men in a failed attempt before succeeding on 12 September. The end of the siege was approaching and Frederick Henry sent for his young son, Prince William, to join him for the final victory. On 16 September, "*M. petit Prince*," visited the still recuperating Colonel Goring as well as some of the Spanish prisoners-of-war.[108]

The Dutch forces were mining the town's walls when the governor sent out a messenger. On 6 October 1637, just fifty days after the first forward trenches had been started, the town of Breda surrendered. The news spread rapidly to the surrounding countryside as victory bonfires blazed, so that about 30,000 people, soldiers and civilians, gathered to watch the Spanish army march out on 10 October. The Articles of Capitulation allowed the defenders to leave with their arms, baggage, colors and drums, and guaranteed them safe passage south to the town of Mechelen.[109]

The Princess of Orange joined her husband and son, and the three Palatine princes, as they watched the procession begin at about 11 a.m. Out marched the Spanish defenders, colors flying, in ranks of musketeers followed by pikemen. They marched through a passage lined with Dutch soldiers who were playing trumpets and drums. The

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governor of Breda, Gomer Fourdine, had a fever, so intended to travel by coach. But he instead mounted a horse, rode up to Frederick Henry, dismounted and exchanged courtesies. Only a dozen departing Jesuits reportedly refused to bow to the Prince of Orange. Five days later a great feast was held in the town's castle. The prince and his family, joined by the army commanders, celebrated the recovery of his patrimony. The cost to the Dutch forces had been 820 killed and 1,283 wounded, while the defenders had been reduced to about 1,600 men.[110]

The four English regiments lost 156 killed and 258 wounded. George Goring was the highest ranking English officer seriously wounded, while Henry Wilmot, another future royalist commander, had been shot on the side of the face, a bullet grazing his cheek and ear. In fact, John Kenyon calls the siege of Breda "a kind of 'pre-union' of Civil War notables."[111] Besides Goring and Wilmot, Princes Rupert and Maurice, and George Monck, also at the siege were Sir Jacob Astley, lieutenant colonel of Colonel Morgan's regiment, who would be one of King Charles's most skilled and steadfast supporters, and Philip Skippon, a staunch Puritan who would serve Parliament as a distinguished infantry commander.[112]

Back in England, the first news that arrived after George Goring was wounded and his life was still in danger, was that he had actually been killed. The follow-up reports said George was indeed alive, but had lost his leg. Finally, only at the end of September, did a more accurate account reach England: "The report . . . of Goring's loss of leg [is] somewhat sweetened, for now they write that his leg is secured, tho' with some lameness."[113] On 13 October Secretary Windebank sent George congratulations on his recovery. In his response, dated 15/25 November from Breda, Colonel Goring thanked the king's secretary for his favors and reported that he was sufficiently recovered to make the journey home soon.[114]

The premature reports of Goring's death did provide the favored court poet, Will Davenant, with an opportunity to commemorate his friend. The poem was entitled "Written, when Colonel Goring was believ'd to be slain, at the siege of Breda," and was presented as a lamentation by "Endimion" and "Arigo," who in reality were Endymion

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Porter and Henry Jermyn, Davenant's court patrons and close friends of the Gorings.[115]

In the poem, Endimion and Arigo set out on a sea voyage to "where these faded Heroes are," to find "where Sidney's ever-blooming throne is spread;/for now, since one renown'd as he is dead/(Goring, the still lamented, and belov'd!)"[116] According to the poet, George merited comparison to the great Elizabethan poet-soldier, Sir Philip Sidney, who had died in the Dutch Wars in 1586 from an infected bullet wound to the leg.[117]

The concluding lines of the poem are instructive:

> Thus he forsook his glories being young:
> The warrior is unlucky who lives long:
> And brings his courage in suspect, for he
> That aims at honour, i'th supreme degree,
> Permits his Valour to be over-bold,
> Which then ne're keeps him safe 'till he be old.[118]

These laudatory sentiments hold a kernel of truth. George Goring did believe in a code of honor, even though he understood that word differently than we would today. On the battlefield, Goring did allow his "Valour to be over-bold," as he pushed himself to the limits to set an example for his men. To Goring, a display of courage to accomplish a difficult goal outweighed the very real possibility of death. Having shown such valor, George Goring could return to England as a true war hero, just when his military skills would soon be needed by King Charles.

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1. Wilson, *Elizabeth and the Revolt of the Netherlands*, 112.

2. *CSPVen 1632-36*, 161, Ambassador Gussoni, London, 28 October 1633 [N. S.], and Ambassador Soranzo, Paris, 8 November 1633 [N. S.]; Sheffield Libs., Wentworth MS. 8/71, Wentworth to Lord Goring, 29 January 1634; Gregg, *Charles I*, 250.

3. Sheffield Libs., Wentworth MS. 13/92, Lord Goring to Wentworth, 11 November 1633; W. Sussex R. O., Wiston Archives 5973, from Coke MS., Lord Goring to Secretary Coke, 18 October 1633; Olaf Morke, "Sovereignty and Authority; The Role of the Court in the Netherlands in the First Half of the Seventeenth Century," in Asch and Birke, *Princes, Patronage*, 466; R. Ernest Dupuy and Trevor N. Dupuy, *The Encyclopedia of Military History, From 3500 B.C. to the Present*, 2d rev. ed. (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1986), 527.

4. *CSPD 1633-34*, 292.

5. Ibid., 301, dated the Hague, 27 November/7 December 1633.

6. Geoffrey Best, *War and Society in Revolutionary Europe, 1770-1870* (Suffolk: Fontana Paperback, 1982), 237-38. Best estimates that three-quarters of the officers in the British army entered and rose by purchase as late as the mid-nineteenth century.

7. John Cruso, *Military Instructions for the Cavalry*, explanatory notes and a commentary by Peter Young (Kineton: The Roundwood Press, 1972, being a facsimile of the edition of 1632), xviii, 2.

8. Stoye, *English Travelers*, 259, 262; Wilson, *Elizabeth and the Revolt of the Netherlands*, 29-30, 82-86; Markham, *Fighting Veres*, 1, 41, 456, 460; Kenyon, *Civil Wars*, 2; Cruso, *Military Instructions*, xviii; Jonathan I. Israel, *The Dutch Republic and the Hispanic World, 1606-1661* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), 250; Peter Young and Wilfred Emberton, *The Cavalier Army: Its Organization and Everyday Life* (London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1974), 19.

A few words on the causes and development of the revolt of the Netherlands might be useful. In the mid-sixteenth century, Philip II, son and heir of Emperor Charles V, received a vast inheritance which included the crowns of Spain, parts of Italy, the Spanish New World empire, and the rich seventeen provinces of the Low Countries. But unlike his father who was a native of the Netherlands, Philip was Spanish-born and raised, and seemed a foreign and distant monarch to his northern subjects. When Philip tried to increase his authority over the local nobility and enforce Catholicism in an area where Calvinism was rapidly spreading, he provoked a revolt. The Dutch, fearful of their powerful Spanish opponent, constantly sought foreign allies and thus internationalized their local conflict, which would not be definitively resolved until the Peace of Westphalia of 1648 when the seven northern provinces gained official independence. For general accounts, see Pieter Geyl, *The Revolt of the Netherlands, 1555-1609*, 2d ed., and *The*

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Netherlands in the Seventeenth Century, 1609-1648, 2d ed., Cassell History, series ed. David Cannadine (London: Cassell Publishers Ltd., 1989). Also, Geoffrey Parker, *The Dutch Revolt*, rev. ed. (London: Penguin Books, 1985), and *The Grand Strategy of Philip II* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), particularly Chapter 4, "'The Great Bog of Europe': the Netherlands, 1555-77."

9. In fact, ten Veres fought in the Netherlands, and five died in battle, including Henry, 18th Earl of Oxford, killed in the 1625 siege of Breda. Markham, *Fighting Veres*, 2, 22-23, 81, 144-46, 360, 397, 420, 450; Stoye, *English Abroad*, 260-62; Wilson, *Elizabeth and the Revolt of the Netherlands*, 112. Sir Francis Vere's great black marble monument in Westminster Abbey symbolizes the esteem in which he was held. See Ian Roy, "Towards the Standing Army, 1485-1660," in David Chandler, genl. ed., *The Oxford Illustrated History of the British Army* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 42.

10. Dupuy and Dupuy, *Military Encyclopedia*, 460; Albert S. Britt, III, et. al., *The Dawn of Modern Warfare*, The West Point Military History Series, series ed. Thomas E. Griess (Wayne, NJ: Avery Publishing Group Inc., 1984), 44-45; Markham, *Fighting Veres*, 455; Geoffrey Parker, *The Military Revolution: Military Innovation and the Rise of the West, 1500-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 18-21; Parker, *Army of Flanders*, Chapter 8 deals with the forty-five mutinies which occurred in Spain's Army of Flanders between 1572-1607 in which the mutineers' main objective was payment of their arrears.

11. Spain's goals after 1621 were the reopening of the Scheldt River (on which Antwerp depended for trade), toleration of Catholicism in the north, and the exclusion of the Dutch from Spain and Portugal's overseas empires. (The Portuguese crown had passed to the king of Spain in 1580.) Parker, *Dutch Revolt*, 239, 263-65; Geyl, *Netherlands in the Seventeenth Century*, 84.

12. Geyl, *Netherlands in the Seventeenth Century*, 88; Markham, *Fighting Veres*, 400-1, 451-52; Stoye, *English Travelers*, 262-63; Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, 178, 250.

13. Israel, *Dutch Republic*, 185-86; Parker, *Thirty Years' War*, 121-29; Britt, et. al, *Modern Warfare*, 47-48; Henry Hexham, *A Journal of the taking in of Venlo, Roermond, Strale; the memorable Siege of Maestricht* (Delft: John P. Walpole, 1633), card 1-2. Captain Hexham was quartermaster to Lord General Vere's regiment.

14. Hexham, *Siege of Maestricht*, 40; Israel, *Dutch Republic*, 178, 185-88; Parker, *Thirty Years' War*, 129-30; Markham, *Fighting Veres*, 450; *DNB*, 20:238; Sheffield Libs., Wentworth MS.13/92, Lord Goring to Wentworth, 11 November 1633. Lord Vere died in England in 1635.

15. Sheffield Libs., Wentworth MS. 13/119, Goring, the Hague, to Wentworth, 12 December 1633, and 13/133, Lord Goring to Wentworth, 9 December 1633; Knowler,

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Strafford Letters, 1:166, Reverend George Garrard, London, to Wentworth, 6 December 1633; *CSPD 1633-34*, 301.

16. *CSPD 1633-34*, 301; *The Letters of Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia*, comp. L. M. Baker (London: The Bodley Head, 1953), 89-91, to the Earl of Arundel, 22 February 1634, and to Thomas Roe, 20 March 1634; *DNB*, 14:230. In her letters, Elizabeth indicated she was particularly upset because the English Council had read her private correspondence in the course of its investigation of Nethersole.

17. Sheffield Libs., Wentworth MS. 13/133, Lord Goring to Wentworth, 9 December 1633.

18. Sheffield Libs. Wentworth MS., 8/71, Wentworth to Lord Goring, 29 January 1634; *Lismore*, ser. 1, 4:10.

19. Sheffield Libs., Wentworth MS. 8/71, and 8/26, Lord Goring to Wentworth, September 1633; BL Add. MS. 19832, f. 29, 33, Cork to Lord Goring, September 1633; *Lismore*, ser. 1, 4:197-98.

20. BL Add. MS. 19832, f. 36 b, Cork, Dublin, to Lord Goring, 20 September 1633. Even though this was a typical arranged aristocratic match, the earl's concern for his daughter's happiness is an example of the trend towards more affective family relationships. Lawrence Stone argues that in this period the family was moving from "distance, deference and patriarchy to . . . affective individualism." See his *Family, Sex and Marriage*, 22.

21. *Lismore*, ser. 1, 4:8, 10, 12-13, 24.

22. Sheffield Libs., Wentworth MS. 14/2, Goring, the Hague, to Wentworth, 4/14 March 1634.

23. *Lismore*, ser. 1, 4:24.

24. Ibid., ser. 2, 3:190-91.

25. Ibid., and ser. 1, 5:119; Caroline M. Hibbard, "The Role of a Queen Consort: the Household and Court of Henrietta Maria, 1624-1642," in Asch and Birk, *Princes, Patronage*, 394, 410-11.

26. *Lismore*, ser. 2, 3:190-91. The Reverend Alexander B. Grosart, the nineteenth-century editor and compiler of the ten volumes of the Earl of Cork's papers and correspondence, points out in a preface to this letter: "The Lady Lettice's spelling is something astounding in its illiterateness" as compared to her sisters and others (note on 190). The letters appear in the original spelling in the *Lismore Papers* and Lettice's are the most phonetic in spelling that I encountered.

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27. *Lismore*, ser. 2, 3:196-97.

28. Sheffield Libs., Wentworth MS., 14/55, Goring to Wentworth, 17/27 April 1634.

29. Sheffield Libs., Wentworth MS., 8/122-23, Wentworth to Goring, 26 May 1634.

30. Ibid.

31. Cruso, *Military Instructions*, 8; Henry Hexham, *A True and Brief Relation of the famous siege of Breda* (Delft: J. Moxon, 1637), 1; *CSPD 1635-36*, 256; Frances Parthenope Verney, *Memoirs of the Verney Family during the Civil War* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1892-99), 1-2:182-83; Dupuy and Dupuy, *Military Encyclopedia*, 527.

32. Israel, *Dutch Republic*, 250-51; Geyl, *Netherlands in the Seventeenth Century*, 106-9; *HMC*, 12th Report, Appendix, Cowpepper MS., 66, Gilbert Coke, Deunen, to Sir John Coke, 1 September 1634.

33. *HMC*, 12th Rpt., App., Cowpepper MS., 66.

34. Henry Schilling, "The Orange Court: The Configuration of the Court in an Old European Republic," in Asch and Birk, *Prince, Patronage*, 444, 449-50; Geyl, *Netherlands in the Seventeenth Century*, 131-32; *Lismore*, ser. 1, 4:56; Ross, *Winter Queen*, 63; C. V. Wedgwood, intro. to *Letters of Elizabeth*, 21.

35. Davenant, *Shorter Poems*, 388; Carlton, *Charles I*, 152; BL Add. MS. 33936, f. 114, Lord Goring, London, to William Moreton, 24 February 1635.

36. BL Add. MS. 33936, f. 114; underlining in the original.

37. Ibid.

38. *Lismore*, ser. 1, 4:108; O. A. Goring, *From Goring House to Buckingham Palace*, rev. ed. (London: J. A. Allen, 1978), 35-36, 49-50, 55-57, 171. The author's father, a native of Germany, built the Goring Hotel in London, but these Gorings are not related to the Gorings of Sussex.

39. *Lismore*, ser. 1, 4:115, 118, 120; Sheffield Libs., Wentworth MS. 19/48, Goring, Hague, to Wentworth, 18 May [1635].

40. Geyl, *Netherlands in the Seventeenth Century*, 108-10; Parker, *Thirty Years War*, 144-47. Elliott, *Richelieu and Olivares*, Chapter 5, "War and *raison d'etat*" offers an examination of French and Spanish motives for entering into war in 1635, a war each chief minister erroneously thought could be quickly won. This war would last until 1659 and would afford George Goring employment in the later years of his life, as discussed in

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Chapter 14 of this study.

41. Geyl, *Netherlands in the Seventeenth Century*, 118-9; Israel, *Dutch Republic*, 252-54; Parker, *Thirty Years' War*, 147.

42. Sheffield Libs., Wentworth MS. 15/148, Goring to Wentworth, 14/24 July 1635.

43. Sheffield Libs., Wentworth MS. 15/165, Lord Goring to Wentworth, 27 July 1635.

44. *Lismore*, ser. 1, 4:143-44, 157-58. I thank Barbara Harris of the University of North Carolina for pointing out this phenomenon and how it might apply to Lettice. Professor Harris was the commentator for my panel at the Middle Atlantic Conference on British Studies, New York City, 12 April 1997, at which I presented a paper entitled: "'That She Might Find Rest and Contentment:' Dealing with a Troubled Marriage at the Caroline Court" which focused on George and Lettice's marriage. Also, see Heller Mendelson, *Stuart Women*, 67; Lettice was not the only one of Cork's daughters who returned home to seek solace from their less than successful marriages.

45. Sheffield Libs., Wentworth MS. 15/165.

46. *CSPD 1625-29 Addenda*, 505, Northumberland, Petworth, to [Lord Conway], 30 August 1635.

47. *CSPD 1635-37*, 32, 163; *CSPD 1637*, 522.

48. *CSPD 1635-37*, 551; O. A. Goring, *Goring House*, 57; Stone, *Crisis*, 780.

49. Finit, *Ceremonies*, 30-32, 156-59, 167; *CSPVen 1632-36*, 275, 277-78, Secretary Zonca, London, 15 and 22 September 1634 [N. S.].

50. Finit, *Ceremonies*, 187-88.

51. Ibid., 194; Frank Kitson, *Prince Rupert, Portrait of a Soldier* (London: Constable and Company Limited, 1996), 43-48.

52. Quoted in Ross, *Winter Queen*, 115; Kitson, *Prince Rupert*, 48-49.

53. Finit, *Ceremonies*, 195-96.

54. *Lismore*, ser. 1, 4:157-58, 214, 5:80; *CSPD 1635-36*, 256.

55. Davenant, "To the Countess of Carlisle, on the death of the Earl her Husband," *Shorter Poems*, lines 40, 44 on 64-66; Schreiber, *Carlisle*, 5, 137, 167; *HMC*, 12th Rpt., Vol. 2, Cowpepper MS., 117.

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56. *HMC*, 12th Rpt., Vol. 2, Cowpepper MS., 117; Geyl, *Netherlands in the Seventeenth Century*, 118-19; Israel, *Dutch Republic*, 254-55.

57. Lockyer, *Early Stuarts*, 265-67; Carlton, *Charles I*, 193-94; Thomas, "Financial Development," in Tomlinson, *Before the English Civil War*, 121-22.

58. Carlton, *Charles I*, 137.

59. Kevin Sharpe, "The Personal Rule of Charles I," in Tomlinson, *Before the English Civil War*, 60. "Revisionism" and other theories of the causes of the civil wars will be further discussed in the opening section of the following chapter.

60. Quoted in Foster, *Modern Ireland*, 55, fn. xvii.

61. *Lismore*, ser. 1, 4:184; Foster, *Modern Ireland*, 55, 80; Carlton, *Charles I*, 184-85; Wedgwood, *Wentworth*, 119-23.

62. *CSPD 1635-36*, 463, 554.

63. Prall, *Church and State*, 114-18; Carlton, *Charles I*, 191; Smuts, "Henrietta Maria," *EHR*, vol. 93, (Jan. 1978) : 27; Sharpe, "Personal Rule," in Tomlinson, *Before the English Civil War*, 63.

64. *CSPVen 1636-39*, 148, Ambassador Correr, London, 20 February 1637 [N. S.]; *CSPD 1636-37*, 421; Geyl, *Netherlands in the Seventeenth Century*, 119-20; C. V. Wedgwood, *The King's Peace, 1637-1641* (London: Wm. Collins Sons & Co., Ltd, 1955; reprint, London: The Reprint Society, 1956), 26.

65. *CSPD 1636-37*, 422; Lockyer, *Early Stuarts*, 31; Smuts, "Henrietta Maria," *EHR*, vol. 93 (Jan. 1978) : 38-39.

66. *CSPD 1636-37*, 421.

67. Quoted in Ross, *Winter Queen*, 115.

68. *CSPD 1636-37*, 559-60, dated 6/16 April 1637.

69. *Letters of Elizabeth*, 95-96, dated 19/29 May 1637.

70. Ibid., 97, to Sir Thomas Roe, 17 June 1637; Finit, *Ceremonies*, 219-20; Ross, *Winter Queen*, 115-16.

71. *HMC*, 7th Rpt., Vol. 6, Part 1, Earl Denbigh MS. (hereafter *HMC* Denbigh MS.), 221; William Lithgow, *A True Experimental Discourse upon the* Famous *Siege, and happy recovery of Breda* (London: J. Okes for J. Rothwel, 1637), 11.

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72. Frederick Henry, Prince of Orange, *Memoires de Frederic Henri de Nassau, Prince d'Orange, 1621-1646*, preface by Prince of Anhalt-Dessau (Amsterdam: Pierre Humbert, 1733), 200, 204; Geyl, *Netherlands in the Seventeenth Century*, 108-10, 120-22.

73. Frederick Henry, *Memoires*, 200; Lithgow, *Siege of Breda*, 10; Israel, *Dutch Republic*, 257; Parker, *Dutch Revolt*, 209; Morke, "The Court in the Netherlands," in Asch and Birk, *Princes, Patronage, 465*; C. V. Wedgwood, *William the Silent* (London: Jonathan Cape Ltd., 1944; paperback reprint 1971), 18-19, 101, 176, 209, 226.

74. Hexham, *Breda*, Preface 1; Hexham's work is dedicated to the Earl of Holland. Parker, *Dutch Revolt*, 228, and *Military Revolution*, 13; Markham, *Fighting Veres*, 161-62.

75. Hexham, *Breda*, 1-4; Lithgow, *Breda*, 11-12; *HMC*, Denbigh MS., 221.

76. Hexham, *Breda*, 4; Lithgow, *Breda*, 12-13; *HMC*, Denbigh MS., 222.

77. Frederick Henry, *Memoires*, 200, 204; Hexham, *Breda*, 1; Lithgow, *Breda*, 14.

78. Hexham, *Breda*, Appendix of Articles, 17; Lithgow, *Breda*, 14; Israel, *Dutch Republic*, 256.

79. Lithgow, *Breda*, 14-15. William Lithgow (1582-1645) had traveled widely on the Continent and had spent time with both Spinola and Prince Maurice in the course of his travels. His description of his *Rare Adventures and Painful Peregrinations of Long Nineteen Years* (1632) had made him something of a travel authority among his contemporaries. His initial intent in 1637 had been to visit Russia, but, starting off too late in the year, he instead made his way to Breda (1-3). Also, *DNB*, 11:1238-40.

80. Lithgow, *Breda*, 15.

81. Ibid., 5; Hexham, *Breda*, Preface 2-5, 1.

82. Lithgow, *Breda*, 15-16; Hexham, *Breda*, 5-6; *HMC*, Denbigh MS., 221.

83. Hexham, *Breda*, 7.

84. Lithgow, *Breda*, 17; *HMC*, Denbigh MS., 221-22; Israel, *Dutch Republic*, 257.

85. Hexham, *Breda*, 8-10; Lithgow, *Breda*, 17-18; *HMC*, Denbigh MS., 222; Israel, *Dutch Republic*, 257.

86. Hexham, *Breda*, 11-12; Lithgow, *Breda*, 17.

87. Hexham, *Breda*, 12-13; Lithgow, *Breda*, 20.

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88. Hexham, *Breda*, 14.

89. J. A. Worp, ed., *De Breifwisseling van Constantijn Huygens* (The Correspondence of Constantijn Huygens), ('S Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1913), 2:277-78; Hexham, *Breda*, 14; Geyl, *Netherlands in the Seventeenth Century*, 232-34.

90. Worp, *Huygens*, 2:280, 283; Hexham, *Breda*, 17-18.

91. Hexham, *Breda*, 18-19.

92. Ibid., 19-20; Worp, *Huygens*, 2:292.

93. Hexham, *Breda*, 21.

94. Ibid., 21-22; Frederick Henry, *Memoires*, 212.

95. Hexham, *Breda*, 21.

96. Worp, *Huygens*, 2:292. "Ceste meschante prattique vient de leur reussir, au grand domage du povre coronel Goring, qui en a eu le pied rompu, aveq ses grandes joinctures. . . ."

97. Hexham, *Breda*, 21-22.

98. Worp, *Huygens*, 2:292. "Qu'il le voyoit reduict a ne pourvoir plus fair que demander l'aumosne." Frederick Henry, *Memoires*, 212; Hexham, *Breda*, 22; Parker, *Military Revolution*, 74, and *Army of Flanders*, 168.

99. Lithgow, *Breda*, 23; Worp, *Huygens*, 2:292-3, dated 1 September 1637.

100. Hexham, *Breda*, 22.

101. Lithgow, *Breda*, 25; Frederick Henry, *Memoires*, 212.

102. Hexham, *Breda*, 22.

103. *HMC*, Denbigh MS., 222, dated 8 September 1637.

104. Hexham, *Breda*, 22.

105. Ibid., 28; *HMC*, Denbigh MS., 222.

106. Hexham, *Breda*, 27-28; *HMC*, Denbigh MS., 222; Kitson, *Prince Rupert*, 54.

107. Lithgow, *Breda*, 24; Hexham, *Breda*, 29; *HMC*, Denbigh MS., 222.

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108. Worp, *Huygens*, 2:305; *HMC*, Denbigh MS., 222.

109. *HMC*, Denbigh MS., 222; Hexham, *Breda*, Preface, 2; Articles, 1-3.

110. Hexham, *Breda*, Articles, 12-14, 17; Lithgow, *Breda*, 48; Verney, *Memoirs*, 1-2:184.

111. Kenyon, *Civil Wars*, 43; Knowler, *Strafford Letters*, 2:115, Rev. Garrard to Wentworth, 9 October 1637.

112. Kenyon, *Civil Wars*, 27, 43, 252; Hexham, *Breda*, 6.

113. *HMC*, Vol. 3, 4th Rpt, App., Earl de la Warr MS., 293, Earl of Newburgh to Earl of Middlesex, 20 September 1637; *HMC*, Vol. 6, 7th Rpt., Lord Sackvile MS., 257; Knowler, *Strafford Letters*, 2:115.

114. *CSPD 1637*, 473, 544.

115. Davenant, *Shorter Poems*, 69-73, 387-88.

116. Ibid., 71, lines 66, 69-71.

117. *Oxford Companion to English Literature*, 902-3.

118. Davenant, *Shorter Poems*, 72, lines 89-94.

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CHAPTER 5
SERVING AT HOME: AT PORTSMOUTH AND IN THE BISHOPS' WARS, 1638-1640

While George Goring had been fighting in the front lines before Breda, the political climate at home had been changing. In 1637 King Charles had faced a number of challenges to his policies: John Hampden's court test of ship money; a growing vocal opposition to the Laudian church, resulting in the prosecution and public punishment of several leading dissidents; and the most concerted challenge to the king's authority, the violent rejection of the new Prayer Book by Charles's Scottish subjects.

Whether or not the continuation of Charles's personal rule in England would have in itself led to armed rebellion remains a matter of conjecture. Modern revisionist historians, as represented by Conrad Russell and Kevin Sharpe, believe that England in 1637 was a country in good working order, and that armed conflict was not inevitable. But Charles was also king of Scotland and Ireland, a factor which complicated and influenced the political situation in England.[1] By choosing to use force against his recalcitrant Scottish subjects, Charles unleashed a chain of events which would ultimately lead to civil war. How these events unfolded from 1638 to mid-1642 forms the broader political background for this and the following chapter.

George Goring, preceded by tales of his military exploits, returned to London at the end of 1637. His wound had left him permanently lame, but it had not ended his military career, for he continued as a regimental commander in Dutch service. In addition, through his father's court influence, he would be named governor of Portsmouth in late 1638, and he would also serve in King Charles's armies sent against the Scots in 1639 and 1640 in the two Bishops' Wars. So George Goring would have the opportunity to use his

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military skills to serve his king and, at the same time, to serve his own ambition for advancement.

Return to the English Court

George Goring arrived back in London Christmas week, 1637. A court observer reported to Lord Deputy Wentworth: "Colonel Goring, who goes on crutches, carries his leg in a scarf, will have little use of it; if he ever go on it, it will be only on his heel."[2] Without any direct medical testimony, it is difficult to determine what long term effects this wound had on Goring's health. Could his growing heavy dependence on alcohol in later years be attributed to continuing pain, as some analysts have suggested?[3] From a modern clinical point-of-view, based on the fragmentary evidence available, a wound of this severity would probably have left George with a painful deformity, a frozen joint with osteoarthritis, or a flail leg with bone that never fused. The best estimate is that the foot did remain a constant source of pain, and alcohol might have offered some relief.[4]

On the other hand, Goring's lameness was not sufficient cause to end his military career; he could still function as a mounted officer. In fact, his limp could be turned to some advantage and function as his red badge of courage, a visible reminder of his boldness under fire. Court gossip reported that George "appeared more comely and prevailing" with his lameness.[5] Clearly, King Charles, who would promote him to high command in the future, saw Goring as a capable field commander.

Once back at court, Goring had a year's worth of news and gossip to catch up on. For instance, he had missed the big social event of the past summer. The king's young cousin, James Stuart, Duke of Lennox, had finally been persuaded to turn his attention from the widowed Countess of Carlisle to marry Mary Villiers, Buckingham's daughter. The king himself had given the bride away at the ceremony performed by Archbishop Laud in early August. Lord Goring, among the guests, had rated news of this event more important than the rumblings of discontent coming from Scotland at the same time. The introduction of the new Prayer Book on 23 July--intended to bring the Presbyterian Kirk

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more in line with the Church of England--had resulted in rioting in Edinburgh and throughout Scotland. King Charles, viewing this action as an attack on his authority, had been unsure how to proceed: should he withdraw the Prayer Book or try to force its acceptance on his Scottish subjects? There were further riots in Edinburgh in September, and petitions flowed south to the king, asking for the book's withdrawal. By Christmas, nothing had yet been resolved.[6]

But the Scottish troubles still seemed remote at the English court which had its own religious scandal to focus on that December and which involved various close friends of the Gorings. Several prominent courtiers had converted to Roman Catholicism over the past few years, including Olive Boteler Porter, a Buckingham niece married to one of King Charles's favorites, Endymion Porter, a Gentleman of the Bedchamber. Porter himself, probably only for reasons of policy, remained outwardly Protestant. Their eldest son, born in 1620 and named George after his illustrious great-uncle, would marry George Goring's sister Diana and serve under Goring in the later stages of the first civil war.[7]

Olive Porter actively sought to convert other members of her family to Catholicism and succeeded with her sister, Anne Boteler Blount, an act which enraged her husband, Mountjoy Blount, Earl of Newport. Even though King Charles was not pleased with this conversion, he was eventually persuaded by Henrietta Maria to speak with the earl about his harsh treatment of his now Catholic wife, which gave the king an even more pro-Catholic appearance. Then the queen herself arranged a special Christmas mass at Somerset House at which the Countess of Newport first publicly appeared as a Catholic.[8]

The recently returned Colonel Goring would likely have heard first hand accounts of this affair, for, based on pictorial evidence, Mountjoy Blount was probably his closest friend. The Buckingham link would have been an initial point-of-contact, but the friendship endured, as attested to by two Van Dyck double portraits from the 1630's. Since this friendship would have political implications--particularly at the time of the Army Plot of 1641, to be discussed in the next chapter--we should examine this evidence more closely. Moreover, these paintings let us look directly at George Goring.

King Charles, today still considered one of the greatest of royal art patrons, had

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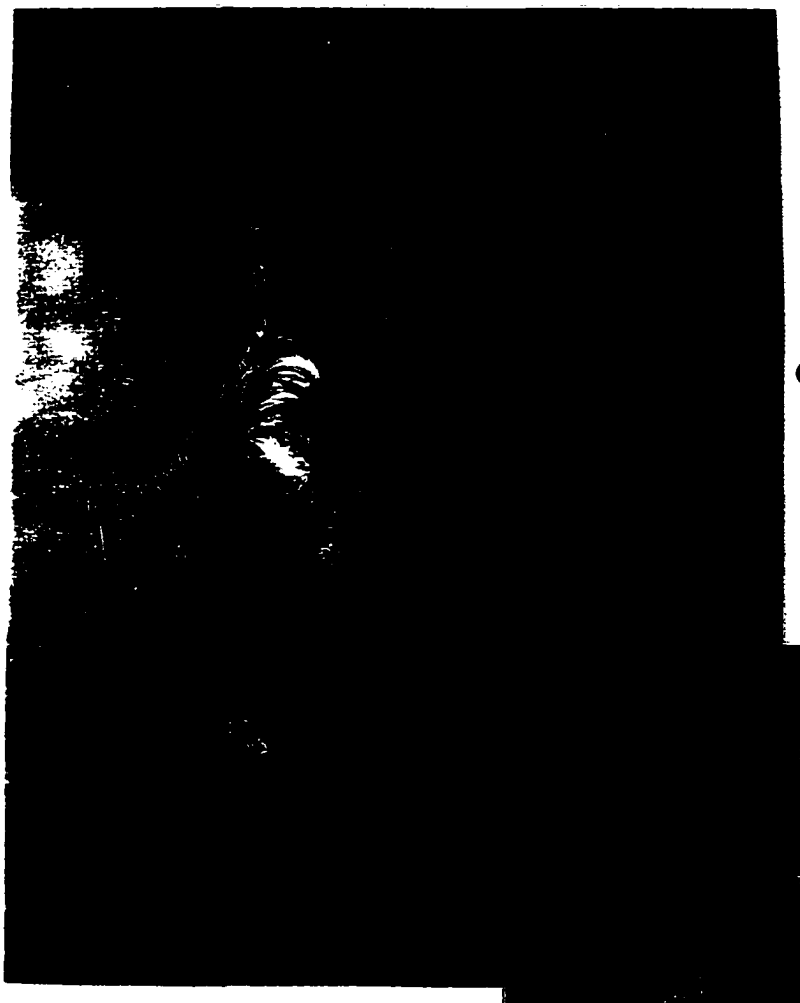
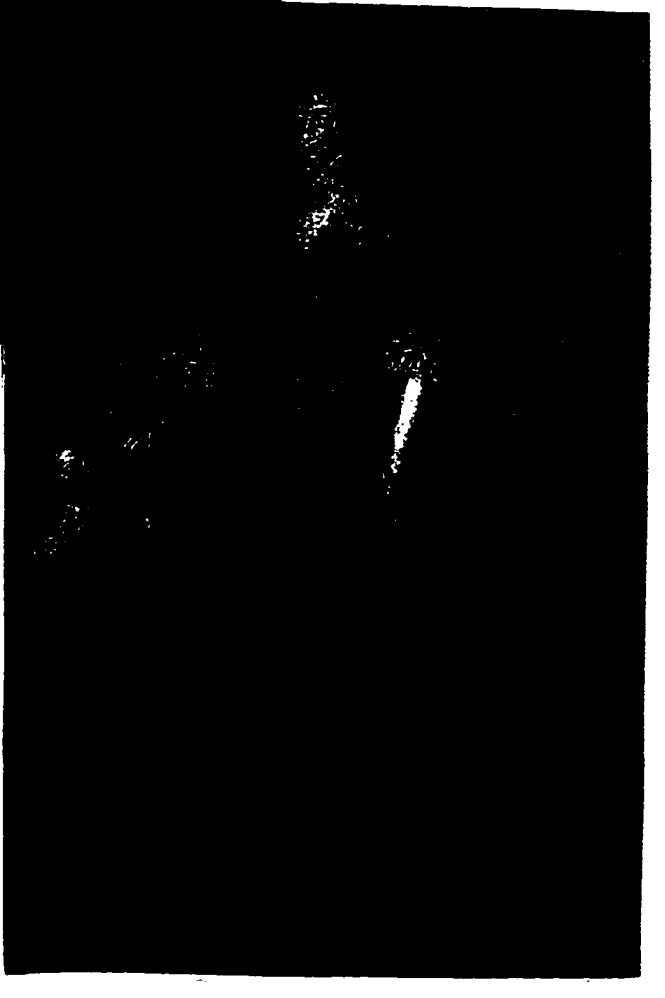
Figure 5: Charles I and Henrietta Maria by Van Dyck



Charles I
c. 1635-38
Louvre, Paris



Henrietta Maria with
Sir Jeffrey Hudson
c. 1633
National Gallery of Art,
Washington D. C.
Samuel H. Kress
Collection

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appointed Anthony Van Dyck his "principal painter in ordinary" in 1632. (See figure 5.) Van Dyck, born in Antwerp in 1599 and a precocious student of Rubens', developed into one of the preeminent portrait painters in Western art. He spent the last decade of his relatively brief life--he died on the eve of the first civil war in 1641--painting the elegant courtiers of the Caroline court. Van Dyck's particular genius was to elevate the art of portraiture beyond the stiff formality of past tradition. The artist did this by transforming his subjects, not so much as a form of flattery, but rather to refine and emphasize the sitters' distinguishing features.[9]

While the king, beyond his aesthetic sense, used Van Dyck's artistry to bolster his own image of royal authority, his courtiers had their portraits painted to symbolize their wealth, rank and family status. Unfortunately, when or why any particular portrait was painted on a given occasion has mostly been lost to us. Even the identification of many of the sitters remains speculative since names were no longer recorded on paintings.[10] These questions of occasion and dating have to be considered when examining the two Van Dyck double portraits of George Goring and Mountjoy Blount, Earl of Newport. Neither of the paintings is dated, and why these sitters chose to be painted together on two separate occasions remains a matter of conjecture.

There are, however, several clues which can lead us to an informed opinion. Van Dyck had painted a double portrait as early as 1626, while traveling and studying in Italy, of two resident fellow Flemings, the brothers Cornelius and Lucas de Wael. With this work he began to develop ways to differentiate the two sitters who were equal in status, and, in this case, he used light and dark. In his greatest double portraits, dating from his English period, Van Dyck continued to set the two figures apart and to emphasize their contrasting attributes. His first work of this type in England was a self-portrait with his friend and patron, Endymion Porter, dating from about 1635. All his other English double portraits are thought to have been inspired by this one, and therefore are dated after it. The Goring-Newport works are generally dated 1635-40.[11]

One of the Goring paintings is today on public view at Petworth House, a National Trust property in West Sussex. (See figure 6.) It is considered the more intimate of the

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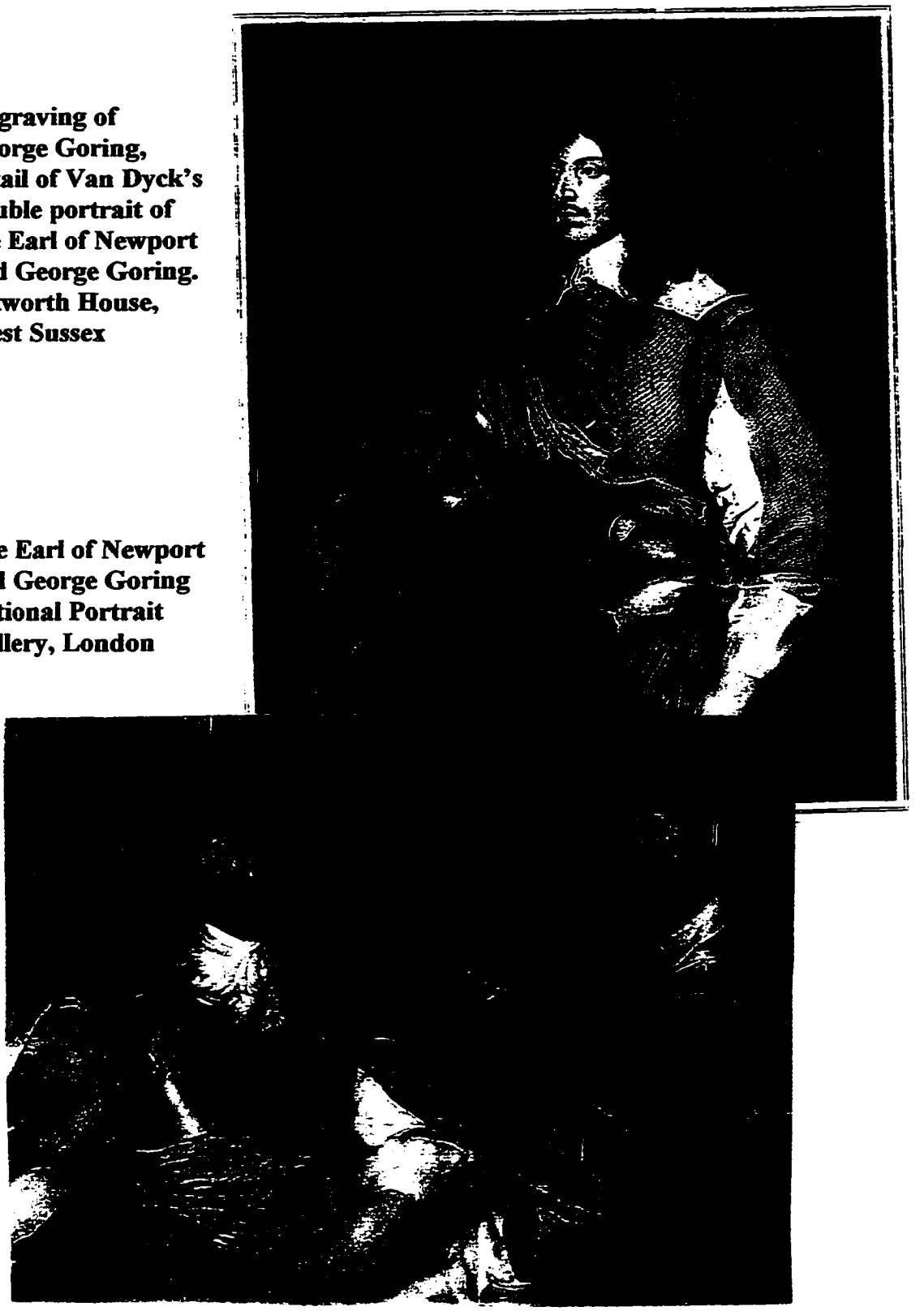
Figure 6. George Goring by Van Dyck



Engraving of George Goring, detail of Van Dyck's double portrait of the Earl of Newport and George Goring. Petworth House, West Sussex

The Earl of Newport and George Goring National Portrait Gallery, London

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two and is judged to be of very good quality. In it, the Earl of Newport turns to look out over his right shoulder. He wears a breast plate indicating his military career, for he had served in the Low Countries, in the 1628 relief expedition to La Rochelle, and in 1634 he had been appointed Master of the Ordinance for life.[12]

In both paintings, George Goring, as the younger man, appears to Newport's left. In the Petworth picture, George stands facing the earl, but looks beyond him. Interestingly, George wears a military buff coat but no armor, and he rests his right hand on a young page who is tying on his sash. Newport stands in front of dark curtaining, but George is partially set against a cloudy sky, exemplifying the contrasting motif of light and dark.

The second painting, a copy of which belongs to the National Portrait Gallery (NPG), London, is the more formal of the two. Although the two men remain in the same position relative to one another, the Earl of Newport now faces forward while Goring turns to look out over his left shoulder. This time the earl stands in front of the Baroque sky, while George is set against a dark background. Both men wear breast plates, and the sword hilts of both are displayed prominently.

While none of the art experts hazards a guess as to which portrait was painted first, it appears that both sitters are younger in the Petworth portrait. The fact that George's military accouterments are less evident here--and the page is preparing him for combat--could also indicate that he was still new to his profession. He wears his hair long, with love locks, in the court fashion, but his hair is shorter, shoulder length, and his dress more military in the NPG version. He has also gone from a rather benign expression to an imperious, direct stare.

Why two paintings, on two different occasions? The best suggestion is that prior to a separation which might prove final--such as going off to war--the sitters commissioned the first painting. Perhaps, after George's brush with death at Breda, the two men wanted to commemorate their friendship once again, on the eve of a new war.[13] Accepting this as a plausible suggestion--and based on the portraits themselves--it appears that young George Goring, towards the start of his military career in the Low Countries, is

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represented in the Petworth portrait. A more mature and hardened Colonel Goring who has already proven himself in battle appears in the NPG painting, possibly executed in 1639-40, at the time he and Newport would be facing military action against Scotland.

George Goring valued the original of the second work enough to take it with him into exile in 1645. Today its location is unknown, but its last known owner was the Marquess of Vatolla of Madrid, the city where George Goring would die in 1657.[14] Perhaps this painting was one of his last reminders of the life he, his family, his friends and his sovereign had lost. In turn, thanks to Van Dyck's artistry in these two paintings, we can trace George Goring's transition from a young courtier to a professional soldier.

Governor of Portsmouth

George Goring remained in England through the winter and into the spring of 1638, a time of growing political tension. Despite months of behind-the-scenes negotiations, the Scottish situation dramatically escalated when King Charles issued a proclamation in support of the new service book on 19 February, to which the Scots responded on 28 February by subscribing to a National Convent to defend their religion. They would fight to keep King Charles from interfering with their faith "and for the preservation of the laws and liberties of the kingdom."[15]

The king eventually chose his kinsman, James, Marquis of Hamilton, an anglicized Scot, to act as his commissioner to Scotland, although Charles himself directed the negotiations from London. But his continued threat of force only had the negative effect of making the Scots more intransigent. On 11 June Charles wrote Hamilton: "I mean to stick to my grounds, and that I expect not anything can reduce that people to obedience, but only force." He added: "Your chief end being now to win time . . . until I be ready to suppress them."[16] A week later Charles informed Hamilton that he had sent for arms to Holland to equip an army of 14,000 infantry and 2,000 cavalry. Only on 1 July did the king inform the English Privy Council of the possibility of war with Scotland and about the weapons coming from the Dutch.[17]

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Despite Charles's preliminary preparations for war, negotiations would continue throughout 1638, and only in the spring of 1639 would an English military expedition be mounted. George Goring was possibly privy to the king's earliest plans for war, for he was detained in England by court business in May 1638 and missed the rendezvous of Frederick Henry's army at the start of the new campaign season. By the end of the month, he was still unable to leave on the St. Dennis, a ship which had been awaiting him at Margate road. The Lord Admiral of England, Algernon Percy, Earl of Northumberland, made new arrangements with the vice admiral, Sir John Pennington, and ordered another ship to be ready to take Goring "to such port in Holland as shall be most convenient for his landing."[18]

Traveling with Goring was Sir Jacob Astley, General Morgan's lieutenant colonel at the siege of Breda. Astley, a fifty-nine-year-old veteran, was the agent charged by the king to purchase weapons from the Dutch.[19] It would appear, therefore, that Goring was delayed at court as the king made his initial military preparations and issued orders to Astley to obtain weapons. Goring might have been made aware of the king's instructions, for George, in the previous year, had served as Charles's emissary to the Prince of Orange and on this occasion he may have been prepared to answer any questions which might arise over this transaction.

Goring and Astley remained with the Dutch into the fall of 1638, a year that proved to be a great disappointment to Frederick Henry, particularly after his stunning success at Breda. The prince had been forced to change his campaign plans because of the States-General's demand for a big prize--Antwerp--in exchange for their tax dollars. But the Dutch vanguard had been defeated by the Spanish in the flooded landscape at Calloo in late July, while the bulk of Frederick Henry's forces consisting of five French and four English regiments--including Goring's--had remained behind at Bergen-op-Zoom. Even the prince's second goal of trying an assault to the northeast failed to bring any gains, so that by the early fall he placed his troops in garrison and he himself returned to the Hague in mid-October. Sir Jacob Astley was also at the Hague in October, preparing to bring both arms and armor back to England with him, although he had to

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return 4,000 Dutch-made muskets to the manufacturer because they were of the wrong caliber.[20]

As Goring and Astley prepared to return to England that fall, they were preceded by an important visitor: Marie de Medici. The queen mother of France--and King Charles's mother-in-law--had been living in exile since 1630, after having lost her influence with her son, Louis XIII, to Cardinal Richelieu. She had been residing in the Spanish Netherlands, but had just completed a three-month stay at the Hague, where, on her own initiative, she had entered into negotiations to marry her eldest English granddaughter, Princess Mary, to Frederick Henry's son and heir, Prince William. King Charles had finally been persuaded by Henrietta Maria to allow her mother to visit, but the arrival of the queen mother and her six hundred attendants, including an entourage of priests, only seemed to cast Charles in a more pro-Catholic light. This growing Catholic presence at court tended to support in the public's mind the Scots' contention that their stance against the new service book was really a fight against Catholic influence. Moreover, just as the queen mother moved into her luxurious apartments at St. James' Palace, the king's Protestant nephew, Charles Louis, insufficiently funded, was defeated in Germany, and his younger brother Rupert was captured by Habsburg forces.[21]

Lord Goring played a conspicuous part in the various ceremonies marking Marie de Medici's arrival, for he knew the queen mother from his stay in France when he had negotiated Henrietta Maria's marriage to Charles. He formed part of the official delegation, along with Northumberland, sent to greet the queen mother upon her arrival in England, and when King Charles rode out to meet the royal party, Lord Goring had the honor of presenting Marie de Medici to her son-in-law. As lieutenant of the Gentlemen Pensioners, Lord Goring also accompanied the queen mother's carriage upon its entrance into London.[22]

Earlier in the year, the senior Goring, along with the Earl of Holland, had been sent by the king and queen to greet another French exile on her arrival in England, the high-living Duchess of Chevreuse. Besides these ceremonial services, Lord Goring had financially aided his sovereign by advancing £6,000 to pay Charles Louis' pension; the

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money had been repaid to him in May 1638 with interest of £189. Among his new appointments, Lord Goring was made high steward of Peverel, an honor created by William the Conqueror but which had since fallen into disuse until it was revived in 1638 specifically for the senior Goring. He was also appointed to a commission, headed by the Earl of Dorset, to inquire into the Elizabethan cottage statute and to investigate practices of excessive usury.[23]

These close links of service and reward that Lord Goring maintained at court were most important to explain his son's next career advancement. On 16 November 1638 Edward Cecil, Viscount Wimbledon, the captain and governor of Portsmouth, died. The immediate court gossip concerned who would be rewarded with the governorship of this vital naval port, fortress and arsenal. In fact, in 1609, the Earl of Sussex had been awarded an annual pension of £400 as a form of "consolation prize" when he had failed to be named governor of Portsmouth, such was the importance--and value--of this port.[24]

Even though the official appointment would not be made until 9 January 1639, the word was out by the end of November: "The command of Portsmouth is given to Colonel Goring."[25] As captain of the garrison, George would be granted 10 s. per diem for himself, plus the following per diems for those in his command:

20 soldiers in his service.....8 s. each
1 master gunner.....10 d.
15 gunners.....8 s. each
14 gunners.....6 s. each
100 soldiers.....8 d. each
1 ensign, 1 armorer,
1 sergeant, a drum, 1 fife...8 d. each

The wages were to be paid to Colonel Goring, except if on muster anyone was unaccounted for, and payment was to date back to 15 November 1638.[26]

Nor was that all the good news about George's burgeoning career. On 3 December Lord Goring wrote to the Earl of Cork, who again was sojourning in England, to advise him of the complimentary words that the king had recently spoken of Cork's service in Ireland and to update the earl on the king's war preparations. It was rumored that the Earl of Arundel was to head the infantry and the Earl of Essex was to be general

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of the cavalry "where George, by his Lordship's own first free offer, will have no ill accommodation."[27]

George Goring's father-in-law had acquired an estate in England, Stalbridge in Dorset, purchased from the Earl of Castlehaven. Cork had first visited his new property in August 1638, and he had drawn up a detailed set of rules for the management of this estate, where all servants were to meet for prayers twice daily and all bills were to be reckoned every Friday. This property was to provide a home base in England for the earl and his large family.[28]

In October, Cork, accompanied by his eldest son, Richard, Viscount Dungarvan, had traveled on to London where the earl was received by King Charles. In November, Dungarvan was given the honor of officially greeting the new Venetian ambassador, Giovanni Giustinian. In addition, the earl built up good will at court by judiciously praising Wentworth's government in Ireland to Archbishop Laud. Cork also apparently had put all past problems with the Gorings--father and son--behind him. In November he had certain monies paid in Ireland for Lord Goring, and the two families spent some time together over the Christmas holidays.[29]

On 18 January, the Earl of Cork, back at Stalbridge, wrote to his son-in-law George Goring to say he was looking forward to seeing Lord Goring, George and Lettice again soon, "no three persons in England can be so welcome unto us all, especially yourself, who have been so great and long a stranger unto me." The earl added he was pleased that George and Lettice were together and that he was praying for their continued, increasing happiness. He also approved of their proposed living arrangements, whereby they would divide their time between London, where they would stay with Lord Goring, and Portsmouth, which was only a day's journey from Stalbridge.[30]

As for George's governorship, the earl noted that Portsmouth had always gone to an important person, "and it was a gracious king that hath considered so honorable and beneficial employment on you. . . ." If George would only be guided by his father, he could learn the secrets of "customs affairs, out of which such sweetness is to be sucked."[31] Evidently, Portsmouth was not only a prestigious post, but also a potentially lucrative one.

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While the general tone of this letter was conciliatory, Cork still felt compelled to add a few words of fatherly advice: "Give over immoderate gaming and play which hath much disquieted your good father [and] very much your mother and with many private discontentments injured your own fortunes and misspent your time." If George would only follow this advice, it would lead to his "enrichment and content, which no man can more desire than myself," the earl concluded.[32]

George Goring, at the age of thirty, had achieved a great deal. However, as demonstrated, many of his accomplishments were the result of his father's court influence or had been purchased with this father's--or father-in-law's--money. For his own part, George had learned his military skills and developed into an effective commander, but old habits lingered, and his view of money as something to be spent rather than earned persisted. With England preparing for war, Goring might have expected to have the opportunity to perform bravely in combat and so earn further rewards from his sovereign. But the affairs known as the Bishops' Wars would afford him and the English few opportunities to display valor in action.

The First Bishops' War

The word "war" seems a rather grandiose term for the brief military confrontation which would take place on the border between England and Scotland in June 1639. Nor was the maintenance of episcopacy in Scotland--as the name suggests--the sole cause. The Scottish Covenanters were fighting to protect their Presbyterian Kirk and their liberties; King Charles believed he was fighting for the church and his prerogatives, but many Englishmen were much less certain about what they were fighting for. Why the English put on such a poor showing in this affair as well as the second war of 1640 has been much analyzed. In the most recent study, Mark Charles Fissel states: "It was the King's maladministration of the institutions at his disposal, rather than structural failure within the institutions, which precipitated failure in a war that was entirely of the King's choosing."[33]

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One of the problems King Charles faced when preparing his campaign was the selection of commanders. As discussed previously, military necessity did not always dictate choice, and the king had to consider noble lineage as well as military expertise. Lineage won out when Charles named Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, his commander-in-chief in January 1639. Arundel was Earl Marshal of England, the leading peer, and the king probably believed that the earl would be able to prevent squabbles over precedence; also, Arundel's influence among his tenants in the north was of strategic importance. On the negative side, the earl was a Catholic, and he had little military experience. He was much better known as one of the greatest art collectors and patrons in England, "an evangelist for the world of art," as Rubens himself had labeled the earl.[34]

If Arundel did not have any particular military skills to offer, the rumored commander of the cavalry, the Earl of Essex, was indeed a veteran of the continental wars. But as Charles was finalizing his appointments that January, a personal tragedy influenced his decision. Henrietta Maria had a difficult delivery of a daughter who died shortly after birth. To cheer up his wife after this loss, Charles asked her advice on his military appointments and she persuaded him to name the rather frivolous Henry Rich, Earl of Holland, as general of the cavalry. Essex was instead made lieutenant general under Arundel, who in turn nearly quit when informed of Holland's appointment. In addition, the Earl of Northumberland, the Lord Admiral of England, was not put in charge of the planned naval attack on Scotland; Charles instead chose his confidante, the Marquis of Hamilton, who had no naval experience, for this post.[35]

At least on the secondary level of command, places went to some men of experience such as the Earl of Newport, as the Master of the Ordinance, and Sir Jacob Astley, who was made sergeant major general of the infantry. As for George Goring, the change in cavalry commanders from Essex to Holland in no way hindered his appointment, for Lord Goring and Holland, both prominent courtiers to Henrietta Maria, had been in the same court circle since the time of James I and Buckingham. Young George had even been ready to use his sword to second the Earl of Holland's "affair of honor" against Jerome Weston in 1633. (See Chapter 3.) So George Goring became second-in-

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command of the cavalry as lieutenant general of horse, and another Breda veteran, the twenty-seven-year-old Henry Wilmot, became commissary general for the cavalry.[36]

King Charles planned a four-pronged attack into Scotland. He himself would lead the main body of his army across the border; two other royalist forces were supposed to invade western Scotland from Ireland, while the Marquis of Hamilton would lead an amphibious assault on the east coast of Scotland. In fact, very little of this plan would materialize, in part for lack of funding. On 29 January, the Earl of Northumberland was dismayed that nothing had yet been resolved in the Privy Council about how the king would finance an army of 24,000 foot and 6,000 horse. Instead of calling a Parliament, Charles was writing his nobles, asking them to attend him in the north with their retinues. So far Lord Goring and John Suckling, courtier and poet, had each offered to provide a troop of one hundred horse at their own expense. In this rather feudal manner and also by summoning the militia trained bands in the north, King Charles was trying to build up an invasion force.[37]

Although George Goring held three military posts in 1639, his first priority had to be preparing for the Scottish campaign. But he remained a regimental commander in Dutch service, and some recruits as well as his veteran officers continued to return to the United Provinces from England in the winter and spring of 1639 in preparation for Frederick Henry's upcoming campaign season. At Portsmouth, command of the garrison was exercised by Sergeant Major Lobb in the governor's absence.[38]

While her husband was on campaign in the north, Lettice Goring would live with her father at Stalbridge. She made the trip from London accompanied by her brothers Lewis and Roger, Cork's second and third sons who had just completed a lengthy tour of the Continent. On 14 March, Cork recorded how happy he was at the safe arrival of his three children. Perhaps in this good mood, he signed the note Lettice brought from her husband authorizing a loan of £500 to be paid to George by a London goldsmith. The earl would also pay £900 to provide his oldest son, Dungarvan, with a troop of one hundred horse for the coming war.[39]

The king left London on 27 March, accompanied by the Earl of Arundel, and

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arrived at York, the northern staging point, five days later. But a major part of the English strategy had already been undermined, for within Scotland the Covenanters had seized Edinburgh Castle, the chief arsenal at Dalkeith, and the ports of Dumbarton and Aberdeen, both of which were to have been landing sites for the king's forces. However, thanks to the quick action by two veteran commanders, the Earl of Essex and Sir Jacob Astley, the English border towns of Carlisle and Berwick had been secured and reinforced.[40]

Charles spent a month at York, redeveloping his strategy and waiting for his troops to muster. Although there would be no reinforcements from Ireland--and Lord Deputy Wentworth was urging the king to postpone the war--nor would Hamilton's sea attack succeed, Charles decided to proceed north and by a show of strength perhaps force the Covenanters into capitulation. As one of his gentlemen attendants, John Aston, put it: "[T]hat the king once here, the faction in Scotland, like a mist by the breaking forth of the sun, would dissipate and vanish. . . ."[41]

Yet even at York, divisions among the English themselves were appearing, with some of the nobles openly questioning the king's entire project. Other problems arose from the conflict in command between the infantry and cavalry. Commissary General Wilmot actually pulled a sword on a captain in the Earl of Arundel's service, for Wilmot thought that this infantry quarter master officer was encroaching on his office. George Goring investigated the incident and jailed the captain.[42]

The king's forces, numbering about 15,000, began to move north in regiments. The poorly trained and insufficiently armed militiamen marched via Dumbarton and Newcastle, towards the border town of Berwick, the designated rendezvous point. On 9 May, the Earl of Cork watched his three oldest sons depart Stalbridge to join the king "against his rebellious subjects." He prayed that God would "return them safe, happy and victorious to my comfort."[43]

The Earl of Holland and the cavalry reached the border in mid-May, ahead of the king. George Goring's own horse troop was encamped southeast of Berwick at Wark, just south of the Tweed. On 19 May one of Goring's junior officers decided on his own

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to scout across the river into Scotland. When he did not return, Captain Charles Price took about a dozen of Goring's troopers to find him, which they did. But before they could retreat back into England, a party of Scottish horse confronted them. Captain Price was negotiating a peaceful withdrawal when, without orders, a Scottish trooper shot and wounded one of the English soldiers. The English returned fire, killing one Scot, and then both sides disengaged and rode off.[44]

Upon hearing the news of this incident, Sir Edmund Verney, King Charles's standard-bearer, noted: "This is the first blood has been drawn in the business. If more must be lost in this unhappy quarrel, I pray God it may be at the same rate."[45] The Earl of Holland held a similar point-of-view, for he much preferred a peaceful resolution to any clash of arms (as opposed to the Earl Marshal who, like the king, took a more bellicose stand). Holland, therefore, sent his apologies to the Scots for the incident, and the Earl of Home responded for the Scots with a similar conciliatory note.[46]

On 28 May, Edward Norgate, with the English army, described the conditions at Berwick in a letter to Secretary Windebank in London. Norgate believed that the men were brave and ready to fight, but were living under poor conditions with many cramped into town, without even straw to sleep on. He also complained about "our decomposed and unready officers." Norgate also reported that the king had issued a proclamation calling the Scots back into obedience and Colonel Goring, accompanied by 600 troopers, was to publish it in Scotland. The king joined his army in the field outside of Berwick on 30 May, but the plans calling for Goring to lead the first official expedition across the border changed. Instead, the Earl Marshal, accompanied by the Earl of Holland and Colonel Goring, would lead the cavalry expedition into Scotland.[47]

The English had intelligence that they might capture the Scottish commander-in-chief, Alexander Leslie, by a surprise raid on the town of Duns, which is probably why Arundel took over the operation himself. The party left about midnight on 31 May, in the hope of being able to cover the eight miles to their destination secretly and swiftly. But when they arrived on 1 June, they found no General Leslie, no Covenanter troops, nor even any townsmen, but only a few women. Despite the lack of a substantial audience,

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Arundel proceeded to publish the king's proclamation of pardon and grace. The English then withdrew from Duns, contemptuously described by Norgate as "a poor beggarly, uncleanly nothing."[48]

After this failed effort, the English received new intelligence that the Covenanters, numbering between 2,200 to 4,000, were at Kelso, about four miles to the southeast of the English cavalry encampment. On 4 June, the Earl of Holland, with his two senior commanders, Goring and Wilmot, prepared to lead an expedition of 1,000 horse and 3,000 foot to reconnoiter the Scots' position or possibly drive the Covenanters from the town.[49]

Even as the English formed ranks to march out, a major argument erupted over precedence. William Cavendish, Earl of Newcastle, governor to the young Prince of Wales, was leading a troop marching under the prince's colors. He, therefore, believed his men should march in the lead. The Earl of Holland had placed this troop in the rear and refused to change the order of march. Newcastle furled the prince's colors, so great did he consider this insult, and he and Holland agreed to fight a duel, three-a-side, to settle this affair of honor when they returned.[50] Even though both parties would be dissuaded from this action, such clashes over precedence would continue to occur among Charles's noble commanders in the next Scottish campaign and throughout the civil wars, for personal honor came first with these men, George Goring among them, often to the detriment of the cause which they served.

Once the expedition finally got under way, the extremely hot weather slowed down the march of the infantry, so that the English cavalry pulled ahead to arrive alone at Kelso, where they faced a seemingly large force of Covenanters. Holland initially planned to charge the opposing formations, but more and more Scots appeared on the field, outflanking the English cavalry. When General Leslie suggested that the English withdraw, Holland, believing himself to be heavily outnumbered and listening to the advice of Goring, Wilmot and Astley, did exactly what the Scots asked: the English turned and retreated. Without firing a shot, the Scots had won the first--and only--major encounter.[51]

Alexander Leslie, the Covenanter commander who achieved this psychological

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victory, was a highly experienced veteran of the Thirty Years' War where he had attained the rank of field marshal in the Swedish army. One of Gustavus Adolphus's major tactical innovations had been to create longer lines by reducing their depth from ten to six ranks. Leslie probably used a variant of this tactic at Kelso, by spreading his men into thin lines to make them appear more numerous, and he backed them below a rise with herds of cattle to raise clouds of dust, again to create the illusion of deeper formations. The ploy worked, and after this encounter, King Charles was left with an increasingly demoralized army.[52]

Leslie quickly followed up his advantage, for the very next morning he moved his army to the north bank of the Tweed, directly opposite the king's encampment. King Charles had to make a decision to fight or negotiate. He chose the latter, believing himself unsure of victory. By the resulting Pacification of Berwick, signed on 19 June in the Earl Marshal's tent, both sides would disband their armies, the king would attend a parliament in Scotland, and a general assembly of the Kirk would be held. Neither side really considered this a final solution, but only a temporary respite, for too many matters remained unsettled.[53]

After the treaty was signed, Roger Boyle, Baron Broghill, left the English camp to carry the news to his father, the Earl of Cork, who was happy to hear "that his Majesty had concluded an honorable peace with the Scots."[54] Broghill also brought his father a letter from George Goring, who wrote that he believed the pacification gave security to both kingdoms without taking honor away from the king. George remembered to thank Cork for his continuing favors "to which I have many more acknowledgments in my heart than can find way into my expressions." He also thought it a "great pity" that Dungarvan's troop was to be dissolved so soon. Raising a troop was so expensive, for he himself had spent £2,000 for this campaign. George concluded by expressing his desire to visit Stalbridge by mid-July, if he had enough money to make the trip.[55]

Even though no real action had occurred in the First Bishops' War, George Goring had participated in the only two English expeditions into Scotland. Their lack of success did not seem to reflect upon him personally, for he would become more involved in

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planning the king's next campaign. George also inspired another poem, "Sonnet. To General Goring, after the pacification of Berwick," by the young courtier poet, Richard Lovelace.

Lovelace had served as an ensign in George Goring's regiment during the campaign, so he knew first hand of the lackluster English performance. Yet the poem is an exuberant drinking song, celebrating not just George, "he whose glories shine so brave and high," but also Lettice, "whose eyes wound deep in Peace, as doth his sword in wars." But the poem is more than a piece of laudatory bravado, for Lovelace was developing into one of the more thoughtful cavalier poets. The first stanza holds the key to the interpretation:

> Now the Peace is made at the Foe's rate,
> Whilst men of Arms to Kettles their old
> Helms translate,
> And drink in Casks of Honourable Plate;
> In ev'ry hand a Cup be found,
> That from all Hearts a health may sound,
> To Goring! To Goring! See't go around.

In the very opening line, by remarking on the peace made "at the Foe's rate," Lovelace is pointing out that the pacification was made on the Scots' terms, and lacking any great military exploits to celebrate, the poet instead praises George and Lettice, "To the Couple! to the Couple! Th'are Divine."[56] King Charles was also aware that he had given in to the "Foe's rate," as he began to prepare for a new encounter with the Scots.

Preparing for a New Campaign

George Goring did arrive at Stalbridge on 17 July 1639 to visit his father-in-law. On 22 July, he and Lettice, reunited after a four-month separation, departed for Bath.[57] George was probably going to use the spa waters to help alleviate his pain, for in 1645 he would return there for treatment, "expecting great benefit by it for my lameness."[58] (His pain, however, would be more political than physical on the latter occasion; see Chapter 11.)

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While the confrontation had been playing itself out on the border, Lord Goring had remained in London in attendance on the queen, even though the band of Gentlemen Pensioners, of which he remained lieutenant, had traveled north with the king. He also busied himself managing his various monopolies. Although King Charles had withdrawn certain patents in November 1638, Lord Goring's syndicate continued to control the licensing of tobacco retailers. The council at Whitehall had even issued an order on 26 May 1638 to reconfirm this right in case there were any doubts about its validity.[59]

Lord Goring also became more directly involved in the government of England as King Charles prepared anew to meet the Scottish challenge. The most important personnel change in royal government occurred when the king wrote to Sir Thomas Wentworth on 26 July to invite him back to England to join the Privy Council. Yet even before the Lord Deputy returned that fall, Lord Goring himself was sworn in as "a true and faithful servant unto the King's Majesty, as one of his Privy Council" on 25 August 1639. The king presided at the council meeting that day, and Lord Goring sat and signed documents alongside his fellow councilors: the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Keeper, the Duke of Lennox, the Marquis of Hamilton, the Earl Marshal, the Lord High Admiral; the Earls of Dorset, Salisbury and Holland; Mr. Controller, and Mr. Secretary Windebank. At the same time, Lord Goring became vice-chamberlain to the king, the most prestigious and influential court position he had held to date.[60]

The senior Goring apparently wanted to celebrate his promotions with family and friends, for he arrived at Stalbridge on 31 August. Two days later he and the Earl of Cork, accompanied by Cork's four eldest sons, began the journey to Portsmouth via Southampton. The visitors stayed two days at Portsmouth with George and Lettice, who were also hosting the Earl of Newport, Henry Wilmot, and Giles Porter (Endymion Porter's brother). After this reunion, Lord Goring returned to London, Cork and his party to Stalbridge, except for his second son Lewis, Viscount Kynalmeaky, who remained with his sister and brother-in-law. Cork's only recorded comment at the end of the trip: "This journey cost me £8."[61]

Besides entertaining family and friends, George Goring was inspecting the

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fortifications in and around Portsmouth that fall, and, accompanied by his courtier friends, he also toured the Isle of Wight. At Cowes Castle, Goring's party and the local governor toasted together, accompanied by salvos from the castle's guns. Later at Newport, George amused his companions by mounting the town scaffold and putting his head through the noose as a mock reminder to lead a good life. Despite such escapades, Goring did produce a report, including surveys and estimates, on the supplies and ordinance needed to further fortify Portsmouth and to continue work on the king's house there. On 20 October 1639 the Privy Council decided that a former survey made by the Earl of Newport of all castles and forts in the country should be studied prior to Goring's.[62]

Much public attention was focused on the southern coasts of England that fall, for a large Spanish supply fleet, in transit to the Spanish Netherlands, was being held at bay by the Dutch in the Downs, the English coastal waters between Deal and Dover. The dramatic standoff began in September, but King Charles took no decisive action even though by treaty he owed protection to the Spanish. On 9 October, the reinforced Dutch fleet under Admiral Tromp decimated the Spanish fleet. The people of England and Scotland cheered, for rumors had spread that the Spanish might land in England and support King Charles's war efforts. Since the king had actually begun negotiations for troops from the Spanish Netherlands prior to the Scottish hostilities, there was a continuing fear--which would persist throughout the coming times of trouble--that he would bring in foreign, Catholic assistance.[63] With such possibilities existing, the control of Portsmouth--as both a point of embarkation or debarkation--was vital to the king. By placing George Goring there, Charles must have believed he had a governor he could implicitly trust.

By the late fall of 1639, the situation with Scotland had deteriorated. The assembly of the Kirk held in August had repudiated bishops, contrary to Charles's wishes, and the executive committee of the Scottish Parliament, the Lords of the Articles, refused to adjourn their sitting as the king ordered in November. Wentworth, now the leading voice on the Privy Council, strongly felt that the Scots would only be made to yield

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through force, just as Charles had thought all along. So the collection of ship money was continued, and Lord Goring was one of four chosen to investigate arrears in payment in London and Middlesex. But Wentworth also believed that to ensure military success this time, Parliamentary funding was required. In early December, King Charles decided to follow this advice and called a Parliament for the following April.[64]

Venetian Ambassador Giustinian soon after reported in his dispatches that the lords of the council were themselves pledging a total loan of £300,000 to help finance an army of 25,000 infantry and 5,000 cavalry. But he doubted that the sole purpose of this army was to put down the Scots. He personally believed that the king and his ministers had other intentions: "The chief one is to keep within bounds, by the fear of these forces, the parliament which they have decided to open on the 13th of April."[65]

Court life carried on as usual through the end of the year, even as Charles's government geared for war. The queen was pregnant again, but still busied herself with lavish entertainments. A frequent visitor to the court in this period was the Earl of Cork, who had come to London in October to spend the winter and to see two of his sons married. Henrietta Maria had helped arrange one match, between young Francis Boyle and her maid of honor, Elizabeth Killigrew. Then on 26 December, Cork's second son, Lewis, married Elizabeth Feilding, the Earl of Denbigh's daughter and a Buckingham niece on her mother's side. The wedding took place in the King's Chapel at Whitehall with the king and queen in attendance. The royal couple gave the bride a pearl necklace, valued at £1,500, as a wedding gift.[66]

Despite the outward elegance of this event, the union was subject to much court gossip. The bridegroom, who had recently spent time with Lettice and George Goring, had confided to his sister that he had contracted some form of venereal disease and was seeking a way to avoid the wedding night. Brother and sister then contrived that he should fake an accidental fall to supply him with an excuse for abstinence. But Lettice told her husband of this plan, and George informed the queen. Henrietta Maria in turn counseled the bride to avoid the wedding bed, and soon the story was in "everybody's mouth." In the wake of this affair, after the marriage Lewis left the court and temporarily

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went into hiding.[67]

George Goring obviously felt close enough to the queen to discuss such intimate matters with her. In fact, Henrietta Maria at this time chose George to act as her personal envoy to the Hague. Frederick Henry had requested her to be godmother to his newly born second son, and the queen was sending George to ask one of the young princesses Palatine to stand in for her (although the infant prince died soon thereafter). George's absence abroad also probably accounted for the fact that the pay record for Portsmouth for the quarter year ending 25 December was signed by his father. The five officers, one master gunner, twenty-eight gunners, and fifty soldiers (below the original allocation of one hundred) received a total of £382 1s. 6d.[68] It is interesting to note that the royal wedding gift given to Cork's new daughter-in-law equaled in value the pay for the entire Portsmouth garrison for one year.

The first meeting of the king's new war council took place on 30 December 1639. George Goring was not listed among its initial members, but by mid-January his expected participation was being mentioned in court circles. At the council's meeting on 6 February 1640, Thomas Wentworth, the newly created Earl of Strafford, said that the king approved the addition of Colonel Goring to the council, and George was then called in and seated. The next piece of business possibly stemmed from Goring's recent trip to the Hague, for Sir Nicholas Byron, another member of the war council, was authorized to go to the Low Countries to bring back one hundred veteran sergeants and corporals who would be replaced by two hundred volunteers at King Charles's expense.[69]

The final composition of the council of war, as given on 14 February 1640, was as follows: President, Algernon Percy, Earl of Northumberland, Lord High Admiral of England and designated Lord General for the coming campaign; the Bishop of London, Lord Treasurer Juxon; the Marquis of Hamilton; the Earls of Arundel, Newport and Strafford; Edward Viscount Conway, designated general of the horse; Francis Lord Cottington; Secretary Sir Henry Vane (successor to Secretary Coke); Secretary Sir Francis Windebank; George Goring, Esquire; Sir William Uvedale, Treasurer-at-Wars; Sir Jacob Astley, Sir John Conyers, and Sir Nicholas Byron; with Edward Nicholas acting as

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the council's secretary. The king charged these men "with authority to take into consideration all questions concerning the securing of his dominions . . . and all other matters concerning war and warlike provisions."[70]

The council met three mornings a week and reportedly worked hard at its tasks. Different members formed smaller groups to study specific problems. George Goring participated in studies on financing horse troops for the border garrisons at Berwick and Carlisle; reviewing repairs plus additional ordinance and ammunition required at Berwick; and preparing a final draft on the indentures for captains of horse troops.[71]

While George busied himself with the day-to-day tasks of the council of war, his father sat on the Privy Council and was among the signatories on the letters sent out in late March to the counties of England to authorize the raising of troops for the upcoming campaign. Father and son had both attained places within the inner councils of government, which, in turn, brought out those who thought they could profit through their connections with the Gorings. John Ashburnham, a distant relation by marriage, approached both George Gorings to use their influence to make him one of the suppliers of the army. He was designated as a provider, but apparently did not get all the posts he had sought.[72]

Despite the Gorings' prominence at court, they did not wield political power in their native county of Sussex. Lord Goring, so busy building his career and fortune in London, had not sat on the Sussex bench in the 1630's. Therefore, his influence in the upcoming Parliamentary elections of 1640 would be negligible. In fact, the Puritan faction was strong in the eastern part of the county, led in part by Anthony Stapley, who had been married to Lord Goring's sister Anne until her death in 1637.[73]

In a rather prophetic letter, Dr. Edward Burton explained the situation in Sussex to Dr. Bray, the chaplain in ordinary to the Archbishop of Canterbury. The county town of Lewes was "tainted" with Puritans, and

> notwithstanding the Earl of Dorset's and Lord Goring's letters and intimations for their creatures to be Parliament men, yet Mr. Stapley and Mr. Rivers have a strong party in the town, and it is much feared they will be chosen burgesses for the town of Lewes. God forbid the greater part

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> of a Parliament should be of their stamp; if so, Lord have mercy upon our Church.[74]

The Second Bishops' War

King Charles and his chief advisers, Strafford and Laud, did not share Dr. Burton's fears. Strafford, in particular, believed he could control the English Parliament, much as he had controlled the one in Ireland. So on 13 April 1640, King Charles opened Parliament, the first since 1629, telling a joint session of the two houses: "There was never King had more great and weighty cause to call his people together than myself."[75] The details of the king's request were left to Lord Keeper Finch, who, after a long preamble, charged the Scots with bargaining in bad faith solely to gain more time "to purchase to themselves more advantage for pursuing their rebellious purposes."[76] The crown was asking for sufficient funding to enforce its authority on the Scots. The king completed the presentation himself by reiterating his need for "a powerful army to reduce them to the just condition of obedience and subjugation."[77]

The House of Commons quickly showed it had its own agenda to pursue before discussing subsidies. On 17 April, John Pym, a veteran of earlier Parliaments, in a lengthy speech to the Commons, grouped grievances under three general headings: against the liberties of Parliament; in matters of religion; in affairs of state or matters of property. He then expounded on these points, and, among other things, condemned the "encouragements" given to Catholicism; the unauthorized collection of tonnage and poundage; ship money; and "the great inundation of monopolies." He added: "The intermission of Parliaments have [*sic*] been a true cause of all these evils to the Commonwealth, which by law should be once every year."[78]

As the debates continued, King Charles decided to force the issue at the beginning of May when he twice sent Secretary Vane to the Commons to ask for an immediate vote on supply. On 4 May, the king offered to give up ship money for twelve subsidies over three years. More debate was the reply of the Commons, for how could they bargain

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away ship money when they were not certain if it were legal. King Charles had had enough; on 5 May he attended Parliament and thanked the Lords for their support. Nor did he blame everyone in the Commons for this impasse, only "some cunning and ill-affectionate men that hath been the cause of this misunderstanding." The king then dissolved Parliament.[79]

Charles needed about one million pounds to mount his war effort. Instead, he had received nothing, yet men and materiel were already in transit to the north. Despite this major setback, the Earl of Strafford urged the king to "go on with an offensive war as you first designed," for he believed that Scotland would be defeated in one summer campaign. And, in a sentence that would come back to haunt him at his treason trial the following year, the Lord Lieutenant (as he was now designated) reminded the king: "You have an army in Ireland you may employ here to reduce this kingdom."[80] Which kingdom did he mean, his accusers would question, Scotland or England?

Edward Viscount Conway was already in the north at Newcastle when the so-called Short Parliament ended. Northumberland reported to him on 5 May what had occurred, but, unlike Strafford, he questioned pursuing the war without a guaranteed source of adequate funding. Already the date of departure for the main forces had been pushed back from 20 May to 10 June. Northumberland also informed Conway: "Colonel Goring is very earnest now again to have precedence over Sir Jacob Astley by having the title of Colonel General, but I do not believe it will be granted him." Goring was reportedly considering declining to serve if his terms were not met, and Northumberland believed that George's services would be lost to them for the coming campaign.[81]

As previously illustrated, matters of honor and precedence were still considered legitimate concerns for the nobility, and these types of clashes would continue to plague the royalist command structure into the civil wars. While George Goring was well-connected at court and did have certain military expertise, Sir Jacob Astley was still the far more experienced commander. Apparently, the king, who of late had been most gracious in granting positions to both George Gorings, on this occasion chose not to antagonize Astley, one of his most capable military commanders.[82]

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Also noteworthy is the fact that Northumberland indicated Goring was "again" asking for this title, which meant he had sought it before. In January 1640, Sir Edmund Verney's son Edmund, in Dutch service, had written home from his winter quarters in Utrecht, asking about the rumors of a new English army being raised. He had heard that Northumberland would be general of the field; Conway of the horse; Sir John Conyers, lieutenant general; "and Colonel Goring shall command a third part of the army." Young Edmund was not even sure where this force, reportedly 30,000-strong, was going, and only in a post script added that the rumored destination was Scotland.[83] George Goring had just traveled to the Hague as Henrietta Maria's emissary. Had he already boasted of a new command position? In the end, however, Goring would not get the title he sought, but would eventually serve as a brigade and regimental commander.

In the spring of 1640 George Goring turned his attention to Portsmouth. He wrote the Privy Council on 20 May, asking for additional funding. He wanted more men and munitions, and he indicated that extra repairs were required to the existing fortifications than formerly certified. He also requested a battery at the entrance to the harbor and a chain barricade as had previously existed, and he asked for an engineer to be sent down to review the proposed work and estimate the cost. In this quarter, 26 March to 24 June 1640, the regular wages for the garrison would be £416 12s. 10d. At the same time, George was looking to his personal finances, and on 5 June borrowed another £500 from his father-in-law, whom he now owed a total of £1,000 since he had yet to repay the loan of the previous May. Lord Goring, in the meantime, was behind in repaying Cork a sum of £4,300.[84]

On 10 June ten regiments, including George Goring's, were to begin their march north; three more were to follow on 1 July. But on 28 June, Viscount Conway wrote Northumberland that he had heard Colonel Goring had gone to the Low Countries: "So that it seems he has quitted this employment." Conway then suggested a replacement regimental commander. In July Conway sent some notes on his situation to Secretary Windebank, in which he reported Goring still absent and further discussed possible replacements.[85]

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George Goring had gone to the Netherlands, but on official government business; he carried a letter from Secretary Vane, dated 31 May, to Frederick Henry. The money he had borrowed from his father-in-law in early June might have been used in part to finance his journey beyond any government allowance. Goring had been used as a special emissary to the Prince of Orange on numerous occasions, so his departure, even as war preparations began, might not be considered too unusual. But there was still the matter of his discontent in not having received the rank he had desired. Did he somehow contrive to lengthen his stay abroad to absent himself from the English army? Goring was still at the Hague at the end of July. Elizabeth Stuart wrote to Archbishop Laud on 29 July/8 August and indicated that she had intended to write earlier by post, "but Mr. Goring was very desirous to be deliverer of this."[86]

While George Goring was not present as the English forces moved north in June and July, two other key figures remained in London. Both Strafford and Northumberland were ill that summer. Northumberland, designated Lord General of the expedition, might have been suffering from a lack of enthusiasm, for he had never shared the Lord Lieutenant's conviction in pursuing the king's cause by force of arms. The eventual result of these absences was that Edward Viscount Conway would be left shouldering the command burden in the field.[87]

Furthermore, Conway's resources were less than those of the previous year, for the political impasse had made the situation more difficult. On 9 July Sir Jacob Astley at York reported to Conway at Newcastle that he could not send him 4,000-5,000 foot as requested, for only 4,184 men, who were not even fully equipped, has marched passed Selby (south of York) to date, which included Goring's troop of 130 men. Astley had only one week's pay for the troops, and discipline was already a major problem, for he was being sent "all the arch knaves of this kingdom."[88]

In the first week of August a mutiny for pay arrears broke out in one of the companies of George Goring's regiment, still stationed in the vicinity of York. Goring was apparently still absent at the time, and Astley, fearing that the disorder would spread, called on Henry Wilmot for two troops of horse to quell the mutiny. Two ringleaders

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were identified, and they were allowed to draw lots to determine which one of them would be executed. News of this disorder reached Conway just as he received intelligence that the Scots had massed an army reportedly 30,000-strong and were preparing to invade England. He did not believe he could defend Newcastle with the forces available to him, and three days later Astley reported he was still not prepared for all his foot to come to the defense of Newcastle.[89]

On 13 August Secretary Windebank sent instructions to Conway and Astley to prepare their forces to march where they thought the Scots would attack. But on 15 August Strafford sent an angry reply back to Conway (who was his friend and protégée), for he did not think the intelligence on the Scots was accurate nor did he support Conway's plan to abandon Newcastle. He told Conway he was putting the Yorkshire trained bands on alert, and on 25 August Privy Councilors Holland and Goring would order these militiamen to rendezvous on 29 August at Northallerton (between York and Newcastle),[90] but the entire action would be over by then.

To further support Conway, Strafford promised that £20,000 was on its way north, and he would advance Colonel Goring's regiment, plus other foot and horse, to Newcastle.[91] Apparently Goring, returned from the Hague, was on his way to rejoin his regiment, but he would not take part in the one action of the Second Bishops' War at Newburn, where only about one-fourth of the king's forces would participate. Goring would, however, be listed among the officers and men mustered in Yorkshire after the English retreat from Newcastle.

The war rapidly played itself out. On 20 August the Scots crossed into England at Coldstream, thus bypassing the strongly defended Berwick. Conway, whose intelligence had been more accurate than Strafford had allowed, did not have sufficient forces to defend both Newcastle and the River Tyne. On 27 August the Scots entrenched themselves at an advantageous point on the north bank of the Tyne at Newburn, several miles west of Newcastle. The next day the battle began; Conway had to split his forces, leaving about 7,500 men in Newcastle and fielding about 3,000 infantry and 1,500-2,000 cavalry against a Covenanter force three times larger. Despite some heroic efforts to hold

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the line--including a countercharge by Henry Wilmot who was captured for his efforts--the English force was routed. King Charles had lost the war in just one engagement.[92]

In fact, the English lost only several hundred men in the encounter, but, given their poor state of preparedness, the English retreated and abandoned Newcastle and Durham to the Scots. Only once safely back in Yorkshire did the king's army regroup, and a new muster was held. A total of 16,957 officers and men were accounted for, versus the last muster of 17,420, leaving 463 men dead, prisoners or otherwise unaccounted for. One of the twenty-two regiments listed at the muster--and one of the smallest in count--was George Goring's, consisting of ten troops, totaling only 783 men, well below the prescribed regimental strength of one thousand. George's own troop numbered ninety-six men; his second-in-command, Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Kirke, commanded a troop of ninety-nine; and Sergeant Major Willis, ninety-seven. Seven captains had troops consisting of forty-eight to eighty-nine men. The regiment also had ten lieutenants, nine ensigns, a preacher, quarter master, provost marshal, and an unfilled surgeon's post.[93]

At the time of the Scots' invasion the king had come north to York, soon followed by the Earl of Strafford, but Lord General Northumberland was still too ill to take the field. The king left an expanded council in London, under the Archbishop of Canterbury, to carry on the normal functions of government and to try to raise funds. Secretary Windebank stayed with the council, which included the Earl of Cork, while Secretary Vane accompanied the king, as did Lord Goring. On 10 September the king reviewed his troops which reportedly totaled 16,000 foot and 2,000 horse, a number somewhat greater than the last muster roll. Vane wrote Windebank the following day, claiming that the English soldiers were now very well-equipped and should be able to hold the line if three month's maintenance came from London. However, if the money did not come, "no man can foresee the calamities, both to King and State, that may ensue."[94]

To try to win support--and financing--for his cause, the king decided to call a Great Council of Peers at York on 24 September. The king chose to send Lord Goring back to London with notice of the proposed council and to explain the king's purpose in person. The senior Goring had another mission to fulfill, for at a time of increasing

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military tension, Portsmouth was without its governor as long as George Goring remained stationed in the north. Therefore, on 13 September the king authorized Lord Goring to temporarily take charge of fortifying Portsmouth, for George's past proposals to increase the garrison by two hundred soldiers had been accepted. Secretary Vane sent two further reminders to London about strengthening the garrison and defenses of this strategic port, which, coincidentally, figured in an interesting political pamphlet circulating at that time. In "A True Copy of the Devil's Letter sent to Rome by an Infernal Spirit," Lucifer commanded his "beloved son, Cardinal de Richelieu," to raise an army to invade England via Dover and Portsmouth while King Charles was fighting in the north. The devil was happy that the last Parliament had been dissolved, leaving much discontent in both church and state.[95]

More serious expressions of the same concerns were presented in a petition sent to the king on 28 August by twelve English peers, including the Earl of Essex. On 24 September a petition from the citizens of London to the king expressed many of the same grievances which the House of Commons had begun to debate in the Short Parliament. In both petitions, lords and citizens urged the king to call a new Parliament.[96]

The king opened his Great Council of Peers at York on 24 September 1640. Lord Goring had returned north to attend before taking on his duties at Portsmouth. The Earl of Cork was unable to make the journey, but on 17 September had sent the king a gift of £1,000 in gold. A total of seventy-six peers attended and were greeted with the news that the king was indeed going to call a Parliament for 3 November. In the meantime, peace negotiations would begin with the Scots at Ripon, but until a treaty could be signed, the king's army would have to remain in the field. Where would the money come from to maintain the army until Parliament met? The king proposed to borrow £200,000 from the city of London, for which he would stand surety. But if that were unacceptable, the lords agreed to guarantee the loan. Six peers, including Lord Goring, were delegated to negotiate the loan with the mayor and aldermen of London, while sixteen lords were sent as commissioners to treat with the Scots.[97]

Neither of these negotiations proceeded as the king had hoped. Sir John Byron, at

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the stranded outpost of Berwick, predicted that the Scots, with their military advantage, would be hard bargainers: "The Swedes may be as well removed out of Germany as they [the Scots] out of England." The Scots did indeed settle themselves in for the winter in the occupied territories and asked for £40,000 a month to maintain their army. Nor would they agree to any peace treaty--but only a truce--until the English Parliament met. In the meantime, in London the six commissioners, reduced to just three by 14 October--Lords Privy Seal, Coventry and Goring--had only obtained a loan commitment for £50,000.[98]

One unforeseen result of the protracted loan negotiations was that Portsmouth was again without a governor. With his father detained in London, George Goring, still at York, by correspondence with the Privy Council in London attempted to see through the works for which he had asked. In the quarter pay records, ending 29 September 1640, the garrison was the same in size as the previous quarterly accounts, with total wages of £425 29s. 10d.[99]

On 27 September, Lettice Goring, living in London, received a packet of letters from her husband. Besides receiving one for herself, she forwarded the others to the Earl of Arundel, Lord Cottington and Secretary Windebank. The gentleman who brought her the packet described the occupation of the north, where the Scots reportedly were not disturbing private property. George had written a rather optimistic letter to her in which he hoped for a "speedy conclusion of all things," Lettice reported to her father, who had again retired to the countryside. She was looking forward to Cork's return to London, and she noted that she was getting on much better with her mother-in-law. Lettice added: "I cannot express to your Lordship how much the city is joyed at the news of Parliament."[100]

Among the letters George had sent to the council were notes on his requirements for fortifying Portsmouth. He asked for the king's engineer, Captain Thomas Rudd, to undertake the work. The council acted on George's recommendations on 30 September; Captain Rudd was ordered to carry out the work, and new orders were sent to the officers of the Ordinance and Armoury. The council had already ordered complete arms for two hundred new men, but now added an order for an additional two hundred muskets, rests,

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bandoliers and swords; two hundred pikes with head pieces, corselets, and taches. These additional arms were for use in the town and on the Isle of Wight. The council also authorized four hundred spades, three hundred pickaxes, three hundred shovels, and two hundred wheelbarrows, all of which Governor Goring believed to be necessary for better securing the town, even though the earlier ordinance survey of 30 April 1637 had not called for such extra work.[101]

On 13 October Lettice again wrote her father from London and further reported on her improved relations with her in-laws. She had tried to visit Lord Goring yesterday, but had missed him because he was out with the queen. Her father-in-law, whom she had labeled "the cruelest man in the world" earlier in her marriage, was now extremely kind to her, having given her "seven of the best coach horses in England." Her husband was still at York and none of his belongings had been sent back to London as yet, nor would they be returned until peace was made. Among these possessions, George had nine place settings of their dishes with him, leaving Lettice only three settings in London. She, therefore, asked her father to bring his own dishes when he came to visit her that winter! But she did promise to otherwise take care of his comforts, "Your Lordship may be very confident that I will not have more care of my life than I will have to please you."[102] Lord Goring also wrote Cork at the same time, but on matters financial. He promised to repay the sum of £5,240 by 22 February 1641, "which God grant" the rather dubious earl noted in his diary.[103]

The truce with the Scots was signed on 28 October, and the king returned to London to open his new Parliament. The political situation had changed drastically since the dissolution of the last Parliament in May. King Charles would now have no choice but to listen to the grievances expressed by the representatives of his people. Both George Gorings would participate in these historic proceedings, the elder in the House of Lords, the younger in the House of Commons, for George was about to enter upon a new phase of his career as a Member of Parliament.

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1. Conrad Russell, *The Fall of the British Monarchies, 1637-1642* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991; Clarendon Press Paperback, 1995), 1. Russell at the very outset states that "England in 1637 was a country in working order, and was not on the edge of revolution." His title suggests the interrelated nature of the political crises Charles faced in his kingdoms. Kevin Sharpe, of similar opinion, points out (*Personal Rule*, 769-71) that the eminent nineteenth-century historian S. R Gardiner, who believed in the inevitability of the political struggle between king and Parliament, conceded: "'How long this state of things [Charles's personal rule] would have endured if no impulse had come from without, it is impossible to say.'" The revisionists question the earlier assumption of the inevitability of the armed conflict in England. In turn, the revisionists themselves have been criticized for their approach. Richard Cust and Ann Hughes, eds., *Conflict in Early Stuart England: Studies in Religion and Politics, 1603-1642* (London: Longman, 1989), in their own introductory essay entitled "After Revisionism" claim that the revisionists place too much emphasis on the mechanics and practical functioning of government and ignore how people of the time perceived politics. A recent summary--and critique--of the various theories appears in David Underdown, *A Freeborn People: Politics and the Nation in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996) in the introduction, subtitled "Competing Narratives of the Stuart Period," (1-18). See also Michael B. Young, *Charles I*, British History in Perspective, genl. ed. Jeremy Black (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997). This recent biography of King Charles offers a thorough discussion of the historiography debate; Chapter 4, "The Personal Rule II," 106-25, deals with the period 1637-40. Further discussion of these theories will appear in this dissertation, particularly in Chapter 7.

2. Knowler, *Strafford Letters*, 2:148, Rev. Garrard, London, to Wentworth, 7 February 1638.

3. Goring's own adjutant of 1644-45, Sir Richard Bulstrode, who generally admired his commander's actions in the field, as will be seen, described Goring as someone who "strangely loved the bottle." See Bulstrode's *Memoirs and Reflections upon the Reign and Government of King Charles I and King Charles II* (London: Charles Revington, 1721), 134. Ronald Hutton, *Charles the Second, King of England, Scotland and Ireland* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 9, links Goring's drinking with lifelong pain from this wound.

4. My thanks to Dr. Angel Colon of Georgetown University Hospital, Washington D. C., for reviewing George's "case" and providing this "diagnosis."

5. Quoted in Mark Bence-Jones, *The Cavaliers* (London: Constable and Company Limited, 1976), 89.

6. *CSPD 1637*, 355-56, 361; Schreiber, *Carlisle*, 137; Sharpe, *Personal Rule*, 789; Maurice Lee, Jr., *The Road to Revolution: Scotland under Charles I, 1625-37* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1985), 213; Peter Donald, *An Uncounselled King: Charles*

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I and the Scottish Troubles, 1637-41, Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 43-44.

7. Caroline M. Hibbard, *Charles I and the Popish Plot* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1983), 55; Dorothea Townshend, *Life and Letters of Mr. Endymion Porter: Sometime Gentleman of the Bedchamber to King Charles the First* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1897), 17, 176.

8. Hibbard, *Popish Plot*, 55-57; Wedgwood, *King's Peace*, 182-83; Lockyer, *Buckingham*, 74-75.

9. Christopher Brown, *Van Dyck* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1983), 7-9, 13; Oliver Millar, *Van Dyck in England* (London: National Portrait Gallery, 1982), 9, 18-20, 24-26; David Piper, comp., *Catalogue of Seventeenth-Century Portraits in the National Portrait Gallery, 1625-1714*, biographical notes by J. H. Plumb (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963), xvi. Sir Oliver Millar, former Surveyor of the Queen's Pictures, says Van Dyck's sitters are "transfigured," while Piper uses the term "raising the character of the sitter" for these transformations.

10. Piper, *Catalogue*, xii, xvii. King Charles placed one of his own equestrian portraits by Van Dyck at St. James Palace at the end of a gallery which also displayed Titian's portraits of the twelve Caesars. "The spectator was impelled to see Charles as the imperial heir of the Caesars, and Van Dyck as the heir of the great Italian masters." See John Peacock, "The Politics of Portraiture," in Kevin Sharpe and Peter Lake, eds., *Culture and Politics in Early Stuart England* (London: Macmillan, 1994), 226.

11. Arthur K. Wheelock, Jr., et. al., eds., *Anthony Van Dyck* (Washington D. C.: National Gallery of Art, 1990), 190, 281; Millar, *Van Dyck in England*, 27; Erik Larsen, *The Paintings of Anthony Van Dyck* (Fleren: Luca Verlag, 1988), 2:361; Piper, *Catalogue*, 247.

12. Larsen, *Van Dyck*, 2:361; Piper, *Catalogue*, 247-48. Mountjoy Blount's family history is interesting. His father was Charles Blount, 8th Lord Mountjoy, created the Earl of Devonshire in 1604 after his success in putting down the Irish rebellion. His mother was Penelope Devereaux Rich, sister to Queen Elizabeth's ill-fated favorite, Robert Devereaux, Earl of Essex, and wife to Robert Rich, 1st Earl of Warwick. Penelope had seven children by her husband, including her eldest son, Robert, the future 2nd earl and Parliamentary naval commander, and Henry, Earl of Holland. While still married to her husband, she began to have children by her lover, Charles Blount; their eldest son was Mountjoy Blount, born about 1597. Her husband eventually divorced her, and she married Blount in 1605. *DNB*, 5:24-43, 249-52, 6:1,006-1,008.

13. Zirka Zaremba Filipczak, "Reflections on the Motifs in Van Dyck's Portraits," in Wheelock, Jr., *Van Dyck*, 63, 67 fn. 41.

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14. Ibid., 63; Piper, *Catalogue*, 247-48; Larsen, *Van Dyck*, 2:361. There are three copies in England of the later painting: one at Knole, belonging to Lord Sackville; another at Northwick, belonging to the Spencer-Churchills; and the NPG version which is the only one where Goring is holding a "porte-crayon," probably because the copyist believed that Goring was actually Van Dyck due to a nineteenth-century misidentification.

15. Quoted in John Kenyon with Jane Ohlmeyer, "The Background to the Civil Wars in the Stuart Kingdoms," in John Kenyon and Jane Ohlmeyer, eds., *The Civil Wars: A Military History of England, Scotland, and Ireland, 1638-1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 16; Russell, *Monarchies*, 53; Sharpe, *Personal Rule*, 790-91.

16. Petrie, *Letters of Charles I*, 106; Donald, *Uncounselled King*, 78-79.

17. Petrie, *Letters of Charles I*, 108; Sharpe, *Personal Rule*, 795.

18. *CSPD 1637-38*, 474-75; Frederick Henry, *Memoires*, 221.

19. *CSPD 1637-38*, 474-75; Hexham, *Breda*, 23; Mark Charles Fissel, *The Bishops' Wars: Charles I's Campaigns against Scotland 1638-1640*, Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 10.

20. Fissel, *Bishops' Wars*, 10-11; Frederick Henry, *Memoires*, 222-25, 248; Worp, *Huygens*, 19:398-403; Geyl, *Netherlands in the Seventeenth Century*, 119.

21. Frederick Henry, *Memoires*, 248; Fissel, *Bishops' Wars*, 11; Tapie, *Louis XIII*, 238-40; Hibbard, *Popish Plot*, 79, 87; Wedgwood, *King's Peace*, 246-47; Marshall, *Henrietta Maria*, 79.

22. *CSPVen 1636-39*, 460, Ambassador Zonca, London, 16 October 1638 [N. S.]; *HMC*, 6th Report, Part I, vol 5, Denbigh MS., 284; Finit, *Ceremonies*, 253-54.

23. *CSPD 1637-38*, 418, 422, 602-3; *CSPVen 1636-39*, 404, Zonca, London, 30 April 1638 [N. S.]; Finet, *Ceremonies*, 245; Lucy Hutchinson, *Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson*, rev. ed. C. H. Firth (London: John C. Nimmo, 1885), 1:191.

24. *CSPD 1638-39*, 106-7, 112-13; Stone, *Crisis*, 419-20.

25. *CSPD 1638-39*, 125, 130-31, Thomas Smith to Sir John Pennington, 28 November 1638. A day earlier Edward Nicholas had sent the same news to Vice Admiral Pennington, adding the useful tidbit that Wimbledon had left behind a rich, young widow.

26. Ibid., 335. The order for wages, dated 19 January 1639, was from the king to Lord Treasurer Juxon and Francis Lord Cottington, the controller.

27. BL Add. MS. 19832, f. 46, Lord Goring to Cork, 3 December 1638.

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28. *Lismore*, ser. 1, 4:206; ser. 2, 5:57; BL Add. MS. 19832, f. 22, the original "form for the government . . . at Stalbridge" was in the Earl of Cork's own hand. Upon the earl's death, Stalbridge was inherited by his youngest son, Robert Boyle. See Jacob, *Robert Boyle*, 13.

29. *Lismore*, ser. 2, 5:61-62, 279; BL Add. MS. 19832, f. 46; Finit, *Ceremonies*, 255, 317.

30. *Lismore*, ser. 2, 5:279-80.

31. Ibid., 5:280-81.

32. Ibid., 5:281.

33. Fissel, *Bishops' Wars*, 1.

34. Quoted in Christopher Brown, *Flemish Paintings*, The National Gallery Schools of Painting (London: The National Gallery, 1987), 38; Hibbard, *Popish Plot*, 99-100; Fissel, *Bishops' Wars*, 78.

35. *CSPD 1638-39*, 378; Wedgwood, *King's Peace*, 252; Fissel, *Bishops' Wars*, 84-85.

36. John Aston, "Iter Boreale. Anno Salutis 1639 et Dissidioe inter Anglos et Scotos," in John Crawford Hodgson, ed., *Six North Country Diaries*, Publications of the Surtees Society, vol. 118 (Durham: Andrews & Co., 1910), 22-23. The author, a "privy chamberman extraordinary" to King Charles, accompanied the king on the northern campaign (3).

37. *CSPD 1638-39*, 377-78; Fissel, *Bishops' Wars*, 5; Kenyon, "Background," in Kenyon and Ohlmeyer, *Military History*, 16-19; Schwoerer, *No Standing Armies!*, 13-14.

38. *CSPD 1638-39*, 43, 316; *CSPD 1639*, 142.

39. *Lismore*, ser. 2, 5:80-81, 86.

40. Wedgwood, *King's War*, 260-61; Fissel, *Bishops' Wars*, 15-16; Carlton, *Charles I*, 204.

41. Aston, "Iter Boreale," 5.

42. *CSPD 1639*, 49-53; Fissel, *Bishops' Wars*, 17, 85; Wedgwood, *King's Peace*, 260.

43. *Lismore*, ser. 2, 5:89; Fissel, *Bishops' Wars*, 24; Russell, *Monarchies*, 76; Kenyon, "Background," in Kenyon and Ohlmeyer, *Military History*, 17, 19. Conrad Russell believes the most serious English logistical failure in both wars was the shortage of arms which had to be imported in large numbers. John Kenyon stresses the caliber of the

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English soldiers, particularly the men in the trained bands. Since the Militia Act allowed for substitutions, the bands consisted of "the dregs of the lower classes" instead of yeoman farmers and lesser gentry.

44. *Verney Memoirs*, 316; Fissel, *Bishops' Wars*, 24-25.

45. *Verney Memoirs*, 316.

46. Donald, *Uncounselled King*, 143; Fissel, *Bishops' Wars*, 25.

47. *CSPD 1639*, 242-43, 250-51, 267.

48. Ibid., 267, 271; Aston, "Iter Boreale," 23.

49. *CSPD 1639*, 267, 272; Fissel, *Bishops' Wars*, 26.

50. Wedgwood, *King's Peace*, 271, 274.

51. Fissel, *Bishops' Wars*, 27-28.

52. Edward Furgol, "The Civil Wars in Scotland," in Kenyon and Ohlmeyer, *Military History*, 46-48; Parker, *Thirty Years' War*, 195, 206; Kenyon, *Civil Wars*, 11, 14; Fissel, *Bishops' Wars*, 28-29.

53. Fissel, *Bishops' Wars*, 27-28; Wedgwood, *King's Peace*, 275-76.

54. *Lismore*, ser. 2, 5:97.

55. Ibid., ser. 2, 4:69-70.

56. Cyril Hughes Hartmann, *The Cavalier Spirit and its Influence on the Life and Work of Richard Lovelace* (London: George Routledge & Sons, Ltd., 1925), 18-19, with the poem on 25; Manfred Weidhorn, *Richard Lovelace* (New York: Twayne Publishers, Inc., 1970), 18-19; *Richard Lovelace: Selected Poems*, ed. and intro. Gerald Hammond (Manchester: Fyfield Books, Carcanet Press Ltd., 1987), 8-9, 13-14; Raymond A. Anselment, *Loyalist Resolve: Patient Fortitude in the English Civil War* (Newark, DE: University of Delaware Press, 1988), 17, 97, 110.

57. *Lismore*, ser. 2, 5:97.

58. Oxford University, Bodleian Library (hereafter, Bodl.) Clarendon MS. 24, f. 127, Goring, Wells, to Sir John Colepeper, 11 April 1645.

59. Aston, "Iter Boreale," 11; *CSPD 1639*, 201-2, 230-31; Russell, *Monarchies*, 81. Lord Goring even helped investigate a charge by London tobacco manufacturers of "unwholesome ingredients being mixed into tobacco to increase weight," a problem with a

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modern resonance. See *CSPD 1638-39*, 546-47.

60. Rushworth, *Collections*, Pt. II, 2:297; *HMC*, Vol. 3, 4th Rpt., App., Earl de la Warr MS., 294; Wedgwood, *King's Peace*, 280; Aylmer, *King's Servants*, 127.

61. *Lismore*, ser. 2, 5:105.

62. *CSPD 1639-40*, 48; Wedgwood, *King's Peace*, 300.

63. Geyl, *Netherlands in the Seventeenth Century*, 125-26; Wedgwood, *King's War*, 299-301; Russell, *Monarchies*, 80.

64. *CSPD 1639-40*, 119; Wedgwood, *King's Peace*, 292-94, 303-4; Carlton, *Charles I*, 211.

65. *CSPVen 1636-39*, 605, Giustinian, London, 30 December 1639 [N. S.].

66. *Lismore*, ser. 1, 5:111-13, 119; Marshall, *Henrietta Maria*, 82.

67. Cork had another family crisis that winter. His youngest daughter, fifteen-year-old Mary, fell in love with Charles Rich, second son of Robert Rich, Earl of Warwick. Lord Goring, Warwick and his brother, the Earl of Holland, all had to intercede for the couple before Cork approved of this match, although it did give him a link to the Puritan faction at court. In fact, Charles Rich would become the 4th Earl of Warwick in 1659. See Heller Mendelson, *Stuart Women*, 71-76, 84. The account of Lewis's marriage comes from an anonymous seventeenth-century source in the private papers of the late John Goring of Wiston Park and was kindly provided by Ms. Jill Turner of the Wiston Estate Office.

68. *CSPVen 1636-39*, 603, 606, Giustinian, London, 23 and 30 December 1639 [N. S.]; in the former letter, the diplomat included a "doctor's certificate" to support his contention that he was too sick to continue in England because of the "deplorable condition to which this noxious air has reduced me." The Portsmouth pay record in BL Add. MS. 35278, ff. 14-15, is only signed "George Goringe," but the handwriting is Lord Goring's and not his son's; moreover, in all the documents reviewed for this study, I have found that only the senior Goring sometimes used the spelling variant "Goringe."

69. *CSPD 1639-40*, 188, 332, 431.

70. Ibid., 332, 459.

71. Ibid., 332, 431, 445, 454.

72. Ibid., 510, 537, 606-7; Rushworth, *Collections*, II, 2:1,088-92, 1,096.

73. Wooldridge, *Danny Archives*, genealogy opposite xii; *CSPD 1639-40*, 386-87; Fletcher, *Sussex 1600-1660*, 23, 240-44.

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74. *CSPD 1639-40*, 387, letter dated 27 January 1640.

75. *Proceedings of the Short Parliament of 1640*, eds. Esther S. Cope and Willson H. Coates, Camden Fourth Series, vol. 19 (London: Royal Historical Society, 1977), 115.

76. Ibid., 118.

77. Ibid., 119.

78. Ibid., 149-55.

79. Ibid., 193-98.

80. Quoted in Russell, *Monarchies*, 119, 126; *HMC*, vol. 4, 5th Rpt, Strickland MS., 331.

81. *CSPD 1640*, 114-15.

82. Fissel, *Bishops' Wars*, 79, characterizes Astley as "arguably the finest soldier at Charles's disposal." Kenyon, "Background," in Kenyon and Ohlmeyer, *Military History*, 9, credits Astley with having "enjoyed a distinguished career in Flanders and Germany."

83. *Verney Memoirs*, 171-72.

84. Rushworth, *Collections*, II, 2:1241-43; *CSPD 1640*, 187-88; BL Add. MS. 35278, ff. 16-17, Portsmouth pay book, 24 June 1640, with George Goring's own signature; *Lismore*, ser. 1, 5:140.

85. *CSPD 1640*, 354, 540.

86. Ibid., 531; Worp, *Huygens*, 21:49.

87. Fissel, *Bishops' Wars*, 51; Wedgwood, *King's Peace*, 344-45. Wedgwood believes Northumberland's illness was either "diplomatic" or "psychosomatic."

88. *CSPD 1640*, 461-62; Fissel, *Bishops' Wars*, 51.

89. *CSPD 1640*, 570-71, 581.

90. Ibid., 480, 587-88; Strafford's letter of 15 August 1640 is also excerpted in Fissel, *Bishops' War*, 51; *HMC*, vol. 4, 5th Rpt., Strickland MS., 331.

91. *CSPD 1640*, 587-88.

92. Fissel, *Bishops' Wars*, 58-59; Kenyon, "Background," in Kenyon and Ohlmeyer, *Military History*, 24-26; Russell, *Monarchies*, 143, suggests that the king and Strafford may have actually wanted the invasion to occur to arouse public sentiment in England.

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But considering the unprepared state of the English army, they would have been taking an extremely dangerous gamble. It seems more likely that they were caught by surprise by the Scots' incursion.

93. Rushworth, *Collections*, II, 2:1241-45; *CSPD 1640-41*, 3, 4, 9.

94. *CSPD 1640-41*, 3, 46-48; Wedgwood, *King's War*, 344-45.

95. *CSPD 1640-41*, 15-16, 18-19, 55-56, 68-69, 76.

96. *CSPD 1640*, 639-40; *CSPD 1640-41*, 94.

97. *CSPD 1640-41*, 56, 88-93, 96-97, 101; *Lismore*, ser. 1, 5:159; Russell, *Monarchies*, 157 fn. 41.

98. *CSPD 1640-41*, 93, 128 134-35, 144, 151 170, 192.

99. BL Add. MS. 35278, f. 18-18b, Portsmouth pay book.

100. *Lismore*, ser. 2, 4:136-37, Lettice Goring, London, to Cork, 27 September 1640.

101. *CSPD 1640-41*, 116, 122.

102. *Lismore*, ser. 2, 4:150-51, Lettice Goring to Cork, 13 October 1640.

103. Ibid., ser. 1, 5:162; Lord Goring's letter was dated 12 October 1640.

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CHAPTER 6
COLONEL GORING AND THE ARMY PLOT, NOVEMBER 1640--DECEMBER 1641

The period under discussion--from the opening of what would come to be known as the Long Parliament to the eve of the king's break with Parliament--marks a monumental phase in English constitutional history. Those discontented with government policies had finally regained an institutional forum wherein they hoped to right perceived wrongs in church and state. But in the course of this period, as some of the reformers became more zealous in their efforts, others would turn back to the king, thus setting the division for civil war.

George Goring would be among those who apparently changed sides, but why would his ultimate support of the royalist cause be viewed so hostilely by some of his contemporaries, like Sir Edward Hyde, who had themselves reassessed their loyalties? In this chapter, we shall examine Goring's involvement in the pro-royalist Army Plot of 1641 and his subsequent betrayal of his co-conspirators; his apparent outward support of Parliament thereafter, as the king's political situation deteriorated; and his secret rapprochement with the queen. Was Goring's motivation merely political opportunism, as was so often charged? Or, in his own byzantine way, was he applying the campaign tactics used so successfully in the Dutch Wars?--to keep the ultimate goal hidden from the enemy as long as possible to gain the element of surprise and so increase the chances of victory. Or, did Goring simply improvise to keep himself out of harm's way in a period of increasing political turmoil?

All these events and questions will be explored in an attempt to better understand these most controversial episodes in George Goring's career.

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Parliament and the Army

One of the two members representing Portsmouth, Southampton County, in the new Parliament was George Goring, Esquire. By serving as an MP, Goring was following in his family's tradition, dating back four generations. At the same time, George continued to serve as a regimental commander with the English army in the north, as governor of Portsmouth, and as a colonel in Dutch service. Obviously, several of these functions would have to be delegated to subordinates at various times, particularly command of his Dutch regiment, for affairs in England would be Goring's primary concern for the next five years.[1]

Exactly when George Goring returned to London that winter of 1640-41 is not clear. He was still with the army in Yorkshire as late as October 1640. He may have even remained there as Parliament opened on 3 November, for his name did not appear in the initial debates nor among those who were selected for the various parliamentary committees formed in November and December. The only evidence is that he was in London sometime prior to February 1641, so he may have returned to spend the holidays with his family and visiting father-in-law, for the Earl of Cork was back in London by the time Parliament convened and sat as a guest with the House of Lords. Goring's brother-in-law, Lord Dungarvan, was also a newly elected MP and on 6 November was chosen to the House Committee on Elections and Returns where he would serve alongside some of the soon-to-be leading reformers, including John Hampden and Denzil Hollis.[2]

King Charles greeted his new Parliament in much the same way he had greeted the last one. In his opening speech he prioritized his need for money to expel the Scottish invaders and to maintain the English army. Once supply was voted, he would then consider grievances. But John Pym countered with his own agenda. "To redress grievances will not hinder, but further the service of the King," he declared, as he again outlined the three main areas of concern: the privileges of Parliament, religion, and the liberty of the subject.[3]

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Unfortunately for the king, he no longer had the option, as he had in May, of dissolving a Parliament committed to an independent course of action. The occupying Scots were awaiting a final peace treaty with Parliament and in the meantime required £850 per day from the English for maintenance, while the king's forces also had to be kept in the field. Only Parliament could vote sufficient funds. So the king would have to address the grievances of the MPs, who overwhelmingly--about ninety percent of the 507 members--supported the initial reform movement.[4]

At the outset, however, the Commons did not directly attack the king. As John Pym explained in his opening speech: "The King can do no wrong; the Law casts all miscarriages upon the Ministers."[5] And the minister who was immediately targeted was the Earl of Strafford. On 6 November, by a close count of 165 to 152, the Commons voted to set up a special committee on Ireland to investigate complaints about government there. The earl was safely with the army in his native Yorkshire at the time, and his friends reportedly warned him of the political climate which awaited him in the capital. But King Charles asked Strafford to come to London, and John Rushworth, the great Parliamentary chronicler of this period, hinted that the earl returned with the intention of accusing his enemies of collaborating with the Scots.[6]

But John Pym moved swiftly to charge the earl with treason. On 11 November, Pym himself brought the charges from the Commons to the Lords and asked for Strafford's imprisonment, which was granted. The Earl of Cork witnessed and recorded with relish this initial blow to his longtime political rival in Ireland: "His Lordship was called into the house, as a delinquent, and brought to the bar upon his knees (I sitting in my place covered). . . ."[7] Strafford was immediately taken into custody, and even a request from the king and queen to free the earl on bail, presented to the Lords a few days later by Lord Goring, was denied.[8]

That the Gorings, father and son, would stand by Strafford in his coming time of troubles probably stemmed from the support and friendship he had offered them both through the early problems George had experienced in his marriage and in starting his military career, as detailed earlier. But politically, neither the Gorings nor even King

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Charles himself could stem the rising tide against Strafford. On 18 November the House of Commons voted that no MP could visit the earl without their permission, and on 22 November they drew up articles accusing the earl of attempting to subvert the law "to introduce an arbitrary and tyrannical government," of taking on regal powers and enriching himself, and of causing the troubles between the English and the Scots. At the same time, the king appointed his own commission, which included the elder Goring and Cork, to visit Strafford to ask his advice on grievances from Ireland and to report back to Charles and his council. Despite the king's efforts, the Commons continued to pursue their own path as preparations for the treason trial continued into the new year, firmly guided by Pym and Hampden, among others.[9]

The so-called Army Plot of 1641, therefore, would be formulated in part by those who believed military action might be the only way to save Strafford from his determined political foes. But an even more basic cause would also lead certain officers to plot against Parliament: their general belief that Parliament was granting insufficient funds and attention to the English army's plight. For while the members of Parliament grappled with the great questions of government reform, they also had to provide immediate funding for the two armies, a formidable task in itself. How the relationship between the new Parliament and the English army developed in November and December 1640 merits a brief summary, for the military plots which would involve George Goring the following spring stemmed from these initial dealings.

The requirements for maintaining the English army were first brought to the attention of the House of Commons on 13 November by Sir William Uvedale, MP for Petersfield, Hampshire, and Treasurer-at-Wars. As treasurer, Uvedale had sat on the king's war council along with George Goring, and this type of personal connection would be most useful to Goring when the limited funds were disbursed in the months to come. Uvedale advised his fellow MPs that the king's army required £20,000 per month for maintenance. He added that the army was paid through 10 November and that it took fourteen days to distribute the funds. In return, the House asked him for a more detailed report on the state of the army, the monthly charge for horse and foot, artillery and the

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officers. Uvedale that same day wrote to his deputy in the field, Matthew Bradley, asking for these specifics, but also to have him reassure the field commanders that Parliament planned to quickly supply the money and would persuade the city of London to loan the funds in the meantime. A total sum of £100,000 had been promised by Parliament.[10]

Uvedale's optimism soon proved to be somewhat premature. Not only would there be an ongoing problem of collecting and allocating sufficient funds for both armies, but questions of personal honor and precedence were also continuing to cause discontent among the king's officers. As noted in the previous chapter, in the First Bishops' War the Earls of Holland and Newcastle had almost come to blows over precedence and, in the Second, George Goring had failed to achieve his desired command level. In addition, matters often seemed to be aggravated by conflicting orders and even confusion over the chain of command (a problem to be repeated in the royalist war effort in the civil wars), as attested to by Sir John Conyers' letter from York on 13 November 1640.

Conyers, another veteran of the Dutch Wars, had been in command of the border garrison at Berwick, which the Scots had circumvented in their invasion of England. Conyers then received a patent from Strafford to take command of the army in Yorkshire, but upon his arrival in York he found that the former field commander, Edward Viscount Conway, had left instructions to divide the command, with Conyers in charge of the cavalry only and Sir Jacob Astley in charge of the infantry. He was, therefore, writing Conway for further clarification of his responsibilities. Conyers also noted that he was trying to locate the horse regiments which were already in winter quarters and complained that "the chief officers are for the most part absent, and the troops much out of order."[11]

Conyers was indeed to be commander of horse only, but, based on the promise of forthcoming Parliamentary funds from Lord General Northumberland, the absentee commander-in-chief, on 18 November he instructed his cavalry commanders to keep their horse companies together, to muster them once a month, and to pay expenses out of their "own purses" or to get credit locally in case the promised funds were late in coming. Four days later Conyers wrote Secretary Windebank, reporting all was quiet even though many officers were still absent and expressing his hopes that the money would be forthcoming.[12]

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Treasurer Uvedale reported to his field deputy Bradley on 24 November that the money was still not available but was expected soon, and Parliament would consider the amounts in their next session, for they were currently involved with the charges against Strafford. Uvedale estimated £50,000 would be made available over the course of the coming month. In the meantime, he was glad Bradley was discreetly using bills of exchange to pay the regiments at Ripon and York, but Uvedale admitted he was keeping these transactions from his fellow MPs, who continued to think that the English army had not been paid since 10 November.[13]

Finally, on 28 November a loan of £50,000 was made available by the city of London, but Parliament then faced the problem of allocating these funds, for both the Scots army of occupation and the English forces expected this full amount. Some MPs argued that the English army should receive the entire amount, but instead, fearing that the Scots might plunder the north, the Commons decided to divide the funds, with £30,000 going to the English and £20,000 to the Scots.[14]

Uvedale advised Bradley on 1 December that he expected to have the £30,000 within two days, but that they would have to cover the £4,840 already advanced by Bradley. The treasurer's ingenious solution was to keep two sets of books, one for Parliament's accounts and one for the king's. At the same time, Sir John Conyers wrote Conway that he could not move his troops, as ordered by Lord General Northumberland because of the complaints of the local gentry, until he received the money to pay off their local creditors. He would also "discreetly" deliver the £20,000 to the Scots. Only on 8 December was the money finally in transit, and on 12 December Uvedale advised Bradley to ignore any past instructions from the Lord General, and instead meet with Conyers and Astley on how to allocate the £30,000 between infantry and cavalry.[15]

On 18 December another £50,000 was provided by the Commons for the two armies, with £30,000 destined for the Scots this time and the remainder for the English. Sir Jacob Astley on 23 December was impatiently awaiting these new funds, for his officers were still lending to their men and credit was becoming tight. "For this army, God help us," he warned Conway in London, "our adversaries are vigilant and we careless."

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But only £16,000 was dispatched north on 29 December, and Treasurer Uvedale again had to ask his deputy to distribute these insufficient funds as he saw fit.[16]

"Too little, too late," might be an appropriate theme for these initial dealings, although Sir William Uvedale's rather pragmatic approach to taking care of business smoothed over some of the rougher edges. In the meantime, Parliament continued to rid the government of "evil counselors," with Archbishop Laud impeached and imprisoned on 18 December. Secretary Windebank and Lord Keeper Finch were somewhat more fortunate, managing to escape a similar fate by fleeing to the Continent.[17]

One accounting exists for George Goring's regiment from 1640; for an unspecified twenty-one day period, he, his officers and 860 soldiers earned a total of £960 6s., of which £496 18s. was still owed. A different accounting, dated 1 January 1641, highlighted Goring's other area of concern in this period: the build up at Portsmouth. According to a certificate of the Office of Ordinance, the gunpowder remaining in the king's stores included 163 lasts 5 cwt. 59 pounds in the Tower of London, and 71 lasts 23 cwt. 48 pounds at Portsmouth. Governor Goring was succeeding in strengthening his garrison and his arsenal.[18]

But Goring also had important matters to attend to in London in the new year. The Commons in their very first week of business in November had unanimously ruled that "all Projectors and Monopolists whatsoever . . . are disabled, by order of this House, to sit here in this House."[19] A committee was in turn formed to investigate those members who might belong to these categories. As the son and heir of one of the chief monopolists, George Goring found himself facing the House committee and having to explain why his name appeared on a patent for tobacco. Very neatly, George pointed out that he had been abroad when the patent had been procured by his father who had used his name without his knowledge or consent. Furthermore, he claimed that he had never received any profit from the patent in question.[20]

On 2 February 1641 Mr. Perd reported for the committee to the House of Commons on two findings. Sir Nicholas Cripps of Winchelsea, Sussex, was found to be a monopolist and so disabled from sitting; a writ was to be sent out for a new election.

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However, the committee also resolved: "Mr. Goring does appear to be neither Monopolist, nor Projector."[21] This was just the first of numerous challenges George Goring would face about his suitability to sit in the Commons. Despite his strong royalist connections, he would constantly be able to reassure his fellow MPs of his loyalty, right until the time of his open break with Parliament in August 1642. As for the fiction used to clear him of the charge of being a monopolist, while it may have been true that George did not know of his father's specific dealings in his name at all times, it is hard to believe that he derived no monetary benefit, especially considering his past financial history.

The grave matters of state which continued into the new year were lightened somewhat by one court event of note: the wedding of George Goring's nineteen-year-old brother-in-law, Roger, Baron Broghill, Cork's third son, to Lady Margaret Howard, daughter of the Earl of Suffolk, on 27 January. The marriage took place in London at the house of Lord D'Aubigny, the king's kinsman, who was married to the bride's sister. The poet and sometimes soldier Sir John Suckling attended,[22] and George Goring, already in London on his Parliamentary business, most probably joined the festivities.

Suckling would soon be the initial contact for drawing Goring into the Army Plot conspiracy. They both had served in the Bishops' Wars, attended the court, and were members of Parliament. One other characteristic they shared was a passion for gambling. Suckling, in "A Sessions of the Poets," his well-known assessment of his fellow English wits, stressed his own priorities. Referring to himself in the third person: "He loved not the Muses so well as his sport;/ And/ Prized black eyes, or a lucky hit/ At bowls, above all the trophies of wit."[23] On both 25 January and 2 February Sir William Uvedale reminded his deputy that Colonel Goring had authorized £100 of his pay to go directly to Sir John Suckling,[24] possibly a repayment of a gambling debt.

Another event which occurred in January and which would indirectly add to the growing discontent in the army stemmed from King Charles's pardon of a captured Catholic priest, Father Goodman. Some of the more radical religious elements in London who believed that the priest should have been executed used the pardon as an excuse to withhold any further loan money which Parliament intended for the armies, a move that

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even dismayed John Pym. The recalcitrant Londoners might have been afraid that the king's pardon of a priest would set a precedent for the pardon of Strafford. But whatever the motivation, as Sir William Uvedale noted, his already difficult task was about to become even harder.[25]

By late January both Sir John Conyers and Sir Jacob Astley were complaining to Viscount Conway about the long delay in receiving new funds. Astley was particulary blunt in charging that the Commons did not know how to pay an army. Despite the hardships, such as having no meat available, the men were quiet, although the local citizens were not happy with the continued military presence. At the most recent muster, taken on 28 January, thirteen of the sixteen regiments had already reported in, accounting for 14,602 men, only 140 less than the last tally. Even if the army were to be disbanded, Astley pointed out, sufficient funds would still have to be provided to send the soldiers home.[26]

While the field commanders could do no more than petition London and wait, Sir William Uvedale was continuing with his juggling act at an ever more frantic pace. Bradley had written him that £500 remained in the king's account, which Uvedale mistakenly first read as £5,000, an amount, he advised his deputy, "we should reserve for ourselves and our particular friends," since all the claims could not be met. Uvedale himself had lent the king £1,000 which he knew would not be repaid, so he planned to take it out of this amount on-hand. "It is the rule that we ought to look to ourselves in the first place," he rationalized. One lucky recipient of pay arrears was to be Sir William Ogle, Uvedale's neighbor in Hampshire. The treasurer also noted: "Yet I think it reasonable Colonel Goring should be paid his brigade's moneys."[27]

We can only imagine Uvedale's chagrin when Bradley pointed out his misreading of the amount available in the king's account. On 2 February the treasurer acknowledged his mistake, but he seemed to be pursuing the payment of Goring's brigade, even though some of the paperwork apparently had been lost in transit from the north to London. Uvedale stressed that George would have to obtain his own warrant to be paid. He also complained that he was forced to pay out some money in London: "The importunity of the

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officers is so violent."[28] It should be remembered that these officers were not only lacking their own pay, but had also contributed to the upkeep of their troops in the field.

Deputy Bradley updated the amount on-hand in the king's account to £4,000, in response to which, on 9 February, Uvedale ordered: "Reserve this with as much secrecy as you can, till we meet, for there will be much use for it." The army's pay was now two months in arrears, and his good friends were asking for at least partial recompense. Among the "men of quality" the treasurer felt he could not refuse were Lord Dungarvan, Lord Conway, Colonel Ashburnham, and Colonel Ogle. He had even lent out of his own purse £50 to Sir John Suckling and £10 to Captain Porter,[29] soon to be George Goring's brother-in-law.

Despite the worsening situation, Uvedale expressed some optimism that within a week he would have at least one full month's pay for both horse and foot. Undoubtedly, he was fixing his hopes on the acceptance of the Triennial Act, which had gone to the Lords on 20 January and which King Charles finally did sign on 16 February. The new law stipulated Parliament must meet at least once every three years, thus ensuring periods like Charles's eleven-year personal rule could never reoccur. With this check on royal government in place, a more stable political climate was created in which loans would be more available to pay off both armies.[30]

The Act had the desired effect, for on 23 February Sir William Uvedale reported to his deputy that new funds would soon be dispatched. Parliament also had ordered that all commanders who were in London as sitting MPs were to paid there. The treasurer's only complaint was that if Strafford had been put on trial already, the money would now be in hand. A week later, on 1 March, Uvedale told Bradley that £25,000 for the infantry had been dispatched; payment for the cavalry would follow later. In addition, over £1,100 had already been paid in London. The following day, he repeated his message that the money in transit was for the foot and artillery only. He specified that Colonels Goring and Ogle had been paid in London for the period 8 December to 5 January. He also noted that since Goring's account had been settled locally, Bradley did not have to pay Sir John Suckling the £100 from Goring's entertainment.[31]

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At the same time, the Scots were owed a payment of £25,000, which the English could not fully meet. Since the Scots were threatening to advance further south into England if their demand was not met, on 6 March the House of Commons decided to divert £10,000 from the English to the Scottish army. Officers sitting in the Commons like Commissary Wilmot, Colonel Ashburnham and Henry Percy were openly upset by this decision and would soon be seeking other means to redress their grievances.[32]

Clearly, George Goring was well enough known to Treasurer Uvedale to have merited priority consideration, but it is also easy to see why Goring and other officers were becoming so dissatisfied with their treatment by Parliament. Moreover, it was precisely at this time, on 6 March 1641, that George Goring leased Danny at Hurstpierpoint for 99 years to William Hippisley and John Davies. The profits of this lease in turn would be used to repay his father a debt of £2000 which Lord Goring had paid to Sir Jacob Astley for George in 1637 and to cover another £1000 George owed on three bills of exchange in London.[33] With monopolies being declared illegal by Parliament, the Goring family was losing a major source of income. The arrears in army pay could only aggravate the situation.

In addition, Parliament's other dealings with the Scots were causing further concerns. Sir John Conyers was particulary dismayed when he heard that the English were negotiating to give up the garrison at Berwick. Not only was that strategically wrong, but it would leave him without a future post. "What will become of me?" he lamented to Viscount Conway on 13 February. "I would I had stayed at Breda." On 10 March he again wrote to Conway to intercede with the king, pointing out that he had long served with profit and honor in Holland, all of which he had given up to return to England to serve the king. He had been promised the post of governor of Berwick for life, but if the garrison were withdrawn, he would be ruined.[34] This blending of personal considerations and service to the state is important to note, since George Goring would be accused of excessive ambition, but many of the leading men of that society acted in a similar manner.

The king and queen soon had some good news. Negotiations had been going on in

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London since the previous December with ambassadors from the Dutch, and on 15 March the articles were signed betrothing King Charles's eldest daughter, Mary, to Frederick Henry's son and heir, Prince William of Orange, the little boy who had visited the wounded Colonel Goring at Breda in 1637. While the Dutch lit bonfires to celebrate this marriage alliance, the people of England offered no such joyous displays.[35] They had weightier matters of state on their minds, for the trial of the Earl of Strafford was about to begin.

The Army Plot

Early on Monday morning, 22 March 1641, a flotilla of six barges left the Tower of London . The Earl of Strafford, with an escort of one hundred soldiers, was being transported to Westminister landing, where an additional two hundred men from the trained bands stood guard. The earl was then taken to the Great Hall at Westminister where his treason trial was to begin. At 9 a.m. the king, queen and Prince of Wales entered the chamber but sat privately. John Pym then read the charges against the Lord Lieutenant, after which the first day's proceedings terminated.[36]

So began Strafford's impeachment trial which would hold the attention of the nation for the next seven weeks. These proceedings would by played out in full public view, but at the same time, other behind-the-scenes maneuverings would be going on involving the king, the queen, some of their courtiers and various disgruntled army officers, including George Goring. And the ultimate great irony would be that what Pym could not initially achieve through legal proceedings--the permanent removal of Strafford--he would attain by making public these inchoate semi-secret plots . In other words, the plan to use the army to help free Strafford would have the exact opposite effect by expediting his death.

Since events were occurring on these various levels simultaneously, it is easier to first briefly recap the public proceedings. Selected members from the House of Commons, including both Pym and Hampden, presented their case against Strafford to the

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House of Lords, where the Earl of Arundel presided over the trial. Although Arundel was a Privy Councilor, he did not show any particular favor towards Strafford. The Lord Lieutenant could be high-handed and arrogant and so had made enemies among his fellow councilors. Arundel might have even still held a grudge against Strafford, blaming him for his loss of command of the army in 1640,[37] another example of a perceived personal affront taking on broader implications.

Despite the hostile atmosphere, and his own ill-health, Strafford did a formidable job in defending himself. He insisted on refuting each of the twenty-eight articles individually, thus thwarting the Commons' prosecution tactic of trying to consider the articles as a whole to show a pattern of treason. While many of the articles pertained to Strafford's government in Ireland, the one which caused the most heated debate centered on whether or not the earl had proposed in council to bring an Irish army to England the previous year. Pym had come by a copy of Secretary Vane's council notes thanks to young Henry Vane, the secretary's son, a zealous Puritan, who had purportedly found the notes among his father's papers. The Lord Lieutenant had reportedly said "that he had an army in Ireland which he might employ to reduce this Kingdom to obedience," but several councilors took the stand to explain that the kingdom in question was Scotland, not England, which seemed logical to many so that this particular charge appeared to be unfounded.[38]

Just when it seemed that Strafford would win his case, a new movement began in the Commons on 10 April; a bill of attainder against Strafford was presented, which meant that instead of relying on the judicial procedure of impeachment, the Commons was now willing to use a legislative procedure to condemn the earl. The king had been negotiating with both Pym and some of the moderate lords, including the Earls of Bedford and Bristol, so that the attainder might have been a reaction by the majority who feared that a deal might be worked out to save Strafford. On 21 April the bill passed the House of Commons, 204 to 59. Among those voting for the earl's condemnation were Sir Edward Hyde, Lord Falkland, John Culpeper, and Ralph Hopton, all future stalwart royalists, who at this time apparently believed that the earl's removal was necessary for the good of the

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state.[39]

To seal Strafford's fate two more steps still had to taken: the Lords would have to pass the bill of attainder and the king would have to sign his chief councilor's death warrant. In exactly three weeks both these steps would be accomplished, and on 12 May the earl would die on the scaffold. To understand how this end was managed it is necessary to focus on the behind-the-scenes maneuverings which formed the undercurrent to the trial's proceedings.

While it is impossible to exactly date when these various plots began to take shape, the lack of timely pay had become a growing cause of discontent among the officers. The diversion of part of the army's funds to the Scots in early March acted as the catalyst for action, for on 20 March the officers of the English army sent a letter to the Lord General, the Earl of Northumberland, asking him to intercede with Parliament on their behalf. They explained that their lack of pay had forced them "to oppress a poor country, and live upon the courtesy and at the discretion of strangers, which both they and we are weary of." Even though they were willing to face the Scots in action, they feared that the lack of money would keep them from taking the field. The officers also expressed their concern that Parliament was inexperienced in dealing with military matters and wanted an assurance that neither their privileges nor rights of command would be changed.[40]

At about the same time, on the eve of Strafford's trial, other plans were being discussed in court circles as possible alternatives to try to reestablish the king's authority and to aid Strafford if the proceedings went against him. One of the originators of these ideas was Sir John Suckling, who found an attentive audience in the queen. Henrietta Maria listened to Suckling's idea that the king had to take some kind of action to rally public support for his cause. Suckling also propounded his general ideas to the queen's chief courtier, Henry Jermyn, and the idea evolved to bring the army to London, to take the Tower and help Strafford escape.[41]

To further complicate matters, the king was working on his own action plan with Henry Percy, an officer and MP, and the brother of Algernon Percy, Earl of Northumberland, and of Lucy, Countess of Carlisle. The king hoped to use the discontent

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in the army to have the officers petition parliament for the maintenance of episcopacy, not to disband the king's Irish army, and to maintain the king's revenues, all battles Charles had been fighting with Parliament.[42]

These various strands finally became intertwined when one Captain Chudleigh brought the 20 March army petition to London where he stayed for about eight or nine days. In this time he met with Suckling and Jermyn who took him to visit the queen, as well as with the courtier-poet Will Davenant who spoke in favor of the army but apparently was not aware of his fellow courtiers' secret plans. In addition, King Charles thought that the discontent expressed in the army petition might be used to help free Strafford. To coordinate these various proceedings the king and queen chose Henry Jermyn, even though the queen feared for her favorite's safety if their schemes were discovered.[43]

As these various plots were beginning to take shape, George Goring became involved. While we do have his own detailed testimony as to how he became entangled in these events, that testimony would be made in response to a full-scale Parliamentary investigation, begun in May and continued throughout the summer. He obviously would choose to present himself to the best advantage, for not only his reputation but his very life could have been at stake if he were implicated in a treasonous plot. However, some of the evidence of the other conspirators sheds additional light on Goring's actions and motivations.

George Goring claimed that the first notice he had about any plan involving the army occurred about mid-Lent, when Sir John Suckling paid him an unannounced visit on a Sunday morning while George was still in bed. In 1641 Ash Wednesday fell on 10 March and Easter Sunday on 25 April, so that the most likely date for the meeting was 28 March. Goring assumed that the visit pertained to the money matters pending between them, but Suckling said he had come on another matter, about bringing the army to London, with the Earl of Newcastle as general and with Goring as lieutenant general if he would agree. Suckling told Goring he would have to go to court to hear more on the matter, and George agreed to do so.[44]

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Following this first contact (and apparently on the same day), Goring was in his coach in the vicinity of Covent Garden and St. Martins Lane, when he happened upon the coach of Henry Jermyn who sent his footman to ask George to follow him. A little further along they both alighted and entered a house which Goring claimed he did not know at the time contained the lodgings of Sir John Suckling. Jermyn said he had to talk to George concerning the army, and that he should come to the queen's side of the court that evening where he would hear more. That same evening Goring met Jermyn in the queen's drawing chamber and was escorted into the queen's bedchamber. But before he could talk to the queen, the king entered and Goring had to withdraw. Later that evening Jermyn did tell George that he would have to meet with some officers to hear certain propositions concerning the army.[45]

The next evening, Monday, George Goring returned to court to see the queen who told him that the king would speak with him, and he was conducted through the galleries to the king's rooms. King Charles asked Goring if he "was not engaged in a cabal concerning the army" to which George replied he was not. The king continued: "'I command you to join with Percy and some others who you will find with him.' And his Majesty likewise said: 'I have a mind to set my Army into a good posture and am advised of it by my lord of Bristol.'" That was all that passed between Goring and the king on that occasion.[46]

Probably that same night, Goring and Jermyn at 9 p.m. went to Henry Percy's lodgings, where they met with Percy, Henry Wilmot, William Ashburnham, Hugh Pollard, Daniel O'Neill, and Sir John Berkeley, army officers all. Goring and Jermyn had to take an oath, which the others had already taken, not to reveal any of their subsequent conversations. When the two newcomers suggested bringing Sir John Suckling into their plans, the rest objected. Percy then read a prepared statement to the effect "that the army should presently be put into a posture to serve the king" which meant sending a declaration to Parliament, asking, among other things, that the troops should be maintained and the king's revenue be established.[47]

Henry Jermyn then proposed bringing the army to London and taking control of

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the Tower, but Goring pointed out the danger of such an undertaking. Another meeting did take place a few days later, but George claimed he could not remember what happened from one meeting to the next. He did admit that after his first talk with Suckling he had told his brother-in-law Lord Dungarvan some of what had occurred. In addition, after a second meeting at Percy's, he related what was happening to the Earl of Newport "to prevent all mischiefs," and the earl had taken him the following day to see the lords Bedford, Say and Mandeville "to whom he imparted the manner of the business but not the particulars, in regard of his oath."[48]

George Goring would appear before the Parliamentary investigators on various occasions, and he apparently recalled different details at different times. John Rushworth recorded a somewhat different version of events than those which George attested to in response to the "Interrogatories" as given above. While the general outline remained the same, Goring was more specific on what happened at each of the two meetings at Percy's. At the first one, everyone agreed that they would make a proposition to Parliament before mobilizing the army, although George claimed that he had commented that "it was a nice point to interpose in the proceedings of Parliament." Goring claimed that he had then brought up various difficulties which would be encountered in attempting to deploy the army, all in an effort to divert Wilmot and the rest from "so dangerous a business," which would also leave the north open to the Scots. He had asked if they had sufficient ammunition, and, if not, were they ready to take the Tower and its arsenal, to which they replied that taking the Tower was not their intention.[49]

At a second meeting, shortly after the first, George decided that their proceedings were "desperate and impious on one hand, and foolish on the other." He had argued against the plan as impossible: "For how could the army, lodged in several quarters, unpaid, and at such a distance, march on a sudden to London, and surprise what they had in design?" There was also some discussion of commanders; the others supported either the Earl of Essex or the Earl of Holland, but Goring and Jermyn had proposed the Earl of Newcastle.[50]

At the same time, Goring had separate conversations with Henry Jermyn who had

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made the initial proposal to bring the army to London and who had asked George if he might relinquish Portsmouth. Goring also admitted that Jermyn had privately told him: "'You do not dislike the design; for you are as ready for any wild, mad undertaking as any man I know; but you dislike the temper of those persons who are engaged in the business.'"[51]

That comment underscores one of the major reasons why any plan was destined to fail. Despite King Charles's order that the two sides should work together, the men involved obviously neither liked nor trusted one another. The Percy group had outright refused to work with Sir John Suckling, but the suspicion was mutual. As Captain Chudleigh would later testify, when he first met with Suckling in London that March, Suckling had warned him not to trust Wilmot and his confederates, "for they had quitted their affection to the army, and were fallen to a Parliamentary way."[52]

Sir Edward Hyde (later, Earl of Clarendon), a member of the Commons, supported Suckling's contentions. He too accused these officers (Percy, Wilmot, *et. al.*) who sat in the Commons of having "been caressed . . . by the most popular agents of both Houses" to support Parliament, but the rewards that the officers had hoped for (including their pay) had not been forthcoming. So, to redeem themselves in the king's favor, "they bethought themselves how to dispose, or at least to pretend that they would dispose, the army to some such expressions of duty and loyalty towards the King. . . ."[53]

One other participant in these events confirmed the hostility that existed between the two groups of plotters, and also put a rather different interpretation on George Goring's interventions. Henry Percy, who would flee England in early May as the plot was made public, would write his brother Northumberland his version of events once safely abroad. Percy blamed Parliament's diversion of the £10,000 to the Scots in early March as the reason for the action he undertook with Wilmot, Ashburnham, Pollard and O'Neill to serve the king. They took an oath of secrecy, and Percy was chosen to tell the king of their service. Among their proposals were the maintenance of episcopacy, the maintenance of the king's Irish army until the Scots left England, and the settlement of the king's revenue. However, they had no intention of breaking any laws.[54] It would also

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appear that they had no intention of rescuing Strafford.

