The Temples of Stowe (c. 1603 – 1642) and their Extended Family.

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Abstract

This thesis considers the interactions among members of the Temple family, examining the impact of status, family obligations and puritanism in the forty years preceding the opening of the Long Parliament. It defines the family as the children and grandchildren of John Temple (c. 1542 - 1603) together with their spouses. It draws on letters and family documents in a variety of archives in the UK and overseas, particularly from the Huntington Library in California.

There is a brief introduction to the history of the Temple family, which was initially from Burton Dassett in Warwickshire and then moved to Stowe in Buckinghamshire. The family was wealthy but only recently accepted as members of the gentry. By the 1640s the family had over one hundred members living in nine different counties and had many links to other gentry and aristocratic families. These marital links created expectations and obligations which the Temples broadly recognised. These expectations included financial support, help in obtaining offices and providing services to other family members. However, the family was remarkably litigious and family members initiated at least twelve court cases against other family members during forty years.

Some members of the family (eg Viscount Saye and Sele, the Earl of Lincoln and Henry Parker) were well-known and active puritans. Others were not puritan or were not prominent in the pursuit of a puritan agenda. Saye and Sele used his connections to other family members to promote his own support for a puritan agenda. The Temples were concerned about honour and status. Some actions by the family in pursuit of honour and status had the incidental effect of promoting a puritan agenda. The Temple can reasonably be described as puritan even though this description does not apply to all members. However, the Temples were not particularly active in promoting a puritan agenda except to the extent that Saye and Sele exploited family obligations and expectations in his own interest.

Acknowledgements

The research in this thesis builds on previous research in the general area. I would like to thank Professor Susan Oosthuizen (Emeritus Professor, University of Cambridge), Professor Karen Hearn (Honorary Professor, University College London) and Professor Rosemary O'Day (Emeritus Professor, Open University) for their assistance in earlier research which made this thesis possible.

Others have helped me over the years. I would like to express my thanks to Robert Whalley of New York for information about the connection between the Temples and the Whalleys; to John Brandon for information on Dame Margaret Temple and her connection to Izaac Walton; to Dr Andrew Thrush for providing me with a copy of the History of Parliament Trust's draft biography of Sir Alexander Temple (now published); to Mary Robertson of the Huntington Library for help with the Temple manuscripts held in California; to Rosemary Appleton for information from the Etchingham parish registers; to Jeanette Dawson of the Brixworth History Society for information about Edward Saunders; to Anna Schramm for pointing out the visits of Sir Alexander Temple to Lord Petre; and to Matthew Blake of the Staffordshire Record Office who provided me with a transcript of the indenture establishing the Margaret Temple charity. Some of this information has not been used in this thesis, but in all cases, it has informed my knowledge and opinion of the Temple family.

I have received help from many librarians and archivists for which I am most grateful. Some have been acknowledged in the text. I would particularly like to thank the staff at the Huntington Library for their efficient and speedy provision of images of documents in their collection. Consequently, new avenues that emerged could be pursued without the need to visit the library.

I have been guided throughout my research for this thesis by my supervisors, Professor Ken Fincham and Dr Suzanna Ivanic. They have improved this thesis by suggesting areas that could be explored or expanded and by pointing out and correcting errors. I am very grateful for their help and patience (particularly in matters of spelling).

Dedication

All these places had their moments

With lovers and friends, I still can recall

Some are dead and some are living

In my life, I've loved them all.[1]

Peter Guest (1943 - 2010)

Nick Chamberlain (1944 – 2001)

Sophie Poston (1947 – 2020)

Jane Blackie (1948 – 2022)

Sheila McKechnie (1949 - 2004)

Cathy Comins (1949 – 2012)

[1] Lennon et al, 1965, t. 11.

The Temples of Stowe (c. 1603 – 1642) and their Extended Family.

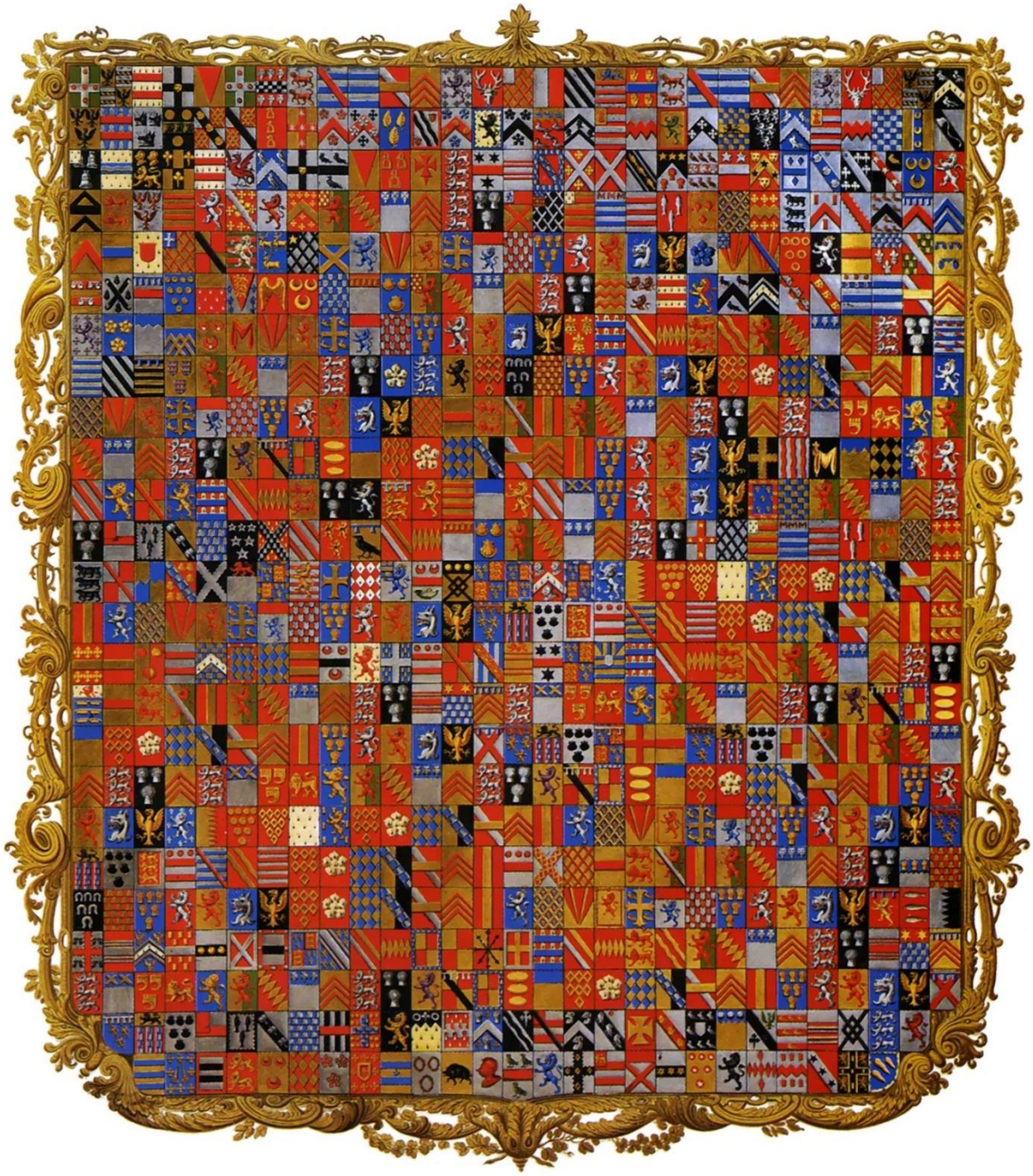

Figure 1: The Complex Coat of Arms of the 1st Marquess of Buckingham, c. 1800. One of the earliest versions of the Temple arms can be seen in the top right-hand corner.

Introduction

The actions and attitudes of the Temple family in the 16th and 17th centuries were driven by three motivating factors - a desire for honour and status; their need to observe the expectations and obligations towards other family members and their puritanism and support for the puritan agenda in the 40 years preceding the civil war. This thesis will explore the interactions of these factors and particularly the importance of their support for a puritan agenda in determining their actions. The term 'puritan' is much debated and will be discussed as part of this thesis. In contrast to studies of puritanism in a single county,[2] this thesis examines a single family in many counties in southern England and the Midlands. Anthony Fletcher, in his review of John Cliffe's Puritan Families, remarked that 'arguably the Temples surely demanded inclusion' as a puritan family. Fletcher is not the only author to have noted puritanism in the Temple family. Ann Hughes described Sir John Temple as 'a militant puritan' and John Temple called Dr Thomas Temple 'a rigid puritan'.[3] The choice of subject was helped by the wealth of untouched material in the archives - particularly in the Huntington Library, but also in some British archives. From a personal point of view, the choice of subject was also helped by the fact that I had been researching and writing about the Temple family for more than 20 years.

In this thesis, I have chosen the death of Elizabeth I and the opening of the Long Parliament as end points. This was when the Temple family was becoming firmly established as members of the gentry. They were increasingly linked to other gentry families by marriage with the consequent expectations and obligations these marriages involved. In terms of English history, it was the period during which the relative peace of the Elizabethan settlement broke down and the country moved towards civil war. However, these dates will simply provide a focus for the thesis and where appropriate I shall

[2] For example Hunt, W, 1985, *The Puritan Moment*, Harvard University Press. (Essex), Hughes, Ann, 1987, *Politics, Society and Civil War in Warwickshire 1620 – 1660*, Cambridge University Press, 1987 (Warwickshire), Fletcher, Anthony, 1975, *A County Community in Peace and War*, Longman (Sussex), among others.

[3] Hughes, 1987, p. 54, and Temple, John, 1925, *The Temple Memoirs*, Witherby, p. 50.

refer to events both before and after this period.

This thesis builds on the extensive coverage of the early history of the family, particularly by Gay and O'Day.[4] It extends this groundwork by including the actions and interactions of all the branches covered by the definition of family used here during the first half of the seventeenth century. Neither the family's puritanism nor the wider extent of the family was the focus of these two major studies of the Temple family. Similarly, although the family has been described as puritan there has been no study of the extent to which this description is accurate and the extent to which puritanism influenced their actions. This thesis will address this gap.

Three subsidiary topics will be addressed in separate chapters. Chapter 1 will give a brief account of the background of the Temple family, the people who are considered family members for this thesis and the consequent expectations and obligations towards each other. Chapter 2 will examine whether it is accurate to regard the Temples as a family that supported a puritan agenda and explore the activities of family members that demonstrated their opposition to Laud and the King in the 1620s and 1630s. Chapter 3 will demonstrate that the Temple family consistently strove for honour and status and that some of their actions which incidentally promoted a puritan agenda can primarily be explained by their pursuit of honour and status. In the concluding chapter I will argue that the Temple family had many members who were puritan or supported the puritan agenda and was connected to other families that did so. However, I will argue that they were not fundamentally part of a co-ordinated puritan movement, except to the extent that Viscount Saye and Sele used his

[4] O'Day, Rosemary, 2018, *An Elite Family in Early Modern England*, Boydell Press, Gay, EF, 1938, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, Volume 1, number 4, Gay, EF, 1939, 'The Temples of Stowe and their Debts', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, Volume 2, number 4 and Gay, EF, 1943, 'Sir Richard Temple: The Debt Settlement and Estate Litigation, 1653-1675', *Huntington Library*, Volume 6, number 3.

Temple family connections as part of his own agenda.

The most extensive collection of Temple documents (around twenty-three thousand) is in the Huntington Library, although many come from periods before or after this study. In addition to family letters, the contents include draft and final evidence in court cases, deeds and conveyances, marriage settlements, and bonds and other financial documents. Other Temple and related families' letters and papers are in the East Sussex Record Office, the British Library, the Folger Shakespeare Library, Yale University Manuscript Library and the University of Chicago Library. Wills, Chancery, and other records are at the National Archives. Church and estate records at held at the Buckinghamshire Record Office, the Canterbury Cathedral Archives, the Essex Record Office, the Leicestershire Record Office, the Northamptonshire Record Office, the Oxfordshire Record Office, the Suffolk Record Office, and the Sussex Record Office.

Only a selection of the records in the Huntington Library has been used in this thesis. The records used have been chosen by consulting the published guide and an extensive finding aid, taking account of sender, recipient, date, and the brief description in the finding aid.[5] In some cases, letters or documents have been quoted by other authors. Similarly, documents at other record offices have been viewed where they appear to be relevant from the description or from quotations by other authors. Dates are given old style as they appear in contemporary documents except that for dates between 1st January and 24th March when the year is dual dated.

Diversity of Uses of the Term Family

This thesis is about the Temple family, but who exactly belonged to a family? In 1977, Lawrence Stone published a ground-breaking study of families in England. He proposed distinguishing between

[5] Robertson, Mary et al, 1982, *Guide to the British Historical Manuscripts in the Huntington Library*, Henry E Huntington Library and Art Gallery, Anon, 2014, *REPORT ON THE FINDING AID FOR THE STOWE PAPERS*, https://oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/c8ht2qq9/entire_text/ .

family, kin, and lineage or house.[6] To some extent echoing these ideas, Jacqueline Eales introduced three descriptive labels to help understand the usage of the term family in the early modern period – the nuclear family, the historic family, and the extended family.[7] The nuclear family resembles the household, or family as used by Stone.

Eales's historic family extends forward and backward in time to include ancestors and descendants and resembles Stone's lineage or 'house;.[8] The term is a reminder of the importance to gentry families of inheritance and land ownership. However, the term is both too broad and too narrow to serve as a definition of a family for this thesis: too broad because it includes people outside the period under consideration and too narrow if restricted to the period 1603 – 1642. In three generations, the number of people owning the family property is a tiny proportion of the total number of children, grandchildren, and spouses.

Eales's extended family (like Stone's 'kin') includes relatives by marriage. Again, the idea is useful for analysis, but is also too broad – virtually every member of the gentry was related to every other if enough marriages are considered. Stone quotes an early seventeenth century letter by Thomas Wentworth to Sir Henry Slingsby mentioning their cousinhood. The connection had seven links, of which three were by marriage.[9]

Stone's lead was picked up in many general studies of the family (by Houlbrooke, Heal and Holmes, Wrightson, Cressy and O'Day among others).[10] These contained a variety of definitions of family (or

[6] Stone, Lawrence, 1977, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England*, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, pp.28 – 29.
[7] Eales, Jacqueline, 2002, *Puritans and Roundheads: The Harleys of Brampton Bryan and the Outbreak of the English Civil War*, Hardinge Simpole, pp.15 – 16.
[8] Stone, 1990, pp. 28 – 29.
[9] Stone, 1999, p. 94.
[10] Houlbrooke, Ralph, 1984, *The English Family 1450-1700*, Longman; Heal, Felicity and Holmes, Clive, 1994, *The Gentry in England and Wales 1500 – 1700*, Macmillan; Wrightson,

kinship) in addition to the three usages of family noted by Eales (and Stone). Houlbrooke drew attention to twelve varieties of kinship along with the nuclear family which was his focus.[11] He acknowledges that kinship distinctions are not defined by 'any clear set of rules'[12] and that the application of these terms fluctuated depending on personal circumstances. As Cressy put it, 'even latent kin could become effective and peripheral kin could come close'.[13] In the original study by Firth, participants were interviewed to obtain information about the nature of the relationship and how it varied over time. In considering a 17th century family only the documents that happen to survive are available from which to draw conclusions. This reliance on the survival of documents, the imprecision of the definitions and the fact that a relationship could alter over time make Houlbrooke's categories unsuitable for this thesis.[14] O'Day introduces eight terms[15] and notes the possible overlap between the terms household and family. She refers to Laslett including servants and apprentices (among others) as part of the householder's 'family'.[16] Heal and Holmes drew attention to the importance of lineage in gentry families.[17] Cliffe does not define family directly, but the definition can be inferred and is close to the nuclear family described by Eales.[18] He mentions, 'the new head of the family who had just come of age',[19] and identifies the family with the family name. Females joined their husband's family when they married. Two families may be connected by

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Keith, 2003, *English Society 1580-1680*, Routledge, Revised Edition; Cressy, David, 1986, Kinship and Kin Interaction in Early Modern England, in *Past & Present*, No. 113; O'Day, Rosemary, 1994, *The Family and Family Relationships 1500-1900*, Macmillan.

[11] Houlbrooke, 1984, pp. 39 – 40. He is following a categorisation described in the 1956 publication *Two Studies of Kinship in London* by Raymond Firth. The broadest categorisation is kinship with two subdivisions consanguineal and affinal. Within each of these three categories Firth designates four degrees of 'closeness' - recognised, nominated, effective and intimate. This gives the twelve forms of kinship mentioned above. However, Houlbrooke does not appear to make any use of these distinctions for analysis in his chapter on kinship.

[12] Houlbrooke, 1984, p. 40.

[13] Cressey, 1986, p. 68.

[14] Nonetheless, despite these limitations, an attempt will be made to apply these categories to the Temple family in section 1.3 (below pp. x – y.) and in Appendix 5 where connections between family members are explored in more detail.

[15] O'Day, 1994, pp. 3 - 7.

[16] O'Day, 1994, p. 6.

[17] Covered in more detail in Chapter 3, pp. 115 – 116.

[18] Cliffe. John Trevor, 1984, *The Puritan Gentry: The Great Puritan Families of Early Stuart England*, Routledge and Keegan Paul,

[19] Cliffe, 1984, p. 13.

marriage, but they are separate families for his purposes.[20] O'Day comments that in contemporary literature 'a child belonged to its parents' family until it became independent and set up in a "family" of its own'.[21]

Wrightson asserts that the predominate household form was the nuclear family,[22] and adds that networks of kinship were far from dense and that kinship ties beyond the nuclear family were of limited significance.[23] O'Day however asserts that 'kinship was the primary bond'.[24] Although Cressy focussed on kinship among classes below the gentry, he remarks that, 'the gentry, it is well known, took "a close interest in their personal ancestry and kinship", gaining social and political benefits through their relation'. [25]

These examples illustrate that the choice of the definition of family is dependent on the topic being considered. The works mentioned above cover a longer period than this thesis.[26] Houlbrooke, Wrightson and Cressy are concerned with the generality of families and noted that gentry families are often an exception to the general conclusions and form a small minority of families.[27] Cressy in particular sets out to redress misconceptions about the importance of kinship in families below the gentry. The wide range of definitions presents the need to guard against selection bias.

The definition of the Temple family in this thesis is John Temple (c. 1542 – 1603), his children and grandchildren and their spouses. This definition combines elements of the extended and historic family as described by Eales. The usage in this thesis is a short segment of both these examples of

[20] For example, Cliffe, 1984, p. 68.
[21] O'Day, 1994, p. 32.
[22] Wrightson, 2003, p, 52.
[23] Wrightson, 2003, pp. 52 - 53
[24] O'Day, 1994, p. 66. In this section she was referring to the aristocracy, peerage and the gentry.
[25] Cressy, 1986, p. 49 (quoting Cliffe, 1969, The Yorkshire Gentry from the Reformation to the Civil War).
[26] Except for Cliffe, 1984.
[27] Cliffe, 1984, Heal & Holmes, 1994 and O'Day, 1994 when she is using evidence from letters do focus on gentry families.

family. Although no other author has used this specific definition, it is consistent with the practice of choosing a definition that is appropriate for the focus of the research. However, my definition of the Temple family corresponds almost exactly to the list of relationships within which personal ties were usually concentrated given by Houlbrooke.[28] It has been suggested that this definition is arbitrary.[29] All definitions of family are to some extent arbitrary and different authors adopted different definitions depending on their primary topic. The definition I am using spans the study period very well. Everyone covered by it was an adult at some point in the period between 1603 and 1642 (except those who died in childhood). The definition also conforms with contemporary usage. Relatives by marriage were referred to and treated as family members. By considering all children and grandchildren of John Temple, along with their spouses, there is a reduced risk of selection bias. There are more than a hundred people covered by this definition during the period from the accession of James I to the opening of the Long Parliament.

Marriages and choice of partner

The Temple family's growing wealth and status from the middle of the sixteenth century gave them more marriage choices. They took advantage of this to increase the family's land holdings, wealth, and influence. The Temples were not unique in using marriages in this way. Among the early modern gentry, 'marriage was a matter of too great a significance both in the property transactions which it involved and in the system of familial alliances which it cemented, to be left to the discretion of the young people … the safeguarding of property, the assertion and advancement of status and the forging of alliances figured most prominently in the preferred matches of English landlords.'[30] Marriage and the formation of an alliance have been treated as synonymous. O'Day notes that 'a

[28] Houlbrooke, 1984, p. 19 itemizes this set of relationships.
[29] In a conversation with Emeritus Professor David Ormrod of the University of Kent.
[30] Wrightson, Keith, 2003, *English Society 1580-1680*, Routledge, p. 80.

marriage was an alliance; and it was for life'.[31] Similarly, 'a later stroke of fortune … was the marriage between Thomas Barrington and Winifred Hastings in 1594. By this alliance wealth and status were secured'.[32] Selection of a suitable marriage partner is therefore an aspect of this thesis, particularly the extent to which choice of marriage partner was influenced by religious beliefs or can be reasonably explained by considerations of status and wealth.

The Verney family were neighbours and relatives of the Temples in Buckinghamshire. Sir Edmund Verney (1585 - 1642) became a Temple family member following his marriage to Margaret Denton. The marriage practices of the Verneys were similar to the Temples. Miriam Slater has published an extensive account of their approach to finding a marriage partner for their children.[33] Following Stone, she argued that marriage was 'characterised by social and economic rather than romantic considerations'.[34] She provides a useful discussion of the process of agreeing on financial details and on the content of marriage settlements.[35]

Partner selection was also discussed by Eales and at length by O'Day.[36] O'Day notes that 'marriage played an important part in the transmission of property'.[37] She mentions that Stone had suggested that individual choice in marriage partner was regarded as unimportant. [38] However, Stone does emphasise the role of puritan preachers in treating marriage as a holy institution and opposing the treatment of marriage as a commercial transaction.[39] In addition, he referred to the tension between this religious view and the need for filial obedience.

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[31] O'Day, Rosemary, 2018, *An Elite Family in Early Modern England*, Boydell Press, p. 252.
[32]Searle, Arthur (ed), 1983, *Barrington Family Letters*, Camden, Fourth Series, Volume 28, Royal Historical Society, p.1.
[33] Slater, Miriam, 1976, 'The Weightiest Business: Marriage in an Upper-Gentry Family in Seventeenth-Century England', *Past & Present*, No. 72.
[34] Slater, 1976, p. 26.
[35] Slater, 1976, pp. 28 & 29.
[36] Eales, 2002, pp. 19 -24. O'Day, Rosemary, 2007, *Women's Agency*, Pearson Education, pp. 54 – 101.
[37] O'Day, , 2007, p. 62.
[38] Stone, 1977 (re-published in 1990).
[39] Stone, 1977, p. 101.

O'Day disagrees with Stone about the ability of early modern parents to dictate their children's marriage partners, asserting that 'elite youth … did exercise a real choice over their first marriage partner'.[40] However, she acknowledges that for a landed family, wise marriage choices were not only essential for the survival of the family but helped create a 'network of influence'.[41] Canon law proscribed that no one could be made to marry against their will.[42] However, it took a strong individual to hold out against the financial, moral, and sometimes physical pressure to acquiesce.

Stone's thesis of a low level of individual choice of marital partner accompanies the view that, unless initial impressions are negative, love forms and grows following the marriage. In a critical review, Alan McFarlane characterises Stone's view as a 'conjugal family, based on unloved children and unloving husband and wife'.[43] This outright contradiction of Stone's view of marriage and children has been followed by a growing interest in the emotional aspects of early modern marriage. Amongst others, Steven Ozment argues that love between husband and wife and for their children were well represented in early modern marriages.[44] However, there is evidence in the Temple family that love did not always follow marriage – for example both Martha and Anne Temple. These examples have been discussed in detail by O'Day.[45] This thesis focuses on actions following the establishment of a marital alliance. Marriage will appear as largely transactional. This is not to deny the importance of the emotional side of marriage or its value as an academic discipline, it merely reflects the focus of the study.

[40] O'Day, 2007, p. 69.
[41] O'Day, 2007, pp.73 – 74.
[42] Houlbrooke, 1984, pp. 68 – 69.
[43] MacFarlane, Alan, 1979, 'Review of The Family Sex and Marriage in England', in *History and Theory*, Volume 18, Number 1, p.107.
[44] Ozment, Steven, 2001, *The Loving Family in Old Europe*, Harvard University Press. I am grateful to Dr Suzanna Ivanic for drawing my attention to this aspect of the subject.
[45] For Anne Andrews see O'Day, 2018, pp. 329 – 346; for Martha Penistone see pp. 246 – 259.

Among the gentry, social endogamy was usual in the selection of a partner. O'Day notes that the social status of a marriage partner should not be too far below (or above) the other partner.[46] Religious compatibility was mentioned by Stone, who noted that 'fairly strict religious endogamy developed among Catholics and puritans'.[47] In a discussion of puritanism as a cultural phenomenon, David Como explicitly states '(puritans) married one another'.[48] O'Day notes that marriages could take place between protestants and Catholics but were more common between couples of the same religion.[49] The family's social circles made marriage to another puritan more likely. She makes the point that that, 'aspirations to social betterment and political involvement - characteristic of four generations of early Temples - perhaps led to tensions between religious and moral tenets and affiliations, and actual behaviour when, for instance, as Protestants contemplating marriage into Roman Catholic families with all their social and political implications'.[50] The Temple's aspirations to status, honour and influence will be examined in detail later.[51]

In the first half of the seventeenth century, marriage partners (potential or actual) were frequently discussed by letter. Sir Francis Harris, writing to his aunt, Lady Barrington, gives copious details of the financial position of a potential partner, writing '1,000^{li} a yeere in present posessione, and 20^{li} a yeere more within two or 3 yeeres and 1,000^{li} a yeere more after a grandmother (whoe is very aged) and his ladye mother's deathe'.[52] In 1629, there was extensive correspondence with Lady Barrington about a potential marriage between Joan Altham and the son of Sir Robert Bevell. It appeared that the points of disagreement concerned the size of the dowry and what support would be available if

[46] O'Day, 2007, p. 71.
[47] Stone, 1977, p. 96.
[48] Como, David R, 2004, *Blown by the Spirit: Puritanism and the Emergence of an Antinomian Underground*, Stanford University Press, p. 30, n. 36. He lists this as among the features that defined the puritan community and identified individuals as members of it.
[49] O'Day, 2007, p. 72.
[50] O'Day, 2018, p. 4.
[51] See Chapter 3.
[52] Searle, 1983, p. 84.

the son died without a male heir. However, it emerged that negotiations were also underway with another gentlewoman and that Sir Robert was concerned about the puritan lifestyle of the Barringtons - 'not approving of our way, which he may hold too strict'. Soon after, another possible match was found – Oliver St John – who was described as 'religious'.[53] Elizabeth Masham declared that she would prefer a suitor 'with the trew feare of God, ... before all the honer in the world'.[54] As will be demonstrated below, the Temple family also discussed the finances of a marriage settlement but did not commonly discuss religion.[55]

Puritans, Supporters, and the Puritan political and religious agenda

The role of puritanism (or the pursuit of puritan ideals) as a religious, social, and political force is one of the themes in early modern English history. Religion and religious conflict were part of the political history of the period in England and most of Europe. Consequently, religious opinions were important in many aspects of social and political life. The conflict between puritans and the court during the period from the accession of James I to the outbreak of the Civil Wars has been studied extensively – for example, by Isobel Calder, Christopher Hill, Lawrence Stone, Conrad Russell, and many others.[56] Doctrinal differences between Calvinists and Arminians became political issues. Puritan ideals influenced the shape of politics, economics, and political geography. Although there were other issues between the King and

[53] Searle, 1983, p. 116.
[54] Searle, 1983, p. 123.
[55] See below p. 44 for an example of discussion of finances.
[56] eg Calder, Isobel M, 1948, 'A Seventeenth Century Attempt to Purify the Anglican Church', *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 53, No. 4 (July 1948), Hill, Christopher, 1958, *Puritanism & Revolution*, St Martin's Press (New York), Stone, Lawrence, 1972, *The Causes of the English Revolution*, Routledge, and Russell, Conrad, 1990, *The Causes of the English Civil War*, Oxford University Press.

parliament, religion is often seen as the defining difference – the term puritan revolution is inextricably linked with the English Civil Wars.[57]

This section therefore discusses the definition of puritanism and how it relates to my thesis. The initial points will be largely based on a synthesis of the introductions to works by Durston and Eales and by Spurr, with supporting references by other authors.[58] 'The first problem is to define puritans'.[59] The term is both controversial and ill-defined.[60] From the earliest usage, there have been 'bitter and unresolved disputes about who or what should be labelled Puritan' and it has been 'exceptionally difficult to reach any common ground' on the definition.[61] Nicholas Tyacke notes that 'the whole topic of Calvinism and Arminianism has in recent years become bedevilled by disagreement over terminology'.[62] Tyacke also points out that Calvinism and puritanism are sometimes regarded as synonymous.[63] Collinson makes the point that 'what is called Puritanism in many of the sources cannot be readily distinguished in the field from mere Protestantism'.[64] Como talks of the 'boundless malleability' of characterisation of puritans as a result of which, some 'modern commentators have come to regard the admittedly amorphous categories of puritan and puritanism with a certain suspicion, some even going so far as to reject them as vague and

[57] For example, Gardiner, Samuel Rawson, *The Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution*, Oxford University Press.

[58] Durston & Eales, 1996 and Spurr, 1998.

[59] Spurr, 1998, p. 3.

[60] Lake, Peter, 1993, 'Defining Puritanism – Again?', *Puritanism: Transatlantic Perspectives on a Seventeenth Century Anglo-American Faith*, ed Francis J Bremmer, Northeastern University Press provides a useful historiography of the definition of puritanism focussing on the period prior to publication in 1993.

[61] Durston, Christopher & Eales, Jacqueline, 1996, *The Culture of English Puritanism 1560 -1700*, Macmillan Education, p. 1.

[62] Tyacke, 2001, *Aspects of English Protestantism*, Manchester University Press, p. 3.

[63] Tyacke, 2001, op cit.

[64] Collinson, 1983 (2), p. 1. He may have intended this as a criticism of what is called puritanism in some sources, but it serves to illustrate there are practical difficulties with identification of puritans.

misleading'.[65] Collinson asserts that 'puritanism was not a distinct and coherent philosophy but a tendency'.[66]

Despite the problems with definition, the term continues to be used, but often as a general categorisation rather than with a strict and specific definition. The issues with defining and identifying puritans are well-known. The two most important issues as far as this thesis is concerned are the lack of agreement on a definition and the difficulty in applying any definition to categorise an individual - what Collinson referred to as the inability to distinguish between puritans and mere protestants. In chapter 2, I quote Sir Alexander Temple describing Arminianism as ‘a business of the greatest evil consequence against religion and the whole kingdom'. Does this mean he was a puritan or merely a Calvinist protestant? For this thesis, the important fact is that a group of people, labelled puritan by their opponents, were in conflict with Laud and, Charles I who were sometimes labelled Arminians by their opponents. One strand of this thesis will examine the extent to which the Temple family were active and committed members of the former group.

Spurr examines various definitions of puritanism that have been offered or adopted.[67] The word puritan was apparently first used in 1565 as a Catholic attack on English protestants.[68] It became a description of a group of protestants who felt that the Elizabethan settlement did not go far enough in ridding the Church of England of Catholic practices. The term puritan was a derogatory nickname applied to puritans by their opponents to ridicule their desire for a pure church. ‘Only a few publicly and a few more privately applied the term to themselves’ -

[65] Como, 2004, Chapter 1, Introduction.
[66] Collinson, Patrick, 1967, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement*, Methuen, p. 29.
[67] Spurr, John, 1998, English Puritanism 1603-1689, Macmillan Press, pp. 3 - 8. Lake, 1993, pp 3 – 9, also provides a useful historiography of the definition of puritanism focussing on the period prior to publication in 1993.
[68] Durston and Eales, 1996, p. 2.

they thought of themselves as godly.[69] Writing in 1983, Hunt felt that the word had fallen out of favour in academic circles and attempted to rehabilitate it.[70] Barbara Donagan described the word as 'tendentious' and used Calvinist instead.[71] This approach works for the York House conference which she was discussing, but modification of beliefs over the period from 1603 to 1642 makes it unsuitable for this thesis. Como, whilst firmly acknowledging differences in theology and religious practice, chose to study 'puritanism as a cultural, rather than political, doctrinal or ecclesiological, phenomenon'.[72] John Morgan attempts to finesse the problem by advocating that puritanism as a general term should be abandoned and instead, the emphasis should be on individual puritans.[73] This is criticised by C.H. George who argues that 'this exposes his naivety'.[74]

In addition to its origin as a term of abuse, another problem with defining who was and who was not a puritan is that the behaviour that characterised puritans differed over time and in different locations. A puritan in the Massachusetts Bay colony in the 1640s was rather different from a puritan in England in the 1620s.[75] Even over a few decades, the behaviour and attitudes that characterised puritanism in England evolved. This is illustrated by the consequences of the Laudian changes in worship, furnishings and clerical practices. Many lay people believed they were resisting a move towards Catholicism and were difficult to

[69] Durston & Eales, 1996, p. 2-3.
[70] Hunt, 1983, Preface, p. *x.*
[71] Donagan, Barbara, 1991, 'The York House Conference Revisited: Laymen, Calvinism and Arminianism', *Historical Research*, Volume 64, Issue 155, p. 312.
[72] Como, 2004, p. 29, n. 36.
[73] Morgan, John, 1988, Godly Learning, Cambridge University Press, paperback edition, p. 16.
[74] George, C H, 1988, 'Review of Godly Learning by John Morgan', *Language in Society*, Volume 17, Issue 1, p. 136. George was critical of many aspects of Morgan's book, but he (George) was an avowed Marxist and was particularly arguing against Morgan's dismissal of Marxism and his failure to employ the concept of class in his analysis. I have given the date and page number for the paperback edition of Morgan's *Godly Learning*. The hardback edition (to which George was responding) was published in 1986.
[75] For a detailed history of puritanism in England and America, see Winship, 2019.

distinguish from moderate puritans.[76] Lake notes that some non-puritans agreed with puritan ideas, but puritans typically pursued these ideas with greater enthusiasm and zeal.[77] However, widespread acceptance of many ideals pursued more intensively by puritans 'prevents (these ideals) being a defining characteristic of puritanism'.[78] Nonetheless, Spurr considers that 'in 1689, a Puritan was still recognizably what he or she had been in 1603'.[79]

Although the definitions of a puritan and puritanism are controversial, there was a set of ideas supported both by many puritans and by some who were not puritans. This can reasonably be called a puritan religious and political agenda. For example, Stone argues that 'the assumption by Laud and his allies that whoever was anti-Arminian was, therefore, Puritan became a self-fulfilling prophecy: within ten years they succeeded in creating a new, large and radical Puritan party'.[80] A similar point (or perhaps the same point expressed-differently) was made by Spurr. 'The Laudian church promoted a style of piety which was offensive to the mainstream of English Protestantism, never mind Puritans'.[81] Stone's words appear to suggest that a substantial number of people became puritans (or at least were within a puritan party) whereas Spurr's words imply that although they supported some puritan ideals, many of those for whom the Laudian style of piety was offensive were not themselves puritan and did not become so. Whether puritans or supporters, 'by 1640 a united front had formed against Charles I'.[82]

[76] Spurr, 1998, pp. 68 and 79.
[77] Lake, 1993, pp. 10 – 11, although at this point he is focussing on the puritan wish for a reformation of manners.
[78] Durston and Eales, 1996, p. 6.
[79] Spurr, 1998, p. 202.
[80] Stone, 2017, p. 145. I am quoting from the 2017 edition of *The Causes of the English Revolution*. Pagination may vary in previous editions.
[81] Spurr, 1998, p. 90.
[82] Spurr, 1998, p. 11.

There is a further illustration of this distinction in the early part of the Long Parliament. By 1641 most MPs agreed to the impeachment and subsequent attainder of the Earl of Strafford. Not every MP who voted against Strafford was a puritan.[83] I do not wish to identify which among them were puritans using any specific definition. However, whatever their reasons, their votes served to advance a puritan political and religious agenda.[84]

The puritan agenda was multifaceted. The agenda varied over time, at least in emphasis and importance. It stressed the value of a learned, preaching ministry. Part of the agenda regarded religious art in churches as idolatry. In theological terms, it promoted Calvinism and predestination and opposed what it regarded as popish ideas such as Arminianism. It also strongly supported Sabbatarianism. In church governance, it was suspicious of the role of bishops, eventually to the point of abolishing them. In foreign policy, it supported protestant states and opposed alliances with Catholic monarchies.[85] In domestic policy, the agenda supported parliament as a means to achieve puritan ideals and opposed measures that would allow the King to rule without calling a parliament. Part of the agenda focussed on ceremonial practice. In the 1630s, Laud began to enforce ceremonial practices including bowing at the name of Jesus, wearing surplices and using the sign of the cross at baptism as well as requiring an east-end railed altar (which puritans preferred to call the communion table). He also enforced the direction by Charles I that the Book of Sports should be read from the pulpit. This

[83] There is no voting list for the Bill of Attainder in the published Journals of the House of Commons. However, in the view of Conrad Russell, Sir John Colepeper (or Culpepper) who subsequently fought for King Charles, was a likely supporter of the bill. (Russell, 1996, pp. 290-1). Colepeper was appointed to the Commons committees preparing for a conference with the Lords on Strafford's trial (HoC Journal 15th, 16th, and 22nd April 1641). He is not among those who voted against the attainder in a list taken down by John More. I am grateful to Professor Emeritus Keneth Fincham for providing the reference to Russell.

[84] The term agenda is intended to convey the idea that there were many issues that puritans believed should be addressed even though the priority might vary according to circumstances. The term appears to have been used in this sense by Tyacke, 2010, pp. 532 - 533, who notes that the succession to the crown was of concern to puritans, although this diminished in importance in 1603.

[85] Tyacke, Nicholas, 2010, 'The Puritan Paradigm of English Politics', The Historical Journal, Vol. 53, No. 3, p. 541, notes that 'those most vehemently opposed to Charles marrying a Catholic princess were the "godly party"'.

increased the importance of Sabbatarianism to puritans and turned many 'in the mainstream of English Protestantism' to support opposition to Laud and the King.[86] They may not have considered themselves to be puritans, but they were prepared to support the puritan opposition to Laudian changes and its opposition to royal and Church authority.

This is a broad-brush description and not every puritan would have agreed with every item in it or with the relative importance of different components. Puritans came from all economic and social groups and puritanism was not associated with any status or lifestyle.[87] There was no specific or single theological position that all those included in my definition would have agreed on. As Como puts it, 'the ambiguities and multivocality of the bible naturally and inexorably confounded their efforts' to 'discern a pure, unadulterated pattern (of puritanism)'.[88] There was a range of beliefs that fell within the umbrella of puritan aims and ideals. Puritans disagreed among themselves, for example as to the role of outward behaviour as a sign of being chosen for salvation. During the 1640s, particularly after censorship was lifted and the King had been defeated, the extent to which the puritans disagreed with each other became very clear – particularly the disagreements between the Independents and the Presbyterians.[89] The exclusion of nearly half the members of the Long Parliament by Pride's Purge in 1648 and the voluntary absence of many others indicates the extent of the split.

The above description of the agenda does not mention separatism. This was an issue for some puritans, but it has not come up as an issue in the Temple family. The agenda includes aspects that some puritans regarded as inconsequential (or at least not central to faith). The emphasis changed

[86] Spurr, 1998, p. 90.
[87] Spurr, 1998, p. 188.
[88] Como, 2004, p. 440.
[89] Kaplan, Lawrence, 1969, 'Presbyterians and Independents in 1643', *The English Historical Review,* Vol. 84, No. 331, pp.244-256.

over time and because of contemporary events. Objections to Arminianism increased with the publication of Richard Montagu's *New Gagg* and the implied support of the Crown. Similarly, the issues with ceremonial practice became more important when Laud began to enforce them. Resistance to non-Parliamentary taxes increased with the forced loan in 1626 and the extension of Ship money in the 1630s.

