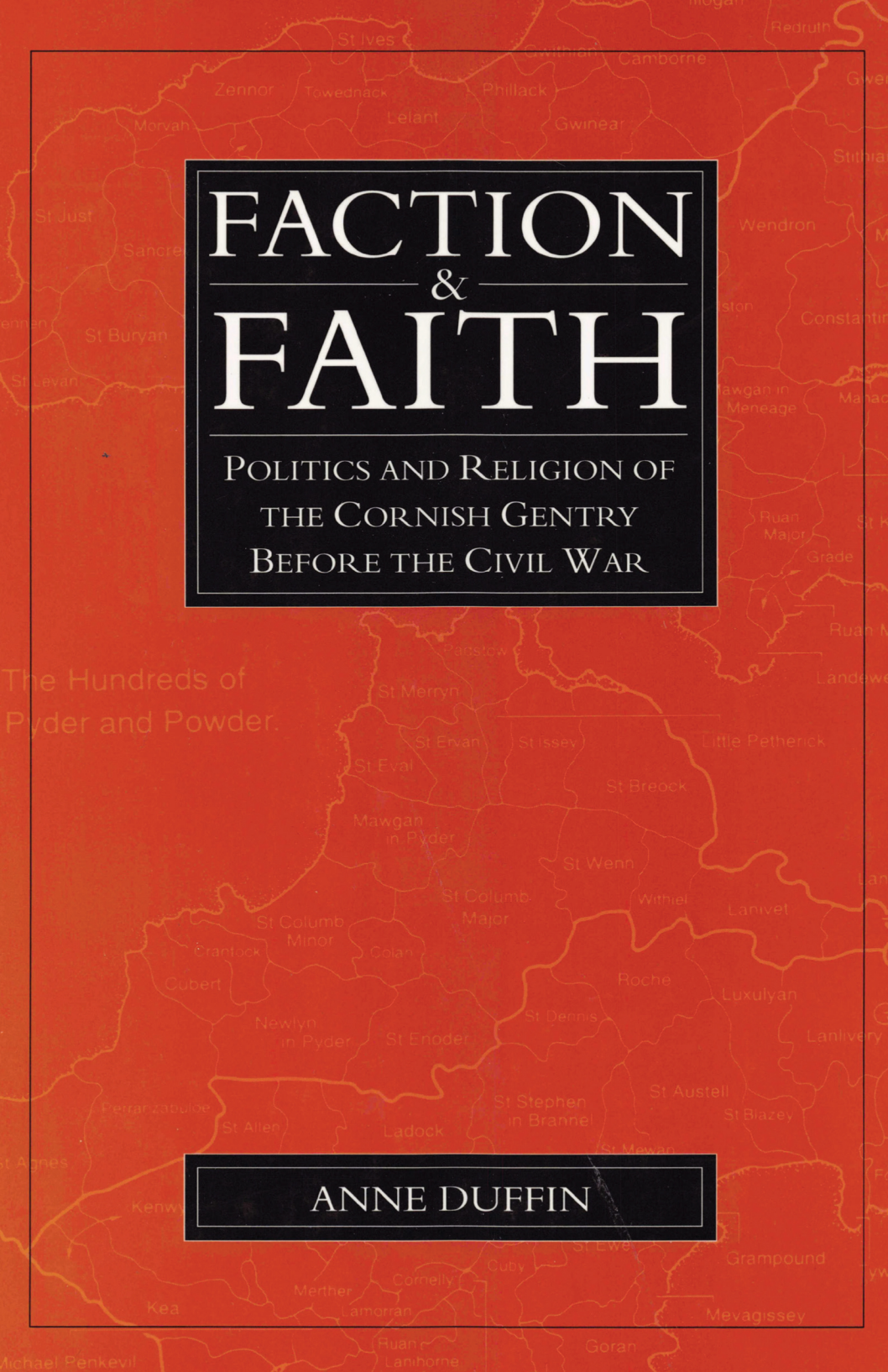
FACTION
&
FAITH
POLITICS AND RELIGION OF
THE CORNISH GENTRY
BEFORE THE CIVIL WAR
ANNE DUFFIN

# FACTION AND FAITH

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For my mother and father
with love

