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THE
DEVON CARYS

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VOLUME II



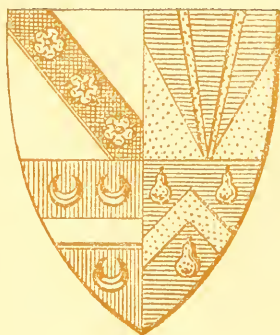
SIR LUCIUS CARY

1610-1643

SECOND VISCOUNT FALKLAND, SECRETARY OF STATE

The
DEVON CARYS

IN TWO VOLUMES



VOLUME II,

PRIVATELY PRINTED
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PART TWO
(CONTINUED)



CARY IN THE PEERAGE




CHAPTER SIXTEEN

FALKLAND

The second son of Thomas Cary, "of Chilton Foliot," SIR JOHN CARY (1491?-1552), is called in the Visitation pedigrees¹ "of Plashey" in Essex, where he was doubtless sometime deputy for his younger brother William while the latter was constable for the crown of that ancient stronghold of the Mandevilles, earls of Essex,² but he describes himself in his will as "of Hounesdon in

¹ Vivian, 154, where he appears as the eldest son, but we have shown (*ante*, p. 308), by the contemporary pedigree of 1505, that "Edward Cary de London" preceded him. Colonel Vivian did not pursue the Falkland pedigree as he did that of the Hunsdons, so that for them it is necessary to go back to the compilation made by Mr. Robinson in 1866 (*H. & G.*, iii, 39). This admirable piece of work had the distinction of being the first to record the descent of the present viscounts from a younger son of the first. The parchment of 1701 terminated its Falkland record with the extinction of the elder line on the death of the fifth viscount in 1694, ignoring Patrick Cary's son, so that until Mr. Robinson published his study the then current peerages (*e.g.*, Burke and Debrett) made out that the sixth viscount was a son of the fifth. Again, on the death of the tenth viscount in 1884 without surviving issue, there was a current belief, which is recorded by Colonel Vivian, that the Falkland line was extinct. The devolutions of 1694 and 1884 which had thus confused the genealogists, as well as the latest descents, are explained and correctly set forth in G. E. C., *Complete Peerage*, new ed. by Vicary Gibbs.

² *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, iv, 4413. Pleshy, as the name is properly spelled, passed by marriage from the Mandevilles to the Bohuns and was the favorite seat of Thomas of



the county of Hertford.”¹ He began the tradition of his descendants of service in the royal navy. The first record of him, after his appearance in the pedigree of 1505, is as captain of a king's ship, *The Katherine Galley*, cruising in the Channel between the Cinque Ports and Jersey in July, 1522, during Henry VIII's first war with François I; near the end of the reign, in September, 1542, he appears at sea again as vice-admiral commanding the transports on the east coast in support of the Duke of Norfolk's expedition against Scotland.²


His brother William's marriage had opened up to him also a career at court, and we find him enrolled as a groom of the privy chamber in 1526 and thenceforth in other minor court functions throughout the reign of Henry VIII.³ This relation gave him the opportunity of prudent marriage. He postponed that step until he had passed forty, but when he did marry it was to assure the future of his descendants.

During the reign of Henry VII Edmund Denny had come up to London from Cheshunt in Hertfordshire to seek his fortune. He became a clerk in the exchequer; in 1504 was raised to Woodstock, the restless Duke of Gloucester, *temp.* Richard II, whose wife was a Bohun. Becoming a crown estate as part of the inheritance of Henry IV, it was attached to the Duchy of Lancaster, where it remained until the reign of Edward VI. (See Morant, *Essex*.)

¹ The will is calendared in *H. & G.*, iii, 51, from the register of the Bishop of London's Commissary Court.

² *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, iii, 2296; xvii, 840. See also Alexander, *Political History of England*, v, 241, 456.

³ *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, iv, p. 863 and *passim*.




the ancient office of king's remembrancer (the chief accounting officer of the royal revenue); and in 1513 was promoted to be fourth baron of the exchequer, in which post he continued until his death in 1520.¹ He left among other children a son, Sir Anthony Denny (1501-1549), who was educated at Cambridge, and early in life succeeded his father as king's remembrancer. Winning the regard of Henry VIII he was made groom of the stole (otherwise first gentleman of the bedchamber) and thus was in an excellent position to seek a favorite courtier's share of the spoils of the dissolved monasteries. He seems to have taken full advantage of his opportunity, and acquired twenty thousand acres of land in Hertfordshire, then the richest and most highly cultivated county in England.² One of his sisters, Joyce Denny, had married William Walsingham, a successful and prosperous lawyer in London, and in 1534 was left a "warm" widow at the age of thirty-four with several daughters and an only son, Francis Walsingham (1530-1590), destined to become Elizabeth's principal secretary of state.³

¹ Foss, *Judges of England*, 219.

² Sir Anthony Denny was, however, not a mere courtier and spoilsman, but had a character which was respected by his contemporaries. Roger Ascham says that his whole time and cares were occupied with religion, learning, and affairs of state; Bishop Burnet says that when Henry VIII was on his death-bed, Denny had the honesty and courage to put him in mind of his approaching end and desired him to raise his thoughts to heaven, to think of his past life, and to call on God for mercy. See his portrait and a sympathetic appreciation of him in Lodge, *Portraits*, vol. i.

³ See her will, P.C.C. *Loftes*, 3.



John Cary married the widow Walsingham, probably in 1535, for we find him joined with her as his wife in one of the earliest grants (July 21, 1536) of property of the dissolved monasteries, that of the priory of Thremhall, co. Essex.¹ Thus was Anthony Denny able to provide for his sister as well as for himself; and thus did John Cary establish himself in the world, for at the time of his marriage his father was alive and in possession of his property: his appeal to the widow Walsingham must have been purely personal.


The grant of Thremhall was not the only favor which was procured for his brother-in-law by Sir Anthony Denny. That courtier held Henry VIII's esteem to the end and was made one of the executors of his will, being therein named one of the sixteen guardians for his son and successor.² In this relation Denny was able, within a month after the accession of the boy king in 1547, to have John Cary dubbed a knight by Edward VI.³

It is not clear where Sir John Cary lived during the remaining five years of his life: it may have been at Thremhall, where his widow certainly lived later, or it may have been at some of

¹ Thremhall was a priory of Austin Canons (or "black" canons) which was suppressed by the Act of Parliament of 1536. Its annual revenue was returned at £60 18s 7½d. See John Bacon, *Liber Regis*, 1786, and Gairdner, *The English Church in the Sixteenth Century*.

² See the king's will in Froude, *Henry VIII*, iii, 418.

³ "Knightes of the Carpett dubbed by the Kinge 22^d day of Feb. in the aforesaid 1st yere of his reyne . . . Sir John Cary." (Metcalfe, *Book of Knights*.)



the various leasehold estates in Essex and Herts, which it appears by his will he acquired during these years. At all events he was living at Hunsdon as an officer of the crown when he died in September, 1552, and there in Hunsdon Church he was buried,¹ the first Cary to be associated with the honour which subsequently gave their title to the Boleyn descendants, bearing the name not of this Sir John, but of his younger brother.

By his wife Joyce Sir John Cary had two sons, Wymond,² born in 1538, and Edward, born (probably) the following year. These boys grew up with their half-brother Francis Walsingham, who was not more than six years of age at the time of his mother's second marriage. It is the distinction of this Sir John Cary that he had the rule and discipline of the future statesman during his formative years.³

Both the sons of Sir John Cary "of Plashey" set up in life, like their father, as "farmers" of royal manors; both followed their father's ex-

¹ See the Hunsdon parish register. In Mr. Robinson's calendar the date of the burial is entered September 8, 1551, an obvious mistake as to the year, for Sir John Cary's will is clearly dated August 20, 1552. (*H. & G.*, iii, 46, 51.)

² He was apparently named after Sir Wymond Carew of Antony, Cornwall, husband of his mother's sister Martha, whose grandson was Thomas Carew (1595?-1631?) the poet.

³ The household was zealously Protestant: Walsingham felt this so strongly that he left England on the accession of Queen Mary. We have, however, in respect of this family a curious evidence of the ceremonial compromises incident to the change of faith. The Dame Joyce Cary survived until after Elizabeth's accession: her will is dated November 10, 1560, and was proved by her son Francis Walsingham on January 30, 1561. She directed that she

ample and married rich widows; and both shared in the contemporary prosperity of the gentry, which was due to the increase of rents incident to the inflation of agricultural prices following an expansion of the volume of silver in circulation; finally, to complete the parallel, both were knighted and both lived to a ripe old age.¹


The younger brother, SIR EDWARD CARY (1539-1618) of Aldenham, co. Herts, came of age early in the reign of Queen Elizabeth and the same year secured a lease of the royal manor of Great Berkhamstead, co. Herts, where he built the still existing Berkhamstead House out of the dilapidated masonry of the ancient castle.²

should be "buried in the parish church of Aldermanbury, in London, beside my late husband Walsingham." Her funeral was apparently furnished by Henry Machyn (1498?-1563?), the London merchant tailor, who eked out his livelihood by serving in the capacity we now term "undertaker." Machyn was a staunch Catholic and resented the curtailment of the offices of the Roman Church. In the surviving fragments of his diary (*Camden Society Publications*, 1848) there is the following entry in the year 1559; we are unable to reconcile the confusion of dates:

"The vi day of Aprell [1559] was bered at [Saint Clements] without Tempyll bare, my lady Cary the [wyff of Sir John] Cary and the wyff also of Master Walsingham . . . with ij whyt branchys and iiij gret tapurs and fo[ur] staff torchys, and ij dozen and di. skochyons of armes [without] masse and or communion."

¹ The elder, SIR WYMOND CARY (1538-1612), died without issue, having lived under five princes, a country gentleman who sought no court favors. He was buried at Snettisham, co. Norfolk, the manor he had farmed of Queen Elizabeth and James I, and divided his property between his nephews. See his will, P.C.C. *Fenner*, 28, and that of his widow, P.C.C. *Lawe*, 12. Snettisham was afterwards granted to the first Lord Falkland by James I, to be held in socage, by fealty.

² Andrews, *Bygone Hertfordshire*, 1898, and Standing, *Memorials of Old Hertfordshire*, 1905. Great Berkhamstead is a spot rich in associations of English history. Standing on the Roman way of Akeman Street, at the foot of a valley leading into the Chilterns,




About 1575 he married the widow of the second Baron Paget of Beaudesert, a daughter of Sir Henry Knyvet, who was a younger son of the Knyvets of Buckenham, co. Norfolk,¹ and in 1588 purchased the manor of Aldenham, co. Herts, which was thenceforward the chief resi-

it is a strategic position which was occupied successively as a Roman camp and an Anglo-Saxon stronghold. Here William the Conqueror received the submission of the *æltan* and agreed to his election as king of the English. The Norman keep, built by the Conqueror's half-brother, Robert of Cornwall, Count of Mortain, was granted by Henry II to Thomas à Becket and by him greatly enlarged; Edward II granted it to Piers Gaveston; later it was the residence of the Black Prince, and for a time of Geoffrey Chaucer as clerk of the works. Both Henry VI and Edward IV occupied Berkhamstead Castle during the Wars of the Roses, but it was then abandoned, fell into decay, and had become a pile of ruins when Sir Edward Cary built an Elizabethan manor-house out of the old material.

¹The Knyvets anciently seated in Northamptonshire had produced a sterling lawyer, Sir John Knyvet, who was chancellor of England under Edward III. By the marriage of an heiress they acquired Buckenham Castle in Norfolk, the fee and keep founded at the Conquest by William de Albini *Pincerna*, but they rose chiefly by robustious energy at the court of Henry VIII. (Blomefield, *Norfolk*, i, 379.)

Our only human glimpse of the "Dame Katherine Lady Paget" (as she calls herself in her will, P.C.C. *Swan*, 30) is in her old age and in the always doubtful relation of a mother-in-law. The year after her son Henry's marriage to Elizabeth Tanfield, while he was a prisoner in Spain and she still living with her mother, Lady Paget "must needs have her to her, and her friends not being able to satisfy the mother-in-law with any excuse were fain to send her . . . ; the mother-in-law having her, and being one that loved much to be humoured, and finding her not to apply herself to it, used her very hardly, so far at least as to confine her to her chamber, which she little cared for, but entertaining herself with reading, the mother-in-law took away all her books, with commands to have no more brought her." (*The Lady Falkland*, 8.) It would not be fair to judge Lady Paget by this statement written years afterwards by one of Lady Falkland's daughters, who was seeking to make her mother's whole life that of an injured heroine, a sort of Cherubina de Willoughby; moreover, we know that Elizabeth Tanfield was a most exasperating person.



dence of his family for more than half a century.¹ Unlike his brother Wymond, he became a courtier, was groom of the privy chamber and master of the jewel-house to Elizabeth, with all that that implied of opportunity to secure a courtier's favors. Thus he was keeper of Marylebone Park, and when Sir John Neville's estates were confiscated after the "rising in the north" in 1569, Edward Cary secured from the queen the grant of Neville's manor of Hunslet,² near Leeds, in Yorkshire; again, in 1571 he secured a lease of the royal manor of Minster³ in the Isle of Thanet, Kent. Finally in 1596 he was

¹ The first Cary whose name appears in connection with Aldenham is "Edward Cary de London," who was buried in 1567. (See *ante*, p. 308.) His appearance on the Aldenham parish register long before that manor became a Cary estate is like that of Sir John Cary "of Plashey" on the parish register of Hunsdon long before it was acquired by the Hunsdons. Aldenham was sold by the second Lord Falkland in 1642.

² Hunslet was an ancient seat of the Gascoignes, from whom sprang Henry IV's chief justice, and from them passed to the Nevilles by marriage. See the description of the manor with pedigrees of its lords in Thoresby, *Ducatus Leodiensis* (1715), 174, 581. Here it appears that Edward Cary settled Hunslet upon his second son Philip, who "with John Cary, Esq., his son and heir, sold all the Lands, Mills and Wastes to the inhabitants," so that when Thoresby wrote the lordship was held in common by four families, Baynes, Cowper, Fenton, and Lloyd.

Thoresby's copious Cary pedigree was "extracted from a large MS. of Sir William Segar," Garter King-of-Arms, who died in 1633; it follows the 1620 Visitation pedigree and was extended down to 1715, especially to emphasize the marriage of Charlotte Carey of the Hunsdon family with Bryan Fairfax, Thoresby's friend. This entry of the first Fairfax-Cary marriage was, about 1760, annotated with exclamation points, when the copy of Thoresby, now *penes me*, was studied at Belvoir on the Potomac after two Fairfaxes of that household had married Virginia Carys.

³ See H. W. Aldred, *The Manor of Minster*, 1889. In 1611 James I granted the reversion of this estate to Edward Cary's


knighted.¹ In these facts we can trace the potent and persistent influence of his half-brother Walsingham throughout his career; but he maintained his own position at James I's court.

Sir Edward Cary had nine children. He married all of the six daughters well and thereby greatly widened what in Virginia is called "the connection";² but the best evidence of his enlightened merit and of the position the family had taken is that he gave his three sons the largest opportunity for education. In August, 1590, they were all entered at Gray's Inn, being then of the ages of fourteen, thirteen, and eleven; three son Sir Philip, from whom it passed to his son John Cary of Stanwell, as appears from his will (1686, P.C.C. *Lloyd*, 89). Subsequently it was the subject of litigation at the suit of the Falklands of the Patrick Cary line. Now it is the resort of Margate "trippers."

¹ He is not mentioned in Metcalfe's *Book of Knights*, but his will is evidence of the fact. For the date, see *H. & G.*, iii, 35. In 1585 he is styled in the parish register of Great Berkhamstead, "ye r^t worshippful Edwarde Carye, esq.", and in 1593, when his sons went to Oxford, is still *armiger*.

² A glance at the marriages of his sisters will enable one to understand the first Lord Falkland's position at court and in the society of his day. The eldest, Elizabeth, married Sir John Savile, of Howley, co. York, who was (1628) created Baron Savile of Pontefract; Frances married Sir George Manners, who succeeded (1632) as seventh Earl of Rutland; Catharine married Sir Henry Longueville, of Bucks; Muriel married Sir Thomas Crompton, of Skerne, co. York; Jane married Sir Edward Barrett, of Belhouse, co. Essex, who was (1627) created Baron Newburgh of Fife; and, finally, the youngest, Anne, married Sir Francis Leke, of Sutton, co. Derby, who was (1624) created Baron Deincourt of Sutton and (1645) Earl of Scarsdale.

To all these new peers we can add Falkland himself. This illustration, in one family connection, of the process of transition of the well-to-do Englishman from a Tudor knight into a Stuart peer is as interesting as it is characteristic of the change in the peerage after the end of the Tudor dynasty.



years later (1593) they matriculated together at Queen's College, Oxford:¹ after which studies one, if not all of them, was sent to travel on the continent.² Their father had the satisfaction of seeing all three of these sons make rich marriages and become knights, taking seats also in the House of Commons, so that he may be accounted in every worldly respect a successful parent.

Sir Edward Cary died at Cary House in Great Bartholomew's, West Smithfield, London, on July 18, 1618, and on August 6 following was buried at Aldenham.³

The younger sons of Sir Edward Cary of Aldenham.

II SIR ADOLPHUS CARY (1577-1609) married in 1596 a daughter of Sir Robert Corbet of Moreton Corbet, co. Salop, was knighted at Whitehall May 12, 1604,⁴ and sat in Parliament as a burgess for the borough of St. Albans, Herts, from 1601 to his death. The family residence being at Aldenham, when he grew up he was established at Berkhamstead. At the end of March, 1609, he died of smallpox in London, while in attendance on Parliament,⁵ and was buried at Berkhamstead, the parish register recording him to be "a most loving benefactour to ye poore of this towne." He left no issue.⁶

¹ Foster, *Admissions to Gray's Inn and Alumni Oxonienses*.

² In 1604 the second son, Adolphus, then twenty-seven, had recently returned "out of Italy with a good opinion of the Catholic religion." (See *The Lady Falkland*, 9.)

³ See his will, P.C.C. *Meade*, 75; that of his widow, P.C.C. *Swan*, 30; and the parish register of Aldenham, calendared in *H. & G.*, iii, 130, 131, 44. The Falkland Cary House in St. Bartholomew's must, of course, be distinguished from the Hunsdon Cary House at Paul's Wharf.

⁴ Metcalfe.

⁵ See Chamberlain's news-letter, April 6, 1609.

⁶ See his will, P.C.C. *Dorset*, 33.

III SIR PHILIP CARY (1579-1631) married, 1609, Elizabeth, daughter of Richard Bland of Carleton, co. York; was established at Hunslet in Yorkshire, and on March 23, 1605, was knighted at Greenwich.¹ He sat in the House of Commons from 1614 until the accession of Charles I for New Woodstock, Oxon, and was an active member of the Virginia Company, serving on the council and on various committees in 1620 and 1621;² from 1624 until his death he was a member of the first royal commission for Virginia, which took over from the company the administration of its affairs. Mr. Robinson's calendar of the Aldenham parish register³ shows that he was there buried June 16, 1631, but his will was not proved until 1635.⁴ Sir Philip Cary had a number of children, sons and daughters;⁵ they all died young except

(a) JOHN (1612-1686), known as "of Stanwell," co. Middlesex,⁶ who lived through the Commonwealth (when he paid composition for his estate in a sum larger than any Cary except the unfortunate Sir Henry of Cockington) and into the reign of James II, and died without issue, a life-

¹ Metcalfe.


² *Court Book of the Virginia Company*, Library of Congress, 1906, i, 375, 404, 473, 546, and ii, 114.

³ *H. & G.*, iii, 45.

⁴ *P.C.C. Seager*, 77.

⁵ For Sir Philip Cary's family see G. E. Cokayne in *The Genealogist*, xxiii, 201.

⁶ Stanwell is an interesting place. The ancient manor, lying on the Colne in western Middlesex on the banks of the modern Staines reservoir and not far from Windsor Castle, was held from Domesday to the time of Henry VIII by descendants of Walter Fitzother, who took the name Windsor from his wardenship of Windsor Castle under William the Conqueror. Henry VIII coveted the place and tyrannically compelled Sir Andrew Windsor (1474-1543), first Baron Windsor of Stanwell, to exchange his patrimony for the confiscated estates of the dissolved Bordesley Abbey in Worcestershire. The story is well told by Dugdale. This family is now represented by the descendants of the Indian hero Robert Clive as earls of Plymouth. (G.E. C[okayne], *Complete Peerage*, vi, 257.) James I granted Stan-



long country gentleman of the type of Sir Roger de Coverley. He was master of the buckhounds under Charles II. He left¹ a substantial part of his large estate to Edward Cary, son of the penniless Patrick Cary, and so invigorated the new line of Falklands. Having been educated at St. John's College, Oxford (matriculated 1627), he left also a fund to endow certain church livings which he provided should be forever held by fellows of St. John's.

(b) ANNE, who married William Willoughby (1615?-1673) of the Suffolk branch of that ancient family, and in 1653 purchased the manor of Hunsdon from the first Earl of Dover, when the prosperity of the Hunsdon family had ended with the civil wars. In 1666 her husband succeeded his brother Francis as sixth Baron Willoughby of Parham and also as governor of Barbadoes and the Caribbee Islands in the West Indies.² Three of her sons and a grandson succeeded to the Parham

well in 1603 to Sir Thomas Knyvet, afterwards Lord Knyvet of Escrick, a brother of the wife of Sir Edward Cary of Aldenham, who had the honor to discover the powder under the Houses of Parliament at the time of the gunpowder plot. During Knyvet's tenure James I's daughter Mary died at Stanwell in 1607. Himself dying childless in 1622, Lord Knyvet settled Stanwell on his great-nephew John Cary, who, also childless, in turn settled it by his will of 1685 on his great-niece Elizabeth Willoughby, conditioned upon her marrying the eldest son of his friend the Lord Keeper Guilford (*Lives of the Norths*, iii, 194), with remainder, in the event this marriage was not arranged, to the holder of the Falkland title. Elizabeth Willoughby did not marry Lord Guilford, with the result that in 1698 there was a lively litigation (Luttrell, *Brief Relation*, iv, 339-356), ending in compromise by which she held Stanwell for life, and was succeeded by the Jacobite Lucius Henry, sixth Lord Falkland, in 1715. Living in Paris in exile he sold Stanwell in 1720, and it has since passed through the hands of the Dunmores to the Gibbons, who still hold it. The present Stanwell Place is a modern house on the site of the ancient manor house. (See Lysons, *Environs of London*, s.v. *Stanwell*.)

¹ See his curious will, P.C.C. *Lloyd*, 89.

² For the romantic career of these two Lords Willoughby of Parham and the sons of Anne Cary, in the West Indies during and after "the Troubles," see Flannigan, *Antigua and the Antiguans*, 1844; Davis, *Cavaliers and Roundheads of Barbadoes*, 1887;

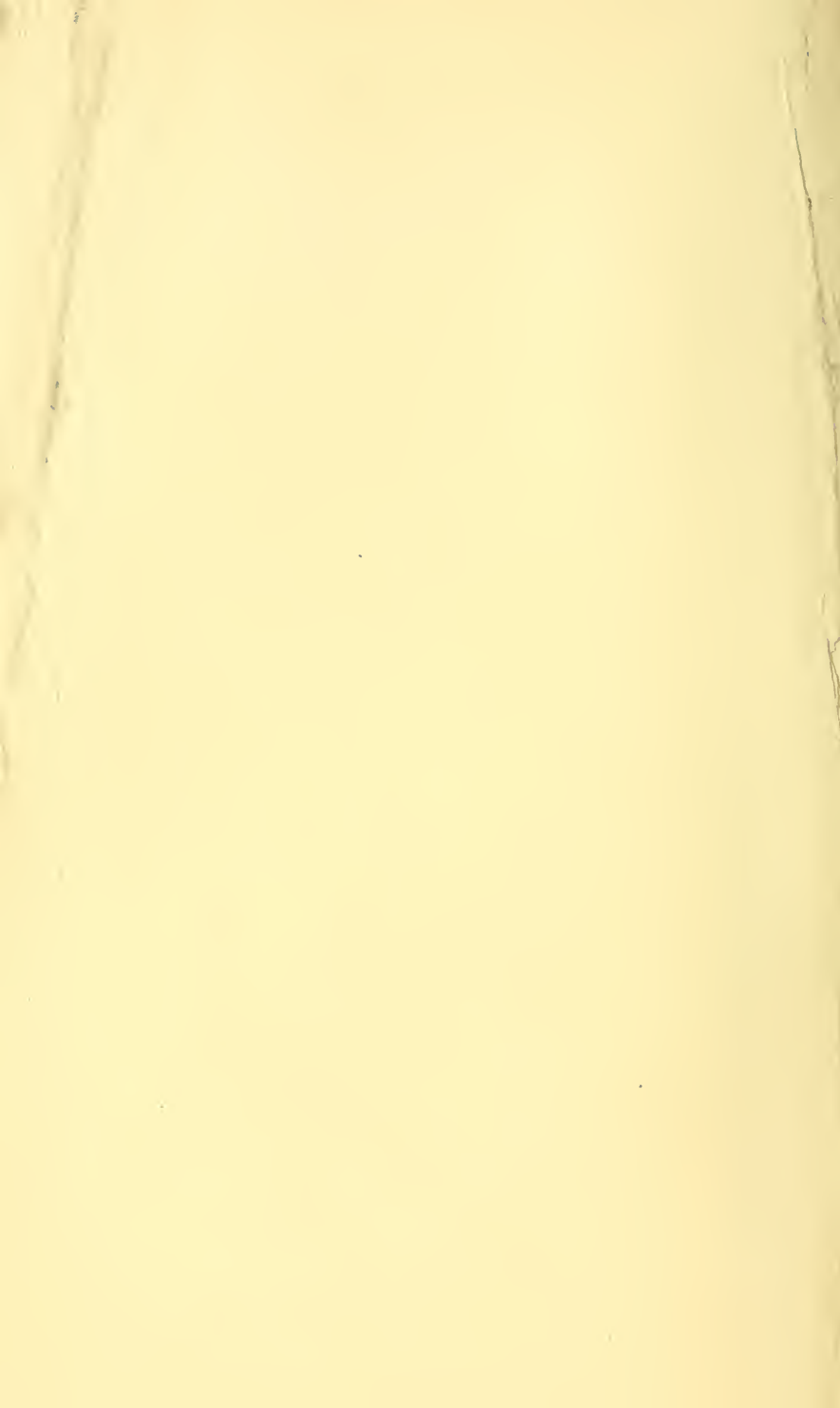


1576-1633
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SIR HENRY CARY

1576-1633

FIRST VISCOUNT FALKLAND, LORD DEPUTY OF IRELAND



title. Her daughter Elizabeth was that niece of John Cary of Stanwell who disappointed him by not marrying a North, but whose descendants Berties, earls of Abingdon, still flourish.


The eldest son, SIR HENRY CARY (1576–1633), first Lord Falkland, was born at Berkhamstead, and at fourteen¹ was entered at Gray's Inn, August 2, 1590, a week before his younger brothers. Thence, two years later, he went to Oxford, where "by the help of a good tutor and extraordinary parts . . . became a most accomplished gentleman."² "It doth not appear he took any degree: but, however, when he quitted the university he left behind him a celebrated name."³ He was then presented to Queen Eliza-

and *Dict. Nat. Biog.* (reissue ed.), xxi, 502. The complicated pedigree of the Willoughbys is in *Collins Peerage* (ed. Brydges), vi, 613; and see G. E. C., *Complete Peerage*, viii, 154, for elucidation of the tenure of the Parham barony in the eighteenth century, when, after the failure of Anne Cary's line, a younger branch was recognized, although the true barons were then living at Hulls Creek in Rappahannock County, Virginia. For the Virginians see Stanard, *Some Emigrants*, 1915, and *Va. Mag.*, i, 447; iv, 82, where the Rappahannock family is distinguished from those Willoughbys who were seated in Norfolk County, Virginia, from the earliest days of the colony.

¹ Sir Henry Cary sought to conceal the year of his birth for an ingenious purpose. Fuller says of him (*Worthies of England*, ed. Nuttall, 1840, ii, 46), "Some beginning to counterfeit his hand he used to incorporate the year of his age in a knot flourished beneath his name, concealing the day of his birth to himself." (See also Horace Walpole, *Royal and Noble Authors*, 1759, ii, 214.) He was probably born at Berkhamstead, but the surviving parish register begins, so far as relates to his father's family, with the baptism in 1585 of the youngest child, Anne, afterwards Lady Leke. (*H. & G.*, iii, 45.) The year of Sir Henry Cary's birth is, however, clearly revealed by the statement of his age, fourteen, on his entry at Gray's Inn, 1590.

² *Biographia Britannica*, iii, 290.

³ Lloyd, *State Worthies*, ii, 255.



beth and became "a compleat courtier." When the Earl of Essex organized his Irish army at the beginning of 1599, Henry Cary, then twenty-three years of age, was one of the young gentlemen who volunteered to take part in what was intended to be a triumphal progress. We know nothing of what he did to win attention, but it must have been creditable, for during the summer of 1599 he was dubbed knight by Essex at Dublin Castle.¹ He evidently returned to England with Essex, for in the Parliament of 1601 we find him first returned as a knight of the shire for Herts.² He now associated with the wits and made the acquaintance of Ben Jonson. About this time³ his father arranged for him a

¹ Metcalfe, *Book of Knights*. This identification was clearly established by John Nichols (*Progresses of James I*, 1828, i, 599; ii, 343) but has been missed by the recent authorities, most of whom, in the endeavor to account for Falkland being a knight, confuse him with one or the other of his two contemporaries of the same name. Thus the honor of Knight of the Bath conferred 1610 on the Henry Carey who afterwards became Earl of Dover, and that conferred in 1616 on the Henry Carey who afterwards became second Earl of Monmouth, are claimed for Falkland. This confusion is cleared up by a note in *Marriott* (p. 55), which, however, does not mention the Irish knighthood, but abandons the problem in despair.

² *Return of Members of Parliament*, 1879. The future Lord Falkland sat continuously for Hertfordshire in the Parliaments of 1601, 1603-11, 1605, and 1620 until he went to Ireland: it was held that his Scotch peerage did not deprive him of the privilege of sitting in the Commons (*Court and Times of James I*, ii, 228), as his descendants did after him until Scots peers were disqualified by the act of Union in 1706. There were three Sir Henry Carys under James I, the future lords Falkland, Dover, and Monmouth, all of whom were in the Commons at times. There is no little confusion among them in the indexes.

³ The date of the marriage is uncertain. It undoubtedly took place at Burford, where the parish register does not begin until 1612. The match is not likely to have attracted the prudent father,




ELIZABETH TANFIELD

1585-1639

LADY FALKLAND

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marriage with Elizabeth Tanfield, daughter and sole heir of Laurence Tanfield of Burford Priory, in Oxfordshire, afterwards chief baron of the exchequer.¹ It was a rich marriage, but the lady was only fifteen, an unconventional child, who had given her parents no little anxiety by her propensity to read books and think for herself:² it was accordingly stipulated that she should live at home, unwed, for a year after the

Sir Edward Cary, until after Laurence Tanfield had entertained James I in 1603 and was on his promotion; the author of *The Lady Falkland* says her mother married at fifteen, which would make the date 1600, but Sir James Paul (Balfour, *The Scots Peerage*) says the marriage contract was dated June 27, 1602. At all events, Sir Henry Cary did not live with his wife for some years, and their first child was not born until 1609.

¹ *Sir Laurence Tanfield* (1549?–1625) inherited Burford from his father and made a successful career in Parliament and at the bar. At Easter, 1603, he was made a serjeant-at-law, and in September of that year James I, on his journey from Scotland, stopped with him three days at Burford; in consequence of which hospitality he was knighted. In 1606 he was appointed a puisne judge of the King's Bench and in 1607 chief baron of the exchequer, a post he held until his death. He acquired the manor of Great Tew in Oxfordshire, where he and his family were most unpopular for their hard dealing with the inhabitants. (See Foss, 649, and *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, xix, 357.)

² *Elizabeth Tanfield, Lady Falkland* (1585–1639), is the subject of a memoir written by one of her daughters while a nun in the Benedictine Convent at Cambray. It was found in MS. in the Imperial Archives at Lille and edited by Richard Simpson (London, 1861) under the title *The Lady Falkland*. This book, written chiefly to justify the lady for her reconciliation with the Church of Rome, is a vital human document, not only revealing character but affording many details for the lives of the first and second lords Falkland and their times.

It was from his mother that the famous Lord Falkland derived his intellectual as well as his physical characteristics, but he must have inherited his agreeability from the Carys. She was a good woman, a faithful wife and devoted mother, a sincere Christian, and withal diabolically clever. By her theatrical methods of exhibiting these qualities she succeeded in exasperating not only her own mother, her mother-in-law, her husband, and her eldest son, but the king, the privy council, and the Star Chamber as well; yet

marriage. The bridegroom, who "had no acquaintance with her (she scarce ever having

it is evident that they all felt her allure. She was in difficulties all her life by reason of her change of religion at the very moment of the gunpowder plot, but she held her course serenely to the end, had a close and sympathetic friend in Queen Henrietta Maria, and succeeded in landing two of her sons and four of her daughters in the Catholic Church against all the efforts of her eldest son and of Archbishop Laud. She lives in her daughter's book *The Lady Falkland* and in the sympathetic and lively pages of T. Longueville's *Falklands* (1897). Lady Georgiana Fullerton has also written a *Life of Lady Falkland* about her.

The authorship of "Mariam." On December 17, 1612, there was entered at Stationers' Hall a dramatic poem in rhymed quatrains which was subsequently published with a title-page reading "*The Tragedie of Mariam, the faire Queene of Iewry, written by that learned, vertuous and truly noble Ladie E. C., 1613.*" In a few, but not all, of the surviving copies of the original edition is found the following sonnet:

"To Dianaes
Earthlie Deputesse
and my worthy Sister Mistris Elizabeth Carye.

"When cheerful Phoebus his full course hath run,
His Sister's fainter Beams our harts doth cheere:
So your fair Brother is to mee the Sunne
And you, his Sister, as my moone appeare.

"You are my next beloved, my second friend,
For when my Phoebus absence makes it Night
Whilst to th' Antipodes his beams do bende
From you, my Phoebe, shines my second Light.

"Hee like to Sol, cleare sighted, constant, free,
You Luna-like, unspotted, chaste, deuine;
He shone on Sicily, you destined bee
T' illumine the now obscurde Palestine.
My first was consecrated to Apollo,
My second to Diana now shall follow.


E. C."

Modern scholarship has somewhat strained itself in efforts to identify the author of *Mariam*. There are those (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*, reissue ed., iii, 973) who have maintained that she was Elizabeth Carey, Lady Berkeley, daughter to the second Lord Hunsdon and his charming wife Elizabeth Spencer. (See *ante*, p. 359.) This proceeds largely on the known inclinations to

spoke to him),” was not eager. He had married her, according to his daughter, “only for being

literature of the second Lady Hunsdon and her daughter and their relations with the poets Spenser and Nash, but does not attempt to reconcile the sonnet to the facts of family history. Now come the editors of the publications of the Malone Society with an interesting new theory: that the author was Elizabeth Tanfield, wife of Sir Henry Cary, afterwards first Lord Falkland. (See the Malone Society reprint of *The Tragedie of Mariam*, Oxford, 1914.) The evidence upon which this attribution relies is partly internal and partly the dedication by John Davies of his *Muses Sacrifice*, 1612, to three ladies, Lucy, Countess of Bedford, Mary, Countess-Dowager of Pembroke, “and Elizabeth, Lady Cary (wife of Sr Henry Cary),” with complimentary verses, which, in the case of Lady Cary, indicate that she also had sacrificed to the Muses. Elizabeth Tanfield’s daughter, who wrote *The Lady Falkland*, confirms this in a passage which is significant in the present connection, viz.: “From this time [*i.e.*, during her husband’s absence a prisoner in Spain] she writ many things for her private recreation, on several subjects and occasions, all in verse (out of which she scarce ever writ anything that was not translations): one of them was after stolen out of that sister-in-law’s her friend’s chamber, and printed but by her own procurement was called in. Of all she then writ, that which was said to be the best was the ‘Life of Tamberlaine’ in verse.”

The Malone Society editors next proceed to a less convincing attempt to clinch their argument by means of the sonnet. Triumphantly they discover that Sir Henry Cary’s younger brother Philip married Elizabeth Bland (see *ante*, p. 403), who might, therefore, be at once the “sister” of Sir Henry Cary’s wife and herself “Mistris Elizabeth Carye”; whereupon they make her out to be she to whom the sonnet is indited: but in doing so they recognize that the sonnet is evidently addressed to a lady who at once is a virgin and has illumined “the now obscurde Palestine,” while the author of the sonnet is equally evidently lamenting the absence of a beloved husband, who, unlike Sir Henry Cary, was “free.” Upon all the evidence we are glad to be convinced of the probability that Elizabeth Tanfield was the author of *Mariam*, but venture to reject the argument that she also wrote the sonnet. As to it we revert to the interpretation (*e.g.*, in the Huth catalogue) which was uniformly maintained before the Malone Society editors, that the sonnet was gratulatory and was addressed to the author of *Mariam*. For this we rely upon the internal evidence of the sonnet itself. Without straining its allegory, it can be interpreted as referring to the virgin state of Sir Henry Cary’s “widowed wife and wedded maid” while he was a




an heir; she was nothing handsome,"¹ and both her mother and his disapproved of her, so, without waiting for the expiry of the year of probation, he went off to the wars in search of the bubble reputation.²

In 1605 the war of independence in the Low Countries had dragged on nineteen years since Elizabeth had issued her declaration of participation. It had become the school of the professional soldier, in which reputation was made and lost. Sir Francis Vere had retired to England and Prince Maurice of Nassau had succeeded to the command. A new general, Spinola, had arisen also on the Spanish side. The States-Gen-

prisoner in Spain, especially if she had illumined "the now obscure Palestine" by her versification of the story of *Mariam*. We do not, however, venture a definite conjecture as to the identity of the "E. C." who signs the sonnet. If it was Sir Philip Cary's wife, then it is not impossible that she was lamenting her husband's absence in Sicily, which is within the possibilities, for quite incidentally *The Lady Falkland* testifies that the other brother Adolphus had been in Italy; but it may be noted that Elizabeth Tanfield's intimate friend among the Cary ladies was Jane, the wife of Sir Edward Barrett, afterwards Lord Newburgh. See the testimony of the daughter in *The Lady Falkland*, *passim*, and her own letter to Secretary Coke, March 24, 1627. (*Cal. State Papers*, Domestic, lviii, No. 19.)

¹ This opinion of her daughter is borne out by her extraordinary portrait by Vansomer, now in the possession of the present Lord Falkland. Elsewhere the daughter records that after her mother became a widow and relaxed her effort to maintain appearances "she from hence left off chopins, which she had ever worn, being very low and a long time very fat."


² His son Patrick testified in a note on the MS. of *The Lady Falkland* that his elderly brother-in-law Sir William Uvedale had told him that he and Sir Henry Cary had gone over together in the train of "my Lord of Hartford, then ambassador for Queen Elizabeth [*sic*]." In 1605 Sir Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, was ambassador extraordinary at Brussels.



eral had suffered a great loss in the capitulation of Ostend after a stubborn siege, their *réplique* was a brilliant achievement, the siege and recapture of Sluys. The campaign of 1605, on the other hand, went against Prince Maurice and he now barely held his own. In September Spinola was constructing a fort on the right bank of the Rhine where it receives the river Ruhr, leaving in his rear detachments to protect the valley of the Ruhr with the village of Mulheim and the castle of Broick. Prince Maurice, with Sir Horace Vere and the English contingent of the allied army, was stationed at Wessel some fifteen miles lower down the Rhine. With them was Sir Henry Cary as a volunteer. Believing that Spinola was absorbed in his work at Ruhrort, Prince Maurice determined to cut off Mulheim and the upper valley. By a night march (October 8, 1605) he reached Mulheim in force and sent a detachment across the river, which succeeded in capturing the castle of Broick. Spinola was now on the march to the rescue, with his general of cavalry, Don Luis de Velasco. After a hot fight he drove Prince Maurice across the river into Mulheim and thence into general retreat, the army being saved only by the gallant stand of the English to cover the crossing of the river.¹

In this fight, known as the battle of Mulheim, Sir Henry Cary, after a gallant charge against

¹ Markham, *The Fighting Veres*, 370; Motley, *The United Netherlands*, iv, 262.



desperate odds,¹ was captured and, being a volunteer, was held to ransom by Don Luis de Velasco. As his father did not at once provide the ransom, Sir Henry was taken to Spain and there remained a prisoner for over a year: it was not until 1607 that he was again in England. The payment of the ransom made a large hole in his patrimony and was the beginning of the financial difficulties which embittered the remainder of Sir Henry's life. The experience was, however, not without its compensations. His reputation for gallantry was embalmed in amber by Ben Jonson² and he evidently formed during his captivity friendships strong enough to induce him to give Spanish names to his first two sons.

¹ Philip Gawdy, of Clifford's Inn, writing to his brother Sir B. Gawdy, October 28, 1605, tells (Historical MSS. Commission *Report*, vii, 529) the story which reached London immediately after the battle: "The loss that was in Flanders was not so great as was first spoken of . . . but it was most shamefull, for their wer 1200 Hollanders and English menne ran from 400 Italions, and only four did charge those 400, which were Sir Henry Carie, Mr. Ratcliffe and Capt. Pigott, which thus were taken prisoner, the 4th, which was Sir John Roos . . . escaped."

² *Ben Jonson*, Epigrams, LXVI.

"To Sir Henry Cary

That neither fame, nor love might wanting be
To greatness, CARY, I sing that and thee:
Whose house, if it no other honor had
In only thee, might be both great and glad:
Who, to upbraid the sloth of this our time
Durst valor make, almost, but not a crime,
Which deed I know not, whether were more high,
Or, thou more happy, it to justify
Against thy fortune: when no foe, that day,
Could conquer thee, but chance, who did betray.
Love thy great loss, which a renown hath won.
To live when Broeck not stands, nor Roor doth run:


—————
—————
—————

Sir Henry now took to bed his neglected young wife and returned to his life in Parliament and at court, where his father procured him an appointment as gentleman of the bedchamber. For the next ten years we hear little of him, but it is probable that it was at this time, before he had established his relations with Buckingham, that he wrote what Horace Walpole describes as his "choice political observations" on the favorites of Edward II.¹

It is during this period that we have a glimpse of him in the autobiography of Lord Herbert of Cherbury. One of the liveliest pictures in that lively book is of the murderous assault on Herbert by Sir John Ayres in the streets of London in 1611. There seem to have been a number of spectators but little interference. Herbert says that after he had been stabbed but had thrown his antagonist to the ground and, astride his

Love honors, which of best example be,
When they cost dearest, and are done most free.
Though every fortitude deserves applause,
It may be much, or little, in the cause.
He's valiant'st that dares fight, and not for pay:
That virtue is, when the reward's away."

¹ This interesting and highly creditable essay was found in MS among Falkland's papers and appeared in print in 1680 as *The History of K. Edward the second, with Observations on him and his Favouirits, Gaveston and Spencer. Supposed to be writ by the right honourable Henry Viscount Falkland.* Anthony à Wood says that it was published "when the press was open for all such books that could make anything against the then government, with a preface to the reader patch'd up from very considerable authors by Sir Ja[m]es H[arrington] as is supposed." This is the octavo referred to by Horace Walpole (*Royal and Noble Authors*) and has been reprinted in the *Harleian Miscellany*, i, 90. The folio *History of Edward II*, published also in 1680, and confounded by Walpole with Falkland's essay, was, according to



body, was belaboring him with a broken sword, "Sir Henry Cary, afterwards Lord of Falkland and Lord Deputy of Ireland, finding the dagger thus in my body, snatched it out."

His need of money had led him into speculation. He was one of the incorporators and one of the council for Virginia named in the second charter of the Virginia Company in 1609, and one of the incorporators of the Northwest Passage Company in 1612. He had a venture also in the East India Company.¹

In 1611 he acquired, with his brother Philip, his father's interest in the royal manor of Minster in Kent, to which were attached rights of wreckage on which he founded high hopes and for which he was afterwards involved in litigation.²

Instead of securing fortune from all these visions, he had hard buffets from fate. The family leasehold in Berkhamstead was reclaimed by the crown for the Duchy of Cornwall; the grant from the crown of the manor of Snettisham, of which he had inherited a "farm" from his uncle

the title-page, "written by E. F. in the year 1627." The British Museum catalogue has identified this author as Edward Fannant. (See Lowndes, *Bibliographers' Manual*, 777 and 771.)

¹ He subscribed £75 to the Virginia Company, and in 1613 was sued for it and paid up. He dreamed of making his fortune in these ventures beyond sea, and in 1618 commissioned Captain Richard Whitbourne, the navigator, to revive Sir Humphrey Gilbert's colony in Newfoundland. Whitbourne's tract *A Discourse containing a Loving Invitation for the advancement of his Maiestie's most hopefull Plantation in the New-Found-Land* (1622) was dedicated to him. See Brown, *Genesis of the United States*, 844 and 1050.

² *State Papers*, Domestic, lxx, No. 52, and cxxvii, No. 43.

Wymond, hardly compensated because he was required to pay £1500 as a consideration.

In 1618, when his father died, Sir Henry succeeded to his court offices of keeper of Marylebone Park¹ and master of the jewel house. The latter he promptly turned into cash to relieve his necessities.² All of these transactions required him to look to court favor as the only way out of his difficulties, and so he cultivated the rising favorite George Villiers. By his aid he was in 1617 appointed comptroller of the household³ and a member of the privy council; later he secured the lucrative office of master of the court of wards.⁴

Falkland was beyond all cavil a man of "excellent parts," as Clarendon testifies; in his new relation and access to James he must have won some measure of the king's respect, but it is clear that it was through his practical relation with Buckingham that he now gained preferment.⁵


¹ *Cal. State Papers*, Domestic, xciv, No. 77.

² He sold it to Sir Henry Mildman, "a young man of no experience," for £2000, which was much more than it was worth. Chamberlain's news-letter, *Cal. State Papers*, Domestic, xciv, No. 5.

³ The comptroller of the household was the third in rank of the great officers of the royal household, his function being "to control all accounts and reckonings of the *Green Cloth*" and to sit as a magistrate in the court, later known as the *Marshalsea*, whose jurisdiction was "to hear and determine Treasons, Felonies and other Crimes committed within the Verges of the Court." (*Laws of Honour*, 1714, Appendix, 9.) The "Verges of the Court" was the area within twelve miles of the king's person wherever he was.

⁴ Chamberlain's news-letter, *Cal. State Papers*, Domestic, ciii, No. 110.

⁵ Wood says (*Ath. Oxon.*, i, 586) that Cary was "in much esteem by . . . the King for his great abilities and experience in State af-



And so he continued to


let the candied tongue lick absurd pomp
And crook the pregnant hinges of the knee
Where thrift may follow fawning.

Whatever it may have cost in money or self-respect, the fountain of honor was now gushing copiously. On November 10, 1620, Sir Henry Cary, then forty-four years of age, was created Viscount Falkland of Fife in the peerage of Scotland,¹ and on September 18, 1622, he was sworn as lord deputy of Ireland, in succession to Viscount Grandison.

Falkland's career in Ireland was not a success, fairs": it is altogether probable that he did not exhibit to James and "Steenie" his philosophical observations on the favorites of Edward II as proof of these qualities! Tulloch (*Rational Theology*, i, 79) judiciously observes that this Falkland was "an ambitious, strong tempered and accomplished man, with more address in gaining power than ability in maintaining it."

¹ The title was derived from that royal palace of the Stuarts which was their favorite summer residence. "To be Falkland bred" was a Scots proverb to describe a courtier: can it be that James had a sense of humor in conferring this title upon Sir Henry Cary? The ancient palace fell into decay, but in 1888 was restored by the Marquis of Bute. It may now be seen by all who make their golf pilgrimage to St. Andrews.

In her autobiography (*Life of William Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle*, ed. Firth, 1886, 275) Margaret Lucas, Duchess of Newcastle, says of her father, who was a contemporary of Sir Henry Cary, that he "was not a peer of the realm . . . yet at that time great titles were to be sold, and not at so high rates but that his estate might have easily purchased and was pressed for to take." Incidentally it may be noted that Clarendon (*Life*, iii, 225) records that the Duchess's brother, Sir John Lucas, did what his father disdained to do, a passage which is a pregnant evidence of the traffic in peerages under the Stuarts. In 1627 the price current, in the heraldic market, of being made a viscount was £5000. (*Cal. State Papers*, Domestic, Charles I, lv, No. 26.)



though he held the sword of state for seven years. He was early induced by Archbishop Usher to banish the Roman priests in the midst of the negotiations for the Spanish marriage of the Prince of Wales, which made his action as unpopular at court as it was inexpedient in Ireland: he quarreled with the Irish nobles; he failed in an attempt to oust the Byrnes from their lands in Wicklow, where he planned to set up a plantation of his own; in 1625 he sent his wife back to England, where she publicly turned Catholic and gave the privy council and even the Star Chamber no little trouble in consequence of her husband's stopping her allowance and her own theatrical behavior.¹

These considerations combined to make Falkland's tenure of his high office uncomfortable to the government: on August 10, 1629, he was recalled.²


Professor Gardiner sums up these seven years with the characterization:

"A man naturally kindly and desirous of fulfilling his duties, he was alike wanting in the clear sightedness which detects the root of an evil, and in the firmness which is needed to eradicate it."³

¹ See *Cal. State Papers, Domestic and Ireland*, for the period, *passim*. Most of the correspondence is reprinted by Richard Simpson in his Appendix to *The Lady Falkland*.

² A successor was not appointed for three years, when the new lord deputy was Thomas Wentworth (1593-1641), the exponent of "thorough."


³ Gardiner, *History of England*, viii, 9.



Falkland was received graciously by Charles I, now king, who recognized his good intentions even in failure, but his career was over. He was reconciled with his wife, but was overwhelmed by debt.¹ His eldest son had disappointed his last hopes of fortune by refusing a rich match from which the father might have profited: his last years were unhappy.

One day in September, 1633, Lady Falkland received a message that her husband had been "waiting on the King (then newly come out of Scotland) a-shooting in Tibald's Park" when he fell from a stand and broke his leg, and, a gentleman to the end, "instantly broke it in a second and a third place with standing up at the King's

¹ He was actually "a prisoner in the Duchy house in London" for debt during 1631. (*Cal. State Papers, Domestic*, cxviii, No. 12.) He had built hopes on his wife's inheritance, but her father left his estate to his grandson, passing over his daughter entirely. She charged (in her letter to Secretary Coke, March 24, 1627, *Cal. State Papers, Domestic*, lviii, No. 19) that the reason for this was because she had angered her father by complaisance with her husband's necessities, in releasing her jointure to enable him to outfit on going to Ireland. This story is repeated in *The Lady Falkland*, 15 (see also Chamberlain's news-letter, *Cal. State Papers, Domestic*, lxvii, No. 67), but it is only fair to Sir Henry, whose reputation for veracity is untarnished, to record that he denied it vigorously in his letter to Secretary Conway of July 5, 1627 (*Cal. State Papers, Ireland*): "That her father disinherited her for her obedience to me is much misreported by her: he foresaw in her that bad condition which she hath since manifested to the world, which made him do that he did against her and me for her sake. If her jointure be sold, it is she that hath had the benefit of the sale and hath spent treble the value of it out of my purse, who never saw penny out of her father's, but my part of her first petty portion at her marriage." While Sir Henry was undoubtedly severe in his treatment of his wife, he was sorely provoked and was supported by his wife's mother and his own family.



coming to him.”¹ He was taken to a lodge in Theobald’s Park, and by the king’s command was attended by the court surgeons. They failed to set the fractures, so that the leg gangrened; then after a week the surgeons cut off the leg just above the knee, but failed to sear it: within the next twenty-four hours hemorrhage set in and Falkland died. He continued to show his breeding during the week he was in the hands of these criminally negligent surgeons. During the amputation of his leg “he never changed his countenance, nor made any show of pain”: when one of the surgeons, fearing that Lady Falkland was trying to convert his patient to Rome, several times bawled vulgarly in his ear a demand that he declare he died a Protestant, he said at last, “Pray do not interrupt my silent meditation.”²

On September 25, 1633, Henry Cary, first Lord Falkland, was buried beside his father at Aldenham,³ leaving four sons and six daughters.

The younger children of the first Lord Falkland.


II SIR LORENZO CARY (1613–1642) was born at Berkhamstead, where he was baptized October 5, 1613.⁴ He was named for his maternal grandfather, Sir Laurence Tan-

¹ *The Lady Falkland*, 46.

² *The Lady Falkland*, 49. His daughter remarks sententiously enough that his last words showed “he could have said the other if he would.”

³ Parish register, calendared in *H. & G.*, iii, 45. There is no record of a will.

⁴ Parish register, *H. & G.*, iii, 45.



field, though the name was given a Spanish form by the father, then fresh from his captivity in Spain. At nine he went with the other children to Ireland, but, unlike Lucius, was sent back for his education, for in 1630, after Lucius was established at Burford, we find Lorenzo recorded as obtaining the degree of B.A. at Oxford, as "from Exeter Coll."¹ He returned to Ireland to make his career, taking with him an order from the king to Wentworth, his father's successor as lord deputy, to give him command of a company of foot. This was doubtless a compensation for the removal of his elder brother from a like command in 1630, but it excited the hot indignation of Wentworth.² Lorenzo apparently justified the appointment: at all events he was knighted by Wentworth at Dublin Castle on March 17, 1634,³ and in the spring of 1641, when the Irish army was disbanding, he had been promoted colonel and was assigned to the command of 1000 men for foreign service.⁴ The outbreak of the Irish rebellion later in that year diverted him to his last duty: on January 11, 1642, serving under Sir Charles Coote, he was killed in the obscure fight against the rebels as Swords.⁵ He had never married.

III EDWARD, born 1616, died an infant and was buried at Aldenham.⁶

The other sons, Patrick and Henry (Father Placid), are noticed, *post* p. 464.

Of the daughters, the eldest, Catherine, married the Earl

¹ Foster, *Alumni Oxon.*


² *Cal. State Papers*, Ireland, ccliv.

³ Metcalfe.

⁴ *Cal. State Papers*, Ireland, cclix. The foreign service intended was that of the king of Spain to whom Charles I had agreed to sell eight Irish regiments, but the plan was vetoed by the English parliament. See Burghclere, *James, First Duke of Ormonde*, i, 120.

⁵ *Cal. State Papers*, Domestic, cccclxxxviii, No. 75; Gardiner, *History*, x, 114, 173; and *The Lady Falkland*, 185.

⁶ Parish register, *H. & G.*, iii, 44.




of Home at the age of thirteen, and died as the result of a distressing accident;¹ Victoria, after service at court as a maid of honor to Queen Henrietta Maria, married Sir William Uvedale of Wickham, co. Hants, who seems to have had a *penchant* for Cary women, as he had already married and buried a daughter of Sir Edmund Carey, son of the first Lord Hunsdon; the other four daughters, Anne, Elizabeth, Lucy, and Mary, all died nuns in the Benedictine Convent at Cambrai.² One of them was the author of *The Lady Falkland*.

SIR LUCIUS CARY (1610–1643), his father's eldest son and successor as second Viscount Falkland, is the most famous of all Carys. He had the fortune to win the devoted friendship of one who wielded a facile and fascinating pen, who wrote a great history of a vital constitutional crisis and in doing so deliberately sought to celebrate his friend as Tacitus had celebrated Agricola. As an almost inevitable consequence, when Whig principles became dominant in England after the revolution of 1688, Falkland's name was the target for partizan arrows: he almost lost his personality and became a paradigm of the execrated high church and Tory politics which had been overthrown. For the same reason, or unreason, in the reaction of opinion in the nineteenth century, Falkland was adopted as a protomartyr of a principle and from that was soon translated into a saint of the cult of "sweet-

¹ *The Lady Falkland*, 24.

² See Appendix to *The Lady Falkland*, 184.




ness and light." By this process, directly attributable in the last analysis to Clarendon's stately periods, Falkland has taken a place in English history which is greater than his actual significance. On his public and literary side he was in fact a brilliant failure; but on his human side, in every light we can throw on him, independently of Clarendon, he stands clear a charming companion, a high-minded and cultivated gentleman, a character to love.¹

¹ Falkland's fame, in the literary sense, is a creature of the eighteenth century. Clarendon's *Rebellion* was first published in 1702 and the character of Falkland in it at once took hold of the historical imagination. Thus Dean Swift commented on the story of Falkland's death, "it moves grief to the highest excess," and in 1734 Pope (*Essay on Man*, iv, 99) crystallized the current view of him and his death in the verses:

"See Falkland dies, the virtuous and the just!
See godlike Turenne prostrate in the dust!
See Sidney bleeds amid the martial strife!
Was this their virtue, or contempt of life?"


In 1759 Clarendon's *Life* was published with a fresh contribution of Falkland material. All of this had been too much for the endurance of Horace Walpole, who combined an insatiable appetite to be different from other people as a badge of cleverness, with the tradition of the Whig principles of the revolution of 1688. He had, therefore, in 1758 taken a tilt at Falkland's reputation in a masculine judgment (*Royal and Noble Authors*, ii, 216) which has since been the text of one political principle as Clarendon has been that of another. We are to read the latter, here is Walpole:

"There never was a stronger instance of what the magic of words and the art of an Historian can effect, than in the character of this Lord, who seems to have been a virtuous, well-meaning man, with a moderate understanding, who got knocked on the head early in the civil war, because it boded ill: and yet by the happy solemnity of my Lord Clarendon's diction, Lord Falkland is the favorite personage of that noble work. We admire the pious Aeneas, who with all his unjust and usurping pretensions we are



Lucius Cary was born at his maternal grandfather's house at Burford in Oxfordshire in 1610

taught to believe was the saint of Heaven: but it is the amiable Pallas we regret, though He was killed before He had performed any action of consequence. That Lord Falkland was a weak man, to me appears indubitable. We are told He acted with Hampden and the Patriots till He grew better informed what was Law. It is certain that the ingenious Mr. Hume has shown that both King James and King Charles acted upon precedents of prerogative which they found established, yet will this neither justify them nor Lord Falkland. If it would, wherever tyranny is established by law, it ought to be sacred and perpetual. Those Patriots did not attack King Charles so much for violation of the Law, as to oblige him to submit to the amendment of it; and I must repeat, that it was great weakness to oppose a Prince for breaking the Law, and yet scruple to oppose him when He obstructed the correction of it. My Lord Falkland was a sincere Protestant: would He have taken up arms against Henry the Eighth for adding new nonsense to established Popery, and would he not have sought to obtain the Reformation? Again: When he abandoned Hampden and that party, because he mistrusted the extent of their designs, did it justify his going over to the King? With what—I will not say, Conscience—but with what reason could He, who had been so sensible of grievances, lend his hand to restore the authority from whence those grievances flowed! Did the Usurpation of Cromwell prove that Laud had been a meek pastor? If Hampden and Pym were bad men and ambitious, could not Lord Falkland have done more service to the State by remaining with them and checking their attempts and moderating their councils, than by offering his sword and abilities to the King? His Lordship had felt the tyranny; did not He know that, if authorized by victory, neither the King's temper nor government were likely to become more gentle? Did he think that loss of Liberty or loss of Property are not Evils but when the Law of the land allows them to be so? Not to descant too long: It is evident to me that this Lord had much debility of mind and a kind of superstitious scruples that might flow from an excellent heart, but by no means from a solid understanding. His refusing to entertain spies or to open letters, when Secretary of State, were the punctilios of the former, not of the latter: and his putting on a clean shirt to be killed in, is no proof of sense either in his Lordship, or in the Historian, who thought it worth relating. Falkland's signing the declaration that He did not believe the King intended to make war on the Parliament, and at the same time subscribing to levy twenty horse for his Majesty's service, comes under a de-




and was taken by the grandfather "to live with
scription, which, for the sake of the rest of his character, I am
willing to call great infatuation."

This opinion has been adopted by all subsequent Whig and Liberal historians and is reflected in the pages of Hallam, Carlyle, Macaulay, John Forster, and Goldwin Smith. About the middle of the nineteenth century in the recrudescence of the Tory party there came a pro-Falkland literary reaction. Lord Lytton (*Pym versus Falkland, Quarterly Review*, 1860) effectively answered Horace Walpole: "Falkland, from the first to the last, was a lover of Liberty. . . . It is no proof of apostasy from the cause of Liberty if he thought that a time had come when Liberty was safer on the whole with King Charles than with 'King Pym'": and he found the justification of Falkland's politics in modern England with its throne reconciled to Parliamentary freedom, its Church purified from ecclesiastical domination over secular affairs and intolerant persecution of rival sects. Then in 1878 the Falkland monument was dedicated at Newbury "by those to whom the majesty of the crown and the liberties of their country are dear," with a stirring invocation, quoted from Pericles' immortal oration, of the noblest of all sepulchres, that in which glory survives on the tongues of men.

On this occasion Matthew Arnold (*Mixed Essays*, 236) declared that Falkland was a "martyr of sweetness and light, of lucidity of mind and largeness of temper," a sentiment which Disraeli immediately adopted by claiming Falkland, in *Endymion*, as the founder and protomartyr of the Tory party ("Are not the traditions of the Tory party the noblest pedigree in the world? Are not its illustrations that glorious martyrology that opens with the name of Falkland and closes with the name of Canning?") Thereafter Oxford took up the chorus. A fellow of Balliol, the Rev. W. Hudson Shaw (*Lucius Cary, Phila.*, 1896), delivered a lecture in America, admirable in its collection of material but uncritical as history, for it records only enthusiastic praise. Another Oxford scholar, J. A. R. Marriott, has since written a "big bow-wow" biography (*The Life and Times of Lucius Cary, Viscount Falkland*, 1907), the tone of which will appear in the claim that Falkland's was a "character which combined in no ordinary degree the intellectual luxuriance of the Greek and the moral austerity of the Puritan. A man of culture surrounded by narrow-minded fanaticism, a lover of truth beset by bigots, a farseeing statesman reduced to despair by party spirit."

It is a relief to turn from these substitutions of rhetoric for analysis to the pleasant sympathetic humor of T(homas) L(ongueville), a descendant of a sister of the first Lord Falkland, in *Falklands*, 1897, and to the solid sense as well as sweet reasonableness



him from his birth."¹ In 1621, when he would be eleven, he was entered in the register of St. John's College, Cambridge, and later in life called himself "a St. John's man," but it seems that he was entered with a view to future attendance and was never in residence at Cambridge.² When his father went to Ireland, Lucius was taken along, and was educated at Trinity College, Dublin. He was at this time "very wild, and also mischievous, as being apt to stabbe and doe bloody mischiefs,"³ but, "being sent to travel under the care of a discreet tutor, he soon shook


of Professor S. R. Gardiner, who admires Falkland but does not permit his judgment to be carried away by enthusiasm (*Dict. Nat. Biog.* iii, 1159):

"The desire to secure intellectual liberty from spiritual tyranny was the ruling principle of his mind. His claim to our reverence lies in the fact that his mind was as thoroughly educated as Milton's was with the love of freedom as the nurse of high thought and high morality, while his gentle nature made him incapable of the harsh austerities of Milton's combative career. As an efficient statesman, Falkland has little claim to notice. He knew what he did not want, but he had no clear conception of what he did want: no constructive imagination to become a founder of institutions in which his noble conceptions should be embodied. It was this deficiency which made him during his future life a follower rather than a leader, to choose the royalist side not because he counted it worthy of his attachment, but because the parliament side seemed to be less worthy, and to accept a political system from his friend Hyde as he had accepted a system of thought from his friend Chillingworth. *Falkland's mind in its beautiful strength as well as in its weakness was essentially of a feminine cast.*"

¹ *The Lady Falkland*, 11. The birthday is not known: the Burford parish register does not begin until 1612. Robinson, in *H. & G.*, iii, 45.

² *Falklands*, 24.

³ Aubrey, *Letters*, ii, part 1, 347.



off all levity and extravagance and became a wise, sober and prudent person.”¹ He does not appear to have been altogether tamed, however. His father had given him the command of a company in Ireland, but immediately on the father’s recall in 1629 the Irish council took his command away and gave it to Sir Francis Willoughby. Indignant at this slight not only on himself but upon his father, Lucius challenged Willoughby to a duel and was promptly committed to the Fleet by order of the home government, to be released after ten days of reflection, upon his father’s petition to the king.²

In the same year—he was now nineteen—his grandmother, Lady Tanfield, died, having survived her husband four years, and so in accordance with Sir Laurence Tanfield’s will Lucius came into possession of his grandfather’s estates of Burford and Great Tew. It was now that he first came to know the delights of London and the cheerful conversation of men of parts. One of his new friends was a young Wiltshire man, six months his senior. Edward Hyde, the future Lord Clarendon, who was destined not only to influence Falkland’s destiny but to establish his fame, had recently come up from Oxford

¹ *Biographia Britannica*, iii, 291.

² See the correspondence in Lewis, *Lives of the Friends of Clarendon*, i, 189, and *Falklands*, 27.

and was now a law student at the Middle Temple. Another was Sir Henry Moryson, a younger son of Sir Richard Moryson of Tooley Park, co. Leicester.¹ The one was his devoted friend for the rest of his life; the other died early,² leaving a pretty and pious sister Lettice, whose face was her fortune, and her Lucius Cary

¹ Sir Richard Moryson (1571?-1628) was a brother of Fynes Moryson, the author of the *Itinerary*, and like him had served in Ireland under Mountjoy. He had six children, of whom Lettice, Lady Falkland, was the only daughter. Of the sons, other than Lucius Cary's friend Henry, three, Richard, Francis, and Robert, emigrated to Virginia and took the place there to which their breeding entitled them. It is of interest in the present connection that it was Falkland who, in 1638, procured for his brother-in-law, Major Richard Moryson, the command of the fort at Point Comfort. (*Va. Mag.*, ii, 383, and *W. & M. Quar.*, ix, 83, 122.) This was one of the families of English gentry which Governor Berkeley cited (*Discourse and View of Virginia*) in 1663 against the imputation that the colony harbored "none but those of the meanest quality and Corruptest lives."

