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LESLIE STEPHEN

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Canute

I

Canute

**CANUTE** or **CNUT** (994 P.-1035), called the Great, and by Scandinavian writers the Mighty and the Old, king of the English, Danes, and Norwegians, was the younger son of Sweyn, king of Denmark, by Sigrid, widow of Eric the Victorious, king of Sweden (ADAM BREM. ii. 37). In his charters his name is written Cnut, and sometimes Knuð, in Norsk it is Cnútr, and in Latin correctly Cnuto. The name is one peculiar to the Danish royal family. The form Canutus is a corruption; it is, however, as old as the canonisation of the later king of that name by Paschal II about 1100 (ÆLNOth, *Vita S. Kanuti*, ap. LANGEBEK, *Scrip. Rer. Dan.* iii. 340, 382; FREEMAN, *Norman Conquest*, i. 442). While, then, Canute is certainly an incorrect form, it has obtained such sanction as wide and long use can give. Sweyn had apostatised, but some time after the birth of Cnut he again became a christian, and was rebaptised. As a boy, then, Cnut must have been a pagan, but he seems to have received baptism before 1013, and possibly before 1000, the date of the battle of Swold, won by Sweyn, as it seems, after his conversion, and by his allies, the Swedes. At his baptism Cnut received the name of Lambert (comp. *Chron. Erici*, LANGEBEK, i. 158; ADAM BREM. ii. 37, 38, 49, and Schol. 38). He is said to have urged his father to invade England in 1013 (*Enc. Emmæ*, i. 3); he sailed with him, and must therefore have landed at Sandwich, and thence gone round to Gainsborough, where Sweyn received the submission of Earl Uhtred of Northumbria, and of all the Danish part of the kingdom. Crossing Watling Street into the purely English districts, the host advanced to London, ravaging all the country. Being repulsed from London, the Danes marched westwards, and all Wessex submitted to Sweyn, who

was now acknowledged as 'full king' (*A.-S. Chron.* 1013). London gave hostages to him, and Æthelred fled to Normandy. Thus Cnut's conquest only completed and confirmed the work of his father (*Norman Conquest*, i. 399). According to one writer, Sweyn, believing his end to be near, talked much with his son concerning the art of government and the christian religion (*Enc. Emmæ*, i. 5). His death, however, was unexpected, and the gifts Cnut afterwards made to the monastery of Bury seem to show that he shared the general belief that it was due to the vengeance of St. Eadmund. Sweyn died on the road from Gainsborough to Bury on 3 Feb. 1014. His son Harold succeeded him in Denmark, and the Danish fleet chose Cnut to be king of England. The 'witan,' however, sent after Æthelred, and declared every Danish king an outlaw. Æthelred returned to England during Lent. Meanwhile Cnut remained at Gainsborough until Easter (17 April), evidently gathering together as large a force as he could, in order to crush the newly awakened energy of the English. Following his father's example, he now made an agreement with the people of Lindesey that they should supply him with horses, an indispensable step towards inland conquest, and then join his army in ravaging the country. Before he could set out Æthelred marched into Lindesey at the head of a great host, and forced Cnut and his Danes to flee. They sailed to Sandwich, and there Cnut cut off the hands, ears, and noses of the hostages his father had taken, and put them ashore. He then returned to Denmark.

Meanwhile the Norwegians shook off the Danish yoke. Olaf Haroldsson (the saint), a Norwegian sea-king, had carried Æthelred from Normandy to England in his ships. Foreseeing that the English war would call for all

Cnut's strength, and knowing that the bravest Danes were with him, and among them Eric, the earl of Norway, he landed in that country, and by the spring of 1015 obtained the crown (*Corpus Poeticum Boreale*, ii. 116, 127, 153). According to a strange story, Cnut, on landing in Denmark, asked his brother Harold to divide his kingdom with him. Harold refused, and Cnut let the matter drop for the time (*Enc. Emma*, ii. 2). In another account the Danes are said to have deposed Harold on account of his slothful and unwarlike character, and to have chosen his brother king in his stead, but, subsequently becoming impatient at Cnut's long absence, to have again chosen Harold, who reigned until his death (*Chron. Erici*, LANG. i. 158). It seems probable that Cnut, on his return at the head of a powerful fleet devoted to his service, became at least virtual sovereign of the country; that some time later (during Cnut's second absence in England, 1015-19) Harold regained the authority he had lost while his abler brother was in the country, and that Harold died before Cnut returned to Denmark from his second visit to England.

Having thus lost England, Cnut is said to have prepared himself for its reconquest by two successful campaigns against the Slavs dwelling on the south coast of the Baltic in Sclavia and Sembia. The two brothers are also represented as acting together. They went to Poland and brought back with them their mother, who was the daughter of Mieceslas, the last duke, and on their return they received the body of their father Sweyn, which was sent over from England by an English lady, and buried it with great pomp at Roskild (*Enc. Emma*, ii. 3).

Cnut eagerly set himself to raise a sufficient force for a fresh invasion of England, and with the help of his half-brother, Olaf of Sweden, he equipped a splendid fleet (ADAM BREM. ii. 50). A promise from Earl Thurkill that he would join him with his ships, whether delivered in person or not, decided the date of his departure. He sailed from Denmark in 1015, perhaps accompanied by his brother Harold and by the earl (THIETMAR, vii. 28), though Harold's presence may at least be doubted (*Enc. Emma*, ii. 4); while the statement that Thurkill went with the fleet depends on his identity with a Thurgut spoken of by Thietmar. Cnut landed at Sandwich. Thence he sailed round the coast to the mouth of the Frome, and harried Dorset (the sack of the monastery of Cerne is specially recorded, *Mon.* ii. 625) and Wiltshire and Somerset. He met with no opposition. Æthelred lay sick at Corsham, and the ætheling Eadmund and Earl Eadric were at enmity with each other.

Eadric joined Cnut, bringing forty ships with him, and by Christmas Wessex submitted to the Danish king and supplied him with horses. Early in 1016 Cnut crossed the Thames at Cricklade and ravaged Warwickshire; thence he passed over to Bedfordshire, and then led his host by Stamford and Nottingham to York (*A.-S. Chron.* 1016; OTHERS, *Corp. Poet. Bor.* ii. 176). There Uhtred and all Northumbria submitted to him. Nevertheless he treacherously allowed Uhtred to be slain by his private enemies, and gave his earldom to Eric, who had married his sister Estrith (SIMEON, ap. TWYSDEN, col. 81). At York he stayed some time to gather his forces. Æthelred was now dead, and on hearing of his death Cnut appears to have sailed to Southampton, and to have held a meeting of the witan there, at which he was chosen king, and the great men present at it renounced the sons of Æthelred, and swore to obey him (FLOR. WIG. i. 173; *Norman Conquest*, i. 418). The silence of the chronicles, however, throws some doubt on this story. Meanwhile the Londoners made Æthelred's son, Eadmund, king in his stead. On 7 May Cnut laid siege to London. The invading fleet is said to have consisted of 340 ships, each containing eighty men (THIETMAR), and as the river was defended by London Bridge, Cnut made a canal along the south side of it, and so drew his ships to the west of the bridge (*A.-S. Chron.*; FLORENCE, i. 173; *Lithsmen's Song, Corp. Poet. Bor.* ii. 108). Eadmund left the city to gather a force in Wessex, and it was perhaps now that Emma, Æthelred's widow, in order to give her stepson time to come to the relief of the city, entered into negotiations with Cnut, and that he was thus for the first time brought into communication with her (THIETMAR). Cnut was forced to march westwards with part of his army to meet Eadmund, and after two engagements the Danes broke up the siege; it was again formed and again broken up, and Cnut, foiled in his attempt to take London, seems to have made the Medway the headquarters of his fleet, and to have thence sent out expeditions to plunder. A vigorous attack was made on his army in Kent by the English under Eadmund, who drove him and his men into Sheppey with great loss. The total failure of his expedition now seemed certain, but the English king was hindered from following up his success, and the Danes were thus enabled to leave their place of refuge. The struggle, the details of which must be reserved for the life of Eadmund, ended in the battle of Assandun, a spot which may be identified by the hill of Ashington in Essex. There Cnut met an army gathered from every part of England.

After a stubborn battle lasting throughout the day, and even by moonlight, the English gave way; the retreat soon became a rout, and 'all the flower of the English race was there destroyed' (*A.-S. Chron.*)

Cnut followed the English king into Gloucestershire. Great as his victory was, he knew that Eadmund might once more gather strength, and he therefore consented to make terms with him. The two kings met on the isle of Olney in the Severn, near Deerhurst. Henry of Huntingdon's story of a combat between them, and that told by William of Malmesbury of a challenge sent by Eadmund and refused by Cnut, may both be set aside as mythical. At Olney the land was divided. Cnut took the northern part; Wessex remained to Eadmund (*ib.*) This seems all that can be said with absolute certainty about the agreement. By supplying a defective passage in Florence from Roger of Wendover, it appears that Eadmund's share also included East Anglia and Essex with London, and that he kept the crown of the kingdom, Cnut being an under-king (*FlOR. WIG. i. 178; Rog. WEND. i. 459*). On the other hand, Henry of Huntingdon (756), though he is probably wrong, assigns London and the headship of the kingdom to Cnut. The Londoners 'bought peace' of the Danes, and the fleet took up winter quarters there (*A.-S. Chron.*; Lithsmen's Song, *Corp. Poet. Bor. ii. 108*). Eadmund was slain 30 Nov. There is no trustworthy evidence that Cnut had any hand in this opportune event. No English writer accuses him of it, and the story in the 'Knytlinga Saga' that he employed Eadric to slay him is unworthy of belief. Saxo (193) speaks of the belief that he was put to death by Cnut's order, without accepting the story. Henry of Huntingdon gives a detailed account of the murder of the king by Earl Eadric; he there makes Eadric boast of his deed to Cnut, who thereupon has him slain, even as David did by him who declared that he had put Saul to death. There seems no reason for doubting that the king met a violent death; that he was slain by Eadric is certainly probable, and while there is nothing to prove that Cnut instigated the murder, it was done in his interest by men who believed that they had good cause to expect that he would reward them for it. On the death of Eadmund, Cnut immediately called the witan to London, and, when the assembly had met, bade those who were present at the conference at Olney declare what had been settled there about the succession. They answered that Eadmund had assigned no part of his kingdom to his brothers; but Florence (i. 179) says that their testimony was false. Cnut was then formally

chosen king, and he received the oaths of the witan; and when perhaps a fuller assembly had been gathered, his kingship was generally acknowledged. The great men and the people swore to obey him, and he made oath to them in return (*ib.* 180).

Cnut was about twenty-two when he ascended the throne in the first days of 1017. In spite of the formal election and oaths which accompanied his accession, he had really won the kingdom by the sword, and in order to render his position secure he indulged his naturally stern and revengeful temper by putting several of the most powerful Englishmen to death. Among these were Eadric, by whose treasons against his natural lord he had often profited, and Æthelweard, the son of Æthelmaer, the patron of Ælfric the Grammarian [q. v.] An ætheling named Eadwig was banished and afterwards slain by his orders, and with him, too, was banished another Eadwig, called the 'ceorls' king.' It is generally asserted on the authority of Florence of Worcester that the sons of Eadmund were sent to Olaf of Sweden that he might slay them, but that they were saved from death and sent into Hungary. There is, however, good reason for believing that for 'ad regem Suavorum' should be read 'ad regem Sclavorum,' that Cnut sent the children to his brother-in-law Boleslas, and that Mieceslas, his nephew, sent them safely to Russia (*STREENSTRUP, Normannerne*, iii. 305). The two sons of Æthelred were with their mother at the court of Richard, duke of the Normans, who might have been disposed to take up his sister's cause. Cnut, however, avoided this danger by his marriage with her. Emma, or, as the English called her, Ælfgifu, whom Æthelred married 'before August' in 1002, must have been about ten years older than her new husband. Nevertheless, the marriage need not have been one of mere policy, for she was remarkably beautiful. Cnut was already the lover of another Ælfgifu, sometime, it is said, the mistress of Olaf of Norway [see ÆLFGIFU of Northampton]. By her he had two sons, Harold and Sweyn. Emma, therefore, before she accepted his offer, stipulated that, should she bear the king a son, no other woman's son should succeed to the kingdom, and to this Cnut agreed (*Enc. Emmae*, ii. 16).

In 1018 Cnut levied a heavy danegeld of 72,000 pounds, besides 15,000 which he took from London alone. With this money he paid off his Danish forces and sent them away, keeping only forty ships with their crews, who formed the nucleus of his body of 'hus-carls.' And in the same year he held a gemot at Oxford, where Danes and English joined together in the observance of 'Eadgar's law.'

The phrase denotes a renewal of the good government under which men had lived in the reign of Eadgar, when both races dwelt together on terms of perfect equality, each being judged by its own law, though indeed the difference between the systems was scarcely more than one of name. From this time Cnut appears in England as a wise and just ruler. He reigned as a native king, and though he was lord of vast dominions he ever treated England as the chief of all. He constantly visited his other kingdoms, but he made his home here, and while he ruled elsewhere by viceroys he made this country the seat of his government, so that in his reign England was, as it were, the head of a northern empire (ADAM BREM. ii. 63). Yet even here he adopted something of an imperial system of government; for, following out the policy already pursued by Eadgar, he divided the kingdom into four earldoms, and entrusted the administration of each part to a single earl, just as each of the four divisions of the German land and race was under its own duke (STRUBBS, *Const. Hist.* i. 202, where the feudal tendency of this arrangement is marked). The highest offices in church and state were open to Englishmen. Æthelnoth was archbishop of Canterbury, Godwine earl of Wessex. During his later years, indeed, when he saw fit to banish certain Danish earls from England, he filled their places with Englishmen, and so 'Danish names gradually disappear from the charters and are succeeded by English names' (*Norman Conquest*, i. 476).

Having set in order his new kingdom, Cnut visited Denmark in 1019, using for his voyage the forty ships he had retained. He took with him Englishmen as well as Danes, and Godwine is said to have gained his favour by doing him good service in a war he made during this visit against the Wends (HEN. HUNT. 757). On his return to England in 1020 he was present at the consecration of the church at Assandun that he and Earl Thurkill had built to commemorate the victory over Eadmund. The chronicler notes that the building was 'of stone and lime,' for in that well-wooded district timber would have been the natural and less costly material to use. Wulfstan, archbishop of York (the see of Canterbury was vacant), and many bishops were there, and the ceremony was one of national importance. The foundation must have been small, for the church was served by a single secular priest. Cnut was a liberal ecclesiastical benefactor, generally favouring the monks rather than the secular clergy. He rebuilt the church of St. Eadmund at Bury, evidently as an atonement for the wrong his

father had done the saint, turned out the secular clerks, and filled their places with a colony of monks brought from the monastery of Hulm in Norfolk (WILL. MALM. *Gesta Reg.* ii. 181, *Gesta Pontiff.* 151; *Monasticon*, iii. 135, 137). The solemn translation of the body of Archbishop Ælfheah from St. Paul's to the metropolitan church in 1023 doubtless had a political as well as a religious significance. The English saw that the days of plunder by the heathen-men were over for ever, and that the Danish king delighted to honour the martyr whose death made him a national hero. Another of his acts of devotion has been held to cast a suspicion upon him, for in 1032 he visited Glastonbury, and after praying before the tomb of his rival Eadmund offered on it a pall worked with the various hues of the peacock. He also gave a charter to the monastery (WILL. MALM. ii. 184, 185). He appears as a benefactor at Canterbury, Winchester, Ely, Ramsey, and elsewhere. He held English churchmen in high esteem. He admitted Lyfing, abbot of Tavistock, and afterwards (1027) bishop of Crediton, to intimate friendship, and took him with him on his journeys to Denmark and Rome (WILL. MALM. *Gesta Pontiff.* 200). Archbishop Æthelnoth evidently had considerable influence over him. He took many clergy from England to Denmark, and appointed some of them to bishoprics there. One or more of these bishops were consecrated by the English metropolitan. This brought the king into communication with Unwan, archbishop of Hamburg. Unwan seized Gerbrand, who had been consecrated to the see of Roskild by Æthelnoth in 1022, and made him profess obedience to him, and wrote to Cnut to complain of this infringement of the rights of his see. Cnut was glad to oblige the powerful metropolitan of the north, and took care that all such matters should be arranged as he wished for the future. Whatever headship England had among the dominions of the Danish king, it was not to give the church of Canterbury metropolitan rights over them (ADAM BREM. ii. 53). Cnut's munificence extended to foreign churches, and by the advice of Æthelnoth he greatly helped the building of the cathedral of Chartres. His devout liberality took men by surprise. Both he and his father Sweyn seem to have been looked on as heathens by Christendom at large until Cnut exhibited himself as the most zealous of christian kings. The affairs of the north were little known, and Cnut, in spite of his baptism, gave men little cause to deem him a christian until after his accession. A contemporary writer, Ademar of Chabannes, states that he was converted

after he came to the throne (*Recueil*, x. 156), and Fulbert, bishop of Chartres, writing in 1020 or 1021 to thank him for the gifts he had made to his church, implies that up to that time he had believed that he was a pagan (*ib.* 466). In a legend of St. Eadgyth, told by William of Malmesbury, Cnut is represented as led by his heathen prejudices to despise the English saints. He especially mocked at the sanctity of Eadgyth as the daughter of Eadgar, whom he pronounced a lustful tyrant. Æthelnoth rebuked him, and the saint herself rose up to convince him of his sin (WILL. MALM. *Gesta Pontiff.* 190). The story is foolish enough, but taken in connection with the assertions that Cnut acted by the advice of Æthelnoth in sending gifts to Chartres, and that the archbishop accompanied him on his visit to Glastonbury, it perhaps suggests that Æthelnoth was the means of turning the king from a mere nominal christianity, such as he professed when he mutilated the hostages in 1013, to a zeal for the faith and a life not wholly unworthy of it. The belief of Fulbert and Ademar as to the king's heathenism was of course connected with the fact that 'pagani' was the recognised description of the Danes.

Under the year 1022 it is said in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle that Cnut 'went out with his ships to Wiht,' and the next year he is described as returning to England. These entries have been satisfactorily explained as referring to an expedition to Wightland in Esthonia (STENSTRUP, *Normannerne*, iii. 323). Earl Thurkill was outlawed from England in 1021. Nevertheless, before Cnut left Denmark to return hither after this expedition, he appointed the earl ruler of Denmark on behalf of one of his sons. This son was probably Sweyn, the son of Ælfgifu of Northampton. The king brought Thurkill's son back with him as a hostage for his father's good behaviour. About this time he banished Earl Eric from England, and a few years later his own nephew Hakon, giving their English earldoms to Englishmen.

Cnut's pilgrimage to Rome, assigned in the Chronicle to 1031, took place in 1026-7, for he assisted at the coronation of the emperor Conrad on 26 March 1027 (WIPO, c. 16; SIGHVAT, *Corp. Poet. Bor.* ii. 136). On his way he gave rich gifts to the various monasteries to which he came. At St. Omer the writer of the 'Encomium Emmæ' saw him and marvelled at his devotion and munificence. He sent to England an account of his visit to Rome in a letter addressed to the archbishops, bishops, and all the English gentle and simple. He tells his people how his pilgrimage, vowed some time before, had

been put off by press of business, and how glad he was that he had at last seen all the holy places at Rome; he describes how honourably he had been received by the pope and the emperor, and says that he had obtained promises from the emperor and from Rudolf of Burgundy that merchants and pilgrims of England and Denmark should not be oppressed on their way to Rome, and from the pope that some abatement should be made in the large sums demanded from his archbishops in return for the pall, and that he had made a vow to reign well and amend whatever he had done amiss as a ruler (FLOR. WIG. i. 186; WILL. MALM. ii. 183). The whole letter shows his warm-heartedness and his confidence in the sympathy of his people. While, however, there is much that is noble in it, there is something also of the simplicity of the backward civilisation of Scandinavia. By a treaty arranged by Archbishop Unwan, Cnut's daughter Gunhild was betrothed to the emperor's son Henry, and Conrad gave the Danish king the march of Sleswic and accepted the Eider as the boundary between Denmark and Germany (ADAM BREM. ii. 54).

When Cnut was firmly established on the English throne, he sent messengers to Olaf Haroldsson, demanding that he should hold Norway as his earl and pay him tribute. On Olaf's refusal he set about creating a party for himself in Norway, and spent money freely in bribing the Norwegians to be faithless to their king (SIGHVAT, 4). Olaf sought to strengthen himself by forming an alliance with the king of Sweden. About 1026 it seems that another danger also was threatening Cnut in the north, for Ulf, the husband of his sister Estrith, is said to have tried to make one of his sons king of Denmark in his place. Besides the discontent that Cnut's absence from his paternal kingdom would naturally occasion, it is probable that his active christianity was unacceptable to some part of his Danish subjects (*Ann. Hildesheim.* 1035). He went over to Denmark probably in 1026, and Ulf is said to have submitted to him. He then sailed to meet the allied fleets of Norway and Sweden, which were ravaging Scania. After a fierce engagement in the Helga river the Danes were worsted (*A.-S. Chron.* 1025; SAXO, 195; *Ann. Isl.* an. 1027; according to Othere's song they stopped the foray, *Corp. Poet. Bor.* ii. 156). After the battle, in which many Englishmen are said to have fallen, Cnut, as the story goes, picked a quarrel with Ulf and had him assassinated in St. Lucius Church at Roskild (LAING, *Heimskringla*, ii. c. 163). That he caused Ulf to be put to death there is no reason to

doubt, and while there is no evidence that he acted unjustly, the killing in the church is perhaps almost too startling to be a mere invention, and if it took place it would of course have been an outrage on the feelings of the age. Cnut continued to intrigue with the subjects of Olaf, and he did so with such good effect that, when in 1028 he again sailed to Norway, Olaf was forced to flee. In 1030 Olaf made an attempt to regain his throne, but he was defeated and slain by Cnut's party at Stikelstead. By his death Cnut gained secure possession of Norway. Besides his three kingdoms of England, Denmark, and Norway, he reigned over certain Slavic peoples on the coast of the Baltic, whose lands are described as Sclavia and Sembia (SAXO, 196, notæ, 212). On the authority of Florence of Worcester he is said to have described himself in the Roman letter as 'king of part of the Swedes.' He certainly was never in any sense king of the Swedes, and the passage has been satisfactorily explained by the suggestion that there has been a confusion between 'scl' and 'su,' and that it refers to his Slavic subjects (STEENSTRUP, *Normannerne*, iii. 327-30). His dominions are constantly spoken of as an empire, and now in imperial fashion he committed Norway to his son Sweyn, whom he sent thither in 1030 under the charge of his mother and Earl Hakon. Harthacnut, the son of Emma, also was made ruler of Denmark.

The defeat of the Northumbrians by the Scots at Carham in 1018 only concerns the personal history of Cnut in so far as it led him in after years to force the Scottish king to acknowledge his superiority. Although the submission of Malcolm was of the same vague character as earlier instances of 'commendation,' the relationship thus established served to confirm the Scottish claim to Lothian, and the addition of this purely English land to the Scottish crown was the beginning of a momentous change in the character of the monarchy. Cnut seems to have actually entered Scotland before Malcolm's submission, and this display of his strength induced two under-kings, Maelbeth and Jehmarc, dwelling 'north of Fife,' to submit themselves to him in like manner. These events are placed in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle under 1031, but they certainly happened before Olaf's flight in 1028 (SIEGHVAT, *Corp. Poet. Bor.* ii. 133, 134). The description of Cnut as king of the Irish and the Islanders (Hebrideans) given by a contemporary poet (OTHERS, *Corp. Poet. Bor.* ii. 152, 157) and the coins minted with his name at Dublin go far to prove that the Ostmen looked on him as their head. With the Welsh Cnut does

not seem to have been brought into any personal connection. From the contradictory notices of his relations with the Norman duchy it seems that after he had put Ulf to death he gave his sister Estrith, the earl's widow, in marriage to Duke Robert, who hated her and put her away; that Robert demanded that the æthelings should be allowed to return, and that restoration should be made to them; and that on Cnut's refusal the duke fitted out a fleet for the invasion of England, but that many of his ships were wrecked off Jersey, and so the expedition was abandoned (RUDOLF GLABER, iv. 6; SAXO, 193; PET. OLAF, ap. LANG. ii. 205; WILL. OF JUMIEGES, vi. 10; WILL. MALM. ii. 180, who says that some remains of the shattered fleet were to be seen at Rouen in his day; *Norman Conquest*, i. 520-8). It was probably in order to strengthen himself against any possible attacks from Normandy that Cnut made alliance with William V, duke of Aquitaine and count of Poitou (ADEMAR, 149).

Cnut's table of laws, 'decreed with the consent of the witan' at some uncertain date, contains no absolutely new principles or customs. It is divided into ecclesiastical and civil laws. The command with which it opens, that men 'should ever love and worship one God and love King Cnut with right truthfulness,' breathes the spirit of the king's government and puts forward the religious duty of loyalty, still a somewhat new idea in our constitution; this is further illustrated by the comparison between breaches of the peace in a church and in the king's house. Sundays are to be strictly observed. The payment of tithes and of other ecclesiastical dues is enforced, and all men are bidden to live in chastity, a command which leads one to suppose that the king had then separated from Ælfgifu of Northampton. The civil laws are for the most part re-enactments, and in some cases developments, of the legislation of earlier kings, and especially of Eadgar, and may be looked on as the explanation of the agreement in 'Eadgar's law' made by the men of both races at the Oxford assembly. Among the most noteworthy provisions are the list given of cases which the king reserved for his own court, the later pleas of the crown, and the few, virtually nominal, differences recognised between Danish and English customs, such as the fine paid by the Englishman under the name of 'wite' and by the Dane under that of 'lah-slite' (THORPE, *Ancient Laws*, 152). The forest constitutions which bear Cnut's name are, at least as they have come down to us, a later compilation. All that is known for certain about his legislation on this matter is contained in

his laws, cap. 81: 'And I will that every man be entitled to his hunting in wood and in field on his own possessions; and let every one forego my hunting. Beware where I will have it untrampled on under penalty of full wite.' The payment of heriots enforced by caps. 71, 72, and said to have been introduced by Cnut, has been shown to have been exacted before his time, and the 'presentment of Englishry,' attributed to him by the so-called 'Laws of Eadward the Confessor,' belongs to the Norman period (*Const. Hist.* i. 196, 200, 206). The crews of the forty Danish ships retained by Cnut became the origin of the permanent band of royal guards, named 'hus-carls,' which was kept up until the Conquest. This force is said by Saxo (196) to have consisted of as many as 6,000 men, but this is probably an exaggeration. Cnut drew up regulations for its discipline, which are described by Saxo and are given in detail by Sweyn Aggeson (*Leges Castrensium*, LANG. iii. 139; THORPE). The hus-carls have been frequently compared with the *comitatus*; their distinctly stipendiary character, however, seems to make the comparison invalid (caps. 6, 7). While some of the regulations have a suspiciously modern tone (e.g. cap. 14), there is no reason to doubt that they substantially represent the king's work. The force received many foreign recruits, and among them the famous Wendish prince Godescalc, who stayed with Cnut until the king's death. Godescalc is said to have married Siritha, the daughter of Sweyn, the son of Estrith, Cnut's sister (SAXO, 208, 230). She is called Cnut's daughter by Helmsold (*Chron. Slav.* c. 19, comp. also *Chron. Slav.* c. 13, 14, ap. LANDENBROG, *Rerum Germ. Scriptores*), and simply the daughter of the king of the Danes by Adam of Bremen (iii. 18). Although Siritha must have been a young wife for Godescalc if she was Cnut's great niece, Saxo is probably right. She certainly was not the daughter either of Emma or of Ælfgifu of Northampton. The assertion (*Norman Conquest*, i. 649) that she is called 'Demmy'n' arises from a misreading of the 'Chronicon Slavorum' in Landenbrog's 'Scriptores' quoted above. Cnut's reign gave England eighteen years of peace; it was a period of law and order, during which national life was born again after it had been crushed by the disasters and jealousies of the reign of Æthelred and by the terrible slaughter of Assandun. The distinctly English character of Cnut's reign is closely connected with the rise of Godwine. After his good service in the Wendish war, the king gave him to wife Gytha, the sister of Ulf, his brother-in-law.

During the whole reign he held the highest place in the king's favour, he was the foremost man in his court, and his appointment to the West-Saxon earldom made him second only to the king (*Vita Ead.* 392-3).

Cnut's character is represented in dark colours in the 'Northern Kings' Lives.' In one important case, his alleged unfair dealings with his Norwegian supporter, Calf Arnason, the editors of the 'Corpus Poeticum Boreale' have shown that the compiler of the lives has wronged him. That he was the enemy of St. Olaf is sufficient reason for the unfavourable light in which he is represented by northern writers. From the more trustworthy songs of his contemporaries comes a picture of the king as a mighty ruler, wise, politic, and crafty, a lover of minstrelsy and a patron of poets. They exhibit a man endowed with a remarkable power of judging the characters of others, and of using them to forward his own interests. His craftiness is abundantly proved by his intrigues in Norway, and the natural cruelty and violence of his temper surely need no special proofs. Only indeed as the natural bent of his disposition is apprehended can the extraordinary restraint that he put on himself be duly appreciated. As a bountiful patron of the church his praises are loudly proclaimed by our chroniclers, and even if they had been silent his laws and the general character of his reign as an English king would tell the same story. Of the two most famous stories told of him, the rebuke that he is said to have given to the flattery of his courtiers is preserved by Henry of Huntingdon (758), who adds that thenceforward he would never wear his crown, but hung it on the head of the crucified Lord. The other tale, which represents him going in his barge to keep the feast of the Purification with the monks of Ely, and bidding his men listen to chanting which as he came near was heard rising from the church, is from the Ely historian (GALE, iii. 441), who gives the words of the song Cnut is said to have made at the time:—

Merie sungen ðe muneches binnen Ely,  
 Ða Cnut ching reu ðer by;  
 Roweð cnihtes noer ða land,  
 And here we þes muneches sæng.

The story is in strict accord with his love of minstrelsy as well as with his ecclesiastical feelings. An incident recorded by the same monastic historian, who tells how Cnut largely rewarded a stout peasant who walked over the ice to find out whether it would bear the king's sledge, is in keeping with the gifts he gave to the bards who sang his praises (*Corpus Poet. Bor.* ii. 158). Another story



represents him as the first to break his military regulations by slaying one of his huscarls in a fit of passion, and tells how he summoned the court of the company, appeared before it to take his trial and demanded sentence, and how, when the members refused to condemn him, he sentenced himself to pay nine times the sum appointed as the value of the man's life (SAXO, 199). Cnut died at Shaftesbury on 12 Nov. 1035, and they carried him thence to Winchester and there buried him with great honour in the Old Minster (*A.-S. Chron.*; *FLOR. WIG.*) Sweyn and Harold, his sons by Ælfgifu of Northampton, and his two children by Emma, Harthacnut and Gunhild, and both Emma and Ælfgifu themselves, survived him. Conscious that his dominions could not remain united after his death, he ordered that Harthacnut should reign in England, and as it seems in Denmark also, and that Norway should go to Sweyn; for Harold no provision seems to have been made. Gunhild or Æthelthryth, betrothed by her father to Henry, the son of the emperor Conrad, did not marry him until 1036; she died before her husband was made emperor.

[Anglo-Saxon Chron.; Florence of Worcester, Eng. Hist. Soc.; William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, Eng. Hist. Soc., and *Gesta Pontiff. Rolls Ser.*; Henry of Huntingdon, *Mon. Hist. Brit.*; Symeon of Durham, *Be obsessione Dunelmi*, ap. Twysden, col. 79; Heremanni, *Miracula S. Eadmundi*, ed. Liebermann; *Lives of Edward the Confessor*, *Rolls Ser.*; *Historia Eliensis* and *Hist. Rams.*, Gale, iii.; *Kemble's Codex Dipl.* iv. 1-56, and *Diplomatarium*; Thorpe's *Ancient Laws and Institutes*; *Encomium Emmae*; *Adami Gesta Hammaburg. eccl. pontiff.*; *Wiponis Vita Chuonradi Imp.*; *Helmoldi Chron. Slavorum* (these four are published separately 'in usum scholarum ex Mon. Germ. Hist.' Pertz); *Annales Hildesheim.* p. 100, and *Thietmari Chron.* vii. p. 336, ap. *Scriptores rerum Germ.* iii., Pertz; *Sven Aggeson's Chron.* p. 54; *Chron. Eriici*, p. 159; *Annales Esrom.* p. 236; *Ann. Roskild.* p. 376 (these four are contained in *Scriptores rerum Danicarum* i., Langebek); *Petri Olai Excerpta*, p. 205 (*ibid.* ii.); *Ann. Islandorum regii*, p. 40, and *Leges Castrensium*, p. 139, *ibid.* iii.; *Saxonis Grammatici Hist. Danica*, ed. 1644; *Vigfusson and Powell, Corpus Poeticum Boreale*; *Laing's Heimskringla* or *Sea Kings of Norway*—the best edition is Ungar's 'Fris-bok'; *Glabri Rodolphi Hist.* p. 1; *Ademari Caban. Hist.* p. 144; *Epp. Ruberti Carnot.* Ep. 443 (these three are in *Recueil des Historiens x.*, Bouquet); *William of Jumièges* ap. *Hist. Normann. Scriptores*, Duchesne. *Freeman's Norman Conquest*, i. 399-533, gives a full and critical account, with valuable references to original authorities, which has been equally useful as a history of Cnut's English doings and as a guide to the sources of information. It should be noted that Dr. Freeman's

work appeared before the editors of the *Corpus Poet. Bor.* threw some new and valuable light on Cnut's life, especially as regards its chronology. Dr. Freeman's work on Cnut has been supplemented by Dr. J. C. H. R. Steenstrup, who, in his *Normannerne*, vol. iii., has for the first time explained many difficulties. *Leppenberg's Anglo-Saxon Kings*, trans. Thorpe, 196 et seq., seems to give undue weight to the *Kings' Lives* attributed to Snorri. J. R. Green's *Conquest of England*, 418-77, gives a picturesque account of England under Cnut's rule. *Bishop Stubbs's Constitutional History*, i. c. 7, contains some admirable notices of points which bear on his subject. For Cnut's relations with the Scots see *Skene's Celtic Scotland*, i., and *Robertson's Scotland under her Early Kings.* W. H.

CANUTE, ROBERT (fl. 1170). [See ROBERT OF CRICKLADE.]

CANVANE, PETER (1720-1786), physician, an American by birth, entered as a medical student at Leyden on 4 March 1743. After graduating M.D. at Rheims he became a licentiate of the London College of Physicians in 1744. He practised for many years at St. Kitts in the West Indies, and afterwards settled at Bath. Later he retired to the continent, dying at Brussels in 1786. Canvane was a fellow of the Royal Society, and shares with Fraser, an army surgeon, the credit of introducing castor oil into this country, having had large experience of its beneficial employment in medicine in the West Indies. He published a pamphlet on the subject in 1766.

[Munk's Coll. of Phys. 1878, ii. 158.]

G. T. B.

CANYNGES, WILLIAM (1399?-1474), merchant of Bristol, third son of John Canynges, burgess and merchant of that city, and Joan Wotton his wife, came of a family that stood high among the merchants of Bristol, for the elder William Canynges, his grandfather, a wealthy cloth manufacturer, was six times mayor, and thrice a representative of the city in parliament. Besides making cloth he exported his merchandise in his own ships; for, by a writ of Richard II, John Hesilden, Andrew Brownstoff, and others are summoned to appear at Westminster on the complaint of William and John Canynges of Bristol, to answer for seizing and carrying into Hartlepool one of their ships sailing to Calais and Flanders (SURREYS, *Durham*, iii. 101). William Canynges the younger was probably born in his father's house in Touker Street, in the parish of St. Thomas, in 1399 or 1400, for he was but five years old when his father died in 1405. After her husband's death Joan married Thomas Young, merchant,

of the parish of St. Mary Redcliffe, Somerset, twice mayor and a member for the borough, and Canynges appears to have been brought up by his stepfather. Having served the office of bailiff, he was elected sheriff in 1438, and mayor for the first time in 1441. His second mayoralty was in 1449, and in that year Henry VI wrote to the master-general of the Teutonic knights, asking his protection for the two factors of 'his beloved and faithful subject William Canings,' then carrying on trade for their master in the dominions of the knights in Prussia (RYMER, *Fœdera*, xi. 226). During his tenure of office certain ordinances were made concerning the watches kept by the crafts on St John's night and St. Peter's, and the contributions of wine to be made to them by the mayor and sheriff. Although trade with Iceland, Halgaland, and Finmark for fish and other goods had been forbidden, yet in 1450 Christian of Denmark having made an exception in favour of Canynges in consideration of the debts due to him from his subjects in Iceland and Finmark, license was granted him to trade with these lands for two years with two ships of any size (*Fœdera*, xi. 277-8; MACPHERSON, i. 166-7). Canynges was returned for Bristol to the parliament of 1451; his colleague in the representation of the city was his half brother, Thomas Young, who was committed to the Tower for proposing that the Duke of York should be declared heir to the throne (WILL. WORC. 770; PRYCE, 103; STUBBS, *Const. Hist.* iii. 171). Both Canynges and Young were returned again to the parliament of 1455. Local historians assert that Canynges was a Lancastrian, and that he was forced to change his politics by the success of Edward IV. All trustworthy evidence shows that, like the greater part of the merchants of Bristol, he was always strongly attached to the Duke of York. It was probably during his third mayoralty in 1456-7 that he was able to do York signal service by seizing a large quantity of ammunition that had been consigned to a merchant of the town who was an Irishman and one of the party of the Earl of Wiltshire (James Butler, earl of Ormonde). York was pleased at this, and wrote bidding the mayor and common council take charge of the castle and keep Somerset out. This they did, and put the castle in a state of defence. In 1460 Canynges is said to have lost his wife Joanna. The next year, when he was mayor for the fourth time, in obedience to an order received from Edward IV, he prepared an expedition to act against the Lancastrians in Wales, to be ready against the king's coming. When Edward shortly afterwards visited Bristol, 'where he was most royally received' (Stow,

416), Canynges is said to have entertained him in his house in Redcliffe Street; the hall and parlour of this house may still be seen, though the building, now occupied by Messrs. C. T. Jefferies & Sons, printers and booksellers, has been much damaged by fire. Canynges and Young had lately sat on a commission appointed to try Sir Baldwin Fulford and John Heysant, who were put to death while the king was in Bristol. Before Edward left Canynges paid him 3,000 marks 'pro pace habenda' (WILL. WORC.); this must have been in discharge of what he owed for money received by him as escheator during the year of his mayoralty (SEYER, ii. 191). In 1466 Canynges was mayor for the fifth and last time. While he was mayor on this occasion he and the council made certain rules for the government of the society of merchants (PRYCE, 135).

Canynges' wealth was great. The list of his ships is given by William Worcester; they were nine in number, a tenth having lately been lost on the coast of Iceland. Among them were the Mary and John of 900 tons, the Mary Radclyf of 500 tons, and the Mary Canyngys of 400 tons, in all 2,853 tons of shipping manned by eight hundred seamen. Even allowing for the difference between our mode of computing a ship's burden and that in use in the fifteenth century, it is difficult to believe that Canynges's ships can have been of the size stated by Worcester. Besides his seamen he paid day by day a hundred carpenters, masons, and other workmen. These workmen were probably largely employed in building the church of St. Mary Redcliffe. The rebuilding of the old church had been begun by William Canynges the elder, who carried the work 'from the cross aisles downwards' in 1376; it was taken up by his grandson, and the fall of the steeple in 1446 and the consequent destruction of much of the fourteenth-century work probably determined Canynges to rebuild nearly the whole of the church, which he did with the advice of Norton, his master mason. In 1467 Canynges retired from the world, receiving acolyte's orders on 19 Sept. in the chapel of the college of Westbury, on the title of the rectory of St. Alban's, Worcester. A story told by Robert Ricaut in his 'Mayor's Calendar of Bristol' that he took this course to avoid a marriage the king tried to force on him is probably mere idlegossip. On 12 March 1467-1468 he was admitted subdeacon; on 2 April 1468 he was admitted deacon, and on the 16th of the same month priest, being collated to a canonry in the college of Westbury. On 3 June 1469 he was collated to the office of dean of the college, and was inducted and

installed on the same day. He died 17 Nov. 1474. Besides his great work in rebuilding St. Mary Redcliffe, he was a benefactor to the college of Westbury, and is said to have rebuilt it (DUGDALE, *Monasticon*, vi. 1439). At Westbury he also founded an almshouse, and by the payment of 44*l.* to the sheriff of Bristol freed this house and the college from tolls on provisions coming from the city (ATKYNs, *Glostershire*, p. 802). He was buried in Redcliffe church with his wife Joanna. Their tombs were discovered and identified in 1852. Much debate has been held over certain effigies in the church supposed to represent Canynges; the question is carefully discussed in Pryce's 'Memorials', pp. 179-92. Canynges's two sons died before him. His elder surviving brother, Thomas, lord mayor of London in 1436, is the ancestor of the Cannings of Foxcote, Warwickshire, and of the Cannings of Garvagh in Ireland, a family from which have come George Canning, the statesman [q.v.], and Stratford Canning, Lord Stratford de Redcliffe [q.v.] (PRYCE, 146-56).

[Pryce's Memorials of the Canynges Family; The Great Red Book, MS. in the council-house, Bristol; Wadley's Notes on Wills in the Great Orphan Book at Bristol; Ricaut's Mayor's Calendar of Bristol, ed. L. T. Smith (Camden Soc.); Dallaway's Antiquities of Bristol; Seyer's History of Bristol, vol. ii.; Barrett's History and Antiquities of Bristol; Stow's Annals, ed. 1615; Rymer's Fœdera, xi. ed. 1710; William Worcester's Itinerary; Dugdale's Monasticon; Surtees's Durham; Atkyns's State of Glostershire; Macpherson's Annals of Commerce, i. 666-7.]  
W. H.

**CAPE, WILLIAM TIMOTHY** (1806-1863), Australian colonist, born at Walworth, Surrey, 25 Oct. 1806, was eldest son of William Cape of Ireby, Cumberland. He was educated at Merchant Taylors' School under Dr. Bellamy, with a view to entering the church, and showed great proficiency in his studies. The elder Cape was resident manager of the bank of Brown, Cobb, & Co., Lombard Street, but on the breaking up of Brown's bank he decided to emigrate. Having obtained letters from Lord Bathurst to Sir Thomas Brisbane, the governor, William Cape, accompanied by his son, sailed for Van Diemen's Land in 1821, and after a nine months' voyage reached Hobart Town. In 1822 they removed to Sydney, where the father established a private school, the 'Sydney Academy.' In course of time he became principal of the Sydney public school, with his son as assistant-master, and on the resignation of the father, in 1829, the son became head-master—Archdeacon Scott, a friend of the family, being king's visitor. In 1830, however, he

reopened the private school in Sydney, but when the high school called 'Sydney College' was founded in 1835, he transferred his private pupils to it, and was elected head-master. He held this office up to 1842, when he founded a new private school at Paddington, Sydney. In 1855 he decided to give up scholastic life. In 1859 he became member for the constituency of Wollombi. His experience advanced him to the position of commissioner of national education, and about the same time he became a magistrate. He was also elected fellow of St. Paul's College within the university of Sydney, and helped on the Sydney School of Arts.

In 1855 he made a visit to England, and the next year returned to New South Wales. In 1860 he again visited his native country with the younger branches of his family, in order to collect educational information, and died of small-pox at Warwick Street, Pimlico, 14 June 1863. His funeral at Brompton was attended by almost all the colonists then in London. His old pupils erected a tablet to his memory in St. Andrew's Cathedral, Sydney.

[Heaton's Australian Dictionary, p. 33; Barton's Lit. of New South Wales, p. 80; Gent. Mag. 1863, i. 114.] J. W.-G.

**CAPEL, ARTHUR, LORD CAPEL OF HADHAM** (1610?-1649), royalist leader, was the only son of Sir Henry Capel of Raines Hall, Essex, by Theodosia, daughter of Sir Edward Montagu of Broughton, Northamptonshire, and sister of Henry, first earl of Manchester. He was born about 1610, and appears to have lived the life of a country gentleman until called upon to take his part in political life by being elected knight of the shire for the county of Hertford in the Short parliament, which met at Westminster on 13 April and was dissolved on 5 May 1640. When the Long parliament was summoned, in the following November, Capel was again elected for Hertfordshire, and took his seat accordingly. In the debate on grievances, in which Pym made his celebrated speech, 'the first member that stood up . . . was Arthur Capel, esq., who presented a petition in the name of the freeholders [of the county of Hertford] setting forth the burdens and oppressions of the people during the long intermission of parliament in their consciences, liberties, and properties, and particularly in the heavy tax of ship-money.' Ready as he was to join the popular party, if only real abuses could be got rid of, he was not the man to side with those who aimed at a democratic revolution, and he soon broke with the party, whose views went far beyond anything that he had contemplated at his first

start. Shocked by the violence of language of the leaders, who had set themselves in furious antagonism to the court party, Capel soon threw himself into the opposite camp, and henceforth, during the long struggle, the king had no adherent more faithful and devoted to the royal cause, nor any who made more splendid sacrifices, ending at last in his death upon the scaffold. On 6 Aug. 1641 Capel was raised to the upper house by the title of Lord Capel of Hadham. During the remainder of that memorable year we lose sight of him, but when the king left London for York in January 1642, Capel accompanied his majesty, and was one of the peers who signed the declaration and profession disavowing 'all designs of making war upon the parliament.' In the straits to which the king was driven for want of money, Capel showed great energy in making contributions from all who could be prevailed on to subscribe, and in 1643 he was sent to Shrewsbury with the commission of lieutenant-general of Shropshire, Cheshire, and North Wales. Here he found himself opposed by Sir William Brereton, whom he held in check so effectually that, for the time, Chester was relieved, and if he had been left alone to pursue his own plans, he would in all probability have rendered more important service during the war; but when Charles determined that a council should be appointed 'to be about' the Prince of Wales, 'to meet frequently at the prince's lodgings to confer with his highness,' Capel was appointed one of the commissioners, and from that time he took small part in active hostilities. After the execution of Archbishop Laud, when the negotiations for the treaty of Uxbridge were going on (February 1645), Capel was one of the commissioners for the king, and when the negotiations came to nothing, he was ordered to raise a regiment of foot and another of horse at his own charge to attend upon the prince at Bristol. While Goring was besieging Taunton and Fairfax was making great exertions to raise the siege, Capel was sent to give his counsel. Whatever that counsel may have been, it was tendered in vain, and when Oxford surrendered to Fairfax on 22 April 1646, and the contest between the king and the parliament was virtually at an end, Capel accompanied the queen to Paris, where he remained but a very short time. He was strongly opposed to the Prince of Wales escaping to France, and, refusing to accompany his highness on the journey, retired to Jersey, where he remained till the breach between the army and the parliament revived new hopes in the more sanguine of the royalist party. He succeeded in obtain-

ing a pass and permission to retire to his own house at Hadham after compounding for his estates. These estates had already (30 April 1643) been bestowed, by a vote of the House of Commons, upon the Earl of Essex, and a considerable portion of them were actually in the earl's hands. While the king was at Hampton Court, Capel was in frequent communication with his majesty, and was privy to the luckless flight to the Isle of Wight. For the disastrous renewal of the civil war Capel was in great measure responsible. Not a gleam of success cheered the king's party, and in June 1648 Goring, Capel, and Sir Charles Lucas found themselves with the forces at their command shut up in Colchester by Fairfax, and were summoned to surrender on the 13th of the month. The siege was prosecuted with vigour, but the town was defended with desperation. It was all in vain. On 27 Aug. the garrison surrendered at discretion, and the second civil war was at an end.

The next two months were crowded with events which hurried on the final catastrophe, and in October Capel, with his old companion in arms, Goring, earl of Norwich (Sir Charles Lucas was shot in cold blood when Colchester surrendered), were impeached on a charge of high treason and rebellion. They pleaded that Fairfax had pledged his word to give fair quarter to all prisoners who surrendered themselves into his hands, and 'upon great debate,' both houses called upon Fairfax to explain his meaning. Fairfax was absent, and was in no hurry to take upon himself a responsibility which the parliament were anxious to relieve themselves of; he returned no answer to the letter for months. When the answer came it was so ambiguous that in effect the explanation of his promise was left to the civil power.

In January the king was beheaded, and the House of Lords was abolished in due course. Meanwhile Capel was committed to the Tower, having been brought thither from Windsor Castle, his first place of confinement. By some means, which were never explained, he managed to provide himself with a cord and other necessary appliances, and a plan of escape was arranged for him by his friends outside. It succeeded, though attended by great difficulty, and Capel was kept in concealment in the Temple for some days. Then it was thought that he would be in greater safety if he were removed to a private house in Lambeth, and taking a boat at the Temple stairs he was rowed up the river attended by a single gentleman, who seems to have inadvertently addressed him as 'my lord.' The waterman thereupon followed the

two to their place of hiding, and betrayed them to the government. The man received a reward of 20*l.* with a recommendation to the admiralty for employment, but he had to wait many months for his 'blood money,' which was not paid till the November after the execution. Capel was again arrested, and on Thursday, 8 March 1648-9, 'in a thin house, hardly above sixty there,' the question was put to the vote whether the Duke of Hamilton, the Earls of Holland and Norwich (Goring), Capel, and Sir John Owen were to live or die. Owen was spared, Goring escaped by the casting vote of Speaker Lenthall, the other three were condemned, and all were beheaded next morning. To the last Capel behaved with that magnanimity and heroism which had marked his whole career. He received the last consolations of religion at the hands of Dr. George Morley, afterwards bishop of Winchester, who wrote an account of his last hours in a letter which was published in 1654; but inasmuch as there was reason to fear that Dr. Morley's well-known opinion might expose him to insult if he showed himself before the people at the last, Capel would not allow him to be present on the scaffold. There, says Bulstrode, 'he behaved much after the manner of a stout Roman. He had no minister with him, nor showed any sense of death approaching, but carried himself all the time . . . with that boldness and resolution as was to be admired. He wore a sad-coloured suit, his hat cocked up, and his cloak thrown under one arm; he looked towards the people at his first coming up, and put off his hat in manner of a salute; he had a little discourse with some gentlemen, and passed up and down in a careless posture.' John, son of Francis Quarles the poet, seems to have been present at the execution, and wrote 'An Elegy or Epitaph' upon the occasion, which was printed shortly afterwards.

Capel was buried at Hadham, where may still be read the inscription on his monument: 'Hereunder lieth interred the body of Arthur, Lord Capel, Baron of Hadham, who was murdered for his loyalty to King Charles the First, March 9th, 1648.' Capel married Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Sir Charles Morrison of Cashibury, Hertfordshire, and by her had five sons and four daughters. At the Restoration Arthur [q. v.], his eldest son, was created Earl of Essex, a title which had become extinct by the death of Robert Devereux, the last earl, 14 Sept. 1646. By one of those strange instances of retributive justice which are not rare in history, the son of the murdered man succeeded to the honours of him who had benefited most by the spoliation of

his father's lands, and from him the present Earl of Essex is lineally descended.

[Clarendon's *Hist. Rebellion*; Wood's *Atheneæ Oxon.* iii. 260, 698; Carlyle's *Cromwell*; Bulstrode's *Memoirs*; Devereux's *Lives and Letters of the Devereux, Earls of Essex*, ii. 366, 462; Sanderson's *Hist. of the Reign of Charles I.*; Collins's *Peerage of England*, iii. 474; Rushworth's *Historical Collections*, pt. iii. vol. i. p. 21, and vol. viii. p. 1272.] A. J.

CAPEL, ARTHUR, EARL OF ESSEX (1631-1683), was born in January 1631 (information kindly given by the present Lord Essex), and was the eldest son of Arthur, lord Capel [q. v.] of Hadham, who was executed in 1649. His mother was Elizabeth Morrison. Of his early years nothing appears to be known, though from a letter of 13 June 1643 (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 5th Rep. 143) he appears to have then been at Shrewsbury fighting for the king. It is stated by Burnet (i. 396) that his education was neglected by reason of the civil wars, but that when he reached manhood he made himself master of the Latin tongue, and learned mathematics and all the other parts of learning. From a letter in 1681 (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 4th Rep. 451) he appears to have had some connection with Balliol College, for he then subscribed to the purchase of a large silver bowl for the common-room. His correspondence during his residence in Ireland, preserved in the 'Essex Papers' (*Stow Collection*, Brit. Mus.), is that of a man of considerable literary cultivation. The language is simple but scholarly, and the style is singularly clear, dignified, and unaffected. His letters also display an intimate knowledge of law and of constitutional questions. Chauncey (*Antiquities of Hertfordshire*) describes him as handsome, courteous, and temperate, a strong opponent of arbitrary power, temperate in diet, and a lover of his library. Evelyn says that 'he is a sober, wise, judicious, and pondering person, not illiterate beyond the rate of most noblemen in this age, very well versed in English historie and affaires, industrious, frugal, methodical, and every way accomplished' (18 April 1680). Essex was never a wealthy man; his estate had been sequestrated under the Commonwealth, and was compounded for at 4,706*l.* 7*s.* 11*d.* (Collins, *Peerage*). While lord-lieutenant of Ireland he more than once mentions the pay of his office as being of importance to his private interests (*Essex Papers*). And Evelyn tells us that while there he 'considerably augmented his estate, without reproach' (18 April 1680). At the Restoration he was made Viscount Malden and Earl of Essex (20 April 1661), with remainder first to his brother Henry [q. v.] and his male heirs, and

afterwards to his younger brother Edward. The writ was issued 29 April (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 7th Rep. 142 *a*). Capel had previously (7 July 1660) been created *custos rotulorum* and lord-lieutenant of Hertfordshire, and (2 April 1668) was made lord-lieutenant of Wiltshire also. He married Elizabeth Percy, daughter of Algernon, earl of Northumberland (*d.* 1717), mentioned as petitioning for the death of Col. Titchbourne in 1660 (*ib.* v. 169), by whom he had six sons and two daughters; but only one son and one daughter, Algernon and Anne, lived to maturity (*COLLINS, Peerage*). Scarcely any facts are forthcoming regarding Essex's life from 1660 to 1669. On 7 Aug. 1660 he named, according to the iniquitous vote of the House of Lords, Sir E. Wareing as an expiatory victim for his father's death (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 5th Rep. 155). He was in London in September 1666 (*ib.* 7th Rep. 485 *b*), and in 1667 was in Paris, on his way home from the waters of Bourbon. He was at that time a member of the privy council. While in Paris he was consulted by the queen mother regarding the intentions of the Irish papists to put Ireland into the hands of the French when opportunity should arise, and he gave a most unflattering opinion of her political judgment (*BURNET, i.* 250). In 1669, when Charles was endeavouring by personal solicitation to gain the votes of the members of the House of Lords, he, with Lord Hollis, had gained the reputation of being 'stiff and sullen men' (*ib.* i. 272), and Charles always treated him with respect. Burnet states (*i.* 396) that he appeared early against the court. His political opinions may be in part gathered from those of his brother Henry, member for Tewkesbury, with whom he lived in entire sympathy. Henry Capel prided himself upon being descended from one who lost both life and fortune for the crown and nation; but, on the other hand, his speeches are invariably directed against every abuse of the royal power, and against all tampering with popery.

Essex's first public employment was in 1670, when Charles, desirous of making use of one whose opposition he wished to avoid (*ib.* i. 396), sent him as ambassador to the court of Christian V of Denmark. The governor of Croonenburg had orders to make all the ships that passed strike to him. Essex replied that the kings of England made others strike to them, but their ships struck to none. He himself regarded this as a cheap defiance, saying that he was sure the governor would not endeavour to sink a ship which brought over an ambassador. His first business on landing was to justify this behaviour to the Danes, which he did by producing, from some

books upon Danish affairs lent him by Sir J. Cotton, evidence that by former treaties it had in past time been expressly stipulated that English ships of war should not strike in the Danish seas. Burnet adds to his account of this matter that his conduct was so highly rated that he was informed from court that he might expect everything he should pretend to on his return. In April 1671 we read of him as 'of the cabinet council, and seemeth to be in very good grace' (*Hist. MSS. Comm.*) Actually he was, upon the removal of the Duke of Ormonde from the lord-lieutenancy of Ireland, appointed to the post, February 1672, to his own great surprise, being sworn of the privy council of Ireland in that year. He left Holyhead on 28 June in the *Norwich*, but does not appear to have arrived in Dublin until 5 Aug. (*Essex Papers*). He continued in this employment until his recall in 1677, with but one short journey to London. Of his government Burnet speaks thus: 'He exceeded all that had gone before him, and is still considered as a pattern to all that come after him. He studied to understand exactly well the constitution and interest of the nation. He read over all their council books, and made large abstracts out of them to guide him, so as to advance everything that had been at any time set on foot for the good of the kingdom. He made several volumes of tables of the state, and persons that were in every county and town, and got true characters of all that were capable to serve the public; and he preferred men always upon merit without any application from themselves, and watched over all about him, that there should be no bribes going among his servants' (*i.* 396). This is but one among many illustrations of Burnet's most remarkable accuracy. The full, detailed, and continuous correspondence, both private and official, which can now be consulted in the '*Essex Papers*,' bears ample testimony to the truth of every word in this quotation, which is further established by the fact that Ormonde bore honourable testimony to the integrity and ability of his government (*CARTE, iv.* 529). He set himself vigorously to work against misgovernment, withstanding the opposition and the pretensions of Orrery, Ranelagh, and others. He managed very successfully to keep the Ulster presbyterians from following the example of their Scotch brethren, and this without violence. Indeed, he several times moderates the desires of the bishops for strong measures. And he appears to have protected the papists also, as far as English opinion would allow, though he is informed from London that he will be torn in pieces if he permits the secular priests to say mass openly. His rule over the

natives was firm and mild, though the light in which the wilder portion of them were regarded is vividly shown by the following extract from this letter, dated 16 Aug. 1673: 'And in case any should happen to be killed, if it be made apparent that he is a tory, it would be reasonable to pardon.' He forcibly reminds Arlington of the danger that may arise from suffering the common people to know their own force. One of the main points with which he was concerned was, by drawing up new rules for the corporation, to check the turbulence of the city of Dublin. He sought to apply to Dublin the method of 'quo warrantos' employed by Charles in England at the end of his reign. Throughout his administration he had to struggle against the whole influence of Ranelagh, who had the receipts of the Irish revenue, on condition of paying the civil and military charges of the crown, and who, fortifying himself by the friendship of Danby and the Duchess of Portsmouth, and by his promises to Charles to provide him with money out of Irish funds, presented accounts which Essex resolutely refused to pass. Of the intrigues continually carried on against him in London he had full and timely warning from friends at court. He refused, however, in dignified language to alter his course of action on this account, and especially declined to put his dependence upon 'little people,' such as Chiffinch, Elliot, and the Duchess of Portsmouth, although we find him expressing pleasure that his agent, William Harbord, has, through the mediation of the Duke of Hamilton, made the latter his friend. The only request he makes for himself is that no complaints shall be permitted to be heard in England unless they have previously been notified to himself, a request immediately granted by the king. He did his utmost to stop the reckless grants of forfeited estates by the king to his courtiers and mistresses, and refused to injure his successor's interests by granting reversions. So careful was he about the purity of the administration that he was able to say, on handing over the government to Ormonde after five years, that his secretary, Allworth, was the only man, not that he had gratified, but that he requested might be gratified by his successor. His government of Ireland was in striking contrast to the general corruption of Charles's reign, which is the more remarkable as his circumstances were always straitened. The most memorable example of his fearlessness was when he successfully opposed the grant of the Phoenix Park to the Duchess of Cleveland, about which he wrote to Arlington: 'I do desire there may not be the least grain of my concurrence in it,' and to Charles in language

almost equally strong. His official correspondence is chiefly directed to Arlington, the secretary (in whose behalf on his impeachment in 1674 he moved all his relatives and friends in the house), and, on the retirement of this minister, to Henry Coventry, a personal friend, who succeeded him. His private letters are chiefly from his brother Henry, Francis Godolphin, Lord Conway, Sir William Temple, Southwell, and William Harbord. During his administration, February 1674-5, he received a grant from the king of Essex House in the Strand, but great delay took place before the grant actually took effect, if indeed it did so at all. In 1674 it was intimated to him that he was to have the Garter, but this, too, apparently fell through. In July 1675 he made a visit to London, visited the king at Newmarket in April (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 7th Rep. 493), and returned to Ireland in May of the next year, reaching Dublin on the 6th. During his stay in England his whole desire appears to be to get back to his post. His letters while in London show him fully alive to the intrigues which were being carried on to oust so incorruptible an officer from his place. The king himself always held him in great respect. These intrigues, based upon Charles's incessant need of money, which Ranelagh promised to supply, proved successful during the course of the next year, and on 28 April 1677 Essex acknowledges the king's letter of recall. His last few months of office were embittered by a scandalous insult to his wife from a certain Captain Brabazon, who declared her guilty of an intrigue with him. The belief is several times expressed that this was an annoyance deliberately set on foot by Danby, Ranelagh, and the Duchess of Portsmouth. Essex, by his position, was precluded from seeking personal satisfaction, but before he left was able to prove that the charge was a malicious falsehood. Upon his return to England Essex speedily identified himself with the country party, Danby's opponents, of which, along with Russell, Halifax, Shaftesbury, Buckingham, and Hollis, he became a leader in the lords, this 'cabal' being kept at Lord Hollis's house. He probably, however, did not take an active part in the opposition at once, for in a letter of 11 April 1678 the French ambassador omits his name from the list of the chief members of the country party (*DALRYMPLE, Memoirs*, i. 189). The leading objects of this party were the ruin of Danby, the exclusion of James, the persecution of popery, and the dissolution of the pensionary parliament. To what extent he believed in the pretended plot which raised the popish terror it is not easy to ascertain; it is, however,

clear that he never expressed his disbelief in it, but, on the contrary, acted in full accord with its most violent assailers, when he joined them in pressing the king to dismiss James from the court (COLLINS, *Peerage*).

On the fall of Danby in 1679 the treasury was put in commission, and Essex was placed at its head (*ib.*) Along with Sunderland and Monmouth he now urged the king to try the experiment of an entire change of policy by introducing the leaders of the country party into the council. By thus acting independently of his party he appears to have incurred their jealousy. His own account to Burnet was that he hoped, by accepting office, to work the change that was now effected. The dismissal of the old council and the creation of a new one composed of the principal whigs from both houses, under the presidency of Shaftesbury, were, however, undoubtedly the results of Temple's advice. Essex was sworn a member of that council on 21 April; he declared that its creation would conciliate the parliament in its relations with the king. The whig party now was split up into two sections on the exclusion question. That led by Shaftesbury affirmed that to save England from the danger of a popish king the absolute exclusion of James was necessary; and it put forward Monmouth as its candidate for the throne. Essex, acting under the leadership of Halifax and Sunderland, proposed the scheme of limitations, whereby, when the crown should fall to him, James should be disabled from doing harm either in church or state, and these three, who formed the triumvirate, regarded the Prince of Orange, rather than Monmouth, as the natural representative of the protestant interest. Essex appears to have confined himself to treasury business, where 'his clear, though slow sense, made him very acceptable to the king,' and to the endeavours to regulate the expense of the court (BURNET, i. 456, 458). In the great debate which arose on the occasion of Danby's prosecution, he spoke against the right of the bishops to vote in any part of a trial for treason. On the question of the proposed dissolution of the pensionary parliament he joined Halifax in arguing that since no agreement seemed possible with the king upon the questions of the exclusion and Danby's pardon, it would be well to try whether a new parliament might not be disposed to let those matters drop. For this advice, according to Burnet (i. 469), he again incurred the anger of Shaftesbury and his party, which, however, 'as he was not apt to be much heated,' he bore mildly. He was evidently much trusted by Charles, who had in the previous year named him

along with Halifax to discuss the grievances of the Scotch lords against Lauderdale (*ib.* 469). Upon the discovery of the Meal Tub plot, in which the forgers had represented Essex and Halifax as being implicated, they urged the king to summon parliament at once. Upon his refusal (*ib.*) Essex, with his brother, left the treasury on 19 Nov. 1679. In order, however, that this resignation might not strengthen Shaftesbury's party, a gloss was put upon his action by the statement that he 'had the king's leave' to resign (RALPH, 489). It is, indeed, probable that the grounds of his leaving were very different. In a letter from court of 27 Nov. 1679 (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 7th Rep. 477 *b*) it is said, 'some say the E. of Essex went out on this score. The king had given Cleveland 25,000*l.*, and she sending to him for it he denied the payment, and told the king he (the king) had often promised them not to pay money on those accounts while he was so much indebted to such as daily clamoured at their table for money; but if his Maj. would have it paid he wish't somebody else to do it, for he would not, but willingly surrender his place, at which the king replied, "I will take you at your word."' Another account, equally honourable to Essex, is, that Charles being anxious to gain a subsidy from Louis, 'the niceness of touching French money is the reason that makes my Lord Essex's squeazy stomach that it can no longer digest his employment of 1st commissioner of the treasury' (*ib.* 6th Rep. 741 *b*). He continued to sit in the council, but in spite of Charles's earnest request refused to return to the treasury (BURNET, 476). His chief desire appears to have been to return to Ireland.

The candour and good sense with which Essex advised Charles are well shown in a letter to the king of 21 July 1679, in which he urges him to disband the guards he had just raised (DALRYMPLE, *Memoirs*, i. 314).

In the debates in 1680 on the Exclusion Bill, Essex, whose views had undergone a great alteration, ascribed by Lingard, though without authority, to his disappointment in gaining neither the lord-treasurership nor the government of Ireland, now appeared as a strong opponent of the court, and vehemently supported Shaftesbury's action. Possibly the cause is to be found in the fact that his urgent advice to James in October to retire to Scotland had been disregarded (*ib.* i. 346). When the Exclusion Bill was thrown out, and Halifax again brought in the scheme of expedients, he made a motion, agreed to in a thin house, that an association should be entered into to maintain those expedients,



and that some cautionary towns should be put into the hands of the associators during the king's life to make them good after his death. In March 1680-1 he is spoken of by Ormonde as furthering, with Howard, the belief in a 'sham plot,' in order to throw odium upon the queen and the Roman catholics generally (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 7th Rep. 744 b). On 25 Jan. 1680-1 he took the decided step of presenting a petition, in which he was joined by fifteen other peers, praying that the choice of Oxford for the meeting of parliament might be given up. The language of the petition was unwarrantably violent, declaring, along with much that was true, that they were deprived of freedom of debate, and were exposed to the swords of papists in the king's guards. The petition, which was printed and published, was answered by Halifax in a 'Seasonable Address' (*State Tracts*, ii. 129).

In the trial of Stafford, Essex appears to have thrown aside his usual fairness of judgment, and to have voted for the condemnation. He spoke vehemently against the popish lords, saying they were worse than Danby (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 6th Rep. 740). He is represented, too, as eager in the prosecution of Lady Powys, who found money for the imprisoned catholics (NORTH, *Examen*, 269). On the other hand, he honourably distinguished himself in urging upon Charles the pardon of Plunket, the archbishop of Armagh, illegally condemned on account of the pretended Irish plot (which, however, he is represented as diligent in discovering, see *Hist. MSS. Comm.* 7th Rep. 739 b), declaring from 'his own knowledge that the charge could not be true. It was now that Essex received a just rebuke in the king's indignant reply, 'Then, my lord, be his blood on your own conscience. You might have saved him, if you would. I cannot pardon him because I dare not.' On the occasion when, in defiance of court influence, the Middlesex grand jury refused to return a true bill against Shaftesbury, a book was published to justify their action, of which Essex was the reputed author. It probably, however, was by Somers.

In 1682 Shaftesbury suggested to his friends the advisability of taking advantage of the ferment in the city on the occasion of the contest about the sheriffs, and of making themselves masters of the Tower during the confusion. Against this wild scheme Russell and Essex protested, and Shaftesbury left the country. Essex now took his place as Monmouth's principal adviser, but insisted upon Russell and Algernon Sidney being joined with him. He appears to have fallen much under the influence of the latter, at

whose suggestion it was that he consented to take Howard, who afterwards betrayed them, into their confidence in the meetings frequently held with Monmouth for consultation as to the course to be pursued; he also almost forced Russell to admit Howard (*BURNET's Journal*; App. to LORD JOHN RUSSELL's *Life of Russell*). At these meetings much wild talk no doubt took place as to a possible rising; but in all such designs we have the authority of Burnet (i. 540) and all probability for saying that Essex took no part. He felt things were not yet ripe, and that an ill-managed rising would be ruin to the whig cause.

Upon the discovery of the Rye House plot, Russell and others were immediately imprisoned. It was not, however, until Lord Howard had been captured that upon his information a party of horse was sent to Essex's country house at Cashiobury to arrest him. Upon his arrest he appeared dejected, and said little, but that he did not imagine any one would swear falsely against him, and made no manner of profession of duty. Sir Philip Lloyd said 'he was in some confusion at his own house, and changed his mind three or four times, one while saying he would go on horseback, and another while that he would go in his coach' (NORTH, *Examen*, 382). He appears also to have shown much mental distress when brought before the council. He sent from the Tower a very melancholy message to his wife, and he wrote also to the Earl of Bedford to express his regret at having helped to bring danger upon his son. Shortly after the beginning of Lord Russell's trial on 13 July 1683 it was whispered in court—and the news was made use of to injure Russell—that Essex had cut his throat in the Tower (RALPH, 759; NORTH, *Examen*, 400). It is impossible here to enter into the controversy as to whether this tragedy was suicide or murder. It will be found exhaustively treated in Burnet (569), in the last edition of the 'Biographia Britannica,' in Ralph's 'History' (i. 759), and in North's 'Examen.' The court was, of course, roundly accused of murder; the charge, however, is utterly without antecedent probability, and is unsupported by trustworthy evidence. It was difficult for those who knew Essex's 'sober and religious deportment' (EVLYN, 28 June 1683) to believe in the suicide theory. But the occasional melancholy of his disposition; the sleeplessness with which he was troubled in the Tower; the danger of his friends; the fact that he found himself in the very rooms from which his father had been taken to execution; the recollection of his last interview with that father; his com-

mentation of the action of the Earl of Northumberland, who prevented an attainder by killing himself in the Tower, to save his honour and family estates (NORTH, *Examen*, 385); his sending for a razor—these and other such collateral considerations are to be borne in mind. Flippant and cruel as Charles had become, his remark, 'My lord Essex might have tried my mercy; I owe a life to his family,' is, if genuine, a valuable additional piece of evidence that he at least was utterly without complicity in the crime imputed to him. Essex was buried at Watford in Hertfordshire. From Evelyn we learn that he shared in the three fashionable tastes of the day. 'No man has been more industrious than this noble lord in planting about his seate [Cashiobury], adorned with walks, ponds, and other rural excellencies; while the library is large, and very nobly furnished, and all the books richly bound and gilded; but there are no manuscripts except the parliament rolls and journals, the transcribing and binding of which cost him 500*l.*' (18 April 1680). The reader should refer also to the description given by Evelyn of the house itself.

[The sources of information are sufficiently indicated in the text. The Essex Papers are accessible in the British Museum, and are now arranged chronologically. The letters to Essex are all originals; those from him are drafts or copies, apparently in his own hand. They form a record of daily and incessant toil.] O. A.

CAPEL, SIR HENRY, LORD CAPEL OF TEWKESBURY (*d.* 1696), lord-lieutenant of Ireland, was the second son of Arthur, lord Capel of Hadham [q.v.], by Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Sir Charles Morrison of Cashiobury, Hertfordshire. He was created a knight of the Bath at the coronation of Charles II, and appointed first commissioner of the admiralty 25 April 1679. When the king resolved to pass the winter of 1680 without a parliament, Capel and three other councillors desired to be excused from further attendance (TEMPLE, *Memoirs*, ii. 59). In November following Capel was one of the strongest supporters in the commons of the Exclusion Bill (BURNET, *Own Times*, ed. 1838, p. 319). Having after the accession of William been appointed a lord of the treasury, he was among the most zealous of those who endeavoured to compass the overthrow of Halifax (CLARENDON, *Letters on the Affairs of the Time*, ii. 200). He was left out of the new treasury following the general election in 1690, but succeeded Sir John Lowther in the treasury 27 Feb. 1691-2. On 1 March 1691-2 he was created Lord Capel of Tewkesbury. When his kinsman,

the Earl of Clarendon, was named in the privy council as suspected of treason, he endeavoured to prevent his arrest, but finally signed the warrant along with the other members of the council. On account of the prevailing disorders in Ireland in 1693, Lord Sydney, the lord deputy, who was supposed to favour the Irish too much, was recalled, and the government placed in the hands of three lords justices, of whom Capel had the chief influence with the government. As a strong enemy of Roman catholicism it was not to be supposed that he would show much favour to the native Irish, while the other two lords justices were more disposed to a mild and compromising policy. The English thereupon made representations that he should be installed lord deputy, he undertaking to manage a parliament, so as to obtain the passing of the measures the king desired. He was accordingly declared lord deputy in May 1695, and by the parliament which he then called the supplies asked for were granted, the proceedings of the parliament of James II were annulled, and the great act of settlement was confirmed. At the instance of Capel a motion was made to impeach the lord chancellor, Porter, for having abused his position to thrust catholics into commissions of the peace, and to favour them in their suits with protestants, but the motion was lost by a majority of two to one. Capel died at Dublin 14 May 1696. By his wife, Dorothy, daughter of Sir Richard Bennet of Kew, Surrey, he left no issue. Capel, before he went to Ireland, resided in 'an old timber house' at Kew, where he was frequently visited by Evelyn, who states that in his garden house he had 'the choicest fruit of any plantation in England.'

[Collins's Peerage (ed. 1812), iii. 480; Luttrell's Diary, i. 266, 519, 528, ii. 22, 369, 373, iii. 26, 30, 37, 101, 119, 279, 319, 339, 457, 468, 482, 489, 491, 497, 503, iv. 57, 61, 63; Sir William Temple's Memoirs, ii. 38, 59, 93; Burnet's Own Times (ed. 1838), pp. 317, 319, 596, 618-619; Evelyn's Diary; Oldmixon's History of England; Ralph's History of England; Froude's English in Ireland, i. 256-8, 263, 267; Macaulay's History of England.] T. F. H.

CAPEL, RICHARD (1586-1656), puritan divine, descended from an ancient Herefordshire family, was born at Gloucester in 1586, being the son of Christopher Capel, alderman of that city, and his wife Grace, daughter of Richard Hands. His father was a good friend to those ministers who had suffered for nonconformity. The son, who was first educated in his native city, became a commoner of St. Alban Hall, Oxford, in 1601, was afterwards elected a demy of

Magdalen College, and in 1609 was made perpetual fellow of that house, being then M.A. During his residence at the university he was much consulted by noted members of the Calvinistic party, and he had many pupils entrusted to his care, including Accepted Frewen, subsequently archbishop of York, and William Pember. In the reign of James I he attended at court on the Earl of Somerset, and continued there till the death of his friend Sir Thomas Overbury. In 1613 he was instituted to the rectory of Eastington, in his native county, where he became eminent among the puritanical party. In 1633, when the 'Book of Sports' of James I was published the second time by royal authority, he declined to read it in his church, and voluntarily resigning his rectory he obtained a license to practise physic from the bishop of Gloucester. He now settled at Pitchcombe, near Stroud, where he had an estate. In 1641 he espoused the cause of the parliament and renewed his ministerial functions at Pitchcombe. 'In the exercises of the pulpit he was sometimes a Boanerges, the son of thunder; but more commonly a Barnabas, the son of consolation' (Brook, *Puritans*, iii. 260). He died at Pitchcombe on 21 Sept. 1656.

He married Dorothy, daughter of William Plumstead of Plumstead, Norfolk (she died 14 Sept. 1622, aged 28). His son, Daniel Capel, M.A., was successively minister of Morton, Alderley, and Shipton Moigne in Gloucestershire; and the latter living he parted with in 1662 for nonconformity, and he practised medicine at Stroud until his death.

Richard Capel was the author of: 1. 'God's Valuation of Man's Soul,' in two sermons on Mark viii. 36, London, 1632, 4to. 2. 'Tentations: their Nature, Danger, Cure, to which is added a Briefe Dispute, as touching Restitution in the Case of Usury,' London, 1633, 12mo; second edition, London, 1635, 12mo; third edition, London, 1636-7, 12mo; sixth edition, consisting of five parts, 1658-55, 8vo. The fourth part was published at London, 1655, 8vo. The 'Brief Dispute' was answered by T. P., London, 1679. 3. 'Apology in Defence of some Exceptions against some Particulars in the Book of Tentations,' London, 1659, 8vo. 4. 'Capel's Remains, being an useful Appendix to his excellent Treatise of Tentations, with a preface prefixed, wherein is contained an Abridgment of the author's life, by his friend, Valentine Marshall,' London, 1658, 8vo.

He likewise edited some of the theological treatises composed by his favourite pupil William Pember, who died in his house at Eastington in 1623.

[Life of Marshall; Bigland's Gloucestershire, i. 539-42; Clarke's Lives of Ten Eminent Divines (1662), 248; Macfarlane's Cat. Librorum Impress. Bibl. Coll. B. Mariæ Magd. Oxon. Append. 16; Wood's Athenæ Oxon. (Bliss), iii. 421; Fuller's Worthies (1811), i. 385; Hetherington's Hist. of the Westminster Assembly of Divines, 109; Brook's Puritans, iii. 159; Palmer's Nonconformist's Memorial (1802), ii. 254; Calamy's Abridgment of Baxter (1713), ii. 317; Cat. of Printed Books in Brit. Mus.; Watt's Bibl. Brit.; Lansd. MS. 985, f. 114.]

T. C.

CAPEL, SIR THOMAS BLADEN (1776-1853), admiral, youngest son of William, fourth earl of Essex, by his second wife, Harriet, daughter of Colonel Thomas Bladen, was born 25 Aug. 1776, and, according to the fiction then in vogue, entered the navy on board the Phaeton frigate as captain's servant on 22 March 1782. It was ten years later before he joined in the flesh, and after serving on the Newfoundland and home stations and being present as midshipman of the Sans Pareil in the action off L'Orient, 23 July 1795, he was, on 5 April 1797, promoted to a lieutenancy and appointed to the Cambrian frigate, on the home station. In April 1798 he was appointed to the Vanguard, bearing the flag of Sir Horatio Nelson, and, during the Mediterranean cruise which culminated in the battle of the Nile, acted as Sir Horatio's signal officer. On 4 Aug. 1798 he was appointed by Nelson to the command of the Mutine brig, and sent home with duplicate despatches, which, in consequence of the capture of the Leander [see BERRY, SIR EDWARD], brought the first news of the victory to England, 2 Oct. His commander's commission was at once confirmed, and on 27 Dec. he was advanced to post rank. On 5 Jan. 1799 he was appointed to the Arab frigate, for the West India station. In July 1800 he was transferred to the Meleager, which on 9 June 1801 was wrecked in the Gulf of Mexico. In August 1802 he was appointed to the Phœbe of 36 guns, in which he served in the Mediterranean for the three following years, and was present at the battle of Trafalgar. 'The extraordinary exertion of Captain Capel,' wrote Collingwood on 4 Nov., 'saved the French Swiftsure; and his ship, the Phœbe, together with the Donegal, afterwards brought out the Bahama' (NICOLAS, *Nelson Despatches*, vii. 219).

On his return to England he sat as a member of the court-martial on Sir Robert Calder [q. v.], and on 27 Dec. was appointed to the Endymion of 40 guns, in which he again proceeded to the Mediterranean, carrying

out as a passenger Mr. Arbuthnot, the English ambassador, to Constantinople, where he continued while the negotiations were pending, and on their failure brought Mr. Arbuthnot back to Malta. The *Endymion* was afterwards one of the fleet which, under Sir John Duckworth, forced the passage of the Dardanelles, 19 Feb., 3 March 1807, in which last engagement she was struck by two of the enormous stone shot, upwards of 2 feet in diameter, and weighing nearly 800 lbs.; fortunately without sustaining much damage.

In December 1811 Capel was appointed to the *Hogue*, on the North American station, where he continued during the war with the United States. In June 1815 he was nominated a C.B., and in December 1821 was appointed to the command of the *Royal Yacht*, where he remained till advanced to be rear-admiral, 27 May 1825. On 20 May 1832 he was made a K.C.B., and from May 1834 to July 1837 was commander-in-chief in the East Indies, with his flag in the *Winchester* of 50 guns. This was his last service. He became a vice-admiral on 10 Jan. 1837; he was further advanced to be admiral on 28 April 1847, and on 7 April 1852 to be G.C.B. He died on 4 March 1853. He married, in 1816, Harriet Catherine, only daughter of Mr. Francis George Smyth, but had no issue.

[Marshall's Roy. Nav. Biog., iii. (vol. ii.) 195; O'Byrne's Nav. Biog. Dict.; Gent. Mag. (1853), vol. cxl. pt. i. p. 540.] J. K. L.

**CAPELL, WILLIAM**, third EARL OF ESSEX (1697-1743), eldest son of Algernon Capel, second earl of Essex, and Mary, eldest daughter of William Bentinck, first earl of Portland, was born in 1697. In 1718 he was appointed gentleman of the bedchamber to George II when Prince of Wales, an office in which he was continued after the prince's accession to the throne. In 1725 he was made a knight of St. Andrew, and in 1727 he was constituted lord-lieutenant of Hertfordshire. In 1731 he was appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the king of Sardinia at Turin, an office which he discharged till 1736. He was afterwards appointed keeper of St. James's and Hyde Parks, but resigned this position on 4 Dec. 1739 on being appointed captain yeoman of the guard. On 12 Feb. 1734-5 he was sworn a member of the privy council, and on 20 Feb. 1737-8 he was made a knight companion of the Garter. He died on 8 Jan. 1742-3, and was buried at Watford. By his first wife, Jane, eldest surviving daughter of Henry Hyde, earl of Clarendon, he had four daughters,

and by his second wife, Elizabeth Russell, youngest daughter of Wriothesley, second duke of Bedford, he had four daughters and two sons. Of the sons the elder died young, and the second, William Anne (1732-1799), succeeded him in the peerage.

[Collins's Peerage, ed. Brydges, iii. 484-5; Clutterbuck's History of Hertford, i. 242-4.]

T. F. H.

**CAPELL, EDWARD** (1713 - 1781), Shakespearean commentator, son of the Rev. Gamaliel Capell, rector of Stanton in Suffolk, was born 11 June 1713 at Throston, near Bury St. Edmunds. He was educated at Bury grammar school and Catharine Hall, Cambridge. In 1737 he was appointed deputy-inspector of plays by the Duke of Grafton, from whom, in 1745, he also received the post of groom of the privy chamber. In discharging the duties of deputy-inspector he occasionally acted with little discretion, as when he refused to license Macklin's 'Man of the World' under its original title, 'The True-born Scotchman' (*Biogr. Dram.*, ed. Jones, iii. 15-16). His official position gave him leisure to devote himself to his favourite pursuit—the study of Shakespeare and of Elizabethan literature. He published in 1760 'Prolusions, or Select Pieces of Ancient Poetry.' In this collection appeared a reprint of the anonymous play, 'Edward III,' which Capell tentatively assigned to Shakespeare. Eight years afterwards (1768) he published his edition of Shakespeare in ten volumes, with a dedication to the Duke of Grafton, grandson of the patron who had appointed him deputy-inspector. In the dedicatory epistle he states that he had devoted twenty years to the preparation of the edition. An introduction, chiefly bibliographical, was prefixed, but the commentary was reserved for separate publication. Capell aimed at supplying in the first instance an accurate text based on a careful collation of the old copies, and he did his work very thoroughly. The first part of the commentary—notes to nine plays, together with the glossary—appeared in 1774. As it met with little success, he recalled the impression and determined to publish the entire commentary, in three quarto volumes, by subscription. The printing of the first volume was finished in March 1779, and the second volume was ready in the following February; but subscribers' names were difficult to procure, and Capell did not live to see the publication of his labours. He died 24 Jan. 1781. In 1783 the complete work was issued in three volumes, under the title of 'Notes and Various Readings to Shakespeare.' As a textual critic Capell was singularly acute, and his

commentary is a valuable contribution to scholarship. The third volume is entitled 'The School of Shakespeare,' and consists of 'authentic extracts from divers English books that were in print in that author's time,' to which is appended 'Notitia Dramatica; or Tables of Ancient Plays (from their beginning to the Restoration of Charles the Second).' In the dedicatory epistle it is alleged by the editor, John Collins, that Steevens appropriated Capell's notes while disclaiming all acquaintance with them. There was a report that when Capell's Shakespeare was being printed Steevens bribed the printer's servant to let him have the first sheets (NICHOLS, *Literary Anecdotes*, viii. 540). Capell had many enemies among contemporary commentators. Farmer, in his letter to Steevens, speaks of him contemptuously, and Dr. Johnson observed that his abilities 'were just sufficient to select the black hairs from the white for the use of the perwig makers.' Capell was a friend of Garrick, but became estranged from him in later life. He used to say that Garrick 'spoke many speeches in Shakespeare without understanding them.' During the last twenty years of his life he spent the whole of each summer at Hastings, where he had built himself a house close to the sea. His rooms in London were at Brick Court, Temple, where in later life he lived in such seclusion that only the most urgent business could draw him out of doors. He died at Brick Court on 24 Feb. 1781, and was buried at Farnham All Saints, Suffolk. He had collected a very valuable library, the choicest portion of which he presented to Trinity College, Cambridge. Steevens printed privately a catalogue of this collection in 1779; it is reprinted in Hartshorne's 'Book Rarities in the University of Cambridge.' Capell is described by Samuel Pegge as 'a personable well-made man of the middle stature,' and it is added that he 'had much of the carriage, manners, and sentiments of a gentleman.' His industry was astonishing; and it is reported that he transcribed the whole of Shakespeare ten times. It is admitted that he was possessed of no little vanity, and that he was somewhat unsociable; but his temper had been soured by neglect. In addition to the works already mentioned, Capell published, 1. 'Two Tables elucidating the Sounds of Letters,' 1749, fol. 2. 'Reflections on Originality in Authors: being Remarks on a Letter to Mr. Mason on the Marks of Imitation,' 1766, 8vo. With the assistance of Garrick he published in 1758 an edition of 'Antony and Cleopatra,' 'fitted for the stage by abridging only.'

[Nichols's *Literary Illustrations*, i. 465-76, iii. 208, v. 421; Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*, viii. 540; Davy's *Athenæ Suffolcienses*, Add. MS. 19166; Halliwell's *Defence of Edward Capell*, 1861; a letter to George Hardinge, esq., 1777; *Monthly Review*, liii. 394-403, lix. 484-488, lxx. 15-23; *Biographia Dramatica*, ed. Jones, i. 82, iii. 15-16.] A. H. B.

CAPELL, KATHERINE (*née* STEPHENS), COUNTESS OF ESSEX (1796-1882). [See STEPHENS, KATHERINE.]

CAPELLANUS, JOHN (*fl.* 1410?), translated the 'De Consolatione Philosophiæ' of Boethius into English verse. Copies of this translation are still preserved, according to Tanner, in the library of Lincoln Cathedral (i. 53) and in the British Museum (*Harl. MS.* xxxiv. A 5). Another copy, imperfect towards the beginning, is to be found among the Sloane MSS. This writer, who seems to have been unknown to Leland, Bale, and Pits, flourished, if we may trust the statement of Tanner, about 1410.

[Tanner's *Bibl. Brit.-Hib.* p. 151.] T. A. A.

CAPGRAVE, JOHN (1393-1464), Augustinian friar, theologian, and historian, was born, as he has himself noted in his chronicle (p. 259), on 21 April 1393. He was a native of Lynn in Norfolk—'my cuntre is Northfolk, of the toun of Lynne' (*Prologue to the Life of St. Katharine*)—where he passed nearly all his days. Bale and others wrongly name Kent as his county. Studious in youth, and 'sticking to his books like a limpet to its rocks,' he was sent to one of the universities, but to which one is uncertain; Leland names Cambridge, but only on conjecture. Tanner, however, adduces evidence for this university from Capgrave's own words in a manuscript now destroyed (*Cotton. MS.* Vitellius D. xv, *Life of St. Gilbert*). On the other hand, Bale and others state that he took the degree of doctor of divinity at Oxford; and Pamphilus (f. 139) adds that he lectured there. It has been suggested (introd. to *CAPGRAVE'S Chronicle*, p. x) that he may have received his early education at Cambridge, that place being more conveniently near to Lynn, and afterwards migrated to the sister university. He was ordained priest in 1417 or 1418, four or five years, he tells us (*De illustr. Henricis*, p. 127), before the birth of Henry VI. At an early age he had elected to enter the order of Augustinian Friars; but we do not know when he first became an inmate of the house of the friars at Lynn. It may not, however, be too much to infer that he was connected with it from youth, and that he may have received a part of his education within its walls.

Soon after taking his doctor's degree he was promoted to be provincial of his order in England. An official document dated 1456 is quoted by White Kennet (*Parochial Antiquities*, 1818, ii. 399) in which Capgrave, as provincial, recognises a claim to the patronage of the convent of Austin Friars at Oxford, then existing near the site of Wadham College.

A few more facts relating to his life can be gathered from his work 'De illustribus Henricis.' In 1406, when a boy, he saw the Princess Philippa, daughter of Henry IV, embark at Lynn, on her way to marry Eric XIII, king of Norway, Sweden, and Denmark (p. 109). In 1422 he was studying in London at the time of the birth of Henry VI (p. 127). In 1446 he received the king when he visited the Austin Friary at Lynn, and gave him an account of its foundation (p. 137). It may be presumed that he was then head of the house. In the dedicatory epistle prefixed to his 'Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles' he refers to a visit to Rome, where he was taken ill; but he does not specify the date (*De illustr. Henricis*, app. p. 221).

Capgrave's biographers eulogise his character in the highest terms. The most learned of English Augustinians whom the soil of Britain ever produced, he was distinguished as a philosopher and theologian, practically rejecting in his writings the dreams of sophists, which lead only to strife and useless discussions. Fulfilling the mission of his order, 'it was his wont to thunder against the wanton and arbitrary acts of prelates, who enlarge the borders of their garments beyond measure, catching at the favour of the ignorant herd; not shepherds, but hirelings, who leave the sheep to the wolves, caring only for the milk and fleece; robbers of their country and evil workers, to whom truth is a burden, justice a thing of scorn, and cruelty a delight' (BALE).

His chief patron was Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, whose life he wrote, and to whom he dedicated certain of his works. He died at Lynn on 12 Aug. 1464 (not 1484, as Pamphilus and Pits say), in his seventy-first year.

Capgrave was a most industrious writer; lists of his works are given by Bale, Tanner, and others. In Latin he wrote: 1. Commentaries on the several books of the Pentateuch, on Joshua, Judges, and Ruth, the four books of Kings, Psalms, Ecclesiastes, Isaiah, Daniel, the twelve Minor Prophets, Acts, Pauline and Canonical Epistles, and the Apocalypse. 2. 'Manipulus Doctrinæ Christianæ.' 3. 'De Fidei Symbolis.' 4. 'Super Sententias Petri Lombardi.' 5. 'Determinaciones Theologicæ.'

6. 'Ad Positiones erroneas.' 7. 'Orationes ad Clerum.' 8. 'Sermones per Annum.' 9. 'Lectura Scholasticæ.' 10. 'Ordinariæ Disputationes.' 11. 'Epistolæ ad diversos.' 12. 'Nova Legenda Angliæ.' 13. 'Vita S. Augustini.' 14. 'De sequacibus S. Augustini,' and (the same work or a continuation) 15. 'De illustribus viris Ordinis S. Augustini.' And the historical works: 1. 'De illustribus Henricis.' 2. 'Vita Humfredi Ducis Glocestriæ.' His works in English were: 1. 'The Life of St. Gilbert of Sempringham.' 2. A metrical 'Life of St. Katharine.' 3. 'A Chronicle of England from the Creation to A.D. 1417.' 'A Guide to the Antiquities of Rome,' in English, a work which he is supposed to have written during his detention there from illness, has also been ascribed to him (*Chronicle*, p. 355).

The commentaries on Genesis and the Pauline Epistles (and probably some others of the biblical commentaries) were dedicated to Humphrey, duke of Gloucester; the commentary on the books of Kings to John Lowe, bishop of St. Asaph (1433-44); and the commentaries on the Acts and the Apocalypse to William Grey, bishop of Ely (1454-78). The 'De illustribus Henricis' was dedicated to Henry VII, the 'Chronicle' to Edward IV. The 'Life of St. Gilbert' was dedicated to Nicholas Resby, master of the order of Sempringham.

Very many of Capgrave's works are lost. Those which have appeared in print or are still extant in manuscript are as follows:—The autograph manuscript of the 'Commentary on Genesis' (a work written in 1437-8), which was presented to Duke Humphrey, is preserved in Oriel College, Oxford, MS. No. 32. It was given by the duke to the university, as one among 135 volumes, in February 1443-4; other works of Capgrave, included in the same gift, being the commentaries on Exodus and on 1 and 3 Kings. A manuscript of the commentary on the Acts, also said to be autograph, was given by Bishop Grey, of Ely, to Balliol College, and is now marked No. 189. Another manuscript in the same college, No. 190, contains Capgrave's work on the Creeds, the autograph manuscript being that in the library of All Souls' College, No. 17. It is in this latter work that he latinises his name as 'Johannes de Monumento Pileato.' The prologues to the commentaries on Genesis, the Acts, and the Creeds are printed in the Rolls edition of the 'De illustribus Henricis.' The 'Nova Legenda Angliæ,' compiled from the work of John of Tynemouth, exists in a manuscript in the York Minster Library; another copy in the Cottonian Library (Tiberius E. i) has been greatly injured by fire;

a third is in the Bodleian Library, Tanner MS. 15. An abridged translation was published by Pynson in 1516, and in the same year Wynkyn de Worde printed the entire work. The prologue is also printed in the 'De illust. Henricis.' The 'Life of St. Gilbert of Sempringham' existed in the Cotton. MS. Vitellius D xv, which, with the exception of a few fragments, was destroyed by fire in 1731. The 'Life of St. Katharine,' in English verse, is preserved in the Arundel MSS. 20, 168, 396, in the British Museum; and in the Bodleian, Rawlinson MS. 116. This work is referred to by Osborn Bokenham [q. v.], a contemporary of Capgrave, in his 'Life of St. Katharine' (*Arundel MS. 327*; BOKENHAM'S *Lyvys of Seyntys*, Roxburghe Club, 1835). The prologue is printed in the Rolls edition of Capgrave's 'Chronicle,' p. 335. Fragments of the 'Guide to the Antiquities of Rome' are found in the fly-leaves of the two manuscripts of the work on the Creeds referred to above, and are also printed with the 'Chronicle,' p. 355. The 'Liber de illustribus Henricis' was written during the reign of Henry VI, and its object was the praise and glory of that king. It gives the lives of six emperors of Germany, six kings of England, and twelve illustrious men who had borne the name of Henry. The autograph manuscript is in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS. 408; and another copy is in the Cottonian Library, Tiberius A viii. Capgrave's English 'Chronicle' also exists in autograph in the University Library, Cambridge, MS. Gg iv. 12; another copy is in Corpus Christi College, MS. 167. This 'schort remembrauns of elde stories' seems to have been broken off, probably just before the author's death. In his dedicatory epistle Capgrave easily accommodates himself to the change of dynasty, finding Edward IV's title to be good 'by Goddis disposition,' and unhand somely reflecting on that of his late patron Henry VI as derived 'by intrusion.' Both these historical works were edited by F. C. Hingeston for the Rolls Series in 1858.

[Bale's Script. Brit. Cat.; Leland's Commentarii de Scriptoribus Brit. (1709); Jos. Pamphili Chronica Ordinis fratrum Erem. S. Augustini (1681); Tanner's Bibl. Brit.; Rolls editions of Capgrave's Chronicle and Liber de illust. Henricis (1858).] E. M. T.

CAPON, JOHN, *alias* SALCOT (*d.* 1557), bishop of Salisbury, was a Benedictine monk when in 1488 he proceeded B.A. at Cambridge, and a monk of St. John's Abbey in Colchester when ordained deacon on 16 May 1502. His name probably implies that he was a native of Salcot, near Colchester. He

became B.D. in 1512, and D.D. in 1515. In the 'King's Book of Payments' (*Cal. of Hen. VIII.*, ii. 1441) he is named as receiving 20*s.* in February 1516 and again in March 1517 for preaching at court. On 16 Feb. 1516-17, being then prior of St. John's, Colchester, he was made abbot of St. Benet's Hulme in Norfolk (*Pat. Roll*, 8 Hen. VIII, p. 2, m. 20). His brother, Dr. William Capon [q. v.], was chaplain to Cardinal Wolsey, and he himself enjoyed Wolsey's favour. There is extant (*Cal. of Hen. VIII.*, iv. App. 38) a letter from Capon to Wolsey, 10 April 1525, thanking him for 'continual favours' towards his 'promotion and advancement,' and referring to 'this bringer, Mr. Cromwell, your servant,' to explain that the writer is ill and cannot come up as commanded. 'This bringer' was afterwards lord privy seal and earl of Essex. As part of a scheme for redeeming first-fruits in Norwich diocese, St. Benet's Abbey was by bull, dated 31 May 1528, of Pope Clement VII (RYMER, xiv. 244), and by private act of parliament (*TANNER, Notitia Monast.* p. 333), made directly subject to the bishops of Norwich who were to be *ex officio* abbots there; but Capon continued abbot and was succeeded by Repps, afterwards bishop of Norwich. In February 1529-30 he was at Cambridge to assist in obtaining a declaration from the university in favour of the king's divorce from Catherine of Arragon. Next month, 15 March 1529-30, he was translated to the abbey of Hyde beside Winchester (*Pat. Roll*, 21 Hen. VIII, p. 1, m. 19). In July following he signed, as one of the spiritual lords, the letter to the pope praying him to consent to the divorce. In August 1533 he was nominated to the bishopric of Bangor, but the pope would not grant the bull of consecration. However, on 11 April 1534 he had the royal assent, and on the 19th was consecrated bishop of Bangor by Archbishop Cranmer—the second bishop made in England after Henry VIII assumed papal authority. He continued abbot of Hyde, holding the bishopric *in commendam*, until the suppression, when, with his convent, he surrendered the abbey to the king in April 1539 (? '30 Henry VIII). *Public Records Report*, viii. App. ii. 24). 'What wonder,' exclaims Stevens (*Suppl.* i. 503), 'that in a depraved age surrenders should be so universal, when the betrayers of their trust, the sacrilegious Judases, were made bishops!' Latimer of Worcester and Shaxton of Salisbury resigned their bishoprics in the summer of 1539 in consequence of the 'Six Articles,' and Capon was translated to the see of Salisbury on 31 July 1539 (*Pat. Roll*, 31 Hen. VIII, p. 3, m. 28), which

he held till his death. He reverted to the Roman faith on the accession of Queen Mary, at which time (31 Aug. 1553) he had license because of his great age to be absent from the queen's coronation and from future parliaments (HAYNES, *Burghley Papers*, p. 177); he was, however, at the trial of Bishop Hooper at Southwark in January 1555. He died on 6 Oct. 1557, and was buried in Salisbury Cathedral on the south side of the choir. Capon was a preacher of some note and a man of learning. Henry VIII wrote to Benet, his ambassador at Rome, on 10 July 1531, to urge the pope to refer judgment of the divorce case to the Archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by the abbot of Westminster and 'the abbot of Hyde, a great clerk' (*Cal. of Hen. VIII*, v. 327). Convocation in 1542, directing certain bishops to revise a translation of the New Testament, assigned the Epistles to the Corinthians to Capon, and the same convocation appointed him and the Bishop of Ely examiners of church books. Protestant writers inveigh against him as a time-server and a papist—'a false dissembling bishop,' as he is called by Foxe (v. 484), who frequently names him as a 'persecutor' of martyrs under Henry VIII and Mary. Fuller and Strype say he despoiled his bishopric to enrich himself. His will, dated 18 July 1557, directs that all his goods be divided among his servants, and as his executors 'renounced,' the prerogative court of Canterbury appointed an administrator on 29 Oct. 1557. Arms: 'S, a chevron between 3 mullets O,' or perhaps 'A, on a chevron S between 3 trefoils of the second, 3 escallops of the field.'

[Cooper's *Athenæ Cantab.* i. 171, 550; *Annals of Cambridge*, i. 338-9; *Cal. of Henry VIII*; Stevens's *Suppl. to Dugdale*, i. 503; Dodsworth's *Salisb. Cath.* p. 57; Fuller's *Church Hist.*; Foxe's *Acts and Mon.*; Dodd's *Church Hist.* p. 489; Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* ed. Bliss, i. 247, ii. 741, 767, 779, 809; Strype; Leland's *Collect.* vi. 220, 234; Lemon's *Calendar*; Richardson's *Godwin*; Milner's *Winchester*, ii. 223; Le Neve's *Fasti*; *State Papers Henry VIII*; Browne Willis's *Not. Parl.* i. 128; Burnet's *Hist. of Reformation*; Anderson's *Annals of Engl. Bible*, ii. 150; Haynes's *Burghley Papers*, p. 177; Britton's *Salisb. Cath.* 41, 95; Grey Friars' *Chronicle*, p. 37; Wriothesley's *Chronicle*, i. 35, 103; Clive's *Ludlow*, 287; Bedford's *Blazon of Episcopacy*, 14.]  
R. H. B.

CAPON, WILLIAM (*d.* 1550), master of Jesus College, Cambridge, the brother of John Capon, *alias* Salcot [q. v.], was born at Salcot, Essex. He was educated at Cambridge, where he proceeded B.A. 1499, M.A. 1502, and D.D. 1517, and was proctor in

1509. He was fellow of Catharine Hall, held the living of Great Shelford, Cambridgeshire, and on 21 July 1516 became master of Jesus College, Cambridge. He acted as chaplain to Wolsey, and was nominated in 1528 the first dean of Wolsey's short-lived college at Ipswich. A long letter from Capon to Wolsey, touching the organisation of the college, is printed in Ellis's 'Original Letters' (1st ser. i. 185, from 'MS. Cotton,' Titus B. i. f. 175). In 1534 he resigned the vicarage of Barkway, Hertfordshire, which he had held for several years; in 1537 became prebendary of Wells; from 26 Sept. 1537 was for a few weeks archdeacon of Anglesey; in 1543 was instituted rector of Duxford St. Peter, Cambridgeshire, and prebendary of Bangor. He resigned the mastership of Jesus College in November 1546, and died in 1550.

[Cooper's *Athenæ Cantab.* i. 100; Wood's *Fasti*, ed. Bliss, i. 94 n. (where the date of Capon's resignation of Barkway is misprinted 1544); Ellis's *Letters*, 1st ser. i. 185, 3rd ser. ii. 231; Le Neve's *Fasti*, ed. Hardy, i. 115, 120, 204.]  
S. L. L.

CAPON, WILLIAM (1757-1827), scene-painter, decorative artist, and architect, the son of an artist, was born at Norwich 6 Oct. 1757. Under his father he commenced to paint portraits, but preferring architecture was placed under Novozielski, whom he assisted in the buildings and decorations of the Italian Opera House (reopened 1791) and Ranelagh Gardens. In 1794 he erected a theatre for Lord Aldborough at Belan House, Kildare, and in the same year was engaged by John Kemble as scene-painter for the new Drury Lane Theatre. An enthusiastic student of old English architecture, he greatly assisted Kemble in his efforts to represent plays with historical accuracy, and the scenes at Drury Lane (and at Covent Garden after 1802) in which he endeavoured to reconstruct ancient buildings were greatly celebrated. Among these were a view of the ancient palace of Westminster (fifteenth century), 'wings' representing English streets, the Tower of London (for the play of 'Richard III'), the council chamber at Crosby House (for 'Jane Shore'), a state chamber *temp.* Edward III, a baronial hall *temp.* Edward IV, and a Tudor hall *temp.* Henry VII. His connection with Drury Lane (burnt 1809) resulted in a loss of 500*l.* He made drawings of the interiors of Drury Lane and Covent Garden, which were exhibited in 1800 and 1802. He was also employed for the Royal Circus and the theatre at Bath (1805). In 1804 he was appointed architectural draughtsman to the Duke of York. His leisure was employed in architectural research, and his



plans of the old palace of Westminster and the substructure of the abbey are said to have occupied him thirty years. The former was in 1826 purchased by the Society of Antiquaries for 120 guineas, and was engraved by Basire. Though his preference was for Gothic architecture, his last work of importance was a design for a church of the Doric order. He was a frequent exhibitor at the Royal Academy, and also (between 1788 and 1827) sent drawings to the Society of Artists (one), the British Institution (five), and the Society of British Artists (five). His subjects were chiefly views of buildings and architectural remains, with some landscapes. He died at his house in North Street, Westminster, 26 Sept. 1827. A portrait of Capon, engraved by W. Bond, after a miniature by W. Bone, was published in the 'Gentleman's Magazine,' xcvi. 105. Some of his original drawings are in the British Museum.

[Redgrave's Dict. of Artists, 1873; Gent. Mag. 1827 and 1828; Boaden's Life of Kemble.]

C. M.

**CAPE, NEWCOME** (1733-1800), unitarian divine, eldest son of the Rev. Joseph Cappe, minister of the nonconformist congregation at Millhill Chapel, Leeds, who married the daughter and coheir of Mr. Newcome of Waddington, Lincolnshire, was born at Leeds 21 Feb. 1733. He was an ardent student when young, and was educated with great care for the dissenting ministry. For a year (1748-9) he was with Dr. Aikin at Kibworth, Leicestershire; the succeeding three years he studied with Doddridge at Northampton, and for another space of three years (1752-5) he lived at Glasgow, profiting by the instruction of Dr. William Leechman. When he was sufficiently qualified by this lengthened course of tuition for his profession, he was chosen in November 1755 co-pastor with the Rev. John Hotham of the dissenting chapel at St. Saviourgate, York, and after remaining in this position until Mr. Hotham's death in the following May became on that event sole pastor to the congregation, and so continued until his own decease in 1800. York was at this time the centre of much greater literary and political life than it is at present, and Cappe took a prominent place among its citizens. The large old mansion in which he lived is described by Mr. Robert Davies, in his 'Walks through York,' as situate in Upper Ousegate, and in it he gathered together many students of letters. A literary club which he founded in 1771 existed with unimpaired life for nearly twenty years. In October 1759 he married Sarah, the eldest daughter of William Turner, a merchant of

Hull. She died of consumption in the spring of 1773, leaving six children behind her. His second wife, an ardent promoter of education and of unitarian principles, was Catharine, daughter of the Rev. Jeremiah Harrison, vicar of Catterick, and they were married at Barwick-in-Elmet on 19 Feb. 1788. Cappe was frequently ill, and in 1791 he was seized by a paralytic stroke. This was followed by several other attacks of the same kind until his strength failed, and he died at York on 24 Dec. 1800. His eldest son, Joseph Cappe, M.D., died in February 1791; his youngest son, Robert Cappe, M.D., died on 16 Nov. 1802 while on a voyage to Leghorn.

The writings of Cappe which appeared during his lifetime were comparatively unimportant. Among them were sermons preached on the days of national humiliation in 1776, 1780, 1781, 1782, and 1784. An earlier sermon delivered 27 Nov. 1757, after the victory of Frederick the Great at Rossbach on 5 Nov. 1757, was of a very rhetorical character; it passed through numerous editions, a copy of the sixth impression being in the British Museum. In 1770 he published a sermon in memory of the Rev. Edward Sandercock, and in 1785 he edited that minister's sermons in two volumes. In 1783 he printed a pamphlet of 'Remarks in Vindication of Dr. Priestley' in answer to the 'Monthly Reviewers.' 'A Selection of Psalms for Social Worship' and 'An Alphabetical Explication of some Terms and Phrases in Scripture,' the first an anonymous publication, and the second 'by a warm well-wisher to the interests of genuine christianity,' were printed at York in 1786, and are known to have been compiled by Cappe. The second of them, it may be added, was reissued at Boston, U.S., in 1818. A work of a more elaborate character, entitled 'Discourses on the Providence and Government of God,' was published by him in 1795; a second edition appeared in 1811, and a third in 1818. After his death his widow, in her regard for his memory, collected and edited many volumes of his discourses, consisting of (1) 'Critical Remarks on many important Passages of Scripture,' 1802, 2 vols.; (2) 'Discourses chiefly on Devotional Subjects,' 1805; (3) 'Connected History of the Life and Divine Mission of Jesus Christ,' 1809; (4) 'Discourses chiefly on Practical Subjects,' 1815. To the first and second of these publications she prefixed memoirs of his life by herself, and the second contained an appendix of a sermon on his interment by the Rev. William Wood, and a memoir from the 'Monthly Review,' February 1801, pp. 81-4, by the Rev. C. Wellbeloved. His widow, whose biography of Cappe

is full of interest, died suddenly 27 July 1821, aged 78. She was the author of several tracts on charity schools (*Dict. of Living Authors*, p. 54).

[Gent. Mag. lxx. pt. ii. 1299 (1800), lxxi. pt. i. 181-2 (1801); Rutt's *Life of Priestley*; Taylor's *Biographia Leodensis*, pp. 210-12; Davies's York Press, pp. 266, 274, 295-8, 303; Belsham's *Theophilus Lindsey*, pp. 223-37.] W. P. C.

**CAPPER, FRANCIS** (1735-1818), divine, born 24 Aug. 1735, son of Francis Capper, a London barrister, was educated at Westminster School, and proceeded thence to Christ Church, Oxford (1753). He graduated as M.A. in 1760, being then in holy orders and rector of Monk Soham (October 1759) and Earl Soham (December 1759), Suffolk, benefices which he retained until his death. He had a local reputation as a faithful minister and an upright magistrate. His only contribution to literature was a small tract, entitled 'The Faith and Belief of every Sincere Christian, proved by references to various Texts of Holy Scripture,' Ipswich, 12mo. Capper died at Earl Soham 13 Nov. 1818.

[Gent. Mag. vol. lxxxviii. pt. ii. p. 476; Welch's *Alumni Westmonast.* 360; family memoranda.] C. J. R.

**CAPPER, JAMES** (1743-1825), meteorologist, &c., younger brother of Francis Capper [q. v.], was born 15 Dec. 1743, and educated at Harrow School. He entered the Hon. East India Company's service at an early age, and attained the rank of colonel, holding for some time the post of comptroller-general of the army and fortification accounts on the coast of Coromandel. After retiring from military service he settled for some years in South Wales, taking much interest in meteorology and agriculture. Removing to Norfolk, he died at Ditchingham Lodge, near Bungay, 6 Sept. 1825.

James Capper wrote: 1. 'Observations on the Passage to India through Egypt; also to Vienna through Constantinople and Aleppo, and from thence to Bagdad, and across the Great Desert to Bassora, with occasional Remarks on the adjacent Countries, and also Sketches of the different Routes,' London, 1784, 4to, and 1785, 8vo. 2. 'Memorial to the Hon. Court of Directors of the East India Company,' 1785 (privately printed). 3. 'Observations on the Winds and Monsoons, illustrated with a chart, and accompanied with Notes, Geographical and Meteorological,' London, 1801, 4to. 4. 'Observations on the Cultivation of Waste Lands, addressed to the gentlemen and farmers of Glamorgan-shire,' London, 1805. 5. 'Meteorological and

Miscellaneous Tracts applicable to Navigation, Gardening, and Farming, with Calendars of Flora for Greece, France, England, and Sweden,' London, 1809, 8vo.

**CAPPER, LOUISA** (1776-1840), was a daughter of Colonel James Capper, by his wife, Mary Johnson, and was born 15 Nov. 1776. She published in 1811 an 'Abridgment of Locke's Essay concerning the Human Understanding,' and died unmarried 25 May 1840. She was buried at Rickmansworth, Hertfordshire.

[Family memoranda; Gent. Mag. (1825), pt. ii. 381; Watt's *Bibl. Brit.*] C. J. R.

**CAPPER, JOSEPH** (1727-1804), an eccentric character, was born in 1727 in Cheshire of parents in humble circumstances. At an early age he came up to London, and, after serving his apprenticeship to a grocer, set up a shop on his own account in the neighbourhood of Whitechapel. Owing to the recommendations of his old master, Capper soon prospered in his trade, and, having been fortunate in various speculations, eventually retired from business. Having given up work, he spent several days in walking about the vicinity of London, searching for lodgings. Stopping at the Horns, Kennington, one day, he asked for a bed, and, being curtly refused, determined to stop in order to plague the landlord. Though for many years he talked about quitting the place the next day, he lived there until the day of his death, a period of twenty-five years. So methodical were his habits, that he would not drink his tea out of any other than his favourite cup. In the parlour of the Horns he had his favourite chair. He would not permit any one to poke the fire without his permission. He called himself the champion of government, and nothing angered him more than to hear any one declaiming against the British constitution. His favourite amusement was killing flies with his cane, before doing which he generally told a story about the rascality of all Frenchmen, 'whom,' he said, 'I hate and detest, and would knock down just the same as these flies.' Capper died at the Horns on 6 Sept. 1804, at the age of seventy-seven, and was buried in the church of St. Botolph, Aldgate. In his will, which was made on the back of a sheet of banker's cheques, and dated five years before his death, he left the bulk of his property, then upwards of 30,000*l.*, among his poor relations, whom he always had refused to see in his lifetime. To his nephews, whom he appointed his executors, he bequeathed 8,000*l.* three per cents. between them. There appears, however, to have been considerable doubt whether

this will had been properly witnessed or not. A curious portrait of Capper will be found in the third volume of Granger.

[St. James's Chronicle, 13 Sept. 1804; Granger's New, Original, and Complete Wonderful Museum and Magazine Extraordinary (1805), iii. 1692-6.] G. F. R. B.

CAPPOCH, THOMAS (1718 - 1746).  
[See COPPOCH.]

CARACCIOLI, CHARLES (*J.* 1766), topographer, was master of the grammar school at Arundel in 1766, and was probably an Italian. In 1758 appeared a work, anonymous, 2 vols. 'Chiron, or the Mental Optician' (*Monthly Review*, 1758, xviii. 276), of which Gough says that Caraccioli was the author (*Brit. Topog.* ii. 288, note); and about two years later a 6d. pamphlet, entitled 'An Historical Account of Sturbridge, Bury, and the most Famous Fairs, &c., also anonymous, was published at Cambridge for the author, which is attributed in the British Museum Library Catalogue to Caraccioli. This is doubtful, as Caraccioli's own evidence shows that about 1758 and 1760 he did not know English. In 1766 Caraccioli published 'The Antiquities of Arundel' by subscription, and dedicated it to the Duke of Norfolk and to the Hon. Edward Howard, the duke's heir-apparent. In 1775 a Charles Caraccioli, gent., published the first volume of 'The Life of Robert, Lord Olive,' not dated (*Monthly Review*, 1775, liii. 80), following this in 1777 by vols. ii. iii. and iv. of the same work (*ib.* 1777, iv. 480); and Gough identifies this author with the subject of this article (*supra*). The 'Monthly Review' says of 'Chiron,' 'It is a poor imitation of "Le Diable Boiteux"' (xviii. 276); Gough says of parts of 'Arundel,' 'They are most awkwardly contrived from printed books' (*Brit. Topog.* ii. 288); Lowndes says of 'Clive,' 'It is a confused jumble' (*Bibl. Manual*, i. 369); and the 'Monthly Review' says of it, 'It is ill-digested, worse connected, and similarly printed.'

[*Monthly Review*, xviii. 276, liii. 80, iv. 480; Gough's *Brit. Topog.* ii. 288; Lowndes's *Bibl. Man.* i. 369.] J. H.

CARACTACUS (*J.* 50), king of the Britons, whose name is the latinised form of the English Caradoc and the Welsh Caradawg, was one of the sons of Cunobelin, king of the Trinobantes, whose capital was the fortified enclosure known as 'Camulodunum' (Colchester). As chief of the Catuvellauni he maintained an energetic resistance to the Romans for nearly nine years. Our only authority for the campaign of Aulus Plautius

(A.D. 43-7) is a passage of Dio Cassius. The Romans landed in three divisions in the spring of A.D. 43. Plautius met and defeated in successive battles Caractacus and his brother Togodumnos, received the submission of the Dobuni (Gloucestershire), and, having established a stronghold in their country, pushed up the valley of the Thames, and came opposite once more to the enemy, who were on the north bank of the river. The Britons, thinking themselves safe under the protection of the broad stream, took no precautions, and were surprised by the Celtic troops of Plautius swimming the river to attack them. This advantage was further extended by the exploits of a body of men which crossed the river under Vespasian, the future emperor. A desperate engagement was fought the next day, in which the Britons made a brave stand, but were completely defeated. The site of this decisive battle is uncertain. Dr. Guest seems to have good reason for placing it at Wallingford, on the Thames. Caractacus was doubtless the chief commander on the British side. The Britons retreated eastward, and put the Lea between themselves and the Romans, who, following them, crossed the Lea, partly by swimming and partly by a bridge, and succeeded in engaging and inflicting a great slaughter upon them once more. In attempting to follow up the flying Britons the Roman army became entangled in the Essex marshes and suffered severe loss. Plautius recalled his troops, and, settling them in some spot on the banks of the Thames, sent for the emperor Claudius, in accordance with orders which he had received when starting for Britain. Dr. Guest thinks that this spot was the site of London, and that the Roman works were the beginning of our metropolis. Dio, however, seems to imply that the Romans were on the south bank of the river. When Claudius arrived with reinforcements and a troop of elephants, the Romans advanced northward, fought a successful battle with the Britons, and captured Camulodunum. Claudius only remained seventeen days in Britain, and then hurried home to celebrate his triumph, leaving Plautius to complete the conquest of southern Britain. Caractacus meanwhile seems to have retired with his followers to the neighbourhood of the Silures (South Wales), and from his western fastnesses to have made frequent sallies to stop the gradually extending Roman dominion. For when in A.D. 47 Ostorius Scapula succeeded Aulus Plautius as pro-prætor, he found Britain in a disturbed and dangerous state. He seems to have taken measures at once to fortify the line of the Severn and Avon, but to have been recalled eastward by

a revolt of the Iceni (Norfolk and Suffolk). Having put down this revolt, and having formally established a Roman colony at Camulodunum, he advanced once more to the west (A.D. 50). Caractacus had led the British host from the extreme south, and was now in the territory of the Ordovices (Shropshire), and somewhere in that district the final battle took place in the summer of A.D. 50. The site of the battle, like most matters connected with British history, is a subject of considerable doubt. Discussions on this point will be found in the books referred to at the end of this article. That which best suits the account given by Tacitus is the hill called Caer Caradoc, described by Camden. It is near the meeting of the Clun and Teme, and in Camden's time still retained traces of British fortification. Caractacus posted his army on a steep hill, and strengthened all possible approaches with heaps of loose stones ('in modum valli præstruit'). Between this hill and the Roman camp ran a river of unknown depth. Ostorius was dismayed at the spirit shown by the Britons; but the veterans easily forded the river. They were received by showers of darts; but at length forming a *testudo*, they scaled the hill, tore down the barricades of stones, and dislodged the Britons. The wife, daughter, and brothers of Caractacus fell into the hands of the Romans. Many, however, escaped to the mountains, and among them Caractacus himself, who took refuge in the country of the Brigantes; but their queen, Cartismandua, delivered him to the Romans. He and his family were sent to Rome, and made to take part in a kind of triumphal parade, which defiled past Claudius and Agrippina. Crowds came from all parts of Italy to see the captive chief. His capture was declared in the senate to be as glorious as that of Syphax by Scipio, and Perses by Paulus. The undaunted bearing of Caractacus roused great admiration. He was allowed to address the emperor, whom he reminded that 'the resistance he had made was a large element in his conqueror's glory; that if he were now put to death he would shortly be forgotten, but that if spared he would be an imperishable monument of the imperial clemency.' Claudius granted life to him and his family; and here all that we know of Caractacus ends, except the reflection which Zonaras records him to have made on seeing Rome: 'That he wondered the Romans who possessed such palaces should envy the poor huts of the Britons.' Tradition, reproduced in the untrustworthy Welsh 'Triads,' asserts that he lived some four years after his capture, and that his children, becoming christians, brought the christian faith into Britain.

Some have even supposed that the Claudia of Martial's 'Epigrams' (iv. 13, xi. 53) and of St. Paul's Epistle (2 Tim. iv. 21) was his daughter. The identity of the person alluded to in these passages, and her connection with Caractacus, are, however, entirely conjectural. With much more probability she has been regarded as the daughter of Cogidumnus.

[The ancient authorities for the history are Tacitus, Ann. xii. 31, 37, Hist. 3, 45; Dio Cassius, 60, 19-22; Eutrop. viii. 8; Suetonius, Claud. 17, Vesp. 4; Zonaras's *Χρονικόν*, p. 186. A full account of the campaign of B.C. 50 will be found in Merivale's History of the Romans under the Empire, vi. 224-45, ed. 1865, and in Carte's History of England, i. 100-11, ed. 1748. A full discussion of difficult points in topography and history will be found in Dr. Guest's *Origines Celticae*, ii. 342, 394-400; see also Gough's Camden, iii. 3, 13; Horsley's *Monumenta Britannica*, i. 26-7, 31-2; Hugh's *Horæ Britannicæ*, pp. 19-22; Freeman's *Old English History*, p. 15. *Caractacus*, a drama composed like a Greek tragedy, with choric odes, was published in 1759 by W. Mason. A frigid poem, *Caractacus*, a Metrical Sketch, was published anonymously in 1832. For a discussion of the question of Claudia, see Williams's *Claudia and Pudens*, 1848; Guest's *Orig. Celt.* ii. 121; Conybeare and Howson's *Life and Epistles of St. Paul*, ii. 514, ed. 1862; Farrar's *Life and Work of St. Paul*, ii. 569; *Quarterly Review*, July 1858.] E. S. S.

**CARADOC, SIR JOHN FRANCIS, LORD HOWDEN** (1762-1839), general, who exchanged the name Cradock for Caradoc in 1820, was the only son of John Cradock [q. v.], archbishop of Dublin, and was born at Dublin, when his father was bishop of Kilmore, on 12 Aug. 1762. His father's political interest was very great, and he rose quickly in the army, which he entered as a cornet in the 4th regiment of horse in 1777. In 1779 he exchanged to an ensigncy in the 2nd or Coldstream guards; in 1781 he was promoted lieutenant and captain, and in 1785 to a majority in the 12th light dragoons. In 1786 he exchanged into the 13th regiment; in 1789 was promoted lieutenant-colonel, and in 1790 commanded the regiment, when it was ordered to the West Indies at the time of the Nootka Sound affair. In 1791 he returned to England on being appointed acting quartermaster-general in Ireland, but in 1793 accompanied Sir Charles Grey to the West Indies as aide-de-camp, and was appointed to command two picked battalions selected for dangerous services. At their head he served throughout the campaign in which Sir Charles Grey reduced the French West Indian islands, and was wounded at the capture of Martinique, and at its conclusion received the thanks of parliament and was promoted colonel of the

127th regiment. On 1 Oct. 1795 he was appointed assistant-quartermaster-general, and in 1797 quartermaster-general in Ireland, and on 1 Jan. 1798 was promoted major-general. In 1798 his local knowledge was invaluable to Lord Cornwallis in the suppression of the Irish rebellion; he was present at the battle of Vinegar Hill and the capture of Wexford; he accompanied Lord Cornwallis in his rapid march against the French general, Humbert, and was wounded in the affair at Ballynahinch. He sat in the Irish House of Commons as M.P. for Clogher from 1785 to 1790, for Castlebar from 1790 to 1797, for Middleton, co. Cork, from 1798 to 1799, and for Thomastown, co. Kilkenny, from 1799 to 1800. In parliament he always voted as a strenuous supporter of the government, and on 17 Feb. 1800 he acted as second to the Right Hon. Isaac Corry, chancellor of the Irish exchequer, in his famous duel with Grattan in Phoenix Park. At the same time he strengthened his political connections by marrying, on 17 Nov. 1798, Lady Theodosia Meade, third daughter of John, first earl of Clanwilliam.

On the completion of the union he lost his seat in parliament, but was appointed to a command on the staff of Sir Ralph Abercromby in the Mediterranean. He joined the army at Minorca, and received the command of the 2nd brigade. He was engaged in the battles of 8, 13, and 21 March in Egypt, and after the death of Abercromby he accompanied General Hutchinson in the advance on Cairo as second in command. He was present at the surrender of Cairo, but then fell ill of fever, and was unable to co-operate in the reduction of Alexandria. At the conclusion of the Egyptian campaign he was appointed to the command-in-chief of a corps of seven thousand men, and ordered to reduce the island of Corsica. The peace of Amiens put an end to the expedition, but he was made a knight of the Bath, gazetted colonel of the 71st light infantry, and on 21 Dec. 1803 was appointed commander-in-chief of the forces at Madras, and a local lieutenant-general.

His command at Madras was signalised by the mutiny at Vellore. Shortly after his arrival he had determined to reduce the chaotic mass of regulations for the army under his command into something like a regular code. In 1805 the new code was issued under the sanction of the governor, Lord William Bentinck, and as it was particularly minute on questions of uniform it greatly offended the sepoy. The family of Tippoo Sahib took advantage of the discontent to set on foot a conspiracy among the Mahomedans in the native army, and on 10 July 1806 a mutiny broke out

at Vellore. When the mutiny was suppressed there were mutual recriminations among the authorities at Fort George as to its cause; Cradock threw the responsibility upon his subalterns for advising the changes, and on the governor for sanctioning them; the governor declared it was all the commander-in-chief's fault, and in the end, in 1807, the court of directors recalled both Cradock and Lord William Bentinck.

The ministers at once appointed Cradock to the command of a division in Ireland, but his mind was 'soured by ill-treatment' (*Wellington's Supplementary Despatches*, v. 261), and he speedily resigned his division and applied for active service. In December 1808 Cradock (lieutenant-general on 1 Jan. 1805) arrived at Lisbon to take command of the troops which Moore had left behind him in Portugal. Cradock's position was a difficult one. He had not more than ten thousand men under his command, including the sick and the stragglers, and could not put more than five thousand in the field. His position was soon complicated by Sir John Moore's retreat; the Portuguese regency wished him to advance to Oporto, and the people became furious and insulted and even murdered English soldiers in the streets of Lisbon. Cradock knew that it was impossible to protect Oporto against Soult's victorious army, and prepared instead to defend Lisbon, threatened both by Soult and Victor in the east. Instructions arrived for him to prepare to evacuate Portugal, but the English ministers suddenly resolved to defend Lisbon at all hazards, and Cradock was ordered to advance from Lisbon and take up a central position. He moved most unwillingly from Passa d'Arcos to Leiria, and there formed his small army in order of battle to await the advance of Soult from Oporto. Cradock had time to reorganise his army, and, after receiving reinforcements, had begun an advance against Soult, when the news arrived that the government had decided to promote him to the governorship of Gibraltar, and to supersede him in Portugal by Wellesley. Sir Arthur Wellesley did all he could to soften Cradock's disappointment, but to the end of his life he felt that he had been badly treated. In 1809 he was appointed colonel of the 43rd regiment, and in 1811 was promoted to the governorship of the Cape of Good Hope, which, however, he only retained till 1814. In 1812 he was promoted general, but he remained a disappointed man. The Duke of Wellington took his only son upon his personal staff, and through the duke's influence Cradock was created Lord Howden in the peerage of Ireland on 19 Oct. 1819. He was further favoured by the duke, and on

7 Sept. 1831 he was created a peer of the United Kingdom as Lord Howden of Howden and Grimston, co. York, on the coronation of William IV. He died at Grimston on 6 July 1839, in his seventy-ninth year.

[Royal Military Calendar; for the mutiny at Vellore see the Asiatic Annual Register for 1807, papers presented to Parliament 1813, and Wilson's continuation of Mill's History of British India, vol. i. chap. ii.; for his services in Portugal see Napier's Peninsular War, book vi., chaps i. ii. iii., and Appendices 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, and 9, which are of special value, as Lord Howden placed all his papers and manuscripts at Sir William Napier's disposal.] H. M. S.

**CARADOC, SIR JOHN HOBART**, second LORD HOWDEN (1799-1873), diplomatist, only child of General Sir J. F. Caradoc, lord Howden [q. v.] and Lady Theodosia Meade, third daughter of the first earl of Clanwilliam, was born in Dublin on 16 Oct. 1799. He was gazetted an ensign in the Grenadier guards on 13 July 1815, and was soon afterwards appointed an aide-de-camp to the Duke of Wellington at Paris, where he remained until the dispersion of the army of occupation in 1818. On 22 Oct. 1818 he was promoted lieutenant and captain in the Grenadier guards, and then proceeded to Lisbon, as aide-de-camp to Marshal Beresford [q. v.], and in 1820 he was appointed aide-de-camp to Sir Thomas Maitland, the governor of Malta. In 1823 he exchanged to the 29th regiment, but in 1824 he determined to enter the diplomatic service, and was appointed an attaché at Berlin. In 1825 he joined the embassy at Paris, and on 9 June 1825 was gazetted an unattached majority in the army. In 1827 he was ordered to Egypt in order to try to prevent Mehemet Ali from intervening in the struggle between Turkey and Greece. In this he failed, and he was then ordered to join Sir Edward Codrington, the admiral commanding the Mediterranean fleet, as military commissioner, with instructions to force Mehemet Ali to withdraw the army with which he had occupied the Morea. At Navarino Caradoc was wounded, and he had afterwards no difficulty in securing the withdrawal of the Egyptian army. In 1830 he was elected M.P. for Dundalk, but he did not seek re-election in 1831, and in 1832 was appointed military commissioner with the French army under Marshal Gérard, which was besieging Antwerp. Here he was again wounded, and was made, for his services, a commander of the Legion of Honour, and of the order of Leopold of Belgium. In August 1834 he was appointed military commissioner with the Spanish army, which had entered Portugal, and was present

at the convention of Evora Monte, and in the same year he was attached to the Christianist army in the north of Spain. He was present at the victories obtained over the Carlists at Olozagutia and Gollana, and was rewarded for his services with the order of San Fernando. In 1839 he succeeded his father as second Lord Howden, and returned to England. In 1841 he was promoted to be colonel in the army, and made an equerry to the Duchess of Kent, a post which he held to the end of his life. On 25 Jan. 1847 he was appointed minister at Rio de Janeiro with a special mission to the Argentine Confederation and the republic of Uruguay. He was ordered to act in conjunction with Count Walewski, the French minister plenipotentiary, and also not to allow the British fleet to do more than blockade Buenos Ayres and Monte Video. When Count Walewski showed himself favourably inclined towards General Rosas, governor of Buenos Ayres, and when Rosas himself paid no attention to the ultimatum of the two powers, Howden decided to leave the questions at issue unsettled, and raised the blockade of Buenos Ayres on 2 July 1847, and returned to Rio de Janeiro. He remained in Brazil till 1850, when he was appointed minister plenipotentiary at Madrid, and in 1851 he was promoted major-general, and on 23 Feb. 1852 made a K.C.B. At Madrid he was both well known and popular, and had thus a great advantage over his predecessor, Sir Henry Bulwer. In March 1858 he retired from ill-health, but without a pension, and was made, on his retirement, a G.C.B. and a knight grand cross of the order of Charles III of Spain. In 1859 he was promoted lieutenant-general, in 1861 he retired from the army, and after the death of the Duchess of Kent in that year he lived in retirement until his death at Bayonne on 8 Oct. 1873. He married in January 1830 Catherine, daughter of Paul, count Skavronsky, and great-niece of Prince Potemkin, but had no children, and on his death the English and Irish baronies of Howden became extinct.

[None of the obituary notices on Lord Howden are very full, but the details of his long and varied diplomatic career are to be found in the Foreign Office List for 1872; for his conduct in the River Plate affair, see The Anglo-French Intervention in the River Plate considered, especially with reference to the negotiations of 1847 under the conduct of Lord Howden, by A. R. Pfeil, London, 1847, and Two Letters addressed to the Right Honourable Lord Howden, on the withdrawal of the British intervention from the River Plate question, Monte Video, 1847.]

H. M. S.

**CARADOG** (*d.* 1035), a South Welsh prince, was a son of Rhydderch, who had seized the government of Deheubarth, and died in 1031 at the hands of Irish pirates. Caradog did not, however, manage to succeed to Rhydderch's power, which fell to Howel and Maredudd, sons of Edwin, who are said to have brought the Irish against Rhydderch. War ensued between the new rulers and the sons of Rhydderch, and in 1032 the latter were defeated in an action at Hiraethwy. Before long the death of Maredudd restored victory to Caradog and his brothers (1035). Before the year was out Caradog himself was slain by the English. The event is not noticed in the English chronicles.

[Annales Cambrie, Rolls Series; Brut y Tywysogion, Rolls Series; Gwentian Brut (Cambrian Archaeological Association).] T. F. T.

**CARADOG OF LLANCARVAN** (*d.* 1147?), Welsh ecclesiastic and chronicler, was, as his name indicates, probably either born at or a monk of the famous abbey of Llanancarvan in the vale of Glamorgan. He was apparently one of the brilliant band of men of letters that gathered round Earl Robert of Gloucester, the bastard son of Henry I. Caradog was a friend of Geoffrey of Monmouth, who at the conclusion of his famous 'British History,' which ends with Cadwaladr Vendigaid, says: 'The princes who afterwards ruled in Wales I committed to Caradog of Llanancarvan, for he was my contemporary. And to him I gave the materials to write that book' (*Hist. Brit.* bk. xii. ch. xx.) Caradog's chief work was a sort of continuation of Geoffrey's fictions from the beginning of really historical times down to his own day. In its original form Caradog's chronicle is not now extant. There exist, however, several Welsh chronicles going down to much later times than Caradog's which profess to be derived from that author's work. The English compilation known as Powell's 'History of Cambria,' first published in 1584, also claims in its earlier part to be based on Caradog. That Caradog wrote a chronicle is clearly proved, and there is therefore every probability that the later chroniclers used his as their basis. It is, however, more likely that Caradog wrote his work in Latin than in Welsh. The relation of Caradog to the early part of the 'Bruts' must, however, be determined purely on internal evidence; and for such minute investigations a better editing of them is needed than has been given by Mr. Williams ab Ithel in the Rolls edition of the 'Brut y Tywysogion.' Mr. Aneurin Owen has pointed out, however, that the 'Brut' changes its style and tone in a very

remarkable way about 1120. The entries, which had since 1100 been very copious, suddenly became meagre, and the English sympathies of the earlier writer are exchanged for a patriotism that warmly favours the Welsh. Such partiality as that of the earlier writer would naturally come from Caradog, and the date of the change of style increases the probability of it.

Caradog is also said to have written 'Commentarii in Merlinum,' 'De situ orbis,' and 'Vita Gildas' (BALE, *Script. Brit. Cat.* p. 196). Of the two former nothing is known. The old life of Gildas, published by Mr. Stevenson for the English Historical Society, is probably the latter work. Mr. Stevenson denies that Caradog wrote it, but Mr. T. Wright (*Biog. Brit. Lit.*, Anglo-Saxon period, p. 119) has shown reasons for believing him to be its author. The work is not of very great value or authenticity.

Pits says that Caradog was an elegant poet, and an eloquent rhetorician as well as a considerable historian. He says he flourished about 1150. Gutyn Owain, a Welsh bard and herald of the fifteenth century, says that Caradog died in 1156. As Geoffrey of Monmouth speaks in the past tense in his reference to him, it is more probable that he died before 1147, the latest possible date for the publication of the 'Historia Brittonum.' It is very improbable that he is the same as his contemporary Caradog the hermit.

[Bale's *Script. Brit. Cat.* pp. 195-6; Pits, *De Angliæ Scriptoribus*, p. 215; Owen's Introduction to the Gwentian Brut (Cambrian Archaeological Association); Wright's *Biog. Brit. Lit.* Anglo-Saxon period, p. 119, Anglo-Norman period, p. 166-7; Stevenson's *Gildas* (Eng. Hist. Soc.), Preface, pp. xxvii-xxx.] T. F. T.

**CARADORI-ALLAN, MARIA CATERINA ROSALBINA** (1800-1865), vocalist, was born at the Casa Palatina, Milan, in 1800. Her father, Baron de Munck, was an Alsatian, who held a post in the French army. Her mother, whose maiden name was Caradori, was a native of St. Petersburg. Owing to her father's death she was forced to adopt music as a profession, though the only training she received was from her mother. After a tour in France and part of Germany, by the exertions of Count St. Antonio she was engaged for the King's Theatre, where she made her first appearance as Cherubino in the 'Nozze di Figaro,' 12 Jan. 1822. Her salary for this season was 300*l.* In 1823 she was re-engaged, at a salary of 400*l.*, and appeared as Vitellia in Mozart's 'Clemenza di Tito,' and as Carlotta in Mercadante's 'Elisa e Claudio.' In 1824 she was married to Mr. E. T.

Allan, the secretary of the King's Theatre, where she was again engaged at a salary of 500*l.*, singing with Catalani in Mayr's 'Nuovo Fanatico per la Musica,' and (for her own benefit) as Zerlina in 'Don Giovanni.' In the following year her chief parts were Carlotta in Generali's 'L'Adelina,' Fatima in Rossini's 'Pietro l'Eremita,' and Palmida in Meyerbeer's 'Crociato;' in the latter opera she was associated with the sopranoist Veluti. In 1826 her salary, which had been lowered to 400*l.*, was raised to 700*l.*, and she sang with Pasta in Zingarelli's 'Romeo e Giulietta,' and as Rosina in 'Il Barbiere di Seviglia.' In the following year her salary was 1,200*l.*, but this was the last season of Italian opera for some time, and M<sup>de</sup>. Caradori-Allan went abroad. She sang in Venice in 1830, but in 1834 reappeared in Italian opera in London, and after 1835 remained in England until her death. She sang the soprano solo music at the first performance of Beethoven's ninth symphony in England, 21 March 1825, and in the same year took part in the York festival. In 1826 she was at Gloucester, and in 1827 at the Leicester and Worcester festivals. In 1834 she sang in the Handel festival in Westminster Abbey, in 1836 at the Manchester festival with Malibran, and in 1846 took part in Mendelssohn's 'Elijah' at its production at the Birmingham festival. In the latter years of her career she abandoned the stage for oratorio and concert singing, in which she achieved great success. She retired about 1845, and died at Elm Lodge, Surbiton, on Sunday, 15 Oct. 1865. M<sup>me</sup>. Caradori-Allan all her life enjoyed great popularity; personally she was very accomplished, and at the same time most amiable and unaffected. Her singing was more remarkable for finish than for force; her voice was sweet, but deficient in tone, and it was said of her that 'she always delighted, but never surprised,' her audiences. As an actress she was charming. There are portraits of her as Creusa in 'Medea,' by Hullmandel after Hayter, and in Ebers's 'Seven Years of the King's Theatre.'

[Grove's Dict. of Music, i. 307; Lord Mount-Edgumbe's Musical Reminiscences of an Old Amateur (ed. 1827), p. 155; Ebers's Seven Years of the King's Theatre, pp. 143, 154, &c.; Somerset House, i. 380, ii. 88; Orchestra for 21 Oct. 1865; Quarterly Musical Magazine, 1825, p. 347; Times, 19 Oct. 1865.] W. B. S.

**CARANTACUS**, in modern Welsh **CARANNOG**, **SAINTE** (*n.* 450), was, according to the life contained in Cotton. MS. Vespasian A. xiv. (printed by the Bollandists and by Rees, 'Cambro-Brit. Saints,' pp. 97-101), the son of Cereticus (Ceredig), king of

the region which has received from him the name of Cardigan. A Welsh document printed by Rees under the title 'Pedigrees of Welsh Saints' makes him not the son but the grandson of Ceredig, his father's name being given as Corwn. It is impossible to place any confidence in either of these statements, since, although the name of Ceredig is doubtless historical, the traditions relating to him are for the most part obviously fabulous. Eight of the most celebrated of the Welsh saints are stated to have been his sons or grandsons, while the genealogy of many others is traced up to his eight brothers. Equally worthless is the assertion quoted by Colgan from the 'Opuscula' of St. Oengus, lib. 4, c. 6, that Carantacus was one of the fifteen sons (all bishops!) of St. Patrick's sister Darerca. The life above referred to (which the Bollandists remark is suspected of being largely fabulous) says that the kingdom of Ceredig being invaded by the Irish, and the king being advanced in years and infirm, the nobles counselled him to abdicate in favour of his eldest son, Carantacus. The young prince, 'loving the heavenly king more than an earthly kingdom,' took flight in order to escape the honour that was to be thrust upon him, and lived for some time as a hermit in a place which was afterwards known as Guerit Carantac (possibly Llan-grannog in Cardiganshire). According to another version of this part of his story, the place of his retirement was a cave called Edilu. Here he gave himself to prayer and to the study of the scriptures. He afterwards passed over into Ireland, and became associated with St. Patrick in the evangelisation of that country, having changed his name to Cernach or Cernath. In Ireland he was regarded with great reverence, and there were 'many churches and cities' named after him in the province of Leinster.

It appears from this that the author of the 'Life' regarded Carantacus as the same person with St. Cairnech, a bishop who is mentioned by the Irish hagiologists as a companion of St. Patrick, and as having assisted him in the work of editing the Brehon laws. The correctness of this identification derives some support from the fact that the festival of Cairnech is placed in the Irish calendars under 16 May; there being reason to believe that this was the date assigned by the British church to Carantacus. At Llan-grannog, the church of which is dedicated to this saint, there is an annual fair on 27 May (i.e. 16 May old style); and at Crantock in Cornwall, where there is the same dedication, the village feast is on the Sunday nearest to 16 May. The Irish writers



themselves speak of Cairnech as a Briton, but they make him a native not of Wales but of Cornwall. It appears likely, however, that this is merely a conjecture, founded on an etymological interpretation of the name Cairnech, which MacFirbis regarded as meaning 'Cornishman.' There seems on the whole to be no reason for disputing the identity of Carantacus and Cairnech, or the correctness of the statement that he was born in Wales.

The 'Life' goes on to say that Carantacus returned to Wales, and again occupied for a time the cave which had formerly been his hermitage. The account of his miracles, and of his intercourse with King Arthur, it is not worth while to reproduce here; but there may possibly be some historical foundation for the statement that he founded a church at a place called 'Carrum,' and at another called 'Carrou' (Caerau, Glamorganshire), near the mouth of the 'Guellit.' Afterwards, the biographer says, he went back to Ireland, and was buried at a place called, after his own name, 'the city of Cernach.' The Irish writers call him Cairnech of Tuilen (Dulane in Meath), and say that he is buried at Inis-Baithen in Leinster. MacFirbis says that he was 'the son of Luithech, son of Luighidh, son of Talum,' &c. This pedigree may possibly be authentic, as the story of the descent of Carantacus from Ceredig is obviously mere legend.

A trace of a dedication to St. Carantacus seems to exist in the name of Carhampton (Domesday 'Carentone') in Somersetshire. Leland states that he saw there a ruined chapel of this saint, which had formerly been the parish church. Although Anglo-Saxon place-names derived from names of saints are extremely rare, a few instances of them seem to exist in the west, near the borders of the native British territory, and there seems to be no ground for questioning the correctness of Leland's derivation of the name.

Carantacus or Cairnech must be distinguished from another Cairnech [q. v.], whose festival is 28 March, and who died about 539.

[Act. Sancti. May, iii. 548 ff.; Colgan, *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ*, i. 263, 473, 717-18; Rees's *Cambro-Brit. Saints*, 97-101, 396-401; Todd's *Irish Nennius*, cx, cxi; Senchus Mor, i. xix, 16, 17, ii. v-viii; Martyrology of Donegal, p. 133; Stokes on the Calendar of Oengus, p. lxxxvii; *Dict. Christian Biography*, i. 383.] H. B.

**CARAUSIUS** (245 P-293), Roman emperor in Britain in the time of Diocletian and Maximianus Herculius, was a man of very humble origin, and is described by Aurelius

Victor (*De Cæsaribus*, c. 39) as 'Menapiæ civis,' an expression which indicates the district about the mouths of the Scheldt and the Meuse as his native country (cf. BUNBURY, *Hist. of Anc. Geog.* ii. 135; G. LONG in SMITH'S *Dict. of Anc. Geog.* s.v. 'Menapii'). The portrait of himself on his coins, which were probably first issued in A.D. 287, is apparently that of a man of about forty. In his youth Carausius earned his livelihood as a pilot. In 286 he is mentioned as greatly distinguishing himself in the campaign of the Emperor Maximian against the Bagaudæ—the revolted peasants and banditti of Gaul. About this period Maximian found it necessary to take active measures for suppressing the Frank and Saxon pirates who preyed upon the coasts of Britain and Gaul. Carausius was entrusted with the formation and command of a fleet which was stationed at Gesoriacum (Boulogne). But 'the integrity of the new admiral' (as Gibbon says), 'corresponded not with his abilities.' He allowed the pirates to sail out and ravage as usual, but when they returned he fell upon them and seized the spoil, reserving a portion—apparently a very considerable portion—for his own purposes. Maximian at last gave orders that his admiral should be put to death. But Carausius was strong in the possession of the fleet, and had ample resources for corruption, and on becoming aware of Maximian's intention, he promptly crossed the Channel with his ships, took possession of Britain, and 'assumed the purple' ('purpuram sumpsit,' EUTROPIUS), A.D. 287. It has been sometimes said that Carausius was 'the first count of the Saxon shore' ('comes littoris Saxonici'), a title only first made known to us in the 'Notitia,' i.e. about the end of the fourth century A.D. If we assume with Guest (*Origines Celticae*, ii. 154), Freeman (*Norman Conquest*, ed. 1867, i. 11), Stubbs (*Constitutional Hist. of Eng.* Library ed. 1880, i. 67 note), and other writers (see Böcking's commentary on cap. xxv. of his edition of the *Notitia*), that the duties of the 'Comes' were to protect 'the Saxon shore,' i.e. the shore on either side of the Channel, from the ravages of the Saxon pirates, we may, at any rate, safely affirm that Carausius was practically the first who was appointed to perform the duties of the Comes. Lappenberg (*Hist. of Eng. under the Anglo-Saxon Kings*, 1845, i. 44 ff.; cf. KEMBLE, *Saxons in England*, i. 12), who thinks that the 'comes littoris Saxonici' was the commander of the Saxon colonists settled along the coasts of Britain and Gaul before 450, considers that Carausius was practically the first 'comes' in this sense, remarking that

if Carausius, 'himself a German by extraction, a Menapian by birth . . . did not cause the settling of the Saxons along the Saxon shore, in Gaul as well as in Britain, he at least promoted it by his alliance with them.' A substantially similar view as to the relations of Carausius and the Saxons is taken by Schaumann (*Zur Geschichte der Eroberung Englands durch germanische Stämme*, Göttingen, 1845), Dirks (*Les Anglo-Saxons et leurs petits deniers dits Seeattas*, Brussels, 1870, pp. 15 ff.), and Howorth (*Journ. of Anthropological Institute*, February, 1878).

Maximian, deprived of his fleet, was unable to pursue Carausius immediately, but during part of 288 and 289 confined himself to making elaborate naval preparations. Carausius meanwhile was supposed to be trembling for his safety. 'Quid nunc animi habet ille pirata?' asks the courtly panegyrist of Maximian in an oration delivered at Trèves on 21 April 289: 'Ædificatæ sunt ornatæque pulcherrimæ classes simul amnibus oceanum petituræ' (MAMERTINI *Paneg. Max. Herc. dict.* c. 12). The new fleet was brought into action—probably shortly after this date—but its half-trained seamen proved to be no match for the sailors of Carausius, who had built a number of additional ships after the Roman model. Carausius was, moreover, an experienced soldier (EUTROP. ix. 22). On landing in Britain in 287 he had won over to his side (probably by bribery) the Roman legion stationed in the island, and he proceeded to organise an army by adding to the legion some companies of foreign mercenaries and even merchants from Gaul: the prospect of spoil made his service attractive, and 'barbarians' also joined the ranks. Part of his fleet held possession of Boulogne. The contest between the rivals seems to have lasted some time, the advantage being always, apparently, on the side of Carausius, and at last in 290 Maximian was glad to come to terms with the usurper. Eutropius (ix. 22) only records the bare fact that peace was brought about; but from certain coins issued by Carausius, evidently at this period, it would appear that he was actually acknowledged by Maximian and Diocletian as a partner in the empire. Carausius, probably from the very moment of his first setting sail for Britain, had already placed his own portrait on the coins which he issued, and had styled himself 'Imperator,' 'Cæsar,' 'Augustus,' adding the usual imperial epithets of 'Pius' and 'Felix;' but he now issued a remarkable copper coin (a specimen is in the British Museum), on the obverse of which he placed the three heads of Diocletian,

Maximian, and himself, accompanied by the inscription CARAVSIVS ET FRATRES SVI. The reverse bore the inscription PAX AVGGG (i.e. 'trium Augustorum') and a female personification of peace, holding olive-branch and sceptre. On a few other coins of Carausius, which must also belong to this period, the legends have reference to three Augusti, and not merely—as at first—to a single Augustus (Carausius himself). But the union of the imperial 'brethren' was soon to be dissolved. In 292 Diocletian and Maximian invited Galerius and Constantius Chlorus to share in the growing cares of empire, as Cæsars. The defence of Gaul and Britain was entrusted to Constantius; and he proceeded to strike a blow at the power of Carausius by an attack on Boulogne. He besieged the town both by land and sea, obstructing the mouth of the harbour by a mole. The garrison surrendered, and Constantius was making other preparations for the recovery of Britain, when he received the welcome news that Carausius had been assassinated by his chief minister, Allectus, 293. [The exact date and sequence of the events in the life of Carausius are not absolutely certain; the chronology that has here been adopted is that of Clinton (*Pasti Rom.*) According to other modern critics (see PAULY, *Real-Encyclop.*) the reign of Carausius lasted from 286 to 293, and the peace with Maximian and Diocletian was made, not in 290 but in 292. The date, 294, adopted by Gibbon (also in *Monum. Hist. Britan.* and elsewhere) for the death of Carausius is erroneous (see W. SMITH'S note in the *Decline and Fall*, ii. 71).]

The brief notices of Aurelius Victor and Eutropius, and the necessarily unsatisfactory statements of the Panegyrists, throw little light upon the character and motives of Carausius. He is contemptuously spoken of as the 'pirate' or the 'pirate chief' ('archipirata'), and his avarice and faithlessness are not unjustly stigmatised. All the ancient writers, however, recognise his ability in nautical and military affairs. His motive in seizing Britain and his position as 'imperator' have been discussed by several modern writers. 'Under his command,' says Gibbon, 'Britain, destined in a future age to obtain the empire of the sea, already assumed its natural and respectable station of a maritime power.' Carausius certainly relied upon his fleet, and he may possibly, in the first instance, have fled to Britain merely as to a harbour of refuge, without having any ultimate designs upon the empire, but, in any case, it is evident that he did not rest content with being a mere 'king' of Britain.

Mr. Freeman (*Norman Conquest*, 1887, i. 153; 1877, i. 139) well points out that Carausius, Maximus, and the other so-called tyrants or provincial emperors, did not claim any independent existence for any part of the empire of which they might have gained possession. 'They were pretenders to the whole empire if they could get it, and they not uncommonly did get it in the end.' 'Carausius, the first British emperor, according to this theory, held not only Britain but part of Gaul.' 'Britain and part of Gaul were simply those parts of the empire of which Carausius, a candidate for the whole empire, had been able actually to possess himself. At last Carausius was accepted as a colleague by Diocletian and Maximian, and so became a lawful Cæsar and Augustus.' 'Allectus was less fortunate; he never got beyond Britain, and, instead of being acknowledged as a colleague, he was defeated and slain by Constantius.'

Although Carausius ruled in Britain from 287 to 293, no lapidary inscriptions or other monuments of his reign have at present been discovered, with the exception of the gold, silver, and copper coins which he issued in large numbers. The testimony of these coins confirms, and in some points supplements, the scanty information derived from the literary sources. Gibbon, in a note in the 'Decline and Fall,' observes that 'as a great number of medals (i.e. coins) of Carausius are still preserved, he is become a very favourite object of antiquarian curiosity, and every circumstance of his life and actions has been investigated with sagacious accuracy.' However, until the latter part of the present century the coins of Carausius were always considered by numismatists as rarities, and Gibbon had only before him the learned but fanciful work of Dr. Stukeley—possibly also that of Genebrier—who made Carausius a Welshman and gave him for a wife a lady named Oriuna—a name which he arrived at by misreading the word Fortuna on one of the emperor's coins. Even now, no complete list of the coins of Carausius brought down to the present date is in existence, though a very large number may be found engraved in the 'Monumenta Historica Britannica' and in Roach Smith's 'Collectanea Antiqua.' Cohen, in his 'Médailles impériales' (first edition), gives a description of six varieties in gold, forty-six in silver, and 242 in copper; but since this list was compiled, about 1861, numerous additional specimens have been discovered, especially in copper. In particular, the very large hoard of coins unearthed by Lord Selborne in 1873 at Blackmoor in Hampshire contained 545 coins

of Carausius, which included 117 varieties not described by Cohen. Among the numerous localities where coins of Carausius have been discovered may be mentioned London (some of the coins were found in the bed of the Thames); Richborough; Rouen (where a hoard of late third-century coins, discovered in 1846, contained 210 of Carausius); St. Albans, Silchester, Strood, Wroxeter, and different parts of Gloucestershire. Carausius struck his money at London, and at a mint indicated by the letter 'C,' probably Camulodunum (Colchester); a number of his coins give no indication of their place of mintage. Rutupia and Clausentum have by some been suggested as mints; but this is doubtful. De Salis (*Num. Chron.* n. s. vii. 57) would assign to 287-90 P those coins of Carausius which are 'without mint-marks and mostly of inferior workmanship'; and to the years 290 P-3 the gold and copper coins with the mint-mark of London, and the copper with the mint-mark of Camulodunum; the 'silver coins with the exergual mark  $\text{R} \overline{\text{S}} \text{R}$  probably belong to this period and to the mint of London.' It is not improbable that Carausius struck coins with his name and titles even before setting out from Boulogne for Britain. There are two sets of coins which some writers have proposed to attribute to this period: (1) a series (from the Rouen find) bearing a portrait of Carausius differing from that on the coins undoubtedly struck in Britain, and (2) a number of specimens (from the Blackmoor and Silchester hoards) which are re-struck on money of previous emperors (Gallienus, Victorinus, Tetricus, &c.) Not having a supply of metal 'blanks' ready to hand at Boulogne, Carausius may very well have adopted the expedient of using the copper coins which he found already in circulation, stamping them over again from dies engraved with his own devices and inscriptions. The coins of Carausius as a whole are fairly well executed for the period, though some of the legends are blundered; they hardly, however, warrant the assertion of Gibbon that their issuer 'invited from the continent a great number of skilful artists.' The legend of the obverse is almost invariably IMP. [or IMP. C.] CARAVSIVS. P. F. AVG. In rare instances I or IN—probably for 'Invictus'—is added. 'Carausius' may, from the evidence of the coins, be considered as the true form of the emperor's name; the author of the *Epitomé* of the 'De Cæsariibus' of Victor calls him 'Charausio,' and in mediæval and other writers he is given such curious names as 'Caratius,' 'Crausius,' &c. (see a list of these in GENE BRIER, pp. 5, 6). Nearly all modern writers—Stukeley; Pauly, 'Real-Encyclop.;

Smith, 'Dict. Class. Biog. ;' Madden, 'Hand-book of Roman Coins'—have stated that he assumed the names of Marcus Aurelius Valerius, names already borne by the Emperor Maximian; but the only authority for this appears to be the inscription—very possibly misread—on a coin referred to by Eckhel (*Doct. Num. Vet.* viii. 47). Two specimens in the Hunter collection at Glasgow (COHEN, *Med. imp.* vol. v., 'Carausius,' Nos. 192, 199) are, however, said to read  $\text{M}[\text{ARCUS}] \text{CARAVSIVS}$ . The obverse types of the coins of Carausius consist of a portrait of himself which does not appear to be much conventionalised; it is that of a sturdy soldier with a slight touch of brutality. The head is in profile and is either radiate or wreathed with laurel. Some specimens with the legend  $\text{VIRTVS CARAVSI}[\text{I}]$  display a nearly half-length figure of the emperor in armour, helmeted and radiate, and with a shield on the left arm, and in the right a javelin. A unique copper coin found at Wroxeter, and now in the British Museum (R. SMITH, *Collect. Antiqua*, ii. 153, 154, with engraving), shows the head of Carausius full-face and bare; the workmanship is more careful and the face has a look of greater benignity than in the profile representations.

Historical deductions from the reverse types of Carausius must be made with caution, for the reason that many of these types are more or less commonplace, and are not peculiar to the British potentate. But a certain number of types were undoubtedly originated by Carausius himself, and others seem to be historically significant. On one important reverse type Carausius represents himself as the 'long-looked for' deliverer welcomed by Britannia, who stands holding a trident and extends her hand to the new emperor; the legend is 'EXPECTATE VENI.' On another specimen, with the type of the Wolf and Twins, the 'Romanorum Renovatio' is proclaimed; or, again, the 'Sæculi Felicitas' and the 'Liberalitas Augusti.' Some of the types and legends are of a warlike nature, e.g. the 'Mars Ultor,' the 'Concordia Militum,' the 'Fides Militum,' and on various pieces the names of Roman legions are recorded. Types relating to nautical matters are somewhat rare; Neptune occurs on several coins, and one of the types is a galley with its crew. Jupiter, and more especially the Sun-god, seem to be the divinities usually invoked by Carausius. There are also a number of more or less hackneyed types, such as 'Victoria,' 'Pax,' 'Moneta,' 'Fortuna,' 'Providentia.' It has been supposed that the frequent occurrence of the 'Victoria' and the 'Pax' (especially of the latter) is due to actual events in the reign of Carausius,

such as a victory over or a peace concluded with the Caledonians; but these conjectures seem somewhat hazardous.

Of the early life of ALLECTUS (250?–296), the successor of Carausius, nothing whatever is recorded, though the portrait on his coins enables us to select 250 as the approximate date of his birth. He is first introduced to us as the right-hand man of Carausius, but, having committed certain unpardonable offences, he assassinated Carausius and seized the government. His reign lasted for about three years only (293–296). During its progress he issued a good many coins, minting, like his predecessor, at London and Colchester. According to Cohen (whose estimate, however, does not take account of coins discovered since 1861), there are ten varieties in gold and fifty-six in copper: the so-called silver coins appear to be only copper washed with silver. The obverses display the head of Allectus in profile, laureate. Allectus takes the imperial style  $\text{IMP. C. ALLECTVS. P. F. AVG.}$  His reverse types are for the most part similar to those of his predecessor; it is noticeable, however, that the type of the galley with rowers now becomes extremely common, as if Allectus wished to direct attention to his maritime resources. His enemies, however, were maturing their plans, and by 296 Constantius had his fleet ready for action. To distract the attention of Allectus, Constantius divided it into two squadrons, one under his own command, stationed at Boulogne, the other, at the mouth of the Seine, under the command of the prætorian præfect, Asclepiodotus. Asclepiodotus sailed out first, and under cover of a fog passed unobserved by the British fleet, which lay off the Isle of Wight, and effected a landing. Allectus immediately hastened westward. With men wearied by forced marches he encountered Asclepiodotus, and was defeated and slain A.D. 296. Lord Selborne conjectures that the engagement took place in or near Woolmer Forest in Hampshire, and he supposes that it was just before the fight that Allectus or some of his officers hurriedly buried for safety the enormous 'Blackmoor hoard,' consisting of more than 29,788 coins, among which were ninety of Allectus.

Shortly after the battle Constantius himself arrived, and Britain was restored to the empire in the tenth year of the usurpation of Carausius and Allectus.

[The ancient authorities are: Aurelius Victor, *De Cæsaris*, c. 39, and the Epitome of the *De Cæs.* c. 40; Eutropius, *Histor. Rom. Brev.* lib. ix. capp. 21, 22; the Panegyricus Maximiano Herc. dictus, capp. 11, 12, and the Paneg.

Genethliacus Maxim. Aug. dict. c. 19, of the so-called Mamertinus; Eumenius, Panegy. Constantio Cæsari, capp. 6, 7, 12; Paneg. Constantino, c. 5; Orosius, Histor. lib. vii. c. 25 = Bedæ Hist. Eccl. lib. i. cap. 6. Among modern writers see especially: Clinton, *Fasti Romani*, i. 330-5; Gibbon, *Decline and Fall* (ed. W. Smith), ii. 70-3; J. Roulez in *Biographie Nat. de Belgique*; *Monumenta Historica Britannica* (Chronological Abstract and Excerpta de Britannia); Pauly, *Real-Encyclopädie*, s. v. 'Carausius'; Duruy, *Hist. des Romains*, vi. 535-6, 540, 549, 550; the monographs of W. Stukeley (*Medallic History of Carausius*, London, 1767-9, 4to), and Genebrier (*Histoire de Carausius*, Paris, 1740, 4to) are of very little value. For the coins, see: *Monumenta Hist. Brit.* plates v-xiv. (Carausius), xv-xvii. (Allectus); C. Roach Smith, *Collectanea Antiqua*, ii. 153, iv. 125, 216, v. 152, 184, 241, vi. 130, vii. 223; Cohen, *Médailles impériales* (1861), v. 501-39, and vii. 360-2; Akerman, *Coins of the Romans relating to Britain* (1836), pp. 47-59, and his *Descriptive Catal. of Rom. Coins* (1834), ii. 153-75; *Numismatic Chronicle* (old series), reff. in Index ii. in vol. xx.; (new series) i. 36, 161, 163, ii. 41, v. 108, vii. 57, xiv. 87, xvii. 139, xix. 44, and p. 18 (Proceedings); *Journal of the Archæol. Assoc.*, reff. in Index to vols. i-xxx.; *Archæol. Journal*, i. 183, ix. 194; various reff. in *Archæologia of Soc. of Antiq.*; *British Museum Collection*. Most of the above sources also give information about Allectus.]

W. W.

**CARBERRY, EARL OF.** [See VAUGHAN.]

**CARD, HENRY** (1779-1844), miscellaneous writer, born at Egham, Surrey, in 1779, was educated at Westminster School and Pembroke College, Oxford, where he entered in 1797. He proceeded B.A. 1800, M.A. 1805, B. and D.D. 1823 (*Cat. of Oxford Graduates*). In 1815 he was presented to the vicarage of Great Malvern, Worcestershire, and in 1832 to that of Dormington, Herefordshire. He was elected a fellow of the Royal Society 2 March 1820 (*Royal Society Lists of Council, &c.*), and was also fellow of the Society of Antiquaries and of the Royal Historical Society. He died at Great Malvern 4 Aug. 1844.

He wrote: 1. 'The History of the Revolutions of Russia,' 2nd ed. 1804. 2. 'Historical Outlines of the Rise and Establishment of the Papal Power,' Margate, 1804. 3. 'Thoughts on Domestic or Private Education,' 1807. 4. 'The Reign of Charlemagne, considered chiefly with reference to Religion, Laws, Literature, and Manners,' 1807. 5. 'Literary Recreations,' Liverpool, 2nd ed. 1811. 6. 'Beauford, or a Picture of High Life, a novel,' 2 vols. 1811. 7. 'An Essay on the Holy Eucharist,' 1814. 8. 'The

Brother-in-Law, a comedy,' Lee Priory Private Press, 1817. 9. 'A Dissertation on the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, or the Refutation of the Hoadlyan Scheme of it,' 4th ed. 1821. 10. 'The Uses of the Athanasian Creed explained and vindicated, a sermon,' 4th ed. Worcester, 1825. 11. 'A Letter to the Duke of Wellington on the Reasonableness of a Church Reform,' 1830. 12. 'A Dissertation on the Antiquities of the Priory of Great Malvern,' 1834.

[Gent. Mag. 1844, xxii. 651-2; Brit. Mus. Cat.] F. W.-r.

**CARDALE, JOHN BATE** (1802-1877), first apostle of the Catholic Apostolic church, was born at 28 Lamb's Conduit Street, London, on 7 Nov. 1802. His father, William Cardale, a solicitor, of 2 Bedford Row, London, possessed considerable property; he was born on 17 July 1777, and died at Harrogate in 1823, having married, in 1799, Mary Anne Bennett. The son, who entered Rugby School on 9 Nov. 1815, was articled to his father in 1818, and admitted a solicitor in Hilary term in 1824. For many years he was the head of the firm of Cardale, Iliffe, & Russell, of 2 Bedford Row, the solicitors to Gray's Inn and Rugby School; but in 1834 he retired with a competence to devote his energies to other purposes. In 1830 the minds of many people were much exercised regarding a religious movement known as 'speaking in the spirit in the unknown tongues,' which first manifested itself at Fernicarry, Roseneath, Scotland. In September Cardale, with other persons, went to Scotland to examine for himself into the truth of the reports. He returned to London fully convinced as to the reality of the 'spiritual gifts,' and in October 1830 opened his own house for weekly prayer meetings for the 'outpouring of the spirit.' At length, on 30 April 1831, the first case occurred in London. Mrs. Cardale 'spoke with great solemnity in a tongue and prophesied,' and others soon after not only spoke but also 'sang in the spirit.' These events were notified to Baptist Noel, the minister of St. John's, Bedford Row, with a request for his sanction to the proceedings. This he not only refused to give, but also preached publicly against the gifts. Cardale and his family soon after commenced attending the ministrations of Edward Irving [q. v.] in the Caledonian chapel; special services were held in this chapel, where soon after Edward Oliver Taplin began 'speaking in the spirit in an unknown tongue.' Irving at first doubted about permitting these utterances, but found it useless to offer any opposition. On Sunday, 16 Oct. 1831, at the morning service, in the

presence of upwards of fifteen hundred people, Miss Hall 'spoke in an unknown tongue,' and caused a violent excitement. Cardale defended Irving before the London presbytery of the Scotch church, and after the verdict against him ordained him in Newman Street, 5 April 1833, to be the 'angel' or minister of that chapel. At first the sect called themselves the Church or the Catholic Church, but the name was afterwards changed to the Catholic Apostolic Church; the general public, however, called it the Irvingite Church, and in some books it is called the Millennium Church. Edward Irving neither had nor claimed to have any hand in its foundation. Cardale entered on his office of apostle at Christmas 1832, and for nearly a year was the sole representative of the twelve apostles. After Mr. H. Drummond's appointment as an apostle, the seat of the central management of the church was fixed at Albury in Surrey, where he built a cathedral with a chapter-house annexed. On 14 July 1835 the twelve apostles, accompanied by seven prophets, retired to Albury, and spent two years and a half in consultation. In 1838 the parts of the world over which the church proposed to itinerate were divided into sections named after the tribes of Israel. England was called the tribe of Judah, the seat of apostolic government, and was assigned to Cardale, 'the pillar of the apostles.' Each of the apostles then entered on his special journey, Cardale remaining in England to overlook his tribe, and to be a centre of communication between the dispersed labourers. In September 1842 a liturgy was adopted which was in great part the work of Cardale, and was compiled from 'the law of Moses,' and from the liturgies of the Greek, Latin, and Anglican churches. Cardale continued for many years working hard for the benefit of the church, and visiting the congregations throughout the United Kingdom. On 14 July 1877, on attending the forty-second commemoration of the 'Separation of the Twelve' in Gordon Square, he was taken ill, and after being removed to his house, Cooke's Place, Albury, died on Wednesday, 18 July 1877, and was buried in Albury churchyard. The loss to his church can hardly be estimated. His strength of will, calmness and clearness of judgment, and kindness of heart and manner, added to the prestige of his long rule, made him a tower of strength. He was indefatigable in labour, of which he accomplished a vast amount; besides Latin and Greek, he was a good French and German scholar, and late in life learnt Danish. He appears to have been quite sincere in his belief, and confident in the fulfilment of his

expectations. Besides being an apostle, he was, like Henry Drummond, also a prophet. He married on 9 Sept. 1824 Emma, second daughter of Thomas William Plummer of Clapham. She died at Albury 31 March 1873.

He was the author of the following works, all of which are anonymous, and the majority of which were printed for private circulation only: 1. 'A Manual or Summary of Special Objects of Faith and Hope,' 1843. 2. 'The Confession of the Church,' 1848. 3. 'Readings on the Liturgy,' vol. i. 1849-51, and vol. ii. 1852-78. 4. 'A Discourse delivered in the Catholic Apostolic Church, Gordon Square, on the occasion of consecrating the Altar and opening the Church for Public Worship,' 1853. 5. 'Letters on certain Statements contained in some late Articles in the "Old Church Porch," entitled Irvingism,' 1855; reprinted, 1867. 6. 'The Doctrine of the Eucharist as revealed to St. Paul, 1856;' second ed. 1876. 7. 'Three Discourses on Miracles and Miraculous Power,' 1856. 8. 'A Discourse on Tithes,' 1858. 9. 'The Unlawfulness of Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister,' 1859. 10. 'Ministry on All Saints,' 1859. 11. 'Notes on Revelations,' 1860. 12. 'Two Discourses at Albury on certain Errors,' 1860. 13. 'The Duty of a Christian in the Disposal of his Income,' 1863. 14. 'The Certainty of Final Judgment,' 1864; second ed. 1864. 15. 'The Character of our present Testimony and Work,' 1865. 16. 'Notes and Ministry on Office of a Coadjutor,' 1865. 17. 'Remarks on the Republication of Articles from the "Old Church Porch,"' 1867. 18. 'A Discourse on the Real Presence,' 1867; second ed. 1868. 19. 'Remarks on the Lambeth Conference,' 1868. 20. 'The Church in this Dispensation, an Election,' 1868. 21. 'A Discourse on Holy Water, and on the Removal of the Sacrament on the Lord's Day,' 1868. 22. 'A Discourse on Prophecy,' 1868. 23. 'Christ's Disciples must suffer Tribulation,' 1869. 24. 'The Fourfold Ministry,' 1871. 25. 'An Address to the Seven Churches,' 1873. 26. 'The Doctrine of the Incarnation,' 1873. 27. 'A Short Sermon on War,' 1876. 28. 'Four Discourses to Young Men.' According to the census of 1851 the Catholic Apostolic church had thirty congregations in England, and about 6,000 communicants. A calculation was made in 1877 that the members of the church in all countries amounted to 10,500, but there are no means of checking the accuracy of this statement. Miss Emily Cardale, sister of Cardale, and a prophetess of the Catholic Apostolic church, married Mr. James Hore, and died at Western Lodge, Albury, on 18 April 1879, aged 71.

[Mrs. Oliphant's *Life of Irving*, 4th ed. pp. 356, 396, 398; Miller's *Irvingism* (1878), i. 61 &c., ii. 416; Baxter's *Irvingism, its Rise and Progress* (1836); *The Old Church Porch* (1854), i. 87, 206; *The Morning Watch* (1830), ii. 869-873; *Law Times* (1877), lxxiii. 272, 297; *Saturday Review*, 28 July 1877, pp. 104-5; Clement Boase's *Catalogue of Books relating to Catholic Apostolic Church* (1885), pp. 9-12; private information.] G. C. B.

**CARDALE, PAUL** (1705-1775), dissenting minister, was born in 1705. Aspland conjectures that he was the son of Samuel Cardale of Dudley, appointed in 1701 an original trustee of the presbyterian meeting-house. He was educated at the dissenting academy of Ebenezer Latham, M.D., held at Findern, Derbyshire, from 1720. Very early in life he became an assistant minister among the presbyterians at Kidderminster. His manuscripts show that he preached there as early as 29 May 1726. At this time his views, in accordance with his education, were Calvinistic. He was invited in 1733 by the presbyterians of Evesham to succeed his fellow-student, Francis Blackmore, M.A., who had removed in 1730 to Coventry. The congregation was small, but after Cardale's settlement it became strong enough to build a new meeting-house, of no great proportions, in Oat Street (licensed 11 Oct. 1737). Cardale's first series of sermons after the opening was circulated in manuscript, and ultimately published. It is clear that he had now got rid of his Calvinism. Cardale's name does not figure in the religious history of his time. Most of his publications were anonymous, and he was intimately known only to a very few literary divines. One of these was John Rawlins, M.A., an orthodox divine of catholic sympathies, as his writings prove, who among other preferments held the perpetual curacy of Badsey, two miles from Evesham. His closest friend, away from his own neighbourhood, was Caleb Fleming, D.D., who shared his opinions, and frequently went down from London to visit him. Priestley, to whom Cardale sent two pieces for the 'Theological Repository,' did not know him personally. Yet the influence of Cardale's writings on the theology of the midland presbyterians was decisive. To him, more than to any other, is due the early prevalence of Socinian as distinct from Arian views among the latitudinarian dissenters of that district. The manuscript of his most important publication, 'True Doctrine,' was revised by Lardner (see his *Memoirs*, 1769, p. 114). He was not a popular preacher, and probably did not covet that distinction. His elocution was bad, and Job Orton affirms that his

'learned, critical, and dry discourses' reduced his hearers at the last to about twenty people, and that he pursued his studies to the neglect of pastoral duties. But even Orton praises his 'good sense' and 'good temper,' while Priestley writes to Lindsey that 'he is, by all accounts, a most excellent man.' Latterly, his sedentary habits impaired his health, but his mind was keen. On 28 Feb. 1775 he put the finishing touch to a work which he had been elaborating for a couple of years, and, retiring to rest, passed away in sleep before dawn on Wednesday, 1 March. He was buried in the north aisle of All Saints', Evesham, where is a remarkable epitaph written by his friend Rawlins, which describes him 'as a christian, pious and sincere; as a minister of the gospel, learned and indefatigable;' and adds that the virtue of charity 'gave a lustre of grace and goodness to all his actions.' Cardale married Sarah Suffield, a lady of some property, three years his senior, who died without issue about 1767. Aspland remarks that it was not till after her death that he began to publish his heresies. Portraits of Cardale and his wife were long preserved at Dudley by the Hughes family, and are now the property of the Evesham congregation. Judging by the portrait, Cardale had a good presence; his physiognomy expresses great tenacity of purpose. He published: 1. 'The Gospel Sanctuary,' 1740, 8vo (seven sermons from Ex. xx. 24). 2. 'A New Office of Devotion,' &c., 1758, 8vo (anon.) 3. 'The Distinctive Character and Honour of the Righteous Man,' &c., 1761, 8vo (funeral sermon from Matt. xiii. 43, for Rev. Francis Blackmore). 4. 'The True Doctrine of the New Testament concerning Jesus Christ,' &c., 1767, 8vo, 2nd ed. 1771, 8vo (anon.; has prefatory essay on private judgment, and appendix on Jo. i. The main argument is in the form of a letter, and signed 'Phileleutherus Vigorniensis'). 5. 'A Comment upon . . . Christ's Prayer at the close of his Public Ministry,' 1772, 8vo (anon.) 6. 'A Treatise on the Application of certain Terms . . . to Jesus Christ,' &c., 1774, 8vo (anon.) Posthumous was 7. 'An Enquiry whether we have any Scripture-warrant for a direct Address . . . to the Son or to the Holy Ghost?' &c., 1776, 8vo (edited by Fleming; prefixed is a short notice of Cardale, and appended is a letter (1762) from Lardner to Fleming on the personality of the Holy Ghost). His contributions to the 'Theological Repository' are 'The Christian Creed' in vol. i. 1769, p. 136, and 'A Critical Inquiry' into Phil. ii. 6, in vol. ii. 1771, pp. 141, 219. Cardale bequeathed his manuscripts to Fleming. Except the 'Enquiry,' which was ready for

press, they were chiefly devotional. Fleming, who died in 1779, aged 80, finding that his infirmities would prevent him from making a selection for the press, formed the intention of returning the papers to Cardale's executors, one of whom was the Rev. James Kettle of Warwick, a native of Evesham (*d.* about 1805). Priestley on 12 May 1789 writes to Toulmin: 'I received from Mr. Lindsey some time ago a small volume, 12mo, of Mr. Cardale's devotional compositions.' Aspland treats this as a posthumous publication, but there is no other trace of it. It would seem that Toulmin was engaged on a memoir of Cardale, but it never appeared. In 1821 Timothy Davis, minister of Oat Street chapel, Evesham, had a diary and other papers of Cardale, all in shorthand.

[Fleming's Few Strictures, prefixed to the Enquiry, 1776; Aspland's Brief Memoir of Cardale, 1852, reprinted from the Christian Reformer; Monthly Repos. 1821, p. 527; Christian Moderator, 1827, 241; Rutt's Mem. of Priestley, 1831, i. 133, 1832, ii. 19, 23; Sibree and Caston's Independency in Warwickshire, 1855, 131; manuscript notes by Sergeant Heywood, in his copy of the True Doctrine (afterwards in the possession of Bishop Turton).]

A. G.

**CARDER, PETER** (*n.* 1577-1586), mariner, of St. Verian in Cornwall, was, according to his own story, a seaman of the Pelican with Drake when she sailed from England on her voyage round the world in November 1577. In October 1578, the ship being then in the Straits of Magellan, Carder was one of eight men in the pinnace who in a gale lost sight of the ship, and, not being able to find her again, made the mainland and followed along the shore to St. Julian, living on shell-fish and such fish as they could catch. From St. Julian they made their way to the river Plata, and crossing to the north side wandered into the woods, leaving two men in the boat. They fell in with the natives, who attacked them, captured four of the party, and chased the others to the boat, in which they managed to escape, though all badly wounded. They got to a small island some three leagues distant from the shore, where two of the wounded men died, Carder and another, William Pitcher by name, being left the sole survivors. A gale came on and smashed their boat on the rocks, and for some two months they supported life on sand eels, little crabs, and a fruit resembling an orange, but for want of water they were reduced to the most direful straits. At length some driftwood came ashore, they managed to make a raft, and, provisioning it as they best could, put to sea. It was three days and two nights be-

fore they reached the land, when, coming to 'a little river of very sweet and pleasant water,' Pitcher drank to such excess that he died within half an hour. Carder after this met with a tribe of savages who received him as a friend. He stayed with them for some time, learned their language, taught them to make and use shields and clubs—for before they were armed only with bows and arrows—and led them against a neighbouring tribe, which they completely defeated, and took many prisoners, most of whom they roasted and devoured. Afterwards he was permitted to leave this tribe, and made his way northwards to Bahía and Pernambuco, whence after some delay he embarked for Europe; and so, after some further adventures, he arrived in England in November 1586.

The whole story is related at length in 'Purchas, his Pilgrimes,' as though in Carder's own words. The presumption is that it was written by Carder and supplied by him to Purchas. It is therefore necessary to point out that the very remarkable narrative rests entirely on Carder's own testimony, is not corroborated by any other, and is virtually contradicted by very high authority on the one important point on which contradiction was possible. In the narrative of the Pelican's voyage (*The World encompassed by Sir Francis Drake*, Hakluyt Soc.), while many trifling things are carefully recorded, there is no mention of the loss of the pinnace with eight men. It is barely possible that the omission is an oversight; it is much more probable that there was no such loss to record, and that, from beginning to end, the story is a fiction. Of the narrator we have no other knowledge. The narrative speaks of him as still alive in 1618, and apparently in 1626, when the 'Pilgrimes' was published.

[Purchas, his Pilgrimes, iv. 1187.] J. K. L.

**CARDIGAN, EARL OF** (1797-1868). [See BRUDENEL, JAMES THOMAS.]

**CARDMAKER** (*alias* TAYLOR), JOHN (*d.* 1555), martyr, was originally an Observant friar, who, after the dissolution of his order under the persecution which Henry VIII specially directed against it, lapsed into the world, and became a married minister. His name is found in the list of licensed preachers of Edward VI (DIXON, *Ch. of Engl.* ii. 485). He was vicar of St. Bridget's in Fleet Street, and one of the readers or lecturers at St. Paul's, where he read three times a week. Some of his sayings against Gardiner and Bonner, and concerning the sacrament, are preserved (*Grey Friars' Chron.* 56, 57, 63). On Somerset's first fall, when a religious re-



action was vainly expected, he spoke strongly in his lecture against the victorious faction of Warwick. 'Cardmaker said in his lecture that, though he had a fall, he was not undone, and that men should not have their purposes; and also he said that men would have set up again their popish mass' (*ib.* 64). Soon after this he was made prebendary and chancellor of Wells, where he ejected a schoolmaster, preached and lectured often, and shared the troubles of the new appointed dean, Turner (TYTLER, *Edw. VI and Mary*, i. 373). When the persecution broke out under Mary, Cardmaker and his bishop, William Barlow [q. v.] of Bath and Wells, came to London disguised as merchants, and vainly attempted to escape over sea, November 1554 (MACHYN, *Diary*, 75). They were cast into the Fleet, where they lay till January, when the chancellor Gardiner, and others in commission, began to have the accumulated prisoners for religion, who amounted to about eighty, brought before them at St. Mary's Overy. Barlow submitted and escaped. Cardmaker, who was examined on the same day (28 Jan.) as Hooper and Crome, was understood also to have recanted (MACHYN; Sampson's Letter to Calvin, 23 Feb., *Orig. Lett.* p. 171), and was remanded to the Counter in Bread Street, with the prospect of speedy deliverance. But his compliances were only, as he himself said, 'by a policy' (STRYPE, *Ann.* v. 432). He was reanimated, it was thought, in his new prison by the zeal of Saunders, his fellow-captive, and a second inquiry was made into his opinions. He was brought before Bonner on 25 May 1555, examined in several articles, cast for heresy, and committed to Newgate, whence he was carried to Smithfield on 30 May and burnt alive in the company of one Warne, an upholsterer. Of the proceedings against Cardmaker, Foxe gives a full account, and Strype (*ut supra*) has added some important particulars from the 'Foxii MSS.'

[Foxe's Martyrs, and authorities cited above.]  
R. W. D.

CARDON, ANTHONY (1772-1813), engraver, was the son and pupil of Antoine Alexandre Joseph Cardon, a Flemish painter and engraver, who engraved a portrait of George, prince of Wales (1766), and was employed on plates for Hamilton's 'Etruscan Antiquities.' He was born in 1772 at Brussels and took many prizes at the Academy there. During the troubles in the Low Countries in 1792 he came to England, with a letter of introduction to Mr. Colnaghi, who gave him immediate employment, and he became known by his engravings for book illustration. He studied three years under his friend Schia-

vonetti, and in 1807 received the gold medal of the Society of Arts for his engraving of the 'Battle of Alexandria,' after De Loutherbourg. He also engraved the 'Battle of Maida,' after the same artist; plates of the 'Campaign against Tipoo Sahib;' the 'Presentation of Catharine of France to Henry V of England,' after Stothard; 'Salvator Mundi,' after Carlo Dolci; 'The Woman taken in Adultery,' after Rubens; 'The Rustic Minstrel,' 'Innocent Captivation,' and 'The Storming of Seringapatam,' after Singleton, and portraits of George III, Mr. Pitt, Madame Récamier, the Duchess of Beaufort, the Emperor Alexander, Napoleon, &c., after various artists. He engraved in stipple and had attained considerable reputation when he died from over-application on 17 Feb. 1813, in London Street, Fitzroy Square. His son, PHILIP CARDON, was educated as an engraver, drew beautifully in Indian work, and died about 1817.

[Redgrave's Dict. of Artists, 1878; Bryan's Dict. of Painters (Graves); Nagler's Künstler-Lexikon; Gent. Mag. 1808, 1813, and 1816.]

C. M.

CARDONNEL, ADAM [DE] (*d.* 1719), secretary to the Duke of Marlborough, was a son of Adam de Cardonnel, a French protestant, who had been rewarded for his services to royalty by the lucrative patents of customer and collector of customs at the port of Southampton (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1660-1, p. 213, 1661-2, pp. 504-5). The son entered the war office at an early age, where in due time he rose to be chief clerk, and in February 1693 received the appointment of secretary and treasurer to the commissioners for sick and wounded seamen (LUTTRELL, *Relation of State Affairs*, 1857, iii. 38). His connection with Marlborough quickly ripened into the closest personal friendship; he was certainly acting as secretary in the early part of 1692, and thenceforward accompanied the commander-in-chief in his several campaigns (*Addit. MSS.* 28917-18). From Luttrell's *Relation of State Affairs*, vi. 160, we learn that Cardonnel was the only gentleman selected by Marlborough to attend him in his memorable visit, in April 1707, to Charles XII. In recognition of his services the duke obtained a promise from the queen that Cardonnel should succeed Walpole as secretary at war, an office for which his experience and ability well fitted him. He was accordingly nominated in January 1710 (*ib.* vi. 534-5), but the intrigues of Harley prevailed, and greatly to the duke's mortification Cardonnel was displaced by Granville, afterwards Lord Lansdowne, in the following October (*Pri-*

*vate Correspondence of Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough*, 1838, i. 404, 407, ii. 126, 159). At the general election of November 1701 Cardonnel had been returned member for Southampton, and he continued to represent that borough without interruption in four successive parliaments (*Lists of Members of Parliament, Official Return*). When, however, Marlborough's overthrow was resolved on, as a preliminary step a committee was appointed to examine and report on the public accounts. Their report was demanded in September 1711, and appeared in the ensuing month of January. Sir Solomon de Medina, a contractor for bread to the army, stated in his evidence that from 1707 to 1711 he gave on sealing each contract a gratuity of 500 gold ducats to the duke's secretary. On 19 Feb. 1712 the house met to consider this charge and to hear the ex-secretary's defence, of which, however, no report now exists. After a long debate it was resolved that the taking of a gratuity was 'unwarrantable and corrupt,' and on the question being put, Cardonnel was expelled the house by a majority of twenty-six (*Commons' Journals*, xvii. 97; COBBETT, *Parliamentary History*, vi. 1049-1050, 1094). After his fall Cardonnel did not again attempt to seek office, but lived in retirement at his house in Westminster or at Chiswick. He died in St. Margaret's, Westminster, on 22 Feb. 1719, and was buried on 3 March following at the parish church of Chiswick (*Probate Act Book*, 1719; *Hist. Reg.* 1719, p. 10; LYSONS, *Environs*, ii. 212). His will, as of St. Margaret's, Westminster, dated 29 Oct., with a codicil, 17 Nov. 1718, was proved on 5 March 1719 (Reg. in P. C. C. 42, Browning). He married, after April 1710, Elizabeth, widow of Isaac Teale, apothecary, of St. Margaret's, Westminster (Will reg. in P. C. C. 99, Smith), but by this lady, who died in 1714, he had no issue (Letters of Administration in P. C. C. September 1714). He married secondly Elizabeth, widow of William, the second son of Sir Thomas Frankland, bart., and daughter of René Bawdowin, a merchant of London. The children of this marriage were Adam, who died at Chiswick on 22 Sept. 1725 (*Hist. Reg.* 1725, p. 42; Letters of Administration in P. C. C. October 1725), and Mary, who became in February 1734, at the age of fifteen, the wife of William, first Earl Talbot, bringing him, it is said, a fortune of 80,000*l.* (*Gent. Mag.* iv. 107; COLLINS, *Peerage*, 1812, v. 237). Mrs. Cardonnel made a third alliance with Frederick Frankland, M.P., her first husband's younger brother, and died on 27 Jan. 1737 (ВЕТНАМ, *Baronetage*, ii. 186-7). Cardonnel's official

correspondence with Stepney, John Ellis, and others, is preserved in the 'Additional MSS.' at the British Museum, but contains few details of interest.

Cardonnel's uncle, PHILIP DE CARDONNEL, was also an enthusiastic adherent to the royal cause, and upon the marriage of Charles II to Catherine of Braganza gave expression to his feelings in a series of extraordinary poems, published with the title of 'Tagus, sive Epithalamium Caroli II Magnæ Britanniae Regis, et Catharinae Infantis Portugallicae; Gallico primum carmine decantatum, deindè Latino donatum. Authore P. D. C. Unâ cum Poëmate Fortunatarum Insularum, antehac Gallicè pro Inauguratione Caroli II conscripto,' 8vo, London, 1662. From the description given by Lowndes (*Bibl. Manual*, Bohn, vol. i. art. 'Cardonnel') it would seem that another and enlarged edition containing translations of pieces by Dryden and Waller appeared at London the same year. Both editions are of the rarest occurrence. The earlier issue is adorned with a frontispiece representing Catherine being drawn to shore by Neptune and attendant nymphs, while Charles, ankle deep, is rapturously surveying her charms with the aid of a telescope. Philip de Cardonnel was dead before August 1667, for on the 15th of that month his relict Catherine administered to the estate of his brother, Peter de Cardonnel, of St. Margaret's, Westminster (CHESTER, *Westminster Abbey Registers*, Harl. Soc., p. 167).

[Cal. State Papers, Dom. and Treas.; Addit. MSS. 22221, 22551, 28887, 28917-18, 29550, 29553-7.] G. G.

CARDONNEL, afterwards CARDONNEL-LAWSON, ADAM [MANSFELDT] DE (*d.* 1820), antiquary, was a grandnephew of Adam de Cardonnel [q. v.], secretary to the Duke of Marlborough, and the sole surviving son of Mansfeldt de Cardonnel of Musselburgh, a commissioner of the customs and salt duties in Scotland, by his wife Anne, the daughter and heir of Thomas Hilton of Low Ford in the county of Durham (SURTEES, *Durham*, ii. 27; *Autobiography of Rev. A. Carlyle*, pp. 218-19). Educated for the medical profession he practised for a while as a surgeon, but his easy circumstances left him leisure to indulge his taste for the study of antiquities and numismatics, with which he was especially conversant. Upon the institution of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, under the presidency of the Earl of Bute, in December 1780, Cardonnel was elected a fellow; he also served as curator from 1782 to 1784, and contributed to the second volume of the 'Archæologia Scotica,' i. 159-67, a 'Description of

certain Roman Ruins discovered at Inveresk.'

When Captain Grose visited Scotland, Cardonnel, who then resided at Edinburgh, did all he could to assist his brother antiquary with notes from his extensive collections, besides accompanying him on various archaeological expeditions, attentions which Grose gratefully acknowledged in the introduction to his 'Antiquities of Scotland' (p. xx). Some time in the autumn of 1789 Burns addressed a letter to Grose, and not being certain of the captain's address, he enclosed the letter under cover to Cardonnel at Edinburgh. While in the act of folding it up the quaint old song of 'Sir John Malcolm' ran through his mind, and he inscribed within the wrapper his well-known impromptu, 'Ken ye ought o' Captain Grose?' (BURNS, *Poetical Works*, Kilmarnock edit., by W. S. Douglas, i. 360, ii. 149). Soon after this Cardonnel quitted Scotland, having by the failure of fourteen families, on whom, it is said, the property had been entailed, succeeded to the estates of his second cousin, Mr. Hilton Lawson, at Chirton and Cramlington in Northumberland. He served as sheriff for the county in 1796 (*Gent. Mag.* lxxvi. i. 164), and assumed the surname of Lawson in addition to and after that of Cardonnel. In 1811 he began to pull down Chirton House, where he had hitherto resided, and went to live in a small farmhouse at Cramlington (MACKENZIE, *Northumberland*, 2nd edit. ii. 411, 456). His latter days were chiefly spent at Bath. Dying in June 1820, aged 73, he was buried at Cramlington on the 14th (Cramlington Burial Register). By the death of his eldest son of the same names on 21 Nov. 1838 at Acton House, Acklington, Northumberland, without issue, the family became extinct in the male line (LATIMER, *Local Records*, p. 100).

Cardonnel was the author of: 1. 'Numismata Scotiæ; or a Series of the Scottish Coinage, from the Reign of William the Lion to the Union. By Adam de Cardonnel,' &c., with twenty plates drawn by the author, 4to, Edinburgh, 1786. This work, although taken in a great measure from Snelling's 'View,' which had been published in 1774, contains some curious historical matter, and the appropriations are generally correct. 2. 'Picturesque Antiquities of Scotland, etched by Adam de Cardonnel,' four parts, 8vo and 4to, London, 1788-93, which forms a useful supplement to Pennant's 'Tour.'

[Notes and Queries, 2nd ser. ix. 24, 187, x. 239, 456, xi. 335-6, 378; *Gent. Mag.* lxxii. ii. 684, lxxxiii. ii. 394, (1837) viii. 325, 416; Bath Directory for 1812 and 1819; Cochran-Patrick's Records of the Coinage of Scotland, *Introd.* p. viii.]

G. G.

CARDROSS, LORDS. [See ERSKINE.]

CARDWELL, EDWARD, D.D. (1787-1861), church historian, son of Richard Cardwell of Blackburn, Lancashire, was born in 1787. He entered in 1806 as a commoner at Brasenose College, Oxford, where he graduated B.A. in 1809. He took his M.A. in 1812. The degree of B.D. was conferred on him in 1819 and that of D.D. in 1831. For several years he acted as tutor and lecturer, and from 1814 to 1821 was one of the university examiners, and during part of the time had John Keble as a colleague. In 1818 he was appointed Whitehall preacher by Bishop Howley, and in 1823 select preacher to the university of Oxford. He was elected Camden professor of ancient history in 1826, and succeeded Archbishop Whately in 1831 as principal of St. Alban Hall, Oxford. Soon after this appointment he resigned the living of Stoke-Bruern, Northamptonshire, to which he had been presented by Brasenose College in 1828. He subsequently declined the offer of the rectory of Withyham, and in 1844 refused the deanery of Carlisle offered to him by Sir Robert Peel. He was delegate of estates, delegate of the press, and curator of university galleries. He was considered one of the best men of business in the university, and for many years had a leading share in its government. The management of the bible department of the university press was left mainly in his hands, and by his advice the paper mill at Wolvercot was established. This was done in order that the authorities might be certain as to the materials used in making the paper supplied to the university press. Lord Grenville, the Duke of Wellington, and Lord Derby, as they successively became chancellors of the university, appointed him to act as their private secretary. He was a personal friend of Sir Robert Peel and Mr. Gladstone, and was a member of the Society of Antiquaries and other learned bodies.

His literary works were: 1. An edition of Aristotle's 'Ethica,' Oxford, 1828-30, 8vo, 2 vols. 2. 'A Sermon preached at Northampton,' Oxford, 1832, 8vo. 3. 'Lectures on the Coinage of the Greeks and Romans,' 1833, 8vo (delivered by him as Camden professor). 4. An 'Enchiridion Theologicum Anti-Romanum,' in 3 vols., 8vo, being reprints of tracts on points at issue between the churches of England and Rome, 1836-7. 5. A useful student's edition of the 'New Testament in Greek and English,' with notes, 1837. 6. 'Josephus de Bello Judaico,' in Greek and Latin, 1837, 8vo, 2 vols., a corrected text with various readings and notes.

7. 'The supposed Visit of St. Paul to England, a Lecture delivered in the University of Oxford,' 1837. Cardwell subsequently turned his attention more especially to the annals of the English church, and formed the plan of a synodical history grounded upon Wilkins's 'Concilia Magnæ Britanniæ.' He carried out the project in part in the publication of several of the following works: 8. 'Documentary Annals of the Reformed Church of England; being a Collection of Injunctions, Declarations, Orders, Articles of Inquiry, &c., from 1546 to 1716, with notes,' Oxford, 1839, 2 vols. 8vo. 9. 'A Relation of the Conference between William Laud and Fisher the Jesuit,' 1839, 8vo, with preface. 10. 'The Two Books of Common Prayer set forth in the Reign of Edward the Sixth compared with each other,' 1839, 8vo. 11. 'A History of the Conferences and other Proceedings connected with the Revision of the Book of Common Prayer from 1558 to 1690,' 1840, 8vo. 12. 'Synodalia: a Collection of Articles of Religion, Canons, and Proceedings of Convocation in the Province of Canterbury from 1547 to 1717, with notes, &c.,' 1842, 8vo, 2 vols. 13. 'Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum, or the Reformation of the Ecclesiastical Laws for the Church of England as attempted in the reigns of King Henry VIII, King Edward VI, and Queen Elizabeth,' 1850, 8vo. 14. An edition of Bishop Gibson's 'Synodus Anglicana,' which he brought out in 1854.

Cardwell died at the principal's lodge, St. Alban Hall, Oxford, on 23 May 1861. He married in May 1829 Cecilia, youngest daughter of Henry Feilden of Witton Park, Blackburn, and left several children. He was uncle to Edward, lord Cardwell [q. v.]

[Gent. Mag. August 1861, p. 208; Foster's Lancashire Pedigrees; Cat. of Oxford Graduates (1861); Oxford Honours Register (1883); information given by Mr. E. H. Cardwell.]

C. W. S.

**CARDWELL, EDWARD, VISCOUNT** (1813-1886), statesman, born 24 July 1813, was the son of John Cardwell, a Liverpool merchant. He was educated at Winchester and at Balliol College, Oxford, of which he became scholar and fellow. At Oxford he took a first class, both in classics and mathematics, in 1835, and was made an honorary D.C.L. in 1863. Among his contemporaries, or those who were nearly his contemporaries, at the university were several members of the special group of statesmen to which he afterwards belonged—Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Robert Lowe, Mr. Sidney Herbert, Mr. Roundell Palmer,

and the Duke of Newcastle. He was called to the bar at the Inner Temple in 1838; but he soon turned from the law to public life, and entered the House of Commons as member for Clitheroe in 1842. He attached himself, personally as well as politically, to Sir Robert Peel, whom he somewhat resembled in character as well as in conscientious industry, in devotion to the public service, and in the mastery which he acquired of commercial and financial questions. By Peel he was treated with marked esteem and confidence. He was one of the trustees to whom Peel afterwards left his papers. In 1845 he was made secretary to the treasury. In the next year came the repeal of the corn laws and the rupture between Peel and the protectionists. Cardwell remained true to his chief, and thenceforth formed one of the small party, or rather group, of Peelites, still conservative in general politics, but liberal with regard to commercial questions. Of free trade he became a staunch and prominent champion; but with most of his political friends he voted against the ballot in 1853. In 1847 he was elected for Liverpool, but lost his seat in 1852, in consequence of his having voted for the repeal of the navigation laws, and was afterwards elected for the city of Oxford. The Peelites having gradually gravitated towards the whigs, in 1852 the coalition government of Lord Aberdeen was formed, and Cardwell became president of the board of trade. If he did not become a member of the cabinet, it was only because the whig leaders objected to an undue proportion of Peelites. The chief fruit of his presidency of the board of trade was the Merchant Shipping Act, 1854, which, collecting all the laws relating to shipping, with important amendments and additions, has from that time formed, in essential respects, the code of the British mercantile marine. The act, consisting of 548 sections, passed through committee at a single sitting. 'What great public interest have you been abandoning, Cardwell, that your bill passed so easily?' was Lord John Russell's sarcastic question. No interest had been abandoned, and those of the common seaman and the ballast-heaver had been as well provided for as those of the shipowner; but the bill had been prepared with the carefulness characteristic of its framer's work. Further improvements were made by Cardwell in the laws relating to the shipping interest, which owes to him, among other things, its relief from the impost of town dues. By his hand form was given to the department of the board of trade which deals with the mercantile marine, the foundation was laid of a meteorological department, and much was

done for the department of science and art. To railway legislation also Cardwell's contribution was important. In the opinion of those most competent to judge, the work of many years was accomplished in two. From the ministry of Lord Aberdeen Cardwell passed, after the reconstruction, into that of Lord Palmerston; and when the other leading Peelites resigned, he was pressed by the premier to accept the chancellorship of the exchequer, but he chose not to separate himself from his friends. Two years later, with the dislike of violence and injustice which was strong in him, he voted against Lord Palmerston's government on the question of the Chinese war, and, upon the appeal to the country which followed, lost his seat for Oxford, but shortly afterwards regained it on petition. In 1858 he was the most active member of a commission appointed to inquire into the manning of the navy, respecting which great anxiety was then felt. Here his knowledge of the mercantile marine stood him in good stead. The report was adopted, and the system, principal features of which are the training of boys and the maintenance of a strong navy reserve, remains in force, and continues to be successful to this day. When, upon the defeat of the Derby ministry in 1859, Palmerston again became minister, Cardwell became secretary for Ireland with a seat in the cabinet. In that office he showed his usual industry, equity, patience, and courtesy; but the sphere was uncongenial, and in 1861 he exchanged it for the chancellorship of the duchy of Lancaster. An Irish land act, framed by him, and the object of which was to base the relation of landlord and tenant solely on contract, has had no practical effect. In 1864 he was transferred to the secretaryship for the colonies. In that office he inaugurated the new policy of withdrawing from the colonies in time of peace all imperial troops for which the colonies would not undertake to pay, thereby promoting colonial self-defence and self-government, as well as economising the forces of the empire and relieving the British taxpayer of an expense which in the case of the wars with the Maori had amounted to a million a year. Canadian confederation was set on foot, and its outline was determined during his secretaryship, though the act was the work of his successor. To him fell the difficult duty of dealing, amidst a storm of public excitement, with the case of the disturbances in Jamaica and of Governor Eyre, which he did by promptly sending out a commission of inquiry, and, when the legislative assembly of Jamaica had been abolished with its own consent, appointing Sir Peter Grant as governor

to arbitrate between the conflicting races. He also put an end to transportation. Under Mr. Gladstone, in 1868, Cardwell became secretary for war, and in that capacity was called upon to undertake the reorganisation of the British army, to the necessity for which the nation had been awakened by the great European wars, at the same time redeeming the pledge given for largely reduced estimates. For this, which was his most important and difficult work, the foundation had been laid by the concentration of the troops which as colonial secretary he had effected. The principal feature of his reorganisation was the abolition of purchase, for which were substituted admission by tests of fitness and promotion by selection. This reform, together with the provision made for the retirement of officers, rendered the British army professional and scientific, relieved it of incapacity and ingratitude, animated it with a hope of advancement by merit, and made it fit to cope with the highly trained armies of the continent. Other parts of the new system were the introduction of a short term of service, the formation of a veteran reserve, and the localisation of the regiments, which was adopted with a double purpose of taking advantage of local attachment in recruiting and of linking the militia and volunteers to the regular forces. The department of the commander-in-chief was brought under the more effective control of the war office. Provision was also made for the improvement of the military education of officers and soldiers. In carrying these changes into effect the secretary for war had to encounter the most obstinate resistance on the part of military men of the old school, and his coadjutors have borne their testimony to the unflinching patience, command of temper, and courtesy, by which, combined with firmness, their resistance was overcome, as well as to the thoroughness with which a civilian mastered all the details of the department of war. The labour and anxiety, however, undermined Cardwell's health. On the resignation of the Gladstone ministry in 1874 he was called to the House of Lords as Viscount Cardwell of Ellerbeck. After this he continued for some time to take part in public affairs; he presided ably over the commission on vivisection, and on one important occasion stood forth as the friend of the slave; but he never again became a minister of state. He died, after a very lingering illness, at Villa Como, Torquay, on 15 Feb. 1886, and was buried in the cemetery of Highgate. He married, in 1838, Annie, youngest daughter of Charles Stuart Parker of Fairlie, Ayrshire, but he left no children and his peerage became extinct. Cardwell

was not a political leader or a director of popular movements, though in council he was firm and powerful. The measures of constitutional change brought forward by the governments of which he was a member in later years did not originate with him; nor was he a popular orator. He was a clear, good, terse, and fluent speaker; to be more he did not pretend or desire, and he never made an unnecessary speech. But it was as an administrator and public servant that, though less noted than others by the crowd, he really stood high among the statesmen of the time. 'Thoroughly patriotic and public-spirited, utterly free from jobbery of any sort, laborious, discreet, courteous, kind, and considerate to subordinates, conciliatory, yet tenacious of his opinion when he had satisfied himself that he was right'—such he appeared to the partners of his work. They also testify to his possession of a singularly quick and keen intelligence, though in his public utterances his mind seemed to move with excessive circumspection. The country was served more brilliantly by other men of his generation, but by none more faithfully, more zealously, more strenuously, or with more lasting fruit.

[Personal knowledge; memoranda from persons who acted with him; speeches (some of which have been reprinted) from Hansard; Merchant Shipping Act; Report of Commission on Manning the Navy; Royal Warrant abolishing purchase (1871), and regulations in pursuance of that measure. A short life is understood to be in preparation.] G. S.

**CARE, HENRY** (1646–1688), political writer and journalist, affected to be a royalist in 1670, when he published a book entitled 'Female Pre-eminence,' with a fulsome dedication to Queen Catherine. He is probably the Henry Care, 'student in physick and astrology,' who brought out a translation of a medical work in 1679. Care edited a paper called the 'Weekly Pacquet of Advice from Rome,' when, according to Wood, 'he was deeply engaged by the fanatical party, after the popish plot broke out in 1678, to write against the Church of England and the members thereof, then by him and his party supposed to be deeply inclined towards popery, &c.' He was tried at Guildhall, 2 July 1680, on an information against him as the author of this journal, and more particularly for a clause against the lord chief justice, Scroggs, who himself sat as judge at the trial. The jury found him guilty, and Care was prohibited from printing his journal. But these proceedings constituted one of the charges brought against Scroggs, who was removed from the bench some months later (**LUTTRELL**, *Relation*

*of State Affairs*, i. 75), and Care continued to publish his journal. Care's last number of the 'Weekly Pacquet,' which extends to five volumes, is dated 13 July 1683, at which time he fell ill. In 1682 a difference had taken place between Care and Langley Curtis, the original publisher, when Care, who resided at the time in the Great Old Bailey, continued the work on his own account till he was seized with illness. But at the commencement of the quarrel, Curtis, not willing to give up a profitable speculation, employed William Salmon, a well-known and multifarious writer, to publish a continuation of the 'Pacquets,' and he did so from 25 Aug. 1682, on which day Care's fifth volume also began, till 4 May 1683. Langley Curtis, probably having the stock-in-trade in his own hands, added the fifth volume, by Salmon, to all the remaining copies, and consequently Care's fifth volume is rarely met with.

Wood thus sums up the little that is known of the subsequent career of Care: his 'breeding,' he contemptuously remarks, 'was in the nature of a petty fogger, a little despicable wretch, and one that was afterwards much reflected upon for a poor snivelling fellow in the "Observers," published by Roger l'Estrange, which Care, after all his scribbles against the papists and the men of the church of England, was, after King James II came to the crown, drawn over so far by the Roman catholic party, for bread and money sake and nothing else, to write on their behalf, and to vindicate their proceedings against the men of the church of England in his "Mercuries," which weekly came out, entitled "Public Occurrences truly stated." The first of which came out 21 Feb. 1687–8, and were by him continued to the time of his death, which happening 8 Aug. 1688, aged 42, he was buried in the yard belonging to the Blackfryers church, in London, with this inscription nailed to his coffin, "Here lies the ingenious Mr. Henry Care, who died, &c."'

His works are: 1. 'Female Pre-eminence,' translated from the Latin of Henry Cornelius Agrippa, London, 1670. 2. 'Speculum Galliae; or, a New Survey of the French Court and Camp,' London, 1673, 8vo. 3. 'The Jewish Calendar explained,' London, 1674, 8vo. 4. 'Practical Physick,' by Dr. Daniel Sennert, professor at Wittenberg, translated by 'H. Care, student in physick and astrology,' London, 1676, 8vo. 5. 'A Pacquet of Advice from Rome,' London, 1678–9, 4to; continued as 'The Weekly Pacquet of Advice from Rome,' 1679–83. 'An Abstract, with improvements,' of the

'Weekly Pacquet of Advice from Rome' was published 'by several gentlemen,' said to be dissenting teachers (Wood, *Athenæ Oxon.*, ed. Bliss, ii. 469 n.), under the title of 'The History of Popery,' 2 vols., London, 1735-6, 4to; a German translation was published under the title of 'Unpartheiische Historie des Papstthums, herausgegeben von F. E. Rambach,' 1766. 6. 'History of the Papists' Plots,' London, 1681, 8vo. 7. 'Utrum horum; or, the Articles of the Church of England recited and compared with the doctrines of those called Presbyterians and the tenets of the Church of Rome,' London, 1682, 8vo. 8. 'The Darkness of Atheism expelled by the Light of Nature,' London, 1683, 8vo. 9. 'A Modest Enquiry whether St. Peter were ever at Rome and Bishop of that Church,' Lond. 1687, 4to. 10. 'Animadversions on a late paper entitled, A Letter to a Dissenter, upon occasion of his Majesties late Gracious Declaration of Indulgence,' London, 1687, 4to. 11. 'The Tutor to true English. With an introduction to Arithmetic,' London, 1687, 8vo. 12. 'Draconica; or, an Abstract of all the Penal Laws touching matters of Religion and the several Oaths and Tests thereby enjoined, with brief observations thereupon,' 3rd edit., London, 1688, 4to. 13. 'English Liberties; or, the Freeborn Subject's inheritance, containing Magna Charta, &c. Compiled first by Henry Care, and now continued with large additions by W. Nelson,' 4th edit., London, 1719, 8vo. 14. 'Mahometanism and Popery compared,' Addit. MS. 5960, ff. 62-87.

He also edited 'The King's Right of Indulgence in Spiritual Matters with the Equity thereof asserted by a Person of Honour and Eminent Minister of State, lately deceased' (i.e. Arthur Annesley, earl of Anglesea), London, 1688, 4to.

[Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* (Bliss), ii. 469; Macaulay's *Hist. of England* (1868), ii. 218 n., 221; Luttrell's *Hist. Relation of State Affairs*, i. 50, 75, 453; Watt's *Bibl. Brit.*; Jones's *Popery Tracts*, 25, 68, 76, 90, 92, 265, 266; Lowndes's *Bibl. Man.* (Bohn), 21; Notes and Queries (1st ser.), iii. 264; Timperley's *Encyclopædia* (1842), 556, 573.]

T. C.

CARELESS, WILLIAM (*d.* 1689). [See CARLOS.]

CARENCROSS, ALEXANDER. [See CAIRCROSS.]

CAREW. [See also CAREY and CARY.]

CAREW, SIR ALEXANDER (1609-1644), governor of the island of St. Nicholas, Plymouth, was the only surviving son of Richard Carew of Antony in Cornwall, the

first baronet of that house, by his first wife, Bridget, daughter of John Chudleigh of Devon. He was born on 30 Aug. 1609, and baptised at Antony on 4 Sept. Lord Clarendon asserts that Carew had received a good education, but it does not appear that he ever matriculated at an English university. In the Long parliament he was returned as the colleague of Sir Bevil Grenville in the representation of the county of Cornwall, and threw in his lot with the opponents of the court. When the bill of attainder of Lord Strafford was being pushed through the House of Commons, Sir Bevil Grenville besought his fellow-member to oppose it, but Carew vehemently replied, 'If I were sure to be the next man that should suffer upon the same scaffold with the same axe, I would give my consent to the passing of it.' On the breaking out of civil war he was entrusted by the parliament with the command of the island of St. Nicholas, at the entrance of Plymouth harbour, on which was situate a fort of considerable strength, while the mayor of Plymouth ruled over the castle and the town. When the parliamentary forces in the west of England met with serious reverses, Carew began to think that both his person and his property were insecure, and opened a correspondence, chiefly through the agency of his neighbour, Mr. Edgecumbe, with Sir John Berkeley, then commanding the royal army before Exeter, for the surrender of the island and fort to the king. The historian of the rebellion alleges that although Berkeley gave an ample assurance of safety, Carew would not proceed any further without a pardon under the great seal, and that before this could be obtained his design was discovered through the treachery of a servant. He was suddenly seized while in the fort and carried prisoner into the town, whence he was despatched by sea to London and disabled from sitting in parliament. On Tuesday, 19 Nov. 1644, he was condemned to death for treachery by a council of war held at Guildhall. His wife, Jane, daughter of Robert Rolle of Heanton, Devonshire, by a petition to the House of Commons setting forth her husband's distracted state of mind, obtained a respite of the sentence for a month in order that he might settle his worldly affairs and prepare for death. About ten o'clock in the morning of 23 Dec. 1644 he was brought to the scaffold on Tower Hill. His speech contained a reference to the 'last words and writing' of his father and grandfather, and the signal for the executioner to do his duty were 'the last words that ever my mother spoke when she died.' He was buried on the same day in the church of

St. Augustine, Hackney. His widow died 25 April 1679 in her seventy-fourth year. A monument to her memory, with an elaborate inscription recording her virtues, was erected in Antony Church.

Carew's dying speech was printed separately in 1644, and is included in a collection called 'England's Black Tribunal set forth in the Trial of King Charles I,' &c., 1660, pp. 99-100.

[Clarendon's History (1849), iii. 246-7; Rushworth's Historical Collection, pt. iii. bk. ii. pp. 796-7; Heath's Brief Chronicle (1663), pp. 33, 110; Vicars's Parliamentary Chronicle, pt. iii. (1646), p. 29, pt. iv. p. 86; W. Robinson's Hackney, ii. 68; Boase and Courtney's Bibl. Cornub. i. 55, iii. 1109; Parochial History of Cornwall, i. 27.] W. P. C.

**CAREW, BAMFYLDE MOORE** (1693-1770?), king of the gipsies, belonged to the Devonshire family, and was born in July 1693, at Bickley, near Tiverton, of which his father was rector for many years. At the age of twelve he was sent to Tiverton school, where for some time he worked hard, but the schoolboys possessed among them a pack of hounds, and one day he, with three companions, followed a deer so far, that the neighbouring farmers came to complain of the damage done. To avoid punishment the youths ran away and joined some gipsies. After a year and a half Carew returned for a time, but soon rejoined the gipsies. His career was a long series of swindling and imposture, very ingeniously carried out, occasionally deceiving people who should have known him well. His restless nature then drove him to embark for Newfoundland, where he stopped but a short time, and on his return he pretended to be the mate of a vessel, and eloped with the daughter of a respectable apothecary of Newcastle-on-Tyne, whom he afterwards married.

He continued his course of vagabond roguery for some time, and when Clause Patch, a king, or chief of the gipsies, died, Carew was elected his successor. He was convicted of being an idle vagrant, and sentenced to be transported to Maryland. On his arrival he attempted to escape, was captured, and made to wear a heavy iron collar, escaped again, and fell into the hands of some friendly Indians, who relieved him of his collar. He took an early opportunity of leaving his new friends, and got into Pennsylvania. Here he pretended to be a quaker, and as such made his way to Philadelphia, thence to New York, and afterwards to New London, where he embarked for England. He escaped impressment on board a man-of-

war by pricking his hands and face, and rubbing in bay salt and gunpowder, so as to simulate small-pox.

After his landing he continued his impostures, found out his wife and daughter, and seems to have wandered into Scotland about 1745, and is said to have accompanied the Pretender to Carlisle and Derby. The record of his life from this time is but a series of frauds and deceptions, and but little is absolutely known of his career, except that a relative, Sir Thomas Carew of Hackern, offered to provide for him if he would give up his wandering life. This he refused to do, but it is believed that he eventually did so after he had gained some prizes in the lottery. The date of his death is uncertain. It is generally given, but on no authority, as being in 1770, but 'T. P.', writing from Tiverton, in 'Notes and Queries,' 2nd series, vol. iv. p. 522, says that he died in 1758.

[The authority for Carew is a book which has appeared in many forms. The first is apparently *The Life and Adventures of B. M. C.*, the noted Devonshire Stroller and Dogstealer, as noted by himself during his passage to America. . . . Exon.: printed by the Farleys for J. Drew, 1745. Lowndes mentions another title, *The Accomplished Vagabond or compleat Mumper, exemplify'd in the bold and artful enterprizes and merry pranks of Bamfylde Carew, Oxon.* (Exon.?), 1745. An Apology for the Life of Bamfylde-Moore Carew, London, 1749, is described as printed for R. Goadby; a third edition (no date), with preface dated 10 Feb. 1750, contains additional matter attacking Fielding and Tom Jones. An edition of 1768 gives a large folding portrait of Carew. Other editions have been published in various places. One of 1768 is described as by Thomas Price. Timperley's Dictionary of Printers states that the life was written by Robert Goadby; T. P. in *Notes and Queries* (as above) gives a report that Mrs. Goadby wrote it from Carew's dictation. See *Notes and Queries* (2nd ser.), iii. 4, iv. 330, 440, 522.] J. A.

**CAREW, SIR BENJAMIN HALLOWELL** (1760-1834), admiral, son of Benjamin Hallowell, commissioner of the American board of customs, was born in Canada in 1760, and entered the navy at an early age. On 31 Aug. 1781 he was appointed by Sir Samuel Hood as acting lieutenant of the *Alcide*, and served in her in the action off the Chesapeake five days later. He was shortly afterwards moved into the *Alfred*, and was in her in the engagements at St. Christopher's and off Dominica [see *BAYNE, WILLIAM*]. He was, however, not confirmed in his rank till 25 April 1783, and after seven years of uneventful service he was made commander on 22 Nov. 1790. During the two following years he



commanded the Scorpion sloop on the coast of Africa, and in 1793 went to the Mediterranean in the Camel storeship, out of which he was posted on 30 Aug., and appointed to the temporary command of the Robust of 74 guns. He afterwards for a short time commanded the Courageux during the absence of Captain Waldegrave, sent home with despatches; and on being superseded from her, served as a volunteer, 'wherever he could be useful,' in the sieges of Bastia and Calvi. 'Hallowell and myself,' wrote Nelson on 9 July 1794, 'each take twenty-four hours at the advanced battery;' and acknowledged Hallowell's zeal in terms repeated more formally on 8 Aug., and embodied in Hood's despatch of 5 Aug. Hallowell was then appointed to the Lowestoft frigate, and a few months later to the Courageux, which he commanded in the action off the Hyères Islands on 13 July 1795. He continued in her, attached to the fleet under Sir John Jervis, during the trying year 1796. On 19 Dec., when the fleet was in Gibraltar Bay, the Courageux was blown from her anchors in a terrific gale of wind, was driven over to the African coast, and dashed to pieces at the foot of Apes' Hill. Out of her crew of six hundred about one hundred and twenty only escaped. At the time of the Courageux being driven to sea, Hallowell was absent at a court-martial, and though he was anxious to return at once to his ship, the president refused him permission. It has been said, but quite without proof, that the loss of the ship was entirely owing to his absence (BRENTON, *Life of Lord St. Vincent*, i. 302). While waiting on board the Victory for an opportunity to return to England, Hallowell was present in the battle off Cape St. Vincent on 14 Feb. 1797. He was afterwards sent home with the duplicate despatches and a strong recommendation from Jervis, which led to his being immediately appointed to the command of the Lively frigate, ordered back to the Mediterranean. He was shortly afterwards transferred to the Swiftsure of 74 guns, one of the inshore squadron off Cadiz under Captain Troubridge, which in May 1798 was detached to join Rear-admiral Sir Horatio Nelson. The Swiftsure was thus one of that small fleet which during July scoured the Mediterranean and crushed the French in Aboukir Bay on the night of 1-2 Aug. The Swiftsure, with the Alexander [see BALL, SIR ALEXANDER JOHN], had been detached on the evening of 31 July to look into Alexandria, and was thus somewhat later than the other ships in getting into action. It was already dark, and as she was standing in under a press of sail she met a ship leaving

the battle, and Hallowell was on the point of firing into her. He had happily given strict orders that not a shot was to be fired till the anchor was down and the sails clewed up; this strange ship was the English Bellerophon, which had been compelled to haul off for a time. The Swiftsure took her place, but with better judgment, and, together with the Alexander, devoted herself to the destruction of L'Orient, which blew up about two hours later.

When Nelson returned to Naples Bay, the Swiftsure was one of the ships left on the coast of Egypt under the command of Captain Samuel Hood, and she remained there for the next eighteen months. She rejoined Nelson at Palermo on 20 March 1799, and a couple of months later Hallowell astonished the whole fleet by sending him a coffin, certified to be entirely made of wood and iron from the wreck of L'Orient, together with the following note, 23 May 1799: 'My lord, herewith I send you a coffin made of part of L'Orient's mainmast, that when you are tired of this life you may be buried in one of your own trophies; but may that period be far distant is the sincere wish of your obedient and much obliged servant, Ben. Hallowell.' It is stated, on the authority of his brother-in-law, that, fearing the effect of all the flattery lavished on his chief, he determined to remind him that he was mortal (*Nelson Despatches*, iii. 88); but the grim humour of the gift seems also to remind us of Hallowell's American education.

For the next three months the Swiftsure remained on the coast of Italy, where Hallowell was actively employed, under Troubridge, in the reduction of Saint Elmo, Capua, and Civita Vecchia; in acknowledgment of which services he received from the king of Naples the order of St. Ferdinand and of Merit, and a snuffbox bearing the royal cipher in diamonds. Towards the end of the year the Swiftsure joined Rear-admiral Duckworth at Minorca, and accompanied him to Lisbon, on which station and off Cadiz she remained. In May 1800 Rear-admiral Sir Richard Bickerton hoisted his flag on board her, and in November went in her to the coast of Egypt. He then transferred his flag to the Kent, and the Swiftsure was in the following June sent in charge of a convoy to Malta. On the way thither Hallowell, having learnt the proximity of a powerful French squadron, which had been endeavouring to land troops near Tripoli, resolved to make the best of his way to reinforce Sir John Borlase Warren, and accordingly left the convoy to shift for itself. He was thus alone when, on 24 June 1801, he

fell in with the French squadron, was surrounded, and captured after an obstinate resistance (*JAMES, Naval History*, 1860, iii. 77). Hallowell was very shortly afterwards released on parole, and on 18 Aug. was tried at Port Mahon by a court-martial, which approved of his conduct in every respect, pronounced that his leaving the convoy was dictated by sound judgment and zeal for the service of his king and country, that the defence of the *Swiftsure* was highly meritorious, that her loss was unavoidable, and that Hallowell had displayed great judgment in his endeavours to avoid so superior a force. He was therefore honourably acquitted of all blame.

In 1802 Hallowell commanded the *Argo* of 44 guns on the coast of Africa, with a broad pennant, and touching at Barbadoes on his return to Europe, and learning there that war had again broken out, he placed his services at the disposal of Commodore Sir Samuel Hood, then commanding-in-chief on the Leeward Island station. He was thus engaged in the reduction of St. Lucia and Tobago in June 1803, and was warmly thanked by Hood in his despatches. On his return to England he was sent out, still in the *Argo*, on a special mission to Aboukir. He was afterwards appointed to the *Tigre*, in which he joined the fleet off Toulon under Lord Nelson, and under his command took part in the chase of the French fleet to the West Indies in May and June 1805. In September the *Tigre* was with the fleet off Cadiz, but was one of the ships detached to Gibraltar under Rear-admiral Louis on 3 Oct., and had thus no share in the battle of Trafalgar. Continuing in the *Tigre*, Hallowell had in 1807 the command of the naval part of the expedition to Alexandria; he afterwards was with the fleet off Toulon and on the coast of Spain till his advancement to flag rank on 1 Aug. 1811. In January 1812 he hoisted his flag on board the *Malta* of 80 guns, again in the Mediterranean, where he remained till the peace. In June 1815 he was made a K.C.B. During 1816-18 he was commander-in-chief on the coast of Ireland, and became vice-admiral on 12 Aug. 1819. From 1821 to 1824 he was commander-in-chief at the Nore, with his flag in the *Prince Regent*. On the death of his cousin, Mrs. Anne Paston Gee (28 March 1828), he succeeded to the estates of the Carews of Beddington, and pursuant to her will assumed the name and arms of Carew, to which family, however, he was not in any degree related. The estates had come to Mrs. Gee by the will of her husband's brother, and now came to Hallowell very much in the nature of a

windfall; but to a friend who congratulated him on it he answered, 'Half as much twenty years ago had indeed been a blessing; but I am now old and crank.' On 22 July 1830 he attained the rank of admiral, and on 6 June 1831 was made G.C.B. He died at Beddington Park on 2 Sept. 1834.

Hallowell is traditionally described as having been a man of gigantic frame and vast personal strength, and several stories are told of the summary manner in which he, by arm and fist, quelled some symptoms of mutiny which appeared on board the *Swiftsure* while off Cadiz. He married in February 1800 a daughter of Captain John Nicholson Inglefield, for many years commissioner of the navy at Gibraltar, and left issue.

[*Marshall's Roy. Nav. Biog.* ii. (vol. i. pt. ii.) 465; *Gent. Mag.* (1834), vol. civ. pt. ii. p. 537; *United Service Journal*, 1834, pt. iii. 374, and 1835, pt. i. 95.] J. K. L.

**CAREW, SIR EDMUND** (1464-1513), soldier, was the son of Sir Nicholas Carew, baron Carew, of Mohuns Ottery, Devonshire, who died on 16 Nov. 1470, and grandson of Sir John Carew [q. v.]. The inquisition on his father's death states that Edmund was six years old at the time. According to old pedigrees the family was descended from one Adam de Montgomerie, whose son Edmund married the daughter of Rees ap Tudor, prince of South Wales. Her sister Nesta, after having a natural son by Henry I, married a Norman named Stephen, whose son, Robert FitzStephen, was one of the first English invaders of Ireland, and obtained a grant of half the kingdom of Cork from Henry II. Adam's great-great-grandson, William, baron of Carew, married Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Robert FitzStephen. It has, however, been shown by Sir John Maclean that Robert FitzStephen died without issue, and that William, baron of Carew or de Carrio, was descended from Gerald Fitz-Walter de Windsor, first husband of Nesta. This Gerald was grandson of one Otho de Windsor in the time of the Conqueror.

The barony and castle of Carew or Caer Yw in Narberth, Pembrokeshire, came to the family by this marriage with the Welsh princess, and remained in their possession until Sir Edmund mortgaged it to Sir Rhys ap Thomas. His son, Griffith ap Rhys, being attainted of treason in the reign of Henry VIII, the barony came into the possession of the crown, and was leased to Sir John Perrot and others. In the reign of Charles I the remainder of the lease was purchased by Sir John Carew, and the fee-simple was thereupon granted to him by the king. The family

of Carew was also allied by marriage to the Courtenays, and Sir John Maclean narrates (but gives no authority) that Carew officiated at the burial of William Courtenay, earl of Devon, in 1511, riding up the nave of Exeter Cathedral in armour, and offering the dead earl's battle-axe to the bishop in the choir.

Carew was an adherent of Henry VII, and was knighted at the battle of Bosworth Field for his valour. In 1497 he marched to the relief of Exeter when that city was besieged by the pretender Perkin Warbeck, and he lost his life in the service of King Henry's son and successor, being killed by a shot in Lord Herbert's tent at the siege of Th rouanne on 22 June 1513. The only other public service in which he is known to have been engaged was going to meet the commissioners from France who came to treat for peace in 1492. He married Katherine, daughter of Sir William Huddlesfield of Shillingford, solicitor-general and attorney-general to Edward IV. Their issue was four sons and four daughters. The former were: William, father of Sir Peter Carew [q. v.]; Thomas, of Bickleigh; George, dean of Exeter and Windsor, father of George, earl of Totnes [q. v.]; and Gawen, ob. 1588, s. p. The daughters were: Dorothy, married to John Stowell; Katherine, married to Sir Philip Champernoun; Isabel and Ann.

[Maclean's Life of Sir Peter Carew; Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 204; Polwhele's Devonshire, i. 254; Carlisle's Top. Dict. of Wales; Lewis's Top. Dict. of Wales; Tuckett's Devonshire Pedigrees, p. 123; Gairdner's Henry VII, ii. 291; Herbert's Hist. of England, p. 15; Inquis. post Mortem, 11 Edw. IV, No. 38, 2 Ric. III, No. 44.] C. T. M.

**CAREW, ELIZABETH, LADY.** [See CAREY, ELIZABETH, LADY.]

**CAREW, SIR GEORGE** (d. 1612), lawyer and diplomatist, was the second son of Thomas Carew of Antony, and the younger brother of Richard Carew, the historian of Cornwall [q. v.] 'In his younger years,' says his brother, 'he gathered such fruit as the university, the inns of court, and foreign travel could yield him.' After his return from abroad he was called to the bar, obtaining the post of secretary to Lord-chancellor Hatton, and on Hatton's decease held the same office, 'by special recommendation from Queen Elizabeth,' under Sir John Puckering and Sir Thomas Egerton, keepers of the great seal. Through the same royal favour Carew was made a prothonotary in chancery, and in 1598 was despatched on an embassy to Brunswick, Sweden, Poland, and Danzig. While on this mission, 'through

unexpected accidents, he underwent extraordinary perils, but God freed him from them, and he performed his duty in acceptable manner.' On 21 Dec. 1599 he was appointed a master in chancery and held that preferment until his death in 1612. As the younger son of an influential Cornish family and a leading courtier he had little difficulty in obtaining a seat in parliament for one of the numerous boroughs in Cornwall. He sat for St. Germans in 1584, for Saltash in 1586, 1588, 1593, and for St. Germans again in 1597 and 1601. The honour of knighthood was conferred upon him at Whitehall 23 July 1603, on the eve of the coronation of James I, and in the following year he was nominated to a place in the commission to arrange the affairs of the union of the two countries of England and Scotland. At the close of 1605 Carew was sent as ambassador to the court of France, where he remained until July 1609, when the French ministers, who regarded him as a friend to the Spanish interests, were not displeased at his return to England. After considerable competition from other seekers after office he secured in June 1612 the high and lucrative place of master of the court of wards, which was vacant by the death of Lord Salisbury. The reason for this great promotion was assigned by some to his wife's influence with the queen, by others to the favour of Lord Rochester, and on his death he was currently reported to have paid dear for the place. Among the Latin epigrams of John Owen is one (bk. vi. No. 20) to the effect that while the king committed to Carew the care of the wards, he showed himself to have a care for Carew's merits. In August 1612 he was a member of the commission for raising money for our soldiers in Denmark, and with that appointment his official life was over. On Friday, 13 Nov. 1612, he died, 'in reasonable case, worth 10,000*l.*,' and was buried in St. Margaret's, Westminster. His wife was Thomazine, daughter of Sir Francis Godolphin, by Margaret Killigrew. Scaliger, in a letter to Casaubon, styled Carew 'vir amplissimus et sapientia et eruditione, et pietate prestantissimus.' De Thou or Thuanus esteemed him highly and made use in book cxxi. of the history of his own times of Carew's narrative of events in Poland. Carew's intimacy with Casaubon is further shown in the fact that in November 1612 his wife was godmother to Casaubon's child. On Carew's return from the French embassy in 1609 he drew up and addressed to James I 'a relation of the state of France,' which has been much commended for its simple and unaffected style. This tract remained in manu-

script for nearly a hundred and fifty years, when it was communicated by Lord Hardwicke to Dr. Birch and published in 1749. From the labours of Lambard there was collected by Carew a volume of 'Reports on Causes in Chancery,' which was printed in 1650, 1665, and 1820. Many of his letters to the principal politicians of his time are preserved in the public and private libraries of England; particulars of them will be found in Boase and Courtney's 'Bibliotheca Cornubiensis,' vol. iii. Two of them are printed in Brewer's edition of Bishop Goodman's 'Court of King James I,' ii. 97-103. Carew's autograph is included in J. G. Nichols's 'Collections of Autographs' (1829), sheet 8 D.

[Herald and Genealogist, vii. 93, 575-6; Birch's Court and Times of James I, i. 174-6, 194, 202, 208, 210; Visitation of Cornwall (Harl. Soc.), pp. 28, 81; R. Carew's Survey of Cornwall (ed. 1811), p. 174; Notes and Queries, 2nd ser., vi. 436 (1858).] W. P. C.

CAREW, GEORGE, BARON CAREW OF CLOPTON and EARL OF TOTNES (1555-1629), statesman, the son of GEORGE CAREW, dean of Windsor, by his wife Anne, daughter of Sir Nicholas Harvey, was born on 29 May 1555. An elder brother was named Peter. His father, the third son of Sir Edmund Carew [q. v.], graduated B.A. at Broadgates Hall, Oxford, in 1522; was archdeacon of Totnes, 1534-49; prebendary of Bath and Wells, 1546; precentor of Exeter, 1549; prebendary of Salisbury, 1555; archdeacon of Exeter, 1556 to 1569; dean of Bristol, 5 Nov. 1552, whence he was ejected in 1553, resuming the post on the accession of Elizabeth, and filling it until 1571; precentor of Salisbury, 1558; precentor of Bath and Wells, 1560 and 1565; dean of Christchurch, Oxford, 1559-61; dean and canon of Windsor, 1560-77; dean of Exeter, 1571. He died in June 1583, and was buried in the church of St. Giles-in-the-Fields (Wood, *Fasti Oxon.* ed. Bliss; LE NEVE, *Fasti*; WELCH, *Alumni Westmonast.* p. 7).