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# Preface

In summer 1642 Sir Bevill Grenvile of Stow was one of the most active Cornish gentlemen in raising support for the King. In September he raised a regiment, and four months later, at the Battle of Braddock Down, near Liskeard, he led his men in a charge so wild that, in his own words, it 'strook a terror' in the enemy. In May 1643, at the Battle of Stratton, near his home in north Cornwall, Grenvile led those same men to victory in an uphill charge with only swords and pikes. He was killed on 5 July at the Battle of Lansdown, Somerset.[1]

In contrast, the leading Cornish Puritan, Sir Richard Buller of Shillingham in St Stephens by Saltash, spent summer 1642 trying to raise support for Parliament in Cornwall. In September, he fortified and attempted to hold a number of towns in the east of the county. However, in early October, upon the approach of Sir Ralph Hopton, Grenvile and 3,000 royalist soldiers, Buller and his men retreated to Plymouth, where they joined with the Devon parliamentarians. Buller died in Plymouth in November 1642, and (with royalist acquiescence) his body was brought home to Saltash for burial.[2]

Fifteen years before, Grenvile and Buller had been political allies. Both were members of a faction led by Sir John Eliot of Port Eliot and William Coryton Esq of West Newton Ferrers, and they had worked together to oppose the interests of the Duke of Buckingham and of the Cornish faction which supported him. One of the central questions addressed in this book will be what made men like Buller and Grenvile support the Eliot–Coryton faction in the 1620s and early 1630s, and why they took opposing sides in 1642. This will raise a number of other questions, including what were the issues which united and divided them, and whether those issues changed during the period.

In her 1933 book, *Cornwall in the Great Civil War and Interregnum*, Mary Coate attributed the Cornish gentry's political decisions primarily to the influence of localism. She emphasized elements of the Cornish character, such as 'natural conservatism', 'legal-mindedness', 'a strong personality',

'a spirit of adventure', and 'local patriotism', together with family tradition and the retention of a semi-feudal society. She maintained that despite social and ideological differences, the most important determinant of allegiance was origination from the same county.[3]

Coate broke new ground, working political and social analysis into a narrative of Civil War events. She was a forerunner of the 'county community school', which twenty years later, led by Alan Everitt, defined and developed the concept of localism. Everitt described England in 1640 as 'a union of partially independent county-states', and echoed Coate in his claim that 'the lives of most provincial people were not simply polarized around the ideals of Cavalier and Roundhead, but rather around local rivalries and loyalties'.[4] Clive Holmes and Ann Hughes have since shown that national and local politics were not mutually exclusive, but were deeply integrated, particularly through the gentry's local and national office-holding. These offices provided the dual role of representing the government in the locality, and the locality at the centre.[5]

In considering central–local relationships and allegiance it is important to appreciate that the gentry of all counties were members of a number of 'communities' and interest groups, national and not solely topographical, and that the 'membership' and influence of these groups shifted over time. Consequently, allegiance was a matter of a delicate balance which could and did alter quickly and unpredictably in response to new pressures. This view was proposed by Ivan Roots in 1970, and has since been developed by Ann Hughes, who has shown, for example, that gentlemen from an area dominated by a certain type of agriculture, or religious practice, may have had more in common with those of an adjacent county practising the same type of agriculture, or of the same religious beliefs, than with gentlemen from their own county.[6]

The following pages will attempt to draw out the different social, political, and religious interests which influenced the actions of the Cornish gentry. It will try to show that while many of these interests had a specifically Cornish focus, they were rarely exclusively so. The principal issues which affected and concerned Cornish gentlemen in this period, notably coastal defence, non-parliamentary taxation, and religious change, all had a national impact. The local response to those issues over the period often involved non-Cornishmen, in the Privy Council, in Parliament, and at Court. Consequently, outsiders were drawn into local affairs, and Cornish gentlemen found ways of dealing with local problems in a wider, national context.

This is a study of the gentry, and more specifically of the greater gentry, in the period leading up to and including the outbreak of the English Civil War. The absence of local government records has dictated the nature

of the work, forcing a reliance on gentry collections and central government records. Consequently, the book focuses upon certain greater gentry families—the county elite—although there is analysis of minor gentry where appropriate and where records survive.

