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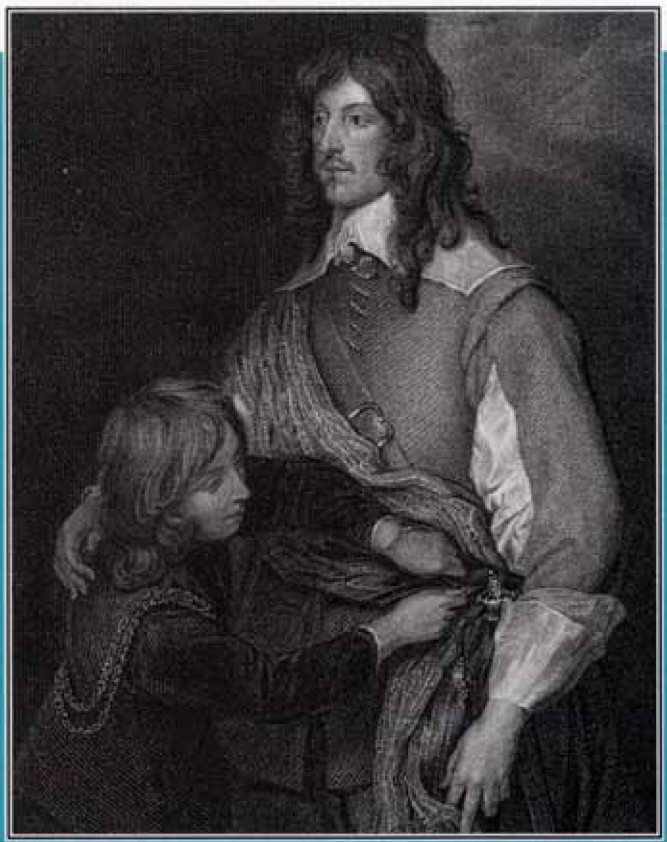
George Goring (1608–1657)

Caroline Courtier and Royalist General



Florene S. Memegalos

GEORGE GORING (1608–1657)

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Caroline Courtier and Royalist General

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Author's Note and Acknowledgments

Some 400 years ago, in 1608, the protagonist of this story was born. In the year prior to his birth, a small band of English adventurers had established a rather precarious presence on the east coast of North America at a place they named Jamestown in honor of James I. While these original colonists were men looking to emulate Spain's successful colonial enterprises in the New World, many of those who sailed from England in the following years to found other settlements were seeking to practice their faith differently from that form prescribed in England. So that the foundation of what would become my country was in part a result of the great upheavals within England, when those discontented with matters of church and state openly challenged King Charles I. In the ensuing civil strife, George Goring was among those who took a stand and risked his life and estate championing the cause he believed in, that of the king. Despite the passage of four centuries, these events still have a resonance in our own time, and the examination of one man's actions and choices will hopefully prove as fascinating to the reader as it was for this writer.

In the lengthy process of producing this study, I have benefited from the intellectual and moral support of so many people. I thank first and foremost my graduate adviser, Professor Stuart Prall, for both his expertise in Stuart history and his benevolent oversight of my doctoral dissertation which evolved into this project. For brevity's sake, I can only offer general thanks to all the inspired people who have taught me history over the years. At Ashgate, my thanks to the editorial and support staff and, in particular, to Thomas Gray, Barbara Pretty and Sarah Price, as well as to the anonymous readers for their comments and suggestions. The content of this work, as well as any errors, of course, remain my sole responsibility.

I received excellent service at various research facilities in England: the British Library, Oxford's Bodleian Library, the East Sussex Record Office at Lewes, and the West Sussex Record Office at Chichester. I also wish to acknowledge the Director of Culture, Sheffield City Council for use of the Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments in the Sheffield Archives. While researching in George Goring's native Sussex, I was fortunate to encounter a number of people who not only shared their knowledge of local history with me but also offered hospitality and friendship: Janet and Martyn Pennington, Jill Turner, Harry Goring, Ivor Graham, and the late Dr. James Clarkson. The Country Houses Association was the owner of Danny House, the Goring family estate, when I began my research and welcomed me at the property. The current owner, Richard Burrows, has also been most kind in extending the hospitality of Danny to me.

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dad, Alyce and Charles Wnorowski, without whose constant encouragement and support the book would not have been completed. I add my special remembrance of my grandmother, Arax Alice Avakian, who inspired me as a child to wonder about the past with her fascinating stories of our own family's history in times long ago and places far away.

Florene S. Memegalos, New York City, 2007

List of Abbreviations

Add. MS.	Additional Manuscript
BL	British Library, London
Bodl.	Bodleian Library, Oxford
CCC	*Calendar of the Proceedings of the Committee for Compounding*
CSPD	*Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series*
CSPIreland	*Calendar of State Papers, Ireland Series*
CSPVen	*Calendar of State Papers, Venice Series*
DNB	*Dictionary of National Biography* (1917)
EHR	*English Historical Review*
ESRO	East Sussex Record Office, Lewes
GEC	Cockayne's *Peerage*
Harl. MS.	Harley Manuscript
HMC	*Historical Manuscripts Commission*
HMSO	His/Her Majesty's Stationery Office
IHR	Institute of Historical Research
NPG	National Portrait Gallery, London
Oxford DNB	*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004)
RHS	Royal Historical Society
SAC	*Sussex Archaeological Collections*
TT	Thomason Tracts
WSRO	West Sussex Record Office, Chichester
WWM Str P	Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, Strafford Papers

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Introduction

> Reputation, reputation, reputation! O, I have lost my reputation!
> I have lost the immortal part of myself, and what remains is bestial.
> William Shakespeare, *Othello*, Act II, scene iii

The story begins with a father, whose memories of his own impoverished youth drove him to attain great wealth and social status, and his son, who grew up knowing nothing *but* the world of luxury his father had created. The father earned, the son spent. Soon the father began to fear that the son's out-of-control lifestyle would reduce the family to its original impoverished circumstances, so he sought an honorable career for his boy, that of a soldier. While the son did indeed prove successful at his chosen profession, he would never outgrow the extravagances of his youth, which would forever cloud his reputation.

The prodigal son of this particular story is George Goring, one of the leading royalist generals in the English Civil War of 1642–46. Goring served King Charles I from the very outset of the conflict and became commander of all the king's cavalry in 1644. He had acquired his military skill on the Continent in the Dutch Wars, and he was to end his days as an exile under the Republic, serving in the armies of the king of Spain. But no simple soldier was Goring who, as heir to a wealthy and influential Sussex family thanks to his father's court career, at various times enjoyed the occupations of courtier, envoy, royal governor and Member of Parliament. An examination of his eventful life would certainly illuminate various aspects of the tumultuous times in which he lived.

Yet unlike the many well-documented heroes in the royalist pantheon, George Goring has received limited serious attention. Instead, his flamboyant lifestyle has long overshadowed his achievements on the battlefield and he has come to represent the stereotypical "swearing, roaring, whoring Cavalier," as a bit of doggerel from 1642 characterized the followers of King Charles.[1]

Surprisingly, the greatest damage to George Goring's reputation came not from his Parliamentary foes but from a fellow royalist, Sir Edward Hyde, later Earl of Clarendon. Even though both men were active supporters of King Charles I, they became antagonists in the final stages of the war as they struggled for control of the royalist war effort in the West Country. These internecine clashes were still fresh in Hyde's mind as he began to write his monumental *The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars*. In the highly biased portrayal that eventually emerged from Clarendon's pen, Goring became a negligent general, ruthlessly dedicated to his self-interests, "for ambition was always the first deity he sacrificed to," as well as a notorious drinker and gambler, "the temptations of either of which vices he never could resist."

1. TT E. 109 (7), *A Description of the Round-head and the Rattle-head* (London, 1642), 2.

Early in his lengthy narrative, Clarendon warned about Goring: "And it were to be wished that there might be no more occasion to mention him hereafter."[2]

Clarendon's damning assessment, however, can be offset by other contemporary accounts offering more positive evaluations of Goring, even though these sources do not hesitate to mention Goring's faults too. In his *Memoirs*, Sir Richard Bulstrode, Goring's adjutant in 1644–45, stated that his general "was a person of extraordinary abilities, as well as courage, and was, without dispute, as good an officer as any served the King .... [But he] strangely loved the bottle, was much given to his pleasures, and a great debauchee."[3] Bulstrode continued: "If his conscience and integrity had equaled his wit and courage, he had been one of the most eminent men of the age he lived in ... and of all his qualifications (which were many) dissimulation was his masterpiece in which he so much excelled, with his great dexterity, seeming modesty and unaffectedness."[4]

Lady Anne Fanshawe, whose husband served the Prince of Wales in the West Country in 1645, recalled of Goring: "He was generally esteemed a good and great commander .... He was exceedingly facetious and pleasant company, and in conversation, where good manners were due, the civilest person imaginable, so that he would blush like a girl. He was very tall, and very handsome." In later years, the Fanshawes encountered Goring in Spain, and Lady Anne added: "His expenses were what he could get, and his debauchery beyond all precedents ...."[5]

Given appraisals such as these, historians have long been puzzling over George Goring's character and career. Where to place the emphasis? As Clarendon did, on the negative aspects of Goring's drinking and gambling, his love of intrigue and deception, his ambition? Or as Bulstrode did, on Goring's undoubted military skills? How do we interpret his actions as a commander, most importantly during the English Civil War but also in his European service?

S.R. Gardiner, in his detailed studies on the early Stuarts and on the civil war written over a century ago, was too good a scholar to accept all of Clarendon at face value, and he corrected certain episodes which disparaged Goring's generalship where Clarendon had gotten his facts wrong. Nevertheless, Gardiner considered Goring to be "dissolute and unprincipled" and "a man born to be the ruin of any cause which availed itself of his service."[6] Charles H. Firth, writing in the *Dictionary of National Biography* (1917), produced a generally more balanced portrait and concluded Goring "had undoubtedly considerable ability as a general."[7] Yet Mary Coate, in her 1933 study on Cornwall in the civil war in which she also corrected

2. Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, *The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England begun in the year 1641*, ed. W. Dunn Macray, 6 vols. (Oxford, 1888), 2:314, 315 n.

3. Sir Richard Bulstrode, *Memoirs and Reflections upon the Reign and Government of King Charles the 1st and King Charles the 2d*. (London, 1721), 134.

4. Ibid., 71.

5. Lady Anne Fanshawe, *Memoirs of Lady Fanshawe*, ed. Beatrice Marshall (London, 1905), 97.

6. S.R. Gardiner, *History of England from the Accession of James I to the Outbreak of the Civil Wars, 1603–1642*, 10 vols. (London, 1883–84), 9:313.