When Percy told King Charles of their propositions, he got the impression that the king already had other proposals "more sharp and high, not having limits of either honour or law." The king purportedly decided in Percy's favor, but he insisted--against the wishes of Percy and his friends--that Goring and Jermyn be brought into their plans. At the ensuing joint meeting at Percy's lodgings, the two groups debated various propositions, but, according to Henry Percy, those put forward by Jermyn and Goring "differed from ours in violence and height." Another matter which he and his comrades had not thought about was who would lead the army. Their differing choices were the same as indicated by Goring, but Percy added that George said he would not go along if "he had not a condition worthy of him." When the rest indicated that they assumed they would stay in their same commands if sent to London, Goring "did not like that by any means." Percy was also offered the command of the cavalry, a position he had not sought.[55]

Since no decisions had been reached between the two factions, Percy and Jermyn went to the king with the various proposals, and, according to Percy, the king wanted nothing to do with the others' propositions. In the end, the officers "laid aside" their plans when the Earl of Holland was appointed the new Lord General in mid-April. But Percy also pointed out how George Goring went on to use Captain Chudleigh, the officers' messenger, to take back to the field the proposition that he should be made lieutenant general. He also accused Goring of setting his plan in motion in London and then withdrawing to Portsmouth to await the results.[56]

The major difference between George Goring's and Henry Percy's accounts is a matter of emphasis. That George was anxious to achieve higher command cannot be doubted. The subsequent "grass-roots" campaign among the field officers on his behalf would soon be driving Sir John Conyers to distraction. It is understandable that Goring would not particularly emphasize this in his recollections of the meetings. As for the various propositions made about employing the army, Goring claimed that his more outrageous proposals were only made to dissuade the others. Or as Hyde thought,

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George may have used such proposals "only as a bait to draw an opinion from other men, (for he was of a perfect dislike and malice to some of the company,). . . ."[57]

No matter what else he was, George Goring was an experienced field commander, and when he argued about the logistics of trying to bring an unprepared, unpaid army to London, he was speaking from a practical military point of view. Amongst all the conspirators, the only one who apparently favored a more drastic solution was Henry Jermyn, a courtier from the queen's circle. And what had the whole "Army Plot" been? As C. V. Wedgwood summarizes: "In the end, nothing but talk and bragging and indiscretion of no avail to the King but of great value to Pym."[58]

The one other question remains as to why George Goring immediately betrayed the plot to the Parliamentary leaders. Sir Edward Hyde thought that George turned on his fellow conspirators when his suggestions were rejected and because of his fear that the plot "might be discovered to his disadvantage."[59] The great nineteenth-century chronicler of the civil wars period, S. R. Gardiner, also believes that Goring thought the plan would not succeed nor would the others support him for lieutenant general, so he chose to gain favor with the Parliamentary leadership by revealing the plan.[60] In his discussion of the plot, Gardiner gives his general--and very negative--assessment of Goring which is worth noting:

> Goring was a man born to be the ruin of any cause which availed itself of his service. Dissolute and unprincipled, he had yet to show himself in his worst colours. Before long, men of all parties recognized in him a consummate hypocrite, who had the power of covering the most audacious falsehoods with a look of modest innocence.[61]

Conrad Russell puts forward one of the few theories to support George Goring's action of revealing the plot. Russell points out that since Goring never appeared to suffer any royal disfavor, he possibly had the king's approval to make known the outline of the plan. "The large number of leaks characteristic of Caroline plotting seems not to have been an accident: the usual object of these plots was to deter their potential victims, and it was only when the deterrent failed that the King actually had to contemplate using it."[62] Russell goes on to apply this theory to the events of 1641: "If the Army Plot, like most of

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Charles's plots, was intended as a deterrent, it was essential that it should be known to the Parliamentary leaders."[63] To weigh the value of this interpretation, we have to look at the documented events which immediately followed the initial abortive plottings.

The Immediate Aftermath

The description devised by Winston Churchill for Soviet policy in 1939 could just as easily be applied to the Army Plot of 1641: "It is a riddle wrapped in a mystery inside an enigma."[64] In trying to disentangle the web of plots, one faces not only the question of "who said what to whom" but also the question of "who knew what when." For by George Goring's own admission, he had revealed the secret meetings to the Parliamentary leaders almost as soon as they had occurred. But Pym held his silence about the particulars for an entire month. In the end, timing would be everything for the opposition leaders who would use these revelations, when necessary, to further their cause.

In the first days of April, as the initial intriguings and covert meetings were playing themselves out, and as Strafford's trial continued to hold the public's attention, another bill came before the House of Commons for paying the armies additional back pay. But once again, and contrary to Pym's wishes, the more zealous religious reformers in the House held up any further loan money from London, waiting first for Strafford's condemnation. So the resolution of the primary army grievance--arrears in pay--continued to be tied to the political situation in London.[65]

At the same time, by 3 April, Captain Chudleigh had returned to the army headquarters in the north. By his own later admission, he claimed that the sole proposition he brought back to the field officers "was to know their inclination for the accepting of Colonel Goring for their Lieutenant General."[66] But even if there was no other call to action, Chudleigh apparently related various parts of the schemes to which he had been privy, for a variety of rumors were soon sweeping through the army.

Sir John Conyers reacted immediately to this possible undermining of his position. Only extracts exist of an undated letter of 1641 to Viscount Conway, but from certain

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references, it would appear to have been written in early April and ahead of his letters dated 6 April and 9 April. Conyers related: "For it is certainly reported here that Holland, Goring and Percy are to be our chiefs, and not one of all three that knows ought." He threatened to quit his post if any of these changes occurred, and added: "If Goring comes, Sir Jacob Astley will not stay." He also had heard that Conway had resigned his place to Percy, and he further wondered how he should act since he had heard that the king favored these changes.[67] In this retelling of rumors there existed certain elements of truth.

Conyers' hostility to a change in the command structure is understandable when set against his concern about his possible loss of the Berwick garrison, the equivalent of his "old-age pension." In turn, Astley had already managed to maintain precedence over George Goring the previous year and he apparently was not about to condone any reversal of his fortunes. Both of these men were seasoned professional soldiers who probably looked upon a courtier-soldier like Goring with certain disdain, even if (or maybe because) George had his prominent war wound (his limp) to proclaim the bravery of his military feats.

On Monday, 5 April, the very same day that Secretary Vane was testifying against Strafford on his purported plans to use the Irish army against England, Captain Chudleigh returned to London. He was seeking George Goring who had already left London for Portsmouth where he finally located him on 10 April. Perhaps the Parliamentary leaders to whom Goring had revealed the plot wanted George out of London to keep him from becoming any further entangled. But the king and queen also had reason to want George Goring at his post as the situation in London grew tenser, and rumors that Henrietta Maria might choose to leave England via Portsmouth began to circulate later in April.[68]

The House of Commons did resolve on 6 April to prevent any movement of the army without the consent of Parliament, so action was taken on Goring's and Conyers' warnings. However, it is important to note that the resolution was not accompanied by any overt acknowledgment of the underlying plots. Also on 6 April Conyers in York again wrote to Conway and enclosed a letter for Lord General Northumberland. He reported to Conway that the infantry officers were discontented and might take some

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action. He believed that the only way to straighten matters out was for him to come to London in person, particularly if George Goring were going to be named as his commander. The best solution he concluded would be to discharge the army.[69]

In his letter to Northumberland, Conyers again stressed the discontent among the foot officers who were not happy with Parliament's response to their petition and who were holding secret meetings. In turn, the infantrymen were trying to get the cavalry officers to join them. To forestall any action, he had ordered all his men to their quarters, but he still found some "lurking" about town. He added that some foot officers "by a note under their hands have desired Mr. Goring may be Lieutenant General of this army, for which some of them are already sorry." If Goring did gain command, Conyers repeated his request for permission to come to London to speak to Northumberland and the king.[70]

It would appear that while rumblings of the various plots may have exacerbated the situation in the army, the basic cause of discontent remained the arrears in pay. And Parliament controlled the purse strings. George Goring's intrigue for higher command could be construed as a minor subplot, his personal attempt to profit from the situation. But the initial offer of lieutenant general had come from the court, so his promotion was probably meant to be part of a larger scheme of placing the most trustworthy royalists in key positions. This scheme had also called for the Earl of Newcastle, a staunch supporter of the king and governor to the Prince of Wales, to be commander-in-chief. Although these plans would fail in 1641, in fact in 1643 George Goring would serve as lieutenant general under Newcastle in the north in defense of the royalist cause.

In the meantime, Sir John Conyers continued to bombard London with letters about the situation in the field. On 9 April he wrote Viscount Conway that he was happy Conway had not given up his post, as had been rumored, for it was a way of keeping George Goring out, "whom I should be loth to serve under. " He continued:

> The foot now say his [Goring's] coming hither was propounded to their ambassador Captain Chudleigh by my Lord of Newcastle by order from the King; but I hope his Majesty knows him so well that he will find some other for this command. If he comes, Sir Jacob Astley is resolved to quit his command; and the most part of those that put their hands to the paper that desired him are now sorry for it. His Sergeant-Major Willis and some few young fellows of his regiment

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persuaded the rest to it.[71]

One major change in army command did take place at this time; the Earl of Holland replaced Northumberland as the lord general. Even though Holland had been part of Henrietta Maria's inner circle of courtiers--and had gotten command of the cavalry in the first Bishops' War through her patronage--there had since been a falling out between them. Perhaps Holland had grown jealous of her favoritism towards Henry Jermyn. But whatever the reason for their distance, the appointment of Holland in mid-April was not a triumph for the royalist party, but rather part of the king's attempt to placate the Puritan faction, to which the earl belonged.[72]

Sir William Uvedale reported this change in command on 13 April to his field deputy Matthew Bradley, and he also noted that Colonel Goring had been paid in London for his brigade only for the period 8 December to 5 January.[73] In other words, the army's pay was now over three months in arrears.

It was against this background of growing army unrest and plot rumors circulating that the bill of attainder against Strafford passed the House of Commons on 21 April. Venetian Ambassador Giustinian reported this action in his dispatch of 23 April/3 May. He believed that while the House of Lords was reluctant to condemn one of their own, the city of London was refusing to provide a loan of £120,000 "until they first obtain this head." In addition, the king was trying to use this division between the two Houses to his advantage, but the astute Venetian prophetically warned: "Everyone fears that if the fire of these differences is not extinguished by the more prudent, it will finally break out in a terrible civil war, the issue of which cannot fail to be extemely ruinous to the royal house, no less than to all those who intervene in it." The ambassador also reported that the king had sent Colonel Goring to Portsmouth, a seaport with a "considerable fortress," to inspect the fortifications and to provision it in case there were new disturbances, and it was rumored that the queen would withdraw there.[74]

On the same day that the Venetian ambassador recorded these impressions, 23 April, Good Friday, King Charles was writing a letter to the imprisoned Strafford in which he reassured his faithful servant of his support. Actually, the king and the court plotters

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had continued to develop a plan of action to free the earl if it became necessary, even though no agreement had been reached on the intervention of the army. Sir John Suckling had been recruiting soldiers, under the pretense that they were to serve abroad as mercenaries, and the one hundred men he gathered were put under the command of one Captain Billingsley, an officer of the king's Irish army. The plan apparently called for this force to take over the Tower to free Strafford who would flee to a waiting ship procured by his brother.[75]

But on 28 April, Edward Hyde carried a message from the Commons to the Lords that information had been received that "the Earl of Strafford may have a design to make an escape." The earl reportedly had ships at sea, and he was lightly guarded. Hyde asked the Lords to consent to an increased guard to which they agreed.[76]

On 1 May King Charles spoke to a joint session of the two Houses of Parliament. He advised that he could not condemn Strafford of high treason since there was no proof that the earl ever planned to bring an Irish army to England, nor had he counseled the king to alter the laws of England. But by citing his own conscience as the ultimate authority, Charles appeared to be defying his listeners. As John Rushworth noted, as the MPs returned to their own chamber after the king's speech, they "seemed to be much troubled and discontented" and adjourned until the following Monday, 3 May.[77]

King Charles had set in motion the final act of the drama. The Lords were now free to follow the more popular course of action and vote for the attainder, believing the king at his word that he would not condemn Strafford. But for those who felt that the earl must be removed and that the king's resistance must be overcome, a more drastic effort was called for. Pym had the ammunition at hand: the details of the Army Plot. Or rather, as Sir Edward Hyde noted, the opposition leaders would rework the bits and pieces of private conversations and clandestine meetings so that "the whole was formed and shaped into a formidable and bloody design against the Parliament."[78]

In fact both sides were planning to take action to bring a final resolution to the growing crisis, and the Sunday before Parliament was to reconvene might be considered the last calm before the storm. That 2 May was also the day King Charles witnessed the

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marriage of his eldest daughter, but what should have been a joyous public occasion was celebrated privately and with a minimum of ceremony. The 12-year-old William of Orange had arrived in England on 19 April to marry his 9-year-old bride, Princess Mary. At the wedding ceremony the young prince was escorted into the royal chapel by the king's vice-chamberlain, Lord Goring. The princess was accompanied by her brothers, the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York. The church service lasted one hour and was followed by a small family dinner.[79]

Lord Goring, who had been among those who had testified for the Earl of Strafford at his trial, remained part of the inner court circle. He would continue to be one of the most committed royalists who would not favor any form of compromise with Parliament.[80] But the father's loyalty was not a guarantee of the son's. So there remains the question of what motivated George Goring to reveal the secret meetings. Whether or not he had specific instructions from King Charles to leak some details as a form of deterrent, as put forward by Conrad Russell, is impossible to determine. However, a plausible alternative is that George Goring improvised. He probably did judge the enterprise of bringing the army to London as foolhardy, but, at the same time, he decided to make the most of the opportunity to foster his own promotion. And perhaps to cover himself, since secrets did not remain so for long at court, he passed on his information to his good friend, the Earl of Newport. What he never admitted, and what might have happened, was that Goring in some way communicated what he had done to the king or to the queen, explaining that he had to protect himself from any suspicion so that he could continue to serve them at Portsmouth, which is exactly what he would do.

George Goring most probably believed he was serving his monarch. The fact that he was also serving his own self-interests was permissible in that society. That he lived on the edge, pushing the limits of what was permissible is also evident. Whether he placed himself under enemy fire on the battlefield or involved himself in multilayered court intrigues, he did so with total abandon, for, as noted above, his fellow courtier Henry Jermyn had labeled him "as ready for any wild, mad undertaking as any man I know." So while it would be fair to judge Goring as ambitious, proud, and self-serving, these

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attributes--to his mind--were not incompatible with his loyalty and service to his king.

The Army Plot Revealed

Parliament reconvened on Monday, 3 May, and the opposition was ready to do whatever was necessary to force the Lords and the king to condemn Strafford to death. But the king was also ready to take action, for Captain Billingsley and his one hundred recruits appeared at the Tower but were denied access by the lieutenant of the Tower, Sir William Balfour. Some of the alert London citizens rushed this news to the House of Lords which in turn sent the Earl of Newport, Master of the Ordinance, to take control of the Tower (and on 6 May the earl would receive a patent appointing him Constable of the Tower with an annual recompense of £100.) A delegation from the Lords then prevailed upon King Charles to dismiss Billingsley.[81]

In this charged atmosphere the Lords turned back to the bill of attainder, while in the Commons the first mention of a plot to subvert the army against Parliament was revealed. Reaction was so strong that several members proposed that they all take an oath, expressing their allegiance and willingness to defend with their lives the king, their Protestant faith, and "the power and privileges of Parliament." This Protestation was subscribed to by the MPs beginning on 3 May and throughout the rest of the month and into the first week of June, but George Goring's name does not appear among the signatories as recounted by John Rushworth. Goring's posting to Portsmouth was the most likely reason for this absence, since other potential conspirators like Henry Wilmot took the oath, and on 4 May, when the Protestation was sent to the House of Lords, Lord Goring subscribed to it.[82]

That same Monday the Commons began an official investigation, and the first person summoned for questioning was Sir John Suckling. At the same time, to try to placate the army, William Lenthall, the speaker of the House of Commons, wrote to the field commanders Sir John Conyers and Sir Jacob Astley. He blamed "some ill-affected persons" for trying to cause a misunderstanding about Parliament's intentions towards the

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army. Of course the Commons were concerned about the soldiers, he asserted, but they had so many other matters before them. In the end, the speaker reassured the commanders that Parliament would soon raise the full pay arrears, and he asked that they communicate this letter to their men.[83]

The news of the attempt on the Tower, interpreted as an escape plan for Strafford, had begun to draw large crowds around the houses of Parliament. For two days, people in the streets demanded "justice," and, as Sir William Uvedale related to Matthew Bradley, those in the streets included many men of means. The treasurer had even heard that money was available in the city, but it would not be delivered until Strafford's fate was sealed. "Truly these unsettled times do much trouble me," he lamented. Uvedale was also concerned about his deputy's safety since he was close to the Scots' lines and he urged him to return to York, although he trusted Bradley's judgment. He mentioned one other matter about the payment of arrears. Captain Chudleigh of the Lord General's regiment was in London, asking for his back pay since he purportedly wanted to leave the English army and serve abroad. Uvedale in this letter, dated 3 May, made no mention of any public knowledge of the link between the captain and the plot that had just been revealed.[84]

But on 4 May, as the House committee--which included leading reformers like Pym, Hampden, Hollis, and Nathaniel Fiennes--delved deeper into the affair, more of those called in for questioning chose to flee. Henry Jermyn and Henry Percy left for Portsmouth, but the Commons, when informed, would ask the king to recall them. It was also rumored that the queen was to follow there. The committee resolved to ask the full House for a deputation of one lord and two MPs to be dispatched to the governor of Portsmouth to make sure "a haven of such importance" was secure.[85]

As King Charles's cause faltered, Strafford decided to take matters into his own hands. On 4 May he wrote his sovereign, releasing Charles from his promise to veto the bill of attainder if it passed the House of Lords. Perhaps Strafford wanted to free the king's conscience, but he also may have hoped to gain sympathetic support from his offer of self-sacrifice. In fact, the Lord Lieutenant had only helped to bring about his own

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demise. The Commons committee on 5 May made more startling revelations about the Army Plot, and these findings would be brought to the Lords as they debated Strafford's fate. It should also be noted that the House of Commons committee had taken an oath of secrecy for this investigation, so that the information being made public was under the tight control of the Parliamentary opposition.[86] So the whole affair continued to be stage managed to bring about certain results.

The initial committee report, presented to the Commons by Denzil Hollis, said that there was a suspicion there were "secret practices to discontent the Army with the proceedings of Parliament."[87] The committee called for a joint investigation with the Lords and desired that no one should be allowed to leave the kingdom for the present. The preliminary investigation had revealed three parts to the plot: a design on the Tower; to engage the army; and to bring in foreign troops. Both Sir John Suckling and Captain Billingsley were accused of trying to take control of the Tower, and Sir William Balfour, the lieutenant of the Tower, had told of being offered a bribe of £20,000 by Strafford if he would let him escape.[88]

Hollis next brought the report from the Commons to the Lords, where it was judged so important that he was asked to read it immediately. The opposition leaders achieved their desired effect with these revelations, for the Lords ordered that they would join with the Commons "in all that they desire." What gave added urgency to this message was that Hollis charged "Jesuits and priests [of] conspiring with ill ministers of state to destroy our religion." In truth, all the major conspirators, including George Goring, were Protestants. But many of the conspirators belonged to the Catholic queen's court; there was rumored aid coming from Catholic France; and the king was demanding to keep his Catholic Irish army. So what had begun as unrest in the army over pay arrears onto which had been grafted a plan to help Strafford escape was now contorted into a Popish plot and an attack on the Protestant faith.[89]

On 6 May John Pym reported to the Commons that Henry Jermyn, Henry Percy and Will Davenant "are fled away." He believed that the Lords should be asked to petition the queen not to go to Portsmouth because of the danger there, and that the king

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should close Portsmouth. He further elaborated that in consulting with representatives of the Lords, he had learned "that seven or eight witnesses ran away when summoned. . . . In that regard, our suspicion is much confirmed, concerning the design to seduce the King's Army, and bringing them hither, to join with others."[90]

Pym also claimed that there were reports of French forces gathering in French coastal waters, destined for Portsmouth. This threat required the immediate dispatch of two MPs, Sir John Clotworthy and Sir Philip Stapleton, along with one representative from the Lords, to Portsmouth "to examine the governor, upon Interrogatories." If there was any suspicion about the governor, he was to be escorted by one MP to appear before Parliament. And if George Goring refused to return to London, nearby sea and land forces were to be swiftly mobilized so "that there be no further mischief."[91]

Again there is the question of whether or not this was all an elaborate smoke screen, perhaps designed by Pym to deflect suspicion from Goring as having been the original source for revealing the Army Plot. On the other hand, George had not specifically named names in his initial revelations, having had some scruples about his sworn oath. Pym was a shrewd politician who probably distrusted Goring and his family's close court connections. In fact, Pym, in taking precautions about securing Portsmouth, was foreshadowing exactly what would happen with Governor Goring the following year, when George would declare for King Charles.

The details George Goring revealed in the Interrogatories have been related above. The Parliamentary interrogators asked him about those involved in the plans, the meetings they held, and what was discussed. Only to question two--out of five--did Goring deny specific knowledge: "For what intent or purpose was the army to have marched hither?" To which was recorded: "To the second he cannot depose."[92] That seemed an odd reply since George Goring did relate various schemes that were discussed. But, according to his version, all these plans had already been in the making before he was brought into the talks. So maybe he had not been aware of the true ultimate goal, or, at least it might seem reasonable for him to claim so.

On the same day Pym was calling for these actions in the Commons, 6 May, Lord

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Wharton, a member of the joint conference, reported these matters to the Lords. Not only Percy, Jermyn and Davenant had fled, but also Sir John Suckling and Captain Billingsley. The Lords determined that the ports should be closed, the queen should be requested not to go to Portsmouth, and that anyone who had any further information about the plot should voluntarily come in and would be spared. An order was issued to close Portsmouth and sent to Algernon, Earl of Northumberland, Lord High Admiral of the Fleet; James, Earl of March, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports; Jerome, Earl of Portland, Captain and Governor of the Isle of Wight; and George Goring, Esquire, Governor of Portsmouth.[93]

On Friday, 7 May, the House of Lords passed the bill of attainder against Strafford. Many of the Lords had chosen to absent themselves when the vote came, and, according to Secretary Vane, the final count was 51 to 9. Now only King Charles could save his minister. But fearing that the king would veto the attainder and then dissolve Parliament, the Commons had also sent a bill to the House of Lords which would deprive the king of the right of dissolution without Parliament's own consent. The Lords passed this great innovation too.[94] The revelation of Army Plot was not only speeding the demise of Charles's most important adviser, but was also being used to alter the very constitution of England.

On 7 May Sir John Conyers wrote back to Speaker Lenthall from York, acknowledging receipt of his letter of 3 May which he would have read to all the cavalry officers and which Sir Jacob Astley would have read to the infantry officers. They would try to keep good order despite the lack of funds. As always, the beleaguered Conyers ended with a plea for money.[95]

That same day, Venetian Ambassador Giustinian provided an insightful report to his government on the rapidly developing events in London. He listed all the rumors circulating: that the king would join his army in York and that the queen would go to Portsmouth. Parliament had sent a deputation to Henrietta Maria to advise her that it would be safer to remain in London to which she had retorted that her father--the great French warrior king, Henry IV--had never learned how to flee nor would she, but King

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Charles had remained silent.[96]

He also reported on Charles's abortive action to take control of the Tower, which Giustinian interpreted more as an attempt to gain control of the munitions than as an effort to free Strafford. That failure had placed the king in an extremely difficult position, as had the fact that five of the queen's ranking servants and courtiers had fled after being accused of plotting with the king against Parliament and to subvert the army. The ambassador included other whisperings about Henrietta Maria and her High Steward, Henry Jermyn. Jermyn was being accused of "too great an intimacy with the Queen, so that even the honour of these unhappy princes is not safe from the slanderous tongues of their subjects."[97]

That type of rumor was not merely idle gossip. It could grow--or be manipulated into--an accusation of adultery which could prove fatal to a queen, with Anne Boleyn providing the best known example from a century earlier. So as King Charles pondered Strafford's fate that weekend of 8-9 May, and as crowds again gathered in the streets, the king's claim that he feared for his family's safety becomes more understandable. In addition, any hope of sending Henrietta Maria abroad via Portsmouth was no longer possible.

After much soul-searching, speaking with churchmen and with lawyers, on 10 May King Charles signed Strafford's death warrant (and the bill prohibiting him from dissolving Parliament). The city of London suddenly grew silent, as Sir William Uvedale reported to Matthew Bradley. "The mouth of the people is stopped and so there will be an end of that great man." But always the pragmatist, Uvedale now hoped that the money to cashier the army would soon become available. He also included news on those who had fled the country and again mentioned young Captain Chudleigh, who apparently had not managed to escape and was being questioned by Parliament about his various messenger duties.[98]

On 12 May, before a vast crowd numbering over 100,000 and "amid universal rejoicing," Strafford was beheaded. "And so this minister lost his life, whose admirable qualities certainly deserved a better age and a happier fate," Ambassador Giustinian recorded. The Venetian felt sure that the way was being paved in England for a

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democratic government, and he blamed all the recent upheavals on "a malignant intervention" to stir up the people. He particularly targeted the Puritans "whose sole profession is to sweep away every kind of superior power."[99]

Giustinian added that the queen, who was hated more than the king, and her court were under close scrutiny, for new rumors were circulating that a treaty had been signed to bring in troops from France, the price for which was to be the transfer of Portsmouth to French control. Things had gotten so out-of-hand that the French minister had to deny these reports to help restore calm, and Parliament had sent four members to secure Portsmouth and make careful inquiries of the governor.[100]

John Rushworth indicated that George Goring was initially examined by the Parliamentary representatives on two occasions, without specifying any dates. It appears then that Goring's first statement was taken in early May, but as further rumors targeted Portsmouth as the potential hub of clandestine royalist activity, he was again questioned about a week later. In addition, trained bands from the surrounding countryside were posted to Portsmouth, and a shipment of gun powder destined to Goring's garrison there was halted by order of Parliament. Moreover, Governor Goring had apparently allowed Henry Jermyn, who carried the king's warrant, to sail to France.[101] Any political capital George Goring might have gained in early April from his initial admission of the developing plot seemed to have dissipated by mid-May. Nor was he yet clear in the eyes of the Parliamentary commissioners who continued to pursue their secret investigations throughout May and into early June when the various depositions--including Goring's--would finally be made public.

The closing of English ports, in a futile effort to capture the fleeing courtiers--only the poet Will Davenant was captured at Faversham in Kent and brought back to London--created a bottleneck for shipping and was damaging English trade, reported Sir Thomas Roe. He was onboard ship off of Gravesend, awaiting favorable winds to take him on a mission to Holland, for which he had been exempted by the Lords from the ban on overseas travel. He believed that those being pursued by Parliament had already made their escape, so that keeping all ships in port was just creating an overcrowded situation.

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Among the ships being held was one destined for New England "whither none of the suspected will fly," Sir Thomas judged.[102]

Besides trying to capture the implicated courtiers, the Parliamentary inquiry was extended to the army in Yorkshire. On 8 May the Commons had again written to Conyers and Astley to update them on events, and Conyers reported back on 14 May to Viscount Conway in London that the letters had arrived, including one from the Lord General to be published to the army. Conyers somewhat gleefully added that the arrival of the Commons' representative had made some "busy men" rather unhappy. Three officers--including Captain William Legge, the future close confidante to Prince Rupert during the first civil war--had been summoned to London to tell what they knew of the troubles in the army. And on a final note of triumph, Sir John Conyers said he had received news of five gentlemen fleeing the country, "two of them, I hear, stood to have been my general," although he did regret that Northumberland had become involved because of his brother's actions.[103]

What is particularly interesting about Conyers' comment is that only one of those rumored for higher command in April, Henry Percy, had actually fled. The Earl of Holland had indeed become Lord General, while George Goring was at Portsmouth, under close scrutiny, but still titular governor. But apparently Goring's name had become so intertwined with the plot that stories were circulating about his ouster or even flight. Conyers himself confirmed this in his letter to Conway of 21 May. He reported that Richard Willis, the sergeant major of George Goring's regiment (third ranking officer), had been called to testify in London, and he had also heard that Colonel Goring had been "put out" of his post at Portsmouth. If it were true, Conyers begged Conway to get him that position or anything else since the Berwick garrison was to be dissolved.[104]

Ambassador Giustinian confirmed the continuing swirl of rumors in the capital in his own dispatch of 21/31 May. Stories about the coming of French forces were still circulating and the queen's letters were being opened and read. Will Davenant had been brought back to London two days earlier and had undergone a lengthy interrogation, but the outcome of the session was as yet unknown. And, finally, Parliament had voted two

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subsidies to pay off both the English and Scottish armies.[105]

Of course, Sir John Conyers at York was happy about the Parliamentary subsidy. On 28 May he acknowledged to Conway that he and Sir Jacob Astley had received their commissions to continue as field commanders of horse and foot, respectively, in the absence from the field of both the Lord General and Conway himself.[106] So in the end, the two veterans had held onto their posts, despite all the intrigues which had threatened to undermine their authority.

Sir William Uvedale was back in business too. On 1 June he reported to his field deputy Bradley that he had dispatched £16,000, but he was still not sure if sufficient funds were available to disband the English forces. He asked Bradley for his estimate of the monies still owed, and he added that he was taking care of Captain Chudleigh, still stranded in London. A week later, on 8 June, Uvedale was concerned that his deputy's estimate and his own, which totaled £45,000, were not in accord. He asked Bradley to adjust his figures and to work with Astley, but with a proviso, "for this know, by the way, that Sir Jacob Astley can hold nothing as a secret."[107]

Despite the hopes of the field commanders and the Treasurer-at-Wars that some calm and normalcy was returning to army affairs, a new episode in the never-ending tale of the Army Plot was about to unfold. Ambassador Giustinian hinted at this at the end of May, when he reported that the people were eagerly awaiting the Parliamentary commission's report. Rumors that a conspiracy had been uncovered were already in the air, making the king and queen anxious to hear what depositions had been taken or what lies had been told.[108] And, once again, George Goring was about to find himself in the middle of the ongoing investigation which was seeking out high treason.

Further Revelations

On 7 June 1641 John Hampden, on behalf of the special committee, asked for and received the permission of the House of Lords to present to the Commons the committee's findings on the Army Plot. The stage was now set for the most public phase

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of the Plot's unraveling, replete with charges, counter-charges, heated exchanges, and threats of swordplay. On 8 June Nathaniel Fiennes began a lengthy presentation which included the names of the witnesses and the content of their depositions. The three major areas under investigation were the attempt to take over the Tower; a design to engage the army against Parliament; and plans to bring French forces to England.[109]

The attempt to change the guard in the Tower, engineered by Suckling and Billingsley, was linked to a plan for Strafford's escape. Besides Sir William Balfour's testimony about the various bribes he was offered (money and a good marriage for his son), other witnesses included servants who had purportedly overheard whispered conversations between Strafford and his brother about escape plans.[110]

The design about the army offered some weightier testimony since various officers had been questioned. From the depositions, it appeared that some of those interrogated had favored some form of action, while others were against it. Will Legge, for example, accused the Earls of Essex and Newport, as well as Wilmot, Ashburnham and the others of having "fallen off from the king." Several related that there had been talk about: back pay, a change of general, French forces coming over, and the Earl of Newcastle and the Prince of Wales raising a force of one thousand cavalry. Captain Chudleigh, whom some accused of being the ringleader and of trying to breed disaffection between the army and Parliament, testified that the king had been willing to pawn his jewels to pay the army. Henry Jermyn had told him that Parliament was "'so in love'" with the Scots that they would not pay the English army, and Sergeant Major Willis had promised the support of some "best gentlemen" (i.e. Newcastle) and the bishops in raising one thousand horse.[111]

Henry Jermyn--"one of the absent and most favored," as labeled by Ambassador Giustinian--was a name often mentioned by the officers in their retelling of the proposals. After setting the various plans in motion, Jermyn reportedly was to go to Portsmouth and "by intelligence with the governor" secure it for the king and queen; he was then to proceed to France to negotiate for troops which would use Portsmouth for their landing in England. George Goring was among those who implicated Jermyn in these schemes, and he confirmed that Jermyn had arrived in Portsmouth, when he was being sought by

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Parliament, with the king's authorization to leave for France.[112]

Goring's deposition was among those presented to the Commons on 8 June, and it was the one that apparently caused the greatest reaction. Up to that point, those who had escaped were primarily associated with the queen's circle of courtiers, those who had advocated the most drastic actions, i.e. seizing the Tower, helping Strafford escape, bringing in French forces, raising additional forces loyal to the king, etc. But George Goring in his deposition made the first mention of the secret oath administered to him and Jermyn by Henry Percy, and which had already been taken by Percy, Wilmot, Ashburnham, Berkeley and Pollard.[113] Other than Percy, none of these men had fled; they were still army officers and MPs.

The attack on Goring's testimony was led by George Lord Digby, the Earl of Bristol's oldest son and heir, and a future formidable presence in the king's council during the first civil war. Bristol, it should be remembered, had been used as the scapegoat by Buckingham after the failed Spanish escapade of 1623, but recently he had been of the middle party in the Lords, along with the late Bedford. In turn, young Digby had served on the Commons committee which prepared the charges against Strafford, but in a dramatic speech in the midst of the trial, he had reversed his position, claiming that he no longer believed that the evidence proved Strafford's guilt (although his *volte face* appeared to have little effect on his fellow MPs).[114]

Digby now took the floor of the Commons and said of Goring: "In my opinion, he is perjured." His argument was based on the fact that Goring had admitted having taken an oath of secrecy, and yet he had revealed what he had sworn not to reveal. George Goring was a liar; a man who had gone back on his solemn oath; therefore, how could any of his testimony be given credence? Henry Wilmot, also in the House that day, denied Goring's charges. Some wanted Wilmot brought forward for further questioning, but Digby's intervention had caused such an uproar that he was asked to leave, and Wilmot withdrew voluntarily.[115]

It was growing dark as the debate raged on. The question then became whether or not candles should be brought into the Commons chamber so that the already overlong

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session could be continued. A vote was actually taken on the use of candles, and was defeated by just ten votes. In the meantime, two members on their own initiative had gone to fetch the lights and were rewarded for their efforts by being sent to the Tower, such was the mood prevailing in the Commons at the end of that first day of the Plot revelations.[116]

George Goring was not present when his deposition was read. He had been in residence at Portsmouth since the second week of April. But his veracity had now been publically challenged by two fellow MPs. Had the clandestine meetings actually occurred, as he had recounted? At the very next session of the Commons, on 9 June, Goring was in part vindicated. Denzil Hollis revealed that the Earl of Essex had told him of Northumberland's letter from his brother wherein Harry Percy confessed to having taken the secret oath. In turn, Hollis and Hampden were authorized to ask Northumberland for the particulars of the letter which pertained to the investigation.[117]

On 9 June the House of Commons resolved: "That Colonel Goring, in this disposition of his, concerning this discovery, has done nothing contrary to justice and honour; but has therein deserved very well of the Commonwealth, and of this House." Despite this initial vote of confidence, the Commons also believed that Goring's presence was now required as the investigation took a new turn. So on 11 June he was ordered to attend the House, and he was also ordered not to confer with or send to Wilmot, Ashburnham or Pollard.[118]

If George Goring was about to become Parliament's star witness against his fellow conspirators, what effect would this have on his relationship to the court? Ambassador Giustinian provides one glimpse of Henrietta Maria's reaction to these initial revelations. In his dispatch of 11/21 June, the diplomat claimed that the queen was quite distressed, to the point of tears, and fearful of some Parliamentary action against her, "the more so because Colonel Goring, the governor of Portsmouth, despite his promise of loyalty and secrecy, has revealed the particulars of these designs."[119]

George Goring was still improvising it would appear. His main concern at this point was to absolve himself of all wrong-doing before those who now were exercising

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political power within the nation; therefore, self-preservation appeared to be his primary motivation. But to label him merely as a political opportunist does not explain why he would side with the king the following year, nor why the king and queen would again trust him. The best explanation might be that Goring would eventually convince his royal patrons--and himself--with the rationalization that his actions of May and June of 1641 had left him free to ultimately serve the royal cause.

On Monday, 14 June, Denzil Hollis read to the House of Commons the copy of Henry Percy's letter which he had obtained from Northumberland. Percy confirmed Goring's revelations of the clandestine meetings, the names of the others involved, the oath of secrecy, and speaking with the king. But, as noted previously, he claimed that Goring and Jermyn had put forward the most radical proposals.[120] Northumberland obviously wanted his brother's version of events to be known; he was still concerned with Henry's well-being, for, as Lord Admiral, he had just authorized the shipment of certain necessities to Calais for his brother who was reportedly ill.[121]

The three sitting MPs who had been implicated were dealt with at once. Wilmot withdrew to the committee chamber, Ashburnham to the room below, and Captain Pollard remained in the House to answer questions first. Pollard did believe the army had been "severely used," an obvious reverence to the pay arrears. He also admitted to taking a secret oath, but prior to hearing what was being proposed. The captain further claimed he did not know of Goring's and Jermyn's "sharper proposals" of bringing the army to London, although he was present when they took the secret oath, and he had never tried to mobilize the army for any such purposes. He did remember the discussion about the various candidates suggested for Lord General, but he knew nothing of the planned attempt on the Tower.[122]

Henry Wilmot was next. He also claimed that he had taken the oath of secrecy prior to hearing Percy's three propositions, to which he had never consented. He admitted that they had debated whether or not to oppose Parliament, to free Strafford, or to serve the king. Some proposals were rejected, but he could no longer recall specifics. He was present the night George Goring took the oath of secrecy, and he also confirmed

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Goring had put forward Newcastle as general, while he had supported Essex.[123]

Colonel Ashburnham, in turn, tried the hardest of the three to exculpate himself. He had done nothing wrong, for he had refused to take any action against Parliament or to help free Strafford. He admitted to having heard "wild discourses" about the army at Percy's, but he could recall no further particulars. He did admit, however, to having named Essex as the best candidate for general.[124]

After hearing this testimony and the contents of Henry Percy's letter, the Commons ordered the three MPs imprisoned on suspicion of high treason, but the fear of further plotting was so great that each suspect was committed to a different prison: Wilmot to the Tower, Ashburnham to Kings Bench, and Pollard to the Gatehouse. The Commons also ordered that Sir John Berkeley and Daniel O'Neill should be summoned from the army on suspicion of high treason. On 15 June, the Earl of Holland as Lord General sent orders to Sir John Conyers to arrest these two men and send them to London. At the same time Holland wrote a letter to the field officers, telling them not to listen to any "malicious rumors" that may be circulating and assuring them--as had been done so often in the past--that their arrears in pay would be forthcoming.[125]

Speaker Lenthall also wrote to Conyers on 15 June to reinforce the Lord General's message. Everyone would be fully paid, he promised, before the army was disbanded. He admitted that there had been some design to use the army "to disturb the peace of the Kingdom and Parliament," and that three officers had been arrested and two more were to be questioned. But the speaker was careful to point out that none of these officers was being punished for having signed any of the army's open petitions.[126] In other words, no one was being prosecuted for asking for back pay.

In fact, Parliament, in the light of the recent revelations, was finally coming to realize that the best expedient for avoiding any further difficulties was to pay off the English army, as well as the Scots. Sir William Uvedale reported to deputy Bradley on 15 June that £100,000 had been assigned to disband the troops. The next day he could report that £30,000 had already been dispatched, an additional £20,000 would be following shortly, and hopefully another £50,000 would be available in another week.[127]

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But the House of Commons still had to raise additional revenues to close the books on the army accounts. The budget presented on 17 June 1641 was for the period 10 November 1640 through 29 June 1641, for which:

The English army was owed:	412,050
One month's pay for disbanding	50,000
Already paid	(150,000)
Scots due	115,750
Total	£ 427,800[128]

If the Army Plot investigation at least had the positive result of bringing relief to the soldiers and to their unwilling hosts in Yorkshire, the revelations also added to the debate over episcopacy in the church. The fact that some testimony had indicated that the English bishops were willing to finance additional troops loyal to the king helped the cause of those who wanted to remove the bishops from the House of Lords, or the more radical reformers who wanted to remove the bishops from the Church of England. At the 11 June session of the Commons, the same day George Goring was summoned to appear, the preamble to church reform, as reported by Sir Edward Hyde, stated that episcopacy "hath been found by long experience, to be a great impediment to the perfect reformation and growth of religion, and very prejudicial to the civil state and government of this Kingdom."[129]

The Parliamentary opposition leaders were finding an amazing variety of uses for the Army Plot revelations, as they altered the very structure of church and state. A new opportunity now presented itself for further revelations which might be useful to fight more battles against the waning power of the king, for George Goring was to make a public declaration of all he knew concerning the plot. Of course he had already spoken to the Parliamentary leaders on at least three occasions: at the beginning of April, when the clandestine meetings had just taken place; and twice in early May when the special investigating committee had taken his depositions. But this was to be his first public intervention in the matter.

On Wednesday, 16 June, George Goring took the floor in the House of Commons and asked that his prior statement--the one presented on 8 June--be read by the clerk,

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adding that if the House was unsatisfied he would give further particulars.[130] All of which might have been a good ploy on his part to refresh his memory on what he had stated in the past. Goring knew his fellow army conspirators were now being detained under suspicion of high treason, and he had to tread very carefully to avoid the same fate.

In the course of his presentation that day, Goring again claimed that he was brought into the plan by Sir John Suckling who had spoken of readying the army to march to London to support the king and who had offered him the position of lieutenant general of the army under the Earl of Newcastle. But Goring added that he had not accepted this offer without knowing on what terms it was made and that he had understood Suckling to mean that the army would just carry a declaration to Parliament.[131]

He also admitted to accompanying Jermyn to Percy's lodgings the next day, taking the oath, and listening to various proposals to help relieve the army's grievances. The major propositions were to ready the army to serve the king; to send a declaration to Parliament that no new acts should be made contrary to former ones and episcopacy should be maintained; and that the king's revenue should be established. He said he had spoken against these propositions and that he remembered nothing being mentioned about the king's Irish army. He also claimed to know nothing about any of Jermyn's other designs nor any plan to bring the French to Portsmouth.[132]

Goring admitted to meeting a second time with Percy's group where he propounded the difficulties with bringing up the army and with obtaining the ordinance which would be required, but Wilmot and Ashburnham had indicated that they were not trying to seize control of the kingdom. He then indicated that Lord Newport, Lord Say, and Lord Mandeville could vouch for the fact that he had informed them, along with the late Earl of Bedford, of the general outline of these proceedings just one day after the second consultation. When questioned about the contents of Percy's letter, Goring claimed that he had objected to the various propositions put forward by both sides. And as for Percy's charge that he was seeking higher command, Goring denied that he had wanted to be lieutenant general nor had he ever campaigned in writing to that end,[133] which was probably the most blatant lie that he told that day.

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George Goring's performance was sufficient to keep him out of the Tower at day's end, but insufficient to clear him in the eyes of the Parliamentary special committee investigators, to whom he was ordered to submit for further questioning. He would undergo another "long and tedious examination in writing" on 19 June, but his part in the plot remained open to question.[134] As one London correspondent, Thomas Wiseman, reported on 18 June to Vice Admiral Pennington, "Colonel Goring goes not unsuspected, having been examined by the House." Wiseman believed Percy's letter to be the most damaging evidence and concluded "Colonel Goring, Henry Jermyn, and Suckling were greater delinquents in a plot of a higher nature. . . .You may see in what a dangerous age we live. . . ."[135]

Parliament did not publish its proceedings in the seventeenth century, although the MPs obviously talked and wrote freely of what was occurring in the House. However, less than a week after Goring's intervention, a pamphlet appeared which bore the descriptive title: *The Declaration of Colonel Goring upon his Examination, touching the late intended Conspiracy against the State. With the Report of that Worthy Gentleman Mr. Fiennes to the House of Commons from the Committee upon the Examination of Several Gentlemen concerning the same. 19 June 1641. Printed in the year 1641.* No other publication information was included. But the pamphlet presented a rather self-serving, nicely embroidered version of Goring's testimony, bearing little resemblance in language to either the manuscript version of the Interrogatories or to Rushworth's summaries. Appended were the various other revelations made by Nathaniel Fiennes and other members of the House special committee.

However, while the language was intended to be more persuasive, the content of this "tell-all" declaration varied little from Goring's past admissions. But now he was trying to explain not only why he had become involved--"I harkened to the propositions of soliciting a redress for the miseries of the soldiers"-- but why he had not revealed all the particulars sooner. He did claim that from the start he was concerned that the plan "had further ends perhaps than merely the redress of our Army's grievances," so he had spoken to "a noble lord the very same day" (brother-in-law Dungarvan) to make him aware of

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what was happening.[136]

After hearing the propositions "of those gentlemen named in my depositions," George had decided that the plans were "unlawful for our undertakings; since I thought they intended to interpose the determinations of this House, and, it belongs to an army to maintain, not contrive, acts of State." He continued:

> I objected therefore against the propositions, and pressed more the follies and difficulties than the illegalities of them; not only because I thought reason a greater argument with them than conscience, but because I am so unhappy of the two to be thought a worse Commonwealth's man than a soldier, and in that quality could procure most credit to my words.[137]

Goring again emphasized that he had had no idea of what was going to be presented to him at the first secret meeting, and that he had declared he would have nothing to do with anything being proposed. He also referred to having spoken of these matters with "some noble Lords of his Majesty's council." But he also tried to explain why he had not revealed more particulars at that time, by claiming he had hoped "to prevent a mischief by abandoning their councils, [rather] than to ruin them [the conspirators], by disclosing them."[138]

But had he only known, George Goring claimed, that the plans would not end there, he would have come forth on his own and "have broken the laws of amity and friendship, and all former ties, to preserve the duty of a subject." His conclusion: "It appears there were two several [different] intentions, digested by others before they were communicated to me, and I knew not whether my harkening to them were a fault, but I am sure it was a misfortune."[139] George Goring was not a perpetrator, but rather a victim! In this pamphlet he was attempting to vindicate himself before his peers by portraying himself as a concerned army officer, a caring friend, a loyal member of Parliament, and a dutiful subject who just happened to be drawn into the conspiracies of others.

Would his fellow MPs believe him? On Monday, 21 June, Denzil Hollis presented to the Commons the committee's new interrogation of Goring, taken two days earlier, but any further debate on this matter was postponed until Wednesday.[140] This delay to the regular proceedings was caused by King Charles, who on 22 June appeared at a joint

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session of Parliament to accept a subsidy of tonnage and poundage. The king believed that by relying on voted subsidies he was showing his confidence in Parliament by placing himself "wholly upon the love and affections of my people for my subsistence."[141]

But Charles obviously felt compelled to make a public declaration about the ongoing plot investigation, for he continued:

> And as for those rumours which have bred suspicions concerning the Army, though I have heard some loose discourses touching it (which I never understood otherwise than as having relation to the Scottish Army, or preventing of insurrections), yet they were so slight of themselves, that they vanished by their own lightness within days after they were born; and, therefore, having showed you my clearness in this, I will leave you, with the assurance that I never had other design but to win the affections of my people by the justice of my government.[142]

In a few rather poetic sentences, the king had brushed off the entire Army Plot and his role in it.

But the king's reassurances had little effect on the investigation, for George Goring's most recent revelations, in which he "spared neither person nor circumstance," rekindled debate in the Commons and renewed the search for those implicated. The seaports were again closed, and all English correspondence to and from Flanders, France and Holland was seized by Parliament and read.[143]

In turn, George Goring remained in the middle of the maelstrom, for his testimony was the most detailed and far-reaching. One London observer, Thomas Wiseman, concluded: "Colonel Goring is an unhappy man, having in the discovery of those plots lost himself and all his friends, a King and Queen too."[144] But others judged Henry Percy's letter to be just as damaging, added to which was the fact that he had volunteered his information from the safety of foreign shores. Elizabeth Stuart, writing from the Hague to her good friend Sir Thomas Roe on 28 June/8 July, condemned Percy "who in a letter to his brother made the basest and foolishest confession of all the plot that can be, making the King to be in a manner of it. Goring is not yet so cleared but that they are still unsatisfied with him." She added that Daniel O'Neill, another of the suspected conspirators, had managed to flee England and now intended to serve in the Dutch Army.[145]

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Continuing in tandem with the Plot investigation were Parliament's efforts to arrive at peace terms with the Scots and to pay off both armies. King Charles had indicated he wished to depart on a visit to Scotland on 14 July, but Parliament opposed this date. Pym and the opposition leaders undoubtedly feared that the king might arrive at some form of reconciliation with the Scots, and that on his way north, the king would pass through both armies--if they were not yet disbanded--where he could rally personal support.[146]

Therefore, at the end of June, peace was arranged with the Scottish commissioners, and plans for paying off the Scottish as well as the English Army were advanced. On 22 June Sir William Uvedale instructed Matthew Bradley to rendezvous with the Lord General, the Earl of Holland, at York the following week to start disbanding the English forces. Officers of the rank of captain and up would receive half-pay through the date they were demobilized, with the remainder to be paid in November. Lieutenants down and the soldiers would receive full pay, but those who had billeted the men would also have to wait until November for repayment. On 29 June Parliament finally passed an act for the "speedy provision" of money for disbanding both armies and settling the peace between England and Scotland. A poll-tax based on rank and means was to provide the necessary funding.[147]

In the meantime, the Earl of Newcastle, whose name had figured so prominently in the plot stories, resigned his post as governor to the Prince of Wales, and temporarily retired to his estates. On 28 June, the Parliamentary committee investigating the plot brought in four lawyers to draw up charges of treason. While the enlarged committee returned to its secret deliberations for the next three weeks, King Charles remained in London, for he had agreed to put off his trip to Scotland until August, and on 5 July he assented to the abolition of the prerogative courts.[148]

George Goring also remained in London that summer, under the watchful eyes of the Parliamentary investigators. Despite the ongoing investigation, on 8 July, Wilmot and Ashburnham were given permission to be released on bail, as Pollard and Davenant already had been granted. At the same time the Commons ordered:

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> Colonel Goring, Commissary Wilmot, and Colonel Ashburnham, are enjoined, from this House, not to offer any act of violence one upon another, upon any resentment of anything that has passed here, in the discovery of this great design, under which the said Mister Wilmot and Mister Ashburnham lie accused. Colonel Goring, being now in the House, rose up; and, in his place, did protest punctually to observe this order and injunction of the House.[149]

Wilmot and Ashburnham had to make the same pledge, so that in the end no bloodshed in defense of personal honor resulted from this affair. But all these men would eventually join the king's cause when civil war erupted the following year, and the bitterness engendered by the Plot revelations and counter-accusations would have repercussions within the royalist camp.

"This House doth . . . approve of Colonel Goring his faithful service"

On 22 July yet another phase of the Army Plot revelations began, as the lawyers attached to the special committee started to present to the Commons their findings based on their review of the evidence. The major miscreants were deemed to be Jermyn, Percy, Suckling and Davenant who were accused of trying to use the army against Parliament. In addition, Henry Percy, "in pursuance of the Plot . . . did minister unto Henry Jermyn, Hugh Pollard, Henry Wilmot, William Ashburnham, Sir John Berkeley, and Daniel O'Neill, a wicked and unlawful oath. . . ."[150] George Goring had admitted to taking the oath, and yet nowhere in the lawyers' indictment did Goring's name appear. Evidently, he had finally managed to vindicate himself in the eyes of the Parliamentary investigators, or at least, he had provided sufficient information to gain immunity from prosecution.

Over the next two weeks, further articles were presented, similar in content to the evidence presented in early June, as detailed above. The litany included the planned attempt on the Tower and the freeing of Strafford, a plan to take Portsmouth and bring in foreign assistance, and the proposal to have Newcastle and the Prince of Wales raise one thousand horse. Henry Percy's letter was put forward as proof for many of the accusations.[151]

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The Commons did attend to other important business in this same period, for King Charles was about to embark on his delayed trip to Scotland, and the two armies stationed in the north had yet to be totally disbanded. On 7 August, just two days prior to the king's departure, the Commons asked the House of Lords to concur in their order that all horse troops of the English army be immediately disbanded. The Lords agreed as did the king himself, and orders were promptly dispatched to the Earl of Holland.[152] Pym and the opposition leaders were still trying to ensure that Charles would have no opportunity to rally any military support to his cause during his journey, and they now believed that they had removed this danger by disbanding the English cavalry.

Other changes were made at this time, namely the Puritan peer, the Earl of Essex, was given command of the army south of the Trent, and a commission was empowered to act as a regency in England during the king's absence. Members on the commission covered the full political spectrum and included opposition peers Lords Saye and Mandeville, as well as staunch royalists like Newcastle and Lord Goring.[153]

As usual, rumors were circulating about the outcome of the renewed investigation and what charges would be brought. There was some hope expressed that since no treason had in fact occurred, the sentences might be more lenient. Another argument held that those who had just taken the oath of secrecy, like Wilmot and Ashburnham, had done nothing worse than remaining silent, as they had sworn to. There was even some talk that the culprits might be banished, although that was deemed a worse punishment since only an act of Parliament could repeal it. But if the Percy, Jermyn and the others were censored as guilty of treason, then at least the king could pardon them.[154]

All speculation was put to rest on 11 August when the House of Commons began to consider articles charging Sir John Suckling, Henry Percy and Henry Jermyn with high treason. Witnesses were called to appear before the House, and Captain Chudleigh made his first presentation on 13 August. This was when he claimed that the only proposition he had brought back to the army from London in early April had been to make George Goring the lieutenant general.[155]

But the renewed mention of his name in conjunction with the Army Plot could no

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longer endanger George Goring nor undermine the confidence the Parliamentary opposition now placed in him. For at this point, Parliament sent Governor Goring back to Portsmouth, and as an added show of support, allotted him £3,000 to complete the new fortifications he had begun. On 17 August the Commons ordered the sheriff of Southampton county, Hugh Stucky, to give the locally collected poll-tax money to Colonel Goring for the Portsmouth garrison. On the following day, Speaker Lenthall repeated these instructions to the sheriff, with the proviso that Colonel Goring's receipt for the money should be sent to the treasurers of poll-tax money in London in lieu of cash. And Parliament's year-end accounting would show that the £3,000 was indeed delivered to Governor Goring, as instructed.[156]

As George Goring hastened south to resume his governorship with the blessings of Parliament, disturbing news reached London from the north. King Charles in his progress had indeed passed through the remnants of the English army and had even paid a visit to the Scottish forces where he had had friendly discourse with General Leslie (who would be created the Earl of Leven that November.) The Earl of Holland rushed this news to Pym who reported it to the Commons on 19 August. Furthermore, none of the English cavalry had yet been disbanded, and some of the infantry regiments were scheduled to be cashiered first.[157]

No explanation was given by Pym for this delay in carrying out Parliament's orders, but one suspects that Sir William Uvedale, now with the army in the north, and his practical approach to business might have led him to make his own schedule of arrangements for paying off the English forces. But in this instance he was to be overruled, for both Houses on 19 August ordered the Lord General, "all further delays and excuses set apart," to disband all horse troops prior to the foot, "and command them, and all the officers of the said horse troops, to depart from the Army, which they [both Houses] do hereby declare to be a matter of great importance to the good of the Commonwealth."[158]

Holland and Uvedale promptly began to carry out these orders, and on 22 August reported back to London on their progress. Sixteen troops of horse had been paid

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£35,720; five regiments of foot and the general field officers had received £35,500; while an additional three infantry regiments had been paid £19,000. Based on this preliminary information, the Commons on 25 August requested further details and receipts from Uvedale, and reminded the treasurer that no payment was to be made to Berkeley, Percy, O'Neill, Ashburnham, Wilmot and Pollard, all of whom were still under investigation for the Army Plot. But George Goring was again not included with the conspirators and remained eligible for his back pay along with the other field officers.[159] It is also interesting to note that once the army was successfully disbanded, on 25 October the House of Lords would thank the Earl of Holland for completing this task and "preserving the safety and quiet of the Kingdom."[160]

Parliament, so immersed in the endless tales of plots and conspiracies, had come to see the continued presence of English forces in the field, particularly the more mobile and more suspect cavalry troops, as a real danger. In London itself, the Tower garrison, under the command of the Earl of Newport, was augmented by local citizens who were rotated on a daily basis. But as August drew to a close, the opposition leaders might finally take some satisfaction in their accomplishments to date. Ambassador Giustinian saw that the momentum had passed to the House of Commons, particularly during that hot summer when plague had driven many of the Lords away from London. But he judged that power had not just passed to the Commons in general, but rather to those who had been most involved in past deliberations and "who have offended the princes here more than anyone else, cloaking their private cupidity under the mantle of zeal for the public welfare."[161]

In fact, Parliament went into recess on 9 September and would not reconvene until 20 October, although Pym and his colleagues continued their work behind the scenes, for they believed that additional great matters had yet to be settled. The further reformation of the Anglican Church was still on their agenda, as well as greater accountability of the king's government. King Charles, in turn, remained in Edinburgh, trying to win over his Scottish subjects by making peace with them and by acquiescing to many of their demands for government reform. But any goodwill he may have initially won was eventually dissipated when his name became linked with a conspiracy among some army officers to

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kidnap several Scottish leaders. "The Incident," much like the Army Plot, would never come to fruition, but the fact that Charles did have some secret communication with those involved would once again serve to undermine his credibility, his sincerity and his trustworthiness.[162]

While Charles was away, he corresponded on a frequent basis with Henrietta Maria and with Edward Nicholas, the former secretary for the war council, now an astute secretary of state who kept Charles apprized of the political climate in London . But it was to his wife that the king entrusted his thoughts and plans for his renewed political struggle with the English Parliament. Henrietta Maria, living at her palace of Oatlands, actively worked for her husband's cause by trying to form a loyalist party, particularly among her young courtiers, and among those in communication with the queen was Governor Goring of Portsmouth.[163]

This rapprochement between George Goring and the queen most likely came about through Lord Goring, who remained in London with the governing council during the king's absence and who attended on Henrietta Maria. What Lord Goring might have said on behalf of his son can only be conjecture, but the king and queen never lost faith in the elder Goring, a fact to be demonstrated in early 1642 when he would accompany the queen abroad. And while Charles was away that fall, Henrietta Maria had recovered sufficient confidence in George so that she turned to him when faced with a possible threat to her safety. A rumor reached her at Oatlands that an attempt would be made to capture her, all of which might have been a plan to trick her into fleeing England. Henrietta Maria remained watchful and wrote to Governor Goring to have relay horses ready in case she had to flee via Portsmouth, although, in the end, nothing came of the rumored threat.[164] What is significant, however, is that the queen was ready to entrust her life to George Goring.

Besides possibly bringing about this rapprochement between his son and the queen, Lord Goring, faced with losses connected to his tobacco licensing, was once again in need of quick money. He chose to mortgage some property at Waltham which had belonged to his late uncle, Edward Denny, Earl of Norwich. The Earl of Cork took on the

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mortgage worth £8,600 and provided Lord Goring with £500 in ready cash on 4 September. Cork was on his way back to Ireland, and on 21 September, at Egham to the west of London, Lord Goring joined up with him to provide his bond for repayment to be made in London on 20 January 1643. The two men parted, Lord Goring continuing on to the queen's court at Oatlands, while Cork proceeded westward to his Dorset property of Stalbridge where, on 28 September, he locked up Lord Goring's most recent obligation, as well as the debts owed him by his son-in-law George Goring. He noted that if Lord Goring repaid him the £8,600 as scheduled, all debts between them would be cleared. On 19 October 1641 the Earl of Cork returned to his home, Lismore Castle in Ireland.[165]

Cork might have felt satisfied upon his return from his London sojourn, having witnessed the elimination of his long-time political rival, the Earl of Strafford. But government in Ireland had been left to drift, and on 23 October an armed rebellion broke out in the northern province of Ulster. The original rebels were of the Irish gentry, concerned about their downward mobility, but they were soon joined by other discontented elements in Irish society. The rebellion rapidly spread throughout the country, and Ireland was plunged into its own civil war for the next ten years. Many of the wealthy new English landowners, like Cork, fought to hold on to their prized acquisitions. Dungarvan, closely connected to the opposition leadership in Parliament, chose to return to Ireland to fight alongside his father and brothers. And the old earl himself was soon longing for the services of the most professional soldier in his extended family: "Oh, that I had George Goring here with 1,000 foot and 100 horse well armed . . . that you might hear of our success."[166]

Parliament reconvened on 20 October 1641 and soon would be faced with the growing rebellion in Ireland and the question of what action should be taken while the king remained in Scotland. But news of Irish affairs did not arrive in London until 1 November, and on the first day back in session the Commons continued with the Army Plot investigation. While Sir John Suckling, one of the chief miscreants, had died in French exile, two other conspirators who had initially eluded Parliament's reach had now been captured and were scheduled to present their testimony. Sir John Berkeley,

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imprisoned in the Tower, was to undergo repeated examinations in the coming weeks before the special committee, while Major Daniel O'Neill, detained in the Gatehouse, awaited his turn. Of course the timing could not be worse for O'Neill. Although Protestant, he was a distant relation of Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, the leader of the great Irish rebellion which had occurred at the end of Elizabeth's reign; and his uncle, Owen Roe O'Neill, a mercenary for Spain in the continental wars, was soon to become one of the leaders of the new rebellion.[167]

Also on 20 October, at the opening session, a report from Scotland on the Incident was read, which served to reinforce the fears of ongoing conspiracies being hatched by the king, and which enabled the Earl of Essex, as acting Captain-General, to ask for and receive permission to deploy guards around Parliament "to secure the houses against other designs, which they have reason to suspect." Then, in this already charged atmosphere, came the news of bloodshed in Ireland, and Pym's theories of Popish conspiracies seemed to be born out, for many of the rebels claimed that they were still loyal to the king.[168]

On 8 November John Pym introduced the Grand Remonstrance in the Commons. It was a far-ranging indictment of King Charles's reign as well as an outline of proposed further changes in government and religion. The document claimed that all the current ills in the kingdom were caused by "Jesuited papists," Anglican bishops and corrupt clergy, and self-serving councilors and courtiers. The 204 clauses then outlined all grievances, past and present, and asked for, among many other things, that royal ministers and councilors be answerable to Parliament (no. 197).[169]

Debate over the document lasted for almost two weeks, and finally on 22 November a vote was taken in the early hours of the morning. The Remonstrance passed by a narrow margin, 159 to 148. Pym and his followers believed that they had won an important victory, for as one of his party, Oliver Cromwell, MP for Huntingdon, remarked afterwards, he would have packed up and left England had the proposal been defeated. But, in fact, this was not a total set-back for the king's cause, for the Remonstrance had antagonized the majority of the Lords and turned moderate reformers in the Commons like Sir Edward Hyde, Lord Falkland, and Sir John Culpeper into supporters of King

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Charles.[170]

John Pym had pushed the Remonstrance forward because he knew that King Charles had departed Edinburgh on 18 November and was soon expected back in London. Yet even before the final outcome of the Remonstrance had been settled, new allegations of suspicious doings at Portsmouth had to be taken up by the Commons. The messengers passing between Portsmouth and Oatlands had not gone unnoticed, and some of the local townspeople decided to express their complaints and suspicions in letters to Parliament. Despite the fact that Governor Goring had "obtained so great applause of the Parliament" for helping to uncover the Army Plot conspiracy, he "has not escaped free from the jealousies of the people. The town of Portsmouth and country about is so ill-affected towards him, that they have complained to the Parliament of, in my opinion, most silly and ridiculous things," court correspondent Captain Robert Slingsby recorded.[171]

Among the complaints: that the governor was going to give up the town to papists; that he was going to provide gunpowder to blow up the house of a Puritan; that he had a Catholic Frenchman serving in the garrison; that he kept many horses in town as well as six coaches and six saddles; that he was going to blow up all his gun powder and allow the Spanish fleet to take the port. Why was such enmity being expressed by the townspeople against Goring? Because "they imputed to him but a deceitful discovery of the last conspiracy."[172] In other words, in observing the governor's daily activities, they believed him to be an unrepentant royalist.

George Goring attended the House of Commons on 19 November and rose to answer each particular charge made in the two accusatory letters which had been read. His answers were so persuasive that his fellow MPs decided: "Whereupon this House doth declare, and approve of, Colonel Goring his faithful service, in his place of Governor of the town of Portsmouth: And that they hold it fit he report again to his place of trust." It was even moved that the authors of the accusations should make satisfaction to Colonel Goring, "but the House conceived they were persons so mean and unworthy, that they could not make reparation fit for a person of his worth to have; and therefore gave directions the letters should be burnt."[173] Of course the great irony was that the

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townspeople would be proved correct and the MPs incorrect in their evaluation of George Goring's loyalties.

But in November 1641, George Goring remained in the good graces of the leading reformers. He did not return to Portsmouth immediately, but instead became involved in Parliament's dealings with King Charles, who returned to London and to a great ceremonial welcome on 25 November. On the very next day, the Commons found themselves at cross-purposes with the king over the guards which the Earl of Essex had authorized to protect both Houses during the king's absence. The king chose to dismiss the guards and informed Parliament that "his presence is a sufficient guard to his people."[174]

The House of Commons appointed Colonel Goring to carry a message to the Lords to ask them to send a deputation to the king to request the continuance of the Parliamentary guards because of "some informations [*sic*] of danger."[175] Goring carried this message to the Lords, and explained that the Commons would give their reasons for this request in a few days. Initially, the upper house voted against the proposal, but once some of the wording was changed, they acquiesced and chose George Lord Digby (Goring's nemesis of last June, since elevated to the Lords) and the Earl of Warwick to go to the king. The following day, 27 November, Goring reported his success back to the House of Commons.[176]

King Charles responded by setting up a guard of his own choosing under the Earl of Dorset which turned on the pro-Parliamentary street crowds, which was not the intention of the Commons. In turn, the Commons dismissed the king's newly appointed guards, and chose their own protectors. In this growing tense atmosphere, the Commons continued with the Army Plot investigation. On 6 December it was resolved that Daniel O'Neill had spread false rumors in the army about the differences between the king and Parliament in an attempt to have the chief army officers join the king "to awe the parliament, and to interrupt the proceedings thereof." O'Neill, therefore, joined with Percy, Jermyn and Suckling in being accused of high treason. Three days later, Wilmot, Pollard and Ashburnham, who were accused of misprision of treason, were discontinued

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from the House of Commons and new elections were ordered for their constituencies. Sir John Berkeley, also accused of misprision of treason, was allowed out on bail on 17 December.[177]

As 1641 drew to a close, the stage was set for the open breach between the king and his Parliament which would occur at the beginning of January when Charles would try, unsuccessfully, to arrest his leading opponents. As far as the Parliamentary opposition leaders were concerned, Colonel Goring, governor of Portsmouth, stood loyally in their camp. But equally, the queen believed George Goring to be a staunch ally. So again we are left with the question of what were George Goring's intentions in connection with the Army Plot and what motivated his actions throughout 1641?

The most plausible interpretation seems to be that, initially, Goring was drawn into the plots which others had already been devising so that he became privy to the schemes being put forth by Jermyn and the queen's circle as well as those of Percy and the officers. He probably realized that the various plans had little in common and little hope of success, although he did greatly favor the idea of his promotion to lieutenant general of the army. He, therefore, decided to use the discontent in the army to help foster grassroots support for his promotion, but, at the same time, he was wary of becoming too involved with the London-based conspirators and so covered himself by passing word to his good friend, the Earl of Newport.

In his initial revelations in April, Goring only provided the opposition leaders with a broad outline of the schemes afoot. But in May, when Pym chose to use the Army Plot to bring about Strafford's death, and, in June and thereafter, when the opposition further used the Plot to force the king into more concessions, Goring became primarily concerned with self-preservation, as he made full disclosure of all he knew. Goring might have justifiably felt more secure in doing whatever was necessary to save his own life and liberty since clearly the king could no longer offer his faithful servants protection. Therefore, in the summer of 1641, George Goring was neither Parliamentarian nor royalist, but rather a survivor, first and foremost.

But once he had managed to win the trust of Parliament--and just as importantly,

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had managed to maintain his freedom--he went back to supporting the side of his choice, the royalists. He apparently convinced Henrietta Maria that all he had done previously had been to protect his position at Portsmouth which could serve as a refuge for the royal family in a time of crisis. As we shall see in the next chapter, Goring's actions in 1642, when he would turn down the opportunity to be a commander in the Parliamentary army, only confirm that he was truly a supporter of the king, even if at times George Goring's royalism was tempered by his instinct for self-preservation.

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1. Rushworth, *Collections*, Part III, 1:7; the other MP for Portsmouth was Edward Dowce, esquire, who would remain with Parliament after the break with King Charles in 1642. In the period 1640-42, Richard Willis served as Lieutenant Governor of Portsmouth. See Portsmouth City Council, Museums and Records Service, Records Office, "List of Governors and Lieutenant Governors, 1205-1891," 3. Goring would also continue to own his regiment in the States' service into 1647; see Chapter 14.

2. *Lismore*, ser. 1, 5:164; ser. 2, 4:150-51; Rushworth, *Collections*, III, 1:11; *The Journal of Sir Simonds D'Ewes: From the beginning of the Long Parliament to the opening of the Trial of the Earl of Strafford*, ed. Wallace Notestein (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1923), 312; *Commons Journal*, 2:20-21.

3. Rushworth, *Collections*, III, 1:21; Russell, *Monarchies*, 206.

4. Russell, *Monarchies*, 162; D. Brunton and D.H. Pennington, *Members of the Long Parliament* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1954), 1, 182.

5. Rushworth, *Collections*, III, 1:21.

6. Rushworth, *Collections*, VIII, 1-2; S. R. Gardiner, *History of England from the Accession of James I to the Outbreak of the Civil War, 1603-1642* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1884), 9:221.

7. *Lismore*, ser. 1, 5:164; Rushworth, *Collections*, VIII, 2-4; *Lords Journal*, 4:88.

8. Russell, *Monarchies*, 211.

9. Rushworth, *Collections*, VIII, 6, 8, 40; *CSPD 1640-41*, 269, Order of the King in Council, 22 November 1640; the commission was to visit Strafford the next day.

10. *D'Ewes Diary*, 24; *CSPD 1640-41*, 257; Brunton, *Members*, 214-15. Uvedale remained with Parliament throughout the Civil War.

11. *CSPD 1640-41*, 258.

12. Ibid., 266, 269-70.

13. Ibid., 273-74.

14. Ibid., 273; *D'Ewes Diary*, 34. D'Ewes was among those who thought that the entire amount should go to the English army.

15. *CSPD 1640-41*, 276, 292-93, 301-302, 311-12.

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16. Ibid., 325-28; *D'Ewes Diary*, 169.

17. Wedgwood, *King's Peace*, 380-81.

18. *CSPD 1640-41*, 363, 405; Kenyon, *Civil Wars*, 20.

19. *Commons Journal*, 2:24.

20. *D'Ewes Diary*, 311-312, 312 fn.7.

21. *Commons Journal*, 2:77.

22. *Lismore*, ser. 1, 5:168; Wedgwood, *King's Peace*, 393-94.

23. Maclean, *Cavalier Poets*, 252, 256, lines 85-88. Suckling, of a wealthy gentry family, also had court connections; his father had been Comptroller of the Household for James I and his maternal uncle was Lionel Cranfield, Earl of Middlesex, Lord Treasurer until he broke with his patron Buckingham; see Chapter 2.

24. *CSPD 1640-41*, 432, 452.

25. Russell, *Monarchies*, 196. On 2 February Uvedale advised Bradley he believed more Parliamentary money would not be available until the priest was hung; *CSPD 1640-41*, 452.

26. *CSPD 1640-41*, 427, 440-41.

27. Ibid., 431-32; Uvedale's letter was dated 25 January 1641 from Covent Garden.

28. Ibid., 452.

29. Ibid., 456.

30. Ibid; Russell, *Monarchies*, 225; Kenyon, *Civil Wars*, 20.

31. *CSPD 1640-41*, 470, 486-87.

32. Rushworth, *Collections*, III, 1:255; Gardiner, *History*, 9:308; Russell, *Monarchies*, 291-92.

33. E. Sussex R. O., Danny Archives, f. 1132, indenture dated 6 March 1640/41.

34. *CSPD 1640-41*, 459, 496-97.

35. Finit, *Ceremonies*, 295-97, 305.

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36. Rushworth, *Collections*, VIII, 41.

37. Ibid., 40; Russell, *Monarchies*, 280, 284; Wedgwood, *King's Peace*, 404.

38. *The Diary of Bulstrode Whitelocke, 1605-1675*, ed. Ruth Spalding, The British Academy, Records of Social and Economic History, New Series 13 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 126; Russell, *Monarchies*, 280-81, 284, 287; Wedgwood, *King's Peace*, 405-6.

39. G. E. Aylmer, *Rebellion or Revolution? England from Civil War to Restoration* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986; paperback, 1987), 17; Wedgwood, *King's Peace*, 419; Russell, *Monarchies*, 287-291.

40. *CSPD 1640-41*, 507-508; Gardiner, *History*, 9:307 fn. 1.

41. Bone, *Henrietta Maria*, 123-24; Gardiner, *History*, 9:309-312; Russell, *Monarchies*, 292.

42. Russell, *Monarchies*, 292.

43. Ibid.; Gardiner, *History*, 9:315; Bone, *Henrietta Maria*, 124. Henrietta Maria in her later years recounted her memories of this plot to Francoise Bertant, Madame de Motteville, who in turn recorded them in her *Memoires*. Also, *Commons Journal*, 2:295, from Captain Chudleigh's testimony of 13 August 1641.

44. BL Add. MS. 11308, ff. 79-80. The manuscript, ff. 78-85, in secretary's hand, and not in George Goring's own hand, is undated and entitled "Interrogatories propounded by the House of Commons to Colonel Goring to answer unto, concerning the plot and with his answers to the same." This is probably the examination which took place in early May 1641, but not made public until June. Also, Gardiner, *History*, 9:315, where the author estimates that 28 March was the date of the initial contact between Suckling and Goring.

45. BL Add. MS. 11308, ff. 80-81, Interrogatories.

46. Ibid., ff. 81-82.

47. Ibid., ff. 82-83.

48. Ibid., ff. 83-84.

49. Rushworth, *Collections*, III, 1:254; the same material is also appended to the volume dealing with Strafford's trial, VIII, 746-755.

50. Ibid.

51. Ibid.

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52. *Commons Journal*, 2:255; testimony of 13 August 1641.

53. Clarendon, Edward Hyde, Earl of, *The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England begun in the year 1641*, ed. W. Dunn Macray (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1888), 1:322-323.

54. Rushworth, *Collections*, III, 1:255-56. Although Percy's letter was made public after George Goring's testimony, Rushworth, "for the Reader's sake," placed them one after the other.

55. Ibid., 256-57.

56. Ibid., 256.

57. Clarendon, *History*, 1:326.

58. Wedgwood, *King's Peace*, 422.

59. Clarendon, *History*, 1:326.

60. Gardiner, *History*, 9:317.

61. Ibid., 9:313.

62. Russell, *Monarchies*, 80. Russell attributes this theory in part to his discussions with Professor Caroline Hibbard (80 fn.39).

63. Ibid., 293.

64. From a broadcast talk, 1 October 1939; quoted in *The Oxford Dictionary of Quotations*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979; reprinted with corrections, 1980), 149.

65. Russell, *Monarchies*, 277-78.

66. *Commons Journal*, 2:255.

67. *CSPD 1640-41*, 565.

68. Gardiner, *History*, 9:315 fn 1, 317; Wedgwood, *King's Peace*, 410; Russell, *Monarchies*, 293.

69. *CSPD 1640-41*, 531; Russell, *Monarchies*, 292.

70. *CSPD 1640-41*, 531-32.

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71. *CSPD 1640-41*, 535.

72. *CSPD 1640-41*, 545-46; Smuts, "The Puritan Followers of Henrietta Maria," *EHR*, Vol. 93 (Jan. 1978) : 42-43; *CSPVen 1640-42*, 142, Giustinian, London, 3 May 1641 [N. S.].

73. *CSPD 1640-41*, 545-46.

74. *CSPVen 1640-42*, 141-42.

75. Wedgwood, *King's Peace*, 419; Russell, *Monarchies*, 293.

76. Rushworth, *Collections*, III, 1:238.

77. Ibid, 1:240. Francis Russell, Earl of Bedford, one the lords George Goring had confided in, had been working on some form of compromise with the king prior to 1 May. But Bedford, Pym's electoral patron, became suddenly ill and subsequently died on 9 May. The removal of his moderating voice from affairs may have led to the ultimate sacrifice of Strafford. Clarendon believed so; *History*, 1:322. Also, Wedgwood, *King's Peace*, 421; Aylmer, *Rebellion or Revolution?*, 21, although Aylmer points out that there was no certainty that Charles would have gone along with Bedford's reform agenda.

78. Clarendon, *History*, 1:322.

79. Finit, *Ceremonies*, 307, 310-13.

80. Gregg, *Charles I*, 328; Aylmer, *King's Servants*, 385-86.

81. Rushworth, *Collections*, VIII, 746; *CSPD 1640-41*, 571; Russell, *Monarchies*, 293.

82. *Commons Journal*, 2:132; *Lords Journal*, 4:233-34; Rushworth, *Collections*, III, 1:241, 244-48.

83. *Commons Journal*, 2:132; Lenthall's letter to Conyers, dated 3 May from Charing Cross, appears in *CSPD 1640-41*, 569, while his letter to Astley, dated 4 May, is in Rushworth, *Collections*, III, 1:242.

84. *CSPD 1640-41*, 569-70; Rushworth, *Collections*, III, 1:248.

85. *Commons Journal*, 2:135; Rushworth, *Collections*, III, 1:252.

86. Rushworth, *Collections*, III, 1:251-52, 292; Wedgwood, *King's Peace*, 424-25.

87. *Commons Journal*, 2:135.

88. Rushworth, *Collections*, III, 1:253.

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89. *Lords Journal*, 4:233; Hibbard, *Popish Plot*, 194-95.

90. *Commons Journal*, 2:136-38.

91. Ibid, 2:138.

92. BL Add. MS. 11308, ff. 79-80.

93. *Lords Journal*, 4:236.

94. Rushworth, *Collections*, VIII, 755; *CSPD 1640–41*, 571; Russell, *Monarchies*, 295-96.

95. *CSPD 1640–41*, 572.

96. *CSPVen 1640–42*, 149, Giustinian, London, 17 May 1641 [N. S.].

97. Ibid., 149-50.

98. *CSPD 1640–41*, 573. Charles's modern biographer Charles Carlton gives the most credence to the king's fear for his family's safety as being the deciding factor in his signing Strafford's death warrant; see *Charles I*, 226-27. See also Russell, *Monarchies*, 299-300; Wedgwood, *King's Peace*, 425-28.

99. *CSPVen 1640–42*, 150-52, Giustinian, London, 24 May 1641 [N. S.].

100. Ibid.

101. Rushworth, *Collections*, III, 1; 254, 259, 274; *HMC* Vol. 3, 4th Rpt., App., Earl de la Warr MS., 295, Arthur Brett to the Earl of Middlesex, 8 May 1641.

102. *CSPD 1640–41*, 573, Roe to Secretary Vane, 11 May 1641; *Lords Journal*, 4:236; *Verney Papers: Notes of Proceedings in the Long Parliament Temp. Charles I. Printed from original pencil memoranda taken in the House by Sir Ralph Verney, knt., member for the Borough of Aylesbury*, ed. John Bruce, Camden Society 31 (London: Camden Society, 1845), 85.

103. Rushworth, *Collections*, III, 1:260-61; *CSPD 1640–41*, 577.

104. *CSPD 1640–41*, 584.

105. *CSPVen 1640–42*, 153, Giustinian, London, 31 May 1641 [N. S.].

106. *CSPD 1640–41*, 588-89.

107. *CSPD 1641–43*, 1:1, 5.

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108. *CSPVen 1640-42*, 160, Giustinian, London, 7 June 1641 [N. S.].

109. *Verney Papers*, 86.

110. Ibid., 86-87; CSPD 1641-43, 1:7, letter from Captain Robert Slingsby to Admiral Sir John Pennington, dated 10 June 1641; this letter is an example of how fast the news of the Commons proceedings was being spread.

111. *Verney Papers*, 87.

112. Ibid., 87-90; *CSPVen 1640-42*, 163, Giustinian, 21 June 1641 [N. S.]; *Commons Journal*, 2:171.

113. *Verney Papers*, 88; *Commons Journal*, 2:171.

114. Rushworth, *Collections*, VIII, 40; Wedgwood, *King's Peace*, 216-17.

115. *Commons Journal*, 2:171; Rushworth, *Collections*, III, 1:282; *Verney Papers*, 90-91; *CSPD 1641-43*, 1:8.

116. Rushworth, *Collections*, III, 1:282; *CSPD 1641-43*, 1:8.

117. *Verney Papers*, 91, 94.

118. *Commons Journal*, 2:172-73.

119. *CSPVen 1640-42*, 163-64, Giustinian, 21 June 1641 [N. S.].

120. *Commons Journal*, 2:175; *Verney Papers*, 94-95; Rushworth, *Collections*, III, 1:255-56.

121. *CSPD 1641-43*, 1:10. In a letter to Vice Admiral Pennington, dated 13 June 1641, Northumberland authorized the use of a small naval vessel or the hire of a commercial boat to transport goods to his brother.

122. *Commons Journal*, 2:175; *Verney Papers*, 95-96. The *Commons Journal* only indicated that the three MPs were questioned that day; Sir Ralph Verney provided the details of their testimony.

123. *Verney Papers*, 96-97.

124. Ibid., 97.

125. *Commons Journal*, 2:175; *CSPD 1641-43*, 1:12; Anthony Fletcher, *The Outbreak of the English Civil War*, (London: E. Arnold, 1981), 31.

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126. *CSPD 1641–43*, 1:12-13.

127. Ibid., 1:13-14.

128. *Commons Journal*, 2:177.

129. Ibid., 2:173.

130. Ibid., 2:177; *Verney Papers*, 98; Rushworth, *Collections*, III, 1:291.

131. *Verney Papers*, 98-99; only Sir Ralph Verney reported the details of Goring's testimony on 16 June 1641.

132. Ibid.

133. Ibid.

134. *Commons Journal*, 2:177; *CSPD 1641–43*, 1:15; *HMC*, Vol. 6, 7th Rpt., Pt. I, Verney MS., 435; *HMC*, 10th Rpt., Pt. VI, Braye MS., 142.

135. *CSPD 1641–43*, 1:48.

136. *The Declaration of Colonel Goring upon his Examination, touching the late intended Conspiracy against the State* (n.p., June 1641), 1-2. This pamphlet in not part of the Thomason Tracts, but is BL 100 a. 33.

137. Ibid., 3.

138. Ibid., 4.

139. Ibid., 4-5.

140. *Commons Journal*, 2:182.

141. *Lords Journal*, 4:283.

142. Ibid.

143. *CSPD 1641–43*, 1:23, Sidney Bere, Whitehall, to Admiral Pennington, 24 June 1641; *CSPVen 1640–42*, 172, Giustinian, 3 July 1641 [N. S.]. The ambassador noted in his dispatch that his letters were not among those being read by Parliament.

144. *CSPD 1641–43*, 1:25, 29, Wiseman to Admiral Penington, 24 June 1641, and Thomas Smith to Pennington, 29 June 1641.

145. *CSPD 1641–43*, 1:27-29.

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146. *CSPVen 1640–42*, 171; Wedgwood, *King's Peace*, 444; Russell, *Monarchies*, 312, 351.

147. *CSPD 1641–43*, 1:21-22, 28; *CSPVen 1640–42*, 171.

148. *CSPVen 1640–42*, 172, 176-78; *Verney Papers*, 110; Carlton, *Charles I*, 227.

149. *Commons Journal*, 2:203.

150. Ibid., 2:223-24; *Verney Papers*, 110-11.

151. *Commons Journal*, 2:224-25; *Verney Papers*, 110-11. Verney mentioned the importance of Percy's letter as proof of the charges.

152. *Commons Journal*, 2:242, 264-65.

153. *CSPD 1641–43*, 1:61-62; Russell, *Monarchies*, 366-67.

154. *CSPD 1641–43*, 1:61-63, 76.

155. *Commons Journal*, 2:253, 255-56.

156. Ibid., 2:336; *CSPVen 1640–42*, 206, Giustinian, 30 August 1641 [NS]; *CSPD 1641-43*, 1:92, 97.

157. *Commons* Journal, 2:264-65; *CSPVen 1640–42*, 205; Carlton, *Charles I*, 228.

158. *Commons Journal*, 2:264-65.

159. Ibid., 2:270-71, 688.

160. *Lords Journal*, 4:404.

161. *CSPVen 1640–42*, 206-7, Giustinian, 30 August 1641 [N. S.]. He reported only thirty-four Lords attending Parliament at this time.

162. Russell, *Monarchies*, 400-401; Carlton, *Charles I*, 228; Wedgwood, *King's Peace*, 460-65.

163. Marshall, *Henrietta Maria*, 88; Carlton, *Charles I*, 229; Wedgwood, *King's Peace*, 466-67, 477. According to Carlton, Charles's letters to Henrietta Maria from Scotland have been lost.

164. Bone, *Henrietta Maria*, 131-32, 141; based on the queen's recollections given to Madame de Motteville.

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165. *CSPD 1641-43*, 1:173-75; *Lismore*, ser. 1, 5:188, 195-98. Edward Denny, Lord Goring's maternal uncle, died in 1637 without male heirs, so his title Earl of Norwich became extinct. In 1644 King Charles would create Lord Goring the Earl of Norwich, although the title would not be accepted by Parliament. *GEC*, 9:767-69. See also Chapters 10 and 14.

166. W. Sussex R. O., Wiston Archives, 5973, Cork, January 1642; Foster, *Modern Ireland*, 86-90; Russell, *Monarchies*, 364; *Lismore*, ser. 1, 5:199; *DNB*, 2:1025.

167. *Commons Journal*, 2:290, 294-95; Russell, *Monarchies*, 401-402, Foster, *Modern Ireland*, 3 fn. i, 79-80, 80 fn. ii, 90, 103 fn. iv. It was rumored that Suckling had taken his own life that summer while living in exile in Paris (*Cavalier Poets*, 252). Early the following year an anonymous poem, "An Elegy upon the Death of the Renowned Sir John Suckling," was published in pamphlet form in London. The unidentified author not only praised Suckling's career as poet and soldier, but questioned why no one had publically lamented his death: "What not one line, one word, one tear, not any?/To sing him dead, who hath eternized many." The writer of course knew and alluded to the political situation in England which made any celebration of Suckling's life and work impossible. But the harshest criticism was reserved for those who had betrayed him: "Whom many thousand foes could not make fly,/Fled from his friends to France, and there did die./Finis." See BL Thomason Tracts (hereafter, TT) E. 137 (10), *An Elegy* (1642).

168. Russell, *Monarchies*, 408-409, 433-34; Foster, *Modern Ireland*, 88.

169. Stuart E. Prall, ed., *The Puritan Revolution: A Documentary History* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, Inc., Anchor Books, 1968), 45-75, *passim*.

170. Ibid., 35; Fraser, *Cromwell*, 76-77; Russell, *Monarchies*, 424-29, Wedgwood, *King's Peace*, 482-84.

171. *CSPD 1641-43*, 1:179-80; Wedgwood, *King's Peace*, 476-78.

172. *CSPD 1641-43*, 1:179-80.

173. *Commons Journal*, 2:320.

174. Ibid., 2:325; Carlton, *Charles I*, 230.

175. *Commons Journal*, 2:325.

176. Ibid., 2:325; *Lords Journal*, 4:453.

177. *Commons Journal*, 2:333, 337, 346-47; Russell, *Monarchies*, 433-34.

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PART III

A SOLDIER FOR THE KING: THE FIRST ENGLISH CIVIL WAR

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CHAPTER 7
THE OUTBREAK OF WAR: CHOOSING SIDES, 1642

As the political split between King Charles and Parliament widened during the first half of 1642, George Goring outwardly remained loyal to the opposition leadership in the Commons. In this chapter we shall see how his fellow MPs continued to believe Governor Goring held Portsmouth for Parliament, and how they were so convinced of his adherence to their cause that they would offer him a position of command in the army they were forming to confront the king. Only in early August 1642--even before King Charles raised his standard at Nottingham--did circumstances finally force Goring to declare his true intentions: that he held Portsmouth for the king alone.

But just how long could George Goring hold out when there was little chance of any assistance coming from the king or the surrounding countryside? In fact, he maintained his position against a siege by land and sea for just one month, after which he would negotiate the surrender of Portsmouth and his own freedom to leave for the Continent. As usual, controversy surrounded this whole episode, for not only did the supporters of Parliament greatly resent this duplicity, but some fellow royalists questioned both Goring's motives and the swiftness with which he had abandoned his command, issues to be further investigated.

Once abroad, Goring would join his father, who was assisting Henrietta Maria in her efforts to raise men, money, and materiel in the United Provinces for her husband's cause. George brought with him the funds Parliament had allotted him for building up the fortifications of Portsmouth, and began recruiting officers and soldiers for the royalist army from the English regiments in Dutch service. In December 1642, George Goring would return to England, bringing the recruits with him. He landed in the north, where he

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would join the struggle being waged between the Earl of Newcastle's royalist forces and the Parliamentary army of the Fairfaxes.

The Slide to War: Cavaliers and Roundheads

Not even the Christmas holidays of 1641 could provide a respite from the growing tensions between King Charles and Parliament. Instead, many of the London apprentices, easily recognizable by their bowl-shaped haircuts from which the pejorative term "Roundheads" was derived, prowled the streets, chanting "No bishops" and "No Popish lords." Scuffles broke out between soldiers loyal to the king and the pro-Parliamentary mobs. At the same time, Pym and his followers continued to press forward with their innovations, first by publishing the Grand Remonstrance, then by voting to impeach twelve bishops who had petitioned the king for protection if they were to sit in their places in the House of Lords.[1]

King Charles finally decided to put an end to the escalating conflict of wills. On Monday, 3 January 1642, he had the Attorney General accuse six men of high treason: John Pym, John Hampden, Arthur Haselrig, Denzil Holles and William Strode in the Commons, and Lord Mandeville in the Lords. On 4 January the king came in person to Parliament, but the five accused MPs, given sufficient warning of the king's intention to arrest them, escaped out the window and down the Thames. Charles, seeing that "all the birds have flown," inquired as to their whereabouts, to which Speaker Lenthall replied in a now-famous phrase: "I have neither eyes to see, nor tongue to speak in this place, but as the House is pleased to direct me, whose servant I am here. . . ."[2]

King Charles could only ask for the apprehension of the designated traitors and withdraw. His gamble had failed, for he had not broken the opposition, but instead had antagonized both Houses with this breach of Parliamentary privilege. From his following movements, it appeared that Charles had not developed any alternate plan of action. On 9 January he ordered Vice Admiral Pennington to send a ship to Portsmouth as soon as possible. But without waiting for a reply, on 10 January the king and his family left

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London and moved on to Windsor. So started the king's peregrinations which would take him up and down the length of England and finally end with his call to arms at Nottingham in August. Moreover, Charles would not see his capital again until 1648 when he would reenter as a captive, on his way to his ultimate fate.[3]

King Charles, in the immediate aftermath of his failed action, thought of using Portsmouth as a possible point of embarkation for his family if the situation quickly deteriorated, which meant that he must have felt he could count on the assistance of the governor, George Goring. Even though Admiral Pennington wrote to Charles on 11 January that he could only send a ship when one would become available, the rumors that the king was headed for Portsmouth continued to circulate in London. Parliament was sufficiently concerned about such a possibility that, following a committee recommendation, both Houses on 13 January ordered the governor of Portsmouth not to deliver up the town or the fort, nor receive any forces into either without the consent of the king and Parliament.[4] In other words, the king's authority alone was no longer sufficient to be legally binding, or so said Parliament.

In an interview with the Dutch ambassador, Baron van Heenvliet, on 17 January at Windsor, Henrietta Maria confirmed that her husband was still thinking of sending her and their eldest daughter to the Dutch via Portsmouth. After all, Princess Mary was the bride of young William of Orange so the purpose of delivering her to her husband was legitimate, even if the real reason for the journey would be to raise men and arms for Charles. Heenvliet counseled against such precipitous flight, but action by the pro-Parliamentary Deputy Lieutenant of Surrey, Sir Richard Onslow, helped to diminish the possibility of using Portsmouth. He rallied the county trained bands for Parliament's service, took over the local arsenal at Kingston despite an effort by supporters of the king to hold it, and stationed his men at Farnham to watch the Portsmouth road.[5]

While the king and queen were attempting to formulate some plan of action, Parliament set out to consolidate its power. On 17 January the House of Commons informed the House of Lords that they had set up a committee at Grocers Hall "to consider the safety of the Kingdom and of maintaining the privileges of Parliament." In

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addition, the committee would provide "a large power to proceed in the affairs of Ireland."[6] Despite the open rift in English politics, the Irish rebellion still demanded immediate attention. One of the voices from Ireland urging action was that of the Earl of Cork. To gain a hearing, he had sent his letters to Lord Goring who in turn presented them to both Houses on 24 January. In one letter, dated 12 January from Youghal, Cork reported that most of the natives of Munster were in rebellion, and that if he did not receive men, money, arms and provisions, the whole province might be lost. Lord Goring also presented a letter from Cork's son Roger, Baron Broghill, who was holding Lismore with only about one hundred men, and who also pleaded for speedy supply from England to avoid being "buried alive."[7]

On the same day that these dramatic pleas were read, the Commons assented to a letter drawn up by the Grocers Hall committee to be sent by Speaker Lenthall to Colonel Goring concerning the fortifications at Portsmouth. In response, in a letter dated 30 January and read in the Commons on 4 February, George Goring expressed his gratitude to the House for vindicating his honor (a reference to the proceedings of the previous year) and pledged both his life and estate in the service of Parliament. This letter of devotion was next passed on to the House of Lords, and that same day both Houses requested that Colonel Goring come to London to attend Parliament.[8]

Considering that the king had issued no call to action as yet, and that Parliament was so vigilant as to Portsmouth, Goring had little choice but to continue to pretend support for Parliament. Even Charles was trying to negotiate with those now in power in London, or at least give the appearance of negotiating, by offering proposals, delivered to the Commons on 20 January, to discuss the extent of his authority. The king hoped to win adherents to his cause by appearing to work for a peaceful settlement while he was buying time to send his wife and daughter to safety abroad. On 7 February, he announced that the queen would accompany Princess Mary to her husband at the Hague, but the port of departure would be Dover, not the strategic naval base of Portsmouth. Also on 7 February, the House of Lords gave Lord Goring leave to attend the queen on her journey to Holland.[9]

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The royal couple and their daughter arrived at Dover on 16 February, where they were greeted by Prince Rupert, who had just come over from the Hague to serve his uncle. Rupert, captured in 1638 while fighting in his brother Charles Louis's cause in Germany, had spent three years in captivity in Austria; he had only recently been released by the emperor on the condition that the prince would not take up arms in the continental wars again. Charles had urged Rupert to accept the terms and had summoned him to England. However, it was now decided that the prince would accompany Henrietta Maria and Mary back to Holland.[10]

Secretary Nicholas ordered Admiral Pennington to have ships ready to transport the queen who would sail on 23 February. The official story was that the queen would be away from ten to fourteen days, so her hastily assembled party was limited in number. The only other peer besides Lord Goring was the Earl of Arundel, and the ranking ladies in attendance were the Duchess of Richmond (Buckingham's daughter Mary) and the Countess of Denbigh (Buckingham's sister Susan).[11]

In the rough crossing the baggage ship sprang a leak and sank, so that much of the clothing was lost, and Lord Goring reportedly also lost money. Henrietta Maria, who safely carried with her both the crown jewels and her personal jewels, was enthusiastically greeted at the Hague by the Prince of Orange, her new relation by marriage. But the Dutch States-General, more sympathetic to the Parliamentary reformers, hoped the English queen would soon return home. That, however, was not to be the case, for Henrietta Maria and Lord Goring soon embarked upon their real mission, to raise money, men and arms for her husband by pawning the jewels.[12] The king, by entrusting this mission to Lord Goring, clearly had total confidence in the senior Goring's unwavering loyalty--and financial acumen.

On the other hand, Lord Goring's undertaking might have made his son's openly avowed loyalty to Parliament seem suspect once again, but George would manage to convince Parliament of his devotion throughout the coming months of increasing tension, as those who were openly loyal to the king found themselves in a minority in London. Sir John Byron, the royalist governor of the Tower of London, was dismissed by the

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Commons that February and replaced by Sir John Conyers, [13] an appointment which can be seen as a reward for Conyers' steadfast service with the army the previous year. If George Goring had declared his true inclination at this point, he undoubtedly would have found himself unemployed like Byron. Better to remain silent and bide one's time.

Even as his father prepared to sail with the queen, George was responding to the summons to appear in Parliament. A debate began on 18 February in the Commons about putting "fit" commanders in the country's fortresses and about paying arrears to the present commanders. The largest amount was earmarked for Colonel Goring at Portsmouth, some £2,050; Sir Jacob Astley at Plymouth was owed £1,022; with the total bill of arrears amounting to a £13,736 13s. 7d. The Commons also continued discussion on a revenue bill to raise £400,000.[14]

On 24 February the Speaker exhibited letters from Portsmouth reporting that words had been heard against Mr. Pym. Was this the reason George had been summoned to London again? It is not clear from the diary reports who the speaker or speakers of these politically incorrect remarks were reputed to be. There were even some rumors that Goring "in the seasons of his good fellowship," meaning when drinking, "used to utter threats against the Parliament, and sharp censures of their proceedings."[15] However, when George did intervene in the House proceedings on 26 February, he moved for the payment of the Portsmouth garrison, a topic still under debate.[16] Perhaps George Goring had been brought to London for three reasons: to remove him from temptation in case the king had tried to enter Portsmouth; to answer about the anti-Parliament sentiments being whispered in his jurisdiction; and to report on the financial situation of his garrison. In the end, his presentation was sufficiently reasonable to leave him in his command.

Nor was Goring the only one who was playing a double-game in this period. John Culpeper, Viscount Falkland, and Sir Edward Hyde--MPs who had initially supported reform but split with Pym over the Grand Remonstrance (see Chapter 6)--continued to sit in the Commons, but reported the proceedings to the king and drafted replies for him. Ironically, Hyde, later Earl of Clarendon, Goring's greatest post-war critic, was involved in the same type of deception of which he would accuse George. Hyde, trained as a

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lawyer, strongly believed in the common law, and although he would serve the king as a political adviser throughout the first civil war, he would have little in common with the military men like Goring and Prince Rupert. In that spring of 1642, Hyde and his two friends were looked upon with growing suspicion in Parliament, so that Hyde began to withdraw from the proceedings in March and would join the king at York in May, while Culpeper and Falkland would continue to attend the Commons intermittently until June.[17]

In early March, King Charles finally let Parliament know that he would not assent to their Militia Bill which would have denied him command of the army being raised for Ireland. As a royalist pamphlet explained, the king could "not divest himself of the just power which God and the laws of this Kingdom have placed in him for the defense of his people."[18] There followed a period of lively public debate, with each side--king and Commons--trying to persuade the uncommitted by talking of peace, while planning for war. The growing number of news letters and pamphlets, emanating from London, spread this debate throughout the country, so that people other than the elite of the nation were being drawn into the political discourse. The fact that war did not come in January 1642, but only eight months later, might indicate that the Lords as well as most of the nation still thought a political compromise could be reached. Besides, England was not prepared militarily for internal conflict, for civil war had not been waged since the late fifteenth century.[19]

But as the two sides moved further apart, both began more serious preparations for an armed solution. Charles reached York on 19 March, in the hope that he would find loyal supporters in the north, but he had already made one major miscalculation. He had not seen to the navy, and on 15 March Parliament had given command to one of their supporters, Robert Rich, Earl of Warwick. With the navy under Parliament's control, the strategic importance of Portsmouth for the royalists would appear to have been further diminished. More importantly, Parliament's control of the seas would also be vital for bringing in supplies and for maintaining London's vital commercial life.[20]

And yet, Henrietta Maria reportedly supplied Governor Goring with £3,000 to continue to build up his fortifications on the land side of Portsmouth. Goring did have a

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direct line of contact to the queen through his father, who was continuing to help raise funds on the royal jewels in the Netherlands. While the letters between father and son are lost, in other surviving correspondence, Lord Goring told of writing his son, at least on matters pertaining to George's regiment in the States' service. In fact, on 14 March the House of Lords granted Colonel Goring permission to entertain and transport sixty volunteers for his company in Holland, and Captain Goring (presumably George's younger brother Charles) was allowed to recruit forty men for Dutch service.[21]

Of course one reason why demilitarized England would be able to field two armies in 1642 was because of the number of Englishmen who had already learned the profession of soldiering in the wars abroad. Already this link was apparent, for among the commanders of the first English forces sent to Ireland at the end of 1641 and in early 1642 were officers who had served in George Goring's Dutch regiment: Sir Simon Harecourt, Goring's sergeant major at the siege of Breda, and George Monck, another Breda veteran.[22]

In turn, Harecourt's death in early 1642 resulted in a scramble at the Hague for his company. Young Edmund Verney, son of Sir Edmund Verney who would soon be the king's standard bearer at Nottingham, was trying to make a career for himself in Dutch service. But when Lord Goring had arrived at the Hague, he had been given a say in appointments in the English regiments, and he had not supported Edmund's initial bid for promotion. Young Verney believed that he was unjustly paying for the fact that his brother, Sir Ralph, an MP, was supporting Parliament and not the king. In April, when he heard of Harecourt's death, Edmund went directly to the Prince of Orange to ask for the deceased's company. When Lord Goring found out, he became angry since he should have been consulted first about his son's command. In the end, the senior Goring referred the matter to his son, and George indicated his choice, an officer named Vivian.[23] Despite his absence from his Dutch regiment, George Goring was still active in its administration, a factor which would help make him a good recruiter of men to return to serve in England. However, to serve whom?

Goring continued to behave outwardly as a supporter of the Commons, even

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though Parliament still had not paid the garrison arrears for Portsmouth. But on 24 March a proposal was made to make the payment from the £ 400,000 revenue bill, and on 19 April the Commons ordered that John Mansfield, the engineer for the new fortifications, be paid £60 for his past work. However, on 23 April, another letter was received by the Commons from Portsmouth, this time from the town's mayor, John Holt, who reported that a priest, supposedly a servant of the French ambassador, had christened a local woman's child, for which the town had imprisoned the priest.[24]

This bit of intelligence was destined to be overshadowed by actions taking place in the north, for on 23 April King Charles appeared before the walls of Hull, but was denied entry and access to the large arsenal within by the pro-Parliamentary governor, Sir John Hotham. This open confrontation made more people aware that a military solution was becoming inevitable, and thereafter the propaganda war took on a new intensity as each side tried to win adherents to its cause. The Commons debated long and hard to formulate an answer to the king's latest claims to be the defender of the law and the church, and as they framed their reply in the Parliamentary Declaration of 19 May, they saw fit to review George Goring's testimony of the previous year about the schemes to bring the army to London.[25]

King Charles remained in Yorkshire, trying to build up loyalist forces, so reported various pro-Parliamentary gentlemen, including Lord Fernandino Fairfax in a letter to Speaker Lenthall, dated 24 May. Goring was back in the Commons at this time, and on 27 May he asked for and received approval to have ten pieces of ordnance returned to Portsmouth which had been removed to London for servicing. Such a request would have seemed reasonable and timely as the situation with the king deteriorated and amid continuing fears of invasion from abroad. As one pamphlet calling for improved coastal defenses warned: "The days are now dangerous, and full of mischiefs infinite."[26] By approving the return of Portsmouth's ordinance, the Commons demonstrated their continued belief in Colonel Goring's loyalty to their cause.

Parliament was now ready to issue an ultimatum to King Charles, in the form of Nineteen Propositions sent by both Houses to the king at York on 1 June 1642. Couched

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in the appropriate terms of deference, his majesty's "most humble and faithful subjects . . . in all humility and sincerity" asked that "these their humble desires and propositions" be accepted by the king as the most "effectual means . . . of removing those jealousies and differences which have unhappily fallen" between the king and his people.[27] Following this preamble, the "humble" Parliamentary petitioners basically asked for control of the government of England!

Among the demands, Parliament wanted approval of privy councilors and ministers of state both at home and abroad; approval of all marriages of the king's children; strict enforcement of anti-Catholic laws; the removal of Catholic peers from the House of Lords; a reformation of church government and liturgy; the king's acceptance of the Militia Bill; approval of all commanders of forts and castles within the country; the king's dismissal of all military forces now attending him; and a more pro-Protestant, anti-Catholic foreign policy. Once King Charles granted these requests, Parliament promised to reward him with unprecedented revenues and "cheerfully" to do all possible to guarantee the king's "royal honor, greatness and safety."[28]

The king's initial response was to step up his recruiting activities by holding an open air meeting with the local gentry and freeholders of Yorkshire on Heyworth Moor on 3 June. Parliament responded by issuing an ordinance on 9 June asking the public to bring in money and plate to aid the commonwealth since the king, "seduced by wicked counsel," intended to make war on Parliament. Charles, in turn, issued Commissions of Array, whereby he called on leading citizens in the counties and in the important cities for armed support. Although this was a rather archaic device which had last been used in the Middle Ages, the Commissions served their purpose in the given situation. Charles was trying to get the county militias to declare for him and to collect men and arms. Besides this public call for support, there was also behind-the-scenes activity taking place to build up the king's forces. In fact, the commissioning of colonels who would raise regiments with private money was the primary method used to create a royalist army. And a core of pro-royalist officers already existed: those involved in the 1641 Army Plot.[29]

Charles did try to regain control of the navy in late June by ordering Warwick off

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his flagship and ordering Pennington to take command, but the former, supported by the sailors, stood fast while the latter procrastinated, so that on 1 July Parliament officially reconfirmed the Earl of Warwick as commander of the English fleet. Next, on 9 July, the House of Commons voted to raise an army of 10,000 volunteers. On 11 July Parliament said that a state of war existed and the following day named Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, Captain General and Chief Commander of the Army. On 15 July he was given the power to raise and levy forces, and authority over all forts and castles in the kingdom.[30]

Edward Montagu, Lord Mandeville, was commissioned lieutenant general of horse in Parliament's army, and George Goring was appointed his major general. But Goring was back at Portsmouth in July, and sent word to London that he was too busy with readying his fortifications to assume his new command as yet. Mandeville in turn asked Essex to leave Goring in place for the time being, since no immediate action was foreseen. Additionally, on 23 July the Commons ordered that nine officers, including Colonel Goring, be paid their arrears "for their service in the late Northern Expedition," as certified by Sir William Uvedale. The money was to come out of the £400,000 revenue bill. The Commons even ordered that £110 from Colonel Goring's arrears be paid to Captain George Lisle according to Goring's assignment,[31] which was probably repayment of money borrowed or a possible gambling debt.

Therefore, in late July 1642, the leaders of Parliament had full confidence that George Goring held Portsmouth for them and was ready to serve their cause in their army. On 2 August Parliament passed a declaration of their reasons for taking up arms. Both Houses, believing the country was in "imminent danger . . . by reason of a malignant party prevailing with His Majesty," found themselves "engaged in a necessity to take up arms" to defend state and church. Those evil councilors in the past, after causing a breach with the Scots, "endeavored to turn the English Army against the Parliament. This was discovered; the chief actors fled, and the danger avoided."[32] The Army Plot was again serving the cause of those against whom it had been directed more than the cause of those who had formulated it.

Parliament was not making war; it was being forced to defend itself, the

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declaration argued: "War, which is so furiously driven on against us, by a malignant party of Papists, those who call themselves Cavaliers, and other ill-affected persons." In conclusion, the people of England were exhorted to join Parliament in the defense of the kingdom and of religion, "this being the true cause for which we raise an army, under the command of the Earl of Essex, with whom, in this quarrel, we will live and die."[33]

As Parliament's war drums were reaching a crescendo, Colonel Goring was again called to take up his post in the army. This time Mandeville demanded his presence to which Goring replied that he could not leave Portsmouth, which he held, "for the King alone and not for King and Parliament; for the King alone, against Parliament."[34] How had George Goring come to make this open stance?

The Siege of Portsmouth

On 2 August 1642, the same day Parliament was declaring its reasons for resorting to arms, several coaches arrived at Portsmouth in the early afternoon. Governor Goring sent for John Biggs, who was working on the new fortifications, to bring him the keys to the stores. In the presence of a royal messenger, Goring showed Biggs three documents signed by the king, which, according to Biggs, included the following order to the governor:

> You shall take the charge of the Maria pinnace into your hands, and shall keep the town of Portsmouth and abide there and not depart thence for any command whatsoever, and you shall obey us in all our legal commands, and whosoever will not submit hereunto you shall put them out of the town.[35]

Goring, after taking the keys, asked John Biggs if he would obey the king's legal commands. Biggs replied in the affirmative but with some hesitation which caused the governor to press the matter further. Thus prompted, Biggs questioned who would judge if commands were legal or not, to which Goring replied that "a man's own conscience must be judge." While he did not feel himself capable of judging the legality of the king's commands, John Biggs said he would believe Parliament's judgment on such matters. For that answer, Biggs was forced to leave Portsmouth with his entire family, but without

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receiving payment for his building services or for his garrison duty.[36]

That same afternoon, Governor Goring ordered all soldiers and civilians who could bear arms to assemble on the Bowling Alley. He informed his listeners that their duty was "to maintain his Majesty's right in this place against any that shall dare to the contrary. . . ." The governor then told those assembled to remember the king's goodness and bounty: "For our bread and drink and all that we have is derived and cometh from him, and in his happiness and welfare, our lives, liberties, and fortunes do consist."[37]

To illustrate this point, Goring reported that the king had sent money for the garrison (but so had Parliament which he failed to mention), which he would shortly be distributing to those who would "subscribe to some words and conditions in writing . . . testifying your religious, honest, faithful, and ready intention to serve his Majesty in this business."[38] What happened next is open to question. According to Goring's own later account, "only three or four" disagreed with his actions.[39] But the pro-Parliamentary witnesses reported that while some soldiers shouted approval of the governor's speech, others were discontented and "a great distraction was suddenly in the town."[40] The Parliamentary version of events would prove to be more accurate, as subsequent events would bear out.

While many were surprised by Goring's stance, his ultimate intentions had been known to the king. The only question had been a matter of timing: when would Goring openly declare his loyalty to King Charles? According to fellow royalist Sir Richard Bulstrode, who would serve under Goring in 1644-45, George, "by his great dexterity," had persuaded the king that he would redeem himself by some "signal service" after having revealed the Army Plot. Although George's declaration had been prematurely forced when Parliament called him up for military service, Bulstrode judged that "the king received a considerable reputation, that so important a place as Portsmouth, with so considerable an officer as Colonel Goring, had declared for him."[41]

Sir Edward Hyde concurred that King Charles was pleased, but not surprised, when Goring made his public avowal of loyalty. And Parliament's chronicler, John Rushworth, confirmed that Goring held two royal commissions, one dated early June and

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the other from July (probably the one shown to John Biggs), authorizing the governor to hold Portsmouth according to the king's sole directions and to raise a regiment of foot and three hundred horse, and "giving him power to fight with all and stay all such as should oppose him."[42]

Goring's defiance of Parliament was one of a growing number of skirmishes beginning to take place in England as a prelude to formal war. Yet, quite understandably, there were those who still hoped for a negotiated settlement. Even while reporting the news of Goring's stance, one commentator, Stephen Carlton, could add that "but for all this we are in good hopes for pacification before they come to blows."[43] Parliament, however, did not receive the news of Goring's defiance with such equanimity. On 4 August John Pym was sent by the Commons to the Lords to report on information he had received that morning: "[T]he Governor of Portsmouth hath declared himself against the Parliament, and hath given an oath to the garrison in it; but those that refused it, he hath thrust them out, and he hath taken Papists into the fort, with provisions."[44]

Pym also indicated that in order to regain Portsmouth, the Commons wanted the strategic Isle of Wight to be placed under the command of the Earl of Pembroke. The present governor, Jerome Weston, Earl of Portland, was deemed unsuitable because his wife was Catholic and his brother was within Portsmouth. Portland, present during these proceedings, rose to declare his loyalty, then left the House. In turn, the Lords decided that the sheriff of London should temporarily confine Portland, "for the security of his person" and not as a delinquent, at least until Pembroke secured the Isle of Wight, a task for which funds would be provided.[45]

It is interesting to note the rather businesslike tone recorded in the Parliamentary journals in this initial reaction to the news from Portsmouth. Perhaps Pym did not want to dwell on the fact that Goring had duped him on more than one occasion. But the royalist Bulstrode in his account pointed out that George, "so perfect a master in that art of deceiving," had indeed fooled the House of Commons more than once, "where were many persons not easily to be deceived."[46] In private correspondence, the writers' own political loyalties colored their views of Goring's stance. For example, the Catholic courtier Sir

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Kenelm Digby, on the same day of Goring's declaration, rushed the good news to the king's camp that Portsmouth was secure. But on 5 August the Earl of Newburgh, still sitting with Parliament, candidly reported to the Earl of Bath that George's championing of the king's cause "is very much resented here."[47]

Perhaps Parliament was just acting smartly; there would be time enough to publically vilify Goring. The most important task at hand was to retake Portsmouth, and the rapidity of Parliament's response made George Goring's defense of his post more difficult. Who could he count on to help defend and supply his command? Although there was some conjecture in London that the king and his newly recruited northern forces might come south, in actuality there was little hope of reinforcements coming from that distance. Goring himself was not looking to the king for any immediate relief, but instead was planning to rally the nearby counties of Southampton, Hampshire, Somerset and his native Sussex to the royalist cause. In the hopes of being supplied troops, he sent out copies of the two commissions he had received from the king. In some instances, as in the case of Chichester, Goring did appeal to other royalist sympathizers. But there was a split in the city between the pro-Parliamentary merchants and the royalist magnates and churchmen, with the western Sussex gentry finding themselves facing a difficult choice. Once again, Parliament acted quickly by having its agents seize the local magazine, so that Goring would receive only limited assistance from that quarter.[48]

In addition, neighboring Southampton county was against Goring's cause, while the people of Hampshire "are stark wild at Colonel Goring and swear they will cut his throat or else lose their lives, as is reported." Apparently what particularly bothered the citizens of Hampshire, and others, was not just the fact that George had sworn undying allegiance to Parliament, but that he had waited to receive £3,000 from Parliament for his garrison and fortifications, "and so soon as he had got the money he was absolutely for the king."[49] The Isle of Wight was another possible source of supplies for Portsmouth, but Parliament's quick action in placing their supporter, the Earl of Pembroke, in charge of the island and its militia secured the Isle "from foreign forces as from home-bred designs."[50] On 6 August, all provisions from the Isle of Wight to Portsmouth were stopped.[51]

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Colonel Goring's hopes of rallying royalist sympathizers to his cause seemed to be fast fading. He had three hundred men in his garrison, and about two hundred locals from the town and surrounding area of Portsea Island who were able to bear arms. The officers and their servants numbered fifty, and there were also about fifty cavalrymen. The food supply was extremely low, and, within two days of the declaration, Portsmouth was partially blockaded on the landside, while the Parliamentary-controlled navy under the Earl of Warwick would begin patrolling the surrounding waters on 8 August.[52]

But Parliament was not intending to slowly starve out Goring and his garrison. An initial force consisting of about five hundred horse was hastily assembled under the Earl of Bedford to proceed against Portsmouth. But even Parliament was not well-prepared at this juncture for military action. Recruiting had to be stepped up, and, according to one of the London commentators, Sir John Danvers, officers were in such short supply that many Scots were being called upon to assist the Parliamentary commanders.[53]

As military preparations for the counteroffensive were being undertaken, Parliament quickly initiated its propaganda assault on George Goring. On 5 August, the day following Pym's report to the Lords, the first pamphlet was published in London, authorized by Parliament's clerk, John Brown, and entitled *An Exact Relation showing How the Governor of Portsmouth Castle delivered it up in the name of the King to the Malignant Party.* This was a rather brief but dramatic account which warned: "[O]ur safety is built on castles in the air when the castles of our kingdom are surprised. . . ." Portsmouth was being held for the king and was "stuffed with flocking Papists, emptied of true-hearted Protestants, [for] they who stood for King and Parliament were unhoused and upon command spewed out; [those] who leaned to the King solely were embraced."[54]

The next day, 6 August, a much more detailed version of events appeared in *A True Relation of the several passages and proceedings of Colonel Goring at Portsmouth and how he is revolted from Parliament, who imposed that trust in him, and keeps it for the King.* Supposedly Goring had used Parliament's money--and not the king's--to pay only those loyal to the royalist cause, and he had gathered over "500 Papists and others that are ill-affected to the Parliament" to assist him in his defense. But the public was

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advised of Parliament's quick military response in deploying land and sea forces. Warwick and his fleet had been ordered to blockade Portsmouth and to guard the Channel from possible invasion from France or Spain, while Essex had been ordered "to kill and slay" all who opposed him and to apprehend Colonel Goring "as guilty of high treason."[55]

This pamphlet also contained news on the king's recruiting activities and concluded with a subscription list of those who would provide him with cavalry, at a per diem of 2s. 6d. per man, for a period of three months. Among Goring's friends joining the royalist cause were the Earls of Newport and Newcastle who subscribed to fifty men each. The king reportedly received pledges totaling 4,284 men at York on 4 August.[56] Evidently this piece of appended intelligence was intended to add even more urgency to Parliament's cause: the king and his cavaliers were getting ready to swoop down from the north; "Papists" had already gained a foothold in the south, while "foreign" forces were lurking off shore.

A letter from the Earl of Warwick, read in the House of Lords on 8 August, underscored this theme of danger from abroad. Warwick reported that he had intercepted a ship coming from Amsterdam in the Downs on which he had discovered three hundred barrels of powder, two brass guns, as well as cases of swords and rapier blades. He concluded that they were destined for the "Papists" in England. The supplies actually had been sent by Henrietta Maria and were supposed to have been landed in the north, at Newcastle, so that they were not directly intended for Colonel Goring. But Warwick in his letter reminded his fellow peers that Goring's example could be copied at other strategic locations, particularly at Deal and Dover: "[I]f they should man them as Portsmouth now is, we shall not be able to get ballast or water here." Warwick's warning was heeded to prevent a royalist takeover at Dover. At the same time, the royalist governor of Plymouth, Sir Jacob Astley, chose not to copy Goring's actions, but rather left his command to join the king in the north.[57] The king had made no formal declaration of war as yet, but Parliament had already begun to consolidate its hold along the strategic south coast of the country.

Nor was the king prepared to take immediate action at that time. Instead, Charles,

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from his court at York on 9 August, issued a proclamation "for suppressing the present rebellion," in which he explained that he had not consented to the army being raised by Parliament to take "our town of Portsmouth, a port of great import." Essex was the traitor, but the king would pardon anyone who had been misled by the earl, "to preserve the peace of this kingdom (if it be possible) and to avoid the shedding of blood, we abhorring the name of a civil war. . . ." The king concluded by calling on the commissions of array, the lord lieutenants and sheriffs to resist Parliament's summons, and he appealed specifically to the counties of Southampton, Sussex and Surrey to aid Colonel Goring in the defense of Portsmouth. The Marquis of Hertford, a staunch royalist despite the fact that he was Essex's brother-in-law, was commissioned to raise forces in those areas to come to Goring's assistance.[58]

The king's messenger managed to reach Portsmouth on 11 August with this proclamation, which according to Goring and his officers, heartened those under siege. But moral support alone was insufficient to maintain the royalists' cause. Even though most of the soldiers and civilians initially had chosen to stand with the governor, a great exodus soon began when the promised reinforcements and supplies did not materialize; within ten days about half the town had fled.[59] It is important to note that this version of events was given by Goring and his officers at the time of their surrender, explaining why they were compelled to give up their command.

Apparently some of those fleeing Portsmouth carried their version of events to London, so that the public was treated to frequent "news flashes" on developments. *Horrible News from Portsmouth, declaring how Colonel Goring hath abused the inhabitants of the said town that stand for Parliament* was the banner headline on 12 August,[60] to be followed the next day by *True News from Portsmouth*, which included the account of Goring's speech of 2 August as given above. The latter also contained the testimony of a hackney coachman who had taken several gentlemen to Portsmouth, including Portland's brother, Nicholas Weston, who carried large sums of silver to the governor. The coachman reported "five to six hundred Papists" were in town, and claimed that he and the other accompanying coachmen, since they owned horses, had been

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offered commissions as officers.[61]

Some of this testimony was clearly suspect, such as various eye-witness accounts reporting the arrival at Portsmouth of 5,000 French troops or, alternatively, King Charles himself. Other pamphlets coming out of London that August took a more general mocking tone of the kings' followers, one ballad urging: "Courage brave Round-head, and do not fear/The swearing, roaring, whoring Cavalier."[62] But Parliament did use the ongoing situation at Portsmouth as a serious precautionary tale: all must be vigilant to discover further plots. In somber tones, the public was warned: "We are not yet safe but every day and hour doth beget new dangers, and doth strike the fearful and trembling subject with new horror and amazement. The bleeding heart of this Kingdom doth daily receive new wounds."[63]

These publications from the first weeks of August clearly focused on themes of betrayal and insidious Catholic plotting, both at home and abroad. The Caroline court had appeared to many as a hotbed of Catholic intrigue because of the influence of the queen and her courtiers. In turn, this influence had allowed Pym to use "anti-Popery" rhetoric to good effect throughout the crisis years of 1640-42. Now, in the case of Portsmouth, this form of rhetoric was being employed to paint the supporters of the king as domestic Catholics who were awaiting help from their co-religionists from abroad. In truth, Colonel Goring, his garrison and the townsmen who had joined him were mainly Protestants.[64]

One observer in London, however, did applaud Goring's stance, although not publically. The Venetian ambassador, Giovanni Giustinian, in his dispatches interpreted events from a pro-royalist point-of-view. He believed that the members of Parliament "are now trying to preserve the greatness of their present fortunes amid the public disturbances," and that "without any compunction, they declare war against the King and all those who embrace his party."[65]

In his dispatch of 12/22 August, Giustinian explained how Colonel Goring "has paid what was due to his birth by proofs of loyalty to his Majesty and has gone over openly to the royal party. . . ." After giving some details of the events up to that date,

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including the fact that Parliament was attempting to blockade Portsmouth by land and sea, the ambassador continued:

> The governor is an individual who, on every occasion, has given evidence of his spirit, and in addition to his valour he unites the quality of a perfect discipline. So in the general opinion, unless the loyalty and steadfastness of the garrison fail him, the efforts of the Parliament to compel him to surrender will prove vain.[66]

This soon proved to be an overly optimistic forecast as the military situation quickly turned against the defenders. George Goring, prior to his public declaration, had been building up the fortifications on the landward side of the island, where Portbridge was the sole link between Portsea Island (on which Portsmouth is located) and the mainland. (See figure 7.) The bridge, about three miles north of town, had been reinforced with strong timbers and a small earthen bulwark, with five guns providing further defense. By this means, Colonel Goring thought "to make himself wholly master of the said Island."[67]

While thus in control, Goring requisitioned--or "ransacked," depending on one's point-of-view--from the island residents their corn and bread, as well as cattle, sheep and pigs, "fat or lean," about 350 animals in total. The fattest cattle and sheep were butchered and salted; others were kept in the town, and the rest put back out to pasture beyond the town walls under the watch of musketeers. One Parliamentary ship did land on the east side of the island and managed to evacuate some women and children, as well as some livestock, to neighboring Hayling Island, under Parliamentary control.[68] In carrying out these actions against the civilian populace, Colonel Goring's main concern had to be provisioning his men for a prolonged siege.

But the governor's efforts were quickly undermined by a late night raid by sea. Two longboats, launched from the Parliamentary ships in the Channel, managed to reach the pinnace Maria, tied up under the walls of Portsmouth. The raiders surprised and overpowered the royalist defenders and safely sailed the Maria away, thus gaining not only another ship but also the eight pieces of ordnance on board. With this loss, George Goring repositioned his guns from Portbridge back into the town. One gun carriage broke

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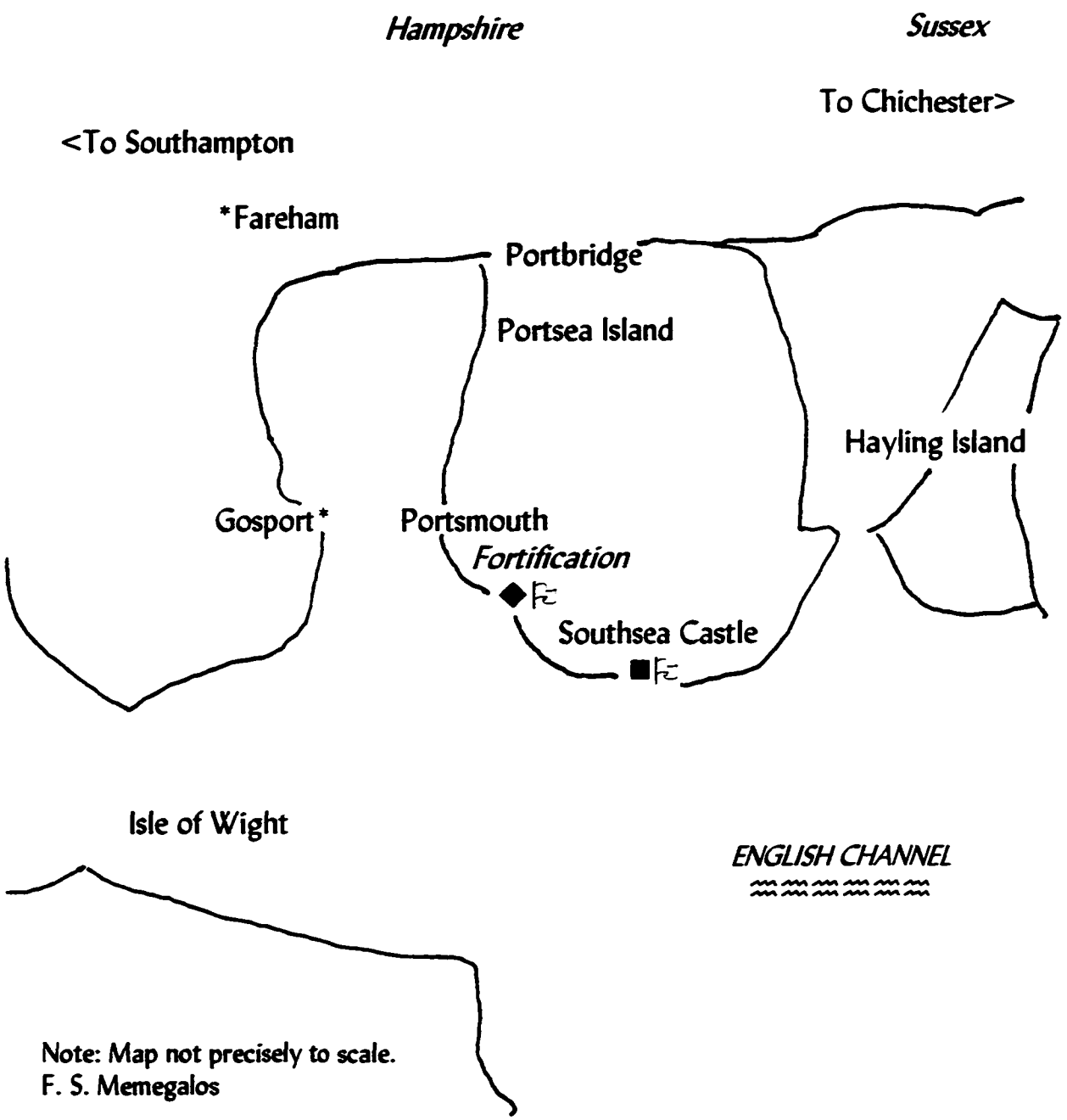
Figure 7. The Siege of Portsmouth, August-September 1642



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down about one half mile outside the gates, and a guard was left to protect it. But without the ordinance at Portbridge, the dozen or so troopers left on guard with just pistols and carbines could not hold back the Parliamentary besiegers, commanded by Sir William Waller, who captured the bridge on the night of 12 August.[69]

The island and its grain were lost to the royalists who were now forced back into the town walls, although not before retrieving the one gun on the broken carriage. Skirmishing continued over the next several days, at times for possession of the grazing cattle, with Portsmouth's ordinance keeping the Parliamentary troops back. Also, several sallies were mounted from the town, sometimes led by Colonel Goring himself. In the end, "some combat, and many blows, but no great hurt done," as an anonymous Parliamentary officer reported.[70]

Some of the Parliamentary-sanctioned accounts of these events of 10-12 August chose to emphasize the sensational: "But that which is worse, (and not to be spoken without blushing), seven Cavaliers lay with one woman maid at once in open view, and one trooper lay with a man's wife before his face, while his fellow trooper had his pistol at the husband's breast, in case of resistance." Such actions did little to advance the king's cause, the news sheet warned.[71] Another pamphlet likened the actions of some of the royalists to those of the rebels in Ireland who reportedly were committing atrocities. One lurid story circulating concerned a pregnant woman who had been given a pass to leave Portsmouth. She allegedly had been stopped by a soldier who wanted her to stay in case they ran out of food "then that in her belly would eat as sweet as a young suckling pig."[72]

How much discipline Colonel Goring enforced or was concerned about in the deteriorating situation is hard to judge. Clearly, his main concern was provisioning his men, and he was ready to react harshly when his plans were foiled at this critical juncture. The royalists of Fareham had dispatched 135 quarters of wheat to his command, but the shipment was intercepted at Gosport, which lies directly across from Portsmouth. "The Colonel was so vexed at it, that he would in all haste have shot Gosport with his ordinance (for it is within reach)," but the entreaties of those in Portsmouth, "beseeching him upon their knees to spare it for the women and children's sake," persuaded Goring against such

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an action.[73] Another version had Goring commanding his cannoneer to shoot at the civilian houses of Gosport. "The cannoneer at first refused, but being threatened by the Colonel, that he would run him through if he would not, he shot, but it was over the houses and so did no harm."[74] While these stories might have been somewhat embellished, it is true that Goring, like others who had fought in the continental wars (and Prince Rupert was to be another prime example), would resort to "total warfare" to achieve military victory which often seemed excessively brutal to civilian friends and foes alike. The question of how much force was required to bring about a negotiated settlement would be debated by both sides throughout the war.

The Parliamentarians, by their quick actions, in less than two weeks had Goring and his men "trapped in the walls of Portsmouth."[75] In this instance, the royalist commanders concurred with their adversaries' evaluation: "[W]e were absolutely blocked up by sea and land."[76] The blockade also allowed the besiegers to intercept the letters sent out by Goring urgently requesting assistance. The Marquis of Hertford had been gathering horse and foot for a relief effort, scheduled for 18 August, but the messages pertaining to this operation were among those intercepted. Parliament could then use the trained bands from Hampshire, Surrey and Sussex, as well as Sir John Merrick's regiment, to prevent the relief effort from taking place.[77] With the hopes of assistance failing, the royalist commanders "were forced not only to keep watch over those that were without, but those that were within the town."[78]

On the other hand, some Parliamentary reporters became overconfident in foreseeing the imminent collapse of the royalist cause. One forecast that the town walls would be scaled within the week following the capture of Portbridge proved to be premature. But the exodus from Portsmouth continued, with some of the refugees joining the Parliamentary forces and some reporting that only 200 soldiers remained in the garrison, half of whom would flee if given the chance.[79]

While the accuracy of these assessments was open to question, one story brought out was demonstrably false. "[T]here is some suspicion (not altogether improbable) that my Lord Goring is there; however, his soul is there we may be assured."[80] In August,

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1642 the senior Goring was still in the Netherlands, helping Henrietta Maria on her mission for her husband.[81] But the father's royalism had never been in question; obviously, he had influenced his son's decision, the argument ran. This type of thinking helped to absolve the leaders of the Commons from their error in judgment: Colonel Goring would have remained loyal to their cause but for his father's pernicious influence, was the implied assumption.

On 16 August the House of Commons resolved "that Colonel Goring shall be disabled for serving any longer as a member of this house, in respect of the business of Portsmouth." At the same time, Goring's co-conspirator, Nicholas Weston, was disabled from the House, for his "ill service to the Parliament" with respect to Portsmouth and the Isle of Wight. Warrants were issued for new writs for elections to fill both seats.[82] A week later the Commons would also remember to cancel their authorization of 23 July to pay Goring his arrears for the last northern campaign; the House ordered that the collectors of the £400,000 revenue bill in Southampton "shall not pay any monies designed to Colonel Goring by former orders, notwithstanding any former order."[83] So ended George Goring's brief, but not uneventful Parliamentary career.

Ambassador Giustinian, in his dispatch of 19/29 August, reevaluated Goring's position now that the blockade of Portsmouth had been completed. He chose not to listen to Parliament's boasting that an end to the siege was imminent, and instead was waiting for further news:

> as men of good judgment cannot persuade themselves that a well trained and trusted commander like Colonel Goring would, at the expense of his reputation, allow the enemy to push forward to such an extent with such scanty forces unless perchance he has changed his mind and is once more estranged from his Majesty, as this people is want to do frequently, among whom the most dependable quality is the absence of faith.[84]

The ambassador also reported that King Charles, forced by Parliament's irreconcilable position, would have to "appeal to the sword" to ensure his own safety. The king would raise his standard at Nottingham on 22 August. His forces in York were estimated at 6,000 horse and 20,000 foot, but the observant Venetian thought these

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numbers to be overestimated, particularly the infantry count, because many of the common people were Puritans and would not support the king, he reasoned.[85]

King Charles did make his public declaration on 22 August, asking his subjects for assistance, but to a very small audience, huddled in the pouring rain. Rupert, accompanied by his brother Maurice, one year his junior, had returned to England, landing at Tynemouth in July, and both princes were with their uncle at Nottingham. Rupert was made lieutenant general of horse, answerable only to the king, and not to the appointed commander of the army, Robert Bertie, Earl of Lindsey. The other ranking commanders were both men who had little liking for fellow royalist George Goring: Sir Jacob Astley was made sergeant major general of foot, and Henry Wilmot became commissary general of horse. As Ambassador Giustinian correctly guessed, the king's forces numbered far less than the figures rumored in London. In fact, two weeks after his declaration, Charles had gathered just 2,000 horse and 1,200 foot.[86]

The royalists defending Portsmouth, therefore, still had little hope of any relief coming from the king. At the same time, the Parliamentary forces at Gosport had begun constructing platforms for batteries which would have the range to fire on the town. Local royalist supporters in Sussex then drew up a plan calling for a feint from the direction of Chichester to allow Goring and his soldiers to escape, but the letters containing this proposal were intercepted so that the besiegers were able to forestall any such action. As one Parliamentary observer smugly noted thereafter: "The Colonel remains our fast friend, without any hope of deliverance."[87]

George Goring's assessment of the situation was the same, for on 28 August he called for a parley. He sent out his second-in-command, Sir Thomas Wentworth, a distant relation of the late Strafford and a veteran of the Bishops' Wars, plus the royal tax-collector from Chichester, a lawyer named Lukener. They, in turn, invited the Parliamentary representatives Sir William Lewis and Sir William Waller to come into town to speak with Governor Goring, who according to John Rushworth, entertained his guests "nobly."[88] This was probably not just an exercise in conspicuous consumption, but rather an attempt by the defenders to present themselves in the best possible light. If Goring and

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his officers could entertain their adversaries lavishly, they might persuade the Parliamentarians that the garrison was not in a desperate situation, and so hope to obtain better terms.