The son George was educated, like the father, at Broadgates Hall (afterwards Pembroke College), Oxford, where he stayed from 1564 to 1573, and was created M.A. at a later date, 17 Sept. 1589. From an early age he devoted himself to military pursuits. In 1574 he entered the service of his first cousin, Sir Peter Carew [q. v.], in Ireland. In 1575 he served as a volunteer in the army in Ireland under Sir Henry Sidney, and after filling the post of captain of the garrison in Leighlin for a few months in 1576, in the absence of his brother Peter, was appointed lieutenant-governor of the county of Carlow and vice-constable of Leighlin Castle in 1576. His courageous and successful attack on the rebel

forces of Rory Oge O'More in the following year, when Leighlin Castle was seriously menaced, was rewarded with a small pension (BAGWELL, *Irish under the Tudors*, ii. 342). In 1578 he held a captaincy in the royal navy, and made a voyage in the ship of Sir Humphrey Gilbert. In 1579 and 1580 he was at the head first of a regiment of Irish infantry and afterwards of a regiment of cavalry in Ireland. He was made constable of Leighlin-bridge Castle in 1580, on the death (in a skirmish, 25 Aug., with the Irish) of his brother Peter (*State Papers*, Ireland, lxxv. 83). Shortly afterwards Carew killed with his own hand several Irishmen suspected of slaying his brother, and was severely censured by the home government for his impetuosity. The queen, however, showed much liking for him, and the Cecils were his friends. He became gentleman-pensioner to Queen Elizabeth in 1582; sheriff of Carlow in 1583; and was knighted by his friend the lord deputy of Ireland, Sir John Perrott, on 24 Feb. 1585-1586. In 1586 Carew was at the English court trying to indicate to the queen's advisers the terrible difficulties attending English rule in Ireland. He returned in the following year to assume the office of master of the ordnance in Ireland, to which he was appointed (1 Feb. 1587-8) on his declining the offer of the French embassy. On 25 Aug. 1590 Carew was promoted to the post of Irish privy councillor, but on 22 Aug. 1592 he resigned the mastership of the ordnance in Ireland, on becoming lieutenant-general of the ordnance in England. In this capacity he took part in Essex's expedition to Cadiz in May 1596, and in that to the Azores in the following year, and went for a short time to France as ambassador in May 1598, when his companion was Sir Robert Cecil. At the beginning of 1599 his presence in Ireland was indispensable. On 1 March 1598-9 he was appointed treasurer at war on the death of Sir Henry Wallop, and on 27 Jan. 1599-1600 he became president of Munster. At the time the whole of Ireland was convulsed by the great rebellion of O'Neil, earl of Tyrone. Essex's attempt to crush it failed miserably, and Carew's relations with the Cecils did not make his advice congenial to Essex; but on Essex's recall in September 1599 Carew, who had already been suggested as a competent lord-deputy, took his place as lord-justice, and held the post till the following January, when Lord Mountjoy was nominated Essex's successor. The powerful support that Carew lent Mountjoy [see BLOUNT, CHARLES, 1563-1606] chiefly enabled the latter to suppress the revolt. At Kinsale he did especial service, and the successful raids he made on

neighbouring castles effectually prevented the Spaniards from landing in the country after their ejection. Like all contemporary English officials in Ireland, he ruthlessly drove his victory home, and the Irish peasantry of Munster were handled with the utmost rigour. As soon as Ireland was pacified, Carew sought to return to England. His health was failing, and the anxieties of his office were endless, but while Elizabeth lived his request was overlooked. On Lord Mountjoy's resignation of the lord-deputyship in May 1603, Carew was allowed to retire, and Sir Henry Brouncker was promoted to the presidency of Munster. James I on his accession treated him with marked attention. Early in October 1603 he became Queen Anne's vice-chamberlain, and a few days later (10 Oct.) the receiver-general of her revenues. He was M.P. for Hastings in the parliament which met in 1604, and appointed councillor to the queen on 9 Aug. 1604. On 4 June of the year following he was created Baron Carew of Clopton House, near Stratford-on-Avon, the property of his wife Anne, daughter of William Clopton, whom he married in 1580. On 26 June 1608 he was nominated master of the ordnance, and held the post till 5 May 1617. He was keeper of Nonsuch House and Park in 1609, of which he was reappointed keeper for life 22 May 1619, councillor of the colony of Virginia (23 May 1609), governor of Guernsey (February 1609-10), commissioner to reform the army and revenue of Ireland (1611), a privy councillor (19 July 1616), member of the important council of war to consider the question of recovering the Palatinate (21 April 1624), and treasurer-general to Queen Henrietta Maria (1626). Carew visited Ireland in 1610 to report on the condition of the country, with a view to a resettlement of Ulster, and described Ireland as improving rapidly and recovering from the disasters of the previous century. In 1618 he pleaded with James I in behalf of Sir Walter Raleigh, with whom he had lived for more than thirty years on terms of great intimacy, and Lady Carew proved a kind friend to Raleigh's family after the execution. In 1621 Carew received, jointly with Buckingham and Cranfield, a monopoly for the manufacture of gunpowder. At the funeral of James I in 1625 he was attacked with palsy, which nearly proved fatal. But he recovered sufficiently to receive a few marks of favour from Charles I, to whose friend Buckingham he had attached himself. Carew was created earl of Totnes on 5 Feb. 1625-6. In the following month the House of Commons, resenting the action of the council of war in levying money for the

support of Mansfeld's disastrous expedition, threatened to examine each of its members individually. Totnes expressed his readiness to undergo the indignity and even to suffer imprisonment in order to shelter the king, who was really aimed at by the commons, but Charles proudly rejected Totnes's offer and prohibited any of the council from acceding to the commons' orders. The earl died on 27 March 1629 at his house in the Savoy, London, and was buried in the church of Stratford-on-Avon, near Clopton House. An elaborate monument was erected above his grave by his widow, with a long inscription detailing his military successes (DUGDALE, *Warwickshire*, 1730, ii. 686-7). He left no children. Anne Carew, whose second husband was Sir Allen Apsley, lieutenant of the Tower [q. v.], was daughter of his brother, Peter. The Earl of Totnes, whose name was often written Carew, must not be confounded with SIR GEORGE CAREY (or CARY) of Cockington, treasurer at war in Ireland in 1588, lord justice on Mountjoy's departure in 1608, and lord deputy of Ireland from 30 May 1603 to 3 Feb. 1603-4, who died in February 1617.

Carew had antiquarian tastes, and was the friend of Camden, Sir Robert Cotton, and Sir Thomas Bodley. Camden thanked Carew in his 'Britannia' for the aid he had given him in Irish matters (ed. Gibson, 1772, ii. 338). In Irish history Carew took a vivid interest. His papers inspired the detailed account of the Irish revolt (1599-1602), which was published after his death, in 1633, under the title of 'Pacata Hibernia, or the History of the late Wars in Ireland.' The virtual author of this book, which has often been ascribed to Carew himself, is undoubtedly Sir Thomas Stafford, reputed to be Carew's illegitimate son, who had served under Carew in Munster. Wood states that Carew also wrote the history of the reign of Henry V which is incorporated in Speed's 'Chronicle,' and in a volume entitled 'Hibernica,' published by Walter Harris in 1747, are two translations by Carew, one of a French version of an old Irish poem of the fourteenth century, 'The History of Ireland by Maurice Regan, servant and interpreter to Dermot MacMurrough, king of Leinster,' and the other of a French contemporary account of Richard II's visit to Ireland in 1399.

Carew carefully preserved and annotated all letters and papers relating to Ireland of his own day, and purchased numbers of ancient documents. He spent much of his leisure in constructing pedigrees of Irish families, many of which in his own hand are still extant. He bequeathed his manuscripts and books to Stafford, from whom

they passed to Archbishop Laud. Forty-two volumes of Carew's manuscripts relating to Irish affairs were placed by Laud in the Lambeth Library, and four are in the Laudian collection at the Bodleian; several of the volumes are now lost. Others of Carew's papers are among the Harleian MSS. at the British Museum, at the State Paper Office, and at Hatfield. Calendars of the Lambeth documents, dating from 1515, have been issued in the official series of State Paper Calendars, under the editorship of J. S. Brewer and William Bulleñ. A number of Sir Robert Cecil's letters to Carew, during the time that Carew was president of Munster, have been printed from the originals at Lambeth by the Camden Society (1864, edited by John Maclean). The same society has also printed Carew's letters to Sir Thomas Roe, 1615-17. These volumes, although very valuable for general historical purposes, contribute little to Carew's biography. A portrait of Carew is prefixed to 'Pacata Hibernia.'

[Doyle's Official Baronage, iii. 537-9; Burke's Extinct Peerage; Granger's Biog. Hist. ii. 133; Wood's Athenæ Oxon. ed. Bliss, ii. 446-52; Archaeologia, xii. 401 et sq.; Introduction to the Carew MSS. Calendars; Maclean's letters of Carew to Roe (1860, Camd. Soc.); Notes and Queries, 2nd ser. vi. 436; Herald and Genealogist, vii. 19-26, 575-6; Cal. of State Papers, Dom. 1590-1629; Cal. of State Papers, Irish, 1590-1629; Gardiner's Hist. of England; Biog. Brit. (Kippis).] S. L. L.

CAREW, SIR JOHN (*d.* 1362), justiciar of Ireland, appears to have been the grandson of Sir Nicholas Carew, lord of Mulesford in Berkshire (*Parl. Writs.* i. 103, 104), and son of Sir John Carew, who married, first, Eleanor, daughter of Sir William Mohun (*d.* 1296?), in whose right her husband became lord of Mohuns Ottery, Stoke Fleming, and other manors in Devonshire; secondly, Johanna or Joan, according to Prince the daughter of Gilbert, lord Talbot (see also *Cal. Geneal.* ii. 539, 547; *Cal. Inq. post Mort.* i. 135, 308; *Abbrev. Rot. Orig.* ii. 38, 140). The elder Sir John Carew seems to have died in 1323-4 (*C. I. P. M.* i. 308), leaving a son bearing the same name, and probably the offspring of his first marriage (PRINCE; but cf. the genealogies in PHILLIPS and MACLEANE, which make the younger Sir J. Carew son of Joan, and only heir to the Mohun estates on the death of his elder brother Nicholas in 1324). His widow, Joan, in later years one of Queen Philippa's ladies, was still living in June 1335. On his father's death the younger John Carew was still a minor, as appears from the fine levied upon him two years later (1326-7) for attorning to possess himself of Mulesford

Manor (*Abbrev. Rot.* ii. 38, 300). He perhaps came of age in 1332, when he was summoned to Ireland to defend his estates, and given the custody of three 'villæ' in Devonshire (*Lib. Mun. Hib.* iv. 82; *Abbrev. Rot. Orig.* ii. 64). The name of Sir John Carew does not, however, appear prominently till 1345-1346, when he was appointed one of the three 'custodes pacis' for the county of Carlow, and about the same time entrusted to negotiate with the Irish rebels. In 1349 he was king's escheator in Ireland, and during the course of the same year was chosen to succeed Walter de Birmingham as justiciar, an office which, however, he held barely a year (*L. M. H.* ii. 197; GILBERT, *Viceroy's*, 205), as we find Sir Thomas Rokeby occupying the post in December. In 1352, 1355, and 1356 he reappears with the title of 'Escheator Hiberniæ.' Shortly after (1359) he was summoned to attend a great council at Waterford (*Irish Close Rolls*, 77), and in 1361 was called to Westminster to consult on the projected Irish expedition of Lionel, afterwards duke of Clarence, who had married the heiress of the Earls of Ulster (RYMER, vi. 319). He appears to have accompanied the prince on this occasion, and to have died a year later, in 1362 (*Cal. Inq. post Mort.* 247), or, according to Prince's account, on 16 May 1363. He married, if we may trust the last authority, Margaret, daughter of John, lord Mohun of Dunstar, by whom he had two sons: John, who is variously reported to have died before Calais (? 1347) and in 1353 (MACLEANE and PHILLIPS), and Leonard, who perhaps died in 1370 (*C. I. P. M.* ii. 303), and was succeeded by his son, THOMAS CAREW, a noted warrior in the early years of the next century. This Thomas, baron Carew, must have been a minor at the time of his father's death (*Irish Rolls*, 866), and it is not till the reigns of Henry IV and Henry V that he begins to figure prominently as a statesman and a soldier. His mother is said to have been Alice, daughter of Sir Edmond Fitzalan (PHILLIPS and MACLEANE). According to Prince he was present at the battle of Agincourt, but his name is not to be found in the 'Roll' published by Sir Harris Nicolas. The same authority tells us that he was made captain of Harfleur, and appointed to defend a passage over the Seine in 6 Henry V. He is probably to be identified with the Baron Carew who was commissioned to guard the Channel at the time of the Emperor Sigismund's visit to England (WILLIAMS, *Gesta Henrici V*, 93 *n.*), and with the 'Thomas Carew, Chevalier,' who is found at the head of a large number of men-at-arms in 1417, 1418, and 1423 (*Privy Council Acts*, ii. and iii.; *Norman Rolls*). He married

Elizabeth, daughter of Sir William Bonville of Shute (PRINCE), and appears to have died in 1430-1 (*C. I. P. M.* iv. 131). By her he left a son Nicholas, baron Carew, father of Sir Edmund Carew [q. v.], whose younger sons founded the families of Carew at Hacombe and Antony (PHILLIPS). Besides their English estates, the Carews held large landed possessions in Ireland, especially the barony of Idrone in Carlow; but these appear to have been lost for the most part in the course of the fourteenth century.

[Prince's Worthies of Devon, ed. 1701, 149, 150; Gilbert's Viceroy's of Ireland, 205, 217; Liber Munerum Publ. Hiberniæ (L. M. H.), ed. Lascelles, i-iv; Close and Patent Rolls of Ireland; Calendarium Inquisitionum post Mortem (C. I. P. M.), i-iv.; Abbreviationes Rotulorum Originalium, i. ii.; Parliamentary Writs, i. ii.; Calendarium Genealogicum, ed. Roberts, ii. 539, 547; Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council, ed. Nicolas, i. ii. iii.; Collins's Peerage, ed. Brydges, iii. 3; Life of Sir Peter Carew, ed. Maclean; Norman Rolls ap. Record Reports, xli. 715, 717, 720; Phillips's Pedigrees.]

T. A. A.

**CAREW, JOHN** (d. 1660), regicide, was the eldest son of Richard Carew of Antony in Cornwall, by his second wife, of the family of Rolle of Heanton in Devonshire, and was consequently the half-brother of Sir Alexander Carew [q. v.] He is said to have been educated at one of the universities, and to have been a student at the inns of court. When the loyalist members for the Cornish borough of Tregony in the Long parliament were disabled from sitting, Carew, who had 'a plentiful estate' in the county, was elected into one of the vacant seats, and he was one of the commissioners who received Charles I at Holdenby in 1646. He was appointed one of the king's judges, sat every day in the court, and signed the warrant for the execution of Charles. His name is found among the members of the third council of state in December 1651; he was reappointed in the succeeding council, and was one of the civilians serving in the larger body in 1653. In the parliament of 1654 he again had a place, but as his opinions were against a temporal monarchy and he disapproved of Cromwell's seizing the throne, Carew was, early in 1655, summoned before the council of state and imprisoned in St. Mawes Castle on the ground that he would not pledge himself to abstain from taking part against Cromwell and his government. After a short stay in confinement he was released, but he remained in retirement on his estates, and even his slanderers after the Restoration acknowledged that he made no attempt at any period

in his life to obtain any pecuniary advantage for himself. In 1658 he was again placed under restraint for a brief period, and in the following year was summoned to the restored house of parliament, but on 30 Sept. 1659 he was subjected to a fine of 100*l.*, presumably for non-attendance during its deliberations. At the Restoration he left Cornwall for London in obedience to the order of parliament that all the king's judges should surrender within fourteen days, and was arrested on his way, though the officer refused to detain him in consequence of an error in the description. In his progress to London Carew was often insulted by the mob, some of whom cried out, 'This is the rogue who will have no king but Jesus,' and as he was equally obnoxious to parliament on account of the fervour with which he held the religious opinion of the fifth monarchists, he was, by eighty votes to seventy, excluded from the Indemnity Bill. While in London he was afforded many opportunities of escape, but he refused to avail himself of them. His trial took place at the Old Bailey on 12 Oct. 1660. When asked, 'Are you guilty or not guilty?' he answered, 'Saving to our Lord Jesus Christ his right to the government of these kingdoms.' He endeavoured to prove that his acts were done under the authority of parliament, and asserted that he did his part 'in the fear of the holy and righteous Lord, the judge of the earth.' The jury of course found him guilty, and on 15 Oct. he was drawn on a hurdle from Newgate to Charing Cross. Then, as during his trial, Carew exulted in his courage, and suffered death with great composure of mind. After he had been quartered and his bowels burnt, his head and quarters were drawn naked and bare through the streets back to Newgate. His quarters should have been exposed on the city gates, but they were 'by a great favour' granted to his brother by the king, and in 'the same night obscurely buried.' Carew was a republican without guile and reproach.

[Cobbett's State Trials, v. 1004, 1048-58, 1237-57; Noble's Regicides, i. 124-35; Geo. Bate's Lives of Actors of Murder of Charles I; Masson's Milton, vols. iv. v. vi.; Ludlow's Memoirs (1771), pp. 207, 238, 394, 402-5; Boase and Courtney's Bibl. Cornub. ii. 470-2, iii. 1110.]

W. P. C.

**CAREW, JOHN EDWARD** (1785?-1868), sculptor, was born at Waterford about 1785. He received some instruction in art at Dublin, and afterwards came to London. In 1809 he became an assistant to Sir Richard Westmacott, the sculptor, remaining with him till 1823. During the last ten or twelve

years that he was with Westmacott he was receiving from 800*l.* to 1,000*l.* a year as salary, and had also a studio of his own. In 1823 Carew was introduced to Lord Egremont, who invited him to devote his talents almost exclusively to his service. From that year until 1831 Carew, who continued to live in London, was employed on various works for his new patron. In 1831 he established himself in Brighton, and was frequently at Lord Egremont's house at Petworth. In 1835 he went to live at Grove House, near Petworth, a residence granted him by Egremont at a nominal rent, and there he remained until his patron's death in November 1837. Between 1823 and 1837 Carew was occupied in producing various groups, statues, busts, &c., in marble, many of which were made expressly for Lord Egremont for Petworth. The most important of these works were a statue of Huskisson, erected in Chichester Cathedral; an altar-piece (the 'Baptism of our Saviour') for the Roman catholic chapel at Brighton; a statue called 'Arethusa,' and another called 'The Falconer;' a statue of Adonis; a group of Vulcan and Venus; a group of Prometheus, and busts of various private persons. He first appeared as an exhibitor at the Royal Academy in 1830, when he sent 'Model of a Gladiator,' 'Bear in the Arena,' and 'Theseus and Minotaur.' In each of the years 1832, 1834, and 1835 he also sent two busts to the Academy. Upon Lord Egremont's death in 1837, Carew, who was not mentioned in the will, made a claim upon the estate of 50,000*l.*, a sum due to him (according to his contention) for various works supplied to Egremont. This claim was resisted by Egremont's executors, and Carew accordingly brought an action against them to recover his 50,000*l.* The cause (*Carew v. Burrell* and another) was tried at the Sussex spring assizes held at Lewes on 18 March 1840. Counsel for the plaintiff called Sir R. Westmacott and Sir Francis Chantrey, both of whom spoke of Carew's Petworth statues as works of the highest talent; and for these statues, Carew's counsel alleged, no direct payments had ever been made, though the sculptor had abandoned a lucrative profession in order to work entirely for Lord Egremont. In reply to this the defendants asserted that Egremont had during his lifetime paid every sixpence which he ever owed to Carew. They stated that they had succeeded in tracing cheques for 13,721*l.* 7*s.* 5*d.* paid by Egremont to Carew, and the receipt of these cheques Carew was subsequently forced to admit. The defendants also contended that a further sum of 4,760*l.* had been paid; that

some of the works were not ordered by Egremont but by others; and that the plaintiff's business as a sculptor had been insignificant. Plaintiff's counsel was compelled to agree to a nonsuit for his client. After the trial Carew was declared insolvent, and in December 1841, and in January, February, and May 1842, his pecuniary affairs had to undergo a further searching examination in the bankruptcy court.

In 1839 Carew exhibited at the Academy a marble bas-relief, 'The Good Samaritan;' in 1842 an 'Angel' from a monumental group; and in 1843, 1845, and 1848 some busts. In addition to these works, he executed a statue of Kean, a well-known statue of 'Whittington listening to the London Bells,' and designed 'The Death of Nelson at Trafalgar,' one of the four reliefs in bronze which decorate the pedestal of Nelson's column in Trafalgar Square. During his latter years Carew was living in London, but an increasing dimness of eyesight interfered with his work as a sculptor. He died on 30 Nov. 1868. Carew was married, and was the father of several children.

[Report of the Trial of the Cause Carew against Burrell, London, 1840; Report of the Proceedings in the Court for the Relief of Insolvent Debtors in the matter of John Edward Carew, London, 1842 (both reports privately printed from the shorthand writers' notes); Men of the Time, 1865, 1868, 1884; Redgrave's Dict. of Artists; Nagler's Künstler-Lexikon, 1835.]

W. W.

**CAREW, SIR MATTHEW** (*d.* 1618), master in chancery, was the younger son (being the tenth of nineteen children) of Sir Wymond Carew of Antony, Cornwall, treasurer of the first-fruits and tenths, by Martha Denny, sister of Sir Anthony Denny. He was educated at Westminster School, under Alexander Nowell, and proceeded to Trinity College, where he became a fellow and remained in residence for ten years. On determining to adopt the law as his profession in life, Carew repaired to Louvain, and continued studying there and at other universities on the continent for twelve years. His next step was to accompany Henry, earl of Arundel, into Italy as interpreter, and to return with the earl to England. Carew then entered upon practice in the court of arches, and ultimately became master in chancery, a position which he held so long as to be styled in 1602 one of the 'ancientest' masters, and to justify his being knighted on 23 July 1603, before the coronation of James I. His wife was Alice, eldest daughter of Sir John Rivers, knight, lord mayor of London, and widow of one Ingpenney; by her Carew had numerous



children. He was buried at St. Dunstan's-in-the-West on 2 Aug. 1618, the main incidents in his career being described in a memorial tablet in the church, and his name being kept in remembrance by a charitable bequest for the poor of the parish. At the close of his life Carew was involved in trouble. There was a rumour in January 1613 that he would be 'cozened' of eight or nine thousand pounds through the fraud of a person in whom he reposed great confidence, and a little later his eldest son was engaged in a quarrel with one Captain Osborne, 'and, whether thro' him or another Cary, poor Osborne was slain.'

[Court and Times of James I, i. 220, 330; Collect. Topog. et Geneal. v. 206-8; Bibl. Topog. Brit. i. 30; Herald and Genealogist, vii. 575; Visit. of Cornwall (Harl. Soc. 1874), p. 33.]

W. P. C.

**CAREW, SIR NICHOLAS** (*d.* 1539), master of the horse to Henry VIII, was the head of the younger branch of a very ancient family which traced its descent back to the Conquest, though the surname, derived from Carew in Pembrokeshire, dates only from the days of King John. The younger branch had been established at Beddington in Surrey from the time of Edward III. Sir Richard Carew, father of Sir Nicholas, was created by Henry VII a knight-banneret at the battle of Blackheath, and was sheriff of Surrey in 1501. Nicholas was probably born in the last decade of the fifteenth century. In 1513 he was associated with his father in a grant from the crown of the office of lieutenant of Calais Castle, which they were to hold in survivorship (*Cal. State Papers*, Hen. VIII, vol. i. No. 4570). In the same year he attended Henry VIII in his invasion of France, and received a 'coat of rivet' of the king's gift at Théroutanne (*ib.* No. 4642). In December 1514 he married Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Bryan, vice-chamberlain to Catherine of Arragon (*ib.* ii. No. 1850, and p. 1466). At this time he was squire of the king's body, and is also called one of the king's 'cypherers,' which appears to mean cupbearers, in which capacity he had an annuity of 30 marks given him by patent on 6 Nov. 1515 (*ib.* No. 1116; see also p. 874). At his marriage lands were settled upon him and his wife in Wallington, Carshalton, Beddington, Woodmansterne, Woodcote, and Mitcham, in Surrey (*ib.* Nos. 1850, 2161). In 1517 his name is mentioned as cupbearer at a great banquet given by the king at Greenwich on 7 July in honour of the ambassadors of young Charles of Castile, afterwards the Emperor Charles V (*ib.* No. 3446). This is the first occasion on which we find

him designated knight; and on 18 Dec. following, he being then knight of the royal body, was appointed keeper of the manor of Pleasaunce in East Greenwich, and of the park there. That he was a favourite with Henry VIII both at this time and long afterwards there is no doubt whatever. We learn from Hall, the chronicler, that early in the eleventh year of the reign (which means about May 1519) he and some other young men of the privy chamber who had been in France were banished from court by an order of the council for being too familiar with the king. Hall's 'Chronicle' is so accurate throughout in respect of dates, that we may take it for granted he is right here also; and, indeed, what he says is in perfect keeping with our knowledge from other sources. But in that case it must be observed that this was not the first occasion on which the council had insisted on his removal from the king's presence, for on 27 March 1518 the scholar Pace writes to Wolsey, 'Mr. Carew and his wife be returned to the king's grace—too soon after mine opinion' (*ib.* No. 4034). The king was still young and loved young companions, but he knew well how to guard himself against over-familiarity, and could freely allow any such cases to be corrected by his council while enjoying to the full the pleasures of the moment. On 11 Aug. of the same year he and Sir Henry Guildford 'had each of them from the standing wardrobe six yards of blue cloth of gold towards a base and a trapper, and fifteen yards of white cloth of silver damask to perform another base and trapper for the king's justs appointed to be at Greenwich upon the arrival of the French ambassadors' (*ANSTIS, Order of the Garter*, i. 241). Frequent mention is made of him even before this time in jousts and revels at the court (*Cal.* ii. 1500-1, 1503-5, 1507-10; *HALL, Chronicle*, 581).

In 1518-19 he was sheriff of Surrey and Sussex, his name being found on the commission of the peace for the former county from this time onward (*Cal.* ii. Nos. 4437, 4562). In May 1519, as we have already indicated, occurred what must have been at least his second expulsion from court, and though it was in some degree mitigated by his being given an honourable and lucrative post at Calais, we are told that it was 'sore to him displeasent.' It is commonly said that his disgrace was owing to his too great love of the French court, whose fashions he praised in preference to those of England; but Hall's words, from which the statement is derived, may possibly apply only to the gentlemen of the privy chamber who were removed along with him. So far as appears

by the 'State Papers' of the period he had as yet had no opportunity of making acquaintance with the French court. However, on 18 May 1519 an annuity of 109*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* was granted to him out of the revenues of Calais, and two days later he was appointed lieutenant of the tower of Ruysbanke, a fort which guarded the entrance of Calais harbour (*ib.* iii. p. 93, and No. 247). This office had just been resigned by Sir John Peachey, who had been at the same time appointed deputy of Calais, and Peachey's letters tell us how Carew immediately after arrived at Calais and was sworn in as lieutenant of Ruysbanke the same day that he himself was sworn in as deputy (*ib.* Nos. 259, 265). In 1520 he was present at the Field of the Cloth of Gold, and was one of those who held the lists against all comers (*ib.* pp. 241, 243, 313). He was also at the meeting of Henry VIII and Charles V, which occurred immediately afterwards (*ib.* p. 326). On 19 Oct. in that year he surrendered the lieutenancy of Calais Castle in favour of Maurice, lord Berkeley, but with reservation of a pension of 100*l.* to himself (*ib.* No. 1027, iv. No. 400); and on 12 Nov. he surrendered his annuity as one of the king's 'cyphers.'

At the very close of 1520 he was sent with important letters to Francis I (*ib.* iii. No. 1126), and on his return 100*l.* was paid him for his costs (*ib.* p. 1544). In 1521 he was one of the grand jury of Surrey who found the indictment in that county against the Duke of Buckingham (*ib.* p. 493). On 12 June in that year there were granted to him, in reversion after Sir Thomas Lovel, the offices of constable of Wallingford Castle and steward of the honour of Wallingford and St. Walric, and the four and a half hundreds of Chiltern (*ib.* No. 1345). At Christmas following he is named as one of the king's carvers (No. 1899). On 18 July 1522 he was appointed master of the horse, and also steward of the manor of Brasted in Kent, which had belonged to Buckingham. On the same day he likewise received a grant to himself and his wife, in tail male, of the manor of Bletchingley in Surrey (Nos. 2395-7), to which grant were added next year some other lands in the neighbourhood (*ib.* p. 1285). In October 1523, when the Earl of Surrey was in the north charged to repel a threatened invasion of the kingdom by the Duke of Albany, the Marquis of Dorset, Carew, and others were sent to him to give him counsel, and Surrey refers to their testimony as to the extreme discomforts of the campaign (Nos. 3421, 3434, 3508, 3515).

In 1526 he was assessed at 400*l.* for the third payment of the subsidy (*ib.* iv. p.

1332). Next year he was commissioned to go with Lord Lisle, Dr. Taylor, Sir Anthony Brown, and Sir Thomas Wriothesley, Garter king of arms, to carry the Garter to Francis I of France (*ib.* No. 3508). It was duly presented on 10 Nov. (No. 3565), and, to judge by the interest afterwards taken in him by Francis, his conversation and address must have produced a very favourable impression. He returned, however, with Lord Lisle very shortly after the presentation, leaving Taylor at Paris, who remained as resident ambassador (No. 3591). On 29 Jan. 1528 he received the grant from the crown of an annuity of fifty marks (No. 3869). In the course of the following summer, while several of the court were taken ill of the sweating sickness, he appears to have felt a little uneasy, complaining of his head, but we do not hear that he had a more serious attack (No. 4429). One of those carried off by the epidemic was Sir William Compton [q.v.], who held the constablership of Warwick Castle and other important offices in that part of the country. Carew seems to have made interest to be appointed his successor, as we meet with a draft patent to that effect, but the grant does not appear to have been passed (No. 4583). In 1528-9 he was again sheriff for the counties of Surrey and Sussex (No. 4914), and at the expiration of his year's service in this office he was chosen knight of the shire for Surrey in the parliament of 1529 (*ib.* iv. p. 2691). But he could scarcely have taken his seat in parliament when he was sent, with Dr. Sampson and Dr. Benet, to Bologna on embassy to the emperor. Their instructions had already been prepared as early as 21 Sept., and they seem to have left on or about 7 Oct. (Nos. 5949, 5995); but additional instructions were sent after them on 30 Nov. (No. 6069). Carew continued at Bologna till 7 Feb. 1530, and in the opinion of good judges acquitted himself with great dexterity (*ib.* p. 2783).

In February 1531 the king paid him a visit at Beddington, and went to hunt in his grounds (*ib.* v. p. 50). In September following he and Thomas Cromwell received joint authority to swear in commissioners for sewers in Surrey (*ib.* No. 429). Next year (against his will, as he privately intimated to the imperial ambassador Chapuys) he was sent over to France in October to prepare for a meeting between Henry VIII and Francis I, which took place at Calais in the end of the month. As the object of the interview no doubt was to promote the king's marriage to Anne Boleyn and to strengthen him against the emperor, it was exceedingly unpopular. Carew, for his part, would rather

have gone to hinder than to prepare for it; but he did as he was commanded (*ib.* p. 592). In much the same spirit doubtless, when Anne Boleyn was proclaimed queen next year, he tourneyed at her coronation (*ib.* vi. p. 266). In this year (1533) Francis wrote to Henry VIII requesting him to confer upon Carew the order of the Garter, which the king apparently promised to do on some future occasion (*ib.* Nos. 555, 707). Shortly afterwards he obtained a grant in reversion of the office of the king's otter hunter (*ib.* p. 496). Next year the French king again wrote to Henry in Carew's favour that a Garter might be conferred on him, and, if convenient, the chancellorship of the order. Henry replied to the envoy who presented the letter that the chancellorship of the order had been already conferred upon the king of Scots, but that he would remember Carew for a Garter on the first vacancy (*ib.* viii. p. 61). Accordingly, on St. George's day, 23 April 1536, a chapter being held at Greenwich, votes were taken to fill a vacancy among the knights, and the king on the following day declared that the election had fallen on Carew. According to the Black Book of the order he was elected 'in regard of the majority of votes, the eminence of his extraction, his own fame, and the many and noble actions he had performed; which ample relation was unanimously applauded by the knights companions.' He was installed at St. George's feast, 21 May following (ANSTIS, *Order of the Garter*, i. 249, ii. 398).

He was still, to all appearance, in high favour in October 1537, when at the christening of Prince Edward (afterwards Edward VI) he, with three others of high standing at the court, 'in aprons and towels, took charge of the font, and kept the same till they were discharged thereof by the lord steward or treasurer of the king's house in his absence' (STRYPE, *Eccles. Memorials*, II. i. 4). But little more than a year afterwards a cloud passed over his fortunes. In November 1538 Lord Montague and the Marquis of Exeter were sent to the Tower, and next month they were found guilty of high treason on the ground that they had expressed approval of the proceedings of Montague's brother, Cardinal Pole, and hoped to see a change in the realm. Early in 1539 Carew was also apprehended. On 14 Feb. he was arraigned as an adherent of the Marquis of Exeter, and for having spoken of his prosecution as arbitrary and unjust. Of this he was certainly a very competent judge, as he had been a member of the special commission which received the indictment (*Third Report of Dep. Keeper of Public Records*, App. ii. 256). To have

said so, however, was in itself almost sufficient to brand him as a traitor. But it had been found, besides, since Exeter's attainder, that Carew had been privy to a number of the 'traitorous discourses' of the marquis in past years, and had kept up a treasonable correspondence with him, the letters on both sides having been burnt by mutual agreement to avoid disclosure. The treason, of course, was of the same character as that of the marquis himself, the expression of a desire to see a change. Carew was condemned as a matter of course, and on 3 March was beheaded on Tower Hill. On the scaffold, if we may believe the puritanical testimony of Hall, 'he made a goodly confession, both of his folly and superstitious faith, giving God most hearty thanks that ever he came in the prison of the Tower, where he first savored the life and sweetness of God's most holy Word, meaning the Bible in English, which there he read by the mean of one Thomas Phelps, then keeper of that prison.' Hall adds that Phelps himself had been a prisoner there two years before, and had suffered persecution for his opinions from Sir Thomas More and Stokesley, bishop of London—that is to say, he had been prosecuted in the bishop's court and under a royal commission for heresy.

A family tradition, mentioned by Fuller, gives as the cause of his fall an indiscreet answer that he gave to the king when the latter, between jest and earnest, at a game at bowls, used opprobrious language towards him. 'The king,' according to Fuller, 'in this kind would give and not take,' and Carew accordingly 'fell from the top of his favour to the bottom of his displeasure.' It is possible, and not altogether inconsistent with the Tudor character, that a game of bowls was the occasion made use of to let Carew know he had fallen from favour; but that it was not the cause of the king's displeasure we have pretty sufficient evidence. The tradition, however, may perhaps refer to the temporary disgrace which Carew, as we have seen, had incurred at an earlier period. It may at least be accepted as showing that he was a man of quick temper, who could not easily bear indignities even from a king. We learn also from Fuller that he built a fine manor house at Beddington.

He was buried in the church of St. Botolph, Aldersgate, in the same tomb in which his wife Elizabeth, his daughter Mary, and her husband, Sir Arthur Darcy, were afterwards interred. His property of course was seized by the crown, and, though his attainder was afterwards reversed (2 & 3 Edw. VI, c. 42), there is still preserved an interesting

inventory taken at Beddington in the reign of Edward VI, describing the tapestries, bedsteads, and other furniture which had been left there apparently by the unfortunate knight. Among other articles mention is expressly made of a press with drawers full of evidences, court rolls, and other writings concerning the lands both of Carew and of other persons. At the end is a list of books, among which are enumerated the chronicles of Monstrelet and Froissart, with other books, both written and printed, of divers histories. But the work which stands first on the list is Gower's 'Confessio Amantis' (the author's name is not given in the inventory), which is described as 'a great book of parchment lined with gold of graver's work.'

A fine portrait of Carew, painted on board, was preserved at Beddington till about twenty years ago, when the house was sold and the pictures were disposed of. It is engraved in Lysons's 'Environs of London,' from a copy taken for Lord Orford at a time when the original, we are told, was in a more perfect state than it was even when Lysons wrote.

[A brief account of Carew is given in Lysons's *Environs*, i. 49, and another in Anstis's *Order of the Garter*, i. 249. See also (besides authorities above cited) Fuller's *Worthies* (ed. 1811), ii. 379; Hall's *Chronicle* (ed. 1809), pp. 581, 598, 611, 630, 689, 722, 827; Harl. MS. 1419, f. 373.]  
J. G.]

**CAREW, SIR PETER** (1514–1575), soldier, was the second son of Sir William Carew of Ottery Mohun or Mohuns Ottery, Devonshire, who was the son of Sir Edmund Carew [q. v.] His brothers were George, who served in several military commands in the reign of Henry VIII, and Philip, of whom nothing is known but that he was a knight of Malta. Sir Peter was born at Ottery Mohun in 1514. He was sent to the grammar school at Exeter, but can hardly be said to have been educated there; for a career of frequent truancy culminated in his climbing a turret on the city wall, and threatening to jump down if his master came after him. His father, being told of this escapade, had him led back to his house in a leash, like a dog, and for a punishment 'coupled him to one of his hounds, and so continued him for a time.' Soon after he was sent to St. Paul's School, but did no better there; and his father, in despair of making him a scholar, accepted the proposal of a French friend, who wanted the young Carew as his page. He was unlucky in this new position also, and was degraded to the place of muleteer, from which he was rescued by a relation, who heard his companions call him by name. This relation, a Carew of Haccombe, was going with

Francis I, king of France, to the siege of Pavia, but died on the way, and the young Carew was taken up by the Marquis of Saluzzo, who was slain at the battle of Pavia in February 1526. Being again left masterless, he went over to the enemy's camp, and entered the service of Philibert de Châlons, prince of Orange, and, after his death at the siege of Florence in 1530, continued with his sister Claudia, wife of Henry of Nassau. He was now about sixteen years of age, and, being anxious to revisit his native country, was sent by the princess with letters to Henry VIII, who, struck by his proficiency in riding and other exercises, and by his knowledge of the French language, took him into his service, first as a henchman, and then as a gentleman of the privy chamber. The next few years of his life were chiefly passed in England at the court, with the exception of journeys in the king's service, such as attending on his royal master to Calais in 1532; on Lord William Howard, when he took the Garter to James V in 1535; and on the lord admiral when he went to fetch Anne of Cleves in 1539. About the following year (1540) he went abroad with his cousin, John Champernoun, and visited Constantinople, Venice, Milan, and Vienna, where Champernoun died of dysentery. While in the Turk's countries the travellers had disguised themselves as merchants in alum. Soon after Carew's return war broke out between England and France, and he served both by land and sea. In the campaign of 1544 he joined the king's army with one hundred foot, apparelled in black at his own expense, his elder brother, George, being lieutenant of the horse till he was taken prisoner at Landrecy. Sir George was not long in captivity, and in the following year was in command of the *Mary Rose* when she foundered going out of Portsmouth harbour to attack the French fleet. Carew crossed the Channel with the lord-admiral (Sir John Dudley), being one of the leaders of the assault of Tréport, for which he was knighted.

In the last year of Henry VIII's reign Carew was sheriff of Devonshire; but marrying a Lincolnshire lady, Margaret, daughter of Sir William Skipworth, widow of George, lord Tailboys de Kyme, he went to reside on his wife's estates, till he was recalled by the news of the insurrection of 1549, caused by the issuing of the reformed Book of Common Prayer. His action in this matter was energetic and in fact severe, and he did not escape reprimand for having exceeded his commission. On the death of Edward VI he opposed the attempt to place Lady Jane Grey on the throne, and proclaimed Mary as queen in

the west; but as soon as her marriage with Philip of Spain was proposed, he conspired with some of his neighbours against it. The plot was discovered, and he only escaped to the continent just in time to avoid arrest. At Venice he was nearly murdered by braves hired by Peter Vannes, the English ambassador, and therefore travelled northward. Passing through Antwerp, Lord Paget had him and his companion, Sir John Cheke, arrested by the sheriff, and sent blindfolded to England in a fishing-boat. His destination was the Tower, where he was confined till December 1556, being released on the payment of some old-standing debt of his grandfather to the crown. The accession of Elizabeth again brought him into favour. In the second year of her reign, when the Duke of Norfolk and Lord Grey de Wilton were commanding an army against the French in Scotland, he was sent on the delicate mission of settling a difference between the two noblemen which was detrimental to the public service; and when the duke was tried and convicted of treason, in 1572, Carew acted as constable of the Tower. But before this latter date (about 1565 or 1566) he showed a quantity of old records to his biographer, Hooker, who on examination was convinced that Carew was entitled to many lands in Ireland which had belonged to his ancestors; and going to Ireland on Carew's behalf, his opinion was confirmed. Carew thereupon obtained leave from the queen to prosecute his title, and sailed from Ilfracombe in August 1568. The remainder of his life, with short exceptions, was spent in recovering what he believed to be his property in Ireland, in which was included a large portion of Munster, which had been granted by Henry II to Robert Fitz-Stephen, whose daughter married a Carew. He began with the lordship of Maston in Meath, which was occupied by Sir Christopher Chyvers. He then obtained a decree of the deputy and council adjudging to him the barony of Odrone in Carlow, which was held by the Kavanaghs, and was appointed captain of Leighlin Castle, which is in the centre of the barony (17 Feb. 1568-9). A few miles north lay the castle of Cloghgrenan, which was held by Sir Edmund Butler, brother of the Earl of Ormonde, having been taken from the Kavanaghs by their father. Butler, it is said, expecting to be dispossessed, made several attempts to attack Carew, but in vain; and the rebellion known as the Butler's wars breaking out shortly after, Carew stormed and took the castle. For this he incurred some blame from the queen, as being partly the cause of the insurrection, and was obliged to return to England to excuse him-

self, and obtain leave to prosecute his claims in Munster. While in this country the queen was anxious for him to resume the seat in parliament which he had held in the first year of her reign, but he refused. His petition being at length granted, he returned to Ireland (1574), and finding that Lord Courcy, Lord Barry Oge, the O'Mahons, and others were willing to acknowledge his claims and become his tenants, he ordered a house to be prepared at Cork, but was taken ill on his way thither, and died at Ross in Waterford on 27 Nov. 1575. He was buried on 15 Dec. in the church at Waterford, on the south side of the chancel, and his faithful servant and biographer erected a monument to his memory in Exeter Cathedral. There is an engraving of this in Sir John Maclean's 'Life,' and also of the well-known portrait at Hampton Court. Neither he nor his brother left any issue. His will, at Somerset House, is dated 4 July 1574, and was proved 20 Feb. 1575.

[We have a detailed contemporary account of Carew's romantic life, written by Richard Hooker, *alias* Vowell, the uncle of the author of the Ecclesiastical Polity, who was in Carew's service for some years. There is an account of this biography in *Archæologia*, vol. xxviii., and it has been printed by Sir John Maclean, and in the Calendar of the Carew Papers. Sir John Maclean's edition is illustrated with copious notes and appendices of documents and letters. See also Calendar of Irish Papers, vols. 1509-1573, 1574-85; Cal. of Carew MSS. 1515-74; Strype's *Ecol. Mem.* iii. i. 147, 515, iii. ii. 7; Strype's *Annals*, i. i. 468; *Life of Cheke*, 106-8; *Foxe*, vi. 413-14, viii. 257-607; *Fuller's Church Hist.* iv. 228; *Fuller's Worthies*, Devon, 272; *Wood's Athenæ Oxon.* ed. Bliss, i. 243, 327, ii. 450; *Polwhele's Devonshire*, ii. 11, 19; *Prince's Worthies of Devon*, 199, 204; *Leland's Itin.* iii. 40; *Tuckett's Devonshire Pedigrees*.]

C. T. M.

CAREW, RICHARD (1555-1620), poet and antiquary, is the best-known member of one of the leading families of Cornwall. His father, Thomas Carew of Antony House, in the parish of East Antony, married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Richard Edgecombe, and their eldest son, Richard, was born at Antony House on 17 July 1555. When only eleven years old he became a gentleman commoner of Christ Church, Oxford, but his rooms were in Broadgates Hall, and he was probably one of the two persons called Carew appearing in a list of the undergraduates resident in that hall about 1570. Here, when a scholar of three years' standing, he was called upon, as he modestly says, 'upon a wrong conceived opinion touching my sufficiency,' to dispute '*extempore* (*impar congressus Achilli*) with the matchless Sir Philip

Sidney, in presence of the Earls Leicester, Warwick, and divers other great personages.' What the issue of the contest was Carew has omitted to state, but later historians have added that the dispute resulted in a drawn battle. The family estates passed to him early in life, and in the verses on his ancestors and his issue which he incorporated in his 'Survey of Cornwall' (pp. 246-7, ed. 1811) it is recorded that he was the fifth of his race to inherit the patrimony. In 1577 he married Juliana, the eldest daughter of John Arundel of Trerice, by his first wife, Catherine, daughter of John Coswarth, and through his marriage he inherited a part of the Coswarth property. He devoted himself with great zeal to the discharge of his duties as a country gentleman, and solaced his leisure hours with inquiries into the history and antiquities of his native county, and with the study of foreign languages, until he had become a master of five tongues—the epitaph which he wrote on himself specifies the languages of Greece, Italy, Germany, France, and Spain—by reading, 'without any other teaching.' In 1581 he was appointed a justice of the peace, and in 1586 he was called upon to act as high sheriff of Cornwall. As he was the owner of large estates near several Cornish boroughs, and his connections embraced the principal gentry of the county, he had little difficulty in obtaining a seat in parliament. In 1584 he was returned for Saltash, and in 1597 he sat for Michell. He was one of the deputy-lieutenants of Cornwall, and he served under Sir Walter Raleigh, the lord-lieutenant of the county, in the posts of treasurer of the lieutenancy and colonel of the regiment, five hundred strong, which had for its charge the protection of Cawsand Bay. Of the Society of Antiquaries first established by Archbishop Parker, Carew became an active member in 1589, and about the same time began the task of compiling an historical survey of his native county. Among the gentry of Cornwall he took the first place, and the antiquaries of London accepted him as their equal. Spelman, who addressed to him an 'Epistle on Tithes,' and Camden were his intimate friends, and in Ben Jonson's 'Execration upon Vulcan' he is classed with Cotton and Selden. John Dunbar has two Latin epigrams to Carew (*Centuriæ Sex epigrammaton*, 6th Centur., 51 and 52), lauding his knowledge of history, poetry, and the law, and punning on his name; while Charles Fitzgeoffry, in his 'Affaniæ,' book iii., praises his linguistic attainments. He died on 6 Nov. 1620, 'as he was at his private prayers in his study (his daily practice) at fower in the afternoon,' and was buried in Antony Church.

Against its north wall stands a plain tablet of black marble bearing a long inscription to his memory. Another epitaph was written for him by Camden, which dwells on the modesty of his manners, the generosity of his disposition, his varied learning, and his christian zeal. Both epitaphs, together with some verses written by the historian immediately before his death, are printed in the 'Parochial History of Cornwall,' i. 24. The earliest work of Carew is the translation of the first five cantos of Tasso's 'Godfrey of Bvilloigne, or the reconerie of Hiervsalam,' a very rare volume which appeared in 1594, and according to some copies 'imprinted by Iohn Windet for Thomas Man,' and in others 'by Iohn Windet for Christopher Hunt of Exceter,' who served his time to Man. The fourth book of the translation was reproduced in S. W. Singer's reprint of Fairfax's translation, 1817, vol. i. xxxiii-lvii, and the whole work was issued by the Rev. Alexander B. Grosart in 1881 in an edition limited to sixty-two copies. Carew was for some time unaware that his translation was being passed through the press, and when it came to his ears the first five cantos only were issued because he commanded 'a staie of the rest till the sommer,' a summer which never arrived. The accuracy of his translation has been much commended, but it has generally been allowed that its effect is weakened by his endeavour to make the English version an exact copy, line by line, of the original. It contains several passages of much beauty, and great praise is given to many extracts from it in an elaborate article in the 'Retrospective Review,' iii. 32-50. In the same year (1594) there appeared a rendering of 'Examen de Ingenios. The examination of men's wits by Iohn Huarte. Translated out of the Spanish Tongue by M. Camillo Camilli. Englished out of his Italian by R. C[arew], Esquire,' which was reprinted in 1596, 1604, and 1616. Huarte's work is a dull treatise of little value, on the corporeal and mental qualities of men and women. Carew's translation is dedicated to Sir Francis Godolphin, who lent him Camilli's version, a loan recorded in the words, 'Good Sir, your booke returneth vnto you clad in a Cornish gabardine.' An anonymous poem, called 'A Herring's Tayle,' which was published in 1598, has been assigned to Carew on the strength of a statement in Guillim's 'Heraldry' (1611), p. 154, and as the assertion was made during the lifetime of Carew by one of like tastes with himself, its accuracy can be accepted. This poem, which contains some vigorous lines, is not free as a whole from the charge of obscurity. The subject is

The strange adventures of the hardie Snayle  
Who durst (vnlikely match) the weathercock  
assayle.

When Carew next appeared as an author it was in topographical literature. 'The Svrvey of Cornwall. Written by Richard Carew of Antonie, Esquire,' had been long in hand, though it was not published until 1602, the subscription on the last leaf being 'Deo gloria, mihi gratia, 1602, April 23.' He meditated in 1606 the issuing of a second edition, 'not so much for the enlarging it as the correcting mine and the printer's oversights,' but it was not republished before 1723, when there was prefixed to it a 'life of the author by H\*\*\*\* C\*\*\*\*\*'; a catchpenny device intended to delude the world with the belief that it was the composition of a member of the family of Carew, but it was in reality a dull compilation by Pierre des Maizeaux. The 'Survey' and the life were reissued in 1769, and another edition of the 'Survey,' with notes by Thomas Tonkin, was printed for Lord De Dunstanville in 1811. Carew's history of Cornwall still remains one of the most entertaining works in the English language. In its pages may be discerned the character of an English gentleman in the brightest age of our national history, interesting himself in the pursuits of all around him and skilled in the pastimes of every class. The industries of the county and its topographical peculiarities are depicted with considerable detail, and if there is little genealogical information in its pages the characters of its celebrities are described with quaintness and with kindness. Carew's 'pleasant and faithfull description' of Cornwall was the phrase of Fuller, and the words were well chosen. He was also the author of 'An Epistle concerning the excellencies of the English tongue,' which appeared in the second edition of Camden's 'Remains,' 1605, and was reprinted with the 1723 and 1769 editions of the 'Survey of Cornwall.' The merits assigned by him to the language are significance, easiness to be learnt, copiousness, and sweetness. This little essay possesses the charm which is inherent in all Carew's writings, but it would have passed out of recollection by this time but for its mention, in a comparison of English and foreign writers, of Shakespeare's name. A manuscript volume of his poems was formerly in the possession of the Rev. John Prince, the commemorator of the worthies of Devon. Mr. James Crossley suggested that Carew might be the R. C. who translated Henry Stephens's 'World of Wonders,' 1607 (*Notes and Queries*, 5th ser., viii. 247, 1877). Several of his letters to Camden are among the 'Cottonian MSS.'

(Julius C. v.) A letter to Sir Robert Cotton is printed in 'Letters of Eminent Literary Men' (Camden Soc., 1843, pp. 98-100).

[Fuller's Worthies, 1811, i. 218; Wood's Athenæ Oxon. (Bliss), ii. 284-7; Corser's Collectanea, iii. 242; Boase and Courtney's Bibl. Cornub.; Life in Survey of Cornwall, 1723.]  
W. P. C.

CAREW, SIR RICHARD (*d.* 1643?), writer on education, was the eldest son of Richard Carew, the poet and antiquary [q. v.] The chief facts in his life are set out in the opening sentences of his 'True and readie Way to learne the Latine Tongue.' He was put to school in his 'tender youth, and so continued for nine or ten years.' Three years were spent at the university of Oxford—he was probably the Richard Carew who matriculated at Merton College on 10 Oct. 1594—and three more in studying law at the Middle Temple. After this course of instruction he was despatched with his uncle on an embassy to the king of Poland, and as the king was at the time on a visit in Sweden Carew followed him thither. On his return he was sent by his father into France, with Sir Henry Nevill, ambassador to Henry IV, to 'learn the French tongue,' and in the third book of Charles Fitzgeoffry's 'Affaniæ' is an epigram addressed to him on his return from his French travels. In 1614 he was one of the members for the county of Cornwall, and in 1620 he represented Michell, a Cornish borough in which the family connections possessed great influence. He was twice married, his first wife being Bridget, daughter of John Chudleigh of Devonshire, and the second wife being Miss Rolle of Heanton. He was created a baronet on 9 Aug. 1642, and his death took place about 1643. On 3 Sept. 1640 there was licensed by the Company of Stationers 'a booke called "The Warming Stone."' This was by Carew, and it was a treatise written to prove that a 'warming stone' was 'useful and comfortable for the colds of aged and sick people' and for many other diseases. The author was himself said to have been 'cured of several distempers by it,' and its virtues were attested by numerous cases around his family seat. Editions of this tract are known to have been published in 1652, 1660, and 1670. Carew was one of the persons who examined the attendants at Antony Church on the thunderstorm on Whitsunday 1640, and an account of the storm, which was written by him, appeared in the 'Western Antiquary,' i. 44-5. In 1654 Samuel Hartlib published 'The true and readie way to learne Latine tongue attested by three excellently learned and approved authours of three nations,' of which Carew was the English author. Hartlib was appa-

rently under the impression that it was the composition of the poetical antiquary, but it was in reality the work of his son. Carew was opposed to much grammar teaching, his wish being for translation backwards and forwards.

[Boase and Courtney's *Bibl. Cornub.* i. 9, 58, iii. 1111; Arber's *Stationers' Registers*, iv. 519.]  
W. P. C.

**CAREW** or **CARY**, **ROBERT**, also called **CERVINUS** (*f.* 1325), schoolman, is stated to have been a doctor of divinity of Oxford, and to have held an eminent position as a teacher and philosopher. His works named are 'Questiones in libros Posteriorum Aristotelis,' besides the regular productions of a scholastic,—a commentary on the 'Sentences' of Peter Lombard, 'Questiones ordinariæ,' and expositions 'super varios sacræ Scripturæ textus.'

[Leland's *Comm. de Script. Brit.* cccxviii. p. 319; Pits, *De Angliæ Script.* p. 417; Tanner's *Bibl. Brit.* p. 154.]  
R. L. P.

**CAREW**, **SIR THOMAS** (*d.* 1431). [See under **CAREW**, **SIR JOHN** (*d.* 1362).]

**CAREW**, **THOMAS** (1598?–1639?), poet, a younger son of Sir Matthew Carew [q. v.], by Alice, daughter of Sir John Rivers, knt., was born about 1598, and seems early to have fallen into dissipated habits. He entered at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, but left the university without taking a degree. As early as 1613 his father, who was in straitened circumstances at the time, writing to Sir Dudley Carleton, complains that one of his sons was 'roving after hounds and hawks, and the other [Thomas] studying in the Middle Temple, but doing little at law.' Carleton hereupon took the youth into his service as secretary, and Carew appears to have remained with him during his embassy at Venice and Turin, and to have returned with him to England about the end of 1615. When Carleton became ambassador to the States in the following spring, Carew again accompanied him, but some time in the summer he suddenly threw up his employment (in irritation at some affront he had received at the hands of his patron) and returned to England. Sir Matthew made more than one effort to get his son another post, but in vain, and at the end of October describes him as 'wandering idly about without employment,' Lord Arundel and others having declined to take him into their service in consequence of his misconduct, which had been aggravated by 'aspersions' spoken and written against Sir Dudley and Lady Carleton. In 1619 Carew went with his friend Lord Herbert of Cherbury to the French

court. He afterwards obtained some post about the court, for at the creation of Henry, prince of Wales, in November, he is mentioned as attending on Lord Beauchamp as his squire. Very little more is known of his life after this. He became sewer in ordinary to Charles I, and gentleman of his privy chamber, and was, it is said, high in favour with that king, who bestowed upon him the royal domain of Sunninghill (part of the forest of Windsor), and had a high opinion of his wit and abilities. Carew was associated more or less closely with almost all the eminent literary men of his time, and was especially intimate with Davenant and Sir John Suckling. In the collection of Suckling's poems there are more than one among the poems and letters addressed to Carew by no means creditable to either. Carew's longest performance was 'Coelum Britannicum' (though Mr. Bolton Corney doubted whether he were really the author), a masque performed at Whitehall on 18 Feb. 1633–4; his other poems are chiefly songs and 'society verses,' composed, it is said, with great difficulty, but melodious and highly polished, though characterised by the usual conceits and affectation of his time. Four editions of Carew appeared between 1640 and 1671, a fifth in 1772, and four have been printed during the present century, by far the most complete and elaborate being that of Mr. W. C. Hazlitt, published in quarto in 1870. There is an uncertainty about the time of Carew's death. It looks as if his life had been shortened by his irregular habits. When he was stricken down by mortal sickness, he sent for Hales of Eton to administer to him the consolations of religion. Hales seems to have thought very meanly of him, and made no secret of his low opinion. Carew has left some wretched attempts at versifying a few of the Psalms; these Mr. Hazlitt has printed. They have not a single merit. Carew probably died in 1639, but no entry of his burial has been found. The illness that led him to a maudlin kind of repentance seems to have come upon him when he was in the country. If he recovered enough from it to return to London, he probably died at his house in King Street, St. James's.

[Mr. Hazlitt has availed himself of all the known sources for the biography of Carew in the edition of his poems mentioned above, and has given his authorities. The only additions to be made are from Nichols's *Progresses of James I*, iii. 224; Lord Herbert's *Autobiography* (1886), xxviii. 190, 198; *Court and Times of James I*, i. 433, 434; *Cal. of State Papers, Dom.* 1638–9, p. 342; *Notes and Queries*, 4th series, ii. 459.]

A. J.



**CAREW** or **CAWE**, THOMAS (1590-1672?). [See **CAWE**, THOMAS.]

**CAREY**. [See also **CAREW** and **CARY**.]

**CAREY**, DAVID (1782-1824), journalist and poet, son of a manufacturer in Arbroath, was born in 1782. After leaving school he was placed in his father's counting-house, but subsequently he removed to Edinburgh, where he was for a short time in the publishing house of Archibald Constable. Thence he went to London, and, obtaining a situation on the periodical press, wrote with such keenness in support of the whig government as to attract the notice of Wyndham, who offered him a foreign appointment, which he declined. After the dissolution of the ministry of 'all the talents' he wrote a satire entitled 'Ins and Outs; or, the State of Parties, by Chronohotonthologos,' which met at once with an extensive sale. In 1807 he became editor of the 'Inverness Journal,' which he left in 1812 to conduct the 'Boston Gazette.' In a few months, however, he renewed his connection with the London press, which for the remainder of his life occupied his principal attention. In 1822, he spent some time in Paris, and on his return published 'Life in Paris,' written chiefly in a humorous vein, with apposite coloured illustrations. His visit to Paris having failed to restore his shattered health, he returned to his father's house at Arbroath, where he died of consumption after eighteen months' illness on 4 Oct. 1824. Besides the works above mentioned, two novels—'The Secrets of the Castle,' 1806, and 'Lochiel; or, the Field of Culloden,' 1812—and 'Picturesque Scenes; or, a Guide to the Highlands,' 1811, Carey was the author of several volumes of verse displaying some taste and fancy, although the sentiment is for the most part commonplace and hackneyed. He edited the 'Poetical Magazine; or, Temple of the Muses,' 1804, consisting chiefly of his own poems, and published separately 'Pleasures of Nature; or, the Charms of Rural Life, and other Poems,' 1803; 'The Reign of Fancy, a Poem with Notes,' 1803; 'Lyric Tales, &c.,' 1804; 'Poems chiefly Amatory,' 1807; 'Craig Phadrig: Visions of Sensibility, with Legendary Tales, and occasional Pieces and Historical Notes,' 1810; and 'The Lord of the Desert: Sketches of Scenery; Foreign and Domestic Odes, and other Poems,' 1812.

[Anderson's *Scottish Nation*; *Brit. Mus. Catalogue*.]  
T. F. H.

**CAREY** or **CAREW**, ELIZABETH, LADY, the elder (*n.* 1590), patroness of the poets, was the second daughter of Sir John

Spencer of Althorpe, and wife of Sir George Carey [q. v.], eldest son and heir of Henry Carey [q. v.], first lord Hunsdon. Edmund Spenser, the poet, was her kinsman, and she took a deep interest in his literary labours. Spenser's 'Muiopotmos' is dedicated to her, and the poet acknowledges in the epistle the 'excellent favours' he had received from her. Lady Carey is also one of the patrons whom Spenser commemorates in an introductory sonnet to the 'Faery Queene.' Nash, the satirist, likewise acknowledges her patronage. In dedicating his 'Christ's Tears over Jerusalem' to her in 1593, he writes: 'Divers well-deserving Poets have consecrated their endeavours to your praise. Fame's eldest favorite, Maister Spencer, in all his writings he prizeth you.' John Dowland, the songwriter, dedicating his 'first book of Songes and Ayres' (1597) to Sir George Carey, speaks of the 'singular graces' shown by 'your vertuous Lady, my honourable mistris.'

A daughter of Lady Carey, also named ELIZABETH, was similarly a patroness of Nash, and in the dedication to the 'Terrors of the Night' (1594) he refers to the mother in an address to the daughter in these terms: 'A worthy daughter are you to so worthy a mother. . . . Into the Muses societie herself she hath lately adopted, and purchast divine Petrarch another monument in England. Ever honoured may she be of the royalest breed of wits, whose purse is so open to her poore beedsmen's distresses. Well may I say it, because I have tride it, never liv'd a more magnificent Ladie of her degree on this earth.' The reference to Petrarch here plainly proves that Lady Carey had translated some of his poems, but there is no trace of any of them having been published. It is just possible, however, that some of the renderings of Petrarch, which are commonly attributed to Spenser, and printed in his collected works, although they are far inferior in style to his other productions, may be from Lady Carey's pen.

The only printed literary work which bears the name of Elizabeth Carey or Carey is 'The Tragedie of Marian the faire Queene of Lewry, written by that learned, vertuous, and truly noble Ladie E[lizabeth] C[arew],' London, 1613. This tedious poem, in rhyming quatrains, is prefixed in some editions by a sonnet from the pen of an anonymous admirer of the authoress, 'To Diannes Earthlie Deputesse, and my worthy sister, Mistris Elizabeth Carey.' It is difficult to determine precisely to which Elizabeth Carey, whether to mother or daughter, the work is to be ascribed. The inscription above the sonnet would imply that the 'Mistris Elizabeth Carye' was un-

married at the time of writing the play. The weight of probability seems therefore in favour of the theory that the 'Tragedie' was the work of Lady Carey's daughter before she became the wife of Sir Thomas Berkeley, eldest son of the eleventh Lord Berkeley. The date of the death of the elder Elizabeth Carey is uncertain. The younger, who became the grandmother of the first Earl of Berkeley, died in 1635, and was buried in Cranford Church, Middlesex.

[Information kindly supplied by Mr. A. H. Bullen; Notes and Queries, 3rd ser. viii. 203; Reilly's Historical Anecdotes of the Families of the Boleynes, Careys, &c., p. 24; Collins's Peerage, ed. Brydges, i. 287; Nash's Works, ed. Grosart; Works of Edmund Spenser.]

**CAREY, EUSTACE** (1791-1855), missionary to India, was the son of Thomas Carey, a non-commissioned officer in the army, and the nephew of Dr. William Carey, Indian missionary [q. v.] He was born on 22 March 1791 at Paulerspury, Northamptonshire. He began his preparatory studies for the baptist ministry under the Rev. Mr. Sutcliff at Olney, and in 1812 went to Bristol College as a missionary student. After his marriage in December 1813 to Miss Fosbrook of Leicester he set out in the beginning of 1814 as a missionary to India, arriving at Serampore on 1 Aug. The sphere of labour to which he was designated was in Calcutta, where in 1817 he founded a missionary family union. On account of failing health he was compelled to leave India, and, arriving in England in September 1825, he in the following year began to advocate the claims of missions throughout the home counties, subsequently extending his visits to Scotland and Ireland. In 1828 he published 'Vindication of the Calcutta Baptist Missionaries,' and in 1831 'Supplement to the Vindication.' In the latter year he published the 'Memoir' of his relative William Carey, D.D. He took a prominent part in the agitation against slavery in Jamaica, and in 1840 was appointed a delegate to the churches there. He died on 19 July 1855.

[Eustace Carey, the Missionary in India, a memoir by Mrs. Eustace Carey, 1857.]

**CAREY, FELIX** (1786-1822), orientalist, eldest son of William Carey [q. v.], missionary to India, was born in 1786. He also became a missionary to India, and died at Serampur 10 Nov. 1822. He published a Burmese grammar, 1814, and left behind him materials for a Burmese dictionary, which was published in 1826. He also translated

the 'Pilgrim's Progress,' the 'Vicar of Wakefield,' and the Bible.

[Life of William Carey, 1836; Brit. Mus. Catalogue.]

**CAREY, GEORGE**, second **LORD HUNSDON** (1547-1603), eldest son of Henry, first lord Hunsdon [q. v.], by Anne, daughter of Sir Thomas Morgan, knight, was matriculated as a fellow commoner of Trinity College, Cambridge, on 13 May 1560, being then of the age of thirteen. He accompanied the Earl of Bedford on his embassy to Scotland at the baptism of the prince, afterwards King James VI, in December 1566. In September 1569 he was despatched to the Earl of Moray, regent of Scotland, to confer on the subject of the contemplated marriage of the Duke of Norfolk with Mary Queen of Scots. He returned to England in October, and in December served under his father in the expedition against the northern rebels. On their overthrow he was again sent to the Earl of Moray in Scotland, returning in a few days with the intelligence that the Earl of Northumberland and Thomas Jenny, two of the leading insurgents, were in the regent's custody. In May 1570 he served under Sir William Drury in the expedition against Scotland, and he was knighted on the 18th of that month by the Earl of Sussex, the lord general of the queen's northern army, having greatly distinguished himself by his intrepidity in the field, and still more by a challenge to Lord Fleming, governor of Dumbarton. On 12 Jan. 1573-4 he obtained from her majesty a lease for twenty-one years of Herstwood in Great Saxham, Suffolk. On 27 May 1574 the queen granted to him and his heirs male the office of steward, constable, and porter of the castle and lordship of Bamborough, with the fishery of the water of the Tweed. He was constituted steward of the royal manor of Great Saxham on 22 May 1575. On 24 Dec. 1580 he was with others empowered to examine in the Tower, on interrogatories, Harte, Bosgrave, and Pascall, arrested within the realm coming from Rome and other places beyond the seas with intent to pervert and seduce the queen's subjects. The commissioners were instructed to put the prisoners to the torture if they refused to answer plainly and directly.

Immediately after the raid of Ruthven, Carey, marshal of the queen's house, was sent into Scotland with Robert Bowes. Carey had an interview with James VI at Stirling on 12 Sept. 1582, and soon afterwards, having a painful disease, returned to England, leaving Bowes in Scotland.

On the death of Sir Edward Horsey, in

1582, Carey was appointed captain-general of the Isle of Wight. In 1584 he procured for the borough of Newport the privilege of returning members to parliament, his brother Edmund being one of those first chosen; and the bailiffs and burgesses granted to Carey full power during his life to nominate one of the members for their borough. In 1585-6 two ships belonging to him captured a vessel which, as he alleged, belonged to Spain, but which was claimed by Stephen Damaskette, an inhabitant of St. Jean de Luz, on behalf of himself and other merchants of that place.

In February 1586-7, the queen, having had information of a design to surprise the Isle of Wight, authorised Carey to take view and muster of the trained bands in certain hundreds of Hampshire for the defence of that island. Immediately afterwards he caused the castles and forts in the island to be put in a state of thorough repair. The site of Carey's scone is even yet pointed out. When England was threatened by the armada of Spain, Carey was remarkably vigilant in the Isle of Wight. The gentry of the island complained of his arbitrary conduct, and were much offended at his assuming the title of governor. He cited before the privy council one of the complainants, Sir George Dillington, who in or about November 1588 was committed by them to the Fleet.

Sir John Oglander in his 'Memoirs' commends Carey for residing in the castle of Carisbrook and for his great hospitality there, and speaks of the time of his government as the period when the Isle of Wight was in its most flourishing state. He relates with much apparent satisfaction that 'in Sir George Carey's time an attorney coming to settle in the island was, by his command, with a pound of candles hanging at his breech lighted, with bells about his legs, hunted owte of the island.'

In 1589 he was sent on an embassy to Scotland. The privy council, on 4 June 1592, empowered Carey and Richard Young to examine in Bridewell Owen Edmondes, an Irishman, charged with treasonable practices, who had obstinately refused to confess. The accounts of the parish of Lambeth for that year make mention of a visit by the queen to Carey, whose name occurs in the commission for causes ecclesiastical within the diocese of Winchester, issued 7 June 1596 and 10 Oct. 1597.

He succeeded to the peerage as Lord Hunsdon on the death of his father (23 July 1596). He likewise succeeded him as captain of the band of pensioners, being sworn of the privy council and invested with the order of the Garter.

In March 1596-7 he was appointed lord chamberlain of the household. His name is on the general commission for the suppression of schism, issued on 24 Nov. 1599. He died on 9 Sept. 1603. He married Elizabeth [see CAREY, ELIZABETH LADY], daughter of Sir John Spencer of Althorpe, knight, by whom he had an only daughter and heiress, Elizabeth [see under CAREY, LADY ELIZABETH], who married Sir Thomas Berkeley, knight, son and heir of Henry, lord Berkeley.

He was the author of: 1. Instructions and orders by him as captain-general of the Isle of Wight for the good government of the island, for the training of soldiers and firing of beacons, and agreed to by the centioners of the said isle, 20 March 1583-4; Lansdowne MS. 40, art. 8. 2. Proofs that the prize taken by his two ships did not appertain to the merchants of St. Jean de Luz; manuscripts in the State Paper Office, and Lansdowne MS. 143, f. 406. 3. Orders for the better state and strengthening of the Isle of Wight, 1586; manuscript in the State Paper Office. 4. Answer to complaints made by the States, 4 July 1589; Lansdowne MS. 145, f. 183. 5. Letters, principally on state affairs.

In 1862 miniature portraits of this Lord Hunsdon and his wife were exhibited at the South Kensington Museum, together with his exquisite jewel known as the Hunsdon onyx.

[Ames's Typogr. Antiq. (Herbert), 954, 1140, 1275; Birch's Elizabeth, ii. 282; Calendars of English State Papers; Cat. of Special Exhibition at South Kensington, 1862, pp. 188, 196, 214, 680; Cooper's Athenæ Cantab. iii. 6; Letters of Elizabeth and James VI, 1, 2; Ellis's Letters, 2nd series, iii. 97, 100; Gage's Thingoe, 104; Jardine on Torture, 29, 38, 82, 94; Lodge's Illustrations (1838), ii. 526, iii. 24; Lysons's Environs, i. 313; Murdin's State Papers, 768, 769; Nichols's Progresses of Queen Elizabeth, iii. 10, 19, 27, 449, 557; Rymer's Fœdera (1715). xvi. 291, 324, 386, 421, 446, 488; Sharp's Northern Rebellion, 116, 121; Thomas's Hist. Notes, 401, 450; Thorpe's Cal. of Scottish State Papers, 425-7, 431, 432, 463, 543, 557; Tytler's Scotland (1864), iii. 315, iv. 50, 52; Worsley's Isle of Wight, 96-107, 152, Append. No. xviii.; Wright's Elizabeth, ii. 265.] T. C.

CAREY, GEORGE JACKSON (1822-1872), major-general, was a son of Thomas Carey of Rozel, Guernsey, by his second wife, the daughter of Colonel George Jackson, Mayo militia, and M.P. county Mayo. He was born on 5 Oct. 1822, and educated at Elizabeth College, Guernsey. In July 1845 he obtained an ensigncy in the old Cape Mounted Riflemen, with which he served in the Kaffir wars of 1846-7 and 1850-2 (medal),

becoming lieutenant in April 1847, captain in October 1848, major in January 1853, and receiving brevet rank as lieutenant-colonel in May 1853 for service in the field. He became brevet-colonel in 1854, after less than nine years' army service. He served as military secretary to his uncle, Lieutenant-general Sir James Jackson, commanding the forces at the Cape during the frontier troubles of 1856-7. Afterwards he exchanged as major to the 2nd battalion 18th Royal Irish, and proceeded with that corps to New Zealand, where he served in the Maori war from August 1863 to August 1865 (medal), as colonel on the staff and brigadier-general, and commanded the expedition on the east coast to the Thames and to Tauranga. He also commanded at the siege and capture of the enemy's stronghold at Orakau, which fell after three days' continued operations. For this, one of the few successes of the war, Carey was made C.B. On 27 May 1865 William Thompson, the great Maori chief and 'king-maker,' surrendered to Carey, laying his 'tacka' at that officer's feet in token of submission to Queen Victoria. Carey was appointed to command the troops in Australia in August 1865, and acted as governor and administrator of Victoria from 7 May to 16 Aug. 1866. In December 1867 he was appointed to an infantry brigade at Aldershot; in 1868 he became major-general; and in October 1871 was transferred to the command of the northern district, with headquarters at Manchester. Carey married in 1861 the only daughter of W. Gordon Thompson of Clifton Gardens, Hyde Park, London, by whom he had four children. He died, during his tenure of the northern command, on 10 June 1872, at his residence, Whaley Grange, Manchester, and was buried at Rozel.

[Burke's Landed Gentry, vol. i.; Colonial Office Lists; Army Lists.] H. M. C.

CAREY, GEORGE SAVILLE (1743-1807), miscellaneous writer, a posthumous son of Henry Carey (*d.* 1743) [q.v.], was born a short time after his father's death, and was brought up to the trade of a printer (*Biog. Dram.* i. 86). About 1763 he resolved to go upon the stage. Garrick, Mrs. Cibber, and others encouraged him in this course (*Inoculator*, preface, p. vii). He played at Covent Garden, where William Powell did his best for him, but he failed to make his way and retired. He then wrote 'The Inoculator,' a comedy, in three acts, and 'The Cottagers,' an opera; these plays were not acted, but were published with some poems in 1766 by subscription. In 1768 Carey, under the pseudonym of Paul Tell-Truth, esq., published 'Liberty chastized; or Patriotism

in Chains, a Tragi-comi-political Farce;' and wrote 'The Nut-Brown Maid' (published in his 'Analects,' 1770). In 1769 he published 'Shakespeare's Jubilee, a Masque;' in 1770 'The Old Women Weatherwise, an Interlude,' presented at Drury Lane; 'The Magic Girdle, a Burletta,' acted at the Marylebone Gardens; 'The Noble Pedlar,' another burletta; and a collection of trifles called 'Analects in Verse and Prose, chiefly Dramatical, Satirical, and Pastoral.' Carey arranged apparently about this time a series of public entertainments at Covent Garden, the Haymarket, the Great Room in Panton Street, and other places, giving imitations of Foote, Weston, Ann Catley, and other popular actors and vocalists; and in 1776 he published a 'Lecture on Mimicry' with a portrait, followed in 1777 by 'A Rural Ramble, to which is annexed a Poetical Tagg, or Brighthelmstone Guide' (*Monthly Review*, lviii. 84). In 1787 he published 'Poetical Efforts' (*ib.* lxxviii. 244); and in 1792, 'Dupes of Fancy, or Every Man his Hobby, a Farce, in Two Acts,' performed at Pilgrim's benefit. Meanwhile he continued his entertainments at Bath, Buxton, and elsewhere. By 1797 it was rumoured that his father was the actual author of 'God save the King,' and that he himself had received a pension of 200*l.* a year on that ground (his *Balnea*, pp. 109-23). Carey announced that he had not received a pension, though his father had written the song; and he applied fruitlessly for an interview with the king to urge his claims. In 1799 came out his 'Balnea, or History of all the Popular Watering-places of England,' with another portrait, which reached a third edition in 1801. In 1800 he published 'One Thousand Eight Hundred, or I wish you a Happy New Year,' a collection of about sixty of his songs, some sung by Inledon. In 1801 he published 'The Myrtle and Vine, or Complete Vocal Library, containing several Thousands of . . . Songs . . . with an Essay on Singing and Song-writing' (advertisement on cover of 'Balnea,' 3rd ed.). In the summer of 1807 he was in London giving a series of entertainments, but he died suddenly of paralysis, aged 64, and was buried at the cost of friends (*Gent. Mag.* vol. lxxvii. pt. ii. pp. 781-782). An edition of his 'Old Women Weatherwise,' in the form of a penny or halfpenny chap-book, was printed at Hull, without a date, but believed to be as late as 1825.

[Reed's *Biog. Dram.* i. 84, 86, 87, ii. 180, 326, iii. 5, 98; *Gent. Mag.* vol. lxxvii. pt. ii. pp. 781-2, Index, vol. iii. Preface, lxxiv; *Monthly Review*, xlv. 78, lv. 76, lviii. 84, lxxviii. 244; *British Critic*, xvi. 95, 554; Carey's *Balnea* (ed. 1801), pp. 109-23, 174, and cover; Carey's *Analects*.

vol. i. Preface, pp. iii-v; Carey's Inoculator, Preface, pp. v-viii.] J. H.

**CAREY, HENRY**, first LORD HUNSDON (1524?-1596), governor of Berwick and chamberlain of Queen Elizabeth's household, born about 1524, was only son of William Carey, esquire of the body to Henry VIII, by his wife Mary, sister of Anne Boleyn and daughter of Sir Thomas Boleyn [q.v.] Through his mother he was first cousin to Queen Elizabeth. His father died of the sweating sickness in 1528, and his mother remarried Sir William Stafford, who died 19 July 1543.

Carey first comes into notice as member of parliament for Buckingham at the end of 1547; he was re-elected for the same constituency to the parliaments of April and November 1554, and of October 1555. In 1549 Edward VI granted him the manors of Little Brickhill and Burton in Buckinghamshire. He was knighted by his relative Queen Elizabeth soon after her accession, and was created Baron Hunsdon on 13 Jan. 1558-1559, receiving on 20 March following a grant of the honour of Hunsdon and manor of Eastwick in Hertfordshire, together with other lands in Kent. Hunsdon was prominent in all the court tournaments and jousts of 1559 and 1560. With Leicester he held the lists against all comers in a tournament at Greenwich 3 Nov. 1559. On 18 May 1561 he was installed a knight of the Garter and was sworn of the privy council about the same time. He also became captain of the gentlemen-pensioners. On 28 May 1564 he went to France to present the order of the Garter to the young French king Charles IX, and on 5 Aug., while in attendance on Elizabeth at Cambridge, he was created M.A. The queen lost no opportunity of testifying to her affection for her cousin. When on what she imagined to be her deathbed in 1562, she specially commended Hunsdon to the care of the council.

In August 1568 Hunsdon became warden of the east marches towards Scotland, and governor of Berwick. In September 1569 he went to Scotland to discuss the possibility of sending Mary Stuart back to her own country while excluding her from the throne. Later in the same year the outbreak of the northern rebellion threw on him a heavy responsibility. He was entrusted with the duty of protecting not only Berwick but Newcastle and the rest of Northumberland. He moved rapidly first to Doncaster (20 Nov.), thence to Hull (23 Nov.), and subsequently to York (24 Nov.), where he joined the Earl of Sussex, the commander-in-chief of the government forces. Hunsdon resisted an order (22 Jan. 1569-70) of the government to reduce the garrisons on the Scotch frontiers, which

was issued while the rebellion in the more southerly counties was unsuppressed. On 20 Feb. 1569-70, with an army of fifteen hundred men, he defeated, near Carlisle, a rebel army of twice the number of men under Leonard Dacres. He despatched a spirited account of the engagement to Sir William Cecil on the same night, and received a letter of thanks from the queen, part of which, written in her own hand, was couched in the most affectionate terms. Hunsdon was a member of the commission appointed to try the rebel leaders of the counties of York, Durham, and Cumberland, early in 1570. In the following year the queen paid him many attentions. She visited him at Hunsdon House in September; allowed him new and extensive privileges as lord of the manor of Sevenoaks, a portion of his property in Kent; and granted him further lands in Yorkshire and Derbyshire.

Meanwhile, Scotch affairs occupied him in the north, and he was directed to grant all assistance in his power to James against the supporters of his dethroned mother. In May 1572 he prayed Lord Burghley to procure his recall from Berwick, on the ground that his salary was unpaid, and that his private resources could not endure the constant calls which his office made on them. In the following month the Scots handed over to him Thomas Percy, earl of Northumberland, who had escaped from England while charges of treason were pending against him. Hunsdon was directed to bring the earl to York and there to have him executed, but he declined to convey him beyond Alnwick, the boundary of his jurisdiction. He wrote to Burghley urging the lord treasurer to obtain the earl's pardon, but he was compelled finally to surrender the earl to Sir John Forster, who hanged him at York on 22 Aug. 1572. Hunsdon rigorously suppressed marauding on the borders, and according to popular report he took as much delight in hanging Scotch thieves as most men take in hawking or hunting. On 24 May 1580 he was appointed a commissioner for the redress of grievances on the border; six months later he became captain-general of the forces on the border, and was at Newcastle in January 1580-1. He wrote to Walsingham at the time that he declined to interfere further in Scotch affairs, since his advice was systematically neglected. He desired permission to visit the queen and to look after his private affairs.

Hunsdon, still on good terms with Elizabeth, gave her every new year very valuable presents. He favoured her projected marriage with the Duc d'Anjou, and was present at the consultations respecting it held in Octo-

ber 1579. He escorted the duke to Antwerp in February 1581-2. About June 1583 Elizabeth showed her respect for him by making him lord chamberlain of her household in succession to the Earl of Sussex. But his neglect of his office in the north and frequent absence from Berwick angered Elizabeth in the following year. His son Robert reported to his father that in a torrent of passion she threatened 'to set him by his feet' and send another in his place. Hunsdon once again explained to Lord Burghley (8 June 1584) that his salary was in arrears, that his soldiers and servants were in want of food and clothing, and that he had done his duty as well as man could under such disheartening conditions. This storm soon blew over, and on 14 Aug. of the same year Hunsdon received the Earl of Arran at Berwick, with a view to renewing the old league between England and Scotland. A little later he resisted the order to put some exiled Scottish noblemen—who declined to recognise James VI's authority—in possession of the island of Lindisfarne. Hunsdon argued that the disaffected noblemen would prove dangerous neighbours for England, and be likely to imperil Elizabeth's amicable relations with James VI. The Scottish king made similar representations; Walsingham finally acknowledged the justice of Hunsdon's arguments, and permitted him to evade the order. Hunsdon attended the meeting of the Star-chamber on 23 June 1585, when the treasons of Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland, who had shot himself in the Tower, were formally published. In October 1586 he was at Fotheringay as one of the commissioners for the trial of Mary Queen of Scots.

The execution of Queen Mary nearly precipitated a breach with the king of Scotland, and in April 1589 Hunsdon was deputed to proceed to Scotland on the delicate mission of placing the relations between James and Elizabeth on a friendly footing. James talked freely to the English ambassador of the tempting offers made him by Spain if he would declare against the English alliance, but he readily consented to reject them in Elizabeth's favour. Hunsdon was not, however, well impressed by James or by James's court. He wrote to Elizabeth from Berwick 24 Oct. 1587 that the king was quite capable of deceiving her, and that the company about him were 'maliciously bent against your highness.' Full powers were given Hunsdon to maintain 'the good intelligence' between the two realms, and in December 1587 James sent Sir John Carmichael to Berwick to renew proffers of friendship. Elizabeth rewarded Hunsdon's successful diplomacy with the

office of lord warden-general of the marches of England towards Scotland, and keeper of Tinsdale (31 Aug. 1589). A grant of a part of the temporalities of the see of Durham followed, and a rumour was abroad that Hunsdon was about to be created count palatine.

The need of preparing to resist the Spanish Armada brought Hunsdon to the south, and a force of 36,000, formed to act as the queen's body-guard, was placed under his command at Tilbury Fort. In 1590 he, with Lord Burghley and Lord Howard of Effingham, was appointed commissioner for executing the office of earl marshal, and in 1591, with Lord Howard of Effingham and Lord Buckhurst, negotiated an alliance with France. Many other duties were placed upon him during the last years of his life. He was commissioner for the trials of William Parry, D.D., 20 Feb. 1584-5; of Philip, earl of Arundel, 14 April 1589; of Sir John Perrot (for treasonable correspondence with Spain), 20 March 1591-2; and of Patrick O'Cullen (for the like offence), 21 Feb. 1593-4. He also held the office of chief justice of the forests south of the Trent, and master of the game of Hyde Park; he was elected recorder of Cambridge 25 April 1590, high steward of Ipswich 11 Sept. following, and high steward of Doncaster in October.

Hunsdon died on 23 July 1596 at Somerset House, the use of which the queen had granted him. Fuller reports the story that his death was caused by disappointment at not being created earl of Wiltshire, the title borne by his maternal grandfather, Sir Thomas Boleyn [q. v.]. It is said that the queen visited him during his last illness and presented him with the patent of the new title and the robes of an earl, but that Hunsdon declined both on the ground that honours of which the queen deemed him unworthy in his lifetime were not worthy of his acceptance on his deathbed. He was buried in Westminster Abbey on 12 Aug. at the queen's expense. His wife and heir erected above his tomb an elaborate monument to his memory.

Although Hunsdon's achievements are few, and his office in the north did not allow him to reside regularly at court, he contrived to be present at most of the state ceremonies of the time, and his position as chamberlain and his intimacy with the queen gave him much influence when in attendance on his sovereign. Straightforward and rough in speech and conduct, he held himself aloof from the factions which divided the noblemen and statesmen of the day; professional courtiers feared him, but soldiers respected and loved him. He lacked most of the literary culture of his class,

but according to Gerard he took a deep interest in botany. The British Museum possesses a copy of 'Froissart' (Paris, 1513), which contains a few manuscript notes in Carey's handwriting together with entries of the dates of most of his children's births.

Hunsdon married Anne, daughter of Sir Thomas Morgan, knight, of Arkestone, Herefordshire, by whom he had seven sons and three daughters. His eldest son, George [q. v.], became second Lord Hunsdon. His second son, John [q. v.], became third lord. Of his younger sons, two named Thomas, and a fifth, William, died young. Edmund, the sixth son, was knighted by Leicester in the Netherlands in 1587. The youngest son, Robert [q. v.], was created earl of Monmouth. Hunsdon's eldest daughter, Catherine, married Charles Howard, earl of Nottingham; the second daughter became the wife of Thomas, lord Scrope, and the third of Sir Edward Hoby.

A miniature portrait of Hunsdon by Nicholas Hilliard was sold at the Strawberry Hill sale to the Duke of Buckingham. At Knole House, Sevenoaks, is a painting of a procession of the queen and her court going (1580) to Hunsdon House. Lord Hunsdon and his wife are prominent figures in the picture, which was engraved by Vertue in 1742.

Many of Hunsdon's official letters and papers are at the Public Record Office, the British Museum, and Hatfield.

[Cooper's *Athenæ Cantab.* ii. 213-19; Cal. State Papers, temp. Eliz.; Froude's *Hist. of England*; Naunton's *Fragmenta Regalia*; Lloyd's *Worthies*; Fuller's *Worthies*; Birch's *Memoirs of Elizabeth*; Nicolas's *Life of Christopher Hatton*; Burke's *Extinct Peerage*; *Biog. Brit.*; Granger's *Biog. Hist.* i. 180, 194, 285.] S. L. L.

**CAREY, HENRY**, second EARL OF MONMOUTH (1596-1661), translator, eldest son of Robert Carey, first earl [q. v.], by Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Hugh Trevannion of Trigg Minor, Cornwall, and widow of Sir Henry Widdrington of Swynburne Magna, Northumberland (?), was born at Denham, Buckinghamshire, in January 1595-6. He appears to have spent his childhood at the various places of residence which his father occupied from time to time on the borders [see CAREY, ROBERT, first EARL OF MONMOUTH], but after the death of Queen Elizabeth he lived in the atmosphere of the court. He entered as a fellow commoner at Exeter College, Oxford, during Lent term 1611, and took the B.A. degree in February 1613. He spent the next three years in travelling on the continent and in acquiring that knowledge of foreign languages for which he became afterwards so distinguished. Returning to England during the autumn of 1616

he was one of twenty-six personages—and the only one of the number whose father was not a nobleman—who were made knights of the Bath in November of that year on the occasion of Charles being created prince of Wales. He showed no inclination for the life of a courtier, and his parents busied themselves during the next year or two in making for their son some advantageous alliance. After feebly objecting to more than one of the proposals, he was at last married in 1620 to Martha, eldest daughter of Sir Lionel Cranfield, who eventually became earl of Middlesex and lord treasurer of England. From this time he seems to have lived in retirement among his books in the country. His father's death in 1639 and his consequent succession to the earldom made little change in his habits. Only once does he appear to have come forward to take part in the conflicts of the turbulent times, when he spoke in the House of Lords in June 1641 on the bill for depriving the bishops of their seats in parliament. When Charles I issued the famous declaration and profession in June 1642, Monmouth's name appears among the signatures, but from this time he retired from all political life, and henceforth till his death he was busily engaged in translating various works from the Italian and French, and letting the world go by him as if he had no interest in its concerns. The truth is that he had inherited none of the immense physical vigour and energy of his father and grandfather, and if he had any ambition there is no evidence to show that his abilities were at all more than respectable. Walpole's judgment upon him is probably correct: 'Though there are several large volumes translated by him, we have scarce anything of his own composition, and are as little acquainted with his character as with his genius.' His earliest published work was 'Romulus and Tarquin, or de Principe et Tyranno,' translated from the Italian of the Marquis Valezzi (12mo, 1637). His latest was the 'History of Venice,' by Paul Paruta, folio, 1658. He was engaged in translating Giraldo Piorato's 'History of France' at the time of his death, which occurred at Rickmansworth in Hertfordshire, 13 June 1661.

He had a family of ten children, two sons and eight daughters. Of the sons, Lionel, the elder, was slain at the battle of Marston Moor in 1644, and was unmarried; the younger, Henry, fell a victim to the small-pox in 1649, leaving one son behind him, who died in May 1653, and who was the last heir to the earldom. His lordship's only brother, Thomas, had died without male issue, 9 April 1634.

[Memoirs of Robert Carey, Earl of Monmouth, written by himself; Banks's Dormant and Extinct Baronage, 4to, 1809, iii. 619 seq.; Birch's Court and Times of James I, ii. 149, 156, &c.; Walpole's Royal and Noble Authors; Wood's Athenæ Oxon. (Bliss), (the last two works contain long lists of his lordship's printed works); Colonel Chester's Westminster Abbey Registers.] A. J.

CAREY, HENRY (*d.* 1743), poet and musician, is said to have been an illegitimate son of George Savile, the famous marquis of Halifax, who died in 1695. Carey, in the preface to his first volume of poems, in 1713, speaks of himself as still very young. His mother probably was a schoolmistress, as a 'Pastoral Eclogue' in that volume is described as 'performed at Mrs. Carey's school by several of her scholars.' He afterwards taught music in boarding schools. Pope told Spence that Carey was one of Addison's 'little senate' about this period. Carey himself says that 'the divine Addison' had been pleased more than once to praise his best known poem, 'Sally in our Alley' (*Poems*, 1729). Carey tells us in the same place that the poem owed its origin to his having 'dodged' a 'prentice treating his mistress to various London amusements. Carey became known as the author of many vivacious poems which were handed about in manuscript. He complains (*Stage Tyrants*) that 'Sally in our Alley' and 'Namy-Pamy,' composed in ridicule of Ambrose Philips, were thought too good to be his, and says that Pope vindicated his claim to the latter. He was also the author of successful farces and of the songs in the 'Provoked Husband' and elsewhere. He occasionally composed the music himself. He describes himself as a disciple of Geminiani and Roseingrave, and says that he owed his first knowledge to the friendly instructions of O. W. Linnert. Miss Rafter, afterwards Mrs. Clive [q. v.], first appeared at his benefit in 1730, when she sang a cantata by him, and when, according to a contemporary account, a procession of musicians, with all the instruments invented since Tubal Cain, marched from the Haymarket, and were joined by authors and printers' devils at Temple Bar, and by painters at Covent Garden, whence the whole body marched to Drury Lane. He produced other very successful burlesques, ridiculing the Italian opera, birthday odes burlesquing Cibber, and other occasional pieces. He was a lively companion, and often, it seems, in difficulties. It is said that he received a pension from the Savile family until his death. He died suddenly, Hawkins says by his own hand, on 4 Oct. 1743. Contem-

porary records only say that he rose in good health and 'was soon after found dead.' A benefit performance for his widow and four small children was given at Drury Lane on 17 Nov. 1743.

Mr. Cummings states (*Notes and Queries*, 5th series, ix. 160) that he possesses over two hundred works published by Carey. The following is a list of his chief publications: 1. 'Poems on several Occasions,' 1713. 2. Same title, 1720. 3. Same, called 'third edition, much enlarged,' 1729. Each of these differs greatly from its predecessors. The third edition includes 'Namy-Pamy' and 'Sally in our Alley,' the last published separately about 1715. 4. 'The Contrivances,' 1715; acted at Drury Lane, 9 Aug. 1715. 5. 'Hanging and Marriage,' a farce, 1722 (Lincoln's Inn Fields, 15 March 1722). 6. 'Poems occasioned by Gulliver's Travels,' 1727. 7. Six cantatas, 1732. 8. 'Teraminta,' an opera, music by J. C. Smith, 1732 (Lincoln's Inn Fields, 20 Oct. 1732). 9. 'Amelia,' an opera, music by J. F. Lampe, 1732. 10. Songs in 'Cephalus and Procris,' Drury Lane, 1733. 11. 'Chrononhotonthologos,' 'the most tragical tragedy ever yet tragedised,' a very amusing burlesque, phrases of which are still familiar, first performed at the Haymarket 22 Feb. 1734. Fielding's 'Tom Thumb,' produced in 1730, is in some degree its model. 12. 'The Wonder; or, an Honest Yorkshireman,' a ballad opera, 1735, performed for one night (11 July 1735) at Lincoln's Inn Fields, and afterwards for many nights at the Haymarket and Goodman's Fields. Published in two editions in 1736. 13. 'Stage Tyrants,' an epistle to Lord Chesterfield, occasioned by the rejection of the 'Honest Yorkshireman' at Drury Lane, 1735. 14. 'The Dragon of Wantley,' a burlesque opera, music by J. F. Lampe. This was first produced 26 Oct. 1737, suspended for a time by the death of Queen Caroline on 29 Nov., and had a run of sixty-seven nights. 15. 'Margery; or, a Worse Plague than the Dragon,' by the same authors, produced 9 Dec. 1738, a sequel and failure. 16. 'Nancy; or, the Parting Lovers,' 1739, an interlude, with music by the author. Revived in 1755 as 'The Pressgang,' and afterwards as 'True Blue.' 17. 'A Musical Century; or, a Hundred English Ballads,' as a collection of separately printed pieces, 1737; new edit. 1740; third, 1743. 18. 'Dramatic Works' (published by subscription), 1743, includes 'Teraminta,' 'Amelia,' 'Chrononhotonthologos,' 'The Honest Yorkshireman,' 'The Dragon,' 'The Dragoness' (Margery), and 'Nancy.'

Carey has been credited with the author-



ship of 'God save the Queen.' The first known publication of this was in the 'Harmonia Anglicana,' 1742, where it is anonymous. Carey did not include it in his 'Century.' It first became popular after his death, during the rebellion of 1745. The actor Victor describes the performance in a contemporary letter to Garrick (*Victor's Letters*, 1776, i. 118), and says that it was an old anthem sung in the chapel of James II when William III was expected. Arne arranged it for Drury Lane, and Burney for Covent Garden. Burney told Isaac D'Israeli that the authorship was unknown, and gives the same account of its origin as Victor (*Gent. Mag.* for 1814, pt. ii, p. 100). Fifty years later, Carey's son, George Saville Carey [q. v.], claimed it for his father in order to justify a request for a pension. His only authority was J. C. Smith, who told Dr. Harington of Bath, on 13 June 1795, that Henry Carey had brought it to him in order to correct the bass. Smith was the friend of Handel, and had [see above] been a collaborator with Carey (G. S. CAREY, *Balnea* (1801), 111-15, and *Gent. Mag.* for 1795, p. 544). A Mr. Townshend is said to have told John Ashley of Bath, who told W. L. Bowles in 1828, that he had heard Carey sing the anthem at a tavern on occasion of Vernon's capture of Portobello in 1740 (see also *Gent. Mag.* for 1796, pt. ii. 1075). Some internal evidence in favour of Carey is suggested in Bowles's 'Life of Ken,' but the improbability that Carey should have left the authorship unclaimed, that his family should not have claimed it when it became so popular, and that Arne (to whom he must have been well known) and Burney should have been unable to discover the authorship at the time, seems to overbalance the small probability of the much later statements, which, moreover, if accepted, do not establish Carey's authorship. A full discussion of the authorship will be found in W. Chappell's 'Collection of National Airs,' pp. 83, 93; W. Chappell's 'Popular Music of the Olden Time,' ii. 691; and in a series of articles by W. H. Cummings in the 'Musical Times' from March to August 1878.

Carey had a genuine vein of playful fancy, which makes his burlesques still amusing, though the admirable 'Sally in our Alley' is his best known performance. A portrait by Worsdale was engraved by Faber (1729). He was great-grandfather, by his son G. S. Carey, of Edmund Kean.

[Rees's Cyclopædia (art. 'Carey,' by Burney); Hawkins's Hist. of Music (1853), 827 (with portrait by Worsdale); *Gent. Mag.* for 1795, pt. ii. 544, 907, 991; 1836, pt. i. 594, pt. ii. 141, 369; Notes and Queries, 1st series, vii. 95, xii. 193;

2nd series, ii. 413, vii. 64, ix. 126; 5th series, ix. 160, 180; Genest's History of the Stage, ii. 558, 559, iii. 81, 355, 463, 471, 482, 547, 586, x. 258; Biog. Dramatica; Clark's Words of Pieces . . . at the Glee Club (1814); Cox's Anecdotes of J. C. Smith; Bowles's Life of Ken, ii. 283; Grove's Dict. of Music (arts. 'Carey' and 'God save the King').] L. S.

CAREY, JAMES (1845-1883), Fenian and informer, was son of Francis Carey, a bricklayer, who came from Celbridge, in Kildare, to Dublin, where his son was born in James Street in 1845. He also was a bricklayer, and for eighteen years continued in the employment of Mr. Michael Meade, builder, Dublin. He then commenced business on his own account as a builder at Denzille Street, Dublin. In this venture he was successful; he became the leading spokesman of his trade and obtained several large building contracts. During all this period Carey was engaged in a nationalist conspiracy, but to outward appearance he was one of the rising men of Dublin. It is curious to learn that at the moment when Carey was a leading spirit in the conspiracy for the emancipation of Ireland he was making money by subletting a large number of tenement houses, which he rented from his former employer and relet to the poor. Every one believed in his piety and public spirit; there was hardly a society of the popular or religious kind of which he did not become a member, and at one time he was spoken of as a possible lord mayor. In 1882 he was elected a town councillor of Dublin, not on political grounds, but, as he himself said, 'solely for the good of the working men of the city.' About 1861 he had joined the Fenian conspiracy, and soon after became treasurer of the 'Irish republican brotherhood.' This band held court-martials and passed sentences, but up to 1879 informers only were attacked. In 1881 the conspirators, one of whose sections assumed the title of the Invincibles, established their headquarters in Dublin, and Carey took an oath as one of the leaders. The object of the Invincibles was 'to remove all tyrants from the country,' and several attempts, but without success, were made to assassinate Earl Cowper and Mr. W. E. Forster. 'No. 1,' the secret head of the association, then gave orders to kill Mr. Thomas Henry Burke [q. v.], the under-secretary to the lord-lieutenant, and on 6 May 1882 nine of the conspirators proceeded to the Phoenix Park, where Carey, while sitting on a jaunting-car, pointed out Mr. Burke to the others, who at once attacked and killed him with knives, and at the same time also despatched Lord Frederick

Cavendish [q. v.], the newly appointed chief secretary, who happened to be walking with Mr. Burke. For a long time no clue could be found to the perpetrators of the act; but on 13 Jan. 1883 Carey was arrested in his own house, and, with sixteen other persons, charged with a conspiracy to murder public officials. When arrested he was erecting a mortuary chapel in the South Dublin Union, and the work was then carried on by his brother, Peter Carey. On 13 Feb. Carey turned queen's evidence, betrayed the complete details of the Fenian organisation and of the murders in the Phoenix Park, and by his evidence was the means of causing the public execution of five of his late associates. His life being in great danger, he was secretly, with his wife and family, put on board the Kinfauns Castle, bound for the Cape, and sailed on 6 July under the name of Power. The Invincibles, however, discovered the secret, and sent on board the same ship a person called Patrick O'Donnell, a bricklayer. He followed his victim on board the *Melrose* in the voyage from Cape Town to Natal, and when the vessel was twelve miles off Cape Vaccas, on 29 July 1883, shot Carey dead. O'Donnell was brought to England and tried for an ordinary murder, without any reference to his Fenian connection, and being found guilty was executed at Newgate on 17 Dec., without making any statement as to his associates in the planning of the murder. Carey married in 1865 Margaret McKenny, who with several children survived him.

[*Pall Mall Gazette*, 31 July 1883, pp. 10-12; *Times*, 1 and 3 Dec. 1883; *Annual Register*, 1883, pp. 192-8; *Graphic*, xxvii. 200, 273, with portraits, and xxviii. 112, with portrait (1883); *Illustrated London News*, lxxxii. 193, with portrait (1883).  
G. C. B.

CAREY, JOHN, third LORD HUNSDON (*d.* 1617), second son of Henry, first lord Hunsdon [q. v.], was deputy warden of the eastern marches under his father, and marshal of Berwick, where he proclaimed James I king of England (NICHOLS, *Progresses*, i. 50), when his brother Sir Robert Carey [q. v.] rode northwards with the news of Queen Elizabeth's death. He was much esteemed by James I, and appears to have conducted some diplomatic business between the king and Queen Elizabeth with rare sagacity and tact. His brother Sir Robert mentions him once or twice in his autobiographical memoirs, and always with respect, though he had little to thank him for in the bargain the brothers made for the possession of Norham Castle. On the death of his brother George, second lord Hunsdon [q. v.], without male issue, he succeeded to the title

in September 1603 (*ib.* p. 263). His name appears occasionally in the court pageants of James I's reign. He married Mary, daughter of Leonard Hyde of Throcking, Hertfordshire, and, dying in April 1617, left behind two sons, Henry and Charles, of whom the elder, Henry, succeeded to the title, and became subsequently Viscount Rochfort and Earl of Dover.

[*Memoirs of Sir Robert Carey*; *Nichols's Progresses of King James I*; *Banks's Dormant and Extinct Baronage*; *Calendar of State Papers, Scotland, 1509-1603.*]  
A. J.

CAREY, JOHN, LL.D. (1756-1826), classical scholar, brother of Mathew Carey, author of the '*Vindicia Hibernicæ*,' [q. v.], and of William Paulet Carey [q. v.], was born in Ireland in 1756. At the age of twelve he was sent to finish his education in a French university. He spent some time in the United States about 1789, and afterwards passed many years in London as a teacher of the classics, French, and shorthand. He died at Prospect Place, Lambeth, 8 Dec. 1826, from calculus, the last years of his life having been embittered by distressing complaints.

Carey was editor of the early numbers of the '*School Magazine*,' published by Phillips, and a frequent contributor to the '*Monthly*' and '*Gentleman's*' magazines. In the former journal in 1803 he made a suggestion for enabling persons on shore to give assistance to distressed vessels by means of shooting a wooden ball from a mortar, an idea subsequently conceived and carried out independently by Captain G. M. Manby, for which invention Manby was rewarded by government. Carey brought out a new edition of Dryden's '*Virgil*,' 1803, 3 vols. 8vo, and again in 1819; two editions of Ainsworth's '*Latin Dictionary*' in 4to, and five of the abridgment of the same; the '*Gradus ad Parnassum*' in 1824; the Latin '*Common Prayer*' in Bagster's polyglot edition; '*Rupert's Commentarius in Livium*,' and a revision of Schleusner's '*New Testament Lexicon*' (1826). He likewise edited more than fifty volumes of the '*Regent Latin Classics*' published by Baldwin. He was the compiler of the valuable '*General Index to the Monthly Review from 1790 to 1816*' (2 vols. 1818), and translated Bitaubé's '*Batavians*,' Madame de Staël's '*Young Emigrants*,' Lehmen's '*Letters on Switzerland*,' and others. In 1810 he published a story for children called '*Learning better than House and Land*,' which went through several editions. His school-books were popular in their day and generally praised for accuracy and scholarly qualities. Among them are: 1. '*Latin Prosody made Easy*,' 1800; new

edition 1812. 2. 'Practical English Prosody and Versification,' 1809. 3. 'Alphabetic Key to the Propria quæ maribus,' 1812. 4. 'Introduction to English Composition and Elocution,' 1817. 5. 'Clavis Metrico-Virgiliana,' 1818. 6. 'Eton Latin Prosody illustrated,' 1818. 7. 'Greek Terminations,' 1821. 8. 'Latin Terminations,' 1821. He published also a small volume of poems, with a portrait prefixed.

[Rose's Biog. Dict.; Biog. Dict. of Living Authors (1816), p. 54; Webb's Compendium of Irish Biography (1878), p. 73; Watt's Bibl. Brit.; London Catal. of Books from 1814-46; Boase and Courtney's Bibl. Cornubiensis, i. 68; private information.] C. W. S.

**CAREY, MATHEW** (1760-1839), bookseller, was born at Dublin 28 Jan. 1760, the son of a prosperous baker. He was a dull boy, but became a voracious reader of novels and romances. At about fifteen years of age he was apprenticed to a bookseller; at seventeen he produced his first essay, published in the 'Hibernian Journal,' on duelling. In 1779 he wrote a pamphlet urging the repeal of the penal code against catholics. A prosecution was threatened, and Carey was put on board the Holyhead packet with a little money and a letter of introduction to Franklin. Carey remained with Dr. Franklin in Paris for some months, and subsequently for a short period with the younger Didot. He returned to Dublin, and conducted for some time the 'Freeman's Journal.' In 1783 his father gave him the means of establishing a paper of his own, 'The Volunteer's Journal,' which soon acquired a very decided influence on public opinion, suiting the heated temper of the time. At length (April 1784) proceedings were taken against the proprietor, who was thrown into prison. He was also charged with a libel on the Irish premier, John Foster. On being released from prison at the end of the parliamentary session, with an *ex-officio* information still hanging over his head, he disposed of his newspaper, and sailed for Philadelphia.

From a fellow-passenger who had letters of introduction to Lafayette, the latter learned that 'Carey the persecuted printer' had arrived by the same boat. Lafayette now provided him with sufficient means to enable him to start in business. Forty years later, when Lafayette visited America, Carey repaid the 400 dollars. Carey immediately issued proposals for establishing the 'Pennsylvania Herald.' The first number was issued on 25 Jan. 1785. In August he undertook reporting the debates in the House of Assembly. This was so well done, that it gave an advantage for

his paper over all competitors. Carey fought his only duel with another journalist, and a wound laid him up for more than a year. In October 1786 he began, in partnership with others, the 'Columbia Magazine.' He soon withdrew, and in January 1787 issued the first number of the 'American Museum,' which became very popular, but did not pay, and was discontinued at the end of 1792. About this time Carey married Miss Flahavan. He now started a bookselling and printing business. In 1793 he sat on the committee of health appointed in consequence of an outbreak of yellow fever. About the same time he started an association called the Hibernian Society for the Relief of Emigrants from Ireland, of which he was secretary for many years. In 1796 he helped to form a Sunday school society, which he alleges to be the first started in America. About this time William Cobbett was actively employed in Philadelphia. He had a paper war with Carey, of which specimens will be found in Peter Porcupine's works; in 'A Plumb-Pudding for the Humane, Chaste, Valiant, Enlightened Peter Porcupine, by his obliged friend, Mathew Carey,' and in 'The Porcupiniad, a Hudibrastic Poem,' in which Carey has versified some of Cobbett's paragraphs with very little verbal alteration. In 1798 Carey repudiated the charge of being a 'United Irishman.'

Carey published American editions of Guthrie's 'Geography' and Goldsmith's 'Animated Nature,' and in 1801 a quarto Bible. From 1802 to 1805 Carey was a director of the Bank of Pennsylvania. Among his other enterprises was the attempt to establish an annual book fair on the plan of that at Leipzig, to be held alternately at New York and Philadelphia. It was discontinued after a few years' trial. Carey's position now enabled him to influence many public questions. In 1814 he published 'The Olive Branch, or Faults on both sides, Federal and Democratic, &c.' Ten editions were struck off in little more than three years. Carey had always the wrongs of Ireland on his mind. On reading Godwin's 'Mandeville,' in which the alleged atrocities of 1641 are largely illustrated, he at once sat down to prepare a work vindicating the Irish from such charges. After much labour and expense he published in 1819 'Vindiciæ Hibernicæ, or Ireland vindicated.' An attempt to develop and expose a few of the multifarious errors and falsehoods respecting Ireland in the histories of May, Temple, Whitelock, Borlase, Rushworth, Clarendon, Cox, Carte, Leland, Warner, [Catherine] Macaulay, Hume, and others.' No sooner was this labour off his

hands than Carey began to appear as a political economist. He advocated protection for American native industry, and produced many tracts in support of his theories. He associated with some other Philadelphia citizens in the formation of a society for the promotion of national industry, which helped to circulate his pamphlets gratuitously.

Carey retired from business in 1824. During the latter portion of his life he continued to take active part in works of public charity and utility, in promoting education, and the construction of roads, canals, and other public works. In 1832 he made the liberal offer of endowing a chair of political economy in the university of Maryland, which was, however, not accepted. His death occurred in September 1839. Besides the above-mentioned, Carey published a selection of pieces in prose and verse, which had already appeared in the 'Columbia Magazine'; 'A Short Account of the Malignant Fever lately prevalent in Philadelphia' (1793); 'Essays on Political Economy' (1822); 'Thoughts on Penitentiaries and Prison Discipline' (1831); 'Letters on the Colonization Society' (which reached a twelfth edition in 1838); 'Female Wages and Female Oppression' (1835); and a host of tracts and other ephemeral writings, the mere titles of which occupy four closely printed pages in Sabin's 'Dictionary of Books relating to America' (iii. 338-42). He was father of Henry C. Carey, well known as an American economist.

[New England Magazine, v. 405, 489, vi. 60, 93, 227, 306, 400, vii. 61, 145, 239, 320, 401, 481 (autobiographical); Hunt's Merchant's Magazine, 1839, f. 429; Duyckinck's Cyclo. of Amer. Literature, i. f. 667; American Almanack, 1841, f. 275; Niles's Register, xx. 345, xxxiv. 337; Porcupine's Works, iv. 53, x. 59, 60; Janson's The Stranger in America (1807), 418, 419; William Cobbett, a biography (1873); One Hundred Years of Publishing, 1785-1885.]

E. S.

CAREY, PATRICK. [See CAREY.]

CAREY, ROBERT, first EARL OF MONMOUTH (1560-1639), seventh and youngest son of Henry Carey, first lord Hunsdon [q. v.], was born about 1560, for he states that he was 'upon sixty-three years of age' when he followed Prince Charles to Spain in 1623 (*Memoirs*, p. 157). At the age of seventeen he accompanied Sir Thomas Layton in his embassy to the Netherlands, and four years later formed part of the suite sent by Elizabeth to attend the Duke of Alençon when he undertook the government of the Low Countries. In 1586, and again in the parliaments of 1588 and 1593,

he represented Morpeth. In 1587 he stole away from court with the Earl of Cumberland to take part in the attempts to relieve Sluys, and spent a few months in active military service. In the next year he served against the Spanish armada as a gentleman volunteer. It is stated by Park that Carey's portrait was among those of the English commanders in the tapestry of the House of Lords. In Essex's expedition to Normandy in 1591 Carey commanded first a troop and then a regiment, and took part in the siege of Rouen. But it was rather as a courtier than a soldier that he distinguished himself, although Lloyd speaks of his 'uncourtly temper,' and asserts that his share of the family candour prevented his success (*State Worthies*, p. 794). 'I lived in court,' says Carey, 'had small means of my friends, and yet God so blessed me that I was ever able to keep company with the best. In all triumphs I was one; either at tilt, tourney, or barriers, in masque or balls; I kept men and horses far above my rank, and so continued a long time.' In short, as his cousin, the Earl of Suffolk, afterwards told James I, 'there was none in the queen's court that lived in a better fashion than he did' (*Memoirs*, p. 145). What most distinguished him, however, was that 'he exceeded in making choice of what he wore to be handsome and comely.' These characteristics recommended him to the notice and favour of James I when he attended Walsingham into Scotland (1583). 'It pleased the king at that time to take such a liking of me, as he wrote earnestly to the queen at our return to give me leave to come back to him again, to attend him at his court, assuring her majesty I should not repent my attendance' (*ib.* p. 7). For this reason Carey was chosen to explain to James Elizabeth's innocence of Mary's execution, but he was not allowed even to cross the border. On two subsequent occasions, however, in 1588 and 1593, he proved a more successful negotiator. Essex found Carey's skilful intercession effective with Elizabeth when all his friends in court and all her council could not move her from her resolution to recall him from Normandy (1591). For this service he knighted Carey, and told him that 'when he had need of one to plead for him he would never use any other orator' (*ib.* pp. 28-33). About 1593 Carey married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Hugh Trevannion; she appears to have been the widow of some member of the family of Widdrington. She brought him very little money, and 'the queen was mightily offended' with him for marrying (*ib.* p. 51). He regained her favour only after 'a stormy and terrible encounter,'

by means of an ingenious excuse, a courtly device, and an important piece of service (*Memoirs*, pp. 51-6). For the last ten years of Elizabeth's reign Carey was employed in the government of the border, of which he gives in his 'Memoirs' a very graphic description. In the first place he was appointed by Lord Scrope deputy-warden of the west marches (1593), and after that by his father, Lord Hunsdon, deputy-warden of the east marches and captain of Norham Castle (1595). On the death of Lord Hunsdon in the summer of 1596 he succeeded to his father's post, although it was not formally granted him till 20 Nov. 1597 (*Cal. S. P. Dom.*) In February 1598 he was superseded by Lord Willoughby (BERTIE, *Five Generations of a Loyal House*, p. 324), but, after a little delay, accepted the office of warden of the middle march, which he held until the accession of James I. In the parliaments of 1597-8 and 1601 he represented Northumberland (29 May 1598, April 1603, DOYLE). In March 1603 Carey made a flying visit to the court, and thus became a spectator of Elizabeth's last illness, which he carefully observed and described. He speedily became alarmed for his own fortunes, remembering that most of his livelihood depended on her life. At the same time he called to mind the favour with which the King of Scots had treated him, and determined to inform him at once of the queen's state. 'I did assure myself it was neither unjust nor dishonest for me to do for myself, if God at that time should call her to his mercy' (*Memoirs*, p. 118). Accordingly, on 19 March 1603 a messenger from Carey arrived at Edinburgh 'to give King James assurance that the queen could not outlive three days at most, and that he stayed only at court to bring them the first news of her death, and had horses placed all the way to make him speed in his post' (*Correspondence of James VI with Sir Robert Cecil*, Camden Society, p. 49). Elizabeth died early on the morning of the 24th, and Carey, in spite of the prohibition of the council, started about nine, and by hard riding reached Holyrood late on the 26th. His conduct in thus hastening to make profit out of the death of his kinswoman and benefactress has been deservedly censured. 'It hath set so wide a mark of ingratitude on him,' writes Weldon, 'that it will remain to posterity a greater blot than the honour he obtained afterwards will ever wipe out' (*Secret History of the Court of James I*, i. 314). James rewarded Carey by appointing him one of the gentlemen of his bedchamber, but on the king's coming to England he was discharged from that post and disappointed in the promises made to

him. This was probably caused by the representation addressed to the king by the council, in which Carey's conduct was stigmatised as 'contrary to such commandments as we had power to lay upon him, and to all decency, good manners, and respect' (*Letter of the Council*, 24 March, quoted by Orrery). Fortunately, however, Lady Carey obtained a post in the queen's household, and soon after obtained the charge of Prince Charles. Carey succeeded in selling the life government of Norham for 6,000*l.*, his wife obtained a suit worth 5,000*l.*, his daughter became one of the maids of honour to the Princess Elizabeth, and he himself governor of the household of Prince Charles (23 Feb. 1605). When, in 1611, that prince obtained a larger establishment, Carey, after a struggle with Sir James Fullarton, succeeded in becoming his master of the robes, remarking that, if he had skill in anything, he thought he could tell how to make good clothes. When Charles was created Prince of Wales, Carey became his chamberlain (8 March 1617, *S. P. Dom.*, xc. 105), and at length, on 6 Feb. 1622, was created Baron of Leppington. In the following year he was appointed to follow Prince Charles to Spain, in charge of the servants sent after him by James. When Charles ascended the throne, Carey was consoled for the loss of his chamberlainship by the grant of fee farms, rents in perpetuity to the value of 500*l.* a year, and by being created earl of Monmouth (7 Feb. 1626). With his attainment of the height of a courtier's ambition Carey closes his 'Memoirs.' His death took place on 12 April 1639 (certificate of John Ryley, Bluemantle, *Cal. S. P. Dom.*) Carey's 'Memoirs' were first published in 1759 by the Earl of Cork and Orrery. Walpole, in his 'Royal and Noble Authors,' had urged their printing, and Birch had published in 1749 the portion relating to the death of Queen Elizabeth (*Historical View of the Negotiations from 1592 to 1617*). A fourth edition, with notes by Sir Walter Scott, was printed in 1808.

[*Memoirs*, ed. 1808; Walpole's *Royal and Noble Authors*, ed. Park; *Calendar of Domestic State Papers*; Doyle's *Official Baronage*. The yet uncalendered portion of the Cecil Papers contains several of Carey's letters; there are others in the Border Papers in the Record Office. Lloyd gives a short notice of Carey in his *State Worthies*; Campion has an epigram on him; and some details with respect to his Spanish journey may be gathered from Wynne's *Brief Relation of the Journey of the Prince's Servants into Spain*.]

C. H. F.

CAREY, VALENTINE (d. 1626). [See CAREY.]

**CAREY, WILLIAM, D.D.** (1761–1834), orientalist and missionary, was born 17 Aug. 1761 at Paulerspury, Northamptonshire, where his father, Edmund Carey, kept a small free school, to the educational benefit of the boy. At fourteen he was apprenticed to a shoemaker at Hackleton, and becoming religiously affected joined the baptist connexion in 1783. In 1786 he was chosen minister of the baptist congregation at Moulton. He had lately married, on so slender an income that meat was a rarity at his table. He was now working at Greek, Latin, and Hebrew, chiefly with a view to the interpretation of the scriptures. After holding a ministry at Leicester from 1789 he joined in the movement which culminated in the formation of the Baptist Missionary Society, and was (with a Mr. Thomas) chosen to be the first baptist missionary to India. Carey and his family and colleague arrived in Bengal early in 1794, and speedily discovered that Calcutta was not the place for a needy missionary to live in. The small funds they had brought swiftly vanished, and absolutely destitute they set out in an open boat to seek for a refuge. They found it after a forty miles' voyage in the house of a Mr. Short, who afterwards married Mrs. Carey's sister. At first the missionary's intention was to make his living by farming; but on being offered the superintendence of Mr. Udney's indigo factory near Máldah he gladly accepted the post. His letters home at this period express his distress at the postponement of his evangelising mission, owing to the difficulties presented by the various languages and dialects spoken in Bengal. Carey set himself with determination to overcome this obstacle. In 1795 he established a church near the factory, and there he preached in the vernacular. After five years' work at Máldah, varied by journeys to Bhutan and Dinájpúr, Carey removed to Serampúr, a Danish colony, where the Danish governor encouraged the missionaries, as the East India Company, for political reasons, was unable to do. The baptist missionary establishment of Serampúr, afterwards famous for its active influence, consisted in 1799 of Carey and three young missionaries, together with their families. A school and printing-press were the first requisites, and a bible in Bengáli was at once put in hand and duly appeared, together with other versions of the scriptures, in Mahratta, Tamil; in altogether twenty-six languages, besides numerous philological works. In 1801 Carey was appointed professor of Sanskrit, Bengáli, and Mahratta in the newly founded college of Fort William, and, continuing the pursuit of linguistics and proselytes, published a Mahratta grammar in

1805, and opened a mission chapel in Calcutta in the same year. There was, however, a strong feeling against over-zealous proselytising as a political danger, and Carey was cautioned to abstain from preaching or distributing tracts for a while, although the government assured him that they were 'well satisfied with the character and deportment' of his missionaries, against whom 'there were no complaints.' In spite of such official curbs the mission grew steadily, and in 1814 had twenty stations in India. Dr. Carey—he had now received the diploma of D.D.—actively superintended the work of the mission and its press. Besides the Indian versions of the scriptures, in which he took a vigorous part, he published grammars of Mahratta (1805), Sanskrit (1806), Punjábí (1812), Telinga (1814), Bhotanta (1826 P); dictionaries of Mahratta (1810), Bengáli (1818, 3 vols.; 2nd ed. 1825; 3rd ed. 1827–30), Bhotanta (1826), and had prepared materials for one of all Sanskrit-derived languages; but these were destroyed in a fire which occurred in 1812 at the press at Serampúr. He also edited the 'Ramayana,' in 3 vols., 1806–10, and his friend Dr. Roxburgh's 'Flora Medica,' for he was an excellent botanist, &c. After being weakened by many attacks of fever he was struck with apoplexy July 1833, and lingered in a feeble state till 9 June 1834. He was thrice married, and left three sons, one of whom was Felix Carey [q. v.]

[Memoir of William Carey, D.D., by (his nephew) Eustace Carey, 1836, at the end of which H. H. Wilson contributes a notice of Carey's oriental works; Ann. Reg. 1835.] S. L.-P.

**CAREY, WILLIAM** (1769–1846), bishop of Exeter and St. Asaph, was born on 18 Nov. 1769. His success in life was due to the kindness of Dr. Vincent, through whose aid he was admitted into Westminster School, where he ultimately passed through every grade until he became its head. In 1784 he was elected a king's scholar, in 1788 he became the captain of the school, and in the following year he was elected to Christ Church, Oxford, which was at that time presided over by Cyril Jackson. He took the degree of M.A. in 1796, and became a tutor of his house, where he also filled the office of censor from 1798 to 1802. While connected with Oxford life he held the incumbency of the neighbouring church of Cowley, and near the close of his academical career, in 1801, he was nominated one of the preachers at Whitehall Chapel. The prebendal stall of Knaresborough-cum-Bickhill in York Cathedral was conferred upon him in 1804, and his connection with the northern

province was strengthened by his being instituted to the vicarage of Sutton-in-the-Forest. Through the influential and zealous support of his old Oxford friend, Cyril Jackson—a support which outweighed the opposition of many who desired an older man—Carey was appointed to the head-mastership of Westminster School in January 1803, and discharged its duties with great efficiency until his retirement in December 1814. He proceeded to the degree of B.D. in 1804, and to that of D.D. in 1807. The honourable post of sub-almoner to the king was given to him in 1808, and in March 1809 he received a piece of preferment equally honourable and more lucrative, a prebend at Westminster. On resigning his position at his old school he withdrew to his country living, residing there until 1820, when he was called to preside over the diocese of Exeter. His consecration took place on 12 Nov. 1820, and on the previous day he was installed a prebendary of his cathedral. The administration of the diocese by the former occupant of the see had not been marked by an excess of zeal, and the energy with which Carey threw himself into his new labours was much praised. At Exeter he remained for ten years, when he was translated to the wealthier bishopric of St. Asaph, being elected to his new see on 12 March 1830 and confirmed on 7 April. He died at his house in Portland Place, London, on 13 Sept. 1846, but his body was carried into Wales and buried in the churchyard of St. Asaph Cathedral on 2 Oct. 1846. A monument to his memory was erected in his cathedral.

Carey was the author of three sermons long since forgotten, but his name is preserved in his munificent benefaction of 20,000*l.* Consols for the better maintenance of such bachelor students of Christ Church, duly elected from Westminster School, as, 'having their own way to make in the world,' shall attend the divinity lectures and prepare themselves for holy orders. A second gift to his old school was of a different character. This was a new set of scenery for the Westminster play modelled on the lines of its predecessor, which had been designed by Athenian Stuart. Carey's scenery was in use for fifty years, from 1808 to 1858.

[Welch's Westminster School (Phillimore's ed.), pp. 418, 428, 456, 536; Forshall's Westminster School, pp. 125, 301-3, 470; Oliver's Bishops of Exeter, p. 166-7; Career of Admiral John Markham, p. 14; Gent. Mag. 1846, pt. ii. pp. 533-4, 661; Notes and Queries, 3rd ser. vii. 205 (1865).] W. P. C.

CAREY, WILLIAM PAULET (1759-1839), art critic, brother of John and Mathew

Carey [q. v.], was born in Ireland in 1759. He began life as a painter and afterwards became an engraver. He did the copperplates in Geoffrey Gambado's (H. Bunbury's) 'Annals of Horsemanship,' Dublin, 1792, and several plates in a collection of ethical maxims published by E. Grattan in Dublin. He discontinued the practice of his profession owing to an accident to his eyes, but he retained a great love for the arts. For more than fifty years his pen was employed in advocating the claims of modern and national art, most of his writings being distributed gratuitously. He was one of the first to recognise the genius of Chantrey, the sculptor, in the 'Sheffield Iris' in 1805. He was proud of having brought James Montgomery, the poet, into prominence, and in later years he wrote letters in the Cork and Dublin papers which had the effect of attracting attention to the work of Hogan, the sculptor. He is said to have been a United Irishman. In 1806 he wrote a pamphlet in defence of the Princess of Wales; in 1820 he published two other pamphlets, 'The Conspiracies of 1806 and 1813 against the Princess of Wales linked with the atrocious conspiracies of 1820 against the Queen of England,' and 'The Present Plot showed by the Past,' &c. On the cover of the latter he advertised a work in two volumes on the same subject. He was a dealer in pictures, prints, and other works of art, and was one of the principal persons consulted by Sir J. F. Leicester, afterwards Lord De Tabley, in the formation of his gallery. For several years he had an establishment in Marylebone Street, London. In the exercise of his calling he visited many towns, and finally settled in Birmingham about 1834. In that year he contributed to the 'Analyst,' a quarterly journal issued in that town. He died at Birmingham 21 May 1839, aged 80.

The list of his separate writings on art is as follows: 1. 'Thoughts on the best mode of checking the Prejudices against British Works of Art,' York, 1801, 8vo. 2. 'A Critical Description of the Procession of Chaucer's Pilgrims to Canterbury,' painted by Stothard, Lond. 1808, 8vo; second edition 1818. 3. 'Letter to J. A. (Colonel Anderdon), a Connoisseur in London,' Manchester, 1809, 12mo. 4. 'Cursory Thoughts on the Present State of the Fine Arts,' Liverpool, 1810, 12mo. 5. 'Recommendation of the Stained Glass Window of the Transfiguration for St. James's Church, Westminster,' 1815. 6. 'Memoirs of Bartolozzi,' in the 'European Magazine,' vols. lxxvii. and lxxviii. 1815. This ran through six numbers, but was not finished. 7. 'Criti-

cal Description and Analytical Reviews of Death upon the Pale Horse,' painted by Benjamin West, 1817, 8vo. An edition was published at Philadelphia in 1836. 8. 'A Descriptive Catalogue of a Collection of Paintings by British Artists in the possession of Sir John Fleming Leicester,' 1819, 8vo. 9. 'Desultory Exposition of an Anti-British System of Incendiary Publication,' &c. 1819, 8vo. 10. 'Addendato H. Reveley's Notices illustrative of the Masters,' 1820. 11. 'Memoirs of B. West, R.A.,' in 'Colburn's New Monthly Magazine,' 1820. 12. 'Variæ: Historical Observations on Anti-British and Anti-Contemporarian Prejudices,' &c. 1822, 8vo. 13. 'Patronage of Irish Genius,' Dublin, 1823, 8vo. 14. 'Critical Catalogue of the Verville Collection,' 1823. 15. 'The National Obstacle to the National Public Style considered,' 1825, 8vo. 16. 'Some Memoirs of the Patronage and Progress of the Fine Arts in England . . . with Anecdotes of Lord De Tabley,' 1826, 8vo, pp. 361. 17. 'Syllabus of a Course of Six Historical Lectures on the Arts of Design,' Glasgow, 1828. 18. 'Appeal to the Directors of the Royal Irish Institution,' Dublin, 1828, 8vo. 19. 'Observations on the Primary Object of the British Institution for the Promotion of the Fine Arts,' Newcastle, 1829. 20. 'Brief Remarks on the Anti-British Effect of Inconsiderate Criticism on Modern Art and the Exhibitions of the Living British Artists,' London, 1831, 8vo. 21. 'Ridolfi's Critical Letters,' Leeds, 1831. 22. 'Ridolfi's Critical Letters on the Style of William Etty,' &c., Nottingham, 1833. 23. 'Lorenzo's Critical Letters on the First Exhibition of the Worcester Institution,' second series, Worcester, 1834, 4to. A third series was issued in the following year. 24. 'Syllabus of various Lectures on the Fine Arts.' An unfinished work of his was a 'Life of Alderman John Boydell,' which was projected to fill two royal quarto volumes.

One of his daughters, Elizabeth Sheridan Carey, wrote a volume of poems called 'Ivy Leaves,' privately printed in 1837. She joined the Roman catholic church.

[W. Bates in Notes and Queries, 4th ser. v. 481; Gent. Mag. February 1842, p. 139; Webb's Comp. of Irish Biogr. (1878), p. 73; Allibone's Dict. of Authors; Holland and Everett's Mem. of James Montgomery, ii. 40, 73, 102, iii. 355; J. Holland's Memorials of Chantrey, p. 192; Universal Catal. of Books on Art, 1870, i. 229, Suppl. p. 125; private information.]

C. W. S.

**CARGILL, ANN** (1748?-1784), actress and vocalist, made as Miss Brown her first appearance in London at Covent Garden in

1770, playing Sally in George Colman's comedy 'Man and Wife.' During her stay at Covent Garden, which lasted until 1780, she was the original Clara in the 'Duenna' of Sheridan (21 Nov. 1775), and took some primary rôles in comic opera and burletta, and many secondary rôles in comedy. On 2 Sept. 1780 she played at the Haymarket, as Mrs. Cargill, late Miss Brown, the Goddess of Health in the 'Genius of Nonsense' of her manager, George Colman. Conspicuous success attended her performance at the same theatre, 8 Aug. 1781, of Macheath, in a representation of the 'Beggars' Opera,' in which the male characters were sustained by women, and the female characters by men. Mrs. Cargill also performed Patie in Ramsay's 'Gentle Shepherd' (29 Oct. 1781), Marinetta in Ticklell's 'Carnival of Venice' (13 Dec. 1781), and Damon in 1782 in the 'Chaplet.' Mrs. Cargill, who was short and thick in figure, acted with singular spirit as Captain Macheath. It is chronicled that her tremors upon hearing the bell sound for execution moved the audience to tears. In 1782 she went to India, where she not only played her favourite operatic characters, but attempted tragedy with some success. A single benefit is said to have brought her the then 'astounding sum of 12,000 rupees.' On her return home in 1784 the Nancy packet in which she had taken her passage was lost. Her body was found 'on the rocks of Scilly floating in her shift,' with an infant in her arms. Numerous portraits of Mrs. Cargill were painted and engraved. Two engravings were issued in 1776 after a picture by W. Peters. Engraved portraits were afterwards published of her in her chief characters, including Clara (1778), Miranda (1777), and Polly (1777 and 1782).

[Genest's Account of the English Stage; Thespian Dictionary; Doran's Their Majesties' Servants; Oxberry's Dramatic Chronology; Young's Memoirs of Mrs. Crouch; information kindly supplied by Mr. W. Barclay Squire.] J. K.

**CARGILL, DONALD**, or, according to some, **DANIEL** (1619?-1681), covenanting preacher, was born at Rattray in Perthshire about 1619, studied at Aberdeen and St. Andrews, and was ordained in 1655. He became minister of the Barony parish in Glasgow in the same year. From the first he was a man of deep convictions and intense fidelity to them, but he did not become prominent till the time of the king's restoration, when, on 29 May 1660, instead of joining in public thanksgiving for the king's restoration, he pronounced the event a profound calamity, and denounced woe on the



royal head for treachery, tyranny, and lechery. Cargill was deprived of his benefice and banished beyond the Tay by the privy council (1 Oct. 1662). He disregarded the sentence, became a field preacher, and was conspicuous for the earnestness with which he denounced the presbyterian ministers who accepted the 'indulgence' in 1672. On 16 July 1674 and 6 Aug. 1675 decrees were passed against him for holding conventicles and other offences. In 1679 he took part in the battle of Bothwell Bridge, and was wounded, but made his escape both then and from other dangers of the same kind. At the same time he joined Richard Cameron [q. v.] in establishing the Cameronians. Cargill took part in drawing up a celebrated paper against the government, known as the Queensferry Covenant. He was also concerned, along with Cameron, in issuing the Sanguhar declaration (22 June 1680), and a reward was issued for his apprehension dead or alive. Afterwards, in September, at Torwood, between Stirling and Falkirk, he pronounced, without concert with any one, a solemn sentence of excommunication against the king, the Duke of York, Duke of Monmouth, Duke of Lauderdale, Duke of Rothes, Sir George Mackenzie, and Sir Thomas Dalzell. The Torwood excommunication was published in 1741. A larger reward was thereupon issued for his capture, and after many hairbreadth escapes he was taken on 12 Sept. by James Irvine of Bonshaw at Covington Mill. Brought before the high court of judicary on 26 July he was found guilty of high treason and condemned to death. He suffered at the cross of Edinburgh, 27 July 1681, expressing himself in the most jubilant and triumphant terms just before his execution. He married Margaret Browne, relict of Andrew Betham of Blebo, in 1655, but his wife died 12 Aug. 1656.

Though Cargill's very stringent views were not generally accepted by his countrymen, both he and his friend Cameron took a great hold on the popular sympathy and regard. Personally, Cargill was an amiable, kind-hearted man, very self-denying, and thoroughly devoted to his duty. Wodrow ascribes some of his extreme sentiments to the influence of others. Among the people he seems to have won admiration for the profoundness of his convictions and the fearlessness with which he acted on them, when the result to himself could not fail to be ruinous. Some sermons, lectures, and his last speech and testimony have been printed; but Peter Walker, in the 'Remarkable Passages' in which he records his life in 'Biographia Presbyteriana,' indicates that the impression produced by

them was far inferior to that of his spoken discourses.

[Scott's *Fasti Eccl. Scot.* ii. 39; *Biographia Presbyteriana*, vol. ii.; Howie's *Scots Worthies*; Wodrow's *History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland*; M'Crrie's *Story of the Scottish Church.*] W. G. B.

**CARGILL, JAMES** (*n.* 1605), botanist, was a medical man resident at Aberdeen, who studied botany and anatomy at Basle while Caspar Bauhin was professor of those sciences. Bauhin, for whom a professorship was founded in 1589, enumerates Cargill among those who sent seeds and specimens to him, and a definite record of his aid in regard to several species of fucus, together with his descriptions of them, is given in Bauhin's 'Prodrum.' He aided Gesner in the same way, and also Lobel (or Lobelius), who, in his 'Adversaria' (1605), refers to him as a philosopher, well skilled in botany and anatomy. No other record is known of Cargill.

[Caspar Bauhin's *Prodrum Theatri Botanici*, Frankfurt-on-Main, 1620, p. 154; Pulteney's *Historical Sketches of the Progress of Botany in England*, 1790, ii. 2.] G. T. B.

**CARIER, BENJAMIN, D.D.** (1566–1614), catholic controversialist, born in Kent in 1566, was son of Anthony Carier, a learned minister of the church of England. He was admitted of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 28 Feb. 1582, proceeded B.A. in 1586, was elected a fellow of his college 8 March 1589, and commenced M.A. in 1590. Soon afterwards he became tutor and studied divinity, especially the works of St. Augustine. This reading inclined him to the church of Rome. However, he proceeded B.D. in 1597, and was appointed one of the university preachers, and incorporated at Oxford the same year. Soon after this he was presented by the Wootton family to the rectory of Paddlesworth in Kent, which he resigned in 1599. He was presented to the vicarage of Thurnham in the same county, with the church of Aldington annexed, on 27 March 1600, and he held that benefice till 1613. In 1602 he was presented, by Archbishop Whitgift, whose domestic chaplain he then was, to the valuable sinecure rectory of West Tarring in Sussex. In the same year he was created D.D. at Cambridge, and his fellowship was declared vacant. At this time Carier appears to have been considerably mortified by his failure to obtain the mastership of his college. Soon afterwards he was appointed one of the chaplains in ordinary to James I. On 29 April 1603 he was collated by the Archbishop of Canterbury to the living of Old Romney in

Kent. On 29 June 1608 he obtained a prebendal stall at Canterbury; and he was nominated one of the first fellows of Chelsea College, projected by Dr. Matthew Sutcliffe as a seminary for able defenders of the protestant religion.

At this period he believed that a union might be effected between the church of England and the Roman church, but when he perceived that this was impossible, he obtained the king's leave to go to Spa for the benefit of his health, really intending to study the actual working of catholicism abroad (*A Treatise written by Mr. Doctour Carier*, p. 12). He soon resolved to join the Roman communion, and proceeded from Spa to Cologne, where he placed himself in the hands of Father Copperus, rector of the Jesuit College. King James ordered Isaac Casaubon and others to write to him (August 1613), with a peremptory injunction to return to England. Carier at first gave no positive answer, either as to his returning or to the suspicions concerning his religion; but when his conversion could be kept a secret no longer, it was highly resented by the king. In his printed 'Missive,' addressed to the king from Liège, 12 Dec. 1613, he says: 'I have sent you my soule in this Treatize, and if it may find entertainment, and passage, my bodie shal most gladly follow after.'

He received several congratulatory letters upon his conversion from Rome, Paris, and several other places. Cardinal du Perron invited him to France, desiring to have his assistance in some work which he was publishing against King James. Carier accepted the invitation, and died in Paris before midsummer 1614 (*Reliquia Wottoniana*, ed. 1685, p. 438), though another account states that his death occurred at Liège (*Harl. MS.* 7035, p. 189).

His works are: 1. 'Ad Christianam Sapientiam brevis Introductio,' a treatise written for the use of Prince Henry, and preserved in manuscript in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge. 2. 'A Treatise written by Mr. Doctour Carier, wherein he layeth downe sundry learned and pithy considerations, by which he was moued, to forsake the Protestant Congregation, and to betake hym selfe to the Catholicke Apostolicke Roman church' (Liège, 1613), 4to; reprinted under the title of 'A Carrier to a King; or, Doctour Carrier (chaplayne to K. James of happy memory), his Motives of renouncing the Protestant Religion, & embracing the Cath. Roman' (Lond.?) 1632, 12mo; again reprinted with the title of 'A Missive to His Majesty of Great Britain, King James, written divers years since, by Doctor Carier,' Lond. 1649, 1687, 4to, with a long

preface by N. Strange, and a list of university men and ministers who were converts to catholicism. An elaborate answer by Dr. George Hakewill to Carier's 'Treatise' was published at London in 1616. 3. 'A Letter of the miserable Ends of such as impugn the Catholick Faith,' 1615, 4to.

[Addit. MS. 5865, f. 27; Catholic Miscellany (1826), v. 1; Dodd's Church Hist. ii. 424, 508-515; Faulkner's Chelsea, ii. 225; Foley's Records, i. 623; Guillim's Display of Heraldry (1724), 224; Hasted's Kent, 8vo edit. v. 532; Lansd. MS. 983, f. 132; Masters's Corpus Christi Coll., with continuation by Lamb, 461; Le Neve's Fasti (Hardy), i. 54; Pattison's Life of Casaubon, 310, 435; Register and Magazine of Biography, i. 9; Strype's Whitgift, 578, 581-3, Append. 240, fol.; Whittaker's Life of Sir G. Radcliffe, 119.]

T. C.

CARILEF, WILLIAM DE, SAINT (*d.* 1096), bishop of Durham, began his ecclesiastical career as a secular priest in the church of Bayeux, but was moved by the example of his father to become a monk in the monastery of St. Carilef, now St. Calais, in the county of Maine. He showed great diligence in discharging his monastic duties, and rapidly rose to hold office in his monastery till he succeeded to the dignity of prior. His fame spread, and he was chosen abbot of the neighbouring monastery of St. Vincent. His practical capacity commended him to the notice of William the Conqueror, who in 1080 appointed him bishop of Durham, to which office William was consecrated on 3 Jan. 1081. He succeeded to a troubled diocese, where his predecessor Walcher had been murdered by his unruly people. He set to work at once to carry out a change which Walcher had contemplated, the substitution in the church of Durham of regular for secular canons. Monasticism had revived in Northumberland through the influence of Aldwin, prior of Winchcombe, who with two companions had travelled to the north that he might rekindle the fervour of monastic life which he read in the pages of Bede. Aldwin and his followers settled at Jarrow and Wearmouth, where they rebuilt the ruined buildings and formed monastic settlements. Bishop William wished to gather these monks round the church of Durham and commit to their care the guardianship of St. Cuthbert's relics. He consulted King William and Queen Matilda, who advised him to act cautiously and obtain the sanction of the pope. Gregory VII readily assented to a change which favoured the spread of monasticism. In 1083 Bishop William substituted monks for secular canons in the church of Durham, and as the small

revenues of the see were not sufficient to maintain three monasteries, the new foundations of Jarrow and Wearmouth were merged in the monastery of the cathedral. Their monks were brought to Durham, and the existing body of canons, who lived according to the rule of Chrodegang, were offered the choice of resigning or becoming monks. With one exception they all preferred to go; the dean was with difficulty persuaded by his son, who was himself a monk, to make the monastic profession. Aldwin, the reviver of northern monasticism, was made the first prior of Durham. The monks received their lands as separate from those of the bishop; their prior was to have the dignity of an abbot; they were made perpetual guardians of St. Cuthbert's Church and St. Cuthbert's relics.

Simeon, the Durham chronicler, describes Bishop William as learned in secular and theological literature, industrious in affairs, sufficient in the discharge of his episcopal duties, subtle in mind, a wise counsellor, and eloquent in speech. To the monks of Durham he was a kindly, prudent, and firm ruler, and they seem to have seen the best side of his character. In public affairs his subtlety led him into intrigue. During the reign of William I he was a valued counsellor of the king, of whom all men stood in awe. William II at his accession made him his chief minister, probably justiciar, and committed the administration of public affairs to his hands (FLOR. WIG. sub anno 1088). The favour shown to him by the king was one of the causes of the discontent of Bishop Odo of Bayeux, which led him to rebel against his nephew (WILL. MALM. *Gesta Regum*, bk. iv. ch. 1). To the surprise of all men Bishop William was treacherous to his master and joined in the revolt, 'doing as Judas did to our Lord' (*A.-S. Chron.* sub anno 1088). His motive in this is difficult to understand; probably he wished to stand well with both parties. He took credit to himself for securing Hastings to the king's side; but when war seemed imminent he withdrew on pretence of gathering his troops and sent the king no help. If he hoped to temporise and hold the balance between the two parties, he was mistaken, for the king ordered his immediate arrest. Bishop William answered from Durham that he would come to the king if he had a sufficient safe-conduct, but he added that not every man could judge a bishop. The sheriff of Yorkshire was loyal to the king, and ordered his men to lay waste the bishopric, so that Bishop William was almost blockaded in Durham. Still he contrived to do as much harm as he could to the king's cause in the northern parts. In two months

the rebellion was put down, and William II proceeded to call the treacherous bishop to account.

Bishop William's conduct is condemned by the southern chroniclers; but the northern historians regard him as in some way an ill-used man, who was himself the object of a conspiracy. Probably the monks of Durham were easily won over by the plausible accounts of one who was a munificent patron and a sagacious ruler (FREEMAN, *William Rufus*, Appendix C). At all events Bishop William showed great dexterity in his attempts to remedy the evil consequences of his political duplicity. William II summoned him before the gemot, and the bishop set to work to devise means of escape. He pleaded the privileges of his order; he offered to purge himself of the charge of treason by his personal oath. The king refused all his offers and demanded that he should appear and be tried as a layman. Then the bishop negotiated about the terms on which he should appear and about the possession of his castle during his absence. Finally he agreed that his castle should be held by three of his barons, and that if he were found guilty he should be at liberty to go beyond the sea.

On 2 Nov. 1088 the gemot met at Salisbury, and Bishop William put forth all his acuteness in raising legal quibbles at every turn to prevent any discussion of the real issue. He was a skilful lawyer and a clever and copious speaker ('oris volubilitate promptus,' says WILL. MALM. *Gesta Pontificum*, 272). He objected that his fellow-suffragans were not allowed to give him their counsel; finally he denied the right of laymen to judge a bishop; he would only answer to the archbishop and bishops and would speak with the king. Lanfranc was the chief speaker in opposing his claims, and it was decided that he must acknowledge the jurisdiction of the court, or the king was not bound to restore his lands. He persisted in declining to admit this jurisdiction in the case of a bishop, and appealed to the apostolic see. Hugh of Beaumont, on the king's part, accused him of treason, and the bishop answered by again appealing to Rome. The pleadings were still going on when William II brought matters to an issue: 'I will have your castle, as you will not follow the justice of my court.' Still the bishop raised new points about his safe-conduct, the delivery of the castle, the ships which were to take him abroad, and an allowance of money for his maintenance. The castle was taken by the king on 14 Nov., and after some delay Bishop William was allowed to sail to Normandy.

There he was warmly welcomed by Duke

Robert, who gave him the chief post in the administration of the duchy. He probably found himself more profitably employed than in prosecuting his appeal to Rome; at all events we hear no more about it. He longed, however, to return to England, and took an opportunity of regaining the favour of William II by rescuing a garrison of his soldiers who were besieged in a castle in Normandy. Duke Robert became reconciled to his brother, and on 3 Sept. 1091 Bishop William was restored to the possessions of the bishopric. During his absence he had not forgotten his monks, and sent them from Normandy a letter of advice about their conduct, which he ordered them to read aloud once a week (SIMON OF DURHAM, *Rolls Ser. i.* 126). He brought back with him vessels and vestments for his church, and, what was more important, a plan for a new cathedral, of which the foundation-stone was laid 11 Aug. 1093, in the presence of Malcolm, king of Scotland.

Bishop William certainly deserves the credit of being one of the greatest of the builders who have adorned England. In the space of two years and a half that remained of his pontificate he built so much of the cathedral of Durham that he practically decided its lasting form. He finished the choir, the arches of the lantern, and began the nave. He conceived the purest and noblest specimen of Romanesque architecture in England. Moreover, he added to the castle which William the Conqueror had built at Durham, and its most striking part is the chapel, in which Bishop William used the skill which was displayed on a greater scale in the cathedral.

Bishop William did not content himself with these works and with the business of his diocese. Unfortunately for his fame he regained the favour of William II and helped him to carry out his unworthy plans. The scheming character of the bishop showed itself only too clearly in his willingness to help William II to rid himself of Archbishop Anselm. Bishop William felt no respect for Anselm's simple and noble character. He laid legal traps for him and devised means of annoyance which might give a plausible reason for his deposition, led by the hope that if Anselm were gone he might succeed him as archbishop. The story of the persecution of Anselm need not be told again; but in the meeting of the council at Rockingham (March 1095) Bishop William was the man who above all others maintained the royal jurisdiction over bishops. The man who seven years before had put forward at Salisbury the plea of exemption from royal jurisdiction now

showed the same cleverness in arguing against such a plea. He promised the king that he would make Anselm renounce the pope or would compel him to resign his episcopal office. When Anselm was firm, and refused to answer save 'as he ought and where he ought,' Bishop William was so far consistent as to admit that reason was on the side of one who stood on the Word of God and the authority of St. Peter. But he had the meanness to propose recourse to violence; let Anselm be deprived of his ring and staff and be expelled the kingdom. When this was rejected by the lay lords, William's technical ingenuity suggested to his brother bishops that they should withdraw their obedience from Anselm. William's conduct at Rockingham was in every way base and unworthy. He showed himself to be a man of great cleverness who pursued his end with desperate tenacity, and when once engaged in a war of wits forgot everything save the desire to win an immediate advantage. To promote his own interests he attacked at Rockingham the position which, to save himself, he had strenuously maintained at Salisbury. He was a man without principles in public matters. His versatile mind and ready eloquence covered an indifference to the real issue and hopeless shallowness of thought ('*homo linguæ volubilitate facetus quam sapientia præditus*,' EADMAR, *Hist. Nov.* bk. i.)

Bishop William went away from Rockingham discredited in the eyes of all men. His counsel had led the king into difficulties, and he had again lost the royal favour. His restless mind chafed under his disgrace, and he was suspected of renewed treachery. Robert Mowbray, earl of Northumberland, rebelled against the king, and the bishop of Durham's attitude was ambiguous. The king summoned him to his court, and the bishop pleaded illness as an excuse. The king repeated his command, and the bishop, who was really ailing, was forced to drag himself to Windsor. There his illness increased, and on Christmas day 1095 he took to his bed. It is pleasant to know that he was visited in his sickness by Archbishop Anselm. On his deathbed it was proposed by some of his monks who were present that he should be buried in the stately church which he had founded; but William refused to allow his corruptible remains to be laid in the same building as the uncorrupt body of St. Cuthbert. 'Bury me,' he said, 'in the chapter-house, where my tomb will be always before your eyes.' He died on 2 Jan. 1096. His body was carried to Durham and was buried in the chapter-house according to his

wish, amid the tears and lamentations of the monks.

The character of William de St. Carleif is puzzling. It is hard to reconcile the clever, selfish, unscrupulous statesman with the wise administrator and sagacious reformer of his diocese. He was probably a man whose cleverness was superficial, and did not go beyond the capacity to do what seemed obvious for the moment. At Durham his duty was tolerably clear, and he did it with sagacity and winning sympathy. He was beloved by his monks. His architectural plans were marked by the finest feeling for the capacities of the art of his time. In public matters his path was not so clear. He had no principles to guide him, and his actions were swayed by selfishness.

[The northern authority is Simeon of Durham, *Hist. Dunelm. Eccles.* ed. Arnold, *Rolls Series*, i. 119, &c.; also, with the *Hist. Regum*, ed. Hinde, *Surtrees Society*; the account of the trial at Salisbury is a Durham document, 'De injusta venatione Willelmi primi episcopi,' in *Dugdale's Monasticon Anglicanum*, i. 245, &c.; the southern authorities are William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Regum*, bk. iv. ch. 1; and *Gesta Pontificum*, bk. iv.; *Florence of Worcester's Chronicle*, and *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, sub annis; *Eadmar, Hist. Nov.* bk. i.; of modern writers see *Hutchinson's Durham*, i. 133; *Stubbs's Constitutional Hist.* ch. xi.; the public life of Bishop William has been fully examined by *Freeman, William Rufus*, i. 119, &c., and the authorities discussed in *Appendix C.* M. C.]

**CARKEET, SAMUEL** (*d.* 1746), presbyterian minister, was ordained 19 July 1710, the same day as James Strong, afterwards of Ilminster. He was settled in the larger of two presbyterian congregations at Totnes. Accused of Arianism when the Exeter controversy broke out, he preached a vigorous sermon at Exeter, 7 May 1719, at the young men's lecture, repudiating all personal taint of Arianism, but maintaining that christian worth is independent of speculative opinions. Few contributions to the non-subscription side are more blunt and trenchant in their language. Arguing against any unscriptural test, he says: 'Either the Holy Ghost spoke as plain as he could, or as plain as God thought proper for a rule to the churches. If he spake as plain as he could, they are no plausible contenders for his Divinity (which, I believe, is generally acknowledged among Christians) who fancy they can speak plainer. If he spake only as plain as God thought proper, they certainly invade his prerogative who pretend to make the matter plainer, and urge it upon men's consciences.' Carkeet removed to Bodmin

(after 1729), and died there on 17 June 1746. His sermon was published with the title, 'Gospel Worthiness stated: in a Sermon [Matt. x. 11] preach'd in Exon,' &c., 1719, 8vo. He published also 'An Essay on the Conversion of St. Paul, as implying a change of his Moral Character,' 1741, 8vo (against Henry Grove's view that the change was simply one of opinion).

[Manuscript List of Ministers in Records of Exeter Assembly; James's Presbyterian Chapels and Charities, 1867, p. 656 (where he is called Carkat); sermon cited above.] A. G.

**CARKESE, JAMES** (*d.* 1679), verse writer, was educated at Westminster School, whence in 1652 he was elected to a scholarship at Christ Church, Oxford. It seems probable that he joined the Roman catholic church before 1679, in which year he published a curious volume of doggerel rhymes, entitled 'Lucida Intervalla: containing divers miscellaneous Poems written at Finsbury and Bethlem, by the Doctor's Patient Extraordinary,' London, 4to. The doctor's name was Thomas Allen. It is clear that the writer was a very fit subject for a lunatic asylum.

[Welch's *Alumni Westmon.* 139; *Notes and Queries*, 1st series, ii. 87; *Lowndes's Bibl. Man.* (Bohn), 373; *Cat. of Printed Books in Brit. Mus.*] T. C.

**CARKETT, ROBERT** (*d.* 1780), captain in the royal navy, seems to have entered the navy in 1734 as able seaman on board the Exeter. In her, and afterwards in the *Grampus* and *Alderney* sloops, he served in that capacity for upwards of four years, when he was appointed to the *Plymouth* as midshipman. In that ship, then belonging to the Mediterranean fleet, he remained for nearly five years, and during the latter part of the time under the command of Captain G. B. Rodney. He passed his examination on 18 July 1743, sailed for the East Indies in the *Deptford* in May 1744, was made lieutenant in the following February, and returned to England in September 1746. During the rest of the war he served in the *Surprize* frigate, and in March 1755 was appointed to the *Monmouth*, a small ship of 64 guns, which, after two years in the Channel, was, early in 1757, sent out to the Mediterranean under the command of Captain Arthur Gardiner. In the early part of 1758 the squadron under Vice-admiral Osborn was blockading Cartagena. On the evening of 28 Feb. the *Monmouth* chased the French 80-gun ship *Foudroyant* out of sight of the squadron, and single-handed brought her to action. About nine o'clock Gardiner fell mortally wounded, and

the command devolved on Carkett as first-lieutenant, who continued the fight with equal spirit. Both ships were beaten nearly to a standstill, when the Swiftsure of 70 guns came up about one o'clock in the morning, and the Foudroyant surrendered. Carkett was immediately promoted by the admiral to command the prize, and a few days later appointed to the *Revenge*, which he took to England. His post rank was dated 12 March; and he continued in command of the *Revenge*, in the Downs, till the following February. He was then appointed to the Hussar frigate, and commanded her at home and in the West Indies till 23 May 1762, when she struck on a reef off Cape Français of St. Domingo, and was lost, her officers and men becoming prisoners of war. In June Carkett and the other officers were sent to England on parole, but he was not exchanged till the following December. In August 1763 he commissioned the *Active*, which he commanded in the West Indies, and most of the time at Pensacola, till 1767, in June of which year she was paid off at Chatham. In July 1769 he commissioned the *Lowestoft*, and again spent the greater part of the time at Pensacola, where his duties seem to have been promoting the welfare of the settlement and cultivating vegetables. His gardening was interrupted for a short time in 1770 by the death of Commodore Forrest, in consequence of which he had to undertake the duties of senior officer at Jamaica; but on being superseded by Commodore Mackenzie he returned to Pensacola, and remained there for the next three years. The *Lowestoft* was paid off in May 1773.

In November 1778 Carkett was appointed to command the *Stirling Castle* of 64 guns, and in December sailed for the West Indies in the squadron under Commodore Rowley. He thus in the following summer had his share of the clumsily fought action off Grenada [see BYRON, JOHN, 1723-1786], and on 17 April 1780 led the line in the action to leeward of Martinique [see RODNEY, GEORGE BRIDGES, LORD]. Of Carkett's personal courage there can be no doubt, but his experience with a fleet was extremely small, and of naval tactics he knew nothing beyond the rule for the line of battle laid down in the fighting instructions. When, therefore, Rodney, after directing the attack to be concentrated on the enemy's rear, made the signal to engage, Carkett in the *Stirling Castle* stretched along to engage the enemy's van. Rodney wrote to the secretary of the admiralty on 26 April 1780 that his error had been fatal to the success of the action. This clause of Rodney's letter was not published in the 'Gazette,' but Carkett learned

from England that something of the sort had been sent. He accordingly wrote to Rodney desiring to see that part of it which related to him. 'All the satisfaction I received,' he complained to the secretary of the admiralty on 23 July 1780, 'was his acknowledgment that he had informed their lordships that I had not properly obeyed his signals in attacking the enemy's rear' (BEATSON, *Nav. and Mil. Memoirs*, vi. 222). Rodney's letter did, in fact, contain a very severe reprimand, of which Carkett made no mention, but requested the secretary of the admiralty to lay his explanation before their lordships. Whether he ever received an answer is doubtful, for the *Stirling Castle*, which had been sent to Jamaica, and thence ordered home with the trade, was, in a violent hurricane on 5 Oct., totally lost on Silver Keys, some small rocks to the north of Cape Français. All on board perished, with the exception of a midshipman and four seamen.

[Official Letters and other documents in the Public Record Office; Charnock's *Biog. Naval*, vi. 300.] J. K. L.

CARLEILL, CHRISTOPHER (1551?–1593), military and naval commander, born about 1551, was son of Alexander Carleill, citizen and vintner of London, by his wife Anne, daughter of Sir George Barne, knight, lord mayor of London. He is stated, but without probability, to have been a native of Cornwall (HOLLAND, *Heroologia Anglica*, 94). He was educated in the university of Cambridge (COOPER, *Athena Cantab.* ii. 161). In 1572 he went to Flushing, and was present at the siege of Middelburgh. Boisot, the Dutch admiral, held him in such esteem that no orders of the senate or the council were carried into execution until he had been consulted. Afterwards he repaired with one ship and a vessel of smaller size to La Rochelle, to serve under the Prince of Condé, who was about to furnish supplies to the town of Brouage, then besieged by Mayenne. Condé had intended to attack the royal fleet in person, but on the arrival of Carleill the command was given to him. Having discharged this duty he went to serve at Steenwick in Overysse, then beleaguered by the Spaniards. In consequence of his conduct there he was placed at the head of the English troops at the fortress of Zwart Sluis. When leading troops thence to the army he was surprised by a body of the enemy consisting of two thousand foot and six hundred horse. He vigorously repulsed them, and slew or took eight hundred. As inconvenience arose from the great number of foreigners in the camp of the Prince of Orange the sole command

was given to Carleill. After the siege of Steenwick was raised he went to Antwerp, and he was on the point of returning to England, when he was sent for by the prince and the confederate states again to assume the sole command of the camp until Sir John Norris should arrive to share the command with him. Altogether he served the Prince of Orange for five years without receiving pay.

He conveyed the English merchants into Russia in 1582, when the king of Denmark was at war with that country. The Danish fleet met them, but, observing his squadron of eleven ships, did not venture upon an engagement. The Russian envoy got on board at the port of St. Nicholas, and was conveyed to England. By the interest of his father-in-law, Sir Francis Walsingham, Carleill received 1,000*l.* by subscription at Bristol for an attempt to discover 'the coast of America lying to the south-west of Cape Breton,' and proposed to the Russian merchants to raise 3,000*l.* more in London, which sum of 4,000*l.* he deemed sufficient to settle one hundred men in their intended plantation. The project appears to have been unsuccessful, but Carleill wrote 'a brief and summary discourse' on its advantages (HAKLUYT). A letter from the Earl of Shrewsbury to Thomas Bawdewyn, 20 May 1583, alludes to Carleill's scheme (Lodge, *Illustrations of British History*, ed. 1838, ii. 241-3).

In 1584 Sir John Perrot, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, appointed Carleill commander of the garrison of Coleraine and the district of Route. Being recalled to England in 1585 in consequence of disputes with Perrot, he was, through the influence of Walsingham, made lieutenant-general of the land forces, consisting of above 2,300 troops, in the expedition to St. Domingo, Sir Francis Drake being at the head of the fleet, consisting of twenty-one sail. Carleill was captain of the Tiger. In this expedition the cities of St. Domingo, St. Iago, Carthaginia, and St. Augustine were taken. The success of this campaign was in great measure owing to the lieutenant-general's good conduct (CARLISLE, *Collections for a History of the Family of Carlisle*, p. 21; CAMDEN, *Annales*, ed. 1625-9, book iv. p. 92).

On 26 July 1588 he was appointed constable of Carrickfergus, co. Antrim (LASCELLES, *Liber Hibernica*, ii. 120). In 1588 he was governor of Ulster. On 10 June 1590 he wrote to Lord Burghley, requesting a commission from the queen to seize for lawful prize any goods which might be found in England belonging to Spanish subjects. In urging his claims upon her majesty he says: 'I have bene longe tyme a fruteles suitor,

even well nigh the moste part of fower yeares tyme, as also that I have spente my patrimonye and all other meanes in the service of my countrey, which hath not been less than five thousande pounds, whereof I doe owe at this presente the beste parte of 3,000*l.* There is no man canne challenge me that I have spente any part of all this expence in riotte, game, or other excessive, or inordinate manner.'

Carleill died in London on 11 Nov. 1593, 'and, as is supposed, for grief of his frends death. He was quicke witted, and affable, valiant and fortunate in warre, well read in the mathematikes, and of good experience in navigation, whereupon some have registred him for a navigator, but the truth is his most inclination, and profession, was chiefly for lande service, he utterly abhorred pyracý' (Stowe, *Annales*, ed. Howes, p. 805). Sir John Perrot entertained a different opinion of Carleill's views of piracy (*Cal. State Papers*, Irish, 1574-85, p. 568). He married Mary, daughter of Sir Francis Walsingham, and sister of Sir Philip Sidney's wife. His widow was alive in 1609.

There is a fine portrait of him in Holland's 'Herowologia,' and there is also a small portrait of him engraved by Robert Boissard, which belongs to a curious set of English admirals by the same engraver (GRANGER, *Biog. Hist. of England*, ed. 1824, i. 288).

He is the author of: 1. 'A Brief Summary Discourse upon a Voyage intending to the uttermost parts of America.' Written in 1583 and printed in Hakluyt's 'Voyages,' iii. 182. 2. 'Christopher Carleill's suit to Lord Burghley for a commission to seize Spanish goods,' 1590, Lansd. MS. 64, art. 54. 3. 'A Discourse on the Discovery of the hithermost parts of America, written by Capt. Carleill to the Citizens of London,' Lansd. MS. 100, art. 14. 4. 'Account of advantages to the realm from a sudden seizure of books, letters, papers, &c. of the Low Country people residing and inhabiting under the obedience of the king of Spain, with answers to objections,' Lansd. MS. 113, art. 7.

Carleill always wrote his name so. Others spell it Carlile, Carlisle, Carliell, and in other ways.

[Authorities cited above; also Boase and Courtney's *Bibl. Cornubiensis*, i. 58, iii. 1112; *Biog. Brit.* 2465, note C; *Cal. State Papers*, Domestic and Irish, and Carew, 1584-90; Tanner's *Bibl. Brit.* 154; notes supplied by Prof. J. K. Laughton.] T. C.

CARLELL, LODOWICK (*n.* 1629-1664), dramatist, held various positions at court under Charles I and II. According to

Langbaine, 'he was an ancient courtier, being gentleman of the bows to King Charles the First, groom of the king and queen's privy chamber, and served (*sic*) the queen mother many years.' He is the reputed author of nine plays, of which eight survive. These are as follows: 1. 'The Deserving Favourite,' 4to, 1629, 8vo, 1659, a tragicomedy, played at Whitehall before Charles I and his queen, and subsequently at the private theatre in Blackfriars. 2 and 3. 'Arviragus and Philicia,' a tragicomedy in two parts, 12mo, 1639, acted at Blackfriars, and with a preface by Dryden spoken by Hart, revived in 1672 by the king's company at Lincoln's Inn Fields. 4 and 5. 'The Passionate Lover,' a tragicomedy in two parts, 4to, 1655, played at Somerset House, and subsequently at Blackfriars. 6. 'The Fool would be a Favourite, or the Discreet Lover,' 8vo, 1657, 'acted with great applause' (LANGBAINE). 7. 'Osmond, the Great Turk, or the Noble Servant,' a tragedy, 8vo, printed in the same volume with the foregoing under the title 'Two New Plays.' 8. 'Heraclius, Emperor of the East,' 4to, 1664. 9. 'The Spartan Ladies,' a comedy entered on the books of the Stationers' Company, 4 Sept. 1646, and mentioned in Humphrey Moseley's catalogue at the end of Middleton's 'More Dissemblers besides Women.' No copy of the play has been traced. According to Mr. Halliwell-Phillips, an entry in the diary of Sir H. Mildmay shows it to have been acted so early as 1634. Of these plays, all except one seem to have been put on the stage. Concerning 'Heraclius,' which is a translation from Pierre Corneille, Langbaine, following the author's statement in the dedication, says it was never played, another version being preferred by the players whom Carlell supposed to have accepted his work. No other play on the subject is preserved. Pepys, in his 'Diary,' 4 Feb. 1666-7, writes as follows: 'Soon as dined my wife and I out to the Duke's Playhouse, and there saw "Heraclius," an excellent play, to my extraordinary content, and the more from the house being very full and great company.' The note to this ascribes the play in question to Carlell. The plots of most of the remaining pieces are borrowed. Carlell has some power of character painting. As regards construction and language, his plays will stand comparison with those of the minor dramatists of his day. They are dedicated to his fellow-courtiers, and contain in prologues and epilogues some slight autobiographical indications. In the prologue to the second part of the 'Passionate Lover' Carlell says:

Most here know,  
This author hunts, and hawks, and feeds his deer,  
Not some, but most fair days throughout the  
year.

'Heraclius' is in rhymed verse, which Carlell manages indifferently well. One or two others are in prose, with rhymed tags to certain speeches; the remainder are in blank verse of indescribable infelicity. It is difficult to resist the conviction that the plays were intended for prose, and were measured into unequal lengths and supplied with capitals by the printers.

[Genest's Account of the English Stage; Langbaine's Dramatic Poets; Diary of Pepys; Halliwell's Dictionary of Old Plays; plays of Carlell cited.]  
J. K.

CARLETON, SIR DUDLEY, VISCOUNT DORCHESTER (1573-1632), diplomatist, was the son of Antony Carleton of Baldwin Brightwell, Oxfordshire, by Jocosa, his second wife, daughter of John Goodwin of Winchington, Buckinghamshire. He was born at his father's seat at Brightwell on 10 March 1573, and was early sent to Westminster School, where Dr. Edward Grant was his master, and in the latter part of his time the learned Camden. He entered at Christ Church, Oxford, in the usual course, and took his B.A. degree on 2 July 1595. During the next five years he spent his time in foreign travel and in acquiring a knowledge of the continental languages. In 1600 he returned to England, and proceeded M.A. on 12 July of that year. Shortly after this he became secretary to Sir Thomas Parry, and accompanied him on his embassy to France in June 1602. Some disagreements are said to have arisen between the two, and in November 1603 Carleton was back again in England, and next month we find him at Winchester and an eyewitness of the ghastly butchery of Watson and other victims of the so-called 'Raleigh plot.' In the following March he was elected member for St. Mawes in the first parliament of King James, and he seems to have been from the first an active participator in the debates. He next became secretary to the unfortunate Henry, earl of Northumberland; but when Lord Norris, in March 1605, determined to make a tour in Spain, he prevailed upon Carleton to accompany him, who thereupon resigned his secretaryship to the earl. While on their way home Lord Norris fell dangerously ill in Paris, and Carleton remained at his side till his recovery. Just at this time the Gunpowder plot was discovered, and it appeared in evidence that Carleton, as Lord Northumberland's secretary, had actually negotiated for the transfer



of the vault under the parliament house in which the powder was laid. Carleton, in ignorance that his name had been mentioned in the affair, and never thinking that suspicion could light upon himself, still remained in Paris by his friend's side. His prolonged absence from England under the circumstances led to rumours much to his prejudice, and he was at length peremptorily summoned home by an order of the lords of the council, and on his arrival in London was placed in confinement in the bailiff's house at Westminster. Eventually he succeeded in clearing himself of all cognisance of, or complicity in, the abominable conspiracy, and by the favour of Lord Salisbury he was set at liberty, but not till he had been under arrest for nearly a month. His unfortunate connection with the Earl of Northumberland acted seriously to his prejudice for some years and interfered with his advancement, though he had already made powerful friends and had succeeded in producing a general impression of being a man of promise and extraordinary ability.

In November 1607 he married, in the Temple Church, Anne, daughter of Sir Henry Saville, the editor of Chrysostom's works and founder of the Savillian professorship at Oxford. Carleton had already assisted his future father-in-law in collating manuscripts while he was in Paris in 1603, and he continued 'plodding at his Greek letters,' as he calls it, while living in Sir Henry's house with his young wife during the first year of their married life. After this, and when a child was born to him, he took a house at Westminster, and became a diligent debater in parliament when it assembled. Salisbury had an eye upon the young man, and when, in May 1610, Sir Thomas Edmundes was recalled from the embassy to the Archduke Albert, Carleton was appointed to go as ambassador to Brussels. When all preparations were made for his departure, the king's intention changed, and he was ordered to proceed to Venice as successor to Sir Henry Wotton, who was recalled. He received the honour of knighthood in September, and, arriving at his destination about the middle of November, his career as a diplomatist began. From this time till the end of his life Carleton grew to be more and more esteemed as the most sagacious and successful diplomatist in Europe, and a history of the negotiations in which he was engaged would be a history of the foreign affairs of England during more than half of the reigns of James I and his unhappy successor. He returned to England from his Venetian embassy in 1615, shortly after he had carried

through the very delicate task of getting the treaty of Asti concluded, whereby the war between Spain and Savoy was brought to an end, and something like peace in Europe was established. He did not remain long at home. In March 1616 he was sent to succeed Winwood at the Hague, and during the next five years he continued ambassador there. His despatches during this period contain a masterly summary of Dutch history and politics, and a graphic account of the extreme difficulties of the writer's position, and of the unfailing versatility and self-command which he displayed in extricating himself from these difficulties as they emerged.

Motley has given a caustic résumé of Carleton's speeches in the Assembly of Estates in 1617, which provoked much discussion at the time, and one of which at least was answered by Grotius in print. But when he attributes to him a bitter hatred of his hero Barneveld, Motley mistakes the man he was writing about. Carleton was of too cool and calculating a nature to be capable of strong hatred. Life to him, and especially political life, was a game to be played without passion; the men upon the board were but pawns or counters; and in playing with the States General at this time, when everybody in Holland was more or less mad with a theological mania, it was idle to speak or act as if they were sane. When four years later Frederic the Elector found himself an exile after the battle of Prague, and took refuge in Holland, he occupied for a time the ambassador's house, and brought in the Princess Elizabeth and her children with their retinue. Carleton was put to very great expense, but he bore it with his usual sangfroid, though he did not forget to mention the fact when subsequently he was seeking for royal favour. Sir Henry Saville died in February 1622. Lady Carleton was his only surviving child, and, possibly with a view to looking after her own interests, and certainly with the hope of getting some large sums of money which were due to the ambassador, in the spring of the following year her ladyship went over to England and was received with much favour. Thomas Murray, the prince's tutor, had succeeded Sir Henry as provost of Eton, but just as Lady Carleton arrived in England Murray too died. The provostship of Eton was again vacant, and Carleton was among the candidates for the vacant preferment; it fell to Sir Henry Wotton, however, and Carleton had to wait some years longer for promotion. In 1625 Buckingham came over to the Hague to attend the congress which was going to do such great things and did so little; and the speech which

he delivered at his public audience was written for him by Carleton and delivered *totidem verbis*. When the duke returned to England, Carleton accompanied him, and was at once rewarded for his long services by being made vice-chamberlain of the household and a member of the privy council; but in a few weeks he was again despatched, in concert with the Earl of Holland, on an extraordinary embassy to France. The mission proved abortive; Richelieu had a policy, Charles had none, and the two ambassadors returned in March 1626, having effected little or nothing. When Carleton landed in England, he found the House of Commons occupied with the impeachment of Buckingham. He had been elected in his absence member for the borough of Hastings, and lost no time in taking his seat and speaking in defence of his patron and friend. He spoke as a diplomatist, and with small success; but it is not improbable that if he had been left to follow his own plans he might have been found a useful member in the house, and have exercised some influence in restraining the violence of the more fiery spirits on the one hand, and in checking the imprudence and rashness of the king and his supporters on the other. By this time, however, the lords had shown a disposition to take a line of their own, and Charles determined to strengthen his party in the upper house. Carleton was accordingly raised to the peerage as Lord Carleton of Imbercourt in May 1626. Shortly afterwards it was found expedient once more to send him on a mission to the Hague. One of the objects of this foolish mission was to prevail upon the States to favour a levy of 1,000 German horse, who were intended to serve in England, and the other was to effect a union of the States against Spain. Carleton must have known before he started that he could only fail in such a project. He was kept in Holland on this occasion for two years, and during his absence Lady Carleton died (18 April 1627). She was buried in St. Paul's Chapel in Westminster Abbey. The children she had given birth to had all died in infancy, and Carleton found himself a childless widower. He returned in April, and on 25 July 1628 was created Viscount Dorchester.

Meanwhile Buckingham's miserable incompetency for the position which he now occupied had been showing itself more glaringly every day, and he had at length drifted into the intention of raising the siege of Rochelle. Dorchester could only disapprove of Buckingham's scheme, but things had gone too far to allow of a change of front. Yet on

6 Aug. it seemed as if there might still be a way out of the difficulties, and a peace with France be concluded. Overtures to this effect were made by Contarini to Dorchester, and it was actually while he was walking to the conference which Dorchester had arranged on the morning of 23 Aug. 1628 for settling the terms of this peace that Buckingham received his death-wound. Dorchester was an eyewitness of the whole dreadful scene, and it was only through his prompt interference that Felton was saved from being torn to pieces by the bystanders. In the following December Dorchester became chief secretary of state, and from this time till his death he was the responsible minister for foreign affairs, so far as any minister of Charles I could be responsible for the mistakes of a king who the less he knew the more he meddled. Dorchester was now in his fifty-fifth year, and only a little past his prime; he might still hope to leave a son behind him. Paul, first Lord Bayning, died in 1629, leaving a young widow and five children all amply provided for. In 1630 this lady became Dorchester's second wife. Their union was but of brief duration. Dorchester died on 5 Feb. 1632, and was buried four days after in Westminster Abbey, his funeral being conducted with little pomp or ceremony. He left but a small estate behind him, not more than 700*l.* a year. It is clear that, like many other faithful servants of the Stuarts, he had gained nothing but barren honour by his lifelong services. Lady Dorchester gave birth to a posthumous daughter, Frances, in June 1632, who lived little more than six months. Dorchester's titles became extinct, and a nephew of the same name, and who succeeded him in some of his diplomatic employments, was eventually his heir. Dorchester's letters and despatches testify to the writer's extraordinary facility as a correspondent. They are immensely voluminous. Cecil alone, among his contemporaries, has left behind him a larger mass of manuscript. His style is remarkably fluent and clear; few writers of English have surpassed him in the power of making his meaning obvious without effort and without unnecessary verbiage. A collection of his letters during his embassy in Holland was published by Lord Hardwicke in 1755, which attained a third edition in 1780, and his despatches during his embassy at the Hague in 1677 were printed by Sir Thomas Philipps at Middle Hill in 1841. Some of his letters may be found in the 'Cabala' and other collections, especially in Dr. Birch's 'Court and Times of James I and of Charles I;' but these are only a small portion

of the mass of correspondence which has never been printed, and which is to be found in the Record Office and other depositories.

[Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* ii. 519; and *Fasti Oxon.*; *Cal. of State Papers*, Dom. 1603–32 passim; *Birch's Court and Times of James I and Charles I*; *Winwood's Memorials of State*; *Birch's Negotiations between the Courts of England, France, and Brussels from 1592 to 1617*; *Historical Preface to Carleton's Letters*, by Lord Hardwicke (1780); *Gardiner's Hist. of England in the Reigns of James I and Charles I*; *Forster's Life of Eliot*; *Motley's Life and Death of John of Barneveld* (1874); *Chester's Westminster Abbey Registers*; *Banks's Dormant and Extinct Baronage* (1809), iii. 52. Clarendon's account of Carleton (*Hist. of the Rebellion*, bk. i.) is flimsy and inaccurate. He is included among *Horace Walpole's Noble Authors*. There is a good account of him and the Carleton family in *Manning and Bray's Hist. of Surrey* (i. 456), though there and everywhere else his first wife is said to have been Ann, daughter of George Gerard of Dorney, Buckinghamshire. This curious mistake has been repeated again and again, and has been accepted even by so scrupulous and conscientious a genealogist as Colonel Chester. The origin of the blunder is inexplicable.] A. J.

**CARLETON, GEORGE** (1559–1628), bishop of Chichester, son of Guy Carleton of Carleton Hall in Cumberland, was born in 1559 at Norham in Northumberland, where his father was warden of the castle there. His early education was superintended by Bernard Gilpin, the 'Apostle of the North.' In 1576 he was sent to St. Edmund Hall, Oxford; in 1579 he took his M.A., and in 1580 was elected fellow of Merton. Here he won a high reputation as a good poet and orator and a skilful disputant in theology, being well read in the fathers and schoolmen. In 1589 he became vicar of Mayfield, Sussex, which he held till 1605, and in 1618 he was made bishop of Llandaff. In the same year he was selected by the king (James I), with three other divines, to represent the church of England at the synod of Dort. Here he distinguished himself by a spirited protest against the adoption of the thirty-first article of the Belgic Confession, which affirmed 'that the ministers of the Word of God, in what place soever settled, have the same advantage of character, the same jurisdiction and authority, in regard they are all equally ministers of Christ, the only universal Bishop and Head of the Church.' Carleton maintained the doctrine of apostolical succession in opposition to this levelling article. His protest was ineffectual, but his courage and ability won the admiration of his opponents. When the English deputies returned home in the spring of 1619, the Dutch States, be-

sides paying the expenses of their voyage and presenting each with a gold medal, sent a letter to the king in which a special commendation is made of Carleton as the foremost man of the company and a model of learning and piety. He was translated to Chichester in the same year, probably in recognition of the ability and spirit with which he had upheld the honour of the church of England in the synod. He died in May 1628. His son, Henry, represented Arundel in the parliament of 1640, and afterwards served in the parliamentary army. Camden, the antiquary, was much attached to Carleton, and speaks of him (*Brit. in Northumb.* p. 816) as one 'whom I have loved in regard of his singular knowledge in divinity and in other more delightful literature, and am loved again of him.' Anthony à Wood (*Athenæ Ox.*) describes him as 'a person of solid judgment and various reading, a bitter enemy to the papists, and a severe Calvinist.' His views, however, upon the subject of election were not nearly so rigid as those of the majority in the synod of Dort, and his theology does not seem to have affected the amiability of his disposition. Fuller (*Worthies*, p. 304) says that 'his good affections appear in his treatise entitled, "A Thankful Remembrance of God's Mercy," solid judgment in his "Confutation of Judicial Astrology," and clear invention in other juvenile exercises.' The following is a list of his works: 1. 'Heroici Characteres,' Oxon. 1603, 4to. 2. 'Consensus Ecclesiæ Catholicæ contra Tridentinos . . .' 1613, 8vo. 3. 'Carmen panegyricum ad Eliz. Angl. Reg.,' in vol. iii. of Nichols's 'Progresses of Queen Elizabeth,' p. 180. 4. 'Vita Bernardi Gilpini . . . apud Anglos Aquilonares celebrimi,' 1628, 4to. 5. 'Life of Bernard Gilpin,' with the Sermon preached before Edward VI in 1552, London, 1636, 8vo. 6. 'Epistola ad Jacobum Sextum Brit. Regem,' in the 'Miscellany of the Abbotsford Club' (i. 113), Edinburgh, 1837. 7. 'Tithes examined and proved to be due to the Clergie by a Divine Right,' 1606, 4to, second edit. 1611. 8. 'Jurisdiction Regall, Episcopall, papall,' 1610, 4to. 9. 'Directions to know the True Church,' 1615, 8vo. 10. 'An Oration made at the Hague before the Prince of Orange and the States General of the United Provinces,' 1619, 4to. 11. 'A Thankfull Remembrance of God's Mercy in an Historical Collection of the . . . Deliverances of the Church and State of England . . . from the beginning of Q. Elizabeth,' London, 1624, 4to. Several editions. 12. 'Ἀστρολόγομανία, the Madnesse of Astrologes; or, an Examination of Sir Christopher Heydon's Booke, intituled, "A Defence of Judiciarie Astrologie,"' London, 1624, 4to.

13. 'An Examination of those Things wherein the Author of the late "Appeale" holdeth the Doctrine of the Church of the Pelagians and Arminians to be the Doctrines of the Church of England,' London, 1626, 4to.

14. 'His Testimony concerning the Presbyterian Discipline in the Low Countries and Episcopall Government here in England,' London, 1642, 8vo.

[Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* (Bliss), ii. 422; Fuller's *Worthies*; Collier's *Eccles. Hist.* vii. 408-15, and *Records* in vol. ix. No. 307; Dallaway's *Sussex*; Stephens's *Memorials of South Saxon See*, pp. 267-9.] W. R. W. S.

CARLETON, GEORGE (*n.* 1728), captain, was author of 'Military Memoirs, 1672-1713,' a work which has been repeatedly included in the list of Defoe's fictions, and by such authorities as J. G. Lockhart, Walter Wilson, William Hazlitt, Lowndes, R. Chambers, Dr. Carruthers, and Professor G. L. Craik. The only reason assigned for including it is that it appeared in Defoe's lifetime, and in style and structure strongly resembles his fictitious narratives. The argument, in short, amounts to this, that the book is so extremely like the thing it claims to be that it must be one of Defoe's masterly imitations of it. No evidence of any kind in support of the assertion has ever been produced. Lord Stanhope (*War of the Succession in Spain*, Appendix, 1833) says that the 'authenticity of the "Memoirs" was never questioned until the late General Carleton wished to claim the captain for his kinsman, and failing to discover his relationship next proceeded to deny his existence;' but, however the question may have been first raised, it ought to have been set at rest by the production of Lord Stanhope's evidence proving Carleton to have been a flesh-and-blood hero, and not a member of the same family as Robinson Crusoe. According to the 'Memoirs' the author was a member of the garrison of Denia, which was compelled to surrender to the forces of Philip in 1708. But among the papers of his ancestor, Brigadier Stanhope, Lord Stanhope discovered a list of the English officers, some six or seven in number, made prisoners on that occasion, and in it appears 'Captain Carleton of the traine of artillery,' the branch of the service to which, we are given to understand by the 'Memoirs,' the author was attached from the time of the capture of Barcelona. The internal evidence ought to have convinced any one who examined the book carefully that it is what it claims to be, neither more nor less. Carleton's dedication to Lord Wilmington is followed in the original editions by an address to the reader,

no doubt from the publisher, which, after a brief summary of Carleton's services in Flanders and Spain, says: 'It may not be perhaps improper to mention that the author of these "Memoirs" was born at Ewelme in Oxfordshire, descended from an ancient and honourable family. The Lord Dudley Carleton who died secretary of state to King Charles I was his great uncle, and in the same reign his father was envoy at the court of Madrid, whilst his uncle, Sir Dudley Carleton, was ambassador to the States of Holland.' There are one or two trifling inaccuracies here. There never was any such person, of course, as Lord Dudley Carleton. The statesman of Charles I's reign was Sir Dudley Carleton [q. v.], created Baron Carleton of Imbercourt in 1626, and Viscount Dorchester in 1628; and it is questionable whether his nephew and namesake, knighted shortly after the elder Dudley was raised to the peerage, was ever actually ambassador in Holland, though he was certainly left in charge by his uncle on one or two occasions when the latter was summoned to England. But as far as the identification of the author goes there is no reason to doubt that the statement is substantially correct. It is incredible that the publisher would have gone out of his way to make a false declaration, the falsehood of which could have been so easily detected at the time, and on behalf of a book in which, in more than one instance, living persons were mentioned in such a way as to lead inevitably to its being branded as a lying production. It explains, too, how it was that the general, who, according to Lord Stanhope, first started the question, was unable to prove consanguinity with the author, for it would have been a very difficult matter to trace the connection between the Irish Carletons, descendants of the old Northumbrian or Cumbrian family, and the Oxfordshire Carletons, the stock of which Sir Dudley and the captain came. The 'Memoirs,' moreover, deal largely in incidents, of which a writer like Defoe could not possibly have had any knowledge without access to documents which were then absolutely inaccessible, and in incidents also known only to a few persons and of such a nature that any inaccuracy or untruthfulness in the narrator would have been most certainly denounced. For example, according to Carleton, just before the brilliant *coup de main* by which the Monjuich, the citadel of Barcelona, was taken, it was reported that a body of troops from the city was advancing. Peterborough hurried away to watch their movements. No sooner had he turned his back than something very like a panic seized some of the officers, and they all but succeeded in persuading Lord Charlemont,

the second in command, a brave but weak man, to retire before their retreat was cut off. Seeing this, Carleton slipped away and warned Peterborough of what was going on. 'Good God! is it possible?' he exclaimed, and hurrying back snatched the half-pike out of Lord Charlemont's hands, and with a few vigorous words brought his officers to their senses. This, it is almost needless to observe, would have been an over-audacious flight for a romance writer to attempt. Lord Charlemont, it is true, was dead when the 'Memoirs' appeared; but he had left sons behind him who surely would have contradicted the story if they could. Peterborough survived the publication of the book seven years, and he was not the man to tolerate such a statement from an impostor. This is only one of several incidents mentioned by which the genuine character of Carleton's narrative may be tested. It is, of course, not impossible, as Lord Stanhope admits, that Carleton's manuscript may have been placed in Defoe's hands to be revised and put into shape; but it may be asked, what need is there for importing Defoe's name into the matter at all? It is not so much that Carleton writes like Defoe as that Defoe could write like Carleton. There is this difference, however, as Dr. John Hill Burton (*Reign of Queen Anne*) points out, that Carleton, as a rule, keeps his own personality in the background, while Defoe's heroes certainly do not. As the title implies, Carleton's narrative embraces the period from the Dutch war to the peace of Utrecht. At the age of twenty he entered as a volunteer on board the *London* under Sir Edward Spragge, and was present at the battle of Southwold Bay. He next joined the army of the Prince of Orange as a volunteer in the prince's own company of guards, in which he had for a comrade Graham of Claverhouse. After the revolution he served in Scotland, and by distinguished service gained his company. He was afterwards quartered for some time in Ireland, but having no mind for the West Indies, whither his regiment was ordered in 1705, he effected an exchange, and with the recommendation of his old commander and friend, Lord Cutts, joined the army about to sail for Spain under Peterborough. There he did good service at Monjuich and Barcelona, but was unfortunate at Denia, and remained a prisoner of war until peace came in 1713. The latter part, and by no means the least interesting, of his 'Memoirs' is taken up with his observations on Spain and the Spaniards made during his captivity. From one or two references, e.g. to the recent death of Colonel Hales, governor of Chelsea Hospital, it is clear that the book

was written between 1726 and 1728, the year in which it was published with the title of 'The Military Memoirs of Captain George Carleton from the Dutch War, 1672, in which he served to the conclusion of the peace of Utrecht, 1713. Illustrating some of the most remarkable transactions both by sea and land during the reigns of King Charles and King James II, hitherto unobserved by all the writers of those times.' It was reprinted in 1741 and again in 1743, with *ad captandum* variations of the title, England being then at war with Spain; but after these no edition seems to have been published until that of 1808-9, edited by Sir Walter Scott, and from that time to the present it has been included in every collective edition of Defoe's works. No better proof of its merits could be given than that it has been so often and so strenuously claimed as one of his fictions; but what more particularly entitles its author to a place here is its importance as a piece of historical evidence bearing on a period for which trustworthy evidence is scarce. Its value in this respect has been gratefully acknowledged by such competent authorities as Lord Stanhope and Dr. John Hill Burton, and this is what makes it all the more desirable that Carleton should be definitively removed from the category of fictitious characters.

[Lord Stanhope's *History of the War of the Succession in Spain*, London, 1832; *Appendix to the History of the War of the Succession*, London, 1833; *Burton's History of the Reign of Queen Anne*, Edinburgh and London, 1880; *Lee's Daniel Defoe, his Life and recent discovered Writings*, London, 1869; *Notes and Queries*, 2nd ser., ii. and iii. *Lee*, the latest biographer of Defoe, says that his investigations 'admitted no other conclusion than that Captain George Carleton was a real personage, and himself wrote this true and historical account of his own adventures;' and he prints a letter from Mr. James Crossley of Manchester, who says: 'There cannot be a question that Defoe had nothing whatever to do with it. After carefully going into the point thirty years ago I came to the conclusion that he could not possibly have written it, and that it is the genuine narrative of a real man, who is identified in the list of officers given by Lord Stanhope in the second edition of his "War of the Succession in Spain." I have never seen any reason since to alter my view.]

J. O.

CARLETON, GUY (1598?-1685), bishop of Chichester, said by Anthony à Wood to have been a kinsman of George Carleton (1559-1628) [q. v.], was a native of Bramston Foot, in Gilsland, Cumberland. He was educated at the free school in Carlisle, and was sent as a servitor to Queen's College, Oxford, of which he afterwards became fel-

low. In 1635 he was made a proctor to the university. When the civil war broke out he threw himself heartily into the king's cause. He was an excellent horseman, and followed the royal army, although he had been ordained and held two livings. In an engagement with the enemy he was taken prisoner and confined in Lambeth House. He managed, however, to escape by the help of his wife, who conveyed a cord to him, by which he was to let himself down from a window, and then make for a boat on the Thames in readiness to take him off. The rope was too short, and in dropping to the ground he broke one of his bones, but succeeded in getting to the boat, which took him to a place of concealment, where he lay till he recovered, but in such a destitute condition that his wife had to sell some of her clothes and work for their daily food. At last they contrived to get out of the country, and joined the exiled king in Holland. Immediately after the restoration Carleton was made dean of Carlisle. In 1671 he was promoted to the bishopric of Bristol, and in 1678 translated to the see of Chichester, but 'he had not the name there,' says Wood, 'for a scholar or liberal benefactor as his predecessor and kinsman, Dr. George Carleton, had.' In the year after his appointment, the Duke of Monmouth, being then at the height of his popularity, visited Chichester (7 Feb.) in the course of a kind of royal progress which he was making through the country (see MACAULAY, *Hist.* i. 251, &c.) The extravagant honour paid to him, not only by some of the citizens but by the dignitaries of the cathedral, excited the indignation of the bishop, which he poured forth in a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury (Sancroft) (preserved among the Tanner MSS. in the Bodleian, 384). '... The great men of our Cathedral welcomed him with belles, and bonfires made by wood had from their houses to flare before his lodgings, personal visits made to him, with all that was in their houses proffered to his service.' He describes the honour done the duke in the cathedral, and the 'apocryphal anthems when the commonwealth saints appeared amongst us.' He then relates at some length how, because he would not 'join in these bell and bonfire solemnities,' or 'bow the knee to the people's Idol,' the rabble surrounded his house at night demanding wood to make bonfires for the duke, and, when it was refused, pelted the palace with stones, and shot into it three times, shouting that he was an old popish rogue, and all the people in his family were rogues and thieves, and they should meet with him ere long. 'Then they shott three times

into my house and seconded their violence with a shower of stones so thick that our servants thought they would have broken in and cut our throats. . . . The letter is dated 17 Feb. 1679. The bishop was then about eighty-three years of age, but lived six years longer. His death occurred on 6 July 1685.

[Wood's *Athenæ*, iv. 866, 867.] W. R. W. S.

CARLETON, GUY, first LORD DORCHESTER (1724–1808), governor of Quebec, was the third son of Christopher Carleton of Newry, county Down, and his wife, Catherine, daughter of Henry Ball of county Donegal. He was born at Strabane 3 Sept. 1724. The father died when Guy was about fourteen, and the mother afterwards married the Rev. Thomas Skelton of Newry. According to Samuel Burdy, the biographer of Philip Skelton, 'Sir Guy's eminence in the world was owing in a great degree . . . to the care which his stepfather, Thomas Skelton, took of his education' (*Complete Works of Rev. P. Skelton*, 1824, pp. 30–31). On 21 May 1742 he was appointed ensign in the Earl of Rothes's regiment (afterwards the 25th foot), and obtained his promotion as lieutenant in the same regiment on 1 May 1745. Changing his regiment he became lieutenant of the 1st foot guards on 22 July 1751, and was appointed captain-lieutenant and lieutenant-colonel 18 June 1757. In June and July 1758 he took part in the siege of Louisburg, under General Amherst, and on 24 Aug. was made lieutenant-colonel of the 72nd foot. On 30 Dec. in the same year he was appointed quartermaster-general and colonel in America. He was wounded at the capture of Quebec, 13 Sept. 1759, when in command of the corps of grenadiers. In 1761 he acted as brigadier-general under General Hodgson at the siege of Belleisle, and was wounded in the attack on Port Andro, 8 April. He was raised to the rank of colonel in the army 19 Feb. 1762, and in the same year served under Lord Albemarle in the siege of the Havannah, where he greatly distinguished himself, and was wounded in a sortie on 22 July. Carleton was appointed lieutenant-governor of Quebec 24 Sept. 1766, and in the following year the government of the colony devolved on him in consequence of General Murray having to proceed to England. In 1770, having obtained leave of absence, Carleton came to England. He was appointed colonel of the 47th foot 2 April 1772, and raised to the rank of major-general on 25 May following. In June 1774 he was examined before the House of Commons regarding the Quebec bill, which, after considerable opposition, became law in the same session. This act, which it

is said was suggested by Carleton himself, established a legislative council, allowed the Roman Catholics the free exercise of their religion, and re-established the authority of the old French laws in civil cases, while it introduced the English law in criminal proceedings. In the latter end of the year Carleton returned to Canada, where he was warmly welcomed back by the Catholic bishop and clergy of the province, and on 10 Jan. 1775 was appointed governor of Quebec. On the recall of Gage the command of the army in America was divided, and assigned in Canada to Carleton, and in the old colonies to Howe. At an early stage of the war the Congress, being apprehensive of an attack by Carleton on their north-west frontier, determined on the invasion of Canada, and on 10 Sept. 1775 the American troops effected a landing at St. John's. Carleton, however, who had no army and had endeavoured in vain to raise the peasantry, was defeated by Colonel Warner in an attempt to relieve the garrison, and compelled to retire. On 3 Nov. St. John's capitulated to General Montgomery, who on the 12th entered Montreal. Carleton narrowly escaped being captured. Disguised as a fisherman he passed through the enemy's craft in a whaleboat and arrived at Quebec on the 19th. The fortifications of the town had been greatly neglected, and the garrison did not consist of above eleven thousand men, few of whom were regulars. In spite of these obstacles and the lukewarmness of the British settlers who were displeased with the new constitution, Carleton, having ordered all persons who would not join in resistance to the enemy to leave, soon put the city into a state of defence. An attempt by Colonel Arnold to take it by surprise having failed, Montgomery joined forces with the latter, and on 5 Dec. summoned Carleton to surrender. The governor refused to have any correspondence with the American commander. After laying siege to the city for nearly a month, the Americans attempted to take it by storm on 31 Dec. 1775, but were repulsed, Montgomery being killed and Arnold wounded. The siege was continued until the beginning of May 1776, when, upon the arrival of a British squadron, Carleton sallied out and put the already retreating enemy to rout with the loss of their artillery and baggage. By the end of the month Carleton had gathered a force of thirteen thousand men, and accordingly assumed the offensive. The Americans gradually retired before him, and by 18 June had evacuated Canada and established themselves at Crown Point. After waiting until October for boats to cross Lake Champlain, Carleton went in pursuit of the

Americans, and two naval engagements were fought on the lake on the 11th and 13th. The result of the first conflict was somewhat doubtful, but on the second occasion Carleton gained a complete victory and took possession of Crown Point, where he remained until 3 Nov., when, giving up the idea of besieging Ticonderoga, he returned to St. John's and sent his army into winter quarters. In reward for his brilliant services in the defence of Quebec he was nominated a knight of the Bath, 6 July 1776, and a special warrant was issued allowing him to wear the ensigns without being invested in the usual manner. In 1777 an expedition from Canada, intended to co-operate with the principal British force in America, was resolved on, and on 6 May Burgoyne arrived at Quebec to take the command. Carleton, who had for some time been unable to get on amicably with Lord George Germaine, at once demanded his own recall on the ground that he had been treated with injustice. On 29 Aug. he was raised to the rank of lieutenant-general, and in the same year was appointed governor of Charlemont in Ireland, a post which he retained during the remainder of his life. In May 1778, without assigning any reason, he dismissed Peter Livius from his post of chief justice of Quebec. At the end of July he left Canada for England, and was succeeded by Lieutenant-general Haldimand as governor of Quebec. He declined to appear before the privy council in defence of his dismissal of Livius, who was restored to his office by an order dated 25 March 1779. On 19 May following he was installed K.B. at Westminster, and on 23 Feb. 1782 was appointed to succeed Sir Henry Clinton as commander-in-chief in America. He arrived at New York with his commission on 5 May, and desired that all hostilities should be stayed. By a consistent policy of clemency he did much to conciliate the Americans. He remained in New York for some time after the treaty of peace had been signed, and finally evacuated the city on 25 Nov. 1783 and returned to England. A pension of 1,000*l.* a year was granted him by parliament for his life and the lives of his wife and two elder sons, and on 11 April 1786 he was again appointed governor of Quebec. As a reward for his long services he was also created Baron Dorchester on 21 Aug. in the same year. He arrived at Quebec to take charge of the government on 23 Oct., and was cordially welcomed by the inhabitants, with whom he was highly popular. One of his first measures was to assemble the legislative council, whom he directed to make a thorough investigation into the

condition of the provinces. In 1791 an act of parliament—which had been prepared by William Grenville, and revised by Dorchester—was passed. By the provisions of this act (31 Geo. III, c. 31) Canada was divided into two provinces, viz. Upper Canada (now Ontario) and Lower Canada (now Quebec), and a similar constitution was given to each. Dorchester was absent from Canada from 17 Aug. 1791 to 24 Sept. 1793, during which time the government of the provinces devolved on Major-general Alured Clarke, the lieutenant-governor. Dorchester took his final departure from Quebec on 9 July 1796, and was succeeded by Major-general Prescott. The *Active*, in which he embarked with his family, was wrecked on Anticosti. No lives were lost, and on 19 Sept. they reached Portsmouth in H.M.S. *Dover* without any further mishap. On 16 July 1790 he was appointed colonel of the 15th dragoons, and on 12 Oct. 1793 raised to the rank of a general in the army. On 18 March 1801 he became colonel of the 27th dragoons, from which regiment he was transferred on 14 Aug. 1802 to the command of the 4th dragoons. After his return from England he lived in retirement first at Kempshot, near Basingstoke, and afterwards at Stubbings, near Maidenhead, where he died suddenly on 10 Nov. 1808. Dorchester, though a severe disciplinarian, was a man of humane conduct and of sound common sense. His kind treatment of the Canadian people, and of the American prisoners during the war, did him infinite credit, as well as his attempts to check the excesses of the Indians employed by the government against the colonists.

He married, on 22 May 1772, Lady Maria, the third daughter of Thomas, second earl of Effingham, by whom he had nine sons and two daughters. His widow survived him for many years, and died on 14 March 1836, aged 82. He was succeeded in the title by his grandson, Arthur, the only son of Christopher, his third son. The present and fourth baron is also a grandson of the first peer, being the eldest son of Richard, the youngest of the nine sons. The Royal Institution possesses a large number of manuscripts which formerly belonged to Maurice Morgan, Dorchester's secretary during the last years of the American war. These consist solely of American official documents. In the British Museum, among the Add. MSS., some of his correspondence while governor of Quebec will be found.

[Collins's *Peerage of England* (1812), viii. 113-18; Chalmers's *Biog. Dict.* (1813), viii. 257-60; Morgan's *Sketches of Celebrated Canadians* (1862), pp. 81-4; Macmullen's *History*

of Canada (1868); Bancroft's *History of the United States* (1876), vols. iii-vi.; Holmes's *Annals of America* (1829), vol. ii.; Mahon's *History of England* (1854), vols. vi. and vii.; *Annual Register*, 1808, chron. pp. 149-52; Sir H. Cavendish's *Debates of the House of Commons in the year 1774* (1839); *London Gazettes*; *Army Lists*; Add. MSS. 21678, 21697-700, 21707, 21734, 21781, 21806-8.] G. F. R. B.

CARLETON, LORD (*d.* 1725). [See BOYLE, HENRY, LORD CARLETON.]

CARLETON, HUGH, VISCOUNT CARLETON (1739-1826), lord chief justice of Ireland, eldest son of Francis Carleton of Cork, by Rebecca, daughter of John Lanton, was born 11 Sept. 1739. He was educated at Trinity College, Dublin, and being called to the Irish bar became solicitor-general in 1779, and lord chief justice of the common pleas in 1787. In 1789 he was created Baron Carleton of Amer, and in 1797 Viscount Carleton of Clare, Tipperary. He became lord chief justice in 1800, and the same year was chosen one of the twenty-eight representative peers of Ireland. In 1803, having incensed the mob by the trial and condemnation of the two councillors Sheers, to whom he had been left guardian by their father, he only escaped their summary vengeance by Lord Kilwarden being killed in mistake for him. Curran, referring to the lugubrious manner of Carleton on the bench, said that he was plaintiff (plaintive) in every case before him. He died in 1826. He married in 1766 Elizabeth, only daughter of Richard Mercer, and in 1795 Mary Buckley, second daughter of Andrew Matthew; but by neither marriage had he any issue.

[*Georgian Era*, ii. 540; *Gent. Mag.* 1826, i. 270.] T. F. H.

CARLETON, MARY (1642?-1673), 'the German princess,' was born, by her own account, at Cologne, her father being Henry van Wolway, lord of Holmstein. It was also said that she was the only daughter of the Duke of Oundenia, born 10 April 1639 (*Life of the Famous Madam Charlton*, pp. 2-3), but she confessed just before her execution that she was Mary Moders of Canterbury, daughter of a chorister of the cathedral, and born on 22 Jan. 1642. Various accounts are given of her early life, but all agree that she came from Holland about 1661 to London, where her impudence commenced. She was witty and handsome, 'Dutch-built . . . a stout Fregat.' One King, a vintner, and his wife were her first dupes, and to them she represented her fortune as approaching 80,000*l.* a year. In April 1663 she married



John Carleton, Mrs. King's brother. A previous marriage to one John Stedman, still living, was discovered, and Mary was committed on a charge of bigamy to the Gatehouse, where she was visited by Pepys (*Diary*, 29 May 1663) and a great concourse of curious people. She was tried at the Old Bailey on 4 June 1663, and defended herself with such courage that she was 'acquitted by publique proclamation' (*The Great Tryall*, &c. title, and pp. 1-5). Carleton now attacked her in his 'Ultimum Vale . . . being a true Description of the Passages of that Grand Impostor, late a pretended Germane Lady,' 'My Lady Batten enviegthed mightily against the German Princesse,' says Pepys (*Diary*, 7 June 1663), though he himself was 'as high in the defence of her wit and spirit, and glad that she is cleared at the sessions.' She answered the 'Ultimum Vale' in 'An Historical Narrative of the German Princess . . . written for the satisfaction of the World at the request of divers Persons of Honour.' Other publications on the subject were 'The Great Tryall and Arraignment of the late distressed Lady, otherwise called the late German Princess' (1663), &c., 'The Arraignment, Tryal, and Examination of Mary Moders, alias, &c., &c.,' and 'The Tryall of Mary Moders for having two husbands.' After this Mary Carleton turned actress, and a play was composed expressly for her, with her own title 'The German Princess;' it was performed at the Duke's House, Dorset Gardens, where Pepys saw her the next year, 15 April 1664, and declared that 'never was anything so well done in earnest worse performed in jest' (*ib.* for that date). She became a common thief next, and was transported to Jamaica in February 1671; but she returned to London and her evil courses; in December 1672 she was sentenced to death for various thefts, and hanged at Tyburn on 22 Jan. 1672-3 (*GRANGER, Biog. Hist.* iv. 224-5). Her age was said to be thirty-eight.

Two broadsheets were published in 1673, 'An Elegie on the Famous and Renowned Lady for Eloquence and Wit, Madam Mary Carlton, otherwise styled The German Princess,' &c.; and 'Some Luck, Some Wit, being a Sonnet upon the merry Life and untimely Death of Mistriss Mary Carlton, commonly called The German Princess. To a new Tune, called The German Princess adieu.' There also appeared in 1673 'Memories of the Life of the Famous Madam Charlton . . . with her Nativity astrologically handled, to which is prefixed her portrait;' and J. G.'s 'Memoires of Mary Carleton . . . Being a Narrative of her Life and Death, interwoven with many strange and pleasant Passages, from the time

of her Birth to her Execution . . . with her Behaviour in Prison, her last Speech, Burial, and Epitaph.' A reprint of the 'Historical Narrative,' called the second edition, appeared about 1720. Its title is 'The Life and Character of Mrs. Mary Moders, alias, &c. . . with the Haycock and Spoilshe committed upon the Publick in the Reign of Charles the Second;' and it is said in Harley's 'Notes on Biographies' to have been republished because Alderman Barber was reported to be her son (*Notes and Queries*, 5th series, i. 291).

[Pepys's *Diary*, ed. Chandos, pp. 157, 159, 205; Granger's *Biog. Hist.* 2nd ed. iv. 224-5; Life and Character, &c., pp. 2, 70-6; J. G.'s *Memoires*, To the Reader, and pp. 1-118; The Famous Madam Charlton, pp. 2-9; The Great Tryall, pp. 4-7; Mary Carleton's Historical Narrative, pp. 1-20; John Carleton's *Ultimum Vale*, Hearne's Collections, ii. 410-11; Notes and Queries, 5th ser. i. 228, 291.] J. H.

CARLETON, RICHARD (1560?-1638?), musical composer, was possibly a member of the family of the same name who lived at Lynn in Norfolk. He was born in the latter part of the sixteenth century, and educated at Clare College, Cambridge, where he proceeded A.B. in 1577. He subsequently took the degree of Mus. Bac., and was ordained. Soon afterwards he obtained an appointment at Norwich Cathedral. In 1601 he published a collection of twenty-one madrigals, on the title-page of which he styles himself 'Priest.' These compositions, which in the Latin preface he calls 'prima libamina facultatis meæ,' are dedicated to Sir Thomas Farmer. Prefixed is a 'Preface to the Skillfull Musician,' dated Norwich, 28 March 1601. In the same year he contributed a madrigal to the collection entitled 'The Triumphs of Oriana.' On 11 Oct. 1612 Carleton was presented by Thomas Thursby to the rectory of Bawsey and Glosthorp, near Lynn. The date of his death is unknown, but it probably took place in 1638, for though a *locum tenens* (Robert Powis) seems to have been appointed to the living in 1627, there was no other rector until 22 Aug. 1638, when Richard Peynes was presented. Carleton's name is also spelt Carlton or Charlton. The only extant compositions of his, besides those mentioned above, are some instrumental pavans in the British Museum (Add. MS. 568).

[Registers of the University of Cambridge, communicated by Mr. J. W. Clark; Diocesan Registers of Norwich, Register of Bawsey parish, communicated by the Rev. W. F. Greeny and Dr. Mann; information from the Rev. the Master of Clare, Dr. Bensly, and Mr. Walter Rye.]

W. B. S.

CARLETON, THOMAS COMPTON.  
[See COMPTON.]

CARLETON, WILLIAM (*d.* 1309 ?), judge, appears to have been a Yorkshireman. He is designated 'civis Eboracensis' in a roll of 1291 (*Rot. Orig. Abbrev.* i. 75). The earliest mention of him occurs under date 1286, when he was placed in possession of the vacant abbey of Ramsey in Huntingdonshire, to hold during the king's pleasure. Between 1286 and 1290 inclusive he acted as one of the justices of the Jews, officials with functions similar to those exercised by the barons of the exchequer, but limited to the transaction of business in which the Jewish community was concerned. His salary appears to have been 20*l.* per annum. On the expulsion of the Jews, which took place in 1290, it is probable that he was immediately created a baron, as we find him ranked next after John de Cobham, the senior baron, in the list of justices summoned to parliament in 1295. He was despatched to Antwerp in 1297 to negotiate, on behalf of the king, a loan of 10,000*l.* with the merchants there, presumably for the purposes of the expedition to Flanders. By the death of John de Cobham, in 1300, he became senior baron. He was reappointed on the accession of Edward II (1307), at whose coronation he was present, and the same year received permission, in consideration of his 'long and meritorious and unremitting service, to attend at the exchequer at his own convenience. The following year he is mentioned as one of the judges assigned to try cases of forestalling in the city of London. As after this year he is not again summoned to parliament, it is probable that he died before the next writ was issued (the 11th of the ensuing June). As his name does not occur in the 'Inquisitiones post Mortem,' we may infer that, like many other of the earlier barons of the exchequer, he was of humble origin; and as he is described as 'civis Eboracensis,' it seems not altogether improbable that he was the tenant of Carleton in Yorkshire, under Henry de Percy.

[*Rot. Orig. Abbrev.* i. 51, 75, 112; *Dugdale's Chron. Ser.* 18, 32; *Madox's Exch.* i. 230, ii. 62; *Foss's Lives of the Judges*; *Rot. Parl.* i. 169, 194; *Parl. Writs*, i. 29, ii. div. ii. pt. i. 18, pt. ii. 4, 19.] J. M. R.

CARLETON, WILLIAM (1794-1869), Irish novelist, was born at Prillisk, co. Tyrone, in 1794, and not, as some writers have stated, in 1798. His parents supported themselves and fourteen children, of whom William was the youngest, on a farm of only fourteen

acres. Carleton used to say that his father's memory was a rich and perfect storehouse of all that the social antiquary, man of letters, the poet, or the musician, would consider valuable. He spoke the Irish and English languages with nearly equal fluency, and was acquainted with all kinds of folklore. His mother was famous for her musical talents. Carleton's earliest tutor was one Pat Frayne, the master of the hedge school, who appears as Mat Kavanagh in the 'Hedge School,' and Carleton bears testimony to the savagery of hedge schoolmasters generally. Being subsequently for a time under the charge of the Rev. Dr. Keenan of Glasslough, he made considerable progress in his studies, especially in classics. On the removal of Dr. Keenan to Dundalk, Carleton was compelled to return home. His parents had intended him for the church, and sent him as a poor scholar to Munster. He had travelled as far as Granard when he interpreted an ominous dream as a command to return to Tyrone. The incidents of this journey gave rise to the tale of the 'Poor Scholar.'

Lough-derg was a place famed for many legends, and Carleton visited the spot to perform a station there. In the 'Lough-derg Pilgrim' he has given an exact transcript of what took place during these stations held in the summer months. Carleton's experiences at Lough-derg led him to the resolution never to enter the church. About this time there fell into his hands a copy of 'Gil Blas.' He now longed for contact with the world, and entered the family of Piers Murphy, a farmer in county Louth, as a tutor. He next went to Dublin in search of fortune with two shillings and ninepence in his pocket. Offering himself as assistant to a bird-stuffer, he was asked what he proposed to stuff birds with, and ingeniously replied, 'Potatoes and meal.' He determined to enlist, and addressed a letter in Latin to the colonel of a regiment, who dissuaded him from his purpose, and shortly afterwards Carleton obtained some tutorships. While engaged in tuition he met the lady whom he afterwards married.

For the 'Christian Examiner,' a Dublin periodical edited by the Rev. Caesar Otway, a protestant clergyman, Carleton wrote a description of his pilgrimage to Lough-derg. Sketches soon followed each other in rapid succession, and in 1830 these were collected into a volume, and published under the title of 'Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry.' Several editions were called for in three years, and a second series appeared in 1833. His sketches of the peasantry were followed by a collection of 'Tales of Ireland,' 1834. In some of the tales he evidently describes his

own feelings and early experiences. Carleton produced in 1839 his 'Fardorougha the Miser,' which has been described as one of the most powerful and moving works of fiction ever written. 'Fardorougha' was dramatised and produced at a Dublin theatre, but the version annoyed Carleton, and led to an unpleasant correspondence between himself and the adapter, a lady named Magrath. He states 'that there was not a publication of any importance in his time to which he did not contribute.' The greater number of his sketches have been republished in volume form. In 1841 there appeared a collection of tales by Carleton, pathetic and humorous, containing the sketch entitled 'The Misfortunes of Barney Branagan.' This volume was succeeded in 1845 by a more elaborate work, entitled 'Valentine M'Clutchy, the Irish Agent, or Chronicles of the Castle Cumber Property.' This novel dealt with the land question. The work was extended in 1846 by the addition of 'The Pious Aspirations of Solomon M'Slime.' The machinations of secret societies were exposed in 'Rody the Rover, or the Ribbonman.' A Dublin publisher having projected a series of books under the title of 'The Library of Ireland,' Carleton came forward to supply a gap caused by the death of Thomas Davis. He produced in the course of a few days his story of 'Paddy Goeasy.' The Irish famine supplied Carleton with the materials for his 'Black Prophet,' published in 1847. It was succeeded by 'The Emigrants of Ahadarra' and 'Art Maguire.' In 1849 appeared 'The Tithe Proctor,' and in 1852 'The Red Hall, or the Baronet's Daughter,' afterwards republished under the title of 'The Black Baronet.' This was succeeded by 'The Squanders of Castle Squander,' and at a brief interval by a volume of shorter collected tales. The last considerable works from Carleton's pen were 'Willy Reilly and his dear Colleen Bawn' (1855); 'The Evil Eye, or the Black Spectre' (1860); and 'Redmond, Count O'Hanlon, the Irish Rapparee' (1862). But for many years subsequently there appeared periodically volumes of this writer's collected sketches.

Notwithstanding Carleton's indefatigable industry he fell into difficulties. A memorial was addressed to government on his behalf, signed by persons of all ranks and creeds, including Maria Edgeworth, and on the recommendation of Lord John Russell he received a pension of 200*l.* per annum. Two of his sons went out to New Zealand. He died 30 Jan. 1869.

Carleton has been regarded as the truest, the most powerful, and the tenderest delineator of Irish life. Indignant at the con-

stant misrepresentations of the character of his countrymen, he resolved to give a faithful picture of the Irish people; and although he did not spare their vices he championed their virtues, which were too often neglected or disputed. He was erratic in habit, and although he wrote much he was unsystematic and fitful in effort. Most of Carleton's works were translated into French, German, and Italian. There is as yet no collected edition of them in English, the various novels and sketches having appeared in one form at intervals in Dublin, and in another form in London. Many are now entirely out of print.

The following is a list of the works of Carleton which have been published in volume form: 1. 'Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry,' two series, 1830 and 1833. 2. 'Tales of Ireland,' 1834. 3. 'The Fawn of Springvale and other Tales,' 1841. 4. 'Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry,' new edition, with an autobiographical introduction, explanatory notes, and illustrations, 1843-4. 5. 'Valentine M'Clutchy,' 1845. 6. 'Rody the Rover, or the Ribbonman,' 1845. 7. 'Parra Sastha; or the History of Paddy Goeasy and his wife Nancy,' 1845. 8. 'The Black Prophet,' 'The Emigrants of Ahadarra,' 'Fardorougha the Miser,' 'The Tithe Proctor' (Parlour Library series), 1847. 9. 'Art Maguire, or the Broken Pledge,' 1847. 10. 'The Clarionet, the Dead Boxer, and Barney Branagan,' 1850. 11. 'Red Hall, or the Baronet's Daughter,' 1852. 12. 'Jane Sinclair, Neal Malone, &c.,' 1852. 13. 'Willy Reilly and his dear Colleen Bawn,' 1855. 14. 'The Emigrants' (Railway Library series), 1857. 15. 'The Evil Eye, or the Black Spectre,' 1860. 16. 'The Double Prophecy, or Trials of the Heart,' 1862. 17. 'Redmond, Count O'Hanlon, the Irish Rapparee, an Historical Tale,' 1862. 18. 'The Silver Acre and other Tales,' 1862. 19. 'The Fair of Emyvale and the Master and Scholar' (Parlour Library series), 1870. 20. 'The Squanders of Castle Squander' (Library of Favourite Authors), 1873. Several of these works have passed through a considerable number of editions.

[Carleton's Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry, with an Autobiographical Introduction, 1843; Read's Cabinet of Irish Literature, 1880; Quarterly Review, September 1841; Freeman's Journal, Dublin, 1 Feb. 1869; Chambers's Cyclopædia of English Literature, 1876.]

G. B. S.

CARLIELL, ROBERT (*d.* 1622<sup>?</sup>), poet, is the author of a scarce volume entitled 'Britaines Glorie; or an Allegorical Dreame with the Exposition thereof: containing the

Heathens Infidelitie, the Turkes Blasphemie, the Popes Hypocrisie, Amsterdams Varietie, the Church of Englands Veritie in Religion. And in our Church of England, the Kings Excellency. His Issues Integritie. The Nobles and Gentries Constance. The Councils and Iudges Fidelitie. The Preachers and the Bishops Sinceritie. Conceived and written by Robert Carliell, Gent., for the love and honour of his King and Country, London, 1619. This allegorical poem, in forty-two six-line stanzas, is followed by a prose exposition, in which the glories of the church of England are further described. A singular attack on tobacco figures in the early pages. In the British Museum Library are three copies of the work, two dated 1620, and a third dated 1622. Nothing certain is known of the author. The will of a citizen and leatherseller of London of the same name, dated 9 Oct. 1622, was proved on 7 Nov. following. This Robert Carliell had a son Robert, who according to the will had treated his father very undutifully.

[Carlisle's Collections for a History of the Carlisle Family, p. 373; Corsers's Collectanea Anglo-Poetica, iii. 253-5; Brit. Mus. Cat.]

S. L. L.

**CARLILE.** [See also **CARLIELL**, **CARLISLE**, and **CARLYLE**.]

**CARLILE** or **CARLISLE**, **ANNE** (*d.* 1680?), was an artist. In 1658 Sir William Sanderson, speaking in his 'Graphice' of painters 'now in England,' says (p. 20), 'and in Oyl Colours we have a virtuous example in that worthy Artist, Mrs. Carlile.' She painted her own portrait; Virtue saw it in the succeeding century, about 1730. She was largely employed in copying the paintings of the Italian masters, and in reproducing these in miniature; and Charles I was so warm an admirer of her work, Graham says, that he presented Vandyke and the lady with ultramarine to the value of 500*l.* Anne Carlile died about 1680; and many of her pictures were afterwards in the possession of Lady Cotterel.

[Sir William Sanderson's Graphice, p. 20; Walpole's Anecd. of Painting, ed. 1849, ii. 381.]

J. H.

**CARLILE**, **CHRISTOPHER**, **D.D.** (*d.* 1588?), divine, was a member of Clare Hall, Cambridge, of which society he was elected a fellow. He commenced M.A. in 1541, and in 1548 was chosen one of the proctors of the university. In 1552 he took the degree of B.D., and he was subsequently created D.D. He was residing at Monks' Horton in Kent in 1563. The first dated edition (1572) of his discourse on the controverted point

whether St. Peter was ever at Rome is dedicated to Lord Wentworth, 'by whom,' says the author, 'I have bene liberally sustained these xxx. yeares.' On 22 Aug. 1571 one Christopher Carlile, M.A., was instituted to the rectory of St. John's, Hackney, which was vacant by his death on 2 Aug. 1588, when William Sutton, M.A., was appointed his successor. Another Christopher Carlile, who lived for some time at Barham in Kent, removed thence to the parish of St. Botolph, near Bishopsgate, London, where he died in the beginning of the year 1596.

Carlile was an excellent Hebrew scholar. He wrote: 1. 'A Discourse wherein is plainly proved by the order of time and place that Peter was never at Rome. Furthermore, that neither Peter nor the Pope is the head of Christes Church,' Lond. n.d. and 1572, 4to. Another edition bears this title, 'A Discourse of Peters Lyfe, Peregrination, and Death,' Lond. 1582, 4to. The first discourse was reprinted, with two letters to a clergyman, by James Billet, Lond. 1845, 8vo. 2. 'A Discourse, concerning two divine Positions. The first effectually concluding, that the soules of the faithfull fathers deceased before Christ went immediately to Heaven. The second sufficientely setting forth unto us Christians, what we are to conceive, touching the descension of our Saviour Christ into Hell,' Lond. 1582, 16mo. Dedicated to Henry, earl of Huntingdon. This book contains the substance of a public disputation held at Cambridge in 1552, and was written in confutation of a work by Dr. R. Smith of Oxford. Carlile's book was interdicted by public authority soon after its appearance. 3. The Psalms of David in English, with annotations, 1573; manuscript in the Cambridge University Library, Ff. 5. 6.

[Carlisle's Collections for a History of the Carlisle Family, 58; Tanner's Bibl. Brit. 154; Ames's Typogr. Antiq. (Herbert), 862, 878, 908, 1008, 1071, 1191, 1319; Lysons's Environs, ii. 476; Cooper's Annals of Cambridge, v. 263; Addit. MS. 5865, f. 49; Wood's Athenæ Oxon. (Bliss), i. 336, 418; Cooper's Athenæ Cantab. ii. 34; Newcourt's Repertorium, i. 619; Robinson's Hackney, ii. 154, 155.]

T. C.

**CARLILE**, **CHRISTOPHER** (1551-1593). [See **CARLIELL**, **CHRISTOPHER**.]

**CARLILE**, **JAMES** (*d.* 1691), actor and dramatist, was a native of Lancashire, and joined the company at Drury Lane some time previous to 1682. After mentioning the famous union of the two companies—the King's and the Duke's—under Betterton [q. v.] in 1682, Downes (*Roscius Anglicanus*) writes as follows: 'Note, now Mr. Monfort and Mr.

Carlile were grown to the maturity of good actors.' The only rôles in connection with which the name of Carlile survives are Aumale in the 'Duke of Guise' of Dryden and Lee, produced at the Theatre Royal in 1682, and Lesbino in Southerne's 'Disappointment, or the Mother in Fashion,' given at the same house in 1684. Both characters are subordinate. As after this date the name of Carlile disappears as an actor from stage records, and as, according to Gildon, Carlile left the stage young, and previous to his death had, according to Cibber, risen to the rank of captain, it is probable that not long after this period he joined the army. His connection with the stage was maintained by the production at the Theatre Royal, his former home, of 'Fortune Hunters, or Two Fools well met,' a fairly brist and entertaining comedy, which was acted by Mr. and Mrs. Mountfort, Leigh, Kynaston, and Nokes, and printed in 4to in 1689. Downes, probably in mistake, refers to a much earlier production at Lincoln's Inn Fields of 'Two Fools well met,' which he erroneously assigns to 'Lodwick Carlile.' Carlile, with his brother, died at the battle of Aghrim on 12 July 1691, fighting in the army of Ginkel against the Irish and French.

[Genest's Account of the English Stage; Downes's Roscius Anglicanus; Biographia Dramatica; Langbaine's Dramatic Poets by Gildon; Cibber's Apology by Belchambers; Oxberry's Dramatic Chronology.]  
J. K.

**CARLILE, JAMES, D.D. (1784-1854),** theological writer, born in 1784 at Paisley, was educated at Glasgow University, from which he received his degree of D.D. In 1813 he became minister of the Scots church at Mary's Abbey, Dublin, and in 1830 he was appointed resident commissioner to the Irish board of education. In this situation it fell to him to take the leading part in preparing and editing school books, and in organising the school system. His aim was to avoid all that might be counted sectarian, and introduce as much wholesome religious matter as possible. He was associated in the educational board with Archbishop Whately, who held him in high esteem, and also with Archbishop Murray, whose liberal spirit made him an agreeable fellow-worker. The educational fabric which was thus reared, however, displeased Cardinal Cullen and his successors. Having resigned the post of educational commissioner in 1839, he devoted the remaining years of his life to an enterprise for the conversion of Roman catholics to the protestant faith. He had felt the ordinary methods of dealing with Roman catholics to be unsatis-

factory, and so early as 1825 had published a memorial, in which he advocated a plan on the model in some degree of the Moravian missions. In 1839 he prevailed on his Dublin congregation, which was a collegiate charge, to allow him, while still maintaining his relation to it, to act as their missionary to Parsonstown in Birr, and for more than twelve years he laboured with no little success among the Roman catholics, and used to say that the spiritual fruits of his labour were at least equal to those of his much longer ministry in Dublin. He took an active part in the affairs of the presbyterian church of Ireland, was twice moderator of its supreme court, and on one occasion made a speech which was eminently useful at a critical turn of the church's history. He died at Dublin 31 March, 1854. Carlile was a man of high character and scholarly acquirements, and of considerable literary activity. His works are: 1. 'Examination of Arguments for Roman Catholic Episcopacy,' Dublin, 1815. 2. 'Sermons on Faith and Repentance,' London, 1821. 3. 'The Old Doctrine of Faith asserted,' London, 1823. 4. 'The Apocryphal Controversy summed up,' Glasgow, 1827. 5. 'On the Constitution of the Primitive Churches,' Dublin, 1831. 6. 'Letters on the Divine Origin and Authority of Scripture,' 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1837. 7. 'On the First and Second Advents,' Edinburgh, 1848. 8. 'Fruit gathered from among Roman Catholics in Ireland,' London, 1848. 9. 'The Papal Invasion: how to repel it,' London, 1850. 10. 'Manual of the Anatomy and Physiology of the Human Mind,' London, 1851. 11. 'Station and Occupation of Saints in Final Glory,' London, 1854.

[Introductory notice prefixed to the last-named work by his nephew, Rev. James E. Carlile; Thirty-eight Years of Mission Life in Jamaica, Sketch of Rev. Warrant Carlile; Catalogue of New College Library and of Advocates' Library, Edinburgh; Killen's History of the Irish Presbyterian Church.] W. G. B.

**CARLILE, RICHARD (1790-1843),** freethinker, was born 8 Dec. 1790 in Ashburton, Devonshire. His father was a shoemaker, who had some reputation as an arithmetician, and published a collection of mathematical and algebraic questions. He became an exciseman and fell into bad habits. His son Richard was four years of age at the time of his death. Carlile was educated in the village free school, where William Gifford, afterwards editor of the 'Quarterly Review,' had been a scholar. He was taught writing, arithmetic, and sufficient Latin to read a physician's prescription. For a time he was in a chemist's shop in Exeter, but left on

being set to perform some office incompatible with the dignity of one who could read a prescription. For a time he coloured pictures, which were sold in the shop kept by his mother. Her principal trade customers were Gifford & Co., brothers of Robert, afterwards attorney-general and lord Gifford [q.v.]. Carlile was eventually apprenticed to Mr. Cumming, a tinman, a hard master, who considered five or six hours for sleep all the recreation necessary for his apprentices. Carlile frequently rebelled against this injustice. He had an ambition to earn his living by his pen. In the meantime he worked as a journeyman tinman in various parts of the country. In 1813 he was employed at Benham & Sons', Blackfriars Road, London; in 1816 at the firm of Matthews & Masterman of Union Court, Holborn. There he saw for the first time one of the works of Thomas Paine, whose effigy he had helped to burn when a boy. Excited by the vigour of the 'Rights of Man' and the distress of the time, he wrote letters to newspapers, but only with the result of seeing a notice in the 'Independent Whig,' a 'half-employed mechanic is too violent.' He wrote to Hunt and Cobbett without interesting them. In 1817 the 'Black Dwarf,' a London weekly publication, edited by Jonathan Wooler, first appeared. This periodical was much more to Carlile's taste than Cobbett's 'Register,' and was continued till 1819. The Habeas Corpus Act was then suspended, and the sale of obnoxious literature exposed to dangers which only stimulated Carlile. He borrowed £1. from his employer, bought with it a hundred 'Dwarfs,' and on 9 March 1817 sallied forth from the manufactory with the papers in a handkerchief. He traversed London in every direction to get newsvendors to sell the 'Dwarf.' He carried the 'Dwarf' round several weeks, walking thirty miles a day at a profit of fifteen pence and eighteen pence. When Steill, the publisher of the 'Dwarf,' was arrested, Carlile offered to take his place. 'I did not then see,' he said later in life, 'what my experience has since taught me, that the greatest despotism ruling the press is popular ignorance.' He printed and effected the sale of 25,000 copies of Southey's 'Wat Tyler' in 1817, in spite of the author's objection. The 'Parodies' of Hone being suppressed, Carlile reprinted them, and also published in 1817 a series of parodies by himself, entitled 'The Political Litany, diligently revised, to be said or sung until the Appointed Change occurs;' 'The Sinecurists' Creed;' 'The Bullet Te Deum;' 'A Political Catechism;' 'The Order for the Administration of Loaves and Fishes.' These publications cost Carlile eighteen weeks' im-

prisonment in the king's bench prison, from which he was liberated without trial on the acquittal of William Hone. In 1818 Carlile published the theological, political, and miscellaneous works of Paine, together with a memoir. He was prosecuted, and he published other works of a similar character. By the end of October 1819 he had six indictments against him. In November he was sentenced to 1,500*l.* fine and three years' imprisonment in Dorchester gaol. In the middle of the night he was handcuffed and driven off between two armed officers to Dorchester, a distance of 120 miles. His trial lasted three days, and attracted the notice of the Emperor Alexander of Russia, who thought it necessary to issue a ukase to forbid any report of it being brought into his territory. During this imprisonment he was ordered to be taken out of his cell half an hour each day. He resented the exhibition by remaining two years and a half in his room without going into the open air. Carlile busied himself in gaol with the publication of a periodical called 'The Republican,' which he began in 1819 and continued till 1826 (14 vols.) The first twelve volumes are dated from Dorchester gaol. Mrs. Carlile resuming the publication of this and other of her husband's works was sentenced in January 1821 to two years' imprisonment, also in Dorchester gaol. But Carlile still managed to publish his writings, and at once issued a report of his wife's trial. The same year a constitutional association was formed for prosecuting Carlile's assistants; 6,000*l.* was raised, and the Duke of Wellington put his name at the head of the list. The sheriff of the court of king's bench took possession of Carlile's house in Fleet Street, furniture, and stock in trade, but Carlile's publications still issued from the prison. In 1822, in the week in which Peel took possession of the home office, a second seizure was made of the house and stock at 55 Fleet Street, under pretence of satisfying the fines, but neither from this nor the former seizure was a farthing allowed in the abatement of the fines, and Carlile was kept in Dorchester gaol for six years, from 1819 to 1825—three years' imprisonment being taken in lieu of the fines. His sister, Mary Anne, was fined 500*l.*, and subjected to twelve months' imprisonment from July 1821, for publishing Carlile's 'New Year's Address to the Reformers of Great Britain' (1821). Carlile published a report of her trial. The rate of liquidation of fines established by the crown was twelve months for every 500*l.* In 1825 it was reported that the cabinet council had come to the conclusion that prosecutions should be discontinued. No more persons

were arrested from Carlile's shop, and yet none of his publications had been suppressed. The last nine of his shopmen arrested were detained to complete their sentences, varying from six months' to three years' imprisonment, Sir Robert Peel refusing to give up a single day. After his release Carlile published the earlier numbers of a new weekly political paper called 'The Gorgon,' and from January 1828 to December 1829 edited a six-penny weekly serial called 'The Lion'—a record of the prosecution of Robert Taylor, author of the 'Devil's Pulpit.' Carlile sought to establish freedom of speech, and in 1830 engaged the Rotunda, Blackfriars Road. Most of the public men in London out of parliament attended the discussions, and a liberty of speech never before known in England was permitted. The French revolution of 1830 gave further impetus to free speaking on the platform. Later, Carlile's house in Fleet Street was assessed for church rates. When his goods were seized he retaliated by taking out the two front windows to exhibit two effigies of a bishop and a distraining officer. After a time he added a devil, who was linked arm-in-arm with the bishop. Such crowds were attracted that public business was impeded. Carlile was again indicted, but the court was at least externally courteous. Carlile defended himself with good sense, but was sentenced to pay a fine of 40s. to the king and give sureties of 200*l.*—himself in 100*l.* and two others in 50*l.*—for his good behaviour for three years. As he refused to give sureties or ask others to become sureties, he entered with his accustomed spirit into three years' more imprisonment. Before sentence he made a deposition in court stating the grounds of his determination, and that, 'though anxious to live in peace and amity with all men, there did exist many political and moral evils which he would through life labour to abate.' Thus, with a further imprisonment in 1834-5 of ten weeks for resistance to the payment of church rates, he endured a total imprisonment of nine years and four months. He saw that the humiliation of the press could only be removed by resistance. In 1819 Castlereagh had proposed a law which would have inflicted transportation on Carlile for a second offence. Edwards, a clever spy, frequented his house for months, and made him a full-length model of Paine, with a view to win his confidence and involve him in the Cato Street conspiracy. When Thistlewood was seized it was intended to arrest Mrs. Carlile, her husband being then in prison, to suggest his complicity with Thistlewood. His shopmen were arrested so frequently that he sold his books by clockwork,

so that the buyer was unable to identify the seller. On a dial was written the name of every publication for sale, the purchaser entered and turned the handle of the dial to the publication he wanted; on depositing the money the book dropped down before him. The peril of maintaining a free press in those days brought Carlile the admiration and sympathy of powerful friends unprepared themselves to incur such risks. The third and fourth years of his imprisonment produced him subscriptions to the amount of 500*l.* a year. For a long period his profits over the counter were 50*l.* a week. Once, when a trial was pending, Mrs. Carlile took 500*l.* in the shop in one week. But Carlile had a passion for propagandism, and incurred liabilities which exhausted all his resources. So long as he vindicated the political freedom of the press Cobbett said, 'You have done your duty bravely, Mr. Carlile; if every one had done like you, it would be all very well.' But when he sought to establish the theological and even the medical freedom of the press, Cartwright and others deprecated his proceedings as mischievous or immoral.