7. *DNB*, 22:245–48.

some of Clarendon's factual errors about Goring's command, still believed George Goring "manifested the Cavalier spirit at its worst."[8]

C.V. Wedgwood, writing for *The Sussex County Magazine* in 1935, outlined Goring's career in an article entitled "George Goring: Soldier and Rake." Echoing Bulstrode's overall evaluation of his general, Wedgwood considered Goring "probably one of the most remarkable persons in the history of the seventeenth century."[9] In *The King's Peace, 1637–1641* (1955), the first part of her trilogy on the civil wars, after recounting Goring's profligate youth Wedgwood continued: "He was later sent to the wars in the Netherlands to make good. Surprisingly, he did so: he had the audacity, physical endurance, a quick judgment and the power to inspire his men."[10]

In like manner, military historians have come to treat George Goring more seriously on the basis of what he accomplished as a professional soldier. Alfred H. Burne and Peter Young, both army officers themselves, in *The Great Civil War* (1959) state: "Historians, following Clarendon, have never tired of condemning Goring both as a man and as general." They do not discount Goring's many faults: "But with all this he was a brave and skillful officer."[11] Peter Young and Richard Holmes, writing another military history of the period some fifteen years later, concede that "George Goring has suffered at the hands of historians."[12] The authors add: "Clarendon writes acidly about him, but although he was undoubtedly overfond of intrigue and the bottle, he was a brave man and an excellent cavalry commander on the day of the battle."[13] John Kenyon in *The Civil Wars in England* realizes that Clarendon "denounced Goring in much stronger terms than he used on the King's overt enemies." While he does not refute the charges of excessive drunkenness "which cast a blight on his military prowess," Kenyon does raise a most interesting point: if Goring was such a "reprobate," how did he hold the confidence of "a strictly sober, rather prudish man like Charles I"?[14]

Among Goring's champions has been Ronald Hutton. In "Clarendon's History of the Rebellion," which appeared in *The English Historical Review* in 1982 and is based in part on an earlier study by Malcolm Wanklyn, Hutton argues that Clarendon's *History* should be used with great caution.[15] In his entry for George Goring in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004), Hutton presents an even-handed view of Goring's career and attributes much of Goring's poor reputation to the

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8. Mary Coate, *Cornwall in the Great Civil War and Interregnum 1642–1660. A Social and Political Study* (Oxford, 1933), 142, 148.

9. C.V. Wedgwood, "George Goring: Soldier and Rake," *The Sussex County Magazine*, IX, no. 3 (March 1935): 164–69.

10. C.V. Wedgwood, *The King's Peace, 1637–1641* (London, 1955; reprint London, 1956), 408.

11. Alfred H. Burne and Peter Young, *The Great Civil War: A Military History of the First Civil War, 1642–1646* (London, 1959), 54.

12. Peter Young and Richard Holmes, *The English Civil War: A Military History of the Three Civil Wars 1642–51* (London, 1974), 203.

13. Ibid., 100.

14. John Kenyon, *The Civil Wars of England* (London, 1988), 61.

15. Ronald Hutton, "Clarendon's History of the Rebellion," *EHR*, 97 (1982): 70–88.

"unscrupulous account of him provided by Clarendon." Hutton, however, concludes: "In the last analysis it is hard to avoid the suspicion that his qualities add up to a superficial brilliance, and that in war and in politics he never rose above a short-term, tactical, ingenuity."[16] John Barratt comes to a similar conclusion in his study on *Cavalier Generals* (2004). He labels Goring "the most enigmatic" of the king's generals and believes: "In the end, despite all his undoubted brilliance, which might have made Goring the greatest cavalry commander of the war, his character flaws outweighed everything else leaving George Goring's colourful and wayward life a tragedy of wasted talents."[17]

Even with these and other advances in scholarship, the questions and the debate on Goring's place in history obviously persist. Most tellingly, no major study of Goring's life has been written to date. The primary purpose of this study, therefore, is to reexamine and reassess George Goring's life, character and career, and to place him within the times in which he lived. There is a secondary story, that of his father, the senior George Goring, created Earl of Norwich in 1644, who recovered the failing family fortunes at the court of James I and set the pattern of service to the Stuart monarchy for his son to follow. Father and son gained much from that service but then hazarded their lives and estates in the Stuarts' cause. This study seeks to restore General Goring's "reputation" by reconciling Hyde's totally self-absorbed character with the George Goring judged by Sir Richard Bulstrode to be "as good an officer as any served the King."

As for editorial practice, English dates have been kept in the Old Style but with the new year dated from January. Spelling and punctuation have been updated to modern usage.

16. *Oxford DNB*, 22:1006–09.

17. John Barratt, *Cavalier Generals: King Charles I and His Commanders in the English Civil War, 1642–46* (Barnsley, 2004), 117–18.

Chapter 1

Family Fortunes, to 1628

George Goring, the future general, was the fourth and last generation of that name, born in 1608. We know very little of his formative years to explain the rather flamboyant, "jovial lad" who was to appear at the court of Charles I, the so-called Caroline court. We can, however, recreate the world in which he grew up by looking at the court career of his father, the third George Goring. Knighted in 1608, Sir George advanced from an impoverished country gentleman to a peer of the realm over the next twenty years. He achieved his ascent through a combination of buffoonery, affability, perseverance and business acumen, thus setting a colorful example for his eldest son and heir.

The Gorings of Sussex

In 1618 Sir George Goring was to write to George Villiers, Marquis of Buckingham, King James I's all-powerful favorite, requesting certain financial favors. To justify his petition, Sir George decided to bare his soul, to confide "both fears and hopes." He explained how his genteel but impoverished childhood motivated his desire to better his lot in life: "[I was] so sunken in debt from my cradle as I never knew what freedom was." He was working to provide a better life for his wife and children, so that they would be "freed from the daily fears of their ruin ... and he that honestly seeks not to prevent it is worse than an infidel."[1]

The letter raises the question of why Sir George, who represented the cadet branch of a well-established Sussex gentry family, found himself in such dire straits in his youth. His great-grandfather, Sir William Goring of Burton (d. 1554), besides serving as sheriff of Sussex and Surrey, had been a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber to young Edward VI. Sir William's youngest son, George (Sir George's grandfather), was a Member of Parliament (MP) for Lewes in 1562–63 and also served as sheriff of Sussex and Surrey.[2] In the early 1580s, this first George Goring was at court, where he participated in the jousts held before Queen Elizabeth for the annual celebration

1. BL Harl. MS. 1580, f. 405, Goring to Buckingham, 9 September 1618.

2. WSRO, Wiston Archives 5969, ff. 1–2, Goring family pedigree, comp. Captain Francis Goring (1936); John M.L. Booker, ed., *The Wiston Archives: A Catalogue* (Chichester, 1975), vii–x, xiii; Judith A. Wooldridge, ed., *The Danny Archives: A Catalogue* (Lewes, 1966), xi–xii, and Goring pedigree facing xii; BL Add. MS. 38486, ff. 184, 187, Goring family pedigrees. Among the current descendants of Sir William Goring is Harry Goring who owns Wiston Estate in Steyning, West Sussex. I thank Mr. Goring, Ms. Jill Turner of the Wiston Estate Office, and Mrs. Janet Pennington, local historian, for providing both Goring family history and hospitality.

of her Accession Day.[3] In 1584, he was named Receiver General of the Court of Wards, a post he was to hold until his death in 1594. Within his lifetime, his eldest son and namesake, the second George Goring, married Anne Denny of Waltham Abbey, Essex, and in 1585, his eldest grandson, the third George Goring, was born. In 1587, the founder of this branch of the family became a justice for Lewes.[4]

As befitting an upwardly mobile gentleman, Goring accumulated various properties, the most important of which was Danny Park, Hurstpierpoint, Sussex, purchased for £8,166 13s. 4d. Goring and his wife Mary then enlarged the existing dwelling to contain one of the last Elizabethan great halls to be built in England. To commemorate their work, the proud owners had their initials, G and M, dated 1593, carved on the ceiling in the north wing.[5] Much to his descendants' misfortune, Goring's lavish construction projects had been financed by the revenues he had collected as Receiver of the Court of Wards, revenues which rightfully belonged to Queen Elizabeth!

Upon his father's death, the second George Goring began to repay the crown a huge debt valued at £19,142 9s. 7¾d., which absorbed most of his revenues and forced him to mortgage some of his properties. As a small recompense, he was made a Gentleman Pensioner, one of sixty court positions open to men of good family and good appearance whose main function was to serve as the queen's decorative escort on state occasions. He also served as MP for Lewes in 1592–93 and 1601, and in 1600 he sent his fifteen-year-old eldest son and heir to Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge. There is no record that the third George Goring ever received a degree, but his studies probably were interrupted by his father's death in 1602. Since he was only seventeen at the time, his mother retained control of the property until he came of age.[6] This was the young man who was to become Sir George in 1608 as he started his own family and continued the struggle to overcome the financial burden left by his grandfather.

By coincidence, the third George Goring had the opportunity to make a fresh start at court. On 24 March 1603, Queen Elizabeth died, and so "did set the most glorious sun that ever shined in our Firmament of England," a contemporary commentator, Sir

3. Roy Strong, *The Cult of Elizabeth: Elizabethan Portraiture and Pageantry* (Berkeley, CA, 1977), 114, 117, 134–35, 206. Elizabeth had succeeded her half-sister Mary on 17 November 1558.

4. *GEC*, 9:767–69; Wooldridge, ed., *Danny Archives*, xii.

5. ESRO, Danny Archives 1127, sale of manors including Danny, 24 January 1582, from Gregory Fiennes, Lord Dacre, to George Goring, Esq.; Country Houses Association, *Danny, Hurstpierpoint, Sussex* (London, [1990]), 1–2. The initials are still visible in the ceiling today. Mr. Richard Burrows became the owner of Danny in 2004.

6. ESRO, Danny Archives 1126, ff. 161–62, 28 November 1600; Lawrence Stone, *Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558–1641* (Oxford, 1965), 467, 489; Strong, *Cult of Elizabeth*, 135; Wooldridge, ed., *Danny Archives*, xii–xiii; *HMC*, vol. 2, 3rd Rpt., App., Sidney Sussex College Registers, 327; J.A. Venn, comp.,*The Book of Matriculations and Degrees: A Catalogue of those who have been Matriculated or been admitted to any Degree in the University of Cambridge, from 1544–1659* (Cambridge, 1913), 294; *GEC*, 9:769.

Anthony Weldon, lamented.[7] Although the aging queen had never named a successor, her councilors proclaimed her cousin James VI Stuart of Scotland as James I of England. So began the saga of the Stuart Century which was to last to 1714 and encompass tremendous transformations. The last two George Gorings, father and son, were to be active participants in their times, serving the Stuart monarchy and reaping the rewards for that service, but eventually risking everything—their lives and their estates—in defense of the Stuarts' throne.

