



**WOMEN, MARRIAGE AND SURVIVAL IN
EARLY MODERN ENGLAND**

**THE HASTINGS, EARLS AND COUNTESSSES OF
HUNTINGDON, 1620 TO 1690**

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ERRATA

Page 104, footnote 15: “Malcolmson” should read “Malcomson”

Page 169, line 2: “rent role” should read “rent roll”

ABSTRACT

In the seventeenth-century aristocratic families faced a variety of national, local and personal crises that threatened their survival. In dealing with and recovering from these crises, both men and women played important roles. This thesis examines the role that women played in the survival of their families through their experience of marriage.

For aristocratic women in the early modern period marriage was the focal point of their lives. Marriage was not only the only career open to aristocratic women but it was also the major way by which aristocratic families obtained wealth, influence, political power, important connections and the continuation of the family name and title. Aristocratic women were defined by their relationships because they could not hold political office or have careers independently of their families. For many, if not for most women, their most important relationships were created by marriage and their experiences were filtered through it. How their marriage was made, how it was worked out and what its circumstances were, all dictated how much influence they would have and how they would exert it. Their roles in the survival or failure of their families were coloured by the relationships created by their marriages and the types of marriages they experienced.

This thesis uses the Hastings family, Earls and Countesses of Huntingdon as a case study to explore these themes. It examines the way in which women in the Hastings family experienced marriage during the period 1620 to 1690 and how these experiences affected the family's welfare. The seventeenth-century is a particularly

pertinent time to examine how aristocratic families survived as it was a time when civil war and social and economic upheaval intensified the problems of many of these families. Indeed, during this period the Hastings family faced ruin. While the family's changes of fortune make the period 1620 to 1690 a particularly interesting one on which to focus, it was also during this time that the family contained and was connected to a significant number of influential women. The entrance of women such as Elizabeth Stanley, Lucy Davies and Elizabeth Lewys into the family, and, significantly, the presence of their daughters, mothers and sisters enables the examination of a network of women to see how they worked within the family for its benefit or otherwise. An examination of women's experiences of marriage reveals the inner workings of this family and its relationships with the outside world, while also highlighting the way in which families survived.

This thesis contains no material that has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text of the thesis.

I give consent to this copy of my thesis, when deposited in the University Library, being made available for photocopying and loan.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Names:

HEH	Henry, fifth Earl of Huntingdon
E(S)H	Elizabeth, Countess of Huntingdon (wife of the fifth earl)
FEH	Ferdinando, Lord Hastings and then sixth Earl of Huntingdon
L(D)H	Lucy, Lady Hastings (née Davies) and then Countess of Huntingdon (wife of the sixth earl)
E(T)D	Eleanor Davies, (née Touchet) and then Douglas
HH(LL)	Henry Hastings, Lord Loughborough
TEH	Theophilus, Lord Hastings and then seventh Earl of Huntingdon
E(L)H	Elizabeth, Countess of Huntingdon (nee Lewys) (wife of the seventh earl)
E(H)L	Lady Elizabeth Hastings and then Langham
LH	Lady Lucy Hastings
M(H)J	Lady Mary Hastings and then Jolliffe
CH	Lady Christiana Hastings

The Hastings manuscripts:

I have used the Huntington Library's method of abbreviation, namely:

HA Corr.	Huntington Library, Hastings Correspondence
HAP	Huntington Library, Hastings Personal
HAF	Huntington Library, Hastings Financial
HA Legal	Huntington Library, Hastings Legal
HA Parliament	Huntington Library, Hastings Parliament

The box number followed by the item number will be referenced. For example, Box 1, Item 2 will be referenced as 1/2.

Other abbreviations:

<i>Acts and Ordinances</i>	Firth, H. and Rait R.S., (collected and edited), <i>Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum 1642-1660</i> (London, 1911; reprint, Florida, 1972)
<i>Alumni Cantabrigienses</i>	<i>Alumni Cantabrigienses. A biographical list of all known students, graduates and holders of office at the University of Cambridge, from the earliest times to 1900.</i> Compiled by John Venn and J. A. Venn. Part I, vols. I to IV. (Cambridge University Press, 1922, 1924 and 1927).
<i>Army Lists</i>	Edward Peacock (ed.), <i>The Army Lists of the Roundheads and Cavaliers, containing the names of the officers in the Royal and Parliamentary armies of 1642</i> , (London, 1874)
<i>Biographical Dictionary</i>	Richard L Greaves and Robert Zaller (eds.), <i>Biographical Dictionary of British Radicals</i> , vol. 1, (Brighton, 1982).
<i>Burke</i>	<i>Burke's Peerage and Baronetage</i> , 105 th Edition
<i>Burton</i>	<i>Diary of Thomas Burton, Esquire, Member in the Parliaments of Oliver and Richard Cromwell from 1656 to 1659, volume 1</i> , (ed.) John Towill Rutt, (Johnson Reprint Corporation, New York and London, 1974)
<i>Churchill</i>	Winston S. Churchill, <i>Marlborough: his life and times</i> , book 1, (London, 1947; formerly published in two volumes 1933 and 1934)
<i>CJ</i>	<i>Journals of the House of Commons</i>
<i>Clarendon</i>	Edward, Earl of Clarendon, <i>The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England, begun in the year 1641</i> , (Oxford, first edition, 1888, reprinted 1958, 1969).
<i>CPCC</i>	<i>Calendar of the Proceedings of the Committee for Compounding</i>
<i>CSPD</i>	<i>Calendar of State Papers Domestic</i>
<i>DNB</i>	<i>Dictionary of National Biography</i>

- Dugdale, *Antient Usage* William Dugdale, *The Antient Usage In Bearing of Such Ensigns of Honour As are commonly call'd Arms with A Catalogue of the present Nobility of England. To which is added, A Catalogue of the present Nobility of Scotland and Ireland* (Oxford, 1682)
- Evelyn, *Diary* John Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn in six volumes*, (ed.) E. S. Beer, (Oxford, 1955)
- GEC *The Complete Peerage by GEC*, (Microprint edition, Gloucester, 1982)
- Hatton Correspondence* Edward Maunde Thompson (ed.), *Correspondence of The Family of Hatton Being chiefly letters addressed to Christopher First Viscount Hatton, A.D. 1601-1704*, vols. 1 and 2 (printed for the Camden Society, 1878)
- History of Parliament* Henning, Basil Duke, *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1660-1690*, vols. 1-3, (London, 1983)
- HMC 78 Francis Bickley (ed.), *Historical Manuscripts Commission 78, Report on the Manuscripts of the late Reginald Rawdon Hastings, Esq. Of the Manor House, Ashby de la Zouch*, vols. 1 (London, 1928), vol. 2 (London, 1930) and vol. 4, (London, 1947)
- LJ *Journals of the House of Lords*
- Luttrell, *Brief historical relation* Narcissus Luttrell, *A brief historical relation of state affairs from September 1678 to April 1714, in six volumes*, (Oxford, 1857; republished 1969, Westmead)
- ODNB H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (eds.), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford, 2004) [On-line edition]
- Office holders in Modern Britain* J. C. Sainty and R. O Bucholz, *Office Holders in Modern Britain, vol. 11, Officials of the Royal Household 1660-1837, part 1: Department of the Lord Chamberlain and associated offices* (University of London, Institute of Historical Research, 1997)
- Rulers of London* J. R. Woodhead, *The Rulers of London, 1660-1689: A Biographical Record of the Aldermen and Common Councilmen of the City of London* (London and Middlesex Archaeological Society, London, 1965).
- VHC Leicester *The Victoria History of the County of Leicester*

Spelling:

I have kept the original spelling where possible but have expanded contractions and abbreviations. I have also standardised the spelling of names, for example, Davies and Lewys are always used where the records use at varying times, Davys, Davis and Lewis.

CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS

(Major Hastings family births, deaths and marriages are in bold.
National events are in italics.)

Date	Event
1586	Birth of Henry Hastings, future fifth Earl of Huntingdon.
6 January 1587/8	Baptism of Elizabeth Stanley, third and youngest daughter and coheir of Ferdinando Stanley, fifth Earl of Derby and his wife Alice, daughter of Sir John Spencer.
1601 (15 January)	Marriage of Henry, Lord Hastings to Elizabeth Stanley.
<i>1603</i>	<i>Accession of James VI of Scotland to the English throne as James I.</i>
1606	Birth of Alice Hastings, daughter of Henry Hastings, fifth Earl of Huntingdon and Elizabeth.
1607-42	Fifth earl Lord Lieutenant of Leicestershire.
1609	Birth of Ferdinando, Lord Hastings, future sixth Earl of Huntingdon, son of the fifth Earl of Huntingdon and Elizabeth.
1612	Birth of Elizabeth Hastings, daughter of the fifth Earl of Huntingdon and Elizabeth.
<i>1612</i>	<i>Death of Henry, Prince of Wales. Charles now heir to the throne.</i>
1613 (20 January)	Birth of Lucy Davies, daughter of Sir John Davies and Lady Eleanor Davies, in Dublin, Ireland.
1623 (July & Aug)	Marriage of Ferdinando, Lord Hastings to Lucy Davies.
<i>1625</i>	<i>Death of James I. Accession of Charles I. Marriage of Charles I to Henrietta Maria, daughter of Henry IV of France.</i>
1626 (7 December)	Death of Sir John Davies in London.
1627 (before April)	Marriage of Lady Eleanor Davies to Sir Archibald Douglas.
1629	Birth of Alice Hastings, daughter of Ferdinando, Lord Hastings and Lucy (died young).
<i>1629-1640</i>	<i>The Personal Rule of Charles I.</i>
1630	Birth of Henry Hastings, son of Ferdinando, Lord Hastings and Lucy.
1630 (December)	Warrant for Lady Eleanor to appear before the Privy Council.

Date	Event
1631	Trial and execution of Lady Eleanor's brother, Mervin Touchet, Earl of Castlehaven.
1631	Birth of John Hastings, son of Ferdinando, Lord Hastings and Lucy (died young).
1631-1633	Elizabeth Hastings, wife of the fifth earl lobbies the Privy Council and Lord Treasurer for recompense for her husband's loss of the Lieutenancy of the Forest of Leicester.
1632	Birth of Eleanor Hastings, daughter of Ferdinando, Lord Hastings and Lucy.
1632/3 (20 January)	Death of Elizabeth (Stanley) Hastings, Countess of Huntingdon at Whitefriars, London.
1632/3 (9 February)	Burial of Elizabeth (Stanley) Hastings, Countess of Huntingdon at Ashby.
1633	Lady Eleanor Douglas to the Low Countries to have her books printed.
1633 (October)	Archbishop Laud seizes and burns Lady Eleanor Douglas' books.
1633 (24 October)	The Court of High Commission fines Lady Eleanor £3,000, orders her to make public submission and imprisons her in the Gatehouse.
1634	Elizabeth Hastings, daughter of the fifth Earl, marries Sir Hugh Calveley.
1635 (19 February)	Birth of Elizabeth Hastings, daughter of Ferdinando and Lucy.
1635 (June)	Lady Eleanor's release from the Gatehouse after Lucy's petition and payment of £500.
1635 (summer)	Lady Eleanor briefly visits Lucy, Ferdinando and their children.
1636 (midsummer)	Lady Eleanor stages protest at Lichfield Cathedral.
1636 (17 December)	The Privy Council commits Lady Eleanor to Bedlam.
1637 (early)	Lady Eleanor arrives at Bedlam.
1630s (mid-late)	Birth of Ferdinando Hastings, son of Ferdinando and Lucy (died young)
1638 (April)	Lady Eleanor to the Tower of London.
1638	Ferdinando is made Lord Lieutenant of Leicestershire and Rutland with his father.

Date	Event
1639	Death of John Hastings, son of Ferdinando and Lucy.
1640 (5 March)	The fifth earl is compensated for the loss of his Leicester forest office. Also receives additional cash sums from the Crown.
1640	Fifth earl's candidates, including his second son and Sir Henry Skipwith defeated in parliamentary elections and lose seats.
1640	<i>Short parliament.</i>
1640	<i>Second bishops war.</i>
1640 (6 September)	Lady Eleanor's release from the Tower (after appeals from Lucy and Ferdinando).
1640 (November)	<i>Long parliament.</i> Parliamentary Committee looking into Star Chamber abuses rehabilitates Fawnt. The Militia Bill is passed which takes both Lord Lieutenancies from the fifth earl. That of Leicester is given to Stamford, that of Rutland to the Earl of Exeter. Ferdinando, Lord Hastings made Lord Lieutenant of Westmorland.
1641 (12 May)	<i>The execution of the Earl of Strafford.</i>
1641	<i>The Irish Rebellion.</i>
1640s (early)?	Birth of Lucy Hastings, daughter of Ferdinando and Lucy.
1640s (early)?	Birth of Mary Hastings, daughter of Ferdinando and Lucy.
1642	<i>The Civil War.</i>
1642	The fifth earl goes to the King at York. Ferdinando remains at Westminster where he is named in committees on Ireland and the army.
June 1642	Henry Hastings, second son of the fifth earl takes up arms and publishes the Commission of Array. He challenges Stamford at the Leicester muster.
1642	<i>Battle of Edgehill.</i> Ferdinando leaves early, apologises to Essex for leaving the army without leave.
1643 (May to June)	Lucy's petition to the House of Lords regarding her mother and the manor of Pirton.
1643 (14 November)	Death of Henry Hastings, fifth Earl of Huntingdon at Ashby-de-la-Zouch. Ferdinando becomes the sixth Earl of Huntingdon.
1643 (16 December)	Burial of the fifth Earl of Huntingdon at Ashby-de-la-Zouch.

Date	Event
1643 (23 October)	Henry Hastings, brother of the sixth earl is created Baron Loughborough.
1644 (28 July)	Death of Sir Archibald Douglas.
1644	Birth of Christiana Hastings, daughter of Ferdinando and Lucy.
<i>1645 (10 January)</i>	<i>Execution of Laud.</i>
1645 (11 November)	Lord Deincourt is made Earl of Scarsdale for his loyalty to Charles I.
1646 (March)	Surrender of Ashby-de-la-Zouch castle.
1646 (July)	Lady Eleanor is imprisoned for debt.
<i>1646 (May)</i>	<i>King surrenders to the Scots.</i>
1647	Marriage of James Langham to Mary Alston.
<i>1648</i>	<i>Second Civil War.</i>
1648 (May)	Parliamentary garrison at Ashby-de-la-Zouch castle.
1648	The towers of Ashby-de-la-Zouch castle destroyed.
<i>1649 (30 January)</i>	<i>Execution of Charles I.</i>
<i>1649</i>	<i>Abolition of the House of Lords.</i>
1649	Ferdinando imprisoned in the Fleet for debt.
1649	Lady Eleanor publishes <i>The New Proclamation</i> .
1649	Death of Henry Hastings, son of Ferdinando and Lucy.
<i>1649-1650</i>	<i>Cromwellian conquest of Ireland.</i>
1650 (September)	Lady Eleanor in prison.
1650 (10 December)	Birth of Theophilus Hastings, Lord Hastings, future seventh Earl of Huntingdon, son of Ferdinando and Lucy.
1651 (by Christmas)	Lady Eleanor in prison.
1652 (by Easter)	Lady Eleanor released from prison.
1652 (5 July)	Lady Eleanor dies in London.

Date	Event
1653	Marriage of Nicholas, Lord Deincourt to Frances, third daughter of the second Earl of Warwick.
1653/4 (9 March)	Birth of Robert Leke, son of Nicholas, Lord Deincourt.
1654	Birth of Elizabeth Lewys, daughter of Sir John Lewys and Sarah.
<i>1655-1660</i>	<i>War with Spain.</i>
1655 (9 April)	Death of the Earl of Scarsdale. His son Nicholas becomes Earl. His son Robert becomes Lord Deincourt.
1656 (13 February)	Death of Ferdinando, sixth Earl of Huntingdon. His only surviving son Theophilus becomes seventh earl.
1656 (2 March)	Ferdinando, sixth Earl of Huntingdon buried.
1657	Marriage of Alice Hastings, sister of Ferdinando, sixth earl, to Gervase Clifton.
1658	Birth of Mary Lewys, second daughter of Sir John Lewys and Sarah and sister of Elizabeth.
1659	Draft settlement drawn up for the proposed marriage of Elizabeth Hastings to Henry Conway.
<i>1660</i>	<i>The Restoration. Charles II on the throne.</i>
1660 (16 May)	John Langham knighted by Charles II.
1660 (7 June)	Sir John Langham created Baronet by Charles II.
1660 (15 October)	Sir John Lewys created Baronet by Charles II.
1660 (21 November)	Thomas Foote (father of Sarah Foote, mother of Elizabeth and Mary Lewys) created Baronet by Charles II.
1662 (18 Nov)	Marriage of Elizabeth Hastings, daughter of the late Ferdinando, sixth Earl of Huntingdon and Lucy, to Sir James Langham.
1664 (28 March)	Death of Elizabeth Langham.
<i>1665-1667</i>	<i>War with the Netherlands.</i>
1666	Death of Alice Clifton, sister of the late Ferdinando, sixth Earl of Huntingdon.

Date	Event
1667 (10 January)	Death of Henry Baron Loughborough, brother of the late Ferdinando, sixth Earl of Huntingdon.
1667	Marriage of James Langham to the daughter of the second Earl of Clare.
Around 1667	Theophilus moves to London with his mother to pursue negotiations for his marriage. Donnington Park undergoes renovation.
1670	Lucy's tribute to her mother in the fifth edition of Baker's Chronicle of the Kings of England.
1671 (16 May)	Death of Sir John Langham.
1671 (14 August)	Death of Sir John Lewys.
1672 (about January)	Marriage of Sarah Lewys to Denzil Onslow.
1672 (about 11 February)	Marriage of Robert, Lord Deincourt to Mary Lewys, younger daughter and co-heir of Sir John Lewys and sister of Elizabeth.
1672 (19 February)	Marriage of Theophilus, seventh Earl of Huntingdon to Elizabeth Lewys, daughter of Sir John Lewys.
<i>1672-1674</i>	<i>War with the Netherlands.</i>
1673	Theophilus at Donnington. James, Duke of York is his proxy in parliament.
1673?	Birth of first child, probably a daughter, to Theophilus and Elizabeth. This child does not live long.
1673	James Langham signs the release of the Hastings' English estates.
1673	Sale of Lucy's Irish lands in Fermanagh and Tyrone.
1674 (early November)	Birth of Thomas, son of Elizabeth and Theophilus.
1675	Marriage of Mary Hastings, daughter of Ferdinando and Lucy, to William Jolliffe of Caverswell.
1675 (by March)	Death of Thomas, son of Elizabeth and Theophilus.
1675	Theophilus made <i>custos rotulorum</i> of Warwickshire.

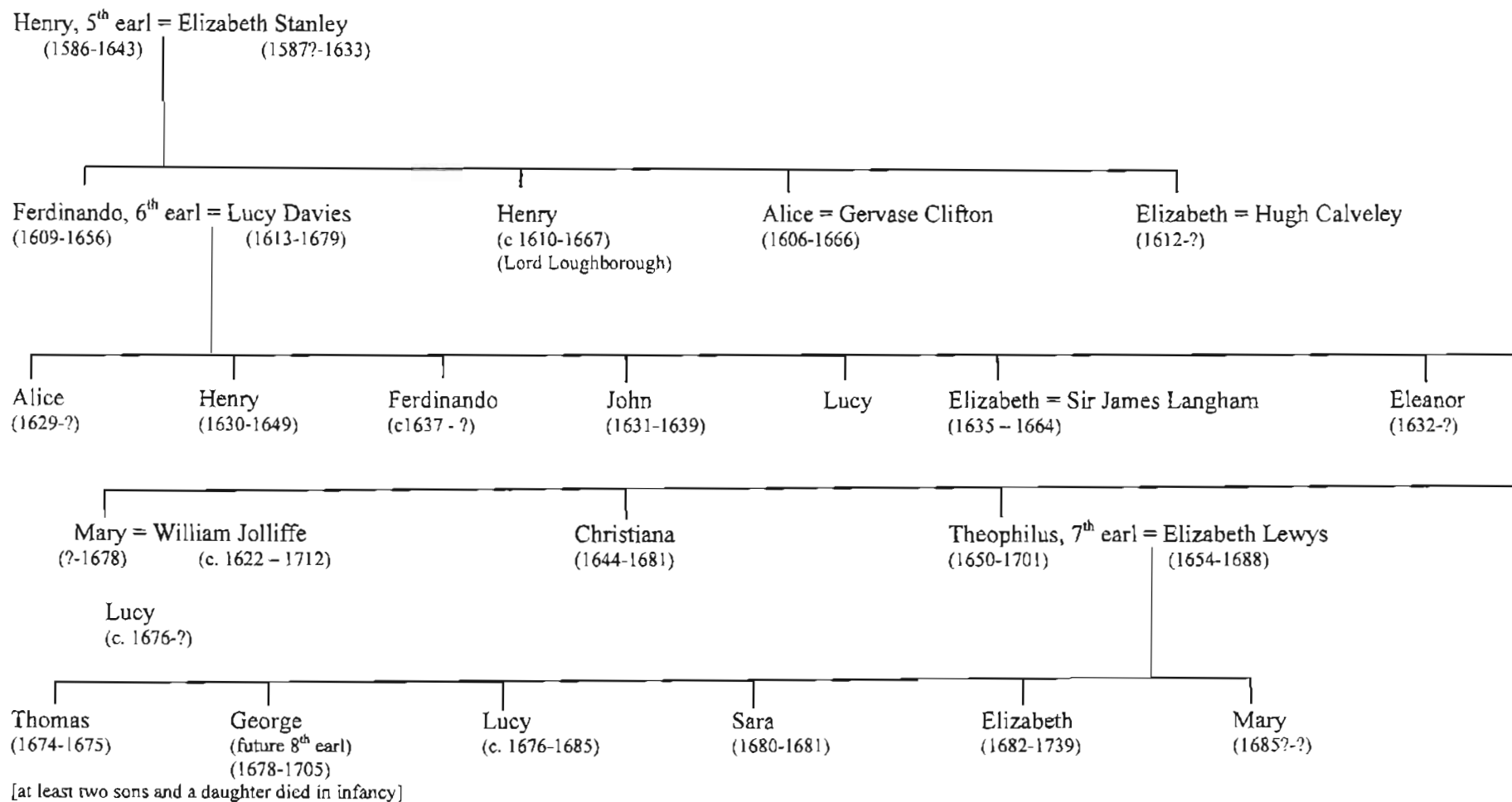
Date	Event
Mid 1670s	Parties come to agreement over the estate of Sir John Lewys. Scarsdale, Deincourt and Theophilus make arrangements for a survey of the lands in Yorkshire.
1675	Death of Elizabeth's uncle, Captain Lewys. His estate, worth £500 a year left to Elizabeth and her sister.
1675-1680	Theophilus made <i>custos rotulorum</i> of Warwickshire.
Around 1676	Birth of Lucy, daughter of Elizabeth and Theophilus.
1676?	Birth and death of another son to Elizabeth and Theophilus.
1677	Theophilus made High Steward of Leicester.
Around 1676	Birth of Lucy, daughter of William and Mary Jolliffe.
1678 (22 March)	Birth of George Hastings, son of Theophilus and Elizabeth, future eighth Earl of Huntingdon.
1678 (April)	Christening of George Hastings.
1678	Death of Mary Jolliffe.
1679	Death of Lucy Hastings, dowager Countess of Huntingdon.
1679-81	Theophilus associated with Shaftesbury and Exclusion.
<i>1679-1681</i>	<i>The Exclusion Crisis. Emergence of Whig and Tory parties.</i>
Early 1680	Birth of Sara Hastings, daughter of Elizabeth and Theophilus.
1681 (by October)	Theophilus back in favour at Court.
1680/1 (27 January)	Death of Nicholas Leke, Earl of Scarsdale. Robert, Lord Deincourt becomes Earl of Scarsdale.
1681	Death of Frances, daughter of the Earl and Countess of Scarsdale.
1682	Theophilus made Captain of the Band of Gentlemen Pensioners.
1682 (19 April)	Birth of Elizabeth (Betty) Hastings, daughter of Elizabeth and Theophilus.
1683	Theophilus made a member of the Privy Council.
<i>1683 (28 July)</i>	<i>Marriage of Princess Anne to George, Prince of Denmark.</i>
1683	Scarsdale made the Prince of Denmark's gentleman of the Bedchamber.

Date	Event
1683/4 (17 February)	Death of Mary, Countess of Scarsdale of a "malignant fever". She is buried in Westminster Abbey.
<i>1685 (6 February)</i>	<i>Death of Charles II. Ascension of James II.</i>
<i>1685 (23 April)</i>	<i>Coronation of James II. Theophilus attends and is among those who sign the order at Whitehall proclaiming James II.</i>
1685	Birth of Mary Hastings, daughter of Elizabeth and Theophilus.
1685	Death of Lucy Hastings, daughter of Elizabeth and Theophilus.
1687 (from January)	Theophilus becomes Commissioner for Ecclesiastical Causes.
<i>1687 (April)</i>	<i>First Declaration of Indulgence.</i>
<i>1687 (17 June – 15 August)</i>	<i>Prince of Denmark visits Denmark with Scarsdale and Cornbury.</i>
1687 (August)	Theophilus is made Lord Lieutenant of Leicestershire.
1687 (November)	Scarsdale (Lord Lieutenant of Derbyshire) is one of seventeen Lord Lieutenants who refuse to canvass public opinion regarding the repeal of the test and penal acts and religious toleration.
1687 (30 November)	James removes Scarsdale from Lord Lieutenancy of Derbyshire and takes away his regiment.
1687 (December)	Theophilus is made Lord Lieutenant of Derbyshire.
1687 (December)	James II orders Princess Anne to dismiss Scarsdale from his position as head of the Prince of Denmark's household and to replace him with Theophilus.
1687 (December)	Theophilus made a groom of the stole and gentleman of the bedchamber to the Prince of Denmark. At about this time Elizabeth is given a role serving the Princess of Denmark.
<i>1688 (April)</i>	<i>Protest by the seven bishops protests against the Declaration of Indulgence. James II prosecutes them for seditious libel.</i>
<i>1688 (April)</i>	<i>Second declaration of Indulgence.</i>
<i>1688 (30 June)</i>	<i>Jury of the Court of King's Bench acquits the seven bishops.</i>
<i>1688 (10 June)</i>	<i>Birth of the Prince of Wales.</i>

Date	Event
1688 (July – September)	Theophilus tries to persuade Leicester Corporation to surrender its charter, orders his ministers to read the Declaration of Indulgence and tries to ensure appropriate men stand for election.
<i>1688 (September)</i>	<i>James learns of the planned invasion by William of Orange. He calls off the election and tries to return Anglicans and Tories to their previous positions as JPs and Deputy Lieutenants.</i>
<i>1688 (17 October)</i>	<i>James authorises Theophilus to raise Horse and Foot militia to defend the country from invasion.</i>
1688 (early November)	Theophilus joins his regiment at Plymouth where they have been located since the beginning of September.
1688 (17 November)	Lord Bath leaves Plymouth mysteriously, returning a few days later.
1688 (late November)	Two officers at Plymouth desert and join the Prince of Orange at Exeter.
1688 (23 November)	Churchill deserts to the Prince of Orange.
1688 (24 November)	Theophilus is taken prisoner by the Earl of Bath.
1688 (1 December)	Princess Anne arrives in Nottingham and is met by Protestant nobles, including the Earls of Chesterfield and Scarsdale.
<i>1688 (9 December)</i>	<i>Princess Anne goes to Leicester where she asks the nobles to sign an association to protect the Prince of Orange. A large number, including Chesterfield and Scarsdale, refuse.</i>
<i>1688 (early December)</i>	<i>Meeting between the King's Commissioners and the Prince of Orange. Smithsby, Theophilus' man of business attends.</i>
1688 (24 December)	Death of Elizabeth, Countess of Huntingdon in childbirth.
1688 (26 December)	Theophilus freed.
<i>1688 (December) – 1689 (January)</i>	<i>Princess Anne gathers support for her claim to the succession after Mary. Her supporters include Scarsdale.</i>
1690 (8 May)	Marriage of Theophilus to Frances Levenson (née Fowler).
1699 (22 August)	Death of Sir James Langham at Lincoln's Inn Fields.
1701	Death of Theophilus, seventh Earl of Huntingdon.

Date	Event
1703	George, eighth Earl of Huntingdon unsuccessfully seeks Mary Churchill's hand in marriage.
1705	Death of George, eighth Earl of Huntingdon. His half-brother Theophilus becomes the ninth earl.
1723	Death of Frances.
1728 (3 June)	Marriage of Theophilus, ninth Earl of Huntingdon to Selina Shirley, daughter of 2nd Earl Ferrers.
1739 (21 December)	Death of Lady Betty Hastings.

THE HASTINGS FAMILY TREE -- 5TH TO THE 7TH EARLS OF HUNTINGDON



CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

**“For it is in the choice of a Wife, as in a project of Warre,
wherein to erre but once is to be undone for ever”¹**

“to marry a fool is to entail folly”²

In 1623 ten year old Lucy Davies was married to Ferdinando, Lord Hastings, the fourteen year old son of the fifth Earl of Huntingdon. Lucy, an only child, was highly educated, pious, opinionated, stubborn, and had a portion of £6,500. Ferdinando, soon to attend Cambridge, had two sisters and a younger brother and his family was suffering financial difficulty. The couple did not live together for the first four years of their marriage during which time they met occasionally and corresponded regularly. Unfortunately for the Hastings family the expected financial benefit from the marriage proved elusive.

However, despite this disappointment, Lucy proved a valuable asset. As she developed she showed herself to be resourceful, adaptable, diplomatic, tenacious and strong. During the course of her life Lucy gave birth to ten children, ran estates and conducted business, assisted her mother (the “prophet” Lady Eleanor Davies) in her many battles with the authorities, organised petitions and the passing of acts of parliament, raised her son and daughters alone after the death of her husband, headed the family and arranged marriages. Lucy’s marriage influenced the course of Hastings family history during a period of enormous crisis and strain.

This thesis examines the way in which Lucy and other women in the Hastings family experienced marriage during the period 1620 to 1690 and how these experiences affected the family’s welfare. Such an examination sheds light on the links between marriage and

¹ William Cecil, Baron Burghley, *Certaine precepts or directions for the well ordering of a man's life*, (London, 1636), p. 2.

² Recollections of Sir John Lowther, first Viscount Lonsdale, Lonsdale Papers, D/Lons/L, Estate and Memoranda Books, A/1/4A. My thanks to Dr Roger Hainsworth for directing my attention to this quote.

family survival, on the influence a woman was able to exercise and on the dynamics of aristocratic family life. For aristocratic women in the early modern period marriage was the focal point of their lives. Most women wanted and expected to marry because it was through marriage that they were able to establish households of their own, bear children, and keep the respect of their families and social circle. Marriage was not only the only career open to aristocratic women but it was also the major way by which aristocratic families obtained wealth, influence, political power, important connections and the continuation of the family name and title.

The seventeenth century is a particularly pertinent time to examine how aristocratic families survived as it was a period when civil war and social and economic upheaval intensified the problems of landed families. The Hastings, like most aristocratic families, was caught up in these traumatic events. Marriage formed an important part of the family's struggle to maintain influence and status. It cannot be isolated from other elements of aristocratic life and is the central point from which to understand the ability of women to act and to influence aristocratic families. Faced with financial crises, political challenge, demographic failure, business difficulties and costly law suits women played an important role in both shaping their families' destinies and being shaped by them. Marriages reveal the inner workings of these families, the relationships between different family members and between the family and the outside world. Focusing on marriage also reveals the impact of personality and human relationships on family survival and history. It is only by delving into these relationships that we can see how families operated and assess their strengths and weaknesses. When marriages are examined in the long term and considered in relation to the wider family and its connections, the aristocratic family can be more fully understood.

Historians have long recognised that the study of marriage can reveal a great deal about society and human beings.³ R.B. Outhwaite, argues that “marriage practices are revealing of society and its attitudes”:

This is because marriage is a social act: it involves more than two people; it is hedged by law and custom; it is subject to often intense feelings of approval and disapproval; it profoundly alters the status of the parties, especially women and any children they might bear; and it is nearly always accompanied by transfers of legal rights and, frequently, of property.⁴

Joel Hurstfield in his study of wardship and marriage under Elizabeth I states that “The institution of marriage, and the welfare of children, mirror – in every age – the social climate and institutions which surround them.”⁵ Historians have used the study of marriage as a springboard to the understanding of many different aspects of life in early modern England, including gender relations, inheritance, the growth of estates, legal change, family structure, demographic change, the change in sentiment and custom, class conflict, religion and the exercise of political power.

Historians have also acknowledged the centrality of marriage to both women’s experience and the way they were defined by themselves and by others. Jacqueline Eales argues that

³ While many of the following observations and comments could also apply to women in other social groups, my discussion focuses on aristocratic women.

⁴ Outhwaite, R. B., “Introduction: Problems and Perspectives in the History of Marriage” in R. B. Outhwaite (ed.), *Marriage and Society: Studies in the Social History of Marriage* (New York, 1981) p. 11.

⁵ Joel Hurstfield, *The Queen’s Wards: Wardship and Marriage under Elizabeth I*, (London, 1958) p. xiii.

women were regarded as either wives, widows or virgins in seventeenth century conduct books, “thus placing a central emphasis on the importance of marriage to their status”.⁶ Barbara Harris, in her study of aristocratic women from 1450 to 1550, states “the expectation that aristocratic women would marry shaped their lives from the moment of their birth”.⁷ It is clear that any study of women’s impact will need to take into account their marital status as it was intrinsic to how society perceived women and how they perceived themselves. Such definitions were part of the patriarchal society in which women lived. Early modern society stressed the need for women to be obedient, submissive to their husbands and modest. Conduct books presented an idealised picture of women and this, coupled with sermons, reinforced a view that women should be under the authority of men; that they were “the weaker vessel”, prone to both moral and intellectual weaknesses and more liable to temptation.⁸ The headship of the husband and father was considered essential to the proper functioning of family and society. Under common law wives had no separate legal identity, could not own their own property, take their own legal action or make wills.

In reality, however, aristocratic women performed a multitude of tasks for their families and often had to make decisions in the management of their family’s estate, in law suits and in the personal lives of family members.⁹ Such contributions were particularly

⁶ Jacqueline Eales, *Women in early modern England, 1500-1700*, (London and Bristol (Pennsylvania) 1998), p. 23. See also Anne Laurence, *Women in England, 1500-1760: A Social History*, (London, 1994), p. 41 and Amanda Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter: Women's lives in Georgian England*, (New Haven and London, 1998), p. 8.

⁷ Barbara Harris, *English Aristocratic Women, 1450-1550: Marriage and family, property and careers*, (Oxford, 2002), p. 27.

⁸ See Antonia Fraser, *The Weaker Vessel: Woman's lot in seventeenth-century England*, (London, 1984 and 1985), pp. 1-6 and Olwen Hufton, *The prospect before her: a history of women in western Europe, vol. 1, 1500-1800* (London, 1997), pp. 25-58 for a discussion of seventeenth-century views.

⁹ Studies of aristocratic women have painted a vivid picture of the many duties they performed. These studies include, Fraser, *Weaker Vessel*; Vickery, *Gentleman's Daughter* and Harris, *English aristocratic women*. Case studies of particular gentry and aristocratic families include those by Susan E. Whyman;

necessary because men were so often absent on political or estate matters. In addition, high mortality rates meant that families often had to function without an adult male head which Heather Dubrow recognises made roles and power within the family fluid and unstable.¹⁰ Thus, as Harris acknowledges:

aristocratic women played a crucial part in ensuring the survival of their families and class and, therefore, in preserving social stability in a period marked by numerous political disruptions and a major religious revolution.¹¹

Harris' comments for 1450 to 1550 could equally apply to the political, social and religious upheaval of the seventeenth century.

The diversity of the roles played by aristocratic women in early modern England has led many historians to focus on the contradiction during this period between the patriarchal nature of society which insisted on the inferiority and submission of women and the practical reality of their lives which required them to be active and energetic, both publicly and privately, on behalf of their families.¹² Barbara Harris describes this contradiction as “one of the most perplexing features of Yorkist and early Tudor society”.¹³ Historians have gradually come to appreciate that aristocratic women adapted to their individual

Miriam Slater; Maurice Lee Jr; Rosalind K. Marshall; Molly McClain and Vivienne Larminie. For details, see the bibliography to this thesis. For studies of women in other social groups see works by Olwen Hufton, Patricia Crawford and Sara Heller Mendelson, and others also in the bibliography to this thesis.

¹⁰ Heather Dubrow, “The message from Marcade: Parental death in Tudor and Stuart England” in Betty S. Travitsky and Adele F. Seeff, (eds.), *Attending to Women in Early Modern England*, (N.J., London, Ontario, 1994), p. 148, 153, 155-6 and 163.

¹¹ Harris, *English Aristocratic Women*, p. 8.

¹² See Margaret J. Ezell, *The Patriarch's Wife: Literary Evidence and the History of the Family* (Chapel Hill and London, 1987); Linda Pollock, “‘Teach her to live under obedience’: the making of women in the upper ranks of early modern England” *Continuity and Change*, 4 (2), 1989, pp. 231-258; Margaret P. Hannay, “‘O Daughter Heare’: Reconstructing the lives of aristocratic Englishwomen” in Travitsky and Seeff, (eds.), *Attending to Women*, p. 35 and Eales, *Women in early modern England*, pp. 5, 15, 66-7 and 72.

¹³ Harris, *English Aristocratic Women*, p. 6.

circumstances, and that families adapted themselves to the varying personalities and relationships which developed over time. The patriarchal system was flexible and allowed for a variety of behaviour.¹⁴ Linda Pollock has stressed the need to “take more into account the fluidity, changes, and dynamics of family life”.¹⁵

The impact of aristocratic women on their families and on the path their families took is therefore necessarily complex and must take into account the inter-relationship of legal and marital status, political and economic background, and personality. Marriage makes a useful focus for examining this complex relationship as marriage was the hub around which revolved women’s identity, legal position, role and relationships. It fundamentally influenced the way a woman was able to live her life and how she experienced relationships within her family. In addition, marriage forms an essential part of any study of the well-being of aristocratic families because seventeenth century aristocrats also considered it to be the most important means for achieving success. It is therefore necessary to examine briefly what the aristocracy regarded as “success” and how this was linked to marriage.

Men and women of the seventeenth century aristocracy acknowledged that the choice of a marriage partner was of crucial significance, both for the future happiness of the individuals concerned, and for the well-being of the family. Families could not risk

¹⁴ Joanne Bailey, *Unquiet Lives: Marriage and Marriage Breakdown in England, 1660-1800*, (Cambridge, 2003), p.199. Anthony Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination in England, 1500-1800*, (New Haven and London, 1995), pp. (xix) and 191.

¹⁵ Linda Pollock, “Rethinking patriarchy and the family in seventeenth-century England”, *Journal of Family History*, 23, 1, (1998), accessed electronically on Expanded Academic ASAP, 3 December 2004. This quote is at note 7 of the article.

making a mistake as a marriage could not easily be undone. The effects of a marriage stretched over decades and could make or break a family. Lord Burghley, in his advice to his son, stated that the choice of a wife was, “the root from whence may spring most of your future good or evill: For it is in the choice of a Wife, as in a project of Warre, wherein to erre but once is to be undone for ever”.¹⁶ Success, for an aristocratic family, comprised a number of ingredients, and in all of them marriage was considered a powerful influence.

Wealth was one of the most important factors in aristocratic success for without money to sustain it, rank and nobility counted for nothing. The importance of wealth in supporting noble status was expressed by the brother of the third Earl of Huntingdon in the 1590s when he spoke of the earl’s duty to his heirs: “The honour and credite of the whole house dependeth upon your leaving the heyre of the house in strength and ability to live in his place and calling as an Earle.”¹⁷ For the aristocracy and gentry marriage was a major way of acquiring wealth, involving the highly formalised transfer of large amounts of property.¹⁸ In 1658 Sir Ralph Verney spoke of his son’s prospective marriage as “the best and happiest way to make my family flourish”.¹⁹ Aristocratic marriage was usually the culmination of months of enquiry as information on prospective partners was sought and assessed. Then followed protracted negotiations with the bride’s family undertaking to provide a dowry of land or money or both (the portion). The groom’s family undertook to

¹⁶ Burghley, *Certaine precepts*, pp. 1-2.

¹⁷ Sir Francis Hastings to the third Earl of Huntingdon, HA 5094, Letter 36, 17 September 1592, p. 51 in Claire Cross (ed.), *The Letters of Sir Francis Hastings 1574-1609*, Somerset Record Society vol. 69, (Frome 1969). Also see a discussion in Claire Cross, *The Puritan Earl: The life of Henry Hastings third earl of Huntingdon, 1536-1595* (London, Toronto, New York, 1966), p. 111.

¹⁸ Lawrence Stone, *Uncertain Unions: Marriage in England 1660-1753* (Oxford, 1992) p. 15. Cross, *Puritan Earl*, p. 73.

¹⁹ John Broad, “Gentry Finances and the Civil War: The Case of the Buckinghamshire Verneys,” *The Economic History Review*, 2nd Ser, vol. 32, no. 2, May 1979, p. 195.

maintain the couple and agreed to set aside certain lands whose income would maintain the bride during her widowhood (her jointure). It was a balancing act to determine the appropriate and fair contribution of each family. Although it was expensive to marry off a daughter, marriage was considered so crucial to a woman's happiness that families went to great lengths to raise the money to do so. The fifth Earl of Huntingdon in 1613 told his eldest son to match with one of the gentry "where thou mayest have a great portion, for there is a satiety of all things, and without means thy honour will look as naked as trees that are cropped".²⁰ In searching for an appropriate partner, financial considerations were therefore paramount.

The importance of financial considerations in marriage negotiations meant that public gossip about them invariably included detail on the lands and money involved. In the 1680s and 1690s, for example, Narcissus Luttrell reported that one of Sir Josiah Child's daughters had a portion of £25,000, another a portion of £40,000 and lady Margaret Russell a portion of £25,000.²¹ Prospective brides and grooms were described frankly as "rich" or a "great fortune" and contemporaries seemed fascinated by the sums involved.²² Conversely, this fascination with money made matches without financial bargaining also the subject of much surprised discussion. The Earl of Huntingdon was informed in 1674 that Mr Cooke of Norfolk had married the Lord Treasurer's daughter for "perfect love" and had allowed the Lord Treasurer to decide what the jointure and portion should be.²³ This

²⁰ "Directions of Henry, fifth Earl of Huntingdon, for guidance of his son Ferdinando [afterwards sixth Earl of Huntingdon]" in *HMC* 78, vol. 4, p. 332.

²¹ Luttrell, *Brief historical relation*, vol. 1, 1 June 1682, p. 192; vol. 2, 3 February 1689/90, p. 13 and 4 October 1692, p. 583.

²² Benjamin Woodroffe to TEH, HA Corr., 39/13642, 6 December 1674 and Luttrell, *Brief historical relation*, vol. 2, 19 January 1691/2, p. 340.

²³ Benjamin Woodroffe to TEH, HA Corr., 39/13641, 1 December, 1674.

lack of bargaining was unusual. A well-chosen marriage that brought in a good portion and was not too dearly bought in terms of jointure was the universal objective.

In addition to financial security, aristocratic families sought to create a stable union which would form the nucleus of the next generation. They realised that however much wealth a match might bring it must succeed on a personal as well as financial level. Consequently, in searching for an appropriate partner for their child, aristocratic parents considered personality, character, religion, background and the personal liking of the couple concerned. The fifth Earl of Huntingdon advised his son not to marry someone of another religion as this would cause disagreement and “difference in affection makes disparity in manners”.²⁴ Despite the importance given to the acquisition of land, the aristocracy recognised the importance of affection within marriage and the need for two people to be able to live happily together. Such happiness brought stability.

Aristocratic families also sought valuable connections that could reinforce their influence and provide advice and sometimes even financial assistance. Such families often had jealous enemies ready to take advantage of any weaknesses, a fact the Hastings family understood perfectly. Marriage could forge alliances and, if the connection was to be of long term advantage, the two families needed to be compatible in rank, religion, politics, status and friends. Ideally both families should have a similar outlook, usefully placed relatives in court and government, and have cash reserves if either family needed a loan.

It was also important for aristocratic families to maintain their social status. As a woman took on her husband’s status, families were reluctant to marry daughters to their social

²⁴ “Directions of Henry, fifth Earl of Huntingdon” in *HMC 78*, vol. 4, p. 332. The fifth earl was probably advising his son not to marry a Catholic.

inferiors. Men, on the other hand, could marry wealthy women lower in status as long as they were still the daughters of gentlemen, wealthy merchant's daughters for instance. David Lindley suggests that at the beginning of the seventeenth century an increase in social mobility and economic power shifts required merchants and the aristocracy "to find mutual convenience in intermarriage".²⁵ The sixth Earl of Huntingdon married a judge's daughter although she was also connected to the aristocracy through her mother. The Civil War was to blur some of these distinctions further, with the seventh earl, and even one of his sisters, marrying into merchant families. During the course of the century, the aristocracy became increasingly adaptable in its choice of marriage partners. Nevertheless, status still needed to be safeguarded and maintained.

Finally, aristocratic success required the birth of future generations, particularly a male heir who would ensure that the title and lands were kept together. High mortality rates in the seventeenth century meant that this could not be taken for granted and the consequences of demographic failure could be devastating.²⁶ If there were no sons the wealth and estates were usually left to daughters and the title would be separated from the land or fall into abeyance.²⁷ Women also took another's name when they married which meant the connection between the family name and the land was lost. Of course, the birth of a male heir could not be guaranteed but an early marriage, taking advantage of time and fertility, gave a family its best chance.

²⁵ David Lindley, *The Trials of Frances Howard: Fact and fiction at the Court of King James* (London and New York, 1993), p. 33.

²⁶ See Cross, *Puritan Earl*, p. 64 for an example.

²⁷ There has been considerable debate about this. For an alternative view see Eileen Spring, *Law, Land and Family: Aristocratic Inheritance in England, 1300-1800* (Chapel Hill and London, 1993).

A marriage, therefore, ideally incorporated all the elements necessary for aristocratic success: wealth, stability, children and connections. However, marriage could be risky. It was expensive in the provision which needed to be made for a bride and rested on the unpredictable connection of two personalities and families. The long-term benefits or problems could not usually be foreseen as relationships developed over time and family dynamics changed. The relationship between women, marriage and family survival was therefore complex and fluid and needs to be examined over a considerable period of time. This thesis examines women and their experience of marriage over two generations, demonstrating how it affected their influence on the family and vice versa. Given the need for such long term examination, why choose the Hastings family in particular as a subject of study?

The value of case studies has been acknowledged by historians who have gained much from this approach. In her work on the seventeenth-century Newdigate family, Vivienne Larminie, argues for a “degree of subtlety only possible in a case study” and “peculiar insights to be derived from studying families and individuals ‘in the round’”.²⁸ Colin Richmond, in the preface to his work on the Pastons, answers the question, “why the Pastons?” by quoting André N. Chouraqui, “the history of mankind may often be summed up in the changes that have overtaken one community, one family or one man”.²⁹ Case studies which have increased our understanding of aristocratic life in early modern England include those of both Susan E. Whyman and Miriam Slater on the Verneys,

²⁸ Vivienne Larminie, *Wealth, kinship and culture: the seventeenth-century Newdigates of Arbury and their world*, The Royal Historical Society, Studies in History 72, (Woodbridge, Suffolk and Rochester, New York, 1995), p. 1. See also Mary Chan, *Life into story: The Courtship of Elizabeth Wiseman*, (Aldershot and Vermont, 1998), p. (xv).

²⁹ Colin Richmond, *The Paston family in the fifteenth century: The first phase*, (Cambridge, 1990), p. (xii).

Maurice Lee on the Buccleuch family and Rosalind K. Marshall on the Duchess of Hamilton.

The Hastings provide a particularly valuable case study as Claire Cross, in her study of the third Earl of Huntingdon, and Thomas Cogswell on the fifth Earl of Huntingdon have already discovered.³⁰ These studies provide insight into the early history of the Hastings family, particularly concerning its financial and political difficulties during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The later history of the family, however, has been given little attention. While Esther Cope has produced a valuable work on Lucy's mother, (the "prophet" Eleanor Davies) and Antonia Fraser, Margaret Ezell, Jacqueline Eales and Anne Laurence have made some use of the Hastings in wider studies of seventeenth-century aristocratic women, a detailed study of the family in the mid to late seventeenth century has been missing.³¹ This thesis seeks to remedy this deficiency by focusing on two generations of the family during a particularly eventful time in its history. The experiences that the Hastings endured as they battled a variety of national, local and personal crises during the period 1620 to 1690 enables detailed examination of the dynamics operating in this family, particularly with regard to women, and sheds light on the experiences of aristocratic families more generally. We can examine the Hastings' reactions, strategies, abilities and resilience in dealing with these crises.

Of course, the value of a case study is necessarily limited by the records which have survived from a particular family. There needs to be a richness of sources to enable the historian to examine a family in detail. The Hastings family archives are perfect for this

³⁰ Thomas Cogswell, *Home Divisions: Aristocracy, the state and provincial conflict* (Stanford, 1998). Cross, *Puritan Earl*.

³¹ Esther S. Cope, *Handmaid of the Holy Spirit: Dame Eleanor Davies, Never Soe Mad a Ladie* (Michigan, 1992). See earlier reference to Ezell, Fraser and Eales.

task. This thesis is based on the family's correspondence, although financial and legal and other personal papers have also been consulted.³² Augmented with printed sources and documents from the National Archives, this rich, fascinating archive allows the historian to observe relationships within the Hastings family and the attitudes and actions of its members. The correspondence, in particular, is rich, covering a breadth of topics and becoming more voluminous as the seventeenth century progresses. The records show that the Hastings shared the general aristocratic view of marriage, connecting it intimately with their family survival and prestige and making it a major focus of their lives. A brief summary of the Hastings' experiences in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries provides details of the challenges the family faced and why marriage and the role played by women were likely to be so significant.

The Hastings, one of the older noble families in England, came to prominence after being granted estates by Edward IV, including their principal seat, Ashby-de-la-Zouch castle in Leicestershire, in 1464. The title Baron Hastings was conferred in 1461 and Earl of Huntingdon in 1529. During the sixteenth century the family wielded considerable political power. Henry, the third earl, was Lord President of the Council of the North from 1572 until his death in 1595 and also Lord Lieutenant of Leicestershire (1559-1595), Rutland (1569-70) and of York, Northumberland, Cumberland, Wesmorland and Durham (1587-1595).³³ Henry's dominance in Leicestershire is described by Richard Cust: "he had

³² The Hastings archive at the Huntington library is extensive. Time and space constraints have prevented me focusing on other categories of records.

³³ *DNB*, vol. 25, pp. 126-8. Claire Cross, 'Hastings, Henry, third earl of Huntingdon (1536?-1595)', *ODNB*, (Oxford University Press, 2004) [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12574>, accessed 8 March 2005]. The third earl had a claim to the throne on his mother's side through Edward IV's brother, the Duke of Clarence. As a result, Elizabeth I was wary of appointing him to significant public office until his success as

directed the bench and the lieutenancy, controlled county elections, acted as a 'very good lord' to Leicester Corporation and established a vigorous, Protestant preaching ministry".³⁴ Having no children of his own, the earl took responsibility for the education of several relatives, including that of the future fifth earl. He arranged marriages, provided financial support and brought up various relatives in his household. The education of the third earl's relatives had a very Protestant emphasis and it is with him that the family's reputation for piety began. He supported a number of Protestant ministers and his beliefs influenced a number of his relatives, including the future fifth earl.³⁵

The earl's political and religious activities created an alarming financial situation for the Hastings. Although the third earl inherited extensive property when he acceded to the earldom, he actually held less than one third. The rest was held by his mother who had inherited it from her grandmother, Margaret, Countess of Salisbury. This land would only come to the earl at her death and she lived for sixteen years after the death of her husband.³⁶ The earl was further burdened by inherited debts, the responsibility of providing for his relatives and his involvement in costly litigation, particularly that concerning the Cranford copperas mine in Dorset. The fact that his estates were widely dispersed combined with his lengthy absences in the north on public business made it difficult to manage his property properly. The costs of royal service were particularly ruinous, the earl stating in 1587 that he had spent over £20,000 more than the allowance he

guardian of Mary Queen of Scots in 1569 led to his appointment as Lord President of the Council of the North in 1572. Cross, *Puritan Earl*, p. (xiv).

³⁴ Richard Cust, "Honour, rhetoric and political culture: the earl of Huntingdon and his enemies" in Susan D. Amussen and Mark A. Kishlansky (eds.), *Political culture and cultural politics in early modern England: Essays presented to David Underdown* (Manchester and New York, 1995), p. 85.

³⁵ For a life of the third earl see Cross, *Puritan Earl*. See also Cross (ed.) *Letters of Sir Francis Hastings*, pp. (xiii)-(xxxiii) and Cross, 'Hastings, Henry', *ODNB*.

³⁶ Cross, *Puritan Earl*, pp. 83-4. Some of the land was also held as her jointure.

received from the Queen as Lord President of the Council of the North.³⁷ He was forced to sell a large proportion of his land, worth around £100,000, and at his death in 1595 the family was still deeply in debt, owing around £35,000, including £18,000 to the crown.³⁸ The third earl was criticised after his death for allowing the family to fall into such extensive debt and for burdening his descendants.³⁹ His brother Francis commented that the earl was blamed for “waistinge his patrimony” and his devotion to his family, Protestantism and the Queen were all forgotten.⁴⁰ The need for wealth to display and exercise nobility meant that to be heavily in debt and, more importantly, to have to sell land, reflected badly on the family. In her study of the third earl Claire Cross states that “money or the lack of it, dominated all sides of his life”.⁴¹ The same could be said for later generations of the family who had to battle with continuing financial difficulties.

The third earl was succeeded by his brother George who, being hampered by debt and lacking his brother’s political contacts, was unable to dominate politically as his brother had.⁴² Consequently, by the time George’s grandson, another Henry, inherited in 1604, the Hastings’ political power had weakened. It was now largely confined to Leicestershire and even here the Hastings found themselves immersed in rivalries with other prominent county families. The weakening of political power in the early seventeenth century was

³⁷ Cross, “Hastings, Henry”, *ODNB*.

³⁸ Cross, *Puritan Earl*, pp. 81 and 83.

³⁹ Cross, *Puritan Earl*, pp. 97 and 86. His critics included the fifth and seventh earls.

⁴⁰ Sir Francis Hastings to Sir Edward Hastings, HA 5099, Letter 43, c. 1596, pp. 58-60 in Cross (ed.), *Letters of Sir Francis Hastings*.

⁴¹ Cross, *Puritan Earl*, p. 63.

⁴² Cust, “Honour, rhetoric and political culture” in Amussen and Kishlansky (eds.), *Political Culture and Cultural Politics*, p. 86. The religious loyalties of various Hastings family members at this time warn us to be wary of labelling particular families as ‘Protestant’ or ‘Puritan’. The third earl and two of his brothers, Francis and Edward, were strongly Protestant; however, two others, George and Walter, had Catholic sympathies. Cross (ed.), *Letters of Sir Francis Hastings*, pp. (xv)-(xvi).

exacerbated by the fifth earl's inheriting the earldom as a minor. As an eighteen year old he could not hold offices such as the Lord Lieutenancy which were crucial to the family's exercise of power and influence in the county. As a consequence local political rivals such as the Greys were able to take advantage until the earl came of age in 1607 when he compensated for his early lack of activity by appointing his friends and allies to various offices. The earl was an enthusiastic Lord Lieutenant which did not always endear him to those in the county who were assessed for taxes, arms and supplies.⁴³ His poor financial situation continued despite an advantageous marriage in 1603 to Elizabeth Stanley, one of the three daughters and heirs of the Earl of Derby, which provided a portion of £4,000 and important connections with the Earls of Derby and Bridgewater and Lords Chandos and Spencer.⁴⁴ Although the fifth earl continued the Hastings' tradition of pious Protestantism and exerted power through his official county positions, the need for money was an ever-present concern. It was against this background in 1623 that the Hastings family sought to recover from its financial problems by marrying the future sixth earl, Ferdinando, to a ten year old heiress, Lucy Davies.

Unfortunately, shortly after the marriage the Hastings found themselves engaged in a bitter property dispute with Lucy's mother, Lady Eleanor, which continued for a number of years. After the fifth earl's death in 1643, Lucy and Ferdinando led the family through the crisis of the Civil War and its aftermath. While Ferdinando tried to avoid the war as much as possible, his brother Henry was a staunch Royalist and the family suffered sequestration as a result. After the war Ferdinando was imprisoned for debt and tried to solve his financial problems with a private member's bill to break the entail on his estate, enabling him to sell land to pay his debts. Lucy assisted her husband in these endeavours and

⁴³ Cogswell, *Home Divisions*, p. 108-19, 122-6 and 137.

⁴⁴ Cogswell, *Home Divisions*, p. 23.

between 1629 and 1650 gave birth to ten children, of whom five died before reaching adulthood. The children who survived included Theophilus, the future seventh Earl of Huntingdon and his sisters Elizabeth, Mary and Christiana. In 1656 when Ferdinando died, the seventh earl was only five years old and Lucy entered a period of widowhood in which she had responsibility for both the family and its estates.

Lucy was head of the family until 1672 during which time she brought up her children, ran the estates, dealt with law suits and parliament and protected the Hastings' interests, enabling the family to emerge from debt in the latter part of the century. During these critical years Lucy also negotiated marriages for her children, no easy task considering the financial situation of the family. Matches included those of Elizabeth to Sir James Langham, Mary to William Jolliffe and Theophilus to Elizabeth Lewys. Lucy prepared her son to lead the family, but even when Theophilus took over the running of the estate Lucy still ran her Irish lands, organising their sale to provide portions for her daughters and to free the English estates from debt. By the time she died in 1679 her son and daughter-in-law were in charge of the estate and were raising their own family.

At her marriage to Theophilus, Elizabeth Lewys brought a portion of about £4,000 and estates worth £600 a year.⁴⁵ However, legal disputes between the Hastings and Elizabeth's mother threatened this financial gain, and ill feeling between Theophilus and Elizabeth threatened the stability of their marriage. Despite this children were born, including the future eighth earl, George and daughters Lucy, Sara, Betty and Mary. Theophilus gradually gained political influence and after a brief period of support for Monmouth and Exclusion, placed himself wholly behind James II. Elizabeth played a crucial role in

⁴⁵ "Autobiography of Theophilus seventh Earl of Huntingdon" in *HMC 78*, vol. 4, p. 353.

family survival when Theophilus' support of James led to his imprisonment at Plymouth in late November 1688. In London and heavily pregnant, Elizabeth worked hard to free him, petitioning influential people and providing advice and information. She died in childbirth on Christmas eve 1688, two days before her husband was released.⁴⁶ Theophilus married again in 1690 and had a second family. As a Jacobite he was unable to exert any significant political influence for the rest of his life which ended in 1701.

In a way the family had come full circle between 1620 and 1690. Gradual recovery from financial difficulty ended with the Civil War which plunged Lucy, Ferdinando and their immediate family into political and financial hardship. After years in the political wilderness the family gained influence and financial stability once more, only to lose it again in 1688. While these changes of fortune make the period 1620 to 1690 a particularly interesting one on which to focus, it was also during this time that the family contained and was connected to a significant number of influential women. In fact, for the Hastings, this period was one of numerical dominance of women, partly caused by the survival of female children in greater numbers than male but also because the fifth, sixth and seventh earls married heiresses who had no brothers. The entrance of women such as Elizabeth Stanley, Lucy Davies and Elizabeth Lewys into the family, and, significantly, the presence of their daughters, mothers and sisters enables the examination of a network of women to see how they worked within the family for its benefit or otherwise.

⁴⁶ "Autobiography of Theophilus" in *HMC* 78, vol. 4, p. 354. *GEC*, vol. 6, p. 660.

CHAPTER 2

THE CHILD MARRIAGE: LUCY DAVIES AND LORD HASTINGS 1623-1627

“Match not thy son before he come to ripeness of years”¹

“to deserve this love from you it shall bee one of my cheiffest studies”²

In 1623 the fifth Earl of Huntingdon married his fourteen year old son and heir, Ferdinando, Lord Hastings, to Lucy Davies, a ten year old heiress. Because it was a marriage of children it had distinct problems and advantages, which required the families on both sides to employ special tactics to ensure its success.³ The future of the Hastings family depended upon this marriage which it was hoped would bring financial stability. Lucy’s experiences and the role she had to play during the first four years of this marriage reveal the nature of emotion and love within aristocratic marriage and how loyalties were developed and threatened. The early years of Lucy’s marriage also demonstrate how the Hastings tried to reap the benefits of the marriage and how this was threatened by Lucy’s youth and the conflicting aims of her mother.

By the early seventeenth century the Hastings family were known for their godliness and local leadership but notorious for their debts. This notoriety derived from the third earl, and the financial difficulties he bequeathed to his heirs had still not been solved by the 1620s. Although the fifth earl undertook extensive land sales, by the 1620s around

¹ “Directions of Henry, fifth Earl of Huntingdon”, in *HMC 78*, vol. 4, p. 332.

² FEH to L(D)H, HA Corr., 10/4858, 1 December [c. 1624].

³ In this chapter I will define “children” as those 14 years of age and under. This corresponds to Patricia Crawford and Sara Heller Mendelson’s observation that in the seventeenth century “contemporaries believed that childhood ceased at around 14”. Patricia Crawford and Sara Heller Mendelson, *Women in Early Modern England: 1550 – 1720* (Oxford, 1998), p. 78.

£10,000 of the debt still remained.⁴ In 1623 these remaining debts caused the Lord Treasurer to order a survey of the earl's lands in order to determine his debt to the Crown.⁵ While land sales helped to reduce those debts, it also reduced the family's income.

The third earl had established the Hastings' reputation for pious Protestantism. While the fourth earl, George, had been a less enthusiastic Protestant and George's brother Walter had been a Catholic, the fifth earl was a strict Protestant and supporter of the Church of England.⁶ In his directions to his eldest son the earl described religion as "the axis and cardo that all the rest run upon".⁷ Despite the presence of Catholicism, the earl praised God "that both the King and the State in general do embrace the true religion".⁸ The earl believed that although matters such as kneeling to receive the sacrament and the giving of rings in marriage were "indifferent things", as the King had commanded them it was a sin "not to conform".⁹ The earl interpreted events in the light of God's providence. An accident he suffered while riding on the Sabbath after playing cards was seen as a sign of God's correction and mercy which had caused the earl to more carefully observe the Sabbath. While the earl was no doubt sincere in his religious views, having been educated

⁴ Cogswell, *Home Divisions*, pp. 73-4. The debts had been reduced from £60,000.

⁵ Cogswell, *Home Divisions*, p. 71. See also HAP17/11, Petition of the fifth Earl of Huntingdon to King James, 2 July 1624 (copy).

⁶ The fifth earl supported some Catholic family members despite the embarrassment they caused. See Cogswell, *Home Divisions*, pp. 68-70 for the earl's dealings with Walter Hastings and Sir Henry Hastings of Braunston.

⁷ By "cardo" the earl presumably meant "the cardinal point". Lesley Brown, (ed.), *The New Shorter Oxford English Dictionary on Historical Principles*, (Oxford, 1993), vol. 1, p. 338.

⁸ "Directions of Henry, fifth Earl of Huntingdon" in *HMC 78*, vol. 4, p. 330.

⁹ "Directions of Henry, fifth Earl of Huntingdon" in *HMC 78*, vol. 4, p. 331.

under the guidance of the third earl, a pious Protestant reputation was also a convenient way to justify the frugal living the earl was forced to adopt by his financial difficulties.¹⁰

Of great importance to the family in the 1620s was the fifth earl's position as Lord Lieutenant of Leicestershire. Early in the century the earl had contested for power with the Grey family who had sought to gain advantage from the earl's minority by lobbying for the positions of the Lieutenancy of Leicestershire and Rutland and *custos rotularum* which the earl could not hold. After he came of age in 1607 the earl won those positions and by 1612 had regained mastery of the county.¹¹ The lieutenancy provided not only prestige and political power but also brought financial benefit, and during the 1620s was a major source of the earl's income.¹² The Lord Lieutenancy also enabled the earl to increase his influence in the county and because of his financial difficulties he concentrated on this rather than pursuing a career at court.¹³

As Lord Lieutenant the fifth earl received regular instructions from the Privy Council requiring him to muster troops of horse and foot and collect levies and subsidies.¹⁴ These demands increased in the 1620s due to the Crown's increasing need to pay for wars against

¹⁰ Cogswell suggests the one led to the other. "In short, necessity at least as much as theology dictated Huntingdon's austere lifestyle; poverty, much more than ideology, made him a 'country' peer." (*Home Divisions*, p. 75.)

¹¹ Cogswell, *Home Divisions*, pp. 78-82.

¹² Cogswell states that the Lieutenancy provided between a fifth and a quarter of the fifth earl's income in the 1620s. (*Home Divisions*, p. 131.) Cogswell also argues that the period from 1618 was a time of increasing interference by central government, particularly during England's wars with Spain and France which, coupled with parliament's reluctance to vote money for the Crown, increased the pressure on Lord Lieutenants to raise funds. During the 1620s the fifth earl tried to moderate the demands made on Leicestershire and supported the idea of parliamentary rights. This was to change during the Personal Rule of Charles I. (*Home Divisions*, pp. 18, 21, 29-30, 272)

¹³ Cogswell, *Home Divisions*, p. 5. For the importance of the Lord Lieutenancy to the fifth earl see Victor L. Slater, *Noble Government: The Stuart Lord Lieutenancy and the Transformation of English Politics*, (Athens, Georgia, and London, 1994), pp. 8-11.

¹⁴ See the many letters on these matters in HA Corr., 10 to 12.

Spain and France.¹⁵ The 1620s also saw a number of crises, including poor harvests, depression and plague. The Lord Lieutenant was in an unenviable position as he was caught between the King and Privy Council for whom the musters and subsidies were often considered inadequate, and the rate-payers of the county who generally felt they were too heavily assessed.¹⁶ However, the fifth earl appears to have been an efficient and active Lord Lieutenant and was generally successful in the militias and assessments for which he was responsible.¹⁷

The earl also had four children to provide for: his heir Ferdinando, Lord Hastings, born 1609, Henry (1610) and two daughters, Alice (1606) and Elizabeth (1612).¹⁸ The family's financial situation made it imperative that the family's heir make a successful marriage, but it also made such a marriage more difficult to achieve. The potential bride's family would want to ensure that there was adequate provision made for her and that the family into which she married was stable and unlikely to decline in status. The importance of a financially successful marriage was expressed by the fifth earl in his "directions" to his eldest son when he advised:

Marry with one of thy own rank, yet be not too curious herein. Being allied to most of the nobility, match with one of the gentry where thou mayest have a

¹⁵ The parliaments of 1625, 1626 and 1629 refused to vote Charles the subsidies he needed to pursue these wars. Charles was driven to collect money without parliamentary support.

¹⁶ See Catherine F. Patterson on the tensions created between the earl and the town of Leicester by the earl's enforcement of Crown policy. (*Urban Patronage in Early Modern England: Corporate Boroughs, The Landed Elite, and the Crown, 1580-1640*, (Stanford, 1999), pp. 213-6)

¹⁷ Cogswell, *Home Divisions*, p. 20.

¹⁸ There is some inconsistency with Ferdinando's date of birth. The *ODNB* gives Ferdinando's date of birth as 1608. James Knowles, 'Hastings, Henry, fifth earl of Huntingdon (1586-1643)', *ODNB*, [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/40548>, accessed 8 October 2004]. However, *GEC*, vol. 6, p. 376 gives Ferdinando's date of birth as 1609.

great portion, for there is a satiety of all things, and without means thy honour will look as naked as the trees that are cropped.¹⁹

The Hastings needed wealth to maintain their status, not a noble alliance.

With these imperatives in mind the Hastings found ten year old Lucy Davies a suitable bride for their son, Ferdinando. Lucy was the daughter of Sir John Davies, the Irish Attorney-General, and his wife Eleanor, and was born in Dublin on 20 January 1613. Sir John, the third son of a Wiltshire tanner achieved success as a lawyer at the Middle Temple. Knighted in Dublin in 1603 he served as Solicitor-General in Ireland from 1603 to 1606 and Attorney-General from 1606 to 1619. In order to further his career at Court John Davies brought the family to England in 1619. He was highly regarded by King James and closely connected to the Court. The Davies family lived near London at the manor of Englefield, Berkshire. Sir John and Eleanor Davies' two sons died young, leaving Lucy the heir to land in both Ireland and England.²⁰

The fact that the Hastings, who were proud of their history as an old aristocratic family, were willing to marry the future sixth earl to the daughter of a judge and grand-daughter of a tanner demonstrates that the aristocracy could be flexible in considering matches for their

¹⁹ "Directions of Henry, fifth Earl of Huntingdon" in *HMC 78*, vol. 4, p. 332.

²⁰ Biographical details for Sir John and Lady Eleanor Davies and Lucy Davies can be found in the *ODNB*. See Tania Claire Jeffries, 'Hastings, Lucy, countess of Huntingdon (1613-1679)', *ODNB*, [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/65147>, accessed 8 October 2004]; Diane Watt, 'Davies, Lady Eleanor (1590-1652)', *ODNB*, [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7233>, accessed 16 February 2005] and Sean Kelsey, 'Davies, Sir John (bap. 1569, d. 1626)', *ODNB*, [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7245>, accessed 16 February 2005]. For a summary of Sir John's life and career see Hans S. Pawlisch, *Sir John Davies and the Conquest of Ireland: a study in legal imperialism* (Cambridge, 1985), chapter two. See Cope for further details of Sir John and Lady Eleanor's married life. (*Handmaid*, pp. 16-25)

children. Lucy, despite her comparatively humble origins, could bring property, money and aristocratic connections to the Hastings family.²¹ Lady Eleanor, for instance, was the sister of Mervyn Touchet, Earl of Castlehaven. Castlehaven had married a daughter of Lord Derby, and another daughter, Elizabeth, had married Ferdinando's father. Thus both families were connected through Lucy's mother.²² Lucy and her mother appear to have enjoyed a close relationship and Eleanor was instrumental in determining the education Lucy received which included instruction in Latin, French, Spanish, Greek and Hebrew.²³ Lucy's pious upbringing and education would also have recommended her to the Hastings.