Carlile married in 1813 one several years older than himself. Out of his slender wages of thirty shillings a week, even when he had several children, he continued to contribute to the support of his mother. This first led to domestic differences, which asperity of temper on his wife's part increased, and in 1819 a separation was agreed upon as soon as he had means of providing for her, which did not occur until 1832, when he was able to settle upon her an annuity bequeathed to him by Mr. Morrison of Chelsea. Otherwise Mrs. Carlile was not without good qualities. She had business talent, which her husband never acquired, and though having but little sympathy with his opinions, she resented the oppression directed against him, and resolutely refused to compromise him or discontinue selling his publications, though it subjected her to two years' imprisonment. Carlile died on 10 Feb. 1843, in his fifty-third year, from an illness brought on by excitement in search of a child who had wandered from his door in Bouverie Street, London. Sir William Lawrence [q. v.], the author of the 'Lectures on Man,' saw him in his brief illness. He left his body for anatomical purposes to St. Thomas's Hospital. He followed the example of Bentham in desiring to remove by his own example the popular prejudice against dissection. Carlile was abstemious, habitually diffident, but bold under a sense of duty. He practised free speaking, and, what was rarer, never objected to its being used by others towards himself. Although he ordinarily

spoke with hesitation, he attained eloquence in vindicating freedom. He had suffered so much that he not unnaturally became convinced that suffering was the only qualification for a public teacher, and doubted the integrity of those who had dared nothing. The ferocity with which he was assailed drove him to extremes in self-defence, which, however, were temperate when compared with the insolence of his powerful assailants; but in him it was deemed license, in them respectable indignation. His merit was, that he chose the method of moral resistance and accomplished by endurance what violence could not have effected. He lived to discern that sensation is not progress and denunciation is not instruction, and by his want of consideration in speech he created a dislike of the truth he vindicated. The faults of Carlile will be forgiven in consideration of his having done more than any other Englishman in his day for the freedom of the press.

Besides the works mentioned above, Carlile edited two serials: 'The Prompter,' 1830-1; and 'The Gauntlet,' 1833. He was also the author of 'The Moralist,' a series of moral essays, and of the following (among numerous other) pamphlets: 1. 'A Letter to the Society for the Suppression of Vice,' 1819. 2. 'An Effort to set at rest some little disputes and misunderstandings between the Reformers of Leeds . . .' 1821. 3. 'To the Reformers of Great Britain (Five Letters from Dorchester Gaol),' 1821. 4. 'An Address to Men of Science, calling upon them to stand forward and Vindicate the Truth . . .' 1821. 5. 'Observations on Letters to a Friend on . . . Christian Religion, by Olinthus Gregory . . .' 1821. 6. 'Guide to Virtue and Morality through the Pages of the Bible,' 1821. 7. 'Every Man's Book, or What is God?' 1826. 8. 'The Gospel according to Richard Carlile,' 1827. 9. 'A Sermon upon the subject of the Deity, preached . . . from the pulpit before the Congregation of the Church of Mount Brinksway, near Stockport, formerly, before their Conversion, the Congregation of Bible Christians,' 1827. 10. 'A New View of Insanity,' 1831. 11. 'A Letter to C. Larkin, of the Newcastle Press,' 1834. 12. 'Church Reform,' 1835. 13. 'An Address to . . . Reformers on the Political Excitement of the Present Time' (published by Thomas Paine Carlile, Manchester), 1839. Just before his death he had begun a weekly periodical called the 'Christian Mirror.'

[The Gauntlet, 1833; The Republican, vols. ii-xviii.; A Scourge; The Christian Warrior; Holyoake's Life and Character of R. Carlile (1848); Lion, vols. i. and ii.; Oracle of Reason, vol. i. (1841); Sherwin's Republican; the Lancet,

No. 1016 (1843); bibliographical notes kindly supplied by Mr. C. W. Sutton of Manchester.]  
G. J. H.

**CARLINGFORD, EARL OF** (*d.* 1677).  
[See TAAFE, THEOBALD.]

**CARLINI, AGOSTINO** (*d.* 1790), sculptor and painter, was a native of Genoa, who came to England early in life and became the most celebrated sculptor of his day, distinguished particularly for his drapery. He was one of the original members of the Royal Academy (1769) and succeeded Moser as keeper in 1783. His best-known work is a statue of the notorious Doctor Ward (whose portrait is introduced by Hogarth in plate v. of the 'Harlot's Progress'), which he executed for the Society of Arts. It is said that 'in order to make this statue talked of and seen at the sculptor's studio,' the doctor allowed him 200*l.* a year 'to enable him to work at it occasionally till it was finished, and this sum the artist continued annually to receive till his death.' Other works of his were two statues for Somerset House and the masks on the keystones of the Strand front of that building representing the rivers Tyne, Dee, and Severn; the model of an equestrian statue of George III (exhibited 1769); a figure of 'Maritime Power' (1770); one of 'Plenty' (1783); and a design made in 1770 for a monument to Alderman Beckford, which was engraved by Bartolozzi. He exhibited five works at the Society of Artists, and eleven at the Royal Academy between 1760 and 1786. In 1776 he exhibited a portrait of a nobleman in oil. He is said to have been indebted to his friend Cipriani for some of his designs. There are some original drawings by him in the British Museum. He died at his house in Carlisle Street, Soho, 16 Aug. 1790. There is an engraving of Carlini with Cipriani and Bartolozzi, by J. R. Smith, after Rigaud.

[Redgrave's Dict. of Artists; Nollekens and his Times; Nagler's Künstler-Lexikon; Gent. Mag. 1790; An. Reg. 1768, 1770.]  
C. M.

**CARLISLE.** [See also CARLEILL, CARLEILL, CARLILE, and CARLYLE.]

**CARLISLE, SIR ANTHONY** (1768-1840), surgeon, was born at Stillington, Durham, in 1768. He became the medical pupil of an uncle at York, after whose death he was placed under Mr. Green, founder of the Durham City Hospital. After attending the lectures of John Hunter, Baillie, and Cruikshank, and being the resident pupil of Mr. Henry Watson, surgeon to Westminster Hospital, he succeeded to the surgeoncy, on



Watson's death, in 1793, and held the office till his own death in 1840. Carlisle became a fellow of the Royal Society in 1800, and in 1804 delivered the Croonian lecture on 'Muscular Motion,' following it by another on the 'Muscles of Fishes' in 1805. He contributed other papers on biological subjects to the Philosophical and Linnean 'Transactions,' the 'Philosophical Magazine,' &c. Carlisle was long a member of the council of the College of Surgeons (from 1815) and an examiner (from April 1825), holding these appointments till death. In 1820 and in 1826 he delivered the Hunterian oration at the college, and on other occasions lectured on anatomy and surgery; he also considerably added to the library and museum. He was president of the college in 1829 and 1839. He gained admission as a student to the Royal Academy while still young, and wrote an essay in the 'Artist' on the 'Connection between Anatomy and the Fine Arts,' in which he expressed the opinion that minute knowledge of anatomy was not necessary to the historical painter and sculptor. In 1808 the social connection which he had cultivated led to his obtaining the professorship of anatomy at the Academy, notwithstanding Charles Bell's candidature. This post he held for sixteen years. He was surgeon-extraordinary to the prince regent, and was knighted on the prince's accession. He took great interest in Westminster Hospital, and was largely instrumental in raising funds for the new building. He died on 2 Nov. 1840, at his house in Langham Place, aged 72.

Carlisle was neither a brilliant anatomist nor physiologist, but was a fairly good surgeon. His introduction of the thin-bladed, straight-edged amputating knife, in place of the old clumsy crooked one, and his use of the simple carpenter's saw make his name chiefly worthy of note. He was handsome and good-humoured, but very vain and crotchety, and in his later years somewhat slovenly and negligent of his duties.

In 1800, in conjunction with W. Nicholson, Carlisle engaged in important researches on voltaic electricity, and is credited by Nicholson with first observing the decomposition of water by the electric current (*Journal of Natural Philosophy*, iv. July 1800, 179-87), and with several ingenious experiments and observations.

Among Carlisle's miscellaneous publications may be mentioned: 'An Essay on the Disorders of Old Age, and on the Means of prolonging Human Life,' 1817, 2nd edit. 1818; 'Alleged Discovery of the Use of the Spleen,' 1829; 'Lecture on Cholera,' 1832; 'Practical Observations on the Preservation

of Health and the Prevention of Diseases,' 1838; 'Physiological Observations upon Glandular Structures,' 1834. A list of his scientific papers is given in the Royal Society's Catalogue of Scientific Papers, i. 1867.

[Pettigrew's Medical Portrait Gallery, 1840, vol. ii.; Gent. Mag. December 1840, ii. 660; Georgian Era, ii. 1833, p. 588; J. F. Clarke's Autobiographical Recollections of the Medical Profession, 1874, 283-94.] G. T. B.

**CARLISLE, EARLS and COUNTESSSES OF (1629-1684).** [See HAY and HOWARD.]

**CARLISLE, NICHOLAS (1771-1847)**, antiquary, was born at York in January or February 1771, and was half-brother of Sir Anthony Carlisle [q. v.] Having entered the naval service of the East India Company, he amassed considerable property as purser, with which he generously assisted his brother at the commencement of the latter's professional career. He must have retired early, for in September 1806 he became a candidate for the office of secretary to the Society of Antiquaries, to which he was elected in the following January, his principal opponent being Dr. Dibdin. 'He never,' says his biographer in the 'Gentleman's Magazine,' 'did more for the Society of Antiquaries than was absolutely necessary,' but having installed himself in the society's apartments in Somerset House, devoted his time to the execution of a series of laborious and in their day useful compilations. Between 1808 and 1813 he produced topographical dictionaries of England, Ireland, Wales, and Scotland. In 1818 he published 'A Concise Description of the Endowed Grammar Schools of England and Wales,' a work of considerable value, the materials for which he had collected by issuing circulars. His 'Collections for a History of the Ancient Family of Carlisle' appeared in 1822, and a similar work on the family of Bland in 1826. In 1828 he wrote 'An Historical Account of Charitable Commissions,' and in 1837 printed privately a memoir of Wyon, the engraver to the mint, with an appendix on the controversies between him and Pistrucci. He indexed the first thirty volumes of the 'Archæologia' and the first fourteen reports of the charity commissioners, and was for a time a commissioner himself. 'His long-continued but unsuccessful attempts to establish professorships of the English language in various continental universities' procured him several foreign orders, and led him to compile (1839) 'An Account of Foreign Orders of Knighthood.' Having been appointed a gentleman of the privy chamber, he wrote on the history of that body. In

1812 he became an assistant librarian of the Royal Library, and accompanied that collection to the British Museum, where he only attended two days in the week. He died at Margate 27 Aug. 1847, leaving the character of an amiable and worthy man, whose abilities were by no means commensurate with his industry.

[Gent. Mag. August 1848, pp. 205-9.] R. G.

**CARLOS, EDWARD JOHN** (1798-1851), antiquary, was a descendant of William Careless or Carlos [q. v.], who was chiefly instrumental in the preservation of the life of Charles II during the flight after the battle of Worcester, and the only child of William Carlos and Grace Smith of Newington, Middlesex, where he was born on 12 Feb. 1798. He was educated at Mr. Colecraft's school, Newington, and was articled to Mr. Reynell of the lord mayor's court office, with which he was connected for more than thirty years. He took a great interest in architecture and in ancient buildings. In 1832 he was one of the committee for the restoration of Crosby Hall, of which in November of that year he contributed an account to the 'Gentleman's Magazine' under the title, 'Historical and Antiquarian Notices of Crosby Hall.' He was one of the most active promoters of public efforts in defence of the church of St. Mary Overy, Southwark, and when old London Bridge was pulled down he contributed to the 'Gentleman's Magazine' for March 1832 'An Account of London Bridge, with Observations on its Architecture during its demolition.' For the same periodical he wrote during 1824-33 a series of descriptions of the new churches in the metropolis, and the reviews of architectural books from 1822 to 1848. In 1843 he published a second edition, with additions of Skelton's 'Oxonia Restaurata,' in which the plates illustrative of each college were brought together and the descriptions formed into a continuous narrative. He died on 20 Jan. 1851.

[Gent. Mag. 1851, pt. i. p. 442.] T. F. H.

**CARLOS, CARLES, or CARELESS, WILLIAM** (d. 1689), royalist, was a colonel or major in the royalist army during the civil wars. A family of the name of Carlos is described as of Stratford-on-Avon in the 'Visitation of Warwickshire' in 1619 (*Harleian Soc.* xii. 23). A correspondent of 'Notes and Queries,' 1st ser. x. 344, suggests that the royalist was the son of Anthony Careless, warden of the Clothiers' Company in Worcester in 1665, who died there 5 Jan. 1670. Clarendon states that he resided in Staffordshire. Carlos took part in the battle of Wor-

cester (3 Sept. 1651), and saw, it was stated, the last man killed there before leaving the battle-field. As soon as the defeat of the royalists proved decisive he fled to the woods surrounding Boscobel House, and hid himself in the branches of an oak tree. About five o'clock on the morning of Saturday, 6 Sept., King Charles himself arrived at Boscobel while escaping from the Commonwealth soldiers, who were in hot pursuit, and Carlos, who does not appear to have been personally acquainted with the king previously, urged him to share his retreat in the oak tree. This the king agreed to do, and the two men remained concealed there for more than twenty-four hours, while their pursuers searched the wood below them. Carlos descended from time to time to procure food. On Sunday afternoon, however, Charles left for Moseley. Carlos separated from him because he was well known in the neighbourhood, and stood in even greater danger of capture than the king, who had managed to effectually disguise himself. The oak tree, called the royal oak, is still extant in Boscobel wood. On Monday, 8 Sept., Carlos succeeded, with the help of a friend at Wolverhampton, in disguising himself, and under an assumed name he arrived in France. He communicated to the Princess of Orange at Paris the welcome news of her brother's safety, and continued in Charles's service till the Restoration. By a royal patent he was granted an elaborate coat of arms, in which an oak tree prominently figures (*Notes and Queries*, 2nd ser. xii. 262). Carlos returned to England with the king, and in January 1660-1 he, with two others, was granted the proceeds of a tax on all straw and hay brought into London and Westminster, together with the office of inspector of livery horsekeepers (*Cal. State Papers, Dom.*, 1660-1, p. 498). In the account of James II's secret service fund for 1687 appears the entry: 'To Coll<sup>l</sup> William Carlos, bounty 300*l*.' (*Secret Services of Charles II and James II*, Camd. Soc. 177). Carlos died early in 1689. His will, dated in 1688, was proved in the following year. His property, of very trifling value, was bequeathed to an 'adopted son, Edward Carlos,' from whom was descended Edward John Carlos [q. v.] Carlos was married, and had a son William, born in 1643, who died unmarried in 1668, and was buried in Fulham churchyard. His epitaph is printed in 'Notes and Queries,' 1st ser. ix. 305. An engraving by Stent of Charles and Carlos in the oak tree is extant.

[Frequent references are made to Carlos in Blount's tract Boscobel; in Clarendon's History, bk. xiii.; in Peypys's Narrative printed by Lord

Hales. These tracts, together with several briefer accounts of Charles II's adventures after the battle of Worcester, have been carefully reprinted by J. Hughes in the *Boscobel Tracts* (1830, 2nd edit. 1857.) S. L. L.]

**CARLSE, JAMES** (1798–1855), engraver, was born in Shoreditch in 1798, and was apprenticed to Mr. Tyrrel, an architectural engraver. At the expiration of his term he practised landscape and figure engraving without further instruction, so that he may almost be said to have been untaught. In 1840 he commenced a work on Windsor Castle, which he discontinued from want of support. He engraved a good deal for the annuals and afterwards for the 'Art Journal,' and some architectural plates for Mr. Weale's publications, Stuart's 'Antiquities of Athens,' Chambers's 'Civil Architecture,' &c. Among his other engravings are Benjamin West's 'First Essay in Art,' after E. M. Ward, and 'Oliver Cromwell in Conference with Milton,' after a drawing by himself. He died in August 1855.

[Redgrave's Dict. of Artists, 1878; Otley's Supplement to Bryan's Dictionary.] C. M.

**CARLYLE, ALEXANDER, D.D.** (1722–1805), Scotch divine, was born on 26 Jan. 1722 at Prestonpans, Midlothian, of which parish his father, William Carlyle, was minister. The father lived on terms of intimacy with the gentry of the district, by whom much notice was taken of the son. Among their neighbours was the famous Colonel Gardiner. Carlyle matriculated at the university of Edinburgh on 1 Nov. 1735, and in the following year he was an eye-witness of the escape of Robertson and the Porteous riots described in the 'Heart of Midlothian.' In obedience to his father's wishes he studied for the church, and received his A.M. degree from the university of Edinburgh 14 April 1743. A small bursary obtained for him by his father from the Duke of Hamilton aided in enabling him to spend two winters at the university of Glasgow and a third at that of Leyden, where he entered 17 Nov. 1745 (*Leyden Students*, Index Soc. p. 18). He was one of the volunteers embodied in 1745 for the defence of Edinburgh from the rebel force under Prince Charles Edward, and he witnessed the flight of the king's force after the battle of Prestonpans. He was licensed for the ministry 8 July 1746, but declined an offer of presentation to Cockburnspath in February 1747. On 2 Aug. 1748 he was ordained minister of Inveresk, near Edinburgh, a charge which he retained until his death. He co-operated with his friends, John Home the author and Robertson the historian, in supporting and lead-

ing in the church of Scotland and its general assembly the moderate party, which opposed the abolition of patronage and favoured a somewhat latitudinarian theology. He was intimate with David Hume, Adam Smith, and the other Scottish literary celebrities of his time, including Smollett and Armstrong, who lived in London, and he has given in the 'Autobiography' accounts and anecdotes of most of them. He is said (KAY, *Edinburgh Portraits*, ed. 1877, i. 67 n.) to have written the prologue to Charles Hart's 'Herminius and Aspasia,' acted in 1754, and he had made for John Home several transcripts of 'Douglas' before its performance in Edinburgh in 1756. He not only attended the rehearsals of 'Douglas,' but, though with some reluctance, was present in the Edinburgh theatre on the third night of its performance (14 Dec. 1756), and attracted additional attention by expelling some young men from the boxes where he sat for rudeness to ladies whom he accompanied. The public performance of a play written by a minister of the kirk raised an ecclesiastical storm in Scotland [see HOME, JOHN], and to the controversy thus provoked Carlyle contributed the anonymous pamphlet, 'An Argument to prove that the Tragedy of "Douglas" ought to be publicly burnt by the hands of the Hangman,' the irony of which was mistaken by some of its readers for a serious condemnation of the play. When the attendance of the upper classes began to flag, Carlyle brought a humbler class to the theatre by his broadside, hawked about the streets; with the sensational heading, 'A Full and True History of the bloody Tragedy of "Douglas" as it is now to be seen acting in the Theatre of the Canongate.' Carlyle was conspicuous among the ministers of the kirk who were summoned before their respective presbyteries to answer the charge of having entered a theatre to witness the performance of a stage-play. While professing regret for having unwittingly given offence, and promising not to offend again, Carlyle maintained before the presbytery of Dalkeith that the matter was one not for public but for private investigation and admonition. The presbytery nevertheless relegated him to be rebuked by the synod of Lothian and Tweeddale. Carlyle's friends made a strong muster at the meeting of the synod, which by a small majority accepted his contention before the presbytery that the matter demanded 'privy censure or brotherly conference,' while censuring him severely for his play-going and enjoining him to abstain from it in future (11 May 1757). On appeal by the presbytery to the general assembly the decision of the synod was affirmed by a majority of 117 to 39 (24 May). This

result was always remembered by Carlyle as a signal triumph over the fanatical party in the kirk (*Autobiography*, chap. viii.; *Scots Magazine* for 1757; MORREN, *Annals of the General Assembly*, 1838, ii. 122-9).

In the following year (1758) Carlyle paid a visit to London, where he made the acquaintance of Garrick and frequented the theatres, contributing to his friend Smollett's 'British Magazine' a criticism on John Home's 'Agis,' as then performed at Drury Lane. He also endeavoured, apparently with little success, to execute an informal commission from his Scotch ministerial brethren to plead their cause with those in authority, so as to avert the threatened enforcement against them of the window-tax. After his return home at the end of 1758 the outcry raised in consequence of the disastrous close of the St. Malo expedition led Carlyle to write the ironical pamphlet, 'Plain Reasons for removing a certain Great Man from his M——y's presence and councils for ever. Addressed to the people of England. By O. M. Haberdasher.' This is by far the most striking of Carlyle's productions. The 'great man' is the elder Pitt. Carlyle speaks of the pamphlet as having had 'a great run,' but it seems to have dropped into unmerited oblivion. From an inaccuracy in the transcript of the title it does not appear to have been seen by the editor of his 'Autobiography' (John Hill Burton), and in the new catalogue of the British Museum Library it is attributed to 'O. M. Haberdasher,' without any reference to Carlyle's authorship of it. In 1760 appeared at Edinburgh another pamphlet by Carlyle, 'The Question relating to a Scots Militia considered in a Letter to the Lords and Gentlemen who have concerted the form of a law for that establishment,' in which he unsuccessfully sought to persuade the government that the people of the country might be armed with perfect safety in spite of the fact of the rebellion of '45. Carlyle boasts that this pamphlet was republished both at Ayr and in London, in the latter case by the Marquis Townshend, who prefixed a preface. In 1762 he was appointed almoner to the king. In 1764 he published a pamphlet, 'Faction detected,' on the claim of the Edinburgh town council to present to the churches in their city. In 1769 he was appointed by the general assembly their commissioner to endeavour to procure during the ensuing session of parliament an exemption on the part of the Scottish clergy from the window-tax. The clergy subscribed about 400*l.* to defray his expenses. On his arrival in London, and doubtless to promote the success of his mission, he wrote a paper, signed Nestor, 'in support of the Duke

of Grafton, whose administration was then in a tottering state.' Probably it was during this visit to London that, having to present himself at St. James's, 'his portly figure, his fine expressive countenance, with an aquiline nose, his flowing silver locks, and the freshness of the colour of his face made a prodigious impression upon the courtiers' (Chief Commissioner ADAM, *Gift of a Grandfather*, privately printed). His mission was so far successful that, though the Scottish clergy continued to be charged with the window-tax, the collectors were instructed not to enforce payment (KAY, *Edinburgh Portraits*, i. 66). On 24 May 1770 he was elected moderator of the general assembly, and on 2 Dec. 1789 was named one of the deans of the Chapel Royal, when he resigned the office of almoner.

In 1766 Smollett had paid his last visit to Scotland, and in the description of Edinburgh given in 'Humphry Clinker,' published in 1771, he makes a complimentary reference to Carlyle. The account of the Select Society in the appendix to Dugald Stewart's memoir of Robertson the historian was furnished by Carlyle, who was a member of it. In 1789 he was a candidate for the principal clerkship to the general assembly. A severe contest took place between the moderate and the old presbyterian parties in the kirk, and the number of votes given was the largest ever known in the assembly. Carlyle was at first successful, but the result of a scrutiny asked for and granted threatened to be unfavourable, and he declined to face it. In 1771 he opposed the passing of a remonstrance by the general assembly against the necessity imposed on presbyterians of taking the communion in the Anglican form before they could hold office in England, saying that he 'must be a very narrow-minded presbyterian who could not join in the religious worship of the church' of England. In 1793 he gave a strenuous support to a scheme for the augmentation of the stipends of the Scottish clergy, and courageously protested against the want of sympathy with that body shown on the occasion by his friend Henry Dundas, then lord advocate, as the representative of the Pitt administration in the assembly. To the last he exerted himself to procure preferment, both in the English and the Scotch church, for young men of merit and of liberal views in theology, among them being the Rev. Archibald Alison, the father of the historian. Carlyle died on 25 Aug. 1805, and was buried in the churchyard of Inveresk, his friend Adam Ferguson, the historian of the Roman republic, writing the inscription on his tomb. He married, 14 Oct. 1760, Mary

Roddan, who died 31 Jan. 1804, in her sixty-first year. His 'Autobiography' gives a most agreeable impression of him as a genial, cultivated, liberal-minded, and sagacious minister of the kirk, who united to the breadth of the man of the world a sincere devotion to what he considered to be the true interests of his order, and it is unrivalled as a picture of the Edinburgh and Scotch society of his time. Although its merit had long been appreciated in manuscript, it was not published until 1860, excellently edited, with notes and a supplementary chapter, by John Hill Burton. Its full title is 'Autobiography of the Rev. Dr. Alexander Carlyle, Minister of Inveresk, containing Memorials of the Men and Events of his Time.'

Sir Walter Scott said (LOCKHART, *Life*, p. 368): 'The grandest demi-god I ever saw was Dr. Carlyle . . . commonly called "Jupiter Carlyle" . . . and a shrewd old carle was he no doubt, but no more a poet than his preceptor.' Carlyle's portrait prefixed to the 'Autobiography' somewhat resembles those of Goethe, and he retains a certain dignity even in the caricatures of him, of which there are several in Kay's 'Edinburgh Portraits.' He was more poetical than Sir Walter Scott supposed. Whether he was the author or not of the 'songs' and 'gay catches' which in an early letter to him Smollett seems to speak of as his (Supplementary chapter to *Autobiography*, p. 564), he certainly wrote the spirited and musical 'Verses on his Grace the Duke of Buccleuch's birthday' published in the 'Scots Magazine' for 1767. With Henry Mackenzie he filled up some of the *lacunæ* in an imperfect manuscript copy of Collins's 'Ode on the Superstitions of the Highlanders,' which he presented to the Royal Society of Edinburgh on its establishment, and which, with a letter from Carlyle, was published for the first time in its 'Transactions' (Edinburgh, 1788, i. 63-75). In old age he displayed an interest in Scott's 'Lay of the Last Minstrel,' and in the early poetry of Wordsworth.

Carlyle published a few sermons and contributed to Sir John Sinclair's 'Statistical Account of Scotland' (1791-9) an elaborate 'Account of the Parish of Inveresk,' topographical, historical, and statistical, in which he describes his successful introduction into Scotland of ploughing with two horses and without a driver. In the Egerton MSS. in the British Museum (Nos. 2186-6) there are several letters from Carlyle to Dr. Douglas, bishop of Salisbury, urging the claims of clerical *protégés* and gossiping about Hume, Robertson, and other Edinburgh literati. Carlyle is the subject of one of Kay's caricatures.

[Dr. Carlyle's *Autobiography*, Pamphlets, and Sermons; A Series of Original Portraits and Caricature Etchings by the late John Kay, miniature painter, Edinburgh, with Biographical Sketches and Illustrative Anecdotes (new edition), 1877; Hew Scott's *Fasti Eccl. Scot.* i. 287, 396, 399; authorities cited.] F. E.

CARLYLE, JANE WELSH. [See under CARLYLE, THOMAS, 1795-1881.]

CARLYLE, JOHN AITKEN, M.D. (1801-1879), younger brother of Thomas Carlyle (1795-1881) [q.v.] was born at Ecclefechan, Dumfriesshire, on 7 July 1801. 'A logic chopper from the cradle' is one of the descriptions given of him by his elder brother, whom at an early age he succeeded as a teacher at the Annan academy. Thomas Carlyle, when tutor to the Bulls, devoted a portion of his salary to enable John Carlyle to study medicine at the university of Edinburgh, where he took his degree of M.D. in or about 1825. Two years later the same brother sent him to complete his medical education in Germany, and maintained him for several years in London, where he tried to obtain practice as a physician. Failing in this he attempted literature, and contributed a little to 'Fraser's Magazine' and other periodicals. He helped his brother in translating Legendre's *Geometry*. In 1831, on the recommendation of his brother's helpful friend, Francis Jeffrey, he was appointed travelling physician to the Countess of Clare, with a salary of three hundred guineas a year and his expenses. In the following year he remitted money to his mother, and paid off his debt to his brother. Occasionally visiting England and Scotland, he spent some seven years in Italy with Lady Clare, in the intervals of his attendance practising for some time on his own account as a physician in Rome, where, during an outbreak of cholera, he gave his medical services gratuitously among the poor. Returning to England in 1837, he became in 1838 travelling physician to the Duke of Buccleuch, with whom he revisited the continent. By 1843 he had resigned this position, and, possessed of a moderate competency, abandoned almost entirely the practice of his profession, declining an invitation from Lady Holland, given at the suggestion of Lord Jeffrey, to become her physician in attendance. He lived for several years in lodgings near the Chelsea residence of his brother, to whom, medically and otherwise, he made himself very useful. The first instalment of what he intended to be an English prose translation of the whole of Dante's great poem appeared in 1849 as 'Dante's Divine Comedy, the Inferno, with the text of the original col-

lated from the best editions, and explanatory notes,' a volume which, under whatever aspect it is viewed, leaves little to be desired. The preface contains an estimate of Dante as a man and a poet, in which the influence of Thomas Carlyle is very conspicuous. After the preface come two appendices, useful contributions to the critical bibliography of the 'Divina Commedia,' and its commentators and translators. A second edition, revised, appeared in 1867, with a prefatory notice, in which Dr. Carlyle spoke of issuing two volumes more, containing translations of the 'Purgatorio' and the 'Paradiso.' But the hope was not fulfilled, though he had executed a considerable portion of the task. A third edition of the 'Inferno,' a reprint of the second edition, was issued in 1882.

In 1852 Dr. Carlyle married a rich widow with several children, and she died in 1854. After her death he resided for several years in Edinburgh, ultimately settling in Dumfriesshire. He devoted much of his time in later years to the study of the Icelandic language and literature. On the death of his sister-in-law, Mrs. Thomas Carlyle, he offered to take up his abode with his bereaved brother. The offer was declined. Complaints of his brother John's 'careless helter-skelter ways' occur not infrequently in Carlyle's annotations to the letters of his wife, while he bears testimony in them to Dr. Carlyle's 'good, affectionate, manly character and fine talents,' and his many letters to him, published by Mr. Froude, are uniformly affectionate in tone. By his friends, Dr. Carlyle was regarded as a man of amiable and tranquil disposition, as well as of ability and accomplishment.

In 1861 Dr. Carlyle edited his friend Dr. Irving's posthumous 'History of Scottish Poetry,' adding a little fresh matter to the text and notes, and appending a brief glossary of Scotch words occurring in the volume. In 1878 he made over to the acting committee of the Association for the Better Endowment of the University of Edinburgh 1,600*l.*, to found two medical bursaries of not less than 25*l.* each, now worth 32*l.* each, known by the founder's name, and tenable for one year.

Thomas Carlyle speaks of John in his will as having 'no need of money or help,' but left him a life-interest in the lease of the house at Chelsea, with his books and the fragments of his history of James I. He made him, too, his chief executor, and asked him to superintend the execution of the instructions in his will, saying, in respect to them, 'I wish him to be regarded as my second self, my surviving self.' Dr. Carlyle did not, however, survive his brother. He died at Dumfries, 15 Dec. 1879.

[Carlyle's Reminiscences (1881); Froude's Thomas Carlyle, a History of the First Forty Years of his Life (1882); Froude's Thomas Carlyle, a History of his Life in London (1884); Letters and Memorials of Jane Welsh Carlyle (1883); The Correspondence of Thomas Carlyle and Ralph Waldo Emerson (1883); Thomas Carlyle's Printed Will (1880); Edinburgh University Calendar for 1879-80; Early Letters of Carlyle, by C. E. Norton (1886)]. F. E.

**CARLYLE, JOSEPH DACRE** (1759-1804), Arabic scholar, born in 1759 at Carlisle, where his father practised as a physician, was educated at the Carlisle grammar school, and was then entered at Christ's College, Cambridge, whence he presently removed to Queens', proceeded B.A. in 1779, and was elected a fellow of Queens', took his M.A. degree in 1783, and B.D. in 1793. During his residence at Cambridge he profited by the instructions of a native of Bagdad, whose europeanised name was David Zamio, and became so proficient in oriental languages that he was appointed professor of Arabic on the resignation of Dr. Craven in 1795. In the meantime he had obtained some church preferment at Carlisle, and had succeeded Paley in 1793 as chancellor of that city. In 1792 he published in 4to the 'Rerum Ægyptiacarum Annales,' translated from the Arabic of Yûsuf ibn Taghrî Birdî, a meagre work of slight historical value; and in 1796, also 4to, 'Specimens of Arabian Poetry' (with some account of the authors selected), translations in which a certain elegance of diction is more striking than the fidelity to the spirit and colour of the originals. In 1799 he was appointed chaplain to Lord Elgin's mission to Constantinople, with the special duties of learned referee; and he made a tour through Asia Minor, Palestine, Greece, and Italy, collecting Greek and Syriac manuscripts for a proposed new version of the New Testament, which unfortunately he did not live to accomplish. Returning to England in September 1801, he was presented to the living of Newcastle-on-Tyne; but his health had been seriously impaired by the fatigues of travel, and he also suffered from a special and painful malady, to which he succumbed on 12 April 1804. His 'Poems suggested chiefly by Scenes in Asia Minor, Syria, and Greece,' together with some translations from the Arabic, were published after his death, 1805, 4to, with extracts from his journal and a preface by his sister. He had also almost completed an account of his tour through the Troad, which was never published, and had advanced so far in his Arabic Bible, revised from Walton's text, that it was issued at

Newcastle, edited by H. Ford, professor of Arabic at Oxford, in 1811.

[Gent. Mag. 1804, p. 390; Miss Carlyle's Preface to the Specimens of Arabic Poetry.]

S. L.-P.

**CARLYLE, THOMAS** (1803-1855), an apostle of the Catholic Apostolic church, was born at King's Grange, Kirkcudbrightshire, on 17 July 1803. His father was William Carlyle, and his mother Margaret Heriot, widow of William McMurdo of Savannah, Georgia. He was first educated at Annan academy, in company with Edward Irving, and afterwards at the Dumfries academy, studied at the Edinburgh University, and was called to the Scottish bar in 1824. By the death of John Carlyle of Torthorwald, in October 1824, the claim to the dormant title of Baron Carlyle devolved on Thomas Carlyle (CARLISLE's *Collections for a History of the Ancient Family of Carlisle*, London, 1822, 4to, pp. 140-1). In 1827 he published 'An Essay to illustrate the Foundation, the Necessity, the Nature, and the Evidence of Christianity, and to connect True Philosophy with the Bible. By a Layman,' and in 1829 'The Word made Flesh, or the True Humanity of God in Christ demonstrated from the Scriptures.' In the well-known 'Row heresy case,' when the Rev. John McLeod Campbell, minister of Row, Argyllshire, was tried and finally deposed by the courts of the church of Scotland in 1831, Carlyle acted during the various stages of the trial as legal counsel for Campbell (*Memoir of the Rev. J. McLeod Campbell, D.D.*, 1877, i. 77, 103, 115). Having much in common with the opinions of Dr. Campbell, he also sympathised with many of the views of his friend Edward Irving, and adopted and advocated those religious tenets taught by the Catholic Apostolic church. This church having been founded on 19 Oct. 1832, the appointment of the apostle proceeded, and in Edinburgh in April 1835 Carlyle was named the ninth apostle of the denomination, and in the same year gave up his practice at the bar, left Edinburgh, and settled with his wife at Albury, Surrey. He was one of the members of the assembly of the twelve apostles and seven prophets [see CARDALE, JOHN BATE]. In 1838 Prussia and North Germany, called 'The tribe of Simeon,' and supposed to represent 'quiet perseverance in accomplishing what is aimed at,' were allotted to Carlyle, who henceforth was known as 'The Apostle for North Germany.' In that country he therefore very frequently resided, and went about collecting and superintending congregations of converts, and while there made the acquaintance of Eerlach, Neander,

and other theologians. Among his converts were Herr Thiersch, the church historian, and Herr Charles J. T. Böhm, author of various works. The results of his acquaintance with the German language, literature, society, and religious thought were given in his work, 'The Moral Phenomena of Germany,' which appeared in 1845, and of which more than one edition was printed in German. This work having won him the acquaintance of Baron Bunsen, he introduced him to King Frederick William of Prussia, who had been much interested in reading the 'Moral Phenomena.' His work seriously impaired his health, and he died at Heath House, Albury, on 28 Jan. 1855, and was buried in Albury parish church on 3 Feb. He married on 7 Sept. 1826 Frances Wallace, daughter of the Rev. Archibald Laurie, D.D., minister of Loudoun, Ayrshire. She died at Pau on 22 Feb. 1874.

Carlyle's other writings not already mentioned were: 1. 'The Scottish Jurist. Conducted by T. Carlyle,' 1829. 2. 'The First Resurrection and the Second Death,' 1830. 3. 'Letter to the Editor of the "Christian Instructor,"' 1830. 4. 'A Letter to the King of Prussia,' 1847. 5. 'On the Sacrament of Baptism,' 1850. 6. 'The One Catholic Supremacy,' 1851. 7. 'A Short History of the Apostolic Work,' 1851. 8. 'The History of the Christian Church. By H. W. J. Thiersch. Vol. I. The Church in the Apostolic Age. Translated by T. Carlyle,' 1852. 9. 'The Jew our Law-giver,' 1853. 10. 'The Door of Hope for Britain,' 1853. 11. 'The Door of Hope for Christendom,' 1853. 12. 'Apostles given, lost, and restored,' 1853. 13. 'On the Office of the Paraclete in the Prayers of the Church,' 1853. 14. 'On Symbols in Worship,' 1853. 15. 'Our present Position in Spiritual Chronology,' 1853; another edition, 1879. 16. 'On the Epistles to the Seven Churches,' 1854. 17. 'Warning for the Unwary against Spiritual Evil,' 1854. 18. 'Shall Turkey live or die?' 1854. 19. 'Pleadings with my Mother, the Church in Scotland,' 1854. 20. 'Blicke eines Engländer's in die kirchlichen und sozialen Zustände Deutschlands von T. Carlyle. Uebersetzt von B. Frh. von Richthofen,' 1870. 21. 'Collected Writings of the late T. Carlyle,' 1878.

A reference to Carlyle in the 'Reminiscences' (i. 312) of his famous namesake is not to be trusted; at any rate there is not the least ground for supposing that the advocate Thomas Carlyle ever intentionally contributed to the mistakes of identity there described. The story on which Carlyle's account is founded is told in the 'Memorials' of Janet Welsh Carlyle (i. 204).

[Miller's Irvingism, i. 14, &c. ii. 416; Athænum, 14 May 1881, p. 654; Hare's Life of Baroness Bunsen (3rd ed. 1882), ii. 76; information received from the Rev. H. G. Graham, Glasgow.] G. C. B.

CARLYLE, THOMAS (1795-1881), essayist and historian, was born 4 Dec. 1795 at Ecclefechan in Annandale. He was grandson of a Thomas Carlyle, first a carpenter and afterwards a small farmer at Brownknowe, near Burnswark Hill. Francis, a brother of the elder Thomas, was a rough sailor of the Trunion type. The brothers had been separated by a long quarrel, and among the earliest recollections of the younger Thomas was a sight of the granduncle, who was being carried upstairs to be reconciled with the dying grandfather. Both brothers were tough, irascible men, as much given to fighting as to working. Thomas married Anne Gillespie, by whom he had four sons and two daughters. The second son, James, born in 1757, inherited the paternal temper, and was roughly brought up, and allowed to ramble over the country shooting hares. He received early religious impressions from John Orr, schoolmaster and shoemaker, who was pious when sober, but often spent weeks at the pot-house. In 1773 James became apprenticed to a mason, William Brown, married to his eldest sister Fanny. He afterwards set up in business with a brother, built a house for himself in Ecclefechan, and there made a home for his father and brothers. In 1791 he married a cousin, Janet Carlyle, who died after giving birth to one son, John. Two years after her death (1794) James Carlyle married Janet Aitken. Their first child, Thomas, was followed by three sons and five daughters. The sons were John Aitken [q. v.]; Alexander (b. 1797), who emigrated to Canada, and died 1876; and James (b. 1805), who took the farm at Scotsbrig and survived his brothers. The daughters were Janet, who died in infancy; Margaret (b. 1803), died unmarried in 1830; Mary (b. 1808), who became Mrs. Austin; Jane, or 'craw Jean' (b. 1810), who married her cousin, James Aitken, in 1833; and Janet (b. 1813), who became Mrs. Hanning, and settled in Canada. James Carlyle was from the first steady, abstemious, and a thorough workman. His business prospered, and he joined the 'burghers,' a sect of rigorous seceders from the kirk, who had a 'heath-thatched' meeting-house in Ecclefechan. He was a man of remarkable force of mind and character, strong affections masked by habitual reserve, and the religious temperament characteristic of the stern Scotch Calvinist.

Thomas Carlyle learnt reading from his mother, and arithmetic (at five) from his fa-

ther. He was then sent to the village school. His English was reported to be 'complete' in his seventh year, and he was set to Latin. As the schoolmaster was incompetent he was taught by Johnstone, the burgher minister, and his son, an Edinburgh student. At Whitsuntide 1805 he was sent to Annan grammar school. He had already shown a violent temper, and his mother now made him promise not to return a blow. He had, consequently, to put up with much cruelty, until he turned against a tormentor, and, though beaten, proved himself to be a dangerous subject for bullying. The two first years, he says, were miserable. His school experience is reflected in 'Sartor Resartus' (bk. ii. ch. iii.; see also 'Cruthers and Johnson' in *Fraser's Mag.* January 1831). He learnt to read French and Latin and the Greek alphabet; he learnt a little geometry and algebra; and devoured all the books he could get. His father perceived the son's ability, and decided to send him to the university with a view to the ministry. Carlyle accordingly walked to Edinburgh—a hundred miles distant—in the November term 1809, and went through the usual course. He acquired some Greek and Latin; was disgusted with the uncongenial rhetoric of Thomas Brown upon the association philosophy; but made some real progress in mathematics under John Leslie, who earned his lasting gratitude by zealous help. He became a leading spirit among a small circle of friends of his own class. Their letters show remarkable interest in literary matters. One of them addresses him as 'Dean' and 'Jonathan,' implying that he is to be a second Swift. Another speaks of his 'Shandean turn of expression.' 'Tristram Shandy' was one of his favourite books. Carlyle contemplated an epic poem. He still studied mathematics. He advised his friends sensibly, and was ready to help them from his little savings.

To fill up the interval which must elapse before his intended ordination, Carlyle obtained in 1814 the mathematical tutorship at Annan. He thus became independent, and was able to put by something from his salary of 60*l.* or 70*l.* a year. He was near his father, who had now settled in a farm at Mainhill, two miles from Ecclefechan. Here he passed his holidays; but his life at Annan was solitary, and chiefly spent among his books. His divinity course involved an annual address at Edinburgh. He delivered in 1814 'a weak, flowery, sentimental' sermon in English, and a Latin discourse (Christmas 1815), also 'weak enough' on the question, 'Num detur religio naturalis?' On the last occasion he had a little passage of arms with



Edward Irving, to whom he now spoke for the first time at a friend's rooms. Irving was an old pupil of the Annan school, where Carlyle had once seen him on a visit. He had become a schoolmaster at Kirkcaldy. Some of the parents were discontented with his teaching, and resolved to import a second schoolmaster. Christieson (professor of Latin at Edinburgh) and Leslie recommended Carlyle, who thus in the summer of 1816 became a rival of Irving. Irving, however, welcomed him with a generosity which he warmly acknowledged, and they at once formed a close intimacy. Carlyle made use of Irving's library, where he read Gibbon and much French literature, and they made little expeditions together, vividly described in the 'Reminiscences' (vol. i.) To Irving's literary example Carlyle thinks that he owed 'something of his own poor affectations' in style (*Reminiscences*, i. 119).

Carlyle's school duties were thoroughly distasteful. His reserve, irritability, and power of sarcasm were bad equipments for a schoolmaster's work. He kept his pupils in awe without physical force, but his success was chiefly negative. He saw little society, but was attracted by a Miss Margaret Gordon, an ex-pupil of Irving's, probably the original of 'Blumine' in 'Sartor Resartus.' An aunt with whom Miss Gordon lived put a stop to some talk of an engagement. Miss Gordon took leave of him in a remarkable letter, in which, after a serious warning against the dangers of pride and excessive severity, she begs him to think of her as a sister, though she will not see him again. She soon married a member of parliament who became 'governor of Nova Scotia (or so)' and was living about 1840.

'Schoolmastering' had become intolerable. The ministry had also become out of the question, as Carlyle's wider reading had led to his abandonment of the orthodox views. In September 1818 he told his father that he had saved about 90%, and with this and a few mathematical pupils could support himself in Edinburgh till he could qualify himself for the bar. He accordingly went to Edinburgh in December 1819 with Irving, who had given up his own school with a view to entering upon his ministerial functions. Carlyle had now begun to suffer from the dyspepsia which tormented him through life: 'A rat was gnawing at the pit of his stomach.' The consequent irritability already found vent in language of grotesque exaggeration where it is often difficult to distinguish between the serious and the intentionally humorous. The little annoyances incidental to life in mean lodgings are transfigured into

a haunting of the furies. The 'three most miserable years' of his life followed. He obtained a pupil or two and was employed by Brewster on the 'Encyclopædias.' He managed just to pay his way; but he soon gave up his law studies—always uncongenial—and found no other opening. The misery of the lower classes at this time of universal depression made a profound impression, and he sympathised with the general discontent. He was also going through a religious crisis. The collapse of his old beliefs seemed to leave him no escape from gloomy and degrading materialism. After much mental agony, he one day in June 1821, after 'three weeks of total sleeplessness,' went through the crisis described 'quite literally' in 'Sartor Resartus' (bk. ii. ch. vii., where the Rue St. Thomas de l'Enfer stands for Leith Walk). From this hour he dated his 'spiritual new birth,' though for four years more he had many mental struggles. Carlyle had now taken to German study, and his great helper in this crisis appears to have been Goethe. The serenity of Goethe probably attracted him by the contrast to his own vehemence. Goethe, as he thought, showed that the highest culture and most unreserved acceptance of the results of modern inquiry might be combined with a reverent and truly religious conception of the universe. Carlyle continued to revere Goethe, though the religious sentiments which he preserved, Scotch Calvinism minus the dogma, were very unlike those of his spiritual guide.

During this period of struggle Carlyle was supported by the steady confidence of his father, the anxious affection of his mother, and the cordial sympathy of his brothers and sisters. He was eagerly welcomed on occasional visits to Mainhill, and, though sometimes alarming his family by his complaints, always returned their affection and generally made the best of his prospects. To them he seldom said a harsh word. Another consolation was the friendship of Irving, now (October 1819) under Chalmers at Glasgow. He visited Irving in 1820, and at Drumclog Moor, whither Irving had walked with him on the way to Ecclefechan, explained to his friend the difference of faith which now divided them. The scene is vividly described in the 'Reminiscences' (i. 177). Carlyle walked fifty-four miles the next day, the longest walk he ever took. Irving did his utmost both to comfort Carlyle and to find him employment. Carlyle had applied in vain to London booksellers, proposing, for one thing, a complete translation of Schiller. Captain Basil Hall had offered to take Carlyle as a kind of scientific secretary, an offer which Carlyle

declined. Meanwhile Irving, on preaching experimentally in Hatton Garden, had made acquaintance with two sisters, Mrs. Strachey and Mrs. Charles Buller. Mrs. Buller consulted Irving upon the education of her two eldest sons, Charles [q. v.] and Arthur, afterwards Sir Arthur. Irving recommended Edinburgh University with Carlyle for a tutor, and in January 1822 Carlyle accepted the proposal. The two lads joined him in the following spring. His salary was 200*l.* a year. The parents of his pupils came to Edinburgh in the autumn of 1822. Carlyle lodged at 3 Moray Place, Pilrig Street, spending the day with his pupils. In the spring of 1823 the Bullers took Kinnaird House, near Dunkeld. Carlyle spent the rest of the year there with them, and on the whole happily, though occasionally grumbling at dyspepsia and the ways of fine ladies and gentlemen. At the end of January 1824 the Bullers finally returned to London, Carlyle staying at Mainhill to finish a translation of 'Wilhelm Meister.' At the beginning of June he followed the Bullers to London in a sailing ship, and found them hesitating between various schemes. After a week at Kew with Charles Buller, who was now intended for Cambridge, he resolved to give up his place. He had been much attracted by his pupil Charles, but to his proud spirit a life of dependence upon grand people, with constantly unsettled plans and with no definite outlook for himself, had naturally become intolerable.

His improved income had enabled him to help his family. Out of his 200*l.* a year he supported his brother John as a medical student in Edinburgh, and stocked a farm for his brother Alexander, besides sending many presents to his parents. He had been actively writing. He had translated Legendre's 'Geometry,' for which he received 50*l.*, and wrote in one morning an introduction on the doctrine of Proportion, of which he speaks with complacency. Irving, who had finally settled in London, in the summer of 1822 had mentioned Carlyle to Taylor, proprietor of the 'London Magazine.' Taylor offered him sixteen guineas a sheet for a series of 'Portraits of Men of Genius and Character.' The first was to be a life of Schiller, which appeared in the 'London Magazine' in 1823-4. An Edinburgh publisher, Boyd, accepted the translation of 'Wilhelm Meister.' Carlyle was to receive 180*l.* for the first edition, 250*l.* for a thousand copies of a second, and afterwards to have the copyright. Carlyle, therefore, accustomed to the severe economy of his father's house, was sufficiently prosperous. On leaving the Bullers he was thrown on his own resources.

Hestayed on in London trying to find some occupation. In the summer of 1824 he spent two months at Birmingham with Mr. Badams, a manufacturer, of some literary knowledge and scientific culture. Badams hoped to cure Carlyle's dyspepsia by a judicious regimen, and though he failed to do much, Carlyle was touched by his kindness. (For Badams, see *Reminiscences*, ii. 164; FROUDE, ii. 176.) From Birmingham Carlyle went to Dover, where the Irvings were staying, and made a brief visit to Paris, in company with Mr. and Mrs. Strachey and Mrs. Strachey's cousin, Miss 'Kitty' Kirkpatrick. He remembered every detail with singular fidelity, and his impressions were of service in the history of the French revolution. On returning, he took lodgings in Islington, near Irving, and stayed there, occupied in publishing negotiations, till his return to Scotland in March 1825. His 'Schiller,' reprinted from the 'London Magazine,' was issued before his departure, bringing him about 100*l.*

Carlyle received strong impressions from his first view of London society. He judged it much as Knox judged the court of Mary, or St. John the Baptist (see FROUDE, ii. 334) the court of Herod. He is typified by Teufelsdröckh, 'a wild seer, shaggy, unkempt, like a baptist living on locusts and wild honey.' The rugged independence of the Scotch peasant, resenting even well-meant patronage, colours his judgments of the fashionable world, while an additional severity is due to his habitual dyspepsia. The circle to whom Irving had introduced him are described in the 'Reminiscences' with a graphic power in which a desire to acknowledge real kindness and merit struggles against a generally unfavourable opinion. Of Mrs. Strachey, indeed, he speaks with real warmth, and he admired for the present 'the noble lady,' Mrs. Basil Montagu, of whom there is a striking and generally favourable portrait (*Reminiscences*, p. 227). But the social atmosphere was evidently uncongenial. He still admired Irving, whom he always loved; but felt keenly that his friend was surrounded by a circle whose flattery was dangerous to his simplicity, and which mistook a flush of excitement for deep religious feeling. Yet Carlyle still believes that he will escape from the 'gross incense of preaching popularity' (FROUDE, i. 258). Carlyle formed a still more disparaging estimate of the men of letters. Upon these 'things for writing articles' he lavished his most exaggerated expressions of scorn. Coleridge was dawdling upon Highgate Hill, wasting his genius upon aimless talk; Hazlitt a mere Bohemian; Campbell's powers had left him; Charles Lamb (of whose pathetic

story he was ignorant, 'something of real insanity I have understood,' *Reminiscences*, ii. 166) had degenerated into a mere cockney idol, ruined by flattery. Southey and Wordsworth had 'retired far from the din of this monstrous city,' and Carlyle thought best to follow their example. If his judgment was harsh, it put new force into his resolution to deliver his own message to a backsliding generation, and to refuse at whatever cost to prostitute his talents for gain or flattery.

The most gratifying incident of this period was a letter from Goethe acknowledging the translation of 'Meister,' and introducing 'the Lords Bentinck' (one of them Lord George), whom Carlyle did not see. The translation had been successful. Carlyle had arranged to translate other selections from German writers, which ultimately appeared in 1827. He proceeded to carry out his scheme of retirement. His father took a farm called Hoddam Hill, about two miles from Mainhill, at a rent of 100*l.* a year. His brother Alexander managed the farm; and Carlyle settled down with his books, and after some idleness took up his translating. The quiet, the country air, and long rides on his 'wild Irish horse "Larry,"' improved his health and spirits, and justified his choice; but his life was now to be seriously changed.

JANE BAILLIE WELSH was descended from two unrelated families, both named Welsh. They had long been settled at the manor-house of Craigenputtock. Her father, John Welsh, descended through a long line of John Welshes from John Welsh, a famous minister of Ayr, whose wife was daughter of John Knox. The last John Welsh (*b.* 4 April 1776) was a pupil of one of the Bells, and afterwards became a country doctor at Haddington. His father, John Welsh of Penfillan (so called after his farm), survived him, dying in 1823. Dr. Welsh, in 1801, married Grace, or Grizzie, Welsh, daughter of Walter Welsh, a stock-farmer, who upon his daughter's marriage settled at Templand, near Penfillan. Walter's wife, a Miss Baillie, claimed descent from William Wallace. A John Welsh, often mentioned in the books upon Carlyle, was son of Walter, and therefore maternal uncle of Jane Baillie Welsh. He settled at Liverpool, became bankrupt through the dishonesty of a partner, and afterwards retrieved his fortune and paid his creditors in full. Jane Baillie Welsh (*b.* 14 July 1801) was the only child of her parents. From her infancy she was remarkably bright and self-willed. She insisted on learning Latin, and was sent to Haddington school. Irving came there as a master, lived in her father's house, and introduced her to

Virgil. On her tenth birthday she burnt her doll on a funeral pyre, after the model of Dido; at fourteen she wrote a tragedy, and continued for many years to write poetry. Her father, the only person who had real influence with her, died of typhus fever caught from a patient in September 1819, and her health suffered from the blow for years. She continued to live with her mother, to whom her father had left a sufficient income, and became known from her wit and beauty as 'the flower of Haddington.' She was sought by many lovers, and encouraged more than one, but cherished a childish passion for her tutor Irving. He had removed to Kirkcaldy, and there, while Miss Welsh was still a child, became engaged to Miss Martin. He continued to visit Haddington, and came to a mutual understanding with Miss Welsh. They hoped, it seems, that the Martins would consent to release him; but when this hope was disappointed, both agreed that he must keep to his engagement. Irving married in the autumn of 1823. Meanwhile, in June 1821, Irving had brought Carlyle from Edinburgh to Haddington, and there introduced him to Miss Welsh. Carlyle obtained permission to send her books, opened a correspondence, and saw her on her occasional visits to Edinburgh. Irving wrote some final letters of farewell to Miss Welsh in the autumn of 1822.

Carlyle, who was quite ignorant of this affair, was meanwhile becoming more intimate with Miss Welsh, who was beginning to recognise his remarkable qualities, and to regard him with a much deeper feeling than that which she had formerly entertained for Irving. In the summer of 1823, while he was at Kinnaird, she had told him emphatically that he had misunderstood a previous letter, and that she would never be his wife. Soon afterwards she executed a deed transferring the whole of her father's property, some 200*l.* or 300*l.* a year (FROUDE, iii. 237), which had been left to her, to her mother, in order that her husband, if she ever married, might not be able to diminish her mother's income. She also left the whole to Carlyle in case of her own and her mother's death.

For the next two years the intimacy gradually increased, with various occasional difficulties. In the spring of 1824 she had promised, apparently in a fit of repentance for a quarrel, that she would become his wife if he could achieve independence. Some remarkable letters passed during his stay in England. Carlyle proposed his favourite scheme for settling with her as his wife upon a farm—her farm of Craigenputtock, for example, then about to become vacant—and devoting himself to his lofty aspirations. Miss Welsh

answered by pointing out the sacrifice of comfort and social position to herself, and said frankly that she did not love him well enough for a husband. Yet she showed some relenting, and was unwilling to break entirely. The solution came by the strange interference of Mrs. Montagu, who, though a friend to Irving and Carlyle, was unknown to Miss Welsh. Mrs. Montagu warned Miss Welsh against the dangers of still cherishing her passion for Irving. In answer Miss Welsh stated her intention of marrying Carlyle. The lady protested, and exhorted Miss Welsh not to conceal the story from her new lover. Hereupon Miss Welsh sent the letter to Carlyle, who now for the first time became aware of her former feeling for Irving. Hitherto she had spoken of Irving so bitterly that Carlyle had remonstrated. He was startled into unwonted humility, and begged her to consider the risk of sacrificing herself to one of his 'strange dark humours.' For answer she came to see him in person (September 1825), and was introduced as his promised bride to his family, who received her with simple courtesy, and always remained on affectionate terms.

Carlyle now fell to work on his translations. Many difficulties remained. A dispute with the landlord led to the abandonment of Hoddam Hill by his father. The Mainhill lease also expired in 1826, and the Carlyles moved to Scotsbrig, a neighbouring farm. Carlyle was anxious to begin his married life, and had saved 200*l.* to start house-keeping. Some small schemes for regular literary employment fell through, but Carlyle thought that he might find some quiet cottage near Edinburgh where work would be possible. Various plans were discussed. Mrs. Welsh heartily disapproved of her daughter's match, thinking Carlyle irreligious, ill-tempered, and socially inferior. Miss Welsh, as the beauty of a small country town, was in a class superior to that of the Carlyles, though superior neither in income nor position to the society to which Carlyle had been admitted while her first love, Irving, was his most intimate friend. Mrs. Welsh consented at last to allow the pair to take up their abode with her. Carlyle declined on the ground that he must be master in his own house, and that the proposed arrangement would inevitably lead, as was only too probable, to disagreements. The mother and daughter had frequent disputes (FROUDE, iii. 66), not likely to be the milder for Carlyle's presence. The Carlyle family themselves declared that it would be impossible for Miss Welsh to submit to the rough conditions of life at Scotsbrig. At last Car-

lyle's original plan, which seems to have been the most reasonable, was adopted, and a house was taken at Comley Bank, Edinburgh. Mrs. Welsh was to settle with her father at Templand. The marriage expenses were paid for by the proceeds of the 'German Romances,' and the wedding took place at Templand, 17 Oct. 1826.

The marriage of two of the most remarkable people of their time had been preceded by some ominous symptoms. Carlyle's intense and enduring affection for his wife is shown in letters of extreme tenderness and by many unequivocal symptoms. It was unfortunately too often masked by explosions of excessive irritability, and by the constant gloom increased by his complete absorption in his work. From the first, too, it seems to have been less the passion of a lover than admiration of an intellectual companion. Mrs. Carlyle's brilliancy was associated with a scorn for all illusions and a marked power of uttering unpleasant truths. There can be no doubt that she sincerely loved Carlyle, though she is reported to have said that she had married 'for ambition' and was miserable. Her childlessness left her to constant solitude, and her mind preyed upon itself. The result was that a union, externally irreproachable, and founded upon genuine affection, was marred by painful discords which have been laid bare with unsparing frankness. Carlyle's habit of excessive emphasis and exaggeration of speech has deepened the impression.

The marriage started happily. The Carlyles lived in the simplest style, with one servant. Mrs. Carlyle was a charming hostess, and the literary people of Edinburgh came to see her and listen to her husband's astonishing monologues. The money difficulty soon became pressing. Carlyle tried a novel, which had to be burnt. He suggested a scheme for a literary Annual Register; but the publishers, disappointed in the sale of 'Meister' and 'Schiller,' turned a deaf ear. In spite of their difficulties the Carlyles refused a present of 60*l.* from Mrs. Welsh. Carlyle, however, began to think again of Craigenputtock, with fresh country air and exercise. His brother Alexander was willing to take the farm, where the tenant was in arrears, and Mrs. Welsh, now at Templand, approved the change, which would bring her daughter within fifteen miles of her. It was agreed that Alexander Carlyle should take the farm at Whitsuntide 1827, and that the Thomas Carlyles should occupy the house, which was separate from the farmhouse, as soon as it could be prepared. Meanwhile some gleams of prosperity helped to detain Carlyle at Edinburgh. His reputation was

rising. In August 1827 he received a warm acknowledgment from Goethe of his 'Life of Schiller,' with a present of books, medals, a necklace for Mrs. Carlyle, and a pocket-book for himself.

Carlyle had formed a more directly useful acquaintance with Jeffrey. An article sent by Irving's advice to the 'Edinburgh Review' had received no notice; but Carlyle, supplied with a letter of introduction from Procter (*Reminiscences*, ii. 21), resolved at last to call upon Jeffrey. Jeffrey was friendly, discovered a relationship to Mrs. Carlyle, to whom he became specially attached, and accepted articles for the 'Edinburgh.' Two, upon Jean Paul and on German Literature, appeared in June and October 1827, and the latter brought a flattering inquiry from Goethe as to the authorship. The slight improvement in his finances immediately encouraged Carlyle to send his brother John to study medicine in Germany. Jeffrey further tried by his interest with Brougham to obtain Carlyle's appointment to a professorship in the newly founded London University. He supported Carlyle in a candidature for the professorship of moral philosophy at St. Andrews, vacated by Dr. Chalmers. Testimonials were given not only by Irving, Buller, Brewster, Wilson, Leslie, and Jeffrey, but by Goethe. They failed, however, in consequence of the opposition of the principal, Dr. Nicol. Craigenputtock thus became almost a necessity; and the discovery that their landlord at Comley Bank had accepted another tenant decided them to move at the end of May 1828.

Carlyle hoped that in the seclusion of Craigenputtock he would be able to support himself by writings worthy of himself. He would not turn out a page of inferior workmanship or condescend to the slightest compromise with his principles. He struggled on for six years with varying success. He wrote the articles which form the first three volumes of the 'Miscellanies.' They appeared chiefly in the 'Edinburgh Review,' and in the 'Foreign Review' and 'Fraser's Magazine,' both new ventures. He wrote nothing which was not worth subsequent collection, and some of these writings are among his most finished performances. Down to the end of 1830 his work (except the article on Burns) was chiefly upon German literature, especially upon Goethe, with whom he continued to have a pleasant correspondence. His health was better than usual, the complaints of dyspepsia disappear from his letters; but the money question became urgent. His articles, always the slow product of a kind of mental agony, were his only resource. He

was still supporting his brother John, who returned to London about 1830, and could get no patients. In February 1831 Carlyle had only 5*l.*, and expected no more for months. He concealed his poverty from his brother, and did his best to encourage him. The demand for his articles had declined. German literature, of which he had begun a history, was not a marketable topic. His brother Alexander, to whom he had advanced 240*l.*, had failed at Craigenputtock; and after leaving it at Whitsuntide 1831 (FROUDE, ii. 144) was for a time without employment. Jeffrey's transference of the editorship of the 'Edinburgh Review' to Macvey Napier in the middle of 1829 stopped one source of income. In the beginning of 1831 Carlyle cut up his history of German literature into articles, and worked desperately at 'Sartor Resartus.' John had been forced to borrow from Jeffrey; and Carlyle resolved at last to go to London and try the publishers. He hoped to find encouragement for settling there permanently. He was forced to borrow 50*l.* from Jeffrey, and reached London 9 Aug. 1831. Neither Murray, nor the Longmans, nor Fraser would buy 'Sartor Resartus.' Carlyle found Irving plunged into dangerous illusions; Badams falling into difficulties and drink; and his old friends, as he thought, cold or faithless. A great relief, however, came through Jeffrey, who obtained an appointment for John as travelling physician to the Countess of Clare, with a salary of 300 guineas a year. Freed from this strain, Carlyle's income might suffice. Mrs. Carlyle was now able to join him in London (1 Oct. 1831), where they took lodgings at 4 Ampton Street, Gray's Inn Road, with a family named Miles, belonging to Irving's congregation. They saw Charles Buller, and now made acquaintance with J. S. Mill. Carlyle wrote his 'Characteristics,' which was accepted by Napier for the 'Edinburgh,' and his article upon Boswell's 'Johnson' for Fraser. Bulwer, now editing the 'New Monthly,' asked for articles, and Hayward got Lardner, as editor of the 'Cabinet Encyclopædia,' to offer 300*l.* for the 'History of German Literature.' The death of his father, 22 Jan. 1832, came upon Carlyle as a heavy blow. Though he had not obtained a publisher for 'Sartor Resartus,' he had established relations with some editors for future work; and he retired again for a time to the now vacant Craigenputtock, reaching it about the middle of April 1832. He set to work upon 'Diderot,' which he finished in October, and then made an excursion in Annandale. In November Mrs. Carlyle was called to the deathbed of her grandfather, Walter Welsh, at Templand. The solitude, the absence of books, and the weak-

ness of Mrs. Carlyle's health were making Craigenputtock unbearable; and in the winter they resolved to make a trial of Edinburgh. They settled there in January 1833; and Carlyle found books in the Advocates' Library which had a great effect upon his line of study. He collected the materials for his articles upon 'Cagliostro' and the 'Diamond Necklace.' Edinburgh society, however, proved uncongenial, and after four months he again went back to his 'Whinstane Castle' at Craigenputtock. Editors were once more becoming cold. 'Sartor Resartus' was appearing at last in 'Fraser's Magazine' (November 1833 to August 1834), Fraser having stipulated to pay only twelve guineas a sheet instead of twenty as before (the usual rate being fifteen). Fraser now reported that it 'excited the most unqualified disapprobation' (FROUDE, ii. 404). The dealers in literature were turning their backs upon him; though his fame increased in some directions. In August 1833 Emerson came to him with a letter from Mill. The Carlyles thought him 'one of the most loveable creatures' they had ever seen; and an unbroken friendship of nearly fifty years was begun. Carlyle corresponded with Mill, who approached him as a philosophical teacher; and their correspondence turned Carlyle's thoughts towards the 'French Revolution.' A visit from his brother John, the marriages of his sister Jean to James Aitken, a house-painter of superior abilities, and of his youngest brother James, now farming Scotsbrig, to whom Carlyle made over the debt of 200*l.* from Alexander, varied the monotony of Craigenputtock. In the winter of 1833-4 Carlyle took charge of a promising young William Glen, who gave him Greek lessons in return for lessons in mathematics. Carlyle, however, now at the lowest pecuniary ebb, became more and more discontented, and at last resolved to 'burn his ships' and settle in London.

Other proposals had failed. Jeffrey had tried to be helpful. He had proposed Carlyle as his successor in the editorship of the 'Edinburgh.' When this failed, he had offered to Carlyle an annuity of 100*l.* The offer was honourably declined, with Carlyle's usual independence, though his gratitude is weakened by his resentment for any kind of obligation. Jeffrey, when lord advocate, had thought of obtaining for him some appointment in London. He had also lent money both to John and Thomas, which was repaid at the earliest opportunity. Jeffrey, however, though admiring Carlyle's genius, had spoken contemptuously of his literary eccentricities. (For Jeffrey's opinion of Carlyle, see M. NAPIER'S *Correspondence*, p. 126.) He

was entirely out of sympathy with Carlyle's opinions, condemned his defiance of all conventions, and complained of him for being so 'desperately in earnest.' A growing coolness ensued, which came to a head when, in January 1834, Carlyle proposed to apply for the post of astronomical professor and observer at Edinburgh. Carlyle had shown mathematical ability, and was confident of his own powers. Jeffrey naturally replied that the place would have to be given to some one of proved ability. He added that a secretary of his own was qualified, and would probably get it on his merits, and proceeded to administer a very sharp lecture to Carlyle. He said that if he had had the power he would have appointed Carlyle to a rhetoric chair then vacant in some university. But the authorities had decided that the chair ought to be given to some man of great and established reputation, like Macaulay, for example. Carlyle's eccentricities would prevent him from ever obtaining any such position.

The lecture stung Carlyle beyond bearing. It left a resentment which he could not conceal, even when trying, long afterwards, to do justice to the memory of a friend and benefactor. A coolness due to another cause had probably made itself felt, though not openly expressed by Jeffrey. He had condemned Carlyle's eccentricity not only as a wilful throwing away of opportunities, but as involving cruelty to Mrs. Carlyle. Her life during the Craigenputtock years had been hard and injurious to her health. Carlyle speaks frequently in his letters of her delicacy. She seems to have suffered even more at London and Edinburgh than at Craigenputtock (FROUDE, ii. 352). But the life in a bleak situation, with one servant and an occasional boy, with the necessity of minute attention to every housekeeping detail, was excessively trying. Carlyle, accustomed to the rigid economy of his father's household, thought comparatively little of these trials, or rather (*Reminiscences*, ii. 150) thought that the occupation was 'the saving charm of her life.' Mrs. Carlyle had undertaken the duty of keeping a poor man's household with her eyes open; and severe economy was essential to his power of discharging his self-imposed task. Unluckily, though a stoical sense of duty made her conceal her sufferings from her husband, her love for him was not of the kind which could either make them a pleasure or prevent her from complaining to others. Jeffrey, who visited the Carlyles at Craigenputtock, saw what was hidden from Carlyle. The extreme solitude was unbearable to her wearied spirits. They were for months alone, without interruption from an

outsider. Carlyle frequently mentions long rides and drives with his wife; he consulted her upon all his books; and he remembered Craigenputtock as the scene of perhaps 'their happiest days.' But composition meant for him a solitary agony. His devotion to his labours left her to complete solitude for many hours and days; and she retained a most painful impression, possibly even exaggerated in her later confessions, of her trial during the six years (less two winters at Edinburgh and London). It is not easy, however, to see how, under the conditions, a better scheme could have been devised. It enabled Carlyle, at least, to go through his apprenticeship, and he was now to emerge as a master of his craft.

Carlyle reached London on 19 May 1834, settled in his old lodgings, and began house-hunting. He found a small old-fashioned house at 5 (now numbered 24) Cheyne Row, Chelsea, at a rent of 35*l.* a year. Mrs. Carlyle followed and confirmed his choice. They settled in the house (which he occupied till his death) on 10 June 1834, and he began work in tolerable spirits upon the 'French Revolution.' Leigh Hunt was his neighbour, and Carlyle forgave his cockneyism and queer Bohemian mode of life for his vivacity and kindness (see CARLYLE'S 'Memoranda' upon Leigh Hunt in *Macmillan's Magazine* for July 1862). Irving paid his last visit to them about a month before his death (6 Dec. 1834). A final explanation had taken place between him and the Carlyles on their previous visit to London, revealing hopeless alienation upon religious questions. The old personal attachment survived, and in a touching article in 'Fraser's Magazine' (January 1835) Carlyle says that but for Irving he would never have known 'what the communion of man with man meant,' and thought him on the whole the best man he had ever found or hoped to find. Both Carlyles were now almost completely separated from Mrs. Montagu, and rather resented a letter written by her to Mrs. Carlyle upon Irving's death. Younger friends, however, were beginning to gather round Carlyle. Mrs. Carlyle reports that he is becoming a 'tolerably social character,' and losing the Craigenputtock gloom. Charles Buller visited him and took him to radical meetings, where the popular wrath gave him a grim satisfaction. Carlyle was a thorough radical in so far as the word implies a profound dissatisfaction with the existing order. He shared, or represented, an extreme form of the discontent which accumulated during the first quarter of the century against the existing institutions. He welcomed the Reform Bill agitation as the first movement towards the destruction of the old order. He

looked forward, indeed, to a reconstruction of principles and institutions which was entirely opposed to the views of the Mills and their associates. Yet he held that the 'whigs were amateurs, the radicals guild brethren' (FROUDE, ii. 90). Though limited in their philosophy, they were genuine as far as they went. Mill's respect and sympathy had touched him, and he was prepared to form some temporary alliance with the set of 'philosophical radicals.' He saw something of them, and calls Mill and one or two of his set the 'reasonablest people we have;' though disgusted by their views in regard to 'marriage and the like' (*ib.* 459). Mrs. Carlyle was at first 'greatly taken with' Mrs. Taylor, whose relations with Mill were now beginning and causing some anxiety to his friends and family. J. S. Mill was contemplating the 'London Review,' having become dissatisfied with the 'Westminster.' Carlyle had been told (January 1834) that W. J. Fox was to edit the new venture. He seems, however, to have had some hopes of being made editor himself, and was disappointed on finding that the other arrangement was to be carried out. It appears from Mill's 'Autobiography' (p. 199) that Molesworth, who provided the funds, had stipulated that Mill himself should be the real, if not the ostensible, editor; and this probably put a stop to any thought of Carlyle.

Carlyle now set to work upon the 'French Revolution,' suggested by Mill's correspondence, and for which Mill sent him 'barrowfuls' of books. His position was precarious, and he notes (February 1835) that it is now 'some twenty-three months since I have earned one penny by the craft of literature.' Emerson had invited him to take up lecturing in America, and for some time Carlyle occasionally leaned to this scheme. His brother John entreated him to accept a share of his earnings. Carlyle refused, though in the most affectionate terms, and at times reproaching himself for denying John the pleasure. At last he had finished his first volume, and lent the only copy to Mill. On 6 March 1835 Mill came to his house with Mrs. Taylor to make the confession that the manuscript had been accidentally destroyed. Mill awkwardly stayed for two hours. When he left, Carlyle's first words to his wife were that they must try to conceal from Mill the full extent of the injury. Five months' labour was wasted, and it was equally serious that the enthusiasm to which Carlyle always wrought himself up was gone and could hardly be recovered. He felt as if he had staked and lost his last throw. Mill was anxious to make up at least the pecuniary loss, and Carlyle ultimately accepted

100*l.* Slowly and with great difficulty Carlyle regained his mood and repaired his loss. A vague suggestion of some employment in national education came to nothing; he declined the editorship of a newspaper at Lichfield; and declined also, with some indignation at the offensive tone of patronage, an offer of a clerkship of 200*l.* a year in Basil Montagu's office. He admired Montagu's faith that 'a polar bear, reduced to a state of dyspeptic digestion, might safely be trusted tending rabbits.' A visit of four weeks to his mother at the end of 1835, and a visit from John Carlyle in the summer of 1836, relieved his toils. At last, in the evening of 12 Jan. 1837, he finished his manuscript, and gave it to his wife, saying that he could tell the world, 'You have not had for a hundred years any book that comes more direct and flamingly from the heart of a living man. Do what you like with it, you —.'

Six months elapsed before its publication. A few articles, the 'Diamond Necklace' (refused by the 'Foreign Quarterly' when written at Craigenputtock, and published in 'Fraser' in the spring of 1837), 'Mirabeau,' and the 'Parliamentary History of the French Revolution' (in the 'Westminster,' January and April 1837), supplied some funds. Miss Martineau, whose acquaintance he had made in November 1836, now suggested that he might lecture in England as well as America. With some other friends she collected subscriptions, and he gave a course of six lectures at Willis's Rooms upon 'German Literature' in May 1837 (a report of these lectures was published by Professor Dowden in the 'Nineteenth Century' for May 1881). He interested his audience and made a net gain of 135*l.* In May 1838 he repeated the experiment, giving a course of twelve lectures on 'The whole Spiritual History of Man from the earliest times until now,' and earning nearly 300*l.* In May 1839 he again lectured on the 'French Revolution,' making nearly 200*l.*; and in May 1840, upon 'Hero-worship,' receiving again about 200*l.* The last course alone was published. The lectures were successful, the broad accent contributing to the effect of the original style and sentiment; and the money results were important. Carlyle felt that oratorical success was unwholesome and the excitement trying. He never spoke again in public, except in his Edinburgh address of 1866.

The first course had finally lifted Carlyle above want. The 'French Revolution' gained a decided success. The sale was slow at first, but good judges approved. Mill reviewed him enthusiastically in the 'Westminster,' and thinks (*Autobiography*, p. 217) that he

contributed materially to the early success of the book. Carlyle, exhausted by his work, spent two months at Scotsbrig, resting and smoking pipes with his mother. He saw the grand view of the Cumberland mountains as he went, and says: 'Tartarus itself, and the pale kingdoms of Dis, could not have been more preternatural to me—most stern, gloomy, sad, grand yet terrible, yet steeped in woe. He returned, however, refreshed by the rest and his mother's society, to find his position materially improved, and to be enabled at once to send off substantial proofs of the improvement to his mother. Editors became attentive, and Fraser now proposed an edition of 'Sartor Resartus' and of the collected 'Essays.' America was also beginning to send him supplies. Emerson secured the publication for the author's benefit of the 'French Revolution' and the 'Miscellanies,' and it seems from the different statements in their correspondence that Carlyle must have received about 500*l.* from this source in 1838–1842. The later books were appropriated by American publishers without recompense to the author. Carlyle had made some valuable friendships during these years, and his growing fame opened the houses of many well-known people. His relations to Mill gradually cooled; Mill's friends repelled him; though he still (1837) thought Mill 'infinitely too good' for his associates, he loved him as 'a friend frozen in ice for me' (FROUDE, iii. 108). The radical difference of opinions and Mill's own gradual withdrawal from society widened the gulf to complete separation. John Sterling had accidentally met Carlyle in Mill's company in February 1835 (apparently dated 1834 in Carlyle's 'Life of Sterling,' but Carlyle was then at Craigenputtock). Sterling had just given up the clerical career. He became a disciple of Carlyle, though at first with many differences, and gained the warmest affection of his master. An introduction to Sterling's father, with an offer of employment on the 'Times,' honourably rejected by Carlyle, followed. The friendship is commemorated in the most delightful of Carlyle's writings. Through Sterling, Carlyle came to know F. D. Maurice. The genuine liking shared by all who had personal intercourse with Maurice was tempered by a profound conviction of the futility of Maurice's philosophy. Another friend, Thomas Erskine of Linlathen, was acquired about this time, and was always loved by Carlyle in spite of Mrs. Carlyle's occasional mockery. He made some acquaintance, too, with persons of social position. Lord Monteagle sought him out in 1838. He thus came into connection with Mr. James Garth Marshall, who in 1839 gave



him a horse and was always hospitable and friendly. Other friends were J. G. Lockhart, Connop Thirlwall, and Monckton Milnes, afterwards Lord Houghton, whom in 1841 and afterwards he visited at Fryston. The most important friendship was with William Bingham Baring, afterwards Lord Ashburton [q. v.], and his wife, Lady Harriet Baring. They appear first to have met in 1839. Carlyle was thus becoming known in society as well as sought out by young inquirers. Dinner-parties produced indigestion, and his resentment of patronage, fully shared by his wife, made him a rather dangerous guest. His conversation could be most impressive, though he was too intolerant of contradiction. He could not enjoy thoroughly, or tempered enjoyment with remorse, and the spasms of composition were followed by fits of profound gloom and dyspeptic misery.

The conclusion of the 'French Revolution' was followed by a period of rather desultory work. Two articles in the 'Westminster' (Scott and Varnhagen von Ense) were the chief product of 1838. In 1839 his collected essays first appeared; and in the winter he began to agitate for the formation of the London Library, now almost the only institution where any but the newest books can be freely taken out in the metropolis. The need of such a library had been strongly impressed upon him by his previous labours, and it was successfully started in 1840. Carlyle was its president from 1870 till his death. J. S. Mill had resigned the editorship of the 'Westminster' to a young Scotchman named Robertson (MILL, *Autobiog.* p. 207). He had previously asked Carlyle to write upon Cromwell. Robertson informed Carlyle that he meant to write the article himself. Carlyle was naturally annoyed; but his attention having been drawn to the subject, he began some desultory studies, which ultimately led to the composition of his next great book. Some occasional writings intervened. He had written what was intended as an article for Lockhart. It soon appeared, however, to be unsuitable for the 'Quarterly.' Lockhart 'dared not' take it. Mill would have accepted it for the 'Westminster,' which he was now handing over to Mr. Hickson (*ib.* p. 220). Mrs. Carlyle and John declared that it was too good for such a fate, and it appeared as a separate book, under the name 'Chartism,' at the end of 1839. It may be taken as Carlyle's explicit avowal of the principles which distinguished him equally from whigs, Tories, and the ordinary radicals. A thousand copies were sold at once, and a second edition appeared in 1840. In 1841 he published the lectures on 'Hero-worship' delivered in the

previous year, and his other books were selling well. In 1841 he declined a proposal to stand for a professorship of history at Edinburgh; and in 1844 a similar offer from St. Andrews. He was no longer in need of such support. In 1842, while still preparing for 'Cromwell,' and greatly moved by the prevalent misery and discontent, he came across the chronicle of Jocelin of Brakelond, published in 1840 by the Camden Society, and made the story of Abbot Sampson the nucleus of a discourse upon his familiar topics. It was written in the first seven weeks of 1843, and published as 'Past and Present' immediately afterwards. The brilliant picture of a fragment of mediæval life helped the rather confused mass of gloomy rhetoric, and the book made more stir than most of his writings, and has preserved a high position.

Meanwhile he was labouring at 'Cromwell.' He had first begun serious work in the autumn of 1840 (FROUDE, iii. 201). He was now making acquaintance with 'Dryasdust' for the first time. He had never been enslaved to a biographical dictionary; and the dreary work of investigating dull records provoked loud lamentations and sometimes despair. His thoughts lay round him 'all inarticulate, sour, fermenting, bottomless, like a hideous enormous bog of Allen.' He resolved at last 'to force and tear and dig some kind of main ditch through it.' In plain words, it seems, he gave up hopes of writing a regular history; burnt much that he had written; and resolved to begin by making a collection of all Cromwell's extant speeches and letters with explanatory comments. Having finished this, he found to his surprise that he had finished his book (*ib.* pp. 224, 334). He stayed in London during 1844 and 1845 till the task was done. The book appeared in the autumn of 1845, and was received with general applause. Carlyle's position as a leader of literature was now established. His income was still modest, but sufficient for his strictly economical mode of life. In 1848 he had a fixed income from Craigenputtock of 150*l.*, besides a fluctuating income from his books, ranging from 100*l.* to 800*l.* (*ib.* p. 420). After finishing the 'French Revolution' he visited Scotland almost annually to spend some weeks alone with his mother and family. In 1840 his holiday was sacrificed to the preparation for press of the lectures on 'Hero-worship,' when he took care to send to his mother part of the sums saved from travelling expenses. In 1844 he was kept at home by 'Cromwell.' He paid a few other visits: to the Hares in Sussex in 1840, to Milnes at Fryston in 1841, to an admirer named Redwood, near Cardiff, whence he visited Bishop Thirl-

wall in 1843; and in 1842 he took a five days' run across the Channel with Stephen Spring Rice in an admiralty yacht. His vivid description is partly given in Froude (iii. 259-273). Mrs. Carlyle sometimes went with him to Scotland and visited her relations, or stayed at home to superintend house-cleanings, periods during which his absence was clearly desirable. In London his appearances in society were fitful, and during his absorption in his chief works Mrs. Carlyle was left to a very solitary life, though she read and criticised his performances as they were completed. She gradually formed a circle of friends of her own. Miss Geraldine Jewsbury, attracted by Carlyle's fame, made their acquaintance in 1841 (*ib.* p. 208), and became Mrs. Carlyle's most intimate friend. Refugees, including Mazzini and Cavaignac (brother of the general), came to the house. Lord Tennyson, much loved by both, and Arthur Helps, who got on better with Mrs. Carlyle than with her husband, were other friends. John Forster, Macready, Dickens, and Thackeray are also occasionally mentioned. She was less terrible than her husband to shy visitors, though on occasion she could aim equally effective blows. Death was thinning the old circle. John Sterling died after a pathetic farewell, 18 Sept. 1844. Mrs. Welsh, Mrs. Carlyle's mother, died suddenly at the end of February 1842. Mrs. Carlyle, already in delicate health, was prostrated by the blow, and lay unable to be moved at the house of her uncle (John Welsh) in Liverpool. Carlyle went to Templand, where Mrs. Welsh had lived, and had to spend two months there and at Scotsbrig arranging business. His letters were most tender, though a reference to a possibility of a new residence at Craigenputtock appears to have shaken his wife's nerves. On her next birthday (14 July) he sent her a present, and never afterwards forgot to do so. She was deeply touched, and remarked that in great matters he had always been kind and considerate, and was now becoming equally attentive on little matters, to which his education and temper had made him indifferent. She went for a rest to Troston, a living belonging to Reginald Buller, son of their old friends the Charles Bullers, where Mrs. Charles Buller was now staying with her son. Charles the younger died in 1848, when Carlyle wrote an elegy to his memory, published in the 'Examiner.' Mrs. Buller read it just before she too died of grief.

In December 1845 the Carlyles visited the Barings at Bay House, near Alverstoke. Mrs. Carlyle became jealous of Lady Harriet's influence over Carlyle; and Lady Harriet, though courteous, was not sufficiently cordial

to remove the feeling. Each apparently misjudged the other. Mrs. Carlyle was weakly and irritable, and a painful misunderstanding followed with Carlyle.

In July 1846 she left him to stay with her friends the Paulets at Seaforth. She confided in Mazzini, who gave her wise and honourable advice. Carlyle himself wrote most tenderly, though without the desired effect. He saw that her feeling was unreasonable, but unfortunately inferred that it might be disregarded. He therefore persisted in keeping up his relations with the Barings, while she took refuge in reticence, and wrote to him in terms which persuaded him too easily that the difficulty was over. She visited the Barings with and without her husband, accepted the use of their house at Addiscombe, and preserved external good relations, while recording her feelings in a most painful journal, published in the 'Memorials.' This suppressed alienation lasted till the death of Lady Ashburton.

The publication of 'Cromwell' had left Carlyle without occupation, except that the discovery of new letters which had to be embodied in the second edition gave him some work in 1846. He had read Preuss's work upon Frederick in 1844, and was thinking of an expedition to Berlin after finishing 'Cromwell' (FROUDE, iii. 369). In February 1848 he notes that he has been for above two years composedly lying fallow. He mentions schemes for future work. The 'exodus from Houndsditch' meant a discourse upon the liberation of the spirit of religion from 'Hebrew Old Clothes.' This he felt to be an impossible task; the external shell could not as yet be attacked without injury to the spirit, and he therefore remained silent to the last. A book upon Ireland, one upon the 'Scavenger Age,' and a life of Sterling also occurred to him. In 1846 he paid a flying visit to Ireland in the first days of September, and saw O'Connell in Conciliation Hall. The outbreaks of 1848 affected him deeply. He sympathised with the destruction of 'shams,' but felt that the only alternative was too probably anarchy. He again visited Ireland in 1849, spending July there, and again meeting Gavan Duffy and others. His 'Journal' was published in 1882 (*ib.* iv. 3). He came home convinced that he could say nothing to the purpose upon the chaotic state of things, where he could discover no elements of order. His general views of the political and social state found utterance, however, in an 'Occasional Discourse on the Nigger Question,' first published in 'Fraser's Magazine' in February 1849. It was a vehement denunciation of the philanthropic sentimentalism

which had ruined the West India islands and left the negro to sink into barbarism. Mill replied forcibly in 'Fraser,' and the separation between them became complete. In the course of 1850 Carlyle published the 'Latter-day Pamphlets,' the most vehement and occasionally savage assertions of his principles. Mr. Froude (iv. 41) describes him at this time as pouring out the still unpublished matter 'in a torrent of sulphurous denunciation.' His excitement carried him away into astonishing displays of grotesque humour and vivid imagination, while his hearers listened in silence or were overpowered by his rhetoric. The pamphlets gave general offence. Mr. Froude says (iv. 58) that the outcry stopped the sale for many months and even years. An outcry generally has the opposite effect. The truth rather seems to be that, in spite of their power and eloquence, the pamphlets were failures. Carlyle had too little experience of actual business to deliver telling blows. The denunciations were too indiscriminate to be biting, and the only satisfactory reform suggested, the miraculous advent of a hero and conversion of the people, was hardly capable of application to facts. The pamphlets were neglected as stupendous growls from a misanthropic recluse, though perhaps they were in reality neither misanthropic nor without a sound core of common sense.

In 1851 he at last set to work upon a life of Sterling, the final impulse coming, as Mr. Froude conjectures (iv. 61), from a conversation at Lord Ashburton's in which Carlyle and Bishop Thirlwall had an animated theological discussion in presence of Dr. Trench (the dean of Westminster), Sir John Simeon, and others. Carlyle's immediate purpose was to write an account of Sterling to supplant the life by Julius Hare, where the theological element had received, as he thought, undue prominence. He agreed with Emerson in the summer of 1848 (FROUDE, iii. 419) that Sterling must not be made a 'theological cockshy.' Carlyle wished to exhibit him as raised above the turbid sphere of contemporary controversy. The result was a book so calm, tender, and affectionate as to be in singular contrast with his recent utterances, and to be perhaps his most successful piece of literary work.

He was now slowly settling to a life of Frederick. In 1851 he tried the water-cure at Malvern, and made friends with Dr. Gully, but considered the cure to be a humbug. He visited Scotsbrig, and, after spending a few days at Paris with the Ashburtons, began seriously working at 'Frederick.' Six months of steady reading followed, during which he

secluded himself almost entirely. Repairs of the house maddened him in July, and, finding it impossible to stay, he visited Thomas Erskine at Linlathen, and sailed from Leith (30 Aug. 1852) to Rotterdam, whence, with Mr. Neuberg, a German admirer resident in London, for courier, he made a tour through Germany, much worried by noises and bugs, but acquiring materials for his work. The book, however, gave him much trouble, and caused the usual fits of despondency and irritability before it was started. He stayed in London through 1853, nailing himself to his work, through troubles of fresh paint and 'demon fowls' next door, while Mrs. Carlyle went to stay with John Carlyle at Moffat. She was at Scotsbrig during an alarming illness of his mother, and the sympathy called forth brought the husband and wife into closer relations for the time. On 4 Dec. he wrote to his mother a most affectionate letter, as he was leaving for the Grange. Mrs. Carlyle, who accompanied him, returned to Chelsea to make an arrangement for permanently quelling the 'demon fowls,' whose proprietors were coming to an end of their lease. She was better qualified for such negotiations than he, but appears to have resented the employment. He then heard of his mother's serious illness. He reached Scotsbrig on Friday, 23 Dec. 1853. She was able to recognise him, but died quietly on 25 Dec. aged about eighty-four. Carlyle had loved no one better, and had done all that a son could do to make a mother happy. He returned to shut himself up and try to settle to his work. The wrestle with 'Frederick' went on through 1854, with scarcely a holiday. A 'sound-proof' room, begun in 1853, built at the top of the house and lighted only from above (see FROUDE, iv. 136, 153; *Reminiscences*, ii. 238), gave him a retreat, where he remained buried for hours, emerging only at tea-time for a short talk with his wife, whose health became gradually weaker. After eighteen months' steady labour, he took a holiday with Edward Fitzgerald at Woodbridge (August 1855), and afterwards spent a little time at the Ashburtons' vacant house at Adiscombe, where Mrs. Carlyle chose to leave him alone. In 1856 the Carlyles went to Scotland with the Ashburtons, when a miserable little incident about a railway journey caused fresh annoyance (FROUDE, iv. 181, 182). Carlyle went to Scotsbrig and the Gill (his sister Mary Austin's house near Annan), taking his work with him. A short visit to the Ashburtons in the highlands, and a dispute about the return home, caused fresh bitterness. The winter found him again at his work, and the days went by monotonously, a

long ride every afternoon on his horse Fritz being his only relaxation. Lady Ashburton's death (4 May 1857) removed a cause of discord, though it deprived him of a solace. Lord Ashburton's second marriage (17 Nov. 1858) to Miss Stuart Mackenzie brought a new and most valuable friendship to both the Carlyles. In July 1857 the first chapters of 'Frederick' were at last getting into print. Mrs. Carlyle took a holiday at Liverpool, and came back rather better. The old confidence returned with the removal of the cause of irritation. In the winter, however, her health showed serious symptoms, and Carlyle made great efforts to restrain his complaints. Mr. Larkin, a next-door neighbour, helped him in his work with maps, indices, and so forth. At last the first instalment of his book, on which he had been occupied for six or seven years, was finished. At the end of June he went to Scotland, and then in August and September visited Germany again, returning to Chelsea on 22 Sept. 1858, having fixed in his mind the aspects of Frederick's battle-fields. The first two volumes appeared soon after his return, and four thousand copies were sold before the end of the year. The fifth thousand was printed, and Carlyle had received 2,800*l.*

The later volumes of 'Frederick' appeared in 1862, 1864, and 1865. In 1859 he stayed at Aberdeen with Mrs. Carlyle, and in 1860 he visited Thurso. After that time his labours at 'Frederick' allowed him no respite. In August 1862 he speaks of the fifth volume as already in hand; but it swelled into two, and the final emergence was not till January 1865. The extraordinary merits of the book, considered as a piece of historical research, were recognised both in England and Germany. Military students in Germany, according to Mr. Froude (iv. 227), study Frederick's battles in Carlyle's history, a proof both of his careful study and of his wonderful power of observation. Emerson declared that 'Frederick' was the 'wittiest book ever written.' The humour and the graphic power are undeniable, though it is perhaps wanting in proportion, and the principles implied are of course disputable.

The later period of Carlyle's labours had been darkened by anxiety about his wife's health. In 1860 he had insisted upon the addition of another servant to the maid of all work with whom she had hitherto been contented. As he became conscious of her delicacy he became thoughtful and generous. In 1862 he sent her for a holiday to her intimate friends, Dr. and Mrs. Russell of Thornhill. She was a little better during the following winter, and, though weak, contrived to avoid exciting Carlyle's anxiety. In August

1863 she was knocked down by a cab. The accident had serious consequences which gradually developed themselves, though Carlyle for a time imagined that she was improving. The suffering grew to be intense, and Carlyle became awake to the danger. In March 1864 she was removed to the house of her family physician, Dr. Blakiston, at St. Leonard's. The death of Lord Ashburton on 23 March 1864 (who left Carlyle 2,000*l.*) saddened both. Carlyle remained for a time struggling with 'Frederick' till her absence became intolerable, and in the beginning of May he settled with her in a furnished house at St. Leonard's, still working hard, but taking daily drives with her. At last in desperation she determined, after twelve nights of sleeplessness, to go at all hazards to Scotland. She stayed there first at the Gill and afterwards with the Russells, slowly improving, and she finally returned in the beginning of October. Her apparent recovery affected some of her friends to tears. Carlyle bought her a brougham, having previously only been able to persuade her to indulge in an occasional hired carriage. She took great delight in it, and for the remainder of her life had no complaints to make of any want of attention. Carlyle fell into his usual depression after the conclusion of 'Frederick' (January 1865). He went with his wife to Devonshire for a time and afterwards to Scotland, returning in the winter. Mrs. Carlyle was better, occasionally dining abroad. At the end of 1865 Carlyle was elected almost unanimously to the rectorship of Edinburgh. He delivered the customary address, 2 April 1866. Professor Tyndall had taken charge of him during the journey, acting like the 'loyaldest son.' The address, as Tyndall telegraphed to Mrs. Carlyle, was 'a perfect triumph.' The mildness of the tone secured for it a universal applause, which rather puzzled Carlyle and seems to have a little scandalised his disciples. Carlyle went to Scotsbrig and was detained by a slight sprain. Mrs. Carlyle had asked some friends to tea on Saturday, 21 April. She had gone out for a drive with a little dog; she let it out for a run, when a carriage knocked it down. She sprang out and lifted it into the carriage. The driver went on, and presently she was found sitting with folded hands in the carriage, dead. The news reached Carlyle at Dumfries. Mrs. Carlyle had preserved two wax candles which her mother had once prepared for a party at her house. Mrs. Carlyle had hurt her mother's feelings by economically refusing to use them. She had left directions, which were now carried out, that they should be lighted in the room

of death. She was buried at Haddington, in her father's grave. A pathetic epitaph by her husband was placed in the church (*Memorials*, iii. 341).

Henceforward Carlyle's life was secluded, and work became impossible. His brother John tried staying with him for a time, but the plan was given up. He stayed for a time with Miss Davenport Bromley, one of his wife's best friends, at Ripple Court, Walmer. He was moved to indignation by the prosecution of Governor Eyre, which he considered as punishing a man for throwing an extra bucket of water into a ship on fire. He joined the Eyre Defence Committee. In the winter he visited Lady Ashburton at Mentone, travelling again under the affectionate guardianship of Professor Tyndall, and returning to Cheyne Row in March. During this melancholy period he wrote most of the 'Reminiscences.' On returning he arranged a bequest of Craigenputtock, now his absolute property, to found bursaries at Edinburgh. He revised his collected works, which were now gaining a wide circulation. He put together and annotated Mrs. Carlyle's letters. In 1868 he had to give up riding; and about 1872 his right hand, which had long shaken, became unable to write. Seven years before his death all writing became impossible. An article on 'Shooting Niagara' in 'Macmillan's Magazine' 1867 showed his view of contemporary politics. On 18 Nov. 1870 he wrote a 'Defence of the German Case in the War with France,' which was warmly acknowledged (by some unknown authority) through Count Bernstorff, the ambassador, and separately printed. On 5 May 1877 he wrote a remarkable letter, stating in a few words his positive knowledge that a plan had been formed by Lord Beaconsfield's government which would produce a war with Russia. What his authority may have been remains unknown, nor can it be said how far the statement had any important influence in averting the danger.

Carlyle during these years had become the acknowledged head of English literature. He had a large number of applications of all kinds. He was generous even to excess in money matters. In February 1874 he received the Prussian Order of Merit, for his services as the historian of Frederick. In December 1874 Disraeli offered him, in very delicate and flattering terms, the grand cross of the Bath and a pension. Carlyle declined both offers in a dignified letter, though touched by the magnanimity of the 'only man,' as he said, of whom he had 'never spoken except with contempt.' On his eightieth birthday he received a congratu-

latory letter from Prince Bismarck, and a medal, with an address from many admirers led by Professor Masson. The gloom, however, deepened, and he would sometimes express a wish that the old fashion of suicide were still permissible. He specially felt the death of Erskine of Linlathen (30 March 1870). His brother Alexander died in Canada in 1876, asking in his last wanderings whether 'Tom' was coming home from Edinburgh. John died in December 1879. Carlyle still took pleasure in the writings and companionship of a few congenial friends, especially Mr. Ruskin, Mr. Froude, and Mr. Justice Stephen. The last two were his executors. His talk was still often brilliant, whether a declamation of the old fashion or a pouring forth of personal reminiscences. However harsh his judgments, he never descended to retailing injurious anecdotes. He walked daily as long as he was able, and afterwards took drives in flies and omnibuses. His figure, much bent with age, was familiar to many London wayfarers. He gradually sank, and died on 4 Feb. 1881. A burial at Westminster Abbey was offered, but refused in accordance with his own wish, as he disapproved of certain passages in the Anglican service. He was buried, as he desired, in the old kirkyard at Ecclefechan, by his parents.

Many portraits and photographs of Carlyle exist. He always endeavoured to procure portraits of any one about whom he was writing, and seems to have been desirous to obtain good portraits of himself. According to Mr. Froude no portrait was really successful. He mentions one taken in 1836 (FROUDE, iii. 82) by Mr. Lewis. Mr. Froude says that Mr. Woolner's 'Medallion' is the best likeness of him 'in the days of his strength' (*ib.* 459). His portrait was also painted by Mr. Watts in 1869, by Mr. (now Sir J. E.) Millais in 1877, and by Mr. Whistler. A statue by Boehm, belonging to Lord Rosebery, a replica of which has been erected on the Chelsea Embankment near his old house, is a very striking likeness.

'Every page of Carlyle's writings reveals a character of astonishing force and originality. The antagonism roused by his vehement iconoclasm was quenched by respect during his last years, only to break out afresh upon the appearance of the 'Reminiscences.' His style, whether learnt at home or partly acquired under the influence of Irving and Richter (see FROUDE, i. 396), faithfully reflects his idiosyncrasy. Though his language is always clear, and often pure and exquisite English, its habitual eccentricities offended critics, and make it the most dangerous of models. They are pardonable as the only

fitting embodiment of his graphic power, his shrewd insight into human nature, and his peculiar humour, which blends sympathy for the suffering with scorn for fools. His faults of style are the result of the perpetual straining for emphasis of which he was conscious, and which must be attributed to an excessive nervous irritability seeking relief in strong language, as well as to a superabundant intellectual vitality. Conventionality was for him the deadly sin. Every sentence must be alive to its finger's ends. As a thinker he judges by intuition instead of calculation. In history he tries to see the essential facts stripped of the glosses of pedants; in politics to recognise the real forces masked by constitutional mechanism; in philosophy to hold to the living spirit untrammelled by the dead letter. He thus cast aside contemptuously what often appeared to ordinary minds to be of the essence. Though no man was more hostile to materialism, he appeared as a sceptic in theology; and though more revolutionary in his aims than the ordinary radicals, they often confounded his contempt for ballot-boxes and parliamentary contrivances with a sympathy for arbitrary force. In truth, the prophet who reveals and the hero who acts could be his only guides. Their authority must be manifested by its own light, and the purblind masses must be guided by loyalty to heaven-sent leaders. No mechanical criterion can be provided, and the demand for such a criterion shows incapacity even to grasp the problem. The common charge that he confounded right with might was indignantly repudiated by him as the exact inversion of his real creed. That only succeeds which is based on divine truth, and permanent success therefore proves the right, as the effect proves the cause. But it must be confessed that the doctrine presupposes a capacity for 'swallowing all formulas,' or of overriding even moral conventions, in confidence of genuine insight into realities. The man who can safely break through ordinary rules must be guarded by a special inspiration, and by common observers the Cromwell must often be confounded with the Napoleon. Whatever may be thought of Carlyle's teaching, the merits of a preacher must be estimated rather by his stimulus to thought than by the soundness of his conclusions. Measured by such a test, Carlyle was unapproached in his day. He stirred the mass of readers rather by antagonism than sympathy; but his intense moral convictions, his respect for realities, and his imaginative grasp of historical facts give unique value to his writings. His autobiographical writings, with all their display

of superficial infirmities, are at least so full of human nature as to be unsurpassable for interest even in the most fascinating department of literature.

The following writings of Carlyle have never been collected:—

Articles in *Edinburgh Encyclopædia*: Vol. xiv.: 'Montaigne,' 'Lady M. W. Montagu,' 'Montesquieu,' 'Montfaucon,' 'Moore, Dr. J.,' 'Moore, Sir John.' Vol. xv.: 'Necker,' 'Nelson,' 'Netherlands,' 'Newfoundland,' 'Norfolk,' 'Northamptonshire,' 'Northumberland,' 'Introduction to Legendre's Geometry.' Vol. xvi.: 'Park, Mungo,' 'Pitt, W., Lord Chatham,' and 'Pitt, W., 1820-3.

*New Edinburgh Review*: 'Joanna Baillie's Metrical Legends' (October 1821); 'Goethe's Faust' (April 1822).

*Fraser's Magazine*: 'Cruthers and Johnson' (January 1831); 'Peter Nimmo' (February 1831); 'Prefaces to Emerson's Essays,' 1841 and 1844.

The following have been collected in the 'Miscellanies':—

*Edinburgh Review*: 'J. P. F. Richter' (June 1827); 'State of German Literature' (October 1827); 'Life and Writings of Werner' (January 1828); 'Burns' (December 1828); 'Signs of the Times' (June 1829); 'Taylor's Historic Survey of German Poetry' (March 1831); 'Characteristics' (December 1831); 'Corn Law Rhymes' (July 1832).

*Foreign Review*: 'Life and Writings of Werner' (January 1828); 'Goethe's Helena' (April 1828); 'Goethe' (July 1828); 'Life of Heyne' (October 1828); 'German Playwrights' (January 1829); 'Voltaire' (April 1829); 'Novalis' (July 1829); 'J. P. F. Richter' again (January 1830).

*Foreign Quarterly Review*: 'German Literature of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries' (October 1831); 'Goethe's Works' (August 1832); 'Diderot' (April 1833); 'Dr. Francia' (July 1843).

*Fraser's Magazine*: 'Richter's Review of Mme. de Staël's *Allemagne*' (February and May 1830); 'Four Fables, by Pilpay junior,' and 'Cui bono?' (September 1830); 'Thoughts on History' (November 1830); 'The Beetle' (February 1831); 'Schiller' (March 1831); 'Sower's Song' (April 1831); 'Tragedy of the Night-moth' (August 1831); 'Schiller, Goethe, and Mme. de Staël (trans.) and Goethe's Portrait' (March 1832); 'Biography' (April 1832); 'Boswell's Life of Johnson' (May 1832); 'The Tale from Goethe' (October 1832); 'Novelle' (November 1832); 'Quæ cogitavit,' on history again (May 1833); 'Count Cagliostro' (July and August 1833); 'Death of Edward Irving' (? February 1835); 'Diamond Necklace' (? January, February,

and March 1837); 'On the Sinking of the Vengeance' (July 1839); 'An Election to the Long Parliament' (October 1844); 'Thirty-five Unpublished Letters of Cromwell' (December 1847); 'Occasional Discourse on the Negro Question' (February 1849), reprinted 1853 separately; 'Early Kings of Norway' (January and March 1875); 'Portraits of John Knox' (April 1875). The last two together and separately.

*Westminster Review*: 'Nibelungen Lied' (July 1831).

*New Monthly Magazine*: 'Death of Goethe' (June 1832).

*London and Westminster Review*: 'Mirabeau' (January 1837); 'Parliamentary History of the French Revolution' (April 1837); 'Sir Walter Scott' (January 1838); 'Varnhagen von Ense' (December 1838); 'Baillie the Covenantant' (January 1842); 'The Prinzenraub' (January 1855).

*Examiner*: 'Petition on Copyright Bill' (7 April 1839).

*Leigh Hunt's Journal*: 'Two Hundred and Fifty Years Ago, a Fragment about Duels' (Nos. 1, 3, 6, 1850); *Keepsake* for 1852 (Barry Cornwall's); 'The Opera'; *Proceedings of Society of Scotch Antiquaries*, i. pt. iii.; Project of a National Exhibition of Scotch Portraits' (1854).

*Macmillan's Magazine*: 'The American Iliad in a Nutshell' (August 1863); 'Shooting Niagara and After' (August 1867).

'Occasional and Miscellaneous Essays' (1839), printed in America, included all the above up to the date; those published later were added in subsequent editions, in a 2nd edition (5 vols.), 1840; 3rd edition, 1847; 4th edition, 1857. They are included in the 'Miscellanies' in collected editions of works.

Separate works are as follows: 1. 'Life of Schiller,' first published in 'London Magazine' for October 1823, January, July, August, and September 1824; issued separately in 1825; second edition, 1845. 2. 'Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship' (3 vols. 1824). 3. 'Legendre's Elements of Geometry and Trigonometry' (translated with introductory chapter on doctrine of proportion), 1824. 4. 'German Romance,' 1827 (vol. i. 'Museum and La Motte Fouqué'; vol. ii. 'Treck and Hoffman'; vol. iii. 'J. P. F. Richter'; vol. iv. 'Wilhelm Meister,' including the 'Travels,' now first published. The prefaces are included in the 'Miscellaneous Essays.' 5. 'Sartor Resartus,' first published in 'Fraser's Magazine' (bk. i. November and December 1833; bk. ii. February, March, April, June, 1834; bk. iii. July and August, 1834). Some copies were made up from

'Fraser's Magazine'; the first separate edition appeared at Boston in 1835, the first English edition in 1838. 6. 'French Revolution,' 3 vols. 1837; 2nd edition, 1839. 7. 'Chartism,' 1839. 8. 'Heroes, Hero-worship, and the Heroic in History,' 1841. 9. 'Past and Present,' 1843. 10. 'Life and Letters of Oliver Cromwell,' 2 vols. 1845. 11. 'Latter-day Pamphlets': (1) 'The Present Time' (1 Feb.); (2) 'Model Prisons' (1 March); (3) 'Downing Street' (15 April); (4) 'The New Downing Street' (1 May); (5) 'Stump Orator' (1 May); (6) 'Parliaments' (1 June); (7) 'Hudson's Statue' (1 July); (8) 'Jesuitism' (1 Aug.), 1850. 12. 'Life of Sterling,' 1851. 13. 'Friedrich II' (vols. i. and ii. 1858, vol. iii. 1862, vol. iv. 1864, vols. v. and vi. 1865). 14. 'Inaugural Address at Edinburgh,' 1866. 15. 'Reminiscences of my Irish Journey in 1849' (with preface by Mr. Froude), 1882. 16. 'Last Words of Thomas Carlyle' (with preface by J[ane] C[arlyle] A[itken]), 1882. The first collective edition (in 16 vols.) appeared in 1857-8. (For letters in newspapers and elsewhere see 'Bibliography of Thomas Carlyle' by H. R. Shepherd.)

[The main authorities for Carlyle's life are his Reminiscences, published by Mr. Froude in 1881; Thomas Carlyle, a history of the first forty years of his life, 2 vols. 1882; and Thomas Carlyle, a history of his life in London, 2 vols. 1884, both by J. A. Froude (cited above as Froude i. ii. iii. and iv.); Letters and Memorials of Jane Welsh Carlyle, 'prepared for publication by Thomas Carlyle, and edited by J. A. Froude,' 3 vols. 1883; see also Correspondence of Thomas Carlyle and R. W. Emerson, 2 vols. 1883, edited by Charles Eliot Norton, who has also (1886) just published a collection of Carlyle's early letters. Carlyle's Reminiscences and the Memorials of Mrs. Carlyle were entrusted to Mr. Froude for publication under circumstances described in the prefaces to these works, and in the Life in London, ii. 408-15, 464-7. Mr. Froude defends himself against the charge of improper publication in the Life in London, i. 1-7. Carlyle first gave him the manuscripts in 1871, and the will of 1873 left the decision as to publication with him; John Carlyle and John Forster, who were to be consulted, died before Carlyle. Shortly before Carlyle's death, in the autumn of 1880, Mr. Froude again had a consultation with Carlyle, who had 'almost forgotten what he had written'; but on having it recalled to his recollection, approved of the publication. Mr. Froude decided to carry out the publication, chiefly on the ground that this was Carlyle's persistent wish and 'supremely honourable' to him. It was an act of posthumous penance, and it was desirable that 'a frank and noble confession' should give the whole truth as to Mrs. Carlyle's grievances, which would 'infallibly come to light' in some

form. Without discussing the point, it is necessary to say that Carlyle, when writing, did not contemplate publication without careful revision. At the end of the original manuscript he says, in a passage omitted by Mr. Froude, presumably because superseded in his view by the later instructions, 'I solemnly forbid' my friends to publish 'this bit of writing as it stands here, and warn them that without fit editing no part of it should be printed (nor so far as I can order shall ever be), and that the "fit editing" of perhaps nine-tenths of it will, after I am gone, have become impossible' (Norton, *New Princeton Review* for July 1886). The following are notices by personal friends: Henry James, *Literary Remains*, some Personal Recollections of Carlyle (from *Atlantic Monthly* for May 1881); Masson, David, Carlyle personally and in his writings, Lond. 1885 (Lectures before Phil. Institute of Edinburgh); Mrs. Oliphant, *Macmillan's Magazine* for April 1881; H. Larkin in *British Quarterly* for July 1881, 28-84; Rio, A. F., *Epilogue à l'Art Chrétien* (1870), ii. 332-40; Sir Henry Taylor, *Autobiography*, i. 325-32; Mill's *Autobiography* (1873), 174-6; G. S. Venables, in *Fortnightly Review* for May 1883 and November 1884; Wyllie's *Thomas Carlyle, the Man and his Books*, 1881; Conway's *Thomas Carlyle, 1881*; Larkin's *The Open Secret of Carlyle's Life*, 1886. A list of many articles referring to Carlyle is given by Mr. Ireland in *Notes and Queries*, 6th ser. iv. 145, 201, 226.]

L. S.

**CARLYON, CLEMENT** (1777-1864), physician, was born at Truro 14 April 1777, and educated at the grammar school, where Davy and Henry Martyn were among his schoolfellows. Having taken his degree at Pembroke College, Cambridge, he was appointed a travelling bachelor on the Worts foundation, and, proceeding to Germany, formed the acquaintance with Coleridge for which, apart from his merely local celebrity, he is now principally remembered. After completing his medical studies at Edinburgh and London, he settled in his native town, where he spent a long life of active beneficence. He was five times mayor of Truro, and was chiefly instrumental in the erection of the handsome memorial to Richard Lander, which is so great an ornament to the town. His autobiography, published under the title of 'Early Years and Late Reflections,' in 4 vols., between 1836 and 1853, is in parts exceedingly tedious, but is valuable for the numerous interesting particulars of Coleridge, Davy, and other men of eminence known to the writer. His 'Observations on the Endemic Typhus Fever of Cornwall' (1827) are esteemed, and effected much good in a sanitary point of view. He edited Cornaro and Bernard Gilpin, and wrote several

tracts on religious subjects. He died on 5 March 1864.

[Carlyon's Early Years and Late Reflections; *Genl. Mag.* June 1864, pp. 797-8; Boase and Courtney's *Bibliotheca Cornubiensis*.] R. G.

**CARMELIANUS, PETER** (*d.* 1527), poet, was a native of Brescia, who must have been born about the middle of the fifteenth century. He appears to have come to England in the days of Edward IV, and to have been habitually resident in this country from that time till his death. The earliest production of his pen that we have met with is a poem on the life of St. Mary of Egypt written during the reign of Richard III (*Laud MS.* 501; COXE, *Catalogue*), with an epistle dedicatory to Sir Robert Brackenbury, the constable of the Tower. In this dedicatory epistle Richard is praised as a model king, a pattern of religion, justice, and sagacity. But little more than a year after his death Carmelianus gives us a very different character of him in a poem written to celebrate the birth of Henry VII's son, Prince Arthur, in 1486, in which he charges the tyrant with the murder of Henry VI and his own nephews, and denounces him as a ferocious monster, prompt to commit every crime. The composition of two such works within the space of not more than three years at the utmost reflects a light upon the author's character which makes comment quite unnecessary. From the first he shows himself to be a court poet and nothing more, unless, indeed, it is something more that he was in clerical orders. The last-mentioned poem evidently earned, or was written in consideration of, a pension given him by the king on 27 Sept. 1486, which pension, the words of the grant state, 'he that shall be next promoted to the bishopric of Worcester is bound to yield to a clerk of ours at our nomination.' On 8 April 1488, in like manner, Henry VII granted him another pension which the elect abbot of Hyde was bound to pay to a clerk of the king's nomination. On the 23rd of the same month he obtained a patent of denization. He had also given him by the king on 15 Feb. just before a corrody in the priory of Christchurch. A year or two later he wrote, in the opinion of his fellow-poetaster Bernard André, a most witty poem in answer to Gaguin, the French historian and ambassador, who had revenged himself in satirical verse for the failure of his embassy to England. He became Henry VII's Latin secretary, and one of his chaplains. In this latter capacity he attended the king to his meeting with the Archduke Philip at Calais in 1500. In the former he was the keeper of the king's



correspondence with Rome, a circumstance to which Sherbourne, bishop of Chichester, called attention two years after his death, when Henry VIII was pushing inquiries touching the validity of the dispensation for his marriage with Catherine of Arragon (*Calendar, Henry VIII*, iv. 2406). But we do not find that he held this office after the accession of Henry VIII, who, however, recognising his merits in a different capacity, made him his lute-player, and gave him an annuity of 40*l.* (*ib.* i. 427, ii. 308).

It must have been about a year before Henry VII's death that he wrote a couple of poems to celebrate the espousal (*sponsalia*) of Charles, prince of Castile (afterwards the Emperor Charles V), with the king's daughter Mary. The marriage, though it never took effect, was arranged by treaty in 1507, and ambassadors came from the Emperor Maximilian in 1508 to conclude the marriage contract. An official account of their reception, and of the betrothal, was printed by Pynson in two separate forms, Latin and English, each without date of year; and the two poems of Carmelianus appeared as preface and conclusion to the Latin version. The treatise itself, of which a unique copy in vellum exists in the Grenville Library, is described in the catalogue as if it consisted simply of a poem of Carmelianus; but probably the title-page is wanting. The text of the narrative contained in it is precisely the same as that of the English version, of which a unique copy also exists in the British Museum, described by Sir Henry Ellis in the '*Archæologia*,' xviii. 33.

In 1511 we find Erasmus acknowledging (apparently with real satisfaction) a high compliment paid him by Carmelianus, who had called him '*doctorum doctissimus*' (*Calendar, Hen. VIII*, ii. 244). Unfortunately, however, he could not return the compliment; and when Carmelianus, in 1513, published another poem on the death of the King of Scots at Flodden, Erasmus and his correspondent Ammonius, Henry VIII's Latin secretary, could not help making merry over a false quantity which the unlucky author had very nearly put into print (*ib.* ii. 306; compare preface, p. xvii, footnote). In that year Carmelianus, as the king's tutor, went over in the 'middle ward' of the army with which Henry VIII invaded France. Meanwhile, he had been made archdeacon of Gloucester in 1511, and a few years later, probably on the deprivation of Cardinal Adrian de Castello [q. v.] in 1517, he was appointed prebendary of Ealdland in St. Paul's. This stall he resigned in 1526, the year before his death, at which time we find that he held livings

in the provostship of Beverley in the East Riding. He also had the prebend of Ampleforth in York given him as early as 1498, and appears to have held it till his death. Being thus largely beneficed, in 1522 he was assessed, for the loan for a new war in France, at no less a sum than 333*l.* 6*s.* We also find that in 1524 (and perhaps for several years before) he was a prebendary of St. Stephen's, Westminster, and that in that year he sold to Roger Pynchestre, citizen and grocer of London, certain lands called Hartcombe, in the parishes of Kingston-upon-Thames and Ditton in Surrey, which he had bought of Stephen Coope two years before. On 13 Oct. 1526 he obtained a license to import 200 tuns of Gascon wine and Toulouse woad. In January 1527 he received a new-year's gift from the king; but he seems to have died towards the close of that year, as his successor in the York prebend was collated on 13 Jan. 1528. In addition to the poems referred to in the course of this notice we find an epigram written by Carmelianus on Dominic Mancini's poem (written in 1516), '*De Quatuor Virtutibus*,' which Alexander Barclay translated into English under the title of '*The Mirrour of Good Maners*.' Our author's epigram will be found at the end of Barclay's work, which was published along with his '*Ship of Fools*' in 1570.

[Memorials of Henry VII; Letters and Papers of the reigns of Richard III and Henry VII; Campbell's Memorials of Henry VII (all three of Rolls Ser.); *Calendar of Henry VIII*, vols. i-iv.; *Le Neve's Fasti* (Hardy).] J. G.

**CARMICHAEL, FREDERICK** (1708-1751), Scotch divine, son of Professor Gershom Carmichael of Glasgow University, was born in 1708. He took his M.A. degree on 4 May 1725, and taught the humanity classes during the illness of Professor Ross, 1726-8. On the death of his father in 1729 he was an unsuccessful candidate for the chair of moral philosophy. He was licensed by the Glasgow presbytery of the church of Scotland on 27 Sept. 1733, ordained at Monimail in March 1737, translated to Inveresk in December 1747, and died 17 Oct. 1751. He was the author of a '*Sermon on Christian Zeal*,' 1753, and '*Sermons on several Important Subjects*,' 1753, said to be of 'great merit.'

[*Hew Scott's Fasti Eccles. Scot.* i. 80, ii. 503; *Watt's Bibl. Brit.*] T. F. H.

**CARMICHAEL, SIR JAMES, LORD CARMICHAEL** (1578?-1672), was the third son of Walter Carmichael of Hyndford, by Grizel, daughter of Sir John Carmichael of Meadow-

flat. He was originally designated of Hyndford, but on purchasing the lands of Westeraw took his title from them, until, on succeeding his cousin, Sir John Carmichael of Carmichael [q.v.], he adopted the designation of the older branch of the family. Having in early life been introduced by the Earl of Dunbar at the court of James VI, he was appointed a cupbearer, afterwards carver, and then chamberlain of the principality. He was created a baronet of Nova Scotia on 17 July 1627, and the following year he subscribed the submission to Charles I. He was appointed sheriff-principal of Lanarkshire on 5 Sept. 1632, and in 1634 lord justice clerk, which office he resigned in 1636, on being made treasurer-depute. He was admitted an ordinary lord of session on 6 March 1639. His presence as treasurer-depute at the prorogation of parliament, by warrant of the king's commissioners, led to the presentation of a remonstrance against the same as illegal. On 13 Nov. he was named one of the commissioners for executing the office of lord high treasurer, and was at the same time appointed treasurer-depute, privy councillor, and lord of session, to be held *ad vitam aut culpam*. For his services to Charles I during the civil war, especially in lending him various sums of money, he received a patent on 27 Dec. 1647 raising him to the peerage by the title of Lord Carmichael; but the patent was not made public until 3 Jan. 1651, when it was ratified by Charles II. For his adherence to the engagement, he made a humble submission on 28 Dec. before the presbytery of Lanark, but was nevertheless deprived of his offices by the Act of Classes on 16 March 1649. That of treasurer-depute was, however, bestowed on his second son, Sir Daniel Carmichael. By Cromwell's act, in 1654, a fine was imposed on him of 2,000*l*. In Douglas's 'Peerage' it is stated erroneously that after the accession of Charles II he was sworn a privy councillor, and reappointed lord justice clerk, that office having been bestowed on Sir John Campbell of Lundy [q.v.] Carmichael died on 29 Nov. 1672, in his ninety-fourth year. By his wife Agnes, sixth daughter of John Wilkie of Foulden, he had three sons and four daughters. His eldest son, Sir William, after serving as one of the gens d'armes of Louis XIII, joined the committee of estates in Scotland, and commanded the Clydesdale regiment against the Marquis of Montrose at the battle of Philiphaugh in 1646. He died before his father in 1657, leaving a son, John [q.v.], who became second Lord Carmichael and first Earl of Hyndford. The first Lord Carmichael had two other sons and four daughters.

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[Acts of Parliament of Scotland, vol. v. passim; Haig and Brunton's Senators of the College of Justice, 298-9; Douglas's Scottish Peerage, ii. 754-5; Irving's Upper Ward of Lanarkshire, ii. 17-21.]

**CARMICHAEL, JAMES** (*fl.* 1587), grammarian, was a Scotchman who published a Latin grammar at Cambridge in September 1587. He dedicated it to James VI—'Scotorum regi christianissimo gratiam et pacem à Domino.' Carmichael's work, 'Grammaticæ Latine de Etymologia,' &c., was from the press of the university printer, Thomas Thomas, M.A., a lexicographer himself, and its full title is given by Ames; it consists of 52 pp., and has some commendatory poems prefixed. There is a copy of it in the Bodleian. [Cooper's *Athenæ Cantab.* ii. 22; Ames's *Topogr. Antiq.* (Herbert), iii. 1414, 1418.]

J. H.

**CARMICHAEL, JAMES WILSON** (1800-1868), marine painter, was born at Newcastle-upon-Tyne in 1800. At about the age of ten or eleven he went to sea. He returned, and was apprenticed to a shipbuilder, who employed him in drawing and designing. His early works are in water colours, but about 1825 he began also to paint in oils. Between 1838 and 1862 he was a frequent exhibitor at the Royal Academy, at the British Institute, and at the Suffolk Street Gallery. He made his first public appearance in the former year with a picture of 'Shipping in the Bay of Naples,' contributed to the exhibition of the Society of British Artists. In 1841 he sent to the Academy a drawing of the 'Conqueror towing the Africa off the Shoals of Trafalgar,' and in 1843 two drawings, 'The Royal Yacht with the Queen on board off Edinburgh,' and the 'Arrival of the Royal Squadron.' In the Water-Colour Collection at South Kensington there is one example of this painter, 'The Houses of Parliament in course of Erection.' About 1845, according to Redgrave, he left Newcastle for London. Probably about 1862 (at which date he ceased to exhibit in London) he went to Scarborough, and there died on 2 May 1868. In the north of England his work was highly thought of. There is a large painting by him in the Trinity House, Newcastle, 'The Heroic Exploit of Admiral Collingwood at the Battle of Trafalgar.' He appears as an author, having published 'The Art of Marine Painting in Water Colours,' 1859, and 'The Art of Marine Painting in Oil Colours,' 1864.

[Redgrave's *Dict. of Artists*; Graves's *Dict. of Artists*; *Cat. Engl. Coll. South Kensington Museum.*]

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**CARMICHAEL, SIR JOHN** (*d.* 1600), of Carmichael, a powerful border chief, was the eldest son of Sir John Carmichael and Elizabeth, third daughter of the fifth lord of Somerville. He married Margaret, daughter of Sir George Douglas of Pittendreich, sister of the regent Morton, and in 1581 he and his son Hugh were found guilty of a treasonable conspiracy in assembling two hundred men at the rocks of Braid, with the view of rescuing Morton from the castle of Edinburgh. They, however, escaped punishment by fleeing the kingdom, and having afterwards returned were attainted in 1584 for being concerned in the raid of Ruthven, when they again fled the kingdom. In August 1588 Carmichael was appointed captain-general of the troops of light horse raised to assist in resisting the threatened invasion by the Spaniards (*Register of the Privy Council*, iv. 315); and when his services were not found necessary, he was appointed warden of the west marches. He was one of the ambassadors sent to Denmark to negotiate the marriage between James VI and the Princess Anne of Denmark. In 1590 he was despatched on an important mission to Queen Elizabeth, with a result entirely satisfactory. In 1592 he resigned the wardenship in favour of the Earl of Angus; but on that nobleman resigning it in 1598, he was restored to the office. While on his way to Lochmaben, to hold a warden's court for the punishment of offences committed on the borders, he was attacked (16 June 1600) by a body of the Armstrongs and shot dead with a hacbut. For this murder Thomas Armstrong, nephew of Kinmont Willie [see **ARMSTRONG, WILLIAM**, *fl.* 1596], was executed in the following November, and Alexander Armstrong of Rowanburne in February 1606. According to Sir Walter Scott, tradition affirms the well-known ballad, 'Armstrong's Good Night,' to have been composed by Thomas Armstrong previous to his execution.

[Crawford's *Scottish Peerage*; Douglas's *Scottish Peerage*, ii. 752; Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vols. iii. iv. and v.; Irving's *Upper Ward of Lanarkshire*, i. 13-16.]

T. F. H.

**CARMICHAEL, JOHN**, second **LORD CARMICHAEL** and first **EARL OF HYNDFORD** (1638-1710), son of William, master of Carmichael, and Lady Grizel Douglas, third daughter of the first marquis of Douglas, was born on 28 Feb. 1638. He succeeded his grandfather as Lord Carmichael in 1672. In 1689 he was appointed by William one of the commissioners of the privy seal and a privy councillor. The following year he was

appointed William's commissioner to the first general assembly of the newly established church of Scotland. In 1693 he was appointed to the command of a regiment of dragoons, which he held till the peace of Ryswick in 1697. In December 1696 he was made secretary of state for Scotland, and in January 1696-7 was chosen commissioner by the general assembly. By patent at Kensington, on 5 June 1701, he was created Earl of Hyndford. He retained the offices of secretary of state and privy councillor under Queen Anne. He was one of the commissioners for the treaty of union, and cordially supported the act for carrying it into effect. He died on 20 Sept. 1710. By his wife, Beatrice Drummond, second daughter of the third Lord Madderty, he had seven sons and three daughters.

[Douglas's *Scottish Peerage*, ii. 756; Irving's *Upper Ward of Lanarkshire*, i. 21-4; Luttrell's *Relation*, ii. iii. iv. v.] T. F. H.

**CARMICHAEL, JOHN**, third **EARL OF HYNDFORD** (1701-1767), diplomatist, son of James, second earl, and Lady Elizabeth Maitland, only daughter of John, fifth earl of Lauderdale, was born at Edinburgh on 15 March 1701. He entered the third regiment of foot-guards, in which he became captain in 1733. He succeeded to his father's title and estates on 10 Aug. 1737, and was chosen a representative peer on 14 March 1738, and again in 1741, 1747, 1754, and 1761. He was appointed one of the lords of police in March 1738, and constituted sheriff-principal and lord-lieutenant of Lanark on 9 April 1739. In 1739 and 1740 he acted as lord high commissioner to the general assembly of the kirk of Scotland. When Frederick II invaded Silesia in 1741, the Earl of Hyndford was sent to George II as envoy extraordinary and plenipotentiary, to mediate between the king and Maria Theresa. Carlyle, in his 'Life of Frederick,' thus delineates his characteristics: 'We can discern a certain rough tenacity and horse-dealer finesse in the man; a broad-based, shrewdly practical Scotch gentleman, wide awake; and can conjecture that the diplomatic function in that element might have been in worse hands. He is often laid metaphorically at the king's feet, king of England's; and haunts personally the king of Prussia's elbow at all times, watching every glance of him like a British house-dog, that will not be taken in with suspicious travellers if he can help it; and casting perpetual horoscopes in his dull mind.' It was in a great degree owing to the patience and persistence of Hyndford that the treaty of

Breslau was finally signed on 11 June 1742. On its conclusion, Hyndford was nominated a knight of the Thistle, and was invested with the insignia of that order at Charlottenburg, on 29 Aug. 1742, by the king of Prussia, in virtue of a commission from George II. From Frederick he also received the gift of a silver dinner service, and was permitted the use of the royal Prussian arms, which now enrich the shield of the Carmichaels. In 1744 Hyndford was sent on a special mission to Russia, when his skillful negotiations greatly accelerated the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. He left Moscow on 8 Oct. 1749, and after his return to England was, on 29 March 1750, sworn a privy councillor, and was appointed one of the lords of the bedchamber. In 1752 he was sent as ambassador to Vienna, where he remained till 1764. On his return he was appointed vice-admiral of Scotland, when he gave up his office at the board of police. The remainder of his life was spent at his seat in Lanarkshire, where he devoted his attention to the improvement and adornment of his estate. While occupied with his diplomatic duties abroad, he continued to take a constant interest in agricultural affairs. To encourage his tenants in the improvement of their lands, he granted to them leases of fifty-seven years' duration, and also introduced clauses in the new leases which have since met with the general approval of agriculturists. The fine plantations on the estates have been reared from seeds brought by him from Russia. He died on 19 July 1767. He was twice married: first, to Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Admiral Sir Cloudisley Shovell, and widow of the first Lord Romney; and secondly, to Jean, daughter of Benjamin Vigor of Fulham, Middlesex. By his first wife he had a son, who died in infancy, and by his second he had no issue. The earldom passed to his cousin, John Carmichael. The title became dormant or extinct on the death of the sixth earl in 1817. His correspondence while ambassador abroad is in the 'State Papers,' and there are rough copies of it in the Additional MSS. in the British Museum.

[Douglas's *Scottish Peerage* (Wood), ii. 756-7; Irving's *Upper Ward of Lanarkshire*, i. 24-5; Carlyle's *Frederick*; Add. MSS. 11365-87, 15870, 15946.] T. F. H.

**CARMICHAEL, RICHARD** (1779-1849), surgeon, was born in Dublin on 6 Feb. 1779, being fourth son of Hugh Carmichael, solicitor, who was nearly related to the Scotch family of the earls of Hyndford. When he attained fortune, Carmichael spent much time and money in seeking to establish

the proof of his eldest brother's title to this earldom; but the loss or destruction of some indispensable family records rendered his efforts futile.

After a two years' apprenticeship to Peile, a well-known Dublin surgeon, and study at the Irish College of Surgeons, Carmichael passed the requisite examination, and was appointed assistant-surgeon (and ensign) to the Wexford militia in 1795, when only sixteen. This position he held, gaining considerable notice by his early skill and attention to his duties, till 1802, when the army establishment was reduced after the peace of Amiens. In 1800 he had become a member of the Irish College of Surgeons, and in 1803 he commenced practice in Dublin. In the same year he was appointed surgeon to St. George's Hospital and Dispensary, and in 1810 surgeon to the Lock Hospital. In 1816 he obtained the important appointment of surgeon to the Richmond, Whitworth, and Hardwicke Hospitals, an office which he held till 1836. Already in 1813, at the early age of thirty-four, he was chosen president of the Dublin College of Surgeons, a position he also held in 1826 and 1846. In 1835 he was elected a corresponding member of the Royal Academy of Medicine of France, being the first Irishman to receive that distinction.

In 1826 Carmichael, in conjunction with Drs. Adams and McDowell, founded the Richmond Hospital School of Medicine (afterwards known as the Carmichael School), and was for two years a principal, and afterwards an occasional lecturer. In addition to considerable donations in his lifetime, he bequeathed 8,000*l.* for its improvement, and 2,000*l.*, the interest to be given as prizes to the best students of the school. During the last ten years of his life (1839-49) he took deep interest in medical reform, strongly supporting the Medical Association of Ireland, of which he was president from its formation till his death. He aimed at securing for the medical student a good preliminary and a high professional education, and uniform and searching examinations by all universities and medical and surgical colleges. He also advocated the separation of apothecary's work from medicine and surgery as far as practicable. To promote its objects he placed 500*l.* in the hands of the Medical Association; but when it proved that the fund was not needed, he directed its transfer to the Medical Benevolent Fund Society. To this society, one much cared for by him, he left 4,500*l.* at his death. A piece of plate was presented to him in 1841 by 410 of his professional brethren, with an address expressing their sense of his unwearied zeal for the

interests of his profession and the advancement of medical science.

In addition to numerous pamphlets and papers in the medical journals, Carmichael published: 1. 'An Essay on the Effects of Carbonate of Iron upon Cancer, with an Inquiry into the Nature of that Disease,' London, 1806; 2nd edit. 1809. 2. 'An Essay on the Nature of Scrofula,' London, 1810 (of which a German translation was published at Leipzig in 1818). 3. 'An Essay on the Venereal Diseases which have been confounded with Syphilis, and the Symptoms which arise exclusively from that Poison,' 4to, 1814. The latter he made in an especial manner his own subject; and his practical views established important improvements in the treatment of those diseases, especially in regard to the administration of mercury. His work went through many editions. It was at first severely reviewed in the 'Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal' (xi. 380), the review being ably answered by Carmichael in the same volume.

Carmichael was originally a member of the established church; but in 1825 he joined a unitarian church. He was a handsome man, with a stern cast of countenance; and was all that was admirable in domestic life. He was drowned, on 8 June 1849, while crossing a deep arm of the sea between Clontarf and Sutton on horseback. Among his benefactions by will he left 3,000*l.* to the College of Surgeons, the interest to be applied as prizes for the best essays on subjects specified in the will. A list of his writings is given in the 'Dublin Quarterly Journal of Medical Science,' ix. 497-9.

[Dublin Medical Press, 4 July 1849, p. 13; Dublin Quarterly Journal of Medical Science, ix. 493-504.] G. T. B.

**CARMYLYON, ALICE** or **ELLYS** (*n.* 1527-1531), painter, a foreigner settled in England, has been by some writers taken to be a woman, the christian name being occasionally spelt Alice, but there is no conclusive evidence either way. The name occurs in the following forms: Alice Carmillian, Alys Carmyllion, Alis Carmylyon, Ellys Carmyan, and 'Elysys the painter.' The surname is an anglicised form of Carmelianus, and there may have been some relationship between the painter and Petrus Carmelianus of Brescia, the poet [q. v.] The artist is described in various entries in account-books as 'paynter,' 'myllyner,' 'guylder,' and 'gonner.' This last is no doubt merely a copyist's mistake, the name next above in the list being that of a gunner. There are no other female painters mentioned in the

account-books of Henry VIII's reign, but in the next two reigns there was one, who is styled 'Mystres Levyn Terlynck, payntrix.' The use of this feminine form is a slight argument in favour of Carmylyon being a man, and so is the fact that all the other 'myllyniers' attached to the court were of the same sex. On the other hand, Carmylyon's wages were 33*s.* 4*d.* a quarter, while those of the Hornebauds and Vincent Volperanged from 33*s.* 4*d.* a month to 5*l.* a quarter. This might point to the lower scale of wages paid to a woman, were it not that what was known of Carmylyon's work shows that it was by no means of a high class. It does not appear what foundation John Gough Nichols has for his remark that 'she appears to have been a painter in miniature' (*Archæol.* xxxix. 39), for all the notices discoverable refer to the banquetting-house at Greenwich, gilding vanes for the Tower, and working at 'two arches, a portall, a fountayne, and an arbour.' We may therefore conclude that decoration rather than miniature was her province. The dates 1539 and 1541 given by Nichols as the last payments to Carmylyon are mistakes for 1529 and 1531.

[Cal. State Papers, Hen. VIII, iv. 1395, v. 305, 307, vi. 5; *Archæologia*, xxxix. 39.]

C. T. M.

**CARNABY, WILLIAM** (1772-1839), musical composer, was born in London in 1772 and educated in the Chapel Royal as a chorister under Dr. Nares and Dr. Ayrton. He was subsequently organist of Eye and of Huntingdon. In 1806 he took the degree of Mus. Bac. at Cambridge, where he entered at Trinity Hall. In July 1808 he proceeded Mus. Doc., on which occasion his exercise, described as 'a grand musical piece,' was performed at Great St. Mary's on Sunday, the 7th. Previous to this he had left Huntingdon and settled in London, where he lived at various times at 18 Winchester Row and 31 Red Lion Square. In 1823 he was appointed organist of the newly opened Hanover Chapel, Regent Street, at a salary of 50*l.* per annum, a post he occupied until his death, which took place at 7 Middlesex Place, New Road, on 7 Nov. 1839. Carnaby wrote a considerable amount of meritorious music; six songs dedicated to Lady Templetown, two books of songs dedicated to W. Knyvett, six canzonets for two voices to words by Shennstone, and a collection of vocal music dedicated to Viscountess Mahon are perhaps his best compositions, but he also wrote many songs, vocal duets, and pianoforte pieces which are always respectable, if not remarkably original.

[Grove's Dict. of Music, i. 316; Gent. Mag. 1808, 628; Musical World, 14 Nov. 1839; Times, 11 Nov. 1839; Luard's Cantabrigienses Graduati, 71; Brit. Mus. Music Cat.] W. B. S.

**CARNAC, SIR JAMES RIVETT** (1785-1846), governor of Bombay, entered the East India Company's service in 1801 as an officer of the Madras native infantry. His father, James Rivett, who in the same year assumed the name of Carnac, was at that time a member of council at Bombay, and by his influence the younger Carnac was appointed in 1802 aide-de-camp to Mr. Duncan, then governor of Bombay, and a few months afterwards was placed on the personal staff of the officer commanding a field force employed against a Mahratta chief in Guzarát. The remainder of his Indian service was passed entirely in the Bombay presidency. After being present in several actions, which ended in the defeat of the insurgent chief, he was appointed in August 1802 first assistant to the resident at the court of the Gaikwár, and from that time until 1819, when he was compelled by ill-health to leave India, he was constantly employed in a political capacity, holding during the last two years of that period the important post of resident at Baroda. For his services as resident Carnac received the repeated thanks of the government of Bombay, of the supreme government, and of the court of directors. One of the objects to which he devoted much time and attention during this period of his life was the suppression of the practice of infanticide, then and afterwards very prevalent in Guzarát and in other native states. Like other Indian political officers, Carnac was frequently present at the military operations carried on in the earlier years of the century. Carnac retired from the Indian service as a major in 1822. In 1827 he was elected a director of the East India Company, and in 1835 served as deputy-chairman, and as chairman in 1836 and also in 1837. In 1836 he was created a baronet, and in 1838 was appointed governor of Bombay, which office he held rather less than two years, the state of his health compelling him to quit India finally on 27 April 1841. In 1837 he was elected member for Sandwich in the whig interest, but resigned his seat on his appointment to the Bombay government in the following year.

As a director of the East India Company Carnac fully justified the reputation for ability and zeal in the discharge of public duties which he had brought with him from India. His election to the chairmanship in two successive years was an honour rarely conferred, and proved the high estimation in

which he was held by his colleagues. While chairman of the court, Carnac was mainly instrumental in securing for Lord Wellesley the grant of 20,000*l.* which was made to that eminent statesman in 1837, in addition to the pension previously awarded to him. With Lord Wellesley, as well as with the Duke of Wellington, Lord Melbourne, and Lord Glenelg, Carnac carried on an active correspondence. During his brief tenure of the government of Bombay he appears to have won the esteem of all classes in that presidency. In recognition of his efforts to promote the education of the natives and their advancement in the public service, a scholarship, called the Carnac scholarship, was founded in the Elphinstone College at Bombay; his bust by Chantry was placed in the Town Hall, and a valuable service of plate was presented to him.

Carnac died at Rockcliffe, near Lymington, Hampshire, on 4 Jan. 1846, leaving a widow and several children.

[Phillipart's East India Military Calendar, 1824; Annual Register, 1846; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Bombay Gazette, 26 April 1841; private papers.] A. J. A.

**CARNAC, JOHN** (1716-1800), colonel, commenced his military service in the 39th foot ('Primus in Indis'), and, being in India when that regiment was ordered home in 1758, was admitted into the East India Company's service with the rank of captain. In 1760 Carnac, then a major, succeeded Colonel John Caillaud [q. v.] in command of the army at Patna, and in the following year won an important victory over the troops of the Emperor of Delhi and a French contingent commanded by M. Law, who with fifteen officers and fifty of his men was taken prisoner. The courtesy with which the French general was treated by the English commander appears to have astonished the natives, who at that time had but little acquaintance with European usages in war. The author of the 'Sir Mutakharin,' adverting to this incident, remarks: 'Nothing can be more modest and becoming than the behaviour of these strangers, whether in the heat of battle or in the pride of success.' Carnac was appointed a brigadier-general in May 1764. In 1765 he drove the Mahrattas across the Jumna. Returning to England in 1767, he was elected M.P. for Leominster. Four years later he was again in India, and rendered effective aid to Lord Clive in quelling a mutiny of the English officers in Bengal. In 1776 he was appointed member of council at Bombay, and, still filling that office in 1778, he was appointed one of the civil committee with the

army who early in the following year executed the unfortunate convention of Wargám. For his participation in this affair he was dismissed from the company's service. He appears to have remained in India until his death, which occurred at Mangalore in 1800 at the age of eighty-four.

[Philippart's East India Military Calendar, vol. ii.; Mill's History of India, vol. iii.; Marshall's History of India, vol. i.] A. J. A.

**CARNARVON, EARL OF** (*d.* 1643). [See DORMER, ROBERT.]

**CARNARVON, EARL OF** (1800-1849). [See HERBERT, HENRY JOHN GEORGE.]

**CARNE, SIR EDWARD** (*d.* 1561), diplomatist, was son of Howell Carne of Cowbridge in Glamorganshire, by his wife Cicely, daughter of William Kemys of Newport, and was lineally descended from Thomas Le Carne, second son of Ithyn, king of Gwent. He was educated at Oxford, where he became principal of Greek Hall, in St. Edward's parish, and was created D.C.L. in 1524. He acted as one of the commissioners for the suppression of the monasteries, and purchased Ewenny Abbey, in his native county, at its dissolution. His residence was at Landough Castle. Henry VIII employed him in several difficult diplomatic missions. In March 1530-1 he was at Rome in the capacity of 'excusator' of his majesty, who had been cited to appear personally or by proxy at the papal court in the matter of his divorce from Queen Catherine. Such a citation, it was contended, was contrary to the customs of the church and the privileges of christian princes (*Letters and Papers*, Foreign and Dom., Henry VIII, v. 33). Carne remained in Rome for several years. In 1538 he was one of the ambassadors sent to treat with the regent of the Low Countries; and again in 1541 he and Stephen Vaughan were sent as ambassadors to the queen regent of Flanders to procure the repeal of the imperial edict restrictive of English commerce. Subsequently he was resident ambassador in the Low Countries, and he received the honour of knighthood from the Emperor Charles V. He was returned for the county of Glamorgan to the parliament which met at Westminster on 12 Nov. 1554, in the first year of the reign of Philip and Mary, and, according to Browne Willis, he was again elected to the parliament which assembled at Westminster on 21 Oct. 1555, though the official list states that the return is defaced.

In 1555, when Philip and Mary had restored the ancient worship in England, they sent an embassy to Rome to give the cus-

tomary obedience to the pope. The embassy was composed of the Bishop of Ely, Lord Montagu, and Carne. When Montagu and the bishop returned to England, Carne remained as resident ambassador to Pope Paul IV, and continued in this capacity for nearly four years. On Elizabeth's accession to the throne he asked permission of the English government to leave Rome, as well on account of his old age as in order to see his wife and children again. On 9 Feb. 1558-9 this permission was granted by the council. Carne thereupon asked the pope for leave to depart, but this leave was refused to him on account of the hostile attitude Elizabeth was assuming towards Rome (Carne's original Letter from Rome, 1 April 1559, in *Cotton. MS. Nero B vi. f. 9*). It was then a common practice among sovereigns to retain an ambassador in the character of hostage. Little surprise therefore was caused by the detention of Carne, who was commanded by the pope to relinquish his office of ambassador and to assume the government of the English hospital at Rome. Elizabeth, indeed, tried to effect his release, but her efforts proved unavailing, and Carne remained at Rome, an exile from his native country, up to his death. This conduct towards an old, a poor, and an innocent man has naturally been considered harsh, though some persons, as Wood observes, suspected that 'the crafty old knight did voluntary chuse his banishment out of a burning zeal to the Roman catholic religion, and eagerly desired to continue' at Rome, 'rather than return to his own country, which was then ready to be overspread with heresy.' That this surmise was correct is shown by state papers which have been since brought to light. Philip, king of Spain, on being requested by Queen Elizabeth in 1560 to obtain her ambassador's release, ordered Francisco de Vargas, his representative at Rome, to inquire judiciously into the matter. Carne's account of his detention was that on Elizabeth's accession he, being a good catholic, had decided to live and die in the faith. He had asked Paul IV to detain him in order that the queen might not confiscate his property and persecute his wife and children. The pope granted his request, and, after the death of Paul, Pius IV followed the same course. Carne begged of Vargas that his story might be kept profoundly secret. The English ambassadors in Spain accordingly received an evasive reply, and Carne remained unmolested at Rome till his death on 19 Jan. 1560-1. He lies buried in the church of San Gregorio in Monte Celio, where his epitaph may still be read.

[*Archæologia Cambrensis* (1849), iv. 316; *Aubrey's Wiltshire* (Jackson), 296; *Burke's Landed Gentry* (1838), iv. 480; *Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation*; *Calendars of State Papers*; *Camden's Annales of Elizabeth* (1625-9), i. 18, 79; *Chronicle*, 6 April 1867, 38; *Chytraeus, Variorum Itinerum Deliciae*, 9; *Cooté's Civilians*, 20; *Dodd's Church Hist.* i. 530, also *Tierney's edit.* ii. 168 n.; *Foley's Records*, vi. pp. xxviii, xxix; *Fuller's Worthies* (Nichols), ii. 596; *Gent. Mag.* xciii. (i) 412, new series, xxxii. 516; *Haynes's State Papers*, 193, 245; *Lingard's Hist. of England*, vii. 253 n.; *Addit. MSS.* 25114, ff. 333-6, 344, 346, 28583, f. 183; *Cole's MS.* xxix. 130; *Cotton MSS. Calig.* E iv. 6, E v. 69, *Galba B x.* 89, 127, *Nero B vi.* 9; *Lansd. MS.* f. 116, art. 2; *Murdin's State Papers*, 752; *Nicholas's Glamorganshire*, 166; *List of Members of Parliament* (official return), i. 392; *Thomas's Hist. Notes*, 75, 350, 369; *Williams's Eminent Welshmen*; *Willis's Not. Parl.* iii. (2) 46, 53; *Wood's Fasti Oxon.* (Bliss), i. 66, 67.] T. C.

**CARNE, ELIZABETH CATHERINE THOMAS** (1817-1873), author, fifth daughter of Joseph Carne, F.R.S. [q. v.], was born at Rivière House, in the parish of Phillack, Cornwall, on 16 Dec. 1817, and baptised in Phillack church on 15 May 1820. On her father's death in 1858, having come into an ample fortune, she spent considerable sums in charitable purposes, gave the site for the Elizabeth or St. Paul's schools which were opened at Penzance on 2 Feb. 1876, founded schools at Wesley Rock, Carfury, and Bosulow, three thinly populated districts in the neighbourhood of Penzance, and built a museum in which to exhibit to the public a fine collection of minerals which she had inherited from her parent. She was the head of the Penzance bank from 1858 to her decease. She inherited her father's love of geology, and wrote four papers in the 'Transactions of the Royal Geological Society of Cornwall': 'Cliff Boulders and the Former Condition of the Land and Sea in the Land's End district,' 'The Age of the Maritime Alps surrounding Mentone,' 'On the Transition and Metamorphosis of Rocks,' and 'On the Nature of the Forces that have acted on the Formation of the Land's End Granite.' Many articles were contributed by her to the 'London Quarterly Review,' and she was the author of several books. She died at Penzance on 7 Sept. 1873, and was buried at Phillack on 12 Sept. Her funeral sermon was preached in St. Mary's Church, Penzance, by the Rev. Prebendary Hedgeland on 14 Sept. She was the author of: 1. 'Three Months' Rest at Pau in the Winter and Spring of 1859,' brought out with the pseudonym of John Altrayd Wittitterly in 1860. 2. 'Country Towns and the place they fill in Modern

Civilisation,' 1868. 3. 'England's Three Wants,' an anonymous book, 1871. 4. 'The Realm of Truth,' 1873.

[*Boase and Courtney's Bibl. Cornub.* 60, 1113; *Daily News*, London, 10 Sept. 1873, p. 7; *Geol. Mag.* x. 480, 524 (1873).] G. C. B.

**CARNE, JOHN** (1789-1844), traveller and author, was born on 18 June 1789, probably at Truro. His father, William Carne, was a merchant and banker at Penzance, where he died on 4 July 1838; he married in 1780 Miss Anna Cock, who died on 8 Nov. 1822. His eldest brother was Joseph Carne [q. v.] Carne was a member of Queens' College, Cambridge, at different times both before and after his journey to the East, but he never resided long enough for a degree. He was admitted in 1826 to deacon's orders by Dr. Michael Henry Thornhill Luscombe, the chaplain of the British embassy at Paris, and a bishop of the episcopal church of Scotland; but, except during a few months' residence at Vevey in Switzerland, he never officiated as a clergyman. His father, a strict man of business, desired that his son should follow in his footsteps, but after a short trial of business, during which his literary abilities showed themselves, his father allowed him to follow his own inclinations. His first literary production was brought out anonymously in 1820, and was called 'Poems containing the Indian and Lazarus.' Carne resolved to visit the holy places, and accordingly left England on 26 March 1821. He visited Constantinople, Greece, the Levant, Egypt, and Palestine. In the latter country, while returning from the convent of St. Catharine, he was taken prisoner by Bedouins, but, after being detained for some days, was released in safety. On coming back to England he commenced writing for the 'New Monthly Magazine' an account of his travels, under the title of 'Letters from the East,' receiving from Henry Colburn twenty guineas for each article. These 'Letters' were then reproduced in a volume, dedicated to Sir Walter Scott, which went to a third edition. This book is noticeable for the fact that there is not a single date to be found in it, except that on the title-page. The publication of this work and his talents for society brought him into familiar intercourse with Scott, Southey, Campbell, Lockhart, Jerdan, and other distinguished men of letters. He next published 'Tales of the West,' 1828, 2 vols., treating of his native county. Among those who knew him his fame as a story-teller far exceeded his renown as a writer, and social company often gathered round him to be spellbound by



some exciting or pathetic narration. During the latter part of his life he resided chiefly in Penzance. Oppressed by the infirmities of a premature old age, he had ceased for some years before his death to engage in any literary pursuits. While preparing to set out for the shores of the Mediterranean he was attacked with a sudden illness and died at Penzance on 19 April 1844, when his remains were buried in Gulval churchyard. At the age of twenty-five, namely in 1824, he married Ellen, daughter of Mr. Lane, a drawing-master of Worcester. Her brother, Theodore Lane, an artist of much promise and an exhibitor at the Royal Academy, met with an untimely fate by falling through a skylight at the horse bazaar in Gray's Inn Lane on 21 May 1828, when his daughter Emma was adopted by her uncle. Mrs. Carne married, secondly, Mr. Henry Harrington Clay, and died at Penzance on 2 Feb. 1868, aged 67.

Besides the works already mentioned, Carne was the author of: 1. 'Stratton Hill, a Tale of the Civil War,' 1829, 3 vols. 2. 'Recollections of Travels in the East,' 1830. 3. 'The Exiles of Palestine, a Tale,' 1831, 3 vols. 4. 'Lives of Eminent Missionaries,' 1833, 3 vols. 5. 'Letters from Switzerland and Italy,' 1834. 6. 'Lives of Eminent Missionaries,' 1844. 7. 'Lives of Eminent Missionaries,' 1852, 3 vols. He was also a writer in the 'New Monthly Magazine,' the 'Forget-me-not,' the 'Gem,' the 'Keepsake,' and other works.

[Gent. Mag. June 1844, p. 656; Boase and Courtney's Bibl. Cornub. i. 60, iii. 1113.]

G. C. B.

**CARNE, JOSEPH** (1782-1858), geologist, born at Truro, Cornwall, on 17 April 1782, was the eldest son of William Carne, a banker, and was educated at the Wesleyan school, Keynsham, near Bristol. His younger brother was John Carne [q. v.] He married on 23 March 1808 Mary Thomas, the daughter of William Thomas of Kidwelly, M.D., physician at Haverfordwest. After his marriage he lived for a short time at Penzance, and in 1810 or 1811 he removed to Rivière House, on being appointed manager of the Cornish Copper Company's smelting works at Hayle. His good business habits and quickness at figures well fitted him for this situation. From a very early period Carne showed a great love for mineralogy and geology. He was in the habit of walking round to the copper mines, and collecting specimens of the rarer ores, which the miners were glad to sell at low prices. He thus formed the nucleus of his unique mineralogical collection. Carne was a remarkably close ob-

server. He paid special attention to the granitic veins of St. Michael's Mount, and the vein-like lines of porphyritic rocks provincially termed 'elvans.' In 1816 and 1818 Carne communicated to the Royal Geological Society of Cornwall his investigation 'On Elvan Courses,' in which he satisfactorily establishes their general characters and fixes the probable dates of their intrusion into the granite masses and the clay-slates, 'The Granite of the Western part of Cornwall' and the 'Geology of the Scilly Isles' were additional communications made to the local geological society. After studying the formation of mineral veins he in 1818 communicated to the Geological Society of Cornwall a paper 'On the relative Age of the Veins of Cornwall.' The celebrated Werner was drawn by it into Cornwall, and he visited the mines of the county in company with Carne. This inquiry led, some years after, to the formation of a fund by subscription, which enabled Mr. William Jory Henwood to devote all his leisure, for many years, to personal observations in every mining field in Cornwall. These inquiries led to Carne's being elected a fellow of the Royal Society on 28 May 1818. In 1821 he published his paper 'On the Mineral Productions and the Geology of the Parish of St. Just.' This work led to the remarkable collection of the Cornish minerals which still exists in the possession of Mr. Charles Campbell Ross, formerly M.P. for St. Ives. Carne's paper 'On the Pseudo-morphous Minerals of Cornwall' is calculated to throw light on the mysterious changes which occur in minerals. In connection with this subject Carne also examined most of the varieties of tin ore which have been found in veins, and such as are peculiar to the diluvial deposits, which have been worked from the earliest historic times, in what are called 'stream works.' In 1846 a paper was read by Carne 'On the Remains of a Submarine Forest in the North-eastern part of the Mount's Bay,' and in 1851 'Notice of a Raised Beach lately discovered in Zennor' will be found in the pages of the 'Transactions of the Cornwall Geological Society,' vol. vii.

Carne also wrote on the history of copper mining, and on the improvements made in its metallurgy—on the discovery of ancient coins—on the formation of the blown sands of the north coasts of the county, and contributed to the Statistical Society of London a most useful paper, 'Statistics of the Tin Mines in Cornwall and of the Consumption of Tin in Great Britain.'

Carne was an honorary member of the Cambridge Philosophical Society. In 1837 he was

pricked for sheriff of the county. He was for many years the treasurer of the Cornwall Geological Society. From his accurate knowledge of the laws of mines and minerals, and his intimate acquaintance with local usages, he was referred to in most cases of difficulty.

All the Wesleyan chapels of West Cornwall sought Carne's assistance and advice. He took charge of Sunday schools, and always kept a large stock of books for the teachers. In 1820 Carne left Hayle, and went to Penzance to become a partner in his father's bank (Batten, Carne, & Carne). He always took considerable interest in the affairs of that town and of the county. He died at Penzance on 12 Oct. 1858.

[Gent. Mag. 1858, v. 638; Boase and Courtney's *Bibliotheca Cornubiensis*; Transactions of the Royal Geological Society of Cornwall, 1818-1861; De la Beche's Report on the Geology of Cornwall and Devon, 1839; Henwood's *Metaliferous Deposits of Cornwall and Devon*, 1843; Royal Society's Catalogue; Gilbert's *History of Cornwall*; personal knowledge.] R. H.-r.

**CARNE, ROBERT HARKNESS** (1784-1844), theological writer, son of John Carne, of St. Austell, Cornwall, mercer, was baptised at St. Austell parish church on 10 Oct. 1784, matriculated from Exeter College, Oxford, on 15 Jan. 1803, and graduated B.A. on 19 Nov. 1806. He afterwards served as curate of Crediton, Drewsteignton, and Torbryan in succession, and, the bishop then refusing to renew his license, he removed to Berkshire, where during twelve months he acted as a curate without holding any license. In 1820 the corporation of Marazion on Mount's Bay elected him to the lectureship of the chapel in that town, and the mayor wrote to Dr. Pelham, bishop of Exeter, announcing the election. The bishop in reply said: 'Mr. Carne knows that to his moral conduct I have nothing to object, indeed I have every reason to believe it exemplary, but to my conception the doctrines he maintains are not those of the church of England, nor are they, as I conceive, according to its discipline. I therefore cannot conscientiously license him, and without a license no clergyman is authorised to preach.' Carne then withdrew from the established church, giving as his chief reasons for his action the violence done to conscience and the invasion of the rights of private judgment. He held high Calvinistic doctrines 'upon conviction,' and had objections to some portions of the Athanasian Creed. After this Carne for some time acted as minister of the High Street Chapel, Exeter, and then withdrew to Jersey, where he spent the remainder of his

days, and, dying of apoplexy on 12 July 1844, was buried at St. Heliers on 16 July, in the sixtieth year of his age. He was the author of the following works: 1. 'Substance of Discourses delivered in the Churches of Crediton and Drewsteignton,' 1810. 2. 'A Series of Letters in Refutation of the Socinian Heresy,' 1815. 3. 'All the Elect People of God contemplated as Members of One Body,' 1817. 4. 'The Proper Deity and Distinct Personality, Agency, and Worship of the Holy Spirit,' 1818. 5. 'Reason for withdrawing from the National Establishment, with a Brief Statement of Doctrinal Sentiments,' 1820. 6. 'Sabellianism Revived,' 1820. 7. 'The Scripture Doctrine of Sanctification,' 1828. 8. 'The Two Covenants, or Law and Gospel,' 1828. 9. 'Examination of Pædo-baptism for the Satisfaction of Pædo-baptists,' 1830. 10. 'The Gospel Herald, a series of Discourses on the Glad Tidings of the Kingdom of God.' He was also a writer in the 'Morning Watch' in opposition to Edward Irving's opinions on 'The True Humanity of Christ.'

[Boase and Courtney's *Bibl. Cornub.* i. 61, 62, iii. 1114; collected information.] G. C. B.

**CARNEGIE, SIR DAVID**, of Kinnaird, LORD CARNEGIE and EARL OF SOUTHBESK (1575-1658), son of Sir David Carnegie of Panbride and Colluthie, one of the commissioners of the treasury, by his second wife, a daughter of Sir David Wemyss of Wemyss, was born in 1575. He succeeded his father in the family estates of Kinnaird in 1598. In 1601 he obtained license from the king to travel on the continent for a space of two years. When James VI of Scotland succeeded to the English crown, Carnegie was appointed to escort the queen into England, and received for his services the honour of knighthood. In 1604 he was nominated a commissioner to arrange a union between England and Scotland. In the general assembly of the kirk he was an active supporter of the ecclesiastical policy of the king, and on 25 May 1606 received a letter from him thanking him for his services. In 1609 he was nominated a commissioner for reforming the university of St. Andrews. In the parliament of 1612 he was one of the commissioners for the shire of Fife, and was appointed a commissioner for considering the penal laws and in reference to taxation. On 14 April 1616 the king recognised his special services to Scotland by creating him Lord Carnegie of Kinnaird, and in July following he was appointed a lord of session, which office he retained till the death of James I in 1625. He was one

of the royal commissioners to the Perth assembly in August 1618, when the obnoxious five articles were passed. In the parliament which met soon after, he was appointed commissioner for the plantation of kirks, as well as for the abolition of hereditary jurisdictions, and in August 1630 he was nominated one of the commissioners of laws, to which he was reappointed in June 1633. At the coronation of Charles I in the abbey of Holyrood on 22 June 1633 he was created Earl of Southesk. He was an active supporter of the ecclesiastical policy both of James I and Charles I. In 1637 he endeavoured without success to bring about a conference between the bishops and Alexander Henderson and other ministers in reference to the Service Book (*GORDON, Scots Affairs*, i. 17). When his son-in-law the Earl of Montrose, in February 1639, came to Forfar to hold a committee for the subscription of the covenant abjuring episcopacy, the Earl of Southesk refused to subscribe, as well as to raise a quota of men to aid the covenanters (*SPALDING, Memorials of the Troubles*, i. 135). In March 1640 he and other prominent anti-covenanters were apprehended in Edinburgh and lodged in private houses under a nightly guard (*ib.* 200). He subscribed the bond of Montrose against Argyll in 1640, but after the reconciliation of parties which succeeded the king's visit to Scotland in 1641 he was nominated a privy councillor. On the triumph of the covenanters he submitted to their authority. By Cromwell's Act of Grace he was fined 3,000*l.* He died on 22 Feb. 1658, at the age of eighty-three.

[Douglas's Peerage (Wood), ii. 514; Fraser's History of the Carnegies, Earls of Southesk (1867), i. 70-134; Robert Baillie's Letters and Journals; Gordon's Scots Affairs; Spalding's Memorials of the Troubles; Acts of the Parliament of Scotland.] T. F. H.

**CARNEGIE, SIR ROBERT** (*d.* 1566), of Kinnaird, judge and diplomatist, son of John Carnegie of Kinnaird, who fell at Flodden (9 Sept. 1513), by Jane Vaus, was in 1547 nominated an ordinary lord of session by the regent (the Earl of Arran), to whose party he had attached himself. The appointment seems to have been made in anticipation of the removal of Henry Balnaves [q. v.], then under suspicion of complicity in the murder of Cardinal Beaton. In the autumn of 1548 Carnegie was despatched to England to negotiate with the protector for the ransom of the Earl of Huntly, the chancellor of Scotland, who had been taken prisoner at the battle of Pinkie Cleugh in the preceding year (10 Sept.) From London Carnegie

proceeded to Blois, where, with the bishop of Ross and Gavin Hamilton (abbot of Kilwynning), he conducted the negotiations which resulted, in 1551, in the creation of the regent duke of Chatelherault, with the understanding that he should resign the regency into the hands of the queen-mother. In the summer of 1551 he returned to Scotland, travelling through England under letters of safe-conduct granted by the protector, and was employed in negotiations relative to the settlement of the borders. On the accession to the regency of Mary of Guise (1553), he became clerk to the treasurer (thesaurar-clerk) at a salary of 26*l.* per annum. He was appointed (9 June of the same year) commissioner to enforce the observance of the statutes relating to forestalling and regrating at the approaching fair at Brechin, and on 18 Sept. was deputed, with Sir Robert Bellenden, to represent Scotland in another negotiation for a settlement of the border, as the result of which a treaty, the terms of which will be found in the 'Calendar of State Papers' (*Dom. Addenda*, 1547-65, p. 430), was concluded on 4 Dec. In 1557 another negotiation with the same object was opened, Carnegie being again employed. The commissioners met at Carlisle in the summer, but the negotiation was abruptly terminated by the queen regent. Carnegie was employed in 1553 in another attempt to settle the perennial border question. The precise date when he received the honour of knighthood is uncertain, but it was probably about 1552-3. The last meeting of the privy council which he attended was held on 1 Dec. 1565. He died on 5 July in the following year. He is described by Knox as one of those 'quha for faynting of the bretheris hairtis, and drawing many to the Queneis factioun against thair natyve cuntry have declairit thameselfis enemies to God and traytouris to thair commune wealth' (*Hist. Reform.* i. 400, Bannatyne Club). By his devotion to the queen regent he profited largely, receiving from her several grants of lands in Forfarshire. His wife was Margaret Guthrie, of the Guthries of Lunan. He is supposed to be the author of a work on Scotch law, cited in Balfour's 'Practicks' (ed. 1754), p. 60, by the title of 'Lib. Carneg.'

[Lesley's Hist. Scotl. pp. 197, 220, 258; Reg. Counc. Scotl. i. 83, 141, 146, 150; Keith's Hist. Scotl. App. 115; Cal. State Papers (Scotl. 1509-1603), pp. 100, 105, 192 (*Dom. Addenda*, 1547-65), p. 430; Knox's Works (Bann. Club), i. 400, iii. 410-11; Strype's Mem. iii. pt. ii. 419, ad fin.; Reg. Mag. Sig. (1513-46), gg. 1465, 2730; Brunton and Haig's Senators of the College of Justice.] J. M. R.

**CARNEGIE, WILLIAM, EARL OF NORTHESK** (1758-1831), admiral, was the third son of George, sixth Earl of Northesk, admiral of the white, who died in 1792. He entered the navy in 1771 on board the *Albion*, with Captain Barrington, served afterwards with Captains Macbride in the *Southampton* and *Stair Douglas* in the *Squirrel*, and on 7 Dec. 1777 was made lieutenant into the *Apollo*. He was afterwards with Sir John Lockhart Ross in the *Royal George*, and in the *Sandwich* with Sir George Rodney, by whom he was made commander after the battle of 17 April 1780, though the commission was not confirmed till 10 Sept. He continued in the West Indies, commanding in succession the *Blast* fireship and the *St. Eustatius*, hired ship, till on 7 April 1782 he was advanced to post rank. He afterwards had command of the *Enterprise* frigate, which he brought home and paid off at the peace. By the death of his elder brothers, in 1788 he became Lord Rosehill. In 1790 he commanded the *Heroine* for a few months, in the Spanish armament, and in 1792 succeeded to the earldom on the death of his father. In 1793 he commanded the *Beaulieu* frigate, and afterwards the *Andromeda*, but only for a short time. In 1796 he was appointed to the *Monmouth* of 64 guns, in the North Sea fleet, one of the ships engaged in the following year in the mutiny at the *Nore*. Northesk was for some time detained on board, a prisoner in his cabin; he was afterwards brought before the committee of delegates on board the *Sandwich*, and employed by them to lay their demands before the king, receiving from their president a commission in the following terms: 'You are hereby authorised and ordered to wait upon the king, wherever he may be, with the resolutions of the committee of delegates, and are directed to return back with an answer within fifty-four hours from the date hereof. 6 June, 3 P.M.'

Northesk accordingly carried the propositions of the mutineers to the admiralty, and was taken by Lord Spencer to the king. The demands were rejected, and a message to that effect was sent down to the revolted seamen; but Northesk did not return, and shortly after the mutiny had been quelled he resigned the command of the *Monmouth*. In 1800 he was appointed to the *Prince* of 98 guns, in the Channel fleet, and commanded her till the peace. On the renewal of the war he was appointed to the *Britannia* of 100 guns, in the fleet off Brest under Admiral Cornwallis, and continued in her, on the same station, after his promotion to flag rank, 23 April 1804. In August 1805 he was de-

tached under Sir Robert Calder to reinforce the fleet off Cadiz, and on 21 Oct. commanded in the third post in the battle of Trafalgar. The *Britannia* was the fourth ship in the weather-line led by Nelson, and was thus early in the action, continuing closely engaged till the end, and sustaining a loss of fifty-two killed and wounded. Northesk's services on this occasion were acknowledged by his being nominated a knight of the Bath, the investiture taking place on 5 June 1806. He became vice-admiral 28 April 1808, and admiral 4 June 1814, but had no further service during the war. In 1821 he was constituted rear-admiral of Great Britain; from 1827-1830 was commander-in-chief at Plymouth; and died, after a short illness, on 28 May 1831. On 8 June he was buried in the crypt of St. Paul's Cathedral, where a plain slab marks his grave, in the immediate neighbourhood of Nelson's and Collingwood's. He sat in several parliaments as a representative peer of Scotland. He married, 9 Dec. 1788, Mary, daughter of William Henry Ricketts, and niece of Lord St. Vincent, and had by her a very numerous family. The eldest son, then Lord Rosehill, was lost in the *Blenheim* with Sir Thomas Troubridge in February 1807.

[*Naval Chronicle*, xv. 441, with a portrait; *Ralfs's Nav. Biog.* ii. 400; *Marshall's Roy. Nav. Biog.* i. 198; *Gent. Mag.* (1831) vol. ci. pt. ii. p. 79.] J. K. L.

**CARNWATH, sixth EARL OF** (d. 1737). [See DALYELL, SIR ROBERT.]

**CAROLINE** (1683-1737), queen of Great Britain and Ireland, was born 1 March 1683, and baptised by the names of *Wilhelmina Caroline*. Her father, John Frederick, margrave of Brandenburg-Ansbach, died when she was four years of age, and his margravate was for seven years afterwards under the rule of minors. Thus, on the marriage in 1692 of his widow, Eleonora Erdmuthé Louisa, daughter of John George, duke of Saxe-Eisenach, to the elector John George IV of Saxony, Caroline accompanied her mother to Dresden. The extraordinary condition of manners and morals at the Saxon court had very nearly culminated in open bigamy on the part of Caroline's stepfather (see BÖTTIGER-FLATHE, *Geschichte von Sachsen*, 1870, ii. 265-70). After the death of the elector, in 1694, Caroline seems to have remained with her mother at Dresden or at Pretzsch, on the Elbe above Wittenberg, the estate settled on the electress in jointure, where she was visited by her daughter's guardian, the Elector Frederick III of Brandenburg (afterwards King Frederick I of Prussia), and his

charming wife, Sophia Charlotte, daughter of the Electress Sophia of Hanover (VARNHAGEN, 'Sophia Charlotte,' in *Biographische Denkmäler*, 3rd edit. 1872, iv. 278). In 1696 Caroline was left an orphan by the death of her mother, and after this event she seems to have spent some years under the care of her guardian and his consort at Berlin, though doubtless paying occasional visits to Ansbach and other courts. It must have been near the time of her mother's death that, if there be any truth in the story retailed by Horace Walpole (*Memoirs of the Last Ten Years of George II*, 4to, 1822, 158-9), Caroline fell in love with Frederick II, duke of Saxe-Gotha, who married in 1696, and whose daughter was afterwards married to Caroline's eldest son.

Caroline's sojourn with her guardian's wife, the Electress Sophia Charlotte (queen of Prussia from 1701), largely helped to mould her mind and character. Sophia Charlotte was a woman of unusual intellectual gifts, which had been fostered by the training given to her by her mother, and more especially by the influence of her mother's faithful friend, Leibniz, who during these years was a constant visitor at Berlin and at Lützenburg, the new château since famous under the name of Charlottenburg (VARNHAGEN and KLOPP, *Correspondance*, vol. iii. passim. See *ib.* iii. 104-5 Leibniz's tribute to Caroline's vocal powers). Sophia Charlotte entertained a warm affection for the young Ansbach princess, without whom Berlin seemed to her 'a desert' (see Leibniz's letter to the queen, 17 Nov. 1703, in KEMBLE, 322); and this affection was shared by the old Electress Sophia, who made Caroline's acquaintance at Berlin (*Correspondance*, iii. 100). Already, in October 1704, the old lady is found manifesting a wish that by marrying her grandson, the Electoral Prince of Hanover, Caroline might have been saved the trouble inflicted upon her in connection with a proposal of more brilliant promise. The scheme of marrying the Ansbach princess to the Archduke Charles, afterwards titular king of Spain and emperor under the designation of Charles VI, appears to have been entertained as early as 1698 (see Leibniz's letter to the Duchess Benedicta in KEMBLE, 322); but negotiations were not actually opened on the subject till about 1704, when the Elector Palatine, John William, solicited Caroline's hand for the archduke. As her conversion to the church of Rome was an indispensable preliminary for such a marriage, the jesuit father, Orbanus, a personage highly praised by Leibniz, was permitted to instruct her in the faith, and the Electress Sophia very

graphically describes the intelligent girl's disputations with her tutor, and her tears when the arguing had unsettled her mind (*Correspondance*, iii. 108). The old electress and Leibniz were supposed to have encouraged Caroline in her resistance (*ib.* iii. Introd. 39), and Leibniz certainly drafted for her the letter to the elector palatine, in which she declined further negotiations (*ib.* iii. 108-9). But 'Providence,' as Addison afterwards put it (see extract from the 'Freeholder,' No. 21, in COXE'S *Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole*, ii. 270), 'kept a reward in store for such an exalted virtue,' and her 'pious firmness,' as it was styled by Burnet (*Own Times*, 1833 edit. v. 322), was not to go 'unrequited,' 'even in this life.' After a decent interval the Hanoverian family and their relations resumed the project of a match between Caroline and the electoral prince, and by the close of the year she considered the Spanish project at an end (*Correspondance*, iii. 113; KEMBLE, 383), though it seems to have been transitorily resumed about March 1705 (*Correspondance*, iii. 119). Late in 1704 she had returned to Ansbach, and it was here that she learnt with the deepest sorrow of the death of her kind friend and protectress, Queen Sophia Charlotte of Prussia (see her letter to Leibniz, in KEMBLE, 435). Her stay at her native place was soon to come to an end; but she seems always to have retained a warm interest in the family from which she sprang (see the statement, probably true in substance, though certainly inaccurate, as to her kindness in her later years towards the infant margrave of Ansbach, in the *Memoirs of the Margravine of Ansbach*, 1826, i. 177-8).

On 2 Sept. 1705 Caroline was married to George Augustus, electoral prince of Hanover, who had visited Ansbach incognito a few weeks before, and had been captivated by the charms of her person and conversation (COXE, ii. 270, from the 'Marlborough Papers'). The ensuing nine years, which she spent as electoral princess at Hanover and its neighbourhood, were probably among the happiest in her life. Soon after her marriage she had an attack of the small-pox, from which she was in 1707 thought to have just escaped (KEMBLE, 448); but it neither altogether destroyed her personal charms (see WALPOLE'S *Reminiscences*, 304), nor put an end to their power over her husband. Their eldest son, Frederick, afterwards prince of Wales, was born on 6 Jan. 1707, and their eldest daughter, Anne, afterwards princess of Orange, in 1709. Two other daughters were born, in 1711 and in 1718; and afterwards in England, between 1721 and 1724,

three more children, who survived to maturity, the eldest of these, afterwards known as the Duke of Cumberland, being the favourite of his parents. The Duke of Gloucester, whose birth in 1717 'transported' his father with joy (*Suffolk Letters*, i. 17), and gave rise to the family quarrel noticed below, died in infancy; another boy, born in the previous year, did not survive his birth.

Between the electoral princess and her grandmother, the old Electress Sophia, to whom she must largely have supplied the place of Sophia Charlotte, a warm esteem and affection continued to prevail, and her intimacy with Leibniz continued, though he was at this time much away from Hanover. Even in times of political anxiety she took comfort in the preface to his 'Deodyces' (*sic*, KEMBLE, 504; for other examples of her spelling, phenomenal even in that age, see her letters in the same collection, *passim*). But she was not absorbed in moral philosophy or in other literature. The electoral prince was far more eager for the British succession than his father, or probably even than his grandmother; and Caroline had already learned how to flatter her husband's foibles. She was, moreover, herself of an ambitious nature, and may be supposed to have been conscious of her capacity for the royal station to which, in common with the prince, she aspired. Towards this end her conduct seems to have been consistently shaped. Her progress in the English tongue was slow; for though as early as 1706 she had expressed a wish to study it (*Correspondance*, iii. 220-1), and in 1713 actually engaged an Englishwoman born in Hanover to read English to her (*ib.* iii. 411), she never seems to have learned to speak it with any degree of correctness. But to the political situation and its needs she was wide awake. In September 1712 she is found assuring Queen Anne of her gratitude (ELLIS's *Original Letters*, 2nd ser. iv. 267-8); but in December 1713 she writes to Leibniz very gloomily concerning the prospects of the succession. She may be concluded to have agreed with the step taken on her husband's behalf in England in May 1714, when his writ of summons to the House of Lords was demanded and granted. At all events, she shared in the excitement created at Hanover by the queen's irate letters to the Electress Sophia and the electoral prince, and declared that she had never experienced so intolerable an annoyance (see her letter in KEMBLE, 503-4, and in *Correspondance*, iii. 452-3). On 8 June, in consequence, as was widely believed, of her agitation from the same cause, the Electress Sophia died at Herrenhausen, in Caroline's arms (see the

narrative in *Correspondance*, iii. 457-62). The request of Leibniz, that she would accept him as a poor legacy from his old mistress (*ib.* 462-5), was not overlooked; she is found corresponding with him from England in 1715, when she attempted to obtain for him from George I the payment of arrears of salary due to him (KEMBLE, 528 seq.) But her most confidential correspondent after the death of the old electress seems to have been the favourite niece of the latter, the vivacious and warm-hearted Elisabeth Charlotte, duchess of Orleans, who declared Caroline to be possessed of a heart, 'a rare thing as times go' (VEHSE, 251).

After the death of the Electress Sophia, Caroline's active interest in the British succession did not abate (*Memoirs of Ker of Kerstland*, 3rd ed. 1727, i. 88 seq.); and her hopes had not long to wait for fulfilment. Before the close of 1714 the Princess of Wales had followed her husband and George I to England; already in November Addison rapturously commends his 'Cato' to her notice (see the lines in ADDISON'S *Miscellaneous Works*, 1736, ii. 124-6; and about the same time her first household appointments are sharply censured by Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (*Letters and Works*, 2nd ed. 1837, i. 225). And likewise at a very early date in her English life her name was mixed up in a factious dispute concerning the religious beliefs of the new royal family, in the course of which she was branded as a Calvinist and a presbyterian, and declared to have refused to receive the sacrament according to the rites of the church of England. These reports, though contradicted, may have contributed to the animosity with which she afterwards came to be regarded by the high church party (see R. PAULI, *Aufsätze zur englischen Geschichte*, neue (third) Folge (1833), 383-91). The first occasion, however, on which, after the accession of the house of Hanover in England, the Princess of Wales was called upon to take a side, was that of the open rupture between her husband and the king, his father, towards the close of 1717. George I did not love his daughter-in-law, whom to confidential ears he termed 'cette diablesse madame la princesse' (*Reminiscences*, 283), and she had shown herself as irreconcilable as had her husband, and carried her display of animosity against the king's party even into the neutral ground of a masquerade (LADY M. W. MONTAGU, i. 381). When the prince was banished from St. James's Palace, the princess, though in consideration of her condition leave was granted her to remain, preferred to accompany her husband; and the night from 2-3 Dec. was

spent by both in the house of Lord Grantham, the princess's great chamberlain (see the account, based upon a contemporary official narrative, in LORD HERVEY's *Memoirs*, iii. 279-282; also WALPOLE's *Reminiscences*, 290). Ten years afterwards, on the death of George I, it was Queen Caroline herself who, if Walpole is to be believed, discovered in the late king's cabinet Lord Berkeley's atrocious proposal to transport the Prince of Wales to America (*Reminiscences*, 289).

After his quarrel with the king, the Prince of Wales in 1718 hired, and in 1719 bought, as a summer residence, Richmond Lodge in Richmond Gardens, on the riverside near Kew. The villa had formerly been the Duke of Ormonde's (*Suffolk Letters*, i. 23 note; HERVEY, iii. 118). Ultimately both Richmond Lodge and Gardens became Queen Caroline's separate property (HERVEY, iii. 312 note); and it was here that in 1735 she caused to be constructed, in the absurd fashion of the times, the famous 'Merlin's Cave,' a grotto adorned with figures of Merlin and others, and supplied with a collection of books, of which Stephen Duck was librarian (*ib.* ii. 222 and note). As a town residence the prince and princess took Leicester House in Leicester Fields (*Reminiscences*, 295 and note). But Richmond was associated with Caroline's court more than any other place—more even than Kensington Gardens, whence was derived the title of the poem in which Tickell paid a tribute to 'England's daughter' and 'her virgin band.' Even after her accession to the throne her and her husband's life here was 'so much in private that they saw nobody but their servants' (HERVEY, i. 249); but this household and its immediate intimates included, besides a bevy of fair ladies, the most accomplished of the younger whig nobility, and not a few of such great wits of the day as were within reach. Pope himself, in 1717, celebrated the princess's 'maids' in his 'court ballad' entitled 'The Challenge,' but a more complete picture of 'Bellenden, Lepell, and Griffin, and of the lively ways of these and other ladies around the princess, will be found in their own contributions to the 'Suffolk Letters' (see also *Reminiscences*, 300 seqq., for a general survey of this court). Among the ladies attached to the court were Mrs. Selwyn and Lady Walpole; but the most influential personage there after the princess was her bedchamber-woman, Mrs. Howard, afterwards Lady Suffolk and mistress of the robes, and mistress *en titre* to George II both before and after his accession. With her the princess prudently established a *modus vivendi*, and though a species of party inevitably formed round the mistress, the con-

trolling influence over her husband remained with the wife. According to Lord Hervey (*Memoirs*, ii. 89-93), when in 1734 a rupture between the king and Lady Suffolk at last took place, Queen Caroline was 'both glad and sorry;' indeed, at one time she had been rather desirous to keep Lady Suffolk about the king than to leave a chance for a successor. Mrs. Clayton (afterwards Lady Sundon), another of the bedchamber-women, acquired great influence over the queen in later days, and was thought in especial to be the agent who introduced low church or 'heterodox' divines to her favour (*Suffolk Letters*, i. 62-3; *Reminiscences*, 307). Among the male members of the young court the most prominent were Lord Stanhope, from 1726 Lord Chesterfield, whose opposition to Walpole, coupled, it was said, with the discovery of his trust in Mrs. Howard by the queen, entailed upon him her lasting resentment (*ib.* 297; *Walpoliana*, i. 83-4; HERVEY, i. 322-4; and see CROKER's refutation of COXE in a note to *Suffolk Letters*); Lords Bathurst and Scarborough; Colonel, afterwards General, Charles Churchill; Carr, lord Hervey, and above all his younger brother John, who succeeded to the title in 1723. Lord Hervey was the most devoted of Queen Caroline's servants and friends; he says (ii. 46) that she called him always 'her child, her pupil, and her charge;' he was of the utmost use to her in her dealings with the king and with Walpole; he reported the debates to her; his society was the relief of her life; and he was even allowed to laugh at her without offence being taken (see his *jeux d'esprit*, ii. 323-46). After her death he wrote her epitaph (*ib.* iii. 334 note). Among the neighbours of the court at Richmond Lodge who at different times came into contact with it were Lady Mary Wortley Montagu and Pope; Bolingbroke too was from 1725 intriguing close at hand. Gay had the *entrée*, though he thought it beneath him to accept the office of gentleman-usher to the Princess Louisa and Arbuthnot. Swift in his exile flattered himself with hopes founded on the interest shown in him and in Irish affairs by the princess on his visits to England in 1726 and 1727, but more especially on the supposed influence of Mrs. Howard (*Suffolk Letters*). Finally, it may be presumed that even in the earlier years of Caroline's English life the literary representatives of those opinions on religious matters which chiefly found favour there were occasionally admitted to her society.

The hopes of the 'Howard party,' which had thought that the ascendancy of the mistress would be firmly established on

the accession to the throne of George II, were altogether disappointed when that event was brought about by the sudden death of his father on 9 June 1727. Not only was Lord Bathurst disappointed of a coronet by the veto of Queen Caroline (*Reminiscences*, 296); but another friend of Mrs. Howard, Sir Spencer Compton, was, at the direct suggestion of the queen, deposed from the height of prime-minister-designate. At the reception held by the king and queen at Leicester House on the day after the notice of their accession had reached them, the queen carefully distinguished Lady Walpole, and the imbecility of Sir Spencer made it easy for her to give effect to her wish. Beyond a doubt she was strongly influenced by Walpole's offer, carried out by a parliamentary vote on 9 July following, to obtain for her from parliament a jointure of 100,000*l.* a year, in lieu of 50,000*l.* as proposed by Sir Spencer Compton. But there were other reasons which had long made her favourable to Walpole; she was fully capable of recognising his merits, she was on good terms with his supporter the Duke of Devonshire, and, while always respectful to her, he had never paid court to Mrs. Howard (COXE, ii. 284 seqq.; cf. *Walpoliana*, i. 86-7). From this time onward the part played by the queen in the political affairs of Great Britain may be said to have determined itself. Her support of Walpole was all but unflinching. In 1730, as she observed the growing misunderstanding between Walpole and Townshend, she steadily adhered to the former, and helped to secure his victory (COXE, ii. 382-4; cf. *Reminiscences*, 306). In 1733 she not only supported the minister in his excise scheme so courageously as on its withdrawal to have the honour of being burnt in effigy with him by the London mob (HERVEY, i. 206), but she inspired the king with a steadfast resolution not to drop the author of the scheme with the scheme itself (*ib.* 193-5). In the South Sea Company inquiry which ensued in the lords, she eagerly strove, by private persuasions addressed to several peers, to avert a ministerial defeat (*ib.* 233). In the same and in the following year her action in the Polish succession question was affected by the arguments of Walpole and Hervey to such a degree that, though still in favour of war, she contrived to convince the king of the expediency of peace (*ib.* i. 262, 271-2, ii. 61; cf. COXE, ii. 207). It would seem, however, that before the election of 1734 the queen shared the king's temporary distrust in the prospects of the ministry (HERVEY, i. 339). During her later regencies the queen and Walpole did everything by themselves (*ib.* ii.

181), and in 1736 the queen aided the minister in inducing the king to abandon his scheme of a northern league (COXE, iii. 260). Such was the political intimacy between 'the king's two ears,' as Lord Hervey called them (ii. 107), that Walpole was jealous even of the confidence she reposed in the faithful Lord Hervey (HERVEY, iii. 234), and such her trust in the minister, that shortly before her death she recommended the king to his care instead of asking for him the favour of the king (COXE, iii. 386-7; *Reminiscences*, 307). The general character of the relations between the king and the queen were more paradoxical. It was said that the alkali of her temper sweetened the acid of his (HERVEY, iii. 85). She governed him primarily by his admiration for her person (*Reminiscences*, 304; HERVEY, i. 293-300), but almost equally by her complaisance, which knew no bounds (see, to quote but one instance, Lord Hervey's account, ii. 168, of her treatment of his passion for Madame de Walmoden, afterwards countess of Yarmouth). Lastly, she governed him by means of the tact which enabled her to appear *not* to govern the vainest of men (HERVEY, i. 334; *Reminiscences*, 305). In return he treated her, on the whole, as well as his essentially selfish nature and his vaingloriousness in matters of gallantry would allow. About 1735 a change for the worse was thought observable in his behaviour towards her (HERVEY, ii. 205), but she manifested much emotion when in December 1736 he was thought to have imperilled his life in a storm at sea (*ib.* iii. 6 seqq.); and when he lost her in the following year, there was no doubt as to the genuineness of his grief. In no sentiment was she more entirely at one with him than in her detestation of their eldest son, Frederick, prince of Wales. Even Croker cannot account for the early beginning or for the intensity of the queen's animosity against the prince (HERVEY, iii. 54 note; see, however, *ib.* 276 and ii. 370); nor does she seem ever to have heartily entered into the notable scheme in favour of her second son for severing Hanover from Great Britain, though it might in the event of her husband's death have secured her a convenient retreat (*ib.* iii. 220 seqq.) At the time of her death the popular imagination was greatly occupied with the fact that she refused an interview to her hated first-born, and Pope was at pains to preserve her refusal from oblivion in a classic sneer; but though she must be held personally responsible for the decision (*ib.* 307-8), there is something little short of hypocrisy in treating it as inexcusable. Her second son was beloved by both his parents; of the daughters, the Princess Caroline was



devoted to the queen (*ib.* iii. 209). Towards the princess royal her affection appears to have been warm rather than deep (*ib.* 334).

As a rule, the political opinions of Queen Caroline were in complete accord with those of her husband. Though at times eloquent in her praise of English institutions, she was a German princess at heart, 'always partial to the emperor' (*ib.* i. 273), jealous of the prerogative, and as fond of troops as was the king himself (*ib.* ii. 263). Walpole declared that she was in the habit of accusing him of 'partiality to England' (*ib.* ii. 63), and it is certain that 'the militant flame in her was blown' by such counsellors as the Hanoverian minister Hattorf (*ib.* ii. 38-9). Though true to the whig leader in the main, she had no love for the whigs as a party (*ib.* iii. 65), and had a strong dislike of the minister's brother Horace, of Newcastle (iii. 134-5), and of Carteret (iii. 161). She was liberal in sentiment towards Jacobites and Roman Catholics, and promised Swift to use her best endeavours for Ireland (*Suffolk Letters*, i. 700-1). Though she was at all times active in influencing appointments (COXE, ii. 268), her interest in politics most fully exhibited itself when she acted as regent during the king's absence in Hanover in 1729, 1732, 1735, and 1736-7. From first to last, much to the chagrin of the Prince of Wales, the king invariably appointed her to this office, and an act of parliament was passed for the express purpose of exempting her from taking the oaths (*ib.* ii. 296). More especially during his last absence she took an active part in the conduct of affairs, and showed great vigour in dealing with the troubles which arose during this period, and with the Edinburgh Porteous riots, and their consequences in particular. At the same time she conciliated the king's weakness by avoiding any display of state during his absence, and by residing out of town at Kensington, notwithstanding his pretended wishes to the contrary (HERVEY, ii. 362). Towards the church Queen Caroline's position was peculiar. The bench of bishops as a whole she treated *de haut en bas* (see her rebuke of them for their opposition to the Quakers' Tithe Bill in 1736, HERVEY, ii. 276); but for several members of it, such as Sherlocke, Secker, Butler, and Pearce, she entertained a strong regard. Her relations with Hoadly, whom Hervey maintains she hated, but whom she helped to promote to the see of Winchester, must have been of a more complex nature. She would gladly have placed on the bench Dr. Clarke, for whose learning and character she had the deepest respect, but he repeatedly declined (see as to her relations with Clarke,

and her 'arbitration' between him and Leibniz, COXE, ii. 273-4). It pleased the world and the wits who set it talking (see especially Croker's note to HERVEY, ii. 140) to impugn the orthodoxy of her creed. That she thought soberly on the highest subjects is shown by her letter to Leibniz concerning his 'Theodicee' (KEMBLE, 533-4); it was not her fault that she could not help, as he had hoped, to incline the church of England in the direction of a reunion of the protestant churches (*ib.* 541-5).

The health of Queen Caroline was seriously affected in the autumn of 1734 (the report of her death in 1731 was a mere stockjobber's invention; see *Wentworth Papers*, 474); and in August 1737, after receiving a letter offensive in form from the Prince of Wales, she fell ill of a violent fit of the gout (HERVEY, iii. 227). But the fatal illness which began on 9 Nov. of the same year had its origin in a rupture which she had for years carefully kept concealed, and for which a painful operation was performed, it is said, only two days too late. She died on 20 Nov. quite peacefully. Not long before her death she made a simple and touching declaration of her endeavours on behalf of the king and nation. There was much gossip as to her having declined to receive the sacrament; her last words were a request for prayer. The king lamented her with loud and half-selfish passionateness, but he scrupulously provided for her servants, declaring that he would have nobody feel her loss but himself. He was afterwards buried by her side in Henry VII's chapel in Westminster Abbey (COXE, iii. 377-80, chiefly from Dr. ALURED CLARKE'S *Essay towards the Character of Queen Caroline*; HERVEY, iii. 294-348; *Reminiscences*). By her will she left all her property to the king, including the seat at Richmond, on which she had spent so much money (his, according to *Reminiscences*, 305), but it seems to have been an idle invention that she died rich. 'Caroline the Good' was a genuinely able and, notwithstanding her power of dissembling, a true-hearted woman. Her learning was not deep, but she was able to appreciate some of the best thought of her times, and she made some attempt to encourage poets and other men of letters by her patronage. She was not ill-read in French history, and took some interest in English literature, though she never learnt to speak English correctly, and conversed with her family in French. Of eminent men of science, Newton and Halley had her active goodwill; and she was a benefactress of Queen's College, Oxford. Of course she was for Handel with the king, and against the prince. Though

she was a stickler for etiquette, her conversation was as unrefined as her spelling was incorrect, but for these defects she need not be held responsible. She had a broad wit of her own, which she exercised freely on both friend and foe. She was not averse to the ordinary amusements of her times, and it was the king's taste which condemned her to spend most of her evenings 'knotting' and listening to his objurgatory talk. But she learnt to study other characters besides her husband's, and became, as Sir Robert Walpole phrased it, 'main good at pumping.' She was a good hater, as Chesterfield and others found; she was a faithful friend, and full of active sympathy for the unprotected. Her greatest error, as Horace Walpole truly observes, was that she cherished too high an opinion of her own power of dealing with others, so that her designs were more often seen through than she thought. Her greatest merit, and the source of the power which she wielded during a hard and joyless reign for the benefit of her husband and of the British nation, was her patience—the patience of a strong and not ungenerous mind.

The National Portrait Gallery contains a portrait of Caroline as Princess of Wales by Jervas, and another of her as queen by Enoch Seeman.

[Hervy's *Memoirs of the Reign of George II from his Accession to the Death of Queen Caroline* (ed. Croker), 3 vols. 1848, reprinted 1884; Coxe's *Memoirs of the Life and Administration of Sir Robert Walpole*, new ed. 4 vols. 1816; Lord Stanhope's *History of England from the Peace of Utrecht*, 5th ed. 1858, vols. i. and ii.; *Reminiscences*, written in 1788, in the *Works of Horatio Walpole, earl of Orford*, 5 vols. 1798; *Wentworth Papers (1705-39)*, edited by J. J. Cartwright, 1883; vol. i. of Dr. Doran's *Lives of the Queens of England of the House of Hanover*, 4th ed. 2 vols. 1875; vol. xviii. of *Vehse's Geschichte der deutschen Höfe, &c.*, Hamburg, 1853. For the earlier years of Queen Caroline see also vol. iii. of the *Correspondance de Leibniz avec l'électrice Sophie de Brunswick-Lüneburg*, 3 vols. Hanover, 1874; and *Kemble's State Papers and Correspondence, &c.*, from the Revolution to the Accession of the House of Hanover, 1857.] A. W. W.

**CAROLINE MATILDA** (1751-1775), queen of Denmark and Norway, was the ninth and youngest child of Frederick and Augusta, prince and princess of Wales. She was born at Leicester House in London, 22 July 1751, a little more than four months after her father's death. Her childhood was spent in the comparative seclusion of her mother's court, where she was well, though we may conclude by no means rigorously,

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educated. Pleasant traditions attach themselves to this period of her life, at Kew and elsewhere (KEITH; L. WRAXALL). It came to a close with her engagement, announced to parliament 10 Jan. 1765, to Christian, prince royal of Denmark, son of Frederick V and his popular first wife Louisa, youngest daughter of George II of Great Britain. The match seems to have given satisfaction in England as 'adding security to the protestant religion;' but it possessed no special political significance. By the death of Frederick V, 14 Jan. 1766, Christian VII succeeded to the Danish throne, and 1 Oct. in the same year Caroline Matilda was married to him by proxy (her brother the Duke of York) at the Chapel Royal, St. James's. Two days afterwards she embarked from Harwich for Rotterdam, whence she proceeded to Altona and Roeskilde. From this place Christian VII conducted her to the palace of Frederiksberg, near Copenhagen, where her solemn entry and formal marriage followed 8 Nov. (*Annual Register* for 1766; MALORTIE, ii. 63-9). Her English and Hanoverian suite having quitted her at Altona, Caroline Matilda was left alone in a strange land among doubtful surroundings. Her popular reception had been warm; but the king was indifferent to her. Christian VII, a youth of feeble character and selfish disposition, was by self-indulgence beginning to reduce himself to a mental condition which in some measure justified Niebuhr's comparison of him to Caligula. Next by birth to the throne stood his stepbrother Frederick, the son of his father's second wife Juliana Maria, a princess of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel. There is no reason whatever for supposing that Juliana Maria was either now or for some time afterwards animated by jealous or hostile feelings against the young queen (this supposition, of which the *Authentische Aufklärungen* are a main source, is refuted by REVERDIL, 327, and by the other evidence reviewed by WITTICH, 185-8); on the contrary, they and the other queen dowager, Sophia Magdalena, widow of Christian VI, lived together 'dans une grande intimité et dans un ennui paisible' (REVERDIL, 138). Queen Caroline Matilda took no interest in public affairs (*ib.* 162; cf. WITTICH, 26). Though she was from the first treated with coldness by her husband, her troubles began when Count von Holck, by taking advantage of the peculiarities in the king's temper, established himself as favourite; on 21 Dec. 1767 he was appointed marshal of the court. On the king's return from a journey to Holstein in the previous summer, on which he was not accompanied by the queen, he

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was provided with a mistress; nor was any change in the situation brought about by the birth of an heir to the crown (afterwards Frederick VI), 28 Jan. 1768. Holck succeeded in ousting from office Frau von Plessen, the queen's mistress of the robes, who had gained her confidence and whose old-fashioned severity might have kept her from the path of error (REVERDIL, 73-4). From 6 May 1768 to 14 Jan. 1769 the king was on his travels in England, Paris, and elsewhere, while the queen remained at Frederiksberg, gaining the good-will of her neighbours by her kindness and her attention to her maternal duties (KEITH, i. 184). Christian VII's suite on his journey included John Frederick Struensee, a physician of Altona, who had been appointed surgeon-in-ordinary to the king for the occasion, and who on the return to Copenhagen was appointed to the post in permanency. From this point forward the ambitious adventurer's political rise began. His plan was at first by no means based upon any connivance with the queen; on the contrary, he relied upon the aid of a new royal mistress, who however died in the following August (N. WRAXALL'S private journal ap. L. WRAXALL, i. 216; cf. REVERDIL, 147). Both this person and Struensee had been odious to the queen; and when about this time she consulted the latter on a supposed attack of the dropsy, it was the king who had obliged her to do so (*ib.* 148). Struensee advised amusement and exercise as the best cure, and these remedies answering, she naturally gained confidence in her physician. Struensee was beyond all doubt a man of unusual intelligence, and, as his confessions to Münter suffice to prove (*Conversion, &c.*, 41-2), a convinced lady-killer. While the king encouraged an intimacy which kept the queen amused, Struensee seems to have exerted himself to bring about a better understanding between the royal pair, and by his efforts to have gained the approval of both. In January 1770 he was assigned rooms in the Christiansberg palace (L. WRAXALL, i. 221); and his successful inoculation of the crown prince early in the year raised him higher than ever in the royal favour (*Authentische Aufklärungen*, 40; the process was of quite recent introduction). He was now named councillor of conference and reader to the king and queen; and from this time the intimacy between the latter and Struensee must have rapidly reached its climax. Indeed, if certain evidence brought against the queen after her catastrophe is to be believed, the familiarity between her and Struensee had attracted the suspicions of her attendants

as early as the winter of 1769-70 (see Bang's indictment, ap. JENSSEN-TUSCH, 231 seq.) After this they had imposed restraint upon themselves, but only for a time; soon their intimacy was paraded before the capital (see the anecdote of the queen passing in her riding-habit on Struensee's arm by the corpse of the dowager Sophia Magdalena when it lay in state, May 1770, ap. WITTRICH, 51 note), and revealed itself in the provinces, to which the court paid a visit in June (see the testimony of Prince Charles of Hesse ap. L. WRAXALL, i. 232).

During this visit, perhaps while the court sojourned at Travendahl, Struensee perfected his ambitious projects in company with Enevold von Brandt, a former royal page who had returned to the court, and with Shack Charles, count von Rantzau-Ascheberg, to whom Struensee owed his admission to the royal service and whose high official career had been arrested largely by Russian influence. Their intrigues resulted by the end of July in the dismissal of Holck and others, among whom were his sister Madame von der Lühde, the mistress of the robes, and other ladies attached to the person of the queen. Shortly before this Caroline Matilda's mother, the dowager Princess of Wales, paid a visit to the continent, where for many reasons she wished to meet her daughter. The proposed meeting at Brunswick was, however, postponed; nor was it till August that mother and daughter met—for the last time—at Lüneburg. Struensee was in the queen's company, and the princess found no opportunity of doing more than requesting Woodford, the British minister to the Lower Saxon Circle, to make representations to the queen concerning her conduct; nor was the Duke of Gloucester, who shortly afterwards paid a visit to Copenhagen on the same errand, more successful (REVERDIL, 159-60). At Hirschholm, near Copenhagen, where the court spent the rest of the summer, the fall of Bernstorff, the chief minister of Denmark, was brought about. This change of government may be briefly described as disagreeable to the Russian and therefore agreeable to the Swedish, agreeable to the French and therefore disagreeable to the British, interest at Copenhagen. Hereupon, in defiance alike of national traditions and public feeling, the reforms of Struensee in court, state, and social life ran their course; and though 'there might be something "rotten" in the state of Denmark, there was nothing rusty' since the new brooms had been set to work (KEITH, i. 229). He was appointed master of requests December 1770; in the same month the council was suppressed by

a royal decree; 18 July 1771 he was made cabinet minister, and his orders were declared to have the same validity as if signed by the king; 22 July—the queen's birthday—he and Brandt were created counts. His administration met with universal obloquy. The queen shared his unpopularity, partly because he gave every possible publicity to her regard for him, which was the best security of his position, partly because her conduct seemed to furnish a strange comment on the spirit of her favourite's reforms. There seems indeed to have been little truth in the rumour as to the extraordinary license prevailing at her court. But the sovereigns were completely surrounded by Struensee's creatures, who belonged as a rule to his own class; the court, says Reverdil (271), who returned to Denmark about midsummer, had the air of servants in a respectable house sitting down to table in the absence of their masters. Struensee's attempts at retrenchment in court expenditure were counterbalanced by the extravagance of Brandt; and on one occasion which became notorious the queen seems to have shared with them in a gift from the royal treasury (Wiwet's indictment ap. JENSSEN-TUSCH, 278-9). Reverdil found the king, whose condition was already near to imbecility, willing to allow the queen to conduct herself with the most open familiarity towards her favourite (260). Shrewd observers thought that the latter occasionally exhibited indifference towards the advances of the queen (ap. WITTICH, 184); but he well knew that her support was indispensable to him. Colonel (afterwards Sir Robert) Murray Keith, who arrived as British minister at the Danish court in June 1771, clearly perceived the condition of affairs, but behaved with great discretion, reserving his intervention for a 'dangerous extremity' (KEITH, i. 227-8). Even the news of the birth, 7 July, at Hirschholm of a princess (Louisa Augusta, afterwards married to Duke Frederick Christian II of Augustenburg) was coldly, if not suspiciously, received by the capital; the queen dowager was, however, ready to be a godmother at Caroline Matilda's request (*Authentische Aufklärungen*, 103). The queen nursed the infant herself. Indeed the maternal instinct was always strong in her, and although she was reproached for giving her son an early training, which by Struensee's advice was based on the principles of 'Emile' (REVERDIL, 264-5), it seems on the whole to have been successful.

The overthrow of Struensee was the result of a court intrigue, not of any popular movement; but some time before it was brought

about the wildest charges had been spread against the queen and him. It was said that they intended to shut up the king and proclaim the queen as regent—a rumour, as Charles of Hesse in repeating it points out, absurd in itself, as the king was rather a protection to them than an obstacle (WITTICH, 115 n.) Towards the end of 1771 they began to grow uneasy, and when early in September a malcontent body of Norwegian sailors made a tumultuous visit to Hirschholm the queen prepared everything for flight. Another panic followed in connection with a popular festival held at Frederiksberg 28 Sept.; if Reverdil is to be believed (287), this was caused by a real plot, of which Juliana Maria was at the bottom. In October Struensee thought it necessary virtually to abolish the liberty of the press, which had been one of his most striking reforms. Then Brandt himself, Struensee's confederate, engaged in a desperate scheme for the minister's removal; 'means would be found for consoling the queen' (FALCKENSKJOLD ap. WITTICH, 122). This danger was averted by a grotesque affray between the king and Brandt, which afterwards proved fatal to the latter; but Struensee's anxiety continued. About this time (according to the *Authentische Aufklärungen*, 122-3) he threw himself at the feet of the queen, imploring her to allow him for both their sakes to quit the country, but she induced him to remain. On the other hand, he told Reverdil, to whom he was not otherwise confidential, that his devotion to the queen alone kept him at his post (288). The same writer relates a characteristic anecdote how the queen, who had a pleasant voice, facetiously declared that when in exile she would gain her bread as a singer (290). Struensee's arbitrary system, however, continued; when, 30 Nov., the court migrated to Frederiksberg, military precautions were taken for its security, and Copenhagen itself was placed under effective control. Finally, an order for the disbandment of the guards as such led to their mutinous march to Frederiksberg on Christmas eve, and to scenes in the capital which left no doubt as to the sentiments of the population. It is said (by L. WRAXALL, ii. 78) that about this time Keith offered Struensee a large sum of money if he would leave the country; but there is no notice of any such proposal in Keith's 'Memoirs,' and he was probably too discreet to have made it. The court returned to Copenhagen 8 Jan. 1772. By this time the mine had been laid. Rantzau, discontented with his share of the spoils and with Struensee's unwillingness to adopt his political views, had determined to overthrow the favourite. He induced the dowager

queen Juliana Maria, who during the summer had watched the progress of affairs from Fredensborg, where she lived isolated with her son Frederick, to approve of the plot, by showing her forged evidence of a conspiracy between Struensee and the queen against the king (REVERDIL, 328). The details of Rantzau's scheme were settled in Juliana Maria's palace 15 Jan. (*ib.* 329), and its execution was fixed for the night from 16-17 Jan., after the termination of a masked ball in the Christiansborg palace. Though Rantzau himself hesitated at the last moment, the palace revolution was punctually and successfully carried out by himself and his confederates. Struensee, Brandt, and their chief actual or supposed abettors were placed under arrest, and on the same night the queen was with cynical brutality taken prisoner by Rantzau, accompanied by a body of soldiery under Major Castenskjöld. With her little daughter in her arms she was hurriedly driven to Kronborg, a royal castle and prison on the Sound, near Elsinore, and there consigned to carefully guarded apartments. It is said that in the evening she saw in the distance Copenhagen illuminated in celebration of her disaster (*ib.* 336-8).

In solitude, relieved only by the presence of her infant daughter, whom she nursed through an attack of the measles, and by occasional visits from the faithful Keith, Caroline Matilda awaited her fate. The genuineness of her letters to Keith and to her brother, George III, is open to serious doubt (they are given by L. WRAXALL, ii. 205-7). Her attendants were persons whom she disliked (*ib.* ii. 503), and she had to listen to pulpit addresses, which must have been hard to bear (the best account of her period of confinement is stated by WITTICH, 143 note, to be that of SCHIERN in *Hist. Tidsskr.* iv. vol. ii. 776 seqq.; see also COXE ap. ADOLPHUS, i. 544-5). During the course of her imprisonment she must have heard of the death of her mother, the dowager Princess of Wales, 8 Feb. 1772. The interrogatory of Struensee began 20 Feb., but it was not till the third day of his examination that, under pressure, he confessed to criminal familiarity with the queen; afterwards he sought to throw the blame as much as possible on her. Questions affecting the legitimacy of the Princess Louisa Augusta were, however, satisfactorily answered. Brandt, in his interrogatory, declared that Struensee had confessed his criminality to him (REVERDIL, 394-8). Hereupon a commission of four subjected the queen to an interrogatory at Kronborg; at the first visit, acting it is said on Keith's advice, she refused to answer, declaring that she acknow-

ledged no superior or judge besides the king. At the second, 9 March, Struensee's confession signed by him was shown to her, when she avowed herself guilty, and signed a written confession, generously taking the original blame upon herself (REVERDIL, 400-1; according to JENSSEN-TUSCH, 401-2, she was induced to sign by the assurance that her confession would mitigate Struensee's fate; while this, though possible, is improbable, the dramatic account of Falckenskjöld, which is also that of the *Authentische Nachrichten*, 228-8, is almost certainly fictitious. Horace Walpole's account, *Journal of the Reign of George III*, i. 77-9, 90, is clearly untrustworthy. On the whole subject of the queen's examination and confession, see WITTICH, 222-32). On 24 March an indictment was preferred against the queen before a tribunal of thirty-five notables (it is given at length in JENSSEN-TUSCH, 226-40); on 2 April her defence was delivered (*ib.* 241-53; WITTICH notices that while her advocate Uldall here represents her as asserting her innocence the crime is admitted in his defence of Struensee. For the rest his pleas on behalf of the queen are in essence hardly more than technical); sentence was given on 6 April and communicated to the queen on the 8th. It declared her marriage with the king to be dissolved. Her name was hereupon removed from its place in the liturgy (the order of Matilda, which she had instituted on her birthday in January 1771, had been abolished immediately after the catastrophe). Capital sentences on Struensee and Brandt followed shortly afterwards, and were carried out 28 April. It is said that in her prison the queen intuitively knew the day of her favourite's doom.

In England the news of Caroline Matilda's arrest had created a passing excitement (see GIBBON's sippant letters to Holroyd in his *Miscellaneous Works*, ii. 72-6; cf. WALPOLE, i. 3, 42). At first George III's government took up a threatening attitude, but the public press made indignant comments on the supposed apathy of Lord North's administration (WALPOLE, i. 89; cf. L. WRAXALL, ii. 169). Soon, however, public feeling acquiesced in the manifest opinion of the initiated, that the affair had better be taken quietly. Keith's activity at Copenhagen had been acknowledged *pendente lite* by admission to the order of the Bath (KEITH, i. 121); but, as is now known, the diplomatic correspondence between the two courts at this stage gave rise to no very serious differences. While George III was informed of the evidence against his sister and of the necessity of removing her from the court after the sentence pronounced against her, he was assured that

every possible consideration would be extended to her, and that her name would not be mentioned in the sentences of Struensee and the other delinquents (SCHIERN ap. WITTICH, 252-3). The latter promise, at all events, was substantially kept. When, however, after the sentence of divorce, the Danish government proposed to banish Caroline Matilda to Aalborg in Jutland, the British ministry resolved to make at least a show of active intervention. The protests of Keith (i. 192) seem to have been followed by a threat of the rupture of diplomatic relations, and a squadron was ordered to sail for Copenhagen. But a few hours before the time fixed for its weighing anchor the news arrived that the Danish government had promised the liberation of the queen (cf. the account in WALPOLE, 90-1, where the king is said to have known his sister's story two years before the catastrophe). Keith had further obtained the grant to her of an annual pension of the value of 5,000*l.*, and notwithstanding the divorce she retained the title of queen (see Lord Suffolk's grandiloquent letters ap. KEITH, i. 286-9). Two frigates and a sloop were hereupon ordered to Elsinore by the British government, and on 3 May the queen, over whom after her enlargement a 'deputation of noblemen' had been appointed to hold watch, quitted the Danish shores under a royal salute. She had been obliged to part from her daughter, whom in the lines supposed to have been written by her at sea (KEITH, i. 299) she is absurdly made to commend to the care of Keith, the companion of her voyage.

At Stade, where Caroline Matilda arrived on 5 June, and where she parted with her Danish suite, she was received with much ceremony by the Hanoverian authorities, and held a reception on the day after her arrival. Hence she proceeded to the Gôhrde, an electoral hunting-seat near Lüneburg, where she delayed for several months till the castle at Celle should have been put in order for her. On 20 Oct. she held a formal entry into this her destined residence, where a court was organised for her in due form, and whence she afterwards made occasional visits to Hanover of a ceremonial nature (cf. MA-LORTIE, ii. 73-88 for details). At Celle itself her life seems to have been a quiet one, though she received visitors, among them her sister, the Hereditary Princess Augusta of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, who, according to Wraxall, was set to watch her conduct by George III (*Posthumous Memoirs*, i. 372, 375). A small theatre (still in existence) was constructed in the castle for her amusement. She read German assiduously, and

requested her brother, George III, to send her some English books (KEITH, i. 304); but the memory of her sojourn is above all associated with the charming *jardin français* in the immediate neighbourhood of the castle, where stands the monument, with her medallion in relief, erected by the Lüneburg-Celle estates (cf. *Annual Register* for 1775). Sir Robert Keith, who visited her in November 1772, reported to Lord Suffolk that he had found her in a contented frame of mind and with no wish for any communications with the Danish court beyond what immediately concerned the welfare of her children (KEITH, i. 301-4). Another English visitor who first saw her in September 1774 was N. W. WRAXALL, a young but travelled gentleman, ingeniously in search of adventure and employment. He returned in October as the secret agent of a number of Danish noblemen, exiles in Hamburg, and others, who were conspiring for a counter-revolution at Copenhagen, which should restore Caroline Matilda to the throne. To his written overtures she signified her assent through a gentleman in her confidence, but she declined to take any steps until the approval of George III should have been obtained. Wraxall returned to Celle on three subsequent occasions, when he had personal interviews with the queen, whom three emissaries from Copenhagen appear likewise to have reached. He failed, however, in London to obtain an audience from George III, or to elicit more than that the king, while approving the project, could not undertake to support it with money or otherwise till it should have been successfully executed. Wraxall was still waiting in London when the news reached him of Queen Caroline Matilda's death; but he afterwards held that the scheme would have been carried out with or without George III (see N. WRAXALL'S *Posthumous Memoirs*, i. 372-414; and cf. L. WRAXALL'S *Narrative*, i. 173-241, compiled from the above, his grandfather's private journal, and a manuscript entitled *Historical Narrative of the Attempt to restore the Queen*; with WITTICH'S comments, 257-9. The existence of a Danish party in sympathy with the plan is corroborated by a letter of George III to Lord North; see STANHOPE, v. 309 note).

The death of Queen Caroline Matilda, which took place 11 May 1775, was caused by a sudden attack of inflammation of the throat. She was of a plethoric habit of body, and had not been ill for more than a week (see N. WRAXALL'S account of her last days, based on the information of her valet Mantel, in *Memoirs of the Courts of Berlin*

ꝯc. (1799), i. 77-87. He mentions the story, which also appears in Brown's *Northern Courts*, of her having, just before she was taken ill, inspected the corpse of a page who had died eight days previously, and also refers to the suspicions of poison which were rife at Celle with regard to her own death). A Lutheran clergyman (Pastor Lehzen) who attended her afterwards published an edifying account of her last days. The letter to George III declaring her innocence, said to have been written by her on her deathbed, is almost certainly spurious; her assertion in the same sense to the French pastor, Roques, rests on a secondhand statement made five years after her death (WITTICH, 231 note). She was buried in the vault of the town church at Celle, where her coffin with a Latin inscription, in which she is entitled Queen of Denmark and Norway, is still shown near those of the Celle dukes and that of her unfortunate grandmother Sophia Dorothea (for an account of her funeral see MALORTIE, 89-92). In England the news of her death met with little public comment; but the faithful N. Wraxall contributed a 'character' of her to the 'Annual Register' of the year. Though of late she had grown stout, she must have been very attractive in person; she was fair; to a degree which exasperated her husband (WARPOLE, i. 91: 'elle est si blonde'); her likeness to her brother, George III, which at once struck observers (*ib.* 174), is very perceptible in her portrait at Herrenhausen. The queen's male costume on horseback has become famous (cf. JENSSEN-TUSCH, 73 note, as to her portraits at Copenhagen); the fashion was a common one.

[The existing English biographies of Caroline Matilda are that incorporated in vol. i. of the *Memoirs and Correspondence of Sir Robert Murray Keith*, edited by Mrs. Gillespie Smyth, 2 vols., London, 1849, and Sir C. F. Lascelles *Wraxall's Life and Times of Queen Caroline Matilda*, 3 vols., London, 1864. Both are uncritical, though the latter is valuable where based on the private papers of the author's grandfather, Sir Nathaniel W. Wraxall. The literature on Struensee's rise and fall and on Queen Caroline Matilda's relations to him is extremely large, and from the *Memoirs of an Unfortunate Queen* (London, 1776) onwards must be used with the greatest caution; and sensational versions of the story like that in vol. i. of John Brown's *Northern Courts* (London, 1818) may be left aside. It should in particular be noticed that every endeavour was made during the three-quarters of a century which ensued upon the catastrophe to make a complete review of the historical evidence on the subject impossible. By far the best survey of it, together

with a careful examination of special points, such as the queen's relations to Struensee, will be found in K. Wittich, *Struensee* (Leipzig, 1879). Here are only added the titles of some other works which have been used in the above article—*Authentische und höchstmerkwürdige Aufklärungen über die Geschichte der Grafen Struensee und Brandt* ('Germanien,' 1788); *Struensee et la Cour de Copenhague, 1760-72*; *Mémoires de Reverdil, publiés par A. Roger* (Paris, 1858); G. F. von Jenssen-Tusch, *Die Verschwörung gegen die Königin Caroline Mathilde und die Grafen Struensee und Brandt* (Leipzig, 1864); N. W. Wraxall, *Memoirs of the Courts of Berlin, Dresden, &c.*, vol. i. (London, 1799); *id.*, *Posthumous Memoirs*, vol. i. (London, 1836); C. E. von Malortie, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Braunschweig-Lüneburgischen Hauses und Hofes*, 2 Heft (Hannover, 1860); Horace Walpole, *Journal of the Reign of George III from 1771 to 1783*, edited by Dr. Doran (London, 1859), vol. i.; *Annual Register*, 1766, 1772, 1775; Adolphus, *History of England from the Accession of George III* (London, 1802), i. 541-5; Lord Stanhope, *History of England from the Peace of Utrecht* (6th edition, 1858), v. 306-9; Havemann, *Geschichte der Lande Braunschweig und Lüneburg* (Göttingen, 1857), iii. 579-82; C. F. Allen, *Histoire de Danemark*, trad. par E. Beauvois (Copenhagen, 1878), ii. 192-215.] A. W. W.

**CAROLINE, AMELIA ELIZABETH**, of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel (1768-1821), queen of George IV, second daughter of Duke Charles William Ferdinand of Brunswick and the Princess Augusta of England, sister of George III, was born 17 May 1768.

The few anecdotes told of her childhood show that she was kind, good-hearted, and charitable. The court of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel was one of the gayest in Germany, and it had very little of the stiff etiquette which was characteristic of the other North German courts. She was extremely fond of children, and would stop in her walks to notice them. The Duke of York had, during the campaign, seen much of his uncle, the Duke of Brunswick, and he was so charmed with the Princess Caroline, that he mentioned her to his brother the king and the Prince of Wales as a suitable bride for the latter. There was no prospect of the Duke and Duchess of York having any family, and the king was naturally most anxious that the succession to the throne should be indubitably settled by heritage in the direct line. Hard pressed on all sides, the prince consented, on condition of the liquidation of his debts, and a large addition to his income, to marry his cousin, then twenty-six years old. He stipulated that his income was to be raised from 60,000*l.* to 125,000*l.* per annum, of which

25,000*l.* per annum was to be set aside to pay his debts, which at that time amounted to 630,000*l.* Besides this he was to receive 27,000*l.* for preparations for the marriage, 28,000*l.* for jewels and plate, 26,000*l.* for the completion of Carlton House, and 50,000*l.* per annum as a jointure to her royal highness, of which, however, she would only accept 35,000*l.*

She left Brunswick on 30 Dec. 1794, but on her way was met by a messenger from Lord St. Helen's, telling her that the squadron sent to escort her had been obliged to return to England. For a few weeks she stayed at Hanover until her embarkation, which took place at Cuxhaven on 28 March 1795. She arrived at Greenwich about noon on 5 April, where she dressed, and then drove to St. James's, accompanied by Lady Jersey, who had been sent to meet her. Lady Jersey naturally became her most implacable enemy, and probably did more than any one else to estrange the prince from his consort. The marriage took place at 8 p.m. on 8 April in the Chapel Royal, St. James's. The prince's relations with Mrs. Fitzherbert and Lady Jersey—especially the latter—soon led to quarrels, and an appeal was made to the king to act as arbiter between them. Their matrimonial relations continued in this state until the birth of the Princess Charlotte Augusta [q. v.], on 7 Jan. 1796, when the prince deliberately forsook his wife. A formal separation between them was agreed on three months later, and it was only through the kind offices of the king that the princess was to have free access to her child during the first eight years of its life.

She left Carlton House and went to reside in strict privacy at an unpretentious residence, Shrewsbury House, near Shooter's Hill. In 1801 she removed to Montague House, Blackheath, where she entertained her friends, among whom were Sir John and Lady Douglas, Sir Sidney Smith, Captain Manby, &c. Hitherto there had been nothing against her moral character. But becoming very intimate with Lady Douglas, she foolishly talked some nonsense as to her being about to give birth to a child, which she intended to account for by saying she had adopted it. She already had several young protégés, and one named William Austin was singled out as being her own son. This rumour was spread by Lady Douglas, and in 1806 the king granted a commission, consisting of Lords Erskine, Grenville, Spencer, and Ellenborough, to investigate the matter. This was called 'the delicate investigation,' and at the conclusion of their labours they unhesitatingly repudiated the charge made against the princess,

although they censured her levity of manners on several occasions. For this also the king gently rebuked her, but he allotted her apartments in Kensington Palace, and often passed a whole day at Blackheath with her and his grandchild, the Princess Charlotte, a proceeding which certainly tended to widen the breach between him and the Prince of Wales. Still, although on friendly relations with the king, she never recovered her former footing at court, and when, after the death of the Princess Amelia in 1810, the king's health gave way, the intercourse between her and her daughter was much restricted. Her position suffered still more when, in 1811, the Prince of Wales was proclaimed regent, an accession of rank which brought to her no corresponding dignity.

Princess Caroline felt deeply the separation from her child. On 4 Oct. 1812 she went to Windsor with the intention of paying her daughter a visit, but was not permitted to see her, whereon she demanded an audience of the queen, which was immediately granted, but no satisfaction could be obtained. Her indignation knew no bounds, and she wrote a long and most impassioned letter of remonstrance to the regent on 12 Jan. 1813. This letter was laid before the privy council, and in their report they 'were of opinion that, under all the circumstances of the case, it is highly fit and proper, with a view to the welfare of her royal highness the Princess Charlotte, in which are equally involved the happiness of your royal highness in your parental and royal character, and the most important interests of the state, that the intercourse between her royal highness the Princess of Wales and her royal highness the Princess Charlotte should continue to be subject to regulation and restraint.' The princess then addressed a letter to the speaker of the House of Commons on the subject, which was read to the house, and a debate was raised, but the sense of the house was that the regent was the sole judge of the conduct to be observed in the education of his daughter. On 8 March the princess received an intimation that her restricted visits to her daughter were to be discontinued, but by accident the mother and child met when out driving, and had some ten minutes' conversation; and on the death of the Duchess of Brunswick (who was living in England) on 23 March 1813, the regent permitted his daughter to visit her mother, and they passed two hours together. When, on 12 July, the Prince of Wales visited his daughter, and informed her that he was going to dismiss all her household, and that she must take up her residence at Carlton House, she fled at once



to her mother at Connaught House, only to find that the princess had gone to Blackheath. A messenger was despatched after her, and she immediately returned to comfort her daughter, but the counsels and advice of Brougham prevailed, and the princess obeyed her father's will.

Indignant at being excluded from court, and debarred from the society of her daughter, the Princess of Wales resolved to travel abroad, and she sailed for the continent, with the regent's sanction, in the Jason frigate on 9 Aug. She started with a suite mainly composed of English men and women, but from one cause or another they all shortly left her, and she did not fill their places worthily. After visiting her brother, Duke Frederick William of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, she turned her steps to Italy, and at Milan she engaged one Bartolomeo Bergami as her courier. Some infatuation led her to lavish upon this man every kind of favour it was in her power to bestow. He had served in some capacity on the *état major* of the force commanded by General Count Pino in the campaign of 1812-1814, and was offered the brevet rank of captain by Joachim, king of Naples, but refused it in order to remain in the service of the princess. His looks were in his favour, for his portraits show him as a handsome man. She raised him to be her equerry, her chamberlain, her constant companion, even at dinner; procured for him a barony in Sicily and the knighthood of Malta, besides several other orders, among which was one which she instituted, that of St. Caroline. She took his relatives into her service. Louis Bergami directed her household, Vallotti Bergami kept her purse, the Countess Oldi, Bergami's sister, was her lady of honour, and Bergami's child Victorine also travelled in her suite.

After living some time at Como, she visited many places, among others Tunis, Malta, Athens, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Jerusalem. Here she made her entry in somewhat theatrical style, and behaved with such levity that secret commissioners were sent from England to investigate her conduct. She was surrounded by spies, and, after her return to Italy, an attempt was made to seize her papers by surreptitious means.

On 6 Nov. 1817 the Princess Charlotte died, and the following year the Princess of Wales much desired to return to England, but she remained abroad for the next year and a half, and wintered at Marseilles in 1819. On hearing of the death of George III, 29 Jan. 1820, she proceeded to Rome, where, although queen consort, she was refused a guard of honour. She was never officially informed of the old king's death, and her name

was omitted in the prayers of the church of England. On her way to England early in 1820 she received at St. Omer a letter on behalf of the king, in which it was proposed to allow her 50,000*l.* per annum, subject to such conditions as the king might impose, which were that she was not to take the title of queen of England, or any title attached to the royal family of England, and that she was to reside abroad, and never even to visit England. It was not likely that these terms could be accepted, and she at once set out for Calais, and embarked the same night for England. She set sail next morning, 5 June 1820, and landed at Dover the same day at 1 p.m., being received with a royal salute, no instructions to the contrary having been given. She was welcomed most enthusiastically, and her journey to London was an ovation. On her arrival she went to live at the house of her friend Alderman Wood, in South Audley Street. Her unexpected arrival filled the king and his party with consternation, and next day he sent a message to the House of Lords, accompanied by the evidence collected by the Milan commission, requesting their lordships to give the matter their serious consideration. A committee was appointed, which reported, with regard to the charges made against the queen, that 'it is indispensable that they should become the subject of a solemn inquiry,' and on 5 July the Earl of Liverpool proposed the introduction of 'a bill entitled an Act to deprive her Majesty, Caroline Amelia Elizabeth, of the Title, Prerogatives, Rights, Privileges, and Exemptions of Queen Consort of this Realm, and to dissolve the Marriage between his Majesty and the said Caroline Amelia Elizabeth.' It was read a first time, and appointed to be read a second on 19 Aug. 1820, but this was only a preliminary sitting, the examination of the witnesses not taking place until 21 Aug. Brougham defended the queen. On 6 Nov. the House of Lords divided on the second reading of the bill—contents 123, non-contents 95; majority in favour of second reading, 28. On 8 Nov. the divorce clause was carried in committee by 67. On 10 Nov., the date of the third reading, the Earl of Liverpool suddenly announced that he was prepared to move that it be read that day six months. If the witnesses were not all perjured, the queen's relations with Bergami admitted only of the conclusion that she was guilty, and even her own friends and apologists were fain to admit that her conduct was open to the charge of grave indiscretion. Her friends claimed it as a triumphant acquittal, and Brougham's defence of the queen raised him to the summit of his profession. There can be but little doubt

that had the queen been found guilty, and divorced, George IV's position as king would have been imperilled. As it was, the popular feeling in her favour found a safety-valve in the presentation of addresses of sympathy, which poured in from all parts of the kingdom.

Her majesty was then living at Brandenburgh House, near Hammersmith, but on the abandonment of the bill she demanded a palace and establishment suited to her rank; the reply to which was that it was 'not possible for his majesty, under all the circumstances, to assign any of the royal palaces for the queen's residence,' and that until parliament met 'the allowance which has hitherto been enjoyed by the queen will be continued to her.' When parliament met, they voted her 50,000*l.* per annum.

On Wednesday, 30 Nov. 1820, she went in state, although unaccompanied by soldiers, to St. Paul's to return public thanks for her acquittal. 'The Queen's Guards are the People' was inscribed on one banner. According to the procedure prescribed for royal visits to the city, the gates of Temple Bar were closed, and opened on her arrival by the civic authorities, who accompanied the queen in procession to the cathedral. Addresses continued to pour in on her, but two attempts in parliament to restore her name in the liturgy failed.

The king was to be crowned with great pomp and ceremony at Westminster Abbey on 29 July 1821. The queen declared her intention to be present, and demanded that a suitable place should be provided for her, which was peremptorily refused. She persisted in presenting herself for admission, but was most firmly repulsed, and, not wishing to force an entrance, which would most assuredly have led to a riot, she returned home. This was her death-blow. She was taken ill at Drury Lane Theatre on the evening of 30 July, and died on the night of 7 Aug.

Yet not even with her death came peace. She desired in her will that she should be buried beside her father at Brunswick. The king ordered soldiers to escort the body. The city desired to show their respect to the royal corpse. The king decided that it should not go through the city; but through the city the people determined it should go, and through the city it ultimately went, not before a bloody encounter with the Life Guards at Hyde Park Corner, where they fired on the mob with fatal effect. The coffin duly arrived at Harwich, and Queen Caroline was laid to rest in the royal vault at Brunswick on 26 Aug. 1821.

[Nightingale's *Memoirs of Queen Caroline*, 1820; Adolphus's ditto, 1821; Wilks's ditto, 1822; Clerke's *Life of Her Majesty Caroline*, &c., 1821; Huish's *Memoirs of George IV*, 1830; Duke of Buckingham's *Memoirs of the Court of George IV*, 1859; Works of Henry, Lord Brougham, vols. ix. and x. 1873; *Journal of an English Traveller from 1814 to 1816*, 1817; The Book, 1813; The Trial at Large of her Majesty Caroline, &c., 1821; Hansard's *Parliamentary Debates*, contemporary newspapers, and numerous political tracts.] J. A.