There was significant opposition to the constitutional and foreign policies of Charles I and the Duke of Buckingham in each of the early Caroline Parliaments. The phrase "political puritanism" has been used by some authors to describe the result of puritanism becoming increasingly represented in the House of Commons and associated with a variety of issues of public policy, especially England's relations with Catholic monarchies.[90] Puritans often led the opposition to Charles I on constitutional grounds even when the issue was not directly theological. The forced loan and the extension of ship money resulted in constitutional opposition, as did the period of personal rule. Bulstrode Whitlock asserted that 'the papists were forward in the loane and the puritans were recusants in it'.[91] However, a considerable amount of co-ordination took place away from the House of Commons. This was necessarily so during the period of personal rule when Say and Sele's residence 'Broughton Castle ... was the rendezvous of all the chief malcontents'.[92]

I shall describe those who supported a puritan political agenda and opposed many royal policies using the phrase "puritans and supporters"', although I will frequently shorten this to "puritans" and leave the additional "and supporters" as understood.[93] However, there will be occasions, particularly in this section, where I will use the term puritan without wishing the phrase 'and supporters' to be understood. I believe these occasions will be clear from the

[90] Pearson, Andrew Forret Scott, 1952, *Church & State*, Cambridge University Press, p. 131 is the earliest usage of the phrase of which I am aware. It was popularised by Simon Adams.
[91] Quoted by Cliffe, 1984, p. 157.
[92] Smith, Ridsdill et al, 1977, *Leaders of the Civil War*, Roundwood Press, p. 189.
[93] The extent to which members of the Temple exhibited the types of behaviour covered in this section will be used in Appendix 4 to identify individual family members as puritan or supporting a puritan agenda.

context.

I will use the phrase to describe those who opposed what they saw as the retention of Catholic practices by the Church of England and those who opposed the Laudian reformations. I shall include those who opposed the King's foreign policy on religious grounds – particularly about the military conflict between protestant states and Catholic monarchies. As Adams puts it 'while it was not necessary to be a Catholic to support an alliance with Spain, it was impossible to be a Puritan'.[94] Puritans often associated arbitrary and tyrannical government actions such as the forced loan or the extension of Ship Money as being associated with popery or at least being implemented to enable the King to avoid calling a parliament and thus prevent puritan access to parliament as a platform for criticism. There was 'a mindset… in which popery and absolutism went hand in hand',[74] and I shall use this constitutional opposition to the King's actions as suggestive evidence of puritanism of a particular person (in the sense that those who opposed them were more likely to be puritans or supporting their agenda than the general gentry population). Similarly, I shall use supporting Parliament in the Civil War as suggestive evidence of puritanism or support for it. This is only suggestive evidence since there were people who supported Parliament for political not religious reasons. Inevitably, I shall be including within my definition as puritans (or supporters), some people who others would regard as 'merely Protestants'. An example is John Selden who was not a puritan, not least because of his views on predestination. Indeed, he opposed some aspects of puritanism. Nonetheless, he actively supported some of the political positions adopted by puritans in Parliament before the Civil War and sided with Parliament in that war.[95] Selden is perhaps an example in the increasingly polarised pre-Civil War world, of someone

[94] Adams, Simon, 1978, 'Foreign Policy and the Parliaments of 1621 and 1624', in *Faction and Parliament: Essays on Early Stuart History*, ed K Sharp, Oxford University Press, p.141. [74] Tyacke, 2015, p. 752.

[95] Fisk, William L, 1967, 'John Selden: Erastian Critic of the English Church', *Journal of Church and State*, Vol. 9, No. 3, pp.349 – 363,

whose views are difficult to categorise in simplistic terms.

Adopting this phrase is not intended as a criticism of those who argue strongly and passionately about the exact definition of puritanism and whether a particular person was or was not one. Nor is it meant to diminish the importance of understanding the nature and impact of puritanism or puritan ideals as a field of academic endeavour. It is simply that considering the actions of the Temple family in this thesis, it is not necessary to distinguish between whether they were acting as puritans or as supporters.

The actions that supported this agenda were one of the causes of the civil wars and led eventually to the puritan revolution in the 1640s and 1650s, whether those actions were undertaken by people who can clearly be described as puritans or by people who would be better described as supporters. Since I do not wish to adopt (and defend) any specific definition, I will not attempt to distinguish between puritans and non-puritan supporters. As Collinson points out, determining whether a person is a puritan is difficult and even more so when attempting to characterise a whole family. Some Temple family members were puritans by almost any definition. For others, the evidence is less clear-cut and subject to individual interpretation. The key questions for this thesis are whether their actions serve to advance this puritan agenda, was their support for the puritan agenda more pronounced than other gentry families and can their actions be explained by considerations other than support for a puritan agenda when they did so? This thesis examines the actions of members of the Temple family to understand how they supported a puritan agenda. Their letters and speeches can be read for expressions of their beliefs and emotions, though we still cannot speculate about their motivations. I will draw attention to those actions that can be adequately explained by considerations of family obligations and expectations or by the pursuit of honour and status. I will not attempt to distinguish between a notional sense of 'committed' puritans and those

who 'simply supported' the puritan agenda. What they did and said is important and easier to determine.

Network of Families supporting a Puritan agenda

A major question in the background of any study of the prelude to the Civil War, is what happened in the roughly 40 years following the accession of James I that resulted in a war that had a greater death toll per capita than any other conflict in British history? This is an enormous and controversial subject – 'the traditional blood-sport of English historians'[96] - which is beyond the scope of this thesis. I shall concentrate on the Temples and the extent to which their actions promoted a puritan political and religious viewpoint that was a major cause of the Civil War.

Many studies of puritans or puritanism make some form of reference to a network of puritan families. In secondary works, the incidental comment that a person or family is connected to a puritan family network is common.[97] These marital alliances between puritan families have been cited as an important factor in supporting puritanism and an accompanying political programme in the first half of the seventeenth century. Eales has studied the Harley family, who were part of 'a network of like-minded laity and ministers'.[98] Cliffe has published extensively on puritan families, and remarks that, 'in the early seventeenth century there was an extensive network of puritan marriage alliances which transcended county boundaries'.[99] However, he did not specifically include the Temples. His 1988 and 1994 works cover the period after the start of the Civil War and are

[96] Russell, 1979, p. 4.
[97] For example, O'Dowd, Mary, 2016, *A History of Women in Ireland, 1500-1800*, Routledge, p. 170 and Laslett, Peter (Ed), 1960, *Locke, Two Treatises of Government*, Cambridge University Press, p. 17.
[98] Eales, 2002, p. 10.
[99] Cliffe. 1984, p. 68.

therefore outside the period of this thesis, although they do demonstrate the accepted notion of a puritan network in the literature.

A particular example of a network of connections between puritans from Warwickshire has been documented by Hughes. She uses the diary of Thomas Dugard to discuss a 'broad circle of the Godly', containing both lay and clerical members that was linked to nationally prominent politicians – lords Brooke and Saye and Sele.[100] She presents a substantial body of indirect evidence from the 1630s that the group were 'moderate Puritans'.[101] Hughes acknowledged that 'without his diary, Dugard's illegal preaching in the 1630s would not be credible because his publications and later activities tend to support conformity'.[102] She notes that the period of personal rule resulted in groups such as that around Dugard facing increased risk when discussing topics at odds with the views of Laud and the King, but that they helped create the challenge to Charles I's personal rule.

One of Mark Kishlansky's criticisms of John Adamson, [103] has an important lesson for this thesis. He pointed out that Adamson had cited connections between players as evidence of influence. Kishlansky notes that without further information, an assertion that a connection resulted in influence is merely speculation rather than evidence. The connections used by Adamson go beyond marriages and include shared education and shared membership of committees or organisations. This thesis will focus on links created by marriage and will demonstrate that these links often resulted in many other connections between the families involved. However, without further evidence, the network remains simply a series of families connected by marriage. A marriage did create expectations, but whether a network of marriages among puritan families implies more than

[100] Hughes, 1986, p. 793.
[101] The phrase is used, but not defined in Hughes, 1986, p. 785.
[102] Hughes, 1986, p. 791.
[103] Kishlansky, 1990, p. 921.

the expectations and obligations created by the marriages will be important for this thesis.[104] That there were networks of puritan families linked by marriage is irrefutable. The extent to which these networks facilitated or co-ordinated activities beneficial to the puritan aims will be investigated.

[104] Specific example of actions illustrating the system of obligations and expectations among family members will be given in Chapter 1, pp. 39 - 49.

Chapter 1: The Temple family in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries

This chapter introduces the Temple family, looking at its origins, its extent during the period 1603 – 1642, and the shared ambitions and actions of its members. There are four sections (some of which are divided into subsections), covering firstly the historiography of the family, secondly giving an account of the emergence of the family from relative obscurity, thirdly looking at the marriages of the family and finally drawing conclusions drawn from the preceding sections. Many of the sources have been used by other historians of the Temple family. However, the sources will be used here to throw some light on aspects of the family not covered elsewhere. Some sources have not (to my knowledge) been used by others.[105]

Despite occasional disputes that resulted in litigation, the family letters, wills and records of land transactions demonstrate that the people covered by the definition considered themselves to be members of the same family and broadly acted in accordance with the expectations and obligations involved. The actions of family members towards each other can often be explained by these shared expectations and obligations, irrespective of any shared religious or political beliefs. In most respects, the family acted in ways that were similar to other families of its class.[106]

To understand the actions, attitudes, and aspirations of the Temple family in the first half of the seventeenth century, it is helpful to examine how they had arrived at their position during the previous 100 years and how they began to accrue the wealth that enabled them to join the ranks of the gentry. This chapter will describe the origin of the Temple family, laying the foundation for

[105] For example, the Chadwell parish registers, some of the documents at the Essex Record office concerning Sir Alexander Temple and some of the evidence in the intra-family legal cases.
[106] The extent to which the family was typical will be investigated in more detail in the concluding chapter. See below from p. 147.

subsequent discussion of the extent to which their recent acquisition of gentry status influenced their actions and attitudes. This will begin with Peter Temple (c. 1517 - 1578) and then follow the main line through John Temple (c. 1542 – 1603), Sir Thomas Temple (first baronet, c. 1567 – 1636/7) and Sir Peter Temple (second baronet, 1592 - 1653). The chapter will then turn to the daughters and younger sons of John Temple and Sir Thomas Temple.

Having introduced the family members, the chapter will look at the interactions among them that united (and sometimes divided) the family. It will discuss the complex set of expectations arising from marriage alliances and how these are illustrated by the surviving documents. The chapter will discuss whether it is appropriate to treat the children and grandchildren of John Temple as a single unit, drawing attention to actions by members of the family to support each other and identify some specific actions and occasions when there were divergences within the family. The definition of family in this thesis excludes children from a previous marriage who were not grandchildren of John Temple, although in practice they were often treated as family members. However, three of them – Sir Thomas Penyston, John Busbridge and Mary Busbridge – are included by virtue of their marriages to Martha, Ann and James Temple respectively.[107]

Whether it is appropriate to describe the Temples as a puritan family will be discussed in detail in a subsequent chapter.[108] It is sufficient to note here that the descendants of John Temple were not consistently among the puritans and their supporters. One of Temple's children married a Catholic, another contemplated a marriage between his daughter and a Catholic family and there was a long-standing friendship between the Temples and another Catholic

[107] See family trees in Appendix 1 for details of the relationships.
[108] See below pp. 101 - 108.

family. In addition, although most of John Temple's male grandchildren supported Parliament, two fought for the King in the Civil War.

1.1: The Historiography of the Temple Family

The literature about the Temple family provides the bare bones of the family's history (although some of the early published literature accepts an Elizabethan heraldic fantasy).[109] A nineteenth-century account of the family was a genealogical work by Temple Prime.[110] This was published in at least four of editions between 1887 and 1900. It is a typical late nineteenth-century family history in a style that was popular in the US. It focuses on English records and was intended to assist American researchers wishing to connect their family to an English ancestor. For Prime, the usage of the term family does not correspond to any of the examples set out by Eales.[111] Instead, he concentrated on related people born with the Temple surname. Consequently, although he includes the family at Stowe, he also follows other lines in greater or lesser detail. However, his concentration on the surname means that when a woman born with the name Temple married outside the family, he ceases to follow that line.

In 1925, John Temple drew upon Prime's research as one of the sources for his biographical and narrative style family history of the Temples.[112] It recorded the illustrious members of the family and their connection to great events. In addition to Prime, Temple drew on documents held by the family and additional research by others. This book is written in an anecdotal style, contrasting with Prime's largely tabular approach. It is much closer than Prime to covering the historic family as defined by Eales, with the emphasis on the family at Stowe and the descent of

[109] For example, Prime, 1896 p. 3, and Anon, 1866, p. 385.
[110] Prime, 1896, the third edition is in some respects more useful for this thesis than the previous or subsequent editions.
[111] See above, pp. 5 - 6.
[112] Temple, 1925.

the estate and it does not attempt to include all descendants. However, it does take a side track to cover the 'prominent … notable and most distinguished members' of the family.[113]

In the 1930s and early 1940s, Edwin Gay published three articles about the Temple family in the *Huntington Library Quarterly*.[114] The first two articles concentrated on the people and events in the period covered by this thesis. The third focussed on the period after the Civil War (1653-1675), but occasionally mentioned earlier events. Gay covered a period of a little over 100 years and followed the descent through eldest sons. The narrative concentrates on the line from Peter Temple through his son, John, his grandson, Sir Thomas and his great-grandson, Sir Peter. He examines the family's finances and land holdings. Younger sons and female family members receive little attention and puritanism is rarely mentioned.

In 1967, George Clarke published a series of articles on the Temple's family home at Stowe in Buckinghamshire. [115] Although these constituted a history of the house, they inevitably included accounts of the Temple family members directly concerned with the acquisition of the estate at Stowe and its subsequent development and is thus broadly structured around the historic family.

The most detailed, thematic study of the Temples is by Rosemary O'Day - *An Elite Family in Early Modern England*.[116] The family of her title is Dame Hester Temple and Dame Hester's husband, Sir Thomas, together with their children. She does not cover the extended family to any significant extent. Siblings of Sir Thomas enter the narrative when they interact with the main

[113] Temple, 1925, p. 6.
[114] Gay, 1938, 1939 and 1943.
[115] Clarke, 1967.
[116] O'Day, 2018.

subjects of the book. O'Day focuses on the role of Dame Hester, both in her own right and as an intermediary to Sir Thomas. An indication of the theme of the book is that in contrast to its published title, *An Elite Family*, its provisional title was *Dame Hester Temple and her Dysfunctional Family.*[117]

Family trees showing the names and relationships of more than 100 people that belonged to the family can be found in Appendix 1. These cover the children and grandchildren of John Temple, although there may be some omissions where information has not been found – in particular, the children of John and Mary (Temple) Farmer. The dates used in these family trees are largely taken from family documents listing baptisms, marriages, and burials.[118] The first of these was begun around 1640 with later additions (particularly extracts from the Burton Dassett registers in 1641) and marginalia giving information about the lives of family members whose baptism is recorded. Although this is not a primary source for the specifics of the births, deaths, and marriages, it appears to be based on an inspection of parish records in addition to the personal knowledge of family members. The document notes that some of the names and dates were extracted from the register of Burton Dassett (Warwickshire) in 1641 by William Harte, an agent of the Temple family.[119] The document illustrates the extent to which the Temples were interested in their own family history and obscuring those aspects of it that did not meet their aspirations in the middle of the seventeenth century such as Peter Temple's lack of gentility. In the case of Sir Thomas and Dame Hester, this document is supplemented by Hester's own account of her children's births and baptisms.[120] This was apparently written around 1621, although her four children born after 1602 are not included.[121] The explanation for this may be that it is a fair copy of an earlier document or

[117] Open University people profiles – https://www.open.ac.uk/people/mre2.
[118] Huntington Library, MSS STTM Box 9 f. 21, Parish register extracts with subsequent marginalia (from Stowe and other parishes).
[119] Robertson, 1982, p. 401.
[120] Huntington Library, MSS STT Personal box 5 folder 7, Dates of birth of Dame Hester Temple's children.
[121] The ink and handwriting are uniform and on one page there is a calculation which appears to be the subtraction of John Temple's age from the current year to arrive at his birth year.

documents. Unlike the 1640 document it records the births (including times, which were used for computing horoscopes) rather than baptism and it gives the names of the three godparents of each child.[122]

Between the accession of James I and the opening of the Long Parliament, Temple family members lived in nine different counties, stretching from Lincolnshire to Kent, although there was a large cluster who lived in Buckinghamshire, close to Stowe. Maps showing the various locations in which they lived can be found in Appendix 2. It was not unusual for members of early modern gentry families to live in multiple counties. Cliffe notes that 'in the early seventeenth century there was an extensive network of Puritan marriage alliances which transcended county boundaries'.[123] He lists many examples, including the Barringtons. Another example is the marriage of Brilliana Conway to Sir Robert Harley which linked families in Herefordshire and Warwickshire.[124] The Temples had a large number of surviving children. John Temple had eleven and Sir Thomas Temple had thirteen. As a result, there was greater scope for the family to spread to different counties.

1.2: The Origins and Background of the Family

In the absence of an existing authoritative account of this extended family, it is useful to begin by considering the origins of the family and its expansion up to 1642.

1.2.1 Peter Temple (c. 1515-1577)

Peter Temple was the founder of the Temple family. It was with him that their rise to fame and fortune began - 'his metamorphosis from insignificance to wealth'.[125] As Alcock rightly says, it was Peter who 'established one of the great families of English landed gentry'.[126] The antecedents of the

[122] These two sources provide information about multiple people. Other sources that provide a single item of information about a single individual are noted in the bibliography and are listed in the text in appendix 2.
[123] Cliffe, 1984, p. 68.
[124] Lewis, 1854, p. xii.
[125] Alcock, 1981, p. ix.
[126] Alcock, 1981, p. 1.

Temple family has been extensively written about – by Prime,[127] Temple,[128] Gay,[129] Clarke,[130] Nathaniel Alcock,[131] and Christopher Dyer[132] among others.

Peter Temple appears to have been destined for one of the professions (probably law, but perhaps the church), until he married Alice Heritage, the widow of a cousin, in or before 1542. At the same time,[133] he acquired leases on land in Burton Dassett, Warwickshire. After the marriage, Peter raised cattle, sheep, and horses, acted as the bailiff for the co-owners of the land, worked as a grazier, briefly as a wool brogger[134] and speculated in the profitable land market after the dissolution of the Monasteries. Temple's experience as a grazier and wool brogger as they emerge from his account book,[135] were very similar to that of his uncle, John Heritage, described in detail by Dyer.[136]

In 1536, Thomas Heritage, Peter's uncle, paid for the finishing of a room at Lincoln's Inn – one of the London Inns of Court. This room was described as 'a high chamber in the north end of the new building'.[137] In return for Heritage's financial contribution, two of his kin were entitled to occupy the room for their lives.[138] These rooms were used by Peter Temple who had studied at Lincoln's Inn, having enrolled in 1534 and continued there for some years, being named as a steward in 1538.[139] He continued to be called 'of Lincoln's Inn' for at least eight years and in 1568, he 'paid to become an Associate of the Inn'.[140] In 1629, Henry Parker[141] petitioned to be allowed to use the chamber

[127] Prime, 1896.
[128] Temple, 1925.
[129] Gaye, 1938, 1939, & 1943.
[130] Clarke, 1967.
[131] Alcock,1981.
[132] Dyer, 2012.
[133] Probably as part of Alice's dower, but possibly he held the reversion or inherited them directly.
[134] A middleman between small wool producers and clothing manufacturers.
[135] Alcock, 1981, pp. 40 – 134.
[136] Dyer, 2014, pp. 91 – 131.
[137] Baildon, 1897, p. 244.
[138] I have not been able to determine whether this was a common practice.
[139] Alcock, 1983. p. 23.
[140] Alcock, 1983. p. 23.
[141] Great grandson of Peter Temple – see Appendix 1, p. 174.

previously used by his uncle, Sir Alexander Temple, who had died in the same year.[142] This is suggestive evidence that he regarded himself, and was regarded by others, as a member of the Temple family. It also suggests that rooms at Lincoln's Inn (perhaps the same ones) were subsequently occupied by Peter's descendants over the next 100 years.[143]

Peter Temple was born in a Catholic England; he experienced Henry VIII's break with Rome; he lived during the strict religious regime of Edward VI; he went through the reintroduction of Catholicism under Mary I and finally he was alive for the Elizabethan settlement. There is little evidence about his religious views. However, he is known to have doodled parts of the Latin mass in his account book, so he may have felt some affection for the old religion.[144]

1.2.2 John Temple (c. 1542 – 1603)

Peter's eldest son, John Temple, was born at Burton Dassett around 1542.[145] He served at least part of an apprenticeship as a wool merchant, but there is no record of him attending one of the universities. As the family's wealth grew, he followed the lifestyle of a gentleman. He served as Sheriff of Buckinghamshire in 1586 and he was also appointed as a Buckinghamshire JP on 8th November 1589.[146]

He died in 1603 at Stowe and was buried at Burton Dassett where there is a funerary monument to him.[147] John's will illustrates the themes running through this thesis. His will shows an interest in the details of the stock he owned (perhaps an echo of his early life in the wool trade), as well

[142] Peacey, 1997, p.38, referencing Lincoln's Inn Library, Elal, Red Book I, fo. 139.
[143] In 1626, the possibility of a sewer passing through Sir Alexander Temple's house was being discussed by the Council of Lincoln's Inn (Baildon, 1897, Volume 2, p. 262). This does not sound like 'a high chamber' which suggests the rooms were not the same as those used by Peter Temple. On the other hand, the request by Henry Parker does suggest some entitlement to occupy rooms passed from generation to generation.
[144] Alcock, 1981, p. 224.
[145] See the family tree in Appendix 1 /1.
[146] Huntington Library, STT Personal, Box 3, Folder 13. I am grateful to Rosemary O'Day for drawing this to my attention.
[147] See below, chapter 3, pp. 127 - 128.

as the family's desire for status, the complexity of land holdings which could lead to subsequent litigation, the financial position of the family and the extent to which family members had obligations to each other. John ensured that there were multiple copies of the will, or parts of it, lodged with different people. All of John's children were recognised in his will which was written in 1597, but not proved until 1603.[148] His daughter, Elizabeth, who was unmarried when the will was written, would have received a bequest of £1,000 at the time of her marriage (or on reaching the age of eighteen). This would have provided for some or all of her dowry. However, she married William Fiennes before her father died and a marriage settlement was agreed.[149] Two of the grandchildren to whom he was godfather, Edward the son of Edward and Millicent Saunders and John the son of Paul and Dorothy Risley each received £20.[150] The will made extensive provision for his widow (Susan Spencer), however, these bequests would be voided if she claimed her common-law dower rights to one-third of John's landed property; 'Provided allwaies that yf my Wife do demande by writt of dower anie of my landes Tennements or hereditamts that then all leagacies to her herebie bequeathed shall cease and be voide and the bequest thereof come to my sonne my Executor'. John's widow also received a lease from her eldest son for various local properties for her lifetime. Two of Susan's sons, John, and Alexander, together with two of her sons-in-law, Sir Nicholas Parker and Paul Risley, were the trustees for this lease. This is an example of relatives by marriage being treated as family. John's will also reminds his son of the help that had been received from the Wotton Family. He left 'Sir Edward Wotton, Kt. the best horse or Gelding I shall have at my decease & I most earnestly desier my Sonne Thomas & all his Children & all mine to be ever thankfull to him & to beare to him & his a true lovinge & faithfull harte, for that I & my late Good Father dec. have all my life time found more love, true friendeshipp & benentts at his good Fathers handes dec. & his than

[148] National Archives, PROB 11/397/303, Will of John Temple of Stowe.
[149] See below, pp. 54 - 55.
[150] In 1598, after his will was written, he acted as godfather to his grandson, John Temple, son of Sir Thomas and Dame Hester. John did not receive an individual bequest.

ever we found els where in our lives'.[151] Wotton had supported John's father, Peter Temple, in his conflict with Sir Anthony Cooke concerning ownership of a portion of the Burton Dassett estate.[152] This affection was mirrored by Wotton. O'Day quotes a letter from him that mentions "my dear friend, Mr Temple".[153] Sir Edward Wotton's son, Thomas, referred to 'his dear friend, John Temple esquire' and left him a silver cup in his will.[154]

1.2.3 Sir Thomas Temple (c. 1567 – 1637) and Dame Hester (1569/70 – 1656)

In 1586, John's eldest son Thomas (subsequently becoming Sir Thomas in 1603 and the first baronet in 1612), married Hester Sandys, the daughter of Miles Sandys. Earlier, Sandys had signed a letter to the third Earl of Bedford that proposed John Temple as a Justice of the Peace in Buckinghamshire.[155] Sir Thomas himself was appointed as a Buckinghamshire JP and served as sheriff of three different counties, Oxfordshire (1606-07), Buckinghamshire (1616-17), and Warwickshire (1620-21). Hughes notes that although appointed sheriff, he was neither resident in Warwickshire nor a Warwickshire JP.[156]

The financial position of Sir Thomas and the Temple family deteriorated after the death of John Temple in 1603. This was partly a result of a recession in the wool trade, but also because of the need for Sir Thomas to provide dowries for his daughters who reached marriageable age.[157] The state of the cloth trade had an inevitable effect on the wool trade. This added to the financial problems of Sir Thomas Temple who was already suffering from the financial impact of finding dowries for seven daughters and the drain on resources of Sir Thomas's eldest son, Sir Peter. The need to raise money led to a substantial court case between Sir Thomas Temple and his son over

[151] National Archives, PROB 11/397/303, Will of John Temple of Stowe.
[152] More details of this conflict can be found in Gaye (1938) and Alcock (1981).
[153] O'Day, 2018, p.58.
[154] UK National Archives, PROB 11/70/29.
[155] See below, chapter 2, p. 67.
[156] Hughes, 1987, p. 358. Both the Stowe and Frankton branches of the Temple family are included in her study of Warwickshire in the period 1620 - 1660.
[157] His daughter, Jane Sibilla, (b. 1602) died shortly after her birth.

land which Sir Peter claimed was part of his inheritance.[158] Sir Peter lodged a complaint in the court of Chancery in November 1624, although the problem had been brewing for some time.[159]

Sir Peter alleged that Sir Thomas planned to sell some land in Lutterworth, Leicestershire held on a long-term lease from the Crown. Sir Peter claimed that as part of a transaction with John Farmer (Sir Peter's uncle), recorded in an indenture dated 1595, the income from this land was to go to John Temple, and on his death to Sir Thomas Temple and on his death to Sir Peter. Sir Peter claimed that in the marriage settlement between himself and his first wife, Anne Throckmorton, the land in question was recorded as being held in trust for himself and his heirs. The land was therefore entailed and should not be sold. He asked the court to order that documents held by his mother-in-law, Dame Anna Throckmorton, should be handed over to himself. He also asked that a subpoena be issued to all the parties involved in the transactions concerning the land, requiring them to answer the complaint. In his answer (lodged in February 1624/5) Sir Thomas claimed that there had been insufficient funds to meet all the bequests in John Temple's will, and that meeting these bequests out of his own money had left Sir Thomas out of pocket.

This case had considerable ramifications since family members including Sir John Temple (of Frankton), Sir Alexander Temple, Sir Thomas Denton and Dame Susan Denton (née Temple) were called to give evidence as to their understanding of the facts, as were family servants. Sir Peter was accused of browbeating his servants and tenants to give evidence in his favour.[160] In Sir Alexander Temple's deposition, he admitted to knowing his brother and his nephew but claimed ignorance on

[158] The case is covered in Gay, 1939, pp.409, 412 -415. The case is described from a different perspective in O'Day, 2018, pp. 385 – 398. A transcription of two of the court documents can be found in Prime, 1986, pp. 89 – 96.
[159] National Archives, C2/ChasI/T39/58, Temple vs Temple.
[160] Gay, 1939, p. 413.

all the other matters raised by the two sides.[161] Some of the other potential witnesses either declined to give evidence or like Sir Alexander, provided very little that was relevant to the case.

Sir John of Frankton was more forthcoming and contradicted his brother's claim that the estate Sir Thomas inherited was heavily encumbered. He gave evidence that the financial position had been discussed by the family shortly before John's death in 1603.[162] He reported that Hester (the wife of Sir Thomas) had remarked that her father-in-law's death 'would leave her husband a beggar'. The response of John (Sir Thomas's father) to this was to say that although he had debts, they could be met 'without selling one leaf of a tree or one lock of wool of a sheep's tail'. (Providing and receiving credit was a standard feature of the wool trade and credit could flow in either direction).[163]
Dame Hester used her influence to try to resolve the dispute and it was eventually settled by arbitration. However, Sir Peter's debts continued to be a matter of concern and in February 1630/1, Sir John Lenthall wrote a lengthy letter to Dame Hester detailing some of the money owed by Sir Peter.[164] The family's financial difficulties continued throughout the first half of the seventeenth century, but its financial position revived somewhat after the restoration.[165]

Sir Thomas inherited the bulk of John's estates at Stowe, Burton Dassett and elsewhere, apart from some of the stock (cattle, sheep, and oxen) that went to John's widow. Although Sir Thomas was his heir at law and the residual legatee, a specific bequest to him was 'my Chaine of fine Gold wayinge three score and twelve pounde'. This was presumably intended as a store of wealth rather than to be worn and could presumably be expanded or contracted by adding or removing links as financial

[161] National Archives, C 24 / 555, evidence in the case of Temple vs Temple.
[162] Gay, 1939, p. 420.
[163] Bowden, 1962, pp.100-101.
[164] British Library, Add MS 52475 A. This is an unpaginated collection of letters in a single volume.
[165] Gay, 1939, pp. 399-438, provides more detail on the family's financial problems.

circumstances dictated. Sir Thomas was apparently living in Wolverton when he made his own will in February 1634/5. He died and was buried at Burton Dassett in February 1636/7.

1.2.4 Sir Peter Temple (1592 - 1658)

With the death of Sir Thomas in 1637, the main Temple line passed to his eldest son, Sir Peter. However, Sir Thomas's widow, Dame Hester, who controlled significant assets of her own, exerted considerable influence over the family until her own death in 1656. Sir Peter married twice; firstly, to Anne Throckmorton (daughter and co-heir of Sir Arthur Throckmorton of Pauler's Perry and Silver Stone, Northamptonshire) and secondly to Christian Leveson. Sir Peter's spending was one of the contributing factors to the setback in the financial position of the main branch of the family in the first half of the seventeenth century and led (in part) to the court case. In 1625, Sir Thomas's wife, Hester, had calculated his debts as at £6,450.[166]

1.2.5 Sir Thomas Temple's remaining children

Sir Thomas Temple's second surviving son, Sir John Temple (born 1597/8),[167] held an estate in Stantonbury (Buckinghamshire). He died in 1632 and the estate was sold by his son Peter in 1653.[168] Thomas's third surviving son, Thomas (born 1604), graduated from Oxford and became a minister.[169] His fourth surviving son was Miles (born 1608) about whom little is known.

Sir Thomas's daughters married into other gentry families. Hester (born 1589) married Sir John Rous, Bridget (born 1591) married Sir John Lenthall, Martha (born 1595) married Sir Thomas Penyston, Elizabeth (born 1596) married Sir Henry Gibbs, Catherine (born 1599) married Sir William Ashcombe, Anne (born 1600) married Sir William Andrews, Margaret (born 1606) married Sir Edward Longueville and Millicent (born 1611) married Thomas Ogle.

[166] Capern, 2015, pp. 85 – 113.
[167] His birth is frequently given as 1593, but this was his older brother (also John) who died as an infant.
[168] VCH Buckinghamshire, volume 4, parish of Stanton Barry.
[169] His quarrels with Bray Aylesworth will be covered in chapter 3.

1.2.6 Sir Thomas Temple's Siblings

Sir Thomas's surviving brothers,[170] John, Alexander, William, and Peter (his brother George died in infancy) had to make their own way in the world after their father's death. As Joan Thirsk put it, younger sons were 'gentry born and bred, but in manhood they had to fend for themselves, and did not necessarily die as gentlemen'.[171] Thomas Temple inherited the family estate. The younger sons needed to find a way of maintaining the lifestyle of a gentleman. Alexander married the wealthy and newly widowed Mary Penyston. Mary's son, Thomas, was the heir at law to his father, Thomas Penyston. Estates held in knight service 'were liable for wardship if their owner die when his heir was under-age'.[172] Consequently, Thomas was a ward of the King, but this wardship could be purchased, which Sir Alexander duly did.[173] This gave Sir Alexander income from and control of Thomas's assets and the ability to influence and benefit from his marriage choice.

Sir John of Frankton (Warwickshire) and Sir Alexander (who owned an estate in Chadwell St Mary, Essex) lived gentry lifestyles – in the case of Sir Alexander, considerably helped by successively marrying three rich widows.[174] These two of John Temple's younger male children established residences of their own, but neither founded a lasting dynasty – Sir John's estate passed down through two generations but was sold before the end of the seventeenth Century; Sir Alexander's property in Sussex reverted to the family of his third wife. James Temple, son of Sir Alexander, sold the Chadwell properties, in part because of financial difficulties.[175] James signed Charles I's death warrant and was convicted of regicide after the restoration. He died in Elizabeth Castle in Jersey in

[170] The Temple family trees are in Appendix 1.
[171] Thirsk, 1969, p. 359.
[172] Heal & Holmes, 1994, p. 144.
[173] O'Day, 2018, pp. 253 & 297.
[174] Some indication of the assets Sir Alexander gained access to from his first marriage will be found in the will of Thomas Penyston (National Archives, PROB 11/98/189).
[175] See the letter from Margaret Longueville, quoted below p. 3.

1680.[176] For different reasons, William and Peter did not establish landed estates. William worked as a merchant in London while Peter's mental illness meant that he was often accommodated in the houses of one or other of his brothers – for example, his son Charles was born in 1623 while Peter and his wife were staying in Sir Alexander's house in Chadwell St Mary, Essex.[177]

Several of the female lines fared better than their brothers, producing long-lived lineages. Most notably, descendants of Elizabeth (Temple) Fiennes still own Broughton Castle in Oxfordshire. Similarly, Susan (Temple) Lister's descendants lived at Burwell Park (Lincolnshire) into the twentieth century. Susan Temple had previously been married to Sir Giffard Thornhurst of Agney Court (Kent) from about 1624 until his death in 1627. The Thornhurst family was part of the minor gentry and the Agney Court manor remained in the hands of Susan's descendants through a series of leases for lives until the nineteenth century.[178] The descendants of Catherine (Temple) Parker lived at Willingdon (Sussex) for many generations and the Denton family remained at Billesdon until the male line died out in 1740. Four generations of the Saunders family owned their estate at Brixworth Northamptonshire until the early eighteenth century. The main line of the Farmer family of Great Marlowe continued to be referred to as gentry in the seventeenth century although they suffered financial penalties because of their Catholicism. The Risleys of Chetwode, Buckinghamshire held their estate until the middle of the eighteenth century when it passed to a female line.

[176] Syvert, 1981, p. 148.
[177] Essex Record Office, D/P41/1/1, Chadwell St Mary, Register of baptisms, marriages and burials.
[178] For example: Canterbury Cathedral Archives U63/64651, Lease and counterpart to Ralph Jenyns, 1663, U63/64614, Counterpart lease to the Duchess of Marlborough, 1728, U63/69865, Lease and counterpart to Earl Spencer, 1783.

1.3 Temple Family Attitudes, Connections and Expectations

It was not unusual among puritans to regard education as important; 'puritan fathers took predictable interest in religious training'.[179] Morgan remarks that 'historians … have traditionally linked puritans with a highly favourable attitude towards learning'.[180] However, puritans believed that faith rather than reason was the path to salvation, although 'puritans did not wholeheartedly reject reason'.[181] Morgan also notes that puritans believed that schools should promote godliness and universities should train godly clergy. 'Protection of godliness in Oxford and Cambridge (was) a necessary guarantee of the flow of godly instructors'.[182]

The Denton family (neighbours and relatives of the Temples through the marriage of Susan Temple and Sir Thomas Denton in 1594) had close connections with the Royal Latin School in Buckingham.[183] It had been re-endowed by Dame Isabel Denton in 1540.[184] Male members of the Temple family raised at Stowe or nearby may have attended it. John's four younger sons (John, Alexander, William and Peter) were underage at the time of writing of his will, [185] and he left them in the care of his heir, Thomas, who was enjoined 'to bring up and maintaine in learninge science & Knowledge my said younger Sonnes'.[186]

Some of the sons and grandsons of John Temple were educated at Oxford University and Lincoln's Inn.[187] John's sons who attended university and one of the Inns of Court included Sir Thomas Temple and Sir Alexander Temple. John's son Sir John (of Frankton) also attended university but is not

[179] Heal & Holmes, 1994, p. 249.
[180] Morgan, 1988, p. 15.
[181] Morgan, 1988, p.49.
[182] Morgan, 1988, p. 303, mentioned by Cohen, 1987, p. 407.
[183] Roundell, 1857, p. 7.
[184] Gardner, 1913, p. 22.
[185] See family tree in Appendix 1, tree 1.
[186] National Archives, PROB 11/397/303, Will of John Temple of Stowe.
[187] Foster 1891; Baildon, 1897; Matthews, 2019.

recorded as attending Lincoln's Inn. Sir Thomas Temple's son (another Thomas Temple) graduated from Oxford (one of the few family members to do so) and studied at Lincoln's Inn.[188] John Temple and James Temple, the two sons of Sir Alexander Temple, also attended Lincoln's Inn, but are not recorded as having attended a university. It is possible that other members of the family attended one or other university for a period without graduating and do not appear in the records.

By the time of John senior's death, the younger John had reached full age having spent some time at New College, Oxford[189] and Alexander had also attended New College (around 1600) as well as Lincoln's Inn (beginning in April 1600).[190] He was in his 21st year and already married with his first son on the way. It is unlikely that bringing him up was a major burden for Sir Thomas. Peter was educated at Winchester (in 1600),[191] where his brother-in-law, William Fiennes, qualified as 'founder's kin'.[192] Fiennes used his influence to secure Peter his place and also a place for Sir Thomas Temple's son, Thomas. This may also have been the case with John and Alexander's attendance at New College. Peter, however, does not seem to have attended either a university or one of the Inns of Court. No information has been located concerning the education of William, but since he subsequently became a merchant, he probably went through an apprenticeship.

There were books at Stowe but there is no surviving list of those owned by John Temple. His books were only valued at £10 in his inventory and the size of his collection appears to be typical of those

[188] Haigh, 2005, p. 497.
[189] Although he does not appear in Foster, he is mentioned in a letter dated 7th May 1597 from Arthur Lake (John's tutor) to John senior. Huntington Library, STT 1208. I am grateful to Professor Kenneth Fincham for drawing my attention to this letter.
[190] For more information, see Matthews, 2019.
[191] Peacey, 1994, p. 54.
[192] The status of the Fiennes family as founder's kin had been challenged in 1586 but upheld (Winchester College Archives, Domus II B.8. 294). For a full description of the relationship with William of Wykeham, see Chitty, 1909, p. 123.

members of the gentry who were not clerics or academics.[193] Book collections of the seventeenth-century gentry typically numbered 'tens rather than the hundreds'.[194] A total of 413 volumes constituted 'one of the largest sixteenth century' collections, but was exceeded by the 1,400 volumes of Sir Thomas Knyvett .[195] The books of John's son (Sir Thomas) are better documented. He owned 'eighty-eight titles and "30 french books"'.[196] His wife, Dame Hester, also 'possessed a small library that she transported from place to place'.[197] The catalogue of the Stowe library, when it was sold in 1849, included 204 titles that had been published before 1600.[198] Since Sir Thomas had only 118 books, the 204 early titles sold in 1849 must be at least twice the number of books at Stowe at the time of John's death. Some early books may have been acquired by his grandson, Sir Richard, who was an enthusiastic book collector. However, some of the John's books may have been lost or destroyed prior to the sale in 1849.