There followed a lengthy conference on the terms of surrender, at which Goring did indeed claim that he could still hold the town. But, out of concern for the condition of Portsmouth and to prevent further bloodshed, George said he was willing to negotiate a surrender. He asked that he first be allowed to send to the king to ascertain if relief were coming. But the Parliamentary commissioners, who believed Goring was acting more out of his concern for self-preservation than for the purported welfare of the local citizens, insisted that their army immediately be allowed into town, which was unacceptable to the defenders. In the end, no terms were reached and hostilities recommenced.[89]

That same day the Parliamentary guns at Gosport opened fire, forcing the royalists to try to build trenches to protect themselves, with the governor joining in the work. That night, Goring sent out a raiding party to try to bring in some provisions, but the commander of the operation was slain, three royalist horsemen were wounded, two captured, and the remainder retreated back into town without accomplishing their objective. In addition, a relief ship trying to run the blockade to bring grain to Portsmouth was captured by the Earl of Warwick. The royalists' greatest need remained grain and salt.[90]

By Friday, 2 September, the Parliamentary batteries at Gosport were causing havoc in the town of Portsmouth. The situation rapidly deteriorated, for on the following night, a surprise attack led by Parliament's Colonel Norton easily captured Southsea Castle and turned its guns on the town. Caught in this crossfire, both soldiers and townsmen refused to fight any longer. The officers of the garrison had Sir Thomas Wentworth send Nicholas Weston to ask Colonel Goring for a council of war. At the council it was estimated that at most sixty men were available to fight, but these were mainly gentlemen and their servants who knew nothing of cannon or muskets. The council of war decided, "*nullo contracidente*," to send for a parley for "the most honorable condition we could get."[91]

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George Goring wrote to Sir William Waller on Sunday, 4 September, asking for negotiations, which began late Monday and concluded on Wednesday. Considering the dire straits the defending royalists were in, they still managed to obtain reasonable terms, primarily because George Goring threatened to blow up Portsmouth's two magazines, one located at each end of town.. As noted in Chapter 5, Goring had been stockpiling large amounts of powder, and, within the kingdom, his reserve was second only to that of the Tower of London. The Parliamentary commissioners took this threat seriously: if the royalists "had set them on fire, the whole town had been utterly spoiled, and not one person in the town could have been secured from destruction." The first article in the terms of surrender specified that on 7 September, at 6 a.m., Parliament would put two companies of foot into the town of Portsmouth to prevent disorders and to preserve the magazines.[92]

The official transfer of the town took place at 9 a.m. on 8 September, when Governor Goring delivered Portsmouth to the Parliamentary commissioners, who then brought in a full regiment of foot and three troops of horse. The royalist troops were allowed to leave with horses, swords and pistols, and any townsmen who wanted to depart would be allowed to take their goods, but no arms. No one in the town was to be molested, and the departing royalists agreed to leave behind no mines or booby traps. After surrendering his command and sending notice to the king, George Goring sailed for the Continent within the week. As his parting shot, he promised to return by year's end, and he took the key to the town and threw it into the English Channel.[93]

The Parliamentary commissioners, thanking God for this deliverance, rushed the news about the end of the siege and the articles of surrender to the Lord General in London, as did the Parliamentary field commander, Sir William Waller. Essex then presented this information to the House of Lords on 8 September, while in the Commons it was reported that Sir William Lewis was the new governor of Portsmouth. John Pym was to send him and his men a letter thanking them for their service.[94] On the following day Ambassador Giustinian wrote in his dispatches "that Colonel Goring, governor of Portsmouth, having lost heart about holding the fortress any longer," had handed it over

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to Parliament on condition that he would be allowed to leave the country. Always hopeful for better tidings, the Venetian added that he was waiting for more certain news.[95]

That news appeared in London on 15 September in a pamphlet entitled *A Declaration of all the Passages at the taking of Portsmouth; Showing the reasons why it was surrendered up to the Committee of both Houses of Parliament; Together with a true copy of the Articles agreed upon between the Committee and Colonel Goring*. The declaration had been drawn up in Portsmouth on 6 September and was signed by thirty royalist officers, the last two names being Thomas Wentworth and George Goring. The major difference between this royalist version of events and the various reports previously published by Parliament was that Goring and his officers placed primary blame for the surrender on the blockade which had kept out supplies and reinforcements, which in turn had disheartened the defenders. Nowhere did they mention their actions with regard to the local citizens nor how these actions might have exacerbated the situation in town.[96]

How did the two sides view the siege of Portsmouth? As illustrated from the various Parliamentary-sanctioned pamphlets, the royalists reportedly had been willing to wreak havoc on the lives and property of ordinary citizens in their pursuit of victory. Parliament had used this episode to rally the public to its cause by portraying the supporters of the king--particularly Colonel Goring--as being perfidious, immoral, and ready to perpetrate outrages against a peaceful civilian population. The cavaliers also were purported to be Catholic or Catholic sympathizers who were willing to call in Catholic assistance from abroad.[97]

Some of his fellow royalists did not have a much better opinion of George Goring. Sir Edward Hyde believed that Goring had treacherously planned to hold out only as long as was necessary to guarantee his safe passage abroad, and that he spent his money on "good fellowship and at play . . . the temptation of either of which vices he never could resist." Hyde also thought that Goring had surrendered so quickly because Portsmouth was no longer central to the king's plans; George, whose "ambition was always the first deity he sacrificed to," would have come to feel that Portsmouth was no longer worth his efforts. Hyde then dismissed George Goring from history: "And it were to be wished that

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there might be no more occasion to mention him hereafter."[98]

It is instructive to compare other royalists' comments on these events. Sir Edward Nicholas, the king's secretary and a former colleague of Goring's on the war council, was with the king's forces when they finally left Nottingham in the week following the surrender of Portsmouth. Nicholas's only comment was that he was sorry to hear that Portsmouth was rendered.[99] Furthermore, as Sir Richard Bulstrode pointed out, Goring, besides getting good terms of surrender, sailed away with everyone's money--Parliament's and the queen's.[100] George would use that money not for his own "vices," but rather to assist his father and Henrietta Maria in recruiting troops and procuring weapons for the royalist cause.

How, then, do we judge the siege of Portsmouth? It had the feel about it of improvisation which characterized much of what King Charles had done in 1642. No one could be sure ahead of time how the local populace or the surrounding counties would react. Even if some sympathized with the royalist cause, would they take action? Many still hoped that civil war could be avoided, or at least that they could remain neutral. Moreover, the navy was already firmly under Parliament's control, so that from the very outset the defense of Portsmouth would be difficult to maintain. Nevertheless, Goring's stand did serve to divert Parliament's military attention away from the king who still was working to build up his forces in the north. Even though Goring had not managed to maintain a royalist safe-haven in the south, he did create a temporary diversion whereby King Charles had more time to gather an army and go on the march.

Linked to this question of military competence is the larger question of George Goring's loyalty and motivation. Why men chose to join one side or the other in the first civil war has long been examined by historians. Religion was an important factor for some, with Puritans supporting Parliament, and Anglicans (as well as Catholics), the king. Cities and towns, with their large Puritan element, were controlled by pro-Parliamentary factions. But within each county there could be found adherents of both causes, and ties of family, friends and tenancy could determine how the English people chose sides, just as social standing, education, and economic outlook could be determining factors. In

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general, the north, mid-west, Wales, and Cornwall were primarily royalist; the south, London, East Anglia, and parts of the midlands, Parliamentarian. But added to this patchwork of loyalties it must be remembered that many hoped to avoid actively participating or taking sides, and only when forced to choose, did so.[101]

Against these general criteria, there remains the question of how did George Goring in particular choose his cause. In the summer of 1642, he had been offered high command in Parliament's army, but instead, at great risk, Goring had decided to serve the king. After he was unable to hold Portsmouth any longer, he negotiated his own freedom to leave England, but he would choose to return to rejoin the royalists. By such actions, he chose to hazard his life and estate in the king's cause, although his reward would be great if the king proved triumphant, which is perhaps the key to Goring's royalism. His father and his father's court patrons, Carlisle and Buckingham, had all advanced through the monarchs' great generosity. This was George Goring's life experience. On the day he made his open declaration for the king, he had said: "For our bread and drink and all that we have is derived, and cometh from him, and in his happiness and welfare, our lives, liberties and fortunes do consist."[102] Although this statement was for public consumption and made to persuade his listeners, these sentiments, which would be echoed in his father's private correspondence during the war, appear to be the credo by which the Gorings would act in the coming years of civil war.

The War Begins

On 2 September 1642, as the siege of Portsmouth was drawing to its close, Parliament reminded the people of England that their country was being threatened by a "cloud of blood by a civil war." Therefore, in those solemn times, all public stage plays, "too commonly expressing lascivious mirth and levity," were prohibited. The people were advised that they would better spend their time in fasting and prayer.[103]

While such an order was part of the psychological build-up towards all-out war, the first military movement to try to check the king did not come until the following week.

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On 9 September, one day after the formal surrender of Portsmouth, the Earl of Essex finally left London to join Parliament's newly raised troops camped at Northampton. But by the time the Parliamentary forces began their march northwards on 14 September, King Charles had left Nottingham, moving west via Derby, accompanied by five hundred horse, five regiments of foot, and twelve pieces of artillery. The king continued westward, recruiting in the Marches and Lancashire, while, at the same time, the Earl of Newcastle was raising a royalist army of the north in Northumberland and Durham, and the veteran Sir Ralph Hopton was helping to gather forces loyal to the king in the west.[104] (See figure 8.)

George Goring would fight in all three theaters of operations between 1643 and 1645, but he remained abroad during the initial campaigns of 1642. Nevertheless, a brief review of this opening phase is essential, for many of the patterns and problems of the coming years appeared from the very start of the war. In the first skirmish between the king's men and Essex's forces, a royalist party under Sir John Byron, erstwhile governor of the Tower of London, found itself unable to hold Worcester and was withdrawing northward. On 23 September Prince Rupert and his cavalry, located south of the town at Powick Bridge, were covering Byron's retreat when a large party of enemy horse spotted them. Rupert used the terrain to his advantage and attacked at a full gallop which caught his numerically superior opponents by surprise and sent many of the raw Parliamentary recruits fleeing for miles. Even though the royalists still had to abandon Worcester, the great psychological triumph went to Rupert and his cavalry. Rupert, who later would be George Goring's commanding officer, at Powick Bridge began to build his reputation of superiority and invincibility which would last until Marston Moor in 1644.[105]

However, the first major battle in the war did not take place until 23 October 1642, at Edgehill, northwest of Banbury. Two problems which would plague the royalists throughout the war emerged at the time of this initial encounter: the chain-of-command structure (or lack thereof) and the follow-through tactics of the cavalry. Since George Goring in the later stages of the war would become involved in similar situations, it would be instructive to review the origin of these problems, both of which revolved

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Figure 8. England during the Civil Wars

Source:

Austin Woolrych, *Battles of the English Civil War: Marston Moor, Naseby, Preston.*

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around Prince Rupert.

As noted earlier, the prince had been given independent command of the king's cavalry, leaving the nominal army commander-in-chief, the elderly Earl of Lindsey, responsible only for the infantry. The king's recruiting had gone well in September and October, and his horse and foot rendezvoused on 18 October at Meriden Heath to begin the march towards London. Even then the precise route of the march was disputed between Rupert and Lindsey, with the king deciding to follow his nephew's advice. Rupert then chose the ridge known as Edgehill to make a stand against Essex's advancing Parliamentary army, but how to draw up the king's forces brought on a renewed argument between the two principal commanders. Rupert--never known for his tact, a quality which would make him enemies among the king's advisers--managed to so enrage Lindsey that the earl quit his command on the spot and instead chose to fight as a colonel at the head of a regiment. Sir Jacob Astley, a longtime acquaintance and mentor of Rupert's, was hastily given field command of the infantry.[106]

The basic formation of the battle lines, which would remain the same throughout the war, had the cavalry on the left and right wings, with the senior commander on the right. At Edgehill that meant Rupert was on the right and Henry Wilmot, his second-in-command, on the left. In the center were the infantry units, pikemen in the center, musketeers on the flanks. Dragoons were mounted infantry who dismounted to fight. In theory, the opposing cavalry units would charge one another, and after a successful charge, the cavalry would then turn and attack the flanks of the enemy infantry. One of Rupert's innovations, acquired from Gustavus Adolphus's Swedish army, was that instead of having his cavalrymen draw rein to fire at the enemy, as was past practice, he had his troopers, riding in close formation, charge with drawn swords at full gallop for the shock effect.[107]

The two armies that met at Edgehill were similar in size, somewhat over 14,000 men per side, with the royalists having numerical superiority in the cavalry, the Parliamentarians in infantry. After a preliminary artillery exchange, Rupert led a sweeping charge which immediately smashed the Parliamentary left wing. But instead of wheeling

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around to attack the infantry, Rupert's troopers, followed by his second line, pursued the defeated enemy horse for over a mile and looted part of the Parliamentary baggage train, which meant that they were absent from the battlefield for about one hour. Wilmot, on the royalist left, was successful in his charge, and he and his men, also followed by his second line, set off in hot pursuit of the defeated enemy horse across country. But Wilmot had not swept the entire opposing right wing before him, so that two Parliamentary cavalry regiments remained on the field and joined their infantry's advance against the royalist center. Only the eventual return of the royalist cavalry saved the king's cause, as the two armies then disengaged, with neither side truly being able to claim victory (although both did).[108] Despite the initial superiority of the royalist cavalry, the problem of disciplined control of the troops after a successful charge would continue to plague the king's forces.

As for the question of the command structure, part of the problem was resolved when the Earl of Lindsey died in battle. The new commander of the king's main army was Patrick Ruthven, recently created the Earl of Forth, a Scot who had long served with the Swedish army, had been a trusted companion to Gustavus Adolphus, and, most importantly, could get along with Rupert who continued to have independent command of the cavalry. But the prince's advice did not always prevail with King Charles. The aftermath to Edgehill was a case in point. Rupert, seeing that the Parliamentary army had retreated leaving the road to London open, proposed to form a flying column of 3,000 men to take the capital at once. Most of the king's advisers counseled against such a move. They argued that the king's army was in no shape for further immediate action, plus an assault on London would end any hope of a negotiated settlement. There was also some concern that the prince, bred in continental war practices, might burn and loot the English capital. Instead, the king chose first to take possession of Oxford, the college town which would remain his headquarters throughout the war. On 29 October, Charles, accompanied by his eldest sons, Charles and James, and his nephews, Rupert and Maurice, entered Oxford.[109]

But London, of course, had to be the ultimate goal. So in November the royalists began marching south, although the delay in their advance after their advantage at Edgehill

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allowed Essex to use a more circuitous route to reach London ahead of them. Rupert with the royalist vanguard on 12 November captured Brentford on the outskirts of London; even though the plundering his men did was mild by continental standards, it was sufficient to galvanize the capital into action, for, as one eye-witness reported, the Londoners "were in a very great fear and amazement."[110] On the following day, about 24,000 supporters of Parliament--soldiers, trained bands and civilians--rendezvoused at Turnham Green, to the west of London. The king, his forces tired and outnumbered about two-to-one, decided not to attack. Essex also chose not to force a fight, despite his numerical superiority, because he could not predict how his many "Sunday soldiers" would act under fire. In the end, no battle was fought, the royalist army withdrew, and London remained under Parliament's control. By the end of November King Charles, Prince Rupert and their army had drawn into winter quarters at Oxford.[111]

Any hope for a quick resolution--by either side--had ended. King and Parliament now had to concentrate on building up their war chests, recruiting men, and obtaining supplies to fight a prolonged war. With Parliament controlling London and the richer south and east of the country, the king looked abroad for assistance. Henrietta Maria had been championing her husband's cause at the Hague, assisted by the Gorings, father and son.

Return to the North of England

As part of the terms he had negotiated for the surrender of Portsmouth, George Goring was allowed to arrange shipping for himself to go abroad. He sailed to France, then made his way through the Spanish Netherlands where he reportedly recruited some 5-600 men from the English serving in the Spanish army. He would eventually make his way to the North Netherlands to join his father and the queen in their attempts to gain additional support for King Charles's cause.[112]

In the meantime, Henrietta Maria, assisted by Lord Goring, had achieved mixed results in her efforts on her husband's behalf among the Dutch. Frederick Henry, Prince

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of Orange, had greatly increased his family's international prestige by marrying his son and heir to the daughter of the king and queen of England; therefore, he actively supported the Stuarts' cause. But the prince was not the sovereign power in the Dutch republic; the States-General was the governing body, and the merchant oligarches who dominated this body had more sympathy for Parliament's religious reform policy than for King Charles's cause or for Charles's Catholic wife. The Dutch also feared that support of the royalists might trigger an unwanted naval war against the Parliamentary-controlled English navy. In the end, the States-General declared an official policy of neutrality towards the English conflict in 1642.[113]

Frederick Henry, who had earned much prestige at home over the years for his military victories against the Spanish Netherlands, risked his popularity by continuing to champion the Stuarts, even after the official declaration of neutrality. He was still captain general of the Dutch forces and admiral of Holland, so he helped the royalists by providing arms, lending ships, and giving officers and men leaves-of-absence from his command to go to England to fight for King Charles. In fact, the king's army was in much greater need for equipment, arms and ammunition, since Parliament controlled the major arsenals of the Tower, Hull, and after September 1642, Portsmouth. The other great need was for veteran officers to train and lead the new recruits.[114]

George Goring was still a regimental commander in the Dutch army where he would be able to recruit men for the king's service. But even before he reached the North Netherlands, by late September the queen had managed to put together a fleet of fourteen ships, carrying 250 soldiers and nine officers. However, the States-General intervened to stop a great store of arms and ammunition from being sent across the Channel, while the English navy captured several vessels in transit.[115]

On 29 September, young Edmund Verney, stationed at Breda, wrote his brother that, despite his run-in with Lord Goring earlier in the year, he had written him again to ask for his recommendation for a promotion. Verney was also awaiting George Goring's arrival, with the hope that he would put in a good word for him with the Prince of Orange, which meant that George was not yet within Dutch territory. Young Verney did not offer

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the Gorings money for this undertaking, but instead had promised that he and his father would do a return favor. A week later Verney angrily reported that he had again been passed over for promotion. (More unfortunately, his father, Sir Edmund, acting as King Charles's standard-bearer, would soon die in battle at Edgehill).[116]

George Goring arrived at the Hague sometime in October, when the queen was already making plans to return to England herself, accompanied by English, Scottish and Dutch officers. On 29 October, Henrietta Maria informed her husband that "Goring, the son, wanted to come to you, but I have stayed him for . . . Newcastle['s] army."[117] The queen's plan to return to the north of England where the Earl of Newcastle was gathering royalist forces was communicated directly to John Pym by Walter Strickland. Strickland had been sent to the Hague as Parliament's representative, despite the fact that Sir William Boswell had been the official English ambassador for the past fifteen years. While the Prince of Orange refused to receive Strickland, the diplomat worked diligently in Parliament's cause. On 31 October he updated Pym that the queen hoped to leave about mid-November. While she awaited further news from England, she was still trying to pawn jewels to buy supplies, with the Prince of Orange assisting her in these efforts. Strickland, aware that Colonel Goring was planning to return to England, also passed this intelligence onto John Pym.[118]

On 3 November Strickland informed Pym that Henrietta Maria had put off her departure date until 20 November, for she was still awaiting better information on the situation in England. He further advised how both Gorings were forwarding the queen's plans. Lord Goring had recently returned from Amsterdam where he had negotiated the purchase of 5-6,000 muskets, to be paid for from part of the proceeds of pawning or selling the queen's jewels. Although the magistrates of Rotterdam had offered to loan £15,000 on ten pendant pearls, Strickland noted that the remaining jewels, offered at Amsterdam at £100,000, were likely to bring in less than half their value. Lord Goring and Henry Jermyn were charged with carrying out these transactions.[119]

Walter Strickland also had complained to the States General about George Goring being allowed to return to England. George and several other officers including Sir

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Francis Mackworth and Captain Wyndham were preparing to leave soon, but Strickland judged that all the best soldiers there were in favor of Parliament.[120] While such an evaluation undoubtedly contained a certain bias, what did emerge from Strickland's reports was that the two George Gorings were each doing what they did best: the senior dealing with financial and business matters, the younger seeing to the military requirements.

The major reason Henrietta Maria continued to delay her departure at this time was due to the situation developing in the north of England, where she was scheduled to land. The Earl of Newcastle, moving into Yorkshire, was now facing armed Parliamentary opposition organized by Lord Fernandino Fairfax, ably assisted by his son, Sir Thomas. The elder Fairfax had been made general of Parliament's forces in Yorkshire at the end of September, and by 21 October he reported to London that he had five hundred horse in the field. The Parliamentary leadership was so happy with these glad tidings, they promised that "nothing shall be wanting on our part to second your Lordship's endeavors in this cause . . . ."[121]

So Henrietta Maria, packed to leave by the first week of November, continued to wait impatiently instead, expecting more positive news from the Earl of Newcastle. The Dutch had given her eight ships for her journey, but she wanted more. Walter Strickland was working to limit her resources, but he complained to Pym in a letter dated 9 November that the States-General moved too slowly on his requests. He was trying to obtain an order to block the shipping of royalist recruits from Dutch ports, and he reiterated that Colonel Goring was among the principal recruiters for the king's army.[122]

By the end of the month, the royalists began shipping out men and supplies to England, despite Strickland's frantic efforts to stop them. The Parliamentary envoy explained to Pym on 28 November that he had complained to both the States-General and the States of Holland, for 2-300 more men and officers, including Colonel Goring, were scheduled to sail the next day. In addition, twenty pieces of ordinance, powder and ammunition were being shipped from Amsterdam, as arranged by Lord Goring. Even Strickland's personal appeals to leading members of the States-General had not stopped

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the departure of the ships as yet. Moreover, he had to defend his own actions, for Lord Goring had accused him of sending arms to Parliament. The anguished envoy then demanded that Pym complain about his treatment, or he would leave his posting.[123]

Henrietta Maria, in a letter dated 28 November/8 December, confirmed Strickland's intelligence when she told her husband: "I have sent a good recruit of men to Lord Newcastle, Colonel Goring with fifteen officers and many commons soldiers." The queen was sorry she was not yet able to sail herself. The constant flow of negative rumors was becoming tedious, she added.

> They have here made you dead, and [Prince] Charles a prisoner. . . . As to Prince Rupert, there are men here who have seen and touched his dead body, and that of Prince Maurice. For battles, there is not a day in the week in which you do not lose one. Such are the pastimes of this country and their tidings.[124]

The queen had identified a phenomenon that would occur throughout the civil wars: the spread of unsubstantiated stories and rumors--sometimes intentional, sometimes not.

Against this background of intrigues, the royalists made haste to slip away, leaving from Amsterdam. Parliament, forewarned of this movement of men and supplies to the north, called upon all their supporters with ships to try to stop the royalist flotilla. In fact, the Earl of Warwick with three naval vessels did intercept seven ships trying to reach the port of Newcastle. George Goring was the ranking royalist officer, according to the Parliamentary account of the battle which took place at some unspecified location off the English coast in early December. According to the report published on 8 December, the Parliamentary ships had opened fired "at Colonel Goring and his Cavaliers, which made them tremble at the noise of the cannon, that they thought to have betook themselves to flight." In the four-hour battle, the cavaliers reportedly lost several ships with heavy loss of life, while Parliament's navy suffered only minimal damage. "The great and bloody battle" was a resounding Parliamentary victory.[125]

Despite this failed first effort, Colonel Goring did reach England on 21 December, arriving at Newcastle with two ships out of Amsterdam, bringing men, money and munitions for the king's war effort. Gerolamo Agostini, the Venetian Secretary to England, reported this information in his dispatch of 23 December; he also noted that poor

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weather had been keeping the English navy from patrolling the northern coastal waters, which had probably given George Goring the opportunity to safely return home.[126]

Goring had been away from England for just a little over three months. In that interim, he had joined his father in the activities centered on supporting the queen's efforts. Even a hostile observer like Walter Strickland vouched for George's energetic recruiting activities, while the queen of England herself attested to Goring's eagerness to return to the king's service. Then, despite the dangers of the crossing, George Goring had returned to England to join in the struggle taking place in the north. The year 1642 had brought civil war to a country that had been at peace for over 150 years. Men had been forced to take sides--often reluctantly--as king and Parliament each demanded total loyalty. George Goring, despite his outward adherence to Parliament's cause in the first half of the year, by his actions from August 1642 on, firmly entrenched himself among the ranks of committed royalists.

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1. C. V. Wedgwood, *The King's War, 1641-1647* (London: William Collins & Co. Ltd, 1958; Collins, The Fontana Library, 1966), 45-50; Russell, *Monarchies*, 439-44.

2. Rushworth, *Collections*, III, 1:477-78; Carlton, *Charles I*, 234-35; Wedgwood, *King's War*, 51-55.

3. Rushworth, *Collections*, III, 1:478, 484; *CSPD 1641-43*, 1:251, 254; Carlton, *Charles I*, 235-36; Wedgwood, *King's War*, 56-57; Russell, *Monarchies*, 450-51.

4. *CSPD 1641-43*, 1:251, 254; Willson H. Coates, et. al., eds., *The Private Journals of the Long Parliament, 3 January to 5 March 1642* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), 1:44, 50, 59; *Verney Papers*, 143-144.

5. Wedgwood, *King's War*, 59-60; Kenyon, *Civil Wars*, 28. Johan van der Kerckhove, Baron van Heenvliet, was a close adviser to Frederick Henry who had carried out the marriage negotiations for Princess Mary; see Geyl, *Netherlands in the Seventeenth Century*, 101; Carlton, *Charles I*, 223.

6. *Commons Journal*, 2:385.

7. Ibid., 2:392; *Lords Journal*, 4:529; Coates, *Private Journals*, 1:148-49; W. Sussex R. O., Wiston MS. 5973.

8. *Commons Journal*, 2:392, 411; Coates, *Private Journals*, 1:270, 276.

9. *Lords Journal*, 4:567; *CSPD 1641-43*, 1:267; Russell, *Monarchies*, 459, 464-65; Carlton, *Charles I*, 239.

10. Rushworth, *Collections*, III, 1: 484; Patrick Morrah, *Prince Rupert of the Rhine* (London: Constable, 1976), 49, 52-53, 58-60, 65-67.

11. *CSPD 1641-43*, 1:281-82, 284, 287-88; Bone, *Henrietta Maria*, 141; Carlton, *Charles I*, 239.

12. *CSPD 1641-43*, 1:294; *CSPD 1655*, 60; *Verney Memoirs*, 188-189; Mary Anne Everett Green, *Letters of Queen Henrietta Maria, including her Private Correspondence with Charles the First* (London: Richard Bentley, 1857), 50-52; Bone, *Henrietta Maria*, 141, 144. Because of this dispersion of her jewels, we know of Henrietta Maria's jewelry today primarily from drawings and portraits; see Diana Scarisbrick, "For Richer for Poorer," *Country Life*, 4 October 1990, 136-39.

13. *CSPD 1641-43*, 1:281.

14. Coates, *Private Journals*, 1:410-415.

15. Clarendon, *History*, 2:270-71.

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16. Coates, *Private Journals*, 1:448, 455, 472.

17. Fletcher, *Outbreak of Civil War*, 234; R. W. Harris, *Clarendon and the English Revolution* (Stamford, CA.: Stanford University Press, 1983), 23, 88, 94; Richard Ollard, *Clarendon and his Friends* (New York:: Atheneum, Macmillan Publishing Company, 1988), 93. Edward Hyde was born in 1609, attended Oxford, then the Inns of Court. His family benefitted from Buckingham's patronage, and Hyde himself married the daughter of Buckingham's secretary. He was a close friend of Lucius Cary, Viscount Falkland, and belonged to his Great Tew philosophical circle which believed in humanism and tolerance. See Harris, *Clarendon*, 1-23, *passim*.

18. TT E. 136 (3), *A Message from both Houses of Parliament unto His Majesty* (Printed by Robert Barker, printer to the King, 1642), 10; Rushworth, *Collections*, III, 1:484; Carlton, *Charles I*, 239-40.

19. Richard Cust, "News and Politics in Early Seventeenth-Century England," in Richard Cust and Ann Hughes, eds., *The English Civil War*, Arnold Readers in History (London: Arnold, Hodder Headline Group, 1997), 254-55; Dagmar Freist, *Governed by Opinion: Politics, Religion and the Dynamics of Communication in Stuart London, 1637-1645*, International Library of Historical Studies, Tauris Academic Studies (London: I. B. Tauris Publishers, 1997), 21, 178; Aylmer, *Rebellion or Revolution?*, 35; Kenyon, *Civil Wars*, 28-30; Russell, *Monarchies*, 454-55.

20. Rushworth, *Collections*, III, 1:484; Kenyon, *Civil Wars*, 28; Wedgwood, *King's War*, 107; Ronald Hutton, *The Royalist War Effort, 1642-1646*, (London: Longman, 1982), 3; Bernard Capp, "Naval Operations," in Kenyon and Ohlmeyer, *Military History*, 157-59.

21. *Lords Journal*, 4:643; Bulstrode, *Memoirs*, 69; Clarendon, *History*, 2:270-71; *HMC*, vol. 6, 7th rpt., Pt. I, Verney Papers, 438-39. The queen and Lord Goring were experiencing difficulties in pawning the larger, crown jewels, since the local merchants questioned Henrietta Maria's right to sell them. But she did have money to send back to England by mid-March. See Green, *Henrietta Maria*, 57, 63-4.

22. Kenyon, *Civil Wars*, 26-27; Hexham, *Breda*, 10.

23. *Verney Memoirs*, 188-191; *HMC*, vol. 6, 7th rpt., pt. I, Verney Papers, 438-439; Lord Goring wrote Sir Edmund Verney on 17 May 1642 from the Hague to explain his version of what had occurred.

24. Vernon F. Snow and Anne Steele Young, eds., *The Private Journals of the Long Parliament, 7 March to 1 June 1642* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), 2:78, 189, 210.

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25. *Lords Journal*, 5:65; Snow, *Private Journals*, 2:318-19; Russell, *Monarchies*, 500-501, 504-505; Kenyon, *Civil Wars*, 30; Charles Carlton, *Going to the Wars: The Experience of the British Civil Wars* (London: Routledge, 1992), 39; Hutton, *Royalist War Effort*, 4-5.

26. *CSPD 1641-43*, 2:330; Snow, *Private Journals*, 2:379, 379 fn. 21; TT E. 137 (20), *England's Safety in the Navy and Fortifications* (John Bull, 1642), 7-8. See also TT E. 141 (3), *Express Commands from both . . . Houses* (21 March 1642), 3-4, about improving coastal fortifications in Southampton County, the Isle of Wight, Dorset and Somerset, with one hundred armed men and ten pieces of ordinance each, but with the proviso that no captain could be a Roman Catholic.

27. Prall, *Puritan Revolution*, Nineteen Propositions, 75-76.

28. Ibid., 76-80.

29. *CSPD 1641-43*, 2:336-38; *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642-1660*, ed. and coll. C. H. Firth and R. S. Rait (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1911), 1:6-7; Hutton, *Royalist War Effort*, 5-7, 22-23; P. R. Newman, *The Old Service: Royalist Regimental Colonels and the Civil War, 1642-46* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993), 4, 24; Carlton, *Charles I*, 242-43; Ian Gentles, "The Civil Wars in England," in Kenyon and Ohlmeyer, *Military History*, 103-4.

30. *Interregnum*, 1:12, 14-15; Carlton, *Charles I*, 243; Russell, *Monarchies*, 517; Capp, "Naval Operations," in Kenyon and Ohlmeyer, *Military History*, 160; Kenyon, *Civil Wars*, 32-33. Essex, who had been publically disgraced by the divorce proceedings against him sponsored by King James in 1613 (see Chapter 1), had fought intermittently in the continental wars. He was wealthy, well-liked by the London mob and by his officers and soldiers, and a rather taciturn man. John Kenyon labels him "one of those men who are famous for being famous; for what they are, not what they do."

31. Bulstrode, *Memoirs*, 70; *Commons Journal*, 2:688.

32. *Lords Journal*, 5:257-58.

33. Ibid., 259.

34. TT E. 118 (22), *A True Relation of the Passages which happened at the Town of Portsmouth at the Late Siege* (London, 21 September 1642), 1; Clarendon, *History*, 2:282; Carlton, *Going to the Wars*, 44; John Adair, *Roundhead General: The Campaigns of Sir William Waller* (Phoenix Mill, Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing Limited, 1997), 31.

35. *CSPD 1644*, 179-80; Biggs presented this information in May 1644 to Parliamentary commissioners appointed to take general accounts of the kingdom. He denied having had

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anything to do with payment of the Portsmouth garrison, but rather had been involved with the new fortifications and also building the King's House.

36. Ibid., 180.

37. TT E. 112 (1), *True News from Portsmouth* (London, 1642; no pagination); also, E. 110 (14), *Exceeding Joyful news from Dover* (London, 1642), 5.

38. TT E. 112 (1).

39. TT E. 117 (10), *A Declaration of all the Passages at the taking of Portsmouth* (London, 1642), 4.

40. TT E. 112 (1).

41. Bulstrode, *Memoirs*, 69-70.

42. Rushworth, *Collections*, III, 1:683; Clarendon, *History*, 2:282-83.

43. Quoted in Carlton, *Going to the Wars*, 40; Kenyon, *Civil Wars*, 34.

44. *Lords Journal*, 5:261; *Commons Journal*, 2:702.

45. *Lords Journal*, 5:261-62.

46. Bulstrode, *Memoirs*, 70.

47. *HMC*, vol. 3, 4th rpt., app., Earl de la Warr MS., 295.

48. *CSPD 1641-43, 2:366;* Rushworth, *Collections*, III, 1:683; TT E. 112 (12), *More later and truer News* (16 August 1642), 1-2; Charles Thomas-Stanford, *Sussex in the Great Civil War and Interregnum, 1642-1660* (London: Chiswick Press, 1910), 39-40; Fletcher, *Sussex*, 258.

49. *HMC*, vol. 4, 5th rpt., I, Sutherland MS., 161; *CSPD 1641-43*, 2:366; Rushworth, *Collections*, III, 1:683.

50. *Lords Journal*, 5:281.

51. TT E. 117 (10), 4.

52. Ibid., 3; Rushworth, *Collections*, III, 1:683; *Lords Journal*, 5:261.

53. *CSPD 1641-43*, 2:367-9; *CSPVen 1642-43*, 122-23, Giustinian, 22 August 1642, [N. S.].

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54. TT E. 109 (13), 5.

55. TT E. 110 (7), 1-4.

56. Ibid., 5-6.

57. Warwick's letter in *Lords Journal*, 5:270; *HMC*, vol. 4, 5th rpt., I, Sutherland MS., 161-62; TT E. 110 (14), *Exceedingly Joyful News from Dover* (London, 12 August 1642), 1.

58. King Charles's proclamation in Rushworth, *Collections*, III, 1:769-70; Kenyon, *Civil Wars*, 257. Both Houses were reportedly in "great amazement" that the king had condemned Essex as a traitor, and renewed their support of him as their captain general on 11 August, the same day Sir Edward Hyde, openly with the king, was disabled from the Commons. See TT E. 112 (12), *More later and truer News, 3-4.*

59. TT E. 117 (10), 4.

60. TT E. 110 (14), 1.

61. TT E. 112 (1); another pamphlet appeared on 13 August, *The King's resolution concerning Portsmouth and Colonel Goring,* which said the quick action of the "gentry and commonality" of Hampshire had prevented the king from sending troops to Goring; see TT E. 112 (2), 3-5.

62. TT E. 109 (21), *A New Discovery of a Design of the French* (London, 6 August 1642), 5-6; the anonymous author predicted that the French troops would be defeated in England, like another Agincourt: "May they die wretched, neglected and forgotten." Also, TT E. 111 (12), *The Resolution of Devonshire . . . with a letter from Portsmouth* (London, 13 August 1642), 2, described King Charles's supposed arrival, at which "the Governor humbled himself, and surrendered his charge." TT E. 109 (7), *A Description of the Round-head and the Rattle-head* (London, 14 April 1642), 1-2, also contains another poem entitled "Upon the Roaring Cavaliers." In a partially literate society, oral and literate culture overlapped, which accounted for the number of political commentaries published as ballads which could be recited aloud or sung. See Freist, *Governed by Opinion*, 19, 125-27, 147-48.

63. TT E 110 (8), *The Earl of Portland's Charge* (London, 1642), 1.

64. Hibbard, *Popish Plot*, 4-5, 101. The incident related above about the mayor of Portsmouth writing Parliament about a Catholic baptism would tend to support the thoroughly Protestant character of the town. See, Snow, *Private Journals*, 2:210.

65. *CSPVen 1642-43*, 122-23; Giustinian, 15 August 1642 [N. S.], in which the ambassador was referring to Parliament's declaration of 2 August.

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66. Ibid., 128, Giustinian, 22 August 1642 [N. S.].

67. TT E. 118 (22), 1-2; TT E. 112 (35), *The Copy of a Letter* (London, 1642), 3-4.

68. TT E. 118 (22), 2-3; TT E. 112 (35), 4; TT E. 112 (8), *A True Report of the Occurrences at Portsmouth* (London, 1642), 5, which reported that the royalists "pillaged" the people of Portsea of "1,000 beasts and 1,000 sheep," a rather high estimate compared to the other Parliamentary-sanctioned reports.

69. TT E. 118 (22), 3; TT E. 117 (10), 4; TT E. 112 (15), *Some Special and Considerable Passages* (16 August 1642), 8; Rushworth, *Collections*, III, 1:683.

70. TT E. 118 (22), 3-4.

71. TT E 112 (8), 5.

72. TT E 112 (35), 6-7. A similar story of threats of eating children was told at the siege of Colchester, 1648, a siege at which the senior Goring would preside; see Chapter 14. The comparison to purported similar atrocities in Ireland was particularly important in arousing English public sentiment according to Alistair Bellany of Rutgers University. I thank Professor Bellany for his commentary, delivered at the Middle Atlantic Conference of British Studies, New York, 4 April 1998, at which I presented a paper based on this chapter entitled: "'Every Day and Hour Doth Beget New Dangers': The Parliamentary Press and the Siege of Portsmouth, August-September 1642."

73. TT E 112 (8), 4-5.

74. TT E. 112 (34), 7.

75. TT E. 112 (8), 8; TT E 112 (35), 5.

76. TT E 117 (10), 4.

77. Rushworth, *Collections*, III, 1:683; TT E 112 (35), 7. On one occasion, the Parliamentary forces intercepted a woman coming from Portsmouth "with a puppet of clothes like a child in her arms." When searched, the bundle contained a smuggled box of letters. "She and her stillborn" were taken away for questioning. See TT E. 112 (34), 5.

78. TT E 117 (10), 5.

79. TT E 112 (35), 5, 7; TT E 112 (8), 5.

80. TT E 112 (8), 6.

81. Worp, *Huygens*, 21:329.

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82. *Commons Journal*, 2:722.

83. Ibid., 2:735; this order of 24 August pertained to the monies owed Goring for his service in the Second Bishops' War.

84. *CSPVen 1642–43*, 136, Giustinian, 29 August 1642 [N. S.].

85. Ibid., 134-35.

86. Rushworth, *Collections*, III, 1:783-84; TT E. 83 (31), *His Majesty's Resolution* (18 August 1642), 1; Morrah, *Rupert*, 68-71, 75; Kenyon, *Civil Wars*, 34-35; Carlton, *Charles I*, 244.

87. TT E 115 (9), *Joyful News from the Isle of Ely . . . Also the True Proceedings at Portsmouth* (London, 1642), 6; TT E 117 (10), 5.

88. Rushworth, *Collections*, III, 1:683-84; TT E. 118 (22), 7-8; W. H. Blaauw, "Passages of the Civil War in Sussex from 1642 to 1660 with Notices of Some of the Persons Concerned in it," *Sussex Archaeological Collections* (hereafter, *SAC)*, 1852, 5:33; DNB, 60:283-85.

89. Rushworth, *Collections*, III, 1:684; TT E. 115 (9), 4-5.

90. Rushworth, *Collections*, III, 1:684; TT E. 115 (9), 6; TT E. 118 (22), 8.

91. TT E. 117 (10), 6; Rushworth, *Collections*, III, 1:684; *HMC*, 10th Rpt., Part VI, Braye MS., 148; Thomas-Stanford, *Sussex*, 40.

92. TT E. 117 (10), 7; TT E. 118 (22), 11; Thomas-Stanford, *Sussex*, 40.

93. Rushworth, *Collections*, III, 1:684; TT E. 117 (10), 7-8; TT E. 118 (22), 11; Adair, *Waller*, 37.

94. *HMC*, 10th Rpt., pt. VI, Braye MS., 148; *Lords Journal*, 5:343; *Commons Journal*, 2:758.

95. *CSPVen 1642–43*, 155, Giustinian, 19 September 1642 [N. S.].

96. TT E. 117 (10), *passim*; a copy was among the Earl of Cork's papers and is published in *Lismore*, ser. 2, 5:107-110.

97. The sampling of pamphlets (Thomason Tracts) used in this section, written in a variety of styles and voices, tends to support some of the ideas of those who have challenged the revisionist theory of the civil wars. (See Chapter 6, fn. 1) Clearly Parliament was trying to make its case to people of different social backgrounds. The pamphlets could be somber, business-like, witty or lurid in their retelling of events, all of

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which would indicate that a varied readership existed in mid-seventeenth-century England and that an interest in politics existed not just among the elite but also among a much broader segment of the populace.

98. Clarendon, *History*, 2:314-15.

99. *CSPD 1641-43*, 2:389-90, Nicholas to Sir William Boswell, 15 September 1642.

100. Bulstrode, *Memoirs*, 70.

101. Kenyon, *Civil Wars*, 37-39; Carlton, *Going to the Wars*, 48-51; Aylmer, *Rebellion or Revolution?*, 34-37; Ivan Roots, *The Great Rebellion: 1642-1660* (London: B. T. Batsford Ltd., 1966), 62.

102. TT E. 112 (1); see opening of this section.

103. *Interregnum*, 1:26.

104. *CSPD 1641-43*, 2:389; Kenyon, *Civil Wars*, 36-7, 51-2; S. R. Gardiner, *History of the Great Civil War, 1642-1649* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1890; London: The Windrush Press reprint, 1987), 1:20-25.

105. Morrah, *Rupert*, 82; Kitson, *Rupert*, 88-90; Gardiner, *Great Civil War*, 1:29-31; Wedgwood, *King's War*, 115-16.

106. Bodl., Clarendon MS. 28, f. 130; this manuscript consists of Prince Rupert's Diary, from 5 September 1642 to 4 July 1646; Wedgwood, *King's War*, 127-28; Morrah, *Rupert*, 100; Kitson, *Rupert*, 33, 96-97; Gentles, "Civil Wars in England," in Kenyon and Ohlmeyer, *Military History*, 121.

107. Kenyon, *Civil Wars*, 53; Morrah, *Rupert*, 75-76.

108. Young and Emberton, *Cavalier Army*, 29; Gentles, "Civil Wars in England," in Kenyon and Ohlmeyer, *Military History*, 132-33; Wedgwood, *King's War*, 127; Kenyon, *Civil Wars*, 26-27.

109. Bodl., Clarendon MS., f. 130, Rupert Diary; Morrah, *Rupert*, 91; George Malcolm Thomson, *Warrior Prince: Prince Rupert of the Rhine* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1976), 55-56; Kenyon, *Civil Wars*, 45, 53; Young and Emberton, *Cavalier Army*, 50. The king's two youngest children, Elizabeth and Henry, remained in London, under Parliament's control; see Wedgwood, *King's War*, 132.

110. BL Add. MS. 27402, f. 86, Lord Ogle's Relation. William Ogle had recently returned from fighting in Ireland and had been coopted by Parliament to help in the defense of London, but he would slip away and join the king's camp (ff. 86-88). Just how

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much damage Rupert's men did is open to interpretation. They apparently did loot, taking drink, food and some valuables. But none of the local residents were killed or physically molested after the fight for the town had ended. See Wedgwood, *King's War*, 134; Kenyon, *Civil Wars*, 59; Carlton, *Charles I*, 251; Kitson, *Rupert*, 108-9. Harsher interpretations of Rupert's actions at Brentford are made by Gardiner, *Great Civil War*, 1:37, that the royalists "thoroughly sacked the town;" and by Austin Woolrych, *Battles of the English Civil War: Marston Moor, Naseby, Preston* (London: B. T. Batsford Ltd., 1961), 18, that Rupert's men "plundered the town ruthlessly and indiscriminately; the young German prince had been trained in a school of war which taught little respect for civilian property."

111. Bodl., Clarendon MS. 28, f. 131, Rupert Diary; Woolrych, *Battles*, 18-20.

112. Bulstrode, *Memoirs*, 70; *CSPVen 1642-43*, 155, Giustinian, 19 September 1642 [N. S.]; Rushworth, *Collections*, III, 1:684; TT E. 83 (33), *The Queen's Proceedings in Holland* (London, 30 December 1642), 3.

113. Morke, "Sovereignty and Authority," in Asch and Birke, *Princes*, 463; Geyl, *Netherlands in the Seventeenth Century*, 36-8.

114. Geyl, *Netherlands*, 138; Hutton, *Royalist War Effort*, 28-29; Young and Emberton, *Cavalier Army*, 31.

115. *HMC*, vol. 6, 7th Rpt., Pt. I, Verney Papers, 441; Gardiner, *Great Civil War*, 1:36-7.

116. *HMC*, vol. 6, 7th Rpt., Pt. I, Verney Papers, 441; Kenyon, *Civil Wars*, 57.

117. Green, *Letters of Henrietta Maria*, 142.

118. *HMC*, 10th Rpt., Pt. VI, Bouverie MS., 88-89; Geyl, *Netherlands*, 138; Wedgwood, *King's War*, 138.

119. *HMC*, 10th Rpt., Pt. VI, Bouverie MS, 89.

120. Ibid.

121. BL Add. MS 18979, f. 127, Northumberland, Warwick, *et al.*, to Lord Fairfax, 21 October 1642; *Lords Journal*, 5: 373-74. See Chapter 4 for the background on the Fairfaxes and their history of military service on the Continent.

122. Green, *Letters of Henrietta Maria*, 145; *HMC*, 10th Rpt., Pt. VI, Bouverie MS., 91.

123. *HMC*, 10th Rpt., Pt. VI, Bouverie MS., 93-4.

124. Green, *Letters of Henrietta Maria*, 146-47.

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125. TT E. 129 (16), *A most true Relation of the great and bloody Battle* (8 December 1642); Rushworth, *Collections*, III, 2:84, 89-90.

126. *CSPVen 1642–43*, 223, Agostini, 2 January 1643 [N. S.]; TT E. 83 (51), *A Remonstrance of the Present State of Yorkshire* (London, 2 January 1643), 6-7; according to this Parliamentary-sanctioned pamphlet, Colonel Goring brought with him 10,000 arms, twenty pieces of ordnance, and eighty veteran commanders. Henrietta Maria had only spoken of sending fifteen officers back with Goring.

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CHAPTER 8
VICTORY, DEFEAT AND IMPRISONMENT, JANUARY 1643--MARCH 1644

Upon his return to England, George Goring joined the Earl of Newcastle's army of the north. As lieutenant general of horse, he would lead the royalist cavalry against the Parliamentary forces in Yorkshire under the command of Lord Ferdinando Fairfax, and score a notable success against Sir Thomas Fairfax at Seacroft Moor in March 1643. Sir Thomas, in turn, would launch a retaliatory raid in May on Wakefield, where Goring was governor. Although ill with a fever when the enemy forces surprised the town, George would attempt to mount a counter attack during the course of which he would be taken prisoner.

While Parliament publically celebrated the capture of the "perfidious" Colonel Goring, Lord Goring, who had returned to England with the queen, frantically attempted to negotiate his son's release with Lord Fairfax. But these initial dealings would fail, and George Goring was sent to London where he would be kept in the Tower while various attempts to secure his release in the summer and the fall of 1643 would continue to meet with failure. And Lord Goring, despite his concern for his incarcerated son's well-being, would leave England in the fall of 1643 to serve as King Charles's ambassador extraordinary to the court of young Louis XIV of France, but also to clandestinely buy and ship back supplies and armaments for the royalist war effort.

So once again George Goring would find himself removed from the war by circumstances, his imprisonment forcing him to sit idle for almost a year, as the war entered a new phase. The Scots, allied with Parliament, would send an army south across the border in January 1644, bringing a major new threat to the northern royalists.

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But Goring would suffer other, more personal, losses in the period under consideration, for Lettice would die at Danny, the Goring's Sussex estate, to be followed several months later by her father, the Earl of Cork, in Ireland. What these deaths meant to George has not survived in any available correspondence. But sitting in the Tower, alone among his enemies and uncertain about his future as negotiations for his release dragged on, George Goring's prospects might have appeared rather bleak in the winter of 1643-44. Only in March 1644 would his freedom be secured, and he would quickly head north to rejoin the war.

The War in the North

William Cavendish, Earl of Newcastle, although charged with organizing the king's war effort in the north, was not a military man by profession. He had been the Prince of Wales' governor until 1641 when his implication in the Army Plot had forced him to resign this post. (See Chapter 6.) He was a cultured nobleman, known for superb horsemanship, but his greatest asset in 1642 was his immense wealth which he placed at King Charles's disposal. The northern royalist army was being personally financed by Newcastle, for the king, without a regular source of revenue, had to rely on the generosity of his wealthy supporters to help finance his war effort.[1]

Newcastle was facing the army raised for Parliament by Lord Ferdinando Fairfax and his son, Sir Thomas. At the beginning of December 1642 Lord Fairfax's command was extended beyond Yorkshire to all Parliamentary forces in the north and the adjacent counties. On 10 December the senior Fairfax, withdrawn to Selby, reported to London that Newcastle had relieved York with 8,000 men, a figure which included 2,000 horse and dragoons. As a countermeasure, Fairfax had sent forces under his son to take Leeds, but the royalists had forced their return to Selby. The beleaguered Parliamentary general ended with a plea for men and money, without which he might have to resort to free quarter (living off the local populace on credit), "a cure . . . as dangerous as the disease." His final words of warning: "The enemy is mighty and master of the field, plentifully

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supplied from his Majesty and the papists and malignant parties with money and all necessities."[2]

The Earl of Newcastle undoubtedly would not have agreed with this assessment of his strength. He had delayed the queen's return to his area of operations all fall because he, in turn, was wary of his opponents' power. Despite the success of holding Leeds, the earl's men were unable to take Bradford on 18 December, and Newcastle then worried that he might have insufficient forces to hold onto his quarters. So Henrietta Maria remained in the Netherlands, waiting for improved circumstances in Yorkshire which would allow her safe return, while officers like George Goring hazarded the perilous sea crossing to reinforce the northern royalists' campaign.[3]

A professional soldier like Goring would be an important addition to Newcastle's staff, where George was given command of the northern cavalry. In January 1643 Newcastle also obtained the services of James King, a Scot who had long served in the Swedish army and who had been recruited by Henrietta Maria in the Netherlands. One inducement to win King's loyalty was a title, a device King Charles would use throughout the coming years as a way of rewarding his followers at no cost to himself. General King, created Lord Eythin in the Scottish peerage, initially joined Charles at Oxford, but then went north to become chief military adviser to Newcastle. There was, however, one potential problem concerning the veteran general: he had been in charge of the action at Vlotho in 1638 in the German wars at which Rupert had been captured. King and the rest of his men had escaped, but they had left Rupert to his fate of capture and imprisonment.[4] This history between the two men would resurface at a most inopportune time in 1644, on the eve of Marston Moor.

But as 1643 began, Rupert remained with his uncle, based at Oxford. The prince did try to start the year with a surprise attack on Cirencester in Gloucestershire, but the rendezvous with other royalist troops failed to materialize on time, so Rupert had to temporarily abandon his plans. At the same time, the northern royalists fared little better, as Sir Thomas Fairfax opened a counteroffensive and finally did succeed in taking Leeds on 23 January. But shortly thereafter the royalists had their own victories. On 2 February

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Prince Rupert successfully stormed Cirencester, while in the north General King and Colonel Goring secured Boroughbridge, northeast of York.[5]

In addition, the northern royalists felt confident enough of their position, so that Henrietta Maria could at last depart the Netherlands, destined for the Yorkshire coast. Unfortunately for the queen and her party, which included Lord Goring, the winter voyage was so storm-tossed that her fleet spent nine days at sea before being forced back to Scheveningen, the port of the Hague. The ever-industrious queen used this unscheduled return to the Netherlands to raise more funds and buy additional supplies before making a second attempt at crossing. Her ships, although blown off course, did manage to reach Bridlington, south of Scarborough. But before Newcastle and his army could locate the queen and her party, four Parliamentary ships entered Bridlington's harbor and opened fire on the town. Henrietta Maria and her followers escaped to safety, and Admiral Tromp, in charge of the Dutch naval ships which had accompanied the queen's fleet, warned off the Parliamentary ships, an action which the queen reported to her husband on 15 February.[6]

The queen had brought men, money and supplies for her husband--about 1,000 veteran soldiers, £80,000 in cash, and 2,000 cases of pistols. She would remain in the north for the next four months, continuing to rally support for the royalist cause, while the Parliamentary military presence along the route south kept her from joining Charles at Oxford. Lord Fairfax did, however, send his congratulations to the queen on her safe return to England and offered her the protection of his army![7]

The only way the queen could truly obtain safe-passage south would be if Newcastle's army could clear the Fairfaxes' forces and open a corridor towards the Thames. The king's main army was contending with the Parliamentary forces to the north and west of Oxford. Rupert on 8 March had started towards the major western port of Bristol, but his plot to join forces with some royalist elements within the Parliamentary-controlled city was discovered, and he had to withdraw and retreat to Oxford. So while the king's army was attempting to break through the constraining circle of Parliamentary-controlled territory to open passages to the royalists in Wales and in the West Country, the northern royalists were on their own in trying to subdue their local opponents and

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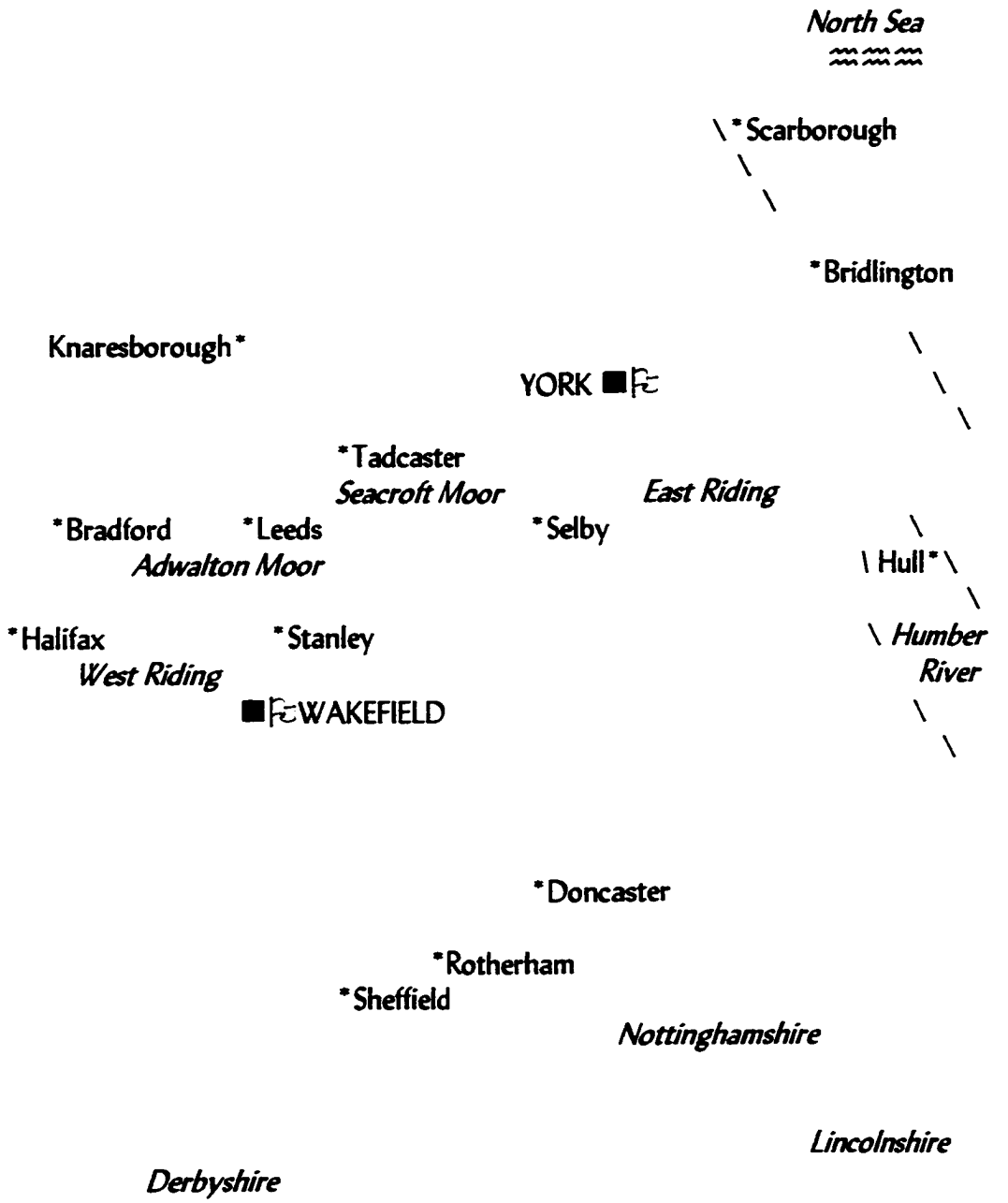
Figure 9. The Struggle for Yorkshire, January-June 1643



Note: Map not precisely to scale.
F. S. Memegalos

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clear a path south. In fact, the to and fro struggle in Yorkshire exemplified what Geoffrey Parker calls the "bitter, dirty war" which was carried on throughout England, with "each local commander striving to destroy his enemy's resources while preserving his own."[8]

The Fairfaxes continued to hold parts of western Yorkshire, known as the West Riding, where the cloth producing towns were strongly Puritan. To increase their control of this area, at the end of March, Lord Fairfax was withdrawing his forces from Selby west to Leeds. To cover his father's movement, Sir Thomas Fairfax attacked Tadcaster and drove off the royalist defenders. This action alarmed the Earl of Newcastle who thought an attack on York might follow, so he dispatched George Goring, with about 1,200 horse and dragoons, to drive Sir Thomas from Tadcaster. But Goring found the Parliamentary forces, several thousand infantrymen accompanied by three troops of horse, already in retreat; he decided to follow his opponents across the moors. Fairfax, aware of the royalist cavalry's proximity, thought he had managed to elude his pursuers once he reached the safety of Seacroft Moor (about five miles east of Leeds) where he guarded what he thought to be the sole access to the moor. Since it was a hot day, he then allowed his infantrymen to break ranks to seek water. But George Goring had found another passage onto the moor, and according to Fairfax, "seeing us in some disorder, charged us both in flank and rear." Fairfax had no pikes with him, which left his men more vulnerable to the royalist cavalry. In the end, about 200 Parliamentary soldiers were killed and about 800 were taken prisoner back to York. "With much difficulty," Fairfax led the remainder of his men into Leeds, where his father had safely brought his forces from Selby. "This was one of the greatest losses we ever received," Sir Thomas recorded. "And so concluded that day with this storm that fell on us."[9]

The royalist newssheet *Mercurius Aulicus*, which had begun weekly publication at Oxford in January, in its edition of 4 April featured news of this victory. Venetian Secretary Agostini in his dispatch of 7 April confirmed that the word in London was that Goring "has gained a considerable victory over some forces of Fairfax," and that George had presented two hundred of his prisoners to the queen. Henrietta Maria, in turn, was preparing to march south, as she wrote Prince Rupert on 7 April. She planned on only

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bringing her own regiments of infantry and cavalry, not wishing to deplete Newcastle's army. But in view of recent events, she optimistically predicted that the rest of the northern forces would soon "finish their business in this country" and follow her south.[10] George Goring's quick action at Seacroft had helped block the Fairfaxes in at Leeds where the royalists soon hoped that a siege might bring a quick end to their northern opponents.

Wakefield

While King Charles was financing his war effort with the monies raised on the royal jewels and with the charity of friends, Parliament, among other fiscal devices, on 27 March issued an ordinance for sequestering the estates of "notorious delinquents." The lands of those acting against Parliament were to be seized, and the rents of the sequestered lands were to be used to maintain Parliament's army, a solution "most agreeable to common justice," the ordinance explained.[11]

Danny, the Gorings' estate at Hurstpierpoint, Sussex, was not listed among the estates sequestered at this time. Apparently both Lady Goring and her daughter-in-law Lettice were living there. In fact, Lady Goring would receive passes from the House of Lords to travel to Oxford from time to time. The first such pass was issued on 18 March, when Lord Goring's wife was permitted to leave for Oxford with a coach, six horses, and six saddle horses. Her husband, however, remained at York, attending on the queen, although he planned to accompany her on her journey south to rejoin the king.[12]

What had passed between George Goring and his wife since last August remains in silence. There was no indication that Lettice was with George during the siege of Portsmouth, and its seemed most unlikely that he would have put her in that danger. He also apparently went abroad on his own. Nor could Lettice have sought refuge with her father, considering the ongoing war engulfing Ireland. With the court gone from London and any remaining supporters of the king keeping a low profile in the capital, Lettice and her mother-in-law would have been living at Danny. Even though pro-Parliamentary

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forces controlled the county, one of the newly-named commissioners for sequestrations in Sussex was Anthony Stapley, a Goring family relation by marriage.[13]

The one fact recorded about Lettice was that of her death. The parish records of Hurstpierpoint indicated that on 15 April 1643: "The Right Honorable the Lady Lettice Goring was buried."[14] There was no notation of what had caused her death at the age of thirty-three, nor do any of the existing letters shed light on the matter. The fact that husband and wife were living apart at the time of her death reflected the situation that often prevailed during their marriage. What George felt about the loss of his wife remains unknown, but he would never marry again. Moreover, in September, George's father-in-law, the Earl of Cork, would die while still fighting for his lands against the Irish insurgents.[15]

Both George Gorings remained in the north throughout the month of April, where, thanks to the victory at Seacroft Moor, the royalists were hoping to improve their situation. Parliament, upon receiving Lord Fairfax's report on recent events, promised their general an additional six to eight troops of horse as well as £10,000, of which £1,000 was to be dispatched immediately. Pym and his fellow commissioners hoped that this infusion of cash and manpower would allow the Fairfaxes to make gains not just in Yorkshire, but also to secure Lancashire, Cheshire and the rest of the north counties.[16]

The northern royalists not only wanted to prevent any such advance on the part of their opponents, but hoped to end the Fairfaxes' challenge by attacking them at Leeds. The approaches to the town were dug without too much difficulty, but the artillery available to the besiegers was having little effect against the town walls. The royalists then held a council of war, at which there was a sharp difference of opinion on how to proceed, according to Henrietta Maria. "General King, and all the old officers from Holland, were of the opinion that an assault was too dangerous." There would be too many losses to the ruin of the army, they argued, while a prolonged siege against a town of that size, given the poor weather conditions, had little chance of success. "General Goring, and the fresh commanders, were all for an assault, and I was with them. There were warm disputes thereupon. . . ." the queen recounted to her husband, trying to tell the

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story "without partiality, which is no small thing." The Earl of Newcastle had the final say and, siding with the more cautious voices, decided the siege would be lifted. Lord Goring then asked for and received permission from the earl and the queen to go into Leeds to try to negotiate terms with the Fairfaxes, father and son, before they knew that the siege was to be lifted. But his attempts at a negotiated settlement proved fruitless, and the royalists withdrew. "Jealousy . . . we are not free from it," the exasperated queen wrote to her husband.[17] Considering that she had sided with George Goring's plan of action, Henrietta Maria's reference had to be to General King and those who had opposed Goring under the cover of counseling caution.

After the withdrawal from Leeds, Lord Goring was back at York on 22 April, dispatching several letters to fellow royalists serving with the king in the south. In one to Rupert, addressed rather familiarly to "My Prince," he indicated that they were hoping Rupert might come to escort the queen to Oxford and "deliver our sacred mistress where by all right and merit she ought to be." But the senior Goring was a little more cautious about the military situation in the north, warning that the enemy was in a better condition than was believed in the king's camp. The Parliamentary army had 16,000 well-armed men, including 3,000 horse plus dragoons, with 2,000 more foot on the way, while Newcastle's forces numbered 18,000.[18]

Henrietta Maria was anxious to depart but had not fixed a date as yet, Lord Goring reported in his other correspondence. He was hoping she would wait for the situation to improve, and he hinted that the northern royalists would soon move on the enemy. In a letter to Henry Percy, one of the co-conspirators in the Army Plot who had returned to England to serve the king, Lord Goring wrote that in a few days, "we fall a-sweeping away the rubbish crowded in two or three holes of this country. . . ."[19]

Among the towns targeted by the royalists in this new offensive was Wakefield, the centuries-old center of the West Riding wool industry, built around an impressive fourteenth-century cathedral. The town had already changed hands on several occasions: in December the royalists had taken over, only to have Sir Thomas Fairfax recapture it in January. Now, in April Wakefield again was taken by Newcastle's forces and George

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Goring was given command of the town's garrison. Because of its central location, Wakefield would be used as a recruiting post for royalist infantry, and it also would serve as a depot for artillery and ammunition to supply the northern army's planned campaigns to the south.[20]

On 4 May negotiations were still going on for the release of the prisoners from the action at Seacroft Moor. The Earl of Newcastle, who was still holding seven hundred captives at York, had refused the most recent terms offered and was awaiting Lord Fairfax's reply. At the same time, the royalists were continuing their offensive, pushing farther south by taking Rotherham and Sheffield, although they lacked sufficient troops to hold the latter. To the north, the royalists at Knaresborough were sallying forth "to pillage and utterly ruin all the religious people in those parts," Lord Fairfax reported to the House of Lords. He added that the countryside around Leeds, where he was still headquartered, had become barren, and provisions of grain and meat were needed. "And this army, which now lies amongst them [the people] to defend them from the enemy, cannot defend them from want, which causeth much murmur[ing] and lamentation amongst the people."[21]

The royalists were aware of this development and hoped to press their advantage and force a treaty, meaning terms of surrender, on the enemy. On 17 May, Lord Goring, still at York with the queen, wrote to his son at Wakefield to advise him on these matters military and political. The letter is interesting, for it is one of the few surviving documents from father to son; moreover, the letter became rather (in)famous in its own time, for it would be captured during Fairfax's raid and be published by Parliament for all the nation to read.[22]

Actually Lord Goring wrote his son two letters on 17 May. In the first, he was responding to what George had written to Henry Jermyn--another of the queen's favorite courtiers and a returned Army Plot conspirator--about what tactics should be pursued. George had apparently suggested splitting the royalist forces for some further venture, but his father did not believe Newcastle would consent to this, although he would talk to the earl about it.[23]

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Lord Goring then advised his son on what he thought George should do, considering the current political climate both locally and nationally. Negotiations for a peaceful settlement to the conflict had been undertaken in fits and starts from the very outset of the war. Parliament had sent commissioners to Oxford in late March to make another attempt at a treaty, but King Charles had found the terms unacceptable. Pym then wrote to Henrietta Maria, hoping to convince her to have her husband reopen negotiations. The queen played along for the time being, all the while still dispatching the supplies she had brought with her to the king's main army. So while Parliament was lulled into some hope of negotiations recommencing, and while the fortunes of the northern Parliamentary forces were at low ebb, Lord Goring urged George: "[I]f it were possible to give the enemy any such knock or considerable disturbance to the country round about them, which hath not felt the misery of their neighbours, I could not doubt but the treaty might be resumed again." After reiterating this point, Lord Goring concluded: "I pray you think seriously hereof, and once in your life follow the advice of your best friend, and dearly loving Father, Goring."[24] All the years of the senior Goring's frustration, of trying to control a son who time and again had proved uncontrollable, came pouring forth in that one phrase: "once in your life."

After Lord Goring had sealed this letter, new intelligence arrived at York which he was asked to pass along to George, hence the second letter of the same date. Lord Fairfax had apparently been caught by surprise by the royalists' most recent advances. Headquarters was now advising George to move between Leeds and Bradford, whereby "you will so annoy, divert, and separate them in all their designs," that the capture of Leeds, Bradford or Halifax would follow. George was to tell General King of this plan, which, if George followed, would render results "happy and glorious to you; whereas, on the contrary, all will fall flat, both in power and reputation, past expression." Almost as if fearing George would not listen to this advice if he thought it had only come from his father, Lord Goring concluded: "This is the opinion of others, far better able to advise than he that so heartily prays for you, and is yours, Goring." A final exhortation appeared as a post script: "Cudgel them to a treaty, and then let us alone with the rest."[25]

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Henrietta Maria was also counting on George Goring's assistance at this time, as she informed the king on 18 May. Once the Parliamentary forces had been pushed further back on the defensive, she expected to leave York to join her husband by the end of May and be accompanied by her two regiments under the command of Colonel Goring. Henry Jermyn would lead her guard, and she would follow with Colonel Goring, 2,500 men, and a supply of weapons. The queen's only concern: "Goring has been very ill, but I hope he will be quite recovered to go with me when I go."[26]

George Going would neither attain the glory his father had wished for him nor ride in the place of honor the queen had reserved for him. Sir Thomas Fairfax, who had felt himself rather humiliated by the loss at Seacroft Moor, decided on a retaliatory raid against the royalists which could at least yield him the prisoners needed for an exchange. Many of the local Yorkshire families could not raise the ransom money being demanded by the royalists and had turned to the Fairfaxes for assistance: "So their continual cries, and tears, and importunities compelled us to think of some way to redeem these men: so as we thought of attempting Wakefield, our intelligence being that the enemy had not above 800 or 900 men in the town."[27]

Based on this (faulty) intelligence, Fairfax led a raiding party of about 1,500 volunteers, consisting of 1,000 foot, eight troops of horse, and three companies of dragoons, drawn from the garrisons at Leeds, Bradford and Halifax. They departed late Saturday night, 20 May, and rendezvoused at midnight at Howley. At 2 a.m. they beat back two troops of royalist cavalry at Stanley, a few miles north of Wakefield. At 4 a.m. on Whitsunday, 21 May, the Parliamentary party arrived before Wakefield, where the defenders were hastily preparing to meet them. Fairfax, seeing about 800 musketeers in the hedges outside the walls, realized he had underestimated the garrison's strength. Judging it "was too late" to turn back and after a brief consultation with his commanders, he ordered the storming of the walls.[28]

If Sir Thomas Fairfax had known the true strength of the Wakefield garrison, he might never have attempted the raid. In this instance, his error led to a surprising victory. In like manner, the royalists at Wakefield included six regiments of foot and seven troops

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of horse, totaling over 3,000 men, and being so well-manned and armed, they "might well conceive themselves master of the field in those parts" which led to their "invigilancy [sic] and carelessness," as the Duchess of Newcastle would later charge. Apparently, after the skirmish at Stanley, the royalists had some advance notice of the coming assault, but insufficient time to call out the entire garrison. Some cavalrymen and musketeers were positioned outside the town walls, but the momentum was with Fairfax as his foot beat the musketeers from the hedges and his cavalry forced the royalist horse back into town.[29]

The Parliamentary assault then concentrated on two points in the town walls, at the Wrengate and the Norgate. Despite royalist fire, the Parliamentary soldiers stormed the barricades and took over the town's cannon which they turned on the defenders. Once inside, the infantrymen opened the gates so that Fairfax could lead a cavalry charge into town, where he swept through the winding streets. Three troops of royalist horse stood in the marketplace, as well as a regiment of foot. Major General Gifford, Fairfax's second-in-command, offered quarter to the surrounded royalists, which they refused. The Parliamentary officer then had the town's ordinance fire on the trapped royalists, who scattered, some fleeing town, others being captured.[30]

George Goring was still sick and in bed with a fever, which is perhaps the reason why his father was there with him that weekend. Despite his illness, George got up and led a mounted countercharge. There on the streets of Wakefield, where he was attempting to rally his troops, he was taken by a Lieutenant Alrud, the brother of a sitting MP. Lord Goring and the garrison's second-in-command, Major General Francis Mackworth, did manage to escape, along with about half of the royalist forces. But, at the end of two hours, Fairfax's men had captured 1,500 royalists, including thirty-eight officers, twenty-seven colors of foot, three horse cornets, four pieces of ordnance, powder, ammunition, guns, and cash.[31] In relaying this startling news to the House of Lords, Lord Fairfax wrote:

> And truly, for my part, I do rather account it a miracle than a victory and the glory and praise to be ascribed to God that wrought it; in which I hope I derogate nothing from the merits of the commanders and soldiers, who, every man in his place and duty, showed as much courage and resolution as could be expected from

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men.[32]

Nevertheless, in the same letter, Lord Fairfax included his usual plea for men and money, saying he feared a retaliatory action by the enemy. He asked for Colonel Oliver Cromwell to join him with foot and horse reinforcements so he could reopen a passage to the Parliamentary-held port of Hull. In a post script he added that he was enclosing Lord Goring's letter (of 17 May) which had been found in George's chamber and "which will let the House see the enemy's great desire to have this army ruined, that they might with their whole force march southwards."[33] Which was a rather accurate summation of the royalists' strategy.

These themes established by Lord Fairfax-- the "miraculous" nature of the victory and the deceitful ways of the enemy--were echoed in Parliament's reaction to the news. John Pym, in a letter to his brother-in-law Sir Thomas Barrington, enumerated the materiel and men taken, including "Goring who commanded in chief there." The victory he characterized as "a wonderful work of God" which should be used to "unite ourselves as close as we may," and to stop the subtle rumors against Parliament.[34] In other words, military victories such as this were necessary to stem some growing disaffection for Parliament's cause.

At Parliament's order, 28 May was to be a day of public thanksgiving in the churches throughout London, Westminister, and the suburbs, "for the great and good success it hath pleased God to give the forces under the command of the Lord Fairfax, at the taking of Wakefield." Parliament also ordered details of the victory to be printed, including Lord Goring's letter to his son.[35]

One of the first news sheets offered to the public was entitled *A Miraculous VICTORY obtained by the Right Honourable Ferdinando Lord Fairfax, against the Army under the Command of the Earl of Newcastle at Wakefield in Yorkshire*. God had given the Parliamentary forces this success "upon great disadvantage and inequality" to increase the faith of the people, the introduction advised, echoing the sentiments John Pym had expressed in his private correspondence. The letters about the raid, sent by the Fairfaxes

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to Parliament, were included, as was Lord Goring's "letter of great consequence."[36] Another retelling of the events appeared on 29 May in a pamphlet which claimed that the success at Wakefield had been obtained "notwithstanding all the power of the Popish party in those parts, and all their prevalent practices, cunning politic, and destructive stratagems. . . ."[37] Still other accounts pointed out that Lord Goring's letter showed how the royalists "pretend peace, but intend war," and also celebrated the capture of "that perfidious General Goring."[38]

Just what was George Goring's status? Speaking in the House of Lords, the Earl of Manchester (the former Lord Mandeville who was to have been George's commanding officer in the Parliamentary army), on 27 May asked "that my Lord General [Essex] be desired, that justice be done on General Goring, according to the Law of Arms."[39] That same day the Commons ordered Essex to direct Lord Fairfax "to proceed effectually against General Goring, according to the Law of Arms; his case differing from those taken in open war, he having perfidiously broken his trust and promise in that business of Portsmouth." Fairfax was also ordered "to keep Colonel Goring in strict and safe custody."[40]

Despite King Charles's belief that those who had taken arms against him were "rebels"--a term used by the royalists to characterize the enemy throughout the war--in 1642 the more practical decision had been made by king and Parliament to operate under the "articles of war" which governed foreign warfare rather than civil conflict. Rather than treat captured soldiers as "traitors " who could be executed, both sides had agreed to use the rules of war between nations which allowed for prisoner exchanges.[41] But obviously, the House of Commons had something different in mind for George Goring, who had yet to answer for his betrayal of Portsmouth. As Venetian Secretary Agostini reported in his dispatches, George Goring's very life was now in danger.[42]

In Captivity

Lord Goring, well aware of what might befall George if he were to be sent to

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London, began a correspondence with Lord Fairfax about the possibility of an immediate prisoner exchange. Writing from York on 29 May, Lord Goring wanted to know if the treaty for the exchange of prisoners between Fairfax and Newcastle, who still held the Seacroft Moor captives, would be completed prior to the terms of exchange for his son. He instead hoped that the two treaties of exchange would "go on hand in hand," reasoning that it would not be proper if George, "he that took them shall remain prisoner and those taken by him, be set free."[43]

In a follow-up letter, dated 31 May, the senior Goring explained that the Earl of Newcastle had given the Seacroft Moor prisoners to George, "my now most unfortunate sick son, who was ever most willing to release them upon any indifferent terms," which according to Lord Goring had been rejected by the Fairfaxes. Lord Goring then offered similar terms for exchange, "but with this caution, that my son, my unfortunate sick son, may be treated for and released at the same time, upon such terms as the commissioners equally chosen for that end shall agree." In a post script, Lord Goring urged the quick nomination of the commissioners.[44]

Lord Goring's efforts proved futile, for no local settlement was reached, and George would be held by the Fairfaxes until he could be sent to London. In addition, the shock of the defeat and the loss of their cavalry commander momentarily halted the royalists' offensive. As one local Parliamentary officer reported: "The cavaliers at York droop mightily for their defeat at Wakefield. . . .Goring taken, got a world of treasure and many horse."[45] The Parliamentary relief forces gathered at Nottingham, including those under the command of Colonel Cromwell, halted their march north after receiving updated news from Lord Fairfax that Newcastle's army was "so weak and in such a distraction" following the action at Wakefield.[46] Word of Goring's capture even reached Frederick Henry, Prince of Orange, at his summer camp at Bergen-op-Zoom, for George was still one of his regimental commanders.[47]

Despite this setback, the Earl of Newcastle soon had one less problem to worry about--the safety of the queen, for on 4 June Henrietta Maria set off on her progress south. The queen had been upset by the change of fortunes resulting from the capture of

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Wakefield, and on the eve of her departure she admitted to her husband that she was "so enraged to go away without having beaten these rascals." With Colonel Goring now captive, young Charles Cavendish was given the honor of leading her troops of 3,000 foot and 1,000 horse. The progress was done cautiously, in stages, with the queen spending several weeks at the royalist stronghold of Newark. Prince Rupert would join her at Stratford-upon-Avon on 10 July, and accompany her to meet King Charles close to Edgehill on 13 July. The following day, the king and queen would make their ceremonial entry into Oxford.[48]

With the queen safely away, Newcastle regrouped his forces and a month after Wakefield, on 30 June, the royalists encountered the Fairfaxes' army outside of Bradford, at Adwalton Moor. Despite the royalists' numerical superiority, Sir Thomas Fairfax won the advantage in the initial cavalry exchange. Newcastle was considering withdrawing from the field when one of his infantry commanders, a veteran of the Dutch wars, ordered the advance of his pikemen against the enemy infantry which turned the tide of battle. In addition, Lord Fairfax, the senior Parliamentary commander, did not have his son's military skill and withdrew early from the engagement. So the Fairfaxes lost not only the battle, but all of the West Riding including Leeds, and were forced to retreat to Hull.[49]

The royalists for the time being were masters of Yorkshire, but the war would come north again, and George Goring's absence would be a loss to the royalists' cause. Goring clearly believed in the effectiveness of resolute, bold action, much like Sir Thomas Fairfax. But the more cautious Newcastle and General King were now dominating the royalists' northern war councils, a situation the queen had recognized and worried about prior to her departure: "[I]f I go away, I am afraid that they [the Parliamentary forces] would not be beaten."[50]

The same week that Henrietta Maria was entering Oxford to celebrations in her honor and in honor of the major royalist victory at Roundway Down in Wiltshire, George Goring was returning to London as a prisoner. On 17 July the House of Lords was informed of Colonel Goring's arrival, and there was some concern expressed because he was being held at the Red Lion, an inn in Holborn. The Tower would be better "for his

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safety," but, since George had been a member of the Commons, the Lords sent a message to the lower House to ask for its concurrence.[51]

The Commons replied to the Lords that Goring and several other prisoners had already been moved to Lord Peter's House, and any other confinement would be a matter for the Committee for the Safety of the Kingdom. A few days later, in his dispatch of 21/31 July, Girolamo Agostini reported that George had not been examined as yet by his captors. On 27 July the House ordered the keeper at Lord Peter's to "keep Colonel Goring close prisoner, and suffer no man to speak with him,"[52] which meant that George was momentarily being held in solitary confinement.

What exactly was happening behind the scenes is difficult to know. Parliament, having already threatened to treat Goring differently than a regular prisoner-of-war because of his stand at Portsmouth, apparently had second thoughts on the matter. Instead, the decision was quickly made that George Goring was of more value alive than dead, for on 2 August the Commons gave Lord Fairfax the discretion to negotiate with the Earl of Newcastle to exchange Goring "for such prisoners as he shall think fitting."[53] Perhaps having a ranking officer to bargain with had become more important to Parliament now that the royalists had scored a series of major victories. On 26-27 July Prince Rupert had successfully assaulted Bristol, which King Charles visited on 1 August. So the royalists now possessed a major port, and they were holding onto Yorkshire in the north, threatening to move south towards East Anglia, an important region of cloth manufacture, trade, fishing and agriculture. In late July Parliament ordered the formation of the Eastern Association, an army to protect the region and to be headed by the Earl of Manchester, with Oliver Cromwell as lieutenant general of horse.[54]

Parliament also wanted to be sure that its important--and useful--prisoner did not escape; therefore, on 10 August the Commons ordered that Colonel Goring be removed to the Tower, where Sir John Conyers, Goring's old nemesis in the king's northern army in 1641, was lieutenant. Lady Goring was in London at this time, for on 11 August she obtained a pass from the Lords to go to Oxford with a coach, horses, and servants. But to see her son she had to apply to the House of Commons, which on 12 August ordered

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"that the Lady Goring shall have liberty to visit her son Colonel Goring, a prisoner to the Parliament, in the presence and hearing of his keeper."[55] Because of events she probably had not seen George in the year since he had openly declared for the king, and most definitely she had not seen him since Lettice's death. Traveling on to Oxford afterwards, Lady Goring would at least have been able to tell her husband how their son was faring in captivity.

There was even hope that an exchange might be made at this early date. On 14 August, Thomas Stockdale, on behalf of the Fairfaxes, petitioned the Commons to release Colonel Goring, Sir John Goodrich, and several other prisoners to his custody so that they could be transported to Hull where Lord Fairfax could dispose of them as he saw fit. The Commons had actually consented to this arrangement, but two of the designated prisoners, Sir Thomas Danby and Major Hilliard, escaped from Lord Peter's House "by the negligence of the keeper there," but substitutes were found for them.[56] Although the Commons' record never indicated that the order for transfer was rescinded, George Goring and fellow royalist Sir John Goodrich remained in the Tower. Nor would this be the only time that George would be ordered north to Fairfax, yet remain imprisoned in London. Even Lord Goring would eventually become exasperated in trying to determine his son's status.

The rapidly changing fortunes of war might have shifted political considerations and also might have created logistics problems for the safe transfer of prisoners across country. That summer of 1643 was an especially critical period for Parliament; the losses in the north and west caused dissension among the Parliamentary generals--Sir William Waller, who had lost his army at Roundway Down, blamed Essex's lack of support--and gave rise to a peace party in the Lords. Just as Pym managed to defeat the peace initiative in Parliament, a new threat appeared on the field. On 10 August King Charles and his army appeared before Gloucester and demanded its surrender. So began the siege of the rather beleaguered Parliamentary garrison in a town that, if taken, would give the royalists clear passage to their important recruiting grounds in south Wales.[57]

Parliament's attention, therefore, was concentrated on relieving Gloucester in that

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second week of August when George Goring's release was first agreed upon. More importantly, the struggle in the north was taking a new turn. Although Newcastle had managed to make some inroads into Lincolnshire, he met resistance from Cromwell and the Eastern Association cavalry. Moreover, many Yorkshiremen did not wish to leave their own county, a phenomena which occurred in many areas: men would fight to protect their homes, but were unwilling to advance beyond their own borders. And even if Newcastle did manage to move south, the fortress of Hull would be a constant threat from the rear. Newcastle, therefore, decided to besiege Hull,[58] so that this ongoing action probably kept George Goring imprisoned in London.

But Lord Goring had a new reason to desire a speedy resolution to his son's situation. He was preparing to undertake an important diplomatic mission for King Charles, and he could leave the country with his mind at ease if George were already free and not left languishing in the Tower. On 28 August the king's secretary Edward Nicholas at Oxford issued instructions to Councilor George Lord Goring, vice-chamberlain of the household, appointed ambassador extraordinary to King Louis XIV of France and to his mother, Anne of Austria, the queen regent. Cardinal Richelieu, who had denied any aid to King Charles because of France's own deep and costly involvement in the continental wars, had died in December 1642. In May 1643, not only had Louis XIII died, but the French scored a major victory over the Spanish at Rocroi. Charles and Henrietta Maria hoped that these changes might make the new French government more open to their requests for assistance; hence, the origin of Lord Goring's mission.[59]

As described in Chapter 2, Lord Goring had spent much time at the French court as part of the negotiating team which had brought Henrietta Maria to England in 1625. He was on the scene when his patron Buckingham had wooed Anne of Austria, and clearly Charles and Henrietta Maria thought that this link would not hurt their ambassador's case. However, the real power behind the throne of the five-year-old Louis was Cardinal Jules Mazarin, an astute Italian diplomat whom Richelieu had handpicked as his successor to guide French policy. Rather prophetically, Richelieu had first introduced Mazarin to Anne with the comment: "You will like him, Madame, he has the air of Buckingham about him,"

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and Anne would indeed come to rely completely on Mazarin both personally and politically.[60]

Lord Goring's detailed instructions contained twenty points. Besides his main task of drawing up "a nearer and firmer alliance" between the crowns of England and France, he was also to attend Charles's sister Elizabeth and assist with her family's affairs. He actually was instructed to start his journey at the Hague, where he was first to visit Elizabeth "*al'incognito*" to pass on personal messages. Lord Goring was then to meet with the Prince and Princess of Orange, with Princess Mary and her husband, and to arrange a meeting with the States-General, jointly with Charles's resident representative, Sir William Boswell. This meeting was intended to counter the representation of Parliament's envoy, "Strickland, the rebel agent," who had been using Dutch presses to print "scandalous lies and libels" against Charles's government. In particular, King Charles wanted the Dutch delegation to the peace talks in Westphalia--aiming to end the German wars--to ask for the restitution of the Palatinate to Elizabeth's oldest son, Charles Louis.[61]

Lord Goring was next to pass through the Spanish Netherlands and talk to the officials there, before proceeding to France. Once in Paris, besides attending to court formalities, his main objective was to renew the past treaty between the crowns, based on the terms established in 1629. Goring was given the power to work out any minor differences and to assent to the treaty which would then be sent to King Charles for ratification. The senior Goring was also to do a bit of intelligence gathering to find out what the Scots were doing at the French court and report back any other plots being rumored. And finally he was ordered to send "arms, powder, match, munitions and other necessaries" to England for the king's army, but to stop any such supplies from being sent to Parliament.[62] With such a lengthy list of goals to achieve, the mission would be of indefinite duration; little wonder that Lord Goring was anxious to settle his son's release prior to his departure.

Actually, there was to be an exchange of ambassadors with France. Count Harcourt, of the House of Lorraine, was being sent to England, Venetian Secretary

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Agostini reported at the beginning of September. He also identified Charles's envoy as Lord Goring, "a man more given to joking than to affairs."[63] The senior Goring's rather jovial nature often does carry across the centuries in his letters, and he did gain his initial foothold at James I's court by helping to arrange the "fooleries" so beloved by that king. And yet Lord Goring had become one of the most astute entrepreneurs of the time, amassing his fortune. Now, in a time of extreme crisis, King Charles was entrusting the senior Goring with an important mission, one where his affability just might help the diplomatic negotiations along, while his business acumen would be invaluable in trying to arrange for the needed armaments and supplies.

Lord Goring would depart for Holland by early October, thus leaving him little time to get his affairs in order. One of his sons-in-law, Sir Thomas Covert, had recently died, so he applied to Rupert to obtain a commission for the deceased's regiment of horse for Covert's brother. And, of course, he tried again to obtain George's release, now at a time when the royalists were suffering a sharp reversal of fortunes. The siege of Gloucester had been lifted, and the ensuing bloody confrontation between the king's main army and Essex's relief forces on 20 September at Newbury failed to stop Essex's retreat to London, so that the royalists' road to the capital remained blocked. In the north, Newcastle's siege of Hull had been ineffectual, and in late September Oliver Cromwell joined Sir Thomas Fairfax at Hull to help bring Fairfax's cavalry south to Lincolnshire where they would start successful joint operations, the beginning of a most famous and fruitful collaboration.[64]

On 22 September Lord Goring was at Beverly in Yorkshire, just north of Hull, then still under siege. He had come expecting George's release, believing that the senior Fairfax and the newly-created Marquis of Newcastle had agreed upon terms. But George was not there, and his father now wrote to Lord Fairfax to plead his case anew:

> My Lord, you are a father as well as myself, lay your hand upon your heart and measure from thence. Be so noble and clear as to let me know if I may have my son by your means or not, when or for what, either here or London, that so I may either perform what you desire, or leave hoping after what I desire. I beseech your Lordship be speedy, clear, and positive in your answer to me that so I may not farther importune you, nor delude myself, but rely wholly upon that power for his

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deliverance that put him into your hands.[65]

In case George was to remain in jail, his father asked that one Ralph Yates, George's barber, would be allowed to join his son, either in the Tower or at Hull, wherever George was. This manservant was necessary, George "having now but only a young French cook to dress him."[66]

While Lord Goring did not get to see his son released prior to his departure from England, his last plea may have been instrumental in bringing about the new arrangements made in London on 16 October. The House of Commons again ordered the transfer of Colonel Goring and Sir John Goodrich to Hull, each to be accompanied by "a man of trust," appointed by the Fairfaxes' agent, Thomas Stockdale. Each prisoner was to be transported on a separate ship, part of a convoy carrying ammunition to Hull (the assumption probably being that the royalists would not fire on the Parliamentary ships with their own comrades on board). Yet once again, George Goring remained in the Tower. The most likely explanation was that on the same day this release was ordered, letters arrived from the north, relating that Newcastle had lifted the siege of Hull.[67] The Fairfaxes, therefore, would have no immediate need for a prisoner exchange.

As for George Goring's life in the Tower, we have only a few glimpses. From Lord Goring's last letter to Fairfax, it is clear that a gentleman, even one in captivity, did not dress himself, but maintained a servant for that task. Nor was George kept in isolation, as in the first days after his arrival at London. One recorded incident showed that he did have contact with other prisoners. A sickly fellow captive, Sir Edward Bainton, whose failing health would gain him his freedom, had not been helped by the greeting he was accorded upon his arrival at the Tower, when George Goring had given him a "drench."[68] The word can mean a large drink or draft, or a forced drink, so George apparently had some kind of "welcoming reception" which unfortunately, in this case, ultimately helped to do in the guest of honor. At least George's high spirits had not deserted him in adversity.

Neither had Goring's debts been forgotten. In 1642, George had not just turned his back on Parliament, he had also walked out on his London creditors who now had the

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opportunity to present their claims. On 2 September Goring signed an indenture with John Miller, a tailor at St. Martin-in-the-Fields. George had to cover both principal and interest on a debt contracted with Miller in May 1640, and he ordered his agents to pay a total of £882 14s. 7d. from the rents of Danny.[69] More creditors would make their appearance on the eve of his release the following spring.

The fall of 1643 would mark a turning point in the development of the conflict in England, as both sides sought outside assistance to break the deadlock. Lord Goring spent the entire fall in Holland, raising more money on the royal jewels, trying to get additional men released from Frederick Henry's English and Scottish regiments, and working to counter Walter Strickland's influence. Charles also had his commander in Ireland, James Butler, Marquis of Ormonde, negotiate a one-year cessation of the Irish hostilities with the Catholic rebels on 15 September which would free up troops to be brought back to England. But by negotiating this truce, Charles was also leaving himself open to renewed charges of being pro-Catholic.[70]

Ultimately Parliament, and not the king, achieved the diplomatic coup which would have the most far-reaching consequences for the war, an alliance with the Scots. Charles had also been negotiating with his Scots subjects, hoping to form his own alliance, but he had listened to the wrong men, trusting the advice of his cousin Hamilton more than the warnings of James Graham, Earl of Montrose. The latter, who along with Rupert would become one of the great romantic heroes of the cavaliers, had visited the queen at York that spring to warn her of Parliament's negotiations with various Scottish leaders, and in late August Montrose had come directly to the king at Oxford. But Charles still chose not to heed the warnings that a settlement with Parliament--much sought by the Commons leader John Pym--was imminent.[71]

The price for the Scots military intervention was the English subscribing to the Solemn League and Covenant, which the House of Commons did on 25 September 1643. As the preface explained, the agreement was "for Reformation and Defense of Religion, the honor and happiness of the King, and the peace and safety of the three kingdoms of England, Scotland and Ireland."[72] Basically, the English swore to reform their church,

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including the removal of bishops, to conform with the church structure in Scotland; uniformity of religion was the goal in all three of Charles's kingdoms. The rights and privileges of Parliaments were to be preserved, as well as the king's "just power and greatness." Of course, not everyone in England wanted to be a Presbyterian, and people like Oliver Cromwell would later have other ideas about a proper religious settlement. But, for the time being, the Scots were committed to bringing an army into England in January 1644.[73]

The Marquis of Newcastle, who now was facing the possibility of a two-fronted assault on his position, on 3 October wrote Prince Rupert: "We are daily threatened here with the Scots their coming."[74] The entrance of the Scots into the war would, however, work to George Goring's advantage: his services would be required more than ever in the north. Additionally, King Charles now became suspicious of many Scots who outwardly had appeared to support his cause. One such case concerned Walter Kerr, Earl of Lothian, who had been on a mission abroad for Charles. On his return to England in November, Lothian was imprisoned in Bristol jail because he refused to swear that he would never take up arms against the king. Lothian would be the key to George Goring's release.[75]

An Exchange of Prisoners

Lord Goring only reached the French court in December 1643, but his counterpart, the Count of Harcourt, had arrived in England in October. The French ambassador claimed that he wanted to help mediate a peace between king and Parliament, and he traveled between London and Oxford, ostensibly to this end. But his initial stay in London had been marred by one incident. Hidden within his entourage, in disguise and wig, was Walter (Wat) Montague, one of the queen's courtiers and a convert to Catholicism. Montague also happened to be brother to Parliament's general of the Eastern Association, the Earl of Manchester. Despite his diplomatic credentials and family ties, Montague was arrested and placed in the Tower before he could secretly make his

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way to Oxford. In December, the French envoy in Scotland was proposing an exchange of Montague for the Earl of Lothian.[76]

At year's end, the royalists were still waiting to see if the Scots would arrive in January as Parliament proclaimed. The northern commanders were on alert to attempt to hold back the incursion: Sir Thomas Glemham, governor of Newcastle; Sir William Savile, governor of York; and the Marquis of Newcastle, general of the north. George Lord Digby, son of the Earl of Bristol and one of Charles secretaries and closest advisers (and the courtier Rupert disliked and disagreed with the most), predicted that a Scottish invasion would only increase support for the king's cause. John Pym would have disagreed with such an assessment. When he died in December 1643, Pym might have felt satisfied that he had made an alliance which would tip the balance-of-power in Parliament's favor. While London mourned the passing of the great Parliamentary leader, Oxford celebrated the occasion with festivals and bonfires.[77]

The coming of the Scots would make Lord Goring's mission to obtain French aid even more essential. Girolamo Giustinian, now the Venetian ambassador to Paris, at the end of December reported that Lord Goring had already made a general proposition for an offensive and defensive alliance between England and France, although no specific terms had been discussed as yet. But Lord Goring was having trouble getting his correspondence through to Oxford, some of his letters from the Hague, Brussels and Paris having gone astray. Writing to both Henrietta Maria and Secretary Digby from Paris on 5 January, he decided to use an alternate means of posting: he asked the wife of one of the French diplomats on mission in England, the Sieur de Gressy, to enclose his letters with hers for the French diplomatic pouch, which the lady did. When the pouch arrived in London and the French requested to send it on to Ambassador Harcourt, then at Oxford, Parliament refused to let it pass without first inspecting the contents. As one French diplomat in London reported back to Paris, Parliament found "letters of Lord Goring's which have made a great noise."[78]

"Great noise" was something of an understatement: both Houses of Parliament would accuse Lord Goring of high treason for attempting to bring foreign troops to

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England. On 10 January, the Commons first received word of the letters and sent on the information to the Lords, asking for the upper House's concurrence on charges of treason. The Lords, after reading the offending epistles, adjourned for further discussions and to make recommendations to the Committee of Safety. Only one sour note was heard from the Lords on the Commons' handling of the matter; the Earl of Essex noted for the record that the original letters, and not copies, should have been sent to the upper House.[79]

Lord Goring's intercepted letters were entered into the *Lords Journal*. Among them was one to his son, in which the senior Goring said he was glad to hear that George was now in good health. He was still hoping his son would be set free soon, and he asked George to be in contact with their estate agent in Sussex and to send news of his mother and sisters. Lord Goring added that he was trying to supply George with money through a merchant in Leeds,[80] all of which was rather innocuous in content.

But in his official letters Lord Goring reported favorably on his negotiations with the French. The queen regent had referred him to Cardinal Mazarin who had given him assurances "of real and speedy assistance from hence, so far as this their conjuncture would permit, having such great weights upon them, by reason of the late losses in Germany, and disorders elsewhere, which is not a feigned thing." (In other words, Mazarin had been polite, even sympathetic, but had made no concrete commitment.) Even if the two governments could not come to an agreement, the queen regent was promising personally to help with arms and money. Goring went on to ask for instructions about what type of assistance he should press for, concluding that a loan or French credit to back a loan would be the most likely.[81]

Lord Goring next enumerated the arms and supplies he had purchased, some of which would be dispatched from the Spanish Netherlands: 20,000 muskets; 5,000 pistols; 4,000 carbines; 2,000 barrels of powder. By separate letter he was sending a detailed accounting of his transactions, but he had raised 120,000 guilders on two pendant diamonds and various pearls, which had been used to purchase the arms. Still not pawned were various other jewels, including six rubies. In his letter to the queen he concluded: "Tis believed your Majesty will come hither, though with child. I hope your Majesty will

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not conceal it from me."[82] (Henrietta Maria was in fact about four months pregnant, but plans for her to leave England had not been made as yet.)[83]

The French courier who had been waylaid by Parliament had also been carrying letters from the queen regent, Anne, to recall Harcourt and to appoint Gressy instead as the French "agent" in England. The French government had judged that their ambassador's attempts at negotiating with both king and Parliament had been unsuccessful so far, and a later date might be more propitious for renewed negotiations, particularly with the king. Harcourt, in the meantime, remained at Oxford in the immediate aftermath of the furor over the intercepted letters, the Venetian secretary reported on 12 January.[84]

On 13 January both Houses of Parliament sent a cover letter to Count Harcourt, along with copies of the letters they had removed from the pouch. Parliament questioned the contents of the correspondence and asked the French ambassador to explain why France was willing to declare war on Parliament. Harcourt returned to London on 26 January and apologized to both Houses for the misuse of the diplomatic pouch, blaming his subordinate's wife for this error. The Sieur de Gressy also apologized for his wife's actions, but even though he had been appointed by his government to remain in England, he too left for France with Harcourt in February.[85] Reporting from Paris, Venetian Ambassador Giustinian commented on the bitter feeling at the French court against Parliament over this affair. But Lord Goring had also been caught in misrepresenting certain facts: "The English Ambassador here has mended the error of his pen, having written to England things utterly different from the intentions which he expressed here."[86]

At the very same moment that Parliament was loudly denouncing the king's dealings abroad, the Scots, Parliament's own "foreign" ally, crossed the Tweed River into England on 19 January. The king hoped to make some political capital over this "invasion," as he assembled his own Parliament at Oxford on 22 January, which contrary to Charles's wishes, first sent a letter to the Earl of Essex asking for terms of negotiation. Once the London Parliament had rejected this peace overture, the Oxford assembly voted the king £100,000 in forced loans to support his war effort.[87]

The Marquis of Newcastle had the responsibility of trying to keep the Scots in

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check. As he marched north to meet the new challenge, he had to delegate someone to maintain the royalists' position in Yorkshire. His choice was Colonel John Belasyse, of a Yorkshire Catholic noble family, who had given up his seat in the Commons to join the king's cause in September 1642 and who had raised six regiments of infantry and cavalry on his own charge. Belasyse had been with the king's main army at Edgehill and Newbury, but he had been sent temporarily to join Newcastle who now made him governor of York. George Digby, writing from Oxford on 23 January, informed Newcastle that the king had given permission for Belasyse to remain in the north, which he characterized as a great kindness "to present you with so gallant an officer at a time when we have such want of them here." Digby continued his effusive praise for Belasyse by mockingly accusing Newcastle of "robbing us of one of the most considerable and gallant men amongst us."[88]

Digby in the same letter informed Newcastle that Montrose was ready to leave Oxford, and on his way north he would bring more particulars in person to the marquis. The king then appointed Montrose his lieutenant governor and captain general in Scotland, where Montrose would fight an amazingly tenacious rearguard action through mid-1645. But this appointment came too late to have any deterrent effect on the Scots army already slowly moving through the wet winter landscape of Northumberland, being shadowed by Newcastle. The veteran Alexander Leslie, Earl of Leven, who had twice bested the king's army in the Bishops' Wars, led a force of 18,000 foot and 3,000 horse. His general of horse was David Leslie (no relation), a younger man who had also served in the Swedish army in Germany.[89]

The north was not the only area where the royalists' were being threatened that winter. A newly-raised royalist army, commanded by Sir John Byron and consisting of many soldiers who had returned to England from Ireland, was totally defeated and dispersed at Nantwich, in Cheshire, on 29 January. The local Parliamentary forces that scored this victory had been assisted by Sir Thomas Fairfax and his cavalry, temporarily on loan from Lincolnshire. Next, on 3 February, the Marquis of Newcastle reported to Prince Rupert that the Scots had reached the town of Newcastle, but the royalist garrison

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was strong enough to withstand a siege. On the Parliamentary side, the Earl of Essex was anxious to hear the latest news of the northern royalists' strengths and activities, as he wrote to Lord Fairfax at Hull on 9 February. He also asked the senior Fairfax for information "of your affairs in the north and what motions and successes the army of our brethren of Scotland have. . . ."[90]

Prince Rupert was moving his headquarters north to Shrewsbury in Shropshire that February. But the Earl of Newport, George Goring's longtime friend, on 2 February warned Rupert that the town lacked sufficient food for an increased garrison, which Rupert should supply first, before sending in "a great magazine of powder." Newport also reported that the Parliamentary forces were strong in the area, particularly after Byron's loss at Nantwich. Next, on 12 February, the royalists holding the great fortress at Newark rushed a request for men and supplies to Rupert, advising him that the Earl of Manchester, with about 5,000 men, was moving north towards their position. To complete the litany of royalist woes, the Marquis of Newcastle wrote to Digby at Oxford on 16 February that the Scots, still before Newcastle, outnumbered him by over two-to-one, his own forces consisting of 5,000 foot and 3,000 horse. Sir Thomas Fairfax was back in Lancashire, preparing to invade the West Riding again; Lord Fairfax had made himself master of the East Riding (because Newcastle had had to pull his troops out to defend to the north against the Scots); and more Parliamentary troops were moving north from the eastern counties. Newcastle ended his letter with a plea for help. [91]

To better make his case, that same day, 16 February, Newcastle wrote directly to King Charles, declaring: "[A]bsolutely the seat of the war will be in the North." He repeated his information on both Fairfaxes, on the Scottish army, and on the advance against Newark. He also warned the king not to listen to any contrary advice: "If your majesty beat the Scots your game is absolutely won." As usual, he ended with a request for more troops.[92] While no relief forces would be forthcoming from the south for the present, Rupert did write Newcastle on 18 February, informing him that he was on the march north, from Worcester to Shrewsbury, "a step nearer your Lordship where I doubt not I better be able to assist you which I assure shall be done. . . ."[93]

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At this critical juncture, the royalists were about to get back one of their cavalry commanders, George Goring. The Committee of Both Kingdoms, the recently-created joint English-Scottish executive charged with running the war, at its meeting of 20 February, ordered that the Earl of Lothian, for his well-being, should be exchanged for Colonel Goring. Among those present at this session were several men who had worked with or fought against Goring: Northumberland, Warwick, Essex and Waller.[94]

Nothing to date had been simple in trying to arrange George Goring's release, and even this attempt would encounter a few twists and turns before it would meet with success. Essex followed up on the Committee's order by twice sending a herald to Oxford to negotiate terms. However, at the king's court, the question was raised about Wat Montague, who had been mentioned back in December as an exchange for Lothian, but the Committee would not now agree. The talks for Goring's release proceeded, but they were interrupted in the first week of March by the king himself who instead wanted the return of his two youngest children, still held captive in London. The Scots were especially concerned to free their countryman from captivity, and perhaps King Charles saw it as an opportunity to raise his demands. But, again, this option was denied in London. Therefore, on 12 March, the terms for Goring's release were agreed upon, although George would remain in London until the end of the month. Moreover, the Committee of Both Kingdoms asked the Commons to indemnify Lord Fairfax £3,000 for allowing his prisoner, Colonel Goring, to be used for obtaining the Earl of Lothian's release, to which the Commons agreed.[95]

As this final episode in Goring's release played itself out, other events were occurring in London which would affect George's future. The Committee of Both Kingdoms approved £10,000 to send Sir Thomas Fairfax and his cavalry back into Yorkshire, where George would also return and would eventually face his old nemesis, as will be seen in the following chapter. Another character who in the final stages of the war would cause Goring much grief, even though he was a fellow royalist, was also making himself known in London in March 1644. Sir Richard Grenvile, a Cornishman who had been serving in Ireland, had been recruited on his returned to England by Parliament. He

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had campaigned with Waller and then was given an advance of £ 600 to raise a cavalry regiment in Sussex and Surrey. Grenvile took the money and rode off to join the royalists at Oxford, a deception not unlike Goring's at Portsmouth. Writing to Speaker Lenthall from the king's headquarters on 8 March, Grenvile claimed that upon arriving in England "I found religion was the cloak of rebellion," and he signed his letter, "Your Malignant Servant." Parliament named him a traitor on 15 March,[96] something else he shared with Goring.

The siege of Newark, about which the northern royalists had forewarned Oxford, was undertaken for Parliament by Sir John Meldrum with 7,000 men. Rupert, now headquartered at Shrewsbury, started out on 13 March to relieve the royalist citadel, gathering other contingents along his route. On 21 March Rupert not only raised the siege of Newark, but also scattered Meldrum's forces and captured all their arms and artillery. But this good news for the king was tempered by Waller's defeat of Sir Ralph Hopton's army on 29 March, at Cheriton, just east of Winchester.[97]

George Goring had been unavailable for these royalist campaigns because money matters, public and private, detained him in London. Before George was free to go he had to answer to the Committee of Accounts; Parliament wanted to know what had happened to the £3,000 they had allocated him for Portsmouth in the spring of 1642 . George, after being interviewed by the committee which was headed by William Cockayne, governor of the East India Company, had undertaken to write down certain information for his questioners. On 23 March, having completed his replies, George could not find anyone to read through his outgoing letters, the normal procedure in the Tower where he still resided, so he sealed them and sent them to the post. The following day he wrote a note to Sir Isaac Pennington, then governor of the Tower, to explain his actions, saying that the committee had been in a hurry to have his replies. He added that he wanted to get in touch with the committee again so "I may rectify a small failing of my memory when I was last with them."[98]

On 25 March Goring wrote to William Cockayne and his committee to make that correction to his previous testimony. He had told them that the £ 3,000 had been paid to

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the Portsmouth garrison as half of their annual pay, but he now remembered that the money had covered three-quarters' year salary for the regular troops and one-quarter annual pay for the new recruits. Any remaining funds had been used on the building works. In fact, George claimed that the Parliamentary funds had been insufficient to cover all the costs at Portsmouth, and he and the garrison were still owed money. He reiterated that he had dispersed all the government money he had received prior to the "troubles," and he had written to the Portsmouth paymaster for more details. George then promised that if he were "removed into the King's quarters" before the particulars became available, he would not be hindered "by any public divisions" from giving his questioners all the information they wished since this would vindicate him.[99]

The follow-up replies from Henry Bury, Goring's paymaster at Portsmouth, and John Biggs, the builder, would arrive in May, long after George Goring had left London. Each thought the other should have the garrison accounts, but Biggs, one of the first to be expelled from Portsmouth because of his refusal to swear allegiance to the king's cause, set the record straight: he and other supporters of Parliament had been turned out without being paid their arrears.[100] As described in the previous chapter, George had, in fact, taken the remains of the Parliamentary funds with him to the Netherlands to help the queen in recruiting men and buying armaments, but obviously he would omit this portion of the story for his Parliamentary interrogators.

Goring's personal creditors fared better in their dealings with him. On 30 March, George, still in London, signed an agreement, authorizing his agents to pay William Perkins, merchant tailor, £141, and John Tolley, woolman, £400, for debts "long since due."[101] This is the last record of George Goring's transactions in London, for in April he was making his way north to rejoin Newcastle's command, appointed general of horse north of the Trent by King Charles.[102]

Lord Goring, still in Paris when his son finally gained his freedom, was making little progress in his negotiations for an alliance. Charles Louis, Elizabeth's oldest son, was upset that the English ambassador was treating for him at the French court, "where his late intercepted letters have put him in no very good predicament."[103] The Venetian

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ambassador concurred that Goring's negotiations were at a standstill, because of the "ill conditions" in England and because Count Harcourt, back in Paris, counseled against it. But Lord Goring's business arrangements to provide supplies to the king were starting to yield results; at the beginning of March the 2,000 barrels of powder he had purchased, carried to England by individual French merchants, arrived safely at Oxford, as did his shipment of 10,000 arms.[104]

George had written his father on 17 March, so Lord Goring was aware of his son's latest status. Writing his wife from Paris on 12 April, he responded to this good news, but with a bit of caution, quite understandable given the past false starts: "If my son George were out my heart would be light. Bless him from me and conjure him to make all haste into the North."[105] A sentiment in which fatherly concern was commingled with patriotic duty.

Lord Goring went on to tell his wife that he thought he would be leaving France soon, but to return to Holland, where he still had much to do. (Jewels to be pawned, supplies to be bought, one supposes.) But he was awaiting further instructions from Oxford. He continued: "How knotty my work has been is well seen, and yet I hope to give such an account of my journey as shall make it appear I have not slept all this time without working sometimes." As for his reception at the French court: "This Queen [Anne] is now again singularly kind to me, and in the face of the whole Court brings her two sons [Louis XIV and his brother, Philippe], the sweetest children in the world, to salute me."[106]

Finally, he addressed a matter his wife had raised in her last letter wherein she had expressed concern that her husband had interrupted their younger son Charles's studies abroad to return him to fight in England. Lord Goring's reply:

> I could not endure to see him here so much a man as he is now grown, learning exercises at ease and pleasure. No, had I millions of crowns or scores of sons the King and his cause should have them all with better will than to eat if I were starving; nor shall fear or loss of whatsoever ever change me therein.[107]

Lord Goring, despite all his recent hardships, maintained the credo of a diehard royalist. His oldest son, having just spent ten months of his life in prison for the same

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cause, was already on his way to rejoin the fray in the north, a region where the royalists were facing a growing crisis. The king obviously thought that Goring's talents were needed to help the beleaguered northern royalists meet the challenge of the combined forces of Parliament and the Scots. Nor did the loss of Wakefield seem to detract from Goring's record. As commander of the garrison, he should have born total responsibility for the loss; yet there had been the mitigating circumstances of his serious illness, attested to by both his father and the queen. If he had been in health, there is little doubt he would have done all possible to rally his forces, just as he had done in the front trenches before Breda and on the ramparts of Portsmouth. The king trusted in George Goring's ability, and Goring was about to try to prove himself worthy of that renewed trust.

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1. Kenyon, *Civil Wars*, 46, 260; Hutton, *Charles II*, 2-3, and *Royalist War Effort*, 30; Young and Emberton, *Cavalier Army*, 24-25; Gentles, "Civil Wars in England," in Kenyon and Ohlmeyer, *Military History*, 121, 123.

2. BL Add. MS. 18979, ff. 129-130, Lord Fairfax, Selby, to Committee of Lords and Commons, 10 December 1642.

3. TT E. 83 (1), *A Declaration made by the Earl of Newcastle . . . for his Resolution of marching into Yorkshire* (York, 21 December 1642), 3-4; BL Add. MS. 18980, f. 15, Earl of Newcastle to Prince Rupert, 21 January 1643; Green, *Letters of Henrietta Maria*, 145, 154-55; Gardiner, *Great Civil War*, 1:87.

4. Green, *Letters of Henrietta Maria*, 149-50; Morrah, *Prince Rupert*, 49, 52; *HMC*, 10th Rpt., Pt. VI, Bouverie MS., 89; Kenyon, *Civil Wars*, 45, 256; Gardiner, *Great Civil War*, 1:93; Gentles, "Civil Wars in England," in Kenyon and Ohlmeyer, *Military History*, 123.

5. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 28, f. 131, Rupert Diary; Gardiner, *Great Civil War*, 1:87-88; *GEC*, 9:774.

6. Green, *Letters of Henrietta Maria*, 161-67; Baker, *Letters of Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia*, 153; *GEC*, 9:523, 771; Margaret, Duchess of Newcastle, *The Life of the (1st) Duke of Newcastle and Other Writings*, Everyman's Library, No. 722 (London: J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd., 1916), 38. The Duchess of Newcastle's biography of her husband was originally entitled: *The Life of the Thrice Noble, High and Puissant Prince William Cavendish* (London: A. Maxwell, 1667).

7. *Commons Journal*, 2:993-94; Green, *Letters of Henrietta Maria*, 169-70; Carlton, *Charles I*, 257-58; Kenyon, *Civil Wars*, 74.

8. Parker, *Military Revolution*, 41; Bodl. Clarendon MS. 28, f. 131, Rupert Diary; Kenyon, *Civil Wars*, 64-65; Gardiner, *Great Civil War*, 87, 103-104.

9. Thomas, 3rd Lord Fairfax, "A Short Memorial of the Northern Actions; during the War there from the year 1642 till the year 1644," in C. H. Firth, *Stuart Tracts, 1603-1693* (Westminster: Archibald Constable and Co., Ltd., 1903), 374-76; Peter Young and Richard Holmes, *The English Civil War: A Military History of the Three Civil Wars, 1642-51* (London: Eyre Methuen, 1974), 104-105; Wedgwood, *King's War*, 169; *CSPVen 1642-3*, 263, Agostini, 17 April 1643 [N. S.]; Newcastle, *Life*, 39-40; Kenyon, *Civil Wars*, 74-75.

10. *Mercurius Aulicus* (Oxford, 4 April 1643); *CSPVen 1642-43*, 263; Green, *Letters of Henrietta Maria*, 176-77, 180; Wedgwood, *King's War*, 153-54; Joad Raymond, *The Invention of the Newspaper: English Newsbooks, 1641-1649* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 26. According to Raymond, *Mercurius Aulicus*, edited by John Birkenhead with the king's approval to counter the various Parliamentary propaganda sheets, was

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"elevated in style" and offered "pointed, calculated, and snobbish satirical criticism of its enemies."

11. *Interregnum*, 1:106-107, 109.

12. Ibid., 1:109-116, wherein twenty-seven Sussex estates were to be sequestered, but Danny was not listed; *Lords Journal*, 5:653; 6:10; BL Add. MS. 18980, f. 47, Lord Goring, York, to Prince Rupert, 22 April 1643.

13. *Interregnum*, 1:116; BL Harley MS. 6164, f. 22 b, family pedigree.

14. W. Sussex R. O., Hurstpierpoint Parish Record 1643, 400/1/1/1. The Hurstpierpoint parish church of Holy Trinity was built in the 1840's, replacing the older St. Lawrence which had occupied the location from Saxon times. Although some of the memorials from the old church were removed to the new one, based on my own observations, no memorial to Lettice Goring remains, if one had ever been constructed. A search of the ancient graveyard also did not reveal her final resting place, for most of the older headstones are illegible due to erosion. The Goring coat of arms, however, has been preserved in the north clerestory of Holy Trinity. I thank Dr. James Clarkson for pointing out this feature to me. Also, see John Norris, *Notes on the Church of the Holy Trinity, Hurstpierpoint*, rev. ed. (1993), *passim*.

15. W. Sussex R. O., Wiston Archives 5969, Goring family pedigree; *DNB*, 6:116.

16. BL Add. MS. 18980, f. 45, Lord Goring, York, to Prince Rupert, 18 April 1643; BL Add. MS. 18979, f. 139, Commissioners of Parliament, London, to Lord General Fairfax, 13 April 1643.

17. Green, *Letters of Henrietta Maria*, 188-90, dated 23 April 1643.

18. BL Add. MS. 18980, f. 47, Lord Goring, York, to Prince Rupert, 22 April 1643. This manuscript source contains letters written to Prince Rupert in 1643. The proper form of salutation appeared to be either "Sir," which George Goring would use, or "May it please your Highness." Lord Goring's salutation of "My Prince" was unique.

19. BL Add. MS. 18980, f.48, Lord Goring to Henry Percy, 22 April 1643; Bodl. Firth MS. C 6, f. 164, Lord Goring to George Digby, 22 April 1643. Henrietta Maria had been instrumental in November 1642 in reconciling her husband with Henry Percy, the fled Army Plot conspirator. Although her husband did not trust Percy, the queen had counseled: "It is true that he has his weak points, but everybody in the world has them." See Green, *Letters*, 139.

20. Green, *Letters of Henrietta Maria*, 190; Newcastle, *Life*, 41; Gardiner, *Great Civil War*, 1:87; TT E. 88 (23), 23 January 1643, 1; *GEC*, 9:523; *CSPVen 1642-43*, 283, Agostini, 12 June 1643 [N. S.]. Information on the Church of All Saints, Wakefield

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Cathedral, from my personal visit in 1994; the current church was consecrated in 1329, and had a 247-foot tower added in the fifteenth century. The cathedral still dominates the downtown area. Wakefield's preeminence in the Yorkshire wool industry was only superceded by other towns like Leeds with the coming of the industrial revolution.

21. Quoted in *Lords Journal*, 6:66-67; BL Harley MS. 7001, f. 162, Sir John Goodrich and royalist commissioners, Manchester, to Lord Fairfax, Leeds, 4 May 1643.

22. BL Harley MS. 7001, f. 162; *Lords Journal*, 6:67-68; the captured letter was read in the House of Lords on 27 May and entered into its Journal.

23. *Lords Journal*, 6:67.

24. Ibid., 67-68; Bodl. Clarendon MS. 28, f. 131, Rupert Diary; Green, *Letters of Henrietta Maria*, 193-94; Gardiner, *Great Civil War*, 1:133-35.

25. *Lords Journal*, 6:67-68.

26. Green, *Letters of Henrietta Maria*, 203-5.

27. Fairfax, "Northern Actions," in Firth, *Stuart Tracts*, 376.

28. Ibid., *Lords Journal*, 6:66-67; Kenyon, *Civil Wars*, 75; Young and Holmes, *Military History*, 105, 108.

29. *Lords Journal*, 6:66-67; Newcastle, *Life*, 41-42. Margaret, Duchess of Newcastle, at the time of the Wakefield action was not married to Newcastle as yet; she would become his second wife while they were both exiles in France in 1645. She was born Margaret Lucas, sister to Sir Charles Lucas who would be Goring's lieutenant general at Marston Moor. Obviously, her retelling of her husband's life was based on the information he provided her, so her assessment of the loss of Wakefield might reflect her husband's anger. On the other hand, her husband is somewhat idealized throughout her biography of him, so this interpretation might be her own.

30. Fairfax, "Northern Actions," in Firth, *Stuart Tracts*, 376; *Lords Journal*, 6:67.

31. Fairfax, "Northern Actions," in Firth, *Stuart Tracts*, 376-78; *Lords Journal*, 6:66-67; *Commons Journal*, 3:106; TT E. 104 (15), *True and Joyful News* (29 May 1643), 1; TT E. 104 (18), *Weekly Intelligencer* (23-30 May 1643), 162; Young and Holmes, *Military History*, 108.

32. *Lords Journal*, 6:66. The letters sent by the Fairfaxes to Parliament with the news about Wakefield, the list of prisoners, and Lord Goring letter to George also appear in Rushworth, *Collections*, III, 2:268-71.

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33. Ibid.

34. *HMC*, Vol. 6, 7th Rpt., Lowndes MS., 550-51.

35. *Lords Journal*, 6:65; both Houses declared the day of Thanksgiving in their sessions of 27 May; see also, *Commons Journal*, 3:106.

36. TT E. 104 (13), *A Miraculous VICTORY* (London: 27 May 1643), 1, 3; a second edition of the same pamphlet, dated 29 May 1643, is at the British Library, but not part of the Thomason Tracts. The Wakefield Museum has on display a copy of the 27 May edition, on loan from the Wakefield Public Library.

37. TT E. 104 (15), *True and Joyful News* (London: 29 May 1643), no pagination.

38. TT E. 104 (25), *Mercurius Civicus, London's Weekly Intelligencer* (25 May-1 June 1643), 27; TT E. 104 (18) and TT E. 104 (18*), *The Kingdom's Weekly Intelligencer* (23-30 May 1643). 162-63.

39. *Lords Journal*, 6:65.

40. *Commons Journal*, 3:107.

41. Barbara Donagan, "Atrocity, War Crime, and Treason in the English Civil War," *The American Historical Review* (hereafter, *AHR*), vol. 99, no. 4 (October 1994) : 1140-41; Gentles, "Civil Wars in England," in Kenyon and Ohlmeyer, *Military History*, 112-13.

42. *CSPVen 1642-3*, 283, Agostini, 12 June 1643 [N. S.].

43. BL Harley MS. 7001, f. 164, Lord Goring to Lord Fairfax, 29 May 1643.

44. BL Sloane MS. 1519, f. 33, Lord Goring to Lord Fairfax, 31 May 1643.

45. *CSPD 1641-43*, 2:465, Captain William Goodrich to John Burdinand.

46. BL Add. MS. 18979, f. 141, Parliamentary forces at Nottingham to Lord Fairfax, 2 June 1643.

47. Worp, *Huygens*, 21:394.

48. Green, *Letters of Henrietta Maria*, 208-9, 212; *CSPVen 1642-43*, 283; Bodl. Clarendon MS 28, f. 132, Rupert Diary; Kenyon, *Civil Wars*, 78; Marshall, *Henrietta Maria*, 109; Bence-Jones, *Cavaliers*, 92.

49. Kenyon, *Civil Wars*, 78-9; Wedgwood, *King's War*, 209-11.

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50. Green, *Letters of Henrietta Maria*, 212. Most modern analysts believe, as I do, that Goring's loss was detrimental to the northern royalists. John Kenyon (*Civil Wars*, 78) believes Goring's absence might have given Sir Thomas Fairfax the cavalry edge at Adwalton Moor. C V. Wedgwood (*King's War*, 200) states Goring "was the ablest of the King's cavalry officers in the North," while Brigadier Peter Young, one of the preeminent military historians of the period, and Richard Holmes (*Military History*, 100, 108) believe Newcastle had lost his "impetuous commander of cavalry," so had to rely more on the cautious General King. Young and Holmes also characterize Goring in general as "a brave man and an excellent cavalry commander on the day of the battle." Finally, Ian Gentles ("Civil Wars in England," in Kenyon and Ohlmeyer, *Military History*, 123) says Goring "fought with distinction as Newcastle's lieutenant-general of horse, demonstrating bravery, administrative efficiency, and gifted leadership."

51. *Lords Journal*, 6:133; *CSPVen 1642–43*, 298, Agostini, 31 July 1643 [N. S.]; Gregg, *Charles I*, 378.

52. *Commons Journal*, 3:169, 183; *CSPVen 1642–43*, 298.

53. *Commons Journal*, 3:191.

54. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 28, f. 132, Rupert Diary; Kenyon, *Civil Wars*, 75-76; TT E. 63 (14), *A Weekly Account* (27 July-4 August 1643), 4, which reported: "It is now certain that Bristol was surrendered up to the lawless liberty of Prince Rupert, and his martial followers, on Thursday last."

55. *Commons Journal*, 3:200-3; *Lords Journal*, 6:178.

56. *Commons Journal*, 3:203.

57. Wedgwood, *King's War*, 226-28; Carlton, *Charles I*, 259-60; Gardiner, *Great Civil War*, 1:194, 197-99; Woolrych, *Battles*, 44-49; Kenyon, *Civil Wars*, 80-81; Peter Newman, *Atlas of the English Civil War* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1985), 39. All the cited sources agree that the king came closest to winning the war in the summer of 1643, but the failed actions in August and September ended his opportunity.

58. Woolrych, *Battles*, 46; Kenyon, *Civil Wars*, 80.

59. BL Add. MS. 15856, f. 11 b, Instructions to Councilor George Lord Goring, Oxford, 28 August 1643; Green, *Letters of Henrietta Maria*, 215-16; Francois Bluche, *Louis XIV*, trans. Mark Greengrass (New York: Franklin Watts, 1990), 17-19, 66; John Miller, *Bourbon and Stuart: Kings and Kingship in France and England in the Seventeenth Century* (New York: Franklin Watts, 1987), 135-36, 152.

60. Quoted in John B. Wolf, *Louis XIV* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1968), 18; Bluche, *Louis XIV*, 17, 22.

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61. BL Add. MS. 15856, f. 11, Instructions. Elizabeth, although personally loyal to her brother, had continued to receive an annual allowance from Parliament after the commencement of hostilities in England. But earlier in 1643 her letters to Rupert had been intercepted and read by Parliament, and her royalist professions had cost her this pension. Subsequently, she had written to Parliament to try to explain herself (and win back her allowance). Thus, Lord Goring's personal delivery of King Charles's messages to his sister would avoid the problem of interception. As for Charles Louis, unlike his younger brothers Rupert and Maurice, he had abandoned his uncle's cause when war broke out. Besides his concern for his position on the Continent, he probably also harbored some hope of being called to the English throne if his uncle were overthrown. After all, Charles Louis had a respectable Protestant parentage on both sides, unlike his English cousins Charles and James, who had a French Catholic mother. Despite Charles Louis' lack of enthusiasm for his uncle's cause, King Charles was still apparently concerned about the restitution of the lands of his sister's family. See Ross, *Winter Queen*, 123-25; Plowden, *Stuart Princesses*, 70-71.

62. BL. Add. MS. 15856, ff. 12-13, Instructions.

63. *CSPVen 1643-47*, 16-18, Agostini, 11 September 1643 [N. S.].

64. Ibid., 30, Agostini, 16 October 1643 [N. S.], wherein Agostini said that Lord Goring had already crossed to Holland; Fairfax, "Northern Actions," in Firth, *Stuart Tracts*, 388; Kenyon, *Civil Wars*, 81-84; Woolrych, *Battles*, 49; Fraser, *Cromwell*, 111.

65. BL Harley MS. 7001, ff. 168-69. This autograph letter appears to have been written in haste; it contains four crossed out corrections on one sheet, whereas Lord Goring's more regular correspondence was usually error-free.

66. Ibid., f. 168.

67. *Commons Journal*, 3:279; Kenyon, *Civil Wars*, 84.

68. *HMC*, Vol. 6, 7th Rpt., Pt. I, Verney Papers, 445, Warwick to Sir Ralph Verney, 21 September 1643.

69. E. Sussex R. O., Danny Archives, f. 1134, indenture of 2 September 1643.

70. *CSPVen 1643-47*, 35-36, Alvise Contarini, Venetian Ambassador at Munster, 1 November 1643 [N.S.], and 39, 49, Agostini, London, 13 November and 11 December 1643 [N. S.]; Foster, *Modern Ireland*, 92-94. After obtaining the cessation, Ormonde was named Lord Lieutenant of Ireland by Charles.

71. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 28, f. 133, Rupert Diary; C. V. Wedgwood, *Montrose* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1952, 1995), 47, 51, 54; Furgol, "Civil Wars in Scotland," in Kenyon and Ohlmeyer, *Military History*, 49-50; J. H. Hexter, *The Reign of King Pym*

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(Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1941), 134-35.

72. Prall, *Puritan Revolution*, 103.

73. Ibid., 81, 103-107; Wedgwood, *Montrose*, 54-56, which includes a reproduction of the wonderfully illustrated broadsheet version of the Solemn League and Covenant engraved in 1643; Hexter, *King Pym*, 151.

74. BL Add. MS. 21506, f. 26, Newcastle to Rupert, 3 October 1643.

75. Gardiner, *Great Civil War*, 1:297-98; Kenyon, *Civil Wars*, 96.

76. *CSPVen 1643-47*, 49, Agostini, London, 11 December 1643 [N. S.]; *Lords Journal*, 6:375-76; *CSPD 1641-43*, 2:508-9; Green, *Letters of Henrietta Maria*, 228-30, wherein the queen considered Montague's capture "a misfortune"; Gardiner, *Great Civil War*, 1:271-72; Wedgwood, *King's War*, 251-52.

77. *CSPD 1641-43*, 2:508-10; Hexter, *King Pym*, 3-4; Kenyon, *Civil Wars*, 35-36, 91; Morrah, *Prince Rupert*, 101-2.

78. *CSPD 1644*, 5-6; *CSPVen 1643-47*, 59, Giustinian, Paris, 5 January 1644 [N.S.]; *Lords Journal*, 6:375-76.

79. *Commons Journal*, 3:362; *Lords Journal*, 6:374-75.

80. *HMC*, vol. 5, 6th Rpt., Pt. I, App., House of Lords Calendar, 42.

81. *Lords Journal*, 6:375-76.

82. Ibid.

83. Marshall, *Henrietta Maria*, 111-12.

84. *CSPVen 1643-47*, 65, Agostini, 22 January 1644 [N. S.].

85. *Lords Journal*, 6:378-79; *CSPVen 1643-47*, 67, 69, Agostini, 29 January and 5 February 1644 [N. S.].

86. *CSPVen 1643-47*, 78, Giustinian, Paris, 8 March 1644 [N. S.].

87. Rushworth, *Collections*, III, 2:573-74, wherein Rushworth listed all the names of the Lords and Commons at Oxford who signed the letter of 27 January 1644 to Essex; he also listed nine peers "absent in the parts beyond the seas," a category in which Lord Goring was included without any additional comments. Also, Carlton, *Charles I*, 264-65.

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88. BL Sloan MS. 1519, f .26, Digby to Newcastle, 23 January 1644; and f. 24, Newcastle to Belasyse, 20 January 1644; *DNB*, 2:142.

89. BL Sloane MS. 1519, f .26; Wedgwood, *Montrose*, 56; Kenyon, *Civil Wars*, 91; Woolrych, *Battles*, 52-53; Furgol, "Civil Wars in Scotland," in Kenyon and Ohlmeyer, *Military History*, 51.

90. BL Sloane MS. 1519, f. 28, Essex to Lord Fairfax, 3 February 1644; BL Add. MS. 21506, f. 28, Newcastle to Prince Rupert, 4 February 1644; Wedgwood, *King's War*, 271-72.

91. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 28, f. 133, Rupert Diary; BL Add. MS. 18981, f. 24, Newport to Prince Rupert, 2 February 1644; Bodl. Firth MS. C 6, f. 75, Commissioners of Newark to Prince Rupert, 12 February 1644, and f. 88-9, Newcastle to Digby, 16 February 1644; Furgol, "Civil Wars in Scotland," in Kenyon and Ohlmeyer, *Military History*, 51.

92. BL Add. MS. 18981, f. 42, Newcastle to King Charles, 16 February 1644.

93. BL Sloane MS. 1519, f. 30, Prince Rupert to Newcastle, 18 February 1644.

94. *CSPD 1644*, 21.

95. *CSPVen 1643–47*, 79, 81, Agostini, 11 and 18 March 1644 [N. S.]; *Commons Journal*, 3:363; *GEC*, 9:774.

96. BL Add. MS. 18979, f. 150, Charles Copley, London, to Sir Thomas Fairfax, 6 March 1644; Rushworth, *Collections*, III, 2:384-85. Richard Grenvile's brother, Sir Bevil, was a leader of the Cornish royalists who lost his life at Lansdown in July 1643. See Wedgwood, *King's War*, 212-13.

97. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 28, f. 134, Rupert Diary; BL Add. MS. 27402, ff. 95-96, Lord Ogle's Relation; Woolrych, *Battles*, 55; Kenyon, *Civil Wars*, 93-94; Kitson, *Prince Rupert*, 171-72. Kenyon judges Newark as Rupert's most brilliant generalship, and Kitson praises the prince for his planning, execution, and swiftness of action.

98. *CSPD 1644*, 69. Sir John Conyers, lieutenant of the Tower when George had arrived the previous August, had shortly thereafter been given leave to go to the Netherlands to rejoin his Dutch wife and return to Dutch service. See TT E. 63 (14), *A Weekly Account* (London, 3 August 1643), 2.

99. *CSPD 1644*, 71-72.

100. Ibid., 179-80.

101. E. Sussex R. O., Danny Archives, f. 1135, 30 March 1644.

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102. Bodl. Firth MS. C 7, ff. 63-64, proclamation of 17 April 1644.

103. *CSPD 1644*, 36-37, Charles Louis, Hague, to Sir Thomas Roe, 7/17 March 1644. It is interesting to note that Elizabeth, at the end of March, had received no further news from Oxford since Lord Goring's visit; *CSPD 1644*, 76.

104. *CSPVen 1643-47*, 79, Agostini, London, 11 March 1644 [N. S.]; and 80, Giustinian, Paris, 15 March 1644 [N. S.]; Gardiner, *Great Civil War*, 1:320.

105. *CSPD 1644*, 110.

106. Ibid.

107. Ibid.

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CHAPTER 9
RETURN TO THE NORTH AND MARSTON MOOR, APRIL-JULY 1644

In April 1644 the newly-freed Colonel Goring rejoined the king's war effort at a time when the Marquis of Newcastle's northern army was facing a two-fronted assault: Colonel John Belasyse was trying to protect Yorkshire from new incursions by the Fairfaxes, while Newcastle himself and 8,000 veteran troops undertook the task of shadowing the Scots on their slow advance south. But Sir Thomas Fairfax would make a spectacular reentry into the West Riding of Yorkshire, defeat the local royalists and force Newcastle to return south to defend York.

Newcastle would send his cavalry out of York before the Parliamentary forces could undertake the siege of that city, and in late April, Colonel Goring would be reunited with these troopers at Newark. The relief of York became a priority for the royalists, and Prince Rupert was to be the instrument of salvation, seconded by Goring and the northern cavalry. Even though in later stages of the war a hostility would develop between the two royalist commanders, in this initial phase of their joint operations, they appeared to work well together to accomplish the urgent task at hand.

Rupert would manage to relieve York and send the besiegers--two Parliamentary armies and the Scots--into retreat. But the prince thought that his uncle wanted him to force an engagement. The result was the battle of Marston Moor, fought to the west of York, late on the evening of 2 July 1644. The outcome of this, the largest battle ever fought on English soil, would be a total defeat for the royalists and the subsequent loss of York and the entire north. Thereafter, Rupert would no longer be the larger-than-life hero (or foe) that he had been, and Newcastle, his personal fortune totally depleted, would

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choose to leave the country rather than face the king.

In fact, George Goring would be one of the few royalist commanders whose reputation would be enhanced by Marston Moor despite the overall outcome. George, in command of the royalist left wing, would smash the opposing cavalry, led by Sir Thomas Fairfax. But when he finally rallied his depleted forces to face a second action that night, they would be eliminated from the field by Oliver Cromwell's well-disciplined and numerically superior cavalry. Given all the conditions under which the battle took place, George Goring made about the best possible showing he could, and he would subsequently be rewarded by King Charles with a promotion in command.

The Renewed Struggle for the North

In the final days of March 1644, as George Goring prepared for his departure from the Tower, he would in reality be leaving London for the last time in his life. It seems unlikely that such a possibility would have occurred to him, for the war was still very much in dispute. But even as he was making his way north during the month of April, the situation would appreciably worsen for the king's cause.

The renewed threat of the Fairfaxes to the royalists in Yorkshire--Lord Ferdinando in the East Riding, Sir Thomas in the West Riding--concerned the king's council as well as Colonel John Belasyse at York in late March. Rupert was still at Newark following his victory over the Parliamentary besiegers when Belasyse reported to him that Sir Thomas Fairfax was at Bakewell in Derbyshire, poised to invade the West Riding with 2,000 horse and dragoons. The purpose of Fairfax's thrust was reportedly to join with the Parliamentary forces from Hull, approximately 2,000 horse and 1,900 foot, as well as with the 2,000 or more men stationed at Bradford. While Belasyse concluded by asking Rupert to come to his assistance, his own commander, Newcastle, was also seeking aid from the prince, but to help stop the Scottish advance. After again emphasizing that the Scots' infantry outnumbered his own by about two-to-one, the marquis warned Rupert that he must receive reinforcements soon, or "the great game of your uncle's will be endangered

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if not lost. . . ."[1]

On 27 March Belasyse also wrote to Lincoln for additional cavalry from Major General George Porter, son of the courtier Endymion Porter and new brother-in-law to George Goring. But Porter was so busy squabbling with a fellow royalist over the local command that he had missed an earlier rendezvous with Rupert, thus angering the prince. Now Porter claimed he was preparing to go north to assist the Yorkshire royalists. But in the rapidly changing scenario, Belasyse reported to Rupert on 29 March that Newcastle had ordered him north to Durham to help counter the Scots' advance. That same day the commissioners of York wrote their own letter to the prince to stress their dire straits, that with Belasyse ordered north they would be left unprotected from the Fairfaxes. They addressed a final plea to the prince, "you, whose victorious successes hath made you so dreadful to the enemy," warning that Yorkshire was too big a county to be lost to the king.[2]

Despite these appeals for help, Prince Rupert did not march north from Newark, but instead returned west to Shrewsbury, which he reached on 4 April. The men he had gathered to raise the siege of Newark had been borrowed from royalist garrisons along his route and they had to be returned, while others had only signed on for the one campaign. The king's own position at Oxford was more precarious too after the defeat of Hopton's army at Cheriton on 29 March, and based at Shrewsbury, Rupert could better coordinate recruiting from Wales and Ireland in the hopes of forming a new royalist army. With the prince gone, Newcastle instead asked that Sir John Byron be sent from Chester to counter the Fairfaxes around Leeds. He ended this new request to Rupert with his favorite refrain: "Beat the Scots and the business is done."[3]

Belasyse, in the meantime, had been allowed to remain at York, and Newcastle had ordered George Porter north from Lincoln into Yorkshire. But the ever-procrastinating Porter, while claiming he was ready to do as the marquis ordered, reported he had only 600 foot and 1,000 horse available, but he would be able to add some 2,000 infantrymen if he were given a little more time, a figure which seemed high and, therefore, suspect. The ever more desperate Yorkshire royalists again asked Rupert to dispatch Byron to their

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rescue when it became apparent that neither Porter nor Lord Loughborough in Leicestershire would reach them with reinforcements in time.[4]

Despite the incessant forewarnings of doom emanating from the north, the king's camp at Oxford had other major concerns, closer to home, ever since "the last accident," the euphemism used by Henry Jermyn to describe Hopton's recent defeat. Writing to Rupert on behalf of the queen on 6 April, Jermyn advised that the victorious Waller was moving west towards the Parliamentary stronghold of Gloucester, but the king's army hoped to follow him and prevent any link-up with reinforcements from London. The queen (whose child was due in June) was becoming concerned about being cut off at Oxford; therefore, as soon as a passage west was open she planned to leave. Jermyn indicated that Henrietta Maria might need some of Rupert's troops to help her in her escape.[5]

From these few letters, it would appear that the royalists lacked central planning, but that was not the case . The king did have a council of war, consisting of military commanders, officials, and privy councilors, which met on a frequent basis to advise the king on military policy and to administer the war. But beginning in February 1644, as the senior military men like Rupert, Forth, Astley and Hopton went into the field, the civilians began to dominate the council. Rupert, in particular, once removed to Shrewsbury, found it more difficult to have his opinions considered, and he would have to travel to Oxford that spring to make sure his voice was heard in council.[6] It should also be remembered that Prince Rupert, of whom so much was asked and expected, was a young man not quite twenty-five years old. In the end, with the king and his council concerned about Waller and Essex in the south, and Rupert recruiting in the Marches, the Yorkshire royalists were left to their own defenses.

