

The Mores of Loseley: 1508-1632

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Declaration of Authorship

I, Eliza Emily Wheaton, hereby declare that this thesis and the work presented within it is entirely my own. Where I have consulted the work of others, this is always clearly stated.

Signed:

Date:

The Mores of Loseley 1508-1632: Thesis Abstract

The thesis is a study of the Mores of Loseley Park near Guildford, from the time of Christopher More's purchase of a moiety of Loseley in 1508 until the death of his grandson Sir George More in 1632. By the late sixteenth century the Mores were the leading gentry family in Surrey, and this is reflected in the extraordinary archive.

The first chapter covers the building of the Elizabethan house at Loseley in the 1560s by William More, and its extension by his son Sir George; both projects demonstrated the family's success. The survival of both William More's building accounts and the house itself provide a rare opportunity to compare the process and the finished building. This is followed by a chapter on the national and local offices held by the Mores, which both helped finance their works at Loseley, and also confirmed their position as members of the gentry elite. These two chapters cover arguably the most important areas of gentry life in the sixteenth and early seventeenth century, namely the possession of land, which was seen as a mark of gentility, and the accumulation of offices, which brought power and influence to support that status.

The third chapter covers the religious life of the Mores, both their personal piety and their role in the Reformation, in which the gentry were crucial. The Mores' friendship with the Catholic Anthony Browne, first Viscount Montague, despite their own loyalty to the established Church, suggests caution over accepting religious rhetoric at face value. The final section discusses the women of the family, whose experiences argue against the stereotype of the ideal gentlewoman of the time. This is the case not just for Elizabeth, the elder daughter of Sir William More, who became a lady-in-waiting to Elizabeth I and represented her family's interests at Court, but also others such as her niece Frances Ogländer. The conclusion stresses the Mores' achievements, which enabled them to become the leading gentry family in Surrey.

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Abbreviations

The following are the principal abbreviations used in the thesis.

Airs, <i>Tudor & Jacobean Country House</i>	Malcolm Airs, <i>The Tudor & Jacobean Country House: A Building History</i> (Stroud: Sutton, 1995; repr. Godalming: Bramley Books, 1998)
Bindoff, <i>Commons 1509-1558</i>	S.T. Bindoff, ed., <i>The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1509-1558</i> , 3 vols (London: Boydell & Brewer, 1982) www.historyofparliamentonline.org
Cliffe, <i>Puritan Gentry</i>	J.T. Cliffe, <i>The Puritan Gentry: The Great Puritan Families of Early Stuart England</i> (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul plc, 1984)
Evans, 'Extracts'	John Evans, 'Extracts from the Private Account Book of Sir William More, of Loseley, in Surrey, in the time of Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth', <i>Archaeologia</i> , 36 (1855), 284-310
Finch, <i>Five Northamptonshire Families</i>	Mary E. Finch, <i>The Wealth of Five Northamptonshire Families 1540-1640</i> (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1956)
Folger	Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington D.C.
Girouard, <i>Elizabethan Architecture</i>	Mark Girouard, <i>Elizabethan Architecture: Its Rise and Fall, 1540-1640</i> (London: Yale University Press, 2009)
Hasler, <i>Commons 1558-1603</i>	W. Hasler, ed., <i>The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1558-1603</i> , 3 vols (London: HMSO, 1982) www.historyofparliamentonline.org
Hassell Smith, <i>County and Court</i>	A. Hassell Smith, <i>County and Court: Government and Politics in Norfolk, 1558-1603</i> (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974)
Heal & Holmes, <i>Gentry</i>	Felicity Heal and Clive Holmes, <i>The Gentry in England and Wales 1500-1700</i> (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1994; repr. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002)

McCutcheon, 'Playing the Waiting Game'	Elizabeth McCutcheon, 'Playing the Waiting Game: The Life and Letters of Elizabeth Wolley', <i>Quidditas: Journal of the Rocky Mountain Medieval and Renaissance Association</i> , 20 (1999), 31-53
Moody, Margaret Hoby	Joanna Moody, ed., <i>The Private Life of an Elizabethan Lady: The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby 1599-1605</i> (Stroud: Sutton, 1998)
Oglander, Royalist's Notebook	Sir John Oglander, <i>A Royalist's Notebook: The Commonplace Book of Sir John Oglander Kt. of Nunwell 1622-1652</i> , ed. and transcribed by Francis Bamford (London: Constable & Co., 1936)
Questier, Catholicism and Community	Michael C. Questier, <i>Catholicism and Community in Early Modern England: Politics, Aristocratic Patronage and Religion, c.1550-1640</i> (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006; repr. 2008)
SHC	Surrey History Centre, Woking
TNA	The National Archives, Kew
VCH	<i>Victoria County History</i>

Notes on style

The notes and Bibliography follow the MHRA style guide. However, there are some exceptions to this. For journal articles, on second and subsequent references the author, short title and page number only are given. The same applies to articles in books. All *Victoria County History* titles are referred to in footnotes as *VCH* followed by the name of the county and volume number, with the full details in the Bibliography. Volume numbers for the *VCH* are placed before the publication details. The full citations of all the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* articles which are referenced can also be found in the Bibliography.

Dates are given in the new style, taking the beginning of the year to be 1st January rather than 25th March. That is to say, what to contemporaries would have been 1st January 1559 is here written as 1st January 1560.

Transcriptions are given with the original spelling and punctuation (or lack thereof). However, names and titles have been capitalised even if this is not the case in the original. Abbreviations have been expanded in square brackets. People are referred to by the title they had at the time in question. William More, for example, is only called Sir William after he was knighted in May 1576, and before that is just William More.

Acknowledgements

Over the six and a half years on which I have been working on this thesis I have been helped by many people. I must thank first of all my supervisor Nigel Saul, who has encouraged me and kept me on course whenever I have been uncertain about how to proceed. The staff at the Surrey History Centre have been unfailingly kind and helpful to me, and borne with my ordering up vast quantities of either volumes of documents or loose letters and manuscripts (or indeed both) with great patience, for which I am very grateful.

I would also like to thank Michael More Molyneux for permission to reproduce the portraits of Sir William and Sir George More and the painting of Loseley on p.53, and for his interest in my work. Dr Catherine Ferguson very kindly showed me round the Loseley Chapel at St Nicolas', Guildford, and generously shared her thoughts on the history of the building. I am very grateful to her for that, and for the church's permission to include the photographs I took of the chapel. Thanks are also due to the Trustees of Sir John Soane's Museum who gave permission for me to include John Thorpe's plan for Loseley (p. 56); to the Isle of Wight Record Office, who sent me copies of letters between Sir John and Lady Oglander, and to the staff of the Bodleian Library, without whom I would probably still be trying to work out how to operate the microfilm reader.

My main debt however is to my husband and children. Chris has cheerfully covered innumerable school runs, and at least one Sports Day, for me, and has been constantly supportive. Ollie, Josie and Georgie have been immensely patient both as we have dragged them round Tudor houses from The Vyne to Hardwick Hall and back again, and also with me whenever I seem to be in the sixteenth century rather than in the present. This is for all four of them, with the utmost gratitude.

The Mores of Loseley 1508-1632: Introduction

Loseley Park

Loseley Park near Guildford is a mellowing Elizabethan house of the 1560s, faced in stone from the Cistercian abbey at Waverley, which had been dissolved in 1536. It is still lived in by the descendants of the man who built it, Sir William More, although the family name is now More-Molyneux. Today it is at the centre of a flourishing local economy, attracting thousands of visitors each year when the house and gardens are open over the summer. It is also a popular film and television location, and famous for its yoghurt and ice cream.

To the historian, however, its main significance is its archive, which is especially rich for the Elizabethan period.¹ By the sixteenth century there were more, and more varied, gentry archives than is the case for the medieval age. These allow historians to examine the relevant families in more aspects of their experience than was possible before. The Loseley archive is an excellent example of this. To put it in context, however, a brief history of the family is needed before further discussion of the archive itself.

The Mores of Loseley: Surrey Gentry²

Christopher More (c.1483-1549) was the first of his family to live in Surrey, buying a moiety of Loseley Park in 1508. The manor of Loseley had initially been divided in 1377 on the death of Joan de Bures, whose father had granted her the profits of the manor and the house at Loseley for her lifetime. When Joan died, one moiety went to her son William and the other to John Norton, Joan's great-great-nephew. In the fifteenth century, one moiety came to William Sidney, and the other to the Strode family. The Strodes' share, which probably included the manor house, came into the ownership of John Westbroke by 1481, and it was Westbroke who sold this moiety to Christopher More in October 1508. More then bought the Sidney moiety in c. 1532-3 to complete his purchase of the whole estate.³

More's father, John, was a London fishmonger, and his grandfather came from Norton in Derbyshire. Christopher was married first, in c. 1504, to Margaret Mudge or Mugge, from Guildford.

¹ See pp. 13-16 below for details of the archive.

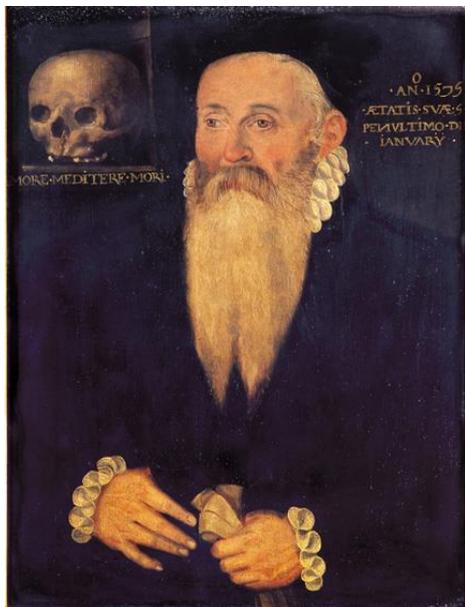
² See appendix 1 for the family trees.

³ It is likely that the Strode share, the moiety which More bought first, included the house. More held his first court at Loseley in January 1509, which suggests that he already owned the house. H.E. Malden, ed., *VCH Surrey*, III (London: Constable 1911), accessed online at www.british-history.ac.uk.

It may be that his choice of bride was influenced by an intention to settle in Surrey, or that after his marriage Christopher resolved to live there. Christopher and Margaret had fourteen children, but only one of their five sons, William, survived to adulthood. Christopher's second wife, Constance Heneage, was the daughter of Richard Sackville of Withyham in Sussex, and widow of William Heneage of Milton in Sussex.

Christopher was a clerk of the Exchequer by August 1505, and entered the Inner Temple in 1513. He also became an important figure in local administration in Surrey as a JP, sheriff (twice, in 1532-33 and 1539-40) and MP. He was well connected at Court, being named as part of the guard of honour to greet Anne of Cleves when she arrived in England in December 1539. He was knighted soon afterwards.

His successor was his son William (1520-1600), under whom the family's fortunes reached their high point. William married first Mabel Dingley, from the Isle of Wight, in 1545, and then after her death in c.1549, Margaret Daniell, from Swaffham in Norfolk. He and Margaret had a son and two daughters. Like his father, he held many local offices, including, under Elizabeth, commissioner for church goods, as well as for recusants and seminaries. He was an MP in every parliament of Elizabeth's reign. It was William who rebuilt the house at Loseley between 1561 and 1569.



Sir William More. Portrait at Loseley by an unknown artist, reproduced by kind permission of Michael More Molyneux

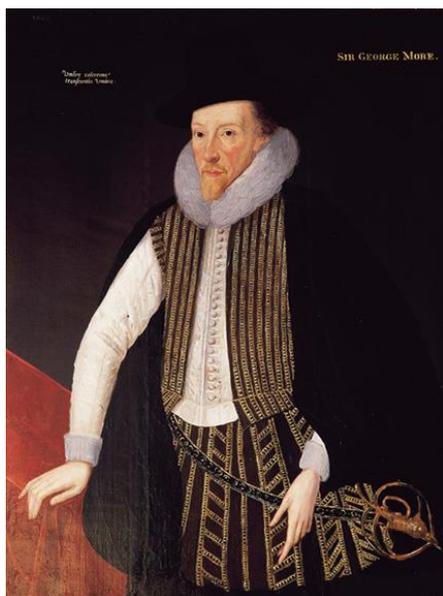
Among William's friends were Sir Thomas Cawarden, Master of the Revels, for whom More was executor (hence the inclusion of many documents related to Cawarden in the Loseley manuscripts), and Anthony Browne, first Viscount Montague. His friendship with Montague survived the potentially difficult situation of not only Montague's son-in-law Henry Wriothesley, second Earl of Southampton, but also his brother Francis Browne being held under house arrest at Loseley, Southampton in 1570 and again in 1573, and Browne in 1588. More had friends right at the top of Elizabethan society: Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, and the Queen herself. Leicester knighted More in May 1576, at Pyrford in Surrey, in the presence of the Queen. More's elder daughter Elizabeth (1552-1600) was one of the Queen's ladies-in-waiting, the only woman in her family to achieve this, and both the Queen and Leicester were godparents to her son Francis Wolley (1583-1609). Elizabeth More's life is of particular interest. She was married three times, firstly in 1567 to Richard Polsted, a Surrey landowner so a local match. After Polsted's death in 1576, she married John Wolley, the Queen's Latin secretary and a Privy Councillor. It was after this marriage that Elizabeth became one of the Queen's ladies of the Privy Chamber. Her third husband, who she married in 1597, the year after Wolley's death, was Sir Thomas Egerton, the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal. Each marriage was a step up for Elizabeth, and her marital career could be said to encapsulate the ambitions of her family. It was while staying with the Egertons that Elizabeth's niece Anne More met the poet John Donne, then Egerton's secretary, whom she married secretly in 1601 despite her father George's objections.

William More was succeeded by his son George (1553-1632). George's first wife, with whom he had four sons and five daughters, was Anne Poynings, daughter and co-heiress of Adrian Poynings of Burnegate in Dorset.⁴ The Earl and Countess of Lincoln, friends of William More, and relations of Anne Poynings, were involved in brokering the marriage.⁵ Like his father and grandfather, George was an MP and held many offices, although in his case more of these were based in London. He was treasurer and receiver general to Henry, Prince of Wales, Chancellor of the Order of the Garter, and Lieutenant of the Tower of London. This last post was arguably not perhaps one More would have wanted, at least at the time when it was awarded to him, as he was appointed in the wake of the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury, and consequently was in office when the Earl and Countess of Somerset were tried for this crime in 1616.

⁴ Sir Adrian Poynings (?1512-1571) was one of the illegitimate children of Sir Edward Poynings, who at the time of Adrian's birth was comptroller of the King's household and lord warden of the Cinque Ports. Steven G. Ellis, 'Sir Edward Poynings (1459-1521)', www.oxforddnb.com.

⁵ The Earl's mother was Jane, daughter of Sir Edward Poynings, and sister of Sir Adrian, and therefore Sir Adrian was Lincoln's uncle and Anne was Lincoln's first cousin. Ellis, 'Edward Poynings'.

Having waited many years for his inheritance, George wasted no time in building a new wing at Loseley (demolished in c.1826) including a chapel and long gallery. This was probably completed by 1605 when the chapel licence was granted. On his death George was succeeded by his grandson Poynings (1606-1649), his son Sir Robert having died in 1626.



Sir George More. Portrait at Loseley by an unknown artist, reproduced by kind permission of Michael More Molyneux.

The Loseley archive

It has been claimed in the *Victoria County History* volumes on Surrey that "[it] is not too much to say that the history of the administration of a county under Elizabeth could be compiled from these sources [i.e. the Loseley manuscripts] alone."⁶ This is a substantial tribute to the archive, which is especially rich for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The holdings at the Surrey History Centre number approximately 12,100 catalogued items, some of which are boxes containing several documents, so the actual total is higher. Of these 12,100 items, over half, around 6,650, date from 1500-1700, and the most significant part of this covers Sir William and Sir George More.⁷

⁶ Malden, *VCH Surrey*, III, accessed online at www.british-history.ac.uk.

⁷ I would like to thank Mike Page at the Surrey History Centre for this information.

The collection at the Surrey History Centre had previously been kept at Loseley in the evidence room built as part of William More's house.⁸ It was deposited first at the Guildford Muniment Room by James More Molyneux in 1950 (catalogue reference LM/) and 1971 (LM/COR/), and then in 1999 at the Surrey History Centre by Michael More Molyneux (6729/).⁹ The documents had not, however, merely sat being ignored in the evidence room before this.¹⁰ In the late eighteenth century Jane More Molyneux let the local antiquary William Bray have access to the papers, with mixed results. Bray categorised and bound many of the letters (which are now catalogued as 6729/) but he did so rather haphazardly, and with regard to whether or not he himself found them interesting. Sometimes letters that are directly linked are separated by Bray's organisation. For instance, a letter written by Henry Radcliffe, Earl of Sussex, to Sir William More in June 1593 asking More to stand as proxy godfather at a baptism is in a separate volume from a letter dated two days later concerning the arrangements for the christening.¹¹ He also bound letters out of chronological order. At around the same time as Bray's work, some papers were annotated with the name of the sender and the nature of their business by Anne Cornwallis Molyneux (d.1798), but she did not date them all correctly, and sometimes her ink has run through and obscured portions of the originals. Worse, and more frustratingly, than any of the above points, Bray dispersed some of the records, probably keeping or being given some himself, and passing others on to families such as the Evelyns of Wotton for whom he worked as a steward.

There was a further dispersal of some of the archive in the early-mid twentieth century, and sadly not all of these items have been traced. The largest group, made up of 712 mainly sixteenth and seventeenth century documents, was bought by the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington over five separate occasions between 1938 and 1954. This collection is focused mainly on the papers of Sir Thomas Cawarden; recusancy, and the correspondence over Anne More's secret marriage to John Donne. However, there are other important items such as William More's building accounts for Loseley.¹²

⁸ See the SHC catalogue at www.surreyarchives.org.uk.

⁹ There is a calendar of many of the items with the catalogue reference 6729/, which are mainly letters, in J.C. Jeaffreson, *Historical Manuscripts Commission: Appendix to 7th Report* (London, 1879).

¹⁰ Such neglect seems to have been the case with the papers of the Harley family of Eywood in Herefordshire. Thomas Taylor Lewis, ed., *Letters of the Lady Brilliana Harley: Wife of Sir Robert Harley of Brampton Bryan, Knight of the Bath* (London: for the Camden Society, 1854), p. v.

¹¹ Henry Radcliffe, Earl of Sussex, to Sir William More, 28th June 1593, SHC 6729/10/87; Thomas Sackville, Lord Buckhurst, to Sir William More, 30th June 1593, SHC 6729/9/34. Bray bound correspondence from Buckhurst with "Letters etc from Bishops and Statesmen", now SHC volume 6729/9. Sussex's letter, however, perhaps rather surprisingly, has been included with "Orders in Council, etc 1548-1680", now volume 6729/10.

¹² All of the Loseley material in the Folger is available on microfilm at SHC, and can be read on the Folger website, www.folger.edu. See www.titania.folger.edu for more catalogue details.

Such a dispersal of an archive is not unusual. For example, although many of the documents of the Townshends of Norfolk remain at the family home, Raynham Hall, others were sold and are now in the Norfolk Record Office.¹³ There is a similar situation for the papers of the Newdigates of Arbury Hall, most of which are now at the Warwick Record Office, although those dealing with their estates in Middlesex are in the London Metropolitan Archives, and others are in the British Library.¹⁴ Thus, whatever remains in the archive, and in the case of the Loseley manuscripts there is a wonderful amount, is a fortunate survival.¹⁵

Strengths and weaknesses of the archive

The main strength of the Loseley archive is its breadth, on many levels. It does not only cover a wide range of topics, from the role of a JP to medicine to the life of a lady-in-waiting, but also has many different types of document. There are letters, both personal and official, deeds, royal proclamations, Privy Council orders, inventories, rental details and wedding accounts among many more. Besides this, there are a large number of correspondents, including not only Lord Burghley and other members of the elite, but also family friends such as Robert Balam about whom little or even nothing more is known. This gives a broader picture of their lives, and shows that the Mores kept and therefore valued letters from the latter group just as much as the former.¹⁶ Other important aspects include the survival of both William More's account book and of the house at Loseley itself which provides an opportunity to compare the finished house with the process of building it.¹⁷

Thus within the archive there are documents which deal with every aspect of gentry life: their daily and domestic routines; the offices they held; the women of the family; house building; the monarchy; life at Court, and religion, among many others. The evidence in these documents can reveal much about the ambitions and aspirations of the gentry, and how they lived. They also, as the

¹³C.E. Moreton, *The Townshends and their World: Gentry, Law and Land in Norfolk c.1450-1551* (Oxford; Clarendon Press, 1992), p. xiii. Others are in the British Library.

¹⁴ Vivienne Larminie, *Wealth, Kinship and Culture: The Seventeenth Century Newdigates of Arbury and their World* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1995), p.3. It is interesting that in all three cases - Raynham, Arbury and Loseley - the houses are still lived in by the same families, which doubtless partly explains the survival of their archives.

¹⁵ Helen Castor, *Blood and Roses: The Paston family and the Wars of the Roses* (London: Faber and Faber, 2004), p.6 on the strokes of luck which meant the Paston letters survived.

¹⁶ The letters from Anthony Browne, Lord Montague, are especially valuable, as much of the Cowdray archive has been lost. Michael C. Questier, *Catholicism and Community in Early Modern England: Politics, Aristocratic Patronage and Religion, c 1550-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006; repr. 2008), pp. 10-15.

¹⁷ The account book is now in the Folger, reference L.b. 550. For more on this point see the chapter on the house below, p. 33.

quotation above from the *Victoria County History* suggests, illuminate the economic, social and administrative history of Surrey. The archive is therefore an extremely rich and valuable resource.

However, it does inevitably have weaknesses. One potential problem, in particular with the letters, is that in most cases we only have what could be termed one side of the conversation.¹⁸ In a few instances drafts survive, for example Folger L.b. 576, which is a draft of a letter dated October 1570 which William More was planning to send to the Privy Council about the Earl of Southampton. Where there are no drafts, the context of the surviving correspondence may be unclear, and how the Mores responded has to be inferred.

The loss of some of the documents, despite the large number which remain, has obviously weakened the archive, although as outlined above this is typical of what has been described as the "random loss" of papers.¹⁹ Even those that survive are affected by what the authors were happy to write down; some important details may be lost.²⁰ One of the disappointments of the Loseley archive is that there is no surviving account of any of Elizabeth I's visits to the house. Nonetheless, its strengths far outweigh its weaknesses, and it is worth quoting the following assessment from the Surrey History Centre catalogue:

The surviving papers are an extraordinarily rich source for one of the leading gentry families of the county and for the management of their estates and finances...Of greatest significance is the large quantity of 16th and 17th century records relating to almost every aspect of the family's affairs, and their tenure of most local offices of any significance...The papers...are of fundamental importance for any study of the administration of the county and its governing elite under the Tudors and Stuarts.²¹

Reasons for Studying the Mores

C.E. Moreton commented that the depth of the Townshend archive of itself made the family worth studying, and as the above shows the same might be said of the Mores.²² However, there are clearly more reasons to study this particular family beyond their extensive archive, although it is obviously the starting point, as without the archive it would be impossible to say anything about the

¹⁸ Larminie, *Newdigates*, p. 4. This point is also made in Alison D. Wall, ed., *Two Elizabethan Women: Correspondence of Joan and Maria Thynne 1575-1611* (Devizes: Wiltshire Record Society 1983), p. xxxiii.

¹⁹ Miriam Slater, *Family Life in the Seventeenth Century: The Verneys of Claydon House* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984), p.2.

²⁰ *Ibid*, p. 3.

²¹ See the SHC catalogue at www.surreyarchives.org.uk.

²² Moreton, *Townshends*, p. 4; see also Larminie, *Newdigates*, p. 3.

Mores apart from what might appear in other collections. Without the archive, this thesis could not be written, and the family's significance could not be assessed.

As the archive does exist, what is it that makes both it and the Mores worth analysing? They were undoubtedly an extremely important gentry family, and indeed could be said to exemplify their class. They not only served Surrey and the south-east, but also the whole of England; their interests and activities were by no means confined to their native county. In Surrey there was the opportunity for the gentry to be more obviously successful and influential than might be the case elsewhere as there was only one major aristocratic family in the county, the Lord Howards of Effingham. The gentry had to fill the resulting gap. The Mores did this particularly effectively, with the house and lands at Loseley and the many offices the family held being both the basis of their success and the most obvious signs of it; they led the way for other Surrey gentry.

Beyond their official roles in Surrey and London, the family are also significant because of the part played by its women, especially Elizabeth Wolley. Her attendance on the Queen gives rise to her remarkable letters describing Court life and the monarch herself, and are of especial importance not only because such correspondence is rare, but also because relatively little is known of many of the Queen's ladies.²³ Elizabeth Wolley's career, which shows she was quite as capable as her male relatives of developing links with courtiers, perhaps demonstrates as well the caution which should be shown with regard to the stereotype of the ideal gentlewoman, as does the life of her niece Frances Ogländer.²⁴

Historiography: Court and Localities

Bearing these points in mind, how might the Mores fit into the historiography of the period? Until a generation ago, political history largely dealt with studies of power as exercised from the centre. For the Tudor period, as exemplified by the work of Sir Geoffrey Elton, the narrative was driven by the development of the organs of state, and the elaboration and complexity of offices perfected under Thomas Cromwell.²⁵ The focus was the Court, and its outward influence; the local elites were seen as little more than enablers of central policy. A. Hassell Smith commented on this standpoint in his introduction to *County and Court*:

²³ See the chapter on women, p. 170 below.

²⁴ See the chapter on women below, pp. 186-190, on Frances.

²⁵ G.R. Elton, *England Under the Tudors*, 3rd edn (London: Routledge, 1991), particularly chapters VI and VII, and Elton's comments for this edition, pp. 478-484.

Early modern historians have tended to write about politics and administration from a central and national viewpoint: political issues have emerged in parliament; administration has been controlled from London; what went on locally has been greatly affected by decisions at the centre, but those decisions do not appear to have been much influenced by local factors.²⁶

By contrast, such centralised, Court-centric models are now seen as suspect. The focus has changed to envisaging the political dialogue between the centre and the localities, as represented by the local elites. As Penry Williams wrote, "[p]ower [in Tudor England] was widely diffused throughout the political nation", that is, not only the central government but also the localities could exercise it.²⁷ Elton himself changed his mind to some extent, writing in 1974, over twenty years after the first publication of *England Under the Tudors*, that while "power and rule devolved outwards from [the] monarchy...[the monarchy] still depended greatly on the co-operation of the so-called rulers of the countryside".²⁸ He also wrote that "Tudor stability depended on the sharing of power."²⁹ Thus the Tudor government in part at least relied, if it were to ensure stability, on engagement with local politics and concerns, and on providing opportunities, and offices, for the ambitious, among whom the Mores should definitely be counted.³⁰ As Hassell Smith commented, this revised view can deepen "our understanding of administration and politics", leading to an analysis of the connection between local and national politics, and the influence of the former on the latter.³¹

As the sixteenth century progressed, the local elites, particularly in Surrey with the presence of only one main aristocratic family, were increasingly made up of the gentry, the lesser landowners, who now wanted a greater involvement in national politics, even if in some cases their main priority was still their own locality.³² Therefore, it is very important to study the gentry of this period, especially those who played an active role both in their counties and nationally. Within their localities, there were increasing opportunities to exercise power, as JPs, parliamentary and muster commissioners, and in the courts. From 1585 there were lords lieutenant in most shires. These men tended to be Privy Councillors, but their deputies were local gentry, such as the Mores.³³ As MPs, the gentry had the opportunity to represent their local communities on a national stage. Sheriffs were crucial to successful rule, which must have encouraged the government to pay attention to their

²⁶A. Hassell Smith, *County and Court: Government and Politics in Norfolk, 1558-1603* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), p. vii.

²⁷ Penry Williams, *The Tudor Regime* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), p. 466.

²⁸ G.R. Elton, 'Tudor Government: The Points of Contact: I. Parliament', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 24 (1974), 183-200 (p. 183).

²⁹ G.R. Elton, 'Tudor Government: The Points of Contact: III. The Court', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 26 (1976), 211-228 (p. 228).

³⁰ Elton, 'Parliament', p.184.

³¹Hassell Smith, *County and Court*, p. vii.

³²Felicity Heal and Clive Holmes, *The Gentry in England and Wales 1500-1700* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1994), p. x.

³³ Williams, *Tudor Regime*, p. 122.

concerns, reliant as it was upon them as a bulwark against rebellion and disorder. Tying the gentry into the regime could prevent a revolt on the scale of the Pilgrimage of Grace, which was the last time in the sixteenth century when all ranks of society joined in rebellion against the Crown.³⁴ The support of the gentry increased in importance after the Reformation, particularly under Elizabeth, as the religious settlement could only succeed with their backing.³⁵ This emphasis on the role of the gentry in government naturally leads to analysis of their motives. Individual county studies of or including the gentry give details of regional variations, most obviously between the north and south of England, with the latter's proximity to London making it more influenced by the Court.³⁶ Surrey itself, thanks no doubt to its location, has been described as "the most densely gentrified county."³⁷ Studies of particular families stress the importance of the locality in shaping the gentry who formed the elite.³⁸

However, it is also the case that the gentry were not just part of a local elite. Through Court offices, they could be represented at the centre of government as well as in their own region. Elton wrote that it was also possible "to attend the Court by proxy", with a relation at Court representing the family's interests there, while the head of the family remained on his estates.³⁹ Arguably this is what the Mores achieved when Elizabeth Wolley became one of the Queen's ladies of the Privy Chamber. As her husband John Wolley was the Queen's Latin secretary, and a Privy Councillor from 1586, Sir William had excellent representation at Court without himself having to be there.

Historiography: "The Rise of the Gentry"

The position of the gentry in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, and whether they were rising up the social scale at the expense of the aristocracy, has been the subject of lengthy historiographical debate. This began with the publication of R.H. Tawney's article in 1941, and the emphatic rebuttal of it by Hugh Trevor-Roper in 1953.⁴⁰ To summarise their standpoints, Tawney believed that the gentry responded better than the aristocracy to the economic crisis of the late

³⁴ Ibid, p. 323.

³⁵ Ibid, p. 265 and p. 291 on the establishment of the Elizabethan church.

³⁶ See for example Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Suffolk and the Tudors: Politics and Religion in an English County, 1500-1600* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), and J.T. Cliffe, *The Yorkshire Gentry from the Reformation to the Civil War* (London: The Athlone Press, 1969).

³⁷ Heal & Holmes, *Gentry*, p. 13.

³⁸ See for example Moreton, *Townshends*, and Larminie, *Newdigates*.

³⁹ Elton, 'Court', p. 215.

⁴⁰ R.H. Tawney, 'The Rise of the Gentry, 1558-1640', *Economic History Review*, 11, 1 (1941), 1-38, and 'The Rise of the Gentry: A Postscript', *Economic History Review*, 2nd series, 7, 1 (1954), 91-97. Hugh Trevor-Roper, *The Gentry, 1540-1640* (London: Economic History Society, 1953). Their debate is summarised in Elton, *England under the Tudors*, pp. 255-259.

sixteenth century, exploiting their lands, which had in many cases increased in size after the Dissolution of the Monasteries, more creatively than the aristocracy did.⁴¹ As the gentry prospered, the nobility, unable or unwilling to accept the need for change, declined, relatively speaking. Tawney himself admitted that this was not the full picture, as clearly not all the gentry were successful, and some members of the aristocracy were able to thrive.⁴² However, he continued to defend his theory that the gentry "owned [their] property, instead of being owned by it"; that is, not being tied by years or even centuries of tradition, the gentry were freer to develop their lands than the aristocracy were.⁴³ To Tawney, land was the crucial part of being a gentleman; offices, both local and national, were of less significance.

Trevor-Roper disputed both the theory of almost uniform success for the gentry, and the idea that land alone could produce prosperity. In his view, the revenues of office holding were also necessary, although the resulting competition for office, and consequent tension between those who were successful and those who were not, produced hostility between county-based gentry and office holding gentry which contributed to the Civil War.⁴⁴ Elton took exception to both their arguments. He believed that Tawney's theory was fundamentally flawed as it is impossible to state that the aristocracy was in a general decline and the gentry as a whole flourishing. In both classes, there was a mixture of success and failure, and it is also hard in any case to differentiate between aristocracy and gentry. How well landowners dealt with the economic crisis depended less on class than on the sort of land owned, and whether it provided opportunities to diversify, as well as any Court connections the landowners had.⁴⁵ Somewhat dauntingly, Elton concluded that not until "the fate of all or nearly all families that claimed to be gentle...has been studied [will it] be possible to

⁴¹ Tawney identified four ways in which this could be done: the revision of terms by which property was held; an expansion of business activity, for example commercial rather than just subsistence farming; bringing new land into cultivation, and expanding into other business enterprises such as mining or selling timber. 'The Rise', p. 14.

⁴² Ibid, p.15.

⁴³ Ibid, p.16. The same point could however also be applied to longer established gentry families, such as the Treshams. Mary E. Finch, *The Wealth of Five Northamptonshire Families 1540-1640* (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the Northamptonshire Record Society, 1956), p. 66 onwards.

⁴⁴ Tawney by contrast argued that the Civil War was a conflict between the monarchy and the gentry as a whole. 'The Rise', p. 34. Williams supports Trevor-Roper's theory that Court office as well as landholding was vital to establishing power, at least as far as the nobility were concerned. Williams, *Tudor Regime*, p. 3. Williams argued that in this area as well the aristocracy were at a disadvantage because the skills needed to succeed at Court were becoming more professional. This suited the gentry, some of whom were for example lawyers or merchants before they were landowners, but potentially put the nobility at a disadvantage. Ibid, p.440.

⁴⁵ The Spencers of Althorp are a good example of a family whose success as landowners came from their choice of estates. Sir John Spencer (d.1522) specifically chose lands which were suitable for lucrative sheep farming. In some cases, they had already been enclosed and were being used as pasture, saving him the expense of doing it. The Spencers did not have further income through office holding, which makes them something of an exception. Finch, *Five Northamptonshire Families*, p. 38, pp. 63-65.

trace accurately what happened to the gentry as a whole."⁴⁶ This suggests that there is still considerable scope for studies of the Tudor and early Stuart gentry.

The debate also raises interesting questions about the gentry, even if the main arguments are dated and no longer accepted. Heal and Holmes believe that one important outcome was the work of Lawrence Stone, which opened up studies of the elite to work on particular regions or families, and encouraged the analysis of many different aspects of upper class lives.⁴⁷ This theory is supported by Adam Nicolson, who writes that what he calls "The Storm over the Gentry" ended rather general work on the gentry and replaced it with more detailed work on families, counties and allegiances, something for which the Loseley archive is a perfect candidate.⁴⁸

Within the debate, the importance of landholding as both the definition of gentility and a source of income stands out.⁴⁹ However, the prestige and income from office holding was arguably almost as significant, perhaps even more so. Both these subjects may reveal much about the ambitions of the gentry, and indeed may well have been their main preoccupations. Whatever their wealth was based on, some of the gentry felt obliged to help others, and holding local or national office could be a way to achieve that, while at the same bolstering one's own position with another source of income and prestige. As Sir John Oglander wrote of the role of the gentry: "a quiet, contemplative life is pleasing to man, yet not altogether to God. Remember that we are not born truly to ourselves but for the public."⁵⁰

Historiography: County and Family Studies

Studies of the gentry, besides overviews such as Heal and Holmes, tend to focus on counties or families, or even individuals where there are adequate sources.⁵¹ Writing on just one county, let alone just one family or person, has been criticised. As Diarmaid MacCulloch points out, while in the

⁴⁶ Elton, *England Under the Tudors*, p. 257.

⁴⁷ Heal & Holmes, *Gentry*, p. 433.

⁴⁸ Adam Nicolson, *Gentry* (London: Harper Press, 2011), p.103. Nicolson concludes that the gentry were "the great beneficiaries of ... the failure of the magnates...". Tawney's argument thus still has an impact on studies of the gentry.

⁴⁹ Nicolson disputes this, writing that the ownership of land was not an essential aspect of gentry status. *Gentry*, p. xv. However, there is no question that many successful lawyers, as Christopher More was, and merchants, such as John Isham, aspired to own land as to them it was the mark of a gentleman. Finch, *Five Northamptonshire Families*, p.4 onwards for the Isham family.

⁵⁰ Sir John Oglander, *A Royalist's Notebook: The Commonplace Book of Sir John Oglander Kt of Nunwell 1622-1652*, ed. and trans. by Francis Bamford (London: Constable and Co., 1936), p.246.

⁵¹ There are large numbers of the first two types of study at least. See footnotes 36 and 38 above for examples. Deborah Youngs has written *Humphrey Newton (1466-1536) An Early Tudor Gentleman* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2008), a study of Newton alone.

past viewing history through particular counties was acceptable, as the county was seen as a discrete community, more recently this theory has lost favour and the county has been perceived as a false boundary, as certain areas, and indeed people, may have links which go beyond the county border. He argues, however, that Suffolk is a suitable area for such a study as it had a strong identity as a county.⁵² Heal and Holmes also accept the validity of such studies, as they put the gentry in the context of their locality, without which it is difficult to understand their lives.⁵³ Nicolson makes this point about Sir John Oglander: "[h]e was a gentleman, educated on the mainland, but there is no doubting he came from [the Isle of Wight], his whole existence endlessly attentive to ...what Nunwell needed."⁵⁴ However, Heal and Holmes go on to argue that the gentry have to be seen in a broader context as well, to appreciate their connections beyond their home county.⁵⁵ This is also Nicolson's view, as he believes that although their localities were important, the gentry were in no way restricted by them.⁵⁶ In fact, opportunities could arise from the gentry's detailed knowledge of their local areas and neighbours, which could be used by the government to good effect.⁵⁷ Moreton by contrast suggests that county studies can skew the picture of gentry life by giving the impression that county government was the main interest of all the gentry, when in fact only about a third of them were involved in it. He also argues that such an approach leads to the study being broken down into separate pieces, with each topic being seen in isolation rather than as part of a whole.⁵⁸ Thus, while county studies are a valuable part of the historiography, they need to be seen as part of a broader picture; no locality was unaffected by events elsewhere, and not all gentry participated in local government. It is also important to look at the gentry as a whole.

These reservations perhaps apply even more to a study of a particular family or individual, which could result in a very narrow focus. However, such a focus can be important if its results strengthen the existing work. Nonetheless, a family cannot be seen in a vacuum; both Moreton and Larminie, by including the words "and their world" in their titles, make clear that the Townshends and Newdigates are to be viewed not in isolation but as part of the world around them.⁵⁹ Moreton argues that a family study is an opportunity to draw together topics which might not otherwise be linked, as surviving papers will often cover a range of subjects, which is emphatically the case with

⁵² MacCulloch, *Suffolk*, p.2.

⁵³ Heal & Holmes, *Gentry*, p. x.

⁵⁴ Nicolson, *Gentry*, p.115.

⁵⁵ Heal & Holmes, *Gentry*, p. x.

⁵⁶ Nicolson, *Gentry*, p. xiii.

⁵⁷ Alice Fairfax-Lucy, *Charlecote & the Lucys: The Chronicle of an English Family*, 2nd edn (London: Victor Gollancz, 1990), p. 78.

⁵⁸ Moreton, *Townshends*, p. 3.

⁵⁹ Moreton makes this point explicitly, *ibid*, p. 4.

the Loseley archive.⁶⁰ Larminie believes that family studies are valuable because, as contemporaries would have believed, the family could "present society in microcosm."⁶¹ In my view, to be able to understand the trends in gentry history at this period, a focus on one family is key. As one's knowledge of that particular family increases, it may be easier to see what is important about their lives and roles, and how they fitted into the world around them. It may be that their history is much like that of other gentry families, but that in itself could be valuable.⁶² Equally, there may be something different about their experiences which could be significant. However, it is only by knowing the subjects of one's study in detail that conclusions can be drawn as to where they fit in the historiography. As Mary E. Finch wrote in her book on Northamptonshire gentry, individuals were of great importance in determining the success or failure of their families; without understanding something of the personalities and circumstances involved, it would be impossible to appreciate their impact.⁶³

Previous writing on the Mores

Although there is so much available material, and despite the Mores' importance, there has been surprisingly little detailed work on them, and the main pieces are dated. Alfred Kempe edited and transcribed some documents for *The Loseley Manuscripts* (1836). This is a themed collection, with introduction and notes. The selected documents mainly concern Court life and religion, which is presumably a reflection of his own interests.⁶⁴ *A Century of Persecution* by St George Kieran Hyland (1920) includes documents concerning the Reformation, many of which are now in the Folger. There are a lot of mistakes in his transcriptions so the book needs to be treated with caution. Hyland was a Catholic priest so perhaps unsurprisingly a biased commentator.⁶⁵ In the early twentieth century, the documents on the musters from 1558-1684 were published for the Surrey Record Society in four volumes.⁶⁶

⁶⁰ Ibid, p. 3.

⁶¹ Larminie, *Newdigates*, p. 1.

⁶² It can be important to study those who are typical members of their class. Youngs, *Newton*, p.2.

⁶³ Finch, *Five Northamptonshire Families*, p. 170.

⁶⁴ Alfred John Kempe, ed. and trans., *The Loseley Manuscripts: Manuscripts and Other Rare Documents, Illustrative of English History, Biography and Manners from Henry VIII to James I* (London: John Murray, 1836).

⁶⁵ St George Kieran Hyland, *A Century of Persecution under Tudor and Stuart Sovereigns from Contemporary Records* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench Trubner & Co. Ltd, 1920). Hyland was the priest of St Edmund's Catholic church in Godalming from its beginnings in 1904 until 1950; www.stedmundgodalming.btck.co.uk.

⁶⁶ See *Surrey Musters (taken from the Loseley Mss)*, 4 vols (London: Roworth & Co. for the Surrey Record Society, 1914-1919).

In 1855, *Archaeologia* published two articles by John Evans which covered three Loseley documents in detail.⁶⁷ One included an 1556 inventory by William More, and the building accounts for Elizabethan Loseley, the other the accounts for Elizabeth More's wedding to Richard Polsted in 1567. Both have good general introductions. The inventory and building accounts are now in the Folger Library, so this article is particularly helpful.

These books and articles are solely based on the Loseley manuscripts, but other books draw heavily on them. Among these is *Catholicism and Community in Early Modern England* by Michael Questier.⁶⁸ This is an account of Lord Montague, his grandson the second viscount, and their entourage, so their correspondence with the Mores is an important source. *The Tudor and Jacobean Country House: a Building History* by Malcolm Airs refers often to William More's building accounts.⁶⁹ However, in both these cases the More documents are not the main focus, and the authors were only using a small number of Loseley documents, especially in Airs's case.

Articles on Loseley have appeared in *Country Life* in 1935, 1969 and 2012, written by Christopher Hussey, Marcus Binney and Jeremy Musson respectively.⁷⁰ The articles testify to the changing theories about the house and its contents as more information has become available. Those areas where there has been some debate include the fate of the medieval house, whether or not William More used an architect, and the provenance of the painted panels in the hall. These were thought to have come from Nonsuch after its demolition in the early 1680s, but probably were from Thomas Cawarden, and installed when the house was built. Loseley and other parts of the county connected with the Mores of course feature in the *Victoria County History* of Surrey, which is a good basic guide.⁷¹

An excellent biographical article on George More by Roger Munden was published in *Surrey Archaeological Collections* in 1996.⁷² This covers the establishment of the family as a force in Surrey, George's role during his father's lifetime, and his later career. Baynards, George More's house before

⁶⁷John Evans, 'Extracts from the Private Account Book of Sir William More, of Loseley, in Surrey, in the time of Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth', *Archaeologia*, 36 (1855), 284-310, and 'An Account of the Presents received and Expenses incurred at the Wedding of Richard Polsted, of Albury, Esquire, and Elizabeth, eldest daughter of William More, of Loseley, Esquire', *Archaeologia*, 36 (1855), 33-52.

⁶⁸Questier, *Catholicism and Community*.

⁶⁹Malcolm Airs, *The Tudor & Jacobean Country House: A Building History* (Stroud: Sutton, 1995; repr. Godalming: Bramley Books, 1998).

⁷⁰Christopher Hussey, 'Loseley Park, Surrey', *Country Life*, May 25th 1935, 544-549; Marcus Binney 'Loseley Park, Surrey, I', *Country Life*, 145, October 2nd 1969, 802-805, and 'Loseley Park, Surrey, II', *Country Life*, 146, October 9th 1969, 894-897; Jeremy Musson, 'Rare Elizabethan Treasure: Loseley Park, Surrey', *Country Life*, May 9th 2012, 78-83.

⁷¹Malden, *VCH Surrey*, I-IV.

⁷²Roger Munden, 'George More, 1553-1632', *Surrey Archaeological Collections*, 83 (1996), 97-124.

he inherited Loseley, is also covered in a *Surrey Archaeological Collections* article, by Judie English.⁷³ Baynards was demolished in 1979, but the house built by George More was apparently remarkably similar to Loseley. Sir Christopher, Sir William and Sir George More, as well as Sir John Wolley, Sir Thomas Egerton, Sir John Oglander and John Donne, are all included in *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, and these articles are good starting points.⁷⁴ All those in the family and their friends and associates who were MPs also have biographies in the volumes on the membership of the House of Commons.⁷⁵

George's sister Elizabeth is the subject of an extremely useful article by Elizabeth McCutcheon.⁷⁶ This provides a good assessment of the problems of writing about Tudor women, and also makes plain Elizabeth's importance within her family, particularly once she became one of the Queen's ladies with the consequent greatly prized access to the monarch. The mutual dependence of monarch and her servants is emphasized. McCutcheon's dating of some of Elizabeth's letters is debatable, but the article as a whole is fascinating.⁷⁷

Thus previous work on the family can be summarised as follows. There are transcriptions with an introduction and commentary but no analysis, of which the main example is Kempe. Hyland exemplifies the second group, namely transcriptions with an introduction and some analysis, with the Loseley manuscripts as the main source. However, in this case only a small part of the archive is used, covering one particular topic. Other works provide an analysis of a few documents, but these are not the main source for or focus of the research, for example Questier's work on Montague and his household. There are also biographical articles, which cover and assess a wider range of subjects but focus on one family member, for example McCutcheon's article on Elizabeth Wolley, and the family and house feature in much broader studies such as *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* and the *Victoria County History*.

⁷³ Judie English, 'George More's other house: Baynards Mansion, Ewhurst', *Surrey Archaeological Collections*, 89 (2002), 53-63.

⁷⁴ See www.oxforddnb.com. Many others mentioned in this thesis are also in the DNB, and it is has been an invaluable resource.

⁷⁵ See www.historyofparliamentonline.org.

⁷⁶ Elizabeth McCutcheon, 'Playing the Waiting Game: the Life and Letters of Elizabeth Wolley', *Quidditas: Journal of the Rocky Mountain Medieval and Renaissance Association*, 20 (1999), pp. 31-53.

⁷⁷ McCutcheon dates one of the letters, Elizabeth Wolley to Sir William More, SHC 6729/7/115, to the mid 1590s: 'Playing the Waiting Game', pp.44-45. However, in the letter Elizabeth describes her arrival at Court, which probably puts it nearer to her marriage to Wolley in 1577. She also refers to Lord Burghley's gout, which was particularly bad in 1577. Stephen Alford, *Burghley: William Cecil at the Court of Elizabeth I* (London: Yale University Press, 2008), p. 226. William More did however annotate the letter as being from *Lady Wolley* [my italics]; her husband was not knighted until 1592, which might suggest that the later date is correct. The content does though support the earlier date. William More may have added the note later, or have simply referred to his daughter as Lady rather than Mistress Wolley.

There has not yet been a wide-ranging analytical piece on the family in the sixteenth and early seventeenth century, and this thesis is an attempt to fill that gap. This is worth writing because, as discussed above, the Mores were an extremely important family, both within Surrey and on the national stage, but are relatively little known or studied. This is despite that fact that their surviving papers perfectly illustrate the lives of an ambitious, well-connected and hard working gentry family of that time. Owing to the range and depth of the documents, it is possible to get a detailed picture of gentry life across many areas; the Loseley manuscripts are an extraordinarily valuable source, and deserve greater recognition, as does the family whose lives are recorded there.⁷⁸

Thesis chapters

The first chapter discusses the house at Loseley. This includes analysis of the general motives for sixteenth century rebuilding, what the medieval house at Loseley may have been like, and why William More decided to rebuild in the 1560s. Loseley will be compared to other contemporary houses, both to investigate whether More was influenced by them, and also whether Loseley itself was influential. George More's wing will be discussed as well. The most important source for this chapter is the Elizabethan building accounts.⁷⁹ The interest of these accounts is such that they are analysed in detail, with the result that the rest of the Mores' estates are only briefly discussed where relevant.

The next chapter concerns the family's office holding. It is here that the establishment of the family in Surrey by Christopher More will be of most relevance, as he laid the foundation for the success of his son and grandson. The offices held by the Mores will be discussed, and how this fits into the relationship between the government and the localities. The rewards and burdens of these roles, and competition for them, will also be studied, as will whether the Mores were themselves patrons, or had patrons of their own. Why the family's fortunes apparently declined to some extent under Sir George will be considered. The experience of other families will be used in comparison. In this chapter there is little on the post of muster commissioner, both because it overlaps to some extent with the more senior position of deputy lieutenant, and also because, as mentioned above, many of the muster documents have been published.

⁷⁸ The very size of the archive has imposed some selectivity; it would be impossible to cover every aspect of, for example, the work of a JP in the space allowed without excluding much else of interest.

⁷⁹ Evans, 'Extracts': William More's Account Book, Folger L.b. 550.

The section on religion includes an analysis of the Mores' personal religion, with reference to their own books, letters, wills and monuments.⁸⁰ In William's case there is an autobiographical statement, and in George's, his tract *A Demonstration of God in his Works*. The treatment of recusants, and Protestant non-conformists, will be discussed. Both William and George were commissioners for recusants and seminaries, while the recusant Earl of Southampton, as mentioned above, was kept under house arrest at Loseley in both 1570 and 1573. The family's role in public religion will also be considered, and whether or not there was a chapel at Loseley itself.

The main focus of the chapter on the women of the family is Elizabeth Wolley, daughter of Sir William More, who marked the high point of achievement for the More women, serving as a lady of the Privy Chamber to Elizabeth I. Elizabeth Wolley's letters provide evidence of what life was like at Court, and the patronage and politics which affected the Queen's ladies. Besides the Loseley manuscripts, important sources for this chapter are the letters between Sir John Oglander and his wife Frances, daughter of Sir George More, the diary of Margaret, Lady Hoby, and *The Lisle Letters*, which provide evidence for the best way to get a place as a lady-in-waiting.⁸¹

MacCulloch argues that the shortest period to study in order to make sense of the politics of Tudor England is a century; longer is harder as there is so much surviving material.⁸² However, my intention is to cover a slightly longer time span, from 1508-1632, although the archive's strengths result in a greater focus on Sir William and Sir George than on Sir Christopher.⁸³ The reasons for this are set by events in the Mores' lives; Christopher bought Loseley in 1508; his grandson George died in 1632. Although less material survives for Christopher, to omit him would make the thesis lack context, especially in the case of the chapter on office holding, where William built on Christopher's achievements. George's death also seems a better stopping point than William's death in 1600, or than a date of national significance such as the end of the Tudor dynasty in 1603. This is, after all, predominantly a thesis on a family, and as such its dating should be determined by their lives; it would feel incomplete without the inclusion of George. He was succeeded by his grandson, rather

⁸⁰ Christopher and William More's wills are held at TNA; George died intestate. The wills of Christopher More's second wife Constance and John Wolley are also there, as is the will of Montague, a conformist Catholic. This will be a useful comparison.

⁸¹ Joanna Moody, ed., *The Private Life of an Elizabethan Lady: The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby 1599-1605* (Stroud: Sutton, 1998); Muriel St. Clare Byrne, ed., *The Lisle Letters*, 6 vols (London: The University of Chicago Press, 1981)

⁸² MacCulloch, *Suffolk*, p. 1.

⁸³ As mentioned above, the archive is particularly strong for the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

than his son who had died six years before, and this generational break makes 1632 seem an appropriate date to end the thesis.⁸⁴

⁸⁴ H.J. Habakkuk wrote in his preface to Finch's book on Northamptonshire gentry that "...detailed studies bring out... the responsibility of personal character for changes in family fortune. This is particularly conspicuous at the birth and death of landed families, in the men who establish them and in those who preside over their fall." Finch, *Five Northamptonshire Families*, p. xi.

Chapter 1: "what few small romes and howe un mete vo[u]r howes": The House at Loseley¹

Introduction: Motives for building in the second half of the sixteenth century



The north front of Loseley House. The house was re-roofed in 2015. Photograph by the author.

It has been estimated that the fifty years between 1570 and 1620 saw more country houses built or rebuilt than in any other half century.² In Warwickshire, for example, the number of country houses built between 1560 and 1630 was twenty, nearly three times the number built between 1500 and 1560, which was just seven.³ There must therefore have been a number of pressing reasons why a gentleman might want to rebuild his home in the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

One possible such motive was the desire to impress the Queen, and later the King, in the hope that she or he would pay the builder the honour of a visit while on progress.⁴ Lord Burghley, for example, commented that Theobalds had begun on a small scale, "but increased by occasions of Her Majesty's often coming, whom to please I would never omit to strain myself to more changes."⁵ Since the Queen was not inclined to go to the expense either of building new palaces or extending the old, her courtiers were arguably under more pressure than might otherwise have been the case

¹ Sir Anthony Wingfield to William More, August, no year given, SHC 6729/7/86. Wingfield was a gentleman pensioner to the Queen and brother-in-law of Bess of Hardwick. The letter can be dated, owing to references in it, to sometime between Robert Dudley's ennoblement as Earl of Leicester in 1564 and Edward, Lord Clinton, becoming Earl of Lincoln in 1572. In this context "unmete" would seem to mean unworthy; Wingfield continued by specifying that it was the unsuitability of the available accommodation "for the Quenes Maj[es]tie" that was a problem.

² Lawrence Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558-1641* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1957), p.551.

³ Airs, *Tudor and Jacobean Country House*, p. 4. Airs also estimates that more than 300 country houses were built in Essex over the whole of the sixteenth century.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 18-19.

⁵ Alford, *Burghley*, p.301.

to build appropriate accommodation for her itinerant Court themselves.⁶ Not all builders, however, were as successful as Burghley in attracting visits from the Queen, among the disappointed being Bess of Hardwick and Sir Christopher Hatton; it may be that the excuse of building a house suitable for the Queen was seized upon as an opportunity for extravagance and display. There are, however, examples, including Loseley and contemporary houses such as Gorhambury in Hertfordshire, where the new house was far more suitable for a royal visit than the old one had been. Certainly, in the case of a house in the south east, such as Loseley, the chances of the Queen visiting were far higher than elsewhere.⁷ If the Queen were impressed by what she found, it could be rewarding for the owner, although the evidence is that this was rarely the case, and that anyway hosting the Queen on her progress was a dubious, expensive and inconvenient honour.⁸

This latter view is supported by evidence of attempts to avoid a royal visit. Sir Anthony Wingfield wrote to William More in the undated letter quoted at the head of this chapter that the Queen had been told "what few small romes [you have] and howe un mete yo[u]r howes was for [her to visit]".⁹ As the Queen appeared to be set on visiting Loseley despite its advertised unsuitability, More was advised to enlist the help of the Earl of Leicester to put her off: the implication is that the Queen had been told these things about Loseley because More was eager to dissuade her from visiting. The letter may date from the time that the new Loseley was being built, but More was still unenthusiastic about entertaining royalty too often even after work had been completed. In August 1583 Sir Christopher Hatton wrote to More of the Queen's intention of visiting Loseley that year, and implied that rumours had been spread the previous year, perhaps by More himself, aimed at deterring her: "I have bene hertofor informed that you had some syck of the infection the last year & of other dangerous diseases of late in it, w[hi]ch is now reported here, as a misinformation, & far otherwyse than the brute declared."¹⁰ If More had tried to put the Queen off, he was not alone in such actions; others who sought to avoid hosting the Queen included Francis Russell, Earl of Bedford, in 1572 and Sir Henry Lee in 1600.¹¹ Therefore, the theory that houses were rebuilt to delight the Queen needs to be treated with some caution.

⁶ Maurice Howard, *The Early Tudor Country House* (London: George Philip, 1987), p. 30.

⁷ Besides this, the fact that Elizabeth liked to stay not only with her nobility but also at the houses of relatively low-ranking gentry was an encouragement to the gentry to build. Caroline Adams, 'Queen and Country: The Significance of Elizabeth's Progress in Surrey, Sussex and Hampshire in 1591' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Southampton, 2012), p.2. This was in contrast to her father and brother. *Ibid*, p. 7.

⁸ Mark Girouard, *Elizabethan Architecture: Its Rise and Fall, 1540-1640* (London: Yale University Press, 2009), p. 20.

⁹ Sir Anthony Wingfield to William More, SHC 6729/7/86.

¹⁰ Sir Christopher Hatton to Sir William More, 4th August 1583, SHC 6729/6/52.

¹¹ Mary Hill Cole, *The Portable Queen: Elizabeth I and the Politics of Ceremony* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1999), pp.86-93. Cole details many attempts to avoid a royal visit, for a variety of reasons

Most owners would not have embarked on the expense and inconvenience of construction simply to please the Queen. Houses, especially those which were a principal country seat, were a powerful way of demonstrating the owners' sophistication and wealth to both friends and rivals. A new member of the gentry required a suitably imposing new house, while for established gentry, their houses would need redesigning at the very least in order to keep up-to-date.¹² By demolishing and rebuilding in the most fashionable style, or by remodelling their houses, the gentry in particular could show that they had arrived on both a local and national level. Thus some houses were in part at least built to show off and provide a stage for their owners to display their importance, and perhaps overshadow other gentry.¹³ A grander, larger house moreover would provide more space to fulfil the duty of providing hospitality. Even when the building was essentially finished more work could be carried out to improve apartments for especially prestigious guests, as at Chatsworth to honour the Earl of Leicester in 1577.¹⁴ Houses exemplified how their owners wished to be seen. In this period, before the emergence of architects in the modern sense, the house was in large measure the direct result of the owner's plans and attention, and thus a key way to demonstrate their standing and awareness of trends in building.¹⁵ Sir Nicholas Bacon, for instance, was involved in every aspect of his building projects at both Gorhambury and Redgrave Hall in Norfolk.¹⁶ Even if absent, the owner could manage the works by letter. Bess of Hardwick, for example, wrote to both her steward James Crompt and another servant, Francis Whitfield, about the work at Chatsworth in the 1550s and 60s, with her instructions including a change of mind about the arrangements for the porch.¹⁷

A new house would provide greater comfort and privacy than its medieval predecessor. The gentry home no longer needed to be defensive, and less importance was attached to having a great hall as a communal meeting point for landowner, servant and tenant.¹⁸ Thus landowners were able to plan new houses with a greater degree of privacy, and to focus on, or experiment with, their own apartments, a trend which began in the early sixteenth century at houses such as Sutton Place near

and with differing degrees of politeness. She incorrectly dates Wingfield's letter to William More as being from 1576; see note 1 above.

¹² Heal & Holmes, *Gentry*, p. 15, p.298.

¹³ Airs, *Tudor and Jacobean Country House*, p.4.

¹⁴ David N. Durant, *Bess of Hardwick: Portrait of an Elizabethan Dynast*, 2nd edn (London: Peter Owen, 1999; repr. 2014), pp. 97-98. Further work appears to have been carried on at Loseley after the main rebuilding had finished; see pp. 53-54 below.

¹⁵ Heal & Holmes, *Gentry*, p. 298.

¹⁶ Elizabeth McCutcheon, ed. and trans., *Sir Nicholas Bacon's Great House Sententiae* (Amherst: University of Hawaii & The Sir Francis Bacon Foundation and Library, 1977), p. 13.

¹⁷ Elizabeth, Lady St Loe, to Francis Whitfield, 20th October, c. 1560, Folger X.d. 428 (84).

¹⁸ Airs, *Tudor and Jacobean Country House*, p.4.

Guildford.¹⁹ This created the opportunity to make homes more comfortable, with suites of smaller rooms which were easier to heat, and lighter because of the fashion for large windows.²⁰

One consequence of the Dissolution of the Monasteries was a greater availability of land and building materials, and it seems that this was a factor in the plans of some owners, especially in the relative stability of the last thirty or forty years of the sixteenth century.²¹ At Loseley itself, as will be noted later, some of the stone came from Waverley Abbey, which was by then owned by William More's friend Anthony Browne, first Viscount Montague, and some, although rather less, from the Friary in Guildford.²² At Gorhambury, which, like Loseley, was built in the 1560s, some of the stone came from St Alban's Abbey.²³ Thus a ready supply of reusable stone may have driven some building projects forward. In other cases former monastic buildings provided the framework for an Elizabethan building, for example at Longleat, where Sir John Thynne's masterpiece was beginning to take shape in the 1560s.

Some of the gentry were reading and learning about architectural trends in continental Europe and were keen, where money allowed, to put these into practice. It was another way to show off, in this instance to display the owner's intellect.²⁴ This was particularly relevant at the end of the century by which time works on architecture had either been translated into English, or were more widely disseminated in their original languages. One example is *On Architecture* by Vitruvius, of which there were four printed editions in the first sixty years of the sixteenth century, in both the original Latin and in Italian translation, although there were no English editions. Vitruvius believed that there should be public and private areas in houses, and that the design of a house should be determined by the nature of its owner. For example, those who held high office should aspire to:

princely vestibules... lofty atria and spacious peristylia, groves and extensive walks, finished in a magnificent style...libraries, pinacothecae and basilicae, of similar form to those which are made for the public use...[because in] the houses of the noble, the affairs of the public, and the decision and judgment of private causes are often determined.²⁵

¹⁹ Howard, *Early Tudor Country House*, p. 108.

²⁰ Gorhambury, for example, had over thirty rooms on the ground floor alone. Robert Tittler, *Nicholas Bacon: The Making of a Tudor Statesman* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1976), p. 67.

²¹ Peter Brandon & Brian Short, *The South-East from A.D. 1000* (Harlow: Longman, 1990), p. 197.

²² This was probably the Dominican friary, the only one actually in Guildford. It was dissolved in 1538 and retained by the Crown. Malden, *VCH Surrey*, II (London: Constable, 1905), accessed online at www.british-history.ac.uk.

²³ St Alban's Abbey was dissolved in 1539. In 1556 it was granted back to the Crown, perhaps with the intent of re-establishing the monastery. William Page, ed., *VCH Hertford*, IV (London: Constable, 1914), accessed online at www.british-history.ac.uk.

²⁴ Airs, *Tudor and Jacobean Country House*, p.6.

²⁵ Joseph Gwilt, ed. and trans., *The Architecture of Marcus Vitruvius Pollio* (London: Lockwood & Co., 1874), pp. 141-142, accessed online at www.dbooks.bodleian.ox.ac.uk.

It was certainly important for Elizabethan builders that their homes should display their position in society.

Loseley House

William More rebuilt the house at Loseley in the 1560s, replacing the medieval house in which his father Sir Christopher had lived. The rebuilding is well documented in a detailed set of accounts, written by William More himself, providing information from workmen's names to the provenance of materials.²⁶ The house, externally at least, survives virtually unaltered.²⁷ Loseley is thus a very important example of early Elizabethan architecture, where both the building process and the result can still be analysed. Sir George More, William's son, made his mark on Loseley by adding a wing in the early seventeenth-century. In this case neither accounts nor the building itself survive, but there is a document which outlines some of the work undertaken, while a painting exists showing the wing, and later inventories give a further idea of what this wing was used for.²⁸



Burghley House, Lincolnshire, contemporary with Loseley. Photograph by the author.

Loseley is contemporary with some important houses. Longleat, though far from complete, stands out because it was already developing into "a school or magnet for talent, the influence of which was to spread over the country."²⁹ William Cecil not only began work at the palatial Theobalds in Hertfordshire in the mid 1560s, but also completed the first stage of his redevelopment of

²⁶ The survival of such accounts is very important, as in the case of other contemporary houses, for example Parham in Sussex, there is only the house itself to provide any information as no documentation survives. Jayne Kirk, *Parham: An Elizabethan House and its Restoration* (London: Phillimore & Co. Ltd, 2009), p. 3.

²⁷ This is in marked contrast to its contemporaries. Some, such as Theobalds and Gorhambury, no longer exist; Longleat was remodelled in the 1570s and 80s, and the north west wing of Burghley has been demolished, among other alterations.

²⁸ For the painting, see p.56 below.

²⁹ Girouard, *Elizabethan Architecture*, p. 167.

Burghley at that time. While these were well beyond anything it was possible for William More to attempt at Loseley, they were influential. Other houses built in the 1560s were more comparable in scale. As mentioned above, Gorhambury was being rebuilt by Sir Nicholas Bacon at this time. Although it cost roughly twice as much as Loseley, the wing of the house built in the 1560s was of similar size and style.³⁰ Other symmetrical houses of the 1560s were Kentwell Hall in Suffolk, probably completed at the beginning of the decade, and the timber-framed Pitchford Hall in Shropshire. Thus Loseley can be seen as part of the development of the gentry house in that decade, moving towards symmetry and away from medieval forms.

Loseley may have been an influential house in its own right. Peter Brandon wrote that it was innovative, as it was the first house in Surrey on an H- or E-shaped plan, and that its example was followed for many years.³¹ Both Ian Nairn and Nicholas Cooper place it in a group including Danny and Parham in Sussex, Nairn also mentioning Wiston in the same county.³² What is interesting is that Loseley was the first of these to be built. Wiston was in progress in the 1570s, while work began at Parham in 1577, and at Danny in 1582.³³ Sir Thomas Shirley, the builder of Wiston, had a town house in Blackfriars, and so was a London neighbour of the Mores.³⁴ Shirley and William More had also worked together in county government.³⁵ There are surviving letters to the Mores from both the Goring family, who built Danny, and Sir Thomas Palmer, builder of Parham.³⁶ The main similarity between the houses is their restraint; Nairn described Parham as being "without a hint of Elizabethan extravagance", and wrote that Wiston was "as plain as Parham and Danny."³⁷ In the same way, Pevsner noted Loseley's "ornamental restraint", going on to comment on its "sobriety and freedom from fussiness."³⁸ It thus seems likely that Loseley had an influence on the other houses.³⁹ This

³⁰ Loseley cost £1660 19s 7d, Gorhambury £3176 11s 9 1/2d. Girouard, *Elizabethan Architecture*, p. 153.

³¹ Peter Brandon, *A History of Surrey* (London: Phillimore & Co. Ltd, 1977), p. 61.

³² Ian Nairn and Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Sussex* (London: Penguin, 1965; repr.1999), p.290; Nicholas Cooper, *Houses of the Gentry 1480-1680* (London: Yale University Press, 1999), p. 79. They both also mention Baynards, but as that was built by George More its connection to Loseley is direct and therefore perhaps less significant.

³³ Nairn & Pevsner, *Sussex*, p. 382, p. 290, p. 517.

³⁴ Janet Pennington, 'Sir Thomas Shirley [Shirley] (c. 1542-1612)', www.oxforddnb.com. The Mores owned and leased out much of Blackfriars, but it is unclear whether Shirley was one of their tenants or had his own house there.

³⁵ Sir Thomas Shirley to Sir William More, Sir Thomas Browne and the rest of the Surrey JPs, 12th September, no year given, SHC 6729/1/93. This letter was probably written in 1578 when Shirley was sheriff of Surrey and Sussex.

³⁶ Henry Goring to Sir William More, 10th July 1577, SHC, 6729/7/47; George Goring to George More, 11th March 1594, SHC 6729/1/49; Sir Thomas Palmer to Sir William More, 19th December 1581, SHC 6729/3/67.

³⁷ Nairn & Pevsner, *Sussex*, p. 290 and p.382

³⁸ Ian Nairn and Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Surrey*, 2nd edn, rev. by Bridget Cherry (London: Yale University Press, 2002), p. 354.

plainer architecture provided a huge contrast to the extravagant style being employed in, for example, contemporary houses such as Longleat and Theobalds.



Danny House, Sussex. Image from Wikimedia Commons



Parham House, Sussex. Image by Colin Smith from Wikimedia Commons



Wiston House, Sussex. Image from Wikimedia Commons

Even if Loseley was influential, however, William More's own source of inspiration remains uncertain. Nairn connects Loseley with Montague's main home, Cowdray in Sussex, seeing both as "Tudor architecture at its most sober, very English in its understatement [and] its dignity."⁴⁰ Cowdray was built over a period of approximately sixty years, but was completed by the later 1540s, and so could have provided ideas for Loseley.⁴¹ Other influences may have some from the Westons, owners

³⁹ The houses were not all built of the same materials, although the decorative restraint was common to them all. Loseley is of brick fronted with stone, while Parham is built of stone and Danny of brick. Wiston was hugely altered in the nineteenth century but from what remains of the older house it appears to have been of stone.

⁴⁰ Nairn & Pevsner, *Sussex*, p.195.