CARON, REDMOND (1605?–1666), Irish friar and author, was born of a good family near Athlone, Westmeath, about 1605, and embraced the order of St. Francis in the convent there when about sixteen years of age. He afterwards studied philosophy at Drogheda in a monastery of his own order, and when the convents were seized by the government went to the continent, completing his studies at Salzburg and Louvain. For some time he held a chair in the latter university. Returning to Ireland as commissary-general of the recollects, he took the part of the loyal catholics against the supporters of Dr. Neill, and was in extreme danger of his life when he was saved by the interposition of the Earl of Castlehaven. He died at Dublin in May 1666, and was buried in St. James's Church. He was the author of the following chiefly controversial works: 1. '*Roma triumphans septicollis, quâ novâ hactenus et insolitâ Methodo comparativâ tota Fides Romano-Catholica clarissimè demonstratur, atque Infidelium omnium Argumenta diluuntur*,' Antwerp, 1635. 2. '*Apostolus Evangelicus Missionariorum Regularium per universum Mundum expositus*,' Antwerp, 1653; Paris, 1659. 3. '*Controversiæ Generales Fidei contra Infideles omnes, Judæos, Mahometanos, Paganos et cujuscumque Sectæ Hæreticos*,' Paris, 1660. 4. '*Loyalty asserted and the late Remonstrance or Allegiance of the Irish Clergy and Laity confirmed and proved by the authority of Scriptures, Fathers, Expositors, Popes, Canons, &c.*,' London, 1662; and some other tractates which were never printed.

[Ware's Works (Harris), ii. 144–5.]

T. F. H.

CARPENTER, ALEXANDER, latinised as FABRICIUS (*n.* 1429), is known only as the author of the '*Destructorium Vitorum*,' a treatise which enjoyed a considerable popularity in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, was six times printed before 1516, and was finally reprinted (at Venice) as late as 1582. Most of the editions bear simply the name of 'Alexander Anglus,' a designation which Possevinus (*Apparatus*

*Sacer*, i. 31, Cologne, 1608) took to refer to the famous Alexander of Hales; but the edition printed by Koberger at Nuremberg in 1496 states in the colophon that the 'Destructorium' was compiled 'a cuiusdam fabri lignarii filio,' and begun in 1429. A similar note, giving the same date, appears at the end of a copy of the book written in 1479, and belonging to the library of Balliol College, Oxford (cod. lxxxi.) A more modern entry in this manuscript adds that the author was fellow of Balliol College, an assertion which was also made by Gabriel Powel (*Disputationes Theologicae et Scholasticae de Antichristo*, præf. p. 39, London, 1605), but was discredited by Anthony à Wood on the ground that no evidence was forthcoming in the college itself (*Hist. et Antiqq. Univ. Oxon.* ii. 75a, Oxford, 1674). Recent researches in the muniments have not discovered any trace of Carpenter's connection with the college.

Powel and after him Bale (*Script. Brit. Cat.* vii. 77, p. 566) claim Carpenter as a follower of Wycliffe; they both refer to book vi. ch. xxx. of the 'Destructorium' in proof of his theological position; but the language he uses in condemnation of sundry abuses in the church is not stronger than was frequently employed by the most correct churchmen of the middle ages, and does not permit us to describe him as a Wycliffite without more distinct evidence. Bale adds that Carpenter was the author of certain 'Homiliæ eruditæ,' of which nothing further is known.

[See also Tanner's *Bibl. Brit.* p. 155.]

R. L. P.

**CARPENTER, GEORGE, LORD CARPENTER** (1657-1732), general, descended from the ancient family of Carpenter of Holme in Herefordshire, was born at Pitchers Ocul, Herefordshire, on 10 Feb. 1657. His father, a royalist soldier, was wounded at the battle of Naseby, and George, who was the youngest of seven children, commenced life as a page to the Earl of Montagu in his embassy to Paris in 1671. In the following year he rode as a private in the 3rd troop of guards, and shortly afterwards he was appointed quartermaster in Lord Peterborough's regiment of horse. In this regiment he served for seventeen years, and eventually became lieutenant-colonel, and with it he saw service both in the Irish campaign of 1690 and in Flanders. In 1693 he married the Honourable Alice Margetson, daughter of William, first viscount Charlemont, and widow of James Margetson, with a portion of whose dowry he purchased for 1,800 guineas the colonelcy of the King's dragoon

guards. With this regiment he served in Flanders, and became famous for his conspicuous gallantry. In 1705 Carpenter was appointed a brigadier-general under Peterborough, and seems to have performed the double function of quartermaster-general and general of the cavalry in Spain. As a quartermaster-general he was said to have no equal, and as a general of cavalry he saved the baggage of the English army, and covered the retreat at the head of his dragoons after the defeat of Almanza. He was wounded at Almenara, and was severely wounded in the mouth and taken prisoner while desperately defending the breach at Brihuega. He was promoted lieutenant-general in 1710, and on his return to England was one of the general officers who were resolved at all hazards to maintain the protestant succession. When George I had been proclaimed, Stanhope nominated Carpenter to go as ambassador to Vienna, but on the outbreak of the rebellion of 1715 he was entrusted instead with supreme command over all the forces in the north of England. He prevented the rebels from seizing Newcastle, and when he heard that they had advanced into Lancashire, rapidly followed them; found them at Preston, where General Wills was blockading them in a half-hearted way, and forced the whole rebel army to capitulate. On reaching London he was challenged by General Wills in February 1716, and a duel was with difficulty prevented by the Dukes of Montagu and Marlborough. In return for his great services he was nominated governor of Minorca and commander-in-chief of the forces in Scotland. In 1714 he was returned to parliament as M.P. for Whitechurch in Hampshire, and on 29 May 1719 he was created Lord Carpenter of Killaghy, co. Kilkenny, in the peerage of Ireland. In 1722 he was elected M.P. for Westminster, but did not seek re-election in 1729, and died at the age of seventy-five, on 10 Feb. 1732, and was buried at Ouselbury in Hampshire. His grandson was created Viscount Carlingford and Earl of Tyrconnel in the peerage of Ireland on 1 May 1761, but the earldom, viscounty, and barony became extinct on the death of the fourth earl, 26 Jan. 1853.

[Life of the late Right Honourable George, Lord Carpenter, London. Printed for Edward Curl, 1736, from which all other notices are borrowed; Lord Mahon's *War of the Spanish Succession in Spain*, for his services in Spain.]

H. M. S.

**CARPENTER, JAMES** (1760-1845), admiral, entered the navy in 1776 on board the *Foudroyant*, then commanded by Captain Jervis, afterwards Earl St. Vincent.

From the Foudroyant he was sent in the following year to North America in the Diamond frigate, and from her was transferred to the Sultan, in which he was present in the action off Grenada, 6 July 1779. In 1780 he was for some time in the Sandwich, bearing Sir George Rodney's flag, and was appointed from her to the Intrepid as acting lieutenant, in which capacity he was present in the action off Martinique, 30 April 1781, and in that off the Capes of Virginia, 5 Sept. 1781. He was not confirmed in his rank till 18 April 1782. In 1793 he was appointed to the Boyne, flagship of Sir John Jervis in the West Indies, and was promoted by the admiral to the command of the Nautilus, 9 Jan. 1794. He was then employed on shore at the reduction of Martinique, and on 25 March 1794 was posted to the command of the Bienvenu, prize-frigate, from which he was moved in rapid succession to the Veteran of 64 guns and the Alarm of 32. He continued actively employed in the West Indies till the following year, when he returned to England. In 1799 he was appointed to the Leviathan of 74 guns, bearing Sir John Duckworth's flag in the Mediterranean and afterwards in the West Indies, whence he was compelled to invalid; and, taking a passage home in a merchant ship, he was captured by a French man-of-war and carried to Spain as a prisoner. He was, however, shortly afterwards exchanged through the exertions of Lord St. Vincent, and for a short time had command of the San Josef. From 1803 to 1810 he had charge of the Devonshire Sea Fencibles, and in 1811 went out to Newfoundland in the Antelope, again as flag-captain to Sir J. T. Duckworth. It was only for a year, for on 12 Aug. 1812 he became a rear-admiral. He had no further service, but was advanced in course of seniority to be vice-admiral on 12 Aug. 1819, and admiral on 10 Jan. 1837. He died on 16 March 1845.

[O'Byrne's Nav. Biog. Dict.; Marshall's Royal Nav. Biog. ii. (vol. i. pt. ii.) 528; Gent. Mag. (1845), cxxvi. ii. 79.] J. K. L.

**CARPENTER, JOHN** (1370?–1441?), town clerk of London, son of Richard Carpenter, a citizen of London, and Christina, his wife, was probably born about 1370, and educated for the profession of law. On 20 April 1417 he was chosen town clerk or common clerk of the city, after having held an inferior post in the town clerk's office for some years previously. Carpenter was well acquainted with John Marchaunt, his predecessor, and was one of the executors of Mar-

chaunt's will in 1421. As town clerk Carpenter frequently addressed letters to Henry V on behalf of the corporation, and very soon after his appointment began a compilation of the laws, customs, privileges, and usages of the city, extracted from the archives of the corporation. This important work, which was entitled the 'Liber Albus,' was completed in November 1419, and was printed from the Guildhall manuscript for the first time in the Rolls Series in 1859. Carpenter was the intimate friend of the far-famed Sir Richard Whittington, who was lord mayor for the third time in 1419, and as one of the executors of Whittington's will was busily employed in 1423 and the following years in carrying out Whittington's charitable bequests. On 23 Feb. 1431 Carpenter and his wife, whose christian name was Katharine, received from the corporation an eighty years' lease of property in St. Peter, Cornhill, at a nominal rental; on 20 Nov. 1436 he was elected one of the representatives of the city in parliament; on 14 Dec. following he was granted a patent of exemption from all summonses to serve on juries or to perform other petty municipal duties. In 1438 Carpenter resigned the town clerkship; during his twenty-one years of office he was sometimes styled 'secretary,' a designation which no other town clerk is known to have borne. On 26 Sept. 1439 Carpenter was re-elected member of parliament for the city; but he had now resolved to retire from public life. On 3 Dec. following he obtained from Henry VI letters patent exempting him from all military and civil duties. He was thus relieved of the necessity of attending parliament and of receiving the honour of knighthood. On 10 June 1440 the mayor and aldermen voted Carpenter a gratuity of twenty marks, and in 1441 he defended the sheriffs in a lawsuit preferred against them by the dean of the collegiate church of St. Martin-le-Grand. In the same year Carpenter, conjointly with another John Carpenter [q. v.], afterwards bishop of Worcester, and John Somerset, chronicler of the exchequer, received from the crown a grant of the manor of Theobalds in Cheshunt, Hertfordshire. He probably died in 1441. On 8 March of that year Carpenter drew up a will disposing of his personal property, and a copy of this document is still extant. From it we learn that Carpenter lived in the parish of St. Peter, Cornhill, in whose church he desired to be buried. He left large sums of money, together with his jewels and household furniture, to his wife, and similar gifts to his brothers, Robert and John, and their children. To the religious foundations in and near London he also bequeathed gifts of

money, and the terms of his bequest indicate that he was a lay brother of the convent of the Charterhouse, London, and of the fraternity of the sixty priests of London. To his friends Reginald Peacock, William Clewe, John Carpenter, bishop of Worcester [q. v.], and other ecclesiastics, he left most of his books, which included Richard de Bury's 'Philobiblon' and some of Aristotle's works translated into Latin. Of his landed property no account is extant, and no mention is made of it in the will that now survives. But he undoubtedly owned large estates in the city, and made a careful disposition of them. Stow states in his 'Survey of London,' p. 110, that Carpenter 'gave tenements to the city for the finding and bringing up of four poor men's children with meat, drink, apparell, learning at the schooles in the universities, &c., until they be professed, and then others in their places for ever.' This benefaction was duly executed by the corporation with little change for nearly four centuries. In the earliest extant book of the city accounts, dated 1633, a list of Carpenter's lands and tenements appointed for educational purposes is given, and the rental of the property then amounted to 49*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, and the charges upon it to no more than 20*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* In the course of the following century the discrepancy between the two sides of the account increased rapidly. In 1823 the charity commissioners pointed out that only a fraction of the proceeds of the benefaction was applied according to the testator's wishes; in 1827 the court of common council increased the sum to be applied to the education and maintenance of four poor boys, and in 1833 it was resolved to apply 900*l.* per annum from the Carpenter bequest to the foundation and endowment of a new school and to the establishment of eight Carpenter scholarships for the assistance of pupils at the school and universities. This school, called the City of London School, was erected on the site of Honey Lane Market, and opened in 1837; it was removed in 1883 to the Thames Embankment. A statue of Carpenter as the virtual founder was placed on the principal staircase in the old building, and has been removed to the new. Orations in Carpenter's honour are given by the boys on the annual speechdays.

[Thomas Brewer's *Memoir of the Life and Times of John Carpenter* (London, 1866) gives very full particulars. Carpenter's *Liber Albus*, edited by H. T. Riley (1869), forms the first volume of the *Munimenta Gildhallæ Londoniensis* in the *Rolls Series*. Translations of the Norman French passages are given in the third volume of the *Munimenta*, together with a long letter by Carpenter (dated 20 Feb. 1432, and printed from

*Guildhall Letterbook K*), describing Henry VI's entry into the city of London after his return from France.] S. L. L.

CARPENTER, JOHN (*d.* 1476), bishop of Worcester, born probably at Westbury, Gloucestershire, was educated at Oriol College, Oxford, and proceeded D.D. there. About 1420 he became master of St. Antony's Hospital and School in the city of London, and some years later was granted on behalf of the hospital several royal manors, and in 1440 the benefice of St. Benet Fink. He was appointed provost of Oriol College in 1430, and held the office conjointly with the mastership of St. Antony's Hospital. About 1436 he was rector of St. Mary Magdalen in Old Fish Street, London, and with great liberality repaired some almshouses belonging to the parish. In consideration of this generous act Carpenter's name 'was to be inscribed on the altar in the church.' He was chancellor of Oxford University in 1437. On 20 Dec. 1443 he was appointed bishop of Worcester by papal bull, in succession to Thomas Bourchier (1404?–1486) [q. v.], and was consecrated at Eton on 22 March 1443–4. Carpenter was throughout his life a munificent benefactor to the town of Westbury. He elaborately rebuilt and richly endowed the college of priests attached to the church there. William Canynge of Bristol [q. v.] became dean of the college in 1469. Carpenter resigned his see a few weeks before his death. He retired to Northwick, and died there in 1476. He was buried, as he had directed, in Westbury Church. Much of his property was left to establish exhibitions at Oriol College. He is said to have built the gatehouse at Hartlebury Castle, the official residence of the bishop of Worcester. Carpenter was the intimate friend, and was probably the kinsman, of John Carpenter, town clerk of London [q. v.], who bequeathed to him several books on his death in 1441.

[Godwin, *De Præsul.* (1743), p. 467; Le Neve's *Fasti Ecl. Angl.* iii. 61; Newcourt's *Diocese of London*, i. 285, 299, 471; Thomas Brewer's *Life of John Carpenter*, town clerk of London. The John Carpenter who, according to Boase's *Oxf. Univ. Register* (i. 16), proceeded B.A. 28 Jan. 1451–2, and M.A. 4 Dec. 1455, cannot be identical with the bishop.] S. L. L.

CARPENTER, JOHN (*d.* 1621), divine, was born in Cornwall, it is believed at Launceston, and entered as a batler at Exeter College about 1570, but after a residence of four years left without taking a degree and became rector of Northleigh, near Honiton, in Devonshire. Here he continued throughout his life, and here he died in March 1620–

1621, when he was buried in the chancel of his church. He was father of Nathanael Carpenter [q. v.] He wrote: 1. 'A Sorrowful Song for Sinful Souls, composed upon the Strange and Wonderful Shaking, 6 April 1580,' London, 1580. 2. 'Remember Lot's Wife, two sermons, 1588, dedicated to Mary, wife of Bishop Woolton. 3. 'A Preparative to Contentation,' 1597. 4. 'The Song of the Beloved concerning His Vineyard,' 1599. 5. 'Contemplation for the Instruction of Children in the Christian Religion.' 6. 'Schelomonocham, or King Solomon, his solace,' 1606. 7. 'The Plaine Man's Spiritual Plough,' dedicated to Bishop Cotton.

[Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* (Bliss), ii. 287-8; Boase and Courtney's *Bibl. Cornub.* pp. 63, 1115; Arber's *Stationers' Registers*, iii. 193, 235.]

W. P. C.

CARPENTER, LANT, LL.D. (1780-1840), unitarian divine, born at Kidderminster on 2 Sept. 1780, was the third son of George Carpenter (*d.* 12 Feb. 1839, aged ninety-one), carpet manufacturer, by his wife, Mary Hooke (*d.* 21 March 1835, aged eighty-three). Ann Lant was the maiden name of George Carpenter's mother. George Carpenter failed in business, and removed from Kidderminster, but Lant was left behind with his mother's guardian, Nicholas Pearsall, who adopted him, with a view to his becoming a minister. Pearsall was a strong unitarian, of much practical benevolence. He sent him to school, first under Benjamin Carpenter at Stourbridge, and then under William Blake (1730-1799) [q. v.] at the school of Pearsall's own founding in Kidderminster. In 1797 Carpenter entered the dissenting academy at Northampton under John Horsey, and was ranked in the second year of the five years' course. The Northampton academy was the immediate successor of that at Daventry, from which Belsham had retired on adopting unitarian views. Horsey was moderately orthodox, the classical tutor was a polemical Calvinist from Scotland. The arrangement did not work, the minds of the students became unsettled, and the trustees in 1798 abruptly closed the academy. In October of that year Carpenter with two fellow-students entered Glasgow College as exhibitors under Dr. Williams's trust. His studies there, interrupted at the outset by an attack of rheumatic fever, lasted till 1801. He took the arts course (but did not graduate), adding chemistry and anatomy, for he had a scientific turn, and at one time thought of combining the duties of a physician and a dissenting minister. Divinity he studied for himself, especially during the

vacations. Circumstances prevented his continuing at Glasgow for the divinity course. He now thought of schoolkeeping as an adjunct to the ministry (he had already entered the pulpit), and in September 1801 he became assistant in the school of his connection Rev. John Corrie, at Birch's Green, near Birmingham. Next year he supplied for a time the pulpit of the New meeting, Birmingham, vacant by the resignation of John Edwards, but soon accepted the offer of a librarianship at the Liverpool Athenæum. This situation he held from the end of 1802 till March 1805, conducting at the same time advanced classes for young ladies, and occasionally preaching. He declined overtures from congregations at Ipswich, Bury St. Edmunds, Ormskirk, and Dudley, and an invitation (in 1803) to become literary tutor at Manchester College, York (this invitation was renewed in 1807, and again declined). On 9 Jan. 1805 he accepted a co-pastorate at George's meeting, Exeter, as colleague with James Manning, in succession to Timothy Kenrick. Manning was an Arian; Kenrick had been a humanitarian, and this was now Carpenter's standpoint. In philosophy he was a determinist, and an especial admirer of Hartley. At Exeter (where he soon married) Carpenter undertook an extensive pastorate and the cares of a boarding school with an unflinching fervour, method, and success, which were marvellous, considering his far from robust health. He brought out in 1806 a popular manual of New Testament geography. Applying to Glasgow in 1806 for the degree of M.A. by special grace, he was at once made LL.D. In August 1807 the temporary loss of his voice led him to send in his resignation; his congregation in reply gave him a year's freedom from pulpit work, and his colleague undertook the double duty. He employed his leisure in founding and managing a public library. His return to the pulpit in 1808 was followed by a controversy, in which his chief opponent was Daniel Veysie, B.D. In 1810 the congregation of the Mint meeting amalgamated with that of George's meeting; the Mint meeting trustees in 1812 wanted to place an organ in George's meeting, and this was done, not without considerable opposition. In 1813 Carpenter declined a pressing invitation to become colleague with John Yates at Paradise Street Chapel, Liverpool (overtures from the same congregation were made to him in 1823). Another doctrinal controversy in which he had a share in 1814 was summed up in an epigram by Caleb Colton ('Lacon,' 1822, ii. 720). He remained at Exeter till 1817, taking an increasing part in public questions, especially

the agitation for the Roman catholic claims in 1813. In view of the approaching retirement of John Prior Estlin, LL.D., Carpenter was invited (28 Aug. 1816) to Lewin's Mead Chapel, Bristol, as colleague to John Rowe. The Exeter people made every effort to retain him, but in the summer of 1817 he removed to Bristol. The congregation was large and wealthy [for its earlier history see BURY, SAMUEL], but had lost cohesion. Carpenter drew its various elements together, developed its religious and philanthropic life, and gave it a hold upon the neglected classes of society. On the resignation of Rowe in 1832, Carpenter obtained as colleague (after a short interval) Robert Brook Aspland, M.A. [q. v.]; in 1837, the year following Aspland's removal, his place was filled by George Armstrong, B.A., a seceder from the church of Ireland. Carpenter did much to widen the spirit of his denomination. With one exception, the earlier unitarian tract and mission societies had been fortified with a preamble branding trinitarianism as 'idolatrous' and so limiting the unitarian name as to exclude Arians. As early as 1811, Carpenter endeavoured to expunge the preamble from the rules of the Western Unitarian Society; it took him twenty years to effect this change. But in 1825 three older metropolitan societies were amalgamated into the existing British and Foreign Unitarian Association, and to Carpenter is mainly due the disappearance from its constitution of the restrictive preamble. His polemical publications in reply to Magee and others were commended for their mildness by orthodox critics; for that very reason, perhaps, though able works, few of them were much read. Just before his arrival in Bristol, J. E. Stock, M.D., long a zealous convert to unitarianism (he had drafted the invitation to Carpenter), seceded to the Calvinistic baptists. Soon after this, Charles Abraham Elton, the well-known classical scholar, became a convert, and produced 'Unitarianism Unassailable,' and similar publications; but in a few years he published his 'Second Thoughts' and rejoined the established church. In 1822 Samuel Charles Frupp, B.A., a clergyman residing at Bristol, who had been a curate in Kent, announced his unitarianism from the Lewin's Mead pulpit, and remained steadfast to his new connections. Of Carpenter's own catechumens a considerable number, including some of his favourite pupils, ultimately joined the church of England. Many of the sterner unitarians regarded his influence as too evangelical. Much independence characterised his views; the rite of baptism he rejected altogether as a

superstition, substituting a form of infant dedication. In 1833 the Rajah Rammohun Roy, in whose monotheistic movement Carpenter was strongly interested, visited Bristol, but only to die. Carpenter preached his funeral sermon (afterwards published, with a memoir). He had given up his school in the spring of 1829. Of Carpenter as a schoolmaster there are two sketches by James Martineau, his pupil, and for a time his *locum tenens* (*Memoirs*, p. 342; *Life of Mary Carpenter*, p. 9). No master was ever more adored by his scholars, or more effective in the discipline of character. Bowring says: 'For many a year I deemed him the wisest and greatest of men, as he certainly was one of the best.' 'Christopher North' (who had been his fellow-student at Glasgow), when appointed in 1820 to the moral philosophy chair at Edinburgh, consulted him about the plan of his lectures and the literature of the subject (see his reply, *Memoirs*, p. 255). Carpenter is caricatured in Harriet Martineau's 'Autobiography,' 1877, vol. i. Till 1836 he took a leading part in all public work in Bristol, acting in politics as an independent liberal, and devoting much time to the encouragement of physical science. He was one of the chief organisers of the Bristol Literary and Philosophical Institution in 1822. By 1839 his constitution was completely exhausted under his unsparing labours. He left home on 22 July and was recommended by London physicians to travel. Accompanied by Freeman, a medical adviser, he went on the continent, but his health did not revive. He was drowned on the night of 5 April 1840 while going by steamer from Leghorn to Marseilles. He was not missed till morning, and it is supposed that he was washed overboard. His body was cast ashore near Porto d'Anzio, about two months afterwards, and was buried on the beach. He married on 25 Dec. 1805 Anna (*d.* 19 June 1856), daughter of James Penn of Kidderminster, and had six children, of whom the eldest was Mary [q. v.], the fourth William Benjamin [q. v.], and the youngest Philip Pearsall [q. v.] His remaining son is Russell Lant, his biographer.

Of Carpenter there is an excellent portrait drawn by Branwhite, and engraved by Woodman, prefixed to his 'Memoirs;' but perhaps the best likeness of him is a small porcelain bust by Bentley, published in 1842. Among his publications, which numbered thirty-eight, besides four posthumous works and several contributed articles and works edited by him (see a full list in 'Memoirs,' appendix B), the most noteworthy are: 1. 'Unitarianism the Doctrine of the Gospel,' 1809, 8vo, 3rd edition 1828 (in the form

of letters to Veysie). 2. 'Systematic Education,' 2 vols. 1815, 8vo, 3rd edition 1822 (in conjunction with William Shepherd, LL.D., and Jeremiah Joyce; Carpenter's part includes the mental and moral philosophy). 3. 'An Examination of the Charges made against Unitarians . . . by the Right Rev. Dr. Magee,' &c. 1820, 8vo. 4. 'Principles of Education,' 1820, 8vo (reprinted from Rees's 'Cyclopædia,' much commended by the Edgeworths). 5. 'A Harmony, or Synoptical Arrangement of the Gospels,' &c. 1835, 8vo (the second edition, 1838, 8vo, is dedicated, by permission, to the queen). 6. 'Sermons on Practical Subjects,' 1840, 8vo (edited by his son; an abridged edition was brought out by Mary Carpenter in 1875).

[Memoirs, by Russell Lant Carpenter (his son), 1842; Memoirs of P. P. Carpenter, Ph.D. 1880 (by the same); family pedigrees are given in privately printed Memorials (1878) of Mary Carpenter (sister of Lant Carpenter); Monthly Repos. 1817, p. 481; Murch's History of Presb. and Gen. Bapt. Churches in West of England, 1835, pp. 117 sq., 409, 564; Christian Reformer, 1842, p. 371; Henderson's Memoir of Rev. G. Armstrong, 1859; Autobiographical Recollections of Sir J. Bowring, 1877, pp. 42-3; private information.] A. G.

**CARPENTER, MARGARET SARAH** (1793-1872), portrait-painter, daughter of Captain Alexander Geddes, born at Salisbury in 1793, first studied art from Lord Radnor's collection at Longford Castle, and obtained a gold medal from the Society of Arts for the study of a boy's head. She went up to London in 1814 and established herself as a portrait-painter of much reputation. In 1817 she married William Hookham Carpenter [q. v.], keeper of prints and drawings in the British Museum, upon whose death in 1866 her majesty granted her a pension of 100*l.* per annum. She died in London 13 Nov. 1872. Between 1818 and 1866 she exhibited 147 pictures at the Royal Academy, fifty at the British Institution, and nineteen at the Society of British Artists. Her last work was the portrait of Dr. Whewell. Among her other portraits were those of Lord Kilcoursie (1812), Mr. Baring (1815), Lord de Tabley (1829), and Archbishop Sumner (1852). Her portraits of Fraser Tytler, John Gibson, and Bonington are in the National Portrait Gallery. In the South Kensington Museum she is represented by 'Devotion—St. Francis' (a life-size study of the head of Anthony Stewart, the miniature painter), 'The Sisters' (portraits of her two daughters), 'Ockham Church' (a sketch), and 'An Old Woman spinning,' and also by a water-colour study from nature. A sister of Mrs. Carpen-

ter married W. Collins, R.A., and was the mother of Mr. Wilkie Collins.

[Redgrave's Dict. of Artists, 1878; Bryan's Dict. of Painters (Graves); Graves's Dict. of Artists; Catalogues of National Portrait Gallery and National Gallery at South Kensington Museum; Artists of Nineteenth Century; Art Journal, 1873.] C. M.

**CARPENTER, MARY** (1807-1877), philanthropist, the eldest child of Lant Carpenter, LL.D. [q. v.], by his wife, Anna Penn, was born at Exeter on 3 April 1807. Her father's teachings and example inspired her whole career. From him she inherited her industry, her warm benevolence, and simple piety; her concentration of energy she drew from herself. At a very early age she was introduced to the whole range of studies pursued in her father's school, gaining a sound classical and scientific training, and developing a taste for art. James Martineau sketches her as a schoolgirl (*Life*, 9). Accustomed to assist in teaching, and even on occasion taking her father's place before she had completed her fifteenth year, she left home in the spring of 1827 to act as a governess, first in the Isle of Wight, then at Odsey, near Royston. In August 1829 she rejoined her mother, and began with her a girls' school at Bristol, shortly after the close of Dr. Carpenter's school for boys. To this she added in 1831 the superintendence of the afternoon Sunday school. In 1833 the presence of Rammohun Roy, who ended his days at Bristol, and the visit of Joseph Tuckerman, D.D., the Boston philanthropist, turned her sympathy towards India and the ragged urchins of her own country. She was the means of founding in 1835 a 'working and visiting society,' of which she acted as secretary for over twenty years: and to this was added in 1841 a ministry to the poor, to which she had given the impulse in 1838. Her father's death in 1840 gave her a new motive for philanthropic work as his representative. Aided by John Bishop Estlin and Matthew Davenport Hill, she opened on 1 Aug. 1846 her ragged school in Lewin's Mead, one of the worst parts of Bristol, removing it in December to larger premises in 'a filthy lane called St. James's Back.' In August 1850 she purchased the court in which the school was situated, improved the dwellings, and laid out a playground. While thus engaged she was considering the necessity for schools of a different character, in which moral discipline might be applied to the reformation of young criminals. She corresponded on this subject with Matthew Davenport Hill and John Clay [q. v.], and published her



views in 1851. Her book, and her interviews in London and the north with advocates of reformatory principles, prepared the way for a conference, which was held in Birmingham on 9 and 10 Dec. 1851. Mary Carpenter was the soul of the meeting, but did not speak in public; she was always somewhat slow to countenance any innovations on the recognised sphere of woman's work. A committee was formed to carry out the resolutions of the conference; but it soon appeared that there was a radical divergence of view on the question whether the disciplinary treatment of juvenile delinquents should be partly punitive or purely restorative in its aim. Mary Carpenter believed that certain theological ideas fostered the demand for an element of retributive dealing, which she was anxious to exclude. She resolved to establish a reformatory school on her own principles. Meanwhile she gave evidence (in May 1852) before the parliamentary committee of inquiry on juvenile delinquency. On 11 Sept. her reformatory was opened at Kingswood. The house (built for school purposes by John Wesley) was purchased by Russell Scott of Bath, and furnished by Lady Byron. In December 1853 a conference on a larger scale was held in the Birmingham town hall. At the beginning of 1854 the first report of her Kingswood school was issued. On 10 Aug. the Youthful Offenders Act legalised the position of reformatory schools under voluntary managers. On 10 Oct. a separate reformatory school for girls was opened by Mary Carpenter at the Red Lodge in Park Row, Bristol, an Elizabethan mansion which had seen many vicissitudes. It is no wonder that, with all these responsibilities accumulated upon her, her health suddenly failed. Just before Christmas 1854 she was seized with a rheumatic fever, which incapacitated her for six months. As she was recovering, she wrote a gently characteristic letter (3 June 1855) to Harriet Martineau, expressive of her religious trust, and received a severely characteristic reply. The intercourse of the two friends remained unbroken. Mary Carpenter's religion was as little satisfactory to the Somersetshire magistrates as to Miss Martineau. The quarter sessions at Wells, moved by the diocesan board, refused (March 1856) to take cognisance of the Red Lodge, though the government inspector was fully satisfied with the religious teaching. A year and a half after her mother's death Mary Carpenter left the old home in Great George Street to occupy (December 1857) a house in Park Row, bought by Lady Byron, who purchased also other property for the development of the Red Lodge plans.

Meanwhile, Miss Carpenter was urging upon members of parliament the need of a measure such as the Industrial Schools Act, which became law in 1857, and the claims of existing ragged schools to participate in the educational grant. Among her best friends in the House of Commons were Lords Houghton [see MILNES, RICHARD MONCKTON] and Idesleigh. As if her hands were not yet full—she had resigned her Sunday school duty in 1856, but was still doing 'the work of three people on the food of half a one' (COBBE)—the difficulties in the working of the act induced her to undertake the establishment of a certified industrial school, mainly in order to show in what way the government provisions needed amendment. This school she opened (April 1859) in premises in Park Row purchased by Frederick Chapple, a Bristol boy who had made a fortune in Liverpool. Many of her proposals were adopted in the amended acts of 1861 and 1866. A third conference on ragged schools at Birmingham on 23 Jan. 1861 urged upon parliament their claims to further government aid. Although attacked by illness in the autumn of 1863, she planned and opened a workmen's hall in December of that year, and published a work on the convict system.

In the autumn of 1860 her sympathy with India had been rekindled by the visit of Joguth Chunder Gangooly, a young convert of the unitarian mission at Calcutta. The subsequent visits of Rakhhal Das Haldar (1862), and of Satyendra Nath Tagore and M. Ghose (1864) convinced her that the condition of Indian women could be improved by judicious education. On 1 Sept. 1866 she left England for India, Ghose being among her travelling companions. Her plans and expectations were small, but no sooner had she arrived than her advice was sought by the Bombay government on the problems of education and prison discipline. At Madras and at Calcutta (where she interested herself in the monotheistic movement of Keshub Chunder Sen) similar calls were made upon her judgment and experience. Here she became for the first time a public speaker. Her general impressions were summed up in a communication (12 Dec. 1866) to the governor-general, Sir John Lawrence, on the subjects of female education, reformatory schools, and the state of the gaols. She left India on 20 March 1867. At home she took up again with zest all her old labours, but at once opened communications with the India Office, with a view to urge the home government to overcome 'the incubus of Indian red-tapeism.' In March 1868 she had the honour of an interview with the queen, and in October she

again started for India. Offering her gratuitous services to the government as superintendent of a female normal school at Bombay, she was soon in the midst of a band of lady coadjutors, English and native. Her health gave way in February 1869, and in April she returned to England. Her third visit to India, in the winter of 1869-70, was somewhat disappointing. She made up her mind that more was to be done by the influence she could exert at headquarters in this country than by personal work in India itself. At Bristol, in September 1870, she inaugurated, in connection with a second visit from Keshub Chunder Sen, a 'National Indian Association,' of which the Princess Alice ultimately became president. Its object was twofold—to enable Indian visitors to study the institutions of England, and to ripen English opinion respecting the wants of India. She was on the point of adding to her travels a visit to America to study the condition of prisons there, when an invitation to attend, as the guest of the Princess Alice, a congress (September 1872) at Darmstadt on women's work, opened the way for an examination of some of the reformatory systems of the continent. Her voyage to America was made in April 1873. She accepted an invitation to speak on prison reform in the largest church at Hartford, all the other churches being closed for the occasion. From the United States she proceeded to Canada, pointing out the defects in prison arrangements, and interesting herself warmly in the condition of the aborigines. Returning home in the autumn, she had a fresh subject for her applications to government—the state of the Canadian prisons. Her last journey to India was undertaken in September 1875, and lasted till 27 March 1876. Her impressions were now more hopeful. On all her great subjects she made careful reports to the authorities in India and at home, and saw many of her suggestions carried into law. In July 1876 parliament at length authorised her plan of allowing school boards to establish day-feeding industrial schools. She died 14 June 1877, and was buried in the Arno's Vale cemetery, Bristol. Among the mourners were two Hindu boys whose education she was superintending. A tablet to her memory, with an inscription by James Martineau, was placed in the north transept of Bristol Cathedral. An admirable likeness, engraved by C. H. Jeens, is prefixed to her 'Life.' Of her personal characteristics there is a brief glimpse (*Life*, p. 418) by the Rev. W. C. Gannett, who speaks of 'her great grey eyes, so slow and wise, yet so kind sometimes;' and a valuable detailed account, doing justice to her quaint

sense of humour and her capacity for art (*Theological Review*, April 1880, p. 279), by Frances Power Cobbe, who was associated with her for some time from November 1858 in her work at Red Lodge. In Harriet Martineau's autobiography there is a charming picture of Mary Carpenter acting as bridesmaid to one of her Red Lodge protégées. Mary Carpenter was a familiar figure at the Social Science congresses, and some of her ablest papers were read at these meetings. Her 'Life' gives many evidences of a true poetic vein. In early life she had written poems in the anti-slavery cause, which were printed in America, but her most touching verses were called forth by the loss of friends. Of her separate publications the following are the chief: 1. 'Meditations and Prayers,' 1845 (1st ed. anon.; five subsequent editions). 2. 'Memoir of Joseph Tuckerman,' 1848 (reprinted in 'American Unitarian Biography,' 1851, 8vo, ii. 29 sq., with corrections by Tuckerman's daughter, Mrs. Becker). 3. 'Ragged Schools, their Principles and Modes of Operation, by a Worker,' 1849 (reprinted from the 'Inquirer' newspaper). 4. 'Reformatory Schools for the Children of the Perishing and Dangerous Classes, and for Juvenile Offenders,' 1851, 8vo. 5. 'Juvenile Delinquents, their Condition and Treatment,' 1853, 8vo (dedicated to 'my three helpers in Heaven, my dear Father, Dr. Tuckerman, and Mr. Fletcher,' i.e. Joseph Fletcher, H.M. inspector of schools). 6. 'The Claims of Ragged Schools to Pecuniary Educational Aid from the Annual Parliamentary Grant, &c.,' 1859. 7. 'What shall we do with our Pauper Children?' &c., 1861. 8. 'Our Convicts, how they are made and should be treated,' 1864, 8vo, 2 vols. (this had the 'great honour' of being placed on the Roman 'Index Expurgatorius'). 9. 'Last Days in England of the Rajah Rammohun Roy,' 1866, 8vo. 10. 'Six Months in India,' 1868, 8vo, 2 vols. She published also an abridgment of the 'Memoir' of her father; and a 'Young Christian's Hymn Book,' with supplement.

[Life and Work of Mary Carpenter, 1879, by J. Estlin Carpenter (her nephew); authorities cited above.] A. G.

**CARPENTER, NATHANAEL** (1589-1628?), author and philosopher, son of John Carpenter (*d.* 1561) [q. v.], rector of Northleigh, Devonshire, was born there on 7 Feb. 1588-9. He matriculated at St. Edmund Hall, Oxford, on 7 June 1605; but was elected, on a recommendatory letter of James I., a Devonshire fellow of Exeter College on 30 June 1607. A second Devonshire candidate, Michael

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Jermyn, obtained an equal number of votes, whereupon the vice-chancellor gave his decision in favour of Carpenter. The dates of Carpenter's degrees were B.A. 5 July 1610, M.A. 1613, B.D. 11 May 1620, D.D. 1626. During his residence at Oxford he is said to have become, 'by a virtuous emulation and industry, a noted philosopher, poet, mathematician, and geographer.' One of his pupils at the university was Sir William Morice, secretary of state 1660-8, a politician with religious views inclined to presbyterianism, which were probably inspired by his tutor's Calvinism. Carpenter's attainments attracted the notice of the chief divines of the age. Sutcliffe, dean of Exeter, nominated him a member of his new college at Chelsea, and Archbishop Ussher tempted him into Ireland, where he was appointed schoolmaster of the king's wards in Dublin, the wards being minors of property whose parents were Roman catholics. Carpenter's death is said to have occurred at Dublin in the beginning of 1628, and his funeral sermon was preached by Robert Ussher, a brother of the archbishop. On his deathbed he regretted that he had 'so much courted the maid instead of the mistress,' meaning that he had spent his chief time in philosophy and mathematics and had neglected divinity.

His writings were numerous. The earliest of them, 'Philosophia libera triplici exercitationum decade proposita,' an attack on the Aristotelian system of philosophy, appeared at Frankfurt in 1621, under the disguise of N. C. Cosmopolitanus. Later editions were issued under his name in 1622, 1636, and 1675. His treatise of 'Geography delineated forth in two books,' published in 1625, and republished in 1635, contains many eloquent passages, especially a digression (p. 260 et seq.) in praise of the illustrious natives of 'our mountainous provinces of Devon and Cornwall.' Embodied in it are some pages of poetry, in which his 'Mother Oxford' recounts the advantages which he had derived from association with her, and reproaches him for his partiality to his native county. Three sermons entitled 'Achtophel, or the Picture of a Wicked Politician,' preached to the university of Oxford and dedicated to Ussher, are stated to have appeared in 1627, 1628, 1629, 1633, 1638, and 1642. The first edition was called in, and the passages against Arminianism were expunged. After his death there appeared (1633 and 1640) a sermon, 'Chorazin and Bethsaida's Woe,' which he had preached at St. Mary's, Oxford. The dedication by N. H. to Dean Winniffe asserts that but for 'a kinsman's (Jo. Ca.) friendly hand' the manuscript might have 'perished

on the Netherland shores,' as Carpenter's labours in optics did in the Irish Sea. A characteristic of Carpenter by Degory Wheare appears in the appendix to the latter's 'Pietas erga benefactores,' 1628. A manuscript by Carpenter entitled 'Encomia Varia' belongs to Trinity College, Dublin (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 4th Rep. app. p. 590).

[Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* (Bliss), ii. 421-2, *Fasti*, i. 337, 393; Prince's *Worthies* (1810), 173-5, 603; Boase's *Reg. of Exeter Coll.* pp. 55, 56, 211.] W. P. C.

CARPENTER, PHILIP PEARSALL (1819-1877), conchologist, youngest child of Lant Carpenter [q. v.], was born at Bristol in November 1819. His education began in his father's school, was continued at a proprietary institution called the Bristol College, and concluded at a presbyterian training college at York. He graduated B.A. in the university of London in 1841, and soon after became minister of a presbyterian congregation at Stand, whence he removed in 1846 to a congregation at Warrington, and there remained for fifteen years. He did not confine his activity to preaching, but was concerned in endless philanthropic schemes, some wise and useful, others ill-considered and unfruitful. He established a printing press, and disseminated his opinions by frequent leaflets, letters, magazines, and other publications. He learnt to swim in the canal, and instituted a swimming academy; he lectured on the necessity of proper drainage, and stood up for the preservation of ancient rights of way. He set a fine example of temperance in eating and of abstinence from wine, but he spoke of a public dinner to the officers of the militia as an expenditure for sensual gratification which could not be reconciled with christian sobriety, and he refused to lend a copy of a song, 'Mynheer van Dunk,' to a Christmas glee party because he would not encourage the singing of bacchanalian verses. He had always thought it a sin to drink wine, and soon came to believe it foolish to eat meat. When his house was robbed he published a handbill describing the candlesticks, silver spoons, and other property stolen, and informing the thieves that he had forgiven them; that if they liked to call he would converse with them, and that if they did not call they would have to meet him on the day of judgment. The current of his activity was at length turned into a definite channel. He had been instructed in natural science when a boy, had made a collection of shells, and had always had a taste for natural history. One day, in 1855, while walking down a street in Liverpool, Carpenter caught sight

of some strange shells in a dealer's window. He went in, and found that the specimens were part of a vast collection made by a Belgian naturalist named Reigen at Mazatlan in California. The collector had died, leaving his shells unsorted and unnamed. Carpenter bought them for 50*l.* There were fourteen tons of shells, each ton occupying forty cubic feet. The examination, description, naming, and classification of these shells was the chief work of the rest of Carpenter's life. By the comparison of hundreds of examples, 104 previous species were shown to be mere varieties, while 222 new species were added to the catalogue of the mollusca. Thenceforward, though he sometimes preached, made speeches, and wrote pamphlets, most of Carpenter's time was given to shells, and even when he received calls or paid visits he would wash and pack up shells during conversation. Their pecuniary value when named and arranged in series was great, but he never tried to grow rich by them, and his whole endeavour was to spread the knowledge of them and to supply as many public institutions as possible with complete collections of Mazatlan mollusca. A full report on them occupies 209 pages of the 'British Association Reports' for 1856, and further details are to be found in the same reports for 1863, and in the 'Smithsonian Reports' for 1860. He visited America in 1858, and in 1860, after his return to England, married at Manchester Miss Minnie Meyer. At the conclusion of the ceremony the wedded pair formally adopted a boy whom Carpenter had found in a refuge at Baltimore. In 1865 he sailed with wife and adopted son for America, settled in Montreal, and there lived to the end of his days. He took pupils, ceased to be a presbyterian, and became reconciled to the doctrines of the Anglican church. Shells occupied most of his time, and he was working at the Chitonidæ, of which he had formed a great collection, when he was seized with an acute illness, and died on 24 May 1877. Carpenter once spoke of himself as 'a born teacher, a naturalist by chance.' The description should have been reversed. He had been fond of shells and of natural history from early boyhood, and the chance was only in the incident which gave him the opportunity of following his natural bent. His teaching was spoiled by his ignorance of what was ludicrous, and he used to imitate the movements of polyps with his arms and legs in a way which fixed his own grotesque attitudes on the memory of his pupils, but which drove their attention away from polyps. He was a virtuous man and a laborious, but was neither judicious nor profound.

[Memoirs (with portrait), edited by R. L. Carpenter, 1880: British Association Reports, 1856, &c.; personal knowledge.] N. M.

CARPENTER, RICHARD (1575-1627), divine, was born in Cornwall in 1575. He matriculated at Exeter College, Oxford, on 28 May 1592, and took his degrees of B.A. on 19 Feb. 1595-6, B.D. 25 June 1611, and D.D. 10 Feb. 1616-17. He was elected to a Cornish fellowship at his college on 30 June 1596, and retained it until 30 June 1606, during which time he devoted his attention, under the advice of Thomas Holland, the rector of Exeter College, to the study of theology, and became noted for his preaching powers. In 1606 he was appointed by Sir Robert Chichester to the rectories of Sherwell and Loxhore, near Barnstaple, and it has been suggested that he was the Richard Carpenter who from 1601 to 1626 held the vicarage of Collumpton. While he was a tutor at Oxford, Christopher Trevelyan, a son of John Trevelyan of Nettlecombe, Somersetshire, who married Urith, daughter of Sir John Chichester of Devonshire, was among his pupils, and through this introduction to these families Carpenter married Susanna, his pupil's youngest sister, and obtained his benefice from Sir Robert Chichester. He died on 18 Dec. 1627, and was buried in the chancel of Loxhore Church, where a monument was erected to his memory.

Carpenter's literary productions were confined to theology. He was the author of: 1. 'A Sermon preached at the Funeral Solemnities of Sir Arthur Ackland,' 9 Jan. 1611-12. 2. 'A Pastoral Charge at the Triennial Visitation of the Bishop of Exon. at Barnstaple,' 1616. 3. 'Christ's Larum Bell of Love resounded,' 1616. 4. 'The Concionable Christian,' three sermons preached before the judges of the circuit in 1620, London, 1623. His learning is highly praised by Charles Fitzgeoffry in his 'Affaniæ,' and two letters addressed to him by Degory Wheare in 1603 and 1621 are in the 'Epistolæ Eucharisticæ' subjoined to the latter's 'Pietas erga Benefactores,' 1628. Some verses by Carpenter are printed in the 'Funebre Officium in memoriam Elizabethæ Angliæ reginæ' of the university of Oxford, 1603, and in the collection ('Pietas erga Jacobum Angliæ regem') with which that body in the same year welcomed the new king.

[Wood's Athenæ Oxon. (Bliss), ii. 418; Boase's Reg. of Exeter Coll. pp. 52-3, 210; Boase and Courtney's Bibl. Cornub. pp. 63, 1115; Trevelyan Papers, pt. iii. (Camden Soc. 1872), pp. xxvi, 77, 84, 110-12, 138-40; Arber's Stationers' Registers, iii. 496, 596, iv. 81.] W. P. C.

**CARPENTER, RICHARD** (*d.* 1670?), 'theological mountebank,' was educated at Eton, and in 1622 elected to a scholarship at King's College, Cambridge. From the account of him in the 'Biographia Dramatica' it is to be inferred that he left the university without taking his degree. In his work, 'Experience, Historie, and Divinitie,' he says that he, 'being first a scholar of Eaton College and afterwards a student in Cambridge, forsook the university and immediately travelled.' In the same work he affirms that he was converted to Roman catholicism by an English monk in London, that he studied in Flanders, Artois, France, Spain, and Italy, and that he was subsequently ordained a priest by the hands of the pope's substitute in Rome. Having been a Benedictine monk at Douay for some time, he was sent as a missionary to England, where, after about a year, he returned to the protestant religion, was ordained, and, through the intervention of the Archbishop of Canterbury (Abbot), was presented to the small living of Poling, near Arundel, in 1635 (DALLAWAY, *Sussex*, ii. (pt. i.) 60). During his incumbency he was much annoyed by the Roman catholics in Arundel, who lost no opportunity of slandering him or holding him up to ridicule before his parishioners. In his 'Experience,' &c., he gives a high-flown account of his reasons for becoming a protestant, but his enemies affirmed that his change of creed was in 'order to gain a wife,' and that 'he had run away with the wife of the man with whom he lodged.' There is no reason to suppose that he was married at this time. At the outbreak of the civil war he threw up his living and became an itinerant preacher, his chief aim seeming to be to widen the breach between the king and the parliament as much as possible. Disappointed by his lack of success, he quitted this way of life, and going over to Paris he again became reconciled to the Romish church, and made it his business to rail at protestantism. Returning to England, he joined the independents, and Dodd's 'Church History' records that 'he played his pulpit pranks according to the humour of the time, and became a mere mountebank of religion. He shortly afterwards married and settled at Aylesbury, where he had relations, and used to preach in a very fantastical manner, to the great mirth of his auditors.' Towards the latter part of his life he became very serious, and, in company with his wife, embraced catholicism for a third time, which religion he is supposed to have professed at the time of his death. He is known to have been alive in 1670, but is believed to have

died during that year. Wood, who was intimately acquainted with him, says 'that he was a fantastical man that changed his mind with his cloths, and that for his juggles and tricks in matters of religion he was esteemed a theological mountebank.' Dodd affirms that 'he wanted neither wit nor learning, which, notwithstanding, lay under a frightful management through the iniquity of the times and his own inconstant temper.' His chief work was: 1. 'Experience, Historie, and Divinitie,' &c. 1640; 'republished with additions in 1648 as 'The Downfall of Antichrist,' a queer mixture of autobiography and religion, full of classical quotations and absurd stories. After the Restoration he wrote a comedy called: 2. 'The Pragmatical Jesuit,' of which Langbaine speaks with some commendation. Prefixed to this play is his portrait in a long habit; a previous one, however, exhibits him as a formal cleric with a sad and mortified countenance. He also wrote: 3. 'The Anabaptist washt and washt, and shrunk in the Washing,' 1653. 4. 'The perfect Law of God, being a Sermon and no Sermon, preached and yet not preached,' 1652 (published while he was an independent). 5. 'Astrology proved harmless, useful, pious,' 1653. 6. 'The Last and Highest Appeal; or an Appeal to God against the new Religion Makers, Dressers, Menders, and Vendors amongst us,' &c. 7. 'The Jesuit and the Monk; or the Serpent and the Dragon,' 1656. 8. 'Rome and her Jesuits,' 1663.

A RICHARD CARPENTER is mentioned by Elias Ashmole, who prints in his 'Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum,' 1651, an English poem, detailing various alchemical prescriptions, under the title of 'The Worke of Richard Carpenter.' This is from the 'Sloane MS.' 288, No. 8, where the piece is entitled 'The Prologue of R. C. of the Philosopher's Stone,' and described as the opening lines of a lost work by Thomas Charnock (1524?-1581) [q. v.], doubtless Carpenter's contemporary (TANNER, *Bibl. Brit.*; *Brit. Mus. Cat.*)

[*Biographia Britannica*; Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. 419, 420, ed. Bliss; Harwood's *Alumni Eton*. p. 223; Granger's *Biog. Hist. of England*, iii. 345, 3rd edit.; Dodd's *Church History*, 1737; Langbaine's *Account of the Dramatic Poets*, 1691; Baker's *Biog. Dramatica*, vol. i. pt. i. p. 88.]

A. C. B.

**CARPENTER, RICHARD CROMWELL** (1812-1855), architect, was born 21 Oct. 1812, educated at Charterhouse, and articulated to Mr. Blyth. He first exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1830, sending a 'Design for a Cathedral Transept,' and between that year and 1849 exhibited nine works. Among his earliest buildings were the churches

of St. Stephen and St. Andrew at Birmingham: among his later St. Paul, Brighton, and St. Mary Magdalen, Munster Square, London. He also executed restorations at Chichester Cathedral, Sherborne Abbey, and St. John's College, Hurstpierpoint, Sussex. He died in Upper Bedford Place, Russell Square, 27 March 1855.

[Redgrave's Dict. of Artists, 1878; Graves's Dict. of Artists.] C. M.

**CARPENTER, WILLIAM** (1797-1874), miscellaneous writer, son of a tradesman in St. James's, Westminster, was born in 1797. He received no school education, but at an early age entered the service of a bookseller in Finsbury, first as an errand-boy, and then as an apprentice. By persevering self-study he acquired several ancient and modern languages, and devoted himself with special eagerness to biblical subjects. While at Finsbury he made the acquaintance of William Greenfield, editor of Bagster's 'Polyglot Bibles.' With him he edited for some time the 'Scripture Magazine,' which was afterwards expanded into the 'Critica Biblica' (4 vols. 1824-7). Devoting himself entirely to literary pursuits, he wrote a number of works on theological and general subjects, and was connected in succession with numerous periodicals. He was editor of the 'Shipping Gazette' in 1836, of the 'Era' in 1838, of the 'Railway Observer' in 1843, of 'Lloyd's Weekly News' in 1844, of the 'Court Journal' in 1848, of the 'Sunday Times' and 'Bedfordshire Independent' in 1854. He also edited a morning paper. As a journalist he issued a publication entitled 'Political Letters' (1830-1). This he maintained was not liable to the stamp duty on newspapers, and he issued it partly to try the question. A prosecution followed at the instance of the authorities in the court of exchequer. At the trial (14 May 1831) Carpenter defended himself, was convicted, and was imprisoned for some time in the king's bench (Report of Trial prefixed to *Collected Political Letters*). From his prison he edited the 'Political Magazine' (September 1831 to July 1832, republished as 'Carpenter's Monthly Political Magazine,' 1832).

Carpenter threw himself with great zeal into the cause of political reform. In connection with this he wrote 'An Address to the Working Classes on the Reform Bill,' 1831; 'The People's Book, comprising their chartered rights and practical wrongs,' 1831; 'The Electors' Manual,' 1832; 'The Political Text Book, comprising a view of the origin and objects of government, and an examination of the principal social and political in-

stitutions of England,' 1833; 'Peerage for the People,' 1841; 'The Corporation of London as it is, and as it should be,' 1847. Between 1851 and 1853 Carpenter was honorary secretary to the Chancery Reform Association, for which he wrote a good deal. He also wrote a little treatise, 'The Israelites found in the Anglo-Saxons,' 1872. Carpenter was troubled with defective eyesight, and was, notwithstanding his remarkable activity, in somewhat poor circumstances for some time before his death, which took place at his residence in Colebrooke Row, Islington, 21 April 1874.

Carpenter published: 1. 'Sancta Biblica' (a collection of parallel passages), 3 vols. 1825, dedicated to George IV. 2. 'Calendarium Palestine, exhibiting the Principal Events in Scripture History,' 1825. 3. 'A Popular Introduction to the Study of the Scriptures,' 1826. 4. 'Old English and Hebrew Proverbs explained and illustrated,' 1826. 5. 'A Reply to the Accusations of Piracy and Plagiarism, in a letter to the Rev. T. H. Horne,' 1827. 6. 'An Examination of Scripture Difficulties,' 1828. 7. 'Scripture Natural History' (1828, republished Boston, U.S., 1833; Latin translation, Paris, 1841). 8. 'Popular Lectures on Biblical Criticism and Interpretation,' 1829. 9. 'A Guide to the Practical Reading of the Bible,' 1830. 10. 'Anecdotes of the French Revolution of 1830,' 1830. 11. 'A Popular History of Priestcraft abridged from W. Howitt's Book,' 1834. 12. 'A Reply to W. Howitt's Preface to the Abridged History of Priestcraft,' 1834. 13. 'The Life and Times of John Milton,' 1836. 14. 'The Biblical Companion,' 1836. 15. 'Relief for the Unemployed; Emigration and Colonisation considered,' 1841. 16. 'Clark's Christian Inheritance' (5th ed. 1843). 17. 'A Comprehensive Dictionary of English Synonyms' (6th ed. 1865). 18. 'An Introduction to the Reading and Study of the English Bible' (3 vols. 1867-8). The following have also been included in a list of Carpenter's works: 'Mneio-phile, a Dictionary of Facts and Dates;' 'Critical Dissertation on Ezekiel's Temple;' 'Wesleyana;' 'Life of Cobbett' (whom he knew intimately); 'Small Debts, an Argument for County Courts;' 'Machinery and the Working Classes;' 'The Condition of Children in Mines and Factories.' He also edited and abridged Calmet's 'History of the Bible.' His scriptural treatises have been very popular in America.

[Men of the Time, 8th edit. 1872, pp. 192-3; Sunday Times newspaper, 3 May 1874, p. 8, col. 1; Brit. Mus. Cat.; Preface to Introduction to the Reading and Study of the English Bible.]

F. W.-r.

**CARPENTER, WILLIAM BENJAMIN** (1813–1885), naturalist, was the fourth child and eldest son of Dr. Lant Carpenter [q. v.], and brother of Mary and Philip Carpenter [q. v.] He was born at Exeter on 29 Oct. 1813. His father removed to Bristol in 1817; young Carpenter received his early education there in his father's notable school, and acquired both exact classical and scientific knowledge. He was anxious to be a civil engineer, but sacrificed his inclination when pressed to become the pupil of Mr. Estlin, the family doctor. He passed some time in the West Indies as companion to Mr. Estlin, and his experience of social conditions preceding the abolition of slavery led him to be throughout life a cautious and moderate rather than an ardent reformer.

After some preliminary work at the Bristol Medical School, Carpenter entered University College, London, in 1833, as a medical student, and it is significant of a mania for lectures then encouraged that he often attended thirty-five lectures a week, as his note-books show. He also attended the Middlesex Hospital for some time. After obtaining the Surgeons' and Apothecaries' diplomas in 1835 he went to the Edinburgh Medical School and commenced researches on physiology. He wrote papers which showed a marked tendency to seek large generalisations and to bring all the natural sciences to the elucidation of vital functions. His early papers, 'On the Voluntary and Instinctive Actions of Living Beings' ('Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal,' xlviii. 1837, pp. 22–44), 'On the Unity of Function in Organised Beings' ('Edinburgh New Philosophical Journal,' xxiii. 1837, pp. 92–116), 'On the Differences of the Laws regulating Vital and Physical Phenomena' (*ib.* xxiv. 1838, pp. 327–53), which obtained the Students' Prize of 30*l.*, and 'The Physiological Inferences to be deduced from the Structure of the Nervous System of Invertebrated Animals' (graduation thesis, 1839), the latter of which obtained the notice of Johannes Müller, the first physiologist of the day, who inserted a translation of it in his 'Archives' for 1840, were the precursors of his great work, 'The Principles of General and Comparative Physiology,' published in 1839. This was the first English book which contained adequate conceptions of a science of biology. A second edition was called for in 1841, and it was recognised that the author was a man of no ordinary mental grasp and range of study.

Before his graduation at Edinburgh Carpenter had become lecturer on medical jurisprudence at the Bristol Medical School, and he afterwards lectured there on physio-

logy also. He found the anxieties of general medical practice too great for his keen susceptibilities, and undertook further literary work, including a useful and comprehensive 'Popular Cyclopædia of Science,' 1843. In 1844 he removed to London, gaining the post of Fullerian professor of physiology at the Royal Institution, and being elected a fellow of the Royal Society in the same year. He was appointed lecturer on physiology at the London Hospital, and professor of forensic medicine at University College. He was also for some years examiner in physiology and comparative anatomy at the University of London, and Swiney lecturer on geology at the British Museum. From 1847 to 1852 he edited the 'British and Foreign Medico-Chirurgical Review,' and from 1851 to 1859 he was principal of University Hall, the residence for students at University College. In 1856, on appointment as registrar of the University of London, he resigned his lectureships, and thenceforward was the chief worker in the great development of that university, till his resignation in 1879, when he received the distinction of a C.B. He was appointed a crown member of the senate on the next vacancy, and continued an active member till his death, which occurred on 19 Nov. 1885, from severe burns received by the accidental upsetting of a makeshift spirit-lamp while he was taking a vapour bath.

Carpenter was one of the last examples of an almost universal naturalist. Some of his most valuable and laborious work was done in zoology. In a series of papers and reports to the British Association, commencing in 1843, and to the Royal Microscopical, and Geological Societies, he gave the results of his own and others' inquiries into the microscopic structure of shells. These were followed by a set of four memoirs in the 'Philosophical Transactions,' 1856–60, on the foraminifera. In 1862 the Ray Society published his 'Introduction to the Study of the Foraminifera,' in which he was largely assisted by Professors W. K. Parker and T. Rupert Jones; it is a memoir of fundamental importance on the subject. As late as 1882 he contributed an important paper on Orbitolites to the 'Philosophical Transactions.' Marine zoology also largely interested him, and out of his summer excursions to Arran, when he studied the feather-stars, grew a large scheme of deep-sea exploration. In the spring of 1868 he studied the crinoids near Belfast with Professor Wyville Thomson, and in the same year they explored the fauna and other phenomena of the sea-bottom between the north of Ireland and the Faroe islands in the *Lightning*. This was followed

by further explorations in the Porcupine (1869 and 1870), and in the Shearwater (1871), in which he traversed the Mediterranean and the Atlantic between Great Britain and Portugal, and by the Challenger expedition under Wyville Thomson, in the preparations for which Carpenter took an active part.

Some of Carpenter's most important zoological contributions related to the question of the animal nature of *Eozoön canadense*, as found in masses in the Laurentian rocks of Canada. He contributed numerous papers on this subject to the Royal Society, the 'Canadian Naturalist' (ii. 1865), the 'Intellectual Observer' (vii. 1865), 'Philosophical Magazine' (1865), 'Geological Society's Quarterly Journal,' &c. For some years before his death he had been collecting materials for a monograph on *Eozoön*, which he did not complete. Another favourite subject of his research was the structure, embryology, and past history of the feather-stars and erinoids, in which he demonstrated important facts of structure and physiology which were long controverted. His chief paper was 'On the Structure, Physiology, and Development of *Antedon rosaceus*' ('Philosophical Transactions,' 1866, pp. 671-756). Among his services to zoology, and in a lesser degree to botany, may be reckoned his work on 'The Microscope and its Revelations,' 1856, which reached a sixth edition in 1881. His zoological and botanical and other contributions to the 'Cyclopædia of Science' were afterwards published in separate volumes in Bohn's 'Scientific Library.' The 'Comparative Physiology' of his early 'Physiology' was published separately as an enlarged fourth edition in 1854.

In addition to his principal book, Carpenter's contributions to physiology were chiefly to the mental and the physical aspects of the science. His early papers were followed by others: 'On the Mutual Relations of the Vital and Physical Forces' ('Philosophical Transactions,' 1850), and 'On the Application of the Principle of Conservation of Force to Physiology' ('Quarterly Journal of Science,' i. 1864). His great work on physiology attained a fifth edition in 1855, and has subsequently been edited by Mr. Henry Power. A smaller 'Manual of Physiology,' 1846, reached a fourth edition in 1865. In 1874 Carpenter expanded the chapters of his previous work on mental physiology into a treatise, 'The Principles of Mental Physiology' (fourth edition, 1876). His views on the relation of mind and brain were acute and in advance of his time. While unsparing in his exposures of quackery in phrenology,

mesmerism, electro-biology, and spiritualism, he did much to educate the public in sound views of mental processes, and especially to bring into prominence the importance of those operations of which we are unconscious. In 1851, in the 'Proceedings of the Royal Institution,' i. 147-53, he wrote 'On the Influence of Suggestion in Modifying and Directing Muscular Movement, independently of Volition,' and in 1868 (*ib.* v. 338-45) 'On the Unconscious Activity of the Brain.' He made the subject of unconscious cerebration (his own phrase) a speciality, further discussing it in a lecture at Glasgow in 1875, 'Is Man an Automaton?' It is worth noting that while editor of the 'Medico-Chirurgical Review' he published a criticism of Noble's 'Physiology of the Brain,' which had the effect of converting Dr. Noble. He was one of the editors of the 'Natural History Review' (1861-5).

Carpenter's deep-sea explorations led him into an extensive field of marine physics. He developed in this country the doctrine of a general oceanic circulation, due largely to heat, cold, and evaporation, which had been previously little suspected. His more important papers on this question are contained in the 'Royal Society's Proceedings,' xvii. xx.; 'Geographical Society's Proceedings,' xv. 1871; 'British Association Reports,' xli. xlii. xliii. His views were persistently assailed by Mr. James Croll and others, but have been sustained by many other writers.

Carpenter's incessant industry enabled him to take part in many public movements with effect. In 1849 he gained a prize for an essay 'On the Use and Abuse of Alcoholic Liquors' (1850), and he wrote further 'On the Physiology of Temperance and Total Abstinence' (1853). He was a singularly lucid lecturer on scientific subjects, and organised the Gilchrist scheme of popular science lectures, which has been of great value in spreading sound scientific knowledge and awakening interest in science among the working classes. He was a zealous champion of vaccination and other scientific measures for checking disease, and wrote many magazine articles on such topics. He was a large contributor to various cyclopædias. His labours received numerous marks of high distinction, including a royal medal of the Royal Society (1861), the Lyell medal of the Geological Society (1883), the LL.D. of Edinburgh (1871), the presidency of the British Association (1872), and the corresponding membership of the Institute of France (1873).

In person Carpenter was above middle height, of quiet and somewhat formal man-



ner, spare, keen-eyed, and tenacious-looking. He was an active member of the unitarian church at Hampstead, at which he played the organ and conducted the psalmody for some years. He regarded miracles not as violations of natural order, but as manifestations of a higher order. His acceptance of Darwin's views of evolution was somewhat limited and reserved. He believed that natural selection leaves untouched the evidence of design in creation. In philosophy he especially clung to the reality of an independent will beyond automatism. He was well versed in literature and philosophy, and this no doubt influenced his scientific writing, which was always lucid and often highly ratiocinative. Carpenter was married in 1840, and left five sons, including Mr. W. Lant Carpenter, B.Sc., and Dr. P. Herbert Carpenter, F.R.S.

[Obituary notices: *Nature*, 26 Nov. by Prof. Ray Lankester; *Inquirer*, 14 Nov., by sons of Dr. Carpenter; *Times*, *Daily News*, *Standard*, 11 Nov.; *Pall Mall Gazette*, 13 Nov., by Grant Allen, incorrect in several points; *Athenæum*, *Christian Life*, *Lancet*, 14 Nov. 1885. *English Cyclopaedia*, *Biography*, ii. 91.] G. T. B.

**CARPENTER, WILLIAM HOOKHAM** (1792-1866), keeper of prints in the British Museum, the only son of Mr. James Carpenter, a bookseller and publisher of some note established in Old Bond Street, was born in Bruton Street, London, on 2 March 1792. He was apprenticed to his father's business, and was engaged in it until 1817, when he married Miss Margaret Sarah Geddes [see **CARPENTER, MARGARET SARAH**] (second daughter of Captain Alexander Geddes of Alderbury, Wiltshire), who obtained distinction as a portrait-painter. He now set up in business for himself in Lower Brook Street, and published, among other books, Spence's 'Anecdotes,' edited by Singer, and the first portion of Burnet's 'Practical Hints on Painting;' but not succeeding, he again joined his father. Carpenter had considerable talent for drawing, and a taste for art, which was fostered by his intimacy with Andrew Geddes, A.R.A., an accomplished etcher, and which had been first awakened by his own early associations. His father had a large collection of paintings, and dealt largely in publications on art, while he also was acquainted with many artists and engravers, to whom he gave commissions for illustrating books. From the time when Carpenter gave up his own business till 1845 he seems to have had a good deal of spare time, much of which he spent in studying the prints and drawings of the great masters in the British Museum.

For a short time he held the post of secretary to the Artists' Benevolent Fund. In 1844 he published 'Pictorial Notices, consisting of a memoir of Sir A. Van Dyck, with a descriptive catalogue of the etchings executed by him, and a variety of interesting particulars relating to other artists patronised by Charles I,' London, 1844, 4to (a French translation of this work by L. Hymans was published at Antwerp, 1844, 4to). In 1845 he was appointed keeper of the department of prints and drawings in the British Museum. Carpenter held this post till his death, and during his twenty-one years' tenure of office very greatly increased the interest and value of the collections under his care. He got together a number of objects illustrating the history of engraving, especially the early niellated silver plates and sulphur casts. Of the latter he procured for the museum no less than sixteen: only twenty-five are at present known to be anywhere existing. Besides filling many lacunæ in the general collection of engravings and etchings, he brought together a large series of etchings by modern painters, both English and foreign, and greatly increased the series of engraved English portraits. He made many important additions to the then existing collection of drawings, especially works by the great masters. He also formed an important collection of drawings by deceased British artists. Among his acquisitions may be mentioned: The Coningham collection of early Italian engravings, obtained in 1845; selections of Rembrandt's etchings from the collections of Lord Aylesford and Baron Verstolk, and some valuable Dutch drawings procured from the latter collection in 1847; various fine drawings by the old masters, many of which had belonged to Sir Thomas Lawrence, procured at Messrs. Woodburn's sale; some drawings of Michelangelo, obtained from the Buonarroti family; and a volume of drawings by Jacopo Bellini, purchased in 1855 at Venice. In 1854 Carpenter had been sent to Venice by the trustees of the British Museum to report upon the last-named volume. His attention to his duties was unremitting, and in the last month of his life he was watching with interest the progress of some public sales at which he had given commissions. He died at the British Museum on 12 July 1866, aged 74.

Carpenter's knowledge of prints and drawings gained him a wide reputation in Europe. In 1847 he was elected a member of the Academy of Fine Arts at Amsterdam, and in 1852 a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, on the council of which he served in 1857-8. He was also a trustee of the National Portrait Gallery from the time of its formation in

1856. In connection with the work of his department, he published 'A Guide to the Drawings and Prints exhibited to the Public in the King's Library' [at the British Museum], of which there were editions in 1858, 1859, and 1862, 8vo.

[Gent. Mag. (4th ser. 1866), ii. 410, 411; Men of the Time (6th ed.), 1865; Proceedings of the Soc. of Antiq. (2nd ser.), iii. 480 (President's Address, 30 April 1867); Statutes and Rules of the British Museum, 1871; Cat. of Nat. Portrait Gallery.] W. W.

**CARPENTIERÈ** or **CHARPENTIERÈ**, — (d. 1737), statuary, was much employed by the Duke of Chandos at Canons. He was for some years principal assistant to Van Ost, the modeller of the statue of George I, once at Canons and afterwards in Leicester Square. Carpentière afterwards set up for himself, and towards the end of his life kept a manufactory of leaden statues in Piccadilly. He was over sixty when he died in 1737.

[Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting (Dallaway and Wornum).] C. M.

**CARPENTERS, CARPENTIER, or CHARPENTIERÈ, ADRIEN** (fl. 1760-1774), portrait painter, was one of the artists who signed the deed of the Free Society of Artists in 1763. He sent pictures to the exhibitions of that society and to those of the Society of Artists and the Royal Academy (fourteen works in all) between 1760 and 1774, both inclusive. He is said to have been a native of France or Switzerland who settled in England about 1760. He died at Pimlico about 1778 at an advanced age. No connection has been traced between him and Carpentière or Charpentière [q. v.] A portrait of Roubiliac by him is in the National Portrait Gallery, which has been engraved by Chambers in line and by Martin in mezzotint. His own portrait is in Salters' Hall.

[Pye's Patronage of British Art; Cat. of the National Portrait Gallery; Bryan's Dict. of Painters and Engravers (Graves); Redgrave's Dict. of Artists, 1878; Pilkington's Dict. of Painters; Graves's Dict. of Artists; Edwards's Anecdotes of Painters.] C. M.

**CARPUE, JOSEPH CONSTANTINE** (1764-1846), surgeon and anatomist, was born in London on 4 May 1764. His father, a gentleman of small fortune, lived at Brook Green, and was descended from a Spanish catholic family. Young Carpue was intended for the priesthood, and was educated at the Jesuits' College at Douay. At the age of eighteen he commenced an extended continental tour. He saw much of Paris, both before and after the revolution. Carpue

was of a somewhat erratic disposition, and, having decided against the church, thought first of becoming a bookseller, that he might succeed his uncle, Lewis, of Great Russell Street, Covent Garden, the schoolfellow and friend of Pope. Later he felt strongly attracted in succession to the bar and the stage, being an enthusiastic student of Shakespeare. At last he fixed on surgery, and studied at St. George's Hospital. On becoming qualified he was appointed staff-surgeon to the Duke of York's Hospital, Chelsea, which appointment he held for twelve years, resigning on account of his objection to foreign service. His association with Dr. Pearson at St. George's Hospital led to his becoming an ardent vaccinator. In order to promote vaccination he visited many English military depôts; and finally, on his resignation of the hospital, he was appointed surgeon, with Pearson, of the National Vaccine Institution, a post he held till his death.

Carpue was, however, most distinguished as an anatomical teacher, although never on the staff of a medical school. At the Duke of York's Hospital he spared no trouble in perfecting his anatomical knowledge; and he commenced teaching in 1800, owing to an accidental observation of a medical student. His fee from the first was invariably twenty guineas. For many years he had an overflowing class. He gave three courses of daily lectures on anatomy, and lectured twice a week in the evenings on surgery. He made his pupils take a personal share in his demonstrations, and his readiness with chalk illustrations procured him the sobriquet of the 'chalk lecturer.' He took a most affectionate interest in his pupils. Carpue lectured till 1832. Early in his career he carried out the wish of Benjamin West, P.R.A., Banks, and Cosway, to ascertain how a recently killed corpse would hang on a cross. A murderer just executed was treated in this manner, and when cool a cast was made (*Lancet*, 1846, i. 167).

In 1801 Carpue published a 'Description of the Muscles of the Human Body,' and in 1816 an 'Account of Two Successful Operations for Restoring a Lost Nose from the Integument of the Forehead.' In 1819 he published a 'History of the High Operation for the Stone, by Incision above the Pubis.' He also studied medical electricity, and in 1803 brought out 'An Introduction to Electricity and Galvanism, with Cases showing their Effects in the Cure of Disease.' He kept a fine plate (electrical) machine in his dining-room, and made many experimental researches on the subject.

Carpue was introduced to and much appreciated by George IV, both before and after his

accession to the throne. He was consulting surgeon to the St. Pancras Infirmary, but never received any recognition from the College of Surgeons, either by election to the council or to an examinership. He was a fellow of the Royal Society. He died on 30 Jan. 1846, in his eighty-second year, having been much shaken in an accident on the South-Western Railway soon after its opening.

Carpue was a warm and faithful friend, abstemious and regular in habits, and a great admirer of simplicity in manners and appearance. He ordered his funeral to be of the simplest kind possible.

J. F. South, many years surgeon to St. Thomas's Hospital, and twice president of the London College of Surgeons, gives the following uncomplimentary account of Carpue. He speaks of a private school, 'conducted by a clever but very eccentric person, Joseph Carpue, a very good anatomist, who had but few pupils, and carried on his teaching by the very unusual method of catechism—for instance, he described a bone, and then made each pupil severally describe it after him, he correcting the errors whilst the catechisation proceeded. . . . Poor Carpue's school came to grief, and he then turned popular politician, but was not more successful in that character. I remember him, a tall, ungainly, good-tempered, grey-haired man, in an unfitted black dress, and his neck swathed in an enormous white kerchief, very nearly approximating to a jack-towel.'

[Lancet, 1846, i. 166-8; Felton's Memorials of J. F. South, 1884, p. 102.] G. T. B.

CARR, JOHN (1723-1807), architect, called Carr of York, was born at Horbury, near Wakefield, in May 1723. He began life as a working man and settled in York, where he attained a considerable reputation as an architect of the 'Anglo-Palladian' school, and amassed a large fortune. Among the buildings he erected are the court-house and the castle and gaol at York; the crescent at Buxton; the town hall at Newark, Nottinghamshire; Harewood House, near Leeds; Thoresby Lodge, Nottinghamshire; Oakland House, Cheshire; Lytham Hall, near Preston; Constable Burton, Baseldon Park, and Farnley Hall in Yorkshire; the east front and west gallery of Wentworth Castle, near Beverley; the mausoleum of the Marquis of Rockingham at Wentworth; and the bridge over the Ure at Boroughbridge. He also built at his own expense the parish church of his native village, where he was buried. He was mayor of York in 1770 and 1785, and died at Askham Hall, near York, 22 Feb.

1807, aged 84, leaving property to the amount of about 150,000*l.*

[Redgrave's Dict. of Artists, 1878; Gent. Mag. 1807; Fergusson's History of Modern Architecture.] C. M.

CARR, JOHN (1732-1807), translator of Lucian, was born at Muggleswick, Durham, in 1732. His father was a farmer and small landowner or statesman. He was educated at the village school, and then privately by the curate of the parish, the Rev. Daniel Watson. Subsequently he was sent to St. Paul's School. He became an usher in Hertford grammar school under Dr. Hurst, and succeeded him in the head-mastership, which he held until about 1792, with a good reputation. He is said to have been a candidate for the head-mastership of St. Paul's, but to have failed from the lack of a university degree. In 1773 he published the first volume of his translations from 'Lucian,' which reached a second edition in the following year. He published a second volume in 1779, followed by three more between that year and 1798. The reputation of this work, which on the whole is executed with accuracy and spirit, obtained for him the degree of LL.D. from the Marischal College of Aberdeen, at the instance of Dr. Beattie. He seems to have felt that his literary pursuits had been too trifling, and he takes pains in the preface to the second volume of Lucian to assure the world that it was the work only of evening hours when graver duties were over; and that it was undertaken to put out of his thoughts the annoyances of the day, an excuse which schoolmasters will understand. Besides his Lucian he wrote: 1. 'A Third Volume of Tristram Shandy,' in imitation of Sterne, 1760. 2. 'Filial Piety,' a mock-heroic poem, 1763. 3. 'Extract of a Private Letter to a Critic,' 1764. 4. 'Epponina,' a dramatic essay addressed to ladies, 1765, the plot of which is founded on the account of Epponina, wife of Julius Sabinus, given in Tacitus (H. 4, 67), and Dio Cassius (66, 3, and 16). He died 6 June 1807, and was buried in St. John's Church, Hertford. His epitaph is given in the 'Gentleman's Magazine,' vol. lxxxii.

[Gent. Mag. lxxxii. 602; Nichols's Anecdotes, iii. 168; Baker's Biog. Dram.] E. S. S.

CARR, SIR JOHN (1772-1832), writer of 'tours,' a native of Devonshire, was born in 1772. He was called to the bar at the Middle Temple, but from reasons of health found it advisable to travel, and published accounts of his journeys in different European countries, which, though without much

intrinsic merit, obtained a wide circulation on account of their light, gossipy style, and the fact that in this species of literature there was then comparatively little competition. In 1803 he published 'The Stranger in France, or a Tour from Devonshire to Paris,' which, meeting with immediate success, was followed in 1805 by 'A Northern Summer, or Travels round the Baltic, through Denmark, Sweden, Russia, part of Poland, and Prussia, in 1804;' in 1806 by 'The Stranger in Ireland, or a Tour in the Southern and Western parts of that country in 1805,' soon after which he was knighted by the Duke of Bedford, then viceroy of Ireland; and in 1807 by 'A Tour through Holland, along the right and left banks of the Rhine, to the south of Germany, in 1806.' In 1807 his 'Tour in Ireland' was made the subject of a clever *jeu d'esprit* by Edward Dubois, entitled 'My Pocket Book, or Hints for a Ryghte Merrie and Conceited Tour in 4to, to be called "The Stranger in Ireland in 1805, by a Knight Errant," and dedicated to the paper-makers.' For this satire the publishers, Messrs. Vernor, Hood, & Sharpe, were prosecuted in 1809, but Carr was non-suited. In 1808 there appeared 'Caledonian Sketches, or a Tour through Scotland in 1807,' which was made the subject of a witty review by Sir Walter Scott in the 'Quarterly Review;' and in 1811 'Descriptive Travels in the Southern and Eastern parts of Spain and the Balearic Isles [Majorca and Minorca] in the year 1809.' Lord Byron—who had met Carr at Cadiz, and had begged 'not to be put down in black and white'—refers to him in some suppressed stanzas of 'Childe Harold' as 'Green Erin's knight and Europe's wandering star.' Besides his books of travels Carr was the author of 'The Fury of Discord, a poem,' 1803; 'The Seaside Hero, a drama in three acts,' 1804 (on the supposed repulse of an anticipated invasion, the scene being laid on the coast of Sussex); and a volume of 'Poems,' 1809, to which his portrait was prefixed. He died in New Norfolk Street, London, on 17 July 1832.

[Gent. Mag. cii. pt. ii. 182-3; Annual Register, lxxiv. 211.] T. F. H.

**CARR, JOHNSON** (1744-1765), landscape painter, a pupil of Richard Wilson, died of consumption in his twenty-second year on 16 Jan. 1765. He was of a respectable family of the north, and obtained several premiums given by the Society of Arts for drawings by youths under the age of nineteen, receiving the first prize in 1762 and 1763.

[Edwards's Anecdotes; Redgrave's Dict. of Artists, 1878.] C. M.

**CARR, NICHOLAS, M.D.** (1524-1568), classical scholar, descended from a good family, was born at Newcastle in 1524. At an early age he was sent to Christ's College, Cambridge, where he studied under Cuthbert Scot, afterwards bishop of Chester. He subsequently migrated to Pembroke Hall, where his tutor was Nicholas Ridley, and proceeded B.A. in 1540-1, being soon afterwards elected a fellow of Pembroke Hall, and commencing M.A. in 1544. On the foundation of Trinity College in 1546 he was nominated one of the original fellows, and the following year he was appointed regius professor of Greek. His lectures on Demosthenes, Plato, Sophocles, and other writers gained for him a high reputation for scholarship. Although he had formerly composed a panegyric on Martin Bucer, which was sent by him to John (afterwards Sir John) Cheke, he subscribed the catholic articles in 1555, and two years later he was one of those who bore witness on oath against the heresies and doctrine of Bucer and Fagius (Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, ed. Townsend, viii. 274). From this period he seems to have been attached to the ancient faith. He took the degree of M.D. in 1558, and began to practise at Cambridge as a physician, though for four years he continued to read the Greek lecture, at the end of which period he appointed Blithe of Trinity College to lecture for him. He was obliged to resort to the study of medicine in order to maintain his wife and family, the stipend of the Greek professor being insufficient for that purpose. He occupied the house in which Bucer died, and there Carr also died on 8 Nov. 1568. He was buried in St. Michael's Church, but as the congregation was very large, consisting of the whole university, the funeral sermon was preached at St. Mary's by Dr. Chaderton [q. v.], after which the congregation returned to St. Michael's. A handsome mural monument of stone, with inscriptions in Latin and English, was erected to his memory in St. Giles's Church.

His works are: 1. 'Epistola de morte Buceri ad Johannem Checum,' London, 1551, 1681, 4to; reprinted in Bucer's 'Scripta Anglicana,' Basle, 1577, fol. p. 867, and in Conrad Hubert's 'Historia vera de vita M. Buceri,' Strasburg, 1562, 8vo. 2. 'Duæ epistolæ Latinæ doctori Chadertono,' 1566. MS. Cai. Coll. Cantab. 197, art. 52. 3. 'Eusebii Pamphili de vita Constantini,' Louvain, 1570, 8vo; Cologne, 1570, fol.; ex recensione Suffridi Petri, Cologne, 1581, fol.; ex recensione Bini, Cologne, 1612, fol. The fourth book only was translated by Carr; the others were translated by John Christopherson, bishop of

Chichester. 4. 'Demosthenis Græcorum Orationum Principis Olynthiacæ orationes tres, et Philippicæ quatuor, e Græco in Latinum conversæ. Adrita est etiam epistola de vita et obitu eiusdem Nicolai Carri, et carmina, cum Græca, tum Latina in eundem scripta,' London, 1571, 4to. Carr's autograph manuscript of this translation is in the Cambridge University Library, Dd. 4. 56. 5. 'De scriptorum Britannicorum paucitate, et studiorum impedimentis oratio; nunc primum ædita. Eiusdem ferè argumenti aliorum centones adijciuntur,' London, 1576, 12mo; edited by Thomas Hatcher. Carr left some other works in manuscript.

[Life, by Bartholomew Dodington, prefixed to the translation of Demosthenes, and the brief memoir, by Thomas Preston, at p. 68 of the same work; Addit. MSS. 5803, f. 49, 5865, f. 63 b; Foxe's Acts and Monuments (Townsend), viii. 262, 271, 274, 288; Blomefield's Collect. Cantab. 64; Cooper's Athene Cantab. i. 262, 555; Strype's Memorials (fol.), ii. 244, 282, 302, 316; Strype's Smith (8vo), 14; Strype's Cheke (fol.), 63, 74, 112; Smith's Cat. of Caius Coll. MSS. 114; Tanner's Bibl. Brit. 155.] T. C.

CARR, R. (Æ. 1668), engraver, imitated the style of Hollar with no great success. There is a map of England dated 1668 etched by him.

[Strutt's Dict. of Engravers.] C. M.

CARR, RICHARD, M.D. (1651-1706), physician, was son of Griffith Carr of Louth in Lincolnshire. He was born in 1651, and went from the grammar school of Louth to Magdalene College, Cambridge, where he entered as a sizar 31 May 1667, graduated B.A. 1670, and M.A. 1674. He became master of the grammar school of Saffron Walden in 1676, but in 1683 went to Leyden to study physic, and in 1686 proceeded M.D. at Cambridge. He was created a fellow of the College of Physicians by James II's charter, and was admitted in 1687. He died in September 1706, and was buried in St. Faith's Church, under St. Paul's Cathedral. He is known as the author of 'Epistolæ medicinales variis occasionibus conscriptæ,' which was published in 1691. The book is dedicated to the College of Physicians, and received the imprimatur of the president and censors. The epistles, eighteen in number, do not contain much medical information, but are written in a readable, popular style, as if addressed to patients rather than to physicians. The first is on the use of sneezing powders, the second on smoking tobacco, the third, fourth, seventh, fifteenth, and seventeenth on various points of dietetics, including a grave refutation of the doctrine that it is well to

get drunk once a month. The eighth recommends a visit to Montpellier for a case of phtthisis, while the fifth and sixth discuss the remedial virtues of the Tonbridge and Bath waters, and seven others are on trivial medical subjects. The fourteenth is on the struma, and in it Carr mentions that Charles II touched 92,107 persons between 1660 and 1682, and respectfully doubts whether they all got well. The most interesting of the epistles is the third, which is on the drinks used in coffee-houses, namely, 'coffee, thee, twist (a mixture of coffee and tea), salvia, and chocolata.' Carr shows some acquaintance with the medical writings of his time, and speaks with admiration of the 'Religio Medici.' The impression left after reading his epistles is that he was a doctor of pleasant conversation, not a profound physician, but one whose daily visit cheered the valetudinarian, and whose elaborate discussion of symptoms satisfied the hypochondriac.

[Munk's Coll. of Phys. (1878), i. 470; Carr's Epistolæ; Magdalene Coll. Admission Book.] N. M.

CARR, ROBERT, EARL OF SOMERSET (Æ. 1645), or KER, according to the Scottish spelling, was a younger son of Sir Thomas Ker of Ferniehurst, by his second wife, Janet, sister of Sir Walter Scott of Buccleugh. In Douglas's 'Peerage,' ii. 134, it is stated that he 'served King James in the quality of a page, and, attending his majesty into England, was invested with the order of the Bath at his coronation.' This last statement, though usually adopted, is erroneous. A list of the knights made at the coronation in Howes's continuation of Stow's 'Chronicle,' p. 827, gives the name of Sir Robert Carr of Newboth. If, as can hardly be doubted, Newboth is an English corruption of Newbottle, the person knighted was (as stated in Nichols's 'Progresses,' i. 222, note 5) the Robert Ker who subsequently became the second earl of Lothian.

Robert Carr accompanied James to England as a page, but, being discharged soon after his arrival, went into France, where he remained for some time. Soon after his return, being in attendance upon Lord Hay or Lord Dingwall at a tilting match, he was thrown from his horse and broke his arm in the king's presence. James recognised his former page, and, being pleased with the youth's appearance, took him into favour (WILSON, in KENNET, ii. 686) and knighted him on 23 Dec. 1607.

James was anxious to provide an estate for his new favourite. Somewhere about

this time Salisbury suggested to the king a mode of benefitting Carr without injury to himself (The King to Salisbury, undated, *Hatfield MS.* 134, folio 149). Though Raleigh had conveyed the manor of Sherborne to trustees to save it from forfeiture, a flaw had been discovered in the conveyance. The land was therefore legally forfeited in consequence of Raleigh's attainder (*Memoranda of the King's Remembrancer*, Public Record Office, Mich. Term, 7 James I, 253), and on 9 Jan. 1609 it was granted to Carr, the king making a compensation, the adequacy of which is a subject of dispute, to the former owner (GARDINER, *History of England*, ii. 47).

In the winter session of 1610, Carr, irritated by the feeling displayed in the commons against Scottish favourites, incited his master against the house, and did his best to procure the dissolution which speedily followed (*Correspondence in the Hatfield MS.* 134). On 25 March 1611 he was created Viscount Rochester (*Patent Rolls*, 9 James I, Part 41, No. 14), being the first Scotchman promoted by James to a seat in the English House of Lords, as the right of sitting in parliament had been expressly reserved in the case of Hay.

In 1612, upon Salisbury's death, Rochester, who had recently been made a privy councillor, was employed by James to conduct his correspondence, without the title of a secretary (Chamberlain to Carleton, 11 and 17 June, 2 July, *Court and Times of James I*, 171, 173, 179). James seems to have thought that a young man with no special political principles would not only be a cheerful companion, but a useful instrument as well, and would gradually learn to model himself upon his master's ideas of statesmanship. He forgot that conduct is often determined by other motives than political principles. The new favourite was already in love with the Countess of Essex, a daughter of the influential Earl of Suffolk, and a great-niece of the still more influential Earl of Northampton, the leader of the political catholics.

In the beginning of 1613 Lady Essex was thinking of procuring a sentence of nullity of marriage, which would set her free from a husband whom she detested, and enable her to marry Rochester. Her relatives, the chiefs of the Howard family, who had hitherto found Rochester opposed to their interests, grasped at the suggestion, and on 16 May a commission was appointed to try the case. James threw himself on the side of his favourite, and on 25 Sept. the commissioners pronounced, by a majority of seven to five, in favour of the nullity (*State Trials*, ii. 785).

When Rochester began his courtship of Lady Essex, he had given his confidence to Sir Thomas Overbury, a man of intelligence and refinement. At first Overbury assisted Rochester in 'the composition of his love-letters' (WINWOOD, *Memorials*, iii. 478), but afterwards, perhaps when he had discovered that his patron contemplated marriage instead of an intrigue with a lady whose relations were the leaders of the Spanish party in England, Overbury threw all his influence into the opposite scale, and exposed himself to the fatal anger of Lady Essex.

The king, too, was jealous of Overbury's influence over his favourite, and suggested to him a diplomatic appointment. Overbury, on refusing to accept it, was committed to the Tower (Chamberlain to Carleton, 29 April 1613, *State Papers*, Dom., lxxii. 120). There seems to be little doubt that both Rochester and Northampton were consenting parties to the imprisonment. Their object is a matter of dispute. On the whole, the most probable explanation is that they merely wanted to get him out of the way for a time till the divorce proceedings were at an end (see GARDINER, *History of England*, ii. 178-80).

Lady Essex's wrath was much more dangerous. She made up her mind that Overbury must be murdered to revenge his personal attack upon her character. She obtained the admission of a certain Weston as the keeper of Overbury in the Tower, and Weston was instructed to poison his prisoner. Weston, it seems, did not actually administer the poison, and Lady Essex is usually supposed—for the whole evidence at this stage is contradictory—to have mixed poison with some tarts and jellies which were sent by Rochester to Overbury as a means of conveying letters to him, the object of which was to assure him that Rochester and Northampton were doing everything in their power to hasten his delivery. Rochester, too, occasionally sent powders to Overbury, the object of which was said to be to give him the appearance of ill-health so that his friends might urge the king to release him. The evidence on the point whether the tarts were eaten by Overbury is again conflicting, but the fact that he did not die at the time seems to show that they remained untasted. Later on poison was administered in another way, and of this Overbury died. Whether Rochester was acquainted with the lady's proceedings can never be ascertained with certainty, though the evidence on the whole points to a favourable conclusion (GARDINER, *History of England*, ii. 183-6).

At the time, at all events, no one guessed at the existence of this tragedy. Rochester

was created Earl of Somerset on 3 Nov. 1613 (*Patent Rolls*, James I, Part 5, No. 20, misdated in NICOLAS, *Hist. Peerage*), and on 23 Dec. he received a commission as treasurer of Scotland (*Paper Register of the Great Seal*, Book I, No. 214, communicated by T. Dickson, esq., chief of the historical department of the Register House, Edinburgh), and on 26 Dec. he was married in state to the murderess. Courtiers vied in making costly presents to the pair.

Somerset was now trusted with political secrets above all others. His head was turned by his rapid elevation, and he threw himself without reserve into the hands of Northampton and the Spanish party. At first he advocated a plan for marrying Prince Charles to a Savoyard princess, but as soon as Sarmiento, the Spanish ambassador, whose later title was Count of Gondomar, arrived in England, he made overtures to the new envoy to secure an alliance with Spain.

In the parliament of 1614 Somerset's vote was given, as might have been expected, against any compromise with the commons in the dispute on the impositions, and a few weeks after the dissolution he was made lord chamberlain, a post which brought him into immediate connection with the king.

Somerset's importance might seem the greater as Northampton had just died. He was acting lord keeper of the privy seal in Northampton's place on 30 June 1614. His arrogance, combined with his open adoption of the principles of the Spanish party, set against him the statesmen, such as Ellesmere and others, who wished to maintain a close connection with the continental protestants. By these men a new candidate for the post of favourite, George Villiers, who first saw the king in August 1614, was brought to court. Though James in November 1614 showed that he had no intention of abandoning Somerset, the fact that he made Villiers a cupbearer so irritated the favourite that he grew morose and ill-tempered even to James himself.

James was much hurt. Early in 1615 he pleaded with Somerset, entreating him to continue to return his friendship (James to Somerset, HALLIWELL, *Letters of the Kings*, ii, 126), and in April he consented to place in Somerset's hands the negotiation which was going on with Spain on the subject of the prince's proposed marriage with the Infanta Maria, taking it from the ambassador at Madrid, Sir John Digby, to whom it had been originally entrusted.

Though it was not likely that Somerset's adversaries were aware of this secret trust, they must have perceived signs of James's continued favour towards him, and obtaining

the support of the queen, who was personally jealous of the favourite, they persuaded James, on April 18, to make Villiers a gentleman of the bedchamber. Whatever may have been the exact reason of James's conduct, he had no intention of abandoning Somerset, and possibly only meant to warn him against persistence in his harsh and unreasonable temper. Somerset, exposed as he was to hostility both as a Scotchman and as a favourite, was made by his sense of insecurity more querulous than before. In July James refused to make an appointment at Somerset's entreaty (Chamberlain to Carleton, July 15, *Court and Times of James I*, i, 364), and about the same time sent him a letter in which his dissatisfaction was expressed. 'I have been needlessly troubled this day,' he wrote, 'with your desperate letters; you may take the right way, if you list, and neither grieve me nor yourself. No man's nor woman's credit is able to cross you at my hands if you pay me a part of that you owe me. But how you can give over that inward affection, and yet be a dutiful servant, I cannot understand that distinction. Heaven and earth shall bear me witness that, if you do but the half your duty unto me, you may be with me in the old manner, only by expressing that love to my person and respect to your master that God and man crave of you, with a hearty and feeling penitence of your by-past errors' (James to Somerset, HALLIWELL, *Letters of the Kings*, 133).

The knowledge of the existence of bad feeling between the favourite and his master made Somerset's enemies more hopeful of effecting his overthrow. Somerset accordingly directed Sir Robert Cotton to draw out a pardon sufficiently large to place him in safety. Upon the refusal of Yelverton, the solicitor-general, to certify its fitness for passing the great seal (Corron's *Examinations*, Cotton MSS. Tit. B vii. 489), Somerset ordered a still larger pardon to be drawn up, which Ellesmere, the lord chancellor, refused to seal. On 20 July 1615 the matter was fully discussed at the privy council in the presence of the king, and at the end of the debate James insisted upon Ellesmere's sealing the pardon. After the king had left the council, however, private influence was brought to bear on him, and the pardon was left unsealed (Sarmiento to Lerma, 29 July-8 Aug. *Madrid Palace Library MSS.* 20-1 30 Oct. *Simancas MSS.*)

Not many weeks after this scene information that Overbury had been murdered was brought to Winwood, the secretary of state, who was one of Somerset's opponents. Helwys, the lieutenant of the Tower, hearing that

something was known, told his story to Winwood, and on 10 Sept. repeated it in a letter to the king, who directed Coke to examine the affair. Lady Somerset's name was soon implicated in the charge of poisoning, and that of her husband was subsequently involved in it. On 13 Oct. a commission was issued to the chancellor and other persons of high rank to inquire.

As soon as Somerset knew himself to be suspected, he left James at Royston and came up to London to justify himself. He wrote to James finding fault with the composition of the court of inquiry, and threatening him with the loss of the support of the Howard family if he persisted in the course which he was taking. James answered that the investigation must continue, and on 17 Oct. the commissioners wrote to the earl and countess directing them to remain in their respective apartments. On that evening Somerset burnt a number of his own letters to Northampton, written at the time of the murder, and directed Cotton to affix false dates to the letters which he had received at the same time from Northampton and Overbury. Though these orders were subsequently withdrawn, the fact that they had been given was very damaging to Somerset; but his conduct is not absolutely inconsistent with the supposition that, being a man of little judgment, he was frightened at the prospect of seeing letters relating to tricks purposed to be put on Overbury interpreted in the light of subsequent discoveries. On the next day Somerset was committed to the Dean of Westminster's house.

The inferior instruments, the warders, were tried and executed, and in the ordinary course of things the trial of Somerset and his wife would have followed soon. It was, however, postponed, apparently in order that investigation might be made into Somerset's relations with the Spanish ambassador, and also perhaps because Lady Somerset gave birth at this time to a daughter, who afterwards became the mother of Lord Russell.

The prisoners were to be tried in the high steward's court. A few days before the time appointed, Somerset, who had been urged by the king to declare himself guilty, threatened to bring some charge against James himself. James met the attack by refusing to hear further from the prisoner in private till after the trial, and Somerset then declared that he would not come to the trial at all, on the plea, it would seem, of illness.

On 24 May the countess pleaded guilty, and received sentence of death. On the 25th Somerset, though he at first pretended to be unable to leave the Tower, to which he had

been removed some weeks previously, was brought to Westminster Hall. That Somerset was accessory to Overbury's murder before the fact, and consequently guilty of murder, was strongly urged by Bacon, who, as attorney-general, conducted the prosecution, and Bacon was backed by Montague and Crew. Bacon had no difficulty in showing that Somerset had taken part in a highly suspicious plot, and he argued that there was no motive leading Somerset to imprison Overbury unless he had meant to murder him, as, if Overbury had been allowed to 'go beyond sea' as an ambassador, he would have been disabled by distance from throwing hindrances in the way of the marriage. The argument throws light on Bacon's habit of omitting to notice difficulties in the way of a theory which he has once accepted, but it is certainly not conclusive against Somerset. If Overbury had wished to give evidence of the conduct of Lady Essex, which might have influenced the commissioners who sat to decide on the nullity of her marriage, he might easily have done so by letter from the most distant embassy, while it would have been impossible for him to communicate his knowledge from the Tower, where both Helwys, the lieutenant, and Weston, his own immediate keeper, were Somerset's creatures.

Montague had charge of the most serious part of the case. He proved that Somerset had sent powders to Overbury, and he tried to show, though not very successfully, that Somerset had poisoned the tarts which had been sent.

In a case of circumstantial evidence the business of the counsel of the defence is not only to show that the facts proved do not fit the theory of the prosecution, but to show that they do fit another theory which is compatible with the innocence of the accused. The main weakness of the argument of the counsel for the crown was that they proved too much. Somerset, according to their showing, was constantly trying to poison Overbury, and yet all his efforts signally failed. Powder after powder, poisoned tart after poisoned tart, were sent, and yet Overbury would not die. At last an injection was administered by an apothecary's boy, and Overbury succumbed at once. Yet no tittle of evidence was advanced to connect this last act with Somerset.

On the other hand, the proceedings become explicable if we suppose that Somerset, with Northampton as his adviser, merely wanted to silence Overbury while the nullity suit was proceeding, and to impress him with the belief that he and Northampton were advocating his cause with the king, in order



that when he was released he might not bring with him an angry feeling. This would explain the constant letters and messages, and even the sending of medicine to produce illness, which might work upon the king's feelings.

Lady Essex would naturally regard the affair from another point of view. Overbury's attack upon her character was an insult to be avenged, and she may very well have seized the opportunity afforded to her by her lover's plot to effect her purpose. We do not know enough of her character to say whether she was likely to preserve silence with her husband even after her design was carried out or not, and it is, of course, quite possible that she may have told him what was going on, even before the final act. If so, the anxiety which he showed to keep out of sight all evidence relating to his own proceedings would be more intelligible than ever. Under these circumstances there is no wonder, even if Somerset was not guilty, that his defence should have broken down in some points. The only question which can be raised is whether his failure to sustain his argument was owing to the reality of his guilt, or whether it was only what might fairly be expected from a man called on to fight an unequal battle against trained lawyers, and conscious that his part in the intrigue of Overbury's imprisonment was such as to lay him open to the worst suspicions (for the more favourable view see GARDINER, *History of England*, ii. 353; for the less favourable, SPEDDING, *Letters and Life of Bacon*, v. 328. References to the original authorities are given in both these works, and most of them will be found in AMOS, *Great Oyer of Poisoning*, a book of no critical value). The court, besides, was hostile, and the verdict of guilty, which was ultimately given, was probably inevitable.

James had no intention of allowing either the earl or the countess to be executed. On 13 July 1615 a pardon was granted to the lady (*State Trials*, ii. 1005). Somerset was informed that his life would be spared, and a letter is extant (*Cabala*, i. 1) from the obscure phrases of which it would seem that an offer was made to him of leaving him at least part of his property if he would accept the intercession of a person unnamed, who was probably Villiers. Somerset, however, refused to do this, and strongly reasserted his innocence. Perhaps in consequence of this firmness, both he and his wife were kept in the Tower till January 1622, when they were allowed to exchange their captivity for residence at certain fixed places. At last Somerset received a formal pardon. The

statement, often made, that James thought of taking him again into favour when he was displeased with Buckingham's conduct in 1624, is absolutely without foundation.

In 1630 Somerset once more came before public notice, as being prosecuted in the Star-chamber, together with other more important personages, for having, in the preceding year, passed on to the Earl of Clare a paper written long before by Sir Robert Dudley, recommending James to establish arbitrary government. On 29 May he and the others implicated were told that, in consequence of the birth of the king's son, who was afterwards Charles II, the proceedings would be dropped (*State Trials*, iii. 396). After this Somerset remained in obscurity till his death, which took place in July 1645.

[Gardiner's History of England, 1603-42, and the authorities quoted in the text.] S. R. G.

**CARR, ROBERT JAMES** (1774-1841), bishop of Worcester, the son of the Rev. Colston Carr, a schoolmaster at Twickenham, who was afterwards vicar of Ealing, was born in 1774 at Twickenham, received his primary education in his father's school, and afterwards went to Worcester College, Oxford. In 1797 he married Nancy, daughter of John Wilkinson of Roehampton, by whom he had a numerous family, of which only four children survived him. In the following year he was ordained by the Bishop of Salisbury, and, after holding some unimportant preferments for a short time, he was presented to the vicarage of Brighton. In 1806 he graduated M.A. While he was vicar of Brighton his eloquence commended him to the prince regent, and a friendship was commenced which only terminated with the death of George IV. In 1820 he was appointed dean of Hereford, and in the same year he took the degrees of B.D. and D.D. Four years later he was consecrated bishop of Chichester, and, along with his bishopric, held a canonry in St. Paul's Cathedral. He was also appointed clerk to the closet, an honorary position which he held until the accession of Queen Victoria, when he was dismissed on account of a strict adherence to his political principles. In 1831 he was translated to the bishopric of Worcester, in fulfilment, as it was understood at the time, of a promise made by the late king. Carr was the prelate who attended George IV during his last illness. He devoted himself almost entirely to his episcopal duties, and, although constant in his attendance at the House of Lords, took little interest in politics. He was one of the bishops who voted against the Roman Catholic Relief Bill, and, if

he did not speak against the measure, allowed his opinions to be seen by the number of petitions against it which he presented. Although strict in the enforcement of religious observances, he had a decided leaning towards the evangelical school of thought. He died in 1841, aged 67, at Hartlebury Palace, near Worcester, from paralysis, and was buried in the churchyard of the parish. His only published works were sermons preached for charitable objects.

[Annual Register, 1841; Times; Record; Worcestershire papers.] A. C. B.

**CARR, ROGER** (*d.* 1612), divine, supposed to have been the son of a London printer of the same names, was matriculated as a sizar of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, on 22 Nov. 1566, and went out B.A. 1569-70. On 23 Jan. 1572-3 he was instituted to the rectory of Little Raine in Essex, on the presentation of Henry Capel, esq. About 1583 he was suspended by Aylmer, bishop of London, for not wearing the surplice. He subsequently conformed to the orders of the church, and held the before-mentioned benefice till his death, which occurred shortly before 20 Jan. 1611-12.

It is believed that he was the author of: 1. 'The Defence of the Soul against the strongest Assaults of Satan, by R. C.,' London, 1578, 8vo. 2. 'A Sermon on Joh. xix., by R. C.,' London (T. Lawe and T. Nelson), n. d., 8vo. 3. 'A godlie Form of Household Government: for the ordering of private Families, whereunto is adjoynd the severall duties of the husband towards his wife: and the wifes duty toward her husband, &c. Gathered by R. C.,' London, 1598, 1600, 8vo. Dedicated to Robert Burgaine of Roxall [Roxwell?].

[Ames's Typogr. Antiq. (Herbert), 707, 868, 1294; Cooper's Athene Cantab. iii. 53; Davids's Essex Nonconformist, 111; Lowndes's Bibl. Man. (Bohn), 342; Maitland's Index of Early Printed Books at Lambeth, 18; Newcourt's Repertorium, ii. 480.] T. C.

**CARR, THOMAS**, alias **MILES PINKNEY** (1599-1674). [See **CARRE, THOMAS**.]

**CARR, WILLIAM HOLWELL** (1758-1830), art connoisseur, was the son of Edward Holwell, apothecary of Exeter, who died at Exmouth on 28 March 1793, aged 66, by his wife, Isabella Newte. He was born at Exeter in 1758, and baptised at St. Martin's Church in that city on 4 April 1759, receiving the christian name of William after his uncle, the Rev. William Holwell, vicar of Thornbury, Gloucestershire, and prebendary of Exeter. He matriculated at Exe-

ter College on 2 March 1776, and was elected to a Petreian fellowship on 30 June 1778. His degrees were: B.A. 1783, M.A. 1784, B.D. 1790. While holding his fellowship he obtained leave to travel abroad (30 April 1781), and it was during this foreign tour that he began to form his collection of pictures. The rich benefice of Menheniot in Cornwall became vacant in November 1791, and Holwell was instituted on 13 Jan. 1792, but he never resided at his living, and was said to have taken orders with the object of accepting this preferment. A year after his institution (14 Jan. 1793) he resigned his fellowship. On 18 May 1797 he married in London Lady Charlotte Hay, eldest daughter of James, earl of Errol, by Isabella, daughter of Sir William Carr of Etal, Northumberland, and in 1798 the estate of Etal became her property. She thereupon (20 Nov. 1798) obtained royal authority for herself, her husband, and her male issue, to take the name and arms of Carr, but she died in London on 9 Feb. 1801, three days after the birth of her only child, William Carr. A protracted lawsuit took place over the estate of Etal, but a settlement, mainly in favour of the rights of her husband and their child, was ultimately effected, and lasted until the death of the child at Ramsgate on 15 Sept. 1806. Holwell Carr died in Devonshire Place, London, on 24 Dec. 1830, and was buried at Withercombe Raleigh, near Exmouth. Throughout his life he was a patron and connoisseur of the arts. From 1797 to 1820 he exhibited at the Royal Academy, as an honorary exhibitor, landscape views of his own painting. His collection of pictures, principally of the Italian school, he left to the nation with the stipulation that a proper gallery should be provided for them. To Exeter College he gave in 1785 a picture, painted by himself, of Sir William Petre, and to the college library he presented the editio princeps of Homer, printed at Florence in 1488. He left 500*l.* to Menheniot parish for the education of twelve boys and girls as a memorial of his wife. In the church of that parish are monuments for himself and his wife.

[Gent. Mag. p. 370, 1831; Boase's Reg. of Exeter Coll. pp. 1xv, 111-12, 200, 215; Parochial History of Cornwall (1870), iii. 313-14; Redgrave's Dict. of Artists, 1878, p. 71; Miscell. Geneal. et Herald, ii. 416-17.] W. P. C.

**CARRE, THOMAS** (1599-1674), catholic divine, whose real name was **MILES PINKNEY**, belonged to an ancient family at Broomhill in the bishopric of Durham. He was sent when very young to the English college of Douay, was admitted among the clergy *per*

*tonsuram* 13 June 1620, and was ordained priest by special dispensation 15 June 1625. Afterwards he was appointed procurator of the college, and he held that office till 1634, when he undertook the project of founding a monastery of canonesses of St. Augustin at Paris, where he resided as their confessor till his death. The foundation of this monastery cost him much time and labour. 'Tis recorded that he crossed the seas sixty times between England and France to bring it to perfection, and bestowed all his time, money, interest, learning, and piety for forty years together to the same purpose.' Being seized with a palsy he became almost unserviceable for nearly twelve years before his death, which occurred in the monastery, then situate in the Rue des Fossés Saint Victor, Paris, on 31 Oct. 1674.

Carre was for many years a canon of the English chapter, and the clergy never failed to consult him in matters of consequence. He was a great friend of Richard Crashaw the poet. Arras College in Paris was in 1667 much augmented by him, though it was not completed till many years later, when Dr. John Betham [q. v.] was appointed to preside over it. Carre was greatly respected by the court of France, especially by Cardinal Richelieu, who was a munificent benefactor to the English catholics abroad through his mediation.

His works are: 1. 'A Treatise of the Love of God,' 2 vols., Paris, 1630, 8vo, translated from the French of St. Francis of Sales. 2. 'The Spiritual Conflict,' 1632, translated from the French of Bishop Camus. 3. 'The Draught of Eternity,' 8vo, 1632, a translation from the French of Bishop Camus. 4. 'The Principall Points of the Faith of the Catholike Chvrch. Defended against a writing sent to the King by the 4 Ministers of Charenton. By the most eminent Armand Ithon de Plessis, Cardinal Dyke de Richeliev. Englished by M. C., Confessor to the English Nuns at Paris,' Paris, 1635, 8vo. 5. 'Of the Following of Christ,' written in Latin by Thomas à Kempis, Paris, 1636, 8vo. 6. 'Occasional Discourses,' Paris, 1646, 8vo. 7. 'Thomas of Kempis, Canon Regylar of S. Avgvstine's Order, his Sermons of the Incarnation and Passion of Christ. Translated out of Latine,' Paris, 1653, 12mo. 8. 'Thomas of Kempis, his Soliloquies translated out of Latine,' Paris, 1653, 12mo. 9. 'A Christian Instruction composed longe agoe, by that most eminent Cardinal Armand Iohn de Plessis, Cardinall of Richeliev,' newly translated, 3rd ed., Paris, 1662 (misprint for 1662). 10. 'Meditations and Prayers on the Life, Passion, Resvrrrection, and Ascension of our Saviovr Iesus-Christ. Written in Latine by Thomas

of Kempis,' Paris, 1664, 12mo. 11. 'Sweete Thoughtes of Jesvs and Marie, or Meditations for all the Sundays and Feasts of our B. Saviour and B. Virgin Mary; for the use of the daughters of Sion,' 2 parts, 8vo, 1665. 12. 'Pietas Parisiensis, or a short description of the Pietie and Charitie comonly exercised in Paris. Which represents in short the pious practises of the whole Catholike Chvrch,' Paris, 1666, 12mo. An abridgment of this work was published by Abraham Woodhead in 'Pietas Romana et Parisiensis,' Oxford, 1687, 4to, which work elicited 'Some Reflections,' with a 'Vindication of Protestant Charity' by James Harrington, Oxford, 1688, 4to. 13. 'The Funerall Sermon of the Queen of Great Britanie,' Paris, 1670, 8vo.

[Dodd's Church Hist. iii. 293; Addit. MS. 24491, f. 251 b; Palatine Note-book, iii. 102, 174; Jones's Popery Tracts, 434; Husenbeth's Colleges and Convents on the Continent, 18; Bibl. Heberiana, ii. 1016, 1017.] T. C.

**CARRE, WALTER RIDDELL** (1807–1874), topographer, was descended from the old family of Riddell of Riddell, in the county of Roxburgh, immortalised by Scott in the 'Lay of the Last Minstrel' as 'ancient Riddell's fair domains.' He was the second son of Thomas Riddell of Carnieston, and was born at Edinburgh on 4 Aug. 1807. After completing his education at the high school of Edinburgh, he entered a mercantile house in London, where he remained till 1848, when he took up his residence in Hertfordshire. Some years afterwards he succeeded by the will of his uncle, Admiral Robert Riddell Carre, to the estate of Cavers Carre in Roxburghshire, when he assumed the additional surname and arms of Carre. From this time he devoted much of his attention to researches into family and county records, and the biography of 'worthies' connected with the Borders, giving the result of his studies occasionally in popular lectures, and in contributions to the newspapers and to 'Notes and Queries.' He also took an active interest in various Border societies. He was a justice of the peace and a commissioner of supply for the county of Roxburgh. He died in December 1874. He was the author of 'Border Memories; or, Sketches of Prominent Men and Women of the Border,' published posthumously in 1876, with a biographical sketch by James Tait.

[Tait's Memoir, as above.] T. F. H.

**CARRICK, EARL OF.** [See BRUCE, ROBERT DE VII.]

**CARRICK, JOHN DONALD** (1787–1837), song writer and journalist, was born

at Glasgow in April 1787; his father was originally of Buchlyvie, Stirlingshire ('Biographical Sketch' to CARRICK's *Laird of Logan*, p. ix). Carrick was early put into the office of Nicholson, a Glasgow architect, which office he left about 1805 for a clerkship in a counting-house (*ib.* x). In 1807 he ran away, and walked to London, where a Scotch tradesman gave him a trial as shopboy. In 1809 he obtained employment with Spodes & Co., potters in Staffordshire, who had extensive warehouses in London; and with them he acquired sufficient knowledge of china to return to Glasgow, 1811, and set up business in Hutcheson Street. There he also took to writing, producing several humorous Scotch songs, and his 'Life of Wallace' for the young; but in 1825 a prolonged litigation led to his insolvency. As agent to manufacturers he subsequently visited the highlands, and acquired the Gaelic language. On returning to Glasgow in 1828 he was engaged as sub-editor of the 'Scots Times;' contributed articles to the 'Day,' a Glasgow daily paper, which lasted only six months; and produced, 1830, his extended 'Life of Sir William Wallace of Elderslie,' 2 vols., this forming vols. liii. and liv. of Constable's 'Miscellany.' In 1832 he edited and partly wrote 'Whistle-Binkie, or the Piper of the Party,' a collection of humorous songs. In 1833 he accepted the full editorship of the 'Perth Advertiser,' but quarrelled with the managing committee in a year, and in February 1834 started the 'Kilmarnock Journal.' Carrick again fell out with the proprietors, and was attacked by paralysis of the mouth; in 1835 he returned to Glasgow, his health completely shattered. He edited and contributed to the 'Laird of Logan,' a collection of Scotch tales and witticism, which appeared in 1835. From Rothesay he contributed some papers to the 'Scottish Monthly Magazine,' and announced a new work, 'Tales of the Bannock Men;' but he died 17 Aug. 1837, aged 50. A comedy was left by him in manuscript, with the title 'Logan House, or the Laird at Home.' A new edition of the 'Laird of Logan,' accompanied by an anonymous 'Biographical Sketch,' came out in 1841; and 'Whistle-Binkie' has appeared in numerous issues in 1838, 1839, 1842, 1845, 1846, 1853, and as late as 1878, much enlarged.

[Biographical Sketch to the Laird of Logan, ed. 1841, pp. 9-12, 14, 20-23, 26, 27; Preface to Carrick's Life of Sir William Wallace of Elderslie, ed. 1830, p. vi.] J. H.

**CARRICK, THOMAS** (1802-1875), miniature painter, was born on 4 July 1802 at Upperley, near Carlisle in Cumberland. He was the second child of John Carrick,

cotton-mill owner of that city, by his wife, Mary Anderson. He was educated at the Carlisle grammar school, and by his uncle, the Rev. John Topping. As an artist Carrick was entirely self-taught; his skill in portraiture was evidenced at an extraordinarily early age. Having quarrelled with one of the members of his family, he suddenly quitted his home, and was taken into the employment of a chemist in Carlisle named Brunel, who soon began to take great interest in his advancement. Carrick eventually became himself a chemist in his native city. His heart was so entirely given over to painting, however, that he much neglected his business. He had been painting miniatures for several years before he had ever seen a miniature from any hand but his own. The first that then came under his notice was one from the easel of Sir William Charles Ross. Carrick had already painted the likenesses of many well-known persons in the north country; among these was Charles Kean when he was just beginning to win popularity as a provincial actor. Carrick in 1829 married Mary Mulcaster, by whom he had five children. Being by that time in thoroughly good repute at Carlisle as a miniature painter, he soon afterwards gave up his business, and in 1836 moved to Newcastle-upon-Tyne. In November 1839 he removed with his family to London. Two years afterwards he began to exhibit at the Royal Academy. Among his most remarkable sitters were Sir Robert Peel and Lord John Russell, the poets Rogers and Wordsworth, Caroline Norton and Eliza Cook, Farren and Macready, Lablache and Longfellow. He was painting at the same time (in the early part of 1844) Daniel O'Connell, Blomfield the bishop of London, and Robert Owen the socialist. His vivacity as a conversationalist, and his store of anecdotes, enabled him to awaken the interest of his sitters and seize the characteristic expression. His miniature of Thomas Carlyle was notable as one of his most brilliant successes; yet while it was in progress Mrs. Carlyle more than once exclaimed that she was sure it would never be like her husband, seeing that she had never heard him laugh so much or so heartily as when he was sitting to Mr. Carrick. Carrick was simple-minded and unambitious. Though more than once offered an associateship in the Royal Academy, he invariably declined it. From 1841 to 1866 he annually exhibited the full number, eight, of his miniatures. Photography having virtually annihilated the art of miniature painting, Carrick in 1868 abandoned his profession, and withdrew to Newcastle. There, seven years later, he died on 31 July 1875. Thirty

years previously the prince consort had presented him with a medal in reward for his invention of painting miniatures on marble. Immediately before the close of his career in the metropolis the Royal Academy awarded him the Turner annuity, which just then happened to be vacant.

[Personal knowledge; memoranda by Carrick's daughter, Isabel Allom; Royal Academy Catalogues, 1841-66.] C. K.

**CARRIER, BENJAMIN.** [See **CARRIER.**]

**CARRINGTON, SIR CODRINGTON EDMUND** (1769-1849), chief justice of Ceylon, was descended from an old Norman family, one of whom, Sir Michel de Carrington, was standard-bearer to Richard Cœur-de-Lion. The family at an early period settled at Carrington in Cheshire, but a branch afterwards emigrated to Barbadoes. Codrington was the son of Codrington Carrington, of the Blackmoor estate in that island, and the eldest daughter of the Rev. Edmund Morris, rector of Nutshalling, the friend of Lady Hervey, and was born at Longwood, Hampshire, on 22 Oct. 1769. He was educated at Winchester school and called to the bar at the Middle Temple on 10 Feb. 1792. In the same year he went to India, where, being admitted an advocate of the supreme court of judicature, he for some time acted at Calcutta as junior counsel to the East India Company, and made the acquaintance of Sir William Jones. He returned on account of his health in 1799, and in 1800, while in England, he was called upon to prepare the code of laws for the island of Ceylon, and shortly afterwards was appointed the first chief justice of the supreme court of judicature thereby created, the honour of knighthood having been conferred on him before he embarked on his outward voyage. In 1806 he was compelled from ill-health to resign his office, and for the same reason had to decline other important colonial appointments. Having purchased an estate in Buckinghamshire, he became a magistrate and deputy-lieutenant of that county, where he acted for many years as chairman of the quarter sessions. He was created D.C.L. and elected F.R.S., F.S.A., and honorary member of the Société Française Statistique Universelle. On the occasion of the Manchester riots he published in 1819 an 'Inquiry into the Law relative to Public Assemblies of the People,' and he was also the author of a 'Letter to the Marquis of Buckingham on the Condition of Prisons,' 1819, and other smaller pamphlets. In June 1826 he was returned to parliament for St.

Mawes, which he continued to represent till 1831. During his last years he resided chiefly at St. Helier's, Jersey. He died at Exmouth on 28 Nov. 1849.

[Annual Register for 1850 (xc.), pp. 196-7; information from the family; *Gent. Mag.* 1850, ii. 92-3; *Brit. Mus. Catalogue.*] T. F. H.

**CARRINGTON, FREDERICK GEORGE** (1816-1864), journalist, was the third son of Noel Thomas Carrington [q. v.], and was about fourteen years of age at the time of his father's death. He was placed under the protection of his eldest brother, Mr. Henry E. Carrington, the proprietor of the 'Bath Chronicle,' and devoted the literary talent of which he showed early promise to journalistic literature. He was principally engaged in contributions to the West of England journals, such as the 'Bath Chronicle,' 'Felix Farley's Bristol Journal,' the 'Cornwall Gazette,' the 'West of England Conservative,' the 'Bristol Mirror,' the 'Gloucester Journal,' and the 'Gloucestershire Chronicle.' He was for several years both editor and proprietor of the last-named paper. He also contributed to various magazines, and wrote treatises on 'Architecture' and 'Painting' for the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. To the eighth edition of the 'Encyclopædia Britannica' he supplied the topographical descriptions of Gloucestershire and other counties. He died at Gloucester on 1 Feb. 1864, aged forty-seven, and was buried in the cemetery at that place. He left a wife and six children.

[*Gent. Mag.* 1864, xvi. (3rd ser.) 535; *Gloucestershire Chronicle*, 6 Feb. 1864.] L. C.

**CARRINGTON, LORD** (1617-1679). [See **PRIMROSE, SIR ARCHIBALD.**]

**CARRINGTON, LORD** (d. 1838). [See **SMITH, ROBERT.**]

**CARRINGTON, NOEL THOMAS** (1777-1830), Devonshire poet, was the son of a retail grocer at Plymouth, where he was born in 1777. Shortly after his birth his parents removed to Plymouth Dock, and for some time he was employed as a clerk in the Plymouth dockyard, but he found the occupation so irksome that he entered as a seaman on board a man-of-war. In this capacity he was present at the defeat of the Spanish fleet off Cape St. Vincent by Sir John Jervis 14 July 1797. After his term of service expired he settled at Maidstone, Kent, where for five years he taught a public school. In 1809, at the solicitation of several friends, he established a private academy at Plymouth Dock,

which he conducted without intermission until six months before his death, 2 Sept. 1830. At an early period of his life Carrington began to contribute occasional pieces in verse to the London and provincial papers. His poems are chiefly descriptive of the scenery and traditions of his native county, and are characterised by no small literary grace, although without striking individuality in matter or manner. In 1820 he published separately 'The Banks of the Tamar,' and in 1826 'Dartmoor.' His collected poems, with a short memoir prefixed, appeared posthumously in two volumes in 1831.

[Memoir prefixed to his Collected Poems; Gent. Mag. ci. pt. i. 276-9; Brit. Mus. Cat.]  
T. F. H.

CARRINGTON, RICHARD CHRISTOPHER (1826-1875), astronomer, second son of Richard Carrington, the proprietor of a large brewery at Brentford, was born at Chelsea on 26 May 1826. He entered Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1844; but, though destined for the church, rather by his father's than by his own desire, his scientific tendencies gradually prevailed, and received a final impulse towards practical astronomy from Professor Challis's lectures on the subject. This change in the purpose of his life was unopposed, and he had the prospect of ample means; so that it was purely with the object of gaining experience that he applied, shortly after taking his degree as thirty-sixth wrangler in 1848, for the post of observer in the university of Durham. He entered upon his duties there in October 1849, but soon became dissatisfied with their narrow scope. The observatory was ill supplied with instruments, and the leisure left him for study served only to widen his aims. Bessel's and Argelander's star-zones, above all, struck him as a model for imitation, and he resolved to complete by extending them to the Pole. Desirous of advancing so far beyond his predecessors as to include in his survey stars of the tenth magnitude, he vainly applied for a suitable instrument, and at last, hopeless of accomplishing any part of his design at Durham, or of benefiting by any further stay, he resigned his position there in March 1852. He had not, however, been idle. Some of his observations, especially of minor planets and comets, made with a Fraunhofer equatoreal of  $6\frac{1}{2}$  inches aperture, had been published, in a provisional state, in the 'Monthly Notices' and 'Astronomische Nachrichten,' and the whole were definitively embodied in a volume entitled 'Results of Astronomical Observations made at the Observatory of the University, Durham, from October 1849 to April 1852' (Durham, 1855).

His admission as a member of the Royal Astronomical Society, 14 March 1851, conveyed a prompt recognition of his exceptional merits as an observer.

In June 1852 he fixed upon a site for an observatory and dwelling-house at Red Hill, near Reigate, Surrey. In July 1853 a transit-circle of  $5\frac{1}{2}$  feet focus, reduced in scale from the Greenwich model, and an equatoreal of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches aperture, both by Simms, were in their places, and work was begun. Already, 9 Dec. 1853, Carrington presented to the Astronomical Society, as the result of a preliminary survey, printed copies of nine draft maps, containing all stars down to the eleventh magnitude within  $9^\circ$  of the Pole (*Monthly Notices*, xiv. 40). Three years' steady pursuance of the adopted plan produced, in 1857, 'A Catalogue of 3,735 Circumpolar Stars observed at Redhill in the years 1854, 1855, and 1856, and reduced to Mean Positions for 1855.' The work was printed at public expense, the decision to that effect of the lords of the admiralty rendering unnecessary the acceptance of Leverrier's handsome offer to include it in the next forthcoming volume of the 'Annales' of the Paris observatory. It was rewarded with the gold medal of the Royal Astronomical Society, in presenting which, 11 Feb. 1859, Mr. Main dwelt upon the eminent utility of the design, as well as the 'standard excellence' of its execution (*ib.* xix. 162). It included a laborious comparison of Schwed's places for 680 stars with those obtained at Redhill, and an elaborate dissertation on the whole theory of corrections as applied to stars near the pole. Ten corresponding maps, copper-engraved, accompanied the catalogue.

Meanwhile Carrington had adopted, and was cultivating with his usual felicity of treatment, a 'second subject' at that juncture of peculiar interest and importance. While his new observatory was in course of construction, he devoted some of his spare time to examining the drawings and records of sun-spots in possession of the Astronomical Society, and was much struck with the need and scarcity of systematic solar observations. Sabine's and Wolf's discovery of the coincidence between the magnetic and sun-spot periods had just then been announced, and he believed he should be able to take advantage of the pre-occupation or inability of other observers to appropriate to himself, by 'close and methodical research,' the next ensuing eleven-year cycle. He accordingly resolved to devote his daylight energies to the sun, while reserving his nights for the stars. Solar physics as a whole, however, he prudently excluded from his field of view.

He limited his task to fixing the true period of the sun's rotation (of which curiously discrepant values had been obtained), to tracing the laws of distribution of maculæ, and investigating the existence of permanent surface-currents. Adequately to compass these ends, new devices of observation, reduction, and comparison were required. Leaving photography to his successors as too undeveloped for immediate use, he chose a method founded on the idea of making the solar disc its own circular micrometer. An image of the sun was thrown upon a screen placed at such a distance from the eyepiece of the 44-inch equatorial as to give to the disc a diameter of 12 to 14 inches. In the focus of the telescope, which was firmly clamped, two bars of flattened gold wire were fastened at right angles to each other, and inclined about  $45^\circ$  on either side of the meridian. Then, as the inverted image traversed the screen, the instants of contact with the wires of the sun's limbs and of the spot-nucleus to be measured were severally noted, when an easy calculation gave its heliocentric position (*ib.* xiv. 153).

In this manner, during seven and a half years, 5,290 observations were made of 954 separate groups, many of which were besides accurately depicted in drawings. By the sudden death of his father, however, in July 1853, and the consequent devolution upon Carrington of the management of the brewery, the complete execution of his project of research was frustrated. He continued for some time to supervise the solar work he had previously carried on in person; but in March 1861, seeing no prospect of release from commercial engagements, he thought it advisable to close the series. The results appeared in a 4to volume, the publication of which was aided by a grant from the Royal Society. Its title ran as follows: 'Observations of the Spots on the Sun from November 9, 1853, to March 24, 1861, made at Redhill' (London, 1863). Never were data more opportunely furnished. Perhaps more effectually than the pronouncements of spectrum analysis, they served to revolutionise ideas on solar physics.

Efforts to ascertain the true rate of solar rotation had been continually baffled by what were called the 'proper motions' of the spots serving as indexes to it. Carrington showed that these were in reality due to a great 'bodily drift' of the photosphere, diminishing apparently from the equator to the poles (*ib.* xix. 81). There was, then, no single period ascertainable through observations of the solar surface. By equatorial spots the circuit was found to be performed in about

two and a half days less than by spots at the (ordinarily) extreme north and south limits of  $45^\circ$ . The assumed 'mean period' of 25.38 solar days applied, in fact, only to two zones  $14^\circ$  from the equator; nearer to it the time of rotation was shorter, further from it longer, than the average. Carrington succeeded in representing the daily movement of a spot in any heliographical latitude  $l$ , by the empirical expression  $865' \pm 165 \cdot \sin \frac{1}{2} (l - 1^\circ)$ . But he attempted no explanation of the phenomenon. It formed, however, the basis of Faye's theory (1865) of the sun as a gaseous body ploughed through by vertical currents, which finally superseded Herschel's idea of a flame-enveloped, but cool, dark, and even habitable globe.

Carrington's determinations of the elements of the sun's rotation are still of standard authority. The inclination of the solar equator to the plane of the ecliptic he fixed at  $7^\circ 15'$ ; the longitude of the ascending node at  $73^\circ 40'$  (both for 1850). A curious peculiarity in the distribution of sun-spots detected by him about the time of the minimum of 1856, afforded, as he said, 'an instructive instance of the regular irregularity and the irregular regularity' characterising solar phenomena (*ib.* xix. 1). As the minimum approached, the belts of disturbance gradually contracted towards and died out near the equator; shortly after which two fresh series broke out, as if by a completely new impulse, in comparatively high latitudes, and spread equatorially. No satisfactory rationale of this curious procedure has yet been arrived at. It is, nevertheless, intimately related to the course of sun-spot development, since Wolf found evidence of a similar behaviour in Böhm's observations of 1833-6, and it was perceived by Spörer and Secchi to recur in 1867.

While still in his apprenticeship at Durham, Carrington repaired to Sweden on the occasion of the total solar eclipse of 28 July 1851, and made at Lilla Edet, on the Göta river, observations printed in the Royal Astronomical Society's 'Memoirs' (xxi. 58). The experience thus gained was turned to public account in the compilation of 'Information and Suggestions addressed to Persons who may be able to place themselves within the Shadow of the Total Eclipse of the Sun on September 7, 1858,' a brochure printed and circulated by the lords of the admiralty in May 1858. The eclipse to which it referred was visible in South America. Besides his friend, Mr. Hodgson, he was the sole witness of the extraordinary solar outburst of 1 Sept. 1859. His account of an observation memorable in the history of solar

physics is contained in the 'Monthly Notices' for November 1859 (xx. 13). A visit to the continent in 1856 gave him the opportunity of drawing up a valuable report on the condition of a number of German observatories (*Monthly Notices*, xvii. 43), and of visiting Schwabe at Dessau, to whose merits he drew explicit attention, and to whom, in the following year, he had the pleasure of transmitting the Astronomical Society's gold medal. He fulfilled with great diligence the duties of secretary to that body, 1857-62, and was elected a fellow of the Royal Society on 7 June 1860.

But the lease by which he held his powers of useful work was unhappily running out. A severe attack of illness in 1865 left his health permanently impaired, and, having disposed of the brewery, he retired to Churt, Surrey, where, on the top of an isolated conical hill, 60 feet high, locally known as the Middle Devil's Jump, in a lonely and picturesque spot, he built a new observatory (*ib.* xxx. 43). Its chief instrument was a large altazimuth on Steinheil's principle, but there are no records of observations made with it. He no longer attended the meetings of the Astronomical Society, and his last communication to it, 10 Jan. 1873, was on the subject of a 'double altazimuth' of great size which he had thoughts of erecting (*ib.* xxxiii. 118). A deplorable tragedy, however, supervened. On the morning of 17 Nov. 1875 Mrs. Carrington was found dead in her bed, as it seemed, through an overdose of chloral. The event, combined perhaps with the censure on a supposed deficiency of proper nursing precautions conveyed by the verdict of the coroner's jury, told heavily on her husband's spirits. He left his house on the day of the inquest, and returned to it after a week's absence, only to find it deserted by his servants. He was seen to enter it, 27 Nov., but was never again seen alive. After a time some neighbour gave the alarm, the doors were broken open, and his dead body was found extended on a mattress locked into a remote apartment. A poultice of tea-leaves was tied over the left ear, as if for the relief of pain, and a post-mortem examination showed death to have resulted from an effusion of blood on the brain. A verdict of 'sudden death from natural causes' was returned. Thus closed a life which had not yet lasted fifty years, and held the promise of even more than it had already performed.

Carrington's manuscript books of sun-spot observations and reductions, with a folio volume of drawings, were purchased after his death by Lord Lindsay (now Earl of Crawford), and presented to the Royal As-

tronomical Society (*ib.* xxxvi. 249). To the same body Carrington bequeathed a sum of 2,000*l.* Among his numerous contributions to scientific collections may be mentioned a paper 'On the Distribution of the Perihelia of the Parabolic and Hyperbolic Comets in relation to the Motion of the Solar System in Space,' read before the Astronomical Society, 14 Dec. 1860 (*Mem. R. A. Soc.* xxix. 355). The result, like that of Mohn's contemporaneous investigation, proved negative, and was thought to be, through uncontrolled conditions, nugatory; yet it perhaps conveyed an important truth as to the original connection of comets with our system.

[*Monthly Notices*, xiv. 13, xviii. 23, 109, xix. 140, 161, xxxvi. 137; *Mem. R. A. Soc.* xxvii. 139; *Times*, 22 Nov. and 7 Dec. 1875; *R. Soc. Cat. Sc. Papers*, vols. i. and vii.; *Introductions to Works.*]

**CARROLL, ANTHONY** (1722-1794), jesuit, born in Ireland on 16 Sept. 1722, entered the Society of Jesus at Watten, near St. Omer, in 1744, and was professed of the four vows in 1762. He had been sent to the English mission about 1754, and for some time he was stationed at Lincoln. After the suppression of the order in 1773 he accompanied his cousin, Father John Carroll (afterwards the first archbishop of Baltimore), to Maryland. Returning to England in 1775, he served the missions of Liverpool, Shepton Mallet, Exeter, and Worcester. On 5 Sept. 1794 he was knocked down and robbed in Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, London, and carried speechless to St. Bartholomew's Hospital, where he died at one o'clock the following morning. He translated some of Bourdaloue's sermons under the title of 'Practical Divinity,' 4 vols., London, 1776, 8vo.

[*Foley's Records*, vii. 117; *Gent. Mag.* lxiv. (ii.) 1055; *Oliver's Jesuit Collections*, 239; *Oliver's Catholic Religion in Cornwall*, 259; *Backer's Bibl. des Écrivains de la Compagnie de Jésus* (1869), 1095.] T. C.

**CARRUTHERS, ANDREW** (1770-1852), Scotch catholic prelate, was born at Glenmillan, near New Abbey in the stewartry of Kirkcudbright, on 7 Feb. 1770. He studied for six years in the Scotch college at Douay, whence he returned to Scotland on the outbreak of the French revolution. After a short time spent in superintending the studies at the seminary of Sealan, he was sent to complete his theology at Aberdeen under the direction of the Rev. John Farquharson, late principal of the Scotch college at Douay, and he was advanced to the priesthood in 1795. He was stationed first at Balloch,



near Drummond Castle, in Perthshire, then at Traquair in Peeblesshire, and afterwards at Munches and at Dalbeattie in his native county. In 1832 he was made vicar-apostolic of the eastern district of Scotland, and consecrated at Edinburgh as bishop of Ceramis, *in partibus infidelium*, on 13 Jan. 1833. He died at Dundee on 24 May 1852.

[Gordon's Catholic Church in Scotland, 474, with portrait; Catholic Directory (1886), 61; Dick's Reasons for embracing the Catholic Faith (1848).] T. C.

**CARRUTHERS, JAMES (1759-1832)**, historian, brother of Bishop Andrew Carruthers [q. v.], was a native of New Abbey in the stewartry of Kirkcudbright. He was educated in the Scotch college at Douay, and on his return to Scotland was ordained priest and appointed to the extensive charge of Glenlivet. Afterwards he was stationed successively at Buchan in Aberdeenshire, at Presholme in the Enzie, at Dumfries, and at New Abbey, where he died on 14 Feb. 1832. He wrote: 1. 'The History of Scotland from the earliest period of the Scottish Monarchy to the Accession of the Stewart Family, interspersed with Synoptical Reviews of Politics, Literature, and Religion throughout the World,' 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1826, 8vo. 2. 'The History of Scotland during the reign of Queen Mary until the accession of her son James to the crown of England,' Edinburgh, 1831, 8vo.

[Catholic Magazine and Review (Birmingham, 1832), ii. 379; Edinburgh Catholic Magazine (1832-3), i. 24; Gordon's Catholic Church in Scotland, 533.] T. C.

**CARRUTHERS, ROBERT (1799-1878)**, miscellaneous writer, born at Dumfries 5 Nov. 1799, was the son of a small farmer in the parish of Mousewald. He received only a scanty education, and was early apprenticed to a bookseller in Dumfries. He showed, however, a taste for literature, which procured him the regard of McDiarmid, the well-known editor of the 'Dumfries Courier.' His apprenticeship over, he removed to Huntingdon as master of the national school, and there he wrote and published what remains the only 'History of Huntingdon' (1824), for which the corporation of the borough placed its records at his disposal. In 1827 appeared anonymously his selections from Milton's prose works, 'The Poetry of Milton's Prose.' In 1828, on the recommendation of McDiarmid, he was appointed editor of the 'Inverness Courier,' which he made the most popular journal in the north of Scotland by the attention which he gave in it, not only to the material interests of the

highlands, but to their antiquities and social history. In 1831 he became the proprietor of the 'Courier,' which he conducted on moderate liberal principles. In 1843 he published selections from his contributions to it, 'The Highland Note-book, or Sketches and Anecdotes.' In its columns appeared the 'Letters on the Fisheries,' the work which first made Hugh Miller known, and Carruthers otherwise befriended Miller. In 1851 appeared in the 'National Illustrated Library' his edition of Boswell's 'Journal of a Tour in the Hebrides,' with useful notes upon the places and persons mentioned. In the 'National Illustrated Library' also appeared in 1853 Carruthers's edition of 'The Poetical Works of Alexander Pope,' in four volumes, the first of which contained a memoir of Pope, with extracts from his correspondence. The memoir, much enlarged and partly rewritten, was published in 1857, in Bohn's 'Illustrated Library,' as 'The Life of Alexander Pope, with Extracts from his Correspondence,' and in the same library appeared in 1858 a revised edition of the 'Poems.' Carruthers is best known as editor and biographer of Pope. To the variorum notes in the edition of the 'Poems' he added many of his own, with some of George Steevens and Wilkes not previously printed. Even the first edition of the 'Life' was fuller than any previous one, and was enriched by interesting extracts from Pope's correspondence with Teresa and Martha Blount preserved at Mapledurham, which Carruthers had been permitted to examine, a privilege enjoyed by no other person then living. A second examination of this correspondence and the publication in the interval of some of the results of Mr. Dilke's researches into Pope's biography enabled him to correct in the edition of 1857 grave errors of his own and of others.

In 1843-4 was issued the Messrs. Chambers's 'Cyclopædia of English Literature,' in which most of the original matter was written by Carruthers, co-operating with Robert Chambers; the third edition, 1876, was 'originally edited by Robert Chambers, revised by Robert Carruthers.' For the same publishers he edited, nominally in conjunction with William Chambers, their Bowdlerised 'Household Edition' of Shakespeare, 1861-3. To the third edition of Robert Chambers's 'Life of Sir Walter Scott,' 1871, Carruthers furnished an appendix of interesting 'Abbotsford Notanda, or Sir Walter Scott and his Factor,' containing letters and reminiscences of Scott from the correspondence and papers of William Laidlaw, Scott's factor and amanuensis at Abbotsford, reprinted from 'Chambers's Journal' and the 'Gentleman's Magazine.' Carruthers

was also a contributor to the 'North British Review,' and wrote for the eighth edition of the 'Encyclopædia Britannica' a number of biographies, among them those of Queen Elizabeth, William Penn, Lord Jeffrey, and the Ettrick Shepherd. He wrote the memoir of Falconer prefixed to the 'Shipwreck' (1858 and 1868), and of James Montgomery (1860) and Gray (1876) prefixed to editions of their poems. He delivered several series of lectures before the Edinburgh Philosophical Institution. In April 1871 he received the degree of LL.D. from the university of Edinburgh, and in the November of the same year he was entertained at a public banquet, when he was presented with a portrait and bust of himself.

Carruthers was the friend or correspondent of several of his eminent contemporaries. Rogers furnished him with some material for his edition of Pope, and Macaulay asked for and received from him on highland matters information which was duly acknowledged in the 'History.' When Thackeray visited Inverness to lecture on the Four Georges, the acquaintance which he made with Carruthers, who is said to have resembled him in face, ripened into considerable intimacy. Carruthers died at Inverness on 26 May 1878, busy to the last with the newspaper which he had edited for more than half a century. His fellow-townsmen honoured him with a public funeral.

[Carruthers's writings; obituary notices in the Inverness Courier of 30 May and in the Scotsman of 28 May 1878.] F. E.

**CARSE, ALEXANDER** (fl. 1812-1820), painter, was a native of Edinburgh, where he enjoyed a good reputation as a painter. About 1812 he came to London, and in the ensuing years exhibited several pictures at the Royal Academy and at the British Institution. His pictures chiefly represented scenes from Scottish domestic life, often of a humorous character. His colouring and drawing met with very favourable criticism. He resided for some years in Grenville Street, Somers Town, but seems about 1820 to have returned to Edinburgh, where he continued to paint for some years. He is sometimes described as 'Old Carse,' which seems to point to his being the father of William Carse [q. v.]. The date of his death has not been ascertained. A picture by him has recently been presented to the Scottish National Gallery.

[Graves's Dict. of Artists; Catalogues of the Royal Academy and the British Institution; Annals of the Fine Arts, i. 423, ii. 44; information from Mr. J. M. Gray.] L. C.

**CARSE, WILLIAM** (fl. 1818-1845), painter, was a native of Edinburgh, and seems to have been the son of Alexander Carse [q. v.]. In 1818 he was a student at the British Institution, and resided with Alexander Carse at Grenville Street, Somers Town. His first pictures were cattle pieces in the style of Paul Potter, but later he devoted himself to subject pictures, chiefly scenes from lowly Scottish life. In the years 1820-9 he exhibited pictures at the Royal Academy, the British Institution, and the Suffolk Street Exhibition. During the latter part of his residence in London he resided in Southampton Crescent, Euston Square. About 1830 he returned to Edinburgh, and exhibited pictures in the Royal Scottish Academy up to 1845, after which date he cannot be traced.

[Graves's Dict. of Artists; Catalogues of the Royal Academy and the British Institution; Annals of the Fine Arts, iii. 598; information from Mr. J. M. Gray.] L. C.

**CARSEWELL, JOHN** (fl. 1560-1572), bishop of the Isles, was in his earlier years chaplain to the Earl of Argyll and rector of Kilmartin. When the assembly of the kirk, on 20 July 1560, appointed superintendents of the various districts of Scotland, Carsewell was appointed superintendent of Argyll and the Isles (KNOX, *Works*, ii. 87; CALDERWOOD, *History*, ii. 11). He was also dean of the Chapel Royal of Stirling (KEITH, *History*, Appendix, p. 128). In his capacity of superintendent of Argyll he was appointed by the assembly, in 1567, to 'take satisfaction' from Argyll for separation from his wife, and for 'other heinous offences' (CALDERWOOD, ii. 397). In July 1569 he was rebuked by the assembly for accepting the bishopric of the Isles, and for attending a parliament 'holden by the queen after the murder of the king' (*ib.* ii. 491). He died some time before 20 Sept. 1572.

[Keith's Scottish Bishops, 307-8; Calderwood's History of the Church of Scotland, vols. ii. and iii.] T. F. H.

**CARSON, AGLIONBY ROSS** (1780-1850), classical scholar and rector of the high school of Edinburgh, was born at Holywood, Dumfriesshire, in 1780. He was educated at Wallace Hall endowed school, in the parish of Closeburn, and at the university of Edinburgh, which he entered in 1797. In 1801 he was elected rector of the grammar school of Dumfries, and in 1806 a classical master of the high school of Edinburgh, of which he became rector in 1820. In 1826 he received the degree of LL.D. from the university of

St. Andrews. On account of failing health he resigned the rectorship of the high school 9 Oct. 1845, and he died at Edinburgh 4 Nov. 1850. He was the author of a work on 'The Relative, Qui, Quæ, Quod,' and published editions of 'Mair's Introduction,' 'Turner's Grammatical Exercises,' 'Phædrus,' and 'Taccitus.' He was also a contributor to the 'Classical Journal,' the 'Scottish Review,' and the 'Encyclopædia Britannica.' His portrait by Sir John Watson Gordon is in the hall of the high school.

[Steven's History of the High School; Anderson's Scottish Nation.] T. F. H.

**CARSON, ALEXANDER (1776-1844),** baptist minister, was born near Stewartstown, co. Tyrone, in 1776. His parents were Scottish Calvinistic presbyterians, settled in Ireland, who consecrated their son to the ministry at an early age. He was sent to a classical school, and afterwards to the university of Glasgow, where he made himself a good Greek scholar—"the first scholar of his time," says Robert Haldane. He proceeded B.A. and M.A. At twenty-two he was ordained pastor of the presbyterian congregation at Tobermore, near Coleraine. His rigid Calvinism caused a disagreement with his hearers, who inclined to Arrianism. After a time Carson resigned the pastorate, shook off the shackles of presbyterianism, and published his 'Reasons for Separating' in 1804. Part of his congregation followed him. For some years he preached in barns and in the open air. In 1814 they built a small meeting-house, in which he devotedly laboured for thirty years. In the intervals of his ministry he employed his pen in vindicating the principles of his belief, and published books on biblical interpretation, Transubstantiation, the Trinity, &c. In 1827 he had a sharp controversy with Samuel Lee, professor of Hebrew at Cambridge, and published a book entitled 'The Incompetency of Prof. Lee for translating the Holy Scriptures,' followed by a reply to Lee's answer. In attempting to refute Haldane's 'New Views of Baptism' he converted himself, and afterwards published (1831) a book on 'Baptism, its Mode and Subjects.' Of this he printed an enlarged edition in 1844; it was subscribed for by four hundred baptist ministers. The whole impression was rapidly disposed of, and a new edition of ten thousand copies called for. By his writings and the publication of his books Carson became widely known; and so much were they esteemed in America that two universities simultaneously bestowed upon him the honorary degree of LL.D. He also became well known nearer home by travelling through

most of the English counties, preaching as he went on behalf of baptist missions. Returning from his last tour in 1844, while waiting at Liverpool for the steamer to Belfast, he fell over the edge of the quay, dislocated his shoulder, and was nearly drowned. He was rescued and taken to the steamer; but on his arrival at Belfast he was unable to proceed further, and after eight days he died, on 24 Aug. 1844, in the sixty-eighth year of his age. His remains were removed to 'Solitude,' his residence near Tobermore, and buried near the chapel where he had preached, and where six months before he had buried his wife. A collection of Carson's works has since been printed in six stout volumes. At the end of the sixth volume is a copious collection of extracts from sixteen different notices of Carson and his writings, in which he is said to be a second Jonathan Edwards, and the first biblical critic of the nineteenth century.

[Coleraine Chronicle, 24 and 31 Aug. 1844; Baptist Magazine, 1844, pp. 185-91, 525; G. C. Moore's Life of Alexander Carson, 1851; Douglas's Biographical Sketch of Alexander Carson, 1884.] J. H. T.

**CARSON, JAMES, M.D. (1772-1843),** physician, a Scotchman, was originally educated for the ministry, but his inclination leading him to the study of physic, he attended medical classes at Edinburgh, and graduated doctor of medicine there in the autumn of 1799 (inaugural essay, 'De Viribus quibus Sanguis circumvehitur'). He then removed to Liverpool, where he remained for the greater part of his professional career. In 1808 his name came prominently before the public in connection with the case of Charles Angus, a Liverpool merchant, who was charged with the murder of Miss Margaret Burns under what appeared to be circumstances of peculiar atrocity. At the trial held at Lancaster assizes on 2 Sept. of that year Carson in Angus's behalf stoutly maintained his opinion as to the cause of death against that of the four medical witnesses called for the crown, among whom was Dr. John Bostock the younger [q. v.] In the result a verdict of 'not guilty' was returned. Some angry pamphleteering ensued, and Carson defended himself in 'Remarks on a late Publication entitled "A Vindication of the Opinions delivered in Evidence by the Medical Witnesses for the Crown on a late Trial at Lancaster,"' 8vo, Liverpool, 1808. He continued at Liverpool, and subsequently held several appointments there. He died at Sutton, Surrey, 12 Aug. 1843 (*Annual Register*, 1843, p. 286). He was elected a fellow of the Royal Society

on 1 June 1837, having many years previously communicated a paper 'On the Elasticity of the Lungs' (*Phil. Trans.* cx. 29-44). Carson's other writings are: 1. 'Reasons for colonizing the Island of Newfoundland,' 8vo, 1813. 2. 'A Letter to the Members of Parliament on the Address of the Inhabitants of Newfoundland to the Prince Regent,' 8vo, 1813. 3. 'An Enquiry into the Causes of the Motion of the Blood,' 8vo, Liverpool, 1815 (second and enlarged edition under the title of 'An Inquiry into the Causes of Respiration,' &c., 8vo, London, 1833). 4. 'A New Method of slaughtering Animals for Human Food,' 8vo, London, 1839.

[Dict. of Living Authors, 1816, p. 56; Brit. Mus. Cat.] G. G.

**CARSTARES, WILLIAM** (1649-1715), Scottish statesman and divine, was the eldest of nine children of John Carstares, minister of Cathcart, near Glasgow, where William was born on 11 Feb. 1649, and Janet Mure of Glanderston, a branch of the Mures of Caldwell. His father, who had been at the battle of Dunbar, where he was taken prisoner by Cromwell, was exchanged soon after for a prisoner in the hands of General Leslie, and became conspicuous for his zealous preaching in Glasgow 'against the times,' which, in spite of the presbyterian clergy, had declared themselves in Scotland, as in England, for Cromwell. 'Let the Lord own him for His' is the first notice of William Carstares's existence in a letter from his father to his sister-in-law, Katherine Wood, a few days after the birth of his first-born. He was sent when young to board with Sinclair, the minister of Ormiston in East Lothian, a scholar of repute, in whose family Latin was spoken. In 1663 he entered the college of Edinburgh, where he studied with credit under William Paterson, then regent, and afterwards clerk of the privy council, and graduated in 1667. His father—an ardent Remonstrant, as the party was called which insisted on the acceptance of the covenant and extirpation of prelacy as well as popery by Charles II against the resolutioners, who were content with the recognition of the presbyterian polity—took part in the rising at Rullion Green for which he was forfeited. He had to protect himself by keeping out of the way, hiding probably in the highlands, perhaps in Holland, but the traces of his life are obscure. To Holland, at all events, the safest refuge from the persecution which Scotland suffered, he sent his son. 'William Carstares, Scoto-Britannus,' appears in the 'Students' Album' at Utrecht in 1669, and he was still there in March 1672. He studied Hebrew under Leus-

den, and divinity under Witsius, and was probably ordained in the Dutch church, though the record of his ordination has not been preserved. In Holland he was introduced by the pensionary Fagel to William of Orange, already on the look-out for the ablest instruments to further his designs in Britain. In 1672 he went to London, and two years later, in a letter to his sister Sarah, after expressing disappointment that he had been forced to be so expensive to his parents by his study there, expresses the hope that 'it may be at least in providence I may have some door opened whereby I may be in a capacity to do some little service in my generation, and not always be insignificant in my station; but, alas, what service can I do, in what will God accept from me who have lived for so many years in the world and yet for no end.' His ambition was cut short by his arrest and examination before Lauderdale on no desperate charge, probably on the suspicion that he had a share in distributing a pamphlet entitled 'An Account of Scotland's Grievances by reason of the D. of Lauderdale's Ministrie,' and his connection with the exiles in Holland. Though nothing was proved, his answers were deemed unsatisfactory, and he was sent to Scotland, where he was kept prisoner in Edinburgh Castle without trial for five years. There is a pretty anecdote that a boy of twelve, son of the governor, whose good-will he gained by telling him stories, supplied him with paper, pens, and ink, and carried his letters. He is said to have solaced his captivity by reading the 'History of De Thou.' At last, in August 1679, when Monmouth and James were trying to conciliate the Scotch by clemency, he was released. During the next few years he seems to have lived chiefly in England, but made a visit to Ireland in 1680. On 6 June 1682 he married Elizabeth, daughter of Peter Kekewich of Trehawk in Cornwall. In 1682 and, after a visit to England, again in 1683 he returned to Utrecht, leaving his wife in England. His movements at this time are difficult to trace with accuracy, as was natural, for he was actively engaged in the plots then rife, of which Holland was the centre. He went by the name of 'Mr. Red' in the cipher correspondence of the plotters, but though cognisant of the Rye House plot it did not meet his approval. It was the bolder scheme for a general rising in England and Scotland, of which Shaftesbury, Russell, and Argyll were the leaders, in which he acted as agent. At this time he appears to have visited Scotland, where his brother-in-law, Dunlop, was preparing to escape from the troubles of the times by

emigrating to Carolina, and thence to have gone to London, where, along with Baillie of Jerviswood, Fletcher of Saltoun, and James Stewart of Coltness, he endeavoured to raise money for Argyll's contemplated expedition to Scotland. The necessary money, which Argyll had fixed at 30,000*l.*, was not to be got, and it was thought expedient that Carstares should return to Utrecht. He there had many meetings with both the English and Scotch exiles; but there was a want of unanimity in their counsels, and Carstares advised delay. The discovery of the Rye House plot, which led to the execution of Lord Russell on 21 July, was followed in a few days by the capture of Carstares, who had again crossed the Channel, and was seized at Tenterden in Kent, where he was in hiding under his mother's name of Mure. On his refusal to take the corporation oath and abjure the covenant he was sent to prison, and after a fortnight's imprisonment removed to London, where he was twice examined before a committee of the council. He was thence transmitted to Scotland, as he himself thought, and the event proved, 'because it was judged that violent tortures which the law of England, at least the custom, does not admit of, would force to anything.' On 14 Nov. he was committed to the Tolbooth of Edinburgh. After lying there some time in the hope of a voluntary confession, Spence, one of his associates, was, under torture, forced to name Carstares as participant in Argyll's plot, and the same instrument, the thumbkins, with the threat of the boot, joined with Lord Melfort's assurance that his depositions should not be used against any person, induced him to make a deposition as to his knowledge of the plot. Contrary to the promise embodied in a minute somewhat modified in form, declaring only that Carstares was not to be brought 'as a witness,' the privy council published an abstract, and used it at the trial of Baillie of Jerviswood, who was found guilty and executed. Carstares expostulated, but without any effect, against the breach of faith in using his depositions, and, declining payment of his expenses during imprisonment, returned by way of England to Holland. After a tour in the Low Countries and the Rhine, he settled for a short time at Cleve, and in the winter of 1686-7 at Leyden, where he was appointed second minister of the Scottish congregation and chaplain of William of Orange. He accompanied William in his voyage to Torbay, and conducted the thanksgiving service on the beach where the troops landed. From this time Carstares was seldom long absent from William. He had apartments at court,

and accompanied the king as chaplain in his campaigns. When the jealousy of others attacked him, 'Honest William Carstares' was the only answer the king deigned to make to these detractors. He was nicknamed by the Jacobites 'the cardinal,' and, especially in Scotch affairs, his advice was constantly taken. He had the courage to offer it even when not asked if he deemed it useful to his country's interest. The revolution settlement, by which the Scottish presbyterian church was established, was pre-eminently the result of his counsels. William himself was disposed to favour the episcopal form of church government, or at least some compromise between it and presbyterianism, but Carstares satisfied him that this was impossible. His 'Hints to the King' were founded on the argument that 'the episcopal party were generally disaffected to the revolution . . . whereas the presbyterians had almost to a man declared for it, and were, moreover, the great body of the nation.' Carstares was sent to consult with Lord Melville, the commissioner in Edinburgh, and, having rejoined the king after the victory of the Boyne at the siege of Limerick, returned with him to London. When there the draft of the proposed Scottish Act of Settlement of the church was forwarded by Melville and considered clause by clause by the king and Carstares, who suggested modifications embodied in remarks, which William dictated to him and which were adopted. One of them is a sufficient example of their tendency: 'Whereas it is said their majesties do ratify the presbyterian church government to be "the only government of Christ's church in this kingdom," his majesty deems it may be expressed otherwise, thus: "To be the government of the church in the kingdom established by law."'

On the knotty point of patronage Carstares advised against its abolition, but Melville took the opposite view, and William gave a reluctant assent to the act for repealing patronage.

In 1691 Carstares accompanied William to Flanders. It was at this time that the measures which led to the massacre of Glencoe were determined on, but the only reference to them in Carstares's correspondence is an approval of Lord Breadalbane's scheme to distribute money among the chiefs, so that he appears to be free from the stain which rests on the memory of the Master of Stair and William. The next two years he was again with the king in the Flanders campaigns, and received from him a gift of the ward of Lord Kilmarnock. 'I am apt to think it will have much to do,' he writes

to his brother-in-law Dunlop, the principal of Glasgow, 'to defray two campaigns, but I have a very good master.' In the spring of 1694, having been absent from London when William had agreed to instructions being sent to Scotland for exacting the oaths of allegiance and assurance from all ministers before admitting them to the church courts, and to depose those who refused, Carstares arrived before the messenger was despatched, and is said to have had the courage to countermand him. He immediately went, though it was midnight, to the king's bedchamber at Kensington, asked pardon for what he had done, and after explaining his reasons, founded on the abhorrence of the Scottish clergy to any civil oath, not only obtained it, but was allowed to issue in the king's name an order dispensing with the oaths. Such is the statement of his first biographer and relative, M'Cormick, who derived his information from Mr. Charles McKie, afterwards professor of history in Edinburgh, who lived in Carstares's house during his student years, and though possibly somewhat coloured it is consistent with the characters of both Carstares and William. Carstares was again with William on the continent in 1695-6, and continued to be consulted by him, as his voluminous correspondence shows, on all Scotch business, including the appointment of the officers of state and judges down to his death. He was especially zealous in the interests of the ministers, but all he could procure was a pittance of 1,200*l.* a year, taken from the thirds of the benefices of the church, to be divided among the poor ministers, which it required renewed exertion in the next reign to get paid. He tried to persuade his master, but without effect, to visit Scotland; but he dissuaded him more successfully from the appointment of a permanent council for Scotland in London. Carstares was himself undoubtedly the best councillor a foreign king could have, for he was intimately acquainted with all classes of his countrymen, and gave his advice without fear, favour, or self-interest, regarding only the interests of William and of Scotland. 'As for Mr. Carstares,' William said not long before his death, 'I have known him long, and I know him thoroughly, and I know him to be a truly honest man.'

With the accession of Anne the direct political influence of Carstares ceased, but he was appointed principal of the university of Edinburgh in 1703, and showed his sterling character by devoting himself with equal zeal to the duties of the smaller as of the larger sphere. The large-minded spirit in which he administered the university was

proved by his exertions, to obtain a chair for Calamy, his scheme for the education of English nonconformists under the care of a warden in the university of Edinburgh, and his suggestion that Glasgow should get professors of theology and philosophy from Holland, 'for good men are to be found there.' He revised the statutes of the university, and by his courteous manner proved equally acceptable to the students, professors, and town council, which was then the patron, and regulated the government of the college. It appointed him minister of the Grey Friars' Church, and as the principal's office required him to give lectures on divinity once a week during session, his life must have been a busy one. But though he was respected as a professor and preacher, his talents were those of an administrator and statesman, and he left no works to vindicate his fame as a man of learning. As might be expected, he used his great influence to procure the passage of the Treaty of Union, which had been a favourite project of William. It was chiefly due to him that the opposition of the presbyterian clergy was overcome. An anonymous letter, supposed to be from a member of the cabinet, declared that 'the union could never have had the consent of the Scotch parliament if you had not acted the worthy part you did.'

As a member of the assembly of 1704 he took part in the committee for preparing the forms of process which still, with some modifications, regulate the procedure in the courts of the church. Next year he was elected moderator, and for the first time made a prepared speech on taking the chair, a practice which has been since followed. 'Lord Portland,' writes Lord Seafield to him, 'asked kindly about you. I told him you governed the church, the ministry, and all your old friends here. He said it was a satisfaction to him to know that you and I, in whom King William reposed so great a trust, were still in such consideration in the present reign.'

In the summer after the Act of Union was passed Carstares went to London, where he had an audience with the queen, who thanked him for his services and presented him with one of the silver medals cast in commemoration of it.

Next year (1708) he was again chosen moderator of the assembly, and in his opening address prudently avoided reference to the union, still distasteful to many of his brethren, but directed their attention to the danger of a French invasion in support of 'the pretences of St. Germain.' Calamy, in his 'Autobiography,' gives some interesting particulars of Carstares during his visit in

1709 to Edinburgh to receive the degree of D.D., mentioning the respect with which he was listened to in the assembly, where he was usually 'one of the last to speak and for the most part drew the rest unto his opinion,' his courtesy to opponents, and the 'harmony between the principal and masters of the college, they expressing a veneration for him as a common father, and he a tenderness for them as if they had all been children.' A trifling anecdote indicates his kindly and considerate charity. A poor ejected curate of the episcopal church was persuaded to accept a suit of new clothes Carstares had made for himself, under the pious subterfuge that the tailor had mistaken his measure. But Carstares was a stout presbyterian, and could not show the same charity to the episcopal church, of whose Jacobite leanings he was no doubt honestly afraid. In the affair of Green-shields, the Irish curate who ventured to read the liturgy in Edinburgh in public, for which he was imprisoned by the magistrates, whose decision was affirmed by the Scotch court, though reversed on appeal to the House of Lords, he drafted the address from the assembly to the queen, which though more moderate than some of his brethren desired, asserted the exclusive rights of the presbyterian establishment. In 1711 he was for the third time moderator, an honour without parallel, and in his address answered the charge of persecution of the episcopalians by the quotation, 'Quis tulerit Grachos de seditione querentes?' This assembly, alarmed by the conduct and character of the tory ministry and the queen's supposed favour for the Stuarts, passed an act recommending prayers 'for the Princess Sophia and the protestant house' along with those for the queen. It also passed another requiring a stricter formula of subscription from the clergy. The question of the restoration of patronage having been mooted, Carstares was sent on a deputation to London to protest against it; but in spite of their remonstrances an act for that purpose and another for the toleration of Scots episcopal ministers and the use of the liturgy in Scotland, to which they were equally hostile, were carried in the parliament of 1712. On his return home he counselled moderation to his brethren, whose feelings, heated by these acts, had been brought to a climax by the requirement of the abjuration oath. This oath, under cover of an engagement to support the line of heirs in the English Act of Settlement, by which the monarch must be a member of the English church, was deemed inconsistent with the presbyterian establishment. Carstares set the example of taking

the oath, with a declaration that 'nothing was intended by it inconsistent with the doctrine, worship, discipline, or government of the church established by law,' and he induced the assembly in 1713 to pass an act charging ministers and people to abstain 'from all diverse courses upon occasion of different sentiments and practices about the said oath.' The government appreciated so much his conduct at this dangerous juncture that they consulted him as to who should be named commissioner, and by his advice appointed the Duke of Atholl. On the death of Queen Anne, Carstares was sent on a deputation from the assembly to congratulate George I on his accession, when Carstares made the usual complimentary speech. 'Some allege,' Wodrow writes, when the printed speech had come to Scotland, 'there is too much of compliment and the courtier, and too little of the minister in that to the king.' Since the days of Knox the ideal of the presbyterian minister's address to the sovereign was exhortation and rebuke, not courtesy or ceremony. On his return Carstares was for the last time elected moderator in the assembly of 1715, and during its sittings distinguished himself as usual by conduct worthy of the title of his office. An attack of apoplexy in August ended in his death, which he awaited 'with great peace and serenity,' on 28 Dec. 1715. He was buried in the Grey Friars' churchyard, next to his father's grave, and beside that of Alexander Henderson. His wife was buried in the same place in 1724. They had no children, but Carstares usually had some young relation or friend in his house who was studying at the university. He had a Scotchman's attachment to his kindred, and his letters, especially to his sister, show an affectionate heart not injured by worldly prosperity. A benevolent scheme of his for the support of the deprived nonjurors was ruined through the lukewarmness of the government, who would not grant the necessary funds. In the crowd at his funeral two ejected curates were observed lamenting the loss of their benefactor, who had supported their families out of his own purse. More a statesman than a divine, there has seldom been an ecclesiastic of any church who has taken part in politics with greater honour to himself and advantage to his country than Carstares. A portrait of Carstares by Ackman has often been engraved. Another portrait is in the university of Edinburgh.

[Carstares' State Papers, to which M'Cormick's Memoir is prefixed; Rev. R. H. Story's Life of Carstares; Sir A. Grant's Story of the University of Edinburgh.]

Æ. M.

**CARSWELL, SIR ROBERT** (1793-1857), physician and pathologist, was born at Paisley, Scotland, on 3 Feb. 1793. He studied medicine at the university of Glasgow. While a student he was distinguished for his skill in drawing, and was employed by Dr. John Thompson of Edinburgh to make a collection of drawings illustrating morbid anatomy. In pursuance of this scheme Carswell went to the continent, and spent two years (1822-3) working at the hospitals of Paris and Lyons. He returned to Scotland, and took his degree of M.D. at the Marischal College, Aberdeen, in 1826. After this he went again to Paris, and resumed his studies in morbid anatomy under the celebrated Louis. About 1828 he was nominated by the council of University College, London, professor of pathological anatomy, but before entering on his teaching duties was commissioned to prepare a collection of pathological drawings. He accordingly remained at Paris after receiving this commission till 1831, when he had completed a series of two thousand water-colour drawings of diseased structures. This collection is still preserved at University College. Carswell then came to London and undertook the duties of his professorship. He was in addition appointed at the same time, or soon afterwards, physician to the University College Hospital. He did not, however, at once engage in practice, but occupied himself with the preparation of a great book on pathological anatomy, the plates for which were furnished from his large store of pathological drawings, and put upon the stone by himself. This, the work on which the author's reputation rests, was published in 1837 as 'Illustrations of the Elementary Forms of Disease,' a fine folio, with remarkably well executed coloured plates, which still holds its place as a standard work. The illustrations have, for artistic merit and for fidelity, never been surpassed, while the matter represents the highest point which the science of morbid anatomy had reached before the introduction of the microscope. About 1836 Carswell entered on private practice, but did not meet with much success, and as, in addition, his health was not strong, he was in 1840 induced to resign his professorship, and to accept the appointment of physician to the king of the Belgians. The rest of his life was spent at Lacken, near Brussels, and was occupied in official duties and charitable medical attendance on the poor, but interrupted by several journeys to the south in search of health. Carswell made no further contributions to medical science. He was knighted by Queen Victoria in acknowledgment of his

services to Louis-Philippe when an exile in this country. He married Mlle. Marguerite Chardenot, who survived him, but left no issue. He died on 15 June 1857, after a lingering illness caused by chronic lung disease. Carswell was highly distinguished as a morbid anatomist, and perhaps no such anatomist was ever a better artist. His work has permanent value, and he had considerable influence as a teacher, though the abrupt termination of his scientific career prevented him from taking a leading place in the profession. He wrote, besides his great work: 1. 'On Melanosis' (with W. Cullen), 'Trans. Med.-Chir. Society of Edinburgh,' 1824, p. 264. 2. 'Researches on the Digestion of the Walls of the Stomach after Death,' 'Edinb. Med. and Surg. Journal,' xxxiv. 282, 1830, previously communicated in French to the Académie de Médecine, Paris. 3. In Forbes's 'Cyclopædia of Practical Medicine' the articles: Induration, Melanosis, Mortification, Perforation, Scirrhus, Softening, Tubercle.

[Dictionnaire Encyclopédique des Sciences Médicales (Dechambre), xii. 701 (from communications by the widow, Lady Carswell); Proceedings Royal Med.-Chir. Soc. ii. 52, 1858.] J. F. P.

**CARTE, SAMUEL** (1653-1740), divine and antiquary, born at Coventry in 1653, was educated at the grammar school of that town and at Magdalen College, Oxford. He was vicar of Clifton-upon-Dunsmoor in Warwickshire, and afterwards of St. Martin's, Leicester, and rector of Eastwell, Lincolnshire, and prebendary of Lichfield. He lived to a great age (87), dying on 16 April 1740. He was well known as an antiquary, and a manuscript description by him of the antiquities of Leicester is preserved in the Bodleian, which, however, is said to be but a slight composition. He corresponded with the leading antiquaries of the day, and his assistance is acknowledged by Browne Willis in the preface to his 'Mitred Abbots,' and by J. Throsby in his 'History and Antiquities of Leicester.' He published (1) two sermons in 1694 and 1705. (2) 'Tabula Chronologica Archiepiscopatum et Episcopatum in Anglia et Wallia, ortus, divisiones, translationes, &c., breviter exhibens, una cum indice alphabetica nominum quibus apud autores insigniuntur,' fol., without date.

[Nichols's Illustrations, ii. 471, 726; Lowndes's Bibl. Man.] E. S. S.

**CARTE, THOMAS** (1686-1754), historian, son of Samuel Carte [q. v.], was born at Clifton-upon-Dunsmoor, Warwickshire, where he was baptised by immersion 23 April 1686. He was admitted at Univer-



sity College, Oxford, 8 July 1698, and took his degree of B.A. in 1702. Afterwards he was incorporated at Cambridge, and took his M.A. degree from King's College in 1706. Shortly afterwards he took holy orders, and was appointed reader at the abbey church, Bath, in 1707. In 1712 he is said to have made the tour of Europe, as tutor to a nobleman. He was a strong Jacobite, and his opinions involved him in more than one controversy, and on several occasions got him into trouble with the government. The first of these controversies arose from a sermon preached by him at the abbey church, Bath (when he was reader), on 30 Jan. 1713-14; he then defended Charles I from the common charge of having secretly instigated the Irish rebellion and massacre of 1641. For this he was attacked by Henry Chandler (or Chaundler), father of Samuel Chandler [q.v.], who was a dissenting minister at Bath. Carte's reply was published in May 1714, with the title: 'The Irish Massacre set in a Clear Light;' it is reprinted in the 'Somers Tracts,' iii. 369. Carte, refusing to take the oaths to George I, adopted a lay habit. At the Jacobite rising of 1715 he appears to have been suspected by the government. He concealed himself in the house of a Mr. Badger, curate of Coleshill, and does not seem to have been molested there, for he acted occasionally at Coleshill as a clergyman. His continued connection with the Jacobite party is shown by his intimacy with Atterbury, to whom he is said to have acted as secretary. In his defence before the House of Lords Atterbury denied having seen him, 'except very rarely, for two or three years past.' But the bishop had crossed out this passage in the draft of his speech, and he acknowledges that he obtained a living for his brother, John Carte, from the chapter of Westminster (NICHOLS, *Correspondence of Atterbury*, ii. 140). Atterbury was committed to the Tower 24 Aug. 1722, and in the gazette of the 15th of the same month a proclamation appeared, offering a reward of 1,000*l.* for Carte's apprehension, in which he was described as 'about thirty-two years of age, of a middle stature, a raw-boned man, goes a little stooping, a sallow complexion, with a full grey or blue eye, his eyelids fair, inclining to red, and commonly wears a light-coloured peruke.' The description, however, was declared by Dr. Rawlinson, who knew him, to be quite opposite to the truth. Meanwhile, Carte had escaped to France, where he lived under the name of Phillips, and gaining access to the best libraries, he devoted himself to collecting materials for illustrating a translation of the 'History of Thuanus' (de Thou). These materials were

purchased in 1724 at a considerable price by Dr. Mead for the edition of 'Thuanus' published at his expense in London, in seven folio volumes, in 1733, under the editorship of S. Buckley, and with a Latin address to Mead signed by Carte, who appears also to have made the index for the book. In 1728 Carte was allowed to return to England on the intercession of Queen Caroline. He now devoted himself to an expansion of his early pamphlet, in vindication of Charles I, in regard to the Irish rebellion. This he did in his 'Life of James, Duke of Ormonde,' in 2 vols. fol., 1736, preceded by a third volume in the previous year, containing a collection of original letters of Wentworth, Ormonde, and others connected with Ireland. He labours to prove that the pretended commission given by Charles at Oxford (12 Jan. 1644-5) to Lord Glamorgan (Lord Herbert) for treating with the Irish catholics, was a forgery of Glamorgan's. The book is still of value from the mass of materials which his diligence collected. Yet Dr. Johnson's criticism must be allowed to have some justification: 'The matter is diffused in too many words; there is no animation, no compression, no vigour. Two good volumes in duodecimo might be made out of two in folio' (CROKER, *Boswell*, v. 24, ed. 1859). In a letter to Swift, dated 11 Aug. 1736, on sending him his 'Ormonde,' Carte sketches his plan for his other voluminous work, 'The History of England.' He complains that Rapin had had no knowledge of the documentary sources of English history beyond those published in Rymer's 'Fœdera;' that the Cottonian MSS., the rolls of parliament, and the contents of the Paper Office had been quite neglected by him, and that therefore there was room for a history founded on the study of these. In the midst of his work at this history he had to take action against some Dublin booksellers who were pirating his 'Life of Ormonde.' He found that the only way he had of defeating them was to serve upon them an order of the House of Lords, which had been passed in 1721 in regard to Curil's printing the 'Life and Works of the Duke of Buckingham,' declaring it a breach of the privileges of the house for any one to print an account of the life, the letters, or other works of a deceased peer without the consent of his heirs or executors. This served Carte's immediate purpose, but he exerted himself to obtain a new act of parliament securing an author a property in his works, and in 1737 published 'Further Reasons addressed to Parliament for rendering more effectual an Act of Queen Anne relating to Vesting in Authors the Rights

of Copies, for the Encouragement of Learning. By R. H.' The encouragement that Carte received in preparing his History was extraordinary. In October 1738 he says, in a letter to Dr. Zachary Grey, that he already had 600*l.* a year promised for seven years; that he hoped fifteen Oxford colleges would subscribe (apparently only five did so, see the dedication of vol. i.), and that then he shall try Cambridge. He had, in April of that year (1738), published 'A General Account of the Necessary Material for a History of England, the Society and Subscriptions proposed for the Expenses thereof, and the Method wherein Mr. Carte intends to proceed in carrying on the said Work,' 4to. Later in the same year he went to Cambridge to seek for materials and help. Cambridge is not mentioned in his dedication, and therefore he probably got nothing there of material aid. He was the guest of Sir John Hynde Cotton at Madingley, whose great collection of pamphlets of the period of the great rebellion he reduced to order, and had bound in volumes. The next six years (1738-44) were almost incessantly employed in pushing on his work, much of which he carried on in Paris, where he diligently searched the royal archives, then under the care of the Abbé Sullier. This work was varied as usual with controversy. In 1741-2 he wrote a thick pamphlet of 214 pages, 8vo, in answer to 'A Letter of a Bystander to a Member of Parliament,' which he called 'A Full Answer to a Letter of a Bystander, wherein his False Calculations and Misrepresentations of Facts in the Time of Charles II are refuted. By R. A., Esq.' This was answered again by a 'Gentleman of Cambridge' in a 'Letter to Mr. Thomas Carte,' London, 1744, in which the writer says: 'You were so rash as to appear yourself publicly in the support of it at an eminent coffee-house; you there declared you were Mr. Carte, the author of the "Full Answer to the Bystander," and that you came there on purpose to vindicate it from any observations. You know what followed. You were driven thence with a birchen rod, and abandoned the place with shame and confusion.' The 'birchen rod' refers to arguments of Dr. Thomas Birch, who, among his many books, had written on Charles I and Ireland in opposition to Carte. Carte replied again in 'A Full and Clear Vindication of A Full Answer to a Letter from a Bystander.' The year 1744 was again a period of some trouble to Carte. In March he had a lawsuit with his brother Samuel and sister Sarah about a clause in his father's will which removed him from his executorship and inheritance in case he were troubled by the

government. He, however, won his cause (ATKYNs, *Reports*, iii. 174). Shortly afterwards, upon an alarm of a French invasion to support a Jacobite rising, the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended, and Carte was arrested. He was not long retained in custody, being released on 9 May, 'confined,' he said, 'for he knew not what, and released he knew not why.' His subscriptions, however, went on. In July the common council of London voted him 50*l.* for seven years, for which, according to Horace Walpole, who ridicules the proceeding, four aldermen and six common-councilmen were to inspect his materials and the progress of his work (*Letters to Sir H. Mann*, i. 381). In October the Goldsmiths', Grocers', and Vintners' Companies gave 25*l.* each for seven years. In August (1744) he printed 'A Collection of the several Papers published by Thomas Carte, in relation to his History of England,' 8vo. In 1746 he issued proposals for printing his History; and the first volume appeared in December 1747. It was not prepossessing in point of style; but it was so great an advance on previous histories, in the extent of the original material used and quoted, that it would have commanded success but for an unlucky note, inserted at p. 291, on a passage concerning the unction of our kings at their coronation. In this note (which his friends vainly pleaded was not by his hand), he asserted his belief in the cure of the king's evil in the case of a man named Christopher Lovel of Bristol, by the touch of the Pretender, or, as he called him, 'the eldest lineal descendant of a race of kings who had, indeed, for a long succession of ages cured that disease by the royal touch.' The cure was said to have been effected at Avignon in November 1716. This raised a storm among the anti-Jacobite party. Carte was attacked in several pamphlets, and a writer in the 'Gentleman's Magazine' (1748, p. 13) professed to have investigated the case and found it, of course, entirely false. The man had been temporarily cured by the change of air and regimen, but had suffered a relapse on his return and died when on a second voyage. The practical result to Carte was the withdrawal of the grant from the common council of London by a unanimous vote on 7 April 1748 (*Gent. Mag.* 1748, p. 185), and an immediate neglect of his work. In spite of such discouragement he persisted in his enterprise, and the next two volumes appeared in 1750 and 1752, and a fourth in 1755, after his death. Carte died of diabetes on 2 April 1754, at Caldecott House, near Abingdon, and was buried in the church of Yattendon, near Newbury, on 11 April. He was a man of mean appearance, but of cheer-

ful and social disposition. He worked with indefatigable industry from early morning until evening. His historical collections were left to his wife, a daughter of Colonel Arthur Brett, who, in turn, left them to her second husband, Nicholas Jernegan, for his life, and afterwards to the Bodleian. Jernegan, after receiving large sums for the use of them, among others as much as 200*l.* from Lord Hardwick, and 300*l.* from Macpherson, who used them for his 'History' and 'State Papers' (1775), finally disposed of them to the Bodleian for a good price, during his lifetime, at some period subsequent to 1775. Besides the works mentioned above, Carte published: 1. 'Preface to a Translation, by Mrs. Thomson, of the History of the Calamities of Margaret of Anjou, Queen of England,' by Michael Baudier, 1736. 2. 'Advice of a Mother to her Son and Daughter.' Translated from the French of the Marchioness de Lambert. 3. 'The History of the Revolutions of Portugal from the foundation of that kingdom to the year 1567; with letters of Sir Robert Southwell during his embassy there to the Duke of Ormonde,' 1740. 4. 'Preface to Catalogue des Rolles Gascons, Normands et François, conservés dans les Archives de la Tour de Londres,' fol. 1743. This preface, according to Lowndes, was afterwards cancelled by order of the French government. A new edition of his History was published at Oxford in 1851, 6 vols. 8vo.

[Nichols's Lit. Anecd. ii. 471-518, and elsewhere; Nichols's Illustrations of Lit. Hist. v. 152-66; Gent. Mag. 1748; Biographia Britannica, ed. Kippis; Hearne's Remains, ii. 154, ed. 1869.] E. S. S.

**CARTER, EDMUND** (*f.* 1753), topographer, was a poor disabled writing-master, who, while keeping school by St. Botolph's Church in Cambridge, conceived the design of compiling a history of the university and county, an undertaking for which he was by no means qualified. Among others whom he applied to for aid was William Cole, who treated his humble labours with contempt; but afterwards he was greatly assisted by the Rev. Robert Smyth, rector of Woodstone, near Peterborough, and occasionally by Dr. Newcome, master of St. John's College, Cambridge, who communicated some of Baker's manuscripts, and by the Rev. Robert Masters, to whom Carter used to send the whole budget of his correspondence. Carter, 'having a small family and a bad wife,' was forced to desert his school at Cambridge, and settled for some time during the compilation of his histories at Ware in Hertfordshire, whence he removed to Chelsea, where he taught a

school as he had done at Ware. The date and place of his death are not known; his widow died in Enfield workhouse on 15 Sept. 1788 (*Gent. Mag.* lviii. ii. 841).

Carter was the author of: 1. 'The History of the County of Cambridge from the Earliest Account to the Present Time,' 8vo, Cambridge, 1753 (reprinted and brought down to date by William Upcott, 8vo, London, 1819). Although badly arranged and full of errors, the book is not altogether destitute of interest. Under each parish are the particulars of the ravages committed in the churches by the wretched fanatic William Dowsing and his rabble soldiery, appointed, under a warrant from the Earl of Manchester in 1643, to destroy and abolish all the remains of popish superstition in them, a task which they performed very effectually. 2. 'The History of the University of Cambridge from its Original to the year 1753,' 8vo, London, 1753. In the British Museum is a copy filled with additions and corrections as for a second edition in the author's beautiful handwriting.

[Manuscript notes by Craven Ord and Dr. R. Farmer in copies of Carter's Hist. Univ. Camb. in Brit. Mus.; Gough's British Topography, i. 193, 218; Nichols's Lit. Anecd. ii. 694, v. 47, 48, vi. 112, 201.] G. G.

**CARTER, ELIZABETH** (1717-1806), poet and miscellaneous writer, was born at Deal in Kent on 16 Dec. 1717. She was the eldest daughter of the Rev. Nicholas Carter, D.D., perpetual curate of Deal Chapel, and one of the six preachers at Canterbury Cathedral, by his first wife, Margaret, only daughter and heiress of Richard Swayne of Bere Regis, Dorsetshire. Her mother lost her fortune, which had been invested in the South Sea stocks, and died of a decline when Elizabeth was about ten years old. Her education was undertaken by her father, who was a good Latin, Greek, and Hebrew scholar. So slow at first was she in learning the dead languages that, weary of teaching her, he frequently entreated her to give up the attempt. By incessant application, however, she overcame her natural incapacity for learning. She read both late at night and early in the morning, taking snuff, chewing green tea, and using other means to keep herself awake. By this vigorous course of study she injured her health, and as a consequence suffered from frequent and severe headaches for the rest of her life. Beginning with Latin and Greek, she afterwards learnt Hebrew, French, Italian, Spanish, and German; later in life she taught herself Portuguese and Arabic. She took a great interest in astronomy, ancient and modern history, and ancient geography, played both the spinnet

and German flute, and worked with her needle to the last days of her life. That she was a good housewife we have the authority of Dr. Johnson. It is related in Boswell (v. 229) that the Doctor, on hearing a lady commended for her learning, said, 'A man is in general better pleased when he has a good dinner on his table than when his wife talks Greek.' 'My old friend, Mrs. Carter,' he added, 'could make a pudding as well as translate Epictetus from the Greek, and work a handkerchief as well as compose a poem.' Before she was seventeen she commenced writing verses, and the riddle which appeared in the 'Gentleman's Magazine' for November 1734 (p. 623) is probably her first published piece. She continued to contribute to the 'Gentleman's Magazine' for some years, her contributions generally appearing under the name of 'Eliza.' In 1738 'Poems upon particular Occasions' (London, 4to), a small pamphlet of twenty-four pages containing a collection of eight of her poems, was published by Cave, the originator of the 'Gentleman's Magazine,' and a friend of her father's. This pamphlet, which is now rare, bears the name neither of author nor publisher, but contains a cut of St. John's Gate on the title-page. It was through Cave that Mrs. Carter was introduced to Dr. Johnson, who, being of opinion that 'she ought to be celebrated in as many different languages as Lewis le Grand' (BOSWELL, i. 93), wrote a Greek epigram to Eliza, which appeared in the 'Gentleman's Magazine' for April 1738 (p. 210). The friendship thus commenced lasted nearly fifty years, until Johnson's death in 1784. She contributed two articles to the 'Rambler,' No. 44 being on 'Religion and Superstition,' and No. 100 on 'Modish Pleasures.' In 1739 she published her anonymous translation of 'Examen de l'essay de Monsieur Pope sur l'homme,' by Jean Pierre de Crousaz. This translation, which had for its title 'An Examination of Mr. Pope's Essay on Man, translated from the French of M. Crousaz' (A. Dodd, London, 12mo), was erroneously attributed to Dr. Johnson (BOSWELL, i. 107). In the same year appeared her anonymous translation of Francesco Algarotti's 'Newtonianismo per le dame,' under the title of 'Sir Isaac Newton's Philosophy Explain'd for the use of the Ladies. In Six Dialogues on Light and Colour. From the Italian of Sig. Algarotti' (2 vols. London, Cave, 12mo). Both these translations have become very scarce; and though Mrs. Carter never willingly referred to them in after life, they were undoubtedly useful to her in making her known to her contemporaries. In 1741 she became acquainted with Miss

Catherine Talbot, granddaughter of Dr. William Talbot, bishop of Durham, which led to an introduction to Dr. Secker, then bishop of Oxford, and afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, with whom Miss Talbot resided. It was at the request of these friends that Mrs. Carter undertook the translation of Epictetus. This was commenced in the summer of 1749, but was not finished until December 1752. The translation was not originally intended for publication, and was sent in sheets as it was written to Miss Talbot. At the suggestion of the bishop, Mrs. Carter added an introduction and notes to the manuscript, and in April 1758, at the request of her friends, it was published by guinea subscription. The subscription was so successful that 1018 copies were struck off at once, and 250 more were printed afterwards, the result of the publication being a gain to Mrs. Carter of nearly 1,000*l.* The title of the first edition was 'All the Works of Epictetus which are now extant, &c.' (London 4to). The fourth edition, which was published after her death, contains the last alterations of the translator taken from her manuscript notes, and has a slightly altered title. In 1762 she published her 'Poems on several Occasions' (London, 8vo), which she dedicated to William Pulteney, earl of Bath, and prefaced with some highly panegyric verses by Lord Lyttelton. In this collection only two of the poems which appeared in the former volume, viz. 'In Diem Natalem' and the 'Ode of Anacreon,' are to be found. A second edition was published in 1766, and a third in 1776, the latter edition containing seven additional poems. A fourth edition was published in Dublin in 1777, and in London in 1789. In the second volume of Pennington's 'Memoirs' the two collections of poems are printed, together with eight other pieces which had not been published before. During the summer months of 1763 Mrs. Carter, accompanied by Mr. and Mrs. Montagu and Lord Bath, visited France, Germany, and Holland, an interesting account of the trip being given in her letters to Miss Talbot. In the following year she lost her friend Lord Bath, in 1768 her old patron Archbishop Secker, and in 1770 her correspondent Miss Talbot. On 23 Oct. 1774 her father died. Mrs. Carter had passed the greater part of her life with him, and for the last twelve years of his life had lived with him in a house at Deal, which she had purchased. In October 1782, at the request of Sir William Pulteney, who, out of regard for Lord Bath's old friend, had settled an annuity of 150*l.* a year upon her, she accompanied Miss Pulteney to Paris. This was her last visit

to the continent, she being then sixty-five years of age, and no longer very active. For several years afterwards, however, she travelled through various parts of England with her friend Miss Sharpe. In 1791 Mrs. Carter was introduced to Queen Charlotte at Lord Cremorne's house at Chelsea. In 1796 a certain Count de Bedée, a stranger to Mrs. Carter, published 'Twelve Poems translated into French; Six in Prose and Six in Verse, selected from the works of Miss Eliza Carter, intitled Poems on several Occasions' (London, 8vo). About nine years before her death she was attacked by an illness from which she never entirely recovered. In the summer of 1805, though her mental faculties remained unimpaired, her bodily weakness increased very much. In accordance with her annual custom, she went up to London for the winter, and on 19 Feb. 1806 died in her lodgings in Clarges Street, Piccadilly, in the eighty-eighth year of her age. She was buried in the burial-ground belonging to Grosvenor Chapel; and a monument was erected to her memory in Deal Chapel. She was never married. In 1807 her nephew and executor, Montagu Pennington, published her memoirs, in which were included the new edition of her poems before alluded to, some miscellaneous essays in prose, together with her 'Notes on the Bible,' and 'Answers to Objections concerning the Christian Religion.' In 1809 'A Series of Letters between Mrs. Elizabeth Carter and Miss Catharine Talbot from the year 1741 to 1770, to which are added Letters from Mrs. Elizabeth Carter to Mrs. Vesey between the years 1763 and 1787' (London, 8vo, 4 vols.), appeared, and in 1817 'Letters from Mrs. Elizabeth Carter to Mrs. Montagu, between the years 1755 and 1800, chiefly upon Literary and Moral Subjects' (London, 8vo, 3 vols.)

Mrs. Carter was more celebrated for the solidity of her learning than for any brilliant intellectual qualities; and it is as a Greek scholar and the translator of Epictetus that she is now best remembered. She used to relate with pleasure that Dr. Johnson had said, speaking of some celebrated scholar, that 'he understood Greek better than any one he had ever known, except Elizabeth Carter.' Her poems have ceased to be read and are not of very high order, the 'Dialogue between the Body and the Mind' being perhaps the most successful. Her letters display considerable vigour of thought, and now and then a transient flash of humour. Though by no means a woman of the world, she possessed a large amount of good sense, and, though more learned than her fellows, was a thoroughly sociable and amiable woman.

Her acquaintance with Mrs. Montagu commenced at a very early period of their lives, and on the death of her husband in 1775 Mrs. Montagu settled an annuity of 100*l.* upon her friend. Among Mrs. Carter's other friends and correspondents were Burke, Reynolds, Richardson (who introduced her 'Ode to Wisdom' into his 'Clarissa'), Savage, Horace Walpole, Bishops Butler and Porteus, Dr. Beattie, Hannah More, and most of the other literary characters of the time. Several portraits were taken of her by different artists; an engraving from a cameo by Joachim Smith will be found in the first volume of the 'Memoirs' (i. 501 note), and the National Portrait Gallery possesses a pleasing crayon drawing of her by Sir Thomas Lawrence.

[Pennington's *Memoirs of the Life of Mrs. Elizabeth Carter* (2nd ed. 1808); Sir E. Brydges's *Censura Literaria* (1815), vii. 176-201, viii. 190-200; x. 277-95; Nichol's *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century*, vols. v. and viii.; Boswell's *Life of Johnson* (Croker, 1831); Chalmers's *Biog. Dict.* (1813), viii. 301-5; *Genl. Mag.* 1806, vol. lxxvi. pt. i. pp. 190-1; *Encyclopædia Britannica* (9th ed.), v. 141; *Brit. Mus. Cat.*]  
G. F. R. B.

CARTER, ELLEN (1762-1815), artist and book illustrator, was the daughter of Walter Vavasour of Weston in Yorkshire, and Ellen his wife, daughter of Edward Elmsall of Thornhill in the same county. She was born in 1762, and baptised at St. Olave's Church, York, on 16 May of that year. At an early age, though a protestant, she was placed in a convent at Rouen, with which her family had been connected for some generations. Though strongly affected by the surrounding influence of the Roman catholic religion, she never actually forsook her own religion, and after her return to her native country became well known for her piety and devotion to her church. In November 1787 she was married at Thornhill to the Rev. John Carter, then curate of that place, afterwards head-master of Lincoln grammar school, and incumbent of St. Swithin's in the same city. Mrs. Carter was devoted to artistic pursuits, and particularly excelled in drawing the human figure. She drew illustrations for the 'Archæologia,' the 'Gentleman's Magazine,' and other similar works. A print was published from a design by her, entitled 'The Gardener's Girl,' intended as a companion to Thomas Barker's 'Wood-boy.' Her drawings are frequently met with in private collections. Her devotion to her art told on a constitution that was never strong, and the untimely death of her eldest son in the Peninsula gave her a shock from

which she never recovered. She died on 22 Sept. 1815, and was buried in the churchyard of St. Peter's in the East Gate, Lincoln.

[*Gent. Mag.* 1815, lxxxv. 374; *Redgrave's Dict. of English Artists*; *Poster's Yorkshire Pedigrees*; information from Rev. A. R. Madson.]  
L. C.

**CARTER, FRANCIS** (*d.* 1788), traveller, made a journey through Moorish Spain in 1772. In 1777 he published, in two volumes, 'A Journey from Gibraltar to Malaga, with a view of that Garrison and its Environs, a particular account of the Towns in the Hoya of Malaga, the antient and natural History of these Cities, of the Coast between them, and of the Mountains of Ronda. Illustrated with medals of each municipal town and a chart; perspective and drawings taken in the year 1772.' Richard Gough, writing under date '6 March 1776,' says that 'Arabia Jones' (i.e. Sir William Jones) corrected the proof-sheets of the book. The plates were sold in a separate volume; but the work was reissued in 1778 in two volumes, with the plates inserted. Carter was well known as a collector of Spanish coins and Spanish books. Many of the former he purchased from the collection of Flores, the well-known medalist. He was elected a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries on 1 May 1777, and soon afterwards began an elaborate 'historical and critical account of early printed Spanish books.' His plan embraced a full history of Spanish literature, nearly the whole of which was represented in his own library. He completed the work in manuscript, and printed the first sheet, but died immediately afterwards at Woodbridge, Suffolk, on 1 Aug. 1783. A friend, 'Eugenio,' contributed to the 'Gentleman's Magazine' for October of the same year (pp. 843-5) a specimen of this undertaking, with the promise of a continuation, which was not fulfilled. A letter from Carter, giving anecdotes of Dr. William Battie [q. v.], is printed in Nichols's 'Anecdotes,' iv. 607.

[*Gent. Mag.* 1783, pt. ii. 716, 843; Nichols's *Lit. Anecdotes*, iii. 237-8, iv. 607, viii. 618.]

S. L. L.

**CARTER, GEORGE** (1737-1794), painter, was born at Colchester, and baptised on 10 April 1737 at St. James's Church in that town. He is described in the register as son of George and Elizabeth Carter. He received his early education at the local free school, and first came to London as a servant. He then became shopman to a mercer of the name of King, and subsequently entered into partnership in the same trade in Chandos

Street, Covent Garden. This business proving a failure, he devoted himself to painting, and sent several pictures to the exhibitions. Having gained the interest and assistance of other artists, he started on a course of foreign travel, eventually settling down at Rome to study and form his style. In 1778 he returned to London and set up as an 'historical portrait painter.' He exhibited numerous pictures on various subjects at the exhibitions up to a few years before his death. They do not seem to have found purchasers or suited the taste of the public, for in 1785 Carter opened an exhibition in Pall Mall of a collection of his own pictures, thirty-five in number; these he described in a catalogue in very extravagant terms, which excited great hostility from his critics and much derision from the public. He stated that they were all painted without commission and for the most exalted motives, and that either the whole or any part of the collection was at the disposal of any intending purchaser. Though grandiose in conception, and of varying excellence of execution, his pictures do not seem to merit the lack of approbation which was their lot. Like many others of the same date and school their memory is preserved by the first-class engravers of that period, most of them being engraved at the artist's own expense. Among the best known of his works are: 'The Fisherman going out' and 'The Fisherman's Return,' both exhibited at the Society of Artists in 1773, and engraved in mezzotint by John Jones; 'A Wounded Hussar on the Field of Battle,' exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1775, and engraved in mezzotint by Valentine Green; 'Industry' and 'Indolence,' both engraved in mezzotint by John Jones; 'The Apotheosis of Garrick,' with portraits of contemporary actors, exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1790, and engraved in 1783 by S. Smith and J. Caldwell; 'The Death of Sir Philip Sidney,' engraved in mezzotint by John Jones; 'The Death of Captain Cook,' intended as a pendant to West's 'Death of General Wolfe,' and engraved by Hall, Thornthwaite, and J. R. Smith; 'Two Children begging,' exhibited at the Society of Artists in 1774, and engraved in mezzotint by J. R. Smith; 'The Adoration of the Shepherds,' brought by the artist from Rome in 1778, exhibited at the Royal Academy, and presented by the artist to his native church of St. James at Colchester, where it still hangs. He also painted among many others some scenes from Sterne's 'Sentimental Journey,' some views of 'Gibraltar,' two scenes from Shenstone's 'Schoolmistress,' and numerous portraits. Late in life he retired to

Hendon, and in 1791 published 'A Narrative of the Loss of the Grosvenor, East Indian,' with plates. He died at Hendon in 1794, and was buried there on 19 Sept. in that year.

[Redgrave's Dict. of English Artists; Edwards's Anecdotes of Painters; Heineken's Dictionnaire des Artistes, vol. iii.; Fiorillo's Geschichte der Malherney in Gross-Britannien; Catalogues of the Royal Academy and other Exhibitions; Morant's History and Antiquities of Colchester; Registers of St. James's Church, Colchester, and of Hendon Church; Brit. Mus. Cat. of Printed Books.]

L. C.

**CARTER, HARRY WILLIAM** (1787-1863), physician, was born at Canterbury on 7 Sept. 1787, being the son of William Carter, M.D., formerly fellow of Oriol College, Oxford. After education at the King's School, Canterbury, he went to Oriol College, Oxford, where he graduated B.A. 1807, M.A. 1810, M.B. 1811. In 1812 he was elected a Radcliffe travelling fellow, and spent several years afterwards on the continent. He became fellow of the London College of Physicians in 1825. He settled at Canterbury, was appointed physician to the Kent and Canterbury Hospital in 1819, and retired from practice in 1835, after this date residing at Kennington Hall, near Ashford, where he died on 16 July 1863.

In 1821 Carter published 'A Short Account of some of the Principal Hospitals of France, Italy, Switzerland, and the Netherlands, with remarks on the Climate and Diseases of these Countries.' He also contributed some essays to the 'Cyclopædia of Practical Medicine.'

[Mank's Coll. of Phys. 1878, iii. 301.]

G. T. B.

**CARTER, HENRY**, otherwise **FRANK LESLIE** (1821-1880), son of Joseph Carter, glove manufacturer, was born at Ipswich in 1821. He passed his boyhood in his father's factory to learn the glove-making business, and that he might perfect himself in it was sent to London at seventeen years of age to the care of an uncle who had an extensive drapery establishment. Both at Ipswich and in London he indulged in a taste for drawing, sketching, and engraving, particularly on wood, and to escape the reproaches of his father and uncle, who had destined him for trade, he concealed his identity by the use of the name 'Frank Leslie.' In his twentieth year he began to practise art as his only pursuit in life. At this time also he married, the issue of the marriage being three sons; this union was, however, unfortunate from the commencement, and after nearly twenty years

continuance ended in a separation in 1860. In his career as an artist he first entered the establishment of the 'Illustrated London News,' whose engraving department was entrusted to his charge, and here he mastered the details relating to an illustrated paper. He emigrated to New York in 1848, and shortly after his arrival had his name, Henry Carter, changed into 'Frank Leslie' by a special act of the legislature. His first connection in America was with 'Gleason's Pictorial,' but in 1854, having accumulated a small capital, he began publishing on his own account. He commenced with the 'Gazette of Fashion,' which was soon afterwards followed by the 'New York Journal.' He purchased the 'Journal' for a low figure, and then by skilful management made it a paying property. The work, however, with which his name is more intimately associated in the public mind is 'Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper,' the first number of which was issued on 14 Dec. 1855. In this periodical he produced illustrations of current history, together with pictures copied from European journals. He invented for his establishment a new system of engraving large pictures. Finding that the constant work of an engraver was required for two weeks to produce a double-page illustration, he had the wood block cut into thirty-two squares and employed an engraver for each square. By this means the work was done in twenty-four hours, and the success of this method was at once so clearly apparent that it has long been generally adopted by the proprietors of illustrated newspapers. In 1865 he started the 'Chimney Corner,' the editing of which he entrusted to his second wife. He married her after the separation from the first had been legally effected, she also having been divorced from her husband, Ephraim George Squier, the archæologist. To her he assigned likewise the editing of the 'Lady's Magazine,' a continuation and enlargement of the 'Gazette of Fashion.' To these he then added in rapid succession the 'Boys' and Girls' Weekly,' 'Pleasant Hours,' the 'Lady's Journal,' edited also by Mrs. Leslie, the 'Popular Monthly,' the 'Sunday Magazine,' the 'Budget of Wit and Chatterbox,' and 'Die illustrirte Zeitung.' From these various publications, which proved generally profitable, he gathered a great deal of money. From the 'Chimney Corner' alone he is said to have cleared in one year 50,000 dollars. The war between the North and South was to him a field of most abundant harvest, the circulation of his papers, chiefly those that were illustrated, having during that period very greatly increased. He spent the money

which poured into his office with great liberality. He owned a magnificent residence about midway between Saratoga and Lonely Lake, surrounded by an estate of six hundred acres. Here he extended his hospitality to his numerous friends and fairly squandered his money, and the result was inevitable. In September 1877 he saw ruin staring him in the face. His property had to be surrendered into the hands of a receiver, he himself being retained as general manager of the publishing business, with an allowance of twenty per cent. of the profits for his own use. One of his heaviest trade losses was on the publication of the 'Historical Register of the Centennial Exhibition, Philadelphia, 1876,' a valuable work, but far from a commercial success. In April 1879, by some judicial proceedings, he was enabled to recover a large portion of his business. The American Institution of New York awarded him the medal for wood-engraving in 1848; the state of New York appointed him her commissioner for the fine arts department in the Paris Exhibition of 1867, and again in 1876; the state of New York named him commissioner to the Centennial Exhibition at Philadelphia, where his brother commissioners from the other states elected him their president. His employés for some time numbered upwards of three hundred, and the money paid for their work exceeded 6,000 dollars weekly. He was beloved by them all, as the manner in which he treated them was always remarkably kind, and whenever occasion offered most discriminating and generous. He died of cancer at his residence, Fifth Avenue, New York, on 10 Jan. 1880. Other works brought out by him and not previously mentioned were: 'F. Leslie's Pictorial History of the American Civil War,' edited by E. G. Squier, 1862; 'F. Leslie's Illustrated Almanack and Repository, 1866; 'The Paris Exposition, Report on Fine Arts, by F. Leslie,' 1868; and 'California: a Pleasant Trip from Gotham to the Golden Gate,' written by his wife, M. Florence Leslie, in 1877.

[New York Times, 11 Jan. 1880; Appleton's Annual Cyclopædia, 1880, pp. 427-9.]

G. C. B.

**CARTER, JAMES** (1798-1855), engraver, was born in the parish of Shoreditch in 1798, and in his youth gained the silver medal of the Society of Arts for drawing. He was first articled to Mr. Tyrrel, an architectural engraver, but later on abandoned this class of engraving for landscapes and figures. In this style he attained great proficiency, although he does not appear to have had any instruc-

tion after he quitted Mr. Tyrrel. From 1830 to 1840 he was employed largely on engravings for the annuals, especially Jennings's 'Landscape Annual,' for which he executed several plates after Samuel Prout, David Roberts, and James Holland. He was also employed by Weale, the fine art publisher, in numerous architectural works. When the engravings from the Vernon Gallery appeared in the 'Art Journal,' Carter was entrusted with the task of engraving 'The Village Festival,' painted by Goodall. This was followed in the same series by engravings from 'The Angler's Nook,' painted by Nasmyth, and 'Hadrian's Villa,' painted by Richard Wilson; these works gave so much satisfaction, that Mr. E. M. Ward specially requested that he should be employed to engrave his picture of 'The South Sea Bubble,' and subsequently employed him on his own behalf to engrave his picture of 'Benjamin West's First Essay in Art.' This plate he completed but a short time before his death, which occurred at the end of August 1855, probably hastened by his devotion to his work. Like many workers in the same profession, Carter found it very unremunerative, and made no provision for a numerous family. Besides the engravings already mentioned, he engraved among others a plate from his own design of 'Cromwell dictating to Milton the Despatch on behalf of the Waldenses' and a portrait of Sir Marc Isambard Brunel, after Samuel Drummond.

[Redgrave's Dict. of Artists of the English School; Le Blanc's Manuel de l'Amateur d'Estampes; Art Journal, 1855.] L. C.

**CARTER, JOHN**, the elder (1554-1635), divine, born at Wickham, Kent, in 1554, was educated at Clare Hall, Cambridge, under Dr. Thomas Byng [q. v.], through the generosity of a Mr. Rose of Canterbury. After taking his degree Dr. Byng offered Carter rooms in his own house to enable him to continue his studies, and he thus became intimate with Dr. Chaderton [q. v.], Lancelot Andrewes [q. v.], and Nathaniel Culverwel [q. v.] In 1583 he became vicar of Bramford, Suffolk, and performed his pastoral duties with great zeal. His avowal of puritanism raised up enemies in his parish, and after many disputes with his bishop he was removed to the rectory of Belstead, also in Suffolk, in 1617. He died on 21 Feb. 1634-5. Samuel Carter of Ipswich preached the funeral sermon. His son, John Carter the younger [q. v.], drew up an anecdotal life of his father, which attests Carter's piety, good-humour, and wit. It was first published in 1653 under the title of 'The Tombstone, or a Broken and Imperfect



Monument of that worthy Man, Mr. John Carter, London, with dedications to 'the Lady Frances Hobarte, and others. It was republished in Samuel Clarke's 'Collection of the Lives of Ten Eminent Divines' in 1662.

A fine portrait, engraved by Robert Vaughan, is prefixed to each edition of the life. Carter was the author of 'A Plaine and Compendious Exposition of Christ's Sermon on the Mount,' London, 1627, and of an unpublished petition to James I for the removal of burdensome ceremonies.

[Davy's Athenæ Suffolc. i. 327, in Brit. Mus. Addit. MS. 19165; Neal's Hist. of the Puritans; Clarke's Lives; Carter's Tombstone, as above.] S. L. L.

**CARTER, JOHN**, the younger (*d.* 1655), divine, son of John Carter the elder [q. v.], born in his father's parish of Bramford, was admitted to Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, in 1596, proceeded B.A. 1599, and M.A. 1603. He was chosen by the parishioners curate or assistant minister of St. Peter Mancroft, Norwich, in 1631; was appointed one of the four lecturers in 1633 to preach the Tuesday lectures at St. Peter's according to the order of the assembly; and in 1638 became parish chaplain or head minister, which post he retained for nearly fifteen years. In three sermons, preached before the Norwich corporation, in celebration of the guild festivals of 1644, 1647, and 1650 (see *The Nail and the Wheel*, 1647; *A rare sight, or the Lyon*, 1650), he vehemently attacked the magistrates for their weak-kneed devotion to presbyterianism. The violence of his language and his fanatical denunciations of monarchy caused his removal from the ministry, and at the close of 1653 he calls himself 'preacher of the Gospel, and as yet sojourning in the city of Norwich.' He was afterwards minister of St. Lawrence, Norwich, and died in that city on 10 Dec. 1655. John Collings, B.D., preached the funeral sermon on 14 Dec. Carter wrote the memoir of his father entitled 'The Tombstone' in 1653.

[Davy's Athenæ Suffolc. i. 393, in Brit. Mus. Addit. MS. 19165; Masters's Hist. of C. C. C. Camb. p. 264; Blomefield's Norfolk, iv. 188-9; Brit. Mus. Cat.] S. L. L.

**CARTER, JOHN** (1748-1817), draughtsman and architect, the son of Benjamin Carter, a marble-carver established in Piccadilly, was born on 22 June 1748. At an early age he was sent to a boarding-school at Battersea, and afterwards to one in Kennington Lane, and at this period, according to one of his biographers, 'his genius began

to unfold itself in practising musick on the English flute, and making attempts at drawing.' Carter had always a love for music, and mention is made of two operas named 'The White Rose' and 'The Cell of St. Oswald,' 'which he not only wrote [apparently for private theatricals], but set to musick, and painted the scenery adapted to them,' exhibiting them 'upon a small stage.' Leaving school when only about twelve, he went home to his father, 'under whose roof he prosecuted the art of design, making working drawings for the men.' About 1764 (his father having died), Carter was taken into the office of a Mr. Joseph Dixon, surveyor and mason, with whom he remained for some years. In 1774 he was employed to execute drawings for the 'Builder's Magazine,' a periodical edited by Newbery of St. Paul's Churchyard, and for this he continued to draw until 1786. In one of its numbers he published a design for a sessions house, which was afterwards copied by some unscrupulous person, who sent it in as his own original design, on the occasion of a competition for the building of a sessions house on Clerkenwell Green. This copied drawing was successful, and the building was erected in accordance with it, while a new design which Carter himself sent in for the competition was rejected by the judges. In 1780, on the recommendation of the Rev. Dr. Lort, Carter was employed by the Society of Antiquaries to do some drawing and etching. He was elected a fellow of the society in March 1795, and worked much for it as its draughtsman. In 1780 he had drawn for Richard Gough, afterwards his great patron, the west front of Croyland Abbey Church, and many other subjects, which were inserted in Gough's 'Sepulchral Monuments' and in his other works. Gough, in the preface to his 'History of Croyland Abbey' (1783), and in the preface to his 'Sepulchral Monuments' (1786), speaks highly of Carter's abilities. In 1781, and later, Carter also met with other patrons and friends, among whom were John Soane, the architect, the Rev. Dr. John Milner, Sir Henry Charles Englefield, William Bray, F.S.A., Sir Richard Colt Hoare, the Earl of Exeter, and Horace Walpole. His first important published work was his 'Specimens of Ancient Sculpture and Painting,' published in parts (folio size) from 1780 till 1794. The engraved title-page of vol. i. is 'Specimens of the Antient Sculpture and Painting now remaining in this Kingdom, from the earliest period to the reign of Henry ye VIII, consisting of Statues, Bassorelievos . . . Paintings on Glass and on Walls. . . . A description of each subject, some of which

by Gentlemen of Leterary [*sic*] abilities, and well versed in the Antiquities of this Kingdom, whose names are prefixed to their Essays. . . . The Drawings made from the original Subjects, and engrav'd by John Carter, Nov. 1st, 1780.' The dedication of this volume is to Horace Walpole, the patron of the book, and is dated November 1786. Vol. ii. is dedicated to the Earl of Exeter, and its title-page is dated 1787; a postscript to the whole work is dated 'London, May 1794' (a new edition, with index, appeared in 1838, 2 vols. in one, folio). In his introduction to the 'Specimens' Carter states that, 'having explored at different times various parts of England for the purpose of taking sketches and drawings of the remains of ancient sculpture and painting, his aim is to perpetuate such as he has been so fortunate as to meet with by engraving them.' While the 'Specimens' was in progress, Carter also published 'Views of Ancient Buildings in England' (drawn and engraved by himself), 6 vols. London, 1786-93, 16mo (republished as 'Specimens of Gothic Architecture, and Ancient Buildings in England, comprised in 120 views,' 4 vols. London, 1824, 16mo). In 1795 he began another extensive work, 'The Ancient Architecture of England' (1795-1814, folio). Part i. deals with 'The Orders of Architecture during the British, Roman, Saxon, and Norman aeras,' its engraved title-page is dated London, 1795, and its dedication (to H.R.H. the Duke of York) 1806. Part ii., 'The Orders of Architecture during the reigns of Henry III, Edward III, Richard II, Henry VI, Henry VII, and Henry VIII,' was not completed. Its title-page is dated 1807, but the engravings bear dates from 1807 to 1814. A new and enlarged edition of this work was published in 1845 (two parts, folio) by John Britton, who has remarked that 'Carter was the first to point out to the public the right way of delineating the component and detached parts of the old buildings of England. His national work on Ancient Architecture occupied him more than twenty years.' The arrangement of the architectural specimens chronologically was also an important feature in Carter's book, and prepared the way for subsequent writers on the sequence of styles. Between 1795 and 1813 Carter was further engaged in preparing 'plans, elevations, sections, and specimens of the architecture' of various ecclesiastical buildings, which were published at intervals by the Society of Antiquaries, viz., St. Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, 1795, &c.; Exeter Cathedral, 1797, &c.; the abbey church of Bath, 1798; Durham Cathedral, 1801; Gloucester Cathedral, 1809;

St. Albans Abbey, 1813. One other work of Carter's, of considerable importance, remains to be noticed, namely, the series of papers published in the 'Gentleman's Magazine' from 1798 to 1817, with the odd title of 'Pursuits of Architectural Innovation.' These papers partly consist of a series of attacks upon his contemporaries, who had been, or were likely to be, concerned in the 'restoration' or destruction of various ancient buildings and monuments. They were simply signed 'An Architect,' but Carter's authorship could not well be concealed. In the first article of the series (*Gent. Mag.* vol. lxxviii. pt. ii. 1798, pp. 764-5) he declares that it is necessary that the attention of antiquaries should be directed to 'those remains of our country's antient splendour which may, from time to time, give way to the iron hand of architectural innovation.' It has been remarked by Pugin that Carter's 'enthusiastic zeal' was 'undoubtedly effectual in checking the mutilation of ancient monuments.'

Carter practised little as an architect; a list of some minor works which were carried out from his designs may be found in the 'Gentleman's Magazine' for 1817 (pt. ii. p. 365; cf. *Gent. Mag.* 1818, vol. lxxxvii. pt. i. pp. 273-6). Towards the autumn of 1816 his health began to decline. In the spring of the following year dropsy made its appearance, and he died in Upper Eaton Street, Piccadilly, on 8 Sept. 1817, aged 69. He was buried at Hampstead, an inscribed stone to his memory being placed on the south side of the church. His collection of drawings, antiquities, &c., was sold by auction at Sotheby's on 23-5 Feb. 1818, and produced the sum of 1,527*l.* 3*s.* 6*d.* It included a series of sketches 'relating to the antiquities of England and South Wales, from the year 1764 to 1816, in 26 volumes,' the outcome of his summer excursions during more than fifty years.

Carter was a bachelor, and is described as being 'reserved' in manner, and 'frugal, even to parsimony.' He was rather irascible in temper, and had the reputation of being a quarrelsome man. He was dogmatic, and obstinate in maintaining his own antiquarian theories—habits of mind partly due perhaps to his very imperfect education. He knew no language but his own, and this want of knowledge also much interfered with his archaeological inquiries, though he had the advantage of being assisted in his published works by men more learned than himself, such as Richard Gough and Dr. John Milner. It is also recorded of him, however, that 'as a companion he was blameless' and 'pleasing,' and that 'his integrity was incorruptible.' The statements that Carter was an

Irishman and of the Roman catholic religion (REDGRAVE, *Dict.*; MATHIAS, *Pursuits of Literature* (7th ed.), Dial. iv. l. 297 and note) seem to be erroneous (see *Gent. Mag.* 1818, vol. lxxxviii. pt. i. pp. 273-6). It has also been erroneously stated that there is a memoir of him by the Rev. W. J. Dampier. This refers to John Carter (1815-1850) [q. v.]

[Obituary notices in *Gent. Mag.* for 1817 (pt. ii.), pp. 363-8, and an additional memoir, chiefly extracted from the *New Monthly Mag.*, in *Gent. Mag.* for 1818, vol. lxxxviii. (pt. i.) pp. 273-6. The *Gent. Mag.* contains numerous other references to Carter, for which see its *General Index* (1787-1818), vol. iii., s.v. 'Carter' and 'Architectural Innovation;' Nichols's *Illustrations of Lit. Hist.* (several reff. in index to vol. viii.) and his *Literary Anecdotes* (reff. in the *Indices*); Redgrave's *Dict. of Artists*. For the bibliography compare Lowndes's *Bibliog. Manual*; Allibone's *Dict. Eng. Lit.*; *Univ. Cat. of Books on Art* (South Kensington, Mus.) and the *Brit. Mus. Catalogue*.] W. W.

**CARTER, JOHN** (1815-1850), a silk-weaver, who, having lost by accident the power of using hands, learned the art of drawing by holding the pencil or brush in his mouth, was born of humble parents at Coggeshall, in the county of Essex, on 31 July 1816. After attending the dame's school and the national school of the village, he was sent in his thirteenth year to an endowed school, where he remained two years. Here he gave some evidence of his remarkable artistic gifts by a tendency to scribble figures on his desk or copybook instead of doing his lessons; but, on account of untoward circumstances, his gifts were not developed further. On leaving school he was apprenticed to a silk-weaver, and after his marriage in 1835 pursued the business on his own account. In May 1836, while climbing a tree in search of birds, he fell forty feet to the ground, receiving such serious injury to the spine as to deprive him of nearly all power of muscular motion below the neck. Having accidentally learned that a young woman who had lost the use of her hands had learned to draw with her mouth, he resolved if possible to turn his artistic gifts to account in a similar way. By dogged perseverance he mastered all the technicalities of drawing without personal instruction, and acquired such proficiency as would have done credit to him even had he possessed the use of his hands. He devoted himself chiefly to line-drawing, and, by holding the pencil or brush between his teeth, was able to produce the most accurate and delicate strokes. With the help of an attendant to supply his materials, he produced

drawings of great beauty and of thorough artistic finish in every detail. On 21 May 1850 the small carriage in which he was drawn was accidentally overturned, and his system received so severe a shock that he never recovered, dying on 4 June following. The Rev. W. J. Dampier, vicar of Coggeshall, published a memoir in 1850 (reissued in 1875). A list of eighty-seven of Carter's drawings is given, with the names of the owners. They include drawings after Albert Dürer, Raphael, Rembrandt, Vandyke, and Landseer. They resemble line-engravings, and, as Mr. Richmond tells the author of the book, the power of imitation is most extraordinary.

[Dampier's *Memoir*; *Life* by F. W. Mills, 1868.] T. F. H.

**CARTER, LAWRENCE** (1672-1745), judge, was born at Leicester in 1672. His family came originally from Hitchin in Hertfordshire. His father, Lawrence Carter, married Mary, daughter of Thomas Wadland of Newark, Leicester, the solicitor to whom he was articled; was M.P. for the town in several parliaments of William III (see LUTTRELL, vi. 6, 11, 14), of whom he was a firm supporter, and in 1685 projected and carried out a system of water supply for Leicester. The son became a member of Lincoln's Inn, and on 1 Sept. 1697 was unanimously elected recorder of his native town in succession to Sir Nathan Wright, which office he held till 1729. He represented Leicester in parliament thrice, in 1698, 1701, and 1722, and Beeralston in 1710, 1714, and 1715; but no speeches of his are extant. In 1715 he was counsel for the crown against several of the rebel prisoners, first at Liverpool with Sir Francis Page, king's serjeant, and then at Carlisle on a special commission with Mr. Baron Fortescue. Before leaving town Fortescue was promised a fee of 500*l.*, and as Carter had had the same fee as Page at Liverpool he applied to the treasury for the like treatment with Fortescue at Carlisle. In 1717 he became solicitor-general to the Prince of Wales, afterwards George II, received the degree of serjeant-at-law in 1724, and was made king's serjeant 30 April, and knighted 4 May in the same year. On 16 Oct. 1726 he was raised to the bench of the court of exchequer in succession to Baron Price, and continued in the office till his death. He lived in Redcross Street, Newark, Leicester, in a house built on the site of the collegiate church, which was destroyed at the Reformation. He was highly esteemed in the town, and with his half brother Thomas was a trustee of the Holbech charity. He died 14 March

1745, and was buried in the church of St. Mary de Castro. He was never married, and his estates passed to his half brother Thomas. There is a portrait of him in Thoresby's 'Town of Leicester', p. 175.

[Foss's Lives of the Judges; Leicester Borough Records; Parl. History, 5, 219; Gent. Mag. xv. 164; Nicholls's Leicestershire, i. 49, ii. 318; Redington's Treasury Papers, 1714, cviii. No. 6.]  
J. A. H.

**CARTER, MATTHEW** (*fl.* 1660), loyalist, was a gentleman of position and influence in the county of Kent. When the loyal inhabitants of that county rallied round the king's standard in May 1648 in the last desperate attempt to defeat the parliamentarians, Carter was chosen quartermaster-general of all the forces, and in the memorable events that followed bore a conspicuous part. At the surrender of Colchester on the ensuing 27 Aug., after a defence of seventy-six days, he was thrown into prison by the parliament. During his long confinement he wrote an account of the scenes of which he had been an eye-witness, under the title of 'A Most True and Exact Relation of That as Honourable as unfortunate Expedition of Kent, Essex, and Colchester. By M. C. A. Loyall Actor in that Engagement, Anno Dom. 1648. Printed in the Yeere 1650,' 12mo. This valuable tract was seen through the press by the author's friend, 'Sir C. K.,' possibly Sir Charles Kemneys, bart., of Kevanmably in Glamorganshire. It fearlessly exposes the cruel deeds of Fairfax and his subordinates. An edition was issued at Colchester without a date, but probably about 1770, by the Essex antiquaries, the Revs. Philip Morant and Thomas Luffkin, with cumbrous additions, which do not add to the value of Carter's simple and telling narrative. Of this edition several reprints were published (Gough, *British Topography*, i. 348-9). Carter was also the author of a useful little compilation from the best writers on heraldry, which he called 'Honor Redivivus; or an Analysis of Honor and Armory,' 12mo, London, 1655. It reached a second edition in 1660 (reprinted in 1669), and a third in 1673, and for many years continued to be the most popular text-book with all who studied heraldry. The pretty plates by R. Gaywood are reduced copies of the whole-length figures in Milles's 'Catalogue of Honour' (MOULE, *Bibliotheca Heraldica*, pp. 144, 153, 187). Carter died between the appearance of the reprint of the second edition in 1660 and the third edition in 1673.

[Cromwell's History of Colchester, i. ch. iv.; Notes and Queries, 4th ser. xii. 308; 5th ser.

vii. 147; Gent. Mag. lxi. i. 299; Smith's Bibl. Cantiana, pp. 72-3.] G. G.

**CARTER, OLIVER** (1540?-1605), divine, was probably a native of that part of Richmondshire which is in the county of Lancashire. He was admitted a scholar of St. John's College, Cambridge, on the Lady Margaret's foundation, in November 1555; he was B.A. 1559-60; fellow, 18 March 1562-3; M.A., 1563; senior fellow, 28 April 1564; and college preacher, 25 April 1565, William Fulke also serving in the same capacity. He was B.D. in 1569. Later in life the title S.T.P. is found attached to his name. His first known promotion was to a preacher's place in the collegiate church of Manchester. This was after June 1571; his appointment as fellow there has been placed too early by Churton and others. His name first appears in the local records on the occasion of the baptism of his child Sarah on 6 Oct. 1573, when he is called 'Mr. Olyver Carter.' Herle, the warden of the college, complaining of the bitter antagonism of the Roman catholic population of the district, described in a letter to Lord Burghley, dated in April 1574, how 'our preacher, who is a bachelor of divinity,' was riding out on 14 March to one of the neighbouring chapels, when he was assaulted and wounded. Carter seems at first to have connived with Herle in making unfavourable grants of the college lands upon long leases and small rents, though soon after he resisted the spoliation. One of these questionable grants was that by which the warden and the fellow-chaplains, September 1575, bestowed the stewardship of the lands and property of the college upon Edmund Trafford, esq. and his heirs; this document, signed by the warden, Carter, and two other fellows, is still preserved among the muniments of the De Trafford family at Trafford Hall. Funds were not always available for the payment of the stipends of the members of the foundation; and it is suggestive to find, with respect to Carter, that it was about this time that he was assisted out of the money provided by the bounty of Robert Nowell. The executors of that benevolent man, one of them his brother, the famous dean of St. Paul's, lent 'to one Mr. Carter, a preacher at Manchester,' 40s., 'to be repayed again the 20th March A<sup>o</sup> 1575,' i.e. 1575-6. Soon after he borrowed 40s. more, when his entire debt was 4*l.* On 20 Nov. 1576 there was a further loan of 5*l.* Carter's introduction to the college occurred at a critical point in its history, being then in so pitiful a condition that it was near dissolution. The warden, said by some to have been a papist, was non-

resident; the fabric of the church was in decay; there had been no election of churchwardens from 1563 to 1571; painted pictures, in spite of the regulations to the contrary, still adorned the walls; and the only plate the church possessed was one broken chalice. Carter bitterly complained to Burghley, with whom he seems to have been intimate, on the condition of the college and parish; but he was unable to bring about any measures of relief until he enlisted the sympathy of Dean Nowell, in whom he found a ready 'compassion for the college, the town, and country,' i.e. county. Carter was already a fellow, and acting apparently as sub-warden, when, in 1576, he was plaintiff in a suit in the Duchy Court against Herle, concerning his unpaid stipend. His great charges in this 'most necessary suit' are alluded to by Dean Nowell (28 Oct. 1576), who, with Carter, was named fellow of the collegiate body by the new charter of 1578. Carter is met with in 1579 as befriending Thomas Sorocold, 'scholar of Manchester,' who afterwards wrote the popular 'Supplications of Saints.' The only book which came from Carter's pen was of a controversial character, being a reply to a work by Dr. Richard Bristow, called 'Motives to the Catholic Faith,' 1574, afterwards issued in 1576 and called 'Demands to be proposed of Catholikes to the Heretickes.' This double title explains Hollinworth's otherwise puzzling statement that Carter 'writ a book in answer to Bristow's "Motives."' The reply came out in 1579, and was entitled 'An Answer made by Oliver Carter, Bachelor of Divinitie, unto Certaine Popishe Questions and Demawndes' (London, 8vo). It was printed by Thomas Dawson for George Bishop, and was entered on the Stationers' Hall Registers 4 Feb. 1578-9, by Mr. Bishop the younger, warden of the company (ii. 346). It is a very rare book, the only known copies being those in the University Library, Cambridge, and the Chetham Library, Manchester. Dr. White refers to it in his 'Way to the True Church,' 4to, 1624 (§ 13). Fulke also replied to Bristow's work. Carter dedicated his 'Answer' to his very good lord, Henry, earl of Derby, at whose houses in Lancashire in subsequent years he, with other prominent ministers, was a frequent guest or preacher. In 1581, during the wardenship of Bishop Chaderton [q. v.], Carter was conferring with Lord Burghley about the surrender of the college leases granted in Herle's time. The bishop on 1 Sept. 1585 nominated 'Mr. Carter, B.D., and preacher of Manchester,' one of the moderators of the monthly assemblies, called 'Propheysings,' to meet in

each deanery. In 1590 he instituted an action in the Duchy Court concerning the tithes of his parish. In the same year he set his name to a remarkable paper drawn up by the Lancashire ministers of his neighbourhood, describing what are called the 'enormities' of the ecclesiastical state, enumerating many matters that called for reform; and he signed also a letter to the archbishop of York urging action in the same direction. Both letters, which give a curious picture of old religious customs, are printed in the 'Chetham Miscellanies,' vol. v. On 31 May 1595 it was charged against him, at an inquiry at his church, that being 'the preacher there' he made wills, and was a common solicitor in temporal causes. He was highly shocked that year at the news of the coming of Dr. Dee to be warden; in July Dee notes that he had had a letter from him. On Dee's arrival a very bitter hostility arose between them; Carter would not consent to the use of an organ in the church, which Dee favoured, nor would he agree to the payment of money for Dee's house-rent. Other scandalous quarrels occurred in the chapter-house and the church. In January 1597, Carter was threatening Dee with a prosecution in London. On Sunday, 25 Sept. that year Dee alludes to Carter's 'impudent and evident disobedience' in the church (not 'dissoluteness,' as printed in the Camden Society's edition of the 'Diary').

The circumstances of Carter's death were long remembered in Manchester. 'Hee fell sicke in the pulpit as hee was preaching of God's providing a succession of godly ministers, on Matt. ix. 38; and Mr. William Burne went up immediately into the pulpit, and God assisting him, preached on the same text—a visible and present proofe of Mr. Carter's doctrine.' His health was probably affected by the visit of a pestilence that year, of which there is a suggestive record in the register of burials. He made his will on 22 Feb. 1604-5. He was interred in the chancel of the church on 20 March 1604-5, being called 'one off the foure fellowes of ye colledg;' and three days afterwards Mrs. Jane Dee, 'wyffe to ye Righte Wor. John Dee,' was buried.

Carter's 'Answer' to Bristow shows him to have been a man of learning and familiar with books. His co-fellow, John Buckley, near whom he was buried, in 1593 bequeathed him a copy of Tremellius's Bible, and Carter appraised Buckley's valuable library. Richard Hollinworth, in the following century, who had conversed with persons who knew Carter, says that he preached solidly and succinctly. Campion, referring to the ministers of the neighbourhood, singles out Carter as one that

boasted much of his learning, and as one who laboured to win converts. Canon Raines says that it is 'clear that Carter was a man of extensive reading, and wrote ably and strongly, though upon the whole temperately, against his subtle and harassing theological opponents. He thoroughly understood the points of difference between himself and them, and was not disposed to lessen their importance; but there is no evidence that he was a vain man, or that he boasted of his attainments, although he had to thank Cambridge and his own industry for possessing no mean store of learning.' He was twice married, his first wife, 'Eme,' being buried in 1590; the second wife was one Alice . . . , one of his executors. There were at least seven children of the first marriage, of whom Dorothy, Abraham, John, and Mary survived. Hollinworth says that the sons walked in the godly ways of their father. Abraham had property at Blackley, where the father frequently preached; he married and had a child baptised there in 1603, and was buried there in 1621. John, baptised at Manchester on 26 Feb. 1580-1, became in 1606 vicar-choral of Christ Church, Dublin, and in the following year prebendary of St. Michan's in the same cathedral; but of the latter he was deprived by Archbishop Jones in 1613 (COTTON, *Fasti*, ii. 73, 83), when all record of him is lost. This apparently is the son Hollinworth refers to when he says that he was preferred to a bishopric in Ireland, and that he was noted for the number of persons whom he baptised. The name Oliver Carter, it is curious to note, occurs in the Irish 'Fasti' in the following century.

[Stanley Papers (Chetham Soc.), ii. 128-32; Cooper's *Athens Cantab.* ii. 394, 554; Mayor's St. John's, vol. i.; Raines's MSS. xxii. 54, 132, xxiv. 67, xxv. 164, xli. 103; Chetham Miscel. v. 16-17 (Chetham Soc. vol. xvi.); Strype's *Annals*, 8vo. ii. ii. 68, 546, 548, 710-11; Strype's *Parker*, ii. 12; Churton's *Nowell*, 253-5; Hollinworth's *Mancuniensis*, ed. 1839, pp. 87, 106-8; Hibbert-Ware's *Foundations of Manchester*, i. 87, 106-8; J. E. Bailey's *Dee's Diary*, 4to, pp. 24, 80; Grosart's *Account of the Executors of Robert Nowell*, 169-70, 256-7; *Duchy Calendar*, iii. 4, 237, 286; Booker's *Hist. Blackley*, pp. 47, 64-6.] J. E. B.