In late March, Sir Thomas Fairfax had sent some of his forces into the West Riding under Colonel John Lambert, a young man who would rise in both military and political prominence over the next fifteen years. Belasyse, unsuccessful in his attempt to force Lambert from Leeds, was headquartered at Selby, when on 11 April the combined Parliamentary forces of Lambert and the two Fairfaxes, about 5,000 men in total, appeared

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before the town. When Lord Fairfax asked Belasyse to surrender, the royalist commander retorted that he would not deliver the town up "to a rebel," which precipitated an all-out assault. Much like Wakefield, there was hard street-to-street fighting, and, once again, Sir Thomas Fairfax won the day. Belasyse himself was wounded and captured (and would spend ten months in the Tower of London before being exchanged). The Parliamentary forces took about 2,000 prisoners, 2,000 arms and fourteen pieces of ordinance. As the House of Commons triumphantly noted upon receiving this news, "by this success, the Lord Fairfax is absolutely master of the field."[7]

Newcastle thus had to abandon his delaying maneuvers against the Scots and race south to protect York. But facing a siege, he sent his cavalry out of the city, under the command of Sir Charles Lucas, an experienced soldier of the continental wars who had fought with Rupert at Powick and Cirencester. At the same time, the king issued a proclamation from Oxford, dated 17 April 1644: "To save York City, the North and the Kingdom," all of the king's supporters in the north were to gather their forces of infantry and cavalry, and join with Major General Porter to go into the West Riding to protect the Marquis of Newcastle from the "rebel forces of the Fairfaxes, Lambert," and others. This relief of Yorkshire was to be done "under the conduct of Colonel Goring, General of our horse on that side of the Trent if he shall come unto you [in] time enough, we having written to him to that purpose."[8]

On the same day that this proclamation was issued, the king and his two eldest sons saw Henrietta Maria depart from Oxford. As Secretary of War Sir Edward Walker noted, the queen "being great with child and much indisposed in her health," began a journey to the West Country, "those parts being judged to be more out of the rebels' power, and less subject to the noise and apprehension of danger." Accompanied by the faithful Jermyn, she would have her last child at Exeter in June and then sail for her native France. She would never see her husband again.[9]

Newcastle, back at York on 18 April, wrote the king his version of the recent disaster and his loss of Colonel Belasyse to the enemy, which he blamed on both George Porter and Lord Loughborough for not coming to Belasyse's defense as ordered. His

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evaluation of the situation at York was not very encouraging: "We shall be dispossessed here very shortly."[10] That was exactly what the Committee of Both Kingdoms was hoping that the Fairfaxes and the Scots would accomplish. Writing to Lord Fairfax on 20 April, the Committee was leaving details of the forthcoming siege of York to his judgment: "We doubt not but God will yet go on to do more by you and in his strength let you go on and prosper." The Fairfaxes were to join up with the Scots, while the Earl of Manchester's Eastern Association was to try to intercept Rupert if he rode to the relief of York.[11]

This promising situation in the north was particularly welcomed by Parliament, for their armies in the south had failed to take advantage of their success at Cheriton. In fact, the Earl of Essex had refused to proceed north as ordered early in April to join with Manchester, claiming that his army had neither the men nor the money to support such a campaign (unlike Manchester's Eastern Association which was better provided for, as he pointed out in a letter to the House of Lords). And Waller, who had been ordered to relieve Lyme, under siege by Prince Maurice, had had to abandon his march west because his London levies refused to go into Dorset. Nevertheless, through these unforeseen circumstances, Essex and Waller now found themselves within striking distance of Oxford. The king, whose army only consisted of 6,000 foot and 4,000 horse, called for a major strategy session, which brought Prince Rupert south on 25 April to attend his uncle.[12]

Rupert would remain with the king and council until 5 May, participating in the long and difficult debates. In the end, Rupert prevailed, or so he thought. The king agreed to his nephew's plan to reinforce a circle of outlying towns, like Abingdon and Reading, and to remain on the defensive at Oxford, while Rupert returned to Shrewsbury and gathered his forces to relieve York, which, it was believed, could only hold out for six to eight weeks. But once Rupert departed, and even before he reached his headquarters at Shrewsbury on 8 May, those remaining with the king had persuaded him to entirely change the plan of action. Believing that they would give themselves a more mobile defensive force, the royalists began to withdrew their troops from the outlying garrison towns, which only allowed Waller and Essex to move closer to Oxford. The situation would become so grim that Charles wanted to send his oldest son into the West Country

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with a separate council, but his advisers voiced enough strong objections to halt this action, at least for the present.[13]

The situation in the south would remain unsettled and precarious for the king throughout May, as Rupert proceeded with his campaign to relieve York. One major component of the prince's army would be the northern horse, once again commanded by George Goring.

Reunion at Newark

Just as the royalist council of war was beginning its strategy sessions in late April, George Goring arrived at Newark. He had first been to Oxford and then began his journey north to his new command, accompanied by a regiment under the command of Colonel Evers; on the last stage of his journey through Leicestershire he had also been provided with a cavalry detachment by Lord Loughborough. But the news which greeted him at the royalist citadel at Newark on 24 April concerned the perilous situation in Yorkshire. Newcastle had heard that his former cavalry commander was on his way to rejoin him, but he wrote to warn George that the enemy was gathered in strength between Selby, Tadcaster and York: "You must be careful how you advance neigh them, till Prince Rupert come up to you."[14]

The Fairfaxes and the Scots had finally joined forces on 20 April near Wetherby, west of York and close to the site of Goring's victory at Seacroft Moor just a year earlier. On 22 April the two armies, totaling 16,000 foot and 4,000 horse, began the siege of York, defended by the Marquis of Newcastle and his infantry, numbering some 5-6,000. While the odds would seem overwhelmingly in favor of the allied armies, the city of York had a formidable and extensive series of encircling walls--large sections of which still stand to this day--so that the siege would require a prolonged effort. In addition, Newcastle and General King, now Lord Eythin, organized a rationing system within the city for soldiers and civilians alike.[15] While the defenders might prolong their stand with such measures, their only hope for breaking out would depend on a relief force reaching them before their

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food, powder and ammunition were depleted.

Goring and the commissioners at Newark relayed Newcastle's report to Oxford the same day that it was received and added their own request for Rupert to come north, if the king could spare him (which was the same point Rupert was about to argue in the council of war). They also had intelligence that Manchester and his Eastern Association were just sixty miles south of Stamford, moving north. Goring planned to rendezvous whatever forces were available to him (which did not include the northern horse as yet) at Warsop, just south of the Nottinghamshire-Yorkshire border in four days time; among the troops he was expecting were 400 men from Lord Loughborough's command.[16]

Henry Hastings, a younger son of the Earl of Huntingdon, had raised his own troop of horse to fight at Edgehill and had been rewarded by the king with the title Baron Loughborough. He had assisted Rupert with the relief of Newark, but had since returned to his headquarters at Ashby-de-la-Zouch, where he served as colonel general of Leicestershire. He had not, however, come to the support of Colonel Belasyse and the Yorkshire royalists as requested by Newcastle, and now he wrote to George Goring to say why he would have difficulty in making the rendezvous at Warsop. Addressing Goring as "Most Honored General," he explained that he had suffered heavy losses in both infantry and cavalry in recent actions; in particular, his troop of horse was so depleted that he had only about thirty troopers fit to march. (A full troop of royalist horse numbered seventy men.) He was also concerned that Manchester and other Parliamentary forces might block his way, but he was hoping to gather forces from the surrounding area which might allow him to make the rendezvous on time.[17]

Goring answered Loughborough: "You having read His Majesty's former direct orders [of 17 April] (as well as others from my Lord Newcastle) to march northerly, I much wonder any gentleman under your command should make a dispute thereof." Since the Fairfaxes, Lambert, the Scots and Manchester were all threatening the north, Loughborough had to join him with his forces as planned, Goring peremptorily concluded.[18] From the very start, George Goring was asserting his authority to give the royalists some unity of action in the face of an enemy superior in numbers. He was

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probably particularly desperate to call in as many men as available at this time, for he did not yet know that Newcastle's cavalry was coming to join him.

But on the same day that he sent off his new command to Loughborough, 26 April, Goring finally received word that Sir Charles Lucas, after provisioning York as best as possible, had led the northern cavalry out of the city and was coming south. Goring and the commissioners of Newark immediately relayed this news to King Charles. They also again emphasized the "very great straights" Newcastle and his army at York found themselves in, adding that they could not go to his rescue, being too few in number and having to watch for Manchester's movement north from Stamford with 5,000 men. Goring and his fellow commanders also mentioned that their attempt to unite all forces in the region was being hindered by Loughborough's slow actions. They concluded that they would stay on the defensive, hopefully awaiting the arrival of Prince Rupert.[19]

Newcastle, on 30 April, wrote to Goring to advise him that York was now entirely encircled by the besiegers, so that he could no longer bring in any provisions. He believed Goring with the northern horse would be coming to his rescue and he urged their speedy arrival. This letter took four days to make its way through the enemy lines to Newark, where on 4 May George replied to Newcastle, giving him information on the enemy's movements and relaying the latest news from the king's headquarters: Prince Rupert would be riding to the relief of York. The following day, the commissioners at Newark, minus Goring, forwarded all the latest information from York to Secretary Nicholas. George was not there, having left the citadel to be with his newly-arrived cavalry, the men he had last seen and served with almost a year earlier. "The General keeps close with his horse [cavalry], is very diligent, and the commander and soldier much contented which I hope in God will prove fortunate."[20]

The report from Newark also included the latest intelligence about Manchester and his Eastern Association, which now reportedly numbered 4,000 foot and 2,000 horse. The Parliamentary army had begun the siege of the city of Lincoln, which meant provisions from Lincolnshire to Newark had been cut off. The royalist garrison at Lincoln numbered 1,000 men, described as 3-400 veterans and the remainder new recruits. Those

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in Newark were not sure if Goring would go to the relief of Lincoln; at present he had 4,000 horse and was awaiting reinforcements of more than 1,000 men from neighboring royalist garrisons. But thinking that Rupert would soon begin his march north, the Newark commanders were hopeful that the prince might repeat his actions at Lincoln as when he had driven Meldrum's forces from the siege of Newark: "Manchester may prove Meldrum: our finger ends itch at him. . . ."[21]

Even though there was also some Parliamentary cavalry activity to the northwest of Newark on 6 May, the royalist commanders of the citadel were well supplied with grain and had sufficient cash to pay the soldiers in the garrison a month's wages at 4 d. per diem. But the besieged royalists at Lincoln were not faring as well that same day. The waters around their fortification were low, and Manchester's men, "drunken up to a courage," stormed and overwhelmed the defenders. Goring had neither gone to the town's relief nor withdrawn the garrison because he believed that the fortifications were sufficient and well-manned, and that the siege would divert the Parliamentary army from its march north. "But it pleased not God to bless us so much," the Newark commissioners reported to Secretary Nicholas.[22]

Now Newark itself might be threatened once again, this time by Manchester and Cromwell and their newly-victorious army, as Sir Richard Byron, the commander at Newark who had already withstood Meldrum's siege in March, wrote to Rupert on 8 May. He feared that the enemy would "drink up their men to that courage to pursue their good fortune by attempting some desperate and sudden assault upon this town." He particularly wanted the prince to order General Goring to come to his rescue, for George had received orders from Oxford to join with Rupert and had told Byron that he could not under any circumstances come to his assistance.[23]

Goring did begin to move his cavalry away from Newark, westwards, to avoid any possible action by Manchester and to await further orders from the prince. Newark, in fact, was not in any danger, for the Eastern Association continued to move north from Lincoln. Cromwell and the cavalry rode ahead to join the siege of York as quickly as

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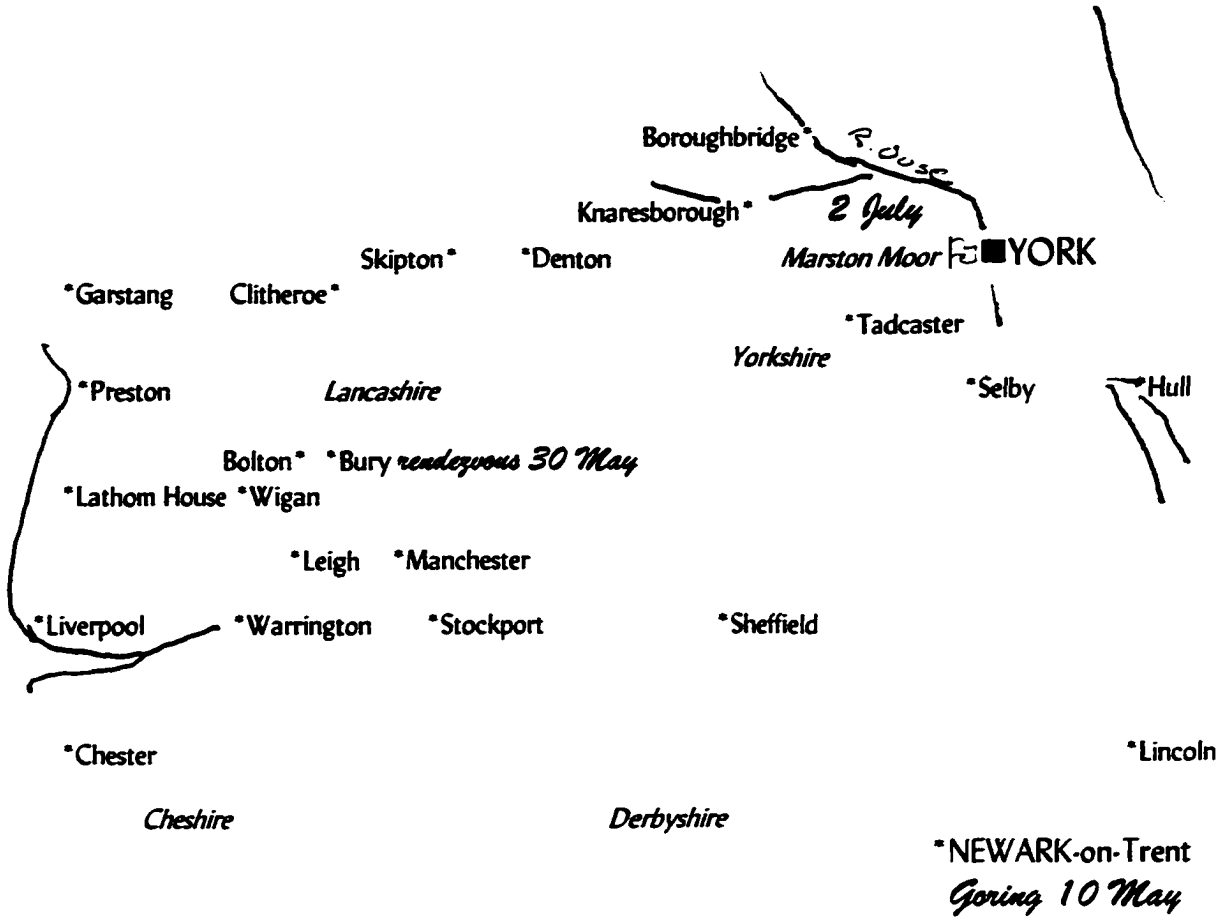
Figure 10. The Relief of York, April-July 1644



Note: Map not precisely to scale.
F. S. Memegalos

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possible, while Manchester and the infantry followed, crossing the Trent at Gainsborough, then continuing their march to York.[24]

Goring, although ordered to join forces with Rupert, was as yet uncertain exactly where he was to proceed to effect a rendezvous. To communicate with the prince, he sent his letter of 10 May via Oxford, where the following day Digby forwarded it to Rupert at Shrewsbury. Thinking that Rupert might march due east via Derbyshire and Leicestershire, George indicated that the way south of the Trent "is very fair," but the only passage across the river for carriages was at Newark, which would entail an extra two-day march eastward. Such a delay might not be acceptable, Goring warned, given the Marquis of Newcastle's condition. George concluded by asking the prince where their forces should meet.[25]

But Prince Rupert's march to the relief of York was not to be the quick, cross-country dash Goring was envisioning at this point, but rather a slower progress north-northeast which had the additional objective of securing Lancashire for the royalists. This meant Goring and his cavalry, on 10 May positioned about sixty miles due south of York, had to move in a northwesterly direction, across Derbyshire and Cheshire, for the rendezvous. The prince only set out from Shrewsbury on 16 May, initially accompanied by 6,000 foot and 2,000 horse, which included Sir John Byron's troops from Chester. In the first week of their march they reached Knutsford, directly south of the Parliamentary stronghold of Manchester, held by Rupert's recent adversary, Sir John Meldrum.[26]

On 25 May Rupert's men successfully fought their way through Stockport, which allowed them passage from Cheshire into Lancashire, and then came to the rescue of Lathom House, staunchly defended against Parliamentary besiegers for over a year by the Countess of Derby. Three days later Rupert took Bolton by assault. These successes caused Sir John Meldrum a great deal of concern, as he wrote to Lord Fairfax, Parliament's lord general of the north. Meldrum was not sure which way Rupert intended to march next, if he planned to attack Liverpool or to continue north to recruit in Lancashire and beyond. In addition, a second royalist army was moving in his direction through Derbyshire, led by Goring, Loughborough, Lucas and Sir Marmaduke Langdale,

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another of the commanders of the northern cavalry. Meldrum suggested that either Sir Thomas Fairfax or David Leslie, the Scottish cavalry commander, bring forces to join him and the Earl of Denbigh at Manchester so they could form an army to follow Rupert; he also wanted some of the infantry forces at the siege of York to move west-northwest of the city to prevent Rupert's approach from that direction. If the generals besieging York resolved on such a course of action, Meldrum concluded, Prince Rupert, "this fierce thunderbolt which strikes terror among the ignorant may be easily reduced within narrow compass."[27]

The Earl of Denbigh, who Meldrum had hoped would join in his "containment" scheme, was Basil Feilding, the courtier who some eleven years earlier had challenged George Goring to a duel which had only been prevented by King Charles's intervention. (See Chapter 3.) Denbigh had joined Parliament's cause and in 1643 Essex had named him commander-in-chief of Warwickshire, Worcestershire and Staffordshire. He too believed that the Parliamentary forces in the area were insufficient in number to stop Goring's troops, which he (over)estimated at 7,000 men, from uniting with Rupert's army. As the royalists rode north for this rendezvous (which he incorrectly predicted would take place at Nantwich), Denbigh decided to take advantage of their absence from the field further south where he undertook the siege of Rushall Hall. But Goring did detach 200 horse and some infantry to help the besieged royalists, where they fought a skirmish at Lichfield on 28 May. Denbigh, however, was able to call up additional cavalry, so that the rescue effort failed and two days later Rushall Hall surrendered.[28]

The Parliamentary commissioners of Derby were also tracking the movement of Goring's main force and trying to predict where the juncture with Rupert would take place. They (incorrectly) believed Halifax in Yorkshire was the designated location, but that the royalists would find it too dangerous to attempt. Reporting to the Committee of Both Kingdoms on 1 June, they said that the previous week Goring and all his cavalry and carriages had departed from Sheffield Castle; only the carriages drawn by oxen had been left behind (which meant speed was of the essence). The royalist cavalry was proceeding across Derbyshire, towards Cheshire, and once united with Rupert, the combined force

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would ride to the relief of York. The Parliamentary commissioners added: "Goring's company are [*sic*] extremely barbarous and plunder all but Papists."[29]

The Parliamentary command at Manchester, faced with the growing royalist threat, continued to try to build up their forces in the area. Colonel Moore, the commander at Liverpool, was sent additional ammunition in case Rupert chose to strike there and was told of Goring's proximity at Stockport. Rupert's men were also reportedly plundering the countryside. Sir John Meldrum still wanted to draw together sufficient forces to keep the combined royalist army from entering Yorkshire, and again asked Denbigh to join him. In response, the earl only complained that his forces were too small (1,800 men) to make a difference if they did come north. The Committee in London, however, did entertain Meldrum's idea of drawing off some of the forces from the siege of York to go to the rescue of Lancashire and to prevent Rupert's march to the relief of York, but the Committee members did realize, as they wrote to the Earl of Manchester, that such a passage westwards would be difficult.[30]

An intriguing exchange of letters followed between the allied commanders in the field and the Committee of Both Kingdoms. On 1 June 1644 the Eastern Association infantry had reached Selby, and in two days would join in the siege of York. The Earl of Manchester wrote this news to London, and added that the royalist northern cavalry had moved so rapidly across Derbyshire that Sir Thomas Fairfax had been unable to pursue them (which vindicated Goring's decision to leave the vicinity of Newark as quickly as possible). The earl was aware of Rupert's threat to Lancashire, but Meldrum had 5,000 soldiers in the city of Manchester. Therefore, the commanders at the siege of York had decided they would not divide their forces, but continue with their siege until it was successfully concluded.[31]

The Committee next sent letters to each of the three allied commanders--the Earl of Leven, the Earl of Manchester and Lord Fairfax--on 3 June, with renewed and more shrill calls for assistance being sent to Lancashire. The committeemen had already written on two occasions on this matter and felt that the situation was critical, for whatever gains Rupert was making would be difficult to win back. "We conceive it absolutely necessary

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that such forces be at once sent into Lancashire as may ruin the Prince's army. . . ."[32] In a letter of 4 June, which crossed with the Committee's of the previous day but which was written in response to London's two earlier calls for action, the Earl of Manchester rather laconically reported that Rupert was believed to be heading for Yorkshire and the allied commanders at the siege would continue to monitor the prince's movements.[33] In other words, the field commanders were determined to maintain their siege and not divide their forces.

As this little drama was playing itself out on the Parliamentary side, the royalists involved in the relief of York had achieved their first goal: the rendezvous of Prince Rupert's forces with George Goring and the northern cavalry which took place at Bury on 30 May 1644.[34]

The Relief of York

The last time that George Goring and Prince Rupert had campaigned together was in 1637 at the siege of Breda. On that occasion, Colonel Goring was the hero who had nearly lost his life while fearlessly leading his men under enemy fire; Rupert, a seventeen-year-old cadet, learning the basic skills of war. But Rupert was of royal blood and George was not; *ergo*, Rupert was now commander-in-chief of all royalist cavalry, and George was his subordinate. Such were the rules in a monarchical and hierarchical society.

What the two men actually thought of one another is harder to fathom. It would be wrong to read their history backwards--for they would fall out at a later stage of the war, as shall be seen--and assume that they never got along. The existing correspondence from the York march shows no such strain, and it would appear that initially the two men were on reasonable terms. Both were intelligent, physically brave, and quick-acting commanders who enjoyed a good rapport with their own troops. One difference, however, was that George was a heavy drinker while Rupert was not, a factor which might have led the prince to underestimate Goring's military abilities. On the other hand, Goring was the quicker wit and the charming talker, while the prince could be somewhat

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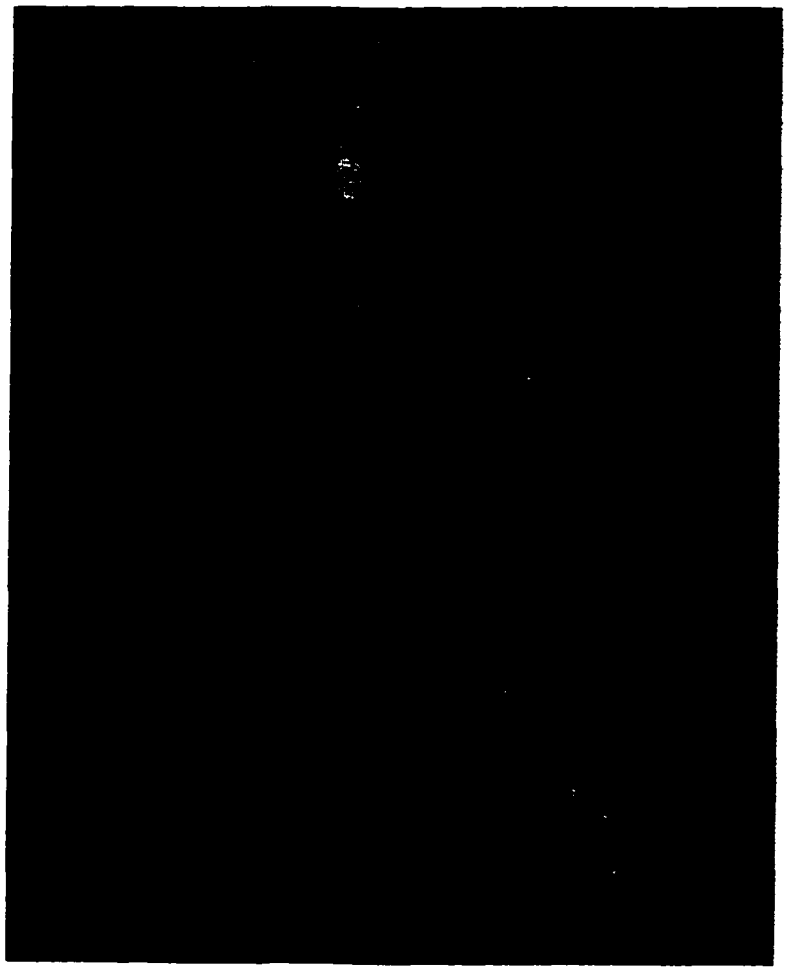
Figure 11. Prince Rupert



Attributed to Gerard Honthorst, c. 1641-42.

National Portrait Gallery, London

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high-handed and dismissive in his dealings with both other commanders and his uncle's advisers and courtiers.[35]

Rumors linked the two men in another way. George Goring had engaged in some form of flirtation with the Princess Louise, one of Rupert's younger sisters who resided at their mother Elizabeth's court-in-exile at the Hague. Louise, like many of her siblings, was well-educated and talented, particularly in the field of painting, having studied with the noted Dutch artist Gerard Honthorst. The princess had been born in 1622 (making her fourteen years younger than George Goring), so she would have known Goring the soldier throughout her teen years. More recently, George had served as King Charles's messenger to Frederick Henry in the summer of 1640, and he had returned to the Hague after surrendering Portsmouth in the fall of 1642. There was no proof that this was anything more than a courtly flirtation.[36]

Other rumors, in turn, linked Rupert with one of George Goring's sisters. Katherine Goring had married Edward Scott of Scott's Hall, Kent, but she often found excuses to leave her husband and make prolonged visits to London, as when George returned from Breda; she was supposed to pay her convalescing brother a three-week visit, but instead had remained away from home for three years. When the civil war began, she chose to join the court at Oxford, and it was there that her name became linked with Rupert's. By the end of the first war, rumors would circulate that she had had a son by the prince, but there was no proof of his paternity. Her reputation was such, however, that her husband in 1657, after twenty-five years of marriage, would go to court to deny paternity of their children, although ultimately he would give up the legal fight and accept their oldest son, Thomas, as his heir.[37]

What, if any, effect these sexual politics had on the relationship between Goring and Rupert can only be conjecture. We can only be aware of these factors in the background, but in June 1644 both men were concentrating on military matters as they had to develop a strategy on how to proceed to the relief of York, if that was to be their ultimate goal. Events in the south could still disrupt their march, for, throughout May, Rupert might have been recalled at any time to rescue his uncle as the two enemy armies

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had approached alarmingly close to Oxford. But fortunately for the royalists, the Parliamentary commanders Essex and Waller did not particularly like one another and had not coordinated their operations. On 27 May the royalist war council decided that the king should not "put his affairs to the hazard of a battle" because his forces were too outnumbered. The council did see an opportunity to escape encirclement at Oxford through an unguarded passage between the two opposing armies. Out rode Charles on 3 June, accompanied by 5,500 soldiers, and three days later he made a ceremonial entry into the royalist stronghold of Worcester. For the time being, he had removed himself from immediate danger.[38]

George Goring had brought 5,000 cavalrymen and some 800 infantrymen with him; of the cavalry, about 2,000 were Newcastle's northern horse, the rest forces he had gathered from Newark, Lincoln, Derbyshire and Leicestershire. Rupert's forces now numbered about 6,800 foot and 7,000 horse, or almost 14,000 men in total. Yet this rendezvous still did not lead to a swift movement towards Yorkshire. The prince had decided to take Liverpool to give the royalists an additional port of debarkation for troops returning from Ireland; he was also recruiting new levies in Lancashire, as he awaited word from his uncle on his latest situation. During the first weeks of June, George Goring was not quartered with the prince, but rather based at Leigh, between Manchester and Liverpool, where his men were involved in several skirmishes with the local Parliamentary troops. After one encounter, Goring learned from his prisoners that the Parliamentary garrison at Warrington was planning to send 400 men by water to reinforce Liverpool. Soon after, another party from Warrington managed to overrun the quarters of one of Goring's colonel, which prompted George to ask Rupert for some musketeers for their defense or the removal of their quarters to a safer location.[39]

Rupert was at Wigan on 5 June, preparing for his attack on Liverpool, when Goring wrote him of his latest skirmish and sent him the twenty-two prisoners captured, including one captain. George also had taken into custody several civilians who were suspected of having given intelligence to the Parliamentary forces, and he was confiscating forty muskets from the local townsmen which would be redistributed to Rupert's officers.

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Goring then asked the prince to send him a constable to investigate the actions of his own men to determine if they had violated any of the prince's orders, for which they would be held accountable.[40] While Goring did not specify what these orders were, the matter may have pertained to looting or mistreating the civilian populace. One local Parliamentary commander did accuse Goring's men of living off the country, making the people provide fodder for their horses on Sundays, and having a large camp following of many "strumpets" who "they made use of in places where they lay, in a very uncivil and unbecoming way."[41]

Prince Rupert began his attack on Liverpool on 7 June. After five days of heavy artillery bombardment, Rupert's forces took the port by assault, but the powder he had hoped to capture to replenish his depleted supplies had already been shipped out by the defenders. On the same day Liverpool was taken, 11 June, Goring wrote to remind Prince Rupert of their original goal, the relief of York. They had received news of Newcastle's growing distress, and George, while remembering to praise Rupert's work to date in reinforcing the Lancashire royalists, was now worried that the local gentry would try to further detain Rupert "to the utter ruin of my Lord of Newcastle and the whole North." George advised that they should begin their march immediately, without waiting for further levies, and he again warned the prince against listening to the "country gentlemen" and their calls for further assistance, "which I passionately beseech you not to consent to. . . ."[42] Despite this advice, Rupert would remain in Lancashire for another week, traveling back and forth between Liverpool and Lathom House, still trying to bring in additional recruits and to build up the royalist defenses in Lancashire prior to his departure.[43]

Goring was correct in his assessment of the royalists defending York. On 8 June the besiegers had moved close enough to the city walls to begin mining operations, although rainy weather had prevented them from making any progress initially. Newcastle, ever more desperate, had opened negotiations that same day in the hope of gaining some time as he exchanged letters about possible terms of surrender. At the same time, Sir Henry Vane, Jr., who had been sent to the allied generals by the Committee of

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Both Kingdoms to pursue the idea of sending some forces to the relief of Lancashire, came to agree that drawing off any men from the siege would be wasteful. So Leven, Manchester and Fairfax were vindicated in their decision, and they could proceed with the siege without any further interference from London. Of course that only increased the pressure on Newcastle, who finally had to turn down the terms of surrender on 15 June: "For I cannot suppose that your Lordships do imagine that persons of honour can possibly condescend to any of these propositions."[44] He also refused to consider an exchange of prisoners offered by Lord Fairfax for eight royalist troopers who had been intercepted carrying intelligence from York to Prince Rupert. Fairfax had asked in exchange a spy who Newcastle had discovered operating within York, but the marquis pointed out that the two cases were dissimilar and he would pay ransom for his troopers which he deemed to be the only proper course of action.[45]

King Charles continued to benefit from the lack of cooperation between the Earl of Essex and Sir William Waller throughout June. Essex had decided he would go to the relief of Lyme which Prince Maurice was still besieging, which left Waller alone to face the king. The Parliamentary commanders in the western midlands, including the Earl of Denbigh, were concerned that Rupert might double-back to join Charles, and were calling for Waller to join in their defense; Waller in turn wanted Essex to be brought back to defend the midlands against Charles. Ultimately, Essex refused to return and continued his march southwest, and the king and his army were able to defend themselves against Waller.[46]

Against this background, on 14 June King Charles gave Rupert his final approval for the relief of York. The letter is one of the more famous documents to come out of the war, for its wording is sufficiently obscure to be open to interpretation. In part it read:

> If York be lost I shall esteem my crown little less [than lost]. . . . but if York be relieved, and you beat the rebels' armies of both kingdoms which were before it--then, but otherwise not, I may possibly make a shift upon the defensive to spin out time until you come to assist me; wherefore I command and conjure you . . . that, all new enterprises laid aside, you immediately march according to your first intention, with all your force, to the relief of York. . . .[47]

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Clearly, the king was ordering his nephew to relieve York, if it were not already too late, but was he also ordering Rupert to give battle? The prince would have only one interpretation: he had to face the three allied armies on the battlefield.

During the last two weeks of June the fate of York was still hanging in the balance. The besiegers, having determined that negotiations were a waste of time, went back to mining the walls. But Manchester's overzealous infantry commander, Major General Lawrence Crawford, in his rush to be the first in, had breached the wall, but his men were driven back out because he had not notified the other allies of his actions and so had no back-up support. In addition, Lord Fairfax, whose army had been at the siege for two months now, reported that he was experiencing desertions because of lack of money and ammunition. In a letter dated 18 June to the Committee of Both Kingdoms, he complained that Manchester's Eastern Association and the Scots were well provided for, but he had nothing. He needed £15,000 per month to maintain his forces, but had only received £10,000 for the last four months.[48]

So while the siege progressed, but not without its problems, George Goring led the vanguard of the relief force out of the Liverpool-Manchester area. He moved north in Lancashire to Garstang, where on 19 June he wrote Rupert that in two days time he expected to rendezvous with additional levies from Westmoreland and Cumberland. He had not encountered any of Fairfax's forces to date, but he had heard that a new contingent of Scots, some 5,000-strong, had crossed the Tweed into England, although he was hopeful that they might be intercepted by Montrose on the border or Colonel Clavering in Cumberland before they could reach York. Goring concluded his letter by urging Rupert's advance "which in several respects I do most passionately wish, both for the safety of my Lord Marquis [of Newcastle] and the whole north and for the increase of glory you will receive by hastening that action."[49]

After dispatching this letter, Goring must have received news that the prince was ready to move north, for on the same day he wrote to Rupert again. Everyone, he reported, was happy to hear that the prince was resuming his march. George indicated that on the following day he would be going to the border of Westmoreland to await the

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new levies. He still had not seen any Scots or Fairfax's men, and the few Parliamentary forces in the vicinity of Skipton should not prevent him from rendezvousing with the prince there. This time he concluded by asking Rupert to keep him informed of his movements and where he was quartering every night.[50]

Rupert paid his last visit to Lathom House on 19 June; two days later he had marched north to Croston in Lancashire, and on 22 June he reached the royalist outpost at Preston. The allied forces at the siege of York were closely--and accurately--following Rupert's progress. On 23 June, Sir Henry Vane, Jr. reported back to London that Rupert had reached Preston the night before with some 11,000 horse and foot (which meant Goring had taken about 3,000 men in the vanguard). The idea of going out to meet Rupert was still being discussed in the allies' camp, but again the decision had been made to wait for the royalist relief force to enter Yorkshire. Besides, the allies were aware of the new Scottish force moving towards York, under the Earl of Callendar.[51]

On 23 June Rupert and the main relief force began to move easterly, towards Yorkshire, and spent the night at Ribchester. On the 24th they reached Clitheroe, and on the 25th Gisburn, as they headed into Yorkshire for the rendezvous at Skipton Castle, which Goring and the vanguard had already reached. George wrote to Rupert on 25 June that his horse were quartered outside, and the foot inside Skipton Castle. The number of recruits coming from Westmoreland and Cumberland had been disappointing, numbering only 1,000 men, and he had heard no recent news from York. Goring concluded that he would see the prince the next day when he arrived, and he regretted that he had not known where Rupert had quartered the night before or he would have attended him sooner. Then, as planned, Rupert and the bulk of the army arrived at Skipton Castle on 26 June, where the royalists would stay three days, fixing their arms and equipment while awaiting news from York.[52]

Newcastle was in desperate straits by now, the blockade of York so complete that he could no longer get any messengers out. Instead, the defenders were attempting to signal for assistance by lighting fires in the towers of the mighty York Minster. The city's inhabitants--soldiers and civilians alike--had been reduced to one meal a day. Would the

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relief force arrive in time, before the defenders were starved into surrender, and how could Rupert preserve any element of surprise in his approach when the allies had been able to follow his movements so closely until then? Ultimately, the prince determined on a circuitous route to bring him to his objective. On 29 June he quartered at Denton, a Fairfax family estate near Otley; the following day he and his army reached the royalist citadel of Knaresborough. But from there Rupert struck north to Boroughbridge, where he crossed the Ouse River, and he continued northeast, crossing over the Swale River at Thornton Bridge. Only then did he turn south towards York, following the Swale which flows back into the Ouse. Just outside of York at Poppleton the allies had built a bridge of boats, in case they had to defend to the north of the river. But Rupert's army drove off the defending dragoons, so that they had clear passage back across the Ouse. There, on 1 July 1644, straddling both sides of the river, the royalist relief force camped four miles outside of York; the men had marched twenty-two miles in one day, quite an accomplishment considering that an average march covered just ten miles a day.[53]

Upon learning of Rupert's approach, Sir Henry Slingsby, one of the royalist regimental commanders blockaded within the city, noted in his diary: "But at last he whom we so long looked for was heard of coming to our relief . . . not so believed til we perceived the Scots had drawn off their guards. . . ."[54] What Slingsby had seen on 1 July was the allied forces leaving their encampments around the city to march west and wait for Rupert at Marston Moor. The three generals had realized that their reinforcements coming from the Midlands and Lancashire under Sir John Meldrum and the Earl of Denbigh would not reach them prior to Rupert's arrival, and they did not want to be caught between the royalist relief force and Newcastle's infantry coming out of the city. The besiegers drew off in such haste, mistakenly believing that Rupert must come directly through the moor, that they left behind their siege guns, ammunition, and a newly arrived shipment of 4,000 boots and shoes which the people of York happily plundered. None of the allied commanders, however, had foreseen Rupert's swift and surprising route of march, for Rupert had accomplished what had been unthinkable just a day earlier, the relief of York.[55]

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The Battle of Marston Moor, 2 July 1644

During the two-month campaign, George Goring clearly had demonstrated a greater sense of urgency concerning the relief of York. Perhaps this stemmed in part from Goring's loyalty to his commander, the Marquis of Newcastle. In addition, a successful relief effort would provide George with a way to redeem his honor and reputation after the loss of Wakefield. In fact, it was Goring--and not Prince Rupert--who entered York on the night of 1 July, both to report to Newcastle and to carry orders from the prince who had chosen to remain outside the city as he began preparations for battle. Newcastle, upon hearing of the prince's arrival, had sent out "some persons of quality" to invite Rupert into York to consult about opening the barricaded city to bring out both troops and cannon.[56] The marquis had also written a rather effusive thank-you note, in which he called Rupert "the Redeemer of the North and the Saviour of the Crown" and continued:

> Your name, Sir, hath terrified three great generals and they fly before it. It seems their design is not to meet Your Highness, for I believe they have got a river between you and them but they are so newly gone as there is no certainty at all of them or their intentions, neither can I resolve anything since I am made of nothing but thankfulness and obedience to Your Highness's commands.[57]

Just as Prince Rupert had his own peculiar reading of his uncle's letter of instructions for the York relief campaign, so too did he take Newcastle literally at his word: the marquis knew nothing and was just awaiting orders. Actually, Newcastle had been operating as a rather autonomous warlord in the north for the last two years, financing, administering and leading, with the assistance of his corps of professional officers, one of the more important components of the king's field armies. But the prince chose to ignore these factors, and also the fact that the infantry of the army of the north had just undergone a grueling ten-week siege. While Prince Rupert's youthful overconfidence is often cited as the reason why he chose to give battle against the advice of the other royalist commanders, there was something more than impetuosity that drove the prince. He was concerned about his uncle's position in the south, for he had not yet heard that Charles on 29 June had defeated Waller's forces at Cropredy Bridge, north of

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Banbury, and was ready to set off in pursuit of Essex into the southwest. Instead, thinking that the king was still in grave danger and hoping to settle matters quickly in the north, Rupert sent George Goring into York to order the Marquis of Newcastle to bring out his troops early the following morning for battle.[58]

The allied commanders at Marston Moor, on the other hand, did know of Waller's loss. They held a council of war late at night on 1 July. According to Sir Thomas Fairfax, the English were for fighting, while the Scots were "for retreating, to gain (as they alleged) both time and place of more advantage." In the end, the Scots prevailed, and the allies decided their forces would march south to Tadcaster and Cawood, so that they could block Rupert's passage south, prevent supplies from being shipped north to the royalists, and eventually force a battle with the prince's army. The Scots marched out in the vanguard early on 2 July and were within one mile of Tadcaster when riders reached them with the news that Rupert's forces, at 9 a.m., had begun to form up on Marston Moor. The three allied generals were still at Long Marston, one of the towns bordering the moor, and they quickly recalled the infantry and brought up their ordinance and ammunition carriages.[59]

Rupert had begun placing his troops on the battlefield without ever entering York. Instead, on the morning of 2 July Newcastle came out to see the prince to try to deter him from taking any immediate action. The marquis reported that he had intelligence that there was "some discontent" between the English and Scots allies, so that there might not be any need to fight. This was just one argument, among several, that Newcastle was throwing at Rupert to prevent any immediate action, which Lord Eythin (General King), Newcastle's chief adviser and Rupert's old antagonist from the German wars, was totally against. Newcastle also argued that more forces would be coming from the northern counties within a few days. But the prince replied that he had received a letter from the king (which he would not show to anyone) "with a positive and absolute command to fight the enemy." According to the Duchess of Newcastle, her husband was then counseled by some "friends" not to join the battle because he had lost his command, but he refused to take this advice.[60] Rupert's rather authoritarian and tactless style had nearly

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precipitated a crisis similar to the one which had occurred prior to the battle of Edgehill, when the king's nominal commander-in-chief, the Earl of Lindsey, had quit on the spot because of his differences with the prince. On this occasion, Newcastle, despite his treatment, obeyed orders, but Eythin's actions later that day would serve to undermine Rupert's plan of action.

Once Newcastle had reluctantly agreed to the engagement, he and Rupert met with their principal commanders in a council of war, at which they considered the position of the sun, the wind and the landscape where they would give battle.[61] There is no record of the specifics of this hasty council, so there is no indication of what George Goring thought or counseled prior to battle. But Goring's style of fighting was much closer to Rupert's and he himself had sharply differed with the cautious Eythin over launching an assault on Leeds the previous year, as the queen had reported. Nor did George believe that a numerically superior enemy was invincible, as he had proven when he chased down Sir Thomas Fairfax's forces at Seacroft Moor. Rupert's plan, therefore, might have seemed feasible, particularly because the royalists initially had the element of surprise on their side.

But that advantage would be dissipated as the day wore on. Rupert had suggested to Newcastle that while the allied armies were still strung out along the road to Tadcaster that morning, the royalist forces should attack. But the marquis disagreed and wanted no action until his men came from York. To this Rupert concurred, never realizing just how long it would take Eythin to bring out the northern infantry. In the meantime, the allied armies were still streaming back, taking up their positions to the south of the moor. To cover their returning men, at 2 p.m. the allies brought up cannon on their left wing and, according to one of the Scottish commanders, Sir James Lumsden, opened fire on the royalists "which made them a little to move."[62] The royalist officer, Sir Henry Slingsby, saw this brief cannonade as nothing more than the enemy "showing their teeth," to which the royalists replied, with neither side doing any real damage.[63]

In the end, Lord Eythin, whether by design or necessity, did not bring out the northern foot until 4 p.m. The soldiers from York had been out plundering the deserted

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allied encampments around the city all morning, so it is not clear whether Eythin had been unable to call them to order earlier or had chosen not to do so, in defiance of Rupert's orders. Peter Newman, the most recent analyst of the battle, believes this delay, "whether or not it was avoidable, contributed to the defeat of the Royalist army." For by the time these last royalist troops had taken the field, all the allied forces had already returned and were in battle formation.[64] (See figure 12.)

What the allied commanders saw on that afternoon was a royalist army much smaller than their own, particularly in the infantry count. Exactly how many men took the field at Marston Moor has long been a matter of speculation, for even some of the estimates of the participants and their contemporaries varied. However, the best modern determination is that Rupert's army totaled between 18,000 and 18,700 men. The royalist right wing, where Sir John Byron commanded the first line of Rupert's own cavalry regiments, numbered between 2,600-2,700 horse, backed with 500 foot. The royalist center, commanded by Lord Eythin, consisted of 11,000 infantrymen and cavalry reserves of 1,300-1,600 which included Prince Rupert's lifeguard. George Goring commanded the left wing, which consisted of 2,100 to 2,500 horse, and 500 musketeers; these troops contained the veteran northern horse, with their experienced commanders Sir Charles Lucas and Sir Marmaduke Langdale, as well as the Derbyshire cavalry under Colonels John Frescheville and Rowland Eyre. Also among Goring's regimental commanders was his younger brother, Charles.[65]

The three allied armies were the Scots under the Earl of Leven, who was considered the senior commander; the Eastern Association under the Earl of Manchester; and the smallest component, the northern army of Lord Fairfax. This split in command did engender some problems, for each general was most concerned for his own army, and the placement of the allied forces reflected this. The allies also had a combination of raw recruits and veteran troops. But balanced against these negatives was the sheer superiority of numbers, for the three armies totaled 28,000 men, giving them an advantage of approximately 10,000 men over the royalists. Oliver Cromwell, Manchester's lieutenant general of horse, led the allied left wing, facing Rupert's troops under Byron.

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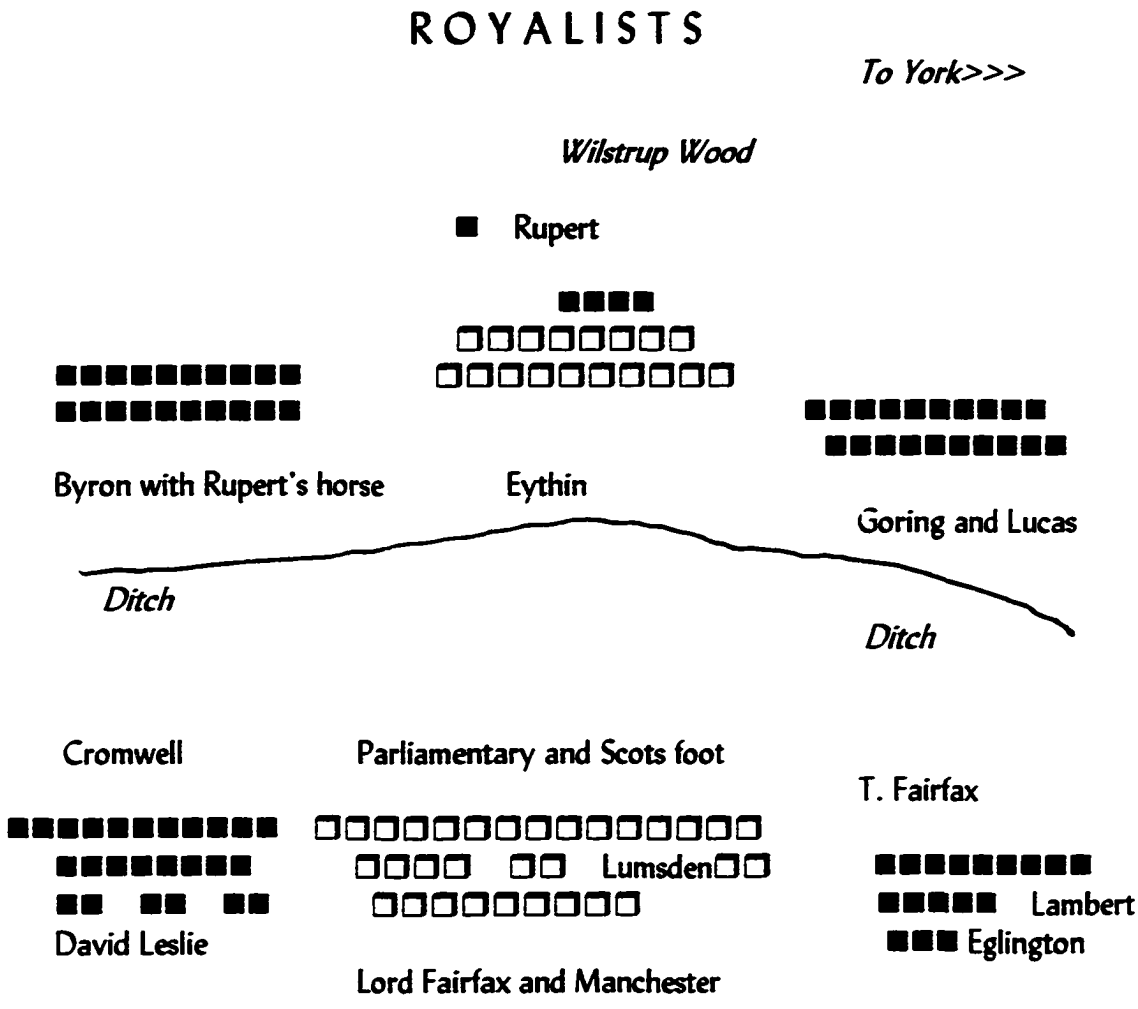
Figure 12. The Battle of Marston Moor, 2 July 1644



■■■ Horse
□□□ Foot
Note: Map not precisely to scale.
F. S. Memegalos

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Cromwell was backed by the Scots second-in-command, David Leslie, and their combined forces numbered 5,800 (4,700 horse, 500 dragoons, and 600 foot). The center had units from all three armies, although in numbers, the Scots predominated; the allied infantry totaled 17,800 to 18,800. Facing George Goring on the allied right wing was Sir Thomas Fairfax, backed by John Lambert and by a third line of Scottish horse under the Lord Eglington. This was the smallest allied sector, numbering only 4,100 (3,000 horse, 500 dragoons, and 600 foot), which reflected the problem of the split command, for none of Manchester's horse had been placed with Fairfax's to balance out the two wings.[66]

One other important factor was the terrain. The royalists, spread along a concave line almost two miles long, were on the moor itself, facing south, and positioned behind a ditch which they lined with their "forlorn hope," musketeers who were to slow down the enemy's charge before falling back to their own lines. The allies were actually on a slightly elevated position of cultivated fields which sloped down to the moorland, which would give them something of a running start in their initial charge. But the allied right wing faced the worst obstacle. Sir Thomas Fairfax would have to charge through a narrow passage, Atterwith Lane, across ditches and furze bushes, waterlogged land not generally suitable for cavalry maneuvering.[67]

As evening approached, the two armies stood facing one another on "that fatal moor," as the Duchess of Newcastle recounted. The artillery exchange had ceased, and the enemy, according to Sir Henry Slingsby, "in Marston corn fields falls to singing psalms." Despite the long summer evenings at that latitude, Prince Rupert judged that there would be no action until the following morning, and with this communication, Newcastle retired to his coach, located behind the royalists' lines. But Rupert had guessed wrong. Sometime between 7:00 and 7:30 p.m. the allies began their advance, as recalled by Lumsden, "down the hill through a great field of corn to a ditch which they [the royalists] had in possession which it pleased God so to prosper that they were put from it, so that the service went hot on all sides."[68] The battle of Marston Moor had begun, and the royalist commanders had been taken by surprise.

The battle unfolded initially as three distinct actions. John Byron, leading the

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royalist right wing, led his men forward to meet Cromwell's charge. Normally, this was the proper procedure, to meet charging cavalry on the move and not at the standstill. But Byron moved in front of his own musketeers, thus eliminating their effectiveness. He also advanced onto marshy ground which would have served to slow down the enemy's movement, and so lost the advantage of the terrain. As Sir Henry Slingsby noted, Cromwell in his very first charge routed the front line of the royalist right wing.[69]

Prince Rupert had also retired behind his lines to have dinner after deciding that there would be no action that day. The sound of the battle brought him forward, accompanied by his cavalry reserve and his lifeguard, where he found his own troops on the right wing in flight. He rallied his men, and a protracted struggle now took place. According to Manchester's scoutmaster general, Lionel Watson, Cromwell's men and Rupert's "stood at sword's point a pretty while, hacking one another; but at last (it so pleased God) he [Cromwell] broke through them, scattering them before him like a little dust."[70]

The Parliamentary accounts of this struggle tended to minimize the role played by David Leslie and the Scottish cavalry who formed the third line of the allied left wing. While Rupert and Cromwell were struggling, Leslie charged into the opposing cavalry's flank, thus allowing his Parliamentary allies to regroup and definitively break Rupert's horse.[71] Cromwell himself would be guilty of this sin of omission, for in a letter written after the battle, he would say: "The left wing, which I commanded, being our own horse, save a few Scots in our rear, beat all the Prince's horse. God made them as stubble to our swords. . . ."[72]

Of course in the heat of battle what mattered most was not who had achieved this success, but rather that the royalist right wing had been totally broken and was now in flight back through Wilstrup Wood towards York. Prince Rupert himself was swept away from the action by his own fleeing horse, so that there would be no command coordination of the royalist army thereafter.[73] Newcastle, who had left his coach and mounted when he heard the start of the battle, "beheld a dismal sight of the horse of His Majesty's right wing which out of a panic fear had left the field and run away with all speed they could."

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He had never intended to play the role of a field marshal, and now, in the swirling state of confusion, the best he could do was join up with a troop of gentlemen-volunteers which he would lead against a Scottish foot regiment.[74] However, the most important outcome of Cromwell's initial success was that his horse remained on the field and did not pursue the retreating enemy across country. In this manner they could be regrouped and redeployed against the remaining royalist forces, and thus help secure the ultimate victory.[75]

The infantry battle had been going on simultaneously in the center. Major General Lawrence Crawford, infantry commander of the Eastern Association, successfully led the left side of the allied center against the front line of the royalist foot. The Scots, however, on the right of the allied center, were not faring as well. Sir James Lumsden, in command of two Scottish infantry regiments, wrote of his own men: "[B]ut they carried not themselves as I would have wished, neither could I prevail with them ." Some fled the field without ever advancing, being "so possessed with a panic fear."[76] Additionally, because they had come out onto the field so late, Newcastle's infantry, the Whitecoats (named for their undyed woolen jackets), were positioned in the back of the royalist center where these veteran soldiers would provide a solid anchor and make the most heroic stand of the day. Therefore, despite the numerical superiority that the allies enjoyed in the center, the royalist infantry was managing to hold its own even after the loss of their right wing cavalry.[77]

George Goring on the royalist left wing, although having fewer men under his command than his opponent, Sir Thomas Fairfax, did have the terrain to his advantage. Unlike Byron, Goring held his ground, forcing the Parliamentary horse opposing him to struggle across Atterwith Lane, three or four abreast, and onto the moor. Besides the natural obstacles of the broken landscape, which Fairfax reported "put us into great disorder," the Parliamentary horse had to pass by hedges where Goring had positioned his musketeers, who "did us much hurt with their shot." Fairfax, apparently foreseeing that his initial charge would have great difficulty in breaking through, chose to protect his veteran troops by putting them in the second line and instead sent his newest recruits out in front, contrary to the accepted practice of the day.[78]

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Fairfax and about 400 of his troopers did break out onto the moor, where they engaged part of the royalist front line. But when Fairfax turned to look for his second line under Lambert, he found that Goring's men were pursuing the fleeing Parliamentary horse back up the hill from where they had come. Fairfax, slashed in the face and trapped behind enemy lines, managed to save himself from capture by removing the white paper marker from his hat, the only insignia of the side for which he fought in a period when distinctive uniforms generally did not exist. As Sir James Lumsden concluded: "Sir Thomas Fairfax commanded there [on the allied right wing] in chief, a brave commander, but his horse answered not our expectations, nor his worth."[79]

George Goring rode with his front line, although it is not certain where he stood, with Sir Marmaduke Langdale or with brigade commander Colonel Sir John Mayney. One of the confusions about documenting the royalist left wing at Marston Moor stems from the battle plan which was drawn up by Sir Bernard de Gomme for Prince Rupert prior to the battle. The sketch was only a proposal and so did not match what actually came to pass. One omission was of Mayney from Goring's front line. The countercharge against the remnants of Fairfax's northern cavalry was carried out by Goring, Mayney, Langdale, and Colonels Sir Francis Carnaby and Sir Richard Dacre; the charging royalists also eventually broke the third line, the Scottish horse under Lord Eglington. Just as Cromwell had scored a sweeping victory against the royalist right, George Goring now achieved the same total success against the allies' own right wing.[80]

Sir Charles Lucas then followed up by turning the veteran northern horse of Goring's second line into the flank of the allied infantry, an action which broke some of the Scottish and Parliamentary regiments. The sight of their fleeing horse and infantry became too much for two of the allied commanders; the Earl of Leven and Lord Fairfax both took to horse and fled the battlefield, riding for miles south in Yorkshire, believing the battle had been lost. The presence of civilian onlookers close to the battlefield added to the pandemonium; with Goring's horse in hot pursuit across country, the civilians now also took flight. Some of Goring's troopers eventually reached the allied baggage which they began to plunder.[81]

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Both royalist and allied sources attested to the successful action of Goring's wing. The royalist Sir Henry Slingsby, after recounting Cromwell's action, continued: "Yet our left wing pressed as hard upon their right wing and pursued them over the hill."[82] The duchess of Newcastle recorded: "The left wing, in the meantime, commanded by those two valiant persons, the Lord Goring and Sir Charles Lucas [the duchess's brother], having the better of the enemy's right wing which they beat back most valiantly three times and made their general retreat, in so much that they sounded the victory."[83] Captain Clarke of the allied army in his account agreed that many thought the royalists had the better of the fighting and had actually gained the victory with the rout of the allied right, while another Parliamentary writer, Thomas Stockdale, recalled: "[S]ome of the enemy's horse pursued our flying horse near two miles from the field, so that in all appearance the day was lost."[84]

But because of the breakdown in communications which had occurred within the royalist army, George Goring was apparently unaware of the rout of Rupert's cavalry. Moreover, Sir Charles Lucas, who was leading the attack on the enemy infantry, was unhorsed and captured. Cromwell, in the meantime, did receive word of what had happened to Fairfax's cavalry (possibly from Fairfax himself), so he circled his Eastern Association horse around the back of the royalist infantry and took up Goring's original position on the moor facing south. Goring became aware of this new threat and had to gather the remains of his forces to meet the renewed challenge, but this time fighting on the same difficult terrain that Sir Thomas Fairfax had started on.[85] Lionel Watson of Manchester's command described the scene:

> The enemy seeing us come in such a gallant posture to charge them. . . . began to think that they must fight again for the victory which they thought had been already got. They marching down the hill upon us from our carriages; so that they fought upon the same ground . . . that our right wing had stood to receive their charge.[86]

With the disadvantage of both terrain and numbers--Goring probably only had about 1,000 troopers left--the outcome of this new encounter was a foregone conclusion. Goring's horse steadily gave ground or were overwhelmed, so that by the end of the action, almost

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all of the royalist cavalry had been driven from the field.[87]

Only one last action was required to complete the allied victory. Newcastle's Whitecoats had continued with their successful stand against the allied infantry attacks. But now, the few royalist horse left on the field, under Sir Marmaduke Langdale, were insufficient to protect these infantrymen against Cromwell's horse. When offered quarter, which was the normal procedure in most civil war battles, the Whitecoats refused, instead preferring to die where they fought. Sir Henry Slingsby recorded: "After our horse was gone they [the allies] fall upon our foot and although a great while they [the Whitecoats] maintained the fight yet at last they were cut down and most part either taken or killed."[88] On that bloody note, the battle of Marston Moor ended.

Aftermath

The main fighting had lasted about two hours; but the final mop-up operations continued late into the night and were only concluded before midnight, "the moon with her light helping something the darkness of the season. This victory was one of the greatest and most bloody since the war began. . . ."[89] In this instance, Thomas Stockdale, the Parliamentary commentator, did not overstate the magnitude of the accomplishment. Some 4,000 royalists had died on the battlefield; another 1,500 had been taken prisoner. Among the one hundred officers captured were Sir Charles Lucas, Major General George Porter, and Charles Goring, all of whom would be held in the Tower of London until their respective releases could be negotiated. The allied losses were light, only about 300 men having been killed. The allies had also captured all the royalists' field artillery, twenty pieces; all the baggage; 10,000 arms and ammunition; and over one hundred colors of foot and many horse cornets. As the victorious allied generals would report to London, "by the great blessing and good providence of God the issue was the total routing of the enemy's army."[90]

Immediately following the battle the allies did not pursue the defeated royalists

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back towards York, but instead camped down in the fields after stripping the bodies of the defeated foe, as was customary practice. George Goring and his remaining commanders--including the mortally wounded Sir Richard Dacre--had retreated to the city, as did Newcastle, who outside the walls encountered Rupert and Eythin late that night. Rupert inquired about the outcome of the battle, to which Newcastle replied that "all was lost and gone. . . ."[91] The flow of soldiers into York was so great that the city closed its gates, "so that the whole street was thronged up to the barr [gate] with wounded and lame people, which made a pitiful cry among them."[92]

That night in York the remaining royalist commanders held a meeting. Newcastle, "having nothing left in his power to do His Majesty any further service in that kind, for he had neither ammunition nor money to raise more forces . . . and being loath to have aspersions cast upon him," told Rupert that he planned to leave England. Rupert could not persuade the marquis to stay, and so Newcastle, accompanied by Lord Eythin, the next day rode to Scarborough where they took ship for the Continent, arriving at Hamburg on 8 July, just six days after the battle. Before the war Newcastle had been one the wealthiest men in England; he sailed with what was left of his fortune, £90. Nor did King Charles begrudge Newcastle his decision, for he wrote him, thanking him for his great service and sacrifices.[93]

But the professional soldiers (minus Eythin) stayed on, making hasty plans for their next actions. Rupert within a day would retreat back to Lancashire, accompanied by the remnants of his own cavalry troops, plus the reinforcements from the northern counties which reached him the day after the battle had been decided. George Goring and Sir Marmaduke Langdale went into the countryside to bring in the scattered remains of the northern horse, which Langdale would now command, and Sir Thomas Glemham was given the unenviable task of defending York from the renewed allied siege. This time there would be no miraculous deliverance of the city, and Glemham would negotiate the surrender of York on 16 July to the three allied generals who would "condescend" to terms "to preserve a city so considerable and to avoid the effusion of Christian blood." Even though the defending soldiers were guaranteed safe passage out of the city to within

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twelve miles of Prince Rupert's forces, Sir Henry Slingsby, among the royalists who made the march, reported that the accompanying Parliamentary guard did little to prevent the retreating royalists from being plundered and attacked.[94]

The Committee of Both Kingdoms, on 9 July, wrote to the three allied generals about their victory at Marston Moor: "We desire with you to give all the glory to God, but must, withal, give you and the rest your due thanks for your faithful service herein."[95] Ultimately, the greatest praise would go to Oliver Cromwell whose career would now take an upward trajectory, and Cromwell himself would have his faith in the righteousness of his cause reconfirmed by the dimension of this victory. "Truly England and the Church of God hath had a great favour from the Lord, in this great victory given unto us," Cromwell wrote shortly after the battle.[96]

If Cromwell's reputation was made at Marston Moor, Rupert's was lost. Of course the prince would continue to fight for his uncle (and eventually for his cousin, Charles II), and he would have other successes. But the aura of invincibility which had surrounded him was gone. After all, he had not only lost the battle, but he had lost the north of England for King Charles. In the early years of the war, the Parliamentary propaganda presses had attributed Rupert's abundance of successes to supernatural powers; even Rupert's "best friend," his pet poodle Boy, his constant companion since his days of imprisonment in Austria, had been charged with sorcery and assigned the role of Rupert's familiar. Boy reportedly was "weapon-proof himself, and probably hath made his master so too. . . ."[97]

After Marston Moor, the Parliamentary propagandists now had the final proof to support their claims. Rupert, in the sudden onslaught of the battle, had forgotten to tie up Boy, who became one more casualty on the battlefield that day. The reasoning then went that the "devil dog" had been killed, therefore the spell had been broken and Rupert lost the battle. The woodcut (figure 13) shows the Parliamentary press's depiction of the scene: Rupert supposedly ran away from the battle and hid in a bean field (which he did not); the Parliamentary troops breaking into Rupert's baggage found crucifixes, indicating Rupert was a crypto-Catholic (which he was not); and there lies the blackened carcass of

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Figure 13.
Woodcut depicting Prince Rupert hiding in a bean field at Marston Moor and the death of his pet poodle, Boy.

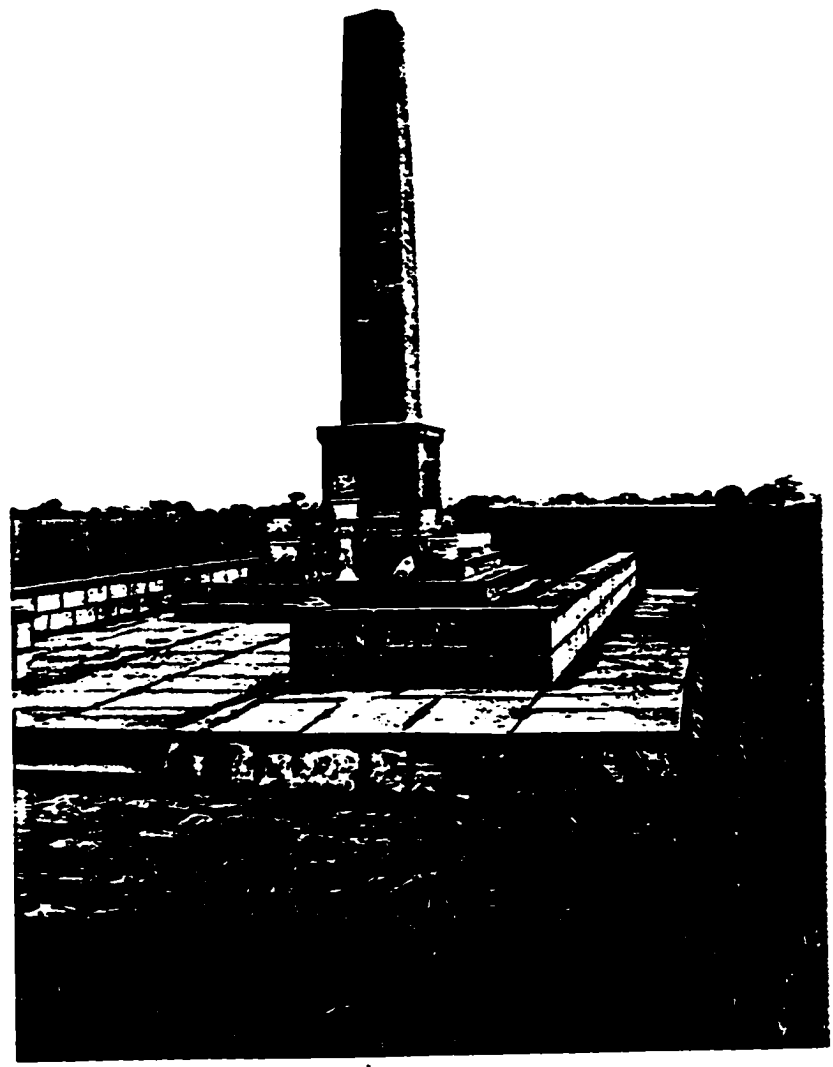

Figure 14.
Commemorative obelisk at the site of the battle of Marston Moor. The cultivated field behind was moorland in the seventeenth century and the location where George Goring commanded the royalist left wing cavalry. The photo (by the author) was taken on 2 July 1994, and the wreaths commemorate the 350th anniversary of the battle.

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Boy (who was a white poodle).[98] The message of this effective piece of propaganda was clear: Rupert was no longer a superhuman to be feared, but rather was now an object of derision.

If Rupert bore the brunt of the blame for the loss at Marston Moor, the commander who garnered the most praise for his actions that day was George Goring. He had started the battle by using the terrain to his advantage, by forcing Sir Thomas Fairfax to bring the fight to him. He then led the charge, sweeping away Fairfax's second and third lines. True, his troopers had not shown the same discipline that Cromwell's had after clearing the opposing cavalry wing. Goring's men had pursued the broken enemy horse across country and then rifled the allied baggage train, a pattern which had been the royalists' habit since Rupert had led the first cavalry charge at Edgehill. But that Goring's badly outnumbered troopers could have saved the day if they had immediately regrouped seems totally implausible, particularly given the terrain on which they then found themselves. And ultimately, Goring, although without his two captured senior commanders, Lucas and Porter, had managed to rally the remainder of his troops to face Cromwell's numerically superior forces. Only after this final attempt at a stand did Goring and his men give way.[99]

Sir Thomas Fairfax's own reaction to the events of that day provides further support that Goring had achieved much with his limited resources. Marston Moor marked the third major encounter between George Goring and Fairfax. George's victory at Seacroft Moor had been overshadowed by his loss and capture at Wakefield. Now, even though his side had lost, Goring had decisively bested Fairfax again. Fairfax, in his version of this battle, blamed both the terrain and his opponents' actions for his loss, but he never mentioned George Goring specifically as the engineer of his defeat.[100] In 1662 an account of this battle was published by Thomas Fuller which said: "Goring so valiantly charged the right wing of the enemy that they forsook the field." Fairfax would annotate in his copy of this book: "I envy none the honor they deservedly got in this battle; nor am I ambitiously desirous of their laurel branch. But I see no reason to be excluded [from] the lists: in which I underwent equal hazards with any others that day." Fairfax then

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recounted in his notes the disadvantages of the field and a few of his achievements, "which shows that the right wing did not wholly leave the field, as the author of that book relates."[101] Some twenty years after the battle (and after his ultimate triumph over the royalist cause), Sir Thomas Fairfax would still be sensitive about his loss to George Goring at Marston Moor.

Immediately after the battle, with his commander Newcastle gone from the country and the rump of the northern horse now under Sir Marmaduke Langdale, George Goring was available for a new command. The king would reward Goring's recent service by making him his commander of cavalry. Goring would join the king's field army in its southwest campaign against the Earl of Essex, and he would participate in the king's victory at Lostwithiel, achieved less than two months after the loss at Marston Moor, England's largest battle ever, its site commemorated to this day. (See figure 14.)

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1.BL Add. MS. 18981, f. 104, Newcastle to Prince Rupert, 25 March 1644; f. 106, Belasyse, York, to Prince Rupert, 25 March 1644; ff. 99-101, Digby, Oxford, to Prince Rupert, 25 March 1644.

2. Bodl., Firth MS. C 7, f. 2, Belasyse, York, to Porter, 27 March 1644; f. 5, Porter to Prince Rupert, 28 March 1644; f. 6, F. Cobbe, Newark, to Prince Rupert, 28 March 1644; f. 7, Belasyse, York, to Prince Rupert, 29 March 1644; f. 8, Commissioners of York to Prince Rupert, 29 March 1644.

3. Bodl. Firth MS. C 7, ff. 10-11, Newcastle, Durham, to Prince Rupert, 30 March 1644; Bodl. Clarendon MS. 28, f. 134, Rupert Diary; Woolrych, *Battles*, 55; Kenyon, *Civil Wars*, 94; Gardiner, *Great Civil War*, 1:318.

4. BL Add. MS. 18981, f. 119, Porter, Lincoln, to Prince Rupert, 1 April 1644; f. 121, Belasyse and Commissioners of York to Prince Rupert, 2 April 1644.

5. BL Add. MS. 30305, f. 90, Jermyn, Oxford, to Prince Rupert, 6 April 1644.

6. Ian Roy, "The Royalist Council of War, 1642-46," University of London, *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* (hereafter, *Bulletin IHR*) 35, no. 92 (November 1962) : 150-53, 162. At the end of the war the minute book of the council was destroyed, but Secretary of War Edward Walker did maintain his own records of some of the meetings, published as *Historical Discourses, upon Several Occasions*, ed. Hugh Clapton (London: Sam Keble, 1705).

7. *Commons Journal*, 3:462-63; Woolrych, *Battles*, 55; Newman, *Atlas*, 45; Geoffrey Ridsdill Smith, *Without Touch of Dishonour: The Life and Death of Sir Henry Slingsby, 1602-1658* (Kineton: The Roundwood Press, 1968), 74.

8. Bodl. Firth MS. C 7, ff. 63-64, proclamation of 17 April 1644; BL Add. MS. 18981, f. 155, Newcastle, York, to King Charles, 18 April 1644; Clarendon, *History*, 3:341; *DNB* 12:229-30.

9. Walker, *Discourses*, 10; Carlton, *Charles I*, 266; Gregg, *Charles I*, 382, 385.

10. BL Add. MS. 18981, f. 155.

11. *CSPD 1644*, 87.

12. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 28, f. 134, Rupert Diary; Walker, *Discourses*, 12-13; Gardiner, *Great Civil War*, 1:338-45; Roy, "Royalist Council of War," *Bulletin IHR* 35 (Nov. 1962) : 163; Woolrych, *Battles*, 56.

13. Clarendon, *History*, 3:341; Bodl. Clarendon MS. 28, f. 134, Rupert Diary; BL Add. MS. 18981, ff. 170, 179, [names of senders missing], Oxford, to Prince Rupert, 7 and 13

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May 1644; Roy, "Royalist Council of War," *Bulletin IHR* 35 (Nov. 1962) : 163; Wedgwood, *King's War*, 291-92; Gardiner, *Great Civil War*, 2:344-46.

14. BL Add. MS. 18981, f. 160, Loughborough, Ashby-de-la-Zouch, to Prince Rupert, [26 April] 1644; f. 161, Commissioners of Newark and George Goring, to Nicholas, Oxford, 24 April 1644, which included a copy of the letter from Newcastle to Goring; C. H. Firth, "Marston Moor," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* (hereafter, *Transactions RHS*), N.S. 12 (1898) : 19.

15. BL Add. MS. 18981, f. 160; Wedgwood, *King's War*, 289; Kenyon, *Civil Wars*, 95; Woolrych, *Battles*, 56.

16. BL Add. MS. 18981, f. 161.

17. BL Add. MS. 18981, f. 159, Lord Loughborough, Ashby-de-la-Zouch, to Goring, [24] April 1644; *DNB* 9:128-9; Young and Emberton, *Cavalier Army*, 25. The dating of the letter is mine; it was written on a Wednesday, and the 24th fits in with Goring's correspondence on the rendezvous; see BL Add. MS. 18981, ff. 161, 163 and following footnote.

18. Bodl. Firth MS. C 7, f. 90, Goring to Loughborough, 26 April 1644.

19. BL Add. MS. 18981, f. 163, Goring and the Commissioners of Newark to King Charles, 26 April 1644.

20. Bodl. Firth MS. C 7, f. 97, report from Newark to Secretary Nicholas, 5 May 1644.

21. Ibid., C 7, ff. 97-98, 5-6 May 1644.

22. BL Add. MS. 18981, f. 169, report from Newark to Secretary Nicholas, 6 May 1644.

23. Bodl. Firth MS. C 7, f. 105, Sir Richard Byron, Newark, to Prince Rupert, 8 May 1644; Wedgwood, *King's War*, 278. Richard was the younger brother of royalist commander Sir John Byron.

24. Bodl. Firth MS. C 7, f. 107, Goring, Brookesby, to Prince Rupert, 10 May 1644; Woolrych, *Battles*, 59; Gardiner, *Great Civil War*, 1:345.

25. Bodl. Firth MS C 7, f. 107; BL Add. MS. 18981, f. 176, cover letter from George Digby, Oxford, to Prince Rupert, 11 May 1644, forwarding Goring's letter.

26. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 28, f. 134, Rupert Diary; *GEC*, 9:774; Newman, *Atlas* 54-55; *CSPD 1644*, 173, 206; Wedgwood, *King's War*, 300.

27. *CSPD 1644*, 173-74, Meldrum's letter of 28 May 1644, 206-7; Bodl. Clarendon MS. 28, f. 134, Rupert Diary; Kenyon, *Civil Wars* 74, 101-2. The Countess of Derby was a

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Frenchwoman by birth, Charlotte de la Tremoille.

28. *HMC*, III, 4th Rpt., App., Earl of Denbigh MS., 262; *CSPD 1644*, 177-8. How the siege of Rushall Hall was concluded over the next two days is instructive in that it shows the attempts made to contain death and destruction. After a heavy cannon bombardment, a parley was held with the royalist governor Colonel Lane who refused to surrender. A further bombardment, lasting half a day, opened a breach in the walls which would allow the Parliamentarians to enter eight abreast. Despite this, the royalist garrison was still well entrenched in the church. A second parley and an inspection of the fortifications followed, and Denbigh decided to give better terms to prevent heavy loss of life, for the remaining fortifications were still in good condition. The articles agreed upon for the surrender allowed the royalist soldiers to leave, but without any arms or ammunition, that same night. The governor, officers and gentlemen could depart with one horse each, plus sword and pistols, and wagons would be provided to carry their goods. See *CSPD 1644*, 178-79.

29. *CSPD 1644*, 191-92. One other interesting item mentioned in this report: the Parliamentary forces in Derby had taken advantage of Lord Loughborough's absence and his reduced garrison at Ashby-de-la-Zouch which they raided and carried off ninety-two horses, plus forty oxen and cattle.

30. *CSPD 1644*, 188, 192-94; *HMC*, 10th Rpt., Part IV, Stewart MS., 73.

31. *CSPD 1644*, 190-91.

32. Ibid., 200-1.

33. Ibid., 202-3.

34. Ibid., 206-7; Bodl. Clarendon MS. 28, f. 134, Rupert Diary.

35. Morrah, *Prince Rupert*, 95, 100, 102-3; Young and Emberton, *Cavalier Army*, 96, 98-99; Young and Holmes, *Military History*, 337; Newman, *Old Service*, 143. Patrick Morrah, one of Rupert's most recent modern biographers, believes that Goring and the prince were on good terms at this time.

36. Morrah, *Prince Rupert*, 102; Thomson, *Warrior Prince*, 97; Kitson, *Rupert*, 33. Louise would be briefly engaged to Montrose after the first civil war, but after his execution, she would convert to Catholicism and end her days as an abbess. See, Baker, *Letters of Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia*, 22, 266-67, 353; Wedgwood, *Montrose*, 132-34.

37. Kitson, *Rupert*, 267; Ruth Spalding, *Contemporaries of Bulstrode Whitelocke. 1605-1675; Biographies, Illustrated by Letters and Other Documents; An Appendix to the Diary*, British Academy, Record of Social and Economic History, New Series 14

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(Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 311-13.

38. BL Add. MS. 18981, f. 185, Oxford Committee of War to Prince Rupert, 27 May 1644; BL Add. MS. 29873, ff. 95-97, Council of War, Worcester, 8 June 1644, which tells of the king's arrival at Worcester and the monies he was given as a gift (£200) and as a loan (£ 1,000). Also, Gardiner, *Great Civil War*, 1:346, 352; Gregg, *Charles I*, 383.

39. Bodl. Clarendon MS 28, f. 134, Rupert Diary; Bodl. Firth MS, C 7, ff. 289, 302, Goring to Prince Rupert, both undated, but from their content they were written in early June; *HMC* , 9th Rpt., Part II, App., Traquair MS., 255, which is an order for safe passage issued by Goring, dated 6 June at Leigh, for James Stewart, Earl of Traquair, who was returning to Scotland as one of the king's supporters; Firth, "Marston Moor," *Transactions RHS*, N. S. 12 (1898) : 19-20; Peter Young, *Marston Moor 1644: The Campaign and the Battle* (Kineton: The Roundwood Press, 1970), 55-56.

40. BL Add. MS. 18981, f. 20, Goring to Prince Rupert, Wigan, undated; Bodl. Clarendon MS 28, 134, Rupert Diary, which places Rupert at Wigan on 5 June.

41. Quoted in Bence-Jones, *The Cavaliers*, 92.

42. BL Add. MS. 18981, f. 189, Goring to Prince Rupert, 11 June 1644; BL Add. MS. 30305, f. 67, printed report on the siege of Liverpool, June 1644; Bodl. Clarendon MS. 28, f. 134, Rupert Diary; Wedgwood, *King's War*, 302-3.

43. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 28, f. 134, Rupert Diary.

44. Rushworth, *Collections*, III, 2:630-31; the correspondence regarding terms of surrender appears in 2:624-8; *CSPD 1644*, 207, 216-17, 223, 225; Vane wrote to the Committee on 5 and 11 June his concurrence with the allied generals' decision about concluding the siege of York.

45. BL Sloan MS. 1519, f. 56, Newcastle, York, to Lord Fairfax, 15 June 1644.

46. *CSPD 1644*, 226, 237-38, 247-48; BL Add. MS. 21506, f. 29, Jermyn, Exeter, to Prince Rupert, 14 June 1644; BL Add. MS. 29873, ff. 97-98, Worcester diary; Carlton, *Charles I*, 267-68; Kenyon, *Civil Wars*, 97-99.

47. Quoted in Woolrych, *Battles*, 60, brackets are Woolrych's.

48. *CSPD 1644*, 241-42, 246; Newcastle, *Life*, 55.

49. BL Add. MS. 18981, f. 196, Goring, near Garstang, to Prince Rupert, 19 June 1644.

50. BL Add. MS. 18981, f. 198, Goring to Prince Rupert, 19 June 1644.

51. *CSPD 1644*, 265-66; Bodl. Clarendon MS. 28, f. 134, Rupert Diary.

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52. BL Add. MS. 18981, f. 200, Goring, Skipton, to Prince Rupert, 25 June 1644; BL Clarendon MS. 28, ff. 134-35, Rupert Diary.

53. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 28, f. 135, Rupert Diary; Smith, *Slingsby*, 75; letter of Major General Sir James Lumsden, York, to Lord Loudon, 5 July 1644 (hereafter, Lumsden letter), reprinted in Smith, *Slingsby*, 179; letter of Thomas Stockdale to the House of Commons, 5 July 1644 (hereafter, Stockdale letter), reprinted in Firth, "Marston Moor," Appendix III, *Transactions RHS*, N. S. 12 (1898) : 73; Woolrych, *Battles*, 63-65; Young and Emberton, *Cavalier Army*, 47.

54. Slingsby diary quoted in Smith, *Slingsby*, 75. Sir Henry Slingsby had been recruited by the senior George Goring in the 1620's as a prospective husband for his eldest daughter, Elizabeth (b. 1612). Apparently the intended couple knew one another, and Goring thought it would be a good match and offered a £2,000 dowry. Sir Henry either did not like the bride or the portion, for the match was refused. Several years later he married Barbara Belasyse, daughter of Viscount Fauconberg and sister to John Belasyse (the royalist commander captured at Selby in April 1644). Slingsby would be executed by the Commonwealth in 1658 for treasonous activities (26-7, 152).

55. Stockdale letter in Firth, "Marston Moor," *Transactions RHS*, N. S. 12 (1898) : 73; Lumsden letter in Smith, *Slingsby*, 179; *CSPD 1644*, 311; Bodl. Clarendon MS. 28, f. 135, Rupert Diary; Woolrych, *Battles*, 63.

56. Newcastle, *Life*, 56; Young, *Marston Moor*, 92; Firth, "Marston Moor," *Transactions RHS*, N.S. 12 (1898) : 21.

57. Quoted in Wedgwood, *King's War*, 314.

58. Ibid.; Woolrych, *Battles*, 61-2; Roy, "Royalist Council of War," *Bulletin IHR* 35 (Nov. 1962) : 162; Young, *Marston Moor*, 91-2; Gentles, "Civil Wars in England," in Kenyon and Ohlmeyer, *Military History*, 121-23.

59. Fairfax, "Northern Actions," in Firth, *Stuart Tracts*, 394; Stockdale letter, in Firth, "Marston Moor," 74; Lumsden letter, in Smith, *Slingsby*, 179; *CSPD 1644*, 311.

60. Newcastle, *Life*, 56-57; Young, *Marston Moor*, 93, Wedgwood, *King's War*, 316; Gentles, "Civil Wars in England," in Kenyon and Ohlmeyer, *Military History*, 121. Sir Edward Hyde, although not present at York, would follow Newcastle's claim that the allied armies were about to break up: if Rupert "had sat still the other great army would have mouldered to nothing. . . ." Clarendon, *History*, 3:374.

61. Newcastle, *Life*, 57.

62. Lumsden letter, in Smith, *Slingsby*, 179; Stockdale letter, in Firth, "Marston Moor," 74; Woolrych, *Battles*, 67-69.

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63. Slingsby diary, in Smith, *Slingsby*, 77; Rushworth, *Collections*, III, 2:633, who says that the cannonade lasted until 5 p.m. without doing much damage. Peter Newman in *Marston Moor: 2 July 1644: The Sources and the Site*, Borthwick Papers no. 53 (York: Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, 1978) evaluates Slingsby's diary as the most important royalist account, especially since Sir Henry in peacetime resided locally at Redhouse, between York and Marston Moor. Newman believes Slingsby may have even ridden with Goring's men during the battle (5, 9). But Slingsby himself records that his regiment of foot remained in York during the battle, and he never mentions his own actions; Slingsby's modern biographer, Geoffrey Ridsdill Smith, is not as certain as Newman that Sir Henry did participate in battle, and he guesses that if he did, he would have fought directly under Newcastle, not Goring (*Slingsby*, 75-76).

64. Peter Newman, *The Battle of Marston Moor, 1644* (Chichester: Anthony Bird Publications, Ltd., 1981), 42, 62, 64. Woolrych (*Battles*, 67), Kenyon (*Civil Wars*, 104-5) and Wedgwood (*King's War*, 316) all impute more ill-will to Eythin's actions than Newman. Peter Young labels the veteran Eythin as too cautious and unenterprising (*Marston Moor*, 74).

65. Young, *Marston Moor*, 57, 108; C. H. Firth ("Marston Moor," 23, 35) calculated the royalist infantry at 11,000 also, but he has a slightly higher upper estimate for the cavalry of between 6,500-7,500 (vs. Young's maximum of 6,800). The Scottish infantry major general Sir James Lumsden claimed that captured royalist officers put the figure of their horse at 7,000 (Lumsden letter, in Smith, *Slingsby*, 181). The highest estimate of the royalist army came from their Parliamentary opponents. Sir Thomas Fairfax had the royalists at 23,000-24,000 ("Northern Actions," in Firth, *Stuart Tracts*, 394); Parliament's clerk and chronicler John Rushworth put the royalist army at 14,000 foot and 9,000 horse (*Collections*, III, 2:633). But one of the first Parliamentary pamphlets published after the battle had the royalists at 18,000. See TT E. 54 (7), *A True Relation of the Late Fight* (8 July 1644), 3. In like manner, Clarendon, in notes found among his manuscripts, had the royalists numbering 18,000 also, the current standard figure (*History*, 3:376, fn.).

66. Young, *Marston Moor*, 103, 109; Newman, *Marston Moor*, 34-35, concurs with Young's numbers.

67. Newman, *Marston Moor*, 89, and *Marston Moor: Sources*, 19; Woolrych, *Battles*, 69-70; Firth, "Marston Moor," *Transactions RHS*, N. S. 12 (1898) : 48.

68. Lumsden letter, in Smith, *Slingsby*, 179; Newcastle, *Life*, 57; Slingsby diary, in Smith, *Slingsby*, 77; Stockdale letter, in Firth, "Marston Moor," 74. Stockdale set the time of the allied advance at 7:30, but in the letter sent by the allied generals to London on 5 July 1644, they set the time of the start at 7 p.m. (*CSPD 1644*, 311).

69. Slingsby diary, in Smith, *Slingsby*, 78; Woolrych, *Battles*, 73; Newman, *Marston Moor*, 89.

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70. Quoted in Woolrych, *Battles*, 73-4.

71. Woolrych, *Battles*, 74; Young, *Marston Moor*, 129.

72. Quoted in Fraser, *Cromwell*, 131. Fraser stresses that this quote was actually part of a personal letter of condolence Cromwell wrote to his brother-in-law on the death of his son, Valentine Walton, at the battle. Therefore, Cromwell's wording could be excused, for he was not making a detailed military report. But military historian Peter Young labels Cromwell's description of the Scots as rather ungracious (*Marston Moor*, 129).

73. Newman, *Marston Moor: Sources*, 42; Wedgwood, *King's War*, 319-21.

74. Newcastle, *Life*, 58.

75. Young, *Marston Moor*, 130; Firth, "Marston Moor," *Transactions RHS*, N. S. 12 (1898) : 46.

76. Lumsden letter, in Smith, *Slingsby*, 180; Rushworth, *Collections*, III, 2:634.

77. Letter of Parliamentary Captain Robert Clarke to Captain Bartlett, reprinted in Firth, "Marston Moor," Appendix IV (hereafter, Clarke letter), *Transactions RHS*, N. S. 12 (1898) : 76-77; Newman, *Marston Moor*, 103-5.

78. Fairfax, "Northern Actions," in Firth, *Stuart Tracts*, 395; Young, *Marston Moor*, 119-20; Newman, *Marston Moor*, 89-93, and *Marston Moor: Sources*, 24-25.

79. Lumsden letter, in Smith, *Slingsby*, 180; Fairfax, "Northern Actions," in Firth, *Stuart Tracts*, 396; Woolrych, *Battles*, 75; Kenyon, *Civil Wars*, 109. Besides the insignia of white paper at this battle, the only general difference between the officers of the two armies was that the royalists usually wore crimson sashes, the Parliamentarians, orange-tawny. Individual commanders could choose to clothe their men in distinctive uniforms, like Newcastle's Whitecoats. See Young, *Marston Moor*, 22-23.

80. The best recreation of Goring's action is in Newman, *Marston Moor*, 93; also, his *Marston Moor: Sources*, 3-4.

81. Stockdale letter and Clarke letter, in Firth, "Marston Moor," 75, 77; Newman, 93; Woolrych, *Battles*, 75-76.

82. Slingsby diary, in Smith, *Slingsby*, 78.

83. Newcastle, *Life*, 58. Later in the year George's father would become the Earl of Norwich (see following chapter), so that George thereafter would be known as Lord Goring, the title the Duchess of Newcastle used in her text.

84. Stockdale letter and Clarke letter, in Firth, "Marston Moor," 75, 77.

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85. Lumsden letter, in Smith, *Slingsby*, 180; Fraser, *Cromwell*, 127-28; Newman, *Marston Moor*, 99-101. In his own later account, Fairfax said he reached Manchester's horse in the rear of the royalist lines, but he did not indicate if he talked directly to Cromwell. "Northern Actions," in Firth, *Stuart Tracts*, 396.

86. Quoted in Firth, "Marston Moor," *Transactions RHS*, N. S. 12 (1898) : 54.

87. Newman, *Marston Moor*, 99-101; Young, *Marston Moor*, 136.

88. Slingsby diary, in Smith, *Slingsby*, 78; Young, *Marston Moor*, 135; Woolrych, *Battles*, 77-8.

89. Stockdale letter, in Firth, "Marston Moor," 75; Rushworth, *Collections*, III, 2:634, says that the field was cleared by 10 p.m.

90. *CSPD 1644*, 311; Lumsden letter, in Smith, *Slingsby*, 180; Stockdale letter, in Firth, "Marston Moor," 76, wherein Stockdale identified "one of the Gorings" as captured, but Captain Clarke thought George himself had been taken again (Clarke letter, in Firth, "Marston Moor," 77); *Commons Journal*, 3:603; the three royalist officers, charged with high treason for "being taken in actual arms" against Parliament, were consigned to the Tower on 22 August 1644, and they were not to have any servants other than those appointed by the lieutenant of the Tower himself.

91. Newcastle, *Life*, 59; Woolrych, *Battles*, 78; Newman, *Marston Moor*, 101; Young, *Marston Moor*, 136.

92. Slingsby diary, in Smith, *Slingsby*, 78.

93. Newcastle, *Life*, 60-62; Bodl. Clarendon MS 28, f. 135, Rupert Diary; Carlton, *Charles I*, 269-70.

94. *CSPD 1644*, 311, 359, Leven, Manchester and Lord Fairfax on the surrender of York, 18 July 1644; BL Clarendon MS. 28, f. 135, Rupert Diary; Smith, *Slingsby*, 80; Woolrych, *Battles*, 79-80; Bence-Jones, *Cavaliers*, 93; Wedgwood, *King's War*, 322-23.

95. *CSPD 1644*, 330-31.

96. Quoted in Fraser, *Cromwell*, 129; Newman, *Marston Moor*, 2.

97. Quoted in Bence-Jones, *The Cavaliers*, 54; various Thomason Tracts are pamphlets written against both Boy and Rupert's pet monkey; see TT E. 245 (33), E. 246 (23), E. 90 (25), E. 92 (13), E. 93 (9), all from February-March 1643; Morrah, *Prince Rupert*, 105; Kitson, *Rupert*, 69, 207-8.

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98. The woodcut is reproduced in Woolrych, *Battles*, 80. A painting of Boy, attributed to Rupert's sister Louise, clearly shows Boy as a white standard poodle; the painting is reproduced in color in John Cannon and Ralph Griffiths, *The Oxford Illustrated History of the British Monarchy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 382; the woodcut is also reproduced on 383. Bence-Jones, *Cavaliers*, 59; Kitson, *Rupert*, 208.

99. Modern analysts believe as I do that Goring did the best he could under the circumstances. Brigadier Peter Young (*Marston Moor*, 75, 140) believes that Goring "was alert and courageous on the day of the battle," and that he "played a fairly weak hand with some skill." Peter Newman (*Marston Moor*, 91-92, 103) calls Goring "a shrewd judge of the enemy's weaknesses" on the field, but believes he was too outnumbered by his opponents to ever have a chance at final victory. "Goring and his commanders did their best," given the situation created by Byron's early loss of the royalist right wing.

100. Fairfax, "Northern Actions," in Firth, *Stuart Tracts*, 396-97.

101. Ibid., 396-97, fn. The book Fairfax was commenting on was Thomas Fuller, *Worthies Battles*, 1662.

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GEORGE GORING, CAROLINE COURTIER AND ROYALIST GENERAL (1608-1657)

by

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Volume II

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CHAPTER 10
CAMPAIGNING WITH KING CHARLES AT LOSTWITHIEL AND SECOND NEWBURY, JULY-OCTOBER 1644

George Goring's excellent service at Marston Moor soon led to his promotion to general of all King Charles's cavalry. To assume his new post, Goring had to leave Prince Rupert and join the king's field army in its pursuit of the Earl of Essex into the southwest. Goring's arrival at the king's camp in August would allow Charles to remove his Lieutenant General of Horse, Henry Wilmot, who was known to be in secret contact with Essex. But the officers under Wilmot's command would resent the loss of their commander and the arrival of Goring, the man who they believed had both betrayed his co-conspirator Wilmot in the Army Plot revelations of 1641 and given up Portsmouth too readily in 1642. Nevertheless, King Charles remained firm in his decision, and George Goring would assume his duties, under these difficult circumstances, just as the royalists cornered Essex's army at Lostwithiel in Cornwall. Goring's strategy of reducing the enemy's field of operation to force them into capitulation would succeed against the infantry, although the Parliamentary cavalry would manage to escape. Sir Edward Hyde, in his later retelling of events, would blame this loss on Goring, but Hyde had gotten his basic facts wrong, as will be seen.

Goring would not be able to catch up with the fleeing enemy horse as he pursued them back through Devon, but he would take two towns for the king. As the royalists marched eastward, back to Oxford, three Parliamentary armies would attempt to block their path. The combined forces of Manchester, Essex and Waller would outnumber the king's forces almost two to one, which would prompt Goring to attempt a preemptive attack against Waller, which would only have limited success. The king and his army

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would finally accept battle on 27 October at Newbury, where they would manage to fight the enemy to a draw and Goring would be one of the heroes of the day when he would charge and scatter Cromwell's cavalry. That night, Goring and the other commanders would safely lead the royalist army back to Oxford.

The poor showing of the Parliamentary forces during and after the battle of Newbury would eventually result in the formation of the New Model Army, to be commanded by military men and not political appointees, while George Goring's good showing at Newbury would lead him to even greater command and authority in 1645.

A New Command

Before the news of Marston Moor reached the king and his council, the royalists in late June had been hopeful of adding to their recent successes. The king had been very happy to hear that his wife had safely delivered a daughter, baptized Henrietta at Exeter Cathedral, although the queen wrote her husband that she still feared capture by the Earl of Essex. The king himself had checked Waller at Cropredy Bridge, his men charging so fiercely that the Parliamentarians "thought the Devil had come upon them in a cloud of dust," and news of Rupert's rapid march towards York all seemed to portend good fortune.[1] On the international scene, Lord Goring had finally persuaded the French to swear to uphold all former treaties with England, which was done at an oath-taking ceremony by young Louis XIV, in the English ambassador's presence. Although this act would signify more moral than substantive support, it was enough to begin rumors that Lord Goring had in fact concluded an offensive and defensive treaty for King Charles with France.[2]

Because of the way in which the battle of Marston Moor had unfolded--with two allied generals among the many who had fled the field when Goring's cavalry routed Fairfax's--the initial word carried by those in flight was of a royalist victory. Therefore, a period of confusion ensued for both sides before news of the true outcome became known and was disseminated. In London, Venetian Secretary Agostini on 5 July received the first

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unofficial reports of the allied victory over Rupert outside of York, where "after a long and bloody battle the prince was utterly overthrown. . . ." One week later, despite the arrival in London of the letter from the three allied generals confirming their victory, Agostini reported that the king's camp at Oxford was still proclaiming Rupert's success. In later dispatches in July, the Venetian diplomat would also recount the story of Newcastle's departure, which he judged to be an additional major loss to the king, for no one, in his opinion, could take the marquis' place in the north.[3]

The Committee of Both Kingdoms, anxious to quickly end all stories of an allied defeat, on 6 July sent the confirmation of their forces' victory to their generals and commanders in the field, all their shire and town committees, as well as to their agents in Holland. Sir William Waller, after receiving word from London, reported back on 7 July that instead of heartening his troops the news had actually caused problems. The new levies from London, under Major General Richard Browne, thinking that their services were no longer required, had begun to desert in large numbers. Others were so mutinous, they nearly had killed their own commander, which prompted the exasperated Waller to add: "Such men are only fit for a gallows here and a hell hereafter."[4]

Parliament also began the public dissemination of the news of Rupert's defeat on 6 July, although the initial "news flash," tacked onto *A Petition to the King's Majesty* asking the king to stop the war, was rather inaccurate in details of the battle.[5] Only on 8 July, with the publication of two letters from the field (with the author's name deleted, as was the practice), did the public get a more substantial accounting of what had passed at Marston Moor.[6] Thereafter, Parliament's authorized news sheets added more details of the battle and its aftermath, although the royalists' actions continued to be somewhat misrepresented. George Goring, in particular, received no credit for his command. Instead, the successful royalist cavalry charge was attributed to Prince Rupert or to Sir Charles Lucas, and the best that could be said of Goring was that he might have been slain![7]

At the same time, the royalists were awaiting definitive word on the outcome of Rupert's relief effort, not sure if they should listen to the early reports of victory or the

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later notices of defeat. The royalist weekly newspaper, *Mercurius Aulicus*, in its issue for the week ending 6 July 1644, spoke of "certain news" of Rupert's rout of "the Scots and English rebels." But a week later the paper had to issue a correction, but in justification of its initial report, explained: "What we told you was grounded on the Rebels' own assertions--not a few stragglers, but hundreds of fugitive rebels who came in full cry."[8] Among the officers in the field awaiting news of the battle's outcome was Colonel Sir Fulke Huncks who had been defending Rupert's headquarters at Shrewsbury against the Earl of Denbigh. The colonel wrote to the prince on 10 July, saying he had heard rumors of Rupert's "victory" over the Scots, but he was still awaiting further confirmation. He also warned that his manpower was low, his own officers were ineffectual, "nor was any man amongst so many caterpillars as I am."[9]

Like everyone else, King Charles had first received news of a great victory for Rupert's forces, but as Secretary of War Sir Edward Walker commented, "this good news held not constant." The king and his army were resting at Evesham as reports from the north came in, and a council of war was held to decide their next action. Among the options discussed: to march into Wales to recruit, go north to Rupert's relief, or proceed southwest against Essex, especially now that Waller was having trouble controlling his new recruits and would not be able to march to Essex's immediate relief. After three days' debate, it was decided that the latter course of action would be taken if Rupert had been defeated. Walker believed Charles's concern for his wife's safety helped shape his final decision, although the queen by this time was already in loyalist Cornwall, preparing to sail for France, which she would reach despite pursuit by Parliamentary ships.[10]

On 11 July, Secretary Digby wrote from the king's camp to update Rupert on their plans. He indicated that the initial news they had received via Newark was "so much more happy and successful than since we have it, that we know not what judgment to make of it, nor how to govern our counsels. . . ." If Rupert had lost, the king and his army would march after the Earl of Essex, and by joining up with Prince Maurice, "we shall be likely to crush him [Essex] between us." If Waller followed them, he would be checked by troops drawn from Bristol. No further action would be undertaken until they heard more

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certain news of Rupert's condition.[11]

Rupert, in the meantime, was in full retreat, moving first north-northeast of York via Thirsk and Richmond, gathering in troops along this initial passage. George Goring was involved with bringing in the scattered remnants of the royalist cavalry. Rupert also met up with the Marquis of Montrose, who ironically had come south seeking additional men from the prince for his campaign in Scotland. Instead, Montrose left his forces behind to assist Rupert's march and returned on his own to Scotland. A combined force drawn from the Earl of Manchester's army and the Scots' could not stop the retreating royalists, and the prince and his troops, some 6,000-strong, reached Bolton Castle on 7 July. Rupert, back in Lancashire, wrote his uncle of his loss in a letter which reached King Charles on 12 July.[12]

With this news, the king and his army immediately began pursuit of Essex into the southwest. On 15 July they reached Bath, and before departing that city on 17 July, Secretary Digby wrote to Rupert of his regrets on the recent loss and also reported that King Charles was very sorry that the Marquis of Newcastle and General King (Lord Eythin) had left under such unfortunate circumstances, although Digby added that it was clear from Rupert's letters and others that "the hatred and jealousy towards King were grown to such a height, as even to wound through him my Lord of Newcastle's power and interests in those parts." He concluded that Rupert had made a good choice in naming Sir Thomas Glemhem as governor of York (which Digby did not know had been surrendered the day prior), and, as Rupert had requested, George Goring was being sent his own commission now that his commander, Newcastle, had departed.[13]

Digby next wrote to George Goring, addressing him as "Noble General" and congratulating him on his action at Marston Moor:

> As we owe you all the good of the day in the northern battle, so we owe you all the good of the news from thence, it being of as great comfort unto us as possibly it can be in so uncomfortable a story, that a person of your judgement . . . doth allow us so good hopes yet. . . .[14]

Digby, who apparently had been reconciled to Goring since their openly aired differences in the House of Commons over the Army Plot revelations, also referred

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George to the letter he had written Rupert about his new commission (which indicated that the two men were quartered together or in close proximity at the time), adding that he had "cheerful hopes" concerning George's new command. He finally recapitulated their latest strategy, how after defeating Waller they had stayed "a great while at Evesham" while awaiting certain word from the north, and how subsequently they had unanimously decided on the western campaign upon which they were now embarked.[15]

On 18 July Parliament held its celebration of public thanksgiving for the victory at Marston Moor, but on the following day the Committee of Both Kingdoms wrote the three allied generals about the king's pursuit of Essex and asked them to ensure that Rupert did not join up with the king's forces. But the prince was already safely far across country, and the allied commanders had decided on some rest time for themselves and their troops. On 22 July the Earl of Manchester reported to London that he was at Doncaster, the Scots at Leeds and Wakefield, and Lord Fairfax at York. His men, and the Scots too, were living under poor conditions, in need of clothing and other necessities, which was resulting in much sickness within his quarters.[16] Manchester also wrote to the Earl of Leven, general of the Scots army, about the difficulty of pursuing any further joint operations into Lancashire against Rupert and repeated the problems he was encountering: "[M]y foot fall daily sick and I cannot yet supply their necessities." He also commented on the news he had received from London about the royalists' campaign into the southwest, which apparently came as a surprise to him: "I perceive that the affairs of the south are in no such condition as we expected."[17]

The Committee of Both Kingdoms responded to their three commanders in the north with promises of money to be supplied soon to alleviate the conditions. But the committeemen were still concerned about Rupert's forces in Lancashire, now reportedly numbering 8-9,000, and on 25 July they asked their generals to dispatch a force of 5,000 to keep Rupert bottled up. Despite these new orders, Leven, Manchester and Lord Fairfax would not send any forces after Rupert. These generals had basically ignored orders from London and had followed their own counsels during the siege of York (as detailed in the previous chapter), and the three were meeting at Ferrybridge in south

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Yorkshire on 30 July to decide upon their next moves.[18]

Sir Thomas Fairfax, also at Ferrybridge, reported the generals' plans to London the same day that their council was held. He pointed out that the intelligence the Committee had was already out-of-date, for Rupert had left Lancashire the previous Wednesday (the 24th) and had moved south to Cheshire. (Rupert's own diary confirmed this movement, for on 23 July he had departed Liverpool and on the 25th arrived at Chester in Cheshire.) Fairfax also reported that Rupert had split his forces and dispatched George Goring north to Cumberland and Westmoreland. Given these maneuvers by the royalists, Leven's army would move north to assist the Earl of Callendar with the siege of Newcastle and to counter the threat which might be presented by the combined royalist forces of Goring, Montrose and Clavering; Manchester's Eastern Association would move south into Lincolnshire, while Lord Fairfax remained at York.[19]

On 1 August the Earl of Manchester wrote the Committee of Both Kingdoms, presenting similar information on Rupert's movement from Liverpool by boat via Haleford to Chester, and the split in the prince's forces, with Goring reportedly taking part of the horse north to rendezvous close to the border of Scotland with the forces of Colonel Clavering and the Marquis of Montrose. The three allied generals had decided that Leven would move north, and Manchester himself would be at Lincoln by 3 August. The earl noted that he had sent to the Committee of the Eastern Association for more recruits, but had been told that London was already using these men elsewhere; he also reported his troops were owed over £30,000 in pay arrears.[20]

The Parliamentary commanders in the East Midlands confirmed the royalists' movements, although Colonel Lewis Chadwick at Stafford believed that both Prince Rupert and General Goring had moved from Lancashire to Chester "with a considerable force of horse."[21] From Nantwich, Sir William Brereton and Sir Thomas Middleton on 2 and 3 August confirmed that Rupert, with 5,000 horse and dragoons, was at Chester where he appeared to be settling in for a lengthy stay. The prince was recruiting foot to make up for his losses at York, but he was not otherwise on the offensive, lacking both powder and ammunition.[22]

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Rupert, at the same time, was receiving his own intelligence reports. On 25 July, Edward Nicholas wrote from Oxford, passing on the latest news from the king's camp at Bruton in Somerset. Sir Ralph Hopton had recruited new levies for the king's army and was marching to join up with Prince Maurice as they tracked Essex to Tiverton. Waller, still operating in the vicinity of Oxford, had been unsuccessful in his siege against the royalist stronghold of Boarstall House in Buckinghamshire. Nicholas concluded by asking Rupert for any news on the movements of the Earl of Denbigh or information out of Wales or Ireland.[23]

On 26 July King Charles reached Exeter and was greeted by the city's governor, Sir John Berkeley, one of the indicted Army Plot conspirators of 1641. Charles also had the opportunity to see his newborn daughter who had not accompanied her mother on the hazardous journey to France. The king then held a council of war to plan the next phase of his pursuit of Essex into Cornwall. The royalists considered themselves fortunate that, as they had hoped, Waller had been unable to pursue them. Instead, he had marched his unruly London recruits "from quarter to quarter, and acquainting them with the countries [counties], he gave them the better opportunities to desert him."[24]

On 27 July Secretary Digby wrote Prince Rupert that they were quartered at Exeter, just one day's march from Maurice's forces. Rupert's brother had managed to outmaneuver his Parliamentary opponent, so that Essex was now west of both royalist armies, with his back to Cornwall, a solidly royalist county, with no Parliamentary relief force in sight. "[W]e owe many thanks to Waller for dallying still about Oxford," Digby gloated. But the king's secretary also mentioned that there was continuing concern for Rupert and his condition, and powder was being dispatched to him from Bristol and Ireland (which confirmed the Parliamentary commanders' assessment of Rupert's situation). Digby's last item, in cipher, pertained to George Goring; the secretary was glad to hear "Goring is come so near as Bristol; the business he came for shall be gone through." But no further news could be sent to Rupert until they had spoken with George on this matter.[25]

If George Goring was at Bristol, why did most of the Parliamentary reports place

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him on England's northern border? Even Venetian Secretary Agostini in London was sure that Goring was on the frontier of Scotland, sent by Rupert to support Montrose.[26] This confusion about Goring's whereabouts may have stemmed from two sources: the allies' mistaken identification of the current commander of the northern horse, Goring's former command, and a deliberate deception on the part of the royalists to allow George to slip away south, perhaps by ship to Bristol, to catch up with the king on his southwest campaign. The fact that the news about Goring in Digby's letter was encoded tends to lend credence to the latter theory. Perhaps the royalists were trying to ensure their general as safe a passage as possible, for the "business" he had to discuss with King Charles pertained to the command of all the king's cavalry.

The Lostwithiel Campaign

On 1 August 1644 King Charles and his army entered Cornwall, a county so "exceedingly affectionate" to the royalist cause, the king "strictly forbad them [his soldiers] to plunder or offer any the least violence to the inhabitants."[27] The king was in pursuit of the Earl of Essex whose own campaign in the West Country had produced some successes to date; Parliament's lord general had taken and garrisoned Weymouth, Chard and Tiverton, and he had forced Sir Richard Grenvile to raise the siege of Plymouth. But listening to some over optimistic advice on the possibility of rallying Cornwall to Parliament's cause, the earl had crossed into the county, less than a week prior to the royalists' advance. On 4 August, writing from his base at Lostwithiel, a disillusioned Essex complained to the Committee of Both Kingdoms that he had received no instructions following the relief of Plymouth and that he had been "lured" into Cornwall where he had three armies marching against him--those of the king, Prince Maurice and Sir Ralph Hopton--while he had no assistance on the way and he was running short of provisions.[28]

In London, the Committee of Both Kingdoms was still primarily concerned with keeping Rupert from joining with his uncle. In messages to various commanders,

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including Essex, sent out 5-9 August, the Committee repeated the (false) intelligence that Goring had taken part of Rupert's forces north; the Scots were ordered to counter this renewed royalist threat and complete the siege of Newcastle. The Earl of Manchester, in turn, was ordered to dispatch 2,000 horse and dragoons to Essex's relief and to take the rest of his forces to face Rupert. But Manchester replied that he could not take Chester, Rupert's temporary headquarters, and it was too late in the season to bring the prince to battle. Only on 12 August, in a dispatch to London from Lord Fairfax at York, would the confusion about who was commanding the remains of the royalist cavalry in the north be clarified. Sir Marmaduke Langdale and Sir Thomas Glemhem--and not Goring--with about 3,000 horse were recruiting in Cumberland and Westmoreland. Lord Fairfax hoped that the Scots would keep them in check to prevent any incursion back into Yorkshire.[29]

So in the first week of August, while the enemy still mistakenly thought that he was in the far north, George Goring was continuing his journey to catch up with the king's army in Cornwall. On 4 August he had already passed Bridgwater in Somerset when he took time to write to Rupert to apologize for not corresponding more frequently. He explained that he was hoping to recruit some troops along the way to bring with him to the king. George concluded by promising to communicate more often, by sending messengers via Wales, and he hoped he would be reunited with the prince soon: "I esteem myself very unhappy to be divided from your Highness."[30] Goring was going to an army which counted among its commanders several men who bore him a tremendous grudge, all arising from the 1641 Army Plot revelations, namely, Henry Wilmot, Lieutenant General of Horse, and Henry Percy, General of the Ordinance. Because of Goring's testimony, the former had been imprisoned and the latter had fled England.

King Charles, however, had no qualms about employing Goring in his campaign against Essex, particularly after George's performance at Marston Moor. The king's forces, joined with those of Prince Maurice, were quartered at Liskeard, about ten miles east of Essex at Lostwithiel, when the king decided to make one last overture to the earl for a peaceable resolution of their conflict. In a letter dated 6 August, Charles urged Essex to take this opportunity to meet with him to discuss peace terms: "[Y]ou have at

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this time in your power to redeem your country and the crown . . . such an opportunity, as perhaps, no subject before you ever had, or after you shall have. To which there is no more required but that you join with me. . . ."[31]

This letter, which was destined not to receive a reply, was dispatched on 7 August, the same day George Goring finally arrived at the king's camp. George met with King Charles that night and accepted the offer of command of the cavalry in the king's army. The fact that one of his chief rivals, Henry Wilmot, was about to be arrested for making his own private peace overtures to Essex might have made the terms of his new employment more palatable. In addition, Rupert supported this move, for he too was supposed to receive promotion to commander-in-chief just as soon as the elderly Lord Forth, recently created Earl of Brentford, could be gracefully retired. Other factors, however, would intervene to delay Rupert's advancement, but Goring's promotion was to be effective immediately. The behind-the-scenes engineer of this scheme had been the king's secretary, George Lord Digby. Although no particular friend to Rupert, Digby disliked Wilmot even more, especially since Wilmot openly opposed civilian advisers like Digby whom he had hoped to get removed from the king's council.[32] Clearly, Wilmot had underestimated his opponent, for Digby managed to oust him instead with the help of King Charles, Prince Rupert and George Goring.

The manner in which the change of command was effected and made known to the men indicated that the king and his senior commanders were aware that problems might ensue. The army, numbering about 16,000 horse and foot, was drawn up on Braddock Down, ready to march, early on the morning of 8 August. King Charles was in the field at the head of his forces, accompanied by General Goring. The van was being commanded by Sergeant Major General Lord Wentworth, while Lieutenant General Lord Wilmot brought up the rear. King Charles then sent Thomas Eliot, a gentleman of his bedchamber, to ask Wilmot to come to see him, but the lieutenant general, on his way to prayers, retorted that the king would have to wait. Wilmot's reported comment, "I serve God first," [33] was in itself a good indicator of the rather imperious attitude he had adopted.

While Wilmot was taking his time in obeying Charles's command, the king gave a

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warrant to the knight marshal, Sir Edward Sydenham, to arrest Lord Wilmot. According to eye-witness accounts, Wilmot was genuinely surprised when the warrant was served, but he allowed himself to be led away, only asking Sir Richard Bulstrode to inform Lord Wentworth and the other general officers about what had happened. As word spread, the officers, also surprised at the news, "all concluded it was the effect of General Goring's coming to the King. . . .General Goring . . . of whom they had no good opinion, since his examination in Parliament, at the beginning of the war, when he was governor of Portsmouth, which he soon delivered. . . ."[34] It seems that the secrecy maintained about George's coming to the king's army had not only served to protect him from the enemy, but also was intended to prevent any disaffection within the king's own ranks.

With Wilmot arrested, George Goring was publically named the new general of the king's horse, which meant that he was not really replacing Wilmot, the lieutenant general, but rather, Rupert, who had resigned his post (in preparation for his own promotion to commander-in-chief, although this was not mentioned as yet). Then Charles himself and his principal commanders rode to every cavalry division to explain to the men that this change had been made at Rupert's request and to order them to obey General Goring. It was also explained that Wilmot had not lost his command, but that he had been "justly restrained."[35]

Wilmot, however, had been a popular commander, maybe even a bit too popular from the king's point of view, as another of the king's civilian counselors, Sir Edward Hyde, believed. On the western campaign Wilmot had been openly talking about the need for the king to meet with Essex and to come to terms with Parliament. Digby had taken this information to Charles who began to fear that Wilmot, also known to be in private communication with Essex, might be planning a coup, although there is no evidence that this was his ultimate intention. But the officers serving under him, unaware of all that had been happening, could not accept their commander's sudden arrest without question.[36]

That same morning a delegation of officers, led by Lord Wentworth who was to continue as major general of horse, went to see King Charles to inquire further about what had occurred and to present a petition to which they had hastily subscribed. In their

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document, "The Humble Petition of your Majesty's old officers of Horse," the cavalry commanders explained how it had been an honor to serve King Charles under Lord Wilmot, "but now to their great amazement and distraction," they found that their commander had fallen in the king's displeasure. While they were not questioning his dismissal, they only asked to be advised of the reasons for it.[37] The king replied "that if Lord Wilmot had continued to command his army of horse, his crown could not have long stood upon his head," and he promised to give them a more detailed answer after their planned advance. In the meantime, they were all to return to their regiments and to obey George Goring, "whom he had made General of all his cavalry."[38]

Even with the king's verbal assurance, the officers would not let the matter rest, which demonstrated the depth of their feeling for their old commander and their aversion for their new one, although in this case, Goring was not the instigator of events, as the officers seemed to believe. In what might be termed an act of passive resistance, at about noon, when the army was prepared once again to march, none of the horse commanders reported to General Goring to receive his orders. George went directly to Charles to complain, and the king called in Richard Bulstrode, the officer who brought him the list of quarters each night, and commanded him to go with General Goring to see that his orders were carried out. George wanted one thousand horse drawn out for the vanguard to scout to the west. Bulstrode chose Colonel Richard Nevil for this assignment, even though it was not his turn for duty, but because Nevil, although a friend to Wilmot, had refused to sign the petition, believing that it was not right to dispute the king's orders. So Nevil led Goring's vanguard that day, "to the General's great satisfaction, who had ever after a great esteem and value for him." And Bulstrode himself, who helped to avert disaster on Goring's first day of command, was also soon rewarded by being made adjutant general of horse; he would serve at George Goring's side for the next fourteen months and from his observations develop a balanced picture of his commander whom he would ultimately judge to be "as good an officer as any served the king."[39]

Goring rode with his vanguard, across Braddock Down, about two miles ahead of the rest of the army that afternoon. Advancing to the crest of a hill, he could see the

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enemy's disposition at the town of Lostwithiel, and he sent Bulstrode back to have the king and the Earl of Brentford bring up the rest of the army. He also ordered Colonel Nevil to send a scouting party ahead towards Boconnoc. Led by Bernard Gascoigne, a Florentine in the king's service, the advance party managed to surprise and capture some Parliamentary officers at supper who had been unaware of the proximity of the royalists. For this service, Gascoigne was knighted and Goring made him major in his own horse regiment. Despite some minor skirmishing by the cavalry, no major engagement was undertaken by either side, and the royalists quartered on the heath that night.[40] So, despite a rather inauspicious start, George Goring, on his first day on the new job, had safely led the king's army to within sight of the enemy. He also had been quick to reward those who served him well, as he began to win over the allegiance of the men of his new command.

On the following day, the king's council of war debated whether to give battle or to go into quarters. The latter option was chosen because the horse needed time to rest and also because the king was waiting for Sir Richard Grenvile to come to him with additional forces. Initially the royalists quartered to the east of the River Fowey: the infantry in the enclosures between Braddock Down and Boconnoc, the cavalry further south, towards the sea, at St. Veep and Lanreath. (See figure 15.) Essex's army, about 10,000 strong, was to the west of the river, based in and around Lostwithiel. His infantry was commanded by Philip Skippon, a veteran of the Dutch wars who had served with Goring and Wilmot at Breda. Essex's cavalry was commanded by the Scottish veteran, Sir William Balfour, who, as lieutenant of the Tower in 1641, had refused to join the plot to allow Strafford to escape.[41] Both of Essex's subordinates would gain more repute than their commander in the coming campaign.

Despite his numerical superiority, King Charles was being cautious as he awaited his additional troops, which was understandable, given the recent loss in the north. Even a victory at the cost of high casualties could prove disastrous for his overall war effort since he had no other field army. In addition, the removal of Wilmot was still a cause for discontent among some of his officers, who, now with a few days of inactivity, decided to write another letter, this time to the Earl of Essex, to ask him to come to terms. While the

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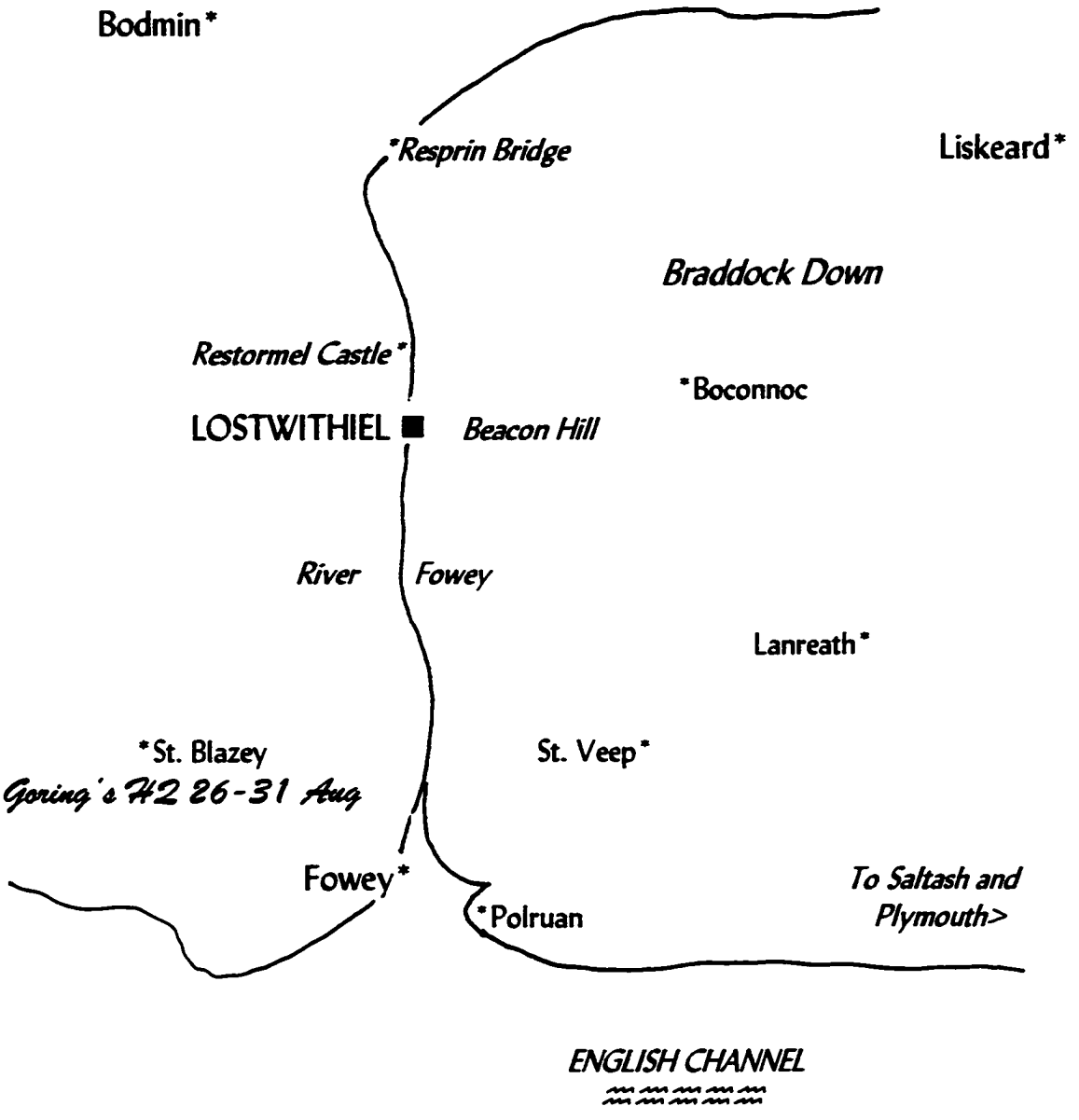
Figure 15. Lostwithiel Campaign, Cornwall, August 1644



Note: Map not precisely to scale.
F. S. Memegalos

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initial effort had been undertaken without any official sanction, the king soon heard about the letter and authorized its dispatch, signed by seventy-eight of his commanders, including George Goring. On 10 August Essex wrote a brief reply addressed to Maurice and Brentford, which came as a surprise to the royalists, since the earl had not bothered to answer King Charles's own peace proposal. Simply put, the earl claimed to have "no power by the Parliament (who have employed me) to treat. . . ."[42] But as Sir Edward Walker noted: "[T]his short and unexpected answer produced this good, that it gave his Majesty and army assurance that there was no other way but by force to reduce these Rebels."[43]

But "force" did not yet mean giving battle, as the royalists continued to proceed slowly and methodically. On 11 August Sir Richard Grenvile, approaching from the west of Cornwall, arrived with his forces at Bodmin. But his expected 8,000 men turned out to be only 1,800 foot and 600 horse. Grenvile did, however, capture Respryn Bridge, located above Lostwithiel, which gave the king's army access to the west bank of the river. In a further attempt to encircle their Parliamentary foe, George Goring joined his old comrade-in-arms, Sir Jacob Astley (who, as previously demonstrated, had no particular liking for George despite the years they had fought together in the Dutch and Bishops' Wars) in scouting the east bank of the river to ascertain if it was possible to cut off the port of Fowey, so that Essex could no longer be easily supplied by sea. Their reconnaissance led to two successful actions, in which the royalists captured Polruan Fort and Hall, a local manor, so that they now controlled part of the mouth of the river. This was accomplished by 14 August, after which the royalists again chose a wait-and-see policy.[44]

The fact that King Charles still had to reconcile his cavalry commanders to his ousting of Wilmot and promotion of Goring might have also slowed the royalists' pace of action. On 12 August the king, as promised, issued an answer to his officers' "Humble Petition," in which he adopted a rather conciliatory tone, as he reassured his men that it was alright for them to question what had occurred and explained: "We should not have done an act that might hazard the discontenting many, had we not been forced unto it . . .

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that it was absolutely necessary to the preservation of us all." To support his decision, Charles included the list of charges against Wilmot, who was accused of having been in secret communication with Essex and having spread discontent in the army for the past three months, particularly by disparaging the growing power of the king's nephews.[45] Rupert was in fact Wilmot's immediate superior, so it explained why the prince had supported the promotion of George Goring, an officer who had served him extremely well of late, against a subordinate who was trying to undermine his authority.

Of course such open rifts within the royalist army would prove to be useful propaganda fodder for the Parliamentary press. Both the officers' petition and the king's response would be published at the end of the month, with Wilmot being portrayed as a martyr to the cause of peace: "The Lord Wilmot is in great danger of losing his head (if he hath not lost it already, as some affirm) for being a suitor to his Majesty for peace."[46] In actuality, Wilmot had been sent to confinement in Exeter, where he hoped for a speedy trial to answer his accusers. But a trial at such a critical juncture might have created further divisions among the royalists. Therefore, after a few weeks of imprisonment, Wilmot was allowed to leave for France, where he would eventually join the other exiles gathered around Henrietta Maria. Because there were never any legal proceedings against him, none of the accusations would ever be proven. And Wilmot would serve Charles II particulary well in 1651 after the royalists' defeat at the battle of Worcester, when he would accompany his young king on his hazardous journey of escape from England. Therefore, the "rehabilitation" of Wilmot's reputation for this service would wipe out the memory of any past (unproven) transgressions, and the revised interpretation of the events of August 1641 would lay all the blame on George Goring. As Sir Richard Bulstrode would explain, after Wilmot's service to Charles II, "his disgrace under King Charles I was looked upon purely as an effect of the power General Goring had at that time with the King."[47]

Nor was Wilmot the only commander who lost his position in the royalist army that August. Just one week after his friend's arrest, Henry Percy, General of the Ordinance, was ordered by King Charles to resign his commission. While Wilmot's

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intrigues had caused him his job which he had carried out well, Percy's dismissal seemed to have stemmed as much from his poor execution of his office as from his friendship with Wilmot. The new head of ordinance was to be the popular--and dependable--Sir Ralph Hopton. In reporting the news of the removal of Wilmot and Percy from their commands to Prince Rupert, Secretary Digby concluded: "I make no doubt but all the ill humors in our armies will be well allayed, now that the two poles upon which they moved are taken away." In an encoded section, Digby added his reassurance that the king intended to make Rupert commander-in-chief as soon as the old general, Brentford, could be satisfied.[48]

Rupert actually was receiving news from a number of correspondents with the king's army, all updating him on the status of the campaign, the command changes, as well as the behind-the-scenes intrigues. The king's cousin and adviser, James Stuart, Duke of Richmond and Lennox, was one of Rupert's few close friends and supporters within the king's council. He wrote to reassure the prince that he should not worry about those "who at court grow cold to him," since the king supported Rupert, and he, Lennox, would do all he could for him. He also mentioned Goring's arrival and his proposals pertaining to Rupert, all of which probably alluded to Rupert's promotion. Another correspondent, Richard Case, who had been with Rupert's brother Maurice, concentrated more on the military aspects of the campaign; he noted that Essex's rejections of the various peace proposals "have extremely animated his Majesty's army," which he judged to be the best army the royalists had gathered to date. Case added that, with the removal of Wilmot and Percy, Digby's "counsels sway very much here."[49]

George Goring, writing on 15 April from his headquarters at Lanreath, presented Rupert with the most candid evaluation of the situation in the king's army. He began by explaining that because of the present critical situation, Rupert's promotion would most probably be deferred until the campaign against Essex had been completed. George then took up his old refrain of regretting his parting from Rupert, partially encoding his message, as indicated by the italicized words. "I am very confident I am taken from a place where I could have rendered some service to his Majesty and to your Highness and

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put into another where I am so much a stranger that I shall not be very useful til *Rupert* be with us." He continued: "This is the *most mutinous army* that ever I saw, *not only horse but foot*, though I believe it is rather their *poverty and fear* than any general dislike *of the remove of officers*." George closed by asking the prince to keep a place for him in his immediate service after the conclusion of the current campaign.[50]

Goring's bleak description of the king's army was at variance with Richard Case's report. That his promotion had nearly precipitated a mutiny clearly had shaken George, although he chose not to admit that his own presence and reputation might have helped along the course of events. Even with his two major foes removed, he obviously was still not happy with his new command, and his continuing regret at having been parted from Rupert would seem to indicate that Goring had established a good working relationship with the prince over the last four months in which they had campaigned together. What was unusual, however, was that George would have preferred to be with the prince rather than with the king, in an age when all honor and enrichment flowed from the monarch and personal proximity to the sovereign was much to be desired. Goring, based on his recent experience, might have believed that he and the prince formed a more competent command structure when on their own, removed from direct control and civilian interference (much like the Parliamentary commanders in the field who often chose to ignore instructions from London). This letter appeared to represent George Goring's heartfelt reaction to the tense atmosphere in the king's camp which he had encountered during the first week in his new command.

But with King Charles's further explanation of the reasons for Wilmot's dismissal, the unrest among the officers quieted down. Besides, the royalists were in such close proximity to the enemy that all their energies had to be directed to the task at hand. Their strategy of slowly encircling the Parliamentary army was producing the desired effect, as Essex himself confirmed in a letter to London, dated 16 August. He complained that his food supply was so low he feared that his troops would be starved out. He did not feel he could force a battle, nor could he escape, and his intelligence of the royalists' movements was very limited, for the local people were "violently" against him. If only a relief force

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had been dispatched earlier, he could have proved victorious by now, he concluded,[51] quite ignoring the fact that he himself had chosen to march into Cornwall, without any advice or concurrence from London.

At a council of war on 18 August, the royalist command decided to advance yet closer to the enemy. Three days later, all the king's gathered forces of infantry and cavalry early in the morning, and under cover of a heavy mist, began to push forward, encountering only light skirmishing along the way. Sir Richard Grenvile's men captured Restormel Castle, north of Lostwithiel, while the forces under Maurice and Brentford captured Beacon Hill, high ground directly to the east of the Parliamentary-held town. That same night the royalists built a redoubt on the hill, where their cannon could fire downhill on Lostwithiel about one mile away, but Essex's guns would have little effect trying to shoot up at the redoubt. Two modern military commentators label the royalists' effort on 21 August "a well-synchronized general advance . . . of four miles. Such an operation was most unusual in those days and has a very modern look."[52]

And still Essex did nothing, which was of concern to the royalists because their own provisions were beginning to run low and a Parliamentary relief force of some 3,000 men, commanded by Waller's lieutenant general, John Middleton, was on its way west. The king met with all his principal officers on 23 August, and it was decided in council that early the next morning an infantry attack should by launched by Prince Maurice and Sir Richard Grenvile. But on the 24th King Charles found no action undertaken as had been planned. Instead, a new strategy was being proposed, supported by George Goring, whereby he would take most of the cavalry, accompanied by 1,500 musketeers, across the river, southwest towards St. Blazey. In this manner the enemy's field of action would be further restricted, and Essex might be forced to seek terms.[53]

Sir Edward Walker, secretary to the war council, is the primary source of this incident, but he did not specify by whose authority the order to attack was countermanded. According to the royalists' own news sheet, *Mercurius Aulicus*, this last minute cancellation of the assault was the cause for some discord within the council because "nothing was effected, to the trouble and dislike of many, who thought the same

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[infantry advance] more easy than perchance it was."[54] Remembering George Goring's low opinion of the king's forces, it would make sense for him to have argued against any direct action. Even though the advance of 21 August had gone well, the king's army really had not been tested by any major resistance. Goring also was the only commander present who had seen the destruction of the royalist army at Marston Moor, which might have made him more cautious in forcing a battle when a less risky strategy might bring about the same results. In addition, a cavalry action would give his men employment and less time to sit idle and brood on recent events.

King Charles did agree that the second plan was a good alternative, but he still felt that the initial strategy of launching an infantry attack was not that hazardous an undertaking, so he rescheduled it for the following morning. But it was too late by then, for the royalists' activities had alerted the enemy who was preparing to meet the attack. So, in the end, General Goring got his way, which would ultimately turn out to be the right choice, Walker concluded, "because we afterwards got the Rebels' Army into our power without blood or hazard. . . ."[55]

On 26 August Goring led all the king's cavalry--except for 500 horse guards--across the River Fowey, accompanied by Sir Thomas Basset and his Cornish regiment of foot consisting of 1,500 musketeers and dragoons. They circled four miles beyond Lostwithiel, taking St. Austell and St. Blazey, and quickly accomplished all that they had set out to do. Goring and his men had cut off various landing places along the west bank of the river, leaving Essex with little hope of being supplied by sea any longer, and had reduced the area available for the Parliamentary horse to graze. Digby relayed the news of these latest maneuvers to Rupert, who had moved south, arriving at Bristol on 26 August, the same day Goring was advancing. The secretary explained that the plan for an assault had been rejected, despite their numerical superiority, and instead they were combating Essex "by famine." But Goring's successful thrust to the west led Digby to be hopeful of a quick end to the campaign: "I do not see how Essex can escape us." The secretary also reported that all was now peaceful in the army, the ill-humors all gone, with "the kindness of the army flowing very fast toward Goring."[56] George's successful advance had kept the

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king's cavalry busy, and it is likely that the past discontents had been defused now that a final resolution was imminent.

The royalists had, however, tried to short-cut the end of the campaign by sending men in undercover to blow up the Parliamentary army's powder supply. At the very last minute the attempt was discovered, "by strange fortune," Digby related in his letter to Rupert. Essex, on the other hand, in writing of this incident to the Committee of Both Kingdoms on 27 August, definitely saw divine intervention as the agent of their recent salvation. Despite the lack of any human assistance, God was helping his army, he chided London. But on one important point he did concur with Digby's evaluation of the situation: his army was being starved into submission.[57]

Middleton's relief force had been stalled by the royalists at Bridgwater in Somerset, but, upon receiving Essex's letter, the Committee in London wrote their lord general that food was being dispatched and Waller was being sent west with his army. This letter was dated 30 August, the same day that Essex had finally decided to take evasive action. But at 7 p.m. that Friday evening, two deserters came into the king's camp who told of Essex's plan to try to ship his foot, baggage and artillery from Fowey while the horse would attempt to break out through the royalists' lines. Both the king's army and Prince Maurice's were ordered to stand to arms all night, and a message was sent to the west of the river to alert General Goring, but not ordering him to any specific action. Despite these precautions, at 3 a.m. on 31 August, a dark and misty night, Sir William Balfour succeeded in leading the Parliamentary horse--over 2,000 in number--to safety, passing almost without notice between the two royalist armies. Even Secretary Walker was at a loss to explain how this had happened without any alarm being given.[58]

In fact, the king's forces were scattered over a fifteen-mile front, in an area of poor roads, made all the worse by heavy rains that August. The main road between Lostwithiel and Liskeard ran between their armies, which might have led the royalists' to believe that the Parliamentary forces would not risk that path of retreat. Therefore, the road was only guarded by some fifty musketeers, positioned in a cottage alongside the thoroughfare. But Balfour, clearly in a desperate situation, had little choice but to try to force his way out

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along this route which ran northeast from Lostwithiel. He did know that he would not encounter the bulk of the king's cavalry which Goring still had positioned to the southwest of Lostwithiel. So in the end, the Parliamentary cavalry commander's gamble succeeded. If anyone could be blamed for allowing the escape to occur without giving alarm it would have to be the musketeers who seemed to have been literally "sleeping on the job."[59]

Sir Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Cleveland, the commander most responsible for the royalist victory at Cropredy Bridge in June, did try to pursue the fleeing Parliamentary horse, but he had only 250 troopers of the horse guards with him that night. He met up with two cavalry parties from Grenvile's army, and now totaling 500 men, the royalists followed the enemy as far as Saltash, skirmishing twice with the rearguard along the way. The king awoke on 31 August to the news of Balfour's escape and the Earl of Cleveland's pursuit, although there was some fear in the royalist camp that the Parliamentary cavalry might double back to attack the king's headquarters at Boconnoc. So George Goring and his cavalry, still encamped to the west of the river at St. Blazey, were sent for, and warnings were also dispatched to the royalist garrisons along the route east to watch for the escaping Parliamentary horse. At the same time, King Charles led his infantry in pursuit of the Parliamentary foot who were retreating south from Lostwithiel, heading for the port of Fowey.[60]

General Goring received the first news of the Parliamentary horse's flight at 10 a.m. on 31 August, in a note written by King Charles: "Goring, the enemy have this night passed, broke through our quarters with their horse, after some resistance made by our Horse Guard, commanded by Cleveland, who was not able to hinder their passage, being nearly five times his number."[61] Goring had to break camp and gather his troops, before reporting to the king at 4 p.m. that afternoon, according to Sir Edward Walker, at which time the king sent Goring and the cavalry in pursuit of Balfour. But Richard Symonds put Goring alongside Lord Bernard Stuart, commander of the king's lifeguard, coordinating cavalry support for the king's infantry operation that afternoon, and not leaving in pursuit of the Parliamentary cavalry until the following day. Since Symonds fought under Stuart, it would seem he was writing of events he had witnessed. In fact, Sir Richard Bulstrode's

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version reconciled the other two accounts; Goring and his horse did begin the pursuit of Balfour on the 31st, but when some of their returning comrades reported the rapid progress the enemy had made, George and his forces returned to assist the king until the Parliamentary infantry had surrendered, which would not occur until the next day. What the three contemporary royalist accounts agreed on, however, was that Goring was nowhere in the vicinity of the escaping Parliamentary cavalry the night before, and a look at the map (figure 15) clearly shows the relative positions of the various forces.[62]

Sir Edward Hyde had remained at Oxford, conducting business on the king's council, while Charles was undertaking the pursuit of Essex; therefore, in later years, in retelling the story of this campaign in his *History* he was not speaking from first-hand experience when he wrote his version of the Parliamentary horse's escape:

> The notice and orders [of the alert] came to Goring when he was in one of his jovial exercises, which he received with mirth, and slighting those who sent them, as men who took alarms too warmly; and he continued his delights till all the enemy's horse were passed through his quarters, nor did then pursue them in any time. . . .Nor was any man called in question for this supine neglect; it being not thought fit to make severe inquisition into the behavior of the rest, when it was so notoriously known how the superior officer had failed in his duty.[63]

There is one clue as to why Clarendon, writing years after the events, might have shaped his recollections around one mistaken fact. In another manuscript he left for his *Life*, he retold the events as follows, beginning with the king relaying the intelligence that the Parliamentary cavalry was about to break free to Goring

> who lay then quartered at *Liskeard*, and had, or might have had, all his horse in such a readiness, and caused the narrow lanes to have been so barricaded and stopped, that it could not have been possible that any number of them could have escaped. But the notice and orders came when he was in one of his usual debauches, which he could in no case master or moderate. . . .And so he continued his delight till all the body of the enemy's horse under Balfour were passed through his quarters, nor did then pursue them in any time.[64]

Of course if Goring had been at Liskeard that night, as Hyde erroneously thought, the escape of the enemy through his quarters would have been inexcusably negligent. But Goring had arrived at the king's camp at Liskeard on 7 August, had advanced from there

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with the king's entire army the following day, and was quartered to the west of Lostwithiel when the enemy horse escaped, as detailed above. So Clarendon's confusion about George Goring's location on the night of 30-31 August, coupled with his personal animosity towards Goring which would develop in 1645 (to be chronicled in the following chapters), explains this unjustified accusation. Even though historians have rectified this specific error, it should be remembered that Clarendon's history on the whole has long been one of the most important and influential primary sources for the events of the civil war.[65]

The running battle which took place on 31 August was fought from hedge to hedge, south from Lostwithiel, primarily between Parliament's retreating foot and the king's infantry, supported by the cavalry of General Goring and Lord Bernard Stuart. The muddy roads caused additional hardships for Major General Skippon who was trying to bring both his men and ordnance to Fowey. Nightfall finally brought a halt to the pursuit, at which time Skippon wrote for instructions from Essex who had marched ahead. But the general was getting ready to depart by boat, leaving Skippon the task of coming to terms with the king. Essex justified his decision by explaining that it was "a greater terror to me to be a slave to their contempts, than a thousand deaths."[66] Parliament's lord general, on the night of 31 August-1 September, "was necessitated to quit his army," by taking ship to Plymouth, as the Parliamentary chronicler John Rushworth kindly put it. But the royalist paper *Mercurius Aulicus* had a harsher assessment of Essex's departure: "We are most certain in that this high-swollen earl hath stolen away from his army in the night to sea . . . and all their horse ran away from their foot."[67]

In a council of war held that night, the veteran Skippon wanted to continue to try to fight their way out, believing it was "better to die with honour and faithfulness, than to live dishonourable." The rest of the infantry officers did not agree with these noble sentiments, particularly with their commander-in-chief and cavalry already safely away. Following the council's decision, on the morning of 1 September 1644, Major General Skippon sent to King Charles for a parley. The king, in turn, appointed Prince Maurice, the Earl of Brentford and Lord Digby to negotiate the terms of surrender which were

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agreed upon that same day. All artillery, weapons and ammunition were to be surrendered, with officers being allowed to keep their swords and pistols. The 6,000 infantrymen were then to march east via Wareham and Poole in Dorset, and they swore to undertake no hostile act against the royalists until they had reached either Southampton or Portsmouth.[68]

As was the practice, the victors would provide an escort for the defeated for part of their retreat; in this instance, a royalist cavalry guard would accompany the Parliamentary foot beyond the borders of Cornwall to Winchester. General Goring appointed Lieutenant Colonel Adrian Scroop to lead this detail, which was an interesting choice, for Scroop had penned the officers' "Humble Petition" to the king when Goring had first replaced Wilmot. This would not be an easy task, considering that the local populace in Cornwall was extremely antagonistic to the departing Parliamentarians, and some of the royalist soldiers themselves attacked and plundered their defeated foe before King Charles himself intervened and had seven offenders hung.[69]

On 2 September the terms of the surrender were carried out. The royalists took possession of thirty-six pieces of artillery, one hundred barrels of powder, seven hundred carriages, and five thousand arms. George Goring was now leading his cavalry eastward, ahead of the king's main army, in pursuit of the Parliamentary horse. The general, in a new command of which he had entertained serious misgivings, had conducted himself well to date, and had helped to bring about a successful conclusion to the king's campaign, which Secretary Walker characterized as "a great and glorious victory being gotten without blood."[70]

The March East

Mercurius Aulicus, in reporting the successful end of the Lostwithiel campaign, advised its readers that General Goring was in pursuit of Essex's escaped cavalry, "so that

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'tis believed you will shortly hear of their destruction."[71] But that was not to be the case. Balfour had over a day's head start on the royalist horse, nor would King Charles and the rest of his army join in the pursuit. Instead, Charles and Maurice began a slow progress back towards Oxford, for the royalists had no overall grand design to quickly march eastward to strike at London, as the Parliamentary leadership feared they might attempt. Just before the capitulation of Essex's infantry, Secretary Digby had written to Prince Rupert to explain that, even with victory in Cornwall, the king's next aim would be to try to take some of the enemy's other strongholds on his return east before going into winter quarters. Digby had added that they were looking forward to soon being reunited with Rupert.[72]

Rupert, close by at Bristol, was awaiting his promotion, now that Goring had successfully replaced him in his former command. But a quite unexpected event put this plan on hold for another two months. In late August, Rupert's elder brother, Charles Louis, had arrived back in England, much to everyone's surprise. Parliament reluctantly welcomed him to London, but with the advice that it would be better for him to return abroad. The prince was not deterred and claimed that he was there to make up for the actions of "some of his relations," meaning Rupert and Maurice. He also wanted to thank Parliament for its past favors, and he wished to witness the "thorough reform" of the Church of England by attending the forthcoming Assembly of Divines.[73]

Charles Louis, still waiting and hoping to be restored to the electoral title of the Palatinate, in the meantime apparently was making himself available to the English Parliament in case they wanted to replace King Charles with a purer Protestant contender. Charles, in turn, could barely contain his anger in the brief note he sent Charles Louis, which the king explained he was only writing for his sister's sake. "Nephew. . . .Upon what invitation you are come? Then, the design of your coming?" The prince replied that he was seeking a reconciliation between his uncle and Parliament, and he proceeded to stay in London to attend the Assembly of Divines, as an auditor. While Parliament would never offer the throne to the prince, King Charles, unexpectedly faced with one nephew's hostile and threatening presence in England, could not immediately promote that nephew's

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brother to command all his forces. Enough of his own councilors did not like Rupert's ascendancy, and now it could appear that the two Princes Palatine might be working in collusion behind the scenes. So until matters settled down and Charles Louis proved to be no real threat, Charles had to put off Rupert's promotion, although he did write Rupert a letter reiterating his faith in him.[74]

Rupert also received news about the end of the Cornish campaign from Lord Digby as well as reports from those pursuing Balfour's retreating cavalry Sir Richard Grenvile, in command of 2,000 foot, had been sent ahead by King Charles to support Goring's advance towards the Parliamentary-held town of Plymouth where both Essex and his cavalry had temporarily sheltered. But Grenvile was slowed down at Saltash, the last town on the Cornish side of the Tamar River, the border with Devon, so he failed to rendezvous with the main body of the king's cavalry, some 2,000-strong. Instead, Sir John Berkeley, with forces from Exeter, was joining the chase, for the Parliamentary horse had left Plymouth on 3 September and had so far managed to elude their pursuers. Berkeley, reporting to Rupert on 4 September, noted that General Goring was then about twenty miles behind his quarry who "have lost many in the march and are much tired."[75]

But the king's cavalry was not in much better shape, and now they were at the disadvantage of having no infantrymen with them. Balfour had picked up some accompanying foot at Plymouth, but with Grenvile failing to meet up with Goring's cavalry and Berkeley not scheduled to rendezvous until Friday, 6 September, at Tiverton, George was unable to engage the enemy successfully. On 4 September he sent out an advance party which skirmished with Balfour's rearguard but, in the end, did nothing to slow down the enemy's flight.[76] Quartered at Okehampton, in central Devon, on 5 September, Goring updated Rupert on his situation: "I have been in pursuit of some of their horse but ours are so tired and disorderly that I fear they will get out of our reach before we get up our stragglers." But he was hopeful for the continued pursuit since more troops would be joining him,[77] a reference to the planned rendezvous with Berkeley.