⁴¹ *Ibid*, p.195.

of Sutton Place and Clandon Park, both close to Loseley.⁴² Christopher More was friends with Sir Richard Weston, the builder of Sutton Place, and became Weston's Master of Game for Merrow and Clandon in July 1540.⁴³ William More corresponded with Sir Henry Weston, Richard's grandson.⁴⁴ Therefore it may be that work done at Sutton had an impact on the development of Loseley. The Westons' house at Clandon was described by Manning and Bray as "a hunting box", and no doubt it was on a smaller scale than Sutton Place.⁴⁵ However, from a copy of Richard Weston's 1541 inventory, it can be seen that there was a chapel at Clandon, and that "fyne canvas table clothes" as well as hangings were kept especially for use there.⁴⁶ Following the fire at Sutton Place in 1561, it seems that Henry Weston and his family made Clandon their main home for a few years at least; Weston's sons were baptised there in 1561 and 1564.⁴⁷ This suggests that Clandon was something more substantial than a mere "hunting box", and could have been an influence on Loseley. Pevsner wrote that before the present Palladian mansion was built, there was a traditional, large H-shaped house on the site which would support this assumption.⁴⁸

⁴² Both are just north east of Guildford.

⁴³ Grant for life by Sir Richard Weston to Christopher More of the Office of Master of Game in his park at Merrow and West Clandon, 10th July 1540, SHC LM/345/102. This post meant More was responsible for the preservation of game in the park.

⁴⁴ Sir Richard Weston's son, Sir Francis, father of Sir Henry, was one of those executed for alleged adultery with Anne Boleyn in May 1536.

⁴⁵ Owen Manning and William Bray, *History and Antiquities of the County of Surrey*, 3 vols (London: printed for J. White by J. Nichols, 1804-1814), III, p. 52. Christopher More's role as Master of the Game for Merrow and West Clandon does suggest that the house at Clandon was probably used more as a base for hunting, while Sutton Place was the family's main home.

⁴⁶ Copy of an Inventory of the furniture at Sutton Place made for Sir Christopher More, November 1541, SHC LM/1115. The original is no longer held with the other Loseley manuscripts, but according to the catalogue was given to the then owner of Sutton Place, Francis Salvin, in 1874. The copy in the SHC is a nineteenth century transcript, presumably made when the original was given away, which has been heavily corrected and annotated.

⁴⁷ David Bird, 'Excavations at a medieval and early post-medieval site at Sutton Park near Guildford, 1978-1986', *Surrey Archaeological Collections*, 96 (2011), 109-173 (p. 113). That the Weston sons were christened at Clandon supports other evidence of a chapel there.

⁴⁸ Nairn & Pevsner, *Surrey*, p.507. The Palladian Clandon Park was reduced to a shell by a fire on Wednesday, 29th April 2015. The National Trust are planning to rebuild it.



The entrance facade of Sutton Place. Image by Michael Ford from Wikimedia Commons.



The ruins of Cowdray House, Sussex. Image from Wikimedia Commons

The House Before the 1560s

There are three important sources, all inventories, which help to give a picture of Loseley as it was before William More began his building work in the 1560s. Caution is needed when comparing these, as not only were they drawn up for different reasons, but also they do not cover exactly the same rooms or outbuildings of Loseley. However, they provide a valuable insight into the pre-1560s house. The earliest of these inventories is that made after Sir Christopher More's death, and is dated 29th August 1549.⁴⁹ From this it appears that the main rooms were the great chamber, a chapel, a gallery, bedrooms for William More and, perhaps, his unmarried sisters, a parlour, the hall, and a chamber for the "prist[e]", besides the usual service rooms.⁵⁰ A licence to use the chapel for

⁴⁹ Sir Christopher died on 16th August 1549.

⁵⁰ The Inventory of the goods of Sir Christopher More, SHC LM/1101/3. The room which may have housed the unmarried More women is described as "the maydens chamber", which, as there is no punctuation, could mean one woman or several. Four of Christopher More's daughters seem to have remained spinsters, and may have still lived in their father's home. The other explanation could be that it was a bedroom for Lady More's maid, although in that case "maid" would seem a more likely choice of word than "maiden", and the furnishings seem more appropriate for a family member than a servant, as they include curtains around the

worship was granted by Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, in 1538.⁵¹ The inventory, in William More's own hand, drawn up in August 1556, includes only the contents of the hall, parlour, children's chamber, his own room and closet, and his wife's closet.⁵² There is another inventory, also probably from 1556 and again in More's writing, which goes into more detail about the rest of the house, mentioning an armoury and "the gren chambre" in addition to the rooms listed in the other two inventories.⁵³ Combined, these inventories give the impression of a straightforward medieval manor house, centred on the great hall, with gallery above, and the great chamber beyond. As the August 1556 inventory makes plain, it was easy for William More to separate out the rooms of his house and focus on those most used by the family, while not including the servants' working areas and living quarters, perhaps situated beyond the lower end of the hall at the other side of a screens passage.⁵⁴

The two later, probably contemporary, inventories, provide an insight into William More's plans for his new house. Although drawn up a few years before work actually began in 1561, the fact that one focused so much on the family's part of the house may suggest that this was where More felt there was greatest need of improvement. By contrast, as Loseley already had a mill, a stable, two well houses, a brew house, a bake house, beer and wine cellars, a milk house, wet and dry larders, a well equipped kitchen and a buttery, it may have seemed well served in this area.⁵⁵ Unfortunately there is no surviving inventory from the time of William More's death in 1600 so it is impossible to tell exactly how he used his new rooms once rebuilding was complete.

While Christopher More, William's father, may not have undertaken much work on the house, there is evidence that he altered the park around it. In 1530 he was granted a licence to

bed and down pillows. The gallery referred to was probably a minstrels' gallery above the hall rather than a long gallery. For there to have been a long gallery in a medieval house would have been surprising; although there was a long gallery at The Vyne in Hampshire as early as the 1530s (or more likely the 1520s, as it features pomegranates, the symbol of Catherine of Aragon), they remained rare outside royal homes until the 1570s. Girouard, *Elizabethan Architecture*, p.70.

⁵¹ The chapel licence for Christopher More, 20th December 1538, SHC LM/796.

⁵² Sir William More's Account book, Folger Library L.b. 550; also Evans, 'Extracts', pp. 288-293.

⁵³ William More's inventory, SHC LM/1105. This is undated but, where it overlaps with the dated inventory, it is so similar that they were almost certainly produced at around the same time. This inventory refers to "the mayds chamber", which here is perhaps more likely to refer to Margaret More's maid rather than any relation. As there were no hangings for the beds in this room it seems probable that it was a servant's quarters.

⁵⁴ Cooper, *Houses of the Gentry*, p. 307.

⁵⁵ William More's inventory, SHC LM/1105. A new brew house and buttery at least were however built in the 1560s. Evans, 'Extracts', p. 296, p.303.

impark 200 acres of land at Loseley, as well as free warren within that park.⁵⁶ It may be that he established the deer park which George More was apparently to get rid of once he had inherited.⁵⁷

Why did William More rebuild Loseley?

William More's precise reasons for rebuilding the main house cannot of course be known, but it seems likely that he was driven by much the same motives as led many of his contemporaries to remodel or rebuild their own homes. As noted above, one possible incentive to do so may have been to provide a fit place for the Queen to stay on her progresses. Sir Nicholas Bacon, for example, allegedly said to the Queen when she commented critically on the size of his house at Gorhambury, "Madam, my house is well, but it is you who have made me too great for my house."⁵⁸ Burghley enlarged the Queen's bedchamber at Theobalds after the Queen complained about its size.⁵⁹ Thus courtiers may in some cases have been placed under royal pressure to improve their homes and responded by extending their houses. While entertaining the Queen was expensive and inconvenient - Sir Christopher Hatton wrote to More in 1583 ahead of a royal visit to tell him to "avoyde your family", that is send them away - it was also an honour.⁶⁰ More was unlikely therefore to have been satisfied with a house in which he felt embarrassed to host the Queen. Elizabeth stayed at Loseley probably four times, and certainly in 1583 and 1591, so from this perspective More's expenditure on his new house was justified.⁶¹ As such, Loseley could be described as a "court

⁵⁶ J.S. Brewer, James Gairdner and R.H. Brodie eds., *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII*, 28 vols (London: HMSO 1864-1920), IV, 6803 (24), December 1530, accessed online at www.british-history.ac.uk.

⁵⁷ Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, to Sir George More, 6th October, no year, SHC 6729/2/56. The Earl wrote to George having heard that "you ar about to disparke a parke wherein their is somme deere", and as a result requesting some does. It is possible that this was in reference to Loseley. However, as James I was a hunting enthusiast, it is surprising that George would want to dispose of the deer. Thus it may be that this refers to George More's other house, Baynards, and a dispersal of its assets at the time of its sale to his nephew Sir Francis Wolley in 1604. At either house it may show that More was attempting to boost his income by farming his land rather than giving it over to deer, which would have helped him with the financing of the new wing at Loseley. J.T. Cliffe, *The World of the Country House in Seventeenth-Century England* (London: Yale University Press, 1999), p.51.

⁵⁸ Alford, *Burghley*, p. 143. Elizabeth made her alleged observations in 1572, after Bacon had built the house, which was completed in 1568. Bacon was clearly stung by her remarks as he made additions to Gorhambury, including a long gallery, before she visited again in 1577. *Airs, Tudor & Jacobean Country House*, pp. 17-18. The new wing virtually doubled the frontage; see the painting in Girouard, *Elizabethan Architecture*, p. 155. Bacon also seems to have equipped his house for luxury entertainment, perhaps as a reaction to the Queen's barbed comment. In his will he left his eldest son Nicholas "my Tent and my pavilion remaining at Gorhambury". The Will of Sir Nicholas Bacon, 23rd December 1578, TNA PROB/11/61.

⁵⁹ Alford, *Burghley*, p. 301.

⁶⁰ Sir Christopher Hatton to Sir William More, 24th August 1583, SHC 6729/6/53.

⁶¹ Unfortunately there is no surviving account of any of Elizabeth's visits among the Loseley Manuscripts. The probable dates are 1569, 1577, 1583 and 1591, but it is difficult to be certain. From a speech made by Lord Montague at West Horsley in January 1592 it seems the Queen definitely visited Loseley in 1591. SHC LM/1856

house", built to impress the Queen, while demonstrating the Mores' national position and their connections with the Court.

The building work of friends and acquaintances no doubt encouraged competition. As we have seen, this was perhaps more of a driving force than the desire to impress the Queen. William More's cousin Joan More, daughter of his uncle Robert, had married John Hull of Hambledon, a few miles south of Loseley.⁶² From the inventory of Hull's goods, taken on 20th January 1563, it can be inferred that he had been altering his house. Among the rooms listed are "the new parlor", "the newe kychyn" and "the newe lodginge."⁶³ Thus More may have felt pressure to compete with his relations as well as his immediate neighbours. Certainly if nearby Sutton Place, which has been described as "one of the...most exquisite [of gentry mansions]" were an influence, More would have wanted to carry out a great deal of work at Loseley, as the Westons' house was on a quite different scale for size and luxury.⁶⁴ There is evidence that houses did inspire local envy; for example, Sir John Thynne's agent John Dodd wrote to him of Longleat that "some greved and some [were] plesed" that he had built the greatest house "within the compasse of iii shires."⁶⁵

The aristocracy and gentry undoubtedly visited each another, which provided opportunities to see what others were doing, and so to pick up ideas. Anthony Garnett, steward to Lord Montague, wrote to William More in an undated letter that his master had gone on "a petye progress", which would take in Arundel, Stansted, and Petworth or Parham, as well as his own houses at Cowdray and Battle.⁶⁶ On this occasion Montague was not visiting the Mores, but Garnett suggested that they instead should visit Montague at Battle Abbey that summer. At other times the Montagues did stay at Loseley: Garnett wrote to More in July 1570, after the new house at Loseley was completed, to say they would visit on their way to Cowdray "so well do they lyke yo[u]r good lodgyngs & intrtanment", a compliment to the Mores on the success of their building works.⁶⁷

is a report of this speech, for more on which see the chapter on religion below, pp. 148-150. Above the mantelpiece in the library at Loseley is a carving showing the Queen's arms and initials, dated 1570. This implies either that she visited that year and presented the carving as a gift then, or had stayed in 1569 and it was a retrospective present, perhaps intended to express her approval of the new house. Sarah Gristwood, *Elizabeth and Leicester* (London; Transworld, 2007), p. 242 gives 1569 as the date for one of the Queen's visits. 1569 is perhaps more likely than 1570 as the Earl of Southampton was under house arrest at Loseley for part of the summer of 1570, see the chapter on religion below, pp. 153-154.

⁶² See appendix 1 for the family tree.

⁶³ The inventory of the goods and chattels of John Hull of Hambledon, 20th January 1563, SHC LM/1095/1.

⁶⁴ Brandon, *History of Surrey*, p. 61; Sutton Place inventory, SHC LM/1115.

⁶⁵ Cooper, *Houses of the Gentry*, p.17.

⁶⁶ Anthony Garnett to William More, undated, SHC 6729/8/80.

⁶⁷ Anthony Garnett to William More, 12th July 1570, SHC 6729/8/112. More was also thanked by Leicester for "my good and frendly Interteyment I had lately w[i]t[h] you." Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester to William More, 17th January 1575, SHC 6729/13/18a. This is a postscript written in Leicester's own hand.

William More's inventory of 1556 lists a large number of books, but none of these is specifically about architecture. More does, however, seem to have owned a copy of *The Book of the Courtier* by Castiglione.⁶⁸ The book was first published in English in 1561, but More had several Italian books and so presumably would have been able to read it in the original. Although the book is not specifically about architecture, it covers what the ideal courtier should be concerned by and interested in. Castiglione wrote that "beautie [may] be coveted...[in everything] either natural or artificiall, that [is] framed in good proportion, and due temper, as [its] nature beareth."⁶⁹ He further praised "[p]illiers and great beames [which] upholde high buildings and pallaces, and yet...are no lesse pleasurefull unto the eyes of the beholders, than profitable to the buildings."⁷⁰ These could be taken as encouragement to build a beautiful and well proportioned house, which in the 1560s would suggest symmetry. More also had among his books at least two copies of Cicero's *De Officiis*, which had been an influence on Castiglione.⁷¹ This is worth noting, as in it Cicero stressed that the home of a man on the rise should be, above all other concerns, "open to distinguished guests... [as] it is ... extremely beneficial to wield influence and command gratitude...through the guests one has entertained."⁷² Apparently Lord Burghley took his copy of *De Officiis* everywhere, and his extraordinary houses at Burghley and especially Theobalds suggest he took this advice seriously, and it may be that William More did as well. While More does not appear to have owned a copy of Vitruvius, in the 1550s at least, he was in contact with people who did, such as Sir Thomas Smith, builder of Hill Hall in Essex, who at the time a list of his books was drawn up in 1566 had five different editions of *On Architecture*.⁷³ Smith also owned a copy of *The Book of the Courtier*. Thus, even if More did not own any specifically architectural books, he had some that may have influenced his thinking on building, as well as friends who could have shared the ideas they had learned from

⁶⁸ Evans, 'Extracts', p. 291, "the Curteors lyfe". The possible flaw in the argument that this book should be identified as *The Book of Courtier* is that More noted next to some of his books what language they were in, and there is nothing to show that this one was in Italian. In the 1559 list of books it is not included. Instead on this list there is a book called "the dispraysse of the courteors lyf" which was a critique of courtly life, and extolled the simplicity of a labourer's life. This may be the book that is meant in the 1556 inventory. William More's Account book, Folger L.b. 550.

⁶⁹ Baldesar Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier*, trans. by Sir Thomas Hoby, intro. by W.H. Rouse, ed. by Drayton Henderson (London: J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd, 1928; repr. 1948), p. 304. Hoby's was the first English translation.

⁷⁰ Ibid, p.310.

⁷¹ Evans, 'Extracts', p. 290 and p.291. In this list More does not specify the language the books are in, but in a further list, dating from about 1559, which is included later in the account book, "officia Tullii Ciceronis" is listed among More's Latin books, while two further copies, "tullis officis" and "An other tullis officis" are among his books in English. William More's Account Book, Folger L.b. 550.

⁷² Quoted in Jill Hesselby, 'The Politics of Pleasure: William Cecil and Burghley House', in *Patronage, Culture and Power: the Early Cecils 1558-1612*, ed. by Pauline Croft (London: Yale University Press, 2002), pp. 21-45 (p.21).

⁷³ Girouard, *Elizabethan Architecture*, pp.176-7. Smith taught William Cecil at Cambridge, served Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset, and was later Elizabeth's Secretary of State. Ian W. Archer, 'Sir Thomas Smith, (1513-1577)', www.oxforddnb.com.

works such as Vitruvius. This might partly explain why More, like William Cecil, does not seem to have employed an architect: he knew what he wanted to build.

More may also have felt that his income was more than adequate to meet the cost of rebuilding the house. In the 1560s, as the work proceeded, he was buying and selling land, and carefully noting receipt of rental payments, all of which may be related to Loseley.⁷⁴ The period of greatest outlay when building inevitably came at the outset, with the need to acquire materials. To fund this, the builder (that is, the owner of the house) might need to manage his finances more creatively and closely than before.⁷⁵ William More may have been considering rebuilding for some time; not only do the two inventories cited above date from 1556, and include different areas of the house, but in 1557 he drew up a note on "The hole valewe of the lyving of me Willia[m] More".⁷⁶ Here More ran through the names of his tenants in Surrey, and the years left on their leases. He also included the value of Loseley and its estates, which came to £11, and his house and gardens at Blackfriars, worth £6 13s 4d. This may suggest that he was taking time to consider his finances before he began to build.

As mentioned above, More also had a ready supply of building materials, some of which, as is noted at the beginning of his accounts, were given to him rather than being purchased.⁷⁷ These materials included timber and stone. Some of the stone from Waverley Abbey near Farnham, owned by Montague, was definitely given to More rather than sold to him. In the accounts, the cost of the carriage from Waverley to Loseley was included but the stone itself was described as "all...geven me".⁷⁸ The stone from Waverley may not always have been of the best quality, as later in the accounts the cost of "dyggyngye ... the stone I had at Wav[er]lye owt of the rubyshe" is recorded.⁷⁹ In 1561, as materials were accumulated, three people are listed as having given More timber; timber also came from Loseley itself and Vaspyche, another part of the More estates.⁸⁰ There is evidence of recycling as well; "a wyndowe of stone" was brought from Bletchingley, formerly the home of Sir Thomas Cawarden, for whom More acted as an executor.⁸¹ Although More did pay for many of the materials used at Loseley, having access to timber and iron from his own estates, as well as timber

⁷⁴ Account Book, Folger L.b. 550.

⁷⁵ Airs, *Tudor & Jacobean Country House*, pp. 100-102.

⁷⁶ This is another section of Folger L.b. 550.

⁷⁷ Evans, 'Extracts', p. 294.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 300.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 305.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 294. The timber was given to More by Mr Lussher, Philip Mellersh and Mr Bray. The Lussher and Mellersh families in particular had connections to the Mores; see the chapter on office holding and patronage below, pp.89-91.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 296. Cawarden died in 1559. The window may be one of the casements listed by William More in an inventory thought to be of Cawarden's goods. An Inventory of furniture etc, written by William More, c. 1559, SHC LM/1126/5.

and stone for which he had to pay carriage only, may have made rebuilding Loseley seem more achievable. He may also have been stockpiling materials to reduce ongoing costs when building began.⁸²

More may also have had a personal reason for building at the time when he did. It may seem surprising that although his father had died in 1549, William did not embark upon work at Loseley until 1561; when William himself died in 1600, his son George quickly began building a new wing of the house.⁸³ The explanation for this time-lag may in part be found in William More's relationship with his stepmother, Constance. More himself wrote that she "loved me not [but] she could nev[e]r...prevayle w[i]th my father as to be moved agaynst me."⁸⁴ This clearly suggests that Constance had tried, at least in William More's opinion, to turn his father against him. The animosity between the William and Constance is also evident in Christopher More's will. He asked that an inventory should be made so that both William and Constance would know exactly what goods she had in her possession. She was also required to provide guarantees that after her death all these would go to William. This was reinforced in a codicil insisting that Constance could not act upon the terms of the will until she had "bounde her self w[i]t[h] suffycyent suerties unto my sonne Willi[a]m More" that she would follow Christopher's instructions and leave all her bequests ultimately to William.⁸⁵ Thus Christopher was well aware of the difficult relationship between his wife and his son.

Constance died between 3rd March 1553, when her will was drawn up, and 18th July 1554, when probate was granted.⁸⁶ Her death was followed by a change in her stepson's habits. His first two children, Elizabeth and George, were born in London, in 1552 and 1553 respectively. By contrast, his daughter Anne, born in 1555, after Constance's death, was born at Loseley. William More's two inventories of the contents of Loseley were drawn up in 1556, and there is an inventory dated 1555 of goods left at Blackfriars after William More moved to Loseley.⁸⁷ Thus it seems likely that William More did not make Loseley his main residence until after Constance had died, as presumably she had been living there. This may in part explain the gap between his father's death and the beginning of building work. It is also possible that more pleasant personal considerations were involved and that More was thinking about the future growth of his family when he rebuilt his house.⁸⁸ His indentures show that all but one of his grandchildren were born at Loseley, so it was clearly meant as a family seat which would offer accommodation to both his children and

⁸² Airs, *Tudor & Jacobean Country House*, p. 100.

⁸³ See pp.55-62 below.

⁸⁴ Autobiographical Statement of Sir William More, 1587, SHC LM/1617; see appendix 2.

⁸⁵ The Will of Sir Christopher More, 28th June 1549, TNA, PROB/11/33.

⁸⁶ The Will of Constance, Lady More, 3rd March 1553, TNA, PROB/11/37.

⁸⁷ An Inventory of Silver, 1555, SHC LM/1126/4.

⁸⁸ Cooper, *Houses of the Gentry*, p. 255.

grandchildren when needed.⁸⁹ The old Loseley would probably not have been large enough to fulfil this purpose.

The time-lag may also be partly explained politically. The reign of Mary I was not the safest period for William More. His friendship with Sir Thomas Cawarden, who had supported the accession of Lady Jane Grey in Mary's place in 1553, and may also have been involved in Wyatt's rebellion of 1554 which aimed to put Princess Elizabeth on the throne, no doubt made More himself suspect.⁹⁰ Cawarden was then imprisoned in 1557, and although he remained Master of the Revels he lost his post as keeper of Nonsuch.⁹¹ While More was not connected with any of these conspiracies against the Queen, he appears to have been sidelined during her reign.⁹² He was not an MP in the parliament of April 1554, having previously sat for Guildford. The new MP, George Tadlowe, was probably backed by Henry Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel, who was a Catholic. Tadlowe may therefore have been a more religiously acceptable candidate at the time than More.⁹³ More was also absent from Mary's final parliament, that of 1558. His replacement on this occasion, Edward Popham, again seems to have got the seat through the patronage of Arundel, although, as was the case with Tadlowe, he had no prior connection with the borough.⁹⁴ It is not certain that More was a JP before 1559, and he first served as sheriff of Surrey and Sussex in 1558-9, which again suggests that he either avoided or was not given offices under Mary, a situation which changed immediately after Elizabeth's accession.⁹⁵ He was also an MP in all of Elizabeth's parliaments. This suggests that political insecurity may have deterred More from rebuilding at Loseley as quickly as he might otherwise have done.

William More probably decided therefore to rebuild the house at Loseley in the 1560s for a variety of motives. He may have hoped to impress both the Queen and his neighbours. His inventories show that he owned several books which may have inspired him to make his architectural mark on his estate and build a seat fit for the family he was establishing. Building

⁸⁹ William More's Indentures, SHC LM/1327/6. The exception was Arthur Mainwaring, born at his parents' house at Thorpe in November 1582.

⁹⁰ William B. Robison, 'Sir Thomas Cawarden (c.1514-1559)', www.oxforddnb.com.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

⁹² A desire to be away from London during Mary's reign may be another reason for the family's move to Loseley after Constance's death.

⁹³ S.T. Bindoff, ed., *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1509-1558*, 3 vols (London: Boydell & Brewer, 1982), accessed online at www.historyofparliamentonline.org. When More regained the seat in the November 1554 parliament, Tadlowe became MP for Grampound in Cornwall, which was under the control of Sir John Arundell, who was also a Catholic.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.* Tadlowe was from London, while Popham was originally from Somerset.

⁹⁵ See the chapter on office holding and patronage, pp. 85-90 below, for details of More's work as a JP. Also see the chapter on religion, p. 114 below, for letters sent to JPs during Mary's reign which are in the Loseley archive. This is perhaps evidence that More was a JP for at least some of the time in her reign.

materials were readily available as well. The 1560s were also a period when he felt financially and politically secure, as well as having free rein at Loseley after his stepmother's death.

The Mabbankes

When he embarked on rebuilding, More apparently had at his disposal a ready source of skilled labour. There are frequent references in the building accounts to a Mabbanke, first mentioned right at the start when he and "his man" were paid £14 11s 4d for "hewynge of stone for wyndowes, watertables, & coynynge stones [cornerstones]" in 1561.⁹⁶ In the next section of the accounts, covering Christmas 1561 until 22nd February 1562, Mabbanke is described as "the mason", although maybe at this stage not supervising the whole building operation, as Mabbanke's man was sent to Oxford or Oxenford to bring back another mason.⁹⁷ Perhaps Mabbanke was involved in collecting this man as he was an acquaintance with whom he had worked elsewhere. "Mabbanke the tylare" is also mentioned in this part of the accounts, followed later by "Thomas Mabbanke the brykleyere" and "Mabbanke the mortar maker".⁹⁸ It thus appears that More had a whole family of building workers to employ. In the accounts for Easter to Whitsun 1562 Mabbanke is now singled out as "my mason", suggesting that even if others came to work at Loseley he was in charge.⁹⁹ By the end of 1562 one of the Mabbankes was described as a "freemason".¹⁰⁰

The Mabbankes are of especial importance in any study of William More's Loseley, not just because they filled many roles and one of them was almost certainly in charge of the construction, but also because it seems they were living on the Loseley estates before any work began. In his 1557 note quoted above, William More made a list of his tenants which included "Mabanke [who] holdyth one tenement & land in Ertyngton".¹⁰¹ More's decision to rebuild may therefore have been influenced by the knowledge that he had skilled labour to hand. In Mabbanke More had a mason

⁹⁶Evans, 'Extracts', p. 295.

⁹⁷ Ibid. It is not clear if this refers to the city of Oxford or Oxenford near Witley in Surrey, not far from Loseley. The connection with Lord Montague would suggest that it was Oxenford, Surrey, once part of the estates of Waverley Abbey, and now Montague's. It would also fit with the pattern of sharing workmen which Montague and More seemed to have established, see p. 46 below. However, a mason from Oxford was used at Ashley House in Surrey in the early seventeenth century; see note 120, p. 48 below.

⁹⁸ Ibid, p. 296, p. 297, p.298.

⁹⁹ Ibid, p.299.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid, p. 301. Girouard defines a freemason as someone "who had skills in ornamental stonework or panels of sculpture for overmantels [and] could also call themselves carvers, and are found carving in wood as well as stone." *Elizabethan Architecture*, pp. 33-34. Thus it may be that as work moved on with the house Mabbanke the mason became a freemason, or alternatively that this was one of the other members of the family. It is possible that the Mabbankes were a builders' company, and if so the name was being used to mark out those who worked for the company.

¹⁰¹ Account Book, Folger L.b. 550. "Ertyngton" is probably Artington, a village between Loseley and Guildford.

whom he had presumably known as a tenant for a few years and who, based on that relationship, must have seemed the right man for the job. This was essential, as More was not using an architect; he needed someone he knew and trusted to oversee the work.

More's confidence in his masons seems to have been shared by some of his friends, and their reputation appears to have grown. In 1575 Anthony Garnett, Montague's steward, wrote to More asking if they could borrow some masons as Montague's works were "very backhand" because there were "so few maizons".¹⁰² The building in question was Montague's house River Park, at Tillington in Sussex, not far from Cowdray from where Garnett was writing. Thus if More's workers were available, they were seen as skilled enough to help out elsewhere.¹⁰³ In March 1567, by contrast, Garnett had written to More requesting that one of Montague's workers, Byrle, return to Cowdray from Loseley to advise on repairs there. He was presumably a carpenter as Garnett wrote that "ther is in thes p[ar]tis no skylfull carpente[r]", and it was this gap that Byrle was needed to fill.¹⁰⁴ It can be assumed that at this stage in proceedings at Loseley More had needed some outside help. Unfortunately Byrle is not mentioned in his accounts so it is impossible to tell how long he was there or in exactly what capacity. Montague's son-in-law, Henry Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, requested the loan of More's glazier for his house at Dogmersfield, Hampshire, in November 1573.¹⁰⁵

It was not just Montague and his family who asked More to lend them workers. Sir Thomas Cecil, elder son of Lord Burghley, wrote to Sir William More in November 1595 requesting assistance with the pool he had had built, presumably at his house at Wimbledon, and lamenting "the unskylfullnes" of those who were working for him. Cecil wrote that he had heard More had "made divers pooles... and [are] therby acquayntyd ... w[i]th se[ve]r[al] ...of that skyl..."¹⁰⁶ This is evidence that the gardens at Loseley were developed as well as the house, and that the result was impressive enough for Cecil to have heard of it.¹⁰⁷

It was not unusual at this time for owners to exchange workmen. Bess of Hardwick was another builder who borrowed, or attempted to borrow, craftsmen from her friends. In April 1560, when Chatsworth was being rebuilt, she wrote to Sir John Thynne asking if he would lend her the

¹⁰² Anthony Garnett to William More, 16th August 1575, SHC 6729/8/56.

¹⁰³ *Airs, Tudor & Jacobean House*, p.154.

¹⁰⁴ Anthony Garnett to William More, 5th March 1566/7, SHC 6729/8/20. This letter also describes one of More's gardeners seeking work with Montague, so there was apparently a flow of workers between the two.

¹⁰⁵ Henry Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, to William More, 1st November 1573, Folger L.b. 585.

¹⁰⁶ Sir Thomas Cecil to Sir William More, 25th November 1595, SHC 6729/3/71.

¹⁰⁷ Unfortunately I have not found any other description of the gardens at this time. It is interesting that Cecil went to More for workers rather than to his father or his brother Robert, who have been described as having a "passion for gardening" which they indulged at Theobalds and Hatfield respectively. Roy Strong, *The Renaissance Garden in England* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1979; repr; 1998), p. 103.

plasterer who had worked on the hall at Longleat.¹⁰⁸ Her second husband Sir William Cavendish had made the same request in 1555; whether or not either was successful is unknown.¹⁰⁹ It is possible that Bess's association with the architect Robert Smythson arose from his work for Thynne.¹¹⁰ Smythson also worked on Wollaton Hall in Nottinghamshire for Sir Francis Willoughby in the 1580s.¹¹¹ This provides another connection with Bess as she had lent Thomas Acres, her master mason, to Willoughby.¹¹²

The Building of William More's Loseley

William More's accounts for the building of Loseley are a remarkable and extremely detailed source. It is unusual to know the names of so many of the workmen and the sources of material, as well as to be able to follow the process of construction so closely. This is in marked contrast to what appear to be the accounts for George More's later building work at Baynards, which list materials used and payments to masons and carpenters, but give no names for the latter or provenance for the former.¹¹³ As the accounts are of such importance, they are worth analysing in detail. In some areas they can be compared with the accounts for Ashley House at Walton-on-Thames.¹¹⁴ The Loseley accounts are in More's own hand, so even if Mabbanke was perhaps in charge on the site, it seems clear that More was in overall control. Indeed, no architect is mentioned anywhere in the accounts, nor is there a record of a plan.¹¹⁵ A study of the accounts shows the care which More took over this project and how great his involvement must have been.

The first, brief section of the accounts covers midsummer to Christmas 1561. The main items here concern the accumulation of materials, in this instance timber. Sawpits were built to cut the timber. This came from a variety of sources, some brought from Windsor by a servant of

¹⁰⁸ Durant, *Bess*, p. 47.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 27. The likelihood is that the request was granted the first time so Bess felt able to ask again.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p.108. Smythson was originally employed within her family not by Bess herself but by her fourth husband, George Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury. Smythson provided plans when the Earl rebuilt his house at Worksop in the 1580s. Girouard, *Elizabethan Architecture*, p. 378.

¹¹¹ Girouard, *Elizabethan Architecture*, p.378. Smythson was probably at Wollaton from 1580 to 1588, and could therefore have drawn up his plans for Worksop while working there.

¹¹² Durant, *Bess*, p. 176.

¹¹³ An account of building materials, 16th June 1595, SHC LM/1329/359.

¹¹⁴ Ashley House was rebuilt between 1602 and 1607. It was then the home of Lady Berkeley, whose first marriage had been to one of the Townshends of Norfolk. Michael E. Blackman, ed., *Ashley House (Walton-on-Thames) Building Accounts 1602-1607* (Guildford: Surrey Record Society, 29, 1977), pp. xi-xii. It was demolished in 1930, so unlike Loseley, although the detailed building accounts are available, they cannot be studied alongside the house itself.

¹¹⁵ Binney, 'Loseley Park, II', p. 895.

Montague's, some coming from More's own lands and some from other friends and relations.¹¹⁶ The main point was that none of it was travelling far so those costs were kept down, as was also the case at Ashley House.¹¹⁷

With the timber and sawpits in place, the next section begins with the making of bricks. The brickmaker was charged with making "syxe score thowsand at xvijid the thowsand", that is 120,000 bricks.¹¹⁸ The mould had to be made, and a hundred loads of wood were needed to fire the bricks.¹¹⁹ Sand and straw were also required, besides of course provisions for the brick makers. At Ashley House, by contrast, bricks were delivered already made.¹²⁰ At this stage lime was also being burnt, requiring chalk and a kiln, while "Roughe Stone & stone" were being dug at the quarry in Guildford and transported to Loseley. At Ashley again the lime was brought in ready to use.¹²¹ At Loseley there was also "rowghe stone at my howse of old dyggyng", but what exactly that was is not specified.¹²² As there were twenty loads it was a reasonable amount, perhaps from the demolition of an outbuilding or from a quarry on the estate. It is at this point that Mabbanke is first mentioned, but in addition other masons were employed. Tile making is also referred to. At the end of this section More noted that "nayles and yron worke" were ready "for the dores and wyndowes", while two loads of brick were available for a chimney, "w[i]t[h] the old bryke".¹²³ It may be that this old brick came from the same source as the stone mentioned as from Loseley, which would support the theory that something had been demolished on the estate.¹²⁴

¹¹⁶ Evans, 'Extracts', p. 294.

¹¹⁷ Blackman, *Ashley House*, pp. 22-24.

¹¹⁸ Evans, 'Extracts', p. 295.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p.295. Unfortunately something went wrong with the firing, as there is an entry for "xl lodes [of wood] more to burne the brycke ageyne because hit was not well burnt before." The main house is dressed with stone, but brick beneath. The chimney stacks are also of brick. However, bricks were still being made in 1567-8, when the shell of the house must have been complete. Perhaps they were used for other buildings, such as a gatehouse or lodges, which have not survived. Sutton Place, for example, has brick lodges at the top of its drive.

¹²⁰ Blackman, *Ashley House*, pp. 1-3. 795,150 bricks were supplied for Ashley, vastly more than at Loseley. This difference can be accounted for partly by the amount of stone used at Loseley. In his introduction to the Ashley accounts Blackman suggests that there was not enough local stone and bringing it to the site would have been too expensive, p. xiv. Some stone was however used, being brought in from Headington in Oxford. Thomas Garrett who supplied the stone also lent his mason Whittimore for various pieces including decoration in the great chamber, *Ashley House*, p. 52. It may be therefore that Ashley was also brick faced with stone, or that the stone there was used for decorative purposes.

¹²¹ Blackman, *Ashley House*, pp.18-20.

¹²² Evans, 'Extracts', p.295.

¹²³ *Ibid.*

¹²⁴ As discussed later in this chapter, pp. 63-66 below, it is unlikely that the old house at Loseley was demolished at this stage. It may have been barns that were demolished as at Ashley. Blackman, *Ashley House*, p. 72.

At this point in the accounts More stopped to list what had been built so far, with the work dated as between Michaelmas 1560 and Christmas 1561. There was now at the site "a bruehowse & the stone wall goynge from the same to my mylkehowse, and the stone wale goyng from my stable to the garden".¹²⁵ The buildings, with the possible exception of the brew house, were probably already there, judging by the 1556 inventory, although perhaps being improved, and the walls were the new constructions. More had by this time spent £179 5s 3d. Although Theobalds is to some extent hardly comparable to Loseley because of its scale, it is interesting to note that this was more than William Cecil spent on Theobalds in 1566-7, when he laid out £152 13s 4d. However, in 1571-2 alone Cecil spent £2,700 on his palace, which was more than the entire 1560s expenditure on Loseley.¹²⁶

The section of the accounts covering Christmas 1561 to 22nd February 1562 includes some minute detail of everyday life while the house was built. For example, the sawyers received "a pottell of bere ev[er]ye daye."¹²⁷ Some of the masons' tools must have been damaged, or perhaps blunted by regular use, as 2s 1d was allocated to their repair. Shameler the carpenter and his two men were paid 27s 6d towards their board for 22 days, either because they were not from the area or because they were needed so often they did not go home.¹²⁸ It may also be that they had had to go elsewhere to cut the timber. Between 22nd February and 28th March 1562 more carpenters and masons came to work on the site, all having their lodgings paid for. The progress of the house can also be seen from this section, as five labourers who "dyggyd the foundac[i]on" were paid.¹²⁹

From Easter to Whitsun 1562 there is an increase in the number of named workers on the site.¹³⁰ The building had perhaps therefore reached the stage where more skilled labour was required. Like the Mabbankes, the Shamelers seem to have worked as a family at Loseley, as in the summer of 1562 the older man was joined by his son, as was another carpenter, Beldam.¹³¹ Again, more workers were arriving over the summer. Redknape, Hooke, Wyfold and Crawks were masons who were only at the site briefly. Four labourers were allocated "to serve [them] and to make mortar".¹³²

¹²⁵ Evans, 'Extracts', p. 296.

¹²⁶ Malcolm Airs, "'Pomp or Glory': The Influence of Theobalds", in *Patronage*, ed. by Croft, pp. 3-19 (p. 6).

¹²⁷ 'Extracts', p. 296.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 296.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 298.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, p.299.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 299.

¹³² *Ibid.*, p. 300.

The accounts continue with a longer section covering three years, from midsummer 1563 to midsummer 1566. It was at this time that a Frenchman worked at Loseley for twenty eight days hewing stone. It may be that he was a sculptor brought in for a particular commission.¹³³ At one point there must have been anxiety about the amount of stone available, as More took a lease on a quarry in Guildford. A blacksmith is also mentioned, as he was both repairing and making tools for the masons, as well as "makyng ... the sellers wyndowes, loks and henges for dores".¹³⁴ This gives an indication of how advanced the building was, and a clearer indication of this emerges from the next entry, detailing the work of the carpenters. They were paid for "stantasyng the walls of the newe buttry and the lyttle chamb[e]r by hyt, the framyng of postes to bere the hole frame in the lardere, and the makyng of the centers to bere the vawlts."¹³⁵ Thus the service rooms must have been well under way. The glazier was mentioned for the first time shortly after this entry, which reinforces the impression that the building was now progressing fast.

Between midsummer 1566 and Michaelmas 1567 new sources of stone were listed, including the friary at Guildford, from which came fourteen loads of "Asheler".¹³⁶ More stone was still coming from Waverley. Stone layers were now listed among the workers, with labourers to serve them. The smith was providing "Iron werke for the dores and wyndowes."¹³⁷ Construction of scaffolding continued, with poles, "bastyng lyne...[and] great nayles" set aside for that purpose.¹³⁸ Some rooms must have been ready to be floored, as "planche borde" was delivered.¹³⁹

In the final, somewhat longer section of the building accounts, which covered Whitsun 1568 to Michaelmas 1569, there were changes to the types of workers used and materials needed as the main work on the house neared completion. Freemasons and stone layers were mentioned, but there were no more references to masons, suggesting that by this stage less stone needed to be

¹³³ The French sculptor may have helped design, or at least worked on, the drawing room chimney piece. The chimney pieces for Ashley were brought in from London, which suggests that like the drawing room chimney piece in Loseley they were seen as particularly important features of the house, a chance to show off an awareness of fashion and good craftsmanship. Blackman, *Ashley House*, p. 53.

¹³⁴ Evans, 'Extracts', p.303. The main smith working on Ashley was Richard Edmonds from Weybridge, who provided, for example, nails, wheelbarrows and window pieces. Blackman, *Ashley House*, pp. 5-6

¹³⁵ Ibid. "[S]tantasyng" probably meant shoring or propping up the walls.

¹³⁶ Ibid, p. 304. "Asheler" is presumably ashlar, so in this context probably hewn stone used as a facing for a wall.

¹³⁷ Ibid. Some of the iron was provided by the smith, and some was More's own.

¹³⁸ Ibid. The "bastyng lyne" was likely to have been some sort of rope to hold the scaffolding together.

¹³⁹ Ibid, p. 306.

hewn.¹⁴⁰ More planks were delivered, presumably for flooring. The smith was now making casements, and "barres for wyndowes, henges, and other yron worke."¹⁴¹

By this time, with the bulk of the work done, More was able to think of the more decorative touches, and it is in this section that there is an entry for "iij figures sette ov[er] my porche... from London."¹⁴² Above the porch now there is the More coat of arms, so what these figures were is unknown.¹⁴³ That they were brought in from London, rather than completed by one of the masons on site, is interesting. It may be that More knew someone in London who could produce exactly what he wanted, or else that they came from another building, perhaps even his home at Blackfriars, or from Cawarden's collection from his time as Master of the Revels. At Ashley, the porch was worked on by Whittimore, the mason lent by Thomas Garrett who supplied the stone.¹⁴⁴ This again suggests that the porch was an important part of the house, as its design would be one of the first things guests noticed. At Gorhambury, for example, there was a two storey porch, described as the "highlight" of Bacon's house.¹⁴⁵ It was of stone and marble with both stone and wooden statues.¹⁴⁶

More therefore obviously put a great deal of thought into the impression the entrance to his new house would make. One of the best ways to express his hopes for his new house was in an inscription over the door.¹⁴⁷ This was not unusual, for example an inscription above the porch at Gorhambury celebrated Sir Nicholas Bacon's achievements both in building the house and in his career.¹⁴⁸ Other chose a religious message, such as the Catholic Sir Thomas Tresham who opted for "Jesus, Mundi Salus, Gaude, Mater Virgo Maria" at Lyveden New Bield in Northamptonshire, which was begun in 1594.¹⁴⁹ More however chose a classical tag. Among the Loseley manuscripts is a document suggesting different inscriptions. The person commissioned to come up with the ideal phrase had four ideas, depending on the available space:

Amicis pateo [I open to friends]

Invidiae claudor, pateo sed semper Amico [I shut to the grudging, but I always open to friends;]

¹⁴⁰ Ibid, p. 308. There is an entry for "stone hewn by the foote" but no masons are named, perhaps because those used were not among the main workers on the site.

¹⁴¹ Ibid, p. 308.

¹⁴² Ibid, p. 308.

¹⁴³ The front door, now back in its original position, was moved in the eighteenth century, and it may have on one of these moves that its decoration was altered.

¹⁴⁴ Blackman, *Ashley House*, p.65; see note 120, p. 48 above.

¹⁴⁵ Ernest R. Sandeen, 'The Building Activities of Sir Nicholas Bacon' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Chicago, 1959), p. 137.

¹⁴⁶ Girouard, *Elizabethan Architecture*, p. 155. Some of the porch survives.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid, p. 218.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid, p. 155.

¹⁴⁹ "Jesus, the Saviour of the world: rejoice, Mary, Mother and Virgin." Ibid, p.239.

Invide, tangendi tibi limina nulla facultas; At tibi, Amice, patent lanua, mensa, domus [Jealousy, you will not cross the threshold; But to you, friend, door, table and house are open]

Non domo Dominus, sed Domino domus cohonestanda [The master does not bring honour to the house [family, lineage], but the house to the master]¹⁵⁰

The notes on the document, in a different hand from the mottoes, show that it was the second suggestion which was used. The chosen motto stressed an important motive in building a grander home, namely an increased ability to offer hospitality to friends. This inscription is now found inside the house, above the inner door to the entrance hall.¹⁵¹ It may be that the figures above the porch were in some way related to this inscription.



The coat of arms now above the front door at Loseley. Photograph by the author

Lead was brought in for gutters, as well as being "otherwise ymployed ov[er] the porche and the vasy, and for the glasyer."¹⁵² A plumber and painter featured for the first time among the workmen. The latter required "whyght led and oyle and red led."¹⁵³ Eighty five loads of stone were brought from Horsham "to covere my howse", so roofing was set to begin.¹⁵⁴ The glaziers were supplied with "oyle and rosen [resin] to syment w[i]t[h] all, redde led to coll[e]r the barres and

¹⁵⁰ Details of the inscription above the door at Loseley, undated, SHC 6729/7/146.

¹⁵¹ *Loseley Park: A Stately Home for all Occasions* (Derby: Heritage House Group Ltd, 2008), p. 1. The fourth suggestion is a quotation from Cicero's *De Officiis*, but even if the book were an influence on More, this particular line must have failed to convey the right message.

¹⁵² Evans, 'Extracts', p. 309. The "vasys" were probably ornaments, most likely shaped like vases. More does not note where the lead was from; at Ashley it came from London and Kingston, while a plumber came from London with two men to set up the gutters. Blackman, *Ashley House*, pp. 20-21.

¹⁵³ Evans, 'Extracts', p. 309.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.* On the Horsham slate roofing see Musson, 'Rare Elizabethan Treasure', p. 82. In 2015 the stone was replaced with tiles, as to reroof with Horsham stone was too expensive. Parham was also roofed with Horsham stone. Kirk, *Parham*, p. 40.

casements w[i]th sodeyr."¹⁵⁵ The glaziers must also have been responsible for installing the two "armes in my haule wyndowes."¹⁵⁶ The accounts by this stage are increasingly focused on the final touches. The accounts conclude with the total cost of all the work from 1561 until Michaelmas 1569, calculated as £1,660 19s 7d.



Arms in the hall window at Loseley. These are probably William More's own arms, which included those of the Mugge or Mudge family of Guildford; Christopher More's first wife, William's mother, was Margaret Mugge or Mudge. The display of these arms would emphasize the family's local roots.¹⁵⁷ Photograph by the author.

However, work continued even after the main building had apparently been completed. In 1575, as we have noticed, Anthony Garnett was hoping to borrow some masons from William More on Lord Montague's behalf.¹⁵⁸ It may well be that, if the Mabbankes were based on the Loseley estates, Garnett could assume they would be on site and able to help. However, it may also be that specific work was being carried out on Loseley which that meant plenty of masons were there. Another document from 1575 supports this latter view. This is a memo written by George Austen from Guildford outlining the sale and delivery of twenty two loads of "certen sandye Stone" to

¹⁵⁵ Evans, 'Extracts', p. 309.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid, p. 310. The arms are still there, and were described by Kempe as follows: "In the oriel or bay window of the great hall are the arms of More, Azure, a cross Argent, charged with five martlets Sable, with the date 1568." Kempe, *Loseley Manuscripts*, pp. xv-xvi.

¹⁵⁷ On the family heraldry, see Stephen Tudsbery-Turner and Brian Taylor, *Guildford St Nicolas: The Loseley Chapel and its Heraldry* (St Nicolas' Booklets, no. 4, 1980), p. 5.

¹⁵⁸ See above, p. 46.

William More at Loseley, which is dated 30th May 1575.¹⁵⁹ This was probably quite a large amount of stone, particularly when the building accounts are examined and it can be seen that some of the deliveries from Waverley were of only five loads of stone.¹⁶⁰ It is therefore likely that more work was undertaken on Loseley in the 1570s, although it is impossible to be sure what. Bearing in mind the Queen's remarks about Gorhambury after her visit to the newly built house in 1572, it is tempting to imagine that she had commented unfavourably on some aspect of William More's new building when she had first visited, which may have been in 1569. It has been suggested that she stayed in 1576, but she probably did not. It is likely however that she stayed at Loseley again in 1577. If the Mores had sufficient warning of her plans they may have been making alterations in advance.¹⁶¹ Thus it may be that the rebuilding of Loseley became a lengthy project, lasting in all around fifteen years.¹⁶² By the end of that period, More had a house which provided a measure of his standing in the local area. Although the house itself was restrained, the drawing room fireplace, along with the sculptures brought in from London to go above the porch, the inscription over the front door, and the coat of arms in the windows of the hall, were all evidence of the family's past and current success, and their ambitions for the future.

Unfortunately, no inventory survives from the time of William More's death, so it is not clear exactly what the interior of the house was like and how the rooms were used. The accounts mention the hall specifically with reference to the armorial devices in the windows; the only other rooms or buildings listed are service areas such as the buttery and larder.¹⁶³ The medieval house probably

¹⁵⁹ George Austen's memo re: the supply of stone to Loseley, SHC LM/COR/3/178, 30th May 1575. The stone had been removed from the walls of Guildford Castle.

¹⁶⁰ Evans, 'Extracts', p. 299, p. 300.

¹⁶¹ The amount of notice given for the Queen's arrival on progress apparently varied. In 1583 Sir Christopher Hatton wrote to William More that the Queen "hath an intention" to visit Loseley, and would arrive in "ten or twelve days", staying for "some four or fyve dayes" (Sir Christopher Hatton to Sir William More, 4th August 1583, SHC 6729/6/52). Twenty days after this first letter Hatton wrote again to say she would be at Loseley three days later, and apparently for only one night (SHC 6729/6/53). By contrast, in 1595 Elizabeth Wolley wrote to her father to say that the Queen would not stray far from London because of measles and smallpox, but was already planning to visit Loseley the following year, seeming to give rather a lot of notice. In the end she did not come to Loseley in 1596. Elizabeth, Lady Wolley, to Sir William More, 5th September 1595, SHC 6729/7/121. Thus altering a house to suit the Queen would seem to have been an expensive and sometimes pointless task with royal plans so fluid. The Mores were not the only people to be treated like this; in May 1574, Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, had lodgings prepared for a promised visit by the Queen which never materialised. John Nichols, ed., *The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth*, 3 vols (London: John Nichols and Son, 1823), I, p. 385. More may also have wanted to make alterations to accommodate other prestigious guests such as Leicester, who stayed at Loseley in early 1575; see note 67, p.40 above. Bess of Hardwick had made improvements to Chatsworth for Leicester's visit there; see p. 31 above.

¹⁶² It may also be a question of ongoing maintenance. On the window of what is thought to have been the Queen's chamber when she stayed at Loseley there is a repair dated 1597.

¹⁶³ Evans, 'Extracts', p. 310; p.303.

remained, initially at least, as lodgings for guests.¹⁶⁴ However, it appears that there was neither a long gallery nor a chapel in the 1560s house.¹⁶⁵ The lack of a long gallery is not surprising; it did not become generally fashionable to have one until Bacon included one in his new wing at Gorhambury in the 1570s.¹⁶⁶ The gallery at Gorhambury seems to have been quickly followed by, or been contemporary with, long galleries at Burghley, Theobalds and Longleat; by the early seventeenth century Loseley must have seemed old fashioned without one.¹⁶⁷ Therefore it may have been a desire to modernise which encouraged William's son Sir George More to embark on his own building project at Loseley shortly after his father's death.

Sir George More's wing at Loseley

Once Sir George More succeeded his father in 1600, he quickly began work on a new wing, which did indeed include both a long gallery and a chapel, in order to set his mark on Loseley.¹⁶⁸ He obviously put some thought into the state of his finances for this purpose, as notes survive breaking down the impact of the bequests of land made to him by Sir William in his will.¹⁶⁹ Unfortunately George More's wing later fell into disrepair. An eighteenth century list of annual maintenance needed on the house gave advice on collecting rain and snow in "the Old Armoury above the Gallery", and what to do if water ran down into the gallery itself.¹⁷⁰ The wing was demolished around 1826.¹⁷¹ However, some documents survive which give an indication of what it was like.

¹⁶⁴ See below pp. 63-66 on the old house.

¹⁶⁵ See the chapter on religion, pp. 133-137 below, on the history of the chapel at Loseley.

¹⁶⁶ Girouard, *Elizabethan Architecture*, p. 70.

¹⁶⁷ A long gallery may also have been intended from the beginning at Parham, so from the 1570s, although it was not completed until the 1600s. Kirk, *Parham*, p. 56, p. 69.

¹⁶⁸ It may be that the medieval house was finally demolished to provide materials for the new wing but there is no surviving evidence if this is the case.

¹⁶⁹ Notes on the will of Sir William More, c. 1601-04, Folger L.b.474.

¹⁷⁰ Jane More Molyneux, Instructions for the Maintenance of Loseley, 1777-1789, SHC LM/826/120.

¹⁷¹ An alternative date of 1820 for the demolition is given in Emmeline Ledgerwood, 'Focus on Loseley Park', *Historic House*, 34, 2 (2010), 24-26 (p.25), following the date given in *Loseley Park*, p. 2, and James More Molyneux, *The Loseley Challenge* (London: Hodder and Stoughton Ltd, 1995), p. 21. A document of 1826 however suggests that it was in that year that the Jacobean wing was demolished. This letter details possible alterations at Loseley which could use "such of the old materials of the gallery as [are] fit for purpose". Estimate for work on Loseley, 5th August 1826, from SHC LM/COR/14, box 1. This is circumstantial evidence for the date of demolition, but it seems unlikely that a pile of rubble from the west wing would have been left in situ for six years. Pevsner places the demolition in circa 1835, but the 1826 estimate is evidence that that is too late. *Surrey*, p. 353.



A painting of Loseley by an unknown artist, probably dating from the eighteenth century, which shows George More's wing. The painting is now on display at the house. The end window of the long gallery is at the extreme right. The archway matched that in the garden wall opposite. Reproduced by kind permission of Michael More Molyneux



A view of Loseley showing the west wall of the house, which is where George More's wing joined onto the Elizabethan building. A patch of the stonework to the far right is paler than the rest, which may indicate work done after the wing was demolished. There is also some different coloured stonework to the left above the drawing room window. Photograph by the author.

Unlike his father, George may have employed an architect, in the early stages at least. John Thorpe drew an undated plan of the house which is now in the Sir John Soane Museum, although the Surrey History Centre has a copy. The plan shows the 1560s house, the west wing built by

George, a further, mirror-image east wing which was never constructed, and a gatehouse which probably was not built either.¹⁷² Thorpe was an important architect, whose connection with the Mores may have arisen from his work for both William and Thomas Cecil, for the former at Burghley and Theobalds, and the latter at Wimbledon, when Thorpe was employed at the Royal Works. He worked there from 1583 until 1601. After leaving the Works, Thorpe also drew up plans, at about the same time as those for Loseley, for Buckhurst in Sussex, home of Thomas Sackville, Lord Buckhurst, who was regularly mentioned in the Mores' letters, and one of their correspondents.¹⁷³ It is not certain whether Thorpe's work at Loseley went beyond this plan, but its existence suggests that George More sought his advice at least. Why he did so is unclear, as his father had managed very well without an architect. However, bearing in mind Thorpe's clients, it may well have seemed to George that employing him would say something about his own importance and connections.¹⁷⁴ It may also be that, as the lack of detailed accounts for the building of the west wing suggests, George was not as involved in the works as his father had been in the 1560s, and was content to let others oversee it.

It is possible, however, that Thorpe's plan is not in fact evidence that he was asked by George More to design the west wing, but that he was employed later to suggest further enlargement. On the plan, the Elizabethan house and west wing are shown in greater detail than the proposed east wing. This implies that Thorpe was recording what was already there, with the east wing and gatehouse included as potential additions. The accuracy of the drawings of the Elizabethan house and the west wing suggest that this may have been the case, and that the east wing, gatehouse and additions on the eastern side of the Elizabethan house were Thorpe's proposals.¹⁷⁵ It may also be that Thorpe was never actually commissioned by More to work on Loseley. Of Thorpe's surviving plans, only a few can be said definitively to be designs for specific projects, and several of these were built later than the west wing at Loseley, during Thorpe's most prolific period in the first decade of James I's reign.¹⁷⁶ Thus it is quite possible that Thorpe's plan was not directly connected

¹⁷²The reference for the original plan at the Sir John Soane Museum is volume 101/30-40, that for the SHC copy is Z/355. A gatehouse is mentioned in a 1684 inventory, but it is impossible to know if this was the gatehouse on Thorpe's plan. The Inventory of Sir William More, 1684, SHC LM/1108.

¹⁷³For more on Thorpe's career, see Girouard, *Elizabethan Architecture*, especially pp.47-48 on his time at the Royal Works, ps. 115, 185, 186, 408 on Burghley, ps. 190,191, 408 on Theobalds, and pp. 120-22 on Buckhurst, where the proposed works were not carried out.

¹⁷⁴It may also be a sign of cultural changes. William More, as mentioned above, seems not to have commissioned a plan of any sort for his house. George, however, was in step with contemporaries such as Lady Berkeley at Ashley House. She must at the very least have had some form of plan drawn up, as Parsons the carpenter was paid £78 16s for his work "accordinge to the plott [plan]". Blackman, *Ashley House*, p. 56.

¹⁷⁵John Summerson, *The Book of Architecture of John Thorpe in Sir John Soane's Museum* (London: The Walpole Society, 40, 1964-1966), p. 55.

¹⁷⁶Thorpe did however probably work for Sir Henry Neville at Billingbear House in Berkshire before 1600, so was active before George More's wing at Loseley was built. Thorpe's work at Billingbear was probably a

with any of George More's work at Loseley.¹⁷⁷ He may however have adopted some of Thorpe's ideas, as the archways in the garden wall at Loseley, opposite the site of the west wing, match those of that wing, and therefore of Thorpe's plan.¹⁷⁸

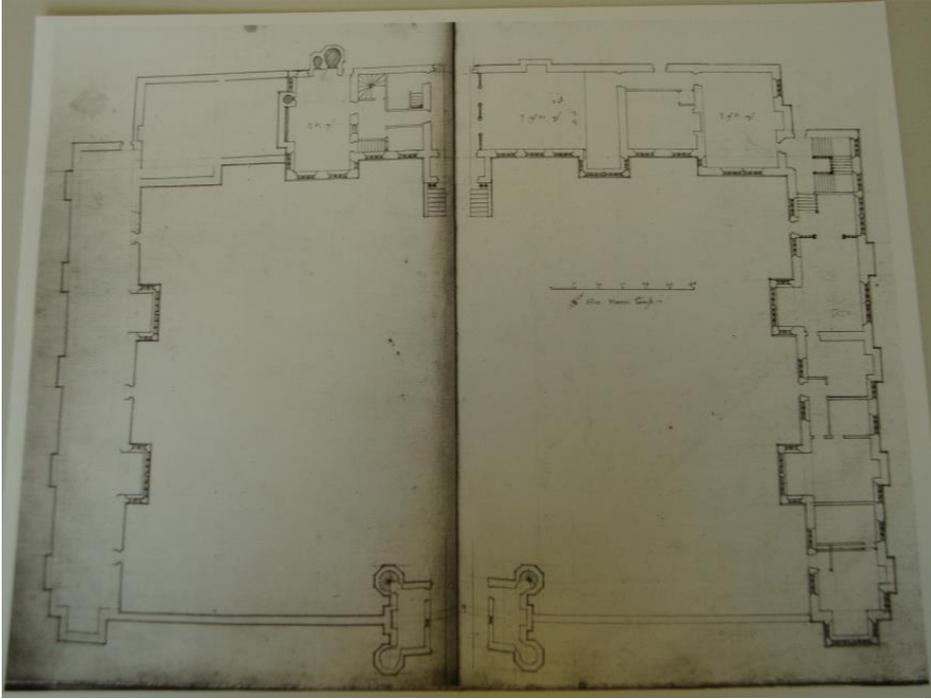
If More did employ Thorpe to draw up plans for Loseley and then not use them, it is possible that he thought the costs involved in building such a large house would be prohibitive. He may also have decided against it because of his Puritanism, which may have made him reluctant to spend too lavishly on his home. Around the time that More's new wing was being built, there was some concern about extravagance in building, which according to Sir William Wentworth was "a monument of a gentleman [sic] that wanted discrecion and iudgment."¹⁷⁹ Sir George may have shared this sentiment.

redesign rather than a rebuild, just as seems to be the case with the proposed plan for Loseley. Summerson, *Book of Architecture of John Thorpe*, p. 5. Like George More, Henry Neville had only recently succeeded his father when he began work on his house. Sir Henry Neville senior died in 1593, and his son had not entered into ownership of Billingbear until 1595 because of lawsuits with his stepmother; an even more difficult relationship therefore than that between William More and his stepmother. M. Greengrass, 'Sir Henry Neville (1561/2-1615)', www.oxforddnb.com. Again as with Loseley, Billingbear had only lately been improved; indeed Elizabethan Billingbear was built at the same time as Loseley. Sir Henry Neville to William More, 6th or 16th October 1567, SHC 6729/1/72.

¹⁷⁷ Howard Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects*, 4th edn (London: Yale University Press, 2008), pp. 1041-2, for more on Thorpe's surviving plans.

¹⁷⁸ *Loseley Park*, p. 2.

¹⁷⁹ He wrote this in a letter to his son Thomas in 1604. Cliffe, *World of the Country House*, p. 4.



John Thorpe's plan for Loseley, by courtesy of the Trustees of Sir John Soane's Museum. Photograph by the author of the copy in SHC. The Elizabethan house is at the top, Sir George's wing to the right of the plan, the gatehouse in the foreground, and the proposed wing to the left. The garden, chapel, dimensions of the hall and the ceiling heights of the hall and two other rooms in the Elizabethan house are noted.¹⁸⁰



The garden wall at Loseley (background) from the site of the west wing, showing the archway which would have been opposite that of George More's wing. Photograph by the author.

¹⁸⁰ Summerson, *Book of Architecture of John Thorpe*, p. 55.

Besides the plan, among the Loseley manuscripts is a document headed "Measures of work in the Gallery built by Sir Geo[rge] More at Loseley."¹⁸¹ It appears to have been written by whoever was overseeing the work, and is definitely not in Sir George's hand. That the leading craftsman wrote it himself is most likely, as in a section on windows can be found the comment "i must meseur hight of them."¹⁸² Sadly he did not include his name. It does not cover materials or workmen, but gives details of what was done internally after the shell of the house was complete. From this document it can be seen that the new wing, which was three storeys high, contained an armoury, a long gallery, and a chapel, as well as various other rooms the purpose of which is not given.¹⁸³

The new wing was connected to the older through the armoury. In her notes on the upkeep of the house, written between 1777 and 1789, Jane More Molyneux mentioned "the Kings Chamber" and a drawing room in the same section as she described the problems in the armoury and gallery, so it may be that some of the rooms mentioned in the work on the west wing were effectively state rooms.¹⁸⁴ The building must have been completed, or approaching completion, by June 1605, when the licence for the Mores to use their new chapel for services was granted.¹⁸⁵

Bearing in mind that his father's house was less than forty years old when George More inherited Loseley, it must be asked why he decided to build another wing which doubled the house in size. One possibility is that after waiting so long to inherit, and having already built at Baynards a house which was extremely similar to Loseley, he wanted to reshape the family home to suit himself, and to demonstrate his arrival as the owner. That this may well have been his intention may be shown by his decision to sell Baynards to his nephew Sir Francis Wolley in 1604, making Loseley his only country seat. He also probably wanted to modernise the house. In the painting of Loseley reproduced above showing the west wing, a large window can be seen on the first floor at one end, which was presumably part of the long gallery.¹⁸⁶ It is clear that this room was a major feature of the new wing, so modernisation is a likely motive for building. Inventories from the late seventeenth century prove that the gallery was still used to display pictures. An incomplete inventory, believed to date from the time of Margaret More and Thomas Molyneux's inheritance of Loseley in 1689, describes the "24 large pictures" which were kept in the gallery. These were, with two possible

¹⁸¹ Measures of work in the Gallery built by Sir George More at Loseley, SHC LM/820/1, with a transcription, SHC LM/820/2. It is undated.

¹⁸² Ibid.

¹⁸³ Ibid. There had been an armoury in the medieval house; whether there was one in the Elizabethan house is unclear. William More's inventory, SHC LM/1105.

¹⁸⁴ Measures of work, SHC LM/826/1; Instructions for the Maintenance of Loseley, SHC LM/826/120.

¹⁸⁵ Licence for Sir George More to hear divine service in the chapel at Loseley, 1st June 1605, SHC LM/797.

¹⁸⁶ The top floor windows were all small, which would suggest that this was used as attics and servants' accommodation, and was not where the gallery was located.

exceptions which are described only as landscapes, all religious in content, including "our Saviour eating his last supper" and "Jonas cast out of the walles belly."¹⁸⁷ There were also nineteen maps and twenty small pictures, all religious, in the gallery windows.

The west wing may perhaps also be interpreted as a sign that the family was still on the rise. As with William More's original building project, it is possible that George was influenced by the desire to entertain the monarch. James I did visit Loseley in 1603, when building was presumably still going on as this was before the granting of the chapel licence, and again in 1606 or 1608. However, the current Loseley guide book says that the King stayed in the old wing not the new; it may be that he slept there when he visited and building work continued, and in the new wing when it was finished, but it is impossible to know.¹⁸⁸ The Mores were presented with portraits of both James and his Queen, Anne of Denmark, when they stayed at Loseley, which according to the inventory of Sir Poynings More's widow, Elizabeth, in 1666 then hung on the stairs near the gallery.¹⁸⁹ As James had a Queen, increasing accommodation in general may have seemed more important than in Elizabeth's reign, as both the King's and the Queen's sides needed to be housed.

If George More hoped to impress the King with his newly extended house it appears that he was successful. In 1610 he became treasurer and receiver general to Henry, Prince of Wales, and in May 1611 Chancellor of the Order of the Garter.¹⁹⁰ He must have persuaded the King that he was a suitable man to fill these offices, especially one which put him in close proximity to the heir. Equally, the new Loseley must have seemed a perfectly appropriate house for a man in such favour.¹⁹¹ The royal connection remained significant for future generations at Loseley; as mentioned above, even in the late eighteenth century one room was known as the King's chamber despite the last royal guest having been Charles I in 1617, when he was Prince of Wales. The King's and Queen's chambers are also mentioned in the late seventeenth century inventories of Elizabeth More, William More and Robert More, as well as the incomplete inventory of approximately 1689.¹⁹² The continuation of this terminology may be partly explained by the fact that few interior alterations took place at Loseley in

¹⁸⁷ An incomplete inventory of Loseley, after 1689, SHC LM/1126/14. That this dates from Margaret and Thomas Molyneux's arrival at Loseley is suggested by the inclusion of "M[ist]r[i]s Margerett Mores roome" and "M[aste]r Molyneux his chamber".

¹⁸⁸ *Loseley Park*, p.15.

¹⁸⁹ The inventory of Elizabeth, Lady More, 1666, SHC LM/1103. They are now in the hall at Loseley.

¹⁹⁰ Munden, 'George More', pp. 104-105.

¹⁹¹ This favour was to be shaken by the death of the Prince of Wales in 1612 and the events of Sir George More's time as Lieutenant of the Tower from 1615-17, see the chapter below on office holding and patronage, pp. 98-101.

¹⁹² Elizabeth More, SHC LM/1103; William More, SHC LM/1108; The Inventory of Robert More, 1689, SHC LM/1106; Incomplete inventory, SHC LM/1126/14.

the later seventeenth century and through the eighteenth century, apart from the change in position of the front door and the installation of a new staircase, still in the house today, in 1713.¹⁹³

George More's grandson and successor Poynings never seems to have had the same level of interest in Loseley as his ancestors had done. William More had made Loseley his main home after his stepmother's death and built a new house, which he clearly intended to be a family seat, as all his grandchildren bar one were born there. As soon as he inherited, George More gave up his house at Baynards and began work on his own wing at Loseley. By contrast, Poynings drew up terms of agreement for leasing out the house.¹⁹⁴ These have been annotated to indicate that Poynings wrote them himself, and he is described as "Sir" Poynings. He was made a baronet in 1642, but it is likely that these conditions were written before that date. In November 1636, the son of the Earl and Countess of Essex was born and baptised at Loseley.¹⁹⁵ It is probable that Essex had leased the house, which suggests that Poynings had moved quickly to rent it out, and did not just do so in the 1640s. There is also a letter, unfortunately undated, to Poynings, which probably dates from before 1642 as he is not addressed as "sir", but which discusses the delivery to Poynings of some items from Loseley, which are listed on the reverse of the letter.¹⁹⁶ In December 1639 John Monger, the under steward at Loseley, wrote to Poynings at "his house at Weeke near Chichester", which also suggests that Poynings had moved out of Loseley, for the time being at least.¹⁹⁷ During the Civil War he spent much of his time in London, as will be seen in the chapter on office holding.¹⁹⁸ His detachment from Loseley may partly explain why little was changed in the house after the completion of George More's wing.