At the Court of James I

The first Stuart to sit on the English throne was already an experienced king, having come to the Scottish throne at the age of one in 1567 after the forced abdication of his unfortunate mother, Mary, Queen of Scots. James became a scholar and prolific writer, tutored from a young age under the guidance of the ruling Calvinist nobility to become an exemplary prince of the Reformed Presbyterian Kirk. He became a staunch supporter of the Elizabethan religious settlement and an advocate for international peace. Yet as king of England, he supported a court known for its laxness, exhibited little fiscal responsibility, and failed to achieve satisfactory outcomes with his Parliaments on several major issues to include more regular supply and a union of England and Scotland. Some critics have viewed James's reign in England as nothing more than early retirement, with the king more interested in disporting himself among his male courtiers than in ruling the country.[8] For even though James had established the outward structure of a conventional family by marrying Anne of Denmark in 1589 and having three children—Henry (b. 1594), Elizabeth (b. 1596) and Charles (b. 1600)—his deepest affections always belonged elsewhere, to his male favorites.[9]

The third George Goring's family fortunes were to be restored, in large part, through James's chief favorites, the first of whom was James Hay. "The king no sooner came to London, but notice was taken of a rising favourite, the first meteor of that nature appearing in our climate; as the king cast his eye upon him for affection,

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7. Sir Anthony Weldon, *The Court and Character of King James, Written and taken by Sir A. W., being an Eye, and Ear Witness*, reprinted in Smeeton's *Historical and Biographical Tracts*, vol. 1 ([London], 1817), 1.

8. See D.H. Willson, *King James VI and I* (New York, 1956), a thorough but highly critical study of James's reign in England. Caroline Bingham, *The Making of a King: The Early Years of James VI and I* (Garden City, NY, 1969) offers a sympathetic study of James's first seventeen years, but says his rule in England drew to a "discreditable conclusion" (13). Maurice Lee, Jr., *Great Britain's Solomon: James VI and I in His Three Kingdoms* (Urbana and Chicago, 1990) offers a more positive evaluation, as do Roger Lockyer, *James VI and I* (London, 1998) and Pauline Croft, *King James* (London, 2003).

9. David M. Bergeron, *Royal Family, Royal Lovers: King James of England and Scotland* (Columbia, MO, 1991), 3, 52–54; Willson, *James VI and I*, 85, 116; Bingham, *Making of a King*, 128–29, 197. Michael B. Young, *James VI and I and the History of Homosexuality* (London, 2000), offers the most forthright discussion of James's relationship with his favorites. Young forcefully argues that circumstantial evidence supports the belief that "King James loved other males" and had sexual relations with them. See 1–2, 6, 36, 47–48, 135.

so did all the courtiers, to adore him; his name was Mister James Hay," reported Sir Anthony Weldon.[10] In 1603, Hay, a young Scottish place seeker, happened to catch the attention of the king, who decided to find his new favorite an heiress for a wife. Among those who had entertained King James on his progress south had been the sheriff of Hertfordshire, Sir Edward Denny, who had an unmarried daughter, Honora, his only child. Despite the king's intervention, Sir Edward needed a great deal of inducement, to include a barony for himself as well as manors and grants for the intended couple, before he permitted Hay to marry his daughter on 6 January 1607. The king attended the wedding ceremony which was followed by a banquet and a masque.[11]

Listed among the nine masquers on that occasion was "Master Goring."[12] This most probably was the twenty-two-year old (third) George Goring who was Sir Edward Denny's nephew and Honora's cousin. That same year Goring celebrated his own wedding to Mary Neville, second daughter to Edward, Lord Abergavenny. They were to have ten children, six of whom survived to adulthood: George, born 16 July 1608; a second son, Charles, born c. 1615; and four daughters, Elizabeth, Lucy, Diana and Catherine.[13]

Knighted by King James in May 1608, Sir George Goring enjoyed various connections to the Jacobean court through his uncle, Lord Denny; his cousin-by-marriage, James Hay; and cousin Honora, who became one of Queen Anne's favorite attendants. In 1610, Sir George became a Gentleman in Ordinary of the Privy Chamber to Henry, Prince of Wales, and in the following year he became a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber to King James. After Prince Henry's death in 1612, Sir George served Princess Elizabeth, accompanying her to Heidelberg, her new home after her marriage in 1613 to Frederick, Elector Palatine, a leading Protestant prince in Germany. In 1614, Sir George was named lieutenant of the Gentlemen Pensioners. Even after Honora's death in childbirth in 1614 (after having had one son, James, in 1612), Hay continued to foster Sir George's career. And even though Hay himself was eclipsed in the royal affections, he remained a much favored—and much rewarded—courtier.[14]

Moreover, Goring was about to forge his most important link at court. In 1614, George Villiers, a country gentleman, just twenty-one, came to London to seek his fortune. He had the good looks and the courtly skills to recommend him to the king's

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10. Weldon, *Court of King James*, 6–7. Weldon was a minor court official who lost his position under James for writing unkindly about Scotland. Therefore his account of James's court is biased yet still of great interest. See Lockyer, *James VI and I*, 2–3; Croft, *King James*, 3–4.

11. Roy E. Schreiber, *The First Carlisle: Sir James Hay, First Earl of Carlisle as Courtier, Diplomat and Entrepreneur, 1580–1636,* Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, vol. 74, part 7 (Philadelphia, 1984), 1, 6–10; John Nichols, comp., *The Progresses, Processions, and Magnificent Festivities of King James the First, his Royal Consort, Family, and Court* (London, 1828; reprint New York, 1977), 1:104–05, 2:103–04, 108, 120; *GEC*, 3:32, 9:767–68; Antonia Fraser, *The Weaker Vessel* (New York, 1984), 9–10.

12. Nichols, *Progresses*, 2:108.

13. *GEC*, 9:772; Wooldridge, ed., *Danny Archives*, Goring pedigree facing xii.

14. *GEC*, 9:769–70; Schreiber, *Carlisle*, 1, 11, 19–20.

service. James first saw Villiers on his summer progress and within a month gossip was circulating about the king's growing attention, despite the ascendancy of Robert Carr.[15] Villiers was made a royal cup-bearer, and, as Sir Anthony Weldon reported, the king began "to eat abroad" to be in the company of this young man. Weldon continued:

> [The King] would come forth to see pastimes and fooleries, in which Sir Edward Zouch, Sir George Goring, and Sir John Finit were the chief and Master Fools, and surely this fooling got them more than any other's wisdom, far above them in dessert: Zouch, his part to sing bawdy songs and tell bawdy tales; Finit to compose these songs; then were a set of fiddlers brought up on purpose for this fooling, and Goring was master of the game for fooleries, sometimes presenting David Drohman and Archer Armstrong, the King's fools, on the back of the other fools, to tilt one at another, 'til they fell together by the ears, sometimes antic dances ....With this jollity was this favourite ushered in ....[16]

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

> At Royston and Newmarket he'll hunt till he be lean,
> But he hath many boys that with masks and toys
> Can make him fat again
> Ned Zouch, Harry Rich, Tom Badger
> George Goring and Jack Finit
> Will dance a heat till they stink of sweat
> As if the Devil were in it.[17]

James clearly approved of these "fooleries" and those who carried them out, so that Sir George Goring not only further established himself in the king's favor but also had the opportunity to form close ties to the rising favorite. Yet his growing dependence on Villiers did not exclude his continued adherence to Lord Hay (created a baron in 1615), and in 1616 Sir George joined Hay's diplomatic mission to the French court of young Louis XIII. Goring was also rebuilding his finances, for he was receiving an annual pension of £200 from the king. In March 1617, Sir George, as lieutenant of the pensioners, accompanied King James on his first trip back to Scotland since his departure in 1603.[18]

When Lord Hay celebrated his marriage to Lucy Percy, daughter of the Earl of Northumberland, in November 1617, among the wedding guests were the king, Prince Charles, and George Villiers, by then Earl of Buckingham, Master of the

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15. Roger Lockyer, *Buckingham*, *the Life and Political Career of George Villiers, First Duke of Buckingham* (London, 1981), 3, 10–12; Alastair Bellany, *The Politics of Court Scandal in Early Modern England: News Culture and the Overbury Affair* (Cambridge, 2002), 29.

16. Weldon, *Court of King James*, 28–29.

17. Bodl., Malone MS. 23, 20v. This reference was shared with me by the late Mr. John Chidell of Danny.

18. Schreiber, *Carlisle*, 13–19; John Chamberlain, *The Letters of John Chamberlain*, ed. Norman Egbert McClure, American Philosophical Society, Memoirs, vol. 12, pts. 1 and 2 (Philadelphia, 1939; reprint, Westport, CT, 1979), 2:13–14; *CSPD 1611–18*, 381; Nichols, *Progresses*, 2:255–56, 329–30.

Horse, Knight of the Garter, and privy councilor. Robert Carr's precipitous fall from grace had cleared the way for Villiers's unimpeded rise. In January 1618, the newly created Marquis of Buckingham lavishly feted the king and prince, and Sir George Goring helped provide holiday entertainment by acting in a play "of Tom of Bedlam, the tinker and such other mad stuff."[19]

"And now begins the new favourite to reign, without any controlment; now he rises in honour as well as swells with pride, being broken out of the modest bounds ... to the highway of pride and scorn, turning out and putting in all he pleased." As Weldon indicated, Buckingham came to control the patronage of the kingdom.[20] While many resented the favorite's power, Sir George Goring was among those who greatly benefitted. His growing reliance on Buckingham can be traced in the letters he wrote to his patron in 1618, most of which contained requests for financial favors accompanied by profuse expressions of loyalty and gratitude. In one instance, when asking Buckingham to intervene with Queen Anne for him, Sir George concluded: "You, who of your own mere goodness have thus taken me to your noble care, which if I acknowledge not to my last, let me die accursed."[21] As preface to yet another petition, Sir George declared: "All I am, all I have, is at your service: to say more can but repeat the same, as a whole year doth but one day."[22]

While rewards had greatly increased under King James, so too had expenses, for a courtier had to display his rank and prestige by living on a grand scale. Buckingham and Hay, among the most favored by the king's largess, became the most magnificent spenders in an age when conspicuous consumption ruled.[23] In particular, Hay's feasts became legendary for "that sumptuous superfluity, that the like hath not been seen nor heard in these parts," reported the court observer and prolific letter-writer John Chamberlain.[24] It was within this elite circle that Sir George Goring had to compete, and he showed he had the flare to emulate his patrons on the occasion of Prince Charles's eighteenth birthday in November 1618. The king and prince were at Newmarket and all those in attendance decided to bring a dish of choice. "Some strove to be substantial, some curious, and some extravagant. Sir George Goring's

19. Schreiber, *Carlisle*, 21; Lockyer, *Buckingham*, 25–32; Chamberlain, *Letters*, 2:127–29. Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset, and his wife Frances *nee* Howard, were convicted of murdering Thomas Overbury, a companion of Carr's who had opposed his marriage to Frances, a marriage fostered by King James himself. The affair and its repercussions are discussed in Alastair Bellany's above-cited *The Politics of Court Scandal* and in Anne Somerset, *Unnatural Murder: Poison at the Court of James I* (London, 1997, 1998).