A marriage ceremony between Lord Hastings, aged fourteen, and Lucy Davies, aged ten, was held on 7 July 1623 at the house of the dowager Countess of Derby, the groom's maternal grandmother. However, because the two families failed to provide the necessary licence the ceremony had to be held again a month later at the parish church at Englefield.²⁴ Both of these ceremonies indicate the importance of women as movers and facilitators of such matches: they were instrumental in shaping the fortunes of their

²¹ Cogswell states that the key to the marriage of Lucy and Ferdinando was money: Lucy brought the family £7,000. Cogswell also points out that in the seventeenth century the Hastings had to choose marriage partners from a lower social group than earlier. (*Home Divisions*, p. 74). The exact amount of Lucy's portion is difficult to determine. Cope claims it was £6,500, the jointure documents £6,500 and a document concerning the marriage settlement £6,000. (*Handmaid*, p. 26; HAP17/4, "Settlement of a jointure on Lucy (Davies) Hastings by Henry Earl of Huntingdon", 17 July 1623, (copy); HAP17/1 "Marriage settlement for the marriage of Ferdinando Lord Hastings with Lucy Davies", 16 July 1623. HAP17/1 is entitled "Recognizance to Sir George Hastings of Sir John Davies in £10,000 for the payment of £6,000."). Cope also points out that Lucy's son Theophilus thought Lucy's portion was £7,000. (*Handmaid*, p. 181.)

²² Cope suggests that the fifth earl and Sir John Davies met through business dealings. (*Handmaid*, p. 26).

²³ Cope, *Handmaid*, p. 10. There are, unfortunately, no clues as to Eleanor's motivation in educating Lucy in this way. Lucy's education, in all probability, continued after her marriage while she remained in her parents' care. She was also taught by Bathsua Makin. Frances Teague, 'Makin, Bathsua (b.1600, d. in or after 1675)', *ODNB*, [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/17849>, accessed 8 March 2005]. See also Fraser who describes Lucy as "an intellectual" who later educated her own daughter in French, Latin and Italian. (*Weaker Vessel*, pp. 174; 136).

²⁴ HAP17/5, H. Mitton, "Notice of forthcoming marriage between Ferdinando Hastings and Lucy Davies", 7 August 1623. See also biographical notes by Theophilus, seventh Earl of Huntingdon in *HMC 78*, vol. 4, p. 352. Theophilus states that the second ceremony took place in Sir John Davies' house at Englefield.

families.²⁵ After the marriage Lucy remained with her mother and did not live with Ferdinando.²⁶ In 1625 Ferdinando was sent to Cambridge and, for a while, Lucy lived with the Countess of Huntingdon, her mother-in-law.²⁷ Lucy and Ferdinando's marriage was eventually consummated in 1627.

Lucy and Ferdinando's age at marriage made their union an unusual one. While children over seven years of age could contract spousals which would become fully binding when the marriage was consummated, the legal age for marriage in early modern England was fourteen years for males and twelve for females.²⁸ However, marriages at such young ages were very rare, even among the aristocracy and gentry. Evidence indicates that while child marriages did occasionally take place in the seventeenth century, the more usual age for girls of the landed classes to marry was the early twenties. For the middle and lower classes it was even later.²⁹

²⁵ Cope draws attention to Ferdinando's later comments that it was Eleanor who was the prime motivator of the marriage. (*Handmaid*, p. 26). The presence of the dowager Countess of Derby is also highly significant. She played a pivotal role in the marriage of her daughter Elizabeth to the fifth earl, then Lord Hastings, in 1601 and a continuing role in Lucy's marriage to Ferdinando. See HA Corr., 5 for letters from Alice Derby to the fourth earl and Lord Hastings and *HMC 78*, vol. 2, pp. 47-9. In October 1600 she married Sir Thomas Egerton who died in 1617. For an account of Lady Derby's court and cultural activities see Louis A. Knafla, 'Spencer, Alice, countess of Derby (1559-1637)', *ODNB*, [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/47391>, accessed 31 March 2005].

²⁶ Living apart at marriage appeared to be the usual arrangement for very young couples and was also the case with the marriage of the fifth earl and Elizabeth Stanley.

²⁷ *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, vol. 2, p. 328. Ferdinando was admitted at Lincoln's Inn on 4 August 1623 and went to Queen's Cambridge at Lent 1625/26. While Lucy visited her mother-in-law on occasion she largely remained with her parents.

²⁸ R.B. Outhwaite, *Clandestine Marriage in England, 1500-1850*, (London and Rio Grande, 1995), p. 3 and Fraser, *Weaker Vessel*, p. 12. See also Eileen Power, *Medieval Women*, (M. M. Postan (ed.), Cambridge, 1995; 1st pub 1975), p. 32.

²⁹ For the relatively late age at marriage see Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England, 1500-1800* (London, 1977), pp. 46-54; Alan Macfarlane, *Marriage and Love in England Modes of Reproduction 1300-1840* (Oxford and New York, 1986) pp. 23-8; Lindley, *Trials of Frances Howard*, p. 14; Peter Laslett, *The world we have lost – further explored* (London, 1965, 3rd edition 1983), pp. 81-105 and Crawford and Mendelson, *Women in Early Modern England*, pp. 79, 108, 111-2, 125, 128-9. See

Not only were youthful marriages unusual, but seventeenth-century commentators generally condemned them on the grounds of financial prudence and physical health, arguing that maturity was necessary for marriage. For example, in advising his son on choosing a wife, Burghley assumed that his marriage would only take place once his son had reached adulthood: “when it shall please God to bring you to Mans estate, making you capable of that Calling, use great providence and circumspection, in choice of your Wives.”³⁰ Even Ferdinando’s father, himself married as a child, advised his son “Match not thy son before he come to ripeness of years” and commented that “Few live to be old, partly from over hasty marrying that gets weak children before they come to the full maturity of their body themselves”.³¹ The fifth earl’s early negative view of child marriage is perplexing, considering his own marriage had been a success, allying the Hastings to an important family, providing a portion of £4,000 and bringing the earl a partner who provided loyalty, support and children, including the future sixth earl.³² Nevertheless, in 1623 he departed from his early point of view and married his fourteen year old son to a ten year old. Why was Lucy considered suitable at only ten years of age and how could she benefit the Hastings family?

No doubt pressing debts played a significant part in the marriages of both the fifth earl and his son. Financial need was one of the acknowledged motives for child marriage, a fact

Christopher Haigh, *Reformation and resistance in Tudor Lancashire*, (Cambridge, 1975), pp. 48-9 for child marriage in Lancashire.

³⁰ Burghley, *Certain precepts*, p. 1.

³¹ “Directions of Henry, fifth Earl of Huntingdon” in *HMC 78*, vol. 4, pp. 332-3. The earl married in January 1601, a few months before his fifteenth birthday. Elizabeth Stanley was a few months younger. *GEC*, vol. 6, p. 376. James Knowles, ‘Stanley, Elizabeth, countess of Huntingdon (bap. 1587, d. 1633)’, *ODNB*, [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/40549>, accessed 8 October 2004].

³² Cogswell, *Home Divisions*, pp. 71-2.

which drew contemporary criticism. Thomas Becon, condemning the mercenary marriage of young children, said; “If money, if riches, if the muck of the world come, let the child go”.³³ Philip Stubbes also criticised the marriage of young children by their parents and said that it was the “origin of much wickedness, and directly against the word of God”.³⁴ It is safe to say that contemporaries, including the fifth earl, were not comfortable with the idea of child marriage, and in particular were confused by the contradictions in church law which emphasised both obedience to parents, and the need for the parties to enter freely into a marriage.³⁵ However, despite these objections, families such as the Hastings were clearly willing to consider a child marriage for the benefits it would bring.

Although the surviving Hastings correspondence reveals nothing of the marriage negotiations, documents drawn up for the marriage reveal the anticipated benefits. While incomplete, a draft settlement dated 16 July 1623 is particularly revealing of the Hastings family’s motives. The marriage was to be made before 20 July and if Ferdinando did not “disayre or dissassente” from the marriage before 2 February 1624 Sir John Davies was to pay £3,000 at or before 25 March 1624 and another £3,000 at, or before 1 May 1625 “towards the discharge of the debts of the said Henry Earle of Huntingdon”.³⁶ The first objective for the marriage had been apparently satisfied, at least on paper. The financial

³³ Quoted in Hurstfield, *Queen's Wards*, p. 149.

³⁴ Quoted in Hurstfield, *Queen's Wards*, p. 149.

³⁵ See R.B. Outhwaite, “Introduction” in *Marriage and Society*, pp. 9-10 and *Clandestine Marriage*, p. 55; Fraser, *Weaker Vessel*, pp. 10-11; Eleanor Searle, “Freedom and Marriage in Medieval England: An Alternative Hypothesis” *The Economic History Review*, 2nd Series, vol. 29, no. 3, August 1976, pp. 482-6; David Blewett, “Changing Attitudes toward Marriage in the Time of Defoe: The Case of Moll Flanders” *The Huntington Library Quarterly*, vol. 44, no. 2, Spring 1981, pp. 77-88, particularly pp. 80-1 and Lindley, *Trials of Frances Howard*, pp. 31-3.

³⁶ HAP17/1 “Marriage settlement for the marriage of Ferdinando Lord Hastings with Lucy Davies”, 16 July 1623. Note that the title given on the document is “Recognizance to Sir George Hastings of Sir John Davies in £10,000 for the payment of £6,000”. This was probably one of a number of documents drawn up for the marriage. The money was to be paid to Sir George Hastings, Sir John Stanhope and Thomas Gerard towards the discharge of the fifth earl’s debts.

motivation for the match is clearly and unashamedly stated and a direct link is made between the money to be paid by the bride's father and the debts of the groom's father. The draft settlement also indicates that Sir John Davies wanted the Hastings' estates disencumbered as soon as possible. The Hastings' financial health was important to Lucy's well-being.

Also important to Lucy's future well-being was her jointure, provided in a document dated 17 July 1623. In consideration of Lucy's marriage portion of £6,500 and Sir John Davies' promise to settle his lands in England and Ireland on Lucy and any children she and Ferdinando might have, the fifth earl agreed to set aside for Lucy's jointure the manor of Blackfordby and lands centred around Donnington and Ashby.³⁷ Some of these were for her use after the death of Ferdinando and others after both his death and that of Elizabeth, Countess of Huntingdon. The income from the Blackfordby and Ashby properties was guaranteed at £400 a year and the Donnington properties at £300 a year and the fifth earl promised that this income would be maintained for the term of Lucy's natural life. It is clear that the jointure was conditional on payment being made by Sir John Davies and also that Lucy and her children, as Sir John's heirs, would inherit his estates on his death.³⁸ Therefore, from the perspective of the Davies family, the marriage provided life-long financial security for Lucy. Her father's lands would come to her and her children and the Hastings would not receive them permanently until Lucy and Ferdinando had children.³⁹

The documents reveal no allowance for the children of the marriage which would, no

³⁷ HAP17/4, "Settlement of a jointure on Lucy (Davies) Hastings by Henry Earl of Huntingdon", 17 July 1623. See HAP17/9 for the sealed version of this document, dated 17 January 1623/24.

³⁸ See also HAP16/16, "Deed of Gift Sir John Davies to his daughter Lucy", 1 August 1622 where Sir John leaves various estates and money to Lucy "in consideration of the naturall love and affection" he bears her and "for her better advancement in marriage".

³⁹ Peter Roebuck states that if there were no children from a man's marriage to a heiress, he usually was unable to retain the property as it would return to his wife's family. (*Yorkshire Baronets 1640-1760: Families, Estates, and Fortunes* (Oxford, 1980), p. 300)

doubt have been included in the final marriage settlement. However, the fifth earl made provision for an allowance to Ferdinando of £300 per annum out of the manor of Ashby-de-la-zouch.⁴⁰ This income was designed to support Ferdinando's married life and consequently was not needed straight away as the young couple did not live together for four years.

As these documents make clear, the marriage fulfilled a number of financial objectives. As an heiress who was connected to the aristocracy through her mother, Lucy would have been highly sought after as a bride and by marrying early, Ferdinando, as an eldest son, enabled the future of the estate to be secured.⁴¹ The much-needed injection of capital from the Davies family may also have helped to keep the fifth earl's creditors and political opponents at bay. However, the need to use Lucy's portion to pay current debts meant that it could not be used to provide for the future children of the marriage. It also meant that the family had less reserves to fall back on in the event of a sudden crisis. Financially, the family was running a couple of generations behind and it was unlikely they would easily be able to catch up.⁴² Nevertheless, Ferdinando's marriage to Lucy clearly solved some immediate financial problems.

⁴⁰ A draft of this grant survives in the Huntington Library. HAP17/2, "Grant from Henry Earl of Huntingdon to Ferdinando Lord Hastings of £300 pa", (17 July 1623).

⁴¹ Lucy would have been particularly attractive to the Hastings because she appeared to have few relatives able to challenge her claim to her father's land and Sir John and Lady Eleanor were unlikely to have any more children to displace her.

⁴² A.P.W. Malcomson discusses this dilemma in *The pursuit of the Heiress: Aristocratic Marriage in Ireland, 1750-1820* (Ulster Historical Foundation, 1982), pp. 9, 48.

Lucy and Ferdinando's early marriage would have also relieved both sets of parents of their anxiety over what would happen to their children in the event of their deaths.⁴³ This was no minor concern in an age when few children would live to adulthood with both parents surviving. If Lucy or Ferdinando were orphaned while underage and unmarried, the Crown would have control over whom they married. The right to control the marriages of the orphaned children of its tenants was an ancient feudal right of the Crown which, with the creation of the Court of Wards and Liveries in 1540, had become a lucrative source of income. The Crown had the right to the wardship of any minor who inherited lands held by knight service. In practical terms this included most of the landowners in the country.⁴⁴ The rights to control both the marriage and the land of these wards could be bought and sold by the Crown to the highest bidder. The successful purchaser of the wardship became the ward's "guardian", taking charge of the ward's land, education and care until the ward came of age, and entitled to arrange the ward's marriage. Guardians were likely to try to arrange a marriage that would benefit themselves and their own families, for example, to marry the ward to a relative so that the ward's estate would pass into their own family. A ward had to agree to the marriage proposed or pay a forfeiture when he or she came of age. The only justifiable basis for a ward refusing a match was if the marriage was socially inappropriate.

Wardship no doubt originated as a way of protecting minors from exploitation until they came of age. However, from Tudor times it became primarily a revenue raiser for a Crown increasingly spending beyond its income.⁴⁵ By the seventeenth century wardship was

⁴³ See Hufton, *Prospect Before Her*, vol. 1, pp. 206-7; John Habakkuk, *Marriage, debt and the estates system. English Landownership, 1650-1950*, (Oxford, 1994), p. 157 and Mary Abbott, *Life Cycles in England 1560-1720: Cradle to Grave*, (London and New York, 1996), p. 101.

⁴⁴ Theodore K. Rabb, *Jacobean Gentleman: Sir Edwin Sandys 1561-1629*, (Princeton, 1998), p. 97.

⁴⁵ Hurstfield, *Queen's Wards*, pp. 332-37. Hurstfield argues that the income from wardship did not greatly increase the revenue of the Crown but remained in place because it provided large profits to government

much hated by landed families who had to compete for the wardship of their children with strangers. Success in obtaining the wardship depended upon high fees, bribery and smoothing the way with court officials and courtiers. This process often caused considerable distress, especially to a widow faced with the prospect at the death of her husband. While changes in the early years of the century gave families priority over the wardship of a relative, if they applied within one month of the death of the father, wardship nevertheless remained an all too real threat in which parents risked losing control of their children.⁴⁶ Their early marriage in 1623 kept both Ferdinando and Lucy safe from the threat of wardship if their parents died and ensured that the Hastings and Davies lands remained intact for them to inherit.⁴⁷ Such a marriage was therefore an essential strategy for the Davies and Hastings families to ensure the financial future of the family, the obedience of their children and that the parents would still be alive to assist in the working out of the union.

Davies may also have had another compelling reason to desire the early marriage of his daughter. His marriage to Eleanor Touchet was not a happy one due to Eleanor's activities as a self-proclaimed prophet. Although her prophetic activities began in 1625, two years after the marriage of her daughter, there may have been earlier conflict or indications of

officials and ministers and hence helped to pay for government. (pp. 340-49, particularly p. 348). See also Hurstfield, "Wardship and marriage under Elizabeth I" *History Today*, vol. 4, no. 9, (1954), p. 612.

⁴⁶ For wardship see H. E. Bell, *An introduction to the history and records of the Court of Wards and Liveries* (Cambridge, 1953); Hurstfield, *Queen's Wards*; Hurstfield, "Wardship and marriage" pp. 605-12; Peter Roebuck, "Post-Restoration Landownership: The Impact of the Abolition of Wardship" *Journal of British Studies*, vol. 18, no. 1, Fall 1978, pp. 67-85, particularly p. 70 and Sue Sheridan Walker, "Free consent and marriage of feudal wards in medieval England" *Journal of Medieval History*, vol. 8, no. 2, June 1982, pp. 123-34. Both Hurstfield and Sheridan Walker acknowledge that while the system of wardship contained abuses, it was not completely deplorable. Wardship was abolished in 1646 and never reinstated. The Court of Chancery became responsible for minors and by an Act of 1660 fathers had the right to grant guardianship of their children to whomever they chose. See Roebuck, "Post-Restoration landownership", *Journal of British Studies*, p. 71.

⁴⁷ For views on the connection between wardship and young marriages see Power, *Medieval Women*, p. 31; Hurstfield, *Queen's Wards*, pp. 151-6, particularly p. 153 and Outhwaite, *Clandestine Marriage*, p. 55. Child

trouble. If this was the case Davies may have felt that Lady Eleanor was a liability to Lucy marrying successfully, or that she could not be depended on to make a good match for Lucy if she was given her daughter's wardship after his death.⁴⁸ Sir John could also have been concerned that Lady Eleanor would remarry after his death which would also have had repercussions for Lucy. While these reasons are speculative, they illustrate that a child marriage could indicate the care of parents for the future of their children. Lucy's marriage fulfilled a number of practical and personal objectives and allayed a range of concerns.

The ability of Lucy and Ferdinando's marriage to fulfil family objectives, together with the extremely young age of the couple, could lead to the assumption that Lucy and Ferdinando were seen as the property of their families, to be married off as convenient with little or no choice of their own. Many historians have discussed this lack of freedom, particularly with regard to women.⁴⁹ Accounts of children forced by their parents into disastrous marriages have also been well documented.⁵⁰ However, although cases of coercion and avarice in the formation of childhood marriages did exist in the seventeenth century most of the available evidence indicates that such mercenary undertakings were exceptional. Parents cared that

marriages certainly continued after the Restoration. See chapter five following for negotiations in 1669 for a marriage between Lucy's eighteen year old son and a ten year old heiress.

⁴⁸ Cope states that Lucy's age at marriage has led to speculation of this nature, but that the Hastings' financial problems were probably the real reason behind the timing of the marriage. She also highlights Ferdinando's comments that it was Eleanor who was the prime mover of the marriage. (*Handmaid*, p. 26.) However, Fraser speculates that Lucy's marriage "was probably intended to save Lucy from her mother's drastic influence" (*Weaker Vessel*, p. 174) and in an earlier article Cope also speculates that this was a possible motive. ("Dame Eleanor Davies Never Soe Mad a Ladie?" *The Huntington Library Quarterly*, vol. 50, no. 2, Spring 1987, p. 138.) It is fair to say that the marriage took place for a range of motives on both sides.

⁴⁹ For example, see Lisa Jardine, *Still Harping on Daughters: Women and drama in the age of Shakespeare*, (Brighton and Totowa, 1983), p. 88; Hufton, *Prospect before her*, vol. 1, p. 109 and Lindley, *Trials of Frances Howard*, p. 14.

⁵⁰ Examples include the marriages of Frances Coke to Sir John Villiers and Lady Elizabeth Percy to Lord Ogle. Fraser, *Weaker Vessel*, pp. 13-21 and 315-21.

the marriage of their children should be a success and believed that, with their input and influence, child marriage, was the best way to achieve that end. There were significant advantages if it was conducted properly.

One of the difficulties with child marriage was that it involved two people who eventually intended to live together as a couple but who, in these early years, lived largely apart and under the jurisdiction of adults. In 1624 Ferdinando vividly described to Lucy the situation in which he found himself, expressing his desire to achieve honour and follow in the steps of noble persons when possible but acknowledging that until that time he had learned to be obedient.⁵¹ Ferdinando told Lucy that until he was able to be his own master he would accept the guidance of his and Lucy's father. Ferdinando's obedience, he told Lucy, was a course of action, "which I doubt not will be agreeable to your desier". Ferdinando's comments reflected a common seventeenth century view concerning the proper stages of life, the importance of obedience to parents and the need to learn obedience before being considered capable of commanding.⁵²

It was within these parameters of obedience to parents and understanding of the way in which a person should move through life that there could be choice of marriage partner. Lucy's choice was limited but nonetheless important. In the same 1624 letter Ferdinando wrote that he wanted to deserve Lucy's love and, he said: "to give you cause not to repent

⁵¹ FEH to L(D)H, HA Corr., 10/4858, 1 December [c1624].

⁵² See for example, in a book published with Burghley's *Certain Precepts* in 1636 the following: "therefore it is a common saying among old men, that he can never play the Master well, who hath not one way or other declared himselfe serviceable and obedient to some other before". (*A glasse..*, (London, 1636) pp. 74-5; see also pp. 76-9). Obedience by children, particularly in the choice of a partner, was assumed. In 1627 the fifth earl criticised his younger son Henry's liking for court life and attachment to a young woman. HEH to HH(LL), HA Corr., 12/5515, 23 January 1626/27. Lindley sees arranged marriage as a "symptom of cultural patterns that include the inferior place accorded to women, but go beyond to encompass the more general authority of parents over children, and the claims of family and class interest over the individual will". (*Trials of Frances Howard*, p. 29).

your choise in mee". Even if uttered as lip-service Ferdinando's comment demonstrates that there was a recognition that women should have some measure of control over their own lives, even one as young as Lucy.⁵³ It should also be noted that the marriage settlement allowed the couple to change their mind about the match before it became irrevocable.⁵⁴ Ferdinando, for example, could decide against the marriage within a period of six months or so. While the settlement did not overtly give Lucy a chance to change her mind, the payments of her portion by Sir John Davies were spread over a year or more. Not only would this have enabled Sir John to raise the money, it would have provided an opportunity for Lucy to tell her father if she disliked the match. Marriages only became fully binding when consummated and could earlier be annulled. However, once payment of the portion had taken place annulment became more difficult. The payment of money therefore gave both families an added incentive to try to ensure the success of the marriage.⁵⁵

Lucy and Ferdinando's marriage was not unusual in containing elements of both control and choice concurrently. The surviving evidence concerning many child marriages indicates that choice was an important element.⁵⁶ Advice and conduct books emphasised the need for a couple to like one another and recognised that not all were compatible.⁵⁷

⁵³ Of course Ferdinando may have been flattering Lucy by saying she has powers which she does not actually possess. Even so, this form of flattery demonstrates that choice was seen as a desirable element in a marriage.

⁵⁴ See Haigh, *Reformation and resistance*, pp. 48-9 on the likely break up of child marriages.

⁵⁵ For a discussion on the difficulties faced by women in repudiating a marriage see Lindley, *Trials of Frances Howard*, pp. 85-9.

⁵⁶ See, for example, Ralph Verney and Mary Blacknall in Fraser, *Weaker Vessel*, pp. 21-4. Hufton has different views on this match. (*Prospect Before Her*, vol. 1, p. 108) See also Simonds D'Ewes and Anne Clopton in Tania Jeffries, "Ladies of Quality: The role of women in elite families in seventeenth-century England", MA Thesis, University of Adelaide, 1991, p. 115.

⁵⁷ For example, Burghley advised his son: "be informed truly of their inclination, which that there may bee a more equall Sympathy, compare it with your owne, how they agree: for you must know, that every good woman makes not for every man a good wife". (*Certaine precepts*, p. 2.)

Child marriage throws the dichotomy of obedience and choice into high relief. In the marriage of Lucy and Ferdinando both of these elements existed in a complex relationship. One could not be separated from the other. Lucy and Ferdinando's marriage at such a young age can be partly explained in the training of children from an early age to want what their parents wanted.⁵⁸ It is also true, that for aristocratic women, marriage was the entry point into adult life and the only career open to them. They would have accepted this reality and were unlikely to deny the right of their parents and relatives to make that all-important choice. For young heiresses this was especially so. Lucy's marriage was the first step towards her own household and children and she may also have felt some pride in becoming Lady Hastings. The alternative, life with her parents, especially as their marriage was not particularly happy or stable, could not have been comfortable. Marriage, which Lucy had been led to expect as the proper path to take, contained elements of personal choice, coloured by her parents' actions and her own expectations.

Lucy's marriage also demonstrates the importance of love in aristocratic marriage, revealing how contemporaries saw the relationship between love and marriage and hinting at what love meant for seventeenth century aristocrats. In the seventeenth century love was considered central to a successful marriage although the idea of marital love was different from that familiar to western society today. Then, two different, although related, notions of love acted within marriage: romantic love and the Christian idea of love. Lucy and Ferdinando were brought up in both these traditions, familiar with both secular and

⁵⁸ Lawrence Stone contends that children generally shared the objectives of their parents and this minimized conflict. (*Family, Sex and Marriage in England*, p. 181). See also Habakkuk, *Marriage, Debt and the Estates System*, pp. 163-4 and 229 and Vickery, *Gentleman's Daughter*, pp. 41, 44.

religious literature, particularly the Bible.⁵⁹ Their families used both ideas to consolidate the marriage and to ensure its success. The existence of these two ideals within Lucy and Ferdinando's marriage demonstrates that marriages may have begun purely pragmatically, but no one expected that to continue. Marriages needed to contain an emotional depth.

During the seventeenth century there was a highly developed notion of romantic love, familiar to contemporaries through plays and poetry. This notion presented the object of love as the centre of the world for which sacrifices had to be made and obstacles overcome. However, the transience of this feeling and the need to repudiate other loyalties such as that of family, to its cause, meant that there was a considerable distrust of romantic love as an appropriate basis for marriage.⁶⁰ Such distrust was not confined to the aristocracy but could be seen at all levels of society. Sermons, conduct books, correspondence, all expressed the view that romantic love did not last and hence was not an appropriate foundation for marriage. This distrust was particularly pertinent for aristocratic marriage where important considerations such as income, status and potential for compatibility needed to be kept in mind and romantic love was likely to impede judgement and lead to poor decisions. As aristocratic marriage involved trying to obtain the best financial bargain possible; anything that was likely to weaken the position of one of the parties was undesirable.⁶¹ For example, the widowed mother of the fifth Earl of Huntingdon, contemplating a second marriage in 1626, reasoned that although her suitor "expreseth such love and noble dealing with me" she was going to "rune not inn with

⁵⁹ Lucy's education was extensive. A 1638-40 booksellers' bill to Ferdinando includes works of drama, religion, musters and the military. *HMC 78*, vol. 1, 1638-40, p. 389.

⁶⁰ See Roger Hainsworth's unpublished paper "The matchmakers: the marriage market in the later Stuart period: Strategies, tactics, hopes, fears", delivered at the AHMEME conference, Hobart, 1994. See also Fraser, *Weaker Vessel*, chapter two; Stone, *Family, Sex and Marriage*, p. 181; Vickery, *Gentleman's Daughter*, p. 41 (for the eighteenth century) and Harris, *English Aristocratic Women*, p. 73 (for aristocratic Tudor women).

⁶¹ Fraser, *Weaker Vessel*, p. 29.

affection but will marrye in Judgment if ever I marrye a gaine".⁶² Similarly, Lady Elizabeth Livingstone felt the need to repress romantic love, despite enjoying hearing young men "talk like one of the lovers I have read on in romances". She resolved:

...never more to hear a young man talk of love to me (though I keep that unruly passion out of my own heart) unless he is approved on by my parents, and is also at liberty to dispose of himself...⁶³

As these examples show, romantic love was seen as a diversion or distraction on the road to making an advantageous marriage. Romantic love was also likely to lead children to question the maxim that their parents knew best and were able to make the best marriage for them. There were, therefore, dangers in encouraging the idea of romantic love and certainly in following emotions when it came to making a marriage.

Alongside the ideal of romantic love was the Christian ideal of love which highlighted selflessness, perseverance, giving and sacrifice.⁶⁴ This was the kind of love God had for human beings and so was the kind of love to which each person had to aspire and which could only be achieved with divine assistance. Lucy and Ferdinando were brought up knowing their Bible and the central importance of love which it described. They were also trained to see God's providence in everything, and to acknowledge their need to be guided and taught by God. Christians in post-Reformation England believed that marriage was the primary avenue through which they served God. The Protestant view of marriage was of a

⁶² Sarah Hastings to HEH, HA Corr. 12/2433, 9 July 1626.

⁶³ Lady Elizabeth Livingstone, c. 1667-8, quoted in Ralph Houlbrooke (ed.), *English Family Life, 1576-1716: An Anthology from Diaries*, (Oxford and New York, 1988, 1989), pp. 27-8.

⁶⁴ The following discussion draws from some of the ideas on love discussed in John Armstrong's *Conditions of love: the philosophy of intimacy*, (London, 2002). See particularly pp. 118-19.

partnership in which each helped the other (as expressed in the prayer book). It was designed for “the mutual society, help, and comfort, that the one ought to have of the other”. Puritan writers, while reinforcing the patriarchal nature of society, also stressed the importance of marriage and the importance of love and affection within it. They highlighted the apostle Paul’s commands for women to be obedient to their husbands and for husbands to love their wives. Given that love was crucial, they also stressed the importance of choosing someone as a marriage partner that it was possible to love, and the importance of mutual attraction and sexual pleasure in marriage. These ideas were published widely in the 1620s and 1630s.⁶⁵ Hence, while romantic love was not allowed to influence the choice of a marriage partner, parents and friends nevertheless carefully considered the potential for affection and even the development of romantic love later in the marriage. Affection and compatibility would enable the couple to live together effectively and give the greatest possible likelihood of the working partnership which was the goal.⁶⁶ While no details remain of the way in which Lucy and Ferdinando were introduced it is likely that their parents engineered meetings and that they were given the chance to get to know each other. Evidence of the courtships of other aristocratic couples demonstrate the importance of affection as a consideration when arranging marriages. For example, in 1665 Samuel Pepys was asked to assist in the making of a match between

⁶⁵ See William and Malleville Haller, “The Puritan Art of Love”, *The Huntington Library Quarterly*, vol. 5, no. 2, 1941-42, pp. 253-5; Anthony Fletcher, “The Protestant idea of marriage in early modern England” in *Religion, culture and society in early modern Britain: Essays in honour of Patrick Collinson* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 165, 173-6, 181 and Edmund Leites, “The duty to desire: love, friendship, and sexuality in some Puritan theories of marriage” *Journal of Social History*, vol. 15, Spring 1982, special edition on the history of love, pp. 395, 397.

⁶⁶ In effect every element of marriage negotiation had this goal in mind. An adequate income prevented financial trouble negatively affecting the marriage. Diana O’Hara, while not discussing the elite, argues that “any qualities which might appear to provide economic security could be framed in terms of the language of love”. (*Courtship and Constraint: Rethinking the making of marriage in Tudor England*, (Manchester and New York, 2000), pp. 216-7). According to Harris, for the aristocracy in fifteenth and sixteenth century England, love seemed to mean “a combination of affection, fidelity, trust, and kindness, emotions that could develop between a couple after their wedding and that would facilitate their cooperation as partners in the family enterprise”. (*English Aristocratic Women*, p. 73). See also Cressy, *Birth, marriage and death: Ritual, Religion, and the Life-Cycle in Tudor and Stuart England*, (Oxford, 1997), pp. 260-3. While many have

Lady Jemima, daughter of his patron, Lord Sandwich, and Philip Carteret, Lord Carteret's eldest son. Such assistance included teaching the young man how to behave as a lover. According to Pepys, Philip Carteret was extremely "awkward" when it came to "love-matters". Noting that Carteret was too timid to talk to his wife-to-be or to hold her hand, Pepys "taught him what to do; to take the lady away by the hand to lead her; and telling him that I would find opportunity to leave them two together, he should make these and these compliments".⁶⁷ Such attentions were considered necessary in gaining Jemima's agreement and enthusiasm for the match. The importance of emotion and attraction between a husband and wife was also recognised by Burghley who advised his son to choose a wife not too beautiful but nevertheless not so unattractive that it would "breed contempt in others, and bring you to a loathed bed".⁶⁸ Physical attraction was important.

The early years of Lucy and Ferdinando's marriage indicates that some expression of emotion was necessary to cement the marriage, particularly given the danger that it could be repudiated before consummation had taken place. Because Lucy did not live with her husband lack of contact could make it easy for her to change her mind about the marriage. They were in an awkward position in many ways, contracted to a marriage that was not yet a real marriage. How should they feel about it and act within it during these early years? Their relationship had gone past the pre-contractual stage and this new phase of marriage clearly required some expression of emotion or courting. Although only one letter from Lucy to her husband survives from this early period, there are a number from Ferdinando to Lucy and through these letters it is possible to piece together what was considered

acknowledged that considerations such financial security, social status, connections and religious belief, were more important than romantic love, few have discussed how emotions may develop.

⁶⁷ Samuel Pepys, Diary, quoted in Ralph Houlbrooke, (ed.), *English Family Life*, pp. 22-7, particularly p. 25.

⁶⁸ Burghley, *Certain precepts*, pp. 3-4. Note also that a wife was a reflection of her husband. His status in the wider world was damaged if his wife was held in contempt. See also "Directions of Henry, fifth Earl of Huntingdon" in *HMC 78*, vol. 4, p. 332.

important in this relationship, what the nature of the marriage was and how it was expected to work and succeed for the benefit of the Hastings.

One of the recurring themes in Ferdinando's communication with Lucy was that of constancy and commitment to a shared future. Expressions of affection and love were used to emphasise the permanency of the relationship. These included phrases such as "your evermost lovinge and affectionat husband till death" and assurances that Ferdinando would "most constantly remaine" Lucy's "most affectionate husband".⁶⁹ Given their youth and the brief time they had spent getting to know one another, "falling in love" was unlikely: what was more likely was a building up of trust and commitment to one another. This would only happen over time but the words of love and affection, even if only words at this point, were clearly seen as important in enabling this trust and commitment to develop between the young couple.

Connected to this feeling of constancy and commitment was the acknowledgement that such a partnership required effort and work to succeed. Ferdinando told Lucy that he would strive to deserve her love; "to deserve this love from you it shall bee one of my cheiffest studies" and promised that "there is none that cann cary a greater affection towards you, and will strive more to deserve your love then I".⁷⁰ This reflected traditional romantic love but was used by Ferdinando to express his commitment to the union and the fact that he was not complacent about his relationship with Lucy just because the marriage settlement had been signed and money changed hands. Such ideas also corresponded to the Christian view of love which stressed perseverance, concern for others and patience.

⁶⁹ FEH to L(D)H, HA Corr., 9/4855, [Aug 1]>[1623] and 10/4856, 20 April 1624. See also Ferdinando's expressions in the following letters to Lucy, 10/4857, 15 August 1624; 12/4859, 20 March 1625/26 and 12/4861, 1 February 1626/27.

⁷⁰ FEH to L(D)H, HA Corr., 10/4858, 1 December [c. 1624] and 12/4861, 1 February 1626/27.

Again, the longevity of their union was emphasised. In these early years they were two children playing at marriage but it would become a reality one day and this was their preparation for that reality.

Another important element in the expression of emotion between Lucy and Ferdinando was the element of camaraderie, the sense that they faced their marriage together and could learn from one another as they grew to adulthood. Ferdinando admitted to Lucy that they needed to obey their parents until they could live independently and each gave advice on the others studies.⁷¹ Such expressions created a feeling of togetherness and connection between the couple in contrast to the adult, outside world. Such feelings were also created through expressing desire to receive letters from one another. On 8 July 1624 Lucy wrote to her husband:

My most deare Lord, I have receaved your last letter, and herein I received so much comfort, as all the letters in the Alphabet being put into words, and all those words into volumes, all were not able to express the joy of my hart, and the dear affection it beareth you.⁷²

Thus, Lucy expressed in a very clear, albeit formal and stylistic way that communication with her husband was important to her and that hearing from Ferdinando had an immediate effect on the way she felt about him. Ferdinando also expressed his joy at hearing from Lucy and encouraged her to write to him frequently:

I can not more earnestly desyer anything then to heere of your health; nor any lynes bee soe wellcume to mee as yours I hope you will not dout of this trewth

⁷¹ FEH to L(D)H, HA Corr., 10/4858, 1 December [c. 1624] and HA Corr., 9/4855, [August 1]>[1623].

⁷² L(D)H to FEH, HA Corr., 10/5737, July 8 1624.

and then you will thinke them well bestowed praye lett mee heere from you as often as you can.⁷³

Lucy and Ferdinando also expressed their desire to be together. The anticipation of a visit to Lucy of eight to ten days caused Ferdinando to be “much joyed with the expectation of it”. He was, he told Lucy, “extreme glad the tyme is so neere that I trust in god to have the happines to see you”.⁷⁴ The longing to be united is a major theme of romantic love and, for Lucy and Ferdinando, served the purpose of establishing commitment and encouraging them to think of each other. Commitment to each other was important in establishing the marriage as an entity which would continue into the future.

Lucy and Ferdinando also expressed love through giving each other carefully chosen tokens and gifts, including clothes and books. These tokens and gifts were used as proofs of their commitment and constancy. In 1627 Ferdinando told Lucy that he had received her letter and “a token of your love”. He continued:

I assure you that you could not have sent it to any whom it could have binne welcomer then to mee, and I dare say my love is so fixed on you that it is a farr easier esier thing to untye the knot you sent mee then to remove never so litle of my love from you, for your goodnesse is shuch that you deserve much more love then I cann tell how to expres to you.⁷⁵

⁷³ FEH to L(D)H, HA Corr., 10/4857, 15 August 1624.

⁷⁴ FEH to L(D)H, HA Corr., 10/4856, 20 April 1624. See also FEH to L(D)H, 10/4858, 1 December [c. 1624]. “the losse of that hope I had in seeinge you heere, I hope I shall recover the next yeare, and that I shall ever live happy in your love”.

⁷⁵ FEH to L(D)H, HA Corr., 12/4861, 1 February 1626/27.

Such tokens not only symbolised permanency and love but accepting such gifts and tokens established the special relationship they shared. Ferdinando more than once asked Lucy to accept gifts “for his sake”.⁷⁶ In so doing she acknowledged that Ferdinando now had a special place in her life. The giving of gifts also made the relationship difficult to ignore which was important considering their separate lives. Again, gifts and tokens of love had a long tradition in romantic love, described in a wealth of literature.⁷⁷ For example, a knot which could not be untied as a symbol of eternal connection was familiar to seventeenth century contemporaries. Related to gifts and tokens were the affectionate endearments Lucy and Ferdinando used to each other. Ferdinando commonly began his letters with “Deare Sweete hart” and usually concluded with a variation on “your most affectionate loving husband”. Lucy’s letter began “My most deare lord” and ended “your most loving wife”. Such expressions focussed attention on the partner and set the tone for how the marriage should ideally be conducted later. Their parents clearly encouraged such feelings between the couple believing them to be no longer dangerous, but important and desirable despite their youth and arranged marriage.⁷⁸

In the early years of their marriage, letters between Lucy and Ferdinando can therefore be seen as a form of training in the affections to prepare them for later life together. It was a way in which they could begin to work out the married ideal of an affectionate, working partnership. Using the traditions of romantic love and the Christian ideal of perseverance and commitment their parents hoped that Ferdinando and Lucy would learn to like one another and see their future together. Enduring stability in the relationship was necessary

⁷⁶ FEH to L(D)H, HA Corr., 9/4855, [August 1]>[1623] and 10/4858, 1 December [c. 1624].

⁷⁷ Cressy discusses the use of gifts and tokens in *Birth, marriage and death*, pp. 263-6.

⁷⁸ While some of the expressions used by Lucy and Ferdinando resembled romantic love this is not to suggest that this feeling was encouraged at the expense of the other elements of aristocratic marriage. It existed in conjunction with affection, compatibility, financial well-being and family approval and support. It was when romantic love existed in isolation, without these other factors, that it became so dangerous.

long after the short-term financial advantages. The seventeenth century aristocracy understood that the love in a marriage could grow even from marriages inspired by financial motives. For the Hastings, the success of the fifth earl's marriage had proved that.⁷⁹ The Hastings and Davies families therefore, arranged the marriage of Lucy and Ferdinando in such a way as to give the best possible chance of this emotional depth developing. In arranging such a young bride for their son, the Hastings had to be particularly careful to ensure appropriate feelings developed between the couple. How were these feelings fostered?

The desire of the wider family to ensure a happy emotional union for their children well beyond the making of the financial bargain is seen in the way the parents conducted the marriage during its early years. By living apart during the first four years of their marriage, Lucy and Ferdinando could accustom themselves to the idea of being married and get to know their partner's families. In this way child marriage may have had an advantage over marriages between older individuals who were more set in their ways. Love, affection and familiarity had a chance to grow under the guidance of their parents.⁸⁰

⁷⁹ The fifth Earl of Huntingdon said of his marriage that he "could not have chosen so well myself nor been so happy in any woman I know" and praised his wife on more than one occasion for her "judicious conseit and masculine understanding" and "soe good and sweet a disposition in soe well shapt and formed a bodie". "Directions of Henry, fifth Earl of Huntingdon" in *HMC* 78, vol. 4, p. 332 and HEH to HH(LL), HA Corr., 12/5515, 23 January 1626/7. See also the comments of Ralph Verney who, twenty years after his marriage to Mary Blacknall, referred to his wife as "my dear, discreet and most incomparable wife". Quoted in Fraser, *Weaker Vessel*, p. 23.

⁸⁰ See Power, *Medieval Women*, p. 33. Power argues in regard to feudal marriages that; "It was an inhuman father who did not wish to do the best for his daughter... Moreover, the fact that most wedded couples began life together while both very young was in their favour. They came to each other with no very strong marked ideas or preferences, and grew up together." On the importance of the family see Pollock, quoting William Gouge's *Of domesticall duties*, "the family was 'a school wherein the first principles and grounds of government and subjection are learned'". ("Teach her to live under obedience", *Continuity and Change*, p. 235, quoting W. Gouge, *Of domesticall duties* (London, 1622), p. 17).

While family induced affection can be seen as an attempt to consolidate a financially beneficial marriage between two families, the practical effect was to ensure the stability of the marriage by easing the couple into the idea of being married.

The role played by their parents in fostering feelings of affection and commitment in Lucy and Ferdinando is also evident in the way the families sent news to Lucy and Ferdinando which encouraged thoughts of their marriage partner. For example, in about 1623 Elizabeth, Countess of Huntingdon sent her daughter-in-law news that Ferdinando had been studying hard, was very well and had been thinking of Lucy. She sent her blessings “with as much affection as if you weare My owne, for indeed I love you not lesse” and signed off “your very affectionat Mother”.⁸¹ The Countess of Huntingdon was eager to ensure Lucy felt welcome as a full member of the Hastings family and referred many times to her love for her daughter-in-law as though Lucy were her own child. For example, she told Sir John Davies:

I praye remember my servis to my sister; and my best love to my sweet dawhter who I infinitely longe to see for now you will give me leave to saye shee is myne; I desyer yu will ever esteeme soe of your sonn.⁸²

In around 1625 she also wrote to Lucy after Lucy had returned home after visiting her:

I trust in God ther is no danger in telling you that soe wellcome a guest never went from this howse and I assuer you I shall not with more joye receive any chyld of my owne, soe affectionatly I do assuer you shall you be ever received

⁸¹ E(S)H to L(D)H, HA Corr., 9/4829, [1623<1626]. See also her letter to L(D)H, 11/4835, 17 November [c. 1625]. “after Christmas God willing hee is to goe to Cambrige hee hathe had this three months a very good tutor with him heer that goes with him”.

⁸² E(S)H to Sir John Davies, HA Corr., 11/4833, 19 February c1625.

at this place; and as I do unfaynedly love yu and joye in you, soe it will bee a great contentment to mee to know that I have an intirist in your love, sweet Dawhter bilive I love you as my owne.⁸³

Such comments encouraged Lucy to think of the Hastings family as her own; far from an outsider, Lucy was already a member of the family.

In the early years of the marriage Lucy's mother and father could also establish her position in the Hastings family and ensure that her status in her new family was respected. For example, in 1625 Sir John Davies was concerned at the lack of a woman to wait on Lucy and questioned Lucy's treatment by the Hastings family. In return the Countess was keen to assure Sir John that she was doing all she could to care for her daughter-in-law.⁸⁴ Issues of respect, status and position were particularly keen for very young women entering families which already possessed strong women.

During the first few years of the marriage the two families also learned to work together as a team. The fifth earl and Sir John Davies corresponded regularly, the fifth earl constantly referring to Sir John and Lady Eleanor Davies as his "Sister" and "Brother" Davies. This form of address was reciprocated in many letters from Sir John Davies to the fifth earl and also in letters from the Countess of Huntingdon to Sir John Davies. Through the marriage the two families had in a sense become one and now experienced shared concerns, problems and decisions. For example, Sir John Davies spent time with Ferdinando and reported to the fifth earl on his conduct.⁸⁵ Davies was an important source of information

⁸³ E(S)H to L(D)H, HA Corr., 11/4835, 17 November [c.1625].

⁸⁴ E(S)H to Sir John Davies, HA Corr., 11/4834, 28 April 1625.

⁸⁵ Sir John Davies to HEH, HA Corr., 10/1929, 22 July 1624. Input of in-laws can also be seen earlier in the advice of Alice Derby to the fourth Earl of Huntingdon, that Lord Hastings, her son-in-law, should go to

for the fifth earl regarding parliament and the Court. Regular visits took place between the two families, Ferdinando visiting Lucy in London and Lucy also making a number of visits to the Hastings.⁸⁶ Lucy's visits no doubt provided opportunities for her to learn about family traditions, to meet people and to learn how the estate and household were run. This was important preparation for the time when she would take on these responsibilities herself. The Countess was likely to have undertaken the role of teacher in this respect, a role many mothers-in-law were well placed to fulfil.⁸⁷

Lucy and Ferdinando's marriage also illustrates the role of the wider family and the influence they exerted. The importance of kin, particularly female kin, was evident at Lucy and Ferdinando's marriage ceremony. However, this was far from the end of the matter and family members had a continuing role once the marriage had taken place. For example, relatives such as Lady Derby, Ferdinando's grandmother made visits to their young relatives and gave them advice. In 1625 Lady Derby told Lucy:

Good daughter the affection yow seeme to beare unto the obeyinge of what I shall desire yow argueth in yow no small manefestation of a true love unto mee I thank yow for your letters which are an apparent show, that by your industries my counsell and advyce hath caused in yow so great amendment of your

Oxford rather than Cambridge. Alice Derby to the fourth Earl of Huntingdon, HA Corr., 5/2507, 4 February 1600/01.

⁸⁶ FEH to L(D)H, HA Corr., 10/4856, 20 April 1624. See E(S)H to Sir John Davies, HA Corr., 11/4834, 28 April 1625 in which Elizabeth reported to Sir John on the visit his daughter was making with her. In September 1625 Eleanor Davies directed a letter to Lucy at Donnington. E(T)D to L(D)H, HA Corr., 11/2332, 7? September 1625. See also E(S)H to L(D)H, HA Corr., 11/4835, 17 November [c. 1625].

⁸⁷ Such a role is strongly implied in the Countess of Huntingdon's comments to Sir John Davies in her letter of 28 April 1625. E(S)H to Sir John Davies, HA Corr., 11/4834, 28 April 1625. Knowles claims that the Countess was "highly educated and deeply religious" and continued her mother's and sisters' tradition of "female learning and patronage through the education of her son Ferdinando's wife, Lady Lucy Davies". Knowles, 'Stanley, Elizabeth', *ODNB*.

wryteing; as (were it not your selfe) I should scarcely coniecture, any other could have attained to so much perfection in so small a tyme.⁸⁸

Lucy demonstrated her love for her new family by being obedient to the wishes of its members, modifying her behaviour according to Lady Derby's advice. By such advice and influence Lady Derby hoped to mould Lucy into a loyal Hastings family member and a fitting wife of the future sixth earl.

Despite attempts at unity, tensions also existed between the Hastings and Davies families during the early days of Lucy and Ferdinando's marriage which polarised the two families after the death of Sir John Davies in December 1626. These tensions affected Lucy and her relationship with her new family, although there is no evidence of problems with her husband. The greatest degree of conflict occurred between the Countess of Huntingdon and Lucy's mother, Eleanor Davies, caused largely by the desire of each woman to receive as much property as possible from Sir John Davies' estate.

The problems began soon after Sir John's death in London on 7 December 1626.⁸⁹ Only four days later the fifth Earl of Huntingdon wrote to a family friend:

⁸⁸ Alice Derby to L(D)H, HA Corr., 11/2515, 16 October [c. 1625]. In 1624 Lucy also visited Lady Derby with her mother and father. See Sir John Davies to HEH, HA Corr., 10/1926, 22 March 1623/24. Of course Lucy was also linked to Lady Derby through her mother. Eleanor's brother Mervyn Touchet married in 1624 Anne, one of Lady Derby's daughters and sister of Elizabeth, Countess of Huntingdon. Lady Derby was a great patron of the arts and a significant influence in the education and upbringing of her children and grandchildren. See Knafla, 'Alice Spencer, countess of Derby', *ODNB*.

⁸⁹ Cope, *Handmaid*, p. 43.

if my sister Davis be in Towne doe me the favor to keepe her in as good a humor as yow can, how the case stands I know not I have heard that he made a will less than a yeare since.

The earl explained that he wanted to “draw as good a part of his [Sir John’s] personall estate unto Ferdinando and my daughter Hastings as I can” and “I have the more cause to expect supply from the personall estate because my brother Davis his Irish lands espetically falls farr short of that he valued it to me at”.⁹⁰ The earl’s desire to claim Sir John’s personal estate for the Hastings required careful dealing with Lady Eleanor who, as Sir John’s widow, would also have a claim to it for her life. However, the earl also feared that Lady Eleanor would try to conceal Sir John’s will:

I am affrayd if therbe a will least my sister Davis should conceale it, I beseech yow lett her know yow have heard that ther is a will for soe much my sonn Ferdinando was tould when he was last at Englefield, and to my remembrance my brother Davis tould him soe much.

The financial motives which prompted the marriage were becoming a source of tension and uncertainty with both the Hastings and the Davies families positioning themselves to secure their rights with Lucy in the middle.

The Hastings acted in two main ways to secure their rights to Davies’ property and in both Lucy was the key: seizure of and legal action for the lands, and consummation of the marriage. The subsequent legal and personal battles between Lady Eleanor and the Hastings show Lucy was the linchpin of success for both parties. Whoever managed to control Lucy gained an enormous advantage. Consequently, in about 1627 Ferdinando,

⁹⁰ HEH to Lady Truedall, HA Corr., 12/5513, 11 December 1626.

Lord Hastings consummated his marriage after receiving the Countess of Huntingdon's consent to do so. A servant informed the fifth earl of this important family news, saying that the Countess's consent had been given because people were commenting that unless the marriage was consummated it was "not of any force and her Mother [Lady Eleanor] might have kept her still". In addition, Lady Derby and others had thought it necessary because otherwise Ferdinando could not "meddle with her estayte". Lucy was reported "well growne", unwilling to "coum downe" (that is, live with the Hastings) and had been heard to say "her reson was shee would not live under any body".⁹¹

This passage demonstrates the control relatives, particularly women, exerted on the most intimate aspects of marriage, the influence of wider kin, the financial motives of the Hastings family and the threat posed by the dispute with Lady Eleanor. It also demonstrates some of the problems Lucy faced adjusting to her ambiguous status as a married woman who was not yet an adult. Lucy was exerting her authority, and her actions, with those of her mother, made the Hastings act in their turn to establish the marriage permanently and irrevocably. The consummation of her marriage made Lucy a full Hastings family member.

In late 1626 the Countess of Huntingdon and Ferdinando travelled to London to safeguard the Hastings' rights to Sir John's property. They acted aggressively and on the day of Sir John's funeral, took over Englefield.⁹² As the Countess relates, her task in trying to

⁹¹ Roby to HEH, HA. Corr., 12/10543, [c. 1627]. Lucy was fourteen at the time her marriage was consummated. Fourteen seemed considered an age of sexual maturity for women. See Luttrell regarding the Duke of Grafton: "The duke was married some time since to the earl of Arlington's daughter, but she being very young, the espousalls were now compleated by the duke's bedding her, she being now 14 years old". (*Brief historical relation*, vol. 1, 17 April 1681, p. 77). Luttrell's account also demonstrates that child marriage still took place in the latter part of the seventeenth century. See also Cope, *Handmaid*, p. 44 on the consummation of Lucy's marriage.

⁹² Cope, *Handmaid*, pp. 43-4. Also see documents in HAL2/12, in particular, the petition of Sir Archibald Douglas and Lady Eleanor dated January 1627/28 which argues that Sir John Davies received a "very greate

determine what estates, money, goods and stock would come to her son and daughter-in-law was far from easy:

I know you will expect a lardge account of my sonns busines, butt I have had to do with such an irisolute woman that tis impossible to drawe sartin conclusions from soe fantastical a cretuer as my sister Davis.⁹³

Lady Eleanor was not co-operating. The Countess had suggested how the matter could be settled but Eleanor had only replied that “shee had other matters to thinke of”. She also refused to include the contents of her own chamber and her coach and horses in the appraisal of goods and stock. Although Lady Eleanor was entitled to some money on condition that she paid the servants’ wages and her own debts, she was causing difficulties, as the Countess further explained:

£500 my Lady Eleanor is to have by my Brother Davis his will uppon this condision that shee shall paye ther servants wages and her own detts; to this shee answers shee knowse not what they be and would have the munny; butt shee shall not till shee have performed the Condition.⁹⁴

The Countess explained to her husband that the personal estate was not what they had been led to expect and certain payments had to come out of the £2,300 in bonds left by Sir John.

portion” when he married Lady Eleanor and that he gave her the manors of Pirton and Englefield for her jointure. It also points out that Lord Hastings took over Englefield on the day of Sir John’s funeral.

⁹³ E(S)H to HEH, HA Corr., 12/4840, [1627]. See discussion of this letter and associated correspondence also in Cope, *Handmaid*, p. 45 and Ezell, *Patriarch’s Wife*, p. 23.

⁹⁴ E(S)H to HEH, HA Corr., 12/4840, [1627]. Will of Sir John Davies, PROB 11/150, f. 282v. Sir John Davies left his wife Eleanor £500 on the condition that she pay all her debts and her servants’ wages. She was given the plate, hangings and jewels for her life, but only if she remained a widow. If she married a second time they were to go to Lucy. See also HAP17/20, Will of Sir John Davies, 1 August 1622 and Cope, *Handmaid*, p. 48. Pawlisch comments “The whole of Davies’ estate was to pass to Lucy, rather than to his widow, an illustration of the state of Davies’ marriage”. (*Sir John Davies*, p. 28.) I am not convinced that Sir John’s will reflects the poor state of his marriage. Lady Eleanor was provided for and the household goods provision was not uncommon.

She described the various legal means she was using to try to protect the interests of her son and the Hastings family. These included an authorisation to sell certain property at Englefield which Lucy was eventually persuaded to sign “with much adoe”. Lady Eleanor was, the Countess believed, entitled to Pirton Manor as her jointure but “Inglefield I beleve shee can never recover”. Lucy’s mother was jeopardising the financial benefit the Hastings had hoped to make from the marriage. In this way personality and circumstance could turn an apparently successful match to a wealthy heiress into a costly battle.

The difficulty was that the dispute with Lady Eleanor was not just about money. The Hastings’ difficulties arose because Lady Eleanor had an intense personal attachment to a particular house and manor and was prepared to fight for them.⁹⁵ Eleanor Davies had strong ties to Englefield as it was here that she received her ‘call to prophesy’ in 1625 which began her prophetic career. On 28 July 1625 she recorded that she heard a voice tell her she should prepare England for the day of judgement which would come in nineteen and a half years.⁹⁶ Eleanor published a tract in the same year, entitled *Warning to the Dragon* and presented a similar tract to the Archbishop of Canterbury, warning Charles I against popery. Lady Eleanor’s activities came to the attention of her husband who burned this tract at which she promptly predicted his death within three years and went into mourning. Lady Eleanor also spent time around the Court, particularly around Henrietta Maria, and made predictions for various members of the royal family and courtiers.⁹⁷ She therefore took prophecy seriously from the very beginning and, in particular, the importance of its public expression. To many, including the Hastings, Lady Eleanor must

⁹⁵ Cope, *Handmaid*, pp. 34-6, 45. Hence, the property’s real value to Lady Eleanor and its paper value were not the same.

⁹⁶ Cope, “‘Dame Eleanor Davies’”, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, p. 133. Also, Cope, *Handmaid*, p. 33.

⁹⁷ Cope, *Handmaid*, pp. 39-52.

have seemed uncontrollable; a woman who was capable of anything. Her prophetic activities, erratic behaviour and passionate attachment to Englefield could not have been foreseen by the Hastings when they arranged the match with Lucy in 1623 and they led to a bitter legal battle as well as considerable embarrassment.

The situation was further complicated in about March 1627 when Lady Eleanor married Sir Archibald Douglas, a soldier and Scot who had been knighted in 1624.⁹⁸ Eleanor's motivation for remarrying is unclear. While a husband could be a useful support in any legal action, marriage also threatened a widow's rights. The Hastings challenged Eleanor's right to Englefield and Pirton because, they argued, Sir John would only have provided them to Eleanor (if he had at all) if she had remained a widow. As she was no longer a widow, the lands should go to Lucy and thence to the Hastings. In short, the Hastings challenged Eleanor's right to most of Sir John's property and certainly the most valuable portions of it – Englefield, Pirton, the Irish lands and Davies' house in the Strand in London.⁹⁹ This legal battle meant that the Hastings lost the income of the estates while they were in dispute, as well as suffering the cost of the legal action itself. Lucy's Irish estates in Fermanagh and Tyrone provided some income for the family but there were high costs involved in their maintenance.¹⁰⁰ Consequently, the Hastings discovered that although they had managed to stave off some immediate debt, a long term financial

⁹⁸ Cope, *Handmaid*, pp. 46-7. Lady Eleanor believed that Douglas was the eldest, though illegitimate, son of James I and hence heir to the throne (p. 46). In 1627 Sir Archibald was excused from military service due to "obstacles in his estate since his marriage with the Lady Davies". *CSPD*, Charles I, 1627-1628, 23 April 1627, p. 146.

⁹⁹ Cope discusses this argument. (*Handmaid*, pp. 43, 47-9) See also papers in HAL 2 and 3.

¹⁰⁰ Cogswell states that the "Davies match therefore became simply another of the family's string of bad investments." (*Home Divisions*, p. 205.) I would argue that while the marriage did not bring the money the Hastings had hoped for, Lucy was, in the long term, a good investment.

solution remained elusive.¹⁰¹ The marriage brought the Hastings trouble and further costs which added to their already difficult financial position.

The dispute with Lady Eleanor also caused uncertainty and conflict in Lucy's relationships with members of the Hastings family, particularly the Countess of Huntingdon. In 1627 while the Countess was trying to negotiate a settlement of the Davies property with Lady Eleanor she experienced trouble with Lucy who refused to leave town with her as planned. The Countess, forced to wait until Lucy had decided what she wanted to do, told her husband that:

my Dawhter hastings hathe not gott her things reddy and I have such a taske to keepe her butt pleased hitherto, and shee pretends the weather soe unfitt for her to travill in as I am forste to staye a little Longer.¹⁰²

In another letter to her husband the Countess complained that Lucy:

talkes the language of a free woman, and sent mee word shee would not goe to live under mee, shee had an estate of her owne and would live at Inglefield, I sayd shee had a causeless fear of liveing under mee I would take no awthority over her shee showld command as trully in your howse and have everything to her lykeing that was fit as if shee wear in her owne howse; at laste shee sayd if her Lord went downe to live with us shee must, if hee went not downe with her shee would not, shee is very peremptous and much adoe I have to forbear her.¹⁰³

¹⁰¹ These battles with Lady Eleanor will be dealt with further in the next chapter.

¹⁰² E(S)H to HEH, HA Corr., 12/4839, 18 January [1626/27].

¹⁰³ E(S)H to HEH, HA Corr., 12/4840, [1627]. Cope points out that Lucy probably realised that any agreement with the course of action suggested by the Countess of Huntingdon would have meant a break with her mother. (*Handmaid*, p. 45)

Lucy recognised that her wealth (her “estate of her owne”) and her position as a married woman gave her influence, status and some ability to control her own life. She did not want to live with her in-laws unless her husband accompanied her as she would have little status as a single woman in a household headed by her mother-in-law.¹⁰⁴ Lucy used her relationship with her husband as a kind of bargaining tool to obtain the living arrangements she wanted and appeared to recognise the importance her relationship with her husband had for her future. Lucy was legally and morally obligated to show loyalty and obedience to her husband but in these early years appeared to refuse any other limits on her actions.

Lucy’s ambiguous status as a married woman who was still a child was evident even earlier in her marriage. During a visit Lucy made to her in-laws, the Countess of Huntingdon described to Sir John Davies how she saw Lucy’s position:

though in her discreet government and behaviour and in all other things that are comendable shee soe farr exceeds the expectation of her years that I see nothing to reprove yet shee is not soe much woman but that it is requisite that some body should have a little government over her, either too violent exercise or too little may impaire her health and one of more yeares then herself can better judge both in this respect and divers other things.¹⁰⁵

Lucy’s insistence on her status as a married woman conflicted with the Countess’s notions of Lucy as a child who still needed guidance. In this way Lucy’s marriage as a very young child created problems for the Hastings who wanted to stabilise the relationship and ensure that each member understood his or her role and place. Defining status, particularly for

¹⁰⁴ A point Cope has also recognised. (*Handmaid*, p. 46.)

¹⁰⁵ E(S)H to Sir John Davies, HA Corr., 11/4834, 28 April 1625. Margaret Ezell also refers to this letter while discussing the role of the Countess of Huntingdon in this marriage. (*Patriarch’s Wife*, pp. 22-3).

women who married while still children, was difficult. Lucy had received a more scholarly education than was usual for women of her background and the evidence suggests that she knew her rights and was able to stand up for them.¹⁰⁶ Lucy's dilemma was one faced by many women in seventeenth century England: how to perform independently when necessary yet also take a subordinate position to their husbands when required.¹⁰⁷ A child marriage intensified this dilemma and Lucy's experience in the early years of her marriage demonstrates how this situation could destabilise the family.

These problems were exacerbated by Eleanor's legal dispute with the Hastings which made it more difficult for Lucy to adjust to her life as a Hastings family member. Lucy's behaviour reveals the conflict of loyalty she must have felt between her mother on the one side, and the Hastings family on the other. Eleanor's determination to gain Englefield influenced Lucy who, mirroring her mother's behaviour, insisted on the importance of having her own estate. By expressing her desire to remain at Englefield Lucy was demonstrating her loyalty to her mother. Lucy's difficulties in adjusting between her new and old role, dealing with the in-between phase of her marriage and her conflicting loyalties between her mother and new family, were of grave concern to the Hastings.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁶ See Christopher Brooke, "Marriage and society in the central Middle Ages" in R.B. Outhwaite (ed.), *Marriage and Society*, pp. 31-2.

¹⁰⁷ See discussion in introduction. Also, Lindley, *Trials of Frances Howard*, p. 64. Lindley argues that Frances Howard can be seen as "oscillating between the independence of mind that her social status, and, presumably, her education gave her, and the demands of obedience operative in her culture".

¹⁰⁸ Similar difficulties arose in the marriage of Lucy's son. See chapters five and seven.

CHAPTER 3: MARRIAGE AND THE IMPACT OF THE CIVIL WAR 1628-1656

**“I trust in the Lord that of his infinite mercy he will
graciously prevent the extremety of our sufferings.”¹**

In 1628, fifteen year old Lucy Hastings and her nineteen year old husband were at the start of their real married life. Those years of authentic married life, 1628 to 1656, highlight both the strength of their union and the ability of the family to recover from disaster. It would be difficult to find a more challenging time for both the Hastings family and for aristocratic families in general. Indeed, the Hastings’ struggle for financial and political survival reflects the wider instability and uncertainty of the time. The Civil War was a traumatic experience for the family, whose ability to cope with these pressures increasingly came to depend on the new generation, Lucy and Ferdinando and Ferdinando’s brother Henry. In this tumultuous time Lucy’s marriage was both a source of strength and weakness to the family. While she provided children, support and advice as well as money, her mother continued to act as a destabilising influence, a distraction the family could ill afford. The financial and political pressures faced by the Hastings during this time were mirrored in their personal relationships, which bore considerable strain. The conditions under which Lucy and Ferdinando’s marriage operated reveal the fragility of aristocratic success and stability and provide a true test of the efficacy of the marriage in ensuring the survival of the family.

¹ L(D)H to FEH, HA Corr., 20/5754, >1656.

During the years preceding the Civil War the Hastings family was still dominated by the fifth earl and his wife, and their experiences and activities set the tone for Lucy and Ferdinando's eventual leadership of the family. The fifth earl maintained the family's reputation for pious Protestantism by philanthropic activities such as the governorship of the free school at Repton and the hospital at Etwall, both near Derby.² However, his position as Lord Lieutenant of Leicestershire was of greater importance and during the 1620s and 1630s the earl continued to enthusiastically carry out his instructions from the Privy Council.³ Unfortunately, his enthusiasm also generated enemies who attacked the earl's reputation. Collection of taxes and subsidies, and the mustering of troops, put a burden on rate-payers which they resented.⁴ Occupying a position of power and handling large sums of public money while suffering personal financial trouble, the earl came under suspicion by those fearful of his power. He was consequently forced to defend himself against Sir Henry Shirley and Sir William Fawnt who accused him of improper conduct and misappropriation of money.⁵ While the earl finally claimed victory over Fawnt in 1638, his commitment to maintaining his reputation and power cost the Hastings time, energy and money which they could ill afford.⁶

² HEH to the Privy Council, HA Corr., 13/5526, 13 June 1629 and to the Lord Keeper (Sir Thomas Coventry), 13/5523, 21 January 1628/29.

³ See the many letters on these matters in HA Corr., 13 to 15.

⁴ Part of the difficulty was the earl's increasing association with Charles I's Personal Rule. Without parliament to vote money for him, Charles relied on his Lord Lieutenants to collect funds and levies, including ship money, which was the subject of much protest. Cogswell, *Home Divisions*, pp. 236, 245-7, 255-64.

⁵ HEH to [Timothy?] Leaving, HA Corr., 13/5519, 7 February 1627/28 and to Lightfoot, 15/5542, 29 April 1636. Lightfoot to HEH, 15/4594, 9 May 1636. See also HEH to Sir Wolstan Dixie, 15/5541, 6 May 1635; Sir Wolstan Dixie to HEH, 15/2296, 9 May 1635. This letter refers to an inclosed letter of Sir William Fawnt's and it is this letter that is the subject of the dispute. The letter does not seem to be included. HEH to the Earl of Bridgewater, 15/5543, 21 May 1636.

⁶ See Sir William Fawnt to Sir Wolstan Dixie, HA Corr., 15/3149, >July, 1637; HEH to Gervase Tenery, 15/5548, 26 August 1637 and Sir William Fawnt to HEH, 15/3150, 8 January 1637/38. See Cogswell, *Home Divisions*, pp. 221-41 for a discussion of this battle. The earl's victory over Fawnt gave him some financial relief with an initial payment of £2,506. Cogswell, *Home Divisions*, pp. 240-1.

During the 1630s the financial situation of the family declined. While the fifth earl had managed to reduce the family's debts, disappointment over Lucy's inheritance in 1627 and the need to provide a portion for his daughter Elizabeth's marriage in 1634 meant that it was all too tempting for the earl to try to hold on to public money in his charge. The fifth earl and his wife used every possible means to gain financial advantage and it is worth examining one instance of this in the early 1630s which centred around Elizabeth, particularly as this example was an important precursor to the activities in which Lucy and other female members of the family would later become involved.⁷

In 1631 the fifth earl sent Elizabeth to London with various letters to present to the Privy Council concerning his request for compensation for the deforestation of Leicester Forest.⁸ The earl held the position of Lieutenant of the Forest of Leicester but its deforestation by the King in 1626 had made his position worthless. The earl claimed to be too unwell to go himself and told the Lord Privy Seal that he had acquainted Elizabeth "what thinge I presume to offer to you and the other Lords for you in your wisdome to consider of for my recompense".⁹ Aristocratic married women could expect to become involved in this type of activity when their families were in difficulty and during 1631 and 1632 Elizabeth became the leading petitioner in this particular claim.

While the fifth earl was at times unwell, and may have had important business in the country, it is nevertheless interesting that he decided to send Elizabeth to argue his

⁷ See Cogswell, *Home Divisions*, pp. 207-13 for a discussion of the countess' contribution.

⁸ Deforestation was a process whereby land which had been under forest laws reverted to ordinary land. Brown, (ed.), *New Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*, vol. 1, p. 682.