# 1

# Cornwall and the Cornish Gentry

## A County Community?

In the early seventeenth century Cornwall was relatively isolated by virtue of its geographical position, physical features and poor communications. A peninsula, lying at the far south-western tip of England and bordering on the Atlantic Ocean and the English Channel, the county occupies an area of 1,365 square miles, and is approximately one hundred miles long. Forty-five miles wide at its broadest point along the Devon border marked by the River Tamar, it is only six miles wide at its narrowest point between Hayle and Marazion. The coastline is rugged, and inland Cornwall is dominated by the moorland with its great granite tors running through the centre of the county. This rugged scenery impressed John Norden, the cartographer, in 1584:

> The Countrie is full of hills, Rockes, and craggye mountaynes . . . The rockes are high, huge, ragged, and craggie, not only upon the sea-coaste, the Rockes wherof are verie high, steepe, and harde, and are as a defensive wall againste the continuall furious assaultes of the prevayling Ocean on all sides . . . But also the Inlande mountayns are so crowned with mightie rockes, as he that passeth throwgh the Countrye beholdinge some of theis Rockes afar off, may suppose them to be greate Cyties planted on the hills.[1]

Three main roads linked Cornwall with Devon. Taking the road from Okehampton involved crossing the Tamar at Polston Bridge, and travelling on through Launceston, Camelford, Padstow and Truro. From Tavistock, the county could be entered near Calstock, and the journey made through Liskeard, Lostwithiel and Grampound. Alternatively, a coastal road from Plymouth passed through Looe, Fowey, St Austell and Tregony, and on to Penzance and Land's End. Most roads were little more than muddy tracks, unsuitable for wheeled traffic. However, whilst Richard Carew Esq of Antony, the historian, found the roads 'in the Easterne part of Cornwall

uneasy, by reason either of their mire or stones, besides many up-hils and downe-hils', he considered that 'the Westerne are better travaileable, as lesse subject to these discommodities'.[2]

There was undoubtedly some feeling of racial difference amongst the Cornish, inspired by their Celtic heritage. However, this should not be over-emphasized, particularly for the gentry. Although the Cornish language was spoken by some inhabitants in the far west well into the seventeenth century, this was exceptional. John Chynoweth has shown that by 1485 no more than half of the county's inhabitants could speak the language. Further, in the 1580s Norden wrote that in all but the two far western hundreds, Penwith and Kerrier, 'it is in manner wholly English'. Carew, also writing at the end of the sixteenth century, said that most could not speak a word of the language, which had been 'driven . . . into the uttermost skirts of the shire'. The administration of the Sacraments in Cornish at Feock, near Truro, in 1646 was for the benefit of the older members of the congregation—there is no indication that the younger communicants could not understand English. It is, however, impossible to determine how many Cornish gentlemen actually spoke the language in the early seventeenth century, and no extant gentry documents are written in Cornish.[3]

Despite poor physical communications, and regardless of any feelings or manifestations of racial difference, many Cornish gentlemen were interested in and aware of events at the centre. A growing desire for news was met by the rapid expansion of the news industry and the generally greater availability of news (particularly through personal correspondence) in the first half of the century.[4] Cornish family collections contain few official newsletters dated before 1640, but most contain personal letters reporting both national and international affairs. The volume of correspondence increased considerably after about 1620, with a far greater number of letters covering the events of 1638–42 than any previous period. The Rashleigh of Menabilly papers, for example, contain three letters relating to the Scots Wars of 1638–40, one of which (written by Jonathan Rashleigh's brother-in-law, John Sparke) reported the King's arrival in York and rumours of Scottish demands for a Parliament. The same letter contained news of the outbreak of war between France and Spain.[5] Similarly, William Honnywood Esq of Kent included in a letter of 15 March 1639 to his brother-in-law, Francis Buller Esq of Shillingham, news of the recent Battle of the Downs:

> on friday and satterday last there was a cruell fight betwixt the Spaniards and Hollander itt is as yett variously reported how many ships weare lost on both sides but doubtles the Spaniards had much greater losse then the duch.[6]

London was the principal centre of news, and many letters were written by Cornish gentlemen on visits there to attend Parliament, on business, or while staying at an inn of court, and sent to family or friends at home. Exeter was another centre of news for Cornwall. For example, in March 1636, Bevill Grenvile Esq of Stow reported to his father that 'I met at Exeter the news of the new lord Treasurer and of my lord of Essex his parting with his lady; but she deserv'd to be cast of if the report be true'.[7] The benefit of these letters was not restricted to the recipient: they were often circulated amongst family, friends and neighbours, and the information they contained spread further by word of mouth. In May 1639, for example, Grace Grenvile informed her husband, Bevill, who was with the King in the north, that 'I sent your letters and papers of news to your frends as you directed and I have sent you now a letter from my cosen Morice'.[8] So, news gathered in London was often spread amongst a wide network of people in Cornwall, acquainting them with current events, and enabling them to place their own local concerns into a wider, national perspective.[9]