² Ben Jonson had renewed with Lucius the friendship he had for his father. It must have been friendship in both cases, for Jonson was no mere flatterer and patron seeker. The first of the many poetical effusions which Lucius Cary evoked from contemporary poets was from Jonson on the occasion of Moryson's death: "A Pindaric Ode to the immortal memory and friendship of that noble pair, Sir Lucius Cary and Sir H. Morison." (*Underwoods*, lxxxvii.) It is in Jonson's best manner, and in celebrating Moryson's death has been often quoted as a prophecy of Cary's own early taking off. Thus:

"The Strophe, or Turn.

It is not growing like a tree
In bulk doth make man better be,
Or standing long an oak, three hundred year,
To fall a log at last, dry, bald and sear:
A lily of the day
Is fairer far in May
Although it fall and die that night:

7

promptly married, to the serious disturbance of his father's plans for him.¹

We now invoke Clarendon² to take up and

It was the plant and flower of light.
In small proportions we just beauties see,
And in short measures, life may perfect be.

The Antistrophe or Counterturn

Call, noble LUCIUS, then for wine,
And let thy looks with gladness shine:
Accept this Garland, plant it on thy head,
And think, nay know, thy MORISON's not dead.
He leap'd the present age,
Possess with holy rage,
To see that bright eternal day,
Of which we priests and poets say
Such truths, as we expect for happy men:
And there, he lives with memory, and Ben."

¹ The father had already attempted to negotiate a marriage for Lucius with a daughter of the rich Earl of Cork, whom we met in the days of Sir George Cary of Cockington. Now the "intended" was a daughter of the lord treasurer, Richard Weston, Earl of Portland, under a bargain that, in consideration of the match, Portland's influence was to secure the reinstatement of Falkland as lord deputy of Ireland.

² "His marvellous talent of delineating character," says Hallam (*Constitutional History*, chap. viii), "a talent I think unrivalled by any writer (since, combining the bold outline of the ancient historians with the analytical minuteness of de Retz and St. Simon, it produces a higher effect than either) is never more beautifully displayed than in that part of the memoir of his life, where Falkland, Hales, Chillingworth, and the rest of his early friends pass over the scene." In the face of this estimate it seems expedient, if not merely polite to one's readers, to present Clarendon intact rather than in the inevitable paraphrase and piecemeal quotation which modern writers on Falkland have adopted. This is desirable also as an opportunity to bring together in one convenient compass Clarendon's characterizations of the earlier and the later portions of Falkland's life which in the original are separated in the pages of the *Life* and the *Rebellion*. This has been done also, in a different form, by Mr. Nichol Smith in his *Characters from the Histories and Memoirs of the Seventeenth Century*, which has been published as these pages are going through the press.


continue the story, reserving only the privilege of comment:

¹With Sir Lucius Cary² he had a most entire friendship without reserve, from his age of twenty years to the hour of his death, nearly twenty years after: upon which there will be occasion to enlarge when we come to speak of that time, and often before, and therefore we shall say no more of him in this place, than to shew his condition and qualifications, which were the first ingredients into that friendship, which was afterwards cultivated and improved by a constant conversation and familiarity, and by many accidents which contributed thereto. He had the advantage of a noble extraction,³ and of being born his father's eldest son, when there was a greater fortune in prospect to be inherited, (besides what he might reasonably expect by his mother,) than came afterwards to his possession. His education was equal

¹ Clarendon, *Life*, i, 42.

² For Clarendon's spelling of the name see *ante*, p. 10. It is probable that Lucius Cary had been knighted at his father's procurement, in preparation for the great match which was intended for him; at all events, he was Sir Lucius Cary when he was committed to the Fleet in January, 1629-30 (see the warrant in Lewis, *Lives of the Friends of Clarendon*, i, 189), when Jonson wrote his ode and when he married (Lodge, *Portraits*, No. 104), but he is not recorded in Metcalfe's *Book of Knights*. It seems improbable that he could have been knighted in 1626, as Marriott asserts (p. 66), for he would then have been no more than sixteen years of age. Marriott is not strong on his purely genealogical details.

³ Triplet, the Oxford scholar who had frequented Great Tew and edited Falkland's *Infallibility* after his death, says with Puritan unction in the dedication of that book to Henry Cary, fourth Lord Falkland: "While others studied the heraldry of horses, of dogs or at the best their owne, he, though not inferior to his neighbours in descent or honour, knowing how much more glorious it is to be the first than the last of a noble family (blood without vertue making vice more conspicuous) was so far from relying upon that empty title, that he seemed *ipse suos genuisse parentes*, to have begotten his ancestors, and to have given them a more illustrious life than he received from them."




to his birth, at least in the care, if not in the climate; for his father being deputy of Ireland, before he was of age fit to be sent abroad, his breeding was in the court, and in the university, of Dublin; but under the care, vigilance, and direction of such governors and tutors, that he learned all those exercises and languages, better than most men do in more celebrated places; insomuch as when he came into England, which was when he was about the age of eighteen years, he was not only master of the Latin tongue, and had read all the poets, and other of the best authors, with notable judgment for that age, but he understood and spake and writ French, as if he had spent many years in France.

He had another advantage, which was a great ornament to the rest, that was, a good, a plentiful estate, of which he had the early possession. His mother was the sole daughter and heir of the lord chief baron Tanfield, who having given a fair proportion with his daughter in marriage, had kept himself free to dispose of his land, and his other estate, in such manner as he should think fit; and he settled it in such manner upon his grandson Sir Lucius Cary, without taking notice of his father, or mother, that upon his grandmother's death, which fell out about the time that he was nineteen years of age, all the land, with two very good houses very well furnished (worth above 2000 £ per annum), in a most pleasant country, and the two most pleasant places in this country, with a very plentiful personal estate, fell into his hands and possession, and to his entire disposal.

With these advantages, he had one great disadvantage (which in the first entrance into the world is attended with too much prejudice) in his person and presence, which was in no degree attractive or promising. His stature was low, and smaller than most men; his motion not graceful; and his aspect so far from inviting,¹ that it had somewhat in it

¹ Aubrey (*Letters*, ii, part i, 351) says: "He was a little man and of no great strength of body: he had blackish haire, something



of simplicity; and his voice the worst of the three, and so untuned, that instead of reconciling, it offended the ear, so that nobody would have expected music from that tongue; and sure no man was less beholden to nature for its recommendation into the world: but then no man sooner or more disappointed this general and customary prejudice; that little person and small stature was quickly found to contain a great heart, a courage so keen and a nature so fearless, that no composition of the strongest limbs, and most harmonious and proportioned presence and strength, ever more disposed any man to the greatest enterprise; it being his greatest weakness to be too solicitous for such adventures: and that untuned tongue and voice easily discovered itself to be supplied and governed by a mind and understanding so excellent, that the wit and weight of all he said carried another kind of lustre and admiration in it, and even another kind of acceptance from the persons present, than any ornament of delivery could reasonably promise itself, or is usually attended with; and his disposition and nature was so gentle and obliging, so much delighted in courtesy, kindness and generosity, that all mankind could not but admire and love him.


In a short time after he had possession of the estate his grandfather had left him, and before he was of age, he committed a fault against his father, in marrying a young lady, whom he passionately loved, without any considerable portion, which exceedingly offended him; and disappointed all his reasonable hopes and expectation of redeeming and repairing his own broken fortune, and desperate hopes in court, by some advantageous marriage of his son; about which he had then some probable treaty. Sir Lucius Cary was very conscious to himself of his offence and transgression, and the consequence of it, which though he could not repent, having

flaggy, and I think his eyes black." Triplet says: "He was of David's stature, of his courage too." Falkland derived both physical and mental characteristics from his mother.

married a lady of a most extraordinary wit and judgment, and of the most signal virtue and exemplary life, that the age produced,¹ and who brought him many hopeful children, in which he took great delight; yet he confessed it, with the most sincere and dutiful applications to his father for his pardon that could be made; and for the prejudice he had brought upon his fortune, by bringing no portion to him, he offered to repair it, by resigning his whole estate to his disposal, and to rely wholly upon his kindness for his own maintenance and support; and to that purpose, he had caused conveyances to be drawn by council, which he brought ready engrossed to his father, and was willing to seal and execute them, that they might be valid: but his father's passion and

¹ It would not be fair to estimate Lettice Moryson, Lady Falkland, by Clarendon's panegyric; even less by the opinion of her lively mother-in-law, who could not endure her. We have the documents for her life from the hands of those who best understood her. She was a religious enthusiast of a strong Puritan cast. Her fervor being sincere, and to her age exemplary, caused her to be celebrated in three publications shortly after her death in 1646, viz.: (1) a long elegy in verse by an anonymous author, *To the memory of the most religious and virtuous Lady, the Lady Lettice, Vi-Countesse Falkland*; (2) a collection of her own letters, *The Returnes of Spiritual Comfort and Grief in a Devout Soul*; and (3) a biography by the Rev. John Duncon entitled *Letter to Lady Morison, containing many remarkable passages in the most holy life and death of the late Lady Lettice Vi-Countess Falkland*. This last describes in detail the regimen of spiritual discipline which she imposed upon her household. Her rule was that her maid-servants should "pray with David seven times a day," and if not seven times with David, then "with Daniel three times," and if not even three times with Daniel, then at least "with Levi to offer up Morning and Evening sacrifice. . . . This she required from the busiest servants in the house. . . . When faults were evident she would reprove with a great deal of power." On this the ribald author of *Falklands* comments: "It was a pity that she had not searched the scriptures sufficiently to draw the pretty obvious inference that neither David, nor Daniel, nor Levi had to dust the rooms, make the fires or peel the potatoes for 'men of parts,'" and proceeds: "Let me add that I hope I have not allowed her to bore my readers, so much as I suspect she bored her husband."

Against this searching suggestion the priests of the Falkland cult




indignation so far transported him, (though he was a gentleman of excellent parts,) that he refused any reconciliation, and rejected all the offers that were made him of the estate; so that his son remained still in the possession of his estate against his will; for which he found great reason afterwards to rejoice: but he was for the present so much afflicted with his father's displeasure, that he transported himself and his wife into Holland,¹ resolving to buy some military command, and to spend the remainder of his life in that profession: but being disappointed in the treaty he expected, and finding no opportunity to accommodate himself with such a command, he returned again into England; resolving to retire to a country life and to his books;² that since he was not like to improve himself in arms, he might advance in letters.

In this resolution he was so severe (as he was always have taken comfort in the fact, first pointed out by Clarendon, that by his will made June 12, 1642, just at the beginning of the serious trouble between the king and the Parliament, Falkland left his entire estate and the unrestricted custody and education of his boys to "my dearly beloved wife Lettice Viscountess of Falkland." The fact that Falkland was a gentleman cannot disguise the other fact that in tastes and interests he and his wife must have become unsympathetic, which to one of his sensitive nature, who respected his wife's high ideals, would go far to explain his state of mind when war came. It is too Plutarchian to attribute his death altogether to discouragement over the political situation, though that undoubtedly contributed. Falkland sincerely loved his wife and a breach of sympathy in a matter of as much importance to both of them as religion was likely to prey on his fine soul. Lettice survived her husband only three years, dying of a consumption, and leaving to her sons a tubercular tendency, to which three of them promptly succumbed.

¹ It was during this visit to Holland that he made the acquaintance of Grotius. (Tulloch, *Rational Theology*, i, 91.)

² Triplet says of these occupations: "How often have I heard him pity those hawking gentlemen who in unseasonable weather for their sports had betrayed them to keep house, without a worse exercise within doores, could not have told how to have spent their time and all because they were such strangers to such good companions with whom he was so familiar, such as neither cloy nor weary any with whom they converse, such companions as Erasmus so much extolleth."



naturally very intent upon what he was inclined to,) that he declared he would not see London in many years, which was the place he loved of all the world; and that in his studies he would first apply himself to Greek, and pursue it without intermission, till he should attain to the full understanding of that tongue: and it is hardly to be credited, what industry he used, and what success attended that industry: for though his father's death, by an unhappy accident, made his repair to London absolutely necessary, in fewer years than he had proposed for his absence; yet he had first made himself master of the Greek tongue (in the Latin he was very well versed before), and had read not only the Greek historians, but Homer likewise, and such of the poets as were worthy to be perused.¹

Though his father's death brought no other convenience to him but a title to redeem an estate, mortgaged for as much as it was worth, and for which he was compelled to sell a

¹ In one of his own poems Falkland, discoursing on classical studies, told how he himself eschewed

“Those looser poets, whose lascivious pen
Ascribing crimes to gods, taught them to men.”

Although Clarendon does not mention it, Falkland produced a considerable body of verse. Anthony à Wood (*Ath. Oxon*, ii, 566) says: “His first years of reason were spent in poetry and polite learning, into the first of which he made divers plausible sallies which caused him, therefore, to be admired by the poets of those times.” These “plausible sallies” were not published at the time, but have been collected by Dr. A. B. Groshart (*The Poems of L. Carey in Miscellanies of the Fuller's Worthies Library*, 1870). They include invocations to George Sandys, Grotius, Dr. Donne, Ben Jonson, “the Ladie Marquesse Hamilton” and Elizabeth Countess of Huntington. The last named elegy Horace Walpole, attributing it to Falkland's father, characterizes as “not bad.” The contemporary opinion of Falkland as a poet was judiciously expressed by Dr. John Earle (1601-1665), one of the Great Tew *convivium philosophicum* mentioned by Clarendon, who after the Restoration became Bishop of Salisbury and was by way of being a poet himself. According to Aubrey “Dr. Earle would not allow Falkland to be a good poet though a great wit: he writt not a

finer seat of his own;¹ yet it imposed a burden upon him of the title of a viscount, and an increase of expense,² in which he was not in his nature too provident or restrained; having naturally such a generosity and bounty in him, that he seemed to have his estate in trust, for all worthy persons who stood in want of supplies and encouragement, as Ben Jonson, and many others of that time, whose fortunes required, and whose spirits made them superior to, ordinary obligations;³ which yet they were contented to receive from him, because his bounties were so generously distributed, and so much without vanity and ostentation, that, except from those

smooth verse, but a great deal of sense." This was Falkland's own estimate also; he had no illusion that he was an inspired poet. Thus in his verses to George Sandys he says:

"Such is the verse thou writ'st that who reads thine
Can never be content to suffer mine:
Such is the verse I write, that reading mine
I hardly can believe I have read thine;
And wonder that, their excellence once knowne,
I nor correct, nor yet conceale, mine owne."

This judgment is confirmed by modern opinion. Matthew Arnold, a true poet and an acute critic of the best in poetry, as well as one of Falkland's greatest admirers, says: "As a writer, he scarcely counts." Gardiner characterizes Falkland's verse as "pleasing, but there is no trace of imaginative power."

¹ This was his own birthplace, Burford Priory. The purchaser was William Lenthall, afterwards speaker of the House of Commons. Eight years later, in 1642, Falkland sold also his ancestral estate of Aldenham in Herts.

² He was made a gentleman of the privy chamber after his father's death, which required occasional attendance at court.

³ This is a delicious sally at the poets, whose gatherings at Great Tew apparently did not interest Clarendon (or at least did not seem to him to be worthy of his hero) as did the *convivium theologicum*: at all events Clarendon does not mention them except by implication. Thus elsewhere (*Rebellion*, iv, 242) Clarendon takes another fling at these associations: "And it cannot be denied, though he admitted some few to his friendship for the agreeableness of their natures, and their undoubted affection to him, that his familiarity and friendship, for the most part, was with men of the

few persons from whom he sometimes received the characters of fit objects for his benefits, or whom he intrusted, for the more secret deriving them to them, he did all he could that the persons themselves who received them should not know from what fountain they flowed; and when that could not be concealed, he sustained any acknowledgment

most eminent and sublime parts, and of untouched reputation in point of integrity; and such men had a title to his bosom." Sir John Suckling has, however, supplied the omission in his verses *A Session of the Poets*, in which we meet under Falkland's roof, early in 1637, most of the Caroline wits:

"A session was held the other day
And Apollo himself was at it (they say);
The laurel that had been so long reserv'd
Was now to be given to him best deserv'd;
And

"Therefore the wits of the town came thither;
'Twas strange to see how they flocked together,
Each strongly confident of his own way,
Thought to gain the laurel away that day.

"There Selden, and he sat hard by the chair:
Weinman not far off, which was very fair:
Sands with Townsend, for they keep no order:
Digby and Shillingworth a little further:
And

"There was Lucans translator too, and he
That makes God speak so big in's poetry:
Selwin and Waller and Bartlets, inbrothers:
Jack Vaughan and Porter, and divers others.

"The first that broke silence was good old Ben,
Prepar'd before with Canary wine,
And he told them plainly he deserv'd the bays,
For his were call'd works, where others were but plays.

"Tom Carew was next, but he had a fault
That would not stand well with a laureate:
His muse was hard bound, and th' issue of his brain
Was seldom brought forth but with trouble and pain.

"Will Davenant, asham'd of a foolish mischance
That he had got lately travelling in France,

from the persons obliged with so much trouble and bashfulness, that they might well perceive that he was even ashamed of the little he had given, and to receive so large a recompense for it.

Modestly hoped the handsomeness of his muse
Might any deformity about him excuse.

“Suckling next was called but did not appear,
But straight one whispered Apollo i'th'ear,
That of all men living he cared not for't,
He loved not the muses so well as his sport.

“Wat Montague now stood forth to his trial,
And did not so much as expect a denial;
But witty Apollo asked him first of all
If he understood his own pastoral.

“Hales, set by himself, most gravely did smile,
To see them about nothing keep such a coil;
Apollo had spied him, but knowing his mind,
Past by, and called Falkland that sat just behind.
But


“He was of late so gone with divinity
That he had almost forgotten his poetry;
Though to say the truth, and Apollo did know it,
He might have been both his priest and his poet.”

There is another record of such a gathering, this time in John Hales' rooms at Eton, at which Falkland presided, when, after lively debate on the comparative merits of Shakespeare and the classical poets, there was a unanimous verdict in favor of Shakespeare. See Gildon, *Miscellaneous Letters and Essays*, 1694, p. 85.

Falkland himself completes the catalogue in his *Eclogue* on the death of Ben Jonson:

“Digby, Carew, Killigrew, Maine,
Godolphin, Waller, that inspired traine.”


Of all these names perhaps the most interesting is that of George Sandys (1578-1644), whom Suckling calls Sands. He was forty years Falkland's senior and had seen much of the world—Italy, Turkey, Egypt and Palestine; but is now chiefly remembered by reason of his participation in the planting of Virginia and his translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, a part of which was written in Virginia between 1621 and 1628. (See Brown, *Genesis of the United States*, 994.)



As soon as he had finished all those transactions, which the death of his father had made necessary to be done, he retired again to his country life, and to his severe course of study, which was very delightful to him, as soon as he was engaged in it: but he was wont to say that he never found reluctance in any thing he resolved to do, but in his quitting London and departing from the conversation of those he enjoyed there; which was in some degree preserved and continued by frequent letters, and often visits, which were made by his friends from thence, whilst he continued wedded to the country; and which were so grateful to him, that during their stay with him he looked upon no book, except their very conversation made an appeal to some book; and truly his whole conversation was one continued *convivium philosophicum*, or *convivium theologicum*, enlivened and refreshed with all the facetiousness of wit and good humour and pleasantness of discourse, which made the gravity of the argument (whatever it was) very delectable. His house where he usually resided, (Tew, or Burford, in Oxfordshire), being within ten or twelve miles of the university,¹ looked like the university itself, by the company that was always found there. There were Dr. Sheldon, Dr. Morley,² Dr. Hammond, Dr. Earles, Mr. Chillingworth, and indeed all men of eminent parts and faculties in Oxford, besides those who resorted thither from London; who all found their lodgings there, as ready as in the colleges; nor did the lord

¹ Great Tew was in fact sixteen miles from Oxford. Burford, which was still further west, had now passed out of Falkland's possession.

² George Morley (1597-1684) remained loyal to the crown, and after the Restoration became Bishop of Winchester. Bishop Burnet says (*History of My Own Time*, i, 321) that he "became known to the world as a friend of Lord Falkland's, and that was enough to raise a man's character." He was a staunch Calvinist and is credited (Clarendon, *Life*, i, 56) with a pleasant witticism: being asked what the Arminians held, he replied, "All the best bishoprics and deaneries in England."



of the house know of their coming or going, nor who were in his house, till he came to dinner or supper, where all still met;¹ otherwise, there was no troublesome ceremony or restraint, to forbid men to come to the house, or to make them weary of staying there; so that many came thither to study in a better air,² finding all the books they could desire in his library, and all the persons together whose company they could wish, and not find in any other society. Here Mr. Chillingworth wrote, and formed and modelled his excellent book against the learned Jesuit Mr. Nott,³ after fre-

¹ The author of *Falklands* merrily comments: "If any mistress of a country house should honour me by glancing at these pages, it may occur to her mind that servants would be rather hard worked in an establishment such as that just described. The difficulty connected with clean sheets, where there was a constant interchange of visitors, may not have been on exactly the same footing in the earlier part of the seventeenth century as in the later part of the nineteenth; but at best the promiscuous comings and goings so ably described by Clarendon would have been . . . embarrassing to the hostess."

Dean Swift has an anecdote (*A Letter to a Young Gentleman lately enter'd into Holy Orders*) which indicates that Falkland did consider his wife's maid-servants, however, if in a novel manner. "I believe the method observed by the famous Lord Falkland in some of his writings would not be an ill one for young divines: I was assured by an old person of quality who knew him well that when he doubted whether a word was perfectly intelligible or not, he used to consult one of his lady's chambermaids (not the waiting woman, because it was possible she might be conversant in romances) and by her judgment was guided whether to receive or reject it."

² Clarendon expressed this thought more elaborately elsewhere (*Rebellion*, iv, 243) in a passage which has become a familiar quotation:

"They frequently resorted, and dwelt with him, as in a college situated in a purer air; so that his house was a university in a less volume; whither they came not so much for repose as study; and to examine and refine those grosser propositions, which laziness and consent made current in vulgar conversation." Dr. Birbeck Hill considers this passage an admirable expression of the character of Dr. Samuel Johnson (*Boswell*, iv, 494).

³ This was *The Religion of Protestants, a Safe Way to Salvation* (1637), which Principal Tulloch describes (*Rational Theology*, i,


quent debates upon the most important particulars; in many of which he suffered himself to be overruled by the judgment of his friends, though in others he still adhered to his own fancy, which was sceptical enough, even in the highest points.

¹ Many attempts were made upon him by the instigation of his mother (who was a lady of another persuasion in religion, and of a most masculine understanding, allayed with the passion and infirmities of her own sex) to pervert him in his piety to the church of England, and to reconcile him to that of Rome;² which they prosecuted with the more confidence,

261) as still "a bulwark of Protestant argument," though he admits that it is now more respected than read. William Chillingworth (1602-1644) was one of Falkland's closest friends and his theological guide. He had flirted with Rome: Clarendon tells an amusing story that Chillingworth unfolded his own doubts to a certain clergyman so logically and eloquently "the poor man not able to live long in doubt too hastily deserted his own church; . . . but he had always a great animosity against him for having (as he said) unkindly betrayed him and carried him into another religion and there left him." Taine (*English Literature*, tr. Van Laun, book II, chap. 5) characterizes Chillingworth as "a notably brilliant and loyal mind, the most exact, the most penetrating and the most convincing of controversialists, first Protestant, then Catholic, then Protestant again and forever, has the courage to say that these great changes, wrought in himself and by himself, through study and research, are, of all his actions, those which satisfy him most. He maintains that reason applied to Scripture alone ought to persuade men: that authority has no claim in it." This at the time was called Socinianism. If Chillingworth was a Socinian, so doubtless was Falkland. The modern low churchman, with his Calvinist prejudices, holds up this epithet as a stigma upon Falkland, but it no longer disturbs the high churchman, who has always taken kindly to Arminianism.


¹ Clarendon, *Rebellion*, iv, 243.

² There are illuminating discussions of the vigorous and confident Roman propaganda in England at this time, in Hallam, *Constitutional History*, viii, and in Masson, *Milton*, i, 638. "Their success in conversions . . . were . . . less remarkable for their number than for the condition of the persons." Lady Falkland and Lady Buckingham were conspicuous examples.



because he declined no opportunity or occasion of conference with those of that religion, whether priests or laics; having diligently studied the controversies, and exactly read all, or the choicest, of the Greek and Latin fathers, and having a memory so stupendous, that he remembered, on all occasions, whatsoever he read. And he was so great an enemy to that passion and uncharitableness, which he saw produced, by difference of opinion, in matters of religion, that in all those disputations with priests and others of the Roman church, he affected to manifest all possible civility to their persons, and estimation of their parts; which made them retain still some hope of his reduction, even when they had given over offering farther reasons to him to that purpose. But this charity towards them was much lessened, and any correspondence with them quite declined, when, by sinister arts, they had corrupted his two younger brothers, being both children, and stolen them from his house, and transported them beyond seas, and perverted his sisters: upon which occasion he writ two large discourses against the principal positions of that religion, with that sharpness of style, and full weight of reason, that the church is deprived of great jewels in the concealment of them, and that they are not published to the world.¹

¹ Dean Swift comments: "Ten thousand pities that they are not to be recovered." In the event the Church was not to be deprived of these jewels. The *Discourse of the Infallibility of the Church of Rome*, which is Falkland's chief claim to theological reputation, was written in 1635, the occasion being, as Clarendon says, Falkland's distress at his mother's success in kidnapping his younger brothers and sending them off with four of his sisters to be educated in France in the Roman Church; but he took as his text the "reconciliation" with Rome of his friend Walter Montague, the "Wat" of the *Session of the Poets*. The MS. was edited and published in 1646, after Falkland's death, by Thomas Triplet (according to Aubrey "a very wity man of Ch. Ch."), who had frequented Great Tew. There was another edition in 1651 and a third in 1660. This last includes Falkland's speech in the House of Commons against the "root and branch" bill and bears the title *A Dis-*



¹ But all his parts, abilities and faculties, by art and industry, were not to be valued or mentioned in comparison of his most accomplished mind and manners: his gentleness and affability was so transcendent and obliging, that it drew reverence, and some kind of compliance, from the roughest and most unpolished and stubborn constitutions; and made them of another temper in debate, in his presence, than they were in other places. . . . In his conversation which was the most cheerful and pleasant that can be imagined, though he was young (for all I have yet spoken of him doth not exceed his age of twenty-five or twenty-six years) and of great gayety in his humor, with a flowing delightfulness of language, he had so chaste a tongue and ear, that there was never known a profane or loose word to fall from him, nor in truth in his company;² the integrity and cleanliness of the wit of that time not exercising itself in that license before persons for whom they had any esteem.

³ In the last short parliament he was a burgess in the house of commons; and, from the debates which were there managed with all imaginable gravity and sobriety, he contracted such a reverence to parliaments, that he thought it really impossible they could ever produce mischief or incon-


course of Infallibility, with Mr. T. White's answer to it and a reply to him. Also Mr. W. Montague . . . his letter against Protestantism and his lordship's answer thereto . . . to which are now added two Discourses of Episcopacy by Viscount Falkland and William Chillingworth.

Gardiner's judgment upon these writings is that they show ability without originality. Falkland is sympathetically and critically studied on the theological side in Principal Tulloch's *Rational Theology and Christian Philosophy in England in the Seventeenth Century* (1874), an excellent and most stimulating book.

¹ Clarendon, *Life*, i, 49.

² This characteristic of the gentleman in all ages, like the story of his putting on clean linen in which to be killed, at which the vulgar have sneered, is ample warrant for Lord Lytton's reference to Falkland's "fastidious tastes."


³ Clarendon, *Rebellion*, iv, 244.



venience to the kingdom; or that the kingdom could be tolerably happy in the intermission of them. And from the unhappy and unseasonable dissolution of that convention, he harbored, it may be, some jealousy and prejudice to the court, towards which he was not before immoderately inclined; his father having wasted a full fortune there, in those offices and employments by which other men used to obtain a greater. He was chosen again this parliament to serve in the same place,¹ and, in the beginning of it, declared himself very sharply and severely against those exorbitances, which had been most grievous to the state; for he was so rigid an observer of established laws and rules, that he could not endure the least breach or deviation from them; and thought no mischief so intolerable as the presumption of ministers of state to break positive rules, for reasons of state; or judges to transgress known laws, upon the title of conveniency, or necessity; which made him so severe against the earl of Strafford and the lord Finch, contrary to his natural gentleness and temper: insomuch as they who did not know his composition to be as free from revenge, as it was from pride, thought that the sharpness to the former might proceed from the memory of some unkindnesses, not without a mixture of injustice, from him towards his father. But without doubt he was free from those temptations, and in both cases was only misled by the authority of those, who, he believed, understood the laws perfectly; of which himself was utterly ignorant;² and if the assumption, which was then

¹ From the *Official Return of Members of Parliament* it appears that in the Short Parliament (1640) "Luke Visct Falkland" sat for the borough of Newport in the Isle of Wight: in the Long Parliament following (what Clarendon calls "this parliament") he is entered for the same borough as "Lucius, Ld. Visct Falkland" with the note against his name "disabled to sit," which means that about January 1, 1642, he was appointed secretary of state.


² It is possible that Falkland's early marriage prevented him from studying law; at all events, on February 18, 1637, he had been admitted to Lincoln's Inn. See Foster's *Calendar of the Admission Register*.



scarce controverted, had been true, "that an endeavor to overthrow the fundamental laws of the kingdom was treason," a strict understanding might make reasonable conclusions to satisfy his own judgment, from the exorbitant parts of their several charges.

The great opinion he had of the uprightness and integrity of those persons who appeared most active, especially of Mr. Hambden, kept him longer from suspecting any design against the peace of the kingdom; and though he differed from them commonly in conclusions, he believed long their purposes were honest. When he grew better informed what was law, and discerned in them a desire to control that law by a vote of one or both houses, no man more opposed those attempts, and gave the adverse party more trouble by reason and argumentation; insomuch as he was by degrees looked upon as an advocate for the court,¹ to which he contributed so little, that he declined those addresses, and even those invitations which he was obliged almost by civility to entertain. And he was so jealous of the least imagination that he should incline to preferment, that he affected even a moroseness to the court, and to the courtiers; and left nothing undone which might prevent and divert the king's or queen's favour towards him, but the deserving it. For when the king sent for him once or twice to speak with him, and to give him thanks for his excellent comportment in those councils, which

¹ Falkland's brief career in Parliament (so much like that of Strafford without the virility) is marked by five notable speeches, in which we can trace the development of his opinion from the first generous indignation at the abuse of prerogative, through doubts of the sincerity and ultimate purpose of the radicals, to a logical but reluctant choice of the court party as the lesser of two evils. The first stage is illustrated by the speech of December 5, 1640, in the Commons against ship money, followed shortly by that at the bar of the Lords for the impeachment of Lord Keeper Finch. (These are both quoted at length from *Rushworth* in *Marriott*, 161 and 168.) The next stage begins with the speech of February 8, 1641, in favor of curtailing the power of the bishops (quoted from *Rushworth* in *Marriott*, 181), and ends with that of



his majesty graciously termed "doing him service," his answers were more negligent, and less satisfactory, than might be expected; as if he cared only that his actions should be just, not that they should be acceptable, and that his majesty should think that they proceeded only from the impulsion of conscience, without any sympathy in his affections; which, from a stoical and sullen nature, might not have been misinterpreted; yet, from a person of so perfect a habit of generous and obsequious compliance with all good men, might very well have been interpreted by the king as more than an ordinary averseness to his service: so that he took more pains, and more forced his nature to actions unagreeable, and unpleasant to it, that he might not be thought to incline to the court, than most men have done to procure an office there. And if any thing but not doing his duty could have kept him from receiving a testimony of the king's grace and trust at that time, he had not been called to his council; not that he was in truth averse from receiving public employment; for he had a great devotion to the king's person, and had before used some small endeavor to be recommended to him for a foreign negotiation, and had once a desire to be sent ambassador into France; but he abhorred an imagination or doubt should sink into the thoughts of any man, that, in the discharge of his trust and duty in parliament, he had any bias to the court, or that the king himself should apprehend that he looked for a reward for being honest.


May 27, 1641, against the "root and branch" bill. (This was included in Triplet's 1660 edition of Falkland's *Infallibility*, and is quoted in *Marriott*, 198.) The final stage was the speech of November 22, 1641, in the debate on the Grand Remonstrance which led directly to Falkland's appointment as secretary of state about January 1, 1642. This last speech has been pieced out by Forster (*Grand Remonstrance*, 287) from the notes taken on the spot by Verney and D'Ewes. Forster's picture of Falkland on this momentous occasion is vital. He "spoke with greater passion in his warmth and earnestness: his thin high-pitched voice breaking into a scream, and his little spare slight frame trembling with eagerness."

For this reason, when he heard it first whispered, "that the king had a purpose to make him a 'privy counsellor,' for which there was, in the beginning, no other ground, but because he was known sufficient, (*haud semper errat fama; aliquando et elegit*¹) he resolved to decline it; and at last suffered himself only to be overruled, by the advice and persuasions of his friends, to submit to it. Afterwards, when he found that the king intended to make him secretary of state, he was positive to refuse it; declaring to his friends, "that he was most unfit for it, and that he must either do that which would be great disquiet to his own nature, or leave that undone which was most necessary to be done by one that was honored with that place; for the most just and honest men did, every day, that which he could not give himself leave to do." And indeed he was so exact and strict an observer of justice and truth, that he believed those necessary condescensions and applications to the weakness of other men, and those arts and insinuations which are necessary for discoveries, and prevention of ill, would be in him a declension from his own rules of life: though he acknowledged them fit and absolutely necessary to be practised in those employments. He was, in truth, so precise in the practical principles he prescribed himself, (to all others he was as indulgent,) as if he had lived *in republica Platonis, non in faece Romuli*.²

Two reasons prevailed with him to receive the seals, and but for those he had resolutely avoided them. The first, the consideration that his refusal might bring some blemish upon the king's affairs, and that men would have believed that he had refused so great an honour and trust because he must have been with it obliged to do somewhat else not justifiable. And this he made matter of conscience, since he knew the king made choice of him, before other men, especially because


¹ Tacitus, *Agricola*, ix.

² Cicero, *Epist. ad Atticum*, ii, I. The quotation is not literal.



he thought him more honest than other men. The other was, lest he might be thought to avoid it out of fear to do an ungracious thing to the house of commons, who were sorely troubled at the displacing Sir Harry Vane, whom they looked upon as removed for having done them those offices they stood in need of; and the disdain of so popular an incumbrance wrought upon him next to the other. For as he had a full appetite of fame by just and generous actions, so he had an equal contempt of it by any servile expedients: and he so much the more consented to and approved the justice upon Sir Harry Vane, in his own private judgment, by how much he surpassed most men in the religious observation of a trust, the violation whereof he would not admit of any excuse for.

For these reasons, he submitted to the king's command, and became his secretary, with as humble and devoted an acknowledgment of the greatness of the obligation, as could be expressed, and as true a sense of it in his heart. Yet two things he could never bring himself to, whilst he continued in that office, that was to his death; for which he was contented to be reproached, as for omissions in a most necessary part of his place. The one, employing of spies, or giving any countenance or entertainment to them. I do not mean such emissaries, as with danger would venture to view the enemy's camp, and bring intelligence of their number, or quartering, or any particulars that such an observation can comprehend; but those, who by communication of guilt, or dissimulation of manners, wind themselves into such trusts and secrets as enable them to make discoveries. The other, the liberty of opening letters, upon a suspicion that they might contain matter of dangerous consequence. For the first, he would say, "such instruments must be void of all ingenuity, and common honesty, before they could be of use; and afterwards they could never be fit to be credited: and that no single preservation could be worth so general a wound, and



corruption of human society, as the cherishing such persons would carry with it." The last, he thought "such a violation of the law of nature, that no qualification by office could justify him in the trespass"; and though he was convinced by the necessity, and iniquity of the time, that those advantages of information were not to be declined, and were necessarily to be practised, he found means to put it off from himself; whilst he confessed he needed excuse and pardon for the omission: so unwilling he was to resign any part of good nature to an obligation in his office.


In all other particulars he filled his place with great sufficiency,¹ being well versed in languages, to understand any

¹ This complaisant judgment hardly seems borne out by the facts. Clarendon defines elsewhere (*Life*, i, 104) Falkland's mature views on the political problems of the times:

"But he had in his own judgment such a latitude in opinion, that he did not believe any part of the order or government of [the Church] to be so essentially necessary to religion but that it might be parted with and altered for a notable public benefit or convenience; and that the crown itself ought to gratify the people, in yielding to many things; and to part with some power rather than to run the hazards which would attend the refusal."

If Falkland had been able to persuade the king to such views as these then he would have been a great secretary of state and have performed an inestimable service to his country and to his king as well. Once in office, what he thought may be interesting but the important is what he accomplished. Clarendon supplies also the reason for Falkland's failure (*Life*, i, 105):

"Albeit, he had the greatest compliance with the weakness and even the humour of other men, when there could be no suspicion of flattery; and the greatest address to inform and reform them: yet towards the King, who many times obstinately adhered to many conclusions which did not naturally result from good premises, and did love to argue many things to which he would not so positively adhere, he did not practice that condescension; but contradicted him with more bluntness, and by sharp sentences; and in some particulars (as of the church) to which the King was in conscience most devoted: and of this his majesty often complained; and cared less to confer with him in private, and was less persuaded by him, than his affairs, and the other's great parts and wisdom, would have required: though he had not a better opinion of any man's sincerity or fidelity towards him."




that are used in business, and to make himself again understood. To speak of his integrity, and his high disdain of any bait that might seem to look towards corruption, *in tanto viro . . . injuria virtutum fuerit.*¹ Some sharp expressions he used against the archbishop of Canterbury, and his concurring in the first bill to take away the votes of bishops in the house of peers, gave occasion to some to believe, and opportunity to others to conclude, and publish, "that he was no friend to the church and the established government of it;" and troubled his very friends much, who were more confident of the contrary, than prepared to answer the allegations.

The truth is he had unhappily contracted some prejudice to the archbishop; and having observed his passion, when, it may be, multiplicity of business, or other indisposition, had possessed him, did wish him less entangled and engaged in the business of the court, or state: though, I speak it knowingly, he had a singular estimation and reverence of his great learning and confessed integrity; and really thought his own letting himself loose to those expressions, which implied a disesteem of the archbishop, or at least an acknowledgment of his infirmities, would enable him to shelter him from part of the storm he saw raised for his destruction; which he abominated with his soul.

The giving his consent to the first bill for the displacing the bishops, did proceed from two grounds: the first, his not understanding then the original of their right and suffrage there; the other, an opinion that the combination against the whole government of the church by bishops was so violent and furious, that a less composition than the dispensing with their intermeddling in secular affairs, would not preserve the order. And he was persuaded to this by the profession of many persons of honour, who declared, "they did desire the one, and would not then press the other;" which, in that

¹ Tacitus, *Agricola*, ix.



particular, misled many men. But when his observation and experience made him discern more of their intentions, than he before suspected, with great frankness he opposed the second bill that was preferred for that purpose; and had, without scruple, the order itself in perfect reverence; and thought too great encouragement could not possibly be given to learning, nor too great rewards to learned men. He was never in the least degree swayed or moved by the objections which were made against that government in the church (holding them most ridiculous) or affected to the other, which those men fancied to themselves.

He had a courage of the most clear and keen temper, and so far from fear, that he seemed not without some appetite of danger; and therefore, upon any occasion of action, he always engaged his person in those troops, which he thought, by the forwardness of the commanders, to be most like to be farthest engaged; and in all such encounters he had about him an extraordinary cheerfulness, without at all affecting the execution that usually attended them, in which he took no delight, but took pains to prevent it, where it was not, by resistance, made necessary: insomuch that at Edge-hill when the enemy was routed, he was like to have incurred great peril, by interposing to save those who had thrown away their arms, and against whom, it may be, others were more fierce for their having thrown them away: so that a man might think, he came into the field chiefly out of curiosity to see the face of danger, and charity to prevent the shedding of blood. Yet in his natural inclination he acknowledged he was addicted to the profession of a soldier; and shortly after he came to his fortune, before he was of age, he went into the Low Countries, with a resolution of procuring command, and to give himself up to it, from which he was diverted by the complete inactivity of that summer: so he returned into England, and shortly after entered upon that vehement course of study we mentioned before, till the

first alarm from the north; then again he made ready for the field, and though he received some repulse in the command of a troop of horse, of which he had a promise, he went a volunteer with the earl of Essex.¹

From the entrance into this unnatural war, his natural cheerfulness and vivacity grew clouded, and a kind of sadness and dejection of spirit stole upon him, which he had never been used to; yet being one of those who believed that one battle would end all differences, and that there would be so great a victory on one side, that the other would be compelled to submit to any conditions from the victor (which supposition and conclusion generally sunk into the minds of


¹ This was Charles I's futile array in the summer of 1639 against the Scots Covenanters, known as the First Bishops' War, "a crusade in favor of episcopal power and a compulsory liturgy." Falkland's taking part in it was the occasion of an outburst from the poets. Waller sang:

"Brave *Holland* leads, and with him *Falkland* goes,
Who hears this told, and does not straight suppose
We send the *Graces* and the *Muses* forth
To civilise and to instruct the *North!*"

The youthful Cowley, then just preening his wings, followed:

Great is thy *Charge O North!* be wise and just,
England commits her *Falkland* to thy trust:
Return him safe: *Learning* would rather chuse
Her *Bodley* and her *Vatican* to lose,
All things that are but *writ* or *Printed* there,
In his unbounded *Breast engraven* are."

There was in fact as little danger in, as there was opportunity to civilize, the north. The Scots had marched within the ten-mile limit on the border and established themselves at Kelso. The king's general, the Earl of Holland, was ordered to drive them out. He "drew his sword as other commanders did, with intention and order to charge; but the nearer they went, the more the Scottish troops increased." Holland sent a trumpeter to ask them what they were doing there. They replied by asking him a similar question and by recommending him to go "*back* again." This considerate advice Holland "found to be most expedient." Within a fortnight the Treaty of Berwick was signed and the cruel war was over. (Gardiner, *History*, ix, 27.)




most men, and prevented the looking after many advantages that might then have been laid hold of), he resisted those indispositions, *et in luctu bellum inter remedia erat*.¹ But after the king's return from Brentford, and the furious resolution of the two houses not to admit any treaty for peace, those indispositions, which had before touched him, grew into a perfect habit of uncheerfulness; and he, who had been so exactly easy and affable to all men, that his face and countenance was always present, and vacant to his company, and held any cloudiness, and less pleasantness of the visage, a kind of rudeness or incivility, became, on a sudden, less communicable; and thence, very sad, pale and exceedingly affected with the spleen. In his clothes and habit, which he had minded before always with more neatness and industry and expense than is usual to so great a soul, he was not now only incurious, but too negligent; and in his reception of suitors, and the necessary or casual addresses to his place, so quick and sharp and severe, that there wanted not some men (strangers to his nature and disposition) who believed him proud and imperious, from which no mortal man was ever more free.

It is true, that as he was of a most incomparable gentleness, application and even submission to good, and worthy, and entire men, so he was naturally (which could not but be more evident in his place, which objected him to another conversation and intermixture, than his own election would have done) *adversus malos injucundus*;² and was so ill a dissembler of his dislike and disinclination to ill men, that it was not possible for such not to discern it. There was once in the house of commons such a declared acceptance of the good service an eminent member had done to them, and, as they said, to the whole kingdom, that it was moved, he being present, "that the speaker might, in the name of the whole

¹ Tacitus, *Agricola*, xxix.

² *Ibid.*, xxii.



house, give him thanks; and then, that every member might, as a testimony of his particular acknowledgment, stir or move his hat towards him;" the which (though not ordered) when very many did, the lord Falkland (who believed the service itself not to be of that moment, and that an honourable and generous person could not have stooped to it for any recompense), instead of moving his hat, stretched both his arms out, and clasped his hands together upon the crown of his hat, and held it close down to his head; that all men might see how odious that flattery was to him, and the very approbation of the person, though at that time most popular.

When there was any overture or hope of peace, he would be more erect and vigorous, and exceedingly solicitous to press any thing which he thought might promote it; and sitting among his friends, often, after a deep silence and frequent sighs, would, with a shrill and sad accent, ingeminate the word *Peace, Peace*; and would passionately profess, "that the very agony of the war, and the view of the calamities and desolation the kingdom did and must endure, took his sleep from him, and would shortly break his heart." This made some think, or pretend to think, "that he was so much enamoured on peace, that he would have been glad the king should have bought it at any price;" which was a most unreasonable calumny. As if a man, that was himself the most punctual and precise in every circumstance that might reflect upon conscience or honour, could have wished the king to have committed a trespass against either. And yet this senseless scandal made some impression upon him, or at least he used it for an excuse of the daringness of his spirit; for at the leaguer before Gloucester, when his friend passionately reprehended him for exposing his person unnecessarily to danger (for he delighted to visit the trenches and nearest approaches, and to discover what the enemy did), as being so much beside the duty of his place, that it might be understood rather to be against it, he would say merrily, "that his


office could not take away the privilege of his age; and that a secretary in war might be present at the greatest secret of danger;" but withal alleged seriously, "that it concerned him to be more active in enterprises of hazard, than other men; that all might see that his impatency for peace proceeded not from pusillanimity, or fear to adventure his own person."

In the morning before the battle, as always upon action, he was very cheerful,¹ and put himself into the first rank of the lord Byron's regiment, then advancing upon the enemy, who had lined the hedges on both sides with musketeers; from whence he was shot with a musket in the lower part of the belly, and in the instant falling from his horse,² his body was

¹ The clean shirt story which aroused Horace Walpole's scorn is not in Clarendon, but in the *Memorials* of "wooden headed old Bulstrode" Whitelocke: "Lord Falkland on the morning of the battle called for clean linen as though expecting to be slain. His friends tried to dissuade him from fighting, but he declared that he was weary of the times, foresaw much misery to his own country, and did believe he should be out of it ere night."

² Byron's narrative of the battle of Newbury, September 20, 1643 (*Money, Two Battles of Newbury*), describes Falkland's end as follows:

"The service grew so hot that, in a very short time, of twelve ensigns that marched up with my Lord Gerard's regiment eleven were brought off the field hurt, and Ned Villiers shot through the shoulder. Upon this a confusion was heard among the foot, calling *horse! horse!* Whereupon I advanced with those two regiments I had and commanded them to halt while I went to view the ground and to see what way there was to that place where the enemy's foot was drawn up, which I found to be enclosed with a high quick hedge and no passage into it but by a narrow gap through which but one horse at a time could go and that not without difficulty. My Lord of Falkland did me the honour to ride in my troop this day and would needs go along with me. The enemy had beat our foot out of the close, and was drawne up near the hedge: I went to view, and as I was giving orders for making the gapp wide enough, my horse was shott in the throat with a musket bullet and his bit broken in his mouth, so that I was forced to call for another horse; in the meanwhile my Lord Falkland (more gallantly than advisedly) spurred his horse through the gapp, where both he and his horse were immediately killed."



not found till the next morning; till when, there was some hope he might have been a prisoner; though his nearest friends, who knew his temper, received small comfort from that imagination. Thus fell that incomparable young man, in the four and thirtieth year of his age, having so much despatched the true business of life, that the eldest rarely attain to that immense knowledge, and the youngest enter not into the world with more innocency: whosoever leads such a life, needs be the less anxious upon how short warning it is taken from him.


¹ Much hath been said of this excellent person before; but not so much, or so well, as his wonderful parts and virtues deserved. He died as much of the time as of the bullet:² for, from the very beginning of the war, he contracted so deep a sadness and melancholy, that his life was not pleasant to him; and sure he was too weary of it. Those who did not know him very well imputed, very unjustly, much of it to a

¹ Clarendon, *Life*, i, 201.

² This epigram ought to have been the source of Pope's verse, but was not published until after the *Essay on Man*: the opinion that Falkland sought his death was, however, current at the time; both Whitlocke and Aubrey voice it. Falkland himself had practically foretold it in the last verses he ever wrote, those inscribed to George Sandys at the beginning of the troubles:

“And since there are who have been taught that death
Inspireth prophetic, expelling breath,
I hope when these foretell what happie gaines
Posteritie shall reap from these thy paines . . .
The so taught will not believe refuse
To the last accents of a dying Muse.”

The modern priests of the Falkland cult have done their best to refute the suggestion of suicide by argument, but the latest authority, S. R. Gardiner, who founds his judgments in analysis, has come back to Clarendon's theory. “By a death,” he says (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*, iii, 1160), “which is scarcely distinguishable from suicide, Falkland closed his eyes to the horrors which he loathed.” That the weakness of Falkland's character which developed under stress, as is here pointed out, was congenital is well illustrated by the fact that the two women who most influenced his life were both consumptive.




violent passion he had for a noble lady; and it was the more spoken of, because she died the same day, and, as some computed it, in the same hour that he was killed: but they who knew either the lord or the lady, knew well that neither of them was capable of an ill imagination. She was of the most unspotted, unblemished virtue; never married; of an extraordinary talent of mind, but of no alluring beauty; nor of a constitution of tolerable health, being in a deep consumption, and not like to have lived so long by many months. It is very true the lord Falkland had an extraordinary esteem of her, and exceedingly loved her conversation, as most of the persons of eminent parts of that time did; for she was in her understanding, and discretion and wit, and modesty, above most women; the best of which had always a friendship with her.¹ But he was withal so kind to his wife, whom he knew to be an excellent person, that, though he loved his children with more affection and fondness than most fathers used to do, he left by his will all he had to his wife; and committed his three sons, who were all the children he had, to her sole care and bounty.

¹ Aubrey, who loved a morsel of scandal and is not the less entertaining in consequence, rehearses (*Letters*, ii, part I, 350) the gossip which Clarendon here refutes. He had, he says, "been well informed by those that best knew the Lord Falkland and knew intrigues behind the curtains (as they say), that it was the grief of the death of Mrs Moray, a handsome lady at court, who was his mistress, and whom he loved above all creatures, was the true course of his being so madly guilty of his own death." Before there was any question of "Mrs Moray" Falkland had a perfectly clear appreciation of the ultimate consequence of all such relations. In his verses to George Sandys he had written:

"Those who make wit their curse, who spend their brain,
Their time and art, in looser verse, and gain
Damnation and a mistress, till they see
How constant that is, how inconstant she."

Human nature and philosophy are not, however, always compatible. Doubtless Falkland confided to "Mrs Moray" that his Lettice was no longer sympathetic, but it is altogether unlikely that he was unfaithful to her.



As Clarendon says, the body of Falkland was not found on the night of the battle. The next day Prince Rupert wrote to the Earl of Essex, commanding the Parliamentary army, to enquire if he was a prisoner, or, if dead, that his servant might fetch him away. At last the body was identified. "Stript, trod upon and mangled," says Aubrey, it "could only be identified by one who waited upon him in his chamber by a certain mole his lordship had upon his neck." Laid on one of the king's chargers, the body was taken to Newbury, thence to Oxford and thence to Great Tew, where it was buried in the churchyard. No stone marks the place, but the parish register¹ records:


The 23d Day of September, A. D. 1643, The | Right Honble Sr Lucius Cary, Knyght, | Lord Viscount of Falkland | and Lord of the Manor of Great Tew, | was buried here.

Descendants of the second Lord Falkland.

Lucius Cary, second Viscount Falkland, had had four sons, but while he endowed them with a famous name and "parts," he did not leave them much vitality with which to face that world in revolution to escape which he had himself given his life. The two elder² both succeeded to the peerage. The firstborn,

¹ Robinson's calendar, *H. & G.*, iii, 48. Lord Falkland's will may be found in P.C.C. *Crane* among the wills proved at Oxford during Charles I's residence there.

² The youngest, Adolphus, died an infant (baptized at Aldenham, May 22, 1639, and buried there within the year, January 22,




LUCIUS CARY (1632–1649), third Viscount Falkland, survived his father only six years. He had been baptized at Great Tew July 5, 1632, and matriculated at Christ Church, Oxford, in 1646, but the city having surrendered to Fairfax and the king fled to the Scots, the university was disorganized: so young Falkland was sent to seek his education on the continent, in charge of the Oxford scholar and physician Dr. John Maplet (1612–1670), who afterwards long practised medicine at Bath. While at Montpellier, in September, 1649, Falkland died in his eighteenth year: his body was brought home and buried at Great Tew two months later.¹ He was succeeded by his next brother,

HENRY CARY (1635–1663), fourth Viscount Falkland, who crowded no little experience into a short life. Lloyd says² that as a boy under his father's eye he had "a strict education (for no man was ever harder bred)." There is no record of his education after his father's death, but he had little respect for books in the end, for he sold his father's library, that collection which had

1640). The third, Lorenzo, was apparently the flower: baptized at Aldenham, November 28, 1637, he was buried at Great Tew, November 2, 1643, having survived his father less than two months. The author of *Holy Life and Death of the Lady Letice, Vi-Countess Falkland*, calls him his mother's "most dear son whom God had endowed with the cleverest of natural abilities and to whom her affections were most tender by reason of these fair blossoms of piety."

¹ Parish register, calendared in *H. & G.*, iii, 49.

² *State Worthies*, ii, 259.




made Great Tew a university "in a purer air," for the price of "a horse and a mare." Anthony à Wood and other mere bookmen have been much scandalized by this performance, but it was human: few wholesome young men bred in the country are interested in a father's collection of books, especially books on theology, in which the Great Tew library was strong, or would stand on a point of sentiment for holding it intact when there was a question of winning a match at horse-racing. Before he came of age Henry Cary married, in 1653, an heiress, Rachel Hungerford,¹ daughter of Anthony Hungerford of Blackbourton, co. Oxon, and Farley Castle, co. Somerset. He was soon involved in Royalist plots. Thus in 1655 he was arrested by the Major-Generals and in 1659 was imprisoned for participation in Sir George Booth's plot.² To the Convention Parliament of 1660 he was returned as a burgess both from Arundel in Sussex and Oxford City, electing to sit for the latter.³

¹ Long after her husband's death, Rachel, Lady Falkland, appears in the Virginia records. In 1698, when she was "aged sixty or thereabouts," she testifies, in an ejectment suit involving the title to the "Fort Field" at Kecoughtan (Elizabeth City), which had been acquired in 1648 by Major Richard Moryson, that her husband's mother was daughter to Sir Richard Moryson, and gives the history of the Moryson family down to and including Henry Moryson (son of Colonel Francis Moryson, our Virginia worthy), "who is now a Lewt. Coll. in ye Lord Cuts Regemt. of ffoot Guards." (See *W. & M. Quar.*, ix, 119.) She survived until 1719. See her will, P.C.C. *Browning*, 208.

² See Masson, *Life of Milton*, v, 50, 473.

³ *Return of M. P.'s*, 1879.




He at once took a conspicuous part, serving as one of the committee of the House of Commons to carry the restoration message to Charles II and later in the formulation of that life-and-death measure, the Indemnity Bill.¹ Although then only about twenty-four years of age and even more youthful in appearance, he had his wits about him. Horace Walpole tells the story² that “a grave senator objecting to his youth and to his not looking as if he had sowed his wild oats, he replied with great quickness: ‘Then I am come to the properest place, where are so many geese to pick them up.’” Aubrey³ has preserved another example of the same kind of House of Commons wit. Sir Henry Martin, being charged with having had a part in the execution of Charles I, this Lord Falkland “saved his life by witt, saying: ‘Gentlemen, ye talke here of making a sacrifice: it was olde lawe all sacrifices were to be without spot or blemish: and now you are going to make an old rotten rascall a sacrifice.’ This witt took the house and saved his life.” Horace Walpole makes him out, as further evidence of his “wit and parts,” the author of a tragi-comedy, *The Marriage Night*.⁴ In the

¹ Masson, *Life of Milton*, v, 505; vi, 23, 173.

² *Royal and Noble Authors*.

³ *Letters*, iii, 435.

⁴ It was published in quarto 1664, was included in the original (1744) edition of Dodsley's *Old Plays*, and again in the fourth (1874) edition, xv, 109. Pepys saw it played on March 21, 1667, and damned it with faint praise. (*Diary*, ed. Bright, vii, 63.)



second Parliament of 1660, and thenceforth until his death, he sat as a knight of the shire for Oxfordshire, and was also lord lieutenant of his county. His contemporary Thomas Fuller¹ says of him towards the end of his life that his "pregnant parts (now clarified of juvenile extravagance) perform much, and promise more, useful service to this nation." He did not live to fulfill this prediction, but died in London April 2, 1663, in his twenty-ninth year, and was buried a week later at Great Tew.² He was succeeded by his son

ANTHONY CARY (1657-1694), fifth Viscount Falkland, who was born at Great Tew; matriculated at Christ Church, Oxford, in 1672; married Rebecca, daughter of Sir Rowland Lytton of Knebworth, co. Herts; was returned to Parliament for Oxfordshire in 1685, and sat the remainder of his life successively for Oxfordshire, Great Marlow, Bucks, and Great Bedwin, Wilts. Charles II made him treasurer of the navy and paymaster of the forces; after the revolution he succeeded in keeping on his feet and became a privy councillor and first commissioner of admiralty under William III.³ He

¹ *Worthies of England*, ed. Nuttall, 1840, ii, 46.

² Parish register, calendared in *H. & G.*, iii, 47. The administration on his estate is in *P.C.C. Admon. Act Book*, 1663.

³ Luttrell, i, 76; ii, 163; iii, 74. This office in the admiralty accounts for the fact that in 1690 the English navigator, Captain Strong, gave the name of Falkland to the sound between the two islands in the South Atlantic which, after several changes of own-

was a diligent and successful speculator: one of the syndicate which in 1687 backed Captain William Phips of New England in his second and successful search for the shipwrecked Hispaniola treasure in the Bahamas,¹ from which adventure he and his mother's second husband, Sir James Hayes of Bedgebury, Kent, reaped a fortune.² On another occasion one of his enterprising speculations, in which he sought to enlist the king, got him into trouble with the House of Commons on a question of privilege, and he was committed to the Tower.³ He had an inherited turn for verse-making and was the author of a


ership, and after engaging the pens of Junius and Dr. Johnson, have since 1833 been an outpost of the British Empire under the name of the *Falkland Islands*.

¹ Evelyn records (*Diary*, Chandos ed., 510) under date of June 6, 1687: "There was about this time brought into the Downs a vast treasure which was sunk in a Spanish galloon about 45 years ago somewhere neere Hispaniola or the Bahama Islands, and was now weigh'd up by some gentlemen, who were at the charge of divers &c., to the enriching them beyond all expectation. The Duke of Albemarle's share came to, I believe, £50,000. Some private gentlemen who adventured £100 gained from £8 to £10,000. His Majesty's tenth was £10,000."

Evelyn is well within the facts in his statement. The recovery in bullion, coin, and plate was valued at £300,000. Phips's own reward was £16,000 and the honor of knighthood. His life is one of the most romantic in American colonial history. From an obscure origin in Maine he rose to be the conqueror of Port Royal, royal governor of Massachusetts (as such finally to end the witch burning), and the subject of a memoir in Cotton Mather's *Magnalia*.

² A plate let into the foundation of the new house which Sir James Hayes built at Bedgebury recorded that construction "spoliis profundi et absconditis arenar' thesauris, quasi coelitus locupletes facti." Hasted, *History of Kent*, 1790, iii, 36. Sir James Hayes' will is P.C.C. Box, 42.

³ Wood, *Life and Times*, iii, 444.



prologue to Otway's *Soldier's Fortune*, and another to Congreve's first play, *The Old Bachelor*, which was produced in 1693. The latter is printed with the play in Congreve's *Works*, but was not recited at the performance, having, says Horace Walpole, "too little delicacy even for that play and that age." He died suddenly of smallpox at the top of his fortune, and was buried in Westminster Abbey, May 28, 1694.¹ John Evelyn sums up his career:²


Lord Falkland, (grandson to the learned Lord Falkland, Secretary of State to K. Cha. I, and slain in his service) died now of small pox. He was a pretty, brisk, understanding, industrious young gentleman: had formerly been faulty but much reclaim'd. He married a greate fortune, besides being intituled to a vast sum as his share of the Spanish Wreck, taken up at the expense of divers adventurers. From a Scotch Viscount he was made an English Baron,³ design'd Ambassador to Holland: had ben Treasurer of the Navy, and advancing in the new court. All now gone in a moment, and I think the title is extinct.

Anthony Cary had an only daughter who died in infancy. The two younger brothers of his father having died in childhood, he was indeed the last representative of Clarendon's Lord Falk-

¹ Luttrell, iii, 299, 317. His will is P.C.C. *Box*, 153.

² *Diary*, Chandos ed., 557.

³ That Falkland was to have an English peerage was current gossip for several weeks before sudden death cut short his career. (See Luttrell, iii, 280; and Wood, *Life and Times*, iii, 453.) Evelyn is, however, incorrect in his statement that it was accomplished, as also when he says that the Falkland title became extinct.



land, but he was succeeded in the title by his cousin Lucius Henry Cary, grandson of Patrick Cary, the fourth son of the first viscount.

Patrick Cary and his descendants.

It was the third surviving son of the first Lord Falkland who was to preserve the Falkland line from failure.

PATRICK CARY¹ (1624–1657) was born in Ireland during his father's term as lord deputy, which is the explanation of his name, doubtless a bid for the revival of a waning popularity.


We first meet him, immediately after the birth of his younger brother Henry (or Placid),² in

¹ It is only comparatively recently that the standard peerages have recognized Patrick Cary: it was assumed that his grandson Lucius Henry, the sixth viscount, was the son of Anthony, the fifth viscount. (See *H. & G.*, iii, 38.) He is still stated to be the youngest son, though *The Lady Falkland* is clear that he was older than Placid.

² Almost all we know of Henry Cary (1625–*post* 1654) is contained in *The Lady Falkland*, where he is linked with his brother Patrick in the rehearsal of their common youthful adventures. When they reached Paris in 1635, Henry was placed in the Benedictine convent and there educated until in time he took the vows, being known in religion as Father Placid. There his sister's annals leave him, but on the register of admissions to Lincoln's Inn appears the following entry under date of September 28, 1654: "Henry Cary, 4th [surviving] son of Henry Lord Viscount Falkland, dec'd." (*H. & G.*, iv, 48.) It seems then that he followed his brother Patrick back to England and to the study of law; but "the rest is silence," there is no further certain evidence for him or for the end of his life. He must, of course, have renounced the Roman Church. Tentatively we attribute to him, as the only one of his name whose dates and education fit, that curious little book *The Law of England, or A True Guide for All Persons Concerned in Ecclesiastical Courts. . . .* By H. Cary, London. Printed for the Author. There is no date of publication on the title-page or elsewhere, but the

PLATE VI
FALKLAND

- XI THOMAS 1460?-1548?
of Chilton Foliot, co. Wilts
See *Plate I*
- XII SIR JOHN 1491-1552
of Pleshy, co. Essex
Vice Admiral 1542
WILLIAM 1497?-1528
Gentleman of the Privy Chamber to Henry VIII
a *quo* HUNSDON
See *Plate I*
- XIII SIR WINNOND 1538-1612
of Snettisham, co. Norfolk
o.s.p.
SIR EDWARD 1539-1618
of Aldenham, co. Herts
Groom of the Privy Chamber, Master of the Jewel House, etc.
- XIV SIR HENRY 1576-1633
cr. viscount FALKLAND
in the peerage of Scotland,
1620, M. P.
Lord Deputy of Ireland
SIR ADOLPHUS 1577-1609
of Berkhamsted, co. Herts,
M.P.
o.s.p.
- XV SIR LUCIUS 1610-1643
2d viscount FALKLAND
M.P., *Secretary of State*
SIR LORENZO 1613-1642
a colonel in the Irish army
o.s.p.
PATRICK 1624-1657
sometime an abbe of the
Roman church
EDWARD 1656-1692
M.P., *High bailiff of Westminster*
- XVI LUCIUS 1632-1649
3d viscount FALKLAND
o.s.p.
HENRY 1635-1663
4th viscount FALKLAND
M.P.
- XVII ANTHONY 1657-1694
5th viscount FALKLAND,
M.P., *Treasurer of the Navy*
under Charles II and
First Commissioner of Admiralty
under William III
o.s.p.m.
LUCIUS HENRY 1687-1730
6th viscount FALKLAND,
cr. earl of Falkland by the
Chevalier, 1722
- XVIII LUCIUS CHARLES
1705-1785
7th viscount FALKLAND
GEORGE 1707-1792
of Scutterskelfe, co. York
a general in the army
o.s.p.m.s.
- XIX LUCIUS FERDINAND
1735-1780
a colonel in the army, M.P.
o.s.p.
- XX HENRY THOMAS 1761-1796
8th viscount FALKLAND,
an ensign in the army, 1783
o.s.p.
CHARLES JOHN 1768-1809
9th viscount FALKLAND,
a lieutenant in the army,
later Captain, R.N.
- XXI SIR LUCIUS BENTINCK
1803-1884
10th viscount FALKLAND,
a captain in the army, a
representative peer for
Scotland, etc.
Byron Hunsdon of Scut-
terskelfe, in the peerage of
the United Kingdom, 1832
(extinct on his death)
BYRON CHARLES FERDINAND PLANTAGENET
1808-1874
Captain, R.N.
- XXII LUCIUS 1831-1871
master of FALKLAND,
a captain in the army
o.s.p.v.v.p.
BYRON PLANTAGENET
1845-
12th viscount FALKLAND
a lieutenant-colonel in the
army, a representative peer
for Scotland, etc.
- XXIII LUCIUS PLANTAGENET
1880-
master of Falkland,
sometime captain Grenadier Guards
- XXIV LUCIUS 1905-
and other issue



the midst of peril. When his mother returned to England in 1625, taking with her the younger children, she encountered a violent tempest in the Irish Sea, when "the child at her breast (she sitting upon the hatch) had his breath struck out of his body by a wave and remained as dead for a quarter of an hour."¹ Arrived in London the children were at once taken down to their grandmother's in Oxfordshire to avoid the plague.