⁹ HEH to the Lord Treasurer, HA Corr., 14/5530, 9 September 1631. And also in this folder, HEH to the Lord Treasurer, 10 September 1631; to the Lord Privy Seal, 10 September 1631 and to the Earl of Dorset, 10 September 1631.

compensation claim. While his decision indicated great confidence in her, the earl may also have believed that women conducted petitioning better than men, or that they were liable to a better reception. While the fifth earl does not personally express this, many of his contemporaries did, particularly during the Civil War when it was often a deliberate strategy to send wives to London to petition.¹⁰ However, these reasons alone do not sufficiently explain Elizabeth's role. Elizabeth used reasoned argument to put forward the earl's case and utilised her many contacts and friends for advice and assistance. As a daughter of the Earl of Derby she had powerful friends and a status of her own.¹¹

Throughout September until the end of 1631 Elizabeth sent her husband detailed letters concerning her dealings with the Privy Council. After receiving advice from friends she decided that compensation should be based on the profits her husband would have made from the Forest had it not been deforested.¹² In November 1631 the lords of the Privy Council sat to consider the matter and Elizabeth also attended, taking with her George Hastings, her brother-in-law so that he could answer any objections the lords might raise. However, "my Lord Tresoror called for a Chaire for mee, and then Mr Lake tould mee I must speake for my selfe". Elizabeth spoke to a number of papers she had with her and answered various questions and objections put to her by the Lord Treasurer. She then left the room while the Lords considered the matter and shortly afterwards was called back to hear the verdict. The outcome was that the earl should have satisfaction if any lands or money became available within the next two months. The amount of compensation was the amount Elizabeth had specified, £2,500. Elizabeth informed her husband that both she

¹⁰ See my discussion of women petitioners in "Ladies of Quality: the role of women in elite families in seventeenth century England" (MA Thesis, University of Adelaide, 1991) pp. 23-4.

¹¹ These friends included her mother, the Dowager Countess of Derby and her sister, the Countess of Bridgewater.

¹² E(S)H to HEH, HA Corr., 14/4846, 21 September 1631.

and George were confident that she had not wasted her time. George, in particular, had been relieved that he had not had to speak as he said that he would not have known how to answer the Lord Treasurer's questions. Elizabeth also thought fit to tell her husband:

My Lord Tresoror expresst much Respect to mee and that any other Solicitor could not have advantaged you soe much. My Lord Privie Seale is of the same opinion and tould mee I behaved my selfe very well.¹³

While these comments had, no doubt, been relayed to Elizabeth as polite formalities, Elizabeth nonetheless used them as evidence of her ability to conduct herself in what was a man's world. However, Elizabeth also played the stereotypical womanly role of modest weakness when she thought it would produce results. On 8 December 1631 she thanked the Lord Treasurer for receiving her so kindly as her husband's cause "might easylye have perished in the hand of soe Weake an advocate as I am". But Elizabeth's modesty was nevertheless followed by a reminder to the Lord Treasurer of what he had promised and a request that he put a price on the loss of profits suffered by her husband.¹⁴

In June 1632 Elizabeth was still waiting for an answer to her request. She had spent much, if not all, these months in London at considerable risk to herself and her family. There were measles and smallpox in the town and if not for her business she would have been afraid to stay: "but I hope in God wee shall All scape it for my little family is very Carefull".¹⁵ The wedding of the Lord Treasurer's son delayed the result for several weeks

¹³ E(S)H to HEH, HA Corr., 14/4827, 28 November 1631. George Hastings was an attorney. Cope (ed.), *Prophetic Writings of Lady Eleanor Davies*, (Oxford and New York, 1995), p. 58.

¹⁴ E(S)H to the Lord Treasurer, HA Corr., 14/4848, 8 December 1631.

¹⁵ E(S)H to HEH, HA Corr., 14/4850, [c. 28 June] 1632?

and then Elizabeth became ill in July.¹⁶ Despite her illness she reported that the King had promised that if Sir Miles Hobart's estate fell to him then the earl should have recompense out of it. Elizabeth also conducted enquiries into Sir Miles Hobart's land so that she would be fully informed as to how useful it was likely to prove. These enquiries continued after she left London in around September 1632.

Although Elizabeth appeared to be achieving her objective, the Hastings' financial problems had made her stay in London particularly difficult. While Elizabeth was able to recover some of the family's goods that had been pawned earlier, she was also pursued for many old debts, forcing her to pay creditors a large part of the money put aside for her stay.¹⁷ Elizabeth recognised that lack of money could harm her husband's business, "but if it doe it is not my falte" and encouragingly added that she was confident the earl would receive recompense as the Lord Treasurer was her "very Noble frend".¹⁸ Although Elizabeth, like Lucy, had been an heiress, her wealth had not stopped the Hastings' struggle with debt which was a constant in their lives.

Elizabeth died in 1633 with this business incomplete, leaving her husband to pursue the matter, none too successfully. Success relied on someone personally pressuring the Privy Council to make a decision as Elizabeth had done for a considerable time. However, the earl was either not prepared, or not able, to do this himself. While he wrote in 1637 to the Earl of Manchester, the Lord Privy Seal, reminding him of Elizabeth's petition and the earlier promise of Sir Miles Hobart's lands, he was by this time preoccupied with the

¹⁶ E(S)H to HEH, HA Corr., 14/4852, 7 July 1632. See also E(S)H to HEH, 14/4851, [c. June] 1632?

¹⁷ E(S)H to Lady Corbett, HA Corr., 14/4845, 16 September 1631 and to HEH, 14/4846, 21 September 1631 and 14/4852, 7 July 1632.

¹⁸ E(S)H to HEH, HA Corr., 14/4852, 7 July 1632.

mustering of troops and with a suit in the Star Chamber against Sir William Fawnt.¹⁹ He could not provide the intense focus that such a compensation claim required. The public office which provided income and prestige also proved a distraction which prevented the earl from pursuing his personal affairs.

Elizabeth's role in this compensation claim demonstrates the intense activity that could be asked of married women in aristocratic families when the chance of financial benefit showed itself. Involvement in complex financial and legal matters was an inescapable feature of many of their lives. Elizabeth's role provided an important example to Lucy of the way in which wives assisted their husbands in business matters and of the importance of ensuring no opportunity for financial advancement was lost. Subsequent events showed that Lucy learned this lesson well. Elizabeth and her husband worked as a team, each performing the tasks best suited to them. While the earl focused on the county, Elizabeth focused on business in London and the Court, for which she seems to have been better fitted. Elizabeth left quite an impression on her husband. Four years after her death a second marriage was suggested to the fifth earl by his cousin, Sir William Brounker. The earl regarded the suggested marriage as "so great a match as nether my self or fortune deserves", but said that the grief for his late wife had left such an impression that he thought he would never marry unless he could recover from that loss.²⁰ Considering the earl's financial problems he was no doubt honest in recognising that his fortune did not deserve the match. His comments in regard to Elizabeth may therefore have been justification for his inability to wed again, even if he had wanted to. Nevertheless, the

¹⁹ HEH to the Earl of Manchester, HA Corr., 15/5547, 19 June 1637. See also HEH to Mr Attorney, 14/5532, 1632 and *CSPD*, Charles I, 1635-1636, p. 22, "Petition of Henry Earl of Huntingdon to the King" [1635?] and Charles I, 1637-1638, p. 54, [1637?].

²⁰ HEH to Sir William Brounker, Knt, HA Corr., 15/5547, 15 June 1637. This is one of a bundle of letters in this folder, all copies of letters sent out by the earl. See also Cogswell, *Home Divisions*, p. 203.

memory of a loved wife was considered sufficient reason not to marry and the death of a wife was widely acknowledged as an enduring loss.

Sir William Brounker was not alone in suggesting that the earl marry again. In August 1635 the dowager Countess of Derby advised her son-in-law to go “a wooing” and said that she would be glad to hear that he was “towards the Marriage of a good and rich wife” which would benefit both him and his children.²¹ Alice Derby was a strong-willed aristocratic woman who felt confident advising the earl in what would be best for his family. Despite the death of her daughter, the dowager Countess had a continuing connection to the Hastings through her grandchildren, in whom she took a keen interest.²² In this way the connections forged by marriage retained their impact for many years.

Women did not give up their influence readily and still found ways to exert it.

Significantly, marriage was, as ever, considered the pathway to success for an aristocratic family. However, due to circumstance or personal feeling or both, the fifth earl never married again.

The lack of surviving correspondence makes it difficult to ascertain how Elizabeth and Lucy’s relationship developed in the years prior to Elizabeth’s death. In the early years of Lucy’s marriage Lucy had tried to exert her independence and authority as a married woman who was still a child and it would have been useful to examine the way in which

²¹ Alice Derby to HEH, HA Corr., 15/2516, 25 August 1635. See also Cogswell, *Home Divisions*, p. 203.

²² The Dowager Countess of Derby was well acquainted with her grandchildren’s lives and circumstances. For example, when she heard that her granddaughter Elizabeth Calveley had been ill after giving birth she immediately sent her footman with a letter to enquire about her health. Alice Derby to HEH, HA Corr., 15/2516, 25 August 1635. The year before she had paid for the sweetmeats at her granddaughter’s wedding banquet. *HMC 78*, vol. 1, p. 376. The wedding was held at her home, Harefield. See HEH to HH(LL), 14/5533, 29 March 1634.

this relationship developed and how Lucy and Elizabeth worked together within the family. While the close relationship between the fifth earl and Elizabeth and Elizabeth's role in Hastings family finances served as an important example for Lucy, Lucy's experience in the Hastings family was also coloured by the Hastings' dispute with her own mother, Lady Eleanor Douglas. As this dispute continued, it created ill feeling between family members and threatened the Hastings' financial future.

As we have seen in the previous chapter, the marriage of Lucy Davies to Lord Hastings was meant to provide a significant financial benefit to the Hastings family. In reality this benefit was difficult to realise as Lucy's mother, Eleanor, did not give up her claim to Englefield and Pirton and, with her second husband Sir Archibald Douglas, continued this battle into the 1640s.²³ Marriage was a risky strategy because the new connections it brought into the family were not always beneficial. Indeed, new family members could be detrimental and destabilising if their objectives differed from those of the family to which they had become allied. The consequences of these struggles were not only financial. They affected the way personal relationships developed within the family and how women experienced marriage.

In the early years of Lucy's marriage she was caught in the middle of the conflict between her mother and her husband. In early 1629, for example, Lady Eleanor expressed her dissatisfaction at the behaviour of Lucy's husband, telling Lucy that Ferdinando had scorned her efforts to deal well with him. Although Eleanor did not blame Lucy, she hoped in time that Ferdinando would take Lucy's advice rather than the advice he was

²³ See E(T)D to L(D)H, HA Corr., 17/2338, 14 May 1643; 17/2339, 3 June 1643 and 17/2340, 13? September 1643. See Cope, *Handmaid*, pp. 45-9.

currently receiving.²⁴ While Lucy's reaction has not survived, her mother's words cannot have been easy for her. In reassuring Lucy that she did not blame her Eleanor appears to have recognised that she could divide Lucy's loyalties and prompt feelings of guilt. Eleanor's attitude also encouraged her daughter to question Ferdinando's actions, hoping that she could change them. Her comments acknowledged the influence a wife could exert over her husband.

Despite Lady Eleanor's comments there is no evidence that her dispute with Ferdinando altered Ferdinando's feelings for Lucy. In fact, Lucy and Ferdinando's emotional attachment to each other is vividly displayed in a letter Ferdinando sent to Lucy during one of his absences around 1630. Among many affectionate expressions Ferdinando added, in a phrase reminiscent of their early courtship; "since the tyme I left you I cannot deneye but that I have a body but as for my hart it dwels with you wheare someever I am" and

when I thincke how solatary you are it adds more sadness to my minde I beshee [beseech?] you beleive what I have saide proseedes from the trew affection my hart beares to you who I protest loves you above all things in the wourld.²⁵

At the bottom of the letter is one sentence "the causs is gonn against mee". This probably referred to his case against Lady Eleanor and her husband, Sir Archibald Douglas, which, in 1630, after petitions by Lucy and Ferdinando, was referred to the Privy Council for

²⁴ E(T)D to L(D)H, HA Corr., 13/2333, 26 January 1628/29. Cope also refers to this letter, highlighting Eleanor's recognition of Lucy's difficult situation and her blaming the Countess of Huntingdon. (*Handmaid*, pp. 45-6). The section of the letter dealing with Ferdinando taking Lucy's advice is difficult to read. However, Margaret Ezell's transcription in *Patriarch's Wife* continues: "I know his Mother bad him: but the time will bee, I hope when hee shall find your advice much the better". (p. 23)

²⁵ FEH to L(D)H, HA Corr., 13/4864, [c.1630].

adjudication.²⁶ Although the details of this case are unclear Ferdinando's letter conveys his deep love for his wife and his feelings of depression as he longs to be reunited with her.

The poor relations between the Hastings and Lady Eleanor worsened with the trial and execution of Eleanor's brother, Mervin, Earl of Castlehaven, in 1631 for sodomy and for organising the rape of his wife by a servant.²⁷ His wife Anne, was one of the three daughters of the Earl of Derby, and the sister of Ferdinando's mother, Elizabeth. In a publication of 1633 entitled *Woe to the House*, Eleanor revealed her hatred for the Derby family by predicting that judgement would fall on them. She also made an anagram of Elizabeth's name as "That Jezebel Slain".²⁸ Published in the same year as Elizabeth's death, this must have further antagonised and embarrassed the Hastings family. Eleanor's books were seized later that year and burned, the Court of High Commission fined her £3,000, and she was imprisoned in the Gatehouse. Her release in 1635 was due to Lucy's petitioning and payment of £500.²⁹ Despite Lucy's position as Lady Hastings she was prepared to support her mother financially, even in the face of the embarrassment her mother had caused her in-laws. Lucy's continuing loyalty to her mother demonstrates that on her marriage she did not change families from Davies to Hastings but maintained her membership of, and loyalty to, both.³⁰

²⁶ Great Britain (?) to Lord Justices of Ireland, HA Corr., 13/13857, 17 June 1630. Although somewhat unclear this letter is most likely written by the Privy Council.

²⁷ See Cynthia B. Herrup, *A house in gross disorder: Sex, law, and the 2nd earl of Castlehaven* (Oxford, 1999). Sir Archibald Douglas tried to save the Earl of Castlehaven by discrediting the witnesses who had testified against him. *CSPD*, Charles I, 1631-1633, p. 38. See also Cope, *Handmaid*, pp. 53-6.

²⁸ Cope (ed.), *Prophetic Writings*, pp. 57-8. Anne Stanley's anagram was "A lye satann". George Hastings was also mentioned in the prophecy.

²⁹ Cope, *Handmaid*, p. 79. Fraser, *Weaker Vessel*, pp. 173-9. *CSPD*, Charles I, 1633-1634, pp. 260-1 and 480.

³⁰ Eleanor published a blessing to Lucy in which she stated that Lucy "so punctually have discharged that duty of the first commandment with promise, in so much and such dishonour endured, have bene your mothers Copartner, even You, her alone and sole support under the Almighty". "*From the Lady Eleanor Her*

Lucy and Ferdinando became largely responsible for Eleanor after her husband, Sir Archibald Douglas suffered in 1631 a seizure which incapacitated him until his death in 1644.³¹ In particular, they had to decide where Eleanor should go after her release from the Gatehouse and in 1635 they gave orders for Lady Eleanor to be brought to Donnington to stay. Ferdinando (no doubt for his wife's sake) was, by now, willing to be reconciled to Eleanor. However, other family members were not so accommodating. When Lady Alice Hastings heard of Lady Eleanor's proposed stay she begged her father to prevent it. Lady Alice was passionate about the memory of her mother and the honour of her parents and believed it would injure her father's honour if Eleanor was supported by him on his estate. Alice believed that "my sister Hastingses [Lucy] have drawne your lordship in" and talked about the "dishonours and abuses" Eleanor had laid on Alice's mother and father which made her heart "to Gush out teares". Alice did not want so "wretched a creature abhorred of all" to possess the place her mother had. Alice also mentioned her mother's friends and reminded her father that he had promised Alice's grandmother that he would never allow Lady Eleanor to stay.³²

Alice's letter to her father was written from Harefield where Alice was making an extended visit at the home of her grandmother and Elizabeth's mother, the dowager Countess of Derby.³³ The Countess' influence is shown in a subsequent letter Alice sent

Blessing to her Beloved daughter the Right Honorable Lucy, Countesse of Huntingdon", (London, 1644), p. 38. See also Cope (ed.), *Prophetic Writings*, pp. 115-29.

³¹ Cope states that Douglas' illness appeared to be a "mental or nervous disability". (*Handmaid*, p. 56)

³² Alice Hastings to HEH, HA Corr., 15/1470, 12 July 1635. Just before this letter was written Lucy and Ferdinando had moved from Ashby to Donnington to live with the fifth earl. (Cope, *Handmaid*, p. 197, fn 96). See discussion of Lady Alice's actions in Cope, *Handmaid*, pp. 79-80 and Cogswell, *Home Divisions*, p. 205.

³³ Alice and her grandmother enjoyed a close relationship. After the Countess of Derby's death a poem to her memory by Robert Codrington was dedicated to Lady Alice Hastings, "her most vertuous and lamenting grandchild". *HMC* 78, vol. 4, pp. 341-2.

her father on 1 August 1635, after the fifth earl had presumably reassured Alice and her grandmother that Lady Eleanor would not stay at Donnington. Alice informed the earl of their pleasure at receiving his letter and that her grandmother realised it had been the earl's speedy order which had prevented Eleanor's visit. The letter reads as though the Countess was sending her approval of his actions and that the earl had written specifically with her approval in mind.³⁴ Women often united and exerted considerable influence in protecting the memory of their female relatives.³⁵ Female honour was not confined to sexual constancy. It involved honesty, fair dealing, motherhood and loyalty. Women also mobilised influential friends, as Lady Alice did with Lady Derby, who could be used to sway male decision making. Alice also clearly recognised Lucy's influence over the fifth and sixth earls, believing it was Lucy's influence which had led to the offer being made. However, it was important for both Alice and her grandmother that the fifth earl should not give way in this matter, even if this meant a dispute with Lucy and Ferdinando. The hostility between Lady Eleanor and the Hastings family had repercussions for many family relationships, including Lucy's relationship with her sister-in-law Lady Alice, her relationship with her husband and her husband's with his father and sister.

In December 1636, Eleanor was committed to Bedlam after staging a protest at Lichfield Cathedral.³⁶ In 1638 she was moved to the Tower of London and then finally released in September 1640 into the custody of Lucy and Ferdinando, the latter being ordered by the Privy Council to "prevent and keep" Lady Eleanor from "any future scandal".³⁷ Her

³⁴ Alice Hastings to HEH, HA Corr., 15/1471, 1 August 1635.

³⁵ Lucy felt the same about her own mother. Her attempts to protect her mother's memory are discussed in later chapters.

³⁶ Cope, *Handmaid*, pp. 83-95. *CSPD*, Charles I, 1637-1638, p. 219.

³⁷ Privy Council, G.B. to FEH, HA Corr., 16/4276, 7 September 1640. Also, *CSPD*, Charles I, 1640-1641, p. 21. In 1642 she was still fighting charges of madness. See E(T)D to Sir James Sibald, 16/2344, 30 April

activities and imprisonment greatly harmed her attempts to recover Pirton and Englefield. After regaining possession of both properties in the early 1630s she lost them again when imprisoned and had to begin the fight for them once more.³⁸ During the early 1640s she “entered a petition for Englefeild in the Higher House” and asked Lucy for her opinion on the matter.³⁹ Lucy also started proceedings to try to obtain Pirton for her mother who had lost the estate to Francis Poulton when Sir Archibald had failed to make mortgage payments while Eleanor was imprisoned in Bedlam. Lucy petitioned a number of times during 1642 but events were leading the country to Civil War and parliament was distracted by other matters.⁴⁰ Legal action concerning Pirton and Englefield continued until Eleanor’s death in 1652, as did her publications and prophecies. Lucy and Ferdinando continued to visit and correspond with Eleanor who suffered imprisonment at least twice more.⁴¹

Lady Eleanor’s dedication to prophecy made her battle with the Hastings an unusual one as it was not confined to purely financial matters. Eleanor used prophecy as a weapon against those she saw as a threat. It is testimony to Lucy’s diplomatic skills, her understanding and her patience that she managed to juggle the needs of both her mother and her husband during these years. Lucy was clearly prepared to defend her mother’s rights and to work

1642. The index to the correspondence lists the writer of this letter as Robert Douglas but Esther Cope notes in the folder that the writer is clearly Lady Eleanor. Ferdinando’s relationship with Eleanor had greatly improved as his support here demonstrates. In June 1643 Eleanor sent him her love and thanks. E(T)D to L(D)H, HA Corr., 17/2339, 3 June 1643.

³⁸ Cope, *Handmaid*, pp. 48-9.

³⁹ E(T)D to Lucy, HA Corr., 17/2338, 14 May 1643.

⁴⁰ For an account of Lucy’s petitioning and the actions taken to recover Pirton see Cope, *Handmaid*, pp. 102-6. In June 1643 Lucy sent Eleanor a signed petition. E(T)D to L(D)H, HA Corr., 17/2339, 3 June 1643.

⁴¹ *Biographical Dictionary*, vol. 1, p. 216. Eleanor left no will and Lucy was given authority by Cromwell to administer her goods. HAP20/1, “Letters of administration to Lucy Countess of Huntingdon of her mother Eleanor Douglass of Purtons effects”, 13 February 1654/55. While the date given at the front of the document is 13 February 1654/55, the date within the document is 13 February 1652/53.

with her to achieve her aims and Ferdinando appears to have been willing to compromise, especially after the death of his own mother.⁴² Lucy's abilities and devotion to her husband enabled her to weather the storm, and, more importantly perhaps, enabled the Hastings to weather it too.

During the 1630s while the disputes with Lady Eleanor were taking place, Ferdinando was increasingly involved in public life. This was partly the natural consequence of his reaching the age when such involvement was expected of a nobleman's son and partly due to his father's desire to absent himself from London and the Court. On 9 February 1628/29, for example, the fifth earl requested that the Earl of Manchester ask the King to spare his attendance at parliament until after Easter because illness and cold weather prevented him attending.⁴³ However, Ferdinando attended this parliament, travelling to London and sending his wife gloves, gossip and parliamentary news.⁴⁴ In 1634 when the King planned to visit Leicester, the fifth earl used illness to excuse his absence from waiting on the King, heading off to Bath to treat his gout.⁴⁵

⁴² Cope argues that there was tension between Ferdinando and Eleanor and that Lucy dealt with realities, while Ferdinando "tended to disregard them". Cope also comments on Lucy's ability to "steer a course in which she could satisfy Ferdinando's expectations of his wife and Lady Eleanor's of her daughter without becoming a party to their disputes" (*Handmaid*, pp. 102-3). Lucy's close relationship with both her husband and her mother certainly supports Cope's view.

⁴³ HEH to the Earl of Manchester, HA Corr., 13/5524, 9 February 1628/29.

⁴⁴ FEH to L(D)H, HA Corr., 13/4862, [c.14 February] 1628/29 and to HEH, 13/4863, [March?] [c.1629]. He was MP for County Leicester. *GEC*, vol. 6, p. 658.

⁴⁵ HEH to the Earl of Pembroke, HA Corr., 14/5536, 14 August 1634.

The fifth earl's reluctance to attend the King and the Court may have been in large measure due to his financial circumstances.⁴⁶ However, he gradually improved his position during the late 1630s, helped greatly by the groundwork laid by his wife, who had established important connections with the government during her months spent lobbying.⁴⁷ For instance, in early 1640 the earl finally received compensation for Leicestershire Forest. Yet, while the earl began to again play a more active part in London and at court at this time, the younger generation, particularly Ferdinando, took an increasingly important role in public life and on 27 December 1638 Ferdinando was appointed Lord Lieutenant of both Leicestershire and Rutland, jointly with his father.⁴⁸

The Civil War was a defining event for the Hastings and conditioned all their subsequent experience and outlook. Trouble started early with the defeat of both Hastings candidates in the 1640 elections for the Short Parliament. The situation failed to improve in the Long Parliament and as a result of the Militia Bill the earl lost the Lord Lieutenancies of Leicestershire and Rutland to the Earl of Stamford and Earl of Exeter respectively. He also saw the Star Chamber judgement against Sir William Fawnt overturned. The earl's success had depended on his usefulness to the Crown and he had become closely

⁴⁶ The fifth earl advised his son not to spend time at Court. "I should rather wish thee to spend the greatest part of thy life in the country than to live in this glittering misery". "Directions of Henry, fifth Earl of Huntingdon", in *HMC 78*, vol. 4, p. 333. My thanks to Dr Helen Payne for directing my attention to this comment. See also the earl's letter to his second son, Henry, HA Corr., 12/5515, 23 January 1626/27.

⁴⁷ Cogswell, *Home Divisions*, p. 211: "With her death, the countess left behind an invaluable legacy, for she had re-established personal links between Donnington Park and Whitehall."

⁴⁸ J. C. Sainty, *Lieutenants of Counties, 1585-1642*, Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, Special Supplement no. 8, May 1970 (London, 1970), pp. 26, 30. See references in *CSPD*, Charles I, 1640, pp. 146, 174, 205-6 and 340.

associated with it and, in particular, with Personal Rule.⁴⁹ His efficacy in collecting levies had made him enemies. To make matters worse, the Hastings' possession of their Irish lands was threatened by the 1641 Irish rebellion.

The fifth earl, unwell and defeated, played little active part in the war which followed. Although he was among the first to join the King at York, he subsequently retired to Donnington and then Ashby in 1643, where he remained until his death later that year. It was the decisions and actions of Ferdinando, Lucy and Henry which shaped the way the Hastings dealt with the Civil War and its tribulations. As with many families, individual family members reacted to the war differently, thus creating conflict and schism. For Lucy and Ferdinando the Civil War was a disruptive, distressing time, even more so because in 1643 they came fully into their responsibilities. With the death of his father, Ferdinando, as sixth Earl of Huntingdon, was now responsible for ensuring the preservation of the Hastings' lands and titles for the next generation. This was Ferdinando's and Lucy's challenge through the 1640s and 1650s, the most destabilising period of the century.

Lucy and Ferdinando's task was not made any easier by the behaviour of other Hastings family members. Ferdinando's brother, Henry Hastings, was a militant Royalist from the very beginning of the war. He raised the Commission of Array for the King in 1642 and attempted to seize powder and arms from the Lord Lieutenant of Leicestershire, the Earl of Stamford. Using colliers from the family mines in Derbyshire, Henry Hastings marched on these stores, arming the miners and threatening the Earl of Stamford's life.⁵⁰ On 30

⁴⁹ See Cogswell, *Home Divisions*, pp. 263-72, 278-81. The Earl of Stamford was the head of the Grey family and hence his Lord Lieutenancy raised old local, Leicestershire rivalries. Stamford had wanted to be Joint Lord Lieutenant with the Earl of Huntingdon in 1638 but this position was given to Lord Hastings. (*Home Divisions*, p. 260).

⁵⁰ *CJ*, vol. 2, 27 June 1642, p. 641. The Commission of Array was pronounced illegal by Parliament. See also 18 June 1642, pp. 631-32; 28 June 1642, p. 643 and 22 August 1642, p. 732.

June 1642 an impeachment was drawn against him for “high Misdemeanors”.⁵¹ News then reached parliament on 1 July 1642 that Henry Hastings had been proclaimed Sheriff in Leicestershire, accompanied by armed men.⁵² He continued to take the offensive in Leicestershire, escaping arrest when parliament sent messengers to capture him.⁵³ On 13 August it was resolved that Henry Hastings should be accused of High Treason “for actual levying War against the King and Kingdom”.⁵⁴

While this was happening, Ferdinando was in the House of Lords and had to listen to the debates and news concerning the actions of his brother.⁵⁵ In contrast to his father and brother Ferdinando supported parliament and was consequently trusted enough to sit on various committees.⁵⁶ However, Henry Hastings’ actions forced the family into a position from which it was difficult, if not impossible, to withdraw. Ferdinando could only have avoided suspicion by throwing himself wholeheartedly behind parliament, which he failed to do. As a colonel in the Parliamentary army, he was present at the Battle of Edgehill in October 1642 but left early in the day and fled to London. He appears to have panicked

⁵¹ *CJ*, vol. 2, 30 June 1642, p. 645. On 18 June 1642 Henry Hastings was declared a delinquent, pp. 631-32. See also, 6 July 1642, p. 656 and 7 July 1642; p. 658. See also HPARL3/32, 8 July 1642 for impeachment and order for Hastings’ appearance before the Lords in parliament. [This is incorrectly listed as “Account of impeachment proceedings against Henry Hastings, 5th Earl of Huntingdon and 3 others”.]

⁵² *CJ*, vol. 2, 1 July 1642, p. 646. Parliament faced the difficulty that the men it placed in authority were being proclaimed traitors by the King. It had to ensure that these men were confident that they would suffer no repercussions. See 7 July 1642, p. 658 and in particular 13 August 1642, p. 719 where parliament declares that all who assist the King are traitors.

⁵³ *CJ*, vol. 2, 4, 5 and 6 July 1642, pp. 649-55. See also 13 July 1642, p. 670 which indicates that Walter Hastings was also involved. See also *The History and Description of Ashby-de-la-Zouch, with excursions in the neighbourhood*, (London, 1852), pp. 33-4 for a brief account. See also HPARL3/32, 8 July 1642.

⁵⁴ *CJ*, vol. 2, 13 August 1642, p. 718. See also, 30 August 1642, p. 745.

⁵⁵ See Cogswell, *Home Divisions*, p. 283. Also *CJ*, vol. 2 shows that the issue was carried to the Lords a number of times. See for example, 6 July 1642, p. 656; 7 July 1642, p. 658 and 8 July 1642, pp. 661-62. Ferdinando entered the House of Lords in November 1640. *LJ*, vol. 4, p. 95. He was summoned in his father’s Barony. *GEC*, vol. 6, pp. 658-9.

⁵⁶ Ferdinando was named on several committees. He had been made Lord Lieutenant of Westmorland in March 1642. See Cogswell, *Home Divisions*, pp. 282 and 283.

and, entering the House of Commons, announced that the Parliamentary cause had been lost.⁵⁷ Consequently, Ferdinando had to apologise to the Earl of Essex for leaving the army without taking leave. While assuring the earl of his firm affection to the Parliamentary cause, he argued that he should be withdrawn from military service.⁵⁸ None of this can have inspired parliamentary leaders with confidence in Ferdinando's intentions.

Not long after the battle of Edgehill, Ferdinando went to live at Donnington Park. In 1643, after the death of his father, Ferdinando was made a prisoner by the parliamentary army and taken to Nottingham.⁵⁹ He was eventually released and went to Ashby which, as a garrison, was able to provide him with greater safety. The Parliamentary army seized livestock from the Hastings and used suspicion of Ferdinando as an excuse not to return it. Henry Ireton, the future Commissary General believed that Ferdinando and Lucy were under the power of their brother and until Henry Hastings had amended his stance Ireton was not going to change his mind.⁶⁰ The lack of trust generated by Ferdinando's attempts to accommodate his conflicting loyalties cut both ways. In 1644 a Royalist colleague, Sir

⁵⁷ For an account see *Clarendon*, vol. 2, book 6, 101, p. 377: "...the lord Hastings, who had a command of horse in the service, entered the House with frightened and ghastly looks, and positively declared all to be lost, against whatsoever they believed or flattered themselves with. And though it was evident enough that he had run away from the beginning, and only lost his way thither, most men looked upon him as the last messenger, and even shut their ears against any possible comfort".

⁵⁸ FEH to the Earl of Essex, HA Corr., 16/4865, 3 November 1642. Ferdinando is listed as a parliamentary officer in a troop of horse in *Army Lists*, p. 49. In *LJ*, vol. 5, 19 November 1642, p. 451 Ferdinando's absence from the House of Lords for a month is excused. See also Cogswell, *Home Divisions*, p. 290.

⁵⁹ HAP18/17, "Extracts from the Journals of the House of Lords to prove the sitting of Ferdinando 6th Earl of Huntingdon", 4 November 1645. *LJ*, vol. 7, 4 November 1645, p. 675. Ferdinando's petition claims that he was at Donnington Park when he was captured by Captain Hotham's soldiers and taken to Nottingham. Sir John Hotham was a captain in the parliamentary army and was executed with his son in 1645 for secretly corresponding with royalists. *Army Lists*, p. 51. See also Cogswell, *Home Divisions*, p. 290. It is unclear why Ferdinando was captured.

⁶⁰ Henry Ireton to L(D)H, HA Corr., 16/7009, 12 June [c.1642]. However he did promise Lucy that he would return her son's grey horse. Ireton is probably referring to Lucy's son Henry, born in 1630. Lucy and Ferdinando's children are discussed later in this chapter.

Arthur Gorges told Henry Hastings that it was “much wondered” that his brother had not come to Oxford.⁶¹ Clearly the royalists were also suspicious of Ferdinando’s intentions.⁶²

In contrast to the prevarication of his older brother, Henry Hastings fortified Ashby-de-la-Zouch in the latter part of 1642 and actively promoted the Royalist cause in Leicestershire, Staffordshire and Derbyshire.⁶³ In 1643 he was rewarded for his loyalty when Charles I created him Baron Loughborough.⁶⁴ Early in 1644 Ferdinando clearly considered travelling to the Royalist headquarters at Oxford, sparking a serious difference of opinion between Lucy and Loughborough.⁶⁵ Lucy told Loughborough that if Ferdinando went to Oxford he would endanger himself, his estate and all who depended upon him. Lucy refused to give Loughborough reasons for her opinion, saying that she knew he would not agree with them, but said that she had advised Ferdinando to “hold a middle course”.

Loughborough appears to have been trying to influence his brother to support the king

⁶¹ Sir Arthur Gorges to HH(LL), HA Corr., 18/4081, 16 February 1643/4. Oxford was the headquarters of King Charles I during the war.

⁶² Cogswell describes Ferdinando’s position thus: “Both sides, needless to say, had trouble accepting the idea of a royalist garrison protecting a moderate parliamentarian from Parliament” and “the oddities of his career made it increasingly hard to know where to place him”. (*Home Divisions*, p. 291) Roy Sherwood also points out that both sides wanted to control the Midlands which made neutrality largely unsuccessful: “it was assumed by both sides that those who did not show positive signs of supporting their party must be opposed to it”. (*The Civil War in the Midlands, 1642-1651*, (Stroud, 1974, 1992) p. 29). See Barbara Donagan, “Family and Misfortune in the English Civil War: The Sad Case of Edward Pitt” *Huntington Library Quarterly*, vol. 61, no. 2, pp. 226, 237-8 and Broad, “Gentry Finances and the Civil War” *Economic History Review*, p. 190 for the difficulties faced by those attempting neutrality.

⁶³ See *Clarendon*, vol. 2, book 6, 275, pp. 473-4. Clarendon predictably speaks glowingly of Henry Hastings, saying that, although Hastings was only a younger son, he supported “his decaying family” by his personal reputation and brought power to the Royalist cause. Clarendon also states that Hastings had many skirmishes with Lord Grey, “the King’s service being the more advanced there by the notable animosities between the two families of Huntingdon and Stamford, between whom the country was divided passionately enough, without any other quarrel. And now the sons fought the public quarrel with their private spirit and indignation.” Sherwood argues that for the Grey and Hastings families, “the Rebellion was, therefore, at one level, simply a further stage in the long drawn-out battle for local domination”. (*Civil War in the Midlands*, p. 25.)

⁶⁴ Martyn Bennett, ‘Hastings, Henry, Baron Loughborough (1610-1667), *ODNB*, [<http://www.Oxforddnb.com/view/article/12576>, accessed 8 October 2004]. See also [James Compton, third earl of] Northampton to HH(LL), HA Corr., 18/1575, 4 January 1643/44. “I have not till this hower been blest with an opportunitie to congratulate your new title whiche the King so deservedly hath heaped upon you”.

publicly, while Lucy favoured a more cautious approach, knowing that her family (which now comprised several children) depended on the survival of both her husband and his estate. Indeed, Lucy's ability to stand up to her brother-in-law should not be overlooked. Loughborough's toughness and enthusiasm earned him the name "Rob-carrier" for the way he robbed the carriers heading north, and historians have viewed him as energetic and vigorous at the least and at the worst harsh and fanatical.⁶⁶ There was no middle ground for Loughborough and he was unlikely to be tolerant of views which differed from his own. Lucy's readiness to oppose her brother-in-law demonstrates both her confidence in her own judgement and her priorities during this crisis.

Despite trying to maintain ties with parliament, Ferdinando's estates were eventually sequestrated, sometime between his father's death in 1643 and November 1645 when he petitioned for their return.⁶⁷ In his petition Ferdinando emphasised his attendance on parliament and his lack of active service in the Royalist cause, claiming that he had attended the parliament until a year after the loss of his Irish estates in 1641. He had then settled at Donnington Park, moving to Ashby only to preserve his own safety after his imprisonment at Nottingham. Ferdinando also emphasised that he had not taken up arms nor gone to Oxford, although urged to go there several times. In addition to arguing his loyalty, Ferdinando also detailed his losses, which included nearly £1,000 in Ireland, the harm done by military action to his English lands and the loss of Ashby. He claimed that his entire estate was worth less than £900 a year and that he had debts of £1,000 and seven children to provide for. The Leicestershire Committee for Compounding must have found

⁶⁵ L(D)H to HH(LL), HA Corr., 16/5740, February 12, [c.1643/4]. See also Cogswell, *Home Divisions*, p. 291.

⁶⁶ *DNB*, vol. 25, p. 129. Cogswell, *Home Divisions*, p. 290. Sherwood states that "the very name Hastings was synonymous with terror and rapine" (*Civil War in the Midlands*, p. 152).

⁶⁷ See HAP18/17 and *LJ*, vol. 7, 4 November 1645, p. 675 for Ferdinando's petition.

these arguments compelling as on 29 January 1645/46 it announced that Ferdinando had compounded for his sequestrated estate which should therefore be restored to him.⁶⁸

Ferdinando's decision not to go to Oxford became one of his strongest arguments for the return of his lands demonstrating that Lucy's advice had been well founded.⁶⁹ With their lands restored to them, Lucy and Ferdinando could now begin to plan their recovery.

Recovery in the near future would be difficult to achieve. In February 1646, Loughborough finally surrendered the castle of Ashby-de-la-Zouch to Parliament. Under the Articles of Agreement which he signed on 28 February, Ashby was to be slighted and given over to Ferdinando within three months.⁷⁰ Loughborough was given permission to go into exile, which he did in May, remaining so until his return in the second Civil War in 1648. Ashby was used as a garrison by parliament during this war, which saw the defeat of the Scots and Royalists and Loughborough's imprisonment at Windsor.⁷¹ Finally, in November 1648, Ashby was completely demolished by order of a House of Commons

⁶⁸ HAP19/5, 29 January 1645/46. See also HAP19/4, 2 December 1645 and *LJ*, vol. 7, 13 September 1645, p. 579 and 15 September 1645, p. 581. The freeing of an estate from sequestration did not necessarily rest with the delinquent's petition alone. Creditors often petitioned to free the lands of delinquents so they could claim against them, which was impossible while the lands were in the hands of the state. From 1649 to 1652 Ferdinando was one such claimant on the estate of Sir George Morton. *CPCC*, 1643-1660, Cases, January 1654-December 1659, pp. 3273-75. The Hastings were also required under this type of proceeding to pay money they owed. On 27 April 1653 Loughborough and Sir Hugh Calverley, were ordered to pay £100 towards a debt. (*CPCC*, 1643-1660, Cases, 1643-1646, p. 861). Sir Hugh Calverley was Loughborough's brother-in-law; he had married Loughborough's sister Elizabeth.

⁶⁹ Cogswell states that Ferdinando visited Oxford briefly in early 1644 and cites a document he signed while there. (*Home Divisions*, p. 291) I have not had the opportunity to view this document. Ferdinando may have visited once and subsequently refused to attend, although his petition strongly suggests he was never there.

⁷⁰ *History and Description of Ashby-de-la-Zouch*, pp. 39-41. See also *CPCC*, 1643-1660, General Proceedings, p. 111 and *CSPD*, Charles I, 1645-1647, pp. 342, 352-3, 356-7 and 430. As Cogswell points out, the fact that Ashby was made over to Ferdinando shows that Ferdinando had retained some parliamentary credentials. (*Home Divisions*, p. 291). The agreements stated that Loughborough's and Ferdinando's sequestrations would be removed once the slighting had taken place. Perhaps Ferdinando's estates would not be freed until this had been done, despite the earlier decision of the Leicestershire Committee for Compounding. To slight a castle was to destroy or damage it so that it could no longer be used militarily.

⁷¹ *History and Description of Ashby-de-la-Zouch*, p. 41. It was in the charge of Lord Grey of Groby in August 1648. See also Cogswell, *Home Divisions*, p. 290.

committee.⁷² In a compensation claim for the destruction of the castle, Ferdinando claimed that it was the “onely convenient Mansion of the said Earle of Huntingdon and standing monument of his worthy Ancesters”.⁷³ It was important as a visible symbol of the Hastings’ power and stability. Lucy appeared to understand the importance of such a symbol and the difficulty in replacing it. While Ferdinando agreed to the destruction of Ashby, it was not without some protest from Lucy, who advised him not to pull down the tower before he had received compensation.⁷⁴ In his compensation claim, the earl emphasised the losses he had suffered in England and Ireland in both wars, including the spoiling of his land around Ashby, the troubles to his tenants and the fall in rent. The Articles had allowed for the slighting of the house, he argued, not its destruction, and therefore compensation should be given. It is unclear whether any compensation was forthcoming but this argument, while directed to a certain end, gives a vivid impression of the loss suffered by Lucy and Ferdinando and the disruption to their livelihood.⁷⁵

In 1648, therefore, the family had never been in more serious trouble, its financial problems enormous and its political fortunes at their lowest ebb. Lord Loughborough was imprisoned at Windsor and facing banishment from England, Ashby-de-la-Zouch castle was destroyed and debts were piling up.⁷⁶ Ferdinando’s creditors were so troublesome that he petitioned parliament that “divers of his Creditors doe commence suites at law against

⁷² *History and Description of Ashby-de-la-Zouch*, pp. 41-2. See also the Committee for Compounding (Leicester?) to FEH, HA Corr., 19/8530, 12 May 1648.

⁷³ HAP19/7, “Case involving Ferdinando Earl of Huntingdon concerning reparation for the demolition of Ashby Towers” 1648.

⁷⁴ L(D)H to FEH, HA Corr., 19/5745, >1650. See also Cogswell concerning Lucy’s hard lobbying to prevent the destruction of Ashby. (*Home Divisions*, p. 290.)

⁷⁵ Cogswell says that the compensation request met with a “cold response”. (*Home Divisions*, p. 290)

⁷⁶ On 10 November 1648 Loughborough was banished by the House of Commons. This was revoked on 13 December 1648 as “destructive to the Peace and Quiet of the Kingdom, and derogatory to the Justice of the Kingdom”. *CJ*, vol. 6, 10 November 1648, pp. 72-3 and 13 December 1648, p. 96.

him contrary to the rightes and priviledges of the Peeres of this Realme”. Parliament subsequently issued an order on 26 November 1647 that Ferdinando should enjoy the privilege of parliament and that all suits against him should be stopped until the House decided what action to take.⁷⁷

By this time, Lucy and Ferdinando had a large family to support. During the period 1628 to 1644 Lucy gave birth to six daughters and three sons.⁷⁸ Her first child, Alice, was born in October 1629, making Lucy sixteen years of age when she began childbearing.⁷⁹ By the end of 1647 Lucy and Ferdinando had only one son, Henry, then about seventeen years of age, and five daughters still living. Lucy and Ferdinando’s troubles at this time were intensified by their concern to provide for their children, particularly their daughters, and during this period they worked as a team to try to solve their financial difficulties.

However, over the next few years Lucy would be called upon to take over the traditional male role as the position of her husband and brother-in-law worsened, demonstrating how a woman’s relationship with her husband could change with circumstances. Lucy’s experience of marriage enabled her to take charge when required. Her experiences in the late 1640s and early 1650s helped to prepare her for her later years as a widow and head of the family.

⁷⁷ *LJ*, vol. 9, 26 November 1647, p. 543. HPARL3/33, “Account of a grant of privilege of Parliament to Ferdinando Hastings, sixth Earl of Huntingdon absolving him from creditors’ lawsuits”.

⁷⁸ HAP19/2, “Notes concerning the English Earls in order of Creation”, 1644. This document lists Lucy and Ferdinando’s children: Henry, Lord Hastings (dead), John, second son (died young), Ferdinando (dead), Alice, eldest daughter (died young), Elianor, Elizabeth, second daughter, Lucy, Mary and Christian, all unmarried. The references to the deaths of Henry and Ferdinando Hastings appear to have been added at a later date.

⁷⁹ Sir Henry Skipwith, first baronet to FEH, HA Corr., 13/10883, 29 October 1629. Sir Henry expresses his wish to hear Lucy was delivered of “what God had pleased to enrich yow”. Alice is listed as Lucy and Ferdinando’s eldest daughter in HAP19/2. Alice’s grandmother, Lady Eleanor Douglas asked Lucy to “remember my blessing to your little Daughter” and advised that she keep the “little one” warm in the winter with woollen coats. E(T)D to L(D)H. HA Corr., 13/2334, 7 December 1629.

Lucy and Ferdinando used a number of methods to try to alleviate the worst of their troubles and ensure the family's survival. Their son, Henry, was of marriageable age and hence their first plan focused on his marriage. In February 1648, Ferdinando rented a house in Covent Garden in order to marry off Henry and pay the Hastings' debts: the two objectives were clearly linked.⁸⁰ However, negotiations for the marriage had to be conducted against a backdrop of great political instability, including the second Civil War and Pride's Purge. In addition, Ferdinando had to stave off the demands of his creditors and was restricted in his movements by the authorities.⁸¹ In short, there were considerable hurdles in the way of a successful match but Lucy and Ferdinando still counted on their son's marriage to solve their financial difficulties.

The marriage that Lucy and Ferdinando planned for Henry was to a daughter of Sir Theodore Mayerne, a wealthy physician.⁸² Despite the Hastings' problems, Sir Theodore appeared to like Henry and was willing for the marriage to proceed.⁸³ Ferdinando told Lucy that he wanted the match arranged as soon as possible and his debts discharged, taking care to tell her that he would not blame her for any conditions she saw fit to make in the match and thanking her for the trouble she had already taken. Such comments display Ferdinando's eagerness for the match and Lucy's role in trying to bring it about.

Ferdinando also described the financial settlement he hoped to achieve, which would

⁸⁰ Richard Alport to Sir Hugh Calveley, HA Corr., 19/116, 22 February 1647/8.

⁸¹ During the second Civil War an ordinance of 16 June 1648 was passed to keep "papists" and delinquents from the lines of communication for a distance of twenty miles. *CJ*, vol. 5, 16 June 1648, p. 602. Ferdinando consequently had to petition the House of Commons on 22 June 1648 for 10 days liberty of residence. *CJ*, vol. 5, 22 June 1648, p. 610.

⁸² Cope. *Handmaid*, p. 146.

⁸³ L(D)H to FEH, HA Corr., 19/5742, 29 January [1648/9].

include an income for himself, and asked Lucy's advice on what he should tell those who asked about the settlement.⁸⁴ There were sensitivities in these negotiations which needed to be respected.

Lucy had very definite opinions about the match. After entertaining Sir Theodore she told Ferdinando that he was a wise man with whom it was challenging to negotiate. She was confident

if the match were once fully agreede upon, that your son by the blessing of God will so gaine upon the old man, that hee will bee able to get better conditions for you heereafter then wee can with any shew of reason demand for the present.⁸⁵

Lucy assured Ferdinando of her "diligence" in the business and reminded him that the Lord was the "disposer of the success". She trusted that the marriage would "answeare our necessities".

On 30 January 1648/49 Charles I was executed as a traitor to the English people.⁸⁶

Loughborough escaped to join Charles II in Holland and a warrant to apprehend and bring him before the Council of State and Admiralty Committee was issued in July 1649.⁸⁷

However, on 24 June 1649 came a further, more devastating blow: Henry Hastings died of

⁸⁴ FEH to L(D)H, HA Corr., 19/4881, [June 6 \ominus24] [c.1649]. No doubt these were his creditors who were interested in the proposed financial arrangements.

⁸⁵ L(D)H to FEH, HA Corr., 19/5742, 29 January [1648/9].

⁸⁶ Lucy prayed that the Lord would look graciously on "our distressed K[ing]". L(D)H to FEH, HA Corr., 19/5742, 29 January [1648/9].

⁸⁷ Bennett, 'Hastings, Henry', *ODNB. DNB*, vol. 25, p. 129. *CSPD, Commonwealth, 1649-1650*, "Warrants issued by the Council of State and Admiralty Committee, &c.", 10-12 July 1649, p. 541.

small pox before his marriage could take place.⁸⁸ This was a tragedy on more than a personal level. Lucy and Ferdinando had five daughters and no means to provide for them and the future of the estate was in jeopardy. The effect of Henry's death was seen immediately. Sir Henry Skipwith, a Leicestershire neighbour, wrote to Lucy in July 1649 asking for payment of a debt owed to his father. While expressing his compassion for the loss of "that most hopefull Noble Lord your sonne" and claiming to have been unwilling to raise the matter of the debt earlier due to Lucy's grief, he nevertheless reminded Lucy of her promise that if her son married, Skipwith should have the entire sum immediately and, if not, £20 within three weeks. Lucy had also promised that this debt would be amongst the first to be paid.⁸⁹ More importantly, the House of Lords had been abolished in March 1649, ending Ferdinando's privileges, including that against imprisonment for debt. It is possible that the ending of hopes for the marriage of Lord Hastings prompted Ferdinando's creditors to take drastic action and, sometime during 1649, Ferdinando was imprisoned in the Fleet.⁹⁰ Imprisonment would have added considerable distress to the financial pressure placed on Lucy and Ferdinando. In addition, with her husband and brother-in-law out of action, much of the burden of rescuing the family now fell on Lucy, who took on the role of family head.

⁸⁸ A number of people, including John Dryden and Andrew Marvel wrote elegies which were published in 1650 as *Lacrymae Musarum*. Lucy's mother published a tract, *Sions Lamentation* (1649). Cope, *Handmaid*, pp. 146-7 and Cope (ed.), *Prophetic Writings*, pp. 271-5. Sir Simonds D'Ewes consoled Lucy in Latin. Sir Simonds D'Ewes to L(D)H, 29 June 1649, *HMC 78*, vol. 2, p. 139. See *HMC 78*, vol. 1, 6 August 1649, p. 394 for a list of goods purchased by Ferdinando for mourning.

⁸⁹ Sir Henry Skipwith, second Baronet to L(D)H, HA Corr., 19/10884, 25 July 1649. Sir Henry had been one of the fifth earl's deputy lieutenants and a royalist and was heavily fined by the parliamentary committees. Cogswell, *Home Divisions*, pp. 293-4.

⁹⁰ Lucy seemed to anticipate this in her letter to Ferdinando of 29 January [1648/49] in which she talks of her hopes that the business with Mayerne will answer their necessities as these are "likely now to grow more urgent by the ceasing of former priviledges". L(D)H to FEH, HA Corr., 19/5742, 29 January [1648/49]. See also Cogswell, *Home Divisions*, p. 291 and Sir William Dugdale, "A history of the family of Hastings, Earls of Huntingdon", 1677, *HMC 78*, vol. 4, p. 351. Imprisonment for Ferdinando appeared to involve restricted movement (he could not use a coach or horses and needed to stay in a certain area) but it is clear that he was not incarcerated as debtors years later would be.

The failure of their plan to marry their son meant that Lucy and Ferdinando had to find another way to settle their estates, pay their debts and protect the future of their five daughters. They decided to seek an act of parliament to break the entail and so enable the sale of land for the payment of debts and the providing of portions.⁹¹ The case Ferdinando presented to Parliament was that he had inherited debts from his father which he had been unable to pay and had added to those debts until he owed £15,000. He also had five daughters to provide for and was unable to do so.⁹² Stressing his need for an act of parliament to pay debts and provide for his daughters, Ferdinando argued that he was “disabled by a remote remainder in Tayle” which had been made by his father upon the late Lord Spencer and his heirs.⁹³ This remote remainder had only been included to prevent the destruction of the entail and it had never been intended that the estate should come to Lord Spencer’s heirs. In addition, a word had been left out of the deed of entail which meant that the estates would descend to Lord Spencer if Ferdinando and Loughborough had no male heirs. Therefore, if the deed was taken literally there would be nothing for Ferdinando’s daughters. Ferdinando and Loughborough were advised to try to suppress the deed and to enter into a new one which would alter this mistake.⁹⁴

Ferdinando’s case shows that breaking the entail was no light matter and that the preservation of estates in this way was protected by parliament. A strong argument was

⁹¹ An entail settled land on specific persons who would inherit it after the death of Ferdinando. It therefore prevented Ferdinando selling land to raise money for his family.

⁹² HAL9/4, “Case of Ferdinando Earl of Huntingdon’s suit ‘to docke and estate tayle’ to pay debts and provide for his daughters”, 1643◊1656.

⁹³ A remainder stipulated to whom the land should descend once earlier claimants had died. Ferdinando’s heirs had a prior interest in the land but if these failed, the remote remainder gave possession to Lord Spencer. The intention was to prevent a situation where there was no-one to inherit the land, not for Lord Spencer to gain possession. The late Lord Spencer was the great grandson of Sir John Spencer, maternal grandfather of Elizabeth, wife of the fifth Earl of Huntingdon. See *GEC*, vol. 4, p. 212.

⁹⁴ Robert Milward to HH(LL), HA Corr., 19/9289, 5 November 1649

needed to break the entail and the one repeatedly used was the need to provide for daughters. An interesting element in this situation was that the late Lord Spencer's heir was underage and under the guardianship of his mother. Lord Spencer had been created Earl of Sunderland by Charles I in June 1643 and the following September, at only twenty three years of age, had been killed at the battle of Newbury, leaving a widow, Dorothy, and a two year old son, Robert.⁹⁵ Negotiations therefore had to be conducted with Lady Sunderland who proved herself well able to protect her son's interests. Lucy sent Ferdinando a draft letter for Lady Sunderland which had been drawn up by Ferdinando's advisor, Robert Milward. It informed Lady Sunderland of Ferdinando's intentions and was, Lucy thought,

a civillity shee will I am confident expect who is not to bee disoblged being so much as shee is interested in the busines as her sons guardian and of power by her friends either to hastne or retard, perhaps to dash your desires.⁹⁶

Like Lucy and the previous Countess of Huntingdon, Lady Sunderland was able to take action when there was no male to do so. Lucy believed that Ferdinando's business would be accomplished very quickly as long as Lady Sunderland and her friends had no objections.

Lucy maintained a central role in these negotiations, dividing her time between Donnington and London, instructing and advising. In around 1649 she advised Ferdinando that Loughborough, now in exile, ought to be informed of their plans, particularly if

⁹⁵ *GEC.*, vol. 12/1, pp. 482-5. Dorothy was the first daughter of Robert Sydney, second earl of Leicester. In 1652 she married Robert Smythe and died 25 February 1683/84. See also J. P. Kenyon, *Robert Spencer Earl of Sunderland, 1641-1702* (London, New York, Toronto, 1958). Ironically, Lucy would soon be in Lady Sunderland's situation, widowed and with a small son to protect and raise.

⁹⁶ L(D)H to FEH, HA Corr., 19/5743, 4 December [c. 1649].

Ferdinando had to specify which lands he wanted to sell and which he wanted to settle on his daughters:

the act you offer the parliament to pass specefyes wee thinke sufficiently the lands which you desire to dispose of but if you should bee forced to express more particulary which you will sell and which to settle upon your daughters, you had neede of a very through [thorough?] consideration, and the helpe of your friends heere and of your Brother who is interested as you know.⁹⁷

Loughborough was keen to know which lands would be sold and despite his exile managed to communicate his point of view. In April 1650 he wrote a long letter to his brother about the estate, agreeing to the sale of lands as long as certain conditions were met that gave him some control of decision-making. Loughborough must have accepted that his exile meant he could do little more. His letter describes the scale of the Hastings' problems with Ferdinando's debts at £13,000, portions for his daughters needed at £10,000 and various problems with the deed and Lucy's jointure.⁹⁸

Loughborough's interest in this matter is shown in his regular letters to Lucy and Ferdinando, filled with advice, information and support.⁹⁹ For example, he emphasised his willingness to deliver up his leases to Lucy and trusted that Lucy and Ferdinando would not "prejudice" him.¹⁰⁰ Loughborough also assured Lucy that he would agree to all "reasonable desyres" and that he wanted the happiness of Lucy, Ferdinando and their

⁹⁷ L(D)H to FEH, HA Corr., 19/5743, 4 December [c. 1649]. Loughborough's agreement was also necessary to reassure the purchasers of the land that their title was secure.

⁹⁸ HH(LL) to FEH, HA Corr., 19/5568, 2 April 1650.

⁹⁹ For example, Loughborough advised Lucy to take the advice of Counsel and gave his thoughts on what needed to be done. HH(LL) to L(D)H, HA Corr., 19/5570, 7 August 1650.

¹⁰⁰ HH(LL) to FEH, HA Corr., 19/5569, 29 July [c.1650]. This letter is difficult to make out but this seems to be the meaning behind it.

children.¹⁰¹ However, despite his support for his brother and sister-in-law, Loughborough had qualms about the proceedings and obviously feared that he would lose more than was necessary. At one point, for instance, he informed Ferdinando of his determination to keep his lease at Melborne, hoping that this would not “seeme uncivill to my sister or your selfe”.¹⁰² Loughborough was only one of a number of persons interested in the outcome of these political and business manoeuvrings and Lucy and Ferdinando had to juggle these differing objectives and pressures carefully.

Despite their apparent show of togetherness, Lucy and Ferdinando failed to inform Loughborough of an important piece of information. This was that a new jointure of all the land had been made on Lucy by Ferdinando shortly after the death of Henry in 1649. While the details of this jointure remain unclear, the motive behind it is easy to guess. Faced with imprisonment, clamouring creditors, and no direct male heir to succeed to the land, the Hastings were desperate to protect their estate in the event it passed to Loughborough. In 1649 Loughborough was in exile with Charles II and any lands which descended to him would be in danger of sequestration. Lucy’s presence in the family and the use of a legal device designed to protect women, enabled the Hastings to safeguard their estates and their future. Lucy and Ferdinando did not tell Loughborough of the jointure, no doubt knowing that it would anger him. Lucy’s role in this led to bitter dispute with Loughborough after the death of Ferdinando.¹⁰³

¹⁰¹ HH(LL) to L(D)H, HA Corr., 19/5570, 7 August 1650.

¹⁰² HH(LL) to FEH, HA Corr., 19/5569, 29 July [c.1650].

¹⁰³ I have been unable to find a 1649 jointure document but Loughborough refers to this jointure after the death of his brother. See chapter five. It may have been designed to protect the lands or to set aside those lands which were not to be sold. The Hastings papers contain a copy of a jointure dated 22 July 1644 which was drawn up after the death of the fifth earl. See HAP18/28, “Copy of the settlement made by Ferdinando Earl of Huntingdon on his wife Lucy, 22 July 1644”. While differing in some respects from Lucy’s original jointure it is too early to be the one which would later enrage Loughborough.

The new jointure aside, negotiations with Loughborough continued and meanwhile, Lucy and Ferdinando kept creditors at bay. This was no easy task as it was next to impossible to borrow money given the uncertainty of the estate and Ferdinando's imprisonment. Lucy described the situation in about 1649 after Ferdinando's criticism that not enough money was being sent to him in London:

there is a bottom of borrowing to which wee were arrived so neere, before I came last out of towne, that if my owne credit with my sister had not prevailed I should have bin in a very greate straight after so long borrowing and the change of our condition by the decease of our deare son it is not strange to mee if men bee unwilling to venture more with us.¹⁰⁴

While she was trying to supply her husband with money Lucy was also trying to send money overseas to her brother-in-law. In January 1649 she assured her husband that she and her sister-in-law, Alice Hastings were serving Loughborough "to our uttermost".¹⁰⁵ However, Lucy later admitted that all her credit had gone with Ferdinando's liberty which, she feared, meant that she would not be able to raise money to send to Loughborough.¹⁰⁶ With her brother-in-law in exile, her mother in trouble with the authorities, her husband in prison for debt and with five daughters to care for, Lucy's abilities were tested to the limit. Lucy's comments suggest that she not only relied on her sister-in-law Alice for money, but that they worked together to achieve the family's goals.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁴ L(D)H to FEH, HA Corr., 19/5743, 4 December [c. 1649]. See Cogswell, *Home Divisions*, p. 291. See Craig Muldrew, *The Economy of Obligation: The Culture of Credit and Social Relations in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke, London, New York, 1998) for the significance of credit and its loss.

¹⁰⁵ L(D)H to FEH, HA Corr., 19/5742, 29 January 1648/49. See also HH(LL) to L(D)H, 19/5570, 7 August 1650.

¹⁰⁶ L(D)H to FEH, 19/5744, 15 January [c. 1649/50].

¹⁰⁷ While lack of surviving correspondence makes it impossible to examine how Lucy's relationship with her sister-in-law Alice developed, it is likely that they became closer after the death of Lucy's mother. Alice was godmother to Lucy's daughter Mary and became an important part of Mary's life. See chapter six.

During this difficult period Lucy was the hub of intense activity and the family member upon whom many relied. In the many instructions she sent her husband, Lucy demonstrated her knowledge and precision in legal matters. For instance, she told Ferdinando not to forget to include a clause dealing with her jointure in his petition and begged him to ensure his counsel looked over the alterations to the petition because the “law depends upon such nicety of words”. In the same letter Lucy instructed Ferdinando to inform both herself and Robert Milward of his intentions before he made them public as they often knew more about his affairs than did Ferdinando’s London counsel. She also warned her husband not to offend the parliament by neglecting to call it by its title of “supriame” [supreme].¹⁰⁸

Differences of opinion between wife and husband were of course unavoidable. At the beginning of 1649 Lucy wrote rather submissively to her husband: “you will find mee I hope a little reformed by your last reproofe, it coms so seldom that I take it for a favor”.¹⁰⁹ However, despite Lucy’s willingness to accept reproof, she never expressed doubt about her own decision-making. She considered herself at least equal in ability to her husband and was not afraid to criticise. For example, in one letter Lucy accused her husband of revealing the weakness in his case by giving out copies of the deed of entail to members of parliament and openly telling people of his intentions. Ferdinando’s actions had made pointless their initial plan of keeping the deed secret from Lady Sunderland.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁸ L(D)H to FEH, HA Corr., 19/5743, 4 December [c. 1649].

¹⁰⁹ L(D)H to FEH, HA Corr., 19/5742, 29 January [1648/49].

¹¹⁰ L(D)H to FEH, HA Corr., 19/5744, 15 January [c. 1649/50].

For his part, Ferdinando sometimes appeared to have felt that Lucy did not properly understand the seriousness of his situation. A letter of around 1650, for example, began affectionately but quickly degenerated into expressions of frustration. Ferdinando objected to Lucy's advice that he must not sell land and that he should lease the best land.¹¹¹ By taking this course, he said, "I am like never to gett out of prysone nor pay my debtes".

Ferdinando continued:

I am confident you are not sensible of my condistion and base imprysonement and greate want I am inn have nothinge att all out of my one estate nor a penny to helpe my selfe.

His condition meant that he was forced to walk on foot in "durtie" weather and to give money to others when his family was in great want.

I hadd thought never for to have troubbled you in this kinde butt urgent necessitie forses mee to it and the greate desier I have to bee out of this purgatory, I am resolved my one Landes shall never bee any impediment unto it.

Ferdinando hoped that when the Act was passed he and Lucy could both determine the best way to pay their debts, "which will bee greate" and will leave "butt a little for our deare children". The creditors were "violent for their mony" and would be even more so once the Act was passed.

The differences of opinion between Lucy and Ferdinando demonstrate that they each had a slightly different focus in pursuing their common goal. Ferdinando concentrated on

¹¹¹ FEH to L(D)H, HA Corr., 19/4884, [1650<].

freeing himself from debt and was prepared to sacrifice some of the Hastings' land to do so. Lucy appears to have wanted to avoid the sale of land if possible. Her focus must have changed after she gave birth, in December 1650 to a son, Theophilus, who as heir and future earl also had a claim on the estate. Lucy recognised her infant son's rights and was prepared to defend them. Theophilus added a new incentive to Lucy and Ferdinando's efforts to secure their estate for the next generation.

The Act was debated throughout 1652 and 1653.¹¹² However, this was a far from easy time for legislation to be passed. In April 1653 the Rump was dissolved by Cromwell and Barebones Parliament came into being in July. It was finally under this parliament, on 9 November 1653, that "An Act to enable Ferdinando Earl of Huntington (sic) to sell some Lands for payment of his own debts and his Fathers, and to restrain him from making Leases of other Lands to the prejudice of his Issue" was passed. The title alone indicates the Hastings' design to rid the family of debt, to ensure that Theophilus had something to inherit when he came of age, and to provide for his sisters.¹¹³ A copy of this Act, found in the Hastings papers, allows Ferdinando to sell certain lands and to lease others for a period of not more than three years.¹¹⁴

¹¹² *CJ*, vol. 7, 15 September 1652, p. 182; 18 October 1653, p. 336; 29 October 1653, p. 342; 1 November 1653, p. 343.

¹¹³ *CJ*, vol. 7, 9 November 1653, p. 347. This Act is not listed in *Acts and Ordinances* but is mentioned in "An Act touching several Acts and Ordinances made since the twentieth of April, 1653, and before the third of September, 1654, and other Acts" passed on 26 June 1657 which authorised the acts concerning the settling of estates made during the above period. A marginal note states that Ferdinando's act is one of the acts not printed (*Acts and Ordinances*, vol. 2, p. 1137). Earlier, on 5 October 1653 an Act was passed for "the relief of Creditors and Poor Prisoners" which named judges to hear the cases of prisoners for debt and to make provision for creditors. This act specifically exempted Ferdinando, no doubt because his own Act was shortly to be passed (*Acts and Ordinances*, vol. 2, p. 762).

¹¹⁴ HAP19/12. See also what looks to be an earlier draft of this act at HAP18/23. This draft states that Ferdinando has no male issue and hence must have been drawn up before Theophilus' birth in December 1650. The final act is more specific about the land to be sold and contains provisions designed to protect Theophilus' inheritance.

Once the Act of Parliament had been passed, Lucy and Ferdinando began the task of selling land and paying their debts. However, Ferdinando's imprisonment continued to put the burden on Lucy to arrange, organise and correspond with the many people needed to ensure the land was sold quickly. One correspondent was Lord Loughborough, now in London, who played a large part in these negotiations.¹¹⁵ Family friend George Tuke acted as an intermediary between Lucy and Loughborough, who regularly consulted with his brother in prison, took instructions from Lucy and negotiated with various people on her behalf.¹¹⁶ Her brother-in-law's assistance in London must have been a relief to Lucy considering her husband's imprisonment. Loughborough's official reconciliation to the new regime had taken place in July 1652 when he took the Engagement to the Commonwealth, promising to be "true and Faithfull to the Commonwealth of England as it is Established without a Kinge or House of Lords".¹¹⁷ He was gradually released from restraint during that year.¹¹⁸ However, Loughborough was secretly involved in Royalist conspiracies, in 1654 in particular, and hence remained a threat to the security of the family.¹¹⁹ We do not know if Lucy was aware of his activities. At least he was available

¹¹⁵ David Underdown states that Loughborough remained in Holland until late 1652 (*Royalist Conspiracy in England, 1649-1660* (New Haven, 1960), p. 79). HAP19/8 indicates that he took the engagement to the Commonwealth in July 1652 (see below at note 117). See also Bennett, 'Hastings, Henry', *ODNB*.

¹¹⁶ HH(LL) to George Tuke, HA Corr., 19/5575, 11 April [c.1654]. George Tuke was probably the older brother of Sir Samuel Tuke who had been an active royalist. Evelyn's diary records that Lucy had business with Sir Samuel in 1670 and was godmother to his son Charles in 1671. Evelyn, *Diary*, vol. 3, 21 February 1670, p. 543 and 19 August 1671, p. 585. Sir Samuel went into exile with Charles II and became a Catholic in around 1659. C. H. Firth, rev. Andrew J. Hopper, 'Tuke, Sir Samuel, first Baronet (c.1615-1674)', *ODNB*, [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/27807>, accessed 8 March 2005]. The relationship between Tuke and the Hastings is unclear but Lucy frequently referred to him as "cousin".

¹¹⁷ HAP19/8, 31 July 1652.

¹¹⁸ HAP19/9, 2 November 1652 and HAP19/10, 9 November 1652.

¹¹⁹ Loughborough was a member of the "Sealed Knot", a group working secretly for Charles II. Underdown, *Royalist Conspiracy*, pp. 76-9, 90. According to the *ODNB* Loughborough came to England under an assumed name on a number of occasions during his exile. He was also involved in planning Penruddock's rising in 1655. Bennett, 'Hastings, Henry', *ODNB*. Despite his involvement in conspiracy Loughborough successfully compounded for his estates in 1653, paying the £87 10 shillings fine on 11 February 1654. *CPCC, 1643-1660, Cases, July 1650 – December 1653*, pp. 3029-30. His tenants were informed on 1 April 1653 that they should pay their rents and be Loughborough's tenants once more. HAP19/11, 1 April 1653. While Loughborough's lands had been freed from sequestration under the Articles of Ashby-de-la-Zouch in 1645, he suffered a second delinquency, probably due to his activities in the Second Civil War, and his lands

to assist in her task of selling land. In April 1654, for example, Loughborough asked Tuke to relay Ferdinando's instructions to Lucy that if she could get £2,000 for Buddon Wood she should accept it and obtain payment as quickly as possible. Ferdinando "concludes noe possibilyty of comming forth of pryson without some speedy sales, and his creditors growe daly more importunate".¹²⁰ Loughborough also planned to contact Lucy concerning what he himself would be allocated from the Loughborough lands as he wanted to settle all his affairs quickly. Loughborough, Ferdinando and Lucy each had a slightly different motive for selling the land: Loughborough wanted everything settled to enable him to start over again, Lucy wanted to generate as much money as possible from the sale and was in a position to bargain harder than her husband who simply wanted to get out of prison. Ferdinando clearly feared that Lucy's desire to bargain might delay the sale and so lengthen his stay in prison.¹²¹

The sale of the land took some time and it is unlikely that it was completed before Ferdinando's death in 1656, although he was released from prison sometime before.¹²² A document drawn up some years later illustrates what sales eventuated.¹²³ Lucy's jointure lands of Alton Grange (£200 per annum), Buddon Wood (£100 per annum) and

had been again seized. Many of Loughborough's supporters also faced sequestration. See, *CPCC*, 1643-1660, Cases 1643-1646, p. 1063 and Cases, 1647-June 1650, pp. 1746; 2257-58.

¹²⁰ HH(LL) to George Tuke, HA Corr., 19/5574, 1 April 1654.