Prominent among the early books were bibles, including a Latin bible published in 1526, which might have belonged to Peter Temple. There were also bibles in English including a second edition of the Bishops' Bible published in 1572 and approved by the Church of England in Elizabeth I's reign. There was a first edition of the 1560 Geneva (or breeches) Bible that was favoured by Puritans – 'the popular Geneva version, which the godly carried with them to sermons'.[199] There were religious tracts by Puritan divines such as William Fulke, and several genealogical books including two

[193] Abernathy, 1976 states that 'it is not possible to determine either their number or their value', p. 47. However, the inventory that he references clearly states the value of the books to be £10. Inventory valuations are rarely precise, but perhaps he meant that it was not possible to determine the value of any individual volume.
[194] Pearson, 2021, p. 18.
[195] Heal & Holmes, 1994, pp. 279-280.
[196] Abernathy, 1976, p. 47. I have located no evidence that Sir Thomas travelled abroad, but it is possible that he did since his son-in-law, Thomas Penyston and two of his nephews, John and James Temple (who were also Penyston's step brothers), obtained passes to travel abroad, Lyle,1933, p. 20, Lyle, 1930. p. 88 and Lyle, 1932 p. 194, respectively.
[197] Abernathy, 1976, p. 47.
[198] Anon, Sales catalogue, 1849.
[199] Collinson, 1983, p. 541.

armouries that contained engravings of coats of arms. A catalogue prepared for Sir Richard Temple in April 1666 shows approximately 340 books including at least 26 published before 1600.[200]

The survival of the Stowe archive places Sir Thomas and Dame Hester at the centre of the family connections. However, there were certainly direct relationships between other family members. Henry Parker (the son of Sir Nicholas Parker and Catherine Temple) received patronage from Viscount Saye and Sele .[201] Susan Lister (née Temple) took her 'lying-in' for some of her children at a house leased by her uncle, Sir Thomas Denton.[202] Sir Alexander Temple appointed his nephew, Carew Saunders, as one of the executors of his will in 1629.[203] Various members of the Temple family were connected to Sir John Lenthall (husband of Bridget Temple) and his brother William. William's collection of paintings at Burford Priory included at least four portraits of members of the Temple family.[204] They were Sir Alexander Temple, Lady Temple and two of the daughters of Sir Thomas Temple.[205]

[200] I am grateful to Hector Acosta for locating and providing images of the catalogue of April 1666 which consists of 11 pages contained within 300 folio pages of Huntington Library, Stowe Papers, STT CL&I Box 2: ST 365. Some of the entries do not record a publication date. In addition, due to the fragile nature of the book, text in the image close to the gutter is not easy to read. This may lead to a discrepancy in counting the books published before 1600.

[201] See pp. 94 – 97.

[202] Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies. D/A/T/152 Bishop's Transcripts (including the parish of Radclive). New College Archives, NCA 3578, p. 99-100, a terrier for Radclive manor. NCA 3578, terriers and rentals, p. 220, a rental of Michaelmas 1628. NCA 9763, Dimissiones ad Firman, pp. 267 – 269. NCA 9764. Leases, p. 5, 232. Quoted in Roos, 2011, p. 15. I am grateful to Michael Stansfield, Archivist and Records Manager for locating these items for me.

[203] National Archives, PROB 11/156/604, Will of Sir Alexander Temple, 1629.

[204] Identifying sitters in the Lenthall collection is complicated by the addition c. 1700 of inscriptions purporting to identify the sitter, some of which were erroneous. For example, Lenthall's portrait of Sir Alexander Temple has an inscription identifying the sitter as Lord Gustav Hamilton. The correct identification was established as a result of a second version in Hagley Hall (Finberg, 1922, p.8). See also Matthews, 2016, p. 4, et seq.

[205] The two daughters of Sir Thomas Temple were later inscribed 'Countess of Arundel' and 'Countess of Portland', but this identification of the siters cannot be supported. Town (2018) identifies the Countess of Arundel as Martha Penyston (née Temple), but the portrait of Mary, Countess of Pembroke (sold at Christie's in London on 7th April 1993) is an alternative possibility as a portrait of Martha. If this is the case, then the two portraits in the Lenthall collection could be Margaret and Millicent Temple. A fifth portrait, inscribed 'Sir Francis Drake', currently in a private collection, is very likely to be a member of the Temple family.

Despite its constraints, gentry families including the Temples used the primitive postal system to pass on the major news of the day and the minutia of family life. Cust notes that personal letters 'probably remained the most common method for conveying written news'.[206] The letters in the Huntington Library archive mention family visits, the health of family members, family marriages and the financial circumstances of members of the family. For example, in the 1630s, Margaret Longueville wrote to her mother (Hester Temple) about Christian Leveson who had married her brother, Sir Peter Temple. She says of the marriage, 'my brother is I think most hapily maryed he has both a hansam good sweet disposioned lady and fair beyond my expectation shee is to have four thousand pounds and her unkel Sir Riched Lusans[207] land is all tide to her if he have no children which we conceive to be very unlikely my brother is a joyefol man'.[208] Similarly, in 1632, Margaret wrote to her mother that, 'wee have no nues to present you with but that my cossen Kary Saunders[209] is broke for forty thoussen pound and is not able to paye five shillings in the pound and James Temple is in to much'.[210] Although much of what is known about the family's activities comes from letters, individual members do occasionally appear in newsletters.[211]

The Temple family relationships were frequently cemented by an appropriate choice of baptismal name and godparents. Fletcher notes that, 'Godparenthood was used to reinforce kinship bonds, to strengthen the links between families and as a means of enlisting patrons in society'.[212] Hester, Sir William Ashcombe's daughter, was baptised in 1615. She was given the same name as her maternal

[206] Cust, 1986, p. 62.
[207] Leveson, pronounced Lewson.
[208] Huntington Library, Stowe Papers: STT personal, Box 8, STT 1412, Margaret Longueville to Dame Hester Temple.
[209] Carew Saunders, son of Edward Saunders and Millicent (née Temple).
[210] Huntington Library, STT 1418, Margaret Longueville to Dame Hester Temple.
[211] For example, Chamberlain reports the death of Dame Martha Penyston and one of Sir Alexander Temple's speeches in parliament was mentioned in a manuscript newsletter by Joseph Mede.
[212] Fletcher, 1975, p. 52.

grandmother (Dame Hester Temple); her uncle, Sir Peter Temple, was her godfather.[213] Similarly, long-standing alliances could be recognised and reinforced by the choice of godparents. One of the godmothers of Dame Hester's second daughter, Hester, was Hester Wotton.[214] Links between patron and client could also be reinforced by godparenthood. 'The creation of such a fictive kinship tie (Godparenthood) further strengthened the bond between patron and client'.[215] Jane Sibilla, the shortly-lived eighth daughter of Dame Hester, baptised in 1602,[216] shared her name with one of her godmothers, Jane Sibilla, Lady Grey who was the sister-in-law of the 3rd Earl of Bedford to whom the 1584 letter recommending John Temple to be a JP had been addressed.[217] Unfortunately, surviving church records rarely identify the godparents. This can only be established using family records and correspondence. These surviving documents will help to explore the patron-client relationship within the Temple family.

Business was frequently conducted between family members. In 1626, Dame Hester contacted her son-in-law, Sir William Ashcombe, about exchanging one of her properties for the parsonage at Alvescot, Oxfordshire. He replied that he was agreeable to the exchange which could take place on Mayday. He remarked that the 'land ploughed and sowed which I think may prove a very good bargaine to you'.[218] Somewhat unusually, he signed himself as Dame Hester's son-in-law rather than her son. It was more typical for a son-in-law to style himself as a son.

There are many activities which appear to stem from the expectations or obligations between members of the Temple family. Loans and other forms of financial support were made between

[213] Cressy, 1997, p. 157.
[214] See pp. 33 & 113 for more aspects of the Wotton – Temple alliance.
[215] O'Day, 2018, p. 55.
[216] See Appendix 2.
[217] Peck, 1993, p. 76.
[218] British Library, Add MS 52475 A.

family members. Sir Alexander Temple agreed to provide the income from one of his properties to his nephew Carew Saunders. The arrangement was subsequently cancelled.[219] A reference to mutual support is found in Sir John Suckling's will which acknowledges a family debt.[220] W A Copinger quotes this acknowledgement: 'Whereas I have mortgaged my manor of Roos Hall in Suffolk to certain feoffees, to the use of my wife, I know that my executors cannot possibly pay the same, I am content to leave the manor to the said feoffees for her behalf.'[221] Although the 'feoffees' are not named, Sir Alexander Temple (Suckling's wife's brother-in-law) was the mortgage holder. The property was mentioned in his own will written in 1629, two years after Suckling's death. 'Item I give the manor of Roshall and Ashams in the county of Suffolk unto [my executors] to sell at their pleasure'.[222] After Sir Alexander's death, the manor passed briefly to Sir Thomas Penyston (Sir Alexander's stepson and the widower of Martha, daughter of Sir Thomas Temple).[223]

Temple family members also supported their relations in obtaining public and church offices.[224] Family connections were frequently used to obtain a seat in parliament. When Sir Thomas was elected as MP for Andover in 1589, his position in parliament 'was owed to the influence of the Sandys family'[225] and similarly, Sir Alexander's first attempt to be elected to parliament in 1620 was supported by his brother-in-law (Viscount Saye and Sele) and his niece's future husband (the 4th Earl of Lincoln).[226] Family member could also act as local agent for family business. In January 1631/2 Sir John Lenthall (husband of Bridget Temple), represented Margaret Longueville (née Temple) in a dispute with a Mr Wells about the presentation to the living at Wolverton.[227] Similarly, when John

[219] Northamptonshire Record Office, TH 1771, Cancellation of Statute Staple from Carew Saunders to Edward Saunders, exoneration 1626.
[220] National Archives, PROB 11/151/688, Will of Sir John Suckling, 1628/9.
[221] Copinger, W A, 1911, Vol VII, p. 159. The will is in the National Archives, PROB 11/153/232.
[222] National Archives, PROB 11/156/604, Will of Sir Alexander Temple.
[223] Suffolk Record Office, SRO 1028/1, Court roll, Rose Hall and Asham's.
[224] The use of advowsons is covered in more detail in section 2.4.
[225] History of Parliament Online, biography of Thomas Temple of Burton Dassett.
[226] Thompson, 1856, p. 450 n. 6.
[227] The dispute is discussed in more detail below p. 137. The letter listing Lenthall's activities (together with a transcript) is in Appendix 3.

Temple was negotiating a marriage agreement for his daughter with Richard Fiennes, the draft documents were delivered to Fiennes by John's son Alexander (later Sir Alexander).[228]

In land transactions, it was common for another family member to be involved. In 1605, Sir Thomas Temple bought land in Staffordshire. His brother, Sir Alexander was a minor party in the transaction.[229] An indenture of 1624 shows the co-operation between the Lenthalls and the Temples.[230] Sir John Lenthall purchased land in Bletchington from Robert Silverside and his son. In addition to Sir John Lenthall, parties to the transaction were Sir Thomas Temple, Sir Edmund Lenthall, Sir John Rous, Sir John Temple and Sir William Ayschcombe (Ashcombe). With the exception of Sir Edmund Lenthall, who was Sir John Lenthall's uncle, they were all members of the Temple family. Being party to land and financial transactions of other family members meant they could become co-defendants in any resulting legal suits.

Family members frequently provided professional services to each other – particularly legal services. Thomas Thornton was a relative of the Temples (although not a family member using the definition in this thesis). John Temple left Thornton £30 in his will, describing him as a cousin, although he was actually a second cousin. He was involved in most legal transactions of John Temple and his heir, Sir Thomas Temple. He acted as a trustee for Millicent Temple when she married Edward Saunders. Similarly, William Lenthall, (the brother of Sir John Lenthall) acted for Sir Alexander Temple in at least one court case.[231] Family members also acted as trustees in marriage settlements. When Susan

[228] National Archives C8/11/75, Saye & Sele vs various parties including Thomas Temple.
[229] Wrottesley, 1897, p. 36.
[230] Thorpe, 1843, p. 108. The present location of this indenture is not known.
[231] Anglo-American Legal Tradition, Charles I, King's Remembrancer Orders, E126/3 (Calendar), page 320 r, William Lenthall acting on behalf of Sir Alexander Temple and Sir Thomas Culpepper, http://aalt.law.uh.edu/Charles%20I.html .

Thornhurst (née Temple) married Sir Martin Lister, one of her trustees was her stepbrother, Sir Thomas Penyston.[232]

The Temples desire for status and honour will be discussed in Chapter 3. It is sufficient to note here that, despite their recent acquisition of gentry status, family members included one viscount; three baronets; numerous knights; several people who served in parliament; at least four people who served as sheriff of one or more counties (Sir Thomas Temple was sheriff of both Warwickshire and Buckinghamshire at different times) and numerous holders of other offices including Justices of the Peace, captainship of Crown castles and wardenship of the Rochester Bridge. Despite the status of many members of the family, some did not achieve a significant office and remain obscure, for example the younger sons of Sir Nicholas Parker other than Henry Parker, the puritan pamphleteer. Further research among the archive in the Huntington Library may reveal more about these hidden members of the Temple family.

There are many disputes between family members and outsiders – for example the cases brought by Dr Thomas Temple in his long-standing dispute with the Ayleworth family.[233] They could also be defendants in suits brought by non-family members. Thomas Ravenscroft, who had purchased the Temple land in Chadwell, Essex and then leased it back to James Temple brought a case against James and other family members.[234]

There were also a large number of cases between family members. Some arose from substantial family crises, such as the affairs of Peter Temple who suffered from mental health

[232] Yorkshire Archaeology and Historical Society, MD335/1/1/33/1, marriage settlement - Sir Martin Lister and Dame Susan Thornhurst.
[233] For more details see below, pp. 133 - 134.
[234] National Archives, C 2/ChasI/R31/35, Ravenscroft vs Temple and others. There are more details of this case in Matthews, 2020.

issues.[235] Around 1613, Peter, became unwell – 'with a disordered mind'.[236] This was probably not the first time he had been afflicted. Sir Thomas and Sir Alexander assumed control of his affairs.[237] In 1610, Peter had been appointed as captain of Camber Castle,[238] but in 1615, Sir Thomas' son, John, took over. Peter's behaviour was sufficiently erratic that in 1617 Sir Thomas paid nearly £30 to a Mr Eusebius Andrews as compensation for damage from a fire caused by Peter. This may have brought matters to a head. In 1619, Peter was declared to be a lunatic by the Court of Wards. Legally a lunatic was someone who was 'sometimes of good and sound memory and understanding and sometimes not'.[239] Peter was ruled to be incapable of managing his own affairs. The court appointed Sir Robert Hyde (the husband of Hester Temple's sister, Bridget) as Peter's guardian. He had previously been supported informally by three of his brothers – Sir Thomas, Sir William and Sir Alexander – but the court appointment of a guardian resulted in disputes about how his financial affairs had been handled and what payments were due from the various people involved. In May 1619, Sir Alexander went to the court of Chancery to obtain an order against his brother, Sir Thomas,[240] who was seeking over £700 pounds in direct support of Peter and £1,000 due on a bond.[241] On the 25th May 1619, Sir Alexander wrote a letter to Sir Thomas justifying his actions.[242] He explained that he had been driven to obtain a subpoena from the court of Chancery. He invites God to witness that 'I have sought y^{r} love and pean like a broth^{r}' and goes on to express regret that 'o^{r} reputations shall be brought upon the stage'. He compared the family quarrel with 'bears lyons and tygers and such savage bease of lyke ravenous nature should rend and tear one another'. He appealed for civility and Christianity but closes the letter saying that 'I will ever be to you yr most assured lovinge brother'. In

[235] Covered in Gay, 1939, pp. 402-403 and in more detail in O'Day, 2018, pp. 222-237.
[236] Gay, 1939, p. 403.
[237] O'Day, 2007, p. 230.
[238] SP 14/60 f.43, Grant to Peter Temple of the office of Captain of Camber Castle and Keeper of the Waters, co. Sussex, for life.
[239] *Lunacy and the State*, National Archives Information Leaflet number 105.
[240] National archives, C 2/ChasI/T42/7, C 2/ChasI/T51/20, C 2/ChasI/T42/7, Sir Alexander Temple vs Sir Thomas Temple.
[241] The complex sequence of claims and counter claims is covered in detail in O'Day, 2018, pp. 223 – 228.
[242] Huntington Library, STT Corresp. 1909, Sir Alexander Temple to Sir Thomas Temple.

November of that year, his counsel informed the court that he had paid forty pounds to Peter and his wife.[243]

1.4 Conclusions

The Temple family emerged as new gentry during the reign of Elizabeth. Their claim to gentility arose from their wealth gained from the wool trade and the acquisition of newly available property. The wool trade (including sheep farming) was one of the most profitable activities in sixteenth-century England and the Temple family prospered. Peter Temple was quick to spot and exploit an opportunity (such as the sale of former monastic land). He was prepared to try new things – and to abandon them if they failed. This is illustrated by the two or three years during the 1540s when he bought wool from his neighbours for onward sale. Having tried it, he did not continue for very long. Similarly, he eventually reduced the extent to which he raised cattle, to concentrate on sheep farming as it became clear which was the more profitable activity.[244]

The Temple family shared many of the characteristics exhibited by other early modern families.[245] They were not monolithic, and differences did arise, but they regarded themselves as a family and generally acted in accordance with the obligations and expectations this created. It is therefore reasonable to regard the children and grandchildren of John Temple, together with their spouses as sufficiently cohesive to be an appropriate group for analysis. The Temple family's attitude to marriage (and other aspects of lifestyle) and the obligations and expectations that marriage created was broadly similar to those of other members of the gentry and has been widely covered in the literature.[246] However, for three reasons, these attitudes and expectations are important when considering the Temple family. Firstly, the above-average

[243] British Library, Add MS 52475 A.
[244] Alcock, 1981, p. 40.
[245] In addition to O'Day's study of Sir Thomas Temple's family which I have frequently cited (O'Day, 2018) other examples of families related to the Temple family include the Verney family (1660 to 1720) in Whyman, 1999 and the Listers in Roos, 2018.
[246] See above, pp. 8 – 11.

size of the family substantially increased the number of people who might have expectations of support or who could be called on for support. Secondly, since there were more people involved, the likelihood of conflicting expectations in the family was higher. Thirdly, these family obligations were used (particularly by Viscount Saye and Sele) to support and further the puritan and parliamentary opposition to Archbishop Laud and the King.

The family has been noted in the literature as being extremely litigious, even by the standards of the early modern period. Writing about the family in the early eighteenth century, Allen Johnson remarks: 'few families were more litigious than the Temple-Grenvilles!'.[247] This was a trait already established a century earlier. Walter Richardson notes 'the numerous lawsuits of the Temples of Stowe, Buckinghamshire' in the early seventeenth century.[248] Gay describes the case between Sir Peter and his father as 'another outstanding example of the ingrained litigiousness of the family'.[249] The various writers who have commented on the intra-family legal disputes have described the participants in less than glowing terms. Gay describes Sir Thomas as being 'stubborn and devious'.[250] O'Day says that Sir Alexander was 'quarrelsome'.[251] John Temple takes the view that Sir Peter Temple was 'grasping and unfilial'.[252] Haigh describes Dr Thomas Temple as 'a perfect example of the cocky clergyman'.[253] Relations between the family members involved in legal disputes, varied between cordial and entrenched differences. In the letter quoted above, Sir Alexander expresses his affection for his brother, although his actions suggest an element of sibling rivalry. Relations between Sir Thomas and his sister, Lady Saye and Sele, appear cool at times. Some of the acrimony in the case between Sir Thomas and Sir Peter appears to stem from Sir Peter's belief that Sir Thomas

[247] Johnson, Allen S, 1997, *A Prologue to Revolution*, University Press of America., p. 11.
[248] Richardson, Walter Cecil, 1975, *A History of the Inns of Court*, Claitor's Publishing Division, p. 88.
[249] Gay, 1939, p. 412.
[250] Gay, 1939, p. 412.
[251] O'Day, 2018, p. 236.
[252] Temple, 1925, p. 58.
[253] Haigh, 2005, p. 515.

favoured his second son (Sir John of Stantonbury) over himself. However, whatever their feelings for each other, they continued by and large to acknowledge the obligations and expectations due to family members.

Between 1603 and 1642, there were twelve court cases in Chancery between family members involving different plaintiff-defendant combinations. The exact number of separate cases is not easy to calculate without a detailed examination of the case papers (if they survive).[254] The same underlying disagreement could produce countersuits by the original defendant. In addition, the same case could be described with different parties in different documents. There may be cases in other courts for which the documents have been lost or have not yet been discovered. Among these twelve Chancery cases, Sir Thomas is involved in five, Sir Peter in two, Sir Alexander in two, John Farmer in two and Sir John Lenthall in two. Eleven other family members were involved in only one case.

There were also common law cases, petitions to the council and a case in the Court of Chivalry between Dame Hester Temple and her son-in-law, Sir William Ashcombe.[255] In the notes to this case,[256] it is asserted that Dr Thomas Temple was a Royalist officer and became a baronet of Nova Scotia in 1662. A similar statement is made in the notes to Temple vs, Ayleworth.[257] I am not aware of any evidence that Dr Temple was a Royalist officer. He is listed as an 'orthodox divine'.[258] In October 1642 he preached a sermon before parliament in which he said, 'Christs government shall be established, notwithstanding the rage of people, and the plots of Princes

[254] It is beyond the scope of this thesis to analyse all the case papers in the National Archives and at the Huntington Library and any associated correspondence and other documents. Such a detailed analysis would undoubtedly throw much light on the family and its relationship.
[255] This case concerns an alleged assault by Sir William Ashcombe on the Rev, Dr Thomas Temple.
[256] 637 Temple v Andrews | British History Online (british-history.ac.uk).
[257] 638 Temple v Ayleworth | British History Online (british-history.ac.uk).
[258] Peacock, 1863, p. 63.

against the Lord and his Annointed'.[259] He was a member of the Westminster Assembly of Divines. My conclusion is that he supported parliament.[260] He was never made a baronet. He died in 1661 and the Nova Scotia baronetcy was awarded in 1662 to a distant cousin of the same name.

A Chancery case does not always imply an underlying disagreement. Cases could be collusive to secure legal endorsement of an agreement, although there does not appear to be an example in the Temple cases. The issues in most of these intra-family cases concerned marriage settlements and finances. Two examples are the case between Edward Saunders and his brother-in-law, Sir Alexander Temple, (concerning the manor of Brixworth in Northamptonshire)[261] and the case between James Temple and his sister, Dame Susan Lister, (concerning the manor of Agney in Kent which had belonged to Dame Susan's first husband, Sir Giffard Thornhurst).[262] There is no evidence that the cases were collusive. Had the parties agreed, they could have been resolved without recourse to the courts. Cases could also be filed with the intention of bringing pressure in a dispute or to secure access to documents.[263]

Non-collusive cases would have caused (or perhaps resulted from) tensions between the parties. This would have tested the inherent expectations and obligations of the family members. The letter from Sir Alexander Temple mentioned above can be interpreted as an accusation that Sir Thomas was acting like lions, tigers, and ravenous beasts. However, Sir Alexander tended to use striking phraseology to make a point. More than one of his speeches in

[259] Temple, 1642, unnumbered page.
[260] See Appendix 4.
[261] National Archives, C 2/JasI/S31/54, Edward Saunders the elder and Edward Saunders the younger vs Carew Saunders, Sir Alexander Temple and Robert Pledall.
[262] National Archives, C 9/6/129, Richard Lister, Sir Martin Lister kt and Dame Susanna Lister his wife vs Thomas Plumer, Sir Thomas Parker kt, James Temple, Richard Jennyns, George Custis, George Radwell and William Stretton.
[263] Horwitz, 1998, p. 8.

Parliament in 1626 was recorded and passed on by observers. An example of this is his retort that 'he could as easily beleeve, there was not one whore in the Towne of Cambridge, as that the Universitie was without an Arminian ...'.[264]

At least one of the cases between family members appears to be relatively trivial. This is a case brought in 1632 by Saye and Sele against his brother-in-law, Sir Thomas Temple, to obtain possession of documents relating to the marriage agreement for Saye's marriage to Elizabeth (née Temple). It is not clear why it needed a court case to obtain the documents. It is possible that this was a hangover from a dispute in 1608 between Richard Fiennes (Viscount Saye & Sele's father) and Sir Thomas about the same marriage agreement.[265] This had arisen because of Richard Fiennes being unable to fulfil a commitment in the agreement since his wife 'utterly refused' to agree to the use of lands that were part of her dower. Sir Thomas may have felt the need to retain the documents in case they were needed in any further disputes on the same subject.

Unlike her brother, Sir Alexander, Elizabeth chose not to send an explanatory letter concerning the case (or at least none appears to have survived in the Huntington Library). In the receipt for the papers, she refers to Sir Thomas as 'her loving brother'.[266] Nonetheless, the fact that a formal, legal receipt, witnessed and sealed was issued (presumably at the behest of Sir Thomas) suggests a coolness in their relationship. This is reinforced by the wording of the receipt which notes that the documents were provided in fulfilment of a court order. There was no need for this reminder, but it clearly was a point she wanted to make. Although these 'six

[264] Heywood & Wright, 1854, p. 346.
[265] National Archives, C8/11/75, Saye & Sele vs various parties including Thomas Temple.
[266] Huntington Library, STT personal Box 8, Folder 22, Acknowledgement of receipt of marriage papers by Elizabeth, Viscountess Saye & Seles.

sealed writings in parchment and four in paper'[267] were eventually handed over, it is surprising that it should have taken a court order to settle the matter.

The case in which there appears to be the greatest degree of animosity is that between Sir Peter Temple and his father which lasted from 1624 to 1631. During this case, Sir Thomas described his son as a wastrel and Sir Peter accused his father of devious behaviour. O'Day comments on the 'close relations between Sir Thomas and his son, even during the court proceedings'.[268] However, it is difficult to see how they could have maintained close relations under these circumstances.

In any intra-family dispute, there is a risk that other family members will take sides, splitting the family and creating a lasting feud. That does not seem to have happened in the cases discussed above. Indeed, there was a marked reluctance on the part of other family members to become involved in intra-family disputes. Sir Alexander was not the only family member who expresses a reluctance to display family affairs in public. In a case brought by Sir Thomas against his brother-in-law John Farmer, the latter asserts his previous reluctance to bring a family dispute to court and his desire to maintain good relations with his relatives.

Despite many cases between family members, the system of family expectations and obligations seems to have survived relatively unscathed. In 1623, Sir Alexander Temple was party to the agreement drawn up to settle the dispute between Sir Thomas Temple and his brother-in-law, John

[267] Huntington Library, Stowe Papers: STT personal Box 8, Folder 23 (quoted in O'Day, 2007, p. 267).
[268] O'Day, 2018, p. 386.

Farmer to which he was not a party.[269] In this example at least, the Chancery case a few years earlier did not interfere with normal family relations.

It can be concluded that the Temple family characteristics generally did not differ markedly from others in their class. The family was litigious, status-conscious and geographically dispersed. I will consider in the final chapter the extent to which the family had a more extreme version of these characteristics. I will argue in Chapter 2 that many family members had an underlying ideology that was supportive of puritanism and adopted a political position in opposition to Laud and the King. Of course, some of the interactions between family members did serve to further the puritan cause – for example the writings of Henry Parker in support of Viscount Saye and Sele – but these appear to be at least equally motivated by familial expectations and obligations. The extent to which actions in opposition to Laud and the King were additionally motivated by familial obligations will also be discussed further in Chapter 2.

[269] Huntington Library, STT MD, Box 2, Folder 3, John Farmer, Sir Thomas Temple, Sir Alexander Temple. Note of Remembrance.

Chapter 2: Support for the Puritan Agenda by Temple Family Members Before the Civil Wars

2.1 Introduction

The primary research focus is the extent to which the Temple family (by birth or marriage) was driven by family expectations, the pursuit of status or pursuit of a puritan religious and political agenda. This chapter will review the evidence about the beliefs and actions of members of the family and whether their actions did support the puritan agenda described above.[270] It will draw attention to the actions of those members of the Temple family who opposed the policies of Laud and the King in the period 1618 - 1642. In particular, two key figures (Viscount Saye and Sele and the Earl of Lincoln) were family members while another (William Lenthall) was the brother of one family member and closely associated with another (Sir Alexander Temple). Where there are expressions of opposition to popery or Arminianism, patronage and support for ministers who opposed ceremonial reform or descriptions of an individual as 'godly', these will be particularly significant. However, sometimes the lack of strong evidence means that it will be necessary to make weaker inferences from other evidence. I have found no evidence in the Temple family for support for Laudianism, although two family members did fight for the King in the Civil War. [271]

Although this thesis covers the years 1603 – 1642, before 1621, there is little evidence that the Temple family was involved in co-ordinated support for a puritan religious and political agenda, so this period will be summarised as briefly as possible, and the chapter will concentrate on the 1620s and 1630s. The political and religious conflicts in the period from the accession of James I to the outbreak of the Civil Wars have been studied extensively, by

[270] See above pp. 17 – 18.
[271] Sir Alexander Denton and Sir Edmund Verney.

Hill, Stone, and Russell, among many others.[272] Having an established church contributed to differences in doctrine and religious practice between puritans and Arminians becoming political issues in the 1620s and 1630s. Although there were other issues between King and Parliament, religion is often seen as the defining difference – the term puritan revolution was popularised by Gardiner,[273] and was used by Christopher Hill.[274] Puritan revolution is a broader term than English Civil Wars but they are inextricably linked since without the Civil Wars, a puritan revolution would not have been possible.[275] Nonetheless, the increasing political and constitutional tensions have also been characterised in secular terms. Heal and Holmes for example speak of the 'tendency to see politics in terms of a competition between Court and country'.[276] Similarly, Tyacke talks about 'the civil implications of Puritan ideology'.[277] However, Russell agrees with Zagorin that the theme of court and country 'did not correspond to the divisions of the Civil War'.[278] Nonetheless, this contrast between court and country emphasised a growing divide in English politics even if it was less accurate in characterising the people involved.[279]

I shall take it as read that the promotion of puritan political and religious viewpoints was among the causes of the Civil War and concentrate on the actions of the Temple family and those actions that promoted this puritan political and religious viewpoint. I will also mention examples in which the Temples were not involved to demonstrate that the family involvement

[272] Hill, 1958, Stone, 1972, Russell, Conrad, 1990, *The Causes of the English Civil War*, Oxford University Press.
[273] eg *The Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution*, first edition 1889.
[274] Chapter Six, 'Lord Clarendon and the Puritan Revolution' in *Puritanism and Revolution*, 1958.
[275] Collinson, 1983 (1), p. 48, implies the term has been superseded, but it continues to be used, eg Coffey, 2006.
[276] Heale & Holmes, 1994, p. 202.
[277] Tyacke, 2015, p. 745
[278] Russell, 1990, p. 4.
[279] Discussed by Cust, Richard, 1986, 'News and Politics in Seventeenth Century England', in *Past and Present*, No. 112, pp. 75 – 78.

in promoting puritan ideas was not consistent and was more marked after the accession of Charles I. Evidence for the religious and political views of the family will come from their letters in the Huntington Library and the East Sussex Record Office, from speeches in Parliament and interventions at the York House conference, from comments by and about the family among the State Papers at the National Archives and, in the case of Henry Parker, from his published writings. The degree of involvement of the Temple family in supporting puritan ideals grew over the period covered by this thesis, particularly after 1618.

Heal quotes a post-Civil War note by the Duke of Newcastle about the organisation of the state and the relationship of the King through the Earl of Shrewsbury to the local gentry.[280] He describes how the King was able to turn to one of his aristocratic counsellors who could in turn approach one of their local gentry clients and through these links the King's wishes could be achieved. The description is idealised rather than historically accurate. Nonetheless, Heal and Holmes note that it was the increasing unwillingness of local gentry to act in support of the Crown that in part created an ideological conflict, leading to the physical conflict. Members of the Temple family were among those gentry who found themselves less willing to act in support of the King.

The events considered in this chapter illustrate the involvement (or in some cases lack of involvement) of the Temple family in promoting puritan ideals and the ways in which the family could observe obligations to other family members whilst simultaneously advancing puritanism. Although not all members of the Temple family were puritan activists, I shall show that various family members did participate in puritan activity, and that in other cases, that family members were connected to activities although they did not participate. The activities

[280] Heal and Holmes, 1994, pp. 191 – 192.

discussed in the following pages explores the extent to which puritanism influenced the forty years prior to the Long Parliament. There is evidence of co-ordination of the puritan cause during the early seventeenth century. As Morgan states, 'Puritans did form associations of interest, did communicate their ideas to each other, and did organise (to a degree) for ecclesiastical action'.[281] Examples include the Hampton Court conference in 1604, York House conference in 1626, the Feoffees for Impropriations between 1626 and 1633 and the clandestine meetings hosted by Viscount Saye and Sele at Broughton Castle and elsewhere under the cloak of the Providence Island Company during the period of personal rule.

Co-ordination of activities requires communication, although it can be as simple as observing a neighbour and choosing to do something similar. Communications such as passing on news and gossip help support co-ordinated arrangements. Although prominent puritans 'usually knew and kept in touch with one another', the risk of being charged with conspiracy limited the extent they could establish formal organisations.[282] Gill notes that 'news and rumour rarely found their way into official sources, but they undoubtedly played their part in shaping political perceptions'.[283] Particularly in London, Paul's Walk (the nave and aisles of St Paul's cathedral) was a gathering place to hear the latest news and rumours.[284] In the provinces, newsletters kept people informed about facts and rumours. However, except in the early 1640s, the Temple correspondence rarely contains political news or references to contemporary events. News and information were sometimes too sensitive to appear in a newsletter. Face-to-face communication was safer than letters which might be intercepted.

[281] Morgan, John, 1988, *Godly Learning*, Cambridge University Press, paperback edition, p. 17.
[282] Curtis, Mark H, 1964, 'William Jones, Puritan Printer and Propagandist', in *The Library*, Volume s5-XIX, Issue 1, p. 44.
[283] Gill, Alison Ann McKay, 1990, 'Ship money during the personal rule of Charles I', PhD thesis, University of Sheffield, p. 295.
[284] Bellany, Alistair, 2002, *The Politics of Court Scandal in Early Modern England*, Cambridge University Press, p. 81.

Van Duinen regards the suggestion that Saye and Sele and other leaders of the Providence Island Company took the opportunity to discuss political and religious issues (and plot rebellion) when they gathered for a company meeting as being 'somewhat overstated'.[285] Nonetheless, 'the Providence Island grandees thought first in political terms'.[286] Contemporary political issues would have been talked about (even if only informally) at company meetings. Saye also 'held meetings of his friends at his Oxfordshire house, Broughton Castle' to discuss contemporary politics in a room (according to tradition) accessed by a secret staircase.[287]

If a letter was used for communication, discretion was necessary. A trusted messenger could be given additional information to be imparted by word of mouth. This method was used by Brilliana Harley in 1643.[288] Similarly, Lord Saville writing to the wife of Sir Peter Temple in 1642/3 said 'All letters are now opened, so I am glad to disguise my hand, neither with superscription nor subscription. The bearer will know to whom to deliver it, and you will easily guess from whom it comes'.[289] Nonetheless, Cust stresses the importance of both personal correspondence and newsletters for communicating news and rumours.[290] There are also examples of hidden messages using a cardan grille in the letters of Brilliana Harley.[291] Even after a letter was received, it could be incriminating if retained. In November 1629, Sir William Masham, wrote to his mother-in-law mentioning the potential for 'punishment out of

[285] van Duinen, Jared, 2009, 'The Junto and its Antecedents: the Character and Continuity of Dissent under Charles I', PhD Thesis, University of New South Wales, p. 212. He quotes 'the pseudonymous Mercurius Civicus' as making such a suggestion (ibid, p. 199).
[286] Kupperman, Karen Ordhal, 1989, 'Definitions of Liberty on the Eve of the Civil War', *The Historical Journal*, Volume 32, Number 1, p. 18.
[287] Zagorin, Perez, 1970, *The Court and the Country*, Athenium, unpaginated on-line edition.
[288] Downes, Stephanie et al, 2018, *Feeling Things*, Oxford University Press, p. 125.
[289] Hamilton, William Douglas, 1887, *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, Volume 18, HMSO, p. 445.
[290] Cust, Richard, 1986, 'News and Politics in Seventeenth Century England', in *Past and Present*, No. 112, p. 62
[291] Lewis, Thomas Taylor, 1854, *The Letters of Lady Brilliana Harley*, Camden Society Old Series, Volume 58., letters 188 and 189.

Parliament for crimes committed in Parliament'. He was sufficiently concerned that he closed his letters with the words 'Pray burn this'.[292] It is perhaps an indication of the Temples' relatively low level of activity in sensitive areas that such comments rarely appear in the family correspondence.

This chapter begins with a discussion of puritan networks in general, including the Hampton Court conference, and the York House conference (the first occasion in which family members played a major role). The chapter will then split into two strands following the failure of the York House conference to condemn Montagu. The first will cover a variety of religious aspects, starting with Feoffees for Impropriations, then looking at parish appointments by the Temples and the extent to which the family was aware of and influenced by the Feoffees. The chapter will then review the sparse evidence of family resistance to Laudianism. The second strand will analyse the parliament of 1626, and the role of Sir Alexander Temple in particular. This strand will then move on to other political resistance, particularly the Palatinate benevolence, the forced loan and ship money. The imposition of the ship money stimulated more widespread resistance to royal policy by the family because members were expected to pay it and to collect it. The final part of the chapter will bring these strands together, concluding that the description of the Temples as a puritan family is justified, but that their involvement in co-ordinated puritan activities was intermittent and often occasioned either by their family relationship to Saye and Sele, or because the measures (particularly Ship money) had a direct impact on them. Nonetheless, with two notable exceptions, the family sided with Parliament in the Civil Wars. Indeed, two people with the name Temple signed the death warrant of Charles I, James Temple who was a family member using the definition in this thesis and Peter

[292] Searle, 1983, pp. 106-7.

Temple who was a relative, but not a family member. Another family member, Sir Peter Temple, was nominated to serve on the court that tried Charles I but did not participate.[293]

2.2 Puritan Networks

2.2.1 – Families and Other Networks

This section will examine links created by marriage, noting that were often accompanied by many other connections between the families involved. It is widely recognised that the key puritan figures were related to each other by marriage, with all that entailed in terms of shared obligations and expectations. These marital alliances between puritan families have been cited as an important factor in supporting puritanism and an accompanying political programme in the first half of the seventeenth century.[294] Many studies of puritans or puritanism make some form of reference to a network of puritan families. The extent and connections in these networks are rarely explicitly noted, but links through the Temple family can be implicit. One example comes from Sharpe who says that 'the Patricians of Caroline puritanism were a tight network'.[295] He notes that the Rich family was connected to the Fiennes family but does not give details.[296] They were certainly connected through the Temple family and Sir Alexander Temple in particular. He was the brother-in-law of Fiennes (Viscount Saye and Sele) and was connected via his stepdaughter to the Whalley family which was in turn related to the Cromwells and on to the Barringtons. This link connected the Temples with the Richs (Earl of Warwick) and many others.

[293] See Chapter 1, p. 37 for more on Sir Peter and p. 38 for James.
[294] For example, Cliffe, 1984, p. 68 and Durston, 1996, p. 28.
[295] Sharpe, 1995, p. 744.
[296] Sharpe, 1995, p. 744.

Families related by marriage had shared concepts of obligation and expectation, examples of which have been previously noted.[297] However, they were also connected by their religious views and by the letters they exchanged. However, without further evidence, the network remains simply a series of families connected by marriage. This mirrors the accusation levelled by Kishlansky at Adamson that he conflates connection with influence.[298] These days we describe connected families as a network, but this usage is relatively recent. Lindsay O'Neil notes that 'while neighbour or neighbourliness possessed great social resonance (in the seventeenth century), the word network did not.'[299] Applying this usage of the term network to the seventeenth century is anachronistic and it is important not to carry over any associations from twenty-first-century usage – particularly to assume that a network implied networking in the modern sense.