When he and Henry were "ten or eleven years old" they were placed by their mother in the custody of her eldest son at Great Tew. Their brother entrusted their education to his "rational" friend Chillingworth, which so exasperated their Catholic mother that she had them kidnapped, brought up to London, and finally, with the aid of the Benedictines, smuggled away into France, to be educated at a Benedictine convent in Paris.² After three years in Paris, Patrick was, as afterwards in 1650 he wrote to his brother's friend Sir Edward Hyde, transferred to Rome, "being recommended to Cardinal Barberini by the Queen's most excellent Majesty." There he lived for twelve years, supported at

bibliographers (*e.g.*, Lowndes and Allibone) supply 1666. The internal evidence is ample that the book was written after the Restoration. There is a copy of this rare work in the Harvard Law Library, to whose librarian's courtesy I owe the privilege of examining it.

¹ *The Lady Falkland*, 24.

² The kidnaping and its consequence is told in great detail and with much spirit in *The Lady Falkland*, 94 ff.

first by a small but sufficient pension from his mother's friend Queen Henrietta Maria; later, Pope Urban VIII, "upon her Majesty's recommendation, conferred upon me an abbey and a priory *in commendam* and besides some pensions on other benefices wherewith I subsisted well."¹

During this period we have two pleasant glimpses of him in the best of company. In the Travellers' Book of the English College at Rome there is an entry of 1638: "The 30th of October there dined in our College, and were hospitably received, the following English gentlemen, the most distinguished Mr. P. Cary, brother of Lord Falkland, Dr. Holding of Lancaster, Mr. N. Fortescue, and Mr. Milton, with his servant."²


Again, when in November, 1644, John Evelyn reached Rome on his grand tour, he notes in his diary:³ "I was especially recommended to Father John, a Benedictine monke and Superior of his Order from the English College of Douay, a person of singular learning, religion and humanity: also to Mr. Patrick Cary, an Abbot, brother to our learned Lord Falkland, a witty young priest, who afterwards came over to our Church."⁴

¹ Clarendon, *State Papers*, ii, 535, 538n.

² Masson, *Life of Milton*, i, 800.

³ Evelyn, *Diary*, Chandos ed., 86.

⁴ This last comment must have been interlined in the *Diary* long after the date of the original entry, as Patrick Cary was certainly a member of the Roman Church until after 1650. The intimacy of Evelyn's family with that of Anthony, fifth Lord Falkland, is persuasive of the correctness of the fact of the reconversion.




These happy days came to an end before March 18, 1650, when Patrick Cary wrote from Brussels to Sir Edward Hyde that he was in great distress and contemplated going into a convent, but was deterred by the fact that his nephew Lucius Cary had then recently died. Hyde advised him to wait: he seems, however, to have assumed the Benedictine habit at Douay, but within the year threw it off on the ground that he could not stand the regimen of the order. "He then went to England in hopes of obtaining a pension from his relatives there. Being disappointed of this also he desired Sir Edward Hyde's interest to procure him some military post in the Spanish service. His friend earnestly dissuades him by very good arguments from this and advises him to lie by a little while in expectation of some favorable change."¹

On February 10, 1651, he was admitted to Lincoln's Inn, evidently intending to support himself by practising law, but during the following summer we find him in Hampshire with an empty pocket, though in high animal spirits and careless of politics; so he is able to sing:

Delinquent I'de not feare to bee
Though 'gainst the Cause and Noll I'd fought:
Since England's now a state most free
For who's not worth a groat, boyes,
For who's not worth a groate.

¹ A note of the editor of Clarendon's *State Papers*, ii, 538, summarizing correspondence before him.



His sister Victoria had married Sir William Uvedale of Wickham. At Warnford, in the neighborhood of Wickham, lived a daughter of Sir William by his first marriage,¹ now the wife of Thomas Tomkins. From her house on August 20, 1651, and, as he says, "in obedience to the commands of Mrs. Tomkins," Patrick Cary indites his volume of *Triviale Ballads*,² in which he sings merrily of his visit:

Come (fayth) since I'm parting and that God knows when
The walls of Sweet Wickham I shall see aghen,
Letts e'en have a frolicke and drincke like tall men
Till heads with healths goe round:³

¹ Sir William Uvedale had married first Anne, daughter of Sir Edmund Carey, of the Hunsdon family: their daughter Lucy married first, in 1632, Thomas Neale of Warnford, and second, in 1643, Thomas Tomkins.

² In 1771 the Rev. Pierrepont Crompton published *Poems from a manuscript written in the time of Oliver Cromwell*, the advertisement of which stated that "they appear to have been written about the middle of the last century by one Carey, a man whom we now know nothing of, and whose reputation possibly in his own time never went beyond the circle of private friendship." Another autograph MS. came into the possession of John Murray, the publisher, who gave it to Walter Scott. In 1810 Scott published some of the poems in the *Edinburgh Annual Register*, and in 1820, being then, as he subsequently admitted in his note to *Woodstock* (chap. xxxi), ignorant of Mr. Crompton's publication or of the author's identification, made a new book of the verses under the title *Trivial Poems and Triolets by Patrick Carey*. In the introduction he characterizes Patrick "as staunch a cavalier and nearly as good a poet as the celebrated Colonel Lovelace. . . . The proprietor of an unique manuscript is apt to over-rate its intrinsic merit: and yet the editor cannot help being of opinion that Carey's playfulness, gaiety and ease of expression, both in amatory verses and political satire, entitle him to rank considerably above the 'mob of gentlemen who write with ease.'"

³ These are the verses Scott puts in the mouth of Charles II in *Woodstock* (chap. xxxi):

"'We make the hour heavier,' he said, 'by being melancholy

proceeding to celebrate each of the family by name: Sir William, his "chaste lady," "young Will" the heir, "well graced Victoria," "plump Bess" her sister, the parson, and all the servants.

During the same visit he doubtless made the acquaintance of Susan Uvedale, a niece of his brother-in-law, whom he married some time during the next year,¹ though he does not mention her in the verses.

In 1655 Patrick Cary accompanied Admiral Sir William Penn, as his secretary, on Cromwell's "Western Design" to the West Indies, to war with Spain. It was neither a glorious nor a profitable expedition, resulting chiefly in the sacrifice of reputation by the commanding offi-

about it. Had you not better join me, Mistress Alice, in Patrick Carey's jovial farewell?—Ah, you do not know Pat Carey—a younger brother of Lord Falkland's?


"'A brother of the immortal Lord Falkland's, and write songs!' said the Doctor.

"'Oh, Doctor, the Muses take tithes as well as the Church,' said Charles, 'and have their share in every family of distinction. You do not know the words, Mistress Alice, but you can aid me notwithstanding, in the burden at least—

"'Come, now that we're parting, and 'tis one to ten
If the towers of sweet Woodstock I e'er see agen,
Let us e'en have a frolic, and drink like tall men,
While the goblet goes merrily round.'"

It will be observed that Sir Walter does for Patrick Cary's verse the office which Betsinda performed upon the drawings of the Princess Angelica in *The Rose and Ring*.

¹ The parish register of Great Tew records in 1654, "John Cary, son of the hon^{ble} Patricke Cary, Esq., was born at Great Tew, October the 30th, and was baptized there November the 2nd." (*H. & G.*, iii, 48.) This son evidently died young.



cers when they reached home.¹ We know nothing more of Patrick Cary's life. He had fallen upon hard times to be a younger son of his name and tradition. He evidently tried his fortune in Ireland when he got back from the West Indies, for his second son Edward was born in Dublin in 1656,² as he certified in 1673 when he matriculated at Christ Church, Oxford. Two years later (June 9, 1675) this same Edward was admitted to Lincoln's Inn and is there entered as "son and heir of Patrick Cary of Horden, Dorset, Arm. dec." So it would seem that Patrick Cary returned to England once again, but he did not live to see the Restoration. He is recorded³ to have died March 15, 1657, when he would be thirty-two years of age.

¹ See the graphic story in Gardiner, *History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate*, iv, 120.

² See parish register St. John's, Dublin, April 25, 1656.

³ Burke, *Peerage* (1916 ed.), s.v. Falkland. This Patrick Cary had a contemporary of the same name and something of the same career, for whom the genealogical evidences are fairly complete, thus leading the student of the Falkland family up frequent false trails. This other Patrick Cary first appears as admitted to the Middle Temple in 1648, "son and heir apparent of Thomas Cary of Port Lester, Co. Meath, Knight": which clearly identifies him as of the Bucks family of Carys of Wycombe. (See *post*, p. 522, and the pedigree in *H. & G.*, vi, 32.) He married, 1659, Dorothy, daughter of William Brewer, of Ditton, co. Kent (*Visitation of Kent*, 1663-68), and died leaving a will proved July 7, 1669 (P.C.C. *Coke*, 32), mentioning his lands in Ireland, a son Patrick by an earlier marriage, and children Dorothy and Thomas by his wife Dorothy. Cussans (*Hertfordshire*, iii, 19) gives his M. I. in the parish church of Northaw, Herts: "*Cubat hic inhumatus Patricius Cary, ar, clausit ille diem extremum decimo octavo Junii anno orbis redempti 1669.*"

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Patrick Cary's son EDWARD CARY (1656-1692) must have been brought up by his mother's people, the Uvedales. After being educated at Christ Church, Oxford, and Lincoln's Inn, he married his cousin (through the Lekes) Anne Lucas, daughter and coheir of Charles Lord Lucas of Shenfield,¹ and is thenceforth described as "of St. James's, Westminster"²: he was sometime high bailiff of the city of Westminster, and by the interest of the Lucas family was M. P. for Colchester in 1688-9, the Parliament of the revolution.³ By the will of his


¹ This was a nephew of that Sir Charles Lucas who was shot by Fairfax at Colchester in 1648 and of Margaret, Duchess of Newcastle, in whose autobiography is a human and pleasant picture of the Lucas household at St. John's near Colchester.

It was this household which was described on the M. I. in Westminster Abbey by a phrase which has become a familiar quotation: "Here lyes the Loyall Duke of New Castle and his Dutchess, his second wife, by whom he had noe issue: Her name was Margaret Lucas, youngest sister to the Lord Lucas of Colchester, a noble familie: for all the Brothers were Valiant and all the Sisters virtuous." (See Dart, *Westmonasterium*, ii, 123, pl. 141.)

The Lucas family appears to have become extinct: at all events their genealogical record is in some confusion. Cf. *Collins Peerage* (ed. Brydges, 1812), vii, 114; Burke, *Extinct Peerage* (1846), 325; and *Life of William Cavendish* (ed. Firth, 1886), 283. Mr. Robinson clearly established, however, the marriage of Edward Cary in *H. & G.*, iii, 38, 41, 136, and his authority is now accepted, e.g., in the Falkland pedigree given in current issues of Burke's *Peerage*.

² *I.e.*, on the administration of his estate by his widow November 24, 1692, P.C.C. *Admon. Act Book*, 1692.

³ We may doubtless relate the persistence of the Falkland family to the fact that this Edward Cary became a Whig and accepted what was to prove the surviving cause. The revolution of 1688 was the turning-point in the history of many English families. Thus in contrast to the Falklands, who henceforth, with some hesitation, adapt themselves to the new order in England, the Devon



kinsman John Cary of Stanwell he acquired the estate of Caldicott in Monmouthshire. He left a daughter;¹ and a son

LUCIUS HENRY CARY (1687-1730), sixth Viscount Falkland, who in 1694 succeeded to the title of his cousin Anthony Cary, the last male descendant of the "learned" Lord Falkland: in 1715 he succeeded also to the reversion of Stanwell but soon disposed of it. He saw service in Spain under General Stanhope and the Earl of Peterborough, and if he did not "die in purple Almanara's plain," had his willingness to do so celebrated in verse by his contemporary George Granville (1667-1735), Lord Lansdowne.² On

and the Hunsdon Carys remained steadfast Jacobites, with the result that the latter became extinct by inanition, while the former were for generations without political opportunity.

¹ This Frances Cary married, 1706, John Villiers, fifth Viscount Grandison (created 1721 Earl Grandison of Limerick in Ireland), and died 1768. Her husband was of the interesting family which had produced "Steenie" Duke of Buckingham and Charles II's Lady Castlemaine, but inherited his Irish peerage from his maternal uncle Oliver St. John (1559-1630), whom we met in Ireland in the time of Sir George Cary of Cockington. This line is now represented by the earls of Jersey, but Frances Cary's issue became extinct with her grandson the Earl Grandison, who died in 1800. At the time of her marriage she was duly recorded (Luttrell, *Brief Relations*, vi, 14) as sister of the sixth Lord Falkland, but by reason of the confusion which we have noted (*ante*, pp. 393, 464) she was later erroneously set down (*e.g.*, in *Collins Peerage*, ed. Brydges, iii, 789) as a daughter of Anthony, fifth Viscount Falkland.

² Among the survivors of the books which Colonel Wilson Cary of Ceelys brought home to Virginia from his two years' residence at Trinity College, Cambridge (1721-1723), is a slender duodecimo *Poems Upon Several Occasions*, by G. G., 1721. In his preface, the bookseller, Mr. Tonson, confides to us that these poems were written "by the Right Honourable George Granville, Lord Lans-

his return from a captivity in Spain, he went over to the old Pretender, who made him an earl in 1722,¹ and thenceforth he resided in Paris, where he died, and was buried in the church of St. Sulpice. In 1704 he had married Dorothy Molineux,² the daughter of a rich London merchant, and after her death in 1722 married downe." Among these pleasant verses we find an "Ode on the present corruption of mankind," which begins:

"O Falkland! offspring of a gen'rous race,
Renown'd, for arms and arts, in war and peace,
My kinsman and my friend" . . .


and, after rehearsing evidences of degeneracy in the poet's contemporaries as compared with the men of Agincourt and Cressy, pauses to make an exception:

"when thou in arms wert seen
Eager for glory in the embattled green,
When Stanhope led thee thro' the heats of Spain
To die in purple Almanara's plain."

This was doubtless written under the stimulus of a report that Falkland had fallen in the fighting at Almenara in July, 1710 (see Fortescue, *History of the British Army*, i, 531), but he was in fact a prisoner. See his letter from Valladolid, February 11, 1710/11, to the Marquis of Ormonde, asking for aid in securing his deliverance from captivity. (Historical MSS. Commission, *Ormonde Papers*, i, 64.) If "every schoolboy" has not read Lord Mahon's story of this campaign in the *War of the Spanish Succession*, he has undoubtedly read Macaulay's review of that spirited book and so appreciates how romantic was this Falkland's opportunity. It does not appear how Falkland was Lansdowne's kinsman: the relation probably dated back to the origins of both of them in Devonshire.

¹ See the list of the Jacobite peerages in G. E. C[okayne], *Complete Peerage*, i, 63.

² Her father was Francis Molineux, according to Le Neve (*Crisp, Fragmenta Genealogica*, N.S. (1910), i, 124), "a Woolen Draper in St. Paul's Churchyard," but according to that extraordinary book, de Ruvigny's *The Plantagenet Roll of Blood Royal* (Mortimer-Percy volume, 1911), son of Sir Francis Molineux of Mansfield, Notts, and a descendant of Edward III. This blood line brought the modern Falklands their third infusion of Plantagenet.




ried, secondly, Laura Dillon,¹ daughter of General Arthur Dillon (1670–1733), one of the succession of the family of Viscounts Dillon, who for a century commanded the Irish Jacobite regiment in the French service known as *Dillon's*. By his first wife the sixth Lord Falkland had several children, who, reared in England by their mother, gave their allegiance to the Protestant succession and the House of Hanover. The eldest son, LUCIUS CHARLES CARY (1705–1785), seventh Viscount Falkland, married, first, the rich widow of his cousin, the eldest son of the first Earl Grandison, and, second, the even richer widow Sarah Inwen, countess dowager of Suffolk.² He had several children by his first wife: in his will³ he provides for his daughters but makes no mention of his successors in the title, the sons of his deceased son. His brother, GENERAL GEORGE CARY⁴ (1707?–1792), began the tradition of professional military service un-

¹ His daughter and only issue by this second marriage, Lucy Cary, married Lieutenant-General Comte de Rothe of the French army. She survived until 1804.

² She died in 1776, leaving a will (P.C.C. *Bellas*, 265), which in its numerous large charitable bequests and other detailed dispositions affords as characteristic a picture as one of Morland's prints, of the heavy, comfortable, and insular life of the well-to-do in England in the middle of the eighteenth century.

³ P.C.C. *Ducarel*, 128.


⁴ This General George Cary had a number of daughters (see *H. & G.*, iii, 41), but it does not appear that he left any surviving male issue, or contracted any second marriage, as has been argued. See the genealogical discussion in the MS. *Cary Papers* in the library of the Virginia Historical Society.



der the House of Hanover which has ever since been maintained by the family, and after a long career in all ranks attained the highest grade in the army list, being promoted general in 1782. He acquired a *terre* at Scutterskelfe¹ on the moorland of the Cleveland Hills in the North Riding of Yorkshire, looking northward over the valley of the Tees, which gave the family a foothold on the land for several generations. His daughter Elizabeth married in 1767 his colleague in the army, Sir Jeffrey Amherst (1717–1797), who completed Wolfe's work by the conquest of Canada and played a large part in American colonial history, dying a field-marshal and Baron Amherst of Montreal.² General Cary's nephew, the son of the seventh Lord Falkland, was COLONEL LUCIUS FERDINAND CARY (1735?–1780), who followed his uncle into the army. The high tide of his career was the command of the British garrison in the island of Tobago in the West Indies during the American

¹ Scutterskelfe appears in Domesday book as a soken under the name *Codeschelf*. (Victoria County History, *Yorkshire*, ii, 221.) It is not far from Yarm. In 1883 the estate included 3011 acres, worth £4461 per annum.

² One is apt to forget that Sir Jeffrey Amherst was governor-general of Virginia during the golden consulship of Colonel Francis Fauquier as lieutenant-governor. Amherst was never in Virginia. There would doubtless have been prolonged festivity at Ceelys if he had brought over his Cary wife. What Amherst accomplished in America in organizing victory for the British arms against the French on the ruins of the mistakes of his predecessors, Braddock and Loudoun, is eloquently appreciated by Fortescue, *History of the British Army*, ii, 402.



Revolution, but he had a seat in the House of Commons, 1774-1780, as a Burgess for Bridport, Dorset. He married the daughter of a fellow-officer, and, dying before his father,¹ left two sons, both of whom succeeded to the family title, viz.: HENRY THOMAS CARY (1761?-1796), eighth Viscount Falkland, who inherited Scutterkelfe from his great-uncle General George Cary, but after a brief career in the army died unmarried and was succeeded by his brother, CHARLES JOHN CARY (1768-1809), ninth Viscount Falkland, who began life in the army and later transferred to the navy, in which service he attained command rank. He was killed in a duel for no better reason than because he had in a public place addressed to his adversary a convivial remark coupled with his familiar name *Pogey*.² He left three sons by his wife Chris-

¹ He died abroad and his estate was not administered until after his father's death. See P.C.C. *Admon. Act Book*, 1785.

² The fatal event of this affair, contrasted with its trivial cause, stirred public opinion even in a year when cabinet ministers resorted to the field of honor on questions of *haute politique*. See the comment on the Powell-Falkland duel in the *London Times*, March 2, 1809, and the *Gentleman's Magazine*, lxxix, 273.

It is an interesting fact that two of England's greatest poets have each pointed a moral by the violent death of a Lord Falkland. We have quoted Pope's invocation of the second viscount in the *Essay on Man*. In his *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers*, Lord Byron, for a like purpose of social satire, refers to the fall of the ninth Lord Falkland: adding the following note on the verse: "I knew the late Lord Falkland well. On Sunday night I beheld him presiding at his own table in all the honest pride of hospitality: on Wednesday morning at three o'clock I saw stretched before me all that remained of courage, feeling and a host of passions. He was


tiana Anthon.¹ The eldest, LUCIUS BENTINCK CARY (1803-1884), tenth Viscount Falkland, succeeded to Scutterskelfe, won his way to be a captain in the army and then becoming a courtier, assured his success in that career by marrying in 1830 Amelia Fitz Clarence,² the youngest of the many children of the sailor prince, William Henry, Duke of Clarence, by the celebrated actress Mrs. Jordan. His father-in-law being king (as William IV) at the time of the marriage, he was, May 15, 1832, created a peer of the United Kingdom, with a seat in the

a gallant and successful officer: his faults were the faults of a sailor, as such Britons will forgive them. He died like a brave man in a better cause; for had he fallen in like manner on the deck of the frigate, to which he was just appointed, his last moments would have been held up by his countrymen as an example to succeeding heroes."

The young poet (he was then just of age) did himself honor by his generous conduct to his friend's family. He says in a letter to his mother (Moore, *Byron*, i, 126): "Poor Falkland . . . left without a shilling four children and his wife." Delicately, but substantially, Byron went at once to their relief at a time when he was himself strapped (Leslie Stephen, *Byron*, in *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, iii, 588), and, as godfather, gave his name to the youngest orphan, the grandfather of the present Lord Falkland, who also bears the poet's name.

¹ This Lady Falkland survived until 1822. (See *Gentleman's Magazine*, xcii, 184.) She was probably of the same breeding as Dr. George Christian Anthon, of a German family established at Amsterdam and in the West Indies. After an interesting experience as a surgeon in the British army at Detroit at the time of Pontiac's conspiracy (1763) he founded in New York the family of Anthon long distinguished in education, the church, and at the bar. (See Charles Edward Anthon, *Narrative of the Settlement of George Christian Anthon in America*, New York, 1872.)


² Amelia, Viscountess Falkland, published in 1857 a pleasant book, *Chow-chow—Journals kept in India, Egypt and Syria*.



House of Lords, as Baron Hunsdon¹ of Scutterskelfe, co. York. He was a lord of the bed-chamber 1830, lord in waiting 1837–1839, governor of Nova Scotia 1840–1846, captain of the yeomen of the guard 1846–1848, and governor of Bombay 1848–1853. His first wife died in 1858, when he married a dowager duchess of St. Albans. He had one son, who died in his lifetime, and was succeeded by his brother PLANTAGENET PIERREPONT CARY (1806–1886), eleventh Viscount Falkland, an admiral in the navy, who died without issue. He inherited Scutterskelfe from his elder brother, but by his will directed it to be sold and the proceeds with the rest of his estate invested in trust for his nephew Byron Plantagenet Cary. The third brother was BYRON CHARLES FERDINAND PLANTAGENET CARY (1808–1874), the poet Byron's godson, a captain in the navy, who left a son BYRON PLANTAGENET CARY (1845–), who succeeded his two uncles and sits in the House of Lords as a representative peer for Scotland.²

¹ This revival of the Elizabethan title of the extinct Hunsdon family, for one who revived also a relation with the royal family, lapsed on the death of the tenth Lord Falkland without surviving issue.

² The first, second, fourth, and fifth Lords Falkland, though Scotch peers, sat in the House of Commons: under the act of union of the English and Scotch crowns, *temp.* Anne, this ceased to be possible. The status of the present Lord Falkland in the House of Lords, like that of the present Lord Fairfax, without a drop of Scotch blood or a vestige of inherited association with Scotland, is an interesting commentary on the development of Parliamentary practice.



He married an American, Mary, daughter of Robert Reade of New York. He has been an officer in the army but now lives in London (26, Upper Grosvenor Street, S.W.). He describes himself in *Who's Who* (1916) as "retired on a pension with honorary rank of Lieutenant Colonel. A small property in the City worth about £25,000: has no gallery but owns a few good pictures. Recreations: boating, fishing, shooting: has no hobbies." His eldest son, LUCIUS PLANTAGENET CARY (1880-), who wears the picturesque designation of Master of Falkland, served throughout the South African war as a subaltern of the Grenadier Guards, and was afterwards deputy governor of Wandsworth Prison. In the war against Germany he commanded the King's Battalion of the Guards, and had the young Prince of Wales in his charge. A younger son of Lord Falkland then gave his life in the submarine service, a new form of an ancient family tradition; while a third is Captain the Hon. PHILIP PLANTAGENET CARY, who has lately (1919) been gazetted "Blue Mantle" in the Heralds' College.

PART THREE

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CARY OF BRISTOL

"In this place also are our merchants to be installed, as amongst the citizens (although they often change estate with gentlemen, as gentlemen doo with them, by a mutuall conversion of the one into the other) whose number is so increased in these our daies, that their onelie maintenance is the cause of the exceeding prices of the forreine wares, which otherwise when everie nation was permitted to bring in her owne commoditie, were farre better cheape and more plentifulle to be had. . . . And whereas in times past their cheefe trade was into Spaine, Portugall, France, Flanders, Danske, Norwaie, Scotland and Iseland onelie; now in these daies, as men not contented with these journies, they have sought out the East and West Indies, and made now and then suspicious voiaiges not onelie unto the Canaries, and new Spaine, but likewise unto Cathaia, Moscouia, Tartaria, and the regions thereabout, from whence (as they saie) they bring home great commodities."

William Harrison, *A Description of England*, 1577.

"The King [Henry VII] also, having care to make his realm potent, as well by sea as by land, for the better maintenance of the navy, ordained: 'That wines and woads from the ports of Gascoign and Languedoc should not be brought, but in English bottoms,' bowing the ancient policy of this estate from consideration of plenty to consideration of power. For that almost all the ancient statutes incite by all means merchant-strangers to bring in all sorts of commodities; having for end cheapness, and not looking to the point of state concerning the naval power."

Sir Francis Bacon, 1622.

"Neither should any of the ancient Gentry be so foolishly supercilious as to under value the trading Part of the Nation, but to consider that in Reality *Omnis Sanguis est concolor*; and that the wisest and one of the greatest Men that ever lived thought it no Disparagement to deal in Trade: *Solomon* in all his Glory (like the Great Duke of *Tuscany*) accounting Traffick no Abatement to his Majesty. Some also of the Kings of *England* have traded in the two grand Commodities of this land, *Wool* and *Tin*. Mr. *Philipot* is said to deserve highly of the *City of London* for proving in a learned and ingenious Book, That Gentry doth not abate with Apprenticeship but only sleeps during the Time of the Indentures, and awaketh again when they are expired."—RALPH THORESBY, *Ducatus Leodiensis* (1715), xii.


BRISTOW.



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|------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| 1. St. Michael. | 6. St. Stephens. | 11. St. Mary Port. | 16. St. Thomas. |
| 2. St. James. | 7. St. Leonard. | 12. St. Peter. | 17. The Temple. |
| 3. Fromegate. | 8. St. Marburg. | 13. St. Phillip. | 18. Redcliff gate. |
| 4. St. Junes. | 9. Christs Church. | 14. The Castell. | 19. Temple gate. |
| 5. St. Laurence. | 10. Alhalons. | 15. St. Nicholas. | 20. New gate. |

BRISTOL IN 1568





CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

THE MEERE MERCHANTS

As English towns go, Bristol¹ is not ancient.

¹ There is a long list of books on the history of Bristol. Of the sources available in print perhaps the most significant is Miss Toulmin Smith's edition of *The Maire of Bristowe is Kalendar*, published by the Camden Society, 1872. This interesting chronicle was begun by Robert Ricart, town clerk, *temp.* Edward IV, and is still maintained. It is the book sometimes referred to as the *Tolzey Book*, because it was kept at the Tolzey or Comptoir, where the mayors of Bristol held their court. The lists of early civic officers, compiled by Ricart and his continuators, have been checked, corrected, and amplified from the attestations of contemporary deeds, etc., by John Latimer (Bristol and Gloucester Archeological Society, *Transactions*, 1903, xxvi, 108). We have now also a print (1900, edited by F. B. Bickley) of the oldest surviving municipal record, the *Little Red Book of Bristol*, a compilation of charters, franchises, etc., dating back to 1344. Of the authorities I have found three of value: first and foremost, Dr. William Hunt's *Bristol* (1886) in the Historic Towns series; then the Rev. Samuel Seyer's *Memoir Historical and Topographical of Bristol and its Neighbourhood* (1821-23); and last, of an earlier period and altogether different character, Dr. William Barrett's *History and Antiquities of the City of Bristol* (1789). This last-named author was the physician who was gulled by Chatterton, so it may be imagined that his book is not critical; but it is still worth study for tradition and atmosphere.


There is a characteristically graphic sketch of Bristol before 1695 in Macaulay (*History*, i, 312), and genre pictures of Bristol merchants and shipping in Pepys, *Diary* (for June 13, 1668); *The Lives of the Norths* (in 1680); Defoe, *Tour Through the Whole Island of Great Britain* (relating to 1692); Alexander Pope, *Letters*

The earliest fact of its recorded history is a silver penny struck by one Aelfwerd "on Bric"

(in 1739); Thackeray, *The Virginians*, chapter i; and Stevenson, *Treasure Island*, chapters vii-ix.

The classical authority on the early foreign commerce of England, in which Bristol played so large a part, Adam Anderson's *Historical and Chronological Deductions of the Origin of Commerce* (1764), followed by MacPherson (1805) and Craik (1844), has not been altogether superseded by W. Cunningham, *Growth of English Industry and Commerce* (5th ed. 1910-12). Craik's generalizations (in a book now unduly neglected, Knight's *Pictorial History of England*) are especially illuminating. Charles Gross' *The Gild Merchant* (1890) is invaluable for an understanding of medieval municipal trade organization. John Latimer's *Merchant Venturers of Bristol* (1903) supplies the local commercial documents still extant, but once more reveals the distressing lack of such material for Bristol before the seventeenth century.


For the Carys in Bristol we have little individual coloring-matter: they no longer speak for themselves, except in their wills. The loss of all their papers may be due to the scattering of the family in the seventeenth century, but more likely is an incident of that destruction of ancient parchments in all the cloth-manufacturing districts by the use of them in hot presses, a practice which antiquarians have often lamented. (Cf. Atkinson, *Ralph Thoresby*, 1887, ii, 6.) There is, however, an ample resource of thoroughly authenticated genealogical facts dating without interruption from 1537, and, in a fragmentary way, back to 1312: they are herein cited and may be consulted in detail in *The Virginia Carys* (1919). The MS genealogical sources are public records, the three pedigrees filed in the Heralds' College in support of the confirmation of arms of 1699, with the wills at Somerset House, London, the *Great Orphan Books* at the Council House, Bristol (the latter calendared by E. A. Fry in *British Record Society Index Library*, vol. xvii, 1897), and the several surviving parish registers of Bristol: all of which check, correct, and in both directions extend, the pedigrees. There are transcripts of all of these documents in *W. M. Cary Notes* made from the original records in 1869, after the existence of the Heralds' College pedigrees had been brought to the attention of Captain Cary by Colonel J. L. Chester. In recent years Mr. Fitzgilbert Waters of Salem, Mass., discovered contemporary copies of two of the three Heralds' College pedigrees in the British Museum (*Stowe MS.*, 670), which he reproduced with many of the wills of the Bristol Carys in his *Genealogical Gleanings in England* (ii, 861, 1057, 1059). In 1876 Captain Cary saw in the possession of Mr. D. C. Cary-Elwes of South Bersted,



at the beginning of the eleventh century:¹ it is recognized as a purely English town, owing nothing to Roman stimulus. The reason for the first hamlet of thatched houses out of which Bristol developed, like that of many another nucleus of human industry and habitation which has grown into a city, was a crossing of a river which was convenient as a place for traders to meet: in this case the passage between the Saxon kingdoms of Wessex and Mercia at their boundary river Avon. This passage, when we first hear of it, had the distinction, almost if not actually unique in England, of being by means of a bridge; but the site had another advantage for a town—it looked out upon the world from the head of deep-sea navigation of a tidal river, seven miles above its mouth.

Bognor, co. Sussex, a pedigree of the Bristol Carys, which was apparently compiled from the same information and at about the same time as the Heralds' College pedigree, and thereafter extended. This was probably the paper referred to in the will (P.C.C. *Newcastle*, 584) of Anne Cary, who, dying at Bristol in 1795 the last of her line, says: "I have received since my brother's death y^c Genealogy of the Carys, beg Mr. Cad-rington will let any one of the family have them should they chuse them," and perhaps the source of the illuminated parchment pedigree which was originally in the possession of Wilson Cary of Ceelys in Virginia, if not of his father the second Miles Cary, and was in 1843 recalled by the elders of the children reared at Carysbrook, Fluvanna County, Virginia, to have been handled by them before the fire which destroyed it with Carysbrook House in 1826.


¹ Hunt, *Bristol*, 3. The penny here cited is attributed to the reign of Ethelred II (the Unready) 979–1016. It may be noted that the British Museum *Handbook of the Coins of Great Britain*, 1899, does not identify any coin struck at Bristol until late in the reign of Cnut (1016–1035).



The original stow, like the walled town into which it had developed by the thirteenth century, was at the bridge-head¹ on the Mercia (or Gloucester) bank of Avon, where a protected neck of land was formed by the confluence of the Frome with the Avon, but in time the settlement spread beyond both rivers and occupied some of the territory of both the adjoining shires of Gloucester and Somerset; so that when by reason of its natural advantages and the enterprise of its inhabitants the congeries of industry thus formed was recognized as the chief seaport of western England, it was by Edward III erected into a county in its own right. Bristol was never a shire town, or the site of a great religious house, or an important military post:² from its origin it owed its importance entirely to trade. On the basis of this trade it long

¹ The oldest form of the name is *Bricgstow*, the stow (or fenced place) of the bridge. It was written *Bristow* for centuries before it assumed its present form of Bristol. "The fact," says Taylor (*Words and Places*, 260), "that five shire and ten county towns take their names from fords, while Bristol is the only city whose name bears witness to the existence of a bridge, affords a curious testimony to the want of facilities of travel at the time when our local names originated. A river as large as the Severn had to be forded at Hereford, and we do not find a bridge before we come to Bridgenorth. The Thames had to be forded at Wallingford [*e.g.*, by William the Conqueror], Halliford, and Oxford, the Ouse at Bedford, and the Lea at Stratford. Cambridge, Bridgewater, and Redbridge cannot be reckoned among towns with bridges, since they are corruptions of earlier names, while at Tunbridge and Weybridge the streams are small."

² The castle built at Bristol at the end of the eleventh century by Bishop Geoffrey de Coutances, and enlarged by Robert Fitz Roy, Earl of Gloucester, frequently brought the name upon the page of




ranked as the second city in the kingdom, "aunciently reputed and called the Chamber of the Queenes of England, as London is called the Kinges Chamber," and conscious of its importance was, as Roger North testifies, "a proud body": it was not until the use of steam coal had transferred the preponderance of commercial importance from the south to the north of England that Liverpool took its present place as a port.

This foreign trade of Bristol had its origin in relations with the Northmen who had established themselves on the east coast of Ireland at Dublin and Waterford: from them it spread to their kinsmen in Scandinavia and for a time to Muscovy. When princes of southern France became kings of England, Bristol merchants traded throughout the Angevin empire: thence they extended their operations to Spain, to the Levant, and ultimately to the west coast of Africa. But the greatest opportunity of Bristol came, after the discovery and plantation of America, in relations with the colonies.¹ It was

national history during the Norman and Angevin reigns, but it was as a prison for magnates and a school-house for Henry II rather than a fortress.


¹ "The discovery of America and that of a passage to the East Indies by the Cape of Good Hope are the two greatest and most important events recorded in the history of mankind . . . one of the principal effects of those discoveries has been to raise the mercantile system to a degree of splendour and glory which it could never otherwise have attained to. It is the object of that system to enrich a great nation rather by trade and manufactures than by the improvement and cultivation of the country. But in consequence of those discoveries the commercial towns of Europe instead of being



in trade in West India sugar and Virginia tobacco, even more than in Irish wool, Iceland fish, Scandinavian naval stores, French and Spanish wines, oils and dyestuffs, Levantine currants and figs, or even in slaves,¹ that the Bristol merchant achieved his place in the sun.

This commerce came to be based largely on the export of rough woollen cloths, frieze, cog-
the manufacturers and carriers for but a very small part of the world . . . have now become the manufacturers for the numerous and thriving cultivators of America." (Adam Smith, *The Wealth of Nations*, 1776, book iv, chap. 7.)

¹ Bristol long practised and always hankered after the slave trade. Almost the earliest appearance of "*vicus maritimus Brichston dictus*" on the page of history was when in the reign of William the Conqueror S. Wulfstan thundered against her *morem vetustissimum* of kidnapping English men and women for export to Ireland (William of Malmesbury, *de vita S. Wistain*); and the canons of Laon who visited England in the time of Henry I report that they were congratulated on having escaped after going to trade aboard the ships in Bristol harbor. (Norgate, *England under the Angevin Kings*, i, 35.) In 1461 Bristol was importing Christian slaves purchased in the Mediterranean for what we should now call "sweat shop" occupations. (Hunt, *Bristol*, 82.) As late as 1685 Chief Justice Jeffreys ordered the Mayor of Bristol off the bench beside him and stood him, "accoutred with his scarlet and furs," in the prisoners' dock on a charge of shipping kidnapped children to the American plantations. (*Lives of the Norths*, ed. Jessop, i, 285.) At the beginning of the eighteenth century her American trade was regularly carried on by triangular voyages, exporting home products to Africa, there taking on a cargo of negroes, to be in turn traded in the American colonies and the West Indies against tobacco and sugar. John Cary, writing from experience, said in 1695 (*Essay on Trade*) that this was "indeed the best traffic the Kingdom hath." Latimer (*Merchant Venturers*, 178-186) gives some figures. In 1755 at the height of the business there were 237 merchants in Bristol engaged in it, at a profit of more than £500,000 per annum. About 74,000 negroes were then shipped annually from Africa. Bristol was much aggrieved when at the end of the eighteenth century Liverpool succeeded in wresting from her the primacy in this slave trade. (See Macaulay, *History*, i, 313.)




ware, "Bristol cotton,"¹ and kersey stockings. These had been characteristic west-of-England household products from the twelfth century and had doubtless entered into Bristol's early trade with Ireland and Scandinavia, but it was only in the fourteenth century that the manufacture of cloth became, under the stimulation of Edward III,² a national industry in the sense

¹ English spinning of the vegetable fibre we now call cotton dates only from the sixteenth century, having spread from the Orient through Spain and Flanders. The fabric known as "Bristol cotton" was a woollen imitation of the Flemish cotton cloth.

It was not until after the third great emigration of Flemings to England, in Elizabeth's time, that English craftsmen became emancipated from economic dependence upon their more expert fellows in the Low Countries. Thus they had until then been compelled to ship their finer products abroad to be dyed. See the acute *Observations touching Trade and Commerce* attributed to Sir Walter Raleigh. This heavy handicap to Norwich was felt less in Bristol because of the less exacting demands of its market.

The parallel between the mutual dependence of English wool growers and Flemish weavers, on the one hand, and American cotton growers and English (or New England) spinners, on the other, has been often pointed out; but there is another parallel in the recent development of cotton manufacturing in the cotton-growing States of the United States. There the sole product for some time was a coarse cloth which could be marketed only in China, and when at last the finer goods were produced there was an interval during which they were shipped to New England to be finished and dyed.

² Just as those Flemish weavers whom we meet in *The Betrothed* had followed William the Conqueror's Flemish wife to England, so it was Edward III's queen who may in some measure be credited with this later and stronger stimulus of an industry which has meant so much for English commerce. Old Fuller gives a pleasant turn to it: "The King, having married Philippa, the daughter of the earl of Hainault, began now to grow sensible of the great gain the Netherlands got by our English wool, in memory whereof the duke of Burgundy, a century after, instituted the order of the Golden Fleece, wherein, indeed, the fleece was ours, but the gold theirs, so vast was their emolument by the trade of clothing. Our




that justified Bishop Berkeley's description of it as "the basis of our wealth." In the capitalistic development which followed the Black Death and the consequent influx of the rural population into towns,¹ all England, earl and churl, churchman and tradesman, embarked in the woolen industry, directly or indirectly. Fortunes were made, families were founded, and the peerage recruited on it.

Bristol was early an important seat of the manufacture, but the industry served that traditionally commercial community in a more characteristic way: the ability to export cloth collected from all the West Country gave the needed assurance of the French and Mediterranean markets and the balance of trade upon which was founded the prosperity Bristol developed under the Tudor kings. Those who controlled this trade at Bristol were naturally the governing municipal aristocracy. Imitating their London colleagues who had shut them out of the profitable markets of the Low Countries and Germany, they endeavored to maintain a close and exclusive class monopoly of their own; but while they generally dominated the municipal government with this end in

King, therefore, resolved if possible to reduce the trade to his own countrymen, who as yet were ignorant, as knowing no more what to do with their wool than the sheep that bore it."


¹ See Alice Law, *English nouveaux riches in the XIV century*; *Transactions Royal Historical Society*, N.S. (1895), ix, 49.



view, they had constant competition from interlopers at home and abroad. It was, then, as much to protect their trade from poaching by their fellow-burgesses engaged in the crafts and the retail trades, as from Londoners, that they organized about the middle of the fifteenth century their Fellowship of Merchants, the gild which was reorganized in 1552 under a charter of Edward VI as "The Arte or Misterie of Marchaunt Venturers of the City of Bristoll."¹ Most of the members of this gild were engaged exclusively in overseas trade, but some of them certainly confined themselves to a domestic trade, the inland collection, from the clothiers, of cloth intended for export: which is the distinction between the "merchants" and the "drapers" among them.² It is clear, in any

¹ This merchant gild, long charged with functions of local government of commerce at Bristol and celebrated by Hakluyt for its enterprise, still exists after a turbulent career as a select club with large eleemosynary responsibilities. Unfortunately few of its records, prior to 1605, are extant. (Latimer, *History of the Society of Merchant Venturers of Bristol*, 1903.)

² Until the introduction of the factory system in the nineteenth century the processes of the manufacture and marketing of cloth were distributed among several successive and generally independent functions, which are distinguishable as early as the act 4 Edw. IV, c.1. Beginning with the raw wool in the hands of the tuckers, the material passed on to spinners, weavers, fullers (or tuckers, as they were called in the west), and was finished as cloth by the sheremen and dyers: they in turn delivered it to the clothiers to be marketed. But this was not the first part which the clothiers had played in the process, for they were capitalists. They bought and collected the raw material, and financed several of the processes, sometimes under the single roof of a suppressed monastery, and so controlled the industry locally: they must, however, be carefully distinguished from what we call manufacturers,




event, that the test of membership in the Merchant Venturers was wholesale as distinguished from retail trade, without limitation of market or commodity, and that is the true Bristol significance of their designation of themselves as "meere merchants."¹

There were Carys enrolled among these Bristol meere merchants from the early years of the fourteenth century, who maintained a tradition

though they were their predecessors. The type of them was that "Jack of Newberry," the hero of chap books. But there was already another and larger scale capitalist in the field, what we now call the commission merchant. He financed the clothiers throughout an extensive territory and collected their wares, maintaining for that purpose his own inland agencies and carriers. Defoe supplies this interesting detail of competitive practice in his description of Bristol. In the popular imagination the type of these traders was Dick Whittington, or at Bristol William Canynges. At London they belonged chiefly to the Drapers' Company, and by reason of its prestige the designation, "draper," whatever had been its original significance or whatever it came to connote, was in the sixteenth century the badge of a purely commercial, wholesale, and capitalistic occupation. See the chapter on the Woolen Industry in Sir William Ashley's *English Economic History* (1893), and the articles, full of curious interest, in *Dict. Nat. Biog.* on Richard Whittington, mercer of London (d. 1423), William Canynges, merchant of Bristol (d. 1474), and John Winchcombe, clothier of Newberry (d. 1520). It will be observed that their lives overlapped. Their popular cults as good apprentices developing into model masters have in common that they rest on different forms of the cloth trade at a time when it dominated the imagination of the English people.


¹ Mr. Latimer (*ibid.*, 222), doubtless voicing the current Bristol tradition, interprets this phrase which occurs so frequently in the commercial records as "merchants trading overseas," apparently reading meere=French *mer*. This is such a reasonable explanation that one might accept it without question except for the fact that the early documents printed by Mr. Latimer, and, indeed, the tenor of his whole book, materially modify it. The ordinances adopted by the Merchant Venturers in 1618 (Latimer, 76) several



that they were sprung from Devon. At the end of the seventeenth century this tradition was formulated in a petition to the College of Arms, asserting that they were lineally descended from, and "time out of mind" had borne the arms of, the Devon Carys. In support of this claim they produced a written recognition by Edward Cary of Tor Abbey, the contemporary "Heir Male and Principal Branch of the Family of the Carys of Devonshire," who certified that

times refer to "meere merchants," but elsewhere to the qualification for membership that the candidate "shall bee borne meere English, that is to saie, within the Kings maiesties Dominions." It is thus apparent that certainly in 1618 the Merchant Venturers understood "meere" to be what we now spell "mere," in the derivative sense of pure or unmixed. The Oxford Dictionary cites many historical examples to that end. A "meere merchant" was one who was nothing but a merchant in the strict English sense of wholesaler. Mr. Latimer has shown that the history of the Merchant Venturers of Bristol was a continuous and vain struggle for a monopoly, not only against the competition of London, but the "interloping" in foreign trade by retailers at home—the class they denounced in 1571 (Latimer, p. 54) by enumeration of "the rich retailers, as the grocer, mercer, haberdasher, soapmaker, vintner." It was to protect themselves against the retailers that the Merchant Venturers limited their membership to wholesalers and prohibited their members from engaging in any craft: it was for the same reason that they secured their various royal monopolistic charters. On the other hand it was the retailers who secured the prompt repeal in 1571 of the Merchant Venturers' single Parliamentary charter and were thus enabled to continue their petty ventures well down into the eighteenth century. This is the point of Roger North's comment on Bristol in 1680 (*The Lives of the Norths*, ed. Jessop, i, 156): "It is remarkable there that all men that are dealers, even in shop trades, launch into adventures by sea, chiefly to the West India plantations and Spain. A poor shop-keeper that sells candles will have a bale of stockings or a piece of stuff for Nevis or Virginia, &c., and rather than fail they trade in men."

A Merchant Venturer was, then, a "meere merchant" because he was engaged only in wholesale trade.




he had "heard and do believe that the Carys of Bristol sprung some generations past from a younger Branch of the Carys of Devonshire," and with it a list of the municipal office-holders of their name in obvious, if not asserted, claim of relation with all of them also.¹

The critical genealogical evidences for the Devon Carys do not preclude the credibility of this tradition. While it is not possible to establish the identification,² there are several possible points of contact. As we have seen, there are surviving records of a number of Carys at the beginning of the fourteenth century who are ignored by the Visitation pedigrees, the earliest of which dates from two centuries later and then is concerned only with the line of primogeniture through which the manor of Cary descended. They were all apparently landless men, making various careers (courtier, cleric, scholar, merchant) by their industry, but all taking positions of dignity which indicate a background. The strong probability is, then, that most of them were Devon cadets.

The first of these Bristol Carys was one LAWRENCE DE CARY, evidently a merchant who

¹ Heralds' College *Book of Grants*, iv. The full record of the proceeding is reproduced in *The Virginia Carys*.


² The attempted identification (*The Cary Family in England*, Boston, 1906) of the first mayor with William Cary¹³ of Ladford in Devon, a grandson of the Compostela pilgrim, must be ignored, for if ever there was any uncertainty as to what became of the Ladford line, it has been dispelled by Colonel Vivian. (See *ante*, p. 167.)



traded salt fish for French wines. He appears for a moment upon the page of national history in 1313 playing a part in an episode characteristic of the reign of Edward II. The modern authority on the history of the times, summarizing the lively contemporary chronicle attributed to a monk of Malmesbury, tells us¹ that in 1313:

Fourteen Bristol magnates had long a preponderating influence in the government of the town. The commons bitterly resented their superiority and declared that every burgess should enjoy equal rights. A royal inquiry was ordered, but the judges, bribed, as was believed, by the fourteen, gave a decision which was unacceptable to the commons. Lord Badlesmere, warden of the castle, sided with the oligarchs, and thus the whole authority of the state was brought to bear against the popular party. But it was an easy matter to resist the government of Edward II. The commons took arms and a riot broke out in court. Twenty men were killed in the disturbances and the judges fled for their lives. Eighty burgesses were proved by inquest at Gloucester to have been the ringleaders. As they refused to appear to answer the charges, they were outlawed. Indignation at Bristol then rose to such a height that the fourteen fled in their turn and for more than two years Bristol succeeded in holding out against the royal mandate. At last in 1316 the town was regularly besieged by the earl of Pembroke. The castle was not within the burgesses power, and its *petrariae*, breaking down the walls and houses of the


¹ Tout, *Political History of England* (1905), iii, 268. The *Vita de Edward II*, of which this is a paraphrase, is included in the *Chronicles of Edward I and II* edited by Bishop Stubbs for the Rolls Series, 1883. Dr. William Hunt's discussion of the incident (*Bristol*, 63-71) is illuminating.



borough, compelled the townsmen to surrender. A few of the chief rebels were punished, but a pardon was issued to the mass of the burgesses.


Like his twentieth-century colleague, whom we have quoted, the fourteenth-century monk of Malmesbury is strongly sympathetic with the party among the Bristol citizens called, by Professor Tout, the "commons." It seems probable, however, that the turbulent burgesses who made the local trouble were deliberately incited by those barons who were at the moment engaged in making general trouble for Edward II's weak government; for these events fell out just after the murder of the favorite Gaveston, while the disaster at Bannockburn occurred in the midst of them. There can be little doubt, then, that the historical odium put upon "the fourteen" was that to be expected by a party which fell from power for supporting the constituted interest of the crown against a victorious faction; certainly the history of Bristol during the succeeding generation, as Dr. Hunt points out, does not indicate any inherent local disinclination to oligarchy or aspiration to popular government. We can read this diagnosis between the lines of the sober record of the proceedings relating to this Bristol insurrection which is preserved in the Rolls of Parliament,¹

¹ *Rot. Parl.* (9 Edw. II), i, 359. One of the lawyers who here appears prosecuting the Bristol rebels was William de Herle, whose descendants intermarried with the Clovelly Carys.



a record which yields also the details which bring the incident upon these pages. There it appears that "the fourteen," who had ruled Bristol and were now violently expelled, were William Randolf, John Snow, John atte Celer, Peter le Fraunceys, Lawrence de Cary, Robert de Otry, Reymond Fermbaud, John de London, Martin de Horncastel, William de Kaerdyf, William de Hanyngfeld, Richard de Camera, Stephen de Sarum, the miller, and John le Parker. Ricart's list of municipal magistrates at the time shows this Lawrence de Cary to have been one of the seneschals (or bailiffs) of Bristol in 1312-13,¹ and a count in the indictment against the borough confirms this in the specification that among the "*Ballos & Ministros Dni Regis*" who had been imprisoned by the rebels for more than seven weeks, or until they escaped and fled the town, was Lawrence de Kary and his servant John. The Parliament Roll shows that after "the fourteen" had fled, their wives and children, their apprentices and servants

¹ The town record known as *The Maire of Bristowe is Kalendar*, which is sometimes referred to as the *Tolzey Book*, testifies that from Henry III to Henry VII the municipal magistrates were a mayor and two deputies or assistants who at all times performed substantially the same functions but were known progressively as *Prepositi* or provosts, *Senescalles* or stewards (translated also Senister and Seneschal), and *Ballivi* or bailiffs: all names taken from the time-honored rural organization of the manor. When the town became a county under the charter of Edward III, a *Vicecomes* or sheriff was added, and he eventually superseded the bailiffs.




were all expelled from Bristol: their goods and chattels and stocks of merchandise, wine, salt, and other commodities, were plundered; but it does not appear what became of them. After the rebels had surrendered the king required the city to send twelve burgesses up to Westminster formally to beseech pardon and pay the fine of 4000 marks which was assessed upon them: among these twelve were two of "the fourteen," Randolf and Otry, and it may be assumed from this that the others also had returned to Bristol.¹

Of the next generation one John de Castelcare is recorded by Ricart to have been bailiff of Bristol in 1350 and 1353, and in 1699 he is assumed by official Bristol opinion² to have been of the family of Lawrence. At a time of the greatest diversity in the spelling of names it is possible that they were of kin, but it seems more likely that this John might be traced to an origin in Somerset and that he had no relation to the Devon family to which we assume Lawrence belonged. But it is probable in any event that Lawrence left issue and that they engaged in the manufacture of cloth. Lawrence de Cary's son would have been a contemporary of that Thomas Blanket whose name has survived as the representative of the Bristol burgesses who in 1339, against vigorous local opposition but under

¹ But see *post*, p. 522, the excursus on the Wycombe Carys.

² See the certificate of the chamberlain of Bristol of 1699 in *The Virginia Carys*.



the king's protection, set up looms in their own houses and began to manufacture English wool with the aid of immigrant Flemish weavers.¹ Blanket's name, since a household word, was that of the woolen textile which he manufactured. In the same generation another such fabric was used in England under the name *cary*. There are several literary references to it, e.g., about 1394 in *Piers Ploughman*:²

His cote was of a cloute that cary y-called;


and in the next century, according to the Oxford Dictionary, "a russet cloke lynd w^t care aboute ye schuldyrs," and "thys lady was in care clad." It seems clear, then, that some of the fourteenth-century Carys were clothiers and gave their name to their product. This waif of evidence furnishes an instructive commentary on the vicissitudes of English families, for it thus appears that the Bristol Carys began where the Hunsdons ended, with a weaver.

In any event the name reappears at Bristol at the end of the fourteenth century in the person of one WILLIAM CARY, a pious, well-to-do, and charitable burgess, who died in 1395. He left a will,³ in which, after legacies to each order of mendicant friars of Bristol, to the sick poor in

¹ Rymer, *Fœdera*, ii, 1098.

² *Crede*, 422.

³ Wadley, *Great Orphan Books of Bristol*, 1886, No. 84, p. 46.




the hospital of St. Bartholomew, clothing of Welsh russet for thirteen very needy poor people and a pair of shoes apiece to thirteen other poor,¹ he leaves his estate to his infant son John; and commits his custody and education to the son's godfather, Sir John Warwyk, rector of St. Werburgh, Bristol, for whom, in consideration of such pains, the executors are instructed to buy "a corrody [pension] in the Abbey of Keynsham, made secure to him under the seal both of the convent and abbey, so that he shall have no lack of proper victuals."

There is no surviving record of Carys in Bristol during the succeeding century, perhaps because they then sank, as we are able to see them doing again at the beginning of the seventeenth century, in the general commercial depression which bore heavy on Bristol in the middle of the fifteenth century,² but it appears reasonably certain that the William who died in 1395 leaving a son John was the direct ancestor of the William and John who flourished at Bristol under Henry VIII. The William of 1395 may

¹ This is the most elaborate disposition of charity in any of the Cary wills though they all uniformly make some such provision. Several of them provided for a sermon to be preached at the funeral and for the attendance of the "poor householders of Bristol." Henry Hobson provided in his will forty shillings "to the company of Innholders of said city of Bristoll for attending at my burial." Macaulay says of Bristol (*History* i, 313), "The pomp of the christenings and burials far exceeded what was seen at any other place in England."

² Seyer, *Bristol*, ii, 144.



himself have been derived from Lawrence, but it seems more likely that he was an immediate bud from the Devon stock: it is indeed within the probabilities of the dates that he was one of the "numerous issue" of the Chief Baron¹ who are not named in the Visitation pedigrees. It is not unlikely that at that time a son of such a magnate as the Chief Baron might have been apprenticed to a merchant even in the days of his father's prosperity. In a land where, unlike the continent, no hedge has been built around a *noblesse*, where participation in commerce has ever been regarded with the practical vision of Aristotle and Cato rather than the finicking judgment of Plato and Cicero, that was long the practice of the English gentry in respect of at least one of the younger sons of a large family: it is only since snobbery was introduced into England with the Georges that it has ceased.²

When we pick up these Carys again in the middle of the sixteenth century with a merchant in the magistracy, a monk who was canon of

¹ Izacke, *Memorials of Exeter*, 71.

² See Stow, *Survey*, ed. Strype, 1720, v, 329, and the historical illustrations in that curious book variously attributed to John Phillipot, Somerset herald under Charles I, Sir William Segar, Garter King-of-Arms in 1633, and the learned Edmund Bolton, entitled (in the second edition, 1675) "*The Cities great Concern in this Case or Question of Honour and Arms, Whether apprenticeship extinguisheth Gentry? Discoursed, with a clear refutation of the pernicious error that it doth.*" For the literary tradition cf. Aristotle, *Politics*, iv (Bekker), chap. 6, and Cato, *de Agricultura*, i, with Plato, *Laws*, iv, 6, and Cicero, *de Officiis*, i, 42.

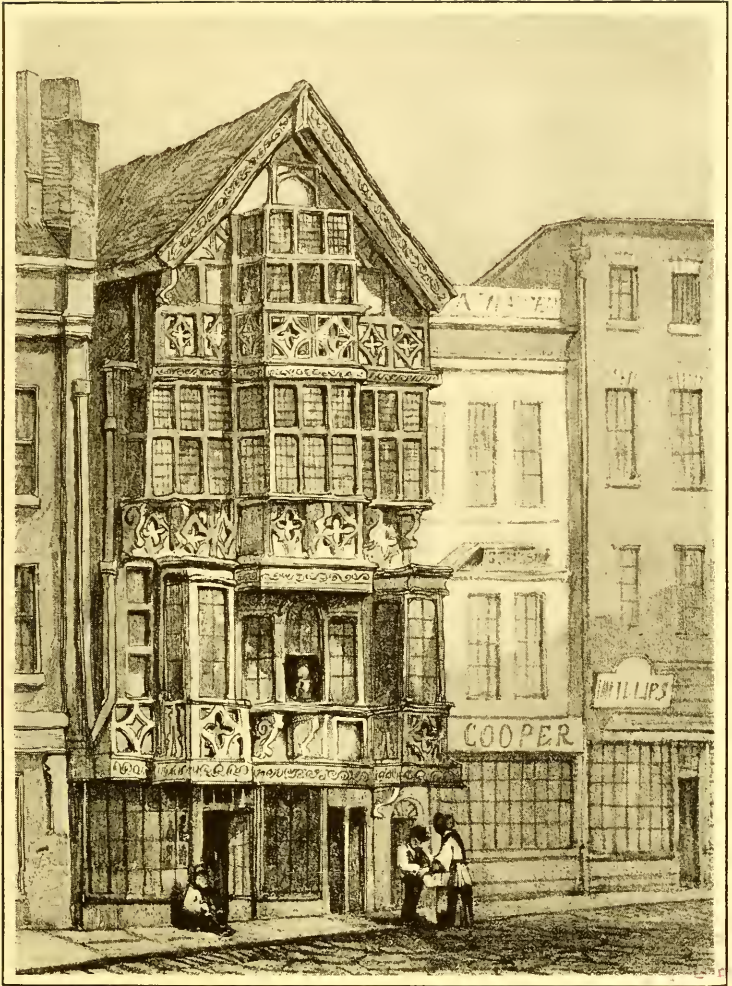
St. Augustine's Abbey, and a sea-captain, they appear against a background of the cloth trade, and so they continued, styling themselves sometimes "merchant" and sometimes "draper," until after the civil wars of the seventeenth century.¹ The first of them from whom we have uninterrupted proof of descent is

WILLIAM CARY (1492?-1572), who was sheriff in 1532, mayor in 1546,² and died in 1572 at the age of about eighty, as we deduce from the known ages of his sons, having outlived those sons by two marriages and retired from trade.


¹ Following the mayor of 1546 there were six generations of Carys identified with the trade of Bristol, to Richard Cary, the Bristol merchant, who died in Virginia in 1730; but after the civil wars they ceased to be drapers: the fifth generation traded in Peninsula wines, e.g., "Bristol milk," and the last two in West India sugar and Virginia tobacco.

² The mayor's *Kalendar* (or *Tolzey Book*) of Bristol.

From 1559 to 1567 "William Carre" represented Bristol in the House of Commons. (Barrett, *History . . . of Bristol*, 156, and *Return of Members of Parliament*, 1879.) Considering the variety of spellings of the name at this time, we might be justified in claiming this service for our first Cary mayor. Dr. Barrett relates him, however, to that prosperous soap-boiler John Carr (also written Carre in the old records) who died in 1586, leaving his lands to the corporation of Bristol as a foundation for an orphanage which was afterwards established on the site of the dissolved religious house the "Gaunts" and is known as Queen Elizabeth's Hospital. (See Ricart's *Kalendar*, 62; Barrett, *History . . . of Bristol*, 352-376; Latimer, *Annals of Bristol XVII Century*, 9.) This John Carr (who bore the arms of Carr of York—see Burke, *General Armory*) had a soap factory also at Bow near London, and so may have had his origin not in Bristol but in the north of England, where the name Carr was as common as it was unprecedented in Bristol and Devon, and whence it spread to London. The names of "the fourteen" of 1313 show from what widely separated places of origin the population of a trading town like Bristol was drawn, even in the middle ages.



THE CARY HOUSE ON BRISTOL BACK




By his will,¹ dated April 2, 1571, he describes himself as "William Carye, the Elder, dwelling upon the Backe in St. Nicholas Parish in ye city of Bristol." He was buried, as he had directed, in the "Crowd" (or crypt) of St. Nicholas' Church, March 28, 1572.² The John Carye, canon of St. Augustine's when it was suppressed, and the Walter Carie, a mariner and burgess of Bristol, who had died August 21, 1561, were undoubtedly his brothers.³

In the time of William Cary "the elder," when Bristol was just emerging from the middle ages into the modern world, the physical aspect of the town was much what it had been at the time of the Black Death; and, indeed, much what it was down into the eighteenth century. It was still a dirty place, closely built up and densely crowded. The access to the original walled "stow" from the south was over the stone bridge which stood from the thirteenth century, when it replaced the wooden structure from which the town derived its name, until 1767. This bridge was lined with overhanging houses,

¹ P.C.C. *Daper*, 19.

² St. Nicholas' parish register. Reputed to have been founded in 1030 by that Saxon thegn Brihtric, who, to his ultimate ruin, flouted the young Countess Matilda of Flanders, three church buildings have stood over the still more ancient burying-ground now known as St. Nicholas' crowd, or crypt, where the Carys are buried. The present handsome structure dates from 1768, when the city walls and gate were removed.

³ For John see *post*; for Walter, P.C.C. *Admon. Act Book*, 1561.




and in the sixteenth century doubtless was, as when Alexander Pope saw it in 1739,¹ "crowded with a strange mixture of seamen, women, children, loaded horses, asses and sledges, with goods dragging along all together without posts to separate them." From the bridge High Street passed under St. Nicholas' Gate, on which stood the chancel of St. Nicholas' Church, and thence up a steep hill to the "carfax" which was the centre of the town. But turning south from the gate and church "you come," continues Pope, "to a Key along the old wall with houses on both sides, and in the middle of the street, as far as you can see, hundreds of ships, their masts as thick as they can stand by one another, which is the oddest and most surprising sight imaginable. This street is fuller of them than the Thames from London Bridge to Deptford, and at certain time the water rises to carry them out, so that at other times a long street full of ships in the middle and houses on both sides looks like a dream."

This quay was, and still is, the Welsh Back,² and here, close by the public warehouse for imported merchandise, Spicers' Hall (or Back

¹ As described in a letter to Mrs. Martha Blount. (Pope, *Works*, Murray ed., ix, 320.)

² There were several "Backs," or waterside streets, in Bristol, e.g., Augustine's Back, Redcliff Back, St. James's Back, Hollow Back; but the oldest and most important of them, the Welsh Back, is usually styled simply "the Back." Thus as early as 1449 it is recorded in Ricart's *Kalendar* that "this yere the Bakke of Bristowe was repayred, al the egis of it and of the slyppes, with free stone."



Hall, as it is still familiarly called), William Cary, and his great-grandson after him, lived in a house in which his grandfather had perhaps lived also. What this house was like within doors we can gather from a modern historian:¹

The richest merchants lived magnificently enough. Below their houses were vast cellars for merchandise, now built with groined stone roofs, on the ground floor a warehouse or two or more shops open to the street, and above a parlour and bedrooms, the whole being generally three stories high, besides attics in the sharply pitched gables. Behind stood a lofty hall, fit for a royal banquet, the walls often rich with hangings and the roof of carved timber and plaster adorned with designs. . . . The plate cupboard of a rich merchant must have been a fair ornament of his hall.

This description seems to be of the house of William Canynges in Redcliff Street at which Edward IV had stopped, but as that was the show house of Bristol,² should, of course, be materially stepped down to fit the abode of the typical merchant. We must be here content to realize the façade of the Cary house on the Back, which survived until the nineteenth century, and to read the language of the bequest of Sheriff Richard Cary "the younger," who inhabited it, to his wife in 1569,³ viz.:

¹ Hunt, *Bristol*, 108.

² Pryce, *The Canynges Family* (1854), 125.

³ Waters, *Genealogical Gleanings in England*, ii, 1052.

. . . three hundred pounds and plate and household stuff, saving my counting chests containing my writings and my shops and shop books and debts.

These testimonies will serve the fancy as a picture of how the Bristol Carys lived in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, if the modern man, who may be dazzled by the high lights, will remember also that the house was practically bare of furniture, that there were probably not more than two beds for the whole family, that despite drafts there was little ventilation, that the floors were bare and damp except for straw mats, and that what we call the sanitary arrangements were unspeakable.


Whatever may have been the case of the merchants' houses within doors, out of doors in Bristol there was little that was magnificent.

The streets of the town were very narrow, for, as in the busier parts, the ground was honeycombed with cellars for storing wine, salt and other merchandise: no vehicle was allowed to be used in them. All goods were carried by porters or packhorses.¹ . . . And the streets were still further narrowed by the high built heads and projecting stalls of shops and by the entrances into cellars. The less important streets were little better than deep dark lanes.

Defoe testifies, in 1692, that all heavy goods


¹ When Samuel Pepys visited Bristol in 1668 he had to leave his coach in Redcliff and walk to the Sun tavern. "No carts," he says of the city, "it standing generally on vaults, only dog carts." (*Diary*, ed. Bright, viii, 320.)

Macaulay (*History*, i, 312) says: "The richest inhabitants exhibi-



were drawn on sledges, which the people called "gee-hoes," a practice which he says "kills a great multitude of horses, and the pavement is worn so smooth by them that in wet weather the streets are slippery."