**CARTER, OWEN BROWNE** (1806-1859), architect and draughtsman, spent most of his life at Winchester, where he had a large local practice as an architect. About 1829-30 he travelled to Egypt in company with Mr. Robert Hay of Linplum, and resided for some length of time at Cairo. There he executed a large number of architectural and topographical drawings, several of which are pre-

served in the Print Room at the British Museum. A selection of these drawings was lithographed under Carter's superintendence by J. C. Bourne and others, and published in 1840 by Mr. Hay in a folio volume entitled 'Illustrations of Cairo.' In 1845, when the Archæological Institute visited Winchester, Carter acted as one of the secretaries to the architectural section. He read a paper on the church of East Meon, Hampshire, and at the final meeting he received a special vote of thanks for the drawings he had supplied. In 1847 and 1849 he exhibited architectural drawings at the Royal Academy. He published some works of local interest, such as 'Picturesque Memorials of Winchester,' 1830. He also contributed to 'Weale's Quarterly Papers on Architecture' articles on the painted glass windows of Winchester Cathedral, on Beaulieu Abbey, and on the churches of Penton Meausey, Headbourne, Worthey, and Bishopstone. All these articles were accompanied by illustrative drawings. Carter died at Salisbury on 30 March 1859, aged 53.

[Redgrave's *Dict. of English Artists*; Graves's *Dict. of Artists*, 1760-1880; *Gent. Mag.* 3rd ser. vi. 550; *Hampshire Chronicle*, 2 April 1859; *Royal Academy Catalogues*; Weale's *Quarterly Papers on Architecture*; *Proceedings of the Archæological Institute*, 1845; *Catalogue of the Library of the Royal Institute of Architects*.] L. C.

**CARTER, PETER** (1530?-1590), writer on logic, was a native of Lancashire, and took the degree of B.A. at St. John's College, Cambridge, in 1553-4. In the following year he was elected a fellow of that college on Mr. Ashton's foundation. He commenced M.A. in 1557, and afterwards became master of the school at Preston in his native county, where he was buried on 8 Sept. 1590. He wrote 'Annotations in Dialectica Joan. Setoni,' London, 1563, 12mo, dedicated to Edward, earl of Derby, K.G.; printed with Seton's book, London, 1570, 1572, 1574, 1577, 1584, 1587, 1599; Cambridge, 1631, 12mo; London, 1639, 8vo.

[Tanner's *Bibl. Brit.*; Cooper's *Athens Cantab.* i. 382; *Addit. MS.* 24492, f. 19 b; *Palatine Note Book*, iii. 46.] T. C.

**CARTER, RICHARD** (*d.* 1692), rear-admiral, is said to have been lieutenant of the Cambridge in 1672, with Captain Herbert, afterwards Earl of Torrington, and to have been promoted from her by Prince Rupert to command the *Success*, from which, early in 1673, he was moved to the *Crown* of 42 guns. In April 1675 he was appointed to the *Swan*, and in January 1677-8 was moved into the *Centurion*, which was employed in the

Mediterranean, more especially against the Barbary corsairs, till she was paid off 24 Oct. 1681. In August 1688 he was appointed to the Plymouth, a third-rate, continued in her during and after the revolution, and commanded her in the unfortunate battle of Beachy Head, 30 June 1690. During the summer of 1691 he commanded the Vanguard, a ship of the second rate, and early in the following year was promoted to be rear-admiral of the blue squadron. In April he was sent with a few ships to scour the coast of France, and returned to the fleet in time to take part in the battle of Barfleur on 19 May. At the beginning of the action the blue squadron was some distance to leeward, and hopelessly out of the fight; but towards the afternoon a shift of wind permitted it to lay up to the enemy, and eventually to get to windward of them, thus placing them between two fires. But in doing this there was for a short time some sharp fighting, in which Carter was killed. It was freely said by many, both before and after the battle, that Carter was in the interest of King James, that his taking service under William was a base pretence, and that he had received 10,000*l.* to take his division over to the French. In support of this statement not one single piece of evidence has ever been adduced. In the Macpherson State Papers there is no mention of it. In life Carter was a poor man, and he died poor; so far from attempting to hand his division over to the enemy, he fell while executing the manœuvre which insured their ruin, and as he died his last words were an exhortation to his men to fight bravely, fight to the last. The whole story may, with absolute certainty, be pronounced an arrant falsehood, a base libel on a brave and worthy man. The body of the admiral was carried to Portsmouth, where it was buried with every mark of ceremonial honour.

[Charnock's Biog. Navals, i. 389.] J. K. L.

CARTER, THOMAS (*d.* 1795), sculptor, worked at Knightsbridge, and there attracted the attention of the painter Jervas, who gave him some money and a breakfast, procured him patronage, and so helped him to fortune. In 1755, when a committee was first formed to consider the founding of a Royal Academy, Carter was a member of it. He was Roubiliac's first employer in England. He appears to have been a man of great industry, if of inconspicuous merit. He worked chiefly upon tombstones, memorial tablets, &c. The bas-relief on Lord Townshend's monument in Westminster Abbey is by him. His name occurs once as the exhibitor of an architectural subject (presumably a drawing) at the

Royal Academy in 1787. He died 5 Jan. 1795.

[Redgrave's Dict. of Artists; Graves's Dict. of Artists.]

CARTER, THOMAS (or C. T. CARTER, as he is called on the title-page to 'The Milesian') (1735?–1804), musical composer, was born in Dublin about 1735. He was the elder son of Timothy Carter, who became a member of the choir of Christ Church Cathedral in March 1740. According to O'Keefe (*Recollections*, ii. 36–7), Thomas Carter received his musical education as a chorister in Christ Church Cathedral. In December 1751 he was appointed organist of St. Werburgh's, a post he held until September 1769, when he was sent by the Earl of Inchiquin to study music in Italy. Soon afterwards Carter went to India, where for a short time he was musical director of the Calcutta Theatre. On his return to Great Britain he settled in London, where he set music to Bate's 'Rival Candidates,' which was produced at Drury Lane on 1 Feb. 1775. This was followed on 20 March 1777 by 'The Milesian,' a two-act opera written by Isaac Jackman. In 1782 Carter wrote music for Pilon's 'Fair American,' which was played at Drury Lane on 18 May; for this work Baker (*Biographia Dramatica*, ii. 210) says that Carter received no payment, and that Pilon had to abscond to avoid the consequences. For Palmer's Royalty Theatre, in Goodman's Fields, Carter wrote an incidental pastoral, 'The Birth Day, or Arcadian Contest,' and 'The Constant Maid,' besides several songs and glees. His last operatic work was 'Just in Time,' the book of which was by Thomas Hurlstone, Carter himself contributing some verses for a song in the last act. This work was produced at Covent Garden for Munden's benefit on 10 May 1792, with Inledon in the principal character. Besides these works Carter wrote a song, 'When we're married,' for Lord Barrymore's theatre at Wargrave, which was introduced by Mrs. Bland in 'The Surrender of Calais' (1791); in 1783 he contributed an epilogue song to Mrs. Cowley's 'Bold Stroke for a Husband,' and at various times published several collections of glees, catches, and songs, in one of which his best-known composition, 'O Nanny, wilt thou gang wi' me,' appeared. Carter died in London on Friday, 12 Oct. 1804. He was undoubtedly a clever musician, but his improvidence and carelessness were such that he was in perpetual difficulties. An improbable story of his having forged a Handel manuscript and sold it for twenty guineas appeared in the 'Gentleman's Magazine' after

his death, and has been often repeated by his biographers.

Most of the accounts of his life which have appeared are full of extraordinary blunders, principally caused by there having been another Thomas Carter, also a musician, who was his contemporary. This individual died of liver complaint on 8 Nov. 1800, aged 32. The 'Dictionary of Musicians' (1827) and 'Georgian Era' (iv. 526) have transferred the younger Carter's age, liver, widow, and children, to the elder musician, thus creating a remarkable confusion. Another error is the statement that in Italy Carter attracted the attention of Sir William and Lady Hamilton. Sir William Hamilton went as envoy to Naples in 1764, but was not made a G.C.B. until 1772, and was unmarried until long after Carter had left Italy. To add to this confusion, a third Thomas Carter, also a musician, was living in Dublin at the beginning of the century. This individual can be traced to 1809, but there can be no doubt that the author of 'O Nanny' died in London at the date given above. In 1847 a claim was made by a grandson of Joseph Baildon on behalf of his grandfather as the composer of 'O Nanny,' but this has been completely disposed of (*Musical Times*, 1878, p. 502), as it has been proved that Baildon's setting is totally different from Carter's.

Thomas Carter had a younger brother named Sampson, who was a chorister in St. Patrick's Cathedral until 1766. He subsequently settled in Dublin as a music-master, took the degree of Mus. Doc. at the Dublin University, and in 1797 was appointed a vicar choral of St. Patrick's. He probably died about 1814.

[Information from Major G. A. Crawford and Sir R. P. Stewart; Genest's *Hist. of the Stage*; Grove's *Dict. of Music*, i. 317; *Gent. Mag.* 1800, 1117; 1804, 986, 1165; 1847, 376, 481, 604; Nichols's *Illustr. of Lit.* vii. 594; Cotton's *Fasti Eccles. Hib.* ii. 210; Townsend's *Calendar of Knights*; *Quarterly Musical Mag.* v. 127.]

W. B. S.

**CARTER, THOMAS** (*d.* 1867), military writer, entered in 1839 as a temporary clerk at the Horse Guards, and subsequently rose to the position of first clerk in the adjutant-general's office. He assisted Mr. Cannon in the preparation of the historical records of the British army, and after that gentleman's retirement edited the published records of the 26th (Cameronians) and 44th regiments, and a new edition of the records of the 13th light infantry. These works, however, were not treated as official publications. Carter was author of 'Curiosities of War,' London,

1860, and 'Medals of the British Army,' London, 1861-2, and was a constant contributor to 'Notes and Queries.' He died on 9 Aug. 1867.

[War Office Lists; *Brit. Mus. Cat.*]

H. M. C.

**CARTER, WILLIAM** (*d.* 1584), printer, son of John Carter, a draper of London, was put apprentice to John Cawood [q. v.] for ten years from the feast of the Purification, 1562-3, as appears from the register of the Stationers' Company, which, however, makes no further mention of him. For some time he acted as amanuensis to Dr. Nicholas Harpsfield, the catholic divine, and he was concerned in printing and publishing several of their books. His secret press was at last discovered by the vigilance of Aylmer, bishop of London, who wrote thus to Lord Burghley on 30 Dec. 1579: 'I have founde out a presse of prytynge with one Carter, a verye lewed fellowe, who hath byne dyvers tymes before in prison for printinge of lewde pamphlets. But nowe in searche of his Howse amongst other nawghtye papystycall Books, wee have founde one wrytten in Frenche intyled *the innocency of the Scotyshe Quene*, a very dangerous Book. Wherein he calleth her the heire apparant of this Crowne. He eneyth agaynst the execucion of the Duck of Norfolke, defendeth the rebellion in the north, and dycourseth against you and the late L. keper' (*Lansd. MS.* 28, f. 177). On this occasion Carter escaped prosecution, but three years later he was apprehended on a charge of printing a book entitled 'A Treatise of Schism,' which was alleged to contain a passage inciting the women at court to assassinate Queen Elizabeth. The obnoxious work was seized in his house on Tower Hill, and he confessed that 1,250 copies of it had been struck off. Conflicting statements have been made concerning the authorship of this book. Camden says suspicion fell on Gregory Martin, but Wood assigns the authorship to the jesuit, Robert Parsons, and says the full title of the treatise is, 'A Brief Discours containing certayne Reasons why Catholiques refuse to goe to Church,' 1580. Dodd (*Church History*, ii. 122) indignantly denies that the alleged treasonable passage is to be found in any of Gregory Martin's writings, but in point of fact it occurs in sheet D ii of that author's 'Treatise of Schisme. Shewing that al Catholikes ought in any wise to abstaine altogether from heretical Conuenticles, to witt, their prayers, sermons, etc.,' Douay, 1578, 8vo; and it is in the following terms:— 'Judith foloweth, whose godlye and constant wisdome if our Catholike gentlewomen



would folowe, they might destroye Holofernes, the master heretike, and amase al his retinew, and neuer defile their religion by communicating with them in anye smal poynt.' Carter on being brought to trial at the Old Bailey contended that this passage in his reprint of Martin's hook was not applicable to Queen Elizabeth, and that its meaning was strained by the lawyers, but he was found guilty of treason. The next morning he was drawn from Newgate to Tyburn and there hanged, bowelled, and quartered, 11 Jan. 1583-4.

[Aquepontanus, *Concertatio Ecclesiae Cathol. in Angliâ*, ii. 127 a-133 a; Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* (Bliss), ii. 68, 69; Camden's *Annales of Elizabeth* (1625-9), iii. 57; Stow's *Annales* (1615), 698; Strype's *Aylmer* (1821), 30; Strype's *Annals* (fol.), ii. 587, 588, iii. 281, append. 198; Challoner's *Missionary Priests* (1741), i. 160; Fuller's *Church Hist.* (1655), ix. 169; Dodd's *Church Hist.* ii. 122, 157; Fulke's *Defence of the Transl. of the Scriptures* (Parker Soc.), p. xiii.; Clay's *Liturgies and Occasional Forms of Prayer in reign of Eliz.* (Parker Soc.), 596; Ames's *Typogr. Antiq.* (Herbert), 1204; Morris's *Troubles of our Catholic Forefathers*, 2nd series, 13, 33; *Notes and Queries*, 6th ser. xii. 345.]

T. C.

**CARTERET, SIR GEORGE** (d. 1680), governor of Jersey, was son of Helier de Carteret of St. Ouen, Jersey. Collins in his 'History of the Family of Carteret' states that Sir George was born in 1599, but this seems to be merely an inference from the statement that he was about eighty at the time of his death. On the other hand his mother, Elizabeth Dumaresq, did not marry Helier de Carteret until 1608 (PAYNE, *Armorial of Jersey*, p. 113), and one of the complaints of the inhabitants of Jersey against Sir Philip de Carteret in 1642 charges him with entrusting the governorship of the island during his own absence in 1640 to George Carteret, 'a nephew of his of about twenty-three years of age' (FALLE, *Jersey*, ed. Durell, p. 311). George Carteret, therefore, was born at some date between 1609 and 1617. According to Lady Fanshawe (*Memoirs*, p. 61) he was bred a sea boy, and he appears in the state papers in 1632 as lieutenant of the ship *Convertive*. On 18 March 1633 he was appointed captain of the Eighth Lion's Whelp, and successively commanded the *Mary*, *Rose*, and other ships of the king's navy. In 1637 he served as second in command under Rainsborough in the expedition to Sallee (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom.) Two years later he attained the rank of comptroller of the navy, and in 1642 was designed by parliament for the post of vice-admiral to the Earl of Warwick, but the king's

commands prevented his acceptance (CLARENDON, *Rebellion*, v. 44). When the war began, Carteret at first attempted to raise a troop for the king in Cornwall, but was induced instead to undertake the duty of supplying the western royalists with arms and ammunition (*ib.* vi. 253). He accordingly established himself at St. Malo, and made use of his own credit and his great local influence to supply both the western gentlemen and the fortresses of the Channel Islands (HOSKINS, p. 85). On the death (August 1643) of his uncle, Sir Philip de Carteret [q. v.], whose daughter Elizabeth George Carteret had married, he succeeded to the office of bailiff of Jersey, the reversion of which had been granted to him by patent in 1639 (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 1st Rep. 34). From the king he received also his appointment as lieutenant-governor of the island under Sir Thomas Jermyn, and landing there in November 1643, reconquered it and expelled Major Lydcott, the parliamentary governor, before the end of the month (HOSKINS, i. 155-75). From Jersey Carteret carried on a vigorous privateering war against English trade, by virtue of the king's commission as vice-admiral, which he received on 13 Dec. 1644 (*ib.* p. 230). The parliament termed this piracy, excluded him from amnesty in subsequent treaties with the king, and passed a special ordinance making void all commissions granted by him (16 Sept. 1645, HUSBANDS, folio *Collection of Ordinances*, p. 734). Carteret governed with great severity, imprisoning the persons and confiscating the estates of parliamentarians [see BANDINEL, DAVID], but developing with great skill all the resources of the island. These were strained to the utmost when in 1646 the island became the refuge of royalist fugitives, and the cessation of the war enabled the parliament to turn their forces against it. In the spring of 1646 Prince Charles landed in Jersey, and rewarded Carteret by creating him knight and baronet (HOSKINS, 185, 285-367). Collins, however, states that he was knighted on 21 Jan. 1644, and created a baronet by warrant bearing date 9 May 1645 (*History of Family of Carteret*, p. 39). Hyde, who remained two years in Jersey as Carteret's guest, writes of Sir George: 'He was truly a worthy and most excellent person, of extraordinary merit towards the crown and nation of England; the most generous man in kindness, and the most dexterous man in business ever known; and a most prudent and skilful lieutenant-governor, who reduced Jersey not with greater skill and discretion than he kept it. And besides his other parts of honesty and discretion, undoubtedly as good, if not the best seaman of England'

(HOSKINS, i. 179, collecting Clarendon's remarks; see also CLARENDON, *Life*, v. 4). Carteret joined Capel and Hyde in the articles of association for the preservation of Jersey, drawn up when Jermyn was suspected of designing to sell the island to the French (*Cal. Clar. State Papers*, ii. 279). On the second visit of Charles II to Jersey (17 Sept. 1649 to 13 Feb. 1650) he was further rewarded by the grant of the seigneuries of Noirmont, Melèche, and Belle Ozanne. He was also granted 'a certain island and adjacent islets in America in perpetual inheritance, to be called New Jersey, and held at an annual rent of 6*l.* a year to the crown' (HOSKINS, ii. 385). Whitelocke records in 1650 the capture of a ship sent by Carteret to establish the new colony (*Memorials*, 455). But the growing naval strength of the Commonwealth rendered his position more difficult month by month; an attack threatened in May 1647 proved abortive (HOSKINS, ii. 128), but a second proved successful, and Carteret surrendered on 12 Dec. 1651 (see the articles of surrender, *Mercurius Politicus*, No. 82). He proceeded to join the exiles in France, and obtained a command in the French navy, apparently that of vice-admiral, under the Duke of Vendome (*Mercurius Politicus*, No. 125; *Cal. Clar. State Papers*, ii. 275). In August 1657 he was arrested and imprisoned in the Bastille on the complaint of Lockhart, in consequence of some attempt to seduce the English forces then acting as auxiliaries of France in the Low Countries, or perhaps for giving secret intelligence to the Spaniards (THURLOE, vi. 421; VAUGHAN, *Protectorate*, ii. 241). He was released in December 1657, but banished from France, and went to Venice, intending to take service under the republic (THURLOE, vi. 681).

At the Restoration Carteret became a member of the privy council and treasurer of the navy, and also obtained the post of vice-chamberlain of the household, to which office he had been appointed by Prince Charles as early as 1647 (KENNET, *Register*, 167; HOSKINS, ii. 113). In 1661 he was elected member for Portsmouth. But it was as treasurer of the navy from 1661 to 1667 that his most important work was done. He was not a pleasant superior, for Pepys speaks of him as the most passionate man in the world, and Sir William Coventry describes him as one whose humour it was always to have things done his own way. This led to a long struggle between Coventry and Carteret, which lasted till the resignation of the latter. Yet Coventry 'did not deny Sir G. Carteret his due in saying that he is a man that do take the most pains, and gives himself the most to do business of any about the court, without any desire of pleasure or di-

vertisements' (PEPYS, 30 Oct. 1662). During the difficulties of the Dutch war, Carteret's personal credit with the bankers was of the greatest service. In 1665, during the plague, Carteret states that he borrowed 280,000*l.* on his own credit, and thus kept the fleet abroad when it otherwise must have come home (GREY, *Debates*, p. 170; see also PEPYS, 25 June 1667). The fall of his friend Sandwich and the miscarriage of the Dutch war undermined his position, and he was only maintained by his great influence with the king when in June 1667 he exchanged his office with Lord Anglesey for the place of deputy-treasurer of Ireland (*ib.* 28 June 1667). 'The king,' Carteret told Pepys, 'at his earnest entreaty, did with much unwillingness, but with owning of great obligations to him for his faithfulness and long service to him and his father, grant his desire.' In spite of this retirement Carteret could not escape the censure of parliament. The report of the commissioners for the public accounts revealed gross mismanagement in the navy during the war, and especially great carelessness in keeping the accounts (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 8th Rep. 128-33). The House of Lords appointed a committee to examine into these charges, whose report, so far as it went, was favourable to Carteret (*ib.* 133). In the House of Commons, however, he was, on several articles, voted guilty of a misdemeanor, and finally, on 10 Dec. 1669, by 100 to 97 votes, suspended from sitting in the house (GREY, *Debates*, i. 214). The prorogation of parliament put an end both to the prosecution in the commons and to the proceedings of the lords' committee. In spite of this disgrace, when in 1673, on the resignation of the Duke of York, the admiralty was put in commission, Carteret was appointed one of the commissioners. He also acted as a member of the Tangiers committee, and as one of the committee of trade and plantations. Outside the admiralty colonial affairs chiefly occupied his attention. In 1663 he appears as one of the original proprietors of Carolina (24 March 1663). To him, in conjunction with Lord Berkeley, the Duke of York assigned the land between the Hudson and the Delaware, to be called, in honour of Carteret, New Jersey (BANCROFT, ii. 69; *Cal. Col. State Papers*, 1661-8, 607, 337).

By the government of Jersey, by successful privateering, and by the different offices he had held since the Restoration, Carteret had accumulated considerable wealth. Marvell terms him 'Carteret the rich,' and the 'Flagellum Parliamentarium' boldly accuses him of robbing the king of 300,000*l.* He himself told Pepys in 1667 that he was worth

50,000*l.* when the king came in, and was only 15,000*l.* better than he was then. 'I do take him for a most honest man,' adds the diarist (12 April 1667). He was also a bold man, for he took the liberty of recommending to the king the necessity of preserving at least a show of religion and sobriety (PEPYS, 27 July 1667). His education was very defective. Marvell sneers at his 'ill English,' and Pepys was shocked by his ignorance of the meaning of the device S.P.Q.R., 'which ignorance is not to be borne in a privy counsellor, methinks, what a schoolboy would be whipped for not knowing' (*Diary*, 4 July 1663). Carteret's death is announced in the 'London Gazette' of 14 Jan. 1680, where it is stated that he was 'near eighty years old, of which he had spent fifty-five in the service of his majesty and his royal father.' At the time of his death the king was about to raise him to the peerage, and consequently granted to his widow, by warrant dated 14 Feb. 1680, the same precedence as if the promised creation had actually taken place (warrant quoted by CHALMERS).

His eldest son, Philip, whose marriage with Jemima Montague is so amusingly described by Pepys (31 July 1665), had been killed in the battle of Solebay. But George, the son of this marriage, was elevated to the peerage 14 Oct. 1681 as Baron Carteret of Hawnes (BURKE, *Extinct Peerage*).

[Calendar of Domestic State Papers; Clarendon's History of the Rebellion; Clarendon State Papers; Hoskins's Charles II in the Channel Islands; Falle's History of Jersey, ed. Durell; Collins's History of the Family of Carteret; Pepys's Diary.] C. H. F.

**CARTERET, JOHN, EARL GRANVILLE** (1690-1763), was the eldest surviving son of George, first baron Carteret, by his wife, Lady Grace Granville, the youngest daughter of John, first earl of Bath. He was born on 22 April 1690, and when only five years old succeeded to the barony of Carteret on the death of his father on 22 Sept. 1695. He was educated at Westminster School, and Christ Church, Oxford, and was created D.C.L. on 26 April 1706. He devoted himself with so much ardour to the pursuit of learning, that Swift humorously asserted that, 'with a singularity scarce to be justified, he carried away more Greek, Latin, and philosophy than properly became a person of his rank; indeed, much more of each than most of those who are forced to live by their learning will be at the unnecessary pains to load their heads with' (SWIFT, *Works*, vii. 476). In March 1710 his younger brother Philip, who had obtained his election into college in

1707, died at Westminster School, and was buried in the north aisle of the abbey, where there is a monument to his memory, the epitaph for which was written by Dr. Freind. Carteret took his seat in the House of Lords on 25 May 1711, and soon became known as a staunch supporter of the protestant succession. He was appointed by George I one of the gentlemen of his bedchamber on 18 Oct. 1714; in July 1715 bailiff of the island of Jersey; and on 6 July 1716 lord-lieutenant and *custos rotulorum* of the county of Devon. This last office he held until August 1721, when he resigned it in favour of Hugh, fourteenth baron Clinton. His mother, who had succeeded as coheirress of the great Bath estates on the death of her nephew William, third earl of Bath, without issue in May 1711, was on 1 Jan. 1715 created Viscountess Carteret and Countess Granville, with remainder to her son John and his heirs male, and a special remainder of the viscounty in default of his male issue to his uncle Edward Carteret and his heirs male. His first recorded speech in the House of Lords was made on 14 April 1716, when he spoke in favour of the Duke of Devonshire's Septennial Bill (*Parl. Hist.* vii. 298-9). In the following year, when the great schism among the whigs occurred upon the dismissal of Lord Townshend from office, Carteret joined the Sunderland section of the whig party. On 25 Jan. 1719 he was appointed ambassador extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the queen of Sweden, but did not leave England until 1 June. He successfully accomplished the objects of his embassy, obtaining both the promise of compensation to all British subjects who had sustained losses in the Baltic, and the right of freedom of trade and navigation in that sea for all British ships in future. His offer, on behalf of the king, to mediate between Sweden and Denmark, and also between the former country and the czar, was readily accepted by the queen. A peace between Sweden, Prussia, and Hanover was concluded through the instrumentality of Carteret, and proclaimed at Stockholm on 9 March 1720. This was a prelude to a reconciliation between Sweden and Denmark. A preliminary treaty between these two countries having been signed, Carteret was appointed, in conjunction with Lord Polwarth, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the congress of Brunswick for the purpose of finally adjusting the differences in the north of Europe. In June 1720 he left Carlberg, and set out for Denmark. Arriving at Fredericksburgh, he had his first audience with the Danish king on the 19th. After a conference

of two days between Carteret and the Danish ministers, the treaty which had already been signed on the part of Sweden was concluded on 3 July by the king of Denmark. This treaty, which was ratified on 22 Oct., practically put an end to the war between Sweden, Russia, Denmark, and the king of Prussia, for the czar afterwards concluded an agreement with Denmark without the intervention of a mediator. Carteret, having accomplished the objects of his mission, returned through Hanover on his way to England, where he arrived on 5 Dec.

On 19 Aug. 1720 he had been appointed, together with Earl Stanhope and Sir Robert Sutton, ambassador extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary at the congress of Cambridge. The meeting of the congress was delayed, and Carteret does not appear to have acted in this capacity. Soon after his arrival in England he took part in the debates on the state of the national credit occasioned by the failure of the South Sea scheme, and supported Lord Stanhope's contention that the estates of the criminals, whether directors or not, ought to be confiscated. During the discussions on this subject Carteret was appointed ambassador extraordinary to the court of France. He was on the point of setting out, when the death of James Craggs, jun., occurred. He was thereupon appointed secretary of state for affairs of the southern province in Walpole's administration, and, being admitted to office on 5 March 1721, was sworn a member of the privy council on the same day. It was impossible for two such men as Walpole and Carteret, neither of whom could brook any rivals, to act together in the same cabinet for any length of time. Carteret soon became jealous of Walpole's paramount authority, and endeavoured to ingratiate himself with the king. In this he quickly succeeded, as George could speak no English, and Carteret was the only minister who could speak German. Emboldened by the influence which he had acquired over George, Carteret endeavoured to form a party of his own. Having secured the assistance of the Countess of Darlington, and gained over to his side Lord Carleton, the lord privy seal, the Duke of Roxburghe, the secretary for Scotland, and Lord Cadogan, the commander-in-chief, he endeavoured to oust Walpole from office. With this object in view he strongly supported the Hanoverian policy of the king, and professed to exercise a considerable influence over Cardinal Dubois, the French minister.

The struggle for supremacy between Carteret on the one hand, and Walpole supported by Townshend on the other, was a prolonged

one. Though Carteret was appointed one of the lords justices of the kingdom in the absence of the king on 26 May 1723, both he and Townshend, the other secretary of state, followed George to Hanover, and there a great part of these intrigues and counter-intrigues took place. The La Vrillière incident brought matters to a head. Sir Luke Schaub, a partisan of Carteret's, was recalled from his post of English minister at Paris; and Carteret, being succeeded as secretary of state by the Duke of Newcastle, was on 3 April 1724 nominated lord-lieutenant of Ireland. That country was then in a very excited and discontented state. In 1723 a patent had been granted to Wood for the exclusive right of coining halfpence and farthings to the value of 108,000*l.* This patent had been obtained through the influence of the Duchess of Kendal, and without any consultation with the Irish privy council. Carteret, by caballing with the Brodericks (one of whom was the lord-chancellor of Ireland), and furnishing, it is said, the private history of the mode in which the patent had been obtained, had greatly encouraged the prevailing discontent. He had done this with the object of harassing Walpole, who now enjoyed the refined revenge of sending him to quell the disturbance which he had helped to raise. In 1724 Swift published the famous 'Drapier's Letters,' which aroused the Irish to a pitch of frenzy. The new lord-lieutenant did not go over to Dublin until October. The fourth letter, addressed 'to the whole people of Ireland,' was published in this month, and one of Carteret's first acts was to publish a proclamation offering a reward of 300*l.* for the discovery of the writer. Swift, who had made the acquaintance of Carteret some years before, had, on hearing of his appointment to the lord-lieutenancy, promptly written to him while still in London about the patent. When Harding, the printer of the letters, was imprisoned, Swift went to the levee, and demanded of Carteret an explanation of this severity against a poor industrious tradesman who had published two or three papers designed for the good of his country. Carteret, who could have had little doubt of Swift being the real author of the letters, though he was probably not desirous that it should be discovered, replied by an apt quotation from Virgil:

*Res dura, et regni novitas, me talia cogunt  
Moliri.*

After an unsuccessful attempt had been made to allay the popular ferment by means of a compromise, Carteret procured the re-

vocation of the patent, and the excitement speedily subsided. In accordance with the usual custom of lord-lieutenants in those days, Carteret only remained in Ireland during the sitting of the Irish parliament, and in January 1727 we find him speaking in the House of Lords on the East Indian trade, and giving expression to views which in these days would be considered economically unsound.

On 1 June 1725, and again on 31 May 1727, he was appointed one of the lords justices of the kingdom during the king's absence from England. George I died suddenly while on his way to Hanover at his brother's palace at Osnaburgh on 11 June 1727. Carteret was one of the old privy councillors who met at Leicester House on the 14th for the purpose of proclaiming George II, and on the same day was sworn of the new privy council. Having been reappointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland on 29 July, he returned to Dublin in November, when he opened the new parliament. While in Ireland he lived on intimate terms with Swift, from whom he frequently received advice with regard to Irish affairs. The advice was not always taken, for it is related that 'when Carteret had parried, with his usual dexterity, some complaint or request of Swift, he exclaimed, "What in God's name do you do here? Get back to your own country, and send us our boobies again"' (SWIFT, *Works*, i. 372-3). Though Carteret declined to admit Swift to any office which would give him a right to interfere in the affairs of the country, he occasionally presented unimportant pieces of preferment to Swift's friends. On the appointment of Dr. Delany to some places of small profit, an outcry was raised by the more violent whigs, who declared that extravagant favour had been shown to a tory divine. This gave rise to Swift's pamphlet entitled 'A Vindication of His Excellency, John Lord Carteret, from the charge of favouring none but Tories, High-churchmen, and Jacobites,' which was published in 1730. Taken as a whole, Carteret's administration of Irish affairs during the six years he was lord-lieutenant was generally popular—indeed, Swift confessed in a letter to Gay, dated 19 Nov. 1730, that Carteret 'had a genteeler manner of binding the chains of the kingdom than most of his predecessors' (*ib.* xvii. 350). That Carteret appreciated Swift's commendation is clear from a letter written by him to Swift and dated March 1737, in the postscript of which he says: 'When people ask me how I governed Ireland, I say that I pleased Dr. Swift' (*ib.* xix. 135). At the same time, as the seals were taken

away from his old enemy, Lord Townshend, Carteret was dismissed from his post. He left Ireland in April 1730, and though offered the post of lord steward, left vacant by the appointment of the Duke of Dorset as lord-lieutenant, he refused to take further office under Walpole.

Upon his return from Ireland he joined the opposition, and, becoming a close ally of Pulteney, took a very prominent part in the struggle against Walpole. During this period he seized every opportunity in the House of Lords of harassing the administration. His speeches, however, were not always consistent with those which he had delivered when in office. In a conversation with Lord Hervey about Carteret, Sir Robert Walpole is reported to have said that 'I had some difficulty to get him out, but he shall find much more to get in again' (LORD HERVEY, *Memoirs*, 1884, ii. 128). Walpole kept his word, and the struggle was long and doubtful. Towards the end of the opposition, Carteret was suspected by some of being desirous to make his peace with the court. However that may be, on 13 Feb. 1741 he moved his famous resolution in the House of Lords that an address should be presented to the king requesting him to remove Walpole from his 'presence and counsels for ever' (*Parl. Hist.* xi. 1047-85). His speech on this occasion was the longest, as well as the ablest, which he appears to have made, and was characterised by contemporary authorities as one of the most splendid orations which had been heard in the House of Lords. The debate lasted two days, and Carteret was beaten by 108 to 59. A similar motion by Sandys in the House of Commons was, owing to dissensions among the heterogeneous opposition, defeated by a still larger majority. In April parliament was dissolved, and Walpole met the new House of Commons with a diminished majority. The opposition soon showed its strength, and on 29 Jan. 1742 the ministers were left in a minority of one in a division on the Chippenham election petition. Upon the resignation of Walpole, the Wilmington administration was formed, and Carteret was appointed secretary of state for the affairs of the northern province on 12 Feb. 1742.

Once again we find him changing his parliamentary language, and supporting measures which he had formerly opposed; and so far as the domestic policy of the government was concerned, matters went on much the same as under Walpole. The foreign policy, however, gained considerably in energy under Carteret's direction. He at once sent the assurance of his full support to Maria Theresa,

and in September 1742 went himself to the States-General in order to concert measures with them for the protection of the United Provinces. Though appointed one of the lords justices of the kingdom in the absence of the king, he attended George during the whole of the campaign of 1743, and was present at the battle of Dettingen. By furthering the king's Hanoverian policy, and otherwise flattering his prejudices, Carteret had now obtained complete influence over him. This period of Carteret's ascendancy was known by the name of 'The Drunken Administration,' and the expression, as Macaulay remarks in his 'Essay on Walpole's Letters,' was not altogether figurative. The war, however, became very unpopular, as it was alleged that the interests of England were subordinated to those of Hanover. The ministers were incensed at Carteret's arrogance and his neglect in consulting them on foreign affairs—in short, he speedily became the most unpopular man in the country. In December 1743 Pitt, in the debate on the address, described him 'as an execrable, a sole minister, who had renounced the British nation, and seemed to have drunk of the potion described in poetic fictions which made men forget their country' (*Parl. Hist.* xiii. 135 note).

On the death of Lord Wilmington in July 1743, Henry Pelham had become the prime minister, and after a protracted struggle in the cabinet, Carteret, who had succeeded to the title of Earl Granville on the death of his mother on 18 Oct. 1744, being unable to withstand the combined opposition against him, resigned the seals, which were accepted by the king with great reluctance on 24 Nov. 1744. Carteret, however, accepted his defeat with his usual cheerfulness, and, according to Horace Walpole, retired 'from St. James's laughing.' Early in 1746, being still in favour with the king, he made another attempt to regain power. Under his advice the king refused to admit Pitt to office. This advice was far from distasteful to the king, as Pitt had vigorously opposed the Hanoverian policy on the continent. The ministers, being bound by their promises to give office to Pitt, thereupon resigned, and the two seals of the secretaries of state were on 10 Feb. 1746 delivered to Granville that he and Lord Bath might form an administration as they pleased. After a vain endeavour to form a ministry, he resigned the seals on the 14th, only four days after his appointment. His high spirits did not forsake him even on this occasion, and he continued to laugh and drink as before, owning that the attempt was mad, but that he was quite ready to do it again. One of the

many squibs which were published at this time, entitled 'A History of the Long Administration,' concludes with the following ironical remarks: 'And thus endeth the second and last part of this astonishing administration, which lasted forty-eight hours, three-quarters, seven minutes, and eleven seconds; which may truly be called the most honest of all administrations; the minister, to the astonishment of all wise men, never transacted one rash thing; and, what is more marvellous, left as much money in the treasury as he found in it.' From this time he severed his political connection with Lord Bath, who, he declared, had forced upon him the short-lived administration, and by which he considered that he paid all his debts to him.

He still continued in the king's favour, and having been elected on 22 June 1749 a knight of the Garter, was installed at Windsor on 12 July 1750. On 17 June in the following year he was appointed president of the council. When congratulated on his conciliation with his former opponents, he replied: 'I am the king's president; I know nothing of the Pelhams; I have nothing to do with them.' Notwithstanding the various changes in the administration which occurred from time to time, by keeping himself aloof from the broils in which the other ministers engaged he continued to hold the post until his death. In 1756 the Duke of Newcastle, as a desperate effort to avert resignation, offered Granville the first place in a ministry of which he himself should be a subordinate member. Granville had, however, by this time lost his ambition, and refused the offer. The last recorded speech which he made in the House of Lords was in the debate on the second reading of the Habeas Corpus Bill on 9 May 1758 (*Parl. Hist.* xv. 900). During the last four years of his life his health gradually failed, though he still continued to preside over the meetings of the council. In October 1761, when Pitt proposed in council an immediate declaration of war with Spain, and threatened to resign if his advice was not taken, Granville is said to have replied: 'I find the gentleman is determined to leave us, nor can I say I am sorry for it, since he would otherwise have certainly compelled us to leave him; but if he be resolved to assume the right of advising his majesty, and directing the operations of the war, to what purpose are we called to this council? When he talks of being responsible to the people, he talks the language of the House of Commons, and forgets that at this board he is only responsible to the king. However, tho' he may possibly have convinced himself of

his infallibility, still it remains that we should be equally convinced before we can resign our understandings to his direction, or join with him in the measure he proposes' (*Ann. Reg.* 1761, p. 44). To the last he maintained his keen interest in foreign affairs. Robert Wood, in his 'Essay on the original Genius of Homer' (1769, pp. i, ii), relates that, 'being directed to call upon his lordship a few days before he died with the preliminary articles of the Treaty of Paris, I found him so languid, that I proposed postponing my business for another time; but he insisted that I should stay, observing that it could not prolong his life to neglect his duty, and repeated the following passage out of Sarpedon's speech, with particular emphasis on the third line, by which he alluded to the conspicuous part he had acted in public life (*Ὁ Πέρον, κ.τ.λ.*, Π. xii. 322-8). His lordship then recovered spirits enough to hear the treaty read, and to declare the warm approbation of a dying statesman (I use his own words) on the most glorious war, and most honourable peace, this nation ever saw.' Lord Granville died at Bath on 2 Jan. 1763, in the seventy-third year of his age, and was buried in Westminster Abbey on the 11th of the same month in General Monck's vault, in Henry VII's chapel. He married twice. His first wife, Frances, the only daughter of Sir Robert Worsley, bart., of Appuldercombe, Isle of Wight, to whom he was married at Longleat on 17 Oct. 1710, died at Hanover on 20 June 1743. On 14 April 1744 he married Lady Sophia Fermor, the second daughter of Thomas, first earl of Pontefract. His second wife, who is described by Lady M. W. Montagu as having 'few equals in beauty or graces' (*The Letters and Works of Lady M. W. Montagu*, 1837, ii. 376), died of fever on 7 Oct. 1745 in her twenty-fifth year, a few weeks after the birth of her daughter Sophia, who afterwards became the wife of William, second earl of Shelburne. By his first marriage Granville had three sons and five daughters. He was succeeded by his only surviving son Robert, who died without issue in 1776, when the titles became extinct. The barony of Carteret was re-created in 1784 in the person of one of Lord Granville's grandsons, Henry Frederick, the younger son of his daughter Louisa and Thomas, second viscount Weymouth, who had succeeded to the Carteret estates on the death of his uncle Robert. This barony again became extinct upon the death of John Thynne, third lord Carteret, in 1849. The correspondence and papers of the first earl Granville were presented to the British Museum by the late Lord John Thynne in 1858

(*Addit. MSS.* 22511-45). Though his career was, on the whole, unsuccessful, he possessed the very highest reputation for ability among his contemporaries, and it is from their representations alone that we are able to judge of his character, as we have no authentic record of his speeches, and, with the exception of some despatches, he left no writings behind him. According to Lord Chesterfield, 'Lord Granville had great parts, and a most uncommon share of learning for a man of quality. He was one of the best speakers in the House of Lords, both in the declamatory and the argumentative way. He had a wonderful quickness and precision in seizing the stress of a question, which no art, no sophistry, could disguise to him. In business he was bold, enterprising, and overbearing. He had been bred up in high monarchical, that is, tyrannical principles of government, which his ardent and imperious temper made him think were the only rational and practicable ones. He would have been a great first minister of France—little inferior, perhaps, to Richelieu; in this government, which is yet free, he would have been a dangerous one, little less so, perhaps, than Lord Stafford. He was neither ill-natured nor vindictive, and had a great contempt for money; his ideas were all above it. In social life he was an agreeable, good-humoured, and instructive companion, a great but entertaining talker. He degraded himself by the vice of drinking, which, together with a great stock of Greek and Latin, he brought away with him from Oxford, and retained and practised ever afterwards. By his own industry he had made himself master of all the modern languages, and had acquired a great knowledge of the law. His political knowledge of the interest of princes and of commerce was extensive, and his notions were just and great. His character may be summed up in nice precision, quick decision, and unbounded presumption' (*The Letters of the Earl of Chesterfield*, 1845, ii. 456). The description which the same writer drew of him in the first number of 'Old England' is not, however, so flattering, but it should be borne in mind that this was written in the heat of political strife (*ib.* v. 233). Of the five great men who, in Horace Walpole's opinion, lived in his time, 'Lord Granville was most a genius of the five; he conceived, knew, expressed what he pleased' (WALPOLE, *Memoirs of the Reign of George II*, 1846, iii. 85). Chatham himself, in the House of Lords, some seven years after Granville's death, said that 'in the upper departments of government he had not his equal, and I feel a pride in declaring that to his patronage, to his friendship, and instruc-

tion, I owe whatever I am' (*Parl. Hist.* xvi. 1098). Swift, in his verse as well as in his letters and conversation, and Smollett in 'Roderick Random,' have also testified to his talents. Though possessed of a singularly versatile intellect, he was quite unfitted for the position of a parliamentary leader. Fond of power as he was, he viewed with contempt the ordinary means by which men were conciliated; and, destitute of fixed political principles, he treated politics more as a game than as a serious business. His contempt of public opinion, and his unceasing advocacy of the Hanoverian policy, prevented him from ever becoming a popular minister. Though a great patron of literature, he has left no literary work of his own behind him, and nothing is known of the history of his own time which he is supposed to have commenced (LORD HERVEY, *Memoirs*, iii. 158). Careless of money, he was often hard pressed in his lifetime, and at his death his affairs were left in a very embarrassed condition. A portrait of Granville by Thomas Hudson was exhibited in the National Portrait Loan Collection of 1867 (*Catalogue*, No. 259).

[In addition to the books referred to in the article, the following works among others have been consulted: *Biog. Brit.* 1784, iii. 270-80; *Collins's Peerage*, 1768, iv. 400-10; *The Marchmont Papers* (ed. Sir G. Rose), 1831, vols. i. and ii.; *Walpole's Letters*, 1857; *Lord Mahon's History of England*, 1854, vols. ii. iii. and iv.; *Lecky's History of England*, vols. i. and ii.; *Ewald's Sir Robert Walpole*; *Macauley's Essays on Walpole's Letters to Sir H. Mann and William Pitt, Earl of Chatham*; *Chester's Westminster Abbey Registers*; *The Georgian Era*, 1832, i. 289-93; *London Gazettes*.] G. F. R. B.

**CARTERET, SIR PHILIP DE** (1584-1643), knight, seigneur of St. Ouen and of Sark, lieutenant-governor of Jersey, was descended from one of the most ancient and influential families of the island, being the son of Sir Philip de Carteret, governor of Jersey, who was knighted by Queen Elizabeth, and of Rachel, daughter and coheirress of George Poulett, bailly of Jersey, and niece of Sir Amias Poulett, governor of Jersey, ancestor of the noble family of that name. He was born in February 1583-4, and educated at Oxford University. On attaining his majority he was elected a jurat of the royal court. In 1626 he was appointed bailly of the island, and soon afterwards lieutenant-governor to Sir Thomas Jermyn, which office he held to the end of his life. Having been deputed by the states to negotiate with the privy council for the establishment of a set of canons to bring back the island to conformity with the church of England, he conducted

the negotiation to a successful issue. William Prynne, in his 'Lyar Confounded,' states that during his three years' close confinement in Jersey he received 'extraordinary favours and respect' from De Carteret and his lady, when by a special order from the lords all his friends and kindred were denied access to him. On account of the kind treatment he experienced Prynne inferred that De Carteret would be ready to support the parliamentary cause in the contest with the king, and states that he 'found him a real friend to the state and parliament of England in all his discourses and actions.' He also mentions that 'he was the only man that procured scholarships and fellowships in Oxford for the islanders of Jersey, with sundry immunities both from England and France concerning trade.' At the period of the civil war the island was a prey to internal dissensions among the principal inhabitants, and De Carteret was far from being generally popular. In 1642, while he was in London, twenty-two articles signed by some of the principal inhabitants were presented against him, and he was summoned to answer them before the House of Lords. On the ground, however, that Jersey was in danger from a French invasion, he was, chiefly through the representations of Prynne, permitted to return home. Prynne was thus the means of securing the island for the king; but for De Carteret's return the parliamentary party would have been triumphant. De Carteret's proclamation, which he made soon after his return, of his adherence to the royal cause, Prynne explains by asserting that he had no other alternative on account of the conduct of the parliamentary party towards him. There is, however, every reason to suppose that, though sympathising to a certain extent with the aims of the parliamentary party in England, he was opposed to extreme courses. Be this as it may, he held out for Charles with a resolution which nothing could shake. While he retired to the castle of Elizabeth, his wife and eldest son, Philip, took charge of the defence of that of Orgueil. All his efforts to treat with those in authority for the parliament were rejected, and when through the hardships of the siege his health broke down, the last services of the church were denied him in his dying hours. It was only a short time before he expired that Lady de Carteret could obtain access to the castle to bid him final farewell. He died on 23 Aug. 1643. By his wife Ann, daughter of Sir Francis Dowse of Browton and Nether Wallop, Hampshire, he left several children, of whom the eldest, Philip, was knighted by Charles II



in honour both of his father's and his own heroic defence of Jersey in 1643.

[Chevalier's Chronicle; Falle's Account of the Island of Jersey; Payne's Armorial of Jersey; Prynne's Lyar Confounded; Cal. State Papers, Dom. Series.] T. F. H.

CARTERET, PHILIP (*d.* 1796), rear-admiral, was lieutenant of the Dolphin in Byron's voyage, 1764-6 [see BYRON, JOHN, 1723-1786]. He was appointed commander on his return, May 1766. To complete the work which Byron had begun, a second expedition was soon after his return despatched to the southern hemisphere under the direction of Captain Samuel Wallis, consisting of the Dolphin, commanded by Captain Wallis, and the Swallow, commanded by Carteret. Carteret complained of the Swallow as entirely unfit for the voyage. He was, however, ordered to sail in her, but was separated from the Dolphin while clearing the Straits of Magellan (11 April 1767). He resolved to proceed in his ill-found ship, and after watering at Spanish Isle, Masafuero, discovered Pitcairn's Island on 2 July 1767, which in 1790 was occupied by the mutineers of his majesty's ship *Bounty* [see ADAMS, JOHN, 1760?-1829]. Thence proceeding in a north-west direction, he discovered Osnaburg (named after the Duke of York), Duke of Gloucester, and Queen Charlotte Islands, distinguishing the prominent features of each by names which they still continue to possess. In his passage towards New Britain he discovered Gower's, Simpson's, Carteret's, Hardy's, Wallis's, and Leigh's Islands. Arriving at New Britain, he found that an inlet, supposed to be only a bay, was a strait dividing the island into two, and to the second island he gave the name of New Ireland, distinguishing the intersecting channel as St. George's. After discovering and naming the islands of Sandwich, Byron, New Hanover, the Duke of Portland's, the Admiralty, Denven's, Matty's, Stephen's, and Freewill, he proceeded along the coast to Mindanao, where his observations enabled him to check some mistakes made by Dampier in the survey of that island. He reached Macassar 12 Dec. 1767, with a worn-out crew and unseaworthy ship. In June 1768 he reached Batavia, whence he proceeded round the Cape of Good Hope to England, arriving at Spithead on 20 March 1769. On account of the state of his health and the condition of the ship he had latterly to contend with great difficulties, and found it impossible to carry his full purpose into execution, but his actual achievements in his one voyage of two years and a half entitle him to rank among the greatest geographical discoverers of his time.

In 1771 he was appointed to post rank, in 1777 he commanded the *Druid* frigate in the West Indies, and in 1779 was appointed to the *Endymion*, 44 guns, with which he joined Rodney. He was too late for the campaign of that year, and finally returned with a convoy from Jamaica in 1781. His health was broken. In 1794 he was retired from the active list with the nominal rank of rear-admiral, and died at Southampton 21 July 1796, 'having long been afflicted with loss of speech' (*Gent. Mag.* lxxi. ii. 622). His 'Journal' was published in Hawkesworth's 'Voyages', 1773, which also includes the 'Voyages' of Byron, Wallis, and Cook, and was published in German and French the following year. Carteret contributed to 'Philosophical Transactions' a note 'on the Inhabitants of the Coast of Patagonia,' whose height, he says, varied from six feet to six feet seven inches, and an 'Account of *Camelopardalis* found at the Cape of Good Hope' (*Phil. Trans.* ix. 20, 27).

[Journal as above; Georgian Era, vol. iii. Appendix, 460-1; Beaton's Naval and Mil. Memoirs, vol. vi.; Navy Lists; Brit. Mus. Cat.]

T. F. H.

CARTHACH, SAINT, the elder (*d.* 580?), appears in the 'Felire' of Engus the Culdee (10th cent.) with the epithets of royal and Roman attached to his name (ed. Stokes, p. lv). This is generally interpreted to mean that he was of royal ancestry, and had travelled to Rome [cf. CAJNNECH, SAINT]. From the 'Vita Kierani' (*Bollandist A. SS.*, March, v. 395) we gather that he was the grandson of Angus, king of Munster, who would seem to be the king whose death is recorded in the 'Four Masters' under the year 489. Colgan, however, noting that he was the brother of St. Cuanna, quotes from an old genealogy to show that he was the great-grandson of Neill of the Nine Hostages (*A. SS.*, 249-51), who died about the year 405 (but cf. the *Leabhar Breac* notes to Angus, p. lx).

In the 'Vita Kierani' St. Carthach appears, before the death of St. Patrick, as one of St. Ciaran of Saighir's young disciples (p. 395); but there are some difficulties in the way of accepting this statement in its entirety (*Dict. of Christ. Biog.* i. 410). We read that Carthach became engaged in an intrigue with a certain nun, in punishment for which offence St. Ciaran enjoined on him the penance of foreign travel. On his return he seems to have joined St. Ciaran once more, and is said to have been appointed his successor at Saighir, perhaps about the year 550 (*ib.* i. 544). It may have been a few years later than this

that he found his namesake, the younger Carthach, on the banks of the Mang (? Mainne) in Kerry, and ordained him priest. From the latter saint's life (*A. SS.*, 14 May, 379), we learn that it was the habit of St. Carthach to traverse his diocese singing the Psalms, in alternation with his accompanying priests. Dr. Lanigan would date the first friendship of the two Carthachs about the year 577, assigning 580 as an approximate date for the elder Carthach's death. It is evident, however, that this is hardly consistent with the admission that he was already one of St. Ciaran's disciples before 490. St. Carthach's principal church was at Saighir in King's County, where he succeeded St. Ciaran. To this the authors of the 'Acta Sanctorum' add (from the 'Martyrology of Tamlacht') a church at Druim Ferdhaimh, a place which, according to the same authority, Marianus O'Gorman located at Carbery in Kildare. A third church was at Inis Vachstair on Lough Silenn (*Leabhar Breac*, ap. Stokes's 'Angus,' p. lx), and perhaps a fourth at Inis Carthach, near Lismore (*A. SS.*, 393). The 'Dictionary of Christian Biography' adds a fifth at Tir-Boghaine (Banagh Barony) in Tyrconnell (i. 411); and Mr. Shearman a sixth dedication at Cill Carthach, now Kiltcar in Donegal (*Loca Patriciana*, p. 298; for other churches in Ossory possibly founded by this saint, Kilmocar, Kilmoggar, and Stamcarty, see the same writer). St. Carthach is said to have been the father of St. Molua (*Leabhar Breac*). There seems to be an unvarying tradition that makes him the tutor of St. Carthach the younger; but as regards the details of his life there can be no absolute certainty. [See remarks on ST. CAINECH.] His day is 5 March.

[Bolland. Acta Sanctorum, 5 March, 389-399, and 14 May; Colgan's Acta Sanctorum, 250, and in Vita Kierani, 458-66; Stokes's Calendar of Engus the Culdee; Lanigan's Ecclesiastical History of Ireland, ii. 98, 152, &c.; Shearman's Loca Patriciana; Dictionary of Christian Biography, i.] T. A. A.

CARTHACH, SAINT, the younger (*d.* 636), called also MOCHUDA, the founder of the famous monastery at Rahen, and bishop of Lismore, was the son of Finnall (*Annals Four Masters*, sub an. 631). According to his legendary life, which, however, seems to have preserved much that is historical, he was born in Kerry, of the race of Fergus, 'qui fuit fortissimus heros Ulteriorum,' but had been driven from his native place by Oidell, king of Connaught. His father's name, according to this account, was Fingen of Kerry, his mother's, Mead, 'de gente Corcoduide' (? Corcaquiny

in Kerry). Fingen, swineherd on the Mainne, a man of some position under the king or 'duke' of Kerry, employed his young son; and while serving in this capacity the boy found favour with the king, Moeltule, and his wife, who was granddaughter to the king of Munster. His time was now divided between court service and pasturage, till one day, being ravished by the chanting of his namesake, Carthach the elder, he insisted on forsaking his worldly employment for that of God. It was in vain that Moeltule called the young enthusiast into his presence and made him offer of sword and shield and kingly robes if he would only undertake his father's duties and position. After having received the priesthood, Carthach was once more brought before the king, whom he blessed, and to whose descendants he promised long rule in Kerry, 'all which things,' says his biographer (*Vita*, ii. 379), 'are being fulfilled according to that prophecy.' From his cell in Kell-Tulach, 'between the Mainne and Mount Mysis,' Carthach set out for North Ireland, the home of his race, and spent a year with Comgall at his great monastery of Bangor (in co. Down), on leaving which place he acted as bishop in Kerry. Later on, passing through the southern parts of Leinster, he came to Clonfert, where he dismissed all his companions and proceeded on his journey alone, having on his shoulders two *lethe* full of books. By the advice of St. Colman-Ela he constructed himself a cell at Raithin—now Rahen in King's County—somewhere about A.D. 590. This expanded into the great Irish monastery over which he ruled for forty years, and whither disciples—to the number of 867—flocked from all parts of Ireland and Britain. His rule appears to have been very strict, and we are told in his life that he forbade his monks to use cattle in their agricultural works till, at the request of St. Fintan, he relaxed the severity of this order. Carthach appears to have retained the bishopric of Kerry (*Vita*, ii. c. iii. 24, with which cf. 14), returning at times to his home at Rahen, where we read that he was visited by St. Columba. Great possessions were heaped upon the saint by Cathal, king of Munster (*d.* 620). Meanwhile, Rahen was growing in fame as an ecclesiastical school, and among the crowd of Carthach's scholars twelve names stood out with special prominence—'the twelve disciples of Mochuda.' Of these the most important are Mochemog, Ædan, and Mochua or Cronan.

After forty years of quiet, Carthach was driven from Rahen with his company of monks about the year 631 (*A. F. M.*, but cf.

*Chr. Scot.* &c. for a slightly different date). The causes of this movement are hard to fathom, but it seems that the jealousy of a certain section of the clergy in Meath urged Blathmac and Diarmid, the sons of Ædth Slane, to expel the whole community. Carthach now commenced a wandering life. From Rahen he passed to Fircall (in King's County), and from Fircall to Roscrea in Tipperary, where his former pupil, St. Cronan, entertained him. Thence he journeyed southwards to King Failbhe Flann at Cashel (633, *A. F. M.*), from which place he traversed the district of Decies in Waterford as far as Lismore, where Failbhe's son-in-law, Melochtrig, gave him a site for a new monastery (c. 632). Here Carthach seems to have dwelt for a few years, till at last, as age drew on, he retired to a neighbouring retreat to the east of his chief foundation, and here lived for eighteen months. At last, feeling that death was upon him, and pitying the older members of his flock whose weak limbs could hardly bear the toils of a journey to his secluded cell, he gave orders to be carried from the valley to a place of easier access. On the way he grew weaker, and called to his bearers to set him down in the valley. There he received the communion, gave his last injunctions to his brethren, and so died 'by the fountain where the cross of migration (*crux migrationis*) has been erected' (14 May 636; but cf. TRIGHERNAC, 637, and *Chr. Scot.* 636). Of Carthach's writings none seem to be extant now, excepting perhaps the rule for his monastery of Rahen, which Ussher saw 'in codice antiquiore . . . Hibernico sermone antiquissimo exarato' (*Antiq.* p. 476). A long poem, ascribed to this saint, is still preserved in the library of Trinity College, Dublin (*MS. H.* ii. 16; REEVES, *Culdees*, p. 8; with which cf. O'CURREY'S *Lectures on Manuscript Materials for Irish History* for an account of a verse 'Rule' ascribed to Carthach, pp. 374-5). Carthach is more generally known by the name of Mochuda, his real name having probably been Chuda (= Cuddy), to which the endearing prefix 'mo' (= my) has been added, as in the case of so many other Irish saints (LANIGAN, pp. 350-1).

[Carthach's name seems to occur first in the so-called Catalogue of Tirechan, seventh and eighth century (Haddan and Stubbs, ii. part 2), the Stowe Missal, of perhaps the ninth century (Warren's *Liturgy of the Celtic Church*, p. 238), and the Martyrology of Genus the Culdee (ed. Stokes), tenth century. His name is also to be found on the same day (14 May), according to the Bollandist editor, in the Tamlacht and other early Irish Martyrologies. Two ancient lives are printed in the Bollandist *Acta SS.*, one from

a MS. Salmanticense at Brussels, the other from an ancient Irish manuscript, which seems, if we may judge from Dr. Reeves's description of the latter, to correspond with that contained in ff. 94-100 of the so-called Codex Kilkennensis (or Codex Armachanus) in Primate Marsh's library at Dublin. Of these two lives the second, which is by far the longer, appears to contain the larger amount of historical details, though mixed with much fable. It is noteworthy that the name of St. Carthach the younger does not seem to occur in the lives of any of the contemporary saints of Ireland.] T. A. A.

CARTHEW, GEORGE ALFRED (1807-1882), antiquary, was born on 20 June 1807, being the only son of George Carthew, solicitor, of Harleston, Norfolk, by his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Peter Isaack, gent., of Wighton in the same county. Owing to his father's straitened circumstances, Carthew had little school education. While yet a boy he was articled to his father, and from him he inherited not only the remarkable faculty for genealogical and historical research which he exhibited throughout a long life, but a rich collection of materials. He had access, while still in his articles, to a collection of charters once belonging to Mendham Priory in Suffolk, and with but little assistance he spent years in deciphering, copying, and analysing the large mass of ancient documents so as to completely master the contents. Carthew was admitted a solicitor in Hilary term 1830, and, after practising for nine years at Framlingham in Suffolk, though still in partnership with his father at Harleston, accepted a partnership at East Dereham, where he fixed himself for the rest of his life. At Dereham Carthew wrote the history of the hundred of Launditch, which, after nearly forty years of toil, interrupted by frequent illness and pecuniary loss, was published with the title of 'The Hundred of Launditch and Deanery of Brisley in the County of Norfolk. Evidences and Topographical Notes,' &c., three parts, 4to, Norwich, 1877-9. This admirable specimen of a county history, skilfully arranged and skilfully executed, illustrated by lithographs, plans, and facsimiles, is unrivalled for the completeness of the manorial descents.

Carthew was nominated one of the local secretaries of the Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society instituted under the presidency of Bishop Stanley in December 1845, and at the first general meeting (1846) read a paper on the church of Great Dereham. His contributions to the 'Norfolk Archaeology' were numerous and important, the most valuable being perhaps the notice on 'North Creake Abbey' in the seventh volume, pp. 153-68, and that 'On the Right of Wardship

and the Ceremony of Homage and Fealty in the Feudal Times' in the fourth volume, pp. 286-91. In the second volume of the same series he had published 'Extracts from a MS. Diary of Peter Le Neve, Esq., Norroy King of Arms, entitled "Memorand' in Heraldry," of such entries as relate to the County of Norfolk,' accompanied by an elaborate pedigree of Le Neve and valuable genealogical notes. This manuscript had come into his possession through his grandfather, the Rev. Thomas Carthew, F.S.A., of Woodbridge Abbey in Suffolk, to whom it was given by 'Honest Tom Martin,' the historian of Thetford, who had married Le Neve's widow. Some extracts previously appeared in the 'Gentleman's Magazine.' Carthew also took part in editing for the society 'The Visitation of Norfolk in the year 1563,' of which only the first volume, published in 1878, has as yet appeared.

Later Carthew, in ill-health and suffering from severe domestic loss, prepared for publication his collections for the history of the parishes of West and East Bradenham, Necton, and Holme Hale. In the event of his death Dr. Jessopp undertook to see the rest of his material through the press, and preface the work with an introduction. Carthew was found dead in his chair on the morning of Saturday, 21 Oct. 1882, and was buried at Harleston.

Carthew had been elected a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries in February 1854; he was a frequent contributor to the chief antiquarian and genealogical periodicals. After his death appeared: 1. 'A History of the Parishes of West and East Bradenham, with those of Necton and Holme Hale, in the County of Norfolk. With an Introduction by the Rev. Augustus Jessopp, D.D.,' 4to, Norwich, 1883. 2. 'The Origin of Family or Sur-Names, with special Reference to those of the Inhabitants of East Dereham in the County of Norfolk,' 4to, Norwich, 1883.

[Burke's Landed Gentry (1882), i. 278; Athenæum, 4 Nov. 1882, p. 598.] G. G.

**CARTHEW, THOMAS** (1657-1704), serjeant-at-law, eldest son of Thomas Carthew of Cannaliggy, St. Issey in Cornwall, who married Mary Baker of Bodmin, was born on 6 April 1657. If the authority of Hals, the Cornish historian, can be trusted, he was for some time 'in the inferior practice of the law under Mr. Treghenna, without being a perfect Latin grammarian, always using the English words for matters and things in his declarations where he understood not the Latin.' He became a student at the Middle Temple on 21 May

1683, and on 14 June 1686 was called to the bar, Hals adding that he gained his advancement 'by a mandamus from the lord keeper, North,' with whom he was undoubtedly connected by marriage. He was admitted to the same position at the Inner Temple on 23 Nov. 1698, and was created a serjeant-at-law on 7 Nov. 1700, when he was raised to the bench of his inn. The same local historian prophesied his growth 'into such great fame and reputation, that he is likely to make a considerable addition to his paternal estate,' but on 4 July 1704 Narcissus Luttrell records in his diary, 'tis reported Serjeant Carthew is dead,' and on 12 July he was buried in the Temple Church. John Colby of Banham in Norfolk married Ann, daughter and heiress of John Arthur of Wigganhall St. Mary. At Colby's death his widow married Edward North of Benacre, Suffolk. Ann, one of Colby's two daughters and coheiresses, married a second Edward North, and the other daughter, Mary, married Serjeant Carthew. By her the serjeant had two sons, Thomas and John, both at the bar, and Thomas, the elder, inherited Cannaliggy from his father, and Benacre and Woodbridge from his maternal uncle, Edward North. The Cornish property he sold in 1720, and the Suffolk estates have long passed from the family, but a portrait of the serjeant is said to be preserved at Woodbridge Abbey. A volume of the serjeant's, 'Reports of Cases adjudged in the Court of King's Bench from 3 Jac. II to 12 Will. III,' was published by his son, Thomas Carthew, in 1728, and reprinted in an enlarged edition in 1741. A 'Reading on the law of uses by Serjeant Carthew at New Inn in Michaelmas term, the third of William and Mary, when he was deputy reader for the Middle Temple,' was included in a volume entitled 'Collectanea Juridica' (1791). The serjeant's reports are praised by Kenyon and Willes, but condemned by Thurlow.

[Benchers of Inner Temple (1883), p. 58; Woolrych's Serjeants, ii. 459-63; Suckling's Suffolk, ii. 123-4; Courtney and Boase's Bibl. Cornub. 64, 1116; Miscell. Geneal. et Herald. iii. 176; Parochial Hist. of Cornwall (1868), ii. 236-7, 241.] W. P. C.

**CARTIER, SIR GEORGE ETIENNE** (1814-1873), Canadian statesman, youngest son of Jacques Cartier, lieutenant-colonel in the Canadian militia, who died in 1841, by his wife Margaret, daughter of Joseph Paradis, was born at St. Antoine, on the Chambly river, in the county of Verchères, Lower Canada, on 6 Sept. 1814. He received his education at the college of St. Sulpice, Montreal, where he went through a course of

study during eight years. Having left college, he entered the office of E. E. Rodier, a leading member of the Montreal bar, and in November 1835 became a member of the bar in Lower Canada. The same year he commenced practice, and soon succeeded in establishing an extensive and lucrative business. At different times he had for his partners in the law J. A. Berthelot and M. Dumerville. In March 1848, seven years after responsible government had been established in Canada, Cartier was elected a member of the legislative assembly for the county of Verchères. He continued to represent that constituency until the general election of 1861, when he contested Montreal, and after a hard struggle defeated M. Dorion, the leader of the rouge or Lower Canada party. On 25 Jan. 1856 he first held office as provincial secretary in the MacNab-Taché ministry, and on 24 May 1856 was appointed attorney-general for Lower Canada on the formation of the Taché-Macdonald administration. In November 1857 he was named leader of the Lower Canada section of the government, the Hon. J. A. Macdonald becoming premier, and the ministry under its new phase being known as the Macdonald-Cartier ministry. A slight change in the wheel of fortune produced a transposition of these names, and on 6 Aug. 1858 the ministry became the Cartier-Macdonald administration. As a legislator Cartier assisted to carry the bills for abolishing the seigniorial tenures, that for making the legislative council elective, and that for secularising the clergy reserves. It was also owing to his exertions that several important measures were enacted by the legislature. To say nothing of the Victoria Bridge Bill, he in 1856 passed an act for the establishment of three normal schools, and in 1857 carried a measure to provide for the codification of the civil laws. In the same session he framed an act to break up the system of judicial centralisation in Lower Canada. Two years later he introduced the French civil law into the townships, its operation having been previously confined to the seigniories. In the sitting of 1860 he passed the measures dividing the cities of Montreal, Quebec, and Toronto into electoral divisions, and also introduced the admirable municipal bill which the lower province now enjoys. On 28 July 1853, being defeated in an attempt to make Ottawa the seat of government, he was obliged to resign. As a leader and member of the government he was one of the most honest and upright ministers who ever held office; his enunciation of French in parliament was the most distinct of any member in the house,

and he had a perfect command of English. Every year of his official life he submitted to a sacrifice of professional emolument, which had the effect of making him a comparatively poor man. The new ministry, under the Hon. George Brown, were only able to hold office two days, and Cartier immediately returned to power as premier in the month of August, and kept that position until May 1862. In 1864 he was again offered the premiership of the cabinet, but declined it, though he accepted the position of attorney-general. He was one of the delegates to England on the question of confederation and the intercolonial railway in 1865 and 1866. On the formation of the Dominion government in 1867 he was appointed minister of militia and defence in the new cabinet, and retained this place until the reconstruction of the cabinet under Lord Dufferin in 1873. In 1854 he was made a queen's counsel of Canada, created a C.B. on 29 June 1867, a member of the queen's privy council for Canada in July 1867, and a baronet of the United Kingdom on 24 Aug. 1868.

He died at his lodgings, 47 Welbeck Street, Cavendish Square, London, on 21 May 1873. The requiem mass was celebrated at the French Chapel, Portman Square, on 27 May, and his remains were then shipped to Canada for interment. He married, on 16 June 1846, Hortense, daughter of Edward Raymond Fabre of Montreal, and had issue two daughters. He was the author of the popular French Canadian song 'O Canada! mon pays, mes amours!' which was set to music and published, and of other songs.

[Morgan's Sketches of Canadians, 1862, pp. 603-8; Appleton's American Annual Cyclopædia, 1873, p. 597; Times, 23 May, p. 5, 28 May, p. 10.] G. C. E.

**CARTWRIGHT, CHRISTOPHER** (1602-1658), divine, was born in the parish of St. Michael-le-Belfry, York, in 1602. He was admitted to Peterhouse, Cambridge, on 13 Dec. 1617; graduated B.A. 1620, M.A. 1624; was elected to a fellowship at Peterhouse on 30 March 1625, and was afterwards a clergyman in York. His writings are: 1. 'The Magistrates' Authority in matters of Religion and the Soul's Immortality vindicated in two sermons,' 1647. The first sermon, published by a Colonel Leigh, is directed against some soldiers in the army at York, who had roused Cartwright's indignation by denying the power of the magistrate to restrain heretics. 2. 'The Doctrine of Faith . . .' 1649 (thirty-six sermons). 3. 'Certain Religiosum, or a Controversy between the late King of England and the late Lord,

Marquesse of Worcester concerning Religion, with a Vindication of the Protestant Cause from the pretences of the Marquesse his last Papers, which the necessity of the King's affairs denied him opportunity to answer,' 1651. The 'Certamen Religiosum,' published in 1649 by Thomas Baylie [q. v.], is here reprinted with Cartwright's answer. 4. 'Electa Thargumico-Rabbinica sive Annotationes in Exodum ex triplice Thargum seu Chaldaica paraphrasi . . .' 1658. Dedicated to Ussher. 5. 'Mellificum Hebraicum seu observationes diversimodæ ex Hebræorum, præsertim antiquorum, monumentis desumptæ, unde plurimi cum Veteris tum Novi Testamenti loci vel explicantur vel illustrantur.' The last was first published in the ninth volume of the 'Critici Sacri,' 1660, and the eighth volume of the edition of 1698. The 'Electa Thargumico-Rabbinica' was first inserted in the 'Critici Sacri' of 1698 (vol. i. pt. i.) Cartwright shows great learning in illustrating the Bible from ancient rabbinical writings, and is respectfully mentioned by contemporaries. When Baxter wrote his first work, 'Aphorisms of Justification, &c.,' he submitted it to Cartwright among others. Cartwright made various remarks, to which Baxter replied. Cartwright then replied by some 'exceptions.' Baxter lost the manuscript, which turned up some years after Cartwright's death. In 1676 Baxter published his 'Treatise of Justifying Righteousness,' in two books, the second of which, entitled 'A Friendly Debate with the learned and worthy Mr. Christopher Cartwright,' contains all the preceding papers, together with Baxter's final reply, 'The Substance of Mr. Cartwright's Objections considered.' It is a curious illustration of Baxter's dialectical subtlety and candour. He calls Cartwright a 'very learned, peaceable, and godly man.' Cartwright died at York in 1658, and left some books to the library of Peterhouse.

[Sylvester's Baxter, i. 50, 107; Coles's MSS. xlii. 100, 136; E. Leigh's Treatise of Religion and Learning (1656), p. 155; Wood's Athenæ Oxon. ii. 527, iii. 201, 432, 928, 1027; Drake's Eboracum, p. 378; Calamy's Baxter, ii. 783.]

L. S.

**CARTWRIGHT, EDMUND, D.D.** (1743-1823), the reputed inventor of the power-loom, born 24 April 1743, was the fourth son of William Cartwright of Marnham, Nottinghamshire, where the family had been settled for generations. One of his elder brothers was Major John Cartwright [q. v.] He received his early education at Wakefield grammar school, and at fourteen went to University College, Oxford. When

he wished to become a candidate for a fellowship at Magdalen without having graduated, convocation (CARTWRIGHT, *Memorial*, read to the Society of Arts, p. 6) passed an act enabling him to take his B.A. degree before the regular time. On receiving it, in 1764, he was elected a fellow of Magdalen, proceeding M.A. in 1766. A versifier from an early age, he published anonymously, in 1772, 'Armine and Elvira, a legendary poem,' which went rapidly through several editions and was reprinted in an anonymous volume of poems issued by him in 1773. In the essay on the imitation of the ancient ballads prefixed to the third part of the 'Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border,' Sir Walter Scott speaks of 'Armine and Elvira' as a 'beautiful piece,' and admired by Dugald Stewart. Having taken orders and married a lady who appears to have inherited property in Doncaster, Cartwright was presented to the perpetual curacy of Brampton, near Wakefield. In 1779 he became rector of Goadby Marwood, Leicestershire, and published (anonymously) 'The Prince of Peace,' an ode deploring the fratricidal contest then being waged by England with the American colonists. At Goadby Marwood he made agricultural experiments on his glebe land, contributed to the 'Monthly Review,' and formed an intimacy with Crabbe, who in 1772 became his neighbour as domestic chaplain to the Duke of Rutland at Belvoir.

In 1784 Cartwright paid a holiday-visit to Matlock, near Arkwright's [see ARKWRIGHT, SIR RICHARD] cotton-spinning mills at Cromford. There Cartwright happened to say in conversation that Arkwright 'would have to set his wits to work to invent a weaving-mill,' and argued that it would not be more difficult to make a weaving-machine than it had been to construct the automatic chess-player. From this conversation sprang the modern power-loom, according to the account years afterwards furnished by Cartwright to the contributor of an article on the cotton manufacture in the 'Encyclopædia Britannica' (reproduced in Baines's 'History of the Cotton Manufacture,' pp. 229-30).

Soon after his return home Cartwright constructed a power-loom without having seen the working of the ordinary hand-loom. His clumsy machine was inadequate as an effective substitute for the hand-loom. Nevertheless he took out a patent for it, 4 April 1785, removing in the same year to Doncaster, where he had become possessed of some property, probably in right of his wife. Having studied the working of the hand-loom, in 1786—issuing the while a new edition of his poems (mostly commonplace)—

he visited Manchester to have a model of his improved machine constructed and criticised by skilful workmen, and to enlist the aid of local manufacturers. Disappointed in this hope, and having taken out two more patents, 30 Oct. 1786 and 18 Aug. 1787, for further improvements in his loom, he set up at Doncaster a factory of his own for weaving and spinning. The power-loom worked there was the parent of that now in use, and in it an ingenious mechanism was substituted for the hands and feet of the ordinary weaver (see drawing of a portion of it, with the improvements subsequently patented in 1790, in appendix C to the *Memoir of Cartwright*, by his daughter, and description of it there, pp. 64-6; also the drawings of it, with extracts from the specification of 1790, in BARLOW, *History of Weaving*, pp. 236-8). Cartwright's was not the earliest power-loom, but it was the first by which wide cloth, such as calico, was woven for practical purposes (BARLOW, p. 229).

Yorkshire had for centuries been a principal seat of the woollen manufacture, and at Doncaster Cartwright invented a wool-combing machine which contributed greatly to lessen the cost of that manufacture. It was an invention more original than his power-loom. No method of combing wool but by hand appears to have been so much as thought of when Cartwright took out, in 1789, his first patent for a wool-combing machine. Its structure was essentially modified when he took out, in 1790, a second and third patent, followed by a fourth in 1792. It substituted mechanical action for manual. Even in the earlier stages of its development one machine did the work of twenty combers by hand, and by the use of a single set of the machines a manufacturer could save 1,100*l.* per annum (see drawings and descriptions of it in *Memoir*, pp. 98-100, and in JAMES, *History of the Worsteds Manufacture*, where its initial value is spoken of disparagingly). Petitions against its use poured into the House of Commons from the wool-combers, some fifty thousand in number. So formidable seemed their opposition that Cartwright, in a counter-petition, expressed his readiness to limit the number of his machines to be used in any one year. The House of Commons appointed a committee to inquire into the matter, and nothing came of the wool-combers' agitation (*Journals of the House of Commons*, xlix. 322; CARTWRIGHT, *Memorial*, read to the Society of Arts, p. 43).

Cartwright's Doncaster factory is said to have been on a limited scale, until the erection of a steam-engine in 1788 or 1789, though on visiting it Mrs. Crabbe was as-

tonished by its magnitude (*Life of Crabbe*, by his son, 1847, p. 38). In 1791 a Manchester firm contracted with Cartwright for the use of four hundred of his power-looms, and built a mill in which some of them were worked by a steam-engine, at a saving, it was said, of half the wages paid to the hand-loom weavers. The Manchester mill was burned to the ground, probably by workmen, who feared to be displaced. This catastrophe prevented manufacturers from repeating the experiment. Cartwright's success at Doncaster was obstructed by opposition and by the costly character of his processes in that early stage. By 1793, having spent some 30,000*l.*, he was deeply in debt. He relinquished his works at Doncaster, giving up his property to his creditors, transferring for their benefit also his patent rights to his brothers, John and Charles, and recording in a stoical sonnet his feelings at this destruction of his hopes.

In 1793 Cartwright removed to London, where, in a small house nearly on the site afterwards occupied by the Coliseum, he built a room with the 'geometrical bricks,' patented the year before, whose cost alone would have prevented their general use. He constructed a new steam-engine, for which he took out a patent in 1797, and in which alcohol was wholly or in part to be substituted for water (see drawings in TRENGOLD, *Steam-engine*, i. 34-5). He now formed an intimacy with Robert Fulton, co-operating with him in experiments for the application of steam to navigation. Cartwright was one of the arbitrators appointed to settle the terms of the compensation to be given by the British government to Fulton on his suppression of a secret for blowing up ships by submarine navigation. In 1799 Cartwright was for a time candidate for the secretaryship of the Society of Arts, and prepared a 'memorial,' afterwards published, which gives some autobiographical details. He had been appointed a prebendary of Lincoln in 1786 (LE NEVE, *Fasts*, ii. 207) by Thurlow, then bishop of that see.

In 1800 Cartwright's patent for the wool-combing machine had only a few years to run. It was coming into use slowly, but infringements were frequent and costly to resist. He petitioned parliament to prolong his patent for fourteen years, and circulated a 'case' in which he told the story of his inventions and his losses by them. After an inquiry by a committee of the House of Commons, a bill prolonging the patent for fourteen years was passed in 1801. When the prolonged patent expired, Cartwright remained a loser by his invention.

Cartwright had been again directing his attention to agricultural improvements. In 1793 had appeared a letter from him to Sir John Sinclair on a new reaping machine of his invention, and in June 1801 he received a prize from the board of agriculture for an essay on husbandry. In 1800 the ninth duke of Bedford gave him the management of an experimental farm at Woburn. The duke died in the following spring, and Cartwright preached a funeral sermon which was severely censured, as improper from a clergyman, in a published letter, signed 'Christianus Laicus,' addressed to Charles James Fox. The tenth duke of Bedford retained his services until 1807. In that year appeared a volume of affectionately didactic 'Letters and Sonnets' addressed by Cartwright to Lord John Russell, then a boy of fifteen. During his stay at Woburn, Cartwright's zealous promotion of agricultural improvement procured him distinctions from the Society of Arts and the board of agriculture. In 1806 the university of Oxford conferred on him his B.D. and D.D. degrees, and he officiated as domestic chaplain to the Duke of Bedford. He remained rector of Goadby Marwood until 1808 at least.

In 1804 Cartwright's patent for the power-loom expired. For several years after his abandonment of the Doncaster factory his power-loom was little used, but, with improvements effected in it, it came gradually into some favour. About 1806 Cartwright found his invention to have become a source of considerable profit to Lancashire manufacturers. He wrote an indignant letter to a Manchester friend. In August 1807 some fifty prominent Manchester firms signed a memorial to the Duke of Portland, as prime minister, asking the government to bestow a substantial recognition on the services rendered to the country by Cartwright's invention of the power-loom. Cartwright petitioned the House of Commons, which on 10 June 1809 voted him 10,000*l*.

Cartwright now became independent. He bought a small farm at Hollander, between Sevenoaks and Tunbridge, and occupied himself during the rest of his life in cultivating it and in useful inventions, agricultural and general. In his eighty-third year he sent to the Royal Society, which did not publish it, a paper containing a new theory of the movement of the planets round the sun. At Hollander he was kind to the poor and active as a magistrate. Crabbe's son speaks of Cartwright as 'a portly dignified old gentleman, grave and polite, but full of humour and spirit.' Inventing to the last, he died at Hastings on 30 Oct. 1823, and was buried in

the church of Battle, where his family erected a mural monument to his memory. Cartwright left several children, among them Edmund, rector of Earmley; Elizabeth, wife of the Rev. John Penrose, better known as the Mrs. Markham of juvenile historical literature; Frances Dorothy [q. v.], the biographer of her uncle, Major Cartwright; and Mary, the wife of Henry Eustatius Strickland, no doubt the authoress of the meritorious biography of her father, which was published anonymously, but to the preface of which its writer affixed the signature 'M. S.'

[A Memoir of the Life, Writings, and Mechanical Inventions of Edmund Cartwright, D.D., &c. (1843); Bennett Woodcroft's Brief Biographies of Inventors for the Manufacture of Textile Fabrics (1863); Abridgments of Specifications relating to Weaving (1861); Report from the Committee on Dr. Cartwright's Petition respecting his weaving machine, together with the minutes of evidence: House of Commons' Papers (1808); E. Baines's History of Cotton Manufacture in Great Britain (1833); Barlow's History and Principles of Weaving by Hand and by Power (1878); James's History of the Worsted Manufacture in England from the earliest times (1857); Tredgold's Steam-engine, its Invention and Progressive Improvement (1838).] F. E.

**CARTWRIGHT, FRANCES DOROTHY** (1780-1863), poetess and biographer, youngest child of the Rev. Edmund Cartwright, D.D. [q. v.], inventor of the power-loom, &c., by his first wife, Alice, was born 28 Oct. 1780. She was adopted by her uncle, Major Cartwright [q. v.], the energetic politician, on her mother's death, while she was still an infant; and was sent to school at Richmond. In 1802 she began to write small poems, and in 1823, being much interested by the Spanish patriots received by her uncle, she learnt Spanish and translated a few of Riego's poems into English. On the death of her uncle in 1824 she prepared her first published work, 'The Life and Correspondence of Major Cartwright,' published in 1826. She retired with Major Cartwright's widow to Worthing, and published her poems there anonymously, in a little volume, 'Poems, chiefly Devotional,' dated 13 Nov. 1835. Her translations of Riego's poems appeared, with her initials, in the poet's 'Obras Póstumas Poéticas' (1844). She died at Brighton 12 Jan. 1863, aged 83.

[Frances Cartwright's Life of her uncle, i. 163, 405, 408-12, ii. 163, 243, 245, 279, 302; her Poems, 18, 21-6, 41, 47, 48, 50; El Romancero and Obras Póstumas Poéticas of E. A. del Riego y Nuñez and R. del Riego y Nuñez, on coloured leaves, not paged; Brighton Examiner, 20 Jan. 1863.] J. H.



**CARTWRIGHT, GEORGE** (*fl.* 1661), dramatist, was the author of a solitary tragedy entitled 'The Heroick Lover, or the Infanta of Spain,' London, 1661, 8vo, dedicated to Charles II. It was presumably unacted. The scene is Poland, and the author speaks of it as 'a poem consisting more of fatal truth than flying fancy.' It is in rhymed verse, and is in all respects a poor production. Cartwright is unmentioned by Langbaine, Winstanley, and Phillips. The first reference to him occurs in Gildon's addition to Langbaine, 1699, where it is said that the author 'has writ a play called "Heroick Love," a mistake copied by succeeding writers, and that he 'lived at Fulham.'

[Baker, Reed, and Jones's *Biographia Dramatica*; Genest's *Account of the Stage*; *The Lives and Characters of the English Dramatic Poets*, first begun by Mr. Langbaine, improved and continued down to this time by a careful hand, 1699.] J. K.

**CARTWRIGHT, JOHN** (*fl.* 1763-1808), painter, was a member of the Free Society of Artists, and in 1763 signed the deed of enrolment of that society. He went to Rome to prosecute his artistic studies, and there became acquainted with Henry Fuseli. On his return to England he resided for several years at 100 St. Martin's Lane, and when Fuseli returned to England from Rome in 1779, he for some time shared part of Cartwright's house. Cartwright became a great personal friend of Fuseli, who gave him many hints, and occasionally assistance in his work. His historical pictures show much of Fuseli's influence, which was, however, unsuited to an artist of Cartwright's calibre. He exhibited at the Royal Academy from 1784 to 1808; his pictures were not confined to any one class of subject, but represented landscapes, historical and domestic subjects, and principally portraits.

[Redgrave's *Dict. of Artists of the English School*; Redgrave's *Century of Painters*, vol. i.; Graves's *Dict. of Artists*, 1760-1880; Pye's *Patronage of British Art*; Catalogues of the Exhibitions of the Royal Academy and the Free Society of Artists; Knowles's *Life of Fuseli*.] L. C.

**CARTWRIGHT, JOHN** (1740-1824), political reformer, was descended from an old Northamptonshire family, and was the third son of William Cartwright of Marnham, and Anne, daughter of George Cartwright of Ossington. He was born 17 Sept. 1740, and educated at a grammar school at Newark, and a private academy at Heath in Yorkshire. At about the age of eighteen he entered the navy, and saw some active service under the command of Lord Howe.

He devised certain improvements in gun exercise, afterwards incorporated in Falconer's 'Marine Dictionary.' Cartwright rapidly rose in the service, and in 1766 was appointed first lieutenant of the *Guernsey* on the Newfoundland station, and the following year was made deputy commissary to the vice-admiralty court in that island. Here he took the lead in a short exploring expedition; He returned from Newfoundland in 1770, in impaired health. His mind dwelt constantly on the improvement of naval efficiency, and during several years he endeavoured to draw the attention of the government to plans for a perpetual supply of timber for the navy.

About 1775 Cartwright began publicly to assert his opinions on political matters in 'A Letter to Edmund Burke, controverting the Principles of American Government laid down in his lately published speech on American Taxation,' and in a tract on American independence. Two years later his sympathies hindered him from joining Lord Howe's command in North America, and a stop was thus put to his professional advancement. In 1775 Cartwright had been appointed major to the Nottinghamshire militia. He now began a series of writings on reform in parliament. From the first he advocated annual parliaments, universal suffrage, and the ballot. His extreme notions hindered his acceptance by the whigs, but his position as a country gentleman insured him respect. He was frequently in correspondence with Mr. Burke and other leaders of opinion. In 1780 Cartwright began the agitation which earned for him the title of the Father of Reform. A county meeting in Nottingham was succeeded in March of that year by the historic meeting at Westminster, on which occasion the leaders of the whig opposition met Cartwright and his friends, and passed resolutions on the inadequate representation of the people of England. Shortly after he promoted the establishment of the Society for Constitutional Information. He had more than one requisition to stand for parliament, but his candidature was vain, with the corrupt system of election then in vogue.

Meanwhile he was actively engaged in agricultural pursuits and laying down practical hints for the encouragement of the farming interest. He was likewise in active co-operation with Clarkson, Granville Sharp, and the other anti-slavery leaders. During the alarmist period Cartwright began to run some personal risk. Having attended a public meeting to celebrate the taking of the Bastille, his promotion in the militia was withheld, and his commission at length altogether cancelled.

About 1800 a plan was started for erecting a naval temple which should record the feats of British seamen. Cartwright produced one which was considered to be far ahead of any other project. Drawings were publicly exhibited at a house in Pall Mall, and an elaborate quarto volume remains as a record of the scheme, and, indeed, as the only part of it which was ever carried out ('The Trident, or the National Policy of Naval Celebration; describing a Hieronauticon, or Naval Temple'). In 1803-4 Cartwright renewed his representations relative to the defenceless state of the country, particularly in the eastern counties, and produced one of his more important works, under the title of 'England's Ægis; or, the Military Energies of the Constitution.' He contributed many papers to Cobbett's 'Register' on this and other topics. He continued to publish numerous writings, of which the more important were: 'The Comparison: in which Mock Reform, Half Reform, and Constitutional Reform are considered; or, who are the Statesmen to preserve our Laws and Liberties' (1810); 'Six Letters to the Marquis of Tavistock, on a Reform of the Commons House of Parliament' (1812); 'The English Constitution produced and illustrated' (1823). He also devoted himself during the later years of his life to the cause of Spanish patriotism; and in 1821, at a time when the Greeks were making their struggle for independence, he aided the public subscriptions both in money and by his pen in 'Hints to the Greeks' (a study of pikes, in default of bayonets). In 1813 he was arrested in the course of a political tour, but soon released; and in 1820 was tried for sedition and fined 100*l.*

In 1805 Cartwright left his Lincolnshire home and came up to the metropolis, residing for some time at Enfield. In 1810 he removed to James Street, Buckingham Gate, and in 1819 to Burton Crescent, where he resided till his death on 23 Sept. 1824. A monument has been erected to his memory in the garden opposite. Cartwright was one of the most generous-minded public men of his time. He was tender to his opponents, forgiving to detractors, and always open-handed. He saved persons from drowning, at the risk of his own life, on four different occasions. His writings are excessively dry to the ordinary reader, and quite significant of the enthusiast who could be earnest without being inflammatory. 'He was cheerful, agreeable, and full of curious anecdote. He was, however, in political matters, exceedingly troublesome, and sometimes exceedingly absurd,' according to Mr. Place (*Add.*

*MS.* 27850, fol. 103). Other testimony of his contemporaries seems to show the accuracy of this opinion. Upwards of eighty tracts or other writings, besides the above-mentioned, were published by him, a list of which is given in the biography by his niece (ii. 299-301). Those which expressed a full statement of his views are: 'Give us our Rights: or, a letter to the present electors of Middlesex and the Metropolis, showing what those rights are,' &c. (1782); 'The Commonwealth in Danger: with an introduction, containing remarks on some late writings of Arthur Young' (1795). The rest of them are mere reiterations. Cartwright married in 1780 Miss Anne Katharine Dashwood, of a Lincolnshire family, but had no issue.

[*Add. MSS.* 27850 ff. 108 et seq., 27937 ff. 76, 80, 82, 92, 30108 ff. 333, 353, 30109 ff. 61, 124, 125, 30110 f. 80, 30111 f. 8; *The Life and Correspondence of Major Cartwright*, edited by his niece, F. D. C. (1826); *A Memoir of John Cartwright, the Reformer, with a Likeness of that Honest and Consistent Patriot* (1831); *Tait's Magazine*, new ser. i. 437 (1834); *Life of S. Romilly* (3rd ed.), ii. 109, 218-24, 508; *Times*, 25 Sept. 1824; *Monthly Chronicle*, 24 Sept. 1824; *Genl. Mag.* xciv. ii. 467-9; *Monthly Review*, lxxiii. 287 et seq.] E. S.

**CARTWRIGHT, JOSEPH** (1789?-1829), marine painter, was apparently a native of Dawlish in Devonshire, and was attached to the navy in a civil capacity. When the Ionian Islands came into the possession of the English, he was appointed paymaster-general of the forces at Corfu, which post he held for some years. The nature of his duties afforded him many opportunities for making sketches of those islands and the neighbouring coast of Greece. On his return to England he published a volume entitled 'Views in the Ionian Islands,' and henceforth devoted himself to art, and especially to painting marine subjects and naval engagements. He exhibited many pictures at the Royal Academy, the British Institution, and the Society of British Artists, and obtained a great reputation in his particular line. In 1825 he was elected a member of the Society of British Artists, and in 1828 he was appointed marine painter to H.R.H. the Duke of Clarence, lord high admiral of England. He died, much esteemed and regretted, at his apartments at Charing Cross, on 16 Jan. 1829, aged about forty. Among his principal pictures were 'The Burning of L'Orient at the Battle of the Nile,' 'The Battle of Algiers,' 'The Battle of Trafalgar,' 'The Port of Venice at Carnival Time,' 'H.M.S. Greyhound and H.M.S. Harrier engaging a Dutch Squadron in the Java Seas,' 'Frigates becalmed in the Ionian

Channel,' 'A Water-spout off the Coast of Albania.'

[Redgrave's Dict. of Artists of the English School; Graves's Dict. of Artists; Gent. Mag. xcix. (1829) 187; Annual Register, 16 Jan. 1829; Times, 17 Jan. 1829; Catalogues of Exhibitions at the Royal Academy, the British Institution, and the Society of British Artists.] L. C.

**CARTWRIGHT, SAMUEL** (1789-1864), dentist, was born at Northampton in 1789, and was originally an ivory turner. He came to London at an early age, wholly dependent upon his own exertions for his daily support, and commenced life in the metropolis as a mechanical assistant to Mr. Charles Dumergue of Piccadilly. During this service he found time to give a regular attendance on anatomical and surgical lectures. In 1811 he started in practice on his own account at 32 Old Burlington Street, and soon acquired a reputation second to that of none, either before or since, who have practised the same branch of the healing art. He was as remarkable for the correctness and rapidity of his judgment as he was for marvellous dexterity in all manipulatory processes. During a great part of his career he was in the habit of seeing from forty to fifty patients every day, and this for months together, standing constantly from seven o'clock in the morning until the same hour in the evening, and yet in every case doing what he had to do without the slightest appearance of hurry or fatigue. He did much to improve and elevate his profession, and is said for some years to have been in the receipt of an income of upwards of 10,000*l.* He became a fellow of the Linnean Society on 19 Nov. 1833, a F.R.S. on 11 Feb. 1841, and was also a fellow of the Geological Society, but never found time to make any contributions to the 'Proceedings' of these institutions. His pleasing manners, liberal hospitality, and professional fame acquired for him the friendship of nearly all the most distinguished in science, literature, and art of his day. He continued in practice at Old Burlington Street until 1857, when he retired, and in the following year had an apoplectic seizure which resulted in palsy, under which he laboured for the rest of his life. He died at his residence, Nizell's House, near Tunbridge, on 10 June 1864.

[Proceedings of the Linnean Soc. of London, 1865, p. lxxxiv; British Journal of Dental Science, 1864, vii. 287.] G. C. B.

**CARTWRIGHT, THOMAS** (1535-1603), described by Strype (*Annals*, II. i. c.1) as 'the head and most learned of that sect

of dissenters then called puritans,' was a native of Hertfordshire, but his place of birth is not recorded. He was sent very young to Cambridge, where he was first entered as a sizar at Clare Hall, matriculating in November 1547. On 5 Nov. 1550 he was elected to a scholarship at St. John's College. The college was conspicuous for its attachment to the new doctrines of the reformation, and on the accession of Queen Mary, Cartwright, in common with most of those who refused to revert to catholicism, was compelled to quit the university. He obtained employment as a clerk to a counsellor-at-law, an experience which he is said to have subsequently turned to account, owing to the skill in dialectical fence which he acquired from his study of the common law. On the death of Queen Mary, the reformers returned to Cambridge in triumph. Among the most eminent of the Marian exiles was Dr. James Pilkington, who was now made master of St. John's, and to whose influence the growth of those puritan principles by which the university, shortly after became distinguished is largely attributable. He is said to have already discerned Cartwright's remarkable promise and abilities, and to have facilitated his readmission into the college. From St. John's Cartwright removed in 1560 to Trinity College, but immediately after (6 April) returned to the former society on his election to a fellowship on the Lady Margaret foundation. In the same year he commenced M.A., and 16 Jan. 1562 was appointed junior dean of the college. In April 1562, he returned to Trinity College as a major fellow, and not long after was elected a member of the seniority, or governing body. These successive changes may be interpreted as evidence of his reputation for ability and learning, both colleges apparently having been desirous of securing his services. He was already known in the university as an eloquent preacher, a rising theological scholar, and an able disputant; and, owing to his skill in this last-named capacity, he was elected to take part in a theological disputation held in the presence of Queen Elizabeth on the occasion of her visit to the university in 1564 (printed in NICHOLS's *Progr. Eliz.* iii. 66-8). It is asserted by Sir George Paule (*Life of Whitgift*, pp. 9-10) that Elizabeth showed a marked preference for Cartwright's antagonist in the disputation (the eminent John Preston), and that the former from that time cherished resentful feelings, which ultimately led him 'to kick against her ecclesiastical government.' This statement would appear, however, to be deserving of but little credit.

Nearly all the colleges, at that time, were

distracted by the disputes between the defenders of the newly established Anglican discipline and theology and the supporters of the opposed conceptions derived from the discipline and doctrine of Geneva. In 1565 the fellows and scholars of St. John's, to the number of nearly three hundred, appeared in the college chapel without their surplices, and their example was shortly after followed at Trinity. This latter breach of discipline is attributed by one writer (PAUL, *Life of Whitgift*, p. 12) to the effect produced by three sermons preached in the college chapel by Cartwright. Hitherto, the puritanical tendency had been restricted to such matters as the use of vestments, the posture to be observed at different parts of religious services, &c.; but under Cartwright's influence, questions now began to be raised which affected the whole church organisation.

It may have been partly in order to escape from the contentions which he had done so much to evoke that he retired in 1565 to Ireland. Another fellow of Trinity, Adam Loftus, had been appointed archbishop of Armagh, and Cartwright accompanied him as his chaplain. They held the same theological views, and when, in March 1567, Loftus was raised to the see of Dublin, he took occasion strongly to urge that Cartwright should be appointed his successor in the see of Armagh. In a letter written 5 Dec. 1567 he declares that Cartwright had 'used hym self so godly, during his abode with me in Ireland, bothe in lyfe and doctryne, that his absence from hence is no small greef and sorowe to all the godly and faythfull heare' (SHIRLEY, *Original Letters*, &c., p. 322). It would appear from this letter that Cartwright had left Ireland in the course of 1567. On his return to Cambridge, we hear of him associating on terms of intimacy with Rud. Cevalerius, the professor of Hebrew, and the youthful Jo. Drusius (CURIANDER, *Vita Jo. Drusii*, p. 4). The recommendation of Loftus was not acted upon, but in 1569 Cartwright was appointed Lady Margaret professor in the university, and both in the chair and in the university pulpit he now began to criticise and denounce the constitution and hierarchy of the English church, comparing them with those of the primitive christian organisations. In his lectures, when expounding the first two chapters of the Acts of the Apostles, his comments were directed to similar conclusions. He was answered from the pulpit by Whitgift, but in oratorical power Cartwright was generally acknowledged to be the superior. St. Mary's was thronged with excited listeners, and the party which sympathised with his views was probably at this time numerically the strongest

in the university. The authorities forebode, not without reason, the development of a controversy and fresh dissensions which would prove fatal to the peace of the academic community. Among those who severely censured Cartwright's conduct were men of known moderation and learning, such as William Chaderton, his predecessor in the professorial chair, and Grindal, archbishop of York. The remonstrances addressed to Cecil, the chancellor of the university, were so strong that he was roused to unwonted decisiveness of action, and addressed to the authorities a letter which was read in the Regent House on 29 June 1570. It was the same day that Cartwright was a candidate for the degree of D.D., and his supporters, fearing that the decision of the *caput*, or governing body, would be adverse to him, non-placed their election, which at that time took place on the assembling of every congregation. The vice-chancellor, Dr. May, retaliated by taking upon himself to veto Cartwright's degree. Both Cartwright and his opponents now appealed again to Cecil, the former, in justification of his conduct, alleging that he was altogether adverse from any disposition to sedition and contention, and taught nothing which did not naturally flow from the text he treated, although he did not deny that he had pointed out that the ministry of the church had deviated in discipline and practice from the ancient primitive model, and that he would gladly see a return from this departure (STRYPPE, *Annals*, II. i. Append. No. 1). His opponents, on the other hand, maintained that the manner in which he had inveighed against the Anglican method of choosing the ministers of the church, and against the dignities of archbishops, deans, archdeacons, &c., as impious and unscriptural, was imperilling the English church itself, and required to be summarily suppressed. At nearly the same time, a memorial in Cartwright's favour, signed by eighteen influential members of the university (among the names are those of Rob. Some, Ri. Greenham, Ri. Howland, George Joy, and Jo. Still), was forwarded to Cecil, testifying to Cartwright's character as 'a pattern of piety and uprightness,' and also to his attainments; although, says the document, as a Greek, Latin, or Hebrew scholar, he is not without his equals in the university, in his combined knowledge of the three languages he is without a rival. Moved by these representations, Cecil, early in August, addressed to the academic heads a letter enjoining abstention, on the part of both parties, from all reference to the questions which Cartwright had raised (*ib.* I. ii. c. 57).

It was at this juncture that the great

revolution was effected in the constitution of the university which resulted from the introduction of the Elizabethan statutes. The powers thus given to the *caput* were more extensive, and less liable to be controlled by the general body; and by virtue of this increase in their authority, the heads, led by Whitgift (who had succeeded May as vice-chancellor), deprived Cartwright of his professorship (December 1570). Following up this step, Whitgift (who had now succeeded to the mastership of Trinity) deprived Cartwright of his fellowship (September 1571), his ostensible reason for the measure being that Cartwright was not, as required by the college statutes, in priest's orders, a pretext which the latter denounced as 'a mere cavil.'

Cartwright now quitted England, and betook himself to Geneva, where Beza had succeeded Calvin as rector of the university. Beza is said to have pronounced Cartwright inferior in learning to no living scholar, but that the latter filled a chair of divinity at Geneva is a statement resting solely on the authority of Martin Marprelate (*An Epitome*, &c., p. 52). His Cambridge friends, among whom were men like Lever, Wyburn, Fulke, and Edward Dering, were extremely reluctant that such a scholar should be lost to the university, and at their pressing instance he returned to England in November 1572. Dering petitioned Lord Burghley that his friend might be appointed professor of Hebrew in succession to Cevalerius, and had it not been for his own impolitic conduct, Cartwright's return, both to the university and to office, would probably have been effected. In 1572, however, the famous 'Admonition to the Parliament' (the work of two London clergymen, John Field and Thomas Wilcox) appeared. It declared open warfare against all dignities, whether in the church or in the universities, and, together with the literature to which it gave rise, is generally considered to mark the point of departure of the puritan movement, its main object being to induce the legislature to assimilate the English church organisation to the presbyterian standard. The authors were both committed to prison; but their views and mode of enforcing them so closely coincided with Cartwright's, that he did not scruple to express his sympathy, to visit them in prison, and to support their arguments by writing 'A Second Admonition to the Parliament.' To both these 'Admonitions' Whitgift published a reply, to which Cartwright rejoined by writing 'A Replye to an Answer made of M. Doctor Whitegift, agaynst the Admonition to the Parliament. By T. C——' (n. d.) This controversy, in itself

sufficiently memorable, is rendered still more noteworthy by the fact that it was the proximate cause of the composition of Hooker's 'Ecclesiastical Polity' (see pref. to *Ecol. Polity*, sect. 2).

On 11 June 1573 a royal proclamation enjoined the suppression of both the 'Admonition' and its 'Defence,' and on 11 Dec. the court of high commission issued a warrant for Cartwright's arrest. He again left the country, resorting in the first instance to Heidelberg, then officiating as minister to the English church at Antwerp, and finally settling down in a like capacity in connection with the conformist church of 'English merchants of the staple worshipping at the Gasthuis Kirk' at Middelburg. His dissent from the Anglican discipline was, however, still further declared about this time in a letter prefixed to the 'Disciplina Ecclesiastica' of Walter Travers (which afterwards became the recognised text-book of puritanism), published at Rochelle in 1574. In the same year he issued a translation of Travers's book under the title, 'A full and plaine Declaration of Ecclesiastical Discipline owt of the Word of God, and off the declininge of the Church of England from the same' (also published at Geneva, 1580; Cambridge, 1584 and 1617). In 1576, in conjunction with Edward Snape, he visited the Channel Islands, for the purpose of assisting the Huguenot churches in those parts in their endeavours to establish a uniform discipline and organisation, and subsequently returned to Antwerp. In 1577 he married the sister of John Stubbe, the same who was convicted in 1579 of 'seditious writing,' and with whom he had probably become acquainted as a fellow-collegian. On the appearance of the Rhemish version of the New Testament in 1582, Cartwright was persuaded by the Earl of Leicester, Sir Francis Walsingham, and others (at the pressing instance, it is said, of Beza and some of the leading scholars of Cambridge), to prepare a criticism of the work. Walsingham subsidised his efforts by a gift of 100*l.*, and he eventually carried his labours as far as the fifteenth chapter of Revelation. Whitgift, however, fearful of the controversies to which the publication of the work would probably give rise, persistently discouraged the undertaking, and the manuscript remained unprinted until after Cartwright's death. It was published in 1618 under the title of 'A Confutation of the Rhemist's Translation.' The archbishop's apprehensions cannot be looked upon as groundless, when we consider that 'to suffer Cartwright's "Answer to the Rhemish Testament"' to be published is laid down by Marprelate as an indispensable condition of a satisfactory under-

standing with the bishops (*An Epitome, &c.*, p. 38). Nares (*Life of Burghley*, iii. 210) characterises the book as 'greatly favouring the Genevan discipline.'

On his return to Antwerp, Cartwright accepted the pastorate of the English church in that city, and his labours were alleged by him as a reason for not accepting an invitation to a chair of theology in the university of St. Andrews, which, on the recommendation of King James, was sent to him in 1584 (Epist. ded. to *Homilia in Lib. Sal.* Δ3). The climate of the Low Countries did not, however, agree with him, and he earnestly petitioned that he might be permitted to return to England. His request was supported both by Burghley and by the Earl of Leicester, but Elizabeth refused her assent. Early in 1585 he ventured to return without having obtained the royal permission, and was forthwith committed to the Fleet by Aylmer, bishop of London. The bishop alleged the royal warrant in justification, but this he had not actually received, and Elizabeth deeming it prudent to disavow the proceeding, Cartwright obtained his release. His views at this time appear to have remained unaltered, and in a letter (September 1585) addressed to Dudley Fenner he begs his friend to pray that he may be enabled to pursue 'the path of sincerity' to the end (Epist. prefixed to FENNER'S *Sac. Theol.*)

Shortly after he was appointed by the Earl of Leicester master of a hospital which the earl had founded in the town of Warwick for the reception of twelve indigent men, to which the bishop of Worcester was appointed visitor. At the same time Leicester settled upon him an annuity of 50*l.* for life (*Lansdowne MSS.* lxiv. art. 5). Cartwright did not, however, restrict himself altogether to his duties at the hospital, but frequently preached in the town and neighbourhood, and is said to have been the first among the clergy of the church of England to introduce extemporary prayer into the services.

In the suspicions attaching to the publication of the Marprelate tracts Cartwright did not escape, although it is affirmed that 'he was able to prove by sufficient witness that from the beginning of Martin he had on every occasion testified his dislike and sorrow for such kind of disorderly doings' (*ib.* lxiv. art. 20-6). The death of the Earl of Warwick (1588), and that of the Earl of Leicester (1589), also deprived him of his two most powerful protectors, and at one time the revenues of the hospital were in danger of alienation; but through the influence of Burghley its possession was confirmed by the House of Commons.

The position of Cartwright in relation to religious parties was in some measure that of an eclectic. By Martin he is taxed with 'seeking the peace of our church no otherwise than his platform may stand' (*An Epitome*, p. 28). He appears to have treated Barrow and Greenwood with contemptuous indifference, and in 1590 he saw fit to sever himself distinctly from the Brownists; and in a letter to his sister-in-law (Mrs. Stubbe) dissuaded her from the doctrines of the new sect, arguing that admitted abuses in the church did not justify separation from its communion. This conduct did not avail, however, to prevent his being in some measure included in the persecution which was now directed against the puritanically inclined ministers of Northamptonshire and Warwickshire by Whitgift, and it seems that he occasionally afforded some justification for such suspicion by his participation in certain 'secret conclaves' of these ministers which assembled from time to time at Cambridge. On 1 Sept. 1590 he was summoned before the court of high commission, and eventually committed to the Fleet; and in 1591, having refused the oath *ex officio*, was remanded. Among his companions in prison were Udal and other eminent members of the puritan party (BIRCH, *Mem. of Eliz.* p. 61), but, according to Sutcliffe (*Examination, &c.*, p. 45), Cartwright's confinement was mitigated by unusual indulgences. Powerful influence, including that of King James himself, was employed to procure his release (Epist. pref. in *Lib. Sal.*), which he eventually obtained through the efforts of Burghley, to whom (21 May 1592) he addressed a letter of thanks. He shortly after visited Cambridge, and preached there on a week-day before a crowded audience. In 1595 Lord Zouch, having been appointed governor of Guernsey, invited Cartwright to accompany him thither, and the latter remained in the island until 1598. His last years appear to have been spent in Warwick, where, according to Harrington (*Briefe View*, p. 8), he 'grew rich and had great maintenance to live upon, and was honoured as a patriarch by many of that profession.'

Sir Henry Yelverton (Epist. prefixed to BISHOP MORRISON'S *Episcopacy Justified*) affirms that Cartwright's last words were expressive of contrition at the unnecessary troubles he had caused the church, and of a wish that he could begin life again so as 'to testify to the world the dislike he had of his former ways;' and it would appear that he and Whitgift were on terms of amity before his death. That he renounced the views he had so long advocated is, however, rendered

improbable by the fact that only six weeks before his decease, in a letter to Sir Christopher Yelverton (the father of Sir Henry), he appears to have done his best to support the efforts of those who were petitioning for reform in the church. Among the abuses which he enumerates are: 'The subscription, other than the statute requires, the burden of ceremonies, the abuse of the spiritual courts—especially in the censures of suspension and excommunication—and the oath *ex officio*, and such others that kind your worship understandeth to be contrary to the law of the land' (Letter of 12 Nov. 1603; *Sloane MS.* 826).

Cartwright died at Warwick on 27 Dec. 1603, after a short illness, having preached on the preceding Sunday. The impression produced by his writings is that of a mind of considerable culture and power; in learning and in originality he was undoubtedly Whitgift's superior. His temperament was, however, impulsive, and in argument he was often carried away by his impetuosity. Whitaker, a singularly competent and impartial judge, spoke contemptuously of his performance in the controversy with Whitgift (PAUL, *Life of Whitgift*, p. 21; BANCROFT, *Survay*, p. 380). His ideal in relation to church discipline and organisation was essentially presbyterian, and this in direct conjunction with the civil power. That he would have been willing to recognise any other form of church government as lawful, or even entitled to toleration, we find no evidence. But although wanting in the judgment and self-command essential in the leader of opinion and of party, he gave system and method to the puritanism of his day, and must be regarded as its most influential teacher during his lifetime.

Besides the works mentioned, Cartwright was the author of: 1. 'A Christian Letter of certaine English Protestants . . . vnto that reverend and learned man, Mr. R[ichard] Hoo[ker]'—a criticism of the 'Ecclesiastical Polity.' 2. 'In Librum Salomonis . . . Homilia,' Lond. 1604. 3. 'Commentarii . . . in Proverbia Salomonis,' Leyden, 1617. 4. 'Harmonia Evangelica,' Amsterdam, 1627. 5. 'Commentarii Practica in totam Historiam Evangelicam,' 1630.

[A detailed account of Cartwright's life and writings is given in Cooper's *Athenæ Cant.* ii. 360-6. There is a life of him by Benj. Hanbury prefixed to the author's edition of Hooker's Works (1830), i. cxxxiv-cxv; the writer, however, speaks of this as only 'a sketch,' in anticipation of the *Memoirs* by Benj. Brook which appeared in 1845, a work of some research, but evincing little discrimination, and conceived in a spirit of unquali-

fied eulogy. See also Strype's *Annals and Life of Whitgift*; Dexter's *Hist. of Congregationalism of the last Three Hundred Years*; Mullinger's *Hist. of the Univ. of Camb.* vol. ii.; Colville's *Hist. of Warwickshire Worthies*, pp. 92-100, 878.]

J. B. M.

CARTWRIGHT, THOMAS (1634-1689), bishop of Chester, was born at Northampton on 1 Sept. 1634. His father, Thomas, had been a schoolmaster at Brentwood in Essex. His grandfather was Thomas Cartwright [q. v.], the famous puritan of the days of Elizabeth. Having been educated at the school at Northampton, Cartwright was sent to Oxford, then under the domination of the parliament, and entered at Magdalen Hall. As at that period all who refused to take the covenant were summarily expelled in favour of the puritans, Cartwright obtained one of the vacant places, and was made tabarder of Queen's College. Here he was placed under the tuition of Thomas Tully, a well-known puritan divine. Nevertheless on reaching the age for orders it was from an episcopal source that he sought them, and was ordained priest by Skinner, bishop of Oxford, then living in retirement at Launton. For a time he acted as chaplain to the college, but before being admitted fellow he left Oxford, having been presented to the vicarage of Walthamstow. Here (according to Wood) he was a 'very forward and confident preacher for the cause then in being.' In 1659 he was chaplain to Alderman John Robinson, sheriff of London, and preacher at St. Mary Magdalen, Milk Street. At the Restoration he professed an ardent loyalty, and quickly obtained the vicarage of Barking (11 Aug. 1660), and was made domestic chaplain to Henry, duke of Gloucester. He obtained the degree of D.D. from Oxford, though not of full standing; he was made prebendary of St. Paul's (20 April 1665), and vicar of St. Thomas's. His stream of preferment continued. He became prebendary of Wells, chaplain-in-ordinary, prebendary of Durham (1672), dean of Ripon (1675). During this period Cartwright managed to secure the firm friendship of James, duke of York, and is said by Macaulay to have been, of all the Anglican divines, the one who 'had the largest share of his good graces.' Consequently very soon after the accession of James he was nominated to the see of Chester, in succession to Bishop Pearson. His appointment caused much scandal. Burnet says that his moral character was very bad, and his opinions openly in favour of setting the king above law. An attempt was made to prevent Sancroft from consecrating him; but Cartwright was consecrated by the archbishop at Lam-

beth (17 Oct. 1686), together with Lloyd and Parker. At his consecration the archbishop tripped and fell during the administration of the holy communion, which was held to be of evil omen. Cartwright was allowed to hold the benefice of Wigan *in commendam* with his see. He also retained that of Barking. We learn from Cartwright's 'Diary' (published by the Camden Society in 1843) that he was in close and constant communication with the Romanist Bishop Labourne and with Fathers Ellis and Petre, and that he was deeply involved in the plot for establishing the Romish religion. In October 1686 Cartwright went to his diocese, where he exercised great hospitality, especially to the Romanist families, and entertained Lord Tyrconnell on his way to Ireland. In April 1687 he returned to London, arriving four days after the publication of the famous 'Declaration for Liberty of Conscience' in the 'Gazette.' He strongly upheld the king's policy, and used every endeavour to obtain addresses thanking the king for the promise contained in the declaration of protecting the church of England. He was able to influence a few of the bishops to do this. He also obtained a congratulatory address from the mayor and council of Wigan.

During the summer Cartwright was again in his diocese, and received and entertained King James at Chester during his progress. A chapel was fitted up for the royal devotions at the shire hall, and the king touched great numbers of persons for the king's evil. In October Cartwright's services were called into active employment in support of the king's policy. James by an illegal exercise of his supremacy had established the court of high commission for ecclesiastical causes which had been specially forbidden by two acts of parliament (17 Car. I, c. 11; 13 Car. II, c. 12). Sancroft had been named a commissioner, but had refused to act, and (on 17 Oct. 1687) Cartwright was put in his place. The famous quarrel between the king and Magdalen College, Oxford (the fellows of which had refused to elect as president the king's nominee, but had elected one of their own body, Dr. John Hough [q. v.]), was then in full progress. Cartwright, together with C. J. Wright and Baron Jenner, was sent on a special commission to Oxford to bring the fellows to order. The commissioners reached Oxford on 20 Oct., and next day Cartwright summoned the fellows before him and made them a set speech, telling them that they had sinned against their own souls by their disobedience to so beneficent a monarch, and bidding them at once submit to his will. Dr. Hough was then called and told that his election was void, and ordered

to quit his lodgings. He appealed formally to the courts of law. Parker, bishop of Oxford, the king's nominee, was then installed by proxy, and the fellows were ordered to accept him. As almost the whole of them refused to do this, the commissioners were obliged to visit Oxford a second time (15 Nov.) Cartwright again made a speech asserting that the king was 'supreme ordinary,' and that his power overrode all laws and statutes. The fellows, however, were still contumacious, and all, with the exception of three, were expelled. On 10 Dec. they were pronounced by the commissioners sitting at Whitehall to be incapable of all preferment. Cartwright was probably one of those who advised King James to order the clergy to read the declaration for liberty of conscience in their churches, an order which led to such momentous consequences. When the order was published and the bishops were consulting as to their line of action, we find from Lord Clarendon's 'Diary' that they suspected Cartwright, and would not speak before him. He was so ignorant of their intentions that he appears to have told King James, when the bishops came with their remonstrance, that they only wished to protest against having duties thrown upon them which properly belonged to their chancellors. In consequence of this they were readily received by the king. When the clergy generally refused to read the declaration, the Bishop of Chester by vigorous exertions obtained an address from about thirty clergy in his diocese censuring the conduct of the seven bishops, and expressing their loyal acquiescence in the king's policy. Cartwright and the ecclesiastical commissioners also made an attempt to censure the clergy who had refused to obey, and (13 July) made an order calling for returns of those who had read and those who had refused to read the declaration. No returns being forthcoming, they repeated their order (16 Aug.), but the storm of popular indignation soon swept them away, one of the king's first acts of concession being to abolish the illegal court. Cartwright was present when the king summoned the bishops to declare that they had not invited the Prince of Orange. After the flight of the king the unpopularity of the Bishop of Chester was so great that he did not dare to remain in England. Some time in December (1688) he followed his master to Saint-Germains, where he was allowed to read the English liturgy to the few protestants who had rallied round the deposed monarch. On the death of Seth Ward, bishop of Salisbury, James nominated Cartwright to this see, a



promotion which, it need not be said, never took effect. Cartwright accompanied James to Ireland, landing there on 12 March 1689. On Palm Sunday, 24 March, he went to Dublin with James, and on Easter day was present at the services in Christ Church Cathedral. Soon after his arrival in Dublin Cartwright was attacked by dysentery, of which he died on 15 April 1689. The greatest efforts were made on his deathbed to convert him to the Romish faith, but without success. Cartwright, though such a strong supporter of the Romanists, seems never to have been shaken in his own views. He was buried at Christ Church, Dublin, with great state and magnificence, his funeral being attended by nearly the whole city. Cartwright married a lady of the name of Wight, by whom he had a numerous family. His eldest son, John, was in holy orders, and obtained many pieces of preferment by the influence of his father. Five other sons, Richard, Gervas, Charles, Thomas, Henry, and two daughters, Alicia and Sarah, are mentioned in his 'Diary.'

[Diary of Thomas Cartwright, Bishop of Chester, ed. Hunter, Camden Soc. 1843; King's Visitation Power over the Universities asserted, Nat. Johnstone, London, 1688, 4to; An Impartial Relation of the Illegal Proceedings against St. Mary Magd. Coll. in Oxon., London, 1689, 4to; Henry Earl of Clarendon's Correspondence with Diary, ed. Singer, Oxford, 1828; Wood's Athenæ (Bliss), iv. 252, 874.] G. G. P.

**CARTWRIGHT, SIR THOMAS** (1795-1850), diplomatist, eldest son of William Ralph Cartwright, M.P., of Aynhoe, Northamptonshire, by Emma Maude, daughter of Cornwallis, first viscount Hawarden, was born on 18 Jan. 1795. He was educated at Christ Church, Oxford, and, after holding various diplomatic posts, was appointed minister plenipotentiary to the court of Sweden. The foreign policy of Lord Palmerston received his unqualified support, and he was warmly attached to him personally. He received the honour of knighthood in 1834. He succeeded to his father's property on 4 Jan. 1850, but died at Stockholm on 17 April of the same year.

[Gent. Mag. new series, xxxiv. 91; Burke's Knightage.] T. F. H.

**CARTWRIGHT, WILLIAM** (1611-1643), dramatist and divine, born in September 1611 at Northway, near Tewkesbury, was the son of a William Cartwright who, after squandering a fair inheritance, had been reduced to keep an inn at Cirencester. This is Wood's account (*Athenæ*, ed. Bliss, iii.

69), and is probably true; but Lloyd (*Memoirs*, ed. 1668, p. 423) states that he was born on 16 Aug. 1615, and that his father was a Thomas Cartwright of Burford in Oxfordshire. He was sent first to the free school at Cirencester and afterwards, as a king's scholar, to Westminster, whence he was chosen in 1628 student of Christ Church, Oxford. Having taken the degree of M.A. in 1635, he entered into holy orders, and became (in Wood's words) 'the most florid and seraphical preacher in the university.' The lectures that he delivered as metaphysical reader (in succession to Thomas Barlow [q. v.], afterwards bishop of Lincoln) were greatly admired. On 1 Sept. 1642 he was nominated one of the council of war, and on 16 Sept. he was imprisoned by Lord Say, but released on bail. In the following October Bishop Duppa appointed him successor in the church of Salisbury; and on 12 April 1643 he was chosen junior proctor of the university. He died at Oxford on 29 Nov. 1643, of a malignant fever (called the camp-disease), and was buried on 1 Dec. at the upper end of the north aisle of Christ Church Cathedral. The king, who was then at Oxford, being asked why he wore black on the day of Cartwright's funeral, replied that 'since the muses had so much mourned for the loss of such a son it would be a shame for him not to appear in mourning for the loss of such a subject.' Fell said of him, 'Cartwright was the utmost man could come to;' and Ben Jonson declared 'My son Cartwright writes all like a man.' Langbaine gives him this character: 'He was extremely remarkable both for his outward and inward endowments; his body being as handsome as his soul. He was an expert linguist, understanding not only Greek and Latin, but French and Italian, as perfectly as his mother-tongue. He was an excellent orator, and yet an admirable poet.' Lloyd is still more enthusiastic in his praise: 'To have the same person cast his net and catch souls as well in the pulpit as on the stage! . . . A miracle of industry and wit, sitting sixteen hours a day at all manner of knowledge, an excellent preacher in whom hallowed fancies and reason grew visions and holy passions, raptures and extasies, and all this at thirty years of age!'

Cartwright's plays and poems were collected in 1651 by Humphrey Moseley in one vol. 8vo. No less than fifty-six copies of commendatory verses are prefixed, among the contributors being Dr. John Fell, Jasper Mayne, Henry Vaughan the Silurist, Alexander Brome, Izaak Walton, &c. There is nothing in the volume to support the re-

putation that Cartwright gained among his contemporaries for extraordinary ability. There are four plays of which the 'Ordinary' is the best; and the rest of the volume chiefly consists of complimentary epistles, love-verses, and translations. The 'Royal Slave, a Tragi-Comedy,' which had been printed separately in 1639 and 1640, was performed before the king and queen by the students of Christ Church on 30 Aug. 1636. Henry Lawes wrote the music to the songs, and among the actors was Richard Busby, who 'approv'd himself a second Roscius.' The play was mounted at considerable cost (the actors appearing in Persian costume), and gave such satisfaction that the court 'unanimously acknowledg'd that it did exceed all things of that nature which they had ever seen.' The queen was so charmed with the 'Royal Slave' that in the following November the king's company was ordered to represent it at Hampton Court; but the performance of the professional players was judged far inferior to that of the amateurs. The 'Ordinary,' which has been included in all the editions of Dodsley's old plays, is a lively comedy of intrigue, containing some amusing satire on the puritans. The other plays are: 'The Lady-Errant, a Tragi-Comedy,' and 'The Siege, or Love's Convert, a Tragi-Comedy.' Among the poems are an elegy on Ben Jonson, that had previously appeared in 'Jonsonus Virbius,' 1638; two copies of commendatory verses on Fletcher, which had been prefixed to the 1647 folio of Beaumont and Fletcher, and commendatory verses on two plays of Thomas Killigrew, 'Claricilla' and 'The Prisoners.' In one of the verse-addresses to Fletcher, Cartwright writes:—  
Shakespeare to thee was dull, whose best wit lies  
I' th' ladies' questions and the fools' replies.

In most copies there are blanks at pp. 301, 302, 305, where the lines are too royalist in sentiment for the times. Cartwright's other works are: 1. 'An Offspring of Mercy issuing out of the Womb of Cruelty, or a Passion Sermon preached in Christ Church,' 1652, 8vo. 2. 'November, or Signal Dayes observed in that Month in relation to the Crown and Royal Family,' 4to, written in 1643, but not published until 1671. At the end of Dr. John Collop's 'Poesis Rediviva,' 1656, Humphrey Moseley announced for speedy publication a volume of 'Poemata Græca et Latina' by Cartwright, but the promise was not fulfilled. A portrait of Cartwright by Lombart is prefixed to the collected edition of his plays and poems, 1651.

[Wood's *Atheneæ*, ed. Bliss, iii. 69–72; Fasti, i. 468, 478, ii. 56; Lloyd's *Memoirs*, ed. 1668, pp. 422–5; Langbaine's *Dramatick Poets*, with Oldys's MS. annotations; Welsh's *Alumni Westmonasteriensis*, ed. 1852, pp. 100–1; Evelyn's *Diary*, ed. 1850, i. 421; Corser's *Collectanea*.]  
A. H. B.

**CARTWRIGHT, WILLIAM** (*d.* 1687), actor and bookseller, was presumably the son of William Cartwright, also an actor, who flourished at the end of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth, is mentioned under the date 1598 in the diary of Philip Henslowe, and had a close intimacy with Edward Alleyn, from whom, 31 Oct. 1618, together with Edward Jubyne, William Bird, and others, he leased the Fortune Theatre. Cartwright the younger was a member of Prince Charles's company acting at the private house in Salisbury Court, otherwise known as the Whitefriars Theatre, the second of that name. Of his early performances no record exists. During the civil war and the Commonwealth he became a bookseller at the end of Turnstile Alley, and published, under the title of 'The Actor's Vindication,' London, 4to (? 1658), a reprint of Thomas Heywood's 'Apology for Actors.' After the Restoration he resumed his old profession, joining the company of Thomas Killigrew, known as the king's company. His first recorded performance took place in the Theatre Royal built in 1663 in Drury Lane. He played about 1663 Corbaccio in the 'Fox' of Ben Jonson, and subsequently Morose in the 'Silent Woman,' and Sir Epicure Mammon in the 'Alchemist' of the same author. Lygones in 'A King and No King,' Brabantio in the 'Moor of Venice' ('Othello'), and Falstaff in 'King Henry IV' followed. Other characters in which he was seen were the Priest in Dryden's 'Indian Emperor,' Major Oldfox in the 'Plain Dealer,' Apollonius in 'Tyrannick Love,' Mario in the 'Assignment,' and Harmogenes in 'Marriage à la Mode.' With Mohun he heads, in the 'Roscius Anglicanus,' the list of the members of the king's company who joined the duke's company in the famous union brought about by Betterton [q. v.] in 1682. His name only once appears in stage records after this date, though, according to Genest, it stands opposite the character of Baldwin in an edition of 'Rollo,' as the 'Bloody Brother' of Fletcher was re-named, printed in 1686. In the 'Rehearsal' (Theatre Royal, 7 Dec. 1671) Cartwright, who played Thunder, is addressed by name by Bayes, 'Mr. Cartwright, pry'thee speak that a little louder, and with a hoarse voice.' It is probable that Cartwright, who was a man of

substance, retired soon after the union of the two companies. He died in or near Lincoln's Inn Fields about the middle of December 1687, leaving to Dulwich College his books, pictures, &c. This bequest became the subject of a curious lawsuit between the master, warden, fellows, &c., of the college, and Francis Johnson and Jane his wife, the latter a servant to Cartwright, who after his death had seized upon his property, including clothing, books of prints and plays, with other goods and 490 broad-pieces of gold. A portion only of the property was recovered, the portion lost including 'two Shakspeare's plays, 1647; three Ben Jonson's works, ye 1st vellum; one Ben Jonson's works, 2nd vellum' (WARNER, *Dulwich College MSS.* p. 154). Among the portraits bequeathed by Cartwright, and still in the college, are: 168, Old Mr. Cartwright, actor; 234, 'My picture in a black dress, with a great dog; 78, 'My first wife's picture like a shepherdess; 116, 'My last wife's picture with a black veil on her head; 169, Young Mr. Cartwright, actor, is lost. The identity of its subject with the donor cannot accordingly be established. The catalogue, one leaf of which, containing 186-209, is wanting, is believed to be in the handwriting of Cartwright. It is illiterate in spelling. Cartwright's collection of plays after quitting Dulwich became the nucleus of the famous Garrick collection. Downes speaks of Cartwright as a good actor; Davies (*Dramatic Miscellanies*) mentions his Morose and his Falstaff, and says 'little is heard of him; Aubrey, in the appendix to his 'Natural History and Antiquities of the County of Surrey,' 1719, v. 356, says 'he was an excellent actor.'

[Downes's *Roscii Anglicanus*; Wright's *Historia Histrionica*; Genest's *Account of the English Stage*; Davies's *Dramatic Miscellanies*; Introduction to Heywood's *Apology for Actors*, reprinted for the Shakespeare Society, 1841; Collier's *Memoirs of Alieyn*, 1841; Collier's *Diary of Philip Henslowe*, 1845; Warner's *Catalogue of the Manuscripts and Monuments at Dulwich*; Buckingham's *The Rehearsal*, ed. Arber.] J. K.

CARUS, THOMAS (*d.* 1572?), judge, was of a Lancashire family, long settled at Horton and elsewhere in that county (*Grandeur of the Law*, 253; *Cal. State Papers*, Dom., 1 July 1609). He joined the Middle Temple, and was appointed reader in Lent term 1556. Towards the end of Mary's reign he was summoned to the degree of serjeant-at-law, and actually received it after Elizabeth's accession, 19 April 1559. He was appointed a judge of the queen's bench probably in Trinity term 1566, in succession to Mr. Justice Corbet, and continued in that

office till his death, the date of which is uncertain, but is probably 1572, a successor being appointed on 14 May of that year. His name, however, is not given in Dyer's or Plowden's reports after Easter term 1570. In 1569 (10 Feb.) he, with Sir James Dyer, chief justice of the common pleas, Mr. Justice Weston, and Mr. Justice Harper, heard and determined a controversy between the president and council in Wales and the chamberlain of Chester as to the jurisdiction of the county palatine of Chester, the question arising in Radford's case. He left a daughter, Elizabeth, who was second wife to Sir Nicholas Curwen of Workington, M.P. for Cumberland.

[Foss's *Lives of the Judges*; Green's *State Papers*, Addenda; Hutchison's *Cumberland*, ii. 145.] J. A. H.

CARVE, THOMAS (1590-1672?), traveller and historian, was born at Mobernan, co. Tipperary, in 1590. His correct name is Carue or Carew, and the Irish call him O'Corrain (*Responsio veridica*, 145). He himself states that Sir Ross Carew, his brother, was married to the great Clarendon's sister, Lady Hyde, and he also boasts of his ancestor Sir Thomas Carew, who in the fifteenth century had held high authority in Munster. In many respects his sympathies were anti-Irish, and though he was skilled in the Irish language he expresses his preference for English. His early years appear to have been passed among the Butlers, to whom he says he owes everything, and it is not impossible that his boyhood may have been spent in the Ormonde family. Walter Harris, in his edition of Ware's 'Writers of Ireland,' asserts that Carve was educated at Oxford, but there does not seem to be any confirmation of this statement. He took priest's orders and appears to have been stationed in the diocese of Leighlin. He left Ireland for Germany, and having stayed as chaplain for four years with Walter Butler (*d.* 1634) [q. v.], a kinsman of the Marquis of Ormonde, then serving as colonel of an Irish regiment in the army of Ferdinand II of Austria, he returned to his native country. In 1630 he again set out on his travels, and at this date his curious and valuable 'Itinerary' was begun. He remained with Walter Butler for two years, and returned at the period of the battle of Lützen; but after a short visit to his friends in Ireland he started again for Germany in 1633. On arriving at Stuttgart about September 1634 he heard of the death of his patron Walter Butler, and he transferred his services as chaplain to Walter Devereux, formerly the chief officer and now

the successor of Butler. He accompanied the army of Charles III, duke of Lorraine, in its incessant movements, and afterwards joined the main forces under Gallas. In April 1639 he finished the first part of his 'Itinerary,' and had it printed at Mainz, with a dedication to the Marquis of Ormonde, in which he says: 'Not in the quiet chamber of study has it been composed, but beneath the tents of war, where my busy pen found no peace from the ominous clangour of the hoarse trumpet and the loud roll of the battle-drum; where my ear was stunned by the dreadful thunder of the cannon, and the fatal leaden hail hissed round the paper on which I was writing.'

In 1640 he was appointed chaplain-general of all the English, Scotch, and Irish forces, and in that capacity continued to serve with the army after the death of Devereux. It is probable that about 1643 he went to reside at Vienna in his character of notary apostolic and vicar-choral of St. Stephen's Cathedral in that city. He brought out the third part of his 'Itinerary' at Spire in 1646. The scarcity of this work is not its only value. It gives important details concerning Wallenstein, the civil war in England, and the general history of Christendom at the period; and all writers upon the thirty years' war who could procure a sight of it have used it, though seldom with acknowledgment. The work contains an interesting description of Ireland and a curious account of London and its buildings. Carve's latest publication appeared at Sulzbach in 1672, when he was eighty-two years old. The date of his death is not known.

All his works are extremely rare. Their titles are: 1. 'Itinerarium R. D. Thomæ Carve Tipperariensis, Sacellani majoris in fortissima juxta et nobilissima legione strenuissimi Domini Colonelli D. Walteri Deveroux sub Sac. Cæsar. Majestate stipendia merentis cum historiâ facti Butleri, Gordon, Lesly, et aliorum. Opera, studio, et impensis authoris,' parts i. and ii., Mainz, 1639-41, 18mo; part iii., Spire, 1646, 18mo; third edition, in one vol., Mainz, 1640-1, 18mo. The third edition of the first part is the same as the first, page for page, excepting that the third edition has an additional dedication, and at pp. 113, 114, two additional epitaphs to Wallenstein, and also an additional 35th chapter at the end. The rarity of the book, particularly the third volume, is well known to bibliographers; it is quoted with great praise by Harte in his 'Gustavus Adolphus,' ii. 39 n. The three parts were reprinted at London in 1859 in one quarto volume, under the editorial supervision of Michael Kerney, the impression being limited to one hundred copies on paper and

two upon vellum. A German translation appeared under the title of 'Reysbüchlein dess ehrwürdigen Herrn Thomæ Carve. Auss dem Latein: ins Teutsch vbersetzt durch P. R., continuiert und fortgesetzt studio W. S. a Vorburg; Mayence, 1640, 8vo. This translation contains a preface with some account of the work, and nine additional chapters not to be found in any of the three original Latin parts. 2. 'Rerum Germanicarum ab anno 1617 ad annum 1641 gestarum Epitome' [*sine loco*], 1641, 12mo. 3. 'Lyra, seu Anacephalaësis Hibernica, in qua de exordio, seu origine, nomine, moribus, ritibusque Gentis Hibernicæ succincte tractatur; cui quoque accessere Annales ejusdem Hiberniæ nec non Rerum gestarum per Europam ab anno 1148, usque ad annum 1650,' Vienna (1651), 4to; 'editio secunda multis additamentis locupletata et à mendis repurgata, cum brevi rerum calamitosæ contingentium præcipuè Turcicarum Relatione à 50 usque ad 66 annum, æneis etiam tessellis insignita,' Sulzbach, 1666, 4to. The first edition is rarer than the second, and differs much from it. 4. 'Galateus, seu de Morum elegantia,' Nordhausen, 1669. 5. 'Enchiridion Apologeticum,' Noribergæ, 1670, 12mo. 6. 'Responsio veridica ad illotum libellum, cui nomen Anatomicum examen P. Antonii Bruodini Hiberni Ord. Min. Strict. Observantia, sub ementito nomine P. Cornelii ó Mollonii editum,' Sulzbach, 1672, 8vo. This is a violent reply to Bruodine [q. v.], who had attacked him in a work entitled 'Propugnaculum Catholicæ Fidei.' A fine portrait of Carve, engraved by M. Vliemayr, is prefixed to the 'Lyra.'

[Memoir by Michael Kerney prefixed to the *Itinerarium* (1859); Clément, *Bibl. Curieuse*; Dibdin's *Library Companion*, i. 244; Granger's *Biog. Hist. of England* (1824), v. 97; *Bibl. Grenvilliana*, i. 118, 119, ii. 92; *Cat. of the Huth Library*, i. 268, 269; *Lowades's Bibl. Man.* (Bohn), 382, 383; Shirley's *Cat. of the Library at Lough Fea*, 35, 36; *Ware's Writers* (Harris), 144, 161.] T. C.

CARVELL, NICHOLAS (*d.* 1566), poet, was elected from Eton to King's College 1545, was B.A. 1549, M.A. 1553. He was at Zurich during the reign of Queen Mary, but returned after Elizabeth's accession and died in the summer of 1566. The following poems in the 'Mirror for Magistrates,' signed 'Cavyl,' have been attributed to him: 1. 'How the two Mortimers for their sundry vices ended their days unfortunately.' 2. 'The Wilfull fall of the blacke Smith and the foolishe ende of the Lord Awdeley in June, anno 1496.' He also contributed to the collection on the death of Bucer in 1551. In

Harwood's 'Alumni Etonenses,' p. 161, he is confounded with James Calfhill [q. v.]

[Strype's Memorials, vol. iii. pt. i. p. 233; Zurich Letters (Parker Society), i. 194; Troubles of Frankfurt, pp. 16, 65, 169; Mirror for Magistrates (Haslewood), ii. 23, 396; Warton's English Poetry, iii. 185, 186, 225; Cooper's Athenæ Cant. i. 232.]

**CARVER, JOHN** (1575?–1621), leader of the 'pilgrim fathers,' was an Englishman and agent of the English congregational church at Leyden in Holland. When he sailed in the *Mayflower* (1620) he was 'of good age,' father of several children, one daughter being aged 14. In his time the name of Carver, alias Calver, was common in the midland counties, and the best conjecture is that he came from Nottinghamshire. He was one of the chief exiles who took refuge in Holland in 1607–8. Carver became a deacon of Robinson's church at Leyden, and was agent for the expedition to New England. In 1619, through Sir Edward Sandys, the exiles obtained a patent for South Virginia. Carver made agreements with London merchants to assist the expedition with shipping and money, the emigrants mortgaging their labour and trade for seven years. Carver's estate and others were thrown into one common fund. The *Speedwell*, of Holland, 60 tons, and the *Mayflower*, of London, 180 tons, were provided. The pastor, Robinson, addressed his parting letters to Carver. The *Speedwell* proving unfit for the voyage, the *Mayflower* after various delays left Plymouth on 6 Sept. 1620, with Carver and a hundred other emigrants. After a difficult passage they reached Cape Cod harbour in Massachusetts, where a new compact was drawn up and signed by 42 persons, who, with 18 wives, 4 spinsters, 7 serving-men, 23 boys, and 7 girls, constituted the colony of 101 persons.

Carver was chosen governor for the first year, and was in the three boat expeditions to discover a site for a settlement. On 11 Dec. a fine bay was found with a good site for buildings. Carver, Howland (his future son-in-law), Standish, Bradford (second governor), and fourteen others stepped from the shallop on to a rock at the foot of a cliff in the district called Patukset. The upper portion of that rock now stands as a memorial in the public square of New Plymouth, built on the spot, and is known as the 'Forefathers' Rock.' Having brought the ship round, in five days they commenced building the town of Plymouth. On 31 Dec. divine service was held ashore for the first time, and the first American independent

church was established, in accord with the church of Scrooby in England and Leyden in Holland. The winter was mild, but a heavy mortality followed. Carver suffered much from January to March. On 22 March 1621 Carver made a treaty with the Indian chiefs. The next day he was confirmed governor for the ensuing year; but on 5 April, the day the *Mayflower* returned to England, he received a sunstroke while toiling in the field, and died soon after.

By every writer Carver is described as grave, pious, prudent, self-denying, and judicious. His wife survived him six weeks only. The records of Leyden church show that her christian name was Catharine. Carver's family in the *Mayflower* consisted of eight persons—himself, his wife, his daughter Elizabeth, John Howland, Jasper (called 'Carver's boy'), who died in 1620, and three others who died before 1627. At the latter date there was not a person named Carver in the colony. Many pedigrees have been constructed asserting lineal descent from Carver. The William Carver who died in 1760, aged 102, leaving many descendants, could not have been Carver's grandson, as reputed, though probably a relation. John Howland, grandson of a brother of Bishop Howland, married Carver's daughter Elizabeth, and shared with his children in the early divisions of property. He died, the last of the pilgrim fathers, in 1672; his wife died in 1687. Their four sons and four daughters have left numerous descendants.

Carver's chair is preserved in the Pilgrims' Hall, Plymouth, and his broadsword is in the cabinet of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston. In 1790 a township of Plympton, county Plymouth, was incorporated as 'Carver's Town.'

[Belknap's American Biog., ed. Hubbard, ii. 295; Hunter's . . . Founders of New Plymouth; Prince's Annals (ed. 1736), p. 160; New Engl. Hist. and General. Reg. i. 50, 53, ii. 187, 262, iv. 105, 192, 259, 367, v. 47, 81; Historical Magazine, 2nd series, i. 261, vi. 225; Stone's Life of John Howland (a descendant, &c.), 1857; Young's Chronicle (2nd ed. 1844), pp. 22, 458; Hutchinson's Massachusetts, ii. 456; Eddison's Workshop; Farmer's General Register, p. 54; Scott's Hist. Lecture on Pilgrim Fathers; Everett's Caps Cod Centen. Celebr. p. 7; Robertson's America, A.D. 1620–1; Notes and Queries, 5th series, ix. 167; Hubbard's . . . New England (2nd ed.), p. 41; Massach. Hist. Soc. Collections, v. 42, viii. 203–237, ix. 43, 74; Westm. Rev. No. exc.; Harper's Mag. liv. 180; Congreg. Quarterly (Boston, U.S.), iv. 58; Palfrey's New England, i. 134; Holmes's Annals, i. 162; Sumner's . . . Pilgrims at Leyden; Smith's Virginia, pp. 230–3; Morton's New Eng. Mem. pp. 1–25; Cotton Mather's

Magnalia, ii. 46; Josselyn's *Voyages*, p. 248; Uden, *Geschichte der Congregationalisten*, &c., Leipzig, 1846; Thatcher's *Plymouth*, p. 129; Purchas, *His Pilgrimage*, bk. x. ch. iv. 1625; Mitchell's *Bridgewater*, pp. 129, 362.]

J. W.-G.

**CARVER, JONATHAN** (1732-1780), traveller, born at Stillwater, Connecticut, in 1732, was the son of William Joseph Carver of Wigan, Lancashire, captain in William III's army, who was rewarded for services in Ireland with the government of Connecticut. He studied under a physician in Elizabeth's Town, but afterwards purchased an ensigncy; was in command of a company in the expedition against the French in Canada, and had a narrow escape in the massacre at Fort William Henry. He served in five campaigns from 1757 to 1763, and retired from the army on the conclusion of peace. Carver then determined to explore the territory beyond the Mississippi, and to find a north-west land passage between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. Starting from Boston in June 1766, he travelled thirteen hundred miles to the most remote British post, and surveyed the bays and rivers of Lake Superior. Then with goods for Indian trading he struck into the north-west of the Mississippi further than any traveller had been except Hennepin in 1680, and afterwards proceeded westward to the sources of the river St. Pierre, dwelling among the Indians and learning their languages. He returned to Boston in October 1768, having visited twelve Indian nations and travelled seven thousand miles. While proceeding in 1767 with the Indians to their great council, he reached a point within the present site of St. Pauls, Minnesota, on 1 May, and there, stepping ashore opposite the great cave, Wakan-teete (Dwelling of the Great Spirit), now called 'Carver's Cave,' he was elected a dakotah (allied) chief, and made his almost prophetic speech to the three hundred 'braves.' Carver having mediated a peace between the Nadewessies (Sioux) and Chippeways (Ojibeways), the former tribe is said to have made him an extensive grant of land near the Mississippi; but this is not mentioned in the account of his travels. The great wilderness which Carver traversed is now called, from its beauty and fertility, in Indian phrase, Minnesota. He laid down a scheme by which the St. Paul's district might become the centre of a great internal intercourse between the east and the west, and his plan of a water communication by canals between New York, St. Paul's, and Canada is now actually accomplished by the construction of the Great Erie Canal.

In 1769 he came to England to publish his journal and charts, and hoped that the British government would recognise his services. He underwent a long examination by the lords commissioners of trade and plantations, and received permission to publish his papers, but, being afterwards ordered to deliver them up to the board, he had to repurchase them from his bookseller, without receiving compensation for loss. Fortunately he had saved copies of his manuscripts and maps, which enabled him to publish his work ten years after. About 1774, in conjunction with Richard Whitworth, M.P. for Stafford, he had arranged his scheme for the overland route. Himself, Whitworth, and Colonel Rogers, with fifty or sixty artificers and mariners, were to make the party. Grants and other requisites were nearly completed when the troubles in America put a stop to the enterprise. In 1778 appeared the first edition of 'Travels to the Interior Parts of North America,' &c., illustrated with copperplates and maps, London, 8vo. The second part of the work is 'The Origin, Manners and Customs, Religion and Languages of the Indians,' and there is an appendix describing the uncultivated parts of America. It is dedicated to Sir Joseph Banks, F.R.S. In 1779 a second edition appeared, London, 8vo. A Dublin edition was published in the same year, 8vo. Editions appeared in 1784 (with an account of his life by Dr. Lettsom) and in 1796. A French translation appeared in 1784, 8vo. The 'Travels' also appeared in 'Moore's . . . Collection of Voyages and Travels,' vol. ii., London, 1785, folio, and in Campe's 'Kinder-und Jugendschriften,' Bd. 20, 1831, 8vo. In 1779 Carver published 'A Treatise on the Cultivation of the Tobacco-plant,' with coloured engravings, London, 8vo; 'A Treatise on the Use,' &c., Dublin, 8vo; and under his name was published 'The New Universal Traveller,' London, 1779, folio, of which fifty-five weekly numbers came out with fifty-six engravings and maps. In the winter of this year Carver, with a wife and two children, had to subsist on his wages as a lottery clerk. His original fortune had been long exhausted. He died on 31 Jan. 1780. He was buried at Holywell Mount. Dr. Lettsom found an unnegotiated grant of ten thousand square miles among his papers. Lettsom interested himself for Carver's family, supported them, collected subscriptions, and paid all expenses of the third edition of the 'Travels' in 1781. His letters to the 'Gentleman's Magazine'—'Hints for establishing a Society for Promoting Useful Literature'—were suggested by this unfortunate author's case, and helped

to suggest the establishment of the Literary Fund.

A mezzotint portrait of Carver, from a picture in Dr. Lettson's possession, is the frontispiece of the 'Travels,' 3rd edit. He was somewhat above the middle stature, with a muscular frame. He was a very agreeable and picturesque writer, as the story of his adventures shows. But there is one stain on his character; at the time of his marriage in England he had a wife and five children living in America.

The deed found by Dr. Lettson (now lost) was dated 1 May 1767, the day of the 'long talk' in the cave. It bore the totems—beaver and serpent—of two great chiefs, and the Indians are made to speak, in English, of the grantee as 'our good brother Jonathan,' whence possibly came the name of the Americans collectively. The heirs by his first wife transferred part of their rights in 1794 to Edward Houghton of Vermont for 50,000*l*. After careful inquiry the land commissioners dismissed the claim in 1825. Dr. Hartwell Carver's claim in 1848 for 'a hundred miles square' met with the same fate, as did also that of Carver's grandsons, Groom and King. Martha, one of the daughters by the English wife, was brought up by Sir Richard and Lady Pearson. She eloped with a sailor, and a few days after their marriage conveyed her rights to a London firm for a sum of money and a tenth of the profits. The agent sent out to get a confirmatory grant from the Indians was murdered in New York, and the scheme collapsed. George III is said to have approved the grant, and Dr. Samuel Peters, an episcopal minister, who had purchased some rights in 1806, testified to the committee in 1825 that the king had given Carter 1,371*l*. 13*s*. 8*d*., and ordered a frigate and transport-ship with a hundred and fifty men to proceed with him to take possession, but the battle of Bunker's Hill had prevented it. In 1839 Lord Palmerston stated in parliament that no trace of a ratification of the Carver grant was to be found in the Record Office.

There is a Carver town and Carver county in South-eastern Minnesota; and Carver river is the name of a branch of the St. Peter's. The Carver centenary was celebrated by the Minnesota Historical Society on 1 May 1867, the hundredth anniversary of the council and treaty of Carver with the Indians at 'Carver's Cave,' which is now within the suburbs of the important city of St. Paul. The proceedings were published at the expense of George W. Fehnestock of Philadelphia.

Carver's description of the funeral of a

'brave' suggested Schiller's 'Song of a Nadowessie Chief,' of which both Sir Edward Lytton Bulwer and Sir John Herschel have given translations.

[Carver's works; Nichols's Illustrations, ii. 680; Neill's English Colonies in America, 1871; Neill's Hist. of Minnesota, 1882; Minnesota Historical Society (Carver Centenary), 1867; Bishop's Floral Home . . . in Minnesota, 1857; Niles's Register, 25 Feb. 1825; Harper's Magazine, 1875, p. 630; Gent. Mag. 1780, p. 183; family papers.] J. W.-G.

CARVER, ROBERT (*d.* 1791), landscape and scene painter, was a native of Ireland and the son of Richard Carver, an historical and landscape painter of some merit, who painted an altar-piece at Waterford. Robert Carver received instruction from his father, and exhibited several small pictures in water-colours in Dublin with some success. He also painted scenes for the Dublin Theatre, which attracted so much attention that Garrick commissioned him to paint one for Drury Lane Theatre, and eventually invited him to take up his residence in London as scene-painter to that theatre. Carver was a friend of his compatriot, Spranger Barry, and when that actor quarrelled with Garrick, and transferred himself with a rival company to Covent Garden Theatre, Carver followed in his train, and continued to paint scenes for that theatre in conjunction with John Inigo Richards, R.A., and other artists. One of his scenes was known as the 'Dublin Drop,' and is described as follows by the painter Edward Dayes: 'The scene was a representation of a storm on a coast, with a fine piece of water dashing against some rocks, and forming a sheet of foam truly terrific; this, with the barren appearance of the surrounding country, and an old leafless tree or two, were the materials that composed a picture which would have done honour to the first artist, and will be remembered as the finest painting that ever decorated a theatre.' Besides scene-painting, Carver obtained great success as a landscape-painter, and from 1765 to 1790 exhibited numerous landscapes in oil and water-colours at the exhibitions of the Incorporated Society of Artists. He was a fellow of this society, and in 1772 was appointed director. He also exhibited at the Free Society of Artists, and later on at the Royal Academy. His pictures always excited attention and favourable criticism, and in the newspapers of the time he is spoken of as the 'ingenious and celebrated Mr. Carver.' He particularly excelled in atmospheric effects, such as those of the early dawn. Generally the same qualities which brought him so much success in scene-painting were apparent in his smaller pictures.

Carver was of a generous and convivial temperament, a free liver, and fond of society. For many years he was a martyr to the gout, and died in Bow Street, Covent Garden, at the end of November 1791.

[Redgrave's Dict. of English Artists; Pasquin's History of Painting in Ireland; Dayes's Professional Sketches of Modern Artists; Sarsfield Taylor's Origin, Progress, &c., of the Fine Arts in Great Britain and Ireland; Somerset House Gazette; Graves's Dict. of Artists, 1760-1880; Edwards's Anecdotes of Painters; Catalogues of the Society of Artists, Royal Academy, &c.; manuscript information in the Print Room, British Museum.] L. C.

**CARVOSSO, BENJAMIN** (1789-1854), Wesleyan minister, was son of William Carvosso, born near Mousehole, in Mount's Bay, on 11 March 1750, first a fisherman, then a farmer, and afterwards for sixty years a most active class leader and local preacher in the Wesleyan methodist connection, who died at Dowstal, in the parish of Mylor, on 13 Oct. 1834. The son was born in Gluvias parish, Cornwall, on 29 Sept. 1789, and, although brought up by very pious parents, was not converted until his twenty-second year. He was admitted as a probationer by the Wesleyan conference in 1814, and, after labouring for five years as a minister in England, offered himself as a missionary. He arrived in Van Diemen's Land in 1820, being the second minister of the Wesleyan denomination sent to the Australian colonies, and on 18 Aug. introduced methodism into that island by a public service in Hobart Town. It was not long before he proceeded to New South Wales, where, in the towns of Windsor, Sydney, and Paramatta, he passed the next five years of his ministration. He had a high sense of the importance of the press as a means of promoting religion, and in conjunction with his brethren commenced in 1820 the publication of the 'Australian Magazine,' the first of its class seen in the colony. In 1825 he removed to Hobart Town; here his labours were arduous; in the pulpit, the prison, the prayer meeting, the class meeting, and the family, he was constantly engaged. Returning to his native land in 1830 he continued in the full discharge of his ministerial duties in various parts of England throughout the remainder of his life. He died at Tuckingmill, Cornwall, on 2 Oct. 1854.

The titles of the works written by him are: 1. 'The Great Efficacy of Simple Faith, a Memoir of William Carvosso,' 1835, which passed through many editions. 2. 'Drunkenness the Enemy of Britain arrested by the Hand of God,' 1840. 3. 'An Account of

Miss Deborah B. Carvosso,' 1840. 4. 'Attractive Piety, or Memorials of William B. Carvosso,' 1844, several editions.

[Wesleyan Methodist Mag. 1855, April, p. 382, September, p. 850; Blencowe's Memoir of Rev. B. Carvosso, 1857; Boase and Courtney's Bibl. Cornub. i. 65, iii. 1116.] G. C. B.

**CARWARDINE, PENELOPE** (1730?-1800?), afterwards Mrs. BUTLER, miniature painter, born about 1730, was the eldest daughter of John Carwardine of Thinghills Court, Withington, Herefordshire, by his wife Anne Bullock of Preston Wynn, in the same parish (BERRY, *Essex Pedigrees*). Her father having ruined the family estates, she took to miniature painting, instructed by Ozias Humphrey, and had acquired her art by 1754. She exhibited at the Society of Artists in 1761, 1762, 1771, 1772 (GRAVES, *Dict. of Artists*, p. 42). She was a close friend of Sir Joshua and Miss Reynolds; and among Sir Joshua's works is a portrait of one of her sisters, painted by him as a present for her. Many of her miniatures remain in the possession of her family, together with three portraits of herself; one by Bardwell, 1750; one by a Chinese artist, about 1756; the third by Romney, about 1790. She married Mr. Butler, organist of Ranelagh (BURNBY, *Hist. of Music*, iv. 669), and St. Margaret's, and St. Anne's, Westminster (EDWARDS, *Anecd. of Painting*, p. 13); after this marriage she relinquished her profession. She died a widow, without issue, about 1800.

[Berry's Essex Pedigrees; Graves's Dict. of Artists, p. 42; Burney's History of Music, iv. 669; Edwards's Anecd. of Painting, p. 13; private information.] J. H.

**CARWELL, THOMAS** (1600-1664), jesuit, whose real name was THOROLD, belonged to an ancient Lincolnshire family now extinct. He was born of protestant parents in 1600, and became a catholic in 1622. After studying in the jesuit college at St. Omer, he entered the English college at Rome in 1629, and in 1633 he was ordained priest. In the latter year he entered the Society of Jesus at St. Andrew's, Rome, and in 1643 he became a professed father. For several years he was employed as professor of philosophy and theology at Liège. In 1647 he was sent to the English mission, and during many years he was missionary in the London district, of which in 1655 he was rector. He was also at one period vice-provincial of his order. His death occurred in London on 9 Aug. 1664. He wrote a bulky controversial work, entitled 'Labyrinths Cantuariensis: or Doctor Lawd's Labyrinth. Being an Answer to the late



Archbishop of Canterburies Relation of a Conference between himself and Mr. Fisher, etc. Wherein the true grounds of the Roman Catholique Religion are asserted, the principal Controversies betwixt Catholiques and Protestants thoroughly examined, and the Bishops meandrick windings throughout his whole worke layd open to publique view. By T. C. Paris, 1658, fol.

[Foley's Records, v. 609, vi. 324, vii. 774; Southwell's Bibl. Script. Soc. Jesu, 761; Olyier's Jesuit Collections, 67; Backer's Bibl. des Ecrivains de la Société de Jésus (1869), 1100.]

T. C.

**CARY.** [See also CAREW and CAREY.]

**CARY, EDWARD** (d. 1711), catholic divine, son of John and Lucy Cary, was born at Meldon, Suffolk. He left England in 1646 with the intention of joining some foreign army, but afterwards changed his mind and entered the English college at Rome, where he was ordained priest in 1651. He was then sent back to England on the mission. On the accession of James II he became chaplain-general to his majesty's catholic forces, and after the revolution he was employed in confidential communications with the friends of legitimate monarchy. His death occurred in 1711. He was the author of 'The Catechist catechized concerning the Oath of Allegiance,' 1681, 12mo.

[Dodd's Church Hist. iii. 481; Oliver's Catholic Religion in Cornwall, 261; Foley's Records, vi. 368.]

T. C.

**CARY, ELIZABETH, VISCONTESS FALKLAND.** [See under CARY, SIR HENRY.]

**CARY, FRANCIS STEPHEN** (1808-1880), artist and art-teacher, was a younger son of the Rev. Henry Francis Cary [q. v.] He was born at Kingsbury in Warwickshire on 10 May 1808, his father being then vicar of that place. He was educated at home, chiefly by his father, and at the age of eighteen became a pupil of Mr. Sass at the Art School in Streatham Street, Bloomsbury. He afterwards became a student at the Royal Academy, and for a short time painted in the studio of Sir Thomas Lawrence, with a view of becoming his pupil; this intention was frustrated by the death of that artist. In 1829 he studied in Paris, and afterwards in Italy and in the Art School at Munich. In 1833, 1834, 1835 he accompanied his father, to whom he was much devoted, in a course of foreign travel each year. In the following years he exhibited several pictures at the exhibitions of the Society of British Artists and others. In 1841 he married Louisa,

daughter of Charles Allen Philipps of St. Bride's Hill, Pembrokeshire, and in 1842 he undertook the management of the Art School in Bloomsbury, in which he had formerly studied under Mr. Sass. He continued to exhibit pictures for some years at the Royal Academy and elsewhere, and was a candidate in the Westminster Hall competitions for the decoration of the houses of parliament, held in 1844 and 1847. Cary was best known as the head of the Bloomsbury Art School. This school was founded by Mr. Sass on the model of the school of the Carracci, Bologna, and under his care, and subsequently under Cary's, many of the most prominent painters and sculptors of the day, such as Cope, Millais, Dante Rossetti, Armstead, &c., received their early art education. In 1874 Cary retired to Abinger in Surrey, where he died on 5 Jan. 1880. He left no family. In the early part of his life his continual devotion to his father was the cause of his enjoying much of the literary society of that day. He painted an interesting portrait of Charles Lamb and his sister Mary, now in the possession of Mr. Edward Hughes.

[Times, 9 Jan. 1880; Athenæum, 17 Jan. 1880; Art Journal, 1880, p. 108; Builder, xxxviii. 81; Catalogues of the Exhibitions of the Royal Academy, &c.; Life of the Rev. Henry Francis Cary; information from Mrs. Cary, and from Mr. Eyre Crowe, A.R.A.]

L. C.

**CARY, SIR HENRY, first VISCOUNT FALKLAND** (d. 1633), lord deputy of Ireland, descended from a family long seated in Somersetshire and Devonshire, was the son of Sir Edward Cary, knight, of Berkhamstead and Aldenham, Hertfordshire, by his wife, Catherine, daughter of Sir Henry Knevet, knight, master of the jewel office to Queen Elizabeth and King James, and widow of Henry, lord Paget. At the age of sixteen he entered Exeter College, Oxford, where, according to Wood, by the aid of a good tutor he became highly accomplished. Subsequently he served in France and the Low Countries, and was taken prisoner by Don Louis de Velasco, probably at the siege of Ostend, a fact referred to in the epigram on Sir Henry Cary by Ben Jonson:

When no foe, that day,

Could conquer thee but chance who did betray.

In the following lines Ben Jonson draws a very flattering portrait of him:

That neither fame nor love might wanting be  
To greatness, Cary, I sing that and thee,  
Whose house, if it no other had,  
In only thee, might be both great and glad;  
Who, to upbraid the sloth of this our time,  
Dost valour make almost if not a crime.

On his return to England he was introduced to court, and became one of the gentlemen of the bedchamber. At the creation of Henry prince of Wales in 1608 he was created a knight of the Bath. In 1617 he became comptroller of the household and a member of the privy council, and on 10 Nov. 1620 he was created in the Scottish peerage Viscount Falkland in the county of Fife, which title, with his naturalisation, was confirmed by Charles I by diploma in 1627. Chiefly through the favour of Buckingham he was appointed to succeed Viscount Grandison as lord deputy of Ireland, being sworn 18 Sept. 1622. In office he showed himself both bigoted in his opinions and timid in carrying out a policy which continually dallied with extremes; though conscientious, he was easily offended, and he lamentably failed to conduct himself with credit when confronted with any unusual difficulties. Urged on by a sermon of Ussher on the text 'He beareth not the sword in vain,' Falkland, greatly distressed at the number of priests in Ireland and their influence over the people, issued a proclamation, 21 Jan. 1623, ordering their banishment from the country. Such a proclamation was at the time specially inexpedient on account of the negotiations for the Spanish marriage, and in February 1624 he received an order from the English privy council to refrain from more extreme measures than preventing the erection of religious houses and the congregation of unlawful assemblies. On account of the difficulties of maintaining the English army in Ireland, an assembly of the nobility of Ireland was convened by Falkland, 22 Sept. 1626, before whom he laid a draft of concessions promised by Charles, which were subsequently known as the 'Graces.' They promised the removal of certain religious disabilities and the recognition of sixty years' possession as a bar to all claims of the crown based on irregularities of title. The negotiation was not conducted by Falkland with much skill, and for a long time there seemed no hope of a satisfactory settlement, but at last, in May 1628, a deputation from the nobility agreed, before the king and privy council at Whitehall, on certain additional concessions in the 'Graces,' then confirmed, that Ireland should provide a sum of 4,000*l.* for the army for three years. Falkland believed that his difficulties with the nobility had been largely due to the intrigues of the lord chancellor, Lord Loftus of Ely, and, after the dissolution of the assembly of the nobility in 1627, brought a charge against him of malversation, and of giving encouragement to the nobility to refuse supplies. After the case had been heard in

London, Lord Loftus was allowed to return to his duties pending further inquiry. Meantime Falkland had for some years been engaged in tracking out what he supposed was a dangerous conspiracy of the Byrnes of Wicklow, and in August 1628 was able to announce to the king that the result of his protracted investigations had been successful, a true bill having been found against them at the Wicklow assizes. The aim of Falkland was to set up a plantation in Wicklow on the confiscated estates of the Byrnes, but as his designs were disapproved of by the commissioners of Irish causes, the king appointed a committee of the Irish privy council to investigate the matter more fully, one of the members of committee being the lord chancellor, Loftus. At this Falkland took deep offence, refusing to afford any assistance in the investigation on account of the 'high indignity' offered to himself (see 'A Copie of the Apologie of the Lord Viscount Faulkland, Lord Deputie of Ireland, to the Lords of his Majestie's Privie Counsell, the 8th December, 1628,' printed from the Harleian MS. 2305, in GILBERT'S *History of the Irish Confederation*, i. 210-17). When, as the result of the inquiry, it was discovered that the Byrnes had been the victims of false witnesses, Falkland was, on 10 Aug. 1629, directed to hand over his authority to the lords justices on the pretext that his services were required in England. The king, recognising his good intentions, continued him in favour. From having accidentally broken his leg in Theobalds Park, he died in September 1633, and on the 25th of that month was buried at Aldenham. Falkland continued throughout his life to cultivate his literary tastes. An epitaph by him on Elizabeth, countess of Huntingdon, is given in Wilford's 'Memorials.' Among his papers was found 'The History of the most unfortunate Prince, King Edward II, with choice political observations on him and his unhappy favourites, Gaveston and Spencer,' which was published with a preface attributed to Sir James Harrington in 1680. Falkland was in the habit of ingeniously concealing the year of his age in a knot flourished beneath his name, a device by which he is said to have detected a forger who had failed to recognise its significance.

ELIZABETH CARY, LADY FALKLAND (1585-1639), famous for her learning and her devotion to the catholic religion, was the sole daughter and heiress of Sir Lawrence Tanfield, lord chief baron of the exchequer, and Elizabeth, daughter of Giles Symondes of Claye, Norfolk, and was born at Burford Priory, Oxfordshire, in 1585. In very early years she manifested a strong inclination for

the study of languages, mastering French, Spanish, Italian, Latin, Hebrew, and Transylvanian. At the age of fifteen she was married to Sir Henry Cary. As the result of her study of the fathers, she, when about nineteen years of age, became a convert to the catholic faith, but she did not acknowledge the change in her opinions till twenty years afterwards. She accompanied her husband to Dublin, where she took a great interest in the establishment of industrial schools. On her husband learning her change of faith they quarrelled, and she left Dublin in 1625. She was allowed by the privy council a separate maintenance of 500*l.* a year. After her husband's return to England they became reconciled, but continued to live separately. On account of her change of faith her father probably passed her over in his will [for the circumstances see under CARY, LUCIUS]. When her husband died she had only the annuity of 200*l.* a year given her by her parents. She died in October 1639. One of the most intimate friends of Lady Falkland was Chillingworth, but after his conversion to protestantism she blamed him for endeavouring to pervert her children. She published a translation of Cardinal Perron's reply to the attack on his works by King James, but the book was ordered to be burned. Afterwards she translated the whole of Perron's works for the benefit of scholars at Oxford and Cambridge; the translation, however, not being printed. She also wrote in verse the lives of St. Mary Magdalene, St. Agnes the Martyr, and St. Elizabeth of Portugal, as well as numerous hymns in honour of the Virgin. The collected edition of the works of John Marston (1633) is dedicated to her.

Of the eleven children of Lord and Lady Falkland there are records of eight, four sons and four daughters. His son Lucius, second viscount, is the subject of a separate article. The father's petition to the king praying for the release of his son, who had been confined in the Fleet prison, is preserved in the Harleian MS. 1581, where there are also four letters to Falkland from the Duke of Buckingham, has been printed in the 'Cabala.' The second son, Sir Lawrence, was killed fighting under Sir Charles Coote at Swords in 1642. The other two sons, Patrick [q. v.], who was the author of some poems, and Placid, took orders in the catholic church. The four daughters, Anne, who had been maid of honour to the queen, Lucy, Elizabeth, and Mary, ultimately became nuns in the convent of Cambray.

[Wood's *Athenæ* (Bliss), ii. 565-6; Fuller's *Worthies* (ed. 1811), pp. 431-2; Lloyd's *State Worthies*; Douglas's *Peerage of Scotland* (Wood), i. 567-8; *Biog. Brit.* (Kippis), iii. 290; Chal-

mers's *Biog. Dict.* viii. 335-6; Walpole's *Royal and Noble Authors*, v. 65-6; The Lady Falkland, her Life, from a Manuscript in the Imperial Archives at Lille; *Life*, by Lady Georgiana Fulerton, 1873; Cal. State Papers, Dom. Series, containing many letters both of Lord and Lady Falkland; Cal. Irish State Papers, 1615-25; Cal. Carew MSS.; Harleian MSS. 1581, 2305; Add. MS. 3827; Gilbert's *History of the Irish Confederation*, i. xi, 24, 170-6, 210-17; Gardiner's *History of England*, viii. 9-28.]

T. F. H.

CARY, HENRY FRANCIS (1772-1844), translator of Dante, was born at Gibraltar 6 Dec. 1772. His father, an officer in the army, and grandson of Mordecai Cary, bishop of Killala, shortly afterwards settled as a country gentleman at Cannock in Staffordshire. Young Cary received his education at local grammar schools, Rugby, Sutton Coldfield, and Birmingham. While at the latter, being only fifteen, he published an ode to Lord Heathfield on his defence of Gibraltar, the youthful writer's native place. The ode was greatly admired, and led to Cary's becoming a regular contributor to the 'Gentleman's Magazine,' and publishing a small volume of odes and sonnets in the following year. It also procured him the notice of Miss Seward and her literary coterie at Lichfield. He corresponded assiduously with Miss Seward, and one of his letters (*Life*, i. 42-4) is especially interesting as disclosing the germ of his attachment to Dante. It is written from Christ Church, Oxford, where he had entered in April 1790. In 1796 he took orders, was presented to the vicarage of Abbot's Bromley, Staffordshire, and married the daughter of James Ormsby of Sandymount, near Dublin. His time was chiefly employed in study, of which his diary, published by his son, gives a detailed account. His principal publications during his residence at Abbot's Bromley were an 'Ode to Kosciusko' and three sermons, contributed to the publication of a clerical friend who 'was driven by his necessities to publish a volume of sermons by subscription, but had not energy to write them himself.' In 1800 he removed to the living of Kingsbury in Warwickshire, to which he had been presented in addition to Abbot's Bromley, and in May of that year commenced his translation of the 'Inferno,' which was published in 1805. It attracted little attention, partly owing to the neglect into which his author had fallen ('his fame,' said Napoleon of Dante about this time, 'is increasing and will continue to increase, because no one ever reads him'), partly from being weighted by a reprint of the original text, but even more from Cary's own independence of the corrupt

poetical taste of the day. He had not shrunk from reproducing Dante's homely expressions, and in so doing exposed himself to charges of familiarity, and even vulgarity, from his old patroness, Miss Seward, whom he answered conclusively in a long letter preserved by his son. In 1807 the death of his youngest daughter occasioned a state of mental prostration scarcely distinguishable from insanity, the precursor of subsequent similar afflictions. He removed to London, became reader at Berkeley Chapel, retaining his country benefices, and after a time was able to continue his translation of Dante. It was completed on 8 May 1812; but the ill success of the 'Inferno' had discouraged the booksellers, and Cary, whose family was large and whose means were moderate, was obliged to publish the sequel, along with a reprint of its predecessor, at his own expense. It at first excited no more attention than the 'Inferno,' but ere long the whole translation came into notice, in great measure from the warm applause of Coleridge, whose acquaintance Cary made as he paced the beach at Littlehampton, reciting Homer to his son. 'Sir,' said Coleridge, attracted by the sound of the Greek, 'yours is a face I *should* know. I am Samuel Taylor Coleridge.' During the rest of the day the wondrous stranger discoursed on Homer, making young Cary 'feel as one from whose eyes the scales were just removed,' and in the evening carried home the translation of Dante, of which he had never even heard. The next day he was able to repeat whole pages, and his winter course of lectures gave it celebrity. A new edition was published in 1819, and ever since, notwithstanding the competition of more exact versions of no mean poetical power, it has remained the translation which, on Dante's name being mentioned, occurs first to the mind.

During this interval Cary had resigned his readership, and become afternoon lecturer at Chiswick and curate of the Savoy. His acquaintance with Coleridge had introduced him to Charles Lamb, with whom he contracted an intimate friendship. He became a member of the circle that gathered around the publishers Taylor and Hessey, and contributed ballads and critical essays to their 'London Magazine.' Several of his contributions were on the early French poets, the materials for which he collected in a visit to France in 1821. These were republished after his death, as also were a series of lives of English poets, supplementary to Johnson, likewise contributed to the 'London Magazine.' In 1824 appeared his translation of 'The Birds,' an elegant performance, but wanting the rollicking fun of Aristophanes.

In the same year he began his translation of Pindar. In 1826, after an unsuccessful application for a vacancy in the antiquities department of the British Museum, he was appointed assistant-keeper of printed books. A classed catalogue of the library was at that time in preparation, and Cary was appropriately entrusted with the poetry. After some time it was given up, and he was mainly employed in cataloguing new purchases and acquisitions by copyright. The numerous titles extant in his handwriting show that he was both an industrious and an accurate workman. Nothing occurred to vary the even tenor of his life until the completion of his translation of Pindar in the autumn of 1832, almost immediately followed by the sudden death of his wife. The effect upon him was 'an amazement of all the faculties of mind and body,' followed by attacks of delirium. Having partially rallied, he undertook a long tour on the continent, and returned restored to comparative health; yet, in the opinion of all but his family and himself, disqualified for promotion to the headship of the library of printed books, to which, indeed, the shy recluse scholar would hardly have been equal at any time. The post became vacant in 1837, and the preference over Cary given to Antonio Panizzi, a foreigner who had not yet overcome prejudice by the demonstration of his extraordinary capacity, and whose promotion was regarded by many as a piece of party patronage, occasioned much criticism at the time. It was, however, most fully vindicated before the royal commission of 1848, and, entirely apart from the question of Panizzi's merits and Cary's infirmities, the latter placed himself out of court by the ground on which he rested his claim. 'My age,' he said, 'it was plain, might ask for me that alleviation of labour which is gained by promotion to a superior place.' A curious ideal of duty must have prevailed in the public service when, as has been remarked, 'an honourable and respected officer could, without conscious absurdity, urge as a plea for promotion that he would thereby have less to do.' Upon the failure of his application Cary resigned, and owing to another serious blot in the administrative system of the time, his eleven years of faithful service were unrecompensed by any retiring pension. The death of his aged father, however, had recently placed him in easier circumstances, and though consenting to work for the booksellers, he does not seem to have suffered from pecuniary embarrassment. He edited several standard English poets with much judgment, and prepared a series of critical observations on the Italian

poets, which were published in the 'Gentleman's Magazine' after his death. A crown pension of 200*l.* a year was conferred upon him in 1841, principally through the influence of Rogers. He died, after a short illness, on 14 Aug. 1844, and was buried in Westminster Abbey by the side of Samuel Johnson.

Cary's literary fame is almost wholly identified with one work. There will probably always be two schools of Dante translation in England, the blank verse and the *terza rima*, and until some great genius shall have arisen capable of thoroughly naturalising the latter metre, Johnson's terse remark on the translators of Virgil will continue to be applicable. 'Pitt,' he says, 'is quoted, and Dryden read.' Cary's standard is lower, and his achievement less remarkable, than that of many of his successors, but he, at least, has made Dante an Englishman, and they have left him half an Italian. He has, nevertheless, shown remarkable tact in avoiding the almost inevitable imitation of the Miltonic style, and, renouncing the attempt to clothe Dante with a stateliness which does not belong to him, has in a great measure preserved his transparent simplicity and intense vividness. In many other respects Cary's taste was much in advance of the standard of his day; his criticisms on other poets are judicious, but not penetrating. His original poems and his translation of Pindar scarcely deserve a higher praise than that of elegance. A translation of Valerius Flaccus was never completed, and nothing more seems to have been heard of the 'Romeo and other Poems' which his son announced his intention of publishing. The extreme tenderness and affectionateness of Cary's character appears sufficiently from his history. It would hardly have been inferred from his correspondence, which is in general rather commonplace, and tintured with a reserve which can only have arisen from extreme sensitiveness.

[Memoir of the Rev. H. F. Cary, by his son, Henry Cary, 2 vols. 1847; *Gent. Mag.* April 1847; Edwards's *Lives of the Founders of the British Museum*, pp. 547-52.] R. G.

**CARY, JOHN** (*d.* 1395?), judge, son of Sir John Cary, knight, bailiff of the forest of Selwood in Wiltshire, knight of the shire for Devon in 1362 and 1368, who died in 1371, by Jane, daughter of Sir Guy de Brien, knight, was put into commission as warden of the ports for Devonshire in 1373, and was made commissioner of array three years later. He was commanded by the king in 1383 to take the rank of serjeant-at-law, but refused. Three years later (5 Nov. 1386) he was

created chief baron of the exchequer. In 1387-8 he underwent impeachment for having answered, in a sense favourable to the king, the interrogatories addressed to the judges at Nottingham in the preceding August, relative to the action of the parliament in dismissing Michael de la Pole, and vesting the supreme power in a council of nobles [see **BEALKNAP, SIR ROBERT**]. He was condemned to death, but the sentence having been commuted for one of banishment, he was transported to Waterford and confined within a circuit of two miles round the city, but was otherwise permitted to live at his own will, being allowed a pension of 20*l.* per annum for maintenance. He died about 1395 or 1396. His estates at Torrington and Cockington, which had been confiscated, were restored to his son, probably in 1402. By his wife, Margaret, daughter of Robert Holway of Holway in Devonshire, he had two sons, Robert (now represented by Robert Shedden Sulyarde Cary of Torr Abbey, Torquay) and John, sometime bishop of Exeter. The family has given origin to three peerages, of which one, held by Viscount Falkland, baron Hunsdon (*b.* 1803), is still extant.

[*Cal. Inq. P.M.* iii. 196, 308; *Abbrev. Rot. Orig.* ii. 281, 317, 323; *Devon's Issues of the Exch.* (*Hen. III.*-*Hen. VI.*), p. 236; Willis's *Not. Parl.* ii. 251; *Foss's Lives of the Judges*; *Rymer's Fœd.* (ed. Clarke), iii. pt. ii. 976, 1046; *Dugdale's Chron. Ser.* 53; *Hist. Angl. Script.* Decem Col. 2727; *Cobbett's State Trials*, i. 119-20; *Rot. Parl.* iii. 484.] J. M. R.

**CARY, JOHN** (*d.* 1720?), merchant and writer on trade, was the son of Thomas Cary, vicar of St. Philip and St. Jacob, Bristol. He was engaged in the West Indian sugar trade, the rising importance of which in the latter part of the seventeenth century led him to take a political interest in commercial matters. In 1687, when the mayor and council were removed on account of their opposition to the abolition of the penal laws, he was placed on the substituted council (see **SEYER, Bristol**, ii. 534). At the request of some members of parliament he published in 1695 an essay on trade, which attracted a good deal of attention, and brought him into correspondence with Locke. It 'is the best discourse,' Locke wrote to him, 'I ever read on that subject.' It is 'written with so disinterested an aim,' wrote another correspondent, 'that no man can possibly tell where your trade lies by it.' Cary was evidently esteemed by his fellow-citizens as a man of sound practical judgment, for he acted as an arbitrator in commercial disputes, and was chosen by the Bristol committee of trade as their representative in London to advise the city members in matters affecting

Bristol trade. In 1700 he was appointed one of the trustees for the sale of forfeited estates in Ireland (*H. C. Journals*, xiii. 307; HARRIS, *William III*, p. 478). In 1704, being known to have given much attention to the subject, he was invited by the ministry to lay before them his views on the question of encouraging the linen manufactures of Ireland. The only later references to him are in connection with two chancery suits in Ireland, *Carey v. White*, and *Boyle-Moor v. Mattocks*, in both of which, on appeal to the House of Lords, he was unsuccessful (Index to *Journals*, vols. ii. and iii.; and 5 Bro. P. C. 325). In each case he was attacked for non-payment of costs, being imprisoned for a few days in 1717 (MACQUEEN, *Practice in the House of Lords*, p. 271), though he seems to have evaded a similar order in 1719 (*H. L. Journals*, xxi. 130). He died soon after (advertisement to 1745 edition of the *Essay on Trade*). Cary advocated a national policy in trade. It is possible, he said, for the public to grow poor, while private persons increase their fortunes; therefore it is important to discover what trades are profitable to the nation and should be encouraged, and what are not profitable and should be discouraged. He has been ridiculed for putting such a question, but to nearly all his contemporaries it seemed a most reasonable one. In the instructions to the commissioners of trade in 1696 it is set down, almost in Cary's words, as the first subject of inquiry (MACPHERSON, *Commerce*, ii. 682). The policy which he advocated was the stimulating of home manufactures. To this end he was in favour of discouraging the importation of manufactured commodities, and of encouraging, by freeing from customs and otherwise, that of raw material. For the same reason he proposed that the laws against the exportation of wool should be strengthened, and that some check should be put upon the woollen manufactures of Ireland. The Irish trade, he said in a letter of 1695, threatens to eat up ours. 'Lands in Ireland will advance to twenty years' purchase, and lands in England fall to twelve.'

Among his other proposals was a plan for providing workhouses for the poor, which through his efforts was brought into operation in Bristol by an act of 1697. In one of his pamphlets Cary described the success of the experiment, and the example of Bristol was followed by a number of other towns (see EDEN, *State of the Poor*, i. 253, 275; NICHOLLS, *English Poor Law*, i. 373). A growing belief in the system led to the passing of a general act in 1723, enabling separate parishes to combine for the purpose of establishing a common workhouse. Though

the idea of such a combination had been already suggested by Hale and other writers on the poor, Cary has been justly credited with showing how it could be carried out.

The following is a list of Cary's works: 1. '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,' 1695; 2nd ed. 1719, 'An Essay towards regulating the Trade and employing the Poor of this Kingdom;' 3rd ed. 1745, 'A Discourse on Trade, and other matters relative to it,' &c. The later editions differ considerably from the first one. The edition of 1745 was translated, with additions, into French in 1755, and from the French into Italian in 1764. In Cary's lifetime parts of the essay were extracted and published as separate pamphlets: the 'Irish and Scotch Trade' (Bristol, 1695; London, 1696), the 'East India Trade' (Bristol, 1695; London, 1696 and 1699), the 'African Trade' (n. d.) and the proposals relating to the poor. A pamphlet having appeared entitled 'The Linnen Drapers' Answer to that part of Mr. Cary his Essay on Trade, that concerns the East India Trade'—a plea for free trade—he published a short reply. 2. 'An Essay on the Coyn and Credit of England as they stand with respect to Trade' (Bristol, 1696), 'to show the necessity of settling a well-grounded credit in this nation, for support of the government and carrying on its trade' (see MACLEOD on *Banking*, i. 403). In 'An Essay towards settling a National Credit' (1696, reprinted along with 2nd and 3rd editions of the 'Essay on Trade'), and in 'A Proposal for paying off the Publick Debts by erecting a National Credit' (London, 1719), he advocated a national bank, 'the profit or loss thereof to redound to the nation.' In the 'Essay on Trade' (2nd ed.) he said that 'the famous Mr. Laws' drew his scheme from this proposal. 3. 'An Account of the Proceedings of the Corporation of Bristol, in Execution of the Act of Parliament for the better employing and maintaining the Poor of that City,' London, 1700 (anonymous), reprinted along with 2nd and 3rd editions of the 'Essay on Trade.' 'A Proposal to raise 150,000*l.* per annum, and to give Employment to the Poor' (n. d.); a leaflet, suggesting an additional duty on tobacco. 4. 'Some Considerations relating to the Carrying on the Linnen Manufactures of Ireland,' 1704; reprinted along with 2nd and 3rd editions of the 'Essay on Trade.' The effect of absenteeism on 'the balance of trade' is discussed. 5. 'A Vindication of the Parliament of England, in answer to a book written by William Molyneux of Dublin, Esq., intituled "The Case

of Ireland's being bound by Acts of Parliament in England stated," London, 1698 (see NICOLSON, *Irish Hist. Library*, ed. 1776, p. 51). Another answer to Molyneux appeared in the same year, which, on the strength of a marginal reference in Leland's 'History of Ireland' (i. 77, 3rd ed.), is attributed to Cary. 6. 'The Rights of the Commons in Parliament assembled asserted, and the Liberties of the People vindicated,' London, 1718, denying the right of the House of Lords to imprison after prorogation. 'The Case of John Cary, Esq.' &c., London, 1719; an appeal to the House of Commons for relief in a case pending in the Irish court of chancery. Cary's manuscripts in the British Museum include several papers on trade and currency, his correspondence with Locke and others concerning the 'Essay on Trade,' and notes on fencing and other matters. He gives a description (f. 112) of three comets in 1680 and 1682, with a sketch of one of them.

[Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 5540; Journals of House of Lords; references to himself in his pamphlets; information received from Mr. William George of Bristol.] G. P. M.

**CARY, LUCIUS**, second VISCOUNT FALKLAND (1610?–1643), born probably at Burford either in 1610 or towards the end of the preceding year, was the son of Sir Henry Cary [q.v.], who was in 1620 created Viscount Falkland in the Scottish peerage, and who was lord-deputy of Ireland from 1622 to 1629. His mother, from whom he inherited his literary tastes and his religious thoughtfulness, was Elizabeth [see under CARY, SIR HENRY], only daughter of Sir Lawrence Tanfield, chief baron of the exchequer. In 1622 he accompanied his father and mother to Dublin, where he was educated at Trinity College, though it would seem that his name had been entered at St. John's College, Cambridge, in 1621 (BAKER, *Hist. of St. John's College*, ed. Mayor, i. 263). Ussher was provost during the first part of young Cary's residence, and it has been suggested that his influence may have had something to do with the youth's subsequent hostility to the Laudian system. In 1625 Sir Lawrence Tanfield died. By a deed (*MS.* in Record Office, Chancery Inquisitions, Chas. I, part 1, No. 44, compare probate of will at Somerset House) he directed that the manors of Great Tew and Burford, together with the rectory of Great Tew, should be conveyed to trustees and be held by them, first to the use of his widow, and after her death to that of his grandson, Lucius, upon whose issue the estates were entailed, no mention being made of his daughter, Lady Falkland. It is pos-

sible that she was passed over because, though she had not yet formally become a Roman catholic, she was understood to be unsettled in religion; but it must be remembered that the young Lucius had been taken to live with his grandfather from his birth (*Life of Lady Falkland*, p. 11), and was, therefore, no doubt a special favourite with the old man. When, in 1629, the elder Falkland returned to England, he had been engaged in a violent quarrel with many of the members of the Irish privy council, and the lords justices, who were of the party opposed to him, made use of their new authority to take away a company, the command of which had been granted by the late lord-deputy to his son, Lucius, and to confer it upon Sir Francis Willoughby. Upon this Lucius, indignant on his own as well as on his father's account, challenged Willoughby in January 1630, on which he was committed to the Fleet by a warrant from the council, dated 17 Jan., and liberated on his father's petition on the 27th (correspondence in *LADY THERESA LEWIS's Lives of the Friends of Clarendon*, i. 189). When young Cary left Ireland he brought with him a thorough knowledge of French and Latin (*CLARENDON's Life*, i. 35). If Clarendon's dates are to be taken as accurate, it was at the age of nineteen—that is to say about 1629—that he entered into possession of his inheritance, no doubt by his grandmother's death; and it was at some time during the next two years that he married Letice, daughter of Sir Richard Morrison of Tooley Park, Leicestershire. It was a love-match, and as the lady was poor his father was very angry with him, probably on account of his own exclusion from the Tanfield property as well as on account of the marriage. With the impulsiveness of nature which marked him through his life, Lucius offered to abandon all claim upon the estate to his father, a proposal which came to nothing through the passionate refusal of the old man to accept the offer. So deeply was Lucius pained by the quarrel thus forced upon him, that he went over to Holland with the intention of taking military service under the Dutch Republic. He failed, however, to obtain the post which he desired, and he returned to England to a life for which he was more fitted than for that of a soldier (*ib.* i. 37; *WOOD, Athene Oxon.* ed. Bliss, ii. 570). On his return to England Cary retired to a country life at Great Tew, declaring that 'he would not see London in many years, which was the place he loved of all the world,' and devoted himself to the study of Greek (*CLARENDON's Life*, i. 39). By his father's accidental death in 1633 he

became Viscount Falkland, and was obliged, much against his will, to go to London on business connected with his father's property, which was so heavily mortgaged that, as Clarendon says (*ib.* i. 40), he was compelled to sell a finer seat of his own in order to release it. Wood (*Athenæ Oxon.* ii. 603) throws doubt on the statement given in the 'Mystery of the Good Old Cause' (1660), that Lenthall had Burford given to him by the Long parliament, on the ground that he had purchased it from Falkland in 1634 for about 7,000*l.* This statement tallies with Clarendon's assertion, and as Lenthall was one of Falkland's trustees under his grandfather's deed, he was a likely person to make the purchase. As under that deed Falkland had only a life interest, the Long parliament no doubt continued to Lenthall the proprietorship after Falkland's death, which otherwise would have gone to his eldest son. Falkland spent with his mother the winter after his father's death. She was now a declared catholic, and was naturally anxious to convince her children of the truth of her own creed. If we may trust her recollections of this period embodied in her biography, written probably by one of her younger sons, Falkland was very nearly giving way. He was, it seems, 'so wholly catholic in opinion then that he would affirm he knew nothing but what the church told him; pretending, for his being none, that though this seemed to him to be thus—and that he always disputed in the defence of it—yet he would not take upon him to resolve anything so determinately as to change his profession upon it till he was forty years old' (*Life of Lady Falkland*, p. 55). It is hardly likely that this is a complete account of the state of Falkland's mind. He may very well have been sufficiently dissatisfied with popular protestantism to listen with sympathising attention to his mother's arguments, while the light answer about his youth might easily have concealed a feeling of repugnance which he was too courteous to express. Lady Falkland accounted for her son's subsequent defection (*ib.* p. 56) by his 'meeting with a book of Socinus.' This charge of Socinianism here brought against Falkland was also brought against Chillingworth, whom Falkland met at his mother's house, and with whom he contracted a lasting friendship. There is probably a misconception at the root of the denunciations to which this charge has been subjected. The term Socinianism is at present applied to a certain doctrine on the second person of the Trinity. In Falkland's time, as appears from Cheynell's 'Rise, Growth, and Danger of Socinian-

ism' (1643), it was rather a habit of applying reason to questions of revelation which led up to that special doctrine as its most startling result. There can be no doubt that in this larger sense both Falkland and Chillingworth had, as Cheynell subsequently asserted of Chillingworth, the Socinian way of regarding religious questions, and Lady Falkland's assertion that they were led in that direction by reading a book of Socinus may very possibly be true. After this Falkland's relations with his mother were for some time strained, especially as she sent over two of her sons to be educated as catholics abroad, and used her motherly influence to procure the conversion of her daughters. There were also some monetary difficulties between them, but the first meeting was enough to put an end to all estrangement between mother and son, especially as Falkland made over to her and to some of her children a part of his father's estate which he had himself redeemed and which had originally been set apart by her husband for her jointure. In later years Lady Falkland was once more in difficulties, but as there had been again some ill-feeling between the mother and son, she did not apply to him for help. When at last Falkland was informed of his mother's condition, he at once hurried to her assistance. He found her on her deathbed, and did all that was in his power to soothe her in her last hours (*Life of Lady Falkland*, 108, 111).

Falkland's own life had been an enjoyable one. 'As soon,' writes Clarendon (*Life*, i. 41), 'as he had finished all those transactions, which the death of his father had made it 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 anything 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 hence, 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, and truly his whole conversation was one continued *convivium philosophicum* or *convivium theologium*, enlivened and refreshed with all the facetiousness of wit and good humour and pleasantness of discourse, which made the gravity of the argument itself (whatever it was) very delectable. His house where he usually resided (Tew or Burford in Oxfordshire), being within ten or twelve miles of the uni-



versity, looked like the university itself, by the company that was always found there. There was Dr. Sheldon, Dr. Morley, Dr. Hammond, Dr. Earles, i.e. Earle, '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 of the house know of their coming or going, nor who was in his house, till he came to dinner, or supper, where all still met; otherwise, there was no troublesome ceremony or constraint 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, 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.'

That the persons who resorted from London—the poets and the wits—took up a larger part in Falkland's mind than Clarendon acknowledges is evident from Suckling's 'Session of the Poets.' Yet the lines which Suckling devotes to Falkland draw, in the main, the same picture as that of the historian:—

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 forgot his poetry,  
Though to say the truth, and Apollo did know it,  
He might have been both his priest and his poet.

We here get Falkland's modesty combined with intellectual activity, which no doubt constituted the main charm of his character as a host. We get too the impression which he made of being a man who could do much more than he actually did, an impression which has kept its hold upon subsequent generations, and which is at the bottom of most of the misconceptions of Falkland's life which have since prevailed.

Fortunately we are able to bring this conception of Falkland to the test. During this period of his life he wrote some poetry, and he also wrote something, if not much, on a theological subject. In his poetry (ed. Grosart in *Fuller Worthies Miscellany*, vol. iii.) there is much that is pleasing, but there is no trace of imaginative power. The same is true of his religious writings. In the 'Discourse of Infallibility' (published in 1651 by Dr. Triplet), which was not printed till after his death, and in the answer to the letter in which Walter Montague announced his conversion to his father, written in the end of 1635 or the beginning of 1636, there

is ability without originality. His thought on the subject bears the distinct impress of Chillingworth's mind, in a way which the writings of Hales do not. Yet it would be a grave mistake to speak of Falkland's personality as unimportant in the historical development of religious thought. Because he was not himself a cutter of new paths, he was all the more a representative man, and he stands forth as the central figure of a special phase of progress. In his large wisdom, his gentle tolerance, his sweet reasonableness, even in his very impetuosity, there was more of 'human nature's daily food' than was to be found in men intellectually so superior to him as Chillingworth and Hales.

During the years of retirement at Great Tew, Falkland gave but little attention to questions of state. In 1637, in some lines written by him on Ben Jonson's death, he went out of the way to compliment the king on his claim to the sovereignty of the seas, though in the same year his name appears on the list of defaulters in respect of ship-money for one of his estates ('Arrears for Hertfordshire,' *State Papers*, Dom. ccclxxv. 106). As, however, we hear nothing of his omission to pay ship-money in Oxfordshire, it may perhaps be concluded that he had no deliberate intention to oppose the court. The same conclusion must be drawn from the fact that he applied for the command of a troop of horse in the expedition against the Scots in 1639, and that, upon receiving a refusal, he 'went as a volunteer with the Earl of Essex' (CLARENDON, *Hist.* vii. 230).

Cowley, in the lines which he addressed to Falkland on this occasion, felt that there was something incongruous in the appearance as a soldier of 'this great prince of knowledge,' while paying tribute to that utter fearlessness which Clarendon ascribes to him. No one, however, suggested that there was anything out of place in Falkland, who was one of the least puritanical of human beings, taking part in a campaign against the puritan Scots.

In the year after his return he sat in the Short parliament for Newport in the Isle of Wight. 'From the debates,' Clarendon says (*Hist.* vii. 222), 'he contracted such a reverence to parliaments, that he thought it really impossible that they could ever produce mischief or inconvenience to the kingdom, or that the kingdom could be tolerably happy in the intermission of them; and from the unhappy and unseasonable intermission of that convention, he harboured, it may be, some jealousy and prejudice of the court, towards which he was not before immoderately inclined.' The statement is pro-

bably tinged by Clarendon's later feeling, but it is extremely probable that from the conversation of his fellow-soldiers in the camp in the north, as well as from that of his fellow-members of Westminster, Falkland realised what the Laudian system really was, and that he generously threw himself into the struggle against it for the sake of the consciences of others, though it is unlikely that it ever pressed very heavily on his own. Such, at least, is a fair explanation of the part taken by him when, at the opening of the Long parliament, he again found himself member for Newport. The self-willed government of Strafford was as little to his taste as the self-willed government of Laud, and he, with all the warmth of his nature, flung himself heartily into the opposition. If, as has been suggested, Falkland was predisposed to take part against Strafford on account of the earl's conduct to the first Lord Falkland, it is all the more creditable to him that on 11 Nov., when the question of the impeachment of Strafford was under consideration, he asked that the accusation should be held back to give time for a full inquiry into its truth (*ib.* iii. 8). At a later stage of the proceedings, on 18 Feb. 1641, when the commons was much excited by the concession made by the lords to Strafford of further time for the preparation of his defence, Falkland calmed them by reminding them that the lords had 'done no more than they conceived to be necessary in justice,' and that it would only serve Strafford if they quarrelled with the upper house (D'Ewes's 'Diary,' *Harl. MS.* clxii. fol. 237). When, on 21 April, the final issue was raised on the third reading of the bill of attainder, Falkland not only voted but spoke in favour of the measure (ciphered entry in D'Ewes's 'Diary,' *Harl. MS.* 164, fol. 183 a).

On another great political question, that of ship-money, Falkland took an equally decided part. His speech about ship-money (RUSHWORTH, iv. 86) was in reality an attack on the judges who had perverted the law, and more especially upon Lord-keeper Finch. In the division on the religious question, which ultimately split up the Long parliament into two hostile sections, Falkland took from the beginning the side which gradually developed into an episcopalian-royalist party. In the great debate of 8 Feb. 1641 (*ib.* iv. 184, where the date of 9 Feb. is wrongly given) he made a vehement attack upon the bishops on account of their claim to divine right and that of oppression of the people both in religion and liberty. He urged that the clergy should be subjected to the control of the civil magistrate, and that

the power of imposing ceremonies 'which any member counts unlawful, and no man counts necessary,' should be taken from them. But he was not in favour of the abolition of episcopacy, thinking that triennial parliaments would be sufficiently powerful to keep the bishops in check. It was not desirable to remove bishops merely for the sake of change. Later on, if Clarendon's authority is to be accepted, Hampden assured Falkland that if a bill for depriving bishops of their seats in the House of Lords and of other civil offices became law, 'there would be nothing more attempted to the prejudice of the church.' The proposed measure was wrecked in the House of Lords, and Falkland found himself compelled to give a vote on the so-called root-and-branch bill for the total extinction of episcopacy. In a speech delivered either on 27 May on the second reading, or on some subsequent day when the bill was in committee, Falkland, in addition to the argument that the change was undesirable and not sought for by the majority, spoke of the abolition as injurious to learning. Evidently, however, his strongest feeling was that of dread of the establishment of presbyterianism, which he believed to be the inevitable consequence of the bill before the house. That system claimed as strongly as the bishops had done to exist by divine right. Presbyterianism would, if once admitted, lay claim to an unlimited and independent authority. 'If it be said,' Falkland continued, 'that this unlimitedness and independence is only in spiritual things, I answer, first, that arbitrary government being the worst of governments, and our bodies being worse than our souls, it will be strange to set up that over the second of which we were so impatient over the first. Secondly, that Mr. Solicitor, speaking about the power of the clergy to make canons to bind, did excellently inform us what a mighty influence spiritual power hath upon temporal affairs. So that if our clergy had the one, they had inclusively almost all the other; and to this I may add the vast temporal power of the pope, allowed him by men who allow it him only *in ordine ad spiritualia*, for the fable will tell you, if you make the lion judge (and the clergy assisted by the people is lion enough), it was a wise fear of the fox's lest he might call a knob [i.e. a knob] a horn. And more, sir, they will in this case be judges not only of that which is spiritual, but of what it is that is so; and the people receiving instruction from no other, will take the most temporal matter to be spiritual, if they tell them it is so' (a speech printed in Triplett's second edition of *Discourse of Infallibility*).

Falkland's political course was thus traced out. 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 saturated 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 parliamentary 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.

If the moral tendency towards a great achievement were not as meritorious as the intellectual discovery of the means by which that achievement may be rendered possible, one might easily grow impatient over the remainder of Falkland's career. While he remained in the Long parliament his advice was purely negative. He was, as might have been expected, hostile to the Scotch, and wished that the English parliament should take no interest in the incident at Edinburgh, and should refuse to allow Scottish troops to take part in the Irish war (D'Ewes's 'Diary,' *Harl. MS.* 162, fols. 12*b*, 60*b*). He resisted the second Bishops' Exclusion Bill (*ib.* fol. 31*b*), and in the debate on the Grand Remonstrance complained of the hard measure dealt out to the bishops and the Arminians (*Verney Notes*, 121). Not a hint is to be found that during these fateful months he suggested any practical remedy for the evils of which he was profoundly conscious.

It is probable that no one was more surprised than Falkland himself when, on or about 1 Jan. 1642, the king offered him the vacant secretaryship of state. It required all the persuasive powers of his friend Hyde to induce him to accept it, and he seems to have given way rather because he thought the party which he had joined to be on the whole better than the one which was opposed to it, than because he had great confidence in Charles's character. Whatever his motive

may have been, his resolution was not affected by the incident of the attempt upon the five members. Yet if Falkland kept his place, there are no signs of his acquiring or attempting to acquire political influence. His name is, as might be expected, to be found among those appended to the declaration of 15 June 1642, in which the peers and others assembled at York protest that they abhor all designs of making war (CLARENDON, v. 342); and on 5 Sept. he was the bearer of the second message sent by Charles to the parliament after the standard had been raised at Nottingham. We learn from D'Ewes that, in addition to the public declaration (*Lords' Journals*, v. 338) with which he was charged, Falkland was directed privately to inform the parliamentary leaders that Charles was prepared to 'consent to a thorough reformation of religion,' as well as to anything else that they 'could reasonably desire' (D'Ewes's 'Diary,' *Harl. MS.* 164, fol. 314*b*). The rejection of this overture no doubt determined Falkland to throw himself on the royalist side more heartily than he had done before.

Of Falkland's career as secretary we know little. A well-merited reproof given to Rupert—'in neglecting me, you neglect the king' (WARBURTON'S *Mem. of Rupert*, i. 368)—is evidence of the spirit in which he magnified his office, while a letter written on 27 Sept., soon after the fight at Powick Bridge, in which he predicts a speedy end to the rebellion, because Essex's army was filled with 'tailors or embroiderers or the like,' shows, as does his remark to Cromwell before the debate on the Grand Remonstrance—that the subject would not need a long discussion—that he had little conception of the forces opposed to him (*Civil War Tracts* in the British Museum, press mark E, 9 March, 121, 22). Later on we have the fact that he conducted the secret correspondence with the London partakers in Waller's plot, but it is impossible now to say whether he did so as a mere matter of duty, or because he considered that all was fair against enemies who were also rebels. At all events, by the summer of 1643 Falkland was weary of the war. At the siege of Gloucester, when among his friends, after a deep silence and frequent sighs, he '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 which the kingdom did and must endure, took his sleep from him, and would shortly break his heart' (CLARENDON, *Hist.* vii. 233).

The misery of the spectacle around him

embittered Falkland's existence, all the more because there was no capacity in his own mind to formulate a policy which might tend in the direction of peace. As he could not heal his country's disease, he longed for death, that he might cease to be a witness of her agonies. At Gloucester he exposed himself in vain to danger. On the morning of the battle of Newbury, 20 Sept. 1643, he knew that the desired hour had come. Dressing himself in clean linen, as one going to a banquet, he explained to the bystanders the grounds of the joy which was rooted in sorrow. He was weary of the times, he said, but he would 'be out of it ere night' (WHITELOCKE, 73). Placing himself as a volunteer under Sir John Byron, he chose his opportunity. Riding at a gap in a hedge through which the enemy's bullets were pouring, and from which all his comrades stood aloof, he was struck down in an instant (Byron's 'Narrative,' printed in MONEY'S *Two Battles of Newbury*).

By a death which is scarcely distinguishable from suicide Falkland closed his eyes to the horrors which he loathed. If his memory is never forgotten in England, it is not for what he did, but for what he was. Throwing himself from side to side in party strife, his mind was at least too large permanently to accept mere party watchwords, and his heart was even greater than his mind.

Falkland's published works are: 1. 'A Discourse 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 thereunto . . . to which are now added two Discourses of Episcopacy by Viscount Falkland and William Chillingworth, edited by — Triplet,' London, 1660. The last mentioned discourses are not included in the earlier edition of 1651. 2. 'A speech made in the House of Commons concerning Episcopacy,' London, 1641. 3. 'The speech of the Lord Falkland . . . upon the delivery of the articles . . . against the Lord Finch,' London, 1641. 4. 'A letter sent from the Lord Falkland . . . 30 Sept. 1642, concerning the late conflict before Worcester,' London, 1642. 5. 'The poems of L. Cary,' collected and edited by A. B. Grosart, 1870.

[The authorities cited in text; Falkland's biography in Tulloch's *Rational Religion*.]

S. R. G.

CARY, PATRICK (*J.* 1651), poet, was a younger son of Sir Henry Cary [q. v.], first viscount Falkland, by Elizabeth, only daughter and heiress of Sir Lawrence Tanfield, chief baron of the exchequer. At an early age he was

sent to France, that he might be brought up in the catholic religion, to which his mother was a convert; and after staying there three years was removed to Italy, where he resided for twelve years. For some time he received a small but sufficient pension from Queen Henrietta Maria, and subsequently he was better provided for by Pope Urban VIII, who he says, '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.' Evelyn, being at Rome in 1644, notes that he was especially recommended to 'Mr. Patrick Cary, an abbot, brother to our learned Lord Falkland, a witty young priest, who afterwards came over to our church.' The diarist was mistaken, however, in supposing that the abbé was in holy orders. On 18 March 1650 Cary wrote from Brussels to Sir Edward Hyde, afterwards Earl of Clarendon, stating that he was in great distress, and that he was unwilling to take orders because of the death of his nephew, Lucius, third lord Falkland, but that if Sir Edward could not help him soon he must enter a convent. In his reply Hyde asked Cary to wait a little time. Afterwards Cary assumed the Benedictine habit at Douay, but threw it off within a year, his constitution not being able to bear the kind of diet which the rules enjoined. He then came to England, in the hope of obtaining a pension from his relations here. Being disappointed of this also, he desired Sir Edward Hyde's interest to procure for him some military post in the Spanish service. His friend endeavoured, by very good arguments, to dissuade him from this course, and advised him to lie by a little while, in the expectation of some favourable change. After this it does not appear what became of him.

Mr. (afterwards Sir) Walter Scott edited, from a manuscript in the author's autograph, 'Trivial Poems and Triolets. Written in obedience to Mrs. Tomkin's commands. By Patrick Carey, 20th Aug. 1651,' London, 1820, 4to. The first part consists of 'Trivial Ballads,' and the second part, dated from Warnefurd, 1651, of 'Triolets,' hymns original and translated, and other religious poems. The author was clearly a catholic and a cavalier, and there is no reason to doubt that he was the son of the first Lord Falkland. Scott was not aware of this when he edited the poems, though he made the identification subsequently, as appears from a note in 'Woodstock;' neither was he aware that some of the poems had been previously published under the title of 'Poems

from a manuscript written in the time of Oliver Cromwell, London, 1771, 4to. This manuscript was in the possession of the Rev. Pierrepont Crompt, and in the 'advertisement' to the poems it is said 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.' This first edition contains nine, and the second thirty-seven poems, some of which possess considerable merit.

[Addit. MS. 24487, f. 19; Clarendon's State Papers, ii. 535-9; Lady Lewis's Lives of the Friends and Contemporaries of Lord-chancellor Clarendon, i. 239, 246; Life of Lady Falkland (1861), 185, 187-9; Evelyn's Diary, i. 101; Lowndes's Bibl. Man. (Bohn), 372; Gent. Mag. xli. 325; Notes and Queries, 1st ser. viii. 406, x. 172, 2nd ser. vi. 114; Chappell's Popular Music of the Olden Time, 183, 257, 290, 291, 359, 368.] T. C.

**CARY, ROBERT** (1615?-1688), chronologer, born at Cockington or Berry-Pomeroy, Devonshire, was the second son of George Cary of Cockington by Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Edward Seymour. He was admitted a commoner of Exeter College 4 Oct. 1631; became scholar of Corpus Christi College in October 1634, and graduated B.A. 1635, M.A. 1638-9. He was probably fellow of his college. His kinsman, William Seymour, marquis of Hertford, chancellor of the university, procured for him the degree of D.C.L. in November 1644, and afterwards presented him to the rectory of Portsmouth near Kingsbridge. He became intimate with the presbyterians and was made moderator of his division of the county. On the restoration, however, he was one of the first to congratulate the king, and was installed archdeacon of Exeter 18 Aug. 1662. He was 'frightened' out of his preferment by 'some great men then in power' in 1664, and retired to his rectory, where he lived quietly till his death, 19 Sept. 1688. His chief work was 'Paleologia Chronica; a chronological account of ancient time, in three parts, (1) Didactical; (2) Apodeictical; (3) Canonical,' 1677—an attempt to settle ancient chronology. John Milner, B.D., of Cambridge, published, in 1694, a 'Defence of Archbishop Ussher against Dr. Robert Cary and M. Is. Vossius.' Cary also translated some of the hymns from the church services into Latin verse, and printed them on folio sheets.

[Wood's Athenæ Oxon. (Bliss), iv. 243; Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 198; Kennet's Register (1728), p. 744; Le Neve's Fasti (Hardy), i. 396.]

**CARY, VALENTINE** (d. 1626), bishop of Exeter, was born at Berwick-on-Tweed, and either himself believed, or found it convenient to encourage the belief in others, that he was connected with the Careys, barons of Hunsdon. His college life was passed in the two foundations of St. John's and Christ's at Cambridge. He was first admitted at St. John's, but migrated to the latter college in 1585, and took the degree of B.A. while there in 1589. In March 1591 he was elected to a Northumbrian fellowship at St. John's, but four years later a fellowship at Christ's College was bestowed upon him. His old friends at St. John's were not inclined to lose his services, and in March 1599 they elected him to an open fellowship in their college. On a vacancy in the mastership of Christ's College in 1609, Cary was chosen, chiefly, it is said, through the influence of the Archbishop of Canterbury, as its head. The college was at that time one of the chief seed-plots of Calvinism, and as Cary was opposed to its principles, the majority of the fellows were out of sympathy with their new master. He soon set himself to the task of purging the college from these doctrines, with the result that several of its fellows, William Ames being the most conspicuous of the number, were either deprived of, or withdrew from, their fellowships. When Richard Clayton, the seventeenth master of his old college of St. John's, died in 1612, Cary preached the funeral sermon in his honour, and expected to have been chosen as his successor, but he was disappointed, and rumour assigned to Williams, afterwards the bishop of Lincoln, the chief part in the defeat of Cary. If this rumour were correct, their differences must afterwards have been composed, for Cary was at a later period the medium of the bishop in his benefactions to St. John's College, and it is equally clear that Cary could not have felt any lasting resentment to the college, as he himself gave several law works to its library. His ecclesiastical preferments were as numerous as the changes in his academical career. Among the livings which he held were Tilbury East, 1603, Great Parndon, 1606, Epping, 1607, Orsett and Toft in Cambridge, 1610. In 1601 the prebendal stall of Chiswick in St. Paul's Cathedral was conferred upon him, and from 1607 until 1621 he retained the prebend of Stow Longa at Lincoln. The archdeaconry of Salop was bestowed upon him in 1606, but he resigned this preferment in 1613 on the ground that the official of the archdeaconry swallowed so much of the few profits that it was not worth his keeping. On 8 April 1614 he was elected into the deanery

of St. Paul's, and he remained in that position until his elevation to the episcopal bench in 1621. For the greater part of this time he retained the mastership of Christ's College, but in 1620 he resigned this post into the hands of its fellows. Cary's promotion to the see of Exeter was obtained through the influence of Lord Hunsdon and the then Marquis of Buckingham. He was presented to the bishopric on 14 Sept. 1621, but a difficulty had arisen which delayed his consecration. Archbishop Abbot [q. v.] had accidentally killed a gamekeeper, and Cary, with several other divines who had been nominated to vacant bishoprics, hesitated to receive consecration at the archbishop's hands. A commission was appointed to inquire into Abbot's alleged disability, and the new bishop of Exeter was one of its members. Owing to this cause Cary's consecration was retarded until 18 Nov. Even when the ceremony was completed, his personal troubles were not finished. The king insisted that he should be made a justice of the peace for the city of Exeter, but the mayor and aldermen refused their consent as involving a breach of their charter, and when Cary obtained the honour, it was at the cost of much ill-feeling. A second difference with the corporation arose through his desire to obtain a private door through the city wall, so that he might pass in private from the palace into the open fields around the city. The municipal body refused its consent. The royal authority was again invoked, and the privy council finally closed the controversy by ordering that, subject to certain restrictions, the bishop's wishes should be carried into effect. The traces of these struggles were effaced by time, and when the city was visited by the plague a few years later Cary's bounty to the sufferers was noted with praise. From 1622 to 1624 he held *in commendam* the chancellorship of the cathedral, and in the latter year he was appointed to the vicarage of Exminster. Cary died at his house in Drury Lane, London, on 10 June 1626, and was buried under a plain stone in the south aisle of old St. Paul's, a cenotaph being erected to his memory in Exeter Cathedral. He was a high churchman, and when he attended King James into Scotland in 1617, imprudently commended the soul of a dead person to the mercies of God, 'which he was forced to retract.' Fuller praises Cary as 'a complete gentleman and excellent scholar,' and gratefully adds: 'He once unexpectedly owned my nearest relation in the high commission court when in some distress, a kindly act towards a theological opponent which should not be forgotten. Hacket,

in his life of Lord-keeper Williams, calls Cary 'a prudent courtly man.' His wife, Dorothy, was sister of Mr. Secretary Cooke. An abstract of the bishop's will and some particulars about him are in 'Notes and Queries,' 3rd ser. vi. 174, 217, 312-13, vii. 117, 205.

[Baker's Hist. of St. John's (Mayor), i. 197-8, 208-9, 261-2, 291-2, 339, ii. 616, 676; Le Neve's Fasti (Hardy), i. 380, 419, 575, ii. 215, 315, 378; Yonge's Diary (Camd. Soc.), 44, 51; Oliver's Bishops of Exeter, 144, 257-8, 483; Fuller's Worthies (1840), ii. 546; Mullinger's Univ. of Camb. 1535-1625, pp. 475-6, 508-11; Fortescue Papers (Camd. Soc.), 160-4, 194.] W. P. C.

**CARY, WILLIAM** (1759-1825), philosophical instrument maker, was a pupil of Ramsden, and set up before 1790 a separate business, which he pursued energetically until his death at the age of sixty-six on 16 Nov. 1825. He constructed for Dr. Wollaston in 1791 a transit circle—the first made in England—two feet in diameter and provided with microscopes for reading off. In 1805 he sent to Moscow a transit-instrument described and figured in Pearson's 'Practical Astronomy' (ii. 362-5), for the safety of which Bonaparte provided in 1812 by a special order. A circle of 41 centimetres, ordered from Cary by Feer about 1790, is still preserved at the Zürich observatory. He was, besides, the maker of the 2½-foot altitude and azimuth instrument with which Bessel began his observations at Königsberg, and of numerous excellent sextants, microscopes, reflecting and refracting telescopes, &c. A catalogue of the instruments sold by him at 182 Strand, London, is in the possession of the Naturforschende Gesellschaft of Zürich. His name occurs on the first list of members of the Astronomical Society, and he contributed for several years the Meteorological Diary to the 'Gentleman's Magazine.'

[Wolf's Gesch. d. Astr. p. 562 (1877); Gent. Mag. xcv. (ii.) 475; Mem. R. A. Soc. ii. 532.] A. M. C.

**CARYL, JOSEPH** (1602-1673), nonconformist leader and commentator, born in London in 1602, was educated at Exeter College, Oxford, where he soon became eminent as a speaker and debater. Entering into holy orders, he held for some time the office of preacher to Lincoln's Inn, and was frequently called to preach to the Long parliament at their solemn feasts and thanksgivings and on other occasions. His eminence and zeal in his profession procured his appointment in 1643 as a member of the assembly of divines at Westminster. In ecclesiastical connection he was a moderate independent,

and at the same time zealous for the covenant. In 1645 he was appointed minister of the church of St. Magnus, near London Bridge. For a considerable number of years he discharged the duties of this sphere with great zeal and success, being especially esteemed as an expositor of Scripture. Among other work committed to him at this time, he was appointed by the parliament, along with Stephen Marshall, chaplain to the commissioners who were sent to the king at Holmby House in order to arrange terms of peace. The chaplains never had a chance of influencing the king, not being even invited to say grace at meals, which the king always did himself. Caryll and John Owen were afterwards nominated to attend Oliver Cromwell in his journey to Scotland. Caryll was also one of the triers for judging of the qualifications of ministers of the gospel. After the restoration of Charles II, Caryll was ejected from the church of St. Magnus by the Act of Uniformity in 1662. He continued, however, to live in London, and he does not seem to have been interfered with in gathering a congregation in the neighbourhood of his former charge. In this he was so successful that when he died the number of communicants was 136. He died 10 March 1672-3 at his house in Bury Street. On his death his congregation chose Dr. John Owen as his successor, uniting with a previous flock of Dr. Owen's. Another of his successors was Dr. Isaac Watts, for whom the congregation built a new meeting-house in Bury Street, near St. Mary Axe.

About a dozen of Caryll's sermons were published separately, preached on public occasions before the commons, the lords, or both houses, or before the lord mayor. But the great work of Caryll was his 'Commentary on the Book of Job.' The first edition was in 12 vols. 4to (1651-66); the second in 2 vols. folio (1676-7); and the work has always commanded a high character for sound judgment, extensive learning, and fervent piety. It ranks with other great puritan commentaries—Greenhill on Ezekiel, Burroughs on Hosea, or Owen on the Hebrews. After his death a volume of posthumous sermons was published with preface by Dr. Owen. He was one of the authors of an English Greek lexicon for the New Testament (1661), and of 'Saints' Memorials, or words fitly spoken, like Apples of Gold in Pictures of Silver.'

[Reid's *Memoirs of the Westminster Divines*; Neal's *History of the Puritans*, iv. 53; Calamy's *Nonconformist's Memorial*, i. 146-8; Wood's *Athenæ* (Bliss), iii. 979; Granger, iii. 312.]

W. G. B.

CARYLL, JOHN, titular LORD CARYLL (1625-1711), diplomatist and poet, came of an ancient Roman catholic family, which had been settled, from the close of the sixteenth century, at West Harting in Sussex. His father, John Caryll, was a royalist, who suffered fine for his opinions; his mother was Catharine, daughter of Lord Petre. He was partly educated at St. Omer. Succeeding to a fair estate, and endowed with a literary taste, he figures among the minor poets of Charles II's reign as the author of a few plays and other pieces. He is briefly noticed by Macaulay (*History*, ch. vi.) as 'known to his contemporaries as a man of fortune and fashion, and as the author of two successful plays.' The first of these plays was 'The English Princess, or the Death of Richard III, a tragedy, written in the year 1666, and acted at his Highness the Duke of York's Theatre.' Pepys saw it acted on 7 March 1667, 'a most sad, melancholy play, and pretty good, but nothing eminent in it, as some tragedies are.' The other was a comedy, in imitation of Molière's 'Ecole des Femmes,' which was published in 1671, with the title, 'Sir Salomon, or the Cautious Coxcomb; a comedy, as it is acted at his Royal Highness the Duke of York's Theatre.' In 'Ovid's Epistles, translated by several hands,' first published in 1680, Caryll appears as the author of the 'Epistle of Briseis to Achilles;' and in the collection of 'Miscellany Poems,' put forth by Dryden in 1683, he is the translator of the First Eclogue of Virgil, and the writer of a short copy of verses on the Earl of Shaftesbury, entitled 'The Hypocrite,' and dated 1678 (see NICHOLS, *Select Collection of Poems*, 1780, ii. 1, iii. 205). The earlier editors of Pope identified Caryll with his nephew, John Caryll [q. v.], Pope's friend—an error in which they have been followed by Macaulay.

As a Roman catholic, and probably also on account of his connection with the Duke of York, he fell under suspicion in the panic of the popish plot, and was committed to the Tower in 1679, but was soon released on bail. When James ascended the throne in 1685, Caryll was selected as the English agent at the court of Rome, where, says Macaulay, he 'acquitted himself of his delicate errand with good sense and good feeling. The business confided to him was well done; but he assumed no public character, and carefully avoided all display. His mission therefore put the government to scarcely any charge, and excited scarcely any murmurs.' He was recalled in 1686, to make room for Lord Castlemaine. On his return, Caryll was appointed secretary to the queen, Mary of

Modena, and thus began his intimate relations with James's family which remained unbroken till his death. Early in 1687 he was, with other Roman Catholics, put into the commission of the peace (LUTTRELL, *Relation of State Affairs*, i. 392). At the Revolution he followed James to St. Germain; but he suffered no immediate loss, as his estate at West Harting was, at James's special request, exempted by William from confiscation. In 1696, however, on the discovery of the assassination plot, it was found that he had provided Sir George Barclay with a sum of money to purchase horses and arms. Caryll was attainted, and his estate was seized by the crown. His life interest in it was granted to Lord Cutts, but was redeemed by his nephew by payment of 6,000*l.* Caryll continued his services to Mary of Modena, and is said to have been appointed secretary of state to James in 1695 or 1696. After James's death in 1701, he was created by the Pretender Baron Caryll of Dunford, and became one of his secretaries of state, but apparently without salary (*Egerton MS.* 2517).

In 1700 he published anonymously an English version of the psalms: 'The Psalms of David, translated from the Vulgat,' which was probably designed more particularly for the use of the Pretender's household. As a last glimpse of literary occupation, we have, in a letter of the queen, 19 May 1701 (*Add. MS.* 28224), a reference to his being busy with James's memoirs.

Caryll died on 4 Sept. 1711, and was buried in the church of the English Dominicans at Paris. A tablet was erected to his memory in the Scotch College (*Sussex Arch. Soc. Collections*, xix. 191), of which he was a benefactor. An epitaph on him was written by Pope, and sent to his heir and nephew, beginning with the lines:

A manly form; a bold, yet modest mind;  
Sincere, though prudent; constant, yet resign'd;  
Honour unchanged, a principle profest;  
Fixed to one side, but mod'rate to the rest:  
An honest courtier, and a patriot too;  
Just to his prince, and to his country true.

These six lines Pope afterwards took for an epitaph to Sir William Trumbull, and remodelled the rest to suit the Countess of Bridgewater. Caryll married, early in life, Margaret, daughter and coheir of Sir Maurice Drummond, who died in 1656. He left no issue.

[Dallaway's *Sussex*; Gordon's *History of Harting* (1877); Elwin's edition of Pope, vols. i. and vi.; Dilke's *Papers of a Critic* (1875), i. 123; Foley's *Records of S. J.*, iii. 534; Caryll MSS. in the British Museum.] E. M. T.

CARYLL, JOHN (1666?–1736), the friend of Pope, was the nephew and heir of Lord Caryll [q. v.], being the son of Richard Caryll of West Grinstead, Lord Caryll's younger brother. He was born about 1666, and, after composition with Lord Cutts, the grantee of Lord Caryll's forfeited estate at West Harting, he succeeded in 1697 to that property, which he had managed since his uncle's retirement abroad, and in 1701, on his father's death, to another estate at West Grinstead. He seems to have resembled his uncle in an amiable disposition and literary taste, and was intimate with the literary men of his day, and especially with Pope. 'Half a line in the "Rape of the Lock" has made his name immortal' were true words when Macaulay wrote them, and since then the recovery of Pope's correspondence with Caryll has inseparably associated the two names.

Pope may have first made Caryll's acquaintance at the Englefields of Whiteknights, to whom he was related (ELWIN, *Pope*, vi. 136). At Lady Holt, his house at West Harting, built in his uncle's time, and at West Grinstead Caryll received frequent visits from Pope and some from Gay. It appears too that Pope owed his first acquaintance with Steele to Caryll's introduction. Steele was acting as Lord Cutts's secretary when the negotiations for the redemption of the Harting property were in progress, and probably then first came in contact with Caryll (*ib.* 144 n.). Caryll's suggestion of the 'Rape of the Lock' is acknowledged in the opening of the poem:

This verse to Caryll, Muse, is due.

The hero of the piece was his cousin and neighbour, Lord Petre.

The correspondence between Pope and Caryll, lately published, covers the period from 1710 to 1735. Some of Pope's letters are addressed to Caryll's son, another John, who married Lady Mary Mackenzie, daughter of Lord Seaforth, and died young in 1718. Pope asked Caryll more than once during 1726 and 1727 for the return of his letters, but his correspondent was loth to comply, and the delay appears to have caused a coolness between the friends in correspondence. It was not till 1729 that Pope at length regained possession of the letters, and published garbled versions of them in his 'Correspondence with his Friends' [see POPE, ALEXANDER]. Caryll's reluctance to give them up is marked strongly enough by his delay. The value that he set upon them, and doubtless the feeling that he might never see them again, induced him to take copies of them before they passed out of his hands.



The transcript was found with other family papers which came into the possession of Mr. C. W. Dilke and were presented to the British Museum by his grandson, Sir C. W. Dilke, in 1870 and 1871 (the volume containing Pope's letters is numbered Additional MS. 28618). The Sussex squire's copies were published for the first time in Mr. Elwin's edition of 'Pope.'

Caryll passed nearly the whole of his long life upon his estates, happy in his marriage of more than fifty years with Elizabeth, daughter of John Harrington of Ore Place, Sussex. He died in April 1736. His lands passed to his grandson of the same name, who however soon got into difficulties and sold the West Grinstead estate about 1745 and that at West Harting in 1767. Lady Holt House was pulled down before 1770.

[Dallaway's Sussex; Gordon's History of Harting (1877); Elwin's edition of Pope, vols. i. and vi.; Dilke's Papers of a Critic (1875), vol. i.; Caryll MSS. in the British Museum.]

E. M. T.

**CARYSFORT, EARLS OF (1780-1855).**  
[See PROBY.]

**CASALI, ANDREA (1720? - 1783?)** painter, was a native of Civit  Vecchia, a seaport in Tuscany, and was born about 1720 (or 1724). He received his early art education at Rome under the painter Sebastiano Conca, and painted several pictures for churches in that city. He appears to have come to England about 1748, for at the end of that year he was employed to paint the transparencies which formed part of the decorations set up in St. James's Park to celebrate the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle (signed 7 Oct. 1748). These were afterwards engraved by Grignon, Scotin, and others. After the great fire at Fonthill Abbey he was employed by Mr. Beckford to paint the ceiling of the Egyptian Hall in the new building. About 1758, when the church of St. Margaret, Westminster, was repaired, he painted two figures of St. Peter and St. Paul for the altar. He also painted a picture of the 'Adoration of the Magi' as an altar-piece for the chapel of the Foundling Hospital; this, however, was afterwards removed to make way for an altar-piece by Benjamin West. In 1760 the Society of Arts awarded to him the second premium of fifty guineas for his picture representing the story of 'Gunhilda, empress of Germany,' the first premium being adjudged to Mr. Pine. In 1761, however, he gained from the same society the first premium of a hundred guineas for his picture of 'Edward the Martyr stabbed by the directions of his mother Elfrida.' About this year he received the distinction

of knighthood in his own country, since he is always described subsequently as 'Chevalier' Casali. From this year onwards he was a constant exhibitor at the London exhibitions. About 1769 he seems to have returned to Rome, but continued to exhibit in London until 1783, after which year we have no further trace of him. His pictures are chiefly historical, though he painted sacred and classical subjects as well. Cleverly painted and carefully executed, they are too theatrical in composition, and frequently tawdry in colour. Among his principal works, besides those already named, were: 'Lucretia bewailing her Fate,' engraved by Ravenet and by himself; 'Jupiter and Antiope,' engraved by Chambers; 'Children at Play,' two pictures engraved in mezzotint by J. G. Haid; 'The Adoration of the Magi' (mentioned above), engraved by R. Laurie. He did several etchings from his own pictures, and also one of 'The Virgin and Child,' after Raphael.

[Redgrave's Dict. of English Artists; Heineken's Dictionnaire des Artistes, vol. iii.; Gandelini's Notizie degli Intagliatori, viii. 78; Andresen's Handbuch f r Kupferstich-Sammler, vol. i.; Edwards's Anecdotes of Painters; Gent. Mag. 1760, p. 198; Annual Register, 1761; Nagler's K nstler-Lexikon, vol. ii.; manuscript information, Anderson Collection, in the Print Room, British Museum.]

L. C.

**CASANOVA, FRANCIS (1727-1805),** battle painter, was descended from an ancient Spanish family, for some generations conspicuous in the annals of gallantry and intrigue. He was the second son of Gaetano Giuseppe Giacomo Casanova, who had quitted his family for love of an actress, adopted the stage as a profession, and espoused Zanetta, daughter of Jeronimo Farusi, a cobbler. The eldest son was Giacomo Girolamo, the famous adventurer, better known as 'Casanova de Seingalt;' the second was Francesco; and the third, Giovanni Battista, also became an artist, was a pupil of Raphael Mengs, and afterwards professor and director of the academy at Dresden. Francesco Casanova was born in London in 1727, where his parents were then fulfilling a theatrical engagement. He returned with his family when quite young to Venice, and, his father dying prematurely, he was placed with his brothers in the care of the Grimani family, under whom he received an excellent education. He early showed a taste for art and architecture, and first studied under Guardi, and under Francesco Simonini, the battle painter, taking his chief instruction from the works of Jacques Courtois, 'Bourguignon,' whose style he adopted throughout. In the spring of 1751 he went at his elder brother's suggestion to Paris,

and studied under Charles Parrocel. Although he devoted himself with industry to his work, he did not meet with the success his ambition required. In 1752, therefore, he left Paris for Dresden, where he worked for four years, giving special study to the works of painters of the Dutch and Flemish school. In 1757 he returned to Paris, and in a very short time gained himself a reputation as a battle painter of the first rank. In 1763 a battle-piece he exhibited was purchased for a large sum for the Louvre, and he was elected with acclamation a member of the Academy. In spite, however, of his great success, the high prices he obtained for his pictures, and the patronage of royalty and the nobility, his extravagant habits and luxurious mode of life, in addition to two unfortunate matrimonial adventures, kept him continually in debt and trouble. One of his own etchings, entitled 'Le Diner du Peintre Casanova,' represents him as just alighted from his coach and bartering his pictures for food to an old woman selling sausages and similar food by the wayside. He received a commission from the Empress Catherine of Russia to paint the victories of the Russians over the Turks for the royal palace at St. Petersburg, but was compelled about the same time to quit Paris on account of his debts. He established himself at Vienna, and continued to paint there until his death, which occurred in the Brühl, near Vienna, in 1805. In 1767 he exhibited in London, at the Exhibition of the Free Society of Artists, a picture of 'Hannibal crossing the Alps,' in which his clever disposition of masses of people and ingenious contrasts of light and shade caused a sensation, which fully carried out the high estimation in which his pictures were held at Paris and elsewhere. Besides his numerous battle-pieces he executed several etchings, in addition to the one mentioned above. In the Print Room of the British Museum there is a spirited drawing by him representing horsemen crossing a ford. Among his pupils at Vienna was James Philip de Louthembourg, R.A.

[Mémoires de Casanova de Seingalt; Heineken's Dictionnaire des Artistes, vol. iii.; Huber et Roost's Manuel des Curieux et des Amateurs de l'Art; Seubert's Allgemeines Künstler-Lexikon, vol. i.; Nagler's Künstler-Lexikon, vol. ii.; Andresen's Handbuch für Kupferstich-Sammler; Prosper de Baudicour's Le Peintre Graveur Français, vol. i.; Nouvelle Biographie Générale.]