Puritan networks could be formed by links other than marriage. Hughes remarks on puritan ministers having 'homosocial ties' that developed at university or in the households of senior ministers.[300] Webster notes that John Cotton 'boarded students in his own house, which became a model godly household'.[301] However, connections other than marriage or siblinghood are less clear cut in the creation of expectations of support. Belonging to the same Inn of Court or having attended the same college may have provided access to ask for support but did not create a reasonable expectation of receiving it – a theme taken up by Peacey with respect to Lincoln's Inn.[302]

[297] See above pp 40 - 50.
[298] Kishlansky, Mark A, 1990, 'Saye What?', *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 33, No. 4, pp. 920 – 922.
[299] O'Neill, Lindsay, 2015, *The Opened Letter*, University of Pennsylvania Press, p. 2.
[300] Hughes, 2008, p, 303.
[301] Webster, Tom, 1997, *Godly Clergy in Early Stuart England*, Cambridge University Press, p. 24.
[302] Peacey, Jason Tom, 1994, 'Henry Parker and Parliamentary Propaganda in the English Civil Wars', dissertation submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. Cambridge University, p. 45.

Connections such as shared education and shared membership of committees or organisations may have resulted in influence. The fact that two individuals attended the same Inn of Court does not imply that they ever met or communicated. Nonetheless, Tyacke presents a great deal of compelling evidence of the ability of puritans to co-ordinate and communicate using a variety of networks.

The language used by Nicholas Tyacke portrays a national and co-ordinated organisation of puritans.[303] He speaks of 'the capacity to organise on a nationwide basis', 'the Puritan organizers' of the petitions to James I and 'the Puritan campaign managers'. Tyacke describes in detail the extent of some puritan networks in which the individuals were connected by dedications in published works, letters exchanged and legacies in wills.[304] Interestingly, the networks he describes rarely involve marriage alliances of the sort mentioned by Cliffe. The networks instanced by Tyacke,[305] whilst undoubtedly extensive, do not seem to connect to other known networks. However, in a later publication, he talks of 'a web of familial and ideological relationships, nurtured by marriage, education, and the ministration of preachers, and capable moreover of transmission down the generations'.[306] An example, studied by Eales, was the Harley family, whose 'distinctive religious outlook drew them into a network of like-minded laity and ministers which had little to do with geographical boundaries'.[307] She also points out that from 1640 onwards these networks were used 'to mobilise public opinion, to influence MPs and to shape (the reforms) of the Long Parliament'.[308]

[303] Tyacke, 2001, pp.111-112.
[304] Tyacke, 2001, pp.113-126.
[305] For example, the letters of John Stoughton and John White (ibid., pp. 124 – 125) and book dedications (pp. 117 -118).
[306] Tyacke, 2010, p. 533.
[307] Eales, 2002, p. 10.
[308] Durston & Eales, 1996, p. 185.

The key point about a network of families related by marriage is that a marriage in the seventeenth century did create a set of expectations of mutual aid and support. It also created close links between individuals.[309] The variety of types of connection raises the possibility of selection bias so I shall focus on marriage connections only mentioning other connections where appropriate. That many puritan families were linked by marriage is irrefutable. The extent to which that that connection constitutes a network that facilitated or co-ordinated activities beneficial to puritan aims will be pursued with reference to the Temple family in the remainder of this chapter by considering some specific examples.

2.2.2 Co-ordination of Puritan Activities: The Hampton Court Conference and beyond

This section will discuss co-ordination of puritan activities in the early years of James I's reign and the lack of involvement of the Temple family. Organisation supporting a puritan agenda took place regularly during the reigns of Elizabeth I and James I.[310] With the accession of James I, as John Spurr puts it, 'the puritan brotherhood swung into action to bombard the king with petitions'.[311] Collinson describes these activities as 'the carefully articulated pleas of the resurfacing puritan party in the early months of the new reign'.[312] In addition to the petitions, examples of co-ordination in the first and second decade of the seventeenth century include the Hampton Court conference and the case of William Jones, a printer who attempted to persuade parliament to pass an act of attainder against Richard Bancroft (Bishop of London, and later Archbishop of Canterbury).[313] I have found no evidence of involvement of Temple family members in any of these activities.

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[309] See above pp 8 - 9 and Appendix 5.
[310] Activities in Elizabeth's reign have been covered in Collinson, 1967.
[311] Spur, 1998, p. 59.
[312] Collinson, 2013, p 198.
[313] See Curtis, 1964.

There are two early examples of Temple family involvement in co-ordinated activity which could be regarded as pursuit of a puritan political agenda. John Temple was put forward as a Justice of the Peace in Buckinghamshire in 1584 in a letter to the third Earl of Bedford. One of his qualifications was his 'soundness in true religion' and that his appointment would lead to 'the encouragement of such as be godly and sufficient men which possess the gospel in godly and good course'.[314] The signatories to this letter of recommendation included two of John's future relatives. One was Miles Sandys (the brother of Edwin Sandys, Archbishop of York), whose daughter, Hester, was to marry John Temple's son, Thomas, in 1586. Another signatory who was a future relative was Thomas Denton who married one of John's daughters about 1589. It is interesting to note that although Denton's signature to the nomination suggests he regarded himself as one of the 'godly and sufficient men', his son (and therefore John's grandson), Sir Alexander Denton sided with the King in the Civil War.[315] Miles Sandys was a prominent member of Buckinghamshire society who served in eight Parliaments between 1563 and 1597. In October 1584, he wrote to John Temple discussing who should be chosen in the election that had just been called and addressed him as his 'loving friend'.[316] In a subsequent letter after the marriage of Hester and Thomas, he describes himself as John's 'brother in law', an indication of the fluidity of terms used to describe relationships. These two examples – the nomination of John Temple as a JP and the discussion of the choice of MP – both took place in the sixteenth century, but similar activities would have taken place on other occasions as well, as the need arose. These examples could have promoted the puritan agenda. However, members of the gentry, whether puritan or not endeavoured to secure

[314] Huntington Library STT 2546, quoted in Peck, 2003, p.79
[315] Participation of family members in the Civil Wars is discussed on p. 61.
[316] Huntington Library, STT 1773, Miles Sandys to John Temple.

places on the bench for their friends and allies and discussed the choice of MP when an election was called.

More active involvement of the Temple family begins in 1622 with the Palatinate Benevolence. A brief discussion of this will be deferred until section 2.7.1.[317] Instead, I will skip forward to the York House Conference. In 1624, Richard Montagu, subsequently Bishop of Chichester and then Norwich, published *A New Gagg for an Old Goose* in response to a pamphlet by the Catholic theologian, Matthew Kellison. This was an important milestone that began nearly two decades of acrimonious argument in the Anglican church. Montagu went beyond a rebuttal of Kellison by also attacking Calvinism, perhaps as a test of the strength of Arminianism in the light of an apparent movement towards it by James I as well as the perceived support of his likely successor.[318] Montagu and his book were denounced in Parliament and the opinions in it were the subject of various counter publications.

In addition to its importance in national history, the publication of *A New Gagg* set in train a series of events of importance to this thesis. Viscount Saye and Sele (the husband of John Temple's daughter Elizabeth), together with Robert Rich, Earl of Warwick proposed a conference to consider Arminianism in general and Montagu's books in particular. The conference illustrates co-ordination (at least in small measure) of opposition to the perceived rise of Arminianism and is significant because a member of the Temple family was a participant.

[317] Beginning on p. 93.
[318] Tyacke, 2001, p. 143.

By 1624, a group including Warwick, Saye and Sele and John Preston who met at the home of Lucy, Countess of Bedford was already 'regarded as a coherent and independent faction to be reckoned with'.[319] John Preston was known within the Temple family, the Earl of Lincoln (who was married to John Temple's granddaughter, Bridget Fiennes) having been his pupil at Cambridge.[320] The idea of a conference may have been the result of discussions at Barrington Hall in December 1625.[321] The Duke of Buckingham had been courting the puritan leaders and had secured for Preston the position of master of Emmanuel College, Cambridge. The conference was held at his London residence, York House. 'Buckingham spoke [at the conference] to a brief supplied by the supporters of Montagu … and, it can be assumed, with the approbation of [King] Charles'.[322] The conference took place over two sessions, on 11th and 17th February 1625/6. Saye and Sele was present at both sessions and played a role in organising the case against Montagu.[323] He would have relayed an account of the proceedings to his relatives who had an interest. These included his son-in-law, the Earl of Lincoln and his brother-in-law, Sir Alexander Temple.

Saye and Sele contributed to the proceedings on several occasions.[324] The principal speakers spent time arguing about detailed points of theology. Believing that the conference was not addressing the main point Saye and Sele said, 'the chiefest matter of all is yet behind which is touching falling away from grace and concerning the definitions of the synod of Dort against Arminianism, wherein Dr Preston shall speak.'[325] At the end of the first session, Saye and Sele proposed that the results of the Synod of Dort should be binding on the Church of England, but this was emphatically rejected by Buckingham and others.

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[319] Hunt, 1983, pp.180-181.
[320] Tyacke, 2001, p. 147.
[321] Hunt, 1983, p. 193, referencing ERO, D/DBa/F5/1 (The Barrington papers).
[322] Tyacke, 2001, p. 168.
[323] Moore, Jonathan D, 2007, *English Hypothetical Universalism*, William B Erdmans, pp.151 & 152.
[324] Tyacke, 1987, pp. 164 – 180.
[325] John Preston was initially an observer, but became more active, especially in the second session.

The conference neither condemned Montagu or Arminianism. From the puritan point of view this constituted a failure, although the result of the conference 'was less theological than political'.[326] It enabled the Arminians to 'seize the initiative' in the fight for control of the English church.[327] Buckingham's opinions, expressed at the conference also marked a terminal rift between him and the puritans.[328] It also clarified the support of the King and Buckingham for Arminianism.[329]

2.3 The Feoffees and the Temple – Lenthall Connection

The most clear-cut example of directed and co-ordinated action by puritans was the formation and operation of the Feoffees for Impropriations (1626 – 1633). Their activities have been described by Ethyn Kirby[330] and Isobel Calder.[331] Calder subsequently published a scholarly edition of the documents generated by the trial of the Feoffees in 1632.[332] This was particularly valuable because many of these documents are in poor condition due to fading and tears. No family member is known to have participated in the activities of the Feoffees, but connections existed from the Feofees to Saye and Sele, the Earl of Lincoln and Sir Alexander Temple, suggesting that these family members were at least aware of the Feoffees.

[326] McClelland, 1969, p. 39.
[327] Spurr, 1998, p. 36.
[328] Barbara Donagan prefers Calvinist to the 'tendentious word puritan' Donagan, 1991, p. 312.
[329] Donagan, 1991, p. 314.
[330] Kirby, Ethyn W. 1942; 'The Lay Feoffees: A Study in Militant Puritanism', *The Journal of Modern History*, Vol. 14, No. 1.
[331] Calder, Isobel M, 1948, 'A Seventeenth Century Attempt to Purify the Anglican Church', *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 53, No. 4 (July 1948),, 1948.
[332] Calder, Isobel M, 1957, *Activities of the Puritan Faction of the Church of England*, 1625-33, The SPCK.

John Preston and others established the Feoffees as a direct result of the failure of the York House conference, and within a few days of its second session.[333] The idea apparently originated with Preston, Richard Sibbes and John Davenport.[334] Preston held the preachership at Lincoln's Inn from 1622. He would have been known to the various Temple family members who had a connection to the Inn. These included both Sir Thomas and Sir Alexander Temple and their nephew, Henry Parker. One of the legal trustees was Christopher Sherland who was listed by Russell as anti-Buckingham in the 1626 parliament,[335] in which Sir Alexander Temple also served.[336] Sherland was also a member of the Providence Company alongside Saye and Sele.[337] During the time the Feofees were operating, Saye and Sele also had a close relationship with two of the other trustees - Richard Sibbes and John Davenport.[338] 'Sibbs and Davenport published some of John Preston's sermons at the request of Lord Saye'.[339] Preston's *The New Covenant*, published in 1629 and edited by Richard Sibbes and John Davenport, was dedicated to Theophilus Clinton, Earl of Lincoln, and William Fiennes, Viscount Saye and Sele'.[340]

The Feoffees secured donations to acquire advowsons and to support godly lecturers and curates.[341] The establishment of the Feoffees was a significant step-change in puritan organisation. The Feoffees 'represented a highly organised and semi-institutionalised attempt to influence the form of ministry that was practised by the English church'.[342] Similar

[333] Kirby, 1942, p. 10.
[334] Brenner, Robert, 2003, *Merchants and Revolution: Commercial Change, Political Conflict, and London's Overseas Traders, 1550-1653*, Verso, p. 263.
[335] See below p 86.
[336] See above pp. 86 - 93.
[337] Kirby, 1942, p. 6.
[338] Brenner, 2003, p. 263.
[339] Brenner, 2003, p. 263, n. 30.
[340] Fincham, Kenneth, and Lake, Peter, 2006, *Religious Politics in Post-reformation England*, Boydell & Brewer, p. 141.
[341] Spurr, John, 1998, *English Puritanism 1603-1689,* Macmillan Press, p. 83.
[342] van Duinen, 2009, p. 239.

organisations were established in Leicester, Reading and Norwich. Webster says that these were 'co-ordinated by central direction'.[343] By implication, the co-ordinator was Preston who 'governed the affairs of the Puritans'.[328]

During their trial in 1633, the Feoffees were accused by the Attorney General, William Noye, of 'concentrating their attention on preachers in towns represented in the House of Commons'.[329] Hunt asserts that Feoffees were founded 'to advance the godly ministry, especially in parliamentary boroughs'.[344] This may be true, but if so, it was understood among the Feoffees without being among their 'twenty orders to guide their activities'.[345]

The Feoffees acted 'as quietly as possible',[346] but were well known in the puritan community and received about 100 donations over the course of seven years.[347] (Sometimes, the same person made more than one donation and sometimes, donations made by multiple people were recorded in a single entry.) This list of donations does not show any member of the Temple family contributing, although possibly they made a contribution that was combined with others. The Feoffees' activities were noticed by the authorities, and they were charged with acting as a corporation without obtaining a royal charter rather than for supporting puritanism. Tyacke says that they were accused of misappropriation of funds 'in that it was mainly spent on hiring preachers and not on endowing vicarages'.[348] This is true in a technical sense since if they were acting illegally, soliciting and spending donations would be

[343] Webster, 1997, p. 10. [328] Webster, 1997, p. 10, quoting an unspecified source, possibly Cotton Mather, *Magnalia, Christi, Americana*. [329] Calder, 1957, p, xxii.
[344] Hunt, 1983, p. 196.
[345] Calder, 1957, p. xii. The orders themselves were repeated with a minor commentary in the opinions of the barons transcribed in Calder, 1957, pp.107-109.
[346] Kirby, 1942, p. 9.
[347] Calder, 1957, pp. 28 – 36.
[348] Tyacke, 2001, p. 121.

misappropriation. However, it appears that donations were willingly given in full knowledge of how the money would be spent and it was indeed spent for these purposes. I am not aware of any complaints by donors, and it was not raised as an issue at the trial which it would have been if they existed. At least one group of contributors to the Feoffees approved of the way in which the money had been spent and petitioned Laud to restore the payment of £40 per year to the minister at High Wycombe which had ceased when the assets of the Feoffees were forfeited to the King.[349] After the Long Parliament was called, the suppression of the Feoffees was among the complaints in the root and branch petition of 1640.[350]

The chief counsel for the Feoffees at their trial in 1633 was William Lenthall.[351] Although Lenthall does not seem to have had any previous involvement with the Feoffees, he was a committed puritan,[352] who was subsequently Speaker of the Long Parliament. He was presumably known to the Feoffees since he was a bencher at Lincoln's Inn where Preston had held a preachership. Lenthall was not a member of the Temple family by my definition, but he was a relative and was closely associated with the family. His brother (Sir John Lenthall) was married to Sir Thomas Temple's daughter, Bridget. In addition to being related by this marriage, Sir Alexander Temple and William Lenthall may have come into contact through their common association with Lincoln's Inn, where Temple had rooms. Lenthall appears to have been a reasonably close friend of Temple. Lenthall represented Temple in at least one court case (in October 1629)[353] and had a portrait of Sir Alexander in his collection of

[349] Petition from the Mayor and townspeople of High Wycombe to Archbishop Laud, quoted in Bruce, John, 1862, *Calendar of State Papers (Domestic) 1631-1633*, PRO, p. 179.
[350] Durston, 1996, p. 192.
[351] Kirby, 1942, p. 17.
[352] Herbert, N A, 1988, *Victoria County History of Gloucester*, Volume 4, Victoria County History, p. 89.
[353] National Archives, E 126/3 no 3 Cal page 320 r, Entry Books of Decrees, William Lenthall acting on behalf of Sir Alexander Temple and Sir Thomas Culpepper.

paintings.[354] There is no evidence that Sir Alexander Temple contributed to the Feoffees, but he must have been aware of them because of his association with both Saye and Sele and William Lenthall.[355]

2.4 Parish appointments by the Temples prior to the Civil Wars

This section will examine the use of advowsons by the Temples, especially presentations made by Sir Alexander Temple to the living at Grays (in Essex). Eales has argued that the ownership of advowsons which gave the puritan gentry the right to choose (within limits) the parish minister was one of the most significant ways in which they supported puritanism.[356] She notes however that 'their assistance was exercised in a piecemeal fashion using traditional lines of social contact. It was only rarely they organised themselves on a more systematic basis'.[357] This section will examine the Temple family's use of advowson rights and their motivation when they did exercise these rights. Were they acting to support puritanism, supporting other family members, or making a choice to enhance their standing within the community? There will be an example of a family member (Sir John Temple of Frankton) paying for a curate at his local parish church as an alternative to securing an acceptable minister. The ownership of advowsons grew as the family acquired more land and as the membership of the family increased with new marriages to members of the gentry and aristocracy. Consequently, presentations were more numerous in the reign of Charles I than in his father's. However, this was probably an organic phenomenon rather than a concerted effort on the part of the family.

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[354] Matthews, John, 2006 (1), 'The Landscape of Stowe in the Early 17th Century', University of Cambridge – ICE, Research Projects in Landscape History – unpublished final project report, p. 17.
[355] A visit by Temple and Lenthall to Lord Petre is mentioned in chapter 3, p. 125.
[356] Durston & Eales, 1996, p. 185.
[357] Eales, 2002, p. 65.

John Temple, having acquired the manor of Stowe including the advowson in 1590,[358] presented John Marshe to the living in 1603.[359] This is the first of many subsequent presentations to the living at Stowe by the Temple family, but I have found no indication of Marshe's religious views or priorities. It was convenient to own the manor in which his house was located and the ability to present the minister was a bonus which may have been a factor in his decision to acquire the manor and advowson. Initially, the Temple family appear to have acquired advowsons as an incidental aspect of buying manors. However, in the 1620s and 1630s the family increasingly began to value them in their own right. It is not always possible to determine the exact religious views of ministers presented by members of the Temple family, but in some cases, as we shall see below, there is evidence that they were either puritan, or at least did not favour Laudianism. As the Temples bought more land, the number of advowsons under their control increased. In 1618, Sir Thomas Temple obtained one third of the advowson of Burton Dassett and in 1619 presented John Raignolds.[360] I have not found any indication of his religious views or priorities.

The evidence that the Temple family actively used this power to promote puritanism is sparse at best. They owned so few advowsons and opportunities to present arose so infrequently that they did not have a major impact. This contrasts starkly with the 2nd Earl of Warwick who 'was sole owner of nineteen Essex advowsons and part-owner of two more' and acquired a twenty-second before the outbreak of the Civil War.[361] However, even Warwick could only

[358] Page, William (ed), 1927, A History of the County of Buckingham, Volume 4, Victoria County History, https://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/bucks/vol4, p. 232.

[359] Lipscomb, George, 1847, *History and Antiquities of the County of Buckingham*, J&W Robins, p. 108.

[360] (CCEd Person ID: 28732) The Clergy of the Church of England Database 1540–1835, https://theclergydatabase.org.uk/jsp/persons/CreatePersonFrames.jsp?PersonID=28732.

[361] Donagan, 1976, p. 389. However, she notes that estimates of the number vary and explains the variations in fn 18 p. 390. She also points out that the connection between the Earl controlling a large number of livings and the general acceptance of the idea that Essex was a puritan county has been 'over simplified' (p. 388).

make a presentation when there was a vacancy. Donagan quotes the example of Childerditch, where the incumbent served from 1611 to 1654, so no presentation was possible during the reign of Charles I.[362]

The family influence also increased as Temple children married into other landed families. Elizabeth Temple's husband, Lord Saye and Sele, owned the Broughton (Oxfordshire) advowson. There is some limited evidence that this was used to promote puritanism. Apparently, Ralph Tayler, the incumbent between 1615 and 1641,[363] was shown 'much kindness' by Nathaniel Fiennes suggesting he had puritan sympathies.[364] Catherine Temple's husband, Sir Nicholas Parker, leased the advowson of Willingdon (Sussex) from the Dean and Chapter of Chichester and presented Edmund Hall in 1607.[365] Hall continued at Willingdon until his death in 1626, but I have found no evidence of his religious views.

Sir Alexander Temple made two presentations to the living at Grays Thurrock, Essex in 1626 and 1627.[366] They were Robert Archdale and Henry Dyason and were mentioned by J R Hayston who wrote three articles on the history of the parish.[367] There is evidence that the

[362] Donagan, 1976, p. 392.

[363] (CCEd Person ID: 15598) The Clergy of the Church of England Database 1540–1835, https://theclergydatabase.org.uk/jsp/persons/CreatePersonFrames.jsp?PersonID=15598.

[364] Lobel, Mary D and Crossley, Alan (eds), 1969, The Victoria History of the County of Oxford: Bloxham Hundred, Vol IX, Oxford University Press, p. 100.

[365] (CCEd Person ID: 77278), The Clergy of the Church of England Database 1540–1835, (https://theclergydatabase.org.uk/jsp/DisplayAppointment.jsp?CDBAppRedID=162595).

[366] National Archives, E 331/LONDON/13, Diocese of London, Certificates of Institution. Mentioned in Grays Library (Reference), E. THU. 3, Brook's papers, Vol. 6, Material relating to Grays Manor and Advowson collected by H.E Brooks.

[367] In Hayston, JR, 1974, 'The Parish Church of St Peter and St Paul, Grays Thurrock' (part II), *Panorama 17, the Journal of the Thurrock Local History*, p. 65. & Hayston, JR, 1975, 'The Parish Church of St Peter and St Paul, Grays Thurrock' (part III), Panorama 18, the *Journal of the Thurrock Local History*, p. 44 as well as Smith, Harold, 1926, 'Some Omissions in Newcourt's Repertorium',

first of these presentations served to provide support to a relative and that the second presentation may have provided support for a minister sympathetic to puritan ideals.[368] Cliffe notes the key role of puritan squires as patrons for their parishes.[369] However, Temple seems not to have owned the Grays advowson. He is not mentioned as a patron in the Grays section of the *Victoria County History* or in Newcourt's *Repertorium,* nor does he appear in the clergy of the Church of England database, although its coverage of the diocese of London is currently incomplete. A bibliography of Thurrock history listed papers by Herbert Brooks (an amateur local historian of the Thurrock area) concerning the Grays advowson at Grays Library which record some research commissioned by Brooks in the 1920s. [370] The Rev Dr Harold Smith had found a record of these two presentations by Temple when he 'looked up the bishop's certificates of institution for Grays Thurrock'.[371]

The ability to make a presentation could be exercised on a single occasion without owning the advowson and Temple had apparently acquired the temporary right to make these presentations. This temporary right is known as '*pro hac vice'*, which translates literally as 'for this turn'. It allows a brief assumption of advowson rights (possibly by lease) rather than the presentation by the actual patron. Smith speculated that Temple may have been acting as a trustee, or possibly he had lent money against the value of the advowson. By whatever means he acquired possession of the right to present, in view of his relationship with the first of his

Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society, Volume XVII (New Series), p. 27, although Smith does not name Temple as making the presentation.

[368] See below, pp.78 - 79.

[369] Cliffe, 1984, pp. 169 – 192.

[370] Sparkes, Ivan G, 1960, The History of Thurrock – A Guide and Bibliography, Typescript, Thurrock Public Libraries, p. 125. I am grateful to the late Terry Carney for drawing my attention to this.

[371] The quotation comes from a letter from Smith to Brooks. I am very grateful to Louise Harrison of the London Metropolitan Archive for pointing out that the certificates are held at the National Archives See also Matthews, John, 2003, 'A Note on the Advowson of St Peter and St Paul, Grays', *Panorama 42, the Journal of the Thurrock Local History*, p. 57.

two presentations, his acquisition of the presentation rights may have been a deliberate act of assistance to a relative.

This first presentation, in February 1625/6, was of Robert Archdale. Robert's brother, John Archdale, was married to Katherine, daughter of Sir William Temple. Katherine was the granddaughter of John Temple's brother Anthony, so Archdale and Katherine do not qualify as members of the Temple family by my definition, although Robert would have been regarded as kin. Nonetheless, this presentation is another example of family relatives supporting each other. Robert Archdale moved on from Grays relatively quickly to become the rector of Trimley St Martin in Suffolk. He appears to have died by 1640,[372] and I have not been able to uncover any evidence of his religious views.

The relocation of Archdale meant that Sir Alexander had the opportunity to make a second presentation, Henry Dyason who was presented in July 1627.[373] Temple having been declared sound in religion by the committee of privileges in the House of Commons in 1624 and being opposed to Arminianism by his own statement, it is plausible that he should make a presentation of someone who did not embrace Laudianism.[374] There is some evidence for this. Hayston notes that the parish of Grays 'had been in trouble the year before [1637] for not providing a rail round the communion table'.[375] Apart from the absence of railings around the communion table in Grays while Dyason was the incumbent, the condition of the surplice by the minister was criticised. Hayston notes that the 'the surplus is a coarse old one peeced

[372] Norfolk Record Office, Norwich Consistory Court, PRCC2/2, administration act book, 1639-1640, fo 40, Robert Archdale, clerk, Trimley St Martin.

[373] Dyason does not appear in Walker Revised or Calamy Revised. He was apparently an MA, but I have not located him in Foster or Venn.

[374] See below, pp. 87 - 91.

[375] Hayston, 1975, p. 57.

round below'. The state of the surplice at Grays may simply be neglect[376] and the lack of railings may be conservatism or poverty. However, Essex was known as a puritan county and nine parishes close to Grays were criticised for failing to follow the required Laudian practices during the metropolitan visitation in 1637.[377] These were the parishes of Aveley, South Ockendon, Fobbing, Horndon and Laindon Hills where there were also no rails around the table. In addition, Stifford, Chadwell St Mary, Orsett and West Tilbury did not have the communion table in the east end of the church.[378] The combination of Temple's known views and the two specific failings at Grays can be taken as indications of opposition to Laudianism during Dyason's incumbency. The failings in the nearby parishes suggests that the area was generally unsympathetic to Laudianism and increases confidence in the belief that Temple's second presentation served to increase this opposition.

Temple made these presentations at Grays during the time the Feoffees were active.[379] His relationship with William Lenthall suggests he might have been aware of the ideas of the Feoffees and might have been influenced by them when he made the second. The first presentation to the living of Grays was a direct help for a relative. A presentation of a family member could also be used for other reasons. An example of this was the case of the presentation of Dr Thomas Temple to the living at Bourton on the Water.[380] Sir Thomas had bought the advowson from Sir Gerrard Fleetwood, but Dr Thomas was one of the parties to the transaction. To avoid allegations of simony, the advowson was conveyed to one of Sir Thomas's sons-in-law, Sir John Rous, who duly presented Dr Thomas. However, I have not

[376] Hayston quotes evidence of 'considerable neglect' at Grays. In addition to the state of the surplice, the pulpit was 'a little rotten' and 'the lynnen cloth for the Communion table (was) not worth sixpence'.

[377] Webster, 1997, pp. 235 – 254.

[378] Sparkes, Ivan G, 1961, 'William Laud, One-time Rector of West Tilbury', in *Panorama, the Journal of the Thurrock Local History Society*, Volume 6, p. 34. I am indebted to Susan Yates for this reference.

[379] Listed without a date in Hayston, 1974, p. 65, although the dates were given in the letter to Brooks from Smith.

[380] O'Day, 2018, p. 404.

discovered any evidence that the Archdale family was involved in the presentation made by Sir Alexander.

There are few examples of nominations by the Temples, and it is often difficult to determine their religious views. Consequently, there is little evidence that the Temples were advancing godly ministers through their patronage. For this reason, the evidence from presentations cannot support the assertion that the Temples were a puritan family.

2.5 The Laudian Reformation and Puritan Resistance to it

Clearly there were individuals or groups of individuals who were discussing and co-ordinating their actions in opposition to crown and Laudian policies. This was explicit in the case of the Feoffees who had written objectives and records of their actions. In the case of the Providence company, this was more covert and cloaked by legitimate organisation for other purposes. I will suggest that the reaction of the puritan gentry to the Laudian reformations of religious practices has the characteristics of organisation but can be explained without the need for an organiser or central co-ordination. I shall look in some detail at Sussex, partly because it has been well documented by Fletcher but also because East Sussex was the home of two branches of the Temple family, the Busbridges at Etchingham and the Parkers at Willingdon, as well as being home to Sir Alexander Temple (in Etchingham) and his son James (in Clapham). I shall mention Essex which was a godly county and has been covered in detail by Webster. I shall draw some comparisons with Herefordshire, the home of the Harley family, but much less fertile ground for puritanism.

After his appointment as Bishop of Chichester in 1628, Montagu began to enforce his views in Sussex by means of his triennial diocesan visitation of parishes.[381] Fletcher describes this as Arminianism, but the main issues addressed in the visitations were ceremonial practices rather than theological beliefs. Montagu's insistence that clergy wear the surplice and bow at the name of Jesus put him into direct conflict with many of the puritan gentry of East Sussex, among whom were the Temples, the Parkers and the Busbridges. Montagu also managed to offend some who were not committed puritans by insisting that the churchyard (and indeed the church itself) should not be used for secular purposes. It had not been unusual to allow the churchyard to be used for pasture and in some parishes the church had been used for schooling. However, the churchwardens were reluctant to report infringements and the ministers tended to revert to normal procedures shortly after the visitation. There was an open lack of observance by puritan gentry.[382] This illustrates the growing irritation of many puritan gentry with the policies being pursued by Laud and the King and meant that enforcing Laudianism proceeded slowly. This resistance to Montagu appears to have been a shared reaction by some puritan gentry. There may have been some conversation and sharing of experience, but no evidence of formal co-ordination or direction has been discovered.

Laud followed a similar path in the see of London (which included Essex) and was able to extend it nationally once he became Archbishop of Canterbury. Essex has some similarities with Sussex. Like Sussex, it was a county with significant areas of puritanism and resistance to Laudianism. It was also the county in which Sir Alexander Temple had another residence. As noted above, he was able make a presentation to the living at Grays Thurrock that may have

[381] A more detailed account of what he calls 'the enforcement of Arminianism' is in Fletcher, 1975, pp.76 – 93.

[382] Fletcher, 1980, pp. 90 – 93. This resistance is likely to have included the Busbridges and the Parkers, although no specific evidence about these families has yet been located other than the mention of rails in the letters from the Ann Temple to her daughter, Ann Busbridge, noted below p. 84. See also note 403 concerning bowing to the table at Etchingham.

served to promote puritanism.[383] The Earl of Warwick and to a lesser extent the Barrington family held many advowsons and were thus able to offer positions and protection to puritan ministers. Like Montagu, Laud used the visitations to encourage reformation in ceremonial practices, and as in Sussex changes during the visitation were not necessarily permanent. Dr Aylett wrote to Sir John Lambe in March 1636/7 that after a visitation by Laud, 'that M^{r} vicar generall was no sooner gone out of y^{e} country, but one sets up to confute that hee had delived'.[384]

Laud also used more direct methods to attack puritanism, silencing puritan preachers where possible,[385] and striving 'to suppress chaplains and lecturers'.[386] Once the period of personal rule had begun, Laud was able to silence three prominent Essex lecturers – Thomas Hooker, Daniel Rogers and Nathaniel Rogers. In this case, the puritan clerics organised. On 29th July 1629, Hooker and others 'conferred at the home of Theophilus Clinton, the Earl of Lincoln' (married to a granddaughter of John Temple).[387] Although the main subject was the finances and organisation of colonies in North America, Laud's intentions were already clear, so it is likely that the subject was mentioned. A few months after the meeting in Lincoln's home, forty-nine Essex ministers (who styled themselves 'obedient to his Majestie's ecclesiastical lawes') signed a letter to Laud supporting Hooker.[388] Six of those signing in Hooker's support held livings that were in the gift of the Earl of Warwick.[389]

[383] See above pp. 76 - 77.
[384] National Archives, SP 16/350 f.116, Dr. Robert Aylett to Sir John Lambe, quoted in Smith 1932, p. 55 who modernises the text. Robert Aylett was the poet and civil lawyer who lived in Essex.
[385] Hunt, 1983, p. 253.
[386] Smith, Harold, 1932, *The Ecclesiastical History of Essex Under the Long Parliament and the Commonwealth*, Benham & Co, p. 28.
[387] Webster, 1997, p. 152.
[388] Tyacke, 1987, p. 188.
[389] Tyacke, 1987, p. 189.

A week later, forty-one ministers presented a counter petition.[390] They styled themselves 'of the conformable part'.[391] Although these petitions are regarded as in opposition to each other, three ministers signed both petitions.[392] Despite being delivered first, the godly petition was a more rapidly organised response to the initial collection of signatures to the anti-Hooker petition.[393] The godly efforts were to no avail. Thomas Hooker lost his position as lecturer in St Mary's Chelmsford in 1629 and subsequently fled to the Netherlands and then to North America. Daniel Rogers was suspended in 1631 and Nathaniel Rogers in 1635.[394]

In less puritan counties such as Herefordshire the puritan gentry were in a minority, so they were less able to resist the advance of Arminianism, although the lack of enthusiasm for Laudianism from the various bishops of Hereford aided them. However, the puritan gentry were still able to use their power of presentation, as the Harleys did.[395] The Harleys owned 'at least eight advowsons'[396] and were able to establish 'a small concentration of preaching ministers'.[397]

The clearest opposition to the Laudian reformation within the Temple family can be seen in the opinions of Sir John Temple of Frankton and his immediate family. Although Temple has been described as 'a militant puritan', I am not aware of the evidence for this being set down in detail elsewhere.[398] Temple did not own the advowson of his local church, but he was able

[390] Smith, 1932, p.24.
[391] Tyacke, 1987, p. 189.
[392] Tyacke, 1987, p. 189.
[393] Webster, 1997, p. 153.
[394] Webster, 1997, pp. 172, 173, 186.
[395] Eales, 1990, p. 68.
[396] Five of these are named in Eales, 2002, p. 56, n. 30.
[397] Vernon, Elliot, and Powell, Hunter (eds), 2020, *Church polity and politics in the British Atlantic world, c. 1635-66*, Manchester University Press, in section headed 'plans to reform the Welsh church' (online edition upaginated).
[398] Hughes, 1987, p. 54.

to secure a godly curate who was closer to his religious views than the pluralist vicar. He arranged for Simon Moore to be appointed and provided hospitality for him to supplement his stipend. Moore was among the 'prominent ministers' who signed a petition against the 'etc oath' at the house of Thomas Dugard in December 1640.[399] Moore had been suspended following a visitation in 1635 for administering the communion to 'non-kneelants',[400] but maintained his connection with Temple and Frankton.

In a letter written around 1630, Temple offers spiritual advice to his son-in-law (John Busbridge).[401] After his death in 1642, his daughter Mary wrote, 'God hath begun to accomplish that which he gave my farther and mother faith to beleeve'.[402] This apparently refers to the anti-Laudianism of the early 1640s. There is another example in a letter to Anne Busbridge, in January 1641, from her mother, Temple's wife, Ann. She specifically mentions altars and altar rails. 'God gives them hope to see idolatry and superstition rooted out; altars and rails are fast disappearing and yours (ie the rails in Etchingham church) must follow if it be not down already'.[403]

In Temple's will, written in 1642, there is a long religious preamble. He writes about his 'expectation of my Resurrecon at the last day to my everlastinge bliss and comfort and everlasting Salvation through the meritts and righteousnese of the Lord Jesus Christ my Savior and Redeemer'. This wording is not common and implies it was written by Temple himself rather than a will-writer. In addition to the preamble, Temple asks to be buried 'in decent and

[399] Hughes, 1987, p. 134.
[400] Hughes, 1987, p. 70 referencing Lich J R O B/V/1/63.
[401] East Sussex Record Office, DUN 51/52.
[402] East Sussex Record Office, DUN 51/55, 56, quoted in Fletcher, 1975, p. 105.
[403] East Sussex Record Office, DUN 51/54. Edward Polhill, vicar of Etchingham from 1609 to 1654, 'who weathered the various religious changes of the 1630s and 1640s' (Fincham, 2007, p. 221) asserted that another ceremony to which puritans objected, that of bowing to the table, was not practised in Etchingham.

orderly manner (without pompe)'. Houlbrooke points out that by 1640, the desire to avoid wasteful ostentation at a funeral was becoming common.[404] Some puritans criticized spending money on funeral ceremonial rather than charity. However, 'many moderate Puritans officiated at elaborate funerals'.[405] In Temple's case, it could be a general opposition to ostentation or a specific opposition to excessive Laudian ceremony. He goes on to refer to his 'worldly estate both real and personal of which the Lord hath made me a Steward and intrusted mee with in this life'. This is another sign of strong religious views. He leaves 'Mr Moore' (Simon Moore referred to above) five pounds. He describes Moore as 'preacher at Frankton' and desires 'him to preach a sermon at my ffunerall'.[406] Taken together, these sentiments expressed in his will provide evidence to support the other indications of his anti-Laudian sentiments.

There is also some evidence of the religious sentiments of John's daughter, Anne Busbridge. In a letter dated 26th November 1632, Simon Moore refers to her as 'his right worthy and dear Christian friend'. He also expresses sorrow 'to hear of the misfortunes of her brother Temple'. This may be a reference to the financial troubles of James Temple, her husband's stepbrother (and her cousin).[407]

Overall, the proportion of the family for which there is direct evidence of resistance to Laudianism is relatively small. However, I shall show in the next two sections that there was

[404] Houlbrooke, Ralph Anthony, 1998, *Death, Religion and the Family in England*, Oxford University Press, p. 270.
[405] Houlbrooke, 1998, p. 271.
[406] National Archives, PROB 11/190/417, Will of John Temple of Frankton.
[407] East Sussex Record Office, DUN 51/58. The financial troubles of James Temple were also mentioned by Margaret Longueville (See Chapter 1, p 43.)

political and constitutional opposition to royal policies by members of the Temple family which in some cases can be associated with religious beliefs.

2.6 Political and Constitutional Opposition to the King

2.6.1 The Parliament of 1626

Charles I's first parliament had failed to satisfy the King's need for income. He called a second parliament that opened on 6th February 1626, almost coincident with the York House conference.[408] The fact that Parliament was in session meant that the most politically influential men in England were in London at the same time. Any political news could be spread rapidly and be discussed widely. After the failure of the puritans and other Calvinists at the York House conference, puritans began to look at alternative ways of opposing Arminianism and promoting puritanism, both in parliament and the country. As a result of the York House conference, 'the controversy over Montagu had begun to bleed into the impeachment of Buckingham'.[409] This section will begin by discussing some analysis of this parliament by Russell and to a lesser extent, WM Mitchell. It will then consider the stance of the Commons on Arminianism and then move on to the attempted impeachment of the Duke of Buckingham. It will focus on the role and views of Sir Alexander Temple.

Russell has analysed the position of various members of the 1626 parliament, both MPs and in the Lords. [410] He lists 21 whom he regards as pro-Buckingham and 30 who were anti-Buckingham (including both Lords and Commons). He also lists 30 members who made anti-

[408] Bidwell, William B and Jansson, Maija (eds), 1991, *Proceedings in Parliament, 1626,* Volume I, The Yale Center for Parliamentary History, p. 3.