20. Weldon, *Court of King James*, 39. Roger Lockyer believes Buckingham's monopoly of patronage was a workable system since there never had been any unbiased criteria to fill court positions; see Roger Lockyer, *The Early Stuarts*: *A Political History of England, 1603–1642* (London, 1989), 254–55, and *Buckingham*, 39. See also Linda Levy Peck, *Court Patronage and Corruption in Early Stuart England* (Boston, 1990), 3–4.

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

22. Ibid., f. 405, Goring to Buckingham, 9 September 1618.

23. Stone, *Crisis*, 449–50; Schreiber, *Carlisle*, 5; Lockyer, *Buckingham*, 61–62; Willson, *James VI and I*, 388; Norbert Elias, *The Court Society*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Darmstadt, 1969; New York, 1983), 68.

24. Chamberlain, *Letters*, 2:333.

invention bore away the bell, and that was four huge, brawny pigs, piping hot, bitted and harnessed with ropes of sausages, all tied to a monstrous bag-pudding."[25]

But spending and getting went hand-in-hand and after Queen Anne's death in 1619, the king promised Sir George £3,000 for eleven years from his late wife's jointure. Nevertheless, the promise of this pension was insufficient to calm Sir George's concerns about his deferred debts soon to come due. He entreated Buckingham to make sure his new pension was promptly paid, so that "forever after I shall be at ease, a pasture wherein yet I never fed."[26] Some seventeen years after he had inherited his estate, Goring was still haunted by the ruinous financial affairs left by his grandfather.

Perhaps this memory of his own family's predicament made Sir George's next assignment, from the king himself, a difficult task to carry out. As Lord Treasurer, Sir Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk, had used royal revenues to build himself a palatial home, Audley End in Essex, for which he faced charges in Star Chamber in 1619 for "misemploying the King's treasure many ways ...."[27] As part of a settlement, the king wanted Suffolk's two sons to give up their court positions, and Goring was the chosen go-between to get the earl's concurrence. But as Sir George reported to Buckingham, Suffolk hoped that the king would only "punish him in his own fortune [rather] than in his sons' final overthrow." Despite Goring's protest that he would never dare to advise his patron, "you having made me and I most depending on you," he did suggest that Buckingham intervene on Suffolk's behalf, so that "all may see your power and goodness."[28]

After such a serious employment, Sir George was back among an elite troupe of holiday masquers, led by Buckingham, who made the round of parties in the new year, with James Hay, now Viscount Doncaster, hosting the last performance.[29] As 1620 progressed, Goring continued performing in courtly amusements alongside Buckingham and Doncaster, as they entertained the king "in the wilds of the country" where he pursued his "ceaseless hunting." While on progress that September, the king even refused to meet the Bohemian ambassador who had come on urgent business, for such audiences were held in London.[30] But James only had postponed facing a growing international crisis which involved his daughter and her family.

The conflagration today called the Thirty Years' War had begun in Bohemia in 1618 with a rebellion against the ruling Austrian Habsburgs. By accepting the crown proffered by the Bohemian Estates, Frederick, Elector Palatine, King James's son-in-law, brought down the wrath of the Habsburgs on himself and his family. Driven by force of arms from his newly acquired kingdom of Bohemia in November 1620, Frederick was also losing his hereditary homeland of the Palatinate to an invasion by

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

26. *CSPD 1619–23*, 25; BL Harl. MS. 1580, ff. 409–10, Goring to Buckingham, 9 April 1619.

27. Chamberlain, *Letters*, 2:269; Lockyer, *Early Stuarts*, 86–87.

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

29. Chamberlain, *Letters*, 2:282.

30. *CSPVen 1620*, 390.

Catholic forces. Frederick and Elizabeth—derisively nicknamed the Winter King and Queen by their opponents—had to seek refuge at the Hague with Frederick's uncle, Prince Maurice of Nassau-Orange, and it was during these tumultuous events that Elizabeth had her third and fourth sons, Rupert (b. 1619) and Maurice (b. 1621),[31] both to figure so prominently in the English Civil Wars.

King James's response to his daughter's plight involved various diplomatic initiatives. His master plan centered on obtaining the Infanta Maria, sister to Philip IV of Spain, as a bride for Prince Charles. James believed that through this marital alliance, the Spanish Habsburgs would persuade their Austrian cousins to restore the Palatinate to Frederick, plus the bride would bring a large dowry.[32] A second diplomatic initiative, however, centered on renewed overtures to France, which could provide a counterweight to Habsburg power. James Hay, Viscount Doncaster, was to lead a delegation to the court of Louis XIII, and Sir George Goring received the king's command in July 1621 to join Doncaster's mission. Writing to Buckingham, Sir George expressed his appreciation for such a great honor, then he turned down the assignment! He had just put up his estate as collateral for a debt of £6,000 which he had to repay his merchant creditors "at the hour" in eight months. Sir George also used his wife's pregnancy—"a good wife's great belly"—as another reason why his presence was required more in England than in France. Excused from the mission, that August Goring wrote all the latest court news to his friend Doncaster, then in France as the English Ambassador Extraordinary,[33] a title Goring himself was to hold some twenty years later.

Sir George Goring was an MP for Lewes in the Parliament which met in emergency session in November 1621 because of the ongoing crisis in Germany. King James's embassy to Vienna had failed to persuade Emperor Ferdinand II to restore the Palatinate to Frederick. While the Commons debated what action should be taken, Sir George Goring informed Buckingham, then with the king at Newmarket, of all that was happening.[34] On 29 November, Goring himself took the floor of the House and reported that King James had written to Philip IV, requesting a cessation of hostilities in Germany, or, at least the withdrawal of Spanish troops. Sir George added that if the Habsburg powers failed to respond favorably, the Commons should ask King James "to declare unto them that he will not spare to denounce war as well against the King of Spain ... as against the Emperor" or anyone else

31. Geoffrey Parker, *The Thirty Years' War*, rev. ed. (London, 1987), 47–61; Brennan C. Pursell, *The Winter King: Frederick V of the Palatinate and the Coming of the Thirty Years' War* (Aldershot, Hampshire, 2003), 1, 102; Josephine Ross, *The Winter Queen: The Story of Elizabeth Stuart* (London, 1979; reprint New York, 1986) 74–75, 85; Alison Plowden, *The Stuart Princesses* (Stroud, Gloucest., 1996), 38–46.

32. Parker, *Thirty Years' War*, 63–65; Croft, *King James*, 184; Glyn Redworth, *The Prince and the Infanta: The Cultural Politics of the Spanish Match* (New Haven, 2003), 51–56.

33. Schreiber, *Carlisle*, 39; BL Harl. MS. 1580, f. 426, Goring, Danny, to Buckingham, 13 July 1621; BL Egerton MS. 2594, f.83, Goring, Woodstock, to Doncaster, 24 August 1621.

34. BL Harl. MS. 1580, f. 428, Goring to Buckingham, 27 November 1621; Lockyer, *Early Stuarts*, 200–03; Brennan C. Pursell, "War or Peace? Jacobean Politics and the Parliament of 1621," in *Parliaments, Politics and Elections, 1604–1648,* ed. Chris R. Kyle, Camden Fifth Ser., vol. 17, (Cambridge, 2001), 149–50.

who would dispossess Frederick and Elizabeth of their rightful inheritance. Writing to Buckingham that same night, Goring reported that with "all care and diligence" he had followed Buckingham's "directions" and had made the motion which "took wonderfully well" in the Commons.[35]

Most members knew that Goring was Buckingham's client, so they interpreted Goring's bellicose declaration as being a signal from the king. Enthusiastically, the MPs drafted a proposal as suggested but added the phrase—not in Goring's original—that Prince Charles should "be timely and happily married to one of our own religion." King James, however, was trying to use the bellicose outcry of his Parliament as a bluff to speed up the Spanish marriage negotiations—not to end them. The subsequent escalating exchange between king and Parliament resulted in the House of Commons' Protestation of 18 December 1621, which spoke of Parliamentary liberties. In reply, James not only dismissed Parliament, but tore out the Protestation from the Commons Journal.[36]

Sir George Goring apparently suffered no personal damage in this Parliamentary fiasco. In March 1622, he was pledging himself "to the death" as he chirped his constant "song" to Buckingham: "I shall faithfully watch and pray for you, and though I am not capable to serve you with counsel, yet shall I not forbear ... to let your Lordship know the truth of whatsoever concerns you without partiality ...."[37] That summer court news centered on James Hay's forthcoming creation as the Earl of Carlisle and Goring's receipt of a £6,000 advance on his pension from the Exchequer.[38] Another story circulating told of King James's visit to an indisposed Buckingham, who had Sir George Goring in attendance. The favorite was about to have a barber extract a bad tooth, but the king had threatened to hang the man who in mock terror hid under Sir George's cloak. Afraid of losing his favorite to such an operation, the king hugged Buckingham, crying "By God man, ever one loved another more than I do thee ...."[39]

Sir George's relationship with Buckingham can sound rather formal in his correspondence, but clearly the "fooleries" and horseplay continued. Nevertheless, by participating in the search for a royal bride for Prince Charles, Goring was about to undertake more substantial tasks in the king's service, and he was to have the opportunity to introduce his eldest son to the world of diplomacy.

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35. BL Harl. 1580, f. 401, Goring to Buckingham, [29 November 1621].

36. Commons' draft proposal in Lee, Jr., *Britain's Solomon*, 287; Lockyer, *Early Stuarts,* 202–05; Pursell, "War or Peace?", 172–74; Conrad Russell, *Parliaments and English Politics, 1621–1629* (Oxford, 1979), 133.

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

38. Chamberlain, *Letters*, 2:446; Schreiber, *Carlisle*, 48; *CSPD 1619–23*, 390.

39. Sir Simonds D'Ewes, *The Diary of Sir Simonds D'Ewes, 1622–1624: Journal d'un etudiant londonien sous le regne de Jacques 1er*, ed. Elizabeth Bourcier. Publications de la Sorbonne, Litteratures 5 (Paris, n.d.), 87.