L. C.

**CASAUBON, ISAAC** (1559-1614), classical scholar, was born in 1559 at Geneva, whither his parents, Arnold and Jehanne Casaubon (born Rousseau), both of Gascon

origin, were driven by religious persecution. In 1561 Arnold Casaubon accepted a call to be pastor of the Huguenot church at Crest, a small town in Dauphiné, and there Isaac's childhood was spent. He was to a great extent self-taught, for his father, who undertook his education, was frequently absent from home, and when at home almost entirely engrossed with his pastoral work. At the age of nineteen Isaac was sent to Geneva as a student; here he learned Greek under Francis Portus, a Cretan, who formed so high an opinion of his pupil, that he suggested him as his successor just before his death in 1581. After a year's delay, Casaubon was appointed 'professor of Greek,' a high-sounding title, but worth only 10*l.* a year, and rooms in college. In 1583 he married Mary Polytot, a native of Geneva, who died in the second year of their married life, leaving one daughter, who died young. In 1586 he lost his father, and married a second wife, Florence Estienne, daughter of the famous printer, Henri Estienne (Henricus Stephanus II), by whom he had a large family. He was very poor, and unable to purchase the books which were absolutely necessary for his literary work, while the moroseness of his father-in-law prevented him from having access to the books of the great printer. In 1593 he made the acquaintance of Sir Henry Wotton, then a young man making the grand tour. Wotton lodged in Casaubon's house at Geneva, where he charmed his host, but unfortunately also involved him in fresh pecuniary difficulties. Another thing of which Casaubon complains was want of leisure. His lectures, and the preparation for them, necessarily occupied a considerable amount of time; visitors and family duties (though the latter were as much as possible taken off his hands by his faithful wife) took up more. All this left an ample margin for an ordinary student, but not for a student like Casaubon. But avaricious as he was of his time, there was one claim upon it which he never grudged. Casaubon was an intensely religious man, and the hours spent in private and public devotion were always sacred. He is now known simply, or chiefly, as a great classical scholar, but in reality he took at least as deep an interest in theological studies. At this early period he seems to have been quite content with the popular Calvinism of the Geneva school. Beza, the reformer, was his spiritual director. 'From him,' he says, 'I learnt to think humbly of myself, and, if I have been able to do aught in letters, to ascribe all the glory to God.' His brother professor, Jacques Lect, who was nearer his own age, was his dearest friend at Geneva. 'Without you,' he writes to Lect, 'life to me is no

life.' Three eminent Frenchmen, De Thou, Bongars, a learned Calvinist, and De Fresne, also became his friends, and 'made it their common object to secure him for France.' It was mainly owing to the last-named that he moved from Geneva to Montpellier. But before this event took place he commenced a close friendship with a far greater man, Joseph Scaliger, then a professor at the university of Leyden. A young Englishman, Richard Thomson, had the honour of bringing these two great minds together. Travelling from Geneva to England, Thomson took Leyden on his way, charged with a message from the Genevan to the Leyden scholar. This message was followed by a letter from Casaubon to Scaliger, couched in the most humble and even abject terms. Scaliger, eighteen years the elder, showed some reserve in accepting the overtures of the humble suitor for his friendship; but, being much impressed with the merits of Casaubon's 'Theophrastus,' he at last replied favourably, though in a condescending tone: 'Casaubon was not to suppose that his merits were now for the first time revealed to Scaliger. Scaliger's eye had been on him long, and his voice had never been wanting to proclaim them.' Casaubon soon won Scaliger over to a closer relationship, and henceforth a constant correspondence was kept up between the two greatest scholars in Europe, which was only interrupted by death. Scaliger learned to appreciate Casaubon better, and called him 'the most learned man in Europe,' and owned that he was a better Greek scholar than himself.

Casaubon yearned to leave Geneva; his salary was miserable, the cost of living was high, he had little access to books, and his precious time was intruded upon by injudicious friends. He was French by descent, and always regarded himself as a Frenchman until he became a naturalised Englishman. When, therefore, a proposal—not a very tempting one—came to him from Montpellier, he, after some delay, accepted it, although the Geneva Council offered to double his pay if he would stay among them. In 1696 he was settled at Montpellier with the titles of 'conseiller du roi,' and 'professeur stipendié aux langues et bonnes lettres.' His stipend was 100*l.* a year, and he calls God to witness that he is not influenced by avaricious motives in leaving Geneva. His entry into Montpellier was a sort of triumphal procession. In 1597 he began his 'Ephemerides,' a curious diary, in which he scrupulously records, not the events, but the studies of every day up to a few days before his death. The 'Ephemerides' are full of expressions of devotion, pious ejaculations, and earnest prayers,

which remind one of the methodist diaries of the eighteenth century. They are the artless outpourings of an intensely religious soul. A specimen may be given:—'To-day I got six hours for study. When shall I get my whole day? Whenever, O my Father, it shall be thy will!' 'This morning not to my books till 7 o'clock or after; alas me! and after that the whole morning lost—nay, the whole day. O God of my salvation, aid my studies, without which life is to me not life!' 'Deliver me, my heavenly Father, from these miseries which the absence of my wife and the management of my household create for me.' At Montpellier he had only one sitting-room, where his work had to be done in the midst of his family. His stay in his new home scarcely lasted three years, his friends De Thou and Meric de Vic being mainly instrumental in transferring him to Paris. They introduced him to Henry IV, who had heard what Casaubon calls 'exaggerated praise' of him from Scaliger. De Vic was the adviser by whom all Casaubon's plans were now directed; and De Vic and Madame de Vic were Roman Catholics. It was in the hope that Casaubon would be admitted into the true church that they and his other friends had schemed to bring him to Paris. To Paris he removed in 1600 after some delay at Lyons, where his 'Athæneus' was being printed; but he did not find more comfort in the metropolis than he had found at Montpellier. He was appointed 'lecteur du roi,' and had a pension assigned to him, while his friends hinted at an appointment in the university 'under certain circumstances.' Those circumstances were, of course, his conversion to Romanism, for no heretic was allowed to teach in the university. He was trapped into becoming one of the umpires in a dispute between Du Plessis-Mornay (one of Henry IV's most faithful friends in his Huguenot days) on the protestant side and the Cardinal du Perron on the Romanist. There was only one other protestant among the six commissioners or umpires, Casaubon's friend De Fresne, who was known to be seeking a decent pretext for coming over to the side in power. A conference was held at Fontainebleau, the subject being whether De Mornay had or had not quoted falsely in a book 'De l'Eucharistie.' Casaubon's critical acumen forced him to admit, with the other judges, that a false citation had been made, and it was thought that he would become a Romanist. His son Meric [q. v.] thinks that he wavered, but there does not seem to be any positive proof that he went even so far as that. At any rate, he was certainly not to be brought over. In vain

did Father Coton, the king's favourite confessor, and the Bishop of Evreux (Du Perron), assail him. But Casaubon had alienated his protestant friends, who thought that he ought to have stood by the protestant champion whether right or wrong, while he did not in the least conciliate his Romanist enemies. In 1601 a patent was issued appointing him to the office of librarian to the king, but with the proviso that the then holder of the office (one Gosselin) should not be disturbed. The jesuits did their utmost to prevent his appointment; but through the influence of his constant friend, De Thou, he succeeded Gosselin, who died in 1604, as 'garde de la librairie du roi.' But he was still perpetually worried about his religion. It is highly probable that Du Perron did produce a considerable effect upon him. In their disputes Casaubon gave up much ground which the Calvinists held. Pierre du Moulin, minister of the church at Charenton where he worshipped, looked coldly upon him. In 1607 he lost his mother, whom, in spite of his straitened circumstances, he had helped with true filial piety; in 1608 his favourite daughter Philippa, and in 1609 Joseph Scaliger, died. This last loss affected him most of all. Madame Casaubon was perpetually ailing, and Isaac, who grudged every moment of his time diverted from his studies and devotions, did not grudge hours spent in attendance upon her. His children were constantly laid by with sickness. His cup of misery overflowed when the 'convertisseurs,' who had been unsuccessful with him, succeeded in making a worthless convert of his eldest son John, who, to his father's great grief, was admitted into the Roman catholic church in August 1610.

Casaubon desired to leave Paris, and he had many invitations to do so. His old friend Lect was anxious to have him back at Geneva, but with his present religious views Calvinistic Geneva was no place for Casaubon. Overtures were made to him from Heidelberg and Nimes; he thought of retiring to Sedan; of visiting Venice, where he had an illustrious correspondent, Fra Paolo; and he seemed to be the natural successor to Scaliger at Leyden. England was at last selected. He had already held communications with the king while yet only James VI of Scotland, who could appreciate him as Henry IV certainly could not. But the sovereign was not his chief attraction. He could not submit to the papacy, but he had learned to respect the authority of the fathers. The Huguenot ministers scouted antiquity, but with the Anglo-catholics he was thoroughly in accord. The church of England realised

in a great measure the ideal he had formed from the study of catholic antiquity; but he could not leave his post without the consent of the king. After Henry's death, however (14 May 1610), he was no longer bound either by gratitude or interest to remain in France—in fact, he would not have been safe there. Before he left Du Perron made one more effort; he pressed him upon the subject of the eucharist, on which his Huguenot friends considered him unsound. Casaubon agreed neither with Du Perron nor with Du Moulin, but, if he could once cross the Channel, he would find numbers with whom he would agree thoroughly. On 20 July 1610 an official invitation came to him from the Archbishop of Canterbury (Bancroft). A prebend of Canterbury was reserved for him, and as the income of the stall might not be sufficient for his maintenance, a promise was added that it might be increased from other sources; or, if he preferred it, he might throw himself upon the generosity of King James. After two months' delay, Casaubon set off in the suite of Lord Wotton of Marley. Archbishop Bancroft lived just long enough to see the eminent stranger, who was hospitably received by the Dean of St. Paul's (Overall), and spent the first year of his residence in England at the deanery. All the bishops received him with enthusiasm, but his special friend was Lancelot Andrewes, then bishop of Ely. Andrewes, more than any other man, had been instrumental in bringing him to England. 'The only two men,' he writes, 'with whom I lived on intimate terms in London were the Bishop of Ely and the Dean of St. Paul's.' Perhaps the happiest days he ever spent were in the bishop's company. 'We spend,' he writes, 'whole days in talk of letters, sacred especially, and no words can express what true piety, what uprightness of judgment, I find in him.' James I took to him at once, was perpetually sending for him, and kept him talking for hours, always on theology. He granted him a pension of 300*l.* a year from his own purse, in addition to the prebend at Canterbury, and invariably treated him with the utmost kindness. But Casaubon had a penalty to pay; he had to follow the court to Theobalds, Royston, Greenwich, Hampton Court, Holdenby, and Newmarket. King James was worth talking to, and a good talker himself. Casaubon ought also to have been relieved from the pressure of poverty, for besides his English income he still retained his French pension; but he was one of those men who would always be in money difficulties. He determined to make England his permanent home, took out letters of naturalisation,

called England 'the isle of the blessed,' and so far identified himself with us as to speak to an Englishman of 'our ancestors.' He made the personal acquaintance of Grotius, who was then in England, and the acquaintance ripened into an enthusiastic friendship; and he found great delight in the society of Thomas Morton, afterwards the famous bishop of Durham. The chief drawback to his happiness was the strong distaste which Madame Casaubon felt for England. She made long absences, and when his wife was away Casaubon was helpless. And he had other troubles. He was regarded with an evil eye by the puritans as a traitor to their cause. More than once his windows were broken by the mob. He declares that 'the streets were not safe to him; he was pursued with abuse, or with stones; his children were beaten.' On one occasion he actually appeared at Theobalds with a black eye, given him by a ruffian as he was travelling through the city; and during the whole of his four years in England he was a failing man. Intense study had worn him out prematurely, and his constant moving about was perhaps too much for him. Besides his frequent removals in the train of the court, we hear of him now at Oxford, now at Cambridge, now at Ely. He died at last of an injudicious trip to Greenwich on 12 July 1614. He was buried in Westminster Abbey, one friend, Bishop Overall, preaching the funeral sermon, another, Bishop Morton, writing his epitaph. His wife survived him for twenty-one years, and was most kindly treated by King James. To the very last he was annoyed by his old persecutors. The French ambassador sent a nobleman to ask him in what religion he professed to die. 'Then you think, my lord,' he replied with horror, 'that I have been all along a dissembler in a matter of the greatest moment!'

In the life of a student the account of his works is generally more important and interesting than the account of his personal career. Casaubon left behind him no less than twenty-five separate publications, most of them on classical subjects. But editions of classical authors necessarily become superseded. Again, Latin translations of Greek authors were useful when Latin was so much more generally spoken and written, but not in later times; and, finally, it may be doubted whether the authors themselves whom Casaubon edited, commented on, or translated—Strabo, Theophrastus, Athenæus, Suetonius, and Polybius—are much read except by specialists. Those, however, who take the trouble to study the huge folios in which Casaubon's learned labours are pre-

served will assuredly find the character he bore was not undeserved. Casaubon's principal works, in chronological order, are as follows: 1. 'Isaaci Hortiboni Notæ ad Diogenis Laertii libros,' &c., 1583. 2. 'Strabonis Rerum Geographicarum libri xvii., Is. Casaubonus recensuit,' &c., 1587. 3. 'Novi Testamenti libri omnes recens nunc editi cum notis Is. Casauboni,' &c., 1587. 4. 'Is. Casauboni Animadversiones in Dionysii Halicarnassei Antiquitatum Romanarum libros,' 1588. 5. 'Polyæni Strategematum libri octo. Is. Casaubonus Græcè nunc primum edidit, emendavit, et notis illustravit,' &c., 1589. 6. 'Operum Aristotelis . . . nova editio,' &c., 1590. 7. 'Theophrasti Characteres Ethici,' &c. Is. Casaubonus recensuit, in Latinum sermonem vertit, et libro commentario illustravit,' 1592. 8. 'Suetonii de xii Cæsaribus libri viii. Is. Casaubonus recensuit,' &c., 1595. 9. 'Athenæus; Isaaci Casauboni animadversionum in Athenæi Deipnosophistas libri xv.,' 1600. 10. 'Persii Satirarum liber. Is. Casaubonus recensuit et commentario libro illustravit,' 1605. 11. 'Gregorii Nysseni ad Eustathiam, Ambrosiam, et Basilissam epistola. Is. Casaubonus nunc primum publicavit, Latinè vertit, et illustravit notis,' 1606. 12. 'Polybii Historiarum libri qui supersunt. Is. Casaubonus ex antiquis libris emendavit, Latinè vertit, et commentariis illustravit,' 1609. 13. 'Is. Casauboni ad Frontonem Duceum Epistola,' 1611. 14. 'Is. Casauboni ad Epistolam Cardinalis Perronii responsio,' 1611. 15. 'De rebus sacris et ecclesiasticis Exercitationes xvi ad Baronii Annales,' 1614. 16. 'Is. Casauboni ad Polybii Historiarum librum primum commentarii,' 1617.

Of these works the most important are the 'Athenæus,' which took up full four years of his life, and gave him an immense amount of ungrateful labour, which he yearned to spend upon christian antiquity; the 'Theophrastus,' the first in date of those of his works of which he was not himself ashamed; the 'Polybius,' which also cost him more than four years' labour, though he lived only to finish the translation, the fragment of the commentary being published after his death; the 'Suetonius,' which first led Scalliger duly to appreciate his greatness. The 'Persius' and 'Strabo' also long continued standard works. It is not necessary to say much of his theological works. His criticism on the Annals of Baronius, though it is but a small fragment of what he intended, took up the last four years of his life, and probably hastened his death. It was undertaken at the request of King James; and though we may well regret that the great

scholar wasted his time in showing up a book which must have become discredited without his help, it is most unfair to blame the king, as has been done, for bringing about this perversion of industry. Casaubon had intended to criticise Baronius long before he came to England. He always looked upon ecclesiastical history as the proper field for his labours, and though, during the wearisome task of tracking out the Romanist church historian's bad scholarship and mistakes, he may now and then lament over his unfinished 'Polybius,' there is no doubt that his theological work was a labour of love; for though to us Casaubon is the great classical scholar, he wished to be, first, the theological, and only in a secondary degree the classical, student. A book was published by Christopher Wolf in 1610 with the attractive title of 'Casauboniana.' It contains only some desultory remarks on books. To Meric Casaubon [q. v.] we are indebted for the six volumes of the 'Ephemerides,' by far the most interesting volume of all that Isaac has left us. Meric Casaubon also corresponded with John Evelyn about some of the elder Casaubon's notes upon trees and plants (see EVELYN, *Diary*, ed. Wheatley, iii. 271 et seq.)

Casaubon has, in our own day, found a biographer whose love of learning was like his own, and whose monograph of the great scholar is one of the gems of English literature. Unfortunately, death deprived the English world of letters of Mark Pattison on 30 July 1884.

[Pattison's *Life of Isaac Casaubon*; *Alme-loveen's Is. Casauboni Vita* (1709); *Casaubon's Ephemerides* (ed. Dr. Russell, 1850); *Casaubon's Works*, *passim*.] J. H. O.

**CASAUBON, MERIC** (1599–1671), classical scholar, was the son of Isaac [q. v.] and Florence Casaubon. He was born in 1599 at Geneva, and received his christian name from his godfather, Meric de Vic. He was educated in his early years at Sedan, which, being on the confines of a protestant district, offered facilities for escape in case of a religious persecution. He was the only one of Isaac Casaubon's sons in whom the father could find any comfort. He remained at Sedan until 1611, when he joined his father, who was by this time settled in England. He was then sent to Eton, on the foundation, and in 1614 proceeded to Christ Church, Oxford. In the April of that year King James had sent a mission to the dean and chapter of Christ Church, requiring them 'to admit a sonne of Isaak Casaubon into the rome of a scholler of the foundation of that house, that should first become voide.' Isaac had intended to

send his son to Leyden, to study under Heinsius, but as Meric was the only son who could avail himself of the king's kindness, he arranged that Meric should spend some time at Christ Church and then travel abroad. In 1614 the father died, and Meric was admitted to a studentship at Christ Church, which he held for thirteen years. He took his B.A. degree in 1618, and his M.A. in 1621, and in the same year published a book in defence of his father against the calumnies of the Roman catholics. This juvenile work pleased the king, and also found approbation among his father's admirers in France, especially Meric de Vic, through whose instrumentality he was invited to settle in France with offers of promotion. He determined, however, to remain in England. At the early age of twenty-five he was collated, by his father's friend, Bishop Andrewes, to the rectory of Bleadon in Somersetshire; Archbishop Laud gave him, in 1628, a prebend at Canterbury; in 1634, the vicarage of Minster in the Isle of Thanet, and in the same year the vicarage of Monckton, also in the Isle of Thanet. He had, in 1624, published another vindication of his father, which he wrote by the express command of the king, and he formed a design of continuing his father's unfinished 'exercitations' against Baronius. In 1636 he was created D.D. at Oxford by order of Charles I, who was then residing at the university. About 1644 he was deprived by the parliament of all his preferments, and, according to Walker (*Sufferings of the Clergy*), 'was abused, fined, and imprisoned.' But in 1649 he received, through a Mr. Greaves, a lawyer of Gray's Inn, a message from Oliver Cromwell to come to Whitehall 'to confer about matters of moment;' as his wife lay dead in the house he could not come; but the message was twice repeated. Cromwell's business with him was to request him, royalist as he was, 'to write a history of the late war, desiring withal that nothing but matters of fact should be impartially set down.' Meric declined, on the very natural ground 'that he would be forced to make such reflections as would be ungrateful, if not injurious, to his lordship.' Cromwell was not offended. On the contrary, he ordered 'that upon the first demand three or four hundred pounds should be delivered to him by a London bookseller without acknowledging the benefactor;' but Meric did not avail himself of the offer. Mr. Greaves was then commissioned to tell him that, 'if he would do as requested, the lieutenant-general would restore him all his father's books, which were then in the royal library having been purchased by King James, and

would give him a patent for 300*l.* a year, to be paid so long as the youngest son of Dr. Casaubon should live.' Casaubon next received a proposal from Christina, queen of Sweden, through the Swedish ambassador, that he should accept 'the government of one or the inspection of all the universities, with a good salary, and 300*l.* a year settled on his eldest son during life.' This offer he also declined. He had married a second wife in 1651, who brought him a fortune; and upon the Restoration he recovered all his preferments. In 1662 he exchanged Minster for the rectory of Ickham, near Canterbury. He died in 1671, and was buried in Canterbury Cathedral. He left several children, one of whom, John, was a surgeon at Canterbury. He intended to write an account of his own life, chiefly because he had so many providential escapes to recount.

Meric Casaubon was pious, charitable, and courteous; he was also a good scholar, and a most indefatigable writer. The list of his works is as follows: 1. 'Pietas contra maledicta patris nominis et religionis hostes,' 1621. 2. 'Vindicatio patris adversus Impostores, qui librum ineptum et impium de Idolatria nuper sub Is. Casauboni nomine publicarunt,' 1624. 3. 'Optati Milevitani libri vii. cum notis et emendationibus,' 1631. 4. 'Treatise of Use and Custom,' 1638. 5. 'M. Antonini Imp. de seipso et ad seipsum libri xii.' (edited with notes), 1643. 6. 'Use of Daily Public Prayers, in Three Positions,' 1641. 7. 'Original of Temporal Evils,' 1645. 8. 'Discourse concerning Christ, His Incarnation and Exinanition,' 9. 'De verborum usu,' 1647. 10. A more complete edition of his father's notes on Persius, 1647. 11. 'De quatuor linguis commentationis pars prior,' 1650 (the second part was never published). 12. 'Terentius, with Notes' (continuation of Farnaby's), 1651. 13. 'Annotations on the Psalms and Proverbs,' 14. 'In Hieroclis Commentarium de Providentia et Fato notæ et emendationes,' 1655. 15. 'Treatise concerning Enthusiasm,' 1655. 16. 'Epicteti Encheiridion,' with notes, 1659. 17. 'Translation of Lucius Florus's History of the Romans,' 1659. 18. 'A Veritable and Faithful Relation of what passed between John Dee and certain Spirits,' 1659. 19. 'A Vindication of the Lord's Prayer as a Formal Prayer,' 1660. 20. 'Notæ et Emendationes in Diogenem Laertium de Vitis &c. Philosophorum,' 1664. 21. 'Of the Necessity of a Reformation in and before Luther's time,' 22. 'Letter to Peter du Moulin concerning Natural Experimental Philosophy,' 1669. 23. 'Of Credulity and Incredulity against the Sadducism of the Times in denying

Spirits, Witches, &c.,' 1668. 24. 'Notæ in Polybium,' 1670. 25. A single sermon, preached before the king, 1660.

But far more than for any or all of his numerous works, the literary world is indebted to Meric Casaubon for having preserved from destruction many of his father's papers. The 'Ephemerides' themselves were all but lost. They fell into the hands of Isaac's eldest son, John, the Romanist, who was so careless about them, that one volume out of the seven actually *was* lost. When John became a Capuchin they fell into the hands of the widow, Florence Casaubon, and her third son, Paul. These wisely sent them to Meric, the only member of the family who was competent to appreciate them. Meric not only took care of the 'Ephemerides,' but also took great pains to collect all the papers left by his father in the hands of friends. The six volumes of the 'Ephemerides' he deposited in manuscript in the chapter library of Canterbury Cathedral, whence it was disinterred by a prebendary, Dr. Russell, and given to the public through the Clarendon Press in 1850; the rest of the papers he deposited in the Bodleian. It was from these latter papers that Wolf's 'Casauboniana' was drawn up. Meric Casaubon's 'Epistolæ, dedicationes, præfationes, prolegomena,' &c. were incorporated with those of his father in Almelooven's 'Isaaci Casauboni Vita,' in 1709.

[Pattison's Life of Isaac Casaubon, Almelooven's Vita; Meric Casaubon's Works; Wood's Athenæ (Bliss), 934-9.] J. H. O.

CASE, JOHN (*d.* 1600), writer on Aristotle, was born at Woodstock, and was a chorister at New College and Christ Church, Oxford. He was elected to a scholarship at St. John's in 1564. He was B.A. in 1568, M.A. 1572, and became a fellow of his college. He had a high reputation as a disputant. Being 'popishly affected,' says Wood, he 'left his fellowship and married.' His wife was the widow of 'one Dobson, the keeper of Bocardo prison.' He obtained leave from the university to read logic and philosophy to young men, chiefly Roman catholics, in his own house. He wrote various handbooks for their use, which were published and for a time popular, though they had fallen into disrepute in Wood's day. He also practised medicine, becoming M.D. in 1589, made money, and left various sums to St. John's College, New College, and the poor of Woodstock. In 1589, he was collated to a canonry in Salisbury. He died 23 Jan. 1599-1600, and was buried in the chapel of St. John's College. His portrait is in the Bodleian. His works are: 1. 'Summa veterum interpretum in universam Dia-

lecticam Aristotelis,' 1584. 2. 'Speculum moralium quæstionum in universam ethicam Aristotelis,' 1585. This was the first book printed at the press presented to Oxford by their chancellor, the Earl of Leicester. 3. 'Sphæra Civitatis,' 1588. This book, like others by Case, was reprinted abroad, and Barnes, the printer, obtained an order from the university in 1590 that every bachelor should take one copy on 'determining.' 4. 'Reflexus Speculi Moralis,' 1596. 5. 'Thesaurus (Economiae,' 1597. 6. 'Lapis Philosophicus,' 1599. 7. 'Ancilla Philosophiæ,' 1599. These are comments on different writings of Aristotle. He also wrote an 'Apologia Musices, tam vocalis quam instrumentalis et mixtæ,' 1588, of which there is a copy in the Lambeth Library. 'The Praise of Musicke; wherein . . . is described the sober and lawful use of the same in the Congregation and Church of God,' 1586, is also attributed to him. This is dedicated to Sir Walter Raleigh by the printer Barnes, who calls it 'an orphan of one of Lady Musicke's children.' A contemporary, Thomas Watson, wrote some verses, now in the Rawlinson MSS., to Case on the publication called 'A Gratification unto Mr. John Case for his learned book lately made on the Praizes of Musick.'

There are three letters from Case in the Harleian MS. 6995. He prefixed a letter to Nicholas Breton's 'Pilgrimage to Paradise.'

[Wood's Athenæ Oxon. (Bliss), i. 686; Fasti, i. 179, 189, 249, 250, 252; Wood's Annals (Gutch), ii. 233, 269, 954; Wood's Colleges and Halls (Gutch), pp. 540, 551, 561; Haslewood's British Bibliographer, ii. 541; Strype's Annals, vol. iii. pt. i. pp. 499, 518, pt. ii. p. 395; Boase's Register, i. 267; Le Neve's Fasti, ii. 654; Nichols's Illustrations, iv. 169.]

**CASE, JOHN** (fl. 1680-1700), astrologer, was born about 1660 at Lyme Regis in Dorsetshire. We first hear of him as the author of 'The Wards of the Key to Helmont proved unfit for the Lock, or the Principles of Mr. Wm. Bacon examined and refuted' (London, 1682). In this he tells us that he has just attained his majority. The work is a protest against the theory in William Bacon's 'Key to Helmont' that water is the principle of all bodies, and prefixed thereto is a commendatory epistle by John Partridge, the astrologer. At this time Case lived in Lambeth, and had not as yet adopted the style of M.D. His friendship with Partridge is noted by Swift (*Works*, iv. 120) in his account of the death of that astrologer, a passage on which John Nichols has made an interesting commentary. Case's best work (which is noticed by Haller) was his 'Compendium Anatomicum nova methodo institutum,' which, ap-

pearing in 1695, first made him a well-known character. It appeared again the following year in Amsterdam, and consists of a masterly defence of the opinion of Harvey and De Graaf upon the generation of animals *ab ovo*, in the same manner as birds. Indeed, it is so superior to his other works that Chalmers expresses some doubt as to whether he really wrote it. He followed this immediately with his 'Ars Anatomica breviter elucidata' (London, 1695), and in the following year with 'Flos Ævi, or Cælestial Observations' (London, 1696). By this time he had placed the letters M.D. after his name, and was living close to Ludgate, having succeeded to the business of Salford, who had succeeded to that of William Lilly; by this means he was in possession of all the magical apparatus of these two noted astrologers. Especially he rejoiced in the darkened room and mystic apparatus by which Lilly had been wont to show people visions of their departed friends, which apparatus Case used to exhibit and ridicule to his friends in 'melting moments.' Over his door he had erased the signs of Lilly and Salford, and had inscribed the verse—

Within this place  
Lives Doctor Case,

and Addison tells us in the 'Tatler' (No. 240) that Case made more money by this distich than Dryden made by all his poetical works put together; round his pill-boxes also he used to inscribe—

Here's fourteen pills for thirteen pence;  
Enough in any man's own conscience.

He was ridiculed again by Addison in the 216th 'Tatler,' and it is 'Doctor Case' who, in Pope's poem, is summoned to attend John Dennis in his 'phrenzy.'

In 1697 Case published 'The Angelical Guide, shewing men and women their lott or chance in this elementary life in IV books.' This work, which was dedicated to his friend, John Tyson, the author of 'The Way to Long Life, Health, and Happiness,' Granger considered to have been 'one of the most profound astrological pieces that the world ever saw.' The only other serious work which we have of John Case's is 'Ἐξήγησις Ἰατρικὴ; or the Medical Expositor in an Alphabetical Order in Latine, Greek, and English' (London, 1698). John Case is the original of the story which is thus told by Granger (who heard it from the Rev. Mr. Gosling): 'Dr. Maundy, formerly of Canterbury, told me that in his travels abroad some eminent physician who had been in England gave him a token to spend on his return with Dr. Radcliffe and Dr. Case. They fixed on an evening and were very merry, when Dr. Radcliffe thus began a



health: "Here's to all the fools, your patients, brother Case;" "I thank you, good brother," replied Case; "let me have all the fools, and you are heartily welcome to the rest of the practice."

[Granger's Biog. History, iv. 327; Tatler, edited by John Nichols and others (1786); Case's Works.] E. H.-A.

**CASE, THOMAS** (1598-1682), divine, son of George Case, vicar of Boxley, Kent, was born in that county in 1598. His first education was received at Canterbury, and he next entered Merchant Taylors' School in 1615, where the registrar set down his name only (*Registers*, i. 84). In 1616 he obtained a studentship at Christ Church, Oxford, partly in recognition of his industry and proficiency, and partly by the favour of Archbishop Tobie Matthew, who had been of that foundation. Case's connection with Christ Church is recorded upon the title-pages of many of his books. His degree in arts was taken on 15 June 1620, and his master's degree on 26 June 1623. He is said to have remained a year or two longer at the university, preaching after ordination 'for some time in those parts, and afterwards in Kent, at or near the place of his nativity.' His career was most intimately associated with that of Richard Heyrick (of the family of the poet Herrick), who was his associate at Oxford. When Heyrick obtained from Charles I his first preferment at North Repps, Norfolk, Case became his curate. Soon after Case obtained the pastoral charge of Erpingham in the same neighbourhood, remaining there eight or ten years. The latter part of his stay at this parish was marked by the severity of Bishop Wren towards him, and proceedings in the high commission court are said to have been still pending against him when that court was abolished. Meanwhile Heyrick, who some years before had received from the king a grant of the reversion of the wardenship of the collegiate church of Manchester, came into possession of that dignity in 1635, and thither Case accompanied or followed him. By the influence of the Booth family, of the adjoining town of Salford, Case frequently preached with much acceptance at their newly erected chapel in that place, and he also preached in the other Manchester chapelries, whither he was followed by numbers of admirers. On 8 Aug. 1637 he was married at Stockport, Cheshire, to Anne, daughter of Oswald Mosley of Ancoats, Manchester, the widow of Robert Booth of Salford (brother of Humphrey Booth, the founder of the chapel). By this union he became brother-in-law to the Rev.

John Angier [q.v.] His popularity brought him into trouble, and he experienced, in a less degree, the same trials in the diocese of Chester as in that of Norwich. In 1638 articles were exhibited against him in Bishop Bridgeman's court for uttering opinions against the discipline of the church and for other irregularities, notwithstanding that he had signed the articles and was still 'a benefited man within the diocese of Norwich.' One of the charges was that he had given the sacrament to those who did not kneel; and his reply was that the congregations were so vast that there was no room to kneel. Falling in with the spirit of the Manchester burghers he supported the parliamentary party by his money and zeal (November 1642). His marriage introduced him to persons of influence. Jacomb disturbs a little the chronological sequence when he says that in a short while after coming to Manchester Case was presented to a place in the neighbouring county—i.e. Stockport—where he may have been acting first as curate. He became actual rector of that rich benefice on 31 July 1645, when the committee of plundered ministers presented him, with the usual injunction to preach diligently. The presentation was confirmed by votes of the houses. The appointment of a man who at that time was an active minister in London was not a wise one. Nine months afterwards he resigned and a new rector was appointed, Case having 'another place with cure of souls.' These dates and circumstances seem to lend point to Wood's insinuation that Case was anxious to get preferment and wealth, which he wanted before he went up to London. In the meanwhile, before the end of 1641, the 'urgency of some persons of quality' in Lancashire—probably Sir William Brereton, a Cheshire baronet, and his associates—induced Case to accompany them to the capital. There his style of preaching amidst a multitude of preachers attracted notice, and he soon acquired fame. The first of his published discourses, two in number, were delivered at Westminster 'before sundry of the House of Commons,' and issued by authority in 1641. A very severe and bitter spirit characterised them. The city churches were readily opened to him. First he was lecturer and then rector (in place of Mr. Jones, sequestered) of St. Mary Magdalen, Milk Street, where, following a custom already established in Manchester, he began that seven o'clock 'morning exercise' long afterwards kept up 'to the benefit of multitudes.' Sir John Bramston refers in a characteristic passage (*Autob.* p. 92) to his appointment there. His sermons 'at Milk

Street in London,' called 'God's Waiting to be Gracious,' were by the committee for printing ordered (27 June 1642) to be issued. This volume, which was dedicated to Major-general Skippon and Richard Aldworth, esq., his parishioners, abounds in that kind of oratory which had become popular. His resentment against the late episcopal government is shown to be very deep. He asserts that the Anglican church was the Babylon of Rev. xviii. 4; and he enumerates 'her idolatrous bowings, cringings, altars, crosses, and cursed ceremonies, false worship, false doctrine' (p. 68). Walker (*Sufferings*, ii. 48) justly takes exception to some of his sentiments, which Calamy (*Continuation*, pp. 14-15) in part excuses. A work entitled 'Evangelium Armatum,' 4to, 1663 (KENNET, *Register*, pp. 743, 855), quotes some reprehensible passages from Case's sermons; others are given in Zachary Grey's 'Century of Presbyterian Preachers,' 1723, 8vo (App. pp. v-vi; and cf. WOOD, *Athens*, iv. 46-7). It is said to have been usual with Case at St. Maudlin's to invite his hearers to the Lord's table with the words, 'You that have freely and liberally contributed to the parliament for the defence of God's cause and the gospel, draw near.' On 15 Oct. 1641-2 the House of Commons recommended him to the parishioners to be lecturer of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, to preach there every Sunday afternoon and every Thursday, and Dr. William Bray, the vicar, was enjoined to give him liberty of the pulpit. Case was connected with this church for twenty years. He was also appointed lecturer at St. Mary Aldermanbury, where the Rev. Edmund Calamy the elder [q. v.] was rector. In these positions Case was a zealous advocate for the solemn league and covenant. He became one of the 'confessors' of the Long parliament, and often preached before them. Wood, after closely perusing certain of these discourses, termed him 'a great boutifieu and fire-brand in the church,' and Butler in 'Hudibras' introduced him as a typical pulpit-character of the time:

Whence had they all their gifted phrases,  
But from our Calamies and Cases?

There was a well-known peculiarity in Case's voice or manner, which Pepys, who used to hear him, has noticed (*Diary*, ed. Bright, i. 208). On 26 Oct. 1642 Case preached a fast-sermon before the commons, dedicated on publication to Sir William Brereton. This general was again prominently introduced into Case's sermon before the commons on 19 Feb. 1646, concerning his capture of Chester. In this discourse the senators, the enforcers of the league and covenant, are

told what some had affirmed, that there were no less than one hundred and eighty several heresies propagated in London, inasmuch that the errors and innovations under which they had lately groaned were but *tolerabiles ineptie* compared with those damnable doctrines (pp. 24-5; cf. SOUTHEY, *Commonplace Book*, iii. 64; *Patrick's Works*, ed. Taylor, v. 444). Case had meanwhile become a member of the assembly of divines, and he took a prominent part in their discussions. On 8 Jan. 1644-5 he was one of those who petitioned for arrears of pay as members of the assembly. He favoured the establishment of presbyterianism (GREY, *Neal Examined*, vol. ii. App. p. 89). His occasional abode in Lancashire, or at any rate his continued interest in that county, is shown by the fact that to his hands and to those of the Rev. Charles Herle of Winwick were entrusted the charitable collections for those distressed by famine and war in the district, September 1644. That a change in the course of years came over the political views of Case is shown by suggestive facts. In 1648 he begged to be excused from preaching before the commons when asked at their July fast. In the same year he subscribed the paper declaring against the proceedings of the parliament and the bringing of the king to trial. Through refusing in 1649 the 'engagement' 'to be true and faithful to the government established without a king or house of peers,' he lost his place at Milk Street, and Anthony Faringdon succeeded him. In 1651, when the prince and the Scots were preparing to march through Lancashire, to the gratification of Case's friends there, Case was preaching against the proceedings of the parliament, and deeply implicating himself with the presbyterians in the London conspiracy for the restoration of the prince, known as Love's plot. On 10 May the privy council committed him close prisoner to the Tower under a charge of high treason, and his property was sequestrated. He was imprisoned for over six months, and his wife obtained permission to lodge with him. On 30 Sept. he and Heyrick (who had also been concerned in the plot with other Lancashire ministers) were ordered to be brought to trial; but in the following month they addressed a petition to the parliament which was deemed sufficiently submissive, and they were pardoned under the great seal, the speaker's warrant for their discharge being dated 16 Oct. During his imprisonment Case penned some appropriate thoughts which he preached at first in the course of his ministry at Aldermanbury, and afterwards published in 1653 under the title of 'Correction

Instruction,' 8vo, with a commendation from his friend Dr. Thomas Manton. This work reached a third edition the same year; there was another in 1671, and a reprint in 1802. Soon after his release he became lecturer at the large church of St. Giles-in-the-Fields, beyond Holborn, and on the death of Mr. Abraham Molyne, the rector, Case obtained the rectory, retaining it until his ejection. In 1653 he was anxious to become one of Cromwell's body of 'tryers,' but his wish was not gratified. During the Commonwealth he published many sermons upon public and private occasions, the best list of which is given in Wood. A letter in Thurloe's 'State Papers' (vi. 20), dated Westminster, 27 Jan. 1656-7, about a supply of ministers to Ireland, refers to Case: 'A worthy person, of great learning, and an excellent preacher, having received letters from a son-in-law of his [Robert Booth, esq., a puisne judge in Ireland in 1660, and afterwards lord chief justice of the common pleas in that island], who has relation to Ld. . . . Ch. [Lord-chancellor Steele?], to come thither: to which his wife presses him: he has advised with Mr. Calamy about it.' The writer expresses hope of obtaining him. Case in 1659 was one of the committee for the appointment of ministers in the presbyterian way. In 1660 he contributed the introduction and first sermon to the 'Morning Exercise methodized,' being a volume of discourses preached at St. Giles's. About this time he was closely watching events with leanings towards the restoration of monarchy. In February 1660 he was corresponding with his Manchester friends about Monck, the secluded members, and other current events. He was one of the deputation of presbyterian clergy sent to the Hague in May 1660 to congratulate the king upon his restoration. Pepys describes an amusing incident about the landing of Case, 15 May, whose boat was upset and he 'sadly dipped.' A passage in the 'Secret History of the Reign of Charles II,' 1690 (cf. the note in WILSON, *Dissenting Churches of London*, iv. 524), shows how Case was taken in by the king's hypocrisy. In the following month he, with Baxter and other prominent presbyterians, was admitted royal chaplain, though (as Baxter comments) they were never asked to preach. He was one of the members of the Savoy conference, and attended the meetings (April-July 1661). In the autumn he was visiting his relatives at Manchester and preaching in the neighbourhood. Early in the following year he was writing letters from London to the Rev. Henry Newcome of Manchester, giving him 'the sense of

things,' and he makes him the offer of the living of Bunbury, Cheshire. His farewell sermon at St. Giles's (17 Aug.) was from the text Rev. ii. 5, and is the fourth discourse in the London collection of 1662. After Case's ejection he remained in London, devoting his time to the ministry and to the writing of books. At dinner, 19 Jan. 1667-8, Pepys met Case, 'who, Lord! do talk just as I remember he used to preach, and did tell a pretty story of a religious lady, queen of Navarre.' He also met Case on 8 May following at Lord Crewe's dining-table, and calls him 'a dull fellow in his talk, and all in the presbyterian manner.' Of his numerous writings his 'Mount Pisgah,' 4to, 1670, dedicated to his 'much honoured son-in-law, Sir Robert Booth,' and to Dr. William Hawes, is perhaps the most pleasing. An abridged edition was published by the Religious Tract Society in 1836, 12mo. Case contributed several commendatory prefaces to the books of his friends. Upon the death of Warden Heyrick, in August 1677, Case wrote the epitaph to his memory, still preserved upon a brass in the Collegiate Church, Manchester, the closing portion of which commemorates in warm language and with some detail a friendship of fifty years.

With one exception Case outlived all the members of the assembly of divines. He died on 30 May 1682, aged 84, and was buried on 3 June at Christ Church, Newgate Street, London, which must have been then still in ruins. Wood indicates the spot, viz. at the upper end of the church just before the steps going to the altar; and he gives the inscription, which does not err on the side of eulogy. The funeral sermon was preached by Dr. Thomas Jacomb on 14 June, and it was dedicated on publication to Mrs. Anne Case, the widow. It contains matter which has been of service in compiling this memoir. Dr. Calamy, grandson of his friend, describes Case as 'one of a quick and warm spirit, an open plain-hearted man, a hearty lover of God, goodness, and all good men. He was a Scripture preacher, a great man in prayer, and one that brought home many souls to God.' Baxter, who was buried near him, called him 'an old faithful servant of God.' There is an offensive sketch of him, based on Wood's account, in 'The King Killers,' 1719, 8vo, terming him an 'impenitent covenanting saint' (pt. ii. p. 31). His head is on the plate prefixed to the volume of farewell sermons, 1662, 8vo.

[Jacomb's Abraham's Death, 4to, 1682; Calamy's Account, p. 12, and Continuation, p. 13; Wood's Athenæ, iv. 45-8, and Fasti, i. 392, 411; Reliq. Baxterianæ, ii. 229 seq.; Wilson's

Merchant Taylors' School, p. 799; Commons' Journals, ii. 432, iv. 247, 250, vii. 28, 97, viii. 20; Lords' Journals, vii. 542-3, 548-9; Hist. MSS. Comm. 7th Rep. pp. 74, 435 (where for Castle read Case); Dunn's Mem. of Seventy-Five Divines, 1844, pp. 90-2, 207; Newcome's Diary, (Chetham Soc. series), pp. 12 seq., and Autobiog. pp. 1 seq.; Earwaker's East Cheshire, i. 388, ii. 664; Heginbotham's Hist. Stockport, i. 303-4; Palatine Note-book, iii. 45, 47; Bibl. Cantiana, p. 155, 163; Heywood's Works (Life of Angier), i. 554-5, 559; Hibbert-Ware's Foundations of Manchester, i. 372, ii. 303; Granger's Biog. Hist. (5th ed.), v. 70-1.]

J. E. B.

CASILLIS, EARLS OF. [See KENNEDY.]

CASLON, WILLIAM, the elder (1692-1766), type-founder, was born in 1692 at Cradley, Worcestershire, near Halesowen, Shropshire. He served his apprenticeship to an ornamental engraver of gun locks and barrels. In 1716 he set up in that business in Vine Street, Minorities, London, and added tool-making for bookbinders and silver-chasers. In the same year an eminent printer, John Watts, recognised Caslon's skill in cutting binding-punches and employed him for that purpose as well as to cut type-punches. He also gave him the means to fit up a small foundry, and introduced him to other printers. Grover in Aldersgate Street, James in Aldermanbury, and the Clarendon House at Oxford were then the only good type-founders. Caslon now married, and in 1720 his first child, named William, was born. In the same year he was chosen by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge to cut the fount of 'English Arabic' for the New Testament and Psalter required for the christians of the East. He afterwards cut in 'pica roman' the letters of his own name and printed them at foot of his Arabic specimens. By the advice of Samuel Palmer (reputed author of that 'History of Printing' really written by George Psalmanzar) he then cut the whole fount of pica roman and italic, and this he did in very superior style. Palmer withdrew his support of Caslon, which gave offence to certain printers, but Caslon obtained employment from the elder Bowyer. In 1722 he executed for Bowyer the beautiful English fount of roman, italic, and Hebrew used for printing Selden's 'Works' in folio, also the Coptic types of Dr. Wilkins's edition of the 'Pentateuch,' and various sized characters for other important works. Watts had lent him 100*l.*; Bowyer and his son-in-law Bettenham now lent him 200*l.* each. The three printers gave him their custom. Caslon set boldly to work to complete his factory in every branch. Eventually his productions surpassed those of all continental artists, and were in great demand by foreign

printers, who called him and Jackson his pupil 'the English Elzevirs.' His first foundry was a garret in Helmet Row; the second in Ironmonger Row; the third, in 1735, in Chiswell Street. At the latter place the business, increasing year by year, was carried on in conjunction with his eldest son, William Caslon the younger [q. v.], whose name first appears on specimen sheets in 1742, in the style 'William Caslon & Son.' Caslon retired to a house in the Hackney Road in 1750, about which time he was put in the commission of the peace for Middlesex. Soon after he removed to his 'country house' on Bethnal Green, and died there 23 Jan. 1766. He was buried in St. Luke's churchyard, where a monument records his memory with that of his son William.

Sir John Hawkins and Nichols describe Caslon's hospitality and musical entertainments, and he is pleasantly noticed in Dibdin's 'Decameron' (7th day).

Caslon was three times married. Faber's mezzotinto print of Caslon is from a painting by F. Kyte, now in possession of the present firm, which has also a large three-quarter length portrait. The earliest dated specimen of Caslon's printing types in book form is in the library of the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass. It is called 'A Specimen of Printing Types by William Caslon & Son,' 1763, 8vo, 36 pp. printed on one side. This is probably an 'advance-copy' of the exactly similar work in the British Museum Library, dated 1764. The 'Universal Magazine,' June, 1750, contains a folding-plate headed 'A True and Exact representation of the Art of Cutting and Preparing Letters for Printing,' which is a picture of Caslon's foundry.

[For authorities see under WILLIAM CASLON the younger.] J. W.-G.

CASLON, WILLIAM, the younger (1720-1778), type-founder, eldest son of the preceding, by his first wife, became a partner with his father about 1742, and succeeded him at his death in 1766. He had not the remarkable ability of the elder Caslon, but he was able to maintain the reputation of the house against Baskerville, Jackson, Cotterell, and others. The universities and the London trade still gave the preference to the Caslon founts, which combined the clearness of Elzevir with all the elegance of Plantin, and Baskerville's successors were less regarded. Caslon married Elizabeth, only daughter of Dr. Cartlich of Basinghall Street, with a fortune of 10,000*l.* His wife assisted in the management of the great letter-foundry up to the death of her husband, which took place in 1778. The

property was equally divided between his widow and his two sons, William and Henry, who eventually became the heads of distinct families and chiefs of two separate firms of type-founders. William Caslon (third of the name) sold his share to his mother (*d.* 24 Oct. 1795) and sister-in-law, the widow of Henry Caslon. He set up a separate business, which in 1819 was moved to Sheffield, where the firm still exists as Stephenson, Blake, & Co. The other firm was represented by Henry William Caslon, last of the name, who died 14 July 1874, and the business is still carried on as A. W. Caslon & Co.

[The Caslon Specimen Books; Rowe Mores's *English Letter-founders*, pp. 63, 97; Hansard's *Typographia*, 1st edit. p. 368; Nichols's *Lit. Anecd.* ii. 355; Nichols's *Illustrations*, ii. 337, iv. 173, 231, viii. 447, 474, 521; Hawkins's *History of Music*, v. 127; Dibdin's *Decameron*, ii. 379; West's *Views of Shropshire*, p. 121; Bigelow's *Bibliog. of Printing*, i. 103-6; *Universal Magazine*, November 1750; *Gent. Mag.* xxi. 284, xxxvi. 47, xlix. 271, lv. 329, lvii. 1129, lxx. 796, lxxix. 579, 589, lxxxvi. i. 377, lxxxviii. i. 587, xxxiv. new ser. 96; *Ann. Reg.* 1850, p. 232; *Works and Life of Franklin*, 1812, i. 72; Lemoine's *Typographical Antiquities*, p. 79; *Timperley's History of Printing*, pp. 683, 714, 744, 749, 806, 834, 942; *Printing Times and Lithographer*, October 1874; documents of the Chiswell Street firm and family papers.]

J. W.-G.

**CASSAN, STEPHEN HYDE** (1789-1841), ecclesiastical biographer, son of Stephen Cassan, barrister, by his wife Sarah, daughter of Charles Mears, was born in 1789 at Calcutta, where his father was sheriff. He was educated at Magdalen Hall, Oxford, and took his B.A. degree on 14 Jan. 1815. He received deacon's orders on 26 March following, and was ordained priest the next year. While curate of Frome, Somerset, in 1820, he made a runaway match with Fanny, daughter of Rev. William Ireland, then dead, formerly vicar of that parish. This marriage occasioned considerable scandal, and led to legal proceedings, of which an account is given in two pamphlets published at Bath in 1821—one, 'A Report of the Trial, Cassan v. Ireland, for Defamation;' and the other by Cassan, entitled 'Who wrote the Letters, or a Statement of Facts.' Removing from Frome, he held the curacy of Mere, Wiltshire, until 1831, when he was presented by Sir Richard C. Hoare to the living of Bruton with Wyke Champflower. He was also chaplain to the Earl of Caledon and to the Duke of Cambridge. His family was large, and he was constantly involved in pecuniary difficulties. From these he sought to free himself by publishing books by sub-

scription, and by seeking for promotion. He was elected a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries in 1829. After suffering from insanity for two years, he died on 19 July 1841. Besides the pamphlet mentioned above, he published: 1. 'The Sin of Schism demonstrated, and the Protestant Episcopal Church proved to be the only safe means of Salvation, a Sermon preached in the Parish Church of Frome,' 1819; 2nd ed., with appendix, 1820. This was answered by 'A Word of Advice to the Curate of Frome,' 1820. 2. 'Lives and Memoirs of the Bishops of Sherborne and Salisbury,' 1824. 3. A volume of sermons, 1827. 4. 'Lives of the Bishops of Bath and Wells,' 1830. 5. A pamphlet against the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts. Neither set of his lives of the bishops is of any real value, the memoirs being almost wholly composed of extracts from well-known printed books. Such original remarks as they contain are extraordinarily childish and whimsical, and in many cases exhibit a degree of intolerance which was probably caused by the latent presence of mental disorder. Besides these works, Cassan compiled genealogies of himself and of other members of his family, which he circulated widely for the purpose of proving that his descent was noble, and that he therefore had a strong claim to preferment. He contributed various genealogical notices to the 'Gentleman's Magazine.'

[*Gent. Mag.* 1841, pt. ii. 550; information from E. Green, esq., hon. secretary of the Somerset Archaeological Society.] W. H.

**CASSEL or CASSELS, RICHARD** (*n.* 1757). [See CASTLE, RICHARD.]

**CASELL, JOHN** (1817-1865), publisher, son of Mark Cassell, the landlord of the Ring o' Bells, in the Old Churchyard, Manchester, who died in 1830, was born in his father's inn at Manchester on 23 Jan. 1817. His education was of a very slight nature, and at an early age he was bound apprentice to a joiner at Salford. In 1833 his attention was especially called to the temperance movement by hearing Mr. Joseph Livesey speaking on the subject in Oak Street Chapel, Manchester, and on the completion of his indentures he commenced his introduction to public life by setting out on a temperance lecturing tour. He had already by careful self-culture obtained an extensive acquaintance with English literature, great general information, and a fair mastery of the French language. In quest of employment as a carpenter he reached London in October 1836, and shortly afterwards spoke at a temperance meeting in the New Jeru-

saalem schoolroom near Westminster Bridge Road, when it was noticed that he had a very broad provincial dialect. He was then recommended to Mr. Meredith, who enrolled him among his temperance agents. In 1847 he was at 14 Budge Row, city of London, where he had established himself as a tea and coffee dealer and patent medicine agent, but two years afterwards removed to 80 Fenchurch Street, where he always continued to have a share in the business. His teas and coffees were very extensively advertised, and the sentence 'Buy Cassell's Shilling Coffee' became quite a household word. In the meantime he had become a writer and his own publisher; his first production was the 'Working Man's Friend,' which appeared in 1850. The Great Exhibition in the following year gave scope to his energies in the 'Illustrated Exhibitioner,' a comprehensive and well-executed scheme. On 16 and 20 May 1851 he gave valuable evidence before the select committee on newspaper stamps, showing the injustice of the prosecution of many periodicals for giving their readers a minimum amount of actual news. He also at the same time stated that he had entered into the publishing business for the purpose of issuing publications calculated to advance the moral and social well-being of the working classes (*Report from Select Committee*, 1851, pp. 206-41). Cassell's 'Popular Educator' and Cassell's 'Magazine of Art' followed in 1852, and during the succeeding twelve months Cassell's 'Family Paper' was brought out; this was a combination of the pictorial paper with the popular periodical, containing a serial story and a chronicle of current history; many of the illustrations were printed from electrotypes procured from the Paris office of 'L'Illustration,' and they were equal to those which embellished the illustrated papers published at six times the price. The first number appeared on 31 Dec. 1853, and in a very short time this paper attained a large circulation, owing partly to the illustrations which were given in connection with the war in the Crimea. He took advantage of its circulation to benefit himself also in another way, to advertise his own teas and coffees. Numerous works now proceeded in quick succession from his press, either in the form of a series of educational books or in weekly numbers of illustrated standard authors, such as 'Robinson Crusoe,' 'Don Quixote,' the 'Pilgrim's Progress,' 'Gulliver's Travels,' and many others of a similar nature, besides more substantial fare in the shape of the 'History of England,' the 'Natural History,' the 'Bible Dictionary,' the 'Book of Martyrs,' &c.

Towards the close of 1854 he became involved in pecuniary difficulties, which obliged him to decrease his establishment, and to discontinue the least remunerative of his publications. Other periodicals which he produced were 'Cassell's Magazine,' 'The Freeholder,' the monthly organ of the free land movement, 'The Pathway,' a religious magazine, and 'The Quiver.' In 1859 he joined with Thomas Dixon Galpin and George William Petter, and founded the well-known firm of Cassell, Petter, & Galpin. From that date a constant series of popular illustrated and other books have been issued by these publishers. Cassell lived to see many of the works brought to a successful termination, or reaching a circulation such as never entered into his mind when he commenced his publishing career, and to preside over an establishment in full working order employing nearly five hundred hands. He died at 25 Avenue Road, Regent's Park, London, on 2 April 1865.

As a publisher he is no doubt entitled to rank with William and Robert Chambers and with Charles Knight, and it must not be forgotten that sometimes more praise was due to him for a work on which he made a loss than for a work which in more recent times was a splendid success. What were his merits as a writer cannot be stated, as no reliable information has been found on this point. Although a strict abstainer, he was an inveterate smoker, and, whether engaged in business or in the company of his friends, was seldom seen without a cigar between his lips. His widow, Mary Cassell, died at 47 Wilbury Road, Brighton, 6 July 1885.

[Cassell's Illustrated Family Paper, with portrait, 20 May 1865, pp. 262-4; Thomas Frost's *Forty Years' Recollections* (1880), pp. 226-38; Bookseller, April 1865, p. 225, and May, p. 291.]  
G. C. B.

**CASSIE, JAMES** (1819-1879), painter, was born at Keith Hall, Aberdeenshire, in 1819. In his boyhood he met with an accident which left him lame for life, and determined him to devote himself to painting. He was a pupil of James Giles, R.S.A., a painter of highland scenery and animals. Cassie settled in Aberdeen, where the sea with its surroundings and the fisher folk that resided on its shores were a most powerful source of attraction to him, and formed the most popular subjects for his brush. Elaborate detail not being suited to his style, the broad harmonious effects of marine scenery were those which he most excelled in depicting. He did not, however, confine himself to one class of subject,

but painted numerous portraits and domestic subjects, and showed fair skill as a painter of animals. He exhibited several pictures at the Royal Scottish Academy and at the Royal Academy and other London exhibitions. In 1869 he was elected associate of the Royal Scottish Academy, and removed to Edinburgh, where he resided till his death. In February 1879 he was elected an academician, but he had been for some time in failing health, and died on 11 May of the same year. Personally Cassie was of a genial and warm-hearted disposition, and was very popular in society. His art was unambitious and limited in its scope, which led to frequent repetitions; but his works were marked by a quiet simplicity and harmonious tone which will always entitle him to a good place in the ranks of Scottish landscape-painters. He formed an early friendship with John Phillip, R.A., who painted an excellent portrait of him.

[Scotsman, 12 May 1879; Art Journal, 1879; Clement and Hutton's Artists of the Nineteenth Century; Graves's Dict. of Artists, 1760-1880; Catalogue of Royal Scottish Academy's Loan Exhibition, 1880; information from Mrs. Fraser and Mr. J. M. Gray.]

L. C.

CASSILLIS, EARLS OF. [See KENNEDY.]

CASSIVELLAUNUS (*A.* 54 B.C.), a British prince contemporary with Julius Cæsar, whose territory lay to the north and north-east of the river Thames, comprising roughly the modern counties of Hertfordshire, Buckinghamshire, and Berkshire; its exact limits are uncertain. The people over whom he ruled were the Catuvellauni, a powerful and warlike nation who had encroached upon the surrounding tribes; their territory had been much extended before Cæsar's arrival in Britain by Cassivellaunus, who had been engaged in constant conflicts with his neighbours, and his conquests had given him such supremacy over them that he was recognised as their natural and undisputed leader against the invader. Cassivellaunus is first mentioned by Cæsar in his account of his second expedition to Britain in the summer of 54 B.C. Cæsar relates how, after having effected a landing and advanced some twelve miles into the interior of the country, he was recalled to the coast by the intelligence of the destruction of the greater part of his fleet in a storm. Ten days were consumed in repairing the ships that remained, and then, advancing to the Thames, Cæsar found the enemy drawn up in great force on the northern bank of that river, under the command of Cassivellaunus. In spite of the British fortification of the banks, the Roman soldiers crossed the river, and the Britons were un-

able to stand before their attack, but the progress of the Romans was much impeded by the skilful use made by Cassivellaunus of his charioteers, four thousand of whom were employed in harassing Cæsar's line of march. In the meantime the Trinovantes, another powerful people, occupying what is now Essex, and part of Middlesex, sent envoys to Cæsar to announce their submission. Mandubratius, the son of their former king Imanuentius, had fled for refuge to Cæsar, in order to escape the fate of his father, who had been killed by Cassivellaunus in the course of his conquests over his neighbours. The Trinovantes asked Cæsar to send Mandubratius to rule over them and to protect him from Cassivellaunus. Cæsar granted their request, and sent Mandubratius to them, at the same time demanding and obtaining hostages and corn. The example of the Trinovantes was speedily followed by other tribes living along the course of the Thames, whose names are given by Cæsar as Cenimagni, Segontiaci, Ancalites, Bibroci, and Cassi, all of whom submitted. From them Cæsar learnt that Cassivellaunus had not far distant a fortified place in which a large number both of men and of cattle had been collected for protection against the enemy; this stronghold was promptly attacked by Cæsar; its defenders were unable to repulse Cæsar's attack and made their escape on another side. Many of them were killed in their flight, and the whole of the cattle fell into Cæsar's hands. The precise position of this place is unknown. Meanwhile Cassivellaunus sent instructions to the four kings who governed as many districts in Cantium, or Kent, to surprise and storm Cæsar's naval camp. The attempt failed, and, being discouraged by his own ill-success, and still more by the defection of his allies, Cassivellaunus submitted to Cæsar, who took hostages, imposed an annual tribute, and enjoined Cassivellaunus to abstain from harassing the Trinovantes or their king Mandubratius. Cæsar now left Britain, after a stay of barely two months. In Welsh tradition, as preserved in the Triads and the Bruts, Cassivellaunus appears as Caswallawn. Here much romantic detail overlies a narrative in which an agreement with the main outline of Cæsar's account can be traced.

The name Cassivellaunus is Gaulish in form. The first part of the word is compared by Professor Rhys with the name of the tribe of the Cassi, and the whole is interpreted by him to mean 'a ruler of the league or a tribe-king.' Vellaunus probably meant 'a ruler,' being connected with the Irish *flaith* (a prince), and with Welsh *gwlad* (country), English *wield*. The name of the

Catuvellauni is similarly compounded of *vel-lauri* with *catu*, Irish *catb*, Welsh *cad*, battle.

[Cæsar, B. G. v. 11–23; Elton's *Origins of English History*; Rhys's *Lectures on Welsh Philology*, 2nd ed., and *Celtic Britain*.] A. M.

**CASTEELS, PETER** (1684–1749), painter and engraver, was one of that host of second-rate foreigners who found happy hunting-grounds in England in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. He was born in Antwerp in 1684; came to England in 1703, and revisited Antwerp in 1716. He shortly returned, however, and settled in this country. He painted birds, fowls, fruit, and flowers 'in an inferior manner.' He worked more successfully with the graver. Lord Burlington patronised him, and published, at his own charges, Casteels's 'Villas of the Ancients,' giving the artist the profits. In 1726 Casteels published on his own account twelve etchings of birds and fowls, and also some engravings from his own pictures. In 1735 he obtained work as a designer in the calico works at Tooting, and removed thither; later he followed the factory to Richmond, and there died 16 May 1749.

[Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting*, iii. 652, ed. 1849.]

**CASTELL, EDMUND, D.D.** (1606–1685), Semitic scholar, was the second son of Robert Castell (probably of Christ's College, Cambridge), a man of property and education, and was born 'iratis Musis,' as he said, at Tadlow by East Hatley in Cambridgeshire in 1606, whence, after the usual grammatical training of the period, he proceeded in 1621, at the age of fifteen, to Emmanuel College, Cambridge, and took the successive degrees of bachelor (1624–5) and master (1628) of arts, and bachelor (1635) and doctor (by mandate 1661) of divinity. After this last date he removed to St. John's College, on account of the advantages offered by its library, wherein he found much assistance in the compilation of the great work of his life, the 'Lexicon Heptaglotton,' upon which he had been at work since 1651. This vast undertaking was in some sort the outcome of Castell's previous labours in assisting Walton in the preparation of his 'Biblia Polyglotta,' in which the former was especially responsible for the Samaritan, Syriac, Arabic, and Ethiopic versions, as Walton himself admits; though it appears that Castell was credited by Walton with a much smaller share in the work than he really accomplished, and that, so far from deriving any profit from the gratuity which Walton allowed each of his assistants, he actually disbursed

a thousand pounds of his private fortune, over and above that gratuity, in incidental researches.

The Polyglott Bible was published in 1657, and Castell was already in the throes of its great sequel, the 'Lexicon Heptaglotton, Hebraicum, Chaldaicum, Syriacum, Samaritanum, Æthiopicum, Arabicum, conjunctim, et Persicum separatim.' In the dedication to Charles II prefixed to the 'Lexicon,' when at length it was published in two volumes folio in 1669, the story of its composition is told with a sad simplicity that atones for a pedantic display of varied learning. The eighteenth year of composition, he writes, has been reached, and that long period has been filled with unremitting toil of seldom less than sixteen or eighteen hours a day, with constant vigils, with bodily suffering—'membrorum confractio, laxationes, contusiones'—with loss of fortune, and finally all but the loss of sight. Worthington (*Diary*, ii. 22) describes him at this time as 'a modest and retired person, indefatigably studious: he hath sacrificed himself to this service, and is resolved to go on in this work though he die in it.' He had scarcely any assistance. Now and again he induced, by the sacrifice of the remnant of his patrimony, some scholar to aid him, but it was rarely that he could retain such services for any length of time in so depressing a task. He mentions three scholars who rendered him more protracted service, but these deserted him at last, even his printer mutinied, and he was left alone in his old age to finish the gigantic work. One of his assistants suddenly died, and Castell had to pay for his burial, and took charge of his orphan child. He had not only spent his life and strength; he had reduced himself to poverty by expending over 12,000*l.* upon the work; and even so, he was 1,800*l.* in debt, and had become responsible for some debts of his brother, for which the unfortunate scholar was sent to prison in 1667. This condition of actual distress, aggravated by the loss of much of his library and effects in the great fire, and coupled perhaps with the notice attracted by a volume of congratulatory poems to the king, at length procured him a scanty measure of royal favour. In 1666 he was made chaplain in ordinary to the king; in 1667 he was appointed to the eighth prebendal stall in Canterbury Cathedral, from which, however, he was excused attendance, partly by reason of infirmities, and partly on account of the duties of the professorship of Arabic at Cambridge, to which he was at about the same time appointed. This was the only academic emolument he ever received, and that by royal,



not university, nomination; and although he always stayed in his friend Lightfoot's rooms when at Cambridge, the chair cost him more than it brought in, as Castell himself stated in a letter (16 Aug. 1674) to the celebrated Dr. Spencer, master of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (still preserved among the manuscripts at Lambeth Palace). He was also elected F.R.S. in 1674.

Castell brought out his 'Lexicon' in 1669. It marks an epoch in Semitic scholarship. J. D. Michaelis, who edited a separate issue of the Syriac division of the work (Göttingen, 4to, 1788), writes with respectful enthusiasm of Castell's unparalleled industry and solid learning, and differs in some points of detail from that 'vir magnus' only with the greatest diffidence. The Hebrew section also was published separately at Göttingen by Trier in 1790-2 in 4to. But the original 'Lexicon' met with a deplorably cold welcome in England. The 'London Gazette' (No. 429, December 23-7, 1669) contains an advertisement in which the unhappy scholar states that for three-quarters of a year he or his servants have attended in London at the place of sale, but that the subscribers send so slowly for their copies that he must fix the following Lady-day as the last date of attendance. At the time of his death about five hundred copies still remained unsold, and his niece and executrix, Mrs. Crisp, lodged the remnant of her uncle's life-work in one of her tenant's houses at Martin in Surrey, where for some years the rats played such havoc with the learned pages that when the stock came to be examined scarcely a single copy could be made up from the wreck of the sheets, and the fragments were sold for the sum of 7*l*.

When worn out with work and bowed with years Castell received the vicarage of Hatfield Beverell in Essex, from which he was removed to the rectory of Wodeham Walter in the same county, and finally to Higham Gobion, Bedfordshire, where he died in 1685. We learn from the epitaph which he himself inscribed over the grave of his wife, for them both, that he married Elizabeth, relict of Sir Peter Bettesworth, and afterwards of one Herris. In spite of the unhandsome usage he experienced at his university, he preserved to the last his zeal for academic interests, and he bequeathed his oriental manuscripts, including nineteen Hebrew, thirteen Arabic, and six Ethiopic, to the University Library (receipt of vice-chancellor, NICHOLS, *Lit. Anecd.* iv. 28); 111 books selected from his library to Emmanuel College, and a massive silver tankard to St. John's. The tankard and the manuscripts

were left on condition that his name should be inscribed on each; and this, with his portrait (which may also be seen in the frontispiece to his 'Lexicon'), has been duly affixed (Will of E. Castell, 24 Oct. 1685, *Baker MS.* 24, pp. 268-71, Brit. Mus.)

Besides the 'Lexicon Heptaglotton' and his share in Walton's 'Biblia Polyglotta,' Castell was the author of an inaugural lecture on the merits of the study of Arabic, as exemplified by the interpretation of the Canon of Avicenna ('Oratio . . . in secundum canonicis Avicennæ librum,' London, 1667, 4to), which was included in Kapp's 'Clarissimorum Virorum Orationes selectæ.' Some marginal manuscript notes of Castell's are preserved in the copy of Plempius's Canon of Avicennæ (1658) in the British Museum. His volume of poems addressed to Charles II is entitled 'Söl Angliæ oriens auspiciis Caroli II regum gloriosissimi' (London, ad insigne Campanæ in cœmiterio D. Pauli, 1660, 4to), and includes congratulatory odes in Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac, Samaritan, Ethiopic, Arabic, Persian, and Greek, with indifferent Latin translations. The obvious design of these effusions is to attract the king's notice and support for the toiling author of the 'Lexicon Heptaglotton.'

Sic erit ut sudans respiret Lexicon, atque  
Lætius hinc totum progrediatur opus.

The terrible distress of the poor scholar excuses the fulsomeveness of the language in which the king's virtues are set forth.

[Biog. Brit. s.v.; Hearne's Prælim. Obs. to Leland's Collectanea, p. 80; Wood's Athene Oxon. (Bliss), iii. 883; Fasti, ii. 48; Worthington's Diary, ii. 21, 44; twenty-three letters of Castell to Lightfoot, 1664-70, in Lightfoot's Works (ed. Pitman), vol. xiii.; London Gazette, No. 429; Ded. and Præf. to the Lex. Heptaglotton; information from Rev. J. E. B. Mayor, and from Rev. J. G. Lawrence, vicar of Tadlow, who finds the name spelt Castell in the baptismal register—not Castle, as some have supposed.]  
S. L.-P.

CASTELL, WILLIAM (d. 1645), published 'A Petition exhibited to the High Court of Parliament for the Propagating of the Gospel in America and the West Indies, and for settling our Colonies there, 1641, reprinted in Force's 'Tracts,' vol. i. 1836; and 'A Short Discoverie of the coasts of the Continent of America, from the Equinoctial Northward, and of the adjacent Isles,' 1644, reprinted in Osborne's 'Voyages,' 1745. He became rector of Courteenhall, Northamptonshire, in 1627, and died on 4 July 1645.

[Brydges's Northamptonshire, i. 354; British Museum Catalogue.]  
T. F. H.

**CASTELLO, ADRIAN DE** (1460?-1521?). [See **ADRIAN DE CASTELLO**.]

**CASTILLO, JOHN** (1792-1845), dialect poet, was born in 1792 at Rathfarham, near Dublin, but his parents, who were Roman Catholics, emigrated to England, and on the voyage were shipwrecked off the Isle of Man. Castillo was then only two or three years old. They settled at the quiet hamlet of Lealholm Bridge, nine miles from Whitby. Castillo identified himself completely with the county of York. His father having died when Castillo was eleven, he was taken from school to become a servant-boy in Lincolnshire, but two years later he returned and lived chiefly at Fryup in Cleveland, where he was a stonemason. He was admitted as a member of a Wesleyan 'class' at Danby End Chapel on 5 April 1818. He now became a local preacher and an energetic revivalist, having considerable success in the Dales. In 1838, when his name was not on any plan as preacher, he says that he 'occasionally got severe lashes on that account, but endeavoured as much as possible to keep out of the pulpits by holding prayer meetings and giving exhortations out of the singing pews or from the forms.' He wrote verses, some of them illustrative of Wesleyan religious sentiments and others suggested by incidents which occurred in the neighbourhood. The most important is 'Awd Isaac,' which is a valuable memorial of the Cleveland dialect (though the author allowed his ministerial friends to make some unhappy 'corrections'), and has had a wide popularity among the peasantry. Old Isaac Hobb of Glaisdale is supposed to be the original of the piece. It is a description of Sunday in Cleveland. Another, 'T' Leealholm Chap's Lucky Dream,' is a Yorkshire variant of the legend of the chapman of Swaffham, a folk-tale of which the earliest form is that given in the Persian poem called the 'Masnavi,' written by Jalâuddin. This legend is discussed in the 'Antiquary,' 1884-5, x. 202, xi. 167. Castillo died at Pickering on 16 April 1845, and is buried in the graveyard of the Wesleyan chapel there. Of 'Awd Isaac' there have been many editions, chiefly without the author's name. Of his collected writings there are two editions, one published at Kirby Moorside in 1850, and the other at Stokesley in 1858. The 'Dialect Poems' were reissued at Stokesley in 1878. He was an habitual dialect speaker, and even employed it in his discourses as a local preacher. One of his sermons, 'Jacob's Ladder,' was printed in pamphlet form at Filey in 1858. He was locally known as

the 'Bard of the Dales,' and his name is sometimes spelled Castello.

[Skeat's Bibliographical List (English Dialect Society), pp. 118, 119; Newsam's Poets of Yorkshire, p. 217; Grainge's Poets and Poetry of Yorkshire, p. 366; Poems in the North Yorkshire Dialect, by the late John Castillo, edited with Memoir by George Markham Tweddell, Stokesley, 1878.] W. E. A. A.

**CASTINE, THOMAS** (d. 1793?), a native of Ballyneille, parish of Loman, Isle of Man, is stated by the Manx historian Train to have enlisted in the 'king's own' regiment of foot (4th foot), in which he rose to the rank of sergeant. Returning on furlough after a few years' absence, the story continues, he married about 1773 a young woman named Helen Corlace, with whom he was acquainted before his departure, and indulging in dissipation with former companions, he overstayed his leave. Fearing apprehension as a deserter, he escaped in a smuggling lugger to Dunkirk, and, entering the French army, served in America. At the outbreak of the French revolution he held the rank of colonel of infantry. Train speaks of him as one of the most prominent chiefs of the revolutionary armies, and refers to his services at Mayence, and his execution in Paris in August 1793, apparently identifying him with the general of division, Adam Philip de Custine, who was executed at Paris on 17 Aug. 1793 for alleged treason at Mayence, and whose fate and the romantic circumstances attending it have been related by Alison and other writers. Train further states that Castine's wife was left behind when he absconded, and that the issue of the marriage, a son, was twenty years of age and a servant at the time of his father's death in 1793. This young man enlisted in the Manx Fencibles, and was subsequently a sergeant in the Galloway militia. In 1837 he was a shopkeeper in the village of Auchencuir, co. Galloway. Understanding that his father had died possessed of property in France, he had made application, through the late Mr. Cutler Fergus, M.P. for Kirkcudbright, to Prince Talleyrand, when French ambassador in London; but the inquiry instituted showed that all traces of such property, if it ever existed, had been lost in the troubles and confusion of 1793. The first and last portions of this story are, no doubt, authentic; but although there is reason to suppose that the Manx deserter, Castine, held rank in the French revolutionary army, there is nothing to connect him with the general of division, Custine. The name of Thomas Castine does not appear in the alphabetical lists of persons guillotined given by Prudhomme.

[Train's Hist. I. of Man, ii. 349; Alison's Hist. of Europe, iii.; Prudhomme's *Crimes de la Révolution* (Paris, 1797).]  
H. M. C.

**CASTLE, EDMUND** (1698–1750), master of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and dean of Hereford, was a native of Kent, and was born on 14 Sept. 1698 near Canterbury, where he received the greater part of his education. He was admitted into Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, in 1716, being appointed 'puer cubiculi' by the master, Bishop Greene, and to a Kentish scholarship on Archbishop Parker's foundation. He received the degree of B.A. in 1719, and was made fellow in 1722. He was appointed public orator in 1726, but vacated the office in 1729, on being appointed to the vicarages of Elm and Emneth in the Isle of Ely, whence he was removed to Barley, Hertfordshire. In 1744 he was made rector of St. Paul's School, and the same year master of Corpus Christi College. In 1747 he was promoted to a prebend at Lincoln, and in the following year to the deanery of Hereford. He died at Bath on 6 June 1750. He was buried at Barley, Hertfordshire, where there is a Latin inscription to his memory. He was stated to have been a man of considerable learning and of great simplicity of manners.

[Nichols's Lit. Anecd. vi. 78; Masters's History of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, pp. 235–9; Le Neve's Fasti.]  
T. F. H.

**CASTLE, GEORGE, M.D.** (1635 ?–1673), physician, only son of John Castle, a doctor of medicine of Oxford of 10 July 1644, by Grisagon his wife, was born in or about 1635. After a good preliminary education at Thame grammar school, under Dr. William Burt, he was admitted a commoner of Balliol College, Oxford, on 8 April 1652, at the age of seventeen, and proceeded B.A. on 18 Oct. 1654, M.A. on 29 May 1657. Meanwhile he had gained a probationary fellowship at All Souls in 1655, and accumulating his degrees in physic proceeded M.D. as a member of that house on 21 June 1665. Castle now settled in town, where he practised, as his father had done, in the parish of St. Margaret's, Westminster. In February 1669 he was elected a fellow of the Royal Society, and, as he himself indicates in the epistle dedicatory prefixed to his 'Chymical Galenist,' had thoughts of presenting himself before the College of Physicians for examination as a candidate. Afterwards, by the influence of his friend Martin Clifford, master of the Charterhouse, Castle was appointed physician to that institution, and obtained a respectable share of business. But giving way, if we may

credit Wood's statement, to habits of free living, he died of fever on 12 Oct. 1673. His will, wherein he is described as of the parish of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, is dated 25 Sept. in that year, and was proved by his relict Anne on 16 Oct. following (Reg. in P. C. C. 122, Pye). Castle was the author of 'The Chymical Galenist: a Treatise, wherein the Practise of the Ancients is reconcil'd to the new Discoveries in the Theory of Physick; shewing, That many of their Rules, Methods, and Medicins, are useful for the Curing of Diseases in this Age, and in the Northern parts of the World. In which are some Reflections upon a Book, intituled, *Medela Medicinæ*,' 8vo, London, 1667.

[Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* (Bliss), iii. 998–9; Wood's *Fasti Oxon.* (Bliss), ii. 181, 200, 282–3.]  
G. G.

**CASTLE, CASSEL, or CASSELS, RICHARD** (d. 1751), architect, was a German, who at the invitation of Sir Gustavus Hume, bart., settled in Ireland in the second decade of the last century. He had few rivals, and soon obtained an extensive practice. He began with rebuilding his patron's seat, Castle Hume, co. Fermanagh; he afterwards designed the mansion of Hazlewood, co. Sligo; Powerscourt, co. Wicklow; Carton House, co. Kildare; and Bessborough House, co. Kilkenny. In Dublin his designs included the Marquis of Waterford's house in Marlborough Street, Leinster House in Kildare Street, afterwards the Dublin Society house, Lord Beective's house in Smithfield, and many private houses in Sackville Street, Stephen's Green, and other parts of the city. His public works were not so numerous. He built the cupola of the old chapel in the college, long since removed; the printing-office in the college park; the Rotunda, or lying-in hospital; and the music hall in Fishamble Street, where Handel produced the 'Messiah' on 18 April 1742, and praised the building for its acoustic properties. The design for the Parliament House is believed to be his. Castle died suddenly at Carton on 19 Feb. 1751, aged about sixty, and was buried at Maynooth (WEBB, *Compendium of Irish Biography*, p. 582). He is represented as a man of integrity, of amiable though somewhat eccentric manners, whom convivial habits kept poor. It is said that when he felt dissatisfied with any part of his work, he collected his men together, marched them to it in procession, and forthwith pulled it down. To Castle belongs the credit of having introduced into Ireland a greatly improved style of architecture. In 1736 he published

'An Essay towards Supplying the City of Dublin with Water.'

[Warburton, Whitelaw, and Walsh's Hist. of Dublin, ii. 1137-8; Redgrave's Dict. of Artists, 1878.] G. G.

**CASTLE, THOMAS** (1804?-1840?) botanical and medical writer, was born in Kent, and after leaving school became a pupil of John Gill, surgeon, at Hythe; in his third year he began his first book, which he finished before going to London to carry on his studies. He entered Guy's Hospital in 1826, and was a member of its Physical Society; the year following he was elected fellow of the Linnean Society, when he was living in Bermondsey Square. Subsequently he removed to Brighton, and in 1838 he signed himself 'M.D., F.L.S., consulting physician to St. John's British Hospital and memb. Trin. Coll. Camb.' His name is to be found in the medical list of the same year, but he seems to have died soon afterwards. Further particulars of his life are wanting; the above having been gleaned from his publications, which are as follows: 1. 'Lexicon Pharmacopœium,' Lond. 1826, 8vo, 2nd edit., 1834. 2. 'Modern Surgery,' 1828, 12mo. 3. 'Manual of Surgery,' ed. by, 2nd edit. 1829, 3rd edit. 1831. 4. 'Systematic and Physiological Botany,' 1829, 12mo. 5. 'Medical Botany,' 1829, 12mo. 6. 'Linnæan System of Botany,' 1836, 4to. 7. 'Essay on Poisons,' 1834, 8vo, 7th edit. 1845. 8. 'Pharmacopœia, Roy. Coll. Phys.' trans. by, 1837, 8vo, 2nd edit. 1838. 9. 'Table of Greek Verbs,' Cambridge, 1832, 4to. He also edited two editions of Blundell's 'Diseases of Women,' 1834 and 1837, and with J. A. Barton published a 'British Flora Medica,' 1837, a second edition of which was edited in 1867 by J. R. Jackson.

[Castle's Works.]

B. D. J.

**CASTLEHAVEN, EARL OF** (*d.* 1651).

[See TUCHET, MERVYN.]

**CASTLEMAIN, BARBARA** [PALMER], COUNTESS OF (*d.* 1709). [See VILLIERS, BARBARA, DUCHESS OF CLEVELAND.]

**CASTLEMAIN, EARL OF** (*d.* 1705).

[See PALMER, ROGER.]

**CASTLEREAGH, VISCOUNT** (1739-1821). [See STEWART, ROBERT, MARQUIS OF LONDONDERRY.]

**CASTLETON, EARL OF** (*d.* 1723). [See SAUNDERSON, JAMES.]

**CASTRO, ALFONSO Y** (1495-1558), theologian, was a native of Zamora in Spain,

and at an early age entered the Franciscan order at Salamanca. He became famous both as a theologian and a preacher. So great was his reputation that about 1532 he was summoned to Bruges by the Spanish merchants resident there, that they might have the advantage of his teaching. As a theologian he had followed with interest the controversies opened up by the Lutheran movement, and while he was at Bruges he finished the great work on which he had been long engaged, a treatise 'Adversus Hæreses,' which was published at Paris in 1534. The object of his book was a classification and examination of all heretical opinions, together with a refutation of them, and an account of their condemnation at previous times by the church. So great was the learning of Fray Alfonso that his book was at once accepted as a repertory for controversial purposes on the Roman side. In twenty-two years it passed through ten editions in France, Italy, and Germany. The best known are Cologne, 1536, 1539, 1543, 1549; Lyons, 1546, 1556.

Soon after the publication of this work he returned to Salamanca, and continued his work as a preacher. In 1537 he published a volume of sermons on Psalm li. ('Homiliæ xxv. in Psalmum li,' Salamanca, 1537), and in 1540 another volume of sermons on Psalm xxxi. ('Homiliæ xxiv. in Psalmum xxxi.,' Salamanca, 1540). His merits were recognised by Charles V, who made him one of his chaplains. He was present as a representative of the Spanish church at the first session of the Council of Trent. He seems, however, soon to have returned to Salamanca, where he published, in October 1547, a treatise 'De justa hæreticorum punitione,' which was dedicated to Charles V. In this work he set himself to prove—not that it was just to punish heretics, which he regarded as sufficiently proved already, but that the actual punishments inflicted by the church were justly imposed. In 1550 he published at Salamanca his last book, 'De potestate legis pœnalis,' in which he discussed, with much ability, several questions regarding the moral obligations attaching to legal enactments. The book is curious, as giving some insight into the difficulties which arose from the movement of the Reformation, and the conflict between conscientious convictions and legal obligations. The question, Has the law an inherent claim on man's obedience, or only a power of punishing its non-observance? was one which exercised the minds of men.

Fray Alfonso is connected with English history because he was chosen by Charles V to accompany his son Philip when he came as the accepted husband of Queen Mary in

1554. The re-establishment of the old faith in England was a difficult matter, requiring wisdom and discretion, and Alfonso was sent to be Philip's counsellor, as well as his spiritual director. He was not favourably impressed with the discretion shown by the English bishops in pursuing their ends by severities which alienated popular sympathy. The imperial envoy, Simon Renard, urged greater moderation, but his remonstrances were unheeded. At last Philip was advised, in his own interests, to make it known that he did not favour the policy of persecution. On 9 Feb. 1555 six heretics were burnt in London. On the following day Fray Alfonso publicly preached an eloquent sermon against persecution. 'He did earnestly inveigh against the bishops for so burning men, saying plainly that they learned it not in the Scripture to burn any man for his conscience; but the contrarie, that they should live and be converted, with many other things more to the same purpose' (FOXE, *Acts and Monuments*, ed. 1841, pp. 704-5).

This sermon of Alfonso made a great impression at the time, and no doubt delayed the execution of Ridley, Latimer, and Cranmer. But the English bishops resented Spanish interference, and those who were the objects of Alfonso's intercession did not thank him for it. John Bradford (1510?-1555) [q. v.], who was in prison awaiting his death, was told of Alfonso's sermon. 'Verily,' he said, 'I had a book within these two days of his writing, and therein he saith that it is not meet nor convenient that heretics should live' (BRADFORD'S *Works*, Parker Society, i. 554). This was the book 'De justa hæreticorum punitione,' and Bradford's remark shows how impossible is fairness of mind in times of excitement. Even the modern editor quotes as Bradford's authority Alfonso's position: 'Teneo justum esse ut hæreticus incorrigibilis occidatur.' In those days scarcely any one disputed that proposition; but they differed about the meaning of the word 'heretic,' and Alfonso's sermon only meant that he took a different view from the English bishops of the meaning of the word 'incorrigible.' The ambassador Renard, writing to Charles V at the same time, said that the English bishops were hasty in their punishment, and did not show the moderation which the church had always used in weaning the people from error by teaching and preaching; unless punishment was called for by some scandalous act it ought not to be employed (*Papiers d'État du Cardinal Granvelle*, iv. 397, 404). There is no good ground for questioning Alfonso's good sense or sincerity.

A few days after his sermon, on 25 Feb.,

Alfonso visited Bradford in his prison, and tried to convince him of his errors. We have Bradford's own account of the interview (*l. c.* 530, &c.), and what he tells us is sufficient to show that his calm assumption of superior enlightenment must have sorely tried the temper of a man of Alfonso's learning. 'He hath a great name for learning,' says Bradford, 'but surely he hath little patience;' he spoke 'so that the whole house did ring again with an echo.' Bradford was quite convinced that the controversial triumph was on his own side.

This is all that we hear of Alfonso in England. In May 1556 he was in Antwerp, where he issued a revised and enlarged edition of his work, 'Adversus Hæreses,' which had occupied him during his leisure in England, and which he dedicated to Philip. From this time he seems to have stayed in the Netherlands, and at the end of 1557 was appointed archbishop of Compostella. He had not time to enter on his office, but died in Brussels on 11 Feb. 1558, at the age of sixty-three.

The best edition of the works of Alfonso is 'Alfonsi a Castro Zamorensis Opera Omnia,' 2 vols. Paris, 1578.

[Most of the information about Alfonso is gleaned from the dedications and prefaces of his works; besides this there are short accounts of him in Antonius's *Bibliotheca Hispana Nova*, vol. i., and Wadding's *Scriptores Ordinis Minorum*.] M. C.

CASWALL, EDWARD (1814-1878), divine and poet, was son of the Rev. Robert Clarke Caswall, and younger brother of Dr. Henry Caswall, prebendary of Salisbury. He was born on 15 July 1814 at Yateley, Hampshire, where his father was vicar. He was educated at Marlborough and at Brasenose College, Oxford, of which society he was Hulme exhibitioner. He graduated B.A. in 1836 and M.A. in 1838. After ordination he was presented to the perpetual curacy of Stratford-sub-Castle, Wiltshire, in the diocese of his uncle, Dr. Burgess, bishop of Salisbury [q. v.] This living he resigned shortly before his reception into the Roman catholic church in January 1847. Two years later he became a widower, and in March 1850 he joined the Oratory of St. Philip Neri, under Dr. (afterwards Cardinal) Newman, whose acquaintance he had made at the house of Lord Shrewsbury, and to whose writings he always attributed his conversion to the catholic faith. In one of his numerous lyrics, beginning, 'Hail, sacred Force! hail Energy sublime!' Caswall bore eloquent tribute to the influence exercised over him by Dr. Newman's magic pen. While at Oxford

Caswall had given evidence of considerable humour and literary skill in two pamphlets by 'Scriblerus Redivivus' entitled 'Pluck Examination Papers' (1836) and 'A new Art, teaching how to be plucked, being a treatise after the fashion of Aristotle' (1837); and before his secession from the established church he published a collection of thoughtful 'Sermons on the Seen and Unseen' (London, 1846, 8vo). Afterwards he acquired distinction as a sacred poet, and some of his hymns, original and translated, are known wherever the English language is spoken. He died at the Oratory, Edgbaston, near Birmingham, on 2 Jan. 1878, and was buried at Rednall, near Bromsgrove, in the private cemetery belonging to the Birmingham Oratory.

He published several devotional works, translated for the most part from the French, and was also the author of: 1. 'Lyra Catholica, containing all the Breviary and Missal Hymns; with others from various sources,' translated, London, 1849, 1884, 32mo; New York, 1851, 12mo. 2. 'The Masque of Mary, and other poems,' London, 1858, 8vo. 3. 'A May Pageant, and other poems,' London, 1865, 16mo.

[Birmingham Daily Post, 4 Jan. 1878; Guardian, 9 Jan. 1878, p. 41; Weekly Register, 19 Jan. 1878, p. 38, columns 1 and 3; Cat. of Oxford Graduates (1851), 117; Preface to Shipley's *Annus Sanctus*; Gillow's *Bibl. Dict.* i. 429; Postscript to Gondon's *Conversion de 500 Ministres Anglicains*; Gondon's *Les récentes Conversions de l'Angleterre*, 227; Browne's *Annals of the Tractarian Movement*, 145; Cat. of Printed Books in Brit. Mus.]

T. C.

CAT, CHRISTOPHER (*d.* 1703-1733)—the name is given in Hearne's 'Collections,' i. 117, as 'Christopher Calling'—the entertainer of the 'Kit-Cat Club,' kept a tavern with the sign of the 'Cat and Fiddle' in Shire Lane, near Temple Bar, where he was, as Dr. King in his 'Art of Cookery' asserts, 'immortal made by his pyes' of mutton. According to one statement this club had its origin in 1688 in the meeting of some 'men of wit and pleasure about town,' without reference to politics; but the generally accepted version asserts that it was founded in 1703 by the leading members of the whig party in this tavern in Shire Lane, taking from its entertainer the name of the 'Kit-Cat Club.' When he moved to the Fountain tavern in the Strand, the club accompanied him. In the summer the meetings were held in the Upper Flask tavern, on the edge of Hampstead Heath, and occasionally the members met at Jacob Tonson's house at Barn Elms. At first there were thirty-nine members, but the number was ultimately

increased to forty-eight. The special feature of the club consisted of the toasts, which were written in praise of the chief whig beauties, and were inscribed on the toasting glasses. Several of these effusions will be found in the works of Garth, Addison, and Lord Halifax, and it will be remembered that on one occasion Lady Mary Wortley Montagu when a little girl was introduced by her father to the society of these whig wits and was gravely saluted by them. The club decayed about 1720. The derivation of its name has been disputed, and Dr. Arbuthnot wrote an epigram assigning its origin to its pack of toasts 'Of Old Cats and Young Kits.' Another physician, Sir Richard Blackmore, published in 1708 a poem of 'The Kit-Kats.'

Jacob Tonson built a room in his house at Barn Elms for the reception of its members, and had the walls adorned with their portraits. As it was not sufficiently lofty for pictures of the ordinary size, Sir Godfrey Kneller made use of a smaller canvas, 36 inches long by 28 wide, which has ever since been called a kit-cat. The mezzotint engravings were published by Tonson in 1723, republished by J. Faber in 1795, and reproduced in 1821 in a volume entitled 'Memoirs of the celebrated persons composing the Kit-Cat Club,' a volume not to be commended either for accuracy of fact or for grace of style. The originals, with the exception of the portrait of the Duke of Marlborough, are in the possession of Tonson's descendant, Mr. William Baker of Bayfordbury in Hertfordshire. Six of them were shown to the world at the Manchester Exhibition in 1857. The papers relating to the club are also in Mr. Baker's possession.

A writer in 'Notes and Queries' (5th series, iii. 259) prints a letter signed 'Chr. Catt,' and dated '9th of 5th mo. 1711,' preserved in the archives of the Norwich monthly meeting; which proves Cat (if the writer be the same person) to have been a quaker, and to have possessed an educated and thoughtful mind.

A portrait of Cat by Kneller was lent by Mrs. H. W. Hutton to the Portrait Exhibition in 1867, and a painting in the same collection, also ascribed to Kneller, was said to represent a 'scene at Christopher Cat's house, Chelsea walk; Steele, Lord Oxford, Addison and his stepson little Lord Warwick, Sir G. Kneller, and others at tea.' This belonged to the Baroness Windsor.

[Memoirs of Club, 1821; Ned Ward's *Clubs of London and Westminster*; Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting (Wormun)*, ii. 591; Quarterly Rev. January 1822, pp. 425-37.] W. P. C.

**CATCHER** or **BURTON**, **EDWARD** (1584?-1624?), jesuit, son of Edward Catcher of London, was born in 1584 or 1586, and studied at Balliol College, Oxford, where he took the degree of B.A. He was reconciled to the catholic church in 1606, entered the English college at Rome the same year, completed his studies at Valladolid, joined the Society of Jesus at Louvain in 1609 or 1611, was procurator of the order at Liège 1621-1623, and died on the English mission about 1624. He translated into English Father Véron's sermons preached before the Duke de Longueville, and his 'Defeat of Henshe, the Calvinistic Minister,' printed at Douay 1616.

[Foley's Records, i. 149, vi. 240, 523, vii. 123; Southwell's Bibl. Script. Soc. Jesu, 184; Oliy'er's Jesuit Collections, 63; Backer's Bibl. des Ecrivains de la Compagnie de Jésus (1869), 966.]

T. C.

**CATCHPOLE**, **MARGARET** (1773-1841), adventuress, the youngest of six children, was born in 1773 at the Seven Hills, near the Orwell, in Suffolk. Her father was a labourer employed on the fields of a celebrated breeder of Suffolk cart-horses. The farmer's wife being suddenly seized with illness, Margaret, when thirteen years of age, mounted a Suffolk punch, and galloped with only a halter round its neck to Ipswich in order to fetch a doctor. After this she became a servant in the household of Mr. Cobbold of Ipswich, and saved one of his children from drowning. Falling in love with the son of a boatman at Landguard Fort, she clung to him, although wholly unworthy of her, in spite of the persuasions both of her mistress and her own family. At length, in order to meet her lover, she stole her master's horse, and, dressed as a sailor, rode it from Ipswich to London, seventy miles, in eight hours and a half. For the theft she was tried and sentenced to death on 9 Aug. 1797. In consequence of her bearing at the trial, and the interest which John Cobbold, an Ipswich brewer, brought to bear upon her case, this sentence was commuted to seven years' transportation. Wishing to join her lover, she broke out of Ipswich gaol in a very bold manner on 25 March 1800, and let herself down uninjured from the spikes on the top of its wall. She was soon recaptured, and a second time sentenced to death by the same judge, Chief Baron Macdonald. She had pleaded guilty at both trials, and her undaunted speech and demeanour a second time gained her many friends. The sentence was again commuted, but this time to transportation for life, and (27 May 1801) she was sent to Australia. She landed on

20 Dec. 1801, and by good conduct soon obtained a remission of much of her sentence, and married a respectable settler at Windsor, near Hawkesberry, in that country. He was greatly attached to her, and she repaid his love to the full. After fifteen years of an affectionate and devoted married life, she lost her husband on 29 Sept. 1827. He left her the bulk of his property, and with a son and two daughters she removed to Sydney in 1828. There she led a quiet, charitable life, and died much respected on 10 Sept. 1841, aged 68.

In the Ipswich Museum is a skin of that rare bird, the lyre bird or mountain pheasant (*Menura superba*), sent home by Margaret Catchpole. In one of her letters after marriage she gave the Rev. Richard Cobbold [q. v.], son of her former benefactor, free permission to relate the incidents of her life; 'but,' she added, 'let my husband's name be concealed for mine and for my children's sake.' That wish is here respected. Accordingly Mr. Cobbold published her life with many fictitious adornments as a novel in 3 vols., 1845, and it has been several times reprinted. 'The heroine of this romantic but perfectly true narrative,' as he calls Margaret Catchpole, seems to have been possessed of an indomitable will, which in her earlier years was unfortunately warped by misplaced affections. Her courage and command of expedients to gain her own ends were conspicuous. When, later in life, trouble had subdued her previously undisciplined temper, genuine religious impressions, and an unaffected desire to atone for the past, became the dominant features of her character.

[Rev. R. Cobbold's Margaret Catchpole; information from Mrs. D. Hanbury and others.]

M. G. W.

**CATCOTT**, **ALEXANDER** (1725-1779), divine and geologist, eldest son of the Rev. Alexander Stopford Cattcott [q. v.], master of the grammar school of Bristol, was born at Bristol 2 Nov. 1725. He was educated at the grammar school; entered Winchester in 1739, and Wadham College, Oxford, in 1744. He graduated as B.A. in 1748. He published in 1756 his 'Remarks on the Lord Bishop of Clogher's "Explanation of the Mosaic Account of the Creation and of the Formation of the World."' The bishop, Robert Clayton [q. v.], in this 'Explanation' expressed disbelief in the universality of the deluge. Cattcott intended to follow up his 'Tract' by a second part devoted especially to the problem of the deluge. He was, however, compelled by the failure of

his eyesight to suspend his labours until 1761, when he published his 'Treatise on the Deluge.' He calls himself on the title-page 'lecturer of St. John's Church, Bristol.' Cattcott contends that the Mosaic account is a full and complete explanation of the miracle of the Noachian deluge. He tries to prove, with much show of learning, that the deluge may be explained by the internal waters, which broke out and dissolved the whole earth. Cattcott adopts in part the hypothesis of Woodward, but was strictly a follower of John Hutchinson, who, in his 'Moses's Principia,' contends 'that the Hebrew scriptures, when rightly translated, comprised a perfect system of natural philosophy.' In 1768 Cattcott dedicated a second and enlarged edition of his 'Treatise' to the Earl of Buchan, and he calls himself his lordship's 'chaplain.' He was now M.A., and he informs his readers that he spent some time in Oxford, but styles himself vicar of Temple Church, Bristol. He pursued his inquiry with considerable enthusiasm. He examined the 'two Druidical temples of Abury and Stonehenge; the mines of Cornwall and of Derbyshire, and everywhere found proofs of the Deluge in geological remains. In the second part of the second edition of the 'Treatise' Cattcott gives a 'Collection of the principal Heathen Accounts of the Flood,' which Sir Charles Lyell admits to be a very valuable contribution to our knowledge. He adds to this collection some important remarks on 'The Time when, and the Manner how, America was first Peopled.' Cattcott died at Bristol 18 June 1779 (*Gent. Mag.* 1779, p. 327).

[Hutchinson's Remarks on Alexander Stopford Cattcott's Sermon, 1737; Cattcott's The Supreme and Inferior Elohim, 1735; Nicholls's Bristol Past and Present; Bristol Gazette, 24 June 1779; Taylor's Bristol and Clifton, 1878; information from Mr. W. George; Sir Charles Lyell's Principles of Geology.]

R. H.-r.

**CATCOTT, ALEXANDER STOPFORD** (1692-1749), divine and poet, son of Alexander Cattcott, gent., was born in Long Acre, in the parish of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, Westminster, 10 Oct. 1692. He was admitted to Merchant Taylors' School 3 May 1699, and elected thence to St. John's College, Oxford, where he matriculated 2 July 1709. In 1712 he was elected a fellow of his college, 'where he putt on a Civil Law gown, and took the degree of LL.B. 6 March 1717' [-18] (*Bodl. MS. Rawl. J. 4to, 5, f. 209*). In a letter preserved by Dr. Rawlinson, Cattcott gives the dates of his ordinations, 'Dear Chumb . . . In answer to yr queries, I inform you that I was ordained deacon 8 June 1718, priest 15 March

1718-9, by Dr. Potter' (bishop of Oxford), (*ib.* J. fol. 16, f. 352). On 18 April 1722 he was elected head-master of the grammar school, Bristol. In the same year he resigned his fellowship at Oxford. In June 1729 'the Rev. Mr. A. S. Cattcott was appointed reader in Mr. Mayor's Chappell of St. Mark,' Bristol, and 'a salary of 20*l.* per annum allowed him during the pleasure of the House' (*Manuscript Diary of Peter Mugleworth*, sword-bearer, 1725-34, f. 95). Eleven years afterwards he held the lectureship of St. John's at Bristol (*Audit Book, Bristol Corporation*). A sermon preached by him in 1735 before Lord-chief-justice Hardwicke (then lord high steward of Bristol) was printed at the expense of the Bristol corporation; it occasioned a controversy which lasted many years. Cattcott was presented to the rectory of St. Stephen's, Bristol, by Lord-chancellor Hardwicke 2 Jan. 1743-4 (*Bodl. MS. Rawl. fol. 16, 355*), when he resigned the mastership of the grammar school. Thomas Fry, D.D., president of St. John's College, Oxford (*d.* 1772), and Richard Woodward, D.D., bishop of Cloyne (*d.* 1794), were among Cattcott's pupils (G. S. CATCOTT, *Manuscript*). He died of a lingering disorder 23 Nov. 1749 (*Bristol Weekly Intelligencer*, 29 Nov.), and six days later was buried in St. Stephen's Church (burial register). Among his contemporaries Cattcott was distinguished as a 'pulpit orator' (*Bristol Weekly Intelligencer*), 'a good poet, profound linguist, well skilled in Hebrew and Scripture philosophy, and a judicious schoolmaster' (BARRETT, *Hist. of Bristol*, 1789, p. 514). Wesley testifies to his eminent piety (*Journal*, 1827, iv. 192; see also DR. WILSON, *History of Merchant Taylors' School*, 1072). Cattcott was a Hutchinsonian, and 'one of those authors who first distinguished themselves as writers on the side of' that school (JONES, *Memoirs of Bishop Horne*, 1795, p. 23). In a note appended to his Assize Sermon, 1736, Cattcott expresses his indebtedness to Hutchinson. Several of Hutchinson's letters to Cattcott are in the City Library, King Street, Bristol.

'The Poem of Musæus on the Loves of Hero and Leander,' 1715, and 'The Court of Love, a Vision from Chaucer,' 1717, are the only poems he published separately; both 'printed at the Theater,' Oxford. An octavo manuscript, containing poems written by him at Oxford and Bristol, is extant. 'In his younger days,' Dr. Rawlinson says, Cattcott 'applied himself much to poetry,' but soon 'turn'd his head more towards divinity and the languages' (*Bodl. MS. Rawl. J. 4to, 5, 209*). Cattcott's sons, Alexander [q. v.] and George S. Cattcott, were friends of Chatter-



ton. The father died before the poet's birth, but from a confusion with his son has been described as interesting himself in Chatterton.

Cattcott's works are: 1. 'The Poem of Musæus on the Loves of Hero and Leander; paraphras'd in English Heroick Verse,' Oxford, 1715, 8vo (anon.) Dedicated to 'Lady Mary [Wortley] Mountague.' A copy of the poem, in Cattcott's handwriting, is in the British Museum Add. MS. 16614. 2. 'The Court of Love, a Vision from Chaucer,' Oxford, 1717, 8vo. 3. 'The Supreme and Inferiour Elahim: a Sermon [on Psalm lxxxii. 6], preached before the Corporation of Bristol and the Lord Chief Justice Hardwicke, at the Mayor's Chappel, on Sunday, the 16th of August, 1735, being the day before the Assizes,' London, 1736, 4to; second edition, London, 1742, 8vo; third, but on title stated to be 'the second edition,' Oxford, 1781, 4to. The last-named edition is not in the catalogue of books in British Museum. The first edition was printed by the desire and at the expense of the Bristol corporation. It elicited bantering 'Observations' on it by Rev. Arthur Bedford, 1736, which involved Cattcott, Hutchinson, Julius Bate, and Daniel Gittins in a pamphlet war. 4. 'An Answer to the Observations on a Sermon preach'd before the Corporation of Bristol . . . by Alex. Stopford Cattcott, LL.B. . . . As also an Appendix, being a Reply to some Objections in the Bibliothèque Britannique, 1736,' Bristol, 1737, 8vo. 5. 'The State of the Case between Mr. Bedford and Mr. Cattcott, in answer to Mr. Bedford's Examination of Mr. Hutchinson's Remarks,' &c., Lond. 1738, 8vo, (anon.) 6. 'Tractatus, in quo tentatur coman recuperandi notitiam Principiorum Veteris et Veræ Philosophiæ, prout eadem in usum humani generis, primum protulerunt sacra literæ, nuper explicuit vir clarissimus Joannes Hutchinsonus; unde deducuntur modus et ratio formandi cœlos et orbis iisdem insitos; Quinetiam eorundem Motus (telluris autem præcipue) et incepti et continuati causæ. Cui etiam inseruntur regulæ quædam et observationes Grammaticam Hebræicæ Lingvæ spectantes,' Lond. 1738, 4to; 'translated, with additional notes and a preliminary dissertation, by Alexander Maxwell,' Lond. 1822, 8vo. This and his 'single sermons' are erroneously attributed by Orme to Alexander Cattcott [q.v.] 7. 'The Antiquity and Honourableness of the Practice of Merchandize. A Sermon [on Isaiah xxiii. 8], preached before the Worshipful Society of Merchants of the City of Bristol, in the Parish Church of St. Stephen, November the 10th, 1744,' Bristol, 1744, 4to. 8. 'Sermons [x.] by the late Reverend A. S. Cattcott, LL.B.,' Bris-

tol, 1752, 8vo. These are included in (xviii.) 'Sermons,' London, 1753, 8vo; London, 1767, 8vo. Though stated to be 'the second edition,' it is that of 1753 with a new title-page. The title-page issued with the ten sermons 'Bristol, 1752,' is sometimes prefixed to the complete volume published in 1753, edited by his son Alexander, who has added a few notes. 9. 'The Hundred and Fourth Psalm Paraphrased,' printed in the 'Universal Magazine,' July 1759; in Alexander Cattcott's 'Treatise on the Deluge,' 1761, 280-4, in the second edition, 1768, 419-23, and elsewhere. Corry and Evans (*History of Bristol*, ii. 183) and Pryce (*Popular History of Bristol*, 1861, p. 183) attribute Alexander Cattcott's 'Treatise on the Deluge' to his father, A. S. Cattcott. 10. 'Bristol Grammar School Visitation Exercises, Fifth of November Speeches before the Mayor and Corporation of Bristol, &c., &c. Translations and various other Pieces, by A. S. Cattcott, Master of the Thorne's Grammar School, Bristol,' 8vo, 233 pages, all in the autograph of A. S. Cattcott. The title is in the handwriting of Richard Smith, surgeon, Cattcott's grandson. He possessed many of the books of George Symes Cattcott, of Chattertonian fame.

[Authorities cited above; Cattcott's books. Mr. F. Madan, Bodleian Library, has kindly supplied transcripts of the Rawlinson MSS. for this article.]  
W. G.

CATESBY, SIR JOHN (*d.* 1486), justice of the common pleas, appears to have been the uncle of William Catesby [q.v.], the councillor of Richard III. The family had been for some time settled in Northamptonshire, and held also the manor of Lapworth in Warwickshire. His mother was a coheirress of William de Montfort. He was a member of the Inner Temple, then called the Inner Inn, and his name first appears in the year books in Michaelmas 1458. He received the coif in 1463, and was made king's serjeant on 18 April 1469. On 20 Nov. 1481 he was appointed justice of the common pleas, and next year he was knighted. His name appears in the commissions for the western circuit, as well as in those for Northamptonshire, during the reigns of Edward V and Richard III. His will shows that he was lord of the manor of Whiston in Northamptonshire. At the accession of Henry VII his reappointment as a judge was delayed for about a month after that of his brethren, probably in consequence of his nephew's attainder. That he was a worthy character we are justified in believing, from the fact that Bishop Waynflete in his will named him first among his executors. He died between 3 Nov. 1486 and Hilary term

1487, the place of his death, according to a notice in the year-books, being eight leagues from London. According to Foss he married Elizabeth, daughter of William Green of Hayes in Middlesex. He was buried, as he had himself directed, in the abbey of St. James at Northampton, and left behind him seven sons and two daughters, who are all mentioned in his will.

[Foss's Judges, v. 42; Dugdale's Warwickshire, 788; Nicolas's Testamenta Vetusta, 389; Report ix. of Deputy-Keeper of Public Records, App. ii. Foss calls attention to a John Catesby who is referred to in a document of 1485 (Rymer, xii. 275), as having at some past date occupied a house called the 'Grene Lates,' adjoining Westminster Hall; but this could scarcely have been the judge, as he is not even designated knight, either there or in the Act of Attainder (Rolls of Parl. vi. 372), and in the latter he ought certainly to have been recognised, both as knight and justice.] J. G.

**CATESBY, MARK** (1679?-1749), naturalist, was born, probably in London, about 1679. After studying natural science in London, he raised the means for starting on a voyage to the New World in 1710. After an absence of several years, spent in travelling over a very extensive district, Catesby returned to England in 1719, with a collection of plants, which was reported to have been the most perfect which had ever been brought to this country. This attracted the attention of men of science, especially Sir Hans Sloane and Dr. Sherard. Catesby remained in England for some time arranging and naming his specimens, a considerable number of which passed into the museum of Sir Hans Sloane. With some assistance from Sloane, Catesby again went to America in 1722, and eventually settled in Carolina. He returned to England in 1726, and at once set seriously to work in preparing materials for his large and best known work, 'Natural History of Carolina, Florida, and the Bahama Islands, with Observations on the Soil, Air, and Water.' This book was accompanied by a new map, constructed by Catesby, of the districts explored. The first volume was published in 1731 and the second in 1743. There were upwards of 100 plates; all the figures of the plants being drawn and etched by Catesby himself. He also coloured all the first copies, and the tinted copies required were executed under his inspection. After the publication of this work, on 26 April 1733, he was admitted a fellow of the Royal Society. A second edition—which was revised by M. Edwards, with an appendix—was issued in 1748. A German translation, with an introduction by 'M. Edwards du College Royal

des Médecins de Londres,' was published at Nuremberg in 1756. A third edition was required in 1771, to which a Linnæan index was appended. Catesby also produced (in 1737?) 'Hortus Britanno-Americanus, or a Collection of 85 curious Trees and Shrubs, the production of North America, adapted to the Climate and Soil of Great Britain,' fol., seventeen engravings. Many trees and shrubs were first introduced by him, and the publication of this volume added considerably to the introduction of American plants.

A West Indian genus of shrubs of the order *Cinchonaceæ* was named *Catesbæa* after this naturalist.

In 1747 Catesby read a paper before the Royal Society 'On the Migration of Birds,' which contained much new and striking evidence on the subject.

Catesby resided for some time in the Isle of Providence, making a collection of fishes and submarine productions. He published the results of this inquiry in a folio volume, entitled 'Piscium, Serpentum, Insectorum aliorumque nonnullorum Animalium, nec non Plantarum quarundam, Imagines.' An edition of this work appeared in Nuremberg, 1777.

Catesby died at his house in Old Street, London, on 23 Dec. 1749, aged 70, leaving a widow and two children.

[Pulteney's Biog. Sketches of Botany; Drake's Dict. of American Biog., Boston, 1872; Lindley and Moore's Treasury of Botany.]

R. H.-r.

**CATESBY, ROBERT** (1573-1605), second and only surviving son of Sir William Catesby of Lapworth, Warwickshire, by Anne, daughter of Sir Robert Throckmorton of Coughton in the same county, was born at Lapworth in 1573. He was sixth in descent from William Catesby [q. v.], of the household to Henry VI (*Rot. Parl.* v. 197) and speaker of the House of Commons in the parliament of 1484 (vi. 238), who, being on the side of Richard III, escaped from the battle of Bosworth only to be hanged at Leicester a few days afterwards (GAIRDNER, *Richard III*, 308). The attainder against him being reversed, his estates reverted to his family, and the Catesbys added largely to them in the century that followed. Sir William Catesby, in common with the great majority of the country gentry throughout England who were resident upon their estates and unconnected with the oligarchy who ruled in the queen's name at court, threw in his lot with the catholic party and suffered the consequences of his conscientious adherence to the

old creed. He was a recusant, and for the crime of not attending at his parish church and taking part in a form of worship which he regarded as worse than a mockery, he suffered severely in person and substance during the latter half of Queen Elizabeth's reign. He had become compromised as early as 1580 by his befriending of the Roman emissaries (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1580, p. 322), and he certainly was a liberal contributor to their support (*Troubles of our Catholic Forefathers*, 2nd ser. p. 156). There is some reason to believe that Robert, his son, was for a time a scholar at the college of Douay (*Diary of the English College, Douay*, ed. Dr. Knox, 1878, p. 206), but in 1586 he entered at Gloucester Hall, now Worcester College, Oxford, which was then a favourite place of resort for the sons of the recusant gentry, as Peterhouse was at Cambridge. The young men of this party rarely stayed at the university more than a year or two, the oath of supremacy being a stumbling-block to them; and Catesby never proceeded to the B.A. degree. In 1592 he married Catherine, daughter of Sir Thomas Leigh of Stoneleigh, Warwickshire, and with her had a considerable estate settled to the uses of the marriage. Next year, by the death of his grandmother, he came into possession of the estate of Chastleton, where he continued to reside for the next few years. His wife died while he was living at Chastleton, leaving him with an only son, Robert; an elder son, William, having apparently died in infancy. In 1598 his father died, and though his mother, Lady Catesby, had a life interest in a large portion of her husband's property, Catesby was by this time a man of large means and much larger expectations; but it seems that the pressure of the persecuting laws, which had been applied with relentless cruelty upon the landed gentry in the midland counties, had produced an amount of irritation and bitterness which to proud and sensitive men was becoming daily more unsupportable, and the terrible fines and exactions which were levied upon their estates, and the humiliating espionage to which they were subjected, tended to make them desperate and ready for any risks that promised even a remote chance of deliverance. As early as 1585 Sir William Catesby had compounded with the government, to the extent of a fifth of his income, for the amount of impositions to be levied upon him for his recusancy (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 7th Rep. 640). Nevertheless we find him three years after a prisoner at Ely along with Sir Thomas Tresham and others of the recusant gentry, and indignantly protesting against the cruel treatment to which he was exposed. In 1593 he was still in durance,

and with some difficulty obtained a license for fifteen days' absence to go to Bath for the recovery of his health, which presumably had suffered from his long confinement (*ib.* 5th Rep. 311). Matters did not mend for the recusants during the next few years, and the penal laws were not relaxed, though the victims were perforce kept quiet. When the mad outbreak of Robert, earl of Essex, in 1601 brought that foolish nobleman to the scaffold, Catesby was one of his most prominent adherents, and in the scuffle that took place in the streets he received a wound. He was thrown into gaol, but for once in her career the queen did not think fit to shed much blood in her anger. More money was to be made out of the conspirators by letting them live than by hanging them, and Catesby was pardoned, but a fine of 4,000 marks was imposed upon him, 1,200*l.* of which was handed over to Sir Francis Bacon for his share of the spoils (*SPEDDING, Bacon Letters*, iii. 11). It was an enormous impost, and equivalent to a charge of at least 30,000*l.* in our own times. Catesby was compelled to sell the Chastleton estate, and seems then to have made his home with his mother at Ashby St. Legers, Northamptonshire. Growing more and more desperate and embittered, he seems after this to have brooded fiercely on his wrongs and to have surrendered himself to thoughts of the wildest vengeance. Casting aside all caution he consorted habitually with the most reckless malcontents and brought himself so much under the notice of the government that a few days before the queen's death he was committed to prison by the lords of the council, and was probably under arrest on the accession of James I (*CAMDEN, Ep.* p. 347; *Cal. State Papers*, Dom. James I, 1603-10, p. 1). During the first six months of his reign the new king seemed inclined to show favour to the catholic gentry, or at any rate inclined to relax the cruel harshness of the laws. The fines and forfeitures upon recusants almost disappeared from the accounts of the revenue, and a feeling of uneasiness began to spread among the protestant zealots that toleration was going too far. This forbearance lasted but a little while. Continually urged by the outcries of the puritan party to show no mercy to their popish fellow-subjects, and worried by his hungry Scotchmen to bestow upon them the rewards which their poverty needed so sorely if their services did not merit such return, James, who soon discovered that even English money and lands could not be given away without limit, began to show that he had almost as little sympathy with the romanising party as his predecessor, and the old enactments

were revived and the old statutes put in force. The catholics, who had begun to hope for better days, were goaded to frenzy by this change of attitude. The more conscientious and the more sincerely desirous they were simply to enjoy the liberty of worshipping God after their own fashion, the more sullenly they brooded over their wrongs. The catholics by this time had become divided into two parties somewhat sharply antagonistic the one to the other. The one party consisted of those who had a vague idea of setting up an organised ecclesiastical establishment in England which should be placed under the discipline of its own bishops appointed by the pope, and which should occupy almost exactly the same position occupied by the Roman catholics in England at the present moment. They hoped that by submitting themselves to the government and taking the oath of allegiance they might purchase for themselves a measure of toleration of which they suspected that in process of time they might avail themselves to bring back the nation to its allegiance to the see of Rome.

The other party consisted of those who were under the paramount influence of the jesuits, and these were vehemently opposed to any submission or any temporising; they would have all or nothing, and any concession to the heretics or any weak yielding to laws which they denounced as immoral they taught was mortal sin, to be punished by exclusion for ever from the church of Christ in earth or heaven. It was with this latter party—the party who, not content with toleration, could be satisfied with nothing but supremacy—that Catesby had allied himself, and of which he was qualified to be a leading personage. At the accession of James I he was in his thirtieth year, of commanding stature (GERARD, p. 57) and great bodily strength, with a strikingly beautiful face and extremely captivating manners. He is said to have exercised a magical influence upon all who mixed with him. His purse was always at the service of his friends, and he had suffered grievously for his convictions. Moreover, he was a sincerely religious man after his light, a fanatic in fact, who subordinated all considerations of prudence to the demands which his dogmatic creed appeared to him to require. A catholic first, but anything and everything else afterwards. Such men get thrust into the front of any insane enterprise that they persuade themselves is for the advancement of a holy cause, and Catesby when he girded on his sword took care to have that sword engraved 'with the passion of our Lord,' and honestly believed he was entering upon a sacred crusade for the

glory of God. In the confused tangle of testimony and contradiction, of confession under torture, hearsay reports and dexterous prevarication on which the story of the Gunpowder plot is based, it is difficult to unravel the thread of a narrative which is told in so many different ways. Thus much, however, seems to be plain, viz. that the plot was originally hatched by Thomas Winter about the summer of 1604, first communicated to Guy Faux and soon after to Catesby, who was always to be relied on to furnish money; that it was not revealed to any of the Roman priesthood except under the seal of confession, which rendered it impossible for them as priests to divulge it: that the two jesuit fathers Garnett and Gerrard, who were a great deal too astute and sagacious not to see the immeasurable imprudence of any such attempt, revolted from its wickedness, and did their best to prevent it, foreseeing the calamitous issue that was sure to result from it; finally, that it never would have gone so far as it did but for the ferocious daring of Faux, supported by the immovable obstinacy, amounting to monomania, of Catesby. The Gunpowder plot is, however, a matter of history, not of biography, and into its details it is not advisable here to enter. The full particulars are to be read in the confession of Thomas Winter, among the documents at the Record Office (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1603-11, pp. 262, 279). It is sufficient to say that about midnight of 4 Nov. 1605 Faux was apprehended at the door of the cellar under the parliament house by Sir Thomas Knyvett, who found thirty-six barrels of powder in casks and hogsheads prepared in all readiness for the explosion. Catesby obtained information of his confederate's arrest almost immediately and lost no time in getting to horse. He was joined by the two Wrights, Percy, and Ambrose Rookwood, and the party reached Ashby St. Legers, a distance of eighty miles, in less than seven hours. On the evening of the 7th the whole company, about sixty strong, reached Holbeach, on the borders of Staffordshire. Next morning occurred the remarkable explosion of the gunpowder which the conspirators were getting ready for their defence of the house against assault, whereby Catesby himself was severely scorched. Some few hours after this Sir Richard Walsh arrived with his force, surrounded the house, and summoned the rebels to lay down their arms. On their refusal the attack commenced, and Catesby and Percy, standing back to back and fighting furiously, were shot through the body with two bullets from the same musket. Catesby, crawling into the house upon his hands and knees, seized an image of the Virgin, and dropped down dead with it clasped

in his arms (8 Nov. 1605). Of course the property of the unhappy man was forfeited, and fell to the courtiers who scrambled for their reward; but the settlement of that portion of the estates which had been made by Sir William upon Lady Catesby preserved them from alienation, and though an attempt was made in 1618 (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1611-18, p. 580) to set that settlement aside, it seems to have failed, and Robert Catesby the younger, recovering the fragments of his inheritance, is said to have married a daughter of that very Thomas Percy who perished fighting ingloriously back to back with his father when they made their last stand at Bostock. Of his subsequent history nothing is known.

The old Manor House of Ashby St. Legers is still standing, and a portrait reported by tradition to be a likeness of the conspirator is to be seen at Brockhall, Northamptonshire.

[Gardner's Richard III; Notes and Queries, 6th series, xii. 364, 466; Genealogist, v. 61 et seq.; *Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1580; Jardine's Narrative of the Gunpowder Plot, 1857; The Visitation of Warwickshire (Harl. Soc.); Morris's Condition of Cathoics under James I, 2nd edit. 1872; Knox's Diary of the English College at Douay, 1878.] A. J.

CATESBY, WILLIAM (*d.* 1485), councillor of Richard III, was the son of Sir William Catesby of Ashby St. Legers, Northamptonshire, by Philippa, daughter and heiress of Sir William Bishopston. His father died in 1470, but nothing seems to be known of Catesby till after the death of Edward IV, twelve or thirteen years later. Certain it is that he possessed great influence with Richard III before he became king. More speaks of him as a man well versed in the law, who, by the favour of Lord Hastings, possessed great authority in the counties of Leicester and Northampton; and it seems to have been owing to his presence in the Protector's councils that Hastings, relying on his fidelity to him, was lulled into a state of false security. For Richard, we are told, endeavoured through Catesby to ascertain if Hastings would acquiesce in his intended usurpation of the crown, and Catesby went so far as to broach the subject to him; but Hastings answered with such 'terrible words' that Catesby not only saw it was hopeless, but feared a diminution of his own credit with Hastings for having spoken of it. He therefore, if More has not maligned him, stirred up the Protector to get rid of his patron. There is no doubt that he profited by his fall, for immediately after Richard's accession he obtained an office which Hastings had previously held, that of one of the cham-

berlains of the receipt of exchequer. On the same day (30 June 1483) Richard appointed him chancellor of the exchequer, and also chancellor of the earldom of March for life. Next year he was chosen speaker in Richard's only parliament. His influence with the usurper was pointed at in the satirical rhyme made by Colyngbourne, who suffered, though not, as commonly supposed, for that cause only, the extreme penalties of treason—

The cat, the rat, and Lovel our dog  
Rule all England under a hog—

showing that of three leading councillors he was believed to be the first. His name appears on commissions for the counties of Warwick, Northampton, Leicester, Gloucester, and Berks, and on 15 Feb. 1485 he obtained a grant from the crown of the hundred of Guilsborough in tail male. That he must have been unpopular as the minister of a tyrant we may well believe; yet it is remarkable that Earl Rivers, one of the victims of Richard's tyranny, names Catesby among his executors in a will made just before his execution (*Excerpta Historica*, 248). On 22 Aug. 1485, when the usurper fell at Bosworth, Catesby was taken prisoner fighting on his side. Three days afterwards he was beheaded at Leicester. Just before his execution he made his will, dated 25 Aug. 1 Henry VII, leaving the execution entirely to his wife, 'to whom,' as he says in the document, 'I have ever been true of my body.' Evidently this instrument of tyranny had some virtue in him, of a kind not too common among courtiers. He desired to be buried in the church of St. Leger in Ashby, and wished his wife to restore all the land he had wrongfully purchased, and to divide the rest of his property among their children. 'I doubt not,' he added, 'the king will be good and gracious lord to them; for he is called a full gracious prince, and I never offended him by my good and free will, for God I take to my judge I have ever loved him.' At the end are these remarkable passages: 'My lords Stanley, Strange, and all that blood, help and pray for my soul, for ye have not for my body as I trusted in you. And if my issue rejoice (enjoy) my land, I pray you let Mr. John Elton have the best benefice. And (if) my Lord Lovel (another of Richard's adherents) come to grace, then that ye show to him that he pray for me. And, uncle John, remember my soul as ye have done my body, and better.' Uncle John is Sir John Catesby, the justice [q. v.]

This William Catesby is often erroneously called Sir William, and spoken of as a knight. He was only an esquire of the royal body.

The wife whom he left as his executrix was Margaret, a daughter of William Lord Zouche. His attainder was reversed by Henry VII in favour of his son George, and the family continued to flourish until the days of James I, when Robert Catesby [q. v.], fifth in descent from the subject of this notice, was attainted as the projector of the Gunpowder plot.

[Dugdale's Warwickshire, 788; Baker's Northamptonshire, i. 241, 245; Sir T. More's History of Richard III (in Cayley's More, ii. 199, 200); Fabyan's Chronicle (ed. 1811), 672; Rolls of Parliament, vi. 238, 276.] J. G.

**CATHARINE.** [See CATHERINE.]

**CATHCART, CHARLES**, ninth BARON CATHCART (1721-1776), soldier and ambassador, born 21 March 1721, was the son of Charles, eighth baron, a military officer of considerable distinction. The son at an early age entered the 3rd regiment of foot guards. In 1742 he commanded the 20th regiment of foot under the Earl of Stair. He accompanied the Duke of Cumberland through his campaigns in Flanders, Scotland, and Holland, acting as one of the duke's aides-de-camp at Fontenoy, and receiving in that battle a dangerous wound in his head. Under the provisions of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748) two British noblemen were sent to Paris as hostages for the restitution of Cape Breton to France (a provision which gave great and natural offence to British pride), and Cathcart was one of the peers selected for that purpose. He became a colonel in 1750 and a lieutenant-general in December 1760. As the Duke of Cumberland was greatly attached to Cathcart, he retained his friend in his service as lord of the bedchamber. From 1755 to 1763, in which year Cathcart was created a knight of the Thistle, and from 1773 to his death he held the office of lord high commissioner in the general assembly of the kirk of Scotland. For three years (1768-71) he served as ambassador extraordinary at the court of Russia, and at the time of his death he was one of the sixteen representative peers of his country, its first lord commissioner of police, and the lieutenant-general of the forces stationed within its borders. He died in London 14 Aug. 1776, and was succeeded in the title by William Schaw Cathcart [q. v.] Cathcart married, 24 July 1753, Jean, daughter of Lady Archibald Hamilton, and his second daughter, Mary, was the wife of Sir Thomas Graham, lord Lynedoch, her portrait by Gainsborough being the masterpiece of the Edinburgh National Gallery. His third daughter, Louise, who married, first, David, lord Mansfield, is the subject of one of Romney's best pictures.

Their father, whose military capacity received the praises of Wolfe, was very proud of his Fontenoy scar, and twice sat to Sir Joshua Reynolds (June 1761 and March 1773) for his portrait. 'It is not often a man has had a pistol-bullet through the head and lived,' and he always requested Sir Joshua to arrange that the black patch on his cheek might be visible, a desire which was complied with. A portrait of him and the Duke of Cumberland at Culloden, painted by C. Philips, is also in the possession of the family, and was exhibited in the collection at South Kensington in 1867. In this picture, as in the others, the black patch is easily seen. Cathcart is said to have befriended James Watt and Adam Smith.

[Campbell-Maclachlan's Duke of Cumberland, 25, 63, 110-14; Gent. Mag. 1776, pp. 239, 386; Jesse's George Selwyn, iii. 147; Leslie and Taylor's Sir Joshua Reynolds, i. 202, ii. 11, 13; Douglas and Wood, i. 343-5.] W. P. C.

**CATHCART, CHARLES MURRAY**, second EARL CATHCART (1783-1859), general, eldest surviving son of William Schaw Cathcart, first earl of Cathcart [q. v.], was born at Walton, Essex, on 21 Dec. 1783, entered the army as a cornet in the 2nd life guards on 2 March 1800, and served on the staff of Sir James Craig in Naples and Sicily during the campaigns of 1805-6. His father having been created a British peer on 3 Nov. 1807 with the titles of Viscount Cathcart and Baron Greenock, C. M. Cathcart was from this time known under the name of Lord Greenock. Having obtained his majority on 14 May 1807, he saw service in the Walcheren expedition in 1809, taking part in the siege of Flushing, after which for some time he was disabled by the injurious effects of the pestilence which cut off so many thousands of his companions. Becoming lieutenant-colonel on 30 Aug. 1810, he embarked for the Peninsula, where he was present in the battles of Barossa, for which he received a gold medal on 6 April 1812, of Salamanca, and of Vittoria, during which he served as assistant quartermaster-general. He was next sent to assist Lord Lynedoch in Holland as the head of the quartermaster-general's staff, and was afterwards present at Waterloo, where he greatly distinguished himself, having three horses shot under him. For his services he received the Russian order of St. Wladimir, the Dutch order of St. Wilhelm, and was made a C.B. on 4 June 1815. He continued to act as quartermaster-general until 26 June 1823, at which date he became lieutenant-colonel of the royal staff corps at Hythe. This corps was a scientific one, and had formed a

museum of various objects collected by its several detachments, and in this way Lord Greenock was led to take an interest in a subject to which he ever afterwards devoted much of his attention. Leaving Hythe on 22 July 1830, he took up his residence in Edinburgh, and for some years was occupied in scientific pursuits. He attended lectures in the university, took an active concern in the proceedings of the Highland Society, and was a member of the Royal Society, to which he read several papers, which were published in its 'Transactions.' In 1841 he discovered a new mineral, a sulphate of cadmium, which was found in excavating the Bishopton tunnel near Port Glasgow, and which received after him the name of Greenockite. It is a beautiful substance that was entirely new to mineralogists. He held the appointments of commander of the forces in Scotland and governor of Edinburgh Castle from 17 Feb. 1837 to 1 April 1842, and on 17 June in the following year succeeded his father as second earl and eleventh baron Cathcart. He was commander-in-chief in British North America from 16 March 1846 to 1 Oct. 1849, during very difficult times, and for some period combined with the military command the civil government of Canada. On his return to England he was appointed to the command of the northern and midland district, and the resignation of this post in 1854 brought to a conclusion his active services. He was colonel of the 11th hussars, 1842-7, of the 3rd dragoon guards, 1847-51, of the 1st dragoon guards, 1851 to his decease, and a general in the army, 20 June 1854. Among other honours, he was created a K.C.B. on 19 July 1838, and a G.C.B. 21 June 1859. In 1858 his constitution gave way, and he died at St. Leonard's-on-Sea on 16 July 1859, very peacefully, and in the full possession of his faculties. He was a man of powerful mind, which was improved by great industry and perseverance, and he had a kindly and generous heart, which threw a sunshine around the circle of his domestic life. He married in France on 30 Sept. 1818, and at Portsea on 12 Feb. 1819, Henrietta, second daughter of Thomas Mather. She died on 24 June 1872. He was the writer of two papers in the 'Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh' in 1836, 'On the Phenomena in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh of the Igneous Rocks in their relation to the Secondary Strata,' and 'The Coal Formation of the Scottish Lowlands.'

[Proceedings Royal Society of Edinburgh (1862), iv. 222-4; Gent. Mag. new ser. vii. (1859), 306-7.]

G. C. B.

**CATHCART, DAVID, LORD ALLOWAY** (*d.* 1829), lord of session, was the son of Edward Cathcart of Greenfield, Ayrshire, and passed advocate at the Scottish bar on 16 July 1786. He was promoted to the bench as an ordinary lord of session on 8 June 1813, on the resignation of Sir William Honyman, bart., the title he assumed being that of Lord Alloway. On the resignation of Lord Hermand, in 1826, he was also appointed a lord-justiciary. He died at his seat of Blairston, near Ayr, on 27 April 1829.

[Haig and Brunton's *Senators of the College of Justice.* T. F. H.]

**CATHCART, SIR GEORGE (1794-1854)**, general, third surviving son of Sir William Schaw Cathcart, first earl Cathcart [q. v.], was born on 12 May 1794. He received his first commission as a cornet in the 2nd life guards on 10 May 1810, and was promoted lieutenant into the 6th dragoon guards or carabinieri on 1 July 1811. In 1813 he succeeded his elder brother as aide-de-camp and private secretary to his father on his embassy to Russia, when Lord Cathcart was at once ambassador to the czar and military commissioner with the Russian army. As aide-de-camp Cathcart was constantly employed in carrying despatches from his father to the various English officers with the different Russian armies [see CAMPBELL, SIR NEIL; LOWE, SIR HUDSON; and WILSON, SIR ROBERT]. He was present at all the chief battles in 1813, and entered Paris with the allied armies on 31 March 1814, and was the first to raise Moreau from the ground when he received his mortal wound at the battle of Dresden. He was aide-de-camp to the Duke of Wellington in 1815 at the battles of Quatre Bras and Waterloo, and in Paris until 1818. He was then promoted to a company in the 1st West India regiment without purchase, and at once exchanged into the 7th hussars, of which he became lieutenant-colonel in May 1826. In 1828 he exchanged to the lieutenant-colonelcy of the 57th regiment, in 1830 to that of the 8th hussars, and in 1838 to that of the 1st dragoon guards, and was promoted colonel on 23 Nov. 1841. In 1846 he gave up the command of this regiment, and took up the appointment of deputy-lieutenant of the Tower of London, where he resided until his promotion to the rank of major-general on 11 Nov. 1851. Cathcart was quite unknown to the general public, except from his excellent 'Commentaries on the War in Russia and Germany in 1812 and 1813,' published in 1850, and his appointment to succeed Major-general Sir Harry Smith as governor and commander-in-chief at the Cape was received with surprise

in January 1852, and questions were asked in both houses of parliament about the appointment, for which the Duke of Wellington was really responsible. Cathcart was sent out to establish a colonial parliament and revive the dying loyalty of the colonists, and also to crush the Basutos and Kaffirs. On his arrival he summoned the first Cape parliament, and granted them a constitution, and then marched against the Kaffir and Basuto chiefs. The Kaffirs were soon subdued, and in the autumn of 1852 he marched against the Basutos, Sandilli and Macomo. He pursued them right into the recesses of the mountains, to which no English general had ever before penetrated, and in February 1853 Macomo and the old rebel Sandilli surrendered to him, and were granted residences within the Cape Colony. Cathcart received the thanks of both houses of parliament, and in July 1853 was made a K.C.B. In March 1854 he was appointed adjutant-general at the Horse Guards, and in April left the Cape. On reaching London he found that an army had already been sent to the East, and that he had been nominated to the command of the 4th division. The Duke of Newcastle also granted him a dormant commission, by which Cathcart was to succeed to the command-in-chief of the army in the East in case of any accident happening to Lord Raglan, in spite of the seniority of Burgoyne and Brown. His division was hardly engaged at all at the battle of the Alma, and his advice to storm Sebastopol at once was rejected by the allied generals. He at last became bitterly incensed against Lord Raglan for not paying more attention to him, and on 4 Oct. addressed him a note (see KINGLAKE, *Invasion of the Crimea*, v. 21), complaining of the influence of Sir George Brown and Major-general Airey, and alluding to the dormant commission. Raglan undoubtedly behaved coldly towards Cathcart, who regarded himself as badly treated, until a private letter from the Duke of Newcastle, dated 13 Oct. 1854, directed the cancelling of the dormant commission, which Cathcart accordingly surrendered on 26 Oct. On the morning of 5 Nov. he heard the heavy firing which announced the attack upon Mount Inkerman. He collected his 1st brigade and led them to where the battle was raging. There is a considerable conflict of evidence as to the later course of events. A despatch from Sir Charles Windham, first published in the 'Times,' 8 Feb. 1875, by Lord Cathcart, should be compared with Mr. Kinglake's narrative. The Duke of Cambridge sent, requesting him to fill the 'gap' on the left of the guards, and thus prevent them from being isolated; and Airey soon conveyed Lord

Raglan's orders that Cathcart should 'move to the left and support the brigade of guards, and not descend or leave the plateau.' Great confusion prevailed; many contradictory messages were sent; and it is disputed whether Cathcart ever received these orders. Cathcart ordered General Torrens to lead his four hundred men down the hill to the right of the guards against the extreme left of the Russian column. Torrens was immediately struck down, and Cathcart rode down to take the command, but before he had gone far he perceived that a Russian column had forced its way through the 'gap,' and had isolated the guards. Cathcart then attempted to charge up the hill with some fifty men of the 20th regiment to repair his fault; his last words to his favourite staff officer, Major Maitland, were, 'I fear we are in a mess,' and then he fell dead from his horse, shot through the heart. Lord Raglan, his lifelong friend, referred to him in the highest terms in his despatches. Many posthumous honours were paid to him; a tablet was erected to him in St. Paul's Cathedral, though his body rests under the hill in the Crimea which bears his name, and it was announced in the 'Gazette' of 5 July 1855 that if he had survived he would have been made a G.C.B., but greater honour was paid to him in the universal lamentation which broke out upon the arrival of the news of his glorious death.

[For Sir George Cathcart's life see the notices which were published at the time of his death, and especially that in Colburn's United Service Magazine for January 1855; see also for his South African government the Correspondence of Lieut.-general the Hon. Sir George Cathcart, K.C.B., relative to his military operations in Kaffraria, 1856; and for his conduct at the battle of Inkerman, Kinglake's *Invasion of the Crimea*, vol. v.] H. M. S.

**CATHCART, SIR WILLIAM SCHAW**, tenth **BARON CATHCART** in the peerage of Scotland, and first **VISCOUNT** and **EARL CATHCART** in the peerage of the United Kingdom (1755-1843), general, was the eldest son of Charles, ninth Lord Cathcart, K.T. [q. v.], by Jean, daughter of Admiral Lord Archibald Hamilton, and sister of Sir William Hamilton, K.B., the well-known English ambassador at Naples. William Schaw Cathcart was born at Petersham on 17 Sept. 1755, and was educated at Eton from 1766 to 1771, when he joined his father at St. Petersburg, where he was ambassador. He returned to Scotland with his father in 1773, and, after studying law at the universities of Dresden and Glasgow, was admitted a member of the Faculty of Advocates in February 1776. His father died in the



August of the same year, and Cathcart purchased a cornetcy in the 7th dragoons in June 1777, and then obtained leave to serve in America with the 16th light dragoons. He was appointed an extra aide-de-camp to Major-general Sir Thomas Spencer Wilson, bart., commanding at Boston, and so distinguished himself at the storming of Forts Clinton and Montgomery on 6 Oct. 1777 that he was promoted first lieutenant and then captain in the 17th light dragoons in the November and December of that year. In January 1778 he surprised a large body of the enemy on the Schuylkill, which had heedlessly advanced too far from the encampment at Valley Forge. He again distinguished himself at the battle of Monmouth Court House, and towards the close of 1778 he was appointed major-commandant of a body of loyalist Scotchmen in the States, enrolled as the Caledonian volunteers. Cathcart added to it a company of volunteer cavalry, and as the British legion it did good service at the outposts. On 10 April 1779 he married Elizabeth, second daughter of Andrew Elliot of Greenwells, co. Roxburgh, the lieutenant-governor of the state of New York, and uncle of Sir Gilbert Elliot, first earl of Minto. On 13 April 1779 he was promoted major into the 38th regiment, and shortly after was made a local lieutenant-colonel, and appointed to act as quartermaster-general to the forces in America until the arrival of General Dalrymple. He then reverted to the command of the British legion, and sailed with it to Savannah in December 1779, and commanded it at the siege of Charleston. His health, however, broke down, and he returned to New York in April 1780, when he was ordered to choose between his regimental and his local command. He preferred the former, and after resigning the British legion to Colonel Banastre Tarleton, afterwards M.P. for Liverpool, joined the 38th in Long Island. He commanded it with marked ability in the actions at Springfield and Elizabeth Town in June 1780; but in October 1780, as his health had entirely broken down, he resolved to return to England.

He received a most cordial welcome from the king, and in February 1781 was promoted to a captaincy and lieutenant-colonelcy in the Coldstream guards. On 10 Jan. 1788 he was elected a representative peer for Scotland, and in October 1789 he exchanged his company in the Coldstreams with Lord Henry Fitzgerald for the lieutenant-colonelcy of the 29th regiment, of which his friend and comrade in the American war, the Earl of Harrington, had just been appointed colonel. That regiment was then stationed at Windsor,

and the king took the keenest interest in the improvements which the new commanding officers introduced into its discipline. In November 1790 Cathcart was promoted colonel by brevet, and in December 1792, when the Earl of Harrington was promoted to the colonelcy of the 2nd life guards, his lieutenant-colonel received the colonelcy of the 29th. In 1790, when he had only sat in the House of Lords for two years, he was elected chairman of committees in that house. In November 1793 he was made a brigadier-general, and appointed to command a brigade in the army which was assembling under the command of the Earl of Moira at Portsmouth. After the failure of the Quiberon expedition Lord Moira's army was at last ordered to reinforce the Duke of York in the Netherlands; and when Moira returned to England Cathcart, who had been promoted major-general on 3 Oct. 1794, remained with the army in command of the first brigade of the division of General David Dundas, consisting of the 14th, 27th, and 28th regiments. At the head of his brigade he distinguished himself at the battle of Bommel, and throughout the winter retreat. At the battle of Buren, on 8 Jan. 1795, Cathcart established his reputation by suddenly turning upon the advancing enemy, and utterly defeating them with his single brigade, taking one gun and several prisoners. When the remnant of the British infantry embarked at Bremen in May 1795 Cathcart remained in command of a few squadrons of English and Hanoverian cavalry, which finally left Germany in December 1795. He was received with the greatest favour by the king. He was made vice-admiral of Scotland in 1795, appointed colonel of the 2nd life guards, and gold stick in the place of Lord Amherst in August 1797, sworn of the privy council on 28 Sept. 1798, and promoted lieutenant-general on 1 Jan. 1801, and Lady Cathcart was made a lady in waiting to the queen.

He received the command of the home district in 1802, and from 1803 to 1805 acted as commander-in-chief in Ireland; but in the latter year was recalled by Pitt, acting on the strong advice of Castlereagh, made lord-lieutenant of the county of Clackmannan and a knight of the Thistle, and nominated ambassador at St. Petersburg. The news then arrived that Napoleon had broken up the camp at Boulogne, and was marching across Germany. Pitt at once equipped a powerful army, and sent it across to Hanover under his command to make a diversion in favour of Austria. But Cathcart made no attempt to attack the flank of the French; he established his headquarters at Bremen, fought

a little battle at Munkaiser, and peacefully waited for news. After the death of Pitt the ministry recalled Cathcart's army from Germany, and he was appointed commander-in-chief of the forces in Scotland, but in May 1807 he was suddenly summoned to London by Lord Castlereagh, and appointed to command an army in the Baltic. Cathcart had merely the easy duty of bombarding an almost defenceless town when in command of an irresistible army, and on 6 Sept. Copenhagen surrendered. Cathcart was on 3 Nov. 1807 created Viscount Cathcart of Cathcart and Baron Greenock of Greenock in the peerage of the United Kingdom, and a sum estimated at 300,000*l.* of prize money was divided between him and Admiral Gambier.

Cathcart again took up his command in Scotland, and was promoted general on 1 Jan. 1812. In May 1813 Castlereagh, now the leader of Lord Liverpool's cabinet, appointed him ambassador to the court of Russia, and British military commissioner with the army of the czar. The success of the campaigns of 1813 and 1814 is a matter of history, but the immense labours of the three ambassadors to Russia, Austria, and Prussia in maintaining military and diplomatic unity between the allies is comparatively unknown, and buried in the archives of the foreign office or in the Castlereagh Despatches. Cathcart had also to act as a military adviser to the German and Russian generals, and maintain harmony between them. When, therefore, in 1813 he received the order of St. Andrew, and in 1814 that of St. George from the czar, and was, on 16 July, created Earl Cathcart, it was universally acknowledged that his services had been of the greatest importance in the overthrow of Napoleon. After receiving the rewards of his labours and the governorship of Hull, Cathcart proceeded to St. Petersburg, where he resided as ambassador in close communication with Castlereagh, until the suicide of the latter in 1821, when he at once resigned and returned to England. He continued to take an interest in politics as a strong Tory until the passing of the Reform Bill, when he retired from political discussion and lived peacefully at his seats in Scotland, Schaw Castle, co. Clackmannan, and Gartside, near Glasgow, until his death at the latter on 16 June 1843, in his eighty-eighth year.

[There is no good life of Lord Cathcart; the Memoirs published on his death are very inferior, and for military details based on the Royal Military Calendar; for his embassy, however, see the Castlereagh Despatches, vols. ix-xii., and Sir A. Alison's *Lives of Lord Castlereagh and Sir Charles Stewart*, 1862; see also Douglas and Wood's *Peerage of Scotland*, i. 345-9.] H. M. S.

CATHERINE OF VALOIS (1401-1437), queen of Henry V, was the youngest daughter of Charles VI of France by Isabel of Bavaria. She was born at the Hôtel de St. Pol, Paris, on 27 Oct. 1401. Her father was subject to long and frequently recurring fits of lunacy, and her mother, a woman of low character, shamelessly neglected her children. At an early age Catherine was sent from home to a convent at Poissy. In 1413 Henry IV proposed a marriage between the princess and his son Henry, afterwards Henry V. The prince had already made advances—which had been rejected—to Catherine's two elder sisters, Isabella, the widow of Richard II, and Marie, who was destined for the cloister. While the negotiations with regard to Catherine were pending Henry IV died, and when Henry V was firmly seated on his father's throne he renewed the suit. He demanded a dowry of two million crowns and the restoration of Normandy and the French territory which had been the inheritance of Eleanor of Aquitaine. These exorbitant terms were naturally rejected, and Henry V made their rejection a pretext for declaring war with France (1415). The English army was signally victorious in northern France, and when Rouen fell into Henry's hands (1419) negotiations for peace were opened. Queen Isabel had meanwhile obtained full control of Catherine, and had endeavoured in the course of the war to keep Henry in remembrance of his former suit. She had sent him the princess's portrait, and at the peace conference held at Meulan (1418-19) both Isabel and Catherine saluted Henry V, who treated the latter with much gallantry. In accordance with the terms of the treaty of Troyes, which practically made France over to Henry V, Henry and Catherine were betrothed on 21 May 1420 and married at Troyes on 2 June following. After visiting Sens and spending their Christmas at Paris, Henry and his bride arrived at Dover on 1 Feb. 1420-1. On 24 Feb. the queen was crowned at Westminster; she accompanied the king on a northern tour later in the year, and on 2 Dec. 1421 gave birth to a son (afterwards Henry VI) at Windsor. On 21 May she and Henry were at Harfleur, and on 30 May at Paris. Catherine returned a widow from this visit to France. Henry V died at Vincennes on 31 Aug. 1422. The queen accompanied the funeral cortège to London and afterwards took up her residence at Windsor Castle with her infant son. She was at Hertford Castle with James I of Scotland as her guest at Christmas 1423, and in the following year parliament granted her Baynard's Castle as her permanent home. She tried to compose

the quarrel between the Dukes of Bedford and Gloucester in the same year, and accompanied her child in grand procession to St. Paul's before the opening of parliament in 1425. Soon afterwards rumours were spread that Catherine was concerned in a no very reputable liaison. Owen Tudor, a poor Welsh gentleman and an esquire of the body attached to her late husband at her son's household, had obtained complete control over her, and the nature of their relationship was soon obvious. In 1428 the Duke of Gloucester induced the parliament to pass a law prohibiting any person marrying the queen-dowager without the consent of the king and his council, but at the time Catherine and Owen Tudor were reported to be already married. Catherine lived in obscurity for many years, but in 1436 Tudor was sent to Newgate and his wife retired to Bermondsey Abbey, where she died on 3 Jan. 1437. Her body lay in state at St. Catherine's Chapel, by the Tower of London, on 18 Feb. 1437, was then taken to St. Paul's Cathedral, and was buried in the Lady Chapel in Westminster Abbey. Henry VI. erected an altar-tomb with an inscription describing her as his father's widow, and making no reference to her alleged marriage with Owen Tudor.

By Tudor Catherine had a daughter, Tacina, wife of Reginald, seventh lord Grey de Wilton, and three sons. Edmund, the eldest son, created by his half-brother Henry VI. Earl of Richmond in 1452, married Margaret Beaufort, and was by her the father of Henry VII. The second son, Jasper, became Earl of Pembroke, and the third, Owen, a monk of Westminster. Catherine's grandson, Henry VII, replaced the tomb originally erected to her memory by another monument on which her marriage with Owen Tudor was duly inscribed. When Henry VII pulled down the Lady Chapel at Westminster, the corpse loosely wrapped in lead was placed by Henry V's tomb, where it remained till in 1778 it was placed under the Villiers monument. In Pepys's time the body was publicly exhibited (*Diary*, 23 Feb. 1667-8). Pepys kissed the face on his birthday. In 1878 the body was reburied in the chantry of Henry V.

[Miss Strickland's *Lives of the Queens of England*, vol. iii.; Monstrelet's *Chronicle*; Waurin's *Recueil des Chroniques*, vol. iii. (Rolls Ser.); Capgrave's *Chronicle* (Rolls Ser.); Stanley's *Westminster Abbey*, 133-4.] S. L. L.

CATHERINE OF ARRAGON (1485-1536), first queen of Henry VIII, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, was born at Alcalá de Henares on 15 or 16 Dec.

1485. She was the youngest of a family of one son and four daughters, and at her birth her parents had already done much to consolidate their united kingdoms by victories over the Moors. Henry VII of England, who had obtained possession by conquest of an insecure throne in the very year she was born, naturally sought the alliance of sovereigns whose affairs seemed so prosperous, and his eldest son Arthur, born in September 1486, could hardly have been much more than a year old when he was proposed by his father as a future husband for their youngest daughter. They sent commissioners to England to negotiate as early as 1488. A return embassy sent by Henry VII to Spain met with a magnificent reception at Medina del Campo; but for many years nothing was positively concluded, as it was Ferdinand's object to bind the king of England to make war in his behalf against France without incurring any corresponding obligation himself. In truth, Ferdinand was not well enough assured of the stability of Henry's throne to be willing to commit himself irrevocably.

Catherine was in her fifth year when her sister Isabel was betrothed at Seville to Don Alfonso of Portugal on 18 April 1490. She and her other sisters, Juana and Mary, were present at the ceremony (BERNALDEZ, i. 279, 280; MARIANA, ed. 1780, ii. 587).

In 1492, when the Moors were driven out of Granada, she entered the city with her parents, and it became her home. From Granada came the device of the pomegranate so well known afterwards in England in connection with her. Her education, especially in Latin, was personally superintended by her mother, and in later years Erasmus bore witness to her scholarship. All difficulties as to the match with Arthur had been finally cleared away in 1500, when the bridegroom had completed his fourteenth year. She left Granada on 21 May 1501, and embarked at Corunna on 17 Aug. After many delays from contrary winds she reached Plymouth on 2 Oct.

Great preparations had been made for her reception. Lord Broke, steward of the king's household, was despatched into the west to provide for her retinue; and afterwards the Earl of Surrey and the Duchess of Norfolk were sent to attend her. The king himself on 4 Nov. removed from Richmond to go and meet her, but, owing to bad weather and doubtless equally bad roads, he was compelled the first night to find a lodging at Chertsey. Next day his son, Prince Arthur, met him at Easthampstead, and proceeded in his father's company to meet his bride. The

meeting took place at Dogmersfield in Hampshire, where the prince and his father conversed with her through the medium of two Spanish bishops, who interpreted 'the speeches of both countries' by means of Latin. A formal betrothal then took place, and the whole party returned towards London, which Catherine entered on 12 Nov. On Sunday the 14th the marriage was celebrated at St. Paul's, and jousts were held on the Thursday after, at Westminster, in honour of the event.

It was necessary in those days for a prince of Wales to justify his title by keeping court on the Welsh borders. Arthur had already resided at Ludlow, and written thence diplomatic love letters to Catherine in Spain (MARY A. E. WOOD, *Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies*, i. 121); and it was decided that he should return thither next month. The king at first hesitated to send his bride along with him. The prince was still so young that cohabitation seems not to have been allowed, and some thought the princess would be less solitary in the king's court than living under her husband's roof in the Welsh marches. The point was referred to herself, but she said she would do as the king thought best; and ultimately, as we learn from a contemporary despatch, both departed together on 21 Dec. to spend their Christmas at a place described as about forty miles from London. In February following the king wrote to Ferdinand and Isabella that he had sent the young couple into Wales, not wishing them to live apart, notwithstanding the objections raised by many on account of his son's tender age, and they must regard it as a great proof of his affection for their daughter that he studied her comfort at some risk even to his own son (DUKE OF MANCHESTER, *Court and Society*, i. 59). But that this letter was distinctly intended to convey a false impression is beyond all question; for although it is true that the young couple did go together to reside in the borders of Wales, it is clear from the solemn declarations of Catherine herself long afterwards that Prince Arthur never was her husband except in name. On 2 April following he died at Ludlow, a victim apparently to the sweating sickness, and Catherine was left a virgin widow.

When the news reached Spain, the Spanish sovereigns despatched a new ambassador to England to urge that she should be sent back to her native country, and repayment made of the one instalment of 100,000 scudos of her marriage portion. But the ambassador was further empowered to conclude a new treaty with the king of England for the marriage of Catherine to his second son Henry.

On this subject negotiations appear to have gone on for several months, when Henry VII became a widower by the death of his queen, Elizabeth of York. A suggestion was immediately made of a particularly revolting character, that Catherine might become the wife of her father-in-law. It is scarcely credible that such a thing was seriously intended; but it greatly shocked Queen Isabella, who was more anxious than ever to secure, if it were possible, her daughter's return to Spain, or at least the conclusion of the marriage with the Prince of Wales. The latter at last was agreed upon, and a treaty for it was drawn up and signed by the two Spanish ambassadors on 23 June 1503. Two days later the parties were solemnly betrothed to each other 'in the Bishop of Salisbury's house in Fleet Street' (SPEED, 973). The marriage was to be solemnised whenever the prince completed his fourteenth year. In consequence, however, of the close affinity between the parties, a papal dispensation was requisite, which the sovereigns of both countries bound themselves to solicit from the court of Rome. It was obtained next year mainly at the instance of Queen Isabella, for whose comfort a copy was sent into Spain just before she died. But the king of England had no intention of being too strictly bound to fulfil the marriage treaty, and, hoping to gain an advantage over King Ferdinand in other ways, discovered 'scruples of conscience' about the match.

If the treaty had been strictly fulfilled, the marriage would actually have taken place on 28 June 1505, the day the Prince of Wales completed his fourteenth year. But on the 27th the prince made a formal protest before Fox, bishop of Winchester, that the match was against his will, and the treaty was at once rendered nugatory. It was quite understood, however, that this was only a trick of state, and that the marriage might still take place if King Henry were once satisfied that he could not dispose of his son's hand elsewhere more advantageously. Ferdinand did not keep faith about the marriage portion. He intended, if possible, that the whole burden of his daughter's support should rest upon the king of England, and when King Henry disowned this responsibility, he allowed her to remain for years in debt, even for the very necessities of life. Her maids had not the means to procure clothes. She herself complained, after she had been four and a half years in England, that she had only had two new dresses.

In the early part of 1506 she had an unexpected opportunity of meeting with her sister Juana and her husband, Philip of

Austria, who had been proclaimed king and queen of Castile. They had embarked in January to take possession of their new kingdom, but had been driven by storms upon the coast of England, and Henry had shown them much politic hospitality at Windsor. Later in the year Catherine fell ill of a fever, and Henry gave up to her use for the time a house at Fulham, which he had intended for an embassy expected from Philip after his arrival in Castile. At this time she seems to have been very miserable. She was aware that her marriage depended upon a heartless game of diplomacy, into which she was drawn herself by her own necessities. For Henry VII having made in 1507 an offer for the hand of her sister Juana, the widowed Queen of Castile (though he must have known her to be a maniac), with the view of taking the government of that kingdom out of Ferdinand's hands, Catherine affected to favour his suit, and wrote to Ferdinand in behalf of her father-in-law, advising him at least to temporise until her own marriage with the Prince of Wales could take effect. Other matches had been talked of for the prince, and Catherine was in serious dread of being abandoned altogether. She was then living in the same house with the Prince of Wales at Richmond, but was permitted to see less of him than before, and in one letter she complains that for four months she had not seen him at all.

Her misery arose from an unpleasant state of relations between King Henry and her father. Subtle and unscrupulous as Ferdinand was in the game of diplomacy, he had found a match in Henry VII, who had not only forced him at last to send to England the second instalment of Catherine's marriage portion, but declined even then to allow the marriage to take effect except upon new conditions by no means agreeable to Ferdinand, so that the latter, checkmated in his aims, wished his ambassador as a last resource to insist on Catherine being sent back to Spain. Henry had arranged a marriage of his daughter Mary with Charles, prince of Castile, which made him very independent of Ferdinand's friendship, and Catherine met with a neglect which almost drove her to despair. But relief was at hand, for just at this time Henry VII died. Her affianced bridegroom, now Henry VIII, apparently desired the union. His council, for the most part, approved the match, and on 11 June 1509, seven weeks after his accession, though he was only eighteen, the marriage was duly celebrated. On the 24th of the same month she was crowned along with him in Westminster Abbey.

There is no reason to doubt that for some years after their marriage Henry felt real affection for her, and she was a thoroughly devoted wife. 'The king, my lord, adores her, and her highness him,' was the opinion of Catherine's confessor in 1510. Ferdinand seems to have relied partly on her influence over him in procuring a league against France; and for two or three years, whether from natural impulse or from policy, Henry was a very firm ally of his father-in-law. Catherine's happiness would have been unalloyed but for some petty annoyances to which recent writers have attached altogether undue importance; but even these belonged much more to the time when she was princess than to her married life. She had a Spanish confessor who, perhaps, was rather young for such a function, and may have been a little indiscreet. The Spanish ambassador thought so, but there is no evidence that even he entertained the strange suspicions that it has pleased some persons in our day to attribute to him. Catherine had been used for years as a political agent by her father, and being a really devout woman, it was natural that she should take frequent counsel with her confessor. It was equally natural that the ambassador, under the circumstances, should find the confessor to be a nuisance, that he should write to Ferdinand to complain of him, and that Catherine should stand firmly by him.

The first three years of Henry's reign went by in feasts and pageants; but then began a succession of cruel disappointments. On 31 Jan. 1510 Catherine was prematurely delivered of a stillborn daughter. On 1 Jan. 1511 she gave birth to a son, who was christened Henry, declared prince of Wales, and had a household assigned him, but died on 22 Feb. following. In 1513 she had another son, who soon died, and in November 1514 she had again a premature delivery. At last, on 18 Feb. 1516, there came one child that lived—the Princess Mary; and in November 1518 another daughter was born, who must have died early. In the interval between the second and third confinements Henry had gone to war with France, greatly at the instigation of his father-in-law. In 1513 he invaded France in person, and James IV invaded England and was killed at Flodden on 9 Sept. 1513. Before crossing the Channel the king had appointed Catherine regent in his absence. She threw herself heartily into the business of arraying a force to oppose the Scotch. 'I am horribly busy,' she wrote, 'making standards, banners, and badges.' She harangued the troops sent forward to the north. The king, too, sent

over to her his important prisoner, the Duke of Longueville, whom he had taken at the battle of Spurs, and wished Catherine to keep in her household, a responsibility which she respectfully declined. After the victory she wrote to Henry, sending him 'a piece of the king of Scots' coat,' and regretting she was unable to send the king of Scots himself alive to him as a prisoner. 'Our Englishmen's hearts,' she said, 'would not suffer it.'

When the king returned from France in the end of September, he rode in post to his queen at Richmond, 'where,' says the contemporary chronicler, Hall, 'there was such a loving meeting that every creature rejoiced.' But even in the following year a rumour got abroad that Henry, disappointed at her having no children, had begun to think of a divorce, and there is reason to believe that it arose from some very real evidences of a diminution of Henry's love, even at this early period. The main cause appears to have been his continued experience of her father's treachery. Ferdinand had concluded a separate truce with France to the prejudice of his ally at the very moment when Henry's success seemed most completely assured. Henry vented his anger in reproaches of which his own wife had to bear the full bitterness, and it was owing to this, as Peter Martyr was told, that she had her second premature confinement.

The supposition of the late Mr. Rawdon Brown (*Cal. State Papers*, Venetian, i. pref. xc, cviii) that a vague expression in Sanuto's diary, 'Fanno nuovi pensieri,' points to whispers of a divorce being circulated even in 1510, before Henry and Catherine had been quite a twelvemonth married, seems altogether unwarrantable. The words clearly have quite a different application. A vivid description is given by Hall of the way in which she and the king went a-maying to Shooter's Hill in 1515, and met in the woods Robin Hood and his merry men dressed in green. These were archers of the king's own guard, and the performance was witnessed by a vast multitude of people. Some additional particulars of it are given in letters from the Venetian embassy. The senior ambassador, Pasqualigo, then about to leave for France, had an audience afterwards with the queen, and to her great delight spoke to her in her native Spanish. The secretary of the embassy describes her as 'rather ugly than otherwise' (RAWDON BROWN, *Four Years at the Court of Henry VIII*, i. 79-81, 90). Two years later occurred the 'Evil May day,' when the Londoners sacked the houses of foreigners. The offenders were tried by summary process, and many of them hanged

within three days at their own or their masters' doors. Others remained still in prison, till Catherine threw herself on her knees before the king to intercede for them, and induced his sisters Mary and Margaret, queens dowager of France and Scotland, to do the same.

The visit of her nephew Charles V to England in 1520 gave Catherine the most lively satisfaction. She knew, however, that great preparations were then making for another meeting with which she had no great sympathy—that of Henry VIII and Francis I at the Field of the Cloth of Gold. Henry was playing off the two rivals, Charles and Francis, one against the other, and it was unknown whether a French or an imperial alliance would prove the main feature of his policy. It was, in fact, to interrupt the French interview, or, at least, to prevent an Anglo-French alliance, that Charles had been induced to think seriously of visiting England. The friendship of Henry was to him of the utmost importance, and to secure it he had become a suitor for the hand of the Princess Mary, although she had already been affianced to the Dauphin. There is no doubt that the nobles and the people generally were with the queen in preferring greatly an alliance with him to the friendship of France. One day, in anticipation of the French interview, she called to her some of the lords to discuss matters, and set before them such strong arguments against its being held at all, that those present were struck with amazement. During the conference the king made his appearance and asked what it was all about, on which Catherine frankly told him, and declared the line she had taken in the matter. What answer the king made at the moment we are not informed, but the result was that both he and his council held her in higher esteem than they had ever done before (*Cal. State Papers*, Henry VIII, iii. 256).

The emperor landed at Dover late in the evening of Saturday, 26 May 1520, and next morning Henry conducted him to Canterbury to the queen's presence. There he remained during the few days he spent in England, and on Thursday the 31st he embarked at Sandwich for Flanders. That same day Henry and Catherine also took ship and crossed from Dover to Calais for the long projected interview with Francis. On Sunday, 10 June, each king went to dine with the other's queen, the one from Guisnes to Ardes, and the other by a different route from Ardes to Guisnes, the departure of each being announced to the other by salvoes of artillery. Three weeks were spent in these splendid courtesies, and shortly after they

were concluded Henry held another meeting with the emperor at Gravelines, and brought him and his aunt, Margaret of Savoy, to Calais, where the queen received them. Two years later war was declared against France, and the emperor paid a second visit to England, when he was feasted and entertained with great magnificence at Canterbury, London, and Windsor.

In 1521, the year between the emperor's first and second visit to England, occurred the arrest and execution of the Duke of Buckingham, and it is not improbable that Shakespeare followed a true tradition when he represented Catherine as present at the examination of that unfortunate nobleman's surveyor, pleading for something like fair play to the accused. The fact, as regards Catherine, seems to rest on no other authority; but there is distinct evidence that Buckingham's servants were examined by the king himself, before the apprehension of their master, very much in the way that the surveyor is examined by Henry in the play; so that we may not unreasonably believe the whole scene to be substantially true. Sir Thomas More reports in 1524 how Catherine rejoiced to hear of the success of her countrymen the Spaniards in Italy, and Bishop Longland writes to Wolsey at the beginning of the following year how he had explained to her by the king's desire the cardinal's magnificent scheme for setting up a new college at Oxford. The bishop also told her that she was to be specially mentioned in the prayers of the college chapel, for which she desired him to give Wolsey her cordial thanks.

Her constant obedience to her husband had won for her such universal esteem that he himself could not but share that sentiment, though he had now lost all other feeling for her. That he had been untrue to her years before we know, perhaps very early in their married life. Possibly the birth of the Princess Mary did something to restore his lost affection, but only for a time. He was becoming a perfect libertine. On 15 June 1525, much to Catherine's distress, he created his natural son Henry Fitzroy duke of Richmond, and gave him precedence of all the nobility of England, even of the Princess Mary. He was a child of six years, the son of one Elizabeth Blount, whom the king afterwards married to Sir Gilbert Tailbois. The king bestowed much care upon his education, and sent him into Yorkshire as viceroy or president of the north. About the same time his half-sister Mary, whom the king, in default of legitimate male issue, seemed disposed to recognise as Princess of

Wales, was sent in like manner to Ludlow, with a household and a council to keep rule upon the Welsh marches. But her household was inferior to that of the duke.

Indications exist that some secret steps had been taken by Henry towards getting his marriage declared invalid as early as 1526. All that was said afterwards officially as to the origin of the king's scruples, and the doubts of Mary's legitimacy said to have been suggested by the Bishop of Tarbes, is unworthy of serious refutation. The bishop's own report of his conferences with Wolsey upon Mary's proposed marriage to Francis I shows clearly that no such objection ever entered his mind. A totally different objection occurred to him—that the king might still have a legitimate son; and Wolsey was taking pains to convince him that this was highly improbable, while he knew quite well that the king was privately seeking to invalidate his marriage and thus make his daughter illegitimate. In May a collusive suit was instituted by Wolsey as legate, who with great secrecy summoned the king to appear before him at his house at Westminster for having cohabited with his brother Arthur's wife. A formal complaint, he said, had been preferred to him, and he called upon Henry to say what he could in his defence. The king handed in a written reply, and the cardinal declared that the case was one of considerable difficulty, on which he required to take counsel with some learned theologians—among others with the bishops of Rochester, Lincoln, and London. The proceedings were never resumed—probably for a reason which has not hitherto been suggested, though the fact is absolutely certain. The queen and the Spanish ambassador, somehow or other, had got wind of them before they were a day old (*Cal. State Papers*, Spanish, iii. (pt. ii.) 193).

The king saw that he must take a different course, and on 22 June informed Catherine that he had come to the conclusion that they must separate. He begged her to keep the matter secret meanwhile, as if it was against her interest to divulge it. His strategy was useless. The news got abroad, and became, in the words of the Spanish ambassador, 'as notorious as if it had been proclaimed by the public crier' (*ib.* 276). Still Catherine had not a friend who could aid her against the king, unless she could inform the emperor how she was situated, and great pains were taken that she should not speak to the Spanish ambassador except in the presence of Wolsey. She dissembled her anxieties; her 'merry visage,' as one observer notes, 'returned, not less than was wont,' and cordiality towards

the king appeared to be renewed. Then one of her Spanish servants, Francis Felipe or Philips, desired license of her to go to Spain and see his mother, who, he said, was very ill. Catherine refused the permission, and urged the king not to grant it. Henry, rightly suspecting that there was collusion between them, dissembled also, and persuaded her to let him go. Thus the king won her confidence; but he at the same time sent a message to Wolsey, then in France, to find means to get Philips detained in that country, in spite of any safe-conduct. On his way to France, Wolsey contrived artfully to misrepresent the case to Fisher, bishop of Rochester, Catherine's confessor, whom he induced to believe that the rumours of an intended divorce had been spread abroad by the queen's own indiscretion; for the king only wanted, he said, to test the validity of an objection raised by others. When the bishop offered to remonstrate with her upon her conduct, Wolsey persuaded him to leave the matter to the king. But whatever art might be used to promote the divorce, it was impossible to avoid application to Rome, and equally impossible to do without Wolsey's aid; yet Henry gave the cardinal but half his confidence, and made an abortive effort to obtain a commission from the pope through another agent. At last Cardinal Campeggio arrived in England with a joint commission for himself and Wolsey to try the cause in October 1528, and the king and Anne Boleyn both looked for the realisation of their wish.

They did not know that before he left Rome Campeggio had secretly pledged himself not to give sentence in the cause without communicating first with the pope. He was only authorised to endeavour to dissuade the king from his purpose, or, if he could arrange a compromise, to induce the queen to enter a nunnery. To this latter object he accordingly addressed himself in some conferences that he had with Catherine soon after his arrival; but she insisted on the matter being decided judicially. The king was at first no less anxious to press forward the trial, and on Sunday, 8 Nov., he summoned the lord mayor and aldermen to his palace at Bridewell to explain his scruples of conscience. But meanwhile Catherine had information of the existence in Spain of a brief granted by Julius II for her marriage, more full and satisfactory than the bull of dispensation which Henry was trying to invalidate, and she produced a copy of it given her by the Spanish ambassador. The king insinuated that it was a forgery, and he got the queen's own counsel to inform her that she must send for the original brief

to Spain. She actually wrote to the emperor as desired, requesting him to send the brief to England. Thomas Abell [q. v.], by whom she sent the letter, wrote himself to inform the emperor before he delivered it that she had written only under compulsion.

The king and his council sent to Rome to try and collect evidence against the genuineness of the brief, and they made much of the fact that it did not appear entered on the papal registers. But his agents were also instructed to sound the papal lawyers as to whether, if the queen could be induced to retire into a nunnery, without taking the vows, the pope could not, 'by his mere and absolute power,' allow him to proceed to a second marriage. Thus, after protesting the pope's incompetence to legalise marriage with a brother's widow, Henry was prepared to admit without question his competence to legalise bigamy. He was really in despair how to accomplish his object. He had drawn up a paper of advice which was to be pressed upon the queen as if in her own interest, apparently by her own counsel, if not by the legates who were to try her cause, in which they were to warn her that some ill-disposed persons seemed to be conspiring in her behalf against the king and Wolsey, and that she ought to be on her guard against giving them any countenance. If she did not act more discreetly, it was urged, the king might not only feel it right to abandon her company himself, but also to withdraw the princess from her mother's society. All these cruel suggestions, however, were only meant to prepare the way for one more strong appeal to her to solve the difficulty by going into a nunnery. And she need not fear, the speakers were to urge, that by so doing she would enable the king to take another wife, for he could certainly not marry again while she lived. Thus the king indirectly endeavoured to make her take a false step in reliance on the strength of her own cause.

Henry compelled even the most staunch friends of Catherine to reveal their conversations with her. He had allowed her the use of counsel, and among them was the renowned scholar Ludovicus Vives; but Vives was required by the king to relate all that had passed between them. This demand he justly protested against, although, as he said, it could injure no one even if their whole conversations were posted on church doors. Being forced to report them, however, he did so, and said the queen had sought his counsel as her countryman who spoke her language. The main point was that she begged him to ask the imperial ambassador



to write to the emperor to secure a fair hearing for her at Rome. 'Who,' Vives adds, 'will not admire the queen's moderation? When others would have moved heaven and earth, she merely seeks from her sister's son that he will not let her be condemned unheard.'

It was useless for the king to proceed with the cause before the legates unless the brief in Spain could be discredited, and the most frantic diplomatic efforts were made to induce the pope to declare it a forgery, which, of course, he refused to do until he had heard the arguments on both sides. Then there was nothing for it but to proceed. Meanwhile the emperor was doing his utmost to get the cause removed from England that it might be more fairly heard at Rome. Catherine, however, was not aware of this, and appealed for advice to Cardinal Campeggio himself in a private interview. He answered coldly that she might rely upon justice being done to her, but again strongly suggested that she might extricate herself from further annoyance by retiring from the world. But to this she was as firmly opposed as ever, and the trial proceeded. The legatine court was formally opened on 31 May 1529 in the great hall of the Black Friars, and the king and queen were cited to appear on 18 June. The former had two proxies to represent him; the latter came in person, but only to protest against the jurisdiction of the court. The court registered her protestation, and appointed both parties to appear in person on Monday, 21 June, to hear its decision. On that day the king and queen both appeared; the former stated his case to the judges. The latter threw herself at his feet in sight of all the court, and begged him to consider her helpless position as a foreigner, her long and tried obedience as a wife, her own and her daughter's honour, and that of the king himself. Further, as he continually professed that he was anxious to find their marriage valid, she appealed to Rome as the only tribunal before which the case could be properly discussed, and thereupon withdrew.

The legates had overruled her objections to the jurisdiction of the court; so she was called again, and on her refusal to come back, was pronounced contumacious. The case was continued through different sittings of the court in June and July. Affidavits were taken as to the circumstances of the marriage with Prince Arthur, and matters were pressed on in a way not at all to Campeggio's taste. Yet even at this time, if Cavendish be right, a further appeal was made to Catherine by the two cardinals who were her judges. They came to her at Bridewell without

notice, and found her at work among her maids, with a skein of white thread about her neck. They asked for a private interview, but she replied that whatever they had to say they might speak it before all. Wolsey then addressed her in Latin. 'Nay, good my lord, speak to me in English,' she said, 'for I can, I thank God, both speak and understand English, although I do understand some Latin.' Wolsey told her they had come to know her mind in the matter between the king and her, and give her secret advice. Catherine said she was naturally not prepared to answer them without taking counsel on such a weighty question. And who was there to counsel her? 'What think you, my lords?' she said. 'Will any Englishman counsel me or be friendly to me against the king's pleasure that is his subject? Nay, forsooth.' She was willing, however, to listen to whatever counsel the cardinals had to give her, and led them into her privy chamber to hear what they had to say (CAVENDISH, *Life of Wolsey*, ed. 1852, pp. 137-140).

We are not told, for Wolsey's biographer did not know, the precise nature of the advice given by the two cardinals. Meanwhile, the king having expressed a desire to see his scruples removed, Fisher, bishop of Rochester, came forward in court and declared his readiness to justify the validity of the marriage. Other things went against the king's purpose. The pope revoked the cause to Rome, and Campeggio, even before he was informed of the fact, had prorogued the court for the holidays according to the custom at Rome. Every one knew that, although it was only prorogued, it was never to meet again. Not many months after this the ambassador, Chapuys, then just newly arrived in England from the emperor, records that on St. Andrew's day, 1529, the queen dined with the king, and complained that he had for a long time so seldom allowed her that privilege. The king excused himself partly by the pressure of business, but as to visiting her in her own apartments, she must know that he was now assured by innumerable doctors and lawyers that he was not her lawful husband, and he could never share her bed again. He was waiting for further opinions, and if the pope did not declare their marriage void, he would denounce his holiness as a heretic, and marry whom he pleased. Catherine told him in reply that those opinions were not worth a straw, for he himself had owned on more than one occasion that he had found her a virgin when he married her. Moreover, the principal doctors in England had written in her favour. The

king left the room not a little disconcerted, and at supper Chapuys was informed Anne Boleyn said to him reproachfully, 'Did I not tell you that whenever you disputed with the queen she was sure to have the upper hand?'

For a time Henry still treated Catherine as his queen. She went with him to Woodstock, and from that in September to Grafton in Northamptonshire, where Cardinal Campeggio took his leave of him, and where Wolsey was admitted at the same time to his last interview. But in February 1530 Catherine's treatment had become visibly worse. The king absented himself much from her company, and left her at Richmond while he was dallying with Anne Boleyn in London. It was at this time he began consulting the universities, applying first to Cambridge and Oxford, then to Paris and other foreign seats of learning; but still he kept company with Catherine to some extent, and even took her out hunting with him. In August or the beginning of September she fell ill of a fever, probably brought on by alarm at the king's increasing recklessness. She kept Christmas with him at Greenwich; but in January following (1531) she suffered much anxiety lest something should be done to her prejudice in the parliament which then met. Nothing, however, was said, and Henry allowed and even advised her to summon counsel to her aid at Richmond. He did this, as Chapuys believed, in order to discover whether she had not secretly received a brief from Rome in her favour. For it would appear that about this time Henry, or at least his ministers, really thought the game a desperate one. A brief was expected from Rome which would have ordered Henry to dismiss Anne Boleyn from the court, and it was the general belief that he would be obliged to comply. But the brief when it came was feeble and ineffective, so that the king was encouraged to persevere, and the clergy were forced to acknowledge him as supreme head of the church of England. This, of course, involved the consequence that the decision of a Roman tribunal could not be acknowledged in an English matrimonial cause.

Catherine saw that her only hope lay in procuring a speedy sentence from Rome in her favour, and she wrote urgently to that effect to the emperor on 5 April. Henry's conduct towards her varied from day to day. One day when she dined with him he spoke in unwonted terms of the power of the emperor, and afterwards, changing the subject, told her she had not been kind to her daughter Mary, because she had not made

her physician reside with her continually. Altogether he showed himself so gracious on this occasion that next day Catherine asked him to allow the princess to see them; but Henry answered with a rude rebuff, telling her she might go and see the princess if she wished, and also stop with her. The queen replied in gentle tone that she would not leave him for her own daughter or any one else in the world. But things now were coming to a climax. The king was using every art to delay the cause at Rome while refusing to put in any appearance, except by allowing an 'excusator' to plead for him that he was not bound to appear there at all. On 31 May upwards of thirty privy councillors, headed by the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, waited on Catherine by the king's command to remonstrate with her, and urged that she ought to consent to have the matter tried elsewhere than in Rome by judges above suspicion. According to Hall, they actually suggested a tribunal of four prelates and four temporal lords of England, which, of course, was what was wanted; but by the very full report of the interview sent by Chapuys to the emperor it does not appear that they proposed anything so definite. Catherine completely met every one of their jesuitical arguments, and fully justified her resolution to abide entirely by the decision of the pope.

Shortly after this the court removed from Greenwich to Windsor, and there, on 14 July, Henry finally left his wife, never to see her again. He removed to Woodstock without even bidding her adieu, but left orders that she was to remain at Windsor. Deserted by her husband, she complained bitterly of the pope's neglect. But the weakness of the pope inspired Henry with greater boldness. He had got the opinion of the university of Orleans and of some Parisian lawyers also that he could not be compelled to appear at Rome; while Anne Boleyn, who accompanied him wherever he went, spoke confidently of the prospect of being married to him within three or four months at least. In August the king again sent notice to Catherine that he was coming to hunt about Windsor, and that she must dislodge thence and go to the Moor in Hertfordshire. The Princess Mary was ordered at the same time to leave her mother and go to Richmond. Two months later another deputation of the king's council was sent to the queen with the same object as before; but she refused more firmly than ever, saying, now that she knew him to be influenced only by passion, she would not desist from demanding justice where alone it could be obtained.

She was now absolutely without a friend

in England who could do anything for her except Chapuys. All her counsel had refused absolutely to have anything more to do with her cause after it was revoked to Rome. Still, she carefully maintained her position as a wife, and sought opportunities of vindicating it quietly and without reproaches. At the beginning of 1532 she sent her husband a gold cup as a New Year's gift, 'with honorable and humble words.' She had been strictly forbidden to write to him or send any messages; and Henry was so far from pleased that he refused it angrily; but fearing that the servant who had presented it would return it to the queen's messenger, and that the latter might take an opportunity of presenting it himself before all the court, he sent for it again, praised its workmanship, and ordered that it should not be returned till the evening.

The people felt much for the queen's wrongs. Even Dr. Benet, the king's agent at Rome, when in England at the end of 1531, sent her a secret message desiring her pardon. He heartily prayed, he said, for the success of her cause. The women even broke out into tumults in her behalf, and insulted Anne Boleyn; shouts were also heard when the king went about, calling upon him to take back his queen; and even in the House of Commons two members made the same suggestion. In answer to a demand for aid to strengthen the frontier against the Scots, they said that the king would protect the realm much more effectively if he would only take back his queen and cultivate the friendship of the emperor. The aid demanded was refused, nor does it seem that Henry ever dared to punish the offenders. On Easter day, 31 March 1532, William Peto, the provincial of the Grey Friars, preached before the king at Greenwich, strongly opposing the divorce. The king dissembled his displeasure, and gave the friar, who desired to go to Toulouse, permission to leave the kingdom; then next Sunday got a chaplain of his own, named Dr. Curwen, to preach in a manner more agreeable to himself. Dr. Curwen fulfilled his task, and replied to Peto's sermon, insinuating that Peto had withdrawn himself for fear, and expressing a wish that he were present to answer him. On this another friar, Elstowe, started up, and offered to confirm by scripture all that Peto had said. The king was intensely irritated, and both friars (for Peto had only reached Canterbury) were soon after called before the council, where one nobleman told them that they deserved to be put into a sack and thrown into the Thames. 'Make these threats to courtiers,' Elstowe replied; 'for as to us, we know

right well the way to heaven lies as open by water as by land.'

Bishop Fisher both wrote and preached in the queen's favour, and by a sermon at the beginning of June very nearly subjected himself to that imprisonment which he actually underwent a year later. Abell wrote a book in her behalf; Peto, moreover, was preparing another, and his reason for desiring to go abroad was to arrange for its publication. The pope meanwhile had sent Henry a brief rebuking him for having not only put away his wife, but cohabited with Anne Boleyn. But none of these things produced much effect upon the king. Catherine was removed from the Moor, and sent to reside at Bishop's Hatfield, a place belonging to the Bishop of Ely, and there she remained at the time the king crossed to Calais with Anne Boleyn in October, in great anxiety lest they should marry over there during the interview with Francis I.

This interview was designed mainly to convince the pope that the kings of England and France were so united that he could not offend one without offending both. It was very unpopular in England. The emperor, to counteract the alliance of the two powers, held a meeting with the pope at Bologna at the close of the year. Two French cardinals sent by Francis to Bologna before the meeting was over induced Clement to avoid going further in the affair of Catherine than he had done already. Henry took advantage of the pope's irresolution, and secretly married Anne Boleyn on 25 Jan. 1533. He also obtained from the pope bulls for Cranmer's promotion to the see of Canterbury. As soon as these were secure, he got his parliament to pass an act that no appeals in ecclesiastical causes should henceforth be carried out of the kingdom to Rome. The new archbishop was made use of to declare the nullity of the king's marriage with Catherine, and the validity of his marriage with Anne Boleyn. Even before this was done, an intimation was sent to Catherine that she must no longer call herself queen, but only princess dowager. At Easter (13 April) the marriage was divulged, and Anne Boleyn openly took upon her the name of queen. Yet it was not till 10 May that Cranmer opened his court at Dunstable to try whether the first marriage was a valid one or not! Catherine, by the advice of Chapuys, took no notice of the proceedings, and the archbishop pronounced her contumacious. The court was three times adjourned, and sentence was finally pronounced upon the 23rd, declaring the marriage invalid. Yet it appears by a letter which he wrote to Cromwell that during the progress of the suit the

archbishop felt some anxiety lest the 'contumacious' woman should change her mind and put in an appearance at the last.

On 3 July Lord Mountjoy, Catherine's chamberlain, accompanied by four other gentlemen of her household, waited on Catherine at Ampthill by the king's command to remonstrate with her on having used the name of queen after having orders to the contrary. They found her lying on a pallet, having hurt her foot with a pin, and troubled with a severe cough. On addressing her as princess dowager and showing their instructions, she at once took exception to the title. They in vain hinted that her obstinacy might even make the king withdraw his favour from her daughter Mary. They came again next day and showed her the report of their interview which they were going to send to the king, and she with her own hand struck out the words 'princess dowager' wherever they occurred. She declared she would accept no decision in her cause except that of the pope, and demanded a copy of the instructions that she might have them translated into Spanish and sent to Rome.

On being told of her reply, as Chapuys's despatches inform us, the king caused a proclamation to be printed and published in London by sound of trumpet. We know from a letter of the Earl of Derby on 10 Aug. following that it must have been to forbid people calling Catherine queen; for it appears that a priest named James Harrison, on hearing it read, declared defiantly 'that Queen Catherine was queen, and that Nan Bullen should not be queen,' for which he was brought before the earl and examined. Soon afterwards Catherine was removed to Buckden in Huntingdonshire, a seat of the Bishop of Lincoln. She was saluted as queen all the way along. The king and his council next took into consideration the reduction of her household, and of the allowance originally assigned for her dower by express treaty with Ferdinand. The severity of her treatment was so much increased that she became anxious for the utmost pressure to be put upon the pope, whose authority, she believed, might still avail to do her justice; but she was so surrounded by spies, that she hardly found it possible to write.

The indignities to which she had to submit were most galling. In July Anne Boleyn, looking forward to her own confinement, was eager to possess a very rich cloth brought by Catherine from Spain, and used by her at the baptism of her children. She was not ashamed to urge Henry to ask Catherine for it, and Henry was not ashamed to comply; but Catherine positively refused to give up

her property for a use so scandalous. After the birth of Elizabeth, Mary was told that she must give up the name of princess, just as her mother had been warned to give up that of queen. When she refused, the whole of her servants were dismissed, and she herself was compelled to dislodge and become a sort of waiting-woman attached to the train of her infant sister. Then, as it drew near Christmas, it was determined to make Catherine herself dislodge from Buckden and place her with a reduced household at Somersham in the Isle of Ely. The commissioners only failed to satisfy the king because they had not sufficient inhumanity or firmness to overcome Catherine's resistance by force. Buckden was by no means a healthy situation, but Somersham was worse, and it was hardly possible to avoid a suspicion that the king and Anne Boleyn were seeking to hasten her death. The commissioners dismissed a number of Catherine's servants who declined to be sworn to her anew as princess of Wales; but they failed with all the menaces they could use to get her to consent to her own removal. For six days they remained hoping to conquer her obstinacy; but she locked herself up in her own chamber, and told them through a hole in the wall that if they meant to remove her they must break open the doors and carry her off by force. They at length returned to the king with a confession that they had only been able to execute one part of their charge. Henry was very angry at their want of thoroughness!

It seems to have been about the beginning of November 1533 that the king saw fit to imprison Elizabeth Barton [see BARTON, ELIZABETH]. Nothing whatever was found in her evidence to implicate Catherine.

The life which she was then leading at Buckden was passed, as we are informed by Harpsfield, 'in much prayer, great alms, and abstinence. And when she was not in this way occupied then was she and her gentlewomen working with their own hands something wrought in needlework, costly and artificially, which she intended to the honour of God to bestow upon some churches. There was in the said house of Buckden a chamber with a window that had a prospect into the chapel, out of which she might hear divine service. In this chamber she enclosed herself, sequestered from all other company, a great part of the day and night, and upon her knees used to pray at the said window leaning upon the stones of the same. There was some of her gentlewomen that did curiously mark and observe all her doings, who reported that oftentimes they found the said stones so wet after her departure as

though it had rained upon them. It was credibly thought that in the time of her prayer she removed the cushions that ordinarily lay in the same window, and that the said stones were imbrued with the tears of her devout eyes' (*Pretended Divorce*, 200). He adds: 'I have credibly also heard that at a time when one of her gentlewomen began to curse the lady Anne Boleyn she answered, "Hold your peace. Curse her not, but pray for her; for the time will come shortly when you shall have much need to pity and lament her case."'

On 17 Jan. 1534 Chapuys writes that Catherine had never left her own room since that visit of the Duke of Suffolk, just a month before, except to hear mass in a gallery. She was at this time careful not to eat or drink anything placed before her by some new servants who had been assigned to her by Suffolk in place of those dismissed, and the little food she ventured to take was cooked by her chamberwomen in what was now alike her bedroom, her sitting-room, and her kitchen. The king, on the other hand, was anxious that she should not eat or drink anything that was not supplied by him, and her custodians, as Chapuys remarked, seemed anxious to give her an artificial drowsy. Her situation was but little improved when at last judgment was pronounced. On 23 March 1534 sentence was given by the pope in a secret consistory at Rome that her marriage with Henry was valid. But parliament had not only declared Anne Boleyn queen and Catherine princess dowager, but had passed two separate acts taking away the jointure of the latter and giving it to the former. Some opposition, indeed, was made to this in the commons, the representatives of London and some other cities fearing that as their constituencies had stood pledges for the fulfilment of the terms of the marriage treaty, English merchants might be illtreated in Spain; but they were assured that the obligation had been abolished by a modification of the treaties to which the emperor had given his consent. Moreover the king produced a roll of certain lands, which he intended to give Catherine in exchange for those of her jointure, to the value of three thousand crowns a year, and the commons resisted no longer.

It was probably to announce the passing of this act that we find, by one letter of the period, the Duke of Norfolk and Fitzwilliam left the court on 14 March and rode towards Catherine; and towards the end of the month Chapuys indicates that both she and her daughter Mary had thought it advisable 'to show the king their teeth a little.'

This Mary did by refusing to accompany her infant sister on her removal from one house to another. Two doctors were sent to Catherine to summon her to swear to the new Act of Succession. She replied by intimating to the doctors the sentence given in her favour at Rome. She was forbidden to hold her maundy on Maundy Thursday, and about the end of April or beginning of May she was removed to Kimbolton, a house which had belonged to Sir Richard Wingfield, an English ambassador who had died in Spain some years before, and was still in possession of his heirs. It was a small mansion, but she was better lodged here than she had been at Buckden, for the king, we find, was anxious to contradict the rumours that had got abroad as to her ill-treatment. Here, on 21 May, she was visited by Lee, archbishop of York, and Tunstall, bishop of Durham, sent to her by the king with a message. They were to explain and justify to her what had been done in parliament lest she should plead ignorance of the effect of the Act of Succession. Tunstall was frequently interrupted in his speech by Catherine, who with great anger and bitterness contradicted him on several points, and reminded him that he himself had given her opinions directly at variance with those he then attempted to justify. He replied that the decisions of universities and the proceedings of the legislature had since altered his judgment, and he counselled her to alter hers as well.

These sophistries, however, were but to smooth the way for the dreadful warning that disobedience to the statute involved the penalty of death. When this was intimated to her by the bishops, she became still more firm, and said if any one was ready to carry out the sentence upon her, let him come forward at once. It was clearly hopeless to intimidate her, and the king had to alter his policy. Only certain maids who had refused the oath were removed from her, and shut up in a chamber, while her confessor, physician, and apothecary were forbidden to leave the house. These three were Spaniards who had been long in her service; and Catherine, apparently by Chapuys's advice, sent her steward and gentleman usher to the king requesting that she might have their services again on their simply swearing allegiance to the king and to her as their mistress. She, however, sent another and evidently more important message as well, the exact terms of which we do not know. Her servants returned to her on 4 June bearing an answer from the privy council, which they had been ordered to put into writing and read to her.

The king and council first expressed their surprise at her obstinacy in persisting, in spite of all presumptions to the contrary, that she had been a maid when she married him. To this she replied by affirming it all the more strongly, and calling God to witness its truth. Secondly, she was told that her reliance on the sentence given at Rome was a mistake. It was delivered after the king had appealed to a general council; moreover the 'bishop of Rome' had no authority in England. She answered that she would hold by the pope's sentence. Thirdly, as to the request that her Spanish servants should be restored to her on swearing fealty to the king and herself 'and no other woman,' she must express herself more definitely; for the king could by no means allow them to swear to her as queen, though he might possibly consent to let them swear to her as princess dowager.

The strict imprisonment in which both she and her daughter were kept, and the harsh refusal to each of the natural comfort of the other's company, was intended to break down their opposition to the king piecemeal. For the same reason Chapuys, whom Catherine had desired to come to her, remained for weeks soliciting in vain license of the king to go, till he at length went of his own accord, setting out with sixty horses in his company through the whole length of London, and taking care that his object should be known as widely as possible. Even then he was met by messengers who told him that an interview could not be allowed; but he and his company went on and presented themselves before the place, where the queen and her suite, to the great satisfaction of all the country people, spoke to them from the battlements and windows.

Of sympathy there was no lack; several lords expressed their disappointment that the emperor did not send an expedition to England to vindicate the rights of his aunt and cousin. But the emperor was engaged in other matters. Cromwell was not ashamed to hint to the imperial ambassador that it was a pity the friendly relations between Henry and Charles should be in any danger from the regard of the latter for two ladies, who after all were mortal, seeing that if they were removed there could be no obstacle to cordiality. 'You may be sure,' writes Chapuys to Granville, 'they think day and night of getting rid of these good ladies.' In March 1535 the queen again determined to keep a maundy, and messengers were despatched in haste to court to know whether it should be allowed, on which the council determined that she might

do so as princess dowager, but not as queen, which of course was to Catherine practical prohibition.

There seemed little wanting to fill up the cup of Catherine's misery. And yet the relentless course of the king's tyranny in 1535 inspired her with a new terror. First the Carthusian monks were dragged to execution for denying the king to be supreme head of the church of England; then Bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas More suffered the same fate. Till now she had never realised to herself how far her husband would dare to outrage the common feelings of all Christendom, or how he could even do so with impunity. The whole civilised world was shocked, and the pope fulminated a sentence against Henry to deprive him of his kingdom; but no relief came to Catherine.

About the beginning of December 1535 she became seriously unwell, and though she recovered for a time, she had a relapse the day after Christmas. She was believed then to be on the point of death, and the fact being intimated to Chapuys, he obtained the king's permission to visit her. He arrived on the morning of New-year's day, and was at once admitted to her presence; after which she desired him to rest, and thought she could sleep a little herself, for she had not had more than two hours' sleep altogether during the previous six days. On the evening of that same day a devoted countrywoman of her own found means to be admitted to her presence without a passport. It was Lady Willoughby, formerly Maria de Salinas, one of her maids of honour, who came with her from Spain, now mother-in-law to Henry VIII's favourite, the Duke of Suffolk. She appeared before the gates of Kimbolton Castle, saying she had travelled in haste fearing she would be too late to see Catherine again alive. She begged leave at once to come in and warm herself, as she suffered bitterly from the cold, and also from a fall from her horse. It was impossible to disoblige a lady of such high social position. She was admitted to the hall, and even to Catherine's chamber; and once there, she remained with her old mistress to the end. 'We neither saw her again, nor beheld any of her letters,' wrote Bedingfield, who, under the name of steward, was Catherine's custodian (STRYPE, *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, i. pt. i. 372).

Chapuys stayed four days at Kimbolton, during which time he had an audience of Catherine every day. Her spirits revived, she took better rest and nourishment, and her physician thought her out of immediate danger. Chapuys accordingly took leave of her on Tuesday night, 4 Jan., and left

Kimbolton on the Wednesday morning after learning that she had slept well. After midnight, in the early hours of Friday, 7 Jan., she became restless, and asked frequently what o'clock it was, merely, as she explained, that she might hear mass. George Athequa, the Bishop of Llandaff, offered to say it for her at four o'clock, but she objected, giving him reasons and authorities in Latin why it should not be at that hour. At daybreak she received the sacrament. She then desired her servants to pray for her, and also to pray that God might forgive her husband. She caused her physician to write her will, which she dictated to him in the form of a supplication to her husband, because she knew that by the law of England a married woman had no right to make a will of her own. She desired to be buried in a convent of Observant friars, not knowing, in all probability, that the whole order of the Observants had been suppressed and driven out of the kingdom more than a year before. She also desired five hundred masses to be said for her soul, and ordained a few small legacies. At ten o'clock she received extreme unction, repeating devoutly all the responses. At two o'clock in the afternoon she passed away.

These particulars are derived from a despatch of Chapuys written a fortnight later. The will which she dictated is still extant in two forms, French and English. From Polydore Vergil, likewise a contemporary, we learn that she also dictated to one of her maids a last letter to the king, forgiving him all he had done to her, and beseeching him to be a good father to their daughter Mary. 'Lastly,' she concludes, 'I vow that mine eyes desire you above all things.' This brief epistle, of which the text is given in a Latin form by Polydore Vergil, is said by him to have brought tears into Henry's eyes. Unhappily, this does not harmonise with Chapuys's report of the way in which Henry received the news of her death. 'God be praised!' he exclaimed, 'we are now delivered from all fear of war.' The possibility that the emperor might at last lead an expedition against England to avenge the wrongs of his aunt was now at an end. The only cause that could disturb their friendship or interfere with Henry's perfect freedom of action was removed. And the king was at no pains to conceal his satisfaction, appearing next day at a ball attired in yellow from head to foot, with a white feather in his cap.

Perhaps this indecent joy of Henry's affords in itself a reasonable presumption that a certain not unnatural suspicion of Chapuys's was really without foundation. More than two months before the king had

declared to some of his privy councillors that he really could remain no longer a prey to such anxiety as he had endured on account of Catherine and her daughter, and they must devise some means of relieving him at the coming parliament. The death of Catherine, therefore, furnished precisely the relief which he required; and there was much in the circumstances besides to suggest the idea of poison. Even before her death her physician, in answer to Chapuys's inquiries, owned that he suspected it. She had never been well, he said, since she had drunk a certain Welsh beer. Yet the symptoms were unlike ordinary poison, and he could only suppose that it was something very special. Such an opinion, of course, is of very little weight when we consider the low state of medical science at the time. But after her death steps were at once taken to embalm the body and close it up in lead with a secrecy that does seem rather to suggest foul play. Eight hours after she died the chandler of the house with two assistants came to do the work, everybody else being turned out of the room, including even the physician and the Bishop of Llandaff, the deceased lady's confessor. The chandler afterwards informed the bishop, but as a great secret, which would cost him his life if it were revealed, that he had found all the internal organs sound except the heart, which was black and frightful to look at; that he had washed it three times, but it remained of the same colour, then cut it open and found the inside black also; and further, that he had found a certain round black object adhering to the outside of the heart.

The bishop took the physician into his confidence, and the latter was distinctly of opinion that the symptoms indicated poison. But it must be said that (as has been shown by Dr. Norman Moore) the medical science of the present day is quite opposed to this conclusion, and that the symptoms now are known to be those of a disease called by the profession melanotic sarcoma, or more popularly, cancer of the heart (*Athenæum*, 31 Jan. 1885, p. 152; 14 Feb. p. 215; 28 Feb. p. 281). We may therefore put aside the suspicions of murder. Abroad in the world Henry had not the temerity to express his joy. He gave orders for a stately funeral becoming the person of one whom he recognised as a sister-in-law, besides being daughter of the late King Ferdinand of Arragon (*Archæol.* xvi. 23). The abbey church of Peterborough was appointed to receive her remains, and thither on 27 and 28 Jan., three weeks after her death, they were conveyed

with much solemnity and heraldic pomp, accompanied by a numerous train of noblemen, gentlemen, and ladies. At night on the 27th the body rested at Sawtry Abbey, about midway between Kimbolton and Peterborough. The rest of the journey was accomplished next day. The interment itself took place on the 29th. Her own daughter was not allowed to attend the ceremony, and the place of chief mourner was filled by Henry's niece, Eleanor, the daughter of the Duke of Suffolk.

Catherine was of a fair complexion and, to judge by her portraits, the best known of which is by Holbein, somewhat plump. Her constitution must have been naturally strong, but her tastes do not appear to have been such as commonly go with a vigorous habit of body. She seems to have cared little for hunting and field-sports, and loved to occupy herself with her needle. Her piety, which she inherited from her mother, was nursed by misfortune and neglect from her earliest years. She relied mainly for spiritual advice on the counsels of Franciscan friars of the reformed order called Observants, from whom during her early life in England she chose a confessor, and among whom, as we have seen, she desired to find a place of sepulture. That she was a devoted student of the Bible we know from Erasmus. It is remarkable that the great scholar dedicated to her in 1526 (just a year before the king's project of a divorce was talked about) his work on 'Christian Matrimony,' which he probably wrote at her suggestion.

[Mariana, *Historia General de España*; Bernáldez, *Historia de los Reyes Catolicos D. Fernando y Doña Isabel*; Leland's *Collectanea*, v. 352-73; Brewer and Gairdner's *Cal. of State Papers, Henry VIII*; Bergenroth and Gayangos's *Cal. of State Papers (Spanish)*; Gairdner's *Memorials of Henry VII, and Letters, &c., of the Reigns of Richard III and Henry VII*; *State Papers, Henry VIII*; Hall's *Chronicle*; Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey*; Harpsfield's *Treatise on the Pretended Divorce between Henry VIII and Catherine of Arragon*; Forrest's *History of Grisild the Second (Roxburghe Club)*; Transcripts from Vienna Archives in the Public Record Office. Of modern lives of Catherine, even the best, that of Miss Strickland, has become obsolete owing to the large amount of new information, supplied chiefly from the archives of Spain and Vienna, which will be found in the *Calendars*. There are, indeed, more recent studies by Albert Du Boys and the late Mr. Hepworth Dixon, but even these are founded on imperfect knowledge, and many of the statements of the latter in his *History of Two Queens* are utterly unsupported by the authorities he himself adduces.]

J. G.

CATHERINE HOWARD (*d.* 1542), fifth queen of Henry VIII, was the daughter of Lord Edmund Howard, a younger son of Thomas, second duke of Norfolk, the victor of Flodden Field. Her mother was Lord Edmund's first wife, Joyce or Jocosa, daughter of Sir Richard Culpepper of Kent, one of that family who afterwards became lords of the manor of Holingbourne. According to her latest biographer, she was widow of Sir John Leigh of Stockwell, but this is certainly a mistake, for not only was she Lord Edmund's wife long before Sir John Leigh's death in 1523, but it appears by the inquisition on Leigh's lands (15 *Hen. VIII*, No. 69) that he willed certain property after his decease, in the event of two nephews dying without issue, to Lord Edmund and this very Jocosa his wife, who therefore could never have been the wife of Sir John Leigh, but, as it appears by other evidence, had been the wife of his brother Ralph Leigh (*Archæologia Cantiana*, iv. 264; MANNING and BRAY, *Surrey*, iii. 497). Further, as regards the date of Catherine's birth, it is said that she was the fifth child in the family, and Miss Strickland infers that she could not have been born before 1521 or 1522, because, as she informs us, Lord Edmund Howard was one of the bachelor noblemen who accompanied Mary Tudor to France in 1515. It is unfortunate that we are not told the source of this information. Mary Tudor really went to France in 1514, but we have sought in vain for evidence that Lord Edmund went thither along with her, or that he was a bachelor at that date. On the other hand, as Lord Edmund is believed to have been born between 1478 and 1480 (*Howard Memorials*, 12), and we know for certain that his father-in-law, Sir Richard Culpepper, died in 1484 (*Hasted, Kent*, ii. 188, 223, &c.), it is not in itself a very probable thing that he waited till he was over thirty-five to marry a woman who was over thirty.

Whatever the truth may be on this point, it is certain that she had a very bad education. Her father was wretchedly poor. For services at Flodden the king rewarded him with a grant of three shillings and fourpence a day, to continue for three years (*Cal. Hen. VIII*, ii. 1463), at the end of which time he was allowed 'diets for taking thieves' at twenty shillings a day, for about a year and a quarter (*ib.* pp. 1473-4, 1478). But with a family of ten children he found it hard to maintain himself, and he was compelled at times to avoid his creditors, and those who had stood surety for him were arrested in his stead (ELLIS, *Letters*, 3rd series, i. 160; *Cal. Hen. VIII*, vol. iv. Nos.



3730-1). At last he was made controller of Calais, but even the emoluments of that post hardly sufficed by themselves to relieve him from his difficulties without some additional assistance, which Cromwell seems to have procured for him (*Cal.* vol. v. No. 1042). His first wife died, and he married a second, named Dorothy Troyes, when apparently he was glad to hand over the care of his daughter Catherine to his mother, the old Duchess Agnes of Norfolk.

A musician named Henry Mannock or Manox, belonging to the duchess's retinue at Horsham in Norfolk, who taught Catherine the use of the virginals, got on terms of familiarity with the neglected girl, and one of the duchess's women, named Isabel, carried tokens between them. After a while Isabel married and left the household, and one Dorothy Barwick of Horsham became confidante in her place. The Duchess of Norfolk, however, removed her household to Lambeth, the suburban residence of the Howard family, not, as has been suggested, with a view to the coronation of Anne Boleyn, because it appears from the deposition of Mannock that he first entered her service about 1536, the year of Anne Boleyn's fall, so that the earliest instance of Catherine's misconduct must have occurred within four years of her marriage. Catherine, however, came to Lambeth, and had for a companion in the same dormitory one Mary Lassells, who had been nurse to her aunt, Lady William Howard, and after her death in 1533 (*Howard Memorials*, 87) had passed into the service of the duchess. Here some conversations took place, of which Catherine was the subject, between Mary Lassells and Dorothy Barwick, who said that Mannock was betrothed to Catherine. 'What!' exclaimed Mary Lassells, addressing Mannock, 'meanest thou to play the fool of this fashion? Knowest thou not that an' my lady of Norfolk know of the love between thee and Mrs. Howard she will undo thee?' Mannock replied with gross effrontery, and in a way that certainly showed very little real respect for Catherine, declaring that she had promised to be his mistress, and had allowed him already to take the most indecent liberties with her. On being informed of what he said, she was indignant, and went with Mary Lassells to seek him out and reproach him. The affair passed over, and nothing more seems to have been heard of it for years. But another lover appeared in the retinue of the Duke of Norfolk, one Francis Dereham, who was some way or other a kinsman of her own, and was favoured by the old duchess. The couple interchanged love tokens. He

gave Catherine a silk heart's-ease, and she gave him a band and sleeves for a shirt. It is clear that the couple were fully engaged to each other, and such an engagement, according to the views then prevalent, invalidated any subsequent marriage that was at variance with it. So Francis Dereham and Catherine Howard called each other husband and wife, although their engagement was not known to the world. One day it was remarked that he kissed her very freely, and he replied, 'Who should hinder him from kissing his own wife?' Still the matter was kept so quiet that the old duchess under whose roof Catherine lived knew but little of what passed between them. Dereham brought his mistress wine, strawberries, apples, and other things after my lady was gone to bed, and Catherine was even suspected of having sometimes stolen the keys to let him in at a later hour.

It appears that this attachment was broken off on Catherine's being called to court. In anticipation of that event Dereham had said that he would not remain in the duchess's household after she was gone, to which, according to her own account afterwards, she replied 'that he might do as he list.' Dereham himself apparently gave a different account of the parting, according to which Catherine replied that it grieved her as much as him, and tears trickled down her cheeks in confirmation of what she said. Catherine, as queen, denied this utterly. Perhaps it is more charitable to herself to believe the story of her lover. He left the duchess's household and went to Ireland, or perhaps scoured the Irish seas for some time, for he was afterwards accused of piracy. He returned before Catherine was queen, and heard a report that she was engaged to be married to her cousin young Thomas Culpepper. He demanded an answer from herself if it were true. 'What should you trouble me therewith?' she answered, 'for you know I will not have you. And if you heard such report, you heard more than I do know.'

In 1540 the king had married Anne of Cleves. The marriage was from the first distasteful to the king. A catholic reaction had already set in, and Bishop Gardiner, who had for some time been excluded from the king's councils, was recalled to court. He entertained the king in his own house, and it was under the bishop's roof that familiarity first grew up between Henry and Catherine Howard, which the bishop apparently did his best to encourage. No one, of course, could have ventured to hint at a divorce from Anne of Cleves till it was clear that the king himself was bent on it, and Richard

Hilles, an English merchant, who favoured the new doctrines, writing to Henry Bullinger, at Zürich, says distinctly it was the object of the catholic party at first to set up Catherine as a rival to the queen in a less honourable position. The king, however, had views of his own, and a rumour gradually got abroad that the queen was to be divorced and the young lady to take her place. The position certainly took herself as well as the world by surprise. Old associates, beginning to perceive how matters stood, pressed their claims upon her. It was rumoured, indeed, that the king had not only begun to love her, but had actually made her pregnant before Anne of Cleves was divorced (*Cal.*, Venice, v. 87). The report was wrong, certainly, as a matter of fact. Anne of Cleves was divorced by a decree of convocation on 9 July, and parliament besought the king, 'for the good of his people,' to enter the matrimonial state yet a fifth time in the hope of more numerous issue. He accordingly married Catherine, quite privately, at Oatlands, on 28 July (*Third Report of Dep.-Keeper of Public Records*, App. ii. 264), and on 8 Aug. publicly acknowledged her as his queen at Hampton Court. On the 15th she was prayed for in all the churches by that title.

The couple spent a fortnight at Windsor, and thence made a brief progress by Reading, Ewelme, and other places to Grafton and Ampthill, returning to Windsor on 22 Oct. Just after they had departed on this tour a priest at Windsor was arrested along with another person for speaking unfitting words of the queen, but the matter seems to have been trivial, for the priest was dismissed with a mere admonition, and nothing more appears to have come of it. Some very ill-founded rumours were also set afloat that the king might possibly repudiate Catherine and take back Anne of Cleves as his queen. But those rumours soon died away, as the fact was apparent that the king was, for the time at least, thoroughly enamoured of his new spouse. Opinions, indeed, were divided as to her beauty, which the French ambassador Marillac thought only mediocre, but even he admitted that she had a very winning countenance.

Partly to quiet his northern subjects and partly to meet James V of Scotland at York, the king, in July, set out on a progress along with Catherine. They passed by Dunstable, Ampthill, Grafton, and Northampton, through Lincolnshire, into Yorkshire, reaching Pontefract in the latter part of August, where they remained till the beginning of September. During this period took place

some of those stolen interviews with former lovers which, even if they were not actually criminal, helped to bring Catherine to confusion. At Lincoln, and again at Pontefract, Lady Rochford procured meetings between her and her cousin Culpepper, one of which lasted from eleven at night till three in the morning. How interviews at such hours were kept from the king's knowledge is not explained to us, but Lady Rochford set a watch on back entrances, and the affair was effectually concealed. At Pontefract, on 27 Aug., Catherine appointed Francis Dereham as her secretary, perhaps as the best way of keeping matters quiet, though it was obviously a dangerous expedient. The royal party went on to York, where they arrived in the middle of September, but James did not make his appearance, and in the end of the month they began to move homewards again. On 1 Oct. they reached Hull, where they stayed five days, and then passed on, by Kettleby, Colly Weston, and Ampthill, to Windsor and Hampton Court, where they arrived on the 30th to keep the feast of All Saints' on 1 Nov.

The solemnities of All Saints' day were duly performed, and the king ordered the Bishop of Lincoln, his confessor, to give thanks to God with him for the good life he led and hoped to lead, 'after sundry troubles of mind which had happened to him by mariages' with her who was now his queen. But next day at mass Archbishop Cranmer put a paper into the king's hand which he requested him to read in the strictest privacy. It contained information given him by John Lassells, the brother of that Mary Lassells who had been a servant of the old Duchess of Norfolk, and who was now married in Sussex. Knowing her old familiarity with Catherine, Lassells had advised his sister to apply for service with the queen. She replied that she would not, but was very sorry for the queen. 'Why so?' asked Lassells, and his sister told him in reply of her former intercourse with Dereham and Mannock, and that a maid in the house had refused to share her bedroom in consequence. Perplexed with this dreadful news, the archbishop at first consulted the lord chancellor and the Earl of Hertford, who agreed that it ought to be communicated to the king, and that no one was so fit to do it as the archbishop himself.

Henry was unable at first to believe the news, and he ordered a strict investigation. The lord privy seal (Fitzwilliam, earl of Southampton) was despatched secretly first to London to examine Lassells, the informant, and then into Sussex to examine his sister, making a pretence of hunting. Sir

Thomas Wriothesley was at the same time sent to London to examine Mannock, and to arrest Dereham, not on the charge of criminal intercourse with the queen, but on a charge of piracy. On being questioned, however, Dereham himself confessed to having frequently lain with the queen. Mannock confessed to no such intercourse, but admitted that he had been allowed to take liberties. The result of the secret investigations was most painfully convincing. The king shed bitter tears over the discovery—a thing, as his privy council observed, ‘which was strange in his courage.’ It was months before he recovered his old buoyancy of spirits.

He commissioned Archbishop Cranmer, Lord-chancellor Audley, the Duke of Norfolk, the lord chamberlain, and the Bishop of Winchester to wait upon the queen and interrogate her upon the matter. She at first denied her guilt till she found that denial was hopeless. She then disclosed everything, and the archbishop took her confession in writing. Thus the case was complete against both her and her accomplices by their own confession; but it was not admitted that since her marriage with the king anything criminal had taken place. It might be doubted whether a capital charge could be founded on these acts alone; but even the use of torture did not wring more from Dereham, and the king could only point to the vehement presumption of criminal acts done afterwards.

As regards Catherine herself, if the case could have been judged impartially, she had really committed adultery in marrying the king, not in any acts done with Dereham. But she steadily denied that she had ever consented to become Dereham's wife. After her confession Cranmer was sent to her again. The archbishop found her almost out of her mind with terror. The announcement of the king's intended mercy relieved her anxiety for a moment; but little could be extracted from her.

On 11 Nov. Cranmer was instructed to proceed further, and when he had obtained all the information he could get to take the queen's keys from her, and intimate the king's pleasure that she should remove on Monday to Sion House. She was still to have the name and dignity of queen, but with a very much reduced establishment, three chambers only being allowed to her, ‘hanged with mean stuff,’ and a very modest attendance of servants. Next day the lord chancellor declared to the judges the fact of the queen's misconduct; and such members of the council as had been privy to the investigation were instructed to set forth the whole

matter on Sunday the 13th to the ladies and gentlemen of the household, without making mention of any pre-contract with Dereham. The king and his council were evidently bent on establishing a case of adultery, but the information as yet would hardly serve. The pre-contract would have invalidated the marriage altogether, and there were no evidences of unlawful intercourse after the marriage had taken place. But if this could not be established in the case of Dereham, there was a considerable presumption in that of Culpepper. Catherine, however, had not yet fully confessed all that had passed between herself and her cousin; and Cranmer, Paulet, and Wriothesley were instructed to question her further.

Meanwhile, the old Duchess of Norfolk, on hearing that the queen and Dereham were arrested, sent a servant named Pewson to Hampton Court to learn particulars. She certainly knew that Catherine had in past years held stolen interviews under her roof both with Mannock and with Dereham. She, moreover, had even then in her custody two coffers belonging to Dereham, which contained papers apparently of some importance. She hastily broke them open and examined what was in them.

Now, the duke her stepson was sent to Lambeth to search Dereham's coffers, and when it was found that she had done so herself, it was naturally suspected that she had destroyed some papers that would somehow have compromised her. She was closely questioned and confessed that her only motive was to search for evidences and send them to the king. She foresaw clearly her committal to the Tower, from which she did not hope to come out alive. Pewson also was arrested; and all who had opportunities of knowing the queen's misconduct were likewise placed in custody. Among these were her uncle, Lord William Howard, and his wife, her aunt, the Countess of Bridgewater, Joan Bulmer, Catherine Tylney, one Robert Davenport, and a number of others.

Meanwhile, Culpepper and Dereham were tried and condemned on 1 Dec. The evidence against them had been elicited from themselves and others, partly by the use of torture. Yet Culpepper denied his guilt to the last. There is in the Record Office a letter addressed to him by Catherine Howard before she was queen, which reads, to say the least, not unlike a love letter, and shows that even in those days Lady Rochford was a medium of communication between them; but it proves nothing as to criminal intimacy. Lady Rochford would have been brought to trial at the same time but that

three days after her arrest she went completely out of her mind with the horror of the situation. She was, however, very carefully tended in order that she might afterwards be put upon her trial and brought to condign punishment. The queen, too, still remained untried at Sion House, while her guilt was prejudged by the sentences already executed upon Dereham and Culpepper.

She remained untried even when another batch of prisoners, including Lord William Howard, Robert Davenport, Catherine Tylene, and several others of less note, was brought up at the Guildhall three weeks later, and condemned of misprision for concealing what they knew. These received their sentence on 22 Dec., which was perpetual imprisonment and forfeiture of goods to the king. The Duchess of Norfolk was pardoned her life, confessing that she had done wrong in breaking up Dereham's coffers; and perhaps she saved herself even from very extreme treatment by revealing to the lord privy seal and Mr. Secretary Wriothesley the place where she had hidden a sum of 800*l.* Ultimately she received a complete pardon and was released from her confinement on 5 May 1542 (see STRICKLAND, iii. 172). But for the present she was kept close. So many were involved in the charge of concealing Catherine's misconduct that there was no room in the ordinary prisons, and special arrangements were made for receiving them in the king's and queen's lodgings. They were visited in their cells by the Duke of Suffolk, the Earls of Southampton, Sussex, and Hertford, and other members of the privy council.

Yet it was to show his clemency, according to current report, that Henry did not bring Catherine to trial until parliament met (Chapuy's to Charles V, 3 Dec., in FROUDE'S *The Pilgrim*, p. 159). In other words, he would not appear of his own accord to break his promise of pardon to her. On 16 Jan. 1542 parliament met at Westminster, and on the 21st a bill of attainder against the queen and Lady Rochford was read for the first time. The names of the Duchess of Norfolk, Lord William Howard, and others were also included in the bill as guilty of misprision. The second reading, however, was postponed for an unusual time. On the 28th the lord chancellor declared to the house certain reasons why it should not be hastily proceeded with; the queen was not a mere private person, and her cause ought to be thoroughly weighed; and he suggested that a deputation from both houses should wait upon her and encourage her to speak boldly whatever she had to say in her own

defence. The deputation was agreed to, subject to the king's approval, but on the Monday following (30 Jan.) the chancellor explained that it had been put off by advice of the council, who thought it more important that they should petition his majesty, first, not to take his misfortune too heavily, considering how the weal of the whole realm depended upon him; secondly, that they might confirm in parliament the attainder of Culpepper and Dereham; thirdly, that parliament should be free to proceed to judgment in the case of the queen and her other confederates that the matter might no longer hang in doubt; fourthly, that afterwards the king might give his assent to what was done by commission under the great seal without words or ceremony which would renew his pain; and, fifthly, that if any had offended the statutes in speaking freely of the queen, they should have the benefit of a general pardon.

All this seems very much like a roundabout way of relieving the king from the imputation of breach of faith for bringing Catherine to the block after he had promised to spare her life.

A curious point as to parliamentary practice in those days arises from a study of the different evidences bearing upon this case. Chapuy's, the imperial ambassador, writing to Charles V on 29 Jan., says that 'the resolution of the peers will be laid before the representatives of the people in two days;' and in the paragraph immediately following he adds:—'At the very moment I was writing the above I was informed that the commons house had this morning come to the same resolution about the queen and the ladies as the bishops and peers have done, and the queen, it is to be feared, will be soon sent to the Tower.' What Chapuy's refers to as 'the resolution' of the peers seems to have been the first reading of the bill; and the question suggests itself, whether a bill once read in the lords could have gone down to the lower house and passed through the different stages there before it came before the peers again for a second reading. Unfortunately, we have no journals of the House of Commons at that date; but the interval that elapsed before the second reading in the lords rather favours the supposition.

The bill was read there a second time on 6 Feb., and a third time on the day following. Before the royal assent was given the Duke of Suffolk and the Earl of Southampton waited on the queen and obtained from her a very pitiful confession, accompanied by a prayer that her crime might not be visited

upon her family, and that the king would allow some of her dresses to be given to those servants who had attended her since she fell into disgrace. She still seemed, or at least was reported to be only a few days before, 'very cheerful and more plump and pretty than ever; as careful about her dress and as imperious and wilful as at the time when she was with the king.' Yet she now looked for nothing but death, unless she was still buoyed up by a vain confidence in the king's promised word, to which she did not venture to appeal, and she only asked that her execution should be private. On 10 Feb. she was conveyed from Sion House to the Tower by water by the Duke of Suffolk, the lord privy seal, and the lord chamberlain. Next day the royal assent was given to the bill in parliament by commission, and the Duke of Suffolk and Lord Southampton declared the result of their interview with the queen. There is no appearance, however, that her confession extended to acts of infidelity after marriage. On the evening of Sunday, 12 Feb., she was informed that she was to die on the following day. She desired that the block on which she was to suffer might be brought to her that she might know how to place herself. Her wish was gratified, and she made a kind of rehearsal of the coming tragedy. Next morning at seven o'clock all the king's council except the Duke of Suffolk, who was unwell, and her uncle Norfolk, presented themselves at the Tower to witness the execution, her cousin, the poet Surrey, with the rest. She was beheaded in the same place where Anne Boleyn had suffered. A cloth was thrown over her body, and some ladies carried it away. Lady Rochford, still in a kind of frenzy, was brought out and suffered the same fate. 'They made the most godly and christian end,' writes a London merchant three days after to his brother at Calais, 'that ever was heard of, uttering their lively faith in the blood of Christ only, and with godly words and steadfast countenances they desired all christian people to take regard unto their worthy and just punishment.'

The features of Catherine Howard have been preserved in two portraits, the one a drawing by Holbein, engraved by Bartolozzi, the other a miniature supposed till lately to represent Catherine Parr, engraved in Mrs. Dent's 'Annals of Winchcombe and Sudeley' (as to the latter see MR. SCHARF's remarks in the *Archæologia*, xl. 84). It would seem that she had hazel eyes, auburn hair, and a bright, cheerful face, but such as might very well justify Marillac's opinion that her beauty was only commonplace.

[State Papers, i. 689-712, 721-8; Burnet, ed. Pocock, v. 249-52; Third Report of Dep.-Keeper of Public Records, App. ii. 261-6; Nicolas's Privy Council Proceedings, vii. 17, 21, 147, 352-6; Journals of the House of Lords, i. 168, 171-2, 175-6; Kaulek's Correspondance Politique de Castillon et de Marillac; Froude's The Pilgrim, pp. 158-62; unpublished manuscripts in Public Record Office. A modern life of Catherine will be found in Miss Strickland's Queens of England, vol. iii.] J. G.

**CATHERINE PARR** (1512-1548), sixth and last queen of Henry VIII, was the daughter of Sir Thomas Parr of Kendal in Westmoreland, by Maud, daughter of Sir Thomas Green of Boughton and Green's Norton, Northamptonshire. Sir Thomas Parr was master of the wards and controller of the household to Henry VIII. He died on 11 Nov. 1517, leaving behind him three infant children in charge of his widow, to whom by his will he left all his lands for the term of her life. But he desired that his son William should have a rich gold chain of the value of 140*l.*, which he had received as a present from the king, and that his two daughters, Catherine and Anne, should have 800*l.* between them as marriage portions. His widow, who at his death was only twenty-two, could hardly have failed to receive offers with a view to a second marriage, but, unlike most of the wealthy widows of those days, she refused them, and devoted herself to the education of her children. Catherine became an accomplished scholar, as her own writings remain to testify. Not only had she full command of Latin, but she was familiar with Greek as well, and had acquired great facility in the use of modern languages also.

In 1523 a negotiation was set on foot by Lord Dacre, between his son-in-law, Lord Scrope, and the Lady Maud Parr, for the marriage of Catherine, when she should attain a suitable age, to Lord Scrope's son. By the correspondence it appears that Catherine was not then twelve years old, so that she could not have been born before 1512 (Miss Strickland, placing the correspondence in 1524, though the dates July and December of the 15th year of Henry VIII refer to 1523, infers erroneously that she was not born before 1513). But the terms of the offer were not such as the Lady Maud could accept in accordance with her late husband's will, and the affair was broken off. A more satisfactory settlement, it may be presumed, from a pecuniary point of view, was afterwards offered by one Edward Borough, who became her first husband. It is to be hoped that modern writers are mistaken in identi-

fyng him with Edward, lord Borough of Gainsborough, an old man said to have been 'distracted of memorie,' whose second son had married a woman fourteen years Catherine's senior. Catherine herself could have been little more than a girl at the time, for she was certainly not seventeen at the utmost when Lord Borough died, which was in 1529, if not earlier. But we know too well that such revolting unions were not uncommon in those days, and were approved of even by mothers generally studious of their children's welfare. Lady Maud died in 1529 also.

Catherine next became the wife of John Neville, lord Latimer, a nobleman of extensive possessions, who had been twice married already, and had two children by his second wife. Snape Hall in Yorkshire was his principal seat, but he also possessed considerable estates in Worcestershire, which he settled on Catherine. The most notable event in his life was the part he took in 1536 in the rising called the Pilgrimage of Grace. Lord Latimer was appointed by the insurgents one of their delegates to represent their grievances, and the result of the negotiations was a general pardon. A new rebellion broke out early in the following year, but from this movement Latimer kept himself clear. He seems to have been in favour with the king, as it appears that his wife interceded successfully, about 1540, for the release from prison of Sir George Throgmorton, her uncle by marriage, who had been involved in a charge of treason by the fact of his brother being in the service of Cardinal Pole.

Lord Latimer died towards the close of 1542, or perhaps in the beginning of 1543. His will, which was dated 12 Sept. 1542, bequeathed to his widow the manors of Nunmonkton and Hamerton. She was immediately sought in marriage by Sir Thomas Seymour, brother of the deceased queen Jane, who became lord admiral under Edward VI, and it seems that she fully intended to become his wife, but that her will, as she wrote to him in later days, was 'overruled by a higher power.' The higher power, whatever she may have meant by the expression, was in fact King Henry. It is stated, but not on very good authority, that when she first received his addresses she was terrified, and replied with considerable truth 'that it was better to be his mistress than his wife.' But this only made him press his suit the more, and on 12 July 1543, not many months after the decease of her last husband, she was married to the king at Hampton Court by Gardiner, bishop of Win-

chester, in the presence of Henry's two daughters, Mary and Elizabeth. That she exercised a really wholesome influence over the king there can be no doubt. At the time of her marriage the dreadful severities of the Act of the Six Articles were being daily enforced. Catherine interceded for the victims of this persecution, and its violence abated to some extent while she was queen. She also procured the restoration of both Henry's daughters Mary and Elizabeth, who had been for some years treated as bastards, to their position as princesses, and she interceded particularly for Elizabeth, who a year after her marriage incurred her father's displeasure, and obtained her pardon, for which Elizabeth wrote her a very grateful epistle.

In 1544 an act was passed enabling the king to settle the succession by will on any children that he might have by Catherine. This enactment was made in view of the fact that Henry was about to cross the Channel to invade France in person; and by an ordinance of the privy council Catherine was, on 7 July 1544, appointed regent in her husband's absence. Her signature as regent, of which many specimens exist, is not a little peculiar from the fact that she appended her initials (K. P., for Katherine Parr) to the name itself, which is always written 'Kateryn the Quene Regente, K. P.' In this capacity she ordered, on 19 Sept., a public thanksgiving for the taking of Boulogne. But Henry returned to England on 1 Oct., and her regency was at an end.

The interest taken by Catherine in the studies and education of her step-children appears in many ways. Some have thought that even the handwriting of young Edward VI bears a resemblance to hers, which must have been due to her personal superintendence of his schooling, and it is a fact that Edward himself, writing to her in French, praises her *belle écriture* as something which apparently made him ashamed to write himself. But a more striking evidence was given on the last day of this same year, 1544, by the Princess Elizabeth, then little more than eleven years old, presenting her with an autograph translation, 'out of French rhyme into English prose,' of a work entitled 'The Glasse of the Synneful Soule,' beautifully written on vellum in small 4to, which she submitted to her for correction and improvement. Further, we have a letter from Catherine herself to the Princess Mary encouraging her to publish a translation of Erasmus's 'Paraphrase of the Gospels' with her own name appended. Piety and love of letters were indeed marked features of Catherine's character. Ascham addressed her in

letters from Cambridge as *eruditissima Regina*; and not only was she a promoter of learning, but she occupies herself a place in the roll of English authoresses. One of her works, entitled 'The Lamentation or Complaint of a Sinner,' was published by Sir William Cecil in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

Her biographers speak of her as a convert to protestantism, and suggest that her conversion probably took place after the death of Lord Latimer. But there could be no conversion to protestantism where there existed no such thing as a protestant community to declare what protestant principles were. In England most men had confessed the royal supremacy, and remained as good catholics as ever. A total repudiation of authority in such matters was then unheard of, and the open recognition of schism was out of the question. That Catherine favoured reformers like Miles Coverdale and Nicholas Udall by no means indicates that she was very anxious to commit herself to very advanced opinions. She employed Udall, who was master of Eton, to edit the translation of Erasmus's 'Paraphrases' by the Princess Mary, and it cannot be supposed that she purposely selected an editor whom Mary herself would at that time have considered an inveterate enemy of the truth.

Nevertheless, the question was perpetually arising, ever since Henry had proclaimed his own supremacy over the church, whether this or that opinion was really dangerous. Henry had to consider how much innovation he would tolerate in others besides the repudiation of the pope's authority. And now towards the end of his reign he found himself involved in a babel of controversy, of which he openly complained in parliament. He was becoming fretful and irritated over the whole business, and the pain he suffered from an ulcerated leg did not tend to make his temper more pleasant.

Catherine nursed his ulcerated leg and also conversed with him occasionally on the new theological questions that arose. On one occasion she had the misfortune to take a different view from the king. 'A good hearing it is,' he exclaimed afterwards, 'when women become such clerks; and a thing much to my comfort to come in mine old days to be taught by my wife!' We know not at this day what was the knotty question, and we need not take Foxe's word for it that Gardiner and Wriothesley conspired the queen's death. If the story has not been exaggerated, articles of heresy were actually drawn up against the queen and signed by the king's own hand, while she remained utterly unconscious. But

one of the council let the paper fall from his bosom, and it was brought to her, on which she 'fell incontinent into a great melancholy and agony, bewailing and taking on in such sort as was lamentable to see.' In fact, it made her really very unwell, and the king sent his physicians to her, and also visited her himself to comfort her. Then, as she began to recover, she in return visited the king in his chamber, and when Henry led the conversation on to matters of religion she was careful to declare that it would be highly unbecoming in her to assert opinions of her own, especially in opposition to the king's wisdom. It was only meant 'to minister talk' and wile away the time in his infirmity. 'Is it so, sweetheart?' exclaimed the king; 'then we are perfect friends.' The very next day, while the king and queen were taking the air in the garden at Hampton Court, the lord chancellor arrived with forty of the king's guard, to arrest her and three ladies of her company. On seeing him the king suddenly broke off conversation with the queen, and, calling the lord chancellor aside, had a brief interview with him, in which Catherine could only distinguish the words 'knave! beast! and fool!' Catherine, on the king's returning to her, begged if the chancellor had done wrong that she might be allowed to intercede for him, believing that it must have been by mistake. 'Ah, poor soul!' replied the king, 'thou little knowest, Kate, how ill he deserveth this at thy hands. On my word, sweetheart, he hath been to thee a very knave!' The story rests only on the authority of Foxe, and has doubtless been considerably dressed up; but there is no reason to doubt its essential truth.

On 28 Jan. 1547 Henry VIII died, and Catherine became for the third time a widow. It is said she was disappointed at not being left regent during the minority of Edward VI. Her important position as queen dowager was rather an element of disquiet added to many others, for of course she had powerful friends and persons jealous of her influence as well. Her brother, William Parr, who had married the heiress of the last Bouchier, earl of Essex, had suffered a great disappointment during the ascendancy of Cromwell, when that minister got the earldom and all its lands conferred upon himself. After Cromwell's death, however, he was made Earl of Essex in right of his wife. Through Catherine's influence he became lord chamberlain, and now on the accession of Edward VI he was created Marquis of Northampton. On that same day (16 Feb. 1547) were various other promotions made to and in the peerage. Among them Edward Seymour, earl of Hertford, the new

king's uncle, who had already been appointed protector, was created Duke of Somerset, and his brother, Sir Thomas Seymour, Catherine's former lover, was created Baron Seymour of Sudeley.

One historian, Gregorio Leti, tells us that thirty-four days after Henry's death Lord Seymour and Catherine had plighted their troth to each other by a written contract, signed by each, and by an exchange of rings. The fact and even the date (which would be 3 March) are perfectly possible, indeed one may say probable; but as Leti lived long afterwards, and adds circumstances clearly erroneous, supported by spurious documents, he is not to be relied on. The engagement, however, is certain. On Tuesday, 17 May, Lord Seymour writes to Catherine from St. James's about her sister (whom he calls 'my sister'), Lady Herbert, having wormed out his secret in spite of his efforts to cloak the stolen visits he had paid to Catherine at Chelsea, where it is clear he had already several times passed the night with her, though the marriage was not yet acknowledged. The couple had fully committed themselves to a step which, if known, might have been impugned as a very grave misdemeanor, and they were seeking to make friends and obtain formal leave to do what they had already done. The first thing was to apply to the young king himself, and Catherine did so, apparently in a very cautious letter, without stating her real object. She was rewarded by a cold epistle in reply, written certainly by Edward, but doubtless dictated by Somerset, and dated 30 May, formally thanking her and commending her good sentiments. The next process was to see if the Princess Mary would befriend them, and Lord Seymour wrote to her, asking if she would favour the suit he was making to the queen for marriage. She very wisely refused 'to be a meddler in the matter, considering whose wife her grace was of late.' Her letter to that effect is dated on Saturday, 4 June. Repulsed in two quarters the couple were, however, more successful in the way of personal intercourse with the sovereign, from which apparently the protector had done his utmost to debar them. Seymour at first found a medium to suggest to Edward in conversation the desirability of finding a wife for him, and the young boy himself thought of the Princess Mary (whom it would be a great object to convert), or perhaps Anne of Cleves, until his ideas were directed into the desired channel (Biographical Memoir prefixed to *Literary Remains of Edward VI*, p. cxv). Afterwards Seymour was encouraged to push the matter himself.

Edward readily entered into the project, and wrote a letter to the queen, advising her to take Seymour for a husband. Of course she replied to him, expressing her utmost willingness to gratify his majesty in the matter, and we have his answer dated 25 June, thanking her for her compliance, and promising to smooth matters with the protector.