¹²¹ Loughborough shared his brother's feelings. In May he told Tuke that he would serve Ferdinando and Lucy "in anythyng myght conduce for the increase of prosperity to them and theres". The first means to this, he believed, was "a speedy freeing of him from the place hee is in where liberty is more restrayned then formerly". Loughborough's letter reveals a tightening up of freedoms in London in 1654 as a result of a proclamation. Lodgings had to be registered with the Baly [Bailiff?] of Westminster, movement was restricted and several persons were held for questioning. Even Loughborough's freedom was at risk. HH(LL) to George Tuke, HA Corr., 19/5576, 27 May 1654. These restrictions were no doubt due to increasing evidence of Royalist conspiracy during this year in which Loughborough was involved. He came under suspicion but was able to clear himself. See Underdown, *Royalist Conspiracy*, p. 98.

¹²² See various letters in HA Corr., 20.

¹²³ HAL11/4, "Case regarding the sale of lands by Ferdinando Earl of Huntingdon", [1655?]. See also HAP18/24, "Note of lands involved in Ferdinando Earl of Huntingdon's attempt to break the entail", 1643-1656.

Loughborough (£500 per annum) were sold and the manors of Melborne and Whitwick were preserved and hence descended to Theophilus. Money from the sale was used to pay the debts of the fifth and sixth earls. This document also calculates that Theophilus was better off with the breaking of the entail and the sale of the lands than he would have been if these had never taken place, demonstrating how such decisions could impact on future generations. Lucy juggled the needs of her daughters, son, husband, brother-in-law and creditors and the outcome was a considerable achievement, particularly given the imprisonment of her husband and the treasonable activities of her brother-in-law.

Another considerable achievement in 1654 concerned the Irish lands. While the negotiations concerning the Act of Parliament and the sale of English lands were taking place, the Hastings also took action to reclaim their Irish lands, lost during the 1641 rebellion. In the Act of Settlement of Ireland, passed in August 1652, the land of Irish landowners who could not show consistent loyalty to the Commonwealth was to be redistributed to soldiers and those who had funded the army's campaign.¹²⁴ In 1653 Lucy and Ferdinando petitioned the Committee on Articles of War for the return of their land, arguing that while the Dublin Articles had stipulated that all Protestants in Ireland not involved in the Irish rebellion were to be secured in their estates and goods, the Irish Committee had ordered the seizure of Ferdinando's Irish lands which he held in right of Lucy. Ferdinando argued that he had always been a Protestant and had been freed from sequestration by the Articles of Ashby-de-la-Zouch and by the Act of Pardon and therefore asked for "leave to enjoy his Irish estates". The Committee for Compounding had to

¹²⁴ Roger Lockyer, *Tudor and Stuart Britain, 1471-1714*, (London, 1964, 1967), p. 411. Nicholas Canny, *From Reformation to Restoration: Ireland, 1534-1660*, (Dublin, 1987), pp. 219-20. Trevor Royle, *The British Civil War: The Wars of the Three Kingdoms, 1638-1660*, (New York and Basingstoke, 2004), p. 618.

decide whether Ferdinando had acted in any way which would “forfeit the benefit of the Articles of War”.¹²⁵

Lucy was intensely involved in reclaiming these lands, no doubt feeling particularly possessive about them, having inherited them from her father. She instructed a member of the Parliamentary committee formed to consider the matter that, at the very least, the lands should pass to her heirs as the inheritance was hers.¹²⁶ By this argument, Ferdinando’s actions, as indeed Ferdinando himself, became irrelevant. Lucy also instructed her husband in how to argue his case and conduct his enquiries. For example, she told Ferdinando that he would not be alone in having his Irish lands sequestered and should therefore find out what others had done in the same situation. Lucy also reminded her husband that he had been absent from Ireland at the time of the rebellion, attending parliament, but that his agents in Ireland had acted for him and, at Castle Dirge, had held out in a siege against the rebels for three months. Ferdinando had used money from his English estate for this defence which Lucy felt should be acknowledged.¹²⁷ Lucy also organised a search of the Registry of the late Court of Prerogative in Dublin to find letters of administration for the lands.¹²⁸

In September 1654 a family friend congratulated Lucy on her success in obtaining the return of the Irish lands: “Wee all rejoyce that your Ladyship hath got possession of your

¹²⁵ *CPCC*, 1643-1660, Cases, 1643-1646, p. 1043. See also FEH to Moore, HA Corr., 19/4883, c.1650. Ferdinando and Lucy argued that the Articles of Ashby-de-la-Zouch included their Irish as well as their English lands as their Irish lands had always been in English possession.

¹²⁶ L(D)H to Garland, HA Corr., 19/5746, c. 1650.

¹²⁷ L(D)H to FEH, HA Corr., 19/5748, 21 June. This letter has to be written in 1651 or later as it mentions Theophilus who was born December 1650.

¹²⁸ [Sir] Paul Davys to L(D)H, HA Corr., 19/2068, 4 May 1652.

Irish land, and praise God for it."¹²⁹ For many, Lucy was associated with the Irish lands and she clearly felt a strong connection with them herself. Not only had Lucy been born in Ireland but both her mother and father had connections and a history there.¹³⁰ Lucy's attachment to the land of her birth family was not subsumed or destroyed when she married. Indeed, her indelible association with her Irish land was only strengthened as years went by and she took charge of its maintenance.¹³¹ However, while she was no doubt relieved to have the lands back, it was only in 1673 that the true significance of their recovery was seen when Lucy used them to provide for her daughters, the marriage of her son and the settlement of the English estate. However, in 1654 the Hastings appeared to have a base from which to continue their recovery.

Ferdinando, sixth Earl of Huntingdon, did not live long to enjoy his freedom or to work on the further recovery of his family. He died on 13 February 1656 at forty-seven years of age. Lucy was only forty-three years of age and had been married for over thirty years, during which time she had experienced financial loss, war, the imprisonment of her husband and family conflict. She had also given birth to ten children, six of whom were still alive including the new earl, five year old Theophilus.¹³² Lucy's achievement lay in reconciling the needs of her two families, in dealing with the traumas of Civil War and debt and in providing a new generation to continue the title. And her role was far from over. With the death of her husband Lucy was now entering a most important phase in

¹²⁹ Peter de Moulin to L(D)H, HA Corr., 19/9465, 23 September 1654.

¹³⁰ See Cope, *Handmaid*, pp. 15-16 for Lady Eleanor's connection to Ireland.

¹³¹ The Irish lands seemed to remain Lucy's possessions rather than the family's. HAL11/4 states that the Irish lands will descend to Theophilus "in the right of the nowe Countesse his mother after her decease".

which her contribution was essential to the survival of the family. In 1656 Lucy had no way of knowing whether her son would survive to adulthood, marry and have children of his own. None of her other sons had done so. For the next sixteen years Lucy, the new head of the family, had to carry considerable responsibilities and uncertainties.

¹³² In 1656 Theophilus, Mary, Christiana, Eleanor, Elizabeth and Lucy remained. Henry, Ferdinando, John and Alice had died.

CHAPTER 4: LUCY'S WIDOWHOOD AND THE ESTATE, 1656-1671

**“so shall I in my actions strive to my power whilst
I liv to bee really beneficiall to you and yours”¹**

Although Lucy would live until 1679 her major role and achievements were in the period between the death of her husband in 1656 and the coming of age of her son, Theophilus, the seventh earl, in 1671. During this period Lucy ran the estates, paid her husband's debts and defended or initiated legal action as necessary. She also brought up her daughters and son, educating them and arranging their marriages. Most importantly, she trained Theophilus for his future role as head of the family. In all this Lucy had to defend her own position and juggle the competing demands of family members and friends. This period in Lucy's life enables us to examine how a woman operated as head of an aristocratic family. What was she allowed to do and how did she go about it? What were the advantages and disadvantages to a family to have a woman at its head? This chapter will describe Lucy's myriad roles and responsibilities, her impact on the family's fortunes, and her relations with other family members.

In the seventeenth century a woman's experience of marriage necessarily included the possibility of widowhood because if a woman survived her child-bearing years she was likely to outlive her husband. What she experienced then depended on the situation of her family and the nature of her marriage. Many aristocratic women who found themselves widowed after their children had reached adulthood and married, were content to run their jointure estates and assist with their children's families. Others, if young enough, remarried and started another family. Each situation had its own tensions, problems and

¹ L(D)H to TEH, HA Corr., 35/5789, 3 February 1672/73.

advantages, both for the widow and the family concerned.² Lucy was only forty-three years of age when Ferdinando died but nevertheless decided to remain single for the rest of her life. Perhaps she thought this was best for her children, but the uncertain state of the Hastings' finances may have made it difficult for her to attract a suitable husband in any event.

Ferdinando's will named Lucy his sole executrix and bequeathed her all his personal estate.³ Her 1649 second jointure meant that Lucy also had charge of all the Hastings' land. Along with Lucy's own land in Ireland, this included the manors of Ashby-de-la-Zouch, Loughborough, Whitwick, Packington and Barrow upon Soar in Leicestershire, all the rectories and parsonages of Ashby-de-la-Zouch and Packington, the Ashby Great Park, Little Park and Donnington Park, Donnington Mills, the manor and castle of Melborne in Derbyshire and the right of patronage and free disposition of the Church of Great Leake in Nottinghamshire.⁴ The decision to choose Lucy to run the estates reveals how much Ferdinando trusted his wife's ability to deal with the Hastings estate and to raise his son. At the time of Ferdinando's death the political situation remained unstable with the

² See Harris, *English Aristocratic Women*, pp. 162-7 for a discussion of the benefits and difficulties of remarriage. See chapter two (Eleanor Davies) and chapters five and seven (Sarah Lewys) for women whose remarriage threatened their claim to their first husband's property.

³ HAP20/2, "Will of Ferdinando, sixth Earl of Huntingdon", 11 February 1655/56. Also, PROB11/256, t. 223v. Lucy was proved executrix on 25 June 1656. Harris argues that it was natural for aristocratic men to name their wives as executors of their wills and that such a role "was an extension of their careers as wives". (*English Aristocratic Women*, p. 129) She argues that "... most aristocratic men considered their wives better suited than anyone else to rear and prefer their children, manage their estates, and transmit their real and movable property to the next generation". (p. 130) See also Harris, *English Aristocratic Women*, pp. 152-60 for discussion of widows' many responsibilities.

⁴ As I have been unable to find a 1649 second jointure document the lands listed here are those transferred by Lucy to her son just before his marriage. HAP22/12, "Surrender by Lucy Countess of Huntingdon to her son Theophilus the Earl", 17 February 1671/72 (copy). Loughborough was listed as sold in HAL11/4 and HAP18/24 (see chapter three). However, as it appears in the lands transferred to Theophilus in 1672 it is probable that only a portion of this land had been sold.

Protectorate in crisis over the proposal to offer Cromwell the Crown. The latter half of the 1650s would see increased political instability leading to the eventual return of the monarchy in 1660. In such an environment Lucy was able to provide much safer management for the estate and her children than any male relative.

Family and friends, through their messages of condolence, expressed their awareness of Lucy's role as head of the family which was, in their eyes, intrinsically a part of being a mother. Not only did her children give her life meaning (it being God's will that she take charge of them) they were also a source of comfort. Theophilus' godmother, Bridget Croft, reminded Lucy's daughter Mary that while Mary grieved at her father's loss she still had an affectionate mother,

by whose greate discretion and tender care you have hetherto bin so happily governed that it gives you an assurance you shall still finde a better support and advantage then most other have from their mothers.⁵

Another correspondent told Lucy that God had not left her "destitute of blissinge" in this world as he had given her "many sweet and hopefull children".⁶ A couple of years later the clergyman John Beardmore prayed that God would bless Lucy and that:

hee will power out his Grace and holy spirit upon your noble Issue that they may bee so many comforts to you, usifull instruments of his Glory in the

⁵ Bridget Croft to M(H)J, HA Corr., 20/1740, 17 March 1655/56. My assumption that Croft was Theophilus' godmother is based on a letter she wrote to him in 1690 in which she speaks of "what I promised for you at your Baptising" (56/1796, 17 November 1690). See also *HMC* 78, vol. 2, p. 214.

⁶ Robert Milward to L(D)H, HA Corr., 20/9290, 19 March 1655/56.

World and heires of Heaven here and possessed of it hereafter and in a more peculiar manner for that sweet young Lord and that the Lord of Heaven will bee pleased to continue and lengthen out his Life for the Preservation of your noble family.⁷

While recognising Lucy's role as a mother and head of the family, relatives and friends also recognised that this role would be a difficult one. A cousin of Lucy's prayed that God would be a "Father, a husband, a Protector, and a director" to Lucy in all her "proceedings". God, she said, knew what was best and could make a cross into a blessing if the right use was made of it.⁸ He would have to take the place of Lucy's husband as her main support. Such messages reveal the role of religion as a way of expressing grief and providing meaning to suffering.

Lucy publicly expressed her grief in phrases which demonstrate her loyalty to and love of her husband, and also her love and devotion to God. She acknowledged that God was her consolation in her grief and professed to commit everything to Him. Lucy also spoke of Ferdinando as that "deare soule that is gon" whose memory was "precious" to her. "His Religious Christian manner of dying" greatly increased the affections of those around him who had experienced his "sweete disposition". The "very deare love" he had expressed to her was "imprinted deepe" in her heart. Ferdinando's death would assist her in casting off the love of this world and in putting her "affections more and more in heaven".⁹ There is no doubt that these expressions of grief were sincerely meant for evidence indicates that Lucy had developed a deep bond with her husband during their married life. However,

⁷ John Beardmore to L(D)H, HA Corr., 20/649, 21 December 1658.

⁸ Frances Williams (Lady Frances Glynne) to L(D)H, HA Corr., 20/13389, 12 June 1656. See also Eliza Blennerhassett to L(D)H, HA Corr., 20/842, 27 June 1658.

⁹ L(D)H to ?, HA Corr., 20/5755, [c.1655/56, March?].

Lucy was unable to withdraw from worldly concerns and, on the contrary, used her trust in God as a support in dealing with financial problems, estate management and legal action.

Lucy's trust in God had given her comfort throughout her married life. When dealing with the Act of Parliament and the sale of her husband's land, for example, she had prayed that "these corrections may have there due operation to prepare us for our eternall being".¹⁰

While rather conventionally expressed, Lucy's belief in a higher purpose or plan clearly afforded her strength as she dealt with the most worldly of troubles.¹¹ As it had done for the stresses and difficulties of her married life, Lucy's faith in God also gave structure and meaning to her earthly widowed life.

During the first year of her widowhood Lucy needed all the comfort her children and her trust in God could provide as there were several challenges to face. One of the most serious was a law suit threatened against her by her brother-in-law, Loughborough. This had arisen when, shortly after his brother's death in 1656, Loughborough had discovered the 1649 second jointure Ferdinando had made to Lucy. The considerations of estate preservation and protection which had moved the sixth earl to make this jointure apparently carried little weight with Loughborough who was deeply angry at his brother's actions. He complained to Lucy that while she was alive "not sixe pence remaynes" for her son, or if her son died, for Loughborough. He threatened to go to the law and spoke of his brother's

¹⁰ L(D)H to FEH, HA Corr., 19/5744, 15 January [c.1649/50]. See also L(D)H to FEH, 19/5743, 4 December [c.1649].

¹¹ See also Cope, *Handmaid*, p. 42.

unkynd intentions ... procured ase I may very well conclude by your indevours with him an iniury I soe recent ase it makes mee resolve since I am made a stranger to the estate to bee the like to the family.¹²

Loughborough added that he had done a great deal for his brother but was now not being treated like a brother.

Loughborough's reaction reveals the crucial link the seventeenth-century aristocracy made between their estates and family membership. A right to the family property meant that a person was considered a family member who could take part in decision-making and be considered when decisions were made. Loughborough also reveals his recognition of the influence a wife and then widow could have in a family, believing it was Lucy who had persuaded his brother to take this course. However, he also reveals the weakness of his position relative to Lucy's. Loughborough stood to gain from Ferdinando's estates if Ferdinando's son died whereas Lucy was only a custodian and could truly put the best interests of her son and his estate to the forefront. Loughborough's position was particularly weakened by the suspicions of the Interregnum governments as a result of his Royalist military role during the Civil War. These suspicions would fall on the family if he were to become its head.

Loughborough's feelings about widows and their influence were not unique. A long-lived widow could adversely affect a family's future if she possessed a considerable portion of the estate.¹³ Indeed, the Hastings family had experienced this earlier with the third earl

¹² HH(LL) to L(D)H, HA Corr., 20/5580, 1 May 1656. See also the Indenture between Lucy and Theophilus where she hands over the lands to her son just prior to his marriage, HAP22/12, "Surrender", 17 February 1671/72.

¹³ This situation was not uncommon and could cause deep conflict between sons and their widowed mothers. Charles, Lord Stanhope, for example, in a petition to Archbishop Laud in c. 1637 argued that his mother, "during her life keeps three parts of his estate" and "will part with nothing". In a petition to the King at about

whose mother outlived her husband by sixteen years and held over two thirds of the estate. This situation was repeated when the third earl's wife outlived him by twenty five years and again held a large part of the estate for her life.¹⁴ Loughborough's own family history therefore reinforced a popular view that tended to be wary of widows and their influence. However, despite the hostility with which some widows were regarded, a long-lived widow was often the best thing that could happen to a family and its estate, particularly if the estate faced a long minority. A minority with an intelligent, conscientious widow in charge could allow a family to regroup, recover and improve.¹⁵ This was the situation for the Hastings family over the next fifteen or so years of Lucy's widowhood.

In September 1656 Lucy made her will.¹⁶ Stating that she was not well in health but of good memory, it was probably prompted by fear of what would happen to her children if she died with the dispute with Loughborough unresolved and the estate in turmoil. The will is characterised by the preponderance of women in roles of authority. Lucy named her eldest daughters, Eleanor and Elizabeth, executrices and appointed them guardians of Theophilus until he reached an age where he could choose his own guardians. She also stipulated that Eleanor and Elizabeth should be in charge of her son's education and the managing of his estate during his minority. As Lucy explains in her will, Eleanor and

the same time he argued that his means of support were small "and most of it in his mother's hands". Stanhope's problems had been exacerbated by losing the office of Postmaster General and consequently, its large income. *CSPD*, Charles I, 1637-1638, p. 51, Petition of "the most distressed Charles Lord Stanhope" to Archbishop Laud, [March?] 1637 and 1636-1637, p. 534, Petition of Charles, Lord Stanhope, late Postmaster of England and Wales, to the King, [1637?].

¹⁴ Cross, *Puritan Earl*, pp. 83-5. Cross states; "Longevity of dowager countesses could prove a serious encumbrance to a noble estate". (p. 85)

¹⁵ For the benefits of a period of minority, particularly after the abolition of the Court of Wards see Roebuck, *Yorkshire Baronets*, pp. 257-60 and "Post-Restoration landownership" *Journal of British Studies*, pp. 74-81, 85. See also Malcolmson, *Pursuit of the Heiress*, p. 47. Harris argues that "Overall, long widowhoods were a benefit, not a danger, to their husbands' patrilineages" and that the work widows did as executors was "a key factor in preserving the stability of their families and class". (*English Aristocratic Women*, pp. 152 and 160)

¹⁶ HAP20/5, "Will of Lucy, Countess of Huntingdon", 5 September 1656.

Elizabeth were particularly fitted for the task of managing their brother's estate as it did not come to them at his death and hence they could not take financial advantage of their position.¹⁷ The will further stipulated that if Eleanor or Elizabeth should die or marry then Lucy's next unmarried daughter should be appointed to these tasks in Eleanor or Elizabeth's place. Single women had advantages over married women as a single woman's loyalties remained with her birth family. Lucy also recognised the advantage of choosing persons to run the estate who would never inherit it, and that her daughters also enjoyed a close emotional bond with their brother.

Lucy's will also directed her daughters to seek the advice of their aunt Lady Alice Hastings, concerning the education of Theophilus and that of Matthew Davies concerning the management of the estate.¹⁸ The family's future was firmly in the hands of women, Matthew Davies the only male with any role. The tasks that Lucy bequeathed to her daughters were those she herself had to perform as an aristocratic widow with several children. Lucy outlived all but one of her daughters and her son came of age before her death, so the terms of this will never came into operation. Nevertheless it shows the influence that aristocratic women could wield and that they could be preferred above male alternatives to discharge the most important responsibilities an aristocratic family could face.¹⁹ Lucy's will is a useful place to begin a discussion of her role as a widow as it

¹⁷ "they being persons to whome his Landes cannott descend, nor are any wayes limited unto them by way of remainder".

¹⁸ Lucy's will states that she was referred to Matthew Davies by her husband two days before his death. Davies was a relative of Lucy's, possibly the son of one of Sir John Davies' brothers, and also a lawyer. See Matthew Davies to TEH, HA Corr., 20/2048, 7 May 1656.

¹⁹ Lucy put her daughters in charge in the event of her death for much the same reasons as men named their wives as executors. They were loyal family members familiar with the family's circumstances. See earlier reference to Harris, *English Aristocratic Women*, at footnote three.

expressed how she herself saw that role. One of her first tasks related to the act of parliament she and her husband had initiated three years earlier.

After the passing of legislation to break the entail, Lucy and Ferdinando sold land to meet pressing debts. After Ferdinando's death the purchasers of his land feared that the new earl, Theophilus, would argue that his father had no right to break the entail and sell land to which he, as heir, was entitled. The purchasers therefore sought to confirm the sale of the land by another act of parliament. Various creditors also appear to have wanted the legislation to include the sale of additional land for payment of the rest of Ferdinando's debts.²⁰ Lucy had to make certain that the Hastings family did not suffer from this additional act of parliament and that parliament was aware of the Hastings' wishes. To do so she had to juggle the competing demands of both creditors and her son. Should she arrange the sale of land to clear debts or should she hold on to land and let the debts remain?²¹ The bill was read twice in parliament in December 1656.²² Lucy's petition was read in Parliament in February 1656/57 and the Committee hearing the matter was "to hear what the Countess Dowager of Hunt' [ingdon] hath to say therein".²³ However, the confusion of the second Protectorate Parliament was not a good time to try to get a bill passed and it is unlikely that it did so.²⁴ Nonetheless, the details that remain demonstrate

²⁰ *CJ*, vol. 7, 4 December 1656, p. 464, "A Bill to confirm the Sale of Lands sold by Ferdinando late Earl of Huntingdon, whereby he paid several Debts; and for the Sale of some other Lands, for Payment of the Residue of his Debts".

²¹ Matthew Davies to L(D)H, HA Corr., 20/2049, [18 December 1656].

²² Burton, vol. 1, 4 December 1656, p. 11 and 6 December 1656, pp. 37-8. *CJ*, vol. 7, 4 December 1656, p. 464 and 6 December 1656, p. 465.

²³ See *CJ*, vol. 7, 4 February 1656/57, p. 486; 7 February 1656/57, p. 487; 9 February 1656/57, p. 489 and 21 February 1656/57, p. 495.

²⁴ On 26 June 1657 an Act was passed authorising those acts concerning the settlement of estates which had been passed between 20 April 1653 and 3 September 1654. *Acts and Ordinances*, vol. 2, pp. 1131-42, in particular, p. 1137. The Hastings Personal Papers contain a 1663 act to confirm the sale of land by Ferdinando which may have been a further confirmation needed at the Restoration (HAP20/13).

the effort Lucy made to defend her son's inheritance and to juggle the demands made upon it.

One of the tasks stipulated in Lucy's will was the education of Theophilus.²⁵ As the family's future head and as a peer, Theophilus had to be aware of his family history and traditions, loyalties and beliefs. Appropriate religious education and discipline was also required, along with the traditional aristocratic academic education of history, languages, written expression and classics. Complimenting this was the practical training needed for an aristocratic man who would one day make his way in public life. This included knowledge of the workings of politics, parliament and society as well as county responsibilities. Most importantly, as a landowner Theophilus needed to learn how to manage his estates and deal with their problems. The aim was to fit Theophilus to act with independence and authority when he came of age and was able to take over the estates.²⁶ Lucy was in charge of all these elements, utilising family, friends and experts where necessary.

²⁵ Lucy was also in charge of her daughters' education. While little evidence remains, Elizabeth knew French, Latin and Italian as Bathsua Makin states in her poem on Elizabeth's death. "Upon the much lamented..." in Germaine Greer, Susan Hastings, Jeslyn Medoff and Melinda Sansone (eds.), *Kissing the rod: An Anthology of Seventeenth-Century Women's Verse*, (New York, 1989), pp. 226-7. See also Fraser, *Weaker Vessel*, p. 136. Correspondence in HA Corr., 21 and 22 also demonstrates that Lucy's daughters knew French. Christiana knew some Italian as a later letter to her brother demonstrates. (CH to TEH, HA Corr., 40/4685, c.1675) Lucy's education of her daughters was described as "Vigilant". Fraser, *Weaker Vessel*, pp. 136 and 149. The tutors she employed for her daughters included her own, Bathsua Makin. Teague, 'Bathsua Makin, ODNB.

²⁶ Susan Dwyer Amussen argues that in early modern England independence was "the central characteristic of manhood". ("The part of a Christian man": the cultural politics of manhood in early modern England" in Susan D. Amussen and Mark A. Kishlansky (eds.), *Political Culture and Cultural Politics in early modern England – Essays presented to David Underdown*, (Manchester and New York, 1995), pp. 214 and 227.)

As he grew up Theophilus received letters from countless servants, tenants, relatives, friends, petitioners and acquaintances who wanted to establish a relationship with the new Earl of Huntingdon that might hopefully lead to future patronage. While not written with an educative purpose these letters enabled Theophilus to learn gradually about his identity, where he fitted into the family, and how he should behave. They expressed standard seventeenth-century views on hierarchy, respect and obedience, recognising Theophilus' position as the head of the family. For example, one correspondent spoke of Theophilus standing in his father's "right and place". However, the writer also acknowledged the importance of Theophilus' mother, stating that "God's providence" and his mother's "prudent considerations" had ordered all for Theophilus' "greater good".²⁷ Friends and relatives regularly encouraged Theophilus to respect his mother and to obey her directions.²⁸ Theophilus was naturally close to his mother during the years immediately after his father's death and there are clear expressions of affection between them.²⁹ However, although Theophilus was to grow up in a family dominated by women, male friends and relatives also assisted in his development and education. Hence, while Lucy was in charge of her son's upbringing, she nevertheless had to accept these other influences on her son, including that of Lord Loughborough, who, until his death in 1667, acted as a kind of mentor to his nephew.³⁰

²⁷ A. Tronchin to TEH, HA Corr., 20/12886, 27 July 1657. Letters of praise or statement of obligation to Theophilus are to be found at HA Corr., 20/8195, 12799, 8297, 1463.

²⁸ For example, see Matthew Davies to TEH, HA Corr., 20/2048, 7 May 1656.

²⁹ For example, Theophilus wrote to Lucy in 1656: "I hope your businesse will not bee very long for I desire very much to see you, I love you as well as my selfe and better then the Protector, but pray doe not lett him know it nor none of his kindred that fight for him". TEH to L(D)H, HA Corr., 20/5865, 23 June 1656. See also L(D)H to TEH, 20/5756, 1658. Theophilus also had an affectionate relationship with his sisters, discussed in chapter six.

³⁰ Loughborough died in January 1667 and his title became extinct. *DNB*, vol. 25, pp. 128-9. Bennett, 'Henry Hastings', *ODNB. GEC*, vol. 6, p. 659. Cockayne incorrectly states that Loughborough died in 1666.

Loughborough was one of Theophilus' main correspondents, writing to his nephew often after his estrangement with Lucy was over. That their dispute was resolved is evident from Loughborough's letter to Lucy dated March 1660 where he tells her of his decision no longer to be estranged from the family.³¹ It is unclear how this dispute finally ended but as Lucy maintained her second jointure until she made over the lands to Theophilus at his coming of age, she was clearly the victor. Loughborough was an important correspondent because his letters emphasised Theophilus' central position within the Hastings family.³² Understandably, for a man who had been such an active Royalist, he spoke of the ruin of the Hastings' chief seat, raised "by the favour of the Crowne and demolisht for being faythfull to it".³³ He also highlighted how the "sacred churches of God" had not "scaped sacrilegious hands" and hoped that God would "send a happy settlement in Church and state" and make Theophilus "a fitt instrument to serve" both with his life and fortune.³⁴ Loughborough saw Theophilus as the son of a house which had held true to the Crown and the Anglican Church and had suffered for it. Theophilus was meant to serve both. Clearly Loughborough wanted Theophilus to benefit from Hastings opinions and loyalties, which he considered himself best fitted to pass on. For Theophilus, Loughborough was an important link to the sixth and fifth earls and their history.

In April 1660 Loughborough attempted to further establish Theophilus' loyalties to the Stuarts, Protestantism and England by sending him a piece of writing from a person allied

³¹ HH(LL) to L(D)H, HA Corr., 21/5582, 12 March, 1659/60. Aside from this correspondence there is no evidence of this estrangement which lasted less than four years.

³² Loughborough never married. It is possible that he lacked sufficient financial resources to attract a bride from a suitable social group. See Bennett, 'Henry Hastings', *ODNB*.

³³ A reference to Ashby-de-la-Zouch castle which was destroyed after the Civil War and never rebuilt. Loughborough had been, of course, largely the cause of its ruin.

³⁴ HH(LL) to TEH, HA Corr., 21/5581, 12 March 1659/60. Interestingly, Loughborough told Theophilus not to emulate him in anything other than constancy. This may have been a reflection of Loughborough's belief in the importance of loyalty generally, or, given the date of the letter, an underlining of Loughborough's faithfulness to the Stuarts.

to Lucy. The writing emphasised the writer's loyalty and service to "this glorious prince" [Charles II]. Loughborough wished Theophilus had the same virtues as this prince to enable him to serve the prince, the "Protestant Church" and his country.³⁵ Theophilus' reply in May demonstrated his awareness that the current state of church and government in England was not as it should be: "The restoration of the Church to primitive purity and of the State to Just government ought to bee all our prayers and indeavors".³⁶ Theophilus also wrote that he appreciated Loughborough's willingness to assume the role of his "monitor" and guide in these matters. Theophilus' comments were sophisticated for a ten year old, perhaps revealing some coaching from his mother who would have recognised the importance of allying herself and her son to Loughborough at this important time. These letters were written just before the Restoration and Loughborough would have been keen to position the family as close to the new king as possible to ensure that any available honours, rewards or benefits were received. This was crucial for the Hastings as in 1660 Theophilus was only ten years old and could not compete himself for these benefits.

Theophilus' response to Loughborough's letter also helps identify the author of Loughborough's enclosures. Theophilus refers to his pleasure at being related to the writer and wishes that the writer would receive the same favours as his [the writer's] great-grandfather, Sir Brian Tuke did of Henry VIII. The writing sent by Loughborough was, therefore, by either Samuel or George Tuke, who were related to Lucy.³⁷ Samuel Tuke went into exile with Charles II and his brother George was a correspondent and friend of Loughborough's as discussed in the previous chapter. It is significant, however, that

³⁵ HH(LL) to TEH, HA Corr., 21/5583, 23 April 1660. Loughborough also sent an example of Charles I's writing. The enclosures to Loughborough's letter have not survived.

³⁶ TEH to HH(LL), HA Corr., 21/5870, 2 May 1660.

³⁷ TEH to HH(LL), HA Corr., 21/5870, 2 May 1660. Lucy frequently refers to her "cousin" Tuke. See previous chapter for details on Sir Samuel Tuke.

Loughborough drew on Lucy's connection to these men in order to recommend them to Theophilus, rather than on his own dealings with them. After the Restoration Charles II rewarded Samuel Tuke for his loyalty with positions of favour. Loughborough is therefore emphasising a connection which may be important for Theophilus. It is also significant that in about 1659 Samuel Tuke converted to Catholicism. While far from Catholics, Lucy and Loughborough were prepared to work with, and remain close to, family members and friends who were Catholic. Their 'Puritan' background did not prevent them appreciating the need for connections which could assist Theophilus later in life.

Along with an understanding of the Hastings' history and religious and political loyalties, Loughborough also emphasised the importance of a traditional aristocratic education in preparing Theophilus to take his place in the world. Loughborough told Theophilus that he had heard that the earl was very aware of how necessary learning was to a gentleman. God and Theophilus' ancestors had made him "very eminent" and by title and birth he was "above others". For this reason more was expected from him than was expected from "ordinary persons". Theophilus could "never bee without learning in this tyme of youth".³⁸ However, despite Loughborough's influence, Theophilus' education was determined by Lucy and Lucy's authority in this area was acknowledged by family and friends. Conduct books in the early modern period emphasised the importance of the family in the education and upbringing of children, particularly in religious education and discipline and, as the head of the Hastings family, Lucy was the obvious person to conduct her son's education.³⁹ Loughborough himself acknowledged Lucy's role in educating Theophilus, telling Theophilus he should,

³⁸ HH(LL) to TEH, HA Corr., 21/5584, 17 September 1660.

³⁹ Fletcher, "Protestant idea of marriage" in *Religion, culture and society*, p. 163. Pollock, "'Teach her to live under obedience'", *Continuity and Change*, vol. 4, no. 2, 1989, p. 235.

acknowledge the goodness of God with-all humbleness in giving you more then ordinary naturall parts, and making you the sonne of such a mother by whose pruditiall government you may improve those, to the best advantage.⁴⁰

Theophilus' uncle Sir Gervase Clifton referred to his nephew's "pious Institution" [instruction?] under so Noble and religious a Mother" thereby acknowledging Lucy's role in shaping her son's religious opinions, while Matthew Davies told Theophilus to say his prayers and to please and obey his mother.⁴¹ A lot was expected of Theophilus' education which had to correspond with his status as an earl. Frances Williams informed Theophilus: "by the time your Lordship comes to full Maturitie; I make no question but your Lordship wilbe perfectly accomplisht in all Perfections befitting a person of so great ranke and quallitie".⁴² The higher the rank the greater the expectations of learning and ability.

Lucy was not only in a position to supervise her son's education; she was qualified to do so, having been educated at home not only by her mother but by Bathsua Makin. Makin was regarded as one of the most learned woman in England and had been tutor to Charles I's daughter Elizabeth. In a poem in Lucy's honour Makin described her pupil's knowledge of French, Italian, Latin, Hebrew and Greek.⁴³ The content of Theophilus' education can be glimpsed in correspondence. Matthew Davies referred to Theophilus'

⁴⁰ HH(LL) to TEH, HA Corr., 21/5581, 12 March 1659/60. Loughborough may have been aware that Theophilus would have shown the letter to his mother or that she may have opened it. Having decided to be reconciled to the family, he wanted to re-establish his position within it.

⁴¹ Sir Gervase Clifton, first Bart to TEH, HA Corr., 21/1494, 20 March 1659/60. Matthew Davies to TEH, 20/2048, 7 May 1656.

⁴² Frances Williams [Lady Frances (Glynne)]? to TEH, HA Corr., 22/13391, 24 December 1660.

⁴³ Greer et al (eds.), *Kissing the rod*, pp. 224, 228. See also Jeffries, 'Hastings, Lucy', *ODNB*. Ezell, *Patriarch's Wife*, pp. 78 and 114 provides detail on Lucy's intellectual pursuits (including translating Latin verses into English and composing her own verse) and details on Makin. Eales, *Women in Early Modern England*, pp. 44-5 discusses Makin's views on female education.

study of Latin and advised him to learn quickly, stating “I knowe your Lady mother will advise you the same”.⁴⁴ Theophilus also knew French and wrote occasionally in this language to various friends.⁴⁵ Lucy’s role in her son’s education illustrates that women, particularly widows, were considered capable of supervising the education of their sons if necessary. However, while Lucy was a highly educated woman, she still needed the services of tutors to provide her son with the education he needed.

Unlike his father, grandfather and uncle Loughborough there is no record of Theophilus attending either Cambridge or Oxford.⁴⁶ However, he was clearly tutored by men such as Dr Benjamin Woodroffe, a fellow of Christ Church, Cambridge and connected later to Oxford.⁴⁷ Men such as Woodroffe would become important in Theophilus’ life after he came of age, took public office and began to attend Court and parliament. Hence his education, while largely conducted under the guidance of his mother, also brought him into contact with other influences, particularly political ones. In 1662 Lucy also engaged her former tutor, Bathsua Makin to teach Theophilus.⁴⁸ Five years later she made enquiries about John Milton’s nephew, Edward Phillips as a tutor for her son.⁴⁹ By engaging his tutors Lucy was able to control the influences on her son and convey her values and beliefs

⁴⁴ Matthew Davies to TEH, HA Corr., 21/2054, 1 July 1659.

⁴⁵ TEH to Elizabeth Clifton, HA Corr., 21/5867, 10 October 1659.

⁴⁶ Theophilus is not listed in *Alumni Oxonienses* or *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, indicating that he did not formally attend university.

⁴⁷ Woodroffe probably tutored him privately. Woodroffe later became chaplain to the Duke of York. Edward Vallance, ‘Woodroffe, Benjamin (1638-1711)’, *ODNB*, [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29932>, accessed 26 April 2005]. See chapter seven.

⁴⁸ The Hastings’ accounts show an amount of £5 on 4 October 1662 “to Mrs Makin in consideration of being heere to teach my Brother”. Interestingly, the accounts were clearly the responsibility of Lucy’s daughters. HAF18/32.

⁴⁹ Lucy’s son-in-law James Langham wrote on her behalf to John Evelyn who had personal knowledge of Phillips and arranged for Lucy to discuss the matter with Evelyn over dinner. Sir James Langham to John Evelyn, 23 October 1667, BL Add. 15858, vol. 2, fo. 52-53.

to him during his most formative years. Theophilus, in his autobiographical notes, admits that “he received his education according to the direction of his mother, the Dowager Countess, ‘being wholly domesticke’”.⁵⁰

While Lucy could ensure her son received the academic education required of a nobleman, there was one area in which she could not directly assist her son and that was establishing his position through office holding. The Hastings hoped to benefit by the Restoration, and Loughborough’s military support and exile and the loss of Ashby-de-la-zouch were to their advantage in attracting Charles’ attention. However, many families in similar positions also vied for positions of power and financial recompense at this time. This extremely competitive situation required patient lobbying and a very visible presence at Court. While Loughborough could hope for some appointment and reward, in 1660 Theophilus was still restricted by his age and hence could not hold county office such as the Lord Lieutenancy.⁵¹ The family’s power in the county was therefore likely to decline as others seized power at the Hastings’ expense. Trying to make up this loss at a later date would be particularly difficult and the longer it was out of their hands the worse it would be.

In September 1660 Loughborough attempted to minimise the damage caused by Theophilus’ period of minority. Loughborough had been given the position of Lord Lieutenant of Leicestershire and he promised Theophilus that he would petition the King to

⁵⁰ “Autobiography of Theophilus”, *HMC 78*, vol. 4, p. 353.

⁵¹ In 1661 Loughborough was given a farm of the customs on the import and export of cattle from Ireland to Chester. Two years later he gave it up for a grant of £500 a year. Loughborough also received the Lord Lieutenancy of Leicestershire. *CSPD*, Charles II, 1660-1661, p. 577; 1661-1662, p. 534 and 1663-1664, pp. 289, 303. Loughborough was ready to use the memory of his past service for financial gain. Writing to the King, he claimed that he had served Charles I from 1642 to 1648 and had “sold every foot of land” he had and was £10,000 in debt. Loughborough also detailed the money he had spent in the King’s service and asked for £5,000 or whatever the King saw fit. (*HA Corr.*, 25/5587, 11 January 1666/67). A note at the bottom of this letter states that it was to be delivered to the King after Loughborough’s death. Loughborough may have intended the money to go towards payment of his debts.

transfer this to Theophilus once Theophilus was able to serve.⁵² To be effective such a petition needed to be made by a male relative or friend who held office, rather than by Lucy who was unable to hold a public position. Thus, while he lived Loughborough was able to maintain the chain of Hastings power in the county. Possibly by this stage he had decided that he would never marry and would not need to consider any needs other than those of his brother's children. Unfortunately, Loughborough died while Theophilus was still a minor and hence the transfer never took place. However, his desire to see the position transferred to his nephew demonstrates the potential importance of male family members to Theophilus' future and the preparation needed for Theophilus' future public life.

During his minority various correspondents also kept Theophilus fully informed about national politics, the social life at court and overseas events. One of his regular correspondents in the mid 1660s was Thomas Salusbury, a minister. When parliament was sitting Salusbury sent Theophilus regular letters with news of parliament and court life, including information as to who had died, who was pregnant, who was ill, what news there was of the Dutch war, how the voting had gone, who had given what speech, what the King had decided, and much more.⁵³ These regular newsletters, sent to the head of the household as a courtesy, nevertheless prepared Theophilus for his active role in the world, when knowledge of his social group and the exercise of power would be essential. It was important for Theophilus to have a number of reliable supporters and informants, particularly after the death of Loughborough in 1667. Informative letters were also received from men such as Gervase Jaques and John Davies, family stewards, and Samuel

⁵² HH(LL) to TEH, HA Corr., 21/5584, 17 September 1660.

⁵³ Thomas Salusbury to TEH, HA Corr., 24/10658, 29 March 1664; 24/10659, 19 April, 1664; 24/10660, 14 July 1664; 24/10661, 16 August 1664; 24/10662, 8 December 1664; 24/10663, 9 January 1664/65. I have

Willes, rector of Belton. These contained news of family members or connections of which Theophilus needed to be aware. For example, in September 1660 Jaques told Theophilus of a wedding attended by Lord Loughborough as brideman and also of an imminent wedding for Lord Chesterfield.⁵⁴ In such a way Theophilus became gradually familiar with his extended family and connections.

The role of Lucy and the wider family in framing Theophilus' opinions and priorities would bear fruit later in his life in his support for his sisters' marriages, his concern for their financial well-being, his readiness to make the marriage his mother found for him and his support for the Stuarts, particularly James II. Lucy was instrumental in achieving these outcomes but could not do so alone. The presence of male relatives and friends was crucial in minimising the political disadvantages experienced by a family with a female head. However, Lucy's educational role continued beyond Theophilus' majority with her advice regarding the furnishing and renovations of Donnington Park, dealing with the problems in his marriage and with public rumours which threatened his reputation. This will be discussed in the next chapter.

Along with Theophilus' education, another important task Lucy had included in her will was the care of Theophilus' estate during his minority. The Civil War had impoverished the family but it was still noble. Theophilus required wealth to maintain his noble rank and to cultivate the friendship of other noblemen and gentlemen. Therefore, Lucy had to

been unable to track down Salusbury, there being a number of ministers with this name at this time. If Lucy was sent political news the letters have not survived in such numbers.

⁵⁴ Gervase Jaques to TEH, HA Corr., 21/7646, 4 September 1660. Jaques' letter also includes news of parliament, the court and society.

ensure that he had estates to inherit and that they were abundant enough to support his position as earl. She had not inherited an easy task as her responsibilities were considerable, including estates in the Irish counties of Fermanagh and Tyrone, manors in Leicestershire and Derbyshire, coal mines in Derbyshire, and various rectories and parsonages. Lucy was a valuable link between the estates in the time of the sixth earl and their continuing maintenance and development under the seventh. With her knowledge of her husband's actions and understanding of what had been undertaken and why, Lucy was able to provide managerial continuity, carrying on her husband's work and training her son to continue it. In this way widows such as Lucy were often well positioned to actively assist their families.

Such continuity and training can be seen during Theophilus' early years in a number of the letters he and Lucy received. The same correspondent sent letters individually to both Theophilus and Lucy, sometimes on the same day, each with different content. These correspondents comprised agents, stewards, friends and family, and included, Matthew Davies, Bridget Croft, Frances Williams, Lord Loughborough, Sir Gervase Clifton and Gervase Jaques.⁵⁵ As steward, Gervase Jaques in particular spent much of his time writing to both Lucy and Theophilus. Not infrequently, Jaques would discuss an estate matter with Theophilus but then request Theophilus to ask Lucy for her decision.⁵⁶ In this way Theophilus was kept informed and trained as to the workings of the estate and the various duties associated with it. No doubt he also discussed these matters with his mother. As

⁵⁵ See for example, Frances Williams, [Lady Frances (Glynne)]? to TEH, HA Corr., 22/13391 and to L(D)H, 22/13392, both dated 24 December 1660; HH(LL) to TEH, HA Corr., 21/5581 and to L(D)H, HA Corr., 21/5582, both 12 March 1659/60 and to TEH, 21/5584 and L(D)H, 21/5585, both 17 September 1660.

⁵⁶ See for example, Gervase Jaques to TEH, HA Corr., 26/7659, 19 December 1667 and 26/7660, 23 March 1667/68.

Theophilus grew older his letters contained more detail and gradually came to deal with more complicated estate business.

Despite the increasing role of Theophilus in estate matters as he neared his marriage and majority, Lucy maintained her hold on the estates during his minority and made the decisions concerning them. Despite her experience, it is clear from the copious correspondence which has survived from Lucy's stewards and agents during this period that she did not always find it easy to administer the estates and that she made mistakes. The estates were diverse and widespread and Lucy spent much of her time writing long letters to her stewards and agents. In his response to one of Lucy's letters, John Davies, one of her stewards, expressed his frustration at the range of tasks required of him:

I lately received your letter dated the 16 of this instant brought by Darby post in which there are more particulars then I cann speake too at this time and more worke inioyned then I cann well doe in the time you have aloted mee, but I shall indeavour to obey your commands.⁵⁷

Stewards at times complained of being given no instructions in a matter and then being criticised if they acted on their own initiative.⁵⁸ In 1670, for example, Jaques asked Lucy several times for instructions concerning the supply of some of her sheep but received no instructions in return. Jacques consequently supplied the sheep and was firmly criticised for doing so as his reply to Lucy makes clear:

⁵⁷ John Davies to L(D)H, HA Corr., 23/2005, 22 January 1661/62.

⁵⁸ See D.R. Hainsworth, *Stewards, lords and people: The estate steward and his world in later Stuart England*, (Cambridge, 1992) for a discussion of the complexity of estates and the duties of an estate steward. Hainsworth recognises the "mysterious reluctance of greatly trusted servants to act on their own responsibility" (p. 254) and argues that this can be explained by the nature of the relationship between steward and lord which was one of "surrogate kin" (p. 253). A steward would do nothing without a direct order from his master as "masters were patriarchs, and in a patriarchy there can be only one decision maker" (p. 256). The example of Lucy shows that women could take the position of the patriarch in their families if men were absent or, in Theophilus' case, underage.

I am heartily sorry that I have soe highly displeased your honour in sellinge the sheepe to Mr Davys and humbly begge your pardon, though I had your honours order formerly for it, and then acquainted you by severall letters that I cold not delivere him soe many without very much decreasinge if not spoiling(?) your honours stocke.⁵⁹

Jaques' frustration at Lucy's lack of communication was also evident in the following to Theophilus:

I beseeche your Lordship to move my Lady that I may receive her pleasure in severall Affaires I have formerly writt about for it may tend to her honours great prejudice (if they bee neglected) and if your Lordship's great Concern will not Admitt thereof I humbly desire I may receive her Commands by some other hands.⁶⁰

When Jaques made the above comment Lucy and Theophilus were in London preparing for Theophilus' marriage and coming of age. Lucy had many different persons clamouring for her attention and decisions. As agents and stewards would not act without authority, delays often resulted when she did not provide them with immediate direction.

Problems also sometimes occurred when a steward or agent was replaced by another. For example, in the late 1660s William Davies, the steward of the Irish lands was succeeded by Thomas Hill and in 1669 John Davies, the English steward, was succeeded by Gervase Jaques. New incumbents did not always agree with the actions of their predecessors and

⁵⁹ Gervase Jaques to L(D)H (listed as TEH in the index), HA Corr., 29/7690, 20 September 1670.

⁶⁰ Gervase Jaques to TEH, HA Corr., 27/7663, 13 February 1668/69. See also Thomas Barrodale to M(H)J, HA Corr., 38/466, 28 April 1674. Barrodale complained that Lucy would not organise her business matters until the last minute which meant that her agent "must on a sudden be put to extremities" trying to carry out her orders.

often took time to build up the detailed knowledge and trust of the tenants necessary to effectively carry out their work. Tenants would sometimes complain about the actions of a new steward and ask for Lucy's mediation.⁶¹ New stewards also often found their roles daunting. When Jaques took over from John Davies he told Lucy that although he did not have Davies' "great Abilities" he would try to "discharge the great Trust" Lucy had put in him.⁶²

Lucy relied heavily on her stewards and agents and they performed crucial tasks for her, protecting the Hastings' interests by initiating law suits, collecting as much rent as possible, attending and holding fairs and manor courts and settling disputes between tenants.⁶³ Both Lucy and Theophilus were eager to ensure that they lost not even the smallest advantage and that they maintained their hold on all their rights and powers.⁶⁴ It was important that they maintained their rights, particularly when the consequences were financial, as they needed to achieve the highest income the estate could provide. This was particularly important given the amount of debt on the estate, the managing of which was another of Lucy's responsibilities.

⁶¹ For example, see Mary Statham to L(D)H, HA Corr., 27/12672, 1 May 1669 and Thomas Pollard to L(D)H, 27/10343, 1 May 1669.

⁶² Gervase Jaques to L(D)H, HA Corr., 27/7661, 6 January 1668/69. Of course, stewards also feigned modesty about their abilities in order to highlight their gratitude to their master or mistress. John Davies was probably a son of Sir John Davies' brother Edward. Other Davies family members who acted as stewards or agents for Lucy included Ferdinando, William and Tristram who were cousins.

⁶³ See for example, Gervase Jaques to L(D)H, HA Corr., 28/7679, 13 April 1670 concerning legal action against a miller; 27/7669, 23 October 1669 on fishing rights and renting of land and 30/7695, 21 March 1670/71 concerning fairs. Hainsworth, *Stewards, Lords and People* discusses the various ways in which stewards protected their master's interests.

⁶⁴ For example, TEH to Gervase Jaques, HA Corr., 29/5881, 1670< concerning Theophilus' right in regard to the Stoke Puges Hospital.

Debt was a fact of life for the Hastings throughout this period and Lucy's principal task was to continue the work begun with her husband in clearing the estate's debt. Correspondence from various creditors illustrates that many of the debts were longstanding. For example, in 1656 William Willoughby, who had been waiting many years for payment, told Lucy that if she did not have the money he would take horses as payment.⁶⁵ In 1661 Abraham Wilkins asked Lucy for money owed to him for a beaver hat for "my lord fardinandoe" which meant that this debt had been outstanding for more than five years.⁶⁶ Thirteen years after her husband's death, Lucy was still struggling to pay his debts. In 1669 a widow, Isabell Sutton, asked Lucy for the remaining amount owed to her for a horse her late husband had supplied to Ferdinando. Lucy had promised speedy payment, part of which had been paid with corn, but £4 remained.⁶⁷

Many creditors pleaded their reduced circumstances meant that they needed the money more than ever. While some of these descriptions of extreme distress were no doubt used to prompt Lucy into payment, some were clearly not feigned. Isabell Sutton claimed that she was brought into a low condition on the death of her husband, did not have even a cow to supply her with milk, and had a child who was an apprentice and needed to be maintained with clothes. In 1663 a tradesman, Thomas Norris, told his creditors that he was waiting for payment from Lucy, supposedly before he could pay them. When Lucy left London without settling the debt, Norris believed his creditors would now doubt they would receive any money. Consequently, Norris begged Lucy for payment of the debt

⁶⁵ William Willoughby to L(D)H, HA Corr., 20/13401, 1 December 1656.

⁶⁶ Abraham Wilkins to L(D)H (listed as TEH in the index), HA Corr., 22/13295, 28 January 1660/61.

⁶⁷ Isabell Sutton to L(D)H, HA Corr., 27/12763, 8 May 1669.

justly owed him.⁶⁸ In a later letter he continued to beg for the money saying that he was in Ludgate for the debt but would be given his freedom if he managed to make one payment. Unable to raise sufficient money from his friends, as a last resort Norris asked Lucy for £40 or more.⁶⁹

A large part of Lucy's difficulties in repaying creditors was the problem she faced obtaining ready cash. The Hastings were rich in land but there was a constant struggle to draw money out of the estates, especially when Lucy was in London for considerable periods of time, dealing with business and the marriages of her children. London was expensive, particularly as food had to be purchased or sent from the country.⁷⁰ Lucy continually requested money from her stewards, who frequently apologised for the small amounts they sent, explaining their difficulties in obtaining it. A typical comment from Jaques, for example, was the following:

I have received both yours and will doe my utmost to send your honour a considerable summe speedily, though the tennants are backward in paying there Rents, which necessitates mee to Attend dayly upon that concerne and hinders mee at present from perfecting my accompts for the yeare that is past.⁷¹

Earlier, John Davies had experienced similar trouble. In 1662 he wrote to Lucy's daughter Mary stating that he would carefully follow Lucy's commands which Mary had conveyed and would continue to press the tenants for payment of their rent. However, Davies thought that if Jaques appeared among the tenants "as sent from my Lady for the Rents

⁶⁸ Thomas Norris to L(D)H, HA Corr., 23/9732, 29 June 1663.

⁶⁹ Thomas Norris to L(D)H, HA Corr., 23/9733, 29 June < 1663.

⁷⁰ See the many letters from Gervase Jaques to L(D)H, particularly HA Corr., 28/7673, 12 January 1669/70.

⁷¹ Gervase Jaques to L(D)H, HA Corr., 28/7680, 18 April 1670.

they would sooner pay them than all my callinge for them".⁷² Davies clearly recognised the importance of the authority of the noble landlord, an authority which extended to female heads of noble families as well as male.⁷³

With only small amounts of cash to draw on it was a juggling act to determine where payments should be directed. John Davies told Lucy in 1663:

I will not trouble your honour with acquainting you with the many payments I have to make and the little purse I have to make them, because I feare you have too many troubles on you all-ready.⁷⁴

An associated problem was the conflicting financial demands of different family members. For example, although in 1670 Lucy, Theophilus, and his sisters Mary and Christiana were all living at Hampstead, they each required their own supply of money and Jaques had to juggle their competing claims.⁷⁵ Lucy often appeared desperate for money and her responsibilities must have burdened and worried her.⁷⁶ In order to meet more pressing debts and needs, Lucy borrowed money which put further pressure on the family's finances. In 1665 she borrowed £2,000, the debt being transferred to Sir James Langham

⁷² John Davies to L(D)H, HA Corr., 23/2014, 23 September 1662. See also John Davies to L(D)H, 23/2010, 29 July 1662 and 23/2016, [c.1662]. Jaques took over from Davies in 1669 but they clearly worked together at this earlier stage and were possibly responsible for different parts of the estate.

⁷³ Davies also seemed to be implying that Jaques was a more impressive figure than he was. Before Jaques worked for the Hastings family he had been a malster and farmer. In 1685 he had served the Hastings for more than forty years. Hainsworth, *Stewards, Lords and People*, pp. 27, 29.

⁷⁴ John Davies to L(D)H, HA Corr., 23/2019, 16 May 1663.

⁷⁵ Gervase Jaques to M(H)J, HA Corr., 29/7688, 26 July 1670. See also his letter to TEH, 28/7685, 28 May 1670 "the remainder of your Lordships Allowance moneys shall bee returned you to Hampstead soe soone as I can have it but I am at present put upon some straites to supply my Ladys occations".

⁷⁶ See Muldrew, *Economy of obligation*, pp. 173-95, for examination of unpaid debt and its effect on social relationships, particularly pp. 174-82 for long-term debt.

in the name of Thomas Langham (probably his brother) in 1666.⁷⁷ Sir James had married Lucy's daughter Elizabeth in 1662 and remained close to the family after Elizabeth's death two years later. As a wealthy merchant, Langham had the money the Hastings family so desperately needed.⁷⁸ He later loaned a further sum which enabled the Hastings to secure possession of the manor of Okethorpe with its coal mines.

Okethorpe had been owned by Lord Loughborough and a ninety-nine year lease was willed to his executors, Francis Eaton, a servant and Francis Coles, his Irish agent, on trust that they would use it to raise money to pay his debts and legacies. He also left £200 a year to his sister, Lady Alice Clifton, out of the profits of Okethorpe and willed that after his debts and legacies had been paid the lease of Okethorpe should go to his nephew, Theophilus and his heirs and if Theophilus died before twenty-one years of age, to the then Earl of Huntingdon.⁷⁹ The correspondence indicates that Lucy borrowed money from Langham to pay off Loughborough's debts and secure the mine for her son and that she put up the Irish lands as security for these loans.⁸⁰

⁷⁷ L(D)H to Davies, HA Corr., 25/5762, 4 June 1666<. Lucy also made arrangements to pay debts in instalments. See *CSPD*, Charles II, 1670 and Addenda 1660-1670, pp. 295-6.

⁷⁸ See chapter six following.

⁷⁹ HAP21/11, "Will of Lord Loughborough", 1 August 1665, Will proven 15 May 1667 (copy). Also, PROB 11/324, ff36v-37r. Loughborough's real and personal estate was also to be used to pay debts and then to go to Theophilus. See also Bennett, 'Hastings, Henry', *ODNB*.

⁸⁰ The situation is unclear but this is the most likely explanation. See L(D)H to Davys, HA Corr., 25/5762, 4 June 1666<. John Hatcher claims that Oakthorpe was sold by Loughborough in 1662 to William Bale who proved unable to work it and who then sold it in 1667 to Lord Hastings and Sir Edward Kirk for £840. (*The History of the British Coal Industry: vol. 1: Before 1700: Towards the age of coal*, (Oxford, 1993) p. 163). R.A. McKinley in *VHC Leicester* vol. 3, states that Lord Loughborough was "concerned" in the operation of a mine at Okethorpe or Measham in the later seventeenth century. For discussion on the Hastings and mining see McKinley, *VHC Leicester*, vol. 3, pp. 33-4 and Hatcher, *History of the British Coal Industry*, vol. 1, pp. 162-3; 242. There was a mine at Okethorpe at least from the fifteenth century. (*VHC Leicester*, vol. 3, p. 31; *History of British Coal Industry*, p. 161.)

Lucy described the continuance of this debt as “an excessive losse”.⁸¹ It became a major preoccupation of the Hastings family to free their mortgaged estates and their condition clearly caused some stress between Lucy and Theophilus. In about 1666 Theophilus drafted a letter to Lucy, complaining “how litle my words prevailes with your Ladyship in any thing of importance; and that they rather exasperate you against mee then produce any good effect”. He recounted that £1,500 had been borrowed about three years earlier upon security “of a part of my future” and Lucy’s “present estate” for “the preserving of a considerable part” of Loughborough’s estate. This had indebted the part of his estate allocated for his and his sisters’ maintenance and the payment of his father’s debts. The English estates and Lucy’s estate in Ireland lay “exposed to a forfeiture” or at least to the possibility that it would be entered and enjoyed by someone else until the debt was paid. This, he said, exposes us “to greate want”.⁸² The letter indicates that Lucy’s confidence that she knew the best course of action to take was matched by her son’s ability, even at a young age, to express his own very different ideas about the estate.

In 1667 and 1668 Lucy considered marrying Theophilus to Langham’s daughter Mary, citing several advantages, one of which was “the taking in of my Brother Loughborough estate wherby Okethorpe may bee preserved to my son, vallewed about £500 a yeare or better”. She asked Matthew Davies for his advice, explaining that the Hastings already had possession of the mine through the means of Langham (that is, the loan) but that something further was needed to clear the matter.⁸³ Although the marriage negotiations were

⁸¹ L(D)H to Davys, HA Corr., 25/5762, 4 June 1666<. Lucy often needed money urgently in relation to payment of this debt. In about 1670 she needed to make a payment of £530 and, unable to get the required amount from her tenants, sought to borrow £100. L(D)H to ?, 29/5766, [c.1670].

⁸² TEH to L(D)H, HA Corr., 25/5876, 1666<.

⁸³ L(D)H to Matthew Davies, HA Corr., 26/5764, 15 October 1668. This letter reveals the friendship between Lucy and Matthew Davies and how much Lucy relied on him. Lucy told Davies that she had not suggested they meet to discuss the matter due to concern for his health and the long journey he would have to make, “yet intend noe less token of my gratefullnesse upon your advice in this businesse, then if you had bin

subsequently abandoned, possibly due to Sir James' reservations about the Hastings' financial state, Langham continued to be regarded as a member of the Hastings family, referring to himself as Lucy's son and being addressed by Theophilus as "deare brother".⁸⁴ However, this close relationship did not prevent Langham threatening legal action when he thought he might not recover the money he had lent.⁸⁵ Borrowing money was a high risk strategy for Lucy.

The debts of the fifth and sixth earls had been a crippling burden on the estate which intensified the need for efficient and decisive management. For the family, the Irish estates were particularly important as their sale in 1673 was intimately connected with the freeing of the Hastings' English lands and the provision of portions for Mary and Christiana. These estates were also important because they appeared to be owned by Lucy herself rather than the Hastings, coming to her through her father.⁸⁶ Lucy's continuing care of these lands enabled her to fundamentally affect the fortunes of the Hastings. Her extended Davies family were also critical in this process.

heere in person. I beseech God direct graciously mee, and my freinds, whose advice I take in this greate affaire, and blesse and prosper you and yours as I pray for my owne assuring you that you are all very offten in the well-wishing thoughts of your affectionate cousine and true freind Lucy Huntingdon". For the negotiations for the Langham match see chapter five.

⁸⁴ Of course Langham had married into the family himself in 1662. However, having gained aristocratic connections and influence through his own marriage he had little to gain by another Hastings alliance. Langham's decision to refuse the match demonstrates that a title alone was not enough to lure merchants into an aristocratic match. They still needed financial incentive or stability.

⁸⁵ L(D)H to Davies, HA Corr., 25/5762, 4 June 1666<. Sir James had a bill in Chancery for payment.

⁸⁶ TEH to L(D)H, HA Corr., 25/5876, 1666<. While the exact legal position is uncertain, documentary evidence all points to the lands being Lucy's. Not only were they always spoken of as Lucy's, but she received all the letters and made all the decisions concerning them. The Irish lands were not included in the lands she made over to Theophilus before his marriage and she sold them in 1673.

The Irish lands were a valuable asset for the Hastings but the social and political turmoil in Ireland made the situation particularly unstable for landowners. In particular, insecurity of title threatened the ability of owners to make a healthy income from the land. During the 1650s the Cromwellian settlement of Ireland required the removal of Catholic owners and their replacement by Cromwell's officers and soldiers. However, not only was there not enough land for everyone who claimed it, many of those successful in obtaining grants did not want to settle in Ireland and sold the land to other Protestants. This left very few Protestant as tenants. At the Restoration Charles II not only promised to confirm existing ownership of land but also to return lands to those who had supported the royalist side. Again there was not enough land to satisfy everyone and this problem was never solved.⁸⁷

In addition to this background of uncertainty the Irish lands were particularly troublesome because Lucy had to manage them from a distance. Consequently, information took some time to reach her as did her instructions to her stewards. For example, Ferdinando Davies, a relative and agent of Lucy's in Ireland, informed her in early June 1666 that he had only just received her letter dated 4 April.⁸⁸ On occasion Lucy's instructions had become redundant by the time they reached Ireland as the agent or steward there had already acted as he thought Lucy would have wanted.⁸⁹ There were also difficulties ensuring letters

⁸⁷ See Canny, *From Reformation to Restoration*, pp. 219-21; Royle, *The British Civil War*, pp. 684-89, 788. Disputes over title did not begin with the Irish Rebellion. In the early 1630s a dispute over title erupted between the sixth earl and the Bishop of Clogher. See Charles Segrave to HEH, HA Corr., 14/10723, 12 November 1633; John Carmick to FEH, 14/1229, August 1634; Charles Segrave to ? the Lord Deputy of Ireland, 15/10726, 12 October 1635; Charles Segrave to FEH, 15/10727, 20 December 1635. See also the Petition of James Spottiswood, Bishop of Clogher, to the Lord Deputy and Council, 26 February 1633/34, *HMC* 78, vol. 4, pp. 53-4. Payment of money was also far from secure. Lucy told Davies in around 1666 that Sir James Langham would not take the chance or the expense of being paid his money in Ireland and wanted it paid in England. L(D)H to Davies, HA Corr., 25/5762, 4 June 1666<.

⁸⁸ Ferdinando Davies to L(D)H, HA Corr., 25/1950, 1 and 5 June, 1666.

⁸⁹ Thomas Hill to L(D)H, HA Corr., 26/6786, 3 July 1668.

would safely reach recipients, there being, at one time, a suspicion that they were being intercepted and read.⁹⁰

Lucy's distance from Ireland and lack of immediate knowledge of conditions there made her even more dependent on her Irish agents than on those who administered the English estates.⁹¹ Lucy was fortunate in having some Davies relatives to assist her in the running of the Irish estates and their knowledge of Ireland proved of great benefit. It was nevertheless difficult for Lucy to judge the honesty and competency of her stewards and agents. The Hastings correspondence shows, for instance, a bitter dispute between three of Lucy's agents, Thomas Hill and her cousins Ferdinando and Tristram Davies. Ferdinando and Tristram suspected that Hill was not passing money to Lucy but taking it for his own benefit.⁹² Ferdinando Davies even asked Theophilus to ensure that the accounts Hill sent in were checked and his dealings inspected carefully.⁹³ This meant that although Lucy had to rely heavily on her agents, she was never able to trust them completely or to feel confident that her interests were being protected. This had further repercussions. In 1669 Thomas Hill explained to Lucy that her lack of trust in those she employed in Ireland meant that they failed to make as much money as was possible. Because of Lucy's suspicions she only gave her tenants short term leases which meant they had no incentive to improve the lands and to build fences or buildings. Hill advised Lucy to send someone

⁹⁰ Thomas Hill to L(D)H? TEH?, HA Corr., 26/6785, 18 June 1668. Thomas Hill was another of Lucy's agents in Ireland. It is unclear why the letters were being intercepted and who was responsible. Hill's dispute with Ferdinando and Tristram Davies may have had something to do with it (see next page). A year later Hill told Lucy that he had been threatened for supporting tenants against those who, he claimed, wanted to oppress them. Thomas Hill to L(D)H, 27/6788, 18 July 1669.

⁹¹ Lucy left Ireland at the age of five and there is no evidence that she ever returned. For a discussion of the importance of estate stewards for absentee landlords see Hainsworth, *Stewards, lords and people*, pp. 12-17.

⁹² Tristram Davies to L(D)H, HA Corr., 29/2069, 15 October 1670 and Ferdinando and Tristram Davies to L(D)H, 30/1956, 9 April 1671.

⁹³ Ferdinando Davies to TEH, HA Corr., 30/1957, 11 April 1671.

she could trust to Ireland to set up long leases at a proper rent to encourage tenants to stay on her land and improve it.⁹⁴

It was difficult to convince owners such as Lucy to agree to long leases when they needed the cash that short leases would bring. In 1669 Hill complained to Lucy that the low rents in Fermanagh were caused by short leases (of a maximum of one year) arranged by his predecessor Mr William Davies.⁹⁵ However, an earlier letter from William Davies demonstrates that he acted under Lucy's instructions when he made the short leases. In 1659 when Lucy accused him of engaging tenants at longer leases than she had agreed, Davies argued:

And I did little expect your Ladyship would have declared your prejudice or dissent to confirme any thing I have done: Having never granted any lease for any considerable terme; of which I have not given your honor heertofore a statisfatory account of the inducements which moved me so to doe. The principall of which was to invite tennants of which your Ladyship hath found the benefitt your lands being more fully planted then ever yett they were.⁹⁶

Davies advised Lucy not to consider breaking the leases, especially as this would allow Irish tenants to bid for the land and discourage the few English tenants she had.

This raised another issue for landlords of Irish land. English owners of Irish land and the agents who worked for them, had a fundamental distrust of the Irish which only increased

⁹⁴ Thomas Hill to L(D)H, HA Corr., 27/6788, 18 July 1669.

⁹⁵ Thomas Hill to L(D)H, HA Corr., 27/6789, 14 December 1669. Hill's comments demonstrate his knowledge of local conditions and ability to judge more accurately than Lucy what would make the estate more profitable.

⁹⁶ William Davies to L(D)H, HA Corr., 21/2080, 15 January 1658/59.

in the aftermath of the Irish Rebellion.⁹⁷ As the letter from Davies demonstrates, English landlords preferred English tenants and sought to keep them on the land. Davies argued that the Irish would agree to higher rents in order to get rid of the English and once established on the land, would “play their prancks” and drive down the rent because once in possession no Irish would outbid them.⁹⁸ Anti-Irish sentiments were also conveyed by Thomas Hill ten years later. Hill told Lucy that a garrison should be established in Kerriles which would, amongst other things, “drive out the irish, who run from all civill commerce and avoid it, as Noctivolants [nightfliers?] and wild beasts shun the light”.⁹⁹

Despite the problems with the Irish estates they were a critical element in the Hastings’ strategy to recover from debt and the Civil War. There will be a discussion of the sale of the Irish estates in the next chapter as it is impossible to separate them from the marriage of Theophilus and the settlements and disputes that arose as a result. However, it is significant to note that the Irish lands were eventually sold to men who were based in Ireland, Ferdinando Davies purchasing the estates in Fermanagh and Edward Edwards those in Tyrone.¹⁰⁰ Such estates were much easier to manage when the owner was present and knew the country and its conditions well.

⁹⁷ See Charles Segrave to HEH, HA Corr., 14/10723, 12 November 1633 and [Sir] Will[ia]m Cole to FEH, HA Corr., 15/1547, 11 July 1636 for instances of early anti-Irish sentiment and preferring of English tenants.

⁹⁸ William Davies to L(D)H, HA Corr., 21/2080, 15 January 1658/59.

⁹⁹ Thomas Hill to L(D)H, HA Corr., 27/6788, 18 July 1669. See also his letter to L(D)H, 27/6789, 14 December 1669.

¹⁰⁰ “Biographical notes by Theophilus”, in *HMC* 78, vol. 4, p. 353. See also chapter five. Ferdinando Davies was the grandson of Edward Davies, brother of Sir John Davies, Lucy’s father.