This lack of interest may be explained by a self-pitying note in the archive, which was probably written in about 1645.¹⁹⁹ Poynings here stated that he had been left in debt by both his father and grandfather, and that the situation was exacerbated by an entail on the estate. The note is not completely legible, but the gist is that Poynings's mother Frances had had to use lands from her jointure, which should have kept Poynings during his minority, to keep all her eleven children after her husband's death in 1626. Her death in c. 1636, about four years after Sir George had died,

¹⁹³ Musson, 'Rare Elizabethan Treasure', p. 82.

¹⁹⁴ Letting conditions for Loseley, c. 1642-1649, SHC LM/817. The let included the house, gardens, orchard and 50 acres of parkland, as well as three fields and "the old Orchard". It was let at £100 p.a. Poynings kept for himself "the studies and the Scoole House to lay the furniture of the House in".

¹⁹⁵ Brian Taylor, *The Lower Church: A History of St Nicolas' Guildford* (Guildford: 1980). The baby, Charles Devereux, Viscount Hereford, died a month later. There were doubts about his legitimacy, although Essex acknowledged him. John Morrill, 'Robert Devereux, 3rd Earl of Essex (1591-1646)', www.oxforddnb.com.

¹⁹⁶ John Monger [?] to Poynings More, undated, SHC LM/COR/5/107.

¹⁹⁷ John Monger to Poynings More, 17th December 1639, SHC LM/COR/5/13.

¹⁹⁸ See the chapter on office holding, p. 108 below, for details of damage caused by soldiers billeted both in Loseley itself and the local area, including Compton, during the Civil War.

¹⁹⁹ This is the likely date as the note is on part of a letter from John Wight, Poynings's steward, dated 1645.

meant the full burden of the estate and its charges fell on Poynings, who lamented that he was now responsible for an estate the disposal of which had been arranged before his birth, and thus he saw himself as "not [in] any way lyable" for his financial problems.²⁰⁰ He presumably also felt that he lacked the money to make any major alterations to the house himself.

The "old house" at Loseley

There has been some debate as to the fate of the medieval house at Loseley after William More embarked on his rebuilding programme. One writer has suggested that the old house survived, and was incorporated into the Elizabethan structure, while another has argued that it was demolished.²⁰¹ The document on which both these views are based is an allowance, unfortunately undated, made by Sir George More to his son Robert, which granted the latter "the use of the old house for so many roomes as he shall have cause to use."²⁰² This can be taken as reinforcement for other evidence that the medieval house may have survived, and that Robert and his family lodged there when at Loseley. Yet it could no less plausibly be read as referring to a division of the house between William More's wing, by the early seventeenth century "the old house", and the west or new wing which George More built after he had inherited Loseley.

There are arguments to be made in favour of both these viewpoints. It is possible that William More's house either incorporated parts of the older building or retained parts of it alongside, which would not have been unusual. Indeed, it may be that the existing house was not in fact particularly old, in which case to rearrange it would have made more sense than to demolish it.²⁰³ At Kentwell Hall in Suffolk, for example, there is evidence that the 1560s building includes some parts of an older house.²⁰⁴ Certainly there is nothing in William More's meticulously kept building accounts to suggest that another house was being demolished as the new one was being built. It may of course be that a separate account, which has not survived, was kept of the costs of demolition, but it seems most likely that the medieval house was not completely pulled down in the 1560s. There is no trace in the accounts of anything being recycled from a substantial older building,

²⁰⁰ A statement, probably by Sir Poynings More, c.1645, SHC LM/1329/525. Although the SHC catalogue refers to this as only "probably" being by Poynings, it is unlikely to be written by someone else, not just because it is on the back of a letter from Wight, but also as it describes his father dying before his grandfather, his mother dying a few years after the latter, and the need to keep his siblings, all of which apply to Poynings.

²⁰¹ Binney, 'Loseley Park, I', p. 82; Cooper, *Houses of the Gentry*, p. 342 (in note 13 to p. 256).

²⁰² A note of allowance to Robert More, undated, SHC LM/1649.

²⁰³ Binney, 'Loseley Park I', pp. 803-804. Binney thinks that the old house may have been early Tudor rather than medieval because of the number of rooms included in the 1556 inventories.

²⁰⁴ Cooper, *Houses of the Gentry*, p. 78.

although as mentioned above there is of some old bricks being reused.²⁰⁵ As More was very precise as to the sources of materials, this also suggests that there was no demolition taking place.²⁰⁶ That More had to hire a quarry in Guildford as building work progressed could also be seen as evidence that there was not a ready supply of recyclable stone or bricks on site. Indeed, the preservation, even if only in part, of the old house would have given an impression of the family's antiquity to their visitors.

At Ashley, by contrast, the accounts show that the old house was demolished and parts reused in the new. Payments were made for "takinge downe the waynescott of the olde howse...untilinge the olde howse and ...beatinge downe the wales takinge downe the Chymneyes... [and] caryinge awaye the rubbishe of the olde howse."²⁰⁷ There is also a payment made to a joiner for fitting "parte olde & parte newe waynescott" in the new house, so clearly materials were recycled.²⁰⁸ Three old chimney pieces were repaired and used in the new Ashley House.²⁰⁹ There is no similar evidence for Loseley, and so it seems unlikely that the medieval house was demolished in the 1560s.²¹⁰

This view is supported by a letter, again undated, written to William More by Thomas Asteley one August. In it Asteley requested lodging for his family and servants while the Queen was at his house on progress. He commented that "I here ye have some sufficient [rooms] besides your new byldyng..."²¹¹ While this does not conclusively prove that the medieval house was not

²⁰⁵ See above, p.48.

²⁰⁶ This is contrary to what Christopher Hussey thought when he wrote his article for *Country Life* in 1935. He wrote that the old house "was no doubt demolished as soon as the new one was finished", and that it had probably been sited to the east of the Elizabethan house. He did not however give any evidence for this or explain why he thought it must be so. Hussey, 'Loseley Park', p. 544. However, what remains of the moat is situated to the east of the Elizabethan house, which does suggest that the old house may have been there. The theory that the old house was at the back of the new yet was still left standing as a separate building seems unlikely, as it would have blocked the view from rooms at the back, including what it is thought to have been the Queen's chamber when she stayed at Loseley. Binney, 'Loseley Park I', p. 804.

²⁰⁷ Blackman, *Ashley House*, p.63.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid*, p. 56.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid*, p. 53.

²¹⁰ A guide at Loseley in August 2015 suggested that some of the panels in the library may have come from the medieval house, which would be evidence of such recycling. It is, however, impossible to be precise as to when the panels were installed in their new position, or indeed if they actually were from the medieval house at Loseley or from elsewhere.

²¹¹ Thomas Asteley to William More, 25th August, SHC 6729/7/130. This must have been written between the completion of William More's building in 1569 and the knighting of More in 1576 as Asteley addresses him as "M[aste]r More". Binney also cites this letter as support for his argument. 'Loseley Park I', p. 804. This is the only letter from Asteley in the Loseley manuscripts, and was sent from the Court at Farnham. Asteley or Astley may have been the brother of John Astley or Ashley, husband of Kat Ashley, who had been the Queen's governess, and was later her First Lady of the Bedchamber. John Astley was himself a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber, among other posts under Elizabeth. Charlotte Merton, 'John Astley (c.1507-1596)', www.oxforddnb.com.

demolished at some point, it does allow for the possibility that for a time there were two houses on the site. It may be that the Mores themselves moved from the newer part of the house to the older to make room for the Queen.²¹² Again, it would not have been uncommon to use the old house as accommodation while the new was being built, something which Burghley did at Theobalds.²¹³ Bess of Hardwick meanwhile used her original hall at Hardwick as guest lodgings even after her new hall was completed.²¹⁴

For all the arguments on this side, however, there are strong grounds for believing that when George More referred to housing his son Robert and his family in "the old house", he meant the Elizabethan house. When the marriage settlement between George More and Frances's father Sampson Lennard was drawn up, the latter took it upon himself to offer "Convenient lodgings w[i]th beddes..." to the newlyweds and their eventual family.²¹⁵ Poynings, Robert and Frances's first child, was born at Herstmonceux in Sussex, a Lennard home, in February 1606. By contrast, of his ten siblings only one was not born at Loseley.²¹⁶ This suggests that the family had its main residence at Loseley once there was more space after the completion of the west wing. George More presumably lived there, and Robert and his family in William More's house.

George More's now demolished west wing included living quarters as well as the grander rooms such as the long gallery. The description of work carried out on the gallery mentions, besides the armoury and chapel, "the lower romes next the cort....the chamber next the chapell...the lytell chamber...the chamber north...[and another] lytell chamber..."²¹⁷ Jane More Molyneux's piece on the maintenance of the house refers to "the King's Chamber" in the same section as rooms that there were definitely in the west wing, namely the gallery and armoury.²¹⁸ This suggests that there was a divide between the west wing, where the owner lived and the grandest of guests were entertained, and the Elizabethan house, which was the heir's home. However, George More's inventory implies that by the time of his death he was living in the older house and, presumably, his grandson Poynings in the west wing. This inventory mentions rooms that were definitely in William

²¹² Nichols, *Progresses and Public Processions*, II, p.62 n. 1 for another possible location for the Mores when the Queen was at Loseley.

²¹³ *Airs, Tudor & Jacobean Country House*, p. 27.

²¹⁴ Durant, *Bess*, p. 162.

²¹⁵ A marriage settlement between Robert More and Frances Lennard, 1601, SHC LM/348/291.

²¹⁶ The exception was Elizabeth, born in London in January 1617. For all the dates of birth of Robert and Frances's children see A List of dates and places of birth of Poynings More and his siblings, 1606-1625, SHC LM/1590.

²¹⁷ Measures of work, SHC LM/820/1.

²¹⁸ Instructions for the Maintenance of Loseley, SHC LM/826/120.

More's house, such as the hall and the "olde gallerie", but not those in the west wing.²¹⁹ By contrast, Poynings' widow Elizabeth appears to have been living in the west wing when she died, and her son William probably in the older house, as her inventory lists the contents of the gallery.²²⁰

It might be thought that George More, on inheriting Loseley on his father's death in July 1600, would have passed his house, Baynards Park, to his son, and that this might have been "the old house" referred to. However, Robert's allowance is specifically about Loseley, and it would appear that making his mark on Loseley was more significant to George than retaining Baynards. Perhaps its sale to his nephew Sir Francis Wolley in 1604 was necessary to finance his plans for Loseley. Whatever his reasoning, Baynards does not seem to have been considered as a home for his heir.

It is probable, therefore, that references to "the old house" at Loseley actually mean two different things. On the one hand, it is possible that at least part of the medieval house remained after William More's rebuilding, perhaps attached to the Elizabethan house, or maybe as a separate building in what are now the formal gardens. There is certainly nothing in the building accounts to suggest it was demolished, at this stage at least. On the other hand, after George More's construction of the west wing, the Elizabethan house became "the old house". George presumably lived in the west wing initially, with Robert and his family, and then Poynings, in William More's house. George then apparently moved, at some point towards the end of his life, into his father's house.

Conclusion

The increase in country house building in the late sixteenth century and the early seventeenth century was driven by a number of factors. These included the desire to impress the monarch, a wish to show off both one's wealth and also an awareness of current fashion, and for the gentry in particular, and probably outweighing any other points, the imperative of displaying their family's success. The opportunity for all this arose in part from the amount of land and building materials made available by the Dissolution of the Monasteries.

It is therefore no surprise that the history of Loseley at this time is dominated by two great building projects, those of William More in the 1560s and of his son George in the early 1600s. Both

²¹⁹ Sir George More's inventory, 25th February 1632/3, SHC LM/1101/3. The "olde gallerie" is probably the gallery above the hall rather than an older long gallery in the Elizabethan house. The incomplete inventory of around 1689 clarifies this further, by mentioning specifically "the old Gallery over the hall." SHC LM/1126/14.

²²⁰ Inventory of Elizabeth More, SHC LM/1103.

men had several motives. William More took the opportunity to rebuild so that his family seat was no longer a medieval or early Tudor manor house but a fashionable modern building that demonstrated the family's achievements and ambitions. Much of the stone he used came from Waverley Abbey, so Loseley was to some extent a product of the Dissolution. George More, once he had inherited, was eager to make his mark on Loseley by modernising it. Both may have hoped to impress their monarchs, and would certainly have been aware of work being done by friends and rivals, and probably wanted to compete with them. The hints at continuing works at Loseley after the main house was completed may reflect this competition. William More at least may well have been influenced by the classical texts he had read, and his new home provided him with a way to flaunt his learning.

It must be asked whether all the work and expense achieved the Mores' aims. To some extent it is clear that they did. Both Elizabeth I and James I visited on progress. The Mores were better able to provide assistance and hospitality to friends such as the Montagues and Asteleys, an important aspect of gentry life. Montague at least was pleased with what had been done, as his steward paid the Mores a direct compliment about the new Loseley.²²¹ Both Montague and Sir Thomas Cecil requested help in the form of masons and gardeners from William More for their own building projects, which suggests that what had been done at Loseley had genuinely impressed them. Other houses, such as Danny, Parham and Wiston, appear to have been influenced by the Elizabethan building; William More's Loseley has been seen as a trendsetter. It was also, perhaps most importantly, a house that demonstrated the Mores' authority in the area, and the family's success in establishing themselves there.

Yet it has to be said that the building and extension of Loseley marked the high point in the Mores' careers. George More's rise slowed following the death of Henry, Prince of Wales, and his influence waned considerably after his difficult stint as Lieutenant of the Tower. While his father's wing survives to this day, George's has been demolished, and sadly all that remains are a plan, exterior paintings, and some details of the rooms it contained and the purpose they served. However, for the Elizabethan house there is still the wonderful source of William More's building accounts, and the opportunity to compare what he described there with the house as it stands now. With many of its contemporaries demolished or greatly altered, this makes Loseley an extremely important house.

²²¹ Anthony Garnett to William More, 12th July 1570, SHC 6729/8/112.

Chapter 2: "[He] took more pains for the service of his country than any man living..."¹ The Mores, patronage and office holding

Patronage

The Mores' status both in their locality and at Court rested in part on their acquisition of land and property in London and Surrey. This was important as it gave the family a home in both the capital and their shire, enabling them to have a presence at Court and build up vital influence there which would assist them in their ambitions in Surrey.²

Their reputation both locally and nationally thus rested not only on their landholdings but also on the access to royal patronage and largesse which these allowed, and on the offices they held; to hold office and hence to live a public life was seen as one of the duties of a gentleman.³ The Mores were both recipients and dispensers of patronage and sponsorship. They aimed to achieve a position both as a family worth favouring, and as one worth being favoured by; the deference of others was an essential part of establishing oneself as a gentleman.⁴ Therefore the Mores hoped to establish relationships with the powerful men and women of the Court, while simultaneously encouraging their neighbours to view their favour as a route to preferment; the more impressive their Court connections, the easier this would be. The Mores needed to show "[a] constant application to intrigue, negotiation, and courtly behaviour... [if they were to achieve] success in sixteenth century politics."⁵

The Court was the main source of patronage to the gentry, and its successful distribution was critical to the Crown's ability to govern successfully. Royal patronage of the gentry ensured that they owed loyalty directly to the Crown rather than to the local aristocracy, which balanced out the latter's power locally.⁶ The distribution of patronage was also beneficial to the Crown in that if the gentry owed so much to royal favour, then the onus was on them to retain it or risk losing

¹ Oglander, *Royalist's Notebook*, p. 164. Oglander was here describing his father-in-law Sir George More. Oglander married More's youngest daughter Frances in 1606.

² Williams, *Tudor Regime*, p. 440.

³ Oglander, *Royalist's Notebook*, p. 246.

⁴ Youngs, *Humphrey Newton*, p.3.

⁵ Hassell Smith, *County and Court*, p. 22.

⁶ Fairfax-Lucy, *Charlecote*, p. 53; Williams, *Tudor Regime*, p. 440. It also tied in, especially in the last few years of Elizabeth's reign, with a lack of rewards for the peerage. Linda Levy Peck, 'Peers, Patronage and the Politics of History', in *The Reign of Elizabeth I: Court and Culture in the last Decade*, ed. by John Guy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp.87-108 (p. 88).

everything.⁷ It was however a mutually beneficial state of affairs, with the Crown gaining loyalty from the local elites, and those elites in their turn receiving the power to which they aspired.⁸

The Crown was able to put men in place in the counties, for example as deputy lieutenants, who were known at Court but also had a good reputation in their shire, which they had often built up over time serving as Justices of the Peace.⁹ Loyalty was encouraged as the gentry gained from the rewards received by those who served both their community and the Crown faithfully. There was competition for office, as a relatively large number of men were seeking to gain one or more of comparatively few local positions. Such competition was a further inducement both to give good service and hence be rewarded by the Crown, and also to find patrons or employers among the courtiers, for example Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester. This could give the gentry an edge over their rivals, as patrons inevitably tended to support their clients in any disputes. The courtiers in return increased their influence in the localities, and at Court; the more gentry who followed them, the more impressive they would appear.¹⁰ The consequent perception of courtiers as founts of patronage enhanced their prestige.¹¹ For the county elite, it was important to cultivate links with several influential courtiers if possible; if one fell from favour, then it was less likely that their clients would be brought down with them.¹² It also meant that if one's patron was out of favour for a time, and cut off from access to the monarch, other avenues to preferment remained open.¹³

The offices¹⁴

The Crown needed the gentry to administer the counties on its behalf as there was no centrally controlled bureaucracy. There was therefore a wide range of offices for the gentry to fill, the main ones being outlined below. These ranged from deputy lieutenant, sheriff and Justice of the

⁷ Hassell Smith, *County and Court*, p.43 on the necessity of keeping royal favour, and the consequences of its loss if one owed everything to it.

⁸ Williams, *Tudor Regime*, p. 371; Heal & Holmes, *Gentry*, p.6.

⁹ MacCulloch, *Suffolk*, pp. 223-224. It was a policy of conciliation rather than coercion. The positions of lord lieutenant and deputy lieutenant became regular rather than ad hoc offices in the 1580s. Hassell Smith, *County and Court*, pp. 126-127.

¹⁰ J.E. Neale, *The Elizabethan House of Commons* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1949), p. 23.

¹¹ Hassell Smith, *County and Court*, p.340, p.67.

¹² Moreton, *Townshends*, p. 193.

¹³ Pam Wright, 'A Change in Direction: The Ramifications of a Female Household, 1558-1603', in *The English Court from the Wars of the Roses to the Civil War*, ed. by David Starkey (Harlow: Longman, 1987), pp. 147-172 (pp. 159-160).

¹⁴ As mentioned in the introduction, the sheer number of offices which the gentry could hold has imposed some selectivity for the purposes of this thesis.

Peace, to membership of ad hoc commissions such as that for the subsidy.¹⁵ Most posts were in some way connected with the preservation of law and order.

The office of Justice of the Peace is the one which seems to have generated the most work for those who held it. The numbers of JPs increased over the sixteenth century, an expansion which may be linked to a growth in their responsibilities.¹⁶ Kent, for example, had a maximum of 28 justices in the late fifteenth century, a number which rose to 44 in 1562 and 63 in 1636.¹⁷ Even with this increase, however, a conscientious JP would have found the work time consuming and repetitive.¹⁸ The post was also unsalaried, although an allowance of 2s was made for every day the JP attended the quarter sessions.¹⁹ There was nonetheless intense competition to sit on the bench. Serving as a JP was "perhaps the most tangible demonstration of a gentleman's status", and for that alone it was valuable.²⁰ An unscrupulous JP would have the opportunity to favour his own tenants and allies in any cases that came before him, and equally impede his opponents and their friends, even preventing his rivals gaining office.²¹ The JPs also had influence over who would serve in offices such as that of constable and thus were attractive as a source of patronage.²² Once a gentleman was on the commission it was important to remain on it; to lose this position was to lose status.²³ This anxiety could be exploited by rivals keen to remove or denigrate their competitors, especially in counties where politics was factional, or at times of religious upheaval where sweeping changes could be made to the magistracy.²⁴ The JP's position in the bench hierarchy was also important; the higher his name was placed in the commission, the more important he was or appeared to be.²⁵ Not all JPs of course put maximum effort into their work; Sir Thomas Egerton, when Lord Keeper, remarked that "many justices of the peace...only came to the assizes...and did nothing all the year

¹⁵ Cliffe, *Yorkshire Gentry*, p.231.

¹⁶ Heal & Holmes, *Gentry*, p. 166.

¹⁷ Ibid, p.167. The increase worried William Cecil, as he believed that too many JPs generated inefficiency, and made the individual justices less committed to their work. Ibid, p. 168. He was also concerned that the higher the number of JPs, the greater the opportunities for self-serving corruption and faction. Hassell Smith, *County and Court*, p.77.

¹⁸ The administrative burden placed on JPs increased in particular under Elizabeth. Michael L. Zell, 'Kent's Elizabethan JPs at Work', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, 119 (1999), 1-44 (p.1).

¹⁹ Williams, *Tudor Regime*, p.107; Hassell Smith, *County and Court*, p. 60. As JPs were expected to be wealthy - indeed this was one of the criteria for holding the office- the lack of salary was probably not of itself a deterrent to seeking a place on the bench. Ibid, p. 51.

²⁰ Heal & Holmes, *Gentry*, p. 171.

²¹ Ibid, p. 170.

²² Hassell Smith, *County and Court*, p.60.

²³ Ibid, p.75.

²⁴ MacCulloch, *Suffolk*, p. 113. Norfolk, for example, was more factional than Suffolk. Alterations to the bench as a consequence of religious change are recounted on p.338.

²⁵ Heal & Holmes, *Gentry*, pp. 170-171. The higher the JP's name, the higher he sat when the commission met, so it was a visual demonstration of his status.

before nor after."²⁶ It could also be inferred from this comment that some JPs were only interested in their office on these occasions as they not only provided the best chance to promote their own interests and hinder their rivals, but were also the main opportunities to show off their standing. Sir Nicholas Bacon as Lord Keeper in 1565 had expressed similar fears, and Sir George More complained about the increase in numbers on the Surrey bench in parliament in 1621.²⁷ The JPs were also open to bribery, and prosecuted for it in some cases.²⁸

During the sixteenth century the post of sheriff became one which many men sought to avoid.²⁹ This may seem surprising. The sheriff only held office for one year at a time, after which it was another two years before he could be reappointed, so even if he found the job onerous it was only short term and he could then avoid it for the immediate future. During the year of his shrievalty, he had the greatest influence in his county over litigation, and thus was perfectly placed to promote himself and his adherents and undermine his rivals by manipulating the legal process.³⁰ The sheriff received letters from the Privy Council before anyone else in his county, and so could control the local response.³¹ He was also a patron during his tenure, for example choosing who would serve as his deputy.³² The sheriff could impress and influence JPs and judges when he entertained them at the assizes, and manipulate parliamentary elections in an attempt to secure his preferred result.³³ This was arguably an office which would enable a man to build a good reputation in his shire.³⁴

However, there were considerable drawbacks which went with serving as sheriff. The term of office may only have been a year, but in that time the sheriff could not sit on the bench and so lost influence there which would be taken up by his rivals.³⁵ He was also unable to stand as an MP in his own shire, and could not leave the county, which potentially made it harder to maintain Court

²⁶ Quoted in Hassell Smith, *County and Court*, p.78. Egerton was Lord Keeper 1596-1603. He was also anxious about apparently overzealous JPs, who he claimed in 1602 were deliberately creating disputes which they could then resolve to their own credit. Heal & Holmes, *Gentry*, p. 168. In 1605, as Lord Chancellor, he tried but failed to reform the system by insisting that a JP could only be appointed if recommended by two assize judges. Hassell Smith, *County and Court*, p.70.

²⁷ Heal & Holmes, *Gentry*, p.168. Andrew Thrush and John P. Ferris, eds., *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1604-1629*, 6 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), accessed online at www.historyofparliamentonline.org.

²⁸ Heal & Holmes, *Gentry*, pp.175-7.

²⁹ Patricia Hyde and Michael Zell, 'Governing the County', in *Early Modern Kent 1540-1640*, ed. by Michael Zell (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2000), pp.7-38 (pp. 12-13).

³⁰ Hassell Smith, *County and Court*, p.139, pp. 149-150.

³¹Ibid, p. 152.

³²Ibid, p. 152.

³³Ibid, p. 153.

³⁴ Heal & Holmes, *Gentry*, p. 174.

³⁵ Hassell Smith, *County and Court*, p. 146.

connections.³⁶ If his staff were incompetent or corrupt he would have to deal with any resulting litigation against them, which would also reflect badly on him and his judgement.³⁷ It was expensive both to entertain at the assizes on a scale that would impress and win support, and also to live while sheriff in a way appropriate to the office. Each sheriff wanted to outdo his predecessor, resulting in ever greater expense.³⁸ It is not perhaps surprising after all that not everyone wanted to serve as sheriff, as demonstrated in a letter of 1577 from Lord Buckhurst to Sir William More at a time when More was a candidate for the shrievalty. Buckhurst wrote of this office that it was something "w[hi]ch I wyshe not unto youe".³⁹

In 1585 the roles of both sheriffs and JPs in most counties were altered by the introduction of lords lieutenant to create centralised control over the militia.⁴⁰ Most of the lords lieutenant were Court insiders, nobles, members of the Privy Council, or indeed all of these things. They usually had connections to the county they served. In Surrey, the lord lieutenant came from its main noble family, the Howards of Effingham.⁴¹ Where the lieutenant had local connections, his appointment tended to be more successful than if he were imposed from outside.⁴² As the lieutenants were generally in regular attendance at Court, their deputies were largely responsible for enforcing the Council's instructions, delivered to them via the lieutenants. The deputies came from the gentry elite in the county, and benefited personally both from their proximity to a man of influence at Court and also their new authority over the militia.⁴³ The lieutenancy and deputy lieutenancies were

³⁶Ibid, p. 146.

³⁷ Heal & Holmes, *Gentry*, p. 174.

³⁸Hassell Smith, *County and Court*, p.146. Some sheriffs even had liveried servants to display their importance. Heal & Holmes, *Gentry*, p. 174.

³⁹ Thomas Sackville, Lord Buckhurst, to Sir William More, 11th November 1577, SHC 6729/9/31. It might be of course that Buckhurst had another, preferred candidate for the post, but the context of the letter does not suggest that, as Buckhurst was asking More the favour of appointing a particular man as his deputy. See below, p. 90.

⁴⁰ Hassell Smith, *County and Court*, p. 242.

⁴¹ Christopher Haigh, *Elizabeth I: Profiles in Power* (Harlow: Pearson, 1988; repr. 1998), p. 52. Charles, Lord Howard of Effingham, was appointed lord lieutenant for Surrey and Sussex in July 1585. Robert W. Kenny, *Elizabeth's Admiral: The Political Career of Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham 1536-1624* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1970), p. 89.

⁴² Hassell Smith, *County and Court*, pp. 126-128. The appointment of the Queen's cousin Henry Carey, Lord Hunsdon, in Norfolk and Suffolk in 1585 was not a success. Ibid, p. 242. He was chosen as it was considered that there was no-one appropriate to appoint from either county. Ibid, p.50. By contrast, the choice of William, Lord Cobham, a local man, in Kent, worked well as he had been a JP there and was therefore already involved in Kentish politics. Hyde & Zell, 'Governing', p. 25. Kenny, *Elizabeth's Admiral*, p. 89.

⁴³ Hassell Smith, *County and Court*, p. 50. Howard's deputies for Surrey, appointed when he became lord lieutenant in 1585, were William Howard (his brother), Sir Thomas Browne and Sir William More, and for Sussex Sir Thomas Shirley, Sir Thomas Palmer and Walter Covert. Kenny, *Elizabeth's Admiral*, p. 89. They all had their main residence in the counties they were appointed to serve.

particularly significant posts as they reduced the Crown's dependence on the nobility in raising the local militia.⁴⁴

William More also held a post concerned with the defence of the country as vice-admiral of Sussex. He was appointed by Lord Clinton in February 1559 and again in February 1577, and by Lord Howard of Effingham in August 1585.⁴⁵ This office was potentially very profitable as vice-admirals were entitled to half the value both of goods confiscated from pirates and also of any charges in their counties, as well as any salvage those who had lost goods in shipwrecks could be persuaded to pay to get them back.⁴⁶ It was also another opportunity for More to show how respected he was by the Court elite, and enabled him to distribute patronage as he appointed deputies to carry out much of the work.

The gentry could fill a local office that gave them an admittedly intermittent presence in London by serving as MPs. Surrey was represented in the sixteenth century, as were all English counties, by two knights of the shire as its senior MPs. There were also seats for the boroughs such as Guildford. Around the country the knights of the shires did not always face an election as they were sometimes decided on by the county elite.⁴⁷ The benefits of sitting as an MP were numerous. Their presence in London increased the MPs' chances of making profitable contacts at Court.⁴⁸ As was also the case with JPs, the MPs were in a position to further their own interests and perhaps hinder their rivals.⁴⁹ Surrey, unlike other counties such as Norfolk, was not especially factionalised, although as will appear later there was definitely electioneering, and attempts to persuade the gentry to back particular candidates.⁵⁰ The main noble family of the county, as mentioned above, was that of Howard of Effingham. William Howard, the first Lord Howard of Effingham, born in c.1510, was a son of Thomas Howard, second Duke of Norfolk, by his second marriage. In 1541 Henry VII granted him the priory estate at Reigate and Howard built a house there, which was to

⁴⁴ Williams, *Tudor Regime*, p. 436.

⁴⁵ Appointment by Edward, Lord Clinton, Lord Admiral, of William More as vice-admiral for Sussex, 18th February 1559, LM/1630; 14th February 1577, LM/1629; Appointment by Charles, Lord Howard of Effingham, Lord Admiral, of Sir William More as vice-admiral for Sussex, 4th August 1585, LM/1632.

⁴⁶ Kenny, *Elizabeth's Admiral*, p. 70. More was clearly quite sensitive about his rights in this post. Julius Caesar, then a commissioner for the court of the admiralty, wrote to More in 1585 to assure him that his patent as vice admiral was no different from anyone else's as More felt he was being undermined by a John Young who, ironically, More himself had appointed as a deputy. Julius Caesar to Sir William More, 3rd November 1585, SHC 6729/7/110.

⁴⁷ Hyde & Zell, 'Governing', p. 26.

⁴⁸ Heal & Holmes, *Gentry*, p. 204.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 204.

⁵⁰ See pp. 92-94 below. For the lack of faction in Surrey see Emma Hedden, 'Conceptualising Faction: Patronage and Power Politics in Surrey, c. 1550-1600' (unpublished MA thesis, University of London, 1993), especially p.2 and p.33. Nicolson by contrast argues that counties without a controlling noble family were often more factionalised as the gentry competed for influence. *Gentry*, p. 72. Hedden, however, sees Surrey as a county where there were alliances rather than factions. 'Conceptualising Faction', p. 3.

become one of his family's main homes.⁵¹ Howard's support for John Dudley, then Earl of Warwick, against Protector Somerset saw him rewarded with lands, including Effingham itself, a few miles east of Guildford.⁵² It was however Mary who ennobled him in 1554. He died in 1573 and was succeeded by his eldest son Charles.⁵³ The new Lord Howard continued to accumulate land in Surrey.⁵⁴ Besides the Howards, the other influential families of the shire were gentry: the Mores, the Westons and the Stoughtons in particular. The honour of serving as knight of the shire for Surrey was, for all the parliaments of Elizabeth's reign except the first, shared between the Howards and the Mores, with the exception of Sir Francis Walsingham, to the almost total exclusion of other families.⁵⁵

The rest of this chapter will detail the rise, high point and apparent decline of the Mores' fortunes through their office holding. This will include in some cases discussion of not only the main offices discussed above but other, smaller posts. There will also be analysis of their patrons or employers, rivals and supporters, and the family's successes and failures, with comparison to the experience of other gentry families.

Sir Christopher More - establishing the family

Christopher More came from London, the son of a fishmonger and citizen of the city, John More. Christopher's purchase of Loseley in 1508, however, showed that he had wider ambitions.⁵⁶ It was not unusual in the sixteenth century to make such a move from London to the counties. For example, Sir William Fitzwilliam (c.1460-1534) made his money as a London merchant in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Fitzwilliam was sheriff of London in 1506-7, but by then he was already establishing himself in the counties. This process began with the purchase of land in Essex in 1501, but his main focus was the area around Milton in the north of Northamptonshire,

⁵¹ Nairn & Pevsner, *Surrey*, p. 426; Malden, *VCH Surrey*, III, accessed online at www.british-history.ac.uk; Kenny, *Elizabeth's Admiral*, p.17.

⁵² The Howards also owned Bletchingley Place from 1560 when it was alienated to them by William Cawarden, nephew and heir of Sir Thomas. Malden, *VCH Surrey*, IV (London: Constable, 1912), accessed online at www.british-history.ac.uk. William Howard was also given other lands in Surrey. Kenny, *Elizabeth's Admiral*, pp. 17-18.

⁵³ James McDermott, 'William Howard, 1st Baron Howard of Effingham (c.1510-1573)', www.oxforddnb.com

⁵⁴ Kenny, *Elizabeth's Admiral*, pp.213-216.

⁵⁵ Heal & Holmes, *Gentry*, p.204. The exceptions were in 1571, when Sir Henry Weston was knight of the shire with William More, and 1572 when Thomas Lyfield served alongside Charles Howard. For the parliaments of the rest of Elizabeth's reign, Walsingham was the only man not a member of one of the two main local parliamentary families to serve as knight of the shire for Surrey. Walsingham took over from Charles Howard when the latter succeeded his father as Lord Howard, and remained senior knight of the shire in the parliaments of 1584, 1586 and 1588.

⁵⁶ Malden, *VCH Surrey*, III, p.7 for the date of More's purchase of Loseley. In 1508 he only owned half of the estate; he obtained the other half in c.1532-3. See also the introduction, p. 10 above.

where he began to buy property in 1502.⁵⁷ Fitzwilliam served both his new localities as sheriff, firstly in Essex in 1513-15, and then in Northamptonshire in 1523 and 1528.⁵⁸

A later example is that of John Isham (1525-1596), who was a London mercer. He bought the manor of Lamport in Northamptonshire in 1560, purchasing his country estate after he had established himself in the city.⁵⁹ Isham was able to combine both his London and country businesses as at Lamport he farmed the sheep which provided the wool he then sold in the city.⁶⁰ From 1572 Isham lived mainly in Lamport rather than London, and focused on his county rather than urban interests. He served as a JP in Northamptonshire in 1576, and was sheriff for the county in 1581-2, having allowed time to build a local reputation.⁶¹

More was in a similar position in Surrey. Even before he purchased Loseley he had begun to establish himself in the county, and specifically in that area of it, with his marriage to Margaret Mugge from Guildford, which took place in 1504. The following year he bought, for £23 6s 8d, his first local office, which was that of ulnager for Surrey and Sussex.⁶² The office of ulnager offered financial rewards, and oversight of a vital industry.⁶³ When the ulnager inspected cloth, he would collect a duty, or ulnage, which in 1519 was half a penny for each "cloth of assyse" and a farthing for every half cloth.⁶⁴ He also took a share of any fines or forfeitures of cloth.⁶⁵ More held this post until the end of his life, which implies that he considered it worthwhile both financially and in terms of local prestige. He received a letter under Edward VI's sign manual and signet dated 31st July 1549 with detailed instructions on keeping records of cloth; More died on 16th August that year.⁶⁶

⁵⁷Finch, *Five Northamptonshire Families*, pp. 100-101. Fitzwilliam's parents were probably from Northamptonshire. Matthew Davies, 'Sir William Fitzwilliam (1460?-1534)', www.oxforddnb.com.

⁵⁸ Davies, 'Sir William Fitzwilliam'.

⁵⁹Finch, *Five Northamptonshire Families*, p.4. Isham's parents may have come from Northamptonshire originally. Isham himself was probably born there, at Ringstead, about fifteen miles east of Lamport. Therefore, Isham was already connected to the county where he eventually settled. This is in contrast to Christopher More, although similar to Fitzwilliam's experience. Ian W. Archer, 'John Isham (1525-1596)', www.oxforddnb.com.

⁶⁰Finch, *Five Northamptonshire Families*, p. 8.

⁶¹Ibid, p. 16.

⁶² William B. Robison, 'Sir Christopher More (c.1485-1549)', www.oxforddnb.com. An ulnager inspected the quality of woollen cloth.

⁶³ Bindoff, *Commons 1509-1558*, accessed online at www.historyofparliamentonline.org.

⁶⁴ John Rastell, *Statutes Prohemium Iohannis Rastell* (London: 1519), accessed online at www.eebo.chadwyck.com. There are no page numbers given, but the relevant text is on image 28. A "cloth of assyse" would be a piece of cloth matching the decreed measurements of the time.

⁶⁵*L&P Henry VIII*, II, 896, 10th September 1515, accessed online at www.british-history.ac.uk. The example here is of a grant of ulnage in Kent for forty years to Sir Edward Guildford. An ulnager could however also face fines, the loss of his post or even prison if he were to pass either substandard cloth, or too small a piece of cloth. Rastell, *Statutes*, image 28, accessed online at www.eebo.chadwyck.com.

⁶⁶ A letter under the sign manual and signet of Edward VI, countersigned by Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset, to Sir Christopher More, 31st July 1549, SHC 6729/13/7.

When he got married More was just establishing himself in the Exchequer, where he was a clerk by 1505.⁶⁷ He went on to become King's Remembrancer in 1542.⁶⁸ More had initially petitioned Thomas Cromwell for this post, but that he was granted it anyway, admittedly two years after Cromwell's fall, suggests that he had other patrons.⁶⁹ He also embarked on a legal career outside the Exchequer, being admitted to the Inner Temple in 1513.⁷⁰ From no later than the fifteenth century, the legal profession was viewed as providing an ideal career for ambitious men, and a knowledge of the law would also of course help in the running of estates and in serving as a JP.⁷¹ The law was the path the first Sir Roger Townshend (c.1435-93) took as he set his family on the way to becoming members of the gentry elite of Norfolk.⁷²

More's legal training led to him working for Sir Arthur Plantagenet, later Lord Lisle, an illegitimate son of Edward IV, and thus a valuable patron. In February 1522 Sir Arthur and his first wife Elizabeth granted More four marks per annum rent from their manor of Kingston Lisle in Berkshire, and More later became one of Lord Lisle's attorneys.⁷³ Their association continued even as Lisle fell from favour; in April 1539, More said that he "would gladly deal" with a land dispute for Lisle, although he feared he might not succeed.⁷⁴ A William More was listed as among Lisle's household when it was dissolved on 2nd June 1540, being paid 8s and 4d.⁷⁵ It is probable that this was Christopher's son William; if this is so it proves that More kept up his connection with Lisle until

⁶⁷ More was probably born in 1483, so was in his early twenties when he became clerk.

⁶⁸ The King's Remembrancer was responsible for the collection of the monarch's debts. That More became the Remembrancer may indicate that when he had been a clerk at the Exchequer he had worked for the Remembrancer. The latter's most senior clerk was the clerk of the pleas, but beneath him were several under clerks. DeLoyd J. Guth, 'Notes on the Early Tudor Exchequer of Pleas', in *Tudor Men and Institutions*, ed. by Arthur J. Slavin (Smyrna, Georgia: Louisiana State University Press, 1972), pp. 101-122 (p.105).

⁶⁹ Bindoff, *Commons 1509-1558*, accessed online at www.historyofparliamentonline.org.

⁷⁰ Robison, 'Sir Christopher More'.

⁷¹ Youngs, *Humphrey Newton*, pp. 41-42.

⁷² Moreton, *Townshends*, p.1.

⁷³ Grant for life "pro bono consilio" by Sir Arthur Plantagenet and Elizabeth his wife to Christopher More, 2nd February 1522, SHC LM/345/27; Hazel Pierce, *Margaret Pole Countess of Salisbury 1473-1541* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2009), p.68. Sir Arthur was made Viscount Lisle in 1523. David Grummit, 'Arthur Plantagenet, Viscount Lisle (b. before 1472, d. 1542)', www.oxforddnb.com. Lisle's wife Elizabeth, who at the time had been the wife of Edmund Dudley, had stood as confirmation sponsor to Christopher More's oldest child, also Elizabeth, in January 1505. A fragment of a parchment notebook with notes on Christopher More's ancestors and the births of his oldest children, c.1511-1520, SHC LM/1327/3. The initial relationship was therefore between More and the future Lady Lisle, not between More and Lord Lisle. How More had known Edmund and Elizabeth Dudley is not clear, but it was probably a result of his Exchequer work. S.J. Gunn, 'Edmund Dudley (c.1462-1510)', www.oxforddnb.com.

⁷⁴ St. Clare Byrne, *Lisle Letters*, V, p. 447.

⁷⁵ *Ibid*, VI, p.152. Lisle's household had apparently not been paid for half a year, and the payment they received from the King was "barely a quarter's wage." *L&P Henry VIII*, XV, 749, 5th June 1540.

the end.⁷⁶ More here provides an excellent example of the importance of working for different Court figures. Although he was employed by Lisle, he maintained a good relationship with Lisle's enemy Cromwell, while despite his association with Cromwell he was still trusted by Lisle.

More also worked for Lisle's cousin Margaret Pole, Countess of Salisbury, serving her as a surveyor from 1521.⁷⁷ His work was obviously appreciated as in October 1523 the Countess granted More £7 per annum for life from the rent of her manor at Swainston on the Isle of Wight.⁷⁸ Although it is unclear how long he worked for Lady Salisbury, it is probable that the arrangement continued into the 1530s as in 1532 she granted More £10 p.a. for life.⁷⁹

More's development of such contacts at Court may explain why he was included in the guard of honour to greet Anne of Cleves on her arrival in London in January 1540. He was summoned by a writ under the King's signet and sign manual dated 24th November 1539. It is not clear from the writ whether More was to "[attend] upon us or ... accompany suche other as shall mette hir before she shall come to o[u]r presence."⁸⁰ However, other evidence suggests that he remained in London and was among the large number of knights and squires who were in attendance when the King and Anne met at Blackheath.⁸¹ When Anne arrived, the men were "to ride in two wide ranges on either side."⁸² They lined the way from Blackheath to Greenwich for the King and his bride to pass them.⁸³ More, like the others summoned to attend, had "to ryde in [a coat] of blacke velvet w[i]t[h] [a chain] of gold" around his neck, and with a "[gown] of velvet or some other

⁷⁶ Lisle was arrested for allegedly corresponding, via his chaplain Gregory Botolph, with his cousin Cardinal Pole, who was Lady Salisbury's son. He was taken to The Tower on 19th May 1540; in 1542, when told he was to be released, he was apparently so shocked that he dropped dead. Grummit, 'Arthur Plantagenet'.

⁷⁷ More was paid £15 by the Countess in September 1522 to mark a year and a half's work. Margaret Pole, Countess of Salisbury, a memo re Christopher More, 22nd September 1522, SHC 6729/2/12.

⁷⁸ Grant for life 'pro bono consilio' by Margaret Pole, Countess of Salisbury, to Christopher More, 1st October 1523, SHC LM/345/29.

⁷⁹ Pierce, *Margaret Pole*, p. 68.

⁸⁰ Writ under sign manual and signet from Henry VIII to Christopher More, 24th November 1539, Folger L.b. 1.

⁸¹ For a list of all those in attendance at the various stages of Anne's arrival, see *L&P Henry VIII*, XIV, Part 2, 572, November 1539, accessed online at www.british-history.ac.uk. More was included in the general list of squires, not among those allocated to specific dignitaries such as Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, who met Anne at Dover. Among the knights who were to attend on the King in London was Sir Richard Weston, More's neighbour from Sutton Place near Guildford. The squires included John Poyntz who had estates in Surrey. There were also men More may have known from the Inner Temple but who were both 15-20 years younger than him; Anthony Cooke, whose daughters included Lady Burghley and who was involved in the education of Edward VI, and Richard Tracy who married Barbara Lucy of Charlecote and was an early Protestant. Sir Roger Townshend was one of those in attendance on the Duke of Norfolk.

⁸² *L&P Henry VIII*, XIV, 2, 572, accessed online at www.british-history.ac.uk. Anne arrived in London on 3rd January 1540. Elizabeth Norton, *Anne of Cleves: Henry VIII's Discarded Bride* (Stroud: Amberley Books, 2009), p. 63.

⁸³ Charles Wriothesley, *A Chronicle of England during the Reigns of the Tudors, from A.D. 1485-1559*, 2 vols, (London: The Camden Society, 1875), I, p.111, accessed online at www.eresources.rhul.ac.uk/kb/ACLS_Humanities_E-book.

good silk for [his] chaunge accordingly."⁸⁴ The royal marriage may not have been a success, but More's involvement was a sign of better things to come, as at some point soon after his attendance on the King he was knighted.⁸⁵ His knighthood may also have owed something to good service offered to the King in the matter of Katherine Howard, shortly to become Henry's fifth Queen. As the sheriff of Surrey and Sussex he was asked to convey to Katherine all the goods forfeited to the Crown by William Lidbeter the elder and William Lidbeter the younger who had been found guilty of murder.⁸⁶ If he fulfilled this duty efficiently it will have been to his credit both with the King and with Katherine and perhaps therefore seemed worthy of reward, as well as helping to balance out his connection with Cromwell.⁸⁷

While More was maintaining his presence at Court, he was still establishing his family in Surrey. He was a subsidy commissioner for the county from 1515, a verderer of Windsor Forest in 1519, and a JP by about 1521.⁸⁸ Despite the possible disadvantages the post carried, More served twice as sheriff of Surrey and Sussex, in 1532-3 and 1539-40.⁸⁹ These appointments may provide evidence to support the view that the shrievalty was particularly sought after by those who were trying to establish themselves in an area to which they were relatively new. More also benefited from his Court connections at a local level, as he was apparently Cromwell's preferred candidate as knight of the shire for Surrey in 1539.⁹⁰ If this was so, More showed his gratitude by helping ensure the election to parliament of Cromwell's nominee in Gatton, at the expense it seems of a friend.⁹¹

Christopher More had apparently done enough to establish himself not only as a useful client to the mighty but also as a worthwhile patron. Humphrey Sidney wrote to More asking him to remember his promise to have Sidney's son, then aged seventeen, in his household if he liked him;

⁸⁴Henry VIII to Christopher More, Folger, L.b.1.

⁸⁵ More was probably knighted between August 1540 and February 1541. Robison, 'Sir Christopher More'. He had definitely not been knighted before his inclusion in the honour guard, as his letter was addressed to him as esquire, and his name was listed with squires, not knights.

⁸⁶ A warrant for Christopher More to convey property to Katherine Howard, 10th May 1540, SHC 6729/13/2. More is still addressed as esquire in this letter.

⁸⁷ Henry and Katherine were married on 28th July 1540, the day Cromwell was executed.

⁸⁸ Robison, 'Sir Christopher More'. More served on further subsidy commissions in 1523, 1524, 1536 and 1547. Bindoff, *Commons 1509-1558*, accessed online at www.historyofparliamentonline.org. A verderer was an overseer of the King's forest, responsible for its maintenance and for enforcing the forest laws.

⁸⁹ Robison, 'Sir Christopher More'.

⁹⁰ More served as the junior knight, with Sir Anthony Browne of Betchworth as the senior. This was also the case when More was knight of the shire in 1547. Bindoff, *Commons 1509-1558*, accessed online at www.historyofparliamentonline.org. More may have earlier been a Surrey borough MP, but the names of the MPs for all Surrey boroughs except Southwark in 1536 are unknown.,

⁹¹ Bindoff, *Commons 1509-1558*, accessed online at www.historyofparliamentonline.org. The name of the MP for Gatton in 1539 is not known, nor is the name of the candidate More allegedly persuaded to stand down.

"yff ye wyll have hym I wyll sende hym to yow shortly."⁹² More must have liked Sidney's son as in another letter Sidney asked him to be a "good master to Wyllya[m] Sydeney yo[u]r s[er]vaunt."⁹³ Sidney's purpose could simply have been to place his son with a rising family, although he may also have hoped that More would help William in a career in the law generally or specifically at the Exchequer. More had acted as Sidney's solicitor in a dispute over the moiety of Loseley which in 1508 Sidney claimed that he owned. This was also the year when More purchased the moiety owned by John Westbroke, and it is hard not to see More representing Sidney in this matter as a conflict of interest.⁹⁴ A conflict is all the more likely as it was William Sidney, who had lived in More's household and been under his influence, who ceded all his rights to Loseley to More in 1532-3.⁹⁵

As other members of the gentry, were doing, for example the Ishams, Fitzwilliams and the Townshends, More was working hard to make his family a major force in local politics and society as well as maintaining a presence in London. His father had been a London fishmonger, yet he himself died while representing Surrey as knight of the shire for the second time and in possession of a country estate. He had used his legal career to establish himself as both client and patron, and had survived the fall of employers and patrons such as Lady Salisbury and Thomas Cromwell. He left an impressive base for his only surviving son William to build on, and quite a reputation to live up to. Henry Polsted wrote to William Cecil that "the parts of Guildford, Godalming, Chertsey and the other parishes thereabouts are very weak of men of worship and namely by the death of Sir Christopher More..."⁹⁶ William More was, however, going to prove himself by going beyond his father's achievements.

⁹² Humphrey Sidney to Christopher More, 25th March, no year, SHC LM/COR/1/6. Although there is no date it is likely to be from between 1508, when as discussed in the main text More was acting as Sidney's solicitor, and 1532, by which time Humphrey Sidney had presumably died, as his son was dealing with More over Loseley.

⁹³ Humphrey Sidney to Christopher More, 26th March, no year, SHC LM/COR/1/9. The rest of the letter, as with the first, covers the payments of rents due on Lady Day, and it may be that this was the time of year Sidney wrote to More and thus that the letters are in fact a year rather than one day apart. This would make sense as the intervening year would have given the younger Sidney time to join the household.

⁹⁴ Sidney was, nonetheless, successful in his claim, and his desire to put his son William into More's household does not suggest he felt there was anything untoward in More owning the other moiety of Loseley while at the same time representing him in a dispute over his moiety.

⁹⁵ Malden, *VCH Surrey*, III, accessed online at www.british-history.ac.uk.

⁹⁶ Quoted in Bindoff, *Commons 1509-1558*, accessed online at www.historyofparliamentonline.org. Polsted was concerned about the strength of the commission of the peace in the light of More's death. He was probably the father of Elizabeth More's first husband, Richard Polsted; see the chapter on the women of the family, p. 166 below.

Sir William More: Patrons and the Court

William More was even luckier in his patrons than his father had been. The most important of these among the Elizabethan courtier nobility was Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester.⁹⁷ For Leicester, the advantage of a relationship with a man like More was that it helped him to build local influence, while periodically his dependant benefited from the support of the Queen's greatest favourite.⁹⁸ William's son George was placed in Leicester's household, and according to George's son-in-law Sir John Oglander, he "was in very great favour with [Leicester], in so much as he was often employed in messages and letters between his master and the Queen."⁹⁹ Leicester's appreciation of George was made clear in a letter he wrote to Sir William:

God hath shewed a token of his great favo[u]r in geving you such a sonne....before I knew him he was very welcome to me for yo[u]r sake...so now ...he ys dere to me for his own sake, for the frute of his good bringing upp doth....appere in his dayly behavio[u]r I trust you wyll not kepe him long away.¹⁰⁰

Elsewhere Leicester thanked More for his "good and frendly Intertynment" in a postscript which was written in his own hand.¹⁰¹ Leicester's patronage of the Mores may be a clue to their religious beliefs as the Earl was known as a Puritan patron.¹⁰² Other families which enjoyed Leicester's favour included the Lucys, the gentry family who lived at Charlecote in Warwickshire; the fourth Thomas Lucy, like William More, was knighted by Leicester.¹⁰³

Leicester's good relationship with More is seen in action in their dealings over royal forests and parks. For example, when in 1573 the Queen asked Leicester to investigate the depletion of game in the royal forest at Windsor, the latter turned to More, in whom he had "speciall trust", to enforce the rules that were to be imposed, acknowledging as he did so that the work was "a great chardge".¹⁰⁴ Leicester had already committed his "charge of Surrey baylywicke" to More.¹⁰⁵ His trust

⁹⁷ The relationship between the Mores and the Dudleys was of long standing, as Leicester's grandmother had been confirmation sponsor to Christopher More's first child, Elizabeth, see note 72 p.76 above. William More was therefore building on a well-established connection.

⁹⁸ Heal & Holmes, *Gentry*, p. 196.

⁹⁹ Oglander, *Royalist's Notebook*, p. 164.

¹⁰⁰ Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, to Sir William More, New Year, no year given, SHC 6729/13/30. George More had been sent as the bearer of this letter - hence the expressed hope that More would not keep his son away from Leicester for too long - as Leicester had heard More had been ill, although was now recovered. The letter probably dates from shortly before Elizabeth Polsted's marriage to John Wolley, as it appears from it that Wolley had been discussing his suit to Elizabeth with Leicester. That would date the letter as from New Year 1576-77, since William More was knighted in May 1576, and the Wolleys married in 1577.

¹⁰¹ Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, to William More, 17th January 1575, SHC 6729/13/18a.

¹⁰² MacCulloch, *Suffolk*, p.244. In Norfolk, for example, Leicester was the patron of the Puritan Dr. John Becon, who was chancellor of the diocese of Norwich in 1575-80. Hassell Smith, *County and Court*, p. 226. Leicester was however also a patron to recusants and known Catholics, including Montague.

¹⁰³ Fairfax-Lucy, *Charlecote*, p. 74. Lucy was knighted in 1565, More in 1576.

¹⁰⁴ Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, to William More, 26th May 1573, SHC 6729/3/83.

in More is implied in another letter of May 1573 in which Leicester was happy to let More place the men he wanted as foresters in the walks of the forest. In the same letter he invited More to join him at Windsor - unless "by great occasions you be not otherwise letted" - to discuss enclosures in the forest.¹⁰⁶ Leicester also left More to handle law breaking in the forest, even when it was his own men who were involved, requesting that a particular example should be made of them if they were found guilty.¹⁰⁷ More's employment by Leicester must have impressed More's friends and rivals.

Unlike his father, William focused more on his interests in Surrey than on offices in London, as will be discussed below. However, that is not to say that he was not involved in life at Court and in the capital. His daughter Elizabeth's marriage to John Wolley in 1577 gave More an almost constant presence in Court politics, but without him regularly having to leave Loseley.¹⁰⁸ With Elizabeth at the heart of the Court, as a lady-in-waiting and married to the Queen's Latin secretary, who was in September 1586 to become a Privy Councillor, her whole family had the chance to develop their relationships with patrons such as Leicester and Burghley.¹⁰⁹ A similar family split between those focused on the centre and those dealing more with their localities may be seen in the Bacons of Norfolk. Sir Nicholas Bacon was Lord Keeper from 1558 until his death in 1579, as well as a Privy Councillor. In the case of his family, his sons from his first marriage remained on the estates which he provided for them in Norfolk and Suffolk, while the two sons of his second marriage joined him in having illustrious Court careers.¹¹⁰

There is no doubt that the Wolleys worked hard to keep Elizabeth's family in the minds of the great courtiers. In the early days of her time at Court, Elizabeth wrote to her father detailing her conversations about him and her brother George with the Queen, the Lord Admiral (then the Mores' friend and patron Edward Fiennes de Clinton, Earl of Lincoln) and Thomas Sackville, Lord Buckhurst. The Queen complained to Elizabeth that she had "but few such servauntes as you [i.e. William More] ar", and made "manye gracious speches both of your self and my Brother." The Lord Admiral meanwhile asked Elizabeth "to commaunde him in any friendshippe he can shewe unto me", and Buckhurst, having been thanked by Elizabeth for "his kind usage" of her father, assured her "that he would be a most faithfull freind both unto you and to my self." He went on to claim that "if he could

¹⁰⁵ Ibid. More was entrusted with the Surrey bailiwick after his friend Montague surrendered it to Leicester, who obviously then wanted a deputy to do the work. Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, to William More, 24th April 1573, SHC 6729/13/16.

¹⁰⁶ Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, to William More, 28th May 1573, SHC 6729/3/84.

¹⁰⁷ Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, to William More, 26th March 1574, SHC 6729/3/88.

¹⁰⁸ Williams, *Tudor Regime* p.440.

¹⁰⁹ McCutcheon, 'Playing the Waiting Game', p. 40. See the chapter on the women of the family below for more details of Elizabeth Wolley's life.

¹¹⁰ Hassell Smith, *County and Court*, pp. 167-8. Bacon's second wife was Ann Cooke, one of the intellectual daughters of Sir Anthony Cooke, as mentioned above, note 81, p. 77.

be assured of my freindship he had rather have it than any other ladys that serves in the place." Elizabeth naturally promised him her friendship.¹¹¹

In matters of family interest and advancement, the Wolleys worked as a team. A letter written by John Wolley to his father-in-law in December 1594 explained that he and the Lord Admiral (after the death of Lord Lincoln in 1585 this was the Mores' Surrey neighbour and lord lieutenant Charles, Lord Howard of Effingham) had discussed the clerkship of the peace "very earnestly" but only after Elizabeth had "firste broken the yce." This seems to have involved Elizabeth showing the Lord Admiral a letter from her father which "moved hym excedingly" as it suggested that More thought he had owed more to Lord Lincoln than he did now to Effingham. The Lord Admiral stressed that "he lovd you above all the men in that shire".¹¹² This may show the value set on Sir William's friendship; it may also be evidence of the Lord Admiral's talent for flattery. In a letter of 12th March 1594, Elizabeth wrote to her father that on her husband's advice she had not spoken to Lord Buckhurst about the stewardship of Godalming, and that she would explain why to Sir William when she was next in Surrey.¹¹³ Later that month she asked the Lord Admiral to speak to Buckhurst on her behalf, almost certainly about the vice admiralty of Sussex.¹¹⁴ This shows how important such contacts were, not just for dispensing largesse, but also in negotiating with other courtiers who were perhaps less sympathetic to the original suitor.

The Wolleys worked together not only to promote the interests of the family but also those of their clients. In November 1594 one of the Wolleys' servants, Thomas Vowell, wrote to Mr (probably George) Austen to tell him that Elizabeth had spoken to the Lord Admiral on Austen's behalf. Elizabeth's conversation was to be followed up by Wolley in Austen's presence when the latter could come to London.¹¹⁵ This shows the Wolleys acting not as suitors for themselves but as patrons.

¹¹¹ All these quotations are from Elizabeth Wolley to Sir William More, no date, probably 1577, SHC 6729/7/115.

¹¹² All the quotations are from Sir John Wolley to Sir William More, 21st December 1594, SHC 6729/7/103.

¹¹³ Elizabeth, Lady Wolley, to Sir William More, 12th March 1594, SHC 6729/7/118.

¹¹⁴ Elizabeth, Lady Wolley, to Sir William More, 19th March 1594, SHC 6729/7/117. There was a dispute between the Lord Admiral and Sir William over the vice admiralty which the former had apparently granted to Lord Buckhurst, much to the latter's distress. See also Charles, Lord Howard of Effingham, to Sir William More, 8th March 1595, 6729/7/112.

¹¹⁵ Thomas Vowell to Mr Austen, 11th November 1594, SHC 6729/7/101. George Austen, c. 1548-1621, came from East Horsley. He had earlier received patronage from More and Wolley when he became clerk of the peace for Surrey in 1576, although he then lost the office to the Howards' candidate Rowland Maylard. W. Hasler, ed., *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1558-1603*, 3 vols (London: HMSO, 1982), accessed online at www.historyofparliamentonline.org.

Wolley himself acted as a messenger for his father-in-law. He wrote to More in June 1581 to let him know that he had passed on a letter to Walsingham who promised to help "as his occasion shall convenientlye serve hym."¹¹⁶ He, like Elizabeth, ensured he discussed Sir William at Court, writing that the Queen had compared him favourably to her younger servants: "suche old servauntes as yow arre... remember them selves, as she ... dyd fynd profe by yow, unto whose trust she dirst co[m]mitt her life." He had a similar conversation with Leicester which he recounted in the same letter. The Earl confirmed the Queen's "good opinion" of More and said that "he dyd ever seeke to encrease [it]".¹¹⁷

Wolley also played an important role in the attempts to obtain the office of chamberlain of the Exchequer for Sir William. This post carried life tenure, and also came with the potential not only to appoint a deputy to fulfil duties where necessary, but also the right to appoint to other Exchequer posts.¹¹⁸ In May 1591 Wolley wrote to Sir William to let him know that he had been dealing with Lord Burghley in his capacity as Lord Treasurer over this office as "I saw many putt in earnestly for the same". He was pleased to report that Burghley "was so well enclined to favor yow in that sute" that he "rest[ed] in good hope of some good successe therin". Nonetheless, Wolley advised that More should make an excuse to come to London to thank Burghley for his past favour and ask for it to continue.¹¹⁹ At the end of the month, Wolley promised More that "your cause shalbe dayly remembred until we make some thing or nothing of yt."¹²⁰ More was appointed in 1591, and was then able to reward his clients and friends. George Austen wrote to More in December 1592 to thank him for "that office w[hi]ch I nowe enjoye in the receipt of the exchequor of your ... gyft I...think my self much more tyed in dutie and s[er]vice unto your wo[rship] then before". He sent More a "smale gyft" to express his thanks.¹²¹ Austen was the deputy chamberlain of the Exchequer. Wolley was also appointed to an Exchequer post, that of the clerk of the pipe, in 1592.¹²² Thus

¹¹⁶ John Wolley to Sir William More, 27th June 1581, SHC 6729/3/171. Unfortunately it is not clear what this was about.

¹¹⁷ Both these quotations are from John Wolley to Sir William More, 6th October 1579, SHC 6729/3/169.

¹¹⁸ J.C. Sainty, 'The Tenure of Offices in the Exchequer', *English Historical Review*, 80, 316 (1965), 449-475 (pp.449-450, p. 452).

¹¹⁹ These details are from John Wolley to Sir William More, May 1591, SHC LM/COR/3/498. Wolley himself was favoured by Burghley, being among those to whom Burghley granted wardships between 1594 and 1598. Williams, *Tudor Regime*, p. 95. As the Queen's Latin secretary, it had been Wolley who had read out the charter of Burghley's barony on the day of his ennoblement, 25th February 1571. Alford, *Burghley*, p.166.

¹²⁰ John Wolley to Sir William More, 27th May 1591, SHC LM/COR/3/496.

¹²¹ George Austen to Sir William More, 28th December 1592, SHC 6729/7/90.

¹²² Sainty, 'Offices in the Exchequer', p. 461, note.

More's appointment brought with it benefit not only to himself but also to his associates and relations.¹²³

Wolley also promoted the interests of George More, Sir William's son and heir. In June 1586 Wolley was asked by the Queen to travel to Scotland to discuss the case of Mary, Queen of Scots, with her son James VI. Wolley wrote to Sir William that he was about to suggest that George accompany him to Scotland, when the Queen herself said "yt weare good I should take hym [George] with me."¹²⁴ It may be that this was exactly what happened, or it may be that Wolley had already implied that he would like George to come with him; in either case it shows that both Wolley, and most importantly the Queen, felt that George was a suitable person to be part of what must have been an awkward diplomatic mission.¹²⁵

The Wolleys were among those who gave the Queen gifts and themselves received from her in the customary distribution at New Year.¹²⁶ In 1588-89, for example, Elizabeth gave the Queen a doublet embroidered in gold and silver, while Wolley presented her with a cloak to match. Clothing and textiles were clearly the theme for presents to the Queen from both ladies and gentlemen; Blanche Parry gave the Queen a cushion made of cloth of gold, and Mr Dyer, one of the Queen's gentlemen, gave her a white satin petticoat with gold and silver decoration. The Wolleys, Mistress Parry and Dyer all received gilt plate in return.¹²⁷ After Wolley's death in 1596 and Elizabeth's marriage to Sir Thomas Egerton, the Lord Keeper, in 1597, the exchange of gifts continued. At New Year 1599-1600, Egerton presented the Queen with a jewel-encrusted gold amulet, while Elizabeth

¹²³ Eustace Bedingfield, the son of Margaret More's sister Elizabeth and her husband Anthony Bedingfield, also benefited from his uncle's position at the Exchequer, serving as his deputy. The appointment by Sir William More, Chamberlain of the Exchequer, of Frederick Phippes as his deputy, 24th May 1599, SHC LM/348/277. The document names Bedingfield as one of those who had previously held the office. These appointments, and the lack of other letters on Exchequer business in the archive, suggest that More did very little of the work himself. Hasler, *Commons 1558-1603*, accessed online at www.historyofparliamentonline.org.

¹²⁴ John Wolley to Sir William More, 27th June 1586, SHC 6729/7/79.

¹²⁵ Wolley was later present at the Council meeting on Friday, 3rd February 1587 from which the death warrant for Mary, Queen of Scots, was dispatched. Alford, *Burghley*, p.290.

¹²⁶ On the significance of the exchange of gifts, see Barbara A. Hanawalt, 'Lady Honor Lisle's Networks of Influence', in *Women and Power in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Mary Eler and Maryanne Kowalski (Athens, Georgia: The University of Georgia Press, 1988), pp. 188-212 (pp. 194-195).

¹²⁷ Nichols, *Progresses and Public Processions*, III, pp.10-12, on gifts to the Queen, and pp.19-20 on her gifts to courtiers. Elizabeth Wolley was given the third greatest weight of gilt among the Queen's ladies, at just over 19 oz, more than the Queen's principal gentlewoman Blanche Parry, but less than Mrs Dale and Mrs Seckford; the quality may have varied. A Henry Seckford was listed as one of the grooms of the Privy Chamber so this was presumably his wife, p. 21. Seckford, who was knighted by James I in 1603, had been appointed to the post of groom in 1558, and following Sir Thomas Cawarden's death in 1559 had also become master of the tents, hailes and pavilions. In 1588-9, when these gifts were given, he was married to his second wife, Helen. Susan M. Maxwell, 'Sir Henry Seckford (d.1610)', www.oxforddnb.com. Mrs Dale was perhaps the wife of Valentine Dale, who had served as an ambassador and commissary-general, and written a justification of the execution of Mary Queen of Scots. Michael Hicks, 'Valentine Dale (c.1520-1589)', www.oxforddnb.com. Wolley's 22 oz of gilt was the greatest weight among the gentlemen listed.

gave her a velvet kirtle and a doublet made of camlet. The Queen presented them with gilt plate once again in return.¹²⁸ In this year Elizabeth's son Francis Wolley, one of the Queen's godsons, also gave a gift, a pink mantle, and in return was inevitably given gilt plate.¹²⁹

The division of business between the Court and county representatives of the family thus continued after Elizabeth Wolley's third marriage. Egerton also had close connections to Lord Burghley, being appointed overseer of Burghley's estate, alongside John Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury, and the judge Thomas Owen, in Burghley's will of 1598.¹³⁰ As well as being appointed Lord Keeper in 1596, Egerton became a Privy Councillor that year. Although Elizabeth Egerton died in March 1600, her widower maintained a close relationship with her family and in particular with her brother George, as will be discussed below.

Sir William More: Surrey

In Surrey, William More was to surpass his father's achievements. With his family now well established in the county, More was in a good position to become one of its principal resident gentlemen. He had already served as both a subsidy collector and a muster commissioner before his father's death in 1549, and he succeeded him as *ulnager*.¹³¹ He may also have become a JP in succession to his father, although the first documentary evidence of him on the bench does not come until 1559.¹³² More was, it seems, "a very active and godly JP", an opinion confirmed by the large number of letters and documents surviving in the Loseley archives which cover the duties of a JP.¹³³ These duties varied greatly, but included such delicate questions such as what should be done when an injured party rejected the decision of a court he believed to be rigged.¹³⁴ The JPs also had to enforce orders from the Queen and Privy Council, especially those regarding the maintenance of

¹²⁸ Nichols, *Progresses and Public Processions*, III, note p. 570. Camlet was an expensive material originally supposed to be made of camel's hair and silk, but in sixteenth century England more likely to be a mixture of Angora and silk. www.oed.com

¹²⁹ Nichols, *Progresses and Public Processions*, III, p. 457, p. 465.

¹³⁰ The Will of William Cecil, Lord Burghley, 1st March 1598, TNA PROB/1/3; Alford, *Burghley*, p.329.

¹³¹ William B. Robison, 'Sir William More (1520-1600)', www.oxforddnb.com.

¹³² Hasler, *Commons 1558-1603* accessed online at www.historyofparliamentonline.org. Robison gives a different date of 1555 for the first evidence of More being a JP, but as More was unsympathetic towards and out of favour with the Marian regime, the later date is perhaps more likely. Robison, 'Sir William More'. In another article, Robison suggests that More was one of the Surrey JPs removed from office at the beginning of Mary's reign. William B. Robison, 'The National and Local Significance of Wyatt's Rebellion in Surrey', *Historical Journal*, 30, 4 (1987), 769-790 (note 13, p.773). More may therefore have sat on the bench after his father's death until Mary's accession, returning under Elizabeth. However, some documents in the archive suggest he may have remained on the bench for at least some of Mary's reign; see the chapter on religion below, p. 114.

¹³³ Questier, *Catholicism and Community*, p. 84.