Such was the physical aspect of the town in which William Cary lived out his life, but its dirt and squalor and narrow streets could not bound the imagination of one who had the fortune to be a boy in Bristol at the beginning of the sixteenth century, for he stood on the threshold of a new world. This William Cary's father belonged to the middle ages. He must have been a lad in Bristol during the Wars of the Roses and have seen Sir Baldwin Fulford going to his death under the eyes of Edward IV and the cruel Duke Richard "Crookback," in the procession which survives in the Rowley ballad of the *Bristowe Tragedy*; again, the father must have seen his kinsman, Sir William Cary, ride into Bristol in the train of Queen Margaret a few days before the tragedy of Tewkesbury. This William Cary fell himself upon a more stimulating if not a more exciting time. Born, as we conjecture, in 1492, the very year of the discovery of America, a subject of Henry VII, and living down well into the reign of Elizabeth, his earliest wealth, not by riding in gilded carriages, but by walking the streets with trains of servants in rich liveries and by keeping tables loaded with good cheer."




est impressions must have been of that stirring year 1497, when, in the spring, the town was arrayed in arms to defy and keep out the Cornish rebels who were soon to be scattered at Blackheath. A few months later he saw John Cabot warp his ship into Bristol Back on his return, as he reported, from "the territory of the Grand Cham," having in fact discovered the continent of North America, with fateful consequences to the whole world, and especially to Bristol.

It is difficult now to imagine the quickening of thought, the wider outlook, of an enterprising seafaring town like Bristol, which had built up a large trade in a small way, but now, in the news which Cabot brought to it, faced the dizzy possibilities of a boundless opportunity: for it proved a community capable of turning towards the setting sun with as resolute an intention as Venice had shown when first she faced the morning and

held the golden east in fee.¹


¹ While the sixteenth-century Bristol merchants saw their opportunity for new markets which the plantation of the English colonies in America and the West Indies would open to them, free from the servitude of the medieval monopolies which had limited their trade with the Netherlands and East Indies, and to that end were foremost in promoting the voyages of discovery, their successors in the seventeenth century did not bear their due share of the patient constructive work of colonization. They did, indeed, venture plantations in Newfoundland and at Pemaquid, but it was without determination, and in the event they were unsuccessful. The honors of the American colonial achievement, so far as British merchants may be credited with it, rest with London. The Bristol historians generally struggle with this disagreeable fact. We may perhaps see in that failure to maintain the reputation of their an-



It must have been a dull boy indeed who could grow up in the midst of this excitement and not realize the romance of constructive commerce. He saw Sebastian Cabot's ships come up the narrow gorge of the Avon from their long voyage to the bleak northern shores of Labrador, where, with imagination undaunted by ice, they had searched the way to Cipango, the land of spices, bringing as the first-fruits of their hope not spices but something highly odorous nevertheless, three outlandish savages, who "were clothed in beasts' skins and ate raw flesh and were in their demeanor like brute beasts."¹ He haunted the quay in front of his father's house, intoxicated by the heavy narcotic savor and bright colors of the barrels and bales with which it was piled: the cargoes, in which he was himself, in time, to trade, of sweet Andalusian wines, muscadel and bastard; dyeing drugs from the Canaries; lustrous silks, gorgeous Turkish carpets, and spices from the Levant; sweet oils from

cestors the beginning of the decay of Bristol as a port, an event which was postponed during the eighteenth century only by the commerce of mere exploitation—the trade in slaves and sugar. There were, of course, many emigrants from Bristol both in Virginia and New England, but they apparently went out on their own responsibility and without organized support at home.

¹ See the documents for Cabot in Pollard, *The Reign of Henry VII*, ii, 329, ff. The Bristol mayor's *Kalendar* for 1497 records the array against the Cornish rebels, but makes no mention of Cabot's return, little appreciating the relative importance of the events. The first entry with respect to America in that record is nearly a century later, of the return in 1578 of Martin Frobisher from "Cataye" laden with a gold ore which proved "not worth the chardges."



Sicily. He talked with the blackavised Italian sailors and coveted the gay handkerchiefs on their heads and the rings in their ears, while they told him wild stories of adventure and captivity with Turks and Algerine pirates.

When at last, after long service in his father's counting-house, William Cary was in business for himself, his quickened spirit and his wider opportunity led him to a prosperity and a place in the community greater than had been achieved by any of his forebears in Bristol. By the time he was forty he had been one of the municipal common council and had served the office of sheriff of Bristol; fourteen years later he attained the highest dignity in the local magistracy and was chosen mayor, thenceforth to play his part

In fair round belly, with good capon lined,
With eyes severe, and beard of formal cut,
Full of wise saws and modern instances.

Descriptions of the municipal ceremonies in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries enable us to get a glimpse of William Cary in his official dignity, clad in a red robe and fur cloak, and girt with a gold chain and the king's sword of office, and charged, says Ricart, with "the grete substance of poletyk provision, wise and discrete guydinge and surveyeng of all officers and others, dependinge, concernynge the comuneweale of the




SWEARING IN THE MAYOR OF BRISTOL

1479

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hole body of this worshipfull Toune and the precincte of the same.”

The municipal ceremonies of Bristol were marked by the same mixture of religion, stateliness and good cheer as the lives of the burgesses. At the election of the Mayor on September 15th, the Council, for the right was now vested in that body, met at the Guild Hall and there the outgoing Mayor exhorted all “with a *pater noster* and an *ave*” to pray for the guidance of the Holy Ghost. The new Mayor did not take office till Michaelmas day, to give him time “to make his purveyance of his worshipful household.” On that day “at the stynting of the common bell” the outgoing Mayor took leave of the Council in a set form, and the new Mayor took the oath and received the insignia of his office, the King’s sword, the hat and seals. Then all brought the new Mayor home with trumpets and clarions, for the city kept its minstrels to play before the Mayor until 1835. After dining, part with the old and part with the new Mayor, the company went to St. Michaels Church to offer: then met again at the new Mayor’s house for cake-bread and wine, and so each man went home in time for even song. . . . The festival of the Boy Bishop, who was elected on St. Nicholas day, and who held office until Innocents day, was kept with much ceremony. On the day of his election, the Mayor, Sheriff and Council attended at St. Nicholas Church to hear the boy’s sermon and receive his blessing. After dinner they met and played dice upon the Mayor’s counter (probably a brass table in front of the Tolzey, the Sheriff’s courthouse, like those that now stand before the Exchange), until the bishop and his “chapel” or boy choir came there to sing and the bishop to give his blessing: then the boys were served with bread and wine, all went to the bishop’s at even song. . . . Grander than all the rest were the ceremonies of Corpus Christi day: for then there was feasting through all



the town, and a long procession in which the guilds exhibited their pageants. Every holiday, indeed, was kept with gladness and religious observance. Busy as the merchants were, they never grudged these days on which the Mayor and his brethren would go out duck shooting on the pond at Treenmill, or look on at wrestling and other sports.¹


With the other vital changes of the new world in which he lived, William Cary faced that of religion. He had grown up a good Catholic: we are justified in assuming that the John Carye who was a monk and canon of St. Augustine's Abbey at its dissolution was his brother.² But the new influences of the Reformation, the breaking down of authority, and the substitution of personal faith, were at work all during his life, making their contribution to the development of that individualism which was for centuries to be the characteristic of the Englishman in economic as well as religious development.³

While these Carys were still young men, Hugh Latimer preached in Bristol and made a great


¹ Hunt, *Bristol*, 108.

² St. Augustine's surrendered to Henry VIII on December 9, 1539. One of the two canons, who were then allowed a pension of £6 13s 4d each, was John Carye. *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, iv, 660; v, 1032 (183b).

³ The growth of state socialism all over the world in our own day under the stress of war is not the less interesting historically because it involves in some vital respects a reversion to the intellectual conditions of the middle ages; to the time when authority had not yet been superseded by individualism. The man of the middle of the twentieth century is destined to find more texts for his serious thoughts in Dante than in Shakespeare or St. Paul.



stir with appeal from spiritual emotion to common sense, leading to the novel doctrine that it was of no avail to worship saints or to go on pilgrimages. For little stronger opinions George Wishart did penance for heresy by bearing a faggot in their own parish church of St. Nicholas; but before William Cary was mayor England had defied Rome and the "good old times" were gone. The very monasteries, which were the outward and visible sign of Rome and had played a large part in Bristol's medieval life, were uprooted, and his own monkish brother was deprived of his prebend. In 1542 the church of the dissolved abbey of St. Augustine was converted into the cathedral of a new diocese, and, to support the new dignity as the seat of an episcopal see, Bristol was raised to the rank of a city: it was then that the ornaments of the churches, which were Bristol's eminent decoration, were defaced, the altars pulled down, the wall paintings wiped out with whitewash, and such church plate and other treasures as could be put to other use ruthlessly confiscated. This must have distressed all those who had grown up in the town and had a sentimental interest in her monuments; perhaps they were somewhat assuaged by the new importance of their being a city, and individuals undoubtedly had other and more substantial *douceurs*. We know that some of the Bristol merchants whose predecessors had



originally endowed the church were permitted to share in the spoils: perhaps William Cary had his bit, like his kinsmen at court; certainly we find him taking part in the movement as early as 1537,¹ and if we may judge from the religious expressions in his will, he was no papist at the end of his life.


William Cary "the elder" had married twice, but we do not know the name of either of his wives: they were both dead and gone when he came to make his will. He had had three sons and two daughters.² The eldest and youngest sons, by different mothers, both named Richard, were in turn distinguished³ as "the elder" and "the younger." Richard "the younger," the son of his father's second marriage, describes himself in his will⁴ as "draper" and as dwelling "upon the Back, in St. Nicholas' Parish," and provides an annuity out of his estate for his father in consideration of previous advancements: so it appears that he continued to reside in the paternal house and to carry on the paternal business after his father's retirement. He suc-

¹ He was one of the commission which then reported to the privy council on the preaching at Bristol. His name appears *Kary* in the body of the document, but he signs it *Care*. (*Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, xii, 1147. See also Hunt, *Bristol*, 116.)

² The surviving parish register of St. Nicholas' Church does not begin until the next generation, but the children of William Cary are, all identified from the wills.

³ In their wills.

⁴ It is dated August 8, 1569, and proved September 17 of the same year. (P.C.C. *Sheffield*, 20.)



ceeded also to the municipal tradition and died while serving the office of sheriff.¹ He was buried in St. Nicholas' Church, August 11, 1569.²


The second son, William, had meanwhile gone up to London and there established himself as a "citizen and clothworker."³ This emigration was doubtless in the interest of the family as a whole rather than a mere swarming of the hive. For more than a century past the London merchants had been secured in a monopoly of the export of wool and English drapery to the Low Countries, despite the protest of the West Country merchants, and exports for those markets were required to be shipped via Blackwell Hall in London. It was then clearly important to such a family as the Carys to have one of their number enrolled among the Merchant Adventurers of London.⁴ We may conjecture that it

¹ See Latimer's correction of the list in the *Mayors Kalendar, Transactions* Bristol and Gloucester Archeological Society, xxvi, 108.

² Parish register.

³ So he describes himself in his will dated March 2, 1572, and proved March 13, 1572. (P.C.C. *Petre*, 9.) For the genealogical evidence as to him and his family see *The Virginia Carys*.

⁴ For the monopoly of the Merchant Adventurers of London since the time of Henry IV and the unavailing protests against it from Bristol, see the act of 1497 (12 Henry VII, c. 6) and the discussion in Knight's *Pictorial History of England*, book vi, ch. 4; Cunningham, *Growth of English Industry and Commerce*, ii, 244. Exeter had a similar monopoly for France but exercised it in close relation with London. It was this situation which concentrated Bristol's trade on Spain.



was in the capacity of family export agent to an otherwise inaccessible market that this William left home, as we find him remaining in close touch with his kindred and serving as executor under the wills of both his brothers.

It was through his eldest son that the first mayor's line was carried on. RICHARD CARY "the elder" (1515-1570) described himself in his will¹ as "merchant." He married about 1541 his first wife Anne, of whose surname no record survives, and in 1562 a second, Joan Holton, sister of Robert Holton, chamberlain of Bristol. He died before his father and was buried in St. Nicholas' Church, June 17, 1570.² There is no record of his having been of the magistracy.

Among this Richard's children by his second wife was his daughter Anne, baptized in 1564, and mentioned in her father's will. She married Nicholas Ball of Totnes in Devon, a merchant who "grewe to a greate quantity of wealth in a short space, especially by trading for pilchers,"³ and after serving as mayor of his town died leaving Anne Cary, at twenty-two, a "warm" widow with several children.⁴ She was imme-

¹ It is dated June 11, 1570, and proved in London November 3, 1570. (P.C.C. *Lyon*, 31.) See also Bristol, *Great Orphan Books* (ed. Wadley, 1876), p. 245.

² St. Nicholas' parish register.

³ John Manningham, *Diary*, 1602-03 (ed. Bruce for Camden Society, 1868), p. 129.

⁴ Her youngest daughter, Elizabeth Ball (1585-1659), m. 1603 Ralph Winwood (1563-1617), who, like Bodley, was then in the

diately the quest of suitors. The successful swain was the son of an Exeter merchant who was soon to be employed in diplomatic service by Queen Elizabeth, and as Sir Thomas Bodley ultimately founded the public library at Oxford which still bears his name. Of his wooing, a contemporary anecdote survives:

Mr. Bodely, the author, promoter, the perfecter of a goodly library at Oxford, wan a rich widdowe by this meanes. Coming to the place where the widdowe was with one whoe is reputed to have bin sure of hir, as occasion happened the widdowe was absent. While he was in game, he, finding the opportunity, entreated the surmised assured gent to hold his cards till he returned; in which tyme he found the widdowe in a garden, courted and obtained his desyre: so he played his game, while an other held his cards.¹

Thomas Bodley married Anne Cary at Totnes on July 19, 1586. She died as Lady Bodley in 1611, and is buried in the church of St. Bartholomew the Less in London.²

diplomatic service, but ended his life as secretary of state and leader of the House of Commons. Anne Cary's Winwood granddaughter, another Anne, m. 1633 Edward Montagu, second Baron Montagu of Boughton, and was the mother of that Ralph Montagu who was created Duke of Montagu in 1705. See *Dict. Nat. Biog.* (reissue ed.), xxi, 707; xiii, 673, 710.

¹ Manningham, *u.s.*, p. 63.

² Sir Thomas Bodley does not mention his wife by name in his autobiography, but her genealogical identification was established by Colonel Vivian from the Totnes parish register and *Harl. MS.* 1538, fol. 281. (See Vivian, *Visitations of Devon*, p. 96; Troup, *The Pedigree of Sir Thomas Bodley; Transactions of the Devon Association*, xxxv, 713; and *The Virginia Carys*, 17.) Anthony à Wood (*Athenae Oxon.*, ii, 124) records that Lady Bodley was


The youngest son of Richard "the elder," CHRISTOPHER¹ CARY (1568–1626), was, like his father, a "merchant." He married Lettice Young, dwelt on the "Key of Bristol," was sheriff in 1612, warden of the Merchant Venturers in 1613, and died in 1626.²

The eldest surviving son, WILLIAM CARY (1550–1633), destined to be the second mayor of Bristol of his name, was baptized in St. Nicholas' October 2, 1550, and married Alice Goodal January 7, 1575. He styled himself "draper" like his uncle Richard "the younger," and undoubtedly succeeded to his business in the first mayor's house "on the Back": that it was a wholesale business we have evidence not only in his membership in the Merchant Venturers,³ but "Anne, the daughter of . . . Carew of the City of Bristol (the rich widow, as I have heard, of one Ball)," and this confusion of the name is adopted by Macray in *Dict. Nat. Biog.* (reissue ed.), ii, 757. Edmund Lodge, who apparently knew something of Bristol names, in quoting Wood (*Portraits*, iv, No. 66) changes the spelling from *Carew* to *Carey*. The monument Bodley erected to his wife in St. Bartholomew the Less is described in Malcolm's *Londinium Redivivum*.

¹ This name Christopher was evidently derived from the family friend, "Christopher Pacye, preacher," who was a witness to the will of William Cary the elder, and is named also in the will of Richard Cary the younger, and cannot, therefore, be related to the contemporary Christopher Carys, the "gentleman" of Shipdonlee, co. Bucks, or the Balliol physician, both of whom we have credited (see *post*, p. 522) to the Wycombe Carys.

² His will is dated October 30, 1615, and was proved May 31, 1626. (P.C.C. *Hele*, 60.) For his descendants in Bristol and London see *post*, pp. 542, 685.

³ Latimer, *Merchant Venturers*, 64. This William is the first of the Carys to appear in the surviving records which begin only in 1605.




when in 1586 the mercer Roger Shipman refers in his will¹ to the expected profit “uppon my parte of the Twenty Tonnes of Oile wch. is betweene my Gossippe Willm Carie and me.” In 1598 he served the office of sheriff and in 1611 was elected mayor.²

He just missed by a year being in office when in 1613 Bristol had the honor of entertaining James I's queen, Anne of Denmark. From the space given to the ceremonies, the pageants, and the fêtes in the city annals, this would seem to have been the most important municipal event since the visit of Queen Elizabeth in 1574.³ On the occasion of Queen Anne's visit in 1613, William Cary doubtless met and entertained the third Lord Hunsdon, who seems to have been then in attendance upon the queen. The most interesting event of his own magistracy was the establishment by a Bristol merchant, John Guy, himself to be a later mayor, of a plantation of Bristol men in Newfoundland as a base from which to carry on a fishery. The city annals record that the mayor and many of the leading citizens supported the expedition warmly, but the project being one of commercial interest primarily to those merchants who had long been engaged in the Iceland fisheries, we do not find any of the

¹ Wadley, *Great Orphan Books*, No. 393, p. 242.

² The mayor's *Kalendar or Tolzey Book*.

³ Nicholls, *Progresses of James I.*



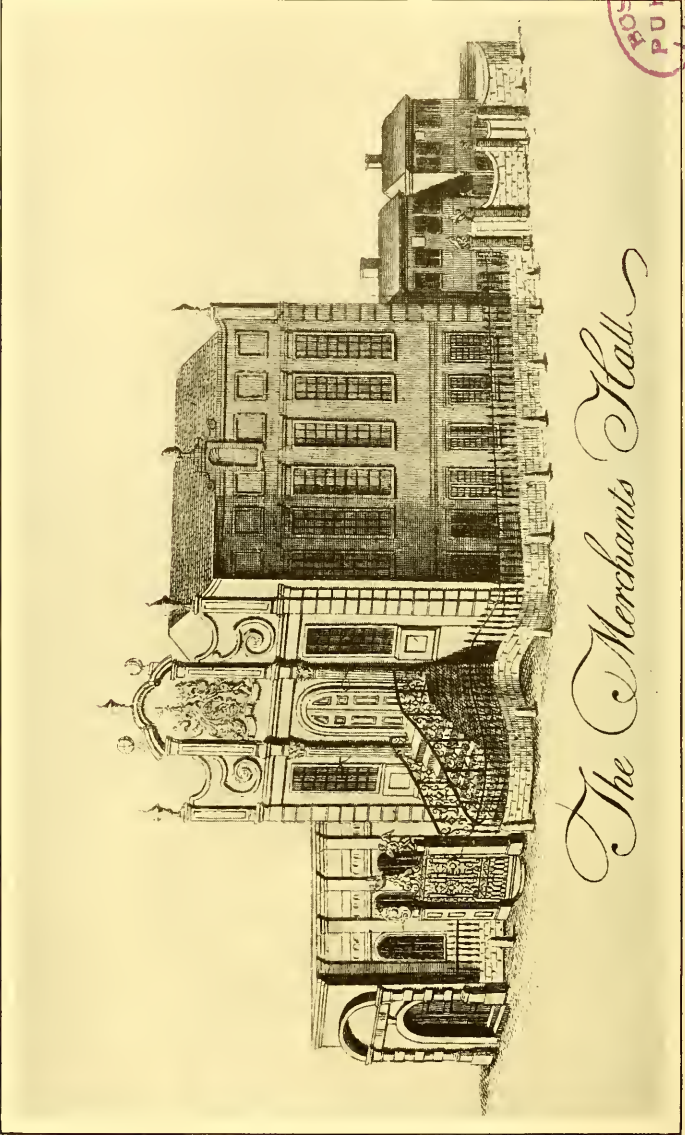
cloth merchants enrolled among the patentees of this "ancient, primitive and heroical work"; for, as Bacon says, merchants "look ever to present gain."¹

After his term as mayor he was alderman for his ward, but judged by his will and such other evidence as we have for him, he then initiated a decline in the family fortunes. He must have suffered some severe loss from which he never recovered, doubtless the loss of a ship. Under the peace-at-any-price policy of James I piracy had become again the scourge of English commerce; and it is recorded that twenty-nine Bristol ships were "taken by the Turks" between 1607 and 1617, some of them even in Bristol Channel. Bristol merchants were in difficulty at this time for other reasons also. There is in existence a jeremiad which they addressed to the privy council in 1595 complaining of the unfair competitive practices of the London merchants in their regard and of their own decrepitude in consequence.²

William Cary lived to experience also the

¹ Barrett, *History . . . of Bristol*, 688; Hunt, *Bristol*, 137. The patent to "the Treasurer and Company of Adventurers and Planters of the Cite of London and Bristol for the Colony or Plantation in New Found Land" was dated April 27, 1610. (*Purchas his Pilgrimes*, 1625 ed., iv, 1876.) Among them appears Sir Lawrence Tanfield, the father-in-law of the first Lord Falkland, and Sir Francis Bacon. One might wish that William Cary had "adventured" in such company and so identified himself with the earliest English settlement in America.


² Latimer, *Merchant Venturers*, 60, 127.



The Merchants Hall.

THE BACK HALL, BRISTOL


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blind domestic tyranny and futile foreign policy of Charles I, when the French and Spanish commerce of Bristol was interrupted and those markets often closed, when even the arrogant London merchants were in straits; one of them told the privy council in 1628 that as a class they were worse "screwed and wrung" than their correspondents in Turkey. In his misfortune William Cary evidently held the esteem of his fellows, for at the end of his life we find him exercising by their election the function of keeper of Spicers' Hall (called from its location the Back Hall), where, from the middle of the fifteenth century, under the ordinances of the Merchant Venturers, all foreign merchandise brought to Bristol by any one not of their society had to be stored and offered for sale. In this situation he was distinguished by a domestic achievement which was considered of sufficient importance to record, with some exaggeration, for the edification of posterity. In his MS. material for the history of Bristol, Mr. Alderman Haythorne says: ¹

This Mayor was afterwards Keeper of the Back Hall: in which time his wife, an ancient woman, died: and four score years old or more he married his servant, by whom he had a son, having then sons living that were nearly three score years old.

¹ Quoted in John Evans, *Chronological Outline of the History of Bristol*, 1824.



He was buried¹ beside his father and his grandfather in the "crowd" of St. Nicholas' Church ten years before the civil war scattered his seed beyond the sea. By his first wife, who survived until 1623, he had had seven sons and two daughters; the second marriage was actually at the age of seventy-four.²

The prolongation of this William Cary's life, practically to the end of the generation of his sons, brings him to the end of an era, not only in the history of England and of Bristol, but, in consequence of the political and social disturbances of the civil war, of his family as well. With his death Cary of Bristol ceased to be characteristically a cloth merchant.

THE WYCOMBE CARYS

An excursus by way of elimination

The surviving records of the ancient and picturesque "cheping" or market town of Wycombe, amidst the beech forests of the Chiltern Hills in Buckinghamshire, show a family of Carys there established as early as 8 Henry V (1421), and thenceforth for at least two centuries. They were engaged in the cloth trade and made four contributions to the local magistracy, viz.: Richard Cary, bailiff 1449; Richard Cary,

¹ St. Nicholas' parish register, March 1, 1633. His will (in *Bristol Great Orphan Books*, iii, 311) is dated the same day on which he is recorded to have been buried and was proved June 15, 1633: in it, like his grandfather, having a son of the same name, he styles himself "the elder."


² The children were all baptized at St. Nicholas', viz.: William 1576, Richard 1579, John 1583, Walter 1588, Robert 1589, Ann 1591, Susan 1593, Thomas 1596, James 1600. Henry, the son by the second marriage, was baptized November 20, 1625.

mayor at intervals, 1477-1493; Richard Cary, mayor 1547; and Edward Cary, mayor 1552. These Carys had the vision to take advantage of their proximity to Oxford, and steadily pursued that opportunity for education. In consequence they spread from Wycombe to London not only as merchants but as barristers and physicians, and, by means of their marriages, to adjoining counties as squires and clergymen. The family finally became extinct in the eighteenth century.¹ As early as 1551 one of them styles himself "gentleman" in his will, and by the seventeenth century they were displaying the arms of Cary of Devon. They did not, however, take the precaution to pay the Heralds' College fees, as did the Bristol Carys, so that their claim of arms aroused the wrath of the heralds who conducted the Visitation of Buckinghamshire in 1634; one of them was then denounced² as "No gent, nor hath any right to bear arms, which he usurpeth." Nevertheless they continued to describe themselves as "armiger" in their wills and to display the Devon arms on their tombs down to their extinction.³ Perhaps they held with old Fuller that "Cloathing as it hath given Garments to Mil-

¹ Mr. John Gough Nichols constructed a partial pedigree for this family from the end of the sixteenth century onward. (*H. & G.*, vi, 30.) The disconnected evidence for their earlier generations may be found in the ancient Wycombe archives (Historical MSS. Commission Report, v, 556), the will of Edward Cary, 1475 (Parker, *History and Antiquities of Wycombe*, 1878, p. 134); of Christopher Carye and his widow Anne, 1551-4 (P.C.C. Bucke, 31; and *More*, 18); of Rowland Care, 1552 (P.C.C. Powell, 8); and of Richard Carey, 1586 (P.C.C. Windsor, 51); the administration of the estate of Nicholas Carewe, "citizen and clothworker" of London, first by his brother Rowland Carewe and later by his own son, another Nicholas (P.C.C. Admon. Act Book, 1564, 1594), and Foster's *Alumni Oxon.*, s.v. Christopher Carie of Balliol, 1553-1664, and Walter Cary of Magdalen, 1560-1571. Cf. also *H. & G.*, iv, 388, and Lipscomb, *History of Bucks*, i, 436.

² *Harl. MS.* 1533, fol. 195.

³ Cf. Cussans, *Hertfordshire*, iii, 19, and Lysons, *Environs of London*, iii, 29.



lions of People hath also Coats of Arms (and Gentility therewith) to many Families in this Land." At all events the right of the Wycombe Carys to the Devon arms was never proved, nor has the origin of the family been established. Their history, closely parallel to that of the Bristol Carys, strongly suggests, of course, that they might have been derived from Bristol early in the fourteenth century, an hypothesis which would carry with it a tradition of a Devon origin and Devon arms, and serve to explain what became of Lawrence de Cary and his family after their expulsion from Bristol in 1313. Neat as this would be, there is absolutely no evidence to bear it out. On the other hand, there is evidence which tends to carry the Wycombe Carys back to the time of Edward I, or before the Bristol Carys appear at all, and under circumstances which suggest an origin entirely independent of Bristol and Devon. We have noted the occurrence of unrelated Carrs and Carys throughout the northern and eastern counties of England in medieval as well as modern records. They all appear within the limits of the Dane law.¹ The author of the *Life of William Carey*, the Indian missionary, argues convincingly that they were of Danish descent and derived their name from the Norse *Caroe*, which is still common in Denmark. The place the Hunsdons and Falklands took in the world might readily enough have induced, and probably has induced, the imitation of their spellings of the name and even the usurpation

¹ Thus there was a family at Great Yarmouth in Norfolk among whom we have noted William Carre, a mariner, in 1495 (*Paston Letters*, ed. Gairdner, iii, 388); William Cary, hosier, in 1664 (P.C.C. *Hyde*, 13); and John Cary, mayor of Lynn 1740-1765 (Blomefield, *Norfolk*).

Again, there were two families in Suffolk who prospered in the seventeenth century and used the Devon arms but have not yet been identified. It is clear, however, that they had no connection with the Long Melford family. One of them begins with Alan (or Allen) Cary, who died, 1591, a shipwright of Woodbridge, Suffolk, and ends with his grandson William Cary "of Halesworth


of their arms in modern times; but there were Carys, pure and simple, within the Dane law long before the Hunsdons and Falklands were heard of. We take this to be such an entirely spontaneous and independent formulation of the name, though from a different root, as occurred in Devon, Somerset, and elsewhere where it was influenced by Celtic place names. So when we find that the Crutched Friars inhabited a house near Broadgate Hall at Oxford, called Granspount, which had been given them by Richard Cary, mayor of the borough, in the reign of Edward I,¹ and that the name of the benefactor does not carry the particle "de," as is the invariable test of the Devon family at that time, we are persuaded that this Richard derived his blood from within the Dane law; and we conjecture that he was the ancestor of the Wycombe Carys. While the evidence for this last assumption is slender, there is at least a chain. In 1339 there was what must have been another Richard Cary sitting as an alderman on the bench of the Oxford hustings² who may well have been a son of the Richard of Edward I. He was, of course, a merchant, as his father had been before him, and probably a wool merchant, for Oxford was in their days an important primary market for wool.³ But it was about the time of this second Richard that the university began to encroach upon the town of Oxford, and bitter rivalry was

in com. Suffolk, gent," 1623-1686, who founded an almshouse and records a pedigree in the Visitation of Suffolk of 1664. (See *Harl. MS.* 1085, fol. 28; *P.C.C. Admon. Act Book*, 1591; *Ruthven*, 264; *Lloyd*, 127.) A branch of this family were lawyers in London (*P.C.C. Scroope*, 86, and *Berkley*, 30). The other family was that of Philip Cary "of Huntingfield, co. Suffolk, gentleman," who died in 1625 (*P.C.C. Hele*, 36), followed by his eldest son John in 1638 (*P.C.C. Lee*, 60).

¹ *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1765, pp. 73-75.

² Historical MSS. Commission *Report*, iv, 447.

³ Boase, *Oxford*, in *Historic Towns* series, 36. A gild of Oxford weavers appears as early as 1130 in Henry I's sole surviving Pipe Roll.



engendered. At the feast of St. Scholastica, 1354, there was a bloody town and gown row, when the town "held the place of slaughter," as a consequence of which Edward III transferred from the town to the university several of the local governing functions.¹ This was the turning-point in the process which J. R. Green has described in a graphic-phrase, "the University found Oxford a busy, prosperous borough, and reduced it to a cluster of lodging houses." We find that about this time also the nearby borough of Wycombe, a "carfax" on the main highway leading from the north through Oxford to London, began to develop in importance as a wool market and cloth manufactory.² It is persuasive that the decay of business at Oxford and the growth of it at Wycombe induced the migration of Alderman Richard Cary or some of his family to the newer market: at all events, in 1449 and thenceforth for a century to come we find his name among the magistrates of Wycombe, while members of this family testify in their wills to their participation in the cloth trade.

Among the Wycombe Carys have been several interesting characters, viz.:

WALTER CARY (1551—*post* 1627) matriculated at Magdalen College, Oxford, in 1560, proceeded B.A. 1568 and M.A. 1571,³ and was probably the physician of that name who was author of the three tracts: (i) *The Hammer for the Stone*, 1581, (ii) *Cary's Farewell to Physicke*,⁴ 1583;

¹ Lang, *Oxford*, 1890, 49.

² Parker, *History of Wycombe*, 44, 45.

³ Foster, *Alumni Oxon.*

⁴ Lowndes, *Bibl. Man.*, 383. The British Museum catalogue attributes to this Walter Cary the authorship of the *Herbal* published by R. Banckes 1525, by Redman 1530(?), and by W. Copland 1552(?). The evidence is that Copland's edition purports to be "drawen out of an aunyent booke of Phisyck by W. C.": the *Dict. Nat. Biog.* assumes, not unfairly, that the initials stand for Copland himself. If any Walter Cary was connected with the *Herbal* he must have been a generation ahead of the one who matriculated at Oxford in 1560.

and (iii) at seventy-six years of age, of that spirited and sensible discourse against individual extravagance "The present State of England expressed in this Paradox, our Fathers were very rich with little, and we poore with much" (1627, and reprinted *Harleian Miscellany*, iii, 552).

COLONEL THOMAS CARY (1660?-1718), the North Carolina "rebel" of 1711, who is discussed *post*, p. 664.

The Rt. Hon. WALTER CARY, M.P. (1685-1757), son of Walter Cary of Everton, co. Beds, matriculated at New College, Oxford, 1704, B.A. 1708, M.A. 1730;¹ and sat in the House of Commons continuously from 1722 until his death in 1757, first for Helston in Cornwall, and after 1727 for Clifton, Dartmouth, and Hardness in Devon.² In 1725 he became clerk in ordinary to the privy council; from 1727 to 1730 a member of the board of trade; 1730-1738 chief secretary for Ireland under the Duke of Dorset; from 1738 until his death one of the four clerks comptrollers of the Board of Green Cloth, or accountants of the royal household.³ He had inherited a good estate in Leicestershire from his mother, who was daughter and heiress of Sir William Holford, and married, first, 1716, Elizabeth, daughter of Anthony Sturt of London, and second, 1738, Elizabeth, daughter of Anthony Collins of Baddow Hall, Essex, co-heiress with her sister, the wife of Robert, seventh Lord Fairfax. He is buried in Heston Church, Middlesex, where his tomb displays the Devon arms.⁴

This record of a career affords us little appreciation of the man, but his contact with the wits of the age has supplied the lack. He seems to have had many of the characteristics of Dr. Johnson's Boswell. Spence in his *Anecdotes* records Pope as saying that "Addison's chief companions before he

¹ Foster, *Alumni Oxon.*

² *Return of M.P.'s*, 1879.

³ *Annual Register*.

⁴ See Lysons, *Environs of London*, iii, 29.


married Lady Warwick (in 1716) were Steele, Budgell, Philips, Carey, Davenant and Colonel Brett." In a letter of 1731 Swift says:¹ "Our friend Addison had a young fellow, now a figure in your Court, whom he made to dangle after him, to go where and to do whatever he was bid." Pope had meanwhile in 1727 parodied this shadow of the great Addison as *Umbra* in his amusing verses under that title:

Close to the best known author *Umbra* sits,
The constant index of old Button's wits.
"Who's here?" cries *Umbra*: "Only Johnson." "O!
Your slave," and exit; but returns with Rowe:
"Dear Rowe, let's sit and talk of tragedies:"
Ere long Pope enters, and to Pope he flies:
Then up comes Steele: he turns upon his heel
And in a moment fastens upon Steele;
But cries as soon "Dear Dick, I must be gone;
For, if I know his tread, here's Addison."
Says Addison to Steele: "Tis time to go:"
Pope to the closet steps aside with Rowe.
Poor *Umbra* left in this abandon'd pickle
Ev'n sits him down and writes to honest Tickell,
Fool! tis in vain from wit to wit to roam;
Know, sense, like charity, begins at home.

Pope brings in his *Umbra* for similar satire in other verses, and, indeed, in *The Three Gentle Shepherds* names him—Carey. The editors now agree in identifying him as our Walter Cary. While in Ireland he again exposed himself to ridicule by his vanity. He considered himself the most important member of the Irish government and used to speak of "his administration."²

¹ Ball, *Correspondence of Swift*, iv, 219.

² Mrs. Thomson, *Memoirs of Viscountess Sundon*, ii, 23.




CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

THE SHOCK OF THE PURITAN REVOLT

The elders among the eight sons of William Cary, second mayor of Bristol of that name, were born, grew to maturity, and had embarked on their careers as Bristol citizens and merchants before the death of Queen Elizabeth. Though they fell on the time in which the Dutch controlled the seas, they had long years of trade in which to maintain the tradition of the family before they were compelled to face the shock of civil war.¹ When that crucial time came some of them had already ended their lives; the survivors, no longer young men, lived only to see their commerce rudely interrupted and their family scattered. In the years preceding that catastrophe there is evidence of the

¹ If we are to accept Sir Walter Raleigh (*Observations Upon Trade and Commerce*, 1653) as authority, English foreign commerce was at a low ebb at the beginning of the reign of James I. It was then that the Dutch undoubtedly had the supremacy in the carrying trade; but to check Raleigh's pessimism we have the anonymous tract *The Trades Increase*, 1615, and Lewes Roberts, *The Merchants Map of Commerce*, 1638, which cite facts to show that English ships were still trafficking in English cloth in many parts of the world during the period before the civil war. It is now recognized that James I's peace with Spain, at a time




national ferment even in their quiet households: the family had already lost forever its medieval solidarity; division and realignment in religion and politics had begun in a manner characteristic of what was going on, certainly in the cities, all over England during that generation.

As in every large family in such a time of change, some of these Carys were unable to maintain their position in the world. Crowded out of the home nest by their very numbers, or following the persuasion of their wives, they scattered to dwell in various parts of town and to follow other occupations than that of the family tradition, perhaps to become craftsmen. In so doing these Ishmaelites, removed from the conservative influences of home, became Puritans and soon grew to hold the radical political opinions which were characteristic of their religious faith.

Thus two of the brothers¹ dwelt across the when the Dutch were still at war with Spain, had opened to the English merchant, free from Dutch competition, not only his old market in the Spanish Netherlands, but also, through Spain itself, a share in the lucrative West India trade. It was Cromwell, called by some "the restorer of English commerce," who interrupted this commerce. (R. Coke, *Discourse of Trade*, 1670; and Cunningham, *Growth of English Industry and Commerce*, ii, 187.) There is, then, ample room for a family of merchants to develop an inherited trade with fair if not dazzling success, and that seems to be the case of William Cary and his sons in this generation, certainly until the crisis in the cloth trade in 1622. (Cunningham, *ibid.*, ii, 50, 216.)

¹ They were: William, the eldest son, who married his first wife at St. Nicholas', but his second at St. Thomas's in Redcliff,




river near the Temple fee in Redcliff, the immemorial headquarters of the weavers, which had now become the hotbed of Puritan fanaticism. In such an environment we are not surprised to find that a younger brother has married a woman labeled "an extraordinary enthusiast,"¹ and that the youngest emigrated as early as 1639 to the Puritan colony of Massachusetts.

In contrast, William Cary's elder surviving sons, Richard and John, were before the war modestly prosperous, though probably confined to retail trade;² and to the end they were conservative. They style themselves "draper" and doubtless carried on, in partnership, the ancestral business "on the Back."³ Richard, indeed, where he was buried, dying, according to the Heralds' College pedigree, without issue male; and Thomas, who also was buried at St. Thomas's.

¹ She was Grace Browne, of St. Swithins, Gloucester, who had married Walter Cary and was described in the Heralds' College pedigree of 1700 by the epithet quoted in the text. In her widowhood she resided at Usk in Monmouthshire, where, in consequence of brooding over the Bible, she began to see apocalyptic visions of a new papist England, which she felt a call, like Joan of Arc, to rehearse to her king, to his considerable annoyance. A pamphlet called *England's Forewarning*, published in 1644, recites her adventures. (See Seyer, *Memoirs . . . of Bristol*, ii, 388.)

² They were not enrolled as Merchant Venturers in the surviving list of 1618. (Latimer, 81.)

³ Perhaps the two younger brothers were also partners in the paternal house. They were Walter and Robert, who died before the war, in 1634 and 1628 respectively, leaving wills (the only ones of this generation which have survived; see calendar in Waters, *Genealogical Gleanings in England*, ii, 1055) in which they style themselves "draper."




dwelt with his father in his great-grandfather's house.¹

These two married into solid families as long established at Bristol as their own, and died sufficiently well-to-do, despite the times, to dispose of respectable estates.² These facts are significant when we find one of them participating in the plots to secure Bristol to the king and a continuity of high-church and Royalist opinions among the descendants of both.

The modern man, and especially the modern American man, has read the history of England in these times chiefly through the spectacles of the Liberal historian: he has been moved to fervent sympathy for the wrongs which made the Puritans of England so stiffnecked in their Protestantism, so determined in their opposition to the prerogative of the crown and the rule of the bishops; he has been taught to applaud the high principle of the political action of the revolutionists until he is led almost to wonder how any reasonable man of that age could be found in the other party. There was, however, another political principle, then as now, which is not altogether pusillanimous, and

¹ He is the only one of the brothers whose entire family record is found in the register of the single parish of St. Nicholas.

² While the wills of Richard and John Cary have been lost, their sons and grandsons alone among a numerous kin appear to have taken advantage, after the Restoration, of the new commercial prosperity of England. It is unlikely that they could have done this unless they had something substantial to start on.




when we find it held by men of the same breeding, even in the same families which produced violent republicans, candor moves us to look for an explanation of the antagonism elsewhere than among the eternal verities.

Such an explanation is not far to seek. Practical politicians find that the action of the average man is determined not so much by philosophy as by what he believes to be his immediate interest, that he takes his stand not always with those who are right but generally with those who promise to be of service to him. It is, then, illuminating to apply the economic test to a representative mercantile family in the constitutional crisis in England at the beginning of the seventeenth century, as an aid to understanding their internal differences of political and religious opinion.

If Richard and John Cary adhered to the Royalist and high-church party while their brothers became radicals and Puritans, they did so perhaps because they had more to lose by revolution, and may well, though as it turned out mistakenly, have deemed themselves to be safer in the hands of the king than of a leveling Parliament.

On the other hand, it may have been with their Puritan brothers that


The fault, dear Brutus, is not in our stars,
But in ourselves, that we are underlings.



The Royalist Carys were not isolated in Bristol; in fact the city was, at the beginning of the struggle, so equally divided that it was rent to its foundations by faction. When war succeeded to debate, neither party in Bristol was able at first to secure control; a Parliamentary garrison was introduced only after preparations for armed defense had been made by the mayor and had been betrayed from within. The consequence was plot and counterplot between citizens, with interludes of overt violence, until, in July, 1643, the city was taken by assault by Prince Rupert.¹

Although this change of control had been made possible, like its predecessor, largely by aid and comfort from within the walls, the Royalists paid a heavy price for their loyalty. The king's straits were now such that he at once turned for a substantial part of his revenue to

¹ Colonel Henry Washington (a cousin of the Virginia immigrant John Washington, who was George Washington's great-grandfather) distinguished himself in the Royalist army that day. See the Washington pedigree, the achievement of Mr. Walter's research, in Fiske, *Old Virginia and Her Neighbours*, ii, 26. Pepys (*Diary*, Oct. 12, 1660) notes: "Office day all the morning, and from thence with Sir W. Batten and the rest of the officers to a venison party of his at the Dolphin, where dined withal Colonel Washington, Sir Edward Brett and Major Norwood, very noble company." All of Pepys's companions had relations with Virginia. Colonel Washington had two cousins resident there; Sir Edward Brett, sergeant-porter to the king, was the maternal uncle of Henry Isham, from whom the Randolphs of Virginia are descended (see his will, P.C.C. *Hare*, 27); while Major Norwood was the treasurer of the colony, the author of the *Voyage to Virginia* in Force's *Tracts*.




the Bristol merchants, while the Parliamentary navy treated Bristol ships as fair prize.¹ Whatever had been their politics, men of business like the Carys, who experienced none of the glory of war and knew only its fell power of destruction, must have soon learned that the honor of having the king as a guest meant that the hosts would soon be destroyed. The healths to King Charles which kept up the morale of Prince Rupert's officers and stir us to-day in the Cavalier verse, were, in Bristol, drunk at the expense of the merchants. During the two years the city remained in the royal power, the resident community was brought almost to ruin.²

Under such conditions, any change being a relief, it was only a small band of determined Royalists among the citizens who regretted the recapture of the city on behalf of the Parliament in September, 1645.³ We take it that John Cary, his sons Thomas and Miles, and his


¹ See (John Winthrop, *Journal*, ed. Hosmer, ii, 183) the account of the capture in 1644 of a Bristol ship in Boston harbor, by Captain Stagg, with a transcript of his letters of marque from the Earl of Warwick, the Parliamentary admiral, "to set forth and to take all vessels in or outward bound to or from Bristol." In April of the same year the Dutchman DeVries saw two London ships fight a Bristol ship just below Jamestown and drive her into Warwick River for shelter, the incident which encouraged old Opechancanough to renew that year the Indian warfare on the Virginia colony. (Neill, *Virginia Carolorum*, 178.)

² Hunt, *Bristol*, 155; and Latimer, *Merchant Venturers*.

³ This was one of the brilliant achievements of the young Parliamentary general Sir Thomas Fairfax in that campaign of unbroken success which began at Naseby and ended in the king's flight to the Scots army.



nephew Shershaw, were of this steadfast opinion. During these troubled years the Carys as a family suffered severely. Many died before their time; some perhaps of the plague which visited Bristol twice during the first half of the seventeenth century; some of the youngsters perhaps under arms, but of that we have no certain knowledge. The bare records which survive indicate an economic contraction of the family under changed conditions which is the more apparent when contrasted with the stirring days of mercantile prosperity when the first mayor was head of the house, and the days to come when Carys of this breeding were to take places in the councils of the East India Company, the bank of England, and the colony of Virginia. Those who now persisted and were destined to carry on and to develop the race represented the working of the familiar biological law, the survival of the fittest. Of the eight sons of the fourth generation, we lose trace of the descendants of all but three; the others, if they survived at all, are absorbed in the mass of the English industrial population and cease to have special character. Our concern is, then, with the brothers Richard, John, and James, each of whom survived in his descendants, but in different soils from that in which the meere merchants had flourished. From a great-granddaughter of Richard sprang a race of country gentlemen



who still maintain themselves in England; a son of John planted the name in Virginia, where it has endured; and James was the progenitor of Carys who for more than two hundred and fifty years have flourished in New England.

Of these three brothers, RICHARD CARY (1579-1644), "draper," the second son, was baptized at St. Nicholas' August 1, 1579. About 1606 he married Mary, daughter of Nicholas Shershaw¹ of Abergavenny, Monmouthshire, a Bristol merchant who had retired to the country; and like his ancestors, begot many children, nine sons and nine daughters. He died in 1644² in the midst of the civil war. Of all his sons, Shershaw alone certainly left issue.³

JOHN CARY (1583-1661), "draper," the third son of the mayor, was baptized at St. Nicholas' April 10, 1583.⁴ When he was twenty-one he

¹ The *W. M. Cary Notes* record that the will of Nicholas Shershaw makes reference to his "brother William Carye, the elder, of Bristol," and names his son-in-law Richard Cary his executor, but do not calendar the will or give other reference to it. The statement suggests that Nicholas Shershaw married one of the daughters of Richard Cary "the elder," who was unmarried at the date of her father's will. This would have made him a "brother" of William Cary.

² St. Nicholas' parish register does not give a record of his burial, but it is asserted in the Heralds' College pedigree that he was buried there "circa an^o 1644."

³ For the conjectural identification of Nicholas Cary, M.D., of London, with the second Nicholas, son of Richard Cary, see *post*, p. 687.

⁴ St. Nicholas' parish register. The Heralds' College pedigree of 1700 describes him as "4th son," putting his brother Walter ahead of him, but the parish register shows that Walter was not baptized until June 18, 1588.

married, May 29, 1604, Elizabeth Hereford, and by her had three sons and two daughters.¹ For a second wife he married Alice Hobson, one of the two daughters of Henry Hobson, "Innholder" and afterwards mayor of Bristol.²

¹ For a discussion of the evidence for this marriage see *The Virginia Carys* (1919). These Herefords were merchants like the Carys and had been mayors of Plymouth. (See *The Ancestor*, vii, 71.)


² The Hobsons were a family of municipal importance. They bore arms "argent on a chevron azure, between three pellets as many cinquefoils of the field: a chief chequy or and azure": so when Henry Hobson died a funeral certificate was filed by his son in the College of Arms (Volume I, 24, folio 87^b), as follows:

"HENRY HOBSON, late Maior and Alderman of the City of Bristoll, Departed this mortall life at his house in ye said City, the 21st day of March 1635, and was interred in ye parish church of All Saints there the 29th day following. He married Alice, Da: of William Davis of the said Cittie, by whom he had yssue one sonne and two daughters: William Hobson, his only sonn and heir, who hath borne ye office of Shreiff of Bristoll, married Margarett Colston, da: of William Colston of the said Cittie, merchant: Alice, ye eldest Da: of the said Henry Hobson, married to John Cary, sonne of William Cary, Alderman of the said Cittie: and Anne, his youngest Da: married to Thomas Jackson, Marchaunt, late one of the Shreiffs of the said Cittie.

"This Certificate was taken the 19th day of Aprill, 1637, by George Owen, Yorke herauld, and is testified to be true by the relation and subscription of the aforementioned W^m. Hobson, sonne and heire to the defunct.

Signed WILLIAM HOBSON."

Throughout the reign of Charles I and the Commonwealth the family connection of these Hobsons was made up of the most enterprising and successful of the Bristol meere merchants, whose names appear in the commercial "adventures" of that generation. Thus, the William Hobson and Thomas Jackson mentioned in the above certificate; Miles Jackson, brother of Thomas and named for the same Miles Hobson as was Miles Cary; and the Francis Creswick mentioned in Henry Hobson's will as his kinsman, as well as the sons of several of them, were wardens and masters




Of this marriage there were born four sons and three daughters.¹ Although he was an old man when the civil war came, we find him recorded among those Bristol citizens who in March, 1642, under the leadership of the merchants Yeomans and Boucher, plotted to deliver the city to Prince Rupert and in consequence suffered a rigorous imprisonment.² He survived the Commonwealth and saw not only the restor-

of the Merchant Venturers between 1624 and 1660. They were all Royalist in their sympathy, but served as sheriffs and some of them as mayors. In 1631 Francis Creswick declined knighthood, and in 1650 the second Miles Jackson was M. P. for Bristol. (See Latimer, *Merchant Venturers*.) This is the reason why Miles Cary's sons emphasized their Hobson blood on their father's Virginia tomb in 1667.

¹ They are named in the will of their grandfather Henry Hobson (P.C.C. *Pile*, 52), viz., Henry, Matthew, Richard, *Myles*, Alice, Honor, and Mary, and so were all living in March, 1635, when that will was made. Richard, Miles, and Honora alone appear on the baptismal record of the parish register of All Saints, which was the Hobsons' church. Miles was the Virginia immigrant. Of the others we have but meagre information by reason of the dispersal of the family after the civil war. Matthew Cary (1619?-1648) became a sea-captain, and describes himself as "of Stepney, mariner," when, in 1640, he married. (*Bishop of London's Marriage Licenses*, October 12, 1640.) He died in 1648, leaving by his will (P.C.C. *Essex*, 115) all his property to his daughter Alice, who in turn died, a spinster, at Stepney in 1660, leaving a will (P.C.C. *Nabbs*, 206), which is of interest genealogically by reason of bequests as tokens of affection: one shilling each "to my grandfather John Cary of Bristol, woolen draper," "to my uncle Myles Cary of Virginia," and "to my cousin William Hobson." She also mentions her uncle Richard and his wife as if she was living with them, but he has not been further identified. There are wills and administrations which suggest that Henry, the eldest son, was also a sea-captain and left descendants who followed the sea, but the identification is not conclusive.

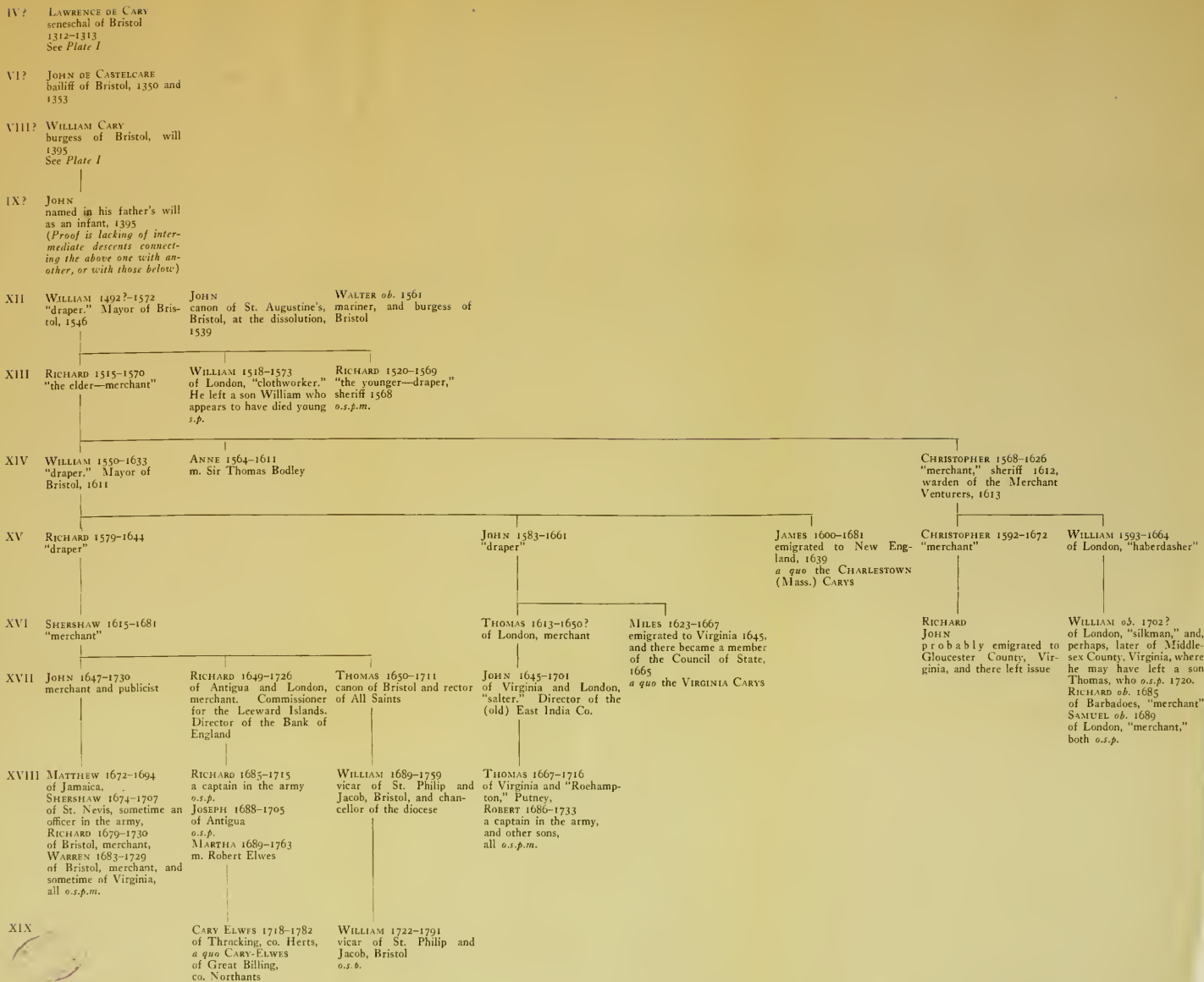
² Seyer (*Memoirs . . . of Bristol*, ii, 359) has preserved the list of those who suffered for this plot as one of Bristol's rolls of honor.



ation of his king but the prosperity of his son Miles. He dwelt apparently at the end of his life in the parish of St. Mary Redcliff, for he is described as "of Redcliff parish" in his burial certificate, when, in his seventy-eighth year, he was laid to rest with his wife and her family in the church of All Saints, February 13, 1661.¹

¹ All Saints parish register.

PLATE VII
THE BRISTOL CARYS






CHAPTER NINETEEN

RECOVERY AND EXTINCTION

The death in 1661 of John Cary, "draper," the last survivor of the sons of the second mayor, closed the record of the family in their relation to the cloth trade and to the medieval background of Bristol, of which the cloth trade is the significant feature. He had, indeed, lingered beyond the active participation of the family in that trade, for the two scions of the generation which came on the stage during his old age both dropped the designation "draper" and recurred to the broader "merchant" and the earlier scope of their family's activities. They were part of the larger commercial life the nation developed after the Restoration. We shall see how this stimulus created special opportunities for the ambitious young traders who had the energy to migrate to London; but it was felt also in Bristol, which, refreshed by the new Portuguese market,¹ was in 1685 still the first English outport, as Norwich was still the first English manufacturing town. These two pro-

¹ See the testimony in John Cary's *Essay on Trade* (1695).




vincial cities stood next in importance to the capital in other respects, "but next at an immense distance," as Macaulay says. There was then no compelling economic call to London for the elder sons of the two branches of the Bristol Carys who had survived the shock of the Puritan revolt and had not emigrated to America; but on the contrary, if limited, the opportunities at home were still enough to make them claim the right to enjoy them as a right of primogeniture.

One of those who so stayed at home was the eldest son of the first Christopher Cary,¹ another CHRISTOPHER CARY (1592?-1672), "merchant," who was active in business at Bristol throughout the Commonwealth and the earlier part of the reign of Charles II.² He exhibits

¹ See *ante*, p. 518.


² It was in his time that John Evelyn (June, 1654) and Samuel Pepys visited Bristol. Evelyn was a mere tourist, but Pepys leaves us a glimpse into the life of the town one cannot forget (*Diary*, June 13, 1668, ed. Bright, viii, 320):

" . . . set out toward Bristoll, and come thither, in a coach hired to spare our own horses, the way bad but country good, about two o'clock; where set down at the Horse-shoe, and there being trimmed by a very handsome fellow, 2s, walked with my wife and people through the city, which is in every respect another London, that one can hardly know it to stand in the country no more than that. No carts, it standing generally on vaults, only dog-carts. So to the Three Crowns Tavern I was directed; but when I came in the master told me that he had newly given over the selling of wine; it seems grown rich: and so went to the Sun; and there Deb. going with W. Hewer and Betty Turner to see her uncle Butts, and leaving my wife with the mistress of the house, I to see the quay, which is a most large and noble place; and to see the new ship building by Bally, neither he nor Furzer



the tendency of the new conditions of life in his residence, for he abandoned the "Key" where his father had dwelt and moved out to Stony Hill in St. Michael's parish on the highland in the direction of Clifton, where, like his contemporary kinsmen, the London merchants, he escaped brick and mortar and the smell of business and had a suburban "seat" with a garden and orchard quite in the Dutch style: he de-

[Surveyor to the Navy] being in town. It will be a fine ship. Spoke with the foreman, and did give the boys that kept the cabin 2s. Walked back to the Sun, where I find Deb. come back, and with her, her uncle, a sober merchant, very good company, and so like one of our sober wealthy London merchants as pleased me mightily. Here we dined, and much good talk with him, 7s. 6d.: a messenger to Sir John Knight [then Mayor and M.P.], who was not at home, 6d. Then walked with Butts and my wife and company round the quay, and to the ship; and he showed me the Custom-house, and made me understand many things of the place, and led us through Marsh-street, where our girl was born. But, Lord! the joy that was among the old poor people of the place, to see Mrs. Willet's daughter, it seems her mother being a brave woman and mightily beloved! And so brought us a back way by surprise to his house; where a substantial good house, and well furnished; and did give us good entertainment of strawberries, a whole venison-pasty, cold, and plenty of brave wine, and above all Bristol milk: where comes in another poor woman, who hearing that Deb. was here, did come running hither, and with her eyes so full of tears, and heart so full of joy, that she could not speak when she come in, that it made me weep too: I protest that I was not able to speak to her, which I would have done, to have diverted her tears. Butts' wife a good woman, and so sober and substantial as I was never more pleased any where. Servant-maid, 2s. So thence took leave and he with us through the city; where in walking I find the city pay him great respect, and he the like to the meanest, which pleased me mightily. He showed us the place where the merchants meet here, and a fine cross yet standing, like Cheapside. And so to the Horse-shoe, where paid the reckoning, 2s. 6d. We back, and by moonshine to the Bath again, about ten o'clock: bad way; and giving the coachman 1s. went all of us to bed."




scribes it with unction in his will.¹ His branch of the family seem to have had the habit of landowning, for he not only inherited from his father several parcels of Bristol real estate, as did his younger brother William, who had migrated to London, but himself added to his holdings. This Christopher Cary had two sons, Richard and John, by his first marriage;² they were living at their father's death in 1672, but must have been then already provided for by advancements, for in his will their father leaves them legacies of only ten shillings each, devoting the bulk of his estate to provision for his wife Margaret, then living. There is no further trace of these sons of the second Christopher Cary in Bristol, perhaps because they emigrated.³ For such an explanation of the subsequent silence of the English records as to them there is sufficient precedent in their own family as well as in the spirit of the times. Their elder kinsmen James and Miles were in their day permanently and successfully established in America, while of their own generation we find

¹ P.C.C. *Eure*, 118.

² He may have been married three times. In the record of marriage licenses issued at Exeter (calendared in *W. M. Cary Notes*) appears the entry, "August 5, 1629 Christopher Cary of Bristol, Merch^t & Mary Harvey of Uplyme." This may have been his first marriage; though from his own age and the possibility that the Richard Cary, born 1618, who emigrated to Virginia in 1635, was his son, this was more probably his second marriage.

³ See *The Virginia Carys*, 146.



one of their first cousins a merchant in Barbadoes, and their kinsman John Cary, later of Putney, as well as the grandsons of Shershaw Cary, all trying the experiment of life overseas. Whatever became of them, the line of Christopher Cary comes to an end in England with the disappearance in 1689 of the survivor of their first cousins in London.¹

The descendants of Richard Cary, "draper,"² who survived the civil war showed more persistency. We shall meet some of them in London, but they remained also the worthy upholders of the name in Bristol until the end of the eighteenth century. A son of that Richard was *SHERSHAW CARY* (1615-1681), who was baptized at St. Nicholas' Church,³ and, like his kinsman and contemporary the second Christopher, called himself "merchant" and held on to the family tradition of trade at the old home base.


He was one of the well-to-do men of Bristol who in 1664 declined to qualify for the Common Council because of the burdens then imposed on the office;⁴ but he was active in the Merchant

¹ The second Christopher Cary had five sisters, who all married well in Bristol. These marriages are identified by the will of Francis Bannister (proved 1625, P.C.C. *Clarke*, 67), the husband of one of them, as was pointed out by Mr. H. F. Waters, *Genealogical Gleanings in England*, ii, 1054.

² See *ante*, p. 537.

³ Parish register, April 6, 1615.


⁴ Latimer, *Annals of Bristol XVII Century*, 330.



Venturers' Society, serving as warden in 1658 and master in 1671. In his marriage, about 1646, with Mary, daughter of John Scrope of Castlecombe, co. Wilts, we see an evidence of the social changes brought about by the civil war. A merchant, he found a wife outside the circle of Bristol citizens in which his immediate ancestors had always married, and in the ranks of the ruined Royalist landed gentry: in so doing he undoubtedly enlarged the horizon of his children. He was one of the Englishmen who took advantage of Charles II's Portuguese marriage to enter into the inheritance of the Portuguese world trade, and he left a substantial estate when death overtook him in 1681 in the midst of his affairs, at Lisbon.¹ He had three sons: the second, Richard, found his career in the West Indies and in London, but the other two stood by in Bristol. The eldest of them, JOHN CARY (1647-1730), "merchant," came to be known as the Bristol publicist. He specialized in West India sugar, being one of the earliest of the Bristol "St. Kitts" traders.² He was warden of the Merchant Venturers in 1683, and in 1688

¹ The record of the administration of his estate (*P.C.C. Admon. Act Book*, 1681) describes him as "nup^r apud Lisboa als Lisbon in pt^s transmarinis."


² We must remember that until after the elder Pitt's ministry England was but a third-rate power in the West Indies. In 1749 she held only Jamaica, Barbadoes (St. Kitts), Antigua, and a few settlements in the Bahamas. The French colony of San Domingo was still the great exporter of sugar.



appears as the last Bristol burgess who was "admitted into the Liberties of the Staple of Bristol."¹ Spreading out from the practice to the theory of commerce, he won high reputation as an economist. In 1695 he published *An Essay on the State of England in relation to its Trade, its Poor, and its Taxes, for carrying on the present War against France*. This treatise under the more convenient name of *Cary's Essay on Trade* at once took hold and long held a place as authority on the theoretical consideration of trade: in Bristol it became an economic bible during the eighteenth century.² New editions under different names and with additional material were published in 1719 and (after his death) 1745; the work was translated into French and thence into Italian. Holding the current economic views about the balance of trade, he advocated what we now call a national protective system for the development of domestic manufactures, and to the same end a restraint of the export and encouragement of the import of raw materials, especially wool. The inherited Bristol jealousy of London appears in a vigorous denunciation of the ancient London monopolies in foreign trade, and in urging the abolition of them he evinced his sole recognition of the merits of what is now called free trade.

¹ Latimer, *Merchant Venturers*, 15.

² Latimer, *Merchant Venturers*, 177; G. P. Macdonnel in *Dict. Nat. Biog.* (reissue ed.), iii, 1153.




The political influence of his principles was effective principally with respect to Ireland and the colonies; for not only did he insist on the right of the mother country to compel the colonies to trade only with her and on her terms, but he formulated the policy, soon after adopted by Parliament, of reducing Ireland to the status of a crown colony by prohibiting the export of Irish cloth altogether or of Irish wool except to England.¹ By his energetic argument and wealth of practical mercantile illustration he won the support of the philosopher John Locke, who said of his book, "It is the best discourse I ever read on that subject." He advocated a national bank, and in his second edition said that "the famous Mr. Laws drew his scheme from this proposal." But he has a better claim to the respect of posterity: in 1696 he organized a rational system of poor relief in Bristol, long maintained as "the Incorporation of the Poor,"² and in 1700 published a pamphlet descriptive of that experiment, which was widely disseminated and had influence elsewhere in England. The reputation gained by these publications led to his employment in public business. In 1700 he was elected by Parliament³ one of the commissioners for the sale of the estates in Ireland

¹ Cf. Lecky, *History*, ii, 206, ff; and Swift, *Drapier's Letters*.

² Latimer, *Annals of Bristol XVIII Century*, 32.