While Lucy had a special connection to the Irish lands she was also responsible for running the Hastings' English estates. These estates did not have problems of distance or political and social upheaval but it was still far from easy to draw a profit from them. A major source of concern was the coal mine at Okethorpe, which came into the family after the death of Loughborough. Problems started when Loughborough's executors, in particular Francis Eaton, attempted to retain hold of Okethorpe beyond the time to which the Hastings considered they were entitled. The Hastings not only believed that an attempt might be made to substitute a bogus will but further dispute arose from the fact that the instructions to the will had been lost and also that parts of the will had been changed. The executors claimed this had been done with the consent of Loughborough. The Hastings were advised that the executors had no interest in Okethorpe beyond ninety-nine years and that the interest they did possess was only until Loughborough's debts were paid and their trust performed.¹⁰¹ In other words, the mine would belong to the Hastings once the debts and legacies of Loughborough were paid.

By 1670 the Hastings were in possession of Okethorpe with Jaques administering the mine and writing long letters to Lucy about it. While Loughborough had left the mine to Theophilus, Lucy appeared to make all the decisions concerning it. Eaton continued to cause trouble, and in around May 1670 took out a writ against Jaques and bailiff George Smith. This meant that Jaques and Smith had to remain out of sight to avoid arrest. Jaques wrote to Theophilus seeking Lucy's instructions as he was "not willing to bee Arrested if I can avoyde it, it will bee chargeable to my Lady as well as troublesome to myselfe". Jaques claimed that Eaton had "done the greatest dishonor to the memorie of my Lord

¹⁰¹ HAP21/18, "Notes concerning the will of Henry, Lord Loughborough", 1667<. See also HAP21/17, "Appointment by Theophilus, Earl of Huntingdon of Gervase Jaques as his agent as [and?] Administrator of the goods etc of Henry Lord Loughborough, the Earl being only 16 years and therefore a minor", 13 March 1666/67.

Loughborough by imbecellinge (embezzling) that estate and abusing that great trust reposed in him".¹⁰² In early June the dispute nearly erupted into open warfare when Jaques heard a rumour that Eaton was amassing some twenty horse to attack the pit. In response Jaques organised a force of about four hundred, including two hundred women with coal and stones as weapons, and prepared for the assault until Eaton, who was accompanied by only ten men, withdrew. Jaques informed Lucy that she would have lost Okethorpe if she had not justices and other gentlemen as friends. Importantly, these troubles had driven away customers, who had gone to Lord Beaumont's pits instead. Jaques spoke of the public disgrace to Lucy if she allowed such a "pittifull fellowe" to "affront" her and abuse her servants.¹⁰³ This dispute highlighted Lucy's need for a network of influential friends and demonstrated her ability to utilise this network for her family's advantage. It also highlighted the threat to a family's reputation that such challenges posed. In addition to the financial loss these challenges could be violent and bullying. In such instances Lucy, with the help of her network, was able to defeat her adversary.

Francis Eaton does not appear again in the correspondence but the problems associated with Okethorpe continued, largely due to lack of money to pay the colliers who were consequently always on the verge of walking off the field.¹⁰⁴ It was a challenging enterprise, and Jaques sympathised with Lucy in 1670 saying that he understood "how much you suffer by that unfortunate Delph".¹⁰⁵ Lack of money was not the only problem

¹⁰² Gervase Jaques to TEH, HA Corr., 28/7683, 2 May 1670. See also Jaques to L(D)H, 28/7673, 12 January 1669/70; 28/7677, 5 April 1670 and 28/7684, 10 May 1670.

¹⁰³ Gervase Jaques to L(D)H, HA Corr., 28/7686, 11 June 1670. See also Jaques letters to L(D)H, 28/7687, 29 June 1670 and 29/7691, 1 October 1670. The Eaton disturbance had frightened away all the customers and sale of coal was low despite price cuts.

¹⁰⁴ See Gervase Jaques to L(D)H, HA Corr., 28/7676, 23 March 1669/70; 28/7673, 12 January 1669/70; 28/7686, 11 June 1670. Ferdinando Davies to L(D)H, HA Corr., 30/1955, 13 January 1670/71.

¹⁰⁵ Gervase Jaques to L(D)H, HA Corr., 28/7673, 12 January 1669/70. "Delph" appears frequently in the correspondence when talking about coal. It refers to the pit or excavation.

with the mine. In early 1670 a fire in one of the pits lasted for at least a fortnight, putting that pit permanently out of use.¹⁰⁶ Jaques told Lucy that he did not think that there was any other delph in England which had so many difficulties.¹⁰⁷ However, despite the great cost to the Hastings in protecting their rights to owning and working the mines, they were nonetheless valuable and Lucy was the central figure in the struggle to maintain them.

Another major area of activity for Lucy and Theophilus during this period was the preferment of ministers and church patronage. Lucy had charge of a number of livings including the rectories and parsonages of Ashby-de-la-Zouch and Packington in Leicester and the right of patronage and free disposition of the Church of Great Leake in Nottinghamshire.¹⁰⁸ Through their support and placement of ministers, Lucy and her son ensured the Hastings' religious tradition of patronage of the Church of England and support for the monarchy continued and Theophilus was able to put into action the religious principles which had been instilled in him throughout his childhood.

Leicestershire had areas of strong Puritan non-conformist activity with Ashby-de-la-Zouch, in particular, a centre of Puritanism from the late sixteenth into the seventeenth century.¹⁰⁹ However, while it is difficult to pinpoint Lucy and Ferdinando's religious position with great accuracy Lucy's "middle ground" in relation to politics was likely to have been

¹⁰⁶ Gervase Jaques to L(D)H, HA Corr., 28/7676, 23 March 1669/70. Fires could burn for years. Coleorton Pit burned for many years during the early part of Henry VIII's reign. Hatcher, *History of the British Coal Industry*, vol. 1, p. 162 and McKinley, *VHC Leicester* vol. 3, p. 32.

¹⁰⁷ Gervase Jaques to L(D)H, HA Corr., 28/7676, 23 March 1669/70.

¹⁰⁸ HAP22/12, "Surrender", 17 February 1671/72.

¹⁰⁹ *VHC, Leicester*, vol. 1, pp. 373, 376 and 379.

mirrored in religious matters and there is nothing in her life to suggest the notoriety associated with her mother. While Lucy supported her mother and protected her memory, she never followed her example. The Hastings' association with the monarchy, despite Ferdinando's lukewarm parliamentary support, meant that they were likely to support the traditional established Church of England. During the 1640s Ferdinando and Loughborough had supported several ministers charged and ejected by the County Committees. These included William Parkes, the vicar of Belton, who was ejected in 1646 and who took refuge in various Royalist garrisons and at Ashby as Ferdinando's chaplain. Parkes had allegedly tried to raise money to support the King and announced that "all those taking up arms for Parl[iament] were damned".¹¹⁰ The two Thomas Pestells, father and son vicars of Packington, were also ejected in 1646, accused, among other things, of keeping beagles and hunting. Thomas Pestell junior argued that he was Ferdinando's chaplain and covered by the surrender articles of Ashby-de-la-Zouch.¹¹¹ Finally, Edward Bigland, rector of East and West Leake in Nottinghamshire was charged in 1646 with being at Ashby-de-la-Zouch when it was a royalist garrison. He was imprisoned at Nottingham and eventually exchanged for two prisoners by Loughborough.¹¹² These examples suggest that the Hastings felt the need to defend both the monarchy and the established church and that one necessarily led to the other. Once they had associated themselves with the King it was next to impossible to support what parliament wanted done with the Church and its ministers.

After the death of her husband the position Lucy chose to take, as head of the family, on religious matters was a tricky one. During the 1650s she had to steer a careful path as the

¹¹⁰ A. G. Matthews, *Walker Revised: being a revision of John Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy during the Grand Rebellion, 1642-60* (Oxford and New York, 1948, 1988), p. 241.

¹¹¹ Matthews, *Walker Revised*, pp. 241-2.

process of reforming the church continued and ministers who supported episcopacy were removed from their livings and replaced by those who supported a Presbyterian form of church government. This was not a uniform process and some ministers who held traditional views were able to remain in their livings. However, in 1655 an ordinance ordered a further purge of the clergy.¹¹³ Although few letters regarding Lucy's preferment of ministers have survived, one in 1658 from Thomas Savage, the rector of Sutton Bonnington St. Michael in Nottinghamshire spoke of Lucy's "favour and respect to Men of Our Tribe".¹¹⁴ Savage did not appear to be deprived of his living although he suffered from plundering soldiers and needed to hide to avoid arrest. He was also forced to dismiss two curates who had been sequestered.¹¹⁵ Savage's comment about Lucy's support indicates her patronage of the former established church rather than any radical tendencies.

After the Restoration many of the ejected ministers were returned to their livings. The Act of Uniformity of 1662 required ministers to show their loyalty to the Church of England and much of the liturgy previously proscribed was restored, including the use of the Book of Common Prayer. During this period the changing circumstances sometimes made presentations difficult. In 1661 John Davies informed Lucy that he had spoken to Mr Smith about the vicarage of Ashby,

and told him that if hee would I would write to your honour in his behalfe hee gave mee many thankes sayinge that hee hoped that hee should bee quieter

¹¹² Matthews, *Walker Revised*, p. 292.

¹¹³ See Matthews for an account of this period in *Walker Revised*, pp. (xxiii) – (xxvii). This period and process has been described as causing "the permanent disruption' of the Church of England". Matthews quoting S. R. Gardiner in *Walker Revised*, p. (xvii).

¹¹⁴ Thomas Savage to ?Thorps, HA Corr., 20/10683, 22 June 1658. While Savage does not mention Lucy by name he is most likely to be referring to her.

¹¹⁵ Matthews, *Walker Revised*, p. 294.

where hee was or wordes to that purpose I perceave by him that hee is not yet satisfied to conforme I pray god direct you in your choise for a minister for this place.¹¹⁶

While this letter was written shortly before the Act of Uniformity, Smith may still have had concerns about the Cavalier Parliament's proceedings and may have felt unable to serve in a prominent church such as Ashby. Lucy had to ensure that ministers conformed to requirements which had drastically changed while at the same time not alienating those who had served for some time.

In contrast to the scanty records concerning Lucy's preferment of ministers there is much more evidence of Theophilus' activity in this regard. While it is difficult to pinpoint the exact situation, given that a proportion of the correspondence has been lost, it is possible to speculate that as Theophilus neared his coming of age and his marriage he increasingly took over this role from his mother. It is also possible that by 1670 Lucy was based in London, preoccupied with her son's marriage and her Irish lands and was happy to leave this side of the family concerns to her son. Theophilus often corresponded with clergymen. For example, Thomas Salusbury spoke of Theophilus' "tenderesse of the Protestant Interest" and John Joynes, the prebend of Lincoln, hoped Theophilus would find one of his sermons (printed on Theophilus' incentive) as "orthodox and consonant to the doctrine of the Church of England and consequently to that of the primitive and purest antiquity".¹¹⁷ These comments echo the words of Theophilus to Lord Loughborough eight

¹¹⁶ John Davies to L(D)H, HA Corr., 22/2003, 31 December 1661. Other letters include Ferdinando Davies to L(D)H, 25/1950, 1 and 5 June 1666 and William Wollaston to L(D)H, 28/13440, 8 March 1669/70 regarding the death of the parson at Measham, the need to fill the position and the problem finding the funds to do so. "I was the willinger to give your Ladyship this trouble because I thought it might be a worcke very pleasing to you to advance the ministry".

¹¹⁷ Thomas Salusbury to TEH, HA Corr., 23/10653, 27 July 1663. John Joynes to TEH, 26/7989, 18 November 1668. Joynes was known as an "excellent preacher". *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, vol. 2, p. 491.

years earlier when he spoke of the restoration of the Church to primitive purity.

Theophilus was only thirteen when Salusbury made his comment and only eighteen in the case of Joynes', demonstrating that his religious position and role in preferring clergymen started early, no doubt with the encouragement of his mother and with assistance from his uncle Loughborough. His comments do not indicate "puritanism" in the sectarian sense.

The Hastings believed in the traditions of the Church of England and Theophilus was following this course.

The appointments made by Theophilus also demonstrate the Hastings' emphasis on supporting the King's authority. In 1671 Samuel Willes left the vicarage of Belton, which had been given to him by Theophilus, to take up a position in Derby.¹¹⁸ Willes told Theophilus that he hoped that his replacement at Belton would be:

one that is obedient to the King's Laws, and will prudently teach the People to bee soe. Disobedience to Authourity (as your Lordship well knows) is a thing utterly inconsistent with true Godlynesse.¹¹⁹

Willes said that he had instructed the people both in their duty to the King and to those that had authority under the King, (namely, Theophilus). He had reassured his parishioners of Theophilus' "pious and honourable methods" in disposing of his ecclesiastical preferments and as a result they were eagerly awaiting their new minister, Mr Vaughan.¹²⁰ Ten years on from the Restoration Willes' comments show that the memory of the rebellion against

¹¹⁸ Willes had, in late 1668, asked Theophilus if he could continue as the vicar of Belton but also take on the living of Long Whatton when the seventy year old incumbent died. The two towns were very close so preaching at both would not be a problem and uniting the two tithes would be convenient, he argued. Samuel Willes to TEH, HA Corr., 26/13318, 2 November 1668. Long Whatton was in the King's gift and Willes asked Theophilus to speak to the Bishop of Hereford on his behalf.

¹¹⁹ Samuel Willes to TEH, HA Corr., 30/13322, 27 February 1670/71.

¹²⁰ Samuel Willes to TEH, HA Corr., 30/13323, 15 April 1671.

the King was still fresh and that the importance of obedience needed to be emphasised. They also reveal that the congregation feared a new minister would not follow the ways of worship they believed in or had become used to and that Theophilus had different ideas to theirs about the kind of minister they needed.

In fact, Cadwallader Vaughan had some difficulties when he first came to the vicarage, finding his new parishioners not as committed to church duties as he would have liked. They were, Vaughan told Theophilus, “something tainted with that epidemically disease of the county, that is, indifferency and disaffection to the service and ceremonies of the church” and had told him they would soon be tired of common prayer if he persisted in reading so much of it.¹²¹ The ejection of William Parkes and his replacement under the Presbyterian system had influenced the congregation who now preferred extempore prayer.¹²² Vaughan hoped to “perswade them out of these mistakes” once he was better acquainted with them. Later Vaughan informed Theophilus that the discipline of the Church was “most agreeable to that of the primitive and Apostolically church” and that he had given his parish some “hintes” about this already and intended to make “those duties wherein they are now something deficient more plaine and obvious to them”.¹²³ The importance placed on obedience to both the King and the Church is clear. As part of the elite, the Hastings had a vested interest in ensuring the appropriate models of behaviour were maintained and Theophilus, in his placement of ministers, was an instrument by which this could be achieved. By this stage Anglicanism appears to have become the key religious interest of Theophilus, an interest he was to maintain for the rest of his life. The

¹²¹ Cadwallader Vaughan to TEH, HA Corr., 30/12953, 2 June 1671.

¹²² William Parkes was restored in 1660 but it is unclear if he returned to Belton (Matthews, *Walker Revised*, p. 241). Samuel Willes had the living from 1664. See *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, vol. 4, p. 424 for an entry on a Samuel Wills who is probably the one referred to here.

¹²³ Cadwallader Vaughan to TEH, HA Corr., 30/12954, 27 June 1671.

Hastings' need to ally themselves firmly with Charles II and the new regime meant they could do little but support the Church of England as it was re-established.

Theophilus also provided gifts as a way of supporting the established church and fulfilling his obligations as a nobleman. In 1670 he considered providing £10 towards a stall at Lichfield Church in Staffordshire and also two common prayer books for the altar. Samuel Bold, the prebend of Lichfield, advised Theophilus that the Bishop would gratefully accept the £10 for the stall and asked him to provide a drawing of his coat of arms to go on it. Bold said that only one book of common prayer was needed for the altar as Lord Denbigh had already provided one. This was an elaborate book, bound in crimson, with plates of gilt and inscribed with Denbigh's name. Bold emphasised that Theophilus' contribution should equal Denbigh's:

I am bold to put your Lordship to some cost more then neede is, in regard that I knowing the Noblenes of your Heart, am Loath your Honours giuft to the Alltar should be out shined by my Lord of Denbigh's, because I am sure your Lordship never was nor never will be in arms against the Church. But my Lord of Denbigh is now become a Convert: and as a fruit meet for repentance he founded and endowed a Chapell the last yeare but one, it was consecrated by the Bishop of Litchfeild; he is likewise now building another...¹²⁴

These comments reveal the competitive nature of much of Church endowment, particularly on the part of those, like Denbigh, who had to regain the ground they had lost by

¹²⁴ Samuel Bold to TEH, HA Corr., 28/881, 19 April 1670. *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, vol. 1, p. 173. See also letters from Jaques to TEH, 30/7702, 5 June 1671 and 31/7710, 23 October 1671 concerning the gift of a Chalice to Litchfield Church. Theophilus was "recorded amongst there greatest and noblest Benefactors" (31/7710). See also Thomas Pestell to TEH, 30/10177, 10 June 1671 concerning another gift to a church. Theophilus' example had led the parishioners to white wash the walls and flag the floors.

supporting Parliament twenty to thirty years earlier.¹²⁵ The Hastings were able to take advantage of the fact that they had never been in rebellion against either church or state. Keen to continue their tradition of patronage and benevolence, they used outward symbols of their ancestry to reinforce their position. Benjamin Woodroffe, another minister allied to the family, wrote in early 1671 that it was important in regard to Theophilus' lineage, that the "Honour and Merits of the Huntingdons" should not expire while there was a "Hastings to weare the name".¹²⁶ While it was important to maintain the fundamentals of the church this did not preclude establishing the Hastings' predominance and importance with visual display. Thomas Pestell reflected that Theophilus' gift to the church added "to the beautie of Holiness".¹²⁷ Many of the surviving letters on this topic are dated around 1671 when Theophilus was nearing his coming of age and needed to establish his position clearly.

During 1671 the Hastings' tenants gradually resigned their interest in various leases so that the lands could be resettled ready for Theophilus' coming of age in December and his marriage the following February.¹²⁸ Various tenants requested new terms for leases they

¹²⁵ For Denbigh see Ann Hughes, 'Basil Feilding, second Earl of Denbigh (c. 1608-1675)', *ODNB*, [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/9249>, accessed 31 March 2005].

¹²⁶ Benjamin Woodroffe to Sir James Langham, HA Corr., 30/13627, 16 February 1670/71. Benjamin Woodroffe was often at Court and sent Theophilus news. In this letter to Langham he said that he had been chaplain to the Duke of York for the last three years and had the Duke's favour.

¹²⁷ Thomas Pestell to TEH, HA Corr., 30/10177, 10 June 1671. The younger Pestell was restored in 1660. *Walker Revised*, p. 242.

¹²⁸ Gervase Jaques to TEH, HA Corr., 30/7700, 10 May 1671. Jaques wrote to say that the tenants were ready to resign their interests in their leases, thus enabling the land to be resettled. See also Peter Wood to TEH, 31/13450, 2 December 1671.

had earlier entered into with Lucy.¹²⁹ This was a critical changeover period with a new master and a new regime for tenants, servants, stewards, tradesmen, business connections and family. Two days before Theophilus' marriage to Elizabeth Lewys he and Lucy signed an indenture whereby Lucy "surrendered and yeilded up" to Theophilus all the lands and rights she had been given in her 1649 second jointure.¹³⁰ Lucy retained possession of the Irish lands which she would use in 1673 to free the estates from debt and provide for her daughters. Her long period of widowhood had given Lucy great responsibility and the opportunity to play a significant role in the Hastings family. The resilience of the Hastings family can be attributed to its ability to utilise a woman like Lucy, ideally positioned to work towards the well-being of the family. The next chapter will deal with the establishment of a new head to the family and a new generation of Hastings. Lucy did not die until 1679 and she still had a significant role to play in the life of her adult son and his family.

¹²⁹ Ithiel Smart to TEH, HA Corr., 31/10953, 17 October 1671. See also Gervase Jaques to TEH, 30/7699, 29 April 1671; 30/7701, 30 May 1671 and 31/7712, 13 November 1671.

¹³⁰ HAP22/12, "Surrender", 17 February 1671/72 (copy). These included all the lands listed at the beginning of this chapter. Lucy retained the use of some lands as her jointure.

CHAPTER 5
THE EARL'S MATCH: ELIZABETH LEWYS AND THEOPHILUS
1672-1673

"I hav I prayse God I hope to my sons happynis scene him
 maryed to a Good and a desciete wife. I beseech the
 Lord crowne our hopes with unpararall succeſſe."¹

On 19 February 1672, Theophilus, seventh Earl of Huntingdon, married Elizabeth Lewys, the eldest daughter and co-heir of Sir John Lewys, a wealthy London merchant who also owned lands in Yorkshire. Elizabeth's marriage portion was £4,000 in money and household goods, as well as estates worth £600 a year.² This marriage was the pivotal marriage for the Hastings family after the Civil War. As with the marriage of Ferdinando to Lucy in 1623, it was meant to bring well-being and fortune to the family. This chapter will examine how the marriage of Theophilus to Elizabeth came about, what it was meant to bring to the family, and what Elizabeth's experience of marriage was like in its first two years. It will examine how women shaped the marriage and how the Hastings family worked together to try to achieve the objectives of the marriage during these two years. The particular circumstances of Elizabeth's marriage, both in its negotiations and in its early years, affected the way Elizabeth would exert influence within the family and how the Hastings managed to reap the benefits of the marriage.

The importance of an advantageous marriage for the Hastings in 1672 is clear.

Theophilus' mother was in debt, his sisters had no portions and Donnington Park needed repair. In December 1671 Theophilus had come of age and was ready to take over the estates, start his own family and have children, particularly the heir who would continue the family name and title. His marriage was therefore appropriate and necessary on a

¹ L(D)H to Ferdinando Davies, HA Corr., 32/5722, 2 March 1671/72.

² "Autobiography of Theophilus", *HMC* 78, vol. 4, p. 353.

number of levels. Theophilus' marriage was particularly important for the Hastings, for not only did it involve the head of the family but came after a long period without an adult male head. Hence, the family could not afford to make any mistakes as the marriage and its settlements would shape family fortunes for decades. A good partnership was necessary to create stability, to bring up children and to ensure that the family name and title would continue.

Given the importance of this match the search for an appropriate wife occupied much thought, not only for Theophilus and his family but also for various servants, lawyers, agents and family friends. Enquiries and negotiations appear to have intensified in 1667, with Theophilus moving to London. The negotiations kept both Lucy and Theophilus away from the estate for much of the next five years until Theophilus returned after his marriage in 1672. The correspondence during the period 1667 to 1672 reveals the intensity of the negotiations as the family spent more and more time trying to find the right match. However, during this period letters to Theophilus concerning marriage have survived in greater numbers than those to Lucy. Also, as Theophilus and Lucy spent much of this time together, letters between them from 1667 to 1672 are few. Those letters that have survived therefore tend to give the correspondence a rather masculine flavour, with many being sent from relatives such as Sir Arthur Stanhope and Sir James Langham. Yet, while the correspondence demonstrates Theophilus' ability to make his own enquiries about his potential marriage partner (with the assistance of a variety of relatives) the role of his mother is still clearly discernible. Lucy was involved in lengthy negotiations leading up to Theophilus' marriage and her input was significant.

During this period everyone associated with the family knew that enquiries and negotiations were taking place.³ This exerted its own pressure on the family with many people expressing their hopes that a good match would be found. For example, John Davies wrote in November 1668:

my lord I heare now by many that you are about to change your condicon I beesech god earnestly (that yf it bee soe) it may bee for your good for your comfort and for the comfort and good of your relacons and to that end that god will give you good successe in that great affair.⁴

A number of possible matches were considered before the match to Elizabeth Lewys was negotiated. These included Mary Langham, the daughter of Sir James Langham, a wealthy merchant, and Lady Henrietta Wentworth, the ten year old daughter of Lord Wentworth, both heiresses.⁵ A brief examination of these earlier negotiations demonstrates the care and attention that the Hastings gave to marriage decisions and reveals the attributes in a marriage partner which were important to them.

The match with Mary Langham was considered over a period of two years. Mary was the daughter of Sir James and his first wife Mary Alston. After Mary Alston's death, Sir James married Theophilus' sister Elizabeth in 1662 and remained close to the family after Elizabeth died two years later. In May 1667, Theophilus, then seventeen years of age

³ See HA Corr., 26/685; 26/2026; 26/7658; 26/2028; 26/2032; 26/2035; 26/7989. See also "D. K." to TEH, 28/7998, 18 May 1670 and 28/7999, 3 June 1670. The identity of "D.K." is unknown but the writer warns Theophilus to stop pursuing a particular young gentlewoman and threatens violence and to expose Theophilus as "noe Earle of Huntington" (sic.) if he persists.

⁴ John Davies to TEH, HA Corr., 26/2035, 9 November 1668.

⁵ Also see Matthew Davies to L(D)H, HA Corr., 32/2066, [>1672] about a proposed match for Theophilus with an earl's daughter and Godfrey Thacker to TEH, HA Corr., 31/12523, 8 November 1671.

wrote to Sir James expressing his desire for a match with fifteen year old Mary and praising her “personall merits, both naturall and acquired”.⁶ However, Sir James informed Theophilus that he wished to keep his only child unmarried for a while. While Theophilus and Mary had met some eighteen months ago and had spent some time together, Sir James believed that the distance of time and place may have affected Theophilus’ memory of her. Sir James told Theophilus that he could have someone with a greater fortune than his daughter’s and the fact that Theophilus wanted Mary showed his great opinion of her and her education.⁷ Despite his polite and flattering response Sir James appeared in no rush to marry his daughter into the Hastings family.

Nevertheless in July the following year Theophilus was still pursuing the match, writing to Mary “I not only honor esteeme and love you and that cheifly I love you alone as my only Mistrise”.⁸ This recalls the expressions Ferdinando used to Lucy in the early years of their marriage and reveals that wooing a prospective bride was still an essential part of the process. In October 1668 Lucy expressed the following opinion about the proposed match to Matthew Davies:

There are severall advantages besides the portion that are looked upon in this match, one is the taking in of my Brother Loughborough estate vallenged about 500li a yeare or better But that which swayes ... more is that my son has an earnest Likeing [for her] she is a piously educated and a very fine person, so that I thinke wee shall not breake upon smale points.⁹

⁶ TEH to Sir James Langham, HA Corr., 25/5877, 11 May 1667.

⁷ Sir James Langham to TEH, HA Corr., 25/8129, 28 May 1667.

⁸ TEH to Mary Langham, HA Corr., 26/5878, 27 July 1668.

⁹ L(D)H to Matthew Davies, HA Corr., 26/5764, 15 October 1668. The reference to Loughborough’s estate concerned Sir James Langham’s loan to Lucy which had enabled her to purchase it. See previous chapter.

However, by May 1669 it was clear a match between Mary and Theophilus was not going to take place with Theophilus admitting negotiations had ended and taking care that people knew it was not due to any failure on his part.¹⁰

It is possible to speculate on the reasons behind Sir James' reluctance to marry his daughter to Theophilus. He may have been concerned at the state of the Hastings' finances or may have felt that his daughter was too young for marriage. However, the latter explanation is unlikely for Mary married Henry Booth in July the following year. Henry Booth was the son of Sir George Booth, a staunch Presbyterian. In parliament Henry Booth would consistently move to restrict the King's power and to exclude the Duke of York from the succession. He was also "puritanically inclined" and lacked "sympathy" for "the episcopate and the ceremonies of the established Church".¹¹ Sir James, who later attended Baxter's congregation, was also non-conformist in his religious leanings and perhaps wished to connect his daughter to a family that was likely to share his views.¹² Such compatibility between families helped a marriage succeed.

Another potential bride, ten year old Lady Henrietta Wentworth, was also considered in 1669, with enquiries already begun while the match with Mary Langham was still being considered. This was not unusual given the importance of finding the right bride and the necessity to consider as many potential matches as possible. Lady Henrietta was the only

¹⁰ TEH to ?, HA Corr., 27/5879, 17 May 1669. While the match did not go ahead Theophilus' connection to Mary Langham continued. Two days before her wedding Mary reminded Theophilus of his promise to be her "brideman". (HA Corr., 29/901, 5 July [1670])

¹¹ *History of Parliament*, vol. 1, pp. 678-81. See also David Hosford, 'Booth, Henry, first Earl of Warrington (1652-1694)', *ODNB*, [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2880>, accessed 8 March 2005]. Hosford claims that Booth "conformed to the externals of Anglican practice".

¹² Sir James Langham was also a member of parliament. His father, Sir John Langham was a strong Presbyterian and evidence suggests that Sir James also had non-conformist leanings and supported Exclusion. *History of Parliament*, vol. 2, pp. 709-10. Sir John was created Baronet on 7 June 1660. Dugdale, *Antient usage*, p. 118. For more on Sir James Langham see chapter six.

child and heir of Thomas, Lord Wentworth and his wife Philadelphia, daughter of Sir Ferdinando Carey. She was born in the late 1650s and became Baroness Wentworth on the death of her grandfather, the Earl of Cleveland in 1667.¹³ On 4 September 1669 John Joynes, prebend of Lincoln, informed Theophilus that he had heard the treaty with “Crosby House”, that is, with Sir James Langham, was at an end and told Theophilus that his “old Enquiry” was “on foot still”. However, Joynes said that “the young lady” was “not above 10 yeares old, and whether that may be consistent with your Lordships designes is a thing I doubt”.¹⁴

There were advantages in a child match, including the fact that there was less chance of a treaty already being in place. However, it was not always a practical course of action. After the abolition of the Court of Wards in 1646 parents of young children no longer experienced the pressure felt by earlier generations to circumvent it.¹⁵ Lucy and Theophilus also had to consider the fact that Theophilus was now of age and ready to provide the heir the family needed. This made a match with a ten year old child, which could not become a real marriage for some years, less than suitable. These sentiments were, in fact, expressed by the Earl of Strafford to Lucy in 1670:

my Lady Henrietta Wentworth being yet scarce tenn yeares old and my Lord of Huntington having no brother it may perhaps not be found so counseable to stay 3 or 4 yeares, but if it were my case I should think it well worth the

¹³ *GEC*, vol. 12/2, pp. 506-9. Robin Clifton, ‘Wentworth, Henrietta Maria, suo jure Baroness Wentworth (1660-1686)’, *ODNB*, [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29048>, accessed 18 April 2005]. Stuart Reid, ‘Wentworth, Thomas, fifth Baron Wentworth (bap. 1613, d. 1665)’, *ODNB*, [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29057>, accessed 18 April 2005].

¹⁴ John Joynes to TEH, HA Corr., 27/7990, 4 September 1669. See also Joynes to TEH, 27/7991, 10 December 1669. It is possible that Joynes is referring to another match altogether.

¹⁵ See chapter two.

attendance for so fine a Lady as she is like to be, and provided the Estate prove as considerable as was represented to mee.¹⁶

Unlike Lucy's marriage in 1623 the altered situation of the family required more immediate benefits than marriage to a ten year old would provide.¹⁷ Nevertheless, the financial considerations were, as always, fully discussed. Strafford told Lucy that Lady Henrietta would have about £3,000 a year in land from the manor of Toddington and about the same amount again from the manors of Stepney and Hackney. Lady Henrietta was also of a noble family and would be a match "for any subject Prince in Cristendome". If the marriage proceeded, Strafford suggested that the name Wentworth be added to that of Hastings to enable it to continue.¹⁸

By July negotiations for the match had been called off. Strafford expressed his sadness that the match would not proceed due to the debts on Theophilus' estate and "the young Ladys being in so much a worse condition" than he had heard. He assured Lucy that he would inform Lady Wentworth and wished there were about £7,000 a year free of debts.¹⁹ While Strafford's comments show that the debts of the Hastings family continued to affect its future, the situation of Lady Henrietta's estate was significant too. The manors of Stepney and Hackney were heavily mortgaged and their possession disputed for many years. Most of Lord Wentworth's estate went towards the payment of debts which left his

¹⁶ William Wentworth, second Earl of Strafford to L(D)H, HA Corr., 28/13214, 8 June 1670.

¹⁷ Negotiations for such a match, even after the abolition of the Court of Wards, demonstrates that such marriages continued to be considered against the criteria of what they could achieve for the family. If the criteria was not met they did not go ahead.

¹⁸ William Wentworth, second Earl of Strafford to L(D)H, HA Corr., 28/13214, 8 June 1670.

¹⁹ William Wentworth, second Earl of Strafford to L(D)H, HA Corr., 29/13215, 13 July 1670. The earl said that he would inform Lady Wentworth as soon as he had Lucy's firm word on the matter. In this negotiation, the two widows were the decision-makers.

widow and child in a hazardous position.²⁰ Therefore the Hastings were faced with a bride who was not only a child and unable to start a family for a number of years, but who was also suffering from considerable financial difficulties herself. It is therefore likely that the Hastings were glad to turn their attentions elsewhere in their pursuit of a bride for Theophilus.

The family's attention turned to Elizabeth Lewys, eldest daughter and co-heir, with her sister Mary, of Sir John Lewys. How the two families came to know of each other is unclear. However, as early as December 1667 Gervase Jaques talked to Theophilus of an "Alderman Lewis" in relation to a dispute over land between Lewys and the Hastings suggesting some early legal or business dealings between the two families.²¹ Sir John was a wealthy merchant, at various times on the Committee of the East India Company, master of the Ironmongers Company, an Alderman and Councilman. He was said to be worth £2,000 per year in 1660 and in 1672 his personal goods were worth £18,580.²² His second marriage in 1654 to Sarah Foote, daughter of Thomas Foote, another wealthy merchant and former Lord Mayor of London, brought him powerful merchant connections including Sir

²⁰ See *CSPD* Charles II, 1664-1665, 5 June 1665, p. 409; 1665-1666, 25 November 1665, p. 73 and 1666-1667, October [24] 1666, p. 217 for attempts to obtain the manors of Stepney and Hackney which had been mortgaged. See also *CSPD* Charles II, 1664-1665, pp. 284, 286 and 1665-1666, pp. 145, 159 for petitions for payment from various creditors who had supplied goods for Lord Wentworth's funeral. On 1 October 1667 Lady Philadelphia Wentworth petitioned for her pension which she claimed was her only subsistence, her husband's estate used for payment of debts. *CSPD*, Charles II, 1667, 1 October 1667, pp. 501-2.

²¹ Gervase Jaques to TEH, HA Corr., 26/7659, 19 December 1667. This could have been Sir John Lewys or Thomas Lewys. See Robert Latham and William Matthews (eds.), *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, (London, 1995, 2000), vol. 3, 22 March 1662, p. 50 for a dinner Pepys had with "Sir John Lewes and Alderman Lewes and several other great merchants".

²² *Rulers of London*, pp. 71, 109. See also *HMC* 78, vol. 1, p. 402 for an inventory of Sir John Lewys' "goods, chattells, rightes and credittes", including 'doubtfull and desperate debts"', 23 September 1671. Details of Sir John's estate at his death are also given at HAP22/3.

Arthur Onslow who became his brother-in-law.²³ Along with his city wealth Sir John had lands in Yorkshire, his family seat situated at Ledstone. As heiresses of such a wealthy man, Elizabeth and Mary Lewys would have been much sought after, particularly by the more financially strapped members of the aristocracy who were willing to marry a gentlewoman outside the aristocracy for the sake of her portion and future inheritance. The Lewys family clearly had the right connections to arrange socially prominent matches and by early 1671 Lucy and Theophilus had begun protracted negotiations with the family, particularly with Sir John.

The role of Lucy, dowager Countess of Huntingdon in these negotiations was a central one: she was kept fully informed on all aspects of the match and would determine the financial settlement. The lands had been made over to Lucy by Ferdinando for her life and she would need to release them for Theophilus to have control over them. Therefore although Theophilus and his male relatives provided a very masculine presence in the negotiations, much depended on Lucy's decisions as she conferred with lawyers, stewards and other family members to finalise the marriage. Lucy also displayed a practical realism in choosing a merchant's daughter for her son, clearly recognising the need to look outside the aristocracy for an acceptable bride. Theophilus would later write that he married Elizabeth at his mother's choice.²⁴ As with his upbringing and education, Lucy had charge of the most important aspects of her son's life.

The negotiations for the match between Elizabeth and Theophilus proceeded in much the same way as earlier negotiations. Naturally, financial considerations were paramount. For

²³ Both John Lewys and Thomas Foote were created Baronet in 1660. Arthur Onslow inherited Sir Thomas' baronetcy after his death in 1674. Dugdale, *Antient usage*, pp. 124. See also *CSPD*, Charles II, 1666-1667, p. 381.

²⁴ "Autobiography of Theophilus", *HMC 78*, vol. 4, p. 353.

instance, in June 1671 Arthur Stanhope, Theophilus' cousin, wrote to him about the financial settlement.

I can not but wonder that Sir John Lewys should not thinke that 500li a yeare Land of inherritance should bee too little for a daughter if you should dye in your minority, when you are to have noe portion with his daughter unles you live to be at age.²⁵

Not only was Sir John Lewys determined to pay no money until Theophilus was of age but was also not willing for the marriage to take place until the prospective bridegroom had reached his majority.²⁶ Sir John's care was to protect his daughter and to ensure that she was adequately provided for on her marriage. If Theophilus died before he came of age the marriage could potentially be repudiated and Elizabeth's income as a widow put at risk. Sir John's focus was on his daughter's future financial security.

Relatives and friends of the Hastings demonstrated great care and attention in the making of this match and used many different ways to promote it. For example, Arthur Stanhope told Theophilus that he had taken the opportunity when corresponding with Sir John to

²⁵ Arthur Stanhope to TEH, HA Corr., 30/12488, 5 June 1671. Arthur Stanhope (born about 1627) was the sixth and youngest son of Philip, first Earl of Chesterfield and his wife, Catherine Hastings. Catherine was the daughter of Francis, Lord Hastings and sister to Henry, the fifth Earl of Huntingdon. In 1605 she married the then Sir Phillip Stanhope and this forged a permanent relationship of both kinship and friendship between the families. Arthur Stanhope was highly trusted by the seventh earl and his family and exerted considerable influence on the earl's growing family. Arthur seemed to take on the role of a father and friend to Theophilus, particularly in the early 1670s, when he was around forty-five years of age and Theophilus twenty. *DNB*, vol. 54, pp. 22-3; P. R. Seddon, 'Stanhope, Philip, first Earl of Chesterfield (1583/4-1656)', *ODNB* [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26252>, accessed 8 March 2005] and *GEC*, vol. 12/1, p. 229 and vol. 3, pp. 180-2. A portrait of Lucy and Katherine Stanhope (née Wotton) who married one of Arthur Stanhope's brothers, Sir Henry Stanhope, is included in Sarah Poynting, 'Stanhope, Katherine, suo jure countess of Chesterfield, and Lady Stanhope, (bap. 1609, d. 1667)', *ODNB*, [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/15669>, accessed 16 February 2005].

²⁶ Arthur Stanhope to TEH, HA Corr., 30/12489, 19 June 1671.

“make mention of your concernes and to presse him as much as I thought fittinge to a speedy marridge”.²⁷ Stanhope also suggested:

I beleive if you can but by any meanes make Alderman Clayton your friend hee has interest a nuffe in Sir John Lewys to bringe him to anythinge that he shall tell him is reasonable I conceive you may doe it by Sir James Langham beinge his one interest is concerned in your Lordships.²⁸

It was a strategic game in which personality and influence played an important role and in which more than one person would be affected by the outcome.

In addition to negotiating with Sir John Lewys, Lucy and Theophilus also had to ensure the estate was in order. This meant settling the conditions under which their lands would be tenanted, clearing any mortgages, and ensuring that there was adequate provision for Theophilus, Lucy, and her daughters, Mary and Christiana. During negotiations Theophilus wrote to Lucy with a proposal which had been suggested to him by Stanhope. Theophilus explained that Sir John wanted more for his daughter in relation to her fortune and was arguing that Lucy and Theophilus were unable to provide the jointure he required. The alternative settlement Stanhope suggested would ensure a £12,000 portion in return for a jointure of £2,000 per year and, importantly, would leave Lucy’s Irish lands free and therefore not “prejudice” his sisters (who were to be given portions from its sale). He wrote:

²⁷ Arthur Stanhope to TEH, HA Corr., 30/12486, 10 May 1671.

²⁸ Arthur Stanhope to TEH, HA Corr., 30/12488, 5 June 1671. Stanhope is probably referring to Sir Robert Clayton, a wealthy banker and alderman. He became Lord Mayor of London in 1679. Frank Melton, ‘Clayton, Sir Robert (1629-1707)’, *ODNB*, [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5579>, accessed 8 March 2005]. See chapter seven for his involvement in the investment of money for Elizabeth. Stanhope’s comments also refer to the continuing financial interest of Sir James Langham in this matter.

I beseech your Ladyship to consider of itt and yeild to this proposition which will bee soe greate an advantage to mee and no prejudice to my systers because your estate in irland is left att liberty.²⁹

Families tried to balance competing and conflicting demands for available resources and the effects of financial settlements on women were an enormous consideration for those making these settlements. Lucy had control of these negotiations.

In addition to the financial and estate settlement, Theophilus' pending marriage also meant that work needed to be done on Donnington Park, the family seat since the loss of Ashby-de-la Zouch castle, to ensure that it was ready for the earl and his new wife. Gervase Jaques, the family's steward at Donnington Park, reassured Theophilus that he was continuing to prepare Donnington House "to make it fitt for your honor reception and your Ladys (I hope) but it will cost moneys and I know not where to have it".³⁰ Later, Jaques commented that he had no money to pay workmen but that Theophilus' marriage was the way to free him "from these straites".³¹ As with the marriage of Lucy and Ferdinando, financial gain was the major objective in the making of Elizabeth and Theophilus' marriage.

²⁹ TEH to L(D)H, HA Corr., 31/5883, (c.1671) On Sir John Lewys' position - "greate objections made by him to My Estate that itt is lesse then such a fortune deserves that hee can but give 10,000li portion and demands 2,000li a yeare in present and says that is such conditions as cannot be yeilded to by us". No details of Stanhope's proposal remain which appears to have been put to Theophilus in person rather than in writing, however it involved engaging "my Lord of Clare" in the matter. This is a reference to John Holles, second Earl of Clare, whose daughter Penelope, had married Sir James Langham on 13 April 1667. *History of Parliament*, vol. 2, p. 709. Sir James was still very much involved in the Hastings' affairs. Holles was also distantly related to the Hastings. See Cogswell, *Home Divisions*, p. 25.

³⁰ Gervase Jaques to TEH, HA Corr., 30/7701, 30 May 1671.

³¹ Gervase Jaques to TEH, HA Corr., 31/7708, 20 September 1671.

In May 1671 Theophilus visited Elizabeth, no doubt to try to know her better.³²

Negotiations continued to go well and on 19 July 1671 Lucy, Theophilus and Sir John entered into an agreement whereby Sir John would pay £10,000 to Lucy and Theophilus within six months of the marriage of his daughter, this money to be used to free the estates and pay debts. It also allowed for the estates to be held in trust to provide maintenance for the couple, a jointure for Elizabeth, and provision for their children.³³ As with Lucy's marriage the bride's portion was to be used to pay current debts and again, the bride's father was eager to see the estates unencumbered and his daughter provided for. However, a few weeks after this agreement was made Sir John Lewys died and the match was threatened.³⁴ This was one of the risks of marriage; the operation of chance which could make even the most well-planned strategy go astray. With Sir John's death, Lady Lewys began obstructing the match and the Hastings feared that she would not honour the bargain Sir John had made. In December 1671 Stanhope told Theophilus that the situation had changed since the death of Sir John as Lady Lewys no longer seemed to be eager for the match. She had seemed "zealous" for it while her husband was alive but now appeared to "obstruct or prejudice" Theophilus' affairs.³⁵ Lady Lewys' widowhood gave her the opportunity to control the marriage of her daughter as she had been unable while her husband was alive. Stanhope recognised the ability of widows to control such negotiations and their outcome. His frustration with Lady Lewys' behaviour was also evident only a month before Elizabeth's marriage to Theophilus when he wrote:

³² Arthur Stanhope to TEH, HA Corr., 30/12486, 10 May 1671.

³³ A copy of the agreement is at HAP22/6. As Theophilus was not yet of age and could not make the settlements required, this was a type of interim agreement. Sir John may have been ill and wanted to ensure an agreement was reached in case he died. See also Arthur Stanhope to TEH, HA Corr., 30/12490, 18 July 1671. Stanhope congratulated Theophilus that things seemed to be going well with his "Amoures".

³⁴ Matthew Davies to L(D)H, HA Corr., 30/2063, 22 August 1671.

³⁵ Arthur Stanhope to THH, HA Corr., 31/12496, 18 December 1671. Stanhope also blamed Elizabeth: "this I am certain off; that had your mistresse that kindnis either for you or her selfe as I could wish she had nothinge else could prevent making good those conditions agreeede on before Sr John Lewys his death".

but if all I heare be true if you doe not make hast the Lady you watt on will be marred [married] before you though I must confesse I had rather heare that she had taken a jorney to her other husband in the next world for I feare she will doe little good to those I soe much and heartyly wish it to in this.³⁶

Stanhope's attitude is an example of the way aristocratic families sometimes regarded widows; as a nuisance and an obstruction to the well-being of the family.³⁷ As Stanhope reported, less than six months after the death of her husband, Lady Lewys was considering another marriage. Perhaps, like Eleanor Davies, she felt that she needed the support and security of a husband and hence concentrated on this rather than on her daughter's marriage which could be finalised after her own marriage had placed her in a stronger position. While widows could enormously assist their families, they could also seek their own interests to the detriment of their children or in-laws.

Theophilus' family and friends advised him on how to deal with these difficulties, Stanhope urging him to continue to pursue his "amoures" with "zeale" and also to discover how Sir John Lewys had settled his estate, whether by will or deed. If anything went wrong Stanhope had "made Sir Fishwhick Stiles your perfect friend whoe I doe assure you has a greater interest in my Lady Lewys and your mistresse then any person".³⁸ Again, the family needed strategically placed supporters to gain an advantage in the negotiations. Theophilus also went into mourning for Sir John, thus presenting himself as part of Sir

³⁶ Arthur Stanhope to TEH, HA Corr., 32/12499, 20 January 1671/72.

³⁷ See chapter four for Loughborough's comments in regard to Lucy.

³⁸ Arthur Stanhope to TEH, HA Corr., 31/12491, 21 August 1671.

John's family.³⁹ Interestingly, Stanhope recognised that the loss of Sir John Lewys was a personal one for Theophilus. Sir John "in all probability would have proved a friend and a father to you in affection as well as in relation" he said.⁴⁰ There was an emotional element to the match which included other family members who would contribute in ways beyond the merely financial.

Sir John Lewys' will, dated 21 June 1670, reveals the care taken by a father for his daughters and family, shedding light on what was important to him.⁴¹ Sir John's daughters, Elizabeth and Mary, received all Sir John's property other than that bequeathed to his brother, Captain Lewys. Sir John made them his "absolute heirs" and charged his executors, Sir Thomas Foote (his father-in-law), Sir Francis Rolle and Arthur Onslow (his brothers-in-law) and Captain Lewys to manage "all things for the good" of his daughters.⁴² On 1 August 1671 Sir John had added to the will, stipulating that as he had agreed to give £10,000 to the Earl of Huntingdon on his marriage to Elizabeth, he would also give £10,000 to his other daughter, Mary. Lewys wanted to be absolutely fair to both of his daughters by leaving them equal shares of his estate.⁴³

³⁹ Arthur Stanhope to TEH, HA Corr., 31/12493, 13 September 1671. Sir John's will did not provide Theophilus with money to buy mourning. HAP22/4, Will and later codicil of Sir John Lewys, 21 June 1670 and 1 August 1671 and PROB 11/337, ff. 347v-348r.

⁴⁰ Arthur Stanhope to TEH, HA Corr., 31/12491, 21 August 1671.

⁴¹ HAP 22/4, Will and later codicil of Sir John Lewys; PROB 11/337, ff. 347v-348r. Sir John's will is entitled "Memorandum for settling my estate" indicating that he died without a formal will and this document, signed prior to this death, was used in its place. See also an early report on the will by Arthur Stanhope. Arthur Stanhope to TEH, HA Corr., 31/12492, 2 September 1671. Stanhope reports the will slightly differently.

⁴² Note that as with Lucy, Elizabeth's inheritance went to Elizabeth and the heirs of her body. If she died childless the lands would revert back to Sir John's other heirs, probably his brother and brother's children.

⁴³ Other parts of the will show Sir John's wish to establish his name permanently at Ledstone and its surrounds. He left money for an almshouse or hospital near the Church at Ledstone, the inmates to be clothed in colours similar to Sir John's livery and to be given silver badges with his crest or coat of arms. Sir John also left money for a tomb to be built in Ledsham Church. Sir John purchased Ledstone from the second Earl of Strafford in 1653 (see discussion later in this chapter). Continuing his family name in this way after his death was particularly important as he had no male heirs to do so.

Sir John also left an income of £50 each per year to his five married sisters. This was to be given to others to hold in trust for them

so that it shall not be in the power of their husbands to meddle with it nor themselves to sell it upon any accompt whatsoever but to be reserved for their certaine maintenance.

As a man with many female relatives to care for Sir John was determined that any money he left them would be used for the purpose for which he intended. Sir John left Lady Lewys her jewels outright and her personal property for her life but only if she stayed a widow. In the event of her remarriage or death the goods would become the property of her daughters. This provision was not uncommon. However, Sir John did not name his wife as executor as many men did in their wills, obviously believing that his male relatives would care for his daughters adequately. This meant that Lady Lewys did not have the influence that many widows enjoyed over the disposal of their husband's property.

The will of Sir John shows a preponderance of women benefiting from the terms of the will and a preponderance of men enforcing it. It is an example of the way fathers often preferred their daughters over male relatives such as brothers.⁴⁴ Elizabeth may have been married for her money but she was also looked after by her father, and then by the executors of his will, when she entered her new family. However, while Sir John had not named his wife executrix, the Hastings' fears over Lady Lewys' intentions demonstrates that it was still possible for a widow to alter her late husband's plans.

⁴⁴ In addition, the estate left to Sir John's brother, Captain Lewys, was to come to Elizabeth and Mary in the event he died without male heirs.

The Hastings' apprehensions were justified. Lady Lewys claimed that as her husband had been a freeman of the City of London she was entitled to a third of his personal estate. Under the custom of the city of London one third of the personal estate went to the widow, one third to any children and one third for legacies. Lucy and Theophilus were therefore faced with the prospect of much less than they had hoped to receive from the marriage and Sir John's will. Their need for cash gave Lady Lewys the upper hand and in December 1671 Lucy and Theophilus entered into new agreements with Lady Lewys and the executors to accept the third.⁴⁵ Lucy and Theophilus must have considered the match worthwhile but it was already proving a liability.

On 18 December 1671 Arthur Stanhope congratulated Theophilus on his twenty-first birthday which would:

capacitate your Lordship to act and doe such things as meight compleate your longd for hapinesse in the injoyment of your mistresse God almighty bles you with many many many bearth days and may you live to see your Grand childe reeche many bearth days.⁴⁶

John Lewys' stipulations in the settlement could now be overcome. Before his wedding in February 1672 Lucy handed over all the lands to Theophilus, excepting a jointure for herself and her Irish lands.⁴⁷ The marriage agreement explained why a payment of £10,000 would no longer be made and that the portion was now a third of the personal

⁴⁵ I have not discovered these agreements but they are mentioned in papers dealing with the dispute between the Hastings and Lewys' executors at HAL12/1 and 12/3 and also in the marriage settlement at HAP22/11, 17 February 1671/72.

⁴⁶ Arthur Stanhope to TEH, HA Corr., 31/12496, 18 December 1671.

⁴⁷ Details are contained in HAP22/12, "Surrender", 17 February 1671/2 (copy). See also HAP22/8, 17 January 1671/2.

estate. It allowed for the payment of £3,000 to Lucy and Theophilus and put the Hastings lands in trust for the raising of maintenance, a jointure for Elizabeth and provision for their children.⁴⁸

Elizabeth and Theophilus were married on 19 February 1671/2. Just before the marriage, a distant relative of the seventh earl expressed hope that the marriage would bring “very greate future happynesse to the joyfull satisfaction of your Lordship in every degree and to the advancement of all your family and nearest relacons”.⁴⁹ There was a great deal expected of this marriage which the long process of negotiation had only heightened. Elizabeth was the central figure of these hopes. Although there is no record of what she felt during this time it must have been unsettling for her: her father had died and she was facing marriage and a new household and family. How Elizabeth experienced marriage and how the marriage was conducted in the years ahead would affect how these achievements could be realised.

Elizabeth was eighteen and Theophilus twenty-one years of age when they married. However, Elizabeth’s was not the only marriage in her family at this time and before she married both her mother and her younger sister also married. Lady Lewys married Denzil Onslow, the brother of her sister’s husband, Arthur Onslow, in January or early February 1672.⁵⁰ Then, around 11 February 1672 Elizabeth’s sister Mary married Lord Deincourt,

⁴⁸ HAP22/11, “Marriage Settlement made for the marriage of Elizabeth Lewis and Theophilus Earl of Huntingdon”, [17 February] 1671/2 (copy). This appears to be a copy of the original indenture and was used in later legal action by Elizabeth and Theophilus’ eldest son against his father’s second wife.

⁴⁹ [Ferdinando?] Davies to TEH, HA Corr., 32/1959, 7 February 1671/72.

⁵⁰ *Hutton Correspondence*, vol. 1, Sir Charles Lyttelton to Christopher Hatton, 12 February 1671/72, p. 79. See *History of Parliament*, vol. 3, p. 176 for an account of Denzil Onslow’s career in parliament. A younger

the future Earl of Scarsdale. Lord Deincourt was rumoured to have abducted Mary from her mother's house at Lincoln's Inn Fields and married her the same day.⁵¹ All the signs indicated that Mary had gone willingly with Deincourt but her mother immediately acted to prevent the marriage. Justice Sir William Morton heard the case and advised Lady Lewys and her father Sir Thomas Foote to allow the marriage to stand and not to take proceedings against Deincourt. Morton reasoned that the marriage could not now be undone and that it was a socially acceptable marriage, despite the way in which it had been carried out. Morton judged the Earl of Scarsdale, Deincourt's father, an "honest and honourable person, and of great estate" who would "do what was fit".⁵²

The marriages of Lady Lewys and Mary must have created a great deal of anxiety for the Hastings as they could not predict how these changing circumstances would affect the settlements made for Elizabeth and Theophilus' marriage. Women could disrupt the best laid plans of their families when they acted unexpectedly. However, only five days after Theophilus' wedding there was speculation that the scandalous circumstances of Mary's marriage could advantage the Hastings. A correspondent hoped that "my lady Lewises Anger to her yonger daughter will be advantageous to her older and that she will give her the full portion her father designed her".⁵³ Yet, while the Hastings could hope for some additional financial gain, the marriages of her sister and mother meant that Elizabeth

brother with a "scanty provision," his marriage "to a wealthy City widow" enabled him to buy the Pyrford estate in 1677, generate an income of around £2,000 a year and live "in a fashion equal almost to any man in the country".

⁵¹ See *Hatton Correspondence*, vol. 1, Sir Charles Lyttelton to Christopher Hatton, 12 February 1671/72, p. 79. See *GEC*, vol. 11, p. 518. Mary Lewys was born in 1658 which made her around thirteen or fourteen years of age at her marriage.

⁵² See *CSPD*, Charles II, 1671/72, Justice Sir William Morton to Williamson, 19 February 1672, p. 147. Morton reported on his hearing of the case on 19 February, the day of Elizabeth's marriage, indicating that action against Deincourt had been taken and argued earlier. Interestingly, Lady Lewys is still referred to as such, despite her marriage to Denzil Onslow.

⁵³ Phillip(?) Smith to Lant, HA. Corr., 32/10976, 24 February 1671/72.

started her own marriage at a rather tumultuous period in her family life. Such anxieties coloured the early years of Elizabeth's marriage.

After their wedding Elizabeth and Theophilus spent a couple of months in London before moving to Donnington Park, while Lucy, Mary and Christiana remained in London. Lucy expressed what she hoped for Theophilus in May 1672:

I hope by the mercys and blessing of God you are safely arrived at donnington, and that after severall yeares absence and variety of dangers and troubles, you are now in the Calm's, of kind entertainments with your dear wife, of hearty welcoms amongst your Neighboroghs, in the easynes of living upon your owne with a competency to maintaine your self and yours with honor.⁵⁴

Theophilus' marriage was a major achievement for Lucy.⁵⁵ She presented a picture of her son as a newly married nobleman; based at his country seat with his wife, establishing contact with neighbours and friends and maintaining his family, particularly his future family. Her son's marriage was an important part of a larger goal to have the family established and properly 'seated' in the country, with Theophilus as magnate and focal point for the neighbourhood. Lucy's picture is one of calm enjoyment and consolidation after the uncertainties of the marriage negotiations and the long period of Theophilus' minority. His marriage paved the way for the real benefits to the family which were still to come. The fulfilment of this picture rested on both Elizabeth's presence and the money and lands she brought with her. Arthur Stanhope was also clear about what he hoped the new situation would bring, hoping that Elizabeth would "prove a good brood Hen, for I am

⁵⁴ L(D)H to TEH, HA Corr., 32/5775, 28 May 1672.

⁵⁵ Phillip(?) Smith to Lant, HA. Corr., 32/10976, 24 February 1671/72. Smith spoke of the "good newes of the happy conclusion of all my lady Huntingtons (sic) paines".

sure she has a good Cocke and that comes of a good kind".⁵⁶ Pregnancy was expected and highly desirable.

In keeping with expectations the early years of the marriage centred around forming a new household with Theophilus as its head. This involved hiring servants, continuing renovations to Donnington House, running the estates, including the property brought into the family by Elizabeth, and negotiating to obtain Elizabeth's portion and to settle the English estates. It was a period of settling in for the couple which did not run as smoothly as Lucy had hoped. Elizabeth experienced conflicting loyalties between her husband and new family on the one hand and her birth family on the other. Matters were not improved by continuing concerns about the settlement of Theophilus' estate and battles with Elizabeth's mother and the executors of Sir John Lewys' will. The Hastings had experienced a similar situation with Lucy's marriage and, once again found themselves struggling to establish their rights to the money and property a marriage was meant to bring them. Although various provisions could be set down on paper, the practical reality of enforcing the settlements and gaining the property was another thing altogether. Additional property could bring work and trouble to a family as well as the potential for greater wealth. Again, the surviving correspondence for this period colours our view of the situation as many more letters written to Theophilus survive than do those written by him.

Despite the fact that Theophilus was now the head of the family, during the early years of his marriage Lucy had a continuing role in his life and in the well-being of her family, ensuring that the desired outcomes of his marriage were met. As she told her son: "And as I thus pray so shall I in my actions strive to my power whilst I liv to bee really beneficiall

⁵⁶ Arthur Stanhope to TEH, HA Corr., 32/12502, 11 May 1672.

to you and yours.”⁵⁷ Other family members also had a role in trying to ensure the marriage was a success. How the household and the marriage were formed and put into effect reflected on the reputation of the earl and the Hastings family as a whole. This is particularly evident in the hiring of servants for the new household.

During 1672 and 1673 choosing servants was a major preoccupation for the Hastings family and its friends, requiring considerable thought and care. Lucy advised her son a great deal and, positioned as she was in London, was well placed to hear about available servants and to investigate their credentials. Servants employed at this time included a Groom of Chambers, a cook, a page, a butler, a barber and a valet.⁵⁸ Particular care was taken in choosing Theophilus’ French servants as Theophilus wanted a Frenchman to wait on him who would also enable him to improve his skills in the French language. After some considerable search and suggestions from a variety of friends and relatives Lucy suggested that Theophilus have an English valet and also a French gentleman to wait on him.⁵⁹ Lucy found a suitable French gentleman who was twenty-six years old, had brown hair, was of “middle stature” and a “good Protestant”. He was a refined French speaker, wrote Lucy, understood “mathematicks the sphere and geometry”, knew a quicker way of learning “arithmetick”, was of a good disposition and a “true gentlman” and would have no difficulty in “conforming himself to the english custome for waiting at the table”.⁶⁰ A Frenchwoman was also found for Elizabeth. Lucy described this woman in some detail

⁵⁷ L(D)H to TEH, HA Corr., 35/5789, 3 February 1672/3.

⁵⁸ Among many letters see L(D)H to TEH, HA Corr., 32/5773, 4 March 1671/72; Francis Clifton to TEH, 32/1489, 12 March 1671/2 and Sir Thomas Williamson, second Baronet to TEH, 33/13399, 21 June 1672.

⁵⁹ M(H)J to TEH, HA Corr., 33/7894, [>Sept] 1672.

⁶⁰ L(D)H to TEH, HA Corr., 33/5778, 24 September 1672.

including her skills, appearance, history, humour, clothes and qualities, believing her to be "a creditable servant as well as a useful".⁶¹

The importance of servants lay in the fact that they not only ensured the proper running of the household but also reflected on the head of the household and the family. In November 1672 when Mary Hastings heard rumours concerning her brother's valet she told Theophilus that the valet's "past wicked life" was well known and his present behaviour around Donnington was "scandalous". If Theophilus continued to employ him it would "reflect very much to your dishonor, many of the country saying they wonder you will keepe (to use their expression) such a whore master". Mary begged Theophilus to consider that the "eys of the world" were upon him and that he had to establish his "good and honourable reputation". In order to do this he needed to ensure the "religious governing" of his family. When servants did their duty well their masters were praised but the opposite was also true, Mary argued.⁶² It was of particular importance to ensure the household's good reputation when it was forming as the early years would colour how it was regarded in the wider community. The family felt it essential to set up the newly-weds in a household that would be well run, with servants loyal to the couple (especially the male head) who also had the qualities they wanted the new couple and its family to have (sober, well-governed, godly). In March 1673 Lucy told her son that she would have "great contentment" if she could assist him to obtain good servants. She prayed that God would direct her to get servants that had "a principle of the fear of God" which would "make them serve [Theophilus] justly and with good Conscience" so that his family would

⁶¹ L(D)H to TEH, HA Corr., 32/5774, 19 May 1672. For comments on other French servants see Sir James Langham to TEH, HA Corr., 32/8137, 9 March 1671/2 and 32/8138, 11 March 1671/2.

⁶² M(H)J to TEH, HA Corr., 34/7903, 7 November 1672.

“prosper and flourish”.⁶³ Theophilus also appreciated the care taken by Lucy, writing at one stage: “I am exceedingly obliged to your Ladyship for your Greate Concern that I should have good servants”.⁶⁴

The setting up of a household for Elizabeth and Theophilus also involved an appropriate dwelling place, the family seat at Donnington, which would reflect their status in society and tell the world that the Hastings were solid and secure once more. Donnington Park required extensive renovations after years of neglect and as Ashby-be-la-Zouch was no longer habitable, it was crucial that they establish a new seat. Gervase Jaques, the Hastings’ steward who was supervising the renovations, kept the family informed of the work being done. For example, in April 1672 Jaques told Theophilus that he was

endeavouringe to gett Donington house in order, but the Brickwall will not bee upp soe soone as I cold wish, the weather continues still soe very wett, that the brick cannot bee made”.⁶⁵

On another occasion Theophilus wrote to Lucy for her advice on which set of chairs he should use for his new dining room and recounted his difficulties in raising the floor of certain rooms and shifting doors.⁶⁶ In April 1673 he described the taking down of partitions and problems in raising the roof, asked Lucy’s advice on the cheapest way to furnish the dining room and recounted how Elizabeth was working on some chairs for the drawing room. He also stated:

⁶³ L(D)H to TEH, HA Corr., 36/5794, 20 March 1672/73.

⁶⁴ TEH to L(D)H, HA Corr., 31/5885, (1671<).

⁶⁵ Gervase Jaques to TEH, HA Corr., 32/7715, 16 April 1672. See also Jaques to TEH, 32/7716, 22 April 1672.

⁶⁶ TEH to L(D)H, HA Corr., 31/5885, (1671<). See also, TEH to L(D)H, HA Corr., 35/5893, 22 February 1672/73, “I humbly thanke your Ladyship for your advice concerning the Altering and furnishing of this house”.

The passage out of this greate Roome, will cost butt £20 and that my wife (who is very earnest for it) will lend mee, so it will nott bee any immediate charge to mee.⁶⁷

Elizabeth was able to express her own opinions about the refurbishment, especially as she had her own money which she could use if she wished. Lucy's role as advisor and mentor of Theophilus continued in this area also.

Lucy also gave advice to her son on the keeping of household accounts, which Theophilus sent to her for comment. In October 1672 Lucy wrote that she was pleased that Theophilus wanted to learn and that the accounts were much better than she had thought they would be. After careful consideration she gave her opinion that the expense of beef and brown bread seemed much too high but the expense of grocery and wine "very moderate", the latter showing that Theophilus' table was "governed with virtu and temperance". Lucy instructed Theophilus "to do all things handsomly though thriftly which well redound both to your honor and proffitt".⁶⁸ The emphasis is on Theophilus and nothing is said of Elizabeth's role in these early days. As the new mistress of Donnington Park she could have expected to take charge of household accounts herself. In the absence of any evidence it is impossible to state the situation with any certainty. Possibly she was still learning about the household, felt unsure of herself or was not yet trusted to have charge of such matters. When women entered a new family their role and experience of marriage

⁶⁷ TEH to L(D)H, HA Corr., 36/5894, 14 April 1673.

⁶⁸ L(D)H to TEH, HA Corr., 34/5783, 22 October 1672.

was influenced by the presence of older, strong-willed women.⁶⁹ Lucy had taken charge of the family alone for nearly twenty years and remained the obvious person for Theophilus to turn to for advice and support.

While the house itself was being refurbished and equipped with servants, the daily running of the estates also had to be carried out. This will be discussed in greater detail in chapter seven. However, at this stage it is clear that while Lucy was still in charge of the management of the Irish lands and the coal mines at Okethorpe, Theophilus, as head of the family, now had to make decisions concerning the running of the English estates. Gervase Jaques kept both Lucy and Theophilus informed of events and supplied with money as needed (a difficult task as Jaques explained many times). Theophilus' responsibilities included holding various manor courts, including those at Packington, Loughborough, Ashby and Melborne, and ensuring that the existing markets for which he was responsible were held and were not threatened by rival markets.⁷⁰ Meanwhile Jaques sent him the particulars of receipts of rent and details of any estate matters needing his attention.⁷¹ Theophilus also received letters recommending candidates for preferment such as chaplains and schoolmasters.⁷² Many of these positions had been filled in the past by persons of Lucy's choosing but were now Theophilus' responsibility. At this early stage

⁶⁹ Stanhope recognised Elizabeth's insecurity in September 1672, reassuring Theophilus that if Lucy came to Donnington she would not stay, "if she find it will be ungratefull and dissatisfactory to your lady". (HA Corr., 33/12504, 15 September 1672)

⁷⁰ For the manor courts see Gervase Jaques to TEH, HA Corr., 32/7716, 22 April 1672 and Thomas Barrodale to TEH, 32/453, 19 March 1671/72. Markets are discussed in TEH to Robert Milward, HA Corr., 34/5888, 26 October 1672 and John Fowler to TEH, 32/3281, 13 May 1672.

⁷¹ Gervase Jaques to TEH, HA Corr., 32/7715, 16 April 1672.

⁷² Letters concerning ministers include, Gowin Knight to TEH, HA Corr., 32/8085, 30 March 1672 and 32/8086, 3 April 1672 and John Fentimey to TEH, 34/3151, 19 October 1672. For Theophilus' religious position and activities see chapter seven. Letters concerning schoolmasters include Samuel Willes to TEH, 32/13324, 8 April 1672 and Sir William Gerard, third Baronet to TEH, 32/3438, 12 April 1672.

Theophilus received his mother's advice on such matters, as he admitted to a correspondent.⁷³

In addition to managing the estates at Donnington, the lands that Elizabeth had brought into the family also needed attention. The Hastings had to determine who the tenants were, the amount of rent they paid, their degree of arrears, and the state of the farm buildings. To this end an agent, Thomas Barrodale, was sent into Yorkshire to meet with various tenants and estate servants at Ledston and to report back to Theophilus on what he had found. Armed with rent rolls, instructions from Theophilus and a letter of attorney, Barrodale left for Yorkshire in April 1672. Later that month he sent Theophilus a detailed report of the outcome of this meeting. Barrodale had been told that all the rent due until the death of Sir John Lewys on 14 August belonged to the executors and what was due after that date until Michaelmas and Lady Day belonged to Theophilus. Barrodale said that he would make a note of what goods were in the Hall and would try to let out any unoccupied land. One tenant was £200 in arrears and Barrodale believed that most of the tenants were insolvent. "On the ould Ladyes Joynture lands" there were arrears at the time of the death of Sir John and it was questionable as to whom those arrears belonged.⁷⁴ Clearly, it was going to take some time to finalise and settle the lands that Elizabeth had brought into the family.

In July 1672 Theophilus appears to have visited the lands himself with Lord Deincourt, his wife's brother-in-law.⁷⁵ Theophilus and Lord Deincourt shared an interest in securing their wives' inheritance and it made sense for them to work together. During this time

⁷³ TEH to Robert Milward, HA Corr., 34/5888, 26 October 1672.

⁷⁴ Thomas Barrodale to TEH, HA Corr., 32/457, 17 April 1672. The "ould Ladyes Joynture lands" were probably the lands put aside by Sir John for his widow.

Theophilus visited William Wentworth, second Earl of Strafford who in August thanked Theophilus for the visit and sent him a copy of the rent role at Ledstone. Strafford wrote that he wished that the rest of the land he had been forced to sell out of his estate “had gone into so noble hands” as Theophilus.⁷⁶ In 1653 Sir John Lewys had obtained Strafford’s lands after Strafford fell heavily into debt.⁷⁷ Like many merchants Lewys profited from the financial difficulties of an aristocratic family, which ultimately led to his own daughters’ entry into the aristocracy. Nevertheless, as with the household accounts, at this early stage there is no indication of Elizabeth’s role in the management of the estate and if she gave her husband any advice about the lands in Yorkshire he does not refer to it in his surviving letters.⁷⁸ Indeed, some stewards and agents expressed a strong desire for Lucy to return to the country where, they claimed, she was much needed.⁷⁹ However, Lucy was unable to return to Donnington for quite some time as she had work in London to complete.

⁷⁵ Gervase Jaques to L(D)H, HA Corr., 33/7717, 22 July 1672.