¹³⁴ John Cowper to William More, 7th November, probably 1574, SHC LM/COR/3/233.

law and order and the punishment of vagrants.¹³⁵ Thus as a JP More was a member of the group responsible for appeasing those who felt aggrieved over a question of law and order, and was also part of the local face of the Queen's government.¹³⁶

More owned several books which would have helped him in carrying out his duties, although of course there cannot be any certainty that he read them. Some of these books were also found in the library of Sir Thomas Smith, privy councillor and successor to Lord Burghley as secretary of state in 1572. In his two inventories of books, dating from 1556 and c.1559, More had four books specifically on Justices, including one by Sir Anthony Fitzherbert, which was also listed as being in Smith's library in 1566.¹³⁷ They also both had copies of *Littleton's Tenures*, which had been described in 1550 as "the true and most sure register of the foundations and principles of our law."¹³⁸ As well as this, More and Smith both had copies of Magna Carta and parliamentary statutes. Smith's library is considered as evidence of his considerable intellect; it is interesting therefore to see that in this area in particular More's collection of books was so similar to his.¹³⁹

More's role as a JP is especially interesting as this is one area of his life where he was accused of acting in bad faith, and where therefore he may well have been in need of the advice available in his library. He believed that he had never carried out any "corrupt and indyrect delying", and that no-one had ever "byn hable to charge me w[i]t[h] anye grosse fault", while he had never indulged in "any dyshonest shyft or practyce".¹⁴⁰ However, as mentioned above, one of the advantages of serving as a JP was the power that it gave to promote one's own interests, while at the same time hindering one's rivals.¹⁴¹ William More, despite his protestations, was accused of behaving in exactly this way in a letter he received from one John Skinner dated August 1575.¹⁴²

¹³⁵ See for instance The Privy Council to the sheriff and JPs of Surrey, 25th March 1598, SHC 6729/10/105.

¹³⁶ It is easy to understand how a dedicated JP could be dealing with cases every day. Hassell Smith, *County and Court*, p. 48.

¹³⁷ Fitzherbert's book, *The New Boke of the Justices of the Peas* [sic], originally published in 1538, was reprinted eight times between 1540 and 1566, and dealt with criminal law. J.H. Baker, 'Sir Anthony Fitzherbert (c.1470-1538)', www.oxforddnb.com. For More's books, see The Account Book of Sir William More, Folger L.b. 550, under the 1556 inventory and the c.1559 note of books. For Smith's books, see John Strype, *Life of the Learned Sir Thomas Smith Kt* (1698; repr. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1820), pp. 274-280. More had at least one other book which may have been by Fitzherbert listed in both his 1556 and 1559 inventories, namely *La novel natura brevium* (1534), concerning writs. Baker, 'Anthony Fitzherbert'.

¹³⁸ J.H. Baker, 'Sir Thomas Littleton (d.1481)', www.oxforddnb.com. The book was originally published in 1481.

¹³⁹ More's c. 1559 note of books was, like Smith's 1566 list, divided by subject, and it can be seen that their collections were very much alike..

¹⁴⁰ Autobiographical statement of Sir William More, SHC LM/1617; see appendix 2.

¹⁴¹ See above, p. 70.

¹⁴² John Skinner signed this letter as from Reigate, and was probably the John Skinner who inherited the rectory manor there in 1556. He died in 1584. Malden, *VCH Surrey*, III, accessed online at www.british-history.ac.uk. He was a Surrey JP by 1568, and MP for Reigate in 1559 and 1572. Hasler, *Commons 1558-1603*, accessed online at www.historyofparliamentonline.org.

Skinner complained that he and his "Cosen[s]" Agmondesham and Saunders had been removed from the commission of the peace "oor att the lest owte of the Quor[um]".¹⁴³ He did not know why this had happened, but he had heard that More had "bene the greatest practiser herof...through some mislikinge yow have of the parties." Skinner asserted that he could not believe this, but asked More to let him know the truth.¹⁴⁴ This letter was followed by one from Skinner's "Cosen" Saunders asking why he had been put off the commission, and why More would have been the prime mover thereof. Saunders thought that he was "worthie of better use than this of yo[u]rs hathe bene (if all report[es] be trewe)", but said he was "lothe to mistake yow or anye honest gentleman w[i]thout Abetter grownde than a bare heresaye", especially as he had always considered More his friend.¹⁴⁵ At least they appear to have been given some warning of their removal; usually JPs would find they had been dismissed only when they arrived at the sessions and their names were not read out.¹⁴⁶ In Norfolk, the feud between the Lovell and Gawdy families led to such attempts to exclude each other from the bench. Thomas Lovell was to claim in 1589 that the Gawdys "used very spitefull and slaundersous speaches" against him; already off the bench, Lovell was not restored to it until 1591 after the death of Bassingbourne Gawdy, head of the rival family.¹⁴⁷ This episode shows how important it was to defend one's reputation and retain one's place.

A draft survives of More's response to Saunders. If he likewise answered Skinner no copy of the letter remains, although it would presumably have been similar. More asked that those who accused him should be brought to him and then he would "Clere [him] self from all dishonest and double dealing[es] towchinge yow." If those who had slandered him would not appear, More would therefore have to assume the aim was to damage his reputation.¹⁴⁸ Unfortunately it is impossible to establish who was telling the truth. Certainly More and Skinner had previously worked together. Indeed, Skinner chose More as an arbitrator in a dispute he had with a Mr Harris in 1569, which suggests that if anything he thought More might be disposed in his favour, and would perhaps be especially disappointed if he were to find the opposite to be the case.¹⁴⁹ It may be however that there was some bad feeling between them at this time, as in the case referred to above where one man believed the court was prejudiced against him, the aggrieved party was Agmondesham, who in 1575 More was alleged to have had removed from the commission. Agmondesham blamed a Mr

¹⁴³ The Quorum was a select group of JPs who had had legal training, and at least one of whom had to be in attendance at the quarter sessions. Hassell Smith, *County and Court*, p. 48.

¹⁴⁴ All quotes from John Skinner to William More, 28th August 1575, SHC LM/COR/3/185.

¹⁴⁵ Edmund Saunders to William More, 30th August 1575, SHC LM/COR/3/186.

¹⁴⁶ Hassell Smith, *County and Court*, p. 73.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid*, p. 186.

¹⁴⁸ William More to Edmund Saunders, 1st September 1575, SHC LM/COR/3/187.

¹⁴⁹ Hasler, *Commons 1558-1603*, accessed online at www.historyofparliamentonline.org.

Austen, probably George Austen, one of More's clients, for his experience, accusing him of keeping matters from the sheriff and falsifying records.¹⁵⁰ If More were involved in the removal of Skinner, Saunders and Agmondesham from the commission, it may perhaps have been to defend the reputation of Austen. If there were a rift between More and Skinner, it must have been resolved, or at least have been put aside; the two served together as JPs from 1576 until Skinner's death, which was not of itself proof of good relations, but Skinner also wrote to More in friendly terms.¹⁵¹ This was not a feud like that between the Gawdys and the Lovells, and indeed the accusations against More may have been false. Saunders seemed to have made similar accusations to those he made against More against Thomas Stoughton as well, which suggests he was looking for men to blame for his removal. In the same letter in which he described this to More, Stoughton mentioned that Agmondesham was thought to have "become madd", and this, rather than any conspiracy, may explain that particular dismissal.¹⁵²

In a further illustration of the difficulties of serving as a JP, Sir Richard Norton, a Hampshire landowner, wrote to Sir William to deny that he had said "that a man myght not dwell near you [More] quyety but that he most [sic] grease yo[u]r handes". Norton maintained that he had "ever thought most worshipfully of you and of yo[u]r dealing[es]." In this instance Norton appears to have been slandered by a man whom he had reported to More, and whom Norton had previously expelled from Hampshire. Norton also expressed concern that the aim of setting JPs against each other was to impede the administration of justice.¹⁵³ Norton's eagerness to repair any damage to his relationship with More is testimony to how respected the latter was. That such allegations were taken so seriously by those against whom they were made is also evidence of how damaging rumours of bribery and abuse of power could be. If the JP were to defend himself he had to be above reproach, and hope as well that his friends would point out if this were not the case. In August 1569 it appears that More had invited Thomas Copley, who had recently stayed at Loseley, to return for the night before a case in which Copley was involved and More was a judge. Copley however had decided against it as "myn adv[er]sary, seeing me to cum[m]e next morning w[i]th youe, & from yo[u]r howse, woolde [think you were] sumewhat favorable on my side", and would therefore not

¹⁵⁰John Cowper to William More, 7th November 1574, SHC LM/COR/3/233. The sheriff in 1575 was William Gresham.

¹⁵¹In 1582, for example, Skinner sent commendations to More and Lady More, rejoicing that they had avoided an "infeccion" in the area. He ended by wishing More "all the good I canne". John Skinner to Sir William More, 18th November 1582, SHC 6729/7/72.

¹⁵²Thomas Stoughton to William More, 1th September 1575, SHC LM/COR/3/188.

¹⁵³Sir Richard Norton to Sir William More, 17th April 1578, SHC 6729/1/74. Norton, who came from East Tisted, north west of Petersfield, was knight of the shire for Hampshire in 1571 and 1572, and a JP in the county from c. 1561. He died in March 1592. Hasler, *Commons 1558-1603*, accessed online at www.historyofparliamentonline.org. He was one of the overseers of the will of Robert Horne, Bishop of Winchester, along with More; see the chapter on religion below, p. 143.

follow any advice More gave him.¹⁵⁴ Copley did, however, still send with his letter music for More's children with the promise of more to follow, and put himself at More's command. He signed himself "y[ou]r assured loving freend to the best of my small powre".¹⁵⁵ Thus even though Copley drew the line at the idea of staying with More, he was still sending gifts, which as they were for the children were arguably not bribes, and made sure he reminded More of their friendship. Accusations of bribery were not unusual. When Sir Arthur Heveningham was sheriff of Norfolk in 1581-2, his main rival Edward Flowerdew alleged that Heveningham had, among other bribes, accepted £300 to empanel a biased jury. Flowerdew's accusations led to Heveningham losing his place on the bench at the end of his term as sheriff.¹⁵⁶

Another example of how valuable More's friendship was comes in his correspondence with Anthony Browne, Lord Montague. There was a disagreement of some sort between them which Montague lamented at length in a letter of April 1580. Montague regretted

that there shoulde remayne in yow any dowbtt or suspicio[n] of my well dealinge or meaninge towards yow...I nev[e]r deservid better to my brother in good will tha[n] I alwayes have donne unto yow... I will bothe protest & stand to the proff thatt I nev[e]r abusid yow or unfrendly or forgettfully deltt in any case towching yow... this is true I wryte unto yow.¹⁵⁷

More's value to Montague is apparent from the earnest tone of the letter. Montague's steward Anthony Garnett wrote to John Wolley on the same topic. More and Montague had been in dispute over a murder, presumably connected to More's work as a JP. Garnett acted as an intermediary and had, according to his letter to Wolley, told Montague why More felt "greved in sort & unkyndly deltt w[i]thall by his L[ordship] [in] the matter of that layt murder supposed by Mellershe to have ben co[m]mitted."¹⁵⁸ There had been a dispute between Mellersh and Montague before, concerning land in Shalford, while Montague had also asked More and Thomas Stoughton to investigate the behaviour of his servant Philip Mellersh, who had allegedly "used lewd and insufferable words" about either Lord Arundel or Lord Lumley.¹⁵⁹ However, More had a better relationship with the Mellersh family, having been called as one of the arbitrators in an argument over a will in 1557, and being appointed executor for Alice Mellersh in 1559.¹⁶⁰ It may be that Montague and More found

¹⁵⁴ Thomas Copley to William More, 17th August 1569, SHC LM/COR/3/106. It is hard to disagree with Copley's assessment.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁶ Hassell Smith, *County and Court*, pp. 194-5. This was a huge bribe, probably about £45,000 in modern money.

¹⁵⁷ Anthony Browne, Lord Montague, to Sir William More, 13th April 1580, SHC 6729/8/76.

¹⁵⁸ Anthony Garnett to John Wolley, 14th April 1580, SHC 6729/8/77.

¹⁵⁹ Anthony Garnett to William More, 16th August 1575, SHC 6729/8/56; Anthony Browne, Lord Montague, to William More and Thomas Stoughton, 29th July 1572, SHC 6729/8/38.

¹⁶⁰ Arbitration award in a dispute between Alice Mellersh, widow, and Philip Mellersh, 12th December 1557, SHC LM/347/37; probate of the will of Alice Mellersh, 10th December 1559, SHC LM/2011/49/1. Philip

themselves on opposite sides in this murder case, with More supporting a family whom he had previously represented.

William More was sheriff twice, in 1558-9 and 1579-80, while his son-in-law Richard Polsted held the shrievalty in 1573. As sheriff, More's potential as a patron increased. More was canvassed by others to appoint men who were presumably their clients or friends. In November 1576 when More was a candidate for sheriff, Montague wrote to him to request that More appoint "my lovinge frende William Dawtrey" as undersheriff; he was sure that More would be pleased if he chose him.¹⁶¹ In November 1577, when it was again possible that More would become sheriff, he was once more was approached on Dawtrey's behalf, although this time by Lord Buckhurst. Buckhurst stressed how honest and "sufficyent" Dawtrey was, and that if More chose him he would be pleased not only with Dawtrey but also with Buckhurst for suggesting him.¹⁶² As is the case here, in 1570s Norfolk there was competition to be under sheriff, with candidates seeking the support of courtiers with whom they were connected.¹⁶³

Neither More nor Dawtrey was chosen in 1576 or 1577, but More was appointed sheriff for a second time in 1579-80, when he named William Lusser as undersheriff.¹⁶⁴ More had previously appointed a William Lusser, presumably the same man or at least from the same family, as deputy vice admiral of Sussex.¹⁶⁵ In November 1579, Lusser wrote to More entreating him to consider him as undersheriff if More were chosen as sheriff: "I wold be most willinge to serve yo[u]r worshippe in that office". If More were not chosen, Lusser asked that More or his son George should approach

Mellersh had also provided eight loads of timber for the rebuilding of Loseley; see the chapter on the house above, note 80, p. 42.

¹⁶¹ Anthony Browne, Lord Montague, to Sir William More, 4th November 1576, SHC 6729/8/63. This letter was not written by Montague himself but only signed by him which is unusual in his correspondence with More. It may be that he had several drafts of his letter written and sent to all the candidates. William Dawtrey, from Petworth in Sussex, was a Catholic; both his county and his religion may explain Montague's relationship with him. He had been sheriff of Surrey in 1566-7 but had been removed from the commission of the peace in 1570 because of his faith, and was not restored until shortly before his death in 1591, although for some years before that he had been attending church and taking communion. Hasler, *Commons 1558-1603*, accessed online at www.historyofparliamentonline.org. Montague may have thought that if Dawtrey were working for an irreproachable member of the established church such as More it would help him regain his old status. It was, however, William Gresham of Titsey who became sheriff in November 1576, not More.

¹⁶² Thomas Sackville, Lord Buckhurst, to Sir William More, 11th November 1577, SHC 6729/9/31. In this instance Dawtrey was being championed by a staunch Protestant. George Goring of Danny in Sussex became sheriff this time.

¹⁶³ Hassell Smith, *County and Court*, p.144.

¹⁶⁴ Appointment by Sir William More of William Lusser as undersheriff, 30th November 1579, SHC LM/977/2. Dawtrey's Catholicism would probably have been off putting to More even with the recommendation of men such as Montague.

¹⁶⁵ Appointment by William More of William Lusser as deputy vice-admiral, 4th October 1572, SHC LM/1774/2. This may be the same Lusser who was accused in 1578 of abusing a commission and selling on parts of shipwrecked vessels for his own profit. Jasper Swift to Edward Clinton, Earl of Lincoln and Lord Admiral, 29th November 1578, Folger L.b. 597.

the Earl of Leicester on his behalf, recognising here the significance of the Mores' relationship with Leicester.¹⁶⁶ This all suggests that the Lusshers were clients of the Mores, who were therefore expected to promote their interests as far as possible.¹⁶⁷

While More was therefore an attractive patron if he held the position of sheriff, the role of deputy lieutenant was actually more influential. The deputies' standing was enhanced by their contact with the lord lieutenant.¹⁶⁸ However, the position brought with it hard work as the lord lieutenant himself was usually absent. As the lords lieutenant and their deputies dealt mainly with military affairs, their duties overlapped with those of the muster commissioners; indeed they were often exactly the same men.¹⁶⁹ The deputies were lobbied if men were chosen in the muster whom their masters or patrons wished to be excused duty. Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick, Leicester's brother, wrote on behalf of a Thomas Bett, servant of Warwick's servant Covert, whom Covert wished not to serve as "the wantt of hym may be greatley to hys hinderance".¹⁷⁰ The emphasis in this letter was very much on the favour More would be doing Covert, and implicitly Warwick, rather than Bett himself. Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, wrote to More in February 1591 to request that his servant Eustace Thomson not join the muster as "he ys to employed in Her Ma[jes]ties s[er]vice under my conductt whensoev[er] Her Ma[jest]ies pleasure may be...".¹⁷¹ Others who petitioned More in this way included Lord Lincoln; Henry Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon; and Lord Buckhurst, whose servant had been called up in both Surrey and Sussex.¹⁷² Although this interference must have been frustrating, it underlines the importance of the office; those who held it were in the position of benefactors to those more powerful than themselves.

Service as a deputy was not to be undertaken lightly, and it needed to be given as much attention as possible. In March 1596 Charles, Lord Howard, wrote to his deputies in Surrey, who were at that time his brother William Howard, Sir William More, Sir Thomas Browne and Sir Francis Carew. In his letter Howard detailed the reasons why three of these four men should stand back from their duties:

¹⁶⁶ William Lussher to Sir William More, 7th November 1579, SHC LM/COR/3/287.

¹⁶⁷ "Mr Lusshere" had given one load of timber when Loseley was rebuilt; see the chapter on the house above, note 80, p.42.

¹⁶⁸ Hassell Smith, *County and Court*, p.50.

¹⁶⁹ The introduction of lord and deputy lieutenants was intended to provide continuity of command over troops, which was apparently lacking under the muster commissioner system. Williams, *Tudor Regime*, p.121.

¹⁷⁰ Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick, to Sir William More, no date, SHC 6729/6/101. Covert was presumably one of the family from Slaugham in Sussex, in which case he would have been related to Walter Covert, also a deputy lieutenant. Bett must have been chosen for the muster in Surrey rather than Sussex.

¹⁷¹ Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, to Sir William More, 2nd February 1591, SHC 6729/6/55.

¹⁷² Edward Clinton, Earl of Lincoln and Lord Admiral, to Sir William More, 16th June 1584, SHC 6729/9/156; Henry Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon, to Sir William More, 12th April 1588, SHC 6729/6/56; Thomas Sackville, Lord Buckhurst, to Sir William More, 29th May 1589, SHC 6729/6/44.

considering the many ocasiones that....call you brother from the services of the conterey...and that yo[u]r yeares S[i]r William More (w[hi]ch comonly bringe infirmityes w[i]th them) make you lesse hable to endure the laboure....And that yo[u]r private ocasiones S[i]r Thomas Browne (w[hi]ch shold not be soe) call you fro[m] dewe attendance...¹⁷³

Lord Howard's solution to this dilemma was one that suggests a hereditary element to these appointments: his "good freind M[aste]r George More" would assist them in their duties.¹⁷⁴ It is also a sign of the respect that Howard felt for Sir William that he did not try to persuade him to resign because of his age, but instead resolved the question in a way that honoured the Mores.

The other post held by Sir William which explicitly dealt with the defence of the realm was that of vice admiral of Sussex. It was not merely concerned with piracy and profit; on several occasions More was asked to commandeer ships on behalf of the Queen.¹⁷⁵ The vice admirals also had to act on allegations of piracy against Spanish trading ships and ensure the wrongdoers were punished.¹⁷⁶ This was presumably a question of defence as well as it was not in England's interests to provoke Spain to retaliate.

Sir William More -Parliament

More sat as an MP in every one of the parliaments of Elizabeth's reign. He represented his native Surrey in all of these, except for the parliament of 1559 in which he sat for Grantham. This last election suggests that Sir William Cecil had some influence on the result as Cecil's main country seat at the time was of course at Burghley in Lincolnshire.¹⁷⁷ The Loseley archives give fascinating details of the organisation that went into winning a parliamentary election in the sixteenth century, and of the rivalries that seem to be especially evident in this area.

In the elections for knight of the shire in 1563, More was allied with Charles Howard, later Lord Howard of Effingham and Lord Admiral, while Sir Henry Weston was their rival. Richard Bydon

¹⁷³ Charles, Lord Howard of Effingham, to William Howard, Sir William More, Sir Thomas Browne, and Sir Francis Carew, deputy lieutenants of Surrey, 23rd March 1596, SHC 6729/7/114. Browne is mistakenly called Sir Thomas Palmer in the address.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid.

¹⁷⁵ See for example Edward, Lord Clinton, to William More, copy, 21st July 156.2, SHC LM/COR/3/27.

¹⁷⁶ The Privy Council to William More, 15th December 1563, SHC 6729/7/16. Although this letter was not written until December, it notes that there has been an increase in such incidents since July. The delay in contacting the vice admirals may imply that the Council were not too concerned.

¹⁷⁷ More was MP for an unknown constituency, probably Reigate, as early as 1539, when he was 19, then for Reigate in 1547 and Guildford in 1553, 1554 and 1555. He was thus a Reigate MP before it became a Howard borough. Under Elizabeth, he represented Grantham in 1559 as discussed above, and Guildford in 1572, 1589 and 1597. He was knight of the shire for Surrey in 1563, 1571, 1584, 1586 and 1593. Hasler, *Commons 1558-1603*, accessed online at www.historyparliamentonline.org. In 1559 he was ineligible for a Surrey seat as he was sheriff.

wrote to More in December 1562 to say that the people of Farnham were supporting Howard and More and would "all be w[i]t[h] you yf God send [damaged] helth & [if] the wether [is] Reasonable".¹⁷⁸ Lord Lumley meanwhile was among those campaigning for Weston, and Thomas Stoughton was trying to bolster support for More and Howard. Weston had "all Wokyng or the most p[ar]te.... Owen Bray ys a greate laborer a gaynst you...for M[aste]r Weston".¹⁷⁹ Bydon was waiting to hear from Thomas Browne and Mr Agmondesham about their campaigning.¹⁸⁰ Bydon followed this up in January 1563 in a letter which described how Thomas Copley might yet be chosen as second knight with Howard first, although More had earlier said he did not think Copley would stand.¹⁸¹ Pressure was clearly put on More to withdraw from the contest, as a draft letter by him survives to an unidentified man he addressed as "yo[u]r hono[u]r" detailing how the anonymous recipient desired More to "desyste from farther medlyng to chyng my self, for the knyghtship of this Shire".¹⁸² More did not back down, however, and he and Howard were elected as knights of the shire. More's resolve was impressive; not all candidates would have persisted if they had been pressurised to back down, as in the case of Roland Pugh in Montgomeryshire, who had hoped to become a knight of the shire in 1588. He was however persuaded instead to settle for the borough seat under pressure from the Herbert family.¹⁸³ These details are fascinating, as they show it was not a foregone conclusion as to who would become an MP. There seems to have been a very basic campaign structure, and rivalries and alliances often emerged.¹⁸⁴ Bydon must have been impressed by More's diligence as muster commissioner to work for him in this way, and he may also have hoped that his support for More would benefit him later on.

¹⁷⁸ Richard Bydon to William More, 11th December 1562, SHC 6729/7/15. Unfortunately this letter is quite badly damaged. The similarity to the anxiety among modern politicians that the electorate will not turn out if the weather is bad is striking. Bydon served with More as a muster commissioner. Richard Bydon to William More, 28th June 1563, SHC 6729/1/26. Besides this he was related to More's first cousin John Hull. Richard Bydon to William More, c. 1559, SHC LM/COR/3/24. Bydon's support had also at some point been solicited by Weston, although the relevant letter is undated. Henry Weston to Richard Bydon, no date, SHC 6729/1/103. This last letter may refer to the 1559 parliament as Weston wrote a similar letter to More, who of course did not stand in Surrey in that election. Henry Weston to William More, no date, SHC 6729/1/102.

¹⁷⁹ Bydon to William More, SHC 6729/7/15. Bydon refers to Weston as "Master" although he had been made a Knight of the Bath on the eve of the Queen's coronation in January 1559.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid.

¹⁸¹ Richard Bydon to William More, probably January 1563, SHC 6729/7/13/1. Sadly this letter is very badly damaged and the second page is missing.

¹⁸² Draft letter by William More, 1562/3, SHC 6729/7/13/2. The anonymous addressee had apparently also complained that More had not made "my Lord of Arrundell p[ri]vye" to his plans. This was Henry Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel, who presumably had another candidate for the seat.

¹⁸³ Neale, *Elizabethan Commons*, p. 95. The borough seat was known as Montgomery Boroughs, and Pugh had held the seat before in the 1572 parliament. Hasler, *Commons 1558-1603*, accessed online at www.historyparliamentonline.org.

¹⁸⁴ Voters were probably offered inducements to support particular candidates. J.T. Cliffe, *The Puritan Gentry: The Great Puritan Families of Early Stuart England* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984), p.53.

Further evidence of such canvassing survives from the 1601 election of knights of the shire in Kent. Sir Robert Sidney, then serving as Governor of Flushing, ordered his servants to support Sir Henry Neville rather than Francis Fane, the candidate of Sidney's local rival Henry Brooke, Lord Cobham. One of Sidney's servants wrote to him letting him know where the candidates were doing well, to whom he should write to help Neville's cause, and which areas were worth canvassing.¹⁸⁵ The letter gives advice very similar to that given by Bydon to More nearly forty years before.

The main competition for election as knights of the shire for Surrey, despite their alliance in 1562-3, was between the Howards and the Mores.¹⁸⁶ In earlier contests More had not always supported the Howards. In 1558-59, when as sheriff More could not stand to be a Surrey MP, he backed his friend Sir Thomas Cawarden, who was successful, over Charles Howard.¹⁸⁷ This was despite pressure from Howard's father, William Lord Howard of Effingham, who wrote to More asking him "to assist him w[i]t[h] yo[u]r owne voyce" and also "the voyces of as manye freholders of yo[u]r Ten[au]nts neyghbors and fryndes as you cane procure in that behalf."¹⁸⁸ He went on to say he would "requite you w[i]t[h] like pleasure" when the opportunity arose, but More stayed firm.¹⁸⁹ After this, however, the families seem to have shared the posts out, in what was effectively a closed shop, and in way that is not suggestive at all of a factionalised county.¹⁹⁰ In 1571 for example Sir Henry Weston was the senior knight of the shire and More the junior, while William Howard was MP for Reigate; in 1572 Charles Howard was senior knight and Thomas Lyfield his junior, while both More and William Howard were Reigate MPs. After Charles Howard became Lord Howard of Effingham, and hence a member of the House of Lords, in 1573, his place as senior knight was taken by Sir Francis Walsingham, and in 1584, 1586 and 1588 More was the junior knight. The Howards continued to be represented by Effingham's brother William who was MP for Reigate in 1584 and 1586. The More influence was spreading, however, as George More was MP for Guildford in 1584, 1586 and 1588. Sir William was also a Guildford MP in this latter parliament. After Walsingham's death in 1590 the vacancy for senior knight was filled by Sir William's son-in-law Sir John Wolley in the 1593 parliament, with Sir William remaining as the junior. This election was made with the backing of Effingham, who wrote to Sir William that his "desire was to have you and M[aste]r Wolley yo[u]r sonn in lawe elected knight[es] of the shire for Surrey" and that he had discussed this with his

¹⁸⁵ Neale, *Elizabethan Commons*, pp. 67-69. Fane was elected as the senior knight, Neville as the junior. There was at least one other candidate, Sir John Scott.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

¹⁸⁷ Cawarden became the senior knight, while the junior was Sir Thomas Browne. Henry Weston and Thomas Copley were also candidates. Copley was elected that year for the borough of Gatton, which was in his family's control. Hasler, *Commons 1558-1603*, accessed online at www.historyofparliamentonline.org.

¹⁸⁸ William, Lord Howard of Effingham, to William More, 20th December 1558, SHC 6729/7/12.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁰ Hedden, 'Conceptualising Faction', p.5.

brother William and asked him to rally support.¹⁹¹ George More was the Guildford MP and William Howard represented Reigate. However, for Sir William's final parliament, that of 1597, by which time Wolley was dead, the Mores swapped roles and George became knight of the shire and Sir William MP for Guildford.¹⁹² In this parliament, the penultimate one of the reign, George Austen, a long standing More associate, was MP for Haslemere, and so the Mores' parliamentary influence was significant.¹⁹³ Sir William More's impressive parliamentary service through the reign has led to him being described as "one of the most experienced parliamentarians of his age."¹⁹⁴

A similar situation is found in Oxfordshire at this time. Sir Francis Knollys was the senior knight of the shire for this county from the parliament of 1563 until his death in 1596, when his son William took over. Sir Francis's eldest son Henry represented Reading in 1563 and 1571, and was junior knight in 1572. After Henry's death, William was then the junior knight until he took over from his father.¹⁹⁵ The More and Howard dominance of their county's parliamentary seats was by no means exceptional therefore, but different from the experience of, for example, Warwickshire, where under Elizabeth only two men, Sir Thomas Lucy and Clement Throckmorton, served more than once as knight of the shire.¹⁹⁶

Despite his many years as an MP, William More rarely spoke in the Commons.¹⁹⁷ However, he served on a large number of committees dealing with a variety of issues, some local and some national. He was a staunch defender of the Queen, saying when in a committee on the subsidy in 1593 that she "hath been a continual defence of her own realm and her neighbours' kingdoms" and that the subsidy should be granted.¹⁹⁸ Other national issues for which he sat on committees included the poor law and the manufacture of woollen cloth, a topic presumably of great interest to him as ulnager, while on a local level they included the division of the bailiwicks of Surrey and Sussex

¹⁹¹ Charles, Lord Howard of Effingham, to Sir William More, 16th January 1593, SHC 6729/7/88. Wolley was knighted in 1592 although he is still referred to as "Master" in this letter. Wolley had previously been in parliament as MP for boroughs in Dorset and Hampshire, and as knight of the shire for Dorset in 1589. Hasler, *Commons 1558-1603*, accessed online at www.historyofparliamentonline.org.

¹⁹² In 1597 William Howard, Lord Howard of Effingham, son of Charles Howard who was by this time Earl of Nottingham, was initially senior knight of the shire but withdrew and was replaced by his younger brother Charles, who had originally been MP for Bletchingley. Hasler, *Commons 1558-1603*, accessed online at www.historyofparliamentonline.org.

¹⁹³ In the 1597 parliament, Nottingham's brother William and nephew Edward both served as MPs for Reigate. Hasler, *Commons 1558-1603*, accessed online at www.historyofparliamentonline.org.

¹⁹⁴ Neale, *Elizabethan Commons*, p. 43.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 48. Lucy was knight of the shire in 1559, 1571 and 1584, Throckmorton in 1563 and 1572. Hasler, *Commons 1558-1603*, accessed online at www.historyofparliamentonline.org.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

in the 1571 parliament.¹⁹⁹ He was thus very much an MP who was interested in the governance of the whole country, not just his own county or indeed just the south.²⁰⁰ He also, like his son George, served on committees for parliamentary privilege; both men were on this committee in the 1593 and 1597 parliaments.²⁰¹ The interest in this topic may, particularly in George's case, suggest that their sympathies would have been with parliament in the Civil War.

On his death in July 1600, therefore, Sir William left his family in an excellent position to achieve further success. He had effectively established an hereditary hold on the Surrey seats in parliament alongside the Howards. His reputation locally had been built on his service as JP, deputy lieutenant and sheriff, to name only the most senior of the positions he held. This had made him an appealing figure both to potential patrons, and to those who sought sponsorship themselves. With his daughter and her second husband he had divided the spheres of Court and county to excellent effect so that his family was well represented in both. However, his son George was to find it difficult to continue this success.

Sir George More - Patronage and the Court

During his father's lifetime George, who was knighted in c.1598, had served in parliament as both a borough MP and knight of the shire. He had also been a JP from about 1582, serving at the same time as his father, and had held office as sheriff of Surrey and Sussex in 1597-98. In addition he had assisted Sir William and the other deputy lieutenants as discussed above.²⁰² George must have been capable; it was not always the case that sons succeeded their fathers on the bench, let alone were appointed to serve at the same time.²⁰³ Like his father, George had influential patrons, although the deaths between 1588 and 1598 of Leicester, Walsingham, Montague and Burghley were all significant. From the slightly younger generation, Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham, Elizabeth Wolley's third husband Sir Thomas Egerton, who became Lord Ellesmere in July 1603, Lord

¹⁹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰⁰ See Hasler, *Commons 1558-1603*, accessed online at www.historyofparliamentonline.org for a more comprehensive account than space here allows.

²⁰¹ They also served together in 1589 on committees on forestallers (those buying goods before they reached the market, www.oed.com) and regrators (those who bought up goods to sell on at a profit, www.oed.com), and glass factories; in 1593 subsidies and rogues; and in 1597 on tillage and enclosures, penal laws, armour and weapons, the poor law and "lewd wandering persons". Hasler, *Commons 1558-1603*, accessed online at www.historyofparliamentonline.org.

²⁰² Louis A. Knafly, 'Sir George More (1553-1632)', www.oxforddnb.com. This was despite the directives aimed at preventing fathers and sons sitting as JPs at the same time. Hassell Smith, *County and Court*, p.80.

²⁰³ Hassell Smith, *County and Court*, pp. 58-9.

Buckhurst and Anne Dudley, Countess of Warwick, all remained significant for his career. They were all, however, older than More.²⁰⁴ He therefore needed to attract new sponsors to replace the old.

The influence exerted by Nottingham and the others was still important for More as he came into his inheritance and set out to build on his father's achievements. When Sir William died, Sir George was keen to succeed him as chamberlain of the Exchequer, and he turned to his patrons for help. Anne Warwick wrote to More in August 1600, within a month of Sir William's death, to let him know that she had received his letter and had spoken to the Queen on his behalf. The Queen had replied that she would "expresse heir resolution" in More's favour with regard to "the office of yo[u]r fathers".²⁰⁵ More had obviously petitioned his brother-in-law Egerton as well. Egerton confirmed that Lady Warwick had spoken to the Queen, who would decide on the office at Michaelmas.²⁰⁶ Egerton wrote that he did not doubt More would be successful "saving that all thing[es] may be doubted, before the deed can be secure. There is nothing maye unarme you, but I wyll be as carefull of yt as I can."²⁰⁷ Egerton had then discussed the matter with Buckhurst, and the latter wrote to More to assure him "of my good will therin", and that he would speak to the Queen on More's behalf if the opportunity arose.²⁰⁸ More was appointed chamberlain of the Exchequer in 1601; the network which his father had created showed it was still working effectively, and that Sir George was seen as a worthy successor.

In 1602, however, More was involved in a dispute with Nottingham over the office of verderer in the Surrey bailiwick, which Sir William had held before him. In a draft letter from Sir George to Nottingham he apologised "for making a warrant" so that he could receive the stag to which he believed himself entitled as verderer. In the letter More referred to his father and grandfather's service as verderers over the preceding "fourscore yeres".²⁰⁹ He may have hoped to remind Nottingham of the good service which both the county and the Crown had had from his family. More's letter obviously went down well with Nottingham, who wrote to reassure him that he would be sent a stag.²¹⁰ The argument clearly did him no lasting damage. For example, Nottingham

²⁰⁴ Nottingham had previously been Lord Howard of Effingham; he was created Earl of Nottingham in 1597. He was born in 1536, so was seventeen years More's senior. He died in 1624. Egerton, born in 1540, was thirteen years older than More, and died in 1617. Buckhurst was also born in 1536; he died in 1608. Anne Warwick was born in 1549, so was closest in age to More, and died in 1604.

²⁰⁵ Anne Dudley, Countess of Warwick, to Sir George More, 4th August 1600, SHC 6729/2/75.

²⁰⁶ Sir Thomas Egerton to Sir George More, 9th August 1600, SHC 6729/9/94.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁸ Thomas Sackville, Lord Buckhurst, to Sir George More, 3rd September 1600, SHC 6729/9/35.

²⁰⁹ Sir George More to Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham, draft, probably September 1602, SHC 6729/3/51.

Christopher More had been appointed verderer, that is a legal officer with oversight of the royal forest, in 1519, so it was indeed just over eighty years since the Mores had started holding this office.

²¹⁰ Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham, to Sir George More, 12th September 1602, SHC 6729/3/50a.

was later to ask More, among others including Nottingham's son, to survey the number of deer in Guildford Park before the park was handed to John Murray, one of the King's gentlemen.²¹¹

Sir George also appeared to have won the favour of the greatest patron of all, the King, who visited Loseley on his progresses in 1603 and 1606. Indeed, George outdid his father in the offices he held which led to direct contact with the royal family. In 1610 More became the treasurer and receiver general to Henry, Prince of Wales. Before this appointment, More seems to have given up his Exchequer role, writing in 1609 to Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, the Lord Treasurer, asking to be relieved of his office because of age and infirmity, even though it was a post for life.²¹² More was perhaps disingenuous here; when he wrote the letter he was only 54, and his father had lived to 80. It may be that he was unwell at the time, or that he hoped to move on from the Exchequer to greater things, for he did not show any reluctance to take on other offices. Certainly his role in Henry's household created opportunities for the rest of the family. Sir George's son William was one of the Prince's attendants, but was apparently mocked by the nouveaux riches gentlemen of the Court for not being as fashionable or as rich as they were, so this was perhaps not a great success.²¹³ More's nephew Arthur Mainwaring was a carver to the prince²¹⁴ Henry's premature and unexpected death in November 1612, however, closed this route to advancement. In December 1612 More then sought appointment to the lucrative office of master of the Court of Wards, the second time he had sought this post, but was again unsuccessful.²¹⁵ As a result of this disappointment Sir George petitioned the King to let him "retyre to a place and course of life more private" as he had been

²¹¹ Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham, to Sir Charles Howard, Sir George More and Laurence Stoughton, 30th April 1608, SHC 6729/3/54. John Murray had been the King's master of the horse when James was King of Scots. By 1609 he was a groom of the bedchamber, and he was ennobled as Earl of Annandale in 1625. Alan R. MacDonald, 'John Murray, first Earl of Annandale (d.1640)', www.oxforddnb.com.

²¹² Sir George More, draft or copy of a letter to Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, 28th November 1609, SHC 6729/10/120. He eventually sold the office to his son-in-law Sir Nicholas Throckmorton in 1613. Thrush & Ferris, *Commons 1604-1629*, accessed online at www.historyofparliament.org.

²¹³ William More to Sir George More, 5th June, no year, SHC 6729/3/145. It is likely that this letter dates from June 1611 or 1612 when Sir George was part of the Prince's household. Sir George's eldest son Robert had also apparently been proposed, by Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk, as a suitable companion to the Prince. Munden, 'George More', pp. 103-104. That Suffolk was the father of Frances, Countess of Somerset, may be another embarrassing connection between Sir George and the two most notorious prisoners held in The Tower during his time as Lieutenant. See below.

²¹⁴ Anne Somerset, *Unnatural Murder: Poison at the Court of James I* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1997), p.87. Mainwaring had previously been steward in his uncle Egerton's household, taking up that post in 1601. He became the prince's carver in 1604. Thrush & Ferris, *Commons 1604-162*, accessed online at www.historyofparliamentonline.org.

²¹⁵ Munden, 'George More', p. 105. This office was perhaps not always as profitable as was hoped. Sir Richard Weston of Sutton Place tried in 1525 to give up the post and instead become Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. Stanford Lehmborg, 'Sir Richard Weston (c.1465-1541)', www.oxforddnb.com.

shamed in front of the world.²¹⁶ However, the false modesty in the petition implied that More hoped to be restored to public life in London.

In October 1615 this happened when More became Lieutenant of the Tower of London. While this sounds an impressive office, More was actually appointed at a difficult time. More's predecessor, Sir Gervase Elwes, was executed on 20th November 1615 as an accessory to the murder, in The Tower, of Sir Thomas Overbury.²¹⁷ Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset, the King's former favourite, and his wife Frances were awaiting their own trials for their part in Overbury's murder, and it is arguable that Sir George's involvement in this case was to impede his future progress at Court.²¹⁸ The almost hysterical letters that James wrote to More about Somerset's forthcoming trial suggest that the King feared that it could cause him (the King) great embarrassment. James was anxious that Somerset would imply that the King "was in some sorte accessorie to his cryme"; the King would not receive any private messages from the Earl in case that implied some guilt on his part.²¹⁹

More also suffered the difficulty of having potentially embarrassing personal connections to the scandal. His nephew Arthur Mainwaring, whom he had presumably helped to his position in the Prince of Wales's household, had had a long affair and three children with Anne Turner, a confidante of the Countess of Somerset, who was implicated in Overbury's murder and executed.²²⁰ Mainwaring's relationship with her was recounted in lurid detail at Anne Turner's trial.²²¹ More's son-in-law John Donne had been in Somerset's service when the latter was still Lord Rochester, and

²¹⁶ Sir George More, a petition to the King, 8th December 1612, Folger L.b. 633.

²¹⁷ Somerset, *Unnatural Murder*, pp. 333-343 for the trial and execution of Elwes. Overbury was murdered in September 1613.

²¹⁸ Somerset was already being held in The Tower; Frances was under house arrest at the home of Lord Knollys until moved to The Tower in April 1616. When she arrived there her distress on discovering she was to have the rooms Overbury had occupied was such that Sir George let her have his apartments until others could be prepared for her. Somerset, *Unnatural Murder*, p. 309, p. 375.

²¹⁹ The King to Sir George More, May 1616, Folger L.b. 654. This is one of four surviving letters which James sent to More about Somerset; the references for the others are L.b. 652, 653 and 655. James was afraid that Somerset would reveal the King's role in Overbury's imprisonment, and that this might be taken as an endorsement of the murder. Overbury had been arrested in April 1613 because the King believed Sir Thomas had treated him with contempt by refusing an ambassadorship which would have taken him to France, Russia or the Spanish Netherlands. Somerset, at the time Lord Rochester, had perhaps encouraged the King to take this hard line as he had fallen out with Overbury himself. The real issue was Rochester's desire to marry Frances, who was then Countess of Essex. Somerset, *Unnatural Murder*, pp. 128-135 on Overbury's refusal of the ambassadorship and subsequent arrest, p.383 for the King's fears. Both Somerset and Frances were found guilty, but James escaped without embarrassment.

²²⁰ Somerset, *Unnatural Murder*, pp.87-88 on the liaison between Mainwaring and Anne Turner, and p.331 on her death.

²²¹ *Ibid*, pp.325-326.

had written a poem to celebrate the Somersets' marriage in 1613.²²² Finally, as Lord High Steward, More's brother-in-law Lord Ellesmere had overseen Somerset's trial.²²³ These circumstances may have led the King to see More as irretrievably associated with this humiliating experience.

It is therefore possible, indeed likely, that James's relationship with Sir George was permanently affected by this scandal.²²⁴ Certainly More appears to have had no desire to continue as Lieutenant, and by the spring of 1617, after less than two years in the post, he had petitioned to be dismissed. The King, in the letter under his signet and sign manual which released More, mentioned his "dilligence, fayth and dexteritie... [which] have given us very good contentment", but he may have been glad to move More on.²²⁵ This impression is reinforced by the King's treatment of More in his role as Chancellor of the Order of the Garter, a post to which he had been appointed in May 1611.²²⁶ In May 1618, Sir George was informed by a warrant from the King that he only needed to be present at the Garter feast, and not at other times "as you have not any imployment about or neere o[u]r person w[hi]ch doth require your attendance for any other service".²²⁷ A draft of More's response shows how distressed he was to be cast aside like this:

I am the Chauncelo[u]r of the most noble Order of the Garter...and haveing by vertue of that Office, the custodie of those Seales, w[hi]c[h] shold not be farre from yo[u]r roiall presence, dutie bindes me to a continuall attendans neere Yo[u]r Ma[jes]ties principall howses...thoughe very seldome there be use of my Servise....I have bin often a most humble suto[u]r...But Yo[u]r Ma[jes]tie ...not finding any worthines in me, I dare not continue a suto[u]r in that kinde, but doe most humbly pray, that Yo[u]r Ma[jes]tie will give me leave to surrender my said Office to some more worthy person ... So shall I retire, and hide my face from shame...²²⁸

More had tried this tactic once before, as cited above when he begged leave to retire from public life after the death of the Prince of Wales. On that occasion he was frustrated that an office had been

²²² Ibid, p. 168, p.245. Donne however found that was Somerset was not a reliable patron and left his service in January 1615 to become a priest. Ibid, p. 264.

²²³ Ibid, pp.392-393.

²²⁴ More was also related by marriage to Sir Walter Raleigh, who was still held in The Tower during More's tenure as Lieutenant. Sir George's eldest daughter Mary (d. c. 1618) was married to Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, whose sister Bess was Raleigh's wife. In January 1617, the King issued a warrant under the Great Seal for More to release Raleigh. Warrant under the Great Seal for the release of Sir Walter Raleigh from The Tower, 30th January 1617, Folger L.b. 358. Raleigh was not however released until March 1617. Kempe transcribes both this warrant and an earlier one, dated 19th March 1616, which gave permission for Raleigh to go out of The Tower, under escort, to make preparations for a voyage. Kempe, *Loseley Manuscripts*, pp. 377-378. This warrant is not listed in either the SHC or the Folger catalogues so is presumably lost. The surviving warrant is damaged, and the SHC catalogue suggests that this happened after Kempe had seen the document, so it may be that the other was badly damaged at the same time.

²²⁵ The King, letter under signet and sign manual to Sir George More, 3rd March 1617, SHC 6729/13/107. More was succeeded by Sir Allen Apsley, a client of George Villiers, later Duke of Buckingham, who had followed Somerset as James's greatest favourite. Apsley was Lieutenant when Raleigh was finally executed in 1618.

²²⁶ This office had earlier been held by Wolley.

²²⁷ Warrant from the King to Sir George More, 8th May 1618, Folger L.b. 666.

²²⁸ Sir George More, petition to the King, probably 1618, Folger L.b. 673.

denied to him; what happened now was perhaps worse as an office he already held was being reduced in importance, which he may have seen as either a reflection on his abilities, or an unwelcome indication of the King's opinion of him.²²⁹ More, and his son Robert were also asked to surrender the offices of Keeper of Farnham Little Park, as well as "other offices about Farnham" in December 1622. These had already been reallocated.²³⁰

Thus, although Charles, Prince of Wales stayed at Loseley in 1617, More's influence at the centre of affairs was diminished. The relative failure of his Court career may not have been solely, or indeed at all, connected to his time as Lieutenant of The Tower. Almost certainly More had been more at home in the decorous Court of Henry, Prince of Wales, than he could ever have been at the arguably debauched Court of the King.²³¹ More, of Puritan sympathy, was better suited to the atmosphere, of the Prince's Court, which inevitably attracted like-minded people, although it may be that he seemed rather old fashioned to the younger members of the prince's entourage.²³² Unlike his father, the Prince would not suffer the presence of Catholics at his Court, which again might have appealed to More at his most strident.²³³ Henry's death therefore thrust More back into a less congenial courtly setting.

The difficulties which a man of Sir George's views faced in adapting to and thriving in James's Court are eloquently expressed in the Commonplace Book of More's son-in-law Sir John Oglander, who believed More to have been "the best of men...[who] took more pains for the service of his country than any man living." ²³⁴ Oglander blamed More's relative lack of success on his relationship with the King's favourites: "the favourites never affected him, for Somerset would often tell him, that he had...heard King James nominate him for great places, [but] he had still crossed him and moved the King for others." ²³⁵ Buckingham apparently did the same. Oglander explained this in his comment that "[it] was [More's] misery to live in an age wherein good and understanding men's

²²⁹ More was not deprived of this office, even if its importance was downgraded; he was in the procession at the King's funeral in his capacity of Chancellor of the Order. John Nichols, *The Progresses, Processions and Magnificent Festivities of King James I, His Royal Consort, Family and Court*, 4 vols (London: 1828; repr; New York: Burt Franklin, no date), IV, p. 1043. He remained in office until 1628. Munden, 'George More', p.105.

²³⁰ The King to Sir George More and Sir Robert More, 6th December 1622, SHC 6729/3/12. This is surprising as the offices were in the gift of the Bishop of Winchester; see the chapter on religion below, pp. 143-145.

²³¹ Roy Strong, *Henry Prince of Wales and England's Lost Renaissance* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1986; repr. London: Pimlico, 2000), p. 12 and p.167 for the contrast between the two Courts.

²³² See pp.98-99 above for the Mores' attempts to fit in at the prince's Court. Their difficulties may suggest that the Mores were better suited to being county rather than Court gentry; with the exception of Elizabeth Wolley, they did not have experience of direct attendance on the royal family.

²³³ Strong, *Henry Prince of Wales*, p. 12.

²³⁴ Oglander, *Royalist's Notebook*, p.164.

²³⁵ *Ibid*, p. 166.

merits were valued at less than ill and weak men's money."²³⁶ Clearly More failed to appeal to the new favourites, and so did not manage to replace his earlier patrons. This failure may have cost him the King's favour as he had no one to speak for him.

More's conflicting views on the King, a man who he was desperate to serve but by whom he was treated badly, are also summed up by Oglander. He wrote that "King James the First of England was the most cowardly man that ever I knew".²³⁷ Nonetheless, he was also apparently "the best scholar and wisest prince...that ever England had, very merciful and passionate, liberal and honest."²³⁸ The late Queen, however, was without reservation "one of the noblest, most generous, bravest princes that ever England had."²³⁹ This appraisal perhaps hints at another of More's problems, namely that he had been prepared for the politics of the Elizabethan, not the Jacobean, Court. Sir George's Puritanism could well have been more of a factor in the deterioration of his relationship with the King than his time as Lieutenant of the Tower. It is worth remembering that More had already been turned down for offices before he took that post, which suggests that he was no longer highly favoured; this may even be why he was chosen for this difficult job. However, his knowledge of James's fears about Somerset's trial cannot have improved his position.

Sir George More - Surrey

Sir George's Puritan views may have put him out of step with James's Court, but they were of great importance to him, as shown in his parliamentary career.²⁴⁰ As an MP, he regularly served on committees discussing legislation to combat what was construed as sinful behaviour.²⁴¹ He took his duties as an MP extremely seriously, in 1614 describing the main duty of the Commons as "to speak from the Commonwealth that continually speaks to us."²⁴² He also continued to serve the county as a JP, for example in February 1608 helping to arrange amended lists of freeholders eligible to sit as jurors.²⁴³ He did however have to leave the bench while he was in the household of Henry, Prince of Wales.²⁴⁴

²³⁶Ibid, p. 167.

²³⁷ Ibid, p. 193.

²³⁸Ibid, p. 194.

²³⁹Ibid, p.192.

²⁴⁰ After his father's death in 1600, Sir George served as knight of the shire for Surrey in 1601, 1614, 1621, 1625 and 1626. He was MP for Guildford in 1604 and 1624.

²⁴¹ Cliffe, *Puritan Gentry*, p. 59. These dealt with issues such as morality and extravagance.

²⁴² Quoted in Heal & Holmes, *Gentry*, p. 206.

²⁴³ The Privy Council to the high sheriff and JPs in Surrey, 26th February 1608, SHC 6729/10/117.

²⁴⁴ Thrush & Ferris, *Commons 1604-1629*, accessed online at www.historyofparliament.org.

Like his father, he used his influence on behalf of family members and clients, and maintained the family's hold on local politics. His son Sir Robert was MP for Guildford in 1601, 1614, 1621 and 1625, all years when Sir George was knight of the shire, and Robert was knight of the shire himself in 1604 and 1624 when his father sat for Guildford.²⁴⁵ Robert's son Poynings was MP for Haslemere in 1624, 1625 and 1626; Francis Wolley, Sir George's nephew, held that seat in 1601. George Austen was MP for Guildford alongside More in 1604. This was arguably the time of the family's greatest parliamentary influence. In 1624, for example, the Mores made up one of the largest family groups in the Commons. Besides Sir George, Sir Robert and Poynings, Sir George's son-in-law Sir Thomas Grymes was the other knight of the shire for Surrey; his grandson Francis Carew was the other Haslemere MP; his nephew Sir Arthur Mainwaring was MP for Huntingdon, and his former son-in-law Sir John Mill sat for Southampton.²⁴⁶

Unlike his father, Sir George spoke often in the Commons, but like him was on a large number of committees. His greatest interest, as mentioned above, was the question of parliamentary privilege; it was a motion proposed by him in the 1593 that led to the formation of a committee, of which he was three times the chair, on this issue.²⁴⁷ The national questions with which he was involved often had a Puritanical slant, such as the regulation of ale houses, but he also sat on committees for the subsidy, the poor law, monopolies and the cloth industry, among many others.²⁴⁸ On topics of local interest, in the 1604 parliament in particular he supported spreading purveyance across the country as this was a heavier burden for Surrey than elsewhere. This was one area where he was not wholeheartedly supportive of the Crown; the other issues over which he differed with James I were the importance of parliamentary privilege and the proposed Spanish marriage for the future Charles I.²⁴⁹ Otherwise he was loyal, backing James's vision of a union between England and Scotland, which Sir George described in 1606 as "the work of God," but which was not generally popular.²⁵⁰ Like Sir William before him, he was dedicated to the Crown's service in parliament, and as an MP took a national rather than local viewpoint.

Robert and Poynings both followed Sir George and sat on the bench; neither however served as sheriff, perhaps in part because the family was by now well established, although Poynings was deputy lieutenant.²⁵¹ Sir George continued to be an influential man in Surrey, whose support was

²⁴⁵ Robert More was knighted in 1603.

²⁴⁶ Thrush & Ferris, *Commons 1604-1629*, accessed online at www.historyofparliament.org.

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁵¹ Sir Robert died before his father, in February 1626; his son and heir, Poynings, succeeded Sir George in 1632.

worth having, and the absence of whose trust was to be regretted. Sir Ambrose Browne wrote to More in February 1628 to complain that he had heard that although More himself was not standing as knight of the shire, he would not support Browne, and in fact "thatt you endeavour by all meanes ...to oppose me." Browne blamed this on "an innate & inveterat malice unto my house & name."²⁵² The tone of the letter implies that Browne was well aware that a lack of support from More could threaten his ambitions. Despite this continued influence in Surrey, however, Sir George lacked the sponsorship at Court which was crucial to further progress. It was not a collapse in fortunes such as that experienced by the Catholic Treshams in the first half of the seventeenth century, debarred as they were from public office by their religion, but the Mores were never again to be so powerful as they had been in the time of Sir William.²⁵³

The Aftermath - Sir Poynings More and the Civil War

Sir George was succeeded on his death in 1632 by his grandson Poynings (1606-1649).²⁵⁴ The young Poynings seems to have been something of an embarrassment to his family. His father, Sir Robert, wrote to Poynings in August 1622 when the latter was at Trinity College, Oxford. Sir Robert warned Poynings against "runn[ing]...with companie which is ill", and advising him instead to concentrate on dancing, ciphering and accounts, in that order.²⁵⁵ In a letter of October 1622, Sir Robert complained to Poynings about his writing style.²⁵⁶ After Sir Robert's death in February 1626, Poynings' mother Frances took over the attempt to keep her son on the right track. Poynings had apparently not heeded his father's advice, as Lady More once again warned him about the company he kept, in particular one friend who was not "agentlman [sic] borne... and therefore no[t]fit to make him your companion."²⁵⁷ In the same letter she lamented the reports she had had of her son's drunkenness, which were, it seems, well known in the county.²⁵⁸ Poynings himself was criticised for being an unsuitable companion by his uncle Sir Nicholas Carew when he was travelling, or perhaps

²⁵² Sir Ambrose Browne to Sir George More, 16th February 1628, SHC 6729/1/23. There does not seem to have been a contest that year; Browne was elected alongside Sir Richard Onslow. This suggests that More was probably not actively promoting another candidate, although Browne obviously feared that he was.

²⁵³ Finch, *Five Northamptonshire Families*, p. 76 onwards for the ruin of the Treshams.

²⁵⁴ Poynings' unusual Christian name was the maiden name of his paternal grandmother Anne.

²⁵⁵ Sir Robert More to Poynings More, 12th August 1622, SHC 6729/3/150. Poynings turned 16 in February 1622. A list of dates and places of birth of Poynings More and his siblings, 1606-1625, SHC LM/1690.

²⁵⁶ Sir Robert More to Poynings More, 19th October 1622, SHC 6729/3/149.

²⁵⁷ Frances, Lady More, to Poynings More, c. February 1626, SHC LM/COR/4/80.

²⁵⁸ *Ibid.* The impression is that Lady More was more worried about the impact of the rumours of drunkenness than she was about the drunkenness itself.

escaping his creditors, with his cousin Francis, Carew's son.²⁵⁹ Sir Nicholas suspected that Poynings would be as bad an influence on Francis abroad as he was at home, where he "was a companion...in your unthrifty and carelesse courses..."²⁶⁰

Sir George, however, may have given his grandson a little more credit, or at least tried to do so, perhaps in the hope that this would make him face his responsibilities. As mentioned above, Poynings became an MP in 1624, representing Haslemere in that parliament, when he was only 18; his cousin Francis Carew was the other member for the town. Sir George's final term as an MP came when he served as knight of the shire in the parliament of 1626; after that Poynings seems to have become his informant on parliamentary affairs. It could be said that Poynings was attempting to fulfil for his grandfather a similar role to that which the Wolleys had performed for Sir William More, namely that of being Loseley's representative at the centre. In February 1629, for example, Poynings wrote to Sir George describing a stalemate between the Commons and the King over the seizure of goods belonging to a merchant who was also an MP.²⁶¹ In another letter, probably also from 1629, Poynings wrote to his grandfather about debates on religious questions, and the King's summons of both houses of parliament to attend him in the Banqueting House at Whitehall to discuss tonnage and poundage.²⁶² Besides this, there is a collection of documents in the Folger library dating from 1628, which appear to have been copied up by Poynings, and which deal with parliamentary discussions in that year on habeas corpus.²⁶³ These include copies of a letter from the King to the House of Lords about the royal prerogative and habeas corpus, and the King's speech to both houses on 26th June 1628. It is possible that Poynings wrote these up to send to Sir George and thereby keep him informed on parliamentary business. Poynings was not, however, always a diligent MP. On 9th May 1643 he was listed among those who were to "be enjoined to attend" the Commons within

²⁵⁹ Sir Nicholas's first wife was Sir George More's eldest daughter Mary. Born Throckmorton, Sir Nicholas changed his surname in 1611 in order to inherit the estate of his unmarried maternal uncle, Sir Francis Carew, at Beddington, in north east Surrey. Anna Beer, *Bess: The Life of Lady Raleigh, Wife to Sir Walter* (London: Constable & Robinson, 2004), pp. 180-182. Sir Francis specified in his will that the change of surname was a necessary condition for the inheritance. The will of Sir Francis Carew of Beddington, 2nd August 1610, SHC 281/5/1. For the suggestion that Poynings and Francis were avoiding their debts, see Thrush & Ferris *Commons 1604-1629*, accessed online at www.historyofparliamentonline.org.

²⁶⁰ Quoted in Cliffe, *Puritan Gentry*, p.75.

²⁶¹ Poynings More to Sir George More, February 1629, SHC LM/COR/4/81. The main concern seems to have been the abuse of parliamentary privilege inherent in the confiscation. As seen above, this was an area of great interest to Sir George. The MP in question was John Rolle, who represented Callington in Cornwall. Rolle was an importer of luxury cloth, and in October 1628 had refused to pay customs duties on one consignment as a protest against such taxes. He claimed privilege as an MP, but also said he would pay what he owed once the duties were sanctioned by parliament. Thrush & Ferris, *Commons 1604-1629*, accessed online at www.historyofparliamentonline.org

²⁶² Poynings More to Sir George More, c.1629, Folger L.b. 685. Tonnage was the tax on imported wine in casks, poundage a subsidy granted by parliament to the Crown on most imports and exports. www.oed.com.

²⁶³ A collection of documents concerning habeas corpus, 1628, Folger L.b. 684.

ten days or face a £200 fine, and on 24th April 1648 he was recorded as absent without any excuse given.²⁶⁴

Sir George and Poyning's relationship was not always harmonious. For instance, in the August of, probably, 1630, Poyning wrote from Paris to apologise for his "strange and sudden departure...w[i]thout your knowledge", which suggests that the two were perhaps not always on the best of terms.²⁶⁵ However, Poyning, despite the pessimism about his behaviour as a very young man, continued to serve as an MP, for Haslemere four times and Guildford once, and, like his ancestors, held a number of local offices, the main two of which were JP and deputy lieutenant. He also had the responsibility of being the head of his family during the Civil War. He was never, however, knight of the shire for Surrey, which is perhaps a sign of the family's declining influence.

Poyning was made a baronet in May 1642, in recognition of his contribution to the war effort in Ireland.²⁶⁶ This appointment, at the eleventh hour before the outbreak of war in England, might seem to suggest that Poyning was a royalist. After all, both his uncle Sir John Oglander and his father's cousin Sir Henry Mainwaring were unquestionably royalist. Oglander waited on Charles I on the first day of the latter's captivity in Carisbrooke Castle in November 1647; the King also visited Oglander at Nunwell, and Oglander went to Carisbrooke once a week to see the King during the latter's imprisonment there.²⁶⁷ Henry Mainwaring joined the King at Oxford in 1642, and in 1645 was on standby to take the future Charles II out of the country, eventually travelling with the prince to Jersey. In 1648 he served with the royalist fleet.²⁶⁸ Sir Henry's older brother Sir Arthur Mainwaring

²⁶⁴ *Journal of the House of Commons, vol III, 1643-1644* (London: HMSO, 1802), and *vol V, 1646-1648* (London: HMSO, 1802), accessed online at www.british-history.ac.uk.

²⁶⁵ Poyning's More to Sir George More, 20th August, c. 1630, Folger L.b. 679. The collection of documents referred to above may include a clue, although this is speculative, as to why Poyning might suddenly have disappeared. The odd one out among the documents is one signed by "24". This consists of instructions from the King to "24", who had been sent to France to see Louis XIII in 1626 to discuss the bad start to the marriage of Charles I and Henrietta Maria. A collection of documents, Folger L.b. 684. It is unlikely that Poyning would have had this in his possession if he had not either been "24" himself or been directly involved in this rather awkward embassy to France. If so, it may be that his abrupt departure in 1630 was also related to government business. This is not, however, something suggested by the course of his life. Perhaps "24" was his cousin Francis Carew, who was in France from 1630 until c. 1634. Thrush & Ferris, *House of Commons 1604-1629*, accessed online at www.historyofparliamentonline.org.

²⁶⁶ The patent of baronetage to Poyning's More, Esq., 18th May 1642, SHC LM/350/60. He had paid for the upkeep of thirty foot soldiers.

²⁶⁷ Oglander, *Royalist's Notebook*, pp. 112-117. Oglander claimed that apart from Nunwell the King "went to no Gentleman's House besides", p. 127. Oglander was himself arrested twice for his royalist beliefs in 1643, and imprisoned in 1644. *Ibid.*, pp. 106-107.

²⁶⁸ G.G. Harris, 'Sir Henry Mainwaring, (1586/7-1653)', www.oxforddnb.com; Thrush & Ferris, *Commons 1604-1629*, accessed online at www.historyofparliamentonline.org.

was still a member of the privy chamber in 1643.²⁶⁹ As well as this, Poyning's father Sir Robert More had served as a gentleman pensioner to both James I and Charles I.²⁷⁰

This did not, however, mean that Poyning would necessarily follow suit. He may have been made a baronet in 1642, yet he had already shown unease at some of the King's policies by refusing to contribute to the Scots war in 1639.²⁷¹ In this instance, he may have objected to the fact that the King went to war without summoning parliament first, thus sidestepping the parliamentary privilege which Sir George More had cared about so much.²⁷² During the war he seems to have acted as a moderate parliamentarian. James Gresham, Poyning's brother-in-law, appears to have been of this persuasion as well. Gresham wrote to his wife Anne in November 1644 about a forthcoming meeting with Poyning, Oglander and a "M[aste]r Eltonhead" which would decide "whether wee shalbe friends or foes."²⁷³ This almost certainly implies that there were differences of opinion over the war, and as Oglander was committed to the King's cause, the dispute would probably have arisen from Poyning and Gresham supporting parliament.

Sir Poyning was perhaps influenced by the dominant parliamentarian figure in Surrey at the time, Sir Richard Onslow, who, like Poyning, was a deputy lieutenant in 1642. The families had been friends for some time. Onslow had written to Sir George More in 1627 to express his hope that Sir George, his wife, his daughter-in-law and Poyning would visit him at Knowle, and insisting that no one "doth more honour and respect" Sir George than he did.²⁷⁴ When the Civil War began, Onslow acted quickly to secure the military resources of the county for parliament, and this set the tone for Surrey for the rest of the war.²⁷⁵ Sir Richard was undoubtedly a parliamentarian, but he was not narrow-minded or intolerant, and this may partly explain why Surrey had a relatively moderate

²⁶⁹ Thrush & Ferris, *Commons 1604-1629*, accessed online at www.historyofparliamentonline.org. Arthur had first been appointed to the then Prince Charles's privy chamber in 1613. He did, however, pay £100 towards the parliamentary war effort in the early stages of the conflict, but this may well have been a tactical move to avoid both a larger fine at a later date, and also harassment as parliament dominated both Shropshire and Surrey, where his estates were situated. It was not necessarily therefore a sign of parliamentary sympathies.

²⁷⁰ Petition by Frances, Lady More, to the King, no date but c.1626, SHC 6729/3/81; Thrush & Ferris, *Commons 1604-1629*, accessed online at www.historyofparliamentonline.org.

²⁷¹ Thrush & Ferris, *Commons 1604-1629*, accessed online at www.historyofparliamentonline.org.

²⁷² Michael Braddick, *God's Fury, England's Fire: A New History of the English Civil Wars* (London: Allen Lane, 2008), p. 83.

²⁷³ James Gresham to Anne Gresham, 29th November 1644, SHC LM/COR/7/46. Anne Gresham was Poyning's sister, born in May 1620. Eltonhead was a friend of James Gresham. Robert Christopher to James Gresham, 17th March 1654, SHC LM/COR/7/136.

²⁷⁴ Sir Richard Onslow to Sir George More, 3rd December 1627, SHC 6729/1/75. Onslow then lived at Knowle near Cranleigh, a short distance south east of Godalming. After his purchase of Clandon Park from Sir Richard Weston in 1642 he became a nearer neighbour of the Mores. John Gurney, 'Sir Richard Onslow (bap. 1601, d. 1664)', www.oxforddnb.com

²⁷⁵ Richard Milward, 'The Civil War in North-East Surrey', *Surrey History*, 3, 5 (1988), 194-202 (p. 196).

administration during the war.²⁷⁶ This did not, however, mean that Surrey could escape its share of the burdens of the war.

Poynings apparently spent most of the war in lodgings in London; letters from his steward John Wight were addressed to him care of the Sugar Loaf in Covent Garden, or "the blacke boy over agaynyst St Clement[es] church".²⁷⁷ Wight kept Poynings informed about what was happening at Loseley; to what extent he responded is unclear. One of the main problems for the people of Surrey during the war was the billeting of soldiers and the consequent financial impact.²⁷⁸ Loseley was not excluded from this despite Poynings's friendship with Onslow, his sympathy with the parliamentary cause, and the fact that one of the parliamentary generals, Sir William Waller, was his first cousin.²⁷⁹ Wight may have hoped that this kinship would keep Loseley safe from any billeting, as he advised Poynings to ride to see Waller himself to prevent it.²⁸⁰ Even without soldiers in the house itself, "[t]he unruliness of the souldyers at Compton doth so excede that they threaten to breake into the house", as well as shooting rabbits on the estate and trying to dam the fish pond.²⁸¹ Within days of the letter describing these events, the soldiers began to inflict damage on the house itself, for example taking bars from the windows and trying to break into Sir George's wing.²⁸² Later in 1644, parliamentarian soldiers were billeted actually at Loseley, and at Poynings's expense.²⁸³ When this group of soldiers moved on, Loseley then hosted the wife and child of a Colonel Banks, along with twenty two foot soldiers. Their presence did not, however, put an end to damage to the house, as apparently "2 or 3 of your chamber doors in the new bylding" were "brooken upp".²⁸⁴ Loseley would not have been picked out for billeting because of doubts over Poynings's loyalties; Rowland Wilson of Merton Grange was a known parliamentarian, but still had to accommodate many of the Earl of Essex's men.²⁸⁵

²⁷⁶ Gurney, 'Sir Richard Onslow'.

²⁷⁷ John Wight to Sir Poynings More, 23rd March 1644, SHC LM/COR/5/33; John Wight to Sir Poynings More, 29th April 1644, SHC LM/COR/5/35.

²⁷⁸ Milward, 'Civil War', pp. 197-199. More's tenants at Compton apparently tried to get him to bear the cost of the billeting, which, as Wight wrote to him, would mean he was "as good as lett[ing] your land rentfree [sic]." John Wight to Sir Poynings More, 2nd June 1644, SHC LM/COR/5/41.