[409] McCarthy, Jesse, nd, *The Emergence of English Arminianism: Richard Montagu 1624 - -1629*, https://www.academia.edu/23833050, p. 41.

[410] Russell, 1979, p. 435.

Arminian speeches in the Commons between 1621 and 1629.[411] He gives their subsequent allegiance in the Civil War. There is a significant overlap between the lists. Twelve of the twenty-four MPs listed as anti-Buckingham are also listed as anti-Arminian speakers in the Commons. In contrast, of the seventeen MPs in the pro-Buckingham list, only three are listed as anti-Arminian.

Mitchell commented on the political inclinations of the most active committee members in the parliament of 1626.[412] He says, 'of the leading nineteen in committee service, eight had records that would tend to make them court sympathizers'. Sir Alexander Temple is included as one of these eight. Unfortunately, Mitchell does not say what these 'records' were that 'would tend to make them court sympathizers'. I argue below that Temple was a Calvinist (and probably a puritan) and made more than one statement that criticised Buckingham, either directly or implicitly.[413] It is therefore difficult to justify describing him as a court sympathizer. Temple is not the only name on the list whose sympathies may have been misinterpreted by Mitchell. Another name in the eight 'court sympathizers' is Sir Nathaniel Rich (a relation of the Puritan Earl of Warwick). Rich's speeches to earlier and later parliaments mark him down as no friend of the court and he is listed by Russell as anti-Arminian.

2.6.2 Arminianism and the Position of Sir Alexander Temple

Montagu's views were again condemned in the 1626 parliament, and he was held to be guilty of contradicting the thirty-nine articles. Speaking in parliament on June 6th, a few months after the close of the York House conference, Sir Alexander Temple said that 'Arminianism might be added to the other heads of business of the greatest evil consequence against religion and the

[411] Tyacke says that thirty-two active anti-Arminian or Calvinist MPs can be traced between 1624 and 1629, (Tyacke, 1987, pp. 130 - 134.) He names each of the thirty-two together with the parliament they served in but does not include Sir Alexander Temple. Since it is difficult to interpret Temple's comment quoted below as anything other than anti-Arminian, it appears that Tyacke was unaware of this comment.

[412] Mitchell, WM, 1957, *The Rise of the Revolutionary Party in the English House of Commons, 1603-1629*, Columbia University Press, p. 113.

[413] See below pp. 91 - 93.

whole kingdom'.[414] However, despite this speech, he is omitted from the list of MPs who spoke against Arminianism put together by Russell. This may be because the remarks were made during a conference with the Lords rather than on the floor of the House.[415] Nonetheless, he can legitimately be added to Russell's list.

Temple did not mention Montagu by name, but he was likely to have known about him by repute amongst his friends and neighbours since Montagu's parish of Petworth was in Sussex, about sixty miles from Temple's home parish of Etchingham (also in Sussex). In view of Temple's interest in religious issues, he would also have been aware of previous denunciations of Montagu in the parliament of 1624, and his brother-in-law, Saye and Sele, would have been able to keep him informed of the results of the York House conference.

Early in the parliament, a committee on religion was formed, with wide-ranging powers to consider religious subjects rather than a single proposed Act. This committee had 30 members, under the chairmanship of John Pym and included Sir Alexander Temple.[416] Five of the appointments to this committee were privy councillors,[417] while five are listed by Russell as anti-Arminian. In addition to Temple, appointments to this committee who are not listed by Russell as anti-Arminian included Sir Francis Barrington. Thus, whilst the committee

[414] Cockburn, David Anthony John, 1994, *A Critical Edition of the Letters of the Reverend Joseph Mead*, PhD Dissertation, University of Cambridge, p. 314.

[415] The conference is noted in Bidwell & Jansson and appears to have been about the remonstrance drafted by the Commons which included charges against Buckingham as well as complaints about the imprisonment of two members of the Commons and a justification of delays in granting revenue to the King. The full text is in Bidwell & Jansson III, 1992, pp. 436 – 441, but the exact context of Temple's comments is not clear.

[416] Bidwell & Jansson II, 1992, p. 13.

[417] They were the Treasurer, the Secretary, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Comptroller and the Chancellor of the Duchy (presumably, Sir Humphry May who was an MP and Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster). The appointment of government ministers to committees does not appear to be very common. Given their other commitments, they may not have been active members, but they would have been able to report to the King on the committee's activities. Haven, 1958, p. 275, lists eight members of this committee but his list only partially corresponds with those in Bidwell & Jansson, and does not include Sir Alexander Temple.

membership was not uniformly puritan, seven of the 25 non-conciliar members of the committee were predisposed to oppose Montagu and any movement towards Arminianism, ensuring a strong voice against Montagu in the committee's deliberations.

Sir Alexander Temple was appointed in total to thirty-six committees and served on virtually every committee dealing with religious subjects. Among others, these committees included those considering an act to prevent corruption in presentations, an act against scandalous ministers, an act concerning 'popish recusants',[418] an act 'for the breeding and bringing up of recusants' children,[419] and an 'act for keeping the Lord's Day commonly called Sunday'.[420] The efforts of the early Caroline parliaments (including that of 1626) to persecute Catholics are analysed in detail by Havran.[421] Tyacke notes that the parliament of 1626 had a majority of Calvinist MPs.[422] Havran suggests that the puritan interest in persecuting Catholics may have been in part 'to forestall the crown's request for subsidies'.[423]

In addition to the Pym's committee on religion, perhaps the most significant of Temple's committee appointments was on 14th June to the committee considering 'An act for the better continuance of peace and unity in the Church and commonwealth'.[424] This had been introduced the previous day in response to the King's proclamation 'for the establishing of the

[418] Bidwell & Jansson II, 1992, pp. 101 - 102.
[419] Bidwell & Jansson II, 1992, p. 159.
[420] Bidwell & Jansson II, 1992, p. 161.
[421] Havran, Martin J, 1958, 'Parliament and Catholicism in England 1626 – 1629', *The Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. 44, No. 3, pp. 273 – 289.
[422] Tyacke, 1987, p. 128.
[423] Havran, 1958, p. 273.
[424] Bidwell & Jansson III, 1992, p. 444.

peace and quiet of the Church of England'.[425] This proclamation was seen as supporting Montagu and challenging the right of the Commons to consider religious issues. The proposed act would have incorporated 'Calvinist orthodoxy into the Church of England'.[426] In the event, the dissolution of the 1626 Parliament took place the next day so there was no scope for further discussion in the Commons, although a similar bill was introduced into the Parliament of 1628.

Temple's appointment to these religious committees suggests that he had an interest in the politics of religion and was known by his fellow MPs as someone who could contribute to the debate. The number of committees to which he was appointed may seem large considering this was his first (and only) term in parliament. However, Temple was not an unknown quantity. He had been appointed to several public offices – twice as a commissioner receiving evidence in Kent; he was a JP, a commissioner for sewers for the stretch of the north Thames that included his house in Chadwell St Mary; the captain of Tilbury Fort and had been a warden of Rochester Bridge. In addition, he had family members in the 1626 parliament. There were two in the Lords: Viscount Saye and Sele and his son-in-law, the Earl of Lincoln. (Russell lists Saye and Sele, but not Lincoln, as anti-Buckingham.) In the Commons in addition to Sir Alexander Temple, there were three other members of the Temple family. These were Sir Alexander Denton, Sir Thomas Denton, and James Fiennes. Bidwell and Jansen record no speeches for either of the Dentons or for James Fiennes, but five speeches are recorded for Sir Alexander Temple.[427] However, perhaps the most important consideration was that Temple had successfully challenged the result of the 1624 election for the Winchelsea seat. As part of their report, the committee for privileges had cleared him from all suspicion in religion (one of

[425] McCarthy, nd, p. 44.
[426] McCarthy, nd, p. 44.
[427] Bidwell & Jansson IV, 1996, General Index, pp. 401 – 528.

the allegations made against him was 'of suspected religion, and allied to an arch-papist, the earl of Clanricarde').[428] This earlier endorsement of his religious views may have been a significant factor in his appointment to the various committees considering religious topics.

2.6.3 Buckingham's impeachment and the position of Sir Alexander Temple

The attempted impeachment of Buckingham by the 1626 parliament began as soon as it opened and continued until the parliament was dissolved.[429] Russell presents this impeachment as a dispute between different court factions played out in the Commons.[430] It is certainly true that a major issue in the impeachment was Buckingham's unsuccessful raid on Cadiz. However, the timing, immediately after Buckingham had failed to condemn Arminianism at the York House conference, together with the identity of Buckingham's leading opponents in the Commons, suggest that religious issues were also a major factor. In a speech on 20th April, Sir John Eliot outlined the case against Buckingham. One of the complaints Eliot lists against the Duke was that he had allowed English ships to be used by the French Catholic monarchy against the protestants in La Rochelle.[431] Similarly, Sir Dudley Digges said that, 'it may be a fault that the Duke did not prevent nor hinder the sending of the ships to Rochelle'.[432] Support for protestant states against Catholic ones was common among English protestants, and particularly strong among puritans. The Barrington correspondence shows that they followed the successes and setbacks of the protestant cause in the Thirty Years War with keen interest.[433]

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[428] The History of Parliament Trust has published an extensive article on Sir Alexander Temple's period in Parliament as well as his other activities. (Davidson, 2010, https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1604-1629/member/temple-siralexander-1583-1629).

[429] Tyacke, 2001, p. 144.

[430] Russell, 1979, pp.16 – 17.

[431] Bidwell & Janssen, 1992, volume III, p. 35.

[432] Bidwell & Janssen, 1992, volume III, p. 36.

[433] eg Searle, 1983, pp. 101 – 2, among other letters.

Although Temple's opposition to Arminianism in the parliament of 1626 is clear, his position regarding the Duke of Buckingham is more ambiguous. On 14th March Sir Alexander was appointed to a committee considering proposals by Sir Dudley Digges concerning the sea war and looking at Buckingham's position as Lord High Admiral.[434] When the House of Lords requested a conference to discuss the state of the war, Sir Alexander was among those chosen to represent the Commons.[435]

This suggests he was regarded by his fellow MPs as being supportive of their case against the Duke. Temple spoke several times on the subject of Buckingham in the parliament of 1626. In mid-March, the Commons was considering the report from the committee for evils, causes and remedies that had put forward six complaints about Buckingham. The Duke was Lord High Admiral and during one debate, Sir Alexander was among those who complained that the country's defences were in the hands of people who were not fit for office.[436] It is difficult to interpret this as anything other than a thinly veiled attack on the Duke. However, on the 2nd May, he said that he 'desired not the Duke's ruin'.[437] Nonetheless, on 14th May, Sir Alexander said that 'he would deliver some probable reasons why the Duke should be hated both of papists and protestants'.[438] Whilst there is ambiguity in Temple's remarks in Parliament, he himself acknowledged that his actions may have been seen as hostile to the Duke of Buckingham. Temple was captain of Tilbury Fort. On January 18th, 1626/7, in an attempt to obtain payments for himself and the gunners at the fort, he wrote to Buckingham and referred

[434] Bidwell & Jansson II, 1992, p. 28.
[435] Bidwell & Jansson II, 1992, p. 195.
[436] Bidwell & Jansson II, p. 314.
[437] Bidwell & Jansson, III, 1992, p. 130. Unfortunately, this quotation is probably a short extract from a longer speech, and it is not possible to determine the overall tone or whether the quoted comment on Buckingham was merely a rhetorical flourish.
[438] Bidwell & Jansson, III, p. 162.

to 'seeming errors of his in parliament'.[439] This is probably a reference to his comment that 'the Duke should be hated both of papists and protestants'. [440]However, despite this evidence of his views, he is not included among Russell's list of 'some supporters and opponents of the Duke of Buckingham in 1626'.[441] There is little doubt that he should have been on the list of opponents as well as on the list of anti-Arminians. In addition, this evidence of Sir Alexander's speeches and letters both in and out of parliament suggest that that Mitchell is wrong in describing him as a member of the court party.

2.7 Other political opposition

2.7.1 The Palatinate Benevolence and the Forced Loan

Charles I's frustration with Parliament's unwillingness to grant him the revenue he believed was his due and its continued attacks on Buckingham resulted in the dissolution of parliament in June 1626. Charles's need for money, coupled with his reluctance to call a new parliament in order to avoid giving a platform for puritan opinion, resulted in the imposition of the Forced Loan.[442] A similar tactic had been employed in 1622 when parliament had failed to provide funds for the defence of Palatinate. The council then instituted a benevolence or free gift to be collected from the gentry and aristocracy. Saye and Sele was public in his opposition to this.[443] He was imprisoned for eight months charged with failing to pay and with hindering others from paying.[444] Among the others he may have attempted to persuade not to pay was his brother-in-law, Sir Alexander Temple. Temple was one of eleven persons from Sussex

[439] National Archives, SP 16/50 f.52, Letter from Sir Alexander Temple to the Duke of Buckingham.
[440] Bidwell & Jansson, III, p. 162.
[441] Russell, 1979, p. 334.
[442] Cust, 1985, pp. 210 – 211.
[443] He argued that everyone was free to contribute but should not be pressured to do so. He also asserted that the King could call a Parliament and he would be happy to pay if Parliament endorsed it. (Schwarz, M, 1971, 'Lord Saye and Sele's Objections to the Palatinate Benevolence of 1622', *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies,* Vol. 4, No. 1, p. 16.)
[444] Schwartz, Hillel, 1973, 'Arminianism and the English Parliament', in *Journal of British Studies*, Volume 12, Number 2, p. 12.

summoned to the council for failing to pay the Palatinate benevolence, although he did eventually pay in May 1622.[445]

The imposition of the forced loan in 1626 had the effect of stimulating further co-ordination among the King's opponents. The forced loan had no direct religious significance, and opposition to it was couched in constitutional language. However, according to Bulstrode Whitelock, a friend of John Hampden, 'the papists were forward in the loane and the puritans were recusants in it'.[446] Tyacke has pointed out that long-standing puritan opposition to extra-parliamentary taxation was grounded in biblical analysis.[447] In addition to a puritan belief in Christian liberty derived from Galatians 5:1,[448] there was also the practical objection that obtaining money without calling a parliament was intended by Charles to deprive them of a platform.

Among those who resisted the loan were Viscount Saye and Sele, his brother-in-law, Sir Alexander Temple[449] and Saye's son-in-law, the Earl of Lincoln. Temple's resistance was recorded in a letter from the Sussex JPs to the council. Their opposition was couched in economic rather than constitutional terms. The resistance in Sussex was resolved by counting the cost of billeting soldiers towards the county's contribution and Temple eventually paid. However, both Saye and Sele and Lincoln were prepared to go to prison in defiance of the loan.[450] In fact, Lincoln 'directed one of the most effective protests' against the loan and was

[445] The list of Sussex resistors is in the National Archives (SP 14/127 f. 115) and the eventual payment is in SP 14/156 f. 15.
[446] Quoted in Cliffe, 1984, p. 152.
[447] Tyacke, 2015, pp. 747 - 751.
[448] Tyacke, 2015, p. 748.
[449] National Archives, SP 14/127 f.115.
[450] Cust, 2013, p. 51.

probably the author of an anonymous pamphlet arguing against it.[451] Both Sir Thomas and Sir Peter Temple appear to have been reluctant to pay as Sir Thomas Denton, who had been chosen to collect the loan,[452] wrote to them saying if they continued to fail to pay he would be forced to report them as 'we are now called upon to give in the names of such as have payd and such as doe refuse'.[453] However, they do not appear to have been subject to penalty, so they presumably did pay.

2.7.2 Ship Money

In 1634 Charles I imposed ship money on coastal regions and in 1635 extended it to inland counties. This resulted in a similar pattern of opposition as there had been to the forced loan which was, at least to some extent, organised. Gill remarked that, 'men who were unhappy with Church and State met regularly, acted collectively and were influential beyond their own immediate circles'.[454] On March 21, 1636/7, Dr Aylett[455] mentioned that there was a puritan conventicle in Coggeshall in Essex, 'where they refuse both the first and second payment of ship-money'.[456]

There was opposition to ship money by various Temple family members. At the time of the first writ for collecting the new charge, Sir Peter Temple was Sheriff of Buckinghamshire. Gill notes that 'Sir Peter Temple did not write to Nicholas,[457] nor did he pay in any money before his term of office expired'.[458] He was 'kept a prisoner in his own house at Stowe, to answer for

[451] Cust, 1987, pp. 170 – 171.
[452] Peck, 1993, p. 93, where he is called Sir Thomas Demon, but the correct name is clear from the description as Sir Thomas Temple's son-in-law and from subsequent usage.
[453] Huntington Library, STT 577, Sir Thomas Denton to Sir Peter Temple, quoted in Peck, 1993, p. 96. There is no record of either Temple being imprisoned, so it would appear that this warning was effective.
[454] Gill, 1990, p. 425.
[455] Mentioned above p. 82.
[456] National Archives, SP 16/350 f.116, Dr. Robert Aylett to Sir John Lambe.
[457] Sir Edward Nicholas, Secretary of State.
[458] Gill, 1990, p. 221, n. 103.

arrears of Ship Money'.[459] Sir Peter describes this incident in a letter to his mother (dated 8th July 1636) where he complains of being in the custody of a King's messenger at Stowe until he has given an account to the King personally on 17th July.[460] His successor as Sheriff had apparently blamed Temple for the shortfall in collections. On the 12th of July Sir Peter wrote again to his mother saying that he 'had not wone peny of itt (the King's money) in my hands, but he has some of mine'.[461] Among the Buckinghamshire gentry who refused to pay was John Hampden of Great Kimble,[462] who had previously been imprisoned for failure to pay the forced loan. The council was able to exploit the fear of losing influential and prestigious offices (such as JP) to intimidate the gentry into cooperation.[463] However, this does not appear to have happened to any member of the Temple family.

Sir Thomas Temple's daughter, Martha, had married Sir Thomas Penyston (the stepson of Sir Alexander Temple). Along with his first wife's uncle (Viscount Saye and Sele), Penyston was one of the Oxfordshire JPs and others who would not pay the ship money.[464] However, he became sheriff of Oxfordshire in 1637 and thus responsible for its collection. He seems to have been less than diligent in this task. That at least was the opinion of Edward Nicholas to whom Penyston wrote in response nine times over the course of about eighteen months explaining

[459] Verney, Margaret M, and Verney, Frances, 1904, *Memoirs of the Verney Family During the Seventeenth Century*, Volume 1, Longmans Green, p. 64. Said to be 'compiled from the papers ... at Claydon House'. I have not yet traced the source in the Verney papers. The incident is mentioned by Mary Keeler with a supporting reference Stowe MSS, 142, fol, 45 (Keeler, 1954, p. 358.). Unfortunately, due to the cyber attack on the British Library in October 2023, I have not been able to confirm this reference.

[460] Nugent, George, 1854, Some Memorials of John Hampden, Revised 3rd edition, Chapman and Hall, pp. 99 – 100. Quoted in Bonsey, Carol G and Jenkins, JG, 1965, Ship Money Papers and Richard Grenville's Note-Book, Buckinghamshire Record Society, p. xiv. A warrant had been issued for Temple to attend the council (National Archives, SP 16/327 f. 108).

[461] Huntington Library mssST, Volume 10, STT 2059 Sir Peter Temple to Dame Hester Temple.

[462] Gay, 1939, p, 417.

[463] Sharpe, 1992, p. 444.

[464] National Archives, SP 16/336 f.107.

the difficulty in collecting the money and passing it to the treasury.[465] Nicholas had apparently cast 'blame upon him (Penyston) for not paying any part of the money for the present year'.[466] Later Nicholas apparently told him 'his Majesty is much displeased'[452] and accused him of 'neglect and disaffection to his Majesty's service'.[467]

It was noted by the council that the counties of Essex, Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Northamptonshire and Gloucestershire were unwilling to pay ship money. The sheriffs of these counties 'pretend to be true servants to the King … privately listen very much to their kindred and friends near them, who, to speak very modestly, are known to be hollow-hearted to the King'.[468] The Sheriff of Buckinghamshire was Penyston's first wife's cousin, Sir Alexander Denton, who was reported to have prevaricated about the legality of ship money, by saying 'hee was noe lawyer; therefore he wanted the knowledge to determine of things of that nature'.[469] Resistance to the ship money is indicative evidence of resistance to royal policies, although some who resisted did not support Parliament in the Civil War. One such example is Sir Roger Twysden. An example from the Temple family is Sir Alexander Denton who, despite apparent lack of enthusiasm over ship money, went on to fight for the Royalists (as did his son-in-law, Sir Edmund Verney).[470] Nonetheless, those who resisted the ship money were more likely to be opponents of royal policy in other areas. Gill asserts that 'by the middle of the decade (the 1630s) these changes had altered the way people viewed politics and the way they interpreted other people's actions. When they used the labels of "court" and "country"

[465] National Archives, SP 16/382 f.109, 16/385 f.125, 16/386 f.137, 16/389 f.9, 16/389 f.263, 16/ 393 f.34, 16/395 f.109, 16/420 f.420, 16/428 f.123.
[466] National Archives, SP 16/385 f.125. [452] National Archives, SP 16/389 f.9.
[467] National Archives, SP 16/389 f.263.
[468] National Archives, SP 16/386 f.160, Information as to unwillingness in Essex and cos. Oxford, Buckingham, Northampton, and, most of all, in co. Gloucester, towards the payment of ship-money.
[469] B L Add MS, 11045 f 67, newsletter to John, Viscount Scudamore, written by John Flower, paraphrased in Gill, 1999, p. 414 who gives the folio number as 68. Denton was being questioned by a panel of three prominent people.
[470] Thomson, History of Parliament online. Wyman, 2004.

they did so as a sort of shorthand for differences in political and religious outlook'.[471] Certainly, among the individuals most associated with opposition to the ship money, Hampden and Pym, were prominent in the initial parliamentary opposition to Laudian policies in 1640-1. Similarly, Viscount Saye and Sele and the Earl of Warwick were both prominent puritans and prominent in their opposition to ship money. Wentworth believed Hampden and Saye were motivated by both religious and political discontent in opposing ship money.[472]

Gill notes that outside the open-field areas, the 'wealthy and confident middling sort asserted their position by means of godly discipline and puritanism'.[473] The counties of Essex, Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Northamptonshire and Gloucestershire, noted by the council as being unwilling to pay the ship money, were outside the areas of open-fields. Gill goes on to say that 'By the 1630s there were significant differences between areas like Essex and Northamptonshire, where the gentry and the common people shared a belief that the King had abandoned tradition and godliness in both Church and state, and other areas where the link had not been made between ecclesiastical and secular grievances'.[474] However, the link between puritanism and opposition to Ship Money is not clear cut. Gill notes that in Norfolk and Suffolk, there was little resistance to the ship money although they were 'solidly Parliamentarian during the civil War'. Similarly, despite the lack of enthusiasm for puritanism in Herefordshire, there was some resistance to the Ship Money, largely based on the inability to pay the amounts demanded.[475]

[471] Gill, 1999, pp. 301 – 302.
[472] Gill, 1999, p. 486.
[473] Gill, 1999, p. 294.
[474] Gill, 1999, p. 296.
[475] Eales, 1990, p, 87.

Viscount Saye and Sele is well known for his resistance to the extension of ship money. He brought a legal case arguing against the validity ship money as did many others including the Earl of Lincoln. Eventually a test case by John Hampden was argued in the Court of Exchequer and was decided in July 1638. Tyacke remarks that 'the mounting of this test case... is impressive testimony to the existence of an organized puritan opposition'.[476] The King's position was upheld by a majority of seven to five judges.

Once the Long Parliament was called, Henry Parker (one of John Temple's grandsons) published an analysis of the ship money case, arguing against the majority decision by the judges.[477] This was written and published in 1641. Michael Mendle describes it as probably 'a factional piece, written in the political interests of Parker's Uncle, Lord Say'.[478] Calling it a factional piece can be justified since it makes the case for one side of an issue. In addition, as Peacey points out, 'Saye was deeply involved' in the arguments about ship money.[479] Peacey notes that some of Parker's pamphlets 'were commissioned by, and others … made explicit his support for, Saye's interest'.[480] In a work published in the same year (*A Discourse Concerning Puritans*) Parker had acknowledged that he knew Saye personally.[481] Parker described himself as Saye and Sele's servant in one of his early pamphlets.[482] However, the implication that Parker was merely a pen for hire is difficult to justify. Parker would have been encouraged or required to write on a particular topic by his patron or employer. For example, *Of a free*

[476] Tyacke, 2010, p.547.

[477] Parker, Henry, 1640, *The Case of Shipmoney.*

[478] Mendle, Michael, 1989, 'The Ship Money Case, The Case of Shipmony, and the Development of Henry Parker's Parliamentary Absolutism', *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 32, No. 3 (Sep. 1989), p. 520.

[479] Peacey, 2004, p. 114.

[480] Peacey, 1997, p. 38.

[481] Peacey, 2004, p. 82.

[482] Zaller, Robert, 1991, 'Henry Parker and the Regiment of True Government', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 135, No. 2., p. 255. Parker uses this phrase in the pamphlet *The Altar Dispute*, published in 1641.

trade[483] was written for the Merchant Adventurers.[484] Various examples of Parker's writing on topics reflected Saye's views. He would clearly have set the tone of his work to favour his patron (or employer). However, he was not a hack pen for hire or a mere amanuensis; he was an effective propagandist on the subjects he wrote about because he shared the views of his patron.[485] In many instances, he received patronage or employment precisely because his views were known to be in sympathy with his patron or employer, for example, his employment by the Committee of Safety in 1642-43. He wrote a great deal on political and religious issues and is described by Peacey as involved in parliamentary propaganda.[486] He is the attributed writer of *A discourse concerning Puritans. A vindication of those, who uniustly suffer by the mistake, abuse, and misapplication of that name. A tract necessary and usefull for these times* which was published in 1641, shortly after it was written.[487] Mendle suggests that part of the reason for writing it may have been to defend Parker's uncle (Saye and Sele).[488] Saye is mentioned four times, but the defence is not of him personally, but of a group of like-minded people including 'Say, Brooke, Dod, Clever, etc'.[489] These people had been called puritans and in the mind of the accusers this means they have committed 'those mischiefs and plagues which now incumber both Church and Commonwealth, and to be guilty of all those crimes'.[475] 'Whosoever is a Puritan, is censured, hated, and slandered as a man perverted and disaffected in Religion, Piety, Policy, and Morality'.[490] Parker is saying that if that is the definition of puritan, then neither he nor the people he is defending 'merit the name of Puritan'.[477] These 'crimes' by puritans included inciting an invasion by the Scots and

[483] Published in 1648.
[484] Peacey, 2004, p. 276.
[485] Parker's relationship with his patrons and employers is discussed in Peacey, 2004, pp. 275 – 276.
[486] Peacey, 2006, p. 178.
[487] Mendle, 1995, p. 51, however Peacey (1994, p. 56) believes it was written before 1638.
[488] Mendle, 1995, p. 54.
[489] Parker, 1641, p. 57. [475] Parker, 1641, p. 5.
[490] Parker, 1641, p. 62. [477] Parker, 1641, p. 4.

Parker did explicitly defend Saye against accusations that he was part of a conspiracy to ferment an invasion of England by the Scots.[491] Parker also made written contributions on Laudian innovations, the authority of episcopacy and those who assisted Charles I during the personal rule.[492] Peacey concludes that 'Parker's work ... provided the only major statement of the view of the opposition leaders'. [493] These various works are a clear indication of his sympathy for the puritan political and religious agenda.

2.8 Conclusions

This chapter has explored whether the Temples supported the puritan agenda and whether they were part of a 'network of puritan families bound by ties of kinship, bloodied by the political battles of the 1620s and unceasing in their attention to both the domestic scene and the progress of the Thirty Years War'?[494] This quotation describes the Barrington family, but is a vivid example of similar descriptions elsewhere. There is evidence of puritanism and actions supporting a puritan agenda, although I have not (yet) found mention of the progress of the thirty years war among the Temple letters.

There is strong evidence for the political and religious views of some members of the Temple family. John Temple supported the godly; Sir Thomas advocated Sabbatarianism; Sir Alexander and Saye and Sele opposed Arminianism; Sir Alexander presented an apparently puritan minister; Sir John (of Frankton) supported a godly curate; the Reverend Doctor Thomas Temple preached to the Long Parliament and Henry Parker praised puritanism and opposed Laudianism in his writing.

[491] Peacey, 1994, p. 51.
[492] Peacey, 1994, pp. 49 and 50. (Peacey uses the term Arminian innovations).
[493] Peacey, 1994, p. 52.
[494] Warren, 2011, p. 67 .

For others, especially the female members of the family, (with the exception of Ann Tomlins and Mary Temple) it is virtually non-existent, or at least it has not been uncovered to date. As a result of this lack of direct evidence, it has been necessary to use other factors such as resistance to the various extra-parliamentary levies and taxes as an indicator. In addition, activities after the time period of this thesis (such as service in the parliamentary army or membership of the Westminster parliament after the royalists had moved to Oxford) will be taken as an indicator of earlier views.[495] Whilst these indicators are not perfectly correlated, they evidence they provide is reasonable and generally increases the likelihood that a particular individual was a puritan or a supporter of the puritan agenda.

The extent of co-ordinated puritan activity varied enormously and did not consist of a single national body. A shared response could be relatively straightforward as illustrated by the puritan gentlemen of Sussex and Essex resisting efforts to increase Laudianism in these counties. Although they may have talked with each other and observed their neighbours' actions, their reaction can be explained without need to invoke co-ordination or communication. At the other end of the spectrum were the Feoffees who were established by a formal document, held minuted meetings and kept financial accounts. Whilst 'the patronage of puritan clergy by courtiers and gentry was of prime importance in the survival and growth of puritanism,'[496] during the early years of the reign of James I, the Temple family had little involvement in co-ordinated support for the puritan religious and political agenda. They have no known involvement in the petitions to James I or the Hampton Court Conference. However, they were involved in discussions about the selection of members of parliament, were in a position to take advantage of their public offices and according to a

[495] Discussed above pp. 16 - 17.
[496] Eales in Durston & Eales, 1996, p. 185.

comment by Vaughan, John Temple supported ‘grave and learned silenced minister[s]’at Stowe ‘.[497]

Some of these examples of the family's involvement prior to the 1620s and earlier were a natural consequence of the family's increasing status and land ownership - for example John Temple's involvement in the discussion of the choice of the local MP and his initial presentation of a minister to the living at Stowe.[498] These would have happened whatever the family's religious views. However, the words used in his nomination as a JP and his apparent shelter provided for 'grave and silenced ministers' indicate active support for puritan ideals but do not demonstrate prolonged participation in organised puritan activities.

A marriage created expectations,[499] but for the Temple family these expectations were like those of other families except for the ability of Saye and Sele to use them in his own pursuit of the puritan religious and political agenda. The family's involvement increased dramatically from the beginning of the 1620s, as society became more polarised. This greater involvement coincided with Viscount Saye and Sele's more prominent opposition to the King's policies and with his increased influence. Saye and Sele was a close relative of all the members of the Temple family as defined in this thesis. He was the husband of Elizabeth Temple; the son-in-law of John Temple; the brother-in-law of all the other children of John Temple; the father of James, Nathaniel, John and Bridget Fiennes (and thus the father-in-law of the Earl of Lincoln) and the uncle of all of John Temple's other grandchildren. On multiple occasions he was able to support a family member while at the same time promoting the puritan cause. These

[497] The quotation is from Vaughan, 1848, p.102. and I have not yet been able to trace an original source,

[498] See above p. 75.

[499] See above, pp 43 – 48.

include his involvement in Sir Alexander Temple's first attempt to enter parliament,[500] and his support for his nephew, Henry Parker, to promote his political views.[501]

Another example comes from just before the outbreak of hostilities in the Civil War. In 1642,[502] James Temple (his nephew, son of Sir Alexander) met Edward Whalley in the Strand. Saye and Sele was in the process of raising a regiment of blue coats and four troops of horse for the Parliamentary army.[503] Following this meeting, Temple secured a place for Whalley in one of the troops of horse.[504] They both probably took part in the battle of Edgehill, which was fought on October 1642, close to the Temple's earlier home at Burton Dassett.[505] Whalley went on to become a senior figure in the New Model Army and served with Temple on the High Court of Justice that tried Charles I. He was subsequently appointed by Cromwell as the Major General responsible for the counties of Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, Warwickshire, and Leicestershire.[506]

Sir William Masham's letter to Lady Barrington[507] shows that puritans were aware that the King and the church authorities could punish them for their activities. Inevitably they were reluctant to be too public or to commit too much to paper. Where possible, Saye and Sele,

[500] See above p. 46.
[501] See above p. 96.
[502] This account comes from a submission in a Chancery case nearly twenty years later and the exact date of the encounter is not given. The wording suggests it was a casual meeting.
[503] Anon, nd, Broughton Castle Guidebook, p. 1.
[504] National Archives, C 10/58/76, Whalley vs Temple.
[505] Peacock, Edward (ed), 1863, *The Army Lists of the Roundheads and Cavaliers*, John Camden Hotten, pp.47 & 52.
[506] Robins, Robert Patterson, 1877, 'Edward Whalley the Regicide', *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. 1, No. 1, p. 56.
[507] Mentioned above pp. 61 - 62.

Brook and Warwick would use legitimate meetings and organisations to act as cover for conversations that could incur the displeasure of the authorities.

Various members of the Temple family were actively opposing royal policy at a political level. Sir Alexander Temple's role in the 1626 parliament was discussed above where his Calvinism and lack of support for Buckingham was noted. Saye and Sele, together with his sons, James, Nathaniel and John and his son-in-law, the Earl of Lincoln opposed royal policy virtually continuously from the introduction of the Palatinate Benevolence until the Long Parliament. Specific examples of family members who were opposed to paying the ship money were discussed above and these family members used a variety of excuses to delay or avoid payment. Those in a position to do so for example as county sheriff, passively used their position to frustrate collection. For both the forced loan and the ship money, puritan opposition was motivated in part by the fact that obtaining revenue without calling a parliament deprived them of a platform to press their opinions.

In addition to the speeches of Sir Alexander Temple and Lord Saye and Sele, there were other expressions of belief by Temple family members. As was discussed above, many of the works of Henry Parker give a clear indication of his religious as well as his political views as a supporter of the puritan political and religious agenda. Writing in the twentieth century, John Temple asserts that 'during the Civil Wars and the Commonwealth, all, or nearly all, the Temples of a suitable age took sides with the Parliament'.[508] On the face of it, this is a good indication of the religious and political views of the family. However, he includes a number of great grandchildren of John

[508] Temple, 1926, p. 68.

Temple who do not fall within the definition of the Temple family for this thesis and does not pay much attention to the families of married Temple women.

The full picture is more nuanced than this bold statement by Temple. Appendix 4 has a table which summarises the evidence given in more detail above and shows the applicability of the various criteria applied to particular members of the Temple family. It contains relatively slim pickings. Of the (roughly) 50 male family members during the period, only nineteen appear. The family of Sir Thomas and Dame Susan Denton (née Temple) who would otherwise have appeared have been excluded because they fought for the King in the Civil War, as was Denton's son-in-law, Sir Edmund Verney. Similarly, the family of John and Mary Farmer (née Temple) have been excluded as they were Catholic. Several branches of the family are completely absent. These are the families of Edward and Millicent Saunders (née Temple) of Brixworth, Northamptonshire, Paul and Dorothy Risley (née Temple) of Chetwode, Buckinghamshire, Sir Edward and Dame Margaret Longueville (née Temple) of Wolverton, Buckinghamshire and Sir Henry and Dame Elizabeth Gibbs (née Temple) of Honington, Warwickshire. There is some information in the case of the Saunders family. Apparently, although another branch of the Saunders family remained Catholic, 'the Brixworth branch conformed'.[509]

John Temple is included. The description of his 'soundness in true religion' and as providing encouragement 'to godly and sufficient men' means he was regarded as puritan.[510] John's son, Sir Thomas Temple, is included because of his advocacy for

[509] Smith, 1971, p. 344, n. 19.

[510] Huntington Library STT 2546, quoted in Peck, 2003, p.79. See above p. 67.

Sabbatarianism. As previously noted,[511] he apparently resisted the forced loan and in 1631 told his son, Sir Peter Temple, that the two most important commandments of God were not taking the Lord's name in vain and not profaning the Sabbath 'which last will be a principal means that you shall keep the rest of the commandments'.[512] This may have been an expression of disapproval of Sir Peter's life style. Sir Peter's debts were a matter of concern within the family and despite Sir Thomas signing himself 'your very loving father', there may have been some lingering hostility from the acrimonious quarrel in the 1620s.[513] Sir Thomas also wrote to his son in July 1634, referring the immoderate hunting of his son-in-law, Sir Edward Longueville.[514] Sir Peter Temple has been included since although his problems over Ship money may not have been a consequence of opposition, his previous opposition to the forced loan and his subsequent position in the Long Parliament where he survived Pride's Purge and was nominated to the court that tried Charles I provide evidence for his support of the puritan agenda.

John Temple, son of Sir Alexander Temple, has not been included on the list because he did not meet any of the criteria. However, he did choose to join Buckingham's ill-fated expedition to the Isle of Rhé, on which he lost his life.[515] Once again, this is hardly conclusive evidence of his views,

[511] See above p. 95.
[512] Huntington Library, STT 2326, Sir Thomas Temple to Sir Peter Temple, quoted in Sharpe, 1992, p. 358. Sharpe goes on to say that Temple was not a 'fanatical puritan zealot', perhaps suggesting that Sharpe believed him to be a moderate puritan.
[513] See above p. 55.
[514] Huntington Library, STT 2322, Sir Thomas Temple to Sir Peter Temple., quoted in Peck, 1993, p. 245, n. 12.
[515] Marginal annotation in Huntington Library, STTM, box 9 folder 21, Parish register extracts with subsequent marginalia (from Stowe and other parishes). For more detail, see Matthews, 2016 (2).

but is possibly an indication of his support for European protestants in their conflict with Catholic monarchies.

The concept of a puritan family is doubly problematic; as discussed before, neither word has a specific and widely accepted definition.[516] Clearly even in a puritan family, some members may not be puritan. Whilst it has not been possible to categorise all members of the Temple family, roughly two fifths of the male family members can be categorised as puritan or supporters of the puritan agenda. This is almost certainly a larger proportion than in the population as a whole and probably on par with the proportion found in counties in the south-east of England that are often labelled puritan. Bearing in mind that there is at least suggestive evidence for some additional family members, it is reasonable to conclude that the Temples can appropriately be described as a puritan family.

The family's involvement in organised activity promoting a puritan agenda is more problematic. Certainly, Saye and Sele, his sons and his son-in-law (the Earl of Lincoln) were at the forefront. Sir Alexander Temple's words and actions also show his involvement in co-ordinated puritan activities. However, his death in 1629 meant he was not involved in the events of the 1630s. Henry Parker was certainly active and both James Temple and Sir Peter Temple were nominated to the High Court of Justice that tried Charles I.[517] With these exceptions, there is little evidence of the family's active and persistent involvement in organised puritan opposition to Laud and the King. Family members were directly affected by the King's ship money policy and opposed it. At other times, whatever their private views, very few became active participants in organised opposition.

[516] For the discussion of puritanism see pp. 12 – 22 and for family see pp. 4 - 8.
[517] James served as a judge and signed the death warrant. Sir Peter did not attend any of the court's sessions.

Chapter 3: Honour and Status

Honour and status were important to members of the English gentry during the early modern period. The Temples, like other members of their class, exhibited a great concern for them. This chapter will demonstrate that members of the Temple family often publicly displayed and emphasised their status. They acquired status symbols such as deer parks, family portraits, family pews in the parish church and funerary monuments. They also pursued honours such as knighthoods and prestigious offices such as election to parliament. They were prepared to defend their honour in the law courts if necessary and (at least allegedly) with physical violence. Family members undertook activities that were concerned with honour and status that also supported co-ordinated puritan networks and organisations.