⁷⁶ William Wentworth, second Earl of Strafford to TEH, HA Corr., 33/13216, 15 August 1672.

⁷⁷ See Roebuck, *Yorkshire baronets*. During the Civil War the second Earl of Strafford spent much of the time abroad but on his return “he sold Ledston, Harewood and Gawthorpe (about half his Yorkshire property and worth on his own estimation between £4,000 and £5,000 a year) in order to discharge the remainder of his father’s huge debts”. (p. 306) The purchaser of Ledston was Sir John Lewys who bought it in 1653 and carried out extensive work on the Hall. (p. 335) See Muldrew, *Economy of obligation*, chapter nine, on debt and downward social mobility.

⁷⁸ Again, this impression could be created by the nature of the surviving correspondence. However, given the amount of correspondence which has survived from this time, it appears unlikely that Elizabeth took an active, authoritative interest in the running of the estate. With Theophilus present and in charge her input was probably not needed.

⁷⁹ Jaques told Lucy that he wished “your honors Concernes in London would now admitt of your returne to Donnington where I cannot but Conceive your presence very necessary”. Gervase Jaques to L(D)H, HA Corr., 33/7719, 11 September 1672.

For the Hastings, one of the most important outcomes of Theophilus' marriage was Elizabeth's portion which was to be used to unencumber the family's English estates. Sir James Langham held a mortgage over these lands and the first priority of the family was to ensure they were freed.⁸⁰ Throughout 1672 and 1673 Lucy based herself in London to finalise this business, assuring Theophilus in 1672 that she would "yeald to nothing" until she had "provided for the discharge" of his estate and portions for his sisters. She negotiated with Sir James and Sir John Lewys' executors to this end, praying for "mercy and deliverance out of this Bondage of Debt".⁸¹ The Hastings were due £3,000 as a first payment of the portion. The plan was to use £2,000 to pay Sir James Langham who would then free the English estates.⁸² Lucy would also sell her Irish lands and use the proceeds to provide for her two unmarried daughters, Mary and Christiana.⁸³

Early in 1672 the matter seemed relatively simple. The executors had provided Sir Robert Clayton with £2,000 of the portion to pay Sir James.⁸⁴ Once again, the portion a bride brought into the Hastings family was directed to clear the present debts of the family. There were, however, difficulties in obtaining the money from Sir Robert and the executors, as well as disagreement over the inheritance of Elizabeth and her sister. The Hastings argued that the terms of Lady Lewys' marriage settlement with Sir John and the terms of Sir John's will meant that she was not entitled to claim one third of his personal

⁸⁰ In 1665 Lucy borrowed £2,000, the debt being transferred to Sir James Langham in the name of his brother, Thomas, in 1666. Later, Langham lent Lucy additional sums, enabling her to purchase Okethorpe. See chapter four.

⁸¹ L(D)H to TEH, HA Corr., 32/5770, (17 February 1671/2)<.

⁸² L(D)H to TEH, HA Corr., 32/5771, (19 February 1671/2)<.

⁸³ Many of the letters concerning the sale of the Irish lands spoke of the need to raise money for Mary and Christiana. See HA Corr. 32 in particular and L(D)H to TEH, 33/5780, 25 September 1672.

⁸⁴ L(D)H to TEH, HA Corr., 32/5771, (19 February 1671/2)< and 32/5773, 4 March 1671/2. Ferdinando Davies to TEH, 32/1960, 29 March 1672.

estate.⁸⁵ As she was provided for by a jointure, the customs of the City of London did not apply. The Hastings also argued that Lady Lewys was not entitled to the personal estate as she had married again.⁸⁶ Lucy and Theophilus' desperation for money had led them to agree to the payment of one third of the personal estate instead of the original promised amount of £10,000. However, they now accused Lady Lewys and her new husband Denzil Onslow of hiding much of Sir John's personal estate. Lady Lewys had been present at the death of her husband and had hidden his keys, closets, cupboards, papers, jewels and other items of value. As a result Sir John's personal estate had been much undervalued at its appraisal. The Hastings wanted a full account given of the estate, what actions had been taken and what its true value was. The Hastings also claimed that they had not received the £3,000 from the executors initially promised them.⁸⁷ Because this money had not been received Lucy had been forced to use her lands to raise money for payment, as well as paying interest on the amount still outstanding.⁸⁸ Lord Deincourt and the Hastings worked together to take legal action against the executors and Theophilus was kept informed of the developments by Lucy and others in London. In 1673 the Hastings lodged several bills to force the executors to surrender certain writings and for discovery and an account of Sir John Lewy's personal estate.⁸⁹ The dispute continued for some time and it is unclear how it ended. The delays obtaining the money from the executors meant that the Hastings had to think of another plan to free the English estates.

⁸⁵ Lady Lewys had claimed that as her husband had been a freeman of the City of London she was entitled to a third of his personal estate. See page 158.

⁸⁶ Once again a widow's remarriage threatened her claims to her first husband's estate. A similar situation had taken place when Lucy's mother Lady Eleanor Davies married Sir Archibald Douglas, shortly after the death of Sir John Davies. See chapter two.

⁸⁷ The executors claimed that they had been unable to pay the full £3,000 because the Court of Orphans had laid a distraint on the money at the marriage of Mary Lewys. The court had acted because Mary had married without its authorisation. See HAL12/2, Executors and Sir Robert Clayton's answers to the bill of complaint by the Earl of Huntingdon and the Dowager Countess of Huntingdon, 8 July 1674.

⁸⁸ See various legal papers at HAL12/1, 12/2, 12/4 and 12/6.

⁸⁹ L(D)H to TEH, HA Corr., 36/5800, 22 April [16]73. Samuel Graves to TEH, 36/409, 12 April 1673.

In the end Lucy used £2,000 of her own money which had been put aside for Mary and Christiana, to pay Sir James Langham.⁹⁰ Mary and Christiana agreed to their mother's course of action and were promised that the money from the executors, which was to have gone to Sir James, should come to them in lieu.⁹¹ Lucy was instrumental in bringing about its successful conclusion, remaining in London with Mary and Christiana during this time to liaise and organise. Elizabeth's money, Lucy's negotiations and leadership and Theophilus' agreement were needed to bring about the completion of the matter. Many different individuals within a family had an interest in the money that was brought into that family and these interests were not always compatible. Mary and Christiana temporarily surrendered their interest in order for the family's estates to be freed. While they may have been less important to the family's future than Theophilus, it is important to note that their agreement was still required for the new plan to work.⁹² Lucy and Theophilus believed that Mary and Christiana's portions were of great importance and there was a clear concern on the Earl's part to provide for his sisters.⁹³ They needed their portions if they were ever to marry and hence their agreement to postpone payment of the money owing to them also meant postponing their chances of a successful marriage.⁹⁴

⁹⁰ HAF21/10, Seventh Earl of Huntingdon settlement on his mother, 14 April 1673. This money was probably part of the proceeds of the sale of the Irish lands which was then in its final stages. See L(D)H to TEH, 33/5780, 25 September 1672.

⁹¹ HAF21/10 and Ferdinando Davies to TEH, HA Corr., 38/1986, 5 February 1673/4.

⁹² The exact legal position is unclear. Provision for Mary and Christiana would have been included in Lucy and Ferdinando's marriage settlement which has not survived. What is significant is that Lucy and Theophilus thought it necessary for Mary and Christiana to agree to this new arrangement.

⁹³ Ferdinando Davies to TEH, HA Corr., 32/1960, 29 March 1672.

⁹⁴ See chapter six for a discussion of Mary and Christiana's fortunes.

The litigation and delays experienced in obtaining Elizabeth's portion demonstrate how much the financial benefit of a marriage could be jeopardised if the expected land and wealth did not materialise, particularly if the bride had been dearly bought in terms of her jointure. The only way to rectify this once the marriage had taken place was to litigate which was risky, expensive and slow. It also demonstrates that a widow could challenge the arrangements made by her husband and consequently affect the future of those relying on such arrangements. This added to the confusion and trouble experienced by the family in claiming what it believed to be its rights. The city of London had its own rules concerning provision for widows that Lady Lewys could use to her advantage against the customs accepted, and perhaps taken for granted, by Lucy and Theophilus.⁹⁵ The time and expense in winning a case at law acted as an incentive to reach an early compromise and in this way Lady Lewys, residing in Sir John's house with her father and brothers-in-law as executors, was in a strong position.

Such disputes also had an effect on the stability of the new couple's relationship. Some of the information submitted by the Hastings during this dispute could only have come from Elizabeth who was placed between her mother and her new family.⁹⁶ Elizabeth must have also been aware that her mother's claims adversely affected her own maintenance and financial well-being. These problems may have recalled for Lucy Hastings the trouble she experienced with her own marriage and the difficulties the Hastings family had faced to reap the financial rewards she was supposed to bring in 1623. The care taken by Lucy and other family members to negotiate an advantageous marriage for Theophilus did not

⁹⁵ See TEH to L(D)H, HA Corr., 34/5887, 9 October 1672 in which he complained that his wife's family spoke very unworthily of the Hastings and did not show Lucy proper respect. He argued that "they understand not what honor or Justice means" and implied that this was linked to their background.

⁹⁶ For example Lady Lewys was able to claim the jewels she wore daily. However, any other jewels her husband may have owned were part of his personal property which had to be divided between her daughters. Information as to which jewels she habitually wore could only have been provided to the Hastings by Elizabeth.

prevent these difficulties occurring a second time. No amount of careful planning and drafting of settlements could guarantee that everything would run smoothly.

The way the personal relationship developed between the couple also affected the future of the family. As has been pointed out earlier, families tried to ensure that marriage partners were compatible and that there was a good chance for affection and even love to develop. This was considered essential to the stability of the new union. The role of personality is vividly illustrated in the early years of the marriage of the seventh earl, where it is clear that Elizabeth and Theophilus were far from happy. Not only did they express their dissatisfaction with one another but rumours were spread by friends of Elizabeth's family that Theophilus was a severe and unkind husband. Servants were accused of disloyalty and spying and it was thought Elizabeth's family and friends were influencing her to view her new husband with disapproval. It is difficult to pinpoint the exact nature of the troubles between the couple but it is clear that their acrimonious relationship threatened the reputation and dignity of the Hastings family, as well as its stability.

The couple's problems are evident in an exchange of letters in June and July 1672, when Theophilus was away from Donnington on business. Despite the presence of Theophilus' sister Christiana to keep her company, Elizabeth believed her husband's absence reflected his feelings for her. She complained to Theophilus that she had not received one line from him, was very worried and that he could not possibly be so long about his business.⁹⁷

⁹⁷ E(L)H to TEH, HA Corr., 33/4763, 22 June [1672].

Another time, she acknowledged receipt of a letter from him and expressed her kindness and affection, adding however:

if you doe not come down this weeke I shall Conclude your kind letters is
Complements and that I ame Estemd as a stranger in your kindness my deare
lord you Cannot beleave my not righting was a neglect for that letter you
reseved [received] from me last weeke dide exprese that I expekted you heare
last Thursday.⁹⁸

Elizabeth warned Theophilus of problems if he did not come into the country as he needed to look after his estate. She concluded:

Pray my deare lord beleave that I have the gretest affecktion for you and if you
have any for mee show it in your pasing to the Contry if you doe not I shall
Conclude you have no kindness for she that is your ever afecktionet wife and
sarvant.

Later, Elizabeth appeared increasingly querulous, accusing Theophilus of unkindness but saying that if he was the “Severest husband in the world” he would still find her the “most obsarving to your pleasure as is possible”.⁹⁹ Even Christiana felt pressed to write to Theophilus about how “extremely afflicted” Elizabeth was because she thought he had forgotten her.¹⁰⁰ In June Elizabeth asked Lucy to hurry Theophilus back to the country and on 3 July wrote again to say that Theophilus had returned and that she believed Lucy’s “perswations hasend him doune”.¹⁰¹

⁹⁸ E(L)H to TEH, HA Corr., 33/4764, June [1672].

⁹⁹ E(L)H to TEH, HA Corr., 33/4765, 2 July 1672.

¹⁰⁰ CH to TEH, HA Corr., 33/4679, 15 June [1672].

¹⁰¹ E(L)H to L(D)H, HA Corr., 33/4762, 2 June 1672 and 33/4766, 3 July 1672.

While it is difficult to penetrate deeply into the relationship, these letters suggest Elizabeth's vulnerability in the absence of her husband and her belief that they should not spend time apart. Like Lucy when she first married, Elizabeth saw her future tied up with her husband, his support important in establishing her position in the family and community. At this stage Elizabeth does not appear to have had sufficient authority or knowledge of Donnington to enjoy being there without Theophilus.¹⁰² This interchange reveals that Elizabeth and Theophilus had some early difficulties settling in to their respective roles within their marriage.

These early difficulties were discussed by Hastings family and friends who gave support and encouragement to the couple, clearly setting much importance on a stable and happy marriage. Lucy, in particular, gave advice to her son on how to deal with the problems in his marriage. In October 1672 she wrote:

your discrete guiding and managing your intirest with her I hope will in time produce a good effect since it is no new thing in the beginnings of marriages to meete with such difficultys till experience have given them better assurance of each others affections.¹⁰³

Significantly, in another letter Lucy linked the importance of emotional happiness between the couple to the comfort and prosperity of the family:

¹⁰² This is evident in a letter Elizabeth wrote to Theophilus where she asks him to return to Donnington, saying "The presence of a master keeps servants in subjection this day your sheape is sheard and your man Kamack is gone with out delevering any rightings to mee". Elizabeth explains that she had no knowledge of Theophilus' agreement with this man and did not know if he was meant to come again or not. (HA Corr., 34/4768, c.[1672])

¹⁰³ L(D)H to TEH, HA Corr., 34/5782, 19 October 1672.

But above all pray to God (who hath the power to dispose of hearts) for that union of hearts which is so needfull for the comfort and prosperity of your family.¹⁰⁴

The importance Lucy attached to perseverance and the need for partners to work at marriage was perhaps drawn from her own experiences. She also had experienced difficulties between her old and new families in the early years of her marriage and therefore understood the value of emotional attachment and loyalty. Female roles in ensuring the marriage was a success are also evident in Christiana spending time with Elizabeth at Donnington while Theophilus was away. No doubt it was considered necessary for a Hastings family member to assist Elizabeth while she was still new to her surroundings and position.

Arthur Stanhope also had an important role in assisting Elizabeth and Theophilus to overcome their difficulties and was someone that Theophilus felt he could trust. As Theophilus expressed to Lucy in February 1673:

My Cousin Arthur Stanhope professes the greatist kindnesse to mee that is possible and I belive truly hee loves mee I thinke My wife will harken and Bee advised by him sooner then anyone I know and it is well to have my friend so much in her good opinion.¹⁰⁵

Stanhope's ability to develop trusting relationships with both Elizabeth and Theophilus made him well suited to bring them together when things were chilly between them. On 15 September 1672 he told Theophilus that he hoped to hear:

¹⁰⁴ L(D)H to TEH, HA Corr., 33/5777, 18 August 1672. See also Bridget Croft where she tells Theophilus that she hopes that God will sanctify Theophilus' disappointment in Elizabeth. (HA Corr., 33/1769, 25 September 1672)

¹⁰⁵ TEH to L(D)H, HA Corr., 35/5893, 22 February 1672/73.

there is that sweetnes and agreeablenes in both of you to one another...and that all former disgusts and little discontents and disquiates are quite laid a side, and absolutely forgotten, as though such things had never beene, this is the way I am sure to make you both hapy....I beseeche you give my most affectionate humble servis to my Lady, in whose good opinion I hope I stand right notwithstandinge the freedome of speech I tooke with her Ladiship in private, which she was pleased then to tell me she tooke well from me.¹⁰⁶

Stanhope spoke to Theophilus, Elizabeth and Christiana about the importance of overcoming their difficulties and trying to foster harmonious relationships and loyalty. He hoped Christiana had treated Elizabeth with civility and respectful kindness and added that he did not want Theophilus to write anything to him that Elizabeth could not see. Perhaps Stanhope wanted to be able to show them each other's letters. Finally, Stanhope hoped that things were well between the couple and that there would be no reason for Elizabeth to be jealous, either of him or anyone else.

Stanhope did not want Elizabeth to feel that members of the Hastings family were working against her.¹⁰⁷ His comments imply that Elizabeth felt jealous and threatened by him and other family members and that her vulnerability and conflicting loyalties were affecting her marriage and consequently the future of the Hastings. Theophilus described the situation to Bridget Croft in April 1673.

¹⁰⁶ Arthur Stanhope to TEH, HA Corr., 33/12504, 15 September 1672. Interestingly, Stanhope had his own marital problems. In 1688 he informed Theophilus that God had "released" him from his "unfortunate wife". He had decided to go into "second" not "deepe" mourning and was not involved in the funeral: "as things have beene betwixt us for almost forty years past I thought a private internment was the propperest and most sutable to her condition and memory". Stanhope said that although he knew people would say he was joyful at his wife's death, this was not the case. Arthur Stanhope to TEH, HA Corr., 51/12521, 30 January 1687/88.

¹⁰⁷ The dispute between the two families possibly contributed to the tension between Elizabeth and Theophilus, particularly if the lack of money meant that Theophilus was unable to provide for his sisters.

The weather within doors (you know whom I mean) is much like the weather abroad, sometimes faire But oftner fowle indeed my wife is as the proverb, as is the mother so is the daughter But my Cousin Arthur Stanhope has done much good of her of Late, we shall have greate dispute upon my Lady Deincourts comming into the country for I must hinder their meeting, or else their will bee no living, as my sister Christian knowes well when wee were att my Lord of Scarsdales in Darbyshire.¹⁰⁸

While Theophilus viewed all women in the Lewys family as ranged against him, Stanhope was trying to win Elizabeth's loyalty to the Hastings. The couple needed to learn to work together and to think of their shared future.

The attempts made by the Hastings family to create a unified match between Elizabeth and Theophilus were marred by public rumours of the couple's difficulties which circulated during these early years.¹⁰⁹ The origin of these rumours is unclear but the Hastings family believed them to have been spread by Lewys family supporters in order to discredit Theophilus. Various servants were accused of spreading gossip and at one point Lucy suspected the Lewys family of planning to plant a servant into Theophilus' household to influence Elizabeth against him.¹¹⁰ Bridget Croft also wrote that Elizabeth's friends were trying to "lessen" Theophilus to Elizabeth and to encourage her to take the "mastery".¹¹¹ It is difficult to see what could have been gained by this, particularly for Elizabeth. She may have been trying to pressure Theophilus into doing what she wanted or it may have been an

¹⁰⁸ TEH to Bridget Croft, HA Corr., 36/5895, 14 April 1673.

¹⁰⁹ These rumours are mentioned extensively in the Hastings correspondence but I have been unable to find reference to them in any diaries or newsletters of the period. The discovery of such comments may assist in shedding light on the exact nature of Elizabeth and Theophilus' problems.

¹¹⁰ L(D)H to TEH, HA Corr., 34/5782, 19 October 1672. See also Arthur Stanhope's news of a French servant's lies about Theophilus and his wife (33/12503, [Aug] 1672). This was another reason why the selection of household servants was so important.

¹¹¹ Bridget Croft to TEH, HA Corr., 34/1773, 27 December 1672.

attempt to gain a superior position in the dispute between the two families. Whatever the reason, the rumours caused considerable distress to the Hastings. In April 1673 Godfrey Thack reported to Theophilus of “the indignities that hath been blazed upon you, in respect of your dear companion; My eares hath been frequently grated with the report of your unhandsome actions”.¹¹² Stanhope told Theophilus that he had recently received several letters from London labelling Theophilus the “worst and severest husband to my Lady immadginable”. Stanhope assured Theophilus he knew that this was malice and a “confounded lye” but was nevertheless “troubled and vext at it”.¹¹³ Later that same month Bridget Croft assured Theophilus that she did not think there was any truth in the report that he was “an unkinde husband” but was sorry that the person who could vindicate him, that is Elizabeth, would not do it.¹¹⁴ Elizabeth had ability to harm or protect her husband’s reputation.

Hastings family and friends tried to limit the damage done by these rumours. Godfrey Thack assured Theophilus that when he was asked about the matter “the enquirors never went from mee unsatisfied, and without a grave substantiall curse both on the authors, and promoters, of such base Calumnies”.¹¹⁵ In March 1673 Christiana informed Theophilus that Lucy had convinced an acquaintance visiting her that the reports against Theophilus were untrue. The visitor had promised Lucy that she would let the Queen know the reports were lies.¹¹⁶ Women were part of the network utilised to protect a family’s reputation.

¹¹² [Godfrey Thack] to TEH, HA Corr., 36/12526, 3 April 1673.

¹¹³ Arthur Stanhope to TEH, HA Corr., 34/12506, 3 December 1672.

¹¹⁴ Bridget Croft to TEH, HA Corr., 34/1773, 27 December 1672.

¹¹⁵ [Godfrey Thack] to TEH, HA Corr., 36/12526, 3 April 1673.

¹¹⁶ CH to TEH, HA Corr., 36/4682, 25 March 1673.

The actions taken by the Hastings to try to counteract the rumours demonstrate that they took the threat to their reputation seriously. There was a standard of behaviour with which family members had to comply. This included the way men treated their wives, demonstrating that there were checks and balances in the exercise of patriarchal power. Being thought a severe and unkind husband was likely to reflect badly on a family's reputation. A happy marriage, where each person treated the other well, was considered necessary by society which would judge a marriage accordingly. Hence, a family or an individual could use rumour to advantage if they wanted to influence public opinion in their favour.

Both partners in a marriage also had a responsibility to show discretion and loyalty to each other; in other words, quarrels had to be kept private. For example, Bridget Croft informed Theophilus that even those who thought him at fault, nevertheless condemned Elizabeth as unworthy for publishing what passed between them. Croft said that some people believed that the reports about Theophilus were spread to excuse Elizabeth's own misbehaviour.¹¹⁷ Lucy also advised her son to keep the troubles between himself and Elizabeth private, saying that young people often experienced such difficulties in the beginning until they had got to know one another better and that it was therefore necessary "that they hold together and conceale their trouble from the world, in hope that it will pass away".¹¹⁸ The problems between Elizabeth and Theophilus did not only exist on a personal level but had wider

¹¹⁷ Bridget Croft to TEH, HA Corr., 34/1773, 27 December 1672. The importance of privacy was also emphasised in news Mary Hastings sent her brother of the separation of the Duke and Duchess of Somerset. Mary wrote that the Duke "discovers very much his owne weaknesse by making publike to the world all the quarells that have past betweene them and many weake complaints, too long to relate". M(H)J to TEH, HA Corr., 34/7901, 29 October 1672. See also Bridget Croft's advice to Theophilus, 36/1775, 3 April 1673.

¹¹⁸ L(D)H to TEH, HA Corr., 33/5777, 18 August 1672. Theophilus also tried to counter the rumours by telling people that everything was well between Elizabeth and himself. See Godfrey Thack to TEH, 36/12526, 3 April 1673: "I am heartily glad to heare of the concord you informe mee of"; Arthur Stanhope to TEH, 35/12508, 28 January 1672/3 and Katherine Stanhope to TEH, 35/12596, 13 March 1672/3.

implications. By having the problems between them made public the reputation of Theophilus and the Hastings family was at risk. In September 1672 Lucy praised Theophilus for carrying himself “like a Noble man and a good man”. She also wrote:

when thus I pray for you I include your wife that you may bee happy in each other and joyne together in striving to advance the honor of God in the prudent ordering of your affaires and establishing an honorable and Christian, that is the wisest government in your famely.¹¹⁹

The Hastings wanted to re-launch themselves as the godly, honourable and powerful family they had once been. The ideal of godly partnership and honourable Christian government of the family was threatened by the public rumours of strife. The rumours demonstrated that not only was Theophilus not fulfilling the married ideal, but in allowing the problems to become public he was also admitting that he could not keep his household in order.¹²⁰ This weakness challenged the dominant seventeenth-century view of how households and society should be ordered and controlled. It is understandable, therefore, that the Hastings family would feel particularly vulnerable to these rumours as the head of their family had only recently come of age and married and still had much to prove.

Despite the distractions described above, the pressure remained on Elizabeth and Theophilus to provide children, particularly male children, who would ensure the future survival of the family as Earls of Huntingdon. Arthur Stanhope expressed “how proud and

¹¹⁹ L(D)H to TEH, HA Corr., 33/5778, 24 September 1672. See also L(D)H to TEH, 34/5785, 31 October 1672 “that blessed and holy unity that ought to bee betweene you, which tends much both to your present and future happynesse”.

glad should I bee to heare of the hopes of a greate Belly which would be dearer to me then any child I ever had of my one".¹²¹ Sir Herbert Croft, a cousin, also advised Theophilus in 1672 to "minde your business in the Country, and gett boys a pace".¹²² A family friend told Lucy that her husband found Theophilus much improved and was "very glad his Lady is with Child, and wishes your Ladyship much joy of it".¹²³ Elizabeth was close to fulfilling a major purpose of her marriage.

In the short term the marriage had achieved what it had set out to do. The end of 1673 saw the settling down of the new marital unit on an unencumbered estate with the promise of a future generation. The stage was set for Elizabeth and Theophilus to consolidate the start they had made and to increasingly take over the reins from Lucy who had performed her most vital final tasks for the family. There were also signs that Theophilus, content to remain in the country during these two years, was preparing for a more active political role which would influence the course of the family's future and his marriage. Although at this time Theophilus was establishing himself as the new head of the household, the role of women, in particular his wife Elizabeth, his mother Lucy, his mother-in-law and his sisters helped to shape the early years of the marriage. Elizabeth, Lady Lewys, Lucy, Mary, Christiana and Lady Deincourt had their own networks, positions and roles and they each assisted and hindered the family as their different objectives came into play. Although various male relatives such as Sir James Langham and Sir Arthur Stanhope also had an important role to play, this chapter has demonstrated that a woman's experience of marriage even in a patriarchal society was a significant force in the history of a family.

¹²⁰ See Cynthia Herrup's study of the second Earl of Castlehaven's trial. (*A House in Gross Disorder*, particularly pp. 76-7)

¹²¹ Arthur Stanhope to TEH, HA Corr., 35/12508, January 28 1672/73.

¹²² Sir Herbert Croft to TEH, HA Corr., 34/1801, 1672.

The next chapter will focus on Theophilus' sisters, Elizabeth, Mary and Christiana, and their experiences of marriage.

¹²³ Katherine [Sierrepoint] [(Stanley) Marchioness of] Dorchester to L(D)H, HA Corr., 36/10273, 26 May [c.1673].

CHAPTER 6: MARRIAGE AND THE SISTERS

1660-1681

“I am suer the ease and freedom of a single life is much to bee preferred before the changes and fetters of a married condition”¹

“though shee was as handsome as Eve and as very vertuos as the virgin Mary, without a portion shee could nott bee married well”²

For the Hastings family, the marriage of Theophilus, Earl of Huntingdon was of the utmost importance given the need to carry on the title and preserve the property he had inherited. However, we should not overlook the impact of marriage on his sisters and how their experiences of marriage affected their family. Lucy had six daughters most of whom did not live to adulthood. This chapter will concentrate on the three about whom most is known: Elizabeth, Mary and Christiana. Elizabeth who was born on 19 February 1635, married Sir James Langham, a wealthy merchant, on 18 November 1662.³ Sir James had already married once before and had children from that marriage. Elizabeth died on 28 March 1664 while pregnant with her first child. Mary Hastings was born in the early 1640s and married William Jolliffe in 1674. Jolliffe also had children from a previous marriage. Mary died in 1678 leaving a daughter, Lucy. Christiana, Lucy’s third daughter, who was born in 1644, never married.

Elizabeth, Mary and Christiana make a valuable study of women’s experience of marriage. Unlike Lucy Davies and Elizabeth Lewys they were not heiresses and, furthermore, their family was experiencing acute financial trouble. They had limited options to marry because their lack of substantial portions prevented them attracting men of the appropriate social standing required for earl’s daughters. This increased the intensity of discussion

¹ CH to TEH, HA Corr., 40/4685, c.1675.

² TEH to Bridget Croft, HA Corr., 36/5895, 14 April 1673.

³ Retha M. Warnicke, ‘Langham, Lady Elizabeth (1635-1664)’, *ODNB*, [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/71779>, accessed 16 February 2005].

about their futures and how they should live their lives usefully. The marriages of Elizabeth and Mary, made at two different stages in the family's process of financial and political regeneration, allow the link between the family's situation and the future of these women to be examined. The delay experienced by Mary before she married and Christiana's failure to marry at all demonstrate how single aristocratic women were regarded, what their role was and how remaining single could be seen as a viable alternative to marriage. The complex relationship these women had with the family into which they were born affected their future and in turn they themselves influenced the family's fortunes. Their family gave them a pride in their history, a status in society, a reputation for piety, a burden of family debt and little portions. It also gave them a role, as both single and married women, in assisting the family towards its objectives.

As has been recounted in previous chapters, during the late 1650s and early 1660s Lucy, Countess of Huntingdon, had to juggle a number of problems and priorities. These included the running of estates, debt management, an Act of Parliament connected with the estate, a legal dispute with her brother-in-law Lord Loughborough and the education and upbringing of her son and daughters.⁴ By 1660 Theophilus was the only son in a family of women. Five older sisters remained: Eleanor, Elizabeth, Lucy, Mary and Christiana; his mother was the operative head of the family and his paternal aunt, Alice Hastings, was also in regular contact with the family. Theophilus had some male relatives, notably Lord Loughborough, whose dispute with Lucy had been resolved by 1660, and cousins such as Arthur Stanhope. However, the female influence within the family was dominant and this

⁴ See chapter four.

influence remained with Theophilus into his adulthood when he continued to take advice from his sisters and mother. While the Restoration removed some of the political dangers faced by the Hastings family, Lucy's daughters were still in an unenviable position as far as marriage was concerned. Despite their status as the daughters of an earl, they did not have considerable portions and, being five in number, it was highly unlikely that portions could be found for them all.

In March 1660 Lord Loughborough summed up the dilemma facing the family in a letter to his sister-in-law. Around this time Lucy was trying to gather together some money for Elizabeth's portion. Lord Loughborough advised her to try to ensure that her lands were as profitable as possible because in order to raise portions and pay off her husband's debts she would need to sell some lands and lease others. This would prejudice Theophilus as it would lessen his estate. However, Loughborough considered that Theophilus could take this loss better than could his sisters with no portions. Loughborough told Lucy that he hoped Theophilus would have a kindness for his sisters "who will be in a sad condition if God take you before they bee disposed".⁵ Lucy was recognised as being of crucial importance to the well-being of her children. However, while she had to juggle differing priorities and competing demands, at this time Lucy's daughters were the central concern of the family rather than her son whose future was more secure. Everyone understood the dilemma faced by aristocratic women with no portions and wanted to ensure that it was resolved.⁶

⁵ HH(LL) to L.(D)H, HA Corr., 21/5582, 12 March 1659/60. This was especially the case given the second jointure.

⁶ Many marriage settlements and wills leave money specifically for the marriage of daughters. Some of these are discussed in this thesis. See also Slater, *Verneys of Claydon House*, pp. 78-104. Penelope, Mary and Susan Verney's lack of portions after the Civil War severely restricted their choice of marriage partner. However, Slater argues that their brother, Ralph, could have assisted his sisters further but did nothing beyond his basic obligations as a brother.

Family and friends placed considerable importance on Lucy's daughters marrying while their mother was still alive, acknowledging her importance in achieving good matches for them. Lucy not only had control of the family's financial resources but she was the person who was emotionally closest to her daughters and had their best interests at heart. As Lucy said, "my intrest cannot bee seperated from theirs".⁷ In December 1660 the girls' uncle, Gervase Clifton wished all the sisters a valuable husband and that they would be married while Lucy was still alive, enabling her to enjoy the comfort of those she had well disposed.⁸ Even as a child Theophilus understood the importance of marriage for his sisters. He had an affectionate relationship with them and often expressed his love in words which conveyed his concern to see them well married. It was, he said to Mary, his ambition to see her married and promised that when he was a man he would do her all the service that lay within his power.⁹

An example of the type of marriage Lucy's daughters might have to make, and the length of time they might have to wait before they could marry, was no doubt made apparent to them in the example of their paternal aunt, Lady Alice Hastings. Born in 1606 Alice married in 1657, with a £4,000 portion, Sir Gervase Clifton, a man around seventy years of age who had been married six times before.¹⁰ It was not a brilliant match by any means and Alice was a woman of late middle age when she made it. Her age at marriage attracted comment with one observer noting that "the lady is in years for a maid" and "a pretty

⁷ L(D)H to HH(LL), HA Corr., 25/5763, >1667.

⁸ Sir Gervase Clifton, first Bart. to L(D)H, HA Corr., 22/1496, 18 December 1660.

⁹ TEH to M(H)J, HA Corr., 21/5869, 28 April (c.1660). TEH to E(H)L, HA Corr., 20/5863, 24 April 1656. TEH to LH, HA Corr., 20/5864, 26 April 1656.

¹⁰ CSPD, Commonwealth, 1656-57, Marquis of Newcastle to Sec. Nicholas, 15 February 1656/57, p. 279. Sir Gervase Clifton, Knt was created Baronet by James I in 1611. Dugdale, *Antient Usage*, p. 80.

tough hen for this Lent".¹¹ Unfortunately, there appears to be no surviving evidence of Alice's motivation for this marriage. However, the fact that she decided to marry, for the first time, at such an advanced age demonstrates that she must have seen married life as preferable to her current single state and that she believed marriage still had benefits to offer her. Marriage was the focus of aristocratic women and their families because marriage was the only career open to them. The alternative was to remain unmarried and to fulfil the roles they could find for themselves within their birth families. While these roles were often not unimportant, marriage was an ideal and most wanted to marry and establish their own households and have children.

Lucy's daughters Eleanor, Lucy and Alice do not appear to have married although a marriage was considered for Lucy Hastings in around 1658 when Alice Clifton talked of a Mr Hogges' interest in her niece "Luce". Mr Hogges was not planning to marry for a year or two, Alice explained, which would be all the better as it would enable the necessary portion to be raised. Alice Clifton arranged for her sister-in-law and niece to dine with her and her husband to discuss the matter.¹² Family members cultivated marriages for their relatives in these ways and created situations wherein possible marriages could be considered and discussed. However, nothing appears to have come of this match. Although it is unclear when Eleanor and Lucy died, by the early 1660s only Elizabeth, Mary and Christiana remained alive.

¹¹ *CSPD, Commonwealth, 1656-57*, Marquis of Newcastle to Sec. Nicholas, 15 February 1656/57, p. 279.

¹² Lady Alice Clifton (Hastings) to L(D)H, HA Corr., 20/1477, [1656]<. The letter is somewhat obscure but this is the most likely interpretation.

There was at least one marriage considered for Elizabeth before she married Sir James Langham in November 1662. In the late 1650s negotiations took place for a marriage with Henry Conway of Botratham, Huntingdonshire. The Hastings had high hopes for this marriage. In November 1659 a family friend told Elizabeth that once she had successfully married “the rest of your honourable sisters will I hope follow after”.¹³ One marriage in the family would lead to others, due to a changing perception of the daughters as capable of marrying and to the increased connections and possibilities the marriage of a sister would bring. In 1659 a draft settlement was drawn up for the Conway marriage which provided Elizabeth with a yearly jointure of £600 in return for which the Hastings were to provide a portion of £3,000 of which £1,000 was in land and £2,000 in cash. Portions for any daughters born of the match were also specified. If Henry and Elizabeth left only daughters, the lands which would have gone to heirs male were to be used for these daughters until the executors paid £3,000 for their portions. If there was only one daughter she would receive the entire £3,000, if more than one they were to divide the £3,000 evenly between them.¹⁴ For reasons which are unclear the marriage did not go ahead. Negotiations could at times proceed quite a considerable way before they were ended, usually because the parties could not come to an agreement. As has been discussed in relation to Theophilus’ marriage, negotiations or enquiries were often conducted with more than one party concurrently. When a successful bargain was struck with one party dealings with the others were obviously ended. This may have been what happened here.

¹³ Frances Williams [Lady Frances (Glynn)] to Lady Hastings, HA Corr., 21/13390, 28 November 1659. The identity of the intended recipient of this letter is unclear. However, it is likely to have been Elizabeth Hastings given the negotiations taking place at this time for her marriage and the reference in the letter to her sisters.

¹⁴ HAP20/7, Draft marriage settlement, 1659.

Elizabeth eventually married a wealthy merchant, Sir James Langham, in 1662, when she was twenty-seven years of age.¹⁵ Sir James had been married before, in 1647 to Mary, daughter and co-heir of Sir Edward Alston, and had a number of children.¹⁶ Sir James Langham's father, Sir John, was a very wealthy man, having built his fortune as a merchant trader with Turkey. He purchased the manor of Cottesbrooke in Northhamptonshire in 1639 but had a strong connection to London, having been a Sheriff of London in 1642, an Alderman, and a Member of Parliament for the City of London in 1654. He and his son James travelled to the Hague in May 1660 where they were both knighted. Sir John was created Baronet by Charles II on 7 June 1660 in which year he also represented the borough of Southwark in Parliament. Sir John was a "staunch Presbyterian" and his son inherited his non-conformist tendencies.¹⁷

The Langhams were the type of family likely to appeal to the Hastings, namely a wealthy merchant family with landed property who wanted to establish connections with the peerage. In this respect they were similar to the Lewys family.¹⁸ These families were rising in influence and power after the Restoration and made a compatible match with the Hastings' own royalist sympathies and need for money.¹⁹ While the Langham and Lewys

¹⁵ Twenty-seven was somewhat older than usual for an aristocratic woman to marry, demonstrating the difficulty Lucy faced in raising an adequate portion for Elizabeth.

¹⁶ *Burke*, p. 1536. Rev. Henry Isham Longden (ed.), *The Visitation of the County of Northampton in the year 1681*, The Publications of The Harleian Society, vol. 87, (London, 1935), p. 116. Only one of Sir James' children, Mary, born in 1652, survived to adulthood. After the death of Elizabeth Sir James married again, in 1667 another earl's daughter, this time the daughter of the second Earl of Clare. He lastly married Dorothy, daughter of John Pomeroy.

¹⁷ *History of Parliament*, vol. 2, pp. 709-10. *Burke*, p. 1536. Dugdale, *Antient Usage*, p. 118. *Rulers of London*, p. 105. In 1660 Henry Conway, Elizabeth's former suitor, was also given a baronetcy. See Dugdale, *Antient Usage*, p. 122. Also Gervase Jaques to TEH, HA Corr., 21/7644, c. 20 July 1660. "Henry Conway Esqe is made Knight and Baronett."

¹⁸ See chapter five.

¹⁹ Sir John initially headed one of London's trained bands but became an opponent of the New Model Army and was twice imprisoned in the Tower of London with the Lord Mayor of London and other aldermen for refusing to publish an act for the abolition of the monarchy. He helped to fund the royalist conspiracy and

families had not been strong Royalist supporters during the Civil War they had come to see that the restoration of the monarchy was the best thing for the country and had been active in bringing it about. In many ways James Langham made a good brother-in-law for Theophilus, both for the wealth he could command and for his City and political connections. The marriage was meant to benefit the family as a whole not just the couple themselves. However, the strong Presbyterian tendencies of both Langham and various Lewys connections had the potential to destabilise and divide the Hastings. A marriage could have unforeseen consequences.²⁰

The parties to the settlement for Sir James' marriage to Elizabeth were Sir John Langham and Sir James Langham, Lucy and Lord Loughborough and Sir Edward Alston, Sir James' father-in-law from his first marriage.²¹ In the agreement Sir John undertook within seven years to spend £30,000 on lands which would provide Sir John with an income of £500 a year during his son's life, this £500 augmenting Elizabeth's jointure of £500 per year after the death of Sir James.²² It also provided for the maintenance of the heir male born to James and Elizabeth, for maintenance of younger children and for younger sons' and daughters' portions. If there was only one younger child the portion was to be a maximum of £5,000, if two or more, up to £10,000, if one daughter and no son, up to £6,000. The

was active in paving the way for the Restoration in London. *History of Parliament*, vol. 2, pp. 709-10. *Burke*, p. 1536.

²⁰ This will be discussed further in chapter seven. Unfortunately little evidence remains on the part played by religious considerations in deciding upon Langham as a match for Elizabeth. Very few letters have survived concerning the negotiations and those which have survived tend to discuss financial considerations rather than those of religion or social status. The scarcity of letters contrasts with those surrounding Theophilus' marriage to Elizabeth Lewys and Mary's marriage to William Jolliffe which will be discussed later in this chapter.

²¹ HAP20/12, Marriage settlement of Elizabeth Langham, 14 November 1662. This cannot be the only settlement concerning Elizabeth's marriage as it does not mention the portion she would have provided. This settlement does not seem to have survived. The ODNB claims that Elizabeth's portion was £10,000. See Warnicke, 'Langham, Elizabeth', *ODNB*.

portions were to be paid at twenty-one years of age for sons and at eighteen years of age or at marriage for daughters.²³ While the property and its income would go to the male heirs of Sir James and Elizabeth, and failing that to the brothers of Sir James, Sir James was left free to raise jointures out of this income. The settlement indicates the usual balance of resources and illustrates the care for daughters shown by these families. Although male heirs remained a central focus, the portions for younger sons and daughters included in this settlement illustrate that the family recognised the importance of portions if daughters were to successfully marry and were prepared to provide them.

The marriage prompted the usual congratulations and expectations from family and friends. In March 1663 Frances Williams told Lucy that she and her husband “doe much Congratulate my Lady Elizabeth, her Ladyship’s happie Nuptialls and your honour’s happiness therein”. God had “wiped away Old sorrowes” by bringing this “great comfort” not only to Elizabeth and Lucy but also to Lucy’s son and other daughters who “cannot chuse, but much reioyce in so Noble a Brother in Law: with whome they may have free Recreation of sweete and Comfortable societie”.²⁴ There were also the usual hopes expressed for Elizabeth’s pregnancy.²⁵ However, Elizabeth was ill for much of her marriage.

Elizabeth had shown signs of illness even before her marriage. In August 1661 John Davies told Lucy that he had heard from Lord Loughborough that “my Lady Eliza” was ill

²² At this stage James Langham had a son, Edward, living. The current land was perhaps tied up in settlements for this son or for Sir John’s other sons and so alternative sources of income needed to be purchased.

²³ The provision for children in this agreement shows that women could become wealthy without marrying. The money came to them irrespective of whether they married.

²⁴ Frances Williams [Lady Frances (Glynne)] to L(D)H, HA Corr., 23/13393, 4 March 1662/63.

²⁵ Bridget Croft to L(D)H, HA Corr., 23/1753, [1662/63].

and that it had “much renewed our greifes here”.²⁶ In the following October Elizabeth seemed to be recovering though and Davies was able to “beseech god to perfect her heath [health] and to remove his judgments from the whole family”.²⁷ After her marriage Elizabeth was ill from time to time throughout 1663 and into 1664. Sir James kept the Hastings informed of her progress in some detail, explaining the treatments she was undergoing and her improvements, assuring them that his love and interest in her health would make him do all that he should.²⁸ During her marriage Elizabeth maintained her close ties to the Hastings family, including her brother. Theophilus wrote to her on 28 March 1664 telling her that he was praying for her recovery.²⁹ She died that same day of smallpox.³⁰ The marriage had lasted little more than one year.

A couple of months after Elizabeth’s death, Bathsua Makin composed a poem in her honour, emphasising Elizabeth’s roles of daughter, wife, sister and mother.³¹ While Elizabeth had not had children of her own she had been a step-mother to Sir James’ daughter Mary and his other children. A woman’s experience of marriage often included step-children. Makin’s poem celebrated Elizabeth’s love of her stepchildren as if she had been their natural mother.

²⁶ John Davies to L(D)H, HA Corr., 22/1999, 10 August 1661.

²⁷ John Davies to L(D)H, HA Corr., 22/2000, 15 October 1661.

²⁸ Sir James Langham to L(D)H, HA Corr., 23/8123, 25 July [1663]. See also, Sir James Langham to L(D)H, 24/8124, 21? March 1663/64 and an earlier letter to Lucy in which Sir James says that his wife is “now pretty well”. (23/8122, 20 July 1663)

²⁹ Theophilus to E(H)L, HA Corr., 24/5873, 28 March 1664.

³⁰ L(D)H to TEH, HA Corr., 24/5760, 31 March 1664. This letter indicates that Elizabeth died on 28 March 1664, however the *ODNB* states that it was 18 March and also that Elizabeth was pregnant when she died. Warnicke, ‘Langham, Elizabeth’, *ODNB*.

³¹ Bathsua Makin, “Upon the much lamented death of the Right Honourable, the Lady Elizabeth Langham” in Greer et al (eds.), *Kissing the rod*, pp. 226-7. See also Lucinda Becker, *Death and the Early Modern Englishwoman*, (Aldershot and Burlington, 2003), pp. 111, 167, 174. Also, Bathsua Makin to L(D)H, HA Corr., 24/8799, 2 May 1664. Makin had taught Elizabeth as well as Lucy’s other children. Teague, ‘Makin, Bathsua’, *ODNB*.

So good in all relations, so sweet
 A daughter, such a lovely wife, discreet
 A mother; though not hers, not partial
 She loved, as if they had been natural.
 To th'Earl and Ladies she a sister rare,
 A friend where she professed, beyond compare.

The poem also emphasised Elizabeth's natural goodness of character, piety, learning (particularly Latin, French and Italian) and, importantly, her noble Hastings birth and is a conventional seventeenth-century expression of what was regarded as ideal female qualities. It highlighted the importance placed on women fulfilling their roles within their families while on earth but also points out that Elizabeth was now in heaven with a "new transcendent Name". The loss of a daughter, sister, wife and mother was worthy of commemoration.

Langham also expressed his sense of loss and grief when Elizabeth died. He told Theophilus: "That year in which I injoyed your most Excellent sister, I deliberately always account the most happy of those that have made up my life" and spoke of how the "greatest Delight of mine eyes and joy this world afforded me was snatched away". Langham highly praised Elizabeth, calling her the "Companion" of his life and in 1665 spoke to Theophilus of the "Greatest and Holyest Pleasures a marryed Condition affordes".³² His comments and conduct illustrate the importance accorded to marriage, particularly by those with Puritan tendencies and backgrounds.³³ In August 1664 it was reported that Langham was keeping to his chamber, only occasionally persuaded to leave it

³² Sir James Langham to TEH, HA Corr., 24/8125, 6 August 1664 and 24/8127, 16 August 1665.

³³ See chapter two.

by Sir Edward Alston who was “fain to use all arts to keep him in health”.³⁴ Langham had not been married long, but expressions of grief and love were considered right and proper.

During the months following his wife’s death, Langham was keen to cement his relationship with the Hastings family. This was doubly important, considering the marriage had lasted for such a short time and had no children. Langham heaped praise on the family, and on Theophilus in particular, as an example, “where nobility is not pleaded as an excuse from the stricknesses of Religion but an Argument of doing more for God and his Honour”. He emphasised his affection for Lucy, Theophilus and the Hastings family as the family of his late wife, and praised Donnington, where the “great Precepts of Religion and virtue” were “exemplified” in Lucy’s own “Commanding Practice”.³⁵ Such comments were designed to appeal to the Hastings’ tradition of Protestant piety and particularly to that of women’s involvement and importance in the religious life of their family.

Langham’s comments and actions also indicated his intention to maintain the connection his marriage to Elizabeth had established. He continued to refer to himself as Lucy’s son despite the death of his wife and the brevity of their marriage.³⁶ As a member of the Hastings family he supported Lucy in the late 1660s and early 1670s in her attempts to rehabilitate her mother, Lady Eleanor Davies. Lucy had been offended by the account given of her mother’s life in two histories and wanted to clear her mother’s reputation. To this end she sought and received an apology from one of the authors concerned. In 1669

³⁴ Samuel Willes to TEH, HA Corr., 24/13316, 18 August 1664? This demonstrates that the Alston family connection continued beyond the death of Sir James’ first wife, Mary Alston. Sir Edward would, no doubt, have wanted to remain in contact with his grandchildren.

³⁵ Sir James Langham to TEH, HA Corr., 24/8125, 6 August 1664 and 24/8126, 16 August 1665.

³⁶ Sir James Langham to L(D)H, HA Corr., 30/8134, 11 April 1671 and 30/8135, 12 July 1671.

Langham reported to Lucy and gave advice concerning a history written by Sir Richard Baker which contained information about Lady Eleanor.³⁷ A few years later, when Lucy heard that Sir Roger L'Estrange was to continue the history begun by Baker, she drew L'Estrange's attention to the "errors" written about her mother. She sent L'Estrange an epitaph which, she said, described Eleanor's character accurately and which was written by Sir Peter du Moulin, the prebend of Canterbury who had stayed in Sir John Davies' house for some time.³⁸ Lucy also told L'Estrange of Langham's encouragement of her cause and that he "has bin pleased as well formerly as now out of his greate respect to this family to interest himselfe and assist mee in this affaire".³⁹ Lucy's letter demonstrates women's concern for their female relatives' reputations and the importance of epitaphs and sermons in presenting them appropriately.⁴⁰ As a member of the Hastings family, Langham had a vested interest in the maintenance of its good name and reputation. For both himself and the Hastings, particularly Lucy, value rested in a reputation for piety. Langham shared the Hastings' outlook and objectives and hence was sympathetic to their goals. In August 1665 he thanked Lucy for inviting his children to visit Donnington.⁴¹ He also advised Theophilus on the hiring of servants, patronage, financial matters and marriage. Through

³⁷ Sir James Langham to L(D)H, HA Corr., 27/8131, 20 October 1669.

³⁸ Lady Eleanor's attitude to religion antagonised many but she also enjoyed close connections with people such as du Moulin. *Biographical Dictionary*, vol. 1, p. 216. Other supporters included the Queen of Bohemia, Charles I's sister, who wrote to her brother on behalf of Lady Eleanor in 1633. See *CSPD*, Charles I, Addenda 1625-1649, p. 458.

³⁹ L(D)H to Sir Roger L'Estrange, HA Corr., 35/5815, >Oct 1673. See also Sir Roger L'Estrange to L(D)H, 38/8258, 21 April 1674. See Jeffries, 'Hastings, Lucy', *ODNB*, for further detail of Lucy's efforts regarding her mother's reputation. G. H. Martin, 'Baker, Sir Richard (c. 1568-1645)', *ODNB*, [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/1131>], accessed 31 March 2005].

⁴⁰ See Lady Alice Hastings in chapter three.

⁴¹ Sir James Langham to L(D)H, HA Corr., 24/8126, 16 August 1665.

Elizabeth's marriage masculine influences came into contact with Theophilus despite his predominantly female immediate family.⁴²

Langham also had a financial influence on the family, lending money and holding a mortgage over the English lands. As a wealthy man who had easier access to ready cash than the Hastings he was the obvious choice to assist with financial problems that may have worsened with the need to raise Elizabeth's portion. Langham held the future of the family in his hands in the early 1670s and it was clear that his connection with the family did not inhibit him from insisting on repayment and even threatening legal action.⁴³ He did not sign the release of the Hastings' English estates until 1673.⁴⁴ This connection, forged by marriage, outlived the marriage itself even when there was no lasting family tie created by the birth of children. While of benefit to the Hastings it might have proved a threat to their future if Langham had gone to the law. Until his death Langham continued to contribute to decisions made by the family, in many ways assuming the role Loughborough might have played had he lived. Men such as Langham and Stanhope were influential in the marriage of Theophilus and in the increasing political involvement of the family after Theophilus came of age.⁴⁵ Langham's role can also be seen in the prospective marriages of Mary and Christiana and it is to these two women that we shall now turn.

⁴² This contact continued despite his remarrying a further two times before his death in 1699. For a detailed account of Sir James' next wedding see Gervase Jaques to TEH, HA Corr., 25/7654, 16 April 1667.

⁴³ Sir James Langham to TEH, HA Corr., 34/8141, 31 December 1672 and TEH to Sir James Langham, 35/5890, 11 January 1672/73.

⁴⁴ Sir James Langham to TEH, HA Corr., 37/8144, 18 June 1673. "The Release I promised your Lordship I have signed and sealed and do Retain no longer Claime to any of Your Estates that were part of the Securities of my debt". See also TEH to L(D)H, 37/5897, 25 June 1673.

⁴⁵ See chapter five for a discussion of these masculine influences. Such trusted male friends and relatives were also important later in Theophilus' marriage as will be discussed in chapter seven.

Through the 1660s Loughborough and Lucy, despite some differences of opinion, worked together to try to ensure good marriages for Mary and Christiana. In the mid 1660s they investigated the lands of a potential match for one of Lucy's daughters; it is unclear who. Lucy learned a considerable amount about the financial side of this particular match, which included an estate of £1,600 a year (which could be improved up to £2,000) and which was not charged with any debt. The gentleman in question, however, had two sisters and he intended to give them £1,000 each but was not bound to do so. He demanded a portion of £3,000, comprising £1,000 in hand and £2,000 over the next two years and would provide a jointure of £600 a year. Lucy sent servants to look at the estate which was found to be very handsome with a "large quantity of rich land". However, Lucy discovered that there were considerable demands on the estate, including a mother's jointure, an annuity to a brother, portions for unmarried sisters and money to a deceased sister's children. Lucy wanted to stop negotiations but was asked by the gentleman concerned to continue them and considered going ahead with the match as the negotiations had been made public and there was family pride to consider.

Lucy sent these details to Loughborough and sought his advice on her daughter's behalf. While Lucy did the negotiating and decision-making concerning her daughters' marriages, the advice of male relatives was very important. Loughborough was concerned for his late brother's children and in such situations could also perhaps share the blame if the match did not proceed. In this particular negotiation, Lucy contemplated raising her daughter's portion by setting apart £1,000 a year of her own revenue for three years. Though her estate in England was only for life she thought she might secure the payment out of her

Irish land.⁴⁶ Lucy's lands in Ireland, rather than the Hastings lands in England, were significant for her daughters. However, nothing came of these particular negotiations and in the late 1660s the family's focus shifted towards preparations for Theophilus' coming of age and marriage.

Examination of the late 1660s and early 1670s is useful in showing the role played by Mary and Christiana as two unmarried, single women in an aristocratic family.⁴⁷ The emphasis on marriage by Protestant writers meant that women were expected to marry and hence those who did not were seen as having failed to fulfil their role in life.⁴⁸ Despite the fact that single aristocratic women could not live independently, evidence suggests that they nevertheless fulfilled important roles within their families which gave them some influence.⁴⁹ Examination of Mary and Christiana's lives at this time demonstrates how they influenced the family and how family dynamics and relationships influenced them. During these years their lack of substantial portions made it uncertain whether they would ever be able to marry which concerned their relatives. For much of this time Mary and Christiana lived with their mother in London as she negotiated her son's marriage, conducted lawsuits with the executors of Sir John Lewys' will and sold the Irish lands.

⁴⁶ L(D)H to HH(LL), HA Corr., 25/5763, >1667. Evidence of continuing difficulties between Lucy and Loughborough is revealed in this letter with Lucy's comment that Loughborough's kindness to her daughters was "expressed with som severity towards mee" but that she would put that aside.

⁴⁷ Early modern single women have not received much attention from historians. See Bridget Hill, *Women Alone: Spinsters in England 1660-1850* (New Haven and London, 2001); Judith M. Bennett and Amy M. Froide (eds.), *Singlewomen in the European Past, 1250-1800*, (Philadelphia, 1999); Harris, *English Aristocratic Women*, pp. 88-98 and Crawford and Mendelson, *Women in early modern England*, pp. 165-74.

⁴⁸ Despite the emphasis on marriage, in early modern England a significant proportion of women remained single all their lives. Maryanne Kowaleski claims that in the British peerage 5-9% of noblewomen in the sixteenth century and 13-15% in the seventeenth century never married. "Singlewomen in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: The Demographic Perspective" in Bennett and Froide (eds.), *Singlewomen in the European Past*, p. 61.

⁴⁹ For a rather negative view of the lives of single women see Slater, *Verneys of Claydon House*, pp. 84-90. Slater argues that "Spinsterhood condemned one to a lifetime of peripheral existence; it was a functionless role played out at the margins of other people's lives" (p. 84). Such a bleak picture does not fit the life of Mary and Christiana Hastings.

Their usefulness during this time is evident in the copious correspondence between London and Donnington Park. They ran errands for their mother and brother, wrote letters, provided news and advice and involved themselves in the business of the family.

One of Mary and Christiana's most important roles was as Lucy's secretaries or assistants, a role which they played from an early age. For example, in 1661 Mary forwarded Lucy's instructions to John Davies' wife on the necessary preparations for Loughborough's imminent arrival.⁵⁰ In September 1662 John Davies told Mary that he had received her letter and "shall carefully observe my Ladyes comands in them (by you) to mee directed".⁵¹ Ferdinando Davies asked Christiana to ask Lucy to provide certain papers he needed.⁵² In 1669 Jaques asked Mary to inform Lucy about developments concerning leases at Melborne and that he needed to know what should be done.⁵³ This role as scribe and assistant not only assisted Lucy with her many tasks but also familiarised Mary and Christiana with the various servants, stewards and business connections associated with the family and, importantly, with its financial situation.

Mary and Christiana's role increased in the early 1670s when residing with their mother in London.⁵⁴ Mary, for example, conveyed her mother's instructions and information on estate matters to her brother. In 1672 she wrote a detailed account of Lucy's instructions concerning Kegworth market, told Theophilus that Lucy was arranging to send the papers

⁵⁰ John Davies to L(D)H, HA Corr., 22/1999, 10 August 1661.

⁵¹ John Davies to M(H)J, HA Corr., 23/2014, 23 September 1662. See also his letter to Mary, 23/2018, 21 April 1663.

⁵² Ferdinando Davies to L(D)H, HA Corr., 30/1955, 13 January 1670/71.

⁵³ Gervase Jaques to M(H)J, HA Corr., 27/7667, 18 September 1669.

⁵⁴ There are a great many letters demonstrating this role, particularly during the period 1672-1673. See HA Corr., 33-37.

concerning the Okethorpe mine to him and provided details of developments in the battle with the Lewys family.⁵⁵ At this time Mary also kept the accounts for Lucy. In early 1670 Jaques sent Lucy a detailed account of the goods he had sent to her in London, adding that his wife was uncertain what payment had been made to a particular person but “beleives my Lady Marys booke of Accompts will make it appear what hee has received”.⁵⁶ The job of accountancy was an important and complicated one given the amount of monies and goods coming in to London and the rents and dealings in the country. Mary was at the centre of this activity.

Mary and Christiana’s close relationship to Lucy as well as their close physical proximity to her meant that creditors often approached them in lieu of Lucy, hoping to obtain money. As early as 1666 Mary received letters such as the following:

The cause of my giveinge your Ladyshipp the trouble of these few Lines are to desire the favor of you to Comiserate my Condition and according to your promise to mee to perswade with the Countesse your mother in helpeinge mee to some mony.⁵⁷

In 1674 Thomas Barrodale, an agent of Lucy’s, sent Mary a list of all the services he had performed for Lucy for which he had not been paid. Although Lucy had promised him he would not want for money, he was now in a very bad condition.⁵⁸ In 1676 Lucy received a

⁵⁵ M(H)J to TEH, HA Corr., 34/7900, 17 October [1672]. In this letter Mary also informed her brother of the King’s visit to Newmarket and that Lucy had gone with Christiana to wait on the Queen.

⁵⁶ Gervase Jaques to L(D)H, HA Corr., 28/7673, 12 January 1669/70. This letter provides a vivid picture of the expense and trouble of an extended London stay. Jaques advised Lucy to send her coachmares out of London so that she would not have the expense of keeping them there for the winter and gave a detailed account of the various foodstuffs sent to her.

⁵⁷ Richard Tayler to M(H)J, HA Corr., 25/12793, 27 January 1665/66.

⁵⁸ Thomas Barrodale to M(H)J, HA Corr., 38/466, 28 April 1674.

plea for payment of a debt, the writer stating that he had been to see Lucy's daughters several times about it but had not received anything.⁵⁹

Mary and Christiana were also sometimes approached concerning their brother's debts. Their residence in London made them easily available and creditors may have felt less intimidated approaching single women than they did the dowager Countess or Earl of Huntingdon. For example, in around 1673 a coachman's wife approached Mary concerning a debt Theophilus owed to her husband. She told Mary of her intention to send her husband to Theophilus in pursuit of the debt but Mary convinced her not to do so. Mary informed her brother of the matter and told him that Jaques should write to the woman by the next post, adding that it was her "concerne that you may appeare to have a iust care of your debts that cheefly moves mee to give you this trouble".⁶⁰ As an older sister Mary felt she had the right to send a lesson as well as her assistance to her brother. In this respect Mary and Christiana were protectors of the family's financial well-being and reputation. Mary's comments on how Theophilus' servants reflected on him have been discussed earlier but it is interesting to note that when making her comments she told Theophilus that Lucy did not know about her letter.⁶¹ Mary and Christiana were not just their mother's mouthpieces. They had their own opinions and took their own independent action when they saw fit.⁶²

During their time in London Mary and Christiana also conveyed political, social and family news to their brother. In November 1672 Mary wrote that this time she, not

⁵⁹ Augustine Colange to L(D)H, HA Corr., 40/1545, 11 July 1676.

⁶⁰ M(H)J to TEH, HA Corr., 37/7920, [1 July][1673].

⁶¹ See chapter five.

⁶² Mary also gave her opinion about her brother's political leanings and the public comment this generated. See chapter seven.

Christiana, would be Theophilus' "intelligencer" and proceeded to tell him the news. This included details of the reception given to the Swedish ambassador who, it was rumoured, had come over to negotiate a marriage between the King of Sweden and the Duke of York's daughter, Mary.⁶³ As well as providing news Mary and Christiana ran errands for Theophilus and his wife, including looking for servants. Mary, for instance, spent some time trying to find a suitable page for Theophilus' wife Elizabeth.⁶⁴ She also forwarded letters from Theophilus to various acquaintances and relatives, ordered items of clothing from his tailor, arranged for his cravats to be washed, had a saddle made for him and conveyed messages.⁶⁵ "Deare Brother" Mary said, "command mee freely in what I am, so happy as to bee, capable of serving you and beleeve mee constantly and passionatly your most affectionate sister and humble servant".⁶⁶

While they were involved in their brother's and mother's concerns, Mary and Christiana also had their own property and money, independent of their mother and brother, for which they were responsible.⁶⁷ For example, Mary had her own horses and instructed stewards about their sale. In 1668 John Davies told Theophilus that Mary's gelding had been sold for £7 and 5 shillings and asked whether Mary wanted the money sent to her in London or used in the country.⁶⁸ In 1670 Jaques explained to Mary that he had tried to borrow money

⁶³ M(H)J to TEH, HA Corr., 34/7902, 5 November 1672.

⁶⁴ M(H)J to TEH, HA Corr., 33/7894, [>Sept][1672]; 34/7900, 17 October, [1672] and 34/7902, 5 November 1672.

⁶⁵ M(H)J to TEH, HA Corr., 33/7892, [Aug <?][1672].

⁶⁶ M(H)J to TEH, HA Corr., 33/7894, [>Sept][1672].

⁶⁷ See Ferdinando Davies to M(H)J, HA Corr., 39/1989, 9 September 1675 and to CH, 40/1991, c.1675 concerning payments Davies made to both sisters. See also, TEH to CH, HA Corr., 40/5921, 11 April 1676 concerning collection of rents for Christiana.

⁶⁸ John Davies to TEH, HA Corr., 26/2028, 4 January 1667/68. See also Gervase Jaques to TEH, HA Corr., 26/7658, 20 November 1667.

in order to be able to send her the sum she had asked for but had been unable to as yet. He had been having trouble supplying Lucy and Theophilus with money and had recently borrowed over £50 for their supply.⁶⁹ Jaques had to arrange different supplies for different family members and probably Mary came lower on his priorities than Lucy or Theophilus. The experiences of Mary and Christiana demonstrate that women could work within the limitations placed on them. Despite contemporary emphasis on the importance of marriage Mary and Christiana still managed to exert influence within their families. While not central to the well-being of the Hastings family they were nevertheless far from “peripheral”. Much of their experience was influenced by the relationships they had with their mother and brother. Their close relationship meant that their brother was willing to assist them as much as he could which would become increasingly important as marriages were considered for them.

Mary and Christiana’s life in London provided contact with a wider group of people than their contacts in the country and increased their opportunities to meet potential husbands. Men like Sir James Langham spent considerable time in London where much of their business was based. The sisters’ residence in London with their mother as she settled the family’s financial affairs also meant that they were able to participate in discussions about their financial future. The business dealings of the time, namely settling the English and selling the Irish estates, and obtaining the portion from Sir John Lewys’s executors, were often discussed in relation to the longed for marriages of Mary and Christiana. Theophilus often expressed his desire to settle affairs so that his sisters could be provided for and they

⁶⁹ Gervase Jaques to M(H)J, HA Corr., 29/7688, 26 July 1670.

in their turn were grateful to him for his efforts on their behalf.⁷⁰ During the negotiations for Theophilus' marriage Lucy's Irish lands were set aside specifically for Mary and Christiana.⁷¹ One of the eventual purchasers of this land, Ferdinando Davies, continually assured the family that the bargain would be a good one and that the "ladies" would have their money.⁷² However, despite this, it was acknowledged that their portions would be much less than was desirable. Bridget Croft said that she could not think of their situation without sorrow as the most they would be likely to have was so much below them.⁷³ Their portions would not be enough to attract potential husbands at the appropriate status for daughters of an earl.

During this time Mary came to the attention of a merchant, William Jolliffe. Jolliffe became an alderman in the 1680s but not much is known of his earlier life. He was born around 1622 and in 1659 married Martha Foley by whom he had a daughter, Anne.⁷⁴ Jolliffe's interest in Mary prompted considerable discussion amongst Hastings family and friends who questioned whether she should make a match that was so socially beneath her. There is no evidence that this issue was considered in relation to Elizabeth's match to Sir James Langham or Alice Hastings to Sir Gervase Clifton. These men clearly had higher

⁷⁰ TEH to L(D)H, HA Corr., 33/5886, 7 September 1672 and M(H)J to TEH, 33/7896, 12 September, 1672. See chapter five for Theophilus' proposal to bring about his marriage to Elizabeth Lewys while nevertheless ensuring that Mary and Christiana's needs were met. Lucy's focus seemed to be on Theophilus while Theophilus was focused on his sisters. It is possible to speculate that Theophilus and his female relatives had contrasting priorities about what was most important for family well-being. Lucy's focus had been on the continuation of the earldom and therefore the protection of her son's interests. However, by 1672 that was under control with Theophilus starting his own family and in secure possession of his estate. Theophilus could therefore afford to focus on his sisters, including ensuring they married well. While he was concerned for their happiness, their marriages were also a gauge of the family's standing.

⁷¹ Matthew Davies to L(D)H, HA Corr., 32/2066, [>1672].

⁷² There are many letters from Ferdinando Davies to this effect in HA Corr., 32 and onwards. In the end, as discussed in the previous chapter, Mary and Christiana agreed to forego money which had been set aside for their portions so that it could go to Sir James Langham for the release of the English estates. They in turn would receive the money from the executors of Sir John Lewys' will, that is, the portion owed to Theophilus.

⁷³ Bridget Croft to TEH, HA Corr., 34/1772, 14 December [1672].

⁷⁴ *Rulers of London*, pp. 99-100.

profiles and greater wealth than did William Jolliffe who was regarded by some as “obscure”.⁷⁵ Generally, families wishing to ally themselves through marriage to those of higher social standing had to overcome considerable barriers. Men who wished to marry into socially superior families faced vigorous objections from the family and friends of their prospective bride. As a woman took on the status of her husband it was a serious thing for her to marry down. Some men in this situation agreed to take the name of their bride’s family, especially if they were marrying a woman who had no brothers. These difficulties did not exist when women married socially superior men and these marriages were not uncommon, the marriage of Theophilus being an example.⁷⁶

Mary was not initially in favour of marriage with Jolliffe, largely due to the opinions of her friends. In around February 1673 Lucy informed Theophilus of Mary’s “want of inclination”, saying that she had been “swayed by the opinion of others”. Lucy, believing that Mary had made up her mind, did not want to keep Jolliffe, who had considerable esteem for Mary, in suspense over the match.⁷⁷ However, matters did not end there and the match continued to be contemplated and discussed. Lucy wrote to Theophilus for advice in March 1673, mistakenly writing that the marriage was for Christiana.⁷⁸ Nine days later she wrote again, correcting that mistake and giving Theophilus details of Jolliffe’s estate. It was about £900 in land plus a good estate in

⁷⁵ Ferdinando Davies reported to Theophilus that people were saying the match would be “two obscure” (38/1986, 5 February 1673/74).

⁷⁶ In these situations a woman’s family was sometimes required to try to raise its status. In 1662 Loughborough was asked his advice concerning a man who was matching his eldest daughter into a considerable family and who had been advised to “dignify himselfe for the advancement of his family”. Loughborough was asked whether the man should “stand for Baronet or Knight”, the fees involved, and whether Loughborough could help him to this objective. Thomas Pierce to HH(LL), HA Corr., 23/10267, 28 April 1662.

⁷⁷ L(D)H to TEH, HA Corr., 35/5791, [c.25] February 1672/73.

⁷⁸ L(D)H to TEH, HA Corr., 35/5792, 6 March 1672/73.

money; in total valued at £25-26,000. Jolliffe's daughter had a portion of £4,000 which was to be charged on the land but Lucy believed that Jolliffe would find some other way to pay it and in any event it did not need to be paid for another seven years. Concerning Jolliffe himself, he was "esteemed of great honesty and integrity, civill, unaffected" and spoke Italian well as he had lived in Italy for seven or eight years. Lucy desired Theophilus' opinion of the match.⁷⁹

On 14 April 1673 Theophilus wrote two letters concerning his thoughts on Mary's marriage, one to his mother and one to family friend, Bridget Croft.⁸⁰ Theophilus was favourably inclined to the match as long as it was certain that Jolliffe was a gentleman, from a good family, that Mary had no "aversion" to the marriage and that Jolliffe's estate was what he said it was. Theophilus wrote at some length about his sisters' lack of adequate portions. Mary's was £1,500 as well as what Sir James Langham might give her. Theophilus argued that Mary would be expected to have a large portion as people who were not noble believed that a lot of wealth was needed to support the noble rank. They would therefore expect an earl's daughter to have a considerable portion. Theophilus' reasoning is a little awry as the family's contemplation of Jolliffe as a potential husband for Mary was in itself evidence that she did not have a large portion. If she had, the question of marrying a commoner would never have arisen.⁸¹ Theophilus acknowledged that Mary had to "sute her selfe to her fortune waving some what the consideration of her Birth yet never to marry butt with a gentleman". Mary had to compromise if she wanted to marry.