Negotiating for a Royal Bride

When all of King James's diplomatic efforts to improve the worsening fortunes of his daughter and son-in-law proved futile, Prince Charles and Buckingham decided that they would travel to Spain "incognito" to personally woo the Infanta Maria. On 17 February 1623, the Prince of Wales and the favorite, with a small party, departed the court "to the amazement of all wise men."[40] Once safely arrived in Madrid in March, they were greeted by their surprised hosts, King Philip IV and his chief minister, the Count Duke of Olivares.[41] Buckingham, his continuing favor demonstrated by his elevation to a dukedom that spring, summoned Sir George Goring, among others, to join the prince. On 3 April, Goring wrote to thank Buckingham for such a great honor, promising: "[W]e shall post through France with all diligence."[42] On 22 May, Sir George wrote from Madrid to Secretary Sir Edward Conway in London, rapturously calling Buckingham the "bravest, worthiest soul alive."[43]

As the negotiations continued on into the summer, Charles's sister Elizabeth (who in all English correspondence continued to be styled Queen of Bohemia) was among those who questioned the Spanish talks. To reassure her that the negotiations were furthering the restoration of the Palatinate, Buckingham sent Sir George Goring to the Hague. He arrived on 7 August and delivered the duke's letters to "the blessed (though most unfortunate) Queen," who reportedly was somewhat cheered by these assurances. Sir George also informed his patron: "It is impossible for a sister to love or trust a brother more."[44] But by the time Charles and Buckingham departed the Spanish court at the end of August, Elizabeth had no further need to worry about a Spanish Habsburg sister-in-law. On the journey home, Charles, prompted by Buckingham, realized that he had made all the concessions in negotiating the marriage contract while the Spanish had promised nothing concrete on the return of the Palatinate. Buckingham decided that a French match was now the best policy, if James could be persuaded.[45] In addition, other allies must be sought if war with the Habsburgs resulted, and what better ally than the Dutch, who had recommenced their struggle for independence from Spain in 1621?

Sir George Goring, returned to England in September, was sent back to the Hague by Buckingham in late November. Ostensibly, his mission was to carry personal letters to Elizabeth, but, as the Venetian ambassador in London guessed, the choice

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40. Weldon, *Court of King James*, 45; John Rushworth, *Historical Collections of Private Passages of State*, 4 parts in 8 vols. (London, 1659–80), 1:76.

41. Redworth, *Prince and Infanta*, 1–2, 51–56, 99. Redworth argues that the Spanish ambassador to London, Count Gondomar, was actively pursuing the match between Prince Charles and the Infanta, not Olivares. Also, Charles's arrival in Madrid was initially misinterpreted by the Spanish as meaning that the Prince of Wales was willing to convert to Catholicism.

42. BL Harl. MS. 1580, f. 433, Goring to Buckingham, 3 April 1623.

43. *CSPD 1619–23*, 587.

44. BL Harl. MS. 1580, f. 436, Goring, the Hague, to Buckingham, 15 August 1623.

45. Charles Carlton, *Charles I, The Personal Monarch* (London, 1984), 44–48; Pauline Gregg, *King Charles I* (Berkeley, CA, 1984), 86–89.

of Goring as messenger indicated more important matters were at stake.[46] John Chamberlain confirmed how well-known the link between Goring and Buckingham was in his letter of 6 December to Sir Dudley Carleton at the Hague. "If Sir George Goring be with you, as we say he is ... you are sufficiently informed of all that is here current, for he brings it from the well head, whereas we are driven to draw our intelligence from the by-channels ...."[47] Sir Dudley replied on 21 December that his holidays were indeed being brightened by his houseguest, Sir George Goring, who had brought comforting messages for Frederick and Elizabeth. But behind the scenes Sir George was making overtures for better Anglo-Dutch relations.[48]

Besides serving his king and his patron, Goring was further bolstering his own finances. In 1623, he had been granted the surveyorship of the soap works, along with Secretary Conway and Solicitor General Heath, with the power to make contracts with patentees. In 1624, Goring was reelected to the House of Commons, and in March he accompanied Buckingham to a crucial meeting where the duke persuaded King James to give up the Spanish match in return for Parliamentary subsidies. Goring was also acting as an intermediary in Buckingham's patronage network. In May 1624, Secretary of State Calvert wanted to sell his post for £6,000 to Sir Dudley Carleton. Sir George was the chosen instrument to seek Buckingham's approval, which was not forthcoming at this time. In August, Solicitor General Heath used Sir George to ask for Buckingham's assistance in settling the profitable Virginia tobacco trade. The influence of Sir George and his patron even extended to the selection of masters at Cambridge University.[49]

Nevertheless, it was in the field of diplomacy that Sir George was about to prove most useful. The new object of Prince Charles's affections was to be the French Princess Henrietta Maria, youngest child of Henry IV and Marie de Medici, and sister to Louis XIII. Yet the negotiations, begun in February 1624, had dragged on into the fall. The French were most ably represented by Cardinal Richelieu, while across the table the two English ambassadors found themselves at odds with one another: Henry Rich, Viscount Kensington, was more willing to give in to French demands for English recusants than James Hay, Earl of Carlisle. Buckingham sent Sir George Goring to Paris in September, as Chamberlain noted, to bring about "a final conclusion of that match one way or other, and withal that the Lord of Carlisle and Lord Kensington draw not one way in that business or at least not by one line." The Venetian ambassador in London believed that Sir George could achieve a reconciliation because of his discretion and friendship with both men.[50]

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46. *CSPVen 1623–25*, 170.

47. Chamberlain, *Letters*, 2:528.

48. Maurice Lee, Jr., ed., *Dudley Carleton to John Chamberlain, 1603–1624: Jacobean Letters* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1972), 312; Lockyer, *Buckingham*, 172, and *Early Stuarts*, 23.

49. *CSPD 1623–25*, 154, 160, 231, 269, 320; *CSPVen 1623–25*, 254; Lockyer, *Early Stuarts*, 210; Victor Morgan (with a contribution by Christopher Brooke), *A History of the University of Cambridge, Vol. II, 1546–1750* (Cambridge, 2004), 371, 379.

50. Alison Plowden, *Henrietta Maria, Charles I's Indomitable Queen* (Stroud, Gloucest., 2001), 2–3, 14–21; Carlton, *Charles I*, 55–56; Gregg, *Charles I*, 103–05; *CSPD 1623–25*, 333–34; Chamberlain, *Letters*, 2:580; *CSPVen 1623–25*, 333–34.

The stalled negotiations were recommenced, so that on 10 November 1624 the marriage treaty was signed in Paris. But as the year drew to a close, the required dispensation from the Pope had not arrived, nor had King Louis arranged his sister's household.[51] To keep the alliance on track, Buckingham once again chose Sir George Goring as his intermediary. Throughout the winter and spring of 1625, Sir George practiced "shuttle diplomacy" as he crossed between London and Paris to bring a successful conclusion to the marriage treaty. Henrietta Maria, unlike the Infanta Maria, desired this match, so that Sir George's intervention in this critical phase undoubtedly helped him gain the queen's lifelong affection and patronage for himself and his son.

Back in Paris in January 1625, Sir George brought his friend Carlisle his newly awarded Order of the Garter, but his primary purpose was to obtain settlement of Henrietta Maria's household, so that Buckingham could come to escort Prince Charles's bride to England. Only in mid-March was the ordering of the princess's household completed. The French then sent again to the Pope for his approval, and Buckingham was notified that all was in order for his arrival.[52]

King James had fallen ill in early March. Despite some signs of recovery, he died on 27 March 1625 at one of his favorite rural retreats, Theobolds, with Charles and Buckingham at his bedside.[53] For the English populace at large, James had been a distant monarch. Yet even Sir Anthony Weldon conceded that James had "left all his kingdoms in a peaceable condition."[54] The Venetian ambassador in London, Zuane Pesaro, wrote an interesting epitaph for James: "He spent his days in study, in peace, in hunting. He distributed his treasures with great liberality, his servants, attendants, and the Scots having drained and impoverished the crown ...." Pesaro noted that the Duke of Buckingham had postponed his trip to France, and he communicated the air of suspense about Buckingham's role under the new king, who was acclaimed "amid universal applause and rejoicing." Charles reportedly had comforted Buckingham, "promising that though he had lost one master he had gained another, who would be even more gracious." As the astute diplomat concluded, the duke would have even greater control of policy.[55]

Contemporaries were correct, however, to believe that there would be a change in style at court, even though the personnel remained the same. On 9 April, John Chamberlain reported: "The King shows himself every way very gracious and affable, but the court is kept more straight and private than in former times."[56] The

51. Carlton, *Charles I*, 56–57; Rosalind K. Marshall, *Henrietta Maria: The Intrepid Queen* (London, 1990), 20–21; Lee, Jr., ed., *Jacobean Letters*, 313.

52. *CSPD 1623–25*, 445; BL Harl. MS. 1580, f. 442, Goring to Buckingham, 14 February 1625; BL Add. MS. 35382, f. 189, Secretary Conway to Goring, 25 February 1625; *CSPVen 1623–25*, 566–68, 578–79, 588, 619–20.

53. *CSPVen 1623–25*, 620, 623–25; Lockyer, *Buckingham*, 234.

54. Weldon, *Court of King James*, 58. Roger Lockyer points out that James's reign, unlike those of his Tudor predecessors, experienced no major revolts. See Lockyer, *James VI and I*, 209.

55. *CSPVen 1623–25*, 627, and *CSPVen 1625–26*, 2–3.

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

Tuscan resident, Amerigo Salvetti, noted that no one could visit the king without his summons. "Dignity, respectful demeanor, and regularity are insisted upon."[57]

News of King James's illness—but not of his death—had reached Paris prior to Sir George Goring's return to England on 2 April. Although all was in readiness for Buckingham's arrival, the duke was bedridden and in no condition to go anywhere. John Chamberlain reported that an "impostume" or abscess in the head had afflicted the duke who was "yet somewhat crazy," but Ambassador Pesaro saw more method than madness in Buckingham's refusal to leave England: "The real reason is that the duke does not want to abandon his fortunes with the king at the outset ...."[58] Probably a combination of emotional stress, physical illness and calculated design kept Buckingham in England. Besides, he had to be present for the procession which brought the late king's body from Theobolds to Denmark House in London on 4 April. The lack of funds in the royal treasury forced the postponement of the funeral for another month.[59]

In the meantime, notice was sent to Paris that the wedding would take place and a proxy was sent for the Duke of Chevreuse, a distant Protestant relation of Charles's, to stand in for the bridegroom. As an added good omen, the long-awaited papal dispensation arrived in France. Yet the fifteen-year-old bride, apparently overwhelmed by all the last minute preparations, left Paris to rest at a nearby spa. When news of his bride's exhaustion reached King Charles, he dispatched Sir George Goring "to wish her good health and compliments of love." Sir George could also advise the English ambassadors, Carlisle and Henry Rich, now Earl of Holland, about the political climate in London and about Buckingham's continued favor.[60]

Goring took advantage of this opportunity to introduce his eldest son to the world of diplomacy. Probably Sir George's family had joined him in London for the delayed funeral. When he received Charles's summons to travel back to France in mid-April, he decided to take young George, then a student at Cambridge, along. In a letter dated from Paris, 20/30 April 1625, Sir George reported to Buckingham that he would have to remain in France awhile longer to carry out the duke's orders, "which hath caused me to dispatch my boy with Madam's return to his Majesty's letter." Sir George confirmed that Henrietta Maria was better, and the English ambassadors would forward details about the marriage date and the party's departure from France. He estimated all would be completed within two weeks. Sir George warned Buckingham that he would be reading this news twice, for Carlisle and Holland had allowed his son to carry the first report back home, "to give George a little start before the old beaten riders."[61]

The senior Goring was beginning to think about his son's future, for he added: "This young bearer comes for the same blessing from you by which his father hath

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57. *HMC*, 11th Rpt., Pt. I, App., MS. of Henry Duncan Skrine, Esq., Letters from the Archives of Florence, 6–7.