The Temples concern for honour and status has been noted before. Courtney Thomas quotes the letter from Sir Alexander to Sir Thomas Temple as evidence of one family member attempting to correct behaviour that jeopardized the family's honour.[518] O'Day remarks about the Temple's aspirations to social betterment.[519] However, I am not aware of any previous work that looked at this concern for honour and status across all branches of the family.

Family alliances and the patronage of influential figures were an important component of the family's quest for honour and status. A patron was necessary for appointment to office and 'status and public office were ... closely linked'.[520] The Temples established or reinforced alliances and client-patron relationships by godparenthood.[521] The complex set of familial

[518] Thomas, Courtney Erin, 2017, *If I Lose Mine Honour, I Lose Myself*, University of Toronto Press, p. 161.
[519] O'Day, 2018, p. 4.
[520] Heal & Holmes, 1994, p. 11.
[521] See Chapter 1, pp 44 - 45.

expectations also connected with the hopes and expectations arising from the patron client relationship which was necessary for the Temples to achieve their desire for increased status.[522]

Honour, status, and appropriate behaviour for the gentry in the early modern period have been extensively covered in the literature from the start of the period until the present day. It is a thread that runs through Heal and Holmes' study of English and Welsh gentry.[523] They draw attention to the assertion of ancient lineage and how it was sometimes falsified; the importance of family connections; the need for income to maintain the lifestyle of a gentleman; the role of politics and administration in establishing status and the use of the fabric of the church to demonstrate status. This is a detailed study that draws from many places and people and contains a few examples referring to the Temple family. Wrightson's study of English society begins with a description of a hierarchical social structure within which the gentry needed to assert their position and attempted to rise.[524] Cust has studied the case of Beaumont versus Hastings, drawing attention to the role of litigation, emphasising in his conclusions the contrast between honour and status demonstrated by behaviour and honour and status derived from lineage and position in society.[525] Llewellyn has made an extensive study of funerary monuments and their role in establishing an honourable reputation.[526] Although his many examples include the Wotton family who were closely linked with the Temples, he does not include any examples from the Temple family itself. Linda Levy Peck has written about the use (and abuse) of patronage to secure positions and status.[527] She notes the invention and selling of honours and the extent to which this alienated even those who took advantage of it. She includes a variety of examples from the Temple family. Christopher Haigh has written about the

[522] The patron - client relationship is explored in detail by Peck, 1993.
[523] Heale and Holmes, 1994.
[524] Wrightson, 2003, pp. 26 – 46.
[525] Cust, 1995.
[526] Llewellyn, Nigel, 1996, 'Honour in Life, Death and in the Memory: Funeral Monuments in Early Modern England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Vol. 6.
[527] Peck, 1993, pp. 30 - 46.

litigation between the Reverend Dr Temple and Bray Ayleworth with extensive quotations from the records of the various court cases particularly the Court of Chivalry but also including Star Chamber.[528]

Evidence concerning the Temple family's concern for honour and status is dispersed across various archives. O'Day draws attention to the 'aspirations to social betterment and political involvement (were) characteristic of four generations of early Temples'.[529] Although she gives numerous examples, she does not focus on the acquisition of status. I have written elsewhere about some examples of the Temple family's quest for status symbols – particularly Stowe House and its landscape, the collection of family portraits and the establishment of a deer park.[530] I will include points from these at the appropriate point in the text. Other examples of what O'Day called the Temples' 'aspirations to social betterment' will be drawn from various record offices and libraries, including the British Library, the Buckinghamshire Record Office, the East Sussex Record Office, the Essex Record Office, the Greater London Record Office, the Huntington Library, Kent Archives, the Medway Archives, the National Archives and the Northamptonshire Record Office. Although many of these sources have been used by other authors, I am not aware of any other use of the sources concerning the Saunders family in the Northamptonshire Record Office or the land transactions involving the Penyston family in the East Sussex Record Office. The Huntington Library is a well-known source for the Temple family, but there are a small number of documents I shall be using that have not previously been mentioned to the best of my knowledge.

[528] The Star Chamber case was heard in November 1635 (Haigh,2005, p. 507)
[529] O'Day, 2018, p. 4.
[530] For Stowe House and its landscape see Matthews 2006. For the portraits see Matthews, John, 2013, 'The Temple Family Portraits by Cornelius Johnson and Others', *Genealogists' Magazine*, Vol. 31 and Matthews, John, 2016 (1), 'The Early Patronage of Cornelius Johnson', unpublished dissertation for the Advanced Diploma in the History of Art. For Sir Alexander Temple's deer park, see Matthews, John, 2022, 'Chadwell Park: An Early Modern Deer Park', in *Lost Gardens of Thurrock*, Essex Gardens Trust.

This chapter has seven sections beginning with the acquisition of status symbols by Temple family members, including their use of heraldry, their houses (focussing on Burton Dassett and Stowe), the establishment of deer parks and commissioning of family portraits. The second section will look at marriage agreements as evidence of both the growing status of the family and the associated increasing status of marriage partners. In the third section funerary monuments and family pews will be discussed as examples of demonstration of status. The fourth section will examine the use of litigation to assert and defend the family's honour and status. Section five will explore the family's pursuit of public offices such as membership of parliament and appointment as Justices of the Peace. Unlike the acquisition of status symbols, these required the assistance of a patron with influence at court. The sixth section will examine the marriage between of Sir Thomas Penyston and Dame Martha (née Temple) illustrating the complex interactions involved in the quest for honour and status, the expectations created by marriage, those created by the patron-client relationship and aspirations towards godly behaviour. The final section will draw conclusions from the evidence of the previous sections.

3.1 Status symbols

Concern for honour and status was an ever-present theme in the story of the early Temple family. When Peter Temple first arrived in Burton Dassett (in 1541), the bailiff acting on behalf of the co-owners, was John Pettifer (possibly the father-in-law of one of Peter's stepdaughters).[531] In 1548, Pettifer died and Temple, who was the tenant with the largest holding, became the bailiff and rent collector. After subtracting his fee, he passed their share of the rents to each of the co-owners. Although this job was not particularly profitable, it gave him a greater status and influence than the other local farmers. At this time, Peter was already referring to himself as a

[531] Alcock, 1981, p. 26, note k.

gentleman in his account book.[532] In his will, written on 8th April 1571 but not proved until 1578, he called himself Peter Temple, Esquire.[533]

In 1548 Peter also began to build himself a new house, completing it the following year. Perhaps this new home was needed to accommodate his growing household, but it was probably also an expression of his growing social status. Heal notes that 'new building provided a wide range of opportunity to display gentility'.[534] Like his existing house, the new house was close to the Burton Dassett parish church. The house was in an area called the Grove. The house burned down in January 1920 and there do not seem to be any surviving drawings or photographs. The accounts of payments for building the house do survive, and from these Alcock has been able to put together some idea of what the house looked like. [535] It was a high-quality house with two brick chimneys and glazed windows – not common features at this date. The exterior of the house was the local yellow-brown stone. Internal walls were of wood, using wattle and covered with plaster. Peter's house was 'eminently suited to be a gentleman's home'.[536]

Peter also began to invest in landed property, initially to sell on for a profit, but later with the intention of keeping it for himself and his family. This was a major change in Peter's lifestyle. With the ownership of land went social status. A wealthy farmer remained a farmer, but a landowner was a gentleman. This change in status was a marked contrast to his youth. At that time, his mother was described as 'goodwife Temple'. [537] Goodwife was an honorific applied any respectable married woman who was not a member of the gentry. If her husband was a member

[532] Alcock, 1981, p. 67.
[533] National Archives, PROB 11/60/330, Will of Peter Temple.
[534] Heal & Holmes, 1994, p. 298.
[535] Alcock, 1981, pp.195 - 202.
[536] Alcock, 1981, p. 197.
[537] Alcock, 1981, p. 22.

of the gentry, she would have thought of herself as being entitled to be called 'mistress Temple', and would have been insulted to be called goodwife.

Peter Temple's status as a gentleman was confirmed in 1567 by the grant of a coat of arms by the College of Arms.[538] This action, by definition, proved his status as a gentleman, since a coat of arms was only available to members of the gentry. Formally however, it was the other way round; his acknowledged position as a gentleman meant that he was entitled to arms. In practice, the grant of arms constituted proof of his gentility. Although the grant of arms was made to Peter, it may well have been made at the instigation of his son John. Inherited arms carried greater status than arms recently granted since they showed the individual came from an established gentry family rather than being a newly arrived member of the gentry. Consequently, the newly rich often obtained a coat of arms for their father, secure in the knowledge that they were also entitled to these arms themselves. Initially they would have to use a small difference mark, but they would inherit the complete arms on their father's death.[539]

The suggestion that John instigated the grant of arms is supported by a document dated 1574 (four years before Peter died) that was in the possession of one of his descendants at the beginning of the twentieth century.[540] The present location is unknown but it appears to remain with the family and is probably the similarly described document listed in the catalogue of the Stowe library prepared in 1819 by Charles O'Connor.[541] It was an illuminated pedigree on parchment prepared for 'Master

[538] Prime, 1896, p. 130.
[539] These arms can be seen on the hatchment of Dame Mary Temple, figure 5, p. 126.
[540] Temple, 1925, p. 193. The contents of the library were part of the auction held on 14th July 1921. Mr H Markham Temple bought 'many pictures, books, manuscripts and documents' at that sale (ib, p. 7).
[541] O'Connor, Charles, 1819, *Bibliotheca MS. Stowensis*, Volume 2, Seeley, p. 547.

John Temple of Stowe' by Robert Cooke, Clarenceux King of Arms, following the visitation of Warwickshire.[542]

It is indicative of the importance of status to the Temple family that the arms granted in 1567 had gone out of use within forty years.[543] Instead, they began to use the arms of someone else who died in 1506 and had the Temple surname, but from whom they were not descended. Shortly afterwards, these arms were themselves replaced, this time with a combination of some arms that were already associated with the family and an eagle which represented a 'wildly fabulous descent from the Saxon Earls of Mercia'.[544] These new arms reflected the view of the majority of the gentry that a secure claim to gentility was better based on an extensive lineage than merely on wealth.[545] Richard Cust notes that there was a 'wide range of heraldic and antiquarian writing which argued ... that true nobility was inextricably bound up with ancient lineage'.[546] The Temples' new arms were in an arrangement known as quartering. Again, this choice of arms claimed enhanced status – quartered arms implied that one of the bearer's ancestors married a woman who was herself entitled to bear arms. This suggested that the family was of great antiquity. The Temples were not alone in receiving the benefit of heraldic exaggeration or fraud. Heal and Holmes record more than half a dozen other families whose pedigree was suitably enhanced.[547]

Heal and Holmes also note a case before the Court of Chivalry in 1638 in which a claim to being a member of the gentry was disputed on the grounds that, 'he works in husbandry' and in the parish

[542] Cust describes an even more impressive, illuminated pedigree prepared for the Shirley family of Staunton Harold in Leicestershire, Cust, 2016.
[543] Although, according to Temple, 1925, p. 193, these arms were used in the seals of both James (son of Sir Alexander) and Peter Temple (related but not a family member using my definition) next to their signatures on the death warrant for Charles I. The printed copy of this warrant is not sufficiently detailed for me to confirm this.
[544] Round, J Horace, 1930, *Family Origins and Other Studies*, Constable & Co, p.61. The so-called Mercian eagle can be seen on the memorial to John Temple, figure 3, p. 122.
[545] Heal and Holmes, 1994, p. 29.
[546] Cust, 1995, p. 60.
[547] Heal and Holmes, 1994, pp. 34 & 36.

documents he was referred to without any honorific denoting gentility.[548] John Temple certainly regarded himself as a gentleman and after he took up residence at Stowe, the sixteenth century parish registers regularly describe him as an 'esquire'.[549] The use of this term is an indication of his elevated position in the social pecking order. The term esquire is more prestigious than the simple words gentleman or Mr which were commonly applied to members of the gentry. John Wintrip notes that 'Mr denoted a man below the rank of Esquire'. [550] However, John Temple had been apprenticed in the wool trade and almost certainly had worked in that trade for part of his life, so he was not born a gentleman.

In John Temple's will, written in 1598, each of the husbands of his five married daughters were to receive 'one faire Gilte Cup of Silver waieinge 40 oz; with my Armes to be Graven there one the same Cupp'. The gift of a silver cup with his coat of arms engraved on it was a reminder of the status that the family had acquired during John's lifetime.[551] Heal records a few examples of similar gifts. For example, 'Sir William Warren sent what Pepys expected would be plain gloves, but on opening were revealed to include a silver dish and cup with his arms engraved on them'.[552]

In 1589/90, John Temple purchased the manor house at Stowe that he had previously leased. The estate at Stowe had been owned by the Augustinian Abbey of Osney (or Oseney) in Oxfordshire.[553] The manor house was previously occupied by a bailiff, representing the Abbot of Osney. This manor house and its successor buildings were to be the family home for the next 300 years. An article in the Stowe School magazine talks about John Temple taking up residence

[548] Heal and Holmes, 1994, p. 7.
[549] Couzens, R C, *Stowe, Buckinghamshire, Transcript of original register*, Society of Genealogists Library, Item 29962, Shelf mark BU/R 49.
[550] Wintrip, John, 2017, *Tracing Your Pre-Victorian Ancestors: A Guide to Research*, Pen & Sword, unpaginated, the quotation is from chapter 5.
[551] National Archives, PROB 11/397/303, Will of John Temple of Stowe.
[552] Heal, 2014, p. 203.
[553] Lysons, Daniel and Lysons, Samuel, 1813, *Magna Britannia*, Volume 1, Part 3, published in London, p. 640.

in a 'farmhouse that was conveniently part of the property'.[554] Although the house occupied by John Temple was no doubt modest in comparison to the later building at Stowe, it had a far greater status than a mere farmhouse. It was a substantial structure situated close to the church and it included a range of farm and service buildings. The house and grounds occupied roughly five and a half acres.[555] It had a courtyard, orchards, gardens, and a bowling green. The gardens and landscape around a house were another symbol of status. They emphasised 'the crucial visual importance of terracing and formal gardening in displaying the house and enhancing its owner's status'.[556] Strong asserts that a garden 'was a symbol of pride and an expression of royal and aristocratic magnificence.'[557] At this time, the Temples were not aristocratic, but would have wished to enhance their social status by emulating the aristocracy. The specific design of the garden at Stowe at the beginning of the seventeenth century is not known, but some details of the garden at the Temples' Burton Dassett home are available. In his 'declining years' Sir Thomas Temple became 'increasingly engaged' with the garden he could see through the parlour window at Burton Dassett.[558] It contained an orchard with various fruit trees which included 'native apples, pears, damsons and plums, Sir Thomas also grew apricot trees and grape vines'.[559] There was a small enclosed section of the garden in which he grew flowers. Although Sir Thomas' flower garden 'quite clearly had its roots firmly planted in the previous century' and was well short of the magnificent gardens at Hampton Court or Whitehall, it is clearly more than a kitchen garden to provide food for the household. [560]

John's probate inventory, drawn up on 9th June 1603, lists the contents of more than thirty

[554] Clarke, 1967, Volume XXII, No. 6, p. 263.
[555] Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies, D 104/73, Abstract and Survey of the Desmenes of Stowe, Lamport and Dadford.
[556] Heal & Holmes, 1994, p. 301.
[557] Strong, Roy, 1998, *The Renaissance Garden in England*, Thames and Hudson, Paperback Edition, p. 11.
[558] Francis, Jill, 2013, 'My Little Gardine at Dassett Paled', in *Garden History*, Vol. 41, No. 1, p. 21.
[559] Francis, 2013, p. 24.
[560] Francis, 2013, p. 26.

rooms in the house at Stowe including those detached from the main house. The picture that emerges from this list is of a high-status dwelling. On the ground floor there were two parlours (an old and new parlour one of which was 'great' and the other 'little'), a hall, a ground floor cellar, an armoury, and a buttery. Above these were many bed chambers – for the family, nursery maids and servants. There was as a brewing chamber. The Great Chamber contained 'a great chayre of cloth of gold A longe cushion and the ballence for the bed all cloth of gold'. Together these were valued at £20.[561] Amongst the chambers was one recorded as 'the Lord Wootons Chamber'. This was Edward Wotton, a long-standing friend and ally of John Temple.[562]

Outside the house, there were a number of buildings including the kitchen (detached because of the fire risk), the dairy, a larder and stables. There was a gatehouse with a chamber, suggesting that the house and outbuildings surrounded the courtyard.[563] However, in 1610, when the third edition of *Britannia* was published, William Camden was not especially impressed and noted: 'On the other side of the river (from Thornton) and not farre from the banke stand … Stow a house of the familie of Temple' and other [nearby] houses.[564] Apparently the house and the family deserved mention, but extremely briefly.

In addition to high-status houses, other status symbols acquired by the Temple family included the establishment of deer parks, the commissioning of family portraits and the pursuit of public offices. I will deal with the Temple family's interest in each of these in turn. Despite King James I's passion for hunting, during the seventeenth-century hunting for deer was being replaced by a 'gradual shift

[561] Huntington Library, STT CL&I box 1, folder 11, John Temple's inventory taken in 1603.
[562] See the will of John Temple p. 33 and the baptism of Hester Temple p. 44.
[563] My description of the seventeenth century house draws on Reed, Michael, 1981, 'Seventeenth-Century Stowe', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, Vol. 44, No. 3 (Summer, 1981), pp. 188-203; he in turn uses the 1603 inventory and another, drawn up in 1624 (STT CL&I box 1, folder 28).
[564] Camden, 1610, p. 396.

from deer to fox hunting'[565] and deer parks were going out of fashion. 'Disparking had become attractive in some areas by the end of the sixteenth century'. [566] The number of parks in Essex dropped significantly during the seventeenth century. John Hunter notes that Norden's map of 1594 shows 50 parks while Oliver's map of 1696 shows only 24.[567] However, a park 'expressed a distinctive relationship to royal power, asserted claims to the privileges of the forest and hunt, and enhanced the builder's stock of honour and gentility relative to other local families'.[568] Both Sir Thomas and Sir Alexander established new deer parks (in the case of Sir Thomas, despite already having one park on his estate). Sir Thomas received a licence for his new park in 1617,[569] but this may have been granted after the fact. The old and new parks are mentioned in a manorial survey taken in 1633.[570] By this time the village of Stowe was disappearing as Sir Thomas and his successors completed the enclosure of the open fields.[571]

Sir Alexander had established a park in Chadwell (Essex) by 1614 when it was mentioned in a lease.[572] This was very soon after moving there in 1607. Establishing the park was a deliberate act to enhance his status.[573] There was no legitimate market for venison. Rackham notes that venison' was no ordinary meat: it was a special dish for feasts and the honouring of guests. It was beyond price. I have not a single record of a sale or valuation'.[574] The ability to give it as a gift

[565] Heal & Holmes, 1994, p. 292.
[566] Heal & Holmes, 1994, p. 292.
[567] Hunter, 1998, p. 148.
[568] Braddick, Michael and Walter, John (eds), 2001, *Negotiating Power in Early Modern Society*, Cambridge University Press, p. 152.
[569] Page, 1927, pp. 229 – 237.
[570] Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies, D 104/73, Abstract and Survey of the Desmenes of Stowe, Lamport and Dadford.
[571] Page, M, 2005, Destroyed by the Temples: the deserted medieval village of Stowe, *Records of Buckinghamshire*, Vol 45, p. 190.
[572] Essex Record Office, D/DRu/T1/217.
[573] For more details, see Matthews, 2022, pp. 1-14.
[574] Rackham, Oliver, 1986*, The History of the Countryside,* Phoenix, p. 125.

was therefore a demonstration of status. Heal remarks that 'venison had the merit of closer identity with the honourable status of the giver than any other food'.[575]

A collection of family portraits was another status symbol of the landed gentry. By 1603, there were some portraits at Stowe including a portrait of John Temple, said to be by Zuccaro,[576] that was sold at auction in 1848.[577] It was bought by Lord Saye and Sele and is now displayed at Broughton Castle. Another early portrait owned by the family was of Sir Alexander Temple's first wife (when she was married to her first husband) with her eldest son, Thomas Penyston by Robert Peake, the elder. This is now on display at Leeds Castle (Kent). In 1619, members of the family began to commission Cornelius Johnson (or Cornelis Janssens van Cuelen) to paint portraits for them. Johnson had been born in London of Dutch parents in 1593 and was trained in the Netherlands. Later in his career, he was appointed as a picture drawer by Charles I. He painted some portraits for King James and King Charles, and he worked with van Dyke, but he is perhaps best known for many portraits of the emerging gentry. Over the course of the next seven years, at least eighteen portraits of family members or their relatives were painted by Johnson.[578] The majority of these were originally at either Stowe or Burford Priory, the home of William Lenthall and have good provenance.

[575] Heal, 2014, p, 41.

[576] Frederico Zuccaro visited England in 1575 when he painted a portrait of Queen Elizabeth. However, although the date makes the attribution possible, many of the attributions in the catalogue are known to be incorrect. Nonetheless, any family portrait at this date is an indication status.

[577] Forster, Henry Rumsey, 1848, *The Stowe Catalogue*, David Bogue, p. 168.

[578] There is an additional portrait on a private collection that was at Burford Priory and is inscribed Sir Francis Drake. There is no evidence for this identification of the sitter. Inscriptions identifying the sitters in the Burford portraits were added around 1700 and are often demonstrably inaccurate. This portrait is possibly an unidentified member of the Temple family.

Figure 2: John Temple attributed to Zuccaro, c 1587.

Two can be traced to families that married Temples and have an extended provenance. These are a version of the portrait of Sir Alexander Temple at Hagley Hall since the middle of the

eighteenth century and a version of the portrait of Susan (or Susanna) Temple at Harlaxton Hall (Lincolnshire) probably since the mid-seventeenth century. A second portrait of Susan Temple has probably been in the ownership of the Petre family since shortly after it was painted. The remaining examples have no reliable provenance before the late nineteenth or twentieth century. Sitters include Sir Alexander, his daughter Susan, Sir Thomas Temple's sons, Sir Peter and John, three of Sir Thomas's daughters (probably Martha, Margaret and Millicent), his daughter-in-law, Dorothy Lee his son-in-law Thomas Penyston and possibly Sir Thomas and Dame Hester themselves. Other relatives painted by Johnson include 'Lady Temple' (probably the wife of Sir William Temple), William Lenthall and Sir Edmund Lenthall.[579]

Sir Alexander's portrait includes a symbolic claim to status. Despite admitting a few years later that he had no military experience,[580] his portrait includes military symbols – a sash and a leather collar known as a gorget. These were probably an allusion to his post of Captain of Tilbury Fort and the portrait may have been commissioned to commemorate this appointment. Heal notes that depiction of men in armour on a funerary monument emphasised their status,[581] and the same was true for portraits. In the portrait of Susan, Sir Alexander's daughter, she has earrings in the form of a martlet, a heraldic symbol associated with the Temple arms. Similarly in the portrait of one of Sir Thomas's daughters, the dress is dotted with the heraldic symbols for ermine,[582] another part of the Temple arms. One version of this portrait is in the Yale Center for British Art and is inscribed 'Countess of Arundel', but this identification of the sitter is a later

[579] There is a more complete account of Johnson's portraits of the Temples and Lenthalls in Matthews, 2016 (1).
[580] Bidwell and Jansen, 1991, pp. 314-315.
[581] Heal & Holmes, 1994, p. 172.
[582] Mulraine, James, March 24th, 2014, *The conjuring power of paintings,* https://jamesmulraine.com/2014/03/24/the-conjuring-power-of-paintings/.

addition and has been discredited.[583] So many family portraits by the same artist was unusual even though they were becoming popular with the gentry in the early seventeenth century. [584]

3.2 Marriages and choice of marriage partner

Social endogamy, the tendency to marry 'someone of approximately the same status', was common.[585] In the Temple family marriages, this was coupled with enhancing the family's status. By the seventeenth century, marriages between members of the gentry included a legal agreement. The agreements concluded by the Temple family illustrate the family's changing status and the relationships between family members. They typically specified a dowry paid or promised by the bride's family, as well as contributions by the groom's family and specify arrangements should the groom die. Property held by the bride would be transferred to trustees and did not necessarily form part of the couple's assets. Marriage agreements could be extensive. The settlement for the marriage of Millicent Temple and Edward Saunders in 1583 ran to 34 pages[586] and the agreement on Elizabeth's marriage to William Fiennes consisted of ten documents.[587] Despite the length of these agreements, they could lead to court cases between family members.

John Temple's will noted that his wife was already in possession of the documents that formed their marriage settlement. There does not appear to be a copy of a marriage agreement between Peter Temple and Millicent Jekyll in the Huntington Library archive. However, she was a twice widowed woman with property of her own, so it is very likely there was such an agreement. Some evidence for this is Peter Temple's will of.[588] One entry notes, 'Item I will and devise that 'Millisent my wife

[583] Trumbel, Angus, Blog post, March 16th 2012, The Tumbrel Diaries: Countess of Arundel (angustrumble.blogspot.com). Trumble was a curator at Yale University's Centre for British Art. See also Matthews, 2016 (1), p. 29.
[584] Cooper, Tarnya, 2012, Citizen Portrait, Yale University press, p. 3.
[585] van Leeeuwen, Marco H D, and Maas, Ineke, 2005, 'Endogamy and Social Class in History: an Overview', *International Review of Social History*, supplement 13, p. 1.
[586] Northamptonshire Archives: Th 1751 & 1752.
[587] See above p. 54.
[588] National Archives, PROB 11/60/330, Will of Peter Temple.

shall have during her lief one hundred ma(r)kes englishe currant money yearely To be paide out of my lands in Dasset and Kyrtn in recompense of her dower'.

Marriage agreements are preserved in the Huntington Library for many of John Temple's children. They illustrate the growing wealth and status of the family. They have been discussed by O'Day in the context of changing attitudes to inheritance and the role and position of women.[589] The recorded dowries increased significantly over time. When Millicent Temple married Edward Saunders in 1583, her dowry was £500, half of which went to her husband and half to Edward's father.[590] When Susan Temple married Thomas Denton (later Sir Thomas Denton) of Hillesden (an adjacent parish to Stowe) in 1590, her dowry was £1,000. O'Day notes that for country gentry, dowries ranged from £500 to £1,000 and for upper gentry, the range was £1,000 to £5,000.[591] Although the late sixteenth century was a time of low though persistent monetary inflation, the increase in the size of the dowries of John Temple's daughters undoubtedly also reflects the growing status and wealth of the family.

There was a similar increase in the status of the husbands of John Temple's children. His older daughters had married members of the local gentry. However, in 1593 his third daughter, Catherine, married Sir Nicholas Parker and was the first to marry a knight. Around 1600 John Temple's youngest daughter, Elizabeth, married William Fiennes. At the time, this was a marriage between two members of the landed gentry, although the Fiennes family claimed the title of Baron Saye and Sele. In 1603, William Fiennes's father was recognised as Baron Saye and Sele, although this was a new creation of a barony with the same name. William inherited the title in 1613 and was created Viscount Saye and Sele in 1624. Of Sir Thomas Temple's daughters, one married a baronet while five

[589] O'Day, 2018, pp. 81 – 85.
[590] Northamptonshire Archive, Th 1752.
[591] O'Day, 2007, p. 80.

married knights. This increase in knighted marriage partners partially reflects the large number of knights created by James I during the early years of his reign.[592]

The choice of marriage partner was significantly influenced by the financial prospects of the partner, which served as a surrogate for status. Sir Alexander Temple benefited financially from his three successive marriages to rich widows in 1602, c. 1610, and c. 1621. The financial prospects of prospective spouses were discussed openly within the family. In July 1632, Millicent Saunders (daughter of John Temple) wrote to her sister-in-law (Dame Hester) expressing her gratitude for the 'exceedinge care' Dame Hester had taken of her son.[593] (Children from one part of the family frequently served in the household of another.) Millicent continued with information about her son's marriage prospects and asks whether Dame Hester could confirm the size of the estate of the prospective bride.

For some puritan families, the religion of the prospective partner was important.[594] However, the evidence suggests that for the Temples, this was of lesser concern than their prospective spouse's status and finances. John Farmer, who married Mary Temple in 1592 was a Catholic. Similarly, around 1617, Sir Alexander Temple appears to have contemplated a marriage between his daughter Susan and the son of William, Lord Petre, a noted Catholic family in Essex.[595] The household accounts of Lord Petre (1575 – 1637) frequently name the visitors being entertained. The accounts for the years 1617 – 1619 show five separate visits by Sir Alexander to the Petres. The first visit by Sir Alexander to Lord Petre was in October 1617, followed by three visits over the course of nine months in 1619, including one visit in which he was accompanied by a Mr Lentol (William

[592] Fritze, Ronald H and Robison, William B (eds), 1996, *Historical Dictionary of Stuart England*, Greenwood Press, p. 157.
[593] British Library, Add MS 52475 A (a bound collection of letters with no pagination).
[594] See the comments made by members of the Barrington family in the Introduction, p. 12.
[595] Matthews, 2016 (1), p. 23.

Lenthall).[596] These visits throw some light on the way in which at least one Temple family member viewed the selection of a suitable partner for his daughter. Lord Petre had gradually become more open in his Catholicism. So as far as is known, there was no particular friendship between Temple and Lord Petre. However, early seventeenth-century puritans did not form a closed community, so friendship was possible. It is quite likely that they were talking about a possible marriage between Temple's daughter, Susanna, and Lord Petre's son. The evidence for this is the copy of a portrait of Susanna by Cornelius Johnson apparently presented to Lord Petre that is currently in Ingatestone Hall, where it is known as Elizabeth, daughter of the 2nd Baron Petre.[597]

3.3 The Parish Church: Funerary Monuments and Pews

In the early modern period, funerary monuments in local churches 'were accorded high status by both specialist commentators, such as antiquaries and heralds, and by the patrons who invested in them so heavily'.[598] They reached a peak of popularity in the early seventeenth century.[599] For a member of the laity to be buried inside the church was itself a measure of status. The memorial visually reinforced the status not just of the subject but of his descendants as well. Monuments to the recently dead, unlike depictions of the Virgin Mary or saints, were forms of church decoration acceptable to puritans.[600] These monuments were common among the gentry and the Temple family participated in this practice. For the main Temple line, it was the establishment rather than

[596] ERO, D/DP A35. Accounts of William, 2nd Baron Petre; (kindly drawn to my attention by Anna Schramm).
[597] Piper, David, 1956, *Petre Family Portraits,* Essex Record Office Publication no 26, number 9. It has the later inscription 'Eliz. Dau of Wm L Petre & wife to Wm Sheldon AD 1621'. It has been 'considerably repainted' following a fire. (Piper, 1956, p. 7.) The correct identification was suggested by Karen Hearn in a letter to Ann Sumner at the Holburne Museum. Hearn noted the similarity with Susanna Temple in the Tate although she also notes some difference in the lace collar. (Holburne Museum collection file, extracts kindly supplied by Amina Wright.) The version at Ingatestone Hall is clearly a contemporary autograph version of a work that is in the Tate Britain galley, although the correct identity of the sitter in the Petre version subsequently became lost. For a fuller discussion of the two portraits, see Matthews, 2016 (1), pp.20-23. The lady is usually referred to as Susan in contemporary documents, but the portrait of her at the Tate uses the name Susanna.
[598] Llewellyn, 1996, p. 179.
[599] Heal & Holmes, 1994, p.338.
[600] Or in some cases the not yet dead – Llewellyn, 1995, 191.

the continuation of a tradition. It reinforced their recently established claim to gentility and demonstrated their desire for status symbols.

Figure 3: John Temple's memorial in Burton Dassett (Wikipedia).

After John Temple's death at Stowe in 1603, his body was taken to Burton Dassett for burial. There is a large memorial to him in the Burton Dassett church. This includes heraldic shields representing each of John's twelve children. For men the left of the shields and for women the right of the shields

contained the Mercian eagle representing the Temple family. For eleven of the children the other half of the shield was the arms of their spouse. The shield representing George who had died young had only the Mercian eagle. This memorial was erected on the wall of the nave, immediately behind John's tomb. In his will, John directed that 'my bodie to be buried by the discretion of my executors',[601] implying that the memorial was erected by Sir Thomas Temple rather than being designed by John himself.

When Sir Alexander Temple died, his body was taken to Rochester where the coffin rested in the church of St Nicholas for one night before he was buried the following day in Rochester Cathedral (a short distance from his first home) alongside his first wife. Hawkins refers to a conclusion reached by 'Mr Scott Robertson' that the tomb was in the north-west transept.[602] Temple's funeral costs were borne in part by the family of his first wife. Thomas Sommers paid 6s 8d for the coffin to rest in St Nicholas.[603] There was a monument to Sir Alexander and the first Dame Mary but this seems to have been destroyed during the Civil War.[604] However, the monument was among those noticed by a visiting party from Norwich. They recorded that while visiting the cathedral among the things they saw was Sir Alexander's monument and that of 'his lady'.[605] The destruction of the monument means that little is known about its size or appearance. However, the mere fact of a monument in the Cathedral is an indication of status and there is evidence that it was eye catching since it was noticed and mentioned by the visitors from Norwich. If the wife of a member of the gentry died before her husband, he could erect a monument, ostensibly to her, but to memorialise himself as well. Nigel Llewellyn notes that,

[601] National Archives, PROB 11/101/373, Will of John Temple, of Stowe.
[602] Hawkins, Rev. Edward, 1877, 'Notes on Some Monuments in Rochester Cathedral', in *Archaeologia Cantiana*, Volume 11, p, 11.
[603] Medway Archives, P306/1/1, Composite register, burial entry for 4th December 1629.
[604] Yates, Nigel, 1996, *Faith and Fabric, a History of Rochester Cathedral*, Boydell Press, p. 77.
[605] National Archives, Lands MS 213, folio 352. Quoted in Rye, 1866, 62 – 64, and partially quoted in Hawkins, 1877, p. 6.

'many tombs were put up to the memory of subjects in their lifetime'.[606] It is possible that the original monument was erected by Sir Alexander as a tribute to his first wife but intending that it should also serve as his own memorial. Some evidence for this is in his will, where he does not mention a burial location, suggesting that this was already determined.[607] This is reinforced by the fact that although he died in Etchingham (Sussex), his body was taken to Rochester for burial.

The role of funerary monuments to enhance status was not restricted to men, When Martha Penyston (née Temple) died of smallpox in January 1619/20, a large memorial was erected to her in the church at Stowe. This is in a part of the church that is now known as the Penyston chapel. It is in the north aisle of the church and was built in the late sixteenth century as a chapel for the Temple family members living at Stowe.[608] It was built by either John or Sir Thomas Temple. There is a vault below in which Ann, the first wife of Sir Peter Temple, was buried in 1619/20 and where thirteen descendants of John Temple were buried between 1620 and 1779. A private chapel and a family vault are further evidence of status.

It is likely that Martha's father (Sir Thomas Temple) built the monument to her in what was his family church, although it is possible that it was built by her husband. At Martha's feet is the representation of a small child (presumably her daughter, Hester who is also buried in the church). The memorial has two plaques, one of which describes her as 'fair Penyston' whilst the other says she was a 'virtuous lady'. On the face of it, this is a touching tribute by a grieving

[606] Llewellyn, Nigel, 1996, 'Honour in Life, Death and in the Memory: Funeral Monuments in Early Modern England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Vol. 6, p. 191.
[607] National Archives, PROB 11/156/604, Will of Sir Alexander Temple.
[608] Stowe parish church, https://www.stowechurch.org.uk/bells-penyston-chapel-and-piscina.

father to his much-loved daughter. However, the underlying story is more nuanced and illustrates many aspects of the relationships among Temple family members.[609]

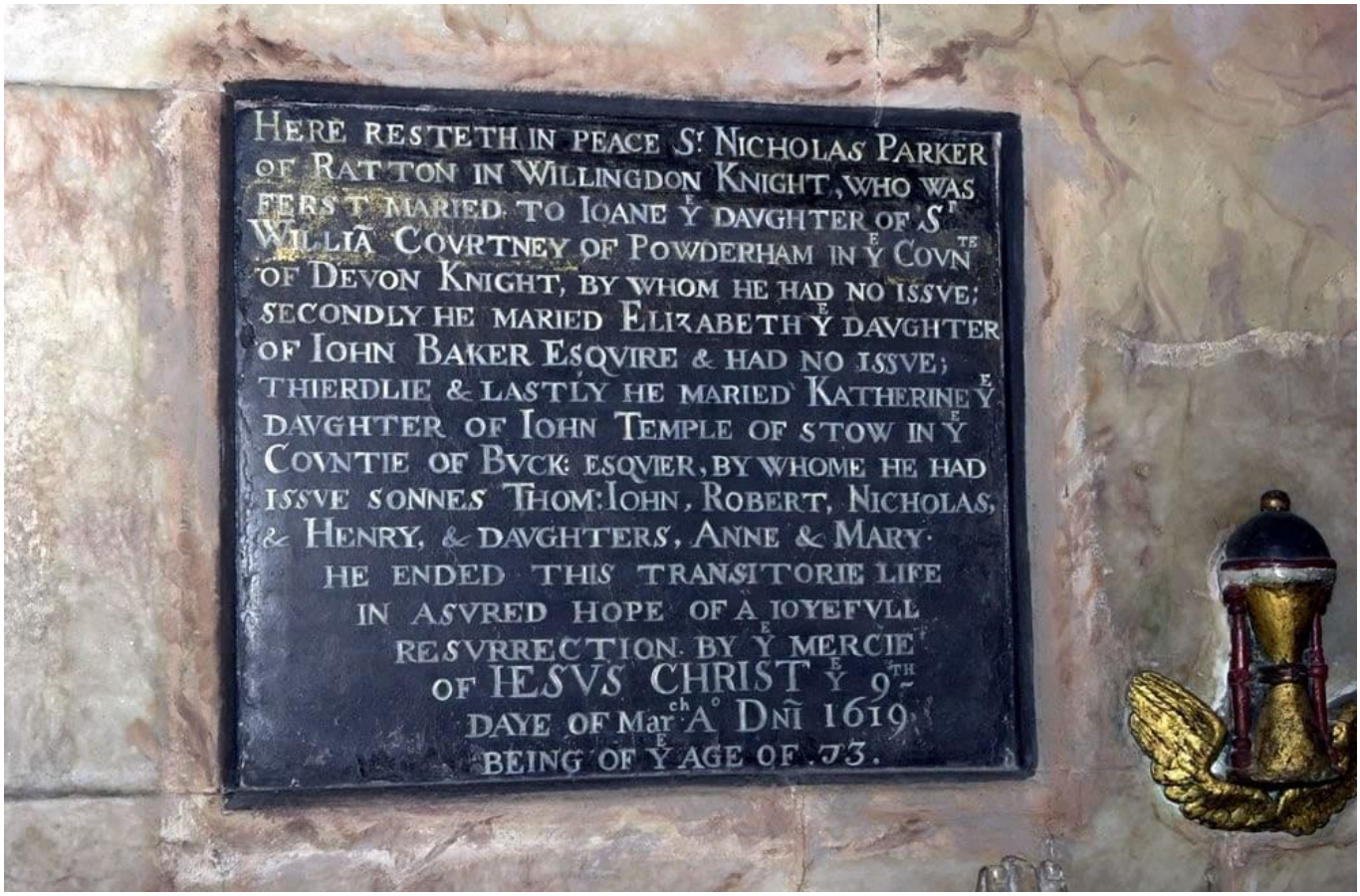

Figure 4: Inscription to Sir Nicholas Parker.

Although erecting church memorials was an innovation for the main Temple line, it was well established in at least three of the families into which they married. In Hillesden, Buckinghamshire, there are memorials to the Denton family beginning in 1560. The Dentons were neighbours of the Temples and Susan Temple married Sir Thomas Denton in 1594.[610] In Willingdon, Sussex, there is a memorial brass to John Parker who died in 1558 and a small figure commemorating Elinar Parker who died in 1598. A substantial monument to Sir Thomas's brother-in-law, Sir Nicholas Parker, and

[609] See below p. 133 - 134.
[610] See the family trees in appendix 1.

his wife, Catherine (née Temple) was erected in 1617 and heraldic stained glass commemorating the Parker family was added in 1622.[611]

Figure 5: A pair of hatchments to Dame Mary Temple showing the arms of her first and third husbands.