Conversely, many gentlemen were an invaluable source of news and information to the government. As well as carrying out instructions, the role of a local governor included informing the government of local events and feeling, and of any problems, actual or potential, in the county. Further, because of Cornwall's important strategic position, local intelligence was crucial, particularly during a time of war. During the late 1620s, when England was at war with Spain and France, frequent communications were sent from Cornwall to London reporting the actual and rumoured activities of both countries. In March 1626 John Bonython Esq of Carclew, deputy governor of Pendennis castle, notified Secretary Conway of reports from various Portuguese, French and Spanish ships concerning Spanish preparations for an invasion. Further, in May eighty large ships were sighted off the south coast of Cornwall and were thought to be Spanish. News of this was sent in turn from the mayor of Penryn to the mayor of Truro, to the mayor of St Austell, to the constables of Fowey, to Sir Ferdinando Gorges at Plymouth, and finally to Secretary Conway.[10]

The duchy of Cornwall provided the government with a unique link with the locality. Established by royal charter in 1337, the duchy was vested in the first son of each monarch from birth, reverting to the monarch if the first son died. However, in 1502 and 1612, upon the respective deaths of Arthur, Prince of Wales, and Henry, Prince of Wales, the next surviving son was named Duke of Cornwall.[11] The duchy owned seventy-eight manors throughout the county, and had an interest in a number of boroughs. By the early seventeenth century there were twenty-one

Cornish boroughs, fourteen of which had been created between 1547 and 1584, each sending two MPs to Westminster. Eight towns had been annexed to the duchy by its founding charter, and were situated upon a duchy manor. Of these, Launceston, Liskeard, Lostwithiel and Helston were enfranchised before the Tudor period, while Grampound, Saltash, Camelford and Bossiney were Tudor creations. In addition, West Looe, St Ives, Tregony, St Mawes, Newport, East Looe and Fowey had been annexed in 1540, and the duchy's links with St Mawes had been strengthened by financing the construction of St Mawes castle, and maintaining the garrison there during the Elizabethan period. Newport had been enfranchised in 1529, and the rest gained borough status between 1547 and 1571. The duchy exercised electoral influence in the boroughs through the Prince's Council, which had been established in 1610 when Prince Henry reached the age of sixteen. The Council was disbanded upon Prince Henry's death in November 1612, and was revived in 1616 when Henry's younger brother, Prince Charles, was granted the title and lands of the Duke of Cornwall.[12]

Through the stannaries, the duchy administered the Cornish tin industry, which, according to James Whetter, employed approximately 3 per cent of the population. The greatest concentration of mining activity was in west Cornwall, and David Cullum has found evidence of engagement in tin mining in over 10 per cent of rural inventories from this area (and in more than one-third of inventories from St Just-in-Penwith) in the early seventeenth century. Many inventories revealed participation in tin mining in conjunction with farming. Tin mining tended to attract younger men, and Cullum considered it likely that the inventories reflected a cyclical arrangement whereby the younger men of a farming family would have engaged in tin mining and would have switched to farming as they grew older.[13]

The tin industry was organized into four stannaries: Foweymore, Blackmore, Tywarnhaile, and Penwith with Kerrier. Each had a court to deal with disputes between tinners, who were exempted from the jurisdiction of the common law courts by certain privileges, granted for the 'good and orderly Managing of the said Commodity . . . their good Government . . . [and] to Encourage them in the search of Tin'. The lord warden was the chief judicial officer of the stannary courts, and delegated responsibility to the vice-warden (always a prominent local gentleman) and to the stewards of each court. Most cases were heard by a steward and a jury of six tinners, and the ultimate punishment was imprisonment in the stannary gaol at Lostwithiel. Occasionally a Convocation or Parliament of tinners met to discuss important stannary issues and to devise new, or revise old, stannary laws. The lord warden or vice-warden presided,

and each stannary was represented by six stannators (usually gentlemen) chosen by the mayors and corporations of Launceston, Lostwithiel, Truro and Helston.[14]

The stannaries was ostensibly a local organization, established to ensure the smooth-running of the lucrative tin mining industry.[15] However, the lord warden was also high steward of the duchy. Assisted by the vice-warden and numerous stannary and manorial officials, he controlled an extensive network of political patronage. The lord warden had played a central role in the Tudor duchy administration, but was excluded from the Prince's Council by Prince Henry in 1610, and again in 1616 by Prince Charles.[16] This precipitated competition between the Council and the lord warden for political influence, particularly in borough elections.