58. Chamberlain, *Letters*, 2:609; *CSPVen 1625–26*, 11–12.

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

60. Chamberlain, *Letters*, 2:610; *CSPVen 1625–26*, 11, 20; *HMC*, 11th Rpt., Pt. I, App., Skrine MS., 8–9; Marshall, *Henrietta Maria*, 21–2; Russell, *Parliaments*, 12.

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

ever prospered. Deny it him not, my dearest Lord. I will warrant him thankful to the last drop of his blood or my curse shall follow him to the grave." Sir George also suggested that Buckingham might keep his son in mind in case some preferment became available. His recommendation of young George concluded: "All I can say for him is he is a gentleman born and the son of your Grace's creature which is his father's happiest and best attribute."[62]

By his father's letter, we can briefly place young George within his father's world of the courtier. How much of that milieu he had been exposed to in his youth can only be a matter of conjecture. But by sixteen, he had attended both the English and French courts, a small start to a future career. George then returned to his studies at Cambridge and again disappears from the public record, only to reemerge three years later. His father, on the other hand, remained very much in the center of affairs as he saw the marriage through to its completion. On 24 April, he informed Buckingham that he had visited Henrietta Maria and all was prepared for the wedding to take place next Sunday, 1 May (by English dating). In his letter of 30 April, on the very eve of the wedding, with an almost audible sign of relief Goring reported: "This great business is now done .... My joy is that there is so little to write."[63]

The wedding took place on a platform at the west door of Notre Dame cathedral, in accordance with medieval tradition. While the celebrations continued in Paris throughout the week, Sir George Goring dashed back across the Channel to arrive in London on Saturday, 7 May, the day of King James's funeral. In the procession, following the casket, walked the Duke of Buckingham who, as Master of the Horse, led the late king's steed.[64] So ended one phase of the duke's life. For the next three years, George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, was to guide English policy. Unfortunately for England and King Charles, most of his efforts brought disastrous results. In the worsening political atmosphere, besides the king himself, one of Buckingham's steadfast supporters was to be Sir George Goring, whose reward was to be a peerage.

The Rule of Buckingham

When Sir George Goring arrived back in London on 7 May, he reported that Henrietta Maria was scheduled to leave Paris on 12 May. In a quick decision which caught the court gossips by surprise, Buckingham set off for France, accompanied by a small party including the well-traveled Sir George. Even the French were caught off guard when the duke arrived in Paris, claiming he had come to speed up Henrietta Maria's departure, but the Venetian ambassador in Paris, like the London commentators, believed that there was some hidden agenda.[65] In fact, Buckingham had come to propose an immediate anti-Habsburg alliance. Louis XIII and Richelieu

62. Ibid.

63. Ibid., ff. 455, 440, Goring, Paris, to Buckingham, 4 and 9 May 1625 [N.S.].

64. *CSPVen 1625–26*, 44; Rushworth, *Collections*, 1:168–69; Marshall, *Henrietta Maria*, 22–23; Plowden, *Henrietta Maria*, 26–27; *HMC*, 11th Rpt., Pt. I, App., Skrine MS., 14–16.

65. Chamberlain, *Letters*, 2:617; *HMC*, 11th Rpt., Pt. I, App., Skrine MS. 14; *CSPD 1625–49, Addenda*, 13; *CSPVen 1625–26*, 49, 59.

were in no position at the time to make such a far-reaching commitment while their first priority remained the restoration of royal authority in France. So a rather disappointed Buckingham, whose offer to mediate with the rebellious Huguenots (French Calvinists) was also rebuffed, had to settle for a week of festivities with the Cardinal offering the greatest feast of all.[66]

There at the French court, the quartet who had entertained King James in town and country—Villiers and Hay, Rich and Goring—had the opportunity to pursue some personal pleasure. Buckingham, in particular, decided to pay court to King Louis' queen. Anne, sister of Philip IV of Spain, after ten years of a childless marriage, an indifferent husband and a meddling mother-in-law, was open to a courtly flirtation. Enter George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, described by one of Anne's servants as "the best built and best looking man in the world" who inspired "pleasure and something more in the ladies." While attracted to the duke, Anne never responded to Buckingham's more amorous advances made on their journey accompanying Henrietta Maria to the port of Boulogne.[67] This episode, however, along with other dalliances of the English courtiers in France, illustrated the continuing licentious lifestyle Buckingham and his circle would indulge in, even with the monogamous Charles on the throne. Did Charles not know that the "debaucheries" continued, as one contemporary commentator, Lucy Hutchinson, suggested?[68] Or rather did Charles, possibly because of his own shortcomings—rickets in his youth and a lifelong stammer—look to Buckingham as the dazzling man he would like to emulate? Charles accepted courtiers similar in style to the duke, as the younger George Goring was to emerge, men who were self-confident, flamboyant, extravagant and audacious.[69]

Charles finally met his bride at Dover on 13 June 1625. All the accompanying members of the English embassy had been dismissed from France "with bountiful presents." Goring received from King Louis a diamond valued at £1,000; another from the queen mother worth £300; and plate valued at £1,200. Back at home, despite the royal treasury's poor condition, he continued to collect his English pension according to "the late King's direction."[70] Sir George had done well in helping to carry through the marriage negotiations. That Buckingham implicitly trusted his client cannot be doubted.[71] Goring was about to have an additional role to play, as he came to defend his patron from increasingly harsh attacks from Parliament.

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66. Rushworth, *Collections*, 1:170; Lockyer, *Buckingham*, 236–37; David Parrott, *Richelieu's Army: War, Government and Society in France, 1624–1642*, Cambridge Studies in Early Modern History (Cambridge, 2001), 85.

67. Ruth Kleinman, *Anne of Austria, Queen of France* (Columbus, OH, 1985), 4, 25–52, 64–68; Lockyer, *Buckingham*, 240–41. This episode was popularized and fictionalized in Alexander Dumas' *The Three Musketeers*.

68. Quoted in Alan Bray, *Homosexuality in Renaissance England* (Boston, 1982), 55.

69. Kenyon, *Civil Wars*, 61. Kenyon finds it interesting that such "reprobates" like Goring "should have captured and held the confidence of a strictly sober, rather prudish man like Charles I."

70. Carlton, *Charles I*, 65; *CSPD 1625–26*, 40; Chamberlain, *Letters*, 2:623.

71. Anthony Fletcher labels Goring "Buckingham's creature treading the stairs to further office and court favoritism." See *A County Community in Peace and War: Sussex, 1600–1660*

King Charles opened his first Parliament on 18 June 1625. In two sessions that summer, the king received tonnage and poundage for one year only rather than the customary term of the monarch's life. Nor did he receive the supply he needed for armed intervention to help restore the Palatinate to his sister's family. Instead, he was greeted with complaints about Buckingham's monopoly of offices. The duke, as Lord Admiral, addressed a joint session: "Make the fleet ready to go and my master gave me command to bid you name the enemy yourselves." But even dangling the bait of naval warfare against Spain did not lure the Commons into action, and Charles dissolved Parliament.[72] The pattern had been set for the next three years: open attacks on the duke only stiffened King Charles's support of his friend, so that Sir George Goring could write to Sir Dudley Carleton on 8 September: "His Grace [Buckingham] was never in better estate for will or power than at present." The real purpose of this letter, however, was to advise Carleton that an available secretaryship was going to Sir John Coke. But Sir George reassured Carleton that he would not be forgotten, and in 1628 Sir Dudley was to become a secretary of state.[73]

Another example of Sir George's intervention occurred when Charles dismissed the Lord Keeper, Bishop John Williams of Lincoln. Williams, James's appointee in 1621, became the scapegoat for Charles's failed 1625 Parliament and so lost his office on 23 October. Just one week later, the bishop wrote to Sir George Goring, asking for his intervention with Buckingham who had not responded to the bishop's written pleas. Williams complained that he not only found himself out of office, but he was forced to live on his own resources.[74] Evidently, Sir George was considered an accessible contact who had sufficient influence to intercede with the duke, although in this instance the king himself did not relent.

Charles and Buckingham, lacking Parliamentary funding, had instead used forced loans to finance a sizable naval expedition against Spain. Dispatched in October 1625, the poorly led enterprise failed to capture the Spanish treasure fleet, while its raid on the Spanish port of Cadiz proved to be a poor imitation of Sir Francis Drake's dramatic raid of 1587. The storm-battered English fleet limped home in mid-November.[75] While Charles never faulted his Lord Admiral for this failure, the Parliament of 1626 did. But first, on 2 February, there was the delayed coronation to get through. Sir George Goring participated, dressed in robes representing the duchy of Normandy, but the queen of England refused to attend because she would not accept her crown from Protestant hands.[76]

(London, 1975), 232. Conrad Russell (*Parliaments*, 12) sees a closer link and believes that by 1625 Goring was Buckingham's "closest confidant." Roger Lockyer (*Buckingham*, 268) agrees that Goring was among the closest few entrusted by the duke to carry out his policies, but that Sir George did not help to formulate those policies. I believe Goring's professions of his inability to advise his patron were rhetorical devices, for in most cases he immediately thereafter offered his advice.

72. Lockyer, *Early Stuarts*, 325–32.

73. Ibid., 254–55; *CSPD 1625–26*, 100.

74. *CSPD 1625–26*, 136; Lockyer, *Early Stuarts*, 254; Carlton, *Charles I*, 72.

75. *CSPD 1625–26*, 100; Carlton, *Charles I*, 73–77; Gregg, *Charles I*, 138–41.