Similarly, memorials to the Fiennes family were placed in the church at Broughton.[612] Memorials to the 1st Viscount Saye and Sele and his wife Elizabeth (née Temple) in the chancel were added in the second half of the seventeenth century.[613] There is also a monument to Sir John of Stantonbury, son of Sir Thomas, in the parish church at Stantonbury, Buckinghamshire. Funerary monuments can also include memorial brasses and hatchments. There was apparently a pair of hatchments to Dame Mary, wife of Sir Alexander Temple. They were presumably in the church at Sedlecombe where she died and was buried on 28th May 1655.[614] They were sold at auction in 2019.[615]

[611] Berry, Harry et al, 2001, *A Guide to the Parish Church of St Mary the Virgin*, Willingdon, 3rd Edition, no publisher, pp. 8-9.
[612] Anon, nd (Broughton Castle Guidebook), inside back cover.
[613] Historic England, listing for the church of St Mary the Virgin, Broughton.
[614] Transcript of Anglican Parish Registers, Sedlescom, East Sussex Record Office.
[615] They were sold at Bonhams on 2 April 2019, the present whereabouts is unknown. A general introduction to the origin and interpretation of hatchments will be found in Summers, Peter, 1985, *Hatchments in Britain*, Volume 6, Phillimore, unpaginated introduction.

Within the parish church, status was emphasised by the seating arrangements and the structure of the pews. 'It was well established by the 1630s that parishioners ought to be seated in church by rank with the gentry nearest the chancel.'[616] The Stowe parish church was within the boundary of the estate and was used by Temple family members, their servants and estate workers. In 1637 there were complaints about the height of Sir Peter Temple's seats which 'partly darken the windows on both sides'.[617] Other family members also emphasised their status in this way. For example, 'in 1630 … Sir John Lenthall, had secured an order from the Bishop of Oxford for the front pews in Bletchingdon church to be repositioned so that Sir John and his family would not have to sit behind Thomas Coghill'.[618] One aspect of the dispute in 1634 between Dr Thomas Temple and the Ayleworths concerned the placing of a pew at Bourton on the Wold (where Temple was the incumbent) and the precedence of local families implied by the seating arrangements.[619] The Denton family (Susan Temple had married Sir Thomas Denton) had a family pew in their parish church at Hillesdon, Buckinghamshire, described as 'impressive' by a descendant.[620]

3.4 Litigation and status

The early modern period was a litigious time. Temple family members could be involved in cases to which they were not parties. Around 1607, Sir Edward Hoby, the Constable of Queenborough Castle, claimed that all the profits of the lands and tenements in the borough of Queenborough belonged to him. He claimed that Richard II had made a 'chace' [chase] of Queenborough. These claims were denied by the corporation. The case was heard before the first Earl of Dorset and Sir Julius Caesar.[621]

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[616] Haigh, 2005, p. 499.
[617] National Archives, SP 16/366 f.143 79, Notes taken during a visitation of churches in co. Buckingham. I am grateful to Professor Kenneth Fincham for drawing my attention to this reference.
[618] Haigh, 2005, p. 499.
[619] Haigh, 2005, pp. 499 -500. This is covered in more detail below pp. 128 – 129.
[620] Verney, 1894, p. 364.
[621] Kent Archives and Local History, QB/L/10, Sir Edward Hoby v Mayor, bailiffs and burgesses of Queenborough.

The court appointed Sir Alexander Temple and three other gentlemen as Commissioners to examine witnesses proposed by the two parties, and report back in writing.[622] The Commissioners were local men of substance not connected to the dispute. This sort of appointment recognised and to some extent enhanced the holder's social position. It also provided scope for demonstrating competence for more important offices as well as giving the holder potential for greater influence among the county gentry.

The family could be required to give evidence in disputes among their neighbours in which they were not themselves involved. This was potentially damaging to their local influence since evidence that was adverse to one of the parties could alienate them as well as their allies or patrons. One such local dispute was between Sir Edward Cooke (lord of the manor of Chadwell when Sir Alexander lived there) and one of his tenants, Thomas Thomlinson. Sir Alexander was among the local people who gave evidence to the court of Chancery. He was happy enough to give factual evidence about the local circumstances, without offering any opinion on the merits of the case. In his evidence, he described the system of ditches and sea walls, which he was familiar with since he 'passed them riding to and fro around my own property'.[623] He also mentions a 'scot' (a form of local taxation) that had been set to pay for repairs to the system of flood defences.

One example of family ambition (and the jealousy with which the family reputation was guarded) can be seen in the case brought in 1634 before the Court of Chivalry by Sir Thomas's son, Dr Thomas Temple.[624] This was part of a lengthy 'bitter, costly and sometimes violent'[625]

[622] Kent Archives and Local History, QB /C/1/28, letter written by G. Garland to the mayor of Queenborough, dated 2nd July 1607.
[623] National Archives, C24 /467, Deposition by Sir Alexander Temple in the case of Cooke vs Tomlinson.
[624] Details of seventeenth century cases in the Court of Chivalry can be found at www.court-of-chivalry.bham.ac.uk. There is an account of this case at 638 Temple v Ayleworth | British History Online (british-history.ac.uk) where all the quotations from Temple vs Ayleworth will be found.
[625] Haigh, 2005, p. 513.

dispute between Temple and Bray Ayleworth that included case and counter-case in Star Chamber and other courts.[626] The issue in the Court of Chivalry case was an alleged slander against Temple by Ayleworth. Apparently, Ayleworth had said of Temple that he was 'a base fellow', and that 'he (Ayleworth) was a better man than he (Thomas) or any Temple in England'. He had also asserted that Temple 'was an inconscionable base fellow and more fytt to keepe pigges or to be a piggard then a priest'. There had also been a physical tussle in which Ayleworth was injured. Thomas claimed that the Temples had been gentry for up to five hundred years. A witness for Ayleworth said that 'Thomas Temple telled Bray Ailworth he was noe gentleman, but the sonne of an abbots bailiffe.' The evidence continued with Bray Ayleworth's son giving evidence that the first grant of arms to the Temples had been less than 50 years earlier, but despite the truth of this evidence, it was to no avail. Temple won his case and was granted damages of twenty nobles – £6 13s 4d (roughly £6.67 in decimal money) – together with another £15 in costs.[627]

3.5 Honours and Public Offices

Status symbols such as houses, family portraits, deer parks or silver cups could be bought. However, to secure honours and prestigious offices, the family needed patrons with influence at court. Honours and offices served a dual function. On the one hand, they were a recognition of status; they would not be awarded to anyone undeserving. Once awarded, however, they also enhanced the status of the recipient. Most prestigious offices were formally appointed by the King, although usually at the behest of a prominent courtier. [628] This gateway was largely controlled by the Duke of Buckingham in the later years of James I and the early part of the reign of Charles I, although other courtiers could also help obtain offices. The Temples had a few friends at court. Peck notes that shortly after his accession, James I appointed twelve members of the gentry (leading knights from

[626] National Archives, SP 16/302 f.159 calendared in CSP Domestic, Volume 8., 25th November, 1635.
[627] Full details of the various accusations and court cases arising from the dispute between Temple and Ayleworth can be found in Haigh, 2005.
[628] O'Day, 2018, p. 212.

their various counties) to Queen Anne's Council.[629] These included Sir Edwin Sandys (who was related to the Temples through the wife of Sir Thomas Temple) and Sir Richard Verney (who was a Buckinghamshire neighbour of the Temples and related to them through the marriage of Susan Temple and Sir Thomas Denton). Prior to his illness, Peter Temple served in the retinue of Henry Howard, the influential Earl of Northampton, establishing another patronage relationship that provided the Temples with access to the Court. Whilst Temple family members needed the assistance of patrons at court to obtain honours and offices, they were not, in general, close to the court. Two exceptions are Sir Thomas Denton, the son-in-law of Sir Thomas Temple who 'was intimate with courtiers',[630] and his son-in-law Sir Edmund Verney who was in the household of Prince Henry and subsequently Prince Charles.[631]

The attendance at university by family members[632] also allowed them to make contacts who would be useful in later life.[633] For example, John Preston's pupils included 'the Earl of Lincoln and the sons of Lord Saye'.[634] Similar benefits could accrue from attendance at one of the Inns of Court.[635] Lincoln's Inn was favoured by the family, possibly because of its puritan leanings. Lincoln's Inn 'maintained the longest succession of puritan preachers'[636] and 'none of the other houses rivalled the puritanism of Lincoln's Inn, either in reputation or reality'.[637] William Lenthall and Sir Alexander Temple provide an example of connections made at Lincoln's Inn proving

[629] Peck, 1993, p. 3.
[630] Heal & Holmes, 1994, p. 212. Denton's son-in-law, Sir Edmund Verney held various court offices and accompanied Charles, Prince of Wales on his ill-fated expedition to Spain in 1623 (see Verney, 1904, pp. 47 – 70.)
[631] History of Parliament; Sir Edmund Verney.
[632] Discussed above, Chapter 1, p. 40.
[633] Heal & Holmes, 1994, p. 268-269.
[634] Zagorin, 1970, (on line edition unpaginated).
[635] Heal & Holmes,1994, p. 272.
[636] Prest, Wilfred, 2023, *The Inns of Court under Elizabeth I and the early Stuarts*, 2nd edition, CUP, p.63. The numerous connections of the Temple family with Lincoln's Inn arise frequently in this thesis (for example p. 40) and have been commented on by other authors such as Peacey,1994, p. 45. It is rarely possible to distinguish between family membership and a connection to Lincoln's Inn as being the more important influence.
[637] Hill, Christopher, 1972, 'The Inns of Court (Review)', *History of Education Quarterly,* Vol. 12, No. 4 (Winter, 1972), p. 547, quoting Prest.

useful later in life.[638] However, this is not clear cut, since they were also related by the marriage of Bridget Temple and Sir John Lenthall.

For members of the gentry, a knighthood was an obvious step in the pursuit of status and honour. Queen Elizabeth I had not been prolific in her awards of knighthood. On Elizabeth's death, the throne passed to James I (James VI of Scotland). The new King set out on a slow and spectacular journey south to London, frequently indulging his passion for hunting. At each stop, he knighted many of the gentlemen who had come to greet him. Several hundred knighthoods in total were awarded by the end of the journey. The pattern of large-scale awards of knighthood continued once the King reached London. In all around a thousand new knights were created in the first year of James I's reign. Among them, in June 1603, was Thomas Temple (John's eldest son), who was knighted at Salden House in Mursley, the Buckinghamshire home of Sir John Fortescue.[639] Sir John's daughter, Margery was married to John Pultney (later Sir John) who was the niece of John Temple. Among the other family members who were knighted that year was Thomas Denton, the husband of Susan Temple.[640] A few months after Thomas was knighted, his younger brother, Alexander, received a knighthood at Tower Hill in January 1603/4.[641]

In September 1611, Sir Thomas Temple took advantage of a newly created hereditary honour to purchase a baronetcy. He was among the ninety-two members of the gentry to do so in the third (and smallest) of four batches in the first year.[642] The award of a coat of arms to Peter Temple (rather than John) was crucial at this point because one of the qualifications for a baronetcy was to have at least two armigerous generations in the male line. His son-in-law, Thomas Penyston,

[638] Discussed in more detail above pp. 73 – 74.
[639] Shaw, 1906, p. 112.
[640] Shaw, 1906, p. 111.
[641] Shaw, 1906, p. 130.
[642] Van Eerde, 1959, p, 321 - 322, The coats of arms of the Temple family is explored in more detail above pp. 109 - 110.

also became a baronet in 1611, perhaps purchased by Sir Thomas as part of the marriage settlement between Penyston and Martha Temple. There is some ambiguity over the actual date of the award since the baronetcies to Temple and Penyston are not recorded in the Chancery Roll and the payment receipt was dated May 1613.[643] The order was said to be for gentlemen of good birth and income. However, there were fears that the establishment of an order with a specific price tag, 'might attract base purchasers'. [644] Despite these fears, 'the first group of nearly 100 baronets were generally of respectable and even distinguished ancestry'.[645] Whatever the critics said, the Temples regarded a baronetcy as a sign of increased status.

The most prestigious county office was Lord Lieutenant; however, this was typically given to a senior peer who was a member of the privy council and could be appointed to more than one county.[646] The day-to-day work was undertaken by the deputy lieutenants who were members of the county gentry and only served in a single county and usually for more than one year. Both Sir Thomas Temple and his son, Sir Peter, were chosen as deputy lieutenants for Buckinghamshire.[647] Sir Thomas was appointed in 1618 and Sir Peter began his period in office in 1633. Sir Thomas's brother-in-law, Sir Nicholas Parker (1547 - 1620) 'had a long career' as deputy lieutenant for Sussex.[648]

Among the other prestigious offices in the local community was that of county sheriff. In theory, the office of sheriff ranked above that of the Lord Lieutenants and his deputies, but in practice, the office was in decline and ranked lower.[649] The sheriff was appointed by the King and

[643] Croft, Pauline, 2000, 'The Catholic Gentry, the Earl of Salisbury and the Baronets of 1611', in Lake and Questier, *Conformity and Orthodoxy in the English Church,* Boydell Press, p. 266, n. 21. However, O'Day, 2018, p. 30, has an illustration of HM 3134 from the Stowe archive at the Huntington Library which shows a sketch of their arms and gives the dates of the baronetcies as 13th and 14th December 1613 respectively.
[644] Van Eerde, 1961, p. 139.
[645] Van Eerde, 1961, p. 139.
[646] Bradick, 2000, p. 29.
[647] Peck, 1993, p. 86.
[648] Mendle, 1995, p. 3.
[649] Bradick, 2000, p. 30.

although the post was undoubtedly an honour, it also had its downside. During his term in office, the sheriff was expected to finance a great deal of hospitality from his own pocket. The older and more established families within the county were often happy to allow the newer members of the social elite to occupy this office. Heal notes that 'the ceremonial functions of sheriff did, however, enable a man to make or enhance his local reputation and standing.'[650] In 1585, John Temple had been chosen to serve as the Sheriff of Buckinghamshire. [651] This was an important signal of the growth in social status of himself and the family by the end of Elizabeth's reign.

Other family members were also appointed sheriffs of their county. In 1593 when Catherine Temple married Sir Nicholas Parker, he was serving as sheriff of Sussex.[652] Thomas Denton, the husband of Susan Temple, was sheriff of Buckinghamshire in 1600 and his son (Sir Alexander Denton) held the office in 1637. Sir Thomas Temple became sheriff of Buckinghamshire in 1616 and his son (Sir Peter) served in 1634. Sir Thomas's son-in-law, Sir William Andrews, was appointed in 1629. Sir Thomas Temple was also sheriff of Oxfordshire in 1606 and sheriff of Warwickshire in 1620. Sir Thomas Penyston (the widower of Martha Temple) held the office in Oxfordshire in 1637. A county sheriff was in frequent contact with the national administration and in particular the Privy Council during his term of office. This contact gave the sheriff some influence on national policy and some local power. However, the relationship could be fraught, especially during the period of personal rule when the sheriff was responsible for the collection of the Ship Money.[653]

The Justices of the Peace were an important element in the local administration of justice and in the maintenance of order during the early modern period. Each county had many justices – some were

[650] Heal & Holmes, 1994, p. 174.
[651] O'Connor, 1819, p. 546.
[652] Family relationships are shown in appendix 1.
[653] This is explored in more detail in chapter 2, pp. 95 – 101.

national figures, but many were drawn from the local gentry. Appointment 'was both a burden and a sign of status eagerly sought in Tudor and Early Stuart England'.[654] Heal remarks that 'magisterial office reinforced gentle status.'[655] Many Temple family members were Justices of the Peace, including John (appointed in 1589),[656] Sir Thomas Temple (by 1625), Sir Peter Temple, Sir Alexander Denton and Sir Edmund Verney (all c. 1635) in Buckinghamshire,[657] Sir Alexander Temple in Sussex (from about 1622 until his death) and (briefly in 1625) in Essex,[658] James Temple (from 1645), Sir Thomas Parker (from before 1625 throughout the 1620s and 1630s)[659] and John Busbridge (from 1640 to 1642) also in Sussex,[660] Sir John Rouse (during the interregnum), Sir Peter Temple (during the interregnum), and John Temple (briefly in 1625) in Warwickshire, and Sir Thomas Penyston (by 1635) in Oxfordshire. Puritan ministers encouraged their local JPs to use their powers to punish sinfulness and 'for the protection of the godly'.[661]

Another prestigious position that bridged the county and national arenas was that of member of parliament. County seats were more prestigious as candidates were elected by local landowners. The borough seats carried less prestige but gave some indication of local status and influence. MPs would be selected based on honour, status, and position in the social pecking order.[662] Wherever possible acrimonious contests were avoided, not just because of the cost or fear of riotous behaviour, but also because a contest would involve the winning candidate not receiving the votes of some of his peers and the consequent dishonour. When contested elections 'did occur (they) were bitter personal or local feuds'.[663] Before the election of an MP, there would be discussion of

[654] Peck, 1993, p. 33.
[655] Heal & Holmes,1994, p. 168.
[656] Huntington Library, STT Personal, Box 3, Folder 13.
[657] Verney, 1904, p. 55.
[658] Cockburn, 1975, p. 105 et seq.
[659] Fletcher, 1975, p. 353.
[660] Fletcher, 1975, p. 354.
[661] Heal & Holmes, 1994, p. 180.
[662] Kishlansky, 1985, p. 12.
[663] Kishlansky, 1985, p. 17.

possible selections among the gentry qualified to vote. In October 1584, Miles Sandys (who was already an MP) wrote to John Temple discussing who should be chosen to sit for Buckinghamshire in the election that had been called.[664] Although John Temple was never a member of parliament, two of his sons, Sir Thomas and Sir Alexander Temple, each served in a single parliament. Sir Thomas's son, Sir Peter Temple, was elected to the long parliament. Sir Thomas Denton represented either the county constituency or the town of Buckingham in nearly all the parliaments of James I and Charles I and in 1625, his son (Sir Alexander Denton) served in the same parliament. James Fiennes, the eldest son of Viscount Saye and Sele was a member from 1625 until excluded by Pride's Purge. He initially represented Banbury and in subsequent elections he was chosen for one of the county seats. Of course, Saye himself was a member of the House of Lords from 1613 when he inherited the title of Baron Saye and Sele as was Lincoln. Consequently, whenever parliament was in session, the Temples had a family member in parliament to turn to for help if needed, although I have not identified any occasions when they did so.

Members of the family held other posts that to a greater or lesser extent demonstrated their status. Sir John Lenthall was Marshall of the upper bench prison in Southwark, a post that gave him access to influential figures in London. He was able to use this on behalf of his sister-in-law.[665] Aided by the influence of his wife's family, Sir Alexander Temple was chosen as a warden of the Rochester Bridge. He served between 1604 and 1614 including being senior warden in 1606 and junior warden in 1612.[666] Prior to his illness, Peter Temple was captain of Camber Castle and was succeeded by his nephew, John Temple (son of Sir Thomas). Sir Alexander Temple was also a captain, in this case of Tilbury Fort which was close to his home in Chadwell St Mary (Essex). His son James held the same

[664] Huntington Library STT 1773, Miles Sandys to John Temple
[665] See below p. 141.
[666] Yates, Nigel and Gibson, James (eds), 1994, *Traffic and Politics: The Construction and Management of Rochester Bridge*, The Boydell Press, p. 294.

position during the Civil War.[667]

The ownership of an advowson was also another way of gaining local status and influence.[668] The mere fact of owning an advowson would increase the family's local status within that parish. It could also be used to advance the career of a family member. 'Parish patronage might be important to the local sense honour and power of a gentry family, but they were essentially pieces of property'.[669] Patronage could be loaned or leased to another person in order to cement an alliance or to gain influence. The use of *pro hac vice* presentations was talked about among Temple family members. O'Day notes that around 1600, Mary (Temple) Longueville wrote to obtain the support of her mother, Hester Temple concerning the choice for presentation to the living of Finmere in Oxfordshire. Apparently, she had heard that the incumbent was 'diing if not ded', and she would 'willinly give too hundred pound at ester next to have a friend sett into that parsionage'.[670] The recipient of the letter is not given, but it was presumably someone who could influence Sir Thomas and Dame Hester. The letter notes that Sir Thomas had made a bargain concerning this presentation, but Mary had been told there was a way her friend could be presented despite this bargain.

The representations on her behalf to Sir Thomas may have had some effect. There were two conflicting presentations – one by the King and the other following a court case by Thomas Fowkes who may have been acting on behalf of Sir Thomas.[671] The following year, there was a further

[667] Brinkley, Simon, 2021, 'Tilbury Fort and the British Civil Wars', in *Panorama, the Journal of the Thurrock Local History Society*, Volumes 58, p. 30.
[668] For the limited use of advowsons by the Temple family, see above pp. 74 - 80.
[669] Heal & Holmes, 1994, 332.
[670] Huntington Library, HM 46425. The letter is undated, but the Huntington has assigned a date of 1600. The catalogue lists this as a letter from Mary Longueville to Dame Hester, however the wording suggests it was written to a third party asking them to act on Mary's behalf. She asks the recipient to 'do me a curtisy to Sir Thomas and my lady'. Quoted by O'Day, 2018, p. 146.
[671] VCH Oxford, volume 6.

presentation, this time of Richard Horne.[672] This was made by the King, but apparently with the agreement of Sir Thomas. Horne was instituted in 1633 and remained in post until his death in 1678.

In 1631 the living Wolverton in Buckinghamshire became vacant, following the death of the incumbent, Robert Reynolds. The Longuevilles owned the manor of Wolverton,[673] and had acquired the advowson in 1603.[674] However there appears to have been some dispute about the family's right to present. In a letter to Margaret Longueville on 21st January 1631/2, Sir John Lenthall (husband of Bridget Temple) describes in detail his efforts on her behalf in a dispute with a Mr Wells about the presentation to the living at Wolverton.[675] This is another example of family members providing services for each other in connection with presentations. This dispute resulted in a Chancery case bought by the attorney general (on behalf of Sir Robert Heath) against Sir Edward Longueville and Thomas Pen (or Penne). [676] Pen had been appointed to the living at Wolverton in 1631 by Johanna Hudson who had leased the advowson from Sir Edward Longueville.[677] The result of the case is not clear, but in the same year, Pen resigned and was succeeded by Robert Ladbroke, being presented by Sir Edward Longueville himself.[678] Ladbrooke having resigned, Edmund Longueville presented Gilbert Newton to the Wolverton living in 1645.[679] Ladbrooke was sequestered to Solihull by the Westminster Assembly of Divines and became Rector in 1648 – an indication that he was at least acceptable to the puritans. There is no record of another appointment between 1645 and 1648.

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[672] 'Finmere (CCEd Location ID: 69911)', The Clergy of the Church of England Database 1540–1835 <http://www.theclergydatabase.org.uk>.
[673] Sheahan, James Joseph, 1862, *History and Topography of Buckinghamshire*, Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts, p. 645.
[674] Feet of Fines referenced in VCH. However, On 1st June 1628 Edward Longueville had been given permission to alienate the advowson of Wolverton to Sir Thomas Temple and Henry Sandys (Broadway, Jan et al, 2004, *A Calendar of the Docquets of the Lord Keeper Coventry 1625-1640*, part 3, List and Index Society). In view of the subsequent events, this may have been part of a mortgage or loan collateral.
[675] Huntington Library, Stowe Papers: STT 1267; Lenthall, Sir John to Margaret (Temple), Lady Longueville.
[676] National Archives, C 8/76/3, Attorney General vs Edward Longueville and Thomas Pen.
[677] CCED, https://theclergydatabase.org.uk/jsp/persons/CreatePersonFrames.jsp?PersonID=14526 .
[678] CCED, https://theclergydatabase.org.uk/jsp/persons/CreatePersonFrames.jsp?PersonID=8544 .
[679] CCED, https://theclergydatabase.org.uk/jsp/persons/CreatePersonFrames.jsp?PersonID=149361.

3.6 The Marriage of Sir Thomas Penyston and Martha Temple

The marriage of Sir Thomas Penyston, the stepson of Sir Alexander Temple, and Martha, daughter of Sir Thomas Temple, demonstrates the Temple family's potential ability to benefit from an arranged marriage between relatives.[680] Developments following this marriage show the complexity of expectations and obligations arising from the marriage. It also demonstrates the compromises made by the Temple family to obtain the support of a patron who might aid the family in their desire for increased status.

John Sommer (the father of Sir Alexander Temple's first wife) had leased the manor of Leigh (or Leigh alias Barton Grange) and on his death in 1585, had left it to his wife and daughters. In Thomas Penyston's will, the income from the first eight years of the 31-year lease of the manor was to be used for the upbringing of his children. Following his marriage to Mary, Sir Alexander had assumed responsibility for these children and the income from the first eight years was assigned to him. In 1608, Sir Alexander purchased the reversion and in 1611 he conveyed the manor to his stepson (Thomas, later Sir Thomas, Penyston).[681] In 1617, the manor was sold by Sir Thomas to Richard Sackville, 3rd Earl of Dorset.[682] Thomas' ownership responsibilities were the subject of a court case by Dame Elizabeth Craven some years later, although this case seems to have lapsed following her death in 1624.[683]

In July 1611, Thomas married Sir Alexander's niece. Sir Thomas Temple's daughter, Martha, who was reported to be an attractive young lady – 'fair and well featured' according to a note added

[680] There are a large number of variations in the spelling of this name. Where I am using it within my text, I have tried to use the spelling Penyston consistently. This is the spelling used in the signatures on deeds at the East Sussex Office. Where I am quoting or alluding to a contemporary document, I have used the spelling in that document.
[681] Salzman, L F (ed), 1937, *Rape of Hastings*, The Victoria County History of Sussex, Volume IX, p. 154.
[682] Sussex Feet of Fine, dated 15th January 1617.
[683] National Archives, C 2/JasI/C28/31, Craven vs Peniston.

to an extract of her baptism entry.[684] Around 1616, Sir Thomas Penyston joined the retinue of Richard Sackville, 3rd Earl of Dorset. This, together with the Earl's affair with Penyston's wife, Martha (Temple) during 1619, created a further patron-client relationship from which the Temples could have benefited. However, the death of Martha in 1619/20 and the 3rd Earl in 1624 limited the opportunities for patronage and I have found no evidence that the Temples actually benefited.

3.7 Conclusion

Although some family members (the Fiennes for example) did have a lengthy pedigree, the main family line of the Temples did not. As newly arrived gentry, those born with the surname Temple may have felt some social inferiority compared with these longer standing members of their class. This lack of an extensive lineage had the effect that the family felt a great need to assert and demonstrate their status. Beginning with Peter building a high-status residence and styling himself esquire, there was a steady increase in the status of the early generations of the Temples. Peter's son, John, continued the pattern with the acquisition of a coat of arms and his appointment as a Buckinghamshire JP and sheriff. John's sons moved further up the status ladder with deer parks, portrait collections, funerary monuments, and election to parliament.

Among seventeenth century gentry families, you will usually find someone who has served in parliament, as a county sheriff, as a JP or has been awarded a knighthood or baronetcy. Similarly, there are examples of gentry families establishing deer parks, and acquiring coats of arms, or portrait collections. Almost all old parish churches have seventeenth century memorials to a local family and had family pews for the gentry. Most public offices were filled from the ranks of the gentry and gentry families regularly appear in the records of the court of chivalry. However, the strong need of the Temple family to assert its status resulted in them having examples of all of these

[684] Huntington Library, STTM, box 9 folder 21, Parish register extracts with subsequent marginalia (from Stowe and other parishes).

things. The scale of their pursuit of status and honour demonstrates that these things were particularly important to the Temple family and especially those who were born with the name Temple.

The comments made in the dispute between Dr Thomas Temple and Bray Ayleworth confirm that the newly arrived status of the Temples as gentry was common knowledge. It is reasonable to conclude that at least the early generations were conscious of this and that they felt it made them less obviously gentle than the more established families. To some extent, this created an inferiority complex which influenced their actions. As a result, they were extremely assiduous in their pursuit of honour and status. The events surrounding Martha Temple's marriage to Sir Thomas Penyston show that this pursuit of status required members of the family to make compromises in other areas. The general level of insecurity resulting from their relatively recent acquisition of gentility was increased for some of the family members by more mundane factors. Sir Thomas had pressing financial problems which inhibited his ability to demonstrate his wealth and Sir Alexander was a younger son and drew much of his financial strength from his wives.

There was a great range of status among John's grandsons. Some were in the lower ranks of the aristocracy, while others were merchants and provincial clergymen. Among the grandsons who were further removed from the family's humble origins, those with higher status were beginning to be more secure about their position as members of the gentry, although they still felt the need to defend themselves vigorously when their honour was impugned.

Conclusions

The previous chapters have explored the interactions between family members to show that the Temple family was status conscious, litigious and geographically dispersed. This chapter will consider whether the Temples' concern for status and honour was more extreme than other members of their class and whether familial expectations and the pursuit of status resulted in some of the Temples' contribution to puritan organisation. As far as litigiousness is concerned, it is difficult to establish a yardstick, but at least thirteen intra-family court cases over the course of forty years suggests that the family was among the most litigious – a conclusion that was also drawn by contemporary commentators.[685] Papers associated with intra-family litigation can reveal a great deal about family relationships. There are a few comments within this thesis on two of these cases. It is likely that a more extensive study of these cases would be productive.

For the children of John Temple, not being regarded as a gentry family was within living memory. It would be unsurprising if they felt a degree of social inferiority. This in turn could easily have resulted in a greater effort to acquire and display status symbols. Chapter 3 demonstrates a persistent concern of the family for honour and status exceeding their concern for supporting a puritan political agenda. In many cases, the Temples' contribution puritan organisation was a consequence of familial expectations and the pursuit of status.

The family contained many members. John Temple had eleven surviving children and his son, Sir Thomas, had thirteen. It is said of Sir Thomas's wife, Dame Hester that she 'saw seven hundred (descendants) extracted from her body'.[686] The sheer size of the family adds credence to the idea that it was one of the most geographically dispersed families of the period. It is therefore safe to

[685] Twelve Chancery cases and one in the ecclesiastical court of high Commission, See O'Day, 2018, pp. 326 - 346.
[686] Fuller, Thomas, 1840, *History of the Worthies of England, a new edition*, Thomas Tegg, p. 210.

conclude that the family was litigious, status-conscious and geographically dispersed to a greater degree than the average gentry family.

The definition of the Temple family as the children and grandchildren of John Temple together with their spouses has two important benefits. Firstly, it draws attention to the extent to which members of the extended family supported each other and provided each other with services both paid and unpaid. This was a standard feature of the expectations and obligations arising from marriage irrespective of the religious views of the participants. Without understanding the extent of the family, it would not be clear why Sir Thomas Penyston from Oxfordshire was a trustee for Dame Susan Thornhurst when she married Sir Martin Lister of Lincolnshire. It similarly draws attention to the ability of Saye and Sele to exploit his family connections to promote his own views. Explicitly enumerating family members also helps avoiding confusing people with the same names for example Sir John Temple the son of John Temple and Sir John Temple the Irish politician. (Sir John Temple, of Stantonbury, does not seem to have caused any confusion in the literature).

Perhaps even more importantly, using an explicit definition of the Temple family helps to reduce the possibility of selection bias. To illustrate the significance of this aspect, it is worth reflecting on how straight forward it would be to construct a narrative of the involvement by the Temple family in organised puritan activity in the period prior to the execution of Charles I in 1649. This narrative would begin with Viscount Saye and Sele's opposition to the Palatinate Benevolence and the forced loan. It would continue with Saye's role together with his son-in-law, the Earl of Lincoln as a puritan leader. They would be joined by Sir Alexander Temple in the Parliament of 1626. The narrative would note Sir Peter Temple and Sir Thomas Penyston joining Saye and the Earl of Lincoln in opposing Ship Money. The spotlight would then focus on Henry Parker's role as an influential propagandist for puritanism and the parliamentary cause. The narrative would continue with the

roles of Nathaniel Fiennes, James Temple, and Thomas Hammond as members of the parliamentary army. Dr Thomas Temple's sermons would deserve a mention as would Sir John Temple's account of the Irish Rebellion. The narrative would close with the signatures of James and Peter Temple on the death warrant of Charles I. It would present a powerful and probably convincing case that the actions of the Temple family were a major factor in the success of the puritan revolution.

However, despite all aspects of this narrative being true, overall, it has problems of both omission and commission. It focuses on those family members who were active in promoting the puritan agenda. It ignores the fact that John Farmer and his family were Catholics and makes no mention of the Dentons and Verneys fighting for the King in the Civil War. Similarly, it omits the relative lack of involvement of the families of Longueville, Ashcombe, Andrews, Saunders, Risley and others. In addition, the inclusion of two of the people in the above narrative is problematic. Despite his surname, Sir John Temple who wrote about the Irish Rebellion was not descended from John Temple, but from his brother Anthony. Similarly, the regicide, Peter Temple, was a distant relative and also not descended from John Temple. Expanding the definition of the Temple family to include these two individuals would probably bring into the family a vast number of people who played no part in promoting the puritan agenda. However, despite trying to reduce selection bias, it is unavoidable that some bias remains. This is inevitably the case with historical studies. People who took an active part in political and religious controversy appear in the records. People who simply got on with their lives appear far less frequently.

The Temple family appears to have shown greater support for the puritan political and religious agenda than the average gentry family. There is some evidence of puritanism or support for the puritan political and religious agenda in each of the three generations belonging to the family. However, some members of the family were not puritans and for many, no evidence could be traced. The description of the family as puritan is justified although this certainly does not mean that

every member was so. Studies of more overtly puritan families such as the Barringtons and the Harleys tend to be tightly focused on the household or nuclear family. Looking at the extended family in these cases might reveal that they too are less uniformly puritan than they are usually depicted.

Chapter 2 also demonstrated that some family members were organisationally active in support of the puritan political and religious agenda. In particular, Saye and Sele, Sir Alexander Temple, the Earl of Lincoln, Henry Parker and James Temple were all active although at different times and in different ways. In the case of Henry Parker, Sir Alexander and James Temple the connection to Saye and Sele was significant. However, some members were not puritan or did not actively support the puritan political and religious agenda. Additionally, some actions that supported the puritan political and religious agenda can be explained by family expectations and obligations.

Actions by other family members did support the puritan political and religious agenda, especially in connection with ship money. However, most family members had only limited involvement which manifested itself when they were directly affected by an issue. It is therefore difficult to assert that they were consistently part of a network of puritan families or an organised puritan structure, except to the extent that Viscount Saye and Sele used his Temple family connections as part of his own agenda.

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Appendix 1: Temple Family Trees

Figure 6: The memorial to John Temple at Burton Dassett as recorded in 1822.