George also claimed he was happy that the prince was so near, adding: "I long passionately to wait upon your Highness." He continued: "I would to God your Highness

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were at Court; for your presence will wipe away all difficulties that may appear in your absence. I have double reason to wish it: not only for the public good, but for your own satisfaction."[78] This rather vague warning about the ongoing intrigues centered on the king's council fit in with the Duke of Richmond's earlier reassurances to Rupert that he was watching out for the prince's interests. Goring, whose own great aversion to civilian interference would manifest itself in 1645, in letters such as this, apparently was signaling to the prince his support, one soldier to another.

Balfour, in the meantime, having intelligence of the planned royalist rendezvous, continued to evade his pursuers, moving north towards Middleton's Parliamentary relief force, then located at Great Torrington. Goring was ordered not to approach too closely to Middleton because the Parliamentary troops were considered to be in better condition than his own men. King Charles, on 6 September with his main army at Tavistock, wrote Rupert to warn him of this enemy activity in Devon and Somerset and to give him the latest news of Goring's pursuit. The king added that he was glad to hear Rupert was gathering large forces of horse and dragoons at Bristol, and he requested the prince's advice on how their combined forces should proceed. Charles ended on an optimistic note: "Another good blow may end our business."[79]

The king was hoping to deliver one such "blow" to the Parliamentary garrison at Plymouth. Parliament's Lord Admiral, the Earl of Warwick, had already warned London that this outpost would be endangered with the defeat of Essex. In response, the Committee of Both Kingdoms had dispatched food and supplies to the town, which now refused to answer the king's summons to surrender. Richard Case, with the king, on 9 September wrote Rupert: "I confess the taking of Plymouth is of great advantage but his Majesty's main business is to be early in good winter quarters."[80] The king soon agreed that he did not have time to tie down his main army, so on 12 September he continued his march eastwards, leaving Sir Richard Grenvile behind with 500 foot and 300 horse to maintain the siege. In late July Essex had driven Grenvile from before Plymouth; Essex, who had already sailed from this haven to Southampton, was now the one put to flight.[81]

At the same time, General Goring and the king's cavalry were still on their own,

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trying to overtake Balfour who kept about one day ahead of his pursuers. Goring's route led him over Hatherleigh and then to Kirton, but before he could join up with Berkeley, Balfour divided his forces. Part of Essex's horse fled south to the Parliamentary garrison at Lyme, while the remainder reached Middleton's relief force, now at Barnstaple. From there the Parliamentary troops rode across Exmoor via Dunster and onto their garrison at Taunton. Balfour had succeeded in making good his escape. Secretary Walker believed little more could have been done by their own cavalry, "the rebels' fears giving them wings to make good their escape."[82]

Goring's pursuit had taken him to the north coast of Devon, where he saw that several of the Parliamentary-held towns were not particularly well-defended. From the port of Ilfracombe he carried off twenty pieces of ordinance. Next the royalists laid siege to Barnstaple which was low on provisions and ammunition after having just sheltered Middleton's troops. On 17 September the town surrendered on terms: the garrison, with colors and arms, would be convoyed to Portsmouth; there would be no plundering nor molesting of the inhabitants; and George Goring marched away with an additional fifty pieces of ordinance and a supply of arms. As Sir Richard Bulstrode wrote, Goring "could extricate himself with the least concern" from any difficult situation.[83]

George Goring had not stopped the enemy horse's escape, but he had taken two towns for the king and gained a supply of weapons. Nor would further relentless pursuit eastwards have been good tactics, for he might have paced himself too far ahead to be of service if there were any major threat to the main body of the king's troops. The Committee of Both Kingdoms had not only sent Waller and his army west to counter the returning royalist forces, but Manchester and the Eastern Association were also ordered to march southwest to try to intercept the king. In addition, Parliament was sending new clothing and weapons to resupply Essex's returned infantry at Portsmouth so that they could take the field again. The king, therefore, was facing the threat of three Parliamentary armies blocking his return march.[84]

King Charles reached Exeter on 21 September and called a council of war. In trying to determine the amount of winter provisions that would be required, the

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commanders had to account for their men. Secretary Walker recorded that of the king's original 4,000 infantrymen, the number was now "much diminished," while Maurice could only account for half of his original 4,500 foot. "Besides our horse were much harassed, and discontented for want of pay." The commissioners of Devon provided £ 2,000 "to satisfy the horse" and 3,000 suits of clothes as well as shoes and socks for the infantry. With the royalist armies in such a condition, more offensive action at that time would have been difficult, Secretary Walker pointed out.[85]

The king then sent Rupert details of their plans, which included a rendezvous with Rupert, and Lord Digby followed-up with his own letter to the prince, expressing his great happiness that "our army shall shortly be again animated by your spirit."[86] Actually, the secretary had no particular desire to see Rupert return to the king's council, for King Charles usually favored his nephew's advice over that of his civilian councilors, at least when Rupert was there in person to make his point. Rupert often did not even have the courtesy to answer the secretary's letters, and the growing struggle between the two men for ascendancy in the king's council would have dire consequences in 1645.[87]

Goring's cavalry had returned to the king who, having finished his business in Devon and Somerset, marched east from Chard on 30 September. The forces accompanying Charles, which still included Prince Maurice's army, totaled 5,500 foot and 4,000 horse. The next major stop was at Sherborne in Dorset, where the king stayed from 2 to 8 October, attending to his affairs in the county and meeting with Rupert. The prince, who had stayed at Bristol throughout September, was putting together some 2,000 foot, recruited in Wales by General Charles Gerard, and the remains of the northern horse, marching south under Sir Marmaduke Langdale. Rupert hoped to have these forces ready to march to the king before any major engagement was undertaken, for the royalists were aware of the fact that Manchester had already moved south from Lincolnshire to Reading.[88]

Rupert had left Bristol on 29 September for his rendezvous with his uncle at Sherborne Castle; he would depart from there on 5 October and return to Bristol the following day. George Goring, in the meantime, had gone to Bristol to try to meet in

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private with Rupert, but how could he have absented himself from a major council meeting? On the grounds of ill health. Although he does not specify it, George possibly had gotten leave to go to Bath, which lies about forty miles north of Sherborne and where he had gone to take the waters for his health immediately after his service in the First Bishops' War; he would also return to Bath during the campaigning season in 1645, and Bristol lies about ten miles beyond Bath.[89] It is easy to forget that Goring was extremely lame, since he made little reference to his disability in his war correspondence other than on those few occasions when he would claim he needed time to recover his health. In addition, he had been actively on campaign since the victory at Lostwithiel, unlike the rest of the king's forces who had been setting their own pace on the journey east.

Goring, at Bristol on 3 October, wrote to Rupert that even though he had been unable to serve the king these few days, "I had yet the contentment to believe I should have had the honour to wait upon your Highness at Bristol which I did most passionately desire but for one hour." If Rupert did not come back within the next five days, George would then return to the army where he hoped to find Rupert. Otherwise, Goring asked to remain on leave "if your Highness has not use of my service in that time. But, Sir, if either for the King's service or your own, your Highness will be pleased to command me sooner to attend you, I shall not be delayed either by the hazard of my health or very life from showing myself."[90] There is no record if Goring did meet with Rupert, but based on the documented dates, Rupert, back at Bristol on the 6th, could have had the opportunity to meet with George, whose leave extended through the 8th, to discuss the upcoming campaign the royalists were facing as well as whatever behind the scenes matters George felt he needed to discuss face-to-face with the prince.

Sir Ralph Hopton accompanied Rupert back to Bristol to try to hasten the dispatch of the 4,000 men the prince had promised his uncle. But the king chose not to wait for these reinforcements, who were not yet ready to march, and instead advanced into Wiltshire on 15 October. The royalists had some sightings of the Parliamentary forces sent to block their advance, but they safely reached Salisbury where they would rest for three nights. They knew that Waller and part of his army--3,000 horse and dragoons--

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were ahead of them, quartered at Andover in Hampshire. Based on this intelligence, George Goring, in the council meeting of the 15th, put forward the motion to attack Waller, before he could be joined by Essex's reoutfitted foot and horse, or by Manchester and Cromwell with the Eastern Association army.[91]

King and council agreed to Goring's plan which would rely heavily on the element of surprise being with the royalists. All of the sick as well as the carriages and artillery train were left behind, and the armies were scheduled to rendezvous at 7 a.m. on Friday, 18 October. But Prince Maurice's foot, quartered at Wilton, about three miles west of Salisbury, did not arrive until 11 a.m., so that the march to Andover only began at noon. By 3 p.m. the royalists were about a mile from their objective when Waller first received news of the impending attack. He initially drew out his forces to face the royalists, but before there was any engagement, Waller rethought his options and decided a rapid retreat might be the best course of action. As he fled from the far side of town with the main body of his troops, he left behind three hundred horse to face the royalists and slow down their pursuit.[92]

An advance cavalry party sent by General Goring broke those remaining defenders and took eighty prisoners, including one colonel. Goring himself then entered the town with his main body of horse and set off after Waller's retreating forces. According to Secretary Digby's rather fanciful account, this pursuit produced "so great a terror" in the fleeing Parliamentary troopers "that they dispersed into the several corners of the Earth." In reality, as both Secretary Walker and Richard Symonds recorded, after several miles' pursuit, the king's cavalry had to give up the chase with the approach of nightfall; the late start at the beginning of the day had resulted in an inconclusive encounter. The king then brought up those who had remained behind at Salisbury, along with the baggage and artillery, and spent the night at Andover.[93]

Waller's decision to retreat instead of fight was probably a good choice. He knew that the two other Parliamentary armies were close to joining with him, so why chance an encounter which could have resulted in heavy losses? In fact, on 21 October, as the king gathered all his forces about him at Whitchurch, the three Parliamentary armies did finally

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link up at Basingstoke. Their combined total was over 17,000 men; the king's forces, less than 10,000. In addition, Charles was determined to relieve three royalist strongholds in the area which had been under prolonged siege: Banbury Castle, Basing House and Donnington Castle. So, despite the fact that a battle seemed to be imminent, he sent out a brigade of horse under the Earl of Northampton to raise the siege of Banbury Castle, some fifty miles north. Even though the earl would succeed in this assignment on 25 October, he would not return in time to participate in the forthcoming battle, which left the king with about 9,000 men. Knowing that they faced a numerically superior enemy, the king and his council decided to move further north to Newbury, where they would take a defensive stand north of the town. They reasoned that it was already late in the campaign season and their opponents, forced to take the offensive, might soon exhaust themselves in the effort. The royalists would then have the opportunity to complete their successful march home to Oxford, which lay only some thirty miles north of Newbury.[94]

George Goring had now been general of the king's cavalry for two and a half months. Although he had seen almost continual action in that time, he had yet to be involved in a major engagement. The little town of Newbury, which already had been the setting for an important battle in September 1643, was about to provide the site for another encounter, one where George Goring would at last have the opportunity to lead his men on the battlefield.

The Second Battle of Newbury

The king and his army arrived at Newbury on 22 October 1644. The advance of the royalists had put to flight the besiegers of Donnington Castle, located just northwest of the town, so that the castle's guns would now be available to support the king's stand. But with the gathering of the Parliamentary armies in such proximity, the king was forced to put off his plans to relieve Basing House, the third and last of his intended relief efforts. That same day, the 22nd, in preparation for a major battle, Parliament sent extra surgeons from London to their armies, while the Committee of Both Kingdoms dispatched two

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civilian advisers, Sir Archibald Johnstone and John Crew, MP, "to consult with the generals," as Rushworth explained. In fact, there was to be no commander-in-chief for the combined Parliamentary armies; instead a council, made up of Essex, Waller, Manchester and Cromwell, as well as several other commanders, plus the civilians sent by London, was to decide on the battle plan. The Committee of Both Kingdoms, mindful of the past conflicts among some of their generals, sent a letter to each of the commanders, asking them "to lay aside all particulars" and to work for the "public service," much as the three allied commanders had done at York. The goal of the Parliamentary forces was to stop the king's advance east,[95] which was rather interesting since the royalists' objective was to march north, home to Oxford, and not east to London.

Writing from Newbury on 23 October, Digby told Rupert of their advance to that town, and how King Charles was waiting to join with Rupert's forces, although the king was not giving the prince a peremptory order to march to him. However, in an encoded phrase, Digby specified that the king was waiting for Rupert only if the prince were able to reach him. In other words, if this letter fell into enemy hands, it would appear that Rupert was ready to come to the king's assistance, when in fact Charles and his commanders were aware that they might have to make a stand on their own before the prince's relief force could march to them. The secretary also wrote of the juncture of the three Parliamentary armies, but, in his usual optimistic manner, he had their adversaries retreating to Reading, "their fears and the distractions at London are so great that *if Rupert comes in force* it would probably be fatal to them."[96]

The only commander who did remain at Reading was Essex who claimed to be too ill to take the field. His two subordinates, Balfour and Skippon, who had been left to complete the Lostwithiel campaign on their own, once again would fight without their general. But the major problem facing the remaining Parliamentary commanders was how to force the royalists into an engagement. The three armies advanced west to a general rendezvous at Buckleberry Heath, five miles from Newbury, on Friday, 25 October. And still the royalists did not move, which led the Parliamentary commanders to suppose (correctly) that the king was waiting for Rupert's relief force of horse and dragoons, or

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for the Earl of Northampton's return from Banbury Castle. On the 26th, the Parliamentary armies advanced further west to Clay Hill from where they could view the king's position. They found the royalists facing eastward, centered around and behind a well-fortified local manor, Shaw House, their position also protected by the River Lambourn and its tributary, the Kennet, with Donnington Castle less than a mile to the northwest. Seeing this, the Parliamentary generals judged the royalists to be so well placed that a frontal assault would be too difficult to undertake. They did have their batteries open fire, but this artillery barrage had little effect, so that by the end of the day no further advance was attempted.[97]

That night of the 26th, the Parliamentary command council met to determine how to proceed. It is not known who put forward the resolution decided upon, but the council chose to divide their forces in an attempt to encircle the royalists by attacking on two fronts. (See figure 16.) Shortly after midnight, about two-thirds of the Parliamentary forces began their long detour of some thirteen miles around the back of the royalists' position. They camped out en route overnight, and in the morning continued in a counter-clockwise movement, by which they hoped to surprise their adversary by attacking from the west. Waller was the senior commander in this expedition which consisted of his army, Essex's horse and foot under Balfour and Skippon, and Cromwell leading part of Manchester's horse. Manchester himself remained on Clay Hill, with his infantry, part of his cavalry, and some of the trained bands from London.[98]

On Sunday morning at 7 a.m., 27 October, the royalists were still waiting for the enemy's attack, but the king, alerted to his opponents' planned two-front assault, sent Maurice and his army to dig defensive entrenchments west of the town of Speen to counter Waller's approach. The king, accompanied by his eldest son Prince Charles who had come from Oxford, stood with his lifeguard in the middle of Newbury field, with two brigades of Goring's cavalry in reserve. The eastern end of the royalists' defenses was based on Shaw House, which was to be Manchester's objective that day. By pre-arrangement, the earl was only supposed to open his assault on the signal of Skippon firing a cannon to initiate his attack on Speen. But Manchester decided on his own to begin the

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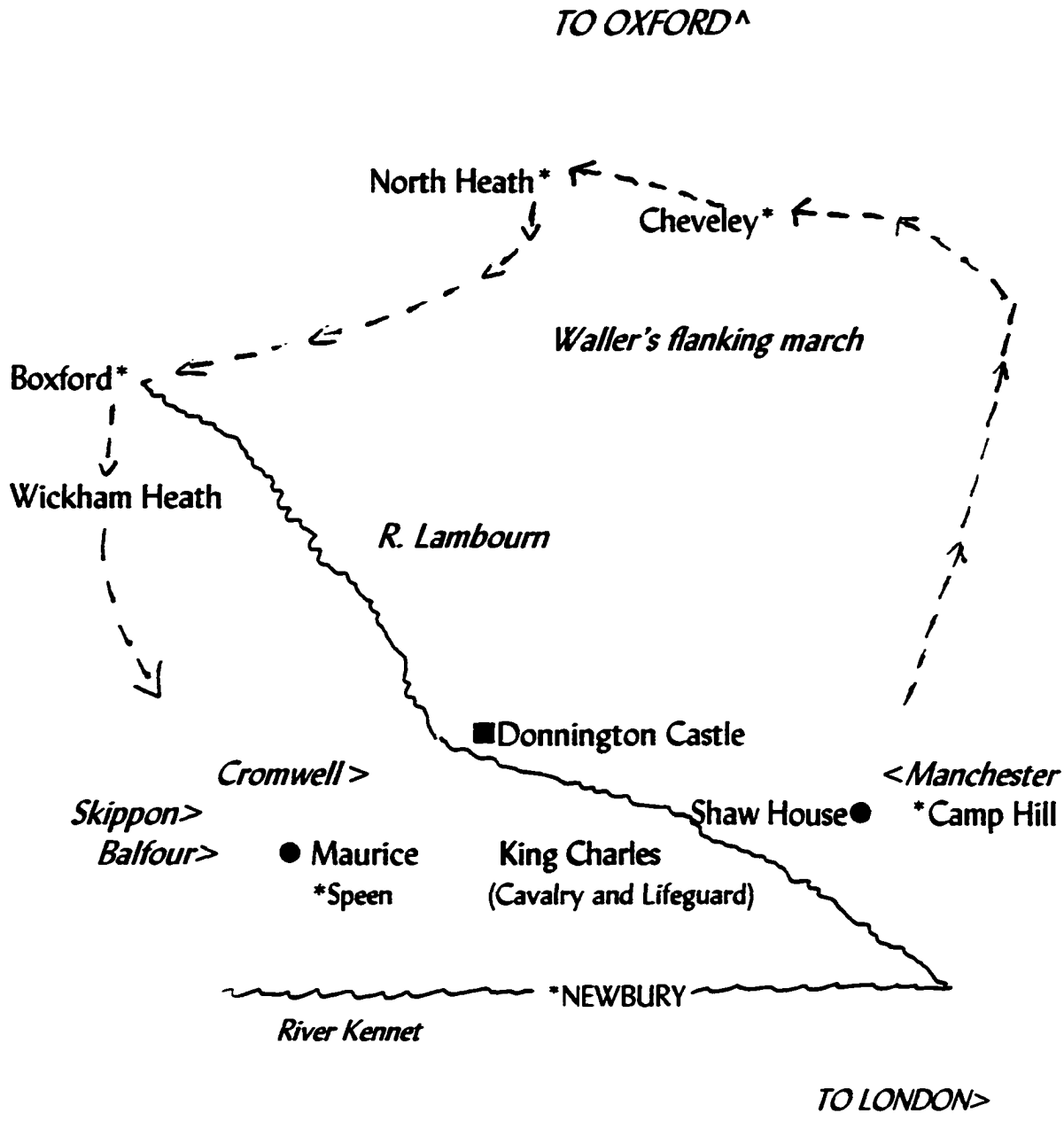
Figure 16. The Second Battle of Newbury, 27 October 1644



Note: Map not precisely to scale.
F. S. Memegalos

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day with a feint towards Shaw House by a party of 400 in an attempt to draw the royalist horse away from the center. Unfortunately for the earl, his men became so entangled with their opponents and overextended that he had difficulty in extricating them from the action and reordering his lines.[99] Whether or not this early attempt led to his later mistimed assault is not clear, since Manchester and Cromwell would engage in a vituperative exchange over who had failed to act that day. But according to Simeon Ashe, Manchester's chaplain, the earl was on horseback throughout the day, rallying his troops to action.[100]

Nevertheless, whatever actions Manchester did take, they were not timed to Waller's attack, which began about 3 p.m. The Parliamentary forces formed themselves up for battle west of Speen, Skippon leading all the infantry in the center, with Balfour on the right wing and Cromwell on the left. Maurice, with his own troops and part of the king's infantry, had not had sufficient time to finish the defense works, so that after one hour's hard fighting the attackers broke through, overran Speen, and Essex's foot actually managed to recapture four pieces of artillery which they had been forced to give up at Lostwithiel. Some of the royalist defenders were now put to flight, leaving King Charles and his son exposed to Cromwell's charging cavalry until General Goring literally rode to the rescue.[101] "A good body of horse" was attempting to break through the king's guards:

> But this was soon discerned and prevented by General Goring who instantly drew up the Earl of Cleveland's brigade, put himself in the head of it, together with the valiant earl himself and the other colonels of his brigade. . . .The general told them they must now charge home, and thereupon suddenly advanced up to the gap. . . . This charge was the more gallant, because this brigade of horse not only went over the ditch to meet the rebels, but passed by three bodies of the rebels' foot, who were placed in the ditches and enclosures; two of which bodies shot at his Majesty's horse both as they pursued the rebels, and as they came back again.[102]

Secretary Walker, in his version of this episode, added that this charge against the enemy horse "forced them back in great confusion" and by continuing across the hedges, Goring and his men turned back a second wave of Parliamentary horse "and slew diverse of the rebels on the place." But fighting in such close quarters, the Earl of Cleveland had his

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horse shot out from under him and was taken prisoner.[103]

George Goring did make it back to his own lines, and, even Parliament's eye-witness account of the battle, published on 29 October, would wonder how General Goring had escaped his opponents in such a close action.[104] But Goring realized that his charge had only turned back the left wing of the enemy horse and that Balfour was still advancing on the right. George then ordered Sir Richard Bulstrode to bring up the reserve of the Queen's Regiment, under Sir John Cansfield who, although wounded by gunfire during the action, stopped Balfour's advance and gave the hard-pressed royalists time to regroup.[105]

While George Goring and his cavalry commanders were holding off the Parliamentary advance from the west, Colonel George Lisle was in charge of the defense of Shaw House at the eastern end of the battlefield. For reasons which remain unclear, Manchester's assault began about one hour after Waller's attack on Speen. At about 4 p.m., the earl launched his men in a two-pronged attack down from Clay Hill, but the royalist defenses held against three charges. Lisle, who normally did not wear armor, on this occasion took off his buff coat, "perhaps to animate his men . . . or because it was dark, they might better discern him from whom they were to receive both direction and courage." After the battle, reports would circulate in London that some of Cromwell's men had seen witches flying among the king's troops; *Mercurius Aulicus* suggested that perhaps the Parliamentarians had only sighted George Lisle in his heroic actions on the battlefield that afternoon.[106]

The fact that Lisle had to do something to make himself visible to his men in the growing darkness helps explain the end of this battle. Just as Goring's attempt to overtake Waller's fleeing horse from Andover had been ended by nightfall, so too the battle of Newbury ground to a halt in the darkness. The fighting had lasted for three hours, from 3 p.m. to 6 p.m. On that date, which is 6 November New Style, the sun set at about 4:20 p.m., so that the last hour of fighting had actually gone on by moonlight. When the fighting stopped, the Parliamentary forces had captured the town of Speen, but both wings of their cavalry had been turned back, while, to the east, the royalists still held

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Shaw House.[107]

The king and his commanders had no intention of staying on the field that night to renew the battle in the morning, for the sheer force of numbers would soon overwhelm them. At 10 p.m. the king's army, under its commanders--Maurice, Goring, Hopton and Astley--drew up before Donnington Castle, where the wounded, including the Earl of Brentford who had been shot, were left behind, along with the artillery. Maurice and Goring then led the main body of the king's army on a night march north to Wallingford, and the next day they safely returned to Oxford. The king, however, with a small detachment of troops, sped west to meet up with Rupert and his relief forces. As Sir Richard Bulstrode noted, the royalist withdrawal from the field was made "without any alarm from the enemy who durst not follow us." And Secretary Walker reasoned that this lack of pursuit "is an argument they had enough of the business, and were well pleased so to be rid of us."[108]

Despite the Parliamentary press's claim that a "great victory" had been achieved at Newbury, the fact remained that the king and his numerically inferior army had managed to fight their opponents to a draw. *Mercurius Aulicus*, always happy to point out errors of fact in the opposition's reports, told the public of how the king's army had safely marched away without pursuit. Parliament's version of the battle also reported that, although General Goring had escaped from his charge unscathed, "his brother paid his [George's] account, being shot dead as he charged, most of his troop were cut off." In other words, Charles Goring had paid for his brother's action with his life. Not so, countered *Mercurius Aulicus*: "General Goring's brother is ready for another charge when the rebels next appear." Which was the truth, for Charles Goring would not die until 1671.[109]

More serious than this public war of words was the growing dissension among the Parliamentary commanders themselves. Major General Skippon, whose infantry had accomplished the most that day, reported to the Committee of Both Kingdoms that only nightfall had prevented the total destruction of the king's army, which was most likely true. But that did not explain why George Goring and the Earl of Cleveland's brigade

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which totaled only 800 troopers had been able to break Cromwell's renowned "Ironsides" cavalry (a nickname Rupert supposedly had given his opponents after Marston Moor because of their tight formation). Even the Earl of Manchester charged his own lieutenant general of horse with giving a poor account of himself that day. Cromwell, in turn, would claim that his superior had acted so hesitantly in the course of the battle and afterwards because Manchester was "against the ending of the war by the sword."[110] The most interesting point in modern postmortems is that historians try to explain what occurred in the cavalry battle that day in terms of Cromwell's failure rather than Goring's success. In fact, Goring could prove himself to be equal or superior to Cromwell or Fairfax on the battlefield. Sir Richard Bulstrode offered the key, that he was eye-witness to several such occasions when Goring proved himself to be "the most dexterous in any sudden emergency," as when he led the charge at Newbury.[111]

Overall, the Parliamentary council's battle plan, with its difficult outflanking maneuver, had been a calculated risk. The Parliamentary commanders had forced an engagement as quickly as possible, knowing that reinforcements would shortly be coming to the king. If the battle itself can be considered a gamble which failed, particularly with the miscarriage by several of the Parliamentary commanders that day and the resolute stand by royalists like Goring and Lisle, the aftermath is harder to explain. Why had there been no all-out pursuit of the retreating royalist army or of the king? The best answer is that the "command-by-committee" format was totally unsuitable within a military context. Instead of taking immediate action, the committee sat and debated, and, in the end, the more cautious position of not risking another encounter, which might leave London unprotected, came to prevail.[112]

King Charles, to the contrary, was all action following the battle. He rode seventy-five miles non-stop to meet up with Prince Rupert at Bath on the following afternoon. The king and his nephew, joined by reinforcements of about 5,000 men, two days later began the march back east to Oxford.[113] En route, at Cirencester on 31 October, Prince Rupert wrote to General Goring at Oxford. The king would have told Rupert of the action at Newbury and also of Goring's part in successfully leading the royalist army away

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after the battle which is the likely reason behind this note:

> I shall not trouble you with any great business, supposing that Secretary Nicholas [at Oxford] hath orders to acquaint you with all particulars. We are in much better condition since you have brought off so many gallant men and among them yourself, in whose safety and welfare I have a great interest.[114]

On 1 November, King Charles and Prince Rupert returned to Oxford, where, on the following day, the prince was made Master of the Horse to his uncle (a title in the past often given to a royal favorite, like Buckingham under James). On 6 November the king mustered his entire army, now numbering about 15,000, on Bullingdon Green. Here he finally named Prince Rupert captain general, under Prince Charles, of all forces of horse and foot. Rupert was replacing the elderly Earl of Forth who was still among the wounded left at Donnington Castle. Prince Charles, just fourteen-years-old, was only the titular commander-in-chief, for Rupert was now in fact responsible for the king's overall war effort.[115]

The Committee of Both Kingdoms had ordered their three armies to remain together at Newbury while awaiting the king's next actions. Several attempts had been made on Donnington Castle, but all had been successfully repelled by the royalist governor. Now King Charles, accompanied by his new commander-in-chief, Rupert, and by his general of horse, George Goring, led his army back towards Newbury which they reached on 9 November. The king and his commanders then extricated the baggage, artillery and wounded they had left behind at the castle, and stood facing the enemy armies. There was some skirmishing between the two sides' horse, but, again, the Parliamentary command council decided against any full scale engagement. John Rushworth, Parliament's usually non-judgmental chronicler, could not keep a hint of sarcasm from creeping into his narrative at this point: "And so the king marched leisurely away towards Wallingford."[116]

Nor was King Charles through with his campaign season as yet. On 19 November he dispatched 1,000 horse under Sir Henry Gage who successfully relieved Basing, the last of the royalists' planned relief efforts, and on 23 November King Charles received a cheering welcome as he reentered Oxford to take up his winter quarters.[117] Considering

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the rather disastrous start to the year, with the entry of the Scots into the war and the subsequent loss of the north, the king's own campaign efforts had produced positive results by year's end.

George Goring's own personal trajectory paralleled the king's in 1644. George had begun the year imprisoned in the Tower. With his release he had immediately rejoined the king's war effort, and campaigned with Rupert in Lancashire and into Yorkshire. As discussed previously, Goring's efforts at Marston Moor had nearly turned the tide of battle. From there he had been called to the king's army and had been placed in a difficult situation, where he faced the open hostility of some of his own commanders. But George had persevered, and his contributions both in strategy and in the actions to encircle the enemy contributed to the king's victory at Lostwithiel.

On the return march east, Goring and his cavalry did fail to stop Essex's escaping horse. However, according to Secretary Walker's account, the king apparently did not hold his general accountable for this failure, given the initial delay in the pursuit. And George had taken the initiative in capturing two Parliamentary-held towns in Devon. He also showed initiative in his plan to surprise Waller's horse at Andover, and only the mistimed execution of others prevented a better outcome. At Newbury, Goring's quick thinking and rapid action had removed the king from imminent danger. That Goring was physically fearless, much like Rupert, there can be no doubt, based on both friendly and hostile eyewitness accounts.

It had been a year of hard campaigning for George Goring, as he crossed the country, going from one theater of operations to another. Of the king's generals, Goring was the only one to fight at Marston Moor, Lostwithiel and Second Newbury. He had taken a few days leave in October, probably to go to Bath for the waters, but otherwise he rode hard with his men. And although he was a drinker, at this point in his career he could hardly have been an out-of-control drunk, primarily interested in "his delights," as Clarendon would charge, for throughout the fall campaign Goring regularly sat with his king in council and kept up with the physically demanding routine required of a cavalry general in the seventeenth century.[118]

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We have also seen how the two royalist chroniclers who accompanied Goring in the latter part of 1644 were both positive in their assessments of George, contrary to Sir Edward Hyde's second-hand, erroneous reporting. Secretary Sir Edward Walker sat on the king's war council with George whom he credited with the strategy which brought about a victory with minimal bloodshed at Lostwithiel. And Sir Richard Bulstrode, who knew only of George's poor reputation prior to his coming to the king's army, reassessed his general's abilities based on his own observations. As will be seen in the following chapters, Bulstrode would also chronicle his commander's failures and decline in 1645, so that Goring's adjutant would show himself to be a rather even-handed reporter.

In 1644 George Goring had first served Prince Rupert well, and then he had justified the confidence King Charles had placed in him with his promotion to general of the cavalry. That Goring would want and receive more independent responsibility was a natural result of his recent successful actions, particularly during and after the Second Battle of Newbury. On the other hand, the poor showing of the three Parliamentary armies during and after the battle would also have important consequences: "These miscarriages in the armies, and contests between the commanders, gave occasion for that New Model of the Parliament's forces, whereby not only Manchester but Waller and Essex also were laid aside. . . ."[119] Goring and his fellow royalists in 1645 would face a transformed enemy army, commanded by George's old nemesis, Sir Thomas Fairfax.

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1. Green, *Letters of Henrietta Maria*, 248-49, Henrietta Maria, Exeter, to Charles I, 28 June 1644; BL Sloan MS. 1519, f. 51, [Digby] to Prince Rupert, 11 July 1644; *CSPD 1644*, 313-18.

2. *HMC*, 9th Rpt., Pt. II, App., Morrison MS., 436; the "*acte du serment*" took place on 3 July 1644; *CSPD 1644*, 378.

3. *CSPVen 1643-7*, 117-8, 120, Agostini, 15, 22 and 29 July 1644 [N. S.].

4. *CSPD 1644*, 320-21, 324, 326.

5. TT E. 54 (2), *A Petition to the King's Majesty, and a brief relation of the routing of Prince Rupert* (London, 6 July 1644), 5-6. According to this initial version, the battle had been fought along the road to Tadcaster; the only correct bit of information was that the allies had won.

6. TT E. 54 (7), *A True Relation of the Late Fight Between the Parliament Forces and Prince Rupert* (London, 8 July 1644).

7. TT E. 54 (8), *A Particular List of . . . Prisoners taken at Marston Moor*, (London, 9 July 1644), 2-3, which reported on the "boldness and courage" of the three allied generals; TT E. 54 (9) *The Kingdom's Weekly Intelligencer*, (no. 62, 2-9 July 1644), 498, 501, had Rupert leading the successful charge against Sir Thomas Fairfax, and reported news of Colonel Goring's death; TT E. 54 (11), *A Relation of the Good Success of the Parliament Forces*, ([20 July] 1644), 2, said the royalist cavalry was led by Rupert, Newcastle, and Sir Charles Lucas.

8. *Mercurius Aulicus, A diurnal Communicating the Intelligence and affairs of the Court to the rest of the Kingdom*, comp. and intro. F. J. Varley (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1948), 82.

9. *CSPD 1644*, 332.

10. Walker, *Discourses*, 37; Green, *Letters of Henrietta Maria*, 249, Henrietta Maria, Truro, to Charles I, 9 July 1644; *CSPD 1644*, 318, 342, 356. Parliament's admiral, the Earl of Warwick, reported Henrietta Maria's escape to the Committee of Both Kingdoms on 17 July 1644.

11. BL Sloan MS. 1519, ff. 51-52.

12. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 28, f. 135, Rupert Diary; Walker, *Discourses*, 39; *CSPD 1644*, 331; *CSPVen 1643-47*, 123, Agostini, 5 August 1644 [N. S.]; Wedgwood, *King's War*, 322-23, and *Montrose*, 58-60.

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13. BL Add. MS. 18981, f. 205-6, Digby, Bath, to Prince Rupert, 17 July 1644; Walker, *Discourses*, 39-40.

14. BL Add. MS. 18981, f. 203-4, Digby, Bath, to Goring, 17 July 1644.

15. Ibid.

16. *CSPVen 1643-47*, 120, Agostini, 29 July 1644 [N. S.]; *CSPD 1644*, 361-62, 366.

17. BL Harley MS. 7001, f. 170-71, Manchester, Doncaster, to Leven, 24 July 1644.

18. *CSPD 1644*, 375-76, 385.

19. Ibid., 385; Bodl. Clarendon MS. 28, f. 135, Rupert Diary.

20. *CSPD 1644*, 388-89.

21. *HMC*, Vol. 3, 4th Rpt., Pt. III, App., Denbigh MS., 269, letter dated 25 July [1644].

22. *CSPD 1644*, 392, 394.

23. BL Add. MS. 18981, f. 207, Nicholas, Oxford, to Prince Rupert, 25 July 1644. Boarstall House was defended for the royalists by Sir William Campion, who had refused to answer Waller's request to discuss terms of surrender earlier in July. Campion would maintain his position to the end of the war. See E. Sussex R. O., Danny Archives 36.

24. Walker, *Discourses*, 40, 47.

25. BL Add. MS. 18981, f. 208, Digby, Exeter, to Prince Rupert, 27 July 1644. The sentences in cipher had been decoded right on the letter itself; it was a number code, with "Goringe" (a variant spelling sometimes used by the family, particularly the senior George Goring) represented as 18 44 43 1 49 20 4.

26. *CSPVen 1643-47*, 128, Agostini, 19 August 1644 [N. S.].

27. Walker, *Discourses*, 49.

28. Ibid., 41, 48-49; *CSPD 1644*, 398; Richard Holmes, *Civil War Battles in Cornwall, 1642 to 1646*, British Battlefields Series (Keele, Staffordshire: Mercia Publications Ltd., 1989), 52.

29. *CSPD 1644*, 399, 406, 409-10, 413, 417, 422-23.

30. BL Add. MS. 18981, f. 211, Goring to Prince Rupert, 4 August 1644.

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31. BL Add. MS. 27402, f. 79, Charles I, Liskeard, to Essex, 6 August 1644; Walker, *Discourses*, 50-51.

32. Walker, *Discourses*, 57; Eliot Warburton, *Memoirs of Prince Rupert and the Cavaliers* (London: Richard Bentley, 1849), 3:11-13, Digby, Boconnoc, to Prince Rupert, 15 August 1644; Clarendon, *History*, 3:94-5; Richard Symonds, *Diary of the Marches of the Royal Army during the Great Civil War*, ed. Charles Edward Long (London: Camden Society, 1909), 49; Symonds served in the cavalry under Lord Bernard Stuart, the king's cousin; Burne and Young, *Great Civil War*, 172.

33. Bulstrode, *Memoirs*, 102-3; Bulstrode was serving under Wilmot at the time. Also, Walker, *Discourses*, 57; Symonds, *Marches*, 49. The title "Sergeant Major General" was usually shortened to Major General, which henceforth will be used.

34. Bulstrode, *Memoirs*, 103; Walker, *Discourses*, 57, also confirmed Wilmot was taken by surprise and that Goring's coming had not been generally known in advance.

35. Walker, *Discourses*, 57-58; Symonds, *Marches*, 49.

36. Clarendon, *History*, 3:94-96.

37. Bulstrode, *Memoirs*, 103-4; Symonds, *Marches*, 49-50; "The Humble Petition" is reproduced in Rushworth, *Collections*, III, 2:693, and also, *HMC*, 9th Rpt., Pt. II, App., Morrison MS., 436.

38. Bulstrode, *Memoirs*, 104; the author was present at the meeting between the officers and King Charles.

39. Ibid., 105, 107, 134. Bulstrode had not met George Goring prior to his arrival at the king's army. Also, Walker, *Discourses*, 58, did not mention this incident of the cavalry officers not presenting themselves to their new commander; instead, Walker claimed that at noon the army was "in good order," ready to march, and that the proximity of the enemy kept the officers from pressing their demands any further at the time.

40. Bulstrode, *Memoirs*, 107-8; Walker, *Discourses*, 58.

41. Walker, *Discourses*, 58-59; Burne and Young, *Great Civil War*, 171; Holmes, *Battles in Cornwall*, 54-6.

42. Walker, *Discourses*, 59-61; Clarendon, *History* 3:397; Woolrych, *Battles*, 81.

43. Walker, *Discourses*, 61; Clarendon, *History*, 3:398, wherein he agreed that the king was happy with the result of this rejection, for "the whole army seemed well composed to obtain that by their swords which they could not by their pen."

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44. Walker, *Discourses*, 62-63; Burne and Young, *Great Civil War*, 172.

45. Bodl. Firth MS. C 7, ff. 137-38, "The King's Answer," Boconnoc, 12 August 1644; the document is also produced in Rushworth, *Collections*, III, 2:694-95.

46. TT E. 7 (27), *The Accusation Given by His Majesty Against the Lord Wilmot*, (London, 30 August 1644), title page.

47. Bulstrode, *Memoirs*, 115; Bulstrode himself would serve both Charles II and James II; Walker, *Discourses*, 57-58; Clarendon, *History*, 3:390; Rushworth, *Collections*, III, 2:698; Green, *Letters of Henrietta Maria*, 300-1; Richard Ollard, *The Escape of Charles II after the Battle of Worcester* (New York: Dorset Press, Marboro Books Corporation, 1966, 1986), 30-31.

48. BL Add. MS. 18981, ff. 218-19, Digby, Boconnoc, to Prince Rupert, 15 August 1641; Clarendon, *History*, 3:391; Walker, *Discourses*, 65; Burne and Young, *Great Civil War*, 171. Percy also would make his way to France to Henrietta Maria's court-in-exile. Digby wrote the queen in early 1645 apparently questioning her contact with Wilmot and Percy, but Henrietta Maria responded that her husband had told her to make sure that both of them were well-treated in France. She also added that the two old comrades were not getting on together particularly well. See, Green, *Letters of Henrietta Maria*, 300-1, Henrietta Maria to Digby, 2 April 1645.

49. Bodl., Firth MS. C 7, f. 139, Richard Case, Boconnoc, to Prince Rupert, 13 August 1644; f. 141, Duke of Richmond and Lennox, Boconnoc, to Prince Rupert, 15 August 1644; Morrah, *Prince Rupert*, 103. Rupert was not only a good friend to Richmond, but also his wife Mary (Buckingham's daughter). Despite the rumors linking the prince and the duchess, Rupert's attachment was probably courtly, considering his sense of honor and his friendship with the duke. See Kitson, *Rupert*, 161-62.

50. BL Add. MS. 18981, f. 220, Goring, Lanreath, to Prince Rupert, 15 August 1644.

51. *CSPD 164*, 433-34; Clarendon, *History*, 3:390, who called the uproar over Wilmot's dismissal "a little murmur, which vapoured away."

52. Burne and Young, *Great Civil War*, 172-73; Walker, *Discourses*, 66-67; Clarendon, *History*, 3:399-400; Holmes, *Battles in Cornwall*, 56-57.

53. Walker, *Discourses*, 67-68. Walker (64) reported that Waller himself was not heading the relief force because he was recruiting new troops in London, "for it is nothing for this great conqueror to wear out two armies in a year."

54. *Mercurius Aulicus*, 7 September 1644, as quoted in Rushworth, *Collections*, III, 2:698-99. Rushworth, in setting down the events of the Lostwithiel campaign, included the royalist source, "for the readers' impartial satisfaction."

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55. Walker, *Discourses*, 68.

56. Bodl., Firth MS. C 7, ff. 290-95, Digby to Prince Rupert, no date, but based on the events covered, the letter must have been written 27-29 August 1644; Bodl., Clarendon MS. 28, f. 135, Rupert Diary; Bulstrode, *Memoirs*, 108; Walker, *Discourses*, 68-69; Clarendon, *History*, 3:400, who allowed that Goring's action at this time was "so well executed."

57. Bodl., Firth MS. C 7, f. 295; *CSPD 1644*, 456.

58. *CSPD 1644*, 463; Walker, *Discourses*, 69-70.

59. Walker, *Discourses*, 70; Burne and Young, *Great Civil War*, 174; Holmes, *Battles in Cornwall*, 58-59; Mary Coate, *Cornwall in the Great Civil War and Interregnum, 1642-1660: A Social and Political Study* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933), 148.

60. Walker, *Discourses*, 70-74, which included the text of the Earl of Cleveland's letter explaining the events of that night; BL Sloan MS. 1519, ff. 51-52; *DNB*, 60:283-85. Cleveland was related to Strafford, had been an adherent of Buckingham's, and his son, Lord Wentworth, was Goring's major general of horse.

61. Quoted in Bulstrode, *Memoirs*, 109; Symonds, *Diary*, 65.

62. Walker, *Discourses*, 74-75; Symonds, *Diary*, 64-65; Bulstrode, *Memoirs*, 109-10.

63. Clarendon, *History*, 3:403-4.

64. Ibid., 3:391-92, note 2. Italics are mine.

65. In one of the first attempts to write a history of the civil wars with original documents in the mid-nineteenth century, Eliot Warburton (*With Prince Rupert*, 1:313, fn. 2) rather uncritically claimed: "Lord Clarendon's character of this extraordinarily gifted and unprincipled man [George Goring] is one of his most successful and exquisite compositions," which ignored such gross errors in fact as the Lostwithiel incident. In the late nineteenth century, C. H. Firth (*DNB*, 22:247) refuted Clarendon's version of the escape of the Parliamentary horse at Lostwithiel, for he found no contemporary substantiation for it. S. R. Gardiner (*Great Civil War*, 2:16-17), although no admirer of Goring's as previously demonstrated (Chapter 6), supports Firth's interpretation. Mary Coate (*Cornwall in the Great Civil War*, 142, 148), although claiming, in general, Goring "manifested the Cavalier spirit at its worst," does label Clarendon's accusation in this instance as "untrue and malicious or careless." Yet Clarendon's portrayal of Goring can still influence modern scholarship. R. W. Harris (*Clarendon*, 147-48) writes: "Clarendon later wrote a damning indictment of Goring's generalship, which modern historians on the whole endorsed." Military historians Alfred Burne and Peter Young (*Great Civil War*, 167, 174), quite to the contrary, have championed Goring as an effective commander who

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"had few friends among the scribes. . . .His deeds have remained unsung;" and, with reference to Lostwithiel, they agree that "Goring at St. Blazey could do nothing to stop Balfour."

66. Quoted in Rushworth, *Collections*, III, 2:702-3; Walker, *Discourses*, 75; Bulstrode, *Memoirs*, 110.

67. *Mercurius Aulicus*, 31 August 1644, 85; Rushworth, *Collections*, III, 2:698.

68. Rushworth, *Collections*, III, 2:704-6; Walker, *Discourses*, 76-9.

69. Rushworth, *Collections*, III, 2:707; Bulstrode, *Memoirs*, 103, 110; Gentles, "Civil Wars in England," in Kenyon and Ohlmeyer, *Military History*, 112.

70. Walker, *Discourses*, 79-80; *Mercurius Aulicus*, reprinted in Rushworth, *Collections*, III, 2:700-1.

71. *Mercurius Aulicus*, in Rushworth, *Collections*, III, 2:699.

72. BL Add. MS. 30305, f. 92, Digby to Prince Rupert, 30 August 1644; Burne and Young, *Great Civil War*, 180-81; Newman, *Atlas*, 61, who thinks Charles "showed himself hesitant again" by not taking this opportunity to strike at London.

73. Rushworth, *Collections*, III, 2:713.

74. Ibid., 2:714; Wedgwood, *King's War*, 336-37; Ross, *Winter Queen*, 124-25.

75. BL Add. MS. 18981, f. 239, Berkeley, Exeter, to Prince Rupert, Bristol, 4 September 1644; Bodl. Firth MS C 7, f. 161, Digby, Boconnoc, to Prince Rupert, 4 September 1644; Walker, *Discourses*, 80-81.

76. Walker, *Discourses*, 81.

77. Goring, Okehampton, to Prince Rupert, 5 September 1644, printed in *SAC* 23 (1871) : 323-24.

78. Ibid.

79. Bodl., Firth MS. C 7, f. 165, King Charles, Tavistock, to Prince Rupert, 6 September 1644; Walker, *Discourses*, 81.

80. BL Add. MS. 18981, f. 246, Richard Case, Plymouth, to Prince Rupert, Bristol, 9 September 1644; f. 241, King's Notice, 4 September 1644; *CSPD 1644*, 436, 482.

81. Rushworth, *Collections*, III, 2:712, 716; Walker, *Discourses*, 80, 85; Holmes, *Battles in Cornwall*, 52, 63.

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82. Walker, *Discourses*, 81.

83. Bulstrode, *Memoirs*, 134; Walker, *Discourses*, 85-86; Rushworth, *Collections*, III, 2:713; *HMC*, Vol. 3, 4th Rpt., App., Earl de la Warr MS., 308-9.

84. *CSPD 1644*, 482; Rushworth, *Collections*, III, 708.

85. Walker, *Discourses*, 87.

86. BL Add. MS. 18981, f. 263, Digby, Exeter, to Prince Rupert, 23 September 1644.

87. Roy, "Royalist Council of War," *Bulletin IHR* 35 (Nov. 1962) : 166-67; Bodl. Firth MS. C 7, Digby to Rupert, [September, 1644], in which the exasperated secretary began his letter by complaining that the prince never let him know if he had received the letters that he, Digby, had sent, and to please do so in the future. Roy also makes the point that Rupert corresponded primarily with those whom he trusted (which excluded Digby).

88. Walker, *Discourses*, 98-99; Rushworth, *Collections*, III, 2:715; BL Add. MS. 18981, f. 277, John Ashburnham to [Prince Rupert], [October] 1644.

89. BL Add. MS. 18981, f. 279, Goring, Bristol, to Prince Rupert, 3 October 1644; Bodl. Clarendon MS. 28, f. 135, Rupert Diary; Walker, *Discourses*, 103; *Lismore*, Ser. 2, 5:97. As will be discussed in the following chapter, in April 1645, Goring would go to Bath for his "lameness"; Bodl. Clarendon MS. 27, f. 127.

90. BL Add. MS. 19891, f. 279.

91. Rushworth, *Collections*, III, 2:718-19; Walker, *Discourses*, 103, 105; BL Add. MS. 18981, f. 277.

92. Walker, *Discourses*, 105-6; Rushworth, *Collections*, III, 2:719; Symonds, *Diary*, 141; BL Add. MS. 18981, f. 297, Digby, Whitchurch, to Prince Rupert, 20 October 1644, and f.301, Edward Nicholas, Oxford, to Prince Rupert, 22 October, 1644.

93. BL Add. MS. 18981, f. 297; Walker, *Discourses*, 106; Symonds, *Diary*, 141. Symonds also related the story of the two officers captured, Colonel Carr, a Scot, and a Captain Scott. The latter was mortally wounded and had been taken into a house by his captors and laid out on the floor. But the captain, saying he would not die like dog under a table, managed to seat himself in a chair and then expired.

94. Rushworth, *Collections*, III, 2:719; Walker, *Discourses*, 108-10; BL Add. MS. 18981, f. 301, Nicholas, Oxford, to Prince Rupert, 22 October 1644; Burne and Young, *Great Civil War*, 181-83. In Secretary Nicholas's letter to Rupert, his information on the enemy's movements (he knew of the juncture of three Parliamentary armies) was more accurate than his information on the king's army which he placed at Winchester.

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95. Rushworth, *Collections*, III, 2:719-20; Walker, *Discourses*, 110; *CSPD 1644-45*, 76-77; Burne and Young, *Great Civil War*, 182-83.

96. BL Add. MS. 18981, f. 303, Digby, Newbury, to Prince Rupert, 23 October 1644; italicized words encoded in original letter.

97. Rushworth, *Collections*, III, 2:720-21; *Mercurius Aulicus*, week ending 2 November 1644, quoted in Rushworth, III, 2:724; BL Add. MS. 18981, f. 312, Digby, Newbury, to Prince Rupert, 27 October 1644; Gardiner, *Great Civil War*, 2:45-46.

98. Rushworth, *Collections*, III, 2:721; *Mercurius Aulicus*, in Rushworth, III, 2:725; TT E. 22 (10), Simeon Ashe, *A True Relation of the . . . Battle at Newbury* (London, 1644), 2; Burne and Young, *Great Civil War*, 183-85.

99. BL Add. MS. 18981, f. 312, Digby, Newbury, to Rupert, 27 October 1644; TT E. 22 (10), Ashe's *Relation*, 3; Burne and Young, *Great Civil War*, 185-86. Digby claimed that in the preliminary action against Manchester forty royalist horse drove off one thousand of the enemy cavalry, which, at face value, seems rather exaggerated; the Parliamentarian Simeon Ashe gave the number of the attacking party as four hundred.

100. TT E. 22 (10), Ashe's *Relation*, 3, which was "published upon necessity, both to undeceive the mistaken multitude, and to vindicate the Earl of Manchester."

101. Walker, *Discourses*, 112; Bulstrode, *Memoirs*, 117-18; *CSPD 1644-45*, 76-77; Rushworth, *Collections*, III, 2:721; Burne and Young, *Great Civil War*, 186-87.

102. *Mercurius Aulicus*, in Rushworth, *Collections*, III, 2:726-27.

103. Walker, *Discourses*, 112.

104. TT E. 14 (16), *A Letter Sent to the Honourable William Lenthall . . . wherein is truly related the great victory by Parliament's Army against the King's Forces, near Newbury* (London, 29 October 1644), 5; as usual, the eye-witness author was not identified. *Mercurius Aulicus* pointed out this unusual Parliamentary nod to Goring's actions that day; reprinted in Rushworth, *Collections*, III, 2:727.

105. Bulstrode, *Memoirs*, 117-18; Gardiner, *Great Civil War*, 2:50.

106. *Mercurius Aulicus*, in Rushworth, *Collections*, III, 2:728-29. As for the arguments about exactly what the Earl of Manchester did or did not do that day, there are two schools of thought. S. R. Gardiner (*Great Civil War*, 2:49, 51) claims that the earl "had no heart in the battle, and with timid indecision he feared to run a risk which might prove disastrous," and only in the last moments of the battle "did Manchester overcome his irresolution and give orders for the attack." Burne and Young (*Great Civil War*, 187-88) do not agree, and instead believe Manchester, judging that the attack on Speen would not

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take place that day because of the lateness of the hour, had not readied his men for the assault. But when he heard the action beginning at the other end of the field, the earl did launch his troops, but by the time they moved downhill and engaged it was already about 4 p.m. Also, as noted above, there is Chaplain Simeon Ashe's version which testified to the earl's action throughout the day.

107. Walker, *Discourses*, 114; *CSPD 1644-45*, 76-77; Burne and Young, *Great Civil War*, 186, 188.

108. Walker, *Discourses*, 114-15; Bulstrode, *Memoirs*, 119.

109. *Mercurius Aulicus*, reprinted in Rushworth, *Collections*, III, 2:727, 729; TT E.14 (16), 5; Wooldridge, *Danny Archives*, Goring family pedigree, facing xii.

110. Rushworth, *Collections*, III, 2:722-23; 733-34; Burne and Young, *Great Civil War*, 187. At the beginning of the war, a royalist horse regiment normally numbered 420 men. Cleveland's brigade consisted of five regiments, yet only totaled 800 men, which shows the tremendous depletion within the ranks of the royalist army. See also Young and Emberton, *Cavalier Army*, 25-26.

111. Bulstrode, *Memoirs*, 134. Burne and Young (*Great Civil War*, 187) believe that Cromwell's failure to intervene can only be speculated on, "but the suspicion intrudes that he sulked that day. . . ." Peter Newman (*Atlas*, 63) says Cromwell failed to intervene when he should have "for reasons that are obscure." Gardiner (*Great Civil War*, 2:51) blames the terrain and Cromwell's approach before the guns of Donnington Castle for Cromwell's poor showing, but Burne and Young as well as Newman argue that the approach should not have stopped Cromwell's progress. Besides, if the hedges were difficult for Cromwell's men to navigate, the same must hold for Goring's countercharge. Antonia Fraser (*Cromwell*, 137, 355) blames Manchester's uncoordinated attack, "for the [Parliamentary] cavalry could make no further headway without assistance"; but she also labels Second Newbury "as one of his [Cromwell's] very few rebuffs" on the battlefield.

112. Burne and Young, *Great Civil War*, 189; Gardiner, *Great Civil War* 52-57. Both studies blame the irresolution after Second Newbury on the lack of a commander-in-chief.

113. Walker, *Discourses*, 116; *CSPD 1644-45*, 79-80; Carlton, *Charles I*, 272.

114. *CSPD 1644-45*, 86-87, Prince Rupert, Cirencester, to Goring, 31 October 1644.

115. Walker, *Discourses*, 117; Bodl. Clarendon MS. 28, f. 135, Rupert Diary. Rupert's full title appeared on commissions he sent out in the following months reconfirming the royalist garrison commanders. In a letter to Sir William Campion, governor of Boarstall House, dated 1 December 1644, the sender is styled: Prince Rupert and Count Palatine of the Rhine, Duke of Bavaria and Cumberland, Earl of Holderness, Captain-General under Prince Charles of all forces of Horse and Foot; see E. Sussex R. O., Danny Archives,

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f. 41. (Of course, the German titles would be disputed by Maximilian of Bavaria.)

116. Rushworth, *Collections*, III, 2:730; *CSPD 1644-45*, 86; Walker, *Discourses*, 117; Bulstrode, *Memoirs*, 119; TT E. 22 (10), Ashe's *Relation*, 7-8, which blamed Cromwell's late arrival on the field for the lack of any action against the king during his relief of Donnington Castle.

117. Burne and Young, *Great Civil War*, 190; Carlton, *Charles I*, 273.

118. This is my own interpretation of Goring's abilities in 1644, but two sources support my view. Kenyon (*Civil Wars*, 61) raises the question of how Goring, if as debauched as Clarendon painted him, "should have captured and held the confidences of a strictly sober, rather prudish man like Charles I." See also, Burne and Young, *Great Civil War*, 232; the authors, both lieutenant-colonels in the British Army when they wrote this volume, concede Goring was a drinker, but that he had to have physical endurance to campaign as he did throughout the war. "A successful and vigorous cavalry leader in wartime could not last long were he a mere debauchee."

119. Rushworth, *Collections*, III, 2:736.

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CHAPTER 11
AN INDEPENDENT COMMAND, NOVEMBER 1644-APRIL 1645

After his successful campaign with King Charles in August-October 1644, George Goring received an independent field command in the winter of 1644-45. With the forces at his disposal, he would try to make inroads into the Parliamentary-held counties of southeastern England. But his attempt at a winter campaign would end in failure, and Goring's desire to receive orders directly from King Charles, and not from his immediate superior, Prince Rupert, would open a rift between Goring and the prince. This antagonism would eventually hurt the royalist war effort, particularly at a time when Parliament, having already experienced the consequences of a divided command at Second Newbury, was structuring a more unified fighting force, the New Model Army.

Goring would move further west in February and March, but his efforts to take two Parliamentary outposts, Weymouth and Taunton, would not meet with success. Moreover, in March, King Charles would send his eldest son, Charles, Prince of Wales, into the West Country as a precautionary measure, and the prince would have a council of advisers who were to exercise civilian authority within the region. Was General Goring answerable to the Prince's Council? Were the other western commanders, particularly Sir Richard Grenvile and Sir John Berkeley, answerable to Goring? The bitter internecine struggles which would ensue over these questions would only prove detrimental to the king's cause, as spring brought Parliament's New Model into the field.

On a more personal level, George Lord Goring--as the younger Goring would now be called with his father's creation as the Earl of Norwich--would make an enemy of his fellow royalist, Sir Edward Hyde, one of the leaders of the Prince's Council. Hyde, later

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the Earl of Clarendon, would remember his struggles of 1645 with Goring when writing his *History of the Rebellion* and his negative depiction of George would long endure.

A Winter Campaign

King Charles had achieved all his immediate goals by the time he returned to his winter quarters at Oxford in November 1644. He had never planned a thrust against London at the end of his long return march from Cornwall, but instead was waiting for possible assistance for next spring's campaign from various sources: Ireland, Montrose in Scotland, or even France. But the senior Goring, who had been at the French court for almost a year, had yet to achieve the close union that Charles had hoped for. The English ambassador believed that France and other continental powers were reluctant to come to the king's aid for fear that they would bear the burden of the war. Furthermore, Lord Goring had spent over £2,000 of his own money on the extended journey and was now living on credit, both for his own needs and for the purchase of arms for King Charles. The furor over his captured letters in early 1644 also continued to plague him, for the elder George Goring believed that all the positive work he had since accomplished was still being overshadowed back in England, within the king's circle, by his one error of having failed to encode his dispatches.[1]

In the summer of 1644 the English ambassador had been joined on his mission by Henrietta Maria. Her last pregnancy, followed by her harrowing escape from England, had left her in extremely poor health, but, once returned to her native France, she rapidly regained her strength and joined Lord Goring in both his diplomatic endeavors and in his attempts to supply her husband with war materiel. Finally, with Henrietta Maria in residence at the French court, the senior Goring prepared to return to England in November. However, prior to his departure, he was given testimonials attesting to the diligence of his diplomatic efforts: Anne, the Queen Regent, wrote to commend the senior Goring for his constancy and dedication to King Charles's service, while Cardinal Mazarin wrote to Charles to praise Lord Goring's devotion to duty and to express his regrets at the

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ambassador's departure from France.[2]

King Charles rewarded his returning ambassador with the one gift he could easily bestow without incurring any expense: a new title of nobility. Henrietta Maria also encouraged this recognition of her faithful courtier's longtime service. Therefore, on 28 November 1644, the senior George Goring was created the Earl of Norwich. The title had belonged to his maternal uncle, Edward Denny, but had become extinct when Denny died without a son in 1637. Once his father was created an earl, the younger George Goring began to use the courtesy title of Lord Goring. All royalist correspondence and documents would follow this usage for father and son (and it will be used henceforth in this study). But it is important to note that Parliament, and afterwards the Commonwealth, would never recognize the creation of the Earl of Norwich, and so would continue to designate the elder George Goring simply as Lord Goring. With the Restoration in 1660, the father's title of Norwich would again be officially used and would be passed to his only surviving son, Charles, in 1663. (See Chapter 14.)[3]

King Charles, besides rewarding his loyal followers with new titles, was completing the reorganization of the command structure of his army. Now that Rupert had been made commander-in-chief, the king officially named George Goring general of all his forces of horse on 4 December, thus formalizing Goring's earlier field promotion. Rupert, in turn, exercising his new authority, requested updated information from the royalist garrison commanders, asking them for the plans of their garrisons, as well as an accounting of officers, soldiers, artillery, munitions, arms and provisions. The fact that new peace negotiations had begun in late November did not stop the royalists--or the Parliamentarians--from preparing for the recommencement of hostilities in the coming year.[4]

The king's military reorganization, carried out from August through December, was now completed. Parliament, on the other hand, after the poor showing of its armies in the south throughout the fall of 1644, still had to try to improve the situation before the start of the new campaign season. The command structure and organization clearly needed a major overhaul. The recent misfortunes, according to John Rushworth, could be

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"attributed to the ill conduct of certain commanders . . . of whom some were thought too fond of a peace, and others over-desirous to spin out the war, and others engaged in such particular feuds, that there was little vigorous action to be expected from such disagreeing instruments."[5]

Underlying these political divisions of "war" and "peace" parties was the further split between those who favored Presbyterianism and the sectaries or Independents, led by Cromwell. As noted in the previous chapter, Cromwell and his nominal commander, the Earl of Manchester, had begun engaging in mutual recriminations immediately after Second Newbury. In addition, Parliament's lord general, the Earl of Essex, was hostile to Cromwell's growing power, so that sometime in late November or early December Essex hosted a secret meeting at his London home, attended by several like-minded MPs and the Scottish commissioners; these men planned to publically charge Cromwell as an "incendiary" in order to "clip his wings from soaring to the prejudice of our cause."[6]

Word of this behind-the-scenes maneuvering reached Oliver Cromwell, who countered by first speaking to the House of Commons' Grand Commission on the question of restructuring the armies. Although he twice emphasized he was not faulting anyone in particular for the current "bleeding, nay, almost dying condition" of the country, he stressed action must be taken: "I do conceive if the army be not put into another method, and the war more vigorously prosecuted, the people can bear the war no longer, and will enforce you to a dishonourable peace."[7] On 9 December 1644, after a long debate, the Commons heeded Cromwell's warning and passed the Self-Denying Ordinance. Colonel John Lambert, in London, rushed this news to his commander, Sir Thomas Fairfax, then at York (and, significantly, not an MP), explaining that by this ordinance, all members of both houses employed "either in civil or military places of honor or profit shall resign those places and commissions and attend the house."[8]

With one blow, the House of Commons wanted to purge the entire senior command of the Parliamentary armies. But the Lords had to concur, and since Essex, Manchester, and Warwick, the Lord Admiral, were all peers, there seemed to be little hope that the upper chamber would pass the ordinance, Lambert advised Fairfax on 17

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December. The Lords had reason to be suspicious of this proposal, for a commander who was also an elected member of the Commons could choose to resign his seat and so continue in his army post, while the peers who held military office could not relinquish their hereditary seats in the Lords. So, as Lambert had predicted, on 3 January 1645, the House of Lords rejected the proposal.[9]

This would prove to be only a temporary set-back to the Commons, still committed to restructuring the three Parliamentary armies into one new, unified force. The royalists at this time were not, however, awaiting the outcome of these political struggles taking place in London before advancing their own plans for action. Rupert and George Goring were both commanders who liked to seize the initiative, and both had plans for winter campaigns. Rupert wanted to retake the town of Abingdon, a Parliamentary outpost directly south of Oxford. But General Goring had an even grander scheme in mind. On 21 December, King Charles named Goring lieutenant general of horse and foot for the counties of Kent, Surrey, Sussex and Hampshire, the entire southeast of England which was controlled by Parliament. Goring's plan was to lead a lightning strike eastwards with the hope of rallying royalist elements within the local populations to join him in reclaiming these counties for the king.[10]

As these strategies were being worked out by the royalist generals, the king continued to engage in the peace negotiations which Parliament had opened in late November and which would eventually be known as the Treaty of Uxbridge for the town west of London where formal peace talks would begin in late January 1645. Charles's initial envoys to Parliament in December were the Duke of Richmond and the Earl of Southampton. But Prince Rupert wanted some say in these negotiations, and he had his officers sign a petition to this effect, which he planned to present to the king. But Rupert first made his plan known to George Goring who wrote back to the prince on 29 December, acknowledging receipt of the letter and the petition, and agreeing that Rupert and his men should have a share in the treaty. George added that he did not know if the king planned on naming his nephew as one of the commissioners for the negotiations, and he felt it would be disrespectful to press the king for this information. He further argued

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that there should be absolutely no sign of discontent or disagreement within the royalist ranks while negotiations were going on. If the king did intend to name Rupert, a petition with so many signatures was superfluous. Instead, George offered to send his own letter on Rupert's behalf to the king, saying that the army would consider it an honor if Rupert took part in the negotiations. He concluded: "Sir, this is my humble opinion until I am guided by more knowledge of this matter. . . ."[11]

The tone of this letter was striking. While still maintaining the proper outward forms of deference, George Goring was basically telling Rupert that he was very wrong to petition his uncle on this matter. Furthermore, the letter demonstrated a subtle shift in power between the two men: now Goring was willing to act as an intermediary between the king and his nephew; *he* would write the king on the prince's behalf. Additionally, the points George made were reasonable in themselves; presenting a disunited front to the enemy during the peace talks would leave the royalists dealing from a position of obvious weakness. Perhaps the petition of Rupert's officers reminded George of the turmoil he had initially encountered when taking on his new command in August, when his own officers had petitioned the king questioning the removal of his predecessor.

George Goring had attained this level of respect and self-assurance based on his own military exploits in 1644. Thus he had won the king's approval for his foray in January 1645, when he set-out "with such a party of horse, foot, and dragoons, and a train of artillery, as he desired, into Hampshire, upon a design of his own of making an incursion into Sussex, where he pretended he had correspondence, and that very well affected persons promised to rise, and declare for the King, and that Kent would do the same."[12] The hostile witness was once again Sir Edward Hyde, who was at Oxford on the king's council at the time this decision was made. Did George "pretend" to be in contact with royalists in his native Sussex, and was the purported uprising just a pretext to get his own field army? That Goring might have exaggerated the importance of whatever intelligence he had received from Sussex was a possibility. But it does not seem plausible that he would have undertaken such a campaign without the hope of achieving some success, for why should he have unnecessarily jeopardized his hard-won military

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reputation?

Despite the frost that blanketed the ground, Goring with about 3,000 troops pushed south through Hampshire and reached Farnham in Surrey on 9 January. Venetian Ambassador Agostini reported from London that although the places initially captured by Goring were not too important in themselves, they could be fortified and provide a corridor into the southeast. The diplomat believed that the royalist army would continue by marching into Sussex. But Goring's advance had already stalled, not because of enemy action, but rather because of his own men's refusal to continue to push too far ahead of their own lines without sufficient supplies or pay.[13]

Goring informed King Charles of his situation on 9 January:

> I esteem myself very unhappy to be diverted from the pursuit of a distracted enemy, by that which of itself is a greater misfortune, a want of arms, disorder in the train, and a universal deadness in the officers of foot to undertake any action without refreshment. I was necessitated to call a council of war, rather to please some of them than to hear them, and I find so many difficulties and objections raised in all things I propose of action, that I shall esteem it a great advancement to your Majesty's service hereafter, if I have the honour to receive your Majesty's positive orders with your own hand to them and advise[ment] with these of nothing but the way to obey them.[14]

But apparently not wishing to paint too bleak a picture and risk being recalled, Goring added that his infantry officers had promised that once their men had rested and repaired their arms they would be ready to renew the offensive, "and the soldiers of horse are so willing to fight." If the king would keep these troops together for another month and augment them with new recruits from the west so that his forces totaled 6,000 men, George was sure he could push further east. Goring again asked the king for direct orders "for my undertaking to dispose the officers more cheerfully to obey them," and he ended with a profession of loyalty "of a person and family entirely and faithfully devoted to the service of your sacred Majesty."[15]

George, recently reunited with his father, would have heard first-hand the particulars of the intercepted dispatches and the ensuing furor. There were rumors circulating that, when drinking, the son had expressed anger about his father's treatment

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within court circles. So this "profession of loyalty" in his letter might have been George's formal reminder to King Charles of his, his father's and his brother's service.[16] However, the most interesting point was that George Goring, using the excuse of his own officers' intransigence, was trying to get orders directly from the king, thus bypassing his immediate superior, Prince Rupert. Of course, Rupert himself had set this precedent--of an independent cavalry command--from the very start of the war.

Rupert would definitely have something to say about this undermining of his authority, but just as Goring was stalled at Farnham, the prince was encountering his own set-back at Abingdon. Despite the royalists' surprise raid early on 10 January, the Parliamentary defenders stormed back and cut-off the royalist vanguard, inflicting heavy losses. Among the dead was Sir Henry Gage, the governor of Oxford who so recently had relieved Basing House. That same day, another drama played itself out in London when Archbishop Laud was executed after four years imprisonment. This act only reinforced King Charles's belief that God would judge his opponents harshly for this death and Strafford's.[17]

Even though Rupert and Goring had not achieved the successes they had hoped for, these royalist thrusts--particularly Goring's into Surrey--had reminded Parliament of the necessity of reforming its armies as quickly as possible. So even while the Lords continued to block the Self-Denying Ordinance, the Commons, backed by the Committee of Both Kingdoms, proceeded with a bottoms-up military reorganization to form "a New Model of the Army." Initial plans (and the numbers would be slightly increased later) called for an army totaling 21,400 men, consisting of 6,000 horse divided into ten regiments; 1,000 dragoons organized into ten companies; and 14,400 foot divided into twelve regiments. Sir Thomas Fairfax was then voted commander of the army, with Sir Philip Skippon as major general of foot; the post of lieutenant general of horse was left open. To finance the new army, a monthly assessment of £44,955 was to be levied on the seventeen counties under Parliamentary control. But all this legislation pertaining to the New Model, so quickly agreed upon in the Commons in January 1645, still had to receive the approval of the House of Lords. So while the wrangling continued between the two

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Houses, the New Model existed on paper only and the remains of the armies of Essex, Manchester and Waller stayed in the field to face the royalists.[18]

George Goring at this time was still prowling through Hampshire. He had not been able to hold his advanced outpost at Farnham, but in his letter of the 9th to the king, he had indicated that he expected to establish a garrison at the small port of Christchurch, only about twelve miles east of the Parliamentary garrison at Poole. But his effort to take this haven was repulsed and he was forced to retire to Salisbury. Rupert, in the meantime, had returned to Oxford and become aware of Goring's request for direct orders from the king. Goring wrote the prince from Salisbury on 22 January to explain himself:[19]

> Sir:
> Your Highness is pleased to think yourself disobliged by me for desiring my orders under the King's hand. As I remember, Sir, the reason I gave his Majesty for it was the having more authority by that to guide the councils of this army to his obedience, and one reason I kept to myself, which was I found all my requests denied by your hand, and therefore desired my orders from another. As for having made means underhand to get an independent commission from his Majesty, I assure you, Sir, I never did, and if I find myself so unhappy as for want of your favour to be disenabled to serve his Majesty in this charge, I shall think it easier to resign my command than to lessen yours. And, Sir, whereas I hear your Highness accused me for desiring your orders at the same time I did the king's, truly, Sir, I did not think them inconsistent, and though I begged that honour from the king, yet til it were granted, I remained under the same obligation I was formerly, which was to address myself to your Highness for orders, and being in the same condition at the present I shall beseech your Highness not to attribute the applications I make to you to a mean courtship but to my obedience to the King and respect to his Nephew and my superior officers.
> Your Highness's most dutiful and obedient servant,
> George Goring[20]

Goring had to know that his request to the king for direct orders would become known to Prince Rupert. But, he could claim, as he did, that he had only done so to bring his own men into better obedience. So Goring had given himself a plausible explanation for his request. Yet when he added that he was seeking "orders from another" because Rupert had been denying his requests, he was openly defying the prince. Furthermore, despite his protestations to the contrary, George Goring was looking for an independent command, much as Rupert or the Marquis of Newcastle had enjoyed. His actions

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throughout the spring would continue to lead towards this goal. The cooperative relationship he had developed with Rupert would now be lost to mistrust at the very time when Parliament was refashioning its military to put aside such quarrels among its commanders.

But Goring would have to produce some results if he hoped to increase the forces under his command, so he planned a renewed thrust eastward in late January. He had intelligence that the Parliamentary forces, believing his army had settled in Wiltshire, had spread out through Surrey and Hampshire, with their foot in Farnham and the villages thereabout, while their horse was quartered along a line from Alton to Southampton. In other words, the Parliamentary defenders were covering a front approximately forty miles long which was the frontier to the southeastern counties. Goring and his cavalry departed Salisbury, leaving the infantry behind with a few horse guards, and began the trek east. He divided his troops and planned to attack the various Parliamentary quarters on the night of 27 January. But the enemy horse received notice of the impending raid late that afternoon, and chose to move east into Sussex. The Parliamentary foot was not so fortunate and was taken by surprise in several towns: Farnham, Aldershot, and Arundel. While these raids produced some casualties among the defenders and the capture of three colors by the royalists, Goring still could not hold these advance outposts and had to retreat west again.[21]

George reported this latest action to Secretary Digby on 29 January. Despite his failure to engage the enemy cavalry, he did believe he had forced his opponents eastward: "[T]his formidable army of the enemy's are [*sic*] once again removed either quite out of Hampshire or to the extremities of it. . . ." Since he had not received any orders recently--from either the king or the prince--he had drawn most of his horse back around Salisbury, the only place where they could rest with ease and security, "for all Hampshire is so eaten up that very few of our troops can subsist in it." He himself was at Winchester looking for provisions and contribution (money). Despite these hardships, he still had not abandoned the idea of pushing the war front eastwards, for that same day he had received new intelligence "from very good hands . . . that if I will march *into Sussex* with five or six

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thousand men *the county will rise with us.*" He urged Digby to pass this news on to the king and Rupert, and asked for new orders.[22]

This letter illustrated the condition that parts of England had fallen into after two years of war. Men and horses could no longer live off the land in Hampshire, the countryside was "so eaten up." Wiltshire and Dorset, where Goring's army would be based for the next six weeks, had also seen continuous heavy action. Therefore, the demands made on the local populace by the presence of yet another army would be even more onerous to bear. Goring, as a professional soldier, from the very start of the war had placed military necessity above civilian concerns (as his actions at Portsmouth had demonstrated). So that his troops could subsist that winter, he apparently gave them a great deal of freedom of action and did not enforce any tight discipline, to the detriment of the local civilians. Fellow royalist Sir Edward Hyde would write one of the harshest indictments of Goring's command at Salisbury, "where his horse committed such horrid outrages and barbarities, as they had done in Hampshire, without distinction of friends or foes, that those parts (which before were well devoted to the King), worried by oppression, wished for the access of any forces to redeem them." Hyde was correct in that a new local peace movement, known as the Clubmen or "peace-keeping associations," would soon spring up in the south, made up of men intent on protecting their homes and communities from the depredations committed by both sides' armies.[23] On the other hand, Hyde was back at Oxford, and not in the field, as George Goring was, attempting to carry out an offensive with troops that had to be fed and maintained.

Furthermore, while the civilian population was becoming more restive with the continuing burdens of civil war--as Cromwell had so recently predicted--the officers and soldiers themselves were beginning to deal more harshly with their opponents. Normally in battle, quarter was offered to a cornered enemy; prisoners-of-war would then be exchanged or ransomed. But following Rupert's failed raid on Abingdon in early January, and despite the prince's effort to negotiate their release, five captured royalist officers who were from Ireland were hung by the garrison's governor, Major General Browne, for Parliament had made it a capital offense for an Irishman to fight for the king.[24]

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Nevertheless, George Goring's army contained Irish troops, who, in the action of 27 January, were in the forefront of the assaults, taking no prisoners, perhaps in revenge for their compatriots' recent executions. As Goring reported to Digby, his Irish soldiers "gave no quarter to any man, which I can hardly blame them for, considering the inhuman usage of the other party to their countrymen upon cold blood, which I am very confident we shall make them weary of."[25] Goring's voice was that of a professional soldier; he might not have distinguished between "friends or foes" when dealing with the civilian populace in times of great necessity, but he could become outraged when his opponents were not observing the accepted rules of war.

Despite General Goring's renewed request on 29 January for an increased force with which to push east on a broad front, his next objectives would be more limited in scope and lie to the west: Weymouth and then, Taunton. King Charles was too short of men and money to support the large-scale southeastern campaign Goring had originally envisioned, the success of which appeared far from assured as George himself would soon come to admit. By this time, the royalist army ranks were rather depleted, and the king was having problems bringing in new recruits, particularly for the infantry. As for the king's finances, even though he was levying contributions in the areas under his control, he still had insufficient funds to pay his troops on any regular basis, and free quarter, especially for the cavalry, was most often the rule. Moreover, many of Charles's wealthy supporters, gathered at Oxford, could no longer access the incomes from their estates to help support the royalist war effort, as they had done earlier in the conflict.[26]

February 1645 saw three major developments: Goring and his forces turning west to attack the Parliamentary garrison at Weymouth, pursued by Waller; the peace talks taking place at Uxbridge; and the House of Commons continuing to pressure the Lords to concur in the establishment of the New Model Army. All three strands would soon converge. Sir William Waller, as a result of Goring's unexpected advance in January, had been authorized by Parliament to form a new force of 6,000 horse and dragoons. But Waller's troops, lacking pay, mutinied that February, and some of his men even looted Petworth, the Sussex estate belonging to the Earl of Northumberland, one of the peers

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who had remained loyal to Parliament. At the same time, the gentry of Surrey petitioned the Commons, asking for relief from the "insufferable outrages both upon men's persons and estates" being committed by Waller's (and not George Goring's) troops.[27] Incidents such as these reinforced the Commons' case for creating a new, disciplined, integrated, regularly paid army.

In London, the Presbyterian party and the Scots had been most hopeful that a settlement could be reached with the king; the Independents, like Cromwell, who had no desire to adopt the Scots' terms for a religious settlement in England, looked forward to the failure of the Treaty of Uxbridge. The negotiations focused on three points: the reform of the English church along Presbyterian lines; control of the military passing to Parliamentary commissioners; and the end of any concessions to the Irish rebels and full prosecution of the war in Ireland. In the three weeks of negotiations, one of the few points the king conceded was temporarily placing the military under the control of a commission to be drawn from both sides. Among those suggested by King Charles for this commission were the Parliamentary commanders the Earl of Essex, Sir Thomas Fairfax and Sir William Waller, while from his own side, the king included his two eldest sons, his cousin Richmond; civilian advisors Sir John Culpeper and Sir Edward Hyde; and military men to include Lord Arthur Capel, Sir Ralph Hopton, Sir Jacob Astley, and General George Lord Goring. (Conspicuous by their absence were the king's two nephews, Rupert and Maurice, considered to be German and not English by many on both sides.) But even this concession on the king's part was not acceptable to the Parliamentary commissioners, and with most of the other issues still unresolved, the talks ended in failure on 22 February.[28]

The failure of the treaty, however, meant the successful passage of the New Model Army legislation in the Lords. Even before the peace talks had totally broken down, the upper House passed the ordinance authorizing the creation of the new army, totaling 22,000 men. Sir Thomas Fairfax was confirmed as commander-in-chief because of his past "valour, conduct, and fidelity," and Philip Skippon was confirmed as sergeant major general of foot, but the post of lieutenant general of horse still remained vacant. While

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Cromwell and his followers had wanted the commander-in-chief to choose his own officers, the Lords still opposed this, so a compromise was worked out whereby Fairfax could name his officers who then had to be approved by both Houses of Parliament.[29]

Fairfax had been resting at York, recovering from a wound, when he was first named by the Commons as the commander of Parliament's new army. With his confirmation by the Lords, he was called to London to assume his new post. Fairfax had not sought this position, and he would later claim that he had only accepted it because of the persuasion of his friends. Also, despite his reception in the House of Commons, he still suffered from the "frowns and displeasures showed me by those who were disgusted at this alteration."[30] The Self-Denying Ordinance had not yet been passed by the Lords, and there were still those in both Houses who supported the existing Parliamentary commanders.

Of these commanders, while Essex and Manchester continued to sit in the Lords, Waller was in the field, trying to control his unruly troops to begin marching westward. The local Dorset royalists on 9 February, under the command of Sir Lewis Dyve, had captured the Parliamentary-held port of Weymouth and had driven the defenders into the lower town at Melcombe Regis. George Goring, conceding that the royalist uprisings in Kent and Sussex were not yet ready to take place, requested and received orders from Oxford to march to Dorset to help complete the capture of the two towns on Weymouth Bay. He departed Salisbury with about 3,000 horse and 1,500 foot, heading southwest. Waller, who was supposed to be following Goring's advance, reported the poor condition of his forces to the Committee of Both Kingdoms; in response, on 20 February he was told to halt and to keep his horse and foot together in case the royalist army doubled back on him. In the meantime, Oliver Cromwell and additional cavalry were being sent to support Waller's march.[31]

But even Cromwell had some difficulties in getting a cavalry force together. Essex's horse refused to join his march to support Waller, and Cromwell's own regiment threatened to mutiny if they were not paid and supplied with new pistols and recruits. This continuing break down in discipline, at a time when Goring's army was still

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threatening Parliamentary-controlled territory in the south, led Parliament to issue an ordinance on 22 February, commanding all officers and soldiers, "upon pain of death," to repair to their colors within forty-eight hours.[32] This would be no more than a stop-gap measure until the New Model could take the field.

Cromwell, after supplying his men with £1,000 from London to bring them back to order, was finally on the march to join Waller. But even before the Parliamentary relief force's immediate approach, on 26 February Goring and the royalists suffered a set back when a patrol of their horse was pursued back into Weymouth by a scouting party from Melcombe Regis. About one hundred musketeers withdrew from Weymouth to cover their retreating cavalry, which left the drawbridge into town unguarded and allowed the Parliamentary troops to recapture two small forts. General Goring, angered at this loss, planned a counterstrike at Melcombe Regis that same night. But luck continued to elude the royalists, for one of their prisoners managed to escape and warned his comrades defending Melcombe Regis of the impending attack. Goring's night assault, therefore, was successfully repelled by the defenders, who had been reinforced by seamen brought in by the Parliamentary fleet. The Committee of Both Kingdoms, upon receiving intelligence that Goring's forces were fewer in number than originally thought and that there was no other royalist forces marching south, urged Waller and Cromwell forward to relieve Melcombe Regis and retake Weymouth. George Goring, apparently not wanting to be cut off at Weymouth (as he had been at Portsmouth) by the Parliamentary relief force which reportedly numbered 6,000 men, decided to abandon Weymouth and withdraw north into Somerset.[33]

Goring's failure on this mission would merit another vitriolic attack by Sir Edward Hyde, who believed Weymouth had been lost because of Goring "most supine negligence." He continued: "The mysteries of which fatal loss [of Weymouth] were never inquired into, but with great plainness, by the vote of the country, imputed to General Goring's natural invigilance."[34] In other words, everyone knew it was George Goring's fault. It should be remembered that Hyde had made the same charge previously--that there had been a cover-up after Essex's horse escaped at Lostwithiel because everyone

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knew the blame would fall on the king's cavalry commander, George Goring. As was demonstrated in the previous chapter, Hyde had gotten his facts wrong.

In this case, one person who definitely did not hold Goring responsible for the loss of Weymouth was King Charles himself. Goring wrote Rupert at Oxford to explain what had occurred. But the prince was in the field at Stow then, so that King Charles opened the dispatch and replied to Goring on 3 March 1645. He told George that he had read "of the unfortunate loss of Weymouth and as we must expect disasters in war, so we hope you will not be disheartened by them from pursuing our service as vigorously as if you had had better success."[35] Far from chastising his general for the loss, the king was trying to cheer him up!

In the same letter, Charles proceeded to order Goring "to conjoin unto you all the forces you can make in those parts," namely the forces in Somerset as well as those serving under Sir John Berkeley at Exeter and Sir Richard Grenvile, still at the siege of Plymouth. George was to apply himself "wholly to the clearing of those parts of the rebels' forces . . . before their pouring down more forces upon you, which are not likely to be suddenly so great but that if you be once conjoined with Berkeley and Grenvile, you will be strong enough to encounter them."[36] Goring would interpret this order to mean that he had precedence over Berkeley and Grenvile, which seemed logical based on the king's orders, and he would proceed to the siege of Taunton, Parliament's most important stronghold in the West Country.

Secretary Digby then forwarded to Prince Rupert Goring's letter and a copy of the king's reply to it. Digby also informed the prince that the king had sent "a peremptory order" to Sir Richard Grenvile, reinforcing the prince's previous order to the same effect, to march away from the siege of Plymouth while leaving behind sufficient troops to keep the town blocked up. (Apparently Grenvile had failed to follow the initial command from Rupert.) This gathering of the royalist forces in Somerset was "the only course that could be thought here either rational or probable to repair that loss [of Weymouth]." Opening a path through central Somerset to the royalist western counties of Devon and Cornwall was a sensible strategy in itself, but, as Digby reminded Rupert, the importance of clearing

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the west of Parliamentary forces was about to take on even greater significance. The Prince of Wales, accompanied by a civilian council, was to leave Oxford the next day to take up residence at Bristol.[37] So just as George Goring was obtaining the type of field command he had envisioned for himself--as well as orders directly from the king's hand, as he had requested--he would now have to contend with a new political authority, the Prince's Council.

Sir Edward Hyde and the Prince's Council

King Charles had considered sending Prince Charles west in the spring of 1644, but his council had strongly advised against it. But now in 1645 the king was determined to remove his son from danger and, at the same time, give the fourteen-year-old heir to the throne some administrative experience, "to unboy him," as the king said. The council appointed to accompany the prince to his new headquarters at Bristol would in fact exercise power in the prince's name. The members of this body included the governor of Bristol, Lord Hopton, one the king's most dependable generals; the recently retired commander-in-chief, the Earl of Brentford, and another military man, Lord Capel; the prince's governor, the Earl of Berkshire; and two of the king's most trusted civilian advisers, Lord Culpeper, Master of the Rolls, and Sir Edward Hyde, Chancellor of the Exchequer. Sir Richard Fanshawe would serve as secretary to the Prince of Wales. These men, besides keeping watch over Prince Charles, were to coordinate royalist activities in the four western counties of Cornwall, Devon, Dorset and Somerset, so that, as Hyde recalled, "the factions and animosities in the west, which miserably infested the King's service, might be composed and reconciled. . . ."[38]

Hyde and Culpeper were to become the *de facto* leaders of this council. Both were former MPs who favored a negotiated settlement to the war, and their departure from Oxford removed moderating voices from the king's council. Hyde, in particular, had not wanted to leave the king and only reluctantly undertook the journey west, begun on 5 March. Hyde became so ill on the trip, his maladies possibly brought on by his emotional

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distress, that he physically collapsed by the time the prince's party rested at Bath. While at this en route stop, on 8 March the Prince of Wales sent notice to General Goring of his arrival in the west and asked for a quick report "of your own strength, and the strength of the enemy, and how both of you are quartered." The prince would be at Bristol in two days' time, and he asked Goring to send the information with a trustworthy officer.[39]

Goring replied to the prince on 12 March, in a letter entirely in his own hand. (By this time, he was dictating most of his dispatches.) The day prior he had come with all his troops to Pitminster "with a desire to settle a quarter so near Taunton that the rebels might either be forced to draw in all their horse into Taunton or that we might divide them from their foot." They had encountered enemy cavalry on their arrival, and took some men, horses and arms, but the exact count was not yet in. He knew that there were Parliamentary troops to the west, at Wellington, and he was about to scout further to the southwest, both to look for other enemy quarters and to try to link up with Sir John Berkeley's men from Exeter. Once he had a better idea of the enemy's location, he planned on stationing about 1,500 dragoons to the southeast, at Chard and Ilminster, to prevent forays from the Parliamentary garrison at Lyme.[40]

As for Waller's pursuing forces, Goring was neither sure of their whereabouts nor their exact numbers, but he did think the Parliamentarians would have difficulty in sustaining themselves, "all this country very much wasted through which we have passed." He guessed that they might be somewhere east of Bridgwater in Somerset, looking for supplies. As for his own strength, he had 3,000 horse and 1,500 foot, and expected Berkeley to bring another 500 horse and 1,000 foot, but of Sir Richard Grenvile's arrival he had no news. He concluded by explaining that his immediate priority was "choosing the securest quarters upon the place, being an absolute stranger in these parts."[41]

In the week prior to this letter, Goring and his army had marched northwest from Weymouth, passing from Dorset into Somerset. He was following the king's orders to clear or at least keep in check the Parliamentary outposts in the southwest, which included Poole, Wareham, Weymouth, Lyme, and Plymouth, all coastal towns which Parliament kept supplied by sea. If these garrisons could not be taken (as had been the case with

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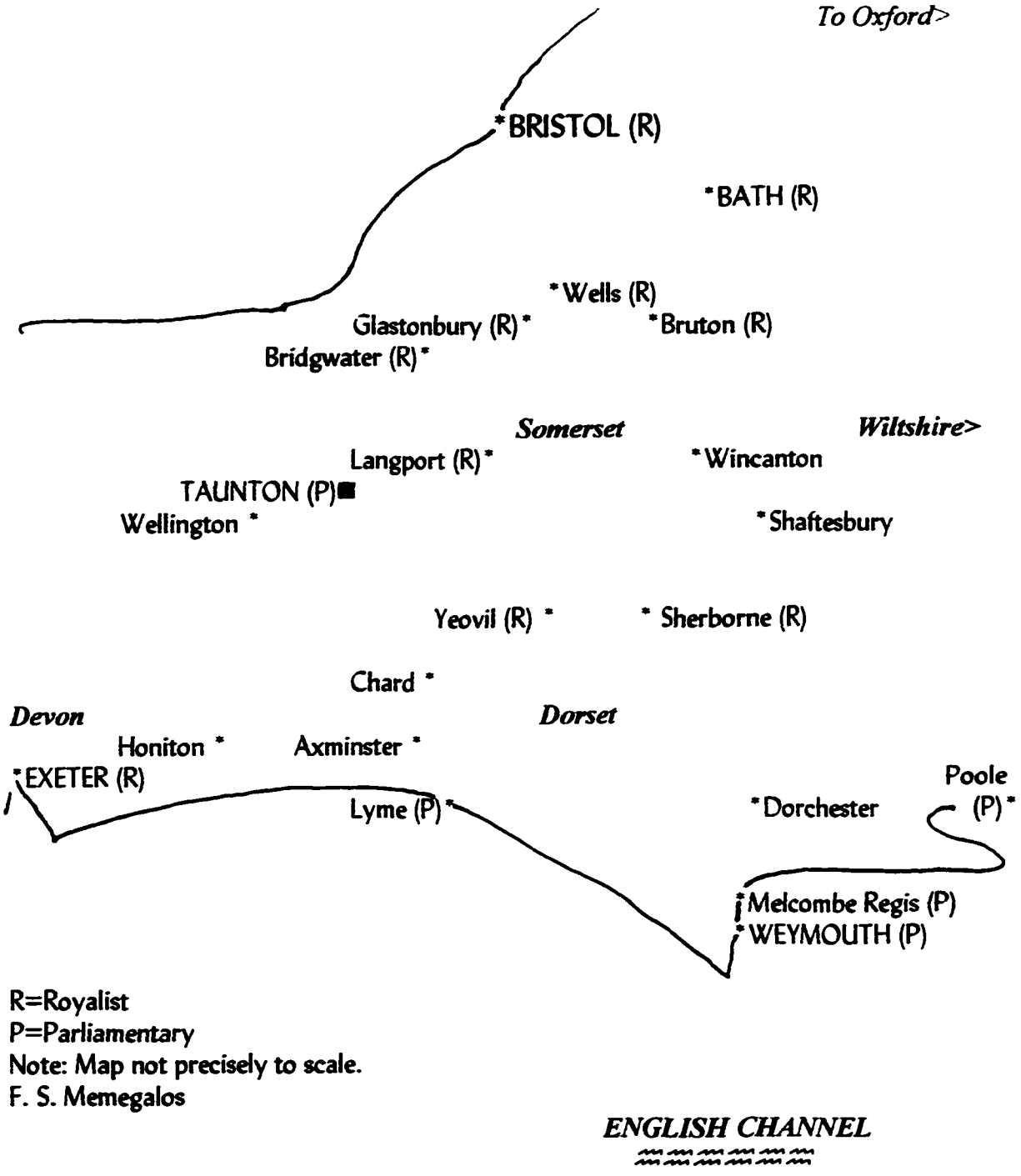
Figure 17. The Western Campaign, February-April 1645



R=Royalist
P=Parliamentary
Note: Map not precisely to scale.
F. S. Memegalos

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Maurice at Lyme, Grenvile at Plymouth, and Goring at Weymouth), then the royalists had to leave troops before these towns to keep the opposition's forces blocked up within. The one other important Parliamentary garrison in the region was Taunton, strategically situated in the heart of Somerset. Past attempts to dislodge the Parliamentary defenders had failed, and only recently a relief force had come to the defenders' rescue. Goring now considered taking Taunton his first priority, although he still had to be mindful of Waller and Cromwell to the east. His guess about Waller's location had not been too far wrong, for on 12 March Waller attacked the royalist town of Trowbridge, in Wiltshire, just beyond the eastern border of Somerset.[42] George Goring's first moves in Somerset, therefore, were to settle his men in secure quarters and scout out the enemy, which constituted sound military practice.

Sir Edward Hyde's version of Goring's actions in early March is of interest: "[T]he Lord Goring's forces equally infested the borders of Dorset, Somerset, and Devon, by unheard of rapine, without applying themselves to any enterprise upon the rebels."[43] It must be remembered that Hyde would write about the events of 1645 beginning in the summer of 1646, just after the king had lost the war and surrendered himself to the Scots. Hyde at that time was on the island of Jersey, accompanying Prince Charles into exile. He was writing not as a disinterested observer, but rather as one who had been involved in policy-making and was trying to justify his decisions and reply to the "aspersions" made against the Prince's Council. (See Chapter 14 for further details.) Hyde, the civilian lawyer, apparently could neither understand nor condone the actions of George Goring, the professional soldier, and so he judged all of Goring's action in 1645 with a harsh eye. Nevertheless, Hyde admitted that Goring throughout this period treated him in a friendly manner: "[T]hough truly his particular deportment to me was not only full of civilities but of extreme endearment, with reference to my own humour and appetite, full of pleasure and delight."[44]

George Goring had been wrong in believing that Sir John Berkeley's troops were already on their way to him, since the governor of Exeter had already drawn his men into garrison for the winter. Secretary Digby, at Oxford, wrote Sir John on 11 March to chide

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him for this delay in joining with Goring, where his troops were "most absolutely needed." George Digby also chastised Berkeley for some unkind comments he had recently written about serving with Goring: "I must confess myself much troubled to see . . . so occasionless a tartness towards General Goring to whom I profess to be a particular friend."[45] Berkeley had been among the Wilmot-Percy circle of Army Plot conspirators, and he had been accused of suspicion of high treason because of Goring's revelations. (See Chapter 6.) Sir John had also been called upon to serve with Goring the previous fall when they had tried to catch Essex's fleeing cavalry in Devon. Whatever personal motives Berkeley had for disliking Goring, there also were professional considerations, for he was being subordinated to a field commander sent by Oxford, thus losing much of his local autonomy.

The Prince's Council, on 12 March, had not yet received any response from either General Goring or Sir John Berkeley. Lord Culpeper, who like Goring was a native of Sussex and would serve as George's primary contact on the council, wrote him the latest intelligence pertaining to Waller's movement westward through Wiltshire, and, that as a precaution, General Hopton had drawn up two of his regiments before Bath. He closed with a plea for news: "Your friends here are impatient to hear from you. . . . Pray write to somebody everyday."[46] But later that same day, George's status report arrived, and Culpeper quickly wrote back, promising Goring as much material assistance as they could muster (even though much of the money and supplies promised by the local royalists prior to the prince's arrival had yet to materialize). Match and powder would be sent from various other commands, and the prince would send "what biscuit and cheese he can possibly spare from this town," as well as other provisions from the county. The prince had also written to Berkeley to join Goring in his campaign, which was considered so important that 500 foot, including 300 men from the prince's own lifeguard, were being sent to supplement Goring's forces. Culpeper concluded by telling George that if he needed anything else, he was to let them know. At the same time, the prince and council ordered Sir Francis Doddington, another of the royalist commanders in Somerset, to join with Goring's officers in rounding up any royalist deserters and returning them to their

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units.[47] It would appear at this point that the Prince's Council, by helping to coordinate supplies for Goring's campaign, was proving to be more of a help than a hindrance.

Goring, upon not encountering the forces he thought were coming to him from Berkeley, instead went directly to Exeter to seek them out. But while he and part of his cavalry were in Devon, the Parliamentary relief force at Taunton took the opportunity to break out. The governor of the garrison, Colonel Robert Blake, a native of Somerset, was already a hero to his cause because of the successful protracted stand he had made the previous year at Lyme against Prince Maurice. He now judged that he could hold Taunton longer if he did not have to feed the relief force which had arrived with supplies in December, so Colonel Holborn led his men safely away before Goring's forces could blockade the town.[48]

General Goring left Exeter with the men and supplies he had sought. Sir John Berkeley, whose loyalty to the royalist cause would extend to trying to help his imprisoned monarch escape from England in 1647, put aside his personal grievances against George Goring in March 1645. As he explained to Secretary Digby: "It will become us all, if heartily united in the same cause, to have a lively sense of one another's merits in it, instead of sharp memories of past errors."[49] Goring and his cavalry rode quickly eastwards from Exeter, not to immediately undertake the siege of Taunton, but rather to counter Waller's threatening presence in Wiltshire, where he had achieved some successes in skirmishes with the local royalists. But Goring's rapid approach had surprised Waller--as well as his fellow royalists on the council at Bristol--as George now asked for further orders.[50]

Culpeper wrote to Goring on 21 March advising that the council could only make suggestions from a distance, but that George could judge the situation better himself at first hand. If Waller's forces had retreated in as much disorder as reported, Culpeper suggested that Goring's horse and dragoons follow the Parliamentarians into Wiltshire, while the foot and artillery remained behind to join with Grenvile's and Berkeley's men at the siege of Taunton, where additional ordinance was being brought up from Exeter and Dartmouth. Did George concur? Culpeper concluded on an optimistic note: "We should

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have great hopes in a short time to see the whole west settled to a very good degree."[51] While at first glance the council's suggestions, couched in deferential terms, might have seemed sensible, George Goring would come to believe that the council was taking over the coordination of the siege of Taunton. Goring, who had been given his own army and placed in charge of all military operations in the west by the king himself, was being asked to divide his forces and become nothing more than one among several contending royalist commanders.

But Goring's discontent with the council would not surface immediately. Over the next three weeks, while continuing to shadow and skirmish with the Parliamentary army to the east, he would carry on a correspondence with the Prince's Council at Bristol in which various aspects of the campaign were debated. One growing point of contention would center on military authority and discipline. Several officers who were supposed to be with Goring in the field instead were at the prince's court in Bristol; some were looking to serve Prince Charles while others were seeking employment for themselves and their men elsewhere. Goring asked for the prompt return of the soldiers and punishment of the officers, but one case in particular in which the council, backed by Prince Rupert, would side against him became a major irritation for Goring. Lieutenant Colonel Guy Molesworth, who commanded Prince Maurice's own regiment, had written directly to Prince Rupert in January from the royalist garrison at Bridgwater where he was then stationed. He had complained of the "bare quarters and hard duty" his veterans were facing and he had feared the regiment would be broken up, especially since General Hopton had denied his request to return to Oxford. When George Goring came west, Molesworth applied to him for a "high position," which was denied. Molesworth then demanded his discharge from Goring, but, without waiting for approval, he marched away, taking some of his men with him, and applied again to Prince Rupert for a new commission which the prince granted. General Goring wrote the council and Prince Rupert, explaining the sequence of events and asking for Molesworth's return.[52]

The colonel was then at Bristol, where he presented his version of events directly to Prince Charles. He claimed that some of his subordinate officers and troopers had left

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the field on their own--and not at his bidding--to come to Bristol to offer their services to the prince. Molesworth was sorry for the "disorder and ill consequences" of their actions. Lord Culpeper, writing for Prince Charles and the council, asked George Goring "to pass by their offense."[53] So Lieutenant Colonel Molesworth escaped punishment, and General Goring was thwarted in his attempt to impose discipline on those ostensibly under his command. Nevertheless, one is reminded by this episode of Goring's own insubordination of bypassing his immediate superior, Prince Rupert, to receive commands directly from King Charles. In the light of their recent relations, it is not so surprising that Rupert joined with the council in supporting Lieutenant Colonel Molesworth, and not General Goring.

Apart from these internal struggles, the royalists had to settle on a strategy to face the enemy. Although taking the Parliamentary garrison at Taunton was still of primary importance, the siege could not be undertaken with any security while Waller and Cromwell's relief force threatened to the rear. Could the two tasks be taken on simultaneously, as Culpeper and Hyde had suggested, by having George Goring divide his own forces? Some indications of Goring's true feelings began to surface in his responses to the council's most recent suggestions. First of all, Goring claimed he had been "misinformed of Waller's march." The Parliamentary general had not fled as far as first thought, but had only removed his headquarters eastwards, while his horse quarters extended further back into Wiltshire.[54] In another dispatch Goring offered to pursue Waller with part of his cavalry, but he did not want to leave his field pieces behind. He knew Waller and Cromwell had divided their forces, but he was unsure if could catch Waller "if he go as fast as Cromwell. . . ." He also warned that he did not want to have his orders countermanded with some other scheme after he set out in pursuit: "I shall unwillingly return, though I will never refuse any service to the King." He then asked for positive orders on how fast to march and what to undertake (which obviously the council could not provide), "or otherwise absolute leave to make any attempt for the diverting Waller's return to disturb the proceedings in the West that I shall think fit upon the place."[55] The message was clear: he would undertake the task assigned him but once in

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the field in pursuit of the enemy, he would accept no civilian interference.

Nor was Goring insensible at this time to the plight of both his soldiers and the civilians who were being forced to support them, for he attempted to provide for "the maintenance of the Army and protection of the country from all unnecessary charge and damage." In the preamble to his order, issued on 23 March, Goring recognized the "miserable condition" of the surrounding countryside "caused by the violences and plunderings of the soldiers." As a remedy, he ordered the county to pay six pence per diem for each horseman who would also receive free quarter from the parish were he was quartered. This contribution would be deducted from the Hundreds, the royalist tax, and was to be collected by a designated officer or collector. No unauthorized person was to collect this contribution, upon "pain of death," nor was any additional amount to be extorted from the local populace.[56]

Goring's quarry, Sir William Waller, was experiencing his own difficulties in maintaining his troops at this time. In fact, the letters being written by the royalist and Parliamentary field commanders at this point in the war were almost interchangeable: they all needed more money, more men, more supplies, particularly with the countryside being so wasted. Waller had parted from Cromwell, as Goring had indicated, and had led a feint towards Bristol which failed to produce any positive results. Cromwell, in the meantime, was supposed to proceed to central Dorset where he was to rendezvous with Colonel Holborn's troops from Taunton. Waller wrote the Committee of Both Kingdoms from northern Wiltshire on 23 March, complaining that he had never received the full number of men allocated to him: "[I]f I had but those 3,000 that were assigned unto me, you might be masters of the West . . . the people being universally disposed to receive us, but unwilling to engage til they see me with such a body as may give them assurances I mean to stay with them, and not be gone tomorrow."[57]

The Siege of Taunton

Where was Waller headed? This question was of primary importance to the

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royalists' plans for beginning the siege of Taunton. Goring met in person with Lords Culpeper and Capel to work out the previously suggested plan whereby he would leave most of his cavalry on the border of Dorset and Wiltshire to guard against Waller, while he himself, with his foot and some horse, assisted by Sir Richard Grenvile (who had still not arrived), would undertake the siege. This plan was approved by the Prince's Council, but Goring soon after the meeting, again began to express doubts about this proposal. On 26 March, headquartered at Shaftesbury, just inside the Dorset border with Wiltshire, George reported to Culpeper that he had intelligence of more troops joining with Waller and Cromwell, to include reinforcements landed at Weymouth as well as Holborn's men. He now thought that the siege would be more difficult than his initial estimates; therefore, he wanted to remain where he was to bring Waller to battle if he encountered him and thus eliminate this potential threat to his forthcoming siege operations. But if this confrontation did not materialize within two days, he would proceed with the plan of dividing his forces and beginning the siege. The Prince's Council quickly agreed to Goring's revised plan.[58]

A day later Goring had no new intelligence on the enemy to report, and he still planned to begin sending his infantry back west towards Taunton; "God willing," the foot would reach Yeovil by the evening of Saturday, 29 March. But he had some personal news to add: "Only I have for my own particular such an indisposition upon me that I am not able for the present to dispatch any business in the least kind." He was so ill, he might have to leave command of the siege to others appointed by the council in Bristol, who would also have to issue orders to George Porter (Goring's brother-in-law) and Sir John Digby, the two commanders he was planning to leave behind with the bulk of his cavalry to guard the eastern borders of Dorset and Somerset. He was hoping, however, to rest for the next few days to recover, but he admitted to "being very much perplexed at my want of health at this time of action."[59]

More than Goring's illness, however, the activities of Parliament's various forces in the region were about to make the royalists' reconsider their immediate plans. On the same day George reported his indisposition to the council, 27 March, the long-awaited Sir

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Richard Grenvile reached Chard, less than fifteen miles south of Taunton. At 3 a.m. he sent a brief dispatch to General Goring, reporting that he had been skirmishing with the Parliamentary troops which had withdrawn from Taunton and were now in the vicinity of Axminster. He believed these troops were being reinforced with Parliamentary contingents from Lyme, Weymouth, and Poole, and that Cromwell might also join with them to attack Devon. Therefore, instead of proceeding north, Grenvile was preparing to fall back to Honiton, or even to Exeter, to protect the far western counties from invasion. Later that morning Sir Lewis Dyve met with Grenvile at Chard, and reconfirmed the latest intelligence in dispatches to Goring and the council at Bristol. He too believed that Grenvile's men and Devon were endangered by "the unexpected uniting" of the enemy's forces, and he urged that Goring or Sir John Berkeley come to Grenvile's immediate assistance.[60]

Both Goring and the council agreed with this change of plans. If the various Parliamentary forces could be defeated in the field, the success of the siege of Taunton was assured. Goring began advancing his foot to Yeovil on 28 March to bring them closer to Grenvile. But he no longer considered it prudent to separate his cavalry from his infantry when the enemy forces were growing in number. Instead, he planned to have his entire army at Yeovil by the 29th, "where, if God gives me health, I shall not fail to be, though for the present I want it very much."[61] Beside agreeing that Goring should march west with all his forces, Lord Culpeper expressed concern about the general's health, but added that the coming action "will be the best cordial for your recovery and then we are sure there will no need of the presence of any from hence [the council in Bristol] in the Army."[62]

Another letter Goring received at this time brings into question the nature of his illness. Secretary Digby wrote from Oxford to update Goring on Rupert's preparations for the coming campaign season, and also to suggest that Rupert and Goring might be able to surround the Parliamentarians in the west. As always, Digby was optimistic about the royalists' prospects for the new season. The only complaint the secretary had in the text of the letter was that while he wrote often to George, "we live here in a great ignorance of

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what your are doing." Digby had dictated this letter, but in his own hand he added a post script: "Dear General, I have nothing to add but to conjure you to beware debauches. There fly hither reports of liberty you give yourself, much to your disadvantage, and you have enemies who are apt to make use of it."[63]

That George Goring "strangely loved the bottle" was attested to by his adjutant, Sir Richard Bulstrode, although Bulstrode would date Goring's heaviest drinking from later in the year.[64] Since there is no supporting evidence in this particular instance, there is no way of knowing from what specific malady George was suffering at this juncture. The one undeniable conclusion from this episode, however, was that Goring did have enemies among his fellow royalists in the West who were trying to undermine his credibility back at court.

But, as Lord Culpeper had suggested, the call to action did find George Goring sufficiently recovered to march with part of his infantry to Yeovil. There he had intelligence that Cromwell, joined with Holborn and the reinforcements landed at Weymouth but not with Waller as yet, was quartered in and around Dorchester. He decided to march south to strike at this gathering of Parliamentary forces, reportedly numbering 4,000 men, with all his horse, foot and cannon. But the majority of his cavalry missed the designated rendezvous, so he lost much of his advantage. Goring then chose to lead an advanced party of 1,500 horse towards Dorchester, ordering his foot and the rest of the cavalry, when they arrived, to follow. The general and his vanguard managed to approach within four miles of Dorchester undetected before meeting with an enemy horse patrol, about 800-strong. Goring claimed victory in the ensuing skirmish, in which "our men were much greedier of their horses and arms than taking prisoners." But the element of surprise had been lost, and with his own forces so scattered, he decided against quartering in the immediate vicinity: "I could not pursue this distraction amongst them with any kind of convenience or safety."[65]

Instead, on 30 March, Goring advised the Prince's Council that he was withdrawing to Yeovil, even though he realized he would be allowing Cromwell and Waller to rendezvous. But by keeping his army west of the Parliamentary forces, Goring

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believed he was shielding Sir Richard Grenvile who he ordered to march to Taunton to burn the town. George wanted the council to send the same orders to Grenvile and provide whatever supplies were needed for the attack. In the meantime, Goring would guard against Waller: "I shall not fear all his forces being joined being able to choose my own ground if he come upon us, and to stay long where he is, I am confident he cannot."[66]

The following day, writing from the outskirts of Yeovil, Goring reiterated the same themes in his letter to Lord Culpeper. He had again written to Grenvile, urging him to attack Taunton and offering him whatever supplies he needed from the royalist garrisons at Bridgwater and Langport. (George had just received notice from the latter of a large store of foodstuffs available for transport to the siege site.) Goring also repeated his request to the council to second his orders. He added that, in his judgment, the Parliamentarians would not be able to maintain themselves if they tried to advance westwards along the coast, and that he and Sir Francis Doddington could stop any incursions into eastern Somerset. He concluded: "And I am so desirous to have the nest at Taunton destroyed that, though I will add to Sir Richard Grenvile whatsoever he will desire for effecting that work, I will take nothing from him til he hath had full time to finish that business."[67] Goring had campaigned with Sir Richard the previous fall in Cornwall, so he knew the man and he also was aware of the long time the Cornishman had taken in coming to Taunton, despite orders from Prince Rupert, Prince Charles, and even King Charles himself. But Grenvile was leading Cornish troops, who, like many other local levies throughout the war, did not want to fight too far from their native county. So his slow progress might have been dictated by his own soldiers' reluctance to move eastwards, although Grenvile, like Sir John Berkeley, did not particularly want to be subordinated to General Goring.[68] The rancor between Goring and Grenvile would become more blatant later in the year.

At first the Prince's Council was glad to concur with everything Goring proposed, as Culpeper sent congratulations on the success against Cromwell at Dorchester as well as regrets that the failed rendezvous had "hindered your Lordship of so full and happy a victory as otherwise your design was capable of." Lord Capel added his own encouraging

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message as a side bar: "My Lord, if you give the rebels a good bang, I be content to lose a month's pay to you at picquet."[69] But on 1 April, the council received new intelligence: Waller, Cromwell and Holborn had rendezvoused and might be planning an attempt on Bath, or even Bristol. Given these circumstances, might not it be better if Grenvile postponed the siege of Taunton and instead joined his forces with Goring's to protect against the gathering Parliamentary army, now reportedly in eastern Dorset? John Culpeper, in forwarding this suggestion to Goring, quickly added that it was only "a proposition wholly submitted to your Lordship's judgment." Prince Charles had ordered all commanders in the West, "and particularly Sir John Berkeley and Sir Richard Grenvile (who have very cheerfully expressed their willingness to give obedience accordingly) to receive and obey your Lordship's orders, which only [solely] are to guide the whole affair."[70] Just how "cheerful" Berkeley and Grenvile were to obey Goring is somewhat questionable, given that King Charles had ordered this obedience a month earlier and the prince now had to reiterate his father's command. But Lord Culpeper was always very careful of how he presented matters to General Goring; he praised, cajoled, suggested and, in general, put a positive spin--to borrow a modern term--on all the pronouncements from the council to George.

But the fact remained that Grenvile had not undertaken the siege of Taunton as yet, and now the council, concerned about the safety of Bristol, was not ordering him to do so, preferring instead to have all the royalist forces in the field available to face Waller's growing Parliamentary army. Goring, however, was already aware of the enemy's movements, as he prepared to advance his forces northeast in Somerset to Bruton, where he could guard both Bath and Bristol from attack. While on his march, he received notice that Waller's main forces were quartered within the triangle made by Shaftesbury, Sturminster and Cucklington, while the Parliamentary vanguard was advanced towards Sherborne and Yeovil. This meant that the enemy rearguard, quartered between Wincanton and Cucklington, was vulnerable, so Goring dispatched Sir John Digby with 1,000 horse by quick march to launch an attack, "which was so excellently performed" by Digby that the royalists broke nine troops of Parliamentary cavalry, taking

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horses, arms, a "good store of officers, and some colours." Goring reported this action to Lord Culpeper that same evening from Bruton. Unlike the council, he did not think the enemy's recent movements required Grenvile's coming to his assistance:

> I hope Sir Richard Grenvile will have leisure to distress Taunton, which I have recommended frequently to him, and I beseech your Lordship let him have the same orders from a more powerful hand. If it please God thus to prosper us against Waller, I may spare Sir Richard Grenvile some men if he need them; I shall expect none from him.[71]

But the council at Bristol still believed that there would be safety in numbers and that Goring should prefer to join forces with Grenvile. Sir Edward Hyde wrote this news to Prince Rupert on 2 April. He reported details of Goring's attack outside of Dorchester, and how Waller and Cromwell had since rendezvoused in eastern Somerset, "Goring being within distance of them and having it within his power to join with Sir Richard Grenvile, if he find cause."[72] So even according to Hyde, it was still George's choice; but Goring had clearly indicated three times already that he did not need Grenvile's assistance, and he wanted him to take Taunton. And yet the council procrastinated in giving the definitive order to Grenvile to undertake the siege.

Instead, on 2 April, Culpeper applied to George Goring again to try to persuade him to the council's way of thinking. He first congratulated him for the success at Wincanton that "will not only give life to your own men, and discourage theirs, but so shatter their pieced up body, that many of them will find an occasion to scooter [off]. . . ." While claiming that the council did not want to upset Goring's plans for the siege of Taunton, Culpeper continued: "But if an addition [of troops from Grenvile] would make it a sure game, perhaps your Lordship will rather choose to defer the former [the siege] . . . than lose a happy opportunity over the only army the rebels have on foot in the south." The ever gracious--and politic--Lord Culpeper concluded with more words of praise for the recent success of Goring's men in the field.[73] All of which might be construed as sugar coating for a bitter pill: while claiming to leave authority in military matters to George Goring, the council, by lack of action, was actually undermining Goring's direct orders.

Nevertheless, General Goring was not to be deterred in his plans. He sent two

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dispatches to Bristol on 3 April. In the first, he explained that while his forces outnumbered those of Waller, his superiority was insufficient to support a full scale assault on the enemy's main quarters. Instead, Goring was carrying on what might be termed guerrilla tactics by having horse patrols, each numbering 500 troopers and dragoons, make continual raids on various enemy quarters. By keeping the Parliamentary forces on constant alert in this manner, aided by "the bareness of their quarters," he hoped to force Waller to retreat. Therefore, he again asked the council to urge Sir Richard Grenvile "to hasten his attempts upon Taunton." He believed Grenvile should be able to burn the town within ten days, and to keep Waller from surprising Grenvile, Goring had ordered the bridge at Yeovil pulled down. George added that to have Grenvile join him at this time for the "uncertainty" of catching Waller was uncalled for.[74] As if to underline the correctness of his own evaluation of the situation, Goring wrote a second dispatch to Bristol later the same day, passing on his latest intelligence. One of his patrols reported that Waller's troops were on the move, probably heading eastward, since Sir Lewis Dyve (at Sherborne), "upon whose intelligence I relied much," had no notice of any movements further west. George was sending out fresh patrols to gather more information and as soon as he received an updated report, "I shall remove out of these quarters both to ease them and to be near Waller if he stay in the West."[75]

Finally, on 4 April--six days after Goring's initial request--the council had Prince Charles send orders to Sir Richard Grenvile "to use all possible diligence in the business of Taunton," and to keep the council constantly informed of his progress, as Culpeper reported to Goring. Culpeper believed Grenvile by this time should have begun the attack, "your Lordship having taken so good care for the safety of his rear, we cannot but hope for good success in that important business." Apparently Goring's forecast of Waller's withdrawal had brought the council around to his way of thinking. The council was not surprised by this retreat, "that after two such handsome brushes your Lordship hath lately given him, a great part of his men should shatter and straggle homewards."[76]

While Goring's tactics, coupled with the poor condition of the surrounding countryside, had helped to keep Waller in check, the lack of funds coming from London

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had also played a major role. In late March, the Parliamentary general himself pointed this out in a letter to the Committee of Both Kingdoms, in which he reported that he had observed "a great smoke of discontent rising among the officers," which he blamed on "the extremity of want that is among them, indeed in an insupportable measure."[77] But Waller's army was not so weak that he could not contemplate a counterattack to stop Goring's hit and run raids. In fact, while George had been correct in his dispatches of 3 April when he had reported that Waller was on the march, he had gotten one important detail wrong: the direction in which the Parliamentarians were moving. On 4 April, Good Friday, (which might have been chosen as a day when the royalists would least expect their opponents to mount an action), Waller sent 2,000 horse and dragoons to attack Goring's headquarters at Bruton.[78]

The result was almost a replay of Goring's attempted attack on Dorchester, except the roles were reversed. On this occasion, the Parliamentarians lost the element of surprise when they came upon a party of 400 royalist horse who spread the alarm back to Bruton. Moreover, as Goring had previously indicated, he already was preparing to relocate his quarters, so that with this warning, he was able to safely withdrew his forces to Wells and Glastonbury. The Parliamentary commanders, Cromwell among them, had to decide whether or not to pursue the retreating royalists. But the enclosed countryside was not suitable for any large-scale cavalry operations, and the Parliamentarians had insufficient infantry support to chance a further advance. They also had some intelligence that Rupert might be approaching with reinforcements. (Rupert was, in fact, already at Bristol.) So, in the end, the Parliamentarians retreated not just from Bruton but from Somerset, as they returned by a series of night marches to Salisbury in Wiltshire. George Goring, by his strategic retreat, had finally managed to expel Waller from Somerset. Ironically, the reason Goring had not chosen to force a battle was that he too had insufficient infantry to risk a major engagement.[79]

Goring sent word from Wells of this latest encounter (although he was not yet aware of the extent of the enemy's retreat), and Lord Culpeper could barely contain his enthusiasm in his congratulatory reply, sent on 6 April, Easter Sunday. "We now are all

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confirmed that your Lordship is a very cruel man what to be upon my poor countryman's [Waller's] back so fiercely every day. How can your Lordship answer it to your good nature? Certainly your Lordship will break the poor man's heart . . . and [for this] profanation of Good Friday, your Lordship must one day answer."[80] Culpeper was alluding to the significance of the day of this last encounter, for Waller and Cromwell, like many of their party, believed in the righteousness of their cause, and their failed action on such a holy day might add a psychological dimension to their loss.

On behalf of Prince Charles, and also of Prince Rupert, Culpeper then extended an invitation to General Goring to come to Bristol the next day to receive their thanks in person for this latest success. In a side bar, Arthur Capel, who had previously wagered a month's pay on Goring having another victory against Waller, now challenged George to come and play cards to collect the bet. But, beyond this moment of celebration, the royalists still had to decide on their next course of action. Should they pursue the fleeing Waller, or should they concentrate on finishing Taunton, where Sir Richard Grenvile was finally in place for the siege? Goring and his second-in-command, Lord Thomas Wentworth, on 9 April, were evaluating their latest intelligence reports on Waller's retreat via Shaftesbury. George, after having seen his enemy's strength at first hand, now believed that he would be able to defeat the Parliamentary army in the field if he had part of Grenvile's infantry with him. But Grenvile and his Cornishmen refused to march beyond Taunton, and the Prince's Council, with Rupert temporarily guiding its deliberations, instead reverted to the earlier plan of having Goring divide his horse and foot, the former to guard the borders of Somerset and Dorset, the latter to join the siege.[81] To what extent Rupert and Goring were driven by personal--and not military--considerations is difficult to know. But by supporting the plan to divide Goring's troops, Rupert would also be diminishing George's authority, just as Goring, by asking for the addition of Grenvile's troops, would be increasing his command and authority.

On 11 April, Prince Charles, as advised by Rupert and the council, wrote Goring the renewed proposition of dividing his forces, leaving George the choice to accompany either his infantry or cavalry, and asking for a reply within two days. Colonel Windham,

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the governor of the royalist garrison at Bridgwater, had come to Bristol via Taunton to report on the progress of the siege; the council decided that Windham should carry the prince's letter to General Goring, so that he could update him on Grenvile's operations. "The next day colonel Windham returned, with a short, sullen letter from the lord Goring to the Prince. . . ."[82]

George Goring, in his reply written to Lord Culpeper on 11 April, explained that he had taken immediate action upon receipt of what he considered to be orders from Prince Charles. His foot were on the march east to Somerton and would reach Taunton the next day. His horse and dragoons were too scattered to begin their march immediately, but tomorrow would start towards Warminster and Frome on the Wiltshire border, for Dorset was "so eaten up," the county would be unable to support them. But since his cavalry could undertake no action until the infantry returned from the siege site, Goring believed that there was no need for his presence: "I have taken this time to go to the Bath, expecting great benefit by it for my lameness, though I should have omitted it very willingly if there had been any use of my service for these four or five days."[83]

Goring went on to repeat his concern that Taunton would require far more time and manpower than they had initially estimated. "And truly, my Lord, I do apprehend very much that this attempt will prove destructive to his Majesty's affairs in these parts, for, as for storming it with these men, I do absolutely despair of it, and for approaching it [by digging trenches], I believe . . . it a very long work." His concern stemmed from the quality of their infantrymen, "that very few of our foot are good." But if he had kept his command together, augmented by some of Grenvile's troops, he thought they could have driven Waller from Salisbury, which the royalists could then have garrisoned to protect the West. He continued: "We might have obliged Waller to fight if we had come suddenly upon him, and I conceive we have parted with those hopes. . . ." That this opportunity had been lost, with so little to gain in return, particularly bothered him, for he expected the besieging army to take only the town, but not Taunton's castle. He urged, therefore, "to lose as little time before Taunton as may be, and whensoever there is use of my service, I shall not only neglect my health but my life to discharge my duty to his Majesty and the

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Prince." He concluded this two-page letter with a practical recommendation: the council should coordinate operations between his infantry commander, Sir Joseph Wagstaff, and Sir Richard Grenvile to avoid disputes over command.[84]

Sir Edward Hyde, upon receipt of Goring's letter, felt compelled to reply immediately. Without any salutation, he exploded: "Well, you generals are a strange kind of people," a remark that revealed more about Hyde and his attitude towards professional soldiers than about Goring. This plan had been proposed and discussed previously, so why was George so against it now? Furthermore, since this was only a suggestion, why hadn't George written back his objections?

> I assure you I find all your friends here much troubled that not approving advice from hence, you chose not rather to return your counsel and consideration of it, than hastily to execute what you discountenance by withdrawing yourself both from horse and foot, which we fear may have an unhappy influence on both of them. . . .I am so much troubled I know not what to say, the Prince having not yet considered of your answer. . . .For God's sake, let us not fall into ill humours, which may cost us dear. Get good thoughts about you, and let us hear speedily from you to a better tune; however, you will pardon this plainness of your Lordship's most affectionate servant.[85]

This was Sir Edward Hyde's personal reaction, not the council's official reply, which he signaled by saying Prince Charles still had to consider the matter. Hyde, no doubt, was truly anguished and perplexed by Goring's seeming changeability and petulance.[86] While Goring's method of showing his disapproval--by literally walking off the job--was extreme, his actions have to be considered within the context of what had been occurring over the past month. The Prince's Council had, in fact, been trying to run the war in the west by committee, not a very efficient method as Parliament had discovered the previous year. While continually paying lip-service to General Goring's precedence, the council members had questioned, suggested, counter proposed, and procrastinated when they had not agreed with his strategy. That was probably why Goring, in this instance, did not even bother to initiate a new correspondence to try to bring the council to his way of thinking. If he was to pursue Waller, he needed to take immediate action, not submit an endless stream of proposals to Bristol. Even by giving

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Goring the choice of going with his horse or his foot, the council seemed to be saying that it would not matter whichever way he chose; he was superfluous. Therefore, as George had reasoned, it was alright to give himself leave to go to Bath.

The other point Hyde seemed to ignore was the fluid nature of military operations. The situation in the field could quickly change, and the commander on the scene often had to make on-the-spot decisions. Throughout his military career, George Goring had proven himself particularly adept at responding to rapidly changing situations in the field, and he now believed, having seen the enemy in action, that he could defeat Waller if he had additional infantrymen from Grenvile. His reconsideration of the siege of Taunton was based on his own knowledge of siege warfare. He had participated in one of the most textbook perfect sieges of the period, Frederick Henry's taking of Breda, and even that well-executed operation had lasted three months. If he did choose to accompany his infantry to Taunton, who would be in command? Goring or Grenvile? Moreover, one gets the impression from his letters throughout this period that Goring was much happier at the head of his cavalry, chasing down the enemy in the field, than he would have been confined to the restricted activity of a siege. Sir Richard Bulstrode confirmed this about Goring's nature: "[T]here was much difference betwixt the presentness of his mind in a sudden attempt . . . and of an enterprise which required deliberateness and patience, for he could not keep his mind long bent."[87]

There was an additional grievance still on Goring's mind at this time: the council's--and Rupert's--failure to uphold his discipline. Goring wrote to Rupert from Wells on 12 April, updating him on his actions and adding: "All that I hope now is to have our men again without much loss from Taunton, for I fear we shall meet with great difficulty in the taking of it." But his major purpose in writing was to take up the case of Lieutenant Colonel Molesworth who was at liberty in Bristol. George, despite the council's earlier defense of the colonel, still wanted him tried by a council of war for "debauching men away from the regiment when he had his discharge and for marching contrary to my order when I desired they might stay until I had written to your Highness. It will keep up the command your Highness has given me, and be a great honour and

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favor. . . ."[88]

But Guy Molesworth was not punished, and the siege of Taunton was to be carried on by Sir Richard Grenvile, now supported by Goring's infantry and cannon. Therefore, as he had indicated, George Goring left his men to go to Bath.

> But after some days frolickly [*sic*] spent at Bath he returned to his former temper, and, waiting on the Prince [Charles] at Bristol, was contented to be told that he had been more apprehensive of discourtesies than he had cause; and so all misunderstandings seemed to be fairly made up.[89]

Outwardly, matters "seemed" to be resolved, but Goring and Hyde would never truly be reconciled and their disputes would later revive, to the detriment of the royalist cause. For the present, Goring, back with his cavalry, did see to one other important matter. As a result of the constant skirmishing with the Parliamentary forces which had been taking place, including nightly royalist raids into Wiltshire, Goring held a number of prisoners. This prompted Sir William Waller to write to General Goring:

> Noble Lord,
> God's blessing be on your heart, you are the jolliest neighbour I have ever met with. I wish for nothing more but an opportunity to let you know I would not be behind in this kind of courtesy [of raids resulting in prisoners]. In the mean time, if your Lordship pleases to release such prisoners as you have of mine for the like number and quality I have of yours, I shall esteem it a great civility. . . .[90]

Goring concurred to this proposal and replied that each side should designate two officers to meet at Shaftesbury to carry on the negotiations for the exchange of all prisoners, "from Lands End [in Cornwall] to Portsmouth." George chose two officers he himself had promoted, Sir Bernard Gascoigne and Sir Richard Bulstrode, as his representatives. As a result of this work, the royalists would deliver their prisoners to Christchurch in Hampshire; the Parliamentarians, theirs to Wareham, Dorset. But since it took two weeks to hammer out the details of the exchange, the local populace began to think that a peace treaty was in fact being negotiated.[91] In reality, both sides were seeking the return of their soldiers to strengthen their armies as the main campaign season was about to begin.

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The New Model Takes the Field

At the beginning of April, King Charles wrote to Henrietta Maria, passing on the few latest items of good news, among them, "Goring near Dorchester having routed a thousand of Cromwell's horse. . . ." The king added that he expected to begin his new campaign in about two weeks, "which I hope will be sooner than Sir Thomas Fairfax will be able to take the field, the London levies, both of men and money, going yet but very slowly on."[92]

The king's intelligence was fairly accurate. The reform and consolidation of the Parliamentary armies, which had been proposed by Cromwell the previous December, was only slowly taking shape. On 18 March Fairfax had received approval from both Houses of Parliament for his list of colonels for the New Model's horse and foot regiments. Behind the scenes negotiations also soon brought an end to the stalemate over the Self-Denying Ordinance. The Commons again passed the bill to the upper House on 31 March; on 2 April, the Earls of Essex, Manchester and Denbigh surrendered their commands in the House of Lords, an act which allowed their fellow peers to pass the ordinance on 3 April 1645. All members of both Houses had forty days to surrender their civilian and military offices.[93]

In compliance with the new law, Sir William Waller gave up his command and resumed his seat in the Commons that April, while the remains of his army at Salisbury would be redeployed according to instructions from London. The royalist newspaper, *Mercurius Aulicus*, gleefully passed on the news of Waller's return to its readers: "The Western Counties being so well purged that Sir William the Conqueror is now at London to ingratiate himself with his excellency Sir Thomas Fairfax."[94] But Waller was not seeking a new command under Fairfax, as suggested. His fighting days had ended in bitterness, for he believed that London had particularly failed him on his last campaign, which he styled his "hopeless employment in the West."[95]

On the same day the Self-Denying Ordinance was passed, Sir Thomas Fairfax went to Windsor and called for a rendezvous of all forces on 7 April. Assisted by Major

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General of Foot Philip Skippon, Fairfax spent the rest of April at Windsor "diligently modeling his army," reducing and reforming the three Parliamentary armies into one. But only about half of the 14,400 infantrymen called for could be mustered from the former armies. The rest had to be recruited, or even impressed, but these new soldiers, many of whom had no particular political allegiance, would often take their first pay or booty and desert. Nor was the New Model to be the only Parliamentary army in the field; while it superceded the old commands of Essex, Manchester and Waller, there were still to be the Northern Association, although now commanded by John Lambert instead of Lord Ferdinando Fairfax, and the Western Association under Edward Massey.[96]

The one major command post still not filled in the New Model was lieutenant general of horse. Fairfax wanted Cromwell--and would eventually get Cromwell--but there were too many obstacles to naming him second-in-command at this juncture. The Scots disliked Oliver Cromwell; as a leader of the Independents he had enemies among the Presbyterian faction in the Commons, and many in the Lords resented his past verbal attacks on Essex and Manchester. Nevertheless, Cromwell had the only viable body of Parliamentary horse in the field at this time. When he went to turn over his command to Fairfax at Windsor on 17 April, he was instead sent to patrol west of Oxford to keep the king from joining with his nephews or with Goring and the western royalists. There he led several successful skirmishes in late April, whereby he not only took one garrison but also managed to disrupt the royalists' supply of draft horses which were required for transporting their artillery train.[97]

King Charles, temporarily stalled by Cromwell's activities, had been considering a strategy put forward by Rupert for the new campaign season. The prince, who had left Bristol to assist his brother Maurice in Cheshire, eventually moved to Hereford where he managed to better Massey in a local skirmish on 22 April. Rupert then wanted his uncle with his main field army and artillery train to join him at Worcester; together they would march north to relieve Chester; after recruiting in Lancashire and Yorkshire, they might even be able to retake the north of England, assisted by Montrose who had been engineering a series of surprising victories in Scotland. But before any of this plan could

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be put into action, King Charles and his army had to safely withdraw from Oxford. The king decided to call upon the services of his own cavalry commander, George Goring, to keep Cromwell in check while he and his army took the field.[98]

Goring was headquartered at Wells, staying with his cavalry while his infantry was at the siege of Taunton. That siege had been slow going, particularly after Sir Richard Grenvile was seriously wounded by gunfire and had to be evacuated to Exeter to recuperate. As Goring had predicted, a problem of command ensued, for Grenvile's men refused to obey Goring's infantry commander, Sir Joseph Wagstaff. Lords Capel and Culpeper from the council, on the scene at Taunton, appointed Sir John Berkeley to take command of the operation. (No one apparently dared to ask Goring to fill in after his last outburst.) Even though all the officers swore allegiance to Berkeley, Grenvile's men in fact showed little obedience, "for neither officer nor soldier did his duty . . . during the time Sir John Berkeley commanded in that action."[99]

Part of the Prince's Council, with Prince Charles in tow, spent the last week of April at Bridgwater, meeting with the commissioners of the western counties, trying to get a commitment for new levies to bring the siege of Taunton to a close within a month. It was while the council was thus occupied that George Goring received his summons from King Charles to return east. The king initially wrote Goring on 27 April to come to Faringdon (about fifteen miles southwest of Oxford) with 2,000 horse to assist George Lisle, his old comrade from Second Newbury, against Cromwell. But on 28 April, Secretary Digby wrote Goring the latest news: Lisle and his three hundred men had been broken by Cromwell at Bampton. The king and his advisers now feared that if Goring came with a limited number of horse, he might be overwhelmed. Digby, on behalf of King Charles, now ordered General Goring to come with all his horse and dragoons: "Be suddenly here with such a strength as may safely convoy the King and his train [of artillery] within reach of Prince Rupert's forces, for upon the reputation of Cromwell's successes hereabouts the Rebels are swarming out of London in hopes to besiege the King here in Oxford." Digby added that once George had safely escorted the king to Rupert, he might get some additional infantry from Somerset so he could pursue his postponed

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campaign into Sussex. The secretary ended by asking Goring to bring as many draft horses as he could.[100]

Oliver Cromwell managed to learn of King Charles's orders to Goring, possibly even before George himself received the letters from Oxford. On 28 April, in his dispatch to the Committee of Both Kingdoms, Cromwell advised that he had gathered this latest intelligence from a newly captured prisoner, one of Secretary Digby's gentlemen. When questioned, the prisoner admitted that Goring was supposedly coming with 3,000 horse and 1,000 foot. Cromwell also learned from this rather talkative source that Goring "is discontented that Prince Rupert commanded away his foot," a reference to George's reaction at having his infantry sent to Taunton. Cromwell was quartered about Faringdon Castle, another royalist garrison, where he would watch for Goring. He ended by wishing he had more troops with him, "for the enemy is in huge fear, God does terrify them; it's good to take the season, and surely God delights that you have endeavored to reform your Armies."[101]

George Goring was in the field with some of his troops that were quartered between Bath and Marshfield when he received the king's initial order to march east. He was planning to first return to his headquarters at Wells before starting out, as he informed Lord Culpeper, then at Taunton. According to George, the king had commanded him "to hasten with all possible speed and to take the forces that are before Taunton with me to march against Fairfax." He also had intelligence that Cromwell was watching for him, but he felt that he would be able to give a "good account of Fairfax even if Cromwell be joined with him."[102] Apparently Digby's revised orders of the 28th, which urged all possible speed, decided Goring on marching solely with mounted troops.