²⁷⁹ Poynings's mother Frances and Waller's mother Margaret were both daughters of Sampson Lennard of Chevening in Kent. Barbara Donagan, 'Sir William Waller (bap. 1598?, d. 1668)', www.oxforddnb.com. Donagan notes Waller's family history, although does not connect it to the Mores.

²⁸⁰ John Wight to Sir Poynings More, 29th April 1644, SHC LM/COR/5/35.

²⁸¹ John Wight to Sir Poynings More, 11th May 1644, SHC LM/COR/5/36.

²⁸² John Wight to Sir Poynings More, 14th May 1644, SHC LM/COR/5/37.

²⁸³ John Wight to Sir Poynings More, 18th February 1645, SHC LM/COR/5/61. Billeting and feeding troops, and their horses, was the responsibility of the householder. In theory they could reclaim expenses but in practice they were not always forthcoming. D.E. Hall, 'The Military Occupation of Farnham during the Civil War, 1642-1646', *Surrey History*, 1, 1 (1973), 7-14 (p. 11).

²⁸⁴ Wight to Poynings More, SHC LM/COR/5/61. The "new bylding" was presumably Sir George's wing.

²⁸⁵ Milward, 'Civil War', p. 197.

The estate also had to provide men and horses for the war. In June 1644 Wight lamented that "all our men servant[es] are warned to be at Whitlye Heath" to be signed up; one man had already departed with Wight's horse, and the steward found himself having to act as "cowdriver in my old age."²⁸⁶ Even if his men were with the army, More was still responsible for their wages. This was a drain on the estate's resources, and presumably made it harder for the recruitment of new workers to be afforded.²⁸⁷ This was a particular problem as during the war Wight seems to have had difficulty collecting rents, so there was less money coming in than would be expected.²⁸⁸

Sir Poynings's parliamentarianism was, however, called into question in his lifetime, and has been doubted since. The poet George Wither claimed Onslow was a royalist, and it seems that he believed More to be one as well. In 1646 Wither alleged that both Sir Richard and Sir Poynings had sent money to the King at Oxford, and that Onslow in particular had been remiss about supporting Wither when he was commander of Farnham Castle in 1642.²⁸⁹ Wither was, however, hostile towards Onslow for reasons besides what happened in Farnham. Not only were the two on opposing sides in a dispute over the Surrey militia, but Wither also blamed Onslow for his own lack of success in seizing royalist estates in Surrey, so it was in his interest to cast aspersions on Sir Richard.²⁹⁰ It is not immediately obvious why Wither included Poynings in his allegations, but it may be that he had also resisted Wither's attempts to take over his royalist neighbours' lands.²⁹¹ The allegations against Poynings were discussed in the Commons on 1st June 1646, and referred to "the Committee of Examinations."²⁹² The charges against Onslow were thrown out by the House in August, and Wither was obliged to pay him damages.²⁹³ In December it was noted that when the Committee reported back on Sir Poynings the decision made with regard to Onslow should be taken into account.²⁹⁴ This suggests that the accusations were malicious, although it is interesting that the case against Poynings was not dismissed as quickly as that against Onslow, presumably because the

²⁸⁶ John Wight to Sir Poynings More, 1st June 1644, SHC LM/COR/5/40.

²⁸⁷ John Wight to Sir Poynings More, c. August 1644, SHC LM/COR/5/58.

²⁸⁸ See for example John Wight to Sir Poynings More, 1st June 1644, SHC LM/COR/5/40.

²⁸⁹ Hall, 'Military Occupation of Farnham', p. 8.

²⁹⁰ Michelle O'Callaghan, 'George Wither (1588-1667)', www.oxforddnb.com. Wither hoped to establish claims to the estates of some of the men who had plundered his lands at Wanborough, driving out his wife and children, during the time that he held the command in Farnham.

²⁹¹ As Wither's estate at Wanborough was only a short distance north of Loseley, Wither may have felt that Poynings could have acted to protect his lands.

²⁹² *Journal of House of Commons, vol IV, 1644-1646* (London: HMSO, 1802), accessed online at www.british-history.ac.uk.

²⁹³ *Ibid.*

²⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

latter was of greater importance to the war effort in Surrey, and it was therefore in parliament's interest to deal with the allegations against him as quickly as possible.²⁹⁵

Poynings also allegedly opposed the execution of the King.²⁹⁶ This was not, however, unusual, even among parliamentarians. The so-called Pride's Purge of December 1648 had removed from the Commons moderate MPs, for example those who still believed it might be possible to negotiate with the King, in order to pave the way for his trial in January 1649.²⁹⁷ Sir Richard Onslow was among those imprisoned as a result of the purge, albeit briefly, as was Sir William Waller.²⁹⁸ Sir Poynings was MP for Haslemere in the Long Parliament, and although he was not actually imprisoned, he was among those kept out of the Commons.²⁹⁹ He was subsequently removed from the bench in Southwark in March 1649, which suggests he was not fully trusted.³⁰⁰ Pride's Purge did not, however, remove or cow all opposition, as none of the justices originally nominated to sit in judgement on the King were prepared to serve, including men who had opposed him both before and during the war.³⁰¹

Despite this, it is likely that Sir Poynings was drawn to the parliamentary side, as there is no evidence to suggest that he actively supported the King. He continued to sit as a JP until early 1649, so it would seem that his sympathies were assumed to lie with parliament. This was not long before his death, so he may have stood down for health reasons rather than suffered a politically motivated removal. However, he was clearly not a zealot, as seen by the fact that he was one of those purged in December 1648. There are also hints of a continuing, ingrained, loyalty to the Crown. His parliamentarianism may have been in part strategic and aimed at avoiding the financial penalties

²⁹⁵ One of those who Onslow supported against Wither was Edward Andrews of Flexwood near Ash in Surrey, a short distance north west of Loseley. In 1661 Andrews wrote a defence of Onslow's actions, stating that Sir Richard was never a royalist but wanted fair treatment for all, and would act to correct injustice. It seems that Onslow ensured Andrews was freed when Wither had decided he was a spy as it appeared that Wither wanted Andrews's estate, and thus that his accusations were malicious. However, as Andrews was clearly a royalist - his release meant he was able "to do more Service for His Majesty" - Wither may not have been completely wrong to be suspicious, and therefore to question Onslow's motives in securing Andrews's release. Edward Andrews, *Gratitude in a Season, or, a Word for Sir Richard Onslow, Against the Aspersions of a late Scandalous Libel* (London: 1661), SHC G173/3/3.

²⁹⁶ More Molyneux, *Loseley Challenge*, p.20.

²⁹⁷ Braddick, *God's Fury*, p. 561.

²⁹⁸ Gurney, 'Sir Richard Onslow'; David Underdown, *Pride's Purge: Politics in the Puritan Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), p. 147.

²⁹⁹ *Ibid*, p.244.

³⁰⁰ List of Justices' names at the assizes in Southwark, March 1648 [that is, March 1649], SHC LM/1044. Sir Ambrose Browne, then knight of the shire for Surrey, was removed; Onslow and George Wither remained. Also struck off was Sir John Maynard, who had sided with Wither against Onslow, and had in the early stages of the war been an ardent supporter of parliament, lending it £700 in 1642. However, he was impeached in 1647, and was one of those excluded from the Commons in Pride's Purge. John Gurney, 'Sir John Maynard (1592-1658)', www.oxforddnb.com.

³⁰¹ Diane Purkiss, *The English Civil War: A People's History* (London: HarperCollins, 2006), p. 554.

incurred by some royalists.³⁰² Religion, however, was probably a positive factor which inclined Sir Poynings to be a parliamentarian rather than a royalist. In his twenties he had written to his grandfather describing how "the grand businesse now in hand [in parliament] is concerning our religion; and the depressing of Poperie, and Arminianisme.."³⁰³ This letter probably dates from 1629, when some MPs asserted in the Commons that those who supported these forms of Christianity were traitors.³⁰⁴ Such sentiments, reinforced by Sir George's religious views, may have left enough of an impression on Poynings that when it came to war, he decided to side with parliament. Nonetheless, it is quite possible that he would have hoped to avoid taking sides at all, and simply cooperate with the dominant force in the county, which in Surrey throughout the war was parliament.³⁰⁵ He may have wanted to stand back from what his uncle Ogländer called "a time...when brothers killed brothers, cousins cousins, and friends their friends..."³⁰⁶

Conclusion

The Mores' office holding played a crucial role in their success. They had roles in both London and Surrey, which were to some extent linked by their service as MPs. Thus they did not just serve Surrey, important as the county was to them, but the rest of the south-east through offices such as sheriff of Surrey and Sussex and, in William More's case, vice-admiral of Sussex. As MPs, their interests went far beyond the local, and Sir George More in particular emerges as a dedicated parliamentarian, loyal to the Crown but determined to uphold the privileges of the House. Their accumulation of offices was one of the ways in which they became part of the gentry elite, not just in Surrey but beyond.

Patronage and sponsorship played an important part in this, and the Mores were both recipients of patronage and patrons themselves. By 1505, Christopher More had established a link with the Dudley family, for example, which was to benefit both his son and grandson, with the latter being part of Leicester's household. Christopher's cultivation of several Court figures, of different political viewpoints, set a precedent for his descendants which also served them well, although Sir George's failure to gain the favour of James I's coterie was a significant factor which led to him being passed over for offices and so denied further success. George's failure contributed to a decline in the

³⁰² Milward, 'Civil War', p. 199.

³⁰³ Poynings More to Sir George More, c. 1629, Folger L.b. 685.

³⁰⁴ Braddick, *God's Fury*, p. 71.

³⁰⁵ Milward, 'Civil War', p. 195 on Sir Richard Wynn of Wimbledon and how he achieved the difficult task of remaining effectively neutral, and the strain it put upon him. Heal & Holmes, *Gentry*, p. 218.

³⁰⁶ Ogländer, *Royalist's Notebook*, p. 103.

family's fortunes, at least as far as the Court was concerned, which might otherwise have been avoided. Sir George's influence in Surrey did, however, remain considerable until his death.

In their turn, the Mores were able to reward their associates and therefore reinforce their own status. Offices such as sheriff, vice-admiral and chamberlain of the Exchequer provided opportunities to bestow posts on clients and relations, such as William Lusser, whom Sir William More appointed as his deputy vice-admiral in 1572 and his under sheriff in 1579, and Eustace Bedingfield, nephew of William and Margaret More, who became a deputy to his uncle at the Exchequer.

The Mores also divided up their spheres of influence so that they could be effectively represented both in Surrey and at the centre. Sir William More had the perfect opportunity to do this with his daughter Elizabeth's marriage to John Wolley and her subsequent attendance on the Queen. The Wolleys were able to ensure that the family were remembered and noticed, and thus further their ambitions. Sir George arguably tried to achieve something similar with his grandson Poynings.

In this way, over three generations the Mores became not only one of the principal gentry families in Surrey, but also part of the wider gentry elite. Sir Christopher established them in Surrey, but remained very much involved in the Court and London through his legal work. His son Sir William built on this achievement to increase the Mores' standing both in their county and at the centre. His heir Sir George began James I's reign in high favour, but a combination of circumstances - principally the death of Henry, Prince of Wales, Sir George's time as Lieutenant of The Tower, and his inability to win the patronage of any of the Kings' favourites - mitigated against further success at Court.

Chapter 3: "I was by Godes goodnes cauled to the trew knowledge of his ghospell."¹ The Mores and their religion

Introduction

From the very beginning of the Reformation, the gentry were of vital importance in ensuring the success of religious policy. To maintain the royal supremacy he had established over the church, Henry VIII needed the support of his people, especially of the elite; the latter must be seen to support the regime. The gentry's significance is expressed in a letter of February 1557 sent to the JPs of Surrey by Mary I and her husband Philip. This emphasised the need for the JPs to assist preachers, attend their sermons, and note those who refused to do so; "the...Justicis... must by them selves their wifes children and servaunt[es] shew good example" in religion.² The gentry were arguably of greater importance than the nobility in this role, as the latter were more likely to make use of private chapels and so be at a distance from communal worship, while the gentry were the authority figures more regularly seen at church.³ The attendance of gentry families and their households at their parish church would be seen as a sign that they approved of the religious situation, which could encourage others to follow suit. By contrast, their absence could be perceived as a rejection of the established order.⁴ While at church, the gentry could also see who was there and, more importantly perhaps, who was absent, thereby contributing to the enforcement of laws concerning religion.⁵ Even gentry tomb monuments, where service to the Crown was stressed, could be read as endorsements, or otherwise, of the religious status quo.

It was also very much in the gentry's interests to be supportive, and this went beyond simply setting an example within their locality. Where they were able to exploit the situation, there were plenty of opportunities available, and these were greater than those offered by the pre-Reformation church. As JPs, they were responsible for the local enforcement of religious settlements. The gentry also served on ecclesiastical commissions, such as those concerned with recusants. As well as this there were offices which were held directly from Bishops, for example the constablership of Farnham Castle, a post filled by both Sir William and Sir George More. The gentry acquired monastic land, and

¹ The autobiographical statement of Sir William More, 1587, SHC LM/1617.

² A copy of an order by Philip and Mary to the Justices of the Peace of Surrey, 28th February 1557, SHC 6729/10/17.

³ Beat Kumin, *The Shaping of a Community: The Rise and Reformation of the English Parish c. 1400-1560* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1996), pp. 230-1. The nobility were more likely than the gentry to have their own chapels and therefore not attend public worship.

⁴ John Cooper, *The Queen's Agent: Francis Walsingham at the Court of Elizabeth I* (London: Allen Lane, 2012), p. 140.

⁵ Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England c. 1400-c. 1580* (London: Yale University Press, 1992), p. 545.

thereby control of tithes and livings, and thus became attractive patrons, with influence over their local church, while ecclesiastical offices gave them more local power.⁶ By accepting the regime, the gentry might be rewarded, and indeed they could profit if others, either merely less content with religious change, or openly opposed to the status quo, lost their positions.⁷ Under Mary, for example, the necessity of employing only "honeste ... Catholicke[men]" was emphasised; others might be overlooked or worse.⁸ It is, for example, likely that William More was not a JP under Mary, as he was out of sympathy with the Queen's religious policy, and potentially suspect as a friend of Sir Thomas Cawarden.⁹ Although the order quoted here is in the archive, and as such might be seen as evidence that More was a JP, in is in fact only a copy of the original, which suggests that it may have been sent to More to warn him to be careful. This fits in with later hints that during Elizabeth's reign recusants were warned when they were in danger of arrest; there was a reluctance to act against neighbours over their religion.¹⁰

Under Elizabeth, the gentry were needed to stand by the government in the face of perceived religious threats, not only internally from recusants, but also externally from seminary and Jesuit priests intent on bolstering the faith of the English Catholics. Here, however, there was perhaps a gap between theory and practice, as the harsh parliamentary rhetoric of Sir George More among others is not necessarily an accurate guide to how Catholics were in fact dealt with. There seems to have been some reluctance to treat one's neighbours and friends too severely, just as may have been the case under Mary.¹¹

Beyond the gentry's role in the Reformation, there are a number of sources which give some idea of their religious beliefs in this period. The books they owned, as listed in inventories, or wrote, as in the case of George More, help to illuminate their views. Although the content of wills may have been influenced by contemporary norms, or the beliefs of the scribes who helped draw them

⁶ Heal & Holmes, *Gentry*, p. 328, on the significance of the impropriation of tithes and livings. According to J.T. Cliffe, by the end of the sixteenth century most of the landed property of the Yorkshire monasteries was in gentry hands, which was a huge economic boost to them. Cliffe, *Yorkshire Gentry*, p. 15. The trade in former monastic lands continued into the seventeenth century, with Sir Henry Browne selling his lands at Oxenford Grange, which had once belonged to Waverley Abbey, to Sir George More in 1609. Malden, *VCH Surrey*, III, accessed online at www.british-history.ac.uk. Sir Henry was the son of Montague and Magdalen, see Questier, *Catholicism and Community*, p. 521 for a family tree.

⁷ MacCulloch, *Suffolk*, p. 196. On the Queen's progress to East Anglia in 1578, two of her hosts who had refused to conform were among 22 Catholic gentlemen imprisoned. By contrast, five Protestant gentlemen of Suffolk and the conformists who had been her hosts were knighted.

⁸ Order by Philip and Mary, SHC 6729/10/17.

⁹ More opposed Mary's religious reforms in the Commons. Bindoff, *Commons 1509-1558*, accessed online at www.historyofparliament.org.uk

¹⁰ See pp. 152-153 below. Copies of other letters to JPs exist in the archive although they are from a time when More was definitely on the bench, so the fact that this is a copy may not be significant, but it is intriguing.

¹¹ See pp.152-153 below.

up, the bequests and dedications can also provide a sense of the religious standpoint of the testator. Instructions left in wills with regard to monuments, and what was actually built, and where, are also significant. Clearly monuments themselves need to be treated with caution as a source, since they were intended to show their subject in the best possible light, and may also reflect the wishes of the living rather than the dead they commemorate.¹²

This chapter, therefore, examines both the Mores' private religion and how they were involved in the changes wrought by the Reformation. Their personal piety, their dealings with and about recusants and also Protestant groups, and their public role in religion and patronage will all be discussed. As what can be discovered about their personal piety will reveal most about their views, the private sphere rather than the public will be assessed first.

Personal Piety - texts

Three documents survive listing the books owned by William More.¹³ These reveal not only his religious beliefs, but also the care he may have taken to conceal ownership of some of his books during Mary's reign. There are lists dating from 1556 and 1559. There are two versions of the 1556 inventory, one now in the Folger Shakespeare Library, and one in the Surrey History Centre. These do not include all the books of the longer list of around 1559, which is now in the Folger.¹⁴ The major difference between them is the increase in the number of English religious books. The 1556 inventory includes what are probably an English Bible and a separate English copy of the New Testament, but no other religious text in English.¹⁵ The other religious books are in Latin, and among them are works that would suggest conformity to Mary's regime, such as the writing of Vincent of Lerins which set out how to distinguish the true Catholic faith from heresy, and the *Legenda Aurea*, a collection of stories about the saints grouped according to the dates of their feast days.¹⁶ The exception to this is what is described on the undated inventory as "Cawnterburyes answer too

¹² Heal & Holmes, *Gentry*, p. 3.

¹³ Evans, 'Extracts,' pp. 290-292, from 1556 (part of Folger Library L.b 550); An inventory of William More, probably also 1556, SHC LM/1105; A note of books, in William More's Account Book, Folger L.b. 550, from c. 1559 (a different list from that in the Evans article). The SHC inventory is less detailed.

¹⁴ Evans, 'Extracts', p.p.290-292; SHC LM/1105; Folger, L.b 550.

¹⁵ Evans, 'Extracts', p.290, p. 291. It is likely that these are in English as no language is specified; for example, where other editions of the New Testament are listed, it is noted that they are in French, Italian and Latin; p.290, p.291.

¹⁶ *Ibid*, p. 291, p.292.

Wyncheser.¹⁷ The later list of books clarifies that this is Cranmer's response to Bishop Gardiner on the subject of the sacraments, which suggests that William More was not wholly conforming.¹⁸

The exception was clearly the rule, as the later list of books indicates. This includes a large number of English religious texts. There are five English Bibles, three of them the Tyndale Bible, and five New Testaments, two of which are described as printed in Geneva. Among the books are Hugh Latimer's sermons, works by Calvin, an account of the Scottish Protestant martyr George Wishart, a sermon by the evangelical Thomas Lever, and motivational tracts.¹⁹ These books were perhaps not listed on the earlier inventories as it did not seem safe, or it may be that More acquired them after Elizabeth's accession. However, the list includes a New Testament authorised by Edward VI, a book of private prayer "set forthe" by him, and the Book of Common Prayer.²⁰ This suggests that More already had at least some of these books in his possession during Mary's reign. It also seems unlikely that he could have purchased so many new books between Elizabeth's accession in November 1558 and the end of her first parliament in May 1559.²¹ However, obtaining such books under Mary would have been particularly difficult; two of the New Testaments More owned had been printed in Geneva, as Protestant works were not being printed in England. The provenance of these New Testaments implies that More may have had them smuggled in, which suggests that he was a keen Protestant.²²

¹⁷William More inventory, SHC LM/1105.

¹⁸Note of books, Folger L.b. 550. This list can be dated to between 1559 and 1563, as it contains the statutes of Elizabeth's first parliament, but not her subsequent parliaments. Gardiner's book which so incensed Cranmer was published in 1551 and called "An Explication and assertion of the Catholic Faith touching the most blessed sacrament of the altar." As its name suggests, it was a defence of transubstantiation. Cranmer's riposte, the book owned by More, was "An Answer to a crafty and sophisticated cavillation devised by Stephen Gardiner." Gardiner's text was included so that Cranmer could dismantle it point by point. Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer* (London: Yale University Press, 1996), pp. 485-492. There is also in the Loseley MSS a copy of a letter from Cranmer to Thomas Cromwell written in May 1535 which expressed the Archbishop's frustration with Gardiner, who was trying to avoid a visitation to his diocese, and accusing Cranmer of setting himself above the King. Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, to Thomas Cromwell, 14th May 1535, copy, SHC 6729/9/1; MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, pp. 132-133. Why this document is in the archive is not clear. It may have come from Sir Thomas Cawarden, who had probably first attracted Henry VIII's attention through Cromwell. Robison, 'Thomas Cawarden.' Alternatively, as Christopher More had links with Cromwell, the copy may originally have been his. As the letter partly concerns points of law raised by Gardiner, and which Cranmer sought to have answered, it is quite plausible that it could have been passed on to a lawyer such as More, who had connections with Cromwell; see the chapter on office holding, p. 76 and p. 78 above.

¹⁹Folger L.b. 550, a note of books. As well as "the christen state or rule of all the world" by Coverdale, More also owned a New Testament in Coverdale's translation.

²⁰It is not indicated whether this was the 1549 or 1552 Prayer Book, but it is likely that More would have had the more recent version.

²¹If however the list dates from nearer Elizabeth's second parliament, which first met on 12th January 1563, More would have had the time to buy more books.

²²Unfortunately there is no other surviving detailed inventory or list of books for the Mores. The sale of goods and chattels carried out by the More Molyneux on inheriting Loseley in 1689 suggests that whatever was left of William More's collection was dispersed, as the books mentioned as in the study were for sale, along "w[i]th

William More's personal piety was not just expressed in the books that he owned. He also wrote some autobiographical notes which give an idea of his spiritual life, and are a precursor of the Puritan confessional journals of the early seventeenth century.²³ More's notes were written in his sixty-seventh year, so in around 1587.²⁴ He thanked God for calling him away from "Cardes & dyse", which he had been "greatlye geven to". Most importantly, however, he wrote that despite "being drowned in papistry at the age of xvij yeres I was by godes goodnes cauled to the trewe knowledge of his ghospell." Since then "God hathe steyd me in that knowledge w[ith]out declynyng ... and I do assuredly trust wyl do untyll that ende." William More turned eighteen in 1538. His statement makes it clear that from that time he was a Protestant, supporting the evidence of his library.

More also expressed his belief in predestination, the Protestant doctrine that God had already chosen who would be saved.²⁵ He was certain that he was one of the elect:

O mercyfull father that of thy great mercye and fatherlye goodnes didst before the creatyon chose me to be one of thy electe vessels...thou of thy wonderfull mercyfull goodnes...sent down thy onelye begotten sonne Jesus Chryst...to deliver me from ... Sathan and to...enjoye the hevenlye kyngdome.²⁶

Although he believed that he was one of the lucky ones, he did not want to think that others would be condemned: "I know that thou my Lord God wylt nev[er] reject the contryte and humble."²⁷ This is effectively Luther's argument that those who "hate[d] sin [were] outside sin and belong[ed] to the

all other books in the house." The sale of the goods and chattels of Thomas Molyneux, Margaret Molyneux and Elizabeth More, February 1689, SHC LM/353/5.

²³ Autobiographical statement, SHC LM/1617. The SHC catalogue describes this as "Autobiographical notes listing God's blessings on him and a prayer by Sir William More, written in his 67th year." See appendix 2 for a transcription of and notes on this document. Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Reformation: Europe's House Divided* (London: Allen Lane, 2003), p. 390. The purpose of these diaries was for the authors to assess whether they were members of the elect.

²⁴ This assumes that the date of 1520 for his birth is correct; the inscription on his tomb says that he died aged "about" 82 in July 1600. If he were born in 1518, his autobiographical notes would then date from 1585. If the age given on his tomb inscription is incorrect, it would not be an exception. For example, Princess Mary, daughter of James I, who died in 1607, has the wrong age on her tomb inscription as the date of her death was incorrect in the registers at Westminster Abbey. Nigel Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments in Post-Reformation England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p.121. The later date for the autobiography, however, makes more sense. The notes are full of More's sense of his unworthiness and an awareness of his mortality. He was clearly writing while his second wife Margaret was still alive, as he mentioned that he had never broken his vows to her right up to the present. However, she died in 1587, and I would speculate that she was perhaps ill, and her husband was encouraged to reflect on his own life and remind himself of God's goodness towards him to help him bear the grief he was facing. Her illness would also have served as a reminder of his own mortality.

²⁵ The theory of predestination was first put forward by Augustine of Hippo in the fifth century, and was adopted in the sixteenth century by Luther and Calvin, one of whose books More owned. MacCulloch, *Reformation*, p. 109, p. 118 and p. 196.

²⁶ Autobiographical statement, SHC LM/1617.

²⁷ Ibid.

elect."²⁸ Those who repented, trusted in God's forgiveness, and carried out good works, were surely among the elect.²⁹

It is likely that his library influenced his literary style. As mentioned above, More had a copy of Cranmer's Book of Common Prayer. The 1552 prayer book stresses that God, through his great goodness, is the source of forgiveness, if only man will repent of his sins; More's autobiographical notes also emphasise this.³⁰ The prayer book contains a request to be released from temptation; as cited above, More obviously credited God for his own reformation and resistance to temptation.³¹ More also had among his books works by Martin Bucer and Peter Martyr, who had been involved in the revision of Cranmer's original 1549 prayer book, and Miles Coverdale, one of the writers Cranmer had been influenced by.³² Thus it is probable that these texts had an impact on More's own writing.

While William More's autobiographical notes are full of his religious fervour, his son George wrote an essay for his children, shortly before his death, which while expressing his love for God, his children, and his "good and worthy parents", has a far more pessimistic feel than his father's work.³³ Like William he describes the temptations of his youth, when he was "corrupted of [his] natur."³⁴ Unlike his father, he appears less confident that Christ's mercy will erase his sins: "the lothesom dreggy remains in my flesh, put me in mynd both day and night of my faultes and follies...not to be numbred, greevous to be rem[em]bred."³⁵ He also wondered "why is long life wished and desired as a blessing, when as to live is to sinne."³⁶ All of this is in contrast to William's confidence that he was one of the elect, and forgiven by Christ. It does however fit with the impression that Sir George was a more puritanical person than his father, reflected in his support for a bill to restrict games on the Sabbath in the 1621 parliament.³⁷

George also wrote a short book, dedicated to the Queen, which was published in 1597. A *Demonstration of God in his workes* was a defence of religion in the face of doubters, as its subtitle

²⁸ Quoted in MacCulloch, *Reformation*, p. 118.

²⁹ Good works were taken as a sign of membership of the elect. Penry Williams, *The Later Tudors: England 1547-1603* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995; repr. 2002), p. 482.

³⁰ James Parker, ed., *The Second Prayer book of King Edward VI* (1552: repr; London: Parker and Co., 1883), p. 2, p.78, accessed online at www.dbooks.bodleian.ox.ac.uk.

³¹ *Ibid*, p.19.

³² *Ibid*, p. iii; MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, p. 631.

³³ Sir George More to his children, draft, c. 1632, SHC 6729/3/143b.

³⁴ *Ibid*.

³⁵ *Ibid*.

³⁶ *Ibid*. Sir George was not alone among Puritan gentry in expressing an exaggerated sense of his own unworthiness. Cliffe, *Puritan Gentry*, p. 48. See also pp. 122-123 below on his brother-in-law Egerton's will.

³⁷ *Ibid*, pp. 42-43. Sir George also supported legislation against drunkenness, sexual misconduct, swearing and extravagant dress. *Ibid*, p. 59. This Puritanical character may be behind Poyning's More's youthful rebellions.

Against all such as eyther in word or life deny there is a God makes explicit. Those who doubted God were, according to More, condemned to "live in torment... better never to have beene, than such to be."³⁸ However, although this is intended as an educational tract, it also reveals much about George's own piety. He had Puritan leanings, and within his book he addressed what was probably one of his own dilemmas, namely how to balance the worthiness of a simple, Puritan life, with the demands on the gentry of hospitality and living up to the responsibilities of those who held power.³⁹ Thus he wrote that one should live "at defiance of pride [and] forbear all vanitie and superfluitie of expence", while at the same time building "faire houses" for hospitality.⁴⁰ Those in power needed to remember that they were called "to be the speciall images of God."⁴¹ He also emphasized the importance of charitable works; rather than spending lavishly on themselves, the gentry should meet the needs of the poor.⁴² More stressed the importance of obedience to both God and the Queen; "thou art instructed in the knowledge of God, that ... thou shouldest performe thy duty, both to him and her."⁴³ More also made this point in parliament in 1601 when he stated that it was vital to attend church and fulfil "Christian duties", as it was through religion that "we learn both our duties to God and the Queen. In doing our duty to God, we [are] better able to do our duty to our Prince."⁴⁴ The English should above all believe in God because he had shown them his favour in the conquest of the Armada, which proved that God favoured the English church.⁴⁵ The English "manfully [fought] under the banner of Christ, for the defence of his Gospell, the maintenaunce of their own fayth, and safetie of this noble Realme."⁴⁶ Sermons were preached to this effect across the country.⁴⁷ More unequivocally connected the Queen and her church with the security of the entire country. Arguably this was the most important statement in his book. This impression is

³⁸ George More, *A Demonstration of God in his Workes Against all such as eyther in word or life deny there is a God* (1597), p. 35. It was not unusual for Puritan gentlemen to write about their religion. Cliffe, *Puritan Gentry*, p. 39, pp.43-4. Many other works were however instruction books on how to live a good Puritan life, which was not the main message of *A Demonstration*. More's son-in-law Sir John Oglander's *A Royalist's Notebook*, although partly his autobiography, also gave advice to his readers on how they should live their lives, from marriage to their employment of lawyers. This was a more typical example of Puritan gentry literature.

³⁹ Cliffe, *Puritan Gentry*, pp. 53-4 on how More dealt with the dilemma of restraint versus generosity.

⁴⁰ More, *A Demonstration of God*, p. 9.

⁴¹ *Ibid*, p.72.

⁴² *Ibid*, p.10. Their charitable role was one of the aspects of gentry life changed by the Reformation; now that purgatory had been rejected, and consequently prayers for the dead were redundant and chantries abolished, the gentry were no longer tied into a mutually beneficial system of charitable giving in return for prayers to hasten them out of purgatory. They needed to be reminded that helping the poor was still part of their role. As good works were a sign of inclusion among the elect, the gentry were still therefore likely to want to carry them out.

⁴³ *Ibid*, p.13.

⁴⁴ Hasler, *Commons 1558-1603*, accessed online at www.historyofparliamentonline.org.

⁴⁵ MacCulloch, *Reformation*, p.387.

⁴⁶ More, *A Demonstration of God*, p.98.

⁴⁷ Jessie Childs, *God's Traitors: Terror and Faith in Elizabethan England* (London; Bodley Head, 2014), pp. 163-164.

reinforced by the fact that although More was notionally writing to free atheists from their error, atheism was simply not a major issue in the sixteenth century. It may be that More was defining atheism as non-conformity rather than a lack of belief in God.⁴⁸

Personal piety - wills

Wills are a potentially rich source of information on personal piety, although the religious content may be skewed by the desire to fit contemporary norms.⁴⁹ However, a member of the gentry writing or commissioning his or her will was unlikely to want a document which grossly misrepresented their beliefs. Traditional wording was in any case more relevant in the preamble of a will, where after the Reformation the first bequest remained that of one's soul to God, even if the Virgin Mary and saints were now omitted.⁵⁰ Religious bequests or other content may provide a more reliable indicator of the testator's views.⁵¹ For example, Anthony Browne, first Viscount Montague, having left his soul to God, stated that he hoped to be one of the elect, a Protestant doctrine.⁵² However, he continued with a clear declaration of his Catholicism: "I beseeche the most blessed virgin Marye, mother of [Ch]rist and all the holie company of heaven to recommend my weaknes and synneful soule unto the aide and assist[a]unce of his in finite grace and mercey."⁵³ Although Montague may have wanted to make a conventional religious statement at the beginning of his will, his Catholicism was too important to him not to be expressed.

With this in mind, it is worth looking at surviving wills of members of the More family and their friends and relations to see if there is anything that stands out from the norm in terms of their

⁴⁸ MacCulloch, *Reformation*, p.76 on the risks of equating Humanism and atheism, and also p.693 on the danger of publicly declaring at that time that one did not believe in God. On the use of "atheism" as a term to cover religious non-conformity in general, see Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1971; repr. London: Penguin, 1973, 1991), p. 198.

⁴⁹ Duffy, *Altars*, pp. 508-509.

⁵⁰ MacCulloch, *Reformation*, p. 576.

⁵¹ J.D. Alsop, 'Religious Preambles in Early Modern English Wills as Formulae', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 40, 1 (1989), 19-27, (p.19); Heal & Holmes, *Gentry*, pp. 350-1.

⁵² The Will of Anthony Browne, first Viscount Montague, 19th July 1592, TNA PROB/11/81.

⁵³ *Ibid.* In the surviving More wills, the only such reference I can find to Mary and the saints is in Sir Christopher More's, dated 28th June 1549, where the first bequest was of his soul, "to allmightie God his mother St Marye and to the holy company of heaven". However, he trusted in Christ alone to grant salvation and did not request the intercession of the saints, unnecessary now that the doctrine of purgatory had been put aside. Unlike Montague, he did not describe Mary as "blessed". The Will of Sir Christopher More, 28th June 1549, TNA PROB/11/33, fo.178. This is in stark contrast to the will of Christopher's brother-in-law Sir John More (Christopher's widowed sister Alice was Sir John's fourth wife; by his first wife Sir John was the father of Sir Thomas More) for whom Christopher was an executor, and whose will predates the Reformation. The emphasis in this document is very much on the need to pray for the souls of the dead, and the need to carry out good works to the benefit of one's soul. The Will of Sir John More, 1526/7, TNA PROB/11/23.

personal piety.⁵⁴ Were there any unusual expression of their beliefs, or did they deviate from accepted practice and omit a request for the distribution of a funeral dole or other alms to the poor? Only Christopher More included bequests to local churches.⁵⁵ This practice was strong before the Reformation and continued thereafter, although it was less popular than before.⁵⁶ This silence may suggest a distance from the parish, or perhaps that the family gave during their lifetimes.⁵⁷ Unsurprisingly, the testators were all eager to believe that they were members of the elect. Sir John Wolley expected that Judgement Day would see him become part of "the resurrection of the righteous", while his father-in-law Sir William More thought that after death he would "enjoy with [Christ] his everlasting kyngdome."⁵⁸ Richard Covert of Slaugham in Sussex, a connection of Lord Montague and of the Mores' relation George Eliot, wrote in his will that "I firmly hope and believe to be saved, and after this life to be partaker of his heavenly kingdom where all is perfecte reste joye and quietnes."⁵⁹ There was also enthusiasm for quiet funerals with no pomposity.⁶⁰

⁵⁴ It is worth noting here that George More died intestate. This was fortuitously provided for in his father's will. The Will of Sir William More, 7th January 1598, TNA PROB/11/96, fo.290.

⁵⁵ The Will of Christopher More. He left money to St Nicholas, Guildford, St Nicholas, Compton, and the churches of Womersley and Shalford.

⁵⁶ Heal & Holmes, *Gentry*, pp.340-1.

⁵⁷ It may also be the case that the family focused on their own chapel at Loseley, although see pp. 134-136 below on the likelihood that there was not a chapel in the Elizabethan house.

⁵⁸ The Will of Sir John Wolley, 26th February 1596, TNA PROB/11/87; The Will of Sir William More.

⁵⁹ The Will of Richard Covert, 20th July 1579, TNA PROB/11/6. 2 George Eliot was probably not related to the Mores, but instead the eldest son of Thomas Elyot, MP for Guildford in 1545 and 1547, who died in 1548. Sir Christopher and William More, and the future Lord Montague, were overseers of Thomas Elyot's will. The Will of Thomas Elyot, September 1548, TNA PROB/11/32. The will named Elyot's eldest son as George, and William More was one of those asked to run his lands until the boy came of age. George Eliot gave some partridges to Elizabeth More and Richard Polsted at their wedding in 1567. Evans, 'An Account of the Presents', p. 38. Eliot went on to be an unsatisfactory servant to Montague. Anthony Browne, Lord Montague, to William More, 4th August 1564, SHC 6729/8/13. It was while Eliot was in Montague's household that he became involved with Richard Covert. Anthony Browne, Lord Montague, to William More, 23rd June 1564, SHC 6729/8/12. Eliot may be the George Eliot who betrayed Edmund Campion in 1581 and wrote an account of it entitled *A very true report of the apprehension and taking of that Arche Papist Edmund Campion the Pope his right hand, with three other lewd Jesuite priests, and divers other laie people, most seditious people of like sort* (London: Thomas Dawson, 1581), accessed online at www.eebo.chadwyck.com. See Questier, *Catholicism and Community*, p. 196. If this is so, Eliot had worked in a number of Catholic households besides Montague's, and was not any better behaved in these, being dismissed from one place for misconduct and suspicion of theft, and arrested at the next household he worked in. E.E. Reynolds, *Campion and Parsons: The Jesuit Mission of 1580-1* (London: Sheed and Ward, 1980), p.117. Eliot put his knowledge of these households to good use as a spy; he was trusted as he had worked for Catholics, so people talked freely in front of him. Indeed, he was able to gain access to Lyford Grange in Berkshire, where Campion was staying, because the cook, Thomas Cooper, had worked with him in the household of the Ropers. Eliot, *A very true report*, p. A.4; Questier, *Catholicism and Community*, p.196.

⁶⁰ Sir John More; Christopher More; John Wolley; William More; The Will of John Donne, 13th December 1630, TNA PROB/15; The Will of Sir John Oglander, 31st January 1656, TNA PROB/11/252, fo.347. Wolley's will includes the intriguing comment that he wanted a simple funeral in part "for some just considerac[i]ons best known to my selfe." It was not necessarily the case that they also wanted a simple tomb; see below, p. 123 onwards, on monuments.

William More's will of 1598 contains one statement which appears unusual in comparison with other associated wills. He wrote that he "utterlye [rejected] all other wayes and meanes to attayne [salvation]", that is all other routes besides that offered by the established church.⁶¹ This may suggest that he found Catholicism such an abomination that he had to emphasize his devotion to his church at its expense, although his behaviour and friendships suggest that this was rhetoric rather than reality.⁶² His son-in-law Sir Thomas Egerton, Lord Ellesmere when he wrote his will, but by the time of his death Viscount Brackley, also took the opportunity to convey his religious beliefs in his will. He, however, was focused on what he regarded as his unworthiness and unhappiness. He found "noe true Comforte nor Contentmente in this miserable life, But [felt] the mightie hand of God in manie greveous afflictions" which God "in his justice and mercie" chose to inflict on him.⁶³ He went on to entreat God "to dissolve my soule from this lothesome prison of my Corrupte and sinfull bodie", but he did at least trust that Christ had saved him because of his great mercy.⁶⁴ He did not bequeath his soul to God; perhaps he felt that he was not worthy of such a thing. Such humility suggests that Ellesmere, who was born a Catholic but converted in the late 1560s to further his legal career, had come to have Puritan leanings. He may have felt that by expressing his unworthiness he was showing the qualities that marked him as one of the elect, depicting himself as a miserable sinner although in fact inwardly confident of salvation.⁶⁵ Ellesmere, along with John and Francis Wolley, did not make any provision for the poor in his will, which was unusual.⁶⁶ Among the wills which have been discussed here, Sir John More, Sir Christopher More, Richard Covert, Lord Montague, Sir William More, John Donne and Sir John Oglander all made provision for the poor. This implies that Ellesmere and both Wolleys made conscious decisions not to do so. It may be that they had made what they deemed ample provision for the poor during their lifetimes. Alternatively, they could have been anxious about giving to a large group of people, for example all the poor of the

⁶¹ The Will of Sir William More. More wrote his original will himself: "wrytten all withe myne owne hande conteyned on one sheete of paper". It presumably therefore said exactly what he wanted. Sir John More also wrote his own will.

⁶² See the section on recusancy, pp. 145-147 below, for more on the difference between theory and practice in this area.

⁶³ The Will of Thomas Egerton, Lord Ellesmere, 16th August 1615, TNA PROB/11/129. Egerton was not created Viscount Brackley until November 1616, four months before his death. J.H. Baker, 'Thomas Egerton, first Viscount Brackley (1540-1617)', www.oxforddnb.com.

⁶⁴ Ibid. His use of the word "lothesome" recalls the phrasing in Sir George's essay, p. 118 above.

⁶⁵ Cliffe, *Puritan Gentry*, p.48, p.52. The last years of Ellesmere's life were not happy. His third marriage, to Alice, Dowager Countess of Derby, was not a success, and he was ill for some time before his death in 1617, perhaps with a form of dementia. This might in part explain the tone of his will. Baker, 'Thomas Egerton'. Ellesmere's desire for a modest burial and tomb caused surprise. Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments*, p. 294.

⁶⁶ The Will of Lord Ellesmere; The Will of Sir John Wolley; The Will of Sir Francis Wolley, 11th August 1609, TNA PROB/11/114.

parishes where they lived. This would include the undeserving as well as the deserving, an issue which caused concern to Puritans in particular.⁶⁷

This Puritan viewpoint stands in marked contrast to the will of John Donne, Dean of St Paul's and son-in-law of Sir George More. Donne's family had been Catholic, and his brother Henry had died in prison in 1593 awaiting trial on charges of harbouring a Catholic priest.⁶⁸ Despite his entry into the Church of England and his ordination as one of its priests, Donne never entirely shook off his Catholic upbringing. In his will he made two bequests of pictures of "the blessed virgin Marie".⁶⁹ This is the terminology used by Lord Montague, as quoted above, of whose Catholicism there was no question. Donne in the preamble thanked God for the "cheerfull resolution...to live and dye, in the Religion now professed in the Church of England", but his references to the blessed Virgin suggest that he always had some regrets about his change of religion. He wrote his will himself, so as with William More it must have said exactly what he wanted.⁷⁰

Personal piety - monuments

Tomb monuments, as mentioned in the introduction, were designed to throw the best possible light on the achievements and characters of their subjects. This does not mean, however, that they are not an important source. In the wills discussed above, there was an emphasis on having a simple funeral, but this does not seem to have had an impact on the eventual monuments.⁷¹ This suggests that tombs may say more about the people who commissioned them, than they do about the people they commemorate. Extravagant spending on a funeral may have seemed inappropriate in a way that it did not when it came to leaving a lasting memorial.⁷² Lavish

⁶⁷ Cliffe, *Puritan Gentry*, pp. 121-122.

⁶⁸ John Stubbs, *John Donne: The Reformed Soul* (London: Viking, 2006), p. 8, pp.18-19.

⁶⁹ The Will of John Donne. One of the pictures was left to James Hay, Earl of Carlisle, and the other to Donne's old friend Christopher Brooke, who had been at his wedding to Anne More, and, like Donne, had been imprisoned afterwards.

⁷⁰ Stubbs, *Donne*, p. 459.

⁷¹ There is a document in the Loseley manuscripts which has tentatively been identified as detailing some of the expenses for Margaret More's funeral. This is questionable as the accounts date from August, with no year given, whereas letters of condolence about Margaret's death date from the autumn of 1587, which seems a long gap. Anthony Browne, Lord Montague, to Sir William More, 4th October 1587, SHC 6729/8/104, and 3rd November 1587, SHC 6729/8/105. No matter whose funeral was referred to in the document, it is interesting for the detail it gives us of a gentry funeral. It includes: black cloth; the winding sheet; bread for the burial (presumably a dole for the poor); payment for the closing of the coffin; and making the grave and bringing the bier to it. Two pages of accounts, some written by Sir William More, no date, SHC LM/2163/1-2.

⁷² Stone however argues that extravagant funerals were not unusual for the aristocracy at least in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500-1800* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1977), pp.206-208. He does not see this as applying to the gentry as well, and indeed his emphasis is on the funerals of the heads of aristocratic families, with the burial effectively a

spending on monuments was arguably vital, as they not only testified to the family's importance but also represented them exactly as they wished to be seen.⁷³ Monuments displayed not only the success of their subjects, but also the piety and virtue of the tomb patron who had ensured a suitable memorial for them.⁷⁴ They may therefore say more about how a family saw itself in relation to its contemporaries, and the expectation that they would thrive in the future, than their religious views. This is perhaps especially true of George More, who was a Puritan, and yet was content to provide an ornate tomb for his parents, even though their effigies could be perceived by some as idolatrous.⁷⁵ However, such concerns tended to be outweighed by the desire for display.⁷⁶

The Mores are buried in a side chapel at the church of St Nicholas in Guildford, perhaps choosing this church because of the relationship, through Christopher More's first wife, with the Mudge or Mugge family of Guildford.⁷⁷ Part of the motivation for this separate chapel, where construction of the More tombs was most likely begun by George after his father's death in 1600, must have been to emphasize the lineage and importance of the family.⁷⁸ However, worshippers would not be reminded of the prestige of that particular family as they would be if the monuments were, for example, in the chancel, the most prestigious part of the main church.⁷⁹ Burial in the

ritual to reinforce the passing of authority from one generation to the next. Even the aristocracy were to rein back in the seventeenth century. Heal & Holmes, *Gentry*, p. 140.

⁷³ Cliffe, *Puritan Gentry*, pp.130-131; Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments*, p. 40.

⁷⁴ Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments*, p. 294.

⁷⁵ Cliffe, *Puritan Gentry*, p. 131.

⁷⁶ Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments*, p. 294.

⁷⁷ I visited the chapel on 22nd January 2014, and would like to express my thanks to the churchwarden Dr Catherine Ferguson who showed me the monuments and discussed them, and the history of the chapel itself, with me. I am following her example in referring to the church as St Nicholas, rather than St Nicolas, as the former spelling was the contemporary one. It is thought that the chapel is a fifteenth century addition to the church, built specifically for the then owners of Loseley. Taylor, *The Lower Church*, p.5. The owners of the estate in the fifteenth century were the Sidney family. Malden, *VCH Surrey*, III, accessed online at www.british-history.ac.uk. Although the Mores chose St Nicholas's for their tombs, it is unlikely that this was the church where the Mores worshipped; see p.137-138 below.

⁷⁸ Youngs, *Newton*, p. 136. Where people were buried was a matter of choice; it was not necessarily where they usually worshipped. The references in the inscriptions on the More monuments strongly suggest that they were commissioned by George rather than his parents.

⁷⁹ Dr Ferguson, however, thinks it is possible that the monument to William and Margaret was originally elsewhere in the church, perhaps in the chancel, and was subsequently moved to the chapel when St Nicholas was rebuilt in the 1830s (it was rebuilt again in the 1870s). Two points support this argument. Firstly, this is definitely what happened to the tomb of Arnold Brocas, who had been the priest at St Nicholas in 1387-1395. Taylor, *Lower Church*, p. 16. (Brocas had a connection with Loseley, as in 1394 he had bought lands in Littleton apparently for the use of William Sidney. These lands then became part of the Sidney moiety of Loseley. Malden, *VCH Surrey*, III, accessed online at www.british-history.ac.uk.) Secondly, it is possible that George intended to have his family's success displayed in the main body of the church, preferably in the chancel, rather than have his parents buried in a separate chapel, where they would be out of sight and thus out of mind for the congregation, although the chapel was apparently not cut off from the main body of the church in the seventeenth century. Taylor, *Lower Church*, p. 11. If this is the case, we have lost some sense of what George More was trying to achieve. Heal & Holmes, *Gentry*, p.338; Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments*, p. 1, p. 148. Lord Montague's tomb was moved from Midhurst to Easebourne in the nineteenth century, so relocating

chancel of the church of All Saints in Odiham, Hampshire, was, for instance, requested by George More's brother-in-law Sir Edward More in his will in 1623.⁸⁰ Others, however, asked to be interred in a side chapel next to the chancel, for example Robert Palmer of Parham, who died in 1544, and his grandson William (d.1586), so this was clearly seen as prestigious as well.⁸¹ William More wrote "My Bodye I will to be buryed, as by the direction or my Executor [George More] shall seeme best, earnestly willinge him to avoyd all pompe and vaine glorye..".⁸² No direction was given as to his monument, but this was something which George took up, in his own words "aswell for a testimonye of his dutie to those his good parents, now w[i]th God in Heaven, [as] to continewe their

a tomb within the same church, as with Arnold Brocas's monument, is quite feasible. Questier, *Catholicism and Community* p. 12. Altar tombs, such as the More tomb, were most often located in the church sanctuary rather than separate chapels, which again suggests that the monument was moved. Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments*, p. 115. Llewellyn points out that many monuments were damaged by being moved around churches in the nineteenth century. *Ibid*, p. 18. On the advantage or otherwise of a separate chapel, *ibid*, p.159; and *ibid*, p.148 and p. 237 on the relative prestige of sites within the church. There is also evidence that the tombs were repaired and cleaned when the church was rebuilt in 1836-37. However, there is nothing in the letters which survive about this in the Loseley archive to suggest anything other than restoration of the tombs at that time, along with repairs and modifications to the chapel so that it could be accommodated by the new church. Alterations to walls, windows, floor, roof and ceiling are mentioned, but nothing at all about moving tombs; the monuments are only referred to as needing restoring and repainting. Letters and papers relating to repairs and alterations to Loseley Chapel, 1836-1837, SHC LM/COR/827/1-15; Taylor, *Lower Church*, p. 18. Some of the letters and papers include drawings of the chapel by the eventual architect, Robert Ebbles, but these are solely concerned with the fabric of the building and not relocation of the monuments. The fact that part of the medieval church was kept at all when the church was rebuilt in itself suggests that it was used already as the Loseley chapel, otherwise it would probably not have been retained. Thus on balance it is most likely that Sir William and Lady More's monument was always in this separate chapel, and this view is supported by a letter of July 1836 from Edward Carlos, an antiquarian, to *The Gentleman's Magazine*. The church was then being rebuilt, and when Carlos wrote his letter the Brocas monument was still in the shell of the earlier building. However, "[o]n the south side...is the Loseley Chapel...[which] contains many fine monuments." Edward Carlos, 'St Nicholas, Guildford', *The Gentleman's Magazine* (1836), 144-145, (p.144.). This eyewitness account suggests that the More monuments were already in the separate chapel. The Mores may therefore have been hoping to emulate the Westons of Sutton Place, whose chapel, set up before his death in 1541 by Sir Richard Weston, was located on the other side of the River Wey at Holy Trinity, Guildford. Sadly the Weston chapel has only partially survived, and although what has been identified as perhaps the tomb of Sir Richard's daughter-in-law Anne is still in the church, it is no longer in what remains of the chapel. Malden, *VCH Surrey*, III, accessed online at www.british-history.ac.uk; Nairn & Pevsner, *Surrey*, p. 270.

⁸⁰ The Will of Sir Edward More, 24th April 1623, TNA PROB/11/141. Edward More's first wife was Mary Poynings, sister of George More's first wife Anne Poynings. The tomb is in the north chapel of the chancel, and features the Poynings arms. There is a wall monument, made of black marble, to Mary More above the tomb. The inscription emphasises her noble lineage. William Page, ed., *VCH Hampshire*, vol IV (London: Victoria County History, 1911), accessed online at www.british-history.ac.uk.

⁸¹ Kirk, *Parham*, p. 24. Their monuments have never been traced, so whether they, or even the chapel, were actually built is uncertain.

⁸² The Will of Sir William More.

memorye on Earth..."⁸³ It may be the case that William had agreed arrangements for the monument with George in advance, either verbally or in a document which does not survive.⁸⁴

The monument to Sir William More and his second wife Margaret is huge and impressive, showing that the family had appreciated that the most obvious way a monument could attest to the importance of its subjects was through its size.⁸⁵ Unfortunately, as with the vast majority of monuments of the time, it is not known who designed and built it.⁸⁶ However, some suggestions have been made. It has been attributed to Bartholomew Atye and Isaac James, both London tomb makers, as there is a similarity between the face of Sir William's effigy and that of Sir Richard Kingsmill on his tomb in Highclere in Hampshire, dating from 1601-02, which is known to be by Atye and James.⁸⁷ However, the only two monuments documented as by Atye and James, the Kingsmill tomb and that of Sir Edward Denny at Waltham Abbey in Essex (1600-01), differ from the More tomb both in their decoration and in the arrangement of the effigies.⁸⁸ While the Mores lie side by side, Kingsmill's wife is not shown, and his daughter Constance and her husband Sir Thomas Lucy of Charlecote, who commissioned the monument, kneel at his head.⁸⁹ On the Denny tomb, Sir Edward is shown reclining above the effigy of his wife.⁹⁰ Unlike the More monument, neither is in a private chapel, the Kingsmill tomb being at the west end of the nave, while the Denny tomb is in the chancel.⁹¹ However, it is worth noting, although this is not unusual imagery, that the Denny tomb has a reredos featuring Father Time and a boy blowing bubbles, and both these motifs are also found on the reredos of the More tomb.⁹² Another possibility is that the More monument was

⁸³From the main inscription on the monument to William and Margaret. This was probably written by George himself, or at the very least based on details he provided for the tomb maker. Some subjects even wrote their own epitaphs. Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments*, p.118; p.119.

⁸⁴ The lack of evidence about the tomb suggests two possibilities. Firstly, it may simply have been lost. However, as William More appears to have been meticulous about accounts and his son less so, it might be that the lack of documentation suggests that it was George More rather than his father who oversaw the work.

⁸⁵ Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments*, pp. 238-239. It may not however have been built of the best quality materials as in 1646 John Wight, steward to Sir Poynings More, wrote to him about the need for repair of "your Tombes" before their condition worsened over the winter. Loose pieces had been removed from the monument, and Wight advised that these be replaced soon. John Wight to Sir Poynings More, 30th June 1646, SHC LM/COR/5/83. Parts of the monument were perhaps built of cheap materials such as plaster. Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments*, p.209.

⁸⁶ *Ibid*, p.32.

⁸⁷ Adam White, 'A Biographical Dictionary of London Tomb Sculptors, c. 1560-c.1660', *The Walpole Society*, 61 (1999), 1-162 (pp. 8-9). If the Mores employed London tomb makers, it was another sign of the ambition which the monument was intended to demonstrate.

⁸⁸ *Ibid*, p.9.

⁸⁹ *Ibid*, p.8.

⁹⁰ *Ibid*, p.8.

⁹¹ Page, *VCH Hampshire*, IV, accessed online at www.british-history.ac.uk; W.R. Powell, ed., *VCH Essex*, V (London: Victoria County History, 1966), accessed online at www.british-history.ac.uk.

⁹² Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments*, p. 340 on such imagery.

designed by Garat Johnson the Elder, to whom Lord Montague's tomb is attributed, and it may be that George More wanted to imitate his family's prestigious friend by using the same sculptor.⁹³ There are also similarities with the monument to Sir Richard Parkhurst in Holy Trinity, Guildford, although as Sir Richard died in 1637 is more likely that the More tombs were an influence on him rather than the other way around.⁹⁴ This all remains speculation, and at the time of writing nothing can be said with any certainty on the subject.⁹⁵



The monument to Sir Edward Denny and his wife Margaret, Waltham Abbey. Image by Richard Croft from Wikimedia Commons.

⁹³ White, 'Biographical Dictionary', p.67 on Montague's tomb. It was originally at Midhurst but moved to Easebourne, see note 79, pp. 124-125 above.

⁹⁴ Pevsner, *Surrey*, p. 271, p. 274.

⁹⁵ Other names have been suggested as designers of the More tombs. One of these is Richard Stevens, who died in 1592 so can therefore be discounted unless work was in fact begun by William and not George More, or it was carried out by Stevens's workshop after his death. White, 'Biographical Dictionary', pp.112-113 for a rejection of this attribution. For someone to commission their own effigy was not unusual. Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments*, pp. 55-58. Nicholas Stone the Elder has also been suggested, but as he was not born until the late 1580s he was too young. White, 'Biographical Dictionary' p.128 and p.137. It may even be that the Mabbankes who were ubiquitous when William More rebuilt Loseley may have been the tomb makers, but this is speculation on my part. To give an example of the difficulty of attributing these tombs, White believes that Garat Johnson the Elder designed the Montague tomb, and rejects the theory that it was Richard Stevens. 'Biographical Dictionary', p.67 and p. 112. By contrast, Nairn attributes the Montague tomb to Stevens. Nairn & Pevsner, *Sussex*, p. 212. All these monuments may have been collective works anyway. Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments*, p. 20. Llewellyn also notes that patrons did not tend to keep drawings for monuments once work was completed, which may partly explain why it is so hard to make definite attributions. *Funeral Monuments*, p.176.

William and Margaret's tomb demonstrates that the family were acutely aware of the message the monument would send out. Nigel Llewellyn has written that "nothing [was] more redolent of a long ancestry and continuity with the medieval past than the free-standing tomb chest with recumbent figures."⁹⁶ This would have been of particular importance to a relatively new gentry family such as the Mores, especially when they had not been in the county for long. The More tomb is not free-standing but features full-sized, recumbent effigies of both William and Margaret, lying side by side.⁹⁷ William is dressed in armour, as is his son Sir George in his figure to the side of the monument, despite their lack of military service; the armour was intended to indicate knightly status rather than to represent experience as a soldier.⁹⁸ It also symbolised readiness to fight for the sovereign in whatever way was necessary.⁹⁹ The back panel shows a boy and Father Time, representing youth and age.¹⁰⁰ It must have been spectacular when new. Parts of the tomb, for example Margaret's headdress and William's armour, were gilded, which would have been expensive.¹⁰¹



The More monument, St Nicholas, Guildford. Photo by the author, reproduced by kind permission of the church.

⁹⁶Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments*, p.79.

⁹⁷ This equal status for the effigies was typical. Heal & Holmes, *Gentry*, p.54. Lord Montague's tomb is an exception; he is kneeling next to the inscription on the higher part of the tomb with effigies of both his wives below. Questier, *Catholicism and Community*, pp. 12-13. See also the Denny monument above.

⁹⁸Nairn & Pevsner, *Surrey*, p. 274; Malden, *VCH Surrey*, III, accessed online at www.british-history.ac.uk. Sir John Oglander is also wearing armour in his effigy in Brading Church on the Isle of Wight. Nicolson, *Gentry*, pp.135-6 on Oglander's tomb; Heal & Holmes, *Gentry*, p. 21 for an image.

⁹⁹ Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments*, p. 314.

¹⁰⁰ Tudsbery-Turner Taylor, *Loseley Chapel*, p.3.

¹⁰¹ Katharine A. Esdaile, *English Church Monuments 1510-1840* (London: B.T. Batsford Ltd, 1946), p.58. The gilding can still be seen clearly around the inscriptions and on the reredos. Gilding also made the tomb look larger and as if more work had been done to it, emphasising its importance. Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments*, p. 139.

On either side of the back panel of the monument are the kneeling figures of William and Margaret's children, their daughters Elizabeth and Anne on one side, and son George and his first wife, Anne, on the other, showing the line they had established.¹⁰² That they are kneeling shows their piety, but also their submission to and obedience of their parents.¹⁰³ They are raised from the floor, a design especially popular in the early seventeenth century with Southwark tomb makers.¹⁰⁴ The inclusion of the children makes a critical point: here was "the nuclear family displayed in its collective strength, linked to the wider kin by ... armorial displays."¹⁰⁵ Indeed, the Mores' arms, and those of the families into whom they married, are shown.¹⁰⁶ The inscriptions are at pains to emphasise the Mores' matrimonial success. The epitaph for George's wife Anne mentions her father (a knight), his brother (a lord), her maternal grandfather (a knight) and his brother (a lord). Anne's desirability as a bride, and George's great success in marrying her, is reinforced by the stress on Anne being co-heir to her father, who had likewise been the heir of his brother Lord Poynings, while Anne's mother had been sole heir to both her father and her uncle. The account of Anne's family is followed by a list of her children, stressing the family's continuity.¹⁰⁷ Meanwhile, Elizabeth's glittering third marriage to Thomas Egerton is highlighted in the main inscription to her parents, as well as in her own. Her second husband John Wolley's post as the Queen's Latin secretary is also mentioned in her inscription, as was the fact that their son Francis had been knighted as well, while Anne Mainwaring's inscription refers to the knighthoods for three of her four sons, and the marriages of both her daughters to knights.¹⁰⁸ George More's purpose was clearly to impress all who saw the monument with his family's success, both past and future.

¹⁰² Heal & Holmes, *Gentry*, p. 56 on children on tombs. Tudsbery-Turner & Taylor, *Loseley Chapel*, p.3

¹⁰³ Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments*, p. 103.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid*, p. 105.

¹⁰⁵ Heal & Holmes, *Gentry*, p.56.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid*, p.p.5-8; Malden, *VCH Surrey*, III, accessed online at www.british-history.ac.uk.

¹⁰⁷ Only eight are listed although she had nine; her son George is omitted.

¹⁰⁸ This suggests that Anne Mainwaring's epitaph was later than some of the rest of the tomb as Henry Mainwaring was not knighted until 1618. The main inscription must be earlier as Egerton is described as "*now* Lo[rd] Ellesmere, & Lo[rd] High Chancellor" (my italics). Therefore this part dates from between Egerton's ennoblement and new appointment in 1603 and his creation as Viscount Brackley in November 1616.



The effigies of Sir William and Lady More, and figures of Elizabeth [Egerton](#) and [Anne Mainwaring](#). Photos by the author, reproduced by kind permission of the church.



The figures of Sir George More and his first wife Anne Poynings on his parents' monument. Photo by the author, reproduced by kind permission of the church.

The main inscription is also insistent on the orthodoxy of William and Margaret's beliefs. William was described as "a zelous professor of true religion & a favourer of all those w[hi]ch trulye were religious," while Margaret was "bountiful to the poore & religious towards God."¹⁰⁹ The text also stressed that others should follow their example of a "virtuous & godlye life."¹¹⁰ George may have felt he needed to emphasise this point when he was building a grandiose tomb for his Puritan-leaning parents. It is similar to the epitaph for Joyce Lucy, wife of Sir Thomas, who died in 1595. She had apparently always been "a true and faithful servant of her good God....[and] in religion most sound... [she brought] up ...youth in the fear of God..¹¹¹ Margaret Hoby's piety was also stressed in her epitaph in St Peter's Church, Hackness. She had "finished the woork [sic] that God had sent her into this world to performe." She had also "[propagated] his holy word in all places where she had power, ... exercising her selfe dayly in ... christien dties, and endeoures to performe the whole will

¹⁰⁹ From the tomb inscription.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ Fairfax-Lucy, *Charlecote*, pp.18-19.

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of God through her faith in Christ..."¹¹² Clearly monuments had to leave no doubt about the subject's correct religious stance.¹¹³ It was also important that the good works of the subject were emphasised as a contrast with the secular success which the tomb demonstrated.¹¹⁴

Service to the crown was also stressed, as honour came from service to the monarch.¹¹⁵ William More had "[spent] his days in the service of our late Sovereigne of blessed memorie Queene Elizabeth, in whose favour he lived & dyed beyng one of the Chamberlaynes of Her Ma[jesty's] high court of Exchequ[er]..."¹¹⁶ Egerton's positions of Lord Keeper and Lord Chancellor are mentioned in the main inscription, and that of Lord Chancellor in his wife's epitaph, as is John Wolley's role.¹¹⁷ Sir Christopher's memorial records his role as King's Remembrancer. The importance of service to the monarch meant that it was often emphasised on monuments: Montague's epitaph, for example, mentioned his embassy to the Pope during Mary's reign, and diplomatic visits to the Low Countries in 1565 and 1566.¹¹⁸

William and Margaret's monument is the high point of the chapel. George and his first wife Anne are only commemorated on the side of the tomb. The wall plaque in memory of Sir Christopher More was not erected until 1669, one hundred and twenty years after his death, along with those to George's son Sir Robert, and grandson Sir Poynings, who died in 1626 and 1649 respectively.¹¹⁹ Such plaques were then fashionable, being far cheaper than a grand tomb.¹²⁰ Heraldry does still feature, however, and the inscriptions emphasise the establishment of the family and their relations.

¹¹² Moody, *Margaret Hobby*, pp.223-4.

¹¹³ In all these examples, the inscriptions are in English; where Latin was used, it was sometimes interpreted as a sign of Catholic sympathies. Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments*, p.120. It could, however, also be taken as an indication of the learning and high status of the subject. *Ibid*, p.125.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid*, p.353.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid*, p. 300. As with Sir William's effigy showing him in armour, the emphasis was on service to the Crown, however needed.

¹¹⁶ From the tomb inscription.

¹¹⁷ It is perhaps surprising that Wolley's position of Privy Councillor is not mentioned.

¹¹⁸ Questier, *Catholicism and Community*, p. 114 and p. 142. See below, p.151 on the possible religious significance of the references on Montague's monument.

¹¹⁹ Tudsbury-Turner & Taylor, *Loseley Chapel*, p.3. These were erected by Poynings' son Sir William More, (1643-1684). Ironically given his interest in his ancestors, this Sir William had no children himself; after his death Loseley passed to his uncle Nicholas. He was behaving as John, Lord Lumley had done at Chester-le-Street in County Durham in the 1590s. Lumley too had no descendants, all his children having predeceased him, but he honoured his ancestors by building new tombs for them. Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments*, pp. 96-97. Sir William may have been trying to make the point that the line would continue, even if not through him, and also to show off his ancestry.

¹²⁰ Heal & Holmes, *Gentry*, p. 140.



The wall plaques commemorating Sir Christopher More and Sir Poynings More. Photos by the author, reproduced by kind permission of the church.¹²¹

It may appear that the Loseley Chapel has little to say about the piety of the family it commemorates. Certainly George More may have been influenced by a desire to show off his ancestry, and express his vision of a future in which his family would continue to flourish, rather than any religious motivation. It may therefore fit with his desire to make his mark as well on the house at Loseley immediately after inheriting. However, as it seems that he left no instruction for a memorial to himself, it may well be that his parents' tomb is a genuine sign of how he felt about them, and his final tribute to them before God. He may have hoped that his descendants would do the same for him.¹²²

Others at this time did give instructions for construction of tomb monuments, or left bequests for sums to be spent on them, however simple they might have wanted their funeral to be. Richard Covert left £10 in his will of 1579 to Flynte "for makynge my Tombe", having already paid him £20.¹²³ Lord Montague, who had stipulated that no more than a thousand marks should be spent on his funeral, which was presumably not a modest occasion, requested in his will of 1592 that the following should be included on his tomb: "three greate ymages of my selfe and my twoe wives

¹²¹ On the day I visited the chapel, the monument to Sir Robert More had been taken down for maintenance.

¹²² If so, he would have been disappointed. Sir George died intestate, and does not seem to have made provision for his own tomb. His grandson Poynings believed himself saddled with debt, so in no position to spend money on a monuments. See the chapter on the house above, p. 62-63. Poynings' son Sir William may have been trying to redress this situation with the memorials he had erected in the Loseley chapel. See note 119, p.131 above.

¹²³ Covert asked to be buried near his three wives in the chancel of the church in Slaugham in Sussex. The Will of Richard Covert, 1579, TNA PROB/11/62. Flynte, or Flynton, built Covert a spectacular tomb. Nairn & Pevsner, *Sussex*, p. 607.

myne owne standing betwene them and all oure Armes placed abowte it."¹²⁴ Sir Francis Wolley, son of Elizabeth and John Wolley, left the huge sum of £4000 in his will of 1609 to build a tomb in St Paul's for himself and his parents. He was to be shown lying at their feet.¹²⁵

Personal piety - the chapel at Loseley

In the early sixteenth century gentry households usually had a chapel and a chaplain, while even at the end of the century Margaret Hoby was especially reliant on her chaplain, Mr Rhodes.¹²⁶ There was also a chapel at her home, Hackness Hall.¹²⁷ It is unclear, however, whether the Mores had a resident chaplain. Christopher More probably had a chapel in the medieval house, as a licence to hear divine service was granted to him by Stephen Gardiner in December 1538, although this of itself does not reveal whether it was regularly used.¹²⁸ Christopher did not make a bequest to a chaplain in his will, although to do so was common, and despite making bequests to some of his servants. It is therefore possible that he did not have a chaplain, although this would have been unusual.¹²⁹ Nonetheless, in his inventory of August 1549, one of the rooms listed is described as "the prist[es] Chamber", and within it was a feather bed.¹³⁰ It is interesting that this is not called the chaplain's room. It may be that the local priest came to hold mass at Loseley on some of the main feast days of the year, as was apparently the case at Charlecote in the early sixteenth century.¹³¹ In this case, the priest's room was presumably the chamber where he stayed when he came to celebrate the mass, rather than the chapel itself. It may even be that at the time of Christopher More's death the chapel was not being used, as on his inventory the only contents of the "Chapell Chambre" and the "lytle chambre" within it are bedroom furniture.¹³² This is a dramatically different

¹²⁴ The Will of Lord Montague. The heraldic display was a demonstration of his matrimonial success, as on the Mores' tomb.