76. WSRO, Wiston Archives 5973, from the Duke of Portland MS, Belvoir; Carlton, *Charles I*, 77–79.

Charles's second Parliament opened a few days later, and the Commons immediately attacked Buckingham. The MPs were particularly outraged at the waste of men and money on the Cadiz expedition. Sir George Goring intervened twice in the debates to defend government policy and his patron. But the Commons, joined by the House of Lords where the upstart duke had many enemies, decided to impeach Buckingham. The Commons in their Remonstrance of 8 June said no new supply would be granted "until this great person be removed from intermeddling with the great affairs of state ...." Charles's response was to dissolve Parliament on 15 June 1626 at a serious financial cost to himself.[77]

Even Charles's domestic life was not faring well. Differences in age, religion and language between the king and his young bride—plus the constant presence of Buckingham—had put an early strain on the marriage. By the first week of August, the king had had enough of his wife's French entourage, most of whom he unceremoniously sent back to France. Buckingham and Carlisle (who served Charles as his first Gentleman of the Bedchamber) then restaffed the queen's household with their own female relations. While Henrietta Maria had previously rejected these English "spies," she did grow close to all these ladies, especially the Countess of Carlisle. Her new vice-chamberlain was Sir George Goring, who had the backing of both Buckingham and Carlisle. That autumn the Tuscan resident in London confirmed that Henrietta Maria seemed more cheerful and that she was much better served by her new household officers, particularly Sir George Goring.[78]

Goring was also becoming more involved in various contracts such as granting the sugar import impositions, and he continued to receive his annuities from the royal treasury while others were not so fortunate. Moreover, as the English navy and privateers began to capture French shipping when the two countries drifted into hostilities in the spring of 1627, he was one of the commissioners appointed by Buckingham to sell the French prize goods. This revenue, added to new forced loans, enabled the king and the duke to mount a new naval expedition, to be led by Buckingham himself, to aid the Huguenots of La Rochelle who were under siege by their king.[79]

Sir George Goring, who contributed horsemen to the expedition, was most upset when he missed seeing the duke off at Portsmouth. In a letter dated 25 June 1627 to his "ever and above all most honored Lord," Sir George admitted he had even ignored a summons from the king in his attempt to bid his friend a personal farewell. He also forwarded letters from the queen, with her best wishes. He added that the duke was "safe with the Queen," so sure was Sir George of knowing the queens's

77. *CSPD 1625–26*, 253; *CSPVen 1625–26*, 12; Carlton, *Charles I*, 79–81; Gregg, *Charles I*, 144–52; Russell, *Parliaments*, 16–17; Lockyer, *Early Stuarts*, 335–36.

78. Carlton, *Charles I*, 65–68, 88–89; Gregg, *Charles I*, 159–61; Schreiber, *Carlisle*, 98–99; G. E. Aylmer, *The King's Servants: The Civil Service of Charles I, 1625–1642*, rev. ed. (London, 1974), 126–27; *HMC*, 11th Rpt., Pt. I, App., Skrine MS., 85.

79. *CSPD 1625–26*, 573; *CSPD 1627–28*, 100, 181; *CSPD 1625–49, Addenda*, 211, 215; Carlton, *Charles I*, 92–93; Gregg, *Charles I*, 164–65.

mind.[80] In other words, while he was away, the duke need not fear any trouble being fomented against him by Henrietta Maria.

In early July, as Sir George prepared the queen's summer progress, Buckingham was leading the assault on the Isle of Rhe, off the coast of La Rochelle. For four months, the English failed to dislodge the French king's forces. While King Charles tried to keep the English expedition supplied, the necessary financial support at home had not materialized, as Sir George informed the duke in his letter of 5 November. He advised his patron to rethink his policy and preserve his resources for a return expedition at a later date.[81] This advice, however, was somewhat belated, for Buckingham—despite his courage under fire, as his ship's newsletter reported—had already been forced to withdraw with a loss of about half his men. He returned to England that November and was greeted in London by his family and friends, Sir George Goring among them. Buckingham then spent the night with King Charles, explaining his version of events. Thereafter, it was apparent that the king in no way faulted the duke for this new military disaster.[82]

Rather then reconsider their entire foreign policy thrust, Charles and Buckingham decided to escalate their war efforts, even though this meant resorting to Parliamentary funding. On 17 March 1628, Charles opened his third Parliament. In a more conciliatory spirit, the Commons agreed in principle to five subsidies, but, in conjunction with the Lords, the MPs wanted a Petition of Right to protect their basic rights and redress their grievances. Against this background, the king and Buckingham decided to create five new peers to strengthen their support in the House of Lords. They needed totally reliable candidates, and who had proven himself more faithful and trustworthy than Sir George Goring? On 14 April 1628, George Lord Goring of Hurstpierpoint entered the House of Lords between two barons and delivered the patent of his creation to the Lord Keeper.[83] Then the newly created Baron Goring took his seat in the house where he would serve until the eve of the first civil war.

But even this attempt to gain influence in the Lords did not gain Charles his desired result. With the Commons leading the way, the Lords agreed to the Petition of Right, which Charles finally accepted on 7 June to save the duke from renewed attacks. Besides rewarding his supporters, Buckingham also sought to reconcile his opponents. Positions in the queen's household were redistributed with the Earl of Dorset becoming chamberlain and Henry Jermyn, vice-chamberlain, while Lord Goring was promoted to the queen's Master of the Horse.[84]

The Earl of Carlisle had departed in May on a new grand embassy to look for allies against France and to find a solution to the ongoing German conflict. Carlisle and his entourage were to spend six months traveling though Europe, visiting the

80. *CSPD 1627–28*, 228–29, 494.

81. Ibid., 242, 422; Carlton, *Charles I*, 93–95; Gregg, *Charles I*, 165–68; Marshall, *Henrietta Maria*, 50–51.

82. *CSPD 1627–28*, 423; *CSPVen 1626–28*, 499; Carlton, *Charles I*, 96.

83. Lockyer, *Early Stuarts*, 227–29, 336–45; Gregg, *Charles I*, 170–72; Stone, *Crisis*, 105; United Kingdom, *Journals of the House of Lords* (London), 3:738.

84. *CSPD 1628–29*, 218; Lockyer, *Buckingham*, 448; Carlton, *Charles I*, 101–03; Aylmer, *King's Servants*, 126.

Hague, Antwerp, Lorraine, Switzerland, Savoy and Venice.[85] During his extended absence from home, Carlisle was kept informed on court news by Lord Goring, who on 19 June sent his friend the warm regards of "the blessed sweet queen, my mistress." Goring also expressed his deep gratitude to the earl for including his son George on his mission: "Never poor boy was so much bound to a good old man ...."[86] As befitted the son and heir of a peer, the younger George Goring was off on the grand tour of the Continent. His mentor on this coming-of-age journey was the master of magnificence himself, the Earl of Carlisle.

On 18 August 1628, the English embassy reached Venetian territory. The news from home that summer had been about the king and Buckingham outfitting another fleet for a return to La Rochelle. But at Portsmouth, on 23 August, a disaffected officer named John Felton plunged a knife in Buckingham's chest and accomplished what many had long wished for—the permanent removal of the duke from the center of English political life.[87] While King Charles mourned, the rest of the country rejoiced: "Live ever Felton! For thou hast brought to dust/Treason, ambition, murder, pride and lust."[88]

On 3 September, Henry Percy wrote to his brother-in-law Carlisle the good news that Buckingham, "the desirer and plotter of your ruin and destruction," was dead. Despite their outward amicability, there had long been an underlying tension between these two powerful courtiers. The big question now, Percy noted, was who would get Buckingham's various posts, for a feeding frenzy occurred at the early modern court whenever a person of importance died. But by the end of September, no positions had been reassigned. "We are in a dead calm," Lord Goring wrote to Carlisle and added that he believed the king "will guide his own people his own way."[89]

Lord Goring was correct in his assessment, for there would be no new all-powerful favorite. Even though Goring was probably one of the few people who shared the king's grief at the death of Buckingham, he had to look to the future. He was already firmly established with both king and queen; he was a peer; and he was involved in various lucrative monopolies. He had to take care of his own fortunes and those of his family, particularly those of his eldest son. On 16 September, Lord Goring wrote to Carlisle: "Let George attend you home and leave off his further journey up into Italy, for now the case is altered much since that was my purpose."[90] The senior Goring's new goal was to find a suitable bride for his heir.

85. Schreiber, *Carlisle*, 102–12; *CSPVen 1628–29*, 108.
86. *CSPD 1628–29*, 169.
87. Schreiber, *Carlisle,* 112; Lockyer, *Buckingham*, 463; Carlton, *Charles I,* 105–06.
88. *CSPD 1629–46, Addenda*, 291, anonymous poem.
89. Ibid., 291–92, 296–97.
90. Ibid., 294–95.

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Chapter 2

A Young Man of the World, 1628–1633

In stark contrast to his father, the fourth George Goring bore no burden of family or financial responsibilities as he grew up, and by the age of nineteen he was heir to a peerage. One lesson young George did learn well from his father and his father's court circle was the art of conspicuous consumption, for spending was to become his credo. He also developed a rather reckless, flamboyant attitude towards life. To play the bold and witty courtier appeared the easiest path to wealth and power, while his father's constant financial dealings probably seemed rather tedious to a young man ready to make his mark in the world.

The Education of a Gentleman

For the years for which we have already traced the senior Goring's career, we can only surmise the activities of his eldest son. A young boy of his class would have been raised initially by nurses and governesses. George would have had a private tutor for his early education and perhaps even a special instructor for a subject like French.[1] Young gentlemen were then sent to Oxford or Cambridge (or the Inns of Court) to study the arts needed for governing. Lord Goring had attended Sidney Sussex College at Cambridge where he had been admitted as a fellow-commoner in 1600. While his father's death in 1602 had probably interrupted his education, it was also quite common for young gentlemen to attend university for a brief interval to pick up a smattering of knowledge to support public careers and public lifestyles.[2]

Since there was no set age for university admission, and the various surviving documents pertaining to student matriculations are incomplete, it is difficult to know precisely when the younger George Goring entered Cambridge or even if he went to Sidney Sussex, as his father had. (His younger brother Charles would attend Jesus

1. Stone, *Crisis*, 683–84; Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500–1800*, abridged ed. (New York, 1979), 82–84. The younger George Goring may have spoken French by the time he accompanied his father to Paris in 1625. An undated holograph letter by Goring in French exists but, based on its contents, was written post-1645. See BL Add. MS. 10039, f. 75.

2. Stone, *Crisis*, 672–74, 687–90; Morgan, *History of Cambridge, Vol. 11*, 132–33; Mark H. Curtis, *Oxford and Cambridge in Transition, 1558–1642: An Essay in Changing Relations between the English Universities and English Society* (Oxford, 1959), 54–56, 64–72; John Venn and J. A. Venn, comps. *Alumni Cantabrigienses: A Biographical List of all Known Students, Graduates and Holders of Office at the University of Cambridge, from the Earliest Times to 1900*, *Part I. From the Earliest Times to 1751* (Cambridge, 1922), 2:241; Venn, *Book of Matriculations*, 294.