John Temple (c. 1542 - 1603), his parents and children

Peter Temple = Millicate Heritage Thomas Spencer = Dorothy Spencer

d, 1578 d. 1582

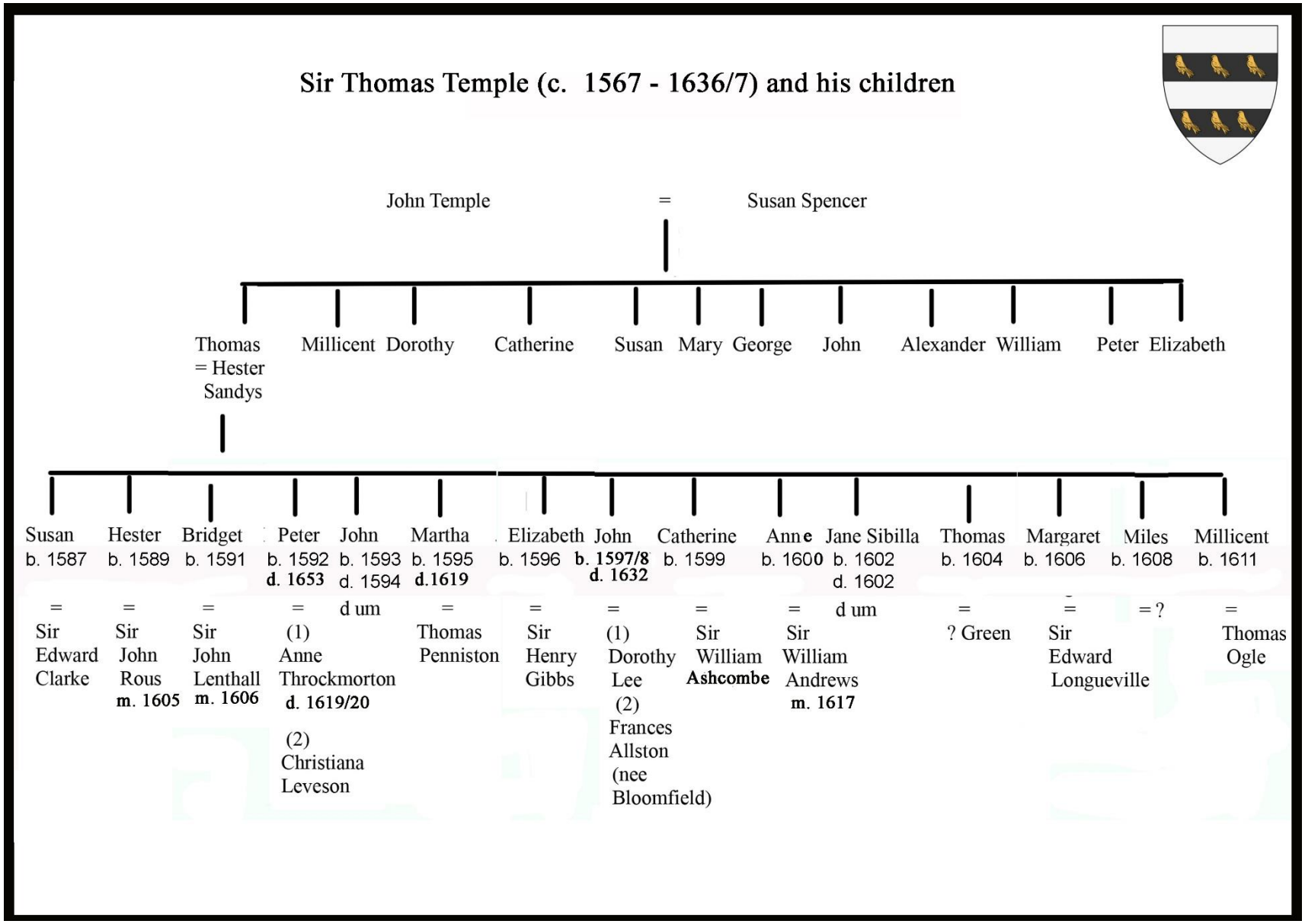
John Temple = Susan Spencer

b. c. 1542 (Burton Dassett, Warwicks) d. 1603 (Stowe, Bucks)

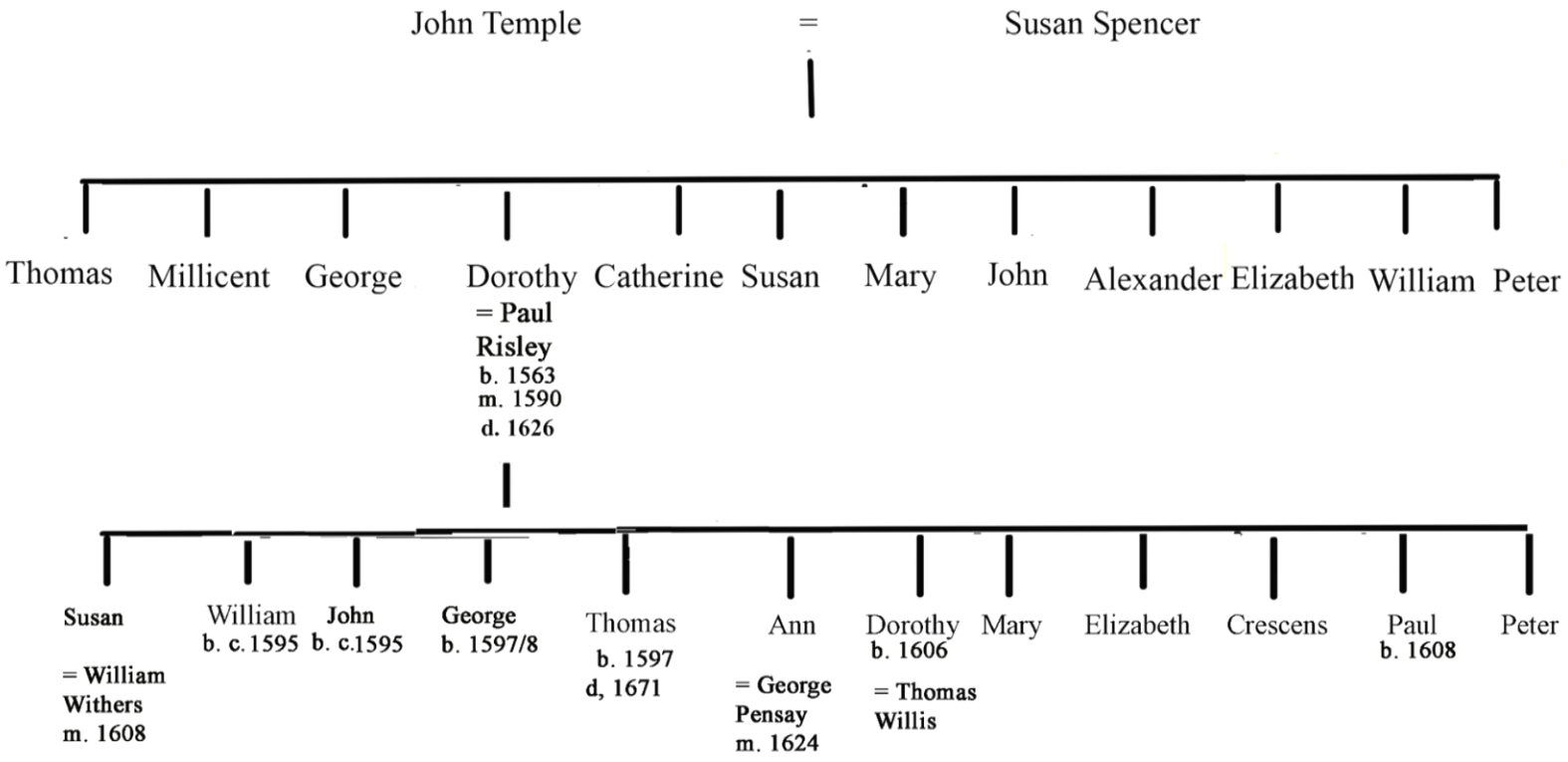
b. c. 1546 (Everden, Northants) d. 1611 (Stowe, Bucks)

Thomas	Millicent	George	Dorothy	Catherine	Susan	Mary	John	Alexander	Elizabeth	William	Peter
b. c. 1567 d.1636/7	b. 1568 d. 1640	b. 1570 died young	b.1572 d. 1633	b. 1574 d. aft 1611	b. 1576/7 d. 1641	b. 1577/8 d. aft 1611	b. 1579/80 d. 1642	b. 1582/3 d. 1629	b. 1585 d. 1648	b. 1586 d. bef 1642	b. 1589 d. aft 1642

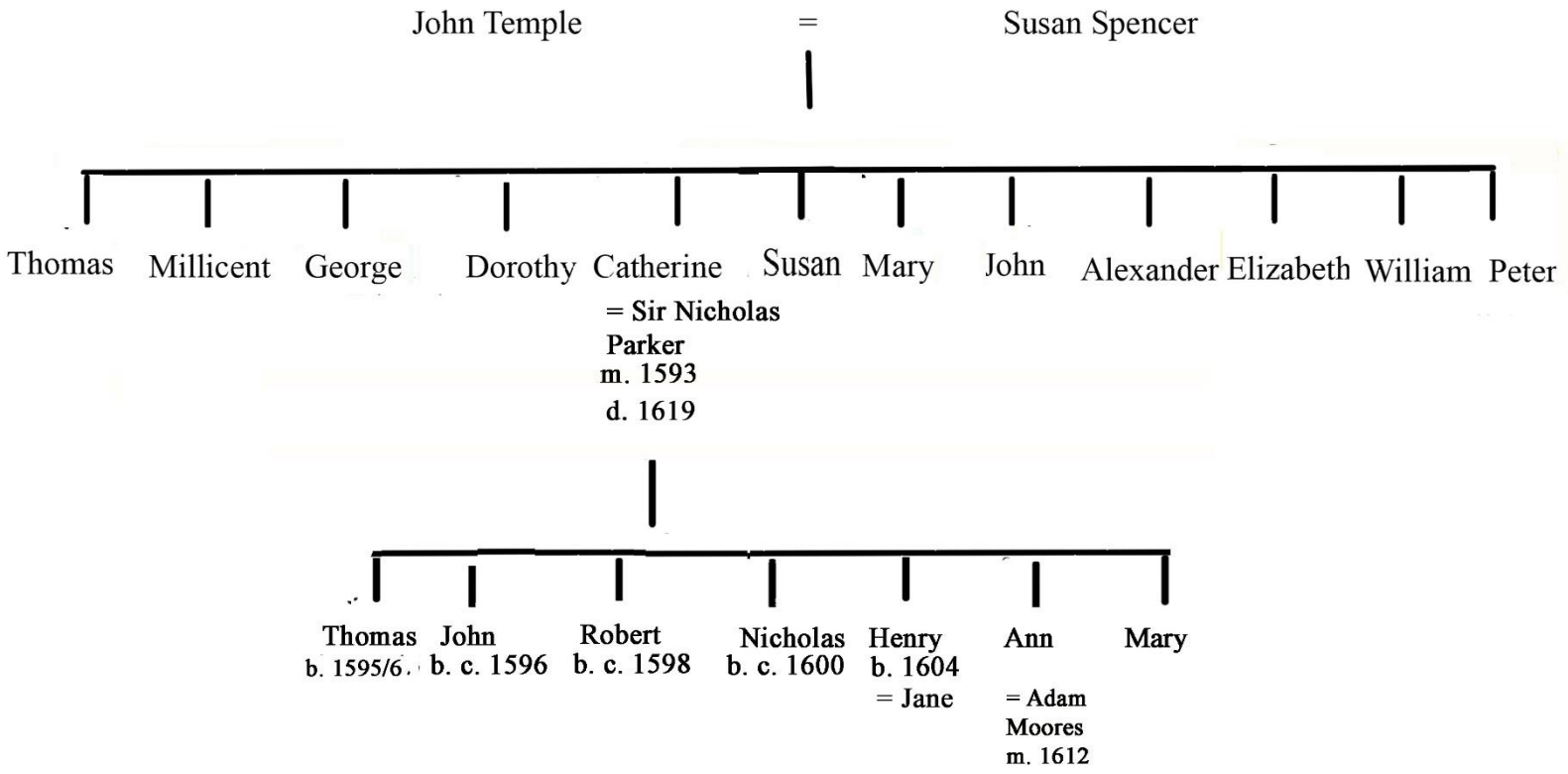
Sir Thomas Temple (c. 1567 - 1636/7) and his children



The children of Dorothy (Temple) Risley (c. 1570 - ?)



The children of Catherine (Temple) Parker (1573 - aft .1611)



The children of Susan (Temple) Denton (1576/7 - 1641)

John Temple = Susan Spencer

Thomas, Millicent, George, Dorothy, Catherine, Susan, Mary, John, Alexander, Elizabeth, William, Peter

Susan = Sir Thomas Denton
m. 1594
d. 1633

- Margaret b. 1594 = Sir Edmund Verney d. 1642
- Alexander b 1596 d. 1645 = Mary Hampden
- John b. 1598
- Isabel b, 1599 d. 1641
- William b. 1601
- Bridget b. 1607/8
- Elizabeth b. 1610 = Thomas Isham
- Anne b. 1611
- Margaret = John Poultney

The children of Mary (Temple) Farmer (1577/8 - aft 1611)

John Temple = Susan Spencer

Thomas, Millicent, George, Dorothy, Catherine, Susan, Mary, John, Alexander, Elizabeth, William, Peter

= John Farmer
m. 1592

Thomas
b. 1595

John
b. 1598

The children of John Temple of Frankton (1578/9 - 1642)

John Temple = Susan Spencer

Thomas, Millicent, George, Dorothy, Catherine, Susan, Mary, John, Alexander, Elizabeth, William, Peter

John (of Frankton) = Anne Tomlins

- **Anne** b. 1613/4 - John Busbridge
- **Susan** b. 1609 = Thomas Hammond
- **Peter** (d. um)
- **Mary** um in 1642
- **Thomas** b. 1614
- **John** d. 1620
- **Peter** (d. um)

The children of Sir Alexander Temple (1582/3 - 1629)

John Temple = Susan Spencer

Thomas, Millicent, George, Dorothy, Catherine, Susan, Mary, John, Alexander, Elizabeth, William, Peter

Margaret Griffin = (2)

= (3) Mary Reve = John Busbridge

Thomas Penistone =

Martha Temple = Sir Thomas Penistone

Mary Somer = (1)

John
b. 1603
(d.um.)

James
b. c. 1605
(Regicide)

Susan(na)
b. c.1605
= (1) Sir Giffard Thornhurst
= (2) Sir Martin Lister

= Mary

John = Ann Temple

The children Elizabeth (Temple) Fiennes (1585 - 1648)

John Temple = Susan Spencer

Thomas, Millicent, George, Dorothy, Catherine, Susan, Mary, John, Alexander, Elizabeth, William, Peter

Elizabeth = William Fiennes (later Baron then Viscount Saye & Sele)
m. c. 1600
d. 1662

- James, b. c.1602 = Frances Cecil
- Bridget, b 1604 = Earl of Lincoln
- Nathaniel, b. = (1) Elizabeth Elliot (2) Frances Whitehead
- John, b, c. 1608 = ?
- Anne, b. = Sir Charles Wolseley
- **William**, b. 1613/4

The children of William Temple (1586 - bef. 1642)

John Temple = Susan Spencer

Thomas, Millicent, George, Dorothy, Catherine, Susan, Mary, John, Alexander, Elizabeth, William = Jane Beaumont, Peter

Catherine
b. 1613/4

The children of Peter Temple (1589 - aft. 1642)

John Temple = Susan Spencer

Thomas, Millicent, George, Dorothy, Catherine, Susan, Mary, John, Alexander, Elizabeth, William, Peter

Peter = Katherine Kendal

- Susanna b. 1618
- Peter b. 1620
- Hannah b.1620
- Katherine b. c. 1621
- Charles b. 1623

Sources for Family Trees

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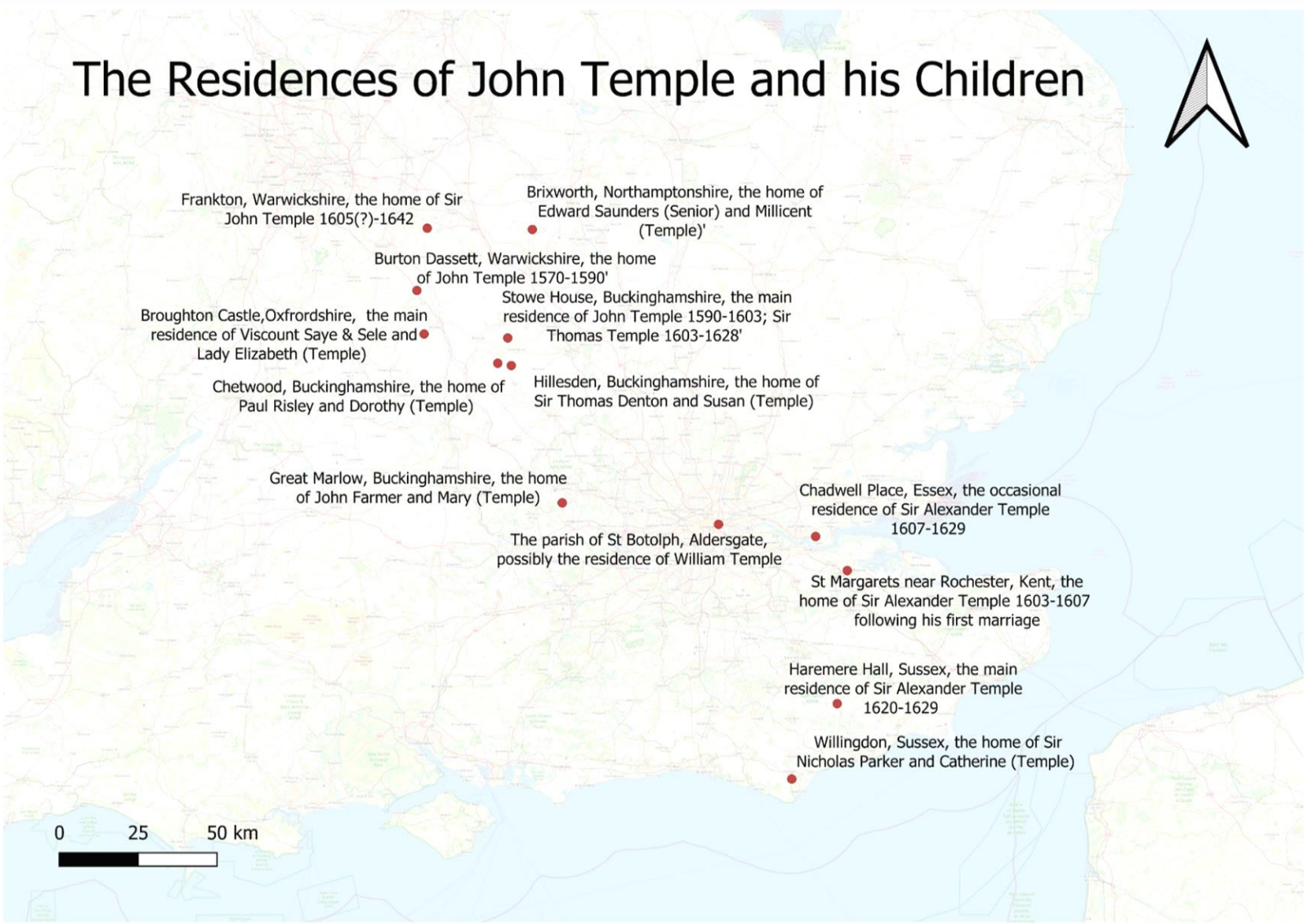
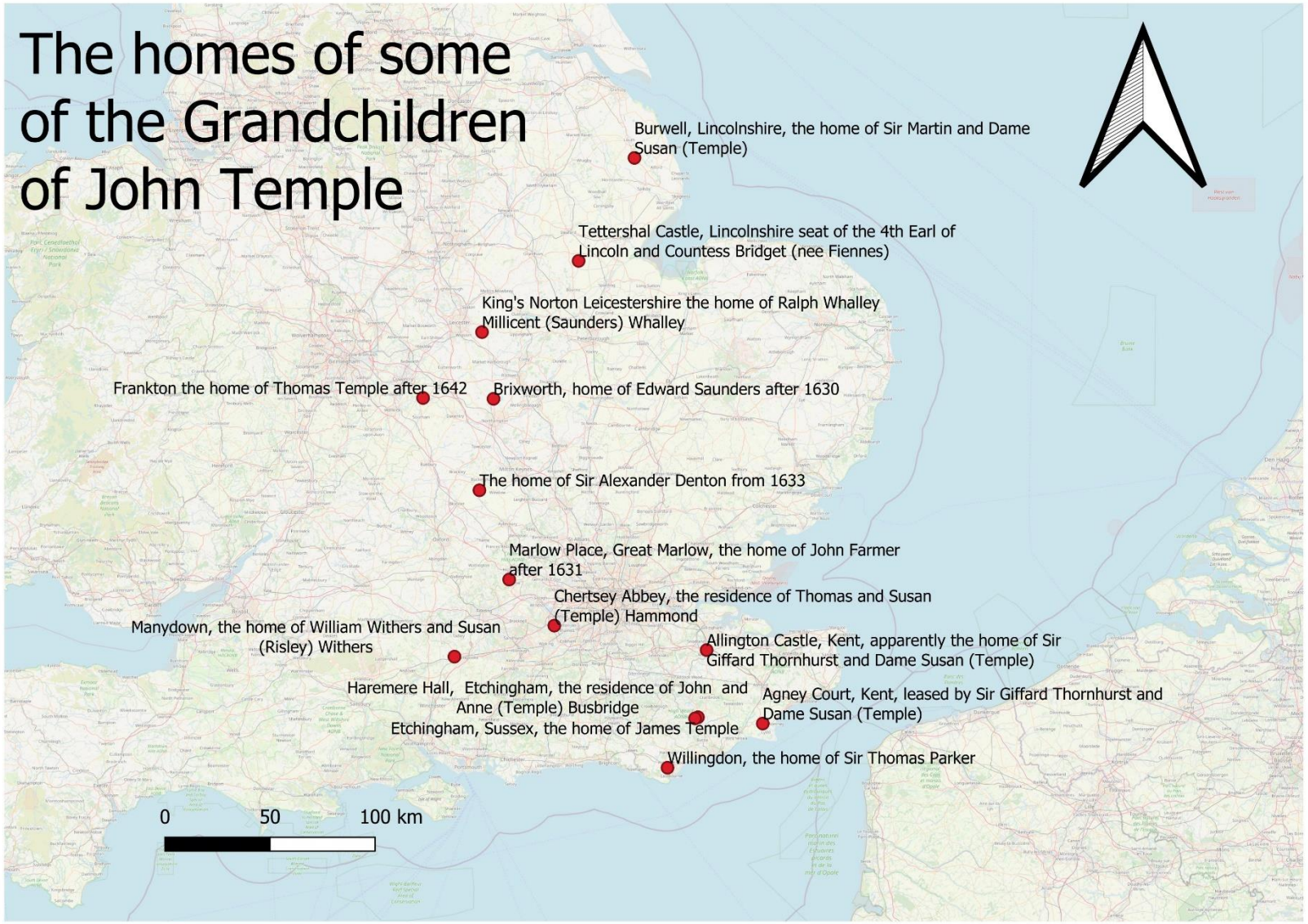
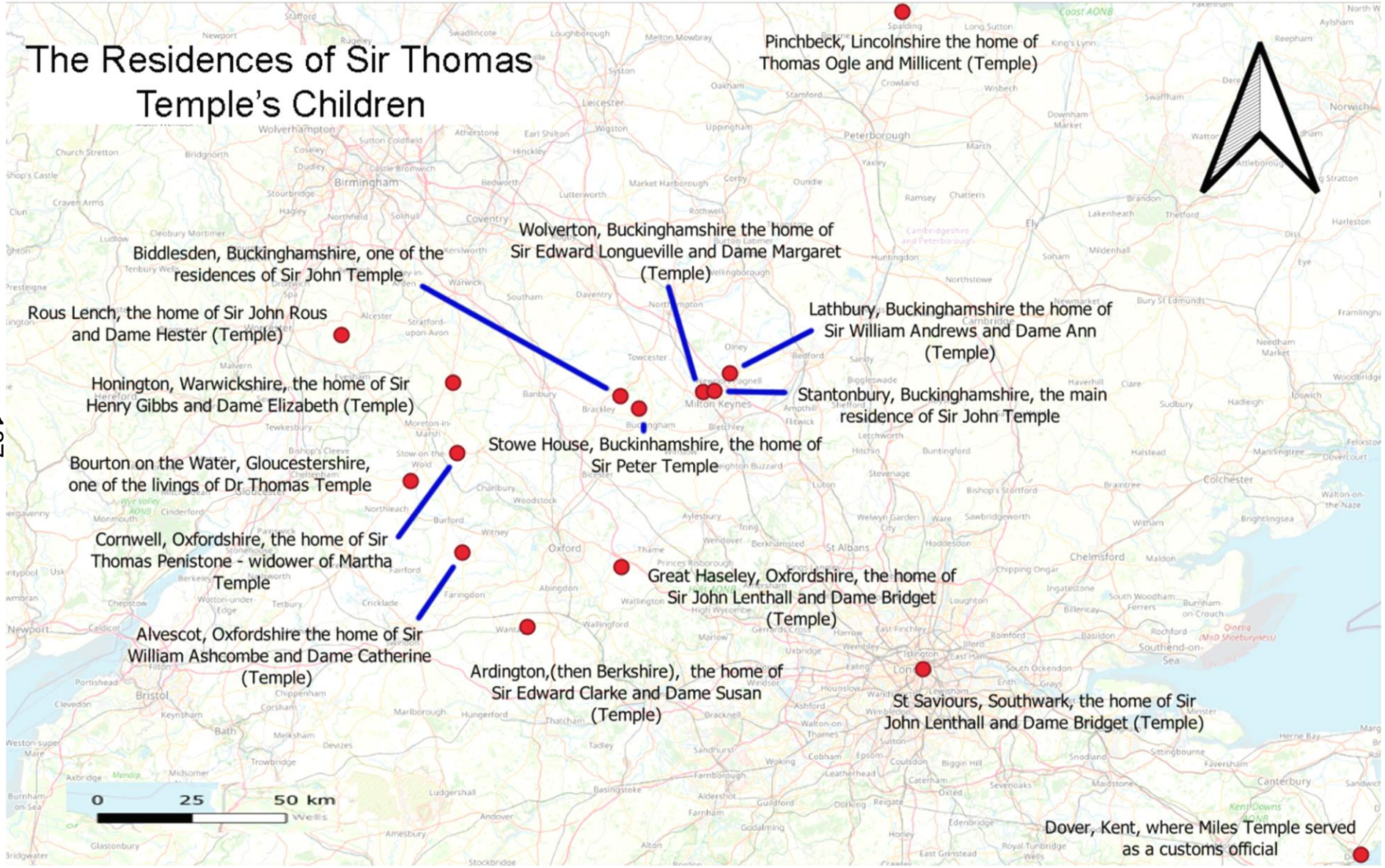
Appendix 2: The Temple Family Residences

Figure 7: Chadwell Place (also known as Longhouse Place) the home of Sir Alexander Temple


The Residences of John Temple and his Children
Frankton, Warwickshire, the home of Sir John Temple 1605(?)-1642
Brixworth, Northamptonshire, the home of Edward Saunders (Senior) and Millicent (Temple)'
Burton Dassett, Warwickshire, the home of John Temple 1570-1590'
Stowe House, Buckinghamshire, the main residence of John Temple 1590-1603; Sir Thomas Temple 1603-1628'
Broughton Castle,Oxfrordshire, the main residence of Viscount Saye & Sele and Lady Elizabeth (Temple)
Chetwood, Buckinghamshire, the home of Paul Risley and Dorothy (Temple)
Hillesden, Buckinghamshire, the home of Sir Thomas Denton and Susan (Temple)
Great Marlow, Buckinghamshire, the home of John Farmer and Mary (Temple)
Chadwell Place, Essex, the occasional residence of Sir Alexander Temple 1607-1629
The parish of St Botolph, Aldersgate, possibly the residence of William Temple
St Margarets near Rochester, Kent, the home of Sir Alexander Temple 1603-1607 following his first marriage
Haremere Hall, Sussex, the main residence of Sir Alexander Temple 1620-1629
Willingdon, Sussex, the home of Sir Nicholas Parker and Catherine (Temple)
0
25
50 km


The homes of some of the Grandchildren of John Temple
Burwell, Lincolnshire, the home of Sir Martin and Dame Susan (Temple)
Tettershal Castle, Lincolnshire seat of the 4th Earl of Lincoln and Countess Bridget (nee Fiennes)
King's Norton Leicestershire the home of Ralph Whalley Millicent (Saunders) Whalley
Frankton the home of Thomas Temple after 1642
Brixworth, home of Edward Saunders after 1630
The home of Sir Alexander Denton from 1633
Marlow Place, Great Marlow, the home of John Farmer after 1631
Chertsey Abbey, the residence of Thomas and Susan (Temple) Hammond
Manydown, the home of William Withers and Susan (Risley) Withers
Allington Castle, Kent, apparently the home of Sir Giffard Thornhurst and Dame Susan (Temple)
Haremere Hall, Etchingham, the residence of John and Anne (Temple) Busbridge
Etchingham, Sussex, the home of James Temple
Agney Court, Kent, leased by Sir Giffard Thornhurst and Dame Susan (Temple)
Willingdon, the home of Sir Thomas Parker
0
50
100 km


The Residences of Sir Thomas Temple's Children
Pinchbeck, Lincolnshire the home of Thomas Ogle and Millicent (Temple)
Wolverton, Buckinghamshire the home of Sir Edward Longueville and Dame Margaret (Temple)
Biddlesden, Buckinghamshire, one of the residences of Sir John Temple
Rous Lench, the home of Sir John Rous and Dame Hester (Temple)
Lathbury, Buckinghamshire the home of Sir William Andrews and Dame Ann (Temple)
Honington, Warwickshire, the home of Sir Henry Gibbs and Dame Elizabeth (Temple)
Stantonbury, Buckinghamshire, the main residence of Sir John Temple
Stowe House, Buckinhamshire, the home of Sir Peter Temple
Bourton on the Water, Gloucestershire, one of the livings of Dr Thomas Temple
Cornwell, Oxfordshire, the home of Sir Thomas Penistone - widower of Martha Temple
Great Haseley, Oxfordshire, the home of Sir John Lenthall and Dame Bridget (Temple)
Alvescot, Oxfordshire the home of Sir William Ashcombe and Dame Catherine (Temple)
Ardington,(then Berkshire), the home of Sir Edward Clarke and Dame Susan (Temple)
St Saviours, Southwark, the home of Sir John Lenthall and Dame Bridget (Temple)
Dover, Kent, where Miles Temple served as a customs official
0 25 50 km

Appendix 3: Letter from Sir John Lenthall to Margaret Longueville

Introduction

This letter gives a direct description of some of the actions taken by the Temple family to strengthen their case in the disputed presentation to the parish of Wolverton, Buckinghamshire (in the Diocese of Lincoln). These actions by Lenthall include entering a caveat at the consistory court (which prevented any progress in the case without due notice to the Longuevilles) and initial exploration of a possible compromise to end the dispute. The various tasks performed by Lenthall provide examples of one family member undertaking chores to support another.

The ease with which Sir John Lenthall gains access to senior court and church figures is evidence of his status and by inference that of other members of the Temple family. The terminology used about family members in the letter are an indication that relationships by marriage were regarded as being close and comparable to blood relationships. Lenthall calls Margaret Longueville “good sister” although she is actually his sister-in-law and refers to “his brother, Longueville”.

The bishop of Lincoln at the time was John Williams who had previously been removed as Lord Keeper of the Seal on the accession of Charles I. He was no supporter of Laud and sided with the puritans in the dispute as to the positioning and naming of the communion table / high altar. Williams had been succeeded as Lord Keeper by Thomas, Baron Coventry, the second person mentioned as being visited by Lenthall. Lord Chief Justice Richardson with whom Lenthall and his wife were dinning, was Thomas Richardson who had previously been Speaker of the House of Commons.

Transcript

To my most worthye sister M^{rs} margarette Longevile at Wolverton give this

Good Sister

I shall bee happye to doe you any service. I have accordinge to your directiones, spente moste of this daye about your buisinesse. I have been at my Lorde Bishoppe of Lincolne where I could not heare that m^{r} Wells had been, but my Lorde promised me that nothinge should be done against my brother till he had notices and also I there putt in a Caveat, beecause you might be assured that nothinge should bee done till you had notice w^{ch} cost me 12^{s}, So you neede not fear anything there.

Afterwardes I spoke wth my Lorde Keeper by whome I found (that) Wells had beene wth him, but after some discourse wth him, hee tolde mee that your counsell gave him y^{e} last tearme some good satisfac-tion, but that they and you promised to shewe him some other deeds, w^{ch} yf you did accordinglye this tearme, hee woulde doe you all righte, and he sayed he would not goe about to infrinche anyways upon youre righte. But he sayed that he would not make any presentation till then, upon condition that you should not till then also present, w^{ch} hee wished mee to certifie you. This I leave to your consideration w^{ch} is all that I have or could doe. Yf you shall the next weeke give mee any farder directions, I will faithfully & readly performe your commande, I will expect to heare them from you.

Nowe my wife and my selfe cannot be forgetful of our du[*ty*]* to Sir Thomas and my Ladye and my loving respects to my br[*o*]*-there Longueville and youreself. The haste of this m[*e*]*-ssenger whom I was not willing to staye by reason you m[*ight*]* receave a speedy account poore indevoures makethe m[*ee*]* differe, y^{e} presentation of our Newe yerees respects unto the[*m*]* to whom we can never bee so ungrateful, as not to testifie o[*ur*]* thankfullness amongst other of their bounden children but now must at this instante crave them to bee satisfied wth o[*ur*]* hearty prayers for all your happiness to bee complete thi[s]* newe yeere, till wee can sende. Another reason whye I could not sende now was, this daye we could not goe unto y^{r} hume, my wife and my selfe being invited to my good Lorde cheefe jushies Richarson to dinner, where my Ladye layed an injunchon on mee to remember hir love & service to hir mother my Ladye Temple to whom she thinks she hirself much beholdinge. Mine & my wifes humblest duety to s^{r} Tho^{s} & my ladye remembered, our best

respects to you & my brother I reste ever at your service & command

John Lenthall

Southwarke 2^{o} Janu: 1631

Note: I have added my interpretation where the letter is partially torn on the right-hand side – marked *.

Good Sister.

I shall bee happye to doe you any seruice. I haue accordinge to your directions spente moste of this daye about your busines, I haue beene at my Lorde Bishoppe of Lincolns howse I could not heare that Mr Wells had beene, but my Lorde promised mee that nothinge should bee donne against my brother till hee had notice, and also I there putt in a Caueat, because you might bee assured that nothinge could bee donne till you had notice, hee cost mee 12d. So you neede not feare any thinge there.

Afterwardes I spoke to my Lorde Keeper, by whome I founde y Wells had beene w^th him, but after some discourse w^th him, hee told mee that your counsell gaue him y^e last tearme some good satisfaction, but that thereupon you promised to shewe him some other euidences, w^ch if you did accordingelye this tearme, hee would doe you all right, and hee sayed that hee would not goe about to intrench any waye vppon your rights. But hee sayed that hee would not make any presentation till then vppon condition, that you should not take then also presente, w^ch hee wished mee to certifie you. This I haue to your consideration, w^ch is all that I haue or could doe, If you shall thinke worthe giue mee any farder directions, I will faithfullye & readylye performe your Comande, I will expecte to heare from you.

Now my wife and my selfe can not bee forgettfull of our du to S^r Thomas & my Ladye, and our louinge respectes to my b there Longruike and your selfe. The haste of this m senger, whome I was not willinge to staye by reason you m exceaue a speedye accounte of my poore indeuoures, maketh me differre, y presentation of our newyeeres respecte vnto th to whome wee can neuer bee so ingratefull, as not to testifie o thankefullnesse amongest others of theire boundren childeren but wee must at this instante craue them to bee satisfied w^ch hearetye prayres for all your happinesses to bee comforte th neuer ceasse, till wee can finde. Another reason whye I could not stande now was, because this daye wee could not goe into y^e towne, my wife & my selfe beinge inuited to my good Lorde cheefe Iushice Richardson to dinner, whose my Ladye cayed an Inuinchion vppon mee, to remember his loue & seruice to my hie mother my Ladye Temple, to whome shee thinketh hir selfe much beholdinge. Mine & my wifes humblest duetie to S^r Thoi^s my Ladye remembred, our best respects to you & my brother I reste euer

Your seruice & commande

Southwarke 20 Ianu: 1632.

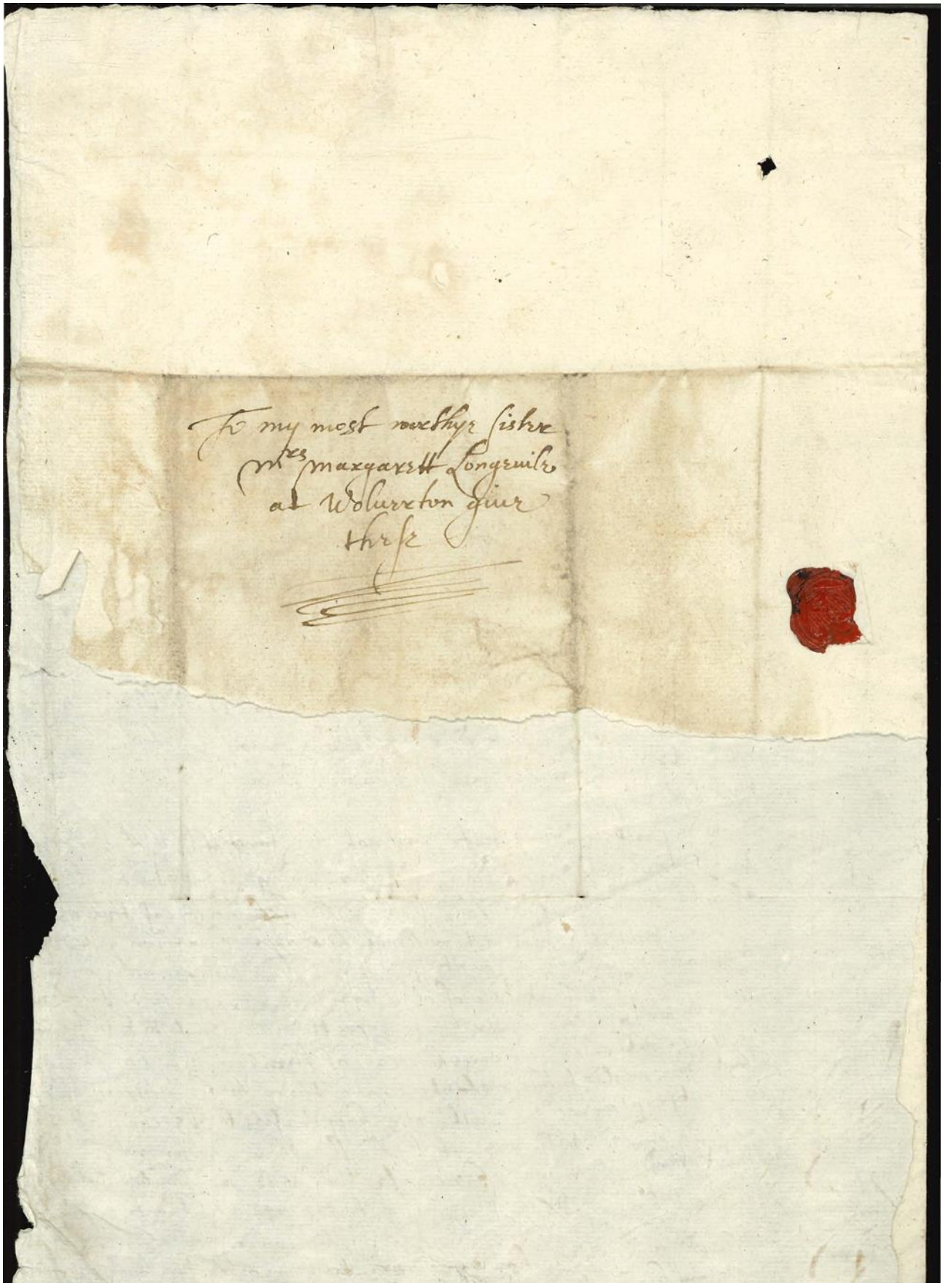

To my most worthye sister
Mrs Margarett Longevile
at Wolverton give
these

Figure 8: Sir John Lenthall to Margaret Longueville

Appendix 4: Applicability of factors indicating support for puritan religious and political agenda

	Religious statement	Resisted Forced Loan or Palatinate Benevolence	Resisted Ship Money	Fought for or supported Parliament	Membership of Long Parliament	Nominated to High Court of Justice
John Temple of Stowe	✓					
Sir Thomas Temple	✓	✓				
Sir Peter Temple		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Rev Dr Thomas Temple				✓		
Miles Temple				✓		
Sir Alexander Temple	✓	✓				
James Temple				✓	✓	✓
Sir Thomas Penyston			✓			
John Temple of Frankton	✓	✓		✓[687]		
Ann (Tomlins) Temple	✓					
Mary Temple	✓					
John son of John of Frankton				✓		
Thomas Hammond				✓		
Lord Saye & Sele	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
James Fiennes				✓	✓	
John Fiennes				✓	✓	
Nathaniel Fiennes				✓	✓	
Earl of Lincoln		✓	✓	✓	✓	
Henry Parker	✓		✓	✓		
Thomas Parker				✓	✓	
Sir John Lenthall				✓[688]		

[687] John Temple helped organise the parliamentary militia before his death on 7th August 1642, Hughes 1987, p. 154.

[688] Sir John Lenthall is included in the list as supporting parliament since he remained in his post as Marshall of the King's Bench Prison during the civil war and inter-regnum.

Appendix 5: The Nature of relationships within the Temple family

Multiplicity of Families

Although this thesis focuses on the Temple family, all the people involved were members of multiple families. They had both paternal and maternal grandparents, aunts, uncles and cousins, all of whom regarded themselves as family and would have expectations as to how they would be treated. The process of selecting a marriage partner generally reduced the potential for conflicting expectations from the two families, however, there were times when these conflicts did arise. Upon marriage, each partner would become part of their spouse's family, members of which would also have their own familial expectations. Usually, there would be two new families descended from the grandparents of their spouse, although with cousin marriages, there might be only one new family as they would already be a member of the other.

To appreciate the complexity of family relationships consider using the same definition of family, but with a different starting person. All of John's children are the grandchildren of Peter Temple and therefore part of a family based on him. This family includes Anthony Temple and his sons. The multiplicity increases by considering Peter Temple's wife Millicent Jekyll. She was married to both Hugh Radcliffe and Thomas Heritage prior to her marriage to Peter Temple. She had children by both of these husbands, so all the children of John Temple are part of a family that contains all the children and grandchildren of Millicent Jekyll. The children and grandchildren of Peter Temple are a subset of the children and grandchildren of Millicent Jekyll. Considering the families to which Sir Alexander Temple belongs introduces further multiplicity. He had three wives and would have been considered part of the family of the parents and grandparents of each of them.

Complexity of relationships

Drawing on work by Firth, Houlebrooke identified four relevant categories of kinship – recognised, nominated, effective and intimate. These describe the relationship between two people. There are roughly 5,000 pairs of people in the Temple family as defined in this thesis. In most cases, direct evidence of the closeness of a particular pair of people has not survived. Despite this and the methodological issue with this categorisation of kin,[689] the interactions and correspondence does enable some assessment of how family members fit into this categorisation.

Members of the various 'nuclear families' that constitute the overall Temple family can be presumed to be categorised as 'intimate', even if no evidence survives for this. A probable exception is the relationship between Dr Thomas Temple and Sir William Ashcombe. Similarly, the relationship between John Temple and his grandchildren can be presumed to be intimate without specific evidence. In some cases, this relationship is hypothetical since some grandchildren of John were born after his death.

The remaining relationships are aunt/uncle, nephew/niece and first cousins (together with appropriate spouses). Various interactions show that some of the aunt/uncle relationships can be classed as 'intimate. These include Saye and Sele's support for James Temple and Henry Parker; Sir Alexander Temple's support for Carew Saunders and the marriage of his ward (Sir Thomas Penyston) to his niece, Martha Temple. It is a reasonable hypothesis that the remaining aunt/uncle relationships were at least effective (having social contacts) and might have been classified as intimate if more contemporary evidence survived.

The first-cousin relationship is the most difficult to analyse due to the sparsity of evidence. Some illustration of the relationship between first cousins is a letter from Dr William

[689] See above p. 6.

Denton to James Temple about 'family matters'.[690] Also, James Temple and Carew Saunders are mentioned in a letter from their cousin Margaret Longueville.[691] This suggests that some cousin relationships were 'intimate' and it again seems a reasonable hypothesis that all cousin relationships were at least 'effective'. Unfortunately, the lack of surviving documents means it is impossible to reach a precise conclusion.

[690] Broad et al, microfilm 5, letter 244.
[691] See p. 44 above.