¹²⁵ The Will of Sir Francis Wolley. There is also an edited version of Wolley's will, SHC 6729/3/184, which does not include any of the religious content. All three Wolleys were apparently originally buried in the church at Pyrford, and moved to St Paul's in 1614. Glyn Parry, 'Sir John Wolley (d.1596)', www.oxforddnb.com. The wording of Francis's will is ambiguous, and it is not clear if his parents were already buried in St Paul's or would need to be moved. Francis Wolley acknowledged in his will that there were cases when bodies were removed from their tombs. He left £10 a year to St Paul's for as long as the Wolleys' "Tombe shall remayne undefaced and none of those Bodyes digged upon or otherwise from thence removed." The Will of Francis Wolley.

¹²⁶ Moreton, *The Townshends*, p. 137; Moody, *Margaret Hoby*, p.9, p.60, p.124, for example.

¹²⁷ Moody, *Margaret Hoby*, p.xxxiv.

¹²⁸ A chapel licence for Christopher More, 20th December 1538, SHC LM/796.

¹²⁹ The will of Sir Christopher More. Heal and Holmes, *Gentry*, p. 352, p. 353. Sir John More did not make a bequest to a chaplain either; The Will of Sir John More.

¹³⁰ An inventory of the goods of Sir Christopher More, 29th August 1549, SHC LM/1101/3. A feather bed with hangings was part of the furniture in the priest's room at Charlecote as well. Fairfax-Lucy, *Charlecote*, p.56.

¹³¹ *Ibid*, p.56.

¹³² Christopher More's inventory, SHC LM/1101/3. Perhaps the Mores' chapel licence had lapsed. If this is the case, then the chapel chamber and priest's chamber were presumably still so called because of traditional usage, as with the continued use of the phrase the King's chamber to describe a room at Loseley, rather than

situation from that at Charlecote, where the chapel was apparently hung with saye, and had an altar frontal of velvet.¹³³ In 1542 in the chapel at Sutton Place, near to Loseley, there were a gilt cross with a picture of the Holy Family, a chalice, a silver pyx, a silver sacring bell, a pax and two silver candlesticks for the high altar.¹³⁴ When the Lisle household at Calais was broken up in 1540, the contents of the chapel included an altar cloth made of cloth of gold, edged with crimson velvet, and a picture of the Virgin Mary.¹³⁵

While there probably was a chapel in Christopher More's house, there is no positive evidence that there was one in the 1560s house; for example, there is no surviving chapel licence. Indeed, there is some evidence to indicate that there was not a chapel, which can be found in an exchange of letters between William More and the Privy Council in October 1570 concerning Henry Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, then under house arrest at Loseley. In his letter to the council, More wrote that owing to Southampton's presence, he and his family were unable to "be at any service abroad", which would not have been a problem if they had had a licensed family chapel.¹³⁶ When a service of prayer was held at Loseley, it took place in More's parlour, which also implies there was no chapel.¹³⁷

It would not have been unusual if William More had indeed not included a chapel when he rebuilt Loseley. The Elizabethan period, with a greater emphasis on preaching rather than the mass, saw a decline in the building of private chapels, which until then had been an important part of country houses.¹³⁸ Burghley House provides an interesting example of this. William Cecil's plans for Burghley in the 1560s did include a separate chapel, but it was probably never built, as in the early 1570s the space allocated to it was turned into part of a grand staircase, and there was no longer a

because they were still performing these functions. See the chapter on the house, p. 61-62 above. It may even be that the chapel chamber was so called simply because it was next door to the chapel. Annabel Ricketts, *The English Country House Chapel: Building a Protestant Tradition* (Reading: Spire Books, 2007), p. 12. However, it is possible that the Mores were not using their own chapel at this time, and instead attending their parish church in order to show support for the Reformation. Neither of William More's 1556 inventories mentions a priest's or chapel chamber, although they do not seem to include the whole house so this does not mean such a room did not exist. SHC LM/1105; Evans, 'Extracts', pp.284-310.

¹³³ Fairfax-Lucy, *Charlecote*, p.56. She described the room adjoining the chapel as the chapel chamber for use by the priest, so it may be that the chapel was omitted from Christopher More's will and the chapel chamber was another room entirely.

¹³⁴ A copy of an Inventory of the furniture at Sutton Place made for Sir Christopher More, November 1541, SHC LM/1115.

¹³⁵ *L&P Henry VIII*, XV, 852, 853, 7th July 1540.

¹³⁶ A draft letter from William More to the Privy Council, October 1570, Folger L.b. 576.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*

¹³⁸ Ricketts, *English Country House Chapel*, pp. 17-18, p. 40. Ricketts states that in the period covered by her book, 1500-1700, "it was only under Elizabeth that there was a distinct decline in the status and provision of private chapels." *Ibid.*, p. 20.

chaplain in residence.¹³⁹ If it was not deemed necessary to have a chapel in a house the size of Burghley, it would seem unlikely that a contemporary building on a much smaller scale such as Loseley would have had one.¹⁴⁰ Indeed, even Montacute in Somerset, another large scale house, does not seem to have had a chapel.¹⁴¹ It was not unusual for any big room in the house to be used for worship, without any need for a separate chapel, particularly in households where there were Puritan leanings.¹⁴² The Mores would certainly have fitted into this category, and may have used their parlour for this purpose, as in a draft letter to the Privy Council about the Earl of Southampton, William More wrote of common prayer being held in his "p[ar]lyer".¹⁴³

It may also be that William More, as well as following architectural fashion, felt he could best express his support for the Elizabethan regime by attending his parish church rather than worshipping in private.¹⁴⁴ The two modes of worship were not of course mutually exclusive, and even if William had kept up his private chapel he would still have wanted to participate in parochial life.¹⁴⁵ He would have appreciated the importance of his being seen at church services, both to encourage others to follow his example, and to demonstrate his own loyalty to the Crown and its church.¹⁴⁶

Some hints that William More may have had a chapel, however, are found in his Indentures. Most of his grandchildren were not only born at Loseley but also baptised there.¹⁴⁷ This raises the question of whether they were baptised in a chapel, or in a room that was used for prayer and preaching but not the mass, and can probably not be conclusively proved one way or another. It is interesting that it is the younger grandchildren who were apparently baptised in the house; perhaps the family felt their orthodoxy had by now clearly displayed. Baptism did not require a consecrated

¹³⁹ Ibid, p. 64. It is also unlikely that Cecil had a chapel in his London home, Cecil House. Ibid. A makeshift chapel was created at Burghley for William Cecil's mother Jane in c.1573. Ibid, p. 18, p. 64

¹⁴⁰ Sir Nicholas Bacon, however, included a chapel in his 1560s work at Gorhambury. Ricketts, *English Country House Chapel*, p. 253.

¹⁴¹ Ibid, p. 18.

¹⁴² Ibid, p.58, p. 18. Ricketts gives Margaret Hoby's household as an example. Although there was a chapel at Hackness Hall, it was rarely used, and instead the household attended the parish church or simply had prayers in the great chamber Ibid, p. 58.

¹⁴³ A draft letter from William More to the Privy Council, October 1570, Folger L.b. 576. See pp. 153-154 below on Southampton's time at Loseley.

¹⁴⁴ The Mores probably attended St Nicholas, Compton; see pp. 137-138 below.

¹⁴⁵ Heal & Holmes, *Gentry*, pp. 353-54. He may have let the chapel licence lapse because of the importance of his being seen, along with his family and household, in the parish church.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid, p.369. See also p. 368 on conditions attached to new chapel licences in the early seventeenth century to compel the gentry to attend their parish church at least occasionally.

¹⁴⁷ The Indentures of William More, SHC LM/1327/6. There are nine children, born from 1583-1592 - Margaret, Anne, Elizabeth, George, John and Frances More, and Daniel, George and Francis Mainwaring - for whom the place of baptism is specified as Loseley; for the others- Margaret, Arthur (who was born at Thorpe) and Henry Mainwaring, Robert and Mary More, and Francis Wolley - it is not given.

chapel; the chapel at The Vyne had a font in 1541 when the house was inventoried, so presumably baptisms were held in it, but the chapel itself was apparently not consecrated.¹⁴⁸ Private baptisms were commonly associated with religious dissent, which does not seem to be an issue here.¹⁴⁹ On balance, however, it seems most likely that William More did not include a chapel in his rebuilding at Loseley.

Sir George More did, however, build a chapel in his wing at Loseley, which he was granted a licence to use in June 1605.¹⁵⁰ His decision to put the chapel in his new wing, rather than adapt whatever space had been used for this purpose in the Elizabethan house, was significant both as it was built very early in the reign of James I, and was thus at the forefront of Stuart chapel building, and also as it was unusual to relocate a chapel.¹⁵¹ It was not surprising that Sir George wanted a private chapel; his father it seems did not include one because not to do so was the fashion of the time; Sir George included one because by the time his wing was built the opposite was the case.¹⁵² Sir Robert Cecil was another man who moved on from his father's reluctance to build private chapels, including one in his new house at Hatfield.¹⁵³

Unfortunately the inventory made at Sir George's death in 1632 does not list any details of the chapel or any rooms connected with it, and as he died intestate we cannot know if he would have left anything to a chaplain.¹⁵⁴ The chapel is however described in a late seventeenth century inventory, dating from about 1689. Within the chapel were a carved wainscot and banisters, a desk, two tables, a pulpit, two "wainscot seates," a Bible and a prayer book.¹⁵⁵ It is tempting to draw some conclusions from this as to the nature of George More's piety. This was the chapel he had founded, and although this inventory dates from over half a century after his death, it seems to confirm what is known from other sources about his Puritan piety. There is no mention of an altar, so perhaps its function was fulfilled by one of the tables. There was however a pulpit, and the Puritans were keen

¹⁴⁸ Ricketts, *English Country House Chapel*, p. 26, p. 50.

¹⁴⁹ See p.151 below on the second Viscount Montague's private baptism of his daughter.

¹⁵⁰ A chapel licence for Sir George More, SHC LM/797.

¹⁵¹ Ricketts, *English Country House Chapel*, p. 275.

¹⁵² *Ibid*, p. 19, pp. 84-85.

¹⁵³ *Ibid*, p. 87.

¹⁵⁴ This lack of information about the chapel may be explained by the fact that when he died, George More appears to have been living in the older wing of the house, while the chapel was in the newer. After 1604, having a private chaplain was technically a privilege of the highest ranks in society, so the Mores would not have been eligible. However, ways were found around this law. Cliffe, *Puritan Gentry*, pp. 162-163. Ricketts argues that this law made having a chapel a status symbol, as you had to hold high rank to have a chaplain. This increased interest in building chapels. *English Country House Chapel*, p. 25.

¹⁵⁵ An incomplete inventory, c. 1689, SHC LM/1126/14. The furniture, including the pulpit, and the books, were listed as for sale in February 1689. Sale of goods and chattels, SHC LM/353/5.

to benefit from "godly preaching" and content to experience this at home rather than at church.¹⁵⁶ It suggests that the family continued with the religious views that George More had espoused.

Public religion



A map showing Compton, Loseley and St Catherine's Hill. St Nicholas, Guildford, is just off the top right of the map, next to the River Wey. Reproduced with permission of the National Library of Scotland, <http://map.nls.uk/index.html>.

The most obvious way for the gentry to participate in public religion was in regular attendance at their parish church. The Mores probably worshipped at the church of St Nicholas, Compton. In his foreword to the guide to the church, James More Molyneux wrote that he had worshipped there "since 1930, following members of [his] family for generations", which strongly suggest a family tradition that this was their place of worship.¹⁵⁷ As the Mores had the right to present to the living at Compton, by attending the church they could both support and check on their appointees. The two other likely candidates for the family's church would be St Nicholas, Guildford, where they were to be buried, or the chapel of ease at St Catherine's Hill. The latter can probably be discounted as it may not have had a priest in the later sixteenth century.¹⁵⁸ St Nicholas, Guildford is more plausible as after the Reformation it was usual for monuments, certainly those for

¹⁵⁶ Cliffe, *Puritan Gentry*, pp. 24-25; pp. 30-31.

¹⁵⁷ Alan Bott, *A Guide to the Parish Church of Saint Nicholas, Compton, Surrey* (2000), p. 1.

¹⁵⁸ Malden, *VCH Surrey*, III, accessed online at www.british-history.ac.uk.

the nobility, to be sited in the church most associated with the family.¹⁵⁹ However, other factors may have been involved in the choice of the Guildford church for the More monuments. As mentioned above, St Nicholas, Guildford, had connections with the Mudge or Mugge family, and it was Christopher More's marriage to Margaret that had brought the Mores into Surrey. Locating their monuments in Guildford therefore made the most of the family's local roots.¹⁶⁰ The Westons of Sutton Place had their chapel in Holy Trinity, Guildford, and the Mores perhaps wanted to imitate them.¹⁶¹ The chapel at St Nicholas, Guildford, may have been built specifically for the owners of Loseley, and if so effectively came with the estate, and to continue to use it would allow the Mores to reinforce their Surrey connections. However, if the family tradition is to be believed, it is more likely that they worshipped at Compton.

That the gentry were seen at church was vital to the government as the Reformation progressed, as it showed the support of the elite for the religious settlement of the time, and would therefore encourage others to follow their example, as mentioned above. Many gentry also played a role within their parish churches as they held livings and thus appointed clergy to them. The significance of such patronage grew after the Reformation, and gave the gentry influence not only over their local church but also more widely. The importance of holding a living can be seen in the fact that Sir Thomas Lucy in his will of August 1600 left to his son William a living which he controlled at Rudford in Gloucestershire.¹⁶² In 1578, Charles, Lord Howard of Effingham, wrote to William More requesting his help in his intended purchase of the living of Esher, for which he felt that the Bishop of Winchester was asking too much.¹⁶³ The effort to which both sides went shows how lucrative possession of a living could be.

The one living to which the Mores definitely made appointments was that of St Nicholas, Compton. Christopher More was granted the right to present to the living in 1545-6 by the then Bishop of Winchester, Stephen Gardiner. More first appointed a rector there, Anthony Cawseys, in

¹⁵⁹ Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments*, p. 151.

¹⁶⁰ The Mugges were probably not buried at St Nicholas. Margaret More's father Walter asked in his will of 1495 to be buried near the grave of his mother in the churchyard of St Mary's, Guildford, on the other side of the river from St Nicholas. He did however leave money to St Nicholas. The Will of Walter (name given incorrectly in the catalogue as Nathaniel) Mugge, 9th February 1495, TNA PROB/11/10.

¹⁶¹ See note 79, pp. 124-125 above.

¹⁶² The Will of Sir Thomas Lucy, 13th August 1600, TNA PROB/11/106. Lucy also held properties under lease from the Dean and Chapter of Gloucester Cathedral, as well as the advowson of the church at Charlecote. L.F. Salzman, ed., *VCH Warwickshire*, V (London: Victoria County History, 1949), accessed online at www.british-history.ac.uk.

¹⁶³ Charles, Lord Howard of Effingham, to Sir William More, 1st July 1578, SHC 6729/7/26. The Bishop at the time was Robert Horne.

1547.¹⁶⁴ William More appointed five men to the living, including a John Slater in 1583, who turned out to be unsuitable. By 1598 Slater, who had been deprived of the living in 1586, had adopted the name Thomas Edmondes, deserted his post, and was extorting money from vicars and churchwardens as bribes for him not to reveal any religious lapses.¹⁶⁵ George More never appointed anyone to the living as he sold the right to present to a William Oughtred in 1610, so the last appointment made by the Mores was that of Hugh Philips in 1586.¹⁶⁶ Sir George's actions eventually led to a court case in 1619, as Oughtred in his turn had passed the right of presentation on to two other men in 1616, intending that they should choose him as rector. Oughtred was then overlooked when the living fell vacant on Philips's death in 1619, and allegations of simony were made.¹⁶⁷

In 1568 William More was asked to use his influence on a Giles Bull, who held the right to the present to the living of Hambledon near Godalming.¹⁶⁸ Alexander Nowell wrote to More to ask him to promote Henry Adams, a man Nowell did not know but whom he understood to be "honest, quiet, and well known to M[aste]r Archdeacon Watt[es]."¹⁶⁹ Nowell went on to praise "his diligence in teaching the catechisme, and ...good zeale...to sett furth true religion."¹⁷⁰ He finished his letter by commenting that the position would not pay enough to encourage "a learned man...[to] medle therwith."¹⁷¹ This leaves a sense that Watts, via Nowell, was trying to lumber Hambledon with a rather unsatisfactory candidate.¹⁷² Adams was chosen, but resigned in 1572, which perhaps

¹⁶⁴ Cecelia, Lady Boston, *The History of Compton in Surrey* (London: The European Art Publishing Company, 1933), p.193, p.196.

¹⁶⁵ Thomas Bilson, Bishop of Winchester, to Sir William More, 6th July 1598, SHC 6729/9/28. Slater may be the candidate whom More had presented for Compton, and about whom Bishop Cooper had written to More in 1586 to complain that he was not "of that sufficiency of learning" for the post. Thomas Cooper, Bishop of Winchester, to Sir William More, 12th September 1586, SHC 6729/9/15. This is evidence of the ongoing anxiety about poorly educated priests who could not give proper instruction to their parishioners.

¹⁶⁶ Boston, *Compton*, p. 198, p. 221 for a list of rectors.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 198. Oughtred was apparently never appointed. although he behaved as if he were, for example preaching in the church. John Tichborne was presented as rector in 1619, and was still in his post in 1621. *Ibid.*, p.199. See also Sir Henry Yelverton's opinion that simony was involved in the contract for the presentation to the church of Compton, July 1619, Folger L.b. 668. This case sheds a different light on Sir George More, who seems to have sought his own advantage in such matters as much as anyone else despite his Puritan beliefs.

¹⁶⁸ See www.theclergydatabase.org.uk.

¹⁶⁹ Alexander Nowell to William More, 27th March 1568, SHC 6729/2/58. It might be that the last of those points was to be taken as the main recommendation. Nowell had been Archdeacon of Middlesex; Thomas Watts had succeeded him. Nowell and Watts had been Marian exiles together in Frankfurt. Brett Usher, 'Thomas Watts (1523/4-1577)', www.oxforddnb.com.

¹⁷⁰ Nowell to William More, SHC 6729/2/58.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁷² It was difficult to avoid unsatisfactory candidates in all cases where the income of the living was low. The parishioners of Ewell petitioned William More in the 1580s on behalf of their vicar Richard Williamson, as "the smalnes" of his wages "no learned Minister [would] lyve on." The petition was entirely supportive of Williamson so he must have been acceptable, but other parishes with poor financial rewards for the incumbent probably endured poor preaching. A petition from the parishioners of Ewell to Sir William More, between 1584-89, SHC 6729/1/14.

reinforces the impression that, as Nowell had himself written, Adams was of "poor habilitie and knolege".¹⁷³

If the wrong appointment were made, as would seem to have been the case with Adams and Slater, then parishioners might express their anger. An undated petition survives, sent to Sir William and George More among others, from the parishioners of Farnham protesting against their minister Daniel Crafte, "a straunger borne."¹⁷⁴ Crafte apparently "cannott reade pleylnly and distinctly...[or] governe him self modestly but is often overseen with drynke...[he is] very insufficient..."¹⁷⁵ To make matters worse, other local priests were apparently "a co[m]mon dronckard", another drunkard, and one who was both "a co[m]mon gamster and a haunter of Alehowses".¹⁷⁶ Even Edward Welche, apparently "a modest and godly man" who was in charge of a chapel of ease at Elstead, was "altogither unlearned."¹⁷⁷ This situation had been endured for some time, with earlier appeals for help ignored. According to the petition, five thousand people were thereby left without "one sufficient man to instructe them to the utter dismayenge of the people ...and to the greate rejoicing of the wicked."¹⁷⁸ The parishioners clearly had high standards which their clergy were woefully failing to live up to.¹⁷⁹

However, there is also some evidence that malicious accusations were made against some clergy. Farnham had quite a history of discontent with its ministers. In February 1583 John Watson, then Bishop of Winchester, wrote to William More to ask him to investigate "a slaunderous Byll"

¹⁷³ Nowell to William More, SHC 6729/2/58; www.theclergydatabase.org.uk.

¹⁷⁴ A petition to Sir William Howard et al about Daniel Crafte, no date, SHC LM/1042/14. It dates from between 1587, when Edward Welch became curate at Elstead, and 1592 when Crafte either died or left office, www.theclergydatabase.org.uk. There had been discontent for some time, as John Watson, Bishop of Winchester, had written to William More referring to the problems in Farnham as early as 4th May 1581. SHC 6729/12/18. Ironically Watson, as one of the prebendaries of Winchester, had been responsible for Crafte's appointment, www.theclergydatabase.org.uk. Watson's successor Thomas Cooper also wrote to William More about it, commenting that there were "malicious & slanderous tongues on bothe sides", and that he knew the vicar, who had been in the post since 1569, was "an unsufficient man". Thomas Cooper, Bishop of Winchester, to Sir William More, 20th June 1589, SHC 6729/9/21. That Crafte remained in office when there was such discontent is perhaps surprising. It may demonstrate a reluctance to admit to a mistake and remove an unsatisfactory priest, especially as Cooper seemed to agree with the parishioners' assessment, using similar language to describe Crafte. As there had been so many problems in Farnham, there may have been a lack of candidates prepared to take on the living.

¹⁷⁵ Crafte petition, SHC LM/1042/14.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.* Elstead is a village between Farnham and Godalming.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁹ Ironically, Crafte himself complained to William More in an undated letter that "a stranger" called Thomas Knight was trying to be appointed to the clerkship of Farnham, although he would be "a better teacher of doggs" than people. He claimed the support of the churchwardens and the parish generally in his opposition to Knight. It is interesting that in picking Knight out as "a stranger" and unlearned he was repeating some of the criticism which had been levelled at him. Daniel Crafte to Sir William More, March (no year), SHC LM/COR/3/598. This letter is badly damaged.

against Mr Germaine, who had been appointed preacher there by Watson, and who the Bishop was sure was in the right.¹⁸⁰ More was to make plain "that soche disordere must not be suffered."¹⁸¹ George More was later asked by Lord Buckhurst to investigate in another case of apparent slander. In August 1601 Buckhurst wrote to More concerning his suspicions that a Sir Matthew Browne was "cast[ing] scandall & slaunder" on Morris Sackville, parson of Ockley and relation of Buckhurst.¹⁸² Buckhurst believed there was a "complot & combinac[i]on" to deprive Sackville of his living. Although he also wrote that if Sackville were guilty he wishes "him no favour", Buckhurst seems to have believed that the charges were malicious, perhaps because those from whom the original accusations came were "2 rogish whoores" who made their living from begging.¹⁸³

Beyond their power to appoint parish clergy with the potential it offered for discord, the gentry were of vital importance as members of ecclesiastical commissions. The gentry also enforced religious laws as sheriffs or justices of the peace.¹⁸⁴ As much as the matter of their attendance at church, the actions of the commissioners set an example. In February 1549 the Privy Council wrote to the sheriff and JPs of Surrey complaining that church contents had been sold for personal profit.¹⁸⁵ To counter this, the sheriff and JPs were made commissioners in Surrey to oversee such sales and ensure there were no abuses.¹⁸⁶ William Parr, Marquis of Northampton, wrote to William More and the other commissioners for the sale of church goods in Surrey on this subject in June 1553, defending his servant Thomas Hall who seems to have been suspected of misusing money entrusted to him as churchwarden of St Nicholas, Guildford.¹⁸⁷ Northampton was confident they would find in Hall's favour.

The gentry were also responsible for setting an example in other ways. The head of the household provided religious instruction to both family and servants. This had been true before the

¹⁸⁰ John Watson, Bishop of Winchester, to William More, 9th February 1583, SHC 6729/9/4.

¹⁸¹ Ibid.

¹⁸² Thomas Sackville, Lord Buckhurst, to Sir George More, 6th August 1601, SHC 6729/2/19. Buckhurst did not want to put Browne's motives in writing: he would "refer the same to speach at our next meating." Browne was apparently a relation of Sackville's as well. Buckhurst was also writing to two other men to request assistance, but unfortunately their names are not given.

¹⁸³ Ibid. In this instance "whoores" implies undesirable people generally. Sackville defended himself in a petition which seems to have confirmed Buckhurst's good opinion of him. Thomas Sackville, Lord Buckhurst, to Sir George More, Mr Aungier and Mr Stoughton, 14th August 1601, SHC LM/COR/4/7. Aungier and Stoughton were perhaps the other recipients of the earlier letter.

¹⁸⁴ The recusancy commissions and measures against recusancy will be discussed below, pp. 152-156.

¹⁸⁵ A copy of a letter from the Privy Council to the Sheriff and Justices of the Peace of Surrey, 15th February 1549, SHC 6729/10/6.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid.

¹⁸⁷ William Parr, Marquis of Northampton, to William More, Laurence Stoughton and Richard Bedon, 1st June 1553, SHC 6729/10/14. The servant's name is given as Lyall in the SHC catalogue. Richard Bedon was perhaps the Richard Bydon who campaigned for William More in the elections for the 1563 parliament, see the chapter on offices and patronage above, pp. 92-93.

Reformation as much as after it. Times when the household was gathered together, for example for meals, could be used for religious teaching.¹⁸⁸ In their order of February 1557, Mary and Philip made it clear that if the Justices "shall have eny of their owne s[er]vauntes faulty they muste...begyne to reforme them", that is instruct them in the true religion.¹⁸⁹ This role is brought across especially forcefully in Margaret Hoby's diary, in which it is clear that a woman could fulfil this function too, and that it could go beyond the confines of the household. She described instructing "Tomson wiffe in some principles of reigion" on Friday, 10th August 1599.¹⁹⁰ She also taught together with her chaplain Mr Rhodes later that month. They "had som speach with the poore and Ignorant of the...principles of religion."¹⁹¹ From a draft letter discussed below from William More to the Privy Council it is clear that he, as head of the household, was in charge of the household prayers at Loseley, so presumably also gave religious instruction.¹⁹² Margaret Hoby's experience would suggest that Margaret More might well have taught her female servants, and perhaps her daughters, at least, if not people outside the household as well.

In his capacity as head of the household, More must have had to adhere to, and must have been seen to adhere to, the rules as to when to eat flesh or fish. In February 1578 the Privy Council wrote to the sheriff and JPs to complain that the custom of eating fish in Lent and on certain other days was in decline despite the country being surrounded by sea, and the benefit to the fishing industry of eating fish.¹⁹³ To remedy this situation, "we are to put yow in mynde that nothing shall more availe, then yo[u]r owne good examples used in this behaulf aswell in yo[u]r owne howses as otherwise."¹⁹⁴ This is a perfect example of the huge influence the gentry could have, and how well the Council understood their importance.

The Council stressed that the Queen's intention that fish days should be observed was "w[i]th out any intention of superstic[i]on the w[hi]ch her Ma[jes]tie by all her act[es] seketh to remove."¹⁹⁵ There was obviously anxiety that the enforcement of such rules could be construed as

¹⁸⁸ Youngs, *Newton*, p. 106.

¹⁸⁹ Order by Philip and Mary, SHC 6729/10/17.

¹⁹⁰ Moody, *Margaret Hoby*, p.3

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p.9.

¹⁹² A draft letter from William More to the Privy Council, October 1570, Folger L.b. 576.

¹⁹³ The Privy Council to the Sheriff and Justices of the Peace of Surrey, 4th February 1578, SHC 6729/11/24. These orders were reinforced in February 1586, and again in February 1588. The order of 1586 set up a licensing system for butchers to ensure there were no abuses. A copy of the Privy Council orders regarding Lent and fast days, 19th February 1586, SHC 6729/11/63/2. In the later order stress was also put on the dearth of sheep and cattle after "the late great mortalytie", making abstinence in Lent and other fast days particularly desirable. A copy of a letter from the Privy Council to the sheriff and JPs of Surrey, 10th February 1588, SHC 6729/11/64.

¹⁹⁴ Privy Council to the sheriff etc, SHC 6729/11/24.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

papistry. The same concern is found in a letter from Charles Howard, by then Earl of Nottingham, to Sir George More in 1605.¹⁹⁶ This concerned a dispute in Guildford about the erection of a maypole which had then been pulled down. Nottingham thought that it should be allowed as long as it had "the Arms of his M[ajest]ie or any other arms of noble men or gentelemen" and not the image "of any Saynt."¹⁹⁷ This shows the difficulty of balancing tradition and what could be seen as superstition.

Public Religion: the Mores and the Bishops of Winchester

As has been seen above, the Mores were often in correspondence with their local bishop, the Bishop of Winchester. One matter in particular on which they dealt with each other was the Constableness of Farnham Castle. In August 1568 the then bishop, Robert Horne, granted jointly to William and George More the Constableness, along with other offices such as surveyors of the fisheries in the bishopric and the ponds at Frensham.¹⁹⁸ The Mores were to keep this post until 1618, when the then bishop, James Montagu, granted the office to his brother Sir Charles.¹⁹⁹

Horne, who was bishop from February 1561 until his death in June 1579, seemed to have had the closest relationship of any of the bishops with the Mores; in his autobiographical statement Sir William expressed his gratitude to him.²⁰⁰ Sir William was one of the three overseers of his will. Along with the other overseers, Sir Henry Wallop and Sir Richard Norton, More was left one of Horne's "best horse[s]".²⁰¹ Horne's letters to Sir William do not deal only with business, but also with issues such as each other's health and the marriage of Horne's daughter, so suggest that they were friends.²⁰² In July 1578 Horne wrote that he would like to meet More at Frensham, but that he "woulde not wishe you in any wyse to move out of the doors yf you feele yo[u]r self not well disposed."²⁰³

Horne's successor John Watson, who was consecrated bishop in September 1580, was connected to William More through the latter's appointment at Farnham. Watson, as one of the prebendaries of Winchester Cathedral, oversaw the meeting of prebendaries in August 1568 at which the patent to make More Constable was passed. Watson wrote to More that after it was

¹⁹⁶ Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham, to Sir George More, 1605, SHC 6729/3/53.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁸ Manning & Bray, *Surrey*, III, p.136.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 137.

²⁰⁰ Autobiographical statement, SHC LM/1617.

²⁰¹ The Will of Robert Horne, Bishop of Winchester, 29th May 1579, TNA PROB/11/61.

²⁰² Robert Horne, Bishop of Winchester, to Sir William More, 28th July 1578, SHC 6729/6/22; Robert Horne, Bishop of Winchester to Sir William More, 22nd November 1577, SHC 6729/6/19.

²⁰³ Horne to William More, 28th July 1578, SHC 6729/6/22

known that the patent was for him, no one "made stave or dowl" of its passing, which shows the esteem in which More was held.²⁰⁴ Watson was also an executor of Horne's will, so presumably worked with More over that. As bishop, Watson's relationship with More was perhaps more businesslike than his predecessor's had been, but still friendly, with good wishes sent to More's family and plans for Watson to stay at Loseley, although those were thwarted by his ill health.²⁰⁵

With Thomas Cooper, however, who became bishop following Watson's death in January 1584, the relationship seems to have been more distant, although there was always an element of friendship and respect.²⁰⁶ The two did nonetheless have a dispute over the role of Constable, as they had different views over who had the right to appoint to the portership of the Castle. The bishop was adamant that he could, and in choosing "my s[er]vant] who is also my kinsman" was only following Horne's example and that seen at other episcopal castles. Cooper wrote, rather sarcastically, that [u]nles yo[u]r patent have larg[er] wordes, then other mens have....I doe not conceave howe the priviledge of the Constableness of Farnh[a]m should be greate [sic] then the like office in other places."²⁰⁷ Cooper wanted to remove Philip Horner, who More had made keeper of the Castle under him.²⁰⁸ More struck back. According to him, Horne had appointed More Constable because Henry White was not fulfilling the duties of that office. Horne's servant Richardson was made porter at the same time, and when More checked with Horne what this signified, the latter replied that More was in charge and Richardson was not being entrusted with the keepership of the castle, although on Horne's death he had pretended that was the case. Horne had also had no intention of setting a precedent, even if this was how Cooper interpreted it.²⁰⁹ Effectively this was a patronage dispute over whether the right to appoint to other offices at Farnham Castle rested with the Constable or the bishop.²¹⁰

²⁰⁴ John Watson to William More, 20th August 1568, SHC LM/COR/3/88.

²⁰⁵ John Watson, Bishop of Winchester, to Sir William More, 4th May 1581, SHC 6729/12/18.

²⁰⁶ For example, Sir William invited the bishop and his wife to stay at Loseley. Thomas Cooper, Bishop of Winchester, to Sir William More, 10th November 1584, SHC 6729/9/12. In this letter Cooper is replying to More's invitation. Cooper also invited himself to stay. Thomas Cooper, Bishop of Winchester, to Sir William More, 10th March 1586, SHC 6729/9/13.

²⁰⁷ Thomas Cooper, Bishop of Winchester, to Sir William More, 8th September 1585, SHC LM/COR/3/380.

²⁰⁸ More appointed Horner as keeper of Farnham Castle, as well as bailiff and receiver of the farm of the ulnage for Farnham Hundred in 1583. Grant during pleasure by Sir William More to Philip Horner, 20th May 1583, SHC LM/348/157.

²⁰⁹ Sir William More, draft letter to Thomas Cooper, Bishop of Winchester, 11th September 1585, SHC LM/COR/3/381. Richardson had complained to Lord Burghley about More trying to deprive him of his rights shortly after Horne's death. William Cecil, Lord Burghley, to Sir William More, 14th September 1579, SHC LM/COR/3/285.

²¹⁰ The argument over appointments seems to have rumbled on. In 1593 Cooper complained about the behaviour of More's deputy Constable. Thomas Cooper, Bishop of Winchester, to Sir William More, 2nd May 1593, SHC 6729/9/25.

Cooper died in 1594 and after two short-lived appointments, Thomas Bilson became bishop in 1597.²¹¹ He granted William, George and Robert More a new patent for the Constablenesship.²¹² However, in 1608, Sir George and Sir Robert were compensated for the surrender of this patent, and as discussed above in the chapter on office holding in 1622 they were asked to yield up other interests in Farnham.²¹³ According to a petition by Sir George's son William from c. 1632, James I had wanted the Mores to surrender the Constablenesship so he could give it to Thomas Hamilton.²¹⁴ This in itself suggests that James was keen to exploit new avenues of patronage, even those which had previously been under the control of the church. However, at some point while Lancelot Andrewes was bishop, from 1618-1626, Sir Robert received back the lease of the ponds in Frensham during the lives of himself, his father and his son Poynings. These had been removed from them in May 1618 by Bishop James Montagu, who had bestowed both these and the office of Constable on his brother, Sir Charles Montagu.²¹⁵

In conclusion, the Mores had enjoyed a good relationship with Bishops Horne and Watson, the former especially, and this had resulted in them holding the Constablenesship of Farnham Castle, and other associated offices. They thus had an opportunity to reward their servants and clients, and the appointment showed that they were respected and trusted by the bishops. However, Bishop Cooper was not so friendly towards the family, and later, under James I, as was the case elsewhere for the Mores, they saw their influence decline as offices were taken from them.

Recusancy

The Mores were closer to the Puritan end of the religious spectrum than its High Church or even Catholic opposite by the end of the sixteenth century. The wording of Sir Christopher More's will of 1549 does however suggest that as a family they had not immediately embraced the

²¹¹ William Wickham was bishop 1594-95 and William Day 1595-96.

²¹² Manning & Bray, *Surrey*, III, p. 137, where it is incorrectly stated that Cooper granted the new patent.

²¹³ Patent granting annuity to Sir George and Sir Robert More in consideration of their surrender of their life interest in the Constablenesship of Farnham Castle, 10th June 1608, LM/349/50/2. See also p.101 above. It seems that the compensation was not regularly paid as in c. 1631 Sir George's son William petitioned the Lord High Treasurer for the arrears of the annuity granted to his father and brother in 1608. Draft petition of William More, Esq., to the Lord High Treasurer, c. July 1631, SHC 6729/2/49.

²¹⁴ By the time of the petition Hamilton was Earl of Haddington, a title he received in 1627. Hamilton, who had been lord advocate of Scotland, was involved in negotiations over the relationship between England and Scotland after James I's accession. His second wife was Julian Kerr, sister of the King's favourite, the Earl of Somerset. Julian Goodare, 'Thomas Hamilton, Earl of Melrose and first Earl of Haddington (1563-1637)', www.oxforddnb.com. Draft petition to Charles I by William More, c. 1632, SHC LM/554.

²¹⁵ Lease to Sir Robert More of the ponds at Frensham, between 1618 and 1626, SHC LM/349/54/7.

emerging Protestantism.²¹⁶ Indeed, in Sir Christopher's first will, dated 27th April 1547, he had requested a trental, that is a month's worth of masses, to be said for his soul, which implies he was a Catholic.²¹⁷ This impression is reinforced by the fact that William More was perhaps in Lord Lisle's household at the time it was dissolved in June 1540; Lisle's traditional religion and his contacts with his cousin Cardinal Pole had led to his fall.²¹⁸ However, Christopher More had also enjoyed the patronage of Thomas Cromwell, whose religious views were very different from Lisle's, perhaps indicating that he had wished, as it were, to have a foot in both camps.²¹⁹

This pragmatic approach was arguably still there even in the late sixteenth century when the Mores were unquestionably adherents of the established Church.²²⁰ They had a great deal of involvement with the recusant community not only through the offices they held, which might mean the taking of punitive measures against Catholics, but also, and rather differently, through their friendships with men such as Anthony Browne, Lord Montague, and his steward Anthony Garnett, who had been a Marian priest. This was not unusual; the Catholic Vaux family of Northamptonshire, later implicated in the Gunpowder Plot, had Puritan friends.²²¹ It is hard to imagine how a man who could describe the Catholic church as "Antichristian and malignaunt" could manage to maintain such a friendship, but William More did.²²² Sir William also wrote, rather contradictorily, that he had never had anyone who was not "thought honest & Relygyous" in his house, although Catholic friends such as Montague had stayed with him.²²³ Such comments demonstrate the importance of distinguishing between rhetoric and reality. Thus, although George More in particular spoke enthusiastically against Catholics in parliament, describing Catholicism in 1586 as "the cheif and principal root of all the late horrible and wicked treacheries and practices [i.e. plots against the Queen; his comments were mainly aimed at Mary, Queen of Scots]".²²⁴ He also recommended that

²¹⁶ See note 53, p. 120 above on Sir Christopher's will.

²¹⁷ Bindoff, *Commons 1509-1558*, accessed online at www.historyofparliamentonline.org. The request for masses was not in the 1549 will, no doubt reflecting the new religious landscape under Edward VI.

²¹⁸ St. Clare Byrne, *Lisle Letters*, VI, p. 152; note 76, p.77 above on Lisle's fall.

²¹⁹ See above p.76 and p. 78 on Christopher More and Cromwell. William More's religious views were probably already very different from Lisle's; see p. 117 above, and appendix 2 below, on his autobiographical statement.

²²⁰ William More had the news that Elizabeth would change the country's faith confirmed to him very early in her reign. Sir William Fitzwilliam wrote to him on 26th December 1558 to describe the Queen's refusal to take communion in the Roman Catholic rite on Christmas Day. Sir William Fitzwilliam to William More, 26th December 1558, SHC 6729/2/33.

²²¹ Childs, *God's Traitors*, p.38.

²²² Anon to Sir William More, with draft of a reply, 9th May 1586, Folger L.b.226. Similar language was used by Catholics to describe Protestants. Childs, *God's Traitors*, p.76.

²²³ Autobiographical statement, SHC LM/1617.

²²⁴ Hasler, *Commons 1558-1603*, accessed online at www.historyofparliamentonline.org. John Wolley also spoke in this parliament on Mary, Queen of Scots, and presented a petition to the Queen about her. Ibid. Sir William More spoke rarely in parliament, and the closest he came to an intervention over religion was when he pressed for an even more appalling death than hanging, drawing and quartering for William Parry in 1585.

measures against Catholics be enforced more rigorously and that the Queen only have near her those who "profess[ed] the true and sincere religion".²²⁵ However, he was also a friend of Montague and his grandson the second viscount. This reflects the stance of Elizabeth's government, especially in the early years of her reign, whereby the gentry and nobility, even if Catholic, were generally left to regulate the religion of their households themselves, whatever the official line was.²²⁶ The Queen herself was apparently reluctant to see the most stringent penalties against Catholics enforced.²²⁷

Thus at the beginning of the reign, most Catholics were prepared to conform, and the Queen was reluctant to pry too deeply into their beliefs. However, the Northern Rising of 1569, the papal bull *Regnans in Excelsis*, issued in 1570, and the mission of the seminary priests and Jesuits to England changed the situation. Although men such as Edmund Campion insisted that their aim was only "to preach the Gospel, to minister the Sacraments, to instruct the simple, to reform sinners [and] to confute errors", and not political, they were seen as a direct threat to England's security.²²⁸ After all, the seminary priests and Jesuits intended to encourage Catholics in their faith, which might in turn urge them on to rebellion or support for an invasion; this was why some Catholics did not welcome them, as potentially their own safety was thereby endangered.²²⁹ As the Privy Council expressed it in a letter to Lord Howard of Effingham in January 1588, "such as should meane to invaide the Realme would nev[er] attempt the same but uppon hoppe w[hi]ch the fugitives and Rebels abroode do give ...of those badde members... knowne to be Recusaunt[es]."²³⁰ The extent of the priests' and Jesuits' impact is a moot point, as their main focus was on the gentry, so a limited number of people. However, these were arguably the prime targets as they had local influence, and could maintain Catholic households.²³¹ Gentry support was arguably just as important here as it was for the government.

Ibid. Parry, previously a spy working for Burghley, had converted to Catholicism and pledged to assassinate the Queen. John Guy, *Elizabeth: The Forgotten Years* (London: Viking, 2016), p. 42.

²²⁵ Hasler, *Commons 1558-1603*, accessed online at www.historyofparliamentonline.org.

²²⁶ Adrian Morey, *The Catholic Subjects of Elizabeth I* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1978), p. 41.

²²⁷ Anna Whitelock, *Elizabeth's Bedfellows: An Intimate History of the Queen's Court* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), p. 76.

²²⁸ "Campion's Brag", quoted in Evelyn Waugh, *Edmund Campion: Jesuit and Martyr* (London: Longman, 1935; repr. London: Penguin, 2012), p.154. The Jesuits had also been told that to overthrow Elizabeth was unlawful. Alice Hogge, *Gods' Secret Agents: Queen Elizabeth's Forbidden Priests and the Hatching of the Gunpowder Plot* (London: HarperCollins, 2005), p.73; Waugh, *Campion*, p. 62.

²²⁹ Williams, *Tudor Regime*, p. 287.

²³⁰ The Privy Council to Charles Howard, Lord Howard of Effingham, Lord Lieutenant of Surrey, 4th January 1588, Folger L.b. 236.

²³¹ MacCulloch, *Suffolk*, p.320; Cliffe, *Yorkshire Gentry*, p.207.

Most Catholics, however, were loyal to the Crown.²³² Lord Montague was one Catholic who made it absolutely plain that he saw no contradiction between his religious beliefs, which had led to his speaking out against reforms of the church, and his loyalty to the crown.²³³ Only a few months before his death, in January 1592, he delivered an extraordinary speech at his home in West Horsley, as follows:²³⁴

...I have lyved like an honest man, let anye man chardge me w[i]th the contrarye, & so I will dye...She [the Queen] knoweth my conscyence she knoweth the worst of me...she knoweth all of my faythefull & loyall harte...I fynde her my gracious prynce & doo Receyve at her Ma[jes]t[ies] handes an extraordinarye favo[u]r, the freedome of my conscyence. For I confess before youe all that I am a Catholyque in my Religeon w[hi]ch I keep to my self [i.e. he did not evangelise²³⁵]...if the Pope or the Kinge of Spayne or anye other forreyne potentate shoulde after to invade this Realme...I would be one of the fyrst that shoulde beare armes agenst him or them for my prynce & cowntrye...And yf I shoulde knowe that anye of youe my bretheren or childerne shoulde concent unto anye suche thing, as to Joyne w[i]th Pope or forreyne potentate, I would be he that shoulde fyrst p[re]sent youe...to the Quene & her Cownsell...²³⁶

Montague was perhaps goaded into making his speech after hearing that the Queen had been told, while staying at Loseley in the summer of 1591, that he was "a dawngerous man to the state & that [he] kept in [his] house syx score Recusant[es] that nev[er] cam to church."²³⁷ The Queen was capable of discerning who was loyal and who was not, and had visited Cowdray on progress in 1591.²³⁸ This speech, therefore, was perhaps not so much aimed at her as at those others who doubted him.

However, if Montague was trying to make a point to those who were suspicious of him, it is important to consider whether his speech should be taken entirely at face value. Montague, after all, had been the only secular peer to oppose the religious settlement of 1559, speaking against it in the Lords. He thus arguably undermined the Queen when her reign had barely begun, however much he may have couched his opposition in loyal terms. In his speech in the Lords he emphasised, much as he was to do thirty three years later, his unwavering loyalty to the Queen; there was no-one

²³² Williams, *Tudor Regime*, p. 287.

²³³ Questier, *Catholicism and Community*, pp. 117-124 on Montague's opposition to the 1559 Act of Supremacy.

²³⁴ Montague died in October 1592.

²³⁵ It does seem unlikely however that Montague lacked influence over his household in religious matters. Michael Questier, 'Loyal to a Fault: Viscount Montague explains himself', *Historical Research*, 77, 196 (2004), 225-253 (p. 239). See below, pp. 153-154 and above pp. 141-143 on the role of the head of the household in religious instruction and behaviour.

²³⁶ Anthony Browne, Lord Montague's speech to friends at West Horsley, 27th January 1592, SHC LM/1856.

²³⁷ *Ibid.*

²³⁸ For a detailed analysis of the Queen's visit, which argues that the entertainments were intended to deliver a message to the Queen and her government about the resilience of the Catholic faith, see Curtis Charles Breight, 'Caressing the Great: Viscount Montague's Entertainment of Elizabeth at Cowdray, 1591', *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, 127 (1989), 147-166.

who would more willingly "put his life in adventure to serve my Sovereigne Ladye" than Montague, and equally none "more loath to offend her, nor more glad to please her."²³⁹ He expressed his reluctance to stand against the Queen.²⁴⁰ There was however a threatening undercurrent when he warned that to move England once again away from Catholicism would endanger "the sure and quyett esatate of my soveraigne and countrye."²⁴¹ He was adamant though that he was speaking out in order to clear his own conscience, and not to cause trouble for the Queen, as he feared that God would look unkindly upon him if he kept silent.²⁴² Apparently he was also concerned that England would become "noted thus often to chaunge [its] faithe and Religion, and [with] the Prynce to burye [its] faithe", which would be to the detriment of England's relations abroad.²⁴³

Montague had already been removed from the Privy Council after Elizabeth's accession, and does not seem to have suffered further for his outspokenness.²⁴⁴ In the 1560s Montague served the Queen on embassies first to Spain (1560) and then to the Low Countries (1565-6), but the decade ended with some suspicion about his stance with regard to the Northern Rebellion of 1569. It was rumoured that Montague and his son-in-law Southampton would side with the rebels, or even travel to the Low Countries and join the Spanish forces there.²⁴⁵ In this instance, however, the Queen clearly had no doubts as to his loyalty, for just before the rebellion began, Montague was made joint lord lieutenant of Surrey and Sussex with Lord Buckhurst.²⁴⁶ This was hardly an office which would be awarded to someone of doubtful loyalty. Montague also served as a commissioner at the trial of Mary, Queen of Scots, in 1586, which again implies that there was no serious question as to where his allegiance lay, although having a high profile Catholic on this commission was obviously good propaganda.²⁴⁷ Thus under Elizabeth Montague may not have enjoyed the same influence he had had during Mary's reign, but he was still extremely successful for a Catholic peer.²⁴⁸

²³⁹ Timothy J. McCann, 'The Parliamentary Speech of Viscount Montague against the Act of Supremacy, 1559', *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, 108 (1970), 50-57 (p. 55).

²⁴⁰ Questier, *Catholicism and Community*, pp. 117-123.

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 122.

²⁴² McCann, 'Parliamentary speech', p. 54.

²⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

²⁴⁴ Questier, *Catholicism and Community*, p. 117.

²⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 144.

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 142. Buckhurst was a staunch member of the established church, so perhaps he was being entrusted with keeping Montague in line. Montague's appointment may also have been a conciliatory gesture to the Catholic community, as well perhaps as a reminder to Montague of what he risked losing if he were disloyal.

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 145. It is possible that Montague, and Southampton, had earlier favoured the Duke of Norfolk's plan to marry the Queen of Scots. This information came from the interrogations of Norfolk's secretary William Barker and another man called Edmund Powell in the autumn of 1571. Roger B. Manning, 'Anthony Browne, first Viscount Montague: The Influence in County Politics of an Elizabethan Catholic Nobleman', *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, 106 (1968), 103-112 (p. 105).

²⁴⁸ Manning, 'Anthony Browne', p. 103. Catholic peers did not have to take the oath of supremacy so could not officially be excluded from any offices, although they could simply not be awarded positions such as lord

In his 1592 speech, Montague insisted that he kept his religion to himself and did not encourage others to follow his example: "I seeke to drawe no man to that religeon, weather chylde nor servant, but let them do theyre conscyenc[es] therin as God shall putt in theyre myndes."²⁴⁹ This does have a note of special pleading to it, as the head of the household had a responsibility to oversee its religious life, as described below in the account of Southampton's house arrest at Loseley.²⁵⁰ Thus it is hard to accept that Montague's own religious beliefs had no impact on those of his household. He may have got round this issue by tending to employ Catholic servants in the first place; presumably such people were attracted to his service in any case.²⁵¹

If his household did attract Catholics, then inevitably some might not be as conformist as Montague himself was. The same might also be said of Montague's family. His son-in-law Southampton and brother Francis Browne are discussed below. In 1581 his daughter, Elizabeth Dormer, had allegedly hosted Edmund Campion, who apparently celebrated mass and preached at the Dormers' house in Wing in Buckinghamshire.²⁵² Montague's wife, Magdalen, was certainly not as discreet about her faith as he was. Her establishment at Battle Abbey was known as "Little Rome", and she had no qualms about expressing her faith publicly, and opening up her home to those who wished to hear mass.²⁵³ However, Lady Montague appears to have been freed by her husband's death to be more demonstrative and daring in her religion, which suggests that Montague himself had been able, to some extent at least, to control the religious observances and therefore possibly also the political stance of his family and household.²⁵⁴ His monument raises an interesting question, as it omits prestigious offices he held under Elizabeth such as lord lieutenant, and of his embassies during her reign, it only alludes to those he made to Catholic countries.²⁵⁵ In his will, Montague's

lieutenant. Montague, with Lord Buckhurst, was lord lieutenant of Surrey and Sussex from 1569-1585. However, although Buckhurst was later reappointed Montague was not, suggesting that during the years around the Armada even men such as he were doubted. Ibid, pp. 108-109. It was also a difficult time to show favour to Catholics.

²⁴⁹ Montague's speech, SHC LM/1856.

²⁵⁰ See below, pp. 153-154.

²⁵¹ Guido Fawkes, for example, served both the first and second Viscounts, although only briefly in both instances. Questier, *Catholicism and Community*, p. 280.

²⁵² Questier, 'Loyal to a Fault', p. 242. Elizabeth was apparently present at the mass, although her husband Sir Robert Dormer may not have been.

²⁵³ Richard Smith, *An Elizabethan Recusant House, comprising the life of the Lady Magdalen Viscountess Montagu (1538-1608)*, trans. by Cuthbert Fursdon, ed. by A.C. Southern (London: Sands & Co., 1954), p. 42, p. 44. Lady Montague continued this until her death, and the Privy Council requested in 1607 that a blind eye be turned "by reason of her fidelity in the time of Queen Elizabeth." Ibid, p.54

²⁵⁴ Questier, *Catholicism and Community*, p.212, on Lady Montague's employment of seminary priests after her husband's death; Montague had always retained Marian priests such as Anthony Garnett. Admittedly by the 1590s the remaining Marian priests would have been old men, so Magdalen's actions may not be so radical as they at first appears. As no Catholic priests were being trained in England, the employment of seminaries was inevitable.

²⁵⁵ Bright, 'Caressing the Great', p. 158.

only directions about his tomb, as mentioned above, were that it should be "convenient and seemly" and include images of himself and both his wives with their coats of arms.²⁵⁶ He may have discussed the inscription with his family, or left separate direction, but it is also possible that his family chose what was said. If this is the case, then it suggests that Montague did indeed control the religious expression of his family and household, but that after his death the his family was keep to emphasise his Catholic service to the exclusion of the rest of his political life.²⁵⁷ His tomb inscription may be a reflection of the viewpoints of his wife and grandson, rather than his.

Montague's grandson, Anthony Maria, succeeded him as the second Viscount in 1592.²⁵⁸ He rejected the conformity of his grandfather, interpreting the death of his first child soon after his birth in 1593 as a punishment for his intention to have the boy baptised in the established church.²⁵⁹ In consequence he performed a private baptism on his next child, a daughter, Mary, born in 1594, which brought the viscount into conflict with the Elizabethan church.²⁶⁰ He went on to write a tract for his daughter assuring her that there could be no compromise with the church; conformity was unacceptable.²⁶¹ He patronised seminary priests, and was on the fringes of the Gunpowder Plot, possibly being warned by his kinsman by marriage Robert Catesby not to be in parliament on 5th November 1605; he was not in the Lords that day.²⁶² Like Magdalen Montague, the second viscount seems to have cast off his inhibitions after his grandfather's death, and demonstrated a devotion to radical Catholicism which arguably the first Lord Montague should have acted to prevent. Thus while it is probably true that the first viscount was himself personally loyal and dedicated to the Queen's security, and was therefore willing to conform, there was an undercurrent of extremism in his family and household which he could restrain in his lifetime, but which emerged after his death.²⁶³ However, as with some of the Mores' pronouncements on religion, it is worth being cautious about

²⁵⁶ The Will of Anthony Browne, first Viscount Montague, TNA PROB/11/81.

²⁵⁷ Breight, 'Caressing the Great', p. 158.

²⁵⁸ Montague's eldest son, also named Anthony, died in June 1592, only a few months before his father.

²⁵⁹ Questier, *Catholicism and Community*, p. 235. The proposed godparents show how accepted the family were, being the Queen, Burghley, and the Earl of Sussex. Thomas Sackville, Lord Buckhurst, to Sir William More, 30th June 1593, SHC 6729/9/34. Sussex was unable to attend the baptism due to poor health, and asked Sir William More to stand proxy for him. Henry Radcliffe, Earl of Sussex, to Sir William More, 28th June 1593, SHC 6729/10/87. The baby died on the day appointed for the baptism, 5th July 1593. Questier, *Catholicism and Community*, p. 235.

²⁶⁰ Ibid, p. 235.

²⁶¹ Ibid, pp. 239-242.

²⁶² Questier, 'Loyal to a Fault', p.245; Questier, *Catholicism and Community* pp. 280-281. See note 254 above on how radical or otherwise the employment of seminary priests might have been by this time. Montague argued that he had not been in parliament that day because when he had spoken up for Catholics in the Lords in 1604 he had caused outrage, and he wished to avoid a repeat. Ibid, pp. 280-281.

²⁶³ It is also of course true that dissent and disagreement does not necessarily spill over into rebellion and violence, although in the case of Montague's family and household it does seem that his influence may have been what prevented this happening.

the second viscount's stance, as although he advised his daughter never to compromise, his letters show that he was happy to use Sir George More as an intermediary with the Archbishop of Canterbury, then George Abbot, and express his good will towards them both.²⁶⁴ Sir George was also one of his trustees.²⁶⁵

Although many Catholics doubtless felt the same as the first viscount, and would have had no intention of rebelling, the government treated Catholicism as a potential threat, and fines and restrictions were, in some but by no mean all cases, placed on recusants. The gentle persuasion of the kind employed by Margaret Hoby when talking to a young, papist maid, was not always deemed adequate.²⁶⁶ One way in which the Mores were involved in this was in membership of the recusancy commissions responsible for enforcing council orders against recusants at the local level. The Surrey JPs and recusancy commissioners reported to the Privy Council in August 1580 on proceedings against six men they had been asked to investigate. These men obviously knew they would be under suspicion, as four had left the county, one "imediately upon o[u]r receipt of yo[u]r l[ett]res", which suggests that he had been warned. One had taken to his bed and could not travel. The sixth however had failed to get away or find an excuse and was asked to pay £1000.²⁶⁷ As the threat of invasion by the Spanish increased in the 1580s, stronger measures were put in place against recusants, and the commissioners were employed to help enforce them. In January 1588, the Privy Council wrote to Lord Howard of Effingham in his position as lord lieutenant of Surrey, having learnt of "the great preparac[i]ons that are made allreadie of shiping and men [for the attempted invasion]", asking him to find out how many recusants there were in Surrey, and "of what qualitie & abilitie they be."²⁶⁸ He was to use the commissioners to get hold of this information, after which "the most obstinate & noted p[er]sons [were to be] com[m]itted to such prisons as are fittest for their safe keepinge, [and] the reste that are of value & not so obstinate [were] to be referred to the custodie of some Ecclesiasticall p[er]sons & other gent[lemen] well affected."²⁶⁹ While they were held, the recusants were not to communicate with each other.²⁷⁰ A similar request was made by the Privy Council in a letter to the recusancy commissioners, among others, in August 1593. The recusants were to be "Comitted to the chardge and safe keepinge of some fitt p[er]sons of habilitie and

²⁶⁴ Anthony Browne, second Viscount Montague, to Sir George More, 11th October 1619, SHC 6729/10/25, and 17th December 1619, SHC 6729/10/132.

²⁶⁵ Thrush & Ferris, *Commons 1604-1629*, accessed online at www.historyofparliamentonline.org.

²⁶⁶ Moody, *Margaret Hoby*, p.64. Here she described talking "with a yonge papest maide" in 1600. She also saw recusancy laws in action; her husband Sir Thomas was involved in searching houses for recusants. *Ibid.*, p.68.

²⁶⁷ A copy of a draft letter from the Justices of the Peace and the Recusancy Commissioners to the Privy Council, 11th August 1580, SHC LM/COR/3/298. The man who had perhaps been warned was called Francis Browne. This may be Montague's brother Francis, who was later held under house arrest at Loseley.

²⁶⁸ The Privy Council to Charles Howard, Lord Howard of Effingham, 4th January 1588, Folger L.b. 236.

²⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

accompte and of good disposic[i]on in Religion."²⁷¹ The reiteration of these instructions may suggest that the Privy Council did not believe that they were not being carried out properly in the first place.

William More was obviously seen as a "gent[leman] well affected", as two members of Lord Montague's family were held under house arrest at Loseley on three separate occasions. Montague's son-in-law Henry Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, was there from July until November 1570 and then again from May to July 1573.²⁷² Montague's brother Francis Browne, meanwhile, was held at Loseley in 1588. Browne's incarceration was perhaps a result of the round-up of recusants in 1588 mentioned above.²⁷³ Their imprisonment does not seem to have been too onerous. Montague wrote to William More to say he had heard of his brother's "happye placing" at Loseley, which he believed More had taken on as a gesture of friendship, showing that both Council and Montague trusted More to fulfil his duty fairly and diligently. He ended the letter with advice aimed at Francis: "I hope he will consider of this his happines...carefullye & yeld to just cause, eyther to offend greve or worye yow forgettfulle and unkindly. If he showld any waye he showld offend & greve me depely."²⁷⁴ However, it seems that More was expected to try to make his recusant guests conform. The Privy Council wrote to More in October 1570 asking him whether Southampton attended common prayer at Loseley, and if he did not, to encourage him to do so.²⁷⁵ A draft survives of his reply:

Imedyatly after the E[arl] of S[outhampton] came into my charge I sygnefyd unto hym that usuelye I had comon prayer twyse ev[er]ye daye in my howse at the w[hi]ch I wold wyshe his L[ord]ship to be...he aunsweryd ...that syns he was restreynd of his lyb[er]ty...he had no dyspocion to cum owt of his chamber to praye but p[ri]vatly to occupye hymself there in prayer...he [said that] he dyd not absent himself...as one that contempyd the s[er]vice for... he had usualy comon prayer in his own howse [and] also at his beyng in the Court... I declaryd unto him that syns...I was inforsyd so to kepe home as I neyther nor my famely could bee at any s[er]vice abrode I dyd determyne to have one well lernyd to enstruct them one day in my howse ... he aunsweryd me that...he wold wyllyngly be by... he cam and sayd the s[er]vice from the begyning to thend.... I ...moved hym to cum unto the comon prayer using suche p[er]suac[i]ons as I could to leade hym there unto...[he] came...into my p[ar]lyer where comon prayer was and was p[rese]nt at the same.²⁷⁶

²⁷¹ The Privy Council to John Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury, etc., 13th August 1593, SHC 6729/10/86. This letter also stated that the imprisoned recusants were not to communicate with each other; only those who were trying to make them conform could have access to them.

²⁷² Southampton had been More's ward from 1560, when he was fifteen, so presumably knew the family relatively well. J.G. Elzinga, 'Henry Wriothesley, 2nd Earl of Southampton (bap. 1545, d. 1581)', www.oxforddnb.com.

²⁷³ Francis Browne had allowed Robert Persons to set up his printing press in his London house; this may have been part of his brother Montague's London home, which again raises the question of underlying dissent in the viscount's family, and how much he knew about it. Questier, *Catholicism and Community*, p.161.

²⁷⁴ Anthony Browne, Lord Montague, to Sir William More, c. 1588, SHC 6729/8/118. That 1588 is the correct date is suggested by a Privy Council order of 4th November 1588 sent to William More authorising Francis Browne's release, SHC 6729/7/81.

²⁷⁵ The Privy Council to William More, 23rd October 1570, Folger L.b. 575.

²⁷⁶ William More to the Privy Council, Folger L.b. 576. It is clear from this that although the Council did not raise the issue until October, More had been trying to get Southampton to attend services since his arrival.

This letter is fascinating. On the one hand, More was evidently doing all that he could to persuade Southampton to come to household prayers, as requested by the Council, and to conform, which could result in his freedom. Yet on the other, the Earl emphasized that any absence from the service was not to be understood as Catholic contempt for it, presumably in the knowledge that this would be reported back to the Council, and perhaps hasten his release. One of the motives for putting men like More in charge of a high profile recusant such as Southampton must have been that he would make the greatest possible effort to make the prisoner conform. In this case More was evidently unsuccessful, as Southampton was back at Loseley within two and half years. However, the Council must have trusted More to fulfil his duty as best he could and seen him as a loyal custodian.²⁷⁷ It may be that friends of the suspects were favoured as hosts; Lord Vaux was placed under house arrest in the home of his friend and neighbour Sir Edward Montagu in 1581.²⁷⁸

William More's position as a JP also involved him in taking anti-Catholic measures.²⁷⁹ In September 1578 the Council wrote to the sheriff and Justices of Surrey about the dangers of "popishe and massyng preest[es]", that is to say seminary priests, attempting "to reconcile men and women to the church of Roome [sic], & to divert their due obedience & allegiance from o[u]r most graciouse Ladie the Quene."²⁸⁰ They were asked to seek out and arrest these people, and look out for any equipment for celebrating mass, including portable altars. The Council seem to have felt on some occasions that the JPs were not carrying out their responsibilities with sufficient vigour, again suggesting a gap between theory and practice.²⁸¹ This may perhaps have been more of an issue when they were being asked to act against people they knew, as with the suspicion in the letter quoted earlier that some people who were to be apprehended had been warned.²⁸² In February 1582, the Council wrote to the sheriff and JPs that they did "not a lyttle m[ar]veyle " that they had not yet begun proceedings against the recusants held in the Clink, the White Lion and other prisons in Surrey. "Theis are therefore to requier you to followe that order w[i]th the prisoners co[m]mytted

²⁷⁷ Southampton bore no resentment against More for his enforced stay at Loseley. In November 1573, shortly after his second period of house arrest there, he wrote to More asking if, despite the fact he had "latly divers wayes pestered your howse", he and his wife, and his brother-in-law Anthony Browne and his wife, could stay en route from Cowdray to London. Henry Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton to William More, 1st November 1573, Folger L.b.585.

²⁷⁸ Childs, *God's Traitors*, pp.77-78. Perhaps this policy was followed so that the government did not appear too harsh, and in the hope that both gratitude at the relative leniency with which the recusants were treated, and also the encouragement of the friends with whom they were staying, rather than coercion, would lead to conformity.

²⁷⁹ JPs had been involved in anti-Protestant measures under Mary. Order by Philip and Mary, SHC 6729/10/17.

²⁸⁰ The Privy Council to the Sheriff and Justices of the Peace of Surrey, 5th September 1578, Folger L.b. 220.

²⁸¹ The same situation seems to have prevailed in Sussex, especially around Lady Montague's home in Battle. Morey, *Catholic Subjects*, p. 208.

²⁸² See p.152 above.

for Religion...and so to proceed to their Indictment, judgement and execut[i]on."²⁸³ Even when suspects had been imprisoned, there still seems to have been a reluctance to act. The response to this may explain why there is also among the Loseley manuscripts a list dating from March 1582 of those prisoners held in the Clink for religious offences. There are only three names on it, which may explain the lack of urgency, and none of these people were originally from Surrey.²⁸⁴ There is also a list of people from Surrey indicted for recusancy in 1582, which again may show that the JPs responded swiftly to the Council's reprimand. This list includes a Francis Browne, who may be Montague's brother.²⁸⁵

The JPs were also asked to supervise the confiscation of the recusants' armour and weaponry. In April 1585, they were required to, with "great secrecy", go to the houses of the "prinicipall recusant[es]" to find and confiscate their weapons and armour.²⁸⁶ The recusants were to be reassured that anything removed would be restored to them "at anie time when they shall dutifullie Conforme them selves to [the Queen's] laws in resortinge to the Churche."²⁸⁷ They were not to be left defenceless: "ther shold be lefte to them for the necessarie defence of ther howses such p[ro]portion onlie of bowes and arrowes & blackebills [halberds] as yo[u]r selves shall...finde Conveniente [for protecting themselves]."²⁸⁸ The JPs were to keep the weaponry and armour at their own homes while they awaited instruction as to what to do with it all in the longer term. If there was any possibility that the recusants had sent any armour elsewhere, they and their servants, and indeed "anie other [which] shall seme good unto you", were to be questioned.²⁸⁹

A list was attached to this letter with the names of the recusants whose homes the JPs were to search, but they were also advised to "search and descerne anie other recusante or recusant[es] them selves yf they shalbe resydent in that Countie not Conteyned in this shedule".²⁹⁰ Perhaps by giving the JPs a focus, the Council hoped to encourage them to act. Besides this, they were to check on the yearly income of all the recusants, perhaps to determine which were to be dealt with directly by the JPs, or which ones would be most worthwhile to pursue with fines. This edict of 1585 was followed up by another published in July 1592, when those who had not been included in the 1585

²⁸³ The Privy Council to the Sheriff and Justices of the Peace of Surrey, Folger L.b. 218, 28th February 1582.

²⁸⁴ A list of Recusants imprisoned in the Clink, 12th March 1582, Folger L.b. 206.

²⁸⁵ A list of those from Surrey indicted for Recusancy, c.1582, Folger L.b.219.

²⁸⁶ Copy of a letter from the Privy Council to the Justices of the Peace of Surrey, 27th April 1585, Folger L.b 215. While the JPs themselves were to search the homes of the notable recusants, those of "the meaner sort" were to be visited by people appointed by the JPs. Again, there was a lighter touch for the gentry and the nobility.

²⁸⁷ *Ibid.* The stress was on the need to obey the Queen's laws, not on the religious arguments.

²⁸⁸ *ibid.*

²⁸⁹ *Ibid.* If the JPs were to question people outside the household, it might raise the possibility of malicious information being provided. However, if questioning was restricted to the household, it was unlikely that much would be revealed.

²⁹⁰ *Ibid.* The list of recusants is headed by Montague's brother Francis Browne.

order were to have their weapons and armour confiscated.²⁹¹ Again, the repetition may imply that the Council did not feel the original order had been followed with enough fervour. However, it was officially being reapplied "because the Enemy doth make so great braggs and reckoning of the assistance of those that are backward in religion."²⁹²

William More was also called upon individually by the Privy Council to act against suspected recusants. In June 1581 he was asked to search for "Morgan sometymes of her Ma[jes]ties chapperle, an obstinat and seditious papist."²⁹³ It was thought that he was either at Sutton Place, Sir Henry Weston's house, or somewhere in that area. More was to "in the moste secrett and substantiall manner...to make diligent and earnest serche, and enquire for him, and ... app[re]hend him yf it possibly may be, and ...advertise us thereof."²⁹⁴ It may be that the Council felt that More, as a friend of Weston's, was the most tactful man to handle the search. The emphasis on secrecy is interesting. Perhaps the aim was to avoid embarrassment not only to Weston, but also to the Queen.