³ Luttrell, *Brief Relation*, iv, 628.



which had been forfeited under the "violated" treaty of Limerick after William III's conquest of that unhappy kingdom, and in that and other government functions he spent the last thirty years of his life in Ireland, surviving all his sons.¹

This John Cary married a "daughter of Matthew Warren of Bristol, Gent.," and had by her four sons, all Bristol merchants and all identified with America. Matthew (1672-1694), the eldest, died unmarried in Jamaica.² Shershaw (1674-1707) served in the army, married in Nevis, and died in Pennsylvania.³ Richard (1679-1730) and Warren (1683-1729) maintained the counting-house in Bristol, though neither was a stay-at-home. Thus Richard makes a will in 1711, being then bound on a voyage to the Canaries, and ultimately dies while in Virginia,⁴ and Warren lived for some time in Virginia,⁵ but died in Bristol.⁶ They belonged to the roaring days of Bristol trade, the days of privateers and bucaneeers, of Captain Woodes Rogers and of *Treasure Island*, and

¹ The date of his death is given by Macdonnell as 1720, but P.C.C. *Admon. Act Book*, 1730, shows his death in Dublin during that year and administration on his estate by his granddaughter Jane Cary, "*filiis et prole unica antequam mortuis.*"


² Herald's College pedigree of 1700.

³ *Ibid.*, 1715, P.C.C. *Admon. Act Book*, 1730; and *Isham*, 173.

⁴ P.C.C. *Auber*, 301 (1730), and *Admon. Act Book*, 1730.

⁵ At Yorktown. See *The Virginia Carys*.

⁶ P.C.C. *Abbott*, 161 (1729), and *Admon. Act Book*, 1732.




they prospered greatly. They were Tories and Churchmen in the midst of a Whig community, like their fellow-merchant and contemporary Edward Colston, the philanthropist. Only one of the four brothers left issue. Jane Cary, daughter of the second Shershaw, who was born at Nevis, returned to Bristol in 1730 to administer upon the estates of her father, her uncles, and her grandfather, being the last survivor of the line.

The third and youngest of the first Shershaw Cary's sons was THOMAS CARY (1650-1711), a clergyman, who matriculated at Jesus College, Oxford, in 1666 (M.A. 1673), and afterwards held various Church preferments, being at the end of his life, like his Tudor forebear the monk of St. Augustine, prebendary of Bristol Cathedral and rector of All Saints Church.¹ His son WILLIAM CARY (1689-1758) was also educated at Oxford and took orders, becoming rector of St. Philip and Jacob, Bristol, and chancellor of the diocese.² His son, another WILLIAM CARY (1710-1790), followed the tradition of his line at Oxford and in the Church. His first cure was at Bigby in Lincolnshire, one of the estates of his Cary-Elwes cousins, but he ultimately suc-


¹ See his will, P.C.C. *Barnes*, 45, and notices of him and his tomb in LeNeve, *Fasti* (1716), 52, and *Monumenta Anglicana* (1717), 234.

² See his will, P.C.C. *Arran*, 48, and obituary in *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1759, 46.



ceeded his father at St. Philip and Jacob in Bristol. He died without issue and is buried at Bigby in Lincolnshire.¹ And so, after being part of the life of the city for five hundred years, the Cary name ceased to be of active significance in Bristol.

¹ See his M.I. in *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1799, p. 377, and the will, P.C.C. *Newcastle*, 584, genealogically highly interesting, of his spinster sister Anne, who survived him, and, dying in 1795, was the last of the line. From this will it appears that the family had speculated in South Sea shares and suffered in consequence.



CHAPTER TWENTY


THE BRISTOL TRADITION IN NEW ENGLAND

The seventh and youngest son of the second mayor, William Cary of Bristol, by his first wife, was JAMES CARY (1600-1681), who was baptized at St. Nicholas' Church April 14, 1600.¹ His mother died when he was twenty-three, and he may then have come under the Puritan influence of the wives of some of his older brothers, who fixed his religious principles and inclined him towards Massachusetts when he determined to emigrate.

Bristol had already made a contribution, though not an eminently successful one, to the


¹ St. Nicholas' parish register. The genealogical proofs of the identity of James Cary on both sides of the Atlantic are ample. St. Nicholas' parish register gives his baptism in Bristol in 1600, and his M. I. at Charlestown shows his death in 1681, "aged 81 years." The Heralds' College pedigree of 1700 describes him in his place among the sons of William Cary as "James Cary of New England, 7th son, married Ellanor Hawkins." The name of the wife fits with the New England record. (See Savage, *Genealogical Dictionary of New England*.)

There are published records of some of the descendants of James Cary of Charlestown in Mrs. Charles Pelham Curtis, *The Cary Letters* (Boston, 1891), and Bayard Tuckerman, *The Tuckerman Family* (New York, 1914).



colonization of New England. Some of her merchants had taken, rather grudgingly, an interest under Sir Ferdinando Gorges in the Plymouth Company and had sent out "a tall ship well furnished": the settlement at Pemaquid which grew out of this was, indeed, made up chiefly of Bristol men. But Bristol's relation to the Massachusetts colony was ancillary. Captain Martin Pring had indeed been in what came to be Plymouth Bay in a Bristol ship, the *Speedwell*, as early as 1603, but that was a mere trading venture; and it was another Bristol ship, the *Lion*, which relieved Winthrop at Charlestown after his first difficult winter, and which brought out the next supply of immigrants. Among them were some Bristol men, and more from the West Country followed each year thereafter, so that James Cary simply fell in with a current which was in full sweep about him, when he undertook his great adventure and became one of that first twenty thousand, the heroes of the New England historians, who settled the colony of Massachusetts Bay during those ten vital and successful years between the sailing of Governor Winthrop's fleet from the Isle of Wight and the meeting of the Long Parliament.

We wish that we might know something of James Cary's personal experience, but others have told the contemporary story with such full



flavor that it is not difficult to reconstruct his life in the early years of the colony.¹

James Cary was already a mature man, being thirty-nine years of age when he left Bristol: he seems to have taken life deliberately. It was not until 1647 that, with his wife Elinor Hawkins, he became a member of the First Church of Charlestown and still later a holder of town office. He was clerk of the writs in 1663, recorder 1669, tythingman 1678, and at last was laid to rest in the old burying-ground of Charlestown under a monument reading:

Fugit hora.

Memento te esse mortalem.

Here lyeth buried the Body of JAMES CARY, aged 81 years.

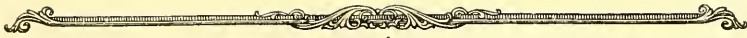
Decd November ye 2, 1681.

Eleanor, his wife, lyes buried by his side.²

¹ See the Massachusetts classic Johnson's *Wonder Working Providence*, the narrative of one who was resident at Charlestown at the time of James Cary's emigration.

² Pedigree compiled by Edward Montague Cary of Boston in *W. M. Cary Notes*.

John Cary of Bridgewater. In addition to the descendants of James Cary, there is another large and flourishing family of Carys which has spread from New England throughout the middle west, producing, among others of distinction, Colonel Nathaniel Cary, who commanded a Rhode Island regiment in the American Revolution, the Ohio poetesses Alice and Phœbe Cary and several members of Congress. Their immigrant ancestor John Cary is said by Savage (*Genealogical Dictionary of New England*) "to have come from neighbourhood of Bristol, England, at the age of 25 and settled first, 1637, at Duxbury. Then having grant of land, married in June, 1644, Elizabeth, daughter of Francis Godfrey. He was first town clerk, and early his name was written Carew: but as the English pronounce that name Cary, spelling soon followed sound." His grandson left a written record of a tradition that he was educated in France, and returning to England quarreled with his four




James Cary had six children born at Charlestown between 1640 and 1648, four sons and two daughters. One of them, NATHANIEL CARY (1645-1722), a sea-captain, had the misfortune of having his wife accused and tried as a witch in 1692; they escaped together to New York and there lived under the protection of Governor Fletcher until 1699, when they returned to Charlestown and were readmitted to the church.

His own narrative ¹ of this adventure is one of

brothers over their inheritance, took his portion of £100, and so made his way to New England. This John Cary was one of the sept of the Plymouth Colony which founded the town of Bridgewater, Massachusetts, and there died: the high point in the modern town of Brockton is still known after him as Cary hill. One of his descendants, Mr. Samuel Fenton Cary, of Ohio, has published (*Cary Memorials*, Cincinnati, 1871) an excellent record of the widespread generations of this stock; another, Henry Grosvenor Cary (*The Cary Family in America*, Boston, 1907), has sought unconvincingly to identify him as a brother or nephew of James Cary of Charlestown. He was certainly not a son of, nor can he be identified in the Bristol parish registers and wills or the Heralds' College pedigrees as any other kin to, William Cary, mayor of Bristol in 1611. If he was a Cary and not a Carew, the fact that he is reputed to have come from Somersetshire and took part in the founding of Bridgewater is suggestive that he may have sprung from the valley of the Somersetshire river Cary which drains from its fountain near Castle Cary into the Bristol Channel at Bridgewater Bay. The *W. M. Cary Notes* record a family of Carys in this region, whose wills in the seventeenth century show them to have been yeomen, with an occasional clergyman; but there is no evidence of merchants among them. In this connection it is of interest to note that Mr. Henry Grosvenor Cary, in his book referred to, says that most of his New England family are farmers, and to contrast this characteristic with the inherited bent of the descendants of James Cary, who have been shipmasters and merchants.


¹ It is included in Robert Calef's *More Wonders of the Invisible World*, the book printed in 1700 as a record of the author's charge that Cotton Mather fomented the witch delusion after the



the most interesting of the surviving documents for the Salem witch delusion, and does credit to his head as to his heart, especially when we remember that some husbands then turned against their unfortunate wives in the same plights.

I having heard some days, that my Wife was accused of Witchcraft, being much disturbed at it, by advice, we went to Salem-Village, to see if the afflicted did know her; we arrived there, 24 May, it happened to be a day appointed for Examination; accordingly soon after our arrival, Mr. Hathorn and Mr. Curwin, etc., went to the Meeting-house, which was the place appointed for that Work, the Minister began with Prayer, and having taken care to get a convenient place, I observed that the afflicted were two Girls of about Ten Years old, and about two or three other, of about eighteen, one of the Girls talked most, and could discern more than the rest. The Prisoners were called in one by one, and as they came in were cried out of, etc. The Prisoner was placed about 7 or 8 foot from the Justices, and the Accusers between the Justices and them; the Prisoner was ordered to stand right before the Justices, with an Officer appointed to hold each hand, least they should therewith afflict them, and the Prisoners Eyes must be constantly on the Justices; for if they look'd on the afflicted, they would either fall into their Fits, or cry out of being hurt by them; after Examination of the Prisoners, who it was afflicted these Girls, etc., they were put upon saying the Lords Prayer, as a tryal of their guilt; after the afflicted seem'd to be out of their Fits, they would look steadfastly on some one person, and frequently not speak; and then the Justices said


Salem tragedy had been ended by Sir William Phips. (See Burr, *Narratives of the Witchcraft Cases*, 350, in the series *Original Narratives of Early American History*.)



they were struck dumb, and after a little time would speak again; then the Justices said to the Accusers, "which of you will go and touch the Prisoner at the Bar?" then the most courageous would adventure, but before they had made three steps would ordinarily fall down as in a Fit; the Justices ordered that they should be taken up and carried to the Prisoner, that she might touch them; and as soon as they were touched by the accused, the Justices would say, they are well, before I could discern any alteration; by which I observed that the Justices understood the manner of it. Thus far I was only as a Spectator, my Wife also was there part of the time, but no notice taken of her by the afflicted, except once or twice they came to her and asked her name.

But I having an opportunity to Discourse Mr. Hale (with whom I had formerly acquaintance) I took his advice, what I had best to do, and desired of him that I might have an opportunity to speak with her that accused my Wife; which he promised should be, I acquainting him that I reposed my trust in him.


Accordingly he came to me after the Examination was over, and told me I had now an opportunity to speak with the said Accuser, viz: Abigail Williams, a Girl of 11 or 12 Years old; but that we could not be in private at Mr. Parri's House, as he had promised me; we went therefore into the Alehouse, where an Indian Man attended us, who it seems was one of the afflicted: to him we gave some Cyder, he shewed several Scars, that seemed as if they had been long there, and shewed them as done by Witchcraft, and acquainted us that his wife, who also was a Slave, was imprison'd for Witchcraft. And now instead of one Accuser, they all came in, who began to tumble down like Swine, and then three Women were called in to attend them. We in the Room were all at a stand, to see who they would cry out of; but in a short time they cried out, Cary; and immediately after a Warrant was sent from the Justices to



bring my Wife before them, who were sitting in a Chamber near by, waiting for this.


Being brought before the Justices, her chief accusers were two Girls; my Wife declared to the Justices that she never had any knowledge of them before that day; she was forced to stand with her Arms stretched out. I did request that I might hold one of her hands, but it was denied me; then she desired me to wipe the Tears from her Eyes, and the Sweat from her Face, which I did; then she desired she might lean her self on me, saying, she should faint.

Justice Hathorn replied, she had strength enough to torment those persons, and she should have strength enough to stand. I speaking something against their cruel proceedings, they commanded me to be silent, or else I should be turned out of the room. The Indian before mentioned, was also brought in, to be one of her Accusers: being come in, he now (when before the Justices) fell down and tumbled about like a Hog, but said nothing. The Justices asked the Girls, who afflicted the Indian? they answered she (meaning my Wife) and now lay upon him; the Justices ordered her to touch him, in order to his cure, but her head must be turned another way, least instead of curing, she should make him worse, by her looking on him, her hand being guided to take hold of his; but the Indian took hold on her hand, and pulled her down on the floor, in a barbarous manner; then his hand was taken off, and her hand put on his, and the cure was quickly wrought. I being extremely troubled at their Inhumane dealings, uttered a hasty Speech (That God would take vengeance on them, and desired that God would deliver us out of the hands of unmerciful men.) Then her *Mittimus* was writ. I did with difficulty and charge obtain the liberty of a Room, but no Beds in it; if there had, could have taken but little rest that Night. She was committed to Boston Prison; but I obtained a *Habeas Corpus* to remove her to Cambridge Prison, which is in our County of



Middlesex. Having been there one Night, next Morning the Jaylor put Irons on her legs (having received such a command) the weight of them was about eight pounds; these Irons and her other Afflictions, soon brought her into Convulsion Fits, so that I thought she would have died that Night. I sent to intreat that the Irons might be taken off, but all intreaties were in vain, if it would have saved her Life, so that in this condition she must continue. The Tryals at Salem coming on, I went thither to see how things were there managed; and finding that the Spectre-Evidence was there received together with Idle, if not malicious Stories, against Peoples Lives, I did easily perceive which way the rest would go; for the same Evidence that served for one, would serve for all the rest. I acquainted her with her danger; and that if she were carried to Salem to be tried, I feared she would never return. I did my utmost that she might have her Tryal in our own County, I with several others petitioning the Judge for it, and were put in hopes of it; but I soon saw so much, that I understood thereby it was not intended, which put me upon consulting the means of her escape; which thro the goodness of God was affected,¹ and she got to Road Island, but soon found her self not safe when there, by reason of the pursuit after her; from thence she went to New York, along with some others that had escaped their cruel hands; where we found his Excellency Benjamin Fletcher, Esq.; Governour, who was very courteous to us. After this some of my Goods were seized in a Friends hands, with whom I had left them, and my self imprisoned by the Sheriff, and kept in Custody half a day, and then dismiss; but to speak of their usage of the Prisoners, and their Inhumanity shewn to them, at the time of their Execution, no sober Christian could bear; they had also tryals of cruel mockings; which is the more, considering

¹ July 30, 1692, as noted at the time in Sewall's *Diary*, i, 362.




what a People for Religion, I mean the profession of it, we have been; those that suffered being many of them Church-Members, and most of them unspotted in their Conversation, till their Adversary the Devil took up this Method for accusing them.¹

In the spring of 1704 Captain Nathaniel Cary had another adventure. He was employed by Governor Dudley of Massachusetts to solicit from the home government arms and stores for the protection of the colony from the French. On his voyage to England his ship *Seaflower* was captured by a French privateer and he was taken a prisoner to Brest. He had meanwhile discreetly thrown his papers into the sea, and so, having escaped from Brest, when he turned up in London in October, 1704, to present his claims on behalf of Massachusetts, he was without credentials. At last, on January 11, 1705, he secured through the good offices of the Board of

¹ Among the family reminiscences of Miss Margaret Graves Cary (1775-1868), which are included in *The Cary Letters*, 1891, is another version of the story, as Miss Cary had it by tradition:

"Her husband had gone to England in his vessel. Mrs. Cary was imprisoned soon after his departure, and her daughter Mrs. Switcher or Sweetzer gained access to her, and by changing clothes succeeded in restoring her mother to liberty. Assisted by her friends, she was put on board a ship ready to sail for London and arrived in the Thames soon after her husband. He was on board his ship shaving himself when she entered the cabin. He started and exclaimed: 'My wife! I really believe you are a witch and have come over in an egg shell.' 'Don't be a fool, Nat, like the rest of your countrymen,' she replied. This is as my father used to relate the story; and they returned together to America by which time the people had recovered their senses and deplored the many cruel deaths which had taken place."



Trade and Plantations a grant of twenty cannon for Castle William in Boston harbor.¹


There survive among the plate of King's Chapel, Boston, and the First Church of Medford, Mass., two silver dishes which once belonged to this Nathaniel Cary and are so marked. Their interesting pedigree is well authenticated.²

From another son of the immigrant, JONATHAN CARY (1646-1738) has descended a numerous progeny which has spread out of New England into New York. They have maintained in a most interesting way the tradition of foreign trade inherited from their Bristol ancestors: a number of them have followed the sea in the merchant marine; others have been deep-sea merchants at New York and Philadelphia. Their Harvard breeding has produced, as Oxford breeding did among the Bristol Carys in the eighteenth century, several clergymen.³

¹ See Palfrey, *History of New England*, iv, 266; and *Cal. State Papers*, Colonial, Am. W. & I., 1704-05, No. 594, p. 68 et seq. When in 1707 the herald Peter LeNeve was engaged in his elimination of Americans from the Hunsdon pedigree, he heard of Captain Nathaniel Cary and later met his nephew Samuel. In the pedigree of the Bristol Carys in America which LeNeve then compiled (*Harleian MS.* 6694) he describes them as follows: "Nathaniel Carey, a sea captain, living in 1704, and was then in England. Frequented the New England Coffee House behind the Exchange. Samuel Carey, have spoke with him, 1707."

² E. Alfred Jones, *The Old Silver of American Churches*, 1913, 64.

³ For instance, the Rev. Thomas Cary (1745-1808) of Newburyport, and the Rev. Samuel Cary (1785-1815), rector of King's Chapel, Boston. Both left a number of published sermons.



One of his family, SAMUEL CARY (1713-1769), acquired through his marriage with Margaret Graves in 1741 the house in Charlestown built in 1670 by Governor Bellingham, which is still one of the monuments of New England colonial architecture.¹ His son, another SAMUEL CARY (1742-1812), was long a sugar planter in the island of St. Kitts, but returned to Boston to end his life. He left a large family which still persists.²


Another descendant of Jonathan Cary was RICHARD CARY (b. 1746), who was an aide-de-camp to General Washington in the American Revolution.³ He established his children at

¹ For more than a hundred and fifty years it has been known to the public as the *Cary House*, but to the family as "The Retreat," and until recently was occupied by successive generations of the family. The interesting story of the descent of title, from Governor Bellingham to Margaret Graves, of the farm originally known as Winnisimmet and now included as part of Chelsea in the city of Boston, is told in Mrs. Curtis's *The Cary Letters*.


² Mrs. Curtis's *The Cary Letters* is the record of this family at St. Kitts and elsewhere. These Carys married Grays, Perkins, Tuckermans, and other characteristic Massachusetts names: two sisters among them married President C. C. Felton of Harvard and Professor Louis Agassiz. The last named was the first president of Radcliffe College. (See Paton, *Elizabeth Cary Agassiz*, 1919.) The father of these sisters was Thomas Graves Cary (1791-1859) of Boston, who was the author of a number of publications on banking.

Some of these Carys migrated to New York as merchants. One of them, Henry Cary (1785-1857), who lived in St. John's Park, is to be met in the *Diary of Philip Hone*. (See also Bayard Tuckerman, *The Tuckerman Family*.)

³ Mr. Ford justly observes that "much loose statement exists concerning the military family of Washington." There were all told thirty-four aides named by Washington in General Orders. Richard Cary is included in those of June 21, 1776. (Ford, *Writings of Washington*, xiv, 432.)



Cooperstown, New York, at the beginning of the nineteenth century. EDWARD CARY (b. 1738), an uncle of this Richard Cary, planted the name in the tight little island of Nantucket, where it has since flourished.



CHAPTER TWENTY-ONE

THE VIRGINIA EMIGRANT

MILES CARY¹ (1623-1667), fourth son of John Cary, "draper" of Bristol, by Alice Hobson his wife, was baptized at All Saints Church

¹ There are no known surviving personal papers of the emigrant Miles Cary. Even the colonial records of Warwick County, where he lived, are gone, having been sent to Richmond during the war between the States for safe-keeping, and there destroyed in the fire which consumed the office of the General Court after the evacuation in April, 1865. (R. A. Brock in Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of America*, iii, 161.) We are, therefore, compelled to piece out our immigrant's career from such scraps of information as may be derived from the surviving public records of Virginia. For the general and political history of the colony in the middle of the seventeenth century we have Beverley (*History*, 1705) for the nearest approach to contemporary opinion; Burk (*History*, 1805) for the extreme republican view of the generation following the American Revolution; and Charles Campbell (*History*, 1860) for the conventional Virginia judgment of Berkeley. Modern studies of value are Doyle (*English Colonization*, 1882), Osgood (*The American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century*, 1904-1907), Wertenbaker (*Virginia under the Stuarts*, 1914), and Flippen (*Royal Government in Virginia*, 1919). As source books there are Mr. Philip Alexander Bruce's three scholarly and impressive studies of the surviving MS. records (*Economic Hist.*, 1895, *Social Life*, 1907, and *Institutional Hist.*, 1910), Neill (*Virginia Carolorum*, 1886), Hening (*Laws of Virginia*, 1823), McIlwaine (*Journals of the House of Burgesses*, 1913), the *Calendar of State Papers*, America and West Indies, and the contemporary tracts included in the collections of Peter Force (1836). In the *Virginia Magazine* and *William & Mary Quarterly* are published many of the transcripts of English records pre-


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in Bristol on January 30, 1622 (O. S.).¹ De-
riving his blood remotely from the gentry (to
use the word in the special sense which Crom-
well gave it²), he was begotten and bred of
served in the Virginia State Library and Library of Congress, as
well as contemporary local letters and documents which have come
to light in the last twenty-five years.

¹ All Saints parish register, calendared in *W. M. Cary Notes*.
The name Miles is heretofore unprecedented among Carys and
undoubtedly was borrowed from the Hobsons. There was a Miles
Hobson in 1609 (*Bristol Orphan Books*) who was probably the
maternal great-grandfather of Miles Cary. There was also Miles
Jackson, one of the most enterprising and successful of the Bristol
meere merchants of his day, who was a friend of both Miles
Cary's grandfathers and a neighbor of the old mayor, William
Cary, "on the Back." He is named in Henry Hobson's will
(P.C.C. *Pile*, 52), where it appears that his son Thomas had
married the sister of Miles Cary's mother. Another son, also
Miles Jackson, was M. P. for Bristol.

Genealogically, the identification of Miles Cary in England and
in Virginia is proved by (1) his M. I. in Warwick County, Vir-
ginia, showing that he was son of "John Cary and Alice, his wife,
daughter of Henry Hobson of the City of Bristol, Alderman";
(2) the parish register of All Saints, Bristol, showing the baptism
of "Myles," son of John and Alice Cary; (3) the parish register of
St. Nicholas', Bristol, showing the baptism of John, son of William
Cary; (4) the Heralds' College pedigree of 1700 (of which a
contemporary copy is in *Stowe MS.*, 670; see Waters, *Gleanings*,
ii, 1057), showing John Cary as "4th son" of "William Cary, Mayor
of Bristol, anno 1611" and "married Alice, daut of Henry Hob-
son, Ald. of Br. *vide* I 24, 87^b"; and (5) the Heralds' College
pedigree of 1699, showing "Miles Cary, son of John, settled in
Virginia, and had issue Thomas Cary, who m^d Anne, da. Francis
Milner." Supplementary evidence is the will of Henry Hobson
(*supra*), mentioning his grandson "Myles Cary" as a child of his
daughter Alice, and the will (P.C.C. *Nabbs*, 206, to which atten-
tion was first called by Mr. H. F. Waters) of Alice Cary of Shad-
well, mentioning "my grandfather John Cary of Bristol, woolen
draper," "my uncle Myles Cary of Virginia," and "my cousin
William Hobson."


² At a moment when the world has been made "safe for democ-
racy" it is not inexpedient to recall his words. Cromwell was ad-
vising the first Protectorate Parliament in 1654 to take order for
"Healing and Settling" the nation, as who should say for a policy



the citizen merchant class of his contemporary England; of the aristocracy of that class, it is true, for his two grandfathers had both been mayors of Bristol when it was the second city of the kingdom, but of the merchant class nevertheless. We can guess that he attended such a school in Bristol as that to which he afterwards sent from Virginia one if not more of his sons, and that he had as much opportunity of education as any of his contemporaries who did not go to the universities.¹ When he came to manhood

of post-war reconstruction. Among other things he said (the speech is reproduced by Carlyle in *Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches*, iv, 23): "What was the face that was upon our affairs as to the Interest of the Nation? As to the Authority in the Nation: to the Magistracy: to the Ranks and Orders of men—whereby England hath been known for hundreds of years? A nobleman, a gentleman, a yeoman; the distinction of these, that is a good interest of the Nation and a great one. The natural Magistracy of the Nation, was it not almost trampled under foot, under despite and contempt by men of levelling principles? I beseech you, For the orders of men and ranks of men, did not that levelling principle tend to the reducing of all to an equality? Did it consciously think to do so, or did it only unconsciously practice towards that for property and interest? At all events, what was the purport of it but to make the Tenant as liberal a fortune as the landlord? which, I think, if obtained would not have lasted long! The men of that principle after they had served their own turns would then have cried up property and interest fast enough! This instance is instead of many. And that the thing did and might well extend far is manifest: because it was a pleasing voice to all Poor Men and truly not unwelcome to all Bad Men. To my thinking this is a consideration which in your endeavors after settlement you will be so well minded of, that I might have spared it here: but let that pass."


¹ The merchant class which planted Virginia, being in touch with the world through foreign trade, was eminently better educated and more enlightened than many of the gentry in seventeenth-century England. To understand the limitations of the country gentleman who was Miles Cary's contemporary, it is necessary to



Bristol was in the throes of civil war. He was just twenty when his father was imprisoned for his part in Yeomans' Royalist plot, and twenty-two when, in 1645, the city was recaptured by the Parliamentary army. Those two years must have been years of disaster for his father, as they were to the merchants of Bristol generally, and led to the scattering of the children. One and perhaps two of the brothers took to the sea, another went up to London, but what to do we do not know. It was then, and under an economic pressure which was felt by all the merchant class in England,¹ that Miles determined to seek his fortune by emigration, following the

read the plays of Wycherley, Vanbrugh, and Farquhar. Cf. for the mercantile educational tradition, Eggleston, *The Transit of Civilization*, 1901.

¹ Convincing evidence of this pressure in the middle of the seventeenth century among the merchant class in England to which Miles Cary belonged may be found in their family letters, which by happy accident have been preserved; e.g., William Mason, a London merchant, writes in August, 1650, to a kinsman established in Virginia: "I must informe you y^t o^r trading since o^r troubles began in England is much decayed and since I was married to yo^r sister there hath been much of y^e estate lost that both myselfe and she thought would have beene very good." Again William Hallam, a salter of Burnham, co. Essex, writes in 1655: "Now brother and sister, y^e bearer hereof, my kinsman, Thomas Hallam, eldest son of my late brother Thomas Hallam, haveing a desire to go beyond sea in regard of a troublesome land that we have and do live in, o^r trade growing very, very bad and haveing great losses at sea whereby that p^tion wh^{ch} was left him by his late father is much decayed." (*W. & M. Quar.*, viii, 241, 242.) These letters might well have been written by some of the Carys of Bristol. For a comprehensive contemporary statement of the economic causes of emigration, see the testimony of Thomas Violet, goldsmith, before a Parliamentary committee in 1650. (*Cal. State Papers*, Domestic, 1650, No. 61, p. 778.)




example of his uncle James, who had now been for some years established in Massachusetts. Bristol was then trading with both the northern and southern colonies, and the conditions of each must have been well understood in the Cary family. Of Virginia they heard tales of risks of Indians and devastating fevers, but also of independence achieved in a few years by planting tobacco in a pleasant climate.¹ Doubtless young Miles read also the voyages in Purchas and Captain John Smith's romantic pages and picked up from the latter a few Indian words, studying anxiously his map of the country.² Perhaps, on the other hand, they had letters from James Cary to the effect that Massachusetts was no El Dorado, but an opportunity for hard work in a severe climate.³ Arguing from his subsequent

¹ "The land of Virginia is most fruitfull and produceth with very great increase whatsoever is committed into the Bowells of it, Planted, Sowed. A fat rich soile everywhere watered with many fine springs, small rivolets and wholesome waters. . . . Their tobacco is much vented and esteemed in all places. . . . A man can plant two thousand waight a yeare of it, and also sufficient corne and roots, and other provisions for himself. . . . And in tobacco they can make 20 l sterling a man at 3d a pound per annum: and this they find and know and the present gain is that, that puts out all endeavors from the attempting of others more staple and solid and rich commodities." (*A New Description of Virginia*, 1649, in *Force Tracts*, ii.)

² Colonel Norwood (*A Voyage to Virginia*, 1649, in *Force Tracts*, iii, 10) had read Captain John Smith and there learned what a *verovance* was. The famous *Map of Virginia* was first published in 1612, and again in *Purchas* in 1625. Ferrar's map, which we reproduce, was not published until 1651, when Miles Cary was established in Virginia.

³ "Thence I sailed to New England, where I found three months snow, hard winter, but lean land, in generall all along the sea



political alignment we may assume that not the least element in Miles Cary's election for Virginia was that his immediate family were not only Royalist but anti-Puritan in their opinions. Nothing in Miles Cary's career suggests any trace of the religious fervor which drew men to Massachusetts.

If political opinion was, indeed, any part of the decision, there was special reason after the capture of Bristol by the Parliamentary army for Miles Cary to go to Virginia. Fresh from the first years of his governorship, flushed with the popularity won by his successful Indian campaign and the approval of his king for his adroit promotion of a colonial resistance to the last attempt at revival of the London Company, which had just won him his knighthood, Sir William Berkeley had been in England during that year of the king's military disaster, and had lately returned to loyal Virginia, having "industriously invited many gentlemen and others thither as to a place of security."¹ Berkeley felt a pride in the colony and was well aware of the evil reputation the first population of Virginia then and for long after had in the uninformed English imagination,² and in consequence, well peopled Towns, the people very thrifty, industrious and temperate." (*New Albion*, 1648, in *Force Tracts*, ii.)

¹ Clarendon, *Rebellion*, vi, 610.

² There is ample testimony of this reputation in the pamphlets published to refute it. See e.g., *A New Description of Virginia*


quence was keen to secure as immigrants "gentlemen and others" to whom he could point as representative of the planters, to support the boast which later he actually made that "men of as good family as any subjects in England have resided there."

At the moment when the fame of Falkland filled the mouths of all Cavalier England, Berkeley, having such ambitions, would be quick to appreciate the significance of the name Cary in the colony, whether drawn from the counting-house or the manor-house, especially in view of the fact that more Carys than any other single family in England had taken part in the London Company, before it became a "seminary of sedition."¹

(1649), in *Force Tracts*, ii. As late as 1663, in his *Discourse and View of Virginia*, Berkeley himself says: "Another great imputation lyes on the Country, that none but those of the meanest quality and corruptest lives go thither."

¹ Sir George Cary of Cockington, Sir Robert Carey, afterwards Earl of Monmouth, Sir Henry Carey, "Captaine," afterwards Earl of Dover, and Sir Henry Cary, afterwards Lord Falkland, were all subscribers to the Virginia Company under the second charter of 1609, while the last named then became a member of the Council for Virginia. Under the Southampton administration of the company in 1621, Sir Philip Cary, of the Falkland family, became a member of the council and thenceforth until his death in 1631 was active in Virginia affairs, being one of the Warwick faction which provoked the revocation of the charter and a member of the commission appointed by James I in 1624, the prototype of the later Board of Trade, which supervised the transition of Virginia from a proprietary to a crown colony. (Brown, *Genesis*, ii, 844; Neill, *Virginia Carolorum*, 11; *Va. Mag.*, vii, 39, viii, 33.)

If Miles Cary knew anything at all of these distant and glittering kinsmen, he was doubtless more concerned with his own adventure.



Berkeley sailed from Bristol for Virginia in the spring of 1645. It is not impossible that young Miles Cary then and there stood before Sir William for the first time, felt the glamour of his courtly presence and his charming manners, and received a gracious approval of the project to become one of his "subjects."¹ We can imagine Miles Cary outfitting himself for his great adventure. He had received a small legacy under the will of his grandfather Hobson, but his mother being one of the three residuary legatees of what was evidently a substantial estate and perhaps now dead, it is more likely that the bulk of his capital was derived from her portion: to this would be added what his father could advance him.² He must have been able to go as well outfitted as most with the things which were necessary, for "although many howsholds in Verginia are soe well pro-

¹ See the portrait of Sir William Berkeley in the Virginia State Library. The original from which this copy is derived is attributed to Sir Godfrey Kneller; if so, it could not have been painted until after Berkeley's final return to England, for Kneller did not begin his work in England until 1678. It seems more likely that the portrait was made in 1645: the face and figure are of one in the prime of life, not an embittered old tyrant at whom his king sneered, but a gracious and courtly gentleman, as all the testimony indicates Berkeley to have been before the Dutch foray in 1667.

² It does not seem probable that Miles had much from his father until John Cary's estate was distributed after 1661. He died seized of two houses in Bristol, one in Baldwin Street and the other in Nicholas Street: both were in St. Nicholas' parish, and so must have come to him from his father rather than the Hobsons. We have assumed that it was to take possession of this inheritance that Miles Cary was absent from Virginia in 1663.


vided as to entertayne a stranger with all things necessary for the belly, yet few or none better provide for the back, as yeat, than to serve theyre own turns; therefore tis necessary that hee bee provided." So he took with him not only such "household stuffe" and "aparell," including "for his own particular use a fether bed, bolster, blanquetts, rugg, curtayns and valance," but "1 suit of complete light armour,¹ 1 sword, 1 musket or fowling peece, with powder and shot convenient," and, over and above the personal necessities, what no scion of a merchant house would think of going without, a stock of "what wares may prove his profit there" as were recommended by those who had had experience in the colony.²

We do not know when or by what ship Miles Cary sailed,³ but we may assume that it was in

¹ Beauchamp Plantagenet (*New Albion*, 1648) describes the requirement as "half an old slight armour, that is two to one armour." Armor was useful against the Indian arrows long after it had ceased to be effective against fire-arms, and so its use was prolonged in colonial Virginia. A piece of such mail, excavated at Jamestown in 1861, is now in the collection of the Virginia Historical Society.

² For the outfit see the letter written in 1634 to Sir Edward Verney advising what was necessary for his young son about to be sent to Virginia, *Verney Papers*, Camden Society, and quoted in Neill, *Virginia Carolorum*, 109; Williams, *Virginia Richly and Truly Valued* (1650), in *Force Tracts*, iii; Evelyn, *New Albion* (1648), in *Force Tracts*, ii; and Bullock, *Virginia* (1649). For Verney it was estimated that the cost of the absolute necessities, including transportation, for an adventurer, with two servants, would come to £56. Williams later estimates £20 a man.

³ Hotten bases his valuable compilation of the names of "those who went from Great Britain to the American Plantations 1600-



one of the two Bristol ships which then still regularly trafficked to Virginia despite the risks of the Commonwealth privateers,¹ and that the ship was commanded by his future father-in-law, Thomas Taylor. The voyage out, before the direct route was established,² was still long and tedious; touching at the Azores and passing north by Bermuda, it took more than seven weeks if all went well with the three-hundred-ton ship, and much more in case of adverse winds or disaster.³


When Miles Cary entered the Virginia capes, then, as now, bearing the names of James I's sons, it was scarce forty years since that soft April day when Captain Christopher Newport piloted into the broad bosom of "the mother of

1700" largely on the clearances of ships sailing from London. He says (*The Original Lists*, 1880, p. xxxi) of Bristol, "no records of departures from that port remain." This is unfortunate in respect of the many Virginia families who emigrated through Bristol, because on the other hand the surviving archives of Virginia are bare of immigration records for the period after the dissolution of the London Company. There was indeed a law passed in 1632 (Hening, i, 166) requiring the commander of the fort at Point Comfort to repair on board of all ships on their arrival, take a list of the passengers, "and to keepe record of the same." The enforcement of this provision was unpopular because it carried a capitation tax, and it doubtless fell into abeyance.

¹ *A Perfect Description of Virginia* (1649), 14, in *Force Tracts*, ii.

² "The seamen of late years having found a way that now in 5, 6 and 7 weeks they saile to Virginia free from all Rocks, Sands and Pirats." (*A Perfect Description of Virginia* (1649), 7, in *Force Tracts*, ii.)

³ See Colonel Norwood's *Voyage to Virginia* (1649), in *Force Tracts*, iii, No. 10.



waters"¹ that band of Englishmen who were to lay the foundation of a mighty destiny. He had indeed no difficulty in realizing the emotions of Newport's company when they had strained their eyes upon the distant low-lying shores,² for little was changed. While much history had been made during those forty years and the colony was now securely established, the physical aspect of the country was not yet modified: Virginia was still an adventure on the edge of the wilderness.³


Before proceeding to rehearse Miles Cary's career let us attempt to realize what country he was in, how he was to live, and among what kind of people.

When he arrived the total white population in

¹ Such is the significance of the Indian word from which we derive *Chesapeake*.

² "Breathes there the man with soul so dead" who has sailed up Hampton Roads on a brilliant spring morning and cannot still realize the emotions of Captain Newport's company? The expanse of waters is so nobly great, but the air so full of the promise of land though the aspects of civilization are long delayed, that it does not require much imagination to carry oneself back three hundred years to Master George Percy's thrill when on "the six and twentieth day of April [1607] about foure a clocke in the morning, wee descried the Land of Virginia. The same day wee entred into the Bay of Chesupioc directly, without any let or hindrance." (*Purchas his Pilgrimes*, iv, 1686.)

³ The most graphic realization of this fact may be obtained from a study of Virginia Ferrar's map of 1651, with its mountains and forests inhabited by fabulous beasts and its waters the resort of leviathan. This map illustrates a lively imagination, excited by tales of adventure in the interior and visualized through the pages of the Book of Job. For Virginia Ferrar, see Neill, *Virginia Company*, 191, Phillips, *Virginia Cartography*, and *Va. Mag.*, xi, 42.




the colony, though rapidly increasing, was not more than half that of the city in which he had been born and reared.¹ As a consequence of the removal of the Indians above the falls of the rivers and the treaty made in 1644 after the capture and death of Powhatan's successor, the mysterious old "pow-wow" Opechancanough, the "seated" area had begun to spread out from the valley of the James and the peninsula of Accomac, where it had been confined since the first settlement. Crossing the York River it was now extending rapidly up the western shores of Chesapeake Bay and the valleys of its tributaries until by the end of Miles Cary's life it embraced all of what we now call tidewater Virginia.²

The life of these colonists was in many respects a reversion to the earliest agricultural experience of the English race. Their practice


¹ Macaulay says (*History*, iii): "In the reign of Charles the Second no provincial town in the Kingdom contained thirty thousand inhabitants. . . . Next to the capital . . . stood Bristol." The English population of Virginia, which in 1616, nine years after the first settlement, did not exceed 351 (John Rolfe, *Relation, Va. Hist. Reg.*, i, 110), grew by 1635, when a census was taken, to 5,000 (Neill, *Virginia Carolorum*, 114), by 1649 to 15,000 (*A Perfect Description of Virginia*, in *Force Tracts*, ii), and in 1671 to 40,000 (Berkeley's report in Neill, *ibid*, 335). These bare figures do not, however, tell the story of the effort they represent. Beauchamp Plantagenet (*New Albion*, 1648, in *Force Tracts*, ii) heard "old Virginians affirm the sicknesse there the first thirty years to have killed 100,000 men." Berkeley himself (*u.s.*, 335) confirms this, saying in 1671 that "heretofore not one of five escaped the first year."

² See the series of maps in Robinson, *Virginia Counties* (Va. State Library), 1916.



of extensive cultivation of the land they won from the forest and then turned out again in "old fields" was closely parallel to that described by Cæsar and Tacitus, which obtained in Frisia when our Teutonic ancestors first responded to an economic pressure and gave over their nomad habits: like that earlier life, again, they soon developed a reliance upon involuntary servitude to accomplish their laborious tasks.


The outstanding physical facts of their existence were the rivers and the forests; their characteristic occupations were felling trees and planting tobacco: the country has for these reasons been happily described as a sylvan Venice. Not only all commerce but practically all communication with one's neighbors was water-borne, for the early planter built his house on the tidewater of a stream or creek and maintained a heavy barge, to be rowed by his servants, or a sloop, as much as a matter of course as his descendant maintained a farm-wagon or a coach. Afloat, the colonist was free, in touch with the world; he could well sing "an holy and a chearful note"; but ashore, he was ever face to face with his great competitor for possession of the soil—the forest. Much of the primeval growth of oak, chestnut, tulip-poplar, cypress, and cedar was still standing everywhere awaiting subjugation, but on the peninsula between the James and York rivers there was no longer that un-



broken, oppressive, and continuously dark canopy which covered the clay lands of the interior. The trees which predominated in the tidewater region were walnut, hickory, ash, and locust: they stood in serried but open array, without undergrowth, revealing a land checkered with shadows.¹ At intervals also there were cleared areas of considerable extent, Indian "old fields": when these had been kept burned off the spontaneous grass grew "as high as a horse and his rider."² In this environment the first and fore-

¹ In 1650 it was estimated that a fourth of the trees in the Virginia forest were walnut (*Virginia Richly Valued*, in *Force Tracts*, iii), which is understood to include hickory, a tree and a name then new to the colonists. The habit of both these trees is to be intolerant of shade and to resist crowding. The early writers insist also on the abundance of plums, persimmons, sumac, and sassafras, all "old field trees." On these statements modern scientific opinion concludes that before the colonists' arrival much of the primeval forest had already been replaced in tidewater Virginia by a second growth on land previously cleared and cultivated by the Indians; and that the forest standing at the beginning of the seventeenth century was thin and let in abundance of light. (See Maxwell, *The Use and Abuse of Forests by the Virginia Indians*, in *W. & M. Quar.*, xix, 97.) This judgment fits in with the absence of undergrowth, which is well authenticated. Captain John Smith testifies (*Works*, ed. Arber, 56) that "a man may gallop a horse amongst these woods any waie." (*Ibid.*, 67.) And again: "Thicks there is few." (*Ibid.*, 34.) Bullock (*Virginia*, 1649, 3) says that even in the thickest forest the trees stood so far apart that a coach could have been driven through without danger of coming into contact with the trunks and boughs. It is of interest also to observe that De Bry's engravings (reproduced in Beverley) nowhere show a land of dense forest. The original forest trees were scarce enough to serve as land marks: Thus in Miles Cary's patents we find corners called by "a great white oak" and "a great poplar."

² This fact explains why the planters were early able to export cattle to New England. For the Indian "old fields" see *Virginia Richly Valued*, 1650, 13, in *Force Tracts*, iii; and for the grass,




most economic effort was further to clear the land. To get rid of the forest was the badge of the colonist's civilization.¹ He learned to fell a tree by the use of fire without damage to the trunk, after the labor-saving Indian fashion,² and much of the lumber so saved he worked up for market. As late as 1671 the colony craved the privilege of exporting to the south of Europe pipe-staves and hand-split clapboards (or "clove

William Byrd, *Works*, ed. Bassett, 289. While Colonel Byrd was writing of the Roanoke Valley, grass grew also in the peninsula. We assume this with confidence because even after three centuries of exhausting cultivation grass still grows spontaneously on the sandy loam of the peninsula, a consequence of the marl in the soil. "The pasturage consists of native grasses which come up voluntarily. . . . Hay is cut for two years, after which the fields are used for pasture. . . . The following yields are reported. . . . Hay from 1 to 2 tons." (Burke and Root, *Soil Survey of the Yorktown Area*, 1906.)

The experience of the growth of grass on the "old fields" if they were kept clear of forest had taught the Indians to prepare prairies on a larger scale, to attract their herbivorous game. When the colonists arrived the deliberate burning of the forests for this purpose, which had already created the prairies of Kentucky (Shaler, *Nature and Man in America*, 184), was just beginning in the east. "Virginia between its mountains and the sea was passing through its fiery ordeal and was approaching a crisis at the time the colonists snatched the fagot from the Indian's hand. The tribes were burning everything that would burn, and it can be said with at least as much probability of Virginia as of the region west of the Alleghanies, that if the discovery of America had been postponed five hundred years Virginia would have been pasture land or desert." (Maxwell, *u.s.*)

¹ So much a part of pioneer life has this been throughout the conquest of the American continent that it is not difficult to understand the slow progress of the attempt to educate the descendants of the pioneer in the conservation of the now fast disappearing forests of America.

² See Beverley, iii, 62, illustrated by De Bry's engraving.




boards," as they were then called), but, coupled with the prohibitions of the navigation law,¹ the supply of neither labor nor ships was sufficient to use the forest, thus economically, fast enough to keep pace with the demand for land on which to plant tobacco. In consequence the settlers of the lands above the peninsula had learned from the Indians also the wasteful practice of "girdling" and so killing the mighty giants of the forest, thus removing the canopy of foliage and opening the land to the sun and rain: the tall skeleton stumps were left to be removed at leisure as they rotted down.²

On the land so cleared, whether by the Indians before his arrival or by his own effort, the colonist began the cultivation of the light friable diluvial soil, then rich in humus, underlaid with argillaceous clay abounding in fossil shells, which was for a time marvelously fertile, in the production of the renowned sweet-scented Virginia tobacco.³

¹ See all the early tracts, and finally Berkeley's report (in *Virginia Carolorum*, 336) complaining that the navigation laws had put an end to a prosperous export of pipe-staves to the wine-producing countries of southern Europe.

² See Beverley, iii, 61. This practice can still be seen on the cotton plantations along the Gulf of Mexico to-day.

³ Captain John Smith (*Works*, ed. Arber, 49) calls the soil "a black sandy mould," indicting its humus content since exhausted; in the peninsula the soil is now generally gray, brown, or yellowish. Geologically the peninsula is a tertiary formation equivalent to miocene. For the distribution of the marl see Rogers, *Geology of the Virginias* (1884), 28, and for the benefits of the local use




His second wasteful practice was to plant tobacco, and practically nothing but tobacco,¹ year after year, without drainage, without compensation of manure, without rotation, and without even the restorative influence of leguminous crops, until the greedy tobacco plant had eaten all the humus out of the soil and the beneficent soil bacteria had fled before the deadly plough.² Then the planter cleared another area of forest, and so proceeded until he had exhausted all his land, and, if he had no other means of livelihood, was compelled to patent and take up a new plantation on the widening western frontier.

of it in agriculture see Ruffin, *Calcareous Manures*, fifth ed., 1852. This Virginia classic is the record of the studies and experiments which made it possible for the plantations of the peninsula, apparently exhausted by tobacco planting, to produce wheat profitably during the first half of the nineteenth century. For the blight of the Civil War on agriculture in the peninsula and the economic explanation of the large areas since grown up in scrub oak and loblolly pine, see Burke and Root, *Soil Survey of the Yorktown Area* (1906).

¹ Almost from the moment when the colonists learned from the Indians to plant tobacco and maize the effort of intelligent authority was to keep the two crops in balance. (John Rolfe, *Relation*, 1616, *Va. Hist. Reg.*, i, 102; Wyatt's Report for 1622, in Neill, *Virginia Company*, 282.) The regulations succeeded in securing the production of enough corn not only for food, but, as we have seen, for export, but the Virginia god continued to be *Tobo*. In Miles Cary's lifetime new efforts were made to diversify the crops, to grow small grains, and especially to produce silk, but, like the manufactures which the London Company had sought to establish, they were never more than experiments. The very fact that tobacco was the medium of all commercial transactions obstructed them. Few men who live by the soil have the self-restraint to suspend the money crop.

² See, for enlightened contemporary observation, Clayton, *Account of Several Observables in Virginia*, 1688, at p. 22, in Force *Tracts*, iii.




From the physical world he lived in we turn for a glance at the domestic economy of the seventeenth-century planter.

There was little stone in the peninsula between the York and James rivers, but, as we have seen, abundance of lumber; and for the same reason that the contemporary Englishman was just beginning to rebuild his towns of brick,¹ the Virginia colonist built his house of wood, at first of logs, but soon of frame.² We can in imagination reconstruct Miles Cary's house.³ It stood in a grove of lofty walnuts under a cypress-shingled roof, looking down Warwick River to its confluence with the broad brown waters of the James: of one-story-and-attic construction, sheathed with weathered clapboards, with brick chimneys and a one-room wing at each end, the main roof, pierced by dormer-windows, running

¹ See Turner, *Domestic Architecture in England*, ed. Parker, 1851-1859; and cf. Akinson, *Ralph Thoresby*, i, 62.

² Bricks were burned in Virginia as early as 1638, when the first brick house was built at Jamestown, but they were of poor quality. (See Neill, *Virginia Carolorum*, 263, 294.) The weather-beaten, unpainted frame house such as one sees still on the plantations of the far South was the typical plantation house in the seventeenth century, and, indeed, long afterwards. The richest planters had not begun to build brick houses until the beginning of the eighteenth century. Those stately mansions of which the survivals are depicted in Lancaster, *Historic Virginia Homes and Churches*, 1910, are the more distinguished because they were never common.


³ This first home of Cary in Virginia has disappeared, leaving only a grassy cavity and the fragments of Miles Cary's tomb to mark its site—a characteristic Virginia phenomenon. (See *The Virginia Carys*, 33, and Bruce, *Social Life*, 109.)




down over a deep veranda. There was a wide hall through the house to catch the summer breezes from the river, and this was the living-room. There were four or perhaps six sleeping-rooms,¹ in which stood the feather and flock beds and their furniture, an encompassing set of red linsey-woolsey curtains supported on rods, with a valance of drugget. The sheets were of osnaburg, the blankets of duffle. Worsted yarn rugs were on the floors, and the windows were hung with printed linen. The table ware was at first of pewter.² The kitchen and outbuildings were near at hand within the palisade of the house-yard, and adjoining was the garden where grew vegetables—Indian peas, “better than ours,” says an English commentator, beans and lupins, as

¹ James Neale had been a merchant in Spain and in Maryland, where he was of sufficient importance to be a member of the council. He acquired a plantation in Westmoreland County, Virginia, called it Wollaston Manor, and in 1661 contracted to have a dwelling-house built thereon. This house was probably typical of the better class plantation houses in the seventeenth century. The specifications call for “one house of forty foote long & twenty-five foote wide, framed work to be nine foote between ye ground-sill & wall plate & all ye ground-sills to bee of locust wood; ye lower part to bee divided into five Roomes wth two chimnies below and one small chimnye above. And build to it a porch ten foote long & eight foote wide, ye loft to be layed wth sawed wood. And to build two Dormer windowes above & other windows at ye end of ye loft. And to point all windowes and Dores below stayres & all compleatly furnished except ye covering & weather boarding.” (*W. & M. Quar.*, xv, 181.)

² While the house remained the same, by the end of Miles Cary's life prosperity had doubtless greatly increased the luxury of its furnishings. The loss of the inventory of his estate prevents specification, but we know what some of his contemporaries in the council had at home. Miles Cary mentions his plate in his will.



well as roots, including "potatoes, Sparagras, Carrets, Turnips, Parsnips, Onions and Hartichokes," all bordered with the well beloved flowers of England which Perdita names, rosemary and rue, "hot lavender, mint, savory and majoram," on which murmured innumerable bees. Strawberries grew wild, "much fairer and more sweete than ours," and in such quantity that in their season one's feet were habitually stained with the juice. Nearby was the genius of the home, the spring, which was the reason for its location, with a cool dairy-house. Upon a tall pole in the yard towered the box for the bee martins, who boldly protected the poultry from the forays of the hawk and crow. An orchard was near at hand, apples grafted on the native crab stocks, besides "apricocks, peeches, mellicotons, quinces, Wardens and such like fruits." There was no ice-house, and so no means of keeping fresh meats, but in the smoke-house hung the bacon and hams, which were not less delicious than they are now, in those days of deep mast beds surrounding every plantation. But there was no lack of other meat for the carnivorous English colonist: he had not yet learned to subsist upon corn bread, "hog meat," and preserves, like so many of his descendants. There was abundance of poultry of the dunghill, and the teeming forest supplied wild turkey; then there were wild fowl in the river and swamp in quan-



tities to make the modern sportsman sick with envy.¹ The woods were literally filled with passenger pigeons during their flights. Oysters the planter had in plenty, and fish of the best, sheepshead, shad, bream, and bass. Walnuts, chestnuts, hickory nuts, and hazel nuts were stored to stuff the turkey withal, and honey there was of course; every planter had a row of "skeps" in his garden. Nor was he without liquid cheer. Madeira, sherry, canary, Malaga, muscadine, Fayal, and other foreign wines imported through Bristol were for sale and generally used, while at home he made "excellent good Matheglin" from his honey, and, from his fruit, perry and cider.²

The plantation life had already taken on the patriarchal character which distinguished it in the next century. To illustrate this and complete our picture, we have a vivid glimpse, soon after Miles Cary's arrival, of the life of his near neighbor, "worthy Captaine Matthews, an old Planter of above thirty yeers standing." It is described³

¹ "Four or five hundred Turkeys in a flock, Swans, Hoopers, Geese, Ducks, Teles and other Fowles, a mile square and seven mile together on the shores, for here is all Chestnuts, Wallnuts and Mastberries, and March seeds, Wilde Oats and Vetchs to feed them." (*New Albion*, 1648, 27, in *Force Tracts*, ii.) In every one of De Bry's engravings the waters are covered with wild fowl.

² Hugh Jones, *Present State of Virginia* (1724), 41, pleasantly remarks upon the "excellent cyder not much inferior to that of Herefordshire when kept to a good Age: which is rarely done, the Planters being good companions and guests whilst the cyder lasts."

³ *A Perfect Description of Virginia* (1649), 15, in *Force Tracts*, ii. Cf. description of the similar plantation economy at Gunston Hall a century and more later, in Rowland, *George Mason*, i, 94.

in 1649 as typical, though Blunt Point was probably then the show place of the country.

He hath a fine house and all things answerable to it: he sowes yeerly store of Hempe and Flax, and causes it to be spun: he keeps Weavers and hath a Tan-house, causes leather to be dressed, hath eight Shoemakers employed in that trade, hath forty Negroe servants, brings them up to Trades in his house: He yeerly sowes abundance of Wheat, Barley, &c. The Wheat he selleth at for shillings the bushell: kills store of Beeves, and sells them to victuall the ships when they come thither: hath abundance of Kine, a brave Dairy, Swine, great store, and Poltery: he married the daughter of Sir Tho. Hinton, and in a word keeps a good house, lives bravely and a true lover of Virginia: he is worthy of much honor.

Socially, in the middle of the seventeenth century, Virginia was a community that was made up of a comparatively few¹ English merchants and seafaring men;² this small community was

¹ As the result of his study of the 501 land patents issued in Virginia from 1623 to 1637, Dr. Stanard (*Va. Mag.*, viii, 441) can identify only 336 heads of families who emigrated to the colony as free men during that period. We may then estimate that when the population was 5000 in 1635, the "master" class, including their families, did not exceed 1000, or at most 1500. After 1635 the disproportion increased as the greater number of the immigrants thenceforth came over under indenture.


² *The Merchant Class in Virginia*. It is still unsafe to generalize dogmatically upon the constitution of society in Virginia in the seventeenth century. Despite a flood of new light from the great collection of English wills having reference to the settlement of America, which is now available in Mr. Fitzgilbert Waters, *Genealogical Gleanings in England*, and Mr. Lothrop Withington, *Virginia Gleanings in England*, we do not yet know even approximately all the facts. Dr. W. G. Stanard estimates that we still lack definite information as to the origin of sixty per cent.

leavened with a sprinkling of the younger sons of the landed gentry and of ruined Royalist offi-

of the landowning class in Virginia before 1700; the remaining forty per cent. who can be identified, he divides half and half between the English landed gentry and the merchant class. In small sympathy with the school of history now flourishing in many American colleges, which is engaged in stepping down the civilization of the past to the democratic standards of to-day, because they have distorted the Virginia of the consulship of Berkeley in one direction as much as the "old Virginia gentleman" in the early nineteenth century distorted it in the other direction, it may still be recognized that the weight of the evidence, so far as it is now available, is that the great majority of the landowning planters in the seventeenth century were derived from the "middle" class in England. This may be argued, *à posteriori*, from the history of modern colonial emigration; from the part the merchants played in the London Company; from the long list of surnames common to Virginia and New England where the facts of origin have been more nearly ascertained than in Virginia (for such a list see Hayden, *Virginia Genealogies*, xii); from the similarity of economic conditions of those Virginia families of which the origin is unknown with those of which the origin is known; from the mercantile practice, so characteristic of seventeenth-century Virginia, of settling personal difficulties by litigation rather than by duel; and from the sensible but unwarlike political attitude of the colony in such crises as the appearance of the Parliament fleet in 1651. It seems to me, then, that Mr. P. A. Bruce is not only eloquent but correct in his judgment (*Economic History of Virginia*, ii, 131):

"Even from an economic point of view it is important to know that the great body of men who sued out patents to public lands in Virginia were sprung from the portion of the English commonwealth that was removed from the highest as well as from the lowest ranks of the community, and which while in many instances sharing the blood of the noblest, yet as a rule belonged to the classes engaged in the different professions and trades, in short to the workers in all the principal branches of English activity. With those powerful traditions animating them, the traditions of race and nationality, blending with the traditions of special pursuits, they had also that enterprising spirit which prompted them to abandon home and country to make a lodgment in the West."

The aristocratic development of Virginia in the eighteenth century has made the modern representatives of Virginia families resentful of such an analysis of their beginnings; although from the American Revolution unto the present day they have more and more




cers¹ in control of a population of indented servants and a still insignificant number of negro slaves.

themselves engaged in the occupations attributed to their immigrant ancestors, they have so steeped themselves with feudal ideals derived from Sir Walter Scott's novels, that they take the suggestion of commerce to be an insulting imputation of taint in their breeding. There are, then, still intelligent people who say with unctiousness, "Thank God there is no drop of tradesman blood in *our* family"; but such people are as often ignorant of the facts of their own English origin as of one of the most characteristic and interesting peculiarities of the English people throughout their history, that distinguishes them from all the continental nations, namely, that there has never been a strict dividing line between the landowning and the industrial classes. They have constantly blended, and in doing so have refreshed one another. (Cf. William Harrison, *Description of England*, 1577.) But whatever was the colonist's origin, the fact with respect to Virginia is fairly stated by Mr. J. S. Bassett (*The Relation between the Virginia Planter and the London Merchant*, Report of American Historical Association, 1901, i, 561): "There was hardly a family of social and political importance in the first century of the colony which did not have some kind of a connection with commerce."

¹ *The Cavaliers in Virginia*. The loose use of the word "Cavalier" by popular writers has developed in Virginia an unfortunate confusion of political sentiment with technical social status in reference to the seventeenth century. As a consequence, the term suggests to most Virginians to-day one who, driven by the Commonwealth from a far descended manor-house because he stood in arms for the Stuart dynasty, sought refuge for his opinions in the forests of Virginia: we picture the colonial Cavalier "with lace on his ruffles and war in his heart." There were indeed such men in Virginia, but there persists much misinformation about the number of them: it is due to the superficial assumption that the aristocratic caste which flourished in the eighteenth century consisted chiefly of their descendants. Berkeley was himself the incarnation of the true Cavalier, and dominated the colony so utterly from 1642 to 1651, and again after the Restoration, that in the eyes of his contemporaries he almost personified Virginia: he may then in his single person be accepted as the foundation of the opinion that the ruling class in Virginia in his day were largely Cavaliers. After the failure of the king's cause in 1645 he undoubtedly tried to make this a fact: he invited the Royalist officers to come to Virginia, just as he "almost" invited Charles II

The ruling planter class were still much, but no longer quite, the kind of Englishmen from


himself: Clarendon's statement establishes the fact that "many" of them accepted the invitation, but it is a fair question, how many? John Esten Cooke (*Virginia*, in American Commonwealth series, 1892) is perhaps the most picturesque (and it must be added the most reckless) of the asserters of a large emigration of them to Virginia. He quotes a "passionate old chronicle" to the effect that a crowd of refugees, "the nobility, clergy and gentry, men of the first rate who wanted not money, nor credit, and had fled from their native country as from a place infected with the plague," came in numbers to Virginia, "and one ship," adds Mr. Cooke, "brought (September, 1649) three hundred and thirty." We are pained to find as careful a student as Mr. Brock adopting this last statement (Winsor, *Nar. & Crit. Hist.*, iii, 148). On examination Mr. Cooke's authority turns out to be Colonel Norwood's *Voyage to Virginia, 1649* (Force *Tracts*, iii). Norwood does indeed use the language quoted about the "nobility, clergy and gentry"; he does not say that they went to Virginia, but that they "did betake themselves to travel," which is a very different thing. On the other hand, the 330 on one ship was the sum of the entire company of the *Virginia Merchant* in 1649: there were only three Cavalier officers among them, and at least one known Roundhead officer, who undoubtedly represented a considerable element among the emigrants at that time—Presbyterians who had at first supported the Parliament but now girmed at the government of the Independents: they could not have been politically welcome to Berkeley. John Fiske (*Old Virginia and Her Neighbours*, 1897, ii, 18), in a chapter which did much to correct traditional errors about the origin of the eighteenth-century aristocracy, nevertheless himself exaggerates the number of the Cavalier political refugees. He says, referring to Berkeley's invitation, "within a twelve month perhaps as many as 1000 had arrived, picked men and women of excellent sort." No authority is given for this computation: it seems to be a mere balance for the 1000 nonconformists who, Fiske says, left the colony in 1649 under the stress of Berkeley's insistence on their going to church. Berkeley himself, having every inducement of personal pride to prove that his invitation had been accepted, later (in his *Discourse and View of Virginia*, 1663) enumerating those of "good families" who had resided in Virginia, gives the names of only six Cavaliers. Again, in his report of 1671, famous for its unfounded thanks to God that there were then no free schools or printing in Virginia, the old governor describes the "Coming of the Cavaliers" in language which does not suggest numbers: he refers to the deterioration of the quality of



whom they had sprung (during Miles Cary's life the community had already begun to show

the emigrants "since the persecution in Cromwell's tyranny drove divers worth men hither." Another nearly contemporary authority, Hugh Jones (*The Present State of Virginia, 1722, 23*), is even more moderate: "One particular occasion that sent several Families of good Birth and Fortune to settle there, was the Civil Wars in England." From this it seems likely that the guests Colonel Norwood found "feasting and carousing" with Captain Wormeley at Rosegill in 1649 included most if not all the true Cavaliers then in Virginia. Indeed, a list of the Cavaliers known to have been at any time in Virginia, compiled from the records by Dr. L. G. Tyler (*W. & M. Quar.*, vi, 89), is limited to twenty-four names; or, if we include the ten gentlemen among the head rights of Sir Thomas Lunsford, the total is thirty-four. Mrs. Stanard (*Colonial Virginia, 1917, 49*) adds a few more names. It has been shown that a number of those included in these lists returned to England and others left no issue in Virginia.


In several of the books on Virginia the Carys are included in lists of "Cavaliers." Miles Cary undoubtedly stood for Church and king in his politics. If we confine ourselves to the contemporary use of the term as including "all that took part or appeared for his Majestie" (Lilly, *Monarchy, 1651, 107*), or even to Mr. Jefferson's description of the Virginians as "loyal subjects of both King and Church," then Miles Cary was a Cavalier as were in the same sense other contemporary immigrants who like him were derived immediately from the mercantile class, but whose blood may be traced to the English squirearchy; *e.g.*, Allerton, Ashton, Bacon, Bland, Bolling, Bushrod, Byrd, Claiborne, Corbin, Fitzhugh, Lee, Ludwell, Munford, Peyton, Washington. These men and others like them emigrated for economic rather than political reasons; because they saw better opportunity to achieve independence in the colony than at home: not at all because they were dispossessed landed gentry who had been officers in the Royalist army. It is, however, in this latter sense that Fiske (*Old Virginia, ii, 25*) gives a list of eleven typical "Cavalier" families in Virginia, and it is significant of the kind of misinformation on this question which has passed for history that of those eleven families the English source has as yet been proved for only five, and of them three (Cary, Parke, and Washington) are now shown to have emigrated as merchants. See Stanard, *Some Emigrants to Virginia*, and especially the illuminating preface, listing "prominent Virginia names" which "have not been traced positively to their former homes across the sea." It may undoubtedly be argued from the political complexion of Virginia under Berkeley



the effects of a sea change), but they were far from being what their descendants became. Those of them who had been bred in the subordination of urban and guild life suddenly found themselves in the possession of land and a livelihood secured by the labor of others, and, like the feudal aristocracy of England in its beginning, soon developed a class pride. The first manifestations of this craving were crude. Furbishing up the claims of blood, to which most Englishmen are entitled more or less remotely, they called themselves gentlemen, as they had always heard landowners call themselves, but with an iterated insistence on the word, on military titles, and on coats of arms, which suggests that they were not quite sure of themselves.

This effort at self-expression led them into that the list of emigrants to Virginia after the civil war was swelled by refugees who had supported the royal cause; but our point is that it does not follow that they were all "Cavaliers" in the traditional Virginia sense. They came from all classes of the community, gentle and simple; in that, as in other respects, they resembled the loyalists who emigrated *from* Virginia at the time of the American Revolution. For the variety of social status of the latter, see Sabine, *Loyalists of the American Revolution*, 1864, and Mr. C. H. Van Tyne's later (1902) study under the same title.