Nevertheless the entry that young Edward wrote in his journal upon the subject was as follows: 'The Lord Seymour of Sudeley married the queen, whose name was Catherine; with which marriage the lord protector was much offended.' The step was clearly indefensible from a political point of view; for the royal authority during the minority was properly vested in the council. Lord Seymour was a dangerous man, and seemed not unlikely now to supplant his elder brother the protector. The latter, however, seeing the thing beyond recall, became, after a while, reconciled, and even cordial. The ill-feeling between the wives of the two brothers is said to have been more serious, the Duchess of Somerset refusing any longer to yield precedence to the queen dowager. But Lord Seymour had now gained such a footing that he was likely to make more powerful friends than his brother. He allured the Marquis of Dorset to his side by proposing to marry his daughter the unfortunate Lady Jane Grey, to the young king, whom Somerset proposed to match with his own daughter. Dorset, after the fashion of the times, sold the young lady's wardship to Lord Seymour; and Seymour advised him to make himself strong in the country that they might have matters all their own way. But before either the king or Lady Jane had come to marriageable age Seymour had paid the penalty of ambition, and Lady Jane fell into the clutches of a still more unscrupulous intriguer.

'The Lord Sudeley,' says Hayward, 'was fierce in courage, courtly in fashion, in personage stately, in voice magnificent, but somewhat empty in matter.' His discretion certainly was not equal to his ambition. He had married Catherine, as was afterwards alleged, so soon after the death of Henry VIII that if she had borne a child within the next nine months there might have been a question as to its paternity, and the future succession to the crown. Another matter in which he showed even a greater want of decency was his conduct towards the Princess Elizabeth, who was under the care of the queen dowager his wife. He used many familiarities towards her even in his wife's presence at Chelsea, and declared he cared not if everybody saw it (*Cal. State Papers, Foreign*, 1538-9, pref. p. xxxi). The same



things went on at Hanworth and at Seymour Place when the household removed thither; till Catherine apparently was really somewhat annoyed, and caused Elizabeth's household to be separated from her own.

Sudeley Castle belonged to Lord Seymour only by a grant under the authority of the council, and Catherine was aware that it might be resumed when the king came of age. Speaking once to Sir Robert Tyrwhitt of the probability of a general resumption, the latter observed, 'Then will Sudeley Castle be gone from my lord admiral.' 'Marry,' replied the queen, 'I do assure you he intends to offer to restore the lands and give them freely back when that time comes.' Seymour probably trusted, however, that by that time his influence with the king would enable him to get a fresh grant. At this time he was busily engaged in putting the castle in a thorough state of repair, and making it a suitable place for his wife's confinement. Here she had a household consisting of a hundred and twenty gentlemen, and some of the leading reformers were her chaplains. A picturesque window in the old building belongs to the room known to this day as 'Queen Catherine's nursery.'

The expected event took place on 30 Aug. 1548. The child born was a girl—somewhat to the father's disappointment, but 'a beautiful babe,' and he received the cordial congratulations of his brother the protector. But on the third day after Catherine's delivery puerperal fever set in. She raved and said she was ill treated by those about her. The words of the poor distracted woman may have been made a ground of the imputation afterwards preferred against her husband, that he hastened her death by poison; but the charge is utterly incredible. On 5 Sept. she dictated her will, which in a few brief lines gave all her property to him, and expressed a wish that it were a thousand times the value. Two days later she breathed her last. A brief account of the last rites is preserved in a manuscript in the *Heralds' College*, printed by Miss Strickland.

Catherine died at the early age of thirty-six. 'She was endued,' according to a contemporary, 'with a pregnant wittiness, joined with right wonderful grace of eloquence; studiously diligent in acquiring knowledge, as well of human discipline as also of the holy scriptures; of incomparable chastity, which she kept not only from all spot, but from all suspicion, by avoiding all occasions of idleness, and containing vain pastimes.'

In 1782 her remains were disturbed by Mr. John Lucas, who occupied the lands about Sudeley Castle, of which Lord Rivers

was the owner. At that time her place of burial was unknown to antiquaries, but an inscription on the outside of the leaden coffin made the matter certain. Mr. Lucas, out of curiosity, opened the coffin, and discovered the body wrapped in six or seven cerecloths, through which he made an incision into one arm of the corpse. The flesh was still white and moist. The coffin was again opened several times in succeeding years, when the flesh, having been exposed to the air, had become putrid, and a description was given of one of these openings by Mr. Nash to the Society of Antiquaries. At last Mr. John Lates, rector of Sudeley in 1817, caused the coffin to be removed into the Chandos vault to protect the remains from further outrage. Nothing but the skeleton then remained, with a quantity of hair and a few pieces of cerecloth.

Catherine was undoubtedly a little woman, but whereas Mr. Nash reported the lead which enclosed her coffin to have been only five feet four inches long, a more careful measurement taken by Mr. Browne, the Winchcombe antiquary, declares the coffin to have been five feet ten inches in length, while its width in the broadest part was only one foot four, and its depth at the head and in the middle five and a half inches.

[Dugdale's *Baronage*, ii. 381; Whitaker's *Richmond*, i. 384 sq.; *Archæologia*, ix. 1; *Testamenta Vetusta*; *The Parris of Kendal Castle*, a paper by Sir Geo. Duckett; *Foxe's Martyrs* (Townsend's edit. 1838), v. 553-61; *Literary Remains of Edward VI*; *Haynes's State Papers*, pp. 61, 62, 95 sq. 102-5; *R. Ascham's Epistolæ*, 303 (ed. 1703); *Miss Strickland's Queens*, vol. iii.; *Dent's Annals of Winchcombe and Sudeley*; *Sir John Maclean's Life of Sir Thomas Seymour in Under the Crown*.] J. G.

**CATHERINE OF BRAGANZA** (1638-1705), queen consort of Charles II, was born on 15-25 Nov. 1638, at the palace of Villa Viçosa, situated in the Portuguese province of Alemtejo. Her father John, duke of Braganza, who became king of Portugal in 1640, was at the time of her birth the most powerful of the nobility of Portugal. Her mother, Louisa de Gusman, daughter of the Duke of Medina Sidonia, the great Spanish noble, possessed a vigorous understanding that gave her great influence over the sluggish temper of her husband. Catherine was her parents' third child, and was born on St. Catherine's day. She was eighteen when, in 1656, her father died. One of his last acts was to grant her certain estates, including the island of Madeira, the city of Lamego, and the town of Moura, for the maintenance of her court (*Sousa, História Genealógica da Casa Real*

*Portuguesa*, vii. 283, and *Provas*, num. 36). Her younger brother Alfonso now became king under the regency of Queen Louisa.

From an early age Catherine was looked upon as a useful instrument for the establishment of friendly relations between her country and England. Not content with the commercial treaty of 1642, King John proposed in 1645 that his daughter should become the wife of Charles, prince of Wales (*Quadro Elementar*, xvii. 54; cf. CHARLES I'S *Works*, i. 247, ed. 1649), but the proposal came to nothing, although in 1646 and in 1647 (*Quadro Elementar*, xviii. 56, 57) some notion of an English marriage still seems to have been entertained in Portugal. In 1654 Cromwell renewed the treaty of 1642, and in 1659 the professed abandonment of Portugal by France at the treaty of the Pyrenees made English support more necessary than ever.

The unsettled condition of the English government left little to be hoped for. Yet in April 1660, Dom Francisco de Mello, the Portuguese ambassador, succeeded in negotiating a new alliance with the council of state (*ib.* xvii. 118). As soon as the Restoration seemed probable, he sounded Monck as to the prospects of renewing the old project of marrying the restored king to the infanta (*ib.* xvii. 221; EACHARD, *History of England*, p. 81; KENNET, *Register and Chronicle*, p. 394). Charles's return in May was immediately followed by a formal proposal of the alliance. The terms offered were very tempting: Tangiers, to command the mouth of the Mediterranean; Bombay, with full trading privileges in the Indies; religious and commercial freedom for English subjects in Portugal, and the vast portion of two millions of crusados (about 300,000*l.*) Protection from Spain and Holland, full yet defined liberty of catholic worship for the infanta, were trifling concessions for such great advantages. In a secret council at Clarendon's house, Charles expressed his willingness to proceed with the matter, and in the autumn Mello, confident of a successful conclusion, returned to Portugal to get further instructions. There the alliance was hailed with rapture. 'A good peace with England was regarded as the only thing under heaven to keep Portugal from despair and ruin' (Maynard to Nicholas, in LISTER'S *Life of Clarendon*, vol. iii., Appendix, No. lviii.) In February Mello was sent back to England, charged with full powers to negotiate, and rewarded with the title of Conde da Ponte for his past services. But on reaching London he found circumstances had changed. Spanish and Dutch influence had been strongly exercised

to thwart the match. The Earl of Bristol exerted his utmost energies to find another alliance acceptable to Spain as well as to Charles. The Spanish ambassador declared that the infanta, besides being no beauty, was incapable of bearing children (*Quadro Elementar*, xvii. 152; cf. KENNER, p. 698, for the similar report of the English merchants at Lisbon). He offered an equal portion to any other princess approved of by Spain that Charles might choose, and protestants were amused by the energy with which the envoy of the catholic king urged the importance of a protestant monarch wedding a protestant bride (D'ABLANCOURT, *Mémoires*, p. 73 sq.)

At last the adoption of the marriage scheme by the French court saved the government of Lisbon from despair. In November 1660 Henrietta Maria had come to London to win her son over to the French party. In March 1661 Louis sent to England M. de Bastide on a secret mission to press for the conclusion of the treaty. Finally, on 8 May Charles and Clarendon announced to parliament that the marriage negotiations had been completed. The news was favourably received both within and without parliament (*Calendar of State Papers*, Dom. 1660-1, pp. 586, 595); and on 13 May an address of congratulation was presented from both houses (*Lords' Journals*, xi. 241 a, 243 b, 253). On 23 June the marriage treaty was signed (it is given in LA CLÈDE, *Histoire de Portugal*, ii. 711).

The news of Catherine's betrothal spread the wildest joy in Portugal. The English merchants rejoiced at the establishment of the 'most beneficiallest trade that ever our nation was engaged in' (Maynard to Nicholas, in LISTER, App. No. lviii.) The Portuguese traders were gratified at the protection of their property from the Dutch navy. The projected invasion from Spain was no longer feared. In July Francisco de Mello arrived again in Lisbon, bearing graceful letters from Charles to Catherine and her mother (MISS STRICKLAND gives translations of these, *Queens of England*, v. 495). The Earl of Sandwich, commander of the fleet, was appointed extraordinary ambassador to Portugal, and at once set sail for Lisbon. But nearly a year elapsed before the queen could be brought back. The Algerine pirates had to be chastised, Tangiers occupied and garrisoned, and the queen's portion shipped. Sandwich appeared in the Tagus in the spring of 1662, and a new dispute arose then as to the method of payment of the portion (Sandwich to Clarendon, in LISTER, iii. App. No. xciv.)

On 13-23 April the magnificent festivi-

ties that accompanied the infanta's departure began. The difficulty of obtaining the necessary dispensations from a pope who had refused to recognise the independence of Portugal rendered it politic to omit the ceremony of a proxy marriage (LISTER, iii. App. No. cxxxviii.; EICHARD, p. 801, is wrong), though Catherine had long been styled in Lisbon the queen of England. Off the Isle of Wight the Duke of York boarded the Royal Charles and was received with great state by Catherine in her cabin, dressed in the English style (*Letters of Philip, second Earl of Chesterfield*, p. 21).

On 13 May the fleet reached Portsmouth. Charles was still detained in London by the need of proroguing parliament, if not by the charms of Mrs. Palmer (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1661-2, p. 370). On the third day after her landing Catherine fell sick of a cold and slight fever, so that when Charles arrived at Portsmouth in the afternoon of 20 May he found her still confined to her bed. She absolutely insisted on a catholic ceremony, and only after seeing her did Charles consent to this step (*Clarendon State Papers*, Appendix xx.; cf. CLARKE, *Life of James II*, i. 394). Accordingly, on 21 May, a catholic wedding service was performed with the utmost secrecy in Catherine's bedchamber, while later in the day a mutilated public ceremony, after the rites of the church of England, was performed by Sheldon, bishop of London, in the presence chamber of the royal palace (*Quadro Elementar*, xvii. 253; *Memoirs of Lady Fanshawe*, pp. 142-5).

Catherine had received an education which wholly incapacitated her for her position. Not only had she been left in entire ignorance of all affairs of state, but her general education had been so limited that she was even unable to speak French (KENNER, p. 534, speaks, however, of her English studies). For a long time Spanish was the only means of communication between her and her husband. She had hardly left the royal palace ten times in her life, and though amiable, dignified, and in a quiet way attractive, the only positive trait that observers could find in her was a simple and childish piety that consumed her time in the routine performance of her religious duties, and sought by pilgrimages to favourite saints to express her thanks to heaven for her advancement to be queen of England (Maynard to Nicholas, 19-29 July, in LISTER, iii. App. No. lxxv.) Pepys thought her 'a greater bigot than even the queen-mother.' The gaieties and amusements of fashionable life had, however, a strong hold on her. She was passionately addicted to dancing, though

her figure prevented her from ever excelling in that accomplishment; and was equally attached to the more exciting pleasures of the masquerade, to cards and to games of chance. A famous stroke of luck, by which she won over a thousand to one at a game of faro, was unprecedented until the days of Horace Walpole, and she scandalised Pepys by playing cards on Sunday (*Diary*, 17 Feb. 1667). Her retired life had resulted in a certain want of tact in small points that soon gave occasion for gossip. It was complained that she had dealt illiberally with the crew of the Royal Charles (PEPYS, 24 May 1662). Her adhesion to Portuguese fashions and dresses excited both odium and ridicule at court (see CLARENDON, *Life*, but cf. *Quadro Elementar*, xvii. 259-60). As her character developed in a very unfavourable environment, she became, when circumstances allowed, proud and exacting. On occasion she gave so much trouble to her attendants that Evelyn moralised on the slavery of courtiers (*Diary*, 17 June 1683; cf. *Hatton Correspondence*, i. 64, Camden Society). The financial difficulties in which she was often involved in her early married life engendered in her extreme parsimony. She schooled herself to play her difficult part, not without success, and to discipline a temper naturally warm and impatient. In a court abandoned and licentious to the last degree no one ventured to hint that her conduct was not in all respects correct.

In person Catherine was of low stature, 'somewhat taller than his majesty's mother' (Maynard to Nicholas, LISTER, iii. App. No. lxx.) 'Her face,' Charles told Clarendon, after he had first seen her, 'was not so exact as to be called a beauty, though her eyes were excellent good, and there was nothing in her face that in the least degree can disgust one' (*Lansdowne MS.* 1236, f. 124, partly printed in STRICKLAND). Lord Chesterfield, her chamberlain, speaks of her appearance in a very similar strain (CHESTERFIELD'S *Letters*, p. 123). Her long and luxuriant hair was her chief adornment, even when twisted into extraordinary shapes by her Portuguese hairdresser. Her teeth 'wronged her mouth by sticking a little too far out' (EVELYN, ii. 190, ed. 1827). Her voice was low and agreeable. 'If I have any skill in physiognomy,' her husband said, 'she must be as good a woman as ever was born,' and Pepys admitted that, 'though not overcharming, she had a good modest and innocent look that was pleasing' (*Diary*, 7 Sept. 1662, cf. 31 May).

The first few weeks after the marriage nearly everything looked promising (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1631-2, p. 333), though

discerning observers already anticipated difficulties (CHESTERFIELD'S *Letters*, p. 123). Charles was attracted by the simplicity and childishness of his wife, and prophesied eternal love and constancy. He amused himself with teaching her English, and laughed at her mistakes. On 27 May Charles and Catherine left Portsmouth, and on 29 May celebrated at Hampton Court the 'star-crown'd anniversary' of the former's birth and restoration (*Exact Relation*). There they remained for the early summer, and on 23 Aug. 'the most magnificent triumph ever seen on the Thames' accompanied their solemn entry to Whitehall, and ended the long and not very hearty festivities that had attended the union.

The troubles of life had already begun. 'The lady,' as Mrs. Palmer was called, had received the intelligence of Charles's marriage with a very ill grace. To soothe her violence Charles acknowledged her son, made her unwilling husband Earl of Castlemaine, and promised that she should be a lady of his wife's bedchamber; but Catherine instantly struck out her name from the list of her household. Yet within a few weeks Charles brought the lady to court, and publicly presented her to Catherine. At first the queen received her graciously, 'but the instant she knew who she was she was no sooner set in her chair but her colour changed, and tears gushed out of her eyes and her nose bled, and she fainted' (CLARENDON, *Continuation of his Life*; cf. Clarendon to Ormonde, 17 July, in LISTER, vol. iii. App. No. ciii. This plainly refers to the first interview, wrongly dated in the *Continuation*, as 'within a day or two of the queen's arrival at Hampton Court'). The queen was removed to another room, and the court broke up in confusion. A painful struggle ensued. Charles 'sought ease and refreshment in jolly company,' who held up to him the example of his grandfather, Henry IV. He applied to Clarendon to bring the queen to a sense of the helplessness of her position. The chancellor's first advances were met by 'so much passion and such a torrent of tears that there was nothing left for him to do but to retire.' Next day he found the queen more composed to receive his stiff and ungenial lecture, but when he 'insinuated what would be acceptable with reference to the lady, it raised all the rage and fury of yesterday, with fewer tears, the fire appearing in her eyes where the water was.' Catherine fiercely protested that she would rather go back to Portugal than yield so unworthily. The struggle continued for days. The dismissal of nearly all her Portuguese household, to whose impolitic prudery the courtiers attributed Catherine's determi-

nation, left her without friends or confidants. But Catherine's active remonstrances were ultimately exchanged for a passive resistance that was the prelude to a practical surrender. Lady Castlemaine took up her quarters at Hampton Court. The queen saw 'a universal mirth in all company but in hers, and in all places but her chamber.' At last she openly condoned the scandal. Clarendon, who had done his best to bring about this result, was mean enough to pretend that this unworthy concession damaged the queen both in public opinion and with her husband (the above account is taken entirely from CLARENDON, *Continuation of his Life*, p. 1085-92, 4to edit. 1843). Henceforth Catherine received with kindness and forbearance the long series of her husband's mistresses (see e.g. PEPPYS, 24 Oct. and 23 Dec. 1662). She even showed kindnesses to her husband's bastards, befriended James Crofts, the future duke of Monmouth, though fiercely resisting his recognition, and, in after years, she gave a pension to the Duke of Grafton. Such command did she gain over herself that she never entered her own dressing-room without warning, lest she should surprise Charles toying with her maids (PEPPYS, 8 Feb. 1664). But sometimes her hot southern nature flamed up despite all her schooling (*ib.* 6 July 1663; cf. RERESBY, *Memoirs*, p. 104).

In return for this complaisance, Charles treated his wife generally with kindness, sometimes with affection (e.g. PEPPYS, 7 Sept. 1662). Yet courtiers contrasted the gorgeous furniture of the apartments of favourite mistresses with the simple decorations of the queen's private rooms; though the simplicity of her tastes may have partly accounted for the difference, and she certainly possessed some costly furniture and decorations (e.g. EVELYN, 17 April 1673; *Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1665-6, p. 139; and see PEPPYS, 24 June 1664 and 9 June 1662). When at great court festivities the Duchesses of Cleveland and Portsmouth were rustling in rich silks and blazing with jewels, Catherine was simply dressed and without diamonds. Goodman the actor kept her waiting for the play till 'his duchess' arrived. Aspirants for place and promotion neglected the wife for the powerful mistress. After the queen-mother's death, Catherine, whose circumstances then became much easier, often abandoned court altogether for her dower-mansion of Somerset House. Her ignorance or indifference to political matters made her the more careless of her absolute want of all political influence.

Catherine was suspected of exercising influence on state affairs in the interests of the catholic religion. In October 1682 she sent her

confidential servant, Richard Bellings [q. v.], himself a very strong catholic, to Rome, with letters to the pope and the leading cardinals (see drafts of the letters in *Add. MS.* 22548, ff. 23-70; MENEZES, *Portugal Restaurado*, iv. 196). They chiefly related to the condition of Portugal, which had thus far been refused recognition as a kingdom by popes devoted to the Spanish interest. Subsequent correspondence of the same kind, though exciting odium, was generally of little importance, and often, as in 1674 to 1682, of a merely formal and complimentary character (*Rawlinson MS.* A. 483). It was also complained that her chapel became the resort of English catholics, and in 1667 an order of council forbade their flocking there (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1667, p. 457). The present of a richly bound Portuguese New Testament from the English chaplain at Goa was the only attempt recorded that could be even suspected as aiming at her conversion (it is still preserved in the Bodleian, MS. Tanner, lxxxiii.)

Catherine followed the history of her country with the keenest interest. Her mother's death, though long kept from her, affected her profoundly (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1665-6, p. 342; cf. *Hatton Correspondence*, i. 49). Generally averse to letter-writing, she yet kept up a very considerable correspondence with her brother Peter (in Egerton MS. 1534 are eighty unedited letters of hers to him in Portuguese holograph). On one occasion her patriotic instincts led her to insult, very unnecessarily, the Spanish ambassador. When on what was thought to be her deathbed, her most earnest requests to her husband were to suffer her body to be buried in her beloved fatherland, and never to desert that alliance on which its independence mainly rested.

Catherine played a very small part in the intellectual life of her age. She encouraged Italian music in this country. Her chapel music, painfully bad when she first came over, was gradually improved. The first Italian opera performed in England was acted in her presence. She was fond of masques, and plays were constantly performed before her (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom., 1666-7, p. 305). She sat to Lely for her portrait, still at Hampton Court. She set a patriotic example of largely wearing English fabrics (*ib.* 1665-6, p. 31). Her devotion to tea, introduced into England by her countrymen, did much to make that beverage popular (see WALLER's poem in *Works*, p. 221, ed. 1729). She is celebrated in the annals of fashion as introducing from Portugal the large green fans with which ladies shaded their faces before the introduction of parasols.

Her council and household had often to contend with the most pressing financial difficulties. On one occasion she complained to parliament that, of 40,000*l.* of her allowance, she had only received 4,000*l.* In 1663 lack of funds postponed a visit to Tunbridge Wells from May to July; and when the physician recommended the waters of Bourbon, she could only get enough money to go to Bath, though its stifling air was soon found to disagree with her (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1663-4, p. 234). A state visit to Bristol and a progress through the West Midlands followed this; and gossips noticed that, with the spread of a rumour that the queen was pregnant, Castlemaine fell out of favour, and Charles became more attentive to his wife (PEPYS, 7 June 1663). Soon, however, after Catherine's return to London, she was prostrated by so severe a 'spotted fever accompanied by sore throat' that her life was despaired of (15 Oct.) Charles was much moved; he spent the greater part of the day in tears by her bedside; and his affection, it was thought, did more to restore Catherine than the cordials and elixirs of her physicians. In March 1664 she was well enough to accompany Charles to the opening of parliament. In 1665 she was driven by the plague to Salisbury, and thence to Oxford to meet the parliament in October. Here she remained several months, lodged in Merton College. In February 1666 she miscarried; 'the evidence of fecundity must allay the trouble of the loss' (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. Feb. 5; cf. *Hatton Correspondence*, i. 48). Clarendon's fall in 1667 deprived Catherine of an austere though real friend. His successors were ready to make political capital out of schemes to conciliate popular and court support by projects for her repudiation or divorce. Rumour spread that she was going to retire to a nunnery, and to be divorced on the plea of a vow of chastity, a pre-contract, or some similar excuse (PEPYS, 7 Sept. 1667; cf. EACHARD, p. 842). Some divines recommended polygamy as the better way of getting a direct heir to the throne (BURNER, *Own Times*, Oxford edition, i. 480). Southwell, the English ambassador at Lisbon, was covered with confusion by the Queen of Portugal asking him whether the report had any foundation (Southwell to Arlington, 2-12 Dec. 1667). One wild rumour said that Buckingham had asked Charles for leave to steal her away and send her to some colony, and then ground a divorce on the plea of wilful desertion. Many found in Miss Stewart a new Anne Boleyn. Twice again (in 1668 and in 1669) there were hopes of her bearing children, but again they were doomed to dis-

appointment. As a result of this, perhaps, divorce schemes were renewed. Charles's interest in Lord Ross's marriage bill (1670) was regarded as not wholly disinterested. An absurd story went round that the pope had agreed to the divorce (EACHARD, p. 875). Yet about the same time Charles went with Catherine to Dover to meet the Duchess of Orleans and sign the famous treaty, of which, however, it is not known that she was cognisant. One result of the expedition was that Louise de Quérouaille was added to the number of her maids of honour. In 1671 Catherine accompanied Charles on a progress to the eastern counties. At Audley End she got involved in an extraordinary frolic, when she and some of her ladies went disguised as countrywomen to Saffron Walden fair and were found out and mobbed. Afterwards she and Charles were magnificently entertained at Norwich by Lord Henry Howard (DAWSON TURNER, *Narrative of King Charles's Visit to Norwich*).

The development of anti-catholic feeling now became troublesome to Catherine. On 5 Feb. 1673 a committee of the lords was appointed to draw up a bill 'that no Romish priest do attend her majesty but such as are subjects of the king of Portugal' (*Lords' Journals*, xii. 627 b; cf. 618 b). The popish plot panic involved her in more serious dangers. Soon after the murder of Sir Edmund-bury Godfrey (12 Oct. 1678) the informer Bedloe attributed the deed to her popish servants. On 8 Nov. 1678 Somerset House was searched for papists connected with the plot (*ib.* xiii. 48 a), and Titus Oates soon outstripped Bedloe by accusing the queen herself of a design to poison the king. He deposed before the council that he had accompanied some jesuits one day in August to Somerset House, and heard through a door left ajar the queen protesting that she would no longer suffer indignities to her bed, and was content with procuring the death of her husband and the propagation of the catholic faith (NORTH, *Examen of the Plot*, pp. 182-3; cf. EACHARD, p. 955). Cross-examination and subsequent investigation showed clearly his entire ignorance of the internal arrangements of Somerset House and the impossibility of his having heard any such conversation. But Bedloe produced corroborative testimony of an interview he pretended to have witnessed between Catherine and some French priests in the gallery of her chapel at Somerset House, which he impudently asserted he had forgotten to mention when he gave in his depositions as to the murder of Godfrey. Wakeman, her physician, was to prepare the poison, Catherine was to deliver it herself; her last

scruples had been overcome by the French jesuits.

On 28 Nov. Bedloe made his depositions at the bar of the House of Commons. Oates followed, and solemnly accused Catherine of high treason (see GREY'S *Debates*, vi. 287-300). Next day they repeated their statements to the House of Lords (*Lords' Journals*, xiii. 388 a). On 12 Nov. the commons addressed the king begging him to tender oaths of supremacy to all the queen's English servants (*Commons' Journals*, ix. 539 b; cf. 548); and on 28 Nov. passed another address for the removal of Catherine, her family, and all papists from Whitehall (*ib.* ix. 549 b); which was, despite Shaftesbury's opposition, negated by the Lords (*Lords' Journals*, xiii. 392 b). For some time Catherine was in imminent danger. Next year fresh depositions, among others from Monmouth's cook, were handed in against her, and on 24 June the council voted that she had better stand her trial. In these distresses her chief adviser was the exiled Count of Castelmelhor, and Dom Pedro, her brother, though not very speedily, despatched a special envoy to interpose in her behalf. But such foreign support would have availed her little against popular feeling. More important was Charles's steady adhesion to her. He said publicly to Burnet that he thought it would be a horrid thing to abandon her, and declared that, though men thought he had a mind to a new wife, he would not see an innocent woman wronged. He issued a public proclamation that he had never been married to any woman besides Catherine. In return for such acts of favour Catherine clung to the king with more affection than ever, declared she was only in safety where he was (*Letters of H. Prideaux*, p. 82, Camden Soc.), and went so far as to include the Duchess of Portsmouth in the nine popish ladies of her household that had been exempted from the test enforced on the rest. The acquittal of Sir George Wakeman and some jesuit priests on the charge of uniting with the queen to poison the king was a first check on the informers. 'The queen is now a mistress,' wrote Lady Sunderland, 'the passion her spouse has for her is so great.' At a dinner at Chiffinch's 'the queen drank a little wine to pledge the king's health and prosperity to his affairs, having drunk no wine this many years.' In August Bedloe died, protesting with his last breath that the queen was ignorant of any design against the king, and had only given money to help the introduction of catholicism. Yet on 17 Nov., after the failure of the Exclusion Bill, Shaftesbury moved in the House of Lords, 'as the

sole remaining chance of liberty, security, and religion, a bill of divorce which by separating the king from Catherine might enable him to marry a protestant consort, and thus to leave the crown to his legitimate issue.' A warm debate ensued, but Shaftesbury gained so little support that, after several adjournments, he refused to persevere with his motion. Charles himself was very active against the bill, and it is recorded that 'on leaving the House of Lords he went straight to the queen, and to give a proof of his extraordinary affection for her he seated himself after dinner in her apartment, and slept there a long time, which he had been in the habit of doing only in the Duchess of Portsmouth's chamber' (Barillon's despatches in *CHRISTIE'S Life of Shaftesbury*, ii. 378; cf. 380). Catherine, who had suffered from illness during the autumn, attended early in the winter the trial of Lord Stafford (30 Nov.—7 Dec.), during which the old accusations against her were freely bandied about, and may have had some share in his conviction. Next year Fitzharris's information also involved the queen. He declared that Dom Francisco de Mello had informed him that she was involved in a design for poisoning Charles. In March 1681 Catherine accompanied her husband to Oxford and was present during the turbulent scenes that resulted in the dissolution of the last parliament of Charles's reign. This brought her troubles to an end. Fitzharris was condemned to death, and just before his execution declared to the council that he had been persuaded to invent the stories involving the queen by the whig sheriffs of London, Cornish and Bethel, and Treby the recorder. The queen's good domestic fortune outlived—though not for long—her troubles. Catherine shared in Charles's renewed popularity, and with some magnanimity interceded for Monmouth's pardon, an office which seems to have led to some coolness between her and the Duke of York, with whom she had already been for trifling causes slightly at variance (STRICKLAND, p. 667). Before long, however, the Duchess of Portsmouth returned to court, and the queen's absence from that scene of 'luxury, dissoluteness, and forgetfulness of God' which Evelyn so vividly pictured on the last Sunday of Charles's life indicates that her old difficulties had in nowise abated (1 Feb. 1685). On Charles's sudden illness Catherine, who may have known something of his religious position, without being, as her Portuguese panegyrists say, the chief cause of his conversion, displayed the greatest anxiety for his reconciliation with the catholic church before his death. She earnestly

besought the Duchess of York to exhort the duke to take advantage of the king's 'good moments' with that object (CAMPANA DE CAVELLI, tom. 2, doc. eccciii). It was in her chamber, though she herself was senseless in the physician's hands, that James and Barrillon made the final arrangements for the king's reconciliation, and one of her priests assisted Huddleston in the administration of the last rites to him. Her grief at his death was extreme. She received her visits of condolence in a bed of mourning in a darkened room hung with black, faintly illuminated by burning tapers (EVELYN, 5 Feb.). Two months afterwards she left Whitehall for Somerset House, and there, or at her suburban residence at Hammersmith, where she had privately established a convent of nuns, she spent the first years of her widowhood. She lived in great privacy, amusing herself by cards and concerts. Her chamberlain Feversham governed her household, and her intimacy with him groundlessly excited scandalous gossip. She seems to have been on fair terms with the new king and queen. She interceded, however, in vain for Monmouth, who had addressed piteous supplications to her for help (ROBERTS, *Life of Monmouth*, ii. 112, 119; cf. *Camden Miscellany*, viii.) She was present at the birth of the Prince of Wales on 10 June 1688 (see her own account in a letter to her brother King Pedro in *Egerton MS.* 1534, f. 10), stood godmother for him, and gave evidence before the council that he was truly the son of Mary of Modena.

Catherine proposed to return to Portugal, and ships were prepared for her departure. She delayed, however, in England to carry on a tedious and rather vexatious lawsuit against Lord Clarendon, her former chamberlain, for some large sums asserted to have been lost by his negligence or peculation. Most people shared King James's opinion, that she was a hard woman to deal with, and she seems to have become both greedy and litigious (full details of the suit in the *State Letters and Diary of Henry, Earl of Clarendon*, especially in the *Diary*, pp. 18, 23-5, 29, 41, 79).

The revolution found Catherine still in England. She received an early visit from the Prince of Orange, who did her a little service by releasing Feversham from custody (EACHARD, p. 1136). But, despite her friendly relations with the new government, she was involved in the general attack on all catholics. In July 1689 a bill passed the commons limiting the number of her popish servants to eighteen, but it failed to get through the House of Lords. William himself requested her to leave Somerset House for a less public place

of residence, on the ground that 'there were great meetings and caballings against his government carried on there' (CLARENDON'S *Diary*, p. 244; cf. *Hatton Correspondence*, ii. 150). She replied by appealing to her treaty rights, and William did not press his point; but in his absence more unpleasantness broke out between Queen Mary and Catherine on the ground that a prayer for William's success in Ireland was omitted from the service in the Savoy Chapel, which was under Catherine's jurisdiction and used by the protestants of her household. This renewed Catherine's desire to leave England; but difficulties about the escort put the voyage off till the end of March 1692. She proceeded on her journey with great privacy; refused to visit Versailles and Louis XIV; showed more state when she entered Spain; but was detained on the way by an attack of erysipelas, and did not enter Lisbon until 20 Jan. 1693, where she was received with great demonstrations of delight by the court and people (SOUSA, iv. 327-329). She resided first at the royal quinta of Alcantara, and subsequently at Santa Martha and Belem; but she finally settled in the new palace of Bemposta, which she had built close to Lisbon. There she lived a very quiet life. Her household was reduced to that of a private family, though on days of ceremony it was still thronged by the nobility of Portugal (*Account of the Court of Portugal*, pp. 125-7, London, 1700). In 1703 the Methuen treaty completed the alliance with England, of which she was the advocate. In 1704 she had another attack of erysipelas. On her recovery she was appointed regent to her brother Pedro, whose health had become very bad. This was in 1704, and in 1705 the appointment was renewed. Her administration seems to have been successful, and several victories were gained over the Spaniards (SOUSA, *Provas*, 42; BURNET, *Own Times*, v. 163, ed. 1833). While still acting as regent she died on 31 Dec. 1705 of a sudden attack of colic. The magnificence of her funeral at Belem, the suspension of the tribunals, and the general mourning, attested the respect in which she was held. Her great wealth, the fruit of long years of economy, she left to King Pedro, but charged with many pious legacies (SOUSA, *Provas*, 43).

[The biography of Catherine in Miss Strickland's *Lives of the Queens of England*, v. 478-703, ed. 1854, though not always very critical, frequently discursive and weak on its political side, has collected the greater part of the materials available; Jesse's *Life in the Memoirs of the Court of England during the Reigns of the Stuart Kings* is short and superficial; more im-

portant is the memoir in A. C. de Sousa's *Historia Genealogica da Casa Real Portuguesa* (Lisboa, 1735-49), tom. vii., with the original documents in the *Provas*, tom. iv. num. 36-43; from this come most of the facts of her early and later life. P. de Azevedo de Tojal's curious epic poem, *Carlos reduzido, Inglaterra ilustrada* (Lisboa, 1716), combines with much high-flown poetic rhapsody a matter-of-fact biography. The marriage negotiations and the whole of Catherine's subsequent relations to Portugal are best studied in the valuable calendar of original documents on the dealings between England and Portugal in vols. xvii. and xviii. of *Quadro Elementar das relações politicas e diplomaticas de Portugal com as diversas potencias do mundo*, by Barros e Sousa Visconde de Santarem and Rebello da Silva. A general view of Portuguese history during her life can be found in Schäfer's *Geschichte von Portugal*, tom. iv. and v. (Heeren and Vkert's series), and *La Clède's Histoire de Portugal*, tom. ii. Ranke's *History of England*, iii. 343-7 and 380-5 (the Oxford translation), summarises shortly the political bearing of the marriage; Clarendon's *Continuation of his Life*, the *Appendix to the Clarendon State Papers* (vol. iii.); Lister's *Life of Clarendon*, and especially the documents in vol. iii.; L. de Menezes, conde da Ericeira's *Historia de Portugal Restaurado* and the *MS. Relação da Embaixada de Francisco de Mello, conde da Ponte, in Inglaterra* (MS. Add. 15202) are all valuable. The festivities at Lisbon and London and the queen's voyage are specially described in the *Relacion de las Fiestas á Lisboa*; the *Programma das formalidades in Quadro Elementar*, xvii. 236-56; *Ordens para a Recepção da D. Catherina*, MS. Cott. Vesp. c. xiv. no. 29; Mello's *Relação da forma com que se publicou em Inglaterra o casamento da S. D. Catherina* (Lisbon, 1761); the *Exact Relation of the Landing of Her Majesty* (London, 1662); *Sandwich's Diary in Kennet*, and the curious doggerel called *Iter Lusitanicum, or the Portugal Voyage, by a Cosmopolite*. Of the flood of gratulatory poetry, the *Domiduca Oxoniensis* and the *Epithalamia* of the rival university may be mentioned. Other general authorities, such as Pepys, Evelyn, Hamilton, Resesby, the *Calendars of State Papers*, Browne's *Miscellaneous Aulica*, Ives, the *Sidney Papers*, the *Hatton Correspondence*, the second *Lord Chesterfield's Letters*, *Singer's Correspondence and Diary of the Second Lord Clarendon*, the *Lords' and Commons' Journals*, *Gray's Debates*, *North's Examen*, and *Christie's Life of Shaftesbury*, have in most instances been quoted in the text, besides other less important authorities. Some letters of Catherine are in Strickland, others in Rawlinson MS. A. 268 and 483, Add. MS. 22548, and in Egerton MS. 1534.]  
T. F. T.

CATHROE or KADROE, SAINT (10th cent.) [See CADROE.]

CATLEY, ANN (1745-1789), vocalist, born in 1745 near Tower Hill, London, was



the daughter of a hackney coachman, at one time in the service of the quaker Barclay, and afterwards keeper of the Horns public-house at Norwood. Remarkable for beauty of face and voice, as early as 1755 she amused the officers stationed at the Tower by her singing. About 1760, her voice having attracted the notice of William Bates, a west-end musician, he and her father entered into a bond for 200*l.* that he was to feed and clothe the girl, train her, and get her a public engagement (*Thespian Dict.*) In 1762 she appeared at Vauxhall, and on 8 Oct. sang the part of the Pastoral Nymph in 'Comus' at Covent Garden Theatre. Her beauty and the freedom of her manners quickly made her notorious; and in 1763 her father took process in the king's bench to force Bates to produce her in court, as it was rumoured that she had been basely handed over to a young baronet, Sir Francis Blake Delaval (KIRKMAN, *Macklin*, i. 450-1). Robert Barclay, her father's master, obtained legal assistance for him, and Delaval, Bates, and Delaval's attorney, Frayne, were fined by Lord Mansfield for conspiring to deprive Catley of the custody of his daughter.

Ann Catley obtained an engagement at Marylebone Gardens immediately afterwards, and became a pupil of Macklin. Under his auspices she obtained an engagement (1763) at Dublin, appearing at the Smock Alley Theatre with extraordinary success, at a salary of forty guineas per night (*Thespian Dict.*) O'Keeffe, the dramatist, writes of her popularity and beauty. The ladies of Dublin had their hair 'Catleyfied,' i.e. dressed as Miss Catley dressed hers. She did not return to England till 1770: Lucrative engagements followed rapidly. Her time was passed between Vauxhall, Marylebone Gardens, the theatres, and private concerts; her characters included Isabella in the 'Portrait,' Arnold's music; Rosetta in 'Love in a Village,' which kept a theatre prosperous for two years; and Captain Macheath. In 1770 and 1773 she appeared at Covent Garden (*ib.*), where Horace Walpole saw her in 'Elfrida.' On 6 Feb. 1773 she played Juno in O'Hara's 'Golden Pippin,' and took the town by storm with two songs, 'Push about the jorum' and 'Where's the mortal can resist me?' 'For Miss Catley,' Walpole says (*Letters*, Cunningham's ed. vi. 13), 'she looked so impudent . . . you might have imagined she had been singing the "black joke," only that she would then have been more intelligible.' In 1773 were published some scandalous 'Memoirs of the celebrated Miss Ann C——y,' containing a succinct Narrative of the most remarkable Incidents of that Lady's Life, &c.

(2 vols.) In 1777, in Wenman's volume of 'Plays,' article 'Comus,' there appeared a portrait of Ann Catley as Euphrosyne. In 1784 she made her last appearance in public (*Thespian Dict.*), and retired upon a considerable fortune. She had then become the wife of Major-general Francis Lascelles, by whom she was the mother of eight children, four sons and four daughters, the eldest son being old enough at her death to be a cornet of dragons (*Gent. Mag.* 1789, vol. lix. pt. ii. p. 962). She and the general lived in a handsome house at Ealing, bought by herself for her daughters out of her own fortune, and she died there of decline on 14 Oct. 1789. From her will, signed Anne Cateley, though her death was recorded under the head of Mrs. Lascelles, it appears that her property amounted to 5,000*l.*

In 'Notes and Queries' (4th series, vi. 112; and vii. 41, 217) much curious matter is set down concerning the tune 'Helmsley,' said to have been originally a hornpipe danced by Ann Catley. Dr. Rimbault refers there to Miss Ambross's 'Life and Memoirs of the late Miss Ann Catley, the celebrated actress; with Biographical Sketches of Sir Francis Blake Delaval, and the Hon. Isabella Pawlet, daughter of the Earl of Thanet.' No copy of this work is in the British Museum.

[Grove's Dict. of Music, i. 326; Thespian Dict. art. 'Catley, Ann; Kirkman's Memoirs of Macklin, i. 448-53; Genest's Hist. of the Stage, vi. 314-15; Brief Narrative of . . . Miss C\*tl\*y, pp. 1, 20, 21, 38; Gent. Mag. vol. lix. pt. ii. pp. 962, 1049, 1050; O'Keeffe's Reminiscences (1826); Monthly Review, enlarged series, i. 581.]  
J. H.

CATLIN, STR ROBERT (*d.* 1574), judge, was born at Beby in Leicestershire, though his ancestry is said to have belonged to Northamptonshire. He was a member of the Middle Temple, and was appointed reader to that society in 1547. In 1553, the lordship of his native place having reverted to the crown through the attainder of the Duke of Suffolk, Catlin obtained a grant of it. In the following year he was called to the rank of serjeant-at-law, and two years later to that of king's and queen's serjeant. He was appointed a justice of the common pleas in October 1558, was reappointed on the accession of Elizabeth in November of the next year, and in the ensuing January was created chief justice of the queen's bench in the room of Sir Edward Saunders, removed on account of his religious opinions, and was knighted. During his tenure of office he would seem to have had next to no judicial business to perform. He

presided over the judges at the trial of the Duke of Norfolk for high treason in conspiring with Mary Stuart to dethrone the queen in January 1571, and the following month sentenced one of the duke's retainers, Robert Hickford, to death as an accomplice. His judgment on this occasion is reported at some length. It is a homily on the sacredness of majesty and the heinousness of treason, and, so regarded, not altogether a discreditable performance. The closing sentences evince an acquaintance with Chaucer's 'House of Fame.' But he does not appear to have been particularly subservient as a judge, as we find that this same year, 1571, he incurred the serious displeasure of the queen by refusing to 'alter the ancient forms of the court' in the interests of the Earl of Leicester. He was accused of denying justice and making the queen's bench 'a court of conscience' by one Thomas Welch in 1566. He married Ann, daughter of John Boles of Wallington, Hertfordshire, and relict of John Burgoyne, by whom he had one daughter, whose first husband was Sir John Spencer. He died at his seat at Newenham, Bedfordshire, in 1574.

[Fuller's Worthies (Leicestershire); Dugdale's Orig. 217, Chron. Ser. 89, 90, 91; Cal. State Papers, Dom. 1547-80, pp. 107, 416; Cobbett's State Trials, i. 957, 1042, ii. 1046; Foss's Lives of the Judges.] J. M. R.

**CATNACH, JAMES** (of the Seven Dials), (1792-1841), publisher, born at Alnwick in Northumberland, 18 Aug. 1792, was the son of John Catnach, a printer of that town. The elder Catnach printed and published books which, for the time, were well illustrated; such as 'The Beauties of Natural History, selected from Buffon's History of Quadrupeds, &c., with sixty-seven cuts by Bewick,' 'Poems by Percival Stockdale, with cuts by Thos. Bewick,' 'The Hermit of Warkworth,' and the 'Poetical Works of Robert Burns,' the illustrations being engraved by Bewick. About 1808 he left Alnwick for Newcastle, and five years afterwards removed to London. He had a shop in Wardour Street, Soho, and died 4 Dec. 1813, from the effects of an accident.

His son James, who was then working as a printer at Newcastle-on-Tyne, immediately came to London, and soon afterwards, 1813-1814, commenced business at 2 Monmouth Court, Seven Dials, where he set up his father's old wooden press, and got together some scraps of type and old woodcuts. With these he printed little duodecimo volumes known as 'chap-books' and broadsides.

He was young and energetic, and struck

out a new line for himself, in the shape of children's books, which he published at a farthing each. He bought ballads on every passing event, at the price of half-a-crown per ballad. In cases of popular excitement he did well, and he is reported to have made over 500*l.* by the trial of Thurtell for the murder of Mr. Weare.

His publications were printed on the flimsiest possible paper, with bad ink and worse type, and, as a rule, headed by a woodcut totally irrelevant to the text. Among these woodcuts, especially in the Christmas carol broadsheets, are many of the sixteenth century, which he had bought at various sales of printing material. The British Museum has a large collection of his ballads and those of his competitors, notably two thick volumes, which contain over four thousand purchased in 1868 for 7*l.* 7*s.*

He made a competence, possibly some 5,000*l.*, and retired from business in 1838, living at Dancer's Hill, South Mimms, near Barnet, but he died at his old shop on 1 Feb. 1841, aged 49, and was buried in Highgate cemetery.

[Hindley's Life and Times of James Catnach, 1878; A Collection of the Books and Woodcuts of James Catnach, 1869.] J. A.

**CATON, WILLIAM** (1636-1665), quaker, was probably a near relation of Margaret Askew, afterwards wife of Thomas Fell, vice-chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster. At the age of fourteen he was taken by his father to the judge's house at Swarthmore, near Ulverston, to be educated by a kinsman who was then tutor to the Fell family. The boy was made a companion to the judge's eldest son, and was sent with him to a school at Hawkshead. In 1652 George Fox paid his first visit to Swarthmore Hall, and Caton embraced quakerism. He now refused to study on the ground of its being a worldly occupation, and Margaret Fell employed him at Swarthmore to teach her younger children and act as her secretary. When he was about eighteen, Caton was chosen one of the quaker preachers for the district of which Swarthmore was the centre, and in his 'Journal' he relates that he was often 'beaten, buffeted, stocked, and stoned' by the people of the places in which he attempted to preach. In 1654 he left Swarthmore in order to become an itinerant preacher. Towards the end of the year he was joined by John Stubbs, with whom he proceeded to Maidstone. Here they were both sent to the house of correction and harshly treated, when, the only charge against them being that of preaching, the magistrates were compelled to release them (a

full account of this is preserved in the *MSS. of the Friends of East Kent*. About the middle of 1655 Caton made an attempt to plant his doctrines in France, but went no further than Calais on account of the difficulty he found in preaching through an interpreter, and returned to England without delay. After a preaching tour, which lasted some months, he went to Holland, hoping to convert the Dutch, though he was as ignorant of their language as he was of French. At Flushing and Middelburg he found English congregations, and was roughly handled at both places for interrupting their services. At the end of 1655 he was again in England. He next made an attempt to promulgate quakerism in Scotland, and was the messenger from the Friends in England to General Monck. Early in 1656 Caton was imprisoned for a short time at Congleton. Towards the end of this year he returned to Holland, and, after some adventures, determined to settle in Amsterdam, where there was a small quaker community. He spent some time between England and Holland. In a letter preserved in the 'Swarthmore MSS.' he gives a brief interesting account of the ceremonies attending the promulgation of Charles II in 1660. At the end of 1660 he had an interview with the 'prince palatine' at Heidelberg, to plead for liberty of conscience. About 1662 he married Annekin Derrix or Derricks, a Dutch quakeress. On a later journey to Holland he was forced to take shelter in Yarmouth Roads, where he landed, and was imprisoned for nearly five months for refusing the oath of allegiance. His letters give a graphic account both of the storm and of his severe treatment in prison. Little more is accurately known of his life, except that he returned to Holland. His last known letter is dated 8th month 1665 (O.S.), and Barclay, in his reprint of Caton's 'Journal,' states that there is reason to believe that he died towards the end of 1665. Caton stands out in marked contrast to most of the early quakers, for though an enthusiast he was far from being a fanatic. He wrote largely, both in English and Dutch, and his style was more simple and pointed than that of most of the seventeenth-century Friends. In England, Holland, and Germany his works were for more than a century very highly esteemed, and his 'Journal,' a somewhat wordy and tedious work, is still a popular book among the Friends.

His principal works were: 1. 'A True Declaration of the Bloody Proceedings of the Men of Maidstone,' 1655. 2. 'The Moderate Enquirer resolved . . . by way of Conference concerning the condemned People

commonly called Quakers,' &c., 1659 (translated into Dutch as 'Den matelijcken Onderzoeker voldaan' in 1689). 3. 'Truth's Character of Professors . . .' 1660. 4. 'An Epistle to King Charles II sent from Amsterdam in Holland, the 28 of the 10 month, 1660.' 5. 'William Caton's Salutation and Advice unto God's Elect,' 1660. 6. 'An Abridgement; or a Compendious Commemoration of the Remarkable Chronologies which are contained in that famous Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius Pamphilus,' 1661 (reprinted as 'An Abridgement of Eusebius Pamphilus's Ecclesiastical History'). 7. 'The Testimony of a Cloud of Witnesses,' &c., 1662. 8. 'Two General Epistles given forth in Yarmouth Common Gaol,' 1663. 9. 'A Journal of the Life of . . . Will. Caton, written by his own hand' (edited by George Fox), 1689. Besides the above Caton wrote a large number of small books and tracts in High and Low Dutch, which have never been translated; the most important of these is 'Eine Beschirmung d'un schuldigen,' &c., 1664.

[The foregoing account has been chiefly compiled from Caton's Journal; Tuke's Life of Caton (Biographical Notices of Friends, vol. ii.); Webb's The Fells of Swarthmore Hall; Smith's Catalogue of Friends' Books; Sewel's History of the Rise of the Society of Friends; and manuscripts in the Swarthmore Collection at Devonshire House, Bishopsgate Street, London.] A. C. B.

**CATTERMOLE, GEORGE** (1800-1868), water-colour painter, was born at Dickleborough, near Diss, Norfolk, on 8 Aug. 1800, and was the youngest child of a large family. His mother died when he was two years old, and his early education was conducted by his father, a gentleman of independent means. At the age of fourteen, if not before, he was placed with John Britton [q. v.], the antiquary. His brother Richard was at that time, or soon after, employed to draw for Britton's 'Cathedral Antiquities of England,' and George also executed drawings for that work. In 1819 he commenced to exhibit at the Royal Academy. In that year, and in 1821, he sent views of Peterborough Cathedral, in 1826 'King Henry discovering the relics of King Arthur in Glastonbury Abbey,' a 'View near Salisbury,' and 'A Lighthouse —;' and in 1827 'Trial of Queen Catherine,' his sixth and last contribution to the exhibitions of the Academy. He also during this period (1819-27) exhibited two works at the British Institution. In 1822 he was elected an associate exhibitor of the Society (now the Royal Society) of Painters in Water Colours, and in 1833 he became a full member. It was mainly by his drawings exhibited at the

rooms of this society that he established his fame as an artist. Commencing as an architectural draughtsman, but with a mind well stored with history and archaeological detail, his imagination soon began to fill with their ancient life the buildings which he drew, and his art was naturally inspired with that romantic spirit which, long felt in literature, had culminated in the novels of Sir Walter Scott. The great romantic movement among the artists of France was simultaneous with the appearance of Cattermole, who may be considered as the ally of Delacroix and Bonington, and as the greatest representative, if not the founder, in England of the art that sought its motives in the restoration of bygone times, with their manners and customs, their architecture and costumes, their chivalrous and religious sentiment, complete. To perform this part he brought a spirit naturally ardent, controlled by a fine and somewhat severe artistic taste, which, without destroying the energy and freedom of his design, permitted neither extravagance nor affectation. He had a gift of colour, a felicity and directness of touch, and a command of his materials, which have never been excelled in his line of art. He treated landscape and architecture with almost equal skill, and though his figures were on a small scale, and often shared but even honours with the scenes in which they were placed, they were always designed with spirit, living in gesture, and right in expression. Among the more important of the drawings exhibited at the Water-colour Society were: 'After the Sortie,' 1834; 'Sir Walter Raleigh witnessing the Execution of the Earl of Essex in the Tower,' 1839; 'Wanderers entertained,' 1839 (engraved by Egan under the title of 'Old English Hospitality'); 'The Castle Chapel,' 1840; 'Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh preparing to shoot the Regent Murray in 1570,' 1843; 'After the second Battle of Newbury,' 1843; 'Benvenuto Cellini defending the Castle of St. Angelo,' 1845; 'The Unwelcome Return,' 1846. The last has been said to be 'perhaps the most extraordinary display of Cattermole's powers in landscape.' It is of such works as these that Professor Ruskin wrote in the first volume of 'Modern Painters': 'There are signs in George Cattermole's works of very peculiar gifts, and perhaps also of powerful genius . . . The antiquarian feeling of C. is pure, earnest, and natural, and I think his imagination originally vigorous; certainly his fancy, his grasp of momentary passion, considerable; his sense of action in the human body, vivid and ready.' Cattermole withdrew from the Water-colour Society in 1850. Two reasons have been assigned for this step, which was

taken in opposition to the wishes of his brother members. One of these was his desire to devote himself to painting in oils, and the other his sensitive organisation, which 'always made the conditions of exhibition in planning his work peculiarly irksome to him.' The latter reason may also have induced him to refuse the presidency of this society, which was offered to him about the date of his retirement, and to resist the repeated requests of the members to return to their ranks.

During these years Cattermole was much employed in illustrations for books. In 1830 he travelled in Scotland to make sketches of the buildings and scenery introduced by Scott into his novels, to be used some years afterwards in a finely illustrated volume called 'Scott and Scotland.' In 1834 appeared 'The Calendar of Nature,' a little book with woodcuts, principally landscape; in 1836 came Thomas Roscoe's 'Wanderings and Excursions in North Wales'; in 1840-1 Cattermole's well-known illustrations to 'Master Humphrey's Clock'; and here it may be mentioned that the picturesque design of the Maypole Inn in 'Barnaby Rudge' was entirely the invention of the artist, instead of being drawn from an existing inn at Chigwell as has been supposed. In 1841 appeared the first, and in 1845 the second, volume of 'Cattermole's Historical Annual—the Great Civil War of Charles I and the Parliament,' which contained twenty-eight steel engravings by the best engravers of the day after drawings by Cattermole, and was produced under the superintendence of Charles Heath, who published the second volume as 'Heath's Picturesque Annual' for 1845. The literary part was written by his brother, the Rev. Richard Cattermole [q. v.] In 1846 was published another volume, beautifully illustrated in the same manner, called 'Evenings at Haddon Hall,' with letterpress written to the drawings by the Baroness de Calabrella.

Among other works to which he contributed illustrations were J. P. Lawson's 'Scotland delineated' (1847-54), and S. C. Hall's 'Baronial Halls of England' (1848). He also published a work in two parts called 'Cattermole's Portfolio of Original Drawings,' in which Mr. Hullmandel's process of lithotint (brought to perfection by Cattermole and J. D. Harding) was employed, each part containing ten plates.

Cattermole was naturally of a lively disposition, and full of spirit. As a young man, he was an excellent whip, and fond of driving stage-coaches. In his bachelor days he was a frequent visitor at Gore House, and mixed with the fashionable world of art and literature which gathered round the Countess of

Blessington and Count d'Orsay. There he met among others Carlyle and Dickens, and Prince Louis, afterwards the Emperor Napoleon III. For some years before his marriage he had resided in the Albany in the chambers once occupied by Byron and Bulwer Lytton. In July 1839, soon after the completion of his drawing of the 'Diet of Spiers,' well known through the large engraving by William Walker, he received the offer of knighthood, which he refused. In the following month (20 Aug.) he married Clarissa Hester Elderton, a daughter of James Elderton, deputy remembrancer, &c. of the court of exchequer, and took a house at Clapham Rise, where he resided till 1863. Among his intimate friends were Thackeray and Dickens, Macready and Maclise, Douglas Jerrold and Talfourd, Stanfield and Landseer, Browning and Macaulay, Lytton and Disraeli (Lord Beaconsfield). In his life of Dickens, John Forster says: 'Another painter friend was George Cattermole, who had then enough and to spare of fun, as well as fancy, to supply a dozen artists.' Numerous letters exist to testify to the affection between himself and Dickens, in whose amateur theatricals he often took part. In 1845 he specially distinguished himself in the character of Wellbred in 'Every Man in his Humour,' which was acted before the prince consort at 'Miss Kelly's,' now (1887) the Royalty Theatre, Dean Street, Soho.

After his retirement from the Water-colour Society, though still painting his old subjects in his old medium, he devoted himself a good deal to painting in oil-colours, and to scenes from Bible history. A large oil-painting of Macbeth belongs to this period, of which he said that it was the only work of his in which he had realised his own intention; and among the drawings which were in his possession at his death were cartoons of the 'Raising of Lazarus,' the 'Marriage at Cana,' and 'The Last Supper.'

In 1863 he moved to 4 The Cedars Road, Clapham Common; and in September of that year he received from India the tidings of the death of his eldest son, Lieutenant Ernest George Cattermole, who died at Umballa while doing duty with the 22nd native infantry. He had shortly before lost his youngest daughter, and after this second shock a fearful depression fell upon him, from which he never recovered. He retired much from society, and after some years of continual brooding over his loss, he died on 24 July 1868. He was buried in Norwood cemetery. He left a widow, three sons, and four daughters. Of these, all except one son (Edward) are living. Leonardo Cattermole, the eldest sur-

viving son, is well known for the grace and spirit of his pictures of horses.

Cattermole's reputation as an artist was not confined to his own country. The 'Historical Annual' was published in New York and Paris. At the French International Exhibition of 1855 he received one of the two grandes médailles d'honneur awarded to English artists, Sir Edwin Landseer taking the other. In the following year he was elected a member of the Royal Academy of Amsterdam, and of the Society of Water-colour Painters at Brussels.

[Redgrave's Dict. of Artists (1878); Graves's Dict. of Artists; Clement and Hutton's Artists of the Nineteenth Century; Forster's Life of Dickens; Miss Hogarth's Letters of Charles Dickens; Ruskin's Modern Painters; The Annals of the Fine Arts; Catalogues of the Royal Academy and Royal Society of Painters in Water Colours; Art Journal, July 1857, September 1868, March 1870; Men of the Time; works mentioned in the article and communications from the family.] C. M.

**CATTERMOLE, RICHARD** (1795?–1858), miscellaneous writer, was born about 1795, took orders, and was appointed secretary to the Royal Society of Literature at its first general meeting on 17 June 1823. This office he held till 1852. In 1825 he became connected with the church of St. Matthew, Brixton, Surrey. Here he laboured till 1832. Cattermole studied at Christ's College, Cambridge, and proceeded B.D. in 1831. He was finally appointed vicar of Little Marlow, Buckinghamshire. He died on 6 Dec. 1858 at Boulogne. He was married and had several children, who survived him. Cattermole assisted J. S. Spens in compiling his 'Doctrine of the Church of Geneva' (1st and 2nd ser. 1825–32). He was one of the editors of the 'Sacred Classics, or Select Library of Divinity' (30 vols. 1834–6), and probably edited 'Gems of Sacred Poetry' (1841). Besides a number of sermons, he also wrote the following works: 1. 'Becket and other Poems,' 1832. 2. 'The Book of the Cartoons of Raphael,' 1837. 3. 'The Literature of the Church of England, indicated in Selections from the Writings of Eminent Divines,' 2 vols. 1844. 4. 'The Great Civil War,' 1846 (previously published in two parts, issued in 1841 and 1855 respectively, with illustrations by the artist's brother, George Cattermole [q. v.]).

[Gent. Mag. January 1859, p. 99; Reports, &c. of Royal Society of Literature; Graduat. Cantab. (Cambridge, 1884); Brit. Mus. Cat. Add. MSS. (1854–75); List in Index, p. 287.] F. W.-r.

**CATTI, TWM SION** (d. 1630?). [See JONES, THOMAS.]

**CATTON, CHARLES, R.A.**, the elder (1728-1798), painter, born in 1728 at Norwich, one of a family of thirty-five children, was apprenticed to a London coach-painter, and found time also for some study in the St. Martin's Lane academy. He is chiefly known as a landscape and animal painter, but he had a good knowledge of the figure, and a talent for humorous design. In 1786 he published the 'Margate Packet,' a clever etching in which these qualities appear. Somewhat early in life he became a member of the Society of Artists, and exhibited various pictures in its galleries from 1760 to 1764. He shone in his own profession, painting ornamental panels for carriages, floral embellishments, and heraldic devices in a highly superior manner. He received the appointment of coach-painter to George III, and was one of the foundation members of the Royal Academy. In 1784 he was master of the Company of Painter-Stainers. He exhibited at the Royal Academy from its foundation to the year of his death, sending altogether a large number of works. These were usually landscapes, but occasionally subject-pieces and animal paintings. A 'Jupiter and Leda' and 'Child at Play' were his last works. For the church of St. Peter Mancroft, Norwich, he painted an altar-piece, 'The Angel delivering St. Peter.' Some years before his death he gave up the practice of his art. He died at his house in Judd Place in the New Road, 28 Aug. 1798, and was buried in Bloomsbury cemetery.

[Redgrave's Dict. of Artists; Graves's Dict. of Artists.]

**CATTON, CHARLES**, the younger (1756-1819), painter, son of Charles Catton the elder [q. v.], was born in London 30 Dec. 1756. He had the advantage of his father's tuition, and studied also in the Academy schools, where it is stated that he acquired a good knowledge of the figure. He travelled considerably in England and Scotland making sketches, of which some were afterwards engraved and published. He was known as a scene-painter, and also as a topographical draughtsman. In 1775 he exhibited at the Royal Academy a 'View of London from Blackfriars Bridge,' and one of 'Westminster from Westminster Bridge.' In 1793 he exhibited designs for Gay's 'Fables,' together with Burney. These were afterwards published. So also were a number of drawings of animals taken from nature and engraved by himself, 1788. At the Royal Academy he exhibited thirty-seven times altogether from 1776 to 1800. In the latter year he was living at Purley. In 1804 he

left this country for America, and settled in a farm upon the Hudson with his two daughters and a son. There he lived until his death, painting occasionally. At South Kensington there are specimens of his work—some drawings of animals done in a neat, wiry manner. He is said to have 'acquired wealth' by his painting. He died 24 April 1819.

[Redgrave's Dict. of Artists; Graves's Dict. of Artists; Cat. Eng. Coll. South Kensington Museum.]

**CATTON, THOMAS** (1760-1838), astronomer, took a degree of B.A. in 1781 from St. John's College, Cambridge, as fourth wrangler and first Smith's prizeman, obtained one of the members' prizes for senior bachelors in 1783, proceeded M.A. in 1784 and B.D. in 1791. He was also a fellow and tutor of his college, and was entrusted with the care of the small observatory situated on one of its towers. Here he observed eclipses, occultations, and other astronomical phenomena from 1791 to 1832 with a 3½-foot transit, a 46-inch, and (after 1811) a 42-inch Dollond's achromatic. The data thus collected were reduced and printed in 1853 under the superintendence of Sir George Airy, at public expense, with the title 'Astronomical Observations made by the Rev. Thomas Catton, B.D.' Besides appearing separately, they formed part of vol. xxii. of 'Memoirs of the Royal Astronomical Society.' Catton was one of the earliest members of the last-named body, and was also a fellow of the Royal Society. He died at St. John's College, Cambridge, 6 Jan. 1838.

[Annual Register, 1838, p. 194; Gent. Mag. ix. (i.) 216 (new series); Monthly Notices, iv. 110; R. Soc.'s Cat. Sc. Papers.] A. M. C.

**CATTON** or **CHATTODUNUS, WALTER** (d. 1343), a Franciscan friar of Norwich, was, according to some authorities, head of the Minorite convent situated between the churches of St. Cuthbert and St. Vedast. He seems to have been an author of some repute in his generation, and was, according to Bale, a great student of Aristotle. Towards the close of his life he was summoned to Avignon by the pope, and died a penitentiary in that city in 1343. The titles of his works have been preserved by Leland, viz. 'A Commentary on the Sentences of Peter Lombard' (4 books) and a treatise 'De Paupertate Evangelica,' to which Bale adds two other discussions entitled respectively, 'Adversus Astrologos' and certain 'Resolutiones Questionum.' Pits adds that he was a mathematician.

[Leland's *Commentarii*, 306; Bale, *De Script. Brit.* i. 420; Pits's *Relat. de Illustr. Script. Angliæ*, 449, 450; Dugdale's *Monast. Anglic.* (ed. 1817), vi. pt. iii. 1522.] T. A. A.

CATTWG, DDOETH. [See CADOC.]

CAULFEILD, JAMES, fourth VISCOUNT and first EARL OF CHARLEMONT (1728–1799), Irish statesman, second son of James, third viscount Charlemont, and Elizabeth, only daughter of Francis Bernard of Castle Bernard, Cork, was born in Dublin 18 Aug. 1728. He received his education from private tutors, and in 1746 went to the continent, residing for a year in Turin, and afterwards visiting Rome, the Greek Islands, Constantinople, the Levant, and Egypt. At Turin he made the acquaintance of David Hume, and the intimacy was renewed in England. Although not coinciding with either Hume's philosophical or political opinions, he was a warm admirer of his writings, and cherished for him personally a great regard. Shortly after Charlemont's return to Ireland in 1754, he undertook, with the approbation of the lord-lieutenant, to mediate between Primate Stone and Henry Boyle, speaker of the House of Commons, afterwards Earl of Shannon [q.v.], regarding the apportionment of 20,000*l.* of Irish surplus, and succeeded in effecting a reconciliation between them. His experience of the conduct of the Irish leaders in this and other matters made Charlemont early resolve to act as an independent nobleman, and tended strongly to bias his mind in favour of a general reform of the administration and of popular liberty. At the same time his loyalty always remained thorough and sincere. Of this he gave proof in the alacrity with which he proceeded to the north to command the raw levies collected for the defence of Belfast, after the occupation of Carrickfergus by the French in February 1760. Not long afterwards he had an opportunity of engaging in an equally chivalrous if less hazardous mission, the vindication of the rights of the Irish peers to walk in the procession at the coronation of George III. Having succeeded by his prudence and courageous self-restraint in quieting without bloodshed the serious disturbances that were threatened in the north of Ireland, he was in recognition of his services raised in December 1763 to the dignity of an earl; but his opposition to the address returning thanks for the treaty of Paris prevented further court favours, even a promise to appoint him a trustee of the linen board being immediately after this disregarded. In January 1764 he proceeded to London, where till 1773 he had a town residence. His literary and artistic

tastes found gratification in the society of Burke, Johnson, Reynolds, Goldsmith, Beauclerk, and Hogarth, and he acted as chairman of the committee of the Dilettanti Club, appointed to superintend researches under the auspices of the society into the classical antiquities of Asia Minor. At the same time the political condition of Ireland continued to occupy much of his attention. Almost equally with Flood he shared the honour of passing the Octennial Bill in 1768, limiting the duration of the parliament to eight years instead of making its continuance depend upon the life of the sovereign. Taking advantage of the rising tide of sentiment in favour of the bill, he prevailed on the House of Lords to read it three times in one day. In 1768 Charlemont married Miss Hickman, daughter of Robert Hickman of county Clare, and about 1770 he began to build a house in Rutland Square, Dublin, and also to reconstruct his residence at Marino, having come to the conclusion, notwithstanding the attractive connections he had formed among Englishmen, that residence in Ireland was the first of his political duties, 'since without it all others are impracticable.' For some time he gave his strenuous support to Flood's proposal for an absentee tax, but latterly he became so impressed with the difficulties connected with the matter as to consider its general application inadvisable. In Dublin Charlemont's house was for many years the great centre of attraction among the educated and upper classes, and his bent towards the liberal and polite arts assisted to give an elevation to the general tone of society. His influence in politics was not less beneficent; for though he could not lay claim to the higher gifts of statesmanship or oratory, he possessed the insight resulting from a single-minded and unselfish regard for the general welfare, while his genial temper and polished manners fitted him to act with success as a mediator between the government and the country. Grattan's estimate of his character was no doubt to some extent coloured by personal regard, but with his usual happy gift of delineation he has indicated in a few sentences the secret of his influence. 'Formed to unite the aristocracy and the people; with the manners of a court and the principles of a patriot; with the flame of liberty and the love of order; unassailable by the approaches of power, of profit, or of titles; he annexed to the love of freedom a veneration for order, and cast on the crowd that followed him the gracious light of his own accomplishments, so that the very rabble grew civilised as it approached his person' (*Memoirs of Grattan*,

iii. 197). Grattan entered parliament under his auspices as member for Charlemont; and in the steps taken towards securing Ireland's political independence they worked hand in hand as the leaders of the Irish nation. The embodiment of the volunteers, a necessity which England could not avoid, supplied them with an armed political convention, through which the wishes of the nation could not only be accurately represented, but, if need be, enforced; and of this convention they made use with equal courage and prudence. 'To that institution,' Charlemont said, 'my country owes its liberty, prosperity, and safety; and if after her obligations I can mention my own, I owe the principal and dearest honours of my life' (*Memoirs of the Earl of Charlemont*, 2nd ed. i. 378). At first commander of the body of men raised by the town of Armagh, he was in July 1780 chosen commander-in-chief of the whole force, a position which he continued to hold during the remainder of their embodiment. When the House of Commons in October 1779 went to present to the lord-lieutenant their famous resolution that 'nothing but a free trade could save the country from ruin,' the volunteers significantly lined the streets as they passed, and for their conduct they received the unanimous thanks of the commons. It was in concert with Charlemont that Grattan drew up the famous resolution regarding the rights of Ireland which he moved with such effect on 19 April 1780. As the English government were slow in recognising the importance of the motion, Flood, Grattan, and Charlemont met privately at Charlemont's in the beginning of 1782, and drew up resolutions on independence, which on being submitted to a great meeting of volunteer delegates were adopted unanimously. The attitude of the volunteers decided the question; for, on account of the disasters to the English arms in America, the government had in reality no choice but submission to the armed demands of the Irish nation. Grattan exactly described the situation when on 16 April he uttered the famous sentence, 'I am now addressing a free people.' The concessions which he had thus by anticipation appropriated were granted on 17 May. These were—first, the repeal of the declaratory act of George I, thus restoring the appellate jurisdiction of the House of Lords; secondly, the repeal of the provision in Poyning's Act that Irish legislation should receive the sanction of the privy council of Ireland and England; and thirdly, the alteration of the perpetual Irish Mutiny Act into a temporary act. The concessions amounted in spirit to home rule, but their effect was greatly

modified by the fact that the constitution of the parliament remained unchanged. Shortly after the appointment in April 1783 of Lord Northington as lord-lieutenant, Charlemont was nominated a privy councillor, having consented to the nomination on condition that the name of Grattan should be submitted at the same time as his own. Although Charlemont did not approve of the general action of the volunteer convention which met at Dublin in November 1783, he consented to act as president, and by the influence of his personal character succeeded in preventing the disputes between them and the parliament from resulting in violence. Charlemont was at this time adverse to catholic emancipation, and by no means zealous for the constitutional reform of the commons. Unable to resist directly the influence of Flood's oratory over the convention, he therefore adopted the expedient of advising a dissolution of the convention, in order that their scheme of reform might be laid before country meetings regularly convened to consider it. No convention was again summoned, and from this time the influence of the volunteers on Irish legislation ceased almost as suddenly as it had come into existence. Charlemont in 1789 sided with Grattan in regard to the regency question, and moved in the upper house the address to the Prince of Wales, requesting him 'to take upon himself the government of Ireland, with the style and title of prince regent, and in the name and behalf of his majesty to exercise all regal powers, during his majesty's indisposition and no longer.' The motion was carried by 45 to 26, but the lord-lieutenant regarded it as inconsistent with his oath to transmit it. This independent action on the part of the Irish parliament was undoubtedly the chief cause of its abolition by the legislative union with Great Britain. In the same year Charlemont took an active part in founding the Whig Club, composed of the leading members of the opposition in both houses of parliament, at which the general policy of the party was discussed and decided on. He strongly opposed the proposals for union; but the excitement connected with the discussions had serious effects on his health, and he did not live to experience the pain of witnessing its completion. His death took place on 4 Aug. 1799. He was buried in the family vault in Armagh Cathedral. Among his papers he left the following epitaph: 'Here lies the body of James, earl of Charlemont, a sincere, zealous, and active friend to his country. Let his posterity imitate him in that alone, and forget his manifold errors.' He was



succeeded in the earldom by his eldest son, Francis William, who was created an English baron in 1837. He also left other two sons and one daughter. 'Select Sonnets of Petrarch, with Translations and Illustrative Notes, by James, late earl of Charlemont,' appeared in 1822.

[Hardy's *Life of the Earl of Charlemont*, 1810, 2nd edition, 2 vols. 1812; *Memoirs of Grattan*; *Original Letters of Lord Charlemont and others to Henry Flood*, 1820; *Madden's United Irishmen*, first series; *MacNevin's History of the Volunteers of 1782, 1845*; *European Magazine*, v. 83; *Gent. Mag.* lxxix. 812-15; *Burke's Peerage*; *Lecky's Leaders of Political Opinion in Ireland*; *Froude's English in Ireland*.]

T. F. H.

**CAULFEILD, SIR TOBY or TOBIAS**, first **BARON CHARLEMONT** (1565-1627), was descended from a family which had been settled in Oxfordshire for many generations, his father being Alexander Caulfeild of Great Milton in that county. He was born 2 Dec. 1565. When a youth he served under Frobisher, and next under Lord Howard. He was also with the Earl of Essex at the capture of Cadiz, 21 June 1596. In 1598 he accompanied Essex to Ireland, in command of a troop of horse, and was for a time stationed at Newry. In 1601, under Lord Mountjoy, he took part in the capture of Kinsale from the Spaniards. By Lord Mountjoy he was left in charge of a bridge built by him over the Blackwater, with command of a hundred and fifty men, the fort erected for its protection being named Charlemont. After the accession of King James he received the honour of knighthood. On the flight of the Earl of Tyrone in 1607 he was appointed receiver of his rents until the estate was given out to undertakers in 1610, an allowance of 100*l.* a year being made to him for discharging this duty. The account of his collection of the earl's rents (*State Papers*, Irish Series, 1608-1610, pp. 532-46) is a document of great interest, for the light which it casts on the land system of Ireland at this particular period. On the division of the estates, Caulfeild received a grant of a thousand acres. Previous to this he had, in 1608, been appointed to the command of the upper part of Tyrone and of Armagh. On 17 April 1613 he was named a privy councillor, and the same year he was chosen knight of the shire for Armagh. On 19 Feb. 1615 he was made master of the ordnance, and on 10 May of the same year one of the council for the province of Munster. Subsequently he was appointed a member of the commission for the parceling out of escheated lands. In consideration of his long and valuable services to the crown,

recorded in detail in the patent (*State Papers*, Irish Series, 1615-25, p. 309), he was created Baron Charlemont, and as he had not been married, the succession of the honour was granted to his nephew, Sir William Caulfeild, and son of his brother James. He died 17 Aug. 1627, and was buried in Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin.

[*Burke's Peerage and Baronetage*; *Lodge's Peerage of Ireland*, iii. 127-34; *State Papers*, Irish Series, from 1603 to 1625.] T. F. H.

**CAULFEILD, TOBY or TOBIAS**, third **BARON CHARLEMONT** (d. 1642), was the eldest son of Sir William Caulfeild, second baron, and Mary, daughter of Sir John King, knight (ancestor to the Earl of Kingston). In 1639 he was returned to parliament for the county of Tyrone. At the time of the rebellion of 1641 he succeeded his father as governor of Fort Charlemont. On 22 Oct. 1641 Sir Phelim O'Neill [q. v.] went to dine with him, and was courteously received; but meantime O'Neill's followers surprised Charlemont. After being retained fifteen weeks a prisoner in Charlemont, he was removed to O'Neill's castle at Kinard, on entering which he was shot dead by Edmund Boy O'Hugh, foster-brother to O'Neill, 1 March 1642. He was succeeded by his brother Robert, who died a few months later.

[*Lodge's Irish Peerage* (edit. 1789), iii. 140-2.] T. F. H.

**CAULFEILD, WILLIAM**, fifth **BARON** and first **VISCOUNT CHARLEMONT** (d. 1671), third son of Sir William Caulfeild, second baron, and brother of Toby, third baron [q. v.], succeeded his brother Robert in the title and estates in 1642. He caused the apprehension of Sir Phelim O'Neill, who was chargeable with the murder of Toby, third baron, and had him executed. After the Restoration he was chosen a member of the privy council, and in 1661 he was nominated one of the lords to prepare a declaration requiring conformity to episcopacy. He was named constable and governor of the fort of Charlemont for life, but on 13 April 1664 sold it to the crown for 3,500*l.* By Charles II he was in 1665 advanced to the degree of viscount. He died in April 1671, and was buried in the cathedral church of Armagh, where there is an elaborate monument to his memory.

[*Lodge's Irish Peerage* (edit. 1789), iii. 142-6.] T. F. H.

**CAULFEILD, WILLIAM**, second **VISCOUNT CHARLEMONT** (d. 1726), was the second son of William, first viscount [q. v.], and

Sarah, second daughter of Charles, second viscount Moore of Drogheda. Having taken up arms against James II, he was attainted and his estates sequestrated 7 May 1689, but he was afterwards reinstated in them by William, who made him governor of the fort of Charlemont, and *custos rotulorum* of Tyrone and Armagh. In the business of the house of peers he took an active part, being in 1692 selected to prepare an address to the lord-lieutenant to recommend the stationing of men-of-war on the coasts, and in 1695 to prepare a bill against the inheritance of protestant estates by papists. In 1702 he sailed with the fleet to the West Indies. In 1705 he served under the Earl of Peterborough in the Spanish war, and distinguished himself at Barcelona. At the attack on the citadel of Monjuich he was one of the first to march into the fort at the head of his men, and received for his conduct the special thanks of the king of Spain. On 25 Aug. 1705 he was promoted brigadier-general, and on 22 April 1708 major-general. He was also chosen a privy councillor, and in May 1726 he was sworn of the privy council of George I. He died 21 July of the same year, and was buried in the vault of the family in Armagh. By his wife Anne, only daughter of Dr. James Margetson, archbishop of Armagh, he had seven sons and five daughters.

[Lodge's *Irish Peerage* (ed. 1789), iii. 148-150; *Burke's Peerage*; *Political State of Great Britain*, xxxii. 98; *Luttrell's Narrative*.]

T. F. H.

**CAULFIELD, JAMES** (1764-1826), author and printseller, was born in the Vineyard, Clerkenwell, on 11 Feb. 1764. Weak eyesight prevented him following the business of his father, a music engraver, who took him when about eight years old to Cambridge for the benefit of his health. Here he afterwards came under the notice of Christopher Sharpe, the well-known print collector. Sharpe gave him a number of etchings, and five pounds to purchase more. All Caulfield's boyish savings now went in the same direction, and he became a constant bidder for cheap lots at Hutchins's sale-room in King Street, Covent Garden. This induced his father to set him up in business as a printseller, and he opened a small shop in Old Round Court, Strand, where he was visited by Dr. Johnson, R. Cosway, R.A., and other celebrities. In 1784 Caulfield assisted his father, who had been engaged by John Ashley [q. v.] to engrave a large quantity of music wanted for the Handel commemoration. The additional capital acquired by this labour enabled him to remove to larger premises in Castle Street, Leicester Square. In his 'En-

quiry into the conduct of E. Malone,' Caulfield tells us that 'having been a considerable collector of materials for publishing the memoirs of remarkable persons, I began [in 1788] to engage engravers to carry on that work, and in 1790 I produced the first number of "Portraits, Memoirs, and Characters of Remarkable Persons."' Other parts followed at irregular intervals, without order, as the engravings were ready, and in 1794-5 appeared the complete work, embracing the period from Edward III to the Revolution. Caulfield's 'remarkable characters' are persons famous for their eccentricity, immorality, dishonesty, and so forth. The publication of Granger's 'Biographical History of England' in 1769 had given a marked impetus to the taste for engraved portraits. In the advertisement Caulfield announces: 'Of the twelve different classes of engraved portraits arranged by the late ingenious Mr. Granger, there is not one so difficult to perfect, with original prints, as that which relates to persons of the lowest description.'

About 1795 Caulfield removed to 6 Clare Court, Drury Lane, where he issued a reprint of Taylor the Water Poet's 'Life of Old Parr,' with some additional portraits. In 1796 he visited Oxford, and transcribed a manuscript 'Anecdotes of Extraordinary Persons,' mentioned by Granger, which was in the Ashmolean Museum. In 1797 appeared 'The Oxford Cabinet,' with engravings and anecdotes from the notes of Aubrey and others. Malone then claimed a prior right to the manuscript; Caulfield was refused any further use of it, and the work was stopped when only two numbers had been published. This drew from the publisher his 'Enquiry into the Conduct of E. Malone,' who is said to have bought up the whole stock of two hundred and fifty copies in one day. In 1797 Caulfield successively occupied premises in William Street, Adelphi, and 11 Old Compton Street, Soho. His next literary undertaking was to assist William Granger (not the biographical historian) to bring out 'The New Wonderful Museum' in rivalry with Kirby's 'Wonderful and Scientific Museum.' It appeared in numbers, with upwards of a hundred and fifty portraits and plates, some of them familiar in Caulfield's previous publications. The work consists of descriptions of remarkable events and objects, and lives of eccentric individuals. The sixth volume is noteworthy for its accounts of booksellers. His 'History of the Gunpowder Plot,' chiefly biographical notices from original sources, came out in 1804. The 'Cromwelliana' (1810) is usually attributed to its publisher, Machell Stace, but the book was really edited by Caulfield. It consists

of extracts from contemporary newspapers and other documents, and it was intended as a basis for illustration. Caulfield edited for the same person a series of reprints of Burton's (or Crouch's) topographical pieces, with full indexes and additional woodcuts, as well as a treatise on 'The Antiquity, Honour, and Dignity of Trade' (1813), which had come into the hands of the publisher, with other documents, from Peshurst. The writer was not a member of the Sidney family. The book contains a long list of English merchants who have attained great honour. The stock and coppers of Caulfield's 'Memoirs, &c., of Remarkable Persons,' passed into other hands in 1799. Originally published at fifty shillings, it became so much sought after, that copies were fetching seven guineas apiece, and R. S. Kirby arranged with the author to produce a new edition, which was issued in 1813. It contained all the characters of Granger's twelfth class, 'such as lived to a great age, deformed persons, convicts, &c.,' with many additions unknown to him, Bromley, Noble, and other authorities. In this edition the portraits are arranged chronologically for the first time. There are upwards of fifty more than in the former one, which only contained sixty.

In 1814 much scandal was caused by 'Chalceographimania, by Satiricus Sculptor,' a satirical poem after the style of Mathias's 'Pursuits of Literature,' full of ill-natured gossip about artists, print-sellers, and collectors. The verse is supposed to have been written by W. H. Ireland, and the notes supplied by Thomas Coram. Not many months passed before Caulfield published 'Calceographiana,' a serious and useful treatise, in which he vigorously denied 'upon my oath' any connection with 'Chalceographimania.' George Smeeton, his biographer, assures us that 'the manuscript was offered to the writer of this sketch, who instantly refused it, and it was then sold to Mr. Kirby. Caulfield for a few shillings, while *in banco Regis*, did certainly read over the work, and added the note *k* on page 171.' This note is one of the least important in the whole book, which bears in several places unmistakable signs of Caulfield's co-operation. In 1814 he issued, among other books, a useful 'Catalogue of Portraits of Foreigners who have visited England;' the 'Eccentric Magazine,' with lives and portraits of misers, dwarfs, murderers, idiots, and similar personages; a new edition of Naunton's 'Fragmenta Regalia;' 'Memoirs' of the same author; and the commencement of an important undertaking, 'A Gallery of British Portraits.' He now resided in Wells Street, Oxford Street,

and until 1820 was chiefly occupied in the sale of engravings, the illustration of books, and the compilation of catalogues. That he should have been obliged to take to the latter occupation rather points to a decline of fortune. In more prosperous times he was patronised by the chief collectors of the day, among whom were Earl Spencer, Towneley, Bindley, Cracherode, and others. His next publication was a continuation of his 'Portraits, &c., of Remarkable Persons,' carrying the series from 1688 down to the end of the reign of George II. One of these, representing a lady known as 'Mulled Sack,' had sold for forty guineas. Another publication was 'The High Court of Justice,' in which the portraits of the regicides are decorated with skulls, crossbones, axes and chains. One of his sons seems to have now entered into business, as the last book is 'printed and published by John Caulfield, print and book seller, Little Newport Street, Leicester Square.' In 1821 Caulfield edited an edition of the 'Memoirs of the Kit-Cat Club,' and two years later he brought out three numbers of 'Biographical Sketches of British History,' of which sufficient matter was left to make three volumes. Almost his last undertaking was to edit the fifth and best edition of Granger.

Caulfield had a good memory. His knowledge of English history and biography was minute and extensive, while his acquaintance with engraved British portraits was unequalled by any person of his time. His liberality in imparting his information, and even the mysterious secrets of the trade, was viewed with great jealousy by his rivals. The numerous works written and edited by him usually attain a high standard of excellence. He was always fond of attending places of amusement, and at one time was conspicuous for neatness of dress. With advancing years Caulfield took to drink, became neglectful of his appearance, and troublesome in his social relations. He always worked hard and spent freely, but never lost the generosity which formerly led him to support his aged parents. In the last twelve months of his life, while only earning five shillings a day as a cataloguer, he kept his youngest daughter and her family. In January 1826 he broke his knee-pan, and was conveyed to the house in Camden Town of his brother Joseph. Here he remained six weeks, and then went to St. Bartholomew's Hospital, where, after remaining ten days in King Henry VIII's ward, he died on 22 April 1826. He lies buried in the family vault in Clerkenwell Church. He married Miss Mary Gascoigne, who died in 1816, and by whom he had seven children; four survived him. He had several brothers, among whom was

Thomas, a comedian and mimic, of Drury Lane Theatre, who died in America, and the Joseph mentioned above, 'a music engraver and most excellent teacher of the pianoforte' (J. T. SMITH, *Nollekens and his Times*, i. 222). A portrait of Caulfield was prefixed to his 'Calceographiana' 'to supersede the multiplicity of caricatures of my person.'

The following is a list of his works: 1. 'Caulfield's edition of curious Tracts: the Age and long Life of Thomas Parr, illustrated with seven elegant Prints from the Designs of Anthony Van Assen,' London, 1794, 12mo, a reprint of Taylor the Water Poet's life, 1635. 2. 'Portraits, Memoirs, and Characters of remarkable Persons, from the Reign of Edward III to the Revolution; collected from the most authentic accounts extant by J. C.,' London, 1794-5, 2 vols. roy. 8vo. 3. 'The Oxford Cabinet [ed. by J. C.],' London, 1797, 4to. 4. 'An Enquiry into the Conduct of Edmond Malone, Esq., concerning the Manuscript Papers of John Aubrey, F.R.S., in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford [by J. C.],' 1797, 12mo. 5. 'The new Wonderful Museum and Extraordinary Magazine . . . by Wm. Granger, assisted by many valuable articles communicated by J. C. and others' [1803]-1808, 6 vols. 8vo. 6. 'The History of the Gunpowder Plot, by J. C.,' 1804, 8vo. 7. 'Londina Illustrata,' 1805-25, 2 vols. 4to; the principal part of the letterpress was supplied by J. C. 8. 'Cromwelliana, a Chronological Detail of Events in which Oliver Cromwell was engaged from 1642 to 1658, with a continuation to the Restoration [ed. by J. C.],' 1810, folio. 9. 'Historical Remarks on the ancient and present State of the Cities of London and Westminster,' Westminster, 1810; 'The Wars in England, Scotland, and Ireland from 1625 to 1660,' *ib.* 1810; 'Admirable Curiosities, Rarities, and Wonders in England, Scotland, and Ireland,' *ib.* 1811; 'The History of the Kingdom of Scotland,' *ib.* 1813; 'The History of the House of Orange,' *ib.* 1814, 6 pieces, 8vo, edited by J. C. from the editions of 1681-5, usually attributed to Richard or Robert Burton [q. v.], the pseudonym under which the publisher and author, Nathaniel Crouch, published his works. 10. 'The Antiquity, Honour, and Dignity of Trade [ed. by J. C.],' 1813, 8vo. 11. 'Portraits, Memoirs, and Characters of Remarkable Persons from the reign of Edward III to the Revolution. A new edition completing the twelfth class of Granger's Biographical History of England, by J. C.,' London, 1813, 3 vols. 8vo. 12. 'Calceographiana, Guide to the Knowledge and Value of Engraved British Portraits, by J. C.,' London, 1814, 8vo, portrait of J. C. 13. 'A Catalogue of Portraits of

Foreigners who have visited England, as noticed by Clarendon, Thurloe, &c. [by J. C.],' London, 1814, sm. 8vo. 14. 'The Eccentric Magazine [ed. by Henry Lemoine and J. C.],' 1814, 2 vols. 8vo. 15. 'The Court of Queen Elizabeth, originally written by Sir Robert Naunton under the title of "Fragmenta Regalia," with considerable biographical additions by J. C.,' London, 1814, 4to. 16. 'A Gallery of British Portraits during the reigns of James I, Charles I, and the Commonwealth,' 1814, parts i. and ii. folio. 17. 'Memoirs of Sir Robert Naunton, Knt.,' 1814, 4to. 18. 'Portraits, Memoirs, and Characters of Remarkable Persons, from the Revolution in 1688 to the end of the reign of George II, collected by J. C.,' 1819-20, 4 vols. roy. 8vo. 19. 'The High Court of Justice, by J. C.,' 1820, 4to. 20. 'Memoirs of the celebrated Persons comprising the Kit-Cat Club [by J. C.],' 1821, roy. 4to. 21. 'Biographical Sketches illustrative of British History [by J. C.],' London, 1823; only three numbers issued. 22. 'A Biographical History of England, by the Rev. James Granger, fifth edition, with upwards of 400 additional Lives [ed. by J. C.],' London, 1824, 6 vols. 8vo.

[A biographical sketch was contributed by G[eorge] S[meeton], Caulfield's friend and printer, to the *Gent. Mag.* 1826, pt. i. p. 569; reproduced in the *Annual Register*, 1826, p. 246, and the *Annual Biogr. and Register*, xi. 1827, pp. 441-3. See also Nichols's *Illustr.* vi. 441.]

H. R. T.

CAUNT, BENJAMIN (1815-1861), champion pugilist, was born in the village of Hucknall-Torkard, Nottinghamshire, on 22 March 1815. His father, a tenant of Lord Byron, was engaged in some humble capacity at Newstead. The son, according to his own account, was a gamekeeper or a watcher, but other people said he was a navvy. His height was 6 feet 2½ inches, and his weight 14 stone 7 lbs. At an early age he aspired to pugilistic honours. On 21 July 1835 he was defeated by William Thompson, known as Bendigo. On 17 Aug. 1837 Caunt defeated William Butler in fourteen rounds for a stake of 20*l.* a side. The reputation of Bendigo having in the meantime much risen, another encounter between him and Caunt came off on 3 April 1838 on Skipworth Common, near Selby, when, after a fight of seventy-five rounds, lasting eighty minutes, a dispute arose, which was settled in favour of Caunt, who now took the title of champion. On 26 Oct. 1840 he beat John Leechman, known as Brasseley, after 101 rounds, and was hailed 'champion of England.' In a fight with Nicholas Ward on

2 Feb. 1841 Caunt was disqualified for a foul blow. At a match with the same opponent at Long Marston, near Stratford-on-Avon, on 11 May, Ward gave in after the thirty-fifth round. Some time previously a subscription had been raised to purchase a 'champion's belt.' Caunt in September 1841 went to the United States, taking with him the belt. No fighting, however, took place in America. He exhibited himself in theatres, and returned to England on 10 March 1842. He brought back with him Charles Freeman, an American giant, 6 feet 10½ inches high, weighing 18 stone, and with him made a sparring tour throughout the United Kingdom. Freeman died of consumption in the Winchester hospital on 18 Oct. 1845, aged 28, when his weight had fallen to 10 stone. In 1843 Caunt became proprietor of the Coach and Horses public-house, St. Martin's Lane, London. He went into training in 1845, and, having reduced himself from 17 stone to 14 stone, met Bendigo near Sutfield Green, Oxfordshire, on 9 Sept. 1845, and, in the presence of upwards of ten thousand persons, contested for 200. and the championship. The fight lasted over two hours, and in the ninety-third round the referee, George Osbaldiston, gave a decision (of doubtful correctness) in favour of Bendigo. On 15 Jan. 1851 a fire took place in the Coach and Horses, when two of the landlord's children were burnt to death. Great sympathy was felt with Caunt under this dreadful calamity, and a ballad upon it had a very extensive sale. On his last appearance in the ring he met Nathaniel Langham (the only man who ever beat the famous Tom Sayers) on 23 Sept. 1857, when, after an unsatisfactory fight of sixty rounds, the men shook hands and no decision was given. Caunt still kept the Coach and Horses, where the parlour was a general resort for aspirants for pugilistic honours and their patrons. He was also well known as a pigeon-shooter, and it was while taking part in a match early in 1860 that he caught cold, and died on 10 Sept. 1861. He was in his forty-seventh year. He was buried in Hucknall-Torkard churchyard on 14 Sept. From first to last he showed no improvement in his style of fighting; his positions were inartistic, and he lacked judgment, but was a manly upright boxer, and there never was a question of his pluck.

[Miles's Pugilistica, with portrait (1880), iii. 47-93; Fights for the Championship, by the Editor of Bell's Life (1860), pp. 135-42, 158-209; Fisticiana (1868), pp. 21, 134; Modern Boxing, by Pendragon, i.e. Henry Sampson (1879), pp. 2-9.] G. C. B.

CAUNTER, JOHN HOBART (1794-1851), miscellaneous writer, born at Dittisham, Devonshire, 21 July 1794, went to India as a cadet about 1809. He was soon disgusted with oriental life, and 'having discovered, much to his disappointment, nothing on the continent of Asia to interest him,' he returned home. He recorded his impressions of India in a poem entitled the 'Cadet' (2 vols. 1814). Caunter then studied at Cambridge for the ministry of the church of England. In 1828 he obtained the degree of B.D. 'After he had entered holy orders he was for nineteen years the incumbent minister of St. Paul's Chapel, Foley Place, in the parish of Marylebone. In 1846 he took a lease of a proprietary chapel at Kennington. He held for a short time the rectory of Hails-ham in Sussex, and was also chaplain to the late Earl of Thanet' (*Gent. Mag.*) At the time of his death, which took place in London, 14 Nov. 1851, he was curate of Prittlewell, Essex. His wife and three young children survived him. Caunter's best known work is his 'Romance of History,' India, 3 vols. 1836 (republished in 1872), which formed part of a popular series. Under the form of stories it treats of the most remarkable incidents of the Mahomedan conquests in India. Caunter also wrote: 'The Island Bride, in six cantos,' 1830; 'Sermons,' 3 vols. 1832; 'Familiar Lectures to Children,' 1835; 'St. Leon, a Drama, in three acts,' 1835; 'Posthumous Records of a London Clergyman,' 1835; 'Descriptions to Westall and Martin's Illustrations of the Bible,' 1835; 'The Fellow Commoner; a Novel,' 3 vols. 1836; 'The Poetry of the Pentateuch,' 2 vols. 1839; 'The Triumph of Evil; a Poem,' 1845; 'Illustrations of the Five Books of Moses,' 2 vols. 1847; 'An Inquiry into the History and Character of Rahab,' 1850. Besides various sermons, theological notes, &c., Caunter was also engaged in the production of ten 'Oriental Annuals' published between 1830 and 1840.

[*Gent. Mag.* for 1852, xxxvii. 627-8, where, however, the date of death, as appears from the Times of 20 Nov. 1851, is incorrectly given; various notices in the *Cadet*; *Graduati Cantabrigienses*, p. 96 (Cambridge, 1884); *Notes and Queries* for 1870, 4th ser. vi. 274, 353, 445; *Add. MSS.* 24867, f. 41, *Brit. Mus. Cat.*] F. W.-T.

CAUSTON, MICHAEL DE. [See CAWSTON.]

CAUSTON, THOMAS (*d.* 1569), musical composer, was a gentleman of the chapel royal under Edward VI, Mary, and Elizabeth. Nothing is known of his parentage,

but it is possible that he is identical with a Thomas Causton who was living about the same date at Oxted in Surrey. This individual was the son of William Causton of Orpington, by Katherine Banister, and was married to Agnes Polley of Shoreham. Their son William (*d.* 1638) had a numerous family, who lived at Oxted until late in the seventeenth century. On 29 Oct. 1558 Mary wrote to the mayor and aldermen of London in favour of Thomas Causton, 'one of the gentlemen of the chappell,' requesting that he should be admitted into the freedom of the city. In 1560 he contributed some music to John Day's rare 'Certain Notes, set forth in four and three parts, to be sung at the Morning, Communion, and Evening Prayer.' The same publisher's 'Whole Psalmes in Foure Partes' (1563) also contains no less than twenty-seven compositions by Causton. A Venite and service by him have been reprinted in the 'Ecclesiologist,' and a fine Te Deum and Benedictus in score are preserved in the British Museum (*Add. MS.* 31226). As far as can be judged from these compositions, Causton was a composer in every respect worthy of the school of which Redford and Tallis are the great lights. He died on 28 Oct. 1569, and was succeeded at the Chapel Royal by Richard Farrant.

[Cheque Book of the Chapel Royal, ed. Rim-bault, p. 2; Grove's Dict. of Music, i. 326; State Papers, Domestic Ser. Mary, 1558, Docq.; *Add. MS.* 16279, fol. 435; Registers of Oxted, communicated by the Rev. F. Parnell.]

W. B. S.

**CAUTLEY, SIR PROBY THOMAS** (1802-1871), colonel, the projector and constructor of the Ganges Canal, was the son of the Rev. Thomas Cautley of Stratford St. Mary's, Suffolk. He joined the Bengal artillery in 1819, and after some years' service with that corps, in which he was for a time (1823 and 1824) an acting adjutant and quartermaster, he was appointed by Lord Amherst assistant to Captain (afterwards Colonel) Robert Smith of the Bengal engineers, who was at that time employed in reconstructing the Doáb Canal, an old channel of irrigation drawn from the left bank of the Jumna at the foot of the Sivalik hills. In December 1825 Cautley, with the rest of the canal officers, was called to join the army engaged in the siege of Bhurtapore, under Lord Combermere, and, after serving with the artillery through that operation, rejoined his work on the canal, which was opened in 1830. In 1831 Cautley succeeded to the charge of the canal, and remained in charge of it for twelve years. The construction of the upper

part of the canal was beset with difficulties, owing to a number of mountain torrents descending from the Sivaliks and sometimes bringing down suddenly huge volumes of water, which traversed its alignment, and across which the canal at different relative levels had to be carried. In combating these difficulties Cautley displayed great skill and dexterity, and gradually developed the canal into an extremely efficient instrument of irrigation. It was not on a very large scale, extending with its distributaries to about a hundred and thirty miles in length and with a head flow of about a thousand cubic feet per second. While employed on this duty Cautley visited the Dehra valley, where he projected and executed the Bijapur and Dehra watercourses, and projected also a line from the Jumna, which was carried out later.

The great work of Cautley's life was the Ganges canal. This was a purely British work. It was first contemplated by Colonel Colvin of the Bengal engineers, by whose advice Cautley examined the project, but with results so discouraging that the idea of the canal was temporarily abandoned by him (*Calcutta Review*, xii. 150). The severe famine of 1837-8 led to a re-examination of the project, which was reported on by Cautley in 1840, and sanctioned by Lord Auckland and eventually by the court of directors in 1841, the court directing that the projected canal should be 'constructed on such a scale as would admit of irrigation being supplied to the whole of the Doáb, or the country lying between the rivers Ganges, Hindun, and Jumna, forming the principal part of the north-western provinces.' Cautley's services in framing the project were acknowledged by the court by a donation of ten thousand rupees. The actual construction of the work was not commenced until 1843, and its progress was much retarded by the opposition of Lord Ellenborough, who did all that he could to discourage the project, withholding sufficient officers' assistance, and, with a strange misconception of the object for which the canal was mainly required, directing that it should be constructed 'primarily for navigation, not for irrigation,' and that 'only such water should be applied to the latter object as was not required for the former.' Until the beginning of 1844 Cautley was obliged, from the want of subordinate agency, to conduct with his own hands the drudgery of surveying, levelling, and such like work. In 1845 Cautley was compelled by ill-health to return to Europe. During his absence the work was efficiently carried on by Major (afterwards Sir William) Baker [q. v.] While in England, Cautley omitted no means of improving

his qualifications for the work which he had left, by visiting such hydraulic works as could then be seen in Great Britain, while on his way back to India he examined the irrigation works in Lombardy and Piedmont and the barrage works then in progress on the Nile. After his return to India in 1848, when he assumed the office of director of canals in the N.-W. Provinces, which had been constituted in his absence, the canal made rapid progress under the active encouragement given to Cautley both by the lieutenant-governor, Mr. Thomason, and by the governor-general, Lord Dalhousie. It was opened on 8 April 1854, and in the following month Cautley left India, receiving on the occasion of his embarkation a salute from the guns of Fort William, which had been ordered by the governor-general in special recognition of the high value attached to Cautley's great work. The city of Calcutta presented Cautley with a memorial and placed his bust in the town hall, and the engineers who had been employed under him on the canal gave him a piece of plate. On reaching England he was created a K.C.B., and in 1858 he was selected to fill one of the seats in the new council of India, which he retained until 1868. In the latter part of his life Cautley became involved in a professional controversy with General Sir Arthur Cotton [q.v.], the eminent hydraulic engineer, to whose genius the south of India is indebted for some of its most important irrigation works. The main point in dispute was whether the head of the Ganges canal should have been fixed where the river, with a shingle bed and a high incline, quitted the Sub-Himalaya, or much lower down, where it flows in a depressed alluvial trough of comparatively small slope. The former course, adopted by Cautley, was supposed to afford a better base for the works regulating the supply, but involved crossing, at great cost, numerous torrents similar to those already referred to. The latter course involved the foundation of the works on sand and a considerable length of very deep cutting before the surface of the plain to be irrigated was reached. Subsequent experience, derived from the construction of dams built on sites such as Sir Arthur Cotton contemplated, across the Ganges for the lower Ganges canal, and across the Jumna for the Agra canal, appears to have shown that the view of the latter was correct in principle, but that he considerably underestimated what would have been the cost of the work if carried out on his plan. The most serious fault of the canal was excess of slope, and to rectify this parts of it were remodelled at a cost (which,

however, included extensions of work necessary in any case) of fifty-five lakhs of rupees, the original cost of the work having been 217 lakhs. In submitting the plans and estimates for the improvements the government of India remarked that, 'considering the unprecedented character of the Ganges canal project and its great magnitude,' they did not think that 'the credit of its designer was really diminished by what had occurred.' They believed that 'very few engineering works of equal novelty of design and magnitude would be found to bear the test of actual experience with a more favourable result.' 'Whatever,' they added, 'be the present ascertained defects of the Ganges canal, the claims of Sir Proby Cautley to the consideration of the government of India for his eminent services are, in our estimation, in no way diminished, and his title to honour as an engineer still remains of the highest order' (*Despatch from the Governor-general of India in Council to the Secretary of State for India*, 1 March 1865).

In addition to his labours as an engineer Cautley rendered distinguished service to geological and palæontological science by his explorations in the Siválík range, which is rich in fossil remains. His researches were chiefly carried on in association with Dr. Hugh Falconer, at that time in charge of the botanical garden at Saháranpur, and, their joint discoveries attracting attention in Europe, they were awarded by the Geological Society in 1837 the Woollaston medal in duplicate. It is stated that Cautley's collection of fossils presented by him to the British Museum filled 214 chests, averaging in weight 4 cwt. each. Cautley was a frequent contributor of papers both to the Bengal Asiatic Society and to the Geological Society of London. The following may be mentioned: In the 'Asiatic Researches,' vol. xvi. (1828), notice of 'Coal and Lignite in the Himálaya;' vol. xix. pt. i. (1836), 'On the Fossil Crocodile of the Siválíks;' 'On the Fossil Ghariál of the Siválíks.' In 'Journal As. Soc. Bengal,' vol. i. (1832), 'On Gypsum of the Himálaya;' iii. (1833), 'On Discovery of an Ancient City near Behut in the Doáb;' iv. (1835), 'On Gold-washings of the Gúnti River;' 'On a New Species of Snake discovered in the Doáb;' v. (1836), 'On the Teeth of the Siválík Mastodon à dents étroites;' 'On the Mastodons of the Siválíks;' vi. (1837), 'On a Siválík Ruminant allied to the Giraffidæ;' viii. (1839), 'On the Use of Wells in Foundations, as practised by the Natives of the Northern Doáb;' ix. pt. i. (1840), 'On the Fossil Camelinae of the Siválíks;' xi. (1842), 'On the Proposed For-

mation of a Canal of Irrigation from the Jumna, in the Dhera Dún.' In 'Geological Society's Proceedings,' vol. ii. (1838), 'On Remains of Mammalia found in the Siválik Mountains;' 'On the Discovery of Quadrumanous Remains in the Siváliks.' In 'Geological Society's Transactions,' 2nd ser., v. (1840), 'On the Structure of the Siválik Hills, and Organic Remains found in them.' Also written conjointly with Dr. Hugh Falconer: in 'Asiatic Researches,' xix., 'On Sivatheium Giganteum;' 'On Siválik Fossil Hippopotamus;' 'On Saválik Fossil Camel;' 'On Felis Cristata and Ursus Siválensis;' also papers in 'Journal As. Soc. Bengal,' vols. iv. and vi., and in 'Proceedings Geol. Soc.,' No. 98, and in 'Transactions Geol. Soc.,' 2nd ser. vol. v.

Cautley also wrote an elaborate report on the construction of the Ganges canal, consisting of 2 vols. 8vo, 1 vol. 4to, and a large atlas of plans, published in 1860. In 1853 he published 'Notes and Memoranda on the Eastern Jumna, or Doáb Canal, and on the Watercourses in the Dhera Dún.' Cautley died at Sydenham on 25 Jan. 1871.

[Obituary notice in Times, 28 Jan. 1871; Calcutta Review, vols. xii. xxi.; India Office Records. In preparing this article the writer has received valuable assistance from Colonel Henry Yule, C.B., R.E.] A. J. A.

CAUX, JOHN DE. [See CALETO, JOHN DE.]

CAVAGNARI, SIR PIERRE LOUIS NAPOLEON (1841-1879), soldier and diplomatist, son of General Adolphe Cavagnari, who served under the Emperor Napoleon, by his marriage with Caroline, third daughter of Hugh Lyons Montgomery of Laurencetown, county Down, was born at Stenay, department of the Meuse, France, on 4 July 1841, entered Christ's Hospital, London, in 1851, and, after studying there for six years, passed the necessary examinations at Addiscombe, and became a direct cadet of the East India Company on 9 April 1858, and was appointed an ensign in the 67th regiment of native infantry on 21 June. He had previously, on 7 Dec. 1857, been granted a certificate of naturalisation by the home secretary under the name of P. L. N. Cavnaré, but does not seem to have adopted this method of writing his name. Arriving in India on 12 July, and joining the 1st Bengal European fusiliers, he served throughout the Oudh campaign (1858-9), and having taken part in the capture of five guns from the Nussirabad brigade on 30 Oct. 1858, was decorated with the Indian mutiny medal. Promoted to be a lieutenant on 17 March

1860, in July 1861 he was appointed to the staff corps, and gazetted an assistant-commissioner in the Punjab. Possessed of remarkable energy, indomitable courage, and a genial character, he soon acquired distinction in the frontier service, and was ultimately appointed deputy-commissioner of Kohat. He held political charge of the Kohat district from April 1866 to May 1877, when he was named deputy-commissioner of Pesháwar, and as chief political officer served in several hill expeditions between 1868 and 1878, the most important of which was the Afridi expedition, 1875-7. When the despatch of a British mission to the Ameer of Afghanistan, Shere Ali Khan, in September 1878, under Sir Neville Chamberlain, was decided upon, Cavagnari was attached to the staff, and was the officer who interviewed Faiz Mahomed Khan when that official of the ameer on 21 Sept. 1878 refused to allow the mission to proceed. After the death of the ameer, 21 Feb. 1879, and the succession of Yakub Khan to the government of Afghanistan, Cavagnari, in a personal interview with the new ruler, negotiated and signed the treaty of Gandamak, 26 May 1879, for which service he was made a K.C.B. on 19 July; he had previously, on 1 June 1877, been named commander of the Star of India. He was then sent to Cabul as the British resident, and, entering that city on 24 July, took up his residence in the Bala Hissar. His reception by Yakub Khan was friendly, but on 3 Sept. 1879 several of the Afghan regiments mutinied, and, attacking the citadel where Cavagnari and the other members of the embassy were living, massacred all the Europeans. Cavagnari made a stout resistance, but at last his head was split open with a blow. He fell back against a wall, and just about the same time the burning roof fell in; his body must have been consumed in the flames. His age was only thirty-eight. No Englishman who survived was present on the occasion, so that the details have to be taken from native sources. He married on 23 Nov. 1871 Emma, second daughter of Henry Graves, M.D., of Cookstown, county Tyrone.

[Kālīprasanna's Life of Sir L. Cavagnari, with portrait, Calcutta, 1881; Annual Register, 1879, pp. 262-70; Illustrated London News, with portrait, 1879, lxxv. 229; Graphic, with portrait 1879, xx. 4, 29, 261, 304.] G. C. B.

CAVALIER or CAVALLIER, JEAN (1681-1740), major-general, lieutenant-governor of Jersey, was born 28 Nov. 1681 at Ribaute, near Anduze, in that part of Languedoc which is now the department of the



Gard. His father was a peasant, and Jean, after herding cattle, was apprenticed to a baker at Anduze. Brought up ostensibly a catholic he was secretly taught protestant doctrines by his mother, and to escape persecution for non-attendance at mass he made his way, about the age of twenty, to Geneva, where he worked as a baker. A report that his parents had been thrown into prison induced him to return to his native district, and on the breaking out of the revolt in the Cevennes (autumn of 1702) he joined the insurgents. His intrepidity and skill, aided by his gift of prophesying and preaching, led to his election as one of the five leaders of the revolt. The region assigned to him was the plain of Lower Languedoc stretching to the sea, though he made frequent forays in the hill-country of the Cevennes. In less than two years he became the most conspicuous of the insurgent chiefs, and with few intermissions his guerilla warfare was successful. His band had grown to be one of twelve hundred men when he was defeated with great slaughter, being surrounded by a superior force under Marshal Montrevel, who commanded in Languedoc, in a series of engagements near Nages, 16 April 1704. This defeat, followed by the betrayal to the king's troops of the caverns in which the insurgents had concealed their stores of all kinds, disposed Cavalier to negotiate with Montrevel's successor, Marshal Villars, especially as hopes of succour from England had been baffled. On 16 May 1704 Villars and Cavalier had a conference in a garden outside Nismes, and Villars (*Mémoires*, p. 139) bears testimony to the firmness, good sense, and good faith displayed by Cavalier throughout the negotiation, as well as to his military capacity. Ultimately an agreement was signed, in which Villars made some concessions to the protestants of Languedoc. One of its articles permitted Cavalier to select from his band and from the protestant prisoners who were to be liberated under another article two thousand men for a regiment to be despatched to fight for France in Portugal. Cavalier received from the king a colonel's commission and a pension of twelve hundred livres. But the agreement with Villars satisfied neither the other leaders of the insurrection nor Cavalier's own band, and the regiment was not formed. At his request Cavalier was allowed an interview with Louis XIV at Versailles, during which, according to his own account, he pleaded the cause of the protestants of Languedoc, and refused the king's invitation to him to become a catholic. The authenticity of the agreement with Villars and the interview with Louis XIV have been doubted, but on insufficient grounds (PEYRAT,

ii. 133 *n.* and 198 *n.*; KEMBLE, pp. 420 and 431).

In August 1704 Cavalier received orders from the French authorities to proceed under escort to the Rhine fortress of Neu Breisach. Alarmed by reports that he was to be detained there a captive for life, he escaped from his escort, and with the followers who accompanied him took refuge in Switzerland. Here he entered the military service of the Duke of Savoy, afterwards Victor Amadeus I, who had joined the league against France. At the beginning of 1706 he raised in Holland a regiment of foot, one-third of the expenses of which were to be paid by the Dutch, the other by the English government. After visiting England, and having an interview with Godolphin (AGNEW, ii. 63; *Calendar of Treasury Papers*, 1708-14, p. 16), he proceeded with his regiment to Spain, and commanded it at the battle of Almanza, 25 April 1707, where it was drawn up opposite a French regiment. According to Voltaire (*Œuvres*, ed. Beuchot, xx. 399), the Marshal Duke of Berwick, who commanded the French at Almanza, frequently described the two regiments as rushing at each other with the bayonet without firing a shot, and as fighting so desperately that not three hundred men of them survived. Cavalier was severely wounded, and before escaping lay for some time among the killed (CAVALIER, letter to the States of Holland in *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme en France*, vi. 70; OLDMIXON, *History of England*, being a sequel to the reigns of the Stuarts, 1735, p. 391).

Cavalier now re-entered the service of the Duke of Savoy, but is found in Holland again in December 1707. While at the Hague he drew up the first of several affidavits, in which he denounced as liars and impostors three of the so-called 'French prophets' in London, who pretended to the possession of supernatural gifts, and claimed to have exercised them in the Cevennes. One of them, another Jean Cavalier, claimed a relationship with Colonel Cavalier, by whom it was indignantly repudiated (*Nouveaux Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire des Trois Camisards . . . où l'on trouve les déclarations de Monsieur le Colonel Cavalier*, 1708). It was probably during this sojourn at the Hague that he sought in marriage the Mademoiselle Dunoyer who some years afterwards captivated the young Voltaire. The match was broken off, and, according to her mother, under circumstances very discreditable to Cavalier, whom she accused of having retained possession of the dowry, and whom she otherwise vilifies (MADAME DUNOYER, *Lettres Historiques et*

*Galantes* (edition of 1790), v. 156-62). Writing to the English secretary at war in March 1711, the Duke of Marlborough (*Despatches*, 1845, v. 269) begs his correspondent to tell Cavalier that unless he complies with the 'just requests' of Mme. Dunoyer 'I shall be obliged to complain of him to the queen, that she may have justice done her out of his pension.' Cavalier was now settled with a British pension in the United Kingdom. He spent much of the remainder of his life with the French colony founded at Portarlington by Ruvigny, earl of Galway [q. v.], and there he married the daughter of an aristocratic refugee, a Mademoiselle de Ponthieu. He is represented as having suffered frequently from pecuniary embarrassments, and these, it has also been said (AGNEW, ii. 64), led to the issue of his 'Memoirs,' which were published by subscription at Dublin in 1726, with a dedication (signed 'Jas. Cavallier') to Carteret, then lord-lieutenant of Ireland. The volume professes to have been 'written in French and translated into English,' and is undoubtedly Cavalier's handiwork, though the 'Biographie Universelle' ascribes its composition to Galli, a French refugee. It is written with animation, and is full of military detail, but as a contribution to the history of the revolt in the Cevennes it is very fragmentary. Some of its most startling stories seem to be confirmed by the testimony of hostile witnesses, contemporaries of the events recorded (PEYRAT, i. 345 n. and 374 n.). The inaccuracies which have been detected in it are comparatively unimportant, with the exception of a grave misrepresentation of the spirit in which his companions opposed the treaty with Villars. Though the 'Memoirs' breathe a strongly protestant spirit, they are silent as to Cavalier's early gift of prophesying and preaching.

In 1727 Cavalier came to England with a recommendatory letter to the Duke of Newcastle from the Irish primate, Boulter. He was made a brigadier 27 Oct. 1735, and in March 1738 lieutenant-governor of Jersey, at several meetings of the estates of which island he presided. Appointed a major-general 2 July 1739, he died at Chelsea 17 May 1740, and was buried in Chelsea churchyard. Voltaire (*Œuvres*, xx. 397), who had known him, describes him as a 'little fair man with a mild and agreeable countenance.'

Besides the authorities given below there may be consulted the article 'Jean Cavallier and the Camisards' in the 'Edinburgh Review' for July 1856. An idealised Cavalier figures in Ludwig Tieck's unfinished novel, 'Der Aufrührer in den Cevennes' (English translation, 1845), and he is the hero of Eu-

gène Sue's historical romance, 'Jean Cavalier ou les Fanatiques des Cévennes,' translated into English as 'The Protestant Leader, a novel,' 1849.

[Cavalier's Memoirs; Peyrat's *Histoire des Pasteurs du Désert*, 1842; Agnew's *Protestant Exiles from France in the Reign of Louis XIV.*, 2nd edit. 1871; Haag's *La France Protestante*, 2nd edit. 1877; Mémoires du Maréchal de Villars in vol. ix. of Michaud and Poujoulat's *Nouvelle Collection des Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire de France*, 1839; F. Espinasse's *Life and Times of Voltaire*, 1866.] F. E.

CAVALLO, TIBERIUS (1749-1809), natural philosopher, was born in Naples in 1749, his father being a physician practising in that city. At an early age he left Italy, and settled for life in this country. In October 1775 he published a notice of 'Extraordinary Electricity of the Atmosphere observed at Islington.' This was reprinted in *Sturgeon's Annals of Electricity* (1843, p. 158). Cavallo was the inventor of several philosophical instruments and pieces of apparatus for electrical and chemical experiments. Much ingenuity was shown in their construction, all his instruments for the measurement of the quantity and force of electricity being remarkable for their extreme delicacy and correctness.

Cavallo was on 9 Dec. 1779 admitted as a fellow of the Royal Society. In 1781 he published a quarto volume entitled 'A Treatise on the Nature and Properties of Air and other permanently Elastic Fluids.' In this treatise he deals with chemistry and hydrostatics as they bear on the composition and physical properties of aeriform and other fluids. He examines with caution most of Dr. Priestley's experiments on air, and institutes many new ones, to determine more accurately the composition of the atmosphere and the conditions of inflammable and fixed air. Phlogisticated air forms the subject of inquiry, but it is evident that Cavallo could not receive the hypothesis of phlogiston, and yet did not feel himself on such sure ground as would justify his advancing any new doctrine. His investigations into the influences of air and light on the growth of plants are very original, and advanced him very nearly to the discovery of many new truths in connection with organic life.

In 1786 Cavallo published his 'Complete Treatise on Electricity,' which reached a third edition in 1795. It proves him to have been a true philosopher, holding his judgment suspended until he is satisfied by demonstrative evidence of the truth. In 1787 he published 'A Treatise on Magnetism in Theory

and Practice,' which embraces all that was known on the subject at the time; and in 1797 he contributed to 'Nicholson's Journal' a paper 'On the Multiplier of Electricity.' Cavallo gave some attention to aerostation, on the history and practice of which he published a treatise in 1785. About this period meteoric phenomena claimed his observation. In the latter part of his life he devoted much time to the use of electricity as a curative agent. In 1780 he published a work 'On Medical Electricity,' and in 1798 the 'Medicinal Properties of Factitious Air' was the subject of a volume by him. His latest large work appears to have been the 'Elements of Natural and Experimental Philosophy' (4 vols. 8vo), which he published in 1803. He contributed an article on meteors to Watt's 'Bibliotheca Britannica.' Cavallo died, at the age of sixty, in 1809.

[Nicholson's Journal, 1797, p. 394; Catalogue of Scientific Papers, Royal Society; Transactions of the Royal Society; Watt's Bibl. Brit. 1824.]  
R. H-T.

**CAVAN, EARL OF** (*d.* 1660). [See **LAMBART, CHARLES.**]

**CAVE, SIR AMBROSE** (*d.* 1568), chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, was fourth son of Roger Cave of Stanford, Northamptonshire, by his second wife, Margaret Saxby. It is stated that he was a student at one time at St. John's College, Cambridge, and at another at Magdalen, Oxford. In 1525 he visited Rhodes as a knight hospitaller of St. John of Jerusalem. He was a brother of the Knights' Hospital at Shingay, Cambridgeshire, the governorship of which he tried hard to obtain, and in 1540, when the order was dissolved, received a pension of 66*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* He became sheriff of Warwickshire and Leicestershire in 1548, M.P. for Warwickshire and a commissioner for raising a loan there in 1557, a privy councillor on Elizabeth's accession, as one 'well affected to the protestant religion,' a commissioner to compound with holders of land worth 50*l.* a year who refused to be knighted 20 Dec. 1558 and 28 March 1559, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster 22 Dec. 1558, and a commissioner 'for the northern parts towards Scotland and Berwick' a day later. In parliament Cave played a very small part. On 6 March 1558-9 he stated that a London alderman, Sir Thomas White, 'misliked the Book of Common Prayer,' and White was summoned to the house, which readily accepted his explanation. Cave was busily employed in 1559. He was nominated a commissioner to administer the oath of supremacy, 31 March; a searcher of the books and lodgings of two bishops, White of Man-

chester and Watson of Lincoln, suspected of papist leanings, 3 April; a joint-lieutenant of Warwickshire, 26 May; a commissioner for the visitation of the dioceses of Oxford, Lincoln, Lichfield and Coventry, and Peterborough, 22 July; a commissioner for raising men in Warwickshire and Shropshire for service at Berwick, 25 Sept. On 13 Feb. 1563-4 he went on a special commission for the trial of murders, burglaries, and other felonies. Cave was often at court, and the story runs that he once picked up the queen's garter, which had slipped off while she was dancing; Elizabeth declined to take it from him; he thereupon tied it on his left arm, and said he would wear it all his life for the sake of his mistress. A portrait of Cave with the garter round his arm was formerly the property of the Rev. Sir Charles Cave of Theddingworth, Leicestershire. Cave died 2 April 1568, and was buried at Stanford.

He married Margaret, daughter of William Willington of Barcheston, Warwickshire, and widow of Thomas Holte, justice of North Wales. By her he had one child, Margaret, wife of Henry Knollys, son of Sir Henry Knollys, K.G.

Thomas Cave of Stanford, the grandson of Sir Ambrose's eldest brother, was created a baronet by Charles I 30 June 1641. Sir Thomas's family still survives, and bears the surname of Cave-Browne-Cave (*FOSTER, Baronetage*, pp. 110-11).

[Cooper's *Athenæ Cantab.* i. 251-2; Hayward's *Annals of Elizabeth*, p. 12; *Cal. State Papers (Dom.)*, 1547-90; *Bridges's Northamptonshire*, i. 583; *Rymer's Fœdera*, xv. *passim.*] S. L. L.

**CAVE, EDWARD** (1691-1754), printer, born at Newton, near Rugby, 27 Feb. 1691, was son of Joseph, a younger son of Edward Cave of the lone house on the Watling Street Road, called Cave's Hole. The entail of the family estate being cut off, Joseph Cave was reduced to follow the trade of a cobbler at Rugby. The son had a right of admittance to Rugby grammar school, which he entered in 1700. Dr. Holyoke, the principal, thought him fit for a university education; but he was charged with robbing Mrs. Holyoke's hen-roost and clandestinely assisting fellow-scholars, brought into discredit, and compelled to leave the school. Cave was next a clerk to a collector of excise; but he soon left his place to seek employment in London. After working with a timber merchant at Bankside, he was apprenticed to Deputy-alderman Collins, a well-known London printer. In two years his ability was recognised, and he was sent to Norwich to manage a printing office and conduct a weekly paper, the 'Norwich Courant.'

His master died before his 'articles' ceased, and, not being able to bear the perversities of his mistress, he quitted her house and settled at Bow, where he married a young widow with a little money. He then became journeyman to Alderman (afterwards lord mayor) Barber, and for years was a writer in 'Mist's Weekly Journal.' When about thirty he obtained a position in the post office, by his wife's interest, but continued his occupation as a printer. He corrected the 'Gradus ad Parnassum' for the Stationers' Company, and wrote an 'Account of the Criminals,' as well as several pamphlets on current topics. He was shortly afterwards appointed clerk of the franks.

With the knowledge gained from his official position Cave about this time (1725) furnished country news to a London journal, in what were called 'news-letters,' for a guinea a week. He then began to convey London news to country papers, at Gloucester, Stamford, and Canterbury. Cave's position brought him into intercourse with members of both houses, and he would retire to a coffee-house and work up a news-letter. In 1727 he and Robert Raikes of the 'Gloucester Journal' were taken into custody for breach of privilege. Cave suffered ten days' imprisonment, but on expressing contrition and paying heavy fines he was released with a reprimand. His strictness as clerk of the franks had made enemies, and he was cited before the House of Commons for another breach of privilege in stopping a frank given by a member to the old Duchess of Marlborough. He was charged with opening letters to obtain 'news,' and dismissed from his post, although the statements made were never proved.

Cave had saved enough to purchase a small printing office at St. John's Gate, Clerkenwell, in 1731. Here, in the gateway of the old priory of the knights of St. John, he started business as a printer under the name of 'R. Newton,' and began the 'Gentleman's Magazine.' His intention was to form a collection or 'magazine' (the first use of the name in this sense), 'to contain the essays and intelligence which appeared in the two hundred half sheets which the London press then threw off monthly,' and in 'probably as many more half sheets printed elsewhere in the three kingdoms.' The periodical was to comprise varieties of all kinds. He had talked of his plan for years, but every bookseller refused to join him, although he had numerous followers. The first number of the 'Gentleman's Magazine, or Traders' Monthly Intelligencer . . . by Sylvanus Urban, Gent.,' appeared in January 1730-1. Some of the early numbers were said to be 'printed by Edward Cave,

jun.,' an imaginary nephew; others 'printed for R. Newton,' and sometimes he falsely described himself as 'Sylvanus Urban of Aldermanbury, Gent.' His magazine was a vast improvement upon the gossipping and abusive papers of the time. Johnson says its sale was over ten thousand in 1739, and every effort was made to keep up its circulation, Cave 'scarcely ever looking out of his window but with a view to its improvement.' A few years afterwards it had risen to fifteen thousand. Though without literary ability, Cave was an able editor. In 1732 he began the publication of a regular series of the parliamentary debates of both houses, giving only the initials and initials of personal names. He had friends posted in each house to watch the proceedings, and fix important speeches in the memory. Reports were afterwards put together from these materials by William Guthrie [q. v.] Members at times privately forwarded copies of their own speeches. The reports got to be very lengthy, and at every year's end a supplement had to be published. The 'London Magazine' and 'Scots Magazine' followed the 'Gentleman's Magazine. The 'London Magazine,' which lasted from 1732 to 1781, was his most successful rival. In April 1738 occurred the debate on the publication of proceedings in parliament, in consequence of Cave having given the king's answer to an address of parliament before it had even been reported from the chair, and the commons passed a resolution of 'high indignation.' The 'Gentleman's Magazine' and 'London Magazine' hit upon very similar evasions. The debates were attributed to a 'parliament of the empire of Lilliput' in the 'Gentleman's Magazine,' or 'the proceedings of a Roman literary club' in the 'London Magazine.' Quaint pseudonyms were adopted. The proceedings were also thrown out of chronological order. In November 1740 Johnson succeeded Guthrie and reported for about three years. Johnson's account of his first visit to St. John's Gate in 1738, when 'he beheld it with reverence,' is well known. For years, until Cave died with his hand 'gently pressing' Johnson's, their friendship survived. In 1747 Cave, along with Astle of the 'London Magazine,' was again in trouble for printing accounts of the trial of Lord Lovat. On paying fees and begging pardon on their knees the offenders were discharged with a reprimand. The reports, however, had to be given up, and they were not resumed until 1752; Cave's press was not stopped again. When the officers threatened to stamp the last half sheet of magazines as if it were a newspaper, and the rival editors were about to give way, he stood out and the idea was relinquished. From 1742 to

1748 Cave published an occasional magazine, entitled 'Miscellaneous Correspondence,' of which nine numbers only appeared. From 1744 to 1753 he issued a second work, 'Miscellanea Curiosa Mathematica,' 4to. Both these are very scarce, and a complete set of the 'Gentleman's Magazine' of the first edition would be difficult to find in any library. In the British Museum copy the first two volumes alone are made up of six editions, some printed twenty-three years after the first issue, and with the most varied imprints.

Besides the magazine Cave published Johnson's 'Rambler.' His press also produced Dr. Halde's 'History of China' in weekly numbers, forming 2 vols. fol. 1736; Mackrell's 'History and Antiquities of King's Lynn,' 1738, 8vo; 'Debates of the House of Commons, by the Hon. Anchtel Grey,' 10 vols. 1745, 8vo; Dr. Newton's 'Compleat Herbal,' 1752, 8vo; an edition of the works of Sydenham, the physician; several of Dr. Johnson's books ('London,' 'Irene,' 'Life of Savage,' &c.), and other works. Cave bought an old coach and a pair of older horses, and in lieu of a coat of arms or simple crest he had a representation of St. John's Gate painted on the door panels; his plate bore the same picture.

In 1740 Cave purchased a machine to spin wool or cotton into thread yarn or worsted, and had a mill erected to work on the Turnmill Brook, near the river Fleet. Lewis Paul of Birmingham, the patentee, undertook the management, but it was never brought into proper working order, or it would have anticipated the labours of Arkwright and Peel. He set up a water-wheel and machinery at Northampton with fifty pairs of hands, and the use of Paul's carding cylinder, patented in 1748, but this was also neglected and failed. He was very friendly to Benjamin Franklin, and in 1750 placed one of his electric spires or lightning conductors on the eastern tower of St. John's Gate. On the same gate he mounted four portable cannons of his own invention. They were so light as to be carried on the shoulder, and yet could discharge either a large ball or a number of bullets. From one of the 'Poetical Epistles' it appears that his wife was named Milton, and her first husband Newton. She signs another humorous poem as 'Su. Urban.' She died of asthma in 1751. Cave travelled much in his later years, for health's sake, to Gloucester, Northampton, and Reading, and loved to announce himself to school friends as 'old Cave the cobbler.' He died at St. John's Gate 10 Jan. 1754, and was buried at St. James's, Clerkenwell; the long and interesting epitaph on a tablet in Rugby churchyard

to him and his father (who died 1747) was by Hawkesworth.

Cave was over six feet in height and bulky. In early life he was very healthy, and fond of feats of strength and agility. Later in life he suffered much from gout, took the Bath waters in 1736, for twenty years before his death his only beverage was milk and water, and for four years he adopted a vegetarian diet. His sedentary habits were remarkable, writing during breakfast and supper, and taking at times only a little shuttlecock exercise in the gateway with a friend or two. He was reserved but generous, and not without humour. Cave's portrait, etched by Worlidge from Kyte's oil painting, 1740, is in 'Gent. Mag.' 1754, p. 55. A second portrait was produced when Worlidge's was worn out. There is a third by Grignon, surrounded with emblematical devices, and with a four-line inscription; a fourth by Basire is the frontispiece to vol. v. of Nichols's 'Literary Anecdotes,' 1812; and a fifth by E. Scriven is in Murray's edition of Boswell's 'Johnson.' Mr. B. Foster, a tenant of St. John's Gate when it had become a tavern, found in an old room a three-quarter length portrait, said to be Hogarth's. This was placed, along with Goldsmith's and Johnson's, in the rooms of the 'Urban Club.' The 'Gentleman's Magazine' was Cave's sole property till his death. It was continued by David Henry, a printer, who married Cave's sister Mary in 1734, and by Richard Cave, a nephew. Henry's connection with it lasted till 1792, when he died. John Nichols, having obtained a share in 1778, edited it from that time till his death in 1816. Up to 1781 it was published at St. John's Gate. In 1850 great alterations were made. In 1856 it passed from the Nichols family to the Parkers of Oxford, and in 1865 to Bradbury & Evans. It still exists in a changed form.

[Nichols's Lit. Anecd. vii. 66-7, 531; Boswell's Johnson (Croker's), 101-21; Timperley's Lit. and Typogr. Anecd. 624, 636, 643, 656, 688, 775, 806; Andrews's British Journalism, i. 140, ii. 206, 269, 271; West's Warwickshire, p. 107; Gratton, The Gallery, p. 19; Rugby School Register, p. 15; Hawkins's Life of Johnson, p. 27; Journal of House of Commons, xxi. 85, 118, 119, 127, xxiii. 148; Journal of House of Lords, xxvii. 94, 100, 107-9; Gent. Mag. 1735, p. 3, 1754, p. 57, 1792, pt. i. 578, 1856, pp. 3, 131, 267, 531, 667, 1857, pp. 3, 149, 282, 379; Quarterly Review, cvii. 52; Coxe's Memoirs of Walpole, i. 573; Harl. MS. 4302; Add. MS. 5972-3; Foster's Priory and Gate of St. John.] J. W.-G.

CAVE, JOHN (d. 1657), ejected clergyman, was born at Pickwell in Leicestershire, and was the third son of 'John Cave, Esq., and Elizabeth Brudenell, his wife.' He

was educated at Lincoln College, Oxford, where he was for eight years chamber fellow with the famous Robert Sanderson. In 1629 he was presented to the rectory of his native parish, where he 'attended to his ministerial cure with great diligence, and lived in great esteem and respect till the breaking out of the rebellion in 1642.' A long and vivid account of his sufferings was given by his son, William Cave [q. v.], to Mr. Walker, who has inserted it in full in his 'Sufferings of the Clergy' (pt. ii. 220). He was dispossessed, and was at first entertained with his family by his old neighbours, 'but was not suffered to continue there, nor to teach school there or elsewhere. Whereupon he took up his dwelling near Stamford, where not being suffered to abide long, he removed up to London; where, being broken with age and sufferings, and worn out with long and tedious winter journeys from committee to committee, he departed this life in November 1657.'

The only publication of Cave's extant is to be found in the 'Lachrymæ Musarum,' 1650. It is entitled 'An Elegie upon the much lamented Death of the Lord Hastings, only Son and Heir of the Earl of Huntingdon, deceased at London, 1649. Sic flevit deditiss. familiæ ejusdem et humillimus servus, J. Cave.'

[Nichols's History and Antiquities of Leicestershire, vol. ii. pt. ii. pp. 773, &c.; Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, pt. ii. 220.] J. H. O.

**CAVE, SIR STEPHEN** (1820-1880), politician, eldest son of Daniel Cave of Cleve Hill, near Bristol (*d.* 9 March 1872), by his marriage on 15 April 1820 with Frances, only daughter of Henry Locock, M.D., of London, was born at Clifton on 28 Dec. 1820, was educated at Harrow and Balliol College, Oxford, where he graduated B.A. in 1843, and M.A. in 1846. Being called to the bar at the Inner Temple on 20 Nov. 1846, he commenced his career by going the western circuit. On 29 April 1859 he entered parliament in the conservative interest for Shoreham, and retained his seat for that constituency to 24 March 1880. He was sworn a member of the privy council on 10 July 1866, and served as a paymaster-general and vice-president of the board of trade from that date to December 1868; in 1866 he was appointed chief commissioner for negotiating a fishery convention in Paris. As judge-advocate and paymaster-general he acted from 25 Feb. 1874 to November 1875, and from that date to 24 March 1880 as paymaster-general only. In December 1875 he was sent on a special mission to Egypt, charged by Lord Beaconsfield to report on the financial

condition of that country; he returned in March 1876, and was nominated a G.C.B. on 20 April 1880. He was a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, of the Zoological Society, and of other learned societies; chairman of the West India Committee, and a director of the Bank of England and of the London Dock Company. He died at Chambéry, Savoy, 6 June 1880. He married, on 7 Sept. 1852, Emma Jane, eldest daughter of the Rev. William Smyth of Elkington Hall, Lincolnshire. He wrote: 1. 'A Few Words on the Encouragement given to Slavery and the Slave Trade by recent Measures, and chiefly by the Sugar Bill of 1846,' 1849. 2. 'Prevention and Reformation the Duty of the State or of Individuals?' With some account of a Reformatory Institution,' 1856. 3. 'On the distinctive Principles of Punishment and Reformation,' 1857. 4. 'Papers relating to Free Labour and the Slave Trade,' 1861.

[*Lancet Times*, 19 June 1880, p. 146; Graphic, with portrait, 11 Dec. 1875, pp. 574, 589; Illustrated London News, with portrait, 11 Dec. 1875, p. 501.] G. C. B.

**CAVE, WILLIAM** (1637-1713), Anglican divine, was born in 1637 at Pickwell in Leicestershire, of which parish his father, John Cave [q. v.], was vicar. He was educated at Oakham school, and in 1653 was admitted a 'sub or proper sizar of St. John's College, Cambridge; in 1654 he was likewise admitted scholar of the house in one of the Lady Margaret's own scholarships.' He was contemporary with William Beveridge at St. John's. He took his B.A. degree in 1656, and his M.A. in 1660. In 1662 he was instituted to the vicarage of Islington, and in 1679 he was collated by the Archbishop of Canterbury (Sancroft) to the rectory of All-hallows the Great, Thames Street, London. During his incumbency the church of All-hallows was rebuilt by Sir Christopher Wren. In 1681 he was incorporated D.D. at Oxford. He was made chaplain to Charles II, and in 1684 was installed canon of Windsor. He resigned All-hallows in 1689 and Islington in 1691, having been admitted in the previous November to the vicarage of Isleworth, a quiet place which suited his studious temper. He married Anna, the only daughter of the Rev. Walter Stonehouse, by whom he had a large family; she died in 1691, and was buried at Islington; a monument in St. Mary's Church relates that four sons and two daughters were also buried there in their parents' lifetime. Cave himself died (4 July 1813) at Windsor, but was buried at Islington, near his wife and children. Hewas a very intimate friend of Dr. Comber,

dean of Durham, author of 'The Companion to the Temple,' and is said to have been 'of a learned and communicative conversation;' he is also reported to have been 'a florid and eloquent preacher,' and the two printed sermons he has left behind him bear out this character. But his fame rests upon his writings on church history, which are voluminous and valuable. They are as follows: 1. 'Primitive Christianity, or the Religion of Ancient Christians in the First Ages of the Gospel,' 1672; it was dedicated to Nathaniel Crewe, lord bishop of Oxford, and has been often reprinted. 2. 'Tabulæ Ecclesiasticæ; Tables of Ecclesiastical Writers,' 1674. 3. 'Antiquitates Apostolicæ; a History of the Lives, Acts, and Martyrdoms of the Holy Apostles of our Saviour and the Two Evangelists, St. Mark and St. Luke. To which is added, an introductory discourse concerning the Three Great Dispensations of the Church—the Patriarchal, the Mosaical, and the Evangelical. Being a continuation of the "Antiquitates Christianæ; or, the Life and Death of Holy Jesus," by Jeremy Taylor,' 1676. 4. 'Apostolici, or a History of the Lives, Acts, Deaths, and Martyrdoms of those who were contemporary with or immediately succeeded the Apostles; as also of the most eminent of the primitive Fathers for the first three hundred years. To which is added a Chronology of the Three First Ages of the Church,' 1677. 5. 'Ecclesiastici, or a History of the Lives, Acts, Deaths, and Writings of the most eminent Fathers of the Church in the Fourth Century; wherein, among other things, an account is given of the rise, growth, and progress of Arianism and all other sects of that age descending from it. Together with an Introduction containing an Historical Account of the State of Paganism under the First Christian Emperor,' 1682. 6. 'A Dissertation concerning the Government of the Ancient Church by Bishops, Metropolitans, and Patriarchs. More particularly concerning the ancient power and jurisdiction of the Bishops of Rome and the encroachments of that upon other sees, especially the see of Constantinople,' 1683. 7. 'Chartophylax Ecclesiasticus,' 1685; a sort of abridgment of the 'Tabulæ Ecclesiasticæ' and 'Historia Literaria,' containing a short account of most of the ecclesiastical writers from the birth of Christ to 1517 A.D. 8. 'Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Historia Literaria;' a literary history of ecclesiastical writers, in two parts, the first part published in 1688, the second in 1698. Besides these historical works Dr. Cave published: 9. 'A Serious Exhortation, with some important Advices relating to the late cases about Conformity, recommended to

the present Dissenters from the Church of England, being the twenty-second in the London Cases,' 10. 'A Sermon before the Lord Mayor at St. Mary-le-Bow, 5 Nov. 1680.' 11. 'A Sermon before the King at Whitehall, 18 Jan. 1684,' published by his majesty's command. 12. 'Epistola Apologetica adversus iniquas J. Clerici Criminationes in Epistolis Criticis et Ecclesiasticis nuper editis. Quæ argumenta ejus pro Eusebii Arianismo ad examen revocantur,' 1700.

The merits of Cave as a writer consist in the thoroughness of his research, the clearness of his style, and, above all, the admirably lucid method of his arrangement. Thus, in 'Primitive Christianity,' in part i., he deals systematically with the charges against the primitive Christians—the novelty of their doctrines, their mean condition, their manner of life; then dwells on 'the positive parts of their religion,' their piety to God, places of worship, fasts and festivals, ministers, sacraments. In part ii. he discusses their 'religion as respecting themselves, their humility, heavenly-mindedness, sobriety of dress, temperance, chastity, religious constancy, patience in suffering.' In part iii. he treats of their 'religion as respecting other men,' their justice and honesty, love and charity, unity and peaceableness, obedience to civil government, and discipline and penance.

In his 'Historia Literaria,' the most elaborate of all his works, he divides his subject methodically into fifteen 'sæcula' (Apostolicum, Gnosticum, &c.), and gives, at the beginning of each, a short 'conspectus sæculi,' and then an exhaustive account of the writers in it.

Cave had various troubles in connection with his publications. He was accused, without the slightest reason, of Socinianism. He was charged, perhaps with a little more reason, by Le Clerc, who was then writing his 'Bibliothèque Universelle,' with 'writing panegyrics rather than lives,' and also with 'having forcibly drawn Eusebius, who was plainly enough Arian, over to the side of the orthodox, and made a trinitarian of him;' this produced a paper warfare between the two great writers. His 'Tabulæ Ecclesiasticæ' was reprinted at Hamburg in 1676 without his knowledge ('me planè inscio'), and evidently to his great annoyance. His 'Historia Literaria' was in a similar way published at Geneva in 1705, which is said to have caused the author great loss, and to have so disgusted him that he would not issue a second edition; but he spent much time during the later years of his life in revising repeatedly this great work. He made alterations and additions equal to one-third of

the whole work, and wrote new prolegomena. The copy was left in the hands of executors, Chief-justice Reeve and Dr. Jones, a brother canon of Windsor; they both died soon after the work went to press, and Dr. Daniel Waterland (than whom no more competent man could possibly have been found) undertook the care of it. It was published by subscription in 1740, and this, of course, is the best edition. Cave had another trouble in connection with this work. When he was engaged in compiling it, in 1686, Henry Wharton, then a young man (aged 22), was recommended to him by Dr. Barker, senior fellow of Caius, as an assistant. Cave was suffering from bad health and required such aid; Wharton lived in the house with Cave, and matters went on amicably between the workers, and Cave acknowledged most gratefully in his prolegomena the services of Wharton, testifying that the appendix of the three last centuries was almost wholly owing to him. A rupture, however, arose; Cave complained of Wharton, and Wharton of Cave, but it is not easy, nor at all necessary, to understand the nature of the dispute.

[Cave's Works, *passim*; Nichols's History and Antiquities of Leicestershire, vol. ii. pt. ii. pp. 773, &c.; Life of Henry Wharton, prefixed to his Sermons; information from Major Cave Orme, Cave's descendant.] J. H. O.

**CAVELLUS, HUGO.** [See **MACCAGH-WELL, HUGH.**]

**CAVENDISH, CHARLES (1620-1643)**, royalist general, second son of William, second earl of Devonshire [q. v.], was born on 20 May 1620, and named after Prince Charles, his godfather. In 1638 he was sent abroad to travel with a governor; succeeded in reaching Cairo and saw a large part of Turkey. He returned to England in May 1641, and then served for a campaign under the Prince of Orange. On the outbreak of the war he entered the king's troop of guards as a volunteer under the command of Lord Bernard Stuart. At Edgehill he so distinguished himself by his valour that he was given the command of the Duke of York's troop left vacant by the death of Lord Aubigny. In consequence of a disagreement with an inferior officer, he sought an independent command, and obtained from the king a commission to raise a regiment of horse in the north. He then established himself at Newark, and so distinguished himself by his activity against the parliamentarians, that, on the petition of the king's commissioners for Nottinghamshire and Lincolnshire, he was appointed commander-in-chief of the forces of those two counties, with the rank of colonel-general.

On 23 March 1643 he took Grantham, and on 11 April defeated young Hotham at Ancaster, and threatened an irruption into the eastern association. He received the queen at Newark, and escorted her part of her way to Oxford, taking Burton-on-Trent by assault during the march, 2 July 1643 (RUSHWORTH, v. 274). But attempting to prevent the raising of the siege of Gainsborough, he was defeated by Cromwell, and fell by the hand of James Berry, Cromwell's captain-lieutenant (28 July 1643). He was buried at Newark, but thirty years later his body was removed to Derby, to be interred with his mother.

[Kennet's Memoirs of the Family of Cavendish, 1708. Kennet gives extracts from a manuscript life of Colonel Cavendish; Aubrey's Letters (ed. 1813), ii. 274; Lloyd's Memoirs of Excellent Personages, p. 672; Carlyle's Cromwell, Letter xii, and appendix 5. Waller wrote an epitaph on Charles Cavendish, which is to be found in his collected Poems; there is also a poem on him in the Characters and Elegies of Sir Francis Wortley.] C. H. F.

**CAVENDISH, CHRISTIANA, COUNTESS OF DEVONSHIRE (d. 1675)**, was the daughter of Edward Bruce of Kinloss (1549?-1611) [q. v.] In token of her father's services she, on her marriage to William Cavendish, second earl of Devonshire [q. v.], received from the king a grant of 10,000*l.* After the death of her husband in 1628 she had the wardship of the young lord and the care of the estates, the value of which she greatly increased by her prudent management. At the rebellion she was one of the most enthusiastic supporters of the cause of the king, and her devotion to it was increased by the death of her second son, Charles [q. v.], who was slain at Gainsborough on 28 July 1643. She took charge of the king's effects after the battle of Worcester, and during the protectorate was accustomed to entertain the friends of the cause at her house at Roehampton, and also kept up a correspondence with the principal royalists on the continent. General Monk, it is said, sent her a private signal to make her aware of his intention to restore the king. After the Restoration Charles II frequently resorted to her house at Roehampton, and the queen mother lived on terms of unusual intimacy with her till her death. She is described by her biographer as 'of that affability and sweet address, with so great wit and judgment, as captivated all who conversed with her.' After the Restoration she was accustomed frequently to entertain the wits and men of letters, one of her favourite friends being Edmund Waller, who had been a sufferer in the royal cause. Waller dedicated to her his 'Epistles,' which



conclude with an 'Epistle to the Duchess,' and he also wrote an epitaph on her son. William, earl of Pembroke, wrote a volume of poems in praise of her and Lady Rich, which was published with a dedication to her by Donne. A portrait of the duchess by Theodore Russell was in the Duke of Bedford's collection at Woburn. She died on 16 Jan. 1674-5.

[Life of the Right Honourable and Religious Lady, Christian, late Countess Dowager of Devonshire, London, 1685; Sir William Temple's Works, ii. 135; Kennet's Memoirs of the Family of Cavendish, pp. 12-20; Collins's Peerage, ed. 1812, i. 325-33; Lysons's Environs of London, i. 430-2.] T. F. H.

**CAVENDISH, ELIZABETH, DUCHESS OF DEVONSHIRE** (1759-1824), daughter of the fourth Earl of Bristol, was born in 1759. In early life she married John Thomas Foster. After she had become a widow she spent some time on the continent with Georgiana, duchess of Devonshire [q. v.], and other ladies, and at Lausanne in 1787 met Gibbon, who had then just finished his 'History.' He read to her some of the concluding portions, and her admiration was so warmly expressed that Gibbon suddenly surprised her by an offer of his hand. The offer was declined, but Gibbon took the disappointment philosophically, and while his estimate of her fascinations remained as high as ever, his friendly feelings towards her underwent no change. Comparing her with Georgiana, the first duchess, he writes: 'Bess is much nearer the level of a mortal, but a mortal for whom the wisest man, historic or medical, would throw away two or three worlds if he had them in possession.' He also gave it as his opinion that 'if she chose to beckon the lord chancellor from his woollack in full sight of the world, he could not resist obedience.' In 1809 she became the second wife of the fifth duke of Devonshire, and after the death of her husband in 1814 she took up her residence in Rome, where she enjoyed the friendship of some of the most distinguished Italians and foreign residents, and her house became the great resort of the brilliant society gathered together in Rome from all countries. Ticknor relates that he went to her 'conversations as to a great exchange to see who is in Rome, and to meet what is called the world' (*Letters and Journals*, i. 180), and Moore refers to her and Lady Davy as the rival ciceroni at Rome (*Journal and Correspondence*, iii. 48). Ticknor gives it as his opinion that the duchess, though 'a good respectable woman in her way,' yet 'attempts to play the Mæcenas a little too much.' She spent large sums in excavations at the Forum with con-

siderable success, and she was one of the most liberal patrons of the fine arts. Canova and Thorwaldsen were her personal friends. In 1816 she printed at Rome a splendid edition of Horace's 'Iter ad Brundisium,' or Fifth Satire of the First Book, with engravings by the brothers Rippenhausen, and an Italian translation attributed to Molagani. Its title is 'Horatius Flaccus Quintus: Satyrum lib. i. Satyra v. (cum Italiciana versione), Romæ de Romanis.' On account of various errors in the translation and printing, discovered too late to prevent its circulation, she resolved, on the advice of Cardinal Consalvi, to have another version prepared, which was printed at Parma by the press of Madame Bodoni, with engravings by Caraccioli, and is one of the finest works ever issued by that famous press. Its title is 'Horatius Flaccus Quintus: Di Q. Orazio Flacco Satira v., traduzione italiana con rami allusivi (col testo latino). Parma con tipi Bodoniani, 1818.' In the following year she printed in two volumes a similar edition of the 'Æneid' of Virgil, with engravings by Marchetti from designs by Lawrence. It is entitled 'L'Eneide di Virgilio recata in versi italiani da Annibal Caro, Roma de Romanis,' 1819. Her portrait is prefixed. Copies of these works were presented by her to various European sovereigns, and to several of the more important public libraries. She also published in 1816 a 'Journey through Switzerland,' originally published anonymously in 1796, and added to it the poem by Georgiana, the former duchess, on the 'Passage of the St. Gothard.' She contemplated *éditions de luxe* of the works of Cora and Dante, but died before these purposes were carried into execution, 30 March 1824. On her death several medals illustrative of her works were struck in her honour. The portrait of the duchess when Lady Elizabeth Foster was painted by both Sir Joshua Reynolds and Gainsborough. A portrait by the latter was stolen in 1876 from the Bond Street gallery of Messrs. Agnew, who had purchased it shortly before from the Wynn Ellis collection.

[Annual Register, lxi. 217-18; Gent. Mag. 1843, new ser., xx. 586-91; Gibbon's Autobiography and Correspondence; Moore's Journal and Correspondence; Ticknor's Letters and Journal; Notes and Queries, 4th ser. vii. 137, 179, 413, viii. 79; Catalogue of the Chatsworth Library.] T. F. H.

**CAVENDISH, LORD FREDERICK** (1729-1803), field-marshal, third son of William, third duke of Devonshire, K.G., was born in August 1729. He entered the army as an ensign in the 2nd or Coldstream guards in 1750, and was promoted lieutenant and

captain on 17 March 1752, captain and lieutenant-colonel on 3 May 1756, and colonel on 7 May 1758. He was elected M.P. for Derbyshire on 27 June 1751, in the room of his elder brother, the Marquis of Hartington, who was summoned to the House of Lords as Lord Cavendish of Hardwick, in his father's barony, and for Derby in 1754, a seat which he held without intermission till 1780. He was a most enthusiastic soldier, and with three other young officers, Wolfe, Monckton, and Keppel, made a compact on the outbreak of the seven years' war not to marry until France was conquered. Family influence secured his rapid promotion, and in April 1757 he proceeded to Germany as aide-de-camp to the Duke of Cumberland, and served the campaign of that year there. In September 1758 he accompanied the Duke of Marlborough in his ludicrous expedition against St. Malo as aide-de-camp, and was taken prisoner on the affair of St. Cas. He at first refused to go on parole, on the ground that his duty as a member of parliament would make it necessary for him to vote the supplies for further war against France; but the Duc d'Aiguillon overruled his objections, and said, 'Let not that prevent you, for we should no more object to your voting in parliament than to your begetting children lest they should one day fight against France.' In 1760, after his exchange had been arranged, he went to Germany again as brigadier-general, and received the command of a brigade of infantry in the army of Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, at the head of which he served till the conclusion of the war in 1763. On 30 Oct. 1760 he was made colonel of the 34th regiment, a command which he held for thirty-four years, and on 7 March 1761 he was promoted major-general. He succeeded to the beautiful estate of Twickenham Park under the will of the Countess of Mountrath in 1766, and was promoted lieutenant-general on 30 April 1770. His political principles prevented him from applying for a command in the American war of independence, but he was promoted general on 20 Nov. 1782, and made a field-marshal on 30 July 1796. He died at Twickenham, unmarried, on 21 Oct. 1803, at the age of seventy-four, leaving the bulk of his immense property to his favourite nephew, Lord George Cavendish, M.P., afterwards first earl of Burlington.

[Rose's Biog. Dict.; Historical Record of the 34th Regiment.] H. M. S.

**CAVENDISH, LORD FREDERICK CHARLES** (1836-1882), chief secretary for Ireland, was second son of William Caven-

dish, seventh duke of Devonshire, by his marriage, 6 Aug. 1829, with Blanche Georgiana Howard, fourth daughter of George, sixth earl of Carlisle. He was born at Compton Place, Eastbourne, on 30 Nov. 1836, and after being educated at home, matriculated in 1855 from Trinity College, Cambridge, where he graduated B.A. in 1858, and then served as a cornet in the Duke of Lancaster's own yeomanry cavalry. From 1859 to 1864 he was private secretary to Lord Granville. He travelled in the United States in 1859-60, and in Spain in 1860. He entered parliament as a liberal for the northern division of the West Riding of Yorkshire, 15 July 1865, and retained that seat until he resigned it in May 1882. After serving as private secretary to Mr. Gladstone from July 1872 to August 1873 he became a junior lord of the treasury, and held office until the resignation of the ministry. He performed the duties of financial secretary to the treasury from April 1880 to May 1882, when on the resignation of Mr. W. E. Forster, chief secretary to the lord-lieutenant of Ireland, he was appointed to succeed him. In company with Earl Spencer, lord-lieutenant, he proceeded to Dublin, and took the oath as chief secretary at the Castle, Dublin, on 6 May 1882; but on the afternoon of the same day, while walking in the Phoenix Park in company with Thomas Henry Burke [q. v.], the under-secretary, he was attacked from behind by several men, who with knives murdered Mr. Burke and himself. His body being brought to England, was buried in Edensor churchyard, near Chatsworth, on 11 May, when three hundred members of the House of Commons and thirty thousand other persons followed the remains to the grave. The trial of the murderers in 1883 [see CAREY, JAMES] made it evident that the death of Cavendish was not premeditated, and that he was not recognised by the assassins; the plot was laid against Mr. Burke, and the former was murdered because he happened to be in the company of a person who had been marked out for destruction. A window to Cavendish's memory was placed in St. Margaret's Church, Westminster, at the cost of the members of the House of Commons. He was known as an industrious administrator, who seldom spoke in the house except upon subjects of which he had official cognisance or special experience, but he took an interest in educational questions, and on every side was highly esteemed for his urbanity and devotion to business. He married, on 7 June 1864, Lucy Caroline, second daughter of George William Lyttelton, fourth baron Lyttelton, and maid of honour to the queen.

[Graphic, 13 May 1882, with portrait, and 20 May; Illustrated London News, 10 Feb. 1866, with portrait, 13 May 1882, with portrait, and 20 May; Annual Register for 1882 and 1883; Cornelius Brown's *Life of Earl of Beaconsfield* (1882), ii. 237, with portrait; *Yorkshire Notes and Queries*, 1886, with portrait.] G. C. B.

**CAVENDISH, GEORGE** (1500–1561?), biographer of Wolsey, was the elder son of Thomas Cavendish, clerk of the pipe in the exchequer, who married the daughter and heiress of John Smith of Padbrook Hall in Suffolk. In 1524 his father died, and soon afterwards he married Margery, daughter of William Kemp of Spains Hall in Essex, and niece of Sir Thomas More. In 1526 or 1527 he entered the service of Cardinal Wolsey as gentleman-usher, 'abandoning,' as Wolsey said, 'his own country, wife, and children, his own house and family, his rest and quietness, only to serve me.' From this time to Wolsey's death he was in close attendance upon him and accompanied him in his embassy to France, about which he gives many curious particulars. When Wolsey lost the royal favour Cavendish stayed with him, and he gives a full account of the life of the great cardinal in his adversity. He was with him when he died at Leicester, and after his funeral went to London, where he was questioned before the privy council about Wolsey's last words. The Duke of Norfolk bore witness in his behalf: 'This gentleman both justly and painfully served the cardinal, his master, like a just and diligent servant.' Henry VIII rewarded him by giving him six of Wolsey's best cart horses, with a cart to carry his stuff, and five marks for his costs homewards, also ten pounds of unpaid wages, and twenty pounds for a reward. With this Cavendish, in 1530, returned to his home at Glemsford in Suffolk, where he lived a quiet life. He had no further desire to try his fortunes at court. He laid to heart the lesson of Wolsey's fall, and eschewed ambition. He was attached to the old faith, and looked on with misgivings at the changes of the later years of Henry VIII. In the reign of Mary he was cheered by a ray of hope, and set to work to write down his remembrances of the master whom he loved, but whose career had served to him as a warning against the vanity of human endeavour. Internal evidence shows that his 'Life of Wolsey' was written in 1537; but it was not published, for the accession of Elizabeth brought forth changes, and it was dangerous to publish a work which necessarily spoke of disputed questions and reflected on persons who were still alive. Cavendish was contented to regard himself as one who had failed in life. He saw his

younger brother, William [q. v.], succeeding and growing prosperous, while he himself grew poorer. In 1558 he granted his manor of Cavendish Overhill to his son William, a London mercer, for 40*l.* a year; his grandson, William, sold it in 1569. From this time the record of the family is lost. It followed the example of its ancestor and fell into decay. Cavendish himself died in 1561 or 1562.

Cavendish's work, the 'Life of Cardinal Wolsey,' long remained in manuscript. Extracts from it were inserted by Stowe in his 'Annals.' In 1641 was published for party purposes a garbled text under the title of 'The Negotiations of Thomas Woolesey, the great Cardinnall of England, composed by one of his own servants, being his gentleman-usher.' This edition was reprinted with slight changes of title in 1667 and 1706, and in the 'Harleian Miscellany,' 1744–6. Grove, in his 'History of the Life and Times of Cardinal Wolsey' (1742–4), republished the same text, but, finding his mistake, issued a few copies from the manuscript in 1761. It was edited from two manuscripts in the Lambeth Library by Wordsworth in his 'Ecclesiastical Biography' in 1810; and more completely by Singer, 'Cavendish's Life of Cardinal Wolsey,' 1815, 2nd edition 1827. Singer's text was reproduced by Professor H. Morley in a volume of the 'Universal Library,' 1885. Many manuscripts are in existence, and the book had a large circulation before it was committed to the press.

For a long time there was some uncertainty about the authorship, whether it was the work of George Cavendish or of his better known brother William [q. v.] The question was settled in 1814, by Rev. Joseph Hunter of Bath, in a pamphlet, 'Who wrote Cavendish's Life of Wolsey?' which is reprinted in vol. ii. of Singer's edition. Hunter proved satisfactorily by internal evidence that George, not William, Cavendish was Wolsey's usher, and consequently author of the book. William Cavendish's eldest son was born in 1534, so that he could not have left wife and children to enter Wolsey's service; also he died in 1557, before the book was finished. The general character of the book does not fit in with the prosperity of William Cavendish's career. It is the production of a refined, pious, and gentle nature, which looks back over many years of quiet melancholy upon a period when he too had borne a part in great affairs. The view of Wolsey taken by Cavendish is substantially the same as that of Shakespeare, and it is by no means improbable that Shakespeare had read Cavendish in manuscript. Cavendish writes with the fullest admiration for Wolsey and

sympathy with his aims; but reflection has taught him the pathetic side of all worldly aims. He admits Wolsey's haughtiness, his 'respect to the honour of his person rather than to his spiritual profession,' but this does not diminish his personal affection or destroy the glamour of the cardinal's glory. The picture which Cavendish draws of Wolsey is most attractive, and recalls vividly the impression which he produced in his own time. The refinement, the simplicity, the genuine goodness of the writer is present at every page. The fulness of portraiture, the clearness of personal details, the graceful description, the reserve shown in drawing from memories of a time long past and outlived, give the book a distinction of its own, and place it high among English biographies.

Besides the 'Life of Wolsey,' Singer publishes, from a manuscript in the Douce collection, some poems of George Cavendish which he calls 'Metrical Visions.' They are written in the style of Skelton, after the fashion of the 'Mirror for Magistrates,' and represent the lamentations of fallen favourites bemoaning their errors. The poems are rough and halting. If they are the production of George Cavendish, he certainly had no claims to rank as a poet.

[The Cavendish family is dealt with in a paper by G. T. Ruggles in the *Archæologia*, xi. 50, &c., 'The Manor of Cavendish in Suffolk.' All that is known of George Cavendish is collected by Hunter in his pamphlet above mentioned; a good account of the fortunes of his book is given by Professor Morley in the preface to his edition.]

M. C.

**CAVENDISH, GEORGIANA, DUCHESS OF DEVONSHIRE** (1757-1806), eldest daughter of John, first earl Spencer, was born 9 June 1757. She married in June 1774 the fifth duke of Devonshire, who was regarded as the 'first match' in England, and his wife became the reigning queen of society. She set the fashion in dress, and introduced a simple and graceful style to supersede the ridiculous hoop. But though entering with great zest into the fashionable amusements of the time, she possessed intellectual and moral characteristics of a kind which entitles her to be classed above the ordinary women of fashion. (Great as were her personal charms, they were not the chief source of her influence even over the majority of her admirers; 'it lay in the amenity and graces of her deportment, in her irresistible manners, and the seduction of her society' (WRAXALL, *Posthumous Memoirs*, iii. 342). Walpole writes of her, she 'effaces all without being a beauty; but her youthful figure, flowing good nature, sense and lively modesty, and modest familiarity

make her a phenomenon' (*Letters*, vi. 186). Madame d'Arblay when she met her did not find so much beauty as she expected, but 'far more of manner, politeness, and gentle quiet' (*Diary*, v. 254). She delighted in the society of persons of talent, and numbered among her special friends Fox, Sheridan, and Selwyn. Wraxall records that he has 'seen the Duchess of Devonshire, then in the first bloom of youth, hanging on the sentences that fell from Johnson's lips, and contending for the nearest place to his chair' (*Memoirs*, i. 133). Johnson when seventy-five visited the duke and duchess in 1784 at Chatsworth, and was, he mentions, 'kindly received and honestly pressed to stay,' but on account of his bodily infirmities declined to prolong his visit (BOSWELL, *Life of Johnson*). The Duchess of Devonshire was very strongly opposed to the political party in power, and, notwithstanding 'the endeavours of the court party to deter her by the most illiberal and indecent abuse' (WALPOLE, *Letters*, viii. 373), devoted her utmost efforts to secure the return of Fox at the famous Westminster election of 1784. During her canvass she entered 'some of the most blackguard houses in the Long Acre' (*Cornwallis Correspondence*, i. 166); though very 'coarsely received by some worse than tars' (WALPOLE, *Letters*, viii. 469), she was not in the least daunted, and is said to have exchanged kisses for promises of votes. She died at Devonshire House, Piccadilly, 30 March 1806, and was buried in the family vault at St. Stephen's Church, Derby. She left a son and two daughters. The duchess wrote verse, some of which displays very apt and elegant expression, while the sentiment also rises above the commonplace. Walpole refers to a number of poems circulating in manuscript, written by her while a girl to her father (*ib.* vi. 217), and mentions also having seen an 'Ode to Hope' by her, 'easy and prettily expressed, though it does not express much,' and 'Hope's Answer' by the Rev. William Mason, of which he entertained a much higher opinion. A poem by her on the 'Passage of the Mountain of St. Gothard,' dedicated to her children, was published with a French translation by the Abbé de Lille in 1802; an Italian translation by Signor Polidori appeared in 1803; a German translation in 1805; and in 1816 it was reprinted by the duke's second wife, Elizabeth [q. v.], along with a 'Journey through Switzerland,' originally published in 1796. It gave occasion to the ode of Coleridge with the refrain—

O lady, nursed in pomp and pleasure,  
Whence learned you that heroic measure?

Several portraits of the duchess are at Althorpe, Northamptonshire, the seat of Earl Spencer. One by Sir Joshua Reynolds and another by Gainsborough represent her as a child. Both Sir Joshua and Gainsborough also painted full-length pictures of her when duchess, and a fifth portrait is by Angelica Kauffmann. The Duke of Devonshire is the owner of two other portraits by Sir Joshua Reynolds, one at Chatsworth and the other at Chiswick (unfinished, with hat and feather). Other portraits by Gainsborough, Cosway, Downham, and Nixon are extant, and several have been engraved. According to Walpole, Lady De Beauclerk had also drawn her portrait, and it had been engraved by Bartolozzi, but only a few impressions were taken (*Letters*, vii. 54). Wraxall states that 'the Duchess of Devonshire succeeded Lady Melbourne in the attachment of the Prince of Wales;' but 'of what nature was that attachment, and what limits were affixed to it by the duchess, must remain matter of conjecture' (*Memoirs*, v. 371).

[Gent. Mag. lxxvi. pt. i. p. 386; Annual Register, xlvi. 324; Evans's Catalogue of Engraved Portraits, i. 98. ii. 122; Madame d'Arbly's Diary and Letters; Mrs. Delany's Life and Correspondence; Wraxall's Memoirs; Walpole's Letters; Thomas Raikes's Journal; Cornwallis Correspondence; Trotter's Memoirs of Fox; Notes and Queries, 4th series, xi. 155, 227. The duchess was the theme of several popular ballads, including the 'Piccadilly Beauty.'] T. F. H.

**CAVENDISH, SIR HENRY** (1732–1804), parliamentary reporter, eldest son of Sir Henry Cavendish, bart., of Doveridge Hall, Derbyshire, was born on 13 Sept. 1732, and sat as member for Lostwithiel in Cornwall from 1768 to 1774. He succeeded to the baronetcy on his father's death in 1776. Three years later he was made receiver-general for Ireland, and sworn of the privy council in that country, and in 1795 he was appointed deputy vice-treasurer of Ireland. In 1757 he married Sarah, only daughter and heiress of Richard Bradshaw, esq., and this lady was in 1792 advanced to the peerage of Ireland by the title of Baroness of Waterpark. Cavendish died at Blackrock, near Dublin, on 3 Aug. 1804, and on the decease of his widow in 1807, his eldest son, Sir Richard Cavendish, became Lord Waterpark. His only published work is 'A Statement of the Public Accounts of Ireland,' London, 1791, 8vo.

Sir Henry was an adept in writing Gurney's system of shorthand, and he took copious and often verbatim notes of the debates in what has been termed the unreported parliament, from 10 May 1768 to 13 June 1774. The manuscripts, consisting of forty-eight quarto

volumes, are now in the British Museum (*Egerton Collection*, Nos. 215–62). The historical value of these manuscripts may be estimated from the fact that they contain two hundred and fifty speeches of Edmund Burke, together with a number of the most striking speeches of George Grenville, Lord North, Dowdeswell, Charles James Fox, Wedderburn, Dunning, Lord John Cavendish, Thurlow, Sir George Savile, Colonel Barré, Blackstone, Serjeant Glynn, Alderman Beckford, and other distinguished public characters. Mr. J. Wright, editor of the 'Parliamentary History of England,' extracted from Cavendish's notes an account of the 'Debates of the House of Commons in the year 1774 on the Bill for making more effectual provision for the Government of the Province of Quebec,' London, 1839, 8vo. Mr. Wright also published by subscription another portion of 'Sir Henry Cavendish's Debates of the House of Commons during the thirteenth Parliament of Great Britain, commonly called the unreported Parliament,' 2 vols. London, 1841–3. The work was to have extended to four volumes, but was not proceeded with beyond the eighth part, which ends on 27 March 1771. It is to be hoped that this important historical publication will some day be completed. The early portion of Cavendish's collection has evidently been written out under the inspection or from the dictation of the reporter himself, and apparently with a view to publication; another portion is transcribed from the shorthand notes, but the outline is not filled up; while a third portion remains still in shorthand, but is easily decipherable by any one who is acquainted with Gurney's system, especially with the aid of the alphabetical list of contractions given in the Egerton MS. 263\*.

[Wright's prefaces to the Parliamentary Debates; McDougall's Sketches of Irish Political Characters, 208; Croker's Correspondence and Diaries, iii. 293; Blacker's Sketches of Booters-town and Donnybrook, 182, 194; Cooper's Parliamentary Shorthand; Gent. Mag. lxxiv. (ii.) 789.] T. C.

**CAVENDISH, HON. HENRY** (1731–1810), natural philosopher, was the eldest son of Lord Charles Cavendish, third son of the second Duke of Devonshire by Lady Anne Grey, fourth daughter of Henry, duke of Kent. He was born on 10 Oct. 1731, not in England, as is sometimes stated, but, according to Lord Burlington, at Nice, where his mother had gone on account of ill-health. His mother died when he was about two years old. In 1742 he became a pupil of the Rev. Dr. Newcombe, who was master of the Hackney seminary. On 18 Dec. 1749 Cavendish went

directly from school to Cambridge, and entered Peterhouse College. He commenced residence on 24 Nov., and resided very regularly until 23 Feb. 1753, when he left without taking his degree.

After leaving college, Cavendish appears to have lived chiefly in London, though we find him, accompanied by his brother Frederick, visiting Paris. The obscurity which hangs over Cavendish's private history renders it impossible to determine what induced him to devote himself to the study of experimental science. Mathematics appear, from the numerous unpublished papers which are still in existence, to have been his favourite study. His first recorded scientific work was 'Experiments on Arsenic,' which he carefully wrote out for the instruction of some friends, and which from a date on some memorandums appear to have been the subject of his investigations in 1764. In Cavendish's 'Note-book of Experiments' we find notices of an extensive series of experiments on heat bearing the date of 5 Feb. 1765, which were never publicly referred to until 1783. These researches were remarkable from being made when the doctrine of phlogiston was generally adopted, and had they been published they would have given Cavendish chronological precedence to Black. Cavendish certainly investigated the evolution of heat which attends the solidification of liquids and the condensation of gases. He also constructed tables of the specific heats of various bodies, being at this time evidently ignorant of the labours of Black in that direction. In 1766 Cavendish made his first public contribution to science by sending to the Royal Society a paper on 'Factitious Airs.' Three parts only of this memoir were published. In 1767 we find in the 'Philosophical Transactions' a communication from Cavendish, being the 'Analysis of one of the London Pump-waters' (that of Rathbone Place). In this he noticed the large quantity of calcareous earth which was deposited on boiling, which he proved was retained in solution by carbonic acid. Finding that other London pump-waters gave a precipitate of calcareous earth with lime water, and yielded a similar residue by evaporation, Cavendish thought it 'reasonable to conclude that the unneutralised earth in all waters is suspended merely by being united to more than its natural proportion of fixed air' (i.e. carbonic acid). Cavendish was prepared for this by the investigation of Dr. Brownrigg, who had found 'that a great deal of fixed air is contained in spa water.' Dr. Black also, in his 'Inaugural Dissertation' in 1754, explained to his students at the university of Glasgow the properties of carbonic acid, and exhibited

some of its characteristic peculiarities. Cavendish, however, determined the specific gravity of this gas, and was the first to show that a small quantity of it was sufficient to deprive common air of the power of supporting flame or sustaining life. In January 1783 Cavendish read before the Royal Society 'An Account of a new Eudiometer.' During this long interval Bergmann, Scheele, Lavoisier, and Priestley had been actively engaged in endeavouring to determine the composition of the atmosphere. The prevailing hypothesis of chemists at this time was that there existed an hypothetical principle, called 'phlogiston' by Stahl, which accounted for the phenomena of combustion.

It is evident that this hypothetical phlogiston, or matter of heat, was identical with hydrogen gas, and Priestley called this element 'inflammable air.' Cavendish, in the first part of his paper on 'Factitious Airs,' treats of hydrogen, and some writers have consequently regarded him as the discoverer of that gas. He certainly never claims this himself, and referring to the explosibility of a mixture of air and hydrogen, he says 'it has been observed by others.' Boyle in the seventeenth century mentions this gas as being familiar to many, and Dr. T. Thomson informs us that the combustibility of hydrogen was known about the beginning of the eighteenth century, and was often exhibited as a curiosity, being especially mentioned in Cramer's 'Elementa Docimasia' (1739). Cavendish, with his usual honesty, states that his experiments 'on the explosion of inflammable air' with common and dephlogisticated air were made in the summer of 1781. The production of 'fixed air' was at this time regarded as the invariable result of phlogistication, or, as we should call it, of the deoxidation of atmospheric air. Cavendish readily disproved the correctness of this view, and he began to inquire what was the product of the combustion of hydrogen in air and in oxygen. Dr. Priestley and Warrtine, a lecturer on natural philosophy in Birmingham, were experimenting on the same subject with a detonating tube, and they observed a deposition of moisture to follow each explosion. Priestley does not appear to have paid any attention to this phenomenon, and Warrtine referred it to the condensation of water which had existed in a state of vapour in the gases. The hypothesis that phlogiston was present in all combustibles led Priestley and La Place astray, and the appearance of nitric acid—the composition of which was quite unknown in 1781—in the condensed water tended to involve the problem. Cavendish, by most

ingenious experiments, proved that the nitric acid was formed from the atmospheric nitrogen present in the detonating globe, and demonstrated that the only product of the combustion of pure hydrogen and oxygen was pure water. In his own words he came to the conclusion 'that water consists of dephlogisticated air (oxygen) united with phlogiston (hydrogen).' He was thus the first who, by purely inductive experiments, converted oxygen and hydrogen into water, and who taught that water consisted of these gases. He must also be regarded as the discoverer of nitric acid. In the history of chemistry we do not find any discovery which has led to the same amount of angry discussion as that which followed the important announcement by Cavendish in his 'Experiments on Air,' which were begun in 1777 or 1778, but which were not published until 1783.

On 15 Jan. 1784 the 'Experiments on Air,' by Henry Cavendish, Esq., was read before the Royal Society. An interpolation by Dr. Blagden (who for some time acted as secretary to Cavendish), after the paper was read, states that all the experiments on the explosion of inflammable air with common and dephlogisticated airs were made in the summer of 1781. Cavendish himself commences his paper 'Experiments on Air' by stating that his experiments were made 'with a view to find out the cause of the diminution which common air is well known to suffer, by all the various ways in which it is phlogisticated, and to discover what becomes of the air thus lost or consumed.' To this he adds subsequently that his experimental results, beyond 'determining this fact, also throw light on the constitution and means of production of dephlogisticated air.' This question excited much attention among the chemists of Europe in 1777. Priestley and Scheele about the same time discovered oxygen, and this gas was regarded by them as air perfectly respirable, and exhibiting its great power of supporting combustion, because it was deprived of phlogiston. It was, in accordance with this hypothesis, named by chemists dephlogisticated air. For some time the atmosphere was believed to consist of two parts of dephlogisticated air (our oxygen) and one part of phlogisticated air (our nitrogen). Cavendish resolved on ascertaining with precision the true constitution of the aerial fluid. With this object in view he burnt various bodies in measured quantities of air, confined over water at first, and then over mercury. As early as 1766 Cavendish had satisfied himself of the constant composition of the atmosphere. With his usual care he

prosecuted this inquiry. Dr. Priestley and his friend Warltire repeated and modified Cavendish's experiments, and in 1781 Priestley refers to Warltire's observations on the moisture left by burning inflammable air. Warltire is said to have burned the gases in a close vessel by means of electricity, weighing the vessel before and after the explosion, observing the dewy deposit and finding only a very trifling loss of weight. Mr. James Patrick Muirhead, in his 'Correspondence of the late James Watt,' volunteers the information that there appears 'no conclusion as to the real origin of water published (in 1781) by Mr. Cavendish, nor communicated to any individual, nor contained in the journal and notes of his experiments; nor alleged by himself, nor by any one else, to have been then drawn by him.' In 1766 Cavendish employed hydrogen and air, and he then noticed 'a certain amount of liquid' being found in the flask in which the gases were exploded, and he unhesitatingly concludes that 'almost all the inflammable air, and about one-fifth of the common air, lose their elasticity and are condensed into the dew which lines the glass.' His full conclusion was 'that this dew is plain water, and consequently that almost all the inflammable air, and about one-fifth of the common air, are turned into pure water.' Watt, Dr. Priestley, Dr. Black, Mr. de Luc, M. la Place, M. Lavoisier, and others were deeply interested in the phlogistic hypothesis, and all of them were in constant communication, meeting in scientific societies or corresponding with each other. Cavendish, it must be regretted, did not pursue his brilliant career with any activity. He led a strangely retired life, and consequently he frequently was left in ignorance of the progress of discovery. Cuvier, in his *éloge* on Cavendish, said of him, 'his demeanour and the modest tone of his writings procured him the uncommon distinction of never having his repose disturbed either by jealousy or by criticism.'

Arago, on the contrary, brought before the French Academy of Sciences a direct charge of deceit and plagiarism, affirming that Cavendish learned the composition of water by obtaining a sight of a letter from Watt to Priestley.

The researches of Cavendish were communicated to Dr. Priestley before 24 June 1781; even Watt's son does not doubt this. On 26 March 1783 Watt mentions as new to him Priestley's experiment on exploding the gases by electricity. On 21 April in the same year Watt writes to Dr. Black, and on 23 April to Dr. Priestley, his conclusion

'that water is composed of dephlogisticated and inflammable air.' Dr. Priestley received this letter in London, submitted it to Sir Joseph Banks, president of the Royal Society, and to Dr. Blagden, the intimate friend of Cavendish, and his secretary. This letter was to have been read before the Royal Society, but Watt requested that the public reading of it might be delayed until he should examine some new experiments, said by Dr. Priestley to contradict his theory.

Cavendish's memoir having been read 15 Jan. 1784, Watt's first letter was, according to his own request, read at the Royal Society on 22 April, his second letter being read on 29 April. In these communications Watt writes, referring to Dr. Priestley: 'If my deductions have any merit, it is to be attributed principally to the perspicuity, attention, and industry with which you have pursued the experiments which gave birth to them, and to the candour with which you receive the communications of your friends.' From this it is evident that Watt himself admits his obligations to Dr. Priestley, and we have seen that Cavendish and Priestley were friendly correspondents; consequently it may safely be concluded that the speculations on the composition of water were the common subjects of talk in the scientific societies of London and Birmingham.

J. A. De Luc [q. v.], the Genevese philosopher, was a fellow of the Royal Society at this time, and it was from him that Watt first heard of Cavendish's paper. Weld, the assistant secretary, in his 'History of the Royal Society,' says that 'in July of the same year his paper was printed in the "Transactions," bearing the erroneous date of 1784 instead of 1783, which stands upon the manuscript.' Many were deceived, and among them Cuvier, by this error. As soon as it was discovered, Cavendish wrote to the editor of one of the principal foreign journals to correct it. The discussion which prevailed for some time in France and England as to the priority of Cavendish or Watt as discoverers was unpleasantly aggravated by the errors of the dates printed, and yet more so by two interpolations, made after the reading of Cavendish's paper, by Dr. Blagden, who was appointed secretary to the Royal Society on 5 May 1784, and to whom was entrusted the superintendence of the printing of both Watt's letters, and who made the interpolations in Cavendish's contribution.

The only conclusion to which we can arrive is, that both Cavendish and Watt made about the same time experiments on air and water; that they framed hypotheses which were of an analogous character,

differing mainly in respect to elementary heat, which Watt regarded as a material entity, but which Cavendish rejected as insufficient to account for the observed phenomena. They both worked honestly, in ignorance of each other's studies, and they both arrived at similar conclusions.

If Cavendish had been more communicative, there is no doubt he would have avoided the annoyance of the claims made by Watt and other investigators to a discovery the merit of which was justly his own. It is satisfactory to record that in 1785 Watt became a fellow of the Royal Society; he then formed the acquaintance of Cavendish, and they terminated their scientific rivalries in the most amicable manner.

It is necessary to mention a 'Mémoire où l'on prouve par la décomposition de l'eau, que ce fluide n'est point une substance simple,' &c., by M.M. Meusnier et Lavoisier, printed in 1784; a second paper on the same subject by Lavoisier alone; and a 'Mémoire sur le résultat de l'inflammation du gaz inflammable et de l'air déphlogistiqué dans des vaisseaux clos,' par M. Monge, printed in 1786. There is, however, satisfactory evidence to prove that the French chemists had been previously informed of the discoveries of Cavendish and Watt.

The use of light in promoting the growth of plants was most carefully investigated by Cavendish, but the conclusions which he drew from his experiments were vitiated by the theory of phlogiston, which had not yet been entirely abandoned.

The views entertained by Cavendish on specific and latent heat greatly advanced our views, and, associated with the fine investigations made by Dr. Black, paved the way to the more philosophical deductions of the present day.

After 1785, Cavendish made no new discoveries. His papers on heat, the original records of which prove that this investigation was commenced in 1764, were written out for the use of a friend, but he published no part of them until nineteen years after most of the experiments had been completed, and then a trifling portion only appears incidentally in a paper on the 'Freezing of Mercury,' read at the Royal Society in 1783.

It has been suggested that the reason why those researches on heat were never published was that Cavendish had considerable reluctance to enter into even the appearance of rivalry with Dr. Black.

In 1772 and in 1776 Cavendish was engaged in investigating the principal phenomena of electricity, and two papers on the



subject appear in the 'Philosophical Transactions.' These papers contain the first distinct statement of the difference between animal and common electricity, and twenty-seven propositions upon the action of the electric fluid, treated mathematically. Besides those two papers Cavendish left behind him some twenty packets of manuscript essays on mathematical and experimental electricity. Of these Sir William Snow Harris states that 'Cavendish had really anticipated all those great facts in common electricity which were subsequently made known to the scientific world through the investigations of Coulomb and other philosophers, and had also obtained the more immediate results of experiments of a more refined kind instituted in our own day.'

On 21 June 1798 a paper by Cavendish was read before the Royal Society entitled 'Experiments to determine the Density of the Earth.' The Rev. John Michell had suggested a method for doing this, and had constructed the apparatus which was in the main adopted by Cavendish, with several improvements. It occurred to him that this force could be measured by accurately observing the action of bodies suddenly presented in the neighbourhood of a horizontal lever, 40 inches long, nicely balanced, and loaded with leaden balls of equal size, about 2 inches diameter, at its two ends, and protected from any current of air. Two heavy spherical masses of metal were then brought near to the balls, so that their attractions conspired in drawing the lever aside. From the known weight of the mass of metal, the distance of the centres of the mass and of the ball, and the ascertained attraction, it was not difficult to determine the attraction of an equal spherical mass of water upon a particle as heavy as the ball placed on its surface, and from this can be found the attraction of a sphere of water of the same diameter as the earth, upon the ball placed on its surface. The experiments made were few; seventeen only are recorded. From these Cavendish deduced twenty-three results, from the mean of which he computed the density of the earth to be equal to 5.45.

The accuracy of Cavendish's observations is shown by the fact that Reich, professor of natural philosophy at Freiberg in Saxony, after fifty-seven experiments came to the conclusion that the density of the earth was 5.44. Francis Baily [q. v.] repeated Cavendish's experiments with similar apparatus, somewhat modified. The final result obtained by Baily was 5.660. Sir George Airy

in May 1826 carried out a series of pendulum experiments in Harton Colliery, and determined the mean density of the earth as 6.566.

A paper on the civil year of the Hindus should be mentioned in order to show the varied character of Cavendish's investigations. The mass of manuscripts which he left behind him proves that nearly every subject which in his time engaged the attention of the chemist or of the natural philosopher had been closely studied by him. The 'Catalogue of Scientific Papers of the Royal Society' credits Cavendish with sixteen memoirs. Watt assigns him eighteen. The personal history of this great philosopher is told in his works. He was a man of reserved disposition, a shy habit, and many singularities of manner. Added to these a difficulty of speech, and a thin, shrill voice, increased his dislike of society, and his avoidance of conversation.

Cavendish lived on Clapham Common, his large library being some distance from his house. He allowed friends the free use of his books, but he himself never took a book from it without leaving a receipt behind. His large income was allowed to accumulate, and his habits were of the most inexpensive kind. He received no stranger at his residence, he ordered his dinner daily by a note left on the hall table, and from his morbid shyness he objected to any communication with his female domestics. He scarcely ever went into society. Lord Brougham says he had met him at the meetings of the Royal Society and at Sir Joseph Banks's weekly conversations, 'and recollects the shrill cry he uttered as he shuffled quickly from room to room, seeming to be annoyed if looked at, but sometimes approaching to hear what was passing among others. His walk was quick and uneasy. He probably uttered fewer words in the course of his life than any man who ever lived to fourscore years, not at all excepting the monks of La Trappe.' On all points which had not some scientific bearing Cavendish was coldly indifferent. When the discovery of a new truth was told to him, a glow of interest came over him. He was never known to express himself warmly on any question of religion or politics; indeed he appeared to reject all human sympathy.

He died on 10 March 1810, after probably the only illness from which he ever suffered. Having ordered his servant not to come near him till night, he was all day alone. His servant found him apparently in a dying state, and immediately sent for Sir Everard Home.

Sir Everard 'that any prolongation of life would only prolong its miseries.' He died shortly after daybreak. Cavendish was buried in All Saints' Church, Derby. He left a fortune of 1,175,000*l*. His residuary legatee was his cousin, Lord George Cavendish, grandfather of the present Duke of Devonshire.

[Philosophical Transactions, lxxiv. 119, 329, 354; Royal Soc. Cat. of Scientific Papers, and Supplement; Watt's Bibl. Brit.; Wilson's Life of Cavendish (Cavendish Society's Works), vol. i. 1846; Muirhead's Correspondence of Watt; Brougham's Lives of Philosophers of the time of George III, 1846; Weld's History of the Royal Society, vol. ii. 1848; Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences, 1781, pp. 161, 171, 269; Arago's Éloge Historique de James Watt, 1839; British Association Reports, 1839, President's address.] R. H.-r.

**CAVENDISH, SIR JOHN** (*d.* 1381), judge, is said to have been the son of Roger or Robert de Gernum, and grandson of Ralph de Gernum, justice itinerant in the reign of Henry III, but to have assumed his wife's name of Cavendish on his marriage. Probably, however, he was the son of John de 'Cavendych,' who appears as surety for Thomas de Letchford, member of parliament for Lynne in 1322. As early as 1348 mention is made of a pleader whose name is indicated by the abbreviation Caund. (subsequently Cand.), which unquestionably stands for Caundish or Candish. In 1352 he was one of the collectors of the tenth and the fifteenth for Essex and Suffolk. In 1359 one John de Olyngseles, knight, conveyed, by fine, the manor of Overhall and Cavendish to John Cavendish and Alice his wife, probably by way of what we should now call marriage settlement. Cavendish was serjeant-at-law as early as 1366. He did not cease to plead until 1372, but from 1370 to 1372 inclusive he acted as justice of assize in some of the eastern counties. Dugdale designates him chief justice of the king's bench as early as 1366. This is certainly a mistake, but the date may mark his appointment to be justice of assize. He became a puisne judge of the common pleas on 27 Nov. 1371, and next year (15 July) was created chief justice of the king's bench. No fine appears to have been levied before him earlier than the ensuing October, and it is in the parliament of this year that he makes his first appearance as a trier of petitions. He was reappointed chief justice of the king's bench on the accession of Richard II, 1378, with a salary of a hundred marks. He continued in office until 1381, when (15 June) he was brutally murdered at Bury St. Edmunds, together with his friend Sir John of Cambridge, prior of the abbey, by the insurgent peasantry under Jack

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Straw. In the preceding year he had been elected chancellor of the university of Cambridge. Shortly before his death he made his will, a somewhat quaintly worded instrument, by which, after an exordium in Latin, bequeathing his soul to God, and directing his body to be buried beside his wife in the chancel of the church at Cavendish, he continues, in Norman French, to give 'un lit de worstede' and some cattle to his son Andrew, 'un lit vermayl et un coupe d'argent en ou est emprente une rose, c'est assavoir ceo que j'eo avois de don de la Countesse de la Marche,' to Rose, Andrew's wife, to their daughter Margaret 'un lit de saperye poudre des poppingays,' and the rest of his personalty to charitable uses. His judgments bulk largely in the year-books of the latter years of Edward III's reign. One of them has acquired a kind of immortality. A lady alleging her minority in order to defeat a grant of land made by her and her husband, offered, as there was some difficulty in proving the fact, to abide by Cavendish's verdict, but he declined to express any opinion, remarking: 'Il n'ad nul home en Engleterre que luy adjudge a droit deins age ou de plein age, car ascuns femes que sont de age de xxx ans voile apperer d'age de xviii' (*Year-book*, 50 Edw. III, pl. 12).

[*Archæologia*, xi. 50-6; *Year-books*, 21 Edw. III, Mich. Term, pl. 81. 38 Edw. III, Hil. Term, pl. 15, 40 Edw. III ad fin., 45 Edw. III, Trin. Term, pl. 23, 50 Edw. III, Trin. Term, pl. 12; Brantingham's Issue Roll (Devon), p. 360; Rot. Parl. ii. 309, 455; Kals. and Invs. Exch. (Palgrave), i. 239; Parl. Writs, ii. div. ii. pl. i. 652; Dugdale's Orig. 45, Chron. Ser. 50; Fuller's Hist. Univ. Cambr. p. 53; Knighton and Walsingham, anno 1381; Holinshed, ii. 744; Foss's Lives of the Judges.] J. M. R.

**CAVENDISH, LORD JOHN** (1732-1796), chancellor of the exchequer, was the fourth son of William, third duke of Devonshire, and his wife Catherine, daughter and heiress of John Hoskins of Middlesex. He was born on 22 Oct. 1732, and educated at Peterhouse, Cambridge, where the poet Mason was his tutor, who, upon his pupil leaving the university, addressed an elegy to him beginning with 'Ere yet, ingenuous youth, thy steps retire' (*Works of William Mason*, 1811, i. 93-96). Cavendish obtained the degree of M.A. in 1753. In April of the following year he was elected for Weymouth and Melcombe Regis, which he continued to represent until the general election of 1761, when he was returned for Knaresborough. In July 1765 the Marquis of Rockingham became prime minister, and Cavendish was appointed one of the lords of the treasury. Upon the

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dismissal of the ministry, after being a little more than a year in office, he was offered by Lord Chatham a place in the Duke of Grafton's administration, but he declined to separate himself from his friend Lord Rockingham. From 1768 to 1790 he represented the city of York. On Lord Rockingham becoming prime minister for the second time, Cavendish was appointed chancellor of the exchequer on 27 March 1782, and on the same day was sworn a member of the privy council. Lord Rockingham died on 1 July, and Cavendish, refusing to serve under the Earl of Shelburne, retired from the ministry with Fox and other members of the Rockingham party. Early in the morning of 22 Feb. 1783 Cavendish's resolution censuring the terms of the peace was carried against the Shelburne ministry in the House of Commons by 207 to 190. Though Shelburne immediately resigned, Pitt retained office for some five weeks afterwards. At length, early in April 1783, William, third duke of Portland (who had married Cavendish's niece, the only daughter of William, fourth duke of Devonshire), became prime minister, and Cavendish was once more appointed chancellor of the exchequer. He had not been in office a fortnight before he was obliged to bring in a loan bill for raising nearly 12,500,000*l.*, which he proposed to do by means of annuities and a lottery. On 26 May he introduced his first and only budget, one feature of which was the first imposition of a tax upon quack medicines (*Parliamentary History*, xxiii. 931-6). Owing to the king's unconstitutional interference, the East India Bill, which had been carried successfully through the commons, was rejected by the lords on 17 Dec., and the coalition ministry was dismissed in favour of Pitt. On Pitt's appeal to the country in June 1790, Cavendish was defeated at York after a close contest, and for four years disappeared from parliamentary life. In May 1794 he was elected for Derbyshire in the place of his brother, Lord George, and at the general election in June 1796 he was again re-elected for the same constituency. Cavendish was never married, and died at his brother's house at Twickenham on 18 Dec. 1796, in his sixty-fifth year. He was buried on the 26th in the family vault in All Saints' Church, Derby. Considering the position which he held in the House of Commons, he was by no means a frequent speaker. He voted in the minority on the debate on the illegality of general warrants, opposed the expulsion of Wilkes from the house, voted in favour of receiving the clerical petition, on which occasion he spoke strongly in favour

of religious and political freedom, moved an amendment to the address deprecating a civil war, 'of which he disapproved in the commencement and in all its stages,' opposed the increase of the civil list, and supported Burke's plan for public economy and reform. Though the Duke of Richmond considered Cavendish to be 'diffident of the effect of any parliamentary reform' (*Memoirs of the Marquis of Rockingham*, ii. 481), he was elected a member of the committee of the Westminster Association on 2 Feb. 1780, and his name appears in the list of members which was made on 20 Feb. 1783. From an examination of the minutes, it appears, however, that he does not seem to have attended any of the meetings. Burke, in a letter to Dudley North dated 28 Dec. 1796, describes Cavendish as 'one of the oldest and best friends I ever had, or that our common country possessed' (BURKE, *Correspondence*, iv. 550), and in sketching his character (*ib.* iv. 526-7), says that 'he is a man who would have adorned the best of commonwealths at the brightest of its periods. An accomplished scholar, and an excellent critic, in every part of polite literature, thoroughly acquainted with history ancient and modern; with a sound judgment; a memory singularly retentive and exact, perfectly conversant in business, and particularly in that of finance; of great integrity, great tenderness and sensibility of heart, with friendships few and unalterable; of perfect disinterestedness; the ancient English reserve and simplicity of manner.' Walpole, on the other hand, is never tired of sneering at him, the reason for which will be pretty obvious to any one who reads the references to Cavendish in the 'Letters' and 'Memoirs.' In reality Cavendish seems to have been a thoroughly honourable and upright man, whose speeches were more remarkable for their breadth of view and sound common sense than for any brilliance or originality of thought, and whose taste for literature and country pursuits (especially fox-hunting) was considerably stronger than for an active parliamentary life. Selwyn gave him the name of 'the learned canary bird,' on account of his prodigious memory and the smallness of his stature. His portrait was painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds in February 1767 (LESLIE and TAYLOR, *Life of Sir Joshua Reynolds*, 1865, i. 282), and engraved by T. Grozer in 1786.

[Burke's *Correspondence*, 1844, ii. iii. iv.; Lord Fitzmaurice's *Life of William, Earl of Shelburne*, 1875-6; Trevelyan's *Early History of C. J. Fox*, 1880; Walpole's *Memoirs of the Reign of George III*, 1845, ii. iii. iv.; Walpole's *Letters*, 1841, iii. iv. v. vii. viii.; Earl of Alber-

marle's Memoirs of the Marquis of Rockingham, 1852, i. ii.; Collins's Peerage, 1812, i. 358; Parl. Hist. xv-xxiv; Parl. Papers, 1878, lxii, pt. ii.]  
G. F. R. B.

**CAVENDISH, MARGARET, DUCHESS OF NEWCASTLE** (1624?-1674), writer, was born at St. John's, near Colchester in Essex. Her father, Sir Thomas Lucas, whom in the autobiographical sketch appended to the first edition of her 'Nature's Pictures, drawn by Fancy's Pencil to the Life,' she calls 'Master Lucas,' a gentleman of large estates and much consideration, died when she was an infant. The youngest of a family of eight, consisting of three sons and five daughters, she was, according to her own account, bred by her mother 'in plenty, or rather with superfluity,' and received a training the influences of which are apparent in her life. In the autobiographical sketch a curious picture is afforded of the manner in which she and her sisters were trained, 'virtuously, modestly, civilly, honourably, and on honest principles.' Their dress was not only 'neat and cleanly, fine and gay,' but 'rich and costly,' their mother holding it more consonant with her husband's opinions to maintain her family 'to the height of her estate, but not beyond it,' and to bestow her substance on their 'breeding, honest pleasures, and harmless delights,' than to practise an economy which might chance to create 'sharking qualities, mean thoughts, and base actions.' At the hands of tutors the young ladies received all sorts of 'vertues,' as 'singing, dancing, playing on musick, reading, writing, working, and the like,' together with some knowledge of foreign languages. From her mother, Elizabeth, daughter of John Leighton, whom she describes as a woman of singular beauty, she inherited her good looks. Of the personal appearance of her brothers and sisters she gives a naïve description. According to this they were 'every ways proportionable, likewise well featured, clear complexions, brown haire, but some lighter than others, sound teeth, sweet breaths, plain speeches, tunable voices, I mean not so much to sing as in speaking, as not stuttering, nor wharling in the throat, or speaking through the nose, or hoarsly unless they had a cold, or squeakingly, which impediments many have.'

The happy life at St. John's was interrupted by the outbreak of civil war. The brothers, two of whom were married, resided mostly, when in the country, with their mother, as did the three sisters who married, and who exercised over their youngest sister a supervision which though kind was so close that she was always bashful when out of their

sight. But the brothers now joined the standard of the king, and two of them shortly afterwards died. Their death was followed by that of her mother, and anticipated by that of her eldest sister. A strong desire on the part of Margaret Lucas to be maid of honour to the queen was, in spite of the opposition of her brothers and sisters, encouraged by her mother, and when the young girl, disappointed at the life of court, and discontented at being regarded, owing to her shyness and prudery, as a 'natural fool,' repented of her wish, her mother counselled her to stay. For two years accordingly, 1643-5, Margaret Lucas remained in attendance upon Henrietta-Maria, whom she accompanied to Paris. Here, in April 1645, she first met her future husband, William Cavendish, marquis and subsequently duke of Newcastle [q. v.]. From her brother, Lord Lucas, an animated account of her beauty and gifts had been received. The conquest of the marquis was accordingly soon effected, and the pair were married in Paris in 1645. During their residence in Paris, in Rotterdam, and in Antwerp, they were in constant pecuniary straits. The efforts of the marchioness to obtain money for her husband to keep up the state which, even when their joint fortunes were at their lowest, he held due to himself, were incessant. On one occasion, in company with her brother-in-law, Sir Charles Cavendish, she visited London for the purpose of claiming some subsistence out of the estate of the marquis, or in any manner realising money for her husband's needs. Her success was slight. As the wife of 'the greatest traitor of England' parliament would grant her no allowance, and she would have starved but for assistance in the shape of loans obtained by Sir Charles. After an absence of a year and a half she returned to Antwerp.

Upon the Restoration she followed, after some delay, her husband to England. She seems to have exercised her influence to induce him to retire from a court in which her virtues no less than her peculiarities rendered her somewhat of a laughing-stock; she desired him to devote himself in the country to the task of gathering together and repairing what he calls 'the chips' of his former estates. She died in London, and was buried in Westminster Abbey on 7 Jan. 1673-4. In the north transept of that building is a monument erected by her husband, who survived her three years. The epitaph supplies a high tribute to her virtues and accomplishments, and adds, in words which Addison quotes with warm encomium: 'Her name was Margaret Lucas youngest daughter of Lord

Lucas, earl of Colchester, a noble family, for all the brothers were valiant, and all the sisters virtuous.' At an early age she displayed some disposition towards literature, and wrote upon philosophical subjects. This tendency developed with her increasing years. During her banishment from England she found consolation in the composition of the folio volumes which bear her name, and the same occupation cheered the hours of her voluntary seclusion from court life. She is said in her later life to have 'kept a great many young ladies about her person, who occasionally wrote what she dictated. Some of them slept in a room contiguous to that in which her grace lay, and were ready, at the call of her bell, to rise any hour of the night to write down her conceptions lest they should escape her memory' (CIBBER, *Lives of the Poets*, ii. 165). Her poems and plays, together with her 'Philosophical Fancies,' and her 'Philosophical and Physical Opinions,' and one or two other works, were written previous to or during her exile. The remainder are of later date. A full bibliography of her works has yet to be written. The following list of the editions published during her life is compiled from the British Museum and from Lowndes, supplemented by a private collection of her works: 1. 'Philosophical Fancies,' London, 21 May 1653, 8vo. 2. 'Poems and Fancies,' London, 1653, folio; second edition, London, 1664, folio; third edition, London, 1668, folio. 3. 'Philosophical and Physical Opinions,' London, 1655, folio; reprinted, London, 1663, folio. 4. 'Nature's Pictures drawn by Fancie's Pencil to the Life,' London, 1656 (some copies 1655), folio; second edition, London, 1671, folio. 5. 'The World's Olio,' London, 1655, folio; second edition, London, 1671, folio (Lowndes treats the two forementioned works as the same). 6. 'Playes,' London, 1662, folio, containing twenty-one plays. 7. 'Plays never before printed,' London, 1668, folio, containing five plays. 8. 'Orations of Divers Sorts,' London, 1662, folio (in some copies the date is 1663); second edition, 1668, fol. 9. 'Philosophical Letters, or Modest Reflections upon some Opinions in Natural Philosophy maintained by several learned authors of the age,' London, 1664, folio. 10. 'CCXI Sociable Letters,' London, 1664, folio. 11. 'Observations upon Experimental Philosophy,' to which is added the 'Description of a New World,' London, 1666, folio; second edition, 1668. 12. 'The Life of William Cavendish, Duke, Marquis, and Earl of Newcastle, Earl of Ogle, Viscount Mansfield, and Baron of Bolsover, of Ogle, Bothal, and Hepple, &c.' London, 1667, fol.; another edition, London, 1675, 4to.

A Latin translation was published, London, 1668, fol. 13. 'Grounds of Natural Philosophy,' London, 1668, fol. This is a second edition, much altered, of 'Philosophical and Physical Opinions.' In many cases succeeding editions differ widely from the first. To point out alterations, or even to give the full titles of the various works, is impossible within reasonable limits. The 'Select Poems' of the duchess have been edited and reprinted at the Lee Priory Press, 8vo, 1813, as has the 'True Relation of the Birth, Breeding, and Life of Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle, written by Herself' (Lee Priory Press, 8vo, 1814), which saw the light in the first edition of 'Nature's Pictures drawn by Fancie's Pencil,' and is absent from the second edition. The life of the duchess, and that of the duke, edited by M. A. Lower, were both printed in a volume of the 'Library of Old Authors' of J. R. Smith, London, 1872, and the life of the duchess, with a selection from her poems, opinions, orations, and letters, edited by Mr. Edward Jenkins, was published in the same year. Mr. C. H. Firth edited a new edition of both lives in 1886. In these works so much of the literary baggage of the duchess as time will care to burden itself with is preserved. To the student of early literature the ponderous folios in which her writings exist will have a measure of the charm they had for Lamb. Through the quaintness and the conceits of her poems a pleasant light of fancy frequently breaks. Her fairy poems are good enough to rank with those of Herrick and Mennis, though scarcely with those of Shakespeare, as some enthusiasts have maintained. The thoughts, when they are not obscured by her ineradicable tendency to philosophise, are generous and noble, and she is one of the earliest writers to hint at the cruelty of field sports. In a paper in the 'Connoisseur,' in which a fanciful picture is afforded of the duchess mounting her Pegasus, Shakespeare and Milton are represented as aiding her to descend. The duchess then, at the request of Euterpe, reads her beautiful lines against 'Melancholy.' All the while these lines were repeating Milton seemed very attentive, and it was whispered by some that he was obliged for many of the thoughts in his 'L'Allegro' and 'Il Penseroso' to this lady's 'Dialogue between Mirth and Melancholy' (*Connoisseur*, ii. 265, edit. 1774). This suggestion of indebtedness, it is needless to say, futile. Her gnomic utterances are often thoughtful and pregnant. In her plays she is seen almost at her worst. The praise accorded her by Langbaine for the invention of her own plots is cheaply earned,

since she could not have stolen them. Her characters are mere abstractions figuring certain virtues or vices. In a scene in the second part of 'Youth's Glory and Death's Banquet,' she appears under the character of Lady Sanspareille, and gives what may be supposed to be a picture of her own reception at court. As the Lady Contemplation in the play of that name, as the Lady Chastity of the 'Matrimonial Trouble,' and in a score other characters, the duchess is recognisable. Not seldom the speeches assigned the characters in her plays are as scholastic and as voluminous as her letters or her philosophical opinions. She does not hesitate to introduce wanton characters and to employ language which goes beyond coarseness. Her philosophy is the dead weight which drags her to the ground. In these deliveries an occasional piece of common sense is buried in avalanches of ignorance and extravagance. Her life of the duke is in its way a masterpiece. With it may be classed her autobiographical sketch, the naïveté and beauty of which are equal. Not easy is it to find a picture so faithful and attractive of an English interior. Not all the respect due to her husband's services to the crown, and to her own high position, could save her from some irreverence in the court of Charles II. Her occasional appearance in theatrical costume, and her reputation for purity of life, together with her vanity and affectation, contributed to gain her a reputation for madness. Horace Walpole, in 'Royal and Noble Authors,' sneers at her as a 'fertile pedant.' The duchess has been, however, the subject of the most unmixed adulation to which an author has often listened. A folio volume, entitled 'Letters and Poems in Honour of the incomparable Princess Margaret, Dutchess of Newcastle, Written by several Persons of Honour and Learning. In the Savoy, 1676,' consists of poems and letters, in English and Latin, written chiefly in acknowledgment of the receipt of presentation copies of her works by various people, including the senate of the university of Cambridge. Among those who are guilty of the most fulsome adulation are Henry More, Jasper Mayne, Jn. Glanville, G. Etherege, and Thomas Shadwell. Adulatory poems in plenty are also prefixed to her various volumes, a curious feature in which is the number of dedications to her husband, her companion the reader, philosophers in general, and others. Among her encomiasts are also Hobbes and Bishop Pearson. Portraits of the duchess, sometimes alone and at other times in the midst of her family, were appended to many of her volumes. These are ordinarily absent, however, and are scarcer

than the volumes themselves, the rarity of some of which is excessive. A portrait of her by Diepenbeke in a theatrical habit, which she constantly wore, is still (1887) in existence at Welbeck. In the early catalogues of the gallery it is erroneously ascribed to Lely. An engraved portrait by Van Schuppen from Diepenbeke, prefixed to the second volume of her plays, exhibits her as a tall and strikingly handsome woman. Her description may indeed be read in that previously given of her family. Pepys gives an amusing account of the performance of her 'silly play,' 'The Humorous Lovers,' 30 March 1667, describes her, 12 April 1667, making 'her respects to the players from her box,' dwells upon her 'footman in velvet coats and herself in an antique dress,' and adds: 'The whole story of this lady is a romance, and all she does is romantic.' Three folio volumes of her poems are said to remain in manuscript, and volumes of her works, with manuscript notes in her handwriting, are in the British Museum Library. Her husband's poems are so mixed up with hers that it is not always easy to separate them. The married life of the duke and duchess seems to have been exceptionally happy. A story that the duke, in answer to congratulations upon the wisdom of his wife, replied, 'Sir, a very wise woman is a very foolish thing,' rests upon no very trustworthy authority—the *ipse dixit* of a Mr. Fellows, preserved by Jonathan Richardson. Walpole's charge, that she did not revise the copies of her works, lest it should disturb her later conceptions, rests on her own authority, and must accordingly be accepted. An attempt to render into Latin some of her works, other than her life of the duke, was commenced but abandoned.

[Works of the Duchess of Newcastle mentioned above; Langbaine's Lives of the Dramatic Poets; Bailard's Memoirs of British Ladies, 1775; Walpole's Royal and Noble Authors; The Connoisseur; Lowndes's Bibliographer's Manual; Letters and Poems in Honour of the Duchess of Newcastle, 1676; Stanley's Historical Memorials of Westminster Abbey, 1868; other works cit.-d.]

J. K.

CAVENDISH, RICHARD (*d.* 1601?), politician and author, was the second son of Sir Richard Gernon, alias Cavendish, by his wife Beatrice, daughter of — Gould (*Harleian MS.* 1449, f. 96). He was a native of Suffolk, and was for some time a member of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (MASTERS, *Hist. of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge*, pt. i. Append. p. 11). In 1568 and 1569 he was engaged in conveying to Mary Queen of Scots letters and tokens to further her marriage

with the Duke of Norfolk (LODGE, *Illustrations of British History*, ed. 1838, i. 473, 475; STRYKE, *Annals*, i. 630, folio). The earls of Shrewsbury and Huntingdon in the latter year vainly endeavoured to apprehend Cavendish and his writings. He appeared as a witness against the Duke of Norfolk at his trial on 16 Jan. 1571-2, when the duke 'gave him reproachful words of discredit' (JARDINE, *Criminal Trials*, i. 176-8). To the parliament which met 8 May 1572 he was returned for the borough of Denbigh, in opposition to the inclination and threats of the Earl of Leicester, a fact not without significance, as it has been surmised that he had been employed by that nobleman to entrap the Duke of Norfolk (PENNANT, *Tour in Wales*, ed. 1784, ii. 46-8). He was created M.A. of the university of Cambridge on 15 Feb. 1572-3. The grace for his degree states that he had studied for twenty-eight years at Cambridge and Oxford (COOPER, *Athenæ Cantab.* ii. 302; *Addit. MS.* 5865, f. 47). He was a second time returned for the borough of Denbigh to the parliament which assembled on 23 Nov. 1585.

In 1587 a circumstance occurred of much constitutional importance (HALLAM, *Constitutional Hist.* ed. 1855, i. 279). Cavendish had suggested to the queen that it was in her power to create a new office for making out all writs of supersedeas quia improvidè emanavit in the court of common pleas. Accordingly her majesty granted the office to him for a certain number of years, and the judges of the court received a verbal command by a queen's messenger to admit him. This they neglected or refused to do. Thereupon he procured a letter under the sign manual and signet to be directed to the judges, wherein her majesty commanded them to sequester the profits of the office which had become due since her grant, and which might thereafter become due until the controversy for the execution of the said office should be decided. The judges after a consultation decided that they could not lawfully obey these commands. The queen addressed to them another letter (21 April 1587), ordering them in imperative terms immediately to sequester the profits of the office, and to admit Cavendish. This letter was delivered in the presence of the lord chancellor and the Earl of Leicester, who had been commanded by the queen to hear the judges' answer. After deliberating for some time the judges replied that they could not obey without being perjured. The queen thereupon commanded the lord chancellor, the chief justice of the queen's bench, and the master of the rolls to hear the judges' reasons. The queen's serjeant

argued for the queen's prerogative, but the judges refused to answer on the ground that, as the prothonotaries and exigenters of the court claimed a freehold during their lives in the profits of such writs, they, and not the judges, ought to be brought to answer. Thereupon the queen's letters were produced, and the judges charged with not having obeyed the commands therein contained. They confessed the fact, but alleged that the commands were against the law of the land. The lord chancellor reported the proceedings to the queen, who wisely avoided the threatened collision between the prerogative and the law by allowing the matter to drop (ANDERSON, *Reports*, i. 152; PETTY, *Jus Parliamentarium*, 203; MANNING, *Serviens ad Legem*, 306-10).

Cavendish appears to have died in 1601, as in that year a monument to his memory 'promised and made by Margaret, countess of Cumberland,' with a quaint inscription in English, was erected to his memory in the south aisle of Hornsey Church, Middlesex (*Addit. MSS.* 5825 f. 223 b, 5836 f. 83, 5861 f. 195 b).

He was the author of: 1. A Translation of Euclid into English. 2. 'The Image of Nature and Grace, conteyning the whole course and condition of Mans Estate. Written by Richard Caudishe,' London, John Day, n. d. and 1574, 8vo, dedicated to 'those who, through simplicities of conscience and lacke of true knowledge, embrace the doctrine of the papistes.'

A poem in the 'Paradysse of Dayntie Devises,' conjecturally ascribed to Thomas Cavendish [q. v.], the famous circumnavigator, was more probably written by his uncle Richard.

[Authorities cited above.]

T. C.

CAVENDISH, THOMAS (1555?-1592), circumnavigator, was born at the ancestral home, Grimston Hall, in the parish of Trimley St. Martin, Suffolk, not far from the port of Harwich. Like many other noblemen and gentlemen of the period, he took to piracy as a means to recover his squandered patrimony. His first recorded adventure at sea was in a ship of his own in the 'The viage made by Sir Richard Greenville for Sir Walter Raleigh in the year 1585' (HAKLUYT, 1599, iii. 251), in order to plant the first unfortunate colony in Virginia. The fleet of seven sail left Plymouth on 9 April in the above year. Sailing by way of the Canaries to the West Indies, they waited at St. Juan de Porto Rico for a fortnight, ostensibly with the object of building a pinnace, but really with a view of annoying the Spaniards, from whom they captured two frigates, one of

which contained 'good and rich freight, and diuers Spaniards of account,' whom they 'ransomed for good round summes,' which employment was much more congenial to Cavendish than Raleigh's scheme of 'Westerne planting.' Proceeding on their course to Isabella in Hispaniola (Hayti), where they landed, they sailed through the Bahamas, and after sighting the mainland of Florida they arrived on 26 June at their anchorage of Wocokon in Virginia. On July 11 Cavendish formed one of a select company who landed with Grenville, and, among others, Thomas Harriott and John White, the artist to the expedition, in order to explore the mainland of what is now known as North Carolina. After having discovered three towns and a great lake, and industriously sown the seeds of future troubles by their lawless conquest of the harmless natives during a period of eight days, they returned to the fleet. On 27 July the fleet removed to Hatoraske (Hateras inlet); on 25 Aug. Grenville set sail for England, capturing on his way another richly laden Spanish ship, with which he arrived at Plymouth 18 Sept. 1585. That he was accompanied by Cavendish on his return is certain, as the name of the latter is omitted from the list of 108 gentlemen 'that remained one whole yeere in Virginia' under Ralph Lane, the first governor of the colony (HAKLVT, 1598, iii. 251-4).

Immediately after his return to England Cavendish began to prepare on his own account an expedition closely modelled upon that of Sir Francis Drake of eight years before. Of this famous voyage, by which he is best known, there are preserved two accounts: 1. 'The worthy and famous Voyage of Master Thomas Cavendish, made round about the Globe of the Earth, in the space of two years and less than two months,' by N. H. (*ib.* 1589, p. 809). 2. 'The admirable and prosperous Voyage of the Worshipful Mr. Thomas Cavendish, of Trimley, in the county of Suffolk, esquire, into the South Sea, and from thence round about the circumference of the whole earth; begun in the year of our Lord 1586, and finished 1588. Written by Mr. Francis Pretty, lately of Eye, in Suffolk, a gentleman employed in the same action' (*ib.* 1599-1600, iii. 803). The fleet of three ships, manned by 123 hands all told, consisted of the *Desire* of 140 tons, the *Content* of 60 tons, and the *Hugh Gallant*, a barque of 40 tons. Cavendish departed from London 10 June 1586, and, after calling at Harwich, proceeded to Plymouth, whence they sailed 21 July. From internal evidence it may be safely inferred that the first and shorter narrative by N. H. was written under

the eye of Cavendish on board the *Desire*; but the second and more interesting one was partly written by Pretty on board the *Hugh Gallant* barque before it was sunk near the equator in the Pacific, for want of hands. After an ineffectual skirmish with five large-Biscayan ships off Cape Finisterre, five days out from England, Cavendish sailed by the coast of Barbary and the Canaries to Sierra Leone, where he anchored in the harbour 21 Aug. Here his stay of ten days was varied by an attempt to burn the native town and the capture of a sailor of Oporto belonging to a Portuguese ship cast away in the inner harbour. On 6 Sept. he departed from Sierra Leone, and, after a short stay at one of the Cape Verde islands, he shaped his course for South America, reached Cape Frio in Brazil 31 Oct. and anchored the next day under the island of St. Sebastian. Here, in order to refit, take in water and fuel, and to build a new pinnace of 10 tons, he anchored for twenty-three days. On 23 Nov. he set sail towards the Straits of Magellan, discovering on his way (17 Dec.) a fine harbour almost as large as Plymouth, known to this day as Port *Desire*, so named after his own ship, where he spent Christmas in studying the manners and arts of the Patagonians. Departing from Port *Desire* 28 Dec., Cavendish went coasting along S.S.W. until 3 Jan. 1587, when he reached the opening of the straits, where he lost an anchor in a great storm which lasted three days. On the 6th he commenced his tortuous passage through the straits. The next day he observed travelling overland towards the River Plate a party of twenty-three poor starved Spaniards, two of whom were women, all that remained of the two unfortunate colonies of four hundred persons planted by Pedro Sarmiento, and starved to death in King Philip's City, built and fortified three years before to command the narrowest part of the straits. On 9 Jan. Cavendish reached the ill-fated city, which he renamed the 'Town of Famine,' now known as Port Famine; here during his stay of five days he discovered, buried within the four forts, six pieces of ordnance, which he carried off. Cavendish was only too 'glad to hasten from this place for the noisome stench and vile sauour where-with it was infected, through the contagion of the Spaniards' pined and dead carcasses' (N. H.) Near the same spot a rescued Spaniard pointed out the hull of a small barque which was judged to be the *John Thomas*, probably abandoned by Sir Francis Drake nine years before. On 14 Jan. Cavendish resumed his perilous voyage through the straits, which occupied him more than six



weeks; wherein 'they hazarded their best cables and anchors that we had for to hold, which if they had failed we had been in danger to have been cast away, or at least famished.' For quite a month, adds Pretty, 'we fed almost altogether on muscles, and limpets, and birds, or such as we could get on shore, seeking for them every day as the fowls of the air do, where they can find food, in continual rainy weather.'

On 24 Feb. Cavendish entered the South Sea or Pacific and plied along the coast of Chili until 30 March, when he reached the Bay of Quintero, a little to the N. of Valparaiso; here Hernando, the Spaniard saved from starvation in the straits, upon being landed to parley with three other mounted Spaniards, leaped up behind and rode away with one of them, and doubtless alarmed the Spaniards along the whole seaboard. On 1 April a handful of the three crews was attacked by nearly two hundred horsemen while watering, but the enemy retired with a loss of twenty-five men as against twelve slain of the English. Sailing along the coast from 15 to 23 April, Cavendish, with two of his ships, came athwart the Port of Mormoreno (Monte Moreno), where he landed. He afterwards came to Arica, where he awaited the arrival of the Content, the crew of which had found in a bay fourteen leagues southwards of Arica 300 tons of botizios of wine of Castile buried in the sand, and she laded herself with as many as she could carry. In this place Cavendish burned three barques and a large ship of 100 tons, which last the inhabitants refused to ransom in exchange for English prisoners taken at Quintero. The Spanish authorities were now thoroughly roused, for Cavendish intercepted two barques coming from the southward towards Lima, 25 to 27 April; the second, from Santiago, near Quintero, had on board letters of advice for the viceroy concerning Cavendish, which were thrown overboard before they could be secured. The contents were revealed by one of the Spaniards, who, by the order of Cavendish, 'was tormented with his thumbs in a wrench.' Among the captured was also found 'a reasonable pilot for those seas,' who, according to N. H., was also a Spaniard, but according to Pretty a Greek. From 3 to 5 May the little fleet rode in Pisa bay, near the Chincha islands, now famed for its guano deposits. Sailing forward on 16 and 17 May they captured three large ships, one worth 20,000*l.*, which had the chief merchandise in it. Cavendish filled his ships with as much of this as they could carry and burnt the remainder with the captured ships. On 25 May Cavendish arrived at the island of Puna in

the gulf of Guayaquil; here they remained eleven days, hauled the *Desire* and *Content* on shore for repairs, sank a large Spanish ship lying at anchor, with all her furniture, and burned the town, out of revenge for an unsuccessful sortie of the Spaniards and natives upon a foraging party wherein forty of the enemy were slain, with the loss of twelve English. Pretty describes the 'great casique' of the island, his Spanish wife and treasures, his palace with its chambers decorated with old-world hangings of 'Cordovan leather gilded all over and painted very rare and rich.' On 7 June Cavendish set forward for Rio Dolce, near the equator, where he sank the *Hugh Gallant* for want of men. Five days later they doubled the equinoctial line and continued their course northward until 9 July, when off the coast of Guatemala they captured a ship in ballast piloted by Michael Sancius, a Provençal, who informed Cavendish of a great prize that was on its way from the Philippines. Cavendish burned the ship in ballast, as also a barque which he captured the next day which was sent from Lima to carry warning all along the coast. On 28 July he reached Aguatalco (Guatalco), which town they also spoiled and burned during a stay of five days. Weighing anchor from this place in the night of 2 Aug. he overshot Acapulco, the Mexican port for the arrival and departure of the Spanish fleet for the Philippines, and came on 24 Aug. to Puerto de Natividad, where he landed and captured a mounted mulatto, from whom he took more letters of advice. After setting fire to the town and shipping he proceeded to a small island near Mazatlan, where he anchored to water and refit from 27 Sept. until 9 Oct., when the ships weighed anchor for Cape St. Lucas, the well-known headland of Lower California, which Pretty remarks 'is very like the Needles at the Isle of Wight.' Here the *Desire* and *Content* were beating up and down the coast from 14 Oct. for a whole month, when, between seven and eight in the morning of 14 Nov., the crews of the two ships were roused by the watch in the main-top of the *Desire* by the cry of 'A sail!' which proved to be no other than the long-expected prize from the Philippines, the Admiral of the South Sea, owned by the king of Spain, the Great St. Anna of 700 tons richly laden. Cavendish captured the ship after an obstinate fight of six hours and brought it into the neighbouring harbour of Aguada Segura, where he proceeded to divide the treasure among his own company and that of the *Content*, who were inclined to mutiny about their share of the money taken. Besides 22,000 pesos of gold the prize contained 600

tons of the richest merchandise, of which Cavendish could only take forty tons for each of his ships, which were already laden to the full. According to the narrative of N. H., 'this was one of the richest vessels that ever sailed on the seas; and was able to have made many hundreds wealthy if we had had means to have brought it home.' Cavendish also took out of the Great St. Anna two youths born in Japan and three boys natives of Manilla, the youngest of whom, about nine years old, afterwards found a home with the Countess of Essex. He also took Nicholas Roderigo, a Portuguese, who had resided in Canton and other parts of China, from whom he probably obtained the large map of China referred to at length by Hakluyt (p. 813), and Thomas de Ersola, a Spanish pilot for the Philippines. On the afternoon of 19 Nov., after having burnt his great prize with its contents to the water's edge, Cavendish joyfully set sail alone towards England, leaving the Content in the road, whose company they never saw afterwards. Cavendish continued his voyage across the Pacific until 3 Jan. 1588, when he sighted the island of Guana (Guajan), one of the Ladrones, where he met with a reception from the natives strikingly similar to that experienced by Magellan on their first discovery in 1521. Eleven days later, falling in with Capo Spirito Santo, on the island of Tadaia (Samar), he commenced his tortuous navigation of the Philippines and Moluccas, so evidently misapprehended by Molyneux in his praiseworthy attempt to track and record it on his famous globe of 1593.

On 15 Jan., while anchoring off the small island of Capul, at the south end of Luzon, Cavendish was compelled for his own safety to hang the Spanish pilot De Ersola, who, by a secret letter, attempted to betray him into the hands of the authorities at Manilla, then an unwall'd town guarded by galleys. On 24 Jan., after making the island of Masbate, he passed between Panama (Panay) and the island of Negroes, and sailing west of Mindanao, he directed his course S.E. until 8 Feb., when he sighted Batochina (Batchian), one of the Moluccas S. of Gilolo. Here we are met by two geographical puzzles. According to N. H., Cavendish sailed down the Straits of Macassar to the W. of the Celebes, for he writes 'we ran between Celebes or Batachina and Borneo until the 12th day of February' (HAKLUYT, 1589, p. 812). In consequence, Molyneux in his globe (see *infra*) assigns the name of Batachina to the Celebes; this error, however, is corrected by Pretty, who writes: 'On the 14th day of February we fell with eleven or twelve very small islands, lying low

and flat. These islands (evidently the Xullas), near the Moluccas, stand in three degrees, 10 minutes to the southward of the line' (*ib.* iii. 820). Again, on 28 Feb. N. H. writes: 'We put through between the Straits of Java major and Java minor and anchored under the south-west part of Java major' (*ib.* 1589, p. 812). The identity of Java major with Java proper is undisputed, but the hitherto unsettled questions have been, the identification of the Straits, Java minor, and the anchorage. Professor Arber (*English Garner*, iv. 125) holds that the Straits were those of Sunda, W. of Java proper. Colonel Yule, however, suggests (*Marco Polo*, ii. 267) that they were the Straits of Baly, E. of Java, and that the Java minor of Cavendish was the island of Baly. Both these assumptions are, however, disproved by Thos. Fuller, the sailing master of the *Desire*, who writes: 'From the W. end of Java minor unto the E. end of Java major the course is W. and by N. and E. and by S. and the distance between them is 18 leagues; in the which course there lieth an island between them, which island (referred to in the margin as Baly) is in length 14 leagues' (*ib.* iii. 832). Again he writes: 'The first day of March we passed the Straights at the W. head of the island of Java minor (i.e. Lombok), and the 5th day of March we anchored in the bay at the Wester (*sic*) end of Java maior, where wee watered and had great store of victuals from the town of Polambo' (*ib.* p. 834). Pretty adds to the confusion when he writes that the king of that (i.e. the W.) part of the island was 'Raja Bolamboang,' who it is to be feared has been confounded with the Raja of Balamboang, whose descendants were to be found at the E. end of Java down to 1788 (cf. VAN DER AA). From this it follows that, after passing through the Straits of Lombok with Baly, on the E., Cavendish sailed along the S. coast of Java proper for five days, and that his anchorage for twelve days afterwards was at Paliboam-Ratoo, in Wijnkoopers Bay, under the S.W. end of Java, as stated by all the three narratives of N. H., Pretty, and Fuller. From 11 March and all through April Cavendish traversed the main between Java and Africa, when on 19 March he sighted the long-wished-for Cape of Good Hope. On 8 June he anchored under the island of St. Helena, where he stayed twelve days for refreshment, and was the first to discover it to the English nation. On 20 June he shaped his course for England, where, upon arriving off the Lizard 3 Sept., he was greeted by a Flemish vessel with the news of the overthrow of the Spanish Armada. After encountering a violent storm

of four days' duration in the Channel, N. H. closes his narrative thus: 'On . . . 10 Sept. 1588, like wearied men, through the favour of the Almighty, we got into Plymouth, where the townsmen received us with all humanity' (HAKLUYT, 1589).

The fame of Cavendish as the second English circumnavigator of the globe was now almost at its zenith. Popular feeling respecting the voyage and its leader found expression in ballads, the titles only of three of which are preserved to us under their respective entries for publication (3 Nov. 1588): 'A Ballad of Master Cavendish's Voyage, who by travel compassed the Globe of the World, arriving in England with abundance of treasure' (14 Nov. 1588); 'A new Ballad of the famous and honourable coming home of Master Cavendish's Ship the Desire, before the Queen's Maiesty at her Court at Greenwich,' 12 Nov. 1588, &c. (3 Dec. 1588); 'Captain Robert's Welcome of good-will to Captain Cavendish.' This last, however, may have been either a ballad or a broadside (cf. ARBER, *Reg. Stat. Comp.* ii. 505-9). Two of the rarest cartographical records of the voyage are to be found on the terrestrial globe by Molyneux (see *supra*), and an equally rare map by Jodocus Hondius, who engraved the gores for the globe. Respecting the first Blundeville writes: 'The voyage as well of Sir F. Drake as of Mr. Th. Candish is set down and showed by help of two lines, the one red . . . doth show what course Sir Francis observed in all his voyage . . . the blew line showeth in like manner the voyage of Master Candish.' A unique example of this globe, the first made in England in 1592, the year of Cavendish's death, is preserved in the library of the Middle Temple. The map of the world in hemispheres, engraved by Hondius in 1597, evidently copied from the globe, is also accompanied by the accounts of Sir F. Drake's voyage, and that of Cavendish by N. H., both translated from Hakluyt (1589) into Dutch. The allusion in one of the ballads to Cavendish's reception by the queen at Greenwich serves somewhat to confirm the tradition that a greater part of his wealth, either inherited or acquired by spoiling the Spaniards, was squandered 'in gallantry and following the court' (*Biog. Brit.*) The tradition also serves to throw some light upon the causes that led him to undertake his last fated voyage, which was evidently meant for a repetition of the previous one in every particular, as proved by the heading of the record preserved to us, which reads, 'The last Voyage of the worshipfull M. Thomas Candish (*sic*), esquire, intended for the South sea, the Phillipines, and the coast of China,

with three tall ships and two barks. Written by M. J. Jane' (HAKLUYT). The fleet, comprising the Leicester galleon, commanded by Cavendish, the Roebucke, his old ship the Desire, commanded by Captain John Davis of Arctic fame [q.v.], the Black Pinnace, and the Daintie, left Plymouth on 26 Aug. 1591, and sighted the coast of Brazil at St. Salvador (lat. 12° 58' 16" S.), or Campos (lat. 21° 36' 30" S.), on 29 Nov., where they were becalmed four days. After a feeble attempt to take the town of Santos (lat. 23° 55' 1" S.) on 24 Jan., he set forward on his voyage, but, owing to the lateness of the season and the unusually bad weather, Cavendish was separated from the rest of his fleet until 18 March, when he rejoined Davis at Port Desire. Two days later they sailed for the Straits of Magellan, where, after many furious storms, they sailed halfway through the straits, and on 21 April 1592 the ships anchored in a cove four leagues W. from Cape Froward, where they remained until 15 May, enduring great hardships, Cavendish all the while being with Davis on board the Desire. It soon became obvious that Cavendish had outlived his reputation as a leader of men; unnerved probably by his own misery and that of his crews, he resolved against their wishes to make for the Cape of Good Hope in his own ship, the Leicester, but being deterred by the sound advice of Davis from attempting 'so hard an enterprise with so feeble a crew,' he determined to depart out of the Straits of Magellan, 'and to return again for Santos in Brazil.' On 20 May, the fleet being once more off Port Desire about thirty leagues, Cavendish in the night altered his course to seaward, in consequence of which, the Desire and Black Pinnace being lost sight of in the darkness, he never saw Davis afterwards. Cavendish once more made for Brazil. After several disastrous attempts to land at Santos and Espirito Santo, where he was deserted by the Roebucke, he made one last effort to reach St. Helena. He 'got within two leagues,' and afterwards sought for an island in 8° S. lat. (evidently Ascension). The last notice of Cavendish in the homeward voyage of the Leicester is his own record of the death of his cousin, John Locke, in 8° N. lat. Cavendish died a few days later, probably of a broken heart. In his last hours he accused Davis of having deserted him, but from all we know of the character of Davis this is not only unjust, but also incredible. Long after the separation of the fleet on 20 May previous, Davis not only returned to Port Desire to seek for Cavendish, but he also made no less than three unsuccessful attempts to sail through the straits

down to the end of 1592. Such were the hardships they endured, that out of a crew of seventy-six men who sailed from England two years before, only a 'small remnant' of fifteen lived to return with Davis in misery and weakness so great that they 'could not take in or heave out a saile' of the Desire, which arrived off Bearhaven in Ireland on 11 June 1593, fully a year after the death and burial of Cavendish at sea. For engraved portraits of Cavendish, see Grainger (i. 247).