On 30 April, Goring was ready to leave Wells. He sent a copy of his revised orders from Digby and the king to the Earl of Berkshire to pass on to the rest of the Prince's Council, not yet returned to Bristol. He was marching with 3,000 horse and dragoons, and planned to cover over forty miles on his first day's journey to reach Marlborough; on the following day, if he did not meet with any resistance, he hoped to be between Faringdon and Oxford. Since he did not know how long he and his forces might

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be with the king, he "humbly" offered some suggestions on how the local royalists should defend themselves if the enemy chose to "give some disturbance" while he was away.[103]

Goring then proposed that all the other cavalry units scattered throughout Somerset and Wiltshire should be drawn together, preferably under Sir Francis Doddington, and be placed on the border between the two counties, in the vicinity of Trowbridge. If the enemy attacked, the royalists should fall back towards Taunton and await his return. Or, if he found his own advance towards Oxford stopped by a superior enemy force, that cavalry body should be ready to cover his retreat, although he did have some misgivings about these troops: "Many of these horse are so much out of order that they would not meet at a speedy rendezvous if there should be occasion for it." Therefore, he urged that the forces be gathered as quickly as possible. He also asked for frequent updates on the enemy's movements, and ended: "I hope in God to return within very few days without letting Cromwell have his will in the least kind."[104]

On 30 April 1645, the same day that George Goring began his journey east, Parliament's New Model Army marched from Windsor. Necessity, more than preparedness, seemed to dictate this move. Fairfax himself believed that those who had opposed the creation of the New Model were forcing him into the field before he was ready: "[W]e were sent to be destroyed and ruined. . . ."[105] But what was to be the army's first objective, or, as John Rushworth recorded: "Whither they should first bend their march?"[106] Both Houses of Parliament debated whether Fairfax should march against Oxford or go west to the relief of Taunton. But Cromwell, to be reinforced with infantry under Major General Browne, was already guarding against the king at Oxford and watching for the approach of Goring's cavalry. The Committee of Both Kingdoms, therefore, reasoned that Taunton should be the first priority, fearing that if relief were not soon sent, the defenders would be "exposed to certain butchery."[107] Parliament concurred with this assessment, for Taunton, their only inland garrison in the west, "was now reduced to great extremity, and without speedy relief must inevitably be lost."[108]

So on the last day of April 1645, what would be the final campaign season in the war began, and in less than three months, most of King Charles's forces would be crushed.

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But to see this outcome as inevitable at this point would be premature. The royalists would contribute to their own defeat by choosing to divide their forces at a time when, if united, they might have been able to defeat the New Model in the field. This decision would be based just as much on personalities--namely, Rupert and Goring not wanting to campaign together--as on strategic considerations, as will be seen in the following chapter.

As for Goring's performance in early 1645, he never repeated his successes of the previous year. His initial scheme to try to invade the southeastern counties seemed to have been ill-advised, for more than a quick raid or two would have been required to take and hold this region. What amount of local support he may have had remains open to question. If he had achieved some partial success, perhaps in his native Sussex, his call for additional troops might have been satisfied and he may then have made further inroads. (He repeatedly used the number of 6,000 men as his desired goal, which, by the standards of the time, was a good-sized army.)[109]

Goring's subsequent loss of Weymouth occurred through a series of events which King Charles himself labeled the misfortunes of war. Sir Lewis Dyve, who participated in the actions and reported the details in various letters, in no way supported Hyde's claim, made from afar, that Goring's own negligence had brought about the loss. Hyde even went so far as to accuse Goring of purposefully allowing the enemy to triumph at Weymouth and at Taunton. By keeping Parliamentary troops in the region, Hyde argued, Goring had a reason to remain there, for, if the enemy were defeated, "his presence there might not be thought necessary."[110] Such an accusation reflected Hyde's paranoia on the subject of Goring. To believe that a professional soldier like George Goring would have contemplated risking his own life and the lives of his men in such a dangerous and unpredictable game was unthinkable. Besides, no commander wanted a list of defeats on his record.

The portrait that does emerge of Goring in early 1645, based on his own words and actions, is that of an ambitious courtier and soldier. He wanted to be answerable to the king alone; he wanted his own army; he wanted no civilian interference with his decisions. He preferred action in the field over the slow, methodical work of a siege. He

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was operating with limited resources because of the impoverishment of the king and his supporters and because of the increasingly wasted condition of parts of the English countryside. If his men had to take what they needed from the local populace--be they friend or foe--it was of secondary importance (although he did try to regulate the worst abuses), for the survival of his forces was his paramount consideration.

But, like so many of his class, his personal honor and precedence still mattered, sometimes seemingly more than the greater cause for which he was fighting. Was he so opposed to the Prince's Council because he considered their interference harmful to his overall military plans or harmful to his personal prestige? Probably both. If he had been able to conduct the western campaign as he had initially wanted, with Grenvile swooping down to destroy the town of Taunton while he held off Waller and Cromwell, the west might have been secured. George Goring's growing irritation with the Prince's Council over military matters was understandable, but the lack of a clear chain of command in the west was the ultimate cause of dissension. Rather than clarify matters, King Charles's decisions in the coming months would only worsen the situation.

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1. *CSPD 1644*, 259-61; Carlton, *Charles I*, 278.

2. BL Add. MS. 15856, f. 65 b, testimonial on the Earl of Norwich's return from France by Anne, Queen Regent, Paris, 10 November 1644 [N. S.], and f. 66 b, Cardinal Mazarin, Paris, to King Charles, 8 November 1644 [N. S.]; *CSPVen 1643-47*, 148-49, Venetian Ambassador Nani, Paris, 1 November 1644 [N. S.]; BL Add. MS. 30305, Digby to Rupert, 30 August 1644, in which the secretary reported that the queen, "already recovered to a miracle," had sent horses to the king from France; Marshall, *Henrietta Maria*, 116-19.

3. *GEC*, 9:768, 771, 773, 776; *Lords Journal*, 9:494; Green, *Letters of Henrietta Maria*, 279. Even though it was a commonplace practice for the son of an earl to use the courtesy title of "lord", Clarendon, still only Sir Edward Hyde in 1644, begrudged George the use of the title Lord Goring, an "appellation . . . which he [George] enough affected." See Clarendon, *History*, 4:27. The reason why Parliament did not recognize the title of the Earl of Norwich (as well as other titles bestowed by King Charles during the war) was based on the use of the Great Seal. Edward Littleton, the Lord Keeper, had brought the seal to Charles at the beginning the war, but Parliament then created its own Great Seal and declared all commissions thereafter under the original seal null and void. See Wedgwood, *King's War*, 264-65, 385.

4. *GEC*, 9:774; E. Sussex R. O., Danny Archives, f. 44, Edward Nicholas, Oxford, to Colonel William Campion, 16 December 1644; Kenyon, *Civil Wars*, 123, 131; Kitson, *Prince Rupert*, 219-23.

5. Rushworth, *Collections*, Part IV, 1:1; Mark Kishlansky, *The Rise of the New Model Army* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 26-27.

6. Rushworth, *Collections*, IV, 1:2; Ian Gentles, *The New Model Army in England, Ireland and Scotland, 1645-1653* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), 3-5.

7. Rushworth, *Collections*, IV, 1:4.

8. BL Sloan MS. 1519, f. 37, Lambert, London, to Sir Thomas Fairfax, York, 10 December 1644; Kishlansky, *Rise of New Model*, 28-29; Gentles, *New Model Army*, 7.

9. BL Sloan MS. 1519, ff. 39-40, Lambert, London, to Sir Thomas Fairfax, York, 17 December 1645; Rushworth, *Collections*, IV, 1:6-7; Gentles, *New Model Army*, 9.

10. *GEC*, 9:774; Clarendon, *History*, 4:9-10; Thomas-Stanford, *Sussex in the Civil War*, 162; Bence-Jones, *The Cavaliers*, 94; Wedgwood, *King's War*, 380; Kitson, *Prince Rupert*, 223.

11. BL Add. MS. 18981, f. 346, Goring to Prince Rupert, 29 December 1644; Gardiner, *Great Civil War*, 2:85, 99, 121.

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12. Clarendon, *History* 4:9-10.

13. *CSPVen 1643-47*, 172-3, Agostini, 20 January 1645 [N. S.]; Gardiner, *Great Civil War*, 2:113.

14. BL Add. MS. 18982, f. 11, Goring, Farnham, to King Charles, 9 January 1645.

15. Ibid., ff. 11-12.

16. Clarendon, *History*, 4:25 fn. 2, 26-7.

17. Kitson, *Prince Rupert*, 223; Wedgwood, *King's War*, 380; Gardiner, *Great Civil War*, 2:113; Carlton, *Charles I*, 281-82.

18. Rushworth, *Collections*, IV, 1:7-8; *Commons Journal*, 4:16; Gentles, *New Model Army*, 10-12, 31.

19. BL Add. MS. 18982, f. 11, Goring to King Charles, 9 January 1645, and f. 22, Goring to Prince Rupert, 22 January 1645; E. Sussex R. O., Danny Archives, ff. 46-47, Prince Rupert, Oxford, 27 January 1645; Clarendon, *History*, 4:10; Burne and Young, *Great Civil War*, 192; Thomas-Stanford, *Sussex in the Civil War*, 162.

20. BL Add. MS. 18982, f. 22, Goring, Salisbury, to Prince Rupert, 22 January 1645.

21. BL Add. MS. 18982, f. 29, Goring, Winchester, to Digby, 29 January 1645.

22. Ibid.; italicized words in cipher in original.

23. Clarendon, *History*, 4:10; David Underdown, *Revel, Riot, and Rebellion: Popular Politics and Culture in England, 1603-1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985; Oxford University Paperback, 1987), 148-51; Woolrych, *Battles*, 93.

24. Donagan, "Atrocity, War Crime and Treason," *AHA Review* 99 (Oct. 1994) 4 : 1148; Christopher Hibbert, *Cavaliers and Roundheads: The English Civil War, 1642-1649*, A Robert Stewart Book (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, Macmillan Publishing Company, 1993), 192; Wedgwood, *King's War*, 381.

25. BL Add. MS. 18982, f. 29, Goring to Digby, 29 January 1645.

26. Clarendon, *History*, 4:11; Kenyon, *Civil Wars*, 123-26; Gardiner, *Great Civil War*, 2:114; Burne and Young, *Great Civil War*, 13.

27. Quoted in Kenyon, *Civil Wars*, 130-31; *CSPD 1644-45*, 317; Adair, *Waller*, 223.

28. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 24, f. 142; the list of proposed military commissioners was recorded by George Digby and signed by King Charles on 20 February 1645; Gardiner,

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Great Civil War, 121, 128-29; Wedgwood, *King's War*, 385, 393; Carlton, *Charles I*, 279-80.

29. Rushworth, *Collections*, IV, 1:8, 13; Gentles, *New Model Army*, 14.

30. Thomas, 3rd Lord Fairfax, "Short memorials of some things to be cleared during my command in the Army," in Firth, *Stuart Tracts*, 354-55.

31. Tibbutt, *Letters of Sir Lewis Dyve*, 58-59, Dyve to King Charles, 13 February 1645; Clarendon, *History*, 4:11; *CSPD 1644-45*, 317, 331. Sir Lewis Dyve was the older half-brother of Secretary George Digby. He was headquartered at Sherborne Castle, the home of his step-father, John Digby, Earl of Bristol.

32. BL Add. MS. 19398, f. 80, Printed Ordinance of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, 22 February 1645; Woolrych, *Battles*, 93; Fraser, *Cromwell*, 146.

33. Tibbutt, *Dyve*, 59-61, Dyve to Earl of Bristol, 26 February 1644, and Dyve to Sir John Berkeley, 26 February 1644; *CSPD 1644-45*, 333-34; *HMC*, Vol. 6, 7th Rpt., Pt. I, 453; Wedgwood, *King's War*, 396-97; Newman, *Atlas*, 67.

34. Clarendon, *History*, 4:11.

35. BL Sloan MS. 1519, f. 58, King Charles to Goring, 3 March 1645. Goring's letter is not found in Rupert's correspondence for 1645 (BL Add. MS. 18982) nor in Eliot Warburton's nineteenth-century compilation of Rupert's correspondence, *With Prince Rupert and the Cavaliers*.

36. Ibid.; S. R. Gardiner apparently was unaware of this letter from King Charles to Goring, for he claims that Goring "had no authority from the King to exercise command in the West," so that Goring "summarily called on Sir John Berkeley" to send reinforcements and he "also gave order to Sir Richard Grenvile . . . to come in person with the bulk of the forces with which he was then besieging Plymouth." See *Great Civil War*, 2:182.

37. BL Add. MS. 18982, ff. 38-39, Digby, Oxford, to Prince Rupert, 5 March 1645.

38. Clarendon, *History*, 4:8-9, fn. 1; Fanshawe, Lady [Anne], *Memoirs of Lady Fanshawe*, ed. Beatrice Marshall (London: Harris Nicholas, 1829; London: John Lane, The Bodley Head, 1905), 61, 67; Roy, "Royalist Council of War," *Bulletin IHR* 35, (Nov. 1962) : 164-65; Hutton, *Charles II*, 7.

39. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 24, f. 56, Prince of Wales, Bath, to Goring, 8 March 1645; Hutton, *Charles II*, 8; Ollard, *Clarendon*, 96-97, 100-1; Harris, *Clarendon*, 140. Harris is the author who speculates that Hyde's illness on this journey was brought about by emotional strain.

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40. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 24, f. 59, Goring to Prince of Wales, 12 March 1645.

41. Ibid., ff. 59-60.

42. Burne and Young, *Great Civil War*, 192; Newman, *Atlas*, 67; Woolrych, *Battles*, 93-94.

43. Clarendon, *History*, 4:12.

44. Ibid., 4:8-9 fn. 1, 25 fn. 2. Ollard (*Clarendon*, 100-1) calls Clarendon a "hostile witness" when writing of Goring; Harris (*Clarendon*, 142) says Hyde was answering the charges of Goring and Grenvile in 1646 and trying "to put the record straight. The events were fresh in his mind, and his account reasonably accurate." But Harris accepts the mistaken supposition that Goring had no authority in the west, committing the same error as Gardiner. See footnote 36 above. Also, Martine Watson Brownley, *Clarendon and the Rhetoric of Historical Form* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985) 161, grants that although Hyde thought he understood his contemporaries: "He was not always correct in his judgments, but he was sure and his prose reflects his confidence." Brownley (58) also argues that Hyde personalized ideological issues: "He carefully develops certain characters throughout the narrative as representatives of political stances: Prince Rupert comes to stand for unfettered militarism; . . . George Goring for unprincipled opportunism, and so on."

45. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 24, f. 57, Digby, Oxford, to Berkeley, 11 March 1645. Berkeley's letter of 24 February to which Digby referred in not within the manuscript collection.

46. Bodl. Tanner MS. 61, f. 283, Culpeper to Goring, 12 March 1645.

47. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 24, f. 61, Culpeper to Goring, 12 March 1645, and f. 63, Prince Charles, printed order addressed to Sir Francis Doddington, a copy of which was forwarded to Goring on 13 March 1645; Clarendon, *History*, 4:12-13; *DNB*, 4:749.

48. Clarendon, *History*, 4:12; Adair, *Waller*, 229; Gardiner, *Great Civil War*, 2:183; Hibbert, *Cavaliers and Roundheads*, 166-67, 295-96; Burne and Young, *Great Civil War*, 210. This is the same Robert Blake who would become a successful admiral under the Commonwealth.

49. Bodl. Clarendon MS., ff. 77-78, Berkeley, Exeter, to Digby, 23 March 1645; Carlton, *Charles I*, 320-24.

50. Bodl. Tanner MS., f. 287, Culpeper, Bristol, to Goring, 21 March 1645; Gardiner, *Great Civil War*, 2:183.

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51. Bodl. Clarendon MS., 24, f. 21, draft of letter from Prince and Council, Bristol, to Goring, 21 March 1645; Bodl. Tanner MS., Culpeper to Goring, 21 March 1645.

52. Bodl. Firth MS. C 6, f. 322, Guy Molesworth, Bridgwater, to Prince Rupert, 23 January 1645; Bodl. Clarendon MS. 24, f. 73, Goring to Culpeper, [March, 1645].

53. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 24, f. 85, Culpeper, Bristol, to Goring, 26 March 1645.

54. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 24, f. 73, Goring to Culpeper, [March, 1645].

55. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 24, f. 75, Goring, West House, to Culpeper, 22 March 1645.

56. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 24, f. 79, Goring to Sir William Courtney, 23 March 1645. Courtney was one of Goring's regimental commanders. The official heading on the order was from "George Lord Goring, General of all his Majesty's forces of Horse that are or shall be raised in the Kingdom of England and dominion of Wales, and Commander-in-Chief of all the forces of the West for this expedition."

57. BL Sloan MS. 1519, f. 66, Waller, Marshfield, to the Committee of Both Kingdoms, 23 March 1645; Clarendon, *History*, 4:14; Adair, *Waller*, 229-30.

58. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 24, f. 83, Goring, Shaftesbury, to Culpeper, 26 March 1645; and f. 87, Culpeper, Bristol, to Goring, 27 March 1645; Clarendon, *History*, 4:14-15.

59. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 24, f. 89, Goring, Shaftesbury, to Culpeper, 27 March 1645.

60. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 24, f. 91, Sir Lewis Dyve, Sherborne, to Goring, Shaftesbury, 27 March 1645; and f. 93, Sir Richard Grenvile, Chard, to Goring, 27 March 1645; Bodl. Tanner MS. 60/1, f. 25, extracts of letter from Sir Lewis Dyve, Sherborne, to Culpeper, 27 March 1645, by Richard Fanshawe.

61. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 24, f. 99, Goring, Shaftesbury, to Culpeper, 28 March 1645; Bodl. Tanner MS. 60/1, f. 27, Culpeper, Bristol, to Goring, 28 March 1645. From the language in these two letters, it appears that they crossed one another. Dyve had sent his dispatches to both the council in Bristol and to Goring at Shaftesbury (see previous note), and both Culpeper and Goring were reacting to this latest intelligence.

62. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 24, ff. 97-98, and f. 101, both Culpeper, Bristol, to Goring, 28 March 1645.

63. Bodl. Tanner MS. 60/1, f. 36, Digby to Goring, 29 March 1645.

64. Bulstrode, *Memoirs*, 134.

65. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 24, f. 105, Goring, Lye Common, to Culpeper, 30 March 1645.

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66. Ibid., ff. 105-106.

67. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 24, f. 107, Goring, Newtowne by Yeovil, to Culpeper, 31 March 1645, and f. 103, Sir Francis Mackworth to Goring, 30 March 1645. Mackworth was the governor of the garrison at Langport. Word of Goring's skirmish outside of Dorchester on 29 March had already reached him, for he congratulated Goring on his success.

68. Hutton, *Charles II*, 9; Holmes, *Battles in Cornwall*, 66; Woolrych, *Battles*, 94.

69. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 24, f. 109, Culpeper, Bristol, to Goring, 31 March 1645; Bodl. Tanner MS. 60, f. 39, is a copy of the same letter from Culpepper, but contains Capel's post script.

70. Bodl. Tanner MS. 60, f. 43, Culpeper, Bristol, to Goring, 1 April 1645.

71. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 24, f. 113, Goring, Bruton, to Culpeper, 1 April 1645.

72. BL Sloan MS. 1519, f. 82, Hyde, Bristol, to Prince Rupert, 2 April 1645.

73. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 24, f. 117, Culpeper, Bristol, to Goring, 2 April 1645.

74. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 24, ff. 119-120, Goring, Bruton, to Culpeper, 3 April 1645.

75. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 24, f. 121, Goring, Bruton, to Culpeper, 3 April 1645.

76. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 24, f. 123, Culpeper, Bristol, to Goring, 4 April 1645 (draft); the final form of the letter appears in Bodl. Tanner MS. 60, f. 58.

77. Quoted in Adair, *Waller*, 230-31; Gardiner, *Great Civil War*, 2:183-84.

78. Adair, *Waller*, 231.

79. Ibid.; Clarendon, *History*, 4:15-16.

80. Bodl. Tanner MS. 60, f. 63, Culpeper to Goring, 6 April 1645, Easter Day; Clarendon, *History*, 4:16.

81. Bodl. Tanner MS. 60, f. 63; Bodl. Clarendon MS. 24, f. 125, Thomas Wentworth, Glastonbury, to Goring, 9 April 1645; Clarendon, *History*, 4:16; Hutton, *Charles II*, 9.

82. Clarendon, *History*, 4:16-17.

83. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 24, f. 127, Goring, Wells, to Culpeper, 11 April 1645.

84. Ibid., ff. 127-128.

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85. Ibid., f. 132, Hyde, Bristol, to Goring, 12 April 1645.

86. Clarendon, *History*, 4:17. Clarendon repeated his major arguments in his later retelling of these events, but he reproduced neither Goring's letter nor his own reply.

87. Bulstrode, *Memoirs*, 149.

88. BL Sloan MS. 1519, f. 54, Goring, Wells, to Rupert, 12 April [1645].

89. Clarendon, *History*, 4:17; Hutton, *Charles II*, 9.

90. Quoted in Adair, *Waller*, 231-32; also, Bulstrode, *Memoirs*, 120. Apparently Waller did not either know or care that he was using a politically incorrect title by addressing Goring as "lord." Waller had been the Parliamentary commander who accepted Goring's surrender of Portsmouth in September 1642; see Chapter 7.

91. Bulstrode, *Memoirs*, 121-22.

92. *HMC*, Vol. I, Rpt. 1, App., House of Lords, 6, King Charles, Oxford, to the Queen, 3 April 1645.

93. Rushworth, *Collections*, IV, 1:13-16; Gentles, *New Model Army* 28.

94. *Mercurius Aulicus*, 20-27 April 1645, 100; Adair, *Waller*, 232-33.

95. Quoted in Adair, *Waller*, 233.

96. Rushworth, *Collections*, IV, 1:16-17; Gentles, *New Model Army*, 32-33; Kenyon, *Civil Wars*, 124-26,132-33.

97. Rushworth, *Collections*, IV, 1:23-24; *HMC*, Vol. 5, 6th Rpt., Pt. II, App., 56, Cromwell to the Committee of Both Kingdoms, 28 April 1645; Fraser, *Cromwell*, 147-48; Kenyon, *Civil Wars*, 133; Burne and Young, *Great Civil War*, 195-96; Lewes, E. Sussex R. O., Danny Archives, f. 54, Sir Edward Nicholas, for King Charles, Oxford, to Sir William Campion, 10 April 1645, in which Campion was ordered to bring in "three score good draught horses for our Train of Artillery," to be taken from "the Rebels' quarters in Buckinghamshire." The royalists were apparently hoping to supply themselves with horses by raiding the near-by enemy quarters.

98. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 26, f. 136, Rupert Diary; and Clarendon MS. 24, f. 134, Digby, for King Charles, Oxford, to Goring, 28 April 1645; Burne and Young, *Great Civil War*, 194-95.

99. Clarendon, *History*, 4:19.

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100. *Ibid.*, 4:20-22; Bodl. Clarendon MS. 24, f. 134, Digby, for King Charles, Oxford, to Goring, 28 April 1645.

101. *HMC*, Vol. 5, 6th Rpt., Part II, App., 56, Cromwell to Committee of Both Kingdoms, 28 April 1645.

102. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 24, f. 130, Goring to Culpeper, [28 or 29 April 1645].

103. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 24, f. 136, Goring, Wells, to the Earl of Berkshire, 30 April 1645.

104. Ibid., ff. 136-37.

105. Fairfax, "Short Memorials," in Firth, *Stuart Tracts*, 355.

106. Rushworth, *Collections*, IV, 1:25.

107. *CSPD 1644-45*, 433-34, 445.

108. Rushworth, *Collections*, IV, 1:25.

109. According to Burne and Young, *Great Civil War*, 14, "a strength of 5,000 constituted a respectable army, 12,000 was an exceptional size. It is doubtful whether the King ever commanded as many as 20,000 at any one time."

110. Clarendon, *History*, 4:26.

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CHAPTER 12
GENERALISSIMO OF THE WEST, MAY-JUNE 1645

At the start of the spring campaign season for 1645, George Goring and his cavalry were heading east to come to King Charles's assistance. Goring's successful check on Cromwell's forces in the vicinity of Oxford would allow the king and his army to take the field. But then a decision had to be made: should the royalist forces remain together to track down Parliament's New Model Army, or should they divide, the king and Prince Rupert heading north while Goring and his men returned west? For reasons not entirely based on military considerations, the latter course of action would be chosen. The disastrous result would be the battle of Naseby in mid-June, at which the king would lose most of his main field army as well as any lingering chance of an advantageous settlement to the war.

Goring, in the meantime, would return to the west with even greater authority than he had held earlier in the year. But just as he was arriving to oversee the successful completion of the siege of Taunton, a relief force sent by Sir Thomas Fairfax would manage to raise the siege and bring desperately needed supplies to the defenders. Goring and the royalists would have to begin their efforts anew against this Puritan stronghold, so aptly described by historian Austin Woolrych as "a running sore in the royalist west."[1] This inability to take Taunton would keep Goring's forces tied down in June, so that he could not come to King Charles's assistance prior to Naseby. After the king's defeat, Goring would soon realize that the relief of Taunton was to become Fairfax's next priority.

Yet even while these dramatic military shifts were occurring in the field, the western royalists--to include Goring, the other commanders, and the Prince's

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Council--would continue and even escalate their internal struggles over authority and precedence. Not even the very real threat of the total annihilation of their cause could stop their quarrels. At the same time, Sir Thomas Fairfax, having proven his worth at Naseby, would receive approval from London to proceed as he thought best, thus winning for himself the type of authority in military matters that George Goring had been long struggling to attain.

The Royalist Council of War

Questions of precedence and authority were continuing to plague the royalist war effort in 1645 and were definitely not limited to George Goring's ongoing battle with Prince Charles's Council. At the end of April, as the new campaign season was just about to start, various disputes still remained to be settled within the royalist command structure. In the west, even after Goring's departure on 30 April, there persisted a simmering conflict between Sir Richard Grenvile and Sir John Berkeley which required the council's direct intervention. Three council members, Lords Capel and Culpeper and Sir Edward Hyde, after finishing their business in Bridgwater, had to go to Exeter to try to settle matters. There, the still recuperating Grenvile verbally attacked Berkeley's handling of the siege of Taunton, but Sir John had his own complaint that Sir Richard had been encouraging his men to desert the siege. Moreover, the two commanders held overlapping commissions in the west issued from Oxford (further complicated by the king's orders to Goring of 3 March, as discussed in the previous chapter). The resolution was that Grenvile, when recovered, would take over the siege of Taunton, where Berkeley would remain for the time being before returning to Devon and the renewal of the siege of Plymouth.[2]

Prince Rupert's increased military authority and ascendancy within the king's council--particularly with civilian counselors like Culpeper and Hyde no longer at court--was also the cause of growing friction within the royalist ranks. When Sir Henry Gage had been killed in the failed raid on Abingdon in January, Rupert had chosen his "chief

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favourite" in the army, Colonel William Legge, as the new governor of Oxford. Legge was a professional soldier who had been questioned in the Army Plot investigation of 1641, and he had campaigned with Rupert earlier in the war and had won the prince's respect and friendship. He was capable of fulfilling his new duties as governor, but he was seen as Rupert's creature by those who opposed the prince's power, and, among Rupert's opponents within the king's inner circle, Secretary Digby remained his foremost adversary.[3]

Moreover, Colonel Legge attempted to subordinate some of the other royalist garrison commanders to himself, undoubtedly with Rupert's concurrence. Sir William Campion, governor of Boarstall House, the royalists' lone outpost in Buckinghamshire, wrote to Rupert on 15 April to complain about this new arrangement whereby he would answer to the governor of Oxford instead of directly to Rupert. Campion argued that his predecessor had never been subjected to any other governor and Rupert himself had given him his commission. He continued: "[I]f this were done . . . your commission would be slighted . . . [and] you will never suffer my reputation to be taken from me."[4] In reality, a more hierarchical command structure would have been more efficient by reducing the number of individual garrison commanders vying for the commander-in-chief's attention. Campion, however, was not arguing based on military expediency; he was arguing for precedence and for his "reputation." The examples of men like Grenvile, Berkeley and Campion help place George Goring's own concerns for his honor, precedence and reputation within the context of the period. All these men were willing to--and actually did--risk their lives on a regular basis for the king's cause, but they considered any perceived insult or diminution of their honor or authority as unacceptable.

Parliament, by creating the New Model Army and passing the Self-Denying Ordinance, had taken an important step towards creating a new command structure based more on merit than considerations of birth or precedence. But any army obviously needs something beyond good leadership; it needs soldiers and, as previously discussed, by 1645 both sides were having difficulties in finding sufficient recruits to fill the infantry ranks. Thus, when Fairfax set out from Windsor on 30 April, he had only a total of 10,000-

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12,000 men with him. Not included in this number was Cromwell's cavalry, still encamped east of Oxford, although Cromwell's effort to take Faringdon Castle by storm on 29 April had failed. Fairfax and the New Model, on their way to relieve Taunton, marched via Reading and on 2 May arrived at Newbury where they camped for the night and where Cromwell came to confer with Fairfax.[5]

The two Parliamentary commanders knew that General Goring and his cavalry were coming to convoy the king from Oxford, and Fairfax's advanced horse patrols in their sweeps westward had just encountered and captured some of Goring's riders. These prisoners confirmed that Goring was planning an attack on the Parliamentary horse still encamped in the vicinity of Faringdon, intelligence which sent Cromwell rushing back to put his men into a state of readiness. But Goring and his men arrived sooner than expected, and there followed a series of skirmishes,[6] directed by two of the preeminent cavalry commanders of the war.

The fighting took place in the vicinity of Radcot Bridge, a crossing northwest of Faringdon on the Thames (or Isis as it is also called to the west of Oxford). Cromwell's initial patrol sent to reconnoiter across the river was repulsed by Goring's vanguard led by Lieutenant Colonel Adrian Scroop. Cromwell countered by sending out a larger party, led by Major Christopher Bethel, who, in turn, forced Scroop and the royalists back. Goring answered by advancing a force drawn from two regiments, including his own, to drive the Parliamentarians back again, while Lord Wentworth secured the bridge for the royalists. In the fighting, Bethel was captured along with two colors of horse. (The major would be exchanged and lead a crucial charge against Goring at Langport, to be described in the following chapter.) Once the royalists controlled the crossing, the Parliamentarians had to abandon the area around Faringdon. Oliver Cromwell had failed to check George Goring's advance.[7]

Goring did not further pursue this contest with Cromwell because his mission was to conduct the king's army safely from Oxford, and by pushing Cromwell back, he could achieve his objective without risking a major engagement Moreover, the king had called on his two nephews to come to him when he had found himself unable to take the field.

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So on 3 May, the same day Goring was in possession of Faringdon, about ten miles directly to the north at Burford, Rupert and Maurice arrived with 2,000 men. The princes themselves joined their uncle at Oxford on 4 May, and on the following day, George Goring also attended the king. News of his recent victory preceded him "and gave him great reputation, and made him exceedingly welcome. And it was indeed a very seasonable action, to discountenance and break such a party in the infancy of their new model."[8]

George Goring had been away from king and court for four months, a time in which he had compiled a mixed record. There had been his short-lived campaign into the southeast and his defeat at Weymouth. On the positive side, he had managed to outlast Waller in the west, but he now repeated his claim, while at court, that he could have defeated Waller in the field and prevented Cromwell from returning east to patrol the environs of Oxford but for the intervention of the Prince's Council. By ordering his infantry to Taunton, the council had ruined his chances of pursuit. He also claimed that the council had treated him with disrespect whenever he had come to Bristol, "being not called into the council, but put to an attendance without, amongst inferior suitors."[9] Clearly Goring was exaggerating his treatment by the council, as Hyde would counterclaim; the council, as represented by Lord Culpeper, had been very careful at least to observe all outward forms of deference when dealing with George. But Goring now had the king's ear; he arrived at Oxford flushed with victory (even if a minor one); and he had the backing of Lord Digby within the king's council.[10] There still remained the question of what role he would play in the upcoming campaign season.

Before that decision could be taken, the king and his army had to leave Oxford, which was accomplished on 7 May, Charles riding out accompanied by Rupert and Maurice. That night, while the king rested at Woodstock, northwest of Oxford, Goring's cavalry encountered some of Cromwell's men in the vicinity of Burford. In the ensuing skirmish, not only was the Parliamentarian advance thwarted but Goring's men took forty prisoners, including two colonels. This new action helped to further enhance Goring's reputation at this critical juncture. As Secretary of War Sir Edward Walker noted: "This

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was a good presage, but the resolutions of the next day were such as laid the foundation of our future ruin."[11]

Walker was referring to the council of war, called by the king at Stow-on-the-Wold, the rendezvous point for the royalist forces which numbered somewhat over 5,000 foot and 6,000 horse, including Goring's cavalry. The original plan for the coming campaign had been put forward by Rupert over the winter: the king's army would march north to relieve the royalist outposts at Chester and Pontefract, and then try to regain Lancashire, Yorkshire and the north of England. But on 8 May, when a definite decision had to be made, the picture was somewhat altered. The New Model Army was in the field, moving towards Taunton, as far as the royalists knew. The siege of Taunton was almost completed, but if Fairfax did manage to drive off the besiegers before their task was accomplished, it would give Parliament's untried army an immense morale boost or "reputation." On the other hand, if the king kept all his forces together and followed the New Model into the west, there was a good chance that the royalists would be able to force a battle which they could win. Besides, it was estimated that the besieged northern royalist garrisons could hold out for several more weeks.[12]

According to Secretary Walker, the majority of the council favored the new strategy of pursuing the New Model in order to destroy it. The major objection, however, was raised by Prince Rupert, supported only by Sir Marmaduke Langdale and his northern horse (Goring's former command). Walker believed that Rupert's primary motivation in going north was to avenge his loss at Marston Moor. He continued:

> Besides, in probability he [Rupert] was jealous of having a rival in command, and so feared Goring who had the master wit, and had by his late actions gotten much reputation; and therefore was the more willing that General Goring should return to the West, and take with him the horse under his command, which were the best horse of the army.

The king decided on this compromise of splitting his forces: he himself would march north with Rupert, while General Goring and his cavalry would return to the west.[13]

Goring and Digby had championed the idea of pursuing the New Model west. After all, the king had been successful in following a similar strategy the year before when

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he had pursued Essex into Cornwall. But once the king had decided to make his main thrust north, had Goring been just as happy to return west on his own rather than join with the king and Rupert? Sir Edward Hyde, who was not at this council of war (unlike Walker), was obviously receiving information from correspondents at court, and his interpretation was somewhat different. Hyde claimed that Rupert and Goring, despite "their very contrary affections towards each other," on this occasion found that they both wanted the same outcome, to campaign independently from one another. Therefore, they decided to work together "to one and the same end."[14] Hyde's reasons for Rupert's position echo Sir Edward Walker's (and Walker could have been one of Hyde's informants):

> The prince [Rupert] found that Goring, as a man of a ready wit and an excellent speaker, was like to have most credit with the King in all debates, and was jealous, that by his [Goring's] friendship with the lord Digby, he would quickly get such an interest with his majesty that his [Rupert's] credit would be much eclipsed. Hereupon, he did no less desire that Goring should return again into the west than Goring did not to remain where he [Rupert] commanded.

From this new-found "great confidence and friendship," the king's two senior commanders both achieved their objectives (and also reportedly swapped stories about what had been said by certain other courtiers and councilors, particularly those on the Prince's Council, behind one another's back).[15]

Goring, in his own letters written on the eve of his departure for Oxford, clearly had indicated that he expected to return to the west once he had safely convoyed the king's army into the field. If the royalists had come west in force, his voice certainly would have had great weight in council because he had been campaigning in the area since February. But when the king seemed determined to continue with Rupert's northern campaign, Hyde was probably correct to believe that Goring preferred to return west on his own, especially since he would be given even greater authority. So on 9 May, the very day following the council of war, "General Goring marched into the west with 3,000 horse," while the king moved northwest to Evesham.[16]

George Goring came away with more than just 3,000 of "the best horse in the

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army." He came away with increased authority. On 10 May the king wrote to the Prince's Council at Bristol ordering that Goring should be admitted to all decisions of the council as if he were a member. While the king granted that the council might advise Goring, in no way were its opinions binding on the general, who also had been given the authority to commission officers by Prince Rupert. Moreover, George Goring was to be commander-in-chief of the western forces, or as his adjutant, Sir Richard Bulstrode, would call him, "Generalissimo" of the west,[17] although this additional information would not be sent to the council until after Goring returned. Thus, George Goring had won the latest round of skirmishing with the Prince's Council, but beyond personal vindication, his absolute authority made military sense if the royalists hoped to achieve any lasting success in the field.

Writing with hindsight, both Sir Edward Walker and Sir Edward Hyde would see the king's decision on 8 May as contributing to the demise of the royalist cause. Walker believed that with this decision, the royalists lost the opportunity "in all probability of restoring the King," while Hyde thought that if the royalist forces had been kept together "it is very probable that the summer might have been crowned with better success."[18] Had Prince Rupert and George Goring let their personal considerations so dominate their choice of action that they had paid little heed to the developing military situation? In fact, the decision to split the royalist forces might have met with better success, if only the siege of Taunton had gone according to plan.

The Relief of Taunton

While the royalists were working out their strategy in early May, the Committee of Both Kingdoms in London was sending orders to Sir Thomas Fairfax in the field, an arrangement which would eventually prove to be less than satisfactory. By a cumbersome process, the Committee had to gather and evaluate incoming intelligence, decide on a course of action--and now among its members were the two recently "retired" commanders, the Earls of Essex and Manchester, neither of whom was known for

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boldness of action--and then obtain the approval of both Houses of Parliament before orders could be issued. The Committee had dispatched Sir Thomas and the men then available for the New Model to the relief of Taunton, but reports of the gathering of the royalists' forces around Oxford caused the Committee to reconsider its strategy. Fairfax had reached Salisbury on 5 May when a messenger arrived from London to tell him to halt his march while the Committee was awaiting updated intelligence. Despite this warning, Sir Thomas continued westward and arrived at Blandford in Dorset on 7 May.[19]

The Committee, in the meantime, had learned that Cromwell had been unable to stop Goring's advance and that Rupert and Maurice with their forces had joined the king. Therefore, on 6 May, the Committee ordered Fairfax to dispatch a relief force of some 4,500 men west, while he and the rest of the New Model returned to the vicinity of Oxford to try to keep the royalists in check. This recall reached Fairfax on the 7th. On the following day he prepared to send a relief party to Taunton of about 4,000 men, to be augmented from the local Parliamentary garrisons, and with the rest of the New Model he would return east. But to try to deceive the royalists into thinking that his entire army was still on its way to Taunton, he first continued his march west, dispatched the relief brigade, and then suddenly veered off east. Fairfax avoided the main roads and instead returned through the fields, particularly because he was not strong in cavalry and he wanted to avoid Goring's horse if they were in the vicinity. On 9 May he camped at Ringwood, just beyond the Dorset border in southern Hampshire.[20]

While the main body of the New Model thus spent the first two weeks of May in a rather futile exercise of marching back and forth across southern England, the relief brigade would fare much better, despite the fact that the royalists finally appeared to be on the brink of taking Taunton. The siege at this time was being commanded by General Hopton and Sir John Berkeley who had about 6,000 troops at their disposal, to include Goring's 1,200 foot; an additional 3,000 foot from Cornwall, Devon and Somerset; and 2,000 horse provided by Berkeley and Sir Lewis Dyve. But even with these numbers, the New Model was still twice as large, and, on the morning of 8 May, news reached the royalist camp of Fairfax's arrival at Blandford (but not of his retreat east). No besieging

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army wanted to be caught between the defenders under siege and a relief column, so the royalists decided to send their heavy artillery north to their garrison at Bridgwater in case they had to retreat in the face of the New Model's approach. They also had no word as yet when (or if) George Goring and his cavalry were returning.[21] (This was the same day the king's council of war was meeting at Stow.)

Hopton and Berkeley, in one last attempt to take the town, launched an assault that evening at 7 p.m. With few losses, the royalists took the outer defenses, but once inside the town walls they encountered a series of barricades and entrenchments. In the ensuing street to street fighting through the eastern part of town, the attackers set fire to the houses in an attempt to drive the defenders back, but this tactic met with limited success because the prevailing winds that night prevented the fires from spreading. On the following morning, at 11 a.m., the royalists did learn that Fairfax had turned back, intelligence reported by Sir Lewis Dyve at Sherborne; however, they received no report on the relief brigade's movement west. Encouraged by the apparent retreat of the entire New Model, the royalists renewed their assault and managed to burn about one third of the town. By 6 p.m., Colonel Blake and his defending forces had been pushed back to the castle, church and marketplace, but the Parliamentarians still refused to surrender. Lords Capel and Culpeper arrived that evening, and in council with Hopton and Berkeley, the decision was made to bring back the three pieces of heavy artillery from Bridgwater to try to finally "drive these perverse men from all their holds."[22]

General Goring, at the same time, knew of Fairfax's march west to Blandford, and was concerned about the threat this posed to the besieging forces. He and his cavalry were moving in a southwesterly direction from Stow, and on the 9th, they arrived at Tetbury in southern Gloucestershire. They continued their march the next day via Marshfield, east of Bristol, which meant that Goring was still over fifty miles away from Taunton on 10 May. The Committee of Both Kingdoms, in turn, was aware of Goring's return west, and on the 10th sent out warnings to Fairfax and various other commanders, including the Earl of Leven, the Scottish commander in the north, about the king's movement north and Goring's march west. The Committee particularly wanted to warn

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Colonel Weldon, head of the relief brigade, to keep a watch out for the returning royalist cavalry.[23]

But Weldon had kept well to the south of Taunton and, after parting with Fairfax, had marched due west via Chard before turning north. On Sunday, 11 May, the relief force approached to within four miles of Taunton before the besiegers realized that it was the enemy--and not a force sent by General Goring--approaching. Goring's cavalry was in fact en route to Wells and still over twenty miles away from Taunton. Apparently, the royalists at the siege knew that their cavalry was returning, but they did not know exactly when these reinforcements would arrive. (Later that same day, 11 May, Culpeper--not yet aware of what had transpired at Taunton--would write to Goring, asking him to let Sir John Berkeley know of his advance.) The unexpected approach of the enemy led the besiegers to assume that Fairfax had doubled back to take them by surprise, and thus believing that the entire New Model was about to fall on them, the royalists hastily retreated, some fleeing north to Bridgwater, others south towards Exeter. And so, without a fight, Colonel Weldon relieved the badly battered and burnt town of Taunton, just at the moment when the royalists had thought that victory would be theirs.[24] As Sir John Digby reported to his kinsman, Secretary Digby, the town would have been taken in another day, "yet it was our ill luck to draw off upon the approach of an inconsiderable part of Fairfax's army. . . ."[25]

On 12 May, the Parliamentarians entered Taunton and were greeted by the "sad spectacle of a flourishing town almost ruined by fire and the extremities of war, and the people nigh famished for want of food."[26] The Committee of Both Kingdoms, upon learning of this success, would send thanks to Fairfax for launching the relief effort "whereby those poor people designed for slaughter by their cruel enemies are delivered." Moreover, the Committee predicted that this blow to the royalists would hurt their recruiting efforts throughout the region, give heart to the supporters of Parliament, and mark the beginning of the end of royalist supremacy in the west.[27] Generally, such prognostications proved to be overly optimistic; in this instance, they were understated, for the continued presence of the Parliamentary garrison at Taunton would soon change

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the course of the war.

"The most fantastical accident . . . since the war began"

Lord Culpeper, upon his return to Bristol from his tour of both the siege site at Taunton and the royalist garrison at Bridgwater, wrote King Charles late on the night of 11 May. The news of the day's events had not yet reached him, for he was still predicting a quick and successful conclusion to the siege. He also reported that about 4,800 infantry recruits from Devon and Cornwall were gathered at Bridgwater, although Somerset had yet to produce its allocation of 2,400 men. He estimated that the western army would number about 9,000 foot and 5,000 horse, including Goring's calvary, and with this number, they could stand against Fairfax if he returned to the west. Culpeper then asked who would be in command of this army, (for the orders placing George Goring in charge had not yet been sent). He only asked that Sir Richard Grenvile and Sir John Berkeley be kept apart in whatever new command structure was to be drawn up. He concluded by reporting that Goring was back and that "his army is in very good heart, and himself extremely desirous to be in action again."[28]

George Goring, while his troops were advancing beyond Wells to Glastonbury, arrived at Bristol, where on 12 May he sent Rupert a brief update which did not include the most recent events at Taunton of which he apparently was still unaware. He said he would write again after talking to Prince Charles's councilors, "having yet entered into no consultation with them." But he believed his foot would shortly be returning from the (successful) siege, and with the additional cavalry available, he would patrol towards the Wiltshire border, "and as occasion offers itself either attempt upon Fairfax or stand upon the defensive if Cromwell be joined with him. And if they should follow your Highness in the rear, we shall be ready without any other orders to attend them. . . ." Rupert just had to command, George continued, "and I will hazard 8,000 lives rather than leave anything undone . . . being joyed at nothing in this world more than in the assurance of your favour and that it will not be in the power of the Devil to lessen your goodness to me nor to alter

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the quality I have of my being your most humble, most obedient servant. . . ."[29] The tone of this letter supports Hyde's interpretation that Goring and Rupert had, despite their past differences, reached an understanding, whereby each would go his own way, thus avoiding any conflict over command. George, now separated from the prince and secure with his own army in the west, could again pay lip-service to the formalities of being Rupert's "most humble servant."

Soon after this letter was dispatched, Goring's troops, arriving at Glastonbury, encountered some of the forces in retreat from Taunton, and so George Goring became aware that he was facing an entirely different situation than he had foreseen. The information he received put the relief force at 1,500 horse and 1,800 foot, which would lead him to question why his fellow royalists had withdrawn before this inferior number. But more than allocating any blame, General Goring had to devise a new plan of action, particularly as he was now formally in charge of the western forces. Secretary Digby informed Lord Culpeper of this fact on 14 May: "General Goring shall command in chief." Sir Richard Grenvile was to be major general of the western army, while Sir John Berkeley, as colonel general of Devon and Cornwall, was to take up the siege of Plymouth. There were no other changes for the cavalry commanders, and Lord Hopton remained general of the artillery. The Prince of Wales was not to be with the army but was to stay in a safe garrison, and the council was ordered to support the army.[30]

Apparently this blow to the Prince's Council was of as much concern to its members as the relief of Taunton. According to Sir Edward Hyde: "The Prince [of Wales] and council were much amazed at these counsels and resolutions . . . and therefore they thought it fit to conceal them. . . ." Hyde claimed that those raising forces for the royalists would only do so if the commission came from Prince Charles himself and not from anyone else; therefore, while the councilors wrote to the king to question this new order, they tried to keep the news quiet, but "the lord Goring took as much care to publish it, and from that time expressed all possible contempt, at least, of the council attending the Prince."[31] Goring's newly acquired authority, far from settling matters, had only initiated a new chapter in the internecine struggles in the west.

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Added to the western royalists' concerns at this time was the spread of plague, possibly exacerbated by the removal of the sick and wounded from the siege site to various other royalist towns and garrisons in the west. By mid-May, Culpeper, at Bristol, reported to court that because "the sickness increases fearfully in this city," the Prince of Wales was to be moved to Bath. General Goring, in the meantime, had departed Bristol and joined the soldiers withdrawn from the siege who were encamped at Somerton, about fifteen miles east of Taunton and only a few miles from the royalist garrison at Langport. His immediate plans did not include the renewal of the siege of Taunton. Part of the Parliamentary relief force had remained within the town, while the rest were already trying to make their way back east. Goring only wanted a sufficient number of horse assigned, under Berkeley's command, to keep the Parliamentarians blocked up at Taunton for the time being to prevent them from making forays into the surrounding royalist-controlled countryside of Somerset and Devon.[32]

Goring wrote Culpeper from Somerton on 15 May. Among his concerns was the ongoing recruiting of new levies. With his newly acquired powers, he was ready to intervene and show the commissioners "the way to raise these men." He would lend some of his cavalry to assist and send officers to take charge of the recruiting (all of which was a rebuff to the council's attempt to not make public Goring's new authority). As for the forces with him, he estimated he had some 7-8,000 horse and foot: "I make no question but they are enough to deal with Fairfax if Cromwell do not join with him." His number did not include the troops still with Sir John Berkeley nor did he have figures at yet for the royalist garrisons in Somerset at Bridgwater, Langport, Burrow and Ilchester. He also had intelligence that the Parliamentary relief party which had departed Taunton was south of his position, in the vicinity of Martock and Petherton. He intended to follow up this information, and if he did find the enemy, he would attack. If the intelligence proved to be false, he planned on returning to Glastonbury to give his men two or three days of rest. He added that he greatly needed ammunition, and he concluded by asking Culpeper to keep him updated.[33]

George Goring thought he soon might have to face the New Model Army. The

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enemy had already outsmarted and outmaneuvered the western royalists with their relief of Taunton, and now the question was which way would Fairfax next march--back to the west to deal with Goring or north, after the king and Rupert? In fact, the Committee of Both Kingdoms, before receiving news of the success at Taunton, had considered halting Fairfax's return march because they believed Goring and his cavalry posed a serious threat to their relief column. But Fairfax had marched back east so rapidly that he had missed the dispatch from London ordering him to halt at Romsey in Hampshire; instead, on 14 May, he and the New Model arrived at Newbury where they were given three days' rest, having just completed a "hot" and "tiring" march, as Fairfax himself described it. The king and his army, in the meantime, were keeping to their plan of campaigning north, first aiming to raise the siege of Chester. They were on their way through Worcestershire, having had some minor successes along their route of march. Even better news was coming to the king from Scotland, where Montrose was continuing to have victories against the Covenanters. This growing threat within Scotland would keep the Earl of Leven and his Scottish army close to the northern border and away from the king's forces.[34]

So in mid-May, while the New Model rested at Newbury and its next moves were still unknown to the royalists, George Goring, finding that his intelligence had been correct, decided to deal with the retreating Parliamentary relief column he and his men were now tracking. Within a day of his request for more ammunition, Lord Culpeper replied that a supply would be sent him from Exeter and that the council "wholly refer" to George's judgment on his plans to leave Taunton blocked up while he pursued the Parliamentarians in the field. On 17 May Goring and his army followed the enemy to the vicinity of Martock. But the 2,500 men from Taunton had been joined by reinforcements from Lyme and the other coastal garrisons, so that the Parliamentarians in the field, commanded by Colonel Graves, numbered about 3,000 foot and 2,000 horse. General Goring had 2,700 foot and 5,000 horse with him for the pursuit.[35]

The Parliamentarians, caught on the west bank of the River Parrett, had fortified the passes across the river to slow down the pursuing royalists. On Sunday, 18 May,

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Goring's army halted while they awaited their supplies of ammunition and match, which arrived the next day, thus enabling them to renew their march. That night, 19 May, Goring advanced his entire army towards the bridge at Petherton which he planned to take in the morning. The enemy troops were holding the bridge and encamped on the other side. In the hope of cutting off their retreat in the coming action, that same night Goring dispatched Sir William Courtney with 1,000 horse and dragoons to ford the river four miles south at Merriott so that they could circle to the enemy's rear.[36] George, quartered overnight at Ash, just east of Martock, sent out several dispatches, one to Culpeper and three to Rupert. In this correspondence, Goring explained his situation and the difficulties in tracking the enemy across the river, particularly when he did not have an advantage in infantry. But he believed he could keep the Parliamentary forces from returning east and that he might soon have an opportunity to attack them. In writing to Rupert, George reassured the prince of his continuing devotion. He continued: "I am very fearful lest Fairfax and Cromwell may disturb your Highness before we can dispatch these people . . . which shall quicken all our attempts here. . . ."[37]

But that same night, under cover of darkness, the main body of the Parliamentarians retreated further west, so that on the morning of 20 May, when the royalists approached the crossing at Petherton, they only encountered a party of enemy musketeers in the process of pulling down the bridge. While the retreating Parliamentary forces at this moment had no hope of returning east, they did have their garrisons at Taunton and Lyme behind them where they could shelter. Goring's main objective was now to try to prevent these troops from reaching these safe havens. While his men worked to put Petherton Bridge back up, a make-shift crossing was made of planks which allowed the dispatch of a forty-man patrol to track the direction of the fleeing enemy. Once the bridge was reconstructed, Goring, accompanied by Lord Wentworth, crossed first, accompanied by George's own cavalry brigade which consisted of four regiments. He ordered the Irish foot regiments to come next, followed by the rest of the army.[38]

The enemy's track led Goring and his brigade west towards Ilminster. But the general received intelligence that two troops of the Parliamentarians were in a pass to the

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left, so he sent his brother-in-law, George Porter, with one of his regiments to pursue these forces, while he, with his remaining three regiments, continued after the main body of the enemy. As Goring approached Ilminster, he had his own scouting patrol turned back on him by the Parliamentary rearguard. Fearing that he might be encircled by enemy horse, he ordered the hindmost of his three regiments to turn and stand against any possible attack. He also believed that his Irish infantrymen were only about one half mile back, closely followed by the rest of the army.[39]

Continuing forward with just two regiments now, Goring came upon the rear of the enemy army which consisted of 600 horse gathered in the town common and 300 foot placed in the surrounding hedges and passes. He charged and engaged the Parliamentarians, believing that he soon would have infantry support. But the rest of his army never arrived, for about one mile out of Ilminster, some of his officers, "whether it were by treachery, fear or mistake," turned the army south towards Crewkerne reportedly in the belief that the major part of the Parliamentary forces lay in that direction. Goring and his horse were left on their own to chase down the fleeing enemy cavalry through narrow, winding lanes where enemy musket fire greatly impeded the pursuit. Without any foot of their own to mount a counterattack, Goring's riders were unable to stop the fleeing Parliamentarians. While the royalists did take some prisoners and arms, as George later reported to Rupert, "[T]his is nothing in respect of what might have been done to them without this gross mistake, though I hope in God they are far from being safe."[40]

That most of the Parliamentarians were able to ultimately reach safety at Taunton and Lyme was not the only blow to the royalists that day. When most of Goring's men headed off south, they did come upon a large body of cavalry who they assumed to be the enemy and so attacked. Only after more than an hour of hard fighting did they realize that they had engaged Sir William Courtney and the party Goring had dispatched the night before. The royalists thus managed to inflict their heaviest casualties on themselves that day, in an action which Goring labeled, "the most fantastical accident that has happened since the war began."[41]

Was this just an unfortunate "accident" or an episode which could have been

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avoided if there had been better communication amongst the royalists? Sir Edward Hyde blamed Goring's generalship for the day's failures. Although he did grant that Goring had done a good job of tracking down the Parliamentarians in the field, he continued: "But by the extreme ill disposing his parties, and for want of particular orders (of which many men spoke with great license) his two parties . . . the one commanded by colonel Thornhill, the other by sir William Courtney, (both diligent and sober officers) fell foul on each another. . . ."[42] General Goring had sent out his various parties on the 19th and 20th to try to cut off the enemy in response to a rapidly changing situation, so that the charge he had "ill disposed' his forces seemed unfounded. But could he have communicated his intentions better, particularly about the dispatch of Sir William Courtney's party? Goring, in his explanation to Rupert, seemed to be defending himself from just such complaints which he may have heard from his own officers. He told the prince that he had informed all his general officers about Courtney's party and "I told everybody of it which came near me. . . ."[43] Did that mean that the unfortunate Colonel Thornhill, severely wounded in the action, had not been near enough to his general to have heard this important information?

Furthermore, in his report to Culpeper from Chard that night, Goring had to admit that the day's events constituted "a most unhappy conclusion to our design." He was hopeful that Berkeley or Grenvile might join him in further pursuit of the enemy, and he ended: "I hope this changing of quarters in the rebels will be but like the desire of dying men to change their beds."[44] Culpeper, now sheltering with the rest of the Prince's Council at Bath, relayed Goring's letter to Secretary Digby with the observation: "Upon the whole matter I believe Goring has sufficiently scared the rebels, but not destroyed them."[45]

While Goring had been trying to entrap the Parliamentary field forces, the council had received news from an informant who had seen the strength of the New Model resting at Newbury in preparation to taking the field again. The royalists still believed that Fairfax would soon be sent either north after the king or back west to deal with Goring. But the Committee of Both Kingdoms, as approved by Parliament, decided on a different strategy. Sir Thomas Fairfax was ordered to send a column of 2,500 men north to aid the Scots if

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they encountered the king, and with the rest of the New Model he was to besiege the royalist seat of government at Oxford. As Sir Edward Walker, accompanying the king, recorded: "This staggered our design."[46]

Why had Parliament and the Committee decided on this action? Of course, Oxford had great symbolic significance to the royalists. With King Charles away on campaign, a commission, nominally under his second son, James, Duke of York, was responsible for running the day-to-day affairs of the city and the surrounding counties and garrisons. But the city had a capable military governor in Will Legge, strong fortifications, and sufficient troops to withstand a siege. Did Parliament really believe Oxford could be taken quickly, before a relief force might come to its assistance? Fairfax himself was concerned that he had two royalists armies to his back, as he joined with Cromwell and Browne about three miles outside the town on 22 May to begin the operation. That same day, Secretary Nicolas at Oxford rushed the news to Rupert, estimating that the besieging forces numbered about 7,000 men.[47]

While Fairfax and the military men--especially Leven and the Scots who, in the meantime, were left to face the king's army, a task they would refuse to undertake--might question this course of action, Parliament had based its decision in part on secret intelligence brought to London by the turncoat William Viscount Savile. Although he had started the war ostensibly as a royalist, his conduct was such that Newcastle had temporarily imprisoned him, and more recently he had been confined at Oxford for his apparent pro-Parliamentary leanings. But the royalists offered Savile his freedom if he would leave England (just as Wilmot had been allowed to go to France). Agreeing to these terms, Savile instead went to London and declared himself openly for Parliament.[48]

Once reinstated in the House of Lords, Savile contacted Viscount Say and Sele, a leading peer who had long supported Parliament's cause against the king. Savile told him of the growing dissension within the royalist ranks, much of it aimed against Digby, particulary after the Treaty of Uxbridge negotiations had broken down earlier that year, a story which certainly had elements of truth in it. But Savile continued his tale by repeating information purportedly passed on to him by the Earl of Newport, George Goring's close

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friend:

> [T]hat Colonel Goring being infinitely incensed against the Lord Digby and others, for the disgrace put upon his father in France, would come over to the Parliament, and bring over those horse he commanded with him, upon condition that he and his father might be well received; he expected not to be employed [in Parliament's army], but only with favour to enjoy their liberties and estates; and withal, when this was done, Colonel Legge should deliver up Oxford to Parliament, both being agreed upon between them.[49]

Savile had more intelligence to offer to prove his devotion to Parliament's cause and to silence those who thought that he might be double-dealing. Secretary Digby had claimed to have an informant in Parliament. Savile, by secret correspondence with an unnamed source at Oxford, soon produced the name of Denzil Holles, the leader of the Presbyterian party within the Commons, as the traitor. If this were true, it would mean the royalists knew all the innermost counsels of Parliament, but, as Say and Sele observed, by making false accusations, "it would be in their power to ruin any man here at their pleasure."[50] Despite these misgivings about the information being produced by Viscount Savile, Say and Sele, an influential member of the Committee of Both Kingdoms, got the Committee and Parliament to endorse the siege of Oxford with the belief that the governor, Colonel Legge, would be ready to surrender and that the King's cavalry commander, General Goring, was about to change sides (once again). Of course, neither of these plots came to pass, and Lord Savile could only reply that there had been such a "design" which had "unhappily miscarried." Nor, despite further questioning, would he name the source who had accused Denzil Holles of being a traitor, so that this accusation had to be treated as false.[51]

Despite Parliament's probe into this whole episode, there seems to have been no definitive conclusion about the source(s) of all this misinformation. It seems unlikely that the royalists had fed "disinformation" to Savile about Oxford in the hope that he would pass it on to the Committee of Both Kingdoms and Parliament, for the king would not have set up his capital and his son as a target for the New Model Army. Also, as indicated by Secretary of War Walker, the royalists were taken by surprise by the move against Oxford and would have to rethink their own campaign strategy in response to it. On the

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other hand, the naming of Holles as a traitor, which occurred through correspondence Savile supposedly had with Oxford after his defection, could have been planted by the royalists.

It also seems unlikely that Savile had concocted these stories entirely on his own just to win favor with Parliament since he would have to explain why everything he had reported proved to be false. The most plausible explanation is that something he had heard at Oxford prompted his allegations. Could Newport himself, without official sanction, have fed Savile these stories? In jest? Or, more maliciously, to get Savile in trouble if he did defect to Parliament? Of course, an alternate explanation is that there was some element of truth in Savile's report. Of the three men mentioned ready to betray the royalist cause, Will Legge and the senior Goring were the least likely candidates to play the role of traitor. Legge was and would continue to be devoted to Rupert's service just as the Earl of Norwich was and would remain an unrepentant royalist. Which leaves George Goring, the one person named whose loyalty might be in question because of his past involvement in the Army Plot and his seeming last-minute choice of the royalist cause on the eve of the outbreak of war.[52]

As has been argued throughout this study, Goring had always been a supporter of the monarchy who sometimes got caught up in his own intrigues to advance himself, so that at times he had had to feign support of Parliament. There is absolutely no evidence in anything Goring said or did in the spring of 1645 to indicate that he was contemplating changing sides. In fact, when he returned west in May with his new authority and commission, he had finally achieved what he had so long been struggling for, an independent command. For him to give this up to retire to the family estate in Sussex would be totally out of character. In addition, at this point his fellow royalists would give no credence to whatever rumors were coming from London. But at the end of 1645, when Goring was ready to depart England for France, Savile's allegations would come back to haunt him. Culpeper would ask George outright if he was really going abroad or if he was planning to defect with his cavalry to Parliament, as Savile had suggested. Goring would reply that he "never spoke two words to Savile" and that he "abhorred" the

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idea of defecting.[53]

So while Savile's tales caused Goring no immediate problems with his fellow royalists, the fact that the New Model Army was gathering in the vicinity of Oxford did force King Charles to reconsider his overall campaign strategy which resulted in the recall of George Goring and his forces back east.

The Renewed Siege of Taunton

In the second half of May, the royalists and their Parliamentary opponents were attempting to outmaneuver and second guess one another prior to any conclusive engagement. In this rather frenzied game of chess, both sides issued orders, countermanded them, and then decided on new strategies. Sir Thomas Fairfax and the New Model would spend these two weeks idle before Oxford, waiting for supplies and also waiting for the royalist defections which would never occur. Fairfax eventually had about 10,000 men with him at the siege; in addition, a column of 2,500 had been dispatched north to assist the Scots, while Colonel Weldon's relief force of 5,000 men remained in the west.[54]

At the same time, King Charles and Prince Rupert with their army were following their plan of proceeding north. On 17 May they had reached Market Drayton in Shropshire--about twenty-five miles south of Chester--when the forces besieging the royalists at Chester withdrew, which meant that the king had accomplished this relief, the first goal of his spring campaign, without having to engage the enemy. But the concentration of the New Model around Oxford forced the royalists to reconsider their overall strategy. Charles, primarily on the advice of Rupert, decided to remain in the midlands, but not to proceed farther north in case he and his men had to return south to Oxford's relief. The king also called Sir Charles Gerrard from south Wales and George Goring from Somerset to a rendezvous in Northamptonshire, for Charles now believed that he would need these additional forces if he had to face the New Model on the battlefield.[55]

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In letters to Goring and the members of the Prince's Council, Secretary Digby on 19 May issued the new orders: Goring was to immediately march east "with all the forces [which] could be spared;" Sir Ralph Hopton should take command of the remainder of the western army; and Prince Charles was to be kept safe at Dunster Castle, on the Somerset coast. For various reasons, none of these commands from the king would be obeyed. In the case of the Prince of Wales, the continuing presence of plague at various locations, including Dunster Castle, outweighed any order from his father in determining where he stayed.[56]

General Goring was still in the field pursuing the Parliamentary relief column when Digby's dispatches arrived. As detailed above, on 20 May he only managed to chase his opponents back into their western garrisons, so that this large number of Parliamentary troops in their midst would continue to pose a threat to the western royalists. On the other hand, Parliament never intended to have the relief force "coop'd up and besieged in the said town of Taunton, which so lately they had relieved from a former siege."[57] Colonel Robert Blake, so recently praised for his heroic defense of Taunton, was now chided by the Committee of Both Kingdoms because he was not out in the field, conducting joint operations with the relief force to hinder royalist recruiting. London warned that if the royalists renewed the siege, there would be little likelihood of a new relief effort coming to his rescue.[58]

While neither side was happy with this checkmate in the west, the royalist situation was further complicated by the ongoing internal dissensions. The Prince's Council viewed the king's latest orders recalling General Goring east with mixed emotions; here was a chance to get rid of George Goring and regain control of the western campaign, but if the general took most of the western army with him, the council and the remaining royalists would have to face the Parliamentary troops coming out of Taunton and the coastal garrisons. On 24 May, the members of the council, still at Bath, wrote directly to King Charles, explaining that they had awaited the outcome of Goring's pursuit of the Parliamentarians in the field before replying to Digby's letter of the 19th. "The Rebels, without any considerable loss," had retreated to Taunton and numbered about 3,500 foot

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and 2,000 horse. Therefore, they believed:

> that if the Lord Goring should presently march out of these parts with his Army, the towns of Langport, Ilchester and Bridgwater (being no ways provided for a siege) with the whole county of Somerset are like to be in the possession of the rebels within a few days. . . . This desertion will destroy the hopes of the new levies . . . [and] apparently hazard the safety of Bristol, Exeter, this town, and all other your Majesty's Ports and Garrisons of the West.[59]

The council members then offered the king an alternative. If George Goring only took the forces he had brought with him back east, then the remainder of the western army, augmented with new recruits, could defeat the enemy in the west. In the meantime, Prince Charles had ordered Goring "to respite his march from hence." However, if King Charles did need the whole western army, the Prince of Wales should accompany Goring on his march, for it would be unsafe for the prince to remain, "for these counties and all in them must certainly be lost."[60] That same day the council officially notified General Goring, that "after mature deliberation," they were advising him to suspend his march east until they received a reply to their proposal from the king.[61]

In fact, George Goring arrived back at Bath on the afternoon of 24 May. According to Culpeper, the general "fully concurs with us that if his orders [to march east] had been presently put into execution, the whole west had been lost."[62] But George apparently had no desire to adhere to the council's alternate plan of action either (that he return to the king taking only his cavalry with him). He instead wanted to renew the siege of Taunton, believing that he would soon successfully complete this task because the town and garrison were not provisioned to support the large number of troops trapped within. According to both Hyde and Bulstrode, Goring appeared very confident that he could quickly accomplish this goal.[63]

On 25 May, the council members wrote to Secretary Digby, advising him that they had already written to the king to explain "the true state of affairs in these parts," where the enemy was stronger than was realized at court. Again the councilors proposed that Goring should return to the king with only the 3,000 horse and 1,000 foot he had brought with him. The remaining forces would be sufficient to form an army, for which the king

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should name the principal commanders and restore the right to commission officers to the Prince of Wales. That Goring's authority to commission officers was still rankling the men of the Prince's Council became apparent, for they continued: "So if the commissions to colonels and upwards should be issued in the name of the Commander-in-Chief under the Prince and not in his Highness's name, the expectations of the western levies will much fail."[64] In other words, men would be less willing to receive commissions from George Goring, as authorized by Prince Rupert, but they would be most willing to rally to Prince Charles. What the council members left unsaid was that Prince Charles, just fifteen years old, was still under their influence, so that they themselves would be regaining the power to commission officers.[65]

The council members also used this letter to answer the charges that Goring had made against them while at court--that they had intervened in his military affairs. They wanted Digby to tell the king: "We never have advised his Highness [Prince Charles] to give any positive binding orders to the Commander-in-Chief of this army . . . and shall humbly desire that if any such thing may have been misrepresented to his Majesty we may have the liberty to free ourselves from that imputation."[66] Again, this was a somewhat disingenuous argument, because, as previously demonstrated, by often procrastinating in following up on Goring's requests, the council had managed to interfere in the conduct of the western campaign. But mutual recriminations were not just restricted to Goring and the council in their fight for supremacy in the west at this time. Sir Richard Grenvile, despite his new authority from the king, believed that the local commissioners in Cornwall and Devon were taking men and money designated for his command, which prompted his irate demand of Culpeper: "What is the certainty of my charge?"[67]

While the squabbling western royalists were slowly framing their replies and objections to the new orders from court, King Charles was proceeding across the Midlands. At Stone, in Staffordshire, the king wrote the queen on 23 May, telling her of his continuing march eastwards and how he was expecting to rendezvous with his forces from Newark, Wales and the west. He was awaiting news from Goring, "whom I have commanded to advance that way, with all speed. . . ." The Parliamentary forces would

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soon be in pursuit of him "or (as themselves usually call it) a king-catching, of which (according to comparative probability of former years) they are likely to have small comfort."[68]

Two days later, the royalist army had reached Uttoxeter and was preparing to march southeast to Ashby-de-la-Zouch, the rendezvous cite for General Gerrard (who also would be long-delayed in coming east) and the troops from Newark. As Secretary Digby wrote to Secretary Nicholas at Oxford, General Goring would then join the king in Northamptonshire. Digby was supremely confident that within one month all would be decided: "We shall have a battle of all for all." (Prophetic and ironic words.) He hoped Goring and his forces were approaching, for then "we shall infallibly crush them between us. For God's sake quicken his march all that is possible. . . ."[69] At Tutbury on 26 May Digby again wrote Nicholas, promising that the king and Prince Rupert would come to the rescue of Oxford if the situation became desperate, but, in the meantime, the defenders should try to hold out for at least six to eight weeks while matters were settled in the field. The king was on his way towards Leicester, a Parliamentary stronghold, but General Goring was being redirected to relieve Oxford.[70]

That same day, 26 May, George Digby wrote letters to both Culpeper and Goring. The latest news he had received from Culpeper was a letter dated 22 May,[71] so Digby had no idea as yet that the western royalists had unilaterally decided to disregard the king's orders of 19 May. In his letter to Goring, the secretary again urged George to make "all possible haste eastwards" with all the forces he could bring. But whereas the former orders had directed Goring to a rendezvous with the king's army on the border of Northamptonshire-Leicestershire, Prince Rupert now wanted him to approach the vicinity of Oxford via Newbury. Digby related how the king and Rupert planned to be at Leicester on the 29th. A decision would then be made depending on the latest news from Oxford whether or not the king would return south or proceed north. Digby ended by reiterating the need for George to march immediately and to keep in constant contact.[72]

The royalists, however, seemed to be having more difficulties in getting their dispatches through at this time, particularly to and from the various forces in the field.

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Nor could Secretary Nicholas at Oxford easily serve as a central relay point any longer. So while still believing that Goring was on his way east, the king, joined by 1,200 horse from Newark, approached Leicester on 29 May. Rupert thought that an attack on this Parliamentary stronghold might act as a diversion to draw the New Model away from Oxford. Sir Edward Walker also suggested that Rupert enjoyed taking a citadel by storm--his "chiefest [*sic*] delight is in attempts of this kind"--a task at which the prince excelled.[73]

The prince summoned the town in the name of the king, but when the defenders refused the royalists entry, Rupert used his heavy artillery to blow a breach in the town walls. The Parliamentary garrison numbered only 1,500, but the town's inhabitants--men and women--joined with the soldiers to twice repel the royalists' attempt to storm the breach. Finally, on 31 May, the third charge succeeded and the town was taken by assault. The king and the prince did little to restrain their men once inside Leicester, so that, according to Secretary Walker, the town was "miserably sacked without regard to church or hospital."[74] The plundering royalist soldiers had come upon a particularly rich treasure trove, for many Parliamentary supporters in the surrounding areas had sent their valuables into Leicester for safe-keeping. In addition, the entire garrison was taken prisoner and the royalists gained 1,000 horses and 140 barrels of powder. In London, "this loss of Leicester startled the two Houses."[75]

Rupert had definitely succeeded in diverting Parliament's attention from Oxford. The royalists had been moving through the midlands unimpeded, and Cromwell had already been sent to the Isle of Ely to ready the defenses in case the royalists continued their march into the vital eastern counties. Moreover, the loss of Leicester showed London that having the New Model tied down before Oxford was a wasted effort. The Committee of Both Kingdoms on 1 June advised Parliament that Sir Thomas Fairfax should raise the siege and take the field, which he was allowed to do on 5 June. Furthermore, Fairfax was given control of his own operations, and he and his council of war decided that the king's army would be their first priority. Finally, on 10 June Fairfax was allowed to name Oliver Cromwell as lieutenant general of horse, his second-in-

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command.[76]

While their Parliamentary opponents were making these rapid decisions, the royalists again had divided opinions on how they should proceed. According to Secretary of War Walker, the options discussed included heading west to meet up with General Gerrard and his 3,000 horse and foot in the vicinity of Worcester, or continuing with the original plan to proceed north. Walker believed that news of the sack of Leicester might have made their northern progress somewhat easier, for other towns would be afraid to offer the king's army any resistance. But ultimately, neither option was chosen. Against Rupert's advice, the king decided he would turn back towards Oxford, for there was much concern among his other councilors for: the city, the Duke of York, the remainder of the king's council trapped within, the magazine, "and all the fair ladies." On 5 June Charles and his army left Leicester, but on the following day at Market Harborough the king received the news that Fairfax had raised the siege of Oxford and was marching north. On 7 June the royalists arrived at Daventry where they would remain for five days. As they reassessed their options, they did learn George Goring was at the siege of Taunton, so that the western army would be delayed in rendezvousing with them.[77] But a further breakdown in communications would greatly harm the royalists during this crucial period.

In early June, the western royalists still had received no answer to their letters of the 24th and 25th, to the king and Digby respectively, so that Sir Edward Hyde drafted another letter to King Charles, again offering the council's opinions on the war effort in the west. This document is noteworthy because Hyde's real purpose was to try to win back control of the western campaign from General Goring. Hyde laid out the various conflicting orders that had come from the court: on 4 March Prince Charles had been given the right to commission officers but this authority then had been given to General Goring in the king's letter of 10 May. Hyde also reiterated the council's claim that they had never done anything more than give their opinion to Goring on military matters, "then referred the doing or not doing to himself." Prince Charles and the council were now still trying to assist General Goring who had renewed the siege of Taunton, although, according to Hyde, George had yet to make much progress in keeping the defenders

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confined within the town. Hyde concluded that the king could not have intended to give absolute command in the west to Goring, thus undermining Prince Charles's authority and subsequently injuring the royalist cause.[78]

In his later retelling of these events, Edward Hyde would make even harsher allegations against Goring and his handling of the siege of Taunton at this time, while the western royalists were awaiting further communications from the court:

> In the meantime, General Goring was so far from making any advance upon Taunton, that he grew much more negligent in it than he had been; suffered provisions in great quantities to be carried into town through the midst of his men; neglected and discouraged his own foot so much that they ran away faster than they could be sent up to him; and gave himself wholly to license, insomuch that he many times was not seen abroad in three of four days together.[79]

Hyde was at Bath at this time, not at the siege site, so that the source(s) of his information is not known. Goring's adjutant, Sir Richard Bulstrode, did confirm one part of Hyde's charge, that when Goring had first returned to the west that May, by the poor positioning of his men, he had allowed a large amount of supplies to be brought into Taunton. But after the encounter on 20 May, when the relief party had been forced back into Taunton, Bulstrode recorded that the governor, Colonel Blake, was "hard pressed" by Goring's besieging army. Blake attempted to force back the besiegers by sending out frequent sallies which "were always unsuccessful, by the vivacity and courage of General Goring's spirit which was very extraordinary."[80]

During the first week of June, while he was before Taunton, George Goring did respond to the various requests which had come from court ordering him east. He wrote to King Charles to explain that he expected to end the siege within three weeks, so that, with the exception of Lyme, the west would be free of enemy troops. George then advised the king "to forbear any engagement and to be upon the defensive, upon the River of Trent," until he could come to him. He evidently agreed with Rupert's appraisal of the relative strengths of the king's army and the New Model, for he ended by again warning the king "to keep at a distance and not engage."[81]

To make sure this letter reached the king as quickly as possible, Goring chose to

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send it back with a special courier who had recently been sent west by Secretary Nicholas. This unnamed agent had been dispatched as soon as the siege of Oxford had been lifted, and he first attended the Prince's Council at Bath and next continued on to General Goring before Taunton. George then asked him to carry his letter back to the king. "The fellow with some seeming difficulty suffered himself to be persuaded." Off he rode, but not to the king, for the courier was actually a double-agent and he would carry this crucial dispatch to the New Model in the field. So ultimately, Goring's letter would bring about the exact opposite of its intended purpose: it would help to precipitate the last major battle of the war.[82]

The Battle of Naseby and After

Before he received this windfall in intelligence, Sir Thomas Fairfax was worried about his inferiority in cavalry count compared to the king's army, a concern he expressed in his letters of 11 June to Cromwell and to the Committee of Both Kingdoms. He was particularly anxious that Goring's western horse might be on their way to join the king which would leave the Parliamentary horse even further outnumbered. Fairfax did have information that the king's forces, still at Daventry, were preparing to resume their march, but in which direction he did not know. On 12 June Fairfax advanced west of Northampton, so that he was within five miles of the royalists. That same day, King Charles and Prince Rupert led their army north to Market Harborough. Despite the New Model's proximity, they believed that, prior to any engagement, they still had time to pick up additional troops from their closest garrisons. The king also knew, from Secretary Nicholas, that Goring was still before Taunton, so that he would not have the western cavalry if he engaged the New Model at this time.[83]

On Friday, 13 June, Oliver Cromwell, accompanied by 600 horse and dragoons, joined Fairfax. That same day George Goring's purloined letter was delivered to the New Model's Scoutmaster General Watson who in turn brought it to Sir Thomas Fairfax. Parliament's general had some misgivings about opening a letter addressed to the king, but

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Cromwell quickly persuaded him of the necessity of reading it. The Parliamentary commanders, now aware that the king would not be receiving any reinforcements from the west in the immediate future, decided to pursue the king to Market Harborough and force a battle as quickly as possible.[84]

Only late on the night of the 13th, when the New Model's vanguard put to flight the royalists' rearguard stationed southeast of Harborough at Naseby, did the royalists become aware of how swiftly Parliament's army was approaching. At midnight the king held a council of war to decide whether they should stand and fight or retreat. On this occasion, the court faction, led by George Digby and John Ashburnham, arguing that it was better to seek battle than to be pursued, won the debate against Rupert and the military men, who favored withdrawal.[85] The very fact that Rupert, always so eager for action, on this occasion counseled against any immediate engagement should have given King Charles pause. Rupert still wanted to await the arrival of Sir Charles Gerrard and George Goring. Had Goring's letter arrived, his strong counsel against battle would have lent Rupert's position further support. But Digby--who contemptuously called Parliament's army the "New Noodle"--and his faction believed their own propaganda about the New Model's inferiority as a fighting force. Besides, it would be dishonorable to retreat, they argued. So King Charles chose to listen to his courtiers and not to his own commander-in-chief.[86]

The early morning hours of Saturday, 14 June, saw the two opposing armies maneuvering for position to the north of the town of Naseby. The New Model eventually gained the advantage of the terrain because of Rupert's impatience in deploying, according to Secretary of War Sir Edward Walker. Nevertheless, despite being heavily outnumbered--about 9,000 versus 14,000--the royalists came close to victory in a hard fought battle which lasted almost three hours. Rupert, on the royalist right wing, initially broke the opposing cavalry under Commissary General Henry Ireton and gave chase back to the town of Naseby, while Sir Marmaduke Langdale and the northern horse on the royalist left, outnumbered and forced to charge uphill, were overrun by Cromwell's cavalry. In the center, the veteran royalist foot commanded by Sir Jacob Astley were

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successfully beating back the New Model's untried infantrymen until Cromwell and his well-disciplined troopers stopped their advance. The king, seeing his infantry now in trouble, was ready to lead his cavalry reserves into battle when one of his own nobles stopped his charge, fearing Charles would get killed or captured if he rode into battle. With the king's withdrawal, the royalists no longer could hold the field. Rupert, on returning from his cross-country pursuit, had tried to break into the Parliamentary baggage train but had met with armed resistance, so that by the time he finally did return to the field, the battle had been lost.[87]

The New Model's victory was overwhelming. As Sir Thomas Fairfax reported to Speaker Lenthall on 15 June from Harborough: "The whole body of their foot taken and slain. . . .The Horse all quitted the field, and were pursued within three miles of Leicester; their ammunition, ordnance, and carriages all taken. . . ."[88] In the final tally, the Parliamentary forces had killed 600 of the king's men and taken 4,000 prisoners; they had captured all twelve pieces of the royalist field artillery; 9,000 arms; and all the royalist baggage wagons, 200 in number, some of which contained the king's war correspondence.[89] Oliver Cromwell, in his report on the day's events, concluded: "This is none other but the Hand of God; and to Him alone belongs the glory, wherein none are to share with Him." But Cromwell did add that General Fairfax had done an excellent job on the field.[90] In turn, the Parliamentary commissioners with the army, in their report, noted that Lieutenant General Cromwell on the battlefield "did beyond expression gallantly."[91]

The Committee of Both Kingdoms on 15 June relayed the news from Naseby to their various garrisons in the west. In the letter to Colonel Weldon, still trapped at Taunton, the committeemen warned that he should not listen to any negative reports coming from the enemy. In fact, the battle at Naseby was "a very great victory, the King's army in which he was in person is wholly broken and destroyed." Weldon was advised to take heart, for a relief force was soon to be coming to his assistance.[92] Writing to Fairfax that same day, the Committee thanked him and his officers for the "great blessing" of this triumph, but also advised the general to quickly follow up so that the war could finally be brought to a successful conclusion.[93] Sir Thomas was of like mind, and he

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had already decided on his immediate goals. He easily retook Leicester on 18 June, but he next wanted to march to the relief of Taunton. General Massey and his western army--about 3,000-strong--were being sent to try to break Goring's siege, but Fairfax judged this force too small in number to accomplish this important task. Fairfax was particularly concerned because he had read Goring's prediction that he would successfully end the operation within three weeks, and over a week had already passed since the letter had been written. "But as want of this intelligence [in Goring's letter] was so fatal to his Majesty, so the notice thereof quickened Fairfax to make speed to relieve Taunton." Fairfax wrote to London to request permission for his march west.[94] Parliament's commander-in-chief considered George Goring's continued presence in the field a serious threat.

While their opponents were quickly deciding on their next course of action, the royalists had to formulate their own new strategy. Immediately following the battle, the king, Rupert and the remnants of their cavalry had fled northwest via Leicester to Ashby-de-la-Zouch. The king and his council then considered two options: either they could proceed towards Wales and join with General Gerrard and his 2-3,000 men to form the nucleus of a new army, or they could march into the west and join with George Goring and his sizeable army. However, judging that the latter option would bring the New Model in close pursuit, Charles and his advisers decided to march into Wales to recruit new infantry forces.[95] With hindsight, two of the royalist military chroniclers judged this another major error on the part of the king and his council. Sir Edward Walker suggested that if a link with Goring had brought about another engagement with the New Model, even a loss in the field would have been better than the eventual outcome for the royalists, who "afterwards both in the West and in other places, [were] destroyed by pieces, without either conduct or honour."[96] Sir Richard Bulstrode was more optimistic that a positive outcome would have resulted if the king had gone into the west where he had an army and popular support, "instead of amusing himself about forming a new army in counties worn out with the oppression of his own troops. . . ."[97]

If the king had misjudged his post-Naseby military options, his handling of the

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delicate political situation among the western royalists would prove to be equally detrimental. In response to the letter from the Prince's Council from early June in which Sir Edward Hyde had argued that by giving Goring command, Charles had diminished his own son's authority, the king once again changed his instructions. In a letter to Prince Charles from Wolverhampton on 17 June, the king explained that his orders concerning Goring's authority had been misunderstood "and taken to be a lessening of your power, honour and authority in those parts, which we have entirely committed to your care." The king explained that he had only meant to caution his son in the exercise of his powers, and, with the council's approval, the prince could reside wherever he chose.[98] So Prince Charles--and his council--had command in the west. Secretary Digby on 21 June from Hereford wrote to advise General Goring of the king's letter to the prince and reiterated that although Goring had been given the right to grant commissions, the Prince of Wales still held ultimate authority.[99]

King Charles was well aware of the precariousness of his situation as he fled westward following Naseby. While he was making decisions regarding the further pursuit of the war, he was at the same time contemplating the possibility of defeat. On 23 June, in a private letter to his eldest son, Charles warned that if he were captured, the prince was "never to yield to any conditions that are dishonorable, unsafe for your person, or derogatory to regal authority, upon any conditions whatsoever, though it were for the saving of my life." Too prophetically the king added that his son's constancy "will make me die cheerfully."[100]

Before these letters from court arrived, Goring was in the field, just west of Taunton at Bishop's Hull, commanding the siege operations. On 18 June he advised Culpeper (now at Barnstaple on the north coast of Devon with the prince and the council) that the defenders would soon be forced to surrender. Although he had just received intelligence that Massey was on his way west, Goring did not think this Parliamentary relief army would have sufficient strength to break the siege (which had also been Fairfax's evaluation). Moreover, despite rumors that London was going to send additional forces west, he judged that the siege would be completed before any major

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campaign could be mounted against him. Goring concluded by requesting whatever additional troops could be spared, and he asked that Sir Richard Grenvile join him.[101]

George Goring's error was to underestimate the speed and single-mindedness with which the New Model would move against him. As Fairfax had understood, Goring possessed the only remaining royalist army in the field and by destroying it, the king, even if still at liberty, would be defeated. On 20 June the Committee of Both Kingdoms ordered the governor of Poole to send the artillery which had been left behind by Waller to Massey for the western campaign. Then on 25 June the Committee notified Fairfax that he was to march west, as he had requested, while the Earl of Leven and the Scots were to pursue the king towards Worcester.[102] On the 26th, the Committee sent Fairfax the latest dispatches from Taunton which gave the royalist strength as 5,000 horse and 5,000 foot. Fairfax was also advised that Massey was approaching Romsey, close to the Wiltshire border, with a force of 2,200 horse and dragoons. Most importantly, the House of Commons had told the Committee to take care of the west "and recommend the same to your care, leaving the whole to you to do therein as you shall see cause and may judge best." In a second letter sent the same day, the Committee repeated that Fairfax was to proceed as he had requested with regard to the pressing necessity of "relieving the party within Taunton and of breaking the King's forces in the West. . . ."[103] On 27 June, the Committee wrote both Fairfax (then at Lechlade on the southern border of Gloucestershire) and Massey to let them know of the other's orders and to ask them both to advise Taunton that they were on their way west.[104] In less than two weeks following Naseby, Parliament had decided on a course of action as recommended by Fairfax and then had given him the authority in the field to pursue this goal.

The royalists, on the other hand, showed no such unity of purpose. Moreover, their communications still appeared to be erratic, so that on 24 June Goring could report to Culpeper: "I wonder extremely that I have received no certain news from court of the King's last encounter with Fairfax nor no orders upon it." Goring had indirectly heard of the king's loss at Naseby, but ten days after the battle he had received no official word from his superiors about their further military plans. In the meantime, he was having

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problems keeping his forces supplied with food, which he blamed both on the royalist commissioners and the growing interference of the Somerset Clubmen. He was particularly incensed that the commander of the garrison at Langport, Sir Francis Mackworth, was refusing him supplies.[105] What Goring failed to mention was that this enmity with Mackworth stemmed back to 1643 when they were both serving in Newcastle's northern army. On the night that Goring had been captured by Fairfax at Wakefield, Mackworth, his second-in-command, had managed to escape, for which Goring had never forgiven him.[106]

Goring underscored his desperate need for supplies in this letter by predicting that he would have to abandon the siege within two days "out of pure hunger." He also had been trying to rally the local Clubmen--some 2,000 in number--to the royalist cause and thought that they had been ready to declare for the king "until the news of the blow which the king hath received came amongst us." He ended by adding a post script in his own hand "beseeching" Culpeper to send thirty of forty barrels of powder.[107]

This letter obviously caused much consternation within the council at Barnstaple. A reply was sent, not by Culpeper, but in Prince Charles's name on 25 June. The prince pronounced himself to be "very much troubled" by the news that the army and garrisons were low on supplies. The county commissioners had been ordered to work with Goring and the garrisons, particularly Langport, to ensure that they were well-stocked. To address the situation, a messenger was being sent to inquire about the true state of Goring's army and of the enemy and to ask Goring's opinion as to what should be done if additional Parliamentary forces were heading west. The prince also offered to send representatives from the council to confer with Goring in person.[108]

While this exchange was going on, George Goring finally heard from court. From his reaction, he apparently was taken totally by surprise by the notice subordinating him once again to the Prince's Council, and on 25 June he fired off replies to both George Digby and Prince Rupert. In his letter to the king's secretary, he pointed out the contradictions in the various orders coming from court (the same method Hyde had used to win back control in the west). George noted that he had received his commission from

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Rupert to command the forces which he had brought with him from Oxford and which formed the bulk of the western army. That he was now subordinated to the Prince of Wales and his council contradicted his commission. Goring then recalled that when he had last seen the king, and in the presence of Prince Rupert, the Duke of Richmond, and Digby himself, "the king did declare that the Prince's orders with the advice of his council should not be binding to me." Letters had then been written to confirm the king's instructions.[109]

Goring continued that he now found himself in the impossible situation of having to obey two different superiors, Rupert and the council, so that he would be "so distracted with several orders that I cannot obey one without breach of another." Finally Goring got to the crux of the matter: he would be most happy to obey the Prince of Wales, but the prince remitted all matters to his councilors, so that Goring and the western army were actually being subordinated to civilian advisers. "There is not one man in this army will be willing to obey them before Prince Rupert and their own officers; and for my part, as I have already lost my fortune, so I will part with my liberty or my life rather than consent to it." He repeated that he was being denied what had been promised him at court, and this "so public affront" had obviously been engineered by his enemies.[110]

Goring next wrote to Rupert, sending him copies of the letters from court as well as his reply to Digby. Speaking of Prince Charles's councilors, he bitterly complained: "[T]hey will rather distract all the King's business than suffer me to enjoy the benefit of your Highness's favour, or have this army or country governed by anybody but themselves." He continued:

> [T]hose which have procured this affront upon me have done nothing in the King's service since they came, but bring distractions in it. . . .That which troubles me extraordinarily is to have so faithful a servant removed from you at this time, but if I could have remained useful to your service I should have endured their opposition longer, but what assurances can I ever have of his Majesty's favour when it is in the power of these people to carry him point blank against his former orders. . . .I will never while I breathe submit to the Prince's Council, and if I cannot have your gift of the command of the west ratified, I will pray for the King but never take any command in his service more. . . .Wheresoever I am I shall be ready to serve when I may do it with my honour, and in the meantime there is nothing I preserve more in my heart than a tender passionate affection to your service. . . .[111]

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George Goring was not about to resign his commission, and on the following day, he again wrote to Rupert, somewhat modifying his position. He was now sending a personal courier to the prince to give him a more exact explanation of the situation in the west. "I have been so barbarously used by these people he will name to you that I would sooner beg my bread than ever submit to them in the least degree, but whatsoever you will have me do shall be faithfully obeyed."[112]

In these letters, Goring made two valid points. King Charles could be persuaded to change his mind by whomever happened to catch his ear on any given occasion; additionally, the Prince's Council, and not Prince Charles himself, was setting policy in the west. The king had chosen a most inopportune time to antagonize and distract the one general who stood between him and total defeat. But there are two sides to every story, and while Goring was venting his anger in his letters to court, Sir Edward Hyde, Goring's chief antagonist on the council, was explaining his version of events to Secretary Nicholas at Oxford. Writing from Barnstaple on 25 June, Hyde first noted that various pieces of correspondence were missing and had evidently been lost en route. He next reflected on the surprising loss at Naseby--"indeed the tide is turned shrewdly and unexpectedly to find ourselves so fatally beaten"--although he still believed that God was on the king's side and the western army might come to the rescue.[113]

Hyde continued: "Oh, Mr. Secretary, *if you knew the art and industry that* hath been used *at court to dishonour the Prince, oppress us and to frustrate all* our endeavors *you would be sad at heart. . . .Goring* hath taken *his pleasure of us.*" Hyde was so mistrustful of Goring that he had refused to give him a copy of his personal cipher. Now the king had called for Hyde and Culpeper to come to meet with him at Hereford, but the prince was not willing to spare both of them, so Hyde would stay behind while Culpeper went to the king (which really meant that Hyde did not want to be absent from the west and so had chosen to remain behind). Sir Edward added that he hoped the king would send Rupert to command the western army "*to prevent any* mischief *by Lord Goring.*"[114]

Hyde next updated Nicholas on the military situation, saying that Goring was still before Taunton and had reduced the 5,000 defenders to great straits. Sir Richard Grenvile

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had joined Goring, while Sir John Berkeley had renewed the siege of Plymouth. Additionally, Prince Charles was commissioning the trained bands of Cornwall and their officers, and hoped to have a force of 6,000 foot. But in a final parting shot, Hyde added that he thought the siege of Taunton should have been completed by now: "*If Lord Goring had been as much soldier* as we expected, *that* work *had been done long before this* time, but *he* nothing but *drinks and plays*." [115]

Clearly, both sides in this controversy felt themselves to be the offended party. The king had given and broken his word to all involved and therefore must take part of the blame for letting this situation develop. Overlapping commands had also helped exacerbate the enmity between Sir Richard Grenvile and Sir John Berkeley. As for Hyde's charge about Goring's conduct in the field, it is more difficult to judge his accusations. In early June George himself had predicted that he would bring the siege to a successful conclusion by the end of the month. The final days of June were now approaching and Goring reported his situation to Culpeper on the 27th in a letter which made absolutely no mention of his behind-the-scenes struggle with the council. Instead, George said that he was answering Prince Charles's inquiry about the condition of his forces and of the enemy, and giving his opinion, as requested, in case "the Rebels draw their forces speedily this way."[116]

Goring reported that the defenders within Taunton were low on bread and salt, but that his own men were also suffering from "a great scarcity of provisions." He again blamed the royalist commissioners for failing to provision his forces adequately as well as the presence of the Clubmen for hindering supplies. While he still thought that the Clubmen of Dorset and Somerset would greatly strengthen the royalists in the west if they declared for the king, he was becoming more doubtful that this would come to pass.[117] Goring omitted to mention that the local citizens were rallying to their own defense because of the "great oppressions and disorders" committed by the royalist army. Despite orders from the Prince's Council to treat the local populace with more care, Goring "having no money to give the army, connived at the license" his soldiers took, Sir Richard Bulstrode recorded.[118]

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In his letter to Culpeper, Goring also had harsh words for some of the royalist horse guards on the other side of the siege who by their "carelessness and timorousness" had allowed the enemy to successfully sally forth on various occasions. Despite these setbacks, George was still confident that the defenders would not escape them nor be able to hold out much longer "unless relief come." If Parliamentary troops did quickly arrive in great number, he would leave the royalist garrisons well-provisioned and take his army west to protect the passages into Devon. He concluded by advising Culpeper that he would be at Tiverton at 11 a.m. the next day to further discuss matters with representatives from the council.[119]

On 28 June the meeting took place at Tiverton in Devon. The council sent no civilian advisers but rather three military men to meet with Goring: Sir John Berkeley, Sir Hugh Pollard, and Colonel William Ashburnham.[120] Coincidentally, all three men had been part of the original Wilmot-Percy circle of Army Plot conspirators in 1641 who had ended up in the Tower because of Goring's revelations to the House of Commons. As has been demonstrated previously, Berkeley still had harbored ill feelings towards Goring as late as 1644, although he had offered to set them aside in the name of the king's cause for which they were both fighting.[121] How their past dealing with Goring might have colored these officers' report back to the council of what occurred at this meeting can only be conjecture, but it should be remembered that all three had the potential of being hostile witnesses.

Reportedly, George Goring set the tone of the meeting by complaining about the council members, particularly Hyde, and their treatment of him. When asked what he wanted, George made four demands: to be lieutenant general to the Prince of Wales, a member of both the Prince's Council and the Privy Council, and a gentleman of the bedchamber to the prince.[122] Goring's adjutant Sir Richard Bulstrode confirmed part of this story, by noting that his general was "something discontented with the Prince's Council" at this time. The Tiverton meeting had been arranged to see what Goring wanted and the talks had been "very private." Nevertheless, Bulstrode heard that General Goring had "carried himself very extravagantly and that they could not satisfy him."[123]

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Considering the tone of Goring's letters to court only three days earlier, it seems most likely that he did unleash his anger at this meeting and made demands to try to assure himself of military precedence. Obviously his requests would have to be considered not just by the Prince's Council but also by King Charles himself, and Culpeper was scheduled to leave on the 30th to go to the king.[124]

So while these quarrels and resentments remained unresolved, the western royalists had to temporarily patch up their differences and work together to face a large-scale Parliamentary invasion. Goring, back at the siege on 29 June, was all business in his report to Culpeper that day. He recounted his latest intelligence which (quite accurately) numbered Massey's force at 2,000 horse and dragoons. This relief column had reached Dorchester in south Dorset on the 27th, and an additional 1,100 Parliamentarians had been landed at Lyme and were on the march to join with Massey. After consulting with his principal officers, George had decided that he would draw his entire army south to Chard to try to prevent the various Parliamentary parties from joining together and in the hope of defeating each separately. Goring had one final request; he did not want Sir Richard Grenvile as his second-in-command in the field: "If he execute that command here it will breed some disorder in the Army, my Lord Wentworth having had right and power to command all persons in this army under me."[125] In fact, King Charles had given Grenvile the position of major general of the western army in his letter of 14 May, but, going into battle, George Goring wanted general officers of his own choosing.

On the same day Goring was explaining his strategy to deal with Massey, Sir Thomas Fairfax wrote to the defenders of Taunton to tell them that he was on the march to their relief.[126] The drama of this new relief effort soon became the focus of the Parliamentary news sheets, one of which reported that the defenders were still able to mount successful sallies from Taunton against the besiegers, "which will be no little discouragement to the enemy, especially when they shall hear of the approach of Sir Thomas Fairfax, his forces, and Major General Massey towards them, which will be with all expedition."[127]

George Goring in July would have to face his old nemesis Sir Thomas Fairfax and

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the victorious New Model. Only in May, after safely convoying the king and his army from Oxford, had Goring finally attained the independent command he had long hoped for. Yet less than two months later he would represent the one remaining royalist hope for victory in the field and his authority would have already been rescinded. His own actions had helped create this situation, but to blame Goring solely for this turn of events would be to ignore the complex interplay of factors which began when King Charles had decided to split his forces and to send Goring back west. Upon his arrival, George had found that his fellow royalists had not only failed to take Taunton but had allowed a large relief column to enter the town. He then had to try to deal with the relief force and while he had prevented them from escaping back east, he had been unable to defeat them in the field at Ilminster. Goring next had ignored the command ordering him to rejoin the king, but this was not a unilateral decision on his part, for the Prince's Council had concurred that he should remain in the west. While his letter of explanation to the king had offered sound advice about avoiding battle until he could join him, the courier, vouched for by Secretary Nicholas, had turned out to be a double agent.

The engagement at Naseby had been a hard fought, close encounter, and it is easy to see that Goring and his forces might have turned the tide of battle. Three thousand additional veteran cavalrymen, led by an experienced commander like Goring who exhibited his best traits in the heat of battle, would have played a vital role at Naseby.[128] What is particularly interesting is that Sir Thomas Fairfax believed that Goring--and not the king or Prince Rupert--posed the one remaining threat in the field after Naseby. While some fellow royalists, particularly civilians like Sir Edward Hyde, had obvious contempt for Goring's abilities as a soldier, Fairfax did not. He took Goring at his word when he had predicted that he would complete the siege of Taunton by the end of June. So the stage was set for the final major confrontation of the war.

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1. Woolrych, *Battles*, 93.

2. Clarendon, *History* 4:29-33; BL Sloan MS. 1519, f. 58, King Charles to Goring, 3 March 1645; see the previous chapter for details of this letter; Hutton, *Charles II*, 9.

3. Walker, *Discourses*, 125-26, the secretary of the council of war used the term "chief favourite" in describing Will Legge; Morrah, *Prince Rupert*, 101-2, 104; Kitson, *Prince Rupert*, 223-24; Roy, "Royalist Council of War," *Bulletin IHR* 35 (Nov. 1962) : 166-67; Wedgwood, *King's War*, 381-82; Burne and Young, *Great Civil War*, 74, 139.

4. Lewes, E. Sussex R. O., Danny Archives, f. 55, Sir William Campion, Boarstall, to Prince Rupert, 15 April 1645; Rushworth, *Collections*, IV, 1:18. Campion's cry for his reputation is reminiscent of Cassio's in Shakespeare's *Othello*. Having been stripped of his rank, Cassio laments: "Reputation, reputation, reputation! O, I have lost my reputation! I have lost the immortal part of myself, and what remains is bestial.--My reputation, Iago, my reputation!" (Act II, scene iii.) Castiglione in *The Courtier*, 140-41, also advises that the ideal courtier should be "preceded by a good reputation. . . . For the fame which appears to rest on the opinions of many fosters a certain unshakeable belief in a man's worth which is then easily maintained and strengthened in minds already thus disposed and prepared."

5. Rushworth, *Collections*, IV, 1:26-27; *HMC*, Vol. 6, 7th Rpt., Part I, Verney Papers, 451; Gentles, *New Model Army*, 53; Kenyon, *Civil Wars*, 142; Burne and Young, *Great Civil War*, 195-96.

6. Rushworth, *Collections*, IV, 1:27; Joshua Sprigge, *Anglia Redivia, England's Recovery*, a facsimile reproduction with an intro. by Harry T. Moore (London: John Partridge, 1647; Gainesville, FL: Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints, 1960), 15-16. Sprigge was an Independent minister and may have been with Fairfax's army; see Introduction, ix.

7. Ibid.; Symonds, *Marches*, 164; Clarendon, *History*, 4:34.

8. The quote is from Clarendon, *History*, 4:34; Symonds, *Marches*, 164; Gardiner, *Great Civil War*, 2:206; Fraser, *Cromwell*, 149. Both Gardiner and Fraser claim that the royalists made too much of Goring's victory at Faringdon, but Fraser admits that the action "still had to be rated as a check" to Cromwell. In this case, Clarendon was the more astute observer, for he was pointing out the psychological impact of Goring's victory.

9. Clarendon, *History*, 4:36.

10. Ibid., 36-37.

11. Walker, *Discourses*, 125; Symonds, *Marches*, 164-65; Bulstrode, *Memoirs*, 116.

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12. Walker, *Discourses*, 125-26; Clarendon, *History*, 4:34-35.

13. Walker, *Discourses*, 126.

14. Clarendon, *History*, 4:35-36; Kenyon, *Civil Wars*, 141; Burne and Young, *Great Civil War*, 196; Roots, *Great Rebellion*, 98.

15. Clarendon, *History*, 4:35-36.

16. Symonds, *Marches*, 165.

17. Bulstrode, *Memoirs*, 116; Bodl. Clarendon MS. 24, f. 170, Hyde's outline of the king's letter of 10 May 1645.

18. Walker, *Discourses*, 125; Clarendon, *History*, 4:35.

19. Rushworth, *Collections*, IV, 1:27-28; Kishlansky, *Rise of the New Model*, 7; Gentles, *New Model Army*, 53; Burne and Young, *Great Civil War*, 196; Gardiner, *Great Civil War*, 2:207.

20. Rushworth, *Collections*, IV, 1:28-29; TT E. 284 (5), *The Weekly Account, 7-14 May 1645 (Week XIX)*, [no pagination], entry for Monday, 12 May 1645; Bodl. Firth MS. C 7, f. 298, Goring to Prince Rupert, May 1645; Gentles, *New Model Army*, 36.

21. *CSPD 1644-45*, 478-79, Culpeper, Bristol, to King Charles, 11 May 1645.

22. Ibid., 479; Bodl. Tanner MS. 60, f. 150, Culpeper, Bristol, to Goring, [11 May 1645]; Stephen Porter, *Destruction in the English Civil Wars* (Phoenix Mill, Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing Ltd., 1994), 36.

23. Bodl. Firth MS. C 7, ff. 298-99, Goring to [Rupert, May, 1645]; *CSPD 1644-45*, 476-78.

24. Bodl. Firth MS. C 7, ff. 298-99; Bodl. Tanner MS. 60, f. 150, Culpeper, Bristol, to Goring, [11 May 1645]; *CSPD 1644-45*, 478-79; TT E. 284 (9), *Two Letters* (15 May 1645), 1-2, Fairfax, Whitchurch, to William Lenthall, 13 May 1645, and 3-6, Weldon, Pitminster, to Fairfax, 11 May 1645; TT E. 284 (11), *A Great Victory* (15 May 1645), 1-5; Rushworth, *Collections*, IV, 1:28-29.

25. *CSPD 1644-45*, 499, Sir John Digby, Bath, to George Digby, 18 May 1645.

26. Rushworth, *Collections*, IV, 1:28.

27. *CSPD 1644-45*, 491.

28. Ibid., 478-79, Culpeper, Bristol, to King Charles, night of 11 May 1645.

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29. BL Add. MS. 18982, f. 59, Goring, Bristol, to Rupert, 12 May 1645.

30. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 24, f. 170, Hyde's outline of Digby's letter to Culpeper, 14 May 1645; Bodl. Firth MS. C 7, f. 298, Goring to [Rupert, May, 1645].

31. Clarendon, *History*, 4:48.

32. *CSPD 1644-45*, 493, Culpeper, Bristol, to George Digby, 16 May 1645, and 499, Sir John Digby to George Digby, 18 May 1645; Clarendon, *History*, 4:48-49; Bodl. Clarendon MS. 24, f. 149, Goring, Somerton, to Culpeper, 15 May 1645.

33. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 24, ff. 149-50, Goring, Somerton, to Culpeper, 15 May 1645.

34. TT E. 284 (9), *Two Letters*, 1-2; Rushworth, *Collections*, IV, 1:29-31; Walker, *Discourses*, 126-27; Sprigge, *Anglia Rediviva*, 19; Woolrych, *Battles*, 107.

35. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 24, f. 151, Culpeper, Bristol, to Goring, 16 May 1645; Bodl. Firth MS. C 7, ff. 298-99, Goring to [Rupert, May, 1645]; *CSPD 1644-45*, 499.

36. Bodl. Firth MS. C 7, ff. 298-99; *CSPD 1644-45*, 506-7, Goring, Chard, to Culpeper, 20 May 1645.

37. BL Add. MS. 18982, ff. 61-62, Goring, Ash, to Rupert, 19 May 1645; Bodl. Clarendon MS. 26, ff. 5-6, Goring, Ash, to Culpeper [19 May] 1645. Goring's letter to Culpeper, although undated, is mistakenly located with letters from October 1645 in this manuscript collection. Also, Bodl. Clarendon MS. 24, f. 153, Culpeper, Bath, to Goring, 20 May 1645, refers to Goring's letter from Ash and wishes him success against the rebels.

38. Bodl. Firth MS. C 7, ff. 298-99; *CSPD 1644-45*, 506-7.

39. Bodl. Firth MS. C 7, ff. 298-99; *CSPD 1644-45*, 506-7.

40. Bodl. Firth MS. C 7, ff. 298-99; *CSPD 1644-45*, 506-7.

41. *CSPD 1644-45*, 506-7.

42. Clarendon, *History*, 4:49.

43. Bodl. Firth MS. C 7, ff. 298-99, Goring to [Rupert, 20 May 1645]. Although this letter is undated, based on its contents it was written on 20 May or shortly thereafter.

44. *CSPD 1644-45*, 506-7.

45. Ibid., 511-12.

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46. Walker, *Discourses*, 127; Bodl. Clarendon MS. 24, f. 153, Culpeper, Bath, to Goring, 20 May 1645; Rushworth, *Collections*, IV, 1:32-33.

47. BL Add. MS. 18982, f. 63, Nicholas, Oxford, to Rupert, 22 May 1645; *CSPD 1644-45*, 464; Rushworth, *Collections*, IV, 1:33-34; Woolrych, *Battles*, 107-8; Kenyon, *Civil Wars*, 141.

48. *CSPD 1644-45*, 424-25.

49. *Lords Journal*, 7:431; the quote is Lord Say and Sele's relation of what Savile had said to him.

50. Ibid., 431-32.

51. Ibid., 431-33; Gardiner, *Great Civil War*, 2:212-13; Woolrych, *Battles*, 108.

52. While Woolrych (*Battles*, 108) labels both of Savile's tales of defection--Goring's and Legge's--as "unlikely stories," Gardiner (*Great Civil War*, 2:213), never an admirer of Goring's, is not as sure: "What truth there may have been in Newport's tale about Goring it is impossible to say. That Legge ever thought of betraying the trust reposed in him is in the highest degree improbable."

53. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 26, f. 51, Culpeper to Hopton, 17 November 1645.

54. Rushworth, *Collections*, IV, 1:33-34; Gentles, *New Model Army*, 53-54.

55. Rushworth, *Collections*, IV, 1:29; Walker, *Discourses*, 127; Clarendon, *History*, 4:48; *HMC*, Vol. I, Rpt. 1, App., 6, King Charles to the Queen, 23 May 1645; Bulstrode, *Memoirs*, 124-25.

56. Clarendon, *History*, 4:48-49.

57. Rushworth, *Collections*, IV, 1:29.

58. *CSPD 1644-45*, 525.

59. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 24, f. 155, Prince's Council, Bath, to King Charles, 24 May 1645. Underlining in the original letter.

60. Ibid.

61. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 24, f. 159, Culpeper, Bath, to Goring, 24 May 1645.

62. *CSPD 1644-45*, 520-21.

63. Clarendon, *History*, 4:49; Bulstrode, *Memoirs*, 124.

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64. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 24, ff. 161-62, Prince's Council, Bath, to Digby, 25 May 1645.

65. Hutton, *Charles II*, 10. Hutton finds no evidence that Prince Charles was actively involved in any policy-making in the west and that Hyde and Culpeper were the primary policy makers.

66. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 24, ff. 161-62.

67. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 24, f. 172, Grenvile, Exeter, to Culpeper, 28 May 1645.

68. *HMC*, Vol. 1, Rpt. 1, Appendix, 6, King Charles, Stone, to the Queen, 23 May 1645.

69. *CSPD 1644-45*, 521-22.

70. Ibid., 522.

71. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 24, f. 165, Digby, Tutbury, to Culpeper, 26 May 1645, midnight.

72. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 24, f. 167, Digby to Goring, 26 May 1645. This letter was enclosed with the one to Culpeper, cited in the previous note.

73. Walker, *Discourses*, 127; Woolrych, *Battles*, 111.

74. Walker, *Discourses*., 127-28; Bodl. Clarendon MS. 28, f. 137, Rupert Diary.

75. Rushworth, *Collections*, IV, 1:35.

76. Ibid., IV, 1:35-36, 39; *HMC*, Vol. 6, 7th Rpt., Part I, Verney Papers, 451; Gentles, *New Model Army*, 54-55; Burne and Young, *Great Civil War*, 197; Woolrych, *Battles*, 112.

77. Walker, *Discourses*, 128; Symonds, *Marches*, 188, 190. Although Walker made no reference to the arrival of letters from the west about Goring, Symonds recorded the news of Goring's delay in his diary entry of 9 June. Also, Bodl. Clarendon MS. 28, f. 137, Rupert Diary, according to which Rupert apparently proceeded his uncle by a day and marched with the vanguard, for he left Leicester on 4 May, arrived at Harborough on the 5th and Daventry on the 6th.

78. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 24, ff. 168-70, Prince's Council to King Charles, [June 1645].

79. Clarendon, *History*, 4:50-51.

80. Bulstrode, *Memoirs*, 116-17, 149.

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81. Ibid., 124-25; Bulstrode wrote the letter that Goring dictated and kept a copy for himself.

82. Rushworth, *Collections*, IV, 1:49; Gentles, *New Model Army*, 55, 460 fn. 16; Bulstrode, *Memoirs*, 125. Rushworth told of the double-agent, while Bulstrode assumed that the letter had been intercepted.

83. Rushworth, *Collections*, IV, 39-40; Bodl. Clarendon MS. 28, f. 137, Rupert Diary; Walker, *Discourses*, 129; *HMC*, Vol. 1, Rpt. 1, App., 9, Secretary Nicholas, Oxford, to King Charles, 8 June 1645.

84. Rushworth, *Collections*, IV, 41, 49; Gentles, *New Model Army*, 55; Woolrych, *Battles*, 117.

85. Walker, *Discourses*, 129.

86. Roy, "Royalist Council of War," *Bulletin IHR* 35 (Nov. 1962) : 166-67; Woolrych, *Battles*, 118; Wedgwood, *King's War*, 422-24; Gentles, *New Model Army*, 55; Kitson, *Prince Rupert*, 237-38; Roots, *Great Rebellion*, 98.

87. Walker, *Discourses*, 130-31; Bulstrode, *Memoirs*, 126; Rushworth, *Collections*, IV, 1:42-44; *Lords Journal*, 7:433-34; *CSPD 1644-45*, 594; Sprigge, *Anglia Rediviva*, 38. The two royalist writers, Walker and Bulstrode, are harshest in their evaluations of Rupert's actions that day. Modern writers are divided; Ian Gentles ("Civil Wars in England," in Kenyon and Ohlmeyer, *Military History*, 143-44) faults Rupert for being "busy pillaging" at a crucial moment in the battle. Woolrych (*Battles*, 128, 134-35) is somewhat more forgiving, explaining that it was hard to rally troops to return to the field after a successful cavalry charge. (Although Cromwell seemed to manage this quite often.) Frank Kitson (*Prince Rupert*, 243-47) believes the royalists' major error was to have King Charles--and not Rupert--overseeing the battle with the reserves.

88. *Lords Journal*, 7:433.

89. Ibid., 7:433-34; *HMC*, Vol. 6, 7th Rpt., Part I, Verney Papers, 451.

90. *Lords Journal*, 7:434.

91. Ibid., 7:433; Harry Leighton and Thomas Herbert were the commissioners.

92. *CSPD 1644-45*, 594; similar letters were sent to Wareham, Poole, Weymouth and Lyme.

93. Ibid., 594-95.

94. Rushworth, *Collections*, IV, 1:49, 51.

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95. Walker, *Discourses*, 132; Bodl. Clarendon MS. 28, f. 137, Rupert Diary; Rushworth, *Collections*, IV, 1:51.

96. Walker, *Discourses*, 132.

97. Bulstrode, *Memoirs*, 127.

98. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 24, f. 177, King Charles, Wolverhampton, to Prince Charles, 17 June 1645.

99. *HMC*, 9th Rpt., Part II, App., Morrison MS., 437, Digby to Goring, 21 June 1645.

100. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 24, f. 184, King Charles, Hereford, to Prince Charles, 23 June 1645.

101. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 24, f. 179, Goring, Bishop's Hull, to Culpeper, Barnstaple, 18 June 1645.

102. *CSPD 1644-45*, 602-3, 611.

103. Ibid., 617.

104. Ibid., 621.

105. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 24, f. 188, Goring, Pondesford, to Culpeper, 24 June 1645.

106. Clarendon, *History*, 4:53. Clarendon just recalled that the two men had "some disputes" from when they had served together in the north. See Chapter 8 for the raid on Wakefield.

107. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 24, f. 188; also, f. 182, Prince Charles, Barnstaple, to Goring, 22 June 1645. The Prince's Council had been concerned about the Somerset Clubmen and the threat they were posing to the garrison at Langport. Goring had been ordered to assist Governor Mackworth by "force or persuasion" on 22 June.

108. Bodl. Tanner MS. 60, f. 174, Prince Charles, Barnstaple, to Goring, 25 June 1645.

109. Bodl. Firth MS. C7, ff. 308-11, Goring to Digby, 25 June 1645. Underlining in original.

110. Ibid.

111. Bodl. Firth MS. C7, f. 128, Goring, Trull, to Prince Rupert, 25 June [1645]. This letter is incorrectly assigned to 1644 in the MS. collection. By content and location--Goring was still at the siege, for Trull is directly south of Taunton--the letter was written in 1645.

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112. Bodl. Firth MS. C7, f. 127, Goring to Rupert, 26 June [1645]. Underlining in original.

113. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 24, f. 192, Hyde, Barnstaple, to Nicholas, 25 June 1645.

114. Ibid.; italics indicate encoded portions of original text.

115. Ibid.

116. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 24, f. 196, Goring, Pondesford, to Culpeper, 27 June 1645.

117. Ibid.

118. Bulstrode, *Memoirs*, 136.

119. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 24, f. 196.

120. Clarendon, *History*, 4:51; Bulstrode, *Memoirs*, 135.

121. See Chapter 6 for the Army Plot and Chapter 10 for Goring's relations with Berkeley in the fall of 1644.

122. Clarendon, *History*, 4:51-52.

123. Bulstrode, *Memoirs*, 135.

124. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 24, f. 192.

125. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 24, f. 200, Goring, Pondesford, to Culpeper, 29 June 1645.

126. Rushworth, *Collections*, IV, 1:52.

127. TT E. 292 (1), *Mercurius Civicus, London's Intelligencer, no. 110* (26 June-3 July 1645), 982.

128. This is my opinion, but military historians generally concur on this point. Woolrych *(Battles*, 138) believes with Goring's "3,000 horse on the left wing the battle could have gone very differently." Also, Burne and Young (*Great Civil War*, 208): "The defeat may be attributed, at least in part to the disastrous decision to detach Goring's 3,000 horse. . . ." Hutton (*Royalist War Effort*, 178) believes that "the Royalist cause committed suicide at Naseby" when the king decided to fight without waiting for Goring and Gerrard. Also interesting are the comments of a contemporary observer, Venetian Ambassador Nani: "[B]ut beyond a doubt the detachment of those forces [of Goring's] was fatal to the King, and if they had all been with him he might possibly have beaten the enemy." See *CSPVen 1643-47*, 197-98, Nani, Paris, 18 July 1645 [N. S.].

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CHAPTER 13
DEFEAT AND WITHDRAWAL, JULY-DECEMBER 1645

At the beginning of July 1645, George Goring was attempting to bring the siege of Taunton to a successful conclusion before Sir Thomas Fairfax and the New Model Army arrived in Somerset. Despite his final efforts, Goring was forced to withdrew on 4 July without accomplishing his goal because of the rapid approach of Fairfax and Massey. With little support coming from the king in Wales, Goring would then have to try to defend his western army from the numerically superior Parliamentary forces.

For one week Goring would use the local terrain and the river systems to prevent Fairfax's army from closing with him. But a plan to force Fairfax to divide his forces would miscarry and instead would help set the stage for the confrontation that Goring had so desperately been trying to avoid. The battle would take place to the east of the royalist garrison at Langport on 10 July and would result in a total victory for the New Model Army. In the aftermath, Goring himself would have to admit that his routed forces were so demoralized that they could not stand against a force even inferior in number. Both royalist and Parliamentary sources are available to provide insight into this major engagement.

Following their victory, Fairfax and the New Model would not pursue Goring and the remnants of his army into Devon but instead would concentrate on reducing the royalist garrisons in Somerset and Dorset. In late August, Fairfax would turn his attention to Bristol, defended by Prince Rupert, who, despite initial estimates that he could hold this vital port city for several months, would surrender it within three weeks. Out of all the misfortunes which befell the royalist cause in the summer of 1645, King Charles would consider this action by his nephew the worst of all, a personal betrayal for which

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Rupert would be summarily dismissed. The king and his councilors would then be left scrambling to try to devise a new strategy.

The western royalists, including Prince Charles and his council, now restricted to Devon and Cornwall, were basically on their own in the final months of 1645. Goring and Sir Richard Grenvile, sometimes cooperating, more often not, would be unsuccessful in trying to rebuild their army when men, money and provisions were in short supply. Goring himself, often incapacitated with poor health, still would be able to keep Fairfax in check throughout October, but he would seem to gradually lose interest in his command once any hope of decisive military action faded. In November 1645, he would request leave from the Prince of Wales to go abroad to recover his health, but without awaiting a reply, George Goring would set sail for France. He would claim his leave was only temporary, but, in fact, circumstances would prevent him from ever returning to England again.

The New Model Marches West

On 30 June 1645, George Lord Digby, with the king at Hereford, wrote to Will Legge, governor of Oxford. Digby had been one of the chief advocates of facing the New Model at Naseby and now he was trying to explain how such a decision had been reached, claiming "we were all carried on at that time with such a spirit and confidence of victory. . . ." Despite the disastrous outcome, the secretary remained as optimistic as ever, for he predicted that the western royalists would soon be victorious, a reference to the completion of the siege of Taunton, after which "we shall quickly see ourselves in as good a condition as ever."[1]

Digby apparently was unaware that Sir Thomas Fairfax and the New Model Army were on their way to join Major General Edward Massey and his Western Association in the relief of Taunton, which meant that General Goring and his army would soon be opposing forces which were greatly superior in number. In fact, the rapidity of Fairfax's approach would quickly end any royalist plans for coordinated action between the king's

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forces in Wales and Goring's in the southwest. Prince Rupert had hoped to organize such joint operations and had left the king on 26 June to sail from Cardiff for Barnstaple to confer with Prince Charles and his council. He then passed through Goring's camp before Taunton, after which he proceeded to Bristol where he would assume the governorship. The king was to follow into Wales and begin recruiting additional infantry. Some of these new levies were destined for Goring's army, but the men sent over would be too few and too inexperienced to make much difference.[2]

On 3 July the king arrived at Raglan Castle in southwestern Wales where he would be entertained for the next two weeks by the Marquis of Worcester. Charles at this time exhibited that same optimism which infected Secretary Digby, for he predicted that he would be "in the head of a greater army within this two months than I have seen this year."[3] So while King Charles idled away his time playing bowls, discussing poetry and inspecting Raglan's latest engineering improvements, all the time hoping for 10,000 new recruits to materialize, George Goring was left to face the onslaught of Parliament's field forces. The king and his advisers would only be harshly "awakened" to the reality of their military situation once the battle of Langport and the garrison of Bridgwater had been lost, Secretary of War Sir Edward Walker recorded.[4]

In contrast to the king, Sir Thomas Fairfax, having received permission from London on 26 June to go to the relief of Taunton, was acutely aware that time was of the essence. Even though the New Model needed additional men, arms and horses, Fairfax was determined to move as fast as possible because he feared that the royalists would soon be shipping reinforcements from Wales to Somerset and that the defenders at Taunton would be forced to surrender. In addition, after the crushing blow at Naseby, there was hope in London that a successful campaign in the west might finally bring about the end of the war. Fairfax, at Marlborough in Wiltshire on 28 June, had to plan a circuitous route to his destination, moving first south then west, to avoid the various royalist garrisons which blocked a more direct southwesterly line of march. On 1 July Fairfax and the New Model Army marched south from Amesbury to Broad Chalke, a town to the southwest of Salisbury, and on the following day they arrived at Blandford in

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Dorset, where Major General Massey, his forces already positioned further west, came to confer with Fairfax.[5] (See figures 8 and 18.)

To add to the Parliamentarians' concerns, they had begun to sight gatherings of Clubmen, those local self-defense forces who claimed allegiance to neither side and only sought "Peace and Truth" as the white ribbons in their hats proclaimed. Writing from Blandford on the morning of 3 July, Fairfax advised the Committee of Both Kingdoms of his army's progress to date and of his encounters with the Clubmen in Wiltshire and Dorset who "pretended only the defense of themselves from plunderers. . . ." But he believed these neutrals were in fact supplied officers by the royalists, adding: "In these two counties, they are abundantly more affected to the Enemy than to the Parliament."[6]

Fairfax later that same day, after completing the march from Blandford to Dorchester, met with two of the Clubmen leaders to assure them that his army would not harm the local populace during its passage. As he had told London, Sir Thomas did not want to proceed further west and have a large, potentially hostile force to his rear; or, as Parliament's chronicler John Rushworth bluntly put it, Fairfax tried to win over these men, "for if he should engage with General Goring, and be put to the worst, these Clubmen would knock them on the heads as they should fly for safety."[7] Fairfax's chaplain Mr. Bowles concurred that Goring had been supplying officers to the Clubmen (and as noted in the previous chapter, Goring had been hopeful of joining these men to his forces prior to the king's defeat at Naseby), but the clergyman did not share Sir Thomas's diplomatic approach of trying to win over these locals "who it seems will not understand reason till it be beaten into them."[8] Clearly Fairfax was being cautious about keeping his route of retreat open, which meant that he was not totally confidant of victory in his coming encounter with Goring and the western royalist army.

But on Friday, 4 July, as Fairfax and his forces left Dorchester on their march northwest via Beaminster to Crewkerne, Mr. Bowles recorded that "we received notice of a sharp farewell (for so it proved) given by Goring at Taunton, where he spit his last venom, which our men received with their wonted courage."[9] General Goring had been aware of Parliament's relief efforts during the last days of June, a time when his attention

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had been divided between his fight against the enemy at Taunton and his fight against the Prince's Council over authority. With the New Model's rapid approach Goring had decided on 3 July to make one last attempt to draw out the defenders by pretending to raise the siege. He had his men burn their huts and march three or four miles away. But Governor Blake and Colonel Weldon, the commander of the trapped relief force, refused to be lured out. According to an anonymous Parliamentary reporter, Goring, "seeing himself beguiled in his design . . . returned again, had hot skirmishes." This final attempt to take Taunton by storm was repulsed by the defenders, despite the fact that they took heavy casualties and were low on ammunition. The royalists drew off once again and waited beyond the town until nightfall, but still the defenders refused to come out, so that Goring finally had to lead his army away eastwards to quarter at Ilminster.[10] Battered and beleaguered Taunton, with "her heaps of rubbish, her consumed houses," had, in the end, withstood all the royalist attacks.[11] By the defenders' own admission, however, they had been in desperate straits, so that George Goring, but for the very timely intervention of the New Model Army, would most probably have achieved his goal close to the time frame he had predicted. None of the royalists--neither Goring nor Rupert nor the king--had counted on Sir Thomas Fairfax's single-minded determination in marching west with such uncommon speed.

Goring's greatest concern now was to avoid any direct engagement with the New Model simply because his forces were outnumbered by about two to one. While exact troop counts are difficult to ascertain, the best estimates are that Goring had about 7,000 men, divided into 3,000 horse and 4,000 foot. He did not have Sir Richard Grenvile nor his forces with him, for they had drawn off to try to renew the siege of Lyme prior to Goring's withdrawal from Taunton. The New Model, although not up to full strength following Naseby (due primarily to desertions), had about 6,000 horse and 8,000 foot, which included Major General Massey's 2,200 horse and dragoons positioned between Chard and Axminster.[12]

Goring decided to use the surrounding marshy terrain and the natural barrier lines of the rivers Parrett, Isle and Yeo to keep the enemy from quickly closing with him. By

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Saturday, 5 July, he had positioned the main body of his troops at Somerton, to the east of the royalist garrison at Langport and north of the Yeo. He placed defenders on the river crossings at Yeovil, Ilchester and Long Load, and he also fortified the crossing at South Petherton on the Parrett. (See figure 18.) In late May the royalists had pursued part of Colonel Weldon's relief brigade through this same countryside, so Goring had obtained a good knowledge of the terrain. But now, just six weeks later, he was no longer the pursuer but the pursued. He had to know that he could not keep the New Model indefinitely at bay, but, according to his adjutant, Sir Richard Bulstrode, the general believed his position was strong and, if necessary, he could fall back to the major royalist garrison at Bridgwater. There he could await reinforcements from the king in Wales or from Grenvile.[13]

That same Saturday, 5 July, Fairfax and the New Model arrived at Crewkerne in Somerset. Since beginning their march west, they had averaged an amazing seventeen miles per day, accomplished in hot summer weather. While the main body of his army rested here, Fairfax dispatched Colonel Charles Fleetwood with 2,000 horse and dragoons to patrol ahead to locate and attack the royalist rearguard. Advancing along the west bank of the Parrett, Fleetwood came upon Goring's defenders at the South Petherton crossing. Despite the fact that the royalists "pluck up all the bridges they pass over" to prevent pursuit, the Parliamentary patrol rebuilt the bridge and chased the retreating royalists to Long Load on the Yeo. Here Fleetwood was outnumbered so had to retreat, but Fairfax sent reinforcements to secure the territory between the Parrett and the Yeo.[14]

On Sunday, 6 July, Fairfax allowed his army a day of rest at Crewkerne. On Monday morning, 7 July, Sir Thomas met with Major General Massey and Colonel Ralph Weldon, newly arrived from Taunton, at Petherton to discuss strategy. Fairfax, accompanied by his lieutenant general of horse, Oliver Cromwell, went on to reconnoiter the crossings along the Yeo and found that the royalists were too well entrenched at both Long Load and Ilchester to attempt either of these passes. Fairfax then held a council of war which decided that a crossing would be attempted at Yeovil, despite the fact that the royalist garrison of Sherborne lay just four miles to the east. Sir Thomas headquartered

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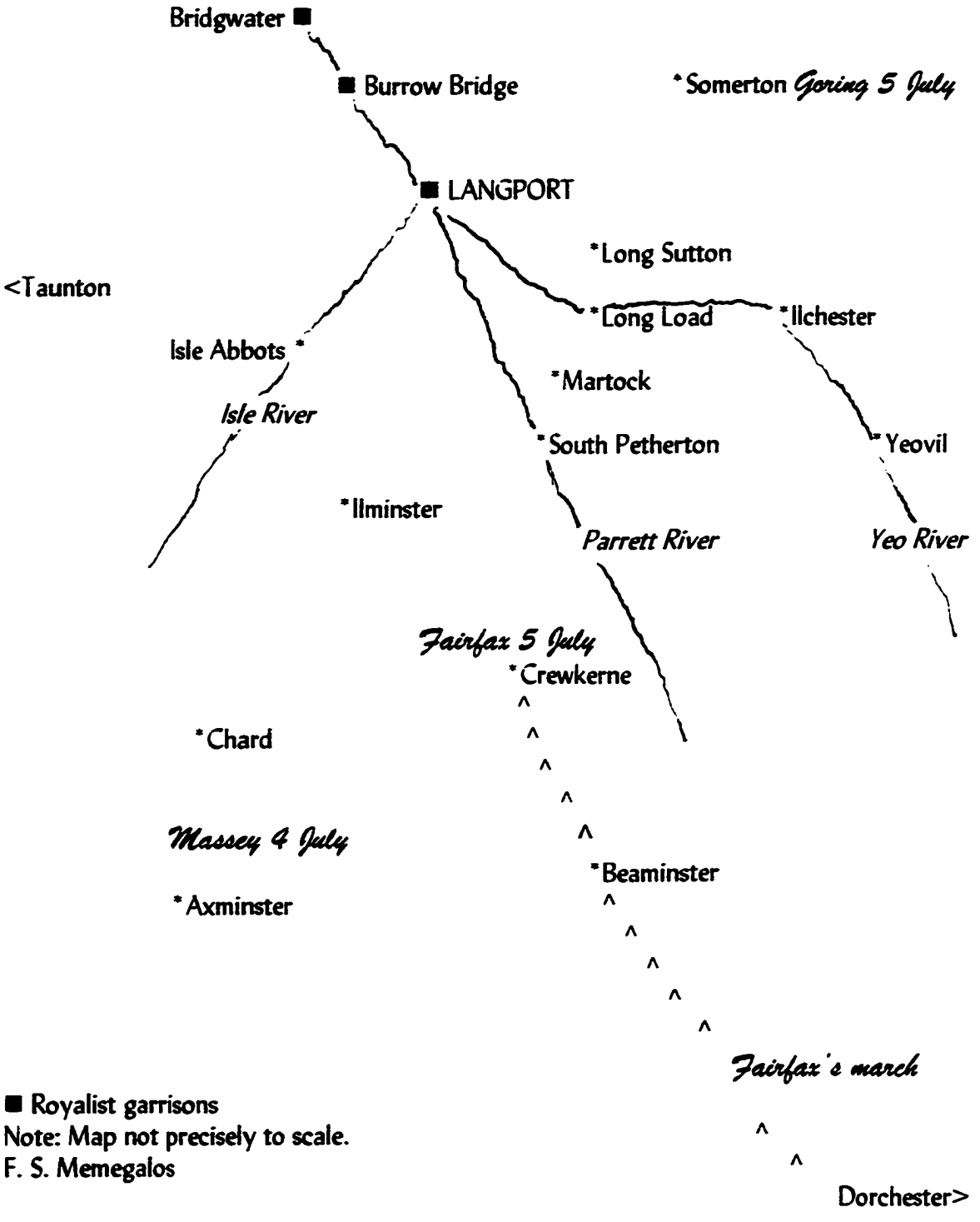
Figure 18. Somerset, July 1645



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at Yeovil that night in preparation for the next day's assault.[15]

At the same time that Parliament's forces were continuing their dogged pursuit of the western royalists, London, already aware that the siege of Taunton had been lifted, was still concerned that Goring's army might escape. The Committee of Both Kingdoms, beginning on 7 July, sent Fairfax various messages urging pursuit and advising him that money, match, and gunpowder were being forwarded to his army. In addition, the Committee wrote to Vice Admiral Batten, passing on reports that the king was planning to ship troops by sea from Wales to Goring in Somerset, and warned: "We conceive it to be of great consequence to our affairs to prevent this. . . ."[16] Both London and Fairfax believed that a defeat of the western royalist army was an important key to bringing the war to an end.

Goring seemed to be equally aware of this possible outcome, for he continued to withdraw his troops from the twelve-mile front along the river. If Fairfax had managed to force a passage at Yeovil, he would have been able to attack the royalist left flank. But on Tuesday, 8 July, the Parliamentarians found that the royalists had withdrawn from both Long Lode and Ilchester, and had attempted to fire the towns to cover their retreat (although the citizens of Long Lode had managed to douse the flames).[17] To date, the royalists had only fought skirmishes with their pursuers and had managed to avoid any major action by "dancing from one side of the river to the other," as one Parliamentary observer described General Goring's actions.[18] But that "dancing" had kept the royalists ahead of their pursuers for five days, so that Goring and his forces were now approaching the safety of their garrisons at Langport, Burrow and Bridgwater.

To gain more time and to try to make Fairfax divide his forces, Goring sent out a party of 1,500 horse in a feint back towards Taunton. In charge of this detachment was George Porter, Goring's commissary general (third in command) and brother-in-law. Initially this tactic seemed to be successful, for Fairfax, quartered at Ilchester on the night of the 8th, did dispatch 4,000 horse and dragoons under Major General Massey in pursuit of the royalist patrol. On Wednesday, 9 July, Massey was at Ilminster when he received intelligence that the royalist party was about four miles to the north at Isle Abbots.[19]

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All accounts--royalist and Parliamentary--agree on the ensuing sequence of events. In the early afternoon, as Massey closed in and divided his forces to approach the town from both ends, the royalists were unaware of the enemy's proximity. While some defensive works had been put up around the church, there were no scouts posted as lookouts and the troopers were taking their ease, some bathing in the river, while their horses were left to graze in the fields. General Porter himself, according to the royalist Bulstrode, was "in his utmost debauches with some of the officers."[20] As a result of their own negligence, the royalists were taken totally by surprise and put to flight.

When the alarm spread back to Langport, General Goring "immediately marched in person to his [Porter's] succour, rallied the horse that were flying, stopped the enemy's career, who were eagerly pursuing, and made a handsome retreat without which the best part of our army had been lost that day, " reported Sir Richard Bulstrode who accompanied Goring into the field.[21] Even the Parliamentary eyewitnesses admitted that this action "endangered Goring's person very much," for George received a sword slash to the side of his face in the hand-to-hand combat he led to extricate his forces. In the final tally, about thirty royalists were slain, while the Parliamentarians took 200 prisoners, 250-300 horses, numerous arms, and nine colors.[22]

Among those in flight had been General Porter. Reportedly, when George Goring spotted his fleeing brother-in-law, he turned to his adjutant and exclaimed: "'He deserves to be pistoled for his negligence or cowardice.'" But, in the end, Goring kept his sister's husband in his command despite this rather disastrous error. In fact, Bulstrode reported that the general often said that Porter "was the best company, but the worst officer that ever served the king." Bulstrode, who generally admired Goring's military abilities, did think that Porter, as well as Goring's second-in-command, Lord Wentworth, led Goring even further astray in his vices of drinking and gambling: "They made the General turn his wantonness into riot, and his riot into madness." If King Charles knew of what had been happening, Bulstrode believed he would have dismissed both of Goring's subordinates and maybe even the general himself.[23] The incident at Isle Abbots illustrated both the best and the worst of George Goring as a commander. His tactics had been sound, for Fairfax had

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been lured into dividing his forces, but Goring had entrusted this feint to his best drinking companion whose military abilities he knew to be wanting. In the heat of battle, Goring had once again proven his ability to lead his men in combat, even under the most adverse conditions, but his trust in the wrong person had let the situation develop in the first place.