William, 3rd Earl of Pembroke was lord warden from 1604 until his death in 1630, when he was succeeded in the office by his brother, Philip, Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery. Until 1627, Pembroke's vice-warden was William Coryton Esq of West Newton Ferrers in St Mellion parish; he was ousted by the Duke of Buckingham for political reasons, and was replaced by John Mohun Esq of Boconnoc. Coryton had regained the position by 1630, and remained in office until 1646. Throughout the period Coryton exerted his influence as vice-warden on behalf of the lord warden's electoral interests and against those of the duchy. The duchy's political power base in Cornwall was therefore split, and consequently its influence declined; by 1640 it was almost extinguished, while the rival influence of the stannaries remained strong. The interests of the duchy and of the stannaries were therefore conflicting, and the fact that the lord warden and vice-warden were duchy officials did not signify allegiance to it.[17]

From 1587 the office of lord warden was associated with that of lord lieutenant, and between 1604 and 1642 the Earls of Pembroke were also lords lieutenant of Cornwall. In February 1642, while retaining the lord wardenship, Pembroke was replaced as lord lieutenant by Lord Robartes. The lord lieutenant was responsible for the military defence of the county, and for mustering and training the local militia. However, because both Earls of Pembroke were absentee office-holders, the militia was organized by deputy lieutenants, who were leading local gentlemen, appointed by the lord warden.[18] Maritime government, for matters such as seizure of enemy shipping and collection of wreckage, was the duty of two vice-admirals, Francis Bassett Esq of Tehidy for the northern shore, and Sir James Bagg of Saltram, Devon, for the southern shore.

For administrative purposes the county was divided into nine hundreds, grouped into four divisions, and 205 parishes. The divisions were East (East and West hundreds), North (Trigg, Lesnewth and Stratton

hundreds), South (Powder and Pyder hundreds), and West (Penwith and Kerrier hundreds).[19] Gentry JPs administered justice at county and divisional levels, and delegated to high constables in the hundreds, who in turn gave orders to parish constables. The responsibilities of JPs increased considerably during the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but the office appears to have remained desirable, particularly for its prestige.[20] The position of sheriff was, however, much less desirable, and by the early seventeenth century many gentlemen went to great lengths to avoid it.[21] The sheriff was not permitted to leave the county during his year of office, and was unable to sit in Parliament. He was responsible for summoning juries at assizes and quarter sessions, for organizing the election of knights of the shire, and for supervising the county gaol. Since the creation of the lieutenancy, he had lost control of the county's defence, and his only remaining military power was the right to call out the *posse comitatus*.[22]

Like the rest of England, Cornwall was predominantly agricultural, and approximately half the population was engaged in agricultural activity. Pasture farming was most common, for 60 per cent of investment was in cattle and sheep, although in the sixteenth century there had been a trend towards the enclosure and reclamation of land for tillage, especially corn cultivation:

> The middle part of the Shire (saving the inclosures about some few Townes and Villages) lieth waste and open, sheweth a blackish colour, beareth Heath and Spirie Grasse, and serveth in a maner, onely to Summer Cattel. That which bordereth upon either side of the Sea, through the Inhabitants good husbandrie, of inclosing, sanding, and other dressing, carrieth a better hue, and more profitable qualitie. Meadow ground it affoordeth little, pasture for cattel and sheepe, store enough, corne ground plentie.[23]

Corn, although subsidiary to cattle, remained a fundamental element of the Cornish agrarian economy throughout the seventeenth century.[24]

The manorial system still operated, but was in decline. Every tenement or farm was leased as part of a manor (where the landlord would usually have been either a local gentleman or the duchy) and the most common form of tenure was the lease for lives. Manorial courts were still held, and manorial customs observed, but 'feudal' services were rarely demanded.[25] One apparent exception was at Stow, where in 1641 Sir Bevill Grenvile (described by Clarendon as 'the generally most loved man' in Cornwall[26]) instructed his wife to

> Make it knowne to all my neighbours and Tenants of the west side of our Parrish that I shall take it ill if they grind not at my mill, and lett the Tenants

> of Northlegh know that if they do it not, as they are bound, I will put them in suite.[27]