It is an interesting fact, bearing upon this discussion, that whatever may have been the "Cavalier" origins of any of them, few Virginians remained Jacobites after that most mercantile and sordid of great political events, the "glorious revolution" of 1688, as did so many of the country gentry in England. See *Va. Mag.*, vi, 389, and particularly the "Cavalier" names signed to the addresses to William III from every part of Virginia, when, on the death of James II, Louis XIV recognized the Chevalier as king of England. Certainly Miles Cary's sons were staunch Whigs, and, as typical Virginians, their descendants so remained until the beginning of the nineteenth century.



vulgarities of personal display. Aping in the wilderness the current court fashions,¹ their appearance must have astonished their sober merchant kinsmen in England, as their manners might have mortified their descendants. Beneath their gauds they were reliant and alert; more avid of knowledge than those they had left at home, importing and perhaps reading solid books; more hospitable to strangers than their fathers, but like them conspicuously affectionate and loyal in family relations, and so evincing that "inner tenderness" which Green has remarked in their English contemporaries. In business they were insistent on their rights and their opinions, selfish and cautious, notoriously hard traders.² In strong contrast to their

¹ Lacking a portrait of Miles Cary when he became councillor, we must conjure his appearance out of Mr. Bruce's study of the inventories of his contemporaries: the men wore black beaver hats, camlet coats, with sleeves ending in lace ruffles: waistcoats black, white, and blue, or adorned with patterns elaborately Turkey-worked, short clothes made of the costliest olive plush or broadcloth. They still wore their own hair, flowing in ringlets on their shoulders. (See Lodge, *Portraits*, viii.) About their necks they wore cloths of muslin or the finest holland, on their legs silk stockings, and on their shoes shining brass, steel, or silver buckles; a sword was worn on a gold lace belt, while they carried in their hands or pockets silk or lace handkerchiefs delicately scented. To this description Miles Cary adds a touch in his will, *his rings*. Think of it! olive plush breeches and rings, with the howling wilderness just beyond the site of Richmond!

² David Pieterssen De Vries, patroon of Swanendal, the unsuccessful Dutch colony on the Delaware, was several times in Virginia between 1632 and 1644, and gained a wholesome respect for the trading ability of the planters. "You must look out," he says, "when you trade with them—Peter is always by Paul—or you will be struck in the tail; for they can deceive any one; they account




New England kinsmen, their religion, although including piety and prayer with superstition, was of a conventional social form and without deep roots in their souls. Unlike their descendants, but like their New England kinsmen, their political conduct was as little influenced by mere sentiment as was their business. They were too quite lacking in that high and romantic chivalry towards women and quickness on the point of personal honor which afterwards came to be the distinguishing characteristic of their descendant "the old Virginia gentleman."¹

Their great achievement, in which all their faults are merged, is their foundation of a new commonwealth in America. This required courage and industry and imagination, high qualities, which justify their descendants in looking back on them with unmitigated pride and satis-

it a Roman action. They say in their language 'He played him an English trick.'" See his entertaining book, *Voyages from Holland to America* (tr. Murphy, 1853), 186.

¹ There were few duels in Virginia in the seventeenth century but much resort to the law, the merchant's palladium, for the settlement of purely personal difficulties. As to women, it will suffice to recall the celebrated but ever disgraceful episode of the "white aprons"—Bacon was supposed to be a gentleman in his time—and to contrast Daniel Parke's boorish insult to Mrs. Blair in Bruton Church in 1697 (Tyler, *Williamsburg*, 124) with the courtesy of Colonel Francis Moryson to Lady Berkeley (*Virginia Carolorum*, 379).

For the unfavorable view of the Virginia planter in the seventeenth century, see Eggleston, *The Transit of Civilization from England to America*, 1901. For the favorable view, see Bruce, *Social Life in Virginia*, 1907. Mr. Wertenbaker (*Patrician and Plebeian in Virginia*, 1910) has restated the facts in support of the theory of local development of the eighteenth-century civilization.



faction. In the third and fourth generations, as society became more settled and the planters learned not only respect for one another but for those dependent on them, the things to which these men aspired became real, and Virginia flowered into one of the most agreeable civilizations which has ever existed on the face of the earth; but in 1650 that was still in the womb of time.

The custom was for a newcomer to Virginia in the seventeenth century to seek lodging for the time being in the household of some established planter until he might look about him.¹ Meanwhile, if he was a bachelor, it was not unusual for him to secure his position in the community at once by marriage.² Miles Cary apparently did both of these things. He went to live with Thomas Taylor³ on Warwick River, and not

¹ "After his cumming into Virginia, I doubt nott, but, by friends I have there, hee shall bee well acomodated for his owne person and at a reasonable rate, and his men maye likewise be taken off his hande and dyated for theyre works for the first yeare, and with some advantage to your sonne besides: then the next yeare if hee shall like the country and be mynded to staye and settle a plantation himself these servants will bee seasoned and bee enabled to direct such others as shall bee sent unto him from hence hereafter." (*Verney Papers*, Camden Society Publications.)

² "Few there are but are able to give some Portions with their daughters, more or lesse, according to their abilities: so that many coming out of England have raised themselves good fortunes there meerly by matching with Maidens born in the Country." (*Leah and Rachel*, 1656, 17, in *Force Tracts*, iii.)


³ Thomas Taylor and Miles Cary were perhaps distant kinsmen; for, according to the parish register, on May 12, 1583, Bridgett Cary, daughter of Richard Cary, "the younger," married at St. Nicholas' Church, Bristol, one Roger Taylor, and Miles and Anne

long after his arrival married his host's daughter,

Cary reproduced the name Bridget for one of their daughters: furthermore, the will of Robert Perry, of Bristol, clerk, 1652 (P.C.C. *Bowyer*, 243; *Va. Mag.*, xi, 364), refers to a Mrs. Mary Taylor, widow of John Taylor, late alderman of Bristol (who had been mayor, M.P., and warden of the Merchant Venturers of Bristol), and to relations with the Carys.

Thomas Taylor is described in his patent of 1643 as "marrinr." He was, perhaps, a brother of the John Taylor just mentioned and, doubtless, a Bristol shipmaster who traded to Virginia in competition with such men as the Captain Stegg who founded the London house of Byrd in Virginia. Mr. J. S. Bassett (*The Relations between the Virginia Planter and the London Merchant*, Report of American Historical Association, 1901, i, 555) has given us a graphic picture of these ship captains in the early days of the colony: "The independent trader appeared first in the colony as a ship captain. With his ship loaded with such goods as he thought the people would need, he came into the rivers with offers to trade. As between him and the Company's agents there was the usual advantage of him who enters competition with a clear head and with the incentive to quick turns and shrewd dealings against a sedate and rather clumsy agent of government. He undersold the agent. He was in the first instance frequently the owner of his ship and of his cargo. But sometimes he was merely agent for the owner. He established a warm and familiar relation with the inhabitants along the James, and his periodic trips to the colony were looked forward to with something more than the interest one felt in the arrival of one's supply of winter clothing. He was an emissary from that world of happy memories which all the people, except the children, had once lived in. He brought the news of friends in England, or at least he brought information about political happenings. In the dreariness of the forest life he was a messenger of light. He was well received by the people. He was really a man of parts if he was a successful merchant. He held an influential position among the people."

It is recorded that "most of the Masters of ships and Chief Mariners have also Plantations and houses and servants &c in Virginia." (*A Perfect Description of Virginia*, 1649, 5, in *Force Tracts*, ii.) As early as 1626 Thomas Taylor was one of the thirty-three persons who had then patented and planted lands in the "corporacon of Elizabeth Cittie." (Hotten, *Original Lists*, 273.) Later he purchased lands in Warwick County. When the civil war interrupted Bristol's commerce, Thomas Taylor apparently retired from the sea to this plantation. Perhaps it was his Bristol ship which on April 13, 1644, De Vries saw attacked by two London ships and driven into Warwick River. (Neill, *Virginia*



Anne Taylor:¹ soon he succeeded to the possession of the plantation. It was a pleasant neighborhood. Warwick County was not one of the oldest settlements, if we may use such a term in a country where there had been no English within the memory of Indians then still living, but already it had an interesting history,² was

Carolorum, 178.) Thomas Taylor sat in the assembly as a Burgess for Warwick in 1646 and was also in the commission of the peace for the county, sitting as late as 1652. (See "Cort held for Warwick County the Twelfth day of Aprill, 1652" in *York County Deeds*, i, 174.) He died before 1657, when we find Miles Cary in possession of his lands described as having been "bequeathed" to him by Thomas Taylor.

¹ She was born in England and married in Virginia, for Miles Cary returns her under her maiden name as one of the head rights named in his patent of 1657. The date of the marriage has been lost, but it could not have been later than 1646: the eldest son was not of age when his father made his will in June, 1667. Anne Cary was a model wife of her time: she bore and reared seven children and left no other record. That sad dog Thomas Morton of Merry Mount, who had so much fun at the expense of his Puritan neighbors in the earliest days of Massachusetts, says gaily (*New English Canaan*, 1632, in *Force Tracts*, ii) that the Virginia women were "barren does" because they did not have any lobsters to eat! Anne Cary is evidence to the contrary. If, as Morton claims on behalf of his lobsters, "Venus is born of the sea," perhaps the oysters which grew in sight of Anne Cary's porch had the same effect. She survived her husband, as shown by the direction in his will that his body shall "be decently interred by my Loving Wife." Under her dower right she lived on at the home place, Windmill Point, and there she was as late as 1682, as shown by her son Miles's land patent of November 20, 1682. (*Va. Land Records*, vii, 201.)

² *The beginnings of Warwick County*. In 1617, when the treasury of the Virginia Company was exhausted, societies of private adventurers were authorized to settle "particular plantations" in Virginia under the style of "hundreds." One of the first of these societies, organized in 1618 as *Martins Hundred*, was named for Richard Martin (1570-1618), of the Middle Temple, one of the counsel of the Virginia Company and one of Ben Jonson's "subjects" at the Mermaid Tavern. He had defended the colony before

now comparatively populous,¹ and was settled

Parliament in 1614 on a notable occasion (Neill, *The London Company*, 67), and when the society named for him was organized had then recently died as recorder of London. (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*, xii, 1176.) To the society of Martins Hundred was set apart 80,000 acres of land on the north side of James River about seven miles below Jamestown (Brown, *Genesis*, 945), and in 1619 the ship *Gift of God* arrived in Virginia with 250 people sent out by the society. When on August 9, 1619, there convened at Jamestown the first representative legislative assembly in America, the colony had been divided into four corporations, the city of Henricus, Charles City, James City, and the borough of Kiccowtan (afterwards Elizabeth City), each of which sent representatives for its several "towns, hundreds and plantations." Martins Hundred was included in James City, and was represented by "Mr." John Boys and John Jackson as burgesses. (Brown, *First Republic*, 313.) The society was strong in England and the plantation flourished. In January, 1622, when a consignment of maids was received to be wives of the colonists, Thomas Harwood, "Chief of Martins Hundred," reported that his people "doe willinglie and lovinglie receive the new comers." (Neill, *Virginia Carolorum*.) Later that year came the Indian massacre, when Martins Hundred suffered severely, seventy-three people being killed, including the first burgess, John Boys. (John Smith's *Works*, ed. Arber, 583.) The next assembly of which we have record, that of 1629, shows that new settlements had been made lower down the river, for then burgesses appeared for Mulberry Island, Warwick River, and Nutmeg Quarter, as well as Martins Hundred. (Stanard, *Colonial Virginia Register*, 54.) In 1630 a new borough was added, Denby (Denbigh), and in 1633 Stanley Hundred. In 1634 the colony was divided into eight *shires* (Hening, i, 224), when the neighborhood south of Martins Hundred was consolidated as one of them under the name *Warwick River County*. This name had been derived (after 1626, for in that year Sir George Yeardley calls the river *Blunt Point River* in establishing Stanley Hundred; *The Cradle of the Republic*, 238) from Robert Rich, second Earl of Warwick (1587-1658), who led the "court" faction in the Virginia Company against Southhampton and Sandys, and brought about the revocation of the company's charter: at the time of the settlement on the river which took his name, he was a member of the council for Virginia which Charles I appointed in 1625. (Brown, *Genesis*, 945.) In 1643 (Hening, i, 249, 250) the name was shortened to Warwick County and the territorial limits defined as "from the mouth of Keth's (originally *Keith's* and since corrupted to *Skiffs*)

¹ See note ¹ on page 597.


with as good people as there were in the colony.² Of the generation of "ancient planters" still surviving, Miles Cary found himself between two mortal enemies: to the north dwelt, or had only

Creek, upp along the lower side to the head of it, including all the dividunt of Mr. Thomas Harwood (provided it prejudice not the antient bounds of James City County) with Mulberry Island, Stanly Hundred, Warwick River, with all the land belonging to the Mills and so down to Newports News, with the families of Skowen's damms and Persimon Ponds." The old name Martins Hundred has survived as the designation of a plantation of the Harwoods, in James City County. (See *W. & M. Quar.*, xv, 51.)

¹ The census of 1635 (Neill, *Virginia Carolorum*, 114) showed "from Ketches Creeke & Mulberry Island to Marie's Mount on the northward side of the [James] river, being with the countie of Warrick River, 811." This was a larger population than any other single settlement. James City, which returned 886, and Elizabeth City, which returned 859, each covered settlements on both sides of the James.

² Bishop Meade examined the Warwick County records before the war between the States. Writing in 1856, he says (*Old Churches*, i, 240): "Old Warwick, though the least of all shires of Virginia was one of the most fruitful nurseries of the families of Virginia. . . . The result of my hasty examination of the old and decayed records at Warwick Court House, some of which are like the exhumed volumes from the long buried towns of the East and will scarce bear handling, was the discovery that the following were the most prominent names in this county in times long since gone by: Fauntleroy, Hill, Bushrodd, Ryland, Ballard, Purnell, Ashton, Clayborne, Cary, Dade, Griffith, Whittaker, Pritchard, Hurd, Harwood, Bassett, Watkins, Smith, Digges, Dudley, Petit, Radford, Stephens, Wood, Bradford, Stratton, Glascock, Pattison, Barber, Allsop, Browinge, Killpatrick, Nowell, Lewellin, Goodale, Dawson, Cosby, Wythe, Reade, Bolton, Dixon, Langhorne, Morgan, Fenton, Chisman, Watkins, John, Lang, Parker, West." He might have added that, after his return to the colony in 1617, John Rolfe, the progenitor of the Pocahontas caste among the Virginians of a later day, lived on Mulberry Island adjoining lands of the father of his third wife, Captain William Peirce, commander of the fort at Jamestown.

As evidence of the character of this society, Bishop Meade adds that in the seventeenth century there were eight parish churches in Warwick, where in his day there were but two.




recently died, Sir John Harvey, the governor who, "thrust out," and in 1639 finally removed from office, had retired to the Warwick plantation of Councillor Richard Stephens,¹ whose widow he married; to the south was Captain Samuel Matthews of Blunt Point, who had taken a conspicuous part in the "thrusting out"; called by Harvey "the patron of disorder," he was destined to be governor himself during the time of the colony's greatest prosperity in that century. Immediately across Potash Creek was Denbigh, the seat of Captain Matthews' son, where the Digges were long to be seated. Not far away were Zachary Cripps and Thomas Flint, both old burgesses, whose lands Miles Cary soon acquired,² and John Brewer of Stanley Hundred, son of another "ancient planter."

There on a bold bluff, still known as Windmill Point, at the confluence of Potash Creek with

¹ This was the plantation originally known as *Baltrope*, which after the death of Lady Harvey passed to her son Samuel Stephens, whose widow, Frances Culpeper, married Sir William Berkeley, and sold it (Hening, ii, 321) to that Colonel William Cole who succeeded Miles Cary in the council and played so active a part in affairs during Bacon's rebellion. (See T. M. in *Force Tracts*, i, No. 11.) A William Cole was warden of the Merchant Venturers of Bristol in 1610 (Latimer, 326), so that the Carys and Coles were probably old neighbors. At all events they intermarried in Virginia in the eighteenth century, and Bolthrope ultimately belonged to Judge Richard Cary (1730-1789). See *The Virginia Carys*.

² Captain Samuel Matthews, Captain Richard Stephens, Captain Thomas Flint, Zachary Cripps, gent., John Brewer, gent., and Thomas Ceely, gent., constituted the commission of the peace in Warwick River in March, 1632 (Neill, *Virginia Carolorum*, 90), and so were that early the leading men in the county and probably the owners of the most valuable lands.



Warwick River, standing well above the encompassing marshes and their mosquitos, Miles Cary lived to become one of the leading men of the colony; and there on the plantation long remembered as Cary's Quarter, though properly called Windmill Point, his dust has for two hundred and fifty years been incorporated in the soil he once proudly called his own.

We may be quite sure that Miles Cary, like several of his contemporaries who got ahead in the world, was more a trader and a politician than a planter: what else could we expect in his case considering that he sprang from a race of merchants who had for a century past diversified their commerce with municipal office-holding? He acquired land, and doubtless cultivated it, more for the social standing which landholding entailed, but we picture him handling more tobacco than he planted and waxing his profits by staking Indian traders to collect furs for him.¹


¹ *The Virginia fur trade.* Furs proved to be the substitute for the gold which the first colonists had expected to find in America. The French in Canada controlled the best of this trade until Wolfe's conquest of Quebec, but the Dutch, trading out of Albany, were their constant competitors. Efforts were made to secure to Virginia a share in this traffic from the beginning, so that, if never to be compared with the part they played in the north, furs became an important item of Virginia exports throughout the seventeenth century. It was then merely, what John Lederer called, "a home trade with neighbour Indians," for it was not until after Miles Cary's death that Lederer explored the hinterland of Virginia and first reported in Virginia on the strange tribes of Indians who lived beyond the mountains on the westward draining rivers. (Led-

From the first doubtless he maintained "the Store"¹ which he mentions in his will, and it is

erer, *Discoveries*, 1672.) The Virginia fur trade was, however, of enough importance to make the appropriation of the export duties a substantial contribution to the support of William and Mary College in 1693. (See Hening, iii, 123; and *Spotswood Papers*, ii, 144.)

As elsewhere in America, the Virginia trade with the Indians was prohibited except under license (Hening, ii, 20), to the end that firearms might be kept out of their hands; but this precaution fell into abeyance. The Dutch in New York and the Virginians each professed to believe that the other was furnishing firearms to the Indians and that they would be excluded from the trade if they did not follow suit. (Hening, ii, 215.) The result was that when the Indian wars were renewed in 1675 the savages were more formidable than ever they had been. Uncandidly enough, Bacon accused Berkeley of being solely responsible for this condition (see *W. & M. Quar.*, vi, 6), alleging that he reserved one skin in three as the fee for a fur-trading license, and that to increase the yield he had encouraged the distribution of firearms among the Indians. This last charge is quite incredible in the case of Berkeley, but it illustrates how the traffic was carried on by the unscrupulous. We have no doubt that in Miles Cary's time and after, several of the council were interested in the fur trade under the stimulus of the governor's desire to have it in responsible hands, and that Miles Cary was one of them. The letters of the elder William Byrd (*Va. Mag.*, xxiv, ff.) in the next generation illustrate the business life we assign to our immigrant: an importer and distributor of general merchandise and an exporter of furs and tobacco. There is also an illuminating sketch of this trade as carried on by Capt. Abraham Wood, the founder of Fort Henry (Petersburg), in Alvord and Bidgood, *The First Explorations of the Trans-Allegheny Region by the Virginians*, 1912.

¹ Dr. Bradley in the Oxford Dictionary characterizes as an Americanism the use of the word "store" in the sense of a place where merchandise in great varieties is held for sale or trade. His earliest illustration of it is drawn from the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of 1740. We have noted casually the much earlier use of the word in Virginia not only in Miles Cary's will (1667), but in Mrs. Cotton's letter on Bacon's rebellion (1676), and in the correspondence of the elder William Byrd (1684). At the first settlement the company's magazine was also called the "store." If then the colonists did not bring the word "store" with them out of their previous commercial practice, they began to coin "Americanisms" from the moment they landed.



apparent that he prospered progressively.¹ We have no record of him until after the long-delayed visit of the Commonwealth fleet, when Governor Berkeley was compelled to swallow his resolution of warlike resistance and retire to private life at Green Spring, while the colony (including, we may assume, Miles Cary, like Richard Lee and Edmund Scarborough), somewhat to the surprise of the court of the exiled Charles II, accepted cheerfully, if not heroically, the change of dominion from king to Protector.²

¹ How interesting would be the letters he wrote home to his father in Bristol during this period.


² *The capitulation of Virginia in 1651.* Clarendon says, "More was expected from Virginia." The modern historians also have expressed surprise at the sudden collapse of the supposedly strong Royalist party in Virginia at the first show of force, and have attributed it to the prevalence of Puritan principles at the first opportunity. One cannot help feeling that Berkeley must have been himself disappointed to find that among the men who surrounded him, and in their horror at the execution of Charles I had agreed to his proposals of legislation against political Puritanism, there were few who were of the type which makes a sacrifice for a lost cause. Berkeley had been generally and sincerely respected, for, unlike Harvey, he had warmly espoused the interests of the planters, but there was nothing feudal in his relations with the colonists. The proceedings after the arrival of Captain Dennis seem to reveal not that there was a determined Puritan party in opposition to Berkeley, but that Berkeley himself was in the political sense, as well as in breeding, one of the few real Cavaliers in Virginia. Once fear of the governor was removed, even those who were anything but Puritans, and in the first flush of enthusiasm had supported Berkeley in his bellicose preparations for resistance, had a sober second thought upon the consequences of civil war, not only in bloodshed but more immediately in loss of property: already they had felt the pinch of the act of Parliament of 1650 which prohibited trade with the Royalist colonies until they should submit. (*Va. Mag.*, xi, 37; i, 78; Osgood, iii, 125.) The much lauded

Miles Cary took out his first patent for land in 1654,¹ when, in consideration of the transportation of sixty persons into the colony, he located three thousand acres at the falls of Acquia Creek in the northern part of the then newly organized Westmoreland County,² which

reservations in the capitulation (Hening, i, 363) all smack of such a judgment: there is nothing in them of the honors of war or the things Virginia soldiers would have stipulated for a century later, except in the case of Berkeley himself; the rest are sensibly sordid even in respect of such men as Francis Moryson and Sir Thomas Lunsford. Old Beverley has been sneered at for his tale of the merchandise of members of the council, but it is within the probabilities. How in truth could this still feeble trading community have existed if its English market had been then cut off, without throwing itself altogether into the arms of the Dutch? The ties of Virginians with their merchant kinsmen at home, who were then putting forth every energy in competition with the Dutch, were still too strong to contemplate such an alternative, although they were willing enough to entertain the Dutch as competitors of their English friends. See John Bland's lucid argument to that end in *Va. Mag.*, i, 141, and a new emphasis upon the Dutch commercial influence, and indeed population, in the colony at this time in J. C. Wise, *The Eastern Shore of Virginia*, 1911.

¹ The original patent was issued by Governor Richard Bennet under date of October 5, 1654, the head rights named being: Roger Daniel, Sen^r., Roger Daniel, Jun^r., Anne Taylor, Thomas Haynes, Ro. Synsbury, Robt. Heynes, John Ledrick, John Squire, Anne Whitson, Marg^t. Creese, David Bevan, Evan Lewis, Martin Chains, John Beireman, Anne Colton, Sam. Wilbourn, Andrew Wyatt, John Haynes, Mary Martin, Mary Cordecur, Mary Taylor, Anne Bennes, J^{no}. Hatherell, Jenken Wotten, Walter Johnson, Anne Madoxe, Val. Prentice, James White, Eliz. Browne, Rich. Workman, John Clark, Anne Tildamus, twenty-one men and eleven women. The patent was renewed by order of the council October 7, 1657, Samuel Matthews being then governor, when undoubtedly the remaining twenty-eight head rights were named. Mr. Conway Robinson noted the record of the original patent and its renewal in *General Court Order Book*, 1654-1659, pp. 13 and 321, when he examined that book before its destruction: and so certified in 1866 in the *W. M. Cary Notes*.


² *Westmoreland*. When, after 1648, the territory north of York River was opened to settlement by Virginians, it was rapidly occu-



was afterwards set off as Stafford. He never "seated" this Northern Neck land,¹ much less

ped. Gloucester, Lancaster, and Northumberland counties were incorporated northward on the shores of the Chesapeake, and in 1653 Westmoreland was added, to include the Potomac River territory from Machodoc River to the Great Falls. (Hening, i, 381.) In this new country were soon established the immigrant ancestors of many noted Virginians of later times, *e.g.*, Richard Lee, Nicholas Spencer, Valentine Peyton, George Mason, Andrew Monroe, and the brothers John and Lawrence Washington. Far to the north, at Acquia Creek, where Miles Cary located his patent, was Giles Brent (*W. & M. Quar.*, iv, 28). For years this community was a true frontier, exposed to the Indians, isolated from the older settlements in the valley of the James, and trading direct with England. It was, indeed, in so much closer relation with "home" than with the rest of Virginia that Dr. Tyler calls it a suburb of London. Under these conditions Westmoreland developed a character and flavor of its own which made it in the eighteenth century one of the most agreeable parts of Virginia. If Miles Cary had "seated" his Westmoreland patent his family would have become one of the company which Mr. Moncure Conway calls the "Barons of the Potomac and the Rappahannock," and we would have known more of the details of their lives, for the colonial records of Westmoreland have largely survived, though the later records of Stafford have perished. Several of Miles Cary's descendants, charming women, were, however, destined to live in that community, and one of them was to play there a part in shaping the character of the Father of his Country. See *Sally Cary* (privately printed), 1916.

¹ The condition of the Virginia patents was that the land should be "planted and seated" within three years. In 1666 this was defined (Hening, ii, 244) as "building a house and keeping a stock one whole yeare upon the land shall be accounted seating, and that cleering, tending and planting an acre of ground shall be accounted planting and either of those shall be accounted a sufficient performance of the condition required by the pattend." Miles Cary was evidently not fortunate in the location of the lands covered by his Westmoreland patent, for they did not tempt him to go to the small expense of perfecting his title. He does not mention this patent in his will, but in the *Book of General Court Judgments and Orders, 1670-1676*, now in the library of the Virginia Historical Society, is an entry under date of October 10, 1670: "Thomas Baxter & Wm. Harris hath order granted to patent 3000 acres of land in Stafford County, deserted by Coll. Miles Cary, entering rights according to law."




took up his residence upon it, being evidently too well satisfied with his prosperous affairs in the older peninsula region: perhaps he had little natural appetite for either the physical hardships and isolation or the wild delights of life in the wilderness.¹

His father-in-law, Thomas Taylor, had died before 1657, and by will devised to him his property, consisting of the home place on Warwick River originally patented in 1624 by John Baynham and purporting to consist of 350 acres but found by survey to be 688 acres,² and another tract of 250 acres, adjacent but not adjoining, lying up Potash Creek and known as Magpy Swamp.³ Later he purchased Zachary Cripps's lands, which, with small additions by original

¹ How demoralizing was the contact with the Indians in Westmoreland in 1662 may be seen in the unvarnished contemporary records (Hening, ii, 150 et seq.), and yet the life can be colored to heroic proportions through the glasses of a later civilization. (See Rowland, *George Mason*, 6.)

² Baynham's patent was dated December 1, 1624, and was confirmed to Thomas Taylor by his first patent of October 23, 1643. Miles Cary undoubtedly took out in 1657 a new patent confirming the devise of this tract to him, but the record of it has been lost. In his will he recites the possession of it as "that tract or parcell of land which I now reside upon," and gives the area as enlarged by survey.

³ On the same day that he took a patent confirming his purchase of the Baynham patent, October 23, 1643, Thomas Taylor took out an original patent, in consideration of five head rights (one of whom, William Tandy, survived to witness Miles Cary's will), for the Magpy Swamp tract. On March 15, 1657, Miles Cary took out a patent confirming his possession of this tract as "bequeathed" to him by Thomas Taylor's will, and by his own will annexed it to the home place.



patent, made up two parcels, one aggregating 195 acres lying at the south end of Mulberry Island over against Saxons Gaol, including Joyles Neck, and the other aggregating 1144 acres adjoining Magpy Swamp: this included Claiborne's Neck (later known as Richneck) and the plantation known as The Forest.¹ Still later he purchased Captain Thomas Flint's patent lying up Warwick River.²

¹ William Claiborne, who plays such an interesting part in early Virginia history, is recorded (Hotten, 272) to have been the owner of 500 acres at Blunt Point in 1626, which he must have acquired before 1624, for John Baynham's patent of 1624 for the lands afterwards known as Windmill Point is described as "adjoining the lands of Captain Samuel Matthews and William Claiborne, gentleman." (*The Virginia Carys*, 32.) In Miles Cary's will he speaks of one of his boundaries as Claiborne's Neck dams, so that it seems clear that the later name *Richneck* was a modification of *Claiborne's Neck*. Zachary Cripps undoubtedly acquired Claiborne's lands and passed them on to Miles Cary, though neither of them mentions Claiborne in their respective patents of 1643 and 1665 relating to this property. The two tracts of land on the south end of Mulberry Island, which had made up Cripps's original patent of 1628, were devised by Miles Cary to Roger Daniel, presumably the "Roger Daniel, Junr.," named as one of the head rights in his Westmoreland patent of 1657. What relation these Daniels bore to the Carys is not known, but they were perhaps kinsmen, for the daughter of the second Christopher Cary of Bristol had married a Henry Daniels. (See the will, P.C.C. *Eure*, 118.) The *Virginia Quit Rent Rolls*, 1704, show this land as then belonging to "Roger Daniel's orphans."


² On September 20, 1628, Thomas Flint patented 1000 acres of land lying between Warwick and James rivers. (*Va. Mag.*, i, 445.) Dr. Tyler says (*The Cradle of the Republic*, 238) that this represented the purchase from the widow of Sir George Yeardley, of Stanley Hundred. In May, 1636, there was proved in London the will (P.C.C. *Dale*, 66; *Waters, Gleanings*, i, 715), dated September 4, 1631, of John Brewer, "citizen and grocer," who had lately died in Virginia, whereby he devised to his son John "my plantation in Virginia called Stanley Hundred *als.* Bruers Borough." From this it would appear that Thomas Flint had

As the result of these transactions Miles Cary died seized of four separate plantations in Warwick aggregating at least 2637 acres, not to mention the unseated patent for three thousand acres in Stafford.¹

sold Stanley Hundred to Brewer. Later, on March 1, 1637, Flint took out another patent for 850 acres, lying "upon the river" towards Stanley Hundred. In his will Miles Cary recites "a tract or parcel of land which lyeth up Warwick River formerly belonged unto Capt. Thomas Flint and since purchased by me."

¹ Mr. Bruce (*Econ. Hist.*, ii, 253) estimates the average size of the landed property held by the leading planters in the seventeenth century at 5000 acres, but his illustrations refer to the patents of wild land on the frontier, like Miles Cary's 3000 acre patent on the upper Potomac. In the "settlements," even at the end of the century, few owned as much as 5000 acres; there the large holdings seldom exceeded 2000 acres, a fact which is established by the *Virginia Quit Rent Rolls* of 1704. (MS. in library of Virginia Historical Society.) It is not until the middle of the eighteenth century, when the interior had been opened up far from tidewater and the number of slaves had greatly increased, that we find what we have come to consider the typical large landholdings in Virginia. The process seems to have been for the more stirring of the well-to-do class to dock the entails of their inherited tidewater lands and acquire in lieu of them greater areas of wild lands, *e.g.*, Miles Cary's grandson Henry, who thus transferred his inheritance from Warwick to what became Cumberland and Buckingham. With them went also the three and four hundred acre planter who had exhausted his tidewater lands. Those who did not feel the lure of the frontier contemporaneously increased their tidewater holdings by acquiring the lands of those who migrated, *e.g.*, another of Miles Cary's grandsons, Wilson, who thus expanded Richneck from 2000 to 4000 acres, and the Burwells, who, in the same way, acquired a belt of lands stretching entirely across the peninsula from the James to the York River. Thus the *size* of individual holdings was increased both in tidewater and Piedmont.

Mr. Bruce estimates also (*ibid.*, ii, 254) the value of land in Virginia in the seventeenth century at four shillings an acre, equivalent in purchasing power to five dollars in modern money. It is probable that the bulk of Miles Cary's estate was invested in his mercantile business, which his will provided should be disposed of and the proceeds divided equally among his children. As the inventory is lost we can make no estimate of this.




We may assume that Miles Cary began his *cursus honorum* in the vestry of Stanley parish; for the vestry in colonial Virginia was not only the censor of individual morals and the local taxing body, but the forum in which a man could first exhibit his capacity for public affairs.¹ We have, however, our first record of him in Virginia on a higher step of the ladder. In April, 1652, before he was thirty, he is found sitting on the bench of magistrates of Warwick County, with his father-in-law, under the presidency of their neighbor, the son of "worthy Captaine Matthews."² As he then bore no military title,

¹ For the functions of the vestry see Bruce, *Inst. Hist.*, i, 62. In the seventeenth century there were two parishes in Warwick, divided by Potash Creek, Stanley above and Denbigh below. They were subsequently merged as Denbigh, which now includes the entire county. (See Hening, i, 425, and Bishop Meade, i, 240.)

² *The Virginia County Court*. The Warwick records being mostly destroyed, it is mere chance that we find the following entry in the York records (*Deeds*, etc., i, 174): "At a Cort held for Warwick County the twelfth day of Aprill, 1652, Present Lt. Coll. Samuel Matthews, Mr. Wm. Whitby, Mr. Henry Filmer, Mr. Thomas Taylor, Mr. Miles Cary, Mr. Thos. Glascock, Mr. John Smith, gentⁿ, Justices, etc."

From the surviving court records we have identified (*The Virginia Carys*) thirty-one descendants in the male line of the immigrant Miles Cary, who, following his precedent, sat on the bench of the county court as *barones comitatus* during the century and a half after his death. They were practically all the heads of households of the family in its various branches during seven successive generations. Among them we find also eight clerks of these courts, a function of high dignity as well as practical importance during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This service is the badge of the social position of the family in the colony; for during the greater part of the history of Virginia the local functions of government, not only judicial but legislative and administrative as well, were largely combined in the now dead and gone county court, the direct representative of the Saxon



it must have been after this time that he began to take an active part in the militia. When he

shire moot. (See Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, i, 134, 444; Ingle, *Local Institutions in Virginia*; Johns Hopkins University Studies, 1885, 91, ff.; Bruce, *Inst. Hist.*, i, 540; and a penetrating appreciation in Osgood, *The American Colonies in the XVII Century*, iii, 84: "After the Restoration . . . clearly appeared the intimate political and social relationship between the governor and council, on the one hand, and the county families and magistrates, on the other, which constituted the essence of Virginia government. In no province was the combination so perfect and harmonious as in Virginia. To it the aristocracy of that colony owed its origin. It was buttressed on the one side by the plantation system and on the other by commercial, social and political relations with England.")

The county court was the only colonial institution which survived the Revolution without substantial modification, and so in the nineteenth century was Virginia's principal link with her past. It had its origin in the provision by the assembly at its session of March 1623/4 for "monthly courts" to be held by "the commanders of the places and such others as the governor and council shall appoint by commission." (Hening, i, 125.) In 1643 the name was changed to county court. (Hening, i, 273.) The members were from the beginning the ablest and most substantial men resident in the several counties; at first they were styled commissioners, but in 1662 and thenceforth justices of the peace. (Hening, ii, 70.) While these justices were nominated and commissioned by the governor, a personnel of high character was assured by the insistence of the justices themselves that they should not be required to sit with any one of whose character they did not approve. (See, e.g., early instances of exceptions to the governor's unadvised nominations in Palmer, *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, i, 88, 237.) From this grew up the custom, which ultimately was in terms crystallized in the organic law by the constitution of 1776, that the governor should nominate a justice of the peace only on the recommendation of the respective county courts; so that the county court thus became, and until the adoption of the constitution of 1851 continued to be, practically self-perpetuating. (Staples, *Old County Court System of Virginia*, Presidential address before the Virginia State Bar Association, 1894, *Transactions*, vii, 141; Chitwood, *Justice in Colonial Virginia*, Johns Hopkins University Studies, 1905, 77.) As the service was an obligation which was always burdensome and sometimes expensive and there was no remuneration, the office of justice of the peace tended under this system of recruiting to become hereditary in certain families; but it so continued only while these families maintained a first-rate


did he was promoted rapidly: in 1654 he is recorded as major, in 1657 as lieutenant-colonel,

position in the community and with it a capacity for leadership which held their neighbors' respect. Memories of Bacon's rebellion and the very civilization of Virginia which kept the justices in a full glare of publicity combined to protect the system from abuse. By reason of the scattered habit of life of the people, "court day," especially in the spring and autumn, made the court-house a general rendezvous, almost a fair. All classes of the community attended to transact private as well as public business, to hear the "speaking," and to indulge in sport and politics, or merely to escape the tedium of life at home. With the eyes of all his neighbors so upon him no man could disgrace himself on the bench with impunity.

Despite their recognized value, the aristocratic savor of these courts drew upon them the lightning of Mr. Jefferson's disapproval. (See his letter to John Taylor of Caroline, July 21, 1816, *Writings*, Ford ed., x, 52.) This opinion served to make the county court one of the chief objects of the attack of the democrats in the convention of 1829, notwithstanding the fact that the county court system had then for some time been the foundation of Jefferson's own democratic political machine. (Beveridge, *John Marshall*, iv, 146, 485.) To this attack we own convincing testimony of the character and practical capacity of the court. Chief Justice Marshall, Benjamin Watkins Leigh, Philip P. Barbour, Chapman Johnson, and Governor Giles then united to resist, and for the moment successfully did resist, the attempt to overthrow the time-honored system. (See *Debates of the Convention of 1829-30*, 502-531.) Marshall said: "There is no part of America where less disquiet and less ill feeling between man and man is to be found than in this Commonwealth, and I believe most firmly that this state of things is mainly to be ascribed to the practical operation of our county courts. The magistrates who compose these courts consist in general of the best men in their respective counties. They act in the spirit of peacemakers and allay rather than excite the small disputes and differences which will sometimes arise among neighbors. . . . These courts must be preserved: if we part with them can we be sure that we shall retain among our justices of the peace the same respectability and weight of character as are now to be found? I think not."

Judge Barbour said: "After a twenty-five year acquaintance with the county courts of Virginia it is my conscientious opinion that there is not, and never has been, a tribunal under the sun where more substantial practical justice is administered."

Mr. Johnson said: "It is in these family tribunals with their mild and patriarchal jurisdiction, their meetings held at short intervals,




and in 1660 as colonel,¹ commanding the forces of the county. This rapid promotion during the Commonwealth period, when the House of Burgesses was the fountain of honor, must have been based not only on efficiency but on personal popularity and the arts of the politician. In this latter respect we have an interesting confirmation of the conjecture in an incident which led to further public service. In the assembly which met March 1, 1658/9, John Harlowe rep-

and in small districts, that the obligations and rights of the citizen are taught to the humblest member of the community."

Mr. Leigh asserted that while it was true that the office was often hereditary, it was so because certain families maintained the character and capacity to hold it; but there were as few instances of exclusion of the capable man as there were of corruption on the bench.

None of these statements of fact was seriously controverted in the lively debate, which is the more significant because technically the opponents of the county court system in the convention of 1829 had the better of the argument on the limited question under consideration—whether the constitution should specify the county courts any more than other inferior courts. Virginia made an expensive sacrifice to the Goddess of Liberty when she finally wiped out her ancient county court system. No substitute has yet been found effectively to bring together all classes of her rural communities in a common concern. Under the new conditions, with rare exception, the best educated and most responsible men are no longer willing to serve in local public office, which is an unmitigated loss of political and social stamina. Judge Staples (*ibid.*, 142) sums up this point: "In the progress of time the predictions of Mr. Leigh and Mr. Randolph in the convention that the office would deteriorate when compensation was attached to its duties, were fully verified. Men of high position in the Commonwealth who were influenced only by patriotic motives declined to enter into contests with aspirants who sought the office only for the pecuniary benefits attached to its possession, and so the glory and the dignity and the *esprit de corps* of the old tribunal as it was in the earlier days passed away."

¹ His patent of October 7, 1657 (Records of the Land Office in Richmond), styles him lieutenant-colonel and confirms the earlier



resented Warwick.¹ Miles Cary and John Brewer, son of the "citizen and grocer" who had purchased Stanley Hundred from Captain Flint, thereupon brought suit against Harlowe before the assembly to recover on behalf of Stanley Hundred a certain tract of fifty acres which Harlowe had patented but which it was claimed had been, in 1631, dedicated "for a common unto the inhabitants of the said Stanley Hundred." Harlowe apparently had sufficient influence with the assembly, of which he was a member, to have the suit dismissed, "in respect of the preterjudicially bringing ye said suit before ye Assembly," but it was obviously a popular move at home in Warwick, and the immediate consequence was that, at the ensuing election for bur-

patent of October 5, 1654, in which he was styled major. See also Hening, i, 513, and *Journals of the House of Burgesses, 1619-1659*, 113 and 116, for reference to him as lieutenant-colonel in April, 1658, and March, 1659. When in March, 1660, he entered the House of Burgesses he was already colonel. (Hening, i, 529.) The Colonel of a shire in seventeenth-century Virginia was charged with more than training the fyrd for the emergency of an Indian campaign or foreign invasion, though that was part of his duty. In a county far from the Indian frontier, as Warwick was, he represented chiefly the principle of organization against that terror by night in every civilization such as Virginia then exemplified—revolt by indentured servants, later of the African savages recently imported as slaves. He performed also certain important purely civil duties, such as the enforcement of the regulations with respect to tobacco culture and the public health. He was usually the presiding officer in the county court. See the chapters on the military system in Bruce, *Institutional History*, and the judicious observations on the reasons for the prevalence and survival of military titles in the South in McCrady, *South Carolina under the Proprietary Government*, chap. i.

¹ Hening, i, 506.


gesses, Harlowe lost his seat and Miles Cary was returned in his place. At once thereafter the burgesses, overcoming their objection to the "preterjudicial" character of the proceeding, ordained that Harlowe's patent was void, that Stanley Hundred be confirmed in their right of common,¹ and that Harlowe himself be suspended from the commission of the peace.²

Meanwhile Miles Cary had had another public employment of a nature which was highly lucrative and became practically hereditary among his descendants during the remainder of

¹ See *Journals of the House of Burgesses*, 1619-1658/9, 113, and 1659/60-1693, 5; Hening, i, 506, 529, 548. This amusing illustration of the play of a kind of politics which doubtless began when the first two or three men gathered together for mutual defense and will last as long as civilization, is the more interesting because it is coincident with the change of government in Virginia. The first act of the assembly of 1660 had been to elect Sir William Berkeley governor. If this was a Cavalier revolt against Puritan rule, then one might expect special privilege, such as Harlowe claimed, to have prevailed over popular rights in a Cavalier assembly, but the fact was precisely otherwise—special privilege prevailed only in the "popular" assembly.


Mr. Edward Eggleston (*Transit of Civilization*, 285) sees in this unique reference to a common in Virginia evidence that in the middle of the seventeenth century the "township or village community could be found germinating in the Southern colonies," although the later development in the South was altogether one of individualism, on the basis of the county as the political unit. In founding Stanley Hundred and dedicating the common Sir George Yeardley perhaps contemplated that it might develop into a town, but it remained a proprietary plantation.

² Hening, i, 550. This was not the end of Harlowe's troubles with his neighbors. In 1661 he had two judgments rendered against him "for planting tobacco after the day appointed by the act" and pleaded the king's pardon, whereupon the assembly, after asserting that "his majesty's pardon doth not extend to any business of that nature," remitted the fine. (Hening, ii, 36.)



the colonial period.¹ The principle of taxation which had obtained quite steadily in Virginia was that land being subject to the quit rent reserved first by the company and then by the crown, the fairest distribution of the cost of government was a poll tax. Before the Commonwealth, however, one of the principal items of expense, the governor's salary, was paid by the crown out of the customs duties collected on tobacco imported into England. During the Commonwealth period, when Virginia was left to her own resources, this means of paying the governor was lacking, and it was necessary to increase the poll tax until in 1657 it had become burdensome to the poorer class of the community. It was accordingly proposed that a tax of two shillings should be imposed on every hogshead of exported tobacco, and that the governor's salary should henceforth be paid out of this fund: the expectation was that this would not only make possible a reduction of the poll tax, but would compel shipmasters to import coin, of which the colony was always short, with which to pay the tax, and would also encourage agricultural diversification under the stimulus of avoiding the tax. After some hesitation as to the amount of the tax this proposal was in March, 1658, en-

¹ His son Miles Cary, his grandson Wilson Cary, and his great-grandson Wilson-Miles Cary, were all naval officers in the revenue service, the last named resigning his office at the time of the American Revolution in order to espouse the patriot cause.



acted into law for a trial period of one year.¹ To carry the new law into effect it was provided that “collectors of the severall rivers and places in Virginia for the receiving of the said two shillings per hogshead be appointed and confirmed by the present Grand Assembly,” to be commissioned by Governor Matthews. One of the collectors so appointed was Miles Cary. It appears, however, that the shipmasters at once made difficulties; doubtless they had the support of the large planters, who were never unselfish. At all events, at the next session of the assembly, in 1659, “complaint being made to the Assembly by Le^t Coll. Miles Cary and Mr. Henry Corben, two of the collectors of the imposition of two shillings per hhd,” that certain shipmasters had “refused to give caution for the payment of the said levy,” the recalcitrants were summoned before the assembly;² whereupon the whole question was reconsidered, and, it appearing that “certaine inconveniences have ben found in the manner of collecting the imposition of two shillings per hogshead to which an apt remedy could not bee applied and the said act now expired,” it was enacted that the law should not be renewed, but that the “next yeeres levy

¹ Hening, i, 491, 498; *Va. Mag.*, viii, 392; Bruce, *Inst. Hist.*, ii, 540, 584.

² Hening, i, 512.

be raised in tobacco as formerly," and, as a consequence, by reversion to the tax per poll.¹

In pursuance of this line of public service Cary was, after the Restoration, appointed to a function which his ancestors the Bristol mayors had exercised:² as "His Majestys Escheator General for this Country," it was his duty to take possession of, or compound on behalf of the crown for, all lands which were forfeited under the law for non-payment of quit rents.³ From 1663

¹ Hening, i, 523. This export tax was renewed after the Restoration (*ibid.*, ii, 130), when Miles Cary resumed the office of collector. (MS. statement, in *W. M. Cary Notes*, by Conway Robinson, June 17, 1866, of record in *General Court Order Book No. 2*, 1660-1664, p. 161, examined by him before its destruction. See also *Va. Mag.*, viii, 168.) It appears from the act of 1662 that the original difficulty was rather in the stipulation for payment in money than in the character of the tax. Thereafter it long remained one of the principal sources of public revenue. (Bruce, *Inst. Hist.*, i, 587.)

² Cf. the *Bristol Mayor's Kalendar*, 73.

³ Mr. Conway Robinson noted (*Va. Mag.*, viii, 167) in the *General Court Book No. 2*, 1660 to 1664, pp. 28-37, under date May 15, 1661: "Major Norwood, the Treasurer, having empowered Sir William Berkeley, he appointed Col^o. Francis Morrison and Mr. Thomas Ludwell to execute the office of Treasurer in his place. They appointed Col. Miles Cary Escheator General." In the York County records (*Liber xi*, 106) is a deed dated September 25, 1662, which recites: "*Whereas* his Majesty by Letters Patent, bearing date September 22, 1650, granted to his trusty subject and servant Henry Norwood, Esq., the office of Treasurer of Virginia, and *Whereas* the said Henry Norwood by deed bearing date October 17, 1660, hath given power and authority to Sir William Berkeley, Knt., to execute said commission, and he by his commission dated May 15, 1661, did invest said Morryson & Ludwell with power to issue writs for the finding of any land escheated, and to make composition and grant of ye said land to any person that should desire to purchase the same, and *Whereas* the said Morryson and Ludwell did by their commission dated August 7, 1661, appoint and constitute Coll^o. Miles Cary to be H. M. Escheator Gen^l. for the country."

until his death he had, too, a farm of the quit rents for Warwick and Elizabeth City, doubtless a profitable contract.¹

Miles Cary first appears as a legislator as Burgess for Warwick² in the assembly which met in

In Hening, ii, 56, 136, there appears a memorandum whereby the deputy governor and secretary of state, "Francis Morrison and Thomas Ludwell, who are at present intrusted by his majesties treasurer to make composition of all lands soe escheated to his majestie," lay down principles for the mitigation of the rigor of the practice of escheat, which was apparently given the sanction of a statute and so became a part of Miles Cary's commission as escheator general. He exercised the office until his death. (See *Land Office Records, 1662-1666.*) Mr. Conway Robinson notes that Henry Randolph acted as his deputy.

¹ *Va. Mag.*, iii, 43. It was the custom for the members of the council, including the governor, to farm the quit rents (Bruce, *Inst. Hist.*, ii, 577), but it would appear that Miles Cary had the contract before he entered the council.

A few years after Miles Cary's death, Bacon charged that the "great men" of Virginia, meaning Berkeley and his council, were responsible for the distress of the colony by taking all the public offices into their own hands and using them to oppress the people to their own advantage. If this was true of all Berkeley's council, it was true of Miles Cary also, for he was an undoubted pluralist during the last five years of his life. When the commissioners, Jeffrey and Berry, invited the counties to state their grievances after Bacon's death, some of them (*e.g.*, Charles City, *Va. Mag.*, iii, 132) specified charges of oppression by some of the council, but it is of interest to note that the good people of Warwick (*Winder Abstracts*, ii, 245, MSS. Va. State Library) were so evidently put to it to find something to complain of that the commissioners labeled their paper of grievances "a modest instification." Warwick had taken no part in Bacon's proceedings except to take his oaths, which they repented, and they named no names of oppressors. It is true that they prayed that no person might henceforth hold "two places of publicke profite," which may have related back to some jealousy of Miles Cary, but on that point the commissioners comment sapidly: "Perhaps if this should be admitted there would not be found able men sufficient to execute them."

² Hening, i, 529; Stanard, *Colonial Virginia Register*, 75. In 1629 Fawcett, Harwood, Clause, Ceely, Flint, and Cripps were burgesses for the boroughs afterwards included in Warwick County. These


There were many new names among the bur-
gesses: arguing from modern parliamentary
practice and the theory that "the whole early

all other Nations, thereby to prevent their being furnished with Arms, Ammunition, and other Warlike Provisions. According to this Design, he contrived a severe act of Parliament, whereby he prohibited the Plantations from receiving or exporting any *European* Commodities, but what should be carried to them by *English* men and in *English* built ships. They were absolutely forbid corresponding with any Nation or Colony, not subject to the Crown of *England*. Neither was any Alien suffered to manage a Trade or Factory in any of them. In all which Things the Plantations had been till then indulged, for their Encouragement.

"Notwithstanding this Act of Navigation, the Protector never thought the Plantations enough secured; but frequently changed their Governours, to prevent their intriguing with the People. [Beverley's statement here that Cromwell 'frequently changed their Governours' has long been scouted by the democratic historians, but see *Va. Mag.*, xviii, 156, for evidence that after all the governours elected by the Virginia assembly during the Commonwealth were probably *nominated* by the English government.] So that during the small time of his Protectorship, they had no less than Three Governours there, namely, *Diggs*, *Bennet* and *Mathevs*.

"The strange arbitrary curbs he put upon the Plantations exceedingly afflicted the People. He had the Inhumanity to forbid them all manner of Trade and Correspondence with other Nations, at a Time when *England* itself was in Distraction; and could neither take off their Commodities, nor supply them sufficiently with its own. Neither had they ever been used to supply them with half the Commodities they expended, or to take off above half the Tobacco they made. Such violent Proceedings made the people desperate, and inspired them with a desire to use the last Remedy, to relieve themselves from this Lawless Usurpation. In a short time afterwards a fair Opportunity happened: For Governour *Mathevs* died, and no Person was substituted to succeed him in the Government. Whereupon the People applyed themselves to Sir William Berkeley (who had continued all this time upon his own Plantation in a private Capacity) and unanimously chose him their Governour again."


Robertson (*History of America*, 1777, iv, 230) adopted Beverley's view and furbished it out with the Cavaliers': "Warmly attached to the cause for which they had fought and suffered and animated with all the passions natural to men recently engaged in a fierce and long protracted civil war, they, by their intercourse with the



history of Virginia loses its meaning and coherence unless we believe in the existence of two parties whose antecedents and interests led them

colonists, confirmed them in principles of loyalty and added to their impatience and indignation under the restraints imposed on their commerce by their new masters."

Burk (*History*, 1805, ii, 118) was too consistent a democrat to be willingly convinced by this rhetoric. He did not, indeed, have before him, to support his opinion, the proceedings of the assembly in 1660, the only surviving copy of which, preserved in MS. by Sir John Raldolph, was at the time Burk wrote in the library of Thomas Jefferson at Monticello (Hening, i, 530); but he must have received some credible tradition, for, while flouting Beverley and Robertson, he asserted roundly that he was "satisfied" from "the evidence before me" that Berkeley was first reinstated as governor "by the tumultuary proceedings of a mob" of Royalists. When Hening published, in 1823, his *Statutes* and included Mr. Jefferson's MS., he was able to show that, so far as the record went, Berkeley was elected governor by the assembly in March, 1659-60, or several months before the Restoration, in precisely the same form that other governors during the Commonwealth—Bennett, Digges, and Matthews—were elected, and by reference to the contemporary record of patents that the occasion for the election of a new governor was, as Beverley said, the death of "worthy Captain Matthews." Hening argued then that Berkeley's election was not necessarily a recognition of Charles II. The subsequent historians, including Doyle (1882), Fiske (1897), and even Osgood (1907), have accepted Hening's conclusion: this was apparently enforced by the discovery of a letter (Neill, *Virginia Carolorum*, 1886, 273) written by Berkeley to Governor Stuyvesant of New York, August 20, 1660, in which he said: "I am but a servant of the assembly, neither do they arrogate any power to themselves further than the miserable distraction of England force them to," and evidence (*W. & M. Quar.*, 1892, i, 195) that Charles II was not proclaimed in Virginia until September 20, 1660, after the news had been received in Virginia of his proclamation in England in the May preceding. See also (in Wertebaker, *Virginia Under the Stuarts*, 111) what purports to be Berkeley's speech in the assembly in March, 1660, professing reluctance to assume the governorship again, which was first published in the *Southern Literary Messenger*, January, 1845. But now the question has been opened up again, for it appears from a surviving transcript of a minute of the council (*Va. Mag.*, vii, 314) that on March 9, 1660, four days before his election by the assembly, Berkeley appointed a sheriff for lower




to side the one with the crown, the other with the Parliament,"¹ it has fairly been assumed that this represented a return to power of the Royalist interest, but it was more probably simply a revolt against the growing pressure of the navigation laws and an expression of the hope that change of political control might bring relief. Whatever were its motives, when the assembly met, to which Miles Cary had been elected, Governor Matthews was dead and its first act was to elect Sir William Berkeley "Governour and Captaine Generall of Virginia,"² but, asserting that "by reason of the late frequent distractions in England there is no absolute gen'll confessed power," the burgesses retained all the essential functions of government in their own hands. After providing for the suppression of Quakers, the encouragement of Irish immigration, and

Norfolk County; which gives new color to Berkeley's own statement (in his *Declaracon and Remonstrance*, published during Bacon's rebellion) that "*not onely* the assembly but the vnanimous votes of all the Country concurred to make me Governr, etc." (Neill, *Virginia Carolorum*, 352.) It is clear, then, that Berkeley acted as governor before the assembly of 1660 elected him; and it may well be that the older historians, Beverley, Robertson, and Burk, have stated the fact as to the method of the original reinstatement: that there was, months before the Restoration in England, something akin to a Royalist revolution in Virginia, which was formally confirmed by the assembly. Englishmen everywhere were then weary of the Commonwealth, not the least in Virginia, where the navigation law was detested. See the famous tract *Killing No Murder* (1657) for the bitterness against Cromwell at the end of his life.

¹ Doyle, *English Colonies in America*, i, 213.

² Hening, i, 530.




free trade with the Dutch, the assembly adjourned. When they reconvened on October 11, 1660, the Restoration was an accomplished fact; Charles II had been proclaimed in Virginia¹ as well as in England, and Berkeley appeared as "his Majesties Governor."²

When the assembly again convened the following spring they learned that the king had authorized Berkeley to return to England to kiss the royal hand and receive instructions, and that another serious attempt was being made to revive the London Company. The burgesses agreed at once to bear the expense of the journey if the governor would act as their agent and present their "grievances,"³ but in the enthusiasm of new loyalty they little dreamed that they had more than conventional grievances, least of all that his sacred majesty had in store for them a reckless grant of the entire colony to court favorites and the rigorous enforcement of that navigation law which had been their cause of discontent with the Commonwealth. Berkeley sailed at the end of April, leaving Col-

¹ *W. & M. Quar.*, i, 195.

² Hening, ii, 9. He had been recommissioned by Charles II on July 31, 1660. (*Cal. State Papers, Am. & W. I.*)

³ Hening, ii, 17. It was during this visit to London that Berkeley had the satisfaction of seeing enacted on the stage that child of his youth the tragi-comedy *The Lost Lady*. It may still be read in the *first* (1744) edition of Dodsley's *Old Plays*, but it was omitted from the subsequent editions. For Berkeley before he came to Virginia, see Wood, *Athen. Oxon.*, iii, 1111.




onel Francis Moryson as his deputy during the eighteen months of his absence. Meanwhile the assembly had adjourned, having first appointed January 30, the anniversary of the execution of Charles I, to be "annually solemnized with fasting and prayers" as a penance for the capitulation to the Commonwealth, and Charles II's birthday, May 29, to be kept "as an holy day" in testimony of their thankfulness at his restoration. They made also the first provision for "a colledge and free school,"¹ and adopted the following resolution,² which is evidence of the place Miles Cary had now taken in public life, viz.:

Whereas the addresses to his most sacred majesty cannot conveniently be finished at present, and *Whereas* there is a necessity of a committee to meete in September to joine with the governour and councill for the proportioning the levy, receiving the missives from England and returning answers unless the case requires the meeting of the Assembly.

¹ Hening, ii, 25, 30, 37, 56. This was the germ of William and Mary College, of which Miles Cary's son was one of the founders, and with which his descendants have ever since been associated in almost unbroken line. It is of interest that he sat in the assembly which declared the necessity and the intention of the colony to meet it; doubtless also he was, with Berkeley, one of the original subscribers. General Henry A. Wise, *Seven Decades of the Union* (1872), Appendix, argued ingeniously that a "college" was actually established under the legislation of 1661, but his argument has not carried conviction. See Adams, *The Colledge of William and Mary* (Bureau of Education, 1887), 14.

² Hening, ii, 31. Perhaps the precedent for this delegation was the committee of the "Lords of the Articles" in the Scotch Parliament, then (1662) still functioning. We have to go back to the time of Richard II to find a precedent in England.



Bee itt enacted that Mr. Henry Soane, Speaker of this present Assembly, Nathaniel Bacon, Esq., Coll. Miles Cary, Major Nicholas Hill, Capt. Robert Ellyson, Capt. George Jordan, Mr. Walter Chiles, or any four of them, be empowered by this assembly to receive the Commands of the right honourable Sir William Berkeley and to act in the premises according as occasion shall require, at such time as the governor shall appoint.


The next session, convened March 23, 1662, in the absence of Berkeley, was occupied largely with the enactment of the first revisal of the laws of Virginia,¹ but at its close the "publique committee" was reorganized and continued as follows:²

Bee it enacted that the Committee appointed by the first session of this Assembly be continued with the like power granted them and that Captain Robert Wynn, Speaker, and Major Edward Griffith be added in the roome of the honourable Nathaniel Bacon, Esq., now of the Councill, and Mr. Henry Soane, then Speaker, now deceased.

At the session held in December, 1662, after the return of Berkeley to the colony, the assembly devoted itself to carrying out the instructions of the king which the governor had brought back

¹ This revisal was compiled by Francis Moryson and Henry Randolph (Hening, ii, 34), and takes up 105 pages in Hening. It was sent to Berkeley in England with the request that he procure the king's confirmation of it and then have it printed. This was done in London in 1662 as *Laws of Virginia now in Force*, with a dedication by Moryson to Berkeley, saluting him as the author of all the best of them. Because of the unprecedented dignity of print this revisal was long referred to as *the printed laws*.


² Hening, ii, 147.



with him, including the famous and futile one for "cohabitation" and the building of a town. The act,¹ which made provision for the building of thirty-two brick houses "at James Citty,"² shows perhaps an evidence of Miles Cary's alertness in the interest of his Warwick constituents, if not merely his own interest, in the limitation of a requirement of compulsory loading and unloading of ships at Jamestown, to the plantations "above Mulberry Island."

¹ Hening, ii, 172.

² *Miles Cary's "housing" at Jamestown*: Each of the seventeen counties was required to build one of the houses, but in 1665 the result was only a "poore assay of building fflower or five houses." (Neill, *Virginia Carolorum*, 310.) Berkeley was persistent, however, and apparently expected the members of the council to show their loyalty by setting an example in building. When he joined the council, Miles Cary, with his colleagues Colonel Thomas Swann and Secretary Ludwell, prepared to do this, and to that end the three of them acquired the site of the "old state house" and its adjoining buildings, then in ruins. This historic bit of ground in the "New Towne" on the river-front to the east of the ruined church tower which still stands, had been the residence of Harvey and the scene of his "thrusting out"; it was sold by him in 1641 to the colony and thereafter presented to Berkeley. (Hening, i, 267; Yonge, *The Site of Old James Towne, Va. Mag.*, xi, 257, expanded and published as a book, 1907.) It then consisted of two adjoining houses, to which Berkeley added a third on the west, where he resided, the middle house being the "court house" or place of meeting of the council and the assembly. There is a picture of the block restored in Tyler, *Cradle of the Republic*, 167, and a plan of the foundations in Yonge (1907), 87. In 1651, when he retired to Green Spring, Berkeley conveyed "the westernmost of the three brick houses, which I there built," to Richard Bennet, his successor as governor. (Hening, i, 407.) These buildings were later destroyed by fire and for at least twenty years lay in ruins. About 1667 Henry Randolph acquired the three adjoining ruins, apparently for account of Colonel Miles Cary, Colonel Thomas Swann, and Secretary Ludwell, who may have contemplated building adjoining houses on them, for in his will Cary directs his executors to sell "the



There is no further record of Miles Cary in the assembly. While he continued a member of this colonial "Long Parliament," which was continued by prorogation for years, he was not in attendance at the session of September, 1663, Warwick being represented by his colleague Major Edward Griffith alone.¹ We may assume that he was absent in England, perhaps to settle the estate of his father, who was then lately dead. If so, he was absent from Virginia and his duty as a colonel of militia during the anxious and exciting September 13, 1663, when the plot of the discontented redemptioners and nonconformists, under the leadership of some old Cromwellian soldiers, so nearly anticipated the troubles of Bacon's rebellion.²

houseing at Towne (which I bought of Mr. Randolph and have paid him for, as by his receipt it may appear)." The title was not perfected, however, until 1671, for in 1670 Berkeley conveyed to Randolph the lot he had originally sold to Bennet, and on April 7, 1671, Randolph conveyed the three parcels, viz.: the middle or old state-house site, to "Nathaniel Bacon and the [other] executors of Colo. Miles Cary, deceased," the western lot to Colonel Thomas Swann, and the eastern lot to Secretary Ludwell. (Conway Robinson, *Notes from the Council Records, Va. Mag.*, viii, 408.)

¹ Hening, ii, 197; Stanard, *Col. Va. Reg.*, 77.

² *The servants' plot of 1663.* Little is known of this plot beyond what Beverley records (*History*, i, 59), what we find in Hening, and the depositions preserved in *Va. Mag.*, xv, 38. Charles Campbell (*History of Va.*, 263) has a brief account of the affair, which was the inspiration of Miss Mary Johnston's novel *Prisoners of Hope*. The trouble originated in Gloucester among some indented servants who are said to have been old Cromwellian soldiers. It was testified that their plan was to seize arms, march to the governor, and demand their freedom: if denied, to march away to some mysterious island. At the last moment Berkenhead, a

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Miles Cary was advanced to be a member of the council of state some time before June 21, 1665.¹ This service began almost coincidentally with Charles II's formal declaration of war against the Dutch, in that last phase of the commercial rivalry between the two nations which resulted at the end of the century in the English world supremacy in the carrying trade, that has persisted ever since.² The second Dutch war (1663-1667) with which we now have to do

servant of Mr. Smith of Purton, gave warning: for which he was pardoned and rewarded. (Hening, ii, 204.) Berkeley seems to have shown his usual energy; but after the danger was over he asked for a standing body-guard (*ibid.*, 200), and the anxiety of the planters was shown by the enactment that September 13 should always be kept as a day of thanksgiving (*ibid.*, 191). It must then have been a more serious and wide-spread conspiracy than is indicated by the depositions.

¹ Mr. Conway Robinson's transcripts from the *General Court Book*, 1664-1670 (*Va. Mag.*, v, 22), show that Miles Cary sat as a member of the council on June 21 and October 19, 1665, March 28 and 29 and July 10, 1666. In the *Journal of the House of Burgesses* for November 7, 1666 (Randolph MS., *Va. Mag.*, xvii, 240; and McIlwaine, *Journals*, 1659/60-1693, p. 40), he appears as sitting that day also. In his two patents of October 20, 1665, he is styled with all the pomp of the period: "Col^o Miles Cary, Esquire, Counsellor of State."

There is no body of modern public officers which can be compared to the colonial council in Virginia at once for political power and opportunity for private profit in its individual members. The sixteen councillors were the great men of the colony. Not only was the council the governor's cabinet, but the upper house of the assembly, and, with the governor, the court of last resort of the colony. The members were individually exempt from taxation and carefully kept among themselves all the offices of trust and profit, like the collectorships, which they could contain. After Bacon's rebellion there was great complaint against their exactions and selfishness during and after the period of Miles Cary's membership. (See Bruce, *Inst. Hist.*, ii, 358.)