Although the Mores acted as part of the government's campaign against recusants, they managed to maintain their good relationships with both sides. William More's treatment of both Southampton and Francis Browne, when they were under house arrest at Loseley, seems to have been sympathetic, however he may have viewed their religious beliefs. No doubt More could appreciate that the majority of Catholics, exemplified by his friend Lord Montague, were wholly loyal to the Crown, at the same time as understanding the fear that an invasion headed by the Spanish or sponsored by the Pope might be supported by the disaffected. An appreciation of this balance is essential to comprehending his religious stance; even if hostility towards Catholics was expressed in public, it did not necessarily reflect what happened in private.

Protestant non-conformity in the late sixteenth century

Lord Montague believed that the real danger to the Elizabethan regime came not from his fellow Catholics but from extreme Protestants, who, he thought, desired to profit from the fall of noble families.²⁹⁵ John Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury, was also alarmed by these groups.²⁹⁶

²⁹¹ The Privy Council to the Lord Admiral, 23rd July 1592, SHC LM/1380/7.

²⁹² Ibid. Some recusants were apparently claiming that they had "licence" to keep a "good quantitie of armor in their possessyon." They were to be asked to produce these licences.

²⁹³ The Privy Council to Sir William More, 14th June 1581, Folger L.b. 49.

²⁹⁴ Ibid.

²⁹⁵ Whitelock, *Elizabeth's Bedfellows*, p. 261.

However, there was far more limited action against Protestant sects than against the Catholics, perhaps because there was no threatening foreign power whom they could support or be supported by. It is difficult to gain any idea of their numbers, and hence how much of a danger they might actually have posed, as no lists were kept of them as there were of recusants.²⁹⁷ However, there is plenty of evidence that these sects were not ignored. As under Mary, JPs were to watch out for "preachers and teachers of heresie or precurers of secret metinges for that purpose."²⁹⁸

One such group was the Family of Love, which probably originated in Germany or the Netherlands in the 1520s, but was most successful in England, where it was introduced in the 1570s.²⁹⁹ Adherents followed the teachings of Hendrik Niclaes. The central message was that adherents "were so full of God's spirit that they were part of the Godhead."³⁰⁰ They were not much of a danger to the established Church, as they tended to stay in the background.³⁰¹ However, they could have appeared threatening, as Niclaes disapproved of the Protestant condemnation of Rome, and went on to encourage conformity to either Catholic or Protestant authorities depending on where his followers lived.³⁰² The government, therefore, was suspicious and took no chances.³⁰³ In a letter of 11th October 1580, the Privy Council wrote to the JPs of Surrey and Southampton concerning the Family of Love. Although it is hard to get the full sense of the letter because it is badly damaged, the gist is that the Council had learned that there were members of the Family of Love meeting within the two counties and spreading "erroneous" doctrine.³⁰⁴ The JPs were to investigate them and encourage conformity, or imprison them if they proved obstinate. The sect was also opposed by Puritans, although this may have been self-serving and aimed at providing a focus other than themselves for government action.³⁰⁵

A more conciliatory approach to the Family of Love heresy was suggested in a letter from John Watson, Bishop of Winchester, to Sir William More and Sir Thomas Browne in December 1580. It may be that the search of alleged adherents ordered in October had been successful, as Watson

²⁹⁶ MacCulloch, *Suffolk*, p.197. Protestant non conformity was generally based on dissatisfaction both with the prayer book, which was perceived as too close to Catholicism, and with the lack of preaching in the established Church. MacCulloch, *Reformation*, p. 383.

²⁹⁷ Cliffe, *Yorkshire Gentry*, p.261.

²⁹⁸ Order by Philip and Mary, SHC, 6729/10/17.

²⁹⁹ Alistair Hamilton, 'Hendrik Niclaes [Henry Nicholas] (1502-c.1580)', www.oxforddnb.com. The Family's success in England continued into the seventeenth century, although it lost its way on the continent after Niclaes's death in c. 1580.

³⁰⁰ MacCulloch, *Reformation*, p. 208.

³⁰¹ *Ibid*, pp. 208-209.

³⁰² Hamilton, 'Hendrik Niclaes'. To Niclaes, following his teachings was not irreconcilable with other beliefs.

³⁰³ Niclaes was also viewed as a heretic by the Catholics, so seen as threatening by them as well. *Ibid*.

³⁰⁴ The Privy Council to the Justices of the Peace of Surrey and Southampton, 11th October 1580, Folger L.b.

52.

³⁰⁵ Hamilton, 'Hendrik Niclaes'.

referred to the examination "of those that are fallen into the hereasye termed the famelie of love".³⁰⁶ Watson sent More copies of letters from the Privy Council concerning these examinations, which unfortunately have not survived. He went on to recommend that More and Browne "w[i]th the assistance of ...Godlie and learned preachers", discuss the letters.³⁰⁷ The consultation with preachers suggests that Watson was hoping that the heretics could be persuaded to conform, rather than face gaol, although there seems there was little alternative for those who "are relapsed or continew obstinat on matters of Religion."³⁰⁸

There was also concern that there might be Anabaptists in Surrey. This sect's main tenet was that baptism should be for adults, not children.³⁰⁹ William More's library in 1559 included two books against the Anabaptists, one by Calvin and the other by John Veron.³¹⁰ Edmund Grindal, at the time Bishop of London, wrote to William More in July 1564 to ask if he knew of any Anabaptist meetings in Surrey, in case "noughtie doctrine [was being] maynteynid".³¹¹ He also referred to an investigation about four years earlier into "David Oram and his company", and the juxtaposition of this to the mention of the Anabaptists suggests that Oram was a member of this sect.³¹² It is likely that he is the same man, although here called David Oreb, about whom Grindal and Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, wrote to More in September 1560.³¹³ In this letter Oreb is described as "the ring leader" of "diverse sectaries" who planned to meet at St Catherine's Hill fair near Guildford. More was to arrest Oreb, and "suche of his complices as ye shall p[er]ceave to be notable setters out of any naughtie doctrine, and ...[send them] hither unto us... as it shall tend to Godd[es] glorie and the maynten[a]unce of true religion and...the publick tranquillitie of this realme."³¹⁴ Unfortunately the fate of Oreb/Oram and his followers is not recorded. Grindal's 1564 letter does not suggest that Oreb personally was a danger again, which would suggest that he had either conformed or was imprisoned.

By comparison with the treatment meted out to recusants however, the Protestant sects appear to have been dealt with relatively leniently. There were nonetheless flashpoints, most famously that associated with the Martin Marprelate tracts. Beginning in 1588, these anonymous

³⁰⁶ John Watson, Bishop of Winchester, to Sir William More and Sir Thomas Browne, 30th December 1580, SHC 6729/12/17. This letter was sent to them in their capacity as JPs.

³⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁰⁹ MacCulloch, *Reformation*, p. xx.

³¹⁰ A note of books Folger L.b. 550.

³¹¹ Edmund Grindal, Bishop of London, to William More, 20th July 1564, SHC 6729/12/14.

³¹² *Ibid.*

³¹³ Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, Edmund Grindal, Bishop of London, and one other to William More, 19th September 1560, SHC 6729/12/13. This would fit with Grindal's comment in his letter of 1564 that the previous investigation into Oram/Oreb had been approximately four years before. SHC 6729/12/14.

³¹⁴ Parker et al to William More, SHC 6729/12/13.

works, as the pseudonym suggests, attacked the episcopate. They were used as an excuse to crack down on sects, and led to Sir Christopher Hatton proclaiming in parliament in 1589 that the Puritans posed a greater threat to the realm than the Catholics. The name Marprelate must have come to hold great power, as among the Loseley manuscripts is an account of a hearing in May 1591 in which an illiterate man called William Bowell tried to deflect charges of assault by accusing the man he had attacked, John Fenn, of possessing "Martyns book[es]" and saying "that the Bishopps were dombe dogg[es]".³¹⁵ It is an indication of how powerful and famous these tracts were that Bowell could appreciate how dangerous an accusation of owning them could be. Fenn's house was searched, the texts were not found, Bowell was arrested and they were both brought before the JPs. More sent the details of the case to John Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury, who agreed that the case appeared to be baseless.³¹⁶

The personal religion of the Mores themselves, George in particular, leaned towards the Puritan end of the spectrum. However, there is no hint that they ever stood out against the established Church, and their work to maintain it has been detailed above. There is no evidence that they either disapproved of the Church hierarchy or rejected Cranmer's prayer book; indeed William More's use of similar language in his autobiographical statement suggests that either it reflected his own beliefs, or that he had based his own creed upon it.³¹⁷ In general, there was probably little to separate most Puritans from the Elizabethan and Jacobean church, even if some wished that it would move even further away from Catholicism.³¹⁸ George's inclusion of a chapel in his new wing at Loseley may indicate that he felt this to a greater degree than his father had done, and perhaps wanted to participate in a stricter, Puritan worship with its focus on preaching.³¹⁹

Conclusion

As was said in the introduction to this chapter, the gentry played a vital role in the Reformation, and the Mores afford an excellent example of this. They served both as JPs and also as ecclesiastical commissioners responsible for enforcing religious change and conformity. Besides this they set an example to the local community by attendance at their parish church, in particular when it seems that there was not a chapel at Loseley itself. The Mores probably attended St Nicholas,

³¹⁵ Depositions relating to Martin Marprelate, 27th May 1591, SHC LM/1036/20.

³¹⁶ John Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury, to Sir William More, 28th May 1591, SHC 6729/6/12.

³¹⁷ MacCulloch, *Reformation*, pp. 382-383 on typical Puritan beliefs.

³¹⁸ Cliffe, *Puritan Gentry*, p. 2.

³¹⁹ Cliffe, *Yorkshire Gentry*, p 273. Although Puritans wanted to be able to read the Bible themselves, they still believed that explanation was essential for the laity, and this could be provided by learned preachers. Cliffe, *Puritan Gentry*, p. 24.

Compton, where they appointed to the living, and which is where family tradition suggests they worshipped. The gentry were also of great importance in encouraging conformity through religious instruction for their household. How seriously William More took this duty can be seen from his correspondence with the Privy Council concerning the Earl of Southampton, which also provides evidence for the lack of a chapel at Loseley at that time.

The gentry also benefited from supporting the regime, and there were great opportunities for those willing to take them. The Mores were no exception to this. Having seemingly lost influence under Mary, under Elizabeth their appearance on commissions and the fact that Loseley was chosen to hold prominent recusants under house arrest shows how they were trusted by the government. There was also the possibility of holding offices from bishops, as the Mores did with the Constablership of Farnham Castle, which again implies they were seen as reliable and loyal. Even Thomas Cooper, with whom Sir William was in dispute over patronage at Farnham, made no attempt to remove him from office.

However, that the Mores served on commissions such as those dealing with recusants should not be seen as an indication that they were keen to act against Catholics. Their Protestantism was balanced, despite the feelings they on occasion publicly expressed about the Catholic church, with respect and friendship for recusants such as Lord Montague and his family, and a reluctance to act against their neighbours. Sir George More in particular spoke strongly against Catholicism in the Commons, yet maintained his family's friendship with Montague, and was in attendance when the latter made his valedictory speech at West Horsley. There are hints in correspondence from the Privy Council to the JPs of Surrey that the latter were seen to be remiss in their duties against recusants, and were lacking the requisite enthusiasm to act. Thus the Mores seem to fit into a pattern in their county where there was a difference between theory and practice in the treatment of Catholics. They may have benefited from similar sentiments under Mary.

The Mores' personal religion was in many ways typical of that of the gentry of their time. Their piety was expressed in their books and monuments, with the former in particular demonstrating their Protestant, even Puritan, beliefs. George More's book, *A Demonstration of God in his Workes*, stands out among the works of Puritan gentry as it was an attempt to prove God's existence rather than a manual on how to live such as that written by his son-in-law Sir John Oglander, which was the more common type of gentry religious literature. It was also an expression of his loyalty to the Queen and his belief that God favoured the English church above all others, as shown in the defeat of the Armada. Their wills reveal conventional piety, in so far as wills can be trusted to show the testator's deepest thoughts. The difference between Christopher More's wills

of 1547 and 1549 hint at a religious pragmatism which his son, who claimed to have abandoned Catholicism in his teens, did not display under Mary.

Therefore, although the Mores became loyal adherents of Elizabeth's church, they balanced this with respect for Catholic friends and neighbours, even if their rhetoric at times suggested more extreme views. Christopher More's wills and the possible placing of William More in Lord Lisle's household imply that their later sixteenth century Protestantism was not a foregone conclusion until William's lack of sympathy for the Marian Counter Reformation became clear. Under Elizabeth, they were an important part of the government's attempts to bolster the established Church. The ideas expressed in their private piety no doubt reinforced their resolve to support Elizabeth, and later James I, and show their sympathy with the new church.

Chapter 4: "myne owne swete joy"¹ : Elizabeth More Polsted Wolley Egerton and the Women of the More Family

Introduction

The gentry women of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries cannot be viewed outside the context of their families, especially outside the context provided by their male relatives.² The ideal gentry woman was supposedly submissive and modest, supporting her father, and later and most importantly her husband, but by no means seeking to outshine them, or craving more education than that which prepared her for her ordained path in life.³ However, there was an inherent contradiction at the core of this. Gentry and aristocratic girls were educated, even if not usually to the same level as their brothers, so that they would be able to run their own household, which would involve significant organisational skills.⁴ They would also be expected to stand in for their husbands when they were away and take over the running of the family estates. They were therefore, in theory at least, expected to conform to the contemporary ideal of the submissive wife, but at the same time be competent and capable of taking charge where necessary.⁵ It was indeed essential that a gentleman married a woman who could do this, so that when he was absent, for example at Court or sitting in parliament, he could know that everything at home was under control.⁶ Thus, the ideal gentry woman would appear to be a theoretical construct rather than a realistic figure. Indeed, some who did not fit the pattern, for example Brilliana, Lady Harley, who defended the family seat at Brampton Bryan in Herefordshire during the Civil War, were applauded by men, which suggests that it was understood that women might have to step outside their allotted roles.⁷ Others who were perceived to be insufficiently submissive, such as Honor, Lady Lisle were,

¹ Sir Thomas Egerton to Elizabeth, Lady Egerton, 30th August 1599, SHC 6729/9/92.

² Hanawalt, 'Lady Honor Lisle', p. 188.

³ Linda Pollock, "'Teach her to live under obedience': the making of women in the upper ranks of early modern England", *Continuity and Change*, 4, 2 (1989), 231-258, (p.244). See Alison Wall, 'Elizabethan Precept and Feminine Practice: the Thynne Family of Longleat', *History*, 75, 243 (1990), 23-38, (pp. 24-27), and N.H. Keeble, ed., *The Cultural Identity of Seventeenth-Century Woman: A Reader* (London: Routledge, 1994), p. 143 on the conduct books of the time. Although these dealt with women's behaviour, they were written, and almost certainly read, by men.

⁴ It was important for gentry girls to learn to read and write English, and French was seen as the most useful foreign language. Classics, however, were not generally deemed appropriate. Norma McMullen, 'The Education of English Gentlewomen 1540-1640', *History of Education*, 6,2 (1977), 87-101 (p.100). Sir Ralph Verney wrote to his goddaughter Nancy Denton in 1652 to discourage her from learning Latin, Greek and Hebrew, as, in his opinion, she needed to know no more than the Bible, Book of Common Prayer and a catechism, all in English. She should, however, learn French. Interestingly he commented that her father would disagree with him but that "your husband will be of my opinion." Keeble, *Cultural Identity*, p.183.

⁵ Anthony Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination in England 1500-1800* (London: Yale University Press, 1995), p. 173.

⁶ *Ibid*, p. 174.

⁷ *Ibid*, p. 77.

however, criticised for it.⁸ Nonetheless, the stereotype was far from being the actuality, and clearly the fact that England had Queens Regnant from 1553-1603 threw even further into question whether women could be expected to fit the ideal.⁹

However, as children, and later as parents, gentry women, notionally ideal or otherwise, did undoubtedly have a duty both to their immediate family and to their more distant relations.¹⁰ As the example of the Mores will make clear, this responsibility could involve the furtherance of the family's ambitions through a place in another gentry or a noble household, advantageous marriages, or even a position at Court. Marriage was not just the destiny of the gentry girl; it was the most obvious route to enhancing social status; and as this chapter will show, some gentry women who were married more than once rose up the social scale with each marriage.¹¹ To marry well was the best way for a woman to become wealthy, especially if she made more than one good marriage.¹² Honor Grenville is a good example of this. Her first marriage was to Sir John Basset, like her a member of the West Country gentry, but her second husband, Arthur Plantagenet, Lord Lisle, whom she married in 1528, was the illegitimate son of Edward IV and so uncle to the King.¹³ It was the lesser gentry who tended to marry within their locality and create alliances there; the more ambitious were likelier to look further afield.¹⁴ It is important, however, not to think that gentry women were simply forced into apparently suitable marriages regardless of whether or not they liked their prospective husbands, or were made to reject a man they wanted to marry in order to please their fathers. Sir John Oglander, for instance, lamented the marriage of his youngest daughter Bridget, but did not stop her: "it is a match of her own making."¹⁵

Much of a woman's time was taken up with the running of her household. It was not just a question of day to day management, although the mistress of a gentry household could expect to be involved in a multitude of domestic tasks, what Margaret, Lady Hoby called her "ordenarie Course of working, reading, and dispossing of busenes in the House."¹⁶ Gentry women would often have to run a household on their country estates and another one in London. Thus in both they would have

⁸ Hanawalt, 'Lady Honor Lisle', pp. 191-192; p. 206.

⁹ Elizabeth did however play on her supposed womanly weakness, and it was felt that the disadvantage of her being a Queen would be balanced out by the wise advice of the men on her council. Fletcher, *Gender*, p.79.

¹⁰ Heal & Holmes, *Gentry*, pp. 52-3.

¹¹ Keeble, *Cultural Reader*, p. 116.

¹² Charlotte Merton, 'The Women who Served Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth: Ladies, Gentlewomen and Maids of the Privy Chamber, 1553-1603' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 1992), p.192.

¹³ Hanawalt, 'Lady Honor Lisle', p. 190.

¹⁴ Heal & Holmes, *Gentry*, pp. 60-62.

¹⁵ Oglander, *Royalist's Notebook*, p. 130.

¹⁶ Mary S. Lovell, *Bess of Hardwick: First Lady of Chatsworth* (London: Little Brown, 2005; repr. 2010), p. 15; Moody, *Margaret Hoby*, p. 12.

to fulfil their duty of hospitality, keep the household provisioned, oversee their servants and run the estate when necessary.¹⁷ Besides this, gentry women would usually be involved in the education of their children, both girls and boys, and perhaps also of their servants and the wider community.¹⁸ This was especially the case with religious instruction.¹⁹ Their own education, therefore, needed to reflect that this was part of their role.²⁰ The Loseley inventory of 1556 shows that in his library William More had a book on "the Instruccion of a woman" which may have been used in the education of his two daughters, although the possession of such books is not of itself evidence that they were used.²¹ Whatever education she received at home probably influenced More's elder daughter Elizabeth. A copy of John Knox's *An Answer to a Great Number of Blasphemous Cauillations Written by an Anabaptist* which contains her signature survives in the Huntington Library in New York; presumably this was her copy. She and her second husband Sir John Wolley were obviously

¹⁷ Sara Mendelson & Patricia Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England 1550-1720* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 307-310. Managing the estate would have included rent collection, organising the movement and sale of livestock and timber, and supervising the steward. Some legal knowledge (and therefore, one might think, some Latin as well) was also helpful in case of disputes, again raising the question of what exactly it was appropriate for gentlewomen to learn. Fletcher, *Gender*, p.179.

¹⁸ Moody, *Margaret Hoby*, p.3, p.9 and p.33 for examples of Lady Hoby's teaching.

¹⁹ Cliffe, *Puritan Gentry*, p.70.

²⁰ Moody, *Margaret Hoby*, p.66.

²¹ Evans, 'Extracts', p. 291. This was perhaps a copy of *The Education of a Christian Woman by Juan Luis Vives*, published in 1524. **This was not a particularly radical work; it stressed the importance of reading for women, but prescribed what was suitable - religious texts and classics - and what was not - romance. Vives was clear that the purpose of education for women was so that they would be better able to fill their allotted role as wives and mothers; they were not going to depart from that sphere.** It is ironic therefore that the book was dedicated to Catherine of Aragon, and that Vives had advised her on the education of her daughter Mary, then heir presumptive. *David Starkey, Six Wives: The Queens of Henry VIII* (London: Chatto & Windus, 2003), pp. 176-7. More definitely owned *The Defence of Good Women* by Sir Thomas Elyot, published in 1540, and reprinted in 1545. Evans, 'Extracts', p. 291. This also emphasised that women should live virtuously and bring their children up carefully, with wives "know[ing] well their duties." Suzanne W. Hull, *Chaste, Silent and Obedient: English Books for Women 1475-1640* (San Marino: Huntington Library, 1982), pp. 166-167. The messages of both Vives and Elyot's books were not dissimilar to that of Castiglione's *The Book of the Courtier*, also probably owned by More, which suggested that the ideal woman should have a basic level of literacy, but focus more on womanly skills such as dancing and sewing, while silence, piety and obedience were a woman's key virtues. Stone, *Family, Sex and Marriage*, p. 203; Hull, *Chaste, Silent & Obedient*, pp. 211-212 on Vives. This suggests that Elizabeth More and her younger sister Anne probably had an education which, while it no doubt included literacy and numeracy - skills essential for household and estate management - did not lose sight of more traditional female accomplishments. However, the third volume of *The Book of the Courtier*, which was translated into English at the request of Elizabeth Parr, Marchioness of Northampton, in 1551, a decade before the rest of the book, outlined the necessary qualities of a lady-in-waiting. Although coming from a good family was the first stipulation, that the woman in question should be learned was the second requirement. Hull, *Chaste, Silent & Obedient*, pp. 156-157. Thus William More may have been trying to prepare his daughters for such a role, although the proviso as to whether books were actually read and used or rather were merely kept on display to show off the owner's learning does of course apply. ▲

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perceived as suitable literary patrons as Robert Moore dedicated *Diarium Historico-poeticum* to them in 1595.²²

Gentry women were also [expected to have a knowledge of medicine](#). It was not unusual for upper class women to treat not only their own households but also their neighbours, especially the poor, the care of whom was seen as a duty.²³ They might well have read medical texts.²⁴ [Margaret More's books as listed in the 1556 inventory included a work on midwifery.](#)²⁵ They would be expected as well to have some more general medical knowledge. Margaret Hoby, for example, was responsible for treating wounds and dealing with illnesses throughout her household and beyond.²⁶ Honor, Lady Lisle, provided medicines for her friends, including Lord Edmund Howard, father of the future Queen Katherine Howard. In his case Lady Lisle's remedy for kidney stones had worked, but had had the side effect of making him urinate so much "that I dare not this day go abroad", and therefore he could not join her at dinner.²⁷ [The main purpose of educating gentry girls was, nevertheless, to prepare them for their futures as wives and mothers.](#)²⁸

The Mores' experience of these situations can best be seen through the life of one woman, Elizabeth More (1552-1600), the eldest of the three children of William and Margaret More. Her career may not have much to say about routine household work, but some of those details can be found in the life of her niece Frances Oglender, whose life appears to have been a total contrast to that of her aunt. They were perhaps following two ostensibly different paths to fulfilling the duties of an ideal gentlewoman, oddly in each case obedient and submissive yet also proactive, as

²² Both these examples are from McCutcheon, 'Playing the Waiting Game', p. 37. *Diarium Historico-poeticum* was a Latin poem recounting historical events. In the dedication Wolley is described as a most honourable man, and he and Elizabeth are wished honour in this life, and happiness in the future. Robert Moore, *Diarium Historico-poeticum* (1595), accessed online at www.eebo.chadwyck.com. John Donne had what may have been Wolley's own copy of *Diarium* in his library. Piers Brown, "'Hac ex consilio meo via progredieris': Courtly Reading and Secretarial Meditation in Donne's *The Courtier's Library*", *Renaissance Quarterly*, 61 (2008), 833-866 (p.851).

²³ A.L. Wyman, 'The Surgeoness: the female practitioner of surgery 1400-1800', *Medical History*, 28 (1984), 22-41 (p.23, p.31).

²⁴ *Ibid*, p.40.

²⁵ [Evans, 'Extracts', p.293](#). This may have been *The Byrth of Mankind* by Eucharius Roesslin. Originally in Latin, English translations were published in 1540 and 1545, making it probably the first midwifery book in English. Hull, *Chaste, Silent & Obedient*, p. 10, pp. 61-62. A woman such as Margaret More would probably only have assisted at the birth, as what was known as a "gossip" or supporter for the mother; a midwife would have been in charge. See below, pp. 180-182. She might however have taken the book with her in case advice was needed. Doreen Evenden, *The Midwives of Seventeenth-Century London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p.7, which specifically refers to *The Byrth of Mankind*, and p. 123.

²⁶ Moody, *Margaret Hoby*, p. 58 for a particularly busy day of dressing wounds.

²⁷ St. Clare Byrne, *Lisle Letters*, II, pp.499-500.

²⁸ [Heal & Holmes, Gentry, p.254. There were of course notable exceptions to this such as Mildred, Lady Burghley, and her sisters. Pauline Croft, 'Mildred, Lady Burghley: The Matriarch', in *Patronage*, ed. by Croft, pp. 283-300 \(p. 283\).](#)

discussed above. Elizabeth exemplifies the Mores' ambitions, which were initially focused on a local level in Surrey, but expanded to encompass a role for her at Court. There is a large amount of evidence for this, and it can be seen most clearly in her three marriages.

Elizabeth More's marriages

Elizabeth's first marriage, in 1567, was to Richard Polsted, a local man. The Polsted lands were adjacent to Loseley with others further east at Albury; one of Elizabeth's godmothers was an Alys Polsted, and one of George More's godfathers was a Henry Polsted, so there was a close relationship already, and Richard and Elizabeth presumably knew each other.²⁹ William More was one of the overseers of Henry Polsted's will.³⁰ As Richard was an only son, he would inherit his family's lands and he and Elizabeth would be well established, near her parents and adding to the Mores' influence in Surrey.³¹ There are similarities here with the first marriage of Bess of Hardwick. In 1543 she married Robert Barlow, whose family home was only 20 miles from Bess's, and to whom she was related.³² Elizabeth and Richard's wedding was held in London, at the home in Blackfriars William had inherited from Sir Thomas Cawarden, rather than at Loseley.³³ The two weeks of celebrations were attended by the great and good of the court including Lord and Lady Clinton, and Robert Horne, the Bishop of Winchester, who may have been of assistance in Polsted's election as

²⁹ Details of the births and baptisms of William More's children and grandchildren can be found in The Indentures of Sir William More, SHC LM/1327/6. Henry Polsted was probably Richard's father; see the biography of Richard Polsted in Hasler, *Commons 1558-1603*, accessed online at www.historyofparliamentonline.org, for his father's name. Alys or Alice Polsted was probably Richard's mother. The Will of Henry Polsted, 1st August 1555, Folger L.b. 83.

³⁰The Will of Henry Polsted. Polsted died on 25th December 1556. Malden, *VCH Surrey*, IV, accessed online at www.british-history.ac.uk.

³¹ Richard was also bequeathed lands in Essex, Sussex and Kent, and a variety of buildings in Barking, as well as most of his father's "housholde stuff", although some of his inheritance would only come to him on his mother's death or Richard reaching the age of 21. The Will of Henry Polsted. Therefore, although the main motivation for the marriage probably was for the Mores to increase their local influence, it also offered a chance to extend that influence beyond Surrey.

³² Lovell, *Bess*, pp. 22-23.

³³ Holding the wedding at the centre of affairs in London may have been a sign of ambition. However, it is more likely that it was for practical reasons, as building work at Loseley had not yet finished in 1567. It is probable that both the wedding itself and the reception were actually in the house. When Cawarden was granted the Blackfriars by Henry VIII, he converted the church into tennis courts. Copy of a bill of complaint by the inhabitants concerning the destruction of St Anne's church, Blackfriars, by Sir Thomas Cawarden, c.1557, SHC LM/417. In Mary's reign, "seing howe hardlie he was used in respect of his religion [Cawarden] mad a Chappell in a p[ar]te of his dwelling howse" to compensate for the loss of the church building. Once More had bought the "said precinct [he] suffered the said Chappell to be used for devine service". Statement by William More concerning the grant of Blackfriars to Thomas Cawarden, post 1560, SHC LM/425/17. The wedding therefore may well have taken place in this chapel, which was probably part of More's house at the Blackfriars.

MP for Hindon in Wiltshire.³⁴ The wedding was clearly looked forward to with enthusiasm by the Mores' friends, such as Robert Balam. In a letter to William More he described what gifts his family would send, which can be checked against the accounts for the wedding. Although the letter is undated, it undoubtedly refers to Elizabeth's wedding as the gifts Balam writes of - "mallardes... plovers... herne sewes... styntes..." - are among those listed under his name in the accounts.³⁵

Whatever the Mores may have been hoping for from this alliance, it ended in March 1576 with Polsted's death. Elizabeth, however, did not remain single for long, and there was competition for her hand, demonstrating how desirable a match with her, and hence with her family, would be. Her attractiveness was doubtless increased as she was her late husband's heir.³⁶ Wealthy widows were particularly appealing prospects as wives. In 1552, for example, John Isham married Elizabeth Barker, widow of a London mercer, and her inheritance helped set Isham up in the cloth trade.³⁷ This may partly explain why several men were keen to marry Elizabeth Polsted. Her suitors included Tobie Matthew, later Archbishop of York, and a "M[aste]r Horsman" who was endorsed by Lord Burghley in two letters written in August 1576 to William More. Burghley's comments on Elizabeth are extremely touching, writing that he knew "full well how good a mariadg all ma[n]ner both in respect of her parents, and cheifly for hir self" she would offer to her successful suitor.³⁸ Writing eleven days later, Burghley again recommended Horsman, although acknowledging that "your daughter have not shewed any dispositio[n] to lyk of such sutors."³⁹ While Horsman intended to continue his suit, Burghley went on to write that "though I reco[m]me[n]d hym, yet for the love I bear to you, and yours, and namely, for the first knolledg I have had of your daughters virtues in hir

³⁴The wedding accounts state that "the doings...begoone the thirde day of Novemb[e]r ...1567, and ...contynued unto the xviith day of the same moneth..." Evans, 'An Account of the Presents', p. 36. The original document is SHC LM/2021. For the connection with the Bishop, see Hasler, *Commons 1558-1603*, accessed online at www.historyofparliamentonline.org.

³⁵ Robert Balam to William More, undated, SHC LM/COR/3/251. Balam's gifts are listed on p. 36 of 'An Account of the Presents'. His connection to the Mores seems to have been through Margaret More's family, the Daniells of Norfolk.

³⁶ McCutcheon, 'Playing the Waiting Game', p. 39. In his will, which was nuncupative, ie. only declared orally, Polsted left his sister-in-law Anne More £20 and a horse towards her marriage, and the residue of his estate to Elizabeth, who, along with her father, was one of the five executors. Hasler, *Commons 1558-1603*, accessed online at www.historyofparliamentonline.org. Polsted's mental state at the time he made his will was questioned for years afterwards, perhaps because it was apparently delivered orally to William More alone, and the Mores benefited. Sir William More, draft of letter to someone unknown, 26th December 1583, SHC 6729/77/44. The disputes may have made Elizabeth less immediately appealing as an heiress.

³⁷ Finch, *Five Northants Families*, pp.6-7.

³⁸William Cecil, Lord Burghley to Sir William More, 11th August 1576, SHC 6729/7/41. McCutcheon identifies Horsman as Thomas Horsman, brought up by Burghley as his ward, and later an MP. 'Playing the Waiting Game', p. 39. There is a biography of Horsman in Hasler, *Commons 1558-1603*, accessed online at www.historyofparliamentonline.org. He was MP in 1593, 1597, 1601 and 1604 for Grantham, a seat under Burghley's influence. Horsman had lands in Chertsey, and hence perhaps a local connection with the Mores.

³⁹William Cecil, Lord Burghley to Sir William More, 22nd August 1576, SHC 6729/7/40.

tender yeares, I wish no success but it may be to hir own comfort."⁴⁰ Burghley's focus on Elizabeth's happiness is particularly worth noting, as it was in 1576 that the marriage of his own daughter Anne Cecil to Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford, was collapsing, amid allegations, made by the Earl himself, that he was not the father of Anne's child.⁴¹ Thus Burghley was well aware of the great sadness that could result from a union that might appear glittering, as a marriage to Burghley's ward could have been for Elizabeth, but which could end in disaster.

Tobie Matthew, meanwhile, seemed to believe that his suit would be successful. He wrote to Sir William More in December 1576, when the latter was away from Loseley, to say that "M[is]t[r][es] Polstede will not let me depart", and also that " [s]uite is in some sorte a servitude, or at least a service", implying that he was paying court to Elizabeth.⁴² His main interest in her, however, may have been the influence he thought her father had with the Bishop of Winchester, then Robert Horne, which could have helped his career. Matthew entreated Sir William to "make my dutifull and bounden reme[m]brance to my good L[ord] of Winton."⁴³ His letter does seem full of confidence that he would be successful.

However, wealthy widows were better placed to please themselves than they were when married the first time, as they had more control over their own lives.⁴⁴ It may well therefore be the case that Elizabeth was doing what she wanted when in 1577 she married John Wolley, then the Queen's Latin secretary, who became a Privy Councillor in 1586.⁴⁵ The huge advantage of this match

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ The failure of Anne and Oxford's marriage is related in Alford, *Burghley*, pp. 216-222, and in Helen Payne, 'The Cecil Women at Court', in *Patronage*, ed. by Croft, pp. 265-281 (pp.266-269). The marriage was probably already failing within a year of the wedding. Anne had chosen Oxford for herself; Burghley wanted her to marry Philip Sidney. Ibid, p.266.

⁴² Tobie Matthew to Sir William More, 9th December 1576, SHC 6729/6/29.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Beer, *Bess*, p. 234. Beer made this point with reference to Bess Raleigh, who chose not to remarry after Sir Walter's execution in 1618. She contrasts this with Bess's mother Anne Throckmorton, who married as her second husband Adrian Stokes. He had once been secretary to Frances Grey, Duchess of Suffolk, mother of Lady Jane Grey, and subsequently became Lady Suffolk's second husband. Lady Throckmorton married Stokes six months after her first husband's death in 1571. She asserted herself by keeping her name and her own house in London. Ibid, p. 29. It was not unusual in any case for a woman on remarriage to keep her previous name and title if they were more illustrious than the new.

⁴⁵ Tobie Matthew seems to have borne some ill will towards Elizabeth as a result of her decision. In a letter of June 1583 to William More, he ends with "dutifull reme[m]brance of yo[u]r Wo[r]ship & my good La[dy] my brother More & his wife, M[aste]r Manering & his", i.e. William, his wife, two of their three children and their spouses, but not the Wolleys. They may simply have been absent from Loseley, but it still seems a little pointed. Tobie Matthew to Sir William More, 5th June 1583, SHC 6729/6/30/1. There is no evidence of Horsman feeling slighted; he was later married but the date is unknown. Matthew, like Elizabeth, married in 1577, to Frances Parker, whose first husband had been the son of Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, and whose father was William Barlow, Bishop of Bath and Wells. W. J. Sheils, 'Tobie Matthew (1544?-1628)', *Archbishop of York*, www.oxforddnb.com. Frances's brother-in-law William Day was provost at Eton at the time of her marriage to Matthew, and later was briefly Bishop of Winchester himself. Claire Cross, 'Frances

was that it brought her to Court where she became a lady-in-waiting to the Queen. There is again a parallel with Bess of Hardwick, whose second marriage, in 1547, was to Sir William Cavendish, who, like Wolley, held a Court office, in his case Treasurer of the King's Chamber. Bess had spent time in London before, but it was not until she was Lady Cavendish that she was presented at Court.⁴⁶

The Wolleys were still involved in Surrey life. From 1589 Wolley owned Pyrford, which had been the home of the Earl and Countess of Lincoln, (previously Lord and Lady Clinton). William More was knighted there by the Earl of Leicester in 1576. It may be that Wolley's residence at Pyrford brought him and Elizabeth together. Although the manor did not come into his ownership until 1589, he was living there before then, as the Queen visited him at Pyrford on her progress in 1576.⁴⁷ Therefore, this may also have been in part a local match, perhaps encouraged by the Lincolns, although Wolley's connections were surely the main attraction. It was with Wolley that Elizabeth had her only child, her son Francis, who was born in 1583.

From Elizabeth's letters it appears that Wolley, who was some years older than Elizabeth, was regularly unwell towards the end of his life.⁴⁸ She wrote to her father in June 1595, relating that Wolley "hath bene extremelye syck of the Collick... the sorest and most extreame therof as ever I sawe him in", which she treated with cinnamon water.⁴⁹ It can be inferred from Elizabeth's description of this as the worst attack she had seen that this was one of many. She added a postscript to say that she might have to postpone her travel plans if Wolley fell ill again, as "he hath

Matthew (1550/51-1629)'; Brett Usher, 'William Day (1529- 1596), Bishop of Winchester', www.oxforddnb.com. This all reinforces the impression that Matthew's main interest in Elizabeth was her father's connections in the church.

⁴⁶ Lovell, *Bess*, pp.46-50.

⁴⁷ Pyrford was granted to Lord Lincoln by the Queen in 1574. Lincoln died in 1584, and the Queen subsequently granted the manor to Sir Henry Weston. It was Weston who alienated Pyrford to Wolley and his heirs in 1589. The manor was part of Elizabeth Wolley's dower, and on her death passed to her son Francis. When he died in 1609, Wolley left Pyrford to his cousin Sir Arthur Mainwaring. Malden, *VCH Surrey*, III, accessed online at www.british-history.ac.uk. Pyrford was convenient for Woking Palace, which the Queen still used; work was carried out at Woking from 1565-1594. Sir Christopher Hatton wrote to William More about an impending visit to Loseley by the Queen in August 1583, and commented that she would "dyne at Okynge" before her arrival. Sir Christopher Hatton to Sir William More, 24th August 1583, SHC 6729/6/53.

⁴⁸ Wolley graduated from Oxford in 1553, the year Elizabeth turned one. Parry, 'John Wolley'. This is again like the Cavendishes; Sir William was probably more than twenty years older than Bess. It is interesting that both Elizabeth and Bess chose older, previously married husbands after their first marriages had been to men closer to their own age. Presumably a man who was already established and successful was as appealing to these women as a wealthy widow was to her new husband.

⁴⁹ Elizabeth, Lady Wolley, to Sir William More, 8th June 1595, SHC 6729/7/120. This is a good example of Elizabeth using her medical skills.

had two extreame fytt[es] w[i]thin these two dayes."⁵⁰ He died the following year. Elizabeth was his sole executor.⁵¹

Elizabeth's next marriage was even grander, being to Sir Thomas Egerton, the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal. McCutcheon speculates that Elizabeth Wolley's main interest may have been to secure the future of her son, while for Egerton his new wife gave him entrée to the inner world of the Court through her role as lady in waiting.⁵² Whatever the motives of either party, it seems to have become a loving marriage. This chapter is headed by Egerton's reference to his wife in a letter to her of August 1599 in which he called her "myne owne swete joy". This sadly seems to be the only correspondence between them to survive. In it he also entreats her to "cherysh & ..comfort yo[u]r selfe and reme[m]ber me", and hopes that God will "blesse you with all happynes."⁵³ His letters after her death make plain that he was heartbroken. He wrote to George More in March 1600, shortly after his wife's death, saying that "my comfort in this worlde is seasoned with teares and syghes, Wherof I have plentye." He signs himself "yo[u]r most assured sorowful Brother in Law".⁵⁴ When William More died in July 1600, Egerton wrote to George that he felt "in this, the fresh rep[re]sentac[i]ons of her that was most deare unt[o] me."⁵⁵

Lady of the Privy Chamber -beyond the domestic sphere

Thirteen of Elizabeth Wolley's letters survive in the Loseley archive. This is significant as the lack of knowledge of and correspondence by the Queen's ladies has been lamented elsewhere.⁵⁶ Even where such documents are known to have existed they have in some cases been lost.⁵⁷ Thus the survival of Elizabeth Wolley's letters is of more importance than might at first appear. They provide a rare picture of the Queen at Court, some of the everyday life of that Court, and the

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ This is interesting in that, while many men did make their widows their executors, (Elizabeth for example had already been one of her first husband' executors) a proverb existed to the effect that women were not suited to such a role. Fletcher, *Gender*, p. 71. This is therefore another example of how the stereotype of women could be put to one side when appropriate. Joan Thynne of Longleat showed total confidence in her daughters by making them rather than her sons executors in her will of 1612. Wall, *Two Elizabethan Women*, pp. 61-62.

⁵² McCutcheon, 'Playing the Waiting Game', pp.40-41.

⁵³ Egerton to Elizabeth Egerton, SHC 6729/9/92

⁵⁴ Sir Thomas Egerton to Sir George More, 8th March 1600, SHC 6729/9/91. Elizabeth died in January 1600.

⁵⁵ Sir Thomas Egerton to Sir George More, 20th July 1600, SHC 6729/9/93.

⁵⁶ Susan Doran, *Elizabeth I and Her Circle* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), p. 193. There is in any case a general problem of a lack of sources for women's history. Mendelson & Crawford, *Women*, pp. 9-10.

⁵⁷ Guy, *Elizabeth*, pp.100-101 where he mentions the loss of the Howard of Effingham papers. The Lord Admiral's first wife was Katherine Carey, Lord Hunsdon's daughter and one of the Queen's ladies.

conduct of business there. Thus from the point of view of what is available in the archive, these are some of the most significant documents, providing details of the life of one of the Queen's less well known ladies. How though did Elizabeth Wolley become one of the Queen's ladies, with the opportunity to move out of her expected role, and find herself in a position to write these letters?⁵⁸

Before Elizabeth, none of the More women seem to have been ladies in waiting, and there is no evidence to suggest that any of them were after Elizabeth's death. However, there is evidence of More women entering or being considered for service in other gentry or noble households, although admittedly at a rather earlier date. Anne, Lady Weston, wrote to Lady Lisle, probably in 1532, recommending

a good maid, both sad and wise, and true of hand and tongue...Her father is Christopher More, a gentleman which my Lord knoweth well. This maid was brought up with my lady Bourchier, and she hath been with me upon iij or iiij year. [She left Lady Weston because she] cast love to a young man, a servant of my husband, and he likewise to her...there was no promise of matrimony betwixt them, for the which my husband...put him out of his service...and commanded me...to put the maid out...she is now with a[n] uncle of hers...[She can do] any manner of service ye put her to...⁵⁹

Unfortunately the reply does not seem to have survived so we cannot know if this unnamed More daughter was taken on.⁶⁰ However, this does suggest a tradition of service which may have been of benefit to Elizabeth. There is no evidence that she served in another household before her first

⁵⁸ See the chapter on office holding above, pp. 81-85, on Elizabeth Wolley and her business dealings at Court.

⁵⁹ St. Clare Byrne, *Lisle Letters*, I, p. 330.

⁶⁰ It is unclear to which of Christopher More's daughters this refers. Lady Weston mentioned that the woman in question was about 26, so if St. Clare Byrne is right to date the letter to 1532, she was born in around 1506; the Mores however did not have a child that year, and in 1507 they had a son, Richard. I therefore wondered if it might be Anne, who was born in 1508, and married John Scarlet; two different John Scarlets are mentioned in the *Lisle Letters*, so perhaps Lady Lisle took her on and this was how Anne met her husband. Another possibility is Dorothy, although the dating is problematic. Lady Weston wrote of the woman going to her uncle's; Dorothy was left 40s in the will of her uncle by marriage Sir John More, in which none of her siblings are mentioned; this might imply that she had been in his household. The will of Sir John More, 1527, TNA PROB/11/23. The problem here is that Sir John died in 1530, so if Dorothy were going to "an uncle" in 1532 it could not have been him. However, she could perhaps have gone to his household, especially as her aunt Alice did not die until 1544. John Guy, *A Daughter's Love* (London: Fourth Estate 2008), p.xvi where the date of Alice's death is given on the family tree. Christopher and Margaret More's oldest child, Elizabeth, born in January 1505, so close to the age suggested by Lady Weston, had Elizabeth Dudley, later Lisle's first wife, as her confirmation sponsor. A fragment of a parchment notebook with notes about Christopher More's ancestors and the births of his eldest children, c. 1511-1520, SHC LM/1327/3. Two things suggest however that she is not the daughter in question. Lady Weston, had she known of such a connection, would probably have mentioned it. Furthermore, Christopher and Margaret seem to have had a second daughter called Elizabeth, which implies that the older one had died. It could also be any of Christopher More's other five daughters.

marriage, unlike some of the Queen's ladies who had been placed elsewhere before coming to Court.⁶¹

It was her second and third marriages which brought Elizabeth the opportunity to achieve a position which she would arguably have been less likely to attain as the wife of Polsted. The most significant results of Elizabeth's later marriages were her presence at Court and her subsequent role as lady in waiting. Elizabeth's progress through the ranks of the Queen's ladies is unclear. It is unlikely that she was a Maid of the Privy Chamber as there is no evidence of her being in regular attendance at Court until after her second marriage. As a married woman, she must have become a Gentlewoman or Lady of the Privy Chamber as her first appointment, or initially have been one of the larger group of the Queen's attendants.⁶² She may well have been a Gentlewoman of the Privy Chamber first. At New Year 1588-9 she was included in a list, headed by the Chief Gentlewoman Blanche Parry, of Gentlewomen who gave gifts to the Queen and who received a gift in return.⁶³ By April 1594 she was referred to as a "lady of Her Majesty's Privy Chamber" in a legal document.⁶⁴ She was still serving in this capacity in 1597 when she is again described as "one of the ladies of the Privy Chamber" in a land settlement with her brother George.⁶⁵ She is not named on surviving wage lists for the Queen's Privy Chamber dating from 1580, 1582 and 1589 so presumably was not then among the Queen's closest ladies.⁶⁶ However, it is possible that she was an unpaid member of the Privy Chamber.⁶⁷

As discussed above in the chapter on office holding and patronage, the great advantage of serving in the Privy Chamber was the unparalleled access to the Queen which it afforded. This enabled her ladies to press suits for their families, friends and clients, thus playing a more assertive role than was perhaps expected of them.⁶⁸ It was an extreme extension of the power which gentry women could exercise as a patron, and a recognition of their importance. Elizabeth Wolley's mother

⁶¹ Bess of Hardwick, for example, had been in the household of Elizabeth, Dowager Duchess of Norfolk, before becoming one of the Queen's maids of honour. Merton, 'The Women who Served', p.34. It is possible that Lady Lincoln's interest in Elizabeth arose from her having served in Lady Lincoln's household, but there is no evidence of this.

⁶² Merton, 'The Women Who Served', p.43.

⁶³ Nichols, *Progresses and Public Processions*, III, p. 11, p. 19.

⁶⁴ Counterpart conveyance by Sir John and Lady Wolley, 1st April 1594, SHC 1775/5/30.

⁶⁵ A settlement between Elizabeth, Lady Wolley, and George More, 10th September 1597, SHC 6729/7/123.

⁶⁶ B.L. Lansdowne MS 29 no. 68 fol. 161 (1580); MS 34 no. 20 fol. 76 (1582); MS 59 no. 22 fol. 43 (1589). The continuity in the Chamber is amazing, and proves how difficult it was to get into. The same three women were listed as ladies of the Bedchamber in all these lists, namely Ladies Cobham and Carew and Blanche Parry, the Chief Gentlewoman. Only eight women were named as Gentlewomen of the Privy Chamber, of whom three are in all the lists, while four of the five Chamberers named appear in all three lists. Therefore, once Elizabeth Wolley had made the breakthrough into the Privy Chamber, she was likely to have continued in that role.

⁶⁷ Merton, 'The Women Who Served', p. 15.

⁶⁸ *Ibid*, p. 54.

Margaret More, for example, was petitioned by others for favour and support. Elizabeth Balam, widow of the Mores' friend Robert, wrote to ask for the Mores' help on behalf of an old servant; while the letter was sent to William, it was clear that Margaret also had to be content to offer a place to this person.⁶⁹

The Queen's ladies were best placed to know what was happening at Court, which again gave them an edge over their rivals.⁷⁰ It was also, obviously, a great honour to serve the Queen. Clearly there were disadvantages as well; the Queen was not an easy employer, and her ladies worked hard for little material reward.⁷¹ Moreover, it could be stressful. A series of letters from both Egertons to Sir Robert Cecil in 1598-99 includes one from Elizabeth in which she lamented that she was "hoping to receive her final end, for her debts so overwhelm her that her life is most wearisome."⁷² This sentence has been interpreted as meaning that Elizabeth was often unwell at this time.⁷³ However, it may just be evidence that life at Court was expensive and exhausting, especially for the Queen's ladies.⁷⁴ Nonetheless, the competition for places at Court shows how prestigious serving in the Privy Chamber was, and the low turnover of ladies proves how the Queen appreciated loyalty and continuity. This competition was increased under Elizabeth as there was only one royal household, in which she in any case cut the number of attendants; in her sister's reign, Mary and her husband Philip had each had their own household, as had Elizabeth herself, and Anne of Cleves as the "sister" of Henry VIII.⁷⁵ Elizabeth also favoured her relations, such as her first cousin Katherine Knollys and the Howards, those connected with her mother, such as Blanche Parry, and women who had served her before her accession, for example Lady Lincoln.⁷⁶ All these points must have made it far harder to gain preferment, and even more satisfying when this was achieved.

⁶⁹ Elizabeth Balam to William More, February, no year given, SHC 6729/10/137.

⁷⁰ Merton, 'The Women Who Served', p.56.

⁷¹ Ibid, p. 56.

⁷² *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Most Hon. The Marquis of Salisbury, K.G., preserved at Hatfield House*, 24 vols (London: HMSO, 1883-1976), VIII, accessed online at www.british-history.ac.uk.

⁷³ Stubbs, *Donne*, p. 124.

⁷⁴ If this is put in context through letters written by Egerton around the same time, it appears that both he and Elizabeth were unwell, she apparently with smallpox. Egerton had been advised to leave London, and therefore the Queen and his work as Lord Keeper, because of his own poor health. Meanwhile, Sir William More was also ill. This suggests that the couple had a lot to worry about in 1598-99, and may explain the tone of Elizabeth's letter, which is marked contrast to that of her earlier family letters. She may also of course have wanted something from Cecil and thought this was the right approach. *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the... Marquis of Salisbury* VIII, IX, accessed online at www.british-history.ac.uk.

⁷⁵ Merton, 'The Women who Served', p. 38. Tracy Borman, *Elizabeth's Women: The Hidden Story of the Virgin Queen* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2009), p. 189.

⁷⁶ Ibid, p. 31. The Queen was also related to Lady Lincoln, both being great-granddaughters of Elizabeth Woodville.

Elizabeth signed off from all but one of her surviving letters as either being "at the Corte" or "from the Court."⁷⁷ This suggests that to her the Court was where the Queen was, an institution centred on the monarch, rather than a particular place. It also implies that once she became a lady-in-waiting Elizabeth was regularly in attendance on the Queen. It is likely that the Wolleys would have had rooms in the greater palaces at least when they moved around with the Queen. In a letter of October 1596, after John Wolley's death, Sir Christopher Parkins wrote to Robert Cecil to request Wolley's lodgings: "Sir John Wolley his wonted lodgings might decently be to purpose."⁷⁸ This suggests that Elizabeth lost any claim she might have had to their marital accommodation after her husband died, although as a Lady of the Privy Chamber she would presumably have been offered other rooms.⁷⁹

Lady of the Privy Chamber - how Elizabeth Wolley may have won preferment

From the surviving letters it is possible to infer three potential routes by which Elizabeth Wolley became one of the Queen's ladies. As many of the ladies-in-waiting were related by birth or marriage to the influential men of the court, John Wolley's position could have given his wife an entrée into this inner circle. Equally, however, Elizabeth's family's friendships with influential women at court, especially Lady Clinton, later Countess of Lincoln, and Anne Dudley, Countess of Warwick, one of the Queen's senior ladies and sister-in-law to the Earl of Leicester, may also have led to her appointment.⁸⁰ Finally, the teasing affection that the Queen appears to have felt for William More,

⁷⁷ Elizabeth, Lady Wolley, to Sir William More, 16th September 1595, SHC 6729/7/122; Elizabeth, Lady Wolley, to Sir William More, 21st June 1594, SHC LM/COR/3/536 for examples of the different phrasing. The exception is Elizabeth, Lady Wolley, to Sir William More, 17th May 1595, SHC 6729/7/124, Elizabeth did not give her location, but the content, describing discussions with the Lord Admiral, would suggest it was also written from the Court. Unlike other correspondents in the Loseley letters, but like John Wolley, Elizabeth, rather frustratingly, did not specify where the Court was when she was writing. This reinforces the impression that for Elizabeth the physical location was irrelevant: what made a place the Court was the Queen's presence.

⁷⁸ *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the...Marquis of Salisbury*, VI, 1596, accessed online at www.british-history.ac.uk. Parkins (or Perkins) wanted Wolley's job as well. He was a diplomat whose career had suffered because of his earlier Roman Catholicism. He did get Wolley's job eventually, but was not officially appointed Latin secretary to the Queen until August 1601, although he appears to have stood in for Wolley immediately after his death. This was probably an attempt to prove his aptitude for the job. Thomas M. McCoog, 'Sir Christopher Perkins [Parkins] (1542/3-1622)' www.oxforddnb.com; *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the...Marquis of Salisbury*, VI, 1596, accessed online at www.british-history.ac.uk. The failure to appoint him clearly rankled, as Parkins later complained to Sir Robert Cecil that it was "no small disgrace that I seem rejected". He was still carrying out the work but without the recognition. *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the...Marquis of Salisbury*, VII, 1597, accessed online at www.british-history.ac.uk.

⁷⁹ Merton, 'The Women who Served', p. 12. It is also likely that as Lord Keeper Egerton would have had lodgings in at least the greater royal houses such as Hampton Court and Whitehall. Simon Thurley, *The Royal Palaces of Tudor England* (London: Yale University Press, 1993), pp. 128-132 on the provision of lodgings for the Court.

⁸⁰ Anne Warwick was godmother to George More's eldest son Robert, and wrote to Margaret More apologising for not being able to attend the baptism She asked Margaret to act as a proxy for her. Anne

who, according to Sir John Oglander, was referred to by the Queen as her "black husband", may have led her to want his daughter in her service.⁸¹

This affection is shown in several of Elizabeth Wolley's letters to her father. In one such letter, probably written in 1577, Elizabeth recounted the Queen's conversation about Sir William:

Yesterdaye she ... wore the gowne you gave her, and toke therby occasion to speake of you, saying er long I should finde a mother in lawe w[hi]ch was herself.... and that she would gyve ten thousand poundes you were twentye yeares younger , for that she hath few suche servauntes as you ar, w[i]th manye gracious speeches both of your self and my Brother....⁸²

When Sir William was ill in 1594, the Queen apparently prayed for him every day, "saying what a losse she should have of y[o]u if God should have called y[o]u....."⁸³ The Queen's friendship with More may well have been a factor in Elizabeth becoming one of the Queen's ladies.

However, if friendship with Sir William were the most significant factor in Elizabeth's preferment, then his younger daughter Anne Mainwaring or his wife Margaret might also have served at Court, and his granddaughters as well. While Anne's husband, George Mainwaring, was a Shropshire gentleman, the couple seem to have been often at Loseley, within easy reach of London; all but one of their children were born there.⁸⁴ Their children's godparents included the wife and son of Sir Thomas Bromley, who was Lord Chancellor from 1579-1587, so the Mainwarings were hardly remote from the Court.⁸⁵ However, unlike her sister Elizabeth Wolley, Anne had not married someone who was already near the centre of Court life, which may be a crucial factor. George More must have hoped when he sent his daughter Anne to stay with the Egertons in London that his sister Elizabeth would use her position on Anne's behalf, either to contract a good marriage for her or to

Dudley, Countess of Warwick, to Margaret, Lady More, 28th May 1581, SHC 6729/6/102. For further connections between the Mores and Leicester, see the chapter on office holding above.

⁸¹ Oglander, *Royalist's Notebook*, p. 165. More was not the only man the Queen referred to in this way; John Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury, was apparently nicknamed her "little black husband." William Joseph Shiels, 'John Whitgift, (1530/1-1604) Archbishop of Canterbury', www.oxforddnb.com.

⁸² Elizabeth Wolley to Sir William More, SHC, 6729/7/115.

⁸³ Elizabeth, Lady Wolley, to Sir William More, 21st July 1594, SHC LM/COR/3/572.

⁸⁴ The Indentures, SHC LM/1327/6. The exception, Arthur, was born in 1582 at Thorpe, so still in Surrey rather than Shropshire.

⁸⁵ Lady Bromley and Henry Bromley were both godparents of Daniel Mainwaring; *ibid.* Sir Thomas was originally from Hodnet in Shropshire, only a short distance from the Mainwarings' home in Ightfield, so this may be a local rather than political connection. N.G. Jones, 'Sir Thomas Bromley (c.1530-1587)', www.oxforddnb.com. Bromley also served as MP for Guildford in the 1563 parliament, alongside John Austen, father of the Mores' client George Austen, so was associated with Surrey. He probably won the seat at Guildford through the intervention of Henry Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel, who at the time was high steward of Guildford, and for whom Bromley was to be an executor. Hasler, *Commons 1558-1603*, accessed online at www.historyofparliamentonline.org.

help her to a place at Court.⁸⁶ However, none of George's daughters became ladies-in-waiting. In the case of his eldest daughter, Mary, circumstances beyond her control may have made it difficult for her to succeed in the Queen's service, as Mary's sister-in-law, Bess Throckmorton, had infuriated the Queen by contracting a secret marriage with Sir Walter Raleigh, while Mary's husband Nicholas Throckmorton was always in debt.⁸⁷ Besides this, the Throckmortons, although a family with a long history of service to the monarchy, both at home and abroad, had Catholic sympathies.⁸⁸ Thus the Queen's friendship with Sir William was probably not a significant factor in his daughter's preferment.

Lady Lincoln's role is perhaps of the greatest importance in Elizabeth's appointment, as she had a great deal of influence over the Queen. In 1548, when the future Queen was embroiled in Thomas Seymour's schemes, Sir Robert Tyrwhit, a member of her household, regretted that Lady Lincoln (then Lady Browne, second wife of Lord Montague's father Sir Anthony) was not in attendance as she had more influence over the princess than anyone else, and thus could have discovered exactly what had been happening.⁸⁹ This could therefore be a useful friendship for the Mores. The Clintons, as they were then, attended Elizabeth's wedding to Polsted in 1567, and were very generous to the young couple, giving them eleven different gifts, including "[s]wannes...[s]ugar loves grete...[h]ogsheds of wyne".⁹⁰ This largesse suggests not only respect for Elizabeth's parents, but also affection for and interest in the Polsteds. In her letters to William and Margaret More, Lady

⁸⁶ This did not have the result George More presumably had hoped for, as Anne went on to marry Egerton's secretary, the poet John Donne.

⁸⁷ Nicholas Throckmorton to Sir George More, 1603, SHC 6729/3/33. Debts are a common theme in Throckmorton's letters to his father-in-law; see also for example 6729/12/33, dated 1603, and 6729/3/164, dated 1604. Throckmorton apparently had a fairly wild life before his marriage, and although he was about twenty years older than Mary More, he seems to have continued his spendthrift ways afterwards. He was however saved from his financial problems when he inherited Beddington in Surrey from his mother's brother, Sir Francis Carew, in 1611. Beer, *Bess*, pp. 180-81. Although Bess Throckmorton's marriage may have made it harder for her family to win favour, both under Elizabeth I and her successor, who eventually had Raleigh executed, Mary seems to have had a good relationship with Bess. When Carew Raleigh was born in 1605, Mary sent a wet nurse for him as Bess was incarcerated in the Tower. Unfortunately Bess was not impressed by her choice and went on to find a nurse herself, but rather than upset Mary by telling her this, she asked Nicholas to tell his wife that she had already found someone else. *Ibid*, pp. 172-3.

⁸⁸ By Elizabeth's reign, the Throckmortons were divided between support for the established Church and adherence to Catholicism. Those who remained Catholic faced imprisonment and fines, and several were involved in plots against Elizabeth and later James I. Francis Throckmorton, for example, was executed for his part in the eponymous Throckmorton Plot in 1583. Nicolson, *Gentry*, p. 65. Mary More's husband Nicholas came however from the Protestant side of the family, his father Sir Nicholas having supported the accession of Lady Jane Grey in 1553, and been suspected of involvement in Wyatt's rebellion the following year. He was tried for treason but, astonishingly, acquitted. However, after a diplomatic career under Elizabeth, he was briefly imprisoned under suspicion of supporting the marriage of Mary, Queen of Scots, to Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk. Stanford Lemberg, 'Sir Nicholas Throckmorton (1515/16-1571)', www.oxforddnb.com. Thus the loyalty of even this part of the family had been doubted.

⁸⁹ Merton, 'The Women who Served', pp.154-55.

⁹⁰ Evans, 'An Account of the Presents...' p.36. Their presents were listed first in the accounts, presumably as a mark of respect for their status.

Lincoln often mentioned Elizabeth and Polsted. When Richard Polsted was near death, Lady Lincoln wrote to Margaret More sending her

suche things as I iudge will best taste in a sickmans mouthe And amongst other things... I have sent you my pece of unicornes horne....I hartely wisse and desire it take the like effecte in amendinge him as I have knowne it doo in others.⁹¹

She wrote in the following month to commiserate over Polsted's death.⁹² Lady Lincoln elsewhere praised Elizabeth's own healing skills. Lady Lincoln's maid Mary Tyrell has been "verie moche eased of her payne" thanks to "the good helpe of M[ist]r[is] Polsted".⁹³ By contrast, Anne Mainwaring is merely mentioned in her general farewells at the end of a letter of August 1586.⁹⁴ Lady Lincoln, however, often mentioned George More's first wife Anne, and seems to have been involved in the arranging of their marriage, asking her husband to intervene on George's behalf.⁹⁵ The Lincolns were related to Anne More, the daughter of Adrian Poynings, as the Earl of Lincoln's mother was a Poynings; thus in her letters to the Mores Lady Lincoln often refers to Anne as her cousin.⁹⁶ Despite this relationship, it was Elizabeth and not her sister-in-law Anne who became one of the Queen's ladies.

The suggestion that a personal recommendation to the Queen by one of her friends or current ladies held the key to preferment is supported by the experience of Honor, Lady Lisle, in the 1530s. Lady Lisle was determined to see Anne and Katharine Basset, two of her daughters from her first marriage, appointed as maids of honour to the Queen, a task complicated by Henry VIII's marital history. Lady Lisle's first target was Anne Boleyn. The Queen had made French style fashionable and Lady Lisle, living as she was in Calais while her husband was serving as Lord Deputy there, had sent

⁹¹ Elizabeth Fiennes de Clinton, Countess of Lincoln, to Margaret More, 27th March 1576, SHC 6729/9/131. Unicorn's horn was probably narwhal horn. There are also references to it as a medicine in St. Clare Byrne, *Lisle Letters*, III, p. 187 and p. 191. The implication in the letters to Lady Lisle is that the unicorn's horn was used as a form of amulet. This is also the case in the inventory made after the death of Elizabeth, Lady Cawarden, in 1560, which includes "A Juell w[i]th a Unicornes horne..." The inventory of Lady Cawarden, 18th May 1560, Folger L.b. 334. Lady Lincoln in her letter to Margaret More, however, described the unicorn's horn being "mixed w[i]t[h] mithridate", which suggests that in this case it was administered as a medicine, mithridate being a sort of medicinal paste. www.oed.com. A piece of unicorn horn was listed in Henry VIII's inventory in 1547, along with a staff allegedly made of unicorn's horn. Suzannah Lipscomb, *The King is Dead: The Last Will and Testament of Henry VIII* (London: Head of Zeus, 2015), p. 138, p. 215.

⁹² Elizabeth Fiennes de Clinton, Countess of Lincoln, to William More, 25th April 1575, SHC 6729/9/129.

Although this letter has been dated 1575, it must be from April 1576, after Polsted's death that spring.

⁹³ Elizabeth Fiennes de Clinton, Countess of Lincoln, to William More, September 1570, SHC 6729/9/121.

⁹⁴ Elizabeth Fiennes de Clinton, Countess of Lincoln, to Sir William More, 5th August 1586, SHC 6729/9/160.

⁹⁵ This is referred to in the same letter in which she writes of Polsted's death, SHC 6729/9/129.

⁹⁶ Elizabeth Fiennes de Clinton, Countess of Lincoln, to Sir William More, 30th May 1585, SHC 6729/9/158, in which she also refers to George as her cousin. See the Introduction, note 5, p.12, on the exact relationship between the Lincolns and Anne Poynings More.

her daughters to French households to capitalise on this.⁹⁷ She also sent a New Year's Gift to the Queen in 1534-35, as was to be expected of the wife of the King's uncle, which was delivered by her husband's agent in England, John Husee. Husee then met the Queen and seized the opportunity to tell her that Lady Lisle "humbly recommended [herself] unto her Grace, praying God to send her Grace many good New Years."⁹⁸ However, Lady Lisle did not manage to place either daughter in this Queen's household, perhaps in Anne Basset's case because she was seen as too young; her age was still apparently a problem as late as June 1536, when Husee wrote to Lady Lisle to say both Lady Salisbury and Thomas Heneage thought "Anne...too young" to serve the new Queen, Jane Seymour.⁹⁹ This did not deter Lady Lisle, or Husee, as on 24th June 1536 he wrote to her once again to say that although all the Queen's maids were already appointed, Henry Pole, Lord Montague, would encourage his mother, Lady Salisbury, to promote Anne's cause at the next vacancy.¹⁰⁰

Husee's support was invaluable. Besides Lady Salisbury and her son, he canvassed the Countesses of Sussex and Rutland, in whose households the Basset sisters were living, members of the King's Privy Chamber, and the Queen's brother and sister-in-law, Lord and Lady Beauchamp.¹⁰¹ However, it was from Sir William Coffin, the Queen's Master of the Horse, that Husee received the best advice, given to him in February 1537, which was that one of the girls should be brought to Court so that the King and Queen could see her for themselves.¹⁰²

The personal touch was crucial, although success did not come quite in the way that Coffin had expected. Throughout 1537 Lady Lisle continued to use her network of contacts at Court and sent the royal couple quails, which the Queen, Jane Seymour, craved while pregnant. However, nothing might have come of this if it had not been that one evening, when Lady Sussex and Lady

⁹⁷ St. Clare Byrne, *Lisle Letters*, III, p.32. St. Clare Byrne describes the post of Lord Deputy as similar to that of a Governor General in modern times, so Lisle was the King's representative in Calais. *Lisle Letters*, I, p.6.

⁹⁸ *Ibid*, II, p.373.

⁹⁹*Ibid*, IV, p. 107. Anne was about 16 at this time and Katharine 19, so it is perhaps surprising that Katharine especially would be deemed too young. It was possible that the French education the girls had received, and which would have appealed to Anne Boleyn, initially worked against them after her fall, as the argument they were too young does seem to have been an excuse. Lord Burghley's granddaughter Elizabeth, for example, became a maid of honour in 1589 when she was only 14. Payne, 'The Cecil Women', p. 269. There is a hint in one letter from Husee to Lady Lisle that Anne Basset's French style was a problem, and it may be that this reminder of the late Queen was the issue, rather than Anne Basset's age. St. Clare Byrne, *Lisle Letters*, IV, pp. 163-4.

¹⁰⁰St. Clare Byrne, *Lisle Letters*, IV, p.109. Henry Pole was Baron Montague; there is no connection with the Mores' friend Anthony Browne, later Viscount Montague. Christopher More worked for Lady Salisbury, as well of course as for the Lisles; see the chapter on office holding and patronage above, p. 77.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid*, p.114. Lady Sussex was Lady Lisle's niece, and Lady Rutland Lord Lisle's cousin by marriage. The Queen's brother Edward Seymour was made Viscount Beauchamp in 1536, and Earl of Hertford in 1537, following the birth of the future Edward VI. He became Duke of Somerset in February 1547, shortly after the death of Henry VIII. Barrett L. Beer, 'Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset (c.1500-1552)', www.oxforddnb.com.

¹⁰²St. Clare Byrne, *Lisle Letters*, IV, p.119. The letter does not specify which daughter, but it was probably Anne as Husee suggested that Lady Sussex should bring her, and Anne was in Lady Sussex's household.