After agriculture and tin mining, fishing was the third largest industry in the county, occupying (again according to Whetter) about 2 per cent of the population. Fishing was primarily an urban-orientated occupation, based in ports such as Newlyn and Mousehole, Looe and Padstow. As with tin mining, Cullum has found evidence of fishing in conjunction with farming in rural communities, although rural fishermen appear to have worked only for a wage or for a share of the catch to supplement their farming incomes. Local waters were rich in fish (especially pilchards and herrings), and fish exports were important to the Cornish economy. Pilchards were exported to France, Spain and the Mediterranean countries; hake and conger to Spain and the Mediterranean; and ray to Brittany. There was also some Cornish interest in the Newfoundland cod fisheries, although considerably less than in the larger Devon ports. Of the 200 boats which left the west country for Newfoundland each year, never more than ten were Cornish.[28]

Other economic activities, of less importance, were copper mining and the cloth trade. Copper was initially mined in the county towards the end of the sixteenth century, and the ore shipped to south Wales for smelting. However, the industry did not thrive, because of overwhelming competition from Sweden. The cloth trade operated on a relatively small scale, mainly in central and eastern Cornwall. Some small country weavers wove yarn for the local market, but most yarn and cloth was exported to Devon. This trade was conducted through the east Cornwall wool markets, particularly those at Liskeard and Launceston, and increased considerably during the century.[29]

## The Cornish Nobility

In 1602 Carew lamented the lack of a Cornish nobility, remarking that:

> so for Noblemen I may deliver in a word, that Cornwall at this present enjoyeth the residence of none at al. The occasion whereof groweth, partly, because their issue female have caried away the Inhabitance, together with the Inheritance, to Gentlemen of the Easterne parts: and partly, for that their issue male, little affecting so remote a corner, liked better to transplant their possessions neerer to the heart of the Realme. Elder times were not so barraine.[30]

By the late 1620s the position had altered, and Cornwall possessed two peers, born, bred, and resident in the county. These two, Richard, 1st Baron Robartes of Truro, and John, 1st Baron Mohun of Okehampton, had very different backgrounds, and each had acquired his peerage in a very different way.

Richard Robartes was the only son and heir of a wealthy Truro merchant and usurer. Like his father, Richard traded in wool and tin, but in 1598 married Frances, daughter and coheir of John Hender Gent of Boscastle, which brought him into gentry circles. Sheriff of Cornwall in 1614, he was knighted in November 1616, paying £12,000 for the honour. One contemporary observer remarked, 'Richard Roberts, a rich Cornishman, who covets a knighthood, has lent the King £12,000 without interest; more such Robertses wanted'.[31] In 1620 Robartes bought the manor and advowson of Lanhydrock, near Bodmin, where he built a family seat, described by Pevsner as 'the grandest [house] in Cornwall and certainly the grandest [house] of its century'.[32] Created a baronet in July 1621, Robartes was raised to the peerage on 26 January 1625 when he purchased the title Baron Robartes of Truro from the Duke of Buckingham for a further £10,000. In June 1626, when Buckingham was impeached by the House of Commons, the ninth article accused him of forcing Robartes to purchase his peerage, and Robartes confirmed this charge in his own deposition. Buckingham challenged the allegation, claiming that the title had been procured at Robartes' own request, and that he had previously offered substantially more for it.[33] Frances Robartes died in 1626, and her husband in April 1634: both were buried at Lanhydrock.[34]

Richard was succeeded by his son John, born in 1606. John received a Puritan education from his mother, before matriculating at Exeter College, Oxford, in 1625. He was influenced there by the Calvinist theologian and rector of the college, Dr Prideaux, with whom his mother corresponded about his education.[35] In April 1630 Robartes married Lucy, second daughter of the leading Puritan, Robert Rich, 2nd Earl of Warwick. His connection with Warwick continued when, between May 1646 and April 1647, he married his second wife, Letitia Isabella, daughter of Sir John Smith of Bidborough, Kent, and whose mother was Isabella, daughter of Robert Rich, 1st Earl of Warwick, and sister to the 2nd Earl.