Goring now had to quickly rethink his options, for under the cover of Massey's action, Fairfax and the New Model had crossed the Yeo and advanced to about two and one half miles east of Langport. There at Long Sutton, the Parliamentarians quartered for the night.[24] This proximity prevented the royalists from attempting any immediate further withdrawal. As Goring would later write to Secretary Digby: "We could not disengage ourselves from the Rebels without the certain loss of our cannon and hazard of the army if we had retreated that night, the enemy having been down about us every side, our horse having been very much shattered with the disorder that day." Moreover, Langport was so low on provisions that Goring judged his army would not have been able to stay there more than one day. Instead, in the morning he would try to get his army to the next royalist garrison, Burrow, but even those plans would be foiled by Sir Thomas Fairfax, who "came up so fast" that George Goring was finally forced to stand and fight.[25]

The Battle of Langport

The royalists were not alone in feeling hard-pressed at this juncture. By the time they reached Long Sutton, the Parliamentarians found themselves "far from our own garrisons, without much ammunition, in a place extemely wanting in provisions, the malignant Clubmen interposing. . . ." Oliver Cromwell recorded.[26] At 3 a.m. on 10 July Fairfax had seven regiments of horse drawn out onto Sutton Field and then held a council of war to determine his next course of action. Massey's detachment had not rejoined the main army, so that the New Model's numerical advantage had been cut to about 10,000 vs. 7,000 royalists. Nevertheless, Fairfax was still looking for an opportunity to bring the royalists to battle when news reached him that General Goring had finally brought his army onto the field. The council immediately broke up, as Fairfax, Cromwell and all the

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officers "instantly mounted [and] rode up to the field. . . ."[27]

George Goring, however, was not seeking an all-out confrontation. He was as determined as ever to retreat, but with the latest developments, he proposed to make a stand to allow his cannon and baggage, the slowest moving elements of his army, to be brought safely to Bridgwater, the largest of the royalist garrisons in the area. Therefore, early on 10 July, he ordered Sir Richard Bulstrode to dispatch the artillery and baggage train. Originally, Goring had hoped to have at least one day's respite, but the Parliamentary forces were too close. Moreover, some of the locals informed the New Model of the dispatch of the royalist cannon, so Fairfax knew that he would have the advantage in artillery, and to regain a greater superiority in numbers, he recalled some of his outlying troops.[28]

General Goring placed his forces on the field at 7 a.m. He had chosen his position carefully, atop a gentle slope, at the bottom of which was marshy terrain and a little stream or ditch, called Wagg Rhyne. The Parliamentary forces were situated across the stream, up the side of another slope. There was only one roadway which ran down the Parliamentary side, across the water, and up towards the royalists' position, in this countryside setting of enclosed fields and hedge rows. Goring had kept two artillery pieces behind and placed them on his side of the ford, guarding the lane through which the Parliamentarians would have to advance and which was so narrow that only four horses could pass abreast. He also posted two regiments of musketeers alongside the bottom of the pass. The general, with all his horse, stood at the top of the hill to block the mouth of the passage, while his remaining infantry regiments were to his right. Apparently Goring was concerned that, despite his precautions, the enemy could force the pass, for he instructed his infantry commander, Sir Joseph Wagstaff, that if this did occur, he should lead the foot beyond Langport, to Bridgwater, and pull down the bridges behind him.[29]

Throughout the early morning hours the royalists stood and waited and bought time to accomplish an orderly retreat. The Parliamentary commanders recognized what their opponents were hoping to accomplish, for Cromwell noted that Goring had drawn out "with a resolution not to fight, but trusting to his ground, thinking he could march

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away at pleasure."[30] If there was to be any action that day the Parliamentarians knew they would have to initiate it. As the New Model's outlying infantry forces (but not Massey's detachment) reported in, they joined those already on the field. Thus, the royalists keeping watch across the narrow valley at first had mistakenly thought that they were viewing the entire New Model, but, according to Sir Richard Bulstrode, as the first formations drew off left and right, "another great body came up in their place. . . . However, our General neither lost his courage nor conduct, but still remained at the head of the pass with his own guard of horse. . . ."[31] Normally the commanding general stayed in the rear of his army to direct the battle. If George Goring was with his front cavalry lines, as Bulstrode indicated, it would show the great importance he placed on holding the pass. It might also mean that Goring felt his presence was required to encourage his "shattered" cavalry after their devastating encounter with Massey the previous day.

Fairfax opened his attack between 10 and 11 a.m. His first objective was to take out the two royalist guns guarding the pass. Having an overwhelming superiority in ordnance, he quickly achieved this goal. In fact, the artillery pounding the royalists received right at the outset--which they could not answer--was an important factor in the day's outcome. According to one Parliamentary captain, "having drawn up our great guns . . . [we gave] them about fifty or sixty great shot."[32] Another New Model officer vividly described the scene: "Our ordinance played so quick and sure that presently the enemy were put to a rout, and were as in a maze, not knowing which way to avoid the cannon."[33] While some other Parliamentary witnesses, particularly Oliver Cromwell, would see God's hand at work in the day's victory, these two officers saw the gunner's hand as a more concrete source of the New Model's superiority.

Fairfax next commanded Colonel Thomas Rainsborough and his 1,500 musketeers to beat the royalist infantry out of the hedges at the bottom of the pass. The Parliamentarians, with "muskets and cannon playing very hot," engaged in close combat for about an hour.[34] The two royalist foot regiments, which included the new Welsh levies, were duly broken, or as fellow royalist Bulstrode less charitably recounted, the men deserted the field, leaving the all-important pass open for the enemy's charge. However,

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still standing at the crest of the hill was General Goring and his own brigade which consisted of his lifeguard, commanded by an Irishman, Colonel Patrick Barnwell, and two horse regiments, including the general's own, commanded by his brother, Colonel Charles Goring, and another commanded by Sir Arthur Slingsby. The rest of the cavalry, including Commissary Porter's brigade, formed up in ranks to the rear. In addition, about 3,000 of the royalist foot, who had been prevented from relieving their men below by the heavy cannonade, stood in reserve on the top of the hill.[35]

The initiative, therefore, remained with Fairfax and his army; they would have to take the battle uphill to the royalists. Lieutenant General Cromwell personally chose Major Christopher Bethel to lead the charge up the pass. The major, as reported in the previous chapter, had been serving under Cromwell when he had been captured by Goring's men in the skirmishing that had occurred to the west of Oxford in early May, but he had since been exchanged. At about 1 p.m. Bethel was ordered to lead three troops of the forlorn hope in the attack, backed by three additional troops led by Major John Desborough of Fairfax's own regiment. John Lilburne witnessed the action: down the Parliamentary side of the hill charged Bethel as he "led on his own troop through the water which was deep and dirty and very narrow with the enemy on the top in great number. . . .[He] charged them with as much gallantry as ever I saw men in my life, forcing them with sword to give ground. . . ."[36] Because of the terrain, Goring's front cavalry lines could not meet the charge at the trot, which was standard practice. Bethel, therefore, had the momentum as he crashed into the stationary royalist horse and broke the two front lines before he was stopped. He then managed to safely retreat behind Desborough's second line, which was following about 100 yards back, and rejoined the attack.[37]

With the second onslaught, the royalist lines broke, on that fact both sides agreed. According to Bulstrode, Goring himself led the counter attack against the enemy horse, "but being overpowered in number, we were at last beaten off and obliged to a very disorderly retreat."[38] Their own side's cavalry charge, judged by the Parliamentary commanders to be "one of the bravest ever their eyes beheld," was quickly followed by an

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infantry attack which put the royalists to a rout. "God took away the enemy's courage and away they [did] run," Lilburne rejoiced.[39] Another Parliamentary officer, Captain Blackwell, credited Major Bethel's "gallant charge up the hill" for breaking the enemy who "all faced about and ran away, both horse and foot, most shamefully."[40] Cromwell also had nothing but praise for Bethel's charge, "performed with the greatest gallantry imaginable," and for the second attack launched by Bethel and Desborough which routed "at sword's point a great body of the enemy's horse, which gave such an unexpected terror to the enemy's army, that set them all a running."[41]

George Goring's own retelling of this pivotal episode was brief: "Upon the whole matter they forced the pass and routed our horse, which only made one seasonable charge til our foot got into Langport."[42] The proximity of the pursuing Parliamentarians prevented Sir Joseph Wagstaff from attempting to head directly for Bridgwater, as Goring had ordered before the start of the battle. Instead, the royalist infantry retreated into nearby Langport, along with some of the horse commanded by Lord Wentworth, and General Goring. But the royalists, quickly realizing that they could not hold this garrison against the New Model, departed from the far side of the town, where they burned the houses along the route to try to slow down their pursuers. Oliver Cromwell then led the chase through the streets of Langport, "where he himself went through the fire flaming on both sides."[43]

The royalist horse had in fact split up upon retreating from the field. So while Cromwell pursued Wentworth and Wagstaff who together led about one thousand horse and the infantry out of Langport, Majors Bethel and Desborough were in hot pursuit of the remainder of the royalist cavalry which had headed directly towards Bridgwater, eight miles away. As the various elements fled before their pursuers, a few royalist officers did manage to rally their men to make scattered stands to provide cover to allow others to retreat, but no concentrated counter attack could ever be mounted. Some troopers tried to evade capture by abandoning their horses and fleeing across the enclosed fields on foot; still others were intercepted and disarmed by the Clubmen. Only within two miles of Bridgwater did the majority of the royalist cavalry lose their pursuers.[44]

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George Goring, in the flight from Langport, became separated from the infantry. The general, with his brother Charles, Colonel Barnwell of his lifeguard, and Sir Richard Bulstrode reached the safety of Bridgwater, although Sir Arthur Slingsby, the third regimental commander from his brigade, was captured en route. Goring was apparently extremely despondent because he feared that his infantry and artillery had been lost. He was unaware that Sir Joseph Wagstaff was continuing to march throughout the night, shepherding the remnants of the infantry and all the cannon but one towards Bridgwater. Bulstrode recounted: "I stayed all that night with the General in his chamber and when I gave him notice in the morning that Sir Joseph Wagstaff was come with the foot and the cannon, he was overjoyed." But Bridgwater was no longer considered a safe haven, so after waiting one more day for any additional stragglers to come in, Goring led the remains of his army further west, resting the following night at Dunster Castle.[45]

There, at Dunster at 1 a.m. on 12 July, Goring wrote to Secretary Digby to give him a brief account of the battle, for the messenger who would deliver the letter to the king's court was entrusted with providing the details. What is particularly interesting was Goring's conclusion about his losses. Either he did not have a final tally as yet or he was deliberately understating his losses, for he estimated only 300 of his men had been captured and twenty killed. He did, however, guess that his remaining infantry numbered between 3,000 and 4,000, so the discrepancy of one thousand men might have included those still unaccounted for. His cavalry count was reduced to 2,500, but Goring did not attribute this loss to enemy action so much as to desertions: "Most of the Western horse are gone home of their own word."[46]

Goring further told the king's secretary that he had received intelligence that Fairfax might continue the pursuit of the royalist army. If that were the case, George claimed he would quickly need additional troops and provisions from the two far western counties of Devon and Cornwall. If he did not get more soldiers and supplies, he would have no alternative but to place his men in garrisons. However, the most important--and probably most accurate--information he passed on concerned his army's morale following the battle: "But the consequence of this blow is very much, for there is so great a terror

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and distraction amongst our men that I am confident at this present they could not be brought to fight against half their number."[47] Based on the performance of his men at Langport, it would appear that Goring's army was demoralized even before the start of the battle. In just one week the royalists had been forced to withdrew from before Taunton without attaining their goal; next they had been relentlessly pursued across Somerset by an army superior in number which had gained "reputation" in the recent victory against the king at Naseby; and the near routing of the cavalry by Massey could only have exacerbated the situation on the day of battle. The fact that George Goring had tried his utmost to avoid any major engagement indicated that he was well aware of what the outcome most probably would be.

Sir Thomas Fairfax, on the other hand, had been just as determined to bring the royalists to battle. On the day following the battle, while en route to Bridgwater, he wrote to inform the House of Lords: "It pleased God, on Thursday last, by this Army, to give General Goring a defeat." In recounting the events leading up to the battle, Parliament's Lord General admitted that Goring, in his retreat from Taunton, had "put us to great straits to find a way how to engage with him." Fairfax then briefly summarized the action and the outcome: "Two thousand are taken prisoners, few slain, good store of arms, two pieces of ordnance, with many colours both of horse and foot taken."[48] The royalists had lost over six times the number of men Goring had estimated!

Fairfax wrote another letter on 11 July, this one to his father, Lord Ferdinando Fairfax: "To pardon my seldom writing I have taken this occasion to let your Lordship know God's great goodness to us in defeating General Goring's army." He repeated the spoils of the battle--including the figure of 2,000 prisoners taken--but then in this private correspondence, Sir Thomas admitted that he had feared Goring was about to get reinforcements from the king or Sir Richard Grenvile, "which altogether would have made a very great army." He also believed that "many thousands of Clubmen in Wiltshire and Dorsetshire . . . [were] ready to declare themselves for the King . . . so as we cannot esteem this mercy less all things considered than that of Naseby fight."[49]

Oliver Cromwell wrote similar news to London immediately following the battle,

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also estimating about 2,000 royalists taken prisoner or killed. He too compared the victory at Langport to that at Naseby, but, even more than Fairfax, he interpreted this success as a definite sign that God was on Parliament's side:

> Thus you see what the Lord had wrought us. Can any creature ascribe anything to itself? Now can we give all the glory to God, and desire all may do so, for it is all due unto Him. Thus you have Long Sutton mercy added to Naseby mercy. And to see this, is it not to see the face of God?[50]

As more details reached London from Fairfax's army and numerous Parliamentary-sanctioned pamphlets informed the public of the results of "the great battle," the magnitude of the royalist defeat became evident. While the New Model's losses had been negligible, in the final tally for 10 July alone, 300 royalists had been slain and among the 2,000 taken prisoner were over one hundred officers ranking captain and higher. Also captured were 2,200 horses; forty colors of horse and foot; 4,000 arms, including pistols, carbines, firelocks, muskets and pikes; two pieces of ordnance; six carts of ammunition, powder and match; and all the baggage wagons.[51]

Perhaps one of the most succinct comments on the outcome at Langport was made by Sir Charles Erskine, one of the Scottish commissioners in London. Writing to his wife on 22 July, he informed her that this latest Parliamentary victory was even greater than the last, meaning Naseby, and after inventorying the royalist losses, he concluded: "The King is in a very sorrowful condition." The Venetian ambassador expressed similar sentiments in his dispatches, for he too believed that with these latest losses the king was now "reduced to extremity."[52] King Charles, however, seemed to be ignoring this fact, as he continued with his recruiting in Wales. Apparently word of Goring's initial account had spread among those with the king, for Richard Symonds recorded that on 10 July "Sir Thomas Fairfax and Lord Goring had a touch about Ilchester, county Somerset; lost two great guns and not 200 men."[53] Only with the fall of Bridgwater, would the king and his court become more aware of the significance of their most recent defeats.[54]

As for Goring's handling of the situation leading up to and including the battle, based on the contemporary reports of both sides, George Goring came within eight miles--the distance to Bridgwater--of staving off any direct confrontation with the New

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Model Army. He received almost no assistance from the king or Prince Rupert or the other western royalists as he fled before the enemy with a demoralized army that had been short on pay and supplies even before the pursuit began. Several modern military historians agree that Goring's strategy was sound given the circumstances he found himself in.[55]

But one less tangible factor must be considered, something that might be called a moral malaise which emanated from Goring himself. It was no longer just a hostile witness like Sir Edward Hyde who claimed that the general was engaging in prodigious drinking bouts by this point in the war; Goring's own adjutant, Sir Richard Bulstrode, confirmed Hyde's accusations. No one, however, ever specifically accused Goring of being drunk when going into action. In fact, even his administrative work on the western campaign was commended by Prince Charles's secretary, Sir Richard Fanshawe, himself a scholar of some repute, who said that Goring "hath dictated to several persons at once that were upon dispatches, and all so admirably well, that none of them could be mended."[56] Certainly such an ability required clear-minded thinking. Yet the fact remains that Commissary General Porter and his officers had behaved exceedingly negligently at Isle Abbots. As the commanding officer, George Goring had to take responsibility for the actions of his subordinates; he had to set some kind of example for them. Although he had always acted with great physical courage and quick intelligence, he also signaled that riotous living was acceptable. Perhaps Goring still knew when to draw the line between duty and pleasure, but obviously, some of his officers no longer could.

Retreat into Devon

General Goring had been wrong in his prediction that Fairfax was going to follow him into Devon, for Bridgwater itself became the New Model Army's next objective. While some might have wondered why Fairfax did not continue pursuit of "this running army," as Hyde labeled Goring's forces, it soon became clear that with the fall of the three royalist garrisons of Langport, Burrow and Bridgwater, the Parliamentarians would

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effectively cut off the royalists in Devon and Cornwall from the king's forces in the rest of England. Therefore, on 11 July, the day following the battle when Goring was still waiting for his remaining men to come into Bridgwater, Fairfax held a general rendezvous of his army at Weston Moor and quartered that night at Chedzoy, some two miles east of the royalist outpost.[57]

Goring of course could not be certain of Fairfax's intentions at this point. That is why in his letter of the 12th to Digby he had emphasized that the two eastern counties had to be prepared to join with him to defend themselves against the Parliamentarians: "I hope these counties are so loyal and honest that they will unite all their force and power to oppose these villains."[58] Goring had continued his trek west from Bridgwater without his cannon and with minimal baggage, obviously hoping to quickly distance himself from any pursuit. He also marched with 500 of his most trusted cavalrymen acting as a rearguard. According to one Parliamentary observer, General Goring left "in a most perplexed condition, in regard of the discontent of his shattered forces. . . ."[59] Another added: "The Cavaliers seem to be very sorrowful for their losses. . . ."[60]

On 13 July Lord Culpeper wrote Goring, asking for details of the troops that remained with him. Prince Charles and his council had been residing at Barnstaple until recently, but the prince had gone to Launceston in Cornwall by the time Goring arrived in north Devon. George replied that he was planning to have a rendezvous the next day to determine his numbers, but, in the meantime, he asked that the council send back all deserters who had returned to Cornwall. He needed match and new ordinance to replace the cannon he had left behind at Bridgwater, where he had also left 1,000 men and the 200 oxen that pulled his artillery train. For the time being, George was staying in the town of Torrington, while his army was quartered between there and Bideford on the north Devon coast.[61]

After his rendezvous, on 18 July Goring sent a report to the council along with a personal representative, one Mr. Paramour, who was to explain "in what necessity these forces are for want of money, especially the officers both of horse and foot." George wanted to reform his remaining forces, which meant disbanding undermanned units to

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form larger ones, but he needed money to pay off the officers. Most of the Cornishmen were gone, and the ongoing animosity between Grenvile and Sir John Berkeley was heating up again, so much so, that if the prince did not intervene soon, George predicted "all will go to wreck."[62] (Even the Parliamentary reports from the field were aware that Berkeley was remaining at Exeter "upon some discontent.")[63] George concluded that if his men were paid and if these differences could be reconciled, Devon and Cornwall could be held "though all the rest of the Kingdom were united against us, for which end I should be very glad to have a speedy meeting with some of your Lordships, now [that] the rebels give us this respite; they are before Bridgwater."[64]

Two days later Goring sent another letter and another emissary to the council. This time it was one of his infantry colonels, Richard Arundell, who was on his way to Cornwall to recover most of his regiment which had run away. The colonel was to give the councilors a first-hand description of the difficulties within the western army. Goring took this opportunity to reiterate the need for pay for his officers, lacking which "I am afraid they will never be kept together." He added that his latest news from Bridgwater consisted of unconfirmed reports that "the Rebels... [are] taking a considerable loss."[65] But apparently Goring thought his situation so critical that a day later he also sent his second-in-command, Thomas Lord Wentworth, to Launceston to press his demands. Wentworth and Arundell presented their case before Prince Charles and his advisors which resulted in Culpeper writing George on 22 July that "His Highness finds it very necessary to confer with your Lordship. . . ." which meant that the council members themselves wanted to meet with Goring in person. In the meantime, Culpeper promised that attempts would be made to bring back four Cornish regiments that had deserted and to provide money for officers and provisions.[66]

Culpeper had requested a face-to-face meeting because he was concerned about certain demands from Goring passed on in private by Wentworth for him and Hyde to review before they were presented to the prince and entire council. Among the proposals, George wanted to choose all officers in the west, with the right to commission if Prince Charles were not present. He requested a seat on the council and the title of

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lieutenant general in the west, with full authority not only over the field army but also over all garrison commanders. But Chancellor Hyde was not at Launceston to review the proposals, and while George would claim ill health kept him from journeying to Launceston, as requested, a meeting would be arranged the following month at Exeter.[67]

George Goring's desire to set up a hierarchical command structure made military sense, and he based his ongoing pleas for men and money on sheer military necessity; an unpaid army did not continue to exist for very long, as the royalists were already experiencing. But Sir Edward Hyde denigrated Goring's concerns and charged that the general, while he "entertained himself" at Torrington, wrote "letters of discontent to the Prince and the lords; one day complaining for want of money. . . .another day desiring that all straggling soldiers might be sent out of Cornwall. . . ."[68] These were not "letters of discontent" but rather appeals for timely support. The royalist coffers might have been nearly empty which would have prevented the council from complying with many of Goring's demands, but Hyde's attitude could only have exacerbated the situation in the west. By his own words, he considered Goring (and Grenvile) at this time as "troublesome and inconvenient."[69]

In sharp contrast, the Committee of Both Kingdoms in London was extremely concerned about paying and supplying the New Model Army so that the advantage of the recent victories would not be lost and the war might soon be brought to an end. Various messages were sent out on 15 July to make sure that supplies were being forwarded as ordered from Portsmouth by sea to Lyme from where they would be transported overland to the siege site at Bridgwater. The Committee was also concerned about coordinating with the Scots whose forces were concentrated on the Hereford-Warwickshire border, where they had awaited the outcome of the struggle in the west. With the Parliamentary army's victory at Langport, the Committee wanted the Scots to prevent any new royalist recruiting from taking place in the Marches. As London advised the Scottish commander, the Earl of Leven: "We . . . desire that all improvement may be made of their late blow received and present disanimation."[70]

As the New Model Army marched towards Bridgwater after the fall of Langport,

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Sir Thomas Fairfax had sent a detachment of dragoons under Colonel Okey to take the smaller royalist garrison of Burrow, which had yielded an additional 120 prisoners, eighty muskets and forty firelocks. The Parliamentary army had also increased its ranks by recruiting 500 of the recently captured royalists to its cause. But Fairfax's momentum had been stalled before Bridgwater which was well-fortified and well-manned. Goring had left one of his infantry regiments there, besides his cannon, his oxen and his wounded (among whom was his Major General of Horse John Digby), so that the 1,800 defenders had almost forty pieces of ordnance. Moreover, since this garrison acted as a depot for the smaller surrounding royalist garrisons, it contained a store of food and ammunition, although the besiegers did not know if the defenders had sufficient provisions to withstand a prolonged siege. Its location was on level ground, surrounded by a thirty-foot wide ditch which was kept flooded by the River Parrett. Despite these obstacles, the Parliamentarians were determined to take it "by storming or starving," for they knew that, as a central royalist stronghold (much as Leicester had been for the Parliamentarians), the town contained "good prize within."[71]

While Fairfax and his commanders met over several days to determine how the town should be taken, the soldiers finally had some time to relax and "refresh" themselves. Just as importantly, the long awaited money for wages arrived at Lyme and was convoyed to the siege site on 16 July. That same day the council of war again debated what was to be done. There apparently was little concern that Goring's defeated army might come back, for it was known that he was headquartered in the vicinity of Barnstaple. Nor was there as great a concern as previously about the interference of the Clubmen in north Somerset who now had become "more terrible to him [Goring] than [to] our army . . . disarming his men." Fairfax's council-of-war at the outset rejected the idea of leaving Bridgwater in royalist hands as too detrimental to their further progress. But to attempt to starve out the defenders might take too long and would leave the king time to rally his forces; also rejected was the alternative of approaches--digging trenches--which would likewise be time-consuming and not too practical because of the rain and ground dampness. In the end, General Fairfax persuaded the council to concur unanimously with

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his choice: despite the danger involved, Bridgwater was to be taken by storm.[72]

On Friday, 18 July (the same day Goring was reporting his status and his needs to the Prince's Council in detail), the besiegers were finalizing their plans for the action which was scheduled for the following Monday. Lots were drawn to determine positions and General Massey, on the western side of the town, was allotted the task of making the initial attack. His action was meant to draw the defenders to that side of the walls, allowing Fairfax's men on the opposite side to mount their attack with little resistance. On Sunday the men were in position, and the alarm was given at 2 a.m. on 21 July. The Parliamentarians, by using makeshift bridges, did gain the outer defensive works, but not the inner walls of the town, and in the course of the day's fighting large sections of the town were burnt. Fairfax offered Governor Wyndham terms of surrender which he refused.[73]

The Parliamentarians renewed their attack the following day, not by assault but rather by launching a heavy bombardment. As Fairfax related, "perceiving an obstinate resolution in the Enemy not to yield the town, I was forced to use those extremities for the reducing of it, which brought them immediately to a parley and, in short, to yield the town upon no other terms than bare quarter."[74] That extra day of resistance had cost the royalists much harsher terms of surrender. When Bridgwater was handed over on 23 July, the Parliamentarians took almost the entire garrison prisoner and gained forty-four barrels of powder; 1,500 arms; and thirty-eight pieces of ordnance, which included those cannon Goring and his officers had labored to defend both before and after the battle of Langport. In addition, all the stored valuables were taken and sold off to pay the soldiers a bonus of three schillings each for storming. There was one final sad footnote for the royalists; among those captured was John Digby, gravely wounded at Langport, who died soon after, his loss lamented by those who had served with him in Goring's cavalry.[75]

The royalists were still experiencing difficulties with their communications, so that the details of these various actions in the west took time to spread. Secretary Nicholas at Oxford as late as 21 July did not even have the specifics of Goring's defeat at Langport and was still hoping that the early reports of the magnitude of the loss had been

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exaggerated.[76] Parliament, to the contrary, was making every effort possible "to keep the attention of the people attracted to their great successes" by holding a public day of celebration and thanksgiving, first for Langport,[77] and another on 27 July, so that "notice be taken of God's mercies and blessings upon the Parliament's forces in the west . . . particularly in the taking in of Bridgwater. . . ."[78] At the same time Parliament was publishing the king's correspondence captured at Naseby to further rally public opinion to its cause, or as the pro-royalist Venetian observer noted, "to render his [King Charles's] name more odious to the people and his designs suspect."[79]

In the west, the Prince's Council, still unaware of Bridgwater's fate, was trying to meet some of General Goring's requests to alleviate the conditions in his army. His unpaid soldiers, particularly his cavalry, had taken to providing for themselves from the locals who were rapidly becoming disenchanted with the royalist cause. Therefore, on 24 July, to try to satisfy Goring's demands and also to try to diffuse the growing hostility in north Devon, the council ordered that Goring be allowed to reduce and reform both his horse and foot regiments and retain officers of his own choosing; all who remained would receive "competent subsistence." Goring's infantry was to move south in Devon to Crediton (northwest of Exeter) to await additional forces from Cornwall and Devon, and the horse were to quarter in close proximity to the foot. Moreover, the cavalry was to be ordered neither "to stray from their quarters nor to molest" anyone bringing in supplies, which would come from Exeter. The cavalry was also to be kept away from all the provisioning points for the infantry. Finally, a new artillery train was ready at Exeter.[80]

Early on 27 July George Goring still had no definite word on Bridgwater's fate. His major concern would be if a successful New Model were marching his way, but he informed Culpeper that he did not think the enemy was coming west. In the meantime, he had begun moving his foot from Bideford, but he was still experiencing desertions, so that he had only 1,300 infantrymen left and no cannon, for the replacement artillery train had not left Exeter as yet. His biggest problem remained a lack of pay for his troops: "Officers and soldiers press so much for some pay that I fear they will never be kept together without it." If he could get some men from Cornwall, a proposition he was rather

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pessimistic about, he could fix a quarter at Tiverton (in western Devon, close to the Somerset border).[81] However, later that same day Goring sent another dispatch to the council informing them that Bridgwater had been taken. While this was an unfortunate piece of news, George intended to make the most of it to bring pressure to gain his demands. Sir Joseph Wagstaff, his infantry commander, was personally bearing the dispatch so he could tell the council of the army's needs. Goring warned: "Now that the certainty of the taking of Bridgwater is come to us, I believe the Rebels will not stay much longer where they are."[82]

The following day George Goring relayed more bad news to Culpeper. Sir Richard Grenvile, in charge of raising new levies in Cornwall and Devon, had written that he would not make up the numbers expected of him. Furthermore, additional Cornish troops in Goring's command were preparing to leave. George, perhaps because of the confidential nature of his admissions, wrote this letter in his own hand, for he continued:

> I shall deal freely with your Lordship. I do not see any probability we can get a considerable body together that will fight in this poverty and distractions they are in, but there are some that I know will never yield if there be a timely course taken to place them where they can hold together. I think [that] of our horse and foot there be 2,000 that will hold as long as they have victuals and ammunition.[83]

Culpeper was understandably "troubled" by Goring's latest reports. The council would do everything possible to bring back the Cornish deserters and was hopeful that a general rendezvous scheduled for the end of the month in Cornwall would recruit more men. General Hopton and Chancellor Hyde also were meeting with the Cornish gentry to try to gain financial support, while Culpeper himself was just about to leave to go to the king.[84]

Some attempt had to be made at coordinating the royalist war effort at this critical juncture. The king still had no thought to give in to a negotiated settlement on Parliament's terms, even though Rupert himself finally suggested this option to his uncle in late July, after the losses of Langport and Bridgwater. The king answered his nephew that this was not possible, for "God will not suffer rebels or traitors to prosper."[85] Henrietta Maria and the exiled royalists gathered about her in Paris were also sending both moral

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and material support back to the king. Arms, ammunition, and powder were being dispatched from both France and Holland to the royalists in the west and to Montrose in Scotland. Even after news of Goring's defeat at Langport reached Paris, Sir Henry Jermyn, Henrietta Maria's chief courtier, wrote Digby urging the king not to give up, for the queen would be sending new supplies into the west.[86]

Nevertheless, despite Charles's determination to go forward with the war, he had to face certain realities. His recruiting had gone poorly in Wales. Not only were the number of new levies lower than expectations, but, due to a lack of pay, many quickly deserted, making the situation not unlike that in Devon and Cornwall. Then, when the king was at Cardiff in late July, his 4,000 Welsh troops, on the brink of mutiny, demanded that he remove Sir Charles Gerrard as their general. Charles complied and gave command instead to the veteran, Sir Jacob Astley.[87]

While at Cardiff, the king also received the news of the fall of Bridgwater. This led to an intense debate within his council about his next course of action. Once again, as after Naseby, one option was for Charles to sail to the west and either join Rupert at Bristol or Goring and his forces. While a ship was available for this journey, there was some concern about the king's safety while attempting to cross the Severn and even greater concern for his men who would have to either find shipping or go by land, marching through territory now held by the enemy. As usual, court intrigues were also working behind the scenes, for if Charles were reunited with Rupert or Goring, the military men might regain ascendancy in the king's council. The one other option was for the king to go north to try to meet up with the still undefeated Montrose. The enemy's movements would help to determine the king's final decision, as Digby updated Prince Rupert at Bristol.[88]

As the royalists in both Wales and the west waited to see in which direction the victorious New Model would turn, the Parliamentarians found themselves sharply divided in opinion after the capture of Bridgwater. At a council of war held on 25 July, the majority favored marching west to "hinder Goring from rallying his forces or raising any considerable body. . . ." Fairfax, however, uncharacteristically chose to go against his

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commanders, for he was extremely concerned about turning his back on the royalist garrisons of Sherborne, Bath and Bristol which he decided to make his next targets. In fact, Bath fell on 29 July after the defenders offered only the briefest resistance, and even before Rupert could mount a relief effort. The town's position surrounded by rising ground would have made it vulnerable to artillery fire, and the destruction of Bridgwater was too recent an example to go unheeded. Sherborne Castle, located in north Dorset and defended by Sir Lewis Dyve, would become the next target, which meant that with the New Model thus engaged, the king had the opportunity to go on the march unimpeded. In the first week of August, he prepared to leave Wales to march northeast via Yorkshire to attempt a rendezvous with Montrose. [89]

The siege of Sherborne also bought the western royalists additional time to try to rebuild their forces. With Culpeper gone to the king, on 1 August Goring wrote to Chancellor Hyde with a detailed, five-point proposal that he and Sir Richard Grenvile had agreed upon after meeting in person. "I find very fair hopes of getting a body of ten or twelve thousand men together in very short time," George began. His plan consisted of sending Grenvile and some trusted troops into Cornwall to bring back various deserters and disbanded troops; recalling three other disbanded regiments; raising additional men in Devon; taking 1,000 veterans soldiers for his army from the siege of Plymouth and replacing them with the Cornish trained bands; plus having the authority to reclaim any horse or foot who have "sheltered themselves" in garrisons. He then gave details on the numbers he expected to raise in this manner. He also reported that at a recent rendezvous of his horse, 3,000 men had been accounted for, although 300-400 were still without mounts, and about 1,000 more horse were known to be in four outlying regiments.[90]

Goring went on to take up his favorite theme, payment for his army. He reiterated that all of his officers remained "in very great necessity, many hurt." He wanted at least a quarter of the Cornish assessment, valued at £20,000 in total and destined primarily for Grenvile's siege of Plymouth, to come to him for his men. He again asked for the new artillery train along with powder, match and bullets. Once he was supplied money, he would provide his own necessities or raid enemy-held territory for what he needed. But

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George knew he was dealing with the rather skeptical Chancellor of the Exchequer, so he continued: "Sir, I confess that these are great sums which I demand." This expenditure, he argued, would enable him not only to defend the west and the king's cause, but also would allow him to take the army out of Devon. Grenvile's troops (not his own!) would no longer be left to plunder the local countryside. "And that this army will be in order and discipline which hath been seldom seen in any of the King's armies, and for want of which many actions of great moment have miscarried since this war began." If, however, his advice went unheeded, "never expect these men can be kept together. Compare the benefit that the King's party and cause will receive by this assistance and you will find it the best purchase that ever was made." He finished by indicating that a copy of this plan was being forwarded to the king and pressed Hyde for a quick reply, reminding him that they should not lose "this time which the Rebels hath given us."[91]

Unlike the king's recently misplaced hopes of raising 10,000 new recruits in Wales and from Ireland, this plan primarily relied on retrieving disbanded troops, and reorganizing and utilizing the veterans more efficiently. That Grenvile had joined Goring in drawing up the program showed that at least two of the senior commanders in the west thought it might be practicable, just as a majority of the New Model commanders believed Goring capable of rallying his forces if left unchecked. Nevertheless, as Goring himself realized, the royalists' resources were exceedingly strained, so would his plea bring forth the money required to set his plan in action? In fact, on 2 August Prince Charles and his council at Launceston, with Sir Richard Grenvile in attendance, agreed to the five-point program and promised that half of the assessments from the two western counties would be committed to rebuilding the army. The council also issued warrants to allow Goring, Grenvile and their officers to recover runaway troops in Cornwall. Sir Edward Hyde was part of these proceedings and had concurred with the plan, but in a letter to Secretary Digby, written on 5-6 August, he revealed his true feelings and his fear that Goring and Grenvile--whom he derisively labeled "these two great champions"-- would not be content with anything less than complete authority in the west.[92]

George Goring had sent a personal letter to Hyde along with the formal

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reorganization proposal. In this letter, as Hyde related to Digby, Goring "was full of kindness to me, conjuring me not to suffer any faction or animosity to be amongst us, but . . . unitedly to intend the public service, protesting that resolution on his part." Hyde was having none of it. Instead, he interpreted every action by Goring and Grenvile as attempts to encroach on the council's authority. He continued: "Indeed, I am weary of my life, and it is evident the whole design is to put all the contempt upon us that is possible, and for aught I know to take away the Prince's person from us, but we shall look to that as well as we can."[93] That was a terrible accusation for Hyde to make to court, hinting that the Prince of Wales might be in danger from his own military commanders. Also, to see the entire army reorganization as nothing more than a scheme against the council spoke more to Hyde's paranoia than Goring's ambition. The chancellor, unlike the commanders, seemed to have had no concept of the great threat Parliament's army posed or the urgency required on the part of the royalists if they were to have any chance of staving off that threat.

As Hyde was finishing his letter, he learned that one brigade of Goring's cavalry was looking for quarters four miles west of Launceston, in the vicinity of the prince's lifeguard, "which gives us great disturbance and more jealousy." He judged that Goring was "unduly frightened" of the enemy, for the New Model was still involved in the siege of Sherborne. Hyde took the opportunity to again undermine Goring's actions with Digby: if the general's cavalry arrived at Launceston in force, "what mischance is like to befall us."[94] In other words, Sir Edward Hyde was claiming to be more afraid of General Goring and his army than of Fairfax and the entire New Model. Goring's plea to set aside "faction or animosity" had certainly fallen on deaf ears, and the rapidly worsening situation in the war seemed to be driving the royalists further apart rather than bringing them together.

This pattern was not restricted to the west, but was occurring in other royalist centers as well. At court Digby had been working to keep the king away from Rupert, while at Oxford, Governor Legge, Rupert's "great friend," was openly talking against Secretary Digby, thereby continuing to fuel that ongoing antagonism. Additionally, new

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stories had begun circulating in London about Goring's possible defection after his defeat at Langport. Edward Walsingham, George Digby's personal secretary, was at Oxford in early August, reporting these various items back to court. Walsingham had received his own intelligence, however, from a secret correspondent in London who clearly indicated that the new rumors about Goring were nothing more than another attempt by the enemy to undermine the general's reliability, to play him "such another . . . trick." The reference was to the earlier tales of Goring's imminent defection started by the defector Lord Savile. Walsingham confirmed to Digby that these rumors had been so strong at Oxford that even "the best affected [to Goring] were in a labyrinth what to think." But Colonel Richard Neville, one of Goring's cavalry commanders who had been at the battle of Langport, arrived at Oxford and related the general's recent actions in such a positive manner that he dispelled the stories of any possible duplicity on George Goring's part. Also, according to Walsingham, Neville's testimony left those who had supported the suspicions cast in a bad light.[95]

Lord Culpeper personally reported to the king and his councilors on conditions in the west when he arrived at court. Soon after, Ralph Hopton, and not George Goring, received direct command under the Prince of Wales, although this was done without Prince Rupert's concurrence. Once with the king, Culpeper did dispatch a status report to Rupert, which included a tally of Goring's latest troop counts (as given prior to the reorganization scheme). The report was businesslike, without the negative commentary on Goring's actions or motives that Hyde had included in his report to Digby. Culpeper also advised the prince that he was not sure if General Goring was going to put his men into garrisons or stay in the field to defend eastern Devon.[96]

The Parliamentarians were equally concerned about Goring's next moves, believing that he might try to relieve the siege of Sherborne Castle, so that General Massey, headquartered at Taunton, was assigned the task of stopping any royalist incursions from the west. The New Model, stalled by Sir Lewis Dyve's stubborn defense, was awaiting the arrival of heavy siege guns. The Clubmen of the region, unlike those who had turned on the royalists after Langport, were still hostile to the New Model's

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presence. Carrying banners with snappy mottos like "If you offer to plunder our cattle, be assured we will bid you battle," the Clubmen were so threatening a presence that Cromwell had to be dispatched to disburse them with his cavalry.[97]

The New Model advanced its position around Sherborne by digging trenches or approaches. On 11 August some of Goring's cavalry did make an incursion into Somerset but were stopped in a skirmish by Massey's forces. Three days later Fairfax had his guns in place and offered Governor Dyve a third and last chance to surrender on terms, which he refused. On 15 August a breach was blown in the walls which allowed the New Model to take the castle by storm. The governor and 400 men of his garrison were taken prisoner on terms of bare quarter, which meant that they were basically at Fairfax's mercy, while "the soldiers finding plunder of great value, the taking of which in a disorderly manner could not then be prevented."[98]

After this victory, Fairfax and his commanders faced a new decision: should they finally turn back to deal with Goring and the western royalists or instead attempt to take the stronghold of Bristol, defended by Prince Rupert. The latter option was chosen, for Bristol was too important to leave unattended, and Fairfax was still wary of having to deal with the Clubmen of the western counties.[99] It was Rupert's turn to face the seemingly invincible New Model Army, but not on the field as he had done at Naseby. Would anyone be able to come to his assistance?

The Fall of Bristol

Prince Rupert, doubtful of the war's ultimate outcome as he had already told his uncle, nevertheless prepared to make a stand against a prolonged siege by bringing supplies of food and ammunition into Bristol. His garrison, however, only numbered about 2,500 and included some of the new Welsh levies, while the city had a civilian population of 12,500. Although he estimated his provisions could last four months, Rupert knew that if Fairfax chose to take Bristol by storm, he would most likely succeed. After all, just two years earlier, the prince himself had taken the city by assault, against

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1,800 defenders, but with about half the number of troops as those in the New Model Army. Rupert's best hope was that Fairfax would not risk the heavy casualties of storming, and the defenders could then withstand a siege long enough for relief to come from the king or Goring or even from the onset of winter weather.[100]

King Charles, while determined to fight on, was not totally insensible to his worsening situation, for he had written Prince Charles on 5 August instructing him that if he were ever in danger of being captured, he should leave England and join his mother in France. The king, after dispatching this letter with the returning Culpeper, had gathered his army of about 3,000 and marched north. They had reached Doncaster in south Yorkshire before the proximity of the Scots' cavalry under David Leslie, in addition to the strong Parliamentary military presence in the region, caused them to abandon their attempt to link up with Montrose in Scotland. As Charles returned south towards Oxford, his unpaid troops lived off the local inhabitants without any consideration as to friend or foe, as Secretary of War Walker related, a situation not dissimilar to that in the west. At the same time that the king was redirecting his march south, on 18 August Fairfax and the New Model left Sherborne and headed towards Bristol.[101]

The western royalists were aware of this new threat and were trying to coordinate a relief effort. Some of the commanders had met in central Devon at Okehampton and as a result of this meeting, George Goring had positioned his troops further east in the county. The foot were located between Crediton and the River Exe, while the horse quarters were north and east at Tiverton and Ottery St. Mary. George was at Exeter with Sir John Berkeley and his officers when they reported these latest moves to the Prince's Council at Launceston on 21 August. But the foot and horse were "contracted into so narrow limit" that Goring and the others judged that they could not be provided for too much longer. They were awaiting the troops that Grenvile had promised from Cornwall before they could attempt any large-scale incursion into the neighboring counties of Somerset and Dorset which were entirely in Parliamentary hands.[102]

As Goring was beginning to undertake these preparations to carry the war back to the enemy, the New Model Army arrived before Bristol on 22 August and had the city

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totally invested within two days. Fairfax also detached four regiments of cavalry to the northeast to guard against any relief effort that might come from the king, while General Massey and his 4,000 men at Taunton were to continue their vigilance against the western royalists, much as they had done during the siege of Sherborne. A simultaneous action was being undertaken by the Earl of Leven and the Scottish army about forty miles north of Bristol against the royalist stronghold of Hereford. But Leven's cavalry had gone in pursuit of the king, and his infantry, long unpaid by Parliament, had to live off the land while trying to maintain the siege.[103]

The western royalist commanders were still attempting to gather their forces to mount a relief effort as the siege of Bristol began in earnest, but Massey was keeping close watch on Goring's horse, which moved east of Tiverton, to Cullompton on 25 August. The Prince's Council was also trying to speed up preparations, for they too had received independent confirmation of the New Model's march on Bristol. Prince Charles and the lords of the council sent their approval of Goring's latest relief plans on 25 August, and promised to try to expedite the arrival of the Cornish levies at Exeter. Moreover, they asked the commissioners of Devon to provide clothes, stockings, shoes and various foodstuffs for the royalist army. Trying to be as diplomatic as possible in their request to the local officials, the council members acknowledged the great burdens that had been placed on the county "not only by the incursion of the Rebels, but likewise by the pressure of our own forces," but by providing these supplies, the people of Devon would help take the war out of the county.[104]

These preparations in the west did not go unnoticed in London. The Committee of Both Kingdoms, also concerned about the king's return south, sent out warnings to various commanders in the field in the last days of August that the king might join with Goring to come to Rupert's assistance. The Parliamentarians estimated that the king now had 4,000 horse and dragoons and would be met with a force of 10,000 from the western royalists. When the king actually did arrive back at Oxford on 29 August, the Committee wrote Massey ordering him to be ready to join with Fairfax to face the combined royalist relief forces. But King Charles decided not to go immediately to his nephew's assistance;

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instead, believing that the New Model would waste itself besieging Bristol, the king marched to the relief of Hereford. The hard-pressed Leven had no choice but to lift the siege, and the king entered the city in triumph on 4 September.[105]

When London saw that the king was not heading directly towards Bristol, Massey was ordered to stay in the west, especially with Goring already having advanced some troops into Somerset as far as Chard. Massey was also placed under Fairfax's direct command once again, so that the Parliamentarians had a unified field command, so unlike the royalists. Goring, still having to coordinate his actions through the Prince's Council, obviously was struggling to gather sufficient forces and provisions. The very fact that his men needed such basics as food and clothing argued against any large-scale immediate action on his part. Moreover, the western royalists, much like the king, did not believe that there was any imminent danger to Bristol, based on Rupert's own early communications. Prince Charles and his councilors came to Exeter to discuss the relief effort in late August, and they agreed that nothing would be undertaken until Sir Richard Grenvile brought in additional troops from western Devon and Cornwall. Goring wrote this to Secretary Nicholas at Oxford, to be relayed to the king and to Bristol, estimating that it would take him three weeks to go on the march. But, in a repeat of the events prior to Naseby, Goring's letter was intercepted, this time by Massey who forwarded the contents to both Fairfax and London. While Secretary Nicholas informed the king that he was still awaiting news of Goring's movements, the Parliamentarians knew that Goring, by his own estimates, could not arrive before mid-September.[106]

Fairfax had this intelligence in hand on 31 August. During the week prior, the general and his commanders had decided against storming, much as Rupert had guessed, although the Parliamentarians had found themselves engaged in repulsing numerous sallies launched by the defenders. At the same time, Fairfax had tried to communicate with some disaffected citizens of Bristol, but Rupert had discovered this attempt to foment rebellion from within and quickly had the plotters arrested. But now, with the reported delay of Goring's relief effort and the king's reappearance in the Marches, Fairfax called for a new council of war on 2 September. With all his colonels in attendance the decision was made

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to abandon the siege and to take Bristol by storm. A plan was formulated on the following day, and on 4 September Fairfax sent a formal summons to Prince Rupert to surrender the city.[107]

Beyond the regular formalities of such a device, Sir Thomas decided to "expostulate" with Rupert, not only because of the prince's royal blood, but also in deference to his "honor and courage." Fairfax began with a restatement of the war's aim, a belief he would abide by even when Cromwell and many of the New Model officers would later become regicides.

> Sir, the crown of England is and will be where it ought to be; we fight to maintain it there, but the King, misled by evil councilors or through a seduced heart hath left his Parliament and his people (under God the best assurance of his crown and family). The maintenance of the schism is the ground of this unhappy war on your part, and what sad effects it hath produced in the three Kingdoms is visible.

If these political arguments were not sufficiently persuasive, Sir Thomas next reminded the prince that a stubborn defense on his part would greatly endanger the city and its inhabitants. As a final inducement, Fairfax recalled all the assistance the English had given to Rupert's embattled parents and siblings and asked how "England will judge such destruction coming from one of his family which hath had the prayers, tears, purses and blood of its Parliament and people."[108]

Rupert, seeing a further correspondence as a chance to buy himself more time, made several counter proposals, including the opportunity to write the king for permission to surrender, all of which were denied. Fairfax, aware that the prince was procrastinating, allowed this exchange to continue for five days as he simultaneously continued with his assault plans. Part of the Parliamentary preparations included the issuing of an extremely interesting document, dated from "before Bristol, 8 September 1645," addressed to "the High Sheriff of the County of Cornwall and the well-affected gentry and inhabitants of that county," and signed by Sir Thomas Fairfax and Oliver Cromwell.[109]

This document can only be deemed a wonderful example of psychological warfare aimed at some of the king's most loyal supporters, the Cornish. The two Parliamentary commanders began with this point by recalling the "great and frequent supply of men,

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money and other aids to the enemy which have been raised out of your county above others." But with Parliament now on the brink of victory, they questioned why the Cornish were still providing for the king's "broken forces, whereby they may once again appear in the field to disturb the peace of the Kingdom." To show the Cornish the error of their ways, Fairfax and Cromwell expounded on the interests of religion and the rights and liberties of Parliament for which they were fighting. They added that the people of Cornwall had suffered long enough under the royalists' burdens and asked them to withdraw their forces. However, if this warning were not heeded, Parliament's army would "come down amongst you, that you shall be accounted and dealt withal in the severest way of war as the most eminent and obstinate disturbers and retarders of the Kingdom's peace, now by God's mercy to be speedily settled. Yet hoping better of you for the future."[110]

Fairfax and Cromwell were delivering a straightforward message: we are winning the war, any further attempt to oppose us would be futile and would be swiftly answered and severely punished. That this message did not come from Parliament but rather from the New Model Army was significant. Such admonitions from politicians in distant London could be ignored in Cornwall, whereas threats from the commanders of a victorious, quick-moving army had to be taken more seriously. The timing of the document was also important. Fairfax's assault was planned for the early hours of 10 September. He knew from Goring's own report intended for the king that one of the western royalists' main problems was drawing in more troops, particularly infantry from Cornwall. If the New Model Army's initial assault on Bristol failed, a second assault could not be undertaken immediately thereafter, so that there could be time for a relief effort to come from the west. In such a case, Fairfax and Cromwell were apparently hoping to buy themselves a little extra insurance with their scare tactics.

On 9 September, as the futile negotiations between Fairfax and Rupert were drawing to a close, it was still unclear which side held the upper hand in the standoff. Digby, with the king who had returned to Raglan Castle from Hereford, was hopeful that Goring "with a good army" would soon be on his way to Bristol (although he had no

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specific notice of this), and he believed that Rupert's sallies were keeping the Parliamentarians in check. But in London stories were circulating that Fairfax was preparing to take Bristol by storm; however, if he did not make an assault or if it failed, he might leave the city blockaded with part of his forces and take the rest of his army back into the field to try to head off Goring's relief effort.[111]

The assault finally began at 1 a.m. on 10 September when the New Model attacked all along the four miles of the city's perimeter defenses. Four outlying forts, connected by a ditch with a low wall for protection, were the key to the western approaches and the area in which the bloodiest fighting took place. The northernmost outpost, Prior's Hill Fort, although surrounded by the enemy, refused to surrender and kept up a heavy cannonade for three hours. When the Parliamentarians finally broke through, no quarter was given and the defenders were "immediately put to the sword, almost all in it." By the time dawn came, most of the royalists had been driven back within the city's main walls, all except those who were trapped in the three remaining outposts, and parts of Bristol were now on fire. Having received no news from the king or the west since the siege began, Rupert and his council of war decided that they had no choice but to ask for terms of surrender. Although in theory Fairfax did not have to negotiate at this point, he claimed that the fear of seeing "so famous a city burnt to ashes before our faces," led him to come to terms with the prince.[112]

By the Articles of Agreement, Prince Rupert, his officers and soldiers, as well as any civilians who so chose would be allowed to leave the city. They were not to be molested and they would be convoyed up to fifty miles from Bristol. There was to be neither plunder nor violence committed by either side. Compared to the harsh terms imposed on Bridgwater and Sherborne, these were most lenient conditions, especially considering that the royalists had fought a hard battle for six hours and inflicted more casualties on the Parliamentarians than the king's army had at Naseby. (Among the mortally wounded was Major Christopher Bethel whose brilliant charge had broken Goring's forces at Langport.)[113] By being magnanimous in victory, perhaps Fairfax hoped that Rupert might act as a peacemaker with the king or that other royalists might come to

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terms rather than fight on to the end.

Fairfax himself received the prince when he left Bristol on 11 September. The two adversaries were most courteous in their exchanges before Rupert and his convoy headed towards Oxford, where he arrived on 15 September. He was accompanied by Colonel John Butler, one of the New Model's cavalry commanders who previously had fought under Sir William Waller. Butler, upon completion of this convoy duty, wrote a noteworthy letter to his former commander, now back in Parliament. Butler found that the prince had been quite unlike what he had expected and seemed inclined to a peaceful resolution to the conflict. Butler was hopeful that Rupert might persuade the king to his way of thinking, and so asked Waller to intervene with Parliament to see that no derogatory pamphlets were published about the surrender. As an experienced soldier, Butler concluded that the prince could not have held out any longer with so few forces.[114]

Just as Rupert--always so demonized by the Parliamentarians--was beginning to win new respect from the enemy, he lost the confidence of the king. While the New Model commanders saw the surrender of Bristol as a militarily sound decision, the royalists were devastated by the prince's action. Part of their incomprehension was based on poor communications. Other than Rupert's initial report on his food supplies, written on 12 August before the siege had begun, they knew very little of the realities once the New Model arrived. Rupert, in turn, had no direct communications on the relief efforts, just as the king and his court had been uncertain about the preparations in the west. Secretary of War Walker, always somewhat critical of the prince, would only comment that if any other commander had acted in like manner, Rupert would have judged him severely.[115] Secretary Digby, on the other hand, finally had the ammunition to defeat his chief rival. According to his version of events, the king's fortunes had been on the rise and a new army was within grasp until this loss. As he wrote to Secretary Nicholas at Oxford: "Never was there so sad a relapse into a desperate condition from so happy a recovery as the prodigious surrender of Bristol."[116]

King Charles, who often considered defeats nothing more than fortunes of war as he had written Goring after the loss of Weymouth earlier in the year, exhibited no such

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sympathy for his nephew on this occasion. Back at Hereford on 14 September, he wrote Rupert, questioning both his judgement and loyalty: "For what is to be done? After one that is so near me as your are, both in blood and friendship, submits himself to so mean an action." His conclusion was to dismiss Rupert without a hearing and send him a pass to go "beyond seas."[117] Rupert had to cashier his regiments of horse and foot, and his closest supporter, Colonel Legge, was removed as governor of Oxford and replaced by Sir Thomas Glemhem, a royalist hero who had recently come to the king after holding Carlisle against the Scots for eleven months (and had only surrendered after all the horses had been eaten!) Prince Maurice, however, was not to share his brother's fate. The king seemed somewhat calmer when he communicated his recent decisions to his younger nephew on 20 September, claiming that he had been too upset to write sooner. Charles no longer believed that Rupert had betrayed him, but rather thought that the prince's judgment had been "seduced by some rotten-hearted villains making fair pretensions to him," evidently a reference to Fairfax's appeal for a peaceful resolution. The king showed the depth of his feelings when he labeled Rupert's surrender as "this great error of his, which indeed hath given me more grief than any misfortune since this damnable rebellion [began]."[118]

Despite all the invective heaped on him, Prince Rupert would refuse to leave England as ordered by the king. Instead, through a tortuous process briefly described below, he would finally become reconciled with his uncle, but the prince would never have the same authority in military matters. The king, in the meantime, had to decide on a new course of action. "We were in a wood," Secretary Walker admitted, but finally it was decided to try to reach Montrose in Scotland again. Only in late September, after a futile and costly attempt to relieve Chester, did Charles learn that his Scottish champion had finally been defeated at Philiphaugh on 13 September, just two days after the loss of Bristol. As the Venetian observer in London reported: "Hostile fortune has struck [the king's party] two blows which have reduced it to the last stages of decadence."[119] It is against the background of these upheavals that the actions of the western royalists in September and beyond must be placed.

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The Decline of the Western Royalists

Prince Rupert, even before the loss of Bristol, had believed that the king could no longer win the war in the field and privately had urged his uncle to negotiate a settlement. Did George Goring, an even more experienced soldier, believe as Rupert did? Goring's thoughts have to be pieced together from his words and actions following Langport. After that loss he was extremely despondent as attested to by his adjutant, Sir Richard Bulstrode, and as evidenced by his letters to the Prince's Council upon his return to Devon. George had regained some confidence only when he realized that the New Model Army had chosen not to venture further west, which allowed him time to try to rebuild the western army with the concurrence and assistance of Sir Richard Grenvile. According to Hyde, however, this alliance between the two commanders did not last long. Grenvile became jealous of the fact that Goring was also working with his rival, Sir John Berkeley, and George himself became downcast again after the loss of Sherborne in mid-August.[120]

Inactivity, according to Bulstrode, was always a problem with Goring, but the need to organize a relief force for Bristol gave George an immediate task at hand. In late August he began to redeploy his forces in preparation to taking the field again, although everything was contingent on funding and raising more levies. Moreover, he lacked the authority he believed he needed to accomplish his goals, for he could not order troops from the garrisons or from other royalist commanders in the west, and everything still had to be referred to the civilians of the Prince's Council. Nor had he ever received any definitive reply to his demands for greater authority, sent to Culpeper and Hyde via Lord Wentworth the month prior.[121]

When Prince Charles arrived at Exeter on 29 August, Goring, again trying to recover his health under a doctor's care, asked for a representative of the council to come to him so he could relate all his concerns. According to the accounts of both Hyde and Bulstrode, the meeting apparently occurred in early September, before the news of Bristol's loss reached the west. Chancellor Hyde himself went one morning to Goring's lodgings where the general received him privately and reportedly spent two hours trying to

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resolve any past differences between them, asking to be forgiven for any words which had "indiscreetly or passionately fallen from him." Such quarrels could only be damaging to the cause they both served, and George said he was now seeking Hyde's friendship.[122]

This sounded very similar to the overtures Goring had made to Hyde by personal letter at the time of his army reorganization plan and which Hyde had scorned in his retelling to Digby. Since the chancellor had not responded positively to his written plea for reconciliation, George was apparently now intent on employing personal diplomacy to win Hyde over. After all, Goring had talked his way out of worse situations--as at the time of the Army Plot discoveries--and his eloquence, if not his sincerity, was attested to by friend and foe alike. Lady Anne Fanshawe, wife to the council's secretary and residing with her husband in the west at that time, could describe Goring as "exceeding facetious and pleasant company, and in conversation, where good manners were due, the civilest person imaginable. . . ."[123]

But Goring's polite conversation and protestations of friendship failed to change the chancellor's mind on this occasion, for when George brought up his still unanswered request for supreme military authority in the west, Hyde argued against making any changes in the current command structure. Although no authority would be taken away from Goring, even with Hopton's recent appointment as the prince's lieutenant general, Hyde argued that any additional alterations at this point would "beget much trouble" and any further consideration should be deferred "til the King's affairs should be in a better posture." George pressed Hyde further, believing that he was the only council member who was against him, but Hyde, in his later retelling, intimated that, unbeknownst to George, Culpeper also opposed granting Goring supreme command. Hyde realized at the end of their conversation that Goring was not going to let the matter drop: "Satisfied he was not, yet he forbore to importune the Prince for that purpose at that time."[124]

The two men had met alone, so that Sir Richard Bulstrode might have heard some version of this conversation from Goring himself. According to Bulstrode's brief recounting, George had complained about General Porter's incompetence--which Hyde also included in his retelling in some detail--but the main topic was Goring's request for

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supreme military authority. The chancellor said Goring should not have sent those demands via Lord Wentworth and that they could not be granted, "and so the Chancellor left General Goring."[125] The main point on which both accounts agreed was that George Goring remained dissatisfied after this encounter. The royalist command structure in the west would remain as fragmented as before.

The other interesting sidelight to emerge from this talk was Goring's open repudiation of George Porter. Goring was not just angry about his brother-in-law's poor performance on the Langport campaign, but also about Porter's recent involvement in a major fracas involving several of his senior commanders and his own brother, Charles. The incident was triggered when various officers were vying for the late John Digby's position as major general of horse. The cavalry colonel senior in service was Samuel Tuke, a Catholic who had originally fought in Newcastle's northern army and who now believed he had Porter's support for the post of major general. When he applied, however, General Goring said he would have been glad to have named him, but he had already appointed Colonel William Webb on George Porter's recommendation. Tuke, feeling Porter had betrayed him, resigned his commission immediately since he could no longer "serve with honor" and proceeded to write Porter what he thought of him. Of course Porter interpreted the letter as a challenge, for which Charles Goring was to act as his second. General Goring intervened to stop the duel, but Colonel Tuke then had to appear before a council of war to explain his letter, in which he had accused Porter of a breach of faith and other sins consisting "in his little or no religion, in turning the Bible and all sacred things into ridicule; in his great and constant debaucheries, with many other vices not fit to be named." Colonel Tuke, only with great reluctance, was finally forced by the war council to apologize to General Porter, who had hoped to get a death sentence passed on Tuke on the technicality that it was a capital offense for an inferior officer to challenge his superior, but General Goring again intervened to prevent any bloodshed, judicial or otherwise.[126]

Shortly after this incident and Hyde's meeting with Goring the news arrived at Exeter about the loss of Bristol, which caused great despair and "cast all men on their

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faces, and damped all the former vigor and activity for a march."[127] To further complicate matters, Goring's original commission was from Rupert. Despite their uneven history, Goring had called on the prince for support when he had disagreed with orders from the council, and their last meeting at the siege of Taunton had reportedly been amicable. But when King Charles dismissed his nephew, he had Digby notify all his commanders that, "upon weighty consideration moving us thereunto," Rupert's commission had been revoked so that the prince no longer had "any military authority whatsoever within our Dominions."[128] George Goring had lost a possible ally, a fellow soldier whose opinion once had been held dearly by the king, at a time when the western royalists found themselves ever more isolated strategically. There was an additional lesson to be learned from Rupert's precipitous fall from grace: if the king could turn his fury against one of his own family who had served him so well for so long, what hope would there be for anyone else who might openly oppose the official party line that the war could still be successfully prosecuted in the field?

As a veteran soldier, Goring had to see that the war was lost. He had experienced the power of the New Model Army first hand at Langport. Whatever hopes he had entertained for rebuilding the western army had died because of a continued lack of funds and because of the various losses of the royalist garrisons in Somerset and Dorset, culminating with the fall of Bristol--and of Rupert. That Goring, much like Rupert, thought that a treaty was the king's only hope of salvaging something from the war was attested to by Sir Edward Hyde. As the royalist situation had worsened that August, there was growing discontent voiced among the western gentry who wanted to openly petition the Prince of Wales to act as a mediator between the king and Parliament. The prince's councilors were willing to consider some message of peace coming from Prince Charles, but they were absolutely against any appearance that the prince was being coerced into action because of popular discontent. Such a perception would "increase the insolence of the enemy . . . as they would judge so great a party to be cast down and dejected."[129] The royalists were just as sensitive to the psychological implications of their actions as were the Parliamentarians.

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To try to rein in one of the leaders in Exeter who was supporting an open petition for peace, Hyde spoke to Goring who had influence with the man, Sir Peter Ball. Hyde gave no date for this exchange, but based on the sequence of events, it had to be after their heart-to-heart discussion described above which was their first meeting in some time, but prior to 15 September. The most likely timing, therefore, is the second week of September, just about the time that Bristol was lost. Hyde explained the situation to Goring:

> But I quickly found he was privy to the whole design; and, after many arguments, he told me he could not advise him [Ball] to desist from that which he thought very reasonable to be attempted; and that for his part, he saw no hope in any thing but a treaty, nor no way to compass a treaty but this that was proposed.[130]

Despite Goring's refusal to help end the grassroots movement for peace, the council finally dissuaded Ball and his party from making any public statement of discontent. Instead, on 15 September Prince Charles, still at Exeter, sent Fairfax a request for a pass for General Hopton and Lord Culpeper to go to the king "to advance peace." Fairfax passed on the request to London which did not bother to action it. But at least the royalists had attempted some open expression of reconciliation to quiet the western gentry.[131] Through this episode, George Goring had revealed his feelings about the further prosecution of the war. He would continue with all the outward motions of being involved in various schemes for rebuilding his army, but neither money nor manpower would be available for any large-scale action on his part.

Among those schemes coming from court in late September were several which called for Goring and his horse to return to the king. Before news of Montrose's defeat reached the royalists in England, the plan was for Goring to try to break out with his cavalry to reach Oxford or Newark, link up with the king and then proceed together towards Scotland. Any remaining forces in the west would go into garrison. This plan was not only supposed to help the king, but also would alleviate "exhausted" Devon.[132] Even after King Charles learned that no relief army would be coming from Scotland, he wrote to the Prince's Council ordering: "Lord Goring must break through to Oxford with

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his horse and from thence (if he can) find me out wheresoever he shall understand I shall be there about Newark." But this letter had another, more important purpose--the Council was to send Prince Charles, with "the greatest expedition," to his mother in France. In a post script, the king added: "For Lord Goring's business, though I wish it, I cannot say it is absolutely practicable, but for my son's, this is of necessity to be done."[133] While the king would officially continue with his war effort, he seemed to know what Rupert and Goring knew--that there was very little hope left for him, despite Digby's optimistic scheme to bring in new forces from Ireland. With this post script, Charles was signaling that he had all but given up on any joint action with the isolated western royalists, whose sole remaining task was to protect the heir to the throne.[134]

This rapid decline in the king's fortunes seemed to have caught even the supporters of Parliament by surprise. One correspondent noted that the king "at the present is in a most low and despicable condition, and the Parliament never higher."[135] Another, Sir Henry Vane, Jr., a leading member of the Commons, wrote his father (the king's former secretary): "The success is hardly imaginable which accompanies Sir Thomas Fairfax's army."[136] Ever since Naseby, the royalists had had to wait and see which way Parliament's army was marching before they could develop their own plans. However now, in late September, the Parliamentary commanders decided that their superiority was such that they could safely divide their forces. Cromwell was to clear the royalist garrisons in Wiltshire and Hampshire, while Fairfax would turn back to the west.[137] As King Charles had guessed, the scheme for Goring to come to him was no longer "practicable."

The western royalists, in the meantime, were trying to keep up with the various changing commands coming from court. Culpeper and Sir John Berkeley met with Goring and his general officers at Exeter on 27 September to review the (now familiar) litany of problems in the western army: lack of pay for those who remained and continuing desertions. Beyond the general discussion, Goring privately showed Culpeper his latest orders to march east to the king, which meant that Sir Richard Grenvile would have to assume command in the west to protect the Prince of Wales. George also thought

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that this was an opportune time for him to renew his request for the commission he wanted (as Hyde had guessed he would do). Without the proper authority, George claimed he would be unable to raise new levies, put down mutinies, bring back runaways, or deal with any other problem which might arise. He believed that he could only get the army in good order, which was now particularly necessary if he had to leave, with this supreme authority. But Hyde and his fellow councilors remained adamant in their refusal to grant such authority to Goring, who finally let the matter go, although he would sign himself "General of the West" thereafter, much to Hyde's annoyance.[138]

By early October, Fairfax's move west forced Goring to abandon any plans to march to the king, and the western royalists instead had to prepare to hold the passes into Devon against the New Model. Goring was to provide the first line of defense, and Sir Richard Grenvile with whatever forces and supplies he could gather in Cornwall would serve as reinforcement. Prince Charles had returned to Launceston in Cornwall, so that if flight were necessary he could fall back to Pendennis Castle, opposite Falmouth at the southern end of the peninsula, from where he could take ship. But where? Despite the king's repeated orders to send his son to France, his four most prominent councilors in the west--Hyde, Culpeper, Capel and Hopton--were very reluctant to take the heir to the throne out of the country as yet, especially to France. If flight became necessary, they would prefer to keep young Charles within his father's dominions by going either to Ireland or Scotland. The senior George Goring, back in France, was aware of the preparations being made at Pendennis Castle, but writing to his "noble dear friend Sir Edward Hyde" from La Havre, he asked: "But what is that I hear of the Prince his coming hither? For God's sake and England's future felicity as well as present satisfaction, let it never be more spoken of."[139] The Earl of Norwich and the four councilors all were very aware of the negative impact that would be made on English public opinion if Prince Charles sought refuge at the court of his French Catholic cousin, young Louis XIV. While the western royalist army could still act as a buffer against the advancing Parliamentarians, the council would keep the prince in England.

On 4 October, "the Lord Goring, General of the West," signed articles of

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agreement with the commissioners of Devon to double tax rates for the next six weeks. He not only was trying to guarantee his army enough money for its continued subsistence in the coming critical period, but he was also attempting to regulate the collection and distribution of these revenues. He would appoint an army treasurer to receive the funds, and anyone who tried to take any money by violence would be severely punished.[140] Goring would also request the council to take the same measures in Cornwall, for he believed there was "no better expedient for the support of the garrisons and army than doubling the rates in both counties for six weeks." Without such measures, "it will be impossible to keep the country from the disorders of the soldiers. . . ."[141]

The approach of Fairfax had hastened Goring to take these measures. The Parliamentarians were spread between Chard and Lyme, just beyond the southeastern border of Devon. But Goring did not think that the enemy was planning to advance further west for the present; his most immediate problem concerned his erstwhile ally, Sir Richard Grenvile, who was not cooperating with him, and George asked the council "either to bring him into better order, or keep him from doing any hurt."[142] On 6 October Sir John Berkeley sent Hyde a more detailed report on Goring's defense efforts and said that the general was "struggling with many difficulties." George's troops were too scattered and he was having problems in quartering them, while the Cornish troops were refusing to obey him. Either Grenvile had to come up to the front and be subordinated to Goring; or Hopton had to take command of the Cornish forces and be subordinated to Goring, the rationale being that in the king's army, Goring as general of the horse outranked Hopton, general of the artillery. However, according to Berkeley, if no other solution could be found, "my Lord General [Goring] is content to lend his forces to my Lord Hopton for this present occasion, and will endeavor to dispose all his officers to obey him . . . if it be [accepted] he desires that his readiness to sacrifice his own interest to the public, may be clearly represented to his Majesty. . . ." This would only be a temporary undertaking, and word of this possible change in command was to be kept secret for the present.[143] That was the first indication that Goring was thinking of temporarily disposing of his command, although apparently he had said nothing about

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leaving the country as yet.

Goring had been right about the New Model's temporary halt just east of Devon. Fairfax was in position to keep the western royalists bottled up, for he still believed that Goring and his cavalry might try to break out to rejoin the king. But he had stopped while he was awaiting pay for his troops and new recruits to come from London, and he was also proceeding cautiously while Cromwell was still in Hampshire where on 6 October he completed the siege of Winchester. The royalist governor, Viscount Ogle, had held out eight days and had written to Goring, Hopton and Oxford looking for assistance or directions but had received no reply. With an indefensible breach and experiencing massive desertions, he had to capitulate to Cromwell (but he would have to defend himself at a court martial the following month at Oxford for surrendering on "dishonorable conditions.") The isolated and disheartened royalist garrisons were giving up the fight, while, as one Parliamentary commentator noted, King Charles "with 2,000 horse, tattered and tired, is on his way to Newark."[144]

On 11 October Fairfax received money from London to pay his men, and then continued his slow progress westwards by forwarding his vanguard to Axminster, just inside the Devon border. George Goring knew of the enemy's advance when he wrote Culpeper on the 13th, still looking for the additional Cornish reinforcements he had been promised as well as any foot that could be spared from the siege of Plymouth. If he did not get more men, he predicted he would have to fall behind the River Exe, but, with sufficient numbers, he would force a battle. His enumerated reasons for this tactic were interesting: (1) the Cornish trained bands were known to stay out of their county for only one month at a time; (2) the quarters were too small for his growing forces and there were "already jealousies and animosities between the new Cornish troops and this army, which may be laid aside in time of action;" (3) the officers and soldiers "grow something calamitous for want of clothes and pay," which was leading to desertions; (4) "the county does universally groan under the burden we lay upon them," and could not be expected to continue supporting his army beyond another month, so that it was necessary to advance their quarters at least partially back into Somerset. His conclusion: "So that it is apparent

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no action at all will be as ruinous to the King's affairs as a defeat."[145]

Goring added that he planned to march several miles east of Exeter and he wanted to take a five-day supply of bread with him. He believed that he could have some success in an attack because the enemy was not yet at full strength. He concluded by again urging the council to send up more reinforcements and added: "Besides, me thinks every creature should be animated with a desire of rendering the Prince the glorious redeemer of his father's crown and the liberty of this nation."[146] How did he think this could be accomplished? He had no hope for any overwhelming victory against the New Model based on his own description of his men whom even Culpeper had recently described as "naked and pennyless."[147] But if the western army could hold the Parliamentarians in check, perhaps the Prince of Wales could act as a mediator for a negotiated settlement, which, according to Hyde, Goring had already admitted was his war aim.

That same night, Goring and Wentworth led 1,500 horse from their advanced quarters east of the River Exe at Poltimore, located about four miles northeast of Exeter. They marched eastward through Honiton and arrived at Black Down, one of Fairfax's quarters, where they launched a surprise raid and came away with sixty prisoners. This was not meant to be a major engagement but rather a reconnaissance mission; Goring was scouting the enemy's strength and disposition, and he could hope to gain intelligence from his captives. Fairfax, however, now alerted to Goring's proximity, the next night took the field at Honiton himself with foot and horse units "fearing the like surprise, or that the Lord Goring should attempt to break through them to join with the King. . . ."[148] Perhaps because Cromwell remained in Hampshire (at this time successfully undertaking the siege of Basing House), Fairfax thought Goring might have the opportunity to break away. Parliament's lord general, therefore, called in reinforcements from eastern Somerset to march to the western borders of the county to guard against any royalist incursions or attempts to break through to the north of his own position. Sir Alexander Popham, the leader of these Parliamentary reinforcements, in the course of this service would manage to capture the royalist messenger coming from Oxford to Exeter with all the latest dispatches intended for the Prince's Council which instead would end up in

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London.[149]

The news Goring received from the council on his return from his raid was not good. Additional Cornish troops were being sent forward, some to Tavistock in west Devon and others directly to him, "although not as many as expected." Nor could any men be spared from the siege of Plymouth because Parliament had just landed additional forces there by sea. General Hopton was coming in person to Exeter to discuss the situation. But Goring, based on his own reconnaissance and this information, on 15 October decided he could not hold the border of Devon and had his forces fall back west of the River Exe, allowing Fairfax to advance into the county and occupy the former royalist quarter at Cullompton.[150]

Aware of the enemy's proximity, Hopton and Goring met with the civilian and military authorities of Exeter on 17 October. They decided to send the majority of the horse, under Major General Webb, further west to wait for the rendezvous with the Cornish levies, while all of Goring's foot and 1,000 remaining horse would stay to defend Exeter. But nothing could be done to protect Tiverton, about twelve miles directly to the north, which fell to the New Model the following day. Finally, on 20 October Goring received news that the long-awaited Cornish reinforcements, personally led by Sir Richard Grenvile, were on the march, which led to the usual questions about who would exercise supreme command. While Goring's detached cavalry had to submit to Grenvile's authority, once joint actions began, Goring would command Grenvile, the council decided.[151]

Fairfax's forces, in the meantime, had gone on to capture Crediton, directly northwest of Exeter, causing the royalists to reconsider their strategy. The New Model's advance was reducing the grazing land available for the royalists' horses (which was the same tactic Goring had used against Essex in the Lostwithiel campaign of the previous year). Goring informed Culpeper that "finding no provisions for so great a number, I have drawn away most of those horse, and left only as many as Sir John Berkeley thought necessary." He was at Newton when he wrote and had not heard in a few days from the council, so he was still "ignorant what forces are coming from Cornwall and what relation

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I have to them." He took this opportunity to repeat his offer to step aside, if that would best serve the current situation, and have his forces under Lord Wentworth obey General Hopton.[152] Goring finally received the letters from the council while at Totnes in southern Devon on 24 October. But he had fallen ill again: "I think myself very unhappy to have such an incommodity upon me that I cannot ride for the present nor endure a coach without a fever, but I hope in God to be able within three days to march to the army in the interior." He had sent the cavalry he was accompanying to join Grenvile, and he believed that this combined force would be strong enough to keep the Parliamentarians in check.[153]

George Goring's estimate proved to be accurate, for Grenvile, with the long-awaited Cornish reinforcements and joined with Goring's cavalry, quartered around Okehampton and kept the Parliamentarians from advancing any further that fall. Besides, the weather was already beginning to turn cold and wet, so that the campaigning season was drawing to a close. At a council of war on 28 October, the New Model commanders, knowing that Goring had led most of the cavalry out of the city, decided to set up quarters around Exeter and to start a blockade, although the royalists would still have access to the city that winter. Disease was spreading in the Parliamentarians' camp, which also forced them to give up any present hope of further pursuit of Goring's army, and the ultimate goal, the capture of the Prince of Wales. As Fairfax informed his father, he was aware of Prince Charles's retreat into southwestern Cornwall in preparation to sail abroad. "There is a party that would persuade him overseas. I think it would be better if it please God he could be prevented. There will be a head where he is for malignants to draw to."[154]

While the western royalists had been maneuvering to keep the Parliamentarians in check throughout late October, King Charles had been embroiled in more internal strife. Rupert, accompanied by Maurice, had followed the king to Newark to ask for a hearing, which Charles reluctantly agreed to. The court martial, which included several of Rupert's supporters like Sir Jacob Astley and Charles Gerrard (as well as Goring's brother-in-law, Richard Boyle, now the 2nd Earl of Cork), quickly found the prince "not guilty of any the least want of courage or fidelity. . . ." Still the king refused to be totally reconciled with his nephew, so that the two Princes Palatine applied to Parliament for a

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pass to leave the country which was granted if they promised to "never more bear arms . . . against both Houses of Parliament of England." Since these terms were unacceptable to them, Rupert made one last submission to his uncle, which would finally result in their reconciliation at Oxford on 9 December. But instead of being commander-in-chief of all the king's forces as he once had been, Rupert would be charged with forming the king's lifeguard. This was not meant as a slight to the prince, but was a reflection of the reality of the king's military situation.[155]

That situation had further deteriorated in October when the king's small army was given to George Lord Digby to command. As the Venetian reporter in London tartly observed, the king's secretary was "not content with wielding the pen and having guided the counsels," but wanted to lead an army too.[156] Digby, during Rupert's estrangement from court, "chiefly governed his Majesty's council," according to Secretary of War Walker, and got himself named lieutenant general of all forces north of the Trent. Seconded by Sir Marmaduke Langdale and the remnants of the northern horse, he ventured into Yorkshire where on 15 October he was defeated in battle and lost his entire correspondence as the king's secretary, a prize which London was most happy to scrutinize and publish. It was after news of this loss reached him at Newark that the king retreated to Oxford for the winter. Digby did not return to court but instead retreated via the Isle of Man to Ireland, reportedly to personally seek out the long-awaited Irish reinforcements.[157]

George Goring also decided he would leave England, but exactly when he made that determination is difficult to know. While twice in October he had indicated that he was willing to give up command temporarily, he had said nothing publically as yet about leaving the country. He was in contact with his father (although that correspondence is missing), and there is sufficient circumstantial evidence to indicate that the Earl of Norwich was assisting his son in arranging his departure. The senior Goring was still at La Havre when he again wrote Hyde on 18 October to pass on the latest reports of the king at Newark (a rather circuitous routing of news, but considering the interceptions of the royalists' land couriers, a not-ineffective recourse). His last correspondence from

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Hyde had been dated the 12th, but he was still awaiting news from his son. The ship bringing this letter and others to Falmouth was also carrying munitions and it belonged to the courtier-poet Sir William Davenant, who now was residing in France.[158] It would be Davenant who would accompany Goring to La Havre in December, so perhaps as early as October, the senior Goring was quietly preparing the way for his son's safe retreat.

Not even Sir Richard Bulstrode was privy to his general's decision to depart beforehand. Reportedly Goring "was privately resolved to leave the army and go beyond sea," and only shared his plans with his two closest confidantes, Lord Wentworth and George Porter. Despite his many misgivings about his brother-in-law, Goring in the end put family ahead of any other consideration, for prior to his own departure, he authorized sufficient funds to be paid to Porter to allow him to travel to London. But before obtaining a pass from Fairfax for this journey, Porter slipped back into Exeter where Sir Samuel Tuke was residing to renew his challenge to a duel. Tuke, although sick in bed, was willing to meet Porter, but the latter decided not to delay his journey to make peace with Parliament any longer. Eventually George Porter and his wife Diana *nee* Goring would pay a fine to Parliament and compound for the return of their estates.[159]

Goring made known his decision to leave on 17 November. Lords Culpeper and Capel had gone to Exeter where they joined a meeting of Goring, Wentworth and Sir John Berkeley. Culpeper immediately wrote the news to General Hopton, with the prince at Truro: "The Lord Goring hath made his proposition to go into France with many reasons for it." Goring was going to send Wentworth with his own letter of explanation to the prince in a few days. It was on this occasion that Culpeper finally asked Goring if he were going to take his forces to go over to Parliament as the defector Lord Savile had suggested that spring, a charge which Goring vehemently denied.[160]

As promised, George Goring wrote the Prince of Wales from Exeter on 20 November. In a brief letter, entirely in his own hand, he explained:

> Now that the enemy and we are settled in our winter quarters, I shall humbly beg leave of your Highness to spend some time for the recovery of my health in France having no means to effect it here, and though for want of health, I find myself totally disenabled for the present to do your Highness's service here.

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He added that he thought he might be able to assist with the king's affairs on this journey, and noted that the bearer of the letter, Lord Wentworth, would provide more details. He concluded by asking that "this army which has been entrusted to me may remain entirely under his Lordship's [Wentworth's] command until my return which I hope shall be in two months."[161]

Goring, possibly through the intercession of his father, had also petitioned Henrietta Maria in Paris for leave. Henry Jermyn informed Hyde that Goring had written the queen:

> to represent the condition of his health and some other considerations to her by which he hopes she will be induced to believe that a journey hither which he very much desires to make is at this time so necessary to the preservation of his life that she will not as he hopes refuse her consent to it.

Based on these considerations, the queen agreed to granting Goring a two-month leave, and she was writing her son and the council to advise them of her decision.[162] Goring wrote to the queen; he wrote to the Prince of Wales. There is no record that he ever wrote to King Charles, but, then, he could argue that he was not resigning his commission, but simply asking for a leave-of-absence.

From all evidence, including such diverse witnesses as Hyde and Bulstrode, George Goring that fall had been plagued by increasingly poor health, possibly exacerbated by his continued drinking. Will Davenant came to England to sail with Goring from Dartmouth, a royalist port on the Devon coast, commanded by Sir Hugh Pollard. In December Pollard reported to Hyde that he had received letters from Davenant at La Havre "where he and the General landed safe the twentieth of the month." Davenant had made immediate connections for Paris "and left his Excellency to come hobbling after."[163] Another English eyewitness reported seeing a sick George Goring arriving at Rouen, and Venetian Ambassador Nani at Paris at the end of December reported the unexpected arrival of Goring in France. Nani was not sure why the general had abandoned his army, "which was the strongest that the royalists had left." He had heard various reports of Goring's illness, or, alternatively, that the general might be on a diplomatic mission to arrange a French match for the Prince of Wales, which he

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discounted. He raised one other interesting possibility: George Goring had come to help raise levies "which the Queen of England has besought their Majesties here with tears in her eyes."[164]

If we grant that Goring was definitely ill but that he might have been of some use in recruiting forces--as he had done in the Netherlands for the queen in the fall of 1642--did he have any intention of returning to England in two months? The answer must be an unequivocal no. He was too good a soldier not to know that the war was lost. He surely estimated that in two months there would be little to go back to. By claiming he was only on a leave-of-absence, he avoided any open break with the royalist cause. After all, many royalists had already left England--Newcastle, Wilmot, Percy, and most recently Digby--and none of them had ultimately been repudiated by the king. Another piece of evidence was supplied by Sir Edward Hyde who reported that while Goring had intimated that he would return with men and money, once in France he sent for all of his own saddle and service horses to be shipped to him in France, again by the captain in Davenant's pay. Both Hyde and Bulstrode reported that Wentworth hinted that Goring might try to negotiate to bring his cavalry out of England into foreign service, although Wentworth was not the most reliable source according to Bulstrode. One thing that Goring's adjutant did relate which sounded most genuine was that once Goring had departed, his soldiers "much resented his going away."[165]

George Goring would not be one of the most die-heart royalists to serve the king's cause to the bitter end. Sir Edward Hyde believed that all of Goring's actions in the west in the second half of 1645, while not outright acts of treachery as some suggested, were motivated by his thwarted desire for supreme command. He believed that Goring refused to attempt any decisive action because of "his perfect hatred of all the persons of the council, after he found they would not comply with his desires, and to his particular ambition; and both those passions of ambition and revenge might transport his nature beyond any limits."[166]

Hyde always seemed to ignore the military dimensions of the situation, much like another civilian, George Digby, had ignored the military arguments put forth by Rupert

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prior to Naseby. Could any royalist general have fared better in the west under the conditions then prevalent? The New Model Army was a totally different entity than the former Parliamentary armies it had replaced; its unified command structure, directed by Fairfax in the field and not from distant London, contrasted so sharply with the royalists' increasingly fragmented efforts. Moreover, the king himself and his forces had not been able to accomplish any more in the field than Goring had in this period. An underlying cause for the royalists' increasingly insurmountable problems was simply a lack of money. Parliament held the richer areas of the country in the southeast and east which still produced wealth and were open to trade, while the king's supporters were cut off in the poorer, more remote areas of the southwest.[167]

If Goring did the best he could with his limited resources at least through the summer, he did seem more cautious in his actions after the fall of Bristol. He did enough to keep Fairfax in check, but he apparently did not want to hazard more than was necessary. His loyalty to the king had been tested from the time Charles had revoked his commission to be supreme commander in the west, and the king's treatment of Rupert might have made Goring even more wary of placing his fate entirely in the king's hands. But, at the same time, he would never totally repudiate the royalist cause. He did not choose to join his brother-in-law in making peace with Parliament and returning to live on his estates. He chose what he probably considered to be the best option open to him: he asked for a leave-of-absence which would get him out of harm's way while the war drew to a close, but he never overtly broke faith with the king. Perhaps some foreign enterprise might still be mounted to restore Charles to power. Goring would wait to see. At this point in time, he probably had no thought that he would never see England again.

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1. BL Add. MS. 18982, ff. 66-67, Digby, Hereford, to Legge, Oxford, 30 June 1645. This letter was more than just an *apologia* for the battle. Legge was Rupert's closest friend and confidante just as Digby was Rupert's greatest enemy at court. Digby made no reference to the fact that Rupert had opposed the battle, but instead detailed all the royalists' tactical errors which could be imputed to Rupert's poor generalship. Digby then told "dear Will" that "a principal occasion of our misfortune was the want of you with us." This would seem to be a rather blatant attempt on the secretary's part to try to ingratiate himself with Legge which would fail in its purpose. For a discussion of this correspondence, see Kitson, *Prince Rupert*, 252.

2. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 28, f. 137, Rupert Diary; Rushworth, *Collections*, IV, 1:51; Walker, *Discourses*, 132; Clarendon, *History*, 4:71; Hutton, *Royalist War Effort*, 182-83; Kitson, *Prince Rupert*, 252-53.

3. Quoted in Carlton, *Charles I*, 290; Hutton, *Royalist War Effort*, 183.

4. Walker, *Discourses*, 132; Carlton, *Charles I*, 290; Gregg, *King Charles I*, 397. See also TT E. 292 (1), *Mercurius Civicus, London's Intelligencer, 26 June-3 July 1645*, 977; this Parliamentary newssheet accurately reported that the king was at Raglan Castle and attempting to recruit new forces in Wales, but discounted rumors that Charles was going to go west to join with Goring.

5. *CSPD 1644-45*, 617; TT E. 292 (16), *The Proceedings of the Army under . . . Sir Thomas Fairfax* (9 July 1645), 3-4; *CSPVen*, 1645-47, 197-98, Ambassador Nani, Paris, 18 July 1645 [N. S.]; Gentles, *New Model Army*, 66-67; Burne and Young, *Great Civil War*, 210.

6. Letter printed in *Lords Journal*, 7:484.

7. Ibid.; Rushworth, *Collections*, IV, 1:52.

8. TT E. 292 (16), 7. Sprigge, *Anglia Rediviva*, 55, also labels the Clubmen as "neutrals (or rather friends to the enemy.)"

9. Ibid.

10. TT E. 292 (22), *A Letter . . . on the Raising of the Siege of Taunton* (10 July 1645), 3; TT E. 292 (14), *The Parliament's Post, No. 9* (1-8 July 1645), 8; TT E. 292 (18), *Mercurius Civicus* (3-10 July 1645), 987-90; Sprigge, *Anglia Rediviva*, 55-56; *CSPVen 1643-47*, 201-2, Ambassador Nani, Paris, 1 August 1645 [N. S.], relaying news from London, dated 10/20 July 1645.

11. From a sermon given at Taunton by Minister George Newton on the first anniversary of the raising of the siege; quoted in Porter, *Destruction in the Civil Wars*, 64.

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12. David Frampton, *The Battle of Langport, 10 July 1645: The 350th Anniversary* (Leigh-on-Sea, Essex: Partizan Press, 1995), 23, 46-50; Gentles, *New Model Army*, 67. Parliamentary reports estimated Goring's strength at about 8,500-10,000, but this figure might have included the entire royalist besieging army before Taunton prior to Grenvile's departure; see TT E. 292 (18), *Mercurius Civicus* (3-10 July 1645), 988, 990; TT E. 292 (9), *The True Informer* (5 July 1645), 83-84; TT E. 292 (16), 7.

13. Bulstrode, *Memoirs*, 136; TT E. 292 (16), 7; TT E. 292 (22), 6; Frampton, *Langport*, 23-24. Bulstrode is the primary royalist source for events leading up to the battle, for any correspondence Goring might have had with the Prince's Council at Barnstaple during the first ten days of July does not appear within the Clarendon MSS. 24-25. Burne and Young (*Great Civil War*, 210) concur that Goring's version of events is missing. "We are thus reduced to guessing what was in his mind at any given moment. . . ."

14. TT E. 292 (18), 990; TT E. 292 (16), 8; TT E. 292 (22) 4-7; Rushworth, *Collections*, IV, 1:54; Burne and Young, *Great Civil War*, 210; Frampton, *Langport*, 24; Newman, *Atlas*, 77.

15. Rushworth, *Collections*, IV, 1:54; TT E. 293 (8), *A More Exact Relation of the Great Defeat* (July 1645), 1-2; TT E. 292 (28), *An Exact and Perfect Relation . . . of Fairfax's Army* (14 July 1645), 3; TT E. 293 (3), *A More full Relation of the great Battle fought between Sir Thomas Fairfax and Goring . . . Made in the House of Commons by Lieutenant Colonel Lilburne* (14 July 1645), 1-2. John Lilburne is best known for his political activities associated with the Levelers after the war. He had commanded a regiment of dragoons under Manchester, but he had left the army in April 1645 because he refused to take the covenant of the New Model. He happened to be visiting Cromwell when the battle of Langport was fought, and he volunteered to give an eye-witness report to the House of Commons (for which service he hoped to speed up payment of his arrears). See Christopher Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down: Radical Ideas During the English Revolution* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books Ltd., 1975, 1987), Chapter 7, for an introduction to the Levelers; also, *DNB*, 33:243-44.

16. *CSPD 1645-47*, 7, 10, 15, 18.

17. TT E. 293 (8), 2; Rushworth, *Collections*, IV, 1:54-55; Frampton, *Langport*, 24-25.

18. TT E. 292 (28), 3.

19. Bulstrode, *Memoirs*, 136; TT E. 293 (3), Lilburne's Account, 2; TT E. 293 (8), 2; TT E. 261 (4), *The Copy of a Letter from Sir Thomas Fairfax's Quarters* (July 1645), 2; this last-cited Parliamentary eyewitness account identified the location of the encounter as Abersile, which David Frampton (*Langport*, 28) persuasively argues is in fact the town of

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Isle Abbots.

20. Bulstrode, *Memoirs*, 136; TT E. 293 (8), 2; TT E. 261 (4), 2; TT E. 293 (3), Lilburne's Account, 2; BL 8122 d. 34 (not part of the Thomason Tracts), *Three Letters from Sir Thomas Fairfax His Army* (July 1645; not part of the Thomason Tracts, but BL 8122 d. 34), 1, 6.

21. Bulstrode, *Memoirs*, 136.

22. TT E. 293 (8), 2; TT E. 293 (3), Lilburne's Account, 2; TT E. 261 (4), 2; *Three Letters*, 1.

23. Bulstrode, *Memoirs*, 134, 137.

24. TT E. 293 (3), Lilburne's Account, 5; *Three Letters*, 1, 6.

25. BL Add. MS. 18982, f. 70, Goring, Dunster, to Digby, 12 July 1645. A copy of this letter can also be found in Bodl. Clarendon MS. 25, ff. 44-45.

26. Cromwell, Langport, to an MP, 10 July 1645, reprinted in Frampton, *Langport*, 38.

27. Sprigge, *Anglia Rediviva*, 65; *Three Letters*, 2; TT E. 293 (3), Lilburne's Account, 5.

28. BL Add. MS. 18982, f. 70; Bulstrode, *Memoirs*, 138; TT E. 293 (3), Lilburne's Account, 5.

29. BL Add. MS. 18982, f. 70; Bulstrode, *Memoirs*, 138; Fairfax to House of Lords, 11 July 1645, published in *Lords Journal*, 7:496; Cromwell's letter in Frampton, *Langport*, 38; TT E. 293 (8), 2; *Three Letters*, 2, 4, 6. David Frampton (*Langport*, 26-27, 31-32) gives an eye-witness account of the terrain today. He also explains that a 'rhyne" in local Somerset parlance is "a deliberately cut drainage ditch to collect water from the fields in this low lying district."

30. Cromwell's letter in Frampton, *Langport*, 38.

31. Bulstrode, *Memoirs*, 138-39; TT E. 293 (3), Lilburne's Account, 5; *Three Letters*, 2.

32. TT E. 293 (8), 3.

33. *Three Letters*, 4.

34. TT E. 293 (3), Lilburne's account, 5; Fairfax letter, *Lords Journal*, 7:496; *Three Letters*, 2, 4.

35. Bulstrode, *Memoirs*, 138-39; TT E. 292 (28), 5. Exactly how many royalist infantry were deployed at the bottom of the pass is open to conjecture. Bulstrode only named the

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regiments of Colonel Slaughter and Colonel Wise, which included the new recruits from south Wales. One of the anonymous Parliamentary eyewitness reports placed the count at 2,000 (*Three Letters*, 2), but Fairfax's own account (in *Lords Journal, 7:496*) put the number at 1,000. Considering Fairfax as a more reliable source plus the fact that many royalist regiments were undermanned at this point in the war, the lower figure appears to be more accurate. Also, if Fairfax, who had the advantage in numbers, sent in only 1,500 musketeers to beat back the royalists, he had to have used a number he thought sufficient to accomplish the job. In fact, David Frampton (*Langport*, 47) believes the royalist infantrymen defending the bottom of the lane numbered merely 500-700.

36. TT E. 293 (3), Lilburne's account, 6; Cromwell's letter in Frampton, *Langport*, 39; Burne and Young, *Great Civil War*, 214.

37. TT E. 293 (3), Lilburne's account, 6; TT E. 293 (8), 3; *Three Letters*, 2, 4-5.

38. Bulstrode, *Memoirs*, 139.

39. TT E. 293 (3), Lilburne's account, 6.

40. TT E. 293 (8), 3.

41. Cromwell's letter in Frampton, *Langport*, 39.

42. BL Add. MS. 18982, f. 70.

43. *Three Letters*, 2; Bulstrode, *Memoirs*, 139; TT E. 293 (3), Lilburne's account, 7.

44. BL Add. MS. 18982, f. 70; *Three Letters*, 3, 6; Bulstrode, *Memoirs*, 139; Fairfax's letter, *Lords Journal*, 7:496; TT E. 293 (8), 3; Sprigge, *Anglia Rediviva*, 66; *A Letter sent to the Rt. Hon. William Lenthall . . . Concerning the Routing of Colonel Goring's Army* (July 1645; not part of the Thomason Tracts, but BL G 3531 vol. 18), 3-4; Cromwell's letter in Frampton, *Langport*, 39; Rushworth, *Collections*, IV, 1:55.

45. Bulstrode, *Memoirs*, 140.

46. BL Add. MS. 18982, f. 70; as cited in fn.25 above, a copy of the letter is in the Bodl. Clarendon MS. 25, ff. 44-5. The Prince's Council received a copy of this letter, and Clarendon (*History*, 4:62-63) cited it as one of his sources in his retelling of the events of 9-10 July, "those two unlucky day."

47. BL Add. MS. 18982, f. 70.

48. Fairfax's letter in *Lords Journal*, 7:496.

49. BL Add. MS. 18979, ff. 204-5, Fairfax, Chedsey (two miles of Bridgwater), to Lord Fairfax, London, 11 July 1645.

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50. Cromwell's letter in Frampton, *Langport*, 39-40.

51. TT E. 261 (4), 6; see also *Letter to Lenthall*, 5-7, which, by regiment, gave the names and ranks of all the officers taken.

52. *HMC*, Vol. 3, 4th Rpt., App., Erskine MS., 521; *CSPVen 1643-47*, 203, Ambassador Nani, Paris, 8 August 1645 [N. S.], relaying news from London dated 17/27 July 1645.

53. Symonds, *Diary*, 210.

54. Walker, *Discourses*, 133.

55. Among those who concur with my opinion: Gentles (*New Model Army*, 67-69) sees the New Model's superiority in numbers and firepower as well as the demoralized state of the royalists as the most significant factors. In his more recent essay, "Civil Wars in England" (in Kenyon and Ohlmeyer, *Military History*, 144), Gentles, referring to Langport, says: "Goring did everything right, occupying a formidably strong ridge and declining to be drawn down from it. However, he was faced with a ferocious artillery bombardment to which he had no reply and by troops buoyed by recent victories and a conviction of God's presence in their midst." Burne and Young (*Great Civil War*, 214-16) commend Goring's overall strategy of evasion, but believe Fairfax proved to be the better tactician on the day of the battle. They also blame the king's inactivity for contributing to Goring's defeat. Hutton (*Royalist War Effort*, 183) emphasizes the numerical superiority of the Parliamentary forces at Langport, and (*Charles II*, 11) also believes Goring's loss of supreme military authority in the west in June left him to contend with an impossible command structure. One of the most notable critics of Goring's strategy is Gardiner (*Great Civil War*, 2:269) who claims: "In Goring there was no resourcefulness in danger, no grasp of a complicated situation as a connected whole." This seems to be the antithesis of Goring's actual nature. Gardiner is surprisingly wrong in his details of this campaign also; he has Goring personally leading the feint back towards Taunton and being surprised at Isle Abbots instead of George Porter (270).

56. Fanshawe, *Memoirs*, 97. Sir Richard Fanshawe's works are currently being published by the Oxford University Press, see *The Poems and Translations of Sir Richard Fanshawe*, Vol 1, ed. Peter Davidson (Oxford, 1997). Clarendon (*History*, 4:62-63) is more implicit than explicit in his criticism of Goring's handling of the Langport campaign. He does, however, blame Goring for "great negligence" towards his infantry which resulted in numerous desertions during the siege of Taunton, which in turn left the royalists to face the New Model with inferior numbers. Interestingly, a modern Clarendon scholar, R. W. Harris (*Clarendon*, 144), evaluates Goring through Clarendon's eyes: "Finally his [Goring's] feebleness as a general was revealed . . . when he allowed himself to be surprised by Fairfax at Langport . . . and utterly routed." If anything can be said with certainty about Goring at Langport is that he was most definitely not taken by surprise by Fairfax.

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57. Clarendon, *History*, 4:63; Rushworth, *Collections*, IV, 1:56, 59.

58. BL Add. MS. 18982, f. 70.

59. TT E. 293 (33), *A Continuation of the Proceedings of the Army under . . . Fairfax* (11-19 July 1645), 1.

60. TT E. 261 (4), 3.

61. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 24, f. 190, Goring to Culpeper, [14 or 15 July 1645]; Clarendon, *History*, 4:62; Bulstrode, *Memoirs*, 140.

62. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 25, f. 19, Goring, Bideford, to Culpeper, 18 July 1645. While most of Goring's letters were dictated at this time, this one is entirely in his own, which would show the importance he placed on the contents.

63. TT E. 261 (4), 3. Grenvile had failed to gather sufficient forces to take up the siege of Lyme which he blamed on Sir John Berkeley. See Clarendon, *History*, 4:64.

64. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 25, f. 19.

65. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 25, f. 21, Goring, Stevenston, to Culpeper, 20 July 1645.

66. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 25, f. 23, Culpeper to Goring, 22 July 1645.

67. Clarendon, *History*, 4:82; Bulstrode, *Memoirs*, 141.

68. Clarendon, *History*, 4:63.

69. Ibid., 4:64.

70. *CSPD 1645-47*, 19; *CSPVen 1643-47*, Nani, Paris, 8 August 1645 [N. S.]; BL Add. MS. 18982, f. 68, Nicholas, Oxford, to Rupert, 11 July 1645, in which the secretary told the prince the location and strength of the Scots and how "they plunder notably in the country." Kishlansky (*Rise of the New Model*, 67) notes that although Parliament was usually in arrears in paying the New Model, some payment was sent to the field every month, which allowed the Parliamentary army to avoid long periods of free-quartering.

71. *Letter to Lenthall*, 3, 7; BL Add. MS. 18982, f. 70; TT E. 293 (34), *A Fuller Relation from Bridgwater* (26 July 1645), 3; Rushworth, *Collections*, IV, 1:56.

72. The quote is from *Letter to Lenthall*, 3-4; also, TT E. 293 (34), 3; Rushworth, *Collections*, IV, 1:56-57.

73. Fairfax to House of Lords, 23 July 1645, in *Lords Journal*, 7:511; TT E. 293 (34), 4; Rushworth, *Collections*, IV, 1:57-58.

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74. Fairfax letter, in *Lords Journal*, 7:511.

75. Ibid.; Rushworth, *Collections*, IV, 1:59; TT E. 293 (34), 6; *HMC*, Vol. 6, 7th Rpt., Part I, Verney Papers, 451; Bulstrode, *Memoirs*, 149. This Sir John Digby was a Catholic and brother to the courtier Sir Kenelm Digby (but not Secretary Digby's younger brother who had the same name). See P. R. Newman, *Royalist Officers in England and Wales, 1642-1660: A Biographical Dictionary* (New York: Garland Publishers, 1981), 109-10.

76. BL Add. MS. 18982, f. 71, Nicholas, Oxford, to Rupert, 21 July 1645.

77. *CSPVen 1643-47*, 205, advices from London, 3 August 1645 [N. S.].

78. *CSPD 1645-47*, 27, order of the House of Commons.

79. *CSPVen 1643-47*, 204, advices from London, 27 July 1645 [N. S.]. The king's papers were published under the title *The King's Cabinet Opened*, and much to Charles's detriment, contained his personal correspondence and his various secret diplomatic efforts to enlist foreign support for his war effort. See Kenyon, *Civil Wars*, 146; Wedgwood, *King's War*, 435; Carlton, *Charles I*, 289.

80. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 25, f. 25, Orders in Council, Launceston, 24 July 1645; Bodl. Tanner MS. 60, f. 224, Prince Charles, Launceston, to Goring, 26 July 1645; Clarendon, *History*, 4:63.

81. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 25, f. 31, Goring, Stevenston, to Culpeper, 27 July 1645.

82. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 25, f. 33, Goring, Stevenston, to Council, 27 July 1645.

83. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 25, f. 37, Goring, Stevenston, to Culpeper, 28 July 1645.

84. Bodl. Clarendon MS.25, f. 35 and f. 39, both Culpeper, Launceston, to Goring, 28 and 29 July 1645.

85. Quoted in Carlton, *Charles I*, 290; see also Kitson, *Prince Rupert*, 255-56, for the exchange of letters between the king and his nephew.

86. *CSPD 1645-47*, 23, 42-43. Clarendon believed that after the battle of Naseby, Cardinal Mazarin, who had kept up relations with both the king and Parliament, became more concerned about Parliament's growing power, so began to help Henrietta Maria more effectively (*History*, 4:160-62).

87. Walker, *Discourses*, 133; Hutton, *Royalist War Effort*, 183-85.

88. BL Add. MS. 21506, f. 38, Digby, Newport, Wales, to Rupert, 25 July 1645; Walker, *Discourses*, 134; Symonds, *Marches*, 210; Clarendon, *History*, 4:72-73.

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89. Rushworth, *Collections*, IV, 1:59-61; Porter, *Destruction in the Civil Wars*, 88; Walker, *Discourses*, 134-35; Tibbutt, *Dyve*, 69-75.

90. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 25, ff. 66-68, Goring, Stevenston, to Hyde, 1 August 1645; Clarendon, *History*, 4:77-78. Hyde, who also had been summoned to the king but had remained behind incapacitated with the gout, believed that their shared dislike of the council had drawn Goring and Grenvile together in this plan.

91. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 25, ff. 66-68.

92. *CSPD 1645-47*, 46-7, Hyde, Launceston, to Digby, 5-6 August 1645; Bodl. Clarendon MS. 25, f. 70, Hyde, Launceston, to Goring, 2 August 1645, and f. 72, warrants to Goring and Grenvile; Clarendon, *History*, 4:79.

93. *CSPD 1645-47*, 47; Goring's personal letter to Hyde does not appear in the Clarendon MSS.

94. Ibid.

95. *CSPD 1645-47*, 51, 58-9; *CSPVen 1643-47*, 204, advices from London, 27 July 1645 [N. S.], reported unsubstantiated rumors that to "save his own interest," Goring was negotiating to change sides.

96. Bodl. Firth MS. C 8, f. 12, Culpeper, Cardiff, to Rupert, 5 August 1645; Clarendon, *History*, 4:87; *CSPVen 1643-47*, 209, advices from London, 24 August 1645 [N. S.].

97. Rushworth, *Collections*, IV, 1:61-63; *CSPVen 1643-47*, advices from London, 24 August 1645 [N. S.]; Wedgwood, *King's War*, 444-45.

98. Rushworth, *Collections*, IV, 1:63-64; Tibbutt, *Dyve*, 76. Secretary Digby suffered two family tragedies with this event: the capture of his older half-brother, Sir Lewis Dyve, and the loss of his ancestral home, Sherborne Castle.

99. Fairfax to House of Lords, 13 September 1645, in *Lords Journal*, 7:584.

100. Rushworth, *Collections*, IV, 1:70; Kitson, *Prince Rupert*, 257-60; Burne and Young, *Great Civil War*, 92-96, 217.

101. Clarendon, *History*, 4:78; Walker, *Discourses*, 135-36; Hutton, *Royalist War Effort*, 185-86; Gardiner, *Great Civil War*, 2:302, 308; Newman, *Atlas*; Carlton, *Charles I*, 291.

102. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 25, f. 93, Commanding officers at Exeter (Goring, Berkeley, *et. al.) to* Lords of the Prince's Council, Launceston, 21 August 1645.

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103. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 28, f. 137, Rupert Diary; Rushworth, *Discourses*, IV, 1:65; Gardiner, *Great Civil War*, 2:308-9; *CSPVen 1643-47*, 211, news from London, 7 September 1645 [N. S.]; besides news of the siege of Bristol, the report told of the great number of P.O.W.'s in London and how Parliament was allowing the Spanish ambassador to recruit about 7-800 of the captured royalists for service in Flanders, a path George Goring would eventually follow.

104. Rushworth, *Discourses*, IV, 1:65; Bodl. Tanner MS. 60, f. 241, Prince Charles, Launceston, to Goring, 25 August 1645; Bodl. Clarendon MS. 25, f. 99, Lords of the Council to Goring, 25 August 1645, and f. 100, to Commissioners of Devon, 25 August 1645.

105. *CSPD 1645-47*, 91, 95-6, 98, 104-5; Walker, *Discourses*, 136-37; *CSPVen 1643-47*, 212, news from London, 14 September 1645 [N. S.]; Hutton, *Royalist War Effort*, 186.

106. *CSPD 1645-47*, 110-11, 121; *Commons Journal*, 4:261, Goring's letter was forwarded by Massey from Bridgwater on 30 August and read in the House of Commons on 2 September; Clarendon, *History*, 4:84-85; Rushworth, *Collections*, IV, 1:66-67.

107. Rushworth, *Collections*, IV, 1:67, 73-4; Fairfax's letter in *Lords Journal*, 7:584; Kitson, *Prince Rupert*, 259.

108. BL Add. MS. 12520, ff. 73-75, Fairfax to Prince Rupert summoning Bristol, 4 September 1645.

109. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 25, ff. 126-27, Fairfax and Cromwell, Bristol, to High Sheriff of Cornwall, 8 September 1645; Rushworth, *Collections*, IV, 1:75-81; Kitson, *Prince Rupert*, 260.

110. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 25, ff. 126-27.

111. *CSPD 1645-47*, 121-23, 126-28.

112. Fairfax's letter, in *Lords Journal*, 7:584-85; Bodl. Clarendon MS. 28, f. 137, Rupert Diary; Rushworth, *Collections*, IV, 1:70, 81-83.

113. *Lords Journal*, 7:586; Rushworth, *Collections*, IV, 1:85; Sprigge, *Anglia Rediviva*, 330; Kitson, *Prince Rupert*, 261-62.

114. *The Nicholas Papers. Correspondence of Sir Edward Nicholas, Secretary of State*, ed. George F. Warner, Camden Society N. S. 40 (London: Camden Society, 1886), 1:65, Colonel John Butler, Woodstock, to Sir William Waller, 15 September 1645; Bodl. Clarendon MS. 28, f. 137, Rupert Diary; Wedgwood, *King's War*, 459.

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115. Walker, *Discourses*, 137.

116. *Nicholas Papers*, 1:64, Digby, Hereford, to Nicholas, 15 September 1645.

117. The king's letter is reproduced in Clarendon, *History*, 4:93.

118. Bodl. Firth MS. C 8, f. 20, King Charles, Newtown, to Prince Maurice, 20 September 1645; Bodl. Clarendon MS. 28, f. 137, Rupert Diary; Walker, *Discourses*, 134, 138; Clarendon, *History*, 4:76. Glemhem was the royalist champion of lost causes; he had been given the task of surrendering York after Rupert's loss at Marston Moor. See Chapter 9.

119. *CSPVen 1643-47*, 214-15, news from London, 28 September 1645 [N. S.]; Walker, *Discourses*, 138-40; Bodl. Clarendon MS. 28, f. 137, Rupert Diary.

120. Clarendon, *History*, 4:79-80; Bulstrode, *Memoirs*, 140-41.

121. Clarendon, *History*, 4:82; Bulstrode, *Memoirs*, 149.

122. Clarendon, *History*, 4:85-86; Bulstrode, *Memoirs*, 141.

123. Fanshawe, *Memoirs*, 97.

124. Clarendon, *History*, 4:86-87.

125. Bulstrode, *Memoirs*, 141; Clarendon, *History*, 4:86.

126. Bulstrode, *Memoirs*, 141-46; Newman, *Royalist Officers*, 380. Bulstrode was a member of the council of war which tried Tuke, but Goring was not, then being ill in bed, although he was kept informed of the proceedings.

127. Clarendon, *History*, 4:87; Bodl. Clarendon MS. 25, f. 158-59, Culpeper, Barnstaple, to Digby, 18 September 1645.

128. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 25, f. 148, Digby for King Charles, Raglan Castle, 14 September 1645; Clarendon, *History*, 4:71, 102.

129. Clarendon, *History*, 4:85, fn. 2. This passage had been crossed out by Hyde in his manuscript.

130. Ibid.

131. Ibid.; Bodl. Tanner MS. 60, f. 250, Prince Charles, Exeter, to Fairfax, 15 September 1645; Gardiner, *Great Civil War*, 2:338.

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132. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 25, ff. 158-59, Culpeper, Barnstaple, to Digby, 18 September 1645, and f. 164, Earl of Berkshire, Launceston, to Goring, 19 September 1645.

133. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 25, f. 185, King Charles, Chirke Castle, to Culpeper, 29 September 1645; this letter is reprinted in Clarendon, *History*, 4:97.

134. Walker, *Discourses*, 141; *Nicholas Papers*, 1:66, Digby to Nicholas, 28 September 1645; Hutton, *Royalist War Effort*, 187, believes that Charles "had no alternative but to turn his back upon both his principal surviving areas of territory," meaning the west and the Marches; Carlton, *Charles I*, 295-96.

135. *HMC*, Vol. 6, 7th Rpt., Part I, Verney Papers, 452.

136. *CSPD 1645-47*, 155; Kishlansky, *Rise of the New Model*, 7.

137. Rushworth, *Collections*, IV, 1:89-91; *CSPD 1645-47*, 167.

138. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 25, ff. 185-86, Goring, Tiverton, to Culpeper, 28 September 1645; f. 187, Culpeper, Exeter, to Lords of the Council, 28 September 1645; f. 207, Goring, Poltimore, to Prince Charles, 8 October 1645; Clarendon, *History*, 4:88.

139. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 25, ff. 209-210, Earl of Norwich, La Havre, to Hyde, 9 October 1645; and f. 193, proposals of the Prince's Council, 4 October 1645; Clarendon, *History*, 4:80, 87-88.

140. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 25, f. 200, Articles of Agreement, 4 October 1645.

141. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 25, f. 211, Goring, Exeter, to Council, 10 October 1645.

142. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 25, f. 202, Goring, Exeter, to Council, 4 October 1645; Rushworth, *Collections*, IV, 1:94; *CSPD 1645-47*, 179, 183.

143. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 25, f. 204, Berkeley, Poltimore, to Hyde, 6 October 1645.

144. *CSPD 1645-47*, 183, 192; BL Add. MS. 27402, ff. 100-101, Court of War, Oxford, 12 November 1645, against Viscount Ogle; Rushworth, *Collections*, IV, 1:91, 94.

145. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 25, ff. 215-16, Goring, Exeter, to Culpeper, 13 October 1645; Rushworth, *Collections*, IV, 1:94.

146. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 25, f. 216.

147. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 25, f. 187.

148. Rushworth, *Collections*, IV, 1:94.

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149. *CSPD 1645-47*, 200-1; Fraser, *Cromwell*, 169-71; Burne and Young, *Great Civil War*, 220.

150. Bodl. Tanner MS. 60, f. 300, Prince Charles, Launceston, to Goring, 14 October 1645; Bodl. Clarendon MS. 26, f. 217, Council, Launceston, to Goring, 14 October 1645; Rushworth, *Collections*, IV, 1:94.

151. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 26, f. 223, Goring, Exeter, to Culpeper, 17 October 1645; f. 229, Thomas Triplett, Exeter, to Hyde, 20 October 1645; f. 230, Goring, Exeter, to Culpeper, 20 October 1645; f. 232, Council to Goring, 22 October 1645; Bodl. Tanner MS. 60/2 f. 331, Prince Charles, Launceston, to Goring, 22 October 1645; Rushworth, *Collections*, IV, 1:94.

152. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 26, f. 234, Goring to Culpeper, [22 October 1645]; Rushworth, *Collections*, IV, 1:95.

153. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 26, f. 237, Goring, Totnes, to Culpeper, 24 October 1645.

154. BL Add. MS. 18979, f. 207, Fairfax, Tiverton, to Lord Fairfax, 14 November 1645; *CSPVen 1643-47*, 219-23, advices from London, 26 October 1645, 2 and 9 November 1645 [N. S.]; Rushworth, *Collections*, IV, 1:95; *CSPD 1645-47*, 215-16; Clarendon, *History*, 4:103.

155. BL. Add. MS. 18982, f. 97, Order of the Committee of Both Kingdoms, 11 November 1645; Bodl. Clarendon MS. 28, ff. 137-38, Rupert Diary; Walker, *Discourses*, 146; Rushworth, *Collections*, IV, 1:84-85; *CSPD 1645-47*, 201-2; *CSPVen 1643-47*, 224, 226, advices from London, 17 and 30 November 1645 [N. S.]. To win back his uncle's trust, Rupert had to send a blank sheet of paper with his signature on it, so that the king could fill in whatever words of apology he deemed fit. See Kitson, *Prince Rupert*, 265-66.

156. *CSPVen 1643-47*, 224, advices from London, 17 November 1645 [N. S.].

157. Walker, *Discourses*, 142-49; *CSPD 1645-47*, 215-16; *HMC* Vol. 6, 7th Rpt., Part I, Verney Papers, 452; Newman, *Atlas*, 81; Wedgwood, *King's War*, 473-75. Gardiner (*Great Civil War*, 2:371) has a wonderful description for the king's secretary-cum-general: "Digby was incapable of despair."

158. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 26, ff. 16-17, Norwich, La Havre, to Hyde, 18/28 October 1645. In the first conversation between Hyde and Goring at Exeter in early September George had referred to hearing from his father about the preparations at Pendennis Castle. See Clarendon, *History*, 4:86.

159. Bulstrode, *Memoirs*, 147; Townshend, *Endymion Porter*, 225-26.

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160. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 26, f. 51, Culpeper to Hopton, 17 November 1645.

161. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 26, ff. 60-61, Goring, Exeter, to Prince Charles, 20 November 1645.

162. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 26, f. 68, Jermyn, St. Germaine, to Hyde, 27 November 1645.

163. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 26, ff. 85-86, Pollard, Dartmouth, to Hyde, 26 December 1645; Bulstrode, *Memoirs*, 147, said that in between bouts of illness, Goring "spent time in his usual jollities." The date of Goring's arrival in France is 10/20 December 1645. See *GEC* 9:775.

164. *CSPVen 1643-47*, 231-32, Nani, Paris, 9 January 1646 [N. S.]; *HMC* Vol 6. 7th Rpt., Part I, Verney Papers, 453, Robert Leslie, Rouen, to Sir Ralph Verney, Paris, 29 December 1645.

165. Bulstrode, *Memoirs*, 148-49; Clarendon, *History*, 4:98-99.

166. Clarendon, *History*, 4:102-3.

167. Hutton, *Charles II*, 13. Hutton emphasizes this economic disparity and believes that the western royalists "were neither fools nor sinners, but men caught in an impossible predicament." Also, Gentles, "Civil Wars in England," in Kenyon and Ohlmeyer, *Military History*, 141, points out that by 1645 Parliament controlled thirty-seven of the fifty largest towns in England, including London, which gave it "a massively large tax base . . . for which Charles had no equivalent."

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PART IV
YEARS OF EXILE

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CHAPTER 14
SWORD FOR HIRE, 1646-1657

In early 1646, George Goring, newly arrived at Paris, joined Henrietta Maria's circle of English exiles. There he would participate in an attempt to recruit troops in France for King Charles's service, but the rapidly deteriorating military situation in England would soon make those efforts futile. In the West Country, with Goring removed from the scene, the royalists' situation became even more fractious, so that when the New Model renewed its offensive the Prince's Council would have no choice but to remove the Prince of Wales from England. King Charles himself would end his attempt to maintain his authority by armed force in late April 1646 when he would leave Oxford to surrender himself to the Scots army. Parliament and its allies had finally won the war, but exactly what would that mean in terms of government and religion?

While King Charles, Parliament, the New Model Army and the Scots would try to work out the answers to those vexing questions over the next three years, George Goring would become less involved in English politics and eventually would resume his career as a soldier-of-fortune. Momentous changes were coming about on the Continent at that time as the German wars were drawing to a close and the Dutch were on the brink of achieving *de jure* independence from Spain. But France and Spain, at war since 1635, would not make peace in 1648. While some of the English exiles would join the French army, others, including Goring, would serve in the armies of the king of Spain. Goring would become involved in a scheme to rescue King Charles from the Isle of Wight in 1648, but the plan would come to nothing and he would take no active part in the armed royalist uprisings in England that year. His father, however, would be one of the leaders of the insurrections and would barely escape with his life. King Charles, of course, would

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not enjoy such good fortune and would be executed (or martyred--depending on one's point-of-view) in January 1649.

The exiled royalists, now gathered around Charles II, would scheme to try to restore the monarchy, but Oliver Cromwell, backed by the army, would become too well entrenched to allow any royalist plot to long survive. George Goring would continue in Spanish service in the 1650's, but he would also serve as an informal contact with the Spanish government for Charles II. Goring finally did plan to rejoin his exiled king in the hope of eventually returning to England, but his deteriorating health would keep him in Spain where he would die in 1657, one year before Cromwell's death and three years prior to Charles II's restoration. His father and his brother Charles would live to benefit from the return of the Stuart monarchy, but George Goring would not. Just as much of his life had been mired in controversy, so too would his death be, for in all likelihood he died a Catholic. Was his Catholicism merely a pretense to gain money from his Spanish paymasters, as some of his fellow countrymen believed, or did Goring experience a true religious conversion?

This chapter is meant to be an epilogue and not a detailed account of George Goring's years in exile, for we only have glimpses of him in the various settings where he lived out the end of his life. Nevertheless, it is evident that Goring was thought to be a soldier of good reputation, so that his services remained in demand throughout his later years. Philip IV of Spain and his ministers employed Goring in the belief that he had served his own king well through four bloody years of civil war; he had risked his life time and again; and he had lost his fortune and estate in the service of his monarch. That the Spanish twice commissioned George and ultimately awarded him a pension showed that they had not been disappointed in his service.

The End of the First Civil War

Sir Edward Hyde had believed that General Goring's performance throughout the fall of 1645 had been rather lackluster and that Goring's presence had been a divisive

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element. But Goring's removal from England at the end of the year did nothing to improve the situation among the western royalists. Quite to the contrary, the internal divisions became exacerbated. Thomas Lord Wentworth, to whom Goring had entrusted his army, was a "lazy and inactive man" who, according to Sir Richard Bulstrode, lacked the "experience, courage [and] reputation" to replace his general. Wentworth was called upon in late December to join with the other western military commanders in the relief of Exeter, which was slowly being invested by the New Model Army and where Goring's infantry remained. Wentworth chose to ignore the summons to a strategy meeting, but Prince Charles and his councilors sought him out at his headquarters near Totnes in south Devon. Bulstrode recorded that the encounter was most unpleasant. Wentworth, "being in drink, which was his usual fault," talked offensively to Chancellor Hyde, "whom he always hated," and demanded that his orders should come directly from the prince and no one else.[1] Hyde confirmed that Wentworth "talked very imperiously, and very disrespectfully, and one day, (after he had been drinking) very offensively, to some of the council, in the presence of the Prince. " But with the military situation so critical, the councilors decided that they would try to placate Wentworth to ensure his obedience by "advising" rather than "commanding" him to any action. The hope was to use the infantry at Exeter in conjunction with Goring's horse and Sir Richard Grenvile's Cornish troops to bring the New Model to battle, "so great a design, upon which no less than three crowns depended."[2] Such a sentiment was not hyperbole on Hyde's part, for Secretary of War Walker, with King Charles at Oxford that winter, confirmed that the king's last flickering hope was centered on his sole remaining field army, the one in the west.[3]

Nevertheless, given the deplorable condition of the western royalist army, it would seem that any plan to confront the New Model Army had little chance for success even if the royalists could agree to work together harmoniously, which of course they would not. Earlier in the fall, Goring himself had thought that by precipitating some action, going on the offensive as the best defense, he might take the enemy by surprise. But after his one raid in mid-October, as reported in the previous chapter, he had felt compelled to organize as orderly a withdrawal westwards as possible. The very fact that he had left England

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tacitly signaled that he considered the military situation hopeless. Morever, Fairfax, alert to the royalists' activities in late December, decided to divide his forces and push further west despite the winter season. Cromwell, who had rejoined the New Model after completing several successful sieges, in early January launched a surprise raid on one of Wentworth's quarters--where the officers were so enthralled in their card game that they had no warning of the enemy's approach--and sent the royalist cavalry fleeing in disarray towards Cornwall. Fairfax, in the meantime, relieved Plymouth and managed to take the royalist port of Dartmouth, where he captured the governor Sir Hugh Pollard and Goring's old friend, the Earl of Newport, and from where Goring had departed just a month earlier.[4]

The Parliamentarians' unexpected advances caused the royalists to make one final effort to unite their disparate commands. Even Sir Richard Grenvile urged the Prince's Council, now returned to Launceston, to name one commander to unify their military efforts or else "the enemy will be masters of the west." However, in his letter of 16 January he claimed he was too sick and too exhausted to assume that role himself; besides, he believed that he would not get total obedience because "such a mortal hatred or dislike is conceived against me by the forces of my Lord Goring and some others," reportedly because he had tried to stop their plundering.[5] Sir Edward Hyde quickly advised him that Prince Charles would take titular command of the western army himself, for just one day prior, on 15 January, the council had named Sir Ralph Hopton as the prince's commander-in-chief. Lord Wentworth was to be general of horse and Grenvile, general of foot.[6]

Despite this attempt to better coordinate the western war effort, the commanders now found themselves fighting over quarters and the ever-diminishing resources available to them. While Grenvile had been in Devon, Wentworth's horse, fleeing from Cromwell's raid, had taken up quarters at North Petherwin in Cornwall and refused to be budged when Grenvile and his men tried to reclaim these, their former quarters. The situation was so intense that the contending royalist forces had come to blows. Grenvile angrily wrote the Council, asking if the Prince was going "to give them [Goring's men] Cornwall to plunder out and make enemies of as most miserable they have done in Devonshire and also

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have already somewhat notoriously begun in Cornwall. . . ."[7] Despite orders from the council to try to resolve the situation amicably, Grenvile further reported that he was forced to use his own men to protect the local inhabitants "against those troopers of the Lord Goring." He added: "And I wish those troops would as boldly face the enemy as they do dispute the keeping these quarters. . . ."[8] Grenvile's complaints were confirmed by Sir Richard Bulstrode, still serving with Goring's horse, who described Wentworth's command as "loose and extravagant" and resulting in numerous desertions. Bulstrode labeled the remnants of Goring's forces as this "dissolute, undisciplined, wicked, beaten army." With this incessant feuding, Grenvile had reached his breaking point. Perhaps believing as infantry commander he would bare the brunt of any action, he refused to take up his new commission, which surprised the councilors who had thought that Wentworth, not Grenvile, would pose the biggest obstacle to their restructuring plan. The council's sharp response was to imprison Grenvile for his disobedience.[9]

For all his reputed faults, George Goring had kept his army in better order, although he had constantly warned that without sufficient maintenance, a total break-down in discipline was inevitable; he had maintained at least the outward signs of civility in his dealings with the Prince's Council and even with Chancellor Hyde, and he had tried to work with Grenvile. His own officers also remained loyal to him, for, in response to the reorganization order, they held a council of war and notified the prince that they would presently obey the new orders, but with the proviso "that the Prince intends it not to the prejudice of the Lord Goring nor that we should decline our obedience to him at his return. . . ." Thirty-five principal officers signed the statement, including Thomas Wentworth, William Webb, Charles Goring and Richard Bulstrode.[10] Prince Charles, in turn, sent a copy of the army reorganization to Goring in France, explaining that all forces had been united under his own command. But he also advised George that when he returned all the forces he had previously commanded would be returned to him, as Goring's officers had petitioned, and the prince promised that he would commission no new officers during Goring's absence.[11] The councilors were evidently doing everything possible to placate Goring abroad as well as his officers still in the field as the military

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situation grew ever more precarious.

As previously noted, Hyde and others had doubts about George Goring's intention to return, yet no one in the west was apparently willing to openly act on that assumption. The reports coming from France also tended to lend credence to the idea that the general was only temporarily gone from his command. Cardinal Mazarin, concerned with Parliament's growing power after Naseby, had begun to look more favorably upon King Charles's cause and since mid-1645 had used his envoy, Jean de Montreuil, to try to secretly reconcile the Scots with the king. In addition, the English exiles in France at the beginning of 1646 finally obtained permission to recruit troops for the royalist cause. They would be allowed to enlist 4,000 foot and 1,000 horse in the north, from Brittany to Caen, to join the western army. The troops were supposed to be at the coast by late February or March where Dutch ships would transport them across the Channel. As Henry Jermyn wrote Culpeper from Paris, dedicated people were needed for this venture for "the recovery of the crown and delivery of the servants of it from the want of ruin." But he felt somewhat reassured about the success of this enterprise because George Goring was in charge of recruiting these mixed forces of Englishmen and foreigners. He added that someone special would be needed to command such disparate elements: "[T]o that consideration the person of Lord Goring doth not only more properly answer than any other I can readily think on, but is the only one that those of this [new army] would well be ruled by."[12]

Recruiting and shipping such a force in about two months was an optimistic estimate, but even if it could be accomplished, the underlying assumption was that the western royalists could hold out for that length of time. Parliament, already aware of the increased activities of the exiles in France, received more detailed information in early February from intercepted letters. The queen and her advisers, not knowing that Dartmouth had fallen to the enemy, had sent dispatches there on a French ship. The captain, upon realizing the changed status of the port, had thrown the pouch with the correspondence overboard, but Fairfax's men had managed to retrieve it and sent it to London. Through these captured letters Parliament learnt of the various plans to send the

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Prince of Wales abroad (as well as of the differences of opinion among the king's advisers on where the prince should go); of the secret negotiations going on with the Scots; and of the plans to recruit forces in France, possibly to be led by a reportedly well-rested and recuperated George Goring. But other intelligence sent to London from France mentioned that the French peer, the Duke of Bouillon, would be named commander-in-chief of this international force, which in part was being financed by the French clergy who believed that their largesse would be rewarded by King Charles granting freedom to Catholics in England.[13]

With knowledge of these activities abroad, Sir Thomas Fairfax became even more determined not to give the western royalists any respite. While part of the New Model continued the siege of Exeter, Fairfax and Cromwell led the rest of their forces to intercept Hopton's army, about 5,000 strong, which was trying to come to Exeter's relief. The royalists had reached Torrington in north Devon when the Parliamentarians encountered them. On the night of 16-17 February a fierce battle took place for the town, but, in the end, the royalists were forced to retreat back into Cornwall, closely followed by the New Model Army. According to John Rushworth, traveling with the New Model as its secretary, the Cornish greeted the Parliamentarians and told of the "barbarous" treatment they had suffered at the hands of Goring's horse. On 2 March Prince Charles and his councilors took ship from Pendennis Castle for the Scilly Isles off the southeastern tip of Cornwall. Hopton remained behind with the last remnants of his forces at Truro; once the prince was safely away, he had no alternative but to surrender on (reasonable) terms to Fairfax. On 14 March 1646 the king's western army--and George Goring's last command in England--ceased to exist.[14]

One week later the veteran Sir Jacob Astley at Stow-on-Wold surrendered the contingent of troops he was trying to bring from Worcester to Oxford, while on 9 April Sir John Berkeley agreed to Fairfax's terms of surrender for Exeter. King Charles, who had remained hopeful of assistance coming from Ireland and France through February, finally had to face the irrefutable fact that he had lost the war and that a renewed siege of Oxford was imminent. He had been sending out various peace feelers and he decided that

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he would not wait out his fate, but rather leave his wartime headquarters. But he turned down Rupert's offer to accompany him, and at his last council meeting on 26 April he indicated that he intended to go to London.[15] One outcome of this meeting was a letter sent by the king to George Goring, accompanied by a cover letter, probably from Secretary Nicholas. Only a copy of the accompanying letter still exists, but the king in his instructions probably informed his cavalry commander of his decision to leave Oxford and negotiate a settlement. The secretary, in turn, told Goring that he was forwarding this news somewhat reluctantly, but that Prince Rupert had already debated with his uncle over his course of action.[16] In other words, the king had made his decision and there was nothing to be done but honor his intentions.

In fact, the king quietly left Oxford on 27 April, joined only by his chaplain and one courtier, John Ashburnham. On 5 May he surrendered himself to the Scots Army outside the royalist garrison of Newark, which he turned over to them on the following day. Charles hoped that the negotiations begun by the French envoy Montreuil might have prepared the way for a rapprochement with the Covenanters. However, he had not told his own councilors of his intentions, possibly because of the objections they would have raised to this course of action. The Scots, initially surprised by the king's arrival, decided to take Charles north to Newcastle, out of Parliament's immediate reach, which nearly caused a rupture between the allies (as the king had hoped). But Charles would quickly come to realize that he was not the Scots' ally but rather their prisoner, as all his subsequent discussions with them would founder on his refusal to accept Presbyterianism and give up episcopacy.[17]

The Royalist Exiles

Prince Charles and his councilors had remained on the Scilly Isles throughout March and into early April. Undoubtedly the most important undertaking begun in this period, while it would have no immediate effect on the war's outcome, would have an enormous impact on how the war would be viewed by history. On 18 March, Sir Edward

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Hyde decided "to present to the world a full and clear narration of the grounds, circumstances, and artifices of this Rebellion. . . ." While modestly claiming that he was "unequal" to the task of recording these epic events, he did supply his political credentials at the outset of his narrative, and he promised not to "speak of persons otherwise than as the mention of their virtues or vices is essential to the work in hand."[18] So was born his monumental *History of the Rebellion*. He would work on it for the next two years while in exile, but once he came to serve Charles II, both before and after the Restoration, he would not continue and complete his manuscripts until his final years, 1668-73, again in exile. He would die in 1674, and publication would only begin in 1702.[19]

Hyde knew that he was writing for posterity, as he mentioned at the outset of the work, but he would also give a concise statement of his goal in a letter to his friend Sir John Berkeley, written in August 1646:

> As soon as I came to Scilly, I began (as well as I could without any papers, upon the stock of my memory) to set down a narrative of this prosperous rebellion, and have . . . continued it, to the waste of very much paper. . . . Upon my word there shall not be any untruth, nor partiality towards persons or sides, which though it will make the work unfit in this age for communication, yet may be fit for the perusal and comfort of some men, and . . . may tell posterity that the whole nation was not so bad as it will be then thought to have been.[20]

As one modern commentator notes, Hyde, later Earl of Clarendon, "both made history and recorded it."[21] That proximity to the great events of the time gave Hyde a unique perspective not available to the casual observer, but, at the same time, that intimate involvement--notwithstanding his declared goal of impartiality--would make it impossible for him to keep his personal prejudices out of his narrative. And one of his greatest prejudices was against the professional soldiers, as has been shown on numerous occasions in this study; Goring and Grenvile, Rupert and Maurice, as well as others, have long had their reputations shaped by Sir Edward Hyde's perspective.[22]

The speed with which he embraced this undertaking also makes his motives somewhat suspect; he was barely two weeks into exile when he took up his pen. It could be argued that he was writing while events were still fresh in his memory, but, given the circumstances, it could also be argued that he was writing to vindicate himself and the

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actions of the Prince's Council in the west; he was trying to explain why they now found themselves in exile, with the "rebellion prospering." As we have seen, in Hyde's version of events, George Goring became one of the chief causes for the royalists' failure in the west.[23]

Nor was the end of the story known as yet. While Sir Edward Hyde busied himself with his narrative, he was at the same time involved in shaping policy as the royalists, even in exile, found themselves sharply divided on how best to support the failing cause of the king. One of the greatest points of contention concerned the Prince of Wales' ultimate residence-in-exile. After having a close call with the Parliamentary fleet off the Scillies, on 16-17 April the prince and his councilors, joined by the recently arrived Sir Ralph Hopton, made their way to Jersey in the Channel Islands, close to the French coast but still British soil. Nevertheless, some thought that this was not a sufficiently safe haven. Lord Culpeper had gone to Paris to consult with Henrietta Maria who was adamant that her son join her. The king, in most of his past letters of instructions, had also opted for a retreat to France (although he had offered Denmark as an alternative on one occasion, but he had been totally against either Ireland or Scotland as the prince's councilors had suggested). Culpeper arrived at Jersey from Paris, now converted to the queen's point-of-view, and to further complicate matters, on 27 April George Lord Digby also landed there from Ireland with plans for a Anglo-Irish alliance to be headed by the Prince of Wales.[24]

"And now there began great disputes about the Prince, for the Queen would have him in Paris." So recalled Lady Anne Fanshawe who, along with her husband Sir Richard, the prince's secretary, had accompanied the band of exiles on their sometimes soggy, ofttimes hazardous adventures leading to Jersey.[25] John Culpeper, considered by his peers to be a persuasive speaker (just as he had tried to be a persuasive, yet congenial, correspondent with George Goring throughout the western campaign), now argued for taking Prince Charles to France. Digby would travel on to Paris and also come to agree with the queen's position. The most ardent opponents of removing the heir from English soil were Sir Edward Hyde, Sir Ralph Hopton, and Arthur Lord Capel. They pointed out that France had never given King Charles any substantial support during the war, and they

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wanted some outward sign that Mazarin and the queen regent were now willing to offer more than token assistance if Prince Charles were to reside there. Moreover, these councilors still believed that the royalist cause would best be served if support came from within the king's domains rather than from abroad. The worst resolution would be for the prince to live in Paris and appear to be a dependent on the French crown without gaining any significant support to restore his father's cause. [26]

Furious negotiations were continuing between Jersey and St. Germain-en-Laye, the English queen's residence outside of Paris, when the exiles received the news of King Charles's surrender to the Scots. As the king's true status--that of a prisoner--became apparent, Henrietta Maria on 16 May wrote her son and the council ordering the prince, in both the king's name and her own, to join her immediately in Paris. Yet even this order could not force the majority of the council to concur in this course of action. Finally, in June, Henrietta Maria sent her own delegation to Jersey, headed by her chief courtier, Henry Jermyn, and including George Digby, Henry Wilmot and Thomas Wentworth. Another round of debates ensued, but Prince Charles, now sixteen years old, at last decided to follow his parents' wishes, notwithstanding the strong disapproval of the men who had guided his life for the past year. On 25 June the prince sailed for France, but his councilors--Hyde, Hopton, Capel, and Secretary Fanshawe--asked to be pardoned from his service and remained behind.[27]

While this major split among the royalists had been engendered primarily by differences of opinion concerning policy, more personal grudges were resurfacing as Henrietta Maria's court-in-exile grew in numbers. The surrender of Oxford, negotiated over two months and completed on 24 June, brought new exiles to France. Although James, Duke of York, the king's second son, was taken into Parliamentary custody and joined his younger sister and brother, Elizabeth and Henry, as "wards" of the state in London, Rupert and Maurice were allowed to leave England. While Maurice returned to his mother's residence in Holland, Rupert chose to sail to Calais, and on 23 July at St. Germain he was reunited with his cousin, "the Prince, our Master. Blessed be God, for his and our deliverance from the Parliament," Rupert's diarist concluded. [28] Rupert,

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however, was not equally happy to meet up with all his fellow royalists and one of his first acts was to challenge his old nemesis, George Digby, to a duel. Bloodshed was only avoided by the personal intervention of Henrietta Maria and Prince Charles. Rupert did manage to better another former comrade-in-arms, Henry Percy, in a non-lethal duel; while Henry Wilmot, still angered that Digby had engineered his replacement by Goring in 1644, fought the king's secretary who proved to be the superior swordsman by inflicting a wound on his opponent. Once everyone's honor was satisfied, the royalists could get back to the more immediate concern of the king's cause.[29]

George Goring was conspicuous by his absence from these controversies and matters-of-honor. In fact, he had left Paris to go to Holland in early May, after King Charles's surrender had ended any immediate plans for intervention from abroad. Nevertheless, these episodes detailing the public and private quarrels among the exiles are instructive because they show that Goring's own past struggles with his fellow royalists--both civilian and military--were not a phenomenon unique to him. Goring reportedly did not even censure Hyde for his strong stand against the Prince of Wales going to France, but Hyde was less than gracious when he heard this news. He told his correspondent that Lord Goring should reflect on his own faults before considering others'. He added: "[B]ut there will yet I hope a time come when all things may be examined."[30] Hyde, pen in hand, was obviously reminded of his past conflicts with the general and was going to ensure his own version of events would be known.

Goring still owned a regiment in the Prince of Orange's army, but the Dutch war for independence was finally drawing to a close. After Frederick Henry's major victories in the 1630's, the time when Goring had been actively involved in the prince's campaigns, the continued fighting in the 1640's had brought few advantages to the Dutch (but more to their French allies). Therefore, in January 1646 the seven northern provinces of the Netherlands sent envoys to seek a permanent settlement with Spain at the peace conference then being held at Munster in Germany. France, however, did not want its Dutch partner to end hostilities which would free Spanish troops to be employed on other fronts, nor was Frederick Henry as ready to come to terms as the Dutch States General.

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In fact, he led his last campaign against Venlo in the fall of 1646 in which Colonel Goring's regiment took part and suffered numerous casualties. But the prince died in March 1647, thus clearing the way for the final peace accord which would be reached in January 1648. After eighty years of hostilities, the seven provinces would win their independence. The Peace of Westphalia of 1648, as the overall treaties to end the Thirty Years War were known, would also bring peace to the Holy Roman Empire, but not to France and Spain.[31]

The royalist exiles were concerned about the outcome of these events in Europe, for peace on the Continent might mean that aid--monetary and military--would become available for King Charles's cause. The group gathered around Henrietta Maria--and now Prince Charles--at St. Germain were obviously pro-French in outlook. Others, like Hyde, still preferred no outside interference to settle questions at home. But a third party would look to the other great continental power, Spain, as a possible source of assistance, and the Gorings, father and son, became adherents of a pro-Spanish policy. Why the Earl of Norwich, a long-time courtier of Henrietta Maria's and Charles's envoy to France during the civil war, came to switch allegiances was not spelled out. In October 1645, when the Prince's Council had been debating sending the prince abroad, the senior Goring had been adamantly against France as a destination.[32] Had his wartime diplomatic experiences been so frustrating, trying to get concrete commitments from Mazarin, that he had turned against France as a possible ally? Had the furor over his intercepted letters in early 1644 caused him insurmountable difficulties in dealing with the French court? For whatever reasons, by the winter of 1646-7, various diplomatic sources were reporting the Gorings' new adherence to the Spanish cause. Moreover, the Earl of Norwich's attempts to help along the Dutch-Spanish peace negotiations caused particular resentment at both the French court and the English exile court in France.[33]

While his father was active on the diplomatic front, George Goring could offer his own particular skill--that of a seasoned professional soldier--to the Spanish. Why George followed this path instead of remaining in France, where he had already been involved in raising troops, apparently had several causes. One was the arrival in Paris of Prince

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Rupert, who Anne, the queen regent, quickly commissioned to raise forces among the English exiles to fight for France against Spain in Flanders. Rupert, however, had no desire to fight alongside his erstwhile subordinate, George Goring.[34] This study has shown that the relationship between the two men had gone through various stages: from cooperation to confrontation to accommodation, the final stage only being attained when they could campaign independently of one another. Faced with fighting alongside George Goring once again, Rupert refused.