² Mahan, *Influence of Sea Power*, 223.



was inglorious enough to England's arms, but contributed the solid fact, so important to America, of the capture of New York and the uninterrupted control of the north Atlantic coast by English-speaking peoples. War with the Dutch, while popular with English merchants, did not evoke any enthusiastic response in Virginia: there it served merely as an application of the rigor of the hated navigation laws, an unwelcome break in the cordial relations which during the Commonwealth Virginia had established with Dutch merchants and shipmasters, and, worst of all, loss and destruction of property by Dutch privateers.¹

On January 27, 1665, the king had instructed Berkeley, "out of his princely care for the preservation of all other his dominions," to put Virginia "into the best posture of defense he possibly could against the enemies aforesaid." These instructions reached Berkeley on June 3, whereupon he called the council into session on June 20 and mustered the militia. Though reluctant, Virginia was loyal and obedient. All agreed that it would be futile to repair the fort at Point Comfort:² "we conceive it to be," said


¹ Robinson transcripts, *Va. Mag.*, v, 25.

² The present Fortress Monroe has a pedigree as old as Virginia. When Don Diego de Molina came into the Virginia capes in June, 1611, to spy out what the English were doing there, he found "a ship lying at anchor close to a point where there was an earthwork, like trenches," and a fort consisting "of stockades and posts without stone or brick, and containing 7 pieces of artillery,"

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the council, "of no defence at all because ships cannot haul on shore but they will be exposed to the violence of all the winds of three quarters of the Compass, and the place so remote from all assistance that it cannot be defended but by a constant garrison in full pay to the almost insupportable charge of the country."¹ It was accordingly determined to build a new fort at with a garrison of forty "fit to carry arms." (Brown, *Genesis*, i, 511.) This was the first fort at Point Comfort. It was called *Algernoune*, in honor of George Percy, until he left Virginia. (Brown, *First Republic*, 190.) The site had been selected, despite inconveniences, because it commanded the narrow channel. Under instigation of Governor Harvey the assembly undertook to build an adequate fort on this site in 1630 (Hening, i, 150), and "worthy captain Matthews" was the contractor. It was provided that this fort should be kept in ammunition by castle duties and should be the immigration station for the colony. Francis Pott, Francis Hook, and Christopher Wormeley were successively the commandants, but the fort fell into decay, and when Captain Richard Moryson arrived in 1639 with a commission from the king to take over the command (see *ante*, p. 427), Governor Harvey reported that he found only sixteen pounds of powder in the magazine. Doubtless the physical condition of the fortifications was not much more inspiring: at all events, in 1640 provision was made, under the stimulus of the presence of an officer with a royal commission, "to build a new fort at Point Comfort." (Hening, i, 226.) Richard Moryson died in 1648 and his brother Francis, afterwards to play so large a part in Virginia history, succeeded to the command after his arrival in the colony with Colonel Norwood in 1649: provision was made in the articles of capitulation of 1651 for reimbursement to him of the cost of the house he had built "in fforte Island." (Hening, i, 360.) During the peaceful days of the Commonwealth the fort again fell into decay: when Francis Moryson resumed command after the Restoration (Hening, ii, 134), it was a mere station for regulating commerce, and the shipmasters objected to paying castle duties because the fort was incapable of affording them protection. (*British Colonial Papers*, xvi, No. 93.) Such was still the situation at the outbreak of the second Dutch war in 1665. "It hath been a Castle only in the Ayre this 30 yeares," said Moryson (*Virginia Carolorum*, 312).

¹ Robinson transcripts, *Va. Mag.*, v, 27.



Jamestown and transfer to it the ordnance then at Point Comfort. The council thereupon ordered:¹


Whereas it is by this Board thought fit for the better security both of the Ships and Country that all the ordnance now lying at Point Comfort be weighed and loaden on board sloops and brought up to James City, it is therefore ordered that Col. Miles Cary be empowered to agree with the masters of some ships now riding in James River to do the same, and to assure them that what he shall agree with them for shall be certainly paid the next year out of the two shillings p^r Hogshead, and the said Col. Cary is hereby further empowered either to hire or press sloops and men for the bringing the said guns to town as aforesaid, and what he shall agree with them for shall be paid out of the public money or tobacco next year.

When the assembly met the following October it was enacted² that a fort should be built “where the right honourable the governor shall thinke most convenient,” but as the work was entrusted to Captain William Bassett and “the trayned bands in James Citty and Surry Counties,” it is evident that Jamestown was to be the site.

When news of this action reached England it was deemed unsatisfactory. Writing from Oxford November 4, 1665, the king sent Berkeley “a more positive command,” with a specification that the fort should be built “in the mouth of

¹ *Va. Mag.*, v, 22.

² Hening, ii, 220.



James River.”¹ Although the council “in all humility” supposed that this command had been “obtained by the misinformation of some persons whose particular interest carried them against the more publick concernments of this country and the merchants trading hither,”² they yielded. On June 29, 1666,³ the ordnance was ordered back from Jamestown to Point Comfort, the duty of providing the labor to build the fort was transferred from James City and Surry County to the counties of Warwick, Elizabeth City, and lower and upper Norfolk, “and lastly because we judge this business to be too remote for Capt. William Bassett to effect, it is ordered that Mr. Thomas Cary do take the same into his care and conduct, with full power to press Carts and oxen or any other necessaries for the performance of the said work, and the masters or owners of the said carts, oxen or other necessaries to be paid by the Country at reasonable rates; and Col. Miles Cary is hereby desired to advise and assist his son in the performance of the same; and that the said Thomas Cary

¹ Robinson transcripts, *Va. Mag.*, v, 27.

² This was in response to the demands of the merchants who traded elsewhere than in the James River: they did not want to have to go up to Jamestown, and urged that Point Comfort was the site most conveniently accessible for all the rivers. The Bristol shipmasters apparently took the lead in this, and the insinuation of the council which we have quoted was directed against them, as appears from Ludlow's despatches after the Dutch raid. Perhaps the Bristol interest may also explain why the Carys were put in charge of the work.

³ *Ibid.*, 28.

have for his care and pains in the said work the same reward which was ordered to Capt. William Bassett in case he had done the same."¹


Despite these preparations and obedient intentions, the fort was not built. During the ensuing summer material was collected and the work was started, but when the assembly met again in October and it appeared that the cost had already been 60,000 pounds of tobacco, with at least as much more in prospect, the burgesses were appalled, not only because the country was groaning under economic depression, but because they were persuaded of the uselessness of the work. On November 7, 1666, they adopted a resolution² "that the Right Honourable Governor be desired to represent to his most Sacred Majesty that the Country having already been at the Charge of near 100,000 l. of Tobacco towards erecting a fort at Point Comfort, Do find by several Inconveniencies in the Situation of that place that it is almost impossible to bring the said fort to any perfection, and therefore in the Name of the Whole Country humbly do implore to Excuse us from further prosecuting the said Work."

Berkeley was in entire agreement. On the following day he replied: "This I will most willingly do,"³ and work on the fort was sus-

¹ *Va. Mag.*, v, 27.

² *Va. Mag.*, xvii, 245; and McIlwaine, *Journals*, 1659/60-1693, 42.

³ Berkeley took advantage of this situation to press the assembly to comply with a request made by the Council for Plantations on




pended.¹ Thomas Cary, who, as appears from his father's will, had not reached his majority at this time, seems to have performed the ungrateful but responsible duty put on him to the satisfaction of public opinion: at all events, he was voted a gratification of £20 sterling "for his pains and care in the premises," and in the resolution was described as captain where six months before he had been simply "Mr."²

its organization in 1661 that Virginia support a resident agent in England. Francis Moryson was at once despatched in that capacity and was at his post in London at the time of the Dutch raid in the next June, as appears from Ludwell's despatches at the time.

¹ The seventeenth century was not fated to see an effective fort at Point Comfort. In the terrific storm which devastated Virginia in the August following the Dutch raid, the climax of the colonial *annus mirabilis*, the waves "carried all the foundations of the fort at Point Comfort into the River, and most of our timber which was very chargably brought thither to perfect it." (See Ludwell's graphic despatch to Berkeley, November, 1667, P.R.O. Co. 1-21, quoted by Wertenbaker, 132.) When the assembly met in September, Berkeley, despite his mortification, was still stubborn in his objections to Point Comfort. The assembly rehearsed these objections once more at length (Hening, ii, 255), but compromised with the shipmasters and made provision for five forts in the several rivers James, Nansemond, York, Rappahannock, and Potomac. These were built, and that at Nansemond served as a sufficient refuge for a part of the tobacco fleet during the second Dutch raid in 1672; but Colonel Jeffreys found them all in decay after Bacon's rebellion. They bore eloquent testimony not only to the poor quality of early Virginia brick, but to the stubborn insistence of the colony that if the Royal government wished English merchants to have the benefit of navigation laws then it should assume the cost of all military protection of Virginia trade. The taxes levied for the construction of these forts was one of the grievances which lay back of Bacon's rebellion in 1676. See the discussion of the question of the forts in Osgood, *American Colonies*, iii, 258, and of the military system of the colony generally in Bruce, *Inst. Hist.*, ii, 3 *et seq.*


² *Va. Mag.*, xvii, 246; and McIlwaine, *Journals*, 1659/60-1693, 43. At the current depressed price of tobacco, Ludwell says a



Although the king apparently allowed the matter to drop, the governor and the assembly soon had bitter reason to repent their mutual complaisance, for after the disaster of the following year the shipowners naturally complained that if the fort had been built the Dutch could not have accomplished their easy and insulting conquest of the merchant fleet.

What happened was dramatic enough. In response to the insistent demand of the shipowners for some protection, the English government sent over the first Virginia guard-ship. The frigate *Elizabeth*, Captain Lightfoot, reached Virginia about the first of May, 1667, after a disastrous voyage, and put into Newport News to refit. There she was on June 5 in charge of a boatswain, leaking and lacking a mast, and so a mere hulk unfit for military service. Not only had much of her ordnance and stores been sent ashore, but most of her crew and all of her officers were ashore as well, "in several places, busily employed for her speedier fitting out to the Capes," as Berkeley testified later.¹ Four days before, the halfpenny a pound, £20 was more than equivalent to the fee of 10,000 pounds of tobacco promised Captain Bassett.

¹ No modern historian of this incident has failed to repeat the contemporary gossip on the authority of an "affidavit of the merchant of the *Handmaid* lately arrived from Virginia" (*Cal. State Papers, Colonial, 1661-1668*, No. 1507, p. 474). "That Captain Lightfoot of his Majesty ship *Elizabeth* had a day's notice of the four Dutch ships coming into James River. Had he gone to the assistance of Captain Conway, who fought them six hours, the enemy's ships might have been taken, but he went to a wedding with a wench he took over from England."



Dutch admiral Abraham Crimson, returning from an expedition of reprisal against the English colonies in the West Indies,¹ made his way within the Virginia capes with four men-of-war and a dogger boat already loaded down with booty. On June 5 he stood up to Newport News and there, without resistance, captured the helpless *Elizabeth*. Later he burned her and several merchant ships, and sailed away with thirteen tobacco ships as prizes. The tale of this disgrace is told in poignant despatches, by the governor and council, and, less formally, by Secretary Ludwell, which we give at length:²

[Secretary Ludwell³ to the Lord Arlington⁴]

Right Honorable


I hope long ere this Coll. Moryson has done mee right in the delivery of my two letters addressed to your Lordsp weh were to give you my most humble thanks for your favors and to p[re]sent you wth such a description of this Governmt as the

¹ Considering the consequences to Miles Cary of Crimson's raid on Virginia, it is of curious interest to note that the Dutchman was engaged in reprisal for the plunder, in 1665, of the Dutch colony of St. Eustatius by an English expedition from Jamaica commanded by Colonel Theodore Cary, a brother of Sir Henry Cary of Cockington. See *ante*, p. 278.

² *State Papers*, Colonial, Nos. 1505, 1506, and 1508, transcribed in Winder, *Abstracts*, MS. Va. State Library, i, 212, 222, 240. They are also printed in *Va. Mag.*, iv, 229. These despatches are valuable not only for the story of the Dutch raid, but as a contemporary mirror of the causes of Bacon's rebellion nine years later.

³ The official report consists of three parts, two despatches from Ludwell to Lord Arlington and Lord Berkeley, with one of which was enclosed a formal statement signed by the governor, secretary,

⁴ See note⁴ on page 635.




condicon I was then in would permit me to wright. I have since used my best endeavors to procure your honour a mapp of this unhappy Country & am att last promised one from Maryland, but how long it may be before I may have it I cannot say.⁵ I have since written to your Lord^{sp} by Capt. Groom & Capt. Gillam the first to give your Lord^{sp} an acct of the then state of ye Country and the last to inform yor Honour of the time the fleet in these Colonies was to sayle from hense & where they would waight for a Convoy into safety, but my Lord I never had so much occasion to wright nor was I ever so unfitt for it being almost distracted

and eleven councillors. Only one of these despatches is dated, June 24, 1667, but it is apparent that they were all written at the same time.


Thomas Ludwell of Richneck, in James City County, was secretary of state in Virginia from 1661 to 1678. Miles Cary made him an overseer of his will with the elder Colonel Nathaniel Bacon, Major Edward Griffith, and William Beaty, calling them his "well beloved friends." He is to be distinguished from his brother Philip Ludwell, who was his deputy as secretary (*W. & M. Quar.*, x, 172) and later governor of Carolina. This first Philip Ludwell married the widow of Sir William Berkeley, and his son, the second Philip, of Green Spring, was of the council in 1702, as was his son, the third Philip, in 1752. (Stanard, *Colonial Virginia Register*, 44, 49.)

⁴ Clarendon's enemy Sir Harry Bennet (1618-1685) became secretary of state in England in 1663, and was then made a peer as Baron Arlington. (See Clarendon's amusing story of the selection of the title, *Life*, ii, 358.) Later, in 1672, he was promoted to be Earl of Arlington at the same time that Charles II gave to him and Lord Culpeper that grant of the entire colony of Virginia which protracted local controversy until after the American Revolution, when the Fairfax title to the Northern Neck was finally expropriated.


⁵ The map so promised was undoubtedly that notable map of Virginia and Maryland for making which Lord Baltimore granted to Augustine Herrman his Bohemia Manor at the Head of Elk in Maryland. Herrman began his work in 1660, and the completed map, which purports to show the territory of the two colonies "as it is Planted and Inhabited this present year 1670," was engraved by Faithorne and published in London in 1673. (Phillips, *A Rare Map of Virginia and Maryland*, 1911.)




wth grief for the misfortune fall'n on us by an attempt made by the dutch in fower men of warr of 33, 34, 24 & 18 gunns and a Doggeboate of 8 gunns who on the first of June took a ship of London of 20 gunns bound from Tangier hither. Conaway the Master fought them all 2 hours killed them 7 & wounded 12 men, but being wounded himself and oppressed wth men he yielded about 5 or 6 leagues wthout the Cape, that day they took a shallop bound from hence to Cape fere by whose men they informed themselves of the condition of the merchant ships in this Country that there were about 20 sayle of them riding in the mouth of James River & that 3 leagues above them there lay one of the Kings shippes of 46 gunns, but unable to keep the sea for want of a mast and being leaky and short of provisions, upon wch advice they anchored under the Cape & lay still Sunday & Monday to fitt their dogger & the shallop they had taken for fire vessells to burne the frigatt, wch being donne they weighed the 4th day and stood into the Bay when they anchored again till the 5th in the morning when wth a fayre easterly wind and English colours they came up to the Mercht shippes, and having many English Scotts & Irish on board they hayled them in English and sang their soundings in English, but many of the Marcht shippes too late suspecting them let slip their cables and stood up wth them to the frigate upon wch whilst 2 of them fired their broad sides and wthout any resistance made themselves masters of her, there not being above 30 men in her wthout an officer who were all as the Capt. says on the shore very busily employed on the frigatts severall occasions for the speedier putting her in a condicion to go of to the Cape, the other dutch shippes chased and tooke most of the Mercht shippes, wch misfortune is the more grievous because the gunns &c. being on board the frigate not above 5 days before she was lost and then see her in such a forwardnesse as we believe by the 10th she would have been redde for her &




our defense. I am not seaman enough to judge whether shee might have been sooner fitted, shee being but just a month in the country before she was taken, and had been at first brought higher in the River had not the place shee rode in been the most convenient for taking in her new mast and nearer her station for our defense wch was that she was designed for; undoubtedly several of the mercht men might have saved themselves by running into Eliz: River or Nancemond where we had many shippes wthin 3 leagues of the enemy who durst not engage them in those small rivers; the dutch being thus posses'd of the frigatt & mercht shippes about 24 houres they burnt 5 or 6 of them, and the frigatt either because they found her out of repayre or for want of her sayles (wch is most probable) hers being all on shore to be mended where they durst not goe to fetch them, they tooke none of her gunns, nor little ells out of her, and soe to our unspeakable grief the King lost his shipp, and wee the security wee hoped from her. I confesse I was extreemly Joyd at the news that his Matie was graciously pleased to command one of his shippes hither, but when I saw the condition shee came in I heartily wished her safe att home againe, soe unfortunate are wee often in our desires that what wee hope for us as our cheifest good procures our greatest harme, pauci dignoscere vera bona, for had not this frigatt come in so bruised & maimed by storms she had undoubtedly prevented all our losse, for then those enemies shippes would never have adventured upon us defended by a shipp of that countenance especially they being all loaden wth spoyle taken in the West Indies that they could not long have prevented either sinking or yielding, or had not the masters of those shippes wch were taken wth her been too confident of her protection they would undoubtedly have applyed themselves to the Govnr who would have commanded them all to James towne, where the enemy would have had too hard a task to fetch them off; having




thus farr related our misfortunes I shall wth yor Honors favor informe you what wee did and would have done for our reparation both in losse of reputacion wch was that upon the first advice wch the Govor received of this unhappy accident he pr'sently sent for me and I soon waighted on him and upon a short consultacon we resolved to mann out a fleet from Yorke river being nearest to the enemy & hasten to them & fight them, in order whereunto I went to Yorke, had all the masters before mee, showed them the Govor orders & resolves and required their speedy answer, wch was not possitively negative but soe full of difficulties that I plainly saw they would doe nothing unlesse the Govnr was pr'sent (who was then busy at James towne giving orders for the defense of that place & the shippes att & above it). I therefore pr'sently advertised him that (though before my comeing to Yorke the masters were soe forward as to want nothing but his orders to goe & fight the dutch) yet when they saw it would come to earnest they grew very cold, upon wch advice he came the next morning to them (whither were alreddy drawn fowre regiments of foot redde to embarque for that service) required their assistance in that necessity to wch they replyd that they could not answer it to their merchts and owners if they voluntarily brought their shippes & goods into hazard, and therefore desired they might be pressed into the Kings service and have security given them for all damages they might receive from the enemy, whereupon the Govnr commanded an officer pr'sently to put the broad arrow upon the masts of 9 better shippes than any the enemy had (except the first prize conaway) and had them apprayed by the masters themselves and obliged his Matie and himself in the same of ye apprayement to save them their owners & merchts harmeless, secured the seamen of provision if they were maimed and promised them all the plunder, upon this (wch




I am confident they hoped & believed would never be graunted) they went to clearing their shippes and wee in the mean time ordered three shippes more in James river of 36, 22 & 20 gunnes and in them & shallops to attend them above six hundred men to be reddy for our assistance; wee pressed all seamen (then out of service) to serve in the Yorke fleet except the frigatts men who wth their Capt. very redilly offered themselves, and * * of them and souldiers redilly put on board above a thousand besides their * * own, and took all the ordnance out of those shippes wch were to stay and put them into that fleet and that wch would have been their greatest incitement to this brave actcon was that the Govnr (agt the prayers & protestations of as many of the Councill as were pr'sent) resolved to lead them to victory and accordingly went on board the Admirall accompanied by myself & 4 more of the Councill and above 40 Gentl, and all this to fight wth 5 enemy shippes manned wth but 400 men and boys and many of them sick, but my Lord howeasy soever the victory seemed by reason of our advantages both of shippes and men, yet cowardly feare being never secure where there appears the least danger, was I believe the only why. In three days (doe what wee could) wee were not able to get our fleet out, but every hower new difficulties objected, and when they saw the govnr stopd at nothing that might satisfie them they in vain endeavored to discourage our souldiers who expressed as much cheerfullness * & Countries service and as much affection to their Genll as ever men did, and thus by delays the enemy after six days stay in James River sayled of wth three prizes and wthout a blow, to the shame of our seamen; the enemy wanted water and made severall attempts upon the shore for it, but were not suffered to take any nor ought else from the land, and here it was my Lord, that our unhappy condition appeared to the Govnr & me armed wth our owne




terrible apprehensions of his Maties, yor Lordshs, and all the greate Ministers displeasures of wch wee were not too sensible whilst they were allayed by our hopes of revenge on the enemy, and our beliefe that we held a certaine and brave victory in our hands did as it were, assure us of a pardon for our misfortune wch is all wee can, and humbly hope his Matie & your Lordp will excuse us of, for though it be certaine that losses of this nature are more easily pr'vented then repaired, yet doe we unhappily find from our late experience that it was not in our power to doe whilst we met wth such concurrent accidents to pr'vent our endeavors after wee had donn all wee could for our security, by representing our condition att home and using all diligence in our power here, both in the one & the other, in the pr'vention or reparacon of our losse, but because wee doubt not but that the owners and masters of the shippes best to excuse their neglects will load this governmt wth reproachfull accusations wee shall humbly begg that they may not be believed, nor wee condemned, but according to the meritts of our cause first well examined; as many of their objections as I have yet heard I shall answer, first they say that if a fort had been built at Poynt Comfort, it had prevented this mischeife, to wch I say that if it had been built there it would not in likelihood have done it, because that shippes wth English colours and English speech to in a time when wee daily expected shippes in from the sea, and from all parts of the bay might have deceived any officer of a fort, as well as they did so many masters of shippes and being once passed might have donn all the mischeife they did wth the only hazard of being shot at coming out wch by English experience (who have beaten down castles wth their shippes) is a matter of noe great difficulty; it was mine opinion in my last yeares letter and soe it is still, the whole countries as well as mine that a fort is no certain security to shippes



but where either they can hall on shore under it or the difficulty of the channel shall give those in it time to fire their gunns often upon an enemy before he can passe, and if this be graunted, and that place having neither of those advantages, then I humbly hope it will be by his Matie and his most honorable councill thought more reasonably that a few shippes trading into the lower parts of James river or other shippes coming thither for company should be at the trouble of coming up to the towne, then that this country (pressed at their backs with the Indians and in their bowells with poverty brought on them by the hard dealing of those whom they are bound to defend and invaded by the dutch) should with almost insuperable difficulties and charges build and defend a fort in a place which can be of no certain security to them; however that it may appear, wee would willingly doe all wee can. It is ordered that 8 gunns be mounted there in an open battery till we can secure it round with what speed wee can, but with this humble desire that all shippes coming into James River may be ordered to ride at James towne where wee can only with reason promise them security; but my lord supposing that James river were soe fortified as an enemy could not come into it, this were no security for those many & distant parts of this Colony which are not in our power to fortify, and if they were, wee had in this country but 14 gunns, and many of them very small and believed unserviceable by being much scald and honeycombed, till his Matie was pleased to send us ten which were as soon mounted as received at towne where wee intend to mount 12 more, being very unfortunately supplied with gunns & shot out of the last frigatt; and if those parts shall be left open, either the shippes trading thither must be forced to ride in James River, which will make the freight of all the remoter tobs so deare that at the rate it now bears in the world will not repay it, and thereby that part of the



country will be left without supplies, and the King will loose his customes yt if they shall still be suffered to trade in unfortyfyed places wee must (so long as the ware shall last) be every yeare exposed to the like losse, both in shippes and reputation. These difficulties, my lord, are only in the defence of shippes, for wee place not our security in forts, nor doe wee feare much for ourselves whom they cannot injure but on land, and if it comes to that wee shall undoubtedly make them buy whatever they get from us at too deare a rate to sell it again to any profit, nor doe I know any pr'sent way of removing these difficulties but by guarding our coasts from such hostile attempts, but his matie (to our extreme grieffe) hath had such ill successe in his first designe of that nature that wee are afraid (how considerable soever the customs of the country may be) he will noe more assist us wth any of his shippes, nor doe wee desire it, but doe most humbly submit ourselves and condicon to his princely consideracon, and to the determination of the most honorable Privy Councell; my Lord I understand by Coll. Moryson that the import of 2^s P hogshd is in danger of being taken from us. I have herewth sent your lordp an acct of it, and doe hope you will think it well bestowed. I am sure, lett those who speake ag^t it pretend what they will, it is wee pay it and not they, for whatever is layed upon tob^o they secure themselves of our necessities to save themselves, and upon pretense of such import doe advance much more upon the price of their goods & freight then they pay, yet I could wish there were another shilling layd upon it and that to be wholly employed in fortyfycations, wch would be a tax of wch the people would be less sensible then when it goes from them in Tob^o. The next thing the Bristoll men say is that they offered to build the fort at poynt comfort at their own charge, wch is a very malicious untruth, for soe farr are they and all others from helping



us that upon our proposall to the Yorke masters that if they would carry 12 guns to that river wee would mount them for theire defence, they demurred to it. Major Genll Bennet (neer whose province this mischiefe fell) behaved himself very bravely in the defence of the shore, and the shippes wthin his two parts of wch none miscarried.¹ My lord should I say all I can on this sad subject I should extend this beyond the bounds of a letter, wch is but too long allreddy. I shall therefore say noe more att present, but most humbly beg your Lordps protection in this distresse, wch I durst not doe did I not know innocent of all crimes but misfortune, wch is not in the power of any vertue or prudence att all times to prevent, and if I have but the good fortune to appeare soe to your honour I shall not dispaire (from my former experience of your goodness) of liveing still in your favour wch is all the happiness I wish for in this world, and in returne of it shall forever pray that you may be as happy here as your owne wishes can make you, and eternally soe hereafter.

I am Right Honoble yo'r Honors most humble and most obedt servant.

THO: LUDWELL.

(*Endorsed*) June 24, 1667.

¹ Richard Bennet of Nansemond came to Virginia as nephew of an important London merchant who was interested in the Virginia Company. He was burgess for Warrascoyack (Isle of Wight County) as early as 1629, and of the council in 1639. Being a Puritan in the midst of the Puritan settlement of the Nansemond neighborhood, he adhered to the Commonwealth and was one of the commissioners appointed to take over the colony in 1651: he was then elected governor and served as such until 1655. After the Restoration he acquiesced in the recall of Berkeley and remained until his death in 1675 a member of the council and major-general commanding the militia on the south side of the James. (Neill, *Virginia Carolorum*, 224, 353, 383.) Richard Bennet was perhaps a kinsman of Lord Arlington, which would induce the courtierlike Ludwell to make special mention of him in this despatch.

[Secretary Ludwell to the Lord Berkeley¹]


Virga June 24, 1667.

Right Honoble


My last by Capt. Gillam commandr of the Colchester catch was to pay you my acknouledgements for your many obliging favors and to informe your honour of the time the fleet in these parts would sayle, and where they would expect a convoy from his matie to carry them into safety, but my Lord, that letter was not long gon from hence when the dutch wth 5 men of warr fell in upon us and by taking and burning the King's frigatt and about 20 sayle of mercht shippes (of wch they carried away about 13 and burnt the rest), have given me but too sad an occasion of wrighting this and too much greife & distraccon to wright anything as I ought. I shall therefore (wth yor Lops pardon) referr you to our declaration for ye p'ticulars of our misfortune and most humbly beseech your Lordp upon a serious peruseall of it, to believe that there is not an untruth in it, and then I doubt not but you will conclude us only unhappy, and for the Governrs sake (whose pr'sent condicon is the saddest that ever I saw, and would I beleive moove his enemys to compassion were they present), I humbly hope

¹ Sir John Berkeley, first Baron Berkeley of Stratton, was the fifth son of Sir Maurice Berkeley of Bruton, co. Somerset, and so the younger brother of the governor of Virginia. He had distinguished himself as a soldier in the civil wars in the capture and defense of Exeter, accompanied Charles II during his exile, and was made a peer during that period. After the Restoration he became a member of the privy council and was the steadfast friend at court of the administration of his older brother in Virginia. On his deathbed Sir William charged Lord Berkeley to defend his reputation, which the younger brother did loyally and vigorously when the report of the commissioners Sir John Berry and Colonel Francis Moryson was before the privy council in 1677. He told Berry "with an angry voice and a Berkelean look . . . that he and Moryson had murdered his brother." (Neill, *Virginia Carolorum*, 379.) See also his formal *Justification* in Burk, *History of Virginia*, ii, 259.

your honour will endeavor to give the King & the Councell the same impression of us; my lord for all other complaints ye merchts & seamen shall make agt us will be false & malicious; only these two poynts will seem to touch us wth likelihood of a fault (viz.) the not building a fort at poynt comfort and the losse of the King's shipp. For the first, it is still the concurrent opinion of the whole country and of many of the most judicious seamen that it cannot hinder shippes from comeing into James river unlesse it were so great and apparrell'd wth so many gunns as neither our meanes nor abilities could comply wth, for the foundation will beare neither brick nor stone unless it were first well piled wch to doe wee have neither the skill nor instruments, and for building wth timber, your hounor will find in our declaration (wch I herewith send you) the charge wee have allreddy been att to bring a little of it in place, nor had wee (till his matie was pleased to send us ten) above 14 gunns 8 of wch are very small and some of them and the rest of the biggest so skald and honeycombed that its doubted upon trial they will breake, wth wch if our Lordsp shall please to consider the extreame poverty of ye country unable to supply their owne necessities and to pay such taxes as may be equal to such fortifications and the deffence of them, you will (I doubt not) beleve us in great distresse, and that you may the better judge of our abilities be please to consider our pr'send condicon, where twelve hundrd pounds of tobo is the medium of men's yearely cropps and a halfe peny ₧ £ is certainly the full medium of the price Given for it, wch is finely skilt (cut?): out of wch when those taxes and all others necessary for ye support of ye Governmt shall be deducted a very little will remain to a poor man who hath perhaps a wife and children to cloath and other necessaries to buy, and truly soe much too little that I Can attribute it to nothing but the great mercy of God, their loyalty to the King and their affections to the Governr (wch



are extraordinary) that keeps them from mutiny and confusion, nor will the merchants here nor masters of ships contribute anything to their own defence, supposing they have sufficiently acquitted themselves in that point by paying Castle duties, which as Coll. Moryson can well inform you, never amounted to above 300^l a year and many years to much less, which will go but a little way towards building and defending forts to which that your lordship may give the more credit, I will assure you that the Assembly ordered the Governor a guard of 20 foot and allowed them 2000^l of tobacco each man yearly to which the Governor added out of his own estate 1000 and their taxes, diet and lodging, all which was not encouragement enough to make the guard ever yet exceed ten who voluntarily offered themselves. What charge then I beseech you will a garrison at point comfort be which can not be less than 40 besides officers; a place so barren that their labour upon it will not produce them bread nor is there any good water upon this land, nor is it of any certain defence for James River, or any at all to the rest of the rivers in the country where we must be every year exposed to the like hazard of loss of ships and reputation; now my lord for the unhappy loss of the frigate I hope it will appear (even by our present misfortune) that the sending one or two for the guarding our coast was necessary, but that this which is here unfortunately lost should come in like a wreck no man could foresee nor I believe prevent. The truth is had she been brought higher up the river she had been saved, but then she had rode so inconvenient for her mast and other necessaries as in likelihood she would not have been ready to sail with the fleet, so far was she from being able to lie off at the cape to guard the whole country which was that the King designed and we desired her for, and was the reason she lay below for the speedier dispatch which shews us the weakness of human wisdom for whilst we . . . a ship or 2 of the King



for our security as placing our surest defence in force of that nature, it pleased God to send that in (wch was designed for us) so bruised and disabled by storms as not to afford us that protection wee hoped from it, and whilst wee layd her in a place most convenient for her speedier repayre wee lost her and near 20 more, who had not been soe much in an enemy's way but upon confidence of the frigatt's protection, and yet soe negligent were the masters as to anchor their shippes at least 3 leagues below her when they * to have been as farr above her, and then though shee had been lost they had been all saved by running up James river to ye towne where wee had planted those gunns the King sent us; my lord I shall say noe more of our Genll misfortune wch yet may be much increased if the King in his displeasure shall incline his eare to those who (taking this advantage of our unhappiness) may by proposing fortifications and other defence att their owne charge obtaine of his matie either a propriety over us or reduce us under a company (a condicion very contrary to the wishes and affections of this country), to wch they are the more exposed whilst the Governr grieved for theirs & his owne misfortune and impatient of this first cheque to the happy course of his government, is resolved (against all oure entreaties and wth the hazard of his reputation wch must suffer much in this conjecture) to sollicite the King by your lordp and my lord Arlington, to displace him, and (by sending in another Governr) to provide for the future better governmt of this place, to pr'vent wch misfortune I have by the command of the Councell sent your lordp a letter under all our hands directed to the King and doe in their name most humbly beseech you to deliver it, and to enforce ours wth your owne petition for continuance amongst & over us, for wch you will not only receive the reward wch good actions are in themselves but will forever engage all our prayers & vows for your happinesse & prosperity. I doe therefore againe

most humbly beseech you to consider that designe of his as an effort of his passion wch deprives him of the due consideration of what he owes to his owne fortune and reputation and to the future happinesse and welfare of this poor country; and now my lord I think it time (wth your hounor's patience) to say something for myselfe because I cannot but justly feare (since I wrote last yeare agt a fort at poynt comfort and for a frigat) that our present misfortune will have a more then ordinary influence upon me for the pr'vention whereof I can only say that what then was the truth of mine opinion and is still not only mine but the whole countries, and consequently can (at the most) be but argued guilty of erring wth them, wch yet I hope will not be soe understood when our reasons are considered, yet my lord how innocent soever I may bee, I would most humbly beg your protection had I any meritts to warrant my peticon but such as the poor beggar who asks an almes, but since it was your goodness wch placed me here (hoping I have done nothing wch may cause your repentance of that favor) I will not dispaire of the same goodness to protect me agt the attempts of such enemies as in this publique employ I may have unwittingly have made, but if I be so unfortunate as to find noe harbour in this storme and consequently shall make shipwreck of my fortunes, I will practice Seneca good lesson *Dum fortuna manet laudo manentem sed si quatit selevs pennas resigno qua dedit et mea ne virtute involvo*,¹ though I may be deprived of my place and reputacon yet nothing shall rob me of my loyalty to my prince, mine in-

¹ So Ludwell is recorded in the Winder transcript, we hope with injustice. The hackneyed source of his noble sentiment is, of course, Horace *Odes*, iii, 29.

“Fortuna . . .

Laudo manentem: si celeres quatit

Pennas, resigno quae dedit et mea

Virtute me involvo probamque

Pauperiem sine dote quaero.”

nocency nor the resolution of praying for your lordps continuall happiness and prosperity, as being by infinite obligations,

Right Hono'ble, yor honors most humble and obedt servant,


THO: LUDWELL.

[The Governor and Council of Virginia
to the King in Council]


To the kings most sacred Matie and ye Lords of his most honll Privy Councill.

The Governor and Councill of his Maties Colony of Virga. In all humility present.


That foure states men of warr of Holland of thirty-eight, Thirty-foure, twenty-foure and eighteen gunns and a dogger Boate of eight gunns under ye command of Abraham Crimson their Admirall, some time in May last intending an Invasion upon this country, Did on their Voiage heither take a shallop bound from hence to Cape-feré, by whose men they informed themselves of the condicon and posture of ye Marchants shippes here, and that there was one of yor Maties shippes of forty-six gunns lay at anchor at Nuporte Nuse in James River, But so disabled in her mast, and Leaky in her Hull, as that she could not keep the sea; upon which advice they stood in and on Saturday ye first of June, attacqued a shipp of London bound from Tangeer hither. The master Robert Conaway fought them very well two howers, but at last being wounded himself and overpowered with men, was taken by them neare our Capes, where they anchored Sunday & Munday to fitt their dogger-Boate and ye Shallop they had taken for firing the frigatt, and on Tusday ye fourth, they stood into the Bay and anchored againe till Wednesday morning, when they weighed and wth a faire Easterly winde stood into James River with English Collors




and passed by about twenty sayle of Marchant shippes (who lay there expecting ye rest of the Fleete and ready to sayle on the 24th according to yor Maties comand) hayled them in English & sang theire soundings in ye same language and sayling directly up to the frigatt wch lay about three leagues above, upon which they passed three broadsides & boarding her without any resistance, became masters of her, the Capitaine & the rest of the officers wth all her men except about thirty (who were on Board wth the Boatswaine fitting the rigging) being on shore in severall places, busily employed for her speedier fitting out to the Capes, wch we beleewe would have beene effected in foure or five daies, and soe to our unspeakeable grieffe yor Matie lost yor shipp and wee the defence we expected from her. Immediately upon wch misfortune the Dutch made themselves masters of all those Mercht shippes lying below them, who were in soe strange a security, that though many of them had winde & time enough to have run into Elizabeth River for safety yet none of them did it, but all became a prey to the enemy, and hence ariseth the cause of our grief & feare of your Maties & your most Honble Councills displeasure for suffering a loss wch though it was not in oure power to prevent, wee had undoubtedly repaired had the seamen Complied with the courage and chearfullness of the Planters, of whome wee had in James River and in Yorke above twelve hundred ready to embarque on twelve shippes, press'd for the speedy engagement of the enemy, but except Capt Lightfoote, who very passionately resolved to hazard himself in the Admirall wth the Governor, and the rest of his Company in severall shippes, and very cheerfully and voluntarily offered themselves to serve yor Matie, & some few of the Yorke Masters, so cowardly unwilling were the rest of the seamen, that neither the glory of the action nor the profit of it, nor the Governors resolution of leading them (though against the opinion & desires of the Councill) nor the Company of many of the Councill




& other Gentlemen of the Country, nor security given them for all damages which they should receive in their ships or goods, nor the certainty of the enemies weakness, being in all his fleet not above four hundred men & boys, & many of them sick, of which we were informed by some Planters taken and set ashore againe, could induce them to serve your Matie & the Country in that service, which yet they did not positively deny; but used such delays, that in four daies time with all our diligence, we could not get those in Yorke (which were nine good ships) so ready as Gilbert in James River was in ten hours, and so to our grief and their shame the enemy after five daies stay in James River, sailed off with his prizes without a blow, having first burnt five or six of them, wanting men to saile them, & with them the frigate whose want of repaire or sayles (hers being all on shore to be mended & they not daring to fetch them) we suppose to be the reason why they burnt her, of whose gunns we shall save two of Brass and about twenty-seven of iron & some shott; their want of water caused them to make severall attempts upon the shore where they met with such opposition as not to be able to get any or anything else of a farthing value, so much easier is it for us to guard the shore then the ships. But because many of the seamen doe say that had the Forte been built at Poynt Comfort on the Rivers mouth, this mischief had been prevented, we have thought it our duty to give your Matie & your most honorable Councell our reasons against that plan, and for a Forte at James town which we hope will be soe satisfactory as to obtaine your Gracious pardon for our not reposing our confidence in that place, nor daring to promise a security to the ships riding under the protection of it when fortified, as well as our means & abilities can doe it, for we humbly hope yt it will be granted that a forte cannot certainly prevent the passing of enemies ships by it, unless they are first hindered by the difficulty of the channel and forced to saile on severall courses




and nearer the forte, wch by that means may have time to play on them and possibly to sinke them, of all wch advantages this place has only one, wch is that a shipp must come within shott, but with a winde & a Tide may soon be out of it againe. Then wee humbly conceive that a Forte can be noe undoubted security to shippes. But where they may (by halling on shoare under it) give an enemy difficulty to haull them off againe, and consequently the forte time to ply its gunns on them for their prevention, wch in this place cannot bee don, secure from windes and shelves & at James Towne may, where wee cannot only laye then with the shoare, but can in much lesse time then an enemy can possibly come to it, being five or six hundred men to man both them and the Forte agst any such attempt, wch advantage the other place denies us, being too neare the sea, and in a pt of the country so thinly Inhabited that wee must either be at an insupportable charge to maintaine a constant Garrison equall to such hazards or mus have more time to bring men thither then their safety, who shall ride there, can reasonably give us, nor doth it afford either provisions or water wthin any convenient distance, and is all the summer time so infested wth musgetos & other troublesome flies, that it will be impossible for men to live there, nor hath it that convenience for loading of shippes wch James towne hath, wch is near the middle of the River, & lyes equally convenient to both the extreames, & hath great commodity either of Brick, Turf or Mudd to fortifie wth all, where as on the other place being of a very loose sandy foundacon there is no possibility of building wth anything but Timber, wch must be brought thither at an excessive charge as wee have already found by experience, It costing us above sixty thousand pounds of Tobacco the last year to bring not half enough to build a forte for foureteene gunns, wch were all wee had until yor matie graciously pleased to send us ten more, & of those foureteene wee feare



many will prove unserviceable being much scaled & Honey-combd by lying above thirty years in the salt-sands, wee have many reasons more for the one & against the other place, but shall at present wth yor maties & yor most Honble Councillors p'mission, least wee seame too troublesome. And since yor maties command is in Genll tearmes to doe our utmost for the defence of those shippes which Trade to Virga, wee doe most humbly beseech yor matie & yor most Honble Councill to consider this Country as a place flatt and open, full of great Rivers, and then wee doubt not but you will Graciously conclude in our favour, that though James River were soe fortified as an enemy could not come into it, yet this were no security to the Rivers of Yorke, Rappahannock Pianketanke, Wicomico & Potomack nor the two Ports on the Eastern side of the Bay, into every of wch places there are neare as many shippes brought as into James River, & into some of them more, at least of more considerable burdens, so that (whilst we are unable to fortify all of those places) if the shippes shall be forced all to ride in James River then this inconvenience will arise to ye Inhabitance of those more northerly pts, that if they come (for their supplies to lay out their tobacco) in James River the marnt will not deale with them, because their pay lyes so farr from him, or if he doth it must certainly be at a very low rate, since he ordinarily allows not much above a farthing for yt wch ye Planter brings to his doore. And if there shall be any amongst us who may be able to shipp his tobacco on his owne acct it must be at such a rate, as ye tobacco will never repaye him, since they are already enforced to pay from twelve pounds to seaventeene pounds ꝑ tunn freight, wch usually was but at seaven pound, & consequently ye trade of those remoter pts will be wholly lost, yor matie will loose yor customes, and yor poore subjects be left without supplies, nor can wee propose any remedy for these difficul-




ties but opposing men of warr to or enemies, wch wee are but too much afraid yor matie (from ye late unhappy successe of yor first designe of that nature) will not be inclined to doe, nor dare wee again solicit you to it, but leaving our present condition to yor Princely consideration shall humbly begg yor maties & yor most Honble Councells patience, whilst wee returne to say something in our defence against ye complaint which may be made against us by those who have lost their shippes and goods in this most unfortunate attempt, many of wch were shippes Trading into the Northerne pts of this Colony, and voluntarily, & without any order from this government, quitted the place where they loaded & brought themselves to an anchor where they were taken, nor did any of the masters ever apply themselves to ye Governor for his orders to put themselves into places of more security, nor was it possible for the Frigett to secure them because they roade three leagues nearer the sea than Shee, and many of them weighed their anchors & stood up to her, with the Dutchman, & thereby rather helped to betray her, then to give her any advise of the approaching danger, nor did any of them keep a Boate off to sea, wch by Conaways fight wth ye enemy might have advised them in time to have avoided all ye misfortune fallen on them & us, wch (wee humbly hope) will be sufficient to lay the blame of their losse wholly to their owne neglect, & if wee shall be so unhappy as to find yor matie displeas'd yt yor shipp was suffered to ride in a place so exposed to ye danger of an enemy, wee most humbly beseech you to consider yt the reason of it was for the convenience of taking in a new main mast, & the speedier being fitted for the Guard of our Coasts, & such forwardness was shee in that wee are very confident foure or five daies would have put her to sea and would have pr'vented all our misfortune of wch wee shall say noe more at present. But because we know yor maties



justice doth expect from us only what is possible for us to doe & not what the necessity of our condition requires, wee doe in all humility beseech yor matie to consider us as a people pressed at our backes wth Indians, in our bowells wth our servants & poverty (brought on us by the hard dealing of those whome wee are bound to defend) and invaded from without by the Dutch, & consequently not able to fortifie all those places where shippes use to Trade in this country & the more unable because wee are not only deprived of the time wee had designed for that worke by the Lod Baltimores making void of the cessation from planting,¹ but robbed of all future hopes of the advancement of our Commodity; and upon the sume of all that we have here pr'sented, wee doe most humbly pray yor matie & yor Honble Councill to consider yt though it be much in or power to keepe ourselves innocent from sinnes & vices, yet from misfortunes noe virtue, no prudence can alwaies secure us, and may God & yor maties Clemency incline you to look on us as only unfortunate and to receive us into your Princely favour and protection, and for a reward of soe much goodness, God soe blesse you as that you may manage this Warr wth Victory over all yor enemies, and end it with Triumph and Peace,

¹ One of the causes of economic distress in Virginia after the Restoration was the fall in the price of tobacco. It was proposed to remedy this by a cessation of planting, but to be effective the co-operation of Maryland and Carolina was necessary. Various conferences were held on the subject by ambassadors of the three colonies, and a general agreement was reached in 1663 (see Hening, ii, 200), but by reason of doubt of the good faith of the Carolina planters, Maryland held back. In the summer of 1666 a new treaty was negotiated between Virginia and Maryland (Hening, ii, 229, and McIlwaine, *Journals*, 1659-1693, 36), but it appears that subsequently Lord Baltimore interposed a veto on behalf of Maryland, whereupon, in the spring of 1667, the governor and council of Virginia protested to the king in council (*Cal. State Papers*, Colonial, 1661-1668, No. 1509, p. 475), and the present reference is to that protest.



wch we heartily pray may never depart from you till you are possest of that everlasting glory and happiness which noe time nor accident can robb you off.


Yor maties most humble and
most loyall servants and subjects.

Will: Berkeley,
Tho: Ludwell,
Robt. Smith,
Tho: Swann,
Thomas Stegge,
Edward Carter,
Theodo: Bland,
Ri: Bennett,
Ab: Wood,
Nathaniel Bacon,
John Carter,
Geo: Reade,
Augustine Warner.

In the midst of this excitement Miles Cary died, in his forty-fifth year. There is no intimation of any previous illness: indeed, he is recorded in the performance of his official duty in the council late in the spring of 1667.¹ Yet on June 9 he made his elaborate will,² and the

¹ His last recorded official act was to sign, as one of the council, the protest to the king against Lord Baltimore's veto of the treaty between Virginia and Maryland for a cessation of planting tobacco.

² The survival of this will illustrates the vicissitudes of genealogical work among Virginia families. Dated June 9, 1667, the day before Miles Cary died, as recorded on his tombstone, it was proved in Warwick Court June 21, and on June 29 was recorded in *Warwick County Records*, Book A, p. 448, followed by an inventory of the estate at p. 471. During the first discussion in 1843 of the fabulous "Cary's Rents" estate (see *The Virginia*



next day he died.¹ In 1707 there was a well authenticated tradition that he was "shott by the Dutch,"² which finds support in the fact that he made a will one day, "being of sound and perfect memory," and died the next, as a wounded man might. If it was his fate to fall in action we can find opportunity for it in the official despatches

Carys) Governor Littleton Waller Tazewell and the Hon. Benjamin Watkins Leigh both advised Mrs. Virginia Cary to have the records of Warwick searched for the will of Miles Cary. Mr. Robert Carter Nicholas accordingly wrote to the clerk of Warwick, then William Robertson, who replied under date of April 11, 1844: "In an examination of some of the most ancient records here some year or two ago . . . I found a will of a Miles Cary admitted to probate, I think, some time in 1664. I know it was within ten years of that time. . . . These old records have no index and are in a tattered, decaying condition, and besides the character of the writing is such as to render them almost illegible. Their examination, therefore, is attended with much labour and difficulty." There the matter was allowed to rest. When the discussion was revived in 1851, Mr. Guilford Dudley Eggleston, of Indiana, a descendant of William Cary, the youngest son of the immigrant, went to Warwick, studied the records, and, despite the physical difficulties, secured an exemplified copy of Miles Cary's will (but not of the inventory). The record book containing the will was sent to Richmond with the other Warwick records and there destroyed in April, 1865. In July, 1868, the late Captain Wilson Miles Cary of Baltimore made a pious pilgrimage to Warwick for information about his ancestors when he learned of the destruction of the county records. The clerk of the court, Mr. William B. Jones ("Hellcat Billy Jones," as he was affectionately known), remembered, however, that "some ten years before the war" he had made a copy of Miles Cary's will "for a gentleman in the West." After persistent search and correspondence Captain Cary identified Mr. Eggleston as the one who had preserved the will and the M. I., and secured from him the copy now *penes me*, which is reproduced in *The Virginia Carys*.

¹ As shown by his M. I., *post*, p. 661.

² Robert Carey, seventh Baron Hunsdon, died in September, 1702, unmarried. The peerage was claimed by, and ultimately confirmed to, William Ferdinand Carey, grandson of an uncle of the seventh Lord Hunsdon. This family had lived for three gen-


in the statement that between "Wednesday morning, when they weighed and wth a faire Easterly winde stood into James River," until Crimson "after five daies stay in James River sailed off wth his prizes, their want of water caused them to make several attempts upon the shoare where they met with such opposition as not to be able to get any or anything els of a farthing value, so much easier is it for us to guard the shoare than the shipp."

erations in Holland, and became thoroughly Dutch. Their pedigree was in some confusion, and Dr. Brian Fairfax (1633-1711), brother of Henry fourth Lord Fairfax, who had married a Carey of the Hunsdon family (see *ante*, p. 373), objected to the Dutchman's claim on the ground that he understood there were living in Virginia male descendants of a brother or brothers of the seventh Lord Hunsdon. The Dutchman thereupon employed the herald Peter Le Neve (1661-1729) to prove his pedigree and eliminate Dr. Fairfax's suggestion. Le Neve made a thorough investigation, as appears from his notes which survive. (*Harleian MS. 6694*, transcribed in *W. M. Cary Notes*.) The committee of the House of Lords said: "Peter Le Neve hath been with Collonell Nicholson and several of the name of Cary, merchants trading to the West Indies, some of them born there, but cannot hear of any such persons." Le Neve's bill to the Dutchman gives the following items:

"15th Jan. 1707, Coach hire into City to inquire after the Carys of Virginia,	2/6
16th Jan. " More coach hire on that account (and to the Tower),	1/6"

He apparently interviewed Colonel Francis Nicholson (lieutenant-governor of Virginia 1690-1692 and again 1698-1705), and the merchants Thomas Cary of Putney who had been born in Virginia, and Robert Cary, Sr., who traded there. (See *post*, pp. 683, 700.) He also found trace of Captain Nathaniel Cary of Charlestown, Mass. (see *ante*, p. 561), as having been in London in 1704, "frequenting the New Eng^d Coffee House behind the Exchange," and actually met his nephew Captain Samuel Cary, of Charlestown, of whom he noted "have talked with him."

From such sources of information Le Neve constructed a tenta-



To this we may add from the despatches the further fact that the entire militia of the colony were mustered and under arms and that the Dutch were anchored off Newport News. As Miles Cary commanded the militia of Warwick, he would be the officer to whom would fall the duty of repelling the attempts of the Dutch to land for water in the vicinity of Newport News, as it was of Major-General Richard Bennet on the opposite side of the river. It is

tive pedigree of the Carys of Virginia and Charlestown, Mass., which, while erroneous in detail, was in the main correct: it served to persuade not only Dr. Fairfax but the committee of the House of Lords that "it is only a false report . . . that there are issue male living of one of the last Lord's brothers in Virginia, or some other part of the West Indies."

Le Neve's pedigree shows ". . . Cary, of Virginia, shott by the Dutch about 35 years since," and as his son "Coll. Miles Cary of York County on Yorke River in Virginia, a Navall Officer, living in 1704, married daughter of Coll. Wm. Wilson of Kikatan in James River, Virginia."

As this pedigree was compiled in 1707, the estimate of the death of Miles Cary, the immigrant, as "about 35 years since" would bring us back to 1673, when the Dutch made their second foray into Virginia waters, and indicates a mere confusion of the two adventures. How then did Le Neve get this information? It may have been derived from Colonel Nicholson, or from Thomas Cary of Putney, but the very confusion of the dates in respect of the Dutch raids seems to indicate some one who did not know as much about Virginia as both of them did and to point to Captain Samuel Cary as the most likely source. He might well have had as definite information in the premises as is shown in Le Neve's pedigree. In 1692 his uncle Captain Nathaniel Cary and his wife took refuge from the witch delusion in New York, where Governor Fletcher "was very courteous to us": they did not return to Massachusetts until 1699. (*Ante*, p. 559.) In 1693 Miles Cary II was in New York for conference with Governor Fletcher. (See *The Virginia Carys*.) These kinsmen must then have met in New York in 1693 and exchanged family facts: the greater definiteness of Le Neve's information about Miles Cary II gives weight to this theory.

then not impossible that in such an obscure duty he received a mortal wound.¹

He was buried, after the Virginia fashion, near his house in Warwick. A brick tomb was erected over the grave, on which his family placed a heavy ironstone slab, carved in, and imported from, England, bearing the following inscription:²

¹ What militates against this assumption, but is not conclusive, is the fact that neither Berkeley nor Ludwell mentions it in the despatches. The death in action of "Col. Miles Cary, Esq., Counsellor of State," would have been good coloring-matter for the despatch, if only to show the vigor of the defense, for Ludwell does mention Major-General Bennet, who commanded south of the James. We might expect also some human expression of regret from Ludwell, even in an official despatch, because he would not only be writing of an official colleague but of a "beloved friend" who had named him one of the overseers of his will. The whole question must remain in obscurity until the time when, and if, some private news-letter of the day may turn up to solve it.

² With his letter to Robert Carter Nicholas of April 11, 1844, hereinbefore quoted (see *ante*, p. 657, note), William Robertson, clerk of Warwick, enclosed a copy (now *penes me*) which he had made of this inscription, adding: "There is a distinct impression on the Tomb of a Coat of Armes, but I understand nothing of Heraldry, and therefore could not decypher it." When, in 1851, Mr. Guilford Dudley Eggleston visited the spot the tomb was already in decay. He says in his notes (transcribed in *W. M. Cary Notes*): "I found an old tombstone in a very dilapidated condition. It was broken in five pieces. After cleaning it and rubbing it with soft brick, propping it together, I succeeded in getting from it a copy of the Coat of Arms and the epitaph." Of this inscription he secured a certificate (now *penes me*) by the clerk of Warwick, then William B. Jones. In 1868 Captain Wilson Miles Cary visited the spot and in turn succeeded in getting together the fragments of the stone, then scattered anew by Union soldiers who had camped on the spot, and before he had seen either Mr. Robertson's or Mr. Eggleston's transcripts made a complete copy of the inscription, which confirmed them both. Captain Cary made the following note of local color: "At the foot of a giant walnut . . . and in the deep shade of a bower formed by

[ARMS]


Here lyeth the Body of MILES CARY, Esqr.
only son of JOHN CARY & Alice his wife,
daughter of HENRY HOBSON, of the City of
Bristoll, Alderman: he was born in ye said Citty
and departed this life the 10th day of June, 1667,
about the 47th year of his Age, leaving four
sons and three daughters, viz: Thomas,
Anne, Henry, Bridgett, Elizabeth,
Miles & William.¹

As appears from his tombstone, Miles Cary left four sons and three daughters. To the daughters he bequeathed the proceeds of the sale of his two houses in Bristol with equal shares of his personal estate.² The eldest, Anne, ap-

the festoons of a mighty grape vine that embraces in its snake like fold the entire grave, lies the tomb of Col. Miles Cary. The ponderous iron stone slab lying above the debris of old English brick is some six feet by three, and, though broken by vandals, still bears to his descendants of the eighth generation the inscription traced by the piety of the first more than two hundred years ago. Elegantly sculptured in bas relief within a circle garnished with graceful mantlings is the Coat of Arms, a shield bearing on a bend sable three roses of the field surmounted by a helmet upon which stands the crest, a swan with wings raised in the attitude of attack."

¹ It will be noted that whoever was responsible for the inscription made, as so often happens in such cases, two mistakes. Miles Cary was not the *only* son of John Cary, though at the time of his death he may have been the only *surviving* son. Furthermore, he did not die "about the 47th year of his age," but in his forty-fifth year, having been baptized January 22, 1622, O.S., as appears from the parish register of All Saints Church in Bristol.

² By deed dated April 11, 1670, the three daughters joined in an assignment of their interest in the Bristol houses to Captain William Bassett, who had recently married one of them. (See Conway Robinson's note of General Court Will Book, ii, 3, in *Va. Mag.*, viii, 244; and William Bassett's will, in Keith, *Ancestry of Benjamin Harrison*, 27.)




parently never married; the second, Bridget, became the wife and soon the widow of Captain William Bassett,¹ of New Kent County; and the youngest, Elizabeth, married her neighbor Emanuel Wills,² of Mulberry Island.

Miles Cary divided his real estate in Virginia between his four sons, under a system of cross entails, and thereby founded four families to perpetuate his name. His plan was eminently successful, for, despite variations of fortune, his issue have multiplied greatly, and two hundred and fifty years after his death, in the ninth and tenth generations, are still representa-

¹ Captain William Bassett in his will leaves to a sister "all my interest in a house in New [rest of the word illegible] in the Isle of Wight, in which my mother now lives, near the town gate." From this he is identified (Keith, *Ancestry of Benjamin Harrison*) as a son of William Bassett "of Newport, yeoman," whose estate was administered by his widow in 1647. He was a captain in Sir Bryce Cochran's regiment, in Cromwell's expedition of 1658 against Dunkirk. At Dunkirk in 1661 he met Colonel Henry Norwood, the Cavalier treasurer of Virginia, who advised him to establish himself in Virginia, which he proceeded to do. He apparently married Bridget Cary in 1669, for in 1670 his son was born and he was appointed guardian for her brother William on the resignation of William Beaty, who then "intends for England." (Entry October 18, 1670, in MS. *Book of General Court Judgments and Orders*, 1670-1676, Va. Hist. Soc. Library.) After a brief married life Captain Bassett died in 1671 (see his will in Keith, *ibid.*, mentioning the two houses in Bristol), leaving his young wife with a son, the second William Bassett, "of Eltham," who became a burgess for New Kent in 1693, and in 1702 was of the council. A granddaughter of this second William Bassett was the wife of Benjamin Harrison, signer of the Declaration of Independence, and a great-granddaughter was the wife of George Augustine Washington, nephew of the first President.


² Her son Miles Wills was burgess for Warwick in 1714 and sheriff in 1722 and 1723. The Wills family has persisted in Virginia. (See *W. & M. Quar.*, xxiv, 200.)



tive Virginians¹ holding up their heads with a certain fine and proud sensitiveness which is their common characteristic, and maintaining the tradition of liberal education which, practically without interruption, identified their name with William and Mary College from its foundation to the inauguration of the University of Virginia. By the ramifications of intermarriage during the eighteenth century they wove themselves closely into the fabric of "Virginia cousins," so that their "connection" is of the widest. In doing so each of the immigrant's four Virginia-born sons contributed in his progeny successive representatives in the government of the Commonwealth so long as it retained its colonial flavor,² but each of their four families developed a different inherited

¹ While they are to-day, as they were two centuries ago, characteristically tidewater Virginians (or *tuckahoes*) and never were pioneers, they have not been altogether sitfast, but have made their contribution to the westward expansion of the United States. Colonies of the name and blood of this family may now be found flourishing in Kentucky, Tennessee, and Kansas, as well as in Florida, Maryland, and New York.

² The experience of this family and others of their kind in the two innovations of government which they have experienced is not lacking in moral tragedy. In the American Revolution they unanimously espoused the popular cause which prevailed, but thereby accomplished under the spur of radical leadership a passionate self-sacrifice of the special privileges they had inherited. In that later progressively radical revolution which actuated the war between the States, again unanimously they stood and fought, this time for their own class and interests, only to make new sacrifice with the added bitterness of the failure of their party. In neither instance did they repine: their descendants know the *catharsis*, but they have never resumed the tradition of public life.



propensity, which gives interest to the study of their intricate genealogy.

Thus the eldest son, Major¹ Thomas Cary² of Windmill Point, was the progenitor of a line of planters, merchants, and local magistrates, which

¹ Though, after the Virginia fashion, most of the Virginia Carys, through service in the militia, have been known by military titles, none of them was ever conspicuously distinguished as a soldier: their highest usefulness has been in the council-chamber. Nevertheless, in every war of Virginia and the United States they have seen active and meritorious service under arms. In the Civil War of 1861-65 practically all of them (actually eighteen) of that generation were "out" as regimental officers of the Confederate army. Most recently, in the war against Germany, one of them gave his life for the honor of Virginia in the same spirit which actuated his immigrant ancestor to a similar fate.

² *Colonel Thomas Cary, the North Carolina "Rebel" of 1711.* The late Captain Wilson Miles Cary, of Baltimore, long flirted with the expectation that he might be able to identify Major Thomas Cary, the eldest son of the immigrant Miles Cary of Virginia, with the Colonel Thomas Cary who, in 1711, "supported by the interest of the Quakers and assisted by a Rabble of loose and profligate persons, turned out the President and most of the Council and assumed on himself the Government" of North Carolina, until Governor Spotswood of Virginia interfered, fearing a repetition of Bacon's rebellion in the adjoining province, or of the more recent overthrow of government in Antigua. (See Spotswood's despatch to Lord Dartmouth of July 15, 1711, in *Spotswood Papers*, Va. Hist. Soc. *Publications*, 1882, 81.)


The possibility of that identification lay in the fact that two sons of this Thomas Cary of Warwick are known to have consorted for a time with the Quakers, while after 1682 there is no surviving evidence of any public activity in Virginia by this Thomas himself as there is of his younger brothers. Weighing heavily against it was Mr. G. D. Eggleston's note, made in 1851 from the then extant Warwick records, of the will of a Thomas Cary proved in Warwick in 1708, which was undoubtedly that of the son of our immigrant. While in England in 1907 Captain Cary finally satisfied himself that the Colonel Thomas Cary of North Carolina had no immediate relation to the Virginia family, but was one of the Carys of Cheping Wycombe, co. Bucks. (See *ante*, p. 522.) As the pedigree of this family constructed in *H. & G.*, vi, 32, does not pursue the eldest line to which the

produced seven clerks and two sheriffs of Warwick County in five successive generations. In the American Revolution they were represented by Judge Richard Cary and his brother, Colonel John of Back River; the former became later a

"rebel" belonged, it seems worth while here to preserve the genealogical evidence collected in the *W. M. Cary Notes*.

This pedigree begins with the Walter Cary (1550?-*post*, 1627), "of Wickham," co. Bucks, the Oxford physician whose books we have enumerated. He is assumed by Mr. Nichols to be the father of the three brothers: (i) the Walter who was denounced by the heralds in 1634 as "no gent"; (ii) Sir Thomas of Port Lester, co. Meath, Ireland, the father of Patrick (see p. 470); and (iii) Rowland, of Everton, co. Beds., for all of whom and their descendants the evidence is ample.

Thus the second Walter ("no gent") made a will (P.C.C. *Boycer*, 154) in 1651, describing himself as "the elder, of parish Cheping Wycombe, co. Bucks, gent.," which indicates that he persisted in his defiance of the heralds. He names his son Walter and son-in-law John Humphreys. This third Walter in turn left a will (P.C.C. *Duke*, 142) dated 1671, naming his wife Anne, an infant son Thomas, for whose maintenance at Oxford he makes provision, and several daughters. One of the overseers of this will is his "brother" John Humphreys. Two years later, in 1673, Anne Cary "of Wickham, Bucks, widow, about 35," marries a widower, John Archdale, "of the same, about 27 years." (*Foster, London Marriages*.) He was grandson of Richard Archdale, London merchant, who in 1604 had bought the estate of Cheping Wycombe, co. Bucks. (See S. B. Weeks, *Southern Quakers and Slavery*, 1896, chap. iv. The Archdale pedigree from the *Visitation of London*, 1633-4, and the will of Richard Archdale are in Waters, *Gleanings*, i, 319.) In 1681 John Archdale bought out the interest of the deceased Lord Berkeley of Stratton, and in the name of his infant son Thomas became one of the proprietaries of the colony of Carolina. He went out to the colony in 1694 as governor and afterwards was returned M. P. for Cheping Wycombe. He was a "pious and intelligent Quaker" (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*, Supplement, i, 56), and we find in the Quaker records (*Publications Gen. Soc. of Pa.*, ii, No. 1) a certificate of the marriage, August 12, 1688, of "Emanuel Low, cit. and Fishmonger of London . . . and Anne Archdale of Cheping Wycombe in co. of Bucks, Spinster, one of the dau^s of John Archdale of Cheping Wycombe afs. Gent. & of Eliz. his dec^d wife." One of the sub-




member of the first court of appeals of the new Commonwealth, so capping the century of service of his family in the judicial system of Virginia. Two branches of the Back River family now hold high place in the business world of Richmond.

The second son, Henry Cary of "the Forest," and his son of the same name were professional architects and builders who constructed a number of the "colonial" churches and other public buildings which still stand to testify the honesty, skill, and good taste of their work, as well as historical structures, such as the capitol and governor's palace at Williamsburg, which have disappeared. This line alone developed and evinced a measure of the commercial instinct which was a right inheritance from their Bristol forebears, and prospered progressively more by

scribing witnesses to this marriage certificate was Thomas Cary. Emanuel Low is later found among Thomas Cary's "rabble" of associates in North Carolina. (See Spotswood's proclamation of July 24, 1711, in *Colonial Records of N. C.*, i, 776.) In 1705 Archdale writes that he has a daughter in North Carolina, a sister's son in South Carolina, and "my wife hath also a son there who principally on my acc^o is gou^r of ye North." (Weeks, *Southern Quakers*, 60.)

It seems clear, then, that when in 1695 a Thomas Cary became secretary of the council of South Carolina, in 1697 receiver-general of the province on behalf of the Proprietors, and in 1705 a half-governor of North Carolina, he was the son of Walter Cary of Bucks, went out under the patronage of his stepfather John Archdale, and, though not himself of the faith, had a family affiliation with the Quakers, which would account for his subsequent hold on that sect in North Carolina.