⁷⁹ L(D)H to TEH, HA Corr., 35/5793, 15 March 1672/73.

⁸⁰ TEH to L(D)H, HA Corr , 36/5894, 14 April 1673 and TEH to Bridget Croft, 36/5895, 14 April 1673.

⁸¹ There is no evidence to indicate that the Hastings had similar concerns when Elizabeth married Langham. The correspondence may have been lost but Langham was, in any event, not only wealthier than Jolliffe but was a knight and heir to a baronetcy.

Theophilus also discussed at some length the benefits of marrying a merchant. His discussion provides wonderful insight into seventeenth-century aristocratic attitudes to class difference, highlighting the prejudices that existed, but also the pragmatism which ensured that these barriers were, on occasion, overcome. Theophilus argued that many noblemen's daughters had matched with merchants and that, although the "citizens" [that is, merchants] were known to be "gripping" towards one another, they were nevertheless "kind enough to their wives". He also claimed that a merchant might increase his estate (implying that this would be less likely for a man possessing landed wealth). Merchants were clearly seen to be able to make fortunes that other men could not.⁸² Theophilus wanted Mary to have a kind husband and argued that if this was the case he would not care that the man was not a "good Brother in Law". A "good brother-in-law" was someone who had wealthy and powerful connections who could assist Theophilus financially and politically, in other words someone like Langham or someone from the aristocracy. Nevertheless, Theophilus was prepared to forgo this benefit for his sister's happiness, hoping that one day Jolliffe would acquire enough wealth to become the "good" brother-in-law desired. Theophilus had to justify the match to two people who might be opposed to it and was trying to anticipate and counter their arguments. It is interesting to note that Theophilus, despite his problems with his own wife and her family, was not against a merchant match for his sister. Given the situation of the Hastings' finances this was not a big sacrifice. His sisters were unable to make the socially acceptable and financially beneficial matches which were most desirable and therefore it became a question of whether they married at all or stayed single. In this their own preferences could come to

⁸² Alternatively, Theophilus could have meant that a merchant may have been able to purchase landed wealth (the means generated by trade) and hence increase his social standing. Either way, Theophilus recognised the ability of merchants to make fortunes. The Langham family was an example of the wealth a merchant family could amass, an example that would not have been lost on Theophilus, Lucy or Mary.

the fore, always provided they did not dishonour the family by marrying someone totally unsuitable, for example, a man who was not a gentleman.

Theophilus also revealed that his sisters were confident in making their preferences known and had a certain freedom of choice. Theophilus told Croft that Christiana had “extoled the life of a marchants wife” and thought Mary “would doe well to marry one”. She would not care about his birth. In his letter to Lucy about Jolliffe Theophilus also mentioned Christiana: “If my sister Mary bee absolutly averse to this match I wish my sister Christian had him for shee has exprest to mee formerly The happynesse of a Citty life”. For single aristocratic women such as Mary and Christiana, there were some perceived advantages in making a match that, while not socially appropriate, could provide other benefits. Along with social considerations, there were certain life-style choices to be made, including where a woman wanted to live and the lifestyle a merchant could provide as opposed to a member of the landed gentry. Christiana appeared to have developed a taste for city life while she lived in London with her mother and sister. Her comments to Theophilus were also a way of ensuring that she was considered when potential matches arose and that her mother and brother would not assume that she would be averse to marrying a merchant herself.

While Theophilus and Christiana were supportive of the proposed marriage, other family and friends were not. Sir James Langham persuaded Lucy against the match, although Christiana told Theophilus that Lucy had previously been in favour.⁸³ Langham claimed that his objections were because it was “too mean a match”. However, Christiana believed that he objected to it because he had promised Mary something towards her portion and

⁸³ CH to TEH, HA Corr., 37/4683, [1 June] [1673].

was now faced with actually having to provide it!⁸⁴ Langham had an interest, both financial and personal in the match. He had made a significant investment in the peerage in order to achieve his social aspirations and now possibly saw that cheapened by Mary's connection to a man like Jolliffe. Christiana also mentioned to her brother that her cousin Croft was much against Mary's marriage to Jolliffe.⁸⁵ Croft was also closely allied to the Hastings family and perhaps believed that their social descent would reflect on her. In the minds of many, the marriage of this "less important" woman still had the potential to affect the family's prestige. Family and friends had a range of agendas that influenced their opinion of this marriage. While they might have expressed their concerns in terms of social disparity, in reality there was more going on below the surface.

These considerations delayed the making of the match and caused Jolliffe to back away before he renewed his suit later in 1673.⁸⁶ Earlier that year Christiana had listed the benefits of the match to her brother. Mary was getting older, she wrote, and it was not "prudent" to refuse "a sober gentellman" who would take a £2,000 portion and settle £1,100 a year and £500 jointure which was more than Mary's fortune deserved.⁸⁷ Also, Jolliffe had said that he would take a town house and furnish it for Mary and that he would be made a knight. Concerning Jolliffe's physical characteristics, said Christiana, he had a clear complexion, white hands, good stature, was well-shaped and dressed in neat plain clothes. He also claimed to be very much in love and Christiana had heard that he had refused two good marriages. While Christiana acknowledged the benefits of the marriage for Mary, she added that it would be better for Mary to marry in the country because that

⁸⁴ CH to TEH, HA Corr., 37/4684, 19 September 1673.

⁸⁵ CH to TEH, HA Corr., 37/4684, 19 September 1673.

⁸⁶ Abraham Wilkinson to L(D)H, HA Corr., 37/13310, 29 December 1673. This letter appears to be directed to someone acting on behalf of Lucy and Theophilus.

⁸⁷ Mary was nearing thirty years of age which was an extremely late age to marry for an aristocratic woman.

way she would not have to kiss the Queen's hand and would avoid Court talk about her marriage.⁸⁸ The Hastings clearly feared some embarrassment would result from the social disparagement of the marriage.

While social considerations were important, they were not the most important element in successfully achieving the match. Ultimately, the marriage would not go ahead if the Hastings could not find money for Mary's portion and sort out their complicated financial affairs. Although Jolliffe was eager for the match he nevertheless insisted on being assured of his bride's portion before the marriage took place. The settlements made in 1674 demonstrate the financial shuffling that went on to settle the English estates and provide for Mary and Christiana. The money was to come out of the portion Theophilus' wife should have brought to her marriage but which was being held up by the executors of her father's will.

In an indenture of 29 September 1674 Theophilus agreed, with Christiana's consent to assign to Mary £2,000 and to Christiana £500 out of the portion of his wife, payable by the executors.⁸⁹ In articles of agreement dated 19 October 1674 further financial manoeuvring took place. Theophilus had provided Elizabeth with a pearl necklace before her marriage which he had trouble paying for and consequently owed the jeweller, William Gomeldon, over £1,000. In the 19 October articles Theophilus, Lucy, Mary and Christiana agreed that as soon as Mary had received £1,500 and Christian £500 out of Elizabeth's portion, the residue should then go to William Gomeldon to pay the debt. If Elizabeth gave her pearls

⁸⁸ CH to TEH, HA Corr., 37/4683, [1 June] [1673]. If Mary married in town she would have to wait on the Queen and her poor marriage would be exposed to the Court. See also Christiana's letter to Theophilus of 19 September 1673 where she reports that Jolliffe "is a very honourable Gentlman but as plaine as a pike stafe"; "His look but meane" "a man of no conversation 50 years old". (37/4684).

⁸⁹ HAP23/1, "Secondary agreement with Lady Mary Hastings re a grant of £2,000", 29 September 1674.

to Gomeldon to satisfy the debt she would be given £1,000 out of her portion, with which Theophilus could not interfere. After everything had been paid Mary would receive her remaining £500.⁹⁰ Further tinkering took place in indentures and articles through October to December 1674 but Mary's £1,500 continued to be the top priority out of the many claims on the Hastings' money.⁹¹ The legal and financial juggling which went on in the Hastings family at this time illustrates how diverse interests and claims had to be accommodated. Mary's position was considered seriously and with the prospect of a marriage to be made, her family was prepared to accord her priority in the financial settlements. Her sister Christiana, who did not have an immediate and obvious prospect of marriage, was prepared to take a back seat and take less in order to facilitate her sister's marriage.⁹²

Articles of agreement dated 8 January 1674/75 between Lucy and William Jolliffe provided for the marriage of Jolliffe to Mary at or before 20 February 1675.⁹³ Lucy was to pay £2,000 in portion after which Jolliffe agreed to convey to Theophilus, Sir James Langham, Matthew Davis and their heirs as trustees, his property of Careswell Castle, Westwood and associated lands for his use during his life. After his death they were to go

⁹⁰ HAP23/2, "Articles of Agreement between Lucy Countess of Huntingdon, Theophilus Earl of Huntingdon her son and Ladies Mary and Christiana Hastings her daughters", 19 October 1674. See also HAP23/4, "Articles of Agreement", 20 October 1674.

⁹¹ HAP23/5, "Assignment of a rent by Theophilus to Arthur Stanhope to enable him to pay certain debts", 18 November 1674 and HAP23/6, "Articles of Agreement between Lucy, Theophilus, Mary and Christiana", 7 December 1674. It is unclear if Sir James Langham provided anything for Mary's portion.

⁹² Christiana, Mary and Theophilus enjoyed an apparently harmonious, supportive relationship. Harris claims that the relationships between never-married women and their brothers "were frequently characterized by affection and trust" and "had a practical dimension since single women often lived with their brothers, who were expected to assume financial responsibility for them if it became necessary." However, Harris also admits that the heir could resent the legacies given to his brothers and sisters if it meant a smaller inheritance for himself. (*English Aristocratic Women*, pp. 96 and 114-7.) See also Slater on the lack of affection between Sir Ralph Verney and his sisters. (*Verneys of Claydon House*, particularly 78-104)

⁹³ HAP23/7, "Marriage agreement between William Jolliffe and the daughter of the Countess of Huntingdon", 8 January 1674/75. See also HAP23/8, Articles of Agreement, 21 January 1674/75. Theophilus agreed to pay Mary interest until he could pay her the £2,000.

to Mary for her jointure and after her death to their first son and his male heirs. If Mary and William only had daughters then the lands' rents and profits were to be used to raise portions; £2,000 if there was only one daughter and £3,000 if there were two daughters or more, divided equally amongst them. The portions were to be paid on the day of their marriage or when they reached the age of twenty. The lands at Careswell were also security for £4,000 for Jolliffe's daughter Anne, by his first wife. Jolliffe agreed to free those lands from this payment within eight years of his marriage to Mary. The settlement therefore provided for Mary's children and ensured her an income during her widowhood.

Mary also had additional financial assistance from her godmother, Lady Alice Clifton, with whom she had enjoyed a particularly close relationship until Lady Alice's death in 1667.

During this time Alice lived in London and would purchase any items needed by the family and send them into the country, using Mary as go-between.⁹⁴ This important female relationship is revealed in Alice Clifton's will, dated 18 February 1666/67. She left to her "neice and Goddaughter the Ladie Marie Hastings" two thirds of her money (not otherwise disposed of), household linen, jewels and plate, her sables, muff and tippet. Christiana received the remaining third of Alice's money and she left to both her nieces all her other household goods to be equally divided between them. After everything had been disposed of, the residue was to be left equally to Mary and Christiana.⁹⁵ The bequests of Lady Alice indicate how much her nieces meant to her, and the particular importance of the godchild

⁹⁴ Lady Alice (Hastings) Clifton to L(D)H, HA Corr., 20/1472, 30? June 1655 and to M(H)J, 20/1473, 21 July 1655; 20/1474, 17 September 1655; 20/1475, 11 February 1655/56 and 20/1476, 27 September 1656. Mary also visited her Aunt. See TEH to M(H)J, 22/5872, September 10 [1660<1666].

⁹⁵ PROB 11/323, f.363r, Will of Alice Clifton, 18 February 1666/67. See also HAP21/16. Theophilus and Lucy each received £20 to buy mourning, and Theophilus was given Lady Alice's gold watch. Her executors included Arthur Stanhope. See Harris, *English Aristocratic Women*, pp. 167-74 on aristocratic women's wills. Harris highlights women's focus on female relatives in their wills, particularly when they had no children of their own. "Here, more clearly than anywhere else, we find dense, enduring female networks that provided a resource and alternative family for childless aristocratic wives and widows." (p. 172). See also Crawford and Mendelson, *Women in early modern England*, p. 173 and Becker, *Death and the early modern Englishwoman*, p. 110.

and godparent relationship. Lady Alice helped her nieces in the most practical way she could, which considering their lack of portions, made a considerable difference.

Mary's inheritance from a female family member improved her position in her search for a marriage partner. However, Bridget Croft considered that this inheritance would also be useful to Mary in her daily life as a married woman. In Croft's opinion Mary's marriage was very poor and she was particularly concerned that Mary could not have an allowance. She told Theophilus:

I hope my lady has reserved to her selfe that litle she had from her aunt not letting him know of it, for that will be some litle helpe for smale thinges that she cares not to have him know and £2,000 and my Lady Mary is to [to] much for him and his fortune.⁹⁶

Croft clearly believed that in marriage some subterfuge and wifely autonomy in financial matters was acceptable. This was particularly so when the circumstances, as Bridget Croft saw them, demanded that the social imbalance be compensated. In such ways women's experience of marriage was shaped by their relationships with female relatives, and their birth family and its connections continued to influence how they lived their lives.

There are few details concerning Mary's married life which ended with her death in 1678. In 1675 she miscarried of a boy while staying with Lucy and Christiana. Theophilus reported the miscarriage to Bridget Croft, saying that Mary had perfectly recovered and that Jolliffe seemed kind to her and had given her a gold watch after his return from a three

⁹⁶ Bridget Croft to TEH, HA Corr., 38/1779, 20 November [1674].

month stay in London. Theophilus also reported on possible changes to the family's living arrangements, including Mary and Christiana living with Jolliffe at Carswell and Lucy living with Theophilus and his family at Donnington.⁹⁷ The close bond which existed between Mary and Christiana had not lessened with Mary's marriage and it appeared a reasonable plan for the two sisters to continue to live with one another. Such an arrangement was perhaps both to Christiana's and Mary's benefit. They would have each other for company and Christiana would have a better chance of coming to the attention of potential husbands than she would at Donnington or Ashby.

During the 1670s Christiana visited Mary and Jolliffe in London and provided her mother with news of the wider world.⁹⁸ On one such visit in 1676 she sent her mother detailed news, including an account of a visit from Sir James Langham. During his visit, Sir James had not asked after Lucy or Theophilus and avoided all "questions and discours that might look like kind or obliging". His wife was with him and Christiana speculated that "it may bee she might awe him a little". The social awkwardness Christiana thought she detected between Sir James and his wife, the daughter of the second Earl of Clare, indicates that matches between aristocrats and merchants could have their problems. Such difficulties may have been anticipated in Mary's marriage to Jolliffe. Christiana filled her letter with news of people and events in London, provided details of the errands she was performing for Lucy and Theophilus and sent Mary and Mr Jolliffe's humble service. The packed

⁹⁷ TEH to Bridget Croft, HA Corr., 39/9836, 25 June 1675.

⁹⁸ CH to L(D)H, HA Corr., 40/4688, 20 May 1676. Christiana also appears to have been with her mother, sister and brother-in-law in London in mid 1677. See TEH to CH, 41/5936, 30 June 1677. Christiana also spent time with her brother and his family in the country. CH to M(H)J, 40/4689, 19 November 1676.

letter full of vivid news gives the impression that, as reported by her brother, Christiana did indeed enjoy “city” or London life.⁹⁹

Mary kept herself informed of all her family’s doings, including Theophilus’ children, her nieces and nephews. She was aware of their illnesses and in November 1677, for example, reported to a family friend that her niece Lucy had a “convulsion fitt” in the morning but was well in the afternoon and that her nephew had been ill but was now well again.¹⁰⁰

Indeed, Mary Jolliffe did her share of childminding for Theophilus and Elizabeth. In 1678 her nephew George stayed with Mary while Theophilus arranged furniture for George’s room in the family’s new house at Knightsbridge.¹⁰¹ In around 1676 Mary gave birth to a daughter, another Lucy.¹⁰² Jolliffe had a daughter from a previous marriage who also formed part of the family. Once again, women predominated in the Hastings family and its connections. For Mary, her birth family continued to be an important part of her life and she drew enjoyment and purpose from her activities with them.

In 1678 Mary Jolliffe died of smallpox.¹⁰³ Her death sparked a great deal of grief, particularly from Theophilus who spoke of:

⁹⁹ CH to L(D)H, HA Corr., 40/4688, 20 May 1676. Lucy also enjoyed life in London very much. See Fraser, *Weaker Vessel*, p. 332. Christiana’s position in London also ideally placed her to give her brother fashion advice. CH (or M(H)J) to TEH, 40/4687, 25 March 1676 and TEH to CH, 40/5921, 11 April 1676. Theophilus asked her advice on cuffs and cravats. While unsigned the letter to Theophilus is most likely to have been written by Christiana given Theophilus’ reply a couple of weeks later.

¹⁰⁰ M(H)J to Mrs Gery, HA Corr., 41/7925, 16 November 1677.

¹⁰¹ TEH to John Gery, HA Corr., 41/5950, 21 May 1678.

¹⁰² TEH to CH, HA Corr., 41/5936, 30 June 1677. In June 1677 Theophilus asked Christiana, who once again appeared to be staying with Mary and Jolliffe in London, to give his blessing to his niece.

¹⁰³ TEH to [?], HA Corr., 41/5944, [>28 January] [1677/78].

the losse of a person who was passionetly loved by mee and of that vertu and reale worth that itt is impertinent to say more to you who knew her so well only for my owne part I have an inexpressable Losse in parting with so Dear a relation.¹⁰⁴

It was Theophilus who made careful plans for his sister's funeral at Ashby, making sure they were carried out exactly as he wished. He planned the route and timing of the hearse to Ashby church (Monday at St Albans, Tuesday at Stony Stratforde, Wednesday at Harborowe, Thursday at Loughborowe), specified the time the hearse should arrive at the church and organised for friends in the country to meet it. Theophilus carefully conveyed his instructions to his steward, John Gery, stating that all the family was "under greate affliction for the losse of our Dear Sister Mary Jolife" and concluding that he was "in so much sadnesse as I cannot att present write".¹⁰⁵ The closeness between Theophilus and his sister was apparent in his very real grief and in his desire that Mary received all the attentions at her funeral that an aristocratic woman and a Hastings family member should receive.

Theophilus' arrangements for Mary's funeral included choosing Samuel Willes as composer and preacher of the sermon. Willes, employing the deference usual to those in aristocratic service, later apologised to Theophilus for his performance at the funeral on 12 December 1678. His voice had not reached the entire audience and he had felt under-qualified for the job, his "real and particular devotion to that excellent Lady's memory"

¹⁰⁴ TEH to [?], HA Corr., 41/5944, [>28 January] [1677/78]. The dating of this letter is unclear. Mary's funeral took place in December 1678.

¹⁰⁵ TEH to John Gery, HA Corr., 41/5958, 7 December 1678. John Gery was a clergyman who became Theophilus' steward for many years and a reliable and trusted friend. See chapter seven. Hainsworth discusses the role a steward could perform at such funerals in *Stewards, Lord and People*, pp. 112-14. Gervase Jaques attended Lady Alice Clifton's funeral to ensure that it was conducted fittingly for an aristocratic woman and to ensure that the Hastings received what they were entitled. See Gervase Jaques to L(D)H, 25/4652, 16 March 1666/67; 25/7658, 30 March 1667; and to TEH, 25/7654, 16 April 1667. See Hainsworth, *Stewards, lords and people*, p. 114 for a discussion of Jaques' role at Alice Clifton's funeral.

being his only qualifications. He promised to send a copy of the sermon to Theophilus as soon as possible but did not want it published and was sure Theophilus would agree when he saw “in what mean and incompetent manner” he had “acquitted” himself.¹⁰⁶

Nevertheless, Theophilus must have been satisfied with the sermon because it was published in April 1679.¹⁰⁷ Theophilus’ desire to have the sermon published and printed and hence, more widely distributed, spoke of his desire to honour his sister and also to establish the piety of the Hastings women. Women were considered important in establishing the reputation of the family, even when they had married and changed their names. The efforts of Theophilus to immortalise his sister demonstrate that women maintained their importance in their birth families, even after their marriage. The fact that it was Theophilus who arranged the publishing of the sermon, rather than Jolliffe, also demonstrates the primacy of Mary as a Hastings family member. Jolliffe may have lacked the prominence to arrange things to the Hastings’ satisfaction or may have been unable to compete with the Hastings’ need to establish how Mary was remembered.¹⁰⁸

Mary Jolliffe’s funeral sermon was a standard sermon, giving a general text and talking about Mary’s qualities and life. It reveals the qualities valued in aristocratic women and how they could be used to enhance the family’s reputation. Mary was not only presented as a model Christian woman, but details of her birth, within a few miles of Ashby, of “great and Vertuous Parents” established her lineage and the importance of the Hastings, particularly in that area. The sermon also highlighted Mary’s education “under the Care,

¹⁰⁶ Samuel Willes to TEH, HA Corr., 41/13326, 25 December 1678.

¹⁰⁷ Samuel Willes, *A sermon preach'd at the funeral of the Right Honble the Lady Mary, Daughter to Ferdinando late Earl of Huntingdon, and Wife to William Jolife of Caverswell-Castle in the County of Stafford, Esq. at Ashby-de-la Zouch, December 12, 1678*, (London, 1679). Although not certain, Willes was possibly the rector of Belton from 1664 to 1671. *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, vol. 4, p. 424.

¹⁰⁸ I can find no information on Lucy's role in her daughter's funeral. She was perhaps too ill to involve herself in the arrangements. She died in 1679.

Precepts, and Examples of her Excellent Mother".¹⁰⁹ These comments demonstrate the importance of Mary as a member of the Hastings family and the importance of Lucy in shaping her daughter's education and upbringing. In character and personality Mary was presented as someone who could control herself, who was at ease with her rank and status and who had her mind on Heaven, not the world.¹¹⁰ Hence, the qualities sought in women were presented as Mary's qualities. While employed by the Hastings as a means to honour their sister's and daughter's memory, the sermon does not give a vivid impression of Mary's personality.¹¹¹

It is also difficult to ignore the political dimension in certain aspects of the sermon, particularly in the following comments:

in her, Primitive Christianity was revived; and she lived as those first Christians did, and as we should. And this (by the Grace of God) preserved her from those low conceptions of Religion, which many have taken up: Who would make it to consist in the little badges and cognizances of a Party; in angry Disputings, and Foolish Wranglings; in bringing all things into Question, and projecting eternal amendments in Spiritual Affairs; in zealous contending about Words and Names.¹¹²

¹⁰⁹ Willes, *A sermon preach'd*, p. 24.

¹¹⁰ Willes, *A sermon preach'd*, pp. 24-8.

¹¹¹ For a discussion on posthumous representations of early modern women see Becker, *Death and the Early Modern Englishwoman*. Becker argues that "posthumous representations are not attempts to represent individuality in a dying woman...what chroniclers were trying to do was to extol the woman's virtue by reference to her good death, and thus to fit her image into an overall pattern of female goodness and piety that did not encourage individualism, in a society that had little use for, or understanding of, the possibilities of individuality as opposed to conformity." (*Death and the Early Modern Englishwoman*, p. 103)

¹¹² Willes, *A sermon preach'd*, pp. 28-9.

At the time of Mary's funeral the Popish Plot, moves for the Exclusion of the Duke of York from the succession, and the passing of the Second Test Act were dominating public thought. The fear of Catholicism and absolutism, and differing views on the way the Church of England should be run and how far toleration should go caused great dispute. Mary's sermon is evidence that while women were not politically active, they could be used to make political points by others.

As will be discussed in chapter seven, Mary was not without her own personal opinions about the practice of religion, a point on which her funeral sermon was silent, concentrating instead on her devotional life and love for the blessed sacrament.¹¹³ It also drew a link between the practice of religion and personal relationships, saying that her practice of Christian virtue was such that "she adorned and illustrated every Relation where in she stood" – as a friend, most "dutiful Daughter", a wife "precisely observant, from the smallest things to the greatest, provident and careful in all the Concernments of her worthy Husband". Her wifely virtues were described as follows:

She was such a Wife, in whom the *Heart of her Husband did safely trust*: in whom he had all joy and delight. To which he made the most affectionate returns of Kindness, Love, and tenderest Care. All which are now redoubled upon her little Daughter, the only pledg of their Conjugal Affection.¹¹⁴

Mary had fulfilled her role as a loving, trusted wife and mother. She was defined by her family and her position in her family. Even after her marriage her birth family still claimed her and used her death to illustrate its own piety and position in the religious

¹¹³ Willes, *A sermon preach'd*, pp. 29-33. Mary had died a "good death" in which she had had the chance to examine her life. Willes, *A sermon preach'd*, pp. 34-6. See Becker, *Death and the Early Modern Englishwoman*, chapter five for a discussion on "good death". Becker's discussion includes that of women dying in childbirth which is not addressed in this thesis.

turmoil of the times. Mary reflected the good ordering of the family, possessing all the qualities a dutiful daughter, loving sister and obedient wife should possess.¹¹⁵ Her experience of marriage had been short but had been the subject of much concern and activity on her behalf and had produced a daughter who would also be regarded as a member of the Hastings family.¹¹⁶

The loss of Mary in 1678 and Lucy, the Dowager Countess the following year left Christiana without the two women with whom she had spent so much time as she grew older. Christiana's role as a single woman during the 1670s until her mother's death must have been a valuable support to Lucy.¹¹⁷ Yet, despite Christiana's value as a single daughter and sister, her family was still concerned to see her married honourably. The complex financial settlements which enabled the Hastings estates to be settled, debts to be paid and Mary to marry did not leave much for Christiana and her chances of marriage were not good.

Some women, particularly widows, were able to exercise choice in marriage. Lucy, dowager Countess of Huntingdon, for example, decided not to remarry, preferring to

¹¹⁴ Willes, *A sermon preach'd*, pp. 33-4.

¹¹⁵ Becker, *Death and the Early Modern Englishwoman*, p.107. "An Early Modern woman was, fundamentally, part of a family grouping in society, deriving her status and function from her membership as a unit of that family and exalted posthumously as a reflection of the virtue of her family as a whole, rather than as a separate entity in her own right".

¹¹⁶ In a settlement of 4 March 1681 Theophilus acknowledged that if he died without children, Lucy Jolliffe would be his "heire att Law" and spoke of his "natural love and affection" for her. This settlement allowed for land to be put aside for Lucy Jolliffe's use in that event. HAP24/12. In around 1682 Lucy Jolliffe visited Theophilus and his family at Theophilus' invitation. William Jolliffe to TEH, HA Corr., 43/7927, [1682].

¹¹⁷ See Hill, *Women Alone*, chapter six for unmarried daughters who stayed at home to look after their parents. Despite the benefits of having an unmarried daughter at home the Hastings always spoke hopefully of Mary and Christiana's eventual marriages, even when these seemed unlikely.

remain a widow. Her marriage had given her a high social status, she was the head of the family and had a clear and important role to play. Her remarriage may have increased the problems she faced balancing the rights and responsibilities of various family members.

Her focus was on her children, not on a new family. Other women speculated about whether marriage was their best course of action. In 1675 Christiana acknowledged that there were benefits to a single life, telling her brother: "I am suer the ease and freedom of a single life is much to bee prefered before the changes and fetters of a married condition".¹¹⁸ It is impossible of course to know how sincere this comment was.

Christiana enjoyed living in London where being single did not prevent her having a large circle of acquaintances and friends. She also knew of the troubles in her brother's marriage and hence may have decided that marriage was not for her. Her sister Mary's marriage may also have changed her opinion of the life of a merchant's wife. Given the short life of both her sisters after marriage it was perhaps no wonder that she questioned its desirability. It is more than likely, though, that Christiana appreciated that she was unlikely to marry and consequently had to take what advantages she could find in a single life. For an earl's daughter this was "ease and freedom".

In 1680 the financial arrangements which Lucy had made for her two daughters had not yet been finalised to the satisfaction of all. An exchange of words between Ferdinando Davies, purchaser of Lucy's Irish land, and Christiana demonstrates that although single women were unable to exert the same influence as widows like Lucy they were still able to defend their interests when necessary. In August 1680 Davies complained to Christiana about various financial arrangements concerning the sale of the Irish land. He painted a picture of Lucy as a hard bargainer who had insisted, along with Sir James Langham, that

¹¹⁸ CH to TEH, HA Corr., 40/4685, c.1675. In this letter Christiana lamented that Mrs Aston had decided to marry. She hoped that if Mrs Aston did marry it would be to someone who knew how to value her.

Davies pay £1,000 to Mary and Christiana. Lucy and Sir James had made Davies provide security for this money. Davies was happy to pay £1,000 to Christiana but had discovered that Sir Robert Clayton and Sir James expected him to pay interest on the £1,000. If anyone insisted that he pay interest or took legal action against him for payment of interest, Davies would defend himself to “the utmost”. He would go to the Court of Chancery against Sir James and

make your Ladyship an oath confesse and declare to the world that I have promised and do give you if you accept on't a thousand pounds and do not question but both in law and equity so to order the affair that your ladyship and Sir James shall gett little profitt and lesse Credit by the suite I need not tell your Ladyship how much your Lady Mother owed me and my daughters at the tyme of her death which for ought I know I shall never gett.¹¹⁹

Davies' criticism of Lucy and threatened legal action did not intimidate Christiana who replied later that month, saying that whatever the misfortunes of her family they were not so low that they had to rely on Davies' generosity. Christiana continued:

what ever my Mothers agreements were, will not now be the question...I am alsoe informed wee have noe law in Enland [England] will compell me to give a way the interest of my money it being as well secured as my principle I know not what you may have in Ireland, nor am I at all affrighted with your greate Hectoring I thanke God I am not so destitute of freinds as to dispair of having Comon justice against you therefore I shall deale as freely with you in this matter as I think you indeavour to do unworthyly with me, that unlesse I

¹¹⁹ Ferdinando Davies to CH, HA Corr., 42/1992, 5 August 1680.

have a better accompt from you forthwith You may expect to hear from me in another manner.¹²⁰

Many women, including single women, were well able to seek advice and information, and gather support. Without a husband Christiana may have been vulnerable to attack, but she was able to seek the assistance of her male relatives (who supported her legal rights and claims) as well as drawing on her own knowledge of her financial affairs. Her mother's long dealings with Ferdinando Davies would have prepared Christiana to deal with difficulties of this sort. Christiana's income was very important to her and she was able to protect it.

Family interest in Christiana's welfare was also demonstrated through a continuing concern to see her married. The strength of the view that marriage was the best option for women is amply demonstrated in the fact that a match was considered for Christiana in 1680 when she was thirty-six years old, well beyond the age at which aristocratic women usually married. Theophilus provided Mr Bakewell, the intermediary, with an example of the type of letter he should send Christiana's potential husband, Mr Edmonds. For Theophilus, the example set by his sisters Elizabeth and Mary was significant. He wrote that they had "left the Charecter of Incomparable Wives, and excellent persons, as not only their Husbands, but even those who were of their acquaintance will witness".¹²¹ His youngest sister, who lived with him, was yet to marry and she was

¹²⁰ CH to Ferdinando Davies, HA Corr., 42/4690, 24 August 1680. This letter is in Davies' handwriting. A note at the bottom states that he has copied Christiana's letter to show that he has answered her every point. Davies' letter, which must have accompanied this one, does not appear to have survived.

¹²¹ TEH to John Gery, HA Corr., 42/5979, 16 August 1680. There are few clues as to Mr Edmond's background.

a person not inferior to her sisters, of a strict vertue, having bin educated very knowingly, modestly, and religiously, so that shee has held all the advantages for improving her selfe, that could be Attained.

Christiana's temper and disposition were "without morosnesse or humor", she had lived without "vanity or expence" and therefore would be able to adapt to any style of housekeeping Mr Edmonds wanted. Christiana's appearance was also discussed:

For her person shee has the report of a handsome lady and is so agreeable that I presume when you see her you Cannot but bee very Well pleased with her.

Christiana's portion was £2,000 which would be ready at the time of the marriage.

Because the portion was not large, Theophilus stressed her education, personal qualities and appearance, relying on Mr Edmonds' desire to marry the daughter of an earl rather than gain a large portion. Christiana's prospects were much as Mary's had been and for her marriage would not be an alliance with a powerful aristocratic family.

In October Theophilus' family, along with Christiana, went to London and negotiations for the match continued. Theophilus was pleased with Edmonds' response and hoped for a meeting in town.¹²² Edmonds made two or three visits around Christmas 1680 and seemed satisfied with all the arrangements but then left town and in early March 1681 Theophilus had still not heard from him although he was only about thirty miles away.¹²³ Hopes for the match remained until at least the end of May 1681.¹²⁴ However, Christiana died

¹²² TEH to John Gery, HA Corr., 42/5982, 12 October 1680.

¹²³ TEH to John Gery, HA Corr., 42/5987, 24 February 1680/81 and 42/5988, 9-10 March 1680/81.

¹²⁴ TEH to John Gery, HA Corr., 42/5992, 28 May 1681. While negotiations for her own marriage dragged on Christiana worked as an intermediary for a match involving the children of Jolliffe's sister. Sir William Jolliffe to CH, HA Corr., 42/7926, 8 April 1681.

suddenly in early June, Theophilus reporting that her illness had been so severe it had “caryed her off in lesse then three days”.¹²⁵ He assured Gery that Christiana had had “two excellent Phisitians” but “so was the will of God”. Like Mary, Christiana had made a good death. Theophilus wrote that “she died most piously with greate resignation to the Devine wisdome content of the world and with out any fears of Deathe”. Christiana’s death removed the last of Theophilus’ immediate birth family. The early deaths of his siblings and the loss of the supportive group of women he had known was certainly not lost on Theophilus. He wrote:

It seemes death knows our pedigree for our fameley My fathers childeren I
mean have gon out of this World Graduall tho all younge I pray God prepare
mee for his summons also.

Mary and Christiana’s lives demonstrate the choice and certain amount of freedom possible for single aristocratic women who gained a sense of worth and interest by employing themselves on behalf of their birth families. As long as their male relatives were prepared to support them, their lives could be worthwhile and interesting. Theophilus had a close relationship with his sisters and respected their views. However, the example of Christiana also shows that the goal of marriage was one from which an aristocratic woman could never fully walk away. Mr Edmonds was not a highly sought after match yet the Hastings considered him as a husband for Christiana as marriage was still considered better than her single life. Despite their important roles within the family, single women were not regarded as fulfilling their destiny as women.

¹²⁵ TEH to John Gery, HA Corr., 42/5993, 14 June 1681.

CHAPTER 7: MARRIAGE AND REVOLUTION, 1674-1688

**“I Leave the care of my family and Estate to
your self wherein I doubt not of your Prudence”¹**

The marriage of Theophilus began a new chapter for the family with a new head of the household and new relationships. While Lucy had set the groundwork for the future and had achieved a great deal in bringing the family to this point, it still faced debt and instability and needed to establish itself financially, publicly, and through the birth of children. From 1674 to 1688 the family sought to establish itself in these areas with each family member performing their own role. During her last years Lucy experienced life as a widow with a grown son as head of the family, a son who was increasingly involved in politics. Elizabeth’s experiences within her marriage were coloured by the uneasy relationship between herself and Theophilus and by her husband’s political activities. By 1688 Theophilus was a strong supporter of James II and his single-minded pursuit of this cause led to political disaster. However, the assets and activities of Elizabeth during this time ensured that the family survived and it can be argued that it was her legacy that endured, rather than her husband’s. After all, it was Elizabeth’s money, children and connections that remained of crucial importance for the family. While women did not take part in public life they could be as important as men in ensuring the survival of their families. The period 1674 to 1688 demonstrates the important role Elizabeth played and how she was also a victim of her circumstances.

The course of Elizabeth and Theophilus’ marriage during the 1670s and 1680s cannot be understood without understanding Theophilus’ political career. Political life continued to be dominated by questions concerning the power of the King versus the parliament, Protestantism versus Catholicism, and whether preserving the principle of succession was

¹ TEH to E(L)H, HA Corr., 53/6073, 25 November 1688.

more important than the need to protect the country from a Catholic monarch. Catholicism and absolutism were seen by many as inextricably linked. The Catholicism of Charles II's wife, and many of his household and most trusted ministers, alarmed many. When Charles' brother and heir, James, Duke of York, openly admitted he was a Catholic in 1673 these fears intensified. Suspicion that Charles and then James' attempts at religious toleration were specifically aimed at Catholics led to Test Acts in 1673 and 1678 prohibiting Catholics holding office and entering parliament. In 1679 the Popish Plot generated widespread hysteria and led to the Exclusion Crisis in which the parliaments of 1679, 1680 and 1681 attempted to exclude James from the throne. James' accession in 1685, his activities in seeking to repeal the anti-Catholic acts and the birth of a male heir in June 1688, brought about the Glorious Revolution.

The need to tread carefully through a constantly changing political situation was a tricky proposition for the most astute political performer, which, unfortunately, Theophilus was not. While his early career indicates close links with the Duke of York, Theophilus was associated with the Whigs and opposition during the Exclusion crisis and banished from Court in 1680. Thereafter he seems to have been a wholehearted supporter of the Stuarts, supporting the repeal of the Test Acts under James. Such support gained Theophilus position and influence at the expense of his brother-in-law, the Earl of Scarsdale.² However, Theophilus appears to have been trapped by his sense of loyalty and by the offices he had won. This led to his temporary imprisonment in 1688 and permanently ended his political life. Theophilus' political career had an enormous impact on his family, particularly on his wife.

² In 1687 as a result of James II's orders Theophilus replaced Scarsdale as groom of the stole and gentleman of the bedchamber to the Prince of Denmark. See later in this chapter.

The years immediately after Elizabeth and Theophilus' marriage involved a restructuring of living arrangements and relationships within the Hastings family. While still in London with her two daughters and organising the sale of the Irish lands, Lucy was preparing her own home base in Ashby where she would live as a widow separately from her son and his new family.³ Lucy often expressed her desire to leave London and return to the country, and particularly looked forward to seeing Theophilus more regularly.⁴ However, although wanting to be close to her son, Lucy did not want to reside under the same roof. In about June 1673 Mary informed her brother that Lucy was hoping to begin her journey to the country very quickly and was "very desirus to lodg at ashby at her first coming downe and com only if avisitt [on a visit?] to Donington, and in order to that thinkes to send Downe som necessary furnitur the next weeke".⁵ Lucy appeared eager to dispel any misgivings her son might have about her planned living arrangements. Living within easy distance of one another while maintaining separate establishments would bring mutual benefits. Lucy, with her experience of raising a family of her own and knowledge of the local area, could assist her son while at the same time avoiding the tensions of cohabitation. Moreover after nearly twenty years of widowhood it is probable that she would have wished to remain head of her own household. Whatever the reasons, Lucy's base was to be at Ashby and by September 1673 Lucy, Mary and Christiana had arrived there.⁶

³ L(D)H to TEH, HA Corr., 33/5780, 25 September 1672. TEH to L(D)H, HA Corr., 36/5894, 14 April 1673.

⁴ L(D)H to TEH, HA Corr., 37/5811, 1 June 1673. Also, L(D)H to TEH, 34/5783, 22 October 1672, "I long that I were neere you". Theophilus also wished to have his mother close by. See Abraham Wilkinson to TEH, 34/13308, 18 November 1672, "I acquainted my Lady how earnest your Honour was that shee would come into the countrey". In fact, Lucy appeared to enjoy life in London. See chapter six.

⁵ M(H)J to TEH, HA Corr., 37/7919, [June] [1673].

⁶ Sir James Langham to TEH, HA Corr., 37/8145, 25 September 1673. In August 1673 Charles Stanhope, son of Theophilus' friend Arthur, expressed the hope that Theophilus' mother had arrived safely at

The focal point for family and friends was now the family unit headed by Theophilus and the continuation of the family with the birth of children. The significance of children, particularly sons, heightened both the importance of the women who bore such children and the pressure they faced from their families. From the earliest days of Elizabeth's marriage, relatives and friends expressed their hope that she would soon have a "great belly". For example, in December 1673 Arthur Stanhope hoped the next news from Donnington would bring welcome tidings that Elizabeth was breeding.⁷ For Elizabeth, any anxiety she may have felt concerning her ability to fulfil her childbearing role was increased by the tensions within her marriage. As discussed in chapter five the early years of Elizabeth and Theophilus' marriage were characterised by personal conflict, heightened by disputes between the two families themselves. While the Hastings tried to help the couple overcome their difficulties, comments made by Elizabeth and Theophilus later in their marriage demonstrate that, while not explicit, these problems had not disappeared. Elizabeth's way of dealing with Theophilus appeared to alternate between anger at his perceived neglect and lavish statements of her own love and loyalty. She did not like to be separated from Theophilus and was often frank about the way she felt neglected, using her position and children to try to elicit a response:

I am allmost a fraid to due a thing so contrary to good Manners as to disturb your plesant moments with the rememberanc of your despised wife; but your chilldern I sopose are not so endefirent to you as not to bee glad to heare they

Donnington. However, later letters clearly indicate that she resided at Ashby. Charles Stanhope to TEH, HA Corr., 37/12558, 7 August 1673.

⁷ Arthur Stanhope to E(L)H, HA Corr., 37/12517, 25 December 1673.

are well; and I thinck your Lordship tould mee this wold bee the way to purchas your letters which no allteration can ever make other wais then Deare to mee.⁸

Elizabeth also used expressions of affection to draw attention to her husband's supposed lack of feelings for her, emphasising her own patience and long-suffering: "I hope my Dearest Lord is perfectly assured that noe change in you tho never so great can allter mee from being your patianett lover".⁹ She often told Theophilus that she longed to see him and on more than one occasion wrote to tell him to take care of himself.¹⁰ Elizabeth also sometimes boasted of her obedience to Theophilus' wishes, at one time telling him that she had foregone the pleasure of attending a fair of which he had not approved.¹¹ Elizabeth's continuing lack of confidence in the strength of Theophilus' attachment reflected their differing expectations as to how their marriage should operate. It is important to keep such difficulties in mind when discussing the birth and upbringing of their children.

At some stage within the first year or two of her marriage Elizabeth gave birth to a child about whom little is known.¹² However, in early November 1674 the much awaited son

⁸ E(L)H to TEH, HA Corr., 43/4785, [c.1683]. She often wrote complaining of not receiving letters from Theophilus. For example, see 45/4786, [c.1684] and 41/4777, c. 1678.

⁹ E(L)H to TEH, HA Corr., 50/4789, [1687].

¹⁰ E(L)H to TEH, HA Corr., 45/4787, [c.1684]; 37/4772, [c. 1673]; 41/4780, 24 [August] [c. 1679]. See also, Simon Harcourt to TEH, 41/4545, 6 June 1677.

¹¹ E(L)H to TEH, HA Corr., 43/4784, [c.1683].

¹² See L(D)H to TEH, HA Corr., 38/5818, 24 June 1674 in which Lucy gives advice on the care of her grandchild. The correspondence is unclear on the birth of this child. He or she is not mentioned in any of the 1673 correspondence. In a letter of 19 May 1672 to Theophilus, Lucy concludes with "my constant prayers for the best of blessings upon you my daughter and deare Lady Lucy" but I believe this must refer to a later child and the date must be incorrect as in May 1672 Theophilus and Elizabeth had only been recently married. L(D)H to TEH, HA Corr., 32/5774, 19 May 1672(?).

was born and named Thomas.¹³ Theophilus received many congratulations from relatives and friends who all recognised the significance of the birth of a future Earl of Huntingdon.¹⁴ Gowin Knight wrote of “Gods great blessing to you, to my Lady, and all your Relations in bestowing on You a Son and Heire”.¹⁵ Sir James Langham also welcomed

the Happy News of My Ladies Pouring into your joyfull Bosome such a Lord Hastings with so easy a labour as Your Lordship Expresses to my Informer gives me a Great and Sincere matter of Congratulation to your Lordship and your whole Illustrious Family.¹⁶

The joy at the birth of a son was coupled with relief that Elizabeth had survived the perils of childbirth, with many like Knight praying “for the preservation of my Lady’s Health, and recovery of her strength”.¹⁷

For Lucy, the birth of her son’s children must have been of great personal significance. She had worked for many years to bring up her young family and preserve her son’s inheritance and the continuation of the family was necessary to ensure the perpetuation of her achievement. Although she could have expected to have been a grandmother years earlier, most of her daughters remained unmarried, or childless. Lucy’s focus on her

¹³ TEH to ?, HA Corr., 38/10706, 7 November 1674. (draft letter) Cockayne states that Thomas Hastings was born on 12 November 1674. *GEC*, vol. 6, p. 660. This draft letter appears to place his birth a few days earlier.

¹⁴ See letters to Theophilus from Ed Bigland, HA Corr., 38/713, 13 November 1674; Arthur Stanhope, 38/12519, 16 November 1674; Bridget Croft, 38/1779, 20 November 1674; Gervase Jaques, 38/7724, 28 November 1674 and Gowin Knight, 39/8091, 1 December 1674.

¹⁵ Gowin Knight to TEH, HA Corr., 39/8091, 1 December 1674.

¹⁶ Sir James Langham to TEH, HA Corr., 38/8146, 7 November 1674.

¹⁷ Gowin Knight to TEH, HA Corr., 39/8091, 1 December 1674. See also, Jaques to TEH, 38/7724, 28 November 1674. The many references to women dying in childbirth, scattered throughout the correspondence as “news”, testify to the perils of childbirth during this period.

grandchildren therefore went beyond the purely personal interest and affection of a grandmother. There is strong evidence that she was present for Thomas' birth, as was Elizabeth's mother, Sarah, who expressed her feelings on parting with her daughter after the birth, writing that "it was a greate trouble to me to parte with you".¹⁸ Sarah was concerned at a swelling which had appeared on her grandson's head and told her daughter to care for herself and the "little one" and to let her know how his head was. The presence of grandmothers at the birth of their grandchildren was a common occurrence in the seventeenth century, providing support and assistance to the mother as well as satisfying the grandmother's own understandable curiosity about her grandchild.¹⁹

Sarah Lewys' concern was well-founded for her newly born grandson immediately demonstrated that fragility of life common to young children during the early modern period. Shortly after the birth Theophilus described the swelling on his son's head as the size of an apricot, not discoloured or painful and somewhat "softish".²⁰ On 24 December 1674 the child was "a little out of order" and had a raw soreness under the arms and neck. Elizabeth and Theophilus were applying an ointment prescribed by Sir John Shore for whom Elizabeth had sent very quickly.²¹ By March 1675 friends and relatives were sending their condolences for the death of Lord Hastings and by June 1675 Elizabeth was again pregnant and the hopes of family and friends for the birth of another son were again

¹⁸ TEH to ?, HA Corr., 38/10706, 7 November 1674 (draft letter) and Sarah Lewys to E(L)H, 39/9793, 7 December 1674.

¹⁹ Examples include Mary Thynne, Lady Joan Barrington, and Lady Joan Altham. See Jeffries, "Ladies of Quality", pp. 100-4.

²⁰ TEH to L(D)H, HA Corr., 38/9720, circa November 1674.

²¹ TEH to L(D)H, HA Corr., 39/5910, 24 December 1674. Elizabeth also closely watched her son's condition and took special note of his various symptoms. See E(L)H to TEH, 39/4773, 4 November, c.1674.

revived.²² Lucy could sympathise with this cycle of expectation and hope, joy and sorrow; she had experienced the same decades earlier when only half of her children reached adulthood.

Elizabeth would lose another son before the birth of Huntingdon's eventual heir, George, in 1678.²³ John Davies wrote to Lucy of his joy in the "revived hopes of your noble families second support" and prayed that George might "live to the great comfort of his parents".²⁴ In April 1678 George was christened by Dr Benjamin Woodroffe, an influential clergyman who had been chaplain to both the Duke of York and Charles II. George's godparents were the Bishop of Winchester, Sir Thomas Foote (Elizabeth's maternal grandfather) and Lady Deincourt.²⁵ The christening by Woodroffe and the selection of George Morley, Bishop of Winchester as godparent reflected Theophilus' position as an aristocrat and supporter of the established church and monarchy. Morley was a "staunch Calvinist" and supporter of the Church of England and the King, going into exile with Charles II in 1649 and returning just prior to the Restoration to prepare the way for Charles' return.²⁶ The other godparents were Elizabeth's relatives and reflected the future importance of Elizabeth's commercial connections to her son's future. Sir Thomas Foote was a wealthy London merchant and Lady Deincourt, Elizabeth's sister, was the

²² For the condolences see Katherine Pierrepont (Stanley) Marchioness of Dorchester to L(D)H, HA Corr., 39/10274, 20 March 1674/75; Bridger Croft to TEH, 39/1780, 28 March 1675 and Benjamin Woodroffe to TEH, 39/10387, 6 April 1675. On 3 June 1675 Bridget Croft told Theophilus that she was very glad to hear that Elizabeth was breeding (39/1781). See also M(H)J to Katherine Owens, 40/7923, c.1675.

²³ John Gery to TEH, HA Corr., 40/3959, 28 February 1675/76 and Benjamin Woodroffe to TEH, 40/13646, 6 April 1676. Cockayne says that George, the second but first surviving son and heir was born 22 March 1677 and was Lord Hastings until 1701. *GEC*, vol. 6, p. 660. The correspondence indicates that his date of birth should be 1678, not 1677 and that he was the Huntingdons' third son.

²⁴ John Davies to L(D)H, HA Corr., 41/2045, 10 May 1678. John Davies was probably the son of Lucy's former steward, also named John Davies, who had died in 1669.

²⁵ TEH to John Gery, HA Corr., 41/5947, 8 April 1678. Theophilus calls them "partners".

²⁶ John Spurr, 'Morley, George, bishop of Winchester (1598?-1684)', *ODNB*, [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/19285>, accessed 31 March 2005].

wife of the future Earl of Scarsdale. As Sir Thomas Foote was unable to attend the christening he was represented by Denzil Onslow, the second husband of Lady Lewys, Elizabeth's mother.²⁷ Denzil Onslow was an exclusionist in the 1679 parliament and his father a strong Presbyterian.²⁸ In 1687 Lord Deincourt, as Earl of Scarsdale, refused to support the repeal of the Test Act.²⁹ George's godparents, therefore, were representative of a range of political backgrounds and views which would become increasingly polarised through the 1680s. It is possible that such differences were starting to become apparent even at this early stage and hence Elizabeth and Theophilus' choice reflected their desire to balance their son's godparents politically for the sake of family harmony and to ensure Theophilus' political options were kept open.³⁰ These differing approaches can be seen in Theophilus' later political career, particularly in his support for Exclusion in 1679 and his subsequent single-minded support for James II.

By the late 1670s Elizabeth and Theophilus had two children still living, George and a daughter, Lucy, born around 1676.³¹ Much can be learned about the way in which aristocratic families brought up their children by examining the Hastings correspondence of this period. Lucy and George remained the focus of their parents' attention, despite Theophilus' growing political and administrative activities and both parents were concerned to provide a healthy environment for them. Elizabeth and Theophilus spent

²⁷ TEH to John Gery, HA Corr., 41/5947, 8 April 1678.

²⁸ See *History of Parliament*, vol. 3, pp. 176 and 178-9.

²⁹ See later in this chapter at p. 258. Deincourt had supported the Duke of York during the Exclusion Crisis but by 1687 could no longer support James' policies. *History of Parliament*, vol. 2, p. 732 and Edward Gregg, *Queen Anne*, (New Haven and London, 1980, new edition, 2001), pp. 36 and 54.

³⁰ It is also possible that more illustrious godparents had already been used for the sons that had died and these were sufficiently illustrious for a third son who may or may not survive.

³¹ This speculation is based on Lucy's weaning in 1678 and Theophilus' comments towards the end of 1681 in which he states that if Lucy lives to be seven she may overcome her sickness. TEH to John Gery, HA Corr., 42/6003, 17 December 1681.

much of their time in London, and it may have been for this reason that in June 1677 Lucy was sent to board at the Gery's at Swepston. The boarding out of young children was a not uncommon practice in aristocratic families. John Gery was a clergyman and close friend of the Hastings, who acted as an agent and steward for Theophilus through the 1670s and 1680s.³² Swepston, where Gery had the living from Theophilus, was not far from Donnington and probably the Gery's rural household was preferred to disease-ridden London. Theophilus was eager to ensure the conditions at Swepston were good, sending down coal before his daughter's arrival and asking Gery to warm and air her room well.³³ Lucy visited her parents in November but was back with the Gerys in 1678, by which time Elizabeth was pregnant with George. However, while Elizabeth and Theophilus were preoccupied with the birth of their next child they did not ignore their daughter. While Theophilus made enquiries about engaging a wetnurse in preparation for the birth of Elizabeth's baby, he also sent instructions to Gery about the weaning of Lucy, recommending April as a good time.³⁴

In July 1678 Elizabeth and Theophilus moved into a house in Knightsbridge, then a village lying approximately three miles west of the city. As they were in their own house and "in a good aire" it was now possible for Lucy to join them.³⁵ Consequently, a series of detailed instructions were sent to Gery concerning Lucy's journey to Knightsbridge: Gery should make sure Lucy was not too hot; she should rest in the middle of the day; Elizabeth

³² Christine Churches, 'Gery [Geary], John (1637/8-1722)', *ODNB*, [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/67103>, accessed 8 March 2005].

³³ TEH to John Gery, HA Corr., 41/5935, 27 June 1677. Gery also sent letters to Theophilus about Lucy, giving accounts of her health and the doctor's care of her. See, for example, John Gery to TEH, HA Corr., 41/3964, 6 May 1678.

³⁴ TEH to John Gery, HA Corr., 41/5947, 8 April 1678. See also Olwen Hufton's comments on weaning in *Prospect Before Her*, vol. 1, pp. 201-2.

³⁵ TEH to John Gery, HA Corr., 41/5952, 20 July 1678.

would meet them at Highgate; Lucy should come by stage coach but not if she were ill in any way.³⁶ Concerns about the high mortality rate in London in the spring and summer of 1678 meant that Lucy was left at her grandmother, Lady Lewys' house before eventually arriving in Knightsbridge later that year.³⁷

The correspondence concerning Lucy's care is intriguing as it is between Theophilus and John Gery, rather than their wives. However, Elizabeth's care for her daughter is very evident on a number of occasions.³⁸ In March 1678 Theophilus told Gery that Elizabeth wanted to hear from Mrs Gery about Lucy once a week and, in particular, when it was right to wean her.³⁹ When Theophilus discussed the arrangements for Lucy's journey to London, Elizabeth was concerned enough to add her own words at the bottom of the letter, saying that she thought the fewer nights Lucy had to spend on the road the better.⁴⁰ The detailed instructions Theophilus relayed to Gery for Lucy's journey on 29 August came from Elizabeth who, Theophilus explained, "never thinks shee can give too many cautions nor those too often repeated".⁴¹ Despite his sarcasm, Theophilus was clearly not unsympathetic to his wife's attitude. Their concern demonstrates that aristocratic parents were attached to their children and, despite boarding them out before weaning, preferred them close by where they could observe their development.⁴² Elizabeth engaged fully in

³⁶ TEH to John Gery, HA Corr., 41/5954, 29 August 1678. See also TEH to John Gery, 41/5952, 20 July 1678 and 41/5953, 20 August 1678.

³⁷ TEH to John Gery, HA Corr., 41/5955, 5 September 1678 and 41/5956, 12 November 1678.

³⁸ Elizabeth may also have written letters which have not survived.

³⁹ TEH to John Gery, HA Corr., 41/5945, 16 March 1677/78.

⁴⁰ TEH to John Gery, HA Corr., 41/5953, 20 August 1678.

⁴¹ TEH to John Gery, HA Corr., 41/5954, 29 August 1678.

⁴² Elizabeth and Theophilus' care for their children demonstrates once again the inaccuracy of the claim that parents of the pre-modern period did not 'love' their children because they feared to make the emotional investment when infant and child mortality was so high. For this view see Stone, *Family Sex and Marriage*

her role as a mother and worked with her husband for her children's care, despite any difficulties there may have been between them. In early 1680 she gave birth to another daughter who was christened Sara, after her maternal grandmother.⁴³

Elizabeth and Theophilus' interest in and concern for their children is illustrated in many letters throughout the late 1670s and early 1680s which discuss in some detail their children's development, personalities and state of health. The letters cover topics such as the number of teeth their children had, how much they weighed and the activities they enjoyed.⁴⁴ However, the health of their children was their predominant concern. Lucy suffered from convulsive fits, coughs and colds which caused her parents' considerable anxiety.⁴⁵ In November 1678 George was not well, having lost his appetite and consequently lost weight.⁴⁶ Sara also suffered from fits and coughs which came and went.⁴⁷ She died before she reached twelve months of age.⁴⁸ At the end of 1681 Theophilus was trying to prepare himself for the worst in respect to Lucy who, he said, was a very sickly child. If she lived to be seven years of age he hoped she would overcome her illness and he had provided her with the best physician in town.⁴⁹ In 1681 Theophilus told

in England and Randolph Trumbach, *The Rise of the Egalitarian Family – Aristocratic kinship and domestic Relations in eighteenth century England* (London and New York, 1978).

⁴³ TEH to John Gery, HA Corr., 42/5975, 15 April 1680. "my little Girle was Christned last Saturday by Dr Woodrofe My wives Mother my sister [Christian?] and my Lord Deincourt Gossips her Name is Sara".

⁴⁴ See for example TEH to John Gery, HA Corr., 41/5960, 28 January 1679; 41/5963, 18 June 1679; 42/5974, 26 February 1680 and 42/5997, 6 August 1681.

⁴⁵ M(H)J to Mrs Gery, HA Corr., 41/7925, 16 November 1677; E(L)H to her sister(?), 41/4775, [1677<] and TEH to John Gery, 41/5949, 7 May 1678; 41/5950, 21 May 1678; 42/5976, 10 May 1680; 42/5978, 15 June 1680 and 42/6000, 10 November 1681; John Gery to TEH, 41/3964, 6 May 1678.

⁴⁶ TEH to John Gery, HA Corr., 41/5956, 12 November 1678. See also TEH to John Gery, HA Corr., 41/5948, 20 and 27 April 1678. He describes George as "nothing But skin and Bone".

⁴⁷ E(L)H to CH, HA Corr., 41/4779, [c.1679].

⁴⁸ TEH to John Gery, HA Corr., 42/5981, 7 October 1680.

⁴⁹ TEH to John Gery, HA Corr., 42/6003, 17 December 1681.

Gery that he hoped “in Good time My Wife will bring George a Brother But Lucy shall allways bee My favorite”.⁵⁰ A discrepancy often existed between the acknowledged dynastic importance of sons and the personal feelings parents had for individual children. Personalities played an important role in determining the nature of the relationship between parent and child. Daughters could often become favourites as less was expected of them than their brothers and the relationship was consequently more relaxed.⁵¹

The upbringing and care of the Hastings children also reveals the continual influence of grandmothers in the lives of their family. While the dowager Countess was doubtless too ill to take charge of her grandchildren as the 1670s drew to an end, they often stayed with Sara Lewys, Elizabeth’s mother.⁵² Grand-daughter Lucy, for instance, stayed with Lady Lewys on her way to London in 1678 and visits were made by the other children in 1680.⁵³ In 1682 after Elizabeth had given birth to another daughter, Elizabeth (known as Betty), she spent three months with her mother at Pirford, accompanied by Lucy and George while Betty resided in Kensington.⁵⁴ Hospitality was a way in which women supported their daughters. Likewise, in 1681 Sarah Lewys informed Elizabeth that she was inviting her other daughter, Mary, Lady Deincourt, to stay at Pirford. Lady Deincourt had lost a child and Lady Lewys thought that her daughter should have time away from the house in which

⁵⁰ TEH to John Gery, HA Corr., 42/5998, 30 August 1681.

⁵¹ Crawford and Mendelson, *Women in Early Modern England*, pp. 91-2.

⁵² See TEH to John Gery, HA Corr., 41/5967, 13 November 1679. Lucy, the dowager Countess died on 14 November 1679. *GEC*, vol. 6, p. 659. Jeffries, ‘Hastings, Lucy’, *ODNB*.

⁵³ TEH to John Gery, HA Corr., 41/5955, 5 September 1678 and 42/5977, 27 May 1680.

⁵⁴ TEH to John Gery, HA Corr., 43/6009, 17 August 1682. Betty probably remained with her nurse. Theophilus informed Gery that as his wife and the children were with his mother-in-law he thought it “not proper” to be there himself and so took the opportunity to travel, visiting Bath, Bristol, Wells, Salisbury and Wilton. This comment could reveal continuing poor relations between Elizabeth’s mother and Theophilus or the difficulty for Theophilus in staying in a house headed by Denzil Onslow and Lady Lewys.

her child had died.⁵⁵ The grief mothers experienced at the loss of their children was acknowledged by others and women used female networks to help them through these difficulties.

In 1685 Theophilus' and Elizabeth's daughter Lucy died at around nine years of age, leaving them with one son and two daughters.⁵⁶ They had lost at least the same number of children in infancy and Elizabeth was pregnant once more. For aristocratic women the priority given to bearing children, particularly sons, never abated while they remained of child bearing years. In 1685 when Elizabeth was pregnant with Mary, Bridget Croft told Theophilus: "I heartily wish my Lady of Huntingdon a happy goeing on with her great belly, and that it may be a boy, because I beleeve you will be glad to have more than one Sonn".⁵⁷ All aristocratic families wanted sons, but for the Hastings this feeling was particularly intense: they had almost lost the earldom due to the distressing family tendency for female rather than male children to survive to adulthood. Yet while a new generation was important, success depended upon further consolidation and recovery on a financial and political level. Lord Hastings needed something substantial to inherit and the Ladies Betty and Mary needed portions. Hence, for the Hastings, the 1670s and 1680s were a critical time of recovery and growth. Elizabeth and Theophilus had to ensure their continuing financial health while Theophilus began to manoeuvre through political life. Lucy's role was taken over by her son and Elizabeth as the Hastings once more became involved in public life.

⁵⁵ Sarah Lewys to E(L)H, HA Corr., 42/9794, 17 March 1680/81. Mary's daughter Frances was buried in Westminster Abbey on 15 March 1680/81 (see *GEC*, vol. 11, p. 518). In October 1680 Elizabeth was grief-stricken at the death of her daughter Sara. TEH to John Gery, 42/5981, 7 October 1680.

⁵⁶ Bridget Croft to TEH, HA Corr., 45/1784, 13 July 1685.

⁵⁷ Bridget Croft to TEH, HA Corr., 45/1783, 14 March 1684/85.

Elizabeth and Theophilus spent the 1670s and 1680s consolidating the financial gains made under the stewardship of Lucy. There was still some ground to recover and in the mid 1670s the family was still struggling to pay off its debts. Lucy herself was heavily in debt and had exacerbated the problem by promising to pay her creditors before she left London and then failing to do so. She consequently received many letters asking for payment in the strongest possible terms.⁵⁸ One creditor threatened that if she did not receive money she would come into the country and see Lucy herself.⁵⁹ The situation became particularly acute around 1674 when both Lucy and Theophilus' creditors once again attempted to secure payment through Parliament. Theophilus asked Lucy for her advice, explaining that he did not see how he could pay his debts given that his estate only provided £1,000 a year: "If I live to the uttmost of meanness and Thrift I cannott bee out of Debt in lesse then 4 yeares, so that I am att a greate loss what to doe". He was worried that creditors would seize Lucy's jointure, leaving her with nothing:

Those whom your Ladyship owes mony to will bee much more violent for that they know that all their hopes Depends on your Ladyships life; And life being uncertaine, they will endeavor to sease upon your Jointure.

However, Theophilus added: "I shall not take upon mee to advise your Ladyship for I know your Judgment is so good that it will direct you to the best".⁶⁰ Theophilus may have praised his mother's judgement when writing to her but to others he expressed his reservations about the decisions she had made since the death of his father. In June 1675

⁵⁸ There are many examples. See HA Corr., 38-40.

⁵⁹ Mary Man to L(D)H, HA Corr., 38/9123, 21 September 1674.

⁶⁰ TEH to L(D)H, HA Corr., 38/5904, 5(?) February 1673/74.

he commented to Bridget Croft that if his mother had acted differently she would have “bin out of debt many yeares since, raised considerable portions for my sisters and preserved her Estate in Irland”.⁶¹ Theophilus appreciated the influence a woman’s decisions could have on a family and on her own and her daughters’ futures.

Lucy’s debts led to her arrest in October 1676 when she was taken out of her coach by bailiffs and kept prisoner for two days. Such extraordinary treatment not only breached Lucy’s privileges against imprisonment for debt but was an attack on her reputation.⁶² She acted swiftly to bring those responsible before the House of Lords and they were punished accordingly.⁶³ Such drastic actions by her creditors indicate that Lucy’s situation was still dire and that she was still feeling the effects of the family’s earlier difficulties. Yet despite her personal struggle with debt Lucy’s activities in settling the English estates and selling her Irish land had established her son’s position for the future. While Theophilus found continuing debt unpleasant his situation could have been much worse as most of his estate remained to him, enabling him to support an active political life.⁶⁴

A new era began in November 1679 when Lucy, the dowager Countess died at the age of sixty-six. The day before she died, Theophilus commented to Gery on his mother’s last illness:

⁶¹ TEH to Bridget Croft, HA Corr., 39/9836, 25 June 1675.

⁶² See Muldrew, *Economy of obligation*, p. 276. “Arrests were treated seriously, and such encroachment upon a person’s body was considered socially very shameful.”

⁶³ *LJ*, vol. 13, 6 March 1676/77, pp. 62-3; 8 March 1676/77, p. 65; 14 March 1676/77, pp. 72-3; 23 March 1676/77, p. 84-5; 24 March 1676/77, p. 86.

⁶⁴ The Hastings were certainly not alone in having financial problems. Those less fortunate, who had to sell much of their estate in the seventeenth century, included the Earl of Strafford (see chapter five and Roebuck, *Yorkshire Baronets*, p. 306) and the Cliffords (Cross, *Puritan Earl*, p. 64).

But the present Griefs of us all is the sicknesse of my Deare mother of whose recovery wee have too much cause to feare for shee is weake to that extremity that shee can neither Goe nor stand nor turn her selfe shee has a violent cough and yet cannott bring up phelgme and her ague Continues with a Dosednesse on her spirits But our Good God who has raised the Dead may of his infinite mercy prolong this dear life.⁶⁵

Lucy had been crucial to the family's survival for over fifty years. For Lucy, marriage had meant enormous responsibility and a life never completely free of debt and worry. With Lucy's death the premier female position in the family was now held by Elizabeth.

Elizabeth's contribution to the family's financial health came through her marriage portion and the lands left to her by her father. As discussed in chapter five, the Hastings faced problems gaining possession of both these assets and the delay, lasting several years, had a significant impact on Theophilus' ability to pay his debts. Without Elizabeth's portion, he had to juggle his remaining income and funds to keep his creditors happy.⁶⁶ Theophilus and Lord Scarsdale, whose son had married Elizabeth's sister, continued their battle with the executors, forcing them to produce the writings drawn up at Sir John Lewys' marriage.⁶⁷ The dispute was eventually settled and far from the £10,000 portion the Hastings had initially expected, it is unlikely they received much more than £4,000.⁶⁸ Another expected financial benefit had proved disappointing and, like Lucy before her, Elizabeth had to face the disappointment of her new family. It was also a bad way to start

⁶⁵ TEH to John Gery, HA Corr., 41/5967, 13 November 1679.

⁶⁶ TEH to Mr Hunlocke, HA Corr., 38/5907, 21 August 1674.

⁶⁷ Samuel Graves to TEH, HA Corr., 39/4092, 8 December 1674 and to L(D)H, 39/4094, 15 June 1675.

⁶⁸ It is not certain what the Hastings ended up being paid but Theophilus' autobiography states that the portion was £4,000 in money and goods and estates worth £600 a year. *HMC* 78, vol. 4, p. 353. In 1673 the Hastings had been paid around £2,000. See for example, HAF21/17, "Acquittance for £557-2s-3d, Lucy dowager Countess of Huntingdon, Sir Francis Rolle, Sir Thomas Foote, Arthur Onslow", 24 June 1673. This

her marriage and, although not explicitly expressed, in all likelihood contributed to its difficulties.⁶⁹

The parties to the dispute also came to an agreement in the mid 1670s over Sir John Lewys' lands, leaving Theophilus and Lord Deincourt to survey and divide the estate, a process which suffered significant delays.⁷⁰ Despite these delays Theophilus speculated on the use he could make of his share, particularly Ledston Hall which had been Sir John's seat. He told Gery that if he received Ledston he would repair it and use it as his seat. However, if Ledston went to Lady Deincourt he would be forced to build at Ashby instead.⁷¹ Elizabeth's inheritance could therefore potentially enable the Hastings to increase their presence and influence in a new area. In addition, in 1675, Elizabeth's uncle, Captain Lewys died and left his estate, worth £500 a year, to Elizabeth and her sister. In all likelihood this was the Captain's estate in Marr which had been left to him by his brother Sir John.⁷² Thus, Elizabeth was able to contribute significantly to the wealth of the family as long as the Hastings were able to defend their claim to the lands she

states that Lucy and Theophilus had received a total of £2,057-2s-3d as part of the thirds they were due from the personal estate of Sir John Lewys. They may have been paid additional sums later.

⁶⁹ See chapter five.

⁷⁰ TEH to John Gery, HA Corr., 42/5988, 9-10 March 1680/81; 42/5990, 28 April 1681 and 42/5994, 4 July 1681. Theophilus blamed Lord Deincourt's father, the Earl of Scarsdale for the delay. See TEH to John Gery, 42/5991, 3 May 1681 and 42/5992, 28 May 1681. Delay also occurred because Lord Deincourt did not come of age until 1675. He was born on 9 March 1654. See Denzil Onslow to TEH, 39/9790, 14 April 1675.