College.) The records do indicate that George Goring received a Master of Arts degree from Cambridge in 1626. The Bachelor of Arts was then considered a transitional status, and about two-thirds of those holding the B.A. went on to receive the M.A.[3] George Goring, therefore, may have gone to Cambridge as early as 1620–21. The statutory curriculum called for four years of study for the Bachelor's and three additional years for the Master's, but practice did not necessarily match the formal requirements. Moreover, candidates for the M.A. were usually excused entirely from being in residence. As a 1608 Cambridge regulation stated, a scholar with a Bachelor's "is sufficiently furnished to proceed in study himself." So when young George accompanied his father to Paris in April 1625, he was already "studying on his own." But he would have had to participate in the commencement exercises at Cambridge, which included giving lectures, disputations and various other ceremonies. He also would have had to submit three testimonials from clergymen that he had "lived in the meantime soberly and studiously the course of a scholar's life."[4]

Coincidentally, two men who were to become Goring's most illustrious and tenacious adversaries in the first civil war also attended Cambridge. Oliver Cromwell, born in 1599, had matriculated at Sidney Sussex in 1616, although, like the senior Goring, his father's death the following year had forced him to quit. Thomas Fairfax, just fourteen, was admitted to St. John's in 1626, the same year that young Goring completed his studies.[5]

Exactly what subjects George Goring studied or how he lived at Cambridge is not recorded. The curriculum did, however, stress rhetorical skills, which were not only useful to those embarking on church careers but also to young gentlemen who were to serve at court, in Parliament and on diplomatic missions abroad.[6] That George Goring was a man of education and intelligence will be shown throughout this study, based on his own writings as well as the comments of his contemporaries. In fact, he emerged from all this tutoring, training and scholarly study with the skills of a courtier, for he would have also perfected such gentlemanly skills as riding, swordsmanship and dancing. Much like Baldesar Castiglione's ideal courtier, young George, while still well-practiced in the arts of war, was to speak and write well, based on sound knowledge, all to serve his prince.[7]

A young English gentleman had one further step to take to complete his education, the grand tour of the Continent. The most popular destinations for traveling Englishmen in the seventeenth century were France and Italy. A young traveler also needed a tutor or mentor to accompany him, and one of the most sought after mentors was the Earl of Carlisle. His embassies, while elegant in style, were

3. Venn, *Book of Matriculations*, v–vi, xv–xvi, 294; Curtis, *Oxford and Cambridge*, 91.

4. Regulations quoted in Curtis, *Oxford and Cambridge*, 91–93, 97–98.

5. Venn, *Book of Matriculations*, 187, 241; Antonia Fraser, *Cromwell, The Lord Protector* (New York, 1973), 19–20.

6. Morgan, *History of Cambridge, Vol. 11*, 133.

7. Baldesar Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier*, trans. and introduced by George Bull (London, 1976), 21, 57–70. Published in Italian in 1528, Castiglione's book was translated into English by Sir Thomas Hoby in 1561.

also extremely orderly and disciplined. Lord Goring had an additional reason to send his son with the earl, as he did in 1628—family ties. Carlisle was taking along his own sixteen-year-old son, James,[8] who was second cousin to young George Goring. Thus, Carlisle's embassy served as a coming-of-age journey for the two cousins and heirs.

The last major destination on this embassy was Venice. The Republic had important trading ties with England, and the city itself, with its great art traditions, was a favorite stop on the grand tour. Carlisle and his party had been greeted at the gates of Venice with a hundred-gun salute. The earl was next given a public audience in the Collegio, one of the governing bodies, where, speaking in French, he exchanged niceties with the Doge, the head of the Venetian Republic. As a special sign of respect, the Venetians paid to house Carlisle in a *palazzo* of twenty-four rooms, with 120 servants in attendance.[9] Carlisle then remained on Venetian territory through September and into October despite the news from home of Buckingham's death and the alarming report of his own wife's bout with smallpox. But Lord Goring advised his friend on 16 September that the countess was "miraculously" out of danger and recovering. On 29 September, Goring assured Carlisle that Lucy ran "no danger of an imprinted face," and added: "My thanks for your favour to my George."[10]

In the first week of October, Carlisle and his party began their return journey. Still within Venetian territory at Brescia, the English embassy was greeted by the town's captain and accompanied to the palace where the mayor and leading citizens were assembled. A great feast had been prepared, and the guests were divided by rank and seated in different rooms for the meal. Carlisle was at the head table. Young James Hay and four companions—George Goring likely among them—were accommodated in the mayor's rooms. The meal lasted for three hours, as the mayor and captain reported, after which the visitors retired to their rooms where they spent the entire night "over good fires, with tobacco and wines, which they asked for and received in abundance." The next day the English party thanked their hosts and departed in six coaches.[11]

This one reception gives some indication of the lifestyle twenty-year-old George Goring was experiencing during the course of the journey. He had to make a respectable appearance—and his father would have outfitted him in proper style—and he had to maintain a certain public decorum, but once the official formalities were over, there was time to drink and enjoy the convivial company of his companions. George's original itinerary had him leaving the embassy and remaining behind in Italy. But after Buckingham's death, Lord Goring had asked that his son accompany Carlisle home. On 20 October, the senior Goring urged the earl to return to England, for there

8. John Walter Stoye, *English Travellers Abroad, 1604–1667: Their Influence in English Society and Politics* (London, 1952), 239, 259, 327–28; Schreiber, *Carlisle*, 112, 135. As shown in Chapter 1, young James's mother was Honora Denny Hay, Lord Goring's first cousin.

9. Schreiber, *Carlisle*, 112; Stone, *Crisis*, 719; *CSPVen 1628–29*, 267–68.

10. *CSPD 1625–49 Addenda*, 294–97.

11. *CSPVen 1628–29*, 347–48.

was the possibility of peace being made with France. He concluded by sending his blessing to the two young travelers, young James Hay and George.[12]

Carlisle received his official recall to England on 1 November, and it was to take him another two months to make his way home. In this interval, George did some sightseeing (perhaps with his cousin who visited Rome), for his father in his letter of 22 November to Carlisle hoped that his son had rejoined the earl by then. A month later, Lord Goring updated Carlisle on the latest court news. The elder Goring expressed his continuing grief at Buckingham's death, but he observed that the king and queen had become closer than ever. Parliament was to reconvene in January 1629, and once again the writer thanked the earl for his favor to "[my] poor boy George." When Carlisle finally did return in early 1629, he advised King Charles that if England hoped to bring about the restoration of the Palatinate, peace must be made with either Spain or France. The earl remained on close terms with the king, to whom he had direct, unlimited access, a most powerful privilege.[13]

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

New Family Ties: Richard Boyle, Earl of Cork

Richard Boyle—soon to become young George Goring's father-in-law—was born in Canterbury in 1566, the second son of a gentry family. In 1588, he decided to seek his fortune in Ireland, where he prospered, particularly after the failed Irish rebellion led by Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, at the end of Elizabeth's reign. His marriage to the daughter of an English official helped his career, and he was able to enrich himself while serving as Clerk of the Council of Munster and as an Irish privy councilor. Boyle became one of the greatest of the New English land speculators and industrialists in Ireland. In 1616, he purchased himself the Barony of Youghal for £4,000, and in 1620 he was created Earl of Cork, which cost him an additional £4,000. His wealth was such that he kept £3,000–£5,000 cash-on-hand in an iron chest at his home, Lismore Castle, in the southwestern county of Cork. But the earl's voracious appetite for land acquisition eventually brought him up against Buckingham, who also had profited greatly by crown grants of Irish lands.[14]

Buckingham was back in England in 1628 (after his failed La Rochelle expedition), and Cork decided some personal diplomacy might be the best course of action. He armed himself with a letter of introduction, issued on 6 April 1628 by his fellow Irish councilors who recommended the earl for being "forward, painful and diligent"

12. *CSPD 1625–49 Addenda*, 294–95; *CSPD 1628–29*, 356.

13. *CSPD 1628–29*, 391, 413; Schreiber, *Carlisle*, 113–15, 125, 135.

14. BL Add. MS. 19832, ff. 23–28, Cork's autobiographical notes for his son, Richard, Lord Dungarvan [1632–33]; Nicholas Canny, *The Upstart Earl: A Study of the Social and Mental World of Richard Boyle, First Earl of Cork, 1566–1643* (Cambridge, 1982), 4–7; R.F. Foster, *Modern Ireland, 1600–1972* (London, 1988), 3, 7, 14; *CSPIreland 1625–32*, 262; Stone, *Crisis,* 112, 116, 140, 509; Lee, Jr., *Britain's Solomon*, 210.

in defense of the country. He was a successful "Anglicizer," who could raise more troops than anyone else in Munster. Cork had built towns, castles, bridges, churches, almshouses and schools; he employed many workmen and had lent money to the king's service.[15]

On 21 April 1628, the Earl of Cork departed Lismore, accompanied by his wife Catherine and by his third and fourth daughters, Lettice and Joan, both unmarried, for husband-hunting was another goal of this trip. Cork already had fourteen children. (His seventh and last son, born in 1627, was Robert Boyle, the future renowned scientist.) The earl worked diligently to find suitable matches for his offspring, and the girls were often pre-contracted at an early age. The fact that Lettice Boyle was eighteen and unspoken for when she accompanied her parents to London was somewhat unusual, but two earlier proposed matches for her had fallen through.[16] The earl and his party reached London on 16 May, and the following day Cork dined at court with Buckingham and was presented to King Charles. Shortly thereafter, the duke received a thank you gift of a horse from the earl. This personal diplomacy was paying off, for at a meeting of the Privy Council on 8 July, the king and Buckingham took up Cork's grievances against the Lord Chancellor of Ireland, Adam Viscount Loftus, Cork's chief political rival back in Dublin.[17]

The Earl of Cork and Lord Goring were both at court in 1628 and would have had the opportunity to become acquainted. When did they first talk about a possible marriage alliance? While Buckingham was still on the scene, he might have had some say about who his client's eldest son should marry.[18] But once Buckingham was gone, Lord Goring would have had a freer hand in this arrangement. Could these two self-made men, Goring and Cork, have felt some affinity of interests from the very start? Lord Goring was well-positioned at court, well-placed with both the king and queen. A good court connection was of vital importance to Cork, whose seat of power was distant from London. The earl, in turn, offered immense wealth and a career opportunity for young George Goring in Ireland. So when Lord Goring recalled his son from Italy on 16 September 1628, shortly after Buckingham's death, his new "purpose" for his son most probably was a proposed match.

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15. *CSPIreland 1625–32*, 321–22; Hugh Kearney, *Strafford in Ireland, 1633–1641, A Study in Absolutism* (Manchester, 1959; Cambridge, 1989), 10–11. See also C.V. Wedgwood, *Thomas Wentworth, First Earl of Strafford, 1593–1641: A Revaluation* (London, 1961), 132: "In unscrupulous and astute speculation, in bold ventures and energetic pursuit of gain, Cork was outstanding ...."

16. Richard Boyle, Earl of Cork, *Autobiographical Notes, Remembrances and Diaries of Sir Richard Boyle, 1st Earl of Cork*, ed. Reverend Alexander B. Grosart (privately published, 1886), The Lismore Papers (first series) (hereafter, Lismore, ser. 1), 2:262; BL Add. MS. 19832, f. 29; Canny, *Upstart Earl*, 77–78, 88–89, 103; Sara Heller Mendelson, *The Mental World of Stuart Women: Three Studies* (Amherst, 1987), 67; J.R. Jacob, *Robert Boyle and the English Revolution: A Study in Social and Intellectual History*, Studies in the History of Science, genl. ed. L. Pearce Williams (New York, 1977), 7–8. According to Jacob, Robert, who early showed his intellectual abilities, was a favorite with his father.

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

18. Buckingham had worked assiduously to make favorable matches for his own family members. See Lockyer, *Buckingham*, 74–75.