Robartes took his seat in the Lords on 13 April 1640, at the opening of the Short Parliament.[36] Between 1640 and 1642 he was allied with other Puritans in Parliament in promoting godly reform in the Church of England, although he did not favour the abolition of episcopacy.[37] In 1642 he took up arms for Parliament, as colonel of a foot regiment in Essex's army, and in 1644 became a field-marshal. He encouraged Essex to enter Cornwall in 1644, advising him of the advantages to be gained from

*Plate 1. John, 1st Lord Robartes*

securing the county, believing that his own presence would win many Cornishmen for Parliament. This resulted in the calamitous parliamentarian defeat at Lostwithiel at the end of August, following which Robartes and Essex escaped to Plymouth in a fishing boat, leaving their troops to surrender.[38] A few days later Robartes was appointed governor of Plymouth, and continued in that office until April 1645 when the Self-Denying Ordinance forced him to resign. Robartes returned to the Lords and joined Essex's faction, which advocated a Presbyterian settlement, and was opposed to the New Model Army.[39] During the Interregnum Robartes withdrew from national affairs, but he assumed a prominent role in central government after the Restoration. In 1679 he was created Viscount Bodmin and Earl of Radnor. He died at his London home in 1685, and was buried at Lanhydrock.[40]

John Mohun was born at the family seat of Boconnoc in about 1592, the second but first surviving son and heir of Sir Reginald Mohun and of his second wife Philippa, daughter of Sir John Hele of Wembury, Devon. John was educated at Exeter College, Oxford, matriculating in 1605 at the age of thirteen. He graduated three years later, and was admitted to the Middle Temple in 1611. In about 1617 he married Cordelia, widow of Sir Roger Aston of Cranford, Middlesex, and daughter of Sir John Stanhope of Shelford, Nottinghamshire. Mohun served as MP for the family borough of Grampound in 1624 and 1625, and was added to the Cornish commission of the peace in May 1625. During the mid and late 1620s, with Sir James Bagg of Saltram, Devon, Mohun led a Cornish gentry faction which owed allegiance to the Duke of Buckingham. Through service to Buckingham in Cornwall, and through Bagg's influence with the Duke, Mohun was created Baron Mohun of Okehampton on 15 April 1628. Cordelia died in October 1639 and in December Mohun succeeded his father as 2nd Baronet. Lord Mohun died on 28 March 1641, and was succeeded by his son and heir, Warwick.[41]

Warwick Mohun was born in 1620. Nothing is known of his education, but like his father he married exogamously, his wife being Catherine, daughter of one Wells of Twyford, Hampshire.[42] He represented Grampound in the Short Parliament of April 1640, and took his seat in the House of Lords in May 1641.[43] He had absented himself from the House by February 1642, stating that the tumults in Westminster made him fear for his safety.[44]

That summer Mohun was one of the most active commissioners of array in Cornwall, raising support for the King. In the early autumn he rode to Oxford, where the King granted him a joint commission with Sir Ralph Hopton, Sir John Berkeley and Colonel Ashburnham to command the western forces.[45] However, Clarendon wrote that:

*Plate 2. John, 1st Lord Mohun of Boconnoc*

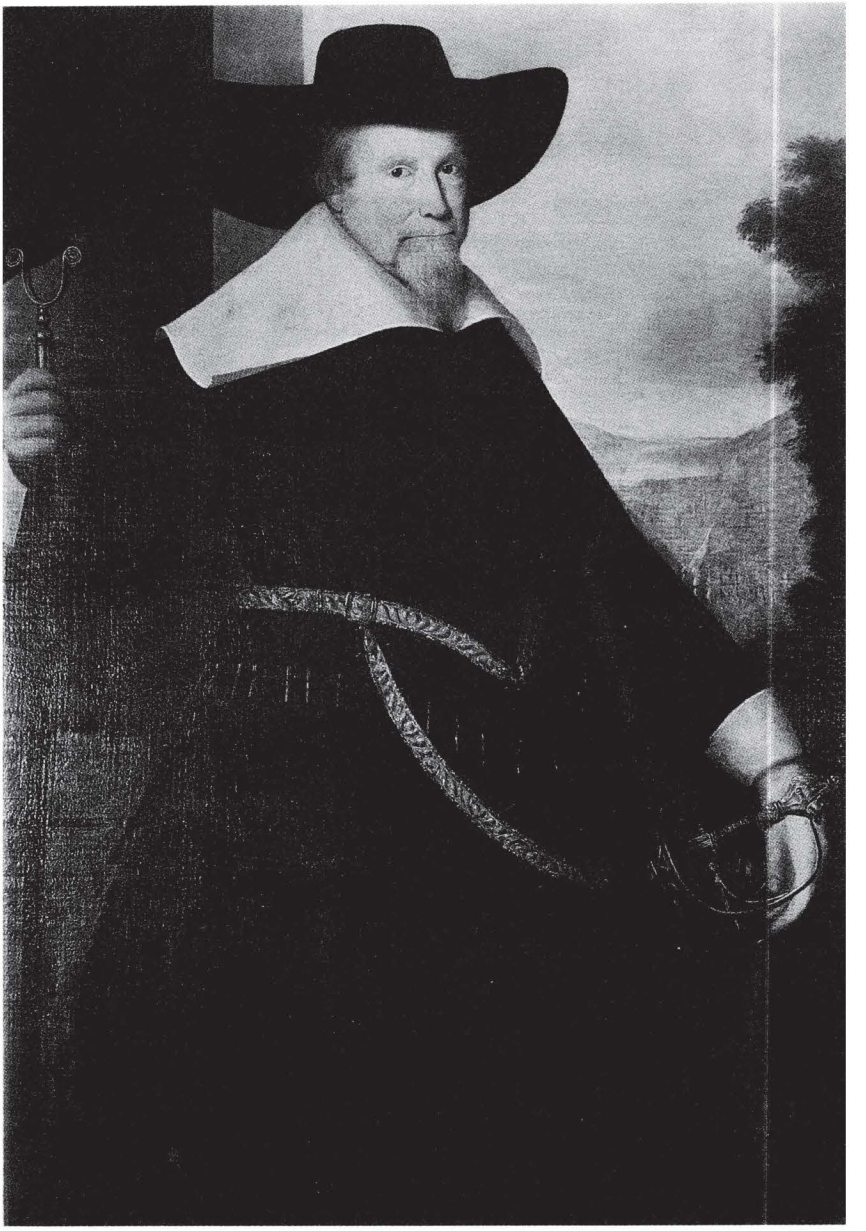

*Plate 3. Sir Reginald Mohun Bt of Boconnoc*

> The lord Mohun (who had departed from York from the King with all professions of zeal and activity in his service) had from the time of the first motion in Cornwall forborne to join himself to the King's party, staying at home at his own house, and imparting himself equally to all men of several constitutions, as if he had not been sufficiently informed which party to adhere to.

According to Clarendon it was only after the parliamentarians had been driven out of Cornwall, and he heard that the King had not been defeated at Edgehill in October 1642, that Mohun set out; further, he claimed that it was commonly believed that Mohun had intended to ride for London and Parliament if he had not found the King in a good position.[46] Clarendon's account of Mohun's actions and motives bears no relation to other reports, and was probably derived from personal dislike, since Clarendon lost no opportunity of vilifying him in later years.[47] Mohun resigned his commission in September 1643, and in 1644 sat in the Upper House of the Oxford Parliament (called by Charles to vote supply for the spring campaign). Mohun surrendered to Fairfax at Bodmin in February 1646 and compounded for his estate for a fine of £2090.17*s*.10*d*.[48]

A third peer, Charles Lord Lambert, was active in Cornwall during the 1620s and 1630s. Lambert, who succeeded his father in 1618 as 2nd Baron Lambert, was born in Ireland in 1600, and was educated at Cambridge. In 1625 he married Jane, daughter of Richard, 1st Baron Robartes, and sister of John; he represented Bossiney in the Parliaments of 1626 and 1628–29. Lambert was appointed governor of County Cavan and the town of Kells in 1627, took his seat in the Irish House of Lords in 1634, and sat on the Irish Privy Council. He raised a regiment of 1,000 foot in November 1641 to suppress the Catholic rebels, and became a notable commander. Jane Lady Lambert died in 1655 and her husband in 1660; both were buried in St Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin.[49]

Lord Lambert's position in Cornish affairs is difficult to establish. He was resident possibly from the end of 1623, and certainly from 1626, until at least 1633–34 (and probably until 1636), and he was very active during that period.[50] It was clearly through the Robartes connection that he represented Bossiney in two Parliaments. In 1628 Lambert was involved in a subsidy dispute in Pyder hundred. A fierce quarrel erupted between Nicholas Borlase and Edward Coswarth, the two subsidy commissioners for that hundred, because Coswarth refused to enter Lambert's name in the subsidy book. Borlase reported the matter to the Privy Council, but Lambert claimed that this was vindictive, as he had previously taken examinations against Borlase 'who is a recusant and a dangerous fellow'. He insisted that he was exempt from the subsidy in Cornwall, as he was