⁷¹ TEH to John Gery, HA Corr., 41/5950, 21 May 1678.

⁷² It had been assumed that Captain Lewys would leave the estate to his wife or sisters. TEH to Bridget Croft, HA Corr., 39/9836, 25 June 1675. Roebuck states that when one of Sir John Lewys' brothers left Elizabeth and Mary an estate at Marr "it was decided that one sister should take it and the other, Ledston". (*Yorkshire Baronets*, pp. 281-2) Theophilus reported to Gery in April 1681 of a law suit about Marr which he thought he would probably lose, blaming Lord Scarsdale for the problem. TEH to John Gery, HA Corr., 42/5990, 28 April 1681. See also the Earl of Scarsdale to TEH, 43/8234, 24 November 1682 and 43/8235, 9 March 1682/83. A series of letters from Robert Ayleway, Theophilus' lawyer in Dublin, to Theophilus in the first half of 1683 may also concern this estate. See HA Corr., 43.

inherited.⁷³ While these matters took ten years and great financial cost to resolve, the ability to increase their income with new lands and possessions was crucial to the Hastings' recovery.

Elizabeth's contribution to the financial well-being of the Hastings can be seen in other ways. For example, she sought money from her relatives. In around 1680 Elizabeth thanked her grandfather for promising her £1,000 which amount he had given to most of his other grandchildren at the time of their marriages. She also asked him to speak to Sir Robert Clayton about organising the payment of the money. Elizabeth wrote to her aunt to thank her for "maniging my Conarn with my Grandfather", implying that her aunt had influenced him in Elizabeth's favour.⁷⁴ £1,000 was a large sum of money and would greatly assist the Hastings but Elizabeth's concern to receive it also demonstrates her care to ensure she was treated as fairly as other members of her birth family. She made certain that her grandfather kept his promises.

The financial well-being of the family also relied on efficient estate management. From 1672, and particularly after the death of the dowager Countess in 1679, this was Theophilus' responsibility. He now faced some of his mother's problems, particularly those associated with being an absentee landlord. Theophilus was often in London with his family during the late 1670s and the 1680s and therefore had to run his estates at a distance, relying on stewards and agents. Lucy had dealt with this problem by using her Davies connections, men like the lawyer Matthew Davies, who could provide legal advice

⁷³ Elizabeth is absent from much of the correspondence concerning her inheritance and it is impossible to determine if she had an active role in these legal battles. She appears to give Theophilus some advice in one letter but there is little sign of any other advice. E(L)H to TEH, HA Corr., 41/4774, [>Apr 10][1672<]. Although this letter is undated I believe it must have been written in the late 1670s or early 1680s as it mentions an illness suffered by Elizabeth and Theophilus' daughter Lucy.

⁷⁴ E(L)H to her grandfather and aunt (drafts), HA Corr., 42/4782, [c.1680].

and negotiate with other parties, and John Davies, the steward of her English lands. She had also used her daughters to handle household accounts, write correspondence, run errands and make visits. Theophilus dealt with the problem by developing a close relationship with the clergyman John Gery to whom he trusted every facet of estate management.⁷⁵ Theophilus required Gery to deal with such diverse matters as rent collection, disputes with tenants, legal action, repair of mills and weirs, breeding and care of stock, planting of orchards and gardens and repair of buildings.⁷⁶ In return Theophilus supported Gery in his ecclesiastical career, speaking to influential people, including the Lord Chancellor and the Bishop of Lincoln, on his behalf.⁷⁷ Not all stewards inspired such confidence as Gery. In the early 1680s Theophilus had difficulty receiving rent from Gervase Jaques and suspected that he was keeping the money for himself. In 1683 Theophilus told Gery that “this must not bee and such accounts I will not suffer for hee that will employ My money to his owne use must not bee my servant”.⁷⁸ Yet despite these strong words and the continuation of these problems until at least 1685 Theophilus never dismissed Jaques from his service.⁷⁹ Both Theophilus and Lucy found agents they could work with, even if these agents appeared to be cheating them.

⁷⁵ There are countless letters in which Theophilus provides Gery with instructions for the running of his estate and household in the country and also with news of London and parliament.

⁷⁶ Theophilus expressed his trust in Gery in May 1681: “I aske your pardon for giving you this trouble their not being any I know in whom I can so fully confide nor in whose Judgement I so much relye”. TEH to John Gery, HA Corr., 42/5991, 3 May 1681.

⁷⁷ See TEH to John Gery, HA Corr., 41/5932, 24 April 1677; 41/5964, 19 July 1679; 42/5977, 27 May 1680; 42/5978, 15 June 1680; 42/5983, 26 October 1680; 42/5992, 28 May 1681; 42/5993, 14 June 1681; 42/5994, 4 July 1681; 42/6003, 17 December 1681.

⁷⁸ TEH to John Gery, HA Corr., 43/6016, 25 January 1682/83. See also TEH to John Gery, 42/5996, 14 July 1681 and 42/5997, 6 August 1681.

⁷⁹ See Hainsworth, *Stewards, lords and people*, for a discussion on the relationship between stewards and their lords, in particular pp. 29-30 and 251-65. Hainsworth makes the point that stewards were hardly ever dismissed and argues that this was due to their status as “surrogate kin”. (pp. 30, 253)

Unlike Lucy, the surviving Hastings correspondence does not indicate an extensive or active role in estate management for Elizabeth. This is not surprising as she spent most of her time with Theophilus in London and did not have the opportunity of running the estates in her husband's absence. However, Elizabeth's proximity to her husband gave her the opportunity to perform some important tasks. For example, she acted as her husband's scribe when Theophilus was too ill to write his own letters.⁸⁰ For sensitive personal or business matters a wife could be trusted as servants could not and this role gave Elizabeth the opportunity to learn about Theophilus' estate and political affairs. She also undertook various tasks in London and at Court when Theophilus was absent and contributed to some decision making, perhaps more than the remaining evidence indicates.⁸¹ For example, in around 1677 Elizabeth suggested to Theophilus that Jaques be considered as the replacement steward on their Yorkshire estate. Although self-deprecatory about her advice, "wather Mr Jaquess is to bee the man to sukced him I am a fraid to give my weck apenion", Elizabeth nevertheless went on to say "with out dout hee understands your estate both in Leicestershire and Yorckshire; lovs your familey and is honnest".⁸² At this stage there was obviously no sign of Jaques' later problems with rent collection. Elizabeth understood that stewards and servants were a reflection of their employers, telling Theophilus that although Jaques was not "fine" everyone knew he was a gentleman and that she and Theophilus would have other servants for show when they were in the country. Elizabeth also suggested that Walter Hastings, their cousin, might be suitable

⁸⁰ Theophilus' letter to Gery of 20 July 1678 is in Elizabeth's handwriting and contains Theophilus' explanation that he has been suffering from a headache all day and hence has to use Elizabeth's hand. Theophilus' letter to Gery of 15 April 1680 begins in Elizabeth's handwriting. TEH to John Gery, HA Corr., 41/5952, 20 July 1678 and 42/5975, 15 April 1680.

⁸¹ For example, in 1683 she enquired about a house for the family to rent in Windsor, determining how much should be paid. E(L)H to TEH, HA Corr., 43/4784, [c.1683].

⁸² E(L)H to TEH, HA Corr., 41/4774, [>Apr 10][1672<].

although she did not know him well enough to judge and knew that sometimes relatives “are apt to presume”.⁸³ It is unclear who was given the job.

Despite the various tasks Elizabeth undertook, her role in estate management remained limited for most of her marriage. As a result Elizabeth and Theophilus do not give the impression of working together as a team, as had been so strongly conveyed by Lucy and Ferdinando, and the fifth earl and his wife. This absence of partnership is most apparent in the religious and political activities of the family. In these areas the focus naturally turns away from Elizabeth to Theophilus. But such a discussion is nevertheless necessary in order to understand the influence Elizabeth could and could not exert on the family’s fortunes, and her position in 1688 when she emerged on to centre stage.

Interest in religion and the church formed part of a landowner’s responsibilities to his estate and to the government. As head of the family during her son’s minority, Lucy had performed the function of preferring ministers to livings in the Hastings’ gift.⁸⁴ Lucy had been known for her rather Puritan piety and she had confidently expressed her views on religious matters, as late as 1679 expressing dissatisfaction at the religion of the steward of a business associate.⁸⁵ While the grounds of her dissatisfaction are not spelled out, after

⁸³ Jaques was regarded as a gentleman as he had been a “substantial” farmer before working for the Hastings. See Hainsworth, *Stewards, lords and people*, p. 27.

⁸⁴ Lucy passed on important information to Theophilus about these livings. See, for example, Theophilus’ comments to Gery regarding the living at Sapcote: “I am at a distance from My papers and so cannot Readyly and cleerly make out the title but I have allways heard my Mother tell mee itt was a living in my gift”. (HA Corr., 42/5992, 28 May 1681)

⁸⁵ L(D)H to Gervase Jaques, HA Corr., 41/5823, [c.1679].

Lucy's death, her long time friend Bridget Croft recalled her strong anti-Catholicism.⁸⁶

Lucy thought seriously on religious matters and the Hastings family had a tradition of Puritanism dating from the late sixteenth century. Theophilus was, therefore, by both position and background, encouraged to involve himself in religious matters.

When Theophilus took over his mother's role in preferring ministers he took care to stress exactly what he wanted in a minister, even to Gery to whom he gave the living of Stoney Stanton in 1676:

Though I well know your true affection to the Church yet I shall remind you againe of what I expected from you that is an exact and punctuall performance of Devine service according to the Best patterns.⁸⁷

Theophilus made every attempt to control his ministers once they were in place. As early as 1673 he wrote to the Archbishop of York complaining about the "irregularity" of Mr Chapman, vicar of Ashby-de-la-Zouch.⁸⁸ Earlier, Theophilus' cousin Arthur Stanhope had written to him on behalf of Mr Chapman who was worried that Theophilus suspected him of not conducting services according to the requirements of the Church of England.

According to Stanhope, Mr Chapman hoped Theophilus would "leave him to his Christian libberty" and "not impose any thinge of him that will make him odious to his people, and prove disadvantageous to the Church of God".⁸⁹ While the details of Chapman's offence

⁸⁶ Bridget Croft to TEH, HA Corr., 56/1796, 17 November 1690.

⁸⁷ TEH to John Gery, HA Corr., 40/5922, 22 April 1676.

⁸⁸ Theophilus' letter to the Archbishop has not survived, however the Archbishop's reply is in the Hastings correspondence. Richard Sterne, Archbishop of York to TEH, HA Corr., 37/12703, 13 August 1673. While Sterne does not mention Chapman by name he is probably referring to Francis Chapman who was vicar of Ashby-de-la Zouch from 1673-6. *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, vol. 1, p. 321. Theophilus was dissatisfied with Chapman at this time as the correspondence from Arthur Stanhope makes clear.

⁸⁹ Arthur Stanhope to TEH, HA Corr., 37/12512, 5 June 1673.

remain unclear, it is likely that Chapman had a more Presbyterian leaning than Theophilus was prepared to tolerate.⁹⁰

Accompanying Theophilus' placement of ministers was his cultivation of personal connections to highly placed members of the Church. These contacts were essential if Theophilus was going to succeed politically and develop the connections at court he needed.⁹¹ One such connection was Benjamin Woodroffe, the royal chaplain. Theophilus had been a pupil of Woodroffe's and they remained close, Theophilus giving Woodroffe the vicarage of Piddleton in 1673. In 1676 Woodroffe moved to Knightsbridge where Theophilus also lived from 1678.⁹² Theophilus often corresponded with Woodroffe who kept him informed of political news and acted as a go-between for Theophilus in his attempts to regain offices such as the Lord Lieutenancies.⁹³ Clerical connections were also useful in helping Theophilus maintain his right to certain livings which could lapse if not exercised for some time.⁹⁴ Such connections and support were significant in showing that

⁹⁰ Theophilus' disappointment in Mr Chapman prompted him in August 1676 to require Mr Chapman's successor, Mr Smart, to sign a bond whereby Theophilus would be able to remove him from the living if he did not perform as Theophilus wished. TEH to John Gery, HA Corr., 40/5926, 5 August 1676. Ithiel Smart was vicar of Ashby-de-la-Zouch from 1676-92 and rector of Packington from 1690-92. His father, also Ithiel, had been vicar of Ashby-de-la-Zouch from 1652 until his death in 1661. *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, vol. 4, p. 92.

⁹¹ Lucy had developed her own connections when she was in charge of the religious conduct of the family, although these were of a different nature. Lucy was operating under different conditions with different needs. Her connections included the Anglican divine Peter du Moulin who had been friends with her mother. See chapter four.

⁹² *DNB*, vol. 62, p. 406; Vallance, 'Woodroffe, Benjamin', *ODNB. Alumni Cantabrigienses*, vol. 4, p. 460. See chapter four. Other connections included George Morley, Bishop of Winchester, godfather to Theophilus' son George, and Herbert Croft, Bishop of Hereford. See chapter five and William Marshall, 'Croft, Herbert, bishop of Hereford' (1603-1691), *ODNB*, [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/6717>, accessed 2 April 2005]. Herbert Croft was the brother of Bridget Croft, Theophilus' godmother. *HMC* 78, vol. 2, p. 214.

⁹³ Benjamin Woodroffe to TEH, HA Corr., 38/10386, 10 October 1674; 38/13640, 15 October 1674; 39/13642, 6 December 1674; 39/13664, 21 February 1674/75; 39/10387, 6 April 1675. The letters of 10 October 1674 and 6 April 1675 are clearly written by Woodroffe although he has not signed them with his name.

⁹⁴ For example, in 1680 when Theophilus' livings of Bardsey and Collingham lapsed to the Archbishop of York, the Bishop assured Theophilus that he would not take advantage of the lapse by placing his own ministers there. TEH to John Gery, HA Corr., 42/5970, 24 January 1679/80. These appeared to be livings

the Hastings family actively supported the Church. Such support was also shown through Theophilus' sponsorship of church renovation and display, in particular the chancel at Ashby church. Beginning in 1678 this work included an altar piece, and carved arms and shield in oak over the altar.⁹⁵ Ashby was particularly important as it was a prominent church and closely associated with the Hastings.

Elizabeth appeared to have little role in church patronage and embellishment and unlike Lucy, was in no position to make her own decisions concerning preferment. These decisions were her husband's responsibility. Elizabeth's influence in religion and politics was exerted primarily through the family connections she brought to the Hastings, rather than in any overt advice or influence over her husband. Her mother's second husband, Denzil Onslow and her father's friend Sir Robert Clayton, sought to limit and contain any absolutist or Catholic tendencies in the Crown, while her sister's husband, the Earl of Scarsdale, supported the Duke of York during the Exclusion crisis only to oppose his policies in 1687.⁹⁶ The effect of such differences can be seen in the path Theophilus took during the 1670s and 1680s when his support for Exclusion changed into wholehearted support of the Stuarts.⁹⁷ Such support potentially conflicted with the views of many of Elizabeth's connections and while nothing is said in the correspondence to indicate that

shared by Theophilus and Deincourt. See also TEH to John Gery, 42/5971, 29 January 1679/80 and 42/5973, 12 February 1679/80. For a discussion on stewards and church patronage see Hainsworth, *Stewards, lords and people*, chapter nine, "Filling the pulpit", pp.173-85.

⁹⁵ TEH to John Gery, HA Corr., 41/5953, 20 August 1678. There are many letters between Theophilus and Gery on this topic in HA Corr., 41 and 42. Work was still being done in 1681.

⁹⁶ Denzil Onslow was an exclusionist as was his brother Arthur who had married Sarah Lewys' sister Mary. *History of Parliament*, vol. 3, pp. 174-6. Sir Robert Clayton, an old friend of Sir John Lewys, represented the City of London and opposed the quo warranto against the city in 1682. Luttrell, *Brief Historical Relation*, vol. 1, pp. 84, 91, 106-7 and 158. For Scarsdale's position see *History of Parliament*, vol. 2, p. 732 and the discussion further in this chapter.

⁹⁷ J. R. Jones, in discussing the various groups who made up the Whig party includes Theophilus in the group of "old Presbyterians". This group wanted "religious reform and Protestant unity", sympathised with dissenters and wanted toleration. (*The First Whigs: the politics of the exclusion crisis*, (Oxford, London,

this caused quarrels between the Hastings and Elizabeth's family, by bringing into the family those who were potentially opposed to her husband, Elizabeth can be seen as a divisive influence.⁹⁸ However, it was not only male family members and connections who had strong religious and political views and Theophilus' early association with the Duke of York also concerned his female family members, most particularly his sisters. Theophilus' political path led the family into crisis once again and it was in this situation that Elizabeth's influence becomes apparent. Elizabeth, with no formal role in religious or political life, became fundamental to the survival of her family. In the end, she would become her husband's most trusted partner.

As mentioned above, Theophilus' political loyalties altered during the course of the 1670s and 1680s. As early as 1673 the Duke of York acted as Theophilus' proxy in parliament, which caused considerable comment.⁹⁹ Theophilus' sister Mary hoped Theophilus would, in the next session of parliament:

1961), p. 10.) Jones notes that there are many of Theophilus' papers in the Carte collection which discuss religion. Such papers may throw further light on Theophilus' religious position.

⁹⁸ The same could be said of Theophilus' sister Elizabeth who had married Sir James Langham. Langham's son-in-law Henry Booth consistently sought to contain the power of Charles II and the Duke of York in the late 1670s and early 1680s and he had no liking for the established church. *History of Parliament*, vol. 1, pp. 679-81; Hosford, 'Booth, Henry', *ODNB*. Langham also, in a less active way, maintained an Exclusionist stance. *History of Parliament*, vol. 2, pp. 709.

⁹⁹ TEH to the Duke of York, HA Corr., 35/5891, 3 February 1672/73; Benjamin Woodroffe to TEH, 35/13635, 28 January 1672/73. In 1675 Theophilus' proxy was Heneage Finch, first Earl of Nottingham. He spoke of Theophilus trusting him to promote the king's service. Finch to TEH, 39/3165, 8 May 1675. A proxy was authorised to vote on behalf of another who could not attend parliament in person. It was a formal process requiring, in the House of Lords at least, payment of a fee.

doe right both to your reputation and conscience by giving your vote to the service of the church which has been by your proxey imployed all together in the favor of the papist to the greate surprise of many.¹⁰⁰

A few weeks later Mary added:

it was much wonderd at to heare my Lord Huntingdons vote given in favor of the papists, and severall persons of Quality asked my Lady of it, particularly my Lady Burlington and the Dutchess of Sommersett.¹⁰¹

Public opinion was not in favour of the Duke of York, particularly after he had abstained from communion at Christmas and Easter and talked passionately of Catholicism. Mary asked Theophilus to explain why he believed the Duke of York was faithful to England's religion. While Mary and her network of female friends and relatives lacked formal political power they nevertheless concerned themselves with important issues, relaying information and impressing their point of view on the men who did exert such power.

During the 1670s Theophilus obtained a number of offices, including that of *custos rotulorum* of Warwickshire in 1675 and High steward of Leicester in 1677.¹⁰² However, he did not obtain the Lord Lieutenancy of Leicestershire at this time, despite the assistance of Lucy who, upon hearing of the illness of the incumbent, the Earl of Rutland, drafted a letter for Theophilus to send to the Duke of York, requesting that this office be passed to Theophilus on Rutland's death.¹⁰³ In a note across the top of the letter Lucy told her son

¹⁰⁰ M(H)J to TEH, HA Corr., 36/7901, 27 March 1673.

¹⁰¹ M(H)J to TEH, HA Corr., 36/7912, 19 April 1673.

¹⁰² Catherine F. Patterson, 'Hastings, Theophilus, seventh earl of Huntingdon (1650-1701)', *ODNB*, [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12583>, accessed 8 October 2004.]

¹⁰³ Draft letter of TEH to James, Duke of York, penned by L(D)H, HA Corr., 45/6004, [1684<].

that she had not informed anyone of this matter and that she hoped he would be the honest man his father had prayed to God he would be. Lucy also explained that she had not put anything in the letter she thought likely to annoy Rutland's friends at court. It is significant that the Duke of York was approached as someone who might have found the Hastings' argument compelling and who would be able to approach the King on their behalf. Clearly Lucy was the person Theophilus could trust with this matter because she knew the family history and had his interests at heart.

In late 1679 Theophilus became closely associated with Shaftesbury and Monmouth and those aiming for the exclusion of Catholics from the throne. It is unclear what led Theophilus to this position but at this stage he appears to have shared his female relatives' fear of Catholicism, leading him to join the party for exclusion.¹⁰⁴ In the 1681 parliamentary elections he and Shaftesbury both tried to ensure that strong Whigs were elected in Christchurch.¹⁰⁵ Theophilus was also mentioned as part of a plot to hold the King at Oxford where Charles II held his last parliament.¹⁰⁶ However, in 1681 Theophilus appears to have experienced "a political change of heart".¹⁰⁷ In October 1681 Anne Jaques, wife of his steward Gervase, congratulated Theophilus on having kissed the King's hand and in November Theophilus reported to Gery that the King had received him very kindly.¹⁰⁸ Back in favour as a supporter of the Court he thereafter appears to have tried to

¹⁰⁴ In December 1679 Theophilus attended a number of meetings with Shaftesbury and other peers which associated him with the exclusionist cause *CSPD*, Charles II, 1679/80, Newsletter, 2 December 1679, p. 296. *Hatton Correspondence*, vol. 1, Sir Charles Lyttelton to Christopher Hatton, 29 November 1679, p. 206 and Charles Hatton to Christopher Hatton, 11 December 1679, pp. 207-11.

¹⁰⁵ *CSPD*, Charles II, 1680/81, the Earl of Clarendon to [?Sir Leoline Jenkins], 13 February 1680/81, p. 165. Jones, *The First Whigs*, p. 165.

¹⁰⁶ *CSPD*, Charles II, 1680/81, The information of Lawrence Mowbray, [1681?], p. 667

¹⁰⁷ Patterson, 'Hastings, Theophilus', *ODNB*. The *DNB* claimed that he had been banned from Court for corresponding with Monmouth (vol. 25, p. 135).

¹⁰⁸ Anne Jaques to TEH, HA Corr., 42/7637, 20 October 1681; TEH to John Gery, 42/6000, 10 November 1681. See also Luttrell, *Brief Historical Relation*, vol. 1, 26 October 1681, p. 138.

distance himself from his former allegiances. Theophilus' autobiographical notes fail to mention his activities with Shaftesbury, merely stating that he lived at Donnington from May 1672 until 4 December 1677 when he moved to London.

But coming very seldom to the Court, it was intimated to him that if he waited on the King he should be well received, and accordingly he had the honour to kiss the King's hand at Whitehall Oct. 21, 1681, and from that time had access to him on all occasions.¹⁰⁹

Theophilus' desire to distance himself from his former actions may have been due to the lack of any legitimate way of remaining in opposition after Charles II dissolved parliament.¹¹⁰ No doubt the arrest of Shaftesbury for treason in 1681 reinforced this view and possibly prompted Theophilus to decide that his dislike of Catholicism could co-exist with support for the Stuarts. This was not the stance taken by many of Elizabeth's connections, such as Onslow and Sir Robert Clayton who retained a strong desire for Exclusion.¹¹¹ Thus at this stage Theophilus' political life diverged from that of many family connections, a divergence which would become complete in 1688.

Theophilus' support for the Court was rewarded when he was made Captain of the Band of Gentlemen Pensioners in 1682 and a member of the Privy Council in February 1683.¹¹² In

¹⁰⁹ *HMC 78*, vol. 4, p. 353.

¹¹⁰ G. F. Trevallyn Jones, *Saw-Pit Wharton: The Political Career from 1640 to 1691 of Philip, fourth Lord Wharton* (Sydney, 1967), p. 250. Trevallyn Jones argues that "Only folly, violence and hopeless, lawless revolt could be attempted by those who still persisted in active opposition"

¹¹¹ See earlier references. Langham and Booth also maintained their exclusionist stance.

¹¹² Theophilus was made Captain of the Band of Gentlemen Pensioners in place of Scarsdale which seemed to have been the result of an agreement between them. *HMC 78*, vol. 2, pp. 348 and 349; TEH to John Gery, HA Corr., 42/6008, 22 June 1682; Charles II to TEH, 42/1370, 26 June 1682; TEH to John Gery, 43/6009, 17 August 1682 and the Earl of Scarsdale to TEH, 43/8235, 9 March 1682/83. See also Patterson, 'Hastings, Theophilus', *ODNB* and Sainty and Bucholz, *Office Holders in Modern Britain*, p. 125. See also *VHC*

1684 when Charles II sought to replace town charters with new ones which would increase the power of the Crown, Theophilus ensured Leicester gave up its old charter.¹¹³ When the Duke of York became King in early 1685 Theophilus was among those who signed the order at Whitehall proclaiming James II and attended the coronation with Elizabeth.¹¹⁴ Theophilus told Gery in February 1685:

The Last weeks news was to you as well as all others very surprising But our Weeping is turned into joy the losse being so fully made up by his present Majestye who Gives us assurance of a happy reigne.¹¹⁵

While there was speculation that Charles II had died a Catholic, there was no such ambiguity about James II.¹¹⁶ His attempts to win tolerance for Catholics did not appear to disturb Theophilus who increased his own influence and offices during James' reign, becoming colonel of a regiment of foot in 1685, Warden and Chief Justice in Eyre of the royal forests south of the Trent in 1686, and a Commissioner for Ecclesiastical Causes and Lord Lieutenant of Leicestershire and Derbyshire in 1687.¹¹⁷ Theophilus had continued a

Leicester, vol. 2, p. 119 where this period is described as a "brief Indian summer of political influence" for the Earls of Huntingdon.

¹¹³ For an account of this process see R.W. Greaves, "The Earl of Huntingdon and the Leicester Charter of 1684," *Huntington Library Quarterly*, vol. 15, no. 4, August, 1952, pp. 371-91. By 1684 Theophilus was associated with the Court. His rival, the Earl of Stamford, was "head of the opposition or 'country' party in Leicestershire". (Greaves, p. 371) The local rivalries of an earlier generation were again making themselves felt.

¹¹⁴ Patterson, 'Hastings, Theophilus', *ODNB*; *HMC 78*, vol. 2, James II to TEH, 23 March 1684/85, p. 178 and Henry seventh Duke of Norfolk, Earl Marshal to TEH, 13 April 1685, p. 179. James had given Theophilus the role of cupbearer at the coronation. Theophilus was present in Charles II's bedchamber when he died on 6 February 1684/85. "Autobiography of Theophilus", *HMC 78*, vol. 4, p. 353.

¹¹⁵ TEH to John Gery, HA Corr., 45/6046, 10 February 1684/85.

¹¹⁶ Bridget Croft to TEH, HA Corr., 45/1783, 14 March 1684/85.

¹¹⁷ Patterson, 'Hastings, Theophilus', *ODNB*. *DNB*, vol. 25, p. 135. Sunderland to TEH, HA Corr., 49/12543, 4 August 1687. The correspondence at this time increasingly shows persons writing to Theophilus asking him to intercede for them with the King. See, for example, John Coke, 47/1540, 30 August 1686; the Countess of Inchiquin, 48/3428, 8 October 1686; Henry Hastings, 48/5603, 6 April [c. 1687] and Henry Charnock, 49/6735, 2 July 1687.

family tradition in supporting the Stuarts and the principle of hereditary monarchy.

However, hostility to James II's Catholicism was extended to his supporters. In 1687, for example, the Earl of Sunderland's closeness to James caused widespread speculation that he too was a Catholic. Bridget Croft told Theophilus:

I praise God I heare no such thing of your Lordship, your late choice of a Protestant Tuter for your sonn, is a very good argument that you remaine firme in the faith you have ever profest, and I trust in his mercy will still keepe you in it.¹¹⁸

Bridget Croft elaborated several times on this theme, understanding the preoccupation of many who had to walk a fine line between political and religious loyalties.¹¹⁹ The women in the Hastings family could afford to express strong anti-Catholic feelings as they were not expected to fulfil a formal role in politics. The comments made by Mary and Bridget Croft demonstrate that they felt it their duty to ensure that male relatives, especially the head of their family, adopted the "correct" views and approach.

While Theophilus was increasing his political standing Elizabeth spent much of her time with him in London, caring for their children and visiting family and friends. Elizabeth's mother, Sarah, was still alive, although her sister Mary, Countess of Scarsdale, had died on 17 February 1683/84.¹²⁰ In April 1687 Elizabeth gave birth to a son who did not live long. The Queen visited Elizabeth during her lying in and Bridget Croft told Theophilus she had

¹¹⁸ Bridget Croft to TEH, HA Corr., 49/1791, 9 May 1687.

¹¹⁹ See for example Bridget Croft to TEH, HA Corr., 51/1793, 27 February 1687/88 where she speaks at length of the importance of keeping promises and oaths.

¹²⁰ *GEC*, vol. 11, p. 518.

heard "your Lordship is in favour which I wish you may long be upon good grounds".¹²¹ Late in 1687 further favour was shown to Theophilus, at the expense of his brother-in-law, Scarsdale. The Earl of Scarsdale was Lord Lieutenant of Derbyshire and groom of the stole and gentleman of the bedchamber to the Prince of Denmark. The Prince of Denmark and his wife, Princess Anne, were strongly Protestant and increasingly in conflict with James II (Anne's father) as he attempted toleration. In November 1687 James II directed his Lord Lieutenants to canvass their constituencies as to whether they would support the repeal of the penal and test acts and accept religious toleration. Seventeen Lord Lieutenants refused to do so, including Scarsdale. James consequently removed Scarsdale from his position in the Prince of Denmark's household and took away his regiment and Lord Lieutenancy. Despite resistance from the Prince and Princess James insisted that Theophilus replace Scarsdale in their household.¹²² Theophilus was also given the Lord Lieutenancy of Derbyshire. Such punishment meted out to Scarsdale must have increased Theophilus' desire to remain loyal to James and not to risk similar difficulties himself. While there is very little in the correspondence about Elizabeth's role at this time she certainly attended Court and the Cockpit (Princess Anne's apartments at Whitehall) where she made the contacts which would become of crucial importance in November and December 1688 when Theophilus was imprisoned.

¹²¹ Bridget Croft to TEH, HA Corr., 48/1790, 9 April 1687. There is no other mention of this son in the correspondence.

¹²² For an account of these events see Gregg, *Queen Anne*, pp. 35-54, in particular pp. 36 and 54. See also Churchill, *Marlborough*, Book 1, pp. 217-8 and 221; Luttrell, *Brief Historical Relation*, vol. 1, pp. 420, 422-3, 425. Elizabeth was given a position serving Anne, probably in December 1687 when her husband was given his position with the Prince.

Being in favour at Court gave the Hastings reason to feel positive about their future at the beginning of 1688. In February of that year Croft told Theophilus, "I am very glad you are now easy in your fortune and trust God will continue you so".¹²³ In June Theophilus celebrated the birth of the Prince of Wales with great display.¹²⁴ However, as Gery reported, not everyone was joyful at this news: "Great rejoyceing by ringing and bonefiers everywhere upon account of the Bishops but not above five [bonfires] the day before for the Prince as I can heare but at Swepston and Leicester".¹²⁵ Many were concerned at the continuing prospect of Catholicism and arbitrary power, particularly now that James had a son. James sought to pack Parliament with his supporters and to ensure that the Corporations, JPs and sheriffs were loyal to him. Theophilus was a loyal part of this process and during the months of July to September 1688 he tried to induce the Leicester Corporation to surrender its charter so that loyal members could be elected, ordered ministers to read the Declaration of Indulgence and tried to ensure that appropriate men stood for election.¹²⁶ There was considerable opposition to this process, with many opposing the candidates, the surrender of the charter and the reading of the declaration.¹²⁷

In September 1688 James learned of the planned invasion of England by his son-in-law, William, Prince of Orange. He called off the election and tried to return Anglicans and

¹²³ Bridget Croft to TEH, HA Corr., 51/1793, 27 February 1687/88.

¹²⁴ George Vernon to TEH, HA Corr., 52/12979, 1 July 1688. See also the letter from the Privy Council to Theophilus informing him of the birth, 51/4279, 10 June 1688.

¹²⁵ John Gery to TEH, HA Corr., 52/3992, 5 July 1688. Gery refers to the seven bishops who protested against the Declaration of Indulgence of April 1688 by refusing to read and distribute it and by petitioning the King. James prosecuted them for seditious libel but they were acquitted in June by the jury of the Court of King's Bench. See, W.A. Speck, *James II: Profiles in power*, (London and Harlow, 2002), pp. 62-5.

¹²⁶ Jo[hn] Bagnold to TEH, HA Corr., 52/373, 30 August 1688; John Gery to TEH, 52/3997, 3 September 1688. See also James II (via Robert Spencer, second Earl of Sunderland) to TEH, 52/12545, 13 September 1688.

¹²⁷ Jo[hn] Bagnold to TEH, HA Corr., 52/373, 30 August 1688; John Gery to TEH, 52/3997, 3 September 1688.

Tories to their previous positions as JPs and Deputy Lieutenants, alienating many of his supporters who struggled to manage various interest groups and to keep up with the King's decisions.¹²⁸ On 17 October James authorised Theophilus to raise Horse and Foot militia to defend the country from the intended invasion and to apprehend and secure any who were raising militia without the King's warrant, or who were doing anything likely to disturb the peace of the government.¹²⁹ In early November 1688 Theophilus joined his regiment at Plymouth where it had been located since the beginning of September. On his way to Plymouth, while rumours of the landing of the Prince of Orange circulated, Theophilus noted that the militia were not raised in any of the counties he passed through.¹³⁰ When he arrived at Plymouth he found the regiment in good order and informed Elizabeth that they were "all unanimous to serve the King".¹³¹ This would prove an overly optimistic assessment of the mood of the troops and Theophilus' lack of political foresight would have ill consequences for himself and his family and place Elizabeth in a position as important to the family's future as Lucy's had been before her.

In Plymouth Theophilus' most pressing concern was money and supplies to feed, clothe and pay his regiment. Elizabeth was well placed to assist, based in London where rents and moneys could be sent and where Theophilus' man of business, Smithsby, also operated. In early November Theophilus told Elizabeth that if his regiment went into the field he would need tents, a carriage and a coach and asked her to send them if she should

¹²⁸ W.A. Speck, *Reluctant Revolutionaries: Englishmen and the Revolution of 1688*, (Oxford, 1988), pp. 135-6. For an example of this confusion see Sir Henry Beaumont, second Baronet to TEH, HA Corr., 52/670, 12 October 1688.

¹²⁹ James II to TEH (via Sunderland), HA Corr., 52/7166, 19 October 1688.

¹³⁰ TEH to E(L)H, HA Corr., 53/6066, 7 November 1688.

¹³¹ TEH to E(L)H, HA Corr., 53/6067, 9 November 1688. See also his letter to Elizabeth, 53/6065, 6 November 1688 where he states that if the garrison at Plymouth were "true within" it would hold out to be relieved.

hear of any. It was winter and the men were in danger of becoming ill if not looked after. He also asked Elizabeth to send a surgeon and lozenges for colds.¹³² In order to provide Theophilus with a steady supply of money, Elizabeth had to juggle her finances, ensuring the rents were collected and her own expenses paid. To save money she planned to move to a smaller house in London where she could live privately.¹³³ As Elizabeth was, at this stage, about seven months pregnant, a quieter life no doubt appealed. She also saved money by sending Theophilus' horses out of London to a friend.¹³⁴ Sending her husband a bill of credit for £100, Elizabeth assured him: "what ever hapens you shall bee soplidde with what you please".¹³⁵ Theophilus demonstrated his confidence in Elizabeth's abilities, stating that he left everything to her management.¹³⁶ Elizabeth had become a London-based agent for her husband, working through men of business to ensure her husband was fully supplied with what he needed.

Elizabeth's responsibilities were more burdensome because of the unreliability of communication. Because letters were intercepted and read, Elizabeth and Theophilus developed a code where Elizabeth often used special names for those she mentioned and at times signed her own letters "your affectianett sister" or "E L" [Elizabeth Lewys], her name before she married.¹³⁷ Elizabeth and Theophilus also developed a system whereby they could ensure that letters had actually been received. A letter was accompanied by a

¹³² TEH to E(L)H, HA Corr., 53/6065, 6 November 1688. Elizabeth's role during November and December 1688 has also been discussed in Jeffries, "Ladies of Quality", pp. 26-9.

¹³³ E(L)H to TEH, HA Corr., 53/4792, 20 November 1688; 53/4793, 21 November 1688 and 53/4794, 24 November 1688.

¹³⁴ E(L)H to TEH, HA Corr., 53/4793, 21 November 1688 and 53/4794, 24 November 1688.

¹³⁵ E(L)H to TEH, HA Corr., 534793, 21 November 1688.

¹³⁶ TEH to E(L)H, HA Corr., 53/6069, 18 November 1688.

¹³⁷ E(L)H to TEH, HA Corr., 53/4792, 20 November 1688; 53/4794, 24 November 1688; 53/4796, 29 November 1688; J Smithsby to TEH, 53/12453, 29 November 1688. Theophilus also sometimes referred to himself as Elizabeth's "brother". See for example TEH to E(L)H, 53/6071, 23 November 1688.

copy which was sent back as a guarantee that the original had reached its destination.¹³⁸ To ensure letters got through Elizabeth directed them to various merchants in Plymouth, who would then pass them on to Theophilus.¹³⁹ The merchant network proved of vital importance and many of these connections doubtless resulted from Elizabeth's links to merchant families.

The situation worsened for Theophilus in mid November 1688. On 17 November Plymouth's governor, the Earl of Bath, left Plymouth, telling Theophilus that he would only be away for half an hour. He was still absent the next day and Theophilus began to feel apprehensive.¹⁴⁰ Elizabeth did not like it either, telling Theophilus on 21 November, "I apprehend a trick in the gentleman you mention".¹⁴¹ Lord Bath eventually returned and Elizabeth advised Theophilus on 24 November in partial code:

pray tell My brother [Theophilus] hee had best enquire whare the Man has ben that was absent and is returned; for theare is strong suspetion that hee knose his buisness very well; tho hee will not lett my brother know but I hope hee will bee as wise as him self.¹⁴²

In late November two officers deserted and joined the Prince of Orange at Exeter.

Theophilus reported that "the rest sticks to mee and the soldiers" and on 23 November still

¹³⁸ See TEH to E(L)H, HA Corr., 53/6073, 25 November 1688 for his instructions regarding this system. See, E(L)H to TEH, HA Corr., 53/4796 and 53/4797, 29 November 1688 for an example.

¹³⁹ These merchants included Abraham Wilkinson and Thomas Bakewell. In particular see TEH to E(L)H, HA Corr., 53/6069, 18 November 1688; 53/6073, 25 November 1688 and 53/6080, 14 December 1688.

¹⁴⁰ TEH to E(L)H, HA Corr., 53/6069, 18 November 1688.

¹⁴¹ E(L)H to TEH, HA Corr., 53/4793, 21 November 1688.

¹⁴² E(L)H to TEH, HA Corr., 53/4794, 24 November 1688.

hoped that the remaining officers and soldiers would be steady in their duty and loyalty.¹⁴³ One day later Theophilus was writing to James to inform him of his imprisonment and betrayal by the Earl of Bath. In this letter, which displays evidence of agitation and distress, Theophilus expresses his disbelief that Lord Bath behaved so treacherously and pleads for James' protection of himself and his children. Strangely, he did not include Elizabeth in his plea for protection.¹⁴⁴

On 25 November Theophilus wrote to Elizabeth to inform her of his betrayal and imprisonment:

It is sufficient to you, that being in this Garisson by the Governours order I am made a prisoner and Many of my officers putt out of the fort how Long I am like to Continue I know not I Leave the care of my familey and Estate to your selfe wherin I doubt not of your Prudence.¹⁴⁵

Elizabeth's distress at the news of her husband's imprisonment is evident in the first letter she wrote after hearing the news: "you may esely emagin the greaf your last letter has brought mee I beceach God to preserv and keepe you in helth that is the thing you must have great regard too".¹⁴⁶ As Elizabeth realised, one of Theophilus' most pressing concerns was the preservation of his health which was suffering due to his confinement in

¹⁴³ TEH to E(L)H, HA Corr., 53/6069, 18 November 1688 and 53/6071, 23 November 1688.

¹⁴⁴ TEH to James II, HA Corr., 53/6072, [24 November 1688].

¹⁴⁵ TEH to E(L)H, HA Corr., 53/6073, 25 November 1688. In this letter Theophilus instructed Elizabeth to move to a smaller house, to pay all household expenses with ready money, to care for his books and papers and to write to "my Master" (probably the Prince of Denmark) to see if Theophilus could be released in exchange for a prisoner at Cirencester. This letter also talks of a Hastings who made Theophilus a prisoner on the governor's orders. This was a relation, Colonel Ferdinando Hastings, and demonstrates that family relationships were split by political divisions. See *CSPD*, James II, vol. 3, The Earl of Bath to the Prince of Orange, 27 November 1688, p. 364. The Earl of Bath commends Colonel Hastings for his "great zeal, fidelity and prudent conduct" in the Prince's service.

¹⁴⁶ E(L)H to TEH, HA Corr., 53/4796, 29 November 1688.

Plymouth's garrison, rather than in more comfortable quarters in town. Theophilus informed Elizabeth that his chamber was:

so exposed to the weather that if I continue heere one weeke longer I shall have a worse cough then Ever yet I had for tho I had medcins yet Last night I Lay 2 hours awake Coughing. But the King is betrayed his Counsell are Betrayed and I am betrayed.¹⁴⁷

Theophilus' distress would not have aided his health. Elizabeth advised him to wear flannel and lots of warm clothes, provided him with recipes for cold cures and advised him about medicines.¹⁴⁸ Theophilus developed a chest cold or pleurisy and was let blood.¹⁴⁹ Elizabeth wrote to Lord Bath and Colonel Hastings, requesting that Theophilus be brought to London and in the mean time moved to warm lodgings in the town.¹⁵⁰ She was unsuccessful, however, and Theophilus remained at the garrison throughout his imprisonment.

Theophilus used his illness to motivate Elizabeth to make every effort to obtain his liberty. On 14 December he wrote about how bad his cold was, that he had been let blood, had a pain under his right breast and had taken so many drowsy medicines that he feared he might fall into a lethargy. He went on:

¹⁴⁷ TEH to E(L)H, HA Corr., 53/6074, 26 November 1688.

¹⁴⁸ E(L)H to TEH, HA Corr., 53/4798, 1 December 1688; 53/4802, 4 December 1688 and 53/4807, 18 December 1688. Theophilus commented that his stomach was "an apothecary shop". TEH to E(L)H, 53/6079, 9 December 1688.

¹⁴⁹ TEH to E(L)H, HA Corr., 53/6080, 14 December 1688.

¹⁵⁰ E(L)H to TEH, HA Corr., 53/4799, 1 December 1688.

I write this not to aggrivate matters, for I know nothing is to bee done more, being denied lying in the town, but to let you see that Nothing is more my interest, with respect to my life, as well as familiey then to obtain my Liberty.¹⁵¹

Elizabeth was working hard in two ways to achieve this end. She applied to various influential persons for advice and assistance, and advised Theophilus on what he could do in Plymouth to obtain his liberty.¹⁵²

Elizabeth wrote to a number of people, lobbying for Theophilus' release. Her position in Princess Anne's household gave her access to a number of persons who were potentially useful to her husband. These included the Prince of Denmark, the King, Lord Halifax, Lord Churchill and Lord Coote. She also tried unsuccessfully to have Theophilus exchanged for Lord Lovelace and obtained writs of parliament for Theophilus and Lord Bath before any of the other writs had been released.¹⁵³ In addition, she met with various persons such as Lord Churchill and Princess Anne to plead Theophilus' cause:

My Mistress came to toun last night and seemes to bee very kind to mee I have waited to day att dener and am goeing to put on a gown to goe to Somersaid hous; which puts mee in to a letle hurry.¹⁵⁴

Elizabeth also ensured that Smithsby attended the meeting between the King's Commissioners and the Prince of Orange and that the Commissioners were aware of her

¹⁵¹ TEH to E(L)H, HA Corr., 53/6080, 14 December 1688.

¹⁵² Theophilus' instructions to Elizabeth were clear, "But doe you Endeavor with all in authority and credit that I may have my Liberty or else bee brought to London in Custody", TEH to E(L)H, HA Corr., 53/6074, 26 November 1688.

¹⁵³ E(L)H to the Prince of Denmark, HA Corr., 53/4800, [1688]?. E(L)H to TEH, 53/4801, 3 December 1688.

¹⁵⁴ E(L)H to TEH, HA Corr., 53/4808, 20 December 1688. Anne had returned from gathering support to oppose James. See later in this chapter.

husband's situation.¹⁵⁵ The impression given by the rapidity of correspondence and events is one of ceaseless writing, visiting and applying to persons in power and the seeking for and conveying of news and information. The information Elizabeth obtained enabled Theophilus to gauge how he could achieve his release and what course of action to take.

It must be remembered that the Prince of Denmark and Princess Anne had taken action of their own to support William's invasion, having been aware of his intention to invade as early as July 1688. Since that time Princess Anne had avoided contact with her father and refused to support his attempts to establish the authenticity of the birth of the Prince of Wales. In November 1688 Churchill deserted to William and a short while later so did the Prince of Denmark. Princess Anne moved to Leicester at the end of November and then to Nottingham where she met with a number of peers, including the Earls of Scarsdale and Chesterfield. While the earls had supported Princess Anne with men and arms they, among others, refused to sign an association to protect the Prince of Orange. In December both Anne and her husband returned to London. The Prince of Orange also arrived as did James II who had been intercepted trying to leave the country. James II eventually left on 22 December.¹⁵⁶ These rapidly changing events meant that Elizabeth had great difficulty applying for assistance for her husband. Scarsdale and Chesterfield's support of Princess Anne demonstrates how far Theophilus had become isolated from his family.¹⁵⁷ Everyone had their own future to consider and Scarsdale and Chesterfield had chosen a different path

¹⁵⁵ J Smithsby to E(L)H, HA Corr., 53/12455, 3 December 1688 and to TEH, 53/12454, 3 December 1688.

¹⁵⁶ Gregg, *Queen Anne*, p. 59-68. Gregg states that Anne did not forgive Scarsdale for his refusal to sign the association. Later, when the Prince of Denmark wanted Scarsdale back in his household Anne refused as he had "proved so pitiful a wretch" (p. 67).

¹⁵⁷ Scarsdale was Theophilus' brother-in-law and Philip Stanhope, second Earl of Chesterfield a distant relation through marriage. He was related to Theophilus' cousin Arthur Stanhope. Stuart Handley, 'Stanhope, Philip, second earl of Chesterfield (1633-1714)', *ODNB*, [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26253>, accessed 26 April 2005].

to Theophilus. While they might have been willing to assist him, they were in no position to do so at this stage.

Elizabeth's position in London, the centre of news and information, enabled her to judge the mood of the time and to inform Theophilus of current events, rumours and predictions.¹⁵⁸ When Theophilus asked her to apply to James for assistance her reply on 7 December put the matter into perspective. In a carefully worded letter Elizabeth explained that there was no chance of James being able to assist:

for goeing much where you desire I due not; being not in a good condetion to goe in to Company and beesids theare [ie James and Mary] being frendly will cartenly due great dessarvice but can due noe good; hee not being able to save him self and tis believed bothe hee and wife will not stay.¹⁵⁹

Elizabeth was a London merchant's daughter and her maternal grandfather was a merchant and former Lord Mayor. London was a familiar environment through which she could manoeuvre and in which she had many contacts. In this way the merchant connection Elizabeth brought to the Hastings again proved important. Elizabeth's connections must also have been able to provide her with some much needed support during a distressing and difficult time.¹⁶⁰ It is also likely that these connections were part of the grouping in London which supported the new regime and the removal of James II from the throne.

¹⁵⁸ On 14 December Theophilus informed Elizabeth that he was doing all he could and was more sensible of matters than Elizabeth or any other could be. TEH to E(L)H, HA Corr., 53/6080, 14 December 1688. On the contrary, in many ways Elizabeth was more able to judge the wider situation.

¹⁵⁹ E(L)H to TEH, HA Corr., 53/4804, 7 December 1688. The rumour that James and the Queen would not stay was fulfilled when the Queen and Prince of Wales left for France on 10 December and James attempted to leave on 11 December. Elizabeth's comment that she was "not in a good condetion to goe in to Company" is the only reference to her pregnancy in this correspondence.

¹⁶⁰ It was rumoured that the Irish were going to riot which was especially worrying considering James' army had been disbanded. See E(L)H to TEH, HA Corr., 53/4806, 15 December 1688. At one point Elizabeth wrote that "Mrs E L" was alone in the house as the person who had been with her had left seeking greater safety. E(L)H to TEH, 53/4803, 6 December 1688.

While there is no clear information in this regard, the Foote and Onslow connections had a strong Whig and puritan tradition.¹⁶¹ They supported a regime that could exile Theophilus but also had the potential to assist, if Elizabeth could convince them to do so.

Elizabeth did not believe in suffering in silence, and as in the early years of her marriage, made sure Theophilus knew how distressed she was. She wanted to hear from Theophilus every post or “I shall scarsly bee able to hould up” and on 1 December was “half dead but most entirely yours”.¹⁶² While Elizabeth’s distress was no doubt genuine, she used expressions of adversity and suffering to pressure Theophilus to act as she thought best:

for my one part I am the most mesirable creature leveing my self is not what I conseder but my poore destresed family heare; and a bove all the enevitable destruction of my Deare brother [ie Theophilus] which I shall not bee able to bear the aprehention of itt is allmost death to mee all ready.¹⁶³

After expressing her misery so clearly, Elizabeth implored Theophilus to consider his family, to take care of himself and to immediately apply to make his peace. This continued the pattern established in the early years of their marriage where Elizabeth used expressions of distress to try to pressure her husband to return from London, to write to her or to show her some attention. The familiar pattern remained in this more serious situation as Elizabeth exerted her influence in the relationship. Elizabeth’s tactics indicate that she

¹⁶¹ Other family connections such as Langham and Booth similarly supported the new regime. Henry Booth, son-in-law of Sir James Langham “took an active part in the Revolution, and was made chancellor of the Exchequer and lord lieutenant”. *History of Parliament*, vol. 1, p. 681. Samuel Foote, a merchant and connection of the Onslow family advanced money to William (*History of Parliament*, vol. 2, p. 341). See also past references to Onslow, Langham and Booth.

¹⁶² E(L)H to TEH, HA Corr., 53/4796, 29 November 1688 and 53/4798, 1 December 1688. In the copy of her 29 November letter (53/4797) Elizabeth wrote that if she did not hear from Theophilus she would “die with fear”.

¹⁶³ E(L)H to TEH, HA Corr., 53/4805, 11 December 1688. In fact, Theophilus employed similar tactics when he used his illness to prompt Elizabeth into action on his behalf.

found it difficult to influence Theophilus' actions. This may have been due to the difficulties in the relationship in its early years and the tensions between the two families which impacted on Elizabeth and Theophilus' own relationship. Theophilus did not appear to respect Elizabeth's family and consequently may have found it easy to undervalue her advice. However, Theophilus' imprisonment meant that he could no longer afford to ignore Elizabeth and had to take her views seriously. Despite this, there is evidence that they differed over what course of action to take.

Elizabeth had strong opinions about the way Theophilus should behave while imprisoned and believed that certain actions would make his release more likely. Most importantly, Elizabeth repeatedly emphasised Theophilus' need to convince the world that he was a Protestant, not a Catholic supporter of James. While Theophilus did not appear to realise the importance of this, Elizabeth could hear rumours which her husband could not.¹⁶⁴ On 3 December Elizabeth reported to Theophilus:

there is strange reports heare that you and the papist officers designed poisoning my Lord of Bathe and to lett in the french; and that you are a papist; for your secure comeing from plymouth and to prevent any danger that may arise to you from the rable as well as for your future security; you must satesfy my Lord of bathe and all others where you are that you are a protestant and ever entend to bee so and for a confermation take the most holy sacrament.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶⁴ At the end of November 1688 Luttrell recorded that "letters from the west" reported "of a design by the lord Huntington and the papists there to poyson the earl of Bath, and to seize upon the citadell for king James". However, the plot had been discovered and Huntington and the "popish officers" disarmed. Luttrell, *Brief Historical Relation*, vol. 1, 28 November 1688, p. 480. Clearly at this stage many associated Theophilus with the Catholicism of James II.

¹⁶⁵ E(L)H to TEH, HA Corr., 53/4801, 3 December 1688. Elizabeth repeated this message four days later. E(L)H to TEH, HA Corr., 53/4804, 7 December 1688. "for reasons I can tell you tis necessary that you should convens the world of your being what you really are a protestant".

On 14 December Theophilus told Elizabeth that before his imprisonment he had attended church with the governor and since then went to prayers in the citadel's chapel. When possible, he intended to receive the sacrament. Theophilus believed this was all he could do "besides my discourse of my stedinesse to the protestant religion".¹⁶⁶ This was not enough for Elizabeth who advised her husband to take the sacrament in his chamber if he was not allowed to attend church.¹⁶⁷ On 16 December Theophilus wrote again that he attended chapel but could not go to the parish church and take the sacrament. He asked Elizabeth if he needed to take the sacrament and the test upon passing his pardon. If so, he would try and do so on his way to London, if not before.¹⁶⁸ On 18 December Elizabeth again pushed the importance of Theophilus' Protestant show, instructing him on what he should do:

tis so absolutely necesary for you to convens the world what your prinsaples are that I desire you to send to my Lord of baith that you may goe to the parish charch to receav the sacriment; which if refused send to the minester of the toun to come to you; satesfy him of your faith and how you have ben aspersed with out reson; and desire him to giv you the sacriment in your chamber.¹⁶⁹

As events progressed towards the reign of William and Mary it became increasingly urgent that Theophilus remove all doubt from the minds of those taking power.

Elizabeth and Theophilus also had different opinions about Theophilus' duty. Early letters from Theophilus after his imprisonment reveal the importance he attached to his duty and

¹⁶⁶ TEH to E(L)H, HA Corr., 53/6080, 14 December 1688.

¹⁶⁷ E(L)H to TEH, HA Corr., 53/4806, 15 December 1688.

¹⁶⁸ TEH to E(L)H, HA Corr., 53/6081, 16 December 1688.

¹⁶⁹ E(L)H to TEH, HA Corr., 53/4807, 18 December 1688. Elizabeth repeated the importance of the sacrament in her last letter. E(L)H to TEH, 53/4808, 20 December 1688.

loyalty to James II and how this was linked to his honour. He wrote to James II on 29 November: “But those principles of Honor and Loyalty that hath preserved mee hither to will allways direct mee to make nothing the Act of my Will but what shall bee answerable to those principles”.¹⁷⁰ This letter recalls Theophilus’ childhood lessons in duty and loyalty by Lord Loughborough. However, Elizabeth had a different perspective: “you have don your duty in being true to your trust; but now you are att liberty to act according to your contienc and the preservation of your self and family”.¹⁷¹ Elizabeth’s continual emphasis on Theophilus’ need to acknowledge and embrace the new power was met by Theophilus’ obvious reluctance to do so. While Elizabeth frequently urged her husband to make his application to the Prince of Orange, to ask for the Prince’s pardon and to give assurances, Theophilus defended his inaction by claiming that by deserting James he risked losing both James and the Prince.¹⁷² Theophilus’ uncertainty about his course of action contrasts with Elizabeth who was in a position to accurately predict the likely outcome. Theophilus was trapped by his sense of honour and his imprisonment, both of which forced him to rely on his wife. Their roles were, to some extent, reversed. Thus, Theophilus’ situation recalls his father’s more than thirty years before who, when imprisoned, was forced to rely on Lucy for his freedom and his family’s future.

Theophilus was forced to acknowledge that his freedom depended on Elizabeth and he frequently thanked and praised her and said that he would take her advice. On 16 December he asked Elizabeth “what I am to doe to Obtain my Liberty and I will followe

¹⁷⁰ TEH to James II, HA Corr., 53/6075, 29 November 1688.

¹⁷¹ E(L)H to TEH, HA Corr., 53/4801, 3 December 1688. She repeated this again on 7 December, saying that Theophilus had done his duty and now had nothing more to do than to consider himself, (53/4804, 7 December 1688).

¹⁷² E(L)H to TEH, HA Corr., 53/4807, 18 December 1688; 53/4806, 15 December 1688; 53/4808, 20 December 1688. TEH to E(L)H, 53/6079, 9 December 1688.

it".¹⁷³ Theophilus frequently said that he would leave everything to Elizabeth and that he had put everything into her hands.¹⁷⁴ On 9 December he was particularly encouraging: "I Desire you to make much of your selfe, and visit your friends, and deny yourself nothing, and I aproove of What you doe".¹⁷⁵ Theophilus was aware of the need to encourage his wife and to give her confidence in her activities. Elizabeth was certainly confident enough to defend herself when criticised. On 15 December she assured Theophilus that she did not write as "methodically" as he did because her thoughts were so distracted, assuring him that she had "noe other buisness" than obtaining his release. Elizabeth further assured Theophilus that his writings were as he left them and she had not looked at them, having "not so much as opened your scretore but one day to put all the papers together".¹⁷⁶

Elizabeth, for her part, acknowledged that her husband's release would be the best thing for herself and her children.¹⁷⁷ She must have been in considerable discomfort, dealing with crucial political matters and an uncertain future while coping with pregnancy and three children. Elizabeth and Theophilus' shared concern and love for their children, George, Mary and Betty continued. Theophilus sent instructions concerning their care and Elizabeth and other correspondents kept him informed about their health.¹⁷⁸ George wrote a few rather formulaic, dutiful, though affectionate letters to Theophilus during this period, hoping for his father's return.¹⁷⁹ Theophilus told Elizabeth: "I am extreamley pleased

¹⁷³ TEH to E(L)H, HA Corr., 53/6081, 16 December 1688. In this letter Theophilus also commented "I pray doe not thinke mee refractory for I will Bee advised By you and Ever Yours".

¹⁷⁴ TEH to E(L)H, HA Corr., 53/6076, [3 December] 1688, "I referr all to you". See also, 53/6074, 26 November 1688, "I leave all to your Management".

¹⁷⁵ TEH to E(L)H, HA Corr., 53/6079, 9 December 1688.

¹⁷⁶ E(L)H to TEH, HA Corr., 53/4806, 15 December 1688.

¹⁷⁷ Many letters attest to this, particularly those where Elizabeth speaks of Theophilus' duty to his family.

¹⁷⁸ J. Smithsby to TEH, HA Corr., 53/12449, 17 November 1688.

¹⁷⁹ George Hastings to TEH, HA Corr., 53/5289, 1 December 1688 and 53/5290, [3 December][1688].

with my Dear sons letter and tell Him I doe not valewe it the lesse for not answering itt But that I am a little malencoly".¹⁸⁰ Theophilus asked Elizabeth to buy George a new suit for Christmas and instructed that the two eldest children should walk in the park every day when it was not raining.¹⁸¹ He still demonstrated the interest in the day to day life of his children he had shown in their infancy.

As the family's future rested with the children, plans continued to be made for them despite Theophilus' imprisonment. On 20 December Elizabeth suggested to Theophilus a possible match for George with one of Churchill's daughters. Churchill, who had deserted to the Prince of Orange on 23 November, had been very helpful to Elizabeth concerning Theophilus' release. Elizabeth advised Theophilus to write to Churchill who, she shrewdly predicted, would "bee a great favoritt" and said that "a match for G: and one of his daughters wold make avery thing as itt was but this is to bee considered of".¹⁸² Once again marriage was viewed as the means to cure the family's troubles and place it on the road to success. Thoughts of this nature were overly optimistic and probably owed more to Churchill's own charm and diplomatic skills. The Hastings were not going to be able to restore their fortunes quite so readily.

Theophilus was freed on 26 December 1688. Elizabeth died two days before, in childbirth.¹⁸³ Her death leaves hardly any impression on the correspondence and in less than two years Theophilus married again. However, Elizabeth died having successfully

¹⁸⁰ TEH to E(L)H, HA Corr., 53/6077, 4 December 1688.

¹⁸¹ TEH to E(L)H, HA Corr., 53/6081, 16 December 1688; 53/6071, 23 November 1688.

¹⁸² E(L)H to TEH, HA Corr., 53/4808, 20 December 1688. Fifteen years later George would pursue a match himself with Mary Churchill, unsuccessfully. See Churchill, *Marlborough*, Book 1, p. 657.

¹⁸³ "Autobiography of Theophilus", *HMC* 78, vol. 4, p. 354. Luttrell, *Brief Historical Relation*, 26 December 1688, p. 492 and 2 January 1688/89, p. 494. Patterson, 'Hastings, Theophilus', *ODNB*.

achieved two important objectives: the freedom of her husband and the creation of the next generation. Elizabeth's life illustrates the risks that aristocratic women faced in a century which was politically tumultuous and in which child birth was extremely dangerous. Marriage had given Elizabeth social status and children but had brought unhappiness, conflicting loyalties and uncertainty. Elizabeth's life also illustrates the nature of women's importance for aristocratic families, an importance which revolved around money, children, loyalty and connections. Not only did Elizabeth prepare the way for the survival of the Hastings family which had once again been jeopardised by male political involvement, she also connected the family to new social groups which would become increasingly important during the next reign.

Epilogue, 1688 to 1690

I congratulate with your Lordship for having brought so great a blessing to your famaly as a second Lady, since it is too large to hang upon one string, I hope you will now have many, to the comfort of all those who pray for the prosperitie of it.¹⁸⁴

On 8 May 1690, sixteen months after Elizabeth's death, Theophilus married again. His second wife was Frances Needham, née Leveson, daughter and sole heiress of Francis Leveson Fowler and widow of Thomas Needham, sixth Viscount Kilmorey.¹⁸⁵ Before Theophilus' death in 1701 he and Frances had a number of children, including a son born in 1696. The benefits of Theophilus' second marriage became apparent in 1705 when Theophilus' son from his second marriage became the ninth Earl of Huntingdon at the death of his half brother George, the eighth earl.

¹⁸⁴ Frances Fortescue to TEH, HA Corr., 55/3272, 30 May 1690. See also Bridget Croft to TEH, 55/1794, 27 May 1690.

¹⁸⁵ Patterson, 'Hastings, Theophilus', *ODNB*.

However, Theophilus' first marriage and birth family were not forgotten. A few months after his second marriage Bridget Croft reminisced with him of her past days with the Hastings ladies. She fondly recalled: "a more excellent and sweeter disposition person never lived then my Lady Mary was and with the thoughts of all those unpareled Ladys I often entertain my self" and also talked of how happy she had been "in the enioyment of such excellent company as my Lady your Mother and sisters and self".¹⁸⁶ Lucy and Mary had been dead over twenty years and Christiana nearly ten years yet they were not forgotten by family and friends.

Neither was Elizabeth, Theophilus' first wife forgotten, and her legacy endured, largely through her daughter Elizabeth, known as Betty, her only daughter to survive to adulthood. Betty was close to her brother George and after their father's death he settled Ledstone, her maternal grandfather's estate on Betty, which provided her with an income of £3,000 a year. Lady Betty became celebrated for her piety, beauty and charitable works, giving money to schools and churches, founding a school of her own at Ledsham and supporting Mary Astell's school at Chelsea. Despite her beauty and wealth Betty decided not to marry, living at Ledstone with four of her half-sisters and taking charge of her two half-brothers' education. She managed her estate well and was the head of the family during her half-brother Theophilus' childhood, negotiating marriages for her siblings, including that of Theophilus, the ninth earl.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁶ Bridget Croft to TEH, HA Corr., 56/1796, 17 November 1690.

¹⁸⁷ Anita Guerrini, 'Hastings, Lady Elizabeth (Betty) (1682-1739)', *ODNB*, [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12564>, accessed 16 February 2005]. See also Hill, *Women Alone*, pp. 174-5.

Antonia Fraser claims that Lady Betty was “a tribute to the tradition of intelligent women” in the Hastings family.¹⁸⁸ Indeed, her life illustrates that the legacies of female members of the family could continue to have an impact for generations. Betty Hastings’ ability to contribute to the survival and well-being of her family was connected to the relationships she developed within it and the traditions and expectations she grew up with. Lady Betty was meant to be a “less significant” woman in her family but she became significant due to circumstances, background, wealth and character. She behaved much as a widow would have done, in fact much as Lucy had done, in charge of her family. If Lady Betty had married the influence she was able to exert and the role she played would have altered depending on the nature of her marriage and the relationships she formed within it.

The marriage Betty successfully arranged in 1728 for her half brother the ninth earl was to Lady Selina Shirley, who, as originator of the sect, the Countess of Huntingdon’s connection, became a significant force in the Methodist movement.¹⁸⁹ Study of the women of the early eighteenth century would continue to shed light on the nature of marriage and its relationship to the role and influence of aristocratic women within their families. As further studies of aristocratic women and their families are undertaken the complex relationship between women, marriage and family survival will become more fully understood.

¹⁸⁸ Fraser, *Weaker Vessel*, p. 374.

¹⁸⁹ Edwin Welch, *Spiritual Pilgrim: A Reassessment of the Life of the Countess of Huntingdon* (Cardiff, 1995).

CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSION

The Hastings' experiences in the seventeenth century reflected the problems of many aristocratic families of the time, although in a particularly vivid way. The extraordinary number of crises they suffered in the course of the century and the wealth of records they left behind allows for a particularly rich study of aristocratic survival and resilience. Throughout the seventeenth-century the political activities of male members of the Hastings family, particularly the sixth and seventh Earls of Huntingdon, were almost ruinous for the Hastings. However, despite civil war and revolutions with imprisonment and years of crippling indebtedness, the family survived. Its resilience and ability to recover from near disaster was in no small way due to the role played by women, a role which was fundamentally influenced by the way these women experienced marriage. Examination of the women in the Hastings family over two generations from 1620 until 1690, has demonstrated how their differing experiences affected the ability of the Hastings to survive and recover as an aristocratic family. These women were closely connected but nevertheless had very different lives and experiences. Marriage could provide opportunities for partnership and deep affection and for control of large estates (although often encumbered by debt). Marriage could also restrict a woman's ability to be active in the business of her family, and create burdensome worry and isolation.

During the seventeenth century the importance marriage had for the well-being, stability and survival of aristocratic families made it a natural focal point in their lives. For the women in particular it determined the nature of their lives and how they lived them. This thesis has illustrated the nexus between a woman's experience of marriage and her ability to influence her family and its well-being. The wives of the fifth, sixth and seventh Earls of Huntingdon were all forced to operate as the effective head, or representative, of the

family in political and economic arenas. Important roles were not only played by the countesses of Huntingdon but also by the sisters of the sixth and seventh earls and other female family connections. This study of the Hastings family has shown both the complexity of the environment in which women operated and the relationships which were formed within it.

Examination of the Hastings family over the course of the seventeenth century has illustrated the effect successful and loyal partnerships had on one aristocratic family. The fifth, sixth and seventh earls were fortunate in finding wives who were intelligent, active, loyal partners. In these circumstances the families could triumph over crises such as damaging law suits and even civil war and imprisonment. However, the example of the Hastings family also demonstrates that it took time for these loyal partnerships to develop. Marital conflict could destabilise a marriage and harm a family. The problems between Elizabeth and the seventh earl were overcome, allowing the crisis of revolution and imprisonment to also be overcome. Again, the resilience of the early modern aristocratic family is evident.

The Hastings also provides an example of how a woman's experience of marriage transferred into her experience of widowhood. As Barbara Harris has argued in relation to Tudor women: "Widowhood was the culmination of aristocratic women's careers as wives and mothers."¹ Lucy's marriage led to her widowhood at the head of a family weakened by debt and civil war, with a young family and an heir to raise. Again the family survived, in no small way due to Lucy's ability and willingness to use her position in her family's cause. Her ability to undertake such a role had been determined by her years as a wife, as she and her husband struggled to deal with Civil War, demographic failure, imprisonment

¹ Harris, *English Aristocratic Women*, p. 127.

and debt. Lucy's widowhood also provides a useful study of an aristocratic woman's changing relationship with her children through infancy to adulthood, marriage and independence.

Examination of the Hastings has also illuminated the situation of unmarried or single women. Christiana's life reveals the reality for unmarried aristocratic women who lived in a world where marriage was a focal point for women and their families. Even while unmarried these women could nevertheless exert an influence on their families. Christiana had choices and expressed preferences as to how she wanted to live her life and, while never able to fully disengage from the ideal of marriage, was nevertheless able to take and enjoy the positive aspects of her situation.² This thesis goes some way towards contributing to a neglected area in the history of women – that of women who never married.

Related to the issues surrounding single women is the question of less "significant" women in the family and their influence. The marriage of Elizabeth Hastings brought a valuable connection to the family in Sir James Langham. Her marriage and that of her sister Mary illustrate how family members, including men such as Loughborough, Langham and Theophilus had to consider these "less significant" women. Studying these women has made it possible to examine the relationship between adult siblings, another neglected area of historical study. Charting how their relationships developed over time has shown that, in one aristocratic family at least, the sibling relationship was of enduring personal and practical benefit.

² The example of Lady Betty Hastings shows what a woman could do if she had the private income to please herself.

Finally, this thesis has enabled an examination of the effects of marriage on the two families who came together when the marriage took place. It has shown in both the marriage of the sixth and the seventh earl that conflict could result but that the connections generated could also prove useful in the long term. Lucy's Davies connections were helpful in providing legal assistance and in acting as agents and stewards and Elizabeth's merchant connections were crucial in assisting with information, money and support. Connections to families of different backgrounds, traditions and religious views could prove troublesome but the Hastings family illustrates that these difficulties were not insurmountable.

Marriage could bring new connections, wealth, children and partnerships, but also personal conflict, legal disputes and troublesome relatives. While intimately connected to family prosperity it could also be one of the elements that led to instability and failure. The way marriage settlements were negotiated, and the way marriages were experienced dramatically influenced the benefit the family could derive from them. Examining the Hastings family over two generations and looking at the impact marriage had on women reveals the impact women had on the family into which they had married. The relationship between women, marriage and family survival was dynamic and fluid. This thesis has set out to show that whatever the difficulties marriage might bring the family was able to use it as an aid to survival, and the women in the family were resilient enough to work within their experience of marriage for their own and their families' benefit.

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