Would Goring have entered French service if Rupert had been more amenable? George had gone off to investigate his Dutch regiment in May, before Rupert's arrival on the Continent, so that he may have already been looking for alternative employment opportunities. But when the prince refused him a commission that winter in the regiment of 2,000 exiles he had gathered, George, at the Hague, began to negotiate with the authorities in the Spanish Netherlands, most probably through his father who was already at Brussels. As early as February 1647, rumors were circulating that, with the Dutch beginning to disband their army, Goring had taken his regiment into Spanish service, but this proved to be premature. In early March, the current story was that George had sold his Dutch regiment to four of his own English officers who would put up £500 each; he was to receive the money in Belgium where he would join his father. But again these reports proved to be premature, for George remained at the Hague throughout March. The French, however, concerned that Goring would draw away from the English exiles being recruited for their service, made George a counter-offer which he refused. The French reportedly feared that if Goring "undertake this employment [for Spain], he will have more of the nobility and gentry than Prince Rupert."[35] George Goring was English born and bred, unlike Rupert, hence he might be more popular with his fellow Englishmen of the same social strata. Moreover, Goring's reputation as a commander must have been as good as Rupert's if he was considered to be such a threat to the prince's recruiting efforts.

The Earl of Norwich had his own interpretation of this bidding war for his son's services, as he wrote to Secretary Nicholas from Brussels on 9 March 1646 (with the

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italicized words in cipher in the original):

> You will not hear, I believe, again that *Lord Goring* is at *Paris* nor that the *Earl of Norwich* had ever any thought that way, for the next will inform you that *Lord Goring* shall *command* all the *English* here which will be 4,000 at least and *good horse* though *France* have thought to divert him with other offers from thence, not out of good will to him, but of ill will to *the Earl of Norwich.*[36]

In other words, if the French could lure the son away, the father's credibility with the Spanish would be undermined. But the senior Goring predicted that peace was coming to the Netherlands, and he was hopeful for royalist fortunes in England, although he regretted that the Prince of Wales was in France and not still on English soil,[37] much as Hyde and the other councilors had argued.

On the same day he was passing on this news to Edward Nicholas, Norwich wrote to Hyde and Hopton on Jersey. Hyde received Norwich's hopeful news about renewed royalist sentiment in England and possible assistance from Spain with caution. "I am not wise enough to understand what to expect," he replied from Jersey on 16 March. "Our neighbor of France much comfort themselves with the opinion that the treaty between the States and Spain, in spite of your Lordship, will come to nothing."[38] In this case, the Earl of Norwich would prove to be a more accurate prognosticator than Sir Edward Hyde.

Negotiations for the terms of George Goring's entry into Spanish service continued into the spring of 1647. Goring offered to bring a contingent of 1,500 English exiles with him, but he would gain a broader command, as his father had predicted, by eventually being named lieutenant general of the all the English forces in Flanders. That the Spanish were so anxious to procure the services of this English Protestant general who in the 1630's had fought long and hard against them was indicative of the pressing need they had for officers and men, even as the Dutch conflict drew to its conclusion. Spain still faced war with France for the possession of the Spanish Netherlands, and a critical situation continued to exist within Philip IV's kingdoms of the Iberian Peninsula. When the Count Duke of Olivares had Spain go to war with France in 1635 he had hoped for a quick victory, much as his counterpart, Cardinal Richelieu, had hoped for a rapid French

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success, but the war would outlast the two men who had initiated it. The strain on the Spanish economy--and the measures Olivares took to try to remedy the situation--had led to a revolt of the province of Catalonia in 1640, which was followed that same year by a revolt of the kingdom of Portugal. The French had been quick to take advantage of the upheaval across the border, and their armies had helped the Catalans to maintain their independence. In fact, 1647 was a critical year in the struggle for Catalonia, for the French were trying to take the strategically located city of Lerida. The Spanish launched a recruitment drive and brought in foreign troops to bolster their armies in sufficient number to hold the city. The availability at this critical juncture of the newly demobilized Dutch forces offered the Spanish another rich new source for recruitment once Philip IV had been reassured by his theologians that accepting this large number of Protestants into his armies would be acceptable to God.[39] Thus, in 1647 George Goring's need for employment fit with Spain's need for experienced soldiers. His decision to enter Spanish service, fostered by his father's intervention, set the course for the remainder of his life.

One other important consideration for the Gorings, as for all of the English exiles, was a source of income, for Parliament had sequestered the royalists' estates. George was reportedly awarded an income of 600 crowns per month for his service in the Spanish Netherlands. With his son thus settled, the Earl of Norwich decided he would return to England to see to his own ruined finances and compound--pay a fine equal to two years' income from his estates--to reclaim them, although his London townhouse had already been turned over by Parliament to the French ambassador as a residence. There were family considerations too, for his wife and his four married daughters with their families lived in England. Although he had expressed his desire to return home as early as May 1647, only on 25 October did the House of Lords vote "Lord Goring"--the title Earl of Norwich not being recognized as previously explained--a pass to enter England with his retinue.[40] There is no evidence that the senior Goring went back to England specifically with the idea of fomenting an armed uprising, but in the coming year he would find himself one of the leaders of the second civil war, a struggle in which his son would take no active part and which would eventually lead to the demise of Charles I.

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The Second Civil War

King Charles's surrender in May 1646 did not end the time of troubles in Britain but rather "ushered in a period of unparalleled confusion," as historian John Kenyon notes.[41] The shooting war was over, but no terms for a permanent settlement could be agreed upon by the various parties. In the summer of 1646 Charles had refused to subscribe to the Newcastle Propositions, peace terms proposed to him by English and Scottish commissioners, for, among other things, he steadfastly refused to give up episcopacy. Henrietta Maria, as a Catholic not too interested in the finer points of Protestant theology, wrote begging her husband to concede the religious issue and sent a personal representative, the ubiquitous Will Davenant, to try to persuade Charles to give up the Church of England to ensure his own "peace and security." Charles would not be moved. Moreover, the king refused to agree to exempt fifty-seven of his closest civilian and military collaborators--including "Colonel George Goring"-- from a general pardon as the propositions stipulated.[42]

The king's stubbornness finally wore down the Scots who saw no way out of the deadlock. Voted partial payment of arrears by Parliament, the Scots army turned King Charles over to the English on 30 January 1647 and withdrew back across the border. While royalist propagandists would compare this act to that of Judas selling out Christ, the reality was that the Scots, knowing that their fellow Presbyterians controlled Parliament, did not feel that they had placed the king in any imminent danger. Their English co-religionists, led in the Commons by Denzil Holles, were committed to seeking some form of compromise with the king and keeping the more radical elements in society in check. In the meantime, the king was kept at Holdenby House in Northamptonshire.[43]

The New Model Army, still in existence but idle, was owed about £2.5 million in arrears, an enormous sum which Parliament could not pay. In a situation similar to that of 1641--when Parliament had felt itself threatened by the king's unpaid army following the Bishops' Wars--Parliament in the spring of 1647 decided to disband the New Model except for those who would serve in Ireland. The rank and file, many of whom were

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Independents and opposed to a Presbyterian church settlement in England, attempted to express their complaints about their treatment by petitions and through elected agitators, which caused growing alarm in Parliament. Purportedly believing that the Presbyterians of England and Scotland were about to join with the king to crush the New Model, some soldiers took matters into their own hands. Coronet George Joyce, a low ranking officer who may have been acting on a suggestion made by Cromwell, backed by five hundred troopers, seized possession of the king on 4 June 1647, thus guaranteeing that the army would not be disbanded and would have a say in the final peace settlement.[44]

Initially, this change of status did not seem to bode ill for the king, who enjoyed more freedoms and contact with his people as he made a slow progress, under guard, to his palace at Hampton Court. There he would be able to spend time with his three captive children and he would receive various visitors, among them, Richard and Anne Fanshawe, temporarily back in England from their Jersey exile. Sir Richard had served at the English embassy in Madrid in the 1630's, and King Charles now gave him credentials to Spain, so that the Fanshawes, who would also serve Charles II in a similar capacity, would be in contact with George Goring during his years in Madrid. On their last parting, the couple received letters from the king for his wife and a royal expression of gratitude, Charles reportedly saying: "'I do promise you that if ever I am restored to my dignity I will bountifully reward you both for your service and sufferings.'"[45] Charles was still hopeful at that point that a favorable settlement was attainable. He might have even felt vindicated because his policy of divide and conquer in his negotiations seemed to be working. He had made no concessions to date, and his wartime opponents were falling out among themselves.

It was now the New Model's turn to try to formulate a settlement with the king. Negotiations for the army were led by Lieutenant General Cromwell and Commissary General Ireton, Cromwell's closest ally and son-in-law. But the Army's Heads of the Proposals, which at least did not ask for Presbyterianism in England nor demand the condemnation of all the leading royalists, were also turned down by the king, who in November 1647 escaped from Hampton Court, claiming that he would be able to

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negotiate better if he were free from confinement. Accompanied by the faithful John Ashburnham and Sir John Berkeley, recently returned from France, the king, more by chance than choice, ended up at Carisbrooke Castle on the Isle of Wight where he thought--incorrectly--that the governor might be sympathetic to his cause. Moreover, while he had been talking to the army, Charles had also been dealing with the Scots again and had finally worked out a secret "Engagement" whereby he would allow a temporary experiment with Presbyterianism in England in return for a Scots army to restore him to the throne. But details of this agreement soon leaked out, so that by the end of 1647 some in Parliament and in the army began to believe that the king never had any intention of dealing in good faith.[46]

Even in this brief summary of events, it is easy to see that by 1648 the situation in England had grown more confused since the end of the war. The people were not enjoying any "peace dividend;" taxes remained high, for the army still had to be maintained; no permanent settlement of church and government had been achieved; poor harvests beginning in 1646 had led to sharp increases in food prices; the rebellion in Ireland dragged on, and now the position of the Scots was equivocal. Maybe a return to royal government was not such a bad solution some began to think, for the king appeared to be a moderating voice to the people, if not to those who had been trying to deal with him. This was the situation that the Earl of Norwich found upon his return to England. He was not alone in his homecoming, for his younger son, Charles, was back in England to recruit men for his brother's service in Flanders. The French foreign ministry, however, was so concerned that Charles might have some other secret diplomatic mission, pro-Spanish and anti-French, that it sent a warning to its embassy in London to be alert to any such behind-the-scenes maneuverings.[47]

This was the first time since the end of the war that the Earl of Norwich, his countess, and five of their six children were all in England. Only George remained abroad. As of March 1648, the lands of the earl, still officially "Lord Goring" in the records, and the goods of "Colonel" Goring, remained sequestered. That same month, however, the earl's eldest daughter Elizabeth, along with her husband, William Lord Brereton, and their

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teen-aged son William, petitioned the House of Lords to be allowed to file jointly for common recovery of their sequestered estates, for which they would have to pay over £2,500.[48]

The Earl of Norwich, in the end, would have little time to look to his own affairs, for that spring he became involved in the royalist uprisings that broke out throughout the country. Some of these were spontaneous grassroots outbursts against the harsh prevailing conditions, while others were scattered attempts by the king's adherents to overturn the outcome of the first war. The Scots reentered the fray, too, now on the side of their king. Unfortunately for Charles, this renewed armed struggle in his name was even more chaotic and uncoordinated than the final phases of the first war when the royalists had lacked unity of action. Also, throughout this period, the king remained on the Isle of Wight, closely guarded and effectively cut off from any of his supporters who might have been able to free him. But the royalists were initially heartened in April 1648 when the Duke of York managed to escape from London and made his way to his sister Mary's court at the Hague; then in late May part of the Parliamentary fleet mutinied and also put into Dutch ports. This encouraged the Prince of Wales, accompanied by Rupert and other advisors, to journey to the Hague where he intended to use this fleet to aid his father's revitalized cause.[49]

A rising in South Wales in early May drew Oliver Cromwell to put down the insurrection, while Sir Marmaduke Langdale's rehoisting of the royalist banner in the far north was temporarily contained by Colonel John Lambert. The English royalists' main military hope, however, was based on effective and speedy assistance from the Scots, but that hope was to be only partially fulfilled. The king's half-hearted commitment to Presbyterianism in the Engagement had angered the Kirk and split the Scottish ruling class. When the Duke of Hamilton finally managed to assemble an army, it consisted mostly of raw recruits and was only about one third the number of the initial commitment. Moreover, the Scots would enter England in July, not May or June when they were most needed.[50]

In the southeast, several counties had sent petitions to Parliament asking for the

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renewal of the negotiations which had been broken off with the king at the beginning of the year. When the local authorities in Kent tried to suppress a similar petition from their county, an insurrection broke out on 21 May. The Earl of Norwich, who had been granted a pass to leave England by the House of Lords two weeks prior, was now drafted to be the leader of the Kent rebellion after the king's cousin, the Duke of Richmond, had declined to serve. The senior Goring was initially reluctant to take on such an undertaking, having no military experience, and he hoped that the duke might soon reconsider.[51] Nevertheless, once he had made the commitment, Norwich would see it through to the end, jeopardizing his life and his estate anew in the king's cause, and forgetting whatever differences he had had with Henrietta Maria's court-in-exile.

Sir Thomas Fairfax, who had faced the younger George Goring in several major engagements in the first war, was now charged with putting down the rebellion led by the senior Goring. Parliament's lord general advanced quickly into Kent and with 11,000 men defeated a force of about 8,000 at Maidstone on 2 June. The local rebellion quickly collapsed, but the Earl of Norwich managed to escape with 3,000 followers and made his way towards London via Rochester and Greenwich. While some sympathizers came out from the capital to join him, there was no general uprising in the city, so that the earl, with only some 500 men who managed to ford the Thames, crossed into Essex in the hope that the county would also soon declare for the king.[52]

The battle at Maidstone had taken place on a Friday, and the following Monday Parliament dealt with the Earl of Norwich, *in absentia*, for his actions. In the morning, the House of Lords remembered to cancel the pass it had granted him to leave England on 10 May, lest he might use it to slip away. In the afternoon, a message came from the Commons asking the Lords to declare the senior Goring a traitor. The upper house devised a slightly different formula deleting the word "traitor," which the Commons assented to and which read: "Resolved . . . that the acts done by George Lord Goring, in taking up arms in Kent and Essex, is a levying of war against the Parliament and Kingdom; and that . . . [he] ought to be proceeded against for the same, according to the usual course and proceedings of Parliament." The Lords also sent a letter of appreciation to

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Fairfax for suppressing "those who tumultuously had gathered themselves in disobedience to the commands of Parliament. . . ."[53]

Norwich's actions also had an impact on his native Sussex, for on 7 June the royalist gentry of the county, many his neighbors, presented their own "Humble Petition" to Parliament. Among the terms, the Sussex gentry asked Parliament to resume negotiations with the king; to pay and disband the New Model Army; to govern by the "known laws of the Kingdom;" to free all estates from taxes and impositions; and to remove garrisons from the cities and give the coastal towns arms and ammunition to defend themselves. Neither House recorded receipt of the petition in their respective journals, perhaps fearing that any acknowledgment would give more impetus to the growing disaffection in the countryside, but a pamphlet version of the Sussex demands was soon in circulation.[54]

The executive Committee of Both Houses did express concern about the spreading discontent in its dispatches of the second week of June as Norwich and his party managed to elude their Parliamentary pursuers. Fairfax had remained behind in Kent to pacify the county and had sent Colonel Whalley with mounted troops in pursuit of the royalists. The Committee warned Cromwell and Lambert, as well as various county commissioners, that the earl might be heading north to attempt a rendezvous with Sir Marmaduke Langdale, and that "disaffected" elements along his route of march would join with him. Everything possible must be done to prevent this, the Committee ordered. But Whalley was unable to keep Norwich from joining with Sir Charles Lucas, one of the king's most capable commanders in the first war, who was heading an uprising in his native Essex. Whalley pursued the combined royalist party from Brentwood, northeast to Chelmsford. The Committee on 12 June was extremely concerned that the royalist forces were heading into the prized eastern counties, towards the Isle of Ely, which would enable them "to disturb the peace of several adjacent counties." Fairfax, who had been summoned from Kent, was charged with preventing any further incursion north.[55]

On the same day this last order was sent, Fairfax finally did catch up with Norwich and Lucas at the city of Colchester. The royalists' aim had been to continue north, as the

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Committee had suspected, but Lucas had stopped at Colchester to rally additional recruits. With this delay, he made the same mistake George Goring had made with Fairfax in the summer of 1645: he did not count on the general's uncommon speed of pursuit. A fierce battle lasting eight hours took place outside Colchester the following day. While Fairfax did prevent the royalists from escaping northwards, he failed to keep them from entering Colchester where they blockaded themselves in--about 5,600 men--and turned back all of the New Model's ensuing attempts to take the town by storm. By 14 June Fairfax realized that his only remaining alternative was to undertake a siege to force the defenders out, which meant that he and his 9,000 men would not be able to go north to back Cromwell and Lambert when the Scots made their appearance at the border.[56]

While some of those who were defending Colchester were new recruits, some even unarmed, the royalist leadership contained a distinguished roster of soldiers from the first war, many of whom had fought in major engagements along side George Goring. The Earl of Norwich was the nominal leader, along with Arthur Lord Capel, who held a new commission from the Prince of Wales. Capel had been part of the Prince's Council and had been one of the councilors on friendlier terms with George, having been a military leader himself in the earlier years of the war until he had been sent west by the king. Sir Charles Lucas had taken over command of the northern horse when Goring had been imprisoned in the Tower in 1643, and he had ably seconded George on the royalist left wing at Marston Moor where they had scattered Fairfax's horse. Also present were Sir George Lisle, who along with George Goring had been most responsible for holding the superior Parliamentary forces in check at second Newbury; Sir Bernard Gascoigne, one of the first men to be promoted by Goring for his boldness in action on the Lostwithiel campaign; Lord Loughborough, now nicknamed "blind Henry Hastings" because he had lost one eye during the course of the first war, who had joined with George on his cross-country march to reach Prince Rupert prior to the relief of York in 1644; and Sir William Campion, an acquaintance of the Gorings' from Kent, who in the first war had been governor of Boarstall House, the royalists' sole outpost in Buckinghamshire which he had only surrendered after the king's capitulation. With such credentials, it was not surprising

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that a newsletter from Fairfax's headquarters referred to the leaders at Colchester as "Goring and the other great ones."[57] Perhaps the term was meant derisively by the besiegers, but the royalists would certainly consider these men honorable for their ongoing commitment to the king.

One of the first things the defenders had to see to was their food supply. Since they had been caught at Colchester by surprise, they found themselves in a city ill-provisioned for a prolonged siege. On 18 June a party of three hundred sallied out and managed to return with about eighty cattle and one hundred sheep. But in the skirmishing Sir William Campion was killed. He was thirty-four years old at his death, and he was buried at Colchester, where his epitaph in part would read: "He was pious, valiant, constant to his Prince, whose cause he chose and in whose service he died."[58] The Earl of Norwich expressed similar sentiments in a letter of condolence he wrote to Campion's widow, in which he offered to "sacrifice ought to his memory to the hazard of all I am or ever may be. . . ." But the most interesting bit of information appeared in his post script: "I most humbly pray your Ladyship to let my wife know I never was better in health and heart in all my life and that I wrote to her twice very lately."[59] These might have been more than words of comfort to a wife whose husband and sons had been in hazardous situations throughout the decade. The senior Goring, at sixty-three, surrounded by so many of his son's former comrades-in-arms, might have taken to his new career of soldiering. The great irony would be that while he was trying to reassure his wife about his own health and safety, she would die the following month and be buried at Westminister Abbey on 15 July 1648.[60] Of all her children, the one she could not have seen for at least the last three years was her eldest, George.

The Earl of Norwich's optimism in June was based on the assumption that relief would come to Colchester from the north, or so he told his troops to rally their spirits, as he ignored both Fairfax's terms of surrender and threats to use "fire [and] sword" to bring the siege to an end. But the Scots army--ill-equipped, ill-prepared, and poorly commanded--which finally entered England on 8 July was making extremely slow progress south, hampered by the atrocious summer weather (even by English standards) of cold and

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rain. With the addition of Langdale's party, the 12,000 men had only reached Preston in Lancashire by mid-August when they were met by Cromwell and Lambert. Despite the Parliamentarians' inferiority in numbers, at the battle of Preston, 17 August, they defeated the king's supporters; Hamilton, who escaped with a party of cavalry, was taken a week later as was Langdale. So complete was this victory that Cromwell and Lambert would follow it up with a sweep into Scotland that autumn where they would back Hamilton's leading opponent, the Duke of Argyll, to assure him political control in the northern kingdom, thus ending the king's hopes of using Scotland to reestablish his authority in England.[61]

While these events were unfolding in the north, there was one other slim hope for relief in the south. Prince Charles and his followers had taken personal command of those English naval vessels which had mutinied against Parliament, and they set sail from the United Provinces on 17 July, but with no clear agenda of what they hoped to achieve. The fleet first put in at Yarmouth on the Norfolk coast on 24 July, but the sailors were kept from coming ashore by the Parliamentary forces stationed there. Some of the prince's advisers wanted to attempt the relief of Colchester, but it soon became evident that without sufficient troops on board to establish a beachhead, the prince's forces had little chance of making any impact on land. Besieged Deal Castle was a case in point; it was one of the few outposts still held by royalists on the Kent coast, but when the prince's fleet tried to land men to break the siege on 14 August, they were driven back to their ships with heavy losses. An attempt on the Isle of Wight to free the king, under heavy guard, also had to be ruled out, and the hope of the prince sailing north to join the Scots was ended with the defeat at Preston. Eventually, Charles and his fleet, with assistance from the Dutch navy to help them evade the English naval vessels which had remained loyal to Parliament, returned to the United Provinces at the beginning of September.[62] So ended the prince's rather quixotic and unproductive sea adventures.

These various downturns in the royalists' fortunes also had a negative impact on other preparations taking place on the Continent. George Goring had not turned his back on King Charles's cause despite his new commission in the Spanish Netherlands, and in

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1648, even prior to the major insurrections in England, he had been in contact with the young Prince of Orange, William II, (King Charles's son-in-law) and the Duke of Lorraine; the latter, after having lost his duchy to France in 1634, had become a well-paid mercenary commander and now had gathered a multinational force of 900 infantrymen for a planned invasion to rescue Charles from the Isle of Wight. These soldiers had been staged to the island of Borkum in the West Frisians and were to be joined by Goring with additional forces. But once the various royalist risings began to occur, the situation was reevaluated, particularly since a raid on the well-defended Isle of Wight was now thought to be "over difficult." Sir Edward Hyde, summoned out of his self-imposed retirement to join the Prince of Wales, arrived in the Netherlands as these debates were going on and just as news of the defeat of Hamilton and Langdale reached the Continent. Colchester was known to be in desperate straits, but George Goring was concerned about attempting a landing on the English coast without any cavalry cover. He knew of the failure of Prince Charles's men at Deal and did not want a repeat of that action. Therefore, he was asking Hyde and Lord Treasurer Cottington to apply to the Prince of Orange for additional money to raise a troop of horse, even just thirty in number: "It is hardly to be imagined of how great importance even so small a body of horse will be at our first landing." He added that a great work could "be effected by these small beginnings," and pledged himself anew to King Charles's service "beyond my life or any worldly consideration."[63]

Sir Edward Hyde was at Middleburgh, where he was awaiting the return of Prince Charles's fleet. He quickly answered Goring that he was aware of the plans and problems being encountered with getting this invasion force into action and that he would attempt to get additional funding as George had requested. Hyde's attitude towards George seemed to have mellowed a bit--but then, they had had no formal dealings with one another for almost three years. Perhaps their shared dislike of the French court provided an area of mutual understanding, for Hyde, in more flowery language than he had used in the past with George, claimed that Goring's year in the Spanish army had contributed more to his greatness "than any other service in Christendom." (A slap at those who had gone into French service?) He continued: "I wish you were in your harness . . . and your own virtue

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will carry you on." He also told George of his esteem and concern "for your old Gentleman at Colchester."[64]

These plans were being pursued in the first days of September, when neither Goring nor Hyde yet knew that the senior George Goring, the "old Gentleman," was already a prisoner, for Fairfax had managed to starve Colchester into submission. The situation had worsened throughout August in the besieged city, and the townspeople, ravaged by hunger and disease, had petitioned Norwich to surrender. Despite the horrendous conditions, the earl had refused to abandon his cause while their was still hope that the Scots' army was on the march south. The unfortunate situation in the town became grist for the Parliamentary propaganda mills which churned out tales of purported royalist horrors, in some cases, recycling atrocity stories which bore a striking resemblance to those published against George Goring's cavaliers during the siege of Portsmouth in 1642.[65]

Parliament's victory at Preston marked the end of the hopes of the royalists at Colchester. Fairfax, no longer concerned that he would be needed in the north, could now afford to wait out his opponents. As a last resort, the royalist leaders wanted to try to break out rather than surrender, but the foot soldiers--who would have had much less chance of escaping than the mounted officers--threatened to mutiny if this plan were attempted. Thus the royalists commanders were forced by their own men to open negotiations with Fairfax on 26 August. The following day was spent in clarifying what terms Fairfax was offering, for the fate of the besieged now depended on the precise wording used in the articles of surrender. By the final terms, soldiers and officers below the rank of captain were allowed quarter for their lives, meaning they would have to give up their horses and arms but they would not be put to death. The remaining officers and gentlemen were rendered "at mercy," which meant that Fairfax had the right to execute some if he so chose.[66]

On 28 August 1648 the Parliamentarians took possession of Colchester. Fairfax immediately held a council of war to decide the fate of the captured officers. Some argued that the Earl of Norwich and Lord Capel, as the leaders of the resistance, should be put to

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death, but Fairfax said that these men should be submitted to Parliament's justice. Instead he decided to make "examples" of the senior officers. As he afterwards explained to the House of Lords:

> For some satisfaction to military justice, and in part [to] avenge . . . the innocent blood they have caused to be spilt, and the trouble, damage and mischief they have brought upon the town, this country, and the Kingdom . . . I have caused two of them, who were rendered at mercy, to be shot to death. . . . The persons pitched upon for this example were Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Lisle."[67]

Fairfax, by this choice, was not only making examples to try to dissuade others from similar actions; he was also thinning the royalist ranks of two of its most competent commanders. As Hyde related: "The two men who were thus murdered were men of great name and esteem in the war; the one being held as good a commander of horse, and the other of foot, as the nation had."[68] This type of summary justice among the English was new to the second war. When Lucas had argued that he held a commission from the king, Ireton, in charge of the executions, had countered that Parliament had declared all who took up arms in the renewed conflict to be traitors and rebels. As previously explained (in Chapter 8), the laws of international warfare had applied in the first civil war; captured officers were exchanged as Goring had been in 1644. That no longer was true. The second civil war, although much shorter in duration than the first, was more bitterly fought, particularly at the siege of Colchester, and the punishments more severe, all of which did not bode well for the king nor for the captured royalist leaders, the Earl of Norwich among them.[69]

On 29 August, one day after the fall of Colchester and the executions, the Committee of Both Houses, while happy with the "great successes that God has given to the Parliament's forces against their enemies in all places," was still concerned about the unrest in and around London, and ordered Fairfax to march back towards the city to prevent any further disorders.[70] Two days later, the House of Lords ordered Fairfax to send Goring and Capel to Windsor Castle for confinement. That same day, the Commons resolved that George Lord Goring (Norwich) "be attainted of high treason for levying actual war against the Parliament and Kingdom." An ordinance was to be prepared for the

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attainder and the trial for high treason.[71]

Royalist sympathizers in England sent news of this latest misfortune to the exiles abroad. One such letter sent to Amsterdam in mid-September reported the fall of Colchester, the deaths of Lucas and Lisle, and the imprisonment of Norwich, Capel and Loughborough at Windsor, although the three captives reportedly had some freedom at times to go into town. Lord Loughborough would take advantage of that loose confinement to escape and take ship to Holland. But this news of the end of the royalist hopes in England would also end the invasion plans being developed by the Prince of Orange and the Duke of Lorraine in conjunction with George Goring. As so often happened with the royalists, the debate over what other employment could be found for the waiting invasion force devolved into court politics. In this case, however, when one of Prince Charles's advisors, Dr. Stephen Goffe, suggested using these troops to take Guernsey, one of the Channel Islands under Parliamentary control, Goring and Hyde found themselves on the same side, arguing against any such adventure as impracticable. This did not prevent Goffe from going to Paris and presenting the idea to Henrietta Maria who endorsed it and then became angry with Hyde for not seeing it through. In the end, no action was ever taken and the troops remained under the control of the Duke of Lorraine, so that George Goring took no active part in the second civil war.[72] In the final months of 1648 he could only await the outcome of events in England which would decide the fate of both the king and his father.

In fact, King Charles's outlook at first did not seem as bleak as might have been expected following the failed uprisings in his name. Parliament decided to deal with him again to try to reach a compromise, and negotiations were opened at Newport on the Isle of Wight on 18 September 1648. The king now had more freedom of movement and was allowed to have advisers with him as he met with the Parliamentary commissioners through October and November. The Earl of Norwich also carried on limited negotiations on his own behalf from Windsor, and on 28 September he was notified by the Commons that he would be allowed to speak at his trial if he wished. He continued to correspond with Parliament in October, as he asked for further clarification of the charges against him.

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The Lords ordered Lord Capel to be removed from Windsor to the Tower of London in late October, and Norwich was also ordered to the Tower on 13 November. But the move was not as ominous as it might have seemed, for negotiations between the king and the commissioners were drawing to a conclusion, and Charles had managed to limit the severity of punishment and the number of his supporters who would be held accountable for their actions done in his name. Therefore, on 14 November the Lords passed an ordinance to banish Norwich, Capel, and another captured leader of the second war, the Earl of Holland; they would not have to stand trial. On 27 November the Parliamentary commissioners left the king to take the treaty back to London.[73]

King Charles was reportedly most unhappy with all the concessions he had made on church and state, but his advisers felt that at least he might retain his throne, albeit with much reduced powers. The army, however, had come to believe that no agreement could ever be reached with Charles and decided to directly intervene again by seizing the king on 30 November and moving him to the impregnable Hurst Castle on the mainland two days later. In London the military coup was carried a step further on 6 December, against Fairfax's wishes, when Colonel Pride eliminated all members of the Commons who were amenable to dealing with the king in what has become known as "Pride's Purge" and which left a "rump" of only 154 members. (This was the same Parliament George Goring had been elected to in November 1640 and which had originally consisted of 507 members.) Henry Ireton and Oliver Cromwell, the latter just returned from the north, supported these moves. One consequence of these proceedings was that on 13 December the order to banish Norwich, Capel and Holland was revoked, and they again were ordered to stand trial for their part in the insurrections of that year.[74]

The story of King Charles's final fate is well-known. The king was brought back to London on 19 January 1649, exactly seven years since he had fled from his capital. The following day he was put on trial before a High Court of Justice constituted by the Commons (which had abolished the House of Lords at the beginning of the month). Despite the king's refusal to accept the court's jurisdiction, on 27 January he was sentenced: "Charles Stuart, as a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and public enemy to the good

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people of this nation, shall be put to death by the severing of his head from his body." The death warrant was signed on 29 January, and King Charles was publically beheaded the following day on a platform outside the Banqueting Hall. By all accounts, this was not a popular act, for the crowd of spectators gave a great groan at the sight of their king being executed.[75]

The Rump Parliament remembered to ban the succession of the Prince of Wales, or anyone else, to the English throne on the morning the king was executed, since England would not officially be declared a commonwealth until six weeks later. The Prince of Wales and the exiles gathered around him in Holland had known of the court proceedings in England, but did not think that matters would be taken to such extremes. The prince had persuaded the Dutch to send an envoy to London to try to intercede on the king's behalf, but Henrietta Maria, who had placed so much hope on French assistance, now found herself in the midst of the insurrections known as the Fronde against Mazarin's government. At this critical juncture in English affairs, the French royal family was itself immersed in political turmoil and had left Paris. Finally on 5 February the eighteen-year-old Charles learnt the startling news of his father's death. For the royalists, the young man was now Charles II, although he would not officially gain that title in England until 1660.[76]

Sir Edward Hyde, a member of the king's new privy council, wrote Rupert (now admiral of the small royalist fleet), from the Hague on 28 February, eloquently expressing the reactions still felt to the king's death:

> [Although] there was no reason to expect any good news from England, yet the horrid wickedness which hath been since acted there, with those dismal circumstances which attended it, was so far beyond the fears and apprehensions of all men, that it is no wonder we were all struck into that amazement with the deadly news of it, that we have not yet recovered our spirits to think or to do as we ought. . . .

He concluded by telling the prince that they had received no further news from England.[77]

But events were moving forward in London, with the fate of the captured royalist insurrection leaders soon to be decided. On 5 February a special High Court of Justice, consisting of sixty-four judges, was convened at Westminister to try Holland, Goring and

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Capel, as well as the Duke of Hamilton. During his trial, which continued into March, the Earl of Norwich did speak on his own behalf and tried to justify his actions as those of a person who had served the monarchy throughout his life. He recalled his birth during Elizabeth's reign and his subsequent attendance on King James, Prince Henry, and King Charles. He had always been a servant of the crown, and he hoped the judges would take that into consideration when deciding his case. Of the four leading royalists tried, Holland, Capel, and Hamilton were sentenced to death and all died on the scaffold on 9 March. The Earl of Holland, who had changed loyalties several times in the first civil war and had finally committed to the king only in the abortive uprisings of 1648, was condemned by a single vote, despite the intercession of his brother, the Earl of Warwick, Parliament's admiral, and of Sir Thomas Fairfax.[78]

When the vote came on the Earl of Norwich, the count was evenly divided between condemnation and acquittal. Sir Edward Hyde believed that the split vote stemmed from the senior Goring's own past history, "having always lived a cheerful and jovial life, without contracting many enemies, [he] had many there who wished him well and few who had animosity against him." William Lenthall, Speaker of the House of Commons, would cast the deciding vote for life or death. Claiming that the earl had done him a good service in the past by intervening with the king on his behalf, Lenthall felt obliged to vote for acquittal. But there had also been behind the scenes pressure from abroad, with the Spanish and Dutch ambassadors interceding for the earl's life. On 7 May 1649 the Earl of Norwich was set free.[79] Although there is no specific evidence that George Goring interceded on his father's behalf with the Spanish and Dutch authorities, his military service--and his father's recent diplomatic efforts--for both states suggests that George might have made overtures to gain diplomatic assistance once his hope of direct military intervention had faded.

When the Earl of Norwich had justified his actions at his trial as those of someone totally devoted to the service of the crown he had only been telling the truth. In the 1630's, he had been greatly rewarded for that service with the granting of various monopolies which had brought his family vast wealth. But the monopolies had been ended

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prior to the war and during the years of civil strife, at his own expense, he had continued to serve his embattled king, as a councilor, a diplomat, and, ultimately, a front-line soldier which very nearly cost him his life. His eldest son and heir had also served King Charles's cause throughout the time of troubles, often in battle situations to the hazard of his life, just as the earl's younger son had repeated this pattern of family service to the crown. It was only logical, therefore, to expect that the earl and his sons would find no place for themselves in the English Republic, proclaimed in February 1649 and which would last until 1660. In 1650 the senior Goring would join the exiled royalists on the Continent in the service of Charles II where he would remain until the Restoration. At the same time his eldest son would choose to continue in foreign military service, but shifting from the Spanish Netherlands to Spain. Yet despite George Goring's new life in Spain, he would still be concerned about his English patrimony and the cause of Charles II.

Serving in Spain

On 3 September 1649, the governor of the Spanish Netherlands, Archduke Leopold William, wrote to his cousin, Philip IV of Spain, a letter of introduction on behalf of George Goring. The archduke noted that Goring had rendered "successful and praiseworthy service as Colonel General of the English" in Flanders. He added that the general was coming to Madrid on personal business, which might have meant George was looking to collect arrears of his pay and was seeking new employment on the Catalan front.[80]

Money was a concern to father and son at this point, for the Earl of Norwich had remained in England after his acquittal--despite the fact that he was kept under surveillance by the government as a potential "malignant"--to try to regain the sequestered family estates if he could pay the composition fines. Furthermore, some of their lands at Hurstpierpoint, four properties with an annual income of £360, had been leased out by George in 1642 to satisfy his own debts, and various family relations in Sussex, as well as the lessees William Hippesley and John Davies, applied to compound for these lands in

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May and June 1649. That fall the earl sold several parcels of land through Hippesley, Davis, and his brother-in-law, the Parliamentary colonel Anthony Stapley, and asked that the purchase price of £132 be paid directly to the Committee for Compounding at Goldsmiths Hall in London in partial fulfillment of his composition fine for the remainder of the lands he still held in Sussex. In February 1650 William Hippesley and John Davies discharged the entire fine imposed on them as lessees of the lands "lately belonging to Colonel Goring, a delinquent."[81]

While his father continued dealing with the family's finances in England in 1650, George Goring made his way to Spain that spring. Philip IV was planning to take advantage of France's ongoing domestic problems by advancing the reconquest of his own rebel province of Catalonia, and Goring was seeking new employment in the Spanish army. During his service in the Spanish Netherlands he had befriended various English Catholic priests, some of whom served as chaplains to the English forces there. In fact, since the last quarter of the sixteenth century the center of English Catholic activity in exile was located in the Spanish Netherlands at Douai, where Catholic priests were trained for the English mission. Other, smaller but similar establishments existed elsewhere on the Continent, including three in Spain. The one in Madrid, St George's College, was founded in 1611 and administered by English Jesuits. Father Edward Risley was the rector in 1650, and various English Jesuits in the Spanish Netherlands wrote to him about George Goring's journey.[82]

Actually, one of the first notices of Goring to reach Father Risley was not particularly auspicious and spoke more to George's vices than virtues. Apparently George took ship to Spain, for he and his entourage spent some time prior to departure at Nieuwpoort on the Flemish coast where they enjoyed the hospitality of Carthusian monks. Goring and company assumed that they had been the monks' guests and departed without reimbursing their expenses of 400 florins. Goring had been recommended to the monks by the local English Jesuits, particularly one Father Blewet, and they were concerned about the bad impression this visit had made, especially since the monks "have resolved not to venture to entertain any without certainty to be satisfied for their layings out."[83] Father

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Blewet decided thereafter not to accompany Goring to Spain and instead took up a local ministry. But Father Risley in Madrid was informed that "the true reason why he [Blewet] left my lord Goring was because he saw his [Goring's] affairs too uncertain to go in the same boat with him."[84]

This seemed to have been both a literal and figurative boat. George Goring had set off with a letter of recommendation and his reputation to seek preferment in a country where he was otherwise a stranger. The only George Goring Philip IV would have known was the father who had attended Charles and Buckingham on the infamous episode to woo the Infanta Maria in 1623. The network of English Jesuits, therefore, became important as an additional source of support for Goring on his quest. Several of these priests wrote, asking for news of Goring and recommending him to Father Risley, who did meet with George after his arrival sometime in the first half of June. One of George's acquaintances, Father Francis Foster in Liege, was happy to hear from Risley of Goring's safe arrival "and that you have so good hopes he may be preferred there." He wished Risley to pass on to Goring his "hearty wishes of his advancement and satisfaction."[85]

George Goring was not the only English royalist to arrive in Madrid in 1650. There he found several of his fellow exiles who were acting as emissaries for Charles II. The new king had sent out ambassadors to various European courts in 1649-50 in the hope of rallying support to help him gain the English throne. His two extraordinary ambassadors to Spain, Francis Cottington and Edward Hyde, had passed through Paris at the start of their journey where they met with Mazarin. The cardinal claimed that he was willing to consider peace negotiations with Spain and asked the English envoys to pass on his proposals to the Spanish first minister, Don Luis de Haro. Mazarin had already intimated to Henry Jermyn that if peace came between France and Spain he would then be willing to aid Charles II's cause. So even though their original instructions had not included mediating the ongoing Franco-Spanish war, Hyde and Cottington included these negotiations on their mission, the primary purpose of which was to get Spanish recognition and assistance for their king and prevent recognition of the Commonwealth.[86]

Charles, following his father's lead, also sent Sir Richard Fanshawe to Spain in the

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spring of 1650. The Fanshawes, always keeping one step ahead of disaster, had been in Ireland on the young king's business when Cromwell and his forces had arrived in August 1649 and proceeded to end the Catholic rebellion "as bloodily as victoriously," as Anne Fanshawe noted, and with it, any hope Charles had for uniting with his Irish subjects as a step towards reclaiming the English throne. Once again the Fanshawes managed to escape, with Lady Anne personally carrying her husband's papers to safety, and in April 1650 they made their way to Madrid, Sir Richard's charge being to obtain financial aid for Charles. Although the king wrote Hyde and Cottington explaining his new representative's purpose, Sir Richard "had great difficulty to carry on his business, without encroaching upon the extraordinary ambassadors' negotiations."[87]

To further complicate matters, the Spanish ambassador in London, Alonso de Cardenas, thought that his country could be reconciled with the Commonwealth. The English government, therefore, sent its own envoy to Madrid that spring, Antony Ascham. Sir Edward Hyde protested with Don Luis de Haro, saying that the Spanish should refuse to accept a representative from a "parricide regime" who was no true ambassador.[88] The Fanshawes were equally incensed by the "impudence of that Ascham, to come as public minster from rebels to a court where there were two ambassadors from his King."[89] Beyond these official protests, some of the royalist exiles then living in Madrid decided to take more drastic measures, perhaps inspired by the English royalists at the Hague who had killed the Commonwealth's envoy to the Dutch republic the previous year. On 5 June, several of the English killed Ascham at his lodgings and then tried to flee pursuit. Several of the perpetrators--among them, William Sparks, an English merchant, and one Podgers in Cottington's service--were caught, despite their attempt to seek refuge in a church. Their ultimate fate would hang in the balance for the next four years, although Philip IV would have them tried and condemned (but not immediately executed) so that Spain would not face any open break with England. On 21 June Hyde and Cottington wrote the unfortunate news of the murder to King Charles's secretary, Richard Long. They also asked for clarification of certain other items in the last instructions from court which they had received via George Goring, and they added that all their latest news about

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the king's negotiations with the Scots (who were willing to have Charles as their king if he accepted their religious terms) had also come from George.[90] Since Goring was newly arrived in Madrid, he must have brought these instructions and information with him, which meant that he was being kept informed of Charles's activities, and that if the king's three official envoys failed in their tasks, at least he would still be in place to provide an unofficial link to the Spanish court.

How did Goring get along with these official representatives of his king? There are some hints. Hyde, who had been on friendlier terms with George in his letters of 1648 as shown above, was now back in personal contact with the man who had ofttimes driven him to distraction in 1645. But George had always been personally affable, so that the two men managed to dine together on occasion in Madrid. The Fanshawes, in turn, indicated that they were well-received by their fellow royalist exiles in residence in the Spanish capital. Lady Anne had known George from the time that her husband had been secretary to the Prince of Wales' Council in 1645 and had heard her husband speak of the general's excellent administrative skills. The encounter in Madrid in 1650 prompted her to note that Goring had gained "a command under Philip the Fourth of Spain . . . [and] he was generally esteemed a good and great commander." Anne Fanshawe continued:

> He was exceeding facetious and pleasant company, and in conversation, where good manners were due, the civilest person imaginable, so that he would blush like a girl. He was very tall and very handsome; he had been married to a daughter of the Earl of Cork, but never had a child by her. His expenses were what he could get, and his debauchery beyond all precedents. . . .[91]

That Goring was still enjoying a life-style similar to the one that he had indulged in during the war was also attested to by Francis Cottington on one occasion. At the beginning of August, Hyde had been too ill to join a dinner hosted by Cottington in Madrid and attended by several of the English, George Goring among them. Afterwards Cottington informed his fellow ambassador that the meal had been interrupted by the arrival of Don Luis Haro's chief secretary who had come to discuss several points regarding their latest negotiations and had indicated that his government was still considering supporting Charles II. Cottington went on to describe how the meal turned

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out with this interruption:

> Being newly set down at dinner with my Lord Goring, and having only eaten my share . . . of two of the best melons in the world . . . in comes this secretary conducted into my lodgings, where having spent at least a whole hour with him, I found at my return that no progress at all had been made in the dinner, but all the meat cold and spoiled, only I presume they had recompensed it in drinking.[92]

Despite the hopeful tone of the negotiations at that point, none of King Charles's envoys would ultimately succeed on their missions in 1650. Richard Fanshawe did not obtain the financial aid he had requested and left Spain that summer to travel on to Scotland where Charles had gone in June. Sir Edward Hyde made sure to ask Fanshawe on his departure to pay his respects to the king for him, for which he would be most appreciative. Lady Anne was certain that Hyde was afraid that her husband, by attending on the king, "might come to a greater power than himself."[93] In turn, Hyde and Cottington remained in Madrid until the end of the year. They did try to further the opening of peace talks between Spain and France, as Mazarin had requested, but these initiatives came to naught. Two of Goring's Jesuit friends in Flanders that autumn were concerned not only about how George was getting along, but also asked Father Risley for the latest news on the English prisoners and how negotiations were going for the two ambassadors. While Goring's personal quest for employment was successful, Hyde and Cottington failed in their mission, for in December, the Spanish government considered the negotiations with Charles II's ambassadors at an end. Philip IV, who had remained neutral during the English civil war, had decided that he would prefer a friendly or neutral England while he was still at war with France and so recognized the Commonwealth.[94]

The Spanish government's choice also reflected the reality of the situation in Britain. Those who had executed the king retained power in England and they had regained control of Ireland. Scotland alone had been willing to recognize Charles II as king, but at the cost of his acceptance of the Covenant (and at the cost of Montrose's life). But Charles's arrival in Scotland in June 1650 prompted the English government to launch a pre-emptive strike to head off any possible invasion from the north. When Sir Thomas Fairfax resigned rather than undertake this expedition, Oliver Cromwell became the new

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lord general. With a force greatly inferior in numbers, Cromwell defeated David Leslie, his old comrade-in-arms who had seconded him at Marston Moor, and routed the Scottish army at Dunbar in September. Despite these setbacks, Charles was formally crowned king of Scotland on 1 January 1651, and he still hoped he would be able to use his new kingdom in his quest to capture the English throne.[95]

These rapidly developing events in 1650 had a negative impact on the Earl of Norwich and his attempts to rebuild his estate. That spring, as the threat of a hostile Scotland was growing, there was also the beginning of some underground royalist organizational activity in England. Against this background of increasing tensions, the Council of State, the Commonwealth's executive body, received intercepted letters addressed to a mysterious "Monsieur Juliet" in London which dealt with arranging for money to be sent abroad to George Goring (who was on his way to Spain at this time). On 7 May the Council sent the letters to the Commission for Sequestrations, which immediately authorized the renewed seizure of the earl's estates and notified the County Commission for Sequestrations of Sussex and Middlesex to seize the estates of both the earl and his son. Other lands being held by Timothy Butts, the earl's trustee, were also ordered to be seized.[96] The rapidity of the government's action against the Gorings indicated that the family was still perceived as a threat. While there is no evidence that any money sent to George was intended for anything but his personal use (probably travel expenses), the government apparently feared that the earl had been rebuilding his finances, not for his own use, but to be used in the royalist cause through his son. After all, George had been involved in recruiting abroad in 1642, 1646 and as recently as 1648. The Commonwealth was launching another preemptive strike, this one against the Gorings, to make sure that their English estates would not feed the royalist coffers or supply any soldiers for King Charles.

On 3 September 1650 the Council of State granted the senior Goring a pass "to go beyond the seas" subject to his recognizance in the sum of £5,000. By paying this bond, the earl was guaranteeing his "good behavior." In the list of recognizances paid that September, the earl's was one of the highest amounts, only surpassed by the

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£10,000 bond assigned to Lucy, Countess Dowager of Carlisle, his old friend from the days of James I.[97] The earl did not immediately make use of his pass, for he remained in England, again attempting to raise funds, now using the primary family residence, Danny in Hurstpierpoint, Sussex, as collateral. But these efforts were cut short by the government which apparently dictated his departure date. Writing from Breda to the Earl of Arundel in London, in a letter dated 4/14 December, Norwich explained that certain personal dealings he had been carrying out for Arundel had been interrupted by "my so unexpected leaving the Kingdom." He planned to stay in Holland, at the Hague, where letters could be sent to him via Mr. Harvey's at the Sign of the King of England on the High Street. He wanted to hear news from England, particularly anything concerning himself, and continued: "I keep myself aloof from all appearance of business, except the main which is to have a little bread and quiet breathe in solitude. . . ." He thought that he might have achieved these goals in England "had [I] not started away so suddenly as I did."[98] With Charles about to be crowned king of Scotland, perhaps the English government thought it was time for a die-hard royalist like Norwich to leave the country.

That peace and quiet the earl claimed he was seeking was to elude him, for within a month of his arrival on the Continent he was being drawn back into exile politics. The royalists in Paris wrote to update him on their activities and to recruit him back into active diplomatic service. Whatever bad feelings that had developed between the earl and the St. Germain circle prior to 1648 were apparently forgiven and forgotten after his exemplary service in the second civil war. There was still some hostility among the various exile groups, as Sir Edward Nicholas informed the earl, the councilor based in the Hague believing that those centered in Paris "censure and jeer all that are not of their gang."[99] But the earl's past diplomatic service in France was now thought to be an asset, at least while Mazarin, again forced out of Paris by the new Fronde uprisings in 1651, was not in charge of government policy. The English exiles in France, although not wanting to become involved in the ongoing troubles which now pitted the leading nobles against Mazarin, did not regret the cardinal's departure. As Nicholas wrote to Lord Hatton in Paris in May 1651: "The Earl of Norwich is the ablest and faithfullest person that can be

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employed by the King now to do him real service in France." But if Mazarin, "the enemy" of King Charles's affairs, returned, "Norwich will be able to do little in France for the King."[100] While Hatton, one of Charles's councilors in Paris, agreed with Nicholas's assessment of Norwich's diplomatic skills, he believed that even with Mazarin in exile the ongoing instability in France would allow little in the way of support for King Charles's cause.[101]

Charles, however, was not waiting for assistance from abroad. While Cromwell and the English army had remained in Scotland after the victory at Dunbar, occupying the southeastern area of the country, Charles gathered new forces in the western regions. Joined by some of the exiled royalists from abroad, including Goring's old enemy, Henry Wilmot, Charles invaded England in August 1651. He and about 12,000 men passed through Carlisle and continued down the western side of the country, aiming to rest at Worcester, a city located close to the old royalist centers of the Marches, Wales and the West Country. But no general uprising followed Charles's progress. Instead, Cromwell and Lambert with 28,000 men trapped the king's forces at Worcester, where a battle took place on 3 September in which the royalist army was decimated. Charles, who had personally led his forces, did manage to escape along with Wilmot. Together they eventually fled England after an unbelievable number of hair-raising adventures and with the help of individual citizens, many of them Catholics. Charles finally arrived in France on 16 October. In his seventeen months in Britain the young king had, in the end, accomplished little and had left his cause in England even more moribund.[102]

The English government, so satisfied with the lack of support shown for the invasion "of Charles Stuart, son of the late tyrant," in February 1652 published an Act of General Pardon and Oblivion, the stated purpose of which was to bring peace and freedom to the country. All crimes, delinquencies, fines and forfeitures associated with the civil wars prior to 3 September 1651 were to be treated by the courts "in the most beneficial sense." Of course there were some general exceptions, including those guilty of treason, murder, piracy, other immoralities, and witchcraft. In addition, several royalist leaders were excepted by name: the act did "extend not to pardon the delinquency of George Lord

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Goring, or of George Goring or Charles Goring, his sons."[103] At the same time, an act was passed to officially void all honors given by the late king since 4 January 1641 because he had used such honors and titles to "buy" adherents "to promote his wicked and traitorous designs against the Parliament and people of England." All such titles were null and void and not to be used after 25 March 1652. Anyone holding such a patent had to turn it in to the Court of Chancery or be fined £50 per month until they did so, and anyone who used the outlawed titles in address or correspondence would also be fined, £100 for the use of a voided title of nobility, £40 for a baronet or knight.[104]

England in 1652 was not a very hospitable country for the Earl of Norwich and his sons. Their estates were sequestered again and still being investigated; their titles bestowed by Charles I during the war were voided; and they had not been forgiven their sins of having been staunch royalists. The earl, however, was now firmly ensconced within the exile community and became one of Charles II's councilors upon the king's return to France. On 5/15 February 1652 Charles issued a lengthy instruction to "George, Earl of Norwich" for a diplomatic mission he was to undertake to the Spanish Netherlands and the Dutch Republic. Among the items on the agenda, the earl was to enter into negotiations with the Duke of Lorraine for possible use of his mercenary forces in Ireland. Charles recognized that the situation at the Hague was now difficult, for William II had died the year prior, leaving behind an infant son (William III, Prince of Orange, and the future king of England) as well as a battle between his widow (Charles's sister Mary), his mother, and the States General for control of Dutch policy. Charles wanted the earl to ask his sister for assistance for a journey he was planning into the German empire, where he wished to recruit any disbanded forces available. In this manner he hoped to appear to be taking some action, "whereby we may keep up the spirits of our party in all our kingdoms."[105]

When the earl undertook this diplomatic mission in the spring of 1652, he had not heard from his eldest son for six months. In that time, George had joined the campaign launched by the armies of Philip IV to regain Barcelona, the capital and principal city of Catalonia. As briefly noted previously, the Catalans had declared their independence

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from the king of Spain in 1640 and in the following year had placed themselves under the protection of the French government. But this change of masters had not proven particularly beneficial to the province, for France had considered this acquisition primarily as a base for further action against Spain. The French advance had been checked in the period 1646-48, but Spain, her resources stretched to the limit as she faced rebellions in Naples and Sicily at the same time, had been unable to recapture the province. Only with the ongoing turmoil produced within France by the Fronde did King Philip finally have the opportunity to launch a counter-offensive in Catalonia which was internally divided between pro-French and pro-Spanish adherents. But even this offensive, to consist of a land and sea blockade of Barcelona, would last 15 months because, among other things, it happened to coincide with a great resurgence of the bubonic plague in eastern Spain. In the early 1650's the plague would claim about one half million lives and would have a deleterious effect on the armies.[106]

Philip IV named his illegitimate son, Don Juan of Austria, captain general of the expedition. This Don Juan, although not as famous as the Don Juan of the sixteenth century who was the natural son of Emperor Charles V and half-brother to Philip II of Spain, was probably a more important figure in Spanish history, for his military career would prove to be long and generally successful in his father's service.[107] His expedition began in the late summer of 1651 when the Spanish fleet established a naval blockade of Barcelona. But the commanders of the Spanish army, George Goring among them, despite the influx of additional troops from Italy, Germany, Central Europe, and even a contingent of 400 Irish, did not believe that they could storm the city which was held by the French commander, the Count de Marchin, and his 6,000 Franco-Catalan troops. This evaluation prompted Don Juan to ask Madrid for additional men, money and provisions, which at first were denied him. A prolonged siege would mean a further drain on the over-burdened Spanish treasury, but Don Juan insisted that there was no other way to bring the war to a successful conclusion and eventually won over the court. Nevertheless, just as the English royalists had so vividly experienced at the end of the first civil war, money was to be in short supply at the siege site, so that after nine months of active duty,

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George Goring would have received only two months' pay. But, as he would tell his father: "[Y]et I have no reason to complain of the General's care of me, for the necessities are so great here that others of my condition are one of those pays behind me."[108]

Don Juan himself became ill and had to withdraw from the siege from September through October. Within the city, Marchin collected money from the citizens, ostensibly to continue the defense, but at the end of September he took the funds and departed, along with four regiments of foot and two of horse, to return to France and join his patron, the Prince of Conde, the leader of the noble Fronde. The city appealed to France for another general, and Marshall de La Mothe, appointed in October, sent letters on ahead to encourage the defenders to hold out until his arrival. In the meantime, heavy skirmishing continued around Barcelona, so that by the end of the campaign season, the Spanish army had been decimated by casualties, disease and desertions. Don Juan, upon his return to duty, had to ask Madrid for additional cavalry and infantry, so that he would be able to complete his fortified line around the city in the spring. After a relatively quiet winter, La Mothe and reinforcements arrived in April 1652 and managed to break through the Spanish lines to enter the city. But the French general did not bring with him the food supplies which were so desperately needed, and his attempt to sally out to bring in provisions failed. The Spanish army, however, decimated by the plague, was unable to take advantage of the worsening conditions within Barcelona, and both sides appealed to their respective governments for additional assistance as spring turned to summer.[109]

George Goring had shared in the sickness that was so rampant in the Spanish camp throughout the winter. Writing to his father from the siege site on 27 May 1652, he used his illness to excuse his not writing for six months! He had initially suffered from a high fever and had been "since that time so persecuted with an ague, and fits of the gout, and aches almost over all my body, that until these last few days I have not been able to get out of my chamber, and now, though I am often on horseback, I can hardly go or stand alone. . . ." After mentioning his lack of pay, he went on to reassure his father that he was not looking for any assistance, "for I do verily believe that though I should continue a cripple all my life yet these ministers will allow me bread, and if it please God I can

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recover but such a portion of my strength . . . [that] I need not fear want of employment and means to be rather useful than burdensome to my friends."[110]

Interestingly, the major part of his letter concerned the family estate in England. After requesting news of his father and brother, he asked:

> to know particularly what is done in sale or mortgaging of that broken estate I left in England, for next to your Lordship, I am most concerned in the preservation of your house and family. . . . [W]ith what recommendations and helps of money and friends I may promise myself from this court . . . I shall be enabled to give your Lordship a better account of the remainder of the estate in England than your Lordship . . . can expect from those greedy, unfaithful stewards, Hippesley and Butts, the last of which has not vouchsafed me one word (since my being in Spain), in account of the trust he has received from me . . . but supposes I am so far out of his reach that he may use me with what contempt he please.

He ended by predicting that the siege would be successfully concluded in a few months, after which he planned to go to Madrid, "if God give me health and life." From there he would determine his next course of action which would depend on his condition and any further advice received from his father.[111]

That same day, George Goring wrote his brother Charles, answering a letter received some time ago. Again he used his illness, "being perplexed with several infirmities," as his excuse for delaying in answering. Charles had indicated that he had plans to return to England, but George demurred from offering advice, instead telling his brother that he should be guided by their father in any such undertaking. George's letter to his brother was much briefer than the one he wrote to his father and a bit blunter in tone, although the themes were the same: his concern about his poor health and about the condition of the family estates in England. He worried: "I shall be very unhelpful to myself if I continue infirm and decrepit as I am." But if he did recover sufficient health, "then I may justly pretend to some offals of that estate to which I am made so great a stranger; for believe me, brother, the pay here is very much shortened to me of late." In the post script he added: "If it were necessary for me to come to London to save something out of these villains' hands, Hippesley and Butts, I may chance to come well provided for that end."[112]

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George indicated in his father's letter that he did not want to go into too many details, "not knowing through whose hands this letter may pass."[113] Nevertheless, he had said enough, for both of his letters were intercepted, as he had feared, and ended up in London with the Council of State, which promptly acted on them. After the new seizure of the Gorings' lands in May 1650, the local committee's investigation had revealed nothing illegal and had discharged the estates from sequestration "for want of sufficient proof" in March 1651. In other words, the investigators had not been able to prove that monies were being transferred abroad to the Gorings, and the lands and their revenues had been returned to Hippesley and Butts. Obviously, by George's reaction, these men were supposed to send him incomes from the lands, but had not. George's letters, in turn, tipped off the Council of State to this arrangement, and the Council forwarded the letters "concerning Lord Goring and his son George Goring, both of them traitors and enemies to this state," to the Committee of Sequestrations, "to make the best use of them . . . for the discovery of that fraud and trust. . . ."[114]

Even though the Commissioners for Sequestrations in London immediately wrote to the county committee of Sussex in July 1652 for details on how and when the estates had been discharged from sequestration, and asked for further details about one Isaac Jones who claimed to hold a mortgage of £3,000 on the property, nothing was resolved that year. The London Committee was especially concerned that certain claims against the Goring estate, such as Jones's, had been settled in the past and were now being employed as a subterfuge by the supposed debt holders to draw revenues which would be passed on to the Gorings. Only at the beginning of 1653 would the Sussex Committee finally explain to London that the estate had been discharged in accordance with the 1651 ordinance defining delinquents. But apart from this renewed government investigation, the Earl of Norwich, to pay off debts (some predating the civil wars) and to maintain himself abroad, finally sold his main property, Danny, in 1652 to Peter Courthope, the sheriff of Sussex, who had served in Parliament's army in the war.[115]

The Gorings would get very little money out of England in the coming years, as shall be seen from the earl's letters, and George would remain dependent on his Spanish

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pay. His letters of May 1652 indicated that he was maintaining contacts in England, apparently not for any conspiratorial ends but rather to try to see to his "broken estate." It is also interesting to note that he felt he would be able to return to England if financial necessity demanded. But his immediate concern in the summer of 1652 centered on the siege of Barcelona. He had estimated a "few" months would be needed to complete the campaign, but the defending troops continued to doggedly hold out and even managed a successful sally against the Spanish outposts in July. But the Spanish army recaptured these positions and continued to maintain an effective land and sea blockade. The repeated calls by the defenders to France for assistance went unanswered, for civil strife was continuing in that country. Mazarin had purchased a small army of German mercenaries (much as Charles II hoped to do) and invaded France at the beginning of the year, so that in the summer of 1652 the Frondeur and Anti-Frondeur armies were battling one another outside of Paris. Without any additional assistance and close to starvation by September, the citizens of Barcelona forced La Mothe to open negotiations with Don Juan. On 13 October 1652 the Spanish took possession of the city; after twelve years, most of Catalonia was again subject to the king of Spain. Don Juan was named viceroy, and, in the king's name, granted a general amnesty.[116]

Remaining with Don Juan was the army and George Goring. The following spring, William Sparks, still incarcerated in Madrid for his part in the murder of the Commonwealth's envoy three years prior, wrote to Sir Edward Hyde's secretary all the latest news from Spain. Among the items: "My Lord Goring still keeps down with the army in Catalonia and knows the relish of manzanares [wine] too well already to make unnecessary any chargeable journey hither. He is very much respected and esteemed by the soldiery, by Don Juan Austria, and hath as good an accommodation as these times of interest can give to a deserving stranger abroad."[117] The Spanish army was continuing to push the French forces northwards out of the province. After the recapture of Gerona, and to celebrate the first anniversary of the victory at Barcelona, Don Juan and all his officers attended a special mass at the shrine of Our Lady of Montserrat on 13 October 1653.[118] There is no specific evidence that George Goring took part in this celebration,

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but he clearly had no problem in dealing with Catholics to promote his own interests. If attending a special mass was the "politically correct" course of action, he might have joined his commander and fellow officers in such an observation to celebrate their hard won victories.

Nevertheless, by own words, George Goring considered his new career in Spanish service as a temporary expedient, a way to earn a living until the situation at home improved sufficiently to allow his return. But events taking place in England in 1653 would make his desired homecoming even more unattainable. Oliver Cromwell, the man he often had faced on the battlefield in the first civil war, took control of the government of England in a series of steps, so that in December 1653, by the Instrument of Government, he became "His Highness the Lord Protector." Enjoying more absolute authority than Charles I ever had, Cromwell, backed by the army, would remain in power until his death in 1658. Charles II, therefore, would have little chance of accomplishing his return to England during the Protectorate, so that George Goring, his fate tied to that of the Stuarts, would never have the opportunity to go home.[119]

"A most excellent . . . mind in an ill and crazy body"

Despite Cromwell's ascendancy, Charles II and his councilors, the Earl of Norwich among them, continued to hope that allies for the royalist cause could be found among the continental powers. But events such as the Anglo-Dutch War of 1652-54 and the end of the Fronde in the autumn of 1652 did not bring Charles the alliances he hoped to forge. Cromwell, once in power, negotiated an end to the conflict with the Dutch, who had to agree to cease all assistance to Charles II, while Mazarin, never trusted by Norwich and Hyde, chose peace with England over the Stuart cause while France's war with Spain continued. Sweden, Denmark and Portugal, countries which had been somewhat supportive of Charles in the past, also decided to recognize the Protectorate in 1654. Charles, however, had been exploring, through Norwich, the possibility of finding support, monetary and military, in the German empire. He sent a new emissary to Germany at the

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end of 1653, Henry Wilmot, now the Earl of Rochester, who attended the imperial Diet at Regensburg and won a pension for his king. Charles, thereafter, would live on the new German funds which were paid erratically as well as his pension from France, paid by Mazarin to literally get Charles out of the country in 1654. The king moved into the empire and finally settled at Cologne that fall, where he would remain, living in very reduced circumstances, for the next year and a half. At the same time, within England, a new secret royalist organization was formed, called the Sealed Knot, which was supposed to pave the way for Charles's return, but which would never come close to achieving its intended goal.[120]

The return of stability and royal power in France--as exercised by Mazarin--led to a renewed invasion attempt into Catalonia in the summer of 1654. But George Goring was no longer with the Spanish army in the field at that time, having returned to Madrid after falling out with one of the senior commanders, Don Juan de Silva, whom he had accused of being in the pay of Mazarin. George reportedly was speaking of his desire to leave Spain and return to England that summer.[121] And yet, in the few years remaining to him, George Goring would stay in Spain, first because of his poor health and then because he found himself well-situated in a country which was about to become his monarch's ally. Spain had actually tried to maintain peaceful relations with Protector Cromwell, and in December 1654, to show good faith, Philip IV finally had William Sparks, the one remaining incarcerated conspirator of 1650, publically executed. But this sacrifice was in vain, for Cromwell had designs on the Spanish West Indies where he sent a fleet in the winter of 1654-55; although his ships failed to capture Hispaniola, their primary target, they did take the island of Jamaica. By engaging in such a hostile act, Cromwell was forcing war on a reluctant Spain and giving Charles II the hope of a new ally.[122]

As this breach between England and Spain developed in 1655, the Earl of Norwich that spring remained in the Spanish Netherlands, lacking sufficient funds to join the king and his other councilors at Cologne. The usual behind-the-scenes intrigues continued at the king's reduced court, and Norwich found that he had to defend himself by letter against gossip that he was thought by some to be "unsafe"--not sufficiently secretive when

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dealing with the king's affairs-- "a hard censure after fifty years service in your Royal Family," he wrote the king. "Be confident, Sir, I will ever be within reach of your call, and no more abandon my allegiance to you than I will my faith to God."[123] The earl, at seventy, was one of the senior statesmen in the young King's councils and usually tried to remain aloof from factional strife. He admired the ability and honesty of Charles's chief policy adviser, Sir Edward Hyde, although he thought him ambitious and arrogant, a judgment shared even by Hyde's friends like Sir Edward Nicholas and Sir John Berkeley.[124] As previously noted, Anne Fanshawe also believed that Hyde was jealous of anyone gaining greater influence at court. Against this pattern of ongoing antagonisms, George Goring's own battle with Hyde in 1645 for supreme authority in the west becomes less unique. Goring was definitely ambitious, but so was Hyde.

Norwich continued at Ghent in the spring of 1655, awaiting money from England, which had been held up by his own grandson (which one he did not identify by name). He also kept Secretary Nicholas informed of news from England which he heard from English merchants. The earl's intention was to join the king at Cologne, but his unrelieved poverty kept him from making the journey. In a personal letter to Nicholas from Antwerp on 25 May, he added: "My son, just as he was coming out of Spain, was taken with a sharp fit of the gout which detains him there for a time, til it be gone and then he intends not to stay long after."[125] A week later, Norwich updated the secretary on his latest news about Spanish affairs. The earl felt somewhat vindicated by the widening breach between England and Spain, and that "the great Alonso de Cardenas," Spain's ambassador in London, had not foreseen or been able to forestall the recent turn of events. The Spanish treasure fleet from the New World--a major source of Spain's finances--was late in arrival "which causeth shrewd want here [in the Spanish Netherlands] and more in Spain as my son writes to me from thence, who if he had not been surprised with a fierce fit of the gout had been here before now, having 500 crowns a month with order to attend the Archduke."[126] George Goring apparently had given up any thought of returning to England due to financial necessity. The Spanish were offering him a monthly salary if he returned to the Spanish Netherlands and rejoined the service of the Archduke Leopold

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William, which apparently was George's intention until his deteriorating health had intervened.

The Earl of Norwich remained in the Spanish Netherlands throughout the summer. His plan to have a friend, Mr. Reade, bring him funds from England was betrayed by his grandson, who had the courier arrested and sent to the Tower. The earl complained bitterly to Nicholas that he had been brought to such desperate straits by "my grandson having so terribly used me."[127] While the English civil wars and their aftermath had momentous implications on the national level, on a more personal level, this type of family estrangement was another consequence. The earl's anguish that his own flesh-and-blood had betrayed him was palpable in his letters. Later in June, he heard through the exile grapevine that "my sanctified grandson fetched my friend Reade out of the Tower," but he had received no direct news from England nor from his grandson about his affairs. He was, however, happy to report to Nicholas that he had heard from his son George, in a letter carried by an unnamed Spaniard with whom the earl "had much discourse." As noted earlier in this chapter, the senior Goring had advocated a pro-Spanish policy at the end of the first civil war, and he was now exploring this avenue again. This Spanish courier was returning to Spain, and the earl had sent certain information with him about the royalist position "in great confidence." Norwich also thought that there would be further contacts with Spain through the Jesuits, a link his son had successfully used in the past. He informed the secretary in his post script: "I expect my son by the first wind."[128]

The earl waited in vain through July--both for money from his grandson and for the arrival of his son, George apparently having put off his journey indefinitely. Norwich left the coast and retired to Breda, "where I may mend my old breeches."[129] But finally some contacts on the Continent came through for him, including the Dutch nobleman, Count Horne, who entertained and lodged the earl "like a prince," so that he could finally make his way along the Rhine in September to join King Charles at Cologne.[130] During his absence from the Spanish Netherlands, others continued making overtures to the Spanish authorities on Charles's behalf, including Sir Henry de Vic, the king's official representative at Brussels who had been posted there since the time of the first civil war.

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Also working for the royalist cause was Father Peter Talbot, an Irish Jesuit, who would negotiate with both the Papacy and Spain in 1655-56. Talbot was in Brussels in September 1655, awaiting a pass for Spain, where he wanted to go to explain why it was in Spanish interests to have Charles restored to the English throne. Despite this mission, he wrote King Charles: "I must confess I had rather your Majesty were restored by your own subjects than by any other means, but if they cannot or will not, we are bound to try all ways." In his post script he added: "Your Majesty will consider whether it be fit that my Lord Norwich go to Madrid, his son there will help him very much, and I believe there will be no great notice taken of his journey by spies. . . ."[131]

But events that fall would make it unnecessary for the Earl of Norwich to contemplate any such journey. Spain, although extremely reluctant to break formal ties with England, finally did so in October. Cromwell immediately thereafter entered into a treaty of friendship with France. The Spanish, therefore, became more interested in listening to the proposals made by King Charles's representatives, and negotiations began in earnest in Brussels. Additionally, King Charles authorized George Goring to act temporarily as his representative at the Spanish court, so that while George's ill health had initially kept him from leaving Spain, his call into royal service probably prolonged his stay there. His father was back in Brussels by December, reporting all the latest international news to Cologne. The earl also kept abreast of Sir Henry de Vic's negotiations and was disappointed that nothing had been settled by the end of the year. Norwich thought that Charles should come in person to the Spanish Netherlands, and he believed that unless the royalists quickened their efforts, both in Brussels and Madrid, little progress would be made.[132]

Even as the earl was worrying about the slow pace of the negotiations, the royalist cause was being helped along by his son in Madrid. Sir Edward Hyde had written on behalf of King Charles directly to Don Luis de Haro, who acknowledged receipt of the letter to George Goring. In their subsequent conversation, Don Luis spoke so warmly and kindly of Charles and his cause that Goring judged--correctly--that the royalists would soon have Flanders as a base of operations. Moreover, Madrid was instructing Brussels to

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deal directly with the king to come to terms. Cromwell's preparation of a new naval force to attack Spanish shipping had also helped to speed up these negotiations, a fact not lost on Sir Edward Hyde, who, upon receiving Goring's report, noted, "for the truth is, our being there [in Flanders] is of huge importance to both our affairs, and [in] some respects more to theirs [Spain's] than ours, their enemies well-enough understanding the consequence of it. . . ."[133] Charles did come to Brussels in March 1656, accompanied only by a few councilors including Wilmot and Ormonde. On 2-3 April a treaty was signed whereby the Spanish would pay for the maintenance of an army of 6,000 soldiers for King Charles to support an uprising in his name in England. Once established on the English throne, Charles would give back Jamaica, lend Spain twelve naval ships for their plan to recapture Portugal, and suspend England's laws against Catholics.[134]

The big problem, from the point-of-view of the English exiles, was that Spanish aid was contingent on the royalists in England gaining a port so that the invasion force could land. Given the rule of Cromwell and his major-generals, this scenario was close to an impossibility. In the meantime, the Spanish, preparing for their own summer campaign against France in the Netherlands, expected the English royalists to see to their own military preparations. Archduke Leopold William had resigned his post as governor general and in the spring of 1656 was replaced by George Goring's commander at Barcelona, Don Juan de Austria, who was close in age to the English king. Charles, now residing in Bruges and concerned about getting along with his Spanish hosts, began gathering forces that summer as he called for all royalists to join him. The Duke of York had been serving in the French army for the past four years, but he answered his brother's summons. So did George Lord Digby, who, having been raised in Spain while his father had been on mission there, spoke fluent Spanish and quickly established a good working relationship with Don Juan, something Hyde had failed to do. The Earl of Norwich also remained in the Spanish Netherlands, still leading a peripatetic existence to keep one step ahead of his creditors. Being something of a realist, as he viewed the growing rag-tag royalist forces that fall, he doubted that Charles would be able to regain his three kingdoms by such methods, which he promptly advised his monarch while apologizing in

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advance in case the king found his opinion offensive.[135]

With such a gathering of royalists taking place in the Spanish Netherlands, it was only natural that George Goring would renew his plans to proceed to where his father, his king, his Spanish commander, and his pension now awaited him. (In late 1656 the Spanish had renewed the offer of a pension in Flanders which they had made to George in 1655.) The English forces, at Spanish insistence, were incorporated into the Army of Flanders in February 1657, so that George Goring would be able to serve two masters at once with his attendance there. The Earl of Norwich was busy that March arranging the proper passes for himself so that he could journey to meet his son when he came from France in April, for Henry Jermyn had obtained permission for George to pass through that country on his way to Flanders. But George was ill again; "I have heard from my decrepit son," Norwich wrote King Charles, as he told him of his and his son's travel plans.[136]

Another reason that Goring could plan to leave Spain that spring was that Charles had appointed a new emissary to the Spanish court, the position George had been filling on an interim basis. Sir Henry Bennet, who would later become a major figure in the Restoration government as the Earl of Arlington, arrived in Madrid in late March to take up his post as Charles's ambassador. In his initial report, he wrote: "Don Luis de Haro gave me a very patient hearing in all I designed to say to him the first time." After giving the latest political news, he continued: "I find my Lord Goring here home in his bed out of which he hath not stirred these six months, which indisposition hath deprived him of the means to his interests in person." Nevertheless, the Spanish government's promise to pay his pension if he returned to the Netherlands had determined Goring "to make his journey towards Flanders in the beginning of the month of May."[137]

Before this letter reached the Spanish Netherlands, the English exiles were still awaiting Goring's arrival that April. Sir Edward Hyde, who was in Brussels accompanying the king on a series of courtesy calls to Don Juan and the other Spanish dignitaries, told Secretary Nicholas that they had received no news that Goring was on his way as yet. George himself wrote at about the same time, mid-April, to Nicholas, interceding on behalf of one William Blunden. He had previously requested a naval

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command for Blunden, but the commission had arrived too late to be of use. He was now asking for a new commission, to give Blunden, who had "always been entirely zealous to his Majesty," a ship of twenty-four guns. Goring included little else in the way of news, advising Nicholas, "I defer what I have to say till we meet." Therefore, he was still hopeful that he would recover sufficiently to make his journey. This letter, which would not reach Nicholas until July, was later endorsed by the secretary as "being the last I had from him."[138]

Hyde must have inquired after Goring's plans when George still had not arrived by the beginning of summer, and Bennett, in a letter dated 3 July 1657, apologized for forgetting to include news of Goring in his last report. His description of George Goring is noteworthy:

> He hath now just health enough to go him home in a litter, for of his legs he cannot yet obtain any service nor do I think he ever will be able to do it, but his head was never better, which if his Majesty please to make use of I am most confident he will yet be able to render him good service, being besides his other abilities as intensely well-disposed to it as any man can be, and remember I make you this judgment of him after three months of continual conversation with him.[139]

Bennet quickly added that he had not informed Goring of his specific instructions since he had not received permission to do so. That Hyde had been behind this order seemed likely, and that George sensed the resurfacing of this old enmity was spelled out by Bennet further along in the letter. He explained that Goring was now hoping to leave Spain later in the month when he could draw some money from his pension in Flanders "upon which he will be accommodated to live very well but is afraid your unkindness towards him will be an impediment to his pretensions of serving the king." Bennet said he had reassured George that Hyde harbored no such ill-will and that he was now asking Sir Edward "to be friends" with Goring. He added that the impoverished condition George found himself in was not due to any lack of esteem for him by the Spanish but rather because of his "inability to solicit" for himself "without which . . . nothing is to be gotten in this court."[140] (Bennet would come to know Hyde better after the Restoration when they both served Charles II, and Hyde, perceiving Bennet as a rival for power, would try

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to block his advancement.)[141]

On 25 July Sir Henry Bennet updated Sir Edward Hyde on his latest dealings with the Spanish government and stated his belief that the assistance coming from that quarter would not be half of what had been promised. But he was to meet with Haro the next day for further discussions. Among his other news items he included:

> I believe I shall send you [first] word in this letter . . . that my lord Goring is dead. He hath been given over by his physicians these four or five days. If he could have carried a little of that health he recovered six weeks ago into Flanders, I am confident he would have been of very good use to his Majesty's affairs, though he had never recovered his legs, having a most excellent temper of mind in an ill and crazy body.[142]

It took one month for this notice to reach the Spanish Netherlands. On 29 August, Sir Edward Hyde at Brussels wrote Secretary Nicholas to inform him that he had received two packets from Bennet and that: "My Lord Goring is dead." Not one other word did Hyde, always so eloquent, add to this notice. One can only think that Sir Edward, for the moment, was observing the old adage that it is better to say nothing rather than to speak ill of the dead. Two days later Hyde informed the secretary that he was passing on his letter--possibly of condolence-- to the Earl of Norwich. "Though he seems to bear it well, undoubtedly this loss of his son afflicts him very much."[143]

William Blunden, on whose behalf Goring had solicited the naval commission, landed in the Netherlands at the same time that Bennet's letters arrived. He wrote directly to Secretary Nicholas to inform him: "Lord Goring died in Madrid 25 July and lies interred in St. George's, a chapel of the English fathers of the society."[144] George Goring, just forty-nine at his death, had been buried at St. George's College, the English Jesuit institution in Madrid, which he had been in contact with since his first days in Spain in 1650. Unless one was Catholic, one did not receive a Catholic burial. Lady Anne Fanshawe, whose husband would return to Spain as Charles II's ambassador in 1664, recorded her own--hearsay--version of Goring's last days. She believed that George's debaucheries "at last lost him that love the Spaniards had for him; and that country not admitting his constant drinking, he fell sick of a hectic fever, in which he turned his

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religion, and with that artifice could scarce get to keep him whilst he lived in that sickness, or to bury him when he was dead."[145] To further confound matters, the royalist chronicler Sir William Dugdale in his version of Goring's last days, wrote that George, having previously lost his wife, "assumed the habit of a Dominican Friar in Spain, as I have heard."[146]

That Sir Henry Bennet, who by his own admission met frequently with Goring during the last months of his life, never mentioned anything about seeing George dressed as a Dominican lay brother tends to refute Dugdale's story, the source of which was never specified. One question then becomes was George's a deathbed conversion, made in his declining days to assure himself a final resting place of some dignity, as Anne Fanshawe suggested, or had he changed his religion some time earlier? Again, Bennet made no mention of any such last minute conversion, and he also had pointed out that Goring's poverty was not any sign of Spanish disfavor--contrary to Fanshawe's assertions--but was only due to George's inability to solicit for himself at the Spanish court because of his lengthy illness. The fact that the Earl of Norwich never made any reference to his son's conversion is inconclusive, for had he been privy to such information he might have kept it to himself. The only suggestion that George had something important that he wanted to confide privately to his father occurred that spring when the earl had been arranging to meet his son at the French border. Norwich had written King Charles that George "much desired to speak with me on the frontier before he came to this court."[147] George Goring had not seen his father in almost ten years. Clearly they would have had personal matters to catch up on, but had George also wanted to confide to his father that he had converted to Catholicism?

George Goring, at least from the time of the first civil war, had no aversion to working with Catholics; he had prized his Irish soldiers and Catholic officers. Once in exile, even before his arrival in Spain, he had befriended various English Jesuits. Perhaps his continuing contact with these fellow countrymen in Spain had led the way to his conversion. That they buried him lends some credence to this belief. How heartfelt this conversion was remains unknown. Was Anne Fanshawe close to the truth when she

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indicated that he had made it more for practical reasons than out of religious conviction? The last letters of any import that we have of Goring's were the ones he wrote in 1652 from the siege of Barcelona. His voice then was not unlike that of previous years--somewhat arrogant, concerned about worldly matters, but he clearly had also been worried about his deteriorating health. Perhaps his worsening condition over the next five years turned his mind more to otherworldly matters and brought about his conversion. Yet his Catholicism was not something that he wore upon his sleeve, for the man described in Sir Henry Bennet's reports did not sound much different than the George Goring of old--worldly, politically minded, worried about his court preferment. The ultimate irony was that Goring apparently had been more concerned in his final months about Sir Edward Hyde's enmity than about meeting his Maker.

Over the three years following his son's death, the Earl of Norwich continued as a councilor in Charles II's service in exile, for, as he had predicted, the joint invasion plans with the Spanish came to nothing. Nor did Cromwell's death in 1658 bring any immediate relief for Charles's cause. The earl managed to entertain himself in these years by pursuing an unnamed lady at court, his "adored Baroness," although his suit would not lead to a new marriage. His son Charles, however, the new Lord Goring with his brother's death, did manage to marry a "virtuous, rich and wise" young widow, Alice Barker, in January 1659. The royalist grapevine dubbed this a good match because the bride was wealthy, and Charles had "no fortune of his own."[148]

In 1660, George Monck, at the head of the army, engineered the return of the English monarchy. Monck, who had served in George Goring's regiment at the siege of Breda in 1637, had been a royalist officer in the first civil war but had gone on to serve Cromwell and the republic. After two years of failed experiments in government following Cromwell's death, England eagerly awaited Charles II's return. In turn, Charles, in the Declaration of Breda, given on 4/14 April 1660, on the eve of his departure for England, promised to heal "those wounds which have so many years together been kept bleeding. . . ." He offered a general pardon, although regicides would be excepted, and he guaranteed the "lives, liberties and estates" of his subjects.[149]

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The Earl of Norwich returned to England ahead of the king that April, and, as captain of the guards, immediately began receiving petitions from those wishing positions within his service. He busied himself with other affairs, including some business transactions which had been interrupted in 1642 when he had had to leave England suddenly to attend Henrietta Maria on her trip to Holland. He also petitioned the crown for "justice and reparation for the indignities put upon him by the said trial [of 1649] and other sufferings" he had endured because of "his loyalty in the rebellion of 1648."[150] In 1661, the earl was granted an annual pension of £2,000 on the surrender of his office of captain of the guards. This, however, did not signal any downturn in the earl's activities, for he was then appointed secretary of the Council of Wales, apparently a potentially lucrative post which he quickly mortgaged. His true goal was to join in the consortium of customs farmers once again, but he and his partners failed to obtain that prize in 1662, which reportedly was a great disappointment to him. One of the last documents left by Norwich was his assignment of part of his annual pension to cover two creditors.[151]

The Earl of Norwich, traveling back to London after the New Year of 1663, died at an inn at Brentford, attended only by his servants; he was seventy-seven years old. His sole surviving son and heir, Charles, was particularly concerned about the financial situation that his father had left and hoped that the king "will look on the poor remains of a family of loyalty and passionate affection to him, and not grant away things bestowed on them by the late king."[152] Charles was worried that his own meager annual income of £450 (which may not have included his wife's income) would never meet the debts left by his father unless the king granted him some of his father's offices and pensions. After all, the late Earl of Norwich had enjoyed an estate valued at £26,800 in 1641-42, before the civil wars had begun, and to leave his family in such dire straits now would be "the reproach of the cause he served, and the scorn to his dignity," Charles Goring argued.[153] The earl was buried alongside his wife at Westminister Abbey on 14 January 1663. Charles did get some relief from the king and was granted certain of his father's offices. In 1671, Charles Goring, Earl of Norwich, aged fifty-four, died without any children, so that with his death, all the family's honors became extinct. His wife Alice lived until 1680;

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she and her husband lie buried at Leyton in Essex.[154]

The very fact that the senior George Goring and his son Charles came home to England and had the opportunity to be reunited with their loved ones and enjoy some rewards of the Restoration makes George Goring's ultimate fate seem all the sadder. In his twelve years of exile, he was cut off from his family for almost the entire time. Symbolically this isolation continued even into death when he was neither reunited with his wife Lettice nor returned to English soil. Yet he maintained himself the best he could during his exile and despite the many infirmities he suffered. That he continued into his final years the hard drinking, hard playing lifestyle which he had developed early in life there can be little doubt, just as there can be no question that this lifestyle contributed to his death. But his military skills were such that the Spanish twice commissioned him, first to serve in Flanders and then in Spain itself. Nevertheless, at heart George Goring remained an Englishman. Even though prospects for Charles II's cause were dim in 1657, Goring wanted to rejoin his king's service. Of course he was motivated in part by self-interest; his own future in England was inextricably linked to the return of the Stuart monarchy. Noble and king--the symbiotic relationship between the two was exemplified by George Goring and the Stuart monarchs he had served.

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1. Bulstrode, *Memoirs*, 149.

2. Clarendon, *History*, 4:106-9.

3. Walker, *Discourses*, 149.

4. Clarendon, *History*, 4:107-8; Rushworth, *Collections*, IV, 1:96, 98; Bulstrode, *Memoirs*, 149-51; Fraser, *Cromwell*, 174-75; Burne and Young, *Great Civil War*, 220.

5. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 27, f. 3, Grenvile to Prince's Council at Launceston, 16 January 1646.

6. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 27, f. 5, Hyde, Launceston to Grenvile, 16 January 1646; Clarendon, *History*, 4:130; Bulstrode, *Memoirs*, 152.

7. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 27, f. 11, Grenvile to Prince's Council, [January 1646].

8. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 27, f. 7, Grenvile to Fanshawe, 17 January 1646.

9. Bulstrode, *Memoirs*, 151-53; Clarendon, *History*, 4:131-33; Hutton, *Charles II*, 12-13.

10. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 27, f. 20, Council of War by the principal officers of the Lord Goring's Army, Holsworthy [Devon], 21 January 1646.

11. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 27, f. 18, Prince Charles, Launceston, to Goring, 21 January 1646.

12. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 27, ff. 10-11, Jermyn, Paris, to Culpeper, 7/17 January 1646; Bodl. Tanner MS. 60/2, ff. 371-72, Davenant, Paris, to Culpeper, 7/17 January 1646. The latter source, which was intercepted by Parliament, is probably just a copy of the former with the signature incorrectly deciphered; see Gardiner, *Great Civil War*, 3:63, fn. 2. Also, Clarendon, *History*, 4:159-63, for Mazarin's changing attitude towards King Charles, and Wedgwood, *King's War*, 492-94, on Montreuil's mission. Frederick Henry, Prince of Orange, was willing to assist in this enterprise, for not only was his son and heir married to King Charles's eldest daughter, but there was some talk of his daughter being considered as a match for the Prince of Wales; see Geyl, *Netherlands in the Seventeenth Century*, 141.

13. *Commons Journal*, 4:428-29, 437; Green, *Letters of Henrietta Maria*, 313; Bodl. Tanner MS. 60/2, f. 390, Intelligence from France to Speaker Lenthall, 29 January 1646; Gardiner, *Great Civil War*, 3:62-64.

14. Clarendon, *History*, 4:140; Bulstrode, *Memoirs*, 153-57; Fanshawe, *Memoirs*, 69-71; Rushworth, *Collections*, IV, 1:103-10; *HMC*, Vol. 5, 6th Rpt., Part I, App., House of

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Lords Calendar, 102, letters from John Rushworth read on 7 March 1646; Burne and Young, *Great Civil War*, 221-22; Hutton, *Charles II*, 13; Holmes, *Civil War in Cornwall*, 70-72; *DNB*, 49:420.

15. *CSPD 1645-47*, 416-17; Bodl. Clarendon MS. 28, f. 138, Rupert Diary; Clarendon, *History*, 4:109-10; Carlton, *Charles I*, 302-4; Burne and Young, *Great Civil War*, 222; Gardiner, *Great Civil War*, 3:96-97.

16. Bodl. Tanner MS. 59/1, f. 91, [Nicholas], Oxford, to Goring, 26 April 1646; this MSS. collection contains copies of letters, the originals of some of which were in cipher. (See footnote 12 above.) The letter is incorrectly attributed to Secretary Digby who actually was in transit from Ireland to Jersey where he landed on 27 April. For Digby's travels, see Hutton, *Charles II*, 17.

17. Carlton, *Charles I*, 309-10; Gregg, *Charles I*, 406-9; Gardiner, *Great Civil War*, 3: 97-104; Robert Ashton, *The English Civil War: Conservatism and Revolution, 1603-1649*, Norton Revolutions in the Modern World Series, genl. ed. Jack P. Greene (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1978), 289-90.

18. Clarendon, *History*, 1:1-3.

19. Ibid., Preface by Macray, 1:x; Ollard, *Clarendon*, xiii.

20. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 28, ff. 178-79, Hyde, Jersey, to Berkeley, 14 August 1646. The salutation reads "My dear Jack," a friendly informality never used in his past correspondence with George Goring.

21. Harris, *Clarendon*, 2.

22. Ollard, *Clarendon*, 100-1, 334; he believes that Clarendon was kinder to those who had given their lives during the war than to "those military men to whom he is, to say the least, unfair, Goring, Wilmot, Rupert, *et. al.* [who] had in fact survived it." Kitson, *Prince Rupert*, 12: "In terms of Rupert's reputation it is a pity that Edward Hyde . . . took such a dislike to him, since his writing has played an important part in shaping the way in which subsequent generations have viewed the events. . . ." Also, Morrah, *Prince Rupert*, 101, 104, for Hyde's negative interpretation of both Rupert and Maurice. Carlton, *Charles I*, 291, points out that even George Digby suffered from Clarendon's pen, for Digby's worst mistake might have been "incurring Clarendon's enmity, which was in the long run even more damaging to one's historical reputation that letting the enemy capture and publish one's letters. . . ."

23. One of Clarendon's harshest modern critics is Ronald Hutton (*Charles II*, 15), who says Hyde "had commenced work upon a great history of the Civil War designed to vindicate himself, his friends, and his monarch at the expense of Goring, Grenvile, Parliament, and the truth."

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24. Clarendon, *History*, 4:109-10, 170; he quoted the king's letter of 7 November 1645 to the prince in which Charles proposed Denmark as an alternative, but opposed Ireland or Scotland, and the king's much more urgent letter of 7 December 1645 ordering his son to leave Cornwall as quickly as possible. Also, Hutton, *Charles II*, 15-17; Fraser, *Royal Charles*, 44.

25. Fanshawe, *Memoirs*, 70-71. Anne Fanshawe was pregnant and close to her due date when she and her husband accompanied Prince Charles to the Scillies, on a voyage where the sailors plundered their belongs. Once there, the house they lived in was at times flooded by the tide. After arriving on Jersey, Lady Fanshawe gave birth.

26. Ibid., 73; the author notes that her husband did not take sides in this dispute. Also, Clarendon, *History*, 4:172; *HMC*, Vol. 5, 6th Rpt., Part I, 114, letter from Rene Augier, Paris, to House of Lords, 1/11 May 1645; Hutton, *Charles II*, 16-18; Fraser, *Royal Charles*, 44; Philip A. Knachel, *England and the Fronde: The Impact of the English Civil War and Revolution on France* (Ithaca, NY: published for the Folger Shakespeare Library by Cornell University Press, 1967), 20, 29, 215.

27. Green, *Letters of Henrietta Maria*, 316-18; Clarendon, *History*, 4:173, 182, 195, 199, 201; Fanshawe, *Memoirs*, 73.

28. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 28, f. 138, Rupert Diary. The youngest of the king's children, Henrietta Anne, had been left behind immediately after her birth at Exeter when the queen had fled England in 1644. With the fall of Exeter, the princess was taken out of the city and eventually smuggled out of the country to be reunited with her mother in France in 1646. See Alison Plowden, *Stuart Princesses*, 75-77.

29. Hutton, *Charles II*, 21-22; the author says that these defeated royalist officers "fell upon one another like ill-trained dogs. . . ." Also, Fraser, *Royal Charles*, 52-53, who points out that the idleness and poverty that the exiles had to endure exacerbated the situation.

30. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 28, f. 145, Hyde, Jersey, 10 July 1646. The letter is addressed "Dear Frank" with no surname; one possibility is Sir Francis Cottington. Also, *HMC*, Vol. 5, 6th Rpt., Part I, 114.

31. *CSPD 1645-47*, 534, 576-7; *GEC*, 9:775; Geyl, *Netherlands in the Seventeenth Century*, 141-50; Bluche, *Louis XIV*, 65-67; Parker, *Thirty Years' War*, 186-87. Sir John Conyers, who had fought so hard to keep the army in line--and out of Goring's control--in 1641 (see Chapter 6), was living in the United Provinces when Frederick Henry died and reported to his old friend, Edward Viscount Conway, that prior to his death, the old prince had been concerned about his son's heavy drinking. Conyers added young William II's greater vice was "wenching," for he did not care for his wife, Mary, King Charles's eldest daughter. "Pity our Princess," he concluded. See *CSPD 1645-47*, 542-3. For the

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relationship between the Prince of Orange and the States General see Chapter 4.

32. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 25, ff. 209-10, Norwich, La Havre, to Hyde, 9 October 1645, as discussed in the previous chapter.

33. Spain, Archivo general de Simancas, Estado, 2525, Marques de Castel Rodrigo, Brussels, to Alonso de Cardenas, London, 20 October 1646. (I thank Father Albert Loomie, S. J., of Fordham University for this reference.) *CSPVen 1643-47*, 297, 300, Ambassador Nani, Paris, 15 January and 5 February 1647 [N. S.]; *Nicholas Papers*, 1:72, E. Porter, Paris, to Nicholas, 19 January 1647.

34. Hutton, *Charles II*, 21-22; Kitson, *Prince Rupert*, 269.

35. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 29, f. 145, Letter of Intelligence, Paris, 9 March 1647; *CSPVen 1643-47*, 300, Nani, Paris, 5 February 1647 [N. S.]; *CSPD 1645-47*, 534, 543; Kitson, *Prince Rupert*, 269.

36. BL Egerton MS. 2533, f. 419, Norwich, Brussels, to Nicholas, 9 March 1647. This letter is reprinted in *Nicholas Papers*, 1:82.

37. Ibid.

38. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 29, f. 151, Hyde, Jersey, to Norwich, 16 March 1647.

39. William Dugdale, *The Baronage of England* (London: n. p., 1676), 2:461; R. A. Stradling, *Spain's Struggle for Europe, 1598-1668* (London: The Hambledon Press, 1994), 116-17, 251-57, 266; J. H. Elliott, *Revolt of the Catalans: A Study in the Decline of Spain (1598-1640)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963, 1st paperback ed. 1984), *passim.*, for the events leading up to 1640, and Elliott, *Richelieu and Olivares*, 143-45; John Lynch, *Spain under the Hapsburgs. Volume Two: Spain and America, 1598-1700*, 2d ed. (New York: New York University Press, 1984), 2:110-29.

40. *Lords Journal*, 9:494; *Nicholas Papers*, 1:86; *HMC*, Vol. 5, 6th Rpt., Part I, 126; *DNB*, 22:248; William Cooper, "Royalist Composition in Sussex during the Commonwealth," *SAC* 19 (1867) : 97; *Calendar of the Proceedings of the Committee for Compounding, 1643-1660, General Proceedings* (hereafter *CCC*), ed. and preface Mary Anne Everett Green (London: H. M. Public Record Office, 1889), vi.

41. Kenyon, *Civil Wars*, 158.

42. Samuel Rawson Gardiner, ed., *The Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution, 1625-1660*, 3d rev. ed. (Oxford at the Clarendon Press: 1906) 290, 298-99. Among the other "persons who shall expect no pardon" were Rupert, Maurice, Newcastle, Digby, Jermyn, Hopton, Langdale, Grenvile, Hyde, Culpeper, Nicholas, Ashburnham, and Montrose. Parliament recognized neither George's courtesy title of

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Lord Goring nor his commission as general by the king; therefore, he remained "Colonel" Goring. Also, Clarendon, *History*, 4:205; Carlton, *Charles I*, 311-12; Ashton, *English Civil War*, 290.

43. Ashton, *English Civil War*, 289-91; Kishlansky, *Rise of New Model*, 9; Kenyon, *Civil Wars*, 158-60.

44. Kishlansky, *Rise of New Model*, 230-31; Gentles, *New Model Army*, 169-70. Kishlansky believes Joyce "overstepped" his authority by this act, but Gentles thinks Cromwell directly ordered Joyce's action. Also, Robert Ashton, *Counter-Revolution: The Second Civil War and its Origins, 1646-1648* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 16-17; Carlton, *Charles I*, 314-16; Gregg, *Charles I*, 412-15; Fraser, *Cromwell*, 194-95.

45. Fanshawe, *Memoirs*, 75-76; Carlton, *Charles I*, 317-19; Plowden, *Stuart Princesses*, 78-79

46. Ashton, *Counter-Revolution*, 30-35; Carlton, *Charles I*, 317-26; Kenyon, *Civil Wars*, 171-77. The text of the Heads of the Proposals appears in Prall, ed., *Puritan Revolution*, 212-22.

47. Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris, MSS Fonds Francais, Tome 15999 fol. 94, Comte de Brienne, Paris, to Sieur de Grignon, London, 3 January 1648. (Thanks again to Father Loomie for this reference.) Ashton, *Counter-Revolution*, 43-44, 198-99; Kenyon, *Civil Wars*, 160-62.

48. *CCC, General*, 91-92; *HMC*, vol. 6, 7th Rpt., Part I, Calendar of the House of Lords, 14.

49. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 31, f. 106, 1 June 1648, consists of a list of twenty-two royalist exiles summoned to meet with Henrietta Maria and Prince Charles at the Louvre on 1 June 1648, prior to the prince's departure for the Netherlands. Among the familiar names were Rupert, the Marquises of Ormond and Newcastle, and Wentworth, Digby, Wilmot, Jermyn, and Culpeper; only four of those summoned were unable to attend. Neither George Goring appeared on the list of invitees. Also, Hutton, *Charles II*, 22-24; Carlton, *Charles I*, 328-35; Gregg, *Charles I*, 423-24.

50. Woolrych, *Battles*, 154-59; Gentles, *New Model Army*, 259; Furgol, "Civil Wars in Scotland," in Kenyon and Ohlmeyer, *Military History*, 63-64.

51. *Lords Journal*, 10:250; Woolrych, *Battles*, 154-55; Ashton, *Counter-Revolution*, 463.

52. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 31, ff. 109-10, Letter of Intelligence, London, 5 June 1648; *CSPD 1648-49*, 95; Hutchinson, *Memoirs*, 2:118; Kenyon, *Civil Wars*, 181-83; Gardiner, *Great Civil War*, 4:139-45.

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53. *Lords Journal*, 10:302, 306-7; *Commons Journal*, 5:586.

54. Petition reproduced in Cooper, "Royalist Composition in Sussex," *SAC* 19 (1867) : 96.

55. *CSPD 1648-49*, 103, 105, 111-12, 114, 116, 121.

56. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 31, f. 127, C. Alleyn, Bramford, to W. Dennman, Amsterdam, 20 June 1648, a pro-royalist report which claimed Fairfax had taken heavy losses in attempting to force the town; Woolrych, *Battles*, 156-57; Ashton, *Counter-Revolution*, 427, 464-67; Gardiner, *Great Civil War*, 4:149-53, which includes a map of the siege of Colchester; Gentles, *New Model Army*, 253-56.

57. *CSPD 1648-49*, 137; Ashton, *Counter-Revolution*, 464-66; Gardiner, *Great Civil War*, 4:150-51; Robert Willis Blencowe, "Extracts from Manuscripts in the possession of William John Campion, Esq., at Danny," *SAC* 10 (1858) : 4, 10-11. All the joint actions with George Goring mentioned have been previously discussed in the chapters dealing with Goring in the first civil war in Part III.

58. Quoted in Blencowe, "Extracts," *SAC 10* (1858) : 12; *CSPD 1648-49*, 136.

59. E. Sussex R. O., Danny Archive 119, Norwich, Colchester, to Lady Campion, 26 June 1648.

60. *HMC*, Vol. 3, 4th Rpt., App., Calendar of the Muniments of Westminister Abbey, 180.

61. *CSPD 1648-49*, 136-37; Woolrych, *Battles*, 158-78; Kenyon, *Civil Wars*, 186-92; Gentles, *New Model Army*, 260-65.

62. Hutton, *Charles II*, 27-29; Fraser, *Royal Charles*, 59-63; Gardiner, *Great Civil War*, 4:171, 194-95.

63. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 31, ff. 226-27, Goring, Bruges, to Cottington, 1 September 1648, and ff. 317-18, Hyde, Hague, to Jermyn, 28 November 1648. The former letter is wrongly ascribed to the Earl of Norwich in the *Calendar of the Clarendon State Papers preserved in the Bodleian Library* (Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1872), 1:436. Not only was the earl a captive in England on this date, the salutation and signature are in the son's hand. The *Calendar's* summary incorrectly has George asking Cottington to get money "for" the Prince (of Orange) instead of "from" the prince. Also, Clarendon, *History*, 4:370-74; *Nicholas Papers*, 1:242, fn. b.

64. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 31, f. 231, Hyde, Middleburgh, to Goring, 2 September 1648.

65. In one Colchester tale, a starving mother and child approached a royalist officer who supposedly retorted: "God damn me, that child would make a good deal of meat well

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boiled." (Quoted in Ashton, *Counter-Revolution*, 474.) Compare this story to the one in Chapter 7 of a royalist soldier at Portsmouth who threatened to eat a pregnant woman's unborn child. Also see Gardiner, *Great Civil War*, 4:199, fn. 1, where he discounts the story that the Earl of Norwich prevented Sir Charles Lucas from raping a woman as recounted in TT E. 455 (16), *Colchester's Tears*. Also, Donagan, "Atrocity, War Crime and Treason," *AHA Review* 99 (Oct. 1994) : 1156.

66. *Lords Journal*, 10:477-78; the articles of surrender were signed for the royalists by the Earl of Norwich, Lord Capel, and Sir Charles Lucas. Also, Fairfax, "Short Memorials," in Firth, *Stuart Tracts*, 362; Donagan, "Atrocity," *AHA Review* 99 (Oct. 1994) : 1158; Gardiner, *Great Civil War*, 4:201-2.

67. *Lords Journal*, 10:477, Fairfax to the House of Lords, 29 August 1648. In fact, Sir Bernard Gascoigne was initially also chosen for execution, but was reprieved at the last minute when his captors realized that he was a Florentine citizen. See Clarendon, *History*, 4:386-89 for the rather poignant last moments of the two executed officers. The other leaders, led by Lord Capel, vehemently protested this action, but to no avail.

68. Clarendon, *History*, 4:388. Clarendon's positive appraisal of the two executed officers fits in with the idea that he was kinder to the soldiers who died rather than those who survived the war. See footnote 22 above.

69. Donagan, "Atrocity," *AHA Review* 99 (Oct. 1994) : 1158-59; Kenyon, *Civil Wars*, 192-93; Gardiner, *Great Civil War*, 4:203-5; Carlton, *Charles I*, 335-36; Gentles, *New Model Army*, 256-57. In the first civil war, the Irish had received summary justice from the Parliamentarians beginning in 1644; see Chapter 11.

70. *CSPD 1648-49*, 261.

71. *Commons Journal*, 5:695; *Lords Journal*, 10:476.

72. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 31, ff. 237-38, Sir A. T. to Denman [Amsterdam], 14 September 1648; and ff. 317-18, Hyde, Hague, to Jermyn, 28 November 1648, wherein Hyde recapped the evolution of the plans for the invasion force and pointed out that George Goring was also against Goffe's plan to invade Guernsey. Hyde wanted Jermyn to intervene with the queen to make sure she did not hold him solely responsible for ending the enterprise.

73. *Commons Journal*, 6:37-38, 45, 48; *Lords Journal*, 10:559, 587-88; Carlton, *Charles I*, 337-39; Gregg, *Charles I*, 426-28; Ashton, *Counter-Revolution*, 408-9.

74. Carlton, *Charles I*, 339-41; Gregg, *Charles I*, 427-31; Gentles, *New Model Army*, 282-85; Kenyon, *Civil Wars*, 195-96; Ashton, *Counter-Revolution*, 409; Brunton and Pennington, *Long Parliament*, 1. George Goring's Parliamentary career is covered in Chapters 6 and 7.

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75. Among the many accounts of the final days of Charles I, see Carlton, *Charles I*, Chapter 19, and Gregg, *Charles I*, Chapter 35. A standard narrative is by C. V. Wedgwood, *A Coffin for King Charles: The Trial and Execution of Charles I* (New York: Book-of-the-Month Club Edition, 1991, 1964), and more recently, David Lagomarsino and Charles T. Wood, eds., *The Trial of Charles I: A Documentary History* (Hanover, NH: Published for Dartmouth College by University Press of New England, 1989). Also, Prall, *Puritan Revolution*, Chapter 5, contains some of the pertinent documents, including the sentence of the king quoted in the text (192).

76. Fraser, *Royal Charles*, 76-78; Hutton, *Charles II*, 32-33; Wedgwood, *Coffin*, 230. According to Wedgwood, the Governor of the Spanish Netherlands, George Goring's commander-in-chief, did send a last minute dispatch to the Spanish ambassador in London to ask for the postponement of the trial, but the letter supposedly arrived too late. Also, Orest Ranum, *The Fronde: A French Revolution, 1648-1652* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1993), 25-50 (for the general background), 182; Knachel, *England and the Fronde*, 5-6, points out that the French *parlementaires*, just embarking on their rebellion, had the events in England as an example.

77. BL Add. MS. 18982, ff. 177-78, Hyde, Hague, to Rupert, 28 February 1649. Charles, while still Prince of Wales, had commissioned Rupert admiral of his fleet of captured Parliamentary naval ships on 5 January 1649. (BL Add. MS.18982, f. 157, Prince Charles, Hague, to Rupert, 5 January 1648/9.) The prize money from any ships captured by Rupert was directed to go to the receiver of prizes, Sir Richard Fanshawe, in one of the first orders sent by King Charles II, "in the first year of our reign," 19 February 1649. (BL Add. MS. 19892, f. 173, Charles II, Hague, to Rupert, 19 February 1649.)

78. *CSPD 1649-50*, 1:1; Clarendon, *History*, 4:501; Ashton, *Counter-Revolution*, 409; Kenyon, *Civil Wars*, 257.

79. Clarendon, *History*, 4:504-5; Ashton, *Counter-Revolution*, 409; *GEC*, 9:772.

80. Brussels. Archives du Royaume, Secretairerie d'Etat et de Guerre, Tome 245 fol. 24, Archduke Leopold William, Brussels, to Philip IV, Madrid, 3 September 1649. (Again, thanks to Father Loomie for the reference and suggested interpretations.)

81. *CSPD 1649-50*, 269; E. Sussex R. O., Danny Archive, 335 [1649]; 335A [1649]; 336, 30 June 1649; 337, 30 October 1649; 338, 11 February 1650; *CCC 1647-50*, 2051.

82. Edwin Henson, ed., *The English College at Madrid, 1611-1767* (London: Publications of the Catholic Record Society, 1929), vol. 29, v-vi, ix; Jones, *Elizabethan Age*, 76-77. The English College at Douai was founded in 1568, and drew many of its scholars from Oxford. Jones calls it "a center of intellectual resistance and political agitation." Today, the town of Douai is in France.

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83. Printed in Henson, *English College*, 292-94, Father Henry Bedingfeld *alias* Silisdon, Ghent, to Risley, Madrid, 28 April 1650.

84. Ibid., 298-99, Father Charles Thompson *alias* Darcey, Flanders, 3 June [1650], to Risley.

85. Ibid., 302, Father Francis Foster, Liege, to Risley, 18 July 1650; also, 301, Father Richard Barton, Paris, to Risley, 7 July 1650, who also recommended Goring to Risley and asked after him.

86. Clarendon, *History*, 5:109; Fanshawe, *Memoirs*, 95; Knachel, *England and the Fronde*, 218. Among the other ambassadors sent out by Charles II, John Culpeper went to the court of Tsar Alexis in Moscow, while the elderly Earl of Brentford went to Queen Christina of Sweden. Brentford, as the young Patrick Ruthven, had served her father, Gustavus Adolphus, as one of his most trusted officers. See Hutton, *Charles II*, 35; Kenyon, *Civil Wars*, 45.

87. Fanshawe, *Memoirs*, 80-85, 95.

88. Clarendon, *History*, 5:136-37.

89. Fanshawe, *Memoirs*, 96.

90. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 40, f. 70, Cottington and Hyde, Madrid, to Long, 21 June 1650; Clarendon, *History*, 5:138, 141; Fanshawe, *Memoirs*, 96-97; Hutton, *Charles II*, 39; R. A. Stradling, *Philip IV and the Government of Spain, 1621-1665* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 349-50.

91. Fanshawe, *Memoirs.*, 97; Bodl. Clarendon MS. 40, f. 70; Ollard, *Clarendon*, 334.

92. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 40, f. 102, Cottington, Madrid, to Hyde, 3 August 1650.

93. Fanshawe, *Memoirs*, 95, 102.

94. Clarendon, *History*, 5:150; Henson, *English College*, 304-6, Foster, Ghent, to Risley, 29 August 1650, and Darcey, Flanders, to Risley, 11 October and 1 November 1650; Lynch, *Spain Under the Hapsburgs*, 2:131; Knachel, *England and the Fronde*, 219-21. Knachel believes that Mazarin had duped the two English ambassadors, for the cardinal had no real intention of making peace at the time, but wanted it to seem that the Spanish were the ones who were being intransigent.

95. Fraser, *Royal Charles*, 91-98, and *Cromwell*, 360-61; Hutton, *Charles II*, 46-60. Montrose, one of Charles I's most loyal and successful champions, had left for the Continent after the king had surrendered in 1646 and became involved in various plans to recruit troops abroad to lead an invasion of Scotland in the name of Charles II. He had

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spent time at Elizabeth's court at the Hague and hoped to marry one of her daughters, the Princess Louise, after he had helped restore Charles. Louise's name had also been linked with George Goring's in some form of flirtation prior to the war. (See Chapter 8.) But Charles II's negotiations with Argyll and the Covenanters allowed them to declare the returned Montrose an outlaw and to publically execute him in May 1650. See Wedgwood, *Montrose*, 126-60. Even Sir Edward Hyde had nothing but admiration for Montrose; Clarendon, *History*, 5:120-22. I would also like to thank Mr. Ivor Graham of Danny for sharing some family history with me on his ancestors, James Graham, the Marquis of Montrose, and John Ashburnham.

96. *CCC 1647-50*, 2051, 2290; *CSPD 1650*, 145; Fraser, *Cromwell*, 358. The seizures were ordered on 9 and 10 May 1650.

97. *CCC General*, 338-39; *CSPD 1650*, 520-21, 558.

98. BL Harley MS. 4712, f. 324, Norwich, Breda, to Arundel, London, 4/14 December 1650; E. Sussex R. O., Danny Archives 314 and 315, 11 September 1650; 316, 12 September 1650; 317, 20 September 1650.

99. *Nicholas Papers*, 1:224-26; *CSPD 1650*, 482.

100. *Nicholas Papers*, 1:254-55; Knachel, *England and the Fronde*, 221, 224; Ranum, *The Fronde*, 280-302.

101. *CSPD 1651*, 127, the letter was from Simon Smith to Nicholas, 2/12 April 1651, but Smith was one of the aliases used by Hatton in his correspondence; see, *Nicholas Papers*, 1:90.

102. Hutton, *Charles II*, 63-71; Fraser, *Royal Charles*, 101-28; Ollard, *The Escape of Charles II, passim*. As discussed in Chapter 10, Wilmot's attendance on Charles on his flight to freedom helped restore his reputation.

103. *Interregnum*, 2:565-77; also in *CSPD 1652-53*, 106-8. The Act was printed by order of Parliament on 24 February 1652.

104. *Interregnum*, 2:564-65; the act was dated 4 February 1652.

105. *CSPD 1652-53*, 134-38; Hutton, *Charles II*, 72-73. Charles's ambassador to the Empire in 1651, the Earl of Middleton, had kept away from court for fear of giving the Austrians a bad impression by his poverty. "I must pawn the little things I have for bread which will not hold out long." See BL. Add. MS. 18827, ff. 20-21, Middleton, Linz, to King Charles II, 27 March 1651.

106. *Nicholas Papers*, 1:288-89, 291-92, 298-99; Lynch, *Spain Under the Habsburgs*, 1:115-16; J. H. Elliott, *Imperial Spain, 1469-1716* (New York, St. Martin's Press, Inc.,

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1963; New York: A Meridian Book, The New American Library, Inc., 1977), 349; Stradling, *Philip IV*, 191, 224-25, 237; Jose Terrero, *Historia de Espana*, rev. ed. Juan Regla (Barcelona: Editorial Ramon Sopena SA, 1977), 289-92.

107. This is the opinion of the Spanish historian Terrero, *Historia de Espana*, 292. Don Juan was born in 1629 to Philip's mistress, the actress Ines de Calderon. The king recognized the boy as his son in 1642. Although the king never seemed to doubt his paternity, many did, especially since Don Juan had none of the characteristic physical features of the Habsburgs. See Stradling, *Philip IV*, 243, 328-29.

108. Goring, before Barcelona, to Norwich, 27 May 1652, printed in Cooper, "Royalist Composition," *SAC* 19 (1867) : 98; Jose Sanabre, *La accion de Francia en Cataluna en la pugna por la hegemonia de Europa (1640-1659)*, (Barcelona: Libreria J. Sala Badal, 1956), 509-11; Parker, *Military Revolution*, 61-62.

109. Sanabre, *La accion de Francia*, 510-17, 521-23; Ranum, *The Fronde*, 253, 256.

110. Goring to Norwich, 27 May 1652, in Cooper, "Composition," *SAC* 19 (1867) : 98.

111. Ibid., 99.

112. George Goring, before Barcelona, to Charles Goring, 27 May 1652, printed in Cooper, "Royalist Composition," *SAC* 19 (1867) : 99-100.

113. Goring to Norwich, 27 May 1652, in Cooper, "Composition," *SAC* 19 (1867): 99.

114. Council of State, Whitehall, to Commissioners of Sequestrations, 24 July 1652, printed in Cooper, "Royalist Composition," *SAC* 19 (1867) : 98; *CCC, 1647-50*, 2290; *CCC, General*, Vol. G, 71.

115. *CCC, General*, Vol. G, 600, 624-25; Cooper, "Royalist Composition," *SAC* 19 (1867) : 97-99; E. Sussex R. O., Danny Archives, 311-333, pertaining to the sale of Danny. According to these documents, the Earl of Norwich had begun dealing with Peter Courthope in the fall of 1650 prior to his expulsion from England. G. E. Aylmer (*The King's Servants*, 320) believes that the Earl of Norwich "is the clearest instance of a major office-holder who was ruined not by his loyalty to the crown, but by his own and his family's extravagances." This seems an overly harsh judgment. While the Gorings had not committed their entire fortune in fielding an army the way the Marquis of Newcastle had, their war time service, including the earl's costly ambassadorial missions abroad, had helped deplete their resources.

The subsequent history of Danny provides an interesting footnote in local history. In three generations, the heiress of the Courthope family was Barbara (1676-1755), who on her mother's side was descended from Anthony Stapley and Anne Goring, the Earl of Norwich's sister. Barbara married Henry Campion, grandson of Sir William Campion who had served and died at the siege of Colchester. During World War I the house was

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lent to Prime Minister Lloyd George and it was in the great hall that Lloyd George and his war cabinet, which included Winston Churchill, worked out the terms for the armistice with Germany. The Campion family, still living in Sussex today, first rented and then, in 1984, sold Danny to the Country Houses Association. While the house has been divided into private residential apartments, the public rooms have been maintained, and Danny is open-to-view to the public on a limited basis. See Wooldridge, *Danny Archives*, for family histories and genealogies, xiv-xvi; also, Country Houses Association, "Danny", 1-4.

116. Sanabre, *La accion de Francia*, 523-29, 533-42; Lynch, *Spain Under the Habsburgs*, 2:115-16; Stradling, *Philip IV*, 292; Ranum, *Fronde*, 317, 326.

117. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 45, f. 1028, William Sparks, Madrid, to Edgeman, 17 March 1653.

118. Stradling, *Philip IV*, 273.

119. Gardiner, ed., *Constitutional Documents*, 400 ff., for Cromwell's order dissolving the Long Parliament, and the Instrument of Government of 16 December 1653; Ronald Hutton, *The British Republic, 1649-1660*, British History in Perspective, genl. ed. Jeremy Black (New York: St. Martin's Press, Inc., 1990), 58-78; Fraser, *Cromwell*, 424-51.

120. Hutton, *Charles II*, 78-89, and *British Republic*, 107-8; Fraser, *Royal Charles*, 136-43; Ranum, *The Fronde*, 335-41.

121. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 48, f. 331, William Pawley, Madrid, to Edgeman, 18 July 1654; Dugdale, *Baronage*, 2:461.

122. Stradling, *Philip IV*, 349-50; Lynch, *Spain Under the Habsburgs*, 2:131-32; Fraser, *Cromwell*, 520-30; Hutton, *British Republic*, 107-10. According to Stradling, the other condemned English conspirators of 1650--all of whom were Catholic--had managed to escape confinement, possibly with the collusion of the Spanish government. The executed William Sparks had been Protestant.

123. BL Egerton MS. 2535, f. 135, Norwich to Charles II, 18 April 1655.

124. BL Egerton MS. 2535, f. 224, Norwich to Nicholas, 1 June 1655; Hutton, *Charles II*, 90-91, 120.

125. BL Egerton MS. 2535, f. 175, Norwich, Ghent, to Nicholas, Cologne, 13 May 1655; ff. 203-4 and 205, both from Norwich, Antwerp, to Nicholas, 25 May 1655, the former is official news, the latter, personal.

126. BL Egerton MS. 2535, ff.234-35, Norwich, Antwerp, to Nicholas, Cologne, 4 June 1655; f. 236, Norwich to Nicholas, 4 June 1655, was written the same day with some additional news and ended with the earl indicating that he had intended to return to Breda

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"had it not rained so fast, and my boots been so thin."

127. BL Egerton MS. 2535, f. 253, Norwich, Antwerp, to Nicholas, 12 June 1655.

128. BL Egerton MS. 2535, f. 282, Norwich, Bruges, to Nicholas, Cologne, 25 June 1655.

129. BL Egerton MS. 2535, f. 307, Norwich, Antwerp, to Nicholas, 6 July 1655, and f. 317, Norwich, Breda, to Nicholas, 11 July 1655.

130. BL Egerton MS. 2535, f. 349, [P. Ch.], Paris, to Nicholas, 6 August 1655, and f. 386, Norwich, Ranestein, to Nicholas, 9 September 1655, in which the earl said he would be at Cologne the following day to see the king.

131. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 50, f. 136, Peter Talbot, Brussels, to King Charles, 13 September 1655; BL Egerton MS. 2535, f. 628, [Address List of Charles II's representatives on the Continent, 1655]; Hutton, *Charles II*, 93, 98.

132. BL Egerton MS. 2535, ff. 606, 614, 621, all Norwich, Antwerp, to Nicholas, 21, 28, 31 December 1655, respectively; f. 622, Norwich, Antwerp to King Charles, 31 December 1655, Egerton MS. 2536, ff. 6-7, Norwich, Bruges, to Nicholas, 5 January 1656. In the last two cited letters, Norwich expressed his particular disappointment, "the breaking of my heart," that Charles had not come to terms with the Spanish as yet. Also, Bodl. Clarendon MS. 50, ff. 168-69, Letter of Intelligence to Cromwell, 9 November 1655; Hutton, *Charles II*, 98; Fraser, *Royal Charles*, 146-47; Lynch, *Spain Under the Habsburgs*, 2:131-32.

133. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 51, f. 83, Hyde, Cologne, to de Vic, 3 March 1653; Goring had written his news to Secretary Nicholas who passed it along to Hyde.

134. Hutton, *Charles II*, 98.

135. *CSPD 1656-57*, 117; Hutton, *Charles II*, 100-5; Fraser, *Royal Charles*, 147-48; Stradling, *Philip IV*, 291-92.

136. *CSPD 1656-57*, 306; Hutton, *Charles II*, 105.

137. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 54, ff. 76-77, Bennet, Madrid, to [court], 28 March 1657. The *Calendar of Clarendon Papers*, 3:265, erroneously transcribes Goring having been bed-ridden "these three months" instead of "six."

138. *CSPD 1656-57*, 325-27; Hyde's letter was dated 3/13 April and Goring's, 5/15 April 1657.

139. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 55, ff. 101-2, Bennet, Madrid, to Hyde, 3 July 1657.

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140. Ibid.

141. Fraser, *Royal Charles*, 220-21; Hutton, *Charles II*, 120, 192-93. Hutton describes Hyde's attitude towards Bennet, after the latter returned to England from Spain in 1661, as "infantile jealousy."

142. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 55, ff. 194-96, Bennet, Madrid, to Hyde, 25 July 1657.

143. Bodl. Clarendon MS. 55, f. 178 and f. 185, both Hyde, Brussels, to Nicholas, 29 and 31 August 1657, respectively.

144. *CSPD 1657-58*, 71, the letter was dated 19/29 August 1657 from Flushing and was received on 1 September.

145. Fanshawe, *Memoirs*, 97.

146. Dugdale, *Baronage*, 2:461.

147. *CSPD 1656-57*, 306.

148. *CSPD 1657-58*, 201, 310, 312-14, 317, 327-28, 349; *CSPD 1658-9*, 199, 253, 256; *HMC*, Vol. 4, 5th Rpt., Part I, App., Duke of Sutherland MS., 146; Fraser, *Cromwell*, 674-77.

149. Gardiner, ed., *Constitutional Documents*, 465-66; Ronald Hutton, *The Restoration: A Political and Religious History of England and Wales, 1658-1667* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985; Oxford paperback, 1987), 68, 119-23. For Monck's service at Breda see Chapter 4 of this study.

150. *HMC*, Vol. 6, 7th Rpt., Part I, Lords Journal, 142; *HMC*, Vol. 4, 5th Rpt., Part I, Sutherland MS., 167; *CSPD 1659-60*, 426-7; *CSPD 1660-61*, 32, 182.

151. *CSPD 1661-62*, 96, 158, 163, 303, 503, 602.

152. *CSPD 1663-64*, 5-6.

153. Ibid., 6.

154. Ibid., 40-41, 138, 147, 160, 168, 513; *GEC*, 9:772, 776-77. The commemorative plaque for George, Earl of Norwich, can be found on the floor of the Chapel of St. John the Baptist in Westminister Abbey (based on my own visit).

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CONCLUSION

When at his treason trial in 1649 the Earl of Norwich had spoken of his longtime service to the Stuart monarchy, he had been relating his life experience. He had in fact "worked his way up" at court, from dancing boy and minor officeholder to trusted councilor and royal emissary. He had attained the ranks of the nobility, and through his court connections he had taken the opportunity to overcome his early poverty and accumulate great wealth. The senior George Goring's own diligence, perseverence and affability had made these achievements possible, but he had benefitted from good fortune too, by being able to catch onto the rising stars of two of King James's chief favorites, Carlisle and Buckingham.

His oldest son, in turn, never had to face any obstacles in his youth. Without any family demands, young George had the time to finish his university studies and to travel through Europe under the tutelage of the Earl of Carlisle, one of the masters of conspicuous consumption at both the Jacobean and Caroline courts. He was also given a wife--and a father-in-law who was one of the wealthiest men in the British Isles. George's early experiences, therefore, were of comfort, wealth and leisurely pursuits. Money was there to be spent or gambled away, and his rather self-centered existence was reflected in his often negligent treatment of his wife. His excesses became such that even his father openly lamented the possible ruin of the family fortunes at his son's hands. But the senior Goring, always a man of action, made one last attempt to set his son on a more honorable course: he purchased George a regiment and sent him off to war

George Goring would never entirely give up the bad habits he had developed in his youth, but he would make a good soldier. His years in the Dutch Wars, particularly his service at Breda which nearly cost him his life and left him permanently lame, gave George

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a good "reputation," a vital component of a man's resume in the seventeenth century. Back home in England, George became governor of Portsmouth and went on to serve King Charles in the Bishops' Wars, although by the second war, his concern about his honor and precedence limited his service.

Goring entered a new phase of his career when he became an MP in the Long Parliament. In a time of great political ferment, he was swept up in various machinations, labeled the Army Plot of 1641. By all accounts, the plot was not of his making, but he did attempt to use the various schemes to foster his own promotion. However, in a time of uncertain loyalties and when the king could no longer protect his own servants, George trusted nothing to chance and informed the Parliamentary leadership of these inchoate plans. Besides, as a professional soldier, he deemed any attempted political use of the king's unpaid, ill-prepared army as impractical. He undoubtedly did not foresee the uses that Pym and the Parliamentary opposition would have for the secrets he had revealed, or that he would become a star witness in their proceedings.

While publically he remained loyal to Parliament for the next year--from the summer of 1641 to the summer of 1642--he secretly became reconciled with the king and queen. His stance at Portsmouth in August 1642 was only an open avowal of his abiding royalism. Given the still unprepared state of the royalist war effort, Goring did the best he could to maintain his position. His defense in the south also served to divert Parliament's attention and allowed the king time to go on the march in the north. Goring sailed away from England, taking Parliament's money which he used in recruiting men and purchasing materiel in the Netherlands for the king's service.

George Goring was back in England by January 1643, and his subsequent service in the first civil war can be divided into several distinct phases. Initially, as the Earl of Newcastle's cavalry commander, Goring was aggressive and successful, particularly against Sir Thomas Fairfax at Seacroft Moor. In turn, as governor of Wakefield, even given the mitigating circumstances of his illness, Goring must bear the blame in part for the loss of that garrison and of his own freedom, despite the personal valor he displayed in trying to repulse Fairfax's raid. His subsequent incarceration in the Tower of London for

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almost one year was not only a personal hardship--and a cause of great concern to his father--but his absence from the northern theater of war deprived Newcastle of one of his best officers.

Finally exchanged in the spring of 1644, Goring immediately returned north where the hard-pressed royalists were facing a triple challenge posed by the Fairfaxes, the Scots, and the Earl of Manchester's Eastern Association. George displayed a greater sense of urgency for marching to the immediate relief of his commander, Newcastle, than did Prince Rupert. But, in the end, after a circuitous cross-country campaign, Rupert and Goring achieved what had seemed almost impossible, the relief of York. And one day later that victory turned into defeat with the devastating loss at Marston Moor. The decisive action of Goring and his cavalry on the left wing against Sir Thomas Fairfax provided the royalists with their only positive outcome that day.

Goring, his reputation again on the ascendant, was next summoned to join King Charles in pursuit of the Earl of Essex into Cornwall. Despite the initial hostility of the cavalry commanders towards him (because of his part in the Army Plot revelations), and George's own reluctance to be parted from Rupert, Goring helped bring about the successful conclusion to the campaign: all of Essex's infantry captured with minimal bloodshed. The escape of the Parliamentary cavalry, in turn, was in no way due to Goring's negligence, as later charged by Clarendon. Also, on the return march to Oxford, George Goring and his horse literally rode to the king's rescue at the Second Battle of Newbury where they bested Cromwell's cavalry, and after the battle George helped to lead the king's numerically inferior forces safely back to Oxford.

At the end of 1644, George Goring was at the height of his success. He had been on almost continual active duty for the past nine months and had made good showings in all of his major outings. If he wanted greater independence and command responsibility, he could justifiably reason he had earned it. Rupert himself had achieved independence from the very start of the war, and now George Goring wanted the same. Unfortunately for the royalists, already suffering from factionalism at court, Goring's ambition drove him apart from Rupert. Moreover, the forces he was given that winter were insufficient and

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too ill-equipped to make any headway into the southeast. Goring and his men fared little better when they turned towards the west, especially now that the counties which had seen continual action were becoming too "eaten up" to sustain any troops.

In the spring of 1645 two new factors emerged which would change the face of the war. Parliament, after the poor showing of its armies in the south, finally decided to create a more unified fighting force, the New Model Army, commanded by Sir Thomas Fairfax, with the cavalry under Oliver Cromwell. As for the king, his innovation was to send his eldest son, the Prince of Wales, into the West Country with a council to govern in his name. Just as Parliament was unifying its war effort, the king was dividing his. The subsequent internecine battles of the western royalists can be traced back to the king and his conflicting orders. Sir John Berkeley and Sir Richard Grenvile held overlapping commands, just as Goring was told to unite these men under his own command. As for the Prince's Council, did it have overall authority? The answer apparently depended on who had the king's ear on any given day. While initially the councilors never directly countermanded any order issued by General Goring, they did manage to procrastinate in executing his orders by questioning and making counter-proposals. In this manner, the siege of Taunton was put off, a fateful mistake.

That spring of 1645 the king found himself trapped at Oxford and had to call on his cavalry commander to come to his rescue. Goring and his horse checked Cromwell's men to allow the king and his army to go on the march. The decision to split the king's forces for the coming campaign season, made at the council of war held at Stow, would soon prove to be another major mistake. When Goring returned west with his cavalry, "3,000 of the best horse" in the king's service, he thought he would finally be in an advantageous situation: he now was general of the all king's forces in the west, and he believed that the siege of Taunton was about to be brought to a successful conclusion. Yet just as he returned, the besieging royalists at Taunton, on the brink of victory, fled before a relief force which they had mistakenly identified as the entire New Model Army. Furthermore, Sir Edward Hyde wrote King Charles on behalf of the Prince's Council and managed to wrest control away from Goring by claiming that his newly granted powers

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undermined the Prince of Wales' authority and dignity. Goring's tremendous rage at the loss of his so recently acquired command was understandable: the Prince's Council had undermined his authority once again, and the king had gone back on his word.

In the field, Goring had to contend with the large Parliamentary relief forces. While he prevented them from returning east, his attempt to capture them failed. Given this situation, both Goring and the Prince's Council decided that they could not obey the orders from court recalling Goring and his cavalry to join with the king's forces to face the New Model Army. George did counsel the king to avoid any engagement until he could come to him, and he estimated it would take him about another three weeks to complete the siege of Taunton. This letter never reached the king, but instead, carried to Fairfax, told the New Model's commander that he would have the advantage in numbers if he engaged the king's army. King Charles, choosing to listen to his civilian advisers rather than his nephew and the military men, accepted the New Model's challenge and lost everything at Naseby.

Goring, in the meantime, was just about to make good on his pledge to complete the siege of Taunton when Fairfax, Cromwell, and the New Model began their dogged pursuit of the royalists through Somerset. Goring did his best to avoid any engagement, but in the end, he had to make a stand at Langport, where the Parliamentarians' superiority in men and artillery took their toll on the demoralized royalists. George Goring and the remnants of the royalist forces in the west were only given a respite because of Fairfax's decision to cut them off rather than pursue them. Goring apparently believed thereafter that the best that he could do was to keep the Prince of Wales out of harm's way, which he managed to do throughout the fall. Finally, in ill health, he sailed from England in late 1645, although he only asked for a leave-of-absence and never formally gave up his command.

As the war drew to its conclusion, George Goring was involved in the attempt to recruit forces in France. But the king's surrender ended any such plans, and the subsequent royalist scheme in 1648 to land troops in England to aid the king's cause also came to nothing. Cut off from his estates and their revenues, George Goring had to make

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a living abroad. His reputation was such--and again thanks, in part, to his father's influence--that he was commissioned in the Spanish Army of Flanders, and later was awarded a commission in Philip IV's army in Spain. His career had come full circle, for he had begun his military life in the continental wars, and that was where he would end his days. Despite his increasing ill health in his later years, he still managed to serve as an informal contact at Madrid for Charles II until his death.

George Goring did not live long enough to enjoy any benefits that the Restoration might have brought him. Nor did he have the opportunity to return to England to relate his version of past events, or to record his thoughts for posterity. Any papers he had with him in Spain have been lost over the course of time. We are left, therefore, to reconcile varying portraits of Goring. That he gambled and drank heavily throughout his life cannot be denied. Just about everyone who knew him--including his own father and father-in-law--attested to these excesses. But just how much did his drinking affect his command ability? Throughout most of the war, apparently very little, for he was often successful in the field, campaigned vigorously, and administered his command with competence. Sir Edward Walker, the king's secretary of war, had nothing but praise for Goring and the way he conducted himself on the Lostwithiel campaign and on the difficult return march to Oxford in the latter half of 1644. Even his opponent, Sir Thomas Fairfax, who had been bested by Goring on two occasions, took Goring's abilities seriously when he rushed to Taunton's defense following his success at Naseby. Only after his loss at Langport in 1645 did Goring's drinking--and attendant ill-health--seem to take over more of his life. Sir Richard Bulstrode, who greatly admired his general's overall abilities, could not deny Goring's growing reliance on drink at that point.

As to Goring's overweening ambition, one must look to the source of that charge: Sir Edward Hyde. The two men represented two schools of thought: Hyde, the civilian lawyer, who wanted a minimum of bloodshed and a negotiated peace vs. Goring, the professional soldier, who believed all-out war was the king's ultimate hope. Moreover, both were ambitious for advancement. That King Charles could so easily be persuaded to change his mind regarding the command structure in the west in 1645 only made the

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situation worse. In the end, the pen has indeed proven to be mightier than the sword, as Clarendon's portrayal of Goring in his *History* has come to overshadow Goring's actual military feats in the field.

In conclusion, George Goring was a man of his times. He enjoyed an excessive lifestyle in an era of conspicuous consumption. He made a career for himself as a professional soldier, and he used his expertise to serve his king when civil war came to England. For that service, he expected great reward, if his side won. But, like so many of his class, he strongly believed in his honor and reputation which he could put ahead of the cause which he served. In the end he lost everything in his monarch's service, and he was forced to live an impoverished life abroad, once again earning his living by the sword despite his deteriorating health. Yet his last thoughts were of attending his new monarch, Charles II, and of returning to England. His death abroad only served to further shroud the details of his life in mystery. This study, therefore, had attempted to bring George Goring's life back into focus and show him as a man whose deeds did influence the tumultuous times in which he lived.

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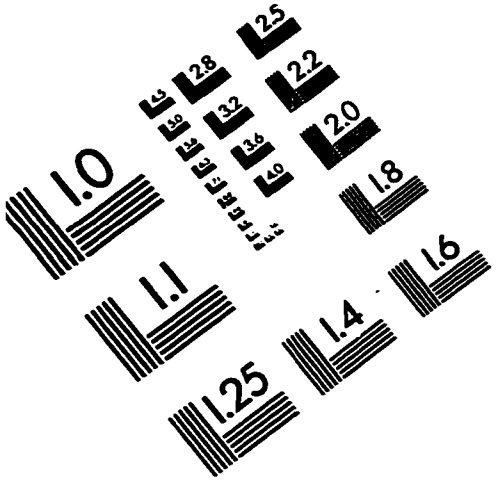

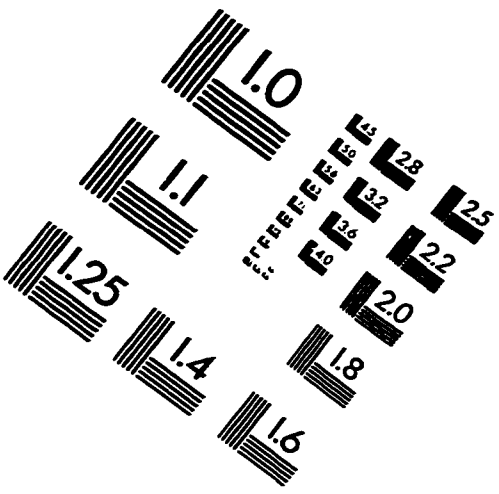

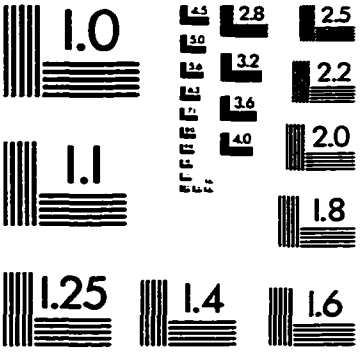

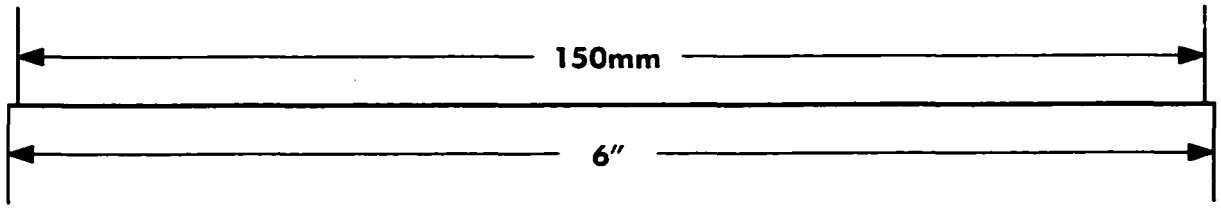

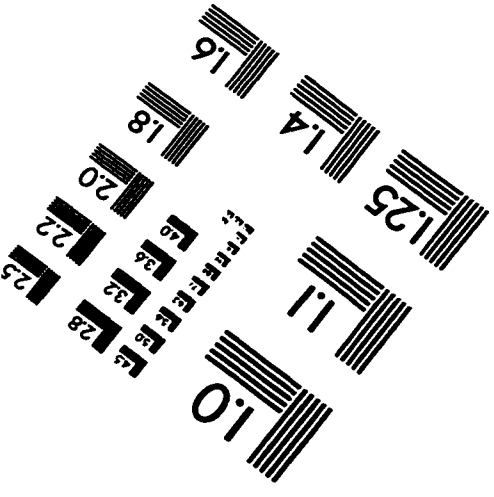

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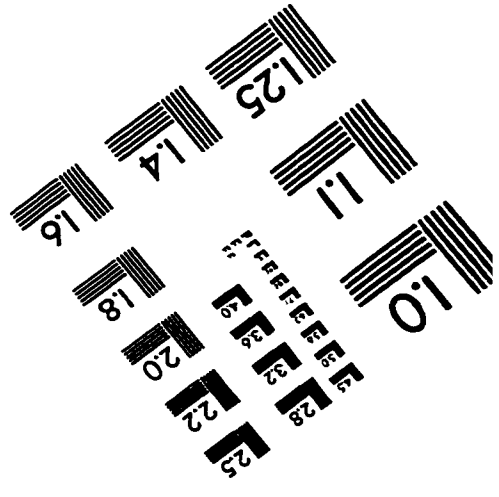

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