Spotswood gave Thomas Cary a bad reputation in history, which has been bruited by Hawks, by Doyle, and by Osgood, but study of other contemporary documents besides Spotswood's despatches has cleared him of the worst of the charges, that of



their own efforts than by the unearned increment. They flowered and died in the fourth generation in the person of Colonel Archibald Cary of Ampthill, a Revolutionary patriot whose political participation in the founding of the United States achieved for him in the new democratic tradition the name which is now best known of all his Virginia kin. Not the least interesting and characteristic fact about him is that despite his lifelong political preoccupations, he carried on the industrial bent of his father and grandfather in his Falling Creek iron furnace and other manufacturing ventures; he was also a large and (like his father) a somewhat speculative landholder. Through Archibald Cary's daughters the blood of this line has been spread far and wide by the Randolphs, Pages, Harrisons, Bells, Langhornes, and other representa-


inciting the massacre by the Tuscarora Indians, and he is now in a fair way to be rated an heroic champion of "popular" rights against the sinister powers of episcopacy and privilege. (Saunders, in *Colonial Records of N. C.*, I, xxvii; and Raper, *North Carolina*, 1904, 14.)

So is history made and remade! Whatever he may have been, when sent to England for trial on the charges of "rebellion" preferred by Governors Hyde and Spotswood, Thomas Cary was promptly released: he returned to North Carolina in the spring of 1713 with a safe-conduct from the Lords Proprietors, and there he died in 1718 (*Colonial Records of N. C.*, ii, 46, 53, 56, 308), leaving a son John, who was living in the colony in 1725. (*N. C. Hist. & Gen. Reg.*, iii, 426.) It is possible (but not yet proved) that the otherwise unidentified family of Carys, several of whom were named Joseph, who are found later in North Carolina and in Princess Anne, Surry, and Isle of Wight counties, Virginia (see *The Virginia Carys*, 157; *N. C. Hist. & Gen. Reg.*, i, 182), were of the kin of Thomas Cary "the rebel."



tive Virginia families; and is shared also by the Boston Coolidges and the Richneck Carys.

The third son, Colonel Miles Cary of Richneck, was the first of a line of land-acquisitive holders of high and lucrative provincial office, three generations of them being, among other things, naval officers in the revenue service in succession to the immigrant. By virtue of his own parts and industry, founded on the advantage of education in England (unique among the immigrant's sons) and a fortunate marriage, this second Colonel Miles established his family at the beginning of the eighteenth century in a position of assured wealth and economic leisure, which enabled them to cultivate the elegancies of life and so gave them, in the aristocratic development of the colony and throughout the remainder of the colonial period, the social consequence of the group since colloquially known as the "F.F.V.'s" (or "First Families of Virginia"), a tradition which survived the loss of their broad inherited acres in the post-Revolutionary economic distress of the slave-owning planter class. Their representatives, become once more workers, have now for several generations been residents not only of Richmond, but of Maryland and New York, in all of which communities they have taken place as leaders in conservative citizenship, in education, at the bar, and in literature.



The fourth son, William Cary of "Skiffs Creek," while himself a busy magistrate and several times a burgess, produced descendants of his name who have always been highly respected but uniformly of a less stirring disposition than their kinsmen: their main stem representatives have lived as planters and farmers in Prince Edward County, where they are still seated on land which, practically, represents their inheritance from the immigrant. William Cary's blood has, however, been widely distributed by the fertile Jacquelin-Ambler family; and in the nineteenth century his far transplanted Eggleston descendants earned a solid literary distinction.

We have traced each of these four lines elsewhere in genealogical detail.¹

¹ See *The Virginia Carys*, 1919.

PART FOUR

—

CARY IN LONDON

“the Crowning City,
Whose antiquity is of ancient days,
Whose feet carried her afar off to sojourn,
Whose merchants are princes,
Whose traffickers are the honourable of the earth.”

Isaiah, xxiii.


“There is no place in the town which I so much love to frequent as the Royal Exchange. It gives me a secret satisfaction, and in some measure gratifies my vanity, as I am an Englishman, to see so rich an assembly of countrymen and foreigners, consulting together upon the private business of mankind, and making this metropolis a kind of *emporium* for the whole earth. I must confess I look upon high-change to be a great council, in which all considerable nations have their representatives. Factors in the trading world are what ambassadors are in the politic world: they negotiate affairs, conclude treaties.”

The Spectator, No. 69, 1711.



THE FRUITS OF EARLY INDUSTRY AND OECONEMY

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CHAPTER TWENTY-TWO

‘WHOSE MERCHANTS ARE PRINCES’

Cromwell did much to revivè the political prestige of England abroad, but it is now recognized that he was not a constructive statesman,¹ and the evidence is that foreign trade, which has always been so large an element in England's national greatness, was at a standstill during the Protectorate.² The Dutch held the field. It would seem, then, that the claim of historians of the school of Ranke and Gardiner, that Cromwell re-established English commerce after the ruin of the civil wars, is distorted. It is more likely that that phenomenon may be related (like the blessing of the introduction of port wine, sherry, and madeira into English civilization!) primarily to Charles II's Portuguese marriage and new Spanish treaty. That combination certainly opened up to English merchants the greatest opportunity of overseas trade they

¹ Cf. Morley, *Cromwell*, 497, with Frederic Harrison, *Oliver Cromwell*, 219.

² *State Papers, Domestic*, 1651, xvi, 139.




had ever known,¹ or were to know until after the Peace of Utrecht, and was the herald of the exuberant national "prosperity of which the annals of human affairs had furnished no example" which the Whigs were complaisantly to attribute to their politics. Charles II's government contributed to this in no small measure. The navigation law, ingrain of the mercantile system; the planting of colonies; the very wars with the Dutch, which it is now the fashion to denounce as sordid and contemptible, were, measured by their results, the realization of Bacon's national policy of "consideration of power."

The Restoration was in truth a golden age of the English overseas merchant. The State papers reveal how he was consulted by statesmen, how his veto of a project was heeded.² As to him, if not as to the colonists whom he undoubtedly exploited in the professed interest of the nation, the Restoration government acted on the principle that trade, and with it the wealth of a nation, grows in proportion as it is exempt from repressive "uplifting" regulation. We think of Charles II himself mostly with reference to his dissolute court, but it is a fact that he took a keen interest and, indeed, several personal ven-

¹ Cunningham, *Growth of English Industry and Commerce*, ii, 193.


² The facts are impressively marshaled in Flippen, *The Royal Government in Virginia*, Harvard University, 1919.



tures, in foreign trade. The example was not lost on the court and spread thence to the gentry generally. When they did not themselves take part, as many of them did, they showed a new respect for the merchant in social intercourse and industriously married his daughters. A single statistic will serve to illustrate the result of this national support of trade. In the reign of Charles II the exports of England doubled, from two to four millions: they did not double again until 1740.¹ The English merchants were thus made to appreciate, by the test of their balance-sheets, what the Restoration meant to them, and they testified to it by the inscription on the statue they erected to Charles II in the Royal Exchange. It is significant that the only other sovereigns so honored are Queen Elizabeth and Queen Victoria.

Men flocked to London from all parts of England during this period, to seek a share in these new opportunities of making one's fortune, for now more than ever commercial life centered in London, as Isaiah saw it crowding on Tyre, as "the crowning city." Among them were Carys from all the families whose fortunes we have traced. There in an old-world but fast changing society, which is mirrored for us in Macau-

¹ For a succinct and lucid discussion of the astonishing revival of national industry and commerce in England after the Restoration, see a book now deemed out of date, Knight's *Pictorial History of England*, viii, ch. 4.




lay's hard and brilliant pages,¹ they met and mingled, until we have the spectacle, unprecedented before or since, of no less than seven recognizable families of Carys in business as contemporary London merchants, most of whom achieved fortune and an important status in the world. These families have another characteristic in common, that, as if exhausted by their efforts in the counting-house, they soon became extinct: so that the merchants who in the last years of the seventeenth century made the name Cary to be respected in commerce wherever the British flag flew, are become mere dim traditions attached to some heirloom of the days of their greatness, which has descended in a female line with the remnants of the fortunes they built.

Those Carys who migrated to London to this destiny were by no means the first of their name who had so adventured. There are traces of the name in trade in London during the sixteenth and even in the fifteenth century, but we are able to identify few of them: none rose to significance.²

¹ *History of England*, ch. iii. An explicit and intimate view of everyday life among the merchants at this time, which has the advantage of differing from Macaulay in politics, is the contemporary life of the Turkey merchant Sir Dudley North, in the *Lives of the Norths*.

² The records of Wills of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury now at Somerset House reveal a cloud of Carys in London from the fifteenth to the nineteenth centuries. They are all arrayed and most of them calendared in the MS. *W. M. Cary Notes*, as by-products of two years of professional work among the records.



It is, then, an interesting evidence of national commercial and industrial development to observe the difference in the occupation and environment of those of whom we are now to treat as compared with the earlier emigrants, for example that scion of the Bristol tree, William Cary, "citizen and cloth-maker," of London, who died in 1572.¹ He had made the same effort doubtless with the same natural equipment a century before. One is an artizan, at most, as we have conjectured, a representative and forwarding agent for his family at Blackwell Hall, living and working out largely with his hands a narrow existence, the others wealthy magistrates, trading to the ends of the earth, sitting on boards of directors, living luxuriously in suburban villas, and driving up ponderously in their coaches to their comfortable counting houses in the city.²


THE ST. DUNSTAN'S FAMILY

The first of these cadets who so became a merchant prince was RICHARD CARY (1649-1726), the second son of Shershaw Cary of Bristol who

These Carys belong to every class of the community, many of them of the humblest—sailors and small shopkeepers. Undoubtedly among those who have not been identified are kin to all the branches of the Devon Carys.

¹ See *ante*, p. 515.

² Cf. George Morland's print *The Fruits of Early Industry and Oeconemy*, which illustrates the type of merchant of whom we write, at a period a century later.



had died at Lisbon. Our earliest record¹ finds him in 1678 en route northward from Barbadoes to Antigua, where, and in Nevis, he established himself as a sugar planter and by 1690 had become one of the commissioners for the government of the Leeward Islands.² Before 1699 he removed to London and was there engaged in a large way of business as a sugar merchant. In that year he joined his older brother John, the Bristol publicist, in the application to the Heralds' College which resulted in a confirmation of the right of the Bristol Carys to bear the arms of Cary of Devon. The record of that transaction³ gives us the main genealogical facts about him. Later, in 1712, he became a director of the Bank of England, then newly founded, and a deputy lieutenant for Middlesex. He lived in the parish of St. Dunstan's in the East,⁴

¹ Hotten, *Original Lists of Emigrants*, 357.

² *Cal. State Papers, Colonial, Am. & W. I.*, 1689-92, 345. There are references to him in relation to the government of the Leeward Islands in succeeding volumes of the colonial papers as late as 1700, but in 1697 he appears before the Board of Trade and Plantations in London, and it was perhaps then that he transferred his residence from the West Indies.

³ See *The Virginia Carys*.

⁴ Describing his son and his wife for the purpose of administration of their estates, he called them both "late of St. Dunstons in East" (*P.C.C. Admon. Act Book*, 1715 and 1716), and by his own will, although describing himself simply as "of London, Esquire," he leaves a legacy to the poor of St. Dunstan's in the East. We may assume, then, that he lived in the vicinity of Tower Street, back of the modern Custom House and of Billingsgate market.

but he had a villa in Kensington. His will¹ shows that he was a stockholder in the East India and the South Sea companies. He had married Jane, daughter of Joseph Wright, of London, and by her had two sons and two daughters. His sons both died before him, unmarried. The eldest, Richard (1685-1715), was captain of a company of foot in Colonel Alexander's regiment,² and died at Kensington. The younger, Joseph (1688-1705), died and was buried on the Antigua plantation.³ The two daughters married Hertfordshire squires. Jane was the wife of Henry Long, of Totteridge, high sheriff in 1715. The youngest and last survivor of the family, Martha, wife of Robert Elwes of Throcking, inherited her father's large estate. Her son Cary Elwes (1718-1782) was the ancestor of a line of country gentlemen who prefixed Cary to their surname and have persisted until the present day, their chief seat being now Great Billing, co. Northants.⁴

"The church of St. Dunstone," says Stow, "is called in the east for difference from one other of the same name in the west: it is a fair and large church of an ancient building and within a large churchyard: it hath a great parish of many rich merchants and other occupiers of divers trades, namely: salters and ironmongers."

¹ It is dated May 13, 1721, and was proved February 3, 1726. (P.C.C. *Fairant*, 32.) See also the references to him in *Musgrave's Obituaries* for 1727. (*Harl. Soc. Pubs.*)

² P.C.C. *Admon. Act Book*, 1715.

³ Cary-Elwes pedigree in *W. M. Cary Notes*.

⁴ Burke, *Landed Gentry*, 1914.



THE PUTNEY FAMILY

Contemporary with Richard Cary, the West India merchant, was his kinsman who joined him in the application to the Heralds' College; JOHN CARY (1645-1701) of Putney, an East India merchant. From the pedigree which he filed in the Heralds' College we identify him as a grandson of John Cary of Bristol, "draper."¹ His father was a shadowy person, recorded only as Thomas Cary (b. 1613), who married "Susanna Limberry² of Dartmouth, co. Devon," and left two sons and a daughter. Before 1663 these sons emigrated to the colonies, being then mere lads, and one of them, Timothy, "died beyond seas."³ The other, John, established himself for a time in Virginia, but was destined to

¹ See *ante*, p. 537.

² It is probable that her son, John Cary, owed not only his impulse to Virginia but his subsequent opportunity in London to the Limbereys. John Limberey was, with Povey and Noel, a leader in the group of merchants who had established trade relations in Jamaica immediately after the English conquest of that island and in 1656 petitioned Cromwell for a charter for a West India Company, outlining plans of imperial colonial policy which were subsequently largely adopted by the government of Charles II. On the Restoration, Povey, Noel, and Limberey were all included in the Council for Foreign Plantations, under Clarendon. (See Osgood, *The American Colonies in the XVII Century*, iii, 141, 145, 150, 206; Callaghan, *Documents . . . of New York*, iii, 33; Andrews, *British Committees*, etc., 1622-1675, 68.)

³ Heralds' College pedigree of 1701. It does not appear to what colony Timothy went; perhaps it was Jamaica, in which the Limbereys were interested, or perhaps it was to Virginia with his elder brother.

return to England and become a London merchant. He left a definite record in Virginia. On February 23, 1663, he patented lands in Accomac,¹ but subsequently transferred to Surry, for there on June 15, 1665, he married Jane, daughter of "John Floud of Virginia, Gent.," and there on February 22, 1667, his eldest son, Thomas, was "born in Virginia."² He had meanwhile, in 1666, acquired his deceased father-in-law's house,³ and appears otherwise on the records during the two following years.⁴ In 1671 he returned to England.⁵ In London,

¹ *Va. Land Records*, v, 218.

² Heralds' College pedigree of 1701.

³ *Surry Deed Book*, i, 350, which describes him as "John Cary, who married Jane, ye dau. of s^d. Coll. John Floud." Colonel John Flood was a man of importance in the early years of the colony of Virginia. Between 1630 and 1656 he was six times a Burgess for Flower dieu Hundred and the boroughs on the south side of the James. (Stanard, *Colonial Virginia Register*, 55, *et seq.*) He had maintained relations with the Indians and learned their language; in 1659 he had recently died, having "long and faithfully served the Country in the office of an interpreter," when his son, Thomas Flood, succeeded him in that office. (Hening, i, 521.) For Thomas Flood's descendants see *W. & M. Quar.*, xvi, 225. Colonel John Flood married as his second wife Fortune Jordan, sister of Colonel George Jordan of Surry, who was attorney-general of the colony in 1670 (see *W. & M. Quar.*, vii, 232), which accounts for the fact that Colonel Jordan describes John Cary as one of his "nere relations." (Surry, *O.B.*, i, 30.)

⁴ See *W. & M. Quar.*, vii, 225, 232; viii, 163; and Stanard, *Some Emigrants to Virginia*, 20.

⁵ He had patented lands in Surry as late as December 27, 1667 (*Va. Land Records*, vi, 269), and in an instrument dated that same month (*Surry Deed Book*, i, 355), describing himself as "now of Surry County in Virg^a, being by God's grace intended to ship myselfe for England," constitutes his "trusty and loveing friend

on April 22, 1672, he married his second wife, Mary Cox, describing himself in the marriage license¹ as "of St. Bennets, Finksbury, citizen and salter."² During the ensuing twenty-eight years he prospered greatly, maintaining a trade with Virginia,³ but towards the end of his life broadening out to the East Indies: in the Heralds' College pedigree of 1700 he describes himself as at that time "one of the directors of the English Company trading to the East Indies." He had meanwhile become a magistrate, describing himself in the pedigree also as "in the commission of the Lieutenancy of London."

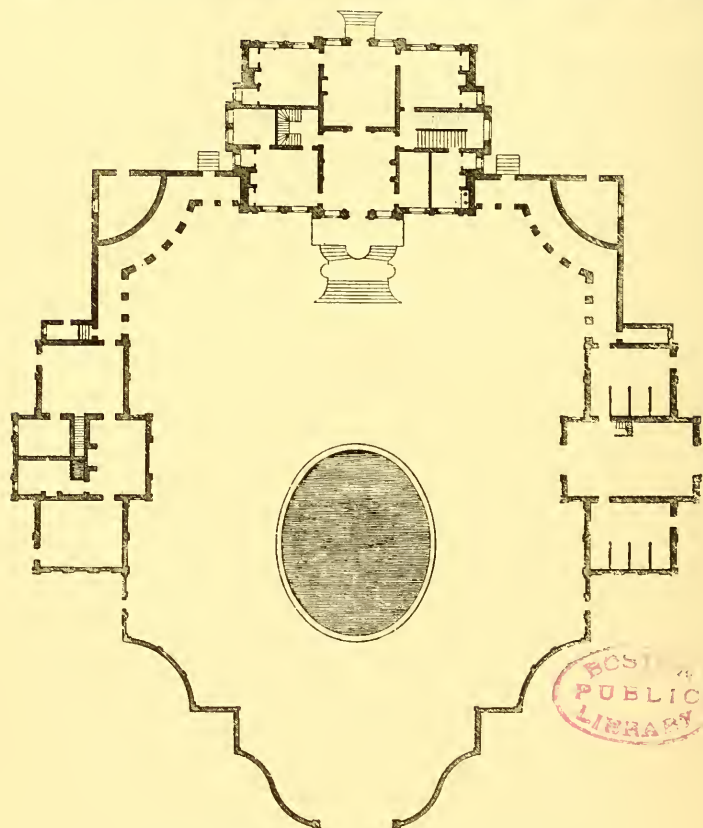
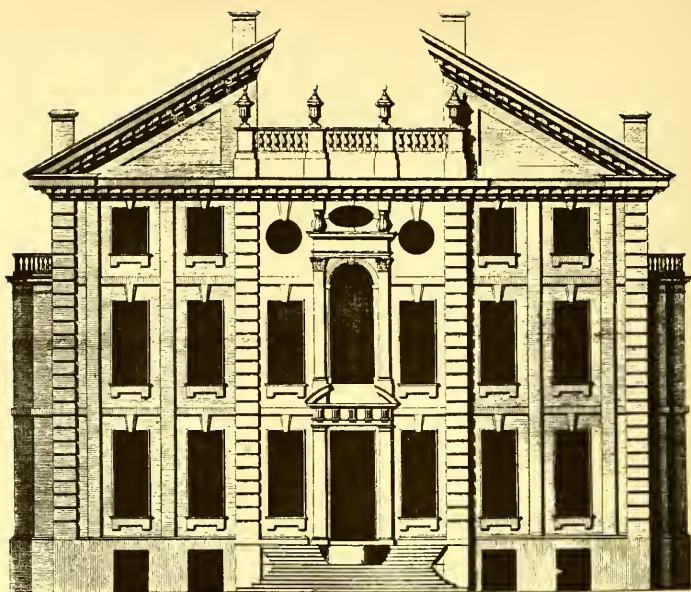
Mr. Benjamin Harrison" his attorney to settle his affairs in Virginia. He took to England with him not only his son Thomas, but his young brother-in-law and ward Thomas Flood, binding himself as to the latter (*Surry Deed Book*, i, 403; see also *W. & M. Quar.*, vi, 173) "to take him to Eng^d., educate and keep him and pay him his dues . . . according to the will of Coll. John Flood." This Walter Flood returned to Virginia in due course and there died in 1722. (See his will, *Surry Will Book*, vi, 422, and *W. & M. Quar.*, xvi, 226.)

John Cary served in 1691 on the committee in London for William and Mary College (*W. & M. Quar.*, vii, 164), and subsequently sent a piece of plate to the parish church of Surry, which is still preserved at Brandon, where also is maintained a tradition that the wife of Nathaniel Harrison of Wakefield was a daughter of John Cary and Jane Flood. (See *The Virginia Carys*, 155; and Keith, *Ancestry of Benjamin Harrison*, 48.)

¹ Foster, *London Marriages*.


² The Salters were the eleventh in rank of the livery companies of London. (Stow, *Survey of London*, Everyman's ed., 477.) The members originally dealt in salt for the curing of fish, but in the seventeenth century were the importers and wholesalers of tobacco and other bulky commodities.

³ He is given as one of the twenty-four English merchants who, in the later years of the seventeenth century, furnished the greater portion of the supplies imported into Virginia. (*McDonald Papers*, Virginia State Library, vii, 251.)



ROEHAMPTON HOUSE, PUTNEY
SEAT OF THOMAS CARY, VIRGINIA MERCHANT
1667-1716

BOSTON
PUBLIC
LIBRARY



He was buried at Putney in 1701.¹ Though he left seven sons, his name did not persist beyond the next generation.

The eldest Thomas Cary (1667-1716), the Virginian, had gone to England with his father and succeeded to his business. He rebuilt his father's house at Putney, called Roehampton, and made a notable residence of it.² His will³ shows that he died prematurely, still expecting issue by his wife, Esther Hudson. Of the six sons by John Cary's second marriage, the first three were all merchants and apparently engaged in the Scandinavian trade. Thus the eldest, Callow, died at Hull in 1717,⁴ and the second, John, at Stockholm in the same year.⁵


¹ Lysons (*Environs of London*, 411) describes his tomb. See also his will, dated May 18, 1699, and proved May 13, 1701 (P.C.C. *Dyer*, 58), with its bequests of plate, jewels, pictures, coaches and horses, and large legacies to his wife and children.

² Colin Campbell (*Vitruvius Britannicus*, 1717-25, i, 6), commenting on his two plates of Roehampton House, says: "This is the seat of Thomas Cary, Esq., in Surrey, in a most agreeable situation: the Apartments are well disposed for State and Convenience. The Salon is very Noble and has an excellent ceiling (the Feasts of the Gods) by Mr. Thornhill. But above all the Humanity and Liberality of the Master deserves to be transmitted to Posterity. The design was given by Mr. Archer *Anno* 1710." Roehampton afterwards became the residence of Keppel, second Earl of Albemarle, who was governor of Virginia from 1737 to 1754, though never in the colony, his deputies being Gooch and Dinwiddie. (See Manning, *History of Surry*, ii, 290.)

³ It was dated May 26, and proved June 4, 1716. P.C.C. *Fox*, 188.

⁴ See P.C.C. *Admon. Act Book*, 1717, and his widow's will, proved 1718, P.C.C. *Tenison*, 234. Callow Cary was named after his mother's stepfather, Robert Callow. See his father's marriage license in Foster, *London Marriages*.

⁵ See P.C.C. *Admon. Act Book*, 1717.



The third, Richard, had already died, unmarried, in 1707.¹ The fifth, Robert, entered the army. His half-brother Thomas had left him a legacy of £2000 to buy a commission, and we find that he became in time a captain in the crack regiment of Household Cavalry known as "The Blues,"² but apparently he fell into ill health and ultimately in 1733 died and was buried at Bath.³ The youngest, Peter, died, unmarried, in 1739, a factor in the service of the East India Company at Fort Marlborough on the coast of Sumatra.⁴ The fourth, William, survived all his brothers, and, as none of them left a son, was the last of his name of the Putney line. He was apparently unmarried and the black sheep of the family, ultimately disappearing beyond sea, doubtless in the East Indies, "where there ain't no ten commandments."⁵

Several of the daughters of John Cary of Put-


¹ See his will, P.C.C. *Poley*, 137.

² See *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1734, 107.

³ See the M. I. in the Church of All Saints, Weston, Bath, recording the death of "Robert Cary, Esq., February 2, 1733, aged 47," in Collinson, *History of Somerset*, i, 163; also his will, P.C.C. *Ockham*, 27. He had married Louise Van Sittart of the Dutch family of merchants long resident in Dantzic, Poland, and afterwards in England. See her will, P.C.C. *Strahan*, 174.

⁴ See his two wills, P.C.C. *Henchman*, 229.

⁵ His brother Peter had named him as his executor in his first will, made in 1735, referring to him as then absent from England. By his second and last will, made in 1738, he names another executor and leaves an income to William in trust. The spinster sister, Mary, who died at Windsor in 1738, refers to William in her will (P.C.C. *Broadripp*, 210) as "my unhappy brother."



ney, like the daughters of his kinsman Richard of St. Dunstan's, married country gentlemen. One was the wife of Sir Charles Eyre, another of Colonel John West of Bury St. Edmunds, another of Richard Mounteney, an officer of the custom-house who succeeded to Roehampton House after the death of Thomas Cary.¹

THE COLEMAN STREET FAMILY


Contemporary also with Richard and John Cary, but of a generation ahead of them, were their kinsmen the descendants of the first Christopher Cary of Bristol.²

His second son, WILLIAM CARY (1593?–1664), had migrated to London during the Commonwealth, and when he died described himself in his will³ as “citizen and haberdasher” living in Coleman Street. He apparently prospered decently, if by no means after the fashion of his kinsmen we have described, though the Virginia records show that he too carried on an export trade. He left among other things to his eldest son, William Cary of London, “silkman,” three

¹ In Lysons, *Environs of London*, 413, is given a neat Latin epitaph on the widow of John Cary of Putney, from a portrait monument in Putney Church. Lysons says it was composed by her “son-in-law, the editor of Demosthenes.” The epitaph may have been composed by the son-in-law, but it was her grandson, another Richard Mounteney (1707–1768), born at Roehampton, who was the editor of Demosthenes and an Irish judge. (See *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, xiii, 1107.)

² See *ante*, p. 518.

³ P.C.C. *Hyde*, 12.



houses on the "Key of Bristol," which he had inherited from his father. Of this last William Cary we have no final record and no dates.¹ He had two younger brothers. Richard died in Barbadoes in 1685, describing himself as "merchant"; his will² shows that he left no issue, but names his brothers and sister. The other brother, Samuel, is described in his father's and brother Richard's wills as "merchant, of London." In 1689 he, too, died without issue, "late of the parish of St. Anne Blackfryers, London, bachelor."³

So was extinguished, so far as the record in England shows, the line of Christopher Cary of Bristol.

THE HACKNEY FAMILY

Another merchant, contemporary in London of the St. Dunstan's and Putney Carys, and an important one, was NICHOLAS CARY (1650?–1697) of Hackney. He was a son of "Nicholas Cary, of St. Andrews, Holborn, doctor of medicine."⁴

¹ See query as to his identification with the William Cary who appears in the records of Middlesex County, Virginia, from 1696 to 1702, in *The Virginia Carys*, 144.

² P.C.C. *Cann*, 96.

³ P.C.C. *Admon. Act Book*, 1689. The administratrix was the sister Demaris Beriffe; so it is probable that the older brother, William Cary, "silkman," was beyond seas if he was not dead.

⁴ This appears from the entry of the admission of the doctor's third son, Benjamin Cary, to Gray's Inn on July 30, 1674 (Foster, *Admissions to Gray's Inn*), who, by his own will (1702, P.C.C. *Degg*, 48) and that of Nicholas Cary, goldsmith (1697, P.C.C.

He may have been of immediate kin to the Bristol Carys¹ or sprung from the Guernsey Carys,² though more probably derived from the Chep-

Pyne, 90), is shown to have been the goldsmith's youngest brother. Their father, the "doctor of medicine," was apparently educated at Benet College, Cambridge, where a "Nicholas Carey" is enrolled in 1644. It is perhaps significant that a few years earlier, 1637, Walter Cary of Everton (1617-1682), of the Cheping Wycombe family, had been at Clare Hall, Cambridge. (Joseph Foster's MS. notes for an unpublished *Alumni Cantab.* seen 1907 by Captain W. M. Cary in the possession of Canon Wordsworth of Marlborough, Wilts.)

¹ According to the parish register of St. Nicholas' Church, Bristol, Richard Cary, "the elder," had two sons named Nicholas, evidently after their maternal grandfather, Nicholas Shershaw of Abergavenny, one baptized February 16, 1611 (o.s.), and buried ten days later, and the other baptized January 29, 1612 (o.s.). The parish register does not record the death of the second Nicholas, and his date would permit him to have been the 1674 London "doctor of medicine" of the same name. Against this identification is the fact that the Heralds' College pedigree of 1700, in reciting the children of Richard Cary, "the elder," of Bristol, gives only one Nicholas, without date, recording that he "died young," styled Shershaw Cary "eldest son," and makes no reference whatever to Nicholas Cary, goldsmith, who was the contemporary of the Richard Cary the West India merchant who filed the pedigree of 1700. The pedigree of 1700 was, however, prepared for a special purpose and does not purport to be complete: there are proven omissions in it in respect of other lines than that of the Richard Cary who files it. Nicholas Cary, goldsmith, might have declined to participate in the expense of establishing the right to use the arms of Cary of Devon, and so was deliberately omitted from Richard Cary's pedigree: this might also be a reason for ignoring entirely the second Nicholas among the children of Richard Cary "the elder," unless the first infant Nicholas had been forgotten except by the parish register, and the second had "died young." All of this is mere conjecture and hypothesis: the designation of Shershaw Cary as "eldest son" in the pedigree of 1700 is probably conclusive against the identification.

² This conjecture is based on the wills at Somerset House, which show Carys in trade in London and Southampton apparently derived from Guernsey and bearing the Guernsey names Nicholas and Peter. Again, in 1592 there died at Poole in Dorset one Nicholas Curye (P.C.C. *Neville*, 2), a shipowner, who had a

ing Wycombe family¹; but in any event his descendants used the Devon arms.²

This Nicholas Cary was a goldsmith in the days before the Bank of England was established to free the commercial world of England of its previous thralldom to that gild.³ He must have been as successful as any, for in 1685 we find him buying in the large estate of Upcerne in brother Peter, who may be a clew to the interest of the Hackney goldsmith in Dorset.

The Guernsey Carys have been continuously "jurats of the Royal Court," or locally governing magistrates of that island, at least since 1527, which is the date of the earliest extant official list (Duncan, *History of Guernsey*, 1841, 573), and have maintained a tradition of a Devon derivation but without specification. From their dates it may be conjectured that they sprang from one of the Chief Baron's younger sons. They have intermarried with the ancient Norman families of the Channel Islands, and in their earlier generations were frequently named Nicholas and Peter. They now spell their surname Carey. One of them, General George Jackson Carey (1822-1872), distinguished himself in the Maori war in New Zealand. His nephew, Captain Jahleel Brenton Carey, was the unfortunate young officer who was in charge of the Prince Imperial when he was slain by the Zulus in 1879. A contemporary representative is Victor Gosselin Carey, Esq., advocate of the Royal Court and receiver-general of the island. (See *Who's Who*.) For the family generally see Burke, *Landed Gentry* (1914), *s.v.* Carey of Rozel.

¹ This attribution proceeds, like the others, on conjecture, but is based on the pregnant facts that prior to Nicholas Cary, "doctor of medicine," we find in the Wycombe family two Nicholas Carys who were citizens of London, and also the precedent of one or more (probably two) physicians. For the Wycombe Carys generally, see *ante*, p. 522.

² Cf. Nicholl, *Leicestershire*, iii, 1021.

³ The goldsmiths began to receive deposits of money and valuables during the civil wars, when their previous trade in plate had languished and there was a general sense of insecurity, a combination of circumstances which brought about a sudden change in their economic status; but it was the modification, for which Calvin was responsible, of the literal Puritan opinion against

Dorset,¹ which enabled him to seat his descendants as country gentlemen and himself to sit in Parliament, from 1695 until his death, as a burgess for Bridport, Dorset.² He died still a young man,³ leaving a will⁴ in which he described himself as still of Hackney, entailed Uperne upon his son Nicholas and his descendants, and otherwise disposed of a large estate.

From this first Nicholas Cary of Hackney descended his son Nicholas (1681–1720?), who was baptized at St. John's at Hackney,⁵ but established himself at Uperne after his father's death, where he became sheriff of Dorset in

"usury" that accomplished their transformation from tradesmen to private bankers. In this capacity for a time they prospered greatly, but seem ultimately to have abused their opportunity, for as bankers they fell into disrepute. For a picture of them at their first appearance as bankers see *Lives of the Norths*, ed. Jessop, ii, 175.


¹ Hutchins, *History of Dorset*, iv, 157. "The parish of Uperne contains about 11,000 acres. The manor continued in the family of Mellors of Luttle Bredy until 1685, when it was sold in payment for debts by Edward Mellor, Esq., to Nicholas Cary of Hackney, Middlesex, who is therein described as 'citizen and goldsmith of London,' the consideration price being £11,000 and 120 broad pieces of gold."

² *Return of Members of Parliament*, 1879.

³ His brother Benjamin was born in 1653, as shown by his admission to Gray's Inn. We assign the conjectural birth date of 1650 to the older brother.

⁴ P.C.C. *Pyne*, 90. He names his brothers Philip and Benjamin, the barrister, and the children of "my late brother Christopher." This Christopher (1658–1692) had married Margaret Lenthall at St. Mary Magdalen, Old Fish Street, London, in 1682, describing himself as then "of Hackney, bachelor, 24" (Foster, *Marriage Licenses*), and died at Barbadoes commanding the merchant ship *Elizabeth and Susan*. (P.C.C. *Admon. Act Book*, 1692.)

⁵ Parish register in *W. M. Cary Notes*.



1715.¹ He died after 1719,² for his son was born in that year.

This second Nicholas left as his successor at Upcerne a third Nicholas (1719–1761), who married the heiress of the family of Strode, long seated in the vicinity of Upcerne, and died at forty-two,³ leaving a son, Nicholas Strode Cary (1760–1784), who served as a subaltern in the army and died unmarried at the age of twenty-four, when Upcerne passed to the heirs of Strode,⁴ his mother's people, and the male line of the Hackney family came to an end.

THE CHISWICK FAMILY

Contemporary with the other London merchants we have mentioned was the family of JOHN CARY (1604–1702) of Ditchley, co. Oxon, who were, comparatively recently, derived from Devon. We have seen that one of the younger sons of Thomas Cary of Cockington, father of the Lord Deputy, was that John Cary (1552–1622?) who is called on the Visitation pedigrees “of Dudley,” because he left Devon and for some time resided at Dudley Castle in Staffordshire as “Ranger of the Chace of Pens-

¹ Hutchins, *History of Dorset*, iv, 158.

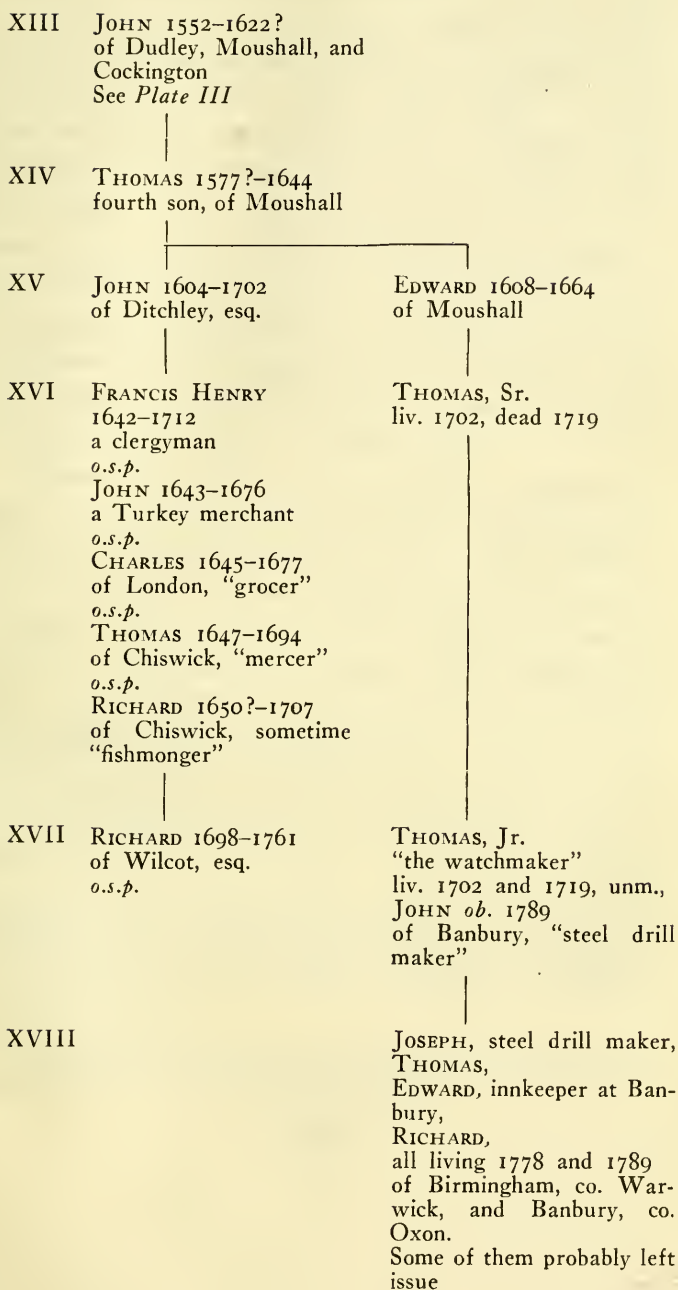
² We cannot find his will or otherwise establish the exact date of his death. But see the will (P.C.C. *Aston*, 47) of his spinster sister Jane, who continued to reside at Hackney and died there in 1713.


³ He is buried at Upcerne Church. See the M. I. in Hutchins, *History of Dorset*, iv, 158. See also his will, P.C.C. *Cheslyn*, 311.

⁴ Hutchins, *loc. cit.*

PLATE VIII

THE MOUSHALL CARYS






nett, Co. Staff, of Edward Lord Dudley"; but most of his life he lived at Moushall in the same shire.¹ In this modest abode he established his third son Thomas (1520?-1644), who in turn was succeeded at Moushall by a younger son Edward. The eldest son of this Thomas was that other John Cary, with whose sons we are now concerned. He had transferred himself to Oxfordshire and is styled "of Ditchley" at the Visitation of Staffordshire of 1664, as also in the Spelsbury parish register prior to that date, but in his will² describes himself "of the Burrough of New Woodstock, co. Oxon, gent."

These Carys had not prospered; apparently they had failed in the first duty of country gentlemen who would maintain their line, namely, to marry an heiress in at least every other generation. When the civil wars came they were unable to withstand the shock, and though John Cary of Ditchley maintained his own status throughout his extraordinarily long life of ninety-eight years,³ all his sons but one (who was a clergyman) went up to London to repair the family fortunes in trade. Of the four broth-

¹ See *ante*, p. 261. The subsequent pedigree of this family in Staffordshire and Oxfordshire, headed *Cary of Moushall* and certified by John Cary "of Ditchley," is included in the Visitation of Staffordshire of 1664. (William Salt Society *Publications*, 1885, v, pt. 2, p. 72.)

² P.C.C. *Hem*, 128.

³ He was born in the second year of James I and lived down to the beginning of the reign of Queen Anne.



ers so engaged during the last half of the seventeenth century, John (1643-1676) was, like Tristram Shandy's father, a Turkey merchant, and died unmarried at Smyrna;¹ another, Charles (1645-1677), describes himself in his will² as a bachelor of "Stowe-with-nine-churches, co. Northants and late of London, grocer." The third, Thomas (1647-1694), became "of St. Michael le Queme, London, citizen and mercer,"³ and prospered, so that before the end of his life he had, after the fashion of rich merchants, established himself in a suburban villa, at Chiswick, and dying without surviving issue left by will⁴ a large estate to his younger brother, the Benjamin of the family. This Richard Cary (1661-1707) had been "citizen and fishmonger,"⁵ but after inheriting his brother's estate he retired to Chiswick, sent his eldest son to Oxford and to the Middle Temple to study law,⁶ and when he died described himself in his will⁷ as "of Chiswick, Co. Middlesex, gent."⁸

¹ See his will, P.C.C. *Bence*, 109.

² P.C.C. *Reeves*, 23.

³ See the record of his two marriages in 1674 and 1679 in Foster, *London Marriages*.


⁴ P.C.C. *Box*, 151. See also the will of his widow Elizabeth Cary, who died in 1695, *Bond*, 135.

⁵ See his marriage license in 1686 in Foster, *London Marriages*.

⁶ This Thomas Cary, apparently a youth of promise, died much lamented in 1710 at the age of seventeen, and was buried at Chiswick. (See Lysons, *Environs of London*, 204.)

⁷ P.C.C. *Poley*, 222.

⁸ He is buried with his brother Thomas in Chiswick Church.




The surviving son of this Richard was another Richard (1698–1761), who on the accumulation of a generation of trade reverted to his ancestors' status, and, although he succeeded also to the Chiswick property, described himself in his will¹ as "of Wilcott, co. Oxford, Esquire." He died without issue. The Chiswick line failed with him, but the commercial tradition which it had established persisted in another branch of their immediate kin. Becoming manufacturers in metals rather than merchants of raw materials, they illustrate the industrial development of England from the seventeenth to the eighteenth century. The significant fact is that these Carys repeated, under the test of recent and provable records, the experience of the descendants of the more remote cadet of Cary of Devon who founded Cary of Bristol.

The persistence of Cary of Moushall.

We have noted that a younger brother of John Cary "of Ditchley" succeeded to Moushall. This Edward Cary was living at Moushall, *ætat* 56, at the Visitation of Staffordshire of 1664, and was buried at King's Swynford, co. Stafford. He left children Thomas, John, Anne, Mary, and Elizabeth, who are named in the will of their uncle John Cary of Ditchley (P.C.C. *Hem*, 128), in those of his sons the merchants *supra*, and in that of their spinster sister Mary (1719, P.C.C. *Browning*, 102). Of the sons, the eldest,

See the reference to the monument in his son's will (*Cheslyn*, 85), and Lysons, *Environs of London*, 204.

¹ P.C.C. *Cheslyn*, 85.

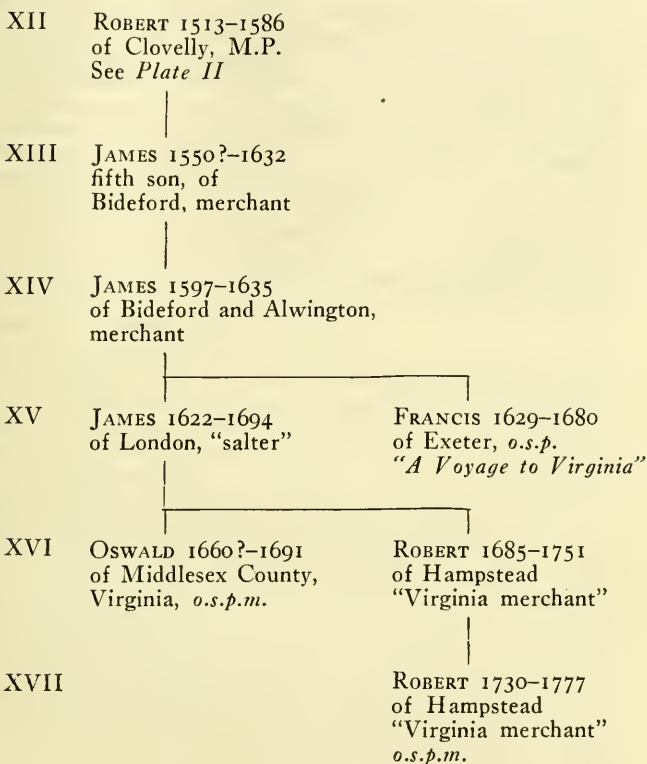


Thomas, apparently alone left issue: they are named in the will of their aunt Mary, viz.: Thomas, Jr. (styled in the will of his great-uncle John of Ditchley, "the watchmaker"), to whom, his aunt Mary said, Moushall "belongs by inheritance," John and "his three children," Charles and Elizabeth, who married James Stafford, and had got possession of Moushall, which her aunt exhorted her to surrender to her eldest brother. In the next generation we find the "three children" of John, viz.: John, Jr., "steel drill maker of Banbury," co. Oxon, who left a will (1789, P.C.C. *Macham*, 240), Mary and Sarah. If Elizabeth Stafford had done injustice to her brother, her son Cary Stafford "of London, glass manufacturer," apparently made it good. He died unmarried in 1778, leaving a will (P.C.C. *Hay*, 416) with substantial legacies to his cousin John of Banbury and his sons Joseph, Thomas, Edward, and Richard, who it appeared were then in business as manufacturers in Birmingham. With them our record of the Moushall Carys terminates.

THE HAMPSTEAD FAMILY

Another, and in this instance a direct, migration of the Devon Carys to London to engage in trade appears in the family of JAMES CARY (1622-1694) of Hampstead, a Virginia merchant and the first of three generations in that trade who sold tobacco on commission for the Virginia planters and purchased for them in England those supplies from a "Fashionable sett of Desert Glasses" or "2 wild beasts, not to exceed 12 inches in height nor 18 in length," to a "chariot in the newest taste, handsome, genteel

PLATE IX
THE BIDEFORD AND HAMPSTEAD
CARYS




and light," and so contributed to that English flavor in Virginia colonial life which is its racy characteristic.¹

No evidence has yet come to light definitely to identify the origin of this James, but the tradition of his descendants is clear that he was a scion from the Devon tree,² and it seems likely

¹ See the letters which Colonel George Washington wrote to Messrs. Robert Cary & Co. beginning May 1, 1759, immediately on his taking over the management of the Custis estate after his marriage, particularly the lists of supplies he ordered to be sent him, and the manly letter of August 10, 1764, explaining why he was in arrears to Cary & Co. (Ford, *Writings of Washington*, ii, 126 et seq.; and compare an illuminating paper by John Spencer Bassett, *The Relations between the Virginia Planter and the London Merchant*, Report of Am. Hist. Asso., 1901, i, 553.) On the other hand, but few papers coming out of the counting-house of Cary & Co. have survived in the Virginia records, and those of the most formal character. Their letter-books during three generations would make a rich contribution to the meagre material for the history of colonial Virginia planters.

² Thus, in the *Herald and Genealogist*, iv, 391, the Rev. Charles J. Robinson says: "The family of Weekes resident in co. Sussex claim to be descended from the ennobled Carys through the Hamptons. The Rev. William Hampton, rector of Worth, co. Sussex, married 1688 Elizabeth, daughter of James and Anne Cary, who was born at Aston, co. Oxon, in 1669." This Hampton marriage appears in the will (P.C.C. Box, 243) of James of Hampstead, and in the Hampton pedigree in Nicholls, *Coll. Topo. et Gen.*, vi, 294. Again, Lewis E. V. Turner, of London, a descendant of James Cary through his grandson Robert, the last Virginia merchant of the line, who married in 1890 a daughter of Gouverneur Morris of New York, whose mother and grandmother were both Virginia Carys, has rehearsed to the present editor the same tradition derived from his grandmother. Such a tradition constantly maintained in a family for two hundred years is not to be disregarded, especially when backed up by the uninterrupted use of the Devon arms, of which there are several surviving evidences. It is clear, however, that James Cary was not descended from the "ennobled" Carys. If he had been of the Hunsdon family, of which anything seems possible, his son Robert, a man of importance at the time Le Neve was searching for heirs




from the iterated reproduction of the Clovelly name Robert among those descendants that he came of that household. This assumption finds a warrant in the fact that a cadet line of the Clovelly family had been engaged in trade at Bideford for two generations when in 1622 they baptized a son James, otherwise unaccounted for, who fits into the known facts relating to our Virginia merchant.¹ Robert Cary, son of the last marriage of the Compostela pilgrim, who inherited Clovelly, left among his other children² a fifth son, James, who appears on the 1620 Visitation pedigree with his second wife, Catherine, daughter of George Basset of Tehidy. He was living at Bideford in 1584, when he there baptized a son, Robert, by his first wife, Mary Prouse, and there he was himself buried in September, 1632. He was a merchant trading on the Newfoundland cod fisheries, a magistrate and the chief man of his town, with whom the secretary of state corresponded, as appears from the references to him in the contemporary

to the Hunsdon peerage, is not likely to have been overlooked: on the other hand, the Falkland pedigree may be said to be proof against further intrusion.

James Cary's second marriage in Oxfordshire naturally suggests that he was, like the Chiswick family, one of the numerous descendants of John Cary "of Dudley" who found their way into Oxfordshire; but Captain W. M. Cary's diligent tests of the Spelsbury and other Oxon parish registers definitely eliminated him from among them.

¹ But see *ante*, p. 281, as to the contemporary James Cary of the Cockington family.

² See *ante*, p. 182.




state papers.¹ His fourth, but apparently eldest surviving, son James was baptized at Bideford, February 10, 1597/8, and in November, 1615, married Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Grenville of Aldercombe. His first two children were baptized at Bideford, but, though he continued to do business at Bideford, in 1617 he moved his residence to Alwington, a village not far distant, where was established the family of his father's youngest brother Francis. There were baptized his sons Timothy (1618), James (1622), whom we here identify as the founder of the Hampstead family, John (1626), Francis (1629), and a daughter Julian (1624); and there James¹⁴ was himself buried in 1635. The Devon record of this family goes no further.² Younger sons of younger sons, Royalist in their breeding, depending upon commerce for their livelihood, it is evident that they fell on parlous times under the Commonwealth, and we might expect to find some among them emigrating. It seems quite clear that Francis did so in 1649,³

¹ Cf. Granville, *History of Bideford*.

² This extension of the Visitation of 1620 from the parish registers is the achievement of Colonel Vivian (157, 158). What patient work it represents is evident from the previous failure of Mr. Robert Dymond in the same field, as evidenced by his MS. notes now *penes me*.

³ Francis Cary, son of James of Bideford and Alwington, born in 1629, was twenty years of age in 1649. In August of that year three Cavaliers, Colonel Henry Norwood, Major Francis Moryson, and Major Richard Fox, met in London in pursuance of a previous engagement "in order to full accomplishment of our purpose to seek our fortunes in Virginia." (See Colonel Nor-



and it is possible that James either followed or preceded him, for when we have our first certain glimpse of the Virginia merchant in 1659, after he was established as a "citizen and salter" in London, it is in relation to Virginia under circumstances which suggest that if he had not been in the colony he had through his first wife close family associations there, and we know that his son by that wife made his career in Virginia.¹ At all events we find James Cary busy with

wood's narrative, *A Voyage to Virginia*, in *Force Tracts*, vol. iii.) They sailed on the ship *The Virginia Merchant*, and after a disastrous voyage were cast away on one of the islands in Chincoteague Bay on the eastern shore of Maryland. In describing their proceedings in this plight, Colonel Norwood says: "Amongst the rest a young gentleman, Mr. Francis Cary by name, was very helpful to me in the fatigue and active part of this undertaking. He was strong and healthy and was very ready for any employment I could put upon him. He came recommended to me by Sir Edward Thurlan, his genius leading him rather to a planter's life abroad than to any course his friends could propose to him in England: and this rough entrance was like to let him know the worst at first." Colonel Norwood later refers to him as "my cousin," but does not say what became of him when the survivors of the party at last made their way to the Virginia settlements. If, as seems likely, this adventurer was identical with the Francis of the Alwington family, he seems to have returned promptly to England, for there is no further record of him in Virginia, and Colonel Vivian has shown (157) that he married Gertrude Meech at Hartland on August 30, 1652. He was probably the Francis Cary who died at Exeter in 1680 leaving a will proved in the bishop's registry.

¹ See the will (P.C.C. *Pell*, 450), dated June 25, 1659, of Luke Johnson "of Virginia, planter," appointing James Cary, "citizen and salter," one of the executors and leaving a legacy to James Cary's (first) wife Elizabeth. This suggests that she was of kin to Johnson; the more because we find James Cary associated with James Johnson "of St. Sepulchers, London, Gent." in another Virginia will of 1675. (See *Va. Mag.*, xi, 366, 78.)

For James's son, Captain Oswald Cary of Middlesex County, Virginia, see *The Virginia Carys*, 143.

Virginia affairs during the rest of his life: perhaps the most interesting scrap of our information in that respect is that in 1682 he prosecuted in England, for some of his Virginia correspondents, a claim against Sir William Berkeley for unjust exactions upon them during Bacon's rebellion.¹


In 1664 James Cary, then describing himself as "of St. Margt & Moses, London, salter, wid^r," married a second wife, Anne Dabson, daughter of Robert Dabson, "of Aston, co. Oxon, gent.,"² by whom he had several children, including a son James, who took his portion and went forth from the paternal mansion,³ and the youngest, who carried on the business in London. His will⁴ mentions all these children of the second marriage and leaves a legacy to the "daughter of my late sonne Oswell Cary, deceased," so designating Captain Oswald Cary of Virginia. He directs that he be buried beside his pew in St. Austin's Church, Watling Street, near which he dwelt. The youngest son, Robert Cary (1685?-1751), was still living in Watling Street

¹ *W. & M. Quar.*, ix, 45. See also Bruce, *Economic History of Virginia*, ii, 324.

² See the marriage license, September 27, 1664 (Foster, *London Marriages*), and Anne (Dabson) Cary's will, proved March 19, 1705, *P.C.C. Goe*, 157.

³ He died without issue in 1726. See his will, *P.C.C. Plymouth*, 178, and the conjecture as to his having been in Virginia in *The Virginia Carys*, 149.

⁴ It is dated October 25, 1694, and proved December 20 of the same year. (*P.C.C. Box*, 243.)




in 1701,¹ doubtless over his counting-house, in accordance with the ancient city practice. There he carried on his inherited Virginia trade under the firm "Robert Cary & Co.," by which it was to be known until the American Revolution. He was the London representative of the Virginia Indian Company in 1716, and in 1732 had an interest in Governor Spotswood's ironworks.² Falling in with the growth of luxury in the mercantile classes which came with increased prosperity, he established at Hampstead a country house to which he refers in his will with evident affection as well as in the direction that he be buried at Hampstead. He married, first, Elizabeth Hele,³ but had children only by his second wife, Amy Braithwaite,⁴ his son and successor

¹ See the will of William Aylward, "late of Virginia, merchant," P.C.C. *Poley*, 24, calendared in *Va. Mag.*, xi, 151.

² See Colonel William Byrd, *Progress to the Mines* (ed. Bassett), 378, and Brock, *Spotswood Papers*, i, p. xiii; ii, 144.

³ See the marriage license, November 12, 1719, in Foster, *London Marriages*.

⁴ Her death is noted in *London Magazine*, 1769, p. 592. (See her will, proved October 27, 1769, P.C.C. *Bogg*, 337.) The identification of her family name as Braithwaite is conjectural, resting upon the existence of a china plate (now in possession of Mr. Hugh Cary-Askew of London as an heirloom of the family since the time of Robert Cary, Sr.), showing an impalement of the arms of Cary and Braithwaite, and the fact that Robert Cary and his wife are buried with William Yerbury, who declares himself in his will (P.C.C. *Henchman*, 205) to be a cousin of Braithwaite. In his will Robert Cary, Sr., refers to "my wife's mother Mrs. Shaban." She had married Vincent Chabane of Hammersmith for a second husband. (See his will, proved 1721, P.C.C. *Buckingham*, 126.)



and a daughter. By his will¹ he disposed of a large estate and made particular provision for his partners to carry on his Virginia trade until his son should be old enough to take over the business. He was buried at Hampstead parish church.² This son, a second Robert Cary (1730–1777), carried on until his death the business as a Virginia merchant, and was the correspondent, among others, of George Washington and

¹ It is dated July 24, 1751, and proved November 18 of the same year. (P.C.C. I *Busby*, 302.) He died October 23, 1751, as was noted in the *London Magazine*, 1751, p. 477.

² The M. I. noted in Lysons, *Environs of London*, 538, was rediscovered and redciphered in 1906 by Captain W. M. Cary. His *Notes* record: "Sunday, April 29, 1906, wheeled out to Hampstead parish church at 11–12 A.M. and staid until 5 p.m. endeavoring to clean and decipher the very faint time worn inscription on a handsome altar tomb monument, at the left of the western portal, in the church yard. . . . After much rubbing and washing in the hail showers that from time to time moistened the overlaying mould, I managed to bring to light almost every word and figure of the wholly engraven roof slab, as follows: 'In a Vault under this Tomb lieth Interred the body of Mr. William Hart, Late Citizen and Mercer of London, who departed this life the of January, 1717, aged . Also the Body of Mr. John Hart, Father of the above said William Hart, Citizen and Mercer of London, who died the 3^d of July, 1707, in the 61 year of His age. And the Body of Mrs. Rebecca Hart, Daughter of the above said John Hart, who died the of March, 17 . And the body of William Yerbury, Esq., who died September the , 1739, aged 68. Also Robert Carey, Esq., merchant of London, who died October 23, 1751, aged 76. Mrs. Amy Cary, Relict of Robert Cary, Esq., Died October 23, 1769, aged 69.'"

The connection of Robert Cary, Sr., with the Harts does not appear, but it seems probable they were of the Braithwaite kin. The will (P.C.C. *Henchman*, 205) of the William Yerbury who is named on the tomb calls Robert Cary "my good friend" and creates him executor. It mentions also "my cousin Mary Braithwaite," so he at least was apparently kin to Robert Cary's second wife.

Thomas Jefferson. He married first a daughter of Dr. Robert Smith of Combe Hay, co. Somerset,¹ by whom he had two daughters,² and, second, in 1773, Susanna Yorke of Hampstead.³ By his second wife he had another daughter, through whom his tradition has persisted.⁴

He died in 1777, in his forty-eighth year,⁵ at a time doubtless of no little business anxiety; the American Revolution had brought to an end the trade which, under the protection of the navigation laws, had been lucrative in steadily increasing ratio to his grandfather, his father, and until recently to him.⁶ We can have little

¹ See Collinson, *History of Somerset*, iii, 336.


² See the reference to his first wife in his will. Of her two daughters one died a spinster, the other married Adam Askew, but left no issue.

³ *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1773.

⁴ She was Lucy Elizabeth Cary, an infant at the time of her father's death, when his will was contested in her behalf. She ultimately married a nephew of her half-sister's husband, the son of Dr. Anthony Askew, by profession a physician, but more celebrated as a classical scholar and book collector. (See *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, i, 664.) From this marriage ("Thomas Askew, Esq., of the New Romney Light Dragoons, to Miss Lucy Elizabeth Cary of Wimpole Street," says the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1796) are descended the families of Cary-Askew and Turner of London, referred to *ante*, pp. 695, 700.

⁵ "Died vi April, 1777, aged 47 years" is the M. I. on the altar tomb in Hampstead Churchyard, similar in design to that of the Harts under which his father was buried. (*W. M. Cary Notes*.) The second Robert Cary's will is dated November 26, 1773: by reason of the contest it was not proved until April 3, 1779. (P.C.C. *Warburton*, 146.)

⁶ For a discussion of the development of England's trade with her colony of Virginia and of the merchants engaged in it, see Bruce, *Economic History*, ch. xv and xvi.




doubt of his political sentiments at the time: like other Englishmen of his class who had batten¹ on the mercantile system in relation to the colonies and had had opportunity to learn at first hand the character and strength which the colonists had developed, he favored the practical adjustment which was so long possible and did not stand on the punctilio of political form which controlled his obstinate sovereign.²

He described himself in his will as "of Hampstead, Co. Middlesex, Esquire," and, like his father, took pride in the comfortable country seat on the Thames near the pleasant village of Hammersmith, which was his inherited *pied à terre*. The place has since been swallowed up

¹ Cf. William Byrd (*A Progress to the Mines*, 1732): "And then our good Friends, the Merchants, load it with so many charges that they run away with great part of the profit themselves. Just like the Bald Eagle, which, after the Fishing Hawk has been at great pains to catch a Fish, pounces upon and takes it from him." (See also Sioussat, *Virginia and the English Commercial System 1730-1733*. Report Am. Hist. Asso., 1905, i, 75.)

² Sir George Otto Trevelyan (*The American Revolution*, iii, ch. 25) has an illuminating discussion of the political sentiment of the city of London towards the colonies at this time. It was preponderantly against the war, not from any idealistic sympathy but from injured self-interest and business judgment of the outcome of the war. "In 1775 the hostilities in Massachusetts found city opinion sullen and recalcitrant: and that state of mind rapidly developed into angry and determined opposition. . . . The silent testimony of the Stocks, those authentic witnesses who never boast and never flatter, unanswerably proves that the City of London at no time shared with the Court and the Cabinet in the delusion that the colonies could be subdued by arms."

See also Samuel Curwen's *Journal* for August, 1776, for evidences of the state of mind of English merchants and manufacturers in the face of their loss of American trade.



in the westward growth of London, but Robert Cary's name long remained on a characteristic English monument near its site.¹


THE ST. FAITH'S FAMILY

There was another family of London merchants in this generation, of humbler circumstances at the time than those we have described, but which has since produced that Cary who has distinguished the name more than any, except the second Lord Falkland. We do not know what was their immediate origin.² We find in 1711 a will of one William Cary, "of Whitechapel, co. Middlesex, carman,"³ who, dying without children, disposed of several "car roomes" or licensed street stands for public trucks, among the children of his brother John Cary, namely: Mordecai, John, Elizabeth, Jane, and William. The name Mordecai is our clew to the identification of these brothers John and William, citi-

¹ Faulkner, *History and Antiquities of Hammersmith* (1839), 266. "Angel Lane leads to the Bridge Road and the water side. On a square stone in this lane is this inscription: 'This road is the property of Robert Cary, Esq.' Above are the arms now nearly defaced: Arg. on a bend sa. 3 roses of the field, for Cary. . . . At the southern extremity of this lane is a stone set into the wall with this inscription: 'Adam and John Askew late Robert Cary.'"

² The fact that Mordecai Cary went to Ireland in 1731 as part of and established his career under the vice-royal administration of the Duke of Dorset, in which Walter Cary of Everton was the chief secretary, may have been merely a coincidence or it may indicate that the St. Faith's family were akin to the Cheping Wycombe Carys. (See *ante*, p. 522.)


³ P.C.C. *Young*, 163.



zens of London, as the father and uncle of Mordecai Cary (1687-1751), who was baptized at St. Faith's Church, in the Crypt of St. Paul's, August 15, 1687, as the son of John Cary, citizen, of the Company of Cooks,¹ and Jane, his wife. He was admitted to Christ Hospital, from St. Faith's, in 1695, matriculated at Trinity College, Cambridge, as a subsizar, and accompanied the first Duke of Dorset to Ireland in 1731 as chaplain to the lord lieutenant: there promptly he became Bishop of Clonfert and, in 1735, of Killala, the see in which he died.² His son Henry Cary (1715?-1769) was educated at Trinity College, Dublin, and entered the Irish Church, serving as Archdeacon of Killala while and after his father was bishop and until his own death. He had several children by two wives. One of them, William Cary (1740?-1837?), for some time a captain in the army, but afterwards during a long life a country gentleman of Cannock in Staffordshire, was stationed at Gibraltar in 1772, when and where was born

¹ Stow (*Survey of London*) says: "Under the choir of Paules also was a parish church of St. Faith, commonly called St. Faith under Paul's, which served for the stationers and others dwelling in Paules churchyard, Paternoster row and the places near adjoining." One will recall the use Ainsworth made of St. Faiths in his grisly novel *Old St. Pauls*. Perhaps this John Cary kept one of the coffee-houses in the churchyard which were afterwards so famous as places of resort for the clergy and *litterati*, and by such association his son Mordecai was stimulated to seek the education which made his career.

² He is buried at Killala. His will is in P.C.D. *liber* 1751.



his son, Henry Francis Cary (1772-1844), the translator of Dante, who lived in Hogarth's house at Chiswick and is buried in Westminster Abbey beside Dr. Samuel Johnson.¹

Other Carys in London

Among the numerous Carys whose temporal affairs crowd the records of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury during and after the eighteenth century, but who cannot be identified with any of the families of which we have treated, several made their names known in London by residence and achievement for good or evil, and so have found their ways into the biographical dictionaries. We enumerate them here for the purpose of elimination.

HENRY CAREY (d. 1743), song writer, author of "Sally in Our Alley," and, by his son's claim, of "God Save the King," is reputed to have been the son of a schoolmistress named Carey, by George Savile, the famous Marquis of Halifax. His son,

GEORGE SAVILE CAREY (1743-1807), also a song writer, was an unsuccessful actor, whose daughter Anne, a strolling player, became the mother of one of the lights of the stage,


EDMUND CAREY, alias KEAN (1787-1833).

WILLIAM CAREY (1759-1825) was a notable maker of philosophical instruments in London.

MATTHEW CAREY (1760-1839), the Philadelphia publisher, his brothers John (1756-1820), editor of school books, and William Paulet (1759-1830), engraver and art critic, were sons of a prosperous baker in Dublin.

WILLIAM CAREY (1761-1834), the Indian missionary, whose "Life" by William Smith is a nonconformist classic,

¹ See *Memoir of the Rev. Henry Francis Cary*, by his son, Henry Cary, 1847.



was the son of a weaver in Northhamptonshire and himself began life as a village shoemaker. His biographer suggests that his family was derived from Ireland.

JOHN CARY (fl. 1798), mapmaker, was the author of a useful and popular itinerary of English roads which was reproduced in ten editions.

DAVID CAREY (1782-1824), journalist and poet, was the son of a manufacturer at Arbroath in Scotland.

JAMES CAREY (1845-1883), the Fenian and Irish informer, was the son of a bricklayer of Kildare.

ROSA NOUCHETTE CAREY (1840-1909), the novelist, was the daughter of a ship-broker in London.

THE END



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