[An's Aardrijkskundig Woordenboek der Nederlanden, 1840, 2<sup>e</sup> deel, p. 51; Arber's English Garner, 4, 125; Arber's Transcript of Registers of Stationers' Company, ii. 505-9; Biog. Brit. i. 1196; Blundeville's Exercises, 1594; Davis's Voyages (Hakluyt Soc.), 1880; Encyclopædia Britannica, art. 'Globe,' Hakluyt, 1589-99, vol. iii.; Holland's Hero-ologia, p. 89; Lediard's Naval History, 1735, p. 229; Yule's Marco Polo, 2nd ed. 1875; Cal. Carew MSS.; Hist. MSS. Comm. App. 4th Rep. 372; Harl. MS. 268, f. 161.] C. H. C.

**CAVENDISH, SIR WILLIAM** (1505?-1557), statesman, born about 1505, was second son of Thomas Cavendish of Cavendish, Suffolk, clerk of the pipe, by Alice, daughter of John Smith of Padbrook Hall, and was directly descended from Sir John Cavendish, the judge (*d.* 1381) [q. v.] William's eldest brother was George Cavendish [q. v.], Wolsey's biographer. His father's last will is dated 13 April 1523, when his family was residing in the city parish of St. Alban's, Wood Street. His mother was buried in St. Botolph's Church, Bishopsgate. Probably through the influence of his brother George, Wolsey's friend, William was first introduced to court. In 1530 he was one of the commissioners who visited the monasteries to demand the surrender of their property to the crown, and in that year seized the abbey at Sheen. In 1541 he was auditor of the court of augmentations, and received grants of land in Hertfordshire formerly belonging to the dissolved monasteries. In 1546 he became treasurer of the king's chamber, was knighted, and was sworn of the privy council. Edward VI showed as much affection for Cavendish as Henry VIII, continued him in his office, and largely increased his landed property by fresh grants of monastic estates. Cavendish conformed under Mary, was reappointed by her treasurer of the royal chamber, and died on 25 Oct. 1557, being buried on 30 Oct. (MACHYN, *Diary*, p. 156). Cavendish has often been erroneously represented as the author of the well-known 'Life of Wolsey,' the work of his brother George. On his marriage with his third wife, Elizabeth, a Derbyshire heiress, Cavendish sold most of

his estates in other counties to purchase more land in Derbyshire, and began to build in 1553 a great mansion at Chatsworth, which was completed by his widow at a total cost of 80,000*l.*

Sir William married, first, Anne, daughter of Edward Bostock of Cheshire, by whom he had a son, who died young, and four daughters, two of whom died in infancy; secondly, Margaret (*d.* 16 June 1540), daughter of Thomas Parker of Poslingford, Suffolk, by whom there was no issue; thirdly, Elizabeth, a very rich Derbyshire heiress, daughter of John Hardwick of Hardwick, Derbyshire, and widow of Robert Barley of Barley, Derbyshire. The last marriage took place 'at the Black Fryars in London' 3 Nov. 1541. His third wife twice remarried after Cavendish's death, her fourth husband being George Talbot, sixth earl of Shrewsbury, and lived till 13 Feb. 1607-8 [see TALBOT, ELIZABETH, COUNTESS OF SHREWSBURY]. She built Hardwicke Hall and Oldcotes and finished Chatsworth, making all three houses over to her second son by Cavendish, William, first earl of Devonshire [q. v.] Cavendish had by her two other sons and three daughters. The eldest son, HENRY, was M.P. for Derbyshire 1572; won reputation as a soldier in the Low Countries in 1578; travelled in the East; married Grace Talbot, eldest daughter of his stepfather, the Earl of Shrewsbury, by whom he had no issue; befriended Mary Queen of Scots, for many years the Earl of Shrewsbury's prisoner at Hardwicke Hall, and afterwards in confinement at Cavendish's own house, Tutbury, Staffordshire (SIR AMIAS POULET, *Letter-book*, ed. Morris); died 12 Oct. 1616, and was buried at Edensor, near Chatsworth. His account of his Eastern travels is still in manuscript at Hardwick (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 3rd Rep.)

The third son, Charles, settled at Welbeck, Nottinghamshire; was knighted; married Catherine, daughter of Cuthbert, lord Ogle; died in June 1617, was buried at Bolsover, Derbyshire, and was the father of William, first duke of Newcastle [q. v.]

Of the daughters, Frances married Sir Henry Pierpoint of Holme Pierpoint, Nottinghamshire, and was the ancestress of the Dukes of Kingston; Elizabeth married Charles Stuart, earl of Lennox, and was the mother of Arabella Stuart; and Mary married Gilbert Talbot, the son of her stepfather, the Earl of Shrewsbury.

[Biog. Brit. (Kippis); Kennet's *Memoirs of the Cavendish Family* (1737); Arthur Collins's *Hist. Coll. of the Noble Families of Cavendish, &c.* (1752); Joseph Grove's *Lives of all the Earls and Dukes of Devonshire* (1764).] S. L. L.

**CAVENDISH, WILLIAM**, first EARL OF DEVONSHIRE (*d.* 1626), second son of Sir William Cavendish [q. v.], was educated with the children of George Talbot, sixth earl of Shrewsbury, whom his mother married after his father's death. The Countess of Shrewsbury showed him special favour, and made him a rich allowance in his youth. He was M.P. for Newport in 1588; high sheriff of Derbyshire, where the estates of his family lay, in 1595; and justice of the peace in 1603. He was created Baron Cavendish of Hardwicke on the christening of the Princess Sophia in May 1605. He aided largely in the colonisation of the Bermudas, and one of the islands was called after him. His mother's death in 1608, and his elder brother Henry's death in 1616, gave him a vast fortune. He was in attendance on James I in a progress in Wiltshire in 1618, and on 2 Aug. was created Earl of Devonshire, while the court was staying at the Bishop of Salisbury's palace. He was currently reported to have paid 10,000*l.* for the title. He died on 3 March 1625-6, and was buried at Edensor.

His first wife was Anne, daughter of Henry Kighley of Kighley, Yorkshire, by whom he had three sons and three daughters. Of the former, Gilbert, who has been credited with the authorship of 'Horæ Subsecivæ' [see **BRIDGES, GREY**], died young; William became second earl [q. v.]; and James died in infancy. Cavendish's second wife was Elizabeth, daughter of Edward Boughton of Couston, Warwickshire, widow of Sir Richard Wortley of Wortley, Yorkshire, by whom he had a son, John, made a knight of the Bath when Prince Charles was created Prince of Wales in 1618. Sir John died on 18 Jan. 1617-18.

[*Biog. Brit.* (Kippis); *Life of Duke of Newcastle*, ed. C. H. Firth (1886); *Doyle's Baronage*; *Gardiner's Hist. of England*, iii. 215; *Cal. State Papers (Dom.)*; *Kennet's Memoirs of the Cavendish Family* (1737).] S. L. L.

**CAVENDISH, WILLIAM**, second EARL OF DEVONSHIRE (1591?-1628), second son of William, first earl [q. v.], by his first wife, Anne Keighley, was educated by Thomas Hobbes, the philosopher, who resided at Chatsworth as his private tutor for many years and accompanied him in a tour through France and Italy before his coming of age. Hobbes states that he was his pupil's friend for twenty years, and eulogises his learning in the dedication of his translation of Thucydides. Cavendish was knighted at Whitehall in 1609; married, about 1612, Christiana, daughter of Edward, lord Bruce of Kinloss, and was afterwards a leader of court society, and an intimate friend of James I. He was

M.P. for Derby in 1621, 1624, 1625, and 1626; lord-lieutenant of Derbyshire in 1619 and in 1625-6; and high bailiff of Tutbury in 1626. In April 1622 he introduced to audiences with the king Schwarzenburg, ambassador from the Emperor Ferdinand, Valersio from Venice, and d'Arsennes and Joachimi from the United Provinces. In 1625 he was present at Charles I's marriage with Henrietta Maria. Early in 1626 the death of his father gave him a seat in the House of Lords, and he showed some independence in resisting Buckingham's high-handed attempt to foist a treasonable meaning on a speech of Sir Dudley Digges (13 May 1626). His lavish hospitality strained his ample resources in his last years, and he procured a private act of parliament to enable him to sell some of the entailed estates in discharge of his debts (1628). His London house was in Bishopsgate, on the site afterwards occupied by Devonshire Square. He died there (from excessive indulgence in good living, it is said) on 20 June 1628, and was buried in All-hallows Church, Derby. His wife Christiana is separately noticed. By her he had three sons: William, third earl [q. v.], Charles [q. v.], and Henry who died in youth. His daughter Anne, a well-known patroness of literature, married Robert, lord Rich, heir of the Earl of Warwick. A drawing of the second earl is in the Sutherland collection at the Bodleian Library.

[*Kennet's Memoirs of the Cavendish Family* (1737), pp. 10-11; *Biog. Brit.* (Kippis); *Doyle's Baronage*; *Hobbes's Life* (1681); *Lords' Journal*, iii. 698 et seq.; *Cal. State Papers (Dom.)*, 1600-1628.] S. L. L.

**CAVENDISH, WILLIAM**, DUKE OF NEWCASTLE (1592-1676), son of Sir Charles Cavendish and Catherine, second daughter of Cuthbert, lord Ogle, was born in 1592, and educated at St. John's College, Cambridge. In 1610, when Prince Henry was created Prince of Wales, Cavendish was made a knight of the Bath. He was then sent on his travels under the care of Sir Henry Wotton, at that time ambassador to the Duke of Savoy. On his return he married Elizabeth, daughter of William Basset of Blore, Staffordshire, and widow of Henry Howard, third son of the Earl of Suffolk. In 1619 King James visited Welbeck, and in the following year raised Cavendish to the peerage by the title of Viscount Mansfield (3 Nov. 1620). On 7 March 1628 he was further created Earl of Newcastle, and in the following year the barony of Ogle was revived in favour of Lady Catherine Cavendish (4 Dec. 1629), which title at her death descended to the Earl of Newcastle. On the king's journey into Scot-

land he was entertained at Welbeck 'in such a wonderful manner, and in such an excess of feasting, as had scarce ever before been known in England; and would have been thought very prodigious if the same noble person had not within a year afterwards made the king and queen a more stupendous entertainment, which no man ever after in those days imitated' (CLARENDON, *Rebellion*, i. 167). For the first of these visits Jonson wrote the masque entitled 'Love's Welcome at Welbeck;' for the second, 'Love's Welcome at Bolsover.' The two entertainments together cost the earl 20,000*l.* (*Life*, p. 192). A letter of Newcastle's to Strafford, dated 5 Aug. 1633, shows that this expenditure was in part dictated by the desire of obtaining some important court office. 'I have hurt my estate with the hope of it. If I obtained what I desire, it would be a more painful life, and since I am so plunged in debt, it would help very well to undo me. Children come on apace, and with this weight of debt which lies on me I know no diet better than a strict diet in the country' (*Strafford Correspondence*, i. 101). The earl's ambition was at length gratified when in 1638 the king appointed him governor of the Prince of Wales, and made him a member of the privy council (*Clarendon State Papers*, ii. 7; COLLINS, p. 27). For Prince Charles the earl drew up a very interesting paper of instructions, which has been printed by Sir Henry Ellis (*Original Letters*, 1st ser. iii. 288). The prince is warned not to be too devout, for one may be a good man and a bad king, bidden to be courteous to everybody, and enjoined to remember that he cannot be too civil to women. The earl succeeded in making his pupil an accomplished horseman. 'Our gracious and most excellent king,' he wrote in after years, 'is not only the handsomest and most comely horseman in the world, but as knowing and understanding in the art as any man' (*New Method and Extraordinary Invention*, p. 7). The outbreak of the Scotch rebellion enabled the earl to show his loyalty. He lent the king 10,000*l.*, and raised a volunteer troop which consisted entirely of knights and gentlemen of quality (*Life*, p. 9). In defence of the dignity of this troop Newcastle challenged the general of the horse, the Earl of Holland, to a duel to be fought when the war was over. The king, however, intervened. In May 1641 Newcastle resigned his office as governor of the prince, and retired from court (17 May, WHITELOCK, 144). According to Clarendon, his resignation was due to the hostility of Essex and Holland, who thought that his influence with the prince 'would not be agreeable to their designs' (*Rebellion*, iv. 293).

A more likely reason is the discovery of the earl's share in the first army plot which became known about this time. Suckling and Jermyn had selected him to succeed Northumberland in the command of the army, and the earl, with the prince, according to the deposition of Colonel Ballard, was to meet the army in Nottinghamshire with a thousand horse. 'Although there was not ground enough for a judicial proceeding, yet there was ground of suspicion,' says the parliament in its remonstrance of 26 May 1642, and their suspicions made them resent the king's appointment of Newcastle as governor of Hull (11 Jan. 1642; *Lords' Journals*, 14 Feb.) The earl hastened down secretly to seize that important magazine. 'I am here at Hull,' he wrote to the king on the 15th, 'but the town will not admit of me by no means, so I am very flat and out of countenance' (*S. P. Dom.* Charles I, vol. cccclxxviii. No. 55). He strove to gain a party in the town, and, according to the duchess, would have secured the admission of the king's troops had not Charles changed his policy and suddenly recalled him. The House of Lords, which had required his attendance, admitted the king's commission as sufficient defence, and allowed him to retire to the country. In the summer, when the king began to raise forces, Newcastle joined him at York, and was despatched thence in the middle of June to secure Newcastle-upon-Tyne and take the command of the four northern counties. The lands and influence he inherited from the family of Ogle enabled him rapidly to raise troops, while the possession of a port enabled him to forward to the king supplies of arms and money from Denmark and Holland, and facilitated his correspondence with the queen. The appeals of the Yorkshire royalists for help obliged Newcastle to march south, but he prudently refused to move till the support of his army was assured (*A New Discovery of Hidden Secrets*, 1645). At the end of November 1642 he entered Yorkshire, defeating Hotham at Piercebridge, and successfully raising the blockade of York. A few days later he attacked Fairfax at Tadcaster, and though the battle itself was indecisive, Fairfax was forced to retreat and abandon the attempt to hold the line of the Ouse (7 Dec. 1642). Newcastle proceeded to garrison Pontefract, to despatch troops to occupy Newark, and to send a strong division to invade the West Riding, but its repulse from Bradford, and the recapture of Leeds by Sir Thomas Fairfax (23 Jan. 1643), obliged him to return to York and await reinforcements. In February he carried on an animated controversy with Lord Fairfax on the propriety of employing

catholics and the rights of kings and subjects. Each accused the other of permitting indiscipline and pillage, and Newcastle concluded by challenging his opponent 'to follow the example of our heroic ancestors, who used not to spend their time in scratching one another out of holes, but in pitched fields determined their doubts' (RUSHWORTH, v. 78, 113). At the end of February the queen landed, and was received by Newcastle and conducted to York. In April he made a second attack on the West Riding, and, though obliged to abandon the siege of Leeds, took Wakefield, Rotherham, and Sheffield. Again Sir Thomas Fairfax, by the surprise of Wakefield (21 May), forced him to abandon his conquests. But though obliged to detach a large portion of his troops to escort the queen to Oxford, Newcastle returned to the attack in June, took Howley House (22 June), defeated the Fairfaxes at Adwalton Moor (30 June), captured Bradford, and subjected all Yorkshire, with the exception of Wressell Castle and Hull, to the king's authority. He is generally blamed for not advancing southwards to join the king, and his action attributed to jealousy of Prince Rupert. The king had wished Newcastle to join him against Essex in June, but in August he seems to have instructed him to attack the eastern association (GREEN, *Letters of Henrietta Maria*, 219, 225). In accordance with a design which Newcastle had previously announced to Sir Philip Warwick (*Memoirs*, p. 243), he entered Lincolnshire, recapturing Gainsborough on 30 July, occupying Lincoln, and threatening to raise the siege of Lynn. 'His orders, which I have seen,' says Lord Fairfax, 'were to go into Essex and block up London on that side' (MASÈRES, i. 431; CLARENDON, vii. 177). But the appeals of the Yorkshire committee, the reluctance of his local levies to march further from their homes, and the activity of the garrison of Hull in his rear, induced him to return to besiege the last-named town. After lying before it for six weeks, a destructive sally forced him to raise the siege, while on the same day the division which had been left to protect Lincolnshire was defeated by Cromwell at Winceby, and that county entirely lost (11 Oct. 1643). A few days later the king raised Newcastle to the rank of marquis (27 Oct. 1643, COLLINS, *Historical Collections*, p. 31). In January 1644 the Scots entered England, and Newcastle was called north to oppose them. But he could neither prevent the passage of the Tyne, nor bring the Scots to a battle (RUSHWORTH, v. 614). His own army was greatly superior in cavalry, and he distressed the enemy by cutting off

their supplies. The severity of the weather was ruinous to his forces. The defeat of the army left in Yorkshire (SELBY, 11 April 1644) obliged Newcastle to make a hurried retreat to York, where the armies of Fairfax, Manchester, and the Scots closed in upon him. On 1 July Prince Rupert successfully raised the siege, and on the following day the battle of Marston Moor took place. Newcastle had vainly urged the prince to await the arrival of expected reinforcements, or the separation of the three armies opposed to him. He held no command in the battle, but fought as a volunteer at the head of a troop of gentlemen, distinguishing himself as usual by his courage. The next day he announced his intention of leaving England. Already in the previous April he had thought of laying down his commission to escape from the criticisms of his own party. 'If you leave my service,' wrote the king, 'I am sure all the north is lost. Remember all courage is not in fighting, constancy in a good cause being the chief, and the despising of slanderous tongues and pens being not the least ingredient' (ELLIS, *Original Letters*, i. iii. 298). But Newcastle, according to Clarendon, was utterly tired of his employment as a general, and 'transported with passion and despair' at the way in which the army he so painfully raised had been thrown away (*Rebellion*, viii. 87). When Prince Rupert urged him to endeavour to recruit his forces, 'No,' says he, 'I will not endure the laughter of the court' (WARBURTON, *Prince Rupert*, ii. 468). Accordingly he set sail from Scarborough a few days later, taking with him his two sons and his brother, Sir Charles Cavendish, and many friends, but leaving the rest of his family in England. He landed at Hamburg on 8 July 1644, stayed there till February 1645, and then set out for Paris, where he arrived in April, and remained for the next three years. Here, soon after his arrival, he married Margaret [see CAVENDISH, MARGARET, DUCHESS OF NEWCASTLE], daughter of Sir Thomas Lucas of St. John's, Colchester, his first wife, Elizabeth Basset, having died in April 1643 (*Letters of Queen Henrietta Maria*, p. 188). When Prince Charles went to Holland in the spring of 1648 to take command of the ships which had revolted from the parliament, Newcastle was desired by the queen to follow him, but did not arrive until the prince had put to sea.

Six months he stayed at Rotterdam, but hopes of further opportunities were destroyed by the defeats of the royalists, and about the end of the same year he removed to Antwerp. At Antwerp he remained for the rest of his exile, being 'so well pleased with the great

civilities he received from that city that he was resolved to choose no other resting-place all the time of his banishment: he being not only credited there for all manner of provisions and necessaries for his subsistence, but also free both from ordinary and extraordinary taxes and paying excise' (*Life*, 118). In April 1650 he was made a member of the privy council of Charles II, and was one of the party in it which urged the king to 'make an agreement with his subjects of Scotland upon any condition, and go into Scotland in person himself, that he might but be sure of an army, there being no probability or appearance then of getting an army anywhere else.' He pressed the king also to reconcile the parties of Argyll and Hamilton. 'If his majesty could but get the power into his own hands, he might do hereafter what he pleased' (*Life*, 104). In August 1651 Newcastle, whom the Scots had not permitted to accompany his master, was engaged in negotiating with the elector of Brandenburg for an auxiliary corps of ten thousand men, and with the king of Denmark for ships to carry them to Scotland; but the battle of Worcester put an end to these designs (*Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, ii. 105-7). During the rest of his exile Newcastle seems to have taken no part in political transactions. Probably one cause of this was the growing influence of Hyde, who opposed the policy advocated by Newcastle with reference to Scotland, and describes him in one of his letters as 'a most lamentable man, as fit to be a general as to be a bishop' (*ib.* 63). Nevertheless, Hyde and Newcastle continued outwardly on very good terms, and when Hyde was accused in 1653 of betraying the king's councils, Newcastle wrote him 'a very comfortable letter of advice' (*ib.* 280).

Newcastle had left England in 1644 with not more than 90*l.* in his possession (*Life*, 84). As one of the chief delinquents, he had been excluded by the parliament from pardon, and his estates had been confiscated without the alternative of paying a composition being offered to him. He had been at times reduced to great extremities, and even obliged to pawn his wife's jewels. The queen gave him 2,000*l.*, and assisted him with her credit. The Earl of Devonshire and the Marquis of Hertford lent him another 2,000*l.*, and William Aylesbury 200*l.* (*ib.* 91, 97, 98). These resources were now exhausted, and he despatched his wife and his brother, Sir Charles Cavendish, to England, to endeavour to raise some money. The sequestration committee refused to allow Lady Newcastle the customary share of her husband's estate allowed to the wives of delinquents, on the plea that

the marriage had taken place since the sequestration (*ib.* 109, 298). But Sir Charles Cavendish succeeded in compounding for his estate, and sent a supply to his brother; and after the death of Sir Charles Newcastle obtained the remainder of his estate (*ib.* 125). As Newcastle was also aided by his eldest daughter, Lady Cheiny, and by his two sons, who had made advantageous matches in England, he was sufficiently prosperous during the latter part of his exile (*ib.* 125, 133). In February 1658 he entertained with great magnificence the king and the royal family (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1657-8, 296, 311). About the same time he published the first of his two works on horsemanship, 'La Methode et Invention Nouvelle de dresser les Chevaux,' Antwerp, 1657, folio. Shortly before leaving Paris, Newcastle had bought a pair of Barbary horses, 'resolving, for his own recreation and divertisement in his banished condition, to exercise the art of manage' (*Life*, 90). In these horses—soon increased to eight in number—'he took so much delight and pleasure that though he was then in distress for money, yet he would sooner have tried all other ways than parted with any one of them' (*ib.* 100). No stranger of distinction passed through Antwerp without visiting the Marquis of Newcastle's riding-house, and he has himself recorded, in the preface to his second book, the compliments paid him on his skill. The 'Methode et Invention' contained the theory and practice of 'the art of manage,' the results of these nine years of experiments and studies. The illustrations by Diepenbeke are remarkable not only for their excellence, but for the number of portraits they contain. Numerous diagrams represent Newcastle training horses in his riding school. In the large plates he is performing various feats of horsemanship before Welbeck, Bolsover, or some other of his houses. There are also two allegorical designs, in which he is adored by a circle of reverential horses. The cost of this work was above 1,300*l.*, in defraying which Newcastle was generously helped by his friends Sir Hugh Cartwright and Mr. Loving (letter to Nicholas, 15 Feb. 1656, *State Papers*, Dom.) A second edition was published in 1737, London, folio, and a translation of the duke's treatise is contained in the first volume of 'A General System of Horsemanship,' London, 1743 or 1748, folio. Lowndes also mentions editions published at Paris and Nuremberg.

At the Restoration, Newcastle followed the king to London, leaving his wife at Antwerp as a pledge for the payment of his debts. But soon after she arrived in London he retired to the country, to order and re-establish



his ruined estate. Those of his lands which had been confiscated by the parliament or the Commonwealth were restored to him by a private act. Those purchased by the regicides had been given by the king to the Duke of York, who graciously restored them to their lawful owner (*Egerton MS.* No. 2551). But those which had been alienated by his sons or by feeoffees in trust, even when they had acted without his sanction, he could not recover. The duchess computes that he lost in this way lands worth 50,000*l.*, and he was obliged to sell others, to the value of 60,000*l.*, to pay debts contracted during the war and exile. His woods had been cut down, his houses and farms plundered, and he had lost sixteen years' rents. The total of his losses is estimated by the duchess to be about 940,000*l.*

Charles II rewarded his sufferings and services by restoring him to the offices which he had held before the rebellion. He was, in addition, made chief justice in eyre, Trent north (10 July 1661, DOYLE), and created Duke of Newcastle (16 March 1665, COLLINS, 43). He was also invested with the order of the Garter (15 April 1661), which had been conferred on him during his exile (12 Jan. 1650, *ib.* 38, 42). During the remainder of his life he took no part in public affairs. The restoration of his estate occupied most of his time; his leisure he employed in literature and horsemanship. Soon after his return he established a racecourse near Welbeck, drawing up himself rules for the races which were to be run every month during six months of the year, which have been preserved by the care of Anthony à Wood (broadside in the Bodleian). In 1667 he published a second book on his favourite subject, 'A New Method and Extraordinary Invention to Dress Horses, and Work them, according to Nature; as also to Perfect Nature by the Subtlety of Art; which was never found out but by the thrice noble, high, and puissant Prince, William Cavendish,' &c. In the preface he explains that this work is 'neither a translation of the first, nor an absolutely necessary addition to it,' which 'may be of use by itself without the other, as the other without this; but both together will questionless do best.' Other editions of this second book were published in 1677 (London, folio), in 1740 (Dublin), and a French translation in 1671.

Although Newcastle is chiefly remembered by his two works on horsemanship, he was also the author of numerous plays and poems. 'His comedies,' says the duchess, 'do sufficiently show his great observation and judgment; for they are composed of these three ingredients, viz. wit, humour, and satire; and

his chief design in them is to divulge and laugh at the follies of mankind, to persecute vice and to encourage virtue.' The following is a list of the duke's comedies: 1. 'The Country Captain,' 12mo, 1649, said in the title to have been acted with applause at Blackfriars, and printed at the Hague and London. Pepys terms it 'so silly a play as in all my life I never saw' (*Diary*, 26 Oct. 1661). 2. 'The Variety,' printed with the 'Country Captain.' 3. 'The Humorous Lovers,' acted at the Duke's Theatre, 4to, 1677. Pepys, who attributes this to the duchess, calls it 'the most silly thing that ever came upon the stage' (30 March 1667). 4. 'The Triumphant Widow, or the Medley of Humours,' acted at the Duke's Theatre, 4to, 1677. The plays are certainly not good plays, yet they contain amusing scenes. Shadwell incorporated a large part of the 'Triumphant Widow' in 'Bury Fair,' and a droll, entitled the 'French Dancing Master,' was made out of the 'Variety,' and is printed in 'Sport upon Sport' (1671). The duke also translated Molière's 'L'Etourdi,' which Dryden converted into 'Sir Martin Mar-All.' This play, printed in 1668, did not appear with Dryden's name until 1697, and is entered in the 'Stationers' Register' under that of the duke; but, according to Pepys, every one knew at the time that Dryden had assisted his patron (*ib.* 16 Aug. 1667; SCOTT, *Dryden*, i.)

In the plays of the duchess occasional scenes are the contribution of the duke. His poems consist of some tales in verse, published in his wife's book entitled 'Nature's Pictures by Fancie's Pencil,' adulatory verses prefixed to her various publications, and songs interspersed in her plays and his own. But he deserves praise rather as a patron than a producer of poetry. 'Since the time of Augustus,' writes Langbaine, 'no person better understood dramatic poetry, nor more generously encouraged poets; so that we may truly call him our English Mæcenas.' Jonson wrote, besides the two masques already mentioned for his entertainments, elegies to celebrate the duke's riding and fencing, epitaphs for his father and mother, and an interlude for the christening of his eldest son (JONSON, ed. Cunningham, i. cxxxix). Shirley dedicated to Newcastle his own play of the 'Traitor,' and assisted his patron in the composition of his plays (WOOD, *Athenæ*, iii. 739; DYCE, *Shirley*, i. xliii). Wood also states that Newcastle invited Shirley 'to take his fortune with him in the wars, and Davenant certainly held the post of lieutenant-general of the ordnance under him. 'Such kind of witty society,' says Warwick, 'diverted many counsels and lost many opportunities' (*Memoirs*, p. 235).

After the Restoration, Dryden, Shadwell, and Flecknoe were among the recipients of the duke's favours. Dryden dedicated the 'Mock Astrologer' to him, Shadwell the 'Virtuoso' and the 'Libertine.' Flecknoe also has poems addressed both to the duke and the duchess. Nor did Newcastle confine his patronage to poets. 'I have heard Mr. Edmund Waller say,' writes Aubrey, 'that W. Lord Marquis of Newcastle was a great patron to Dr. Gassendi and M. Des Cartes, as well as to Mr. Hobbes, and that he had dined with them all three at the marquis's table at Paris' (AUBREY'S *Letters*, ii. 602).

Newcastle died on 25 Dec. 1676, and was buried in St. Michael's Chapel, Westminster Abbey (COLLINS). His wife, in the life of her husband, which she published in 1667, describes at length his person, habits, and character. 'His shape is neat and exactly proportioned, his stature of a middle size, and his complexion sanguine. His behaviour is such that it might be a pattern to all gentlemen; for it is courtly, civil, easy and free, without formality or constraint, and yet hath something in it of grandeur, that causes an awful respect for him.' Clarendon, so severe in his judgment of Newcastle as a general and a politician, sums up by describing him as 'a very fine gentleman.'

[The Life of the Duke of Newcastle, by his second wife, was published in 1667 (London, folio). Pepys, in his Diary (18 March 1668), refers to it as 'the ridiculous history of my lord Newcastle, wrote by his wife, which shows her to be a mad, conceited, ridiculous woman, and he an ass to suffer her to write what she writes to him and of him.' A Latin version, translated by Walter Charlton, followed in 1668, and a second English edition, in quarto, in 1675. A careful reprint of the first edition, edited by M. A. Lower, is contained in Russell Smith's Library of Old Authors. Another edition, with notes and illustrative papers, edited by C. H. Firth, was published in 1886. Letters of the Duke of Newcastle are printed in the following collections: the Strafford Papers, the Clarendon State Papers, Warburton's Prince Rupert, and the Calendar of Domestic State Papers. Rushworth's Collection contains the declaration of the Earl of Newcastle on marching into Yorkshire, and his declaration in answer to Lord Fairfax; also letters relating to the siege of York (v. 78, 133, 624). Other letters are contained in Hunter's Hallamshire and the Pythouse Papers; an intercepted one is printed in *Several Proceedings in Parliament*, 18-25 Sept. 1651, and a number of unpublished letters addressed to Strafford are in the possession of Lord Fitzwilliam. Sir H. Ellis gives six letters from Charles I to Newcastle in *Original Letters* (series 1, iii. 291-308), twenty from the queen are in Mrs. Green's collection of her letters, and four

from Ben Jonson in Cunningham's edition of his works. In addition to these sources may be mentioned Collins's *Historical Collections of the Noble Families of Cavendish, Holles, &c.*, the *Calendar of Domestic State Papers*, the *Clarendon State Papers*, *Clarendon's History of the Rebellion*, *Masère's Tracts*, and the *Memoirs of Sir Philip Warwick*.] C. H. F.

CAVENDISH, WILLIAM, third EARL OF DEVONSHIRE (1617-1684), eldest son of William, second earl [q. v.], was educated by his mother Christiana [q. v.] in conjunction with his father's old tutor, Thomas Hobbes. Hobbes's translation of *Thucydides* is dedicated to Cavendish, and from 1634 to 1637 the young man travelled abroad with the philosopher. He was created a knight of the Bath at Charles I's coronation in 1625. Cavendish was both wealthy and handsome, and the Countess of Leicester was anxious for him to marry Lady Dorothy Sidney, Waller's Sacharissa; but the scheme came to nothing, and Elizabeth, second daughter of William Cecil, second earl of Salisbury, became Cavendish's wife. Cavendish was lord-lieutenant of Derbyshire from 13 Nov. 1638 to 22 March 1641-2, was high steward of Amptill 4 Feb. 1639-40, and joint-commissioner of array for Leicestershire 12 Jan. 1641-2. As a prominent royalist he opposed Strafford's attainder, was summoned to a private conference with the queen in October 1641, was with Charles I at York in June 1642, absented himself from his place in the parliament, was impeached with eight other peers of high crimes and misdemeanors, refused to appear at the bar of the House of Lords, was expelled on 20 July 1642, and was ordered to stand committed to the Tower. He left England, and his estates were sequestered. He returned from the continent in 1645, submitted to the parliament, was pardoned for his former delinquency in 1646, was fined 5,000*l.*, and lived in retirement with his mother at Latimers, Buckinghamshire. Charles I stayed a night with him there on 13 Oct. 1645. At the Restoration all his disabilities were removed, he was reappointed lord-lieutenant of Derbyshire (20 Aug. 1660), became steward of Tutbury (8 Aug.), and of the High Peak (1661). He was always well affected to science and literature, was intimate with John Evelyn, and was one of the original fellows of the Royal Society (20 May 1663). He was a commissioner of trade 5 March 1668-1669, but lived mainly in the country. He died on 23 Nov. 1684, at his house at Roehampton, Surrey, and was buried at Edensor. His wife Elizabeth died five years later, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. He had two sons: William, his successor [q. v.], and Charles,

who died unmarried on 3 March 1670-1. His only daughter, Anne, married, first, Charles, lord Rich, son of the Earl of Warwick; secondly, John, earl of Exeter. She died on 18 July 1703. A drawing of the third earl is in the Sutherland collection at the Bodleian.

[Biog. Brit. (Kippis); Kennet's *Memoirs of the Cavendish Family* (1737); *Lords' Journals*; *Cal. State Papers, Dom.* 1640-1, 1660-7; *Life of Duke of Newcastle*, ed. C. H. Firth (1886), p. 212; *Evelyn's Diary*, ed. Bray and Wheatley, ii. 39, 148, iv. 100.] S. L. L.

**CAVENDISH, WILLIAM**, first DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE (1640-1707), eldest son of William Cavendish, third earl of Devonshire [q. v.], by his wife Elizabeth, second daughter of William Cecil, second earl of Salisbury, was born 25 Jan. 1640. The commotion of the civil wars rendered his early education somewhat irregular, and after being brought up chiefly under the eye of the Countess of Devonshire, his grandmother, he was sent to travel abroad with Dr. Killigrew, afterwards master of the Savoy. Upon his return he was chosen one of four young noblemen to bear Charles II's train at his coronation 23 April 1661, and in the same year was elected member of parliament for Derby. Next year he went to Ireland, and on 27 Oct. married at Kilkenny Lady Mary, second daughter of James, Duke of Ormonde. In 1663 he returned to England, and was on 23 Sept. created an M.A. at Oxford, along with the Earls of Suffolk and Bath, by special command of the chancellor, who was then with the king and court at Oxford (*Wood, Atheneæ*, ii. 830; *Catalogue of Graduates*). In 1665 he volunteered for service in the fleet, and was present in attendance upon the Duke of York at the fight with De Ruyter on 4 June. 'Lord Cavendish,' writes Sir Thomas Clifford to Lord Arlington (5 June 1665, *GREEN, State Papers*, p. 431), 'behaved very well, and the shallop that brought him and the writer having six guns did much good.' In 1666 he was in his place in parliament, and joined in an address by the commons, praying to have the laws against popery enforced, which produced a proclamation, but was otherwise fruitless. In the following year he gave proof of the fairness of his disposition by seconding a motion to fix a day on which Clarendon might be heard in his own defence upon the lords sending down their bill for his banishment. In 1669 he went with Mr. Montagu, afterwards Duke of Montagu, upon an embassy to France, and was there engaged in an affair which attracted attention throughout Europe. Being on the stage at the opera he was insulted

by three French officers of the king's guard. One he struck, whereon they drew, and he, throwing himself against the side scenes, stood on his guard, but would have been overborne had not a Swiss of Mr. Montagu's taken him round the waist, and thrown him over into the pit for safety. In falling his arm was torn so that he bore the scar to his death. His assailants were arrested, but were liberated on his intercession. How much this matter was noticed appears by a complimentary letter to him from Sir William Temple 18 Jan. 1669. A similar affair illustrates his character after his return to his place in parliament in 1675. A Colonel Howard having been killed in the French war, it was reported that Lord Cavendish and Sir Thomas Meres had publicly wished 'that all others were equally served who acted against a vote of parliament.' Howard's brother Thomas hearing this report circulated a broadsheet attacking Cavendish, and this on 14 Oct. was brought by a member before the House of Commons. Cavendish, thus learning the matter for the first time, was for quitting the house, when Lord William Russell moved and carried that he be enjoined not to leave, and that neither he nor Sir T. Meres do give or accept any challenge from Howard; and Howard's print was also voted a breach of privilege. Howard, however, boasted that Cavendish had not dared to take notice of it till he was forced to do so by its publication in the house; whereon Cavendish, in spite of the resolution of the commons, posted on the palace gate a paper denouncing Howard as a poltroon. This was on 20 Oct. laid before the house, and, the speaker having informed Cavendish that he had broken privilege, he was after debate committed to the Tower. Howard, too, was summoned and called on to answer on his knees, and was committed; but Cavendish after two days, and Howard on 8 Nov., each on his own petition, were discharged, and the house directed them and Meres to attend Mr. Speaker, to be by him reconciled. On 25 Oct. the house had, on Mr. Waller's motion, voted it a breach of privilege to carry the affair further, and a bill was brought in, though not proceeded with, forbidding duelling.

From this time Cavendish engaged himself in parliamentary opposition to the court party. When parliament met in 1676, after a prorogation of fifteen months, it was he who moved that the act of Edward III for annual parliaments should be laid on the table, arguing that by the prorogation parliament was *ipso facto* dissolved. In 1677 he promoted a bill for recalling the English forces out of the French king's service, which was

read a second time 22 Feb., revived in committee 21 May, and passed 27 May. On 29 May the king ordered the house to adjourn to 16 July, and when Seymour, the speaker, had declared the house adjourned, he fairly ran out of the house to avoid Cavendish's question, by what authority save the house's consent that could be done. When the house reassembled on 16 July, Cavendish moved to read the journals to show how the house came to have been adjourned; but the matter was disposed of by further adjournments to 28 Jan. 1677-8. After the disclosure of the popish plot Cavendish was active in the protestant interest. He was a member of committees, for privileges and elections, against popish recusants, for inquiring into the murder of Sir Edmundsbury Godfrey, and for bringing in the lords to concert means for securing the king and the protestant religion. In October he was a member of a select committee to take the examination in Newgate of Coleman as to the plot, and to report on the plot to the House of Lords; and on 2 Dec. of another to urge the king to a stricter observance of the laws against popery. On the same day, 19 Dec., he was both chosen to attend the king with the votes relating to an information against Montagu, and to draw articles of impeachment against Danby. A new parliament met on 6 March 1678-9, and the king refusing the reappointment of Seymour as speaker, Cavendish was among the chief members who waited on the king with the vote on the election of a new one. On 16 April 1679 he was appointed a member of a committee to draw a bill against the growth of popery, and on 14 May he carried up an address against papists. So vigorous and popular were his speeches that they got abroad in an imperfect copy, and a pamphlet called 'A Speech of Lord Cavendish' was even referred to a committee of the House of Commons.

The fall of Danby's ministry was now inevitable, and the king determined to adopt the scheme, originated by Sir William Temple, of raising the privy council into a counterpoise to the House of Commons. Shaftesbury was president, and Russell, Cavendish, Essex, and Halifax were sworn in as ordinary members. In April and May the king and the new government brought in resolutions for preserving the protestant religion without interfering with the hereditary succession, but the commons pressing their exclusion bill, in spite of a remonstrance from Cavendish in favour of first trying milder measures, they were hastily prorogued on 27 May 1679. In this session Cavendish had also been forward in procuring the passing of the Habeas Corpus Act. Parliament was shortly after dissolved, and

before the new parliament met, on 17 Oct., the Duke of York had returned from Flanders and retired into Scotland. The new parliament was at once prorogued to prevent any legislation for his exclusion. Before it reassembled the king, falling ill, recalled the duke, 25 Jan. 1679-80, whereupon the coalition of the country and court parties into one government broke down, and Cavendish, Russell, Capel, and Powle praying leave to withdraw from the council, their prayer was very readily granted. Sunderland, Godolphin, and Lawrence Hyde remained in power. Parliament again met 21 Oct. 1680, and Cavendish carried up articles of impeachment against Sir William Scroggs, chief justice of the king's bench. While the grand jury of Middlesex was sitting at Westminster Hall, Lord Shaftesbury induced Huntingdon, Russell, Cavendish, Thynne, and others to appear with him before them, to present reasons for indicting the Duke of York as a popish recusant. While the grand jury were deliberating on this, they were hastily discharged by the queen's bench. The committee of the commons which sat to consider the conduct of the queen's bench resolved that the discharge was illegal, and the house directed Cavendish to prepare articles, but parliament being prorogued the matter dropped. He was also active in debates upon the exclusion of the duke, and promoted an address praying the king to remove his ministers. Parliament, however, was prorogued 10 Jan., and dissolved 18 Jan. 1680-1. In the new parliament, which met at Oxford on 21 March and was dissolved in a week, Cavendish showed his natural fairness, when Mr. Secretary Jenkins absolutely refused to obey the house's order to carry up articles of impeachment against Fitzharris, an Irish papist, then under arrest for a libel on the king. The house was crying 'To the bar! to the bar!' when Cavendish interposed and induced Jenkins to submit himself to the house. A similar proof of his superiority to mere party spirit appears in his protest against the description of Monmouth, when in favour, in commissions as 'the king's dear and entirely beloved son,' showing that his zeal for the exclusion of the Duke of York was not due to mere devotion to Monmouth. Afterwards, in 1681, in grand committee of the House of Commons, Mr. Powle in the chair, Cavendish renewed his efforts for the duke's exclusion by moving for leave to bring in a bill for the association of all protestant subjects, for the safety of the king's person and religion, and the exclusion of the duke from succession to the crown. But when, after the flight of Shaftesbury, Russell and

others began to concert measures against the king's absolutism, Cavendish, alarmed at their expressions, early withdrew himself from their meetings; nor was he at a later date in any way implicated in Monmouth's rising. In May there was some talk of his quitting the popular for the court party along with Lord Howard of Escrick, and in October he kissed the king's hand at Newmarket, and was received into favour (LUTTRELL, i. 89, 133). Still he appeared as a witness for the prisoner on Russell's trial, and even, according to Burnet, offered, through Sir John Forbes, to change clothes with him in prison, they both being of much the same tall figure, though otherwise unlike enough. Russell, however, refused, and when Cavendish attended him on the day of execution, Russell earnestly exhorted him to a more christian way of life, and produced a deep impression by his farewell. Cavendish was also a very intimate friend of Mr. Thomas Thynne, and when the latter was assassinated in Pall Mall by three Germans, in Count Coningsmarck's pay, he not only brought the assassins to justice, but when Coningsmarck was corruptly acquitted, challenged him to a duel at Calais. The challenge only reached the count at Newport in Flanders, and he replied that he would wait there three weeks. The reply was sent in a packet to the Swedish president, who, mistrusting its contents, opened it and communicated them to the secretary of state. Thereon a writ of *ne exeat regno* was issued and was served on Cavendish and Lord Mordant, who also had sent a challenge, and they were compelled to give security. Later on Colonel Maccarty, meeting the count in Paris, told him of Cavendish's desire to meet him, to which the count replied that he was in the employment of Louis XIV, and that the French law rigorously forbade duels (*ib.* 174, 210). Cavendish had been out before. In 1676 he fought and dangerously wounded Lord Mohun, and in 1680 was Lord Plymouth's second in his duel with Sir G. Huet (*Hutton Correspondence*, Camd. Soc., i. 142, 222).

In 1684 he succeeded his father in the earldom, and on the accession of James he was one of the peers who proposed to discuss the speech from the throne. After Monmouth's rebellion he withdrew from court. Having been insulted by Colonel Thomas Colepeper [q. v.] he had forgiven him upon the terms of his appearing at Whitehall no more. But on Monmouth's defeat Colepeper reappeared. Evelyn, who was present, says (9 July 1685): 'Just as I was coming into the lodgings at Whitehall, my lord of Devonshire standing very neare his majesty's bed-chamber

doore in the lobby, came Colonel Colepeper and in a rude manner looking my lord in the face asked whether this was a time and place for excluders to appear. My lord told him he was no excluder; the other affirming it again, my lord told him he lied, on which Colepeper struck him a box on the ear, which my lord returned, and felled him' (cf. *Ellis Correspondence*, ii. 289). On this an information was issued against Devonshire out of the king's bench, and in spite of his plea of peer's privilege the court, whether with or without consultation with the king or chancellor, sentenced him to a fine of 30,000*l.*, and committed him to the king's bench prison till payment. The countess, his mother, brought to James bonds of Charles I for 60,000*l.*, lent to him in the civil war by the Cavendishes, and offered them all for the release of 'her son Billy;' but James was obdurate. Devonshire, however, found means to escape, and fled to Chatsworth, where, when the sheriff of Derby and his posse came to arrest him, he imprisoned the whole force till he arranged for his liberty by giving his bond for payment of the fine. But the duke had his revenge. On 30 June 1697, 'meeting Colonel Colepeper at the Auction House in St. Alban's Street, he caned him for being troublesome to him in the late reign' (LUTTRELL, iv. 246). After the revolution the bond was found among James's papers and cancelled, and the record of the conviction was removed from the file of the exchequer. A committee of the lords reported, 22 April 1689, that the 'court of king's bench, in overruling the Earl of Devonshire's plea of privilege of parliament and forcing him to plead over in chief, it being the usual time of privilege, did thereby commit a manifest breach of the privileges of parliament;' the records were brought up, the judges, Sir Robert Wright, Sir Richard Holloway, and Mr. Justice Powell, brought to the bar (6 May), and after they had humbly apologised for their error, the legality of the committal of a peer was argued, and the opinions of the judges taken on 7 and 15 May, and it was decided to be illegal.

For some years Devonshire remained in strict retirement, and occupied himself with the erection of Chatsworth. The work began 12 April 1687, and lasted till 1706; the architect was William Talman; Verrio and Thornhill were employed on the painting; and it is said that the wood carving, though this is doubtful, was the work of Grinling Gibbons. It is a remarkable instance of the purity of the earl's taste that at this period and afterwards, in the time of the Dutch fashion, he should, in his building and collections, have adhered to the best Italian

manner, but in architecture and fine art he was reputed a consummate judge. In the result, says Bishop Kennet, 'though the situation seems to be somewhat horrid, this really adds to the beauty of it; the glorious house seems to be art insulting nature.'

But in his retirement he was secretly engaged in concerting plans for bringing in the Prince of Orange. James, suspecting his loyalty, first sent to summon him to court; the earl excused himself, and his kinsman, the Duke of Newcastle, whom the king sent later, could not change his purpose. In May 1687 Dijkvelt left England with letters from Devonshire, Bedford, Shrewsbury, Nottingham, and the Hydes, asking William to come over to the nation's assistance. Communications were usually kept up through Edward Russell and Henry Sidney, who were now in London, now in Holland, and through Vice-admiral Herbert, who remained at the Hague. After the birth of James's son, in 1688, the invitations became more urgent, and Devonshire was one of the whig lords who signed the cipher letter of 30 June. He was now reconciled to Danby, whom he owned he had misjudged, and with him, Lord Delamere, and Mr. D'Arcy, he laid plans for a rising. The meetings took place at Sir Henry Goodrick's in Yorkshire, and at Whittington, near Scarsdale in Derbyshire, in a farmhouse chamber, long known in the country-side as the 'plotting parlour.' At first it was designed that William should land in the north. Devonshire was to secure Nottingham, and Danby, York. The attack on York was to precede that on Nottingham, the former having a governor and a small garrison, who might take alarm if Nottingham, an open town, were first occupied. However, on hearing of William's landing at Brixham, the earl at once moved on Derby, and, being always one who kept on terms with the leaders of the middle class, invited the mayor and gentry to join him, and read to them his 'Declaration in Defence of the Protestant Religion.' For a short time he was in danger; a courier arrived with a letter in his boot-heel announcing James's flight and William's march on London, but it was hardly legible; the news was not credited, and James's party took heart. The earl, however, presently moved on Nottingham, and was well supported, and there he issued a proclamation justifying the rising and drilled troops. He raised a regiment of horse, afterwards the 4th regiment, and one of the first to go to Ireland next year, and was himself its colonel, and on 25 Nov., hearing of a plan to intercept the Princess Anne, while on her way from London to take refuge with him, he marched out

to meet her, and conducted her to the castle. For some time he entertained her at his own charge, and then, his stock running low, accepted some contributions, and 'at last borrowed the public money in such a manner as to satisfy the collectors and please the country.' When Anne removed to Oxford to join Prince George, the earl escorted her to Christ Church, and thence, with one or two more, hastened to London, and met William at Sion House. On 25 Dec. the lords assembled at Westminster, and Devonshire was forward in procuring the address to the Prince of Orange, praying him to carry on the government till a convention could meet. The convention met 22 Jan. 1688-9, and the earl argued against Clarendon and Rochester for James's deposition and for a king, not merely a regent. This was rejected, whereupon he and forty others entered their protest, and finally it was carried. He now received the favours of the new sovereign. On 14 Feb. he was sworn of the privy council, on 16 March appointed lord-lieutenant of Derbyshire and lord-steward of the household; he was elected a knight of the Garter on 3 April and installed on 14 May. At the coronation on 11 April he acted for the day as lord high steward of England, and bore the crown, while his daughter bore the queen's train.

He now devoted himself to procuring the remission of his own fine and the reversal of the attainders of Lord Russell, Colonel Sidney, and others. On 18 Jan. 1689-90 he sailed with the king from Gravesend for the congress at the Hague. He was with the king when, at great peril to his life, William left the fleet in a shallop to hasten on shore. At the Hague he made a peculiarly splendid figure, outshining with his plate and furniture almost all the other nobles there assembled. On 9 March he gave a banquet to the elector of Brandenburg, the landgrave of Hesse, and the Prince de Commeray, at which the king appeared incognito, and in March of the year following he was present at the siege of Mons in attendance on the king, and with him returned to Whitehall on 13 April. Early in July, after the battle of Beachy Head, he and the Earl of Pembroke placed themselves at the queen's disposal, and were sent to Dover, and thence to the fleet, to inquire into its conduct under Lord Torrington during that battle (*Hutton Correspondence*, Camd. Soc., ii. 155, 156). In the same year, when Admiral Russell objected to the plan for a landing by Schomberg and Ruvigny on the French coast, on the ground that the men-of-war were of too great draught for the purpose, Devonshire was one of the ministers

who visited the fleet at St. Helen's to inspect it, but the news of Heinkirk disposed of this design. In May 1692 he went, with the Duke of Richmond and the earls of Essex and Doncaster, as a volunteer to the camp in Flanders (LUTTRELL, ii. 463). On 12 May 1694 he was, in recognition of his services, created Duke of Devonshire and Marquis of Hartington, and having been purposely omitted from the commission of the peace on succeeding his father in the title, was now appointed a justice in eyre, and in 1697 was further elected recorder of Nottingham. When William quitted England, after Queen Mary's death in 1694, the Duke of Devonshire was named one of the lords justices for the administration of the kingdom, and he and Tension, archbishop of Canterbury, were the only lords who held that appointment on all the occasions of the king's absence during the whole seven years of its existence. While in this office the case of Sir John Fenwick arose, in which the duke, though convinced by repeated interviews (see *ib.* iv. 83, 11 July and 24 Sept. 1696) of his guilt, was so apprehensive of creating a precedent that, almost alone of the whigs, he refused to agree to the bill for his attainder.

The question of the Irish land grants had long been a burning one. As early as 1690 the king disposed of the forfeited estates at his own private pleasure, and much offence was given by the grants to Mr. Villiers and to foreigners like Ruvigny, Bentinck, and Ginkel. On 7 Feb. 1698 leave was given to bring in a bill 'for vacating all grants of estates forfeited in Ireland since 13 Feb. 1688, and for appropriating them to the use of the public,' and though the bill then dropped, a commission was in 1699 appointed to examine the grants, and on 15 Dec. their report, containing an exposure of the intrigues practised to obtain them, was laid on the table. The bill to resume all grants and to create a separate court to try all claims was read a second time 18 Jan. 1699-1700, and in April 1700 reached the lords. Devonshire strenuously opposed it, declaring 'that by this bill the barriers between crown and people would be broken down,' and by his influence with the younger peers carried material amendments. The commons, however, refused them, and though the whig peers would have stood firm, Sunderland induced the king to beg his friends to give way; the bill passed, and parliament was prorogued 11 April 1700. In 1701 he strenuously opposed the partition treaty, and on William's death and Anne's accession was confirmed in all his offices, acted with the Duke of Somerset as supporter to Prince George, at the king's funeral, and

was again lord high steward at Anne's coronation. In March 1702 he introduced to the queen 127 dissenting ministers to congratulate her on her accession, to whom she promised her protection (LUTTRELL, v. 153). In May he was appointed, with Lords Somerset, Jersey, Marlborough, and Albemarle, to examine the late king's papers, which were said to contain matter adverse to Anne's accession, and reported that the rumour was groundless (*ib.* 169). This was a check to the tories, who had originated the rumour. On 17 Dec. 1702, and on 19 Jan. 1703, upon the bill against occasional conformity, he was chief manager for the lords in the conference with the commons, and reported in favour of toleration, and in March 1705 was again manager in the conference arising out of the 'writ of error for the Aylesbury men' (*ib.* 529). He actively supported the protestant succession and the French war, and having been a commissioner in 1703 to negotiate the union of England and Scotland, without success, he at last, in 1706, brought that great measure to a successful issue. In April 1705 he attended the queen to Cambridge, and there, with his eldest son, was created an LL.D., but being borne down with dropsy, gout, and the stone, and his disease proving incurable, he treated with the Marquis of Dorchester for the transfer to him of the lord high stewardship in April 1707, and at length died, professing repentance and firm faith, at Devonshire House, Piccadilly, at 9 a.m., 18 Aug. 1707. He was attended on his deathbed by the Bishop of Ely. The autopsy proved stone and strangury to have caused his death (*ib.* 18 Aug. 1707). His body was conveyed in great state by the Strand to the city, and thence to Derby, where it was buried, 1 Sept., at Allhallows Church. His wife survived him, and dying 31 July 1710, aged 68, was buried in Westminster Abbey. He left three sons, William (who married Rachel, Lord Russell's eldest daughter, and succeeded to the dukedom), Lord James, Lord Henry, M.P. for Derby, who died of palsy in 1700, and a daughter, Elizabeth, who married Sir John Wentworth, bart., of Broadsworth, Yorkshire, and afterwards the second Sir James Lowther.

The duke was addicted to sport, constantly visiting Newmarket for horse-racing and cock-fighting, now winning 500 guineas, now losing 1,900*l.* (LUTTRELL, iii. 639-40, iv. 340, 505, v. 231; EVELYN, *Memoirs*, 30 March 1699). He was munificent, giving 500*l.* to Greenwich Hospital, a supper and masked ball costing 1,000*l.*, and a 'fine concert of musick at Kensington.' He lost heavily by the fire at Montagu House in 1686, and at

Whitehall in 1698 (LUTTRELL, iv. 328, 531, 600; ELLIS, *Correspondence*, ii. 11, 25). At various times he was engaged in many law-suits; in 1696 with the Marquis of Normanby about the purchase of Berkely House by him, which, after discussion on the privilege of peers in the House of Lords (10 Dec.), he eventually won in the court of chancery by judgment of the lord chancellor and both chief justices, December 1697; in February 1698 and again in June 1699 against Mr. Frampton, about a horse-race, in which he obtained a verdict; in 1699 as ranger of Needwood Forest against the Earl of Stamford, who claimed a right to hunt there as chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster; and in 1707 at the suit of the Duke of Buckinghamshire for damages by a fire at Arlington House, which he lost (LUTTRELL, iv. 151, 224, 298, 340, 474, vi. 187).

In person the duke was tall and handsome, and of an engaging and commanding mien and courteous address. He was a good Latin scholar, and especially a student of Horace, acquainted with Homer and Plutarch, so fine a critic that Lord Roscommon entrusted to him his poems for correction, and an admirable judge of art and music. The philosophy of Hobbes had influenced his early education, but in a work ascribed to him, 'Reasons for Passing the Bill for Exclusion' (1681), he uses the social compact as an argument for submitting the will of the monarch to that of his people, and is said by his domestic chaplain, Mr. Griffiths, 'to have publicly disowned Mr. Hobbes's principles as damnable.' He wrote an ode on the death of Queen Mary, which Dryden praised as the best written on that subject, and a poem called 'The Charms of Liberty; an allusion to the Bishop of Cambrai's 'Telemachus,' written in 1707, and published after his death. Lord Orford's character of him was, 'a patriot among the men, a Corydon among the ladies.' He was personally dissolute, leaving many natural children, among them being Mrs. Heneage, who married Lord Huntingtower, eldest son of the Earl of Dysart (LUTTRELL, 10 Dec. 1706; cf. *Wentworth Papers*, 19 July 1709), and is said to have taken Mrs. Anne Campion from the stage into keeping, but as he was then an old man this may be ill-authenticated; at any rate he erected a tomb to her memory, and gave her a private funeral. A poem, 'by a lady,' upon his death, says of him,

Whose awful sweetness challenged our esteem,  
Our sex's wonder and our sex's theme;  
Whose soft commanding looks our breasts assailed;  
He came and saw and at first sight prevailed.

[Bishop Kennet's Memoir; Grove's Lives of the Earls and Dukes of Devonshire; Kennet's Funeral Sermon; Griffith's Funeral Sermon; Monthly Miscellany, i. 326; Braybrooke's Notes to Pepys, v. 251; Glover's Derbyshire, ii. 223; Akenside's Ode to the Earl of Huntingdon; Introduction to Danby's Letters, 1710; Commons' Journals; Von Ranke's History of England; Hazard of a Deathbed Repentance, London, 1728; Jacob's Complete Peerage, 1766, i. 247; Lodge's Portraits, vol. iv. (after the painting by Riley); Courtenay's Memoirs of Sir W. Temple.]  
J. A. H.

CAVENDISH, WILLIAM, fourth DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE (1720-1764), first lord of the treasury, and prime minister from November 1756 to May 1757, at the beginning of the seven years' war, eldest son of William Cavendish, third duke of Devonshire, K.G., and lord-lieutenant of Ireland from 1737 to 1744, was born in 1720. He was elected to the House of Commons as M.P. for Derbyshire in 1741, directly he came of age, and was re-elected in 1747, and on 20 March 1748 married Charlotte, baroness Clifford of Lanesborough in her own right, only daughter and heiress of Richard Boyle, earl of Burlington and Cork, who brought him Lismore Castle and large estates in Ireland. This marriage greatly increased his political importance, and on 13 June 1751 the Marquis of Hartington, as he was then styled, was summoned to the House of Lords in his father's barony as Lord Cavendish of Hardwicke, and in the following month he was made master of the horse and sworn of the privy council. In February 1755 the Marquis of Hartington was made lord-treasurer of Ireland, and on 27 March constituted lord-lieutenant and general-governor of that island, and on 5 Dec. 1755 he succeeded his father as fourth duke of Devonshire. In Ireland he displayed no very great political ability, but succeeded very happily in pleasing all parties and making himself extremely popular. In 1756 the seven years' war broke out, and all England demanded that Mr. Pitt should be placed at the head of affairs; he absolutely declined to serve under the Duke of Newcastle, who had been prime minister ever since the death of his brother, Henry Pelham, in 1754, and the influence of the great whig families was strong enough to prevent the king from at once making Pitt prime minister. In this dilemma Devonshire was summoned from Ireland, and asked to become prime minister, with Pitt as secretary of state to manage the war. He was eminently a fit man for the post; his rank as a born leader of the whigs, his experience in the House of Commons, and his



popularity in Ireland all recommended him, and he was sworn in as first lord of the treasury on 16 Nov. 1756. He was not, however, a success in his new capacity; his leader of the House of Commons, Sir Thomas Robinson, only excited the risibility of Pitt, and Pitt himself soon recognised the necessity of making up his differences with the Duke of Newcastle. In May 1757, therefore, Devonshire, who had been made lord-lieutenant of Derbyshire on 15 Dec. 1756, and a K.G. on 27 March 1757, resigned to the Duke of Newcastle, and was appointed lord-chamberlain of the household, a post which he held until 1762. His health was rapidly declining, and he died at Spa on 3 Oct. 1764, at the age of forty-four.

[Collins's Peerage, and the histories of England during the eighteenth century.]

H. M. S.

**CAVENDISH, WILLIAM GEORGE SPENCER**, sixth DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE (1790-1858), only son of William Cavendish, fifth duke of Devonshire, and Georgiana, elder daughter of John Spencer, first earl Spencer, was born in Paris on 21 May 1790. His education was received at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he graduated B.A. 1811, and proceeded LL.B. in the following year. Shortly after attaining his majority he succeeded to the dukedom and took his place in the House of Lords, where he assisted the whig party by his influence and his silent vote, for he never spoke in that assembly on any of the great political questions of the day. His tastes were literary, as he evinced by his purchase in 1812 of the library of Thomas Dampier, bishop of Ely, for 10,000*l.*, and again in 1821 of John Kemble's dramatic collections for 2,000*l.* In 1826 he was sent on a special mission to Russia on the occasion of the coronation of the Emperor Nicholas, 25 April, when his retinue was of the most superb character.

This mission is said to have cost the duke 50,000*l.* beyond the allowance made to him by the government. The emperor, in acknowledgment of his liberality, conferred upon him the orders of St. Andrew and of St. Andrew Newski, and when in England, in 1844, paid him a special visit at his villa, at Chiswick, on 8 June (*Illustrated London News*, 15 June 1844, pp. 384-5). He was chosen a privy councillor on 30 April 1827 and made a K.G. on 10 May following, acted as lord chamberlain of the household of George IV from 5 May 1827 to 18 Feb. 1828, and served in the same capacity to William IV from 22 Nov. 1830 to 15 Dec. 1834. He was lord-lieutenant and *custos rotulorum* of

Derbyshire, high steward of Derby, and president of the Horticultural Society. Mr. (afterwards Sir Joseph) Paxton was employed by the duke as manager of his Derbyshire estates, and under his hands a gigantic conservatory, 300 feet long, 145 feet wide, 60 feet high, and covering nearly an acre of ground, was erected at Chatsworth, and served to some extent as the model for the Great Exhibition of 1851. The duke was well versed in the old English dramatic literature, and added largely to his books from the library of the Duke of Roxburghe. After 1835 he removed many of his pictures from Devonshire House and Chiswick to increase the interest of his gallery at Chatsworth. His collection of coins and medals, which is said to have cost him upwards of 50,000*l.*, was disposed of at Christie's in a twelve days' sale, commencing on 18 March 1844, and realised the sum of 7,057*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.* He died from the effects of a paralytic seizure at Hardwicke Hall on 17 Jan. 1858; he was never married, and the dukedom passed to his cousin, William Cavendish, second earl of Burlington.

[*Illustrated London News*, 23 Jan. 1858, p. 75; *Gent. Mag.* February 1858, pp. 209-10; *Waagen's Treasures of Art*, ii. 88-96, iii. 344-71; *Catalogue of the Library at Chatsworth*, 1879, 4 vols.]

G. C. B.

**CAVENDISH-BENTINCK.** [See **BENTINCK.**]

**CAVERHILL, JOHN** (d. 1781), physician, a Scotchman, was admitted a licentiate of the London College of Physicians in 1767. He died at Old Melrose, Roxburghshire, on 1 Sept. 1781. He wrote a 'Treatise on the Cause and Cure of Gout,' 8vo, London, 1769, in which he put forward the theory that the matter of nerves was earthy, and descended through the nerves to form the bones, and that the friction of this earthy substance, in its way to the bones, gave rise to animal heat. He followed this by 'Experiments on the Causes of Heat in Living Animals,' 8vo, London, 1770, in which he attempted to prove his theory by a large number of barbarous experiments on rabbits, destroying various nerves or portions of the spinal cord, and awaiting the death of the animals. He also wrote a 'Dissertation on Nervous Ganglions and Nervous Plexus,' 8vo, London, 1772, and an 'Explanation of the Seventy Weeks of Daniel,' 8vo, London, 1777.

[Munk's Coll. of Phys. 1878, ii. 281; Caverhill's works.]

G. T. B.

**CAW, JOHN YOUNG** (1810?-1858), banker and miscellaneous writer, was born at Perth about 1810, but passed the last

thirty years of his life in Manchester, where he died on 22 Oct. 1858. He was educated at St. Andrews, whence he proceeded to Trinity College, Cambridge, but did not stay to take a degree. His first thoughts were of the Anglican ministry, but this design was abandoned and he filled responsible positions in connection with the Bank of Manchester and the Manchester and Salford Bank. His leisure was devoted to literary and archaeological studies, and to the extension of the offertory system in the church of England. He was a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, a member of the Royal Society of Literature, and of various local associations. He wrote: 1. 'Plan for the Endowment of the Church of St. Andrew, Ancoats, Manchester,' Manchester, 1846 (anonymous). 2. 'The Necessity and Advantages of a Bankers' Clearing House: addressed to the Commercial Public of Manchester,' Manchester, 1847. 3. 'The Duty of Increasing the Stipends of the Manchester Clergy, stated and proved by a practical example,' Manchester, 1852 (anonymous). 4. 'Some Remarks on "The Deserted Village" of Oliver Goldsmith,' Manchester, 1852. The poet is here surveyed from the standpoint of a political economist.

Caw had the reputation of an earnest-minded man of liberal disposition and intellectual sympathies. He is buried at St. Luke's, Cheetham Hill, and there is a memorial of him in the church of St. Andrew, Ancoats, of which he was a benefactor.

[Grindon's Manchester Banks and Bankers; Manchester Courier, 30 Oct. 1858; Proceedings of Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester, 1858; Catalogue of the Manchester Public Free Library.] W. E. A. A.

**CAWDELL, JAMES** (d. 1800), dramatist, was the manager and chief comedian of various theatres in the north of England, including those of Scarborough, Sunderland, and Shields. He retired from the stage in 1798, having disposed of his property to Mr. Stephen Kemble, and died at Durham in January 1800. He published a volume of poems in 1784 or 1785, and was the author of the following dramatic pieces: 1. 'Appeal to the Muses,' 1778. 2. 'Melpomene's Overthrow,' a mock masque, 1778. 3. 'Trump of Genius,' 1785. 4. 'Apollo's Holiday,' a pule, 1792. 5. 'Battered Batavians,' 1798.

[Baker's Biographia Dramatica.]

**CAWDRY, DANIEL** (1588-1664), non-conformist divine, was the youngest son of Robert Cawdry, not of Zachary Cawdry, vicar of Melton Mowbray, as Mr. Nichols supposes (*History of Leicestershire*). He was edu-

cated at Peterhouse, Cambridge, and was instituted to the living of Great Billing, Northamptonshire, in 1625, 'in the presentation of the king by wardship of Christopher Hatton, esq.' He became one of the leading members of the assembly of divines appointed by parliament in 1643 for the regulation of religion. He was one of the presbyterian ministers who signed the address to the Lord General Fairfax remonstrating against all personal violence against the king. At the Restoration he was recommended to Lord Clarendon for a bishopric. Instead, however, of coveting further promotion, he refused to submit to the Act of Uniformity in 1662, and was ejected from his benefice, upon which he retired to Wellingborough, where he died in October 1664 in his seventy-sixth year. He was an able and voluminous writer of controversial divinity, both against the Anglicans on the one side and the independents on the other; and he measured swords with two of the ablest advocates of both, Henry Hammond and John Owen. The titles of his works tell their own tales. The principal of them are: 1. 'Sabbatum Redivivum; or, the Christian Sabbath vindicated,' 1645. 2. 'The Inconsistency of the Independent Way with Scripture and itself,' 1651. 3. 'An Answer to Mr. Giles Firmin's Questions concerning Baptism,' 1652. 4. 'A Diatribe concerning Superstition, Will-worship, and the Christmas Festival,' 1654. 5. 'Independence, a Great Schism, proved against Dr. (John) Owen's Apology,' 1657. 6. 'Survey of Dr. Owen's Review of his Treatise on Schism,' 1658. 7. 'A Vindication of the Diatribe against Dr. Hammond; or, the Account audited and discounted,' 1658. 8. 'Bowling towards the Altar Superstitious; being an answer to Dr. Duncan's "Determination,"' 1661. He also published several devotional works, and a great number of single sermons.

[Baker's History of Northamptonshire, p. 23; Daniel Cawdry's Works; Palmer's Memorial, iii. 27.] J. H. O.

**CAWDRY, ZACHARY** (1616-1684), author of the 'Discourse of Patronage,' was born in 1616 at Melton Mowbray, of which town his father, also called Zachary, was vicar. He was educated for seven years at the free school at Melton, and went thence, at the age of sixteen, to St. John's College, Cambridge, where he was 'sub or proper sizar to the then master, Dr. Humphrey Gower.' In 1642 he took his M.A. degree, and in 1649 was presented to the rectory of Barthomley in Cheshire. He continued at Barthomley until his death in 1684, and was buried there 'near his wife, Helen, and his very dear pupil, John

Crewe.' His one title to fame is his 'Discourse of Patronage,' which, though little more than a pamphlet (it contains only forty-five pages), well deserves to escape oblivion. It gives a very lucid and sensible account of the subject, written with great vigour and eloquence, and closes with an earnest appeal for reform. Its full title is 'A Discourse of Patronage; being a Modest Enquiry into the Original of it, and a further Prosecution of the History of it, with a True Account of the Original and Rise of Vicarages, and a Proposal for the Enlarging their Revenues. Also an Humble Supplication to the Pious Nobility and Gentry to endeavour the Prevention of Abuses of the Honorary Trust of Patronage, with a Proposal of some Expedients for regulating it, most agreeable to Primitive Pattern; wherein at once the just Rights of Patrons are secured, and the People's Liberty of Election of their own Minister in a great measure indulged. By Z. Cawdry, 1675.' The little work is divided into seven chapters, which treat respectively of (1) The Original of the Evangelical Ministry, showing the Primitive Church to have been not Parochial, but Diocesan. (2) The Maintenance of the Clergy in Primitive Churches. (3) The Donation of Tithes by Kings and Emperors. (4) The Original of Patronage by Donation of Manse and Glebe. (5) The Original of Impropriation and Vicarages. (6) Mischiefs of Simony. (7) A Supplication to the Nobility and Gentry. The only other publication of Cawdry extant is a single sermon preached at Boden in Cheshire, at the funeral of Lord Delamere, better known as Sir George Booth, whose rising in 1659 'gave' (to use the language of the preacher) 'the first warm and invigorating spring-beam to the frostnipt loyalty of the nation.'

[Ormerod's Hist. of Cheshire; Nichols's Hist. and Antiq. of Leicestershire, ii. 259; Cawdry's Discourse and Sermons.] J. H. O.

**CAWLEY, WILLIAM** (1602-1666?), regicide, was the eldest son of John Cawley, a brewer of Chichester, who was three times mayor. The date of his baptism, as entered in the register for the parish of St. Andrew's, is 3 Nov. 1602. John Cawley died in 1621, bequeathing his property to William, who became one of the richest and most influential men in Western Sussex. Soon after he had succeeded to his inheritance he expended some of it in the foundation of a hospital outside North Gate, Chichester, for ten poor and aged persons of both sexes. The house was completed in 1626, including the chapel, which was dedicated to St. Bartholomew,

and consecrated by the bishop of Chichester, George Carleton. There is a long account of the ceremony in 'Chichester Cathedral Records' (liber K).

At the beginning of the reign of Charles I persons possessed of lands to the value of 40*l.* per annum or upwards were ordered to take up their knighthood under the so-called statute *de militibus* (6 Edward I). In January 1628-9 commissioners were appointed to extort a composition from all who declined to obey the order. In the majority of cases a composition of 10*l.* was accepted, but the name of 'William Cawley, gent.' appears in the return (*Book of Composition* in Record Office) as having compounded for 14*l.*

From the beginning of the civil troubles Cawley was a firm parliamentarian. He was elected M.P. for Chichester in 1627; but this parliament was dissolved in less than a year, and throughout the Long parliament he sat as member for Midhurst. When Chichester was surprised by a party of royalists in November 1642, Cawley brought the news to Colonel Morley, one of the most active of the parliamentary officers, and the successful expedition of Sir William Waller into Sussex followed, in which Chichester was retaken on 29 Dec. 1642, after a siege of eight days. Cawley took the covenant on 6 June 1643, the same day on which it was signed by Selden and Cromwell. He was appointed by the House of Commons one of the commissioners 'for demolishing superstitious pictures and monuments' in London, and he was selected to return thanks to the divines who had preached before parliament on the 'fast day,' 28 Aug. 1644, for 'the pains' they had taken 'in their sermons.' Under an ordinance of parliament, made 31 March 1643, he was appointed one of the commissioners for the sequestration of the estates real and personal of those who had raised or should raise arms against the parliament or contribute any aid to the king's forces. On 6 June in the same year the estates of the Bishop of Chichester, Lord Montague of Cowdray, and others were sequestered under this ordinance, and in February 1644 Cawley was empowered by parliament to pay 'three able preaching ministers 100*l.* per annum out of the confiscated estates of the dean and chapter until the revenues of the said dean and chapter in general shall be fixed.' In 1646 this allowance was augmented to 150*l.* Cawley was one of the members of the high court of justice appointed by parliament in 1648 to try the king for treason. He attended every meeting of the court and signed the sentence which condemned the king to death. He was made one of the council of state in 1650-1, and

a commissioner and sequestrator for Sussex. He bought the manor of Wartling, near Hastings, out of the estates of Lord Craven, and two manors which had belonged to the crown in the parish of West Hampnett, near Chichester. In the Convention parliament of 1659 he was one of the few regicides who obtained a seat, being elected for Chichester along with Henry Pelham; but after the Restoration, 1660, his name appears among those who were absolutely excepted from pardon, and he fled for refuge, first to Belgium, and afterwards to Switzerland, where he died at Vevey in 1666. The place of his burial was not certainly known until a few years ago, when a tomb was discovered beneath the boarded floor of the church of St. Martin at Vevey, bearing the following inscription: 'Hic jacet tabernaculum terrestris Gulielmi Cawley, armigeri Anglicani, nup. de Cicestria in comitatu Sussexiæ, qui, postquam ætate sua inservivit Dei consilio, obdormivit 6 Jan. 1666, ætat. suæ 63.' There is a tradition that his remains were afterwards transported to England, and buried in the vault under the chapel of his hospital at Chichester. This was opened in 1883, and a leaden case enclosing a male skeleton was found there, but it bore no inscription. His son, W. Cawley, petitioned in 1660 to have the estate of his 'late father' restored to him, on the grounds that most of it had been settled on him at his marriage, that his father-in-law's estate had been sequestrated for his loyalty, and that he himself had earnestly entreated his father not to 'enter the detestable plot,' meaning the king's trial. The petition, however, does not seem to have been successful, and most of Cawley's property was bestowed on the Duke of York, afterwards James II. The memory of his name is still preserved in 'Cawley Lane,' at Rumboldswyke, close to Chichester, and 'Cawley Priory,' a house in the city which stands on the site of his residence.

A portrait of Cawley has been preserved in his hospital, now converted into a workhouse. It was taken when he was about eighteen years of age, and represents him as a dark-eyed and dark-complexioned refined-looking youth, with a laced collar and laced cuffs.

[Noble's History of the Regicides, i. 136; History of the King-Killers, i. 50; Dallaway's Western Sussex, vol. i.; Journals of the House of Commons; Sussex Archæolog. Journal, vols. v. xiii. xix. xxxiv.; Fleet's Glimpses of our Ancestors, 1st series, p. 164.] W. R. W. S.

**CAWOOD, JOHN (1514-1572)**, printer, was of an old Yorkshire family, as set forth

in a book at the Heralds' office, which has the entry, 'Cawood, Typographus Regius Reginae Mariæ,' and gives the arms and description of the De Cawoods of Cawood, near York. He was born in 1514, and apprenticed to John Raynes, printer, whose portrait, along with his own, he gave to the Company of Stationers of London, as noted in the warden's accounts, July 1561. Their place of business was the George Inn, St. Paul's Churchyard. When he printed for himself he was established at the sign of the Holy Ghost in St. Paul's Churchyard. The first book given to him in the Lambeth list of books is 'a Bible and New Testament,' 4to, 1549, but the authority is not stated. From 1550, however, to the year of his death, his successive publications, fifty-nine in number, are fairly recorded in the 'Typographical Antiquities' of Ames, Herbert, and Dibdin (London, 1819). In 1553, in the reign of Edward VI, Richard Grafton, being queen's printer, was employed to print the proclamation by which Lady Jane Grey was declared successor to the crown, by virtue of the measures of the Duke of Northumberland, her father-in-law; but on Queen Mary's accession, he was deprived of his office and imprisoned, and Cawood was put in his place with directions to print, at the salary of 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, all 'statute books, acts, proclamations, injunctions, and other volumes and things,' in English, with the profit appertaining, and also with the right, on Reginald Wolfe's decease, to print and sell books in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, when he was to receive an additional 16*s.* 8*d.* per annum. On Queen Elizabeth's accession he was appointed printer to the queen, by patent 24 March 1560, on similar conditions, but jointly with Richard Ruggie, who was made the senior. For this branch of the business he and his partner rented a room at Stationers' Hall for 'xxx.' a year.

Cawood was elected warden to the Stationers' Company in 1554, and was re-elected 1555-7. On 4 May 1556 this institution (a guild as early as 1463) received its first charter, granted to the 'master and keepers or wardens and commonalty of the mystery or art of the stationers of the city of London,' which gave remarkable rights over all literary compositions, and power to search for all books obnoxious to the stationers or contrary to law. This charter appoints Thomas Dockwray, master; John Cawood and Henry Coke, wardens; and ninety-four others freemen. At the suit of Cawood and others, 1 Feb. 1560, the lord mayor created the incorporated fellowship of the stationers into one of the livery companies of the city of London. Cawood was three times master,

1561, 1562, and 1566, and took great interest in the Stationers' Company. The registers show from time to time some thirteen valuable gifts from him, including the 'patent, given by harolds [heralds], concerning arms to the stacyoners.' His name is found but once on the black list, and that in 1565, 'for stechen of bookes which ys contrarie to the orders of the howse,' when he and sixteen others were fined 16s. 8d.

He was thrice married. By his second and third wives, whose names are unknown, he had no children. By his first wife, Joane —, he had three sons and four daughters. John, bachelor of laws, fellow of New College, Oxford (*d.* 1570), was probably the John Cawood the younger who took up his freedom in the Stationers' Company 18 May 1565; Gabriel, also a printer, was master of the Stationers' Company 1592, 1599; Edmond (*d.* 1570); Mary, whose gifts to this company are recorded under 1608, 1613, married George Bishop, deputy-printer to the queen, and alderman of London, who died in 1610; Isabel married Thomas Woodcock, stationer; Susannah was wife of Robert Bullock; and Barbara, wife of Mark Norton. Cawood died 1 April 1572. He was buried at St. Faith's under St. Paul's, where a tomb was erected by his son Gabriel when churchwarden in 1591. His epitaph, setting forth various family details, is preserved in Dugdale's 'History of St. Paul's.'

[Timperley's Encyclopædia, pp. 318, 321, 350, 378, 411, 417, 453; Rymer's Fœdera, 29 Dec. 1553; Nichols's Lit. Anecd. iii. 551-2, 555, 559, 566, 568, 587; Nichols's Illust. iv. 176, 177, 195, 222; Ames's Typogr. Antiq. (Dibdin's, 1818), iv. 385; Wheeler's Sherburn and Cawood (1812); Hansard's Typographia (1826), p. 246; Arber's Register of Co. of Stationers, i. 49, 61, 62, 86, 90, 129, 138, 165, 190, 223, 280, 428; Repertory, No. 14, fol. 287 b; Records of the Corporation of London; 'W. Grafton, vi. A B C London,' in Heralds' Office.] J. W.-G.

**CAWSTON** or **CAUSTON**, **MICHAEL** **DE** (*d.* 1395), master of Michaelhouse, Cambridge, was a Norfolk man (CARTER, *History of Cambridge*, i. 403), presumably a native of the village of Cawston, about twelve miles north-west of Norwich. He became fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge (LE KEUX, *Memorials of Cambridge*, i. 56, ed. C. H. Cooper), doctor of divinity, and master of Michaelhouse. His appointment as master was apparently made subsequently to 1359, when William of Gotham is mentioned as holding that office (CARTER, p. 303). In 1361 (or 1362, as LE NEVE gives the date, *Fasti*, iii. 598, ed. Hardy) Cawston was chancellor of his university. He is famous as

one of its benefactors; and it was enacted by the ancient statutes 'that each year for ever in the three general processions a special recommendation should be made of [his] soul' (*Anc. Stat.* 172, JAMES HEYWOOD'S *Collection of Statutes for Cambridge*, p. 175). Cawston's munificence is also said to have extended to all the colleges that subsisted at his time in the university, his gifts to their libraries being specially commemorated. A note in one of the volumes presented by him to Peterhouse describes him as holding, besides his Cambridge office, the preferment of dean of Chichester (CARTER, p. 38). His name does not occur in Le Neve's list (*ubi supra*, i. 256); but here there is a gap of a number of years between the elevation of Dean Richard le Scrope to the bishopric of Chichester in 1383 and the next name in the series, that of John de Maydenhith, who emerges in 1400. It is natural then to place Cawston in this interval. He died in 1395 (according to PEACOCK, *Observations on the Statutes of Cambridge*, appendix, p. xvi, note; and COOPER, *Annals of Cambridge*, i. 142), for the date 1396 (given in COOPER'S edition of LE KEUX, l.c.) is apparently a misprint.

[Authorities mentioned above.] R. L. P.

**CAWTHORN**, **JAMES** (1719-1761), poet, born 4 Nov. 1719, at Sheffield, was a son of Thomas Cawthorn, upholsterer (*Gent. Mag.* vol. lxi. pt. ii. p. 1081). The boy was first sent to the Sheffield grammar school, where he displayed some literary talent by trying to establish a periodical, 'The Tea-Table.' He was removed to the grammar school of Kirkby Lonsdale in 1735; he in 1736 became assistant-teacher at Rotherham school, and published the 'Perjured Lovers,' at Sheffield (*ib.*), and a 'Meditation' soon afterwards in the 'Gentleman's Magazine,' v. 549. On 8 July 1738 he matriculated at Clare Hall, Cambridge, but did not reside, and became assistant to a schoolmaster in Soho Square. About 1743 he married Mary, this schoolmaster's daughter; was ordained and was elected head-master of Tonbridge grammar school. In 1746 he published 'Abelard and Heloise' in the 'Poetical Calendar;' in 1748 he published a sermon, on the title-page of which he describes himself as M.A. He established a library in his school and wrote 'Annual Visitation Poems,' and other trifles. On 15 April 1761 he was thrown from his horse and killed.

Cawthorn was buried in Tonbridge church, where a marble slab with a Latin epitaph was put up for him, and verses were printed to his memory by Lord Eardley in the 'Gentleman's Magazine,' xxxi. 232. His poems

were not collected till 1771, when they were published by subscription, 4to.

Cawthorn was included among 'English Poets' in Johnson's edition, though not till 1790 (vol. lxx.); in Park's 'British Poets,' 1808 (vol. iv.); in Platt's 'Cabinet of Poetry,' same year (vol. v.); in Sanford's 'British Poets,' 1819 (vol. xxiv.); in the Chiswick ed. 1822 (vol. lx.); in Chalmers's ed. (vol. xiv.); in Anderson's, and others; while his 'Abelard and Heloise' was also separately collected, with Pope's 'Epistle,' twice at least, viz. in 1805 and 1818.

[Gent. Mag. 1791, vol. lxi. pt. ii. pp. 1081-3 (where is a list of the scholars who recited the Visitation Poems), vol. lxii. pt. i. p. 68; Chalmers's English Poets, xiv. 229; Monthly Review, xiv. 1-5, 9, 336.] J. H.

CAWTON, THOMAS, the elder (1605-1659), divine, was born at Rainham, Norfolk, in 1605. He was sent to Queens' College, Cambridge, by Sir Roger Townshend, and became so remarkable for his piety, that profane scholars used 'Cawtonist' as 'Simeonite' or 'Puseyite' were used more recently. After seven years at Cambridge, he studied theology at the house of Herbert Palmer, the puritan vicar of Ashwell. He was then for four years chaplain to Sir William Armine of Orton, Northamptonshire, and in 1637 was presented by Sir Roger Townshend to the vicarage of Wivenhoe, Essex, where he persuaded his parishioners not to sell fish on Sunday. He married Elizabeth, daughter of William Jenkin, a preacher of Sudbury, and sister of William Jenkin, ejected in 1662. Seven years later he became minister of St. Bartholomew's, London. He joined in the declaration of the London ministers against the death of Charles, and preached a sermon before the mayor and aldermen at Mercers' Chapel on 25 Feb. 1648-1649, when he prayed for the royal family and Charles II. He was brought before the council of state, and, refusing to recant, was committed to the Gatehouse. He was released with other prisoners on 14 Aug. 1649 as a thanksgiving for Jones's victory in Ireland. He was concerned with his brother-in-law, William Jenkin, and others, in the plot to support Charles in Scotland, for which Christopher Love [q. v.] was executed on 22 Aug. 1651, and escaped to Holland, where he was chosen pastor of the English church in Rotterdam. Here he became acquainted with many eminent men, and took pains to encourage Castell's 'Lexicon Heptaglotton,' and Walton's polyglot bible. On 7 Nov. 1658 Charles II addressed a letter to him, professing his zeal for the protestant faith, and requesting Cawton to defend him among the Dutch ministers (NEAL, *Puritans*, iv. 233).

Cawton died at Rotterdam on 7 Aug. 1659. He is said to have been a man of great learning as well as piety, but the only work ascribed to him is the sermon above mentioned.

His son, THOMAS CAWTON the younger, learned the oriental languages under his father at Rotterdam, and studied for three years at Utrecht. He afterwards entered Merton College to be near Samuel Clarke (1623-1669), the orientalist. He graduated B.A. in 1660, when he produced high testimonials to his oriental knowledge from Professor Leusden of Utrecht. He wrote a copy of Hebrew verses on the Restoration, and was ordained in 1661, but refusing to conform in 1662, left the university and became chaplain to Sir Anthony Irby. In the plague year Irby retired to Lincolnshire, which did not suit Cawton's health. He then became chaplain to Lady (Mary) Armine [q. v.], and collected a congregation in Westminster. He died on 10 April 1677, aged about forty, and was buried in the new church at Tothill Street, Westminster. His congregation obeyed his dying request by appointing Vincent Alsop [q. v.] as his successor. Calamy and Kippis were later successors in the same pastorate. Cawton wrote: 1. 'Philologi mixti disputatio nona, quæ est de Versione Syriaca vet. et novi Testamenti,' Utrecht, 1657 (an elaborate discussion of the authenticity, date, and value of the Syriac versions). 2. 'Disputationum in Theologia Naturali selectarum Decima septima, continens Decisionem Questionis: An Deus creare possit creaturam perfectissimam?' Utrecht, 1658. 3. 'Dissertatio de usu linguæ Hebraicæ in Philosophia Theoretica,' Utrecht, 1659. 4. 'Life and Death of. . . Thomas Cawton' (together with his father's portrait and sermon noticed above), 1662. 5. 'Balaam's Wish, a sermon,' 1670.

[Life of T. Cawton, 1662; Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* (Bliss), iii. 1108; Palmer's *Calamy*, i. 252; Neal's *Hist. of the Puritans*, iv. 233, 244; Brook's *Lives of the Puritans*, iii. 320-55; Bate's *Elenchus*, ii. 133; Calamy's *Abridgement*, ii. 73; Funeral sermons by H. Hurst and W. Vincent; Kippis's *Biog. Brit.*; Granger, iii. 47; Wilson's *Dissenting Churches*, i. 335, iv. 59-63.]

CAXTON, WILLIAM (1422?-1491), the first English printer, was born, according to his own account, 'in Kent in the Weeld.' The name was usually pronounced *Caxton*, and often written *Causton*, and Kentish antiquaries connect Caxton's family with the Caustons or Caxtons who held a manor of the same name near Hadlow in the Weald of Kent in the thirteenth century. Before the fifteenth century the manor had passed into other hands, but offshoots of the family appear to have been still settled in the neighbourhood and in Essex. A William de Caus-

ton was a prominent mercer in London in the fourteenth century (see his will dated 1354 in *Athenæum* for 25 Dec. 1880), and it has been suggested that he was Caxton's grandfather on the ground that Caxton was afterwards apprenticed to his trade. The argument is of little value, however, because the manufacture of cloth was the leading Kentish industry in the fifteenth century, and well-to-do parents invariably endeavoured to apprentice their sons to London mercers. In 1474 one Oliver Causton was buried at the church of St. Margaret's, Westminster, and in 1478 one William Caxton. The great printer was settled in Westminster at the latter date, and the William Caxton then buried may have been his father; but nothing is known for certain. His parents, whatever their names and condition, gave Caxton some education. 'I am bounden to pray,' he writes in the prologue to his 'Charles the Grete' (1485), 'for my fader and moder's souls that in my youthe sent me to schoole, by which by the suffraunce of God I gete my living, I hope truly.' On 24 June 1438, according to the extant accounts of the Mercers' Company, Caxton was apprenticed to Robert Large, a mercer of high reputation in the city of London. Assuming that he was sixteen years old on becoming an apprentice—it is not likely that he would be older—Caxton would have been born in 1422. Caxton, writing about 1474 (prologue to the *Recuyell*), speaks of himself as an old man. M. J. P. A. Madden and others therefore insist that Caxton could not then have been less than sixty years old, and suggest the date 1411 as the year of his birth, but many considerations conflict with this inference. Caxton's master, Large, was sheriff in 1430 and lord mayor in 1439-40; he lived in a great house in the Old Jewry, and showed the esteem in which he held Caxton, who was still in his indentures at the time of his death (24 April 1441), by bequeathing him twenty marks. Very soon after his master's death the young apprentice left England for Bruges, where the English mercers had a large commercial connection, and he 'contynued for the space of xxx. yere' in the Low Countries. Caxton's apprenticeship lasted till 1446, when he went into business for himself at Bruges. In 1450 he became surety in behalf of another English merchant for the payment of 110*l.*—a sign of some prosperity—and in 1453 he paid a brief visit to London to formally enter the livery of the Mercers' Company, a proof, in spite of the absence of direct documentary evidence, that he had already become a freeman of the guild. On 16 April 1462 Edward IV granted the Merchant Adventurers—an association of

English merchants at home and abroad—a new charter for the better government of the English merchants settled in the Low Countries, and permission was given them to appoint a governor at Bruges. The members of the society were chiefly mercers, and their headquarters were at the hall of the Mercers' Company, London. Between 24 June 1462 and 24 June 1463 Caxton, according to entries in the Mercers' archives, was fulfilling the duties of the new office of governor, and before 16 Aug. 1465 he had been definitely appointed to it. His functions were highly responsible. With a small jury of fellow-merchants he decided all disputes among English merchants in the Low Countries; he regulated and personally overlooked the importation and exportation of merchandise, and he corresponded with the English government on commercial matters. At Bruges the English merchants had their own 'house,' in which Caxton resided. On 24 Oct. 1464 Caxton, together with Sir Richard Whitehill, was commissioned to renew a trading treaty between England and the Low Countries which was about to lapse. But the negotiations proved unsuccessful; the treaty was not renewed, and Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy, excluded all English-made cloth from his dominions, while the English government retaliated by prohibiting the importation of Flemish goods. The English merchants endeavoured to override these new laws by smuggling their merchandise into England, and the Earl of Warwick in 1466 ordered Caxton to enforce penalties against the offenders. Caxton appealed to the lord mayor of London and the Mercers' Company, but those authorities were unable to relieve him of his anxieties. The death of Duke Philip (15 June 1467) and the accession of Charles the Bold placed matters on a better footing. On 5 Jan. 1463 Edward IV's sister, Margaret, married the new duke at Bruges, and in the following October Caxton, with two English envoys, was able to renew the old trading relations between the two countries.

Caxton appears to have found time for travelling and for literary pursuits in these busy years. He visited Utrecht in 1464, 1465, and 1467, and in March 1468-9 began to translate into English, as a preventive against idleness (he tells us), the popular mediæval romance, 'Le Recueil des Histoires de Troye.' Later in 1469 he was called on to arbitrate in a commercial dispute at Bruges between a Genoese and an English merchant, but temporary absence from Bruges prevented him from signing the final award (dated 12 May 1469). On 13 Aug. 1469 he received a gift of wine, *honoris causa*, apparently in

his capacity of governor. But this is the last date at which he appears to have been fulfilling the duties of his commercial office.

The English princess who had become Duchess of Burgundy in 1468 showed Caxton much attention from her first arrival in the Low Countries, and when her brother Edward IV took refuge in Flanders in October 1470 from the successful rebellion of the Earl of Warwick, there is little doubt that Caxton was brought into personal relations with him. Before March 1470-1 Caxton had wholly relinquished his commercial pursuits for the household service of the duchess. Doubtless this change was due to an increasing desire on his part for leisure in which to essay various literary enterprises. In 1471, while at Ghent, he busily employed himself in completing the translation of 'Le Recueil,' which he had neglected for two years, and on 19 Sept. 1471 the work was finished at Cologne. The book was in great demand, and, in order to multiply copies with the greater ease, Caxton (as he tells us in his 'Prologe') resolved to put himself to the pains of learning the newly discovered art of printing.

In all likelihood 1474 was the year in which 'The Recuyell' was printed. This, the first English book printed, gives no indication of time or place, and the date and the exact circumstances of its publication have been, in the absence of precise evidence, the subject of much controversy. At Bruges there lived a skilful calligrapher named Colard Mansion, who set up a press in that city for the first time about 1473. Mr. Blades states that Caxton probably supplied Mansion with money to carry out his enterprise, and placed himself under Mansion's tuition at Bruges. That Caxton and Mansion were acquainted with one another is not disputed. But Caxton's explicit mention of Cologne as the place in which he finished his translation in 1471, and the remark of Caxton's successor, Wynkyn de Worde, that Caxton printed a Latin book, 'Bartholomæus de Proprietatibus Rerum,' at Cologne (W. DE WORDE, Proheme to his ed. of *Bartholomæus*, n.d.), powerfully support the conclusion that Caxton was associated with Cologne in his early printing operations. M. J. P. A. Madden suggests that Caxton and Mansion were fellow-students of the art of printing at Cologne some time between 1471 and 1474, and this is very probable. For the rest, the absence from the 'Recuyell' of many technical points met with in Cologne books of the time, and the presence there of most, though not all, the technical points found in the early books of Mansion's press, point to the conclusion that

Caxton, having learned printing at Cologne, returned to Bruges about 1474, and printed the 'Recuyell' at Mansion's press there.

On 31 March 1474-5 Caxton states that he completed another translation—'The Game and Playe of the Chesse'—from Jean de Vignay's French version (1360) of J. de Cesolis's 'Ludus Scacchorum.' This was the second English book printed. The same types were used as in the case of 'The Recuyell,' and although it also is without printer's name, place, or date, it may be referred to Colard Mansion's press at Bruges and dated 1475. 'I *did do set* [it] in imprinte,' writes Caxton when bringing out a later edition, and the expression probably means that he caused it to be printed, but did not actually print it with his own hands.

In 1476 Caxton left Bruges to practise his newly acquired art in his native country, and on 18 Nov. 1477 he printed at Westminster a book called 'The Dictes and Sayings of the Philosophers.' This work contains a colophon giving for the first time the name of printer, the place of publication, and date. Lord Spencer's copy at Althorpe supplies the day of the month. 'The Dictes' is undoubtedly the first book printed in England. Its type, though dissimilar from that of the two former books in which Caxton had been concerned, is identical with that used in Mansion's later books. It is therefore probable that Caxton brought to Westminster his printing apparatus from Bruges. The translation (from the French 'Les dits moraux des philosophes') was from the pen of Earl Rivers, but was revised at the earl's request by Caxton, who added a prologue and a chapter 'touchyng wymmen.' The 'History of Jason,' an English translation of Raul Lefevre's 'Les Fais . . . du . . . Chevalier Jason,' which seems to have been first printed by Mansion about 1478, was another early publication of Caxton's Westminster press. But the claim of precedence over the 'Dictes,' as the first book printed in England, which has been put forward in its behalf, rests on shadowy evidence.

From 1477 to 1491 Caxton was busily employed in printing and translating. His later assistant, Robert Copland, in the prologue to his edition of 'Kinge Apolyn of Thyre,' speaks of Caxton 'begynnyng with small storyes and pamphletes and so to other,' but it would seem that Caxton was more ambitious from the first. Chaucer's 'Canterbury Tales,' a large folio, was one of his early ventures, and although he printed very many 'Horæ,' 'Indulgentie,' Sarum service books, and other ecclesiastical handbooks, together with many brief pamphlets of poems and



ballads, he never seems to have confined himself to short tracts or to any one class of publications. Gibbon has complained that no classical author came from Caxton's press, and has vehemently denounced his choice of books. But Lydgate and Gower, besides Chaucer, were repeatedly issued by him in large folio volumes, and the publication of Sir Thomas Malory's 'King Arthur' (1485), of translations of Cicero's 'De Senectute,' Cicero's 'De Amicitia' (1481), and a Dutch version of 'Reynard the Fox' (1481), together with paraphrases of the 'Æneid,' proves some literary taste. In the epilogue to Chaucer's 'Book of Fame' (No. 47 below) the printer criticises the poet in a highly appreciative spirit. His industry while in England almost baffles conception. He printed in fourteen years more than eighteen thousand pages, nearly all of folio size, and nearly eighty separate books, some of which passed through two editions, and a few through three. The names of three assistants are known, those of Wynkyn de Worde, Richard Pynson, and Robert Copland. It is quite possible that Machinia and Treveris—also early English printers—were his workmen, but there is no evidence on the point. In any case his assistants hardly appear to have been numerous or skilled enough to have relieved Caxton of even much mechanical labour.

The amount of his work as a translator is even more remarkable. He states himself that he translated twenty-one books, mainly romances, from the French and one from the Dutch ('Reynard the Fox'). His knowledge of French was very thorough, and the number of Latin books he undertook leaves little doubt that he was also acquainted with that language. As a voluminous translator Caxton did something to fix the literary language of the sixteenth century. He was never very literal; he interpolated some passages and paraphrased others. Not unnaturally his vocabulary borrows much from the French, but his style is idiomatic and rarely reminds the reader that the work before him is other than an original composition.

Caxton was a favourite at the courts of Edward IV and Richard III, and doubtless reflected his patrons' predilections in his choice of books. On 15 June 1479 King Edward gave him 20*l.* 'for certain causes and matters performed;' whether Caxton's services in Edward's behalf at Bruges are referred to, or his magnificent enterprise at Westminster, is uncertain. Edward IV is known to have possessed at least one of Caxton's books (No. 31 below), and Caxton describes several works as printed under Edward's protection. Earl Rivers and the Earl

of Worcester were not only intimate friends of Caxton, but translated books for his press, and Margaret, countess of Richmond, and Henry Bourchier, earl of Essex, showed him many attentions. To Richard III Caxton dedicated his 'Order of Chivalry.' Henry VII bade Caxton print the 'Fayts of Arms,' and the 'Eneydos' was dedicated to Arthur, prince of Wales. William, earl of Arundel, allowed him a buck every summer and a doe in winter. Sir John Fastolf eagerly purchased his books, and many rich mercers were his fastest friends.

In the parish of St. Margaret's, Westminster, where Caxton lived, he was from the first a man of mark. He audited the parochial accounts for each year from 1478 to 1484. In 1490 his friend William Pratt, a mercer of London, died, and requested him on his deathbed to print the 'Book of Good Manners,' and in 1491 Caxton's own busy life came to a close. On his last day he was engaged in translating the 'Vite Patrum,' which his assistant Wynkyn de Worde printed in 1495. There is no entry of his death accessible, but the St. Margaret's parish accounts for the period 1490-2 state that 6*s.* 8*d.* was paid for four torches 'atte bureying of William Caxton,' and 6*d.* 'for the belle atte same bureying.' His will has not been discovered, but the parish accounts record that fifteen copies of his 'Golden Legend' were 'bequethen to the church . . . by William Caxton,' and other entries describe the distribution of the books. The printer was buried in the church of St. Margaret's, Westminster, and in 1820 the Roxburgh Club erected there a tablet to his memory. In 1883 a stained-glass window was also set up in his honour by the London printers and publishers, and upon it is emblazoned an inscription by Lord Tennyson.

Caxton married probably about 1469. Maud Caxton, who was buried at St. Margaret's, Westminster, in 1490, may have been his wife. It was in that year that Caxton undertook his 'Arte and Craft how to die.' One daughter, Elizabeth, married Gerard Crophe, a merchant tailor of London, and on 20 May 1496 obtained from the ecclesiastical courts at Westminster a deed of separation from her husband. In consideration of this arrangement Crophe received, out of a bequest of Caxton's, 'twenty legends' valued at 13*s.* 4*d.* each (*Academy*, 4 April 1874).

An interesting discussion has been held as to the exact site of Caxton's house and workshop in Westminster. In the colophons of seven books Caxton describes himself as printing or translating in Westminster Abbey; in other books he merely states that they were

printed at Westminster. Some of Caxton's biographers have stated that Caxton's office was the scriptorium of the abbey, lent to him by the abbot (John Esteney). There is, however, no proof that Esteney showed Caxton any special favour. Caxton dedicated no book to him, and only mentions him once in the prologue of the 'Eneydos' (1490), where the printer states that the abbot had sent him some old documents of the abbey with a view to his translating them into modern English. Stow states, very inaccurately, that about 1471 Islip (who was not dean till 1500) erected 'the first presse of booke-printing' in that part of the abbey precincts at Westminster known as the Almonry, and that Caxton practised printing there. In an advertisement sheet issued by Caxton about 1479, announcing the sale of 'ony pyes of two and three comemoracions of salisbury vse' (i.e. books of ecclesiastical offices), the printer bids the customer 'come to Westminster in to the almonesye at the reed pale.' Mr. Blades's conclusion is that Caxton rented of the abbot's chamberlain, in the ordinary way of business, a house which bore the sign of a red pale, in the enclosure 'west-south-west of the western front of the abbey,' well known as the Almonry, and so called from the presence of a number of almshouses there, built by Margaret Beaufort, mother of Henry VII. Wynkyn de Worde, who occupied Caxton's workshop for some years after his master's death, dates many books from 'Caxton's hous,' or 'in domo Caxton,' at Westminster and near the abbey, but gives no more precise particulars.

Another difficulty is the meaning of the device which appears in twelve of Caxton's books, all printed after 1487. The device is first met with at the end of a 'Sarum Missal.' This book, of which a unique copy belongs to Mr. W. J. Legh, was, unlike Caxton's other books, printed for him at Paris by W. Maynayl. On the arrival of the sheets at Westminster Caxton added a leaf with his device upon it, and published the work at Westminster in 1487. The device consists of Caxton's initials in capitals, with a strange interlacement of lines between the two letters, while near the W is a stroke resembling a small *s*, and near the C a stroke resembling a small *c*. The whole is enclosed in floral borders. The central lines have been assumed by the best critics to be a fantastic imprint of the figures '74,' and a reference to the all-important fact that in 1474 Caxton printed the first English book. The circumstances attending the first employment of the device prove that Caxton regarded it as his peculiar trade-mark, and may support the conclusion that the design has no

special meaning, and was merely intended to enable the public to identify easily Caxton's wares. The small letters 's. c.' have been explained by M. J. P. A. Madden as the initials of 'Sancta Colonia,' i.e. Cologne; and this interpretation plays an important part in his argument in favour of Cologne rather than Bruges as Caxton's printing school. Although no other suggestion has been offered, this looks too fantastic to be probable. Wynkyn de Worde adopted Caxton's device as his own after Caxton's death; but he modified the cut, and often omitted the *s* and *c*, so that it is possible for an expert to detect the difference between Caxton's trade-mark and that of his pupil and successor.

There is no authentic portrait of Caxton. In Lewis's 'Life' and in Ames's 'Typographical Antiquities' a supposed portrait appears, but its association with Caxton's name is unwarranted. The print from which it is in both cases inaccurately copied belonged to John Bagford [q. v.], and is attributed to the well-known engraver, William Faithorne. Although Faithorne and Bagford pretended that it was an authentic representation of the great printer, Dr. Dibdin discovered that it was in reality a reproduction of the portrait of an Italian poet, Burchiello, which is prefixed to the 1554 edition (small octavo) of his poems. Faithorne is believed to have originated the fraud, and Bagford is regarded as the engraver's dupe.

Caxton printed on paper made in most cases in the Low Countries, and very rarely used vellum. He employed from first to last movable types of the Gothic character, but his type is copied so closely from the caligraphy of his time that many of his books have been mistaken for manuscript. He often renewed his fount, and each fount that he employed differed in some respect from its predecessor. Caxton never mixed his founts in his books. The earliest fount, evidently imitated from contemporary French handwriting, was only used in Bruges. The second fount, used in England from 1477 to 1479, was also derived from Mansion's office, and is known as 'gros bâtarde'; a new variety of this fount, employed in 1479-80, has thinner facings and fewer ornamental strokes. Caxton's third distinct fount, in use from 1479 to 1483, chiefly for Latin books, is imitated from the church text of the scribes, and closely resembles the later 'black letter.' The fourth fount, in use from 1480 to 1485, is smaller than any of its fore-runners, and resembles Caslon's standard type; another variety of this fount appears in Gower's 'Confessio' (1483) and 'The Knight of the Tower' (1483). The fifth fount, in use from 1487 to 1491, has large Lombardic capi-

tals, and otherwise resembles the third fount. The sixth and last fount, in use from 1489 to 1491, is not unlike the first fount. Caxton's books have no title-pages, but prologues and colophons are not uncommon. Some of the books, especially poetry and Latin works, have no punctuation at all; in others the full point or colon is used exclusively; in one ('Paris and Vienne') only the long comma (¡). The sign ¶ or a coloured capital often indicates the beginning of a new sentence. The semicolon was unknown to Caxton, and commas are only represented by short (,) or long lines (·). The pages were never numbered, but bore at the bottom a signature, a, j, a i, j, and so on. The binding usually consisted of a stiff piece of parchment with the edges turned in, and often filled out with waste proof sheets. Caxton first introduced woodcuts into the third edition of the 'Parvus et Magnus Catho' about 1481, and woodcut initials appear first in the 'Fables of Æsop,' 1484. The same woodcut is often used in different books, and to illustrate different subject-matter. It is evident that Caxton employed several artists. Sure signs of a genuine Caxton are the *absence* (1) of title-pages, (2) of Roman or italic type, (3) of ordinary commas, (4) of catchwords at the foot of the page. The British Museum has no less than eighty-three Caxtons, but of these twenty-five are duplicates. Lord Spencer has fifty-seven separate works at Althorp. The Cambridge University Library has forty-two separate works, many of them unique, the Bodleian thirty-four, and the Duke of Devonshire twenty-five. Thirty-eight of the 102 works or editions known to have been printed by Caxton are extant only in fragments.

Many fragments of Caxton's work have been found in the bindings of old books in old libraries. Mr. Blades records a remarkable discovery of the fragments of thirteen books printed by Caxton in the binding of a copy of Caxton's Chaucer's 'Boethius,' found in 1858 in the library of St. Albans grammar school. Mr. Henry Bradshaw was on many occasions equally fortunate, and to his bibliographical genius the Cambridge University Library owes the possession of its many unique Caxtons and unique Caxton fragments.

In 1877 the four hundredth anniversary of the publication of the first English-printed book in England was celebrated by a festival service in St. Paul's Cathedral (19 June), and by an exhibition of Caxton's books and early printing appliances (June to September) at South Kensington (BULLEN, *Cat. of Loan Collection*, London, 1877).

The following is a list of the books printed by Caxton. Asterisks imply that a copy of

the work is in the British Museum; notes of interrogation after the dates and places of publication denote that no mention is made of them in the book, and that they have been ascertained approximately by internal evidence; the numbers enclosed in brackets at the close of each entry stand for the approximate number of copies of the work now known to be extant; a dagger (†) shows that Caxton mentions in the book that he was its printer: 1. \* 'The Recuvel of the Histories of Troy,' fol. Bruges? (Mansion & Caxton), 1474? [6]. 2. 'The Game and Play of the Chess Moralized,' translated by Caxton from Jean de Vignay's French version of J. de Cessolis's 'Ludus Scacchorum,' folio, 1st edition, \* Bruges? 1474-5 [10]; 2nd edition, \* with sixteen woodcuts, † Westminster? 1481? [13]. The second edition was reproduced in facsimile by Vincent Figgins in 1860. 3. 'The Dictes and Sayings of the Philosophers,' folio, 1st edition, \* † Westminster, 18 Nov. 1477 [13], translated by Earl Rivers and revised by Caxton; 2nd edition, \* † Westminster, 1480? [4]; 3rd edition, \* Westminster, 1490? [6]. The first edition was reproduced from Mr. Christie-Miller's perfect copy by Mr. W. Blades in 1857. 4. \* 'The History of Jason,' translated by Caxton, Westminster? 1477? 5. 'Horæ [ad usum Sarum],' 1st edition, 4to, Westminster? 1478? unique fragment in Bodleian; 2nd edition, \* 4to, unique fragment, 1483?; 3rd edition, \* 8vo, 1488, unique fragment; 4th edition, \* 8vo, 1490? unique fragment. 6. \* 'Chaucer's Canterbury Tales,' folio, 1st edition, Westminster? 1478? [9]; 2nd edition, Westminster? 1484? with woodcuts [8]. A few leaves were facsimiled for private distribution by Mr. W. Blades (BEEDHAM, *Caxton Reproductions*, p. 16). 7. 'The Moral Proverbs of Christyne de Pise,' translated by Earl Rivers, folio, † Westminster, February 1478 [3]. Reproduced for private distribution by Mr. Blades in 1859. 8. 'Propositio Johannis Russell,' 4to [a speech delivered by John Russell, bishop of Lincoln, when investing the Duke of Burgundy with the order of the Garter in February 1469-70], Westminster? 1478? [2]. 9. Lydgate's 'Stans Puer ad Mensam,' translated from Sulpitius's 'Carmen Juvenile de moribus puerorum,' with 'Moral distichs' and 'Salve Regina,' 4to [unique copy in Cambridge University Library], Westminster? 1477? 10. 'Parvus Catho: Magnus Catho,' a translation of Cato's distiches by Benedict Burgh [q. v.], undertaken in behalf of William Bourchier, son of Earl of Essex, 1st edition, 4to, Westminster? ante 1479? [unique in Cambridge University Library]; 2nd edition, 4to, Westminster? ante 1479? [unique at Chatsworth]; 3rd edition, folio,

- with two woodcuts, Westminster? 1481? [3]. 11. Lydgate's 'The Horse, the Sheep, and the Goose,' and other verses, 1st edition, 4to, Westminster? 1479? [unique copy in Cambridge University Library]; 2nd edition, 4to, Westminster? 1479? [unique in York Cathedral Library; fragment in Cambridge University Library]. The second edition was reprinted for the Roxburghe Club. 12. 'Infancia Salvatoris,' an adaptation of 'Evangelium Infantiae' (cf. FABRICIUS, *Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, i.), 4to, Westminster? 1478? [unique in Göttingen University Library]. 13. 'The Temple of Glass,' a poem attributed to Lydgate, 4to, Westminster? 1478? [unique in Cambridge University Library]. 14. 'The Chorle and the Bird,' a poem attributed to Lydgate, 1st edition, 4to, Westminster? 1478? [unique in Cambridge University Library; fragment in British Museum]; 2nd edition, 4to, Westminster? 1479? [unique in York Cathedral Library]. The second edition was reprinted for the Roxburghe Club. 15. 'Temple of Brass, or Parliament of Fowls;' Ballads; 'Chaucer's Envoy to Scogan,' 4to, Westminster? 1478? [fragments in Cambridge University Library and British Museum]. 16. 'The Book of Courtesy,' 1st edition, 4to, Westminster? 1479? [unique in Cambridge University Library]; 2nd edition, Westminster, 1491? [fragment in Bodleian]. The first edition was reprinted by Dr. F. J. Furnivall for the Early English Text Society in 1868. 17. Queen Anelida and False Arcyte; 'Chaucer's Complaint to his Purse,' 4to, Westminster? 1479? [unique in Cambridge University Library]. 18.\* Boethius's 'De Consolatione Philosophiæ,' translated by Chaucer, folio, †, Westminster? 1479? [16]. 19.\* 'Cordiale, or the Four Last Things,' a translation from the French ascribed to Earl Rivers, folio, †, Westminster? 24 March 1479 [9]. 20. A Latin Treatise on Rhetoric, by Laurentius Gulielmus de Traversanis of Savona, folio, Westminster? 1479? [2]. 21.\* 'Latin Letters of Indulgence issued with Sixtus IV's authority in 1480 for assistance at the Siege of Rhodes' (parchment), folio, Westminster? 31 March 1480 [2]. 22. 'The Mirroure of the World,' translated by Caxton, through the French, from Vincent de Beauvais's 'Speculum Naturale,' at the request of Hugh Brice, for presentation to Lord Hastings, 1st edition,\* folio, with woodcuts, Westminster? 1481 [16]; 2nd edition, folio, 1490? [13]. 23. 'The History of Reynard the Fox,' translated from the Dutch by Caxton at Westminster in 1481, 1st edition,\* folio, Westminster? 1481? [4]; 2nd edition, folio, Westminster? 1489? [unique in Magdalene Col-  
lege, Cambridge]. 24.\* 'Tully of Old Age and Friendship: The Declamation of Noblesse,' †, folio, Westminster? 1481 [22]. The translation, through the French, of Cicero's 'De Senectute,' undertaken at the desire of Sir John Fastolf, is attributed by Leland to Tiptoft, earl of Worcester, and by Anstis to Wynkyn de Worde; the two last sections of the book are assigned by Caxton himself to the Earl of Worcester. 25. Caxton's 'Advertisement' (long 8vo), Westminster, 1478? [Althorp and Bodleian]. 26. 'Directorium seu Pica Sarum,' version i.,\* 4to, 1478? [unique fragment]; version ii. ('Directorium Sacerdotum'), with woodcut, 1st edition,\* †, Westminster, 1487? [unique]; 2nd edition, †, Westminster, 1489? [unique in Bodleian]. 27.\* 'Psalterium,' in Latin, 4to, Westminster? 1480? [unique]. 28. 'The Chronicles of England,' called 'Caxton's Chronicle,' though it is merely an imprint of the popular 'Chronicle of Brut,' 1st edition, folio, †, Westminster, 10 June 1480 [13]; 2nd edition,\* folio, †, Westminster, 8 Oct. 1482 [6]. 29.\* 'Description of Britain,' a translation by Caxton of a chapter of Higden's 'Polyconicon,' folio, †, Westminster? 18 Aug. 1480 [12]. 30. 'Curia Sapientiae, or the Court of Sapience,' an English poem by Lydgate, fol. Westminster? 1481 [2; fragments in Bodleian and Brit. Mus.] 31.\* 'The History of Godfrey of Boulogne,' translated by Caxton from the French, fol. †, Westminster, 20 Nov. 1481 [12]. Mr. Holford has a copy inscribed 'This was king Edw. y<sup>e</sup> fourth Booke.' 32.\* 'Letters of Indulgences for assistance against the Turks,' in Latin, 1st edition, Westminster? 1481, in parchment [unique fragment]; 2nd edition, 1481 [unique in Bedford Library; fragment at Cambridge University Library]. 33.\* 'Polyconicon,' a revised version by Caxton of Trevisa's English translation of Higden's Chronicle, fol. †, Westminster, 1482 [30]. 34. 'Pilgrimage of the Soul,' a translation from the French, ascribed to Lydgate, †, Westminster, 6 June 1483 [5]. 35. 'Vocabulary in French and English,' a book for travellers, fol. Westminster? 1483? [4]. 36.\* 'The Festial (Liber Festialis),' an English translation by John Mirkus, fol. \*, 1st edition, †, Westminster, 30 June 1483 [4]; \* 2nd edition, with a few additions, †, 1491 [6]. 37. 'Four Sermons,' in English,\* 1st edition fol. †, Westminster, 1483? [9]; \* 2nd edition, 1491? [5]. A copy of this work at St. Andrews is carefully described in 'Notes and Queries,' 7th ser. ii. 264. It has been reprinted by the Roxburghe Club. 38.\* 'Servitium de Visitazione B. Mariæ Virginis,' Latin, 4to, Westminster, 1482? [unique]. 39. 'Sex perelegantissimæ Epistolæ per Petrum Carmelianum emen-

datæ, dating from 11 Dec. 1482 to February 1483, 4to, †, Westminster, 1483? [unique copy in Hecht-Heinean Library, Halberstadt]. 40.\* Gower's 'Confessio Amantis,' large fol. †, Westminster, 2 Sept. 1483; the year is given as 'a thousand cccc lxxxiiij,' a typographical error for lxxxiiij [17]. 41.\* 'The Knight of the Tower's book of teaching for his daughters,' translated from the French by Caxton from 'Le Livre du Chevalier de la Tour Landry,' fol. †, Westminster, 31 Jan. 1484 [6]. 42.\* 'Caton,' an elaborate commentary on Cato's distiches, translated by Caxton from the French in 1483, fol. Westminster? 1484? [12]. 43.\* 'The Golden Legend,' paraphrased (20 Nov. 1483) by Caxton from Jacobus a Voragine's 'Aurea Legenda' or lives of saints, with the help of English and French translations, large fol. \*, with woodcuts; 1st edition †, Westminster, 1484? [30]; 2nd edition 1487? [fragments only in British Museum, Bodleian, Cambridge University Library, and Chatsworth Library]; 3rd edition, though with colophon, '1494 [printed] By me, Wyllyam Caxton,' obviously printed by Wynkyn de Worde. 44. 'Death-bed Prayers,' fol. broadside, 1484? [unique at Althorpe]. 45. 'The Fables of Æsop,' translated by Caxton from the French, fol. †, Westminster, 26 March 1484, with woodcuts [unique perfect copy at Windsor, imperfect copies at British Museum and Oxford]. 46.\* 'The Order of Chivalry,' translated by Caxton and dedicated to Richard III, 4to, Westminster? 1484? [4]. 47.\* 'The Book of Fame made by Gefferey Chaucer,' with an epilogue, giving the printer's opinion of Chaucer as a great poet, fol. †, Westminster? 1484? [4]. 48.\* 'The Curial,' translated by Caxton from the French of Alain Chartier, fol. Westminster? 1484? [2]. 49.\* Chaucer's 'Troilus and Creside,' fol. Westminster? 1484? [4]. 50.\* Lydgate's 'Life of our Lady,' †, Westminster? 1484? [9]. 51.\* 'The Life of Saint Winifred,' translated by Caxton, fol. Westminster? 1485? [3]. 52. 'The Noble Histories of King Arthur, and of certain of his Knights,' by Sir Thomas Malory, fol. †, Westminster, 31 July 1485 [unique perfect copy formerly in Earl Jersey's library at Osterley Park, sold in 1885 to a Chicago merchant; Earl Spencer has an imperfect copy, and a fragment is in British Museum]. This book has been very frequently reprinted, and is still popular as the source of all the English poetic versions of the Arthurian romance. No manuscript of Malory's book has been met with. 53.\* 'The Life of Charles the Great,' translated by Caxton, fol. †, Westminster? 1 Dec. 1485 [unique in British Museum]. Reprinted by the Early English

Text Society in 1881-2. 54.\* 'The Knight Paris and the Fair Vienne,' translated from the French romance by Caxton, fol. †, Westminster, 19 Dec. 1485 [unique in British Museum]. Reprinted for the Roxburghe Club in 1868. 55. 'The Book of Good Manners,' translated by Caxton at the desire of his friend Pratt, fol. †, Westminster? 11 May 1487 [3]. 56.\* 'Speculum Vitæ Christi,' translated by an anonymous hand from St. Bonaventura's Latin life of Christ, edit. A, fol. †, Westminster? 1487 [8]. One copy in British Museum is on vellum. Edit. B, fol. †, Westminster? 1488? [5]. 57.\* 'The Royal Book, or Book for a King,' translated from the French by Caxton (13 Sept. 1484), fol. with small vignette woodcuts; Westminster? 1488? [8]. 58. 'The Image of Pity,' 4to, broadside, with woodcuts of crucifixion, 1489? 59. 'The Doctrinal of Sapience,' translated from the French by Caxton, 7 May 1489, fol. †, Westminster? 1489? [10]. The copy at Windsor is on vellum. 60. 'Commemoratio Lamentationis sive Compassionis B. Mariæ in morte filii,' 4to, Westminster? 1491? [unique in Ghent Library]. 61.\* 'Servitium de Transfiguratione Jesu Christi,' 4to, †, Westminster? 1491? [unique]. 62.\* 'Fayts of Arms and Chivalry,' translated by Caxton from the French of Christine de Pisan, fol. †, Westminster? 14 July 1489 [21]. 63.\* 'Statutes of Henry VII,' fol. Westminster, 1489? [4]. Reprinted in 1869, edited by John Rae. 65. 'The Governal of Health: Medicina Stomachi,' the first part being an early translation from the Latin, and the second a work of Lydgate, 4to, Westminster? 1489? [2]. Reprinted by Mr. W. Blades in 1858. 66. 'The Historie of Blanchardin and Eglantine,' fol. translated by Caxton at request of Margaret, duchess of Somerset, Westminster? 1489? [unique copy at Althorpe, and one leaf in British Museum]. 67. 'Four Sons of Aymon,' apparently translated by Caxton, fol. Westminster? 1489? [unique imperfect copy at Althorpe]. Reprinted by Early English Text Society in 1885-6. 68.\* 'Eneydos,' translated by Caxton (22 June 1490) from a French romance based on Virgil's Æneid and Boccaccio's 'Fall of Princes,' fol. Westminster? 1490? [21]. 69. 'A Book of Divers Ghostly Matters, containing the Seven Points of True Love or Orogolium Sapientia: the Twelve Profits of Tribulation, and the Rule of St. Benet,' translations from the Latin †, Westminster? 1490? [6]. 70.\* 'Fifteen Oes and other Prayers,' printed by Caxton at the command of Elizabeth, Henry VII's wife, and of Margaret, his mother (the fifteen prayers all begin with O) †, Westminster? 1491? [unique copy in British Museum]. Also see

Henry Bradshaw's 'Notice of a Fragment of the Fifteen Oes . . . by William Caxton . . . in the Library of the Baptist College, Bristol,' London, 1877. Reproduced in photolithography in 1869. 71. \* 'Art and Craft to know how well to die,' translated from French by Caxton, 15 June 1490, fol. Westminster? 1491? [3]. A similar work, of which a unique copy is in the Bodleian, was issued by Caxton about the same time, 'Ars Moriendi: the Craft for to die for the Health of Man's Soul,' apparently translated from the Latin by Caxton. The original has not been identified.

The few French works printed by Colard Mansion before Caxton left Bruges are not included in this list, although Mr. Blades has enumerated them among Caxton's books. There is no proof that Caxton was personally concerned in their publication.

Immediately after Caxton's death Wynkyn de Worde, his assistant, began to print from Caxton's fount and in Caxton's house; and it is difficult to determine, with any certainty, the printer of several books which appeared about 1491, the year of Caxton's death. The following books, often attributed to Caxton, are more probably the work of Wynkyn de Worde, viz.: 'The Chastising of God's Children,' fol. 1491? (with title-page); 'A Treatise of Love,' fol. 1493?; 'The Life of St. Katherine, and Revelation of St. Elizabeth of Hungary,' fol. 1493; and 'The Siege of Rhodes,' fol. (cf. CAIUS, JOHN, *fl.* 1480). Wynkyn de Worde states that Caxton printed, *at Cologne*, a book entitled 'Bartolomeus de Proprietatibus Rerum,' of which Wynkyn issued a later edition. No such work is known. In the prologue to 'The Four Sons of Aymon' Caxton says that he had translated, at the request of John, earl of Oxford, 'The Life and Miracles of Robert, earl of Oxford,' but of this nothing is extant. In the Pepsian Collection (2124) at Magdalene College, Cambridge, is a manuscript translation by Caxton of six books of Ovid's 'Metamorphoses,' dated from Westminster, 22 April 1480. No printed copy has been met with.

The price of Caxton's books mainly depends on their condition and on the number of copies known to be extant. The highest price paid for a Caxton is 1,950*l.* This sum was given by Mr. Bernard Quaritch, in behalf of a Chicago merchant, at Sotheby's sale-rooms, on 6 May 1885, for the unique copy of Malory's 'King Arthur,' in the Osterley Park Library. At the same time and place 1,820*l.* was paid for a copy of Caxton's 'Recuyell,' the first book in the printing of which he was concerned.

[The earliest life of Caxton is that by the Rev. John Lewis of Margate, published in 1737,

and later writers, up to 1861, depended almost entirely on Lewis's work. Neither Oldys, in the *Biographia Britannica*, 1748, nor Ames, in his *Typogr. Antiq.* 1749, nor Herbert, in his edition of Ames, 1785, nor T. F. Dibdin, in his revision of Ames, with the aid of new notes by Herbert and Gough, added to Lewis's facts, although bibliographical details are treated more elaborately by Dibdin than by any of his predecessors. In 1861 Mr. William Blades superseded all existing lives of Caxton by the first volume of his new life of the printer, which was followed in 1863 by a second volume, treating almost exclusively of Caxton's typography. Abbreviated editions of this book appeared in a single volume in 1877 and 1882, and it is undoubtedly the standard authority. Full reprints are given of original documents, and numerous plates give the reader the opportunity of studying Caxton's varied types. Mr. Blades has also issued a useful little pamphlet, 'How to tell a Caxton,' London, 1870, and a short Catalogue of Books printed by Caxton, London, 1865. Mr. Blades's Prefaces to his several reproductions of Caxton's books, mentioned in the list in the text, are also of great service. Mr. J. P. A. Madden has criticised adversely many of Mr. Blades's conclusions in his *Lettres d'un Bibliographe*, 4th ser. Paris, 1875, pp. 12-38. Mr. Blades's researches have been largely used in this article, and the writer has also to thank Mr. Bernard Quaritch for kindly supplying him with information respecting recent Caxton sales. See also Wyman and Bigmore's *Bibliography of Printing*; Beedham's *Caxton Reproductions*, Iowa, 1879; T. F. Dibdin's *Ædes Althorpiæ*; and the Catalogues of the British Museum, Cambridge University, Bodleian, Chatsworth, and Huth Libraries. In the early part of the eighteenth century an attempt was made to deprive Caxton of the honour of introducing printing into England, and to confer the distinction on Co-sellis, a German printer alleged to have settled at Oxford in 1464. For the history of the controversy, and the baselessness of the contention, see art. RICHARD ATKYNS, 1615-1677, *supra*, and Conyers Middleton's *Dissertation concerning the Origin of Printing in England*, 1735.] S. L. L.

CAY, JOHN (1700-1757), editor of the 'Statutes,' third son of John Cay of North Charlton, Northumberland, by Grace, daughter and coheir of Henry Wolff of Bridlington, Yorkshire, was born in 1700 (BURKE, *Landed Gentry*, 1868, p. 225). Intended for the legal profession he was entered at Gray's Inn on 3 Sept. 1719, called to the bar by that society on 20 June 1724, and subsequently made a bencher (*Gray's Inn Admission Register*). In 1750 he was appointed steward and one of the judges of the Marshalsea (*Gent. Mag.* xx. 429). Cay, as a classical antiquary, was admitted in August 1736 to the Society of Antiquaries. Together with his brother Robert, a merchant at Newcastle-

upon-Tyne, who died on 22 April 1754 (*Gent. Mag.* xxiv. 243), he was the friend and correspondent of John Horsley, and upon Horsley's death in January 1732, the brothers were indefatigable in their endeavours to promote the sale and collect the proceeds of the 'Britannia Romana' for Mrs. Horsley's benefit (STUKELEY, *Diaries and Letters*, Surtees Soc. ii. 143 n.) Cay died at his house in Essex Street, Strand, on 11 April 1757 (*Gent. Mag.* xxvii. 189; Will reg. in P. C. C. 114, Herring). By his wife Sarah, daughter of Henry Boulton of Gray's Inn and Reading, he left a son, Henry, and two daughters. The year following his death there appeared 'The Statutes at Large, from Magna Charta to the 30th Geo. II,' 6 vols. folio, London, 1758. This edition, which has been justly praised for its learning and accuracy, was continued by Owen Ruffhead to 13 Geo. III, 3 vols. folio, London, 1769-73. Cay had previously published 'Abridgment of the Publick Statutes, in force and use, from Magna Charta to the 11th Geo. II,' 2 vols. folio, London, 1739, which was continued by supplements by his son, Henry Boulton Cay. In 1762 a second edition in two volumes was published, and in 1766 a supplemental volume, containing the statutes from 11 Geo. II to 1 Geo. III. Cay's 'Abridgment' used to be continued by the abstracts of acts to 35 Geo. III, after which period they were not printed.

HENRY BOULT CAY, who completed his father's labours, was educated at Clare College, Cambridge, where he graduated B.A. in 1752 as second wrangler, and obtained a fellowship, which he vacated by his marriage, in August 1770, to Miss Stawel Piggott of Bassingbourn, Cambridgeshire. Called to the bar at the Middle Temple, he afterwards filled several minor legal offices, and died at his residence in Cursitor Street on 24 Jan. 1795, leaving two daughters (*Gent. Mag.* xl. 392, lxxv. i. 171, lxxvi. i. 166).

[Manuscript note by H. B. Cay in J. Cay's annotated copy of Rolle's Abridgment in Brit. Mus.; Burke's Commoners, i. 384-5; Hodgson's Northumberland, pt. ii. vol. ii. 442; Hutchinson's Northumberland, i. 148-9, 173, 199; Marvin's Legal Bibliography, p. 180.]

G. G.

CAYLEY, ARTHUR (*d.* 1848), biographer, was the son of Arthur Cayley, third son of Sir George Cayley, bart., of Brompton, Yorkshire, by his wife Anne Eleanor Shultz (FOSTER, *Pedigrees of Yorkshire Families*, ii.) He received his academical education at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he graduated B.A. in 1796 as fourth wrangler, but is said to have been refused a fellowship on

account of his political opinions (*Biog. Dict. of Living Authors*, 1816, p. 59). When the 'Anti-Jacobin Review' was started in 1798, Cayley became an occasional contributor; he also attempted some satire in the manner of the 'New Bath Guide.' He subsequently took orders, and in 1814 was presented to the rectory of Normanby, Yorkshire. He died at York on 22 April 1848, aged 72 (*Gent. Mag.* 1848, xxx. 101). Cayley married Lucy, eldest daughter of his uncle, the Rev. Digby Cayley, rector of Thormanby. He was the author of: 1. 'The Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, Knt.,' 2 vols. 4to, London, 1805 (second edition, 2 vols. 8vo, London, 1806), a work not distinguished either for depth of research or grace of style. The same must be said of 2. 'Memoirs of Sir Thomas More, with a new Translation of his Utopia, also his History of King Richard III, and his Latin Poems,' 2 vols. 4to, London, 1808.

[Authorities as above.]

G. G.

CAYLEY, CHARLES BAGOT (1823-1883), translator, the son of Henry Cayley, a Russia merchant, and a younger brother of Arthur Cayley, Sadlerian professor at Cambridge, was born on 9 July 1823 in the neighbourhood of St. Petersburg. He was educated at Mr. Pollecary's school, Blackheath, King's College, London, and Trinity College, Cambridge, where he graduated B.A. in 1845, taking a second class in the classical tripos. He led the quiet and unpretentious life of a scholar, passed much of his time in the reading-room of the British Museum, and died suddenly of heart disease in the night of 5-6 Dec. 1883 at his lodgings in South Crescent, Bedford Square. He was buried at Hastings. His works are: 1. 'Dante's Divine Comedy. Translated in the original ternary rhyme,' 3 vols. Lond. 1851-4, 8vo, with a fourth vol. of notes, 1855. Mr. W. M. Rossetti remarks that 'when all imperfections have been allowed for, Cayley's version must be pronounced to be very considerably the best and most thorough rendering into English of the "Commedia," the one which, attempting most and aiming highest, reaches also furthest.' 2. 'Psyche's Interludes,' a small volume of poems, Lond. 1857, 8vo. 3. 'The Psalms in Metre,' Lond. 1860, 8vo. 4. 'Filippo Malincontri, or Student Life in Venetia. An autobiography,' translated from the Italian, 2 vols. Lond. 1861, 8vo. 5. 'Introduction to the Grammar of the Romance Languages, by Friedrich Diez,' translated, Lond. 1863, 8vo. 6. 'The Prometheus Bound of Æschylus. Translated in the original metres,' Lond. 1867, 8vo. 7. 'History of

Political and Religious Persecutions,' 2 vols. Lond. 1876, 8vo, conjointly with Fernando Garrido. 8. 'The Iliad of Homer, Homometrically translated,' Lond. 1877, 8vo. 9. 'The Sonnets and Stanzas of Petrarch,' translated, Lond. 1879, 8vo.

[Dr. J. A. H. Murray's Address to the Philological Society, 16 May 1884; Times, 10 Dec. 1883; Athenaeum, 1883, ii, 776, 817; Academy, 1883, ii, 397; Cat. of Printed Books in Brit. Mus.; Graduati Cantab. (1884), 96.] T. C.

**CAYLEY, CORNELIUS** (1729-1780?), religious writer, was born in 1729 at Hull. At nineteen Lord Scarborough introduced him to a place at court as clerk in the treasury of the Prince of Wales. With a view to promotion he learnt foreign languages and practised music and dancing, and after a time made application to go as under-secretary to the ambassador to Paris; but superior interest procured the place for another. After this disappointment he attempted to indulge in the gaieties of London life; but a strongly religious temperament led him into other pursuits. He became acquainted with James Hervey, author of the 'Meditations,' and through him he visited the Tabernacle in Moorfields. There for a time he was in constant attendance, read religious books of the old puritan sort, and soon took to preaching about London. He printed a little treatise on 'The Doctrine of Jesus Christ,' for presentation. For a time he made his home in the house of Lady Cornelia Piers at Mill Hill, where he preached to very select company. His autumn vacations were usually spent in travelling through the country and preaching wherever opportunity offered. He still held his place at the treasury, until he was told that he must give up preaching, when he resigned his post to devote himself entirely to religious work. He then settled for a time at Norwich, which he left in 1761. While there, in 1756, he composed a Christmas anthem, which was frequently sung to a fine piece of cathedral music, and he published a letter in answer to Mr. Potter, a clergyman of Reymerston, who had printed a sermon against the methodists. In the autumn of 1772 Cayley started on a tour through Holland, Flanders, and France. He wrote an account of his travels on the way: it was printed in parts in the 'Leeds Weekly Newspaper,' and afterwards printed separately in a 12mo volume. On arriving at Dover he set off for his 'little retirement near Leeds.' There, in 1778, he published the third edition of his 'Life' (originally published at Norwich in 1757-8), with enlargements, but with little further account of himself after 1761. A portrait of 'Cornelius Cayley,

minister of the gospel,' drawn by Swanfelder and engraved by I. Taylor, is prefixed to this third edition. The book has been reprinted four times in the present century, so recently as 1862 and again in 1863. Cayley also published: 1. 'The Seraphical Young Shepherd and a Small Bunch of Violets,' 1762, 2nd edit. 1769. 2. 'The Amethyst; or some Beams of Eternal Light,' 1763. 3. 'The Day-Star of Glory rising in the Hearts of the Saints,' 1769. 4. 'The Olive Branch of Peace and the Shulamite: a poem,' 1771. 5. 'An Evangelical Dialogue,' 1780, and various other small things. He also wrote largely on the 'Mystery of the Two Adams,' but the manuscript has not been traced, nor any further account of the author after 1780.

[Life of Cornelius Cayley, written by himself, 3rd edit. Leeds, 1778; Cayley's Tour through Holland, Flanders, and part of France, 2nd edit. Leeds, 1777.] J. H. T.

**CEADDA, Saint** (*d.* 672), better known as **CHAD**, was a Northumbrian by birth. He had three brothers, Cedd, Cynibill, and Caelin. All four were ordained to the priesthood, and two, Cedd and Ceadda, became bishops (**BEDE**, iii. 23). He was one of St. Aidan's disciples, but spent part of his youth in Ireland in the monastery of Rathmelsige, now Melfont, in company with Ecgberht, another young Northumbrian of noble family, eminent for piety and missionary zeal. In 664 Ceadda's brother Cedd, bishop of the East-Saxons, died at his monastery of Lastingham, in Deira [see **CEDD**], of which he was abbot, and by his appointment Ceadda succeeded him in the office (*ib.* iii. 23). In the same year the synod of Whitby had been held, which, through the influence of Wilfrith, had decided to adopt the Roman time of keeping Easter. Colman, bishop of Lindisfarne, who adhered to the Scottish usage, resigned his see, and Tuda, his successor, died soon afterwards of the plague. Wilfrith was then elected bishop, and the see, probably at his request, was moved to York, where there had been no bishop since the flight of Paulinus in 633 [see **CÆDWALLA I** and **PAULINUS**]. Wilfrith went to Gaul to be consecrated, and tarried there so long that Oswy, king of Northumbria, and his people grew impatient, and resolved to have Ceadda made bishop instead. He was accordingly sent to Canterbury for consecration, accompanied by Eadhæd, afterwards bishop of Ripon. On their arrival they found the see just vacant by the death of Archbishop Deusdedit, so they repaired to Wessex, where Ceadda was consecrated by Wini, bishop of Winchester, assisted by two British bishops probably from Cornwall (*ib.* iii. 28). He



then returned to Northumbria, and for three years ruled his diocese nobly ('sublimiter regens,' *Bede*, v. 19). From his training under Aidan and in the Irish monastery he had learned that spirit of simple modest piety, purity from worldly aims, and single-minded devotion to duty for which the clergy of the Scottish school were remarkably distinguished. His whole time was divided between prayer, study, and the visitation of his diocese to preach and baptise. His journeys were all made on foot, after the apostolic fashion (*ib.* iii. 28). Wilfrith, on his return from Gaul, did not resent the appointment of Ceadda, and quietly retired to his abbey of Ripon. Soon after Theodore had been made archbishop of Canterbury, 669, he held a general visitation of the English church, and objections were then raised against the consecration of Ceadda as having been irregular, partly, we may suppose, because Wilfrith had already been appointed to Ceadda's see, and partly because two of the consecrating bishops belonged to the British church, which did not keep Easter according to the canonical rule. When Theodore told Ceadda that he had not been properly consecrated, he meekly replied that if the archbishop thought so, he was quite willing to resign an office of which he had never deemed himself worthy, and which he had consented to undertake only for obedience sake. Theodore, touched by his humility, said that he was not bound to relinquish the episcopal office. Ceadda, however, retired to his monastery at Lastingham, and Wilfrith entered upon the administration of the see of York (*ib.* iv. 2); but the holy man was not long permitted to enjoy his monastic retreat. On the death of Jaruman, bishop of the Mercians, in 669, Wulfhere, the king, requested Theodore to provide a successor. Theodore refused to consecrate a new bishop, but asked Oswy, king of Northumbria, to let Ceadda be transplanted to this South Humbrian diocese (*ib.* iv. 3). Oswy consented, and Theodore either reconsecrated Ceadda, or by some additional rites made good the supposed defects or irregularities in the original act of consecration ('Ipse ordinationem ejus denuo catholica ratione consummavit,' *ib.* iv. 2). The language of Wilfrith's biographer Eddius, c. 15, is stronger: 'Per omnes gradus ecclesiasticos ad sedem predictam plene eum ordinarunt.' He also implies that it was Wilfrith who recommended Ceadda for Mercia, and with other bishops reconsecrated him. But his partiality for Wilfrith probably makes him less trustworthy on this point than Bede.

Ceadda fixed the Mercian see, which had hitherto been unsettled, at Lichfield. Here he found or built a church, dedicated to St.

Mary, eastward of the spot occupied by the present cathedral, and a short distance from the church he built a dwelling for himself and seven or eight brethren, where they spent in prayer and study the little leisure which could be spared from the 'ministry of the word.' King Wulfhere also granted fifty hides of land to the bishopric for establishing a monastery in a place called 'the grove,' in the province of Lindsey, supposed to be Barrow in Lincolnshire, where traces of Chad's monastic rule still existed when Bede wrote (*ib.* iv. 3). The bishop entered upon his episcopal and missionary labours with the same apostolic simplicity and zeal which had distinguished him in his former diocese. He still journeyed everywhere on foot, and out of 'zealous love of pious toil' resisted the bidding of Archbishop Theodore, who ordered him to ride when he had a longer circuit than usual to make. The primate, however, insisted on having his way, and on one occasion with his own hand helped Ceadda to mount; because, as Bede says (iv. 3), he had 'assuredly discovered him to be a holy man.' Bede relates several beautiful instances of this 'holy man's' habits of simple piety as described to him by one who had been brought up and trained in Ceadda's monastery at Lastingham. If he heard a loud blast of wind, he would pause in his reading, or whatever he was doing, and pray God to be merciful to mankind; and if the gale waxed louder, he would close his book and fall upon his face in prayer. If it rose to a tempest with thunder and lightning, he would go into the church and pray there, or recite psalms until fair weather returned (*ib.*)

After having ruled his church for two years and a half, Ceadda fell a victim to a pestilence which was fatal to many of his clergy before it attacked the bishop. Seven days before he died he had an intimation of his coming end. A faithful disciple and friend named Owin, who had once been steward in the royal household in Northumbria, but had forsaken all to become a lay brother at Lastingham, was working in the fields hard by the bishop's house, when he heard the sweetest sound as of songs of joy coming down from heaven to earth. It gradually reached and encircled the chamber where Ceadda was sitting alone, the other inmates of the dwelling having gone to the church, and after about half an hour it floated heavenwards again. While Owin was wondering what this might mean, Ceadda opened the window of his oratory and summoned Owin and the rest of the brethren. He told them that 'the lovely guest who had already visited so many of their brethren had deigned to come to him

also and summon him from the world.' 'Go back,' he said, 'to the church and bid the brethren by their prayers commend my departure to God.' After they had departed, Owín ventured to ask him the meaning of the strain of joy which he had heard, and Ceadda told him that it was the song of angels, and that in seven days they would return and take him with them. He speedily sickened, and died seven days after, 2 March 672. He was buried near St. Mary's Church, but the body was afterwards transferred to the church of St. Peter. His shrine was a wooden structure in Bede's time (*ib.*), roofed like a little house with a hole in the side, through which devotees inserted their hands and took a few particles of his dust, which, when mixed with water and so drunk, were supposed to have a marvellous virtue for the cure of divers diseases in man and beast. The memory of Ceadda was revered in Ireland, where he had spent a part of his youth. Eggerht, his companion there, had remained in Ireland, and some years after Ceadda's death he told an abbot from Lincolnshire (perhaps from Barrow) who visited him, that a man then living in Ireland had seen on the day that Ceadda died the soul of his brother Cedd descend from heaven and return thither, bearing the soul of the holy Ceadda with him (*ib.* iv. 3). The number and beauty of these legends help us to measure the real sanctity of Ceadda's life, which excited so much love and respect. As Bede says (iii. 28): 'The things which he had learned from Holy Scripture ought to be done; these he diligently strove to do.' Ceadda became one of the most popular of English saints under the name of St. Chad. His day was kept on 2 March, and still has a place in the black-letter calendar. A richly decorated copy of the gospels, which is said to have belonged to him, is preserved in the cathedral library at Lichfield.

[There is a short life of Ceadda in the *Acta Sanctorum*, and another in Capgrave's *Nova Legenda*, pp. 58, 59, but these and all subsequent biographies are really only compilations from Bede. Eddius, the friend and biographer of Wilfrith, was contemporary with Bede, but his narrative is not nearly so trustworthy.]

W. R. W. S.

#### CEADWALLA. [See CÆDWALLA.]

**CEALLACHAN** (*d.* 954), king of Cashel, called in poetry C. coir, or the just, and C. cruaidh, or the hard, is the hero of several old popular tales of Munster. He was king of Cashel from 935 till his death in 954. He first appears in history as plundering Clonmacnoise in 935, and in 937 ravaged Meath

in alliance with the Danes of Waterford. In 939 he ravaged Ossory and the Decies, but later in the same year was defeated by their tribes. Muirheartach, king of Ailech, invaded the south early in 941, and carried off Ceallachan as a hostage to Donegal, where he kept him for nine months, and then sent him to Donnchadh, king of Ireland, who set him free. In 942 Ceallachan defeated Cenneide, father of Brian Boroiombe, in the battle of Maghduin, and ever after ruled in comparative quiet till his death from natural causes in 954. Ceallachan was chief of the great tribe called the Eoghanacht, and is the ancestor of many families once powerful in the south of Ireland. The O'Ceallachans or O'Callaghans of the south take their name from the great-grandson of his son Donnchadh, and the last chief in direct line of the chief branch of his race is believed to have been Donnchadh (or Denis) O'Callaghan of Glinn, who died in 1760, having married his cousin Mary O'Callaghan in 1745, and left one daughter of the same name. Cornelius, her kinsman, though in what degree is not known, was in 1785 created Baron Lismore in the peerage of Ireland.

[*Chronicon Scotorum* (Rolls Series), p. 201; *Tracts relating to Ireland* (Irish Archæolog. Soc. 1841), pp. 43, &c.; *Annales Rioghachta Éireann*, vol. ii.; genealogical manuscripts of the late B. C. Fisher.] N. M.

**CEARBHALL**, lord of Ossory (*d.* 888), son of Dunghal, was one of the most famous chiefs of the Gall Gaedhel, as the Irish chroniclers call those native tribes who lived in alliance with the Danes. He is called by the Danish writers Kiarvalr, and first appears in history as slaughtering the Danes of Dublin in 845. Six years later he slew the king of South Leinster, and in this war had Danes for his allies. Several of his clan intermarried with the foreigners, and the alliance continued. In 856 they together plundered part of the present Tipperary, and in 857 marched into Meath. Here, however, they made peace with the king of Ireland in the presence of the archbishop of Armagh and the abbot of Clonard. In 858 Cearbhall fought and defeated the Danes of Waterford, and in 859 he joined the king of Ireland in Meath and fought against an invading army of northern Irish. In 861 he defeated the Danes at Fear-tagh in Kilkenny, and in 862 he plundered Leinster. In 868 the Danes attacked his earthen dun, but were driven off with heavy loss, and Cearbhall was sufficiently secure afterwards to go a foray into Waterford. The next year he crossed the Shannon, and drove off the cattle of both Connaught and

Munster, and two years later made a second raid into Connaught. Ossory, his home, being nearly in the centre of Ireland, afforded a good base for operations in any direction, and in 872 he again ravaged the part of Waterford now called Decies. In 875 he was chosen king of Dublin by his Danish kinsmen, and in 876 he gained a victory over the Munstermen near Clonmel. After all these battles he died peaceably in 888. His most constant allies were the Danes of Dublin, but he was ready to join almost any tribe against any other where there was hope of spoil, and was an Irish copy of a Scandinavian rover.

[Annala Rioghachta Eireann, vol. i.; O'Donovan's Tribes and Territories of Ancient Ossory, 1851; Cogadh Gaedhil re Gallaibh, Rolls Series.]  
N. M.

CEAWLIN (*d.* 593), king of the West-Saxons, first appears in 556 as taking part with his father Cynric in the battle of 'Beranbyrig,' probably Barbury hill, to the north-west of Marlborough (GUEST). He succeeded Cynric in 560. The battle of Barbury gave the West-Saxons the command of the downs stretching towards the north-east. Ceawlin led his host against Silchester (Calleva Atrebatum), 'where the roads from Winchester and Old Sarum united on their way to London' (GREEN). The remains of the city bear witness to the formidable character of the invaders' task, for it is still girt with its Roman wall of 2,670 yards circuit, and its foss of 100 feet width (*Archæological Journal*, xxx. 12). No written record remains of Ceawlin's success. From Silchester Ceawlin doubtless advanced, overrunning the country to the south of the great Berkshire forest, and keeping to the south of the Thames until, in 568, he encountered the forces of Æthelberht, king of Kent, at Wibbandun or Wimbledon. In this first battle fought by the invaders between themselves, Ceawlin and his brother Cutha routed the Jutes, and drove Æthelberht back into Kent (*A.-S. Chron.*; GREEN). In the expedition of his brother Cuthwulf, who in 571 carried the West-Saxon arms as far as Bedford, Ceawlin had no share. Six years later he led his host from Winchester, and marched to Deorham. There he met, defeated, and slew three British kings, and as a consequence of the battle won Gloucester, Bath, and Cirencester, over which one may suppose they ruled. The victory forms an important era in the history of the conquest of Britain. Independently of the wealth and importance of the cities themselves that were thus gained, they were at the head of a wide-spreading district. From the borders of the

vast forests of Wyre and Arden on the north, to the mines of Mendip and the river Axe on the south, the whole country, save the wedge of forest land that ran up to the site of Malmesbury, fell into the hands of the invader. The wide extent of Ceawlin's dominions led Bæda to reckon him among the kings who held a special pre-eminence in Britain, and who were described by the chronicle-writer, when he copied Bæda's list, as Bretwaldas. In 583 Ceawlin made a fresh advance along the upper course of the Severn. Dr. Guest has shown that the inroad commemorated in Llywarch Hen's elegy on Kyndylan refers to this war. Tren or Uriconium, the town at the foot of the Wrekin, was destroyed; Pengwyrn, the forerunner of Shrewsbury, was burnt; and the like fate fell on Bassa's churches, probably 'some group of churches like Glendalough,' of which the memory is still preserved in Baschurch, near Shrewsbury. Here, however, Ceawlin's further progress was stopped, for the Britons under Brochmael, prince of Powys, met him at Fethanleag, or Faddiley, at the entrance of Vale Royal, defeated his army, and slew his brother Cutha. 'Wrathful,' the chronicle says, 'he thence returned to his own.' In 591 his people rose against him, and set up Ceol, or Ceolric, the son of his brother Cutha. William of Malmesbury says that this revolt was caused by the general hatred with which he was regarded (*Gesta Regum*, i. 17). It has been suggested with considerable probability that the revolt was made by the Hwiccas, the people 'settled in the newly conquered country along the lower Severn,' and that for a time it left Ceawlin the older West-Saxon territory. In 592, however, Ceolric attacked him there also. A league was made, so Malmesbury asserts, between the revolted Saxons and the Britons. The armies met at Woddesbeorg, or Wanborough, 'the key of Ceawlin's shrunken realm,' where the downs rise above the vale of the White Horse (GREEN). The battle was fierce; Ceawlin was defeated and driven out of his kingdom. Henry of Huntingdon brings the part taken by the Welsh prominently forward, and describes the battle of Wanborough as one between Britons and Saxons. In 593 Ceawlin and his brother Cwichelm were slain. Ceawlin's son was Cuthwine; his house was restored in 685 in the person of Cædwalla [q. v.]

[Anglo-Saxon Chron.; Bæda's Hist. Eccl. ii. c. 5 (Eng. Hist. Soc.); William of Malmesbury, i. c. 17 (Eng. Hist. Soc.); Henry of Huntingdon, Mon. Brit. Hist. p. 714; Guest's Origines Celticæ, ii. 195, 245-314; Green's Making of England, 128, 201-8.]  
W. H.

CECIL, SIR EDWARD, VISCOUNT WIMBLETON (1572-1638), naval and military commander, was the third son of Sir Thomas Cecil, second lord Burghley and first earl of Exeter [q. v.], grandson of Sir William Cecil, first lord Burghley [q. v.], and nephew of Sir Robert Cecyll, first earl of Salisbury, whose deviation from the paternal spelling of the name he systematically adopted. He was born on 29 Feb. 1571-2, and entered the military service in the Low Countries about 1596; in 1599 he was appointed captain of a company of English foot-soldiers, and in May 1600 was appointed to a troop of cavalry, which he commanded at the battle of Nieuport, under Sir Francis Vere. In 1601 he commanded a body of one thousand men raised in London for the relief of Ostend, then besieged by the Spaniards, and on his return in September was knighted by Queen Elizabeth. In the spring of 1602 he was colonel of a regiment of English horse under Prince Maurice, and served in the expedition into Brabant and at the siege of Grave. He continued actively serving during the years immediately following, and achieved a high reputation for valour and conduct. In 1610 he commanded the English contingent of four thousand men under Prince Christian of Anhalt, at the siege of Juliers, 7-17 July to 12-22 Aug.

At court his credit stood at least as high as it did in the camp. In March 1612 he was sent, as the prince's proxy, to stand sponsor to the child of Count Ernest of Nassau; in April 1613 he had a commission to receive and pay all moneys for the journey of Lady Elizabeth and her husband, and in November he was ordered to request his lady to attend the electress at Heidelberg. In January 1617-18 he was a suitor for the comptroller-ship, and so also in February for the chancellorship of the duchy of Lancaster; but though supported by the Duke of Buckingham he was unsuccessful. In 1620 he was nominated by Buckingham to command the English troops in Germany, but was superseded by Sir Horace Vere on the demand of Count Dohna, the agent of the king of Bohemia in England. A violent quarrel ensued between Cecil and Dohna, in the course of which Cecil assured his opponent that it was only his character as an ambassador which protected him from a demand for personal satisfaction. He has been credited with a speech in the House of Commons (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 5 Feb. 1620-1) on the importance of granting an immediate supply to the Palatinate; a good, honest speech, which was published under Cecil's name (1621, 4to); but Professor Gardiner has been reluctantly forced to the conclusion that it is a forgery (*Hist. of England*,

iv. 29 n.) On 4 June, however, when Sir James Perrot called on the house to declare that if the negotiations then on foot failed, 'they would be ready to adventure their lives and estates for the maintenance of the cause of God and of his majesty's royal issue,' Cecil, in seconding the motion, said: 'This declaration comes from heaven. It will do more for us than if we had ten thousand soldiers on the march.'

During all these years Cecil was markedly supported by the Duke of Buckingham; and in 1625, when the expedition against the coast of Spain was determined on, Buckingham, though nominating himself to the supreme command, as generalissimo, appointed Cecil as his deputy, with the title of lord marshal and general of the sea and land forces; 'the greatest command,' it was said, 'that any subject hath had these hundred years' (*Court and Times of Charles I*, i. 53). Buckingham offered indeed to procure him an appointment from the king; but Cecil, 'not to lessen the duke's honour, took it from himself' (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 16 March 1629-30). Notwithstanding these high-sounding titles the preparations were wretched in the extreme. The men were raw levies, and the officers, for the most part, no better; the fleet was mainly composed of merchant ships, hastily pressed into the service, and commanded by men ignorant of war and discontented at the part they were compelled to undertake. Even the general had never yet held any independent command, and was totally ignorant of naval affairs. Nevertheless Buckingham anticipated an easy success. The king came down to Plymouth to review the troops and the fleet, and it was officially announced that Cecil was to be raised to the peerage as Viscount Wimbledon.

After many delays the fleet finally got to sea on 8 Oct., with vague instructions to undertake some operation against the coast of Spain. On 20 Oct., after rounding Cape St. Vincent, a council of war was at last held, in order to determine on what point the attack should be made. It was decided to land at St. Mary's (Puerto de Santa Maria), in Cadiz Bay, and from it to march to San Lucar, a distance of twelve miles. Orders were therefore given out to anchor at St. Mary's. But as the fleet arrived at its station a number of ships were seen in the outer harbour of Cadiz. No orders had provided for this contingency. Essex, who was leading in the Swiftsure, stood towards them, interchanged a few random shot, and, with his topsails brailed up, waited in hopes of being ordered to attack; but receiving no instructions, and the ships of his squadron showing

no signs of supporting him, he fell back to his station and anchored off St. Mary's.

Meantime the Spaniards cut their cables and fled up the inner harbour. Had the Swiftsure been supported, the enemy must have been destroyed. Cecil attempted afterwards to throw the blame on the captains of the squadron, and especially on the merchant skippers. He alleged that he went in among them and called on them to follow the Swiftsure, but that they tacitly refused to obey and let go their anchors. This statement is, however, at variance with that of Essex, and almost all the other superior officers of the army. It was suspected from the flight of the ships that Cadiz was without defence, as indeed it was, and it was proposed to attack it at once. Essex, Sir John Burgh, and Lord Cromwell urged this measure with vehemence; but Cecil was incapable of any resolution, and determined rather to attack the fort of Puntales, which commanded the entrance of the harbour. But even this attack was made in a very half-hearted way. Orders were sent to twenty of the merchant ships to support five Dutch ships and to cannonade the fort. The orders were never delivered; and though the officer sent with them was Sir Thomas Love, the captain of the Royal Anne, carrying Cecil's flag, Cecil was apparently left in ignorance till the next morning. Essex with his squadron and some other ships were then ordered in, but no care was taken in stationing them, and the cannonade was weak and desultory. It was not till towards evening that the fort capitulated to a body of troops landed in its rear under the command of Sir John Burgh.

On the following morning, 24 Oct., the soldiers were landed at Puntales. The general's hope was vaguely to reduce the town by blockade; but on an alarm of an approaching enemy he turned to meet them. He had given orders that on landing every man was to carry provisions in his knapsack; but no care had been taken to see that the orders were obeyed, no instructions had been issued as to where the provisions were to come from, and the pursers of the ships had refused to supply them without proper warrant; and thus, though some few companies may have had their day's provisions with them, by far the greater part of the force, consisting of raw soldiers and ignorant officers, was absolutely destitute.

As the English advanced, the Spaniards fell back along the narrow causeway which connected Cadiz with the village of San Fernando and the bridge beyond. The English followed nearly as far as the village, a distance of six or seven miles. And here it was appa-

rently that the superior officers first discovered that the men had no provisions. Cecil was informed of it, and answered angrily that this was no time to be thinking of provisions with the enemy in their front. But the men were utterly exhausted: many of them, who had been landed with Sir John Burgh the day before, had been upwards of twenty-four hours without anything to eat, and the march under the noonday sun had completely knocked them up. Some wine was found in the village, and Cecil ordered a measure to be served out all round. But no examination was made, and it was not found out that the place was the great store for the use of the West India fleet until the soldiers were all mad drunk. Then, indeed, an attempt was made to save the casks, but amid riot and confusion indescribable. Fortunately the enemy remained ignorant of the condition of the army, and the next morning the men, still without food, were for the most part sufficiently sober to stagger back to Puntales.

The Spanish ships had meantime warped into a creek at the head of the harbour, and sunk a merchantman at the entrance. They as well as the town seemed now unassailable; the troops were therefore re-embarked, and on the 29th the fleet took its departure. Two days later the Spanish treasure-ships, keeping well to the southward, got safely into Cadiz, while Cecil with the English fleet was watching for them broad off Cape St. Vincent. And he continued to watch till 16 Nov., when, his ships being foul and leaky, the rigging and sails rotten, and the provisions putrid, he gave the order to return to England. But before it could be carried into effect want had produced sickness, which assumed the proportions of a pestilence. Many of the ships, thus left without men sufficient to work them, were either lost or exposed to the greatest danger. The Anne Royal, having buried 130 men, with 160 sick, and leaking like a sieve, got into Kinsale on 11 Dec. Having partly refitted, sent the sick on shore, and received the crews of some of the ships which had been cast away, she put to sea on 28 Jan. 1625-6. A gale of wind drove her to the westward, and she got with some difficulty into Berehaven, where she lay till 19 Feb., and did not arrive in the Downs till the 28th.

The failure of this costly expedition gave rise to much popular indignation, the weight of which fell, not undeservedly, on Buckingham. But no censure of Buckingham can absolve Cecil from the blame which must attach to the gross incapacity which he displayed under circumstances of no peculiar difficulty. To his incompetence the Spaniards owed it that every ship in the harbour

was not taken or burnt, that Cadiz was not sacked, and that the treasure-ships were not captured. The superior officers of the expedition, especially the Earl of Essex, did not hesitate to prefer a formal charge of misconduct against the general. It appears to have been cursorily examined by the king in council, but no evidence was taken; the favour of the Duke of Buckingham and Cecil's denial of every point were held to be sufficient to warrant a full acquittal; and thus, far from receiving every censure, his credit at court rose and continued to rise till, a few years later and after the more disastrous failure at the Isle of Ré, even the people began to consider him as an heroic leader of armies. His elevation to the peerage had been announced before the fleet sailed, and he had since been even officially addressed as Lord Wimbleton, though his patent as Baron Cecil of Putney was not dated till 9 Nov., while the fleet was vainly looking out for the treasure-ships off Cape St. Vincent, nor was he actually created Viscount Wimbleton till 25 July 1626. On 18 Dec. 1626 he received a commission as lieutenant of the county of Surrey. In 1627 he held a command at the siege of Groll, and at Bois-le-Duc in 1629. On 30 July 1630 he was appointed governor of Portsmouth, an office which he held till his death, 15 Nov. 1638. During this time he seems to have been recognised as the highest English authority on military affairs. He was a member of numberless committees and councils of war; even Buckingham did not disdain to receive advice from him (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 12 Oct. (?) 1627), and Sir Knelm Digby wrote (21-31 Jan. 1636-7) to the effect that 'England is happy in producing persons who do actions which after ages take for romances; witness King Arthur and Cadwallader of ancient time, and the valiant and ingenious peer, the Lord Wimbleton, whose epistle exceeds anything ever done by so victorious a general of armies, or so provident a governor of towns.'

He was three times married, the last only two years before his death (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1636-7, p. 149); but leaving issue only four daughters, all by the first wife, the title became extinct (*ib.* 1638-9, p. 106). His last wife, Sophia, daughter of Sir Edward Zouch, who was described (27 Nov. 1638) as a rich young widow, lived to a ripe old age, and died in November 1691 (*Collins, Peerage* (1768), iii. 118).

[Wimbleton's own account of the Cadiz Expedition is his *Journal and Relation*, &c. (1626, sm. 4to); another account, which must be considered as to a great extent also Wimbleton's, is *The Voyage to Cadiz*, by John Glanville, edited by Rev. A. B. Grosart (Camden Society,

1883), the introduction to which contains a summary of nearly all that is known as to Wimbleton's life; The charge delivered by the Earl of Essex and nine other Colonels at the Council Table against the Viscount Wimbleton, general of the last Calés voyage, with his answer, containing a full relation of the defeat of the same voyage is printed in Lord Lansdowne's Works (1732), ii. 249. The original manuscript is in the Brit. Mus. Harl. 37, f. 88. Copies of the Journal of the Swiftsure are in Harl. MS. 354, No. 34, and in S. P. Dom. Charles I, xi. 22; see also Gardiner's *Hist. of England*, vi. 1-24, where there is an excellent map of Cadiz. A Life of Cecil, Viscount Wimbleton, by Mr. Charles Dalton, was published in two volumes in 1885.] J. K. L.

CECIL, JAMES, third EARL OF SALISBURY (*d.* 1683), was the son of Charles, lord Viscount Cranbourn, and Jane, daughter and coheirs of James Maxwell, earl of Dirlton in Scotland. He was educated at St. John's College, Cambridge, where one of his acquaintances was Joshua Barnes [q. v.], author of the 'Life of Edward III,' who states that for 'loyalty, generosity, and affability' he was most likely to 'advance the noble name of Cecil to the utmost period of glory.' On 21 Oct. 1669 he took his seat in the House of Peers, where he was a zealous opponent of the Duke of York's succession. In February 1676-7 he was committed with other noblemen to the Tower for supporting the proposition of the Duke of Buckingham, that 'the last prerogation of parliament was null and void in law' (EACHARD, *History of England*, 3rd ed. 928). In January 1678-9 he was sworn a privy councillor and took his seat at the board (LUTTRELL, *Diary*, i. 5). In August 1680 he was elected a knight of the Garter. He died in May 1683 (*ib.* 260). By his wife, Margaret, daughter of John Manners, earl of Rutland, who died in France 30 Aug. 1682 (*ib.* 215), he left five sons and five daughters. [Collins's *Peerage*, 5th ed. iii. 148-9; Luttrell's *Diary*; Eachard's *History of England*.]

T. F. H.

CECIL, JAMES, fourth EARL OF SALISBURY (*d.* 1693), was the eldest son of James, third earl of Salisbury [q. v.], and Margaret, daughter of John Manners, earl of Rutland. He married Frances, one of the three daughters and coheirs of Simon Bennet of Beechampton, Buckinghamshire, when she was only thirteen years old (LUTTRELL, *Diary*, i. 209). 'Salisbury,' says Lord Macaulay, 'was foolish to a proverb. His figure was so bloated by sensual indulgence as to be almost incapable of moving; and this sluggish body was the abode of an equally sluggish mind. He was represented in popular lampoons as a man made to be duped, as a man

who had hitherto been the prey of gamesters, and who might as well be the prey of friars.' In January 1688-9 he was committed to the Tower as a popish recusant (*ib.* 493), but the prosecution was finally waived (*ib.* ii. 123). His name was forged by Robert Young to a document purporting to be that of an association who had bound themselves to take arms for King James, and to seize on the Prince of Orange dead or alive. On this account he was on 7 May 1692 committed to the Tower (*ib.* 444), but nothing being proved against him his bail was finally discharged in the court of king's bench (*ib.* 629). He died 25 Oct. 1693, leaving an only son, three years old (*ib.* 388), who succeeded him as fifth earl. He was buried at Hatfield on 29 Oct.

[Luttrell's Diary ; Resesby's Memoirs ; Sprat's Relation of the late Wicked Contrivance of Stephen Blackhead and Robert Young, 1692 ; Macaulay's History of England ; Clutterbuck's Hertfordshire ; Chauncy's Hertfordshire ; Collins's Peerage, 5th ed. iii. 149.] T. F. H.

**Cecil, Richard** (1748-1810), divine, one of the leaders of the evangelical revival, was born at his father's house of business in Chiswell Street, in the parish of St. Luke's, Old Street, London, 8 Nov. 1748, and was baptised in the parish church on the 30th of the same month. His father, Thomas Cecil, a descendant of Cecil, lord Burghley, was scarlet-dyer to the East India Company, a lucrative calling in which he had been preceded by his father and grandfather, who established their dye-works on their freehold property in Chiswell Street. His mother's maiden name was Tabitha Grosvenor. She was the only child of a London merchant, a pious dissenter. Richard was the youngest child of his parents, and was born after his mother was fifty years old. He was allowed to relinquish business for literature and the fine arts. He wrote poetry and cultivated music, becoming a proficient on the violin, but his chief passion was for painting, which he pursued insatiably, attending all the picture sales in London and practising at home. He made a clandestine visit to the continent to see the pictures of the best masters, and would have gone to Rome if his funds had proved sufficient. He acquired great influence among his youthful associates, and gloried in being an apostle of infidelity and a leader in every kind of profligacy. Like Augustine he was brought back to faith and purity by the prayers and holy example of his mother. On his conversion he resolved to devote himself to the work of the christian ministry. To this his father made no serious

objection, only insisting that he should not leave the church of England. If he connected himself with 'dissenters or sectaries,' his father would 'do nothing for him living or dying.' Cecil commenced residence at Queen's College, Oxford, 19 May 1773, and took his B.A. degree, we are told, 'with great credit' in the Lent term of 1777. His ordination, both to the diaconate and priesthood, preceded his B.A. degree, the former taking place in the chapel of Buckden Palace at the hands of Bishop Green 22 Sept. 1776, and the latter 23 Feb. 1777. His title was given him by the Rev. John Pugh, the incumbent of Rauceby and Cranwell, near Sleaford, Lincolnshire, at that time one of the most influential members of the evangelical party in the church, and one of the originators of the Church Missionary Society; his stipend was 40*l.* From Lincolnshire he was speedily removed to Leicestershire, then also comprised within the diocese of Lincoln, to take temporary charge of the parishes of Thornton-cum-Bagworth and Markfield, then vacant through the incumbent's decease. Early in 1777, through the interest of powerful evangelical friends, he was offered the two small livings of All Saints and St. Thomas of Canterbury at Cliffe in the town of Lewes in Sussex, to the former of which he was instituted 27 Feb. of that year, the combined income of the two rectories being only about 80*l.* per annum. Here he took up his residence and fulfilled the duties of his ministry with great zeal and earnestness until the dampness of his rectory produced a severe rheumatic affection in his head, when he returned to London, making his home at Islington. Cecil held his two Lewes livings for twenty years, and certainly did not reside upon them or perform the duty personally for more than half that period. He resigned St. Thomas's early in 1797 to the curate who had done his work, and All Saints at the end of 1798. His fame as an earnest evangelical preacher had preceded him in the metropolis, and he was speedily engaged to undertake various lectureships, one at St. Margaret's, Lothbury, at 6 a.m., an evening lecture at Orange Street Chapel, which subsequently became a nonconformist place of worship, and others. He shared the charge of Long Acre Chapel with the Rev. Henry Foster, another of the fathers of the evangelical movement, a friend of Newton and Scott, and in 1787 he undertook the evening lecture at Christ Church, Spitalfields, which he held alternately with Mr. Foster, the lectureship being only tenable for three years consecutively, till 1801. The sphere of duty with which Cecil's name is most prominently connected is St. John's

Chapel, Bedford Row, in the parish of St. Andrew's, Holborn, now pulled down, which continued to the middle of the present century a stronghold of the evangelical doctrines first introduced by him there. To this chapel he was appointed in March 1780 by Sir Eardley Wilmot, acting for the trustees of Rugby School, the patrons thereof, on the recommendation of Archbishop Cornwallis. He was secured from any personal risk by a bond given by Mrs. Wilberforce, the aunt of William Wilberforce, which, the speculation proving successful, she was never called upon to fulfil. Cecil continued minister of St. John's Chapel till his death. Two years after his resignation of his Lewes livings he was presented by Mr. Samuel Thornton on behalf of the trustees, in whom the presentation had been vested by his father, Mr. John Thornton of Clapham, with the united benefice of Chobham and Bisleigh in Surrey. Here he spent three months in the summer of each year, to the great moral and religious benefit of the people, until his health, which was enfeebled by incessant ministerial labours, after one or two serious illnesses and a paralytic seizure, entirely broke down in February 1808. Visits to Bath, Clifton, Tunbridge Wells, and other places afforded him temporary relief, but no permanent benefit resulted, and he died at Belle Vue, Hampstead, after a fit of apoplexy, 15 Aug. 1810, in the sixty-third year of his age. Cecil was married to a woman whom her admirable memoir of her husband proves to have been in every way worthy of him, and left behind him a large family of sons and daughters. Of the remarkable body of evangelical preachers who were his contemporaries in London Cecil may safely be pronounced the intellectual chief. He preached from notes, and wrote but little for the press, and his few printed sermons, though characterised by great originality of thought and vigour of style, can give no adequate idea of his pre-eminence as a preacher. He was 'capable,' we are told, 'of rivetting the attention of a congregation by the originality of his conceptions, the plain, straightforward force of his language, the firm grasp of his subject, and by a happy power of illustration which gave freshness and novelty to the most familiar subjects' (JERRAM, *Memoir*, p. 267). 'Nature,' writes Canon Overton, 'had endowed him with an elegant mind, and he had improved his natural gifts by steady application. . . . There is a stately dignity both in his character and in his style of writing which is very impressive' (*The English Church in the Eighteenth Century*, ii. 207). His 'Original Thoughts on Holy Scripture,' a posthumous publication of notes of his extempore

sermons taken down by some of his hearers, fully deserve the title given to them. The truest estimate of the originality of Cecil's mind is gained from his 'Remains,' which might more properly be called his 'Table Talk,' being a collection of reminiscences of his conversation made by his friend and the editor of his writings, the Rev. Josiah Pratt. Of these Canon Overton justly remarks they 'show traces of a scholarly habit of mind, a sense of humour, a grasp of leading principles, a liberality of thought, and capacity of appreciating good wherever it might be found, which render them, short though they are, a valuable contribution to evangelical literature' (*ib.*) The same may be said of his contributions to the discussions of the 'Eclectic Society,' which met in the vestry room of St. John's Chapel, the notes of which were published in 1856 by Archdeacon Pratt, under the title of 'Eclectic Notes.' In his breadth of view and freedom from prejudice he shows himself in advance of his age. His ministry, we are told, was everywhere popular, and in the best sense successful. Both at St. John's and at Chobham he had to encounter a large amount of prejudice. He lived down this opposition, and in both spheres of duty he speedily gathered large and deeply attached congregations. His person and bearing were dignified, and his sermons were delivered with a conscious authority which silenced opposition. His decision of character and self-mastery is shown by his cutting the strings of his violin when at Oxford, and never replacing them, lest it should divert him from his studies, and by his resolve never again to visit an exhibition of paintings on discovering that his attention had been unduly diverted from a sick person he was visiting by a picture hanging in the room. The works of Cecil were collected and published after his death by the Rev. Josiah Pratt, and have gone through several editions. They include 'Memoirs of the Hon. and Rev. W. B. Cadogan,' 'Memoir of John Bacon, the Sculptor,' and of the 'Rev. John Newton,' a collection of 'Miscellanies,' comprising 'A Friendly Visit to a House of Mourning,' one of the best known of Cecil's works, 'Short Hints to a Soldier,' 'A Word on the Peace,' written in 1801, and other minor pieces. These are followed by the only sermons, six in number, prepared by the author for publication, thirty-three sermons taken in shorthand, and, by far the most remarkable of the whole collection, the 'Remains' already mentioned. To these may be added the 'Original Thoughts on Holy Scripture,' published in 1848, also from shorthand notes, under the editorship of his daughter.



[Memoir of Rev. Richard Cecil, by his widow; A View of the Character of the Rev. R. Cecil, by the Rev. Josiah Pratt; Memoir of the Rev. Charles Jerram.] E. V.

**CECIL, ROBERT, EARL OF SALISBURY** (1563 P-1612), statesman, was son of William Cecil, lord Burghley [q. v.], by Mildred, daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke. The place of his birth has never been fixed with certainty, though he himself declared that he was born in Westminster; the exact year, too, has been the subject of much doubt. When Thomas Cecil, his elder brother, was travelling in France in January 1563, it was deemed advisable that he should return sooner than had been intended, because his father's 'younger son' had recently died. It is to be inferred that Thomas Cecil at this time had no brother, and hence the birth of Robert, the future Lord Salisbury, must be set down at the earliest some time in 1563. Being of a weakly constitution and a delicate physique, he was educated at home under private tutors. It is probable that Dr. Richard Neyle, eventually archbishop of York, was one of them; it is certain he was one of Lord Burghley's chaplains and received his preferments through the aid afforded him by father and son. When it is said, as it often has been said, that Robert, earl of Essex, was his 'early playmate,' it is forgotten that Essex was his junior by at least four years, and was actually a member of Lord Burghley's household only for a few weeks. It is said that Cecil entered at St. John's College, Cambridge, in 1581, though if it were so he must have gone up to the university four or five years older than was usual at this time. In 1584 he was sent to France, and probably remained abroad during the next three or four years. We first hear of him in an official capacity when in 1588 he was in Lord Derby's train on the occasion of the sending an embassy to negotiate conditions of peace with Spain; and we may assume that his familiarity with continental languages qualified him to act as emissary to announce to Parma the arrival of the commissioners. In the parliament that was summoned to meet a few weeks after the destruction of the Spanish armada, but which did not actually meet till February 1589, Cecil sat as knight of the shire for the county of Hertford, and this year he served as high sheriff for that county. It seems, too, to have been the year of his marriage. Robert, earl of Essex, was at this time high in favour with the queen, and, intoxicated by the kind treatment he had received, his vanity led him to regard himself as a power in the state. He actually hoped to supplant his former guardian, Lord Burghley, and to become the director of the counsels of the nation. Davison,

whom Elizabeth had made the victim of her statecraft and ruined for his part in the execution of Mary Queen of Scots, was a friend and protégé of Essex, and the earl was bent on restoring him to his old place of secretary. Though Elizabeth would not so far gratify the favourite, she kept the post vacant from year to year, Cecil in the meantime doing all the real work that was required. In 1591 (20 May) he received the honour of knighthood on the occasion of the queen's being received at a strange entertainment given by Lord Burghley at Theobalds. In August of the same year he was sworn of the privy council, but it was not until 1596, during the Earl of Essex's absence on the Cadiz expedition, that he was at last appointed secretary of state. In 1598 Philip II, wearied by his long succession of humiliating reverses in his protracted conflict with England, made overtures of peace to Henry IV. If Spain and France should unite in any friendly alliance, it might be a serious matter for the queen and her people. To prevent such an alliance Cecil was sent over, with his brother-in-law, Lord Brooke, the Earl of Southampton, Sir Walter Raleigh, and some others, on an extraordinary embassy to France, and arrived at Paris on 3 March. Two despatches of Cecil's, giving an account of this embassy, have been preserved. He was back again in England on 29 April. Lord Burghley, who was now in his seventy-eighth year, was beginning to show signs of failing health, and he died on 4 Aug.

After his father's death Cecil's position was one of peculiar isolation. He had nothing like a cabinet to support him, or to share with him the burdens and responsibilities of his official duties. In political sagacity there was none to compare with him, none to look to as a coadjutor who might be trusted, and no friend to whom he could unbosom himself with safety. His gifted mother had died nine years before. Sisters he had none surviving; only one of them had left any offspring. His brother Thomas, lord Burghley [q. v.], can never have been much to him. He had been a widower since 1591. His only son (William, the second earl of Salisbury) was a child of seven, his only daughter a year older. His aunt, Lady Bacon, in one of her letters of this date, expresses her belief that he would be 'better with a good wife;' but he never married again. His cousins, Francis and Anthony Bacon [q. v.], had taken their side against him, and looked upon Essex as their patron rather than their cautious and inscrutable kinsman. Always in sore need of money and always greedy for any advancement, they thought there was more to be got out of the dashing young earl, who gave himself all the

airs of a bountiful sovereign, and perhaps they shared in their patron's contempt for Cecil's cool head and provoking self-command. It is small wonder if this man of thirty-five, watching the queen growing old and knowing himself to be unloved, should at times have been oppressed by a sense of loneliness, and should have written in a cynical tone to Sir John Harrington: 'Good knight, rest content, and give heed to one that hath sorrowed in the bright lustre of a court, and gone heavily even on the best-seeming fair ground. I know it bringeth little comfort on earth, and he is, I reckon, no wise man that looketh this way to heaven.'

After the dissolution of the parliament in February 1598 no new parliament was summoned till October 1601. Meanwhile Essex was removed out of Cecil's path by being sent to Ireland. In September 1599 Essex suddenly presented himself before the queen without having previously obtained any leave of absence from his province. Such an offence could not be passed over. On 5 June 1600 the earl was brought before eighteen commissioners, numbering among them the chief officers of the state, whose business it was to report upon his misconduct. Cecil was among the commissioners, of course, and it was through his discreet intercession and the courtesy and forbearance which he displayed that the earl was allowed his liberty, though still forbidden the royal presence. In the February following Essex engaged upon his mad outbreak, and on 19 Feb. 1601 he was put upon his trial. In the course of that trial a highly dramatic incident occurred. 'Essex accused Sir Robert Cecil of having said that the infanta of Spain was the right heir to the crown of England. The secretary . . . stepped forth on this being said, and desiring to speak insisted that Essex should produce his authority, who only replied that Southampton had heard it as well as himself. Cecil then conjured the latter by his duty to God, by his christianity and their ancient friendship, to name the councillor to whom he was reported to have made this speech. Being told it was Mr. Comptroller, the secretary fell on his knees, desired that Sir William Knollys might be sent for, and sent a message to the queen, vowing to God that if she would not allow Sir William to come he would die rather than ever serve her again.' The baseless charge was entirely discredited, but it was a critical moment in Cecil's life. It was only after Essex had suffered for his awkward attempt at an insurrection that Cecil allowed himself to enter into communication with James I, precisely as his father had done with Elizabeth, and with characteristic caution he

began to prepare the way for the king of Scots to succeed to the throne, as Burghley had done for the queen. So well, however, was this secret of state kept that it was not till a century ago that the existence of any such correspondence had been suspected, and not till Mr. Bruce published them for the Camden Society that the real contents of those letters were made known to the world.

In the following October Queen Elizabeth's last parliament assembled, and Cecil represented Hertfordshire, as he had done in the three previous parliaments. In the debates that ensued he spoke with remarkable dignity and force. His business was to obtain the supplies for prosecuting the war with Spain, which now threatened to be carried on in Ireland, and to make the best of the grievances, especially those which had to do with monopolies, of which the popular party in the house were disposed to complain loudly. He managed to obtain the necessary subsidies, and the parliament was dissolved in less than two months after it had assembled. During the remainder of the queen's reign his work necessitated his keeping many secretaries; even his private letters it was difficult for him to attend to, 'not being able,' as he writes, 'to undergo the continual multiplicity of the despatches of state and the due correspondences which I owe.' The accession of James I found him prepared at all points for the new order of things. Elizabeth died 24 March 1603, at two o'clock in the morning. At eleven, in the presence of some of the chief nobility and others, Cecil read the proclamation declaring that James was king of England. He was continued in his place as secretary by James I, and on 13 May made Baron Cecil of Essingden, on 20 Aug. 1604 Viscount Cranborne, on 4 May 1605 Earl of Salisbury, and on the 20th of the same month a knight of the Garter. A large portion of his father's landed property had descended to him by the deed of settlement made when Burghley had married Lady Mildred, Burleigh House and the bulk of the Lincolnshire estates which had come through his grandmother being entailed upon his elder brother, now Earl of Exeter. He had also succeeded his father as master of the court of wards, and in October 1603 was appointed lord high steward to the queen, Anne of Denmark. His resources must have been very large. From this time till his death it is hardly too much to say that the whole administration of the country was in his hands. The extravagance of the king and the greediness of the courtiers knew no bounds. The Englishmen denounced the Scotchmen as rapacious plunderers; but it appears that there was very little to choose between them, and

that the English actually absorbed the larger share of the spoils. Every one seemed to be bent upon enriching himself as speedily as possible. Only Salisbury continued steadily at his duties. He worked while others were playing each his own game. The policy of Salisbury during James's reign and his statesmanship are hardly within the province of such a biography as this; they may be studied in the pages of Mr. Gardiner's history. Salisbury's last preferment was bestowed upon him when by the death of Thomas, earl of Dorset, he succeeded that nobleman as lord treasurer on 6 May 1608. From that time till his death the finances of the country came more than ever under his direction. The king's debts, notwithstanding the reckless profusion that characterised him, were greatly reduced by Salisbury's dexterous management, and the ordinary revenue of the country nearly doubled itself in the first ten years of the king's reign. With regard to his receiving money from Spain it was part of that vile system which his father had established, and into which he was perhaps forced, of employing every means that came to hand for obtaining information of the doings of the catholics. That he gave any information or that he ever betrayed the trust committed to him there is not a tittle of evidence to show.

It is said that he was an abler speaker than his father, brighter and quicker. Certainly the impression made by his speeches in parliament appears to have been very great. Yet he was a man of far less wide culture than the first Lord Burghley, and though chancellor of the university of Cambridge for some years, and a liberal benefactor to Oxford, in the shape of a valuable collection of books bestowed upon the university library in 1605, he appears to have had but faint sympathy with learning or learned men, and had none of the instincts or tastes of the student.

He was in person much below the middle height, probably not exceeding five feet two or three, with some slight curvature of the spine, the effect of which, as Mr. Brewer says, was 'exaggerated by the dress and fashion of the times.' He was sensitive upon this subject, as all are who labour under any deformity. It is said that his cousin, Sir Francis Bacon, aimed one of his most famous essays against this misfortune, and some of the most cruel and scurrilous lampoons which were circulated to his annoyance by the hangers-on of the Earl of Essex in 1600 did not forget to draw attention to his 'wry neck, crooked back, and splay foot.' Queen Elizabeth did not scruple to call him her 'little elf,' and James I called him his 'pigmy,' and even

addressed him in writing as his 'little beagle.' He made no sign of pain, but he felt the sting of it. Perhaps there is no European statesman who has occupied so prominent and so commanding a position in history during the last three centuries with whose public life and political administration we are so familiar in all its details, and of whose private life we know so little, as Lord Salisbury. It is only when he is death-stricken and when a few days of life remain to him that we find the curtain raised which covers his private character through life.

It has already been pointed out that we are ignorant of the exact place or time of his birth. The same may be said of his marriage, of the birth of his children, of his wife's death, indeed of anything concerned with his boyhood and early manhood. We know nothing of his tutors or schoolmasters. There is no record of his matriculation at Cambridge nor any evidence of his having taken a degree there, except such as is afforded by the fact that he incorporated at Oxford in 1606. Though there are many indications of his having possessed a kindly and affectionate nature, he seems never to have had a friendship. Life was to him a game which he was playing for high stakes, and men and women were only pieces upon the board, set there to be swept off by one side or the other or allowed to stand so long only as the risk of letting them remain there was not too great. The immense tension at which he lived rendered it impossible to cultivate any taste for art or literature, yet he certainly had an innate appreciation of grandeur and symmetry in architecture, and he inherited from his father what amounted to a passion for building and planting. In 1607, James I, having taken a fancy for Lord Salisbury's beautiful house at Theobalds in Hertfordshire, offered to exchange Hatfield for it. The earl could hardly refuse. He had no sooner got possession of the new domain than he began to plan and construct the glorious mansion which remains a splendid monument of his good taste and magnificence. Mr. Brewer says he was his own architect. This is true only so far as the general conception was his own; the draughtsman of the plans and details, the real architect was Robert Limminge, who afterwards designed and built the hardly less beautiful mansion of Blickling in Norfolk. Hatfield was never the residence of the first Earl of Salisbury; it was not completed till after his death.

Lord Salisbury married Elizabeth, daughter of William Brooke, fifth baron Cobham, and sister of the two wretched men, Henry, lord Cobham, and George Brooke, who were im-

plicated with Markham, Watson, and Sir Walter Raleigh in the 'Bye plot.' By this lady he had two children: Frances, a daughter, who on 25 June 1610 married Henry Clifford, only son of the fourth earl of Cumberland, and William, his successor as second earl of Salisbury, who, on 1 Dec. 1608, married Lady Catherine Howard, youngest daughter of Thomas, earl Suffolk, and sister of the infamous Countess of Essex. The earl seems never to have had the satisfaction of seeing any male issue from either of these alliances. Of Lady Clifford's children only one daughter attained a marriageable age; his successor's eldest son was not born till 1616. Of that successor Clarendon has left perhaps his most caustic 'character.' Lord Salisbury's constitution had begun to show signs of breaking up for a year or two before his death. As early as the spring of 1611 he was reported to be dying. In the summer Sir Theodore Mayerne regarded his case as hopeless, but he continued through the winter transacting business, and in January there was some amendment.

In April 1612 he set out for Bath, where the waters, it was said, were likely to restore him. On 8 May he wrote his last letter to his son, whom he had expressly ordered not to come to him; but the young man would not heed the injunction, and on the 19th was at his father's side. Feeling that all hope of a cure was gone, and anxious to reach home before the end should come, he left Bath on the 21st. The journey told upon his exhausted frame, and he only succeeded in reaching Marlborough, where he was received into the parsonage house, and there breathed his last on 24 May 1612. He died owing nearly 38,000*l.*, at that time an enormous sum, which it required the sale of an extensive territory to clear off.

Two curious stories which have reached us regarding Lord Salisbury deserve to be noticed. The first is to be found in Lodge's 'Illustrations of English History' (iii. 146), and has been more than once quoted or referred to as showing that Cecil was a 'man of gallantry.' It appears that he had given a picture of himself to Elizabeth, lady Derby, apparently as a wedding present; that the picture 'was on a dainty tablet, and the queen espying it . . . snatched it away, . . . fastened it to her shoe, and walked long with it there.' Hereupon Cecil got one of the court poets to write some verses upon the incident, and some one else to set them to music. Writers who are prone to draw hasty inferences from scraps of information, and readers who are always ready to accept the worst rather than the simplest interpretation of a stray anecdote, require to be warned that

Elizabeth, lady Derby, was Cecil's niece, his own sister's child! The other story is told by Dr. Donne in one of his letters, but nothing like an allusion to the circumstances is to be met with in any contemporary writer. The internal evidence which Donne's letter affords fixes the date to about 1 Aug. 1609. According to this letter, in consequence of a violent quarrel between Salisbury and Lord Hertford, Salisbury sent the other 'a direct challenge by his servant, Mr. Knightley. . . . All circumstances were so clearly handled between them, that St. James was agreed for the place, and they were both come from their several lodgings and upon the way to have met, when they were interrupted by such as from the king were sent to have care of it.' Fifty years before this time Salisbury's elder brother, the future Earl of Exeter, had been ordered to leave Paris to remove him from the contaminating influence of this same Lord Hertford, then a young man of dissolute life and expensive habits. He was now considerably over seventy. Salisbury himself was thirty years his junior, and had been made lord treasurer the year before. Donne, in telling the story, regards it as so improbable that his correspondent would hardly be brought to believe it; but that it can have been a mere invention, or that an event so extraordinary should have been hushed up and never found its way into the news-letters of the time, seems equally inexplicable. Possibly when the Hatfield MSS. which are concerned with this period shall have been calendared, some light may be thrown upon the curious episode.

[The main sources for the biography of Lord Salisbury are to be found in the documents summarised in the *Calendars of State Papers (Domestic)* covering the period between 1581 and 1618. Next in importance come Winwood's *Memorials of State* (3 vols. fol. 1725) and the *Court and Times of James I.*, printed in 1848 from the manuscripts which Dr. Birch left behind him. Bishop Goodman's *Court and Times of James I.* was published by Professor Brewer in 2 vols. 8vo, 1839. It contains some valuable letters printed nowhere else. The bishop's 'character' of Salisbury must be taken for what it is worth. The best sketch of Lord Salisbury is to be found in Brewer's *English Studies*; the writer had the great advantage of having the Hatfield papers for years under his supervision. Nichols's *Progresses of Elizabeth and James I.* are full of curious information, but the index to these seven quarto volumes is altogether insufficient. The minute account by Mr. John Bowles, afterwards bishop of Rochester, of Salisbury's last sickness and death is to be found in Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*, i. 205. For all that concerns Cecil's relations with Sir Anthony Bacon, Birch's *Memoirs*

of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth is invaluable. For all that concerns his dealings with Sir Francis Bacon, Spedding's *Life and Letters of Bacon* is exhaustive, as is Edwards's *Life of Sir Walter Raleigh* for all which concerns his connection with that unfortunate genius. These three last-named works are, each in its own way, essential to the student of this period. Captain Devereux's *Lives of the Devereux, Earls of Essex* (2 vols. 8vo, 1853), is a careful and industrious piece of advocacy. The following works will be found to support statements made in the text:—Collins's *Peagee*, ii. 486 et seq.; Lodge's *Illustrations of British History* (4to, 1791), iii. 87, 124, 146, &c.; Collins's *Sydney Papers* (fol. 1746), ii. 324 et seq.; Froude's *History of England*, vol. xii.; S. R. Gardiner's *History of England, 1603–1642*, vols. i. and ii.; D'Ewes's *Journals of the Parliaments of Queen Elizabeth* (fol. 1693); Correspondence of King James VI with Sir Robert Cecil, ed. John Bruce (Camden Society), 1861; Donne's *Letters*, 4to, 1654, p. 213. There are a few scraps concerning him in Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* and in the *Fasti*. The flimsy gossip which forms the staple of such writers as Naunton, Weldon, Osborne, and the catholics, who for the most part got their stories at second or third hand, are scarcely worth notice. Though Salisbury was chancellor of the university of Cambridge, his name appears but once or twice in Cooper's *Annals*. The *Hatfield MSS.*, when completed, may be expected to give some light upon various incidents of his private life.]

A. J.

**CECIL, THOMAS**, first EARL OF EXETER, second LORD BURGHLEY (1542–1622), eldest son of William Cecil, lord Burghley, by Mary Cleke [see **CECIL, WILLIAM**], was born on 5 May 1542. He seems to have been brought up under tutors at his father's house, and never to have received a university education; he gave no signs of more than average ability, and it was probably because his father knew him to be deficient in capacity that he felt compelled to keep him in the background during his own lifetime. In June 1561 he was sent with Sir Thomas Windebank to travel on the continent, but he had hardly got to Paris before he began to exhibit a taste for dissipation, and he seems to have indulged that taste with much freedom. His father was greatly distressed by the reports he received, and in one of his letters expresses a fear that his son 'will return home like a spending sot, meet only to keep a tennis court.'

Windebank, when he had been in Paris for more than a year, wrote home in despair, saying there was no doing anything with the young man, whose idle and dissolute habits had quite got beyond his control, and recommended his being recalled. To this, however, his father did not agree, and we hear that in August 1562 they left Paris

'secretly,' and slipped away to Antwerp and thence made their way to Spires, Heidelberg, and Frankfort. Young Cecil's conduct showed no improvement, and though his father wished him to visit Italy and Switzerland he had no desire himself to prolong his stay abroad, and returned in the spring of 1563. In the parliament of 1563 he was returned as member for Stamford. In 1564 he married Dorothy, second daughter and coheir of John, lord Latimer, negotiations for the marriage having, it appears, been begun two years before. During the next five years we hear little of him, but during the rebellion of the northern earls in 1569 he showed a commendable activity, and did not forget to claim his reward. In 1570 the Earl of Sussex, under whom he had served, recommended him to the queen as deserving some recognition, and he wrote a letter of thanks, which has been preserved. If it be a fair specimen of his style of composition, he must indeed have been a man of but small 'parts.' Next year, on the occasion of the French ambassador visiting Cambridge, accompanied by Lord Burghley as chancellor of the university, and other notables, Cecil was admitted M.A. by a special grace of the senate. At a magnificent tournament held at Westminster during this year he took a prominent part, and received a prize at the hands of the queen for his prowess at the barriers. He had always had a desire for a military life, which his father would never allow him to gratify; but in 1573 he volunteered for the Scotch war without asking leave, and was present at the storming of Edinburgh on 28 May. In July 1575 he received the honour of knighthood on the occasion of the queen's visit to Kenilworth. When Leicester went in command of the English contingent to the Low Countries, Cecil accompanied him and distinguished himself by his valour in the campaign. In November 1585 he was made governor of the Brille, one of the cautionary towns. There was little cordiality between him and Leicester, for whom he entertained a scarcely disguised contempt; on the other hand, he was one of those who showed a loyal admiration for Sir John Norris.

In August 1587 we find him among the mourners at the funeral ceremonies of Mary Queen of Scots, which were celebrated at Peterborough. In 1588 he was among the volunteers who served on board the fleet which was equipped to resist the Spanish Armada. During the next ten years we hear nothing of him. At his father's funeral in 1598 the queen gave order that he, as chief mourner, should 'mourn as an earl.'

It was not until the summer of 1599 that he received his first preferment. He was made president of the council of the north. The instructions addressed to him by the queen give a most curious account of the condition of Yorkshire at this time, and of the widespread discontent that prevailed. Lord Burghley is charged to resort to strong measures to reduce the recusant gentry to obedience, and to hunt down the papists and the priests. He showed no reluctance to obey his orders, and before he had been in office two months he writes to his brother, Sir Robert Cecil, boasting, 'Since my coming I have filled a little study with copes and mass-books.' In October 1600 he had leave of absence, and being in London during the so-called rebellion of Robert, earl of Essex, in the following February, he took a leading part in suppressing the foolish riot and in proclaiming Essex a traitor with due formalities. In recognition of his service he was made a knight of the Garter, and installed at Windsor 20 May 1601. On the accession of James I (1603) he was sworn of the privy council, and on 4 May 1605 he was created Earl of Exeter. In April 1609 his wife, Lady Dorothy, died, and about the same time Sir Thomas Smith, master of requests to James I, being carried off by a fever, Lord Exeter consoled himself for his own loss by marrying Sir Thomas Smith's widow, though she was thirty-eight years his junior; she was daughter of William, fourth lord Chandos.

He appeared but little at court after this—indeed, he was nearly seventy at the time of his second marriage. He had suffered a great deal from the gout for many years before, and he spent most of his time at Wimbledon House in comparative retirement, though his name occurs now and then upon commissions, upon all of which he certainly did not serve. The last years of his life were embittered by the scandalous lawsuits in which he found himself entangled through the quarrels that arose between his grandson and heir, Lord Roos, and the violent and wicked woman to whom that son was married. The story of the hateful business may be read in Mr. Gardiner's 'History of Prince Charles and the Spanish Marriage.' Lord Exeter died 7 Feb. 1622, in his eightieth year, and was buried in Westminster Abbey three days after, in the chapel of St. John the Baptist, where a splendid monument to his memory still exists.

It is clear that the first Lord Exeter was a person of very ordinary abilities, and that if he had been born of other parentage we should have heard nothing of him. By his

first wife, Lady Dorothy, he had a family of five sons and eight daughters. His eldest son, William, who succeeded to the earldom, was the father of the despicable Lord Roos who died before him, in 1618, and as he had no other son the earldom passed to Sir Richard Cecil, the first earl's second son, from whom the present Marquis of Exeter is lineally descended. The third son, Sir Edward Cecil, was created Viscount Wimbledon 25 July 1626, but dying in 1638 without male heirs the title became extinct [see *Cecil, Sir Edward, Viscount Wimbledon*]. Of his daughters, Elizabeth married, first, Sir William Hutton, and secondly Sir Edward Coke. The violent quarrel between this lady and her second husband was a *cause célèbre* before the law courts in 1617. Lord Exeter imitated his illustrious father in founding a hospital for twelve poor men and two women at Liddington in Rutlandshire, and was a liberal benefactor to Clare College, Cambridge. By his second wife he had a daughter, who died in infancy. His widow survived him more than forty years. She died in 1663 and was buried in Winchester Cathedral.

[Many of the authorities for the life of Thomas Cecil are given under *Cecil, William, Lord Burghley*. To them must be added: *Calendars, Domestic*, covering all the period of his life, *passim*; *Birch's Court and Times of James I*; *Nichols's Progresses of Eliz. and Jas. I*; *Strype's Annals*, ii. i. 36, and elsewhere through his works; *Cooper's Annals of Cambridge*, ii. 278; *Gardiner's Hist. of James I*, vol. iii. chap. iii.; *Spedding's Bacon's Life and Letters*, vi. et seq.; *Collins's Peerage*, 'Marquis of Exeter,' ii.; *Life and Times of Sir Edward Cecil, lord Wimbledon*, by C. Dalton, 2 vols. 8vo, 1885; *Froude's Hist. of England*, vol. ix.; *Motley's United Netherlands*, i. and ii.; *Col. Chester's Westminster Abbey Registers*, p. 21, n. 5. There is a curious document quoted in the fourth report of the Hist. MSS. Commissioners, p. 125, which appears to throw some doubt upon the marriage of Thomas Cecil to Dorothy Nevill. The fact of that marriage is so certain that it is not worth while to discuss the matter here.] A. J.

*CECIL, THOMAS* (*n.* 1630), engraver, has the credit, rare in artists of his period, of being an Englishman. Beyond this there is not much to be said. John Evelyn speaks highly of him, and he seems to have been well thought of by his contemporaries. He was working in London 1627–35. The portrait of Henry VIII prefixed to some copies of the first edition of Lord Herbert of Cheshire's 'History of Henry' is by Cecil. His best works are portraits, often from his own drawings, 'executed entirely with the graver.'

His 'Queen Elizabeth on Horseback' is the most important of these. 'His works are neat in finish, but stiff and wanting in taste; his drawing of the figure weak and incorrect, the extremities bad.'

[Vertue's Cat. of Engravers, 1794; Walpole's Anecdotes of Painters, iii. 875, ed. 1849; Redgrave's Dict. of Artists.]

**CECIL, WILLIAM, LORD BURGHLEY** (1520-1598), minister of state, the only son of Richard Cecil of Burleigh in the parish of Stamford Baron St. Martin, Northamptonshire, by Jane, daughter and heiress of William Heckington of Bourn, Lincolnshire, was born at his grandfather's house in Bourn on 13 Sept. 1520. Though immense pains were taken to construct a long pedigree of the family by no less a person than Camden the antiquary, and though Cecil himself spared no effort to prove his descent from an ancient stock of notable personages, it has hitherto proved impossible, and probably will always remain so, to trace the origin of the family further back than the great statesman's grandfather, David Cecil. This gentleman was early taken into favour by Henry VII, under whom he held some office of trust, the nature of which does not appear. As early as 1507 he had founded a chantry in St. George's Church, Stamford, and was apparently then 'yeoman of the chamber' to the king. On the accession of Henry VIII he rose in favour, became high sheriff of Northamptonshire in 1529 and 1530, and died in 1541, being then in the enjoyment of various offices and emoluments which had been bestowed upon him by his sovereign. The same astuteness in making the most of his opportunities and advancing his fortunes was observable in his son Richard. He, too, was a courtier. In his youth he was a royal page; in 1520 he was present at the Field of the Cloth of Gold; he rose to be groom of the robes and constable of Warwick Castle. He was high sheriff of Rutland in 1539, and was one of those who received no inconsiderable share of the plunder of the monasteries, and when he died (19 May 1552) he left an ample estate behind him in the counties of Rutland, Northampton, and elsewhere. William received his early training at the grammar schools of Stamford and Grantham. In May 1535 he entered at St. John's College, Cambridge, being then in his fifteenth year. He had already given unmistakable signs of his great abilities, was doubtless a precocious youth, and had acquired a certain mastery over the Greek language, which at that time was an accomplishment few young people could boast of. It is even said that he 'read the Greek lecture' in the college

before he was nineteen, but this is probably a perversion of facts or a mere fable. St. John's was at this time the most famous place of education in England, and numbered among its fellows several enthusiastic scholars who were soon to win substantial recognition as men of learning. Foremost among them were the courtly Roger Ascham [q. v.]—five years older than Cecil—and the unfortunate John Cheke, whom men esteemed the profoundest Grecian of his time. Cheke was admitted to a fellowship at St. John's in March 1529. His father, who occupied the position of university beadle, died a few months after this, and left but a scanty provision for his widow and their young family. Mrs. Cheke was driven to support her children as best she could, and she kept a small wine shop in the parish of St. Mary's. Her son's reputation increased from year to year, and when Cecil came up to St. John's he threw himself with eagerness and enthusiasm into the studies of the place and became a devoted friend and pupil of the great Greek professor. The intimacy between the two young men took Cecil to Mrs. Cheke's house more frequently than was prudent, and when scarcely out of his teens he lost his heart to Cheke's sister Mary, with a fortune of 40*l.*, which was all her father could leave her, and no further expectations in the world. It seems that news came to Cecil's father that his only son had become fascinated by the wineseller's daughter, and the news was not pleasant to him just at the time when he was actually high sheriff for Rutlandshire, and a great future might be in store for the heir of his estates. Young Cecil was at once removed from Cambridge, without taking a degree, though he had resided already six years at the university, and he was entered as a student at Gray's Inn on 6 May 1541. If the motive of his abrupt departure from Cambridge was to prevent a *mésalliance*, the plan failed. Two months after he came up to London Cecil married Mary Cheke, probably secretly, for the place of the marriage has not been discovered. Indeed, it looks as if the union was concealed for a considerable time, for Thomas, the future earl of Exeter [q. v.], the only fruit of the marriage, was born at Cambridge on 5 May 1542, and therefore presumably in the house of his grandmother. The marriage was so distasteful to Cecil's father that he is said to have altered his will, or, at any rate, had intended to do so; but the young wife did not live long to enjoy her married happiness or to seriously interfere with her husband's advancement. She died on 22 Feb. 1544. This is the one romantic episode of the great statesman's life. It

should be added, to his honour, that he kept up the friendliest intercourse with his wife's family, and when his mother-in-law died in 1548, she bequeathed all her 'wine potts,' with her 'second feather bed,' to her eldest daughter, but her 'new bed, with the bolsters and hangings,' she bequeathed to her grandson, 'Thomas Sysell,' to be kept by her executors in trust 'untill the said Thomas shall come to school to Cambridge.'

As Cecil had been a diligent student at the university, so he continued to apply himself to the study of law at Gray's Inn. His father's position at court soon brought him under the notice of the king, but there is no indication that at this period he looked for advancement to royal favour only; the presumption, rather, is that his ambition pointed to a brilliant career at the bar. In 1547 he became *custos brevium* in the court of common pleas, a valuable office, the reversion to which he had secured by grant some years before.

He did not long remain a widower. As his first wife was the sister of the greatest English scholar of his time, so his second was the daughter of a man hardly less eminent for his profound learning. This was Mildred, eldest daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke of Gidea Hall, Essex, to whom he was married on 21 Dec. 1545. Sir Anthony was preceptor, or governor, to Edward VI. Cheke was the king's tutor, to which office he was appointed in July 1544. Roger Ascham pronounced Lady Mildred and Lady Jane Grey the two most learned women in England; but Sir Anthony's second daughter, Ann, became eventually even more celebrated than her sister, and, by her marriage with Sir Nicholas Bacon, was the mother of the illustrious Sir Francis. With the accession of Edward VI a new direction was given to Cecil's ambition. The lord protector Somerset took him by the hand and made him his master of requests. When the war with Scotland broke out, Cecil accompanied his patron to the north, and was present at the battle of Pinkney, where he narrowly escaped being slain (11 Sept. 1547). He had scarcely returned to England when he was chosen to sit for Stamford in the parliament that met on 8 Nov. 1547. In the following September he became the protector's secretary, and when Somerset fell his secretary was committed to the Tower. There he remained for two months, and was liberated on 25 Jan. 1550, only after giving a bond for a thousand marks to appear before the council when he should be called. By this time, however, it had become evident that his extraordinary ability could not be dispensed

with by the party in power, and the eyes of all the chief personages in the state were turned upon him. On 5 Sept. 1550 he was appointed one of the secretaries of state, and sworn of the privy council, and from this time till his death he continued to occupy a position in the affairs of the nation such as no other man in Europe below the rank of a sovereign attained to, his transcendent genius and wonderful capacity for public business making him for forty-eight years an absolutely necessary minister to the three children of Henry VIII, whom he served so effectively, and, it must be added, so loyally. His earliest preferments indicate that he had already won some reputation as a lawyer. In January 1551 he was one of a commission with Archbishop Cranmer, Bishops Ridley and Goodrich, and others, for trying certain Anabaptists (*Fadera*, xv. 250). Shortly after this he appears as recorder of Boston, and in April 1552 he was appointed chancellor of the order of the Garter.

In October 1551 he received the honour of knighthood, together with his brother-in-law, Sir John Cheke. In May 1552 his father died, leaving him large estates in Rutlandshire, Lincolnshire, and Northamptonshire. He was now a rich man, and began to live in a manner befitting his ample means. His ambition began to widen its horizon, but it never betrayed him into treasonable intrigues or tempted him to forget that the highest honours he could hope for were to be won only by faithful service to the crown. When the insane scheme of the Duke of Northumberland for altering the succession and setting Lady Jane Grey upon the throne was forced upon the judges and nobility in June 1553, Cecil added his signature to the document under protest, declaring that he signed it as a witness only (*Froude*, v. 509). He had already expressed himself very strongly against the measure, and actually resigned his post as secretary of state when it was persisted in (*Tytler*). When Queen Mary succeeded to the throne by the death of her brother on 6 July, Cecil was out of office, and the queen did not re-instate him; she was already under the influence of very different advisers. During the first year of Mary's reign he seems to have lived in retirement, if that might be called retirement when he was attracting attention by the great expense of his establishment and the large sums he was spending upon his houses at Wimbledon and Bursleigh (*Salisbury MSS.*; *Calendar*, p. 127). He was watching for his opportunity and biding his time.

Meanwhile, on 23 July 1554, Mary became



the wife of Philip of Spain, and the immediate effect of the marriage was that steps were speedily taken to 'reconcile' England to the church of Rome. It is at this period that Cecil appears first as a diplomatist. On 6 Nov. he set out with Lord Paget and Sir Edward Hastings on a mission to bring Cardinal Pole to England as legate of the pope (TYTLER; and see FROUDE, vi. 266, *n. f.*). On the 23rd of the month the three envoys returned, the cardinal with them. In the following January the persecution began, and on 4 Feb. 1555 Rogers, the first of the Marian martyrs, was burned at Smithfield. In May an attempt was made to conclude a peace between Henry II and the emperor, and once more Cecil was despatched with the cardinal to arrange the terms. The negotiations came to nothing, and he was back again by the end of June. The parliament met on 21 Oct., and Cecil was chosen one of the knights of the shire for Lincoln. A measure had been brought in for confiscating the estates of the protestant refugees. Cecil protested against the iniquity of the proposition, and it appears that it was owing to his protest that the measure was thrown out. In the parliament which met in January 1558 Cecil had no seat. He probably held himself aloof advisedly, and there is reason to believe that he regarded with something like horror the detestable cruelties of the persecution which disgraced Queen Mary's reign. Watching the current of events, he seems to have warily put himself into communication with the Princess Elizabeth; certainly he had won her confidence, and when Mary died on 17 Nov. 1558 he was the first to receive an unqualified expression of esteem from the new queen. Elizabeth at once appointed him chief secretary of state. She was at Hatfield when the news of her sister's death reached her. She had already instructed Cecil how to act, and on the same day that Mary died he drafted the form of proclamation which it was advisable to issue, and assumed the direction of the government. On the 20th Elizabeth gave her first audience in the hall at Hatfield. Cecil took the oaths as secretary, and to him the queen addressed those words which have been so frequently quoted that it is hardly necessary to repeat them here. When she said, 'This judgment I have of you, that you will not be corrupted with any manner of gifts, and that you will be faithful to the state,' she gave proof of her sagacity, and showed that she knew the character of the man who, through evil report and good report, was true to his royal mistress, and faithful in his stewardship to the end. A new parliament assembled in

January 1559, and Cecil once more took his seat as knight of the shire for Lincoln. He had already issued certain inquiries as to the condition of parties in the country. There were difficulties of all sorts to contend with wherever he turned his eyes. In December a committee of divines met at the house of Sir Thomas Smith, who had been vice-chancellor when Cecil was at Cambridge in 1543, to revise the prayer-book. Suggestions were invited and sent in for the reformation of the ecclesiastical laws. At the same time Philip of Spain made his outrageous proposal of marriage, which itself was a menace in case of refusal. There was a serious want of money. The pope, the English catholic party, France and Scotland, all were factors in the great problems of state with which the new minister had to deal. Elizabeth was crowned on 15 Jan. Parliament met on the 25th. Sir Nicholas Bacon, Cecil's brother-in-law, was keeper of the great seal. On 9 Feb. a bill for restoring the royal supremacy was introduced into the lower house and referred to a committee, of which Sir Anthony Cooke, Cecil's father-in-law, was chairman. In April the bill was passed. Meanwhile a peace had been concluded with France; Scotland was making eager overtures for an alliance with England; the English catholics were dispirited; the commons voted a sufficient subsidy; the outlook everywhere grew clearer. In February Cecil had been elected chancellor of the university of Cambridge; in June he was at the head of the commission for a visitation of the two universities. Just at this time Lord Robert Dudley appears upon the scene as the rising favourite. For a time it seemed as if he had stepped between the queen and the secretary, and there were rumours that Cecil's influence had received a check. Nevertheless, perhaps at no period of his life was the amount of work which he got through more astonishing than during those very months which passed while Lord Robert Dudley was supposed to be supplanting him. Just in proportion as the queen threw the cares of business aside and chose to amuse herself with her early playmate, were the affairs of the nation left to Cecil to manage according to his judgment; and if Elizabeth withdrew herself for a brief period from the routine of business, the secretary had more anxiety and responsibility thrown upon him. His health suffered under the severe strain of all this constant labour of mind and body, and he seems to have been in danger of breaking down. In June of this year he was once more employed on a diplomatic mission to Scotland, in conjunction with Sir William Cordell and Dr.

Wotton, and the treaty of Edinburgh was signed on 6 July. The queen was angry at the concessions that had been made, and when Cecil returned to court he found that Dudley had gained ground and he himself had lost it. In September Amy Robsart came by her death. Dudley was in extreme perplexity, and applied to Cecil for counsel. His reply has perished. Soon the rumours spread that the queen was going to marry her early playmate, but gradually the reports lost credit. Cecil's star again rose. On 10 Jan. 1561 Cecil was appointed master of the court of wards. It was his first really lucrative office, and a very important one; but it was an office whereby a great deal of vexatious tyranny had been exercised upon the gentry for a long time. The court of wards was talked of with the same abhorrence and dread as the court of chancery was among ourselves thirty years ago. With characteristic energy Cecil applied himself to reform the abuses which were matters of common scandal, and at the same time he contrived to make the department a source of increased revenue to the crown. Nor was this all. The country was suffering severely from all the religious and social disturbances of the last fifteen years. The condition of the people needed to be looked into, for there was disorder everywhere. In July 1561 Cecil organised what we should now call a commission of inquiry into the discontent that prevailed. At this time he appears to have been considerably embarrassed, insomuch that he was compelled to sell his office of *custos brevium*, to lessen his establishment, and borrow money of Sir Thomas Gresham for his immediate necessities. The truth seems to be that his buildings at Burleigh, which had been going on for years, were carried on upon a scale which no ordinary income could support, and to this must be added the great demands which about this time were made upon him by his son Thomas, who occasioned him great anxiety and distress by his dissolute way of living while on his travels abroad.

In the parliament of 1563 Cecil was chosen speaker of the House of Commons, but he declined the honour. The duties of speaker were hardly to be discharged along with those for which he was already responsible. One of the most important measures of the session was that which was intended to carry out the domestic policy which had been in Cecil's mind while he was formulating the inquiries circulated during the previous year. On 6 July 1564 Queen Elizabeth stood sponsor to Cecil's daughter Elizabeth, who became eventually the wife of William Wentworth,

eldest son of Lord Wentworth of Nettlested. In August she paid her famous visit to Cambridge. Cecil had cause for uneasiness as to the reception the queen might receive. Party feeling ran very high in the university, and there had been unseemly disorders in some of the colleges, as well as a good deal of strong language and insubordination outside the college walls. Cecil, as chancellor of the university, felt that his own credit was at stake, and he took the precaution to go down to Cambridge before the queen started on her progress, to smooth the way for her reception. By his adroitness he brought it about that the Cambridge visit was one of the most successful entertainments of her long reign. The university, in recognition of Cecil's merits, created him M.A., and the townsmen presented him with some wonderful confectionery! In 1566 he was with the queen during her visit to Oxford, and there too he was created M.A.

The next three years were full of events which could not but have their effect upon the line of policy that Cecil found himself henceforth compelled to follow. The long and fierce struggle between the protestant and catholic party in Scotland ended at last in Mary Stuart's crossing the border and becoming a prisoner upon English soil in May 1568. New complications arose, and the great question of how to deal with the catholic party in England soon forced itself into prominence. In March 1569 Cecil drew up a most able paper upon the political situation (HAYNES, p. 579), in which he shows clearly that he knew what was coming, and that he was no less completely master of the intrigues that were going on in Europe than he was of all that was passing at home. The great northern rebellion came upon him as no surprise; the attempt to crush him in the council (FROUDE, ix. 441; *Salisbury MSS.* 1319, 1328) caused him no disturbance. The northern outbreak had collapsed before Christmas. The ferocity with which the de-luded victims were treated must be laid to the queen's account, not to that of any of her ministers. One thing had made itself clear to Cecil—the northern rebellion had been a religious war, and the catholics in England were a far more powerful and far more dangerous party than queen and minister had hitherto allowed themselves to believe.

In February 1570 the bull of Pope Pius V excommunicating Elizabeth was published, and on 15 May a copy of it was nailed to the door of the bishop of London's palace. It was not only an insolent and wanton defiance,

it was practically a declaration of war. Cecil understood the significance of the act, and knew better than any one else that from henceforth there could be no peace with Rome. In the council he stood almost alone, but Elizabeth, as always on any great emergency, gave him her steadfast support. As Mr. Froude has well said, 'she was a woman and a man: she was herself and Cecil.' Against the secret intrigues that were everywhere now at work, and the secret emissaries of the English refugees supplied with money from their sympathisers at home and from Spain and Rome abroad, Cecil felt himself compelled to resort to baser weapons. His life began to be threatened; assassins were bribed to slay him and the queen; the murder of both or either, it was taught, would be something more glorious than mere justifiable homicide. Against the new doctrine and its desperate disciples, growing ever more reckless and furious as their failures multiplied, it seemed to Cecil that extraordinary precautions were needed, and for the next twenty years he kept a small army of spies and informers in his pay, who were the detective police, that he used without scruple to get information when it was needed to keep watch upon the sayings and doings of suspected characters at home and abroad. They were a vile band, and employment of such instruments could not but bring some measure of dishonour upon their employer. Such men almost necessitated that cruelty and treachery should be wrought under their hands, and the use of torture and other barbarities in the treatment and slaughter of the Roman missionaries and their supporters are the shame and indelible reproach which attach themselves to Cecil's conduct of affairs, and which not all the difficulties of his position, or the unexampled provocations he endured, can altogether excuse. In the grim conflict that ensued, however, he carried out his purpose and gained his end. Before the defeat of the Armada, all chance of a restoration of the papal supremacy in England had gone for ever.

Hitherto, though the most powerful man in the kingdom, and far the ablest and most laborious secretary of the queen, Cecil had received no great reward. He had lived bountifully and spent lavishly, but he was still a plain knight. On 25 Feb. 1571 he was created Baron of Burghley. 'If you list to write truly,' he says, addressing one of his correspondents, 'the poorest lord in England' (WRIGHT, i. 391). Next year he was installed a knight of the Garter, and in July 1572, on the death of the Earl of Winchester, he became lord high treasurer of England.

These were the last honours he received from the queen. To follow his career from this point to its close would be to write the history of England; for by him, more than by any other single man during the last thirty years of his life, was the history of England shaped. He outlived all those who had at one time been his rivals, and almost all who had started with him in the race for power and fame. Ascham and Cheke and Sir Thomas Smith, whom he had loved as familiar friends at Cambridge; Sir Nicholas Bacon, who sat with him for long in the council, not always agreeing with his opinions; Leicester and Walsingham and Sir Christopher Hatton, and many another whose name has become a household word, all passed away before him. It seemed as if he could do without any or all of them; but it is very safe to assert that without him the reign of Elizabeth would not have been as glorious as it was, nor could the nation have emerged from all the long series of difficulties and perils through which it passed under his vigilant and vigorous guidance, so prosperous and strong and self-reliant, if there had been no Cecil in the council of his sovereign, and if his genius had exercised less paramount control. Only once in his career did Elizabeth display towards him any serious marks of her displeasure. After the execution of Mary Stuart she dismissed him from her presence, and spent her fury upon him in words of outrageous insult. He had carried out her secret wishes, but it suited her to have it believed that he had misinterpreted her instructions.

As he outlived almost all his old friends, so did he survive all his children except his two sons, Thomas, his firstborn [see *CECIL, THOMAS, EARL OF EXETER*], and Robert, his successor in more than one of his offices of state and the inheritor of no small portion of his genius [see *CECIL, ROBERT, EARL OF SALISBURY*]. Of five other children by Lady Mildred, three sons died early. His daughter Elizabeth married, as has been said, William Wentworth, eldest son of Lord Wentworth of Nettledon; the marriage took place in 1582; the husband died about a year after, and his widow did not long survive. There was no issue of the marriage. His other daughter, Ann, married Edward de Vere, seventeenth earl of Oxford, by whom she had three daughters, but no son. It was a very unhappy alliance; the earl treated his wife very badly, and she died in June 1588. Her mother, Lady Mildred, followed her daughter to the grave in less than a year; she died on 4 April 1589. Cecil mourned her loss with pathetic sorrow. His mother, who had been to him

through life an object of tender solicitude, had already passed away in March 1587. In his old age Cecil must at times have felt his loneliness. He had almost completed his seventy-sixth year when death came upon him at his house in the Strand on 4 Aug. 1598. His body was removed for burial to Stamford Baron, his obsequies being performed on the same day with much magnificence at Westminster Abbey.

Illustrious as a statesman, his private life displays a character peculiarly attractive. He was a man of strong affection—gentle and tender to children, of whom he was very fond—an indulgent father, even when his son Thomas tried him sorely by his early dissipation and went so far as to remind his father that he could not be cut off from the entailed estates, which were settled upon him. He watched the education of his children with constant interest, and made liberal provision for his daughters when they married. His loyal fidelity to his early friends and kindred showed itself whenever a legitimate opportunity occurred for assisting them [see especially under BROWNE, ROBERT], and his grateful love for his old college and for Cambridge he never tired of expressing in word and deed. The hospital for twelve old men at Stamford still remains in testimony of his kindly charity, and in his will he left many legacies to the poor and the unfortunate. In the midst of all his wonderful official labours he contrived to keep up an interest in literature; he was a lover of books and of learned men, and a student to the last. His health was frequently impaired by overwork and mental strain. In 1580 he suffered much from his teeth, which had begun to decay. He was always an early riser, and writing to a correspondent who wished to speak with him at the court, he warns him that his only chance of securing an interview was by being in attendance before nine in the morning. The sums he spent on his buildings and gardens at his various houses were enormous. In defending himself against the attacks of his slanderers in 1585 he thinks it necessary to excuse and explain this lavish outlay. Burleigh, the glorious palace which still remains as a noble monument of his magnificence, he says he had built upon the old foundations, but such as he left it—he left it while it was his mother's property, and he never presumed to treat it as his own during her lifetime. It was not till after her death that the queen was entertained within its walls. It was at Theobalds and Wimbledon and Cecil House that Elizabeth was received with such extraordinary splendour. Twelve times, it is said, the queen was his

guest, and the cost of her visits entailed on each occasion an outlay which sounds to us almost incredible. His gardens were celebrated over Europe, and we hear of his experiments at acclimatising foreign trees, which he imported at a great cost. For mere pictorial art he seems to have cared but little, though his agents were instructed to procure specimens of sculpture for him from Venice and probably elsewhere. He had a great taste for music; there is no indication of his being fond of animals. His hospitality was unbounded, and he kept great state in his establishments. He had a high idea of what was expected from the prime minister of the queen of England. All this splendour and profuseness could not be kept up through life and any large accumulation of wealth be left behind him. In truth Cecil did not die as rich a man as might have been expected, and there is good reason for believing that if his father had not left him an ample patrimony he would have died as poor a man as many another of Elizabeth's ablest and most faithful servants. Cooper, in the 'Athenæ Cantabrigienses,' has given a list of sixty of his works. They are for the most part state papers, apologies, and ephemera, never printed and never intended to be published to the world. He had made large collections in heraldry and genealogy, with which studies he was much interested. He expressed himself with facility and precision in Latin, French, and Italian, and he returned the letters which his son Thomas wrote to him from Paris with corrections of the mistakes in French which the young man had made. The mass of manuscripts which he left behind him is prodigious. In the single year 1596, when he was in his seventy-fifth year and his constitution was breaking up, no less than 1,290 documents, now at Hatfield, and every one of which passed under his eye and were dealt with by his hand or the hand of his secretaries, remain to prove his amazing industry, his methodical habits, and his astonishing capacity for work. It must be borne in mind, too, that the Record Office and other archives probably contain at least as large a collection of his letters and other writings as his own muniments supply. A very valuable 'Calendar of the Hatfield MSS.' is now in process of being drawn up; only the first volume has as yet appeared; but a rough list of his papers has been printed in the 4th and 5th 'Reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission.'

Cecil was of middle height and spare figure. In youth he was upright, lithe, and active, with a brown beard which became very white in his old age, brilliant eyes, and a nose some-

what large for his face. His portraits are numerous, and have all probably been engraved (BROMLEY, *Cat. Engr. Portraits*, 28); none of them are of any conspicuous merit. The authorities for his biography must be sought in every work which has any bearing upon the history of England during the latter half of the sixteenth century. The sources referred to below will be found to support the account of his life and administration given in the foregoing pages.

[The earliest and, in some respects, the most valuable life of Lord Burghley is that first printed by Peck in the *Desiderata Curiosa*. The author's name is not known. The Lives by Arthur Collins, Charlton, and Melvil (4to, 1738) are useful as far as they go; but a really satisfactory biography is still a desideratum; the materials are scattered very widely. In citing the following authorities special references are given only in cases where in the text a statement or opinion put forward for the first time, or otherwise noteworthy, may need verification: Collins's *Peerage* (1812), ii. 582; *Cal. Dom.* 1509, No. 295, *Cal.* 1513, No. 4597, *Cal.* 1534, No. 461, *Cal.* 1535, No. 149 (51); *Calendars Dom. temp. Eliz.* passim; *Calendar of the Hatfield MSS.* pt. i. (1883); Cooper's *Athenæ Cantab.* under 'William Cecil' and 'John Cheke'; Cooper's *Annals of Cambridge*, ii. 137; Baker's *St. John's College*, and Roger Ascham's *Scholemaster*, both by Prof. Mayer; Tytler's *England under Ed. VI and Mary* (1839); Burnet's *Hist. of the Reformation*, pt. ii. bk. ii.; Wright's *Queen Elizabeth and her Times*, 1838; Birch's *Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth* from 1581, 4to, 1754; Strype's *Annals*, and *Life of Whitgift*; Rymer's *Fœdera*, xv. 250; Haynes's *Burghley Papers*, fol. 1740, cover the period between 1541 and 1570; Murdin's *Burghley Papers*, fol. 1759, cover from 1578 to 1596; Collins's *Sydney Papers*, fol. 1746, vol. i.; Forbes's *Public Transactions of Queen Elizabeth*, 2 vols. fol. 1741; Nichols's *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*; Jessopp's *One Generation of a Norfolk House*, chap. iv.; Morris's *Troubles of our Catholic Forefathers*; Naunton's *Fragmenta Regalia*; Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.*, and *Fasti*, by Bliss; Kempe's *Losely MSS.*; Froude's *Hist. of England*, passim; Camden's *Annals of Queen Elizabeth*; Nicolas's *Life of Sir Christopher Hatton*. There are some valuable scraps of information in *Burgon's Life and Times of Sir Thomas Gresham* (2 vols. 1839), a book which deserves to be better known, and would be more frequently read and referred to but for its want of an index.]

A. J.

CECILIA or CECILY (1469–1507), the third daughter of Edward IV, was born towards the end of 1469. At the age of five she was betrothed by proxy to James, the eldest son of James III of Scotland, and arrangements were soon made by which her dowry of twenty thousand marks should be paid by yearly instalments (RYMER, xi. 827, 842, &c.), the re-

payment of which was afterwards secured on the sureties of the provost and burghers of Edinburgh (*ib.* xii. 161). When, however, James III, being at variance with his brother Alexander, duke of Albany, who was then staying at the English court, made an incursion into England, Edward transferred his daughter's engagement to his guest (June 1482), intending to make him king of Scotland (HALL, 21 Ed. IV.; RYMER, xii. 156–7). After various delays all these Scotch proposals fell through. On the usurpation of Richard III, Cecilia, with her mother and sister, took refuge in the sanctuary at Westminster (POLYDORUS VERGIL, p. 175), and before long Edward IV's children were declared illegitimate by act of parliament (COMINES, bk. v. c. 20, bk. vi. c. 8). In March 1484 Richard succeeded in inducing his sister-in-law to deliver her two daughters into his hands (ELLIS, *Letters*; HARDYNG, p. 536), and seems to have meditated marrying one or other of them himself. A rumour next sprang up that he had already married Cecilia to a man of a far inferior rank, and these reports had some effect upon the movements of the Earl of Richmond, who had sworn to wed the elder or the younger sister (HARDYNG, p. 540; MORE, *Rich. III.*, p. 93). On the accession of Henry VII she was received into favour, and carried her nephew, Prince Arthur, to the font on the day of his baptism (*Fifteenth-century Chronicles*, p. 104). Somewhere about 1487 Cecilia, 'not so fortunate as fayre,' married John, viscount Wells, who died in 1498 (GREEN, quoting LELAND, *Coll.* iv. 253). In 1494 she appears as a legatee in the will of her grandmother and namesake, Cecilia, duchess of York (*Wills from Doctors' Commons*, 2). Somewhat later (1501) she was train-bearer at the wedding of her nephew Arthur and Catherine of Arragon (GREEN), and a few months after her sister's death seems to have been married a second time (1503–4) to one Thomas Kymbe, or Kyne, who, according to Mrs. Green, was a gentleman of the Isle of Wight (HARDYNG, p. 472; GREEN). By him she had two children, a son and a daughter, but this marriage seems never to have been recognised by her royal kinsfolk, and in the writ *diem clausit extremum* issued on her death, she is styled, 'late wife of John, late viscount Wells' (GREEN). She died 24 Aug. 1507, and her descendants can be traced in the heralds' visitations for a hundred years later. She was buried at Quarr Abbey in the Isle of Wight, where her monument was destroyed at the dissolution of the monasteries under Henry VIII. Her features are still preserved in the stained-glass windows

of Little Malvern Church and the Martyrdom at Canterbury Cathedral.

[Mrs. Green's *Lives of the English Princesses*, iii. 404-36; Rymer's *Fœdera*, xi. xii.; Hardyng's *Chronicle*, ed. Ellis; Hall's *Chronicle*, ed. Ellis; More's *Richard III.*, ed. Lumby, p. 93; Polydore Vergil's *History*, ed. Ellis (Camd. Soc.); Nicholls and Bruce's *Wills from Doctors' Commons* (Camd. Soc.); Three *Fifteenth-century Chronicles*, ed. James Gairdner (Camd. Soc.); Comines, ed. Chantelauze, Paris, 1881, pp. 410, 462, 470; Ellis's *Letters*, 2nd ser. i. 149.]

T. A. A.

**CEDD** or **CEDDA**, SAINT (*d.* 664), bishop of the East Saxons, was an Angle of Northumbria. He was apparently the eldest of four brothers, all of whom became monks and priests under the influence of the great missionary movement which, early in the seventh century, radiated from Iona throughout the North. The names of his brothers were Cynibill, Caelin, and Ceadda, the last of whom, often called St. Chad, became famous as the first bishop of Lichfield [see **CEADDA**]. The close similarity both of the names and the careers of Cedd and Ceadda sometimes makes caution necessary to distinguish them (see Fuller's quaint remarks on this point, *Ch. Hist.*, 1845, i. 213. They are hopelessly confused in Henry of Huntingdon and Brompton). Both were brought up at Lindisfarne, under Bishop Aidan; and if not, like Ceadda, once an inmate of an Irish monastery, Cedd's reputation for learning and sanctity was equally great in Ireland and in Britain. In 653 Peada, ealdorman of the Middle Angles under his father Penda, requested his overlord and father-in-law, Oswiu, king of the Northumbrians, to send him four priests to assist in the conversion of his subjects to christianity. Of these Cedd was one. Their mission was very successful. Every class of the Middle Angles gladly listened to their preaching, and pressed forward to receive baptism. Penda himself, whose long life of antagonism to christianity was now drawing to a close, permitted them to preach in his own dominions to any who chose to hear them. But in 653 (*FLOR. WIG. M. H. B.* 530 *d*) Oswiu recalled Cedd from the land of the Middle Angles and sent him with another monk to Essex to aid Sigeberht, king of the East Saxons (himself a recent convert), in the work of converting his subjects. Again the saint's endeavours proved signally successful. His preaching tours attracted round him so large a band of followers that on his return to report progress to his master, Finan, he was consecrated bishop of the East Saxons. Two other Scottish bishops assisted Finan in the consecration (654). Essex soon became thoroughly christianised.

Cedd showed great activity in building churches and ordaining priests and deacons to assist him. He founded two monasteries, one at a half-forgotten place, Ithanchester (Ythancestir), on the river Penta, which Camden has identified with the Roman station Othona, situated on the Blackwater not far from Maldon, and the other at West Tilbury on the Thames. Here his rude East-Saxon converts strove to imitate to the best of their ability the austerities of a Columban monastery. The iron discipline established by Cedd is well illustrated by the rebuke which he hurled at Sigeberht himself for feasting at the house of a thegn who had contracted a union in violation of the christian law of marriage. In vain the king cast himself at the bishop's feet imploring pardon. 'Because thou hast not refrained from visiting that lost and accursed man, thou wilt have death in thy own house,' was the only answer. The murder of Sigeberht by his own kinsfolk (660) was universally regarded as the fulfilment of Cedd's prophecy. Svidhelm, the next king, was baptised by Cedd before he was permitted to ascend the throne, or even cross the East-Saxon frontier.

Cedd found time for frequent visits to his Northumbrian home. His own preaching and the influence of his brother Caelin, who was chaplain to Æthelwald, son of Oswald, the under-king of Deira, brought him into close relations with that monarch. Æthelwald requested Cedd to receive from him a site for the construction of a monastery where Æthelwald himself might worship during his life and be buried after his death. Cedd chose for his church a remote place among the wild and desolate moors of north-eastern Yorkshire. There the saint hallowed the spot by long fastings and prayers. The