Rutland were waiting on her, the Queen ate the quail which the Lisles had provided, and began to talk of Lady Lisle and her daughters. Her ladies took the chance to praise the Bassets, with the result that the Queen asked for them to be sent for so she could "know their manners, fashions and conditions, and take which of them shall like [please] her Grace best."¹⁰³ This was precisely what happened; Anne found favour and was "sworn the Queen's maid" in September 1537, while Katharine remained with the Rutlands.¹⁰⁴ Lady Lisle had achieved her ambition of a place in the Queen's household for one of her daughters at least. Unfortunately Anne's service was cut short by the Queen's death the following month, and she returned for a time to Lady Sussex.¹⁰⁵ Anne had obviously made a good impression on the King, however, and went on to serve all his later wives. Henry's favour towards her is shown after Katherine Howard's fall in 1541, when he said he would "specially provide for" Anne when the Queen's household was disbanded.¹⁰⁶ Katharine meanwhile never served a ruling Queen, but was in Anne of Cleves's household after she had been divorced.¹⁰⁷ Therefore, despite the politics and flattery, when it came to becoming a maid of honour, the pivotal moment for Anne Basset had been when two of the Queen's ladies had personally and directly recommended both her and her sister. The Queen had then seen her, and Katharine, for herself, and made her own choice. This suggests that Elizabeth Wolley, admittedly forty years later, may well have become one of the Queen's ladies because she was recommended by someone the Queen trusted, almost certainly in her case Elizabeth Lincoln, and taken on after the Queen herself had seen and liked her.¹⁰⁸

In summary, while it is impossible to be certain why Elizabeth was chosen to serve the Queen when other women in her family were not, it is probable that she was helped by Lady Lincoln as her patron, and that this was the crucial factor. The only proviso is that Lady Lincoln died in 1589, before there is any definite evidence that Elizabeth was a Lady of the Privy Chamber, although there

¹⁰³ Ibid, IV, pp.150-2 for the letter from Husee to Lady Lisle which described this dinner. The letter is dated 17th July 1537. The dinner is also recounted in Starkey, *Six Wives*, p.606.

¹⁰⁴ St. Clare Byne, *Lisle Letters*, IV, p. 163.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid, IV p. 183. Lady Lisle, in a letter to Lady Sussex after the Queen's death, expressed her hope that Anne's return to the Sussex household would be brief, and that soon "such time ...may come to have place again." She also hoped that this would be achieved once more "through your [Lady Sussex's] good suit." Lady Lisle was thus acknowledging the importance of Lady Sussex's part in Anne's success.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid, VI, p. 277. Anne was especially singled out by the King "in consideration of the calamity of her friends", presumably the ongoing imprisonment (the Council's letter was written in November 1541) of her stepfather in The Tower, and her mother and sisters Mary and Philippa in Calais.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid, VI, p.276.

¹⁰⁸ The final decision would have rested with the Queen. Merton, 'The Women who Served', p. 49. She had almost certainly met Elizabeth Wolley before, however. See for example Gristwood, *Elizabeth and Leicester*, p.242. The familiar and friendly tone the Queen apparently took with Elizabeth on her first arriving at Court reinforces this impression.

is some to suggest she was a Gentlewoman by then.¹⁰⁹ Her marriage to Wolley was also important. As Elizabeth only had one child, she will have been available more readily than those with larger families to attend on the Queen. Anne Mainwaring gave birth to six children between 1579 and 1592, and Anne More nine children between 1581 and 1590, which in the latter's case particularly left little time to serve in person. Elizabeth, however, had no daughter herself, and so no one to take her place. After Lady Lincoln's death in 1589, the women of the family no longer had an influential patron; although Anne, Countess of Warwick, was Robert More's godmother, there is not the volume of correspondence to suggest that she was as close to the Mores as Elizabeth Lincoln had been. Elizabeth Egerton's death meant that the young women of the family no longer had a close relation at Court to promote them, and the death of the Queen led to the accession of a monarch with whom the Mores were never to enjoy so close a relationship as they had done with Elizabeth. Elizabeth Wolley benefited from a favourable combination of circumstances, the most significant of which was her patron. It was, however, also important that her second and third husbands were at the centre of Court and political life.

Motherhood & child rearing- the domestic sphere

The ultimate female space in any household was provided by the rituals around childbirth. Men were excluded from the lying-in chamber, and the mother was attended both by a midwife, who would have been in overall charge, and her female friends, relations and neighbours, or the "gossips".¹¹⁰ As mentioned above, Margaret More owned a book on midwifery and may have taken it with her as a reference when she attended childbed as a "gossip". This might also have been useful in the earlier stages of pregnancy, as it was unusual to summon a midwife if there were problems then.¹¹¹ There was no other event in women's lives that gave them such an opportunity to work together to the exclusion of men.¹¹² It could also bring together women across classes, as gentry women went to the childbed of their poorer neighbours.¹¹³

¹⁰⁹ See p. 172 above for the exchange of New Year's Gifts in 1588-89; pp.181-182 below for the Queen's concern when Elizabeth was absent from Court in 1581; and the chapter on office holding above, pp. 81-85 on the Wolleys at Court.

¹¹⁰ Adrian Wilson 'The Ceremony of Childbirth and its Interpretation', in *Women as Mothers in Pre-Industrial England: Essays in Memory of Dorothy McLaren* ed. by Valerie Fildes (London: Routledge, 1990), pp. 68-107, p.70.

¹¹¹ Linda A. Pollock, 'Embarking on a Rough Passage: the Experience of Pregnancy in Early Modern England', in *ibid*, pp.39-67, p. 52.

¹¹² Wilson, 'Ceremony of Childbirth', p. 88.

¹¹³ Mendelson & Crawford, *Women*, p. 209.

Amongst the lists of linen in an inventory of William More's dating from around 1556, there is a specific entry for "lynnyn for childbed" which brings the lying-in chamber vividly to life. The mother was to have six "fyne pillowbers", as well as "one face cloth fringd with gold". For the baby, three "half shet[es]... one beryng cloth of crymsyne damaske garded w[i]t[h] vellot ... [and] one beryng cloth of red cloth w[i]t[h] lace" were to be provided.¹¹⁴ As the Mores' three children were born between 1552 and 1555, when the inventory was compiled it must have seemed essential to keep special linen for childbed. The emphasis on the quality of the linen for both mother and baby must reflect affection for both, the importance of the event within the household, and perhaps a desire to make the experience as comfortable as possible. When Lady Lisle believed she was pregnant in 1536-37, she planned for her chamber to be far more grandly equipped, with "a rich pane for the bed, of ermines bordered with cloth of gold, and a sheet of lawn to cover the same; and ... i or ij pairs of fine paned sheets and a travers..."¹¹⁵ It is interesting that gold features in both lists; it was probably a status symbol.¹¹⁶ However, while Lady Lisle would have given birth in luxury, all these items were being lent to her by Lady Sussex, with some of it being currently used by Lady Beauchamp; Margaret More's linen was hers, and was no doubt put to good use later when her grandchildren were born.¹¹⁷

Elizabeth Wolley may have used this linen when she gave birth to Francis at Loseley in 1583. Francis was her only child, and it may be that Elizabeth had difficulty conceiving or carrying a baby to term. On 8th October 1581, John Wolley wrote to Sir William to say that the Queen had been "very highly offended" that he had been away from Court while his wife was unwell, although once she understood "his wives sicknesse she resteth very well appeased."¹¹⁸ Elizabeth had gone to stay with her parents and was following a special diet - Wolley charged his father-in-law "to have regard to it".¹¹⁹ Wolley wrote to William More again that same day, which is an indication in itself of the urgency and concern he felt. In this second letter he reassured More that "Her Maiesty in very deed remayneth very well satisfied of myne absence, and sheweth her self exceding sorry for my wives

¹¹⁴ The inventory of William More, c. 1556, SHC LM/1105.

¹¹⁵ St. Clare Byrne, *Lisle Letters*, IV, p. 122. The "travers" was probably a curtain screening off part of the room. www.oed.com.

¹¹⁶ David Cressy, *Birth, Marriage and Death: Ritual, Religion and the Life-Cycle in Tudor and Stuart England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 50-51.

¹¹⁷ St. Clare Byrne, *Lisle Letters*, IV, p. 122. In tragic contrast to the opulence planned for Lady Lisle's lying in, the contents of what is described as the nursery in the inventory of the Lisles' goods in 1540 were pathetic: "A very old worn hanging, a Turkey carpet, a table with a foot, a folding trestle and two forms." *L&P Henry VIII*, XV, 852, 7th July 1540. This reads as stark evidence of the Lisles' crushed hopes of an heir.

¹¹⁸ John Wolley to Sir William More, 8th October 1581, SHC LM/COR/3/319.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.* This suggests that Elizabeth may well have been pregnant, as emphasis was laid on the right diet to follow when expecting a baby. Pollock, 'Embarking', p. 50.

sickness, saying she would not lose her swete aple for all the gold in the world."¹²⁰ Elizabeth returned to Court later in October, to be "very favorably welco[m]med of Her Maiesty."¹²¹ One interpretation of these letters could be that they were concerned with Elizabeth's pregnancy with her son Francis. Francis, however, was not born until March 1583. It is therefore possible that the letters describe Elizabeth's illness following a miscarriage or even a stillbirth. This is reinforced by the relief expressed by Anthony Browne, Lord Montague, in a letter to Sir William dated 7th March 1583, in which he wrote that he was "right glad to here M[istres]s Wolley dothe well & will hertely praye to God she may be a glad mother."¹²² Montague had been in correspondence with both Wolley and More, and one of them at least must have felt that Elizabeth being so near the end of her term and still well was noteworthy.

Francis Wolley was one of the Queen's many godchildren; Leicester was his godfather, and also the godfather of George More's son Robert.¹²³ The Earl of Lincoln was Francis's other godfather, and the Countess stood proxy for the Queen at the baptism.¹²⁴ The Queen obviously took her duties as godmother seriously. Elizabeth Wolley wrote anxiously to her father when the Queen had asked that Francis be sent for so she could test his learning: "She hath commended me to send for my Sonne notw[ith]standing if it shall please her to forgett it, I meane to forgett also to send for him."¹²⁵ She asked her father to ensure Francis "practise his french, for feare her ma[jes]tie shall call to me for him agayne, she sayeth she will pose him in his learynge."¹²⁶ Francis presumably lived mainly with his grandparents, which raises the question of how often he saw his parents, and why he was not sent to another gentry or even noble household, as had happened with his uncle George More, who had been placed in Leicester's household. John Wolley refers in a letter to William More in September 1592 to Anne Mainwaring's care of Francis, who had been unwell:

...for my syster Mainwering I know not what to saye. She hath byn mother physician aunt and all to hym. I thinke the house happy where she dwelleth for the many vertues that remayne in her, especially for the rare discretion she ever sheweth.... I will thanke her my selfe when I see her.¹²⁷

¹²⁰ John Wolley to Sir William More, 8th October 1581, SHC LM/COR/3/320.

¹²¹ John Wolley to Sir William More, October 1581, SHC 6729/3/173.

¹²² Anthony Browne, Viscount Montague, to Sir William More, 7th March 1583, SHC 6729/8/88.

¹²³ Robert More was presumably named after his illustrious godfather.

¹²⁴ The Indentures, LM/1327/6. Francis's godparents are a great contrast with his mother's, who were a haberdasher, a merchant's wife, and Surrey friend Alys Polsted.

¹²⁵ Elizabeth, Lady Wolley, to Sir William More, 16th September 1595, SHC 6729/7/122.

¹²⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁷ Sir John Wolley to Sir William More, September 1592, SHC LM/COR/3/512. Francis was only nine at the time this letter was written, so it is perhaps not surprising that he was still with his family. The use of the word "physician" to describe Anne Mainwaring emphasises the importance of gentry women in domestic medicine. Wyman, 'Surgeoness', p. 23, p.31.

This letter also bears witness to the extended family bonds of the Mores. Wolley refers to "my Brothers mother" helping as Francis lay ill.¹²⁸ Presumably this was George More's mother-in-law Mary Rogers, who had written affectionately to Elizabeth in 1579, addressing her as "lovinge daughter Wolley".¹²⁹

Motherhood is perhaps the area in which the gentry woman's medical skills are most clearly seen; even if midwives were in charge, gentry women were still useful sources of knowledge and experience.¹³⁰ Elizabeth, for example, offered her services as a "gossip" to her sister Anne; John Wolley wrote to his father-in-law in August 1592 asking how Anne was, and reporting that "my wife ... hath p[ro]mysed to see ... hir if hir maj[est]y shall come w[i]thin fortie myles of Loseley w[hi]ch I will very willingly further."¹³¹ Thus while Elizabeth may have had difficulties bearing children, she might have been called upon to support others during childbirth. The same was true of Margaret Hoby, who had no children of her own. She "went to awiffe in travill of child" in August 1599.¹³²

A key part of gentry motherhood was the education of children. The contents of Margaret More's closet, when Loseley was inventoried in 1556, included five books and "a fayre deske".¹³³ Margaret would surely only have had a desk in her own room if she could write as well as read, and wished to handle her correspondence herself, perhaps like Margaret Hoby, who wrote in October 1599 of retiring to her chamber to "wret notes in my testament."¹³⁴ This suggests that Margaret More may well have been involved in the education of her children, and also of others who may have been in the household, which would have been typical for an English gentlewoman.¹³⁵ In an

¹²⁸ Ibid.

¹²⁹ Mary, Lady Rogers, to Elizabeth Wolley, 9th November 1579, SHC LM/COR/3/288. This is misidentified by McCutcheon as being from Margaret More to her daughter. McCutcheon, 'Playing the Waiting Game', p.35.

¹³⁰ Evenden, *Midwives*, p. 62.

¹³¹ John Wolley to Sir William More, 25th August 1592, SHC LM/COR/3/511. Anne's son Francis was born at Loseley on 16th September 1592. See note 25, p. 165 above on the role of the "gossip".

¹³² Moody, *Margaret Hoby*, p.6.

¹³³ She had a book on midwifery, and four prayer books. Evans, 'Extracts', p. 293. See note 25, p. 165 above on the midwifery book.

¹³⁴ Moody, *Margaret Hoby*, p. 27. Some women may well have owned books which they could not actually read, however. Mendelson & Crawford, *Women*, p.90. As the sixteenth century progressed, women's literacy improved, and more gentry women were able to write as well as read, even if they generally still lagged behind their male contemporaries. Heal & Holmes, *Gentry*, p. 253. It has been estimated that only c. 1% of English women were literate in 1500; this had risen to c. 10% in 1600. To put that in context, however, male literacy increased from c. 10% to c. 25% over the same period. The total literate population was c. 400,000 out of a total population of just over 4 million in 1600. These figures probably only account for those able to read; a smaller percentage would have been able to write as well, as these were seen as quite different skills. Ian Mortimer, *The Time Traveller's Guide to Elizabethan England* (London: The Bodley Head, 2012), p. 102.

¹³⁵ Where girls were sent away to other households, they tended to experience the same education as they would have received at home, although with the added possibility of making a marriage. Fletcher, *Gender*, p. 177. Margaret Hoby, for example, was in the household of the Earl and Countess of Huntingdon in the 1570s and 1580s and met her first two husbands there. Moody, *Margaret Hoby*, p. xvii.

undated letter, Mary, Countess of Southampton contacted Margaret to ask for news of her daughter, also Mary, who seems to have been staying, although very briefly, at Loseley. The Countess assured Margaret that "I doubt not of yo[u]r over great care of her, whil she reste in yo[u]r handes", and went on to send "no lesse thankes for all the great cortesies w[hi]ch for my part I acknowledge my selfe to have receaved at yo[u]r hand..".¹³⁶ Lady Southampton was "redy in good will to requyte yt when any occasion shalbe offered."¹³⁷ If the girl were at Loseley, presumably Margaret would have included her in any teaching she gave during Mary's visit. This may have been one of the areas in which Margaret demonstrated the strength of character which was paid an arguably rather back-handed compliment by Sir Francis Walsingham in a letter of January 1574 to William More. Walsingham requested More's assistance in a suit on behalf of his wife Ursula. The main letter was dictated, but Walsingham added a footnote in his own hand explaining why he had contacted More: "You are your self a maryed man you knowe therfor of what force M[ist]r[i]s Moores commandements are to whom I praye you co[m]mende me."¹³⁸ The implication here is that neither Ursula Walsingham nor Margaret More wholly conformed to the submissive ideal.

One of the More women who definitely educated her children was George and Anne More's youngest daughter, Frances Oglander. In his commonplace book, her husband Sir John Oglander described the childhood of their eldest son, George, who died in 1632 aged 23. He wrote of Frances "that never was woman more careful of a child she and her gentlewoman taught him to read."¹³⁹ If she was responsible for George's early education, she presumably taught all their children to read, and she set her sons up well. George attended Merton College and Middle Temple. John, the third son, went from Winchester to New College, where he became a fellow in 1632. He later went into the church. William, the second son and his father's eventual successor, does not seem to have been as academic as his elder and younger brothers, but was appointed Deputy Governor of the Isle of Wight in 1644, and made a baronet in 1665. The youngest son, Richard, who is barely mentioned in his father's surviving writings, became a mercer in London.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁶ Mary Wriothsley, Countess of Southampton, to Margaret More, undated, Folger L.b. 583. The name of the Countess's daughter appears to be Mall, an abbreviation of Mary. This was probably Mary, b. c.1567, who was the daughter of the Earl of Southampton twice held under house arrest at Loseley, and his wife Mary, daughter of Lord Montague. This is another sign of the ongoing bond between the Mores and Southampton. Elzinga, 'Henry Wriothsley'.

¹³⁷ Lady Southampton to Margaret More, Folger L.b. 583.

¹³⁸ Sir Francis Walsingham to William More, 18th January 1574, SHC LM/COR/3/140. The friendship between Walsingham and More was clearly such that this joke was appropriate. A letter survives from Lady Walsingham to Margaret More, concerning fabric sent from the former to the latter. Ursula, Lady Walsingham, to Margaret More, 24th May 1567, SHC LM/COR/3/68.

¹³⁹ Oglander, *Royalist's Notebook*, p.177.

¹⁴⁰ For George Oglander, see Oglander, *Royalist's Notebook*, pp. 176-181; for John, pp. 59-60 and p. 83; for William p.104, note, and for Richard, p.235.

This section began with the details of Margaret More's lying-in chamber. It ends with a sort of postscript on death and grief. In the Loseley manuscripts there is a document which details expenditure for a funeral, possibly Margaret's. The costs included black cloth, a winding sheet, the bier and "makyng the grave."¹⁴¹ Margaret was deeply mourned by her husband at her death in 1587. William's friend Lord Montague wrote to him to commiserate that God had "thrown you in to the furnace of greff & adv[er]sitye by the greatest worldly losse you might havee [sic]."¹⁴² Montague invited More to stay with him at Cowdray, and hoped that "God shall settell....yo[u]r mynd in more quietnes".¹⁴³ A month later Montague wrote again, to say "I hope God hathe bothe releaved yo[u]r greff, & strengthened you w[i]t[h] his grace, neyther to offend him, not by ov[er] moche greff to harme yo[u]rself".¹⁴⁴ The tone of this letter suggests that More remained devastated by his wife's death, which is in itself a tribute to her role in his life, family and household. In his autobiographical statement of around the time of Margaret's death, William wrote that he had never broken his "promesse [to Margaret] in deed or thowght to this p[rese]nt" in the more than thirty-six years they had lived together.¹⁴⁵ This is similar to the language which was used by Lord Burghley after the death of his wife Mildred in 1589, when he wrote that they had been married for forty two years "in continual love without any separation or offence."¹⁴⁶ Both men may have been using conventional terms for their relationships with their wives, but Montague's concern for his friend implies that More's grief was genuine, and Burghley too seems to have been devastated by Mildred's death.¹⁴⁷

Such grief fits with the pattern in the historiography of gender and family history of an acceptance that affective relationships and loving marriages were not, as was argued by Lawrence Stone, unusual in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.¹⁴⁸ Indeed, contentment was expected.¹⁴⁹ It was very unlikely that a couple would be compelled to marry if they did not at the very least like each other.¹⁵⁰ On the whole, the Mores as a family are excellent example of this.

¹⁴¹ Two pages of accounts, undated, SHC LM/2163/1-2. There is no year given but the month is August. The assumption that it refers to Margaret's funeral is a little uncertain; if she had died in August, Montague would surely have sent his condolences before October. See note 71, p. 123 above.

¹⁴² Anthony Browne, Viscount Montague, to Sir William More, 4th October 1587, SHC 6729/8/104.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁴ Anthony Browne, Viscount Montague, to Sir William More, 3rd November 1587, SHC 6729/8/105.

¹⁴⁵ Autobiographical statement, SHC LM/1617.

¹⁴⁶ Quoted in Alford, *Burghley*, p. 144.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 309.

¹⁴⁸ Stone, *Family, Sex and Marriage*, pp. 102-105. Stone particularly thought this was the case for the upper classes.

¹⁴⁹ Mendelson & Crawford, *Women*, p.176.

¹⁵⁰ Martin Ingram, 'Courtship and Marriage 1500-1750', in *The Routledge History of Sex and the Body in the West*, ed. by Sarah Toulalan and Kate Fisher (Routledge, 2013: e-book accessed via www.rhul.ac.uk), p. 322.

Frances Oglander, daughter of Sir George More

The main aims of gentry marriages in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries have been defined as the transmission of wealth and property and the forging of political and social alliances.¹⁵¹ By these criteria the marriage of Frances, the youngest of the children of George and Anne More was a success.¹⁵² Frances, who was arguably more of a traditional gentry woman than her aunt Elizabeth, was married to John Oglander, of Nunwell on the Isle of Wight, in 1606.¹⁵³ Her family were clearly pleased with the match. Sir Thomas Grimes, husband of Frances's sister Margaret, wrote to George More in June 1606 to say "I am verye glad to hear of the forwordness of my sister Frauncis preferment..."¹⁵⁴ This was in stark contrast to the reception for her sister Anne's marriage in 1601 to John Donne, to whom the chief objection was probably his position as her uncle Egerton's secretary.¹⁵⁵ Anne was taken back to Loseley, while her husband lost his job and was imprisoned, and her father tried, but failed, to have the marriage ruled invalid.¹⁵⁶ Unlike Frances, who was to have her husband's estates to live on, the Donnes only had a home, even after their marriage was deemed lawful, thanks to Anne's cousin Francis Wolley, who let them live at his house at Pyrford.¹⁵⁷ It may be that Wolley made this gesture because his mother had felt a particular affection for Anne after her time staying with the Egertons at York House.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵¹ Heal & Holmes, *Gentry*, p. 60.

¹⁵² Frances's mother died giving birth to her in January 1591.

¹⁵³ Oglander was knighted by James I in 1615.

¹⁵⁴ Sir Thomas Grimes to Sir George More, 10th June 1606, SHC 6729/3/133. Grimes (1574-1644), whose surname is given elsewhere as Grymes or Crymes, was married to Margaret More in c.1602. They had fifteen children. Margaret died in 1655. Thrush and Ferris, *Commons 1604-1629*, accessed online at www.historyofparliamentonline.org.

¹⁵⁵ Stubbs, *Donne*, p. 132. Donne himself acknowledged that his "p[re]sent estate [was] lesse than fitt for [Anne]", but claimed he did not understand why he "stood not right in [George More's] opinion". John Donne to Sir George More, 2nd February 1602, Folger L.b. 526. In a later letter he denied accusations about his past relationships, and refuted the idea that he "lov[ed] a Corrupt Religion" i.e. Catholicism. That he raised these issues perhaps suggests that they had been presented to him as More's objections to the match, or else that they were what he imagined More would find most offensive about him. John Donne to Sir George More, 13th February 1602, Folger L.b. 529. More may well have been suspicious about his son-in-law's religion as Donne's brother Henry had died in prison in 1593 awaiting trial for harbouring a Catholic priest. Stubbs, *Donne*, p. 18, p. 44. See p. 123 above on Donne's family and religion.

¹⁵⁶ Donne did eventually reach a rapprochement with Egerton, despite this unfortunate end to his employment. Egerton, by then Lord Ellesmere, was responsible for Donne being granted the rectory of Sevenoaks in June 1616. Stubbs, *Donne*, p. 319. The parents of Thomas Thynne of Longleat also hoped to have his secret marriage of 1594 annulled. His wife, Maria Audley, was deemed unsuitable as she was part of the Marvin or Meryvn family, the Thynnes' greatest rivals in Wiltshire, and Thomas appeared to have been tricked into the marriage. Wall, *Two Elizabethan Women*, p. 8. Like Sir George More, John and Joan Thynne found there was nothing they could do, although in their case the marriage was not finally declared valid until 1601 after a four year hearing. *Ibid.*, p. xxvi.

¹⁵⁷ Stubbs, *Donne*, p. 177.

¹⁵⁸ Donne referred to his "dutifull regard" to Lady Egerton in another of his desperate letters to Sir George. John Donne to Sir George More, 11th February 1602, Folger L.b. 527. Wolley may have been acknowledging this as well.

The Oglanders, unlike the Donnes, may not have chosen each other, but they also seem to have enjoyed a successful, indeed happy, marriage. Oglander wrote in his memoirs that "having a loving wife, thou needest no other company than her and thy children."¹⁵⁹ He deemed his own situation an example of this, writing that "my wife and I have lived...as happily for our estate, as well and plentifully, and in as good repute and fashion as any could, or would, desire."¹⁶⁰ Oglander's grief when Frances died in 1644, trying to negotiate her husband's release first from prison, then from house arrest, both in London, was intense:

...by the mediation & solicitation of my poor wife, I was released and committed prisoner to my own lodging...My poor wife, overheating her blood in procuring my liberty, got the smallpox and died, making me a worse prisoner than before... my poor wife, with my blood I write it. Thy death hath made me most miserable...greater grief and sorrow could not have befallen any man. No man can conceive the loss, but he that hath a good and careful loving wife.¹⁶¹

In her fight to win freedom for her husband, Frances was moving well away from the modesty and submission which was supposedly the ideal for a gentlewoman, and showing the strength of character which was also evident in her estate management. When Sir John wrote to her while waiting for a hearing before the Committee of Safety, he beseeched her to show "a Masculine Courage", thus recognising that she might have to step out of the accepted feminine sphere to deal with the "Generall Callamity" he believed they were facing.¹⁶² Clearly he recognised that his wife could put aside her theoretical frailty and weakness and take on a male role when necessary, and approved of and indeed encouraged this.

Frances also took seriously her duty to her extended family. She remained close to her sister Anne, despite the latter's marriage to Donne. Indeed, when Donne was in France in 1611-12, Anne stayed with the Oglanders on the Isle of Wight, and while there gave birth to a stillborn child; Oglander, in the parish register, described Anne as "the best of women".¹⁶³ In general, the Donnes' relationship with Anne's family seems to have improved hugely as the years passed. Sir George finally gave them a marriage settlement in 1606, which enabled the Donnes to move to their own home and not rely on Francis Wolley's charity.¹⁶⁴ Sir George continued to give Donne an allowance

¹⁵⁹Oglander, *Royalist's Notebook*, p. 5.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid*, p.5.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid*, p. 107. Oglander, having been summoned by the House of Commons, was imprisoned by Parliament for his Royalist views.

¹⁶² Sir John Oglander to Frances, Lady Oglander, 26th July 1643, IOW Record Office, 26th July 1643.

¹⁶³ Oglander, *Royalist's Notebook*, p.168. Donne was travelling as secretary to Sir Robert Drury, a Gentleman of the King's Chamber. Stubbs, *Donne*, p.270.

¹⁶⁴ Stubbs, *Donne*, p. 207. It may be that Wolley was partly responsible for his uncle's change of heart. Stubbs also suggests that George More was softened by the fact that the Donnes' second son, born in 1605, was named after him. It might, however, be that the name was chosen because Sir George was already becoming

after Anne's death, although in part this was to support his grandchildren.¹⁶⁵ Donne was himself to acknowledge the importance of the Mores to his eventual success, writing that he would "do any service to th[a]t noble family, to whom I owe, ever my prosperity."¹⁶⁶

The Oglanders remained close as well to Thomas and Margaret Grimes.¹⁶⁷ During his time in London in 1643, awaiting his appearance before the Committee of Safety, Oglander visited them and wrote to Frances in sorrow at their condition:¹⁶⁸

It greives me to see your Brother Grymes and Sister, they are the most Disconsolate people livinge...they have littell or no houshold staffe left, and not one horse, and that littell they... expect to be taken from them and he to be Comitted. It greived my heart to see how meanly they now liveth...¹⁶⁹

However, as well as dealing with the difficulties of their extended family, the letters between John and Frances when he was in London provide a fascinating portrait of their marriage. Their love for each other, alluded to above, shines through. John wrote that "nothinge so mutch troubles mee as my absence so longe from you", and later that he wanted "nothinge but my owne home and thye Company."¹⁷⁰ For her part, Frances wrote that "the gratest sicknes I have now is the grife for your absence", and that she prayed God would "send us a happy being together agane."¹⁷¹ Her sentiments here are similar to those expressed by Brilliana, Lady Harley, when writing to her "deare husband" Sir Robert. She asked him "to remember that I reckon the days you are away", and when she heard that he was well, that was "the beest nwes [sic] I can heare, except that of your comeing home."¹⁷²

friendlier towards them. As Donne was on the continent when his son was born, it may be that Anne took a unilateral decision on the name, knowing it would please her father.

¹⁶⁵ John Donne to Sir George More, 22nd June 1629, Folger L.b. 542. Anne Donne had died in 1617, shortly after giving birth; the child, a daughter, also died. Stubbs, *Donne*, pp. 329-331.

¹⁶⁶ John Donne to Sir Henry Wotton, 12th July 1625, Folger L.b. 540. Donne wrote this letter on behalf of his brother-in-law Sir Robert More, who wanted his son to attend Eton, probably Nicholas (1615-1684), of which Wotton was provost. The Mores were clearly pleased to make use of their relationship with Donne once he had influence.

¹⁶⁷ The Donnes also remained friends with Thomas and Margaret Grimes. They invited Donne to preach at their parish church in Camberwell in June 1615, soon after his ordination. Stubbs, *Donne*, p. 309. Their daughter Constance was Donne's goddaughter, and Sir Thomas was overseer of Donne's will. Both Constance and Sir Thomas received bequests from Donne, Constance some plate and Sir Thomas Donne's "stricking clock" and a picture of James I. The Will of John Donne, 13th December 1630, TNA, PROB/1/5.

¹⁶⁸ The Committee of Safety was a parliamentary committee set up in 1642. It was the main body responsible for the running of the war on behalf of the parliamentarians. Braddick, *God's Fury*, p. 271.

¹⁶⁹ Sir John Oglander to Frances, Lady Oglander, 11th July 1643, Isle of Wight Record Office OG/CC/52. Grimes was presumably waiting to be seen by the same Committee as Oglander.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid; Sir John Oglander to Frances, Lady Oglander, 3rd August 1643, IOW Record Office OG/CC/55.

¹⁷¹ Frances, Lady Oglander, to Sir John Oglander, 27th June 1643, IOW Record Office OG/CC/51.

¹⁷² Lewis, *Lady Brilliana Harley*, pp. 1-2.

The letters also show us Frances's role in her husband's absence, dealing with the running of their estates alongside their eldest surviving son William. Oglander wrote: " I knowe you and my Sonn with my former directions will order it [the harvesting of hay and corn] better, then If I weare there..."¹⁷³ Here he was paying flattering tribute to his wife's abilities; as mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, some men were happy to acknowledge how successfully their wives could step away from the domestic sphere. Sir Robert Harley had presumably also applauded his wife's efforts during the Civil War, as in the sermon preached at his funeral she was described as a "noble Lady and Phoenix of Women."¹⁷⁴ Such a tribute was unlikely to have been made unless it reflected Sir Robert's opinion.

Frances wrote to her husband asking for advice on issues such as whether to kill some animals or buy meat for the servants as supplies ran low, and for support on her decisions, as when she let the new shepherd "have the keping of yoes".¹⁷⁵ The impression given is that although Frances was meant to be running affairs with her son, she was the one in overall charge. When describing the situation with the new shepherd, Frances wrote as if he was dealing with her alone, and if it were only her who made the decision: "he sade... if *I would not* let him have the keping of yoes he would not com *so I granted it* him..." [my italics].¹⁷⁶ There is no implication that William Oglander was even being consulted. Her involvement with the running of the estates mirrors the efforts of her sister-in-law, also Frances, the widow of her brother Sir Robert More, who was determined to protect the inheritance of her son Poynings. Two surviving letters from Sir George More to his daughter-in-law, written a year after Sir Robert's death in February 1626, show that she had been keeping an eye on his management of his lands, in this instance in Westbury, which was part of the manor of Compton.¹⁷⁷ She was concerned that advantage was being taken of Sir George both in the coppicing at Westbury and also in the lease of some of the land.¹⁷⁸ He strove to reassure her that he would "doe nothinge to the wrong or prejudice of yo[u]r self or yo[u]r sonne."¹⁷⁹ It was not however the case that all gentry women rose to such challenges. Lady Hunsdon, for example, asked William

¹⁷³ Sir John Oglander to Frances, Lady Oglander, IOW Record Office, OG/CC/55.

¹⁷⁴ Lewis, *Brilliana Harley*, p. xxxv.

¹⁷⁵ Frances, Lady Oglander, to Sir John Oglander, IOW Record Office, OG/CC/51.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁷ Westbury was sold to Sir Christopher More by the King in 1545; More had had a lease on the manor, granted by the abbot of Dureford Abbey in Compton, since 1535. Malden, *VCH Surrey*, III, accessed online at www.british-history.ac.uk.

¹⁷⁸ Sir George More to Frances, Lady More, 7th March 1627, SHC LM/COR/4/59; Sir George More to Frances, Lady More, 9th March 1627, SHC LM/COR/4/60.

¹⁷⁹ George More to Frances More, SHC LM/COR/4/60.

Cecil to intercede with the Queen in 1568 so that her husband could return to her as she found running her household too much.¹⁸⁰

It seems that Frances had always been involved in the Oglanders' farms, however, and not just when John was away. In his commonplace book, Sir John wrote that men should "[f]it up...[their wives'] outhouses for poultry and other necessaries".¹⁸¹ He later confirmed that Frances was busy in these outhouses: "She was up every day before me and oversaw all the outhouses: she would not trust her maid with directions but would wet her shoes to see it done herself."¹⁸² Poultry-keeping was a common chore for the mistress of the house.¹⁸³ Frances clearly saw her role as to oversee all aspects of domestic life whether her husband were at home or away. In this she can be compared to Margaret Hoby, who describes in her diary picking apples, "[walking] about the house, barne and feeldes...", and talking to her husband "of Husbandrie and Housholde matters..".¹⁸⁴

Frances was arguably a perfect gentry housewife; certainly her husband thought so:

I could never have done it [managed his estates well] without a most careful wife who was no spender, never wore a silk gown but for her credit when she went abroad, and never to please herself... I always kept a good house... I pray God they that follow me may do as well.¹⁸⁵

Conclusion

Elizabeth More, perhaps inevitably, overshadows the other women of her family. After her second marriage she lived away from Loseley and thus communicated with her family by letter, giving us vivid details of her life as a lady-in-waiting, while her account of the Queen is of huge interest, and important as there is a lack of correspondence by the Queen's ladies. It also means that there is more evidence for her than for other female members of the family. Besides her own words, the obvious heartbreak felt by Thomas Egerton after her death and the affectionate tributes paid to her elsewhere, especially by the Countess of Lincoln, make clear that she was a remarkable person. She began life as the daughter of a Surrey gentleman, with good prospects; she ended it as

¹⁸⁰ Fletcher, *Gender*, p. 180.

¹⁸¹ Ogländer, *Royalist's Notebook*, p. 203.

¹⁸² *Ibid*, p.241.

¹⁸³ Lovell, *Bess*, p.15.

¹⁸⁴ Moody, *Margaret Hoby*, p. 11, p. 13 and p. 82. The Hobys seem to have behaved as equal partners in estate management, perhaps reflecting the fact that Hackness Hall was Lady Hoby's family seat. Fletcher, *Gender*, p. 157.

¹⁸⁵ Ogländer, *Royalist's Notebook*, p. 241.

one of the Queen's ladies, married to the Lord Keeper, and with a son who had two earls for godfathers and the Queen herself as godmother. This is an impressive achievement. It demonstrates that her life is a good example of the fulfilment of gentry ambition. She used the skills which she had been taught to help her run her own household to succeed on a greater stage, arguably outside her expected sphere, and took the opportunities presented to her by a network of Court contacts, most significantly the Countess of Lincoln, and also by her second and third marriages.

However, Elizabeth could not have led this life if she had not been helped by her family. Her mother almost certainly oversaw her education. When Elizabeth was left a young widow after Polsted's death, her choice of John Wolley as her second husband was presumably supported, if not enabled, by her family.¹⁸⁶ However, it must have been Elizabeth herself who saw the great advantages of the match and therefore wanted to marry Wolley; as a widow she had more freedom to choose than when she had married for the first time at fifteen.¹⁸⁷ It was her second marriage which brought her to Court and service to the Queen, and made her life particularly fascinating. The lives of her female relatives are rather more hidden in the surviving records, although some like her niece Frances stand out.

Frances Oglander may perhaps be seen as the archetypal gentry woman. She devoted herself to the welfare of her husband, children, and extended family, running the household and the estate when needed as a support to her husband, and in doing so showing a decidedly assertive side to her character. Therefore, Frances could be seen as a woman who found contentment in doing what was expected, unlike her sister Anne. Her aunt Elizabeth's achievement by contrast was to surpass the other women of her family, and attain a position where she could fulfil her responsibilities towards them from, in terms of access to the Queen, the most privileged place in Elizabethan England, namely the Privy Chamber.

Effectively, however, both Elizabeth and Frances fulfilled contemporary expectations of a gentlewoman, even if they took different paths to get there. They had both been taught the skills deemed necessary for their allotted role in life, and had fulfilled their destinies by marrying well, in the interests of their whole family as well as themselves. Once married, however, they apparently saw no difficulty in ignoring the submissive ideal when they needed to. Elizabeth actively, and directly, promoted her family's causes at Court. Frances not only ran the Oglander estates when Sir John was away, as indeed most gentlemen would have expected their wives to do, but also moved well away from her domestic role by campaigning for her husband's release from prison. Thus these

¹⁸⁶ It is probably fair to assume that her own ends, whether she sought financial security for herself and her son, or a marriage based on mutual affection, were at play in her match with Egerton.

¹⁸⁷ She had clearly been able to turn down suitors such as Matthew and Horsman who did not appeal to her.

two More women are further examples of the argument that the supposedly submissive and modest ideal gentlewoman was a theory only; in practice, more proactive behaviour was accepted, and indeed expected.

Conclusion

By the end of the sixteenth century, the Mores were the leading gentry family resident in Surrey. They had achieved their eminence through the accumulation of offices, both in Surrey and in London, starting with the career of Christopher More (c.1483-1549). Christopher's son William (1520-1600) increased the family's authority both locally and nationally, and arguably the high point of their success came during his life time. George (1553-1632), William's son, continued to be hugely influential in Surrey, but a combination of circumstances eroded his position at the centre.

The family's status was most blatantly and impressively displayed in their house at Loseley. The purchase of the estate by Christopher, who bought a moiety of Loseley in 1508, marked the family's arrival in Surrey. Its acquisition also shows that in Christopher's opinion the ownership of land was a key element of being a gentleman; for all his success in London, he needed a country seat to show off his status. He had no interest in buying land in order to farm it intensively and become a member of the gentry in that way; his estate was intended to announce that he was already a gentleman, not to be the means of him getting to that position.¹ Christopher had married Margaret Mudge or Mugge from Guildford in 1504, and bought the office of ulnager for Surrey and Sussex in 1505.² Thus he had begun to establish himself in the area before he started to create his estate. In Christopher's case, both offices and land were crucial to establishing himself as a gentleman; the offices, however, had to be attained first to finance the purchase of land. His son William in his turn rebuilt the house in the 1560s to demonstrate the family's continued success and growing ambition; the same motives probably drove William's son Sir George to add a wing to the house as soon as he had inherited. In his new country seat, Sir William could more easily and impressively entertain the monarch as well as offer hospitality to his friends than had presumably been the case in the older house. The 1560s Loseley also seems to have set the tone for the building work of other proprietors. Its influence shows how highly regarded the Mores were; to have a house like Loseley must have been intended to demonstrate both the builder's connection to the family and that he had similar aspirations. On a smaller scale, the monument to Sir William and Lady More in the chapel at St Nicholas, Guildford, was intended to display their importance, emphasising the family's Surrey connections and their service to the Crown.

¹ In this way he is an exception to the pattern noted by Nicolson, whereby from even as early as the fourteenth century, being deemed to have the status of a gentleman had become separated from the need to own land. *Gentry*, p. xv. Clearly Christopher More felt that he needed to have an estate, although he would fit into Nicolson's argument that lawyers came to be seen as having gentry status regardless of their landholdings or lack thereof; to Christopher More, however, the purchase of land was the logical outcome of his success in London.

² Ulnagers inspected the quality of woollen cloth.

The Mores' status was also shown by the increase in the number of offices which they held, and especially by their presence on the Surrey bench and in the Commons. Under Elizabeth, parliamentary authority in the county was effectively split between the Mores and the Howards of Effingham, putting the Mores on a par with the main aristocratic family of Surrey. In 1624, Sir George More was elected MP for Guildford, with his son and one of his sons-in-law as the knights of the shire for Surrey, two of his grandsons as the Haslemere MPs, and one of his nephews and a former son-in-law also in the Commons: a significant family grouping. The Mores acquired extensive parliamentary influence, and that this remained the case under Sir George shows that the apparent decline in his position at Court did not have an impact in this area. For Sir George, problems arose because of his failure to win favour from James I's closest companions such as Somerset and Buckingham. The former, indeed, had even reputedly told Sir George that he had prevented him gaining some offices.³ Therefore, the benefits which Sir Christopher and Sir William had gained from their patrons were not available to the same extent for Sir George.

Their achievements and their visualisation in the building of Loseley had an impact on the Mores in a variety of ways. Success and influence bred further success, and led to more and better connections and relationships. Thus the family held more offices, in Surrey and in London. Their success in turn made them more appealing as patrons, with posts such as sheriff, vice-admiral and Chamberlain of the Exchequer presenting them with the opportunity to reward their clients with local and national offices of their own - and pass on some of the work involved.

Elizabeth More's marriages and Court career afford an excellent example of the impact on the family of their increased success. The choice of her first husband, Richard Polsted, whom Elizabeth married in 1567, suggests that the Mores' focus at that stage was on consolidating their authority around the newly rebuilt house at Loseley and thus reinforcing their position as part of the gentry elite in Surrey. However, when Elizabeth married for a second time in 1577, the situation had changed. Her father had been knighted, in the Queen's presence, by his patron the Earl of Leicester, in whose household George More had served. The Queen had stayed at least once at Loseley, where building work was only completed after the Polsted marriage. It had also become clear how respected her father was by the then Bishop of Winchester, Robert Horne, who had appointed More to the Constablership of Farnham Castle. The family's rise may explain why Tobie Matthew was so keen on an alliance with them, as he must have thought it would further his career. However, Elizabeth chose John Wolley, no doubt in the knowledge that this would bring her into the life of the Court. Her role as lady-in-waiting, combined with her husband's posts of Latin Secretary to the

³ Oglander, *Royalist's Notebook*, p. 223.

Queen, and eventually Privy Councillor, enabled the couple to represent and promote the Mores at Court to the family's advantage. Her third and final marriage, to Sir Thomas Egerton, the Lord Keeper, ensured that Elizabeth could continue in this role. Even with this success beyond Surrey, however, the Mores' local connections were of enormous importance to them, with all three of Sir William and Lady More's children having homes in the county, and Loseley being the centre for the whole family, with all but one of their grandchildren being born there.⁴

The chapter on the house at Loseley has highlighted the significance of the survival of both William More's building accounts, and the house itself, which allows us the opportunity to compare them. The accounts are a remarkable source, recording an extraordinary level of detail, especially if, for example, they are assessed alongside others such as those for Ashley House. The family's importance is shown not just in the house itself but also in the offers of materials which are detailed in the accounts. William More created a house that was foremost a family seat, replacing a building which was no longer appropriate for someone of his position and ambition with one which was a showcase for his success and erudition, as well as being architecturally innovative and influential in its own right. In his new house he could entertain the monarch, even if he may not have been hugely enthusiastic about doing so, as well as his friends and relations, and so fulfil his obligation to provide hospitality. Sir George similarly could not be satisfied without making his mark on Loseley, and by building his own wing stressed that the Mores remained at the top of the gentry elite.

The purchase, rebuilding and extension of Loseley were made possible by the family's office holding. Gentry support was essential to the Tudor and early Stuart regimes; they could not govern without them. For the Mores, the accumulation of offices was both a critical ingredient of their success, and another way in which they fulfilled the duties of their class, living their lives not just for themselves but in the service of others.⁵ It is interesting however to note that his work as a JP was an area where William More's impartiality was called into question. Sir William managed to share spheres of influence with his daughter at Court, while he himself was in Surrey or in parliament; having a family member in place at the centre was especially important as the Crown was the main source of patronage. In the Commons, Sir George's advocacy of parliamentary privilege suggests that, despite the family's history of loyalty to the Crown, he would have supported parliament in the Civil War, as his grandson Poynings did.

Their support for the parliamentary side might have come from their religious beliefs. Sir Christopher seems to have been pragmatic about religion, with the wording of his will changing

⁴ The Wolleys had a home at Pyrford, George More at Baynards and the Mainwarings at Thorpe.

⁵ Ogländer, *Royalist's Notebook*, p.246.

between 1547 and 1549 to reflect the new situation. However, his son was sidelined under Mary for his resistance to her attempts to restore Catholicism, and Sir George tended towards Puritanism, even though under the early Stuarts this was unfashionable. Once again, the gentry were vital in enforcing religious policy, but the difference between the harsh rhetoric of parliament and the law and the practical reality of dealing with friends and neighbours must be borne in mind. Besides directly serving the government, for instance on religious commissions, the gentry were also needed to set an example both within their households through their teaching, and beyond it by proving their conformity through church attendance. The Mores probably worshipped at St Nicholas in Compton, where they presented to the living, despite their burial chapel being at St Nicholas, Guildford. In the time between the building of the Elizabethan house and the building of Sir George's wing, there was probably not a chapel at Loseley itself, which might seem surprising, but in fact fits with the fashion of the time. Sir George decided to include a chapel in his wing; by the early seventeenth century there had been a revival in chapel building, so this is unsurprising. The Mores were, however, unconventional in their religious writings. Sir William's autobiographical statement was effectively a precursor of Puritan confessional diaries, which were fashionable in the early seventeenth century.⁶ Sir George's tract against lack of faith was far from the more usual gentry religious literature, such as his son-in-law Sir John Oglander's commonplace book.

Sir George's youngest daughter, Frances, was married to Sir John Oglander. When it comes to the stereotype of sixteenth and early seventeenth century gentlewomen as meek and submissive, Frances Oglander no more fits it than does her aunt Lady Wolley. The ideal gentlewoman is arguably a person more honoured in theory than in practice. Passivity was not a virtue for a gentry woman, who would be needed to stand in periodically for her husband and run the family estates, and if necessary defend her family's interests. Indeed, such activity was expected and sometimes celebrated. The More women definitely played an integral part of the family's ambitions and plans; Elizabeth Wolley was clearly very capable when it came to dealing with courtiers to further their aims. Her letters from Court, meanwhile, help fill the gap which has been identified elsewhere, namely that relatively little is known of the Queen's ladies and few of their letters survive.⁷

This study therefore is of importance as it highlights the achievements of a family who are often overlooked, despite the fact that, as was said at the beginning of this conclusion, they were by the end of the sixteenth century the foremost Surrey gentry family. Thus they were the ultimate example of the gentry elite with whom the government needed to cooperate in order to achieve stable rule. They were not bound by geographical limit; ambition encouraged movement, and the

⁶ MacCulloch, *Reformation*, p.390.

⁷ Doran, *Elizabeth I*, p. 193.

Mores were gentry whose interests went beyond their shire. The More family therefore fit within the historiography not only as members of the local elites essential to the continuance of stable and effective government, but also as examples of Court gentry whose interests were far broader than their own locality. However, this thesis is predominantly a study which shows the significance of the Mores' locality to their achievements, as they built a strong county base in order to support their role at the centre. This is significant as they were also what could be termed Court gentry, with a presence, if sometimes only by proxy, at Court.⁸ As stated above, the family cannot be defined purely by their locality; in this instance a study focused on their county alone, despite its great importance to them, would be too narrow, especially as it was far from the only regional influence on them. Christopher More's family came from Derbyshire. His father, John, was a citizen of London. Christopher himself continued to work in the City at the Exchequer while buying land in Surrey. Even after the family seat had been established at Loseley, the Mores' involvement in London life continued.

There will, however, always be more to assess and uncover about the Mores; this is by no means the final word on the subject but aims to open the way to further study. One subject which invites further consideration is the history of the development of the house at Loseley. The medieval or early Tudor house may have been demolished or may form part of the Elizabethan house; unless a conclusive document is found or archaeological work is carried out this will remain uncertain. The 1560s house probably did not contain a chapel, but this is by no means definite. The family's relationship with the Dudleys, from Elizabeth Dudley being confirmation sponsor to Christopher and Margaret's eldest child, to Christopher working for the Lisles, to William perhaps being in the Lisle household, to Leicester's patronage and George's time in his household, could possibly be a thesis in itself.⁹ Elizabeth Wolley as I have suggested, may have been in Lady Lincoln's household; it would be fascinating to follow this theory through.

The final word of this particular work does, however, have to go to the, as the Surrey History Centre catalogue aptly describes it, "extraordinarily rich" archive. The Loseley manuscripts are arguably as valuable to the historian, especially of the later sixteenth and early seventeenth century, as the Lisle letters are for the mid sixteenth century. The sheer volume of documents means that every aspect of Tudor and early Stuart gentry life is covered. What is fascinating about what survives is that it goes beyond the standard gentry archive sources covering estates, parliament and legal

⁸ However, the experiences of Sir George and his sons in the reign of James I suggest that the Mores were to become county rather than Court gentry, despite their sixteenth century successes.

⁹ Elizabeth Dudley was the first wife of Lord Lisle. See note 73, p. 76 above.

questions, to encompass personal letters and reflections.¹⁰ The wealth of material makes the family's lives even more immediate than would otherwise be the case. From their letters we know about their relationships with each other and their friends, and what concerned them in their daily lives.¹¹

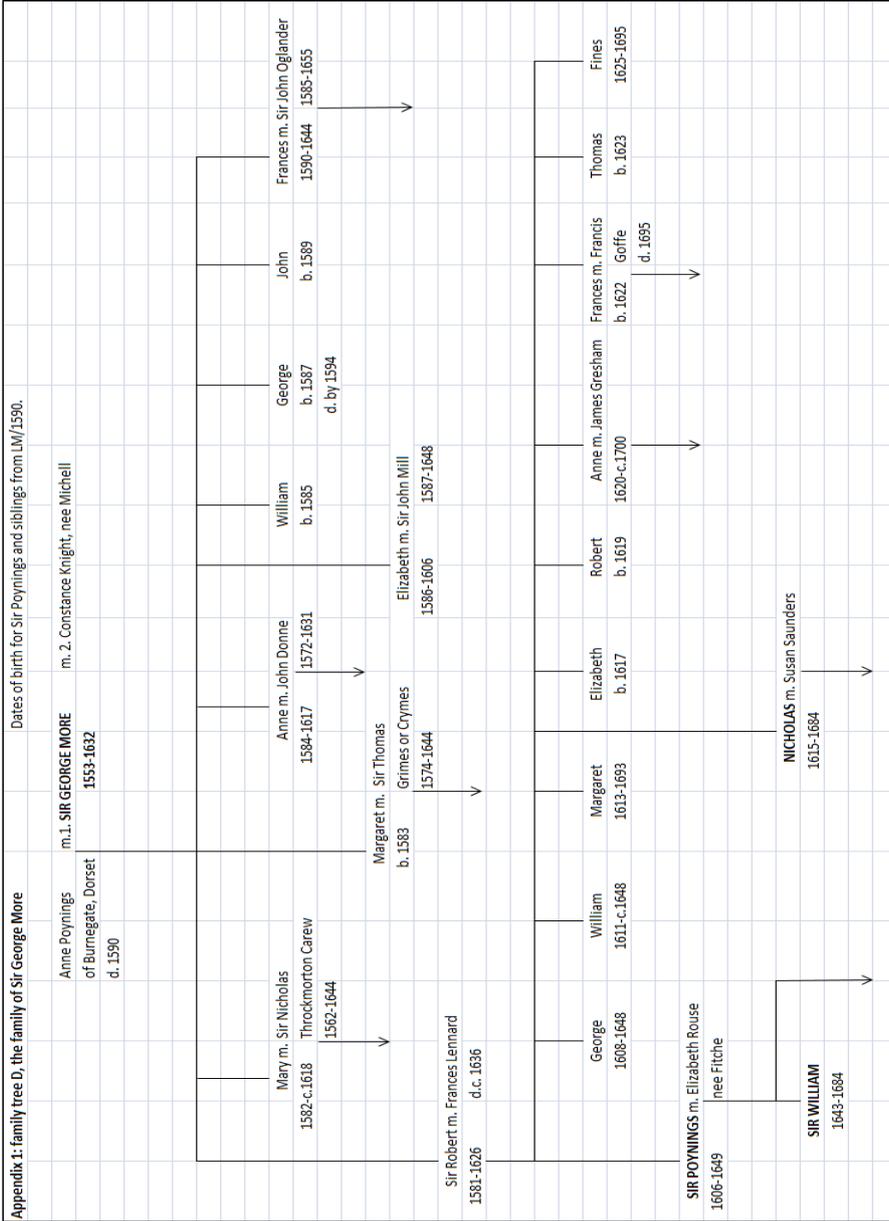
The surviving papers create the opportunity to make an in depth family study which, thanks to the range of subjects, can bring together topics which might otherwise be treated thematically and thus kept separate, such as the rebuilding of the house at Loseley, the work of a JP, and life at Court. This makes the work more inclusive and representative of the Mores' lives. Amongst the letters are descriptions of events of great significance, such as the Queen's early departure from chapel in December 1558 which revealed to her Court and the elites beyond that she would change the country's religious direction once again.¹² Thus the depth of the archive makes it an amazing resource, which as the catalogue states is "of fundamental importance for any study of the administration of the county and its governing elite under the Tudors and Stuarts," and also "one of [the]richest surviving sources for Tudor and Stuart Surrey."¹³ It is also, I would argue, true for studies of Tudor and Stuart gentry and England as a whole.

¹⁰ Cliffe, *Yorkshire Gentry*, p. 20; Heal & Holmes, *Gentry*, p. 3.

¹¹ Helen Castor takes a similar view of the Pastons. *Blood and Roses*, p. 7.

¹² Sir William Fitzwilliam to William More, 26th December 1558, SHC 6729/2/33.

¹³ See the Surrey History Centre catalogue at www.surreyarchives.org.uk.



Appendix 2 : Autobiographical statement of Sir William More c. 1587, SHC LM/1617

Yt hath pleysed god of hys Infyn[ite] goodnes to blesse me from my yowth untyll the xx lxvijth¹
[written over figure crossed out] yere of my age ov[er] and above his blessyng[es] bestowed apon
manye other p[er]sons

Fyrst beyng the yongest of fyve sonns of my father hys Inherytaunce wholye decendyd unto me²

Also havynge a Stepmother that loved me not she could nev[er] so prevayle w[i]th my father as to be
moved agaynst me³

Also byenyng [sic] barelye in an In of Chauncerye I dyd nev[er] make shyft thowghe greatlye Intysed
there unto

Also beyng then greatlye geven to Cardes & dyse I was by godes goodnes cauled from the same
when I was lyke to perryshe therein

Also beyng then greatlye provoked to whoredome in the Cytye by my lewd companyons I dyd
nev[er] assent to the same

Also beyng drowned in papystrye at the [ag crossed out] age of xvij yers I was by god[es] goodnes
cauled to the trewe knowlege of his ghospell

Also God hath steyd me in that knowlege w[i]thout declynyng from the same untyll this p[rese]nt
and I do assuredly trust wyll do untyll the ende

Also god hath geven me alwayes sens I cam to mans estate the cumpany of none in my house but
of suche as were thowght honest & Relygyous

Also he gave me a wyfe that was chaste & verye vertuouse who lyvyd wythe me above iij yers whom I
so entyrlly lovyd as that I nev[er] brake my promesse w[i]th her in deed or thowght⁴

[End of the first page of the document]

¹ The first xx may have a line though it, and this would make sense as then More's age at time of writing would have been 67.

² Richard, Christopher, John and a second Christopher are believed to have died in infancy.

³ Constance Heneage, nee Sackville, who died in 1554.

⁴ More's first wife was Mabel, or Mary, Dingley of Wolverton on the Isle of Wight.

[illegible as page damaged] afterwarde an other wyfe ---[damaged] lyke qualyty and condyc[i]ons to my comforthe w[i]th whome I have lyvyd above xxxvj yers and w[i]th whom I [letters crossed out] nev[er] brake my p[ro]messe in deed or thought to this p[rese]nt as aforsayd⁵

Also he gave me by her one sonne & two dawghters whose profe I have lyvyd to see to my comforthe. for they all are lovyng and obedyent unto me and to theyre mother and do eyther of theym love one the other interelye⁶

Also he gave to my eldest dawghter a vertuous gentleman to husband and afterwards toke hym away to hymself and now hathe geven her one other gentleman no lesse vertuous, honeste and lovyng to me and myne⁷

Also he gave to my other dawghter an honest vertuous gentleman verye lovyng to me & all myne⁸

Also he gave to my Sonne an honest & vertuous gentlewoman to wyfe, w[i]th an advauncement to my howse. She ys for her good nature a comforthe unto me⁹

Also he hathe geven theym all grace as well to all my three chyldern as to them w[i]th whome they are matcht to be of good Relygyon w[i]th me, to love one an other and they all to be lovyng and obedyent to me & theyer mother

Also he hathe geven me to see the sweet frute of all theyre bodyes wythe out blemyshe or want of wytte¹⁰

Also he hathe geven me habyllytey to encrease the patrymonye decendyd to me by my father almost double

[End of the second page]

⁵ This was Margaret Daniell of Swaffham in Norfolk.

⁶ Elizabeth, b. 1552, George, b. 1553, and Anne, b. 1555.

⁷ Elizabeth was married to Richard Polsted in 1567, and he died in 1576. Her second husband, who she married the following year, was John Wolley. She married a third time after Wolley's death in 1596, to Sir Thomas Egerton, then the Lord Keeper.

⁸ Anne's husband was George Mainwaring.

⁹ George More's first wife was Anne Poynings; she died in 1591, so this statement predates that.

¹⁰ All but one of More's grandchildren were born at Loseley.

[illegible as paper damaged] to builde a fayer [words missing] and erect dyv[er]se buldyng[es] above the valewe of 3000 li

Also to encrease my plate, howshold stuffe, and stocke to a farr greater valewe than my parent[es] left me

Also that I have contynued howse keping w[i]t[h]out brekyng up of the same almost xl yers¹¹

Also he hathe so defendyd me that I was nev[er] in danger of Robbynge

Also that there was nev[er] anye p[er]son of anye degre that syns my chyl dyshe yers did ev[er] drawe wepon apon me, stryke me or used reprochefull words unto me

Also I was nev[er] arrested, restreynyed from my lybertye or cauled in questyon before anye of aucthorytye or accused unto them for anye fault untyll this p[rese]nt

Also he hathe so protected me that no man hathe byn hable to charge me w[i]t[h] anye grosse fault So that my syns unto god have byn cov[er]yd to the world thowghe inwardly most wyked & detestable

Also he hathe geven me the good favo[u]r of my sov[er]eygne, of the nobylyty and of others of honor [followed by crossing out] & credyt to this p[rese]nt

Also in all tymes of necessytye of manye he gave me means howe to releve myself p[rese]ntlye w[i]thout anye dyshonest shyft or practyce.

Also he hathe geven me to beere offyce unto some in the common welthe above xl yeres in good place

[End of the third page]

[illegible as paper damaged]

¹¹ Sir Christopher More died in 1549, so when Sir William wrote this is in c.1587, he had indeed been in charge of his estates for nearly forty years.

corrupt or indyrect delyng in thexcutyng therof¹²

Also I nev[er] had anye houshold s[erva]unt accused for anye unlawfull huntynge fysshynge Ryote or freye makinge or for anye dysordered doynge[es] to anye p[er]son to my knowlege

Also god hathe geven me counte[na]unce & estimacion and credyt wythe anye equall w[i]t[h] the beste under the degree of hono[u]r w[i]t[h] in this County¹³

Also he moved my cosin Swerder so to affect me that I gayned by his gifte above 1000 li¹⁴

Also I had in lyke man[ner] of the goods of M[ist]ris Medleye aunt to my wyfe about 200 li¹⁵

Also god styrred me up one other frinde of whom borrowyng 200 li to dyscharge an oblygacon wherin I stande bound for an other beyng forfeyed, the same frend dyd not onely give me the sayd 200 li but also help me for a bargeyn wythe 200 li more than I paid So that by him and his means I gayned 300li

Also god delyv[er]ed myself my wyfe & chyltren w[i]th theyre matches and my famely verye myraculously from the plague, at what tyme one of my s[erva]unt[es] sycke thereof and llyng in bed swetyng w[i]th iij others in one bed thorow whose chamb[er] in his sycknes I and the rest made o[u]r contynuall passage, the p[ar]ty p[rese]ntly being removed dyed and none other of my famely was infected

God also afterwards vysytyng my howuse twyse w[i]t[h] the plague wherof iij of my famely died and dyv[er]s other by reason therof yet I, my wyf, and chyldern all escaped w[i]thout infecc[i]on.

¹² More was here using the language of the law: "Livings... may not by corrupt and indirect Dealings be transferred to other uses." This line is from *Act 13 Eliz.* (1571), as cited on www.oed.com. It fits in with the parliamentary texts which More kept in his library.

¹³ More's phrasing here is similar to that of Roger Ascham in *Panoplie Epist*, quoted on www.oed.com: "You are the one whome before all other this Universitie hath in more countenance and estimation."

¹⁴ This is probably William Swerder (d. 1575), for whom More was an executor. Swerder had been a servant of Cranmer's and master of Eastbridge Hospital in Canterbury. I have not been able to trace the exact relationship between them, but in his will Swerder referred to More as "my deare and welbeloved cosen", and his "dere frend." He made bequests not only to More, but also to his wife and all three of their children. The Will of William Swerder, 22nd June 1575, TNA PROB/11/57. There is also a copy of Swerder's will in the archive, SHC 6729/7/31, as well as many documents from the late fifteenth century concerning the affairs of John Swerder, a goldsmith and citizen of London.

¹⁵ More's eldest children were born at the Medleys' house in London, and Elizabeth Medley, probably the Mistress Medley referred to here, was Elizabeth More's godmother. She was also Anne More's godmother, while George Medley was George More's godfather. The Indentures of William More, SHC LM/1327/6.

[End of the fourth page]

[illegible as paper damaged] and overlye the hatred of the [damaged] be yll

Also there was never sute in Lawe betweene me and anye of this Countye where I dwell untyll this p[rese]nt.

Also god moved Rob[er]t Horne busshop of Wynchester to conferre offyc[es] upon me and my sonne of great pleysuor and of good valewe w[i]t[h] out sute or motyon made unto hym by me for the same¹⁶

Theyse and a nomb[er] more of Infynyte benefyt[es] I wretched creature have receyvyd at the hands of my god besyds my elecc[i]on, my creation, redemption and lustyfycac[i]on thorow Chryst.¹⁷ And have not shewed my self thankfull to hym for the same. And therefore do nowe humbly acknowlege my fault therin cryng unto god for mercye and forgivnes by the onely means and meryt[es] of my Savio[u]r Jesus Chryst, saynge

O mercyfull father that of thy great mercye and fatherlye goodnes dydst before the creatyon of the world chose me to be one of thye electe vessel[es] and afterwards created me to thy lykenes, who thorowghe the faule of o[u]r fyrst parent Adame had byn the bondman and bound slaveof Sathan yf thou of thy wonderfull mercyfull goodnes hadst not sent down thy onelye begotten sonne Jesus Chryst my Lord and Savyo[u]r to take this owr fleshe apon hym and by his moste p[re]cious blood shed apon the crosse and other his unspekable meryt[es] to redeme & begette agayn me amongst others unto the end so to delyv[er] me from the servytude of Sathan and to

[End of fifth page]

[paper damaged] enioye the hevenlye kyngdome. And hast also blessed me w[i]th manye blessing[es] aswell worldly as hevenelye. For all w[hi]ch I have shewed my self most unthankfull unto the [sic] and have spent my dayes lyke a most wretched & myserable synner, and have deserved nothyng but hell fyre and shold therfor utterlye despayre of my salvac[i]on, were yt not that I know that thou my Lord God wylt nev[er] reiect the contryte and humble but of the greatest synner apon the erthe that unfeynedlye crythe unto the for mercye and dothe constantlye beleve thye

¹⁶ Robert Horne was Bishop of Winchester from 1561 until his death in 1579.

¹⁷ More was certain that he would be one of the elect.

p[ro]messes made unto hym that ys penytent, neyther wylt thou ympute his synnes unto hym thowghe nev[er] so great¹⁸ I therefore Oh my Lord God do most humblye & penytentlye apon the knees of my hert acknowleg my unthankfulnes and grevyous offences comytted ageynst the and do crye unto the for mercye and forgyvenes of the same therowghe the onleye means and medyacyon of my Sav[i]o[u]r Jesus Chryst in whom and by whom I assuredly hope to obteyn yt at thye hands And that also yt wyll pleyse the to gyve me grace to p[er]ceyv[er] in a steyd faythe and penytent hart untill I shalbe dyssolved owt of thys wreched lyfe to sleepe in the bosome of my onelye Savyo[u]r [S, crossed out] Jesus Chryst to whom I yeld all hono[u]r and glorye for ev[er].

Wrytten in the lxvijth yer of my age

¹⁸ As discussed in the chapter on religion, not only is this like Luther's argument that all who hated sin must therefore be among the elect, but also Cranmer's view that God will forgive if there is repentance. See p. 115 above.

Bibliography

Manuscript Sources

Surrey History Centre (SHC):

6729/ 1-13: Correspondence from the Loseley manuscripts, arranged and bound by William Bray. they are described in the catalogue as follows, with the quotations being Bray's titles:

6729/1: 'Letters from eminent persons and many gentlemen of Surrey to Sir William More alphabetically arranged ... time of Queen Elizabeth', but in fact letters from 1544-1740.

6729/2: 'Autographs in the time of Henry VIII, of Privy Counsellors in the time of Queen Mary etc and of many eminent men', but again covering a longer period.

6729/3: this includes a letter issued by Jane Grey as Queen; otherwise there are letters from prominent courtiers such as Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, and family correspondence of the time of Sir William and Sir George More.

6729/4: documents dealing with musters and other military business under Elizabeth.

6729/5: this also covers musters and military matters.

6729/6: 'Letters from Archbishops, Bishops, and many noblemen to Sir William More'. This also includes letters to Sir George More.

6729/7: 'Papers of Sir Christopher and Sir William More', but including some seventeenth century documents.

6729/8: 'Letters from [Anthony Browne, first Lord Montague] Lord Viscount Montague to Sir William More'.

6729/9: 'Letters etc from Bishops and Statesmen'. This includes letters from the Bishops of Winchester, and members of the nobility such as the Earl and Countess of Lincoln.

6729/10: 'Orders in Council, etc 1548-1680'.

6729/11: the letters in this section mainly cover purveyance.

6729/12, 6729/13: these contain otherwise unconnected letters and papers, perhaps put together for an anticipated sale.

LM/: The Loseley Manuscripts, the largest section of the archive, divided as follows (only LM/ is included in the catalogue references, not the succeeding letter):

LM/A: papers covering the management and inheritance of estates, 1549-1885.

LM/B: records of public offices and commissions, to c.1815.

LM/C: records of parliamentary, national and international affairs from c.1536-1775.

LM/D: records of local affairs, including parliamentary elections, 1447-1848.

LM/E: records of trusteeships and executorships, and some papers of Sir Thomas Cawarden, 1377-1788.

LM/F: personal and family papers of the Mores, and later the More Molyneux, up to the nineteenth century.

LM/G: estate deeds, mainly for land in Surrey but some in other counties, c.1166-1857.

LM/COR/: loose letters, some private and some official, from c. 1450-1600(part I) and 1600-1689 (part II), including:

LM/COR/2: letters to Sir Thomas Cawarden.

5403/: documents perhaps borrowed from the archive at some point but now traced, and also an unpublished biography of Sir William More by Kathleen Hobbs, reference 5403/1/-.

Z/407: microfilm of the Loseley Manuscripts held at the Folger.

281/: estate deeds and records of the Carews of Beddington.

G173/: family records of the Onslows of Clandon Park.

Folger Shakespeare Library (Folger):

L.b.: the Loseley Manuscripts held at the Folger, including William More's Account Book, correspondence relating to the marriage of John Donne and Anne More, and many documents on recusancy.

X.d: correspondence of the Cavendish family

Isle of Wight Record Office:

OG/CC/: private correspondence and papers of the Oglander family.

The National Archives (TNA):

PROB/11: Prerogative Court of Canterbury wills, 1384-1858 (The wills of Lord Burghley and John Donne are in PROB/1, wills of famous people).

British Library:

Lansdowne MS 29; 34; 59: the wages lists for the Queen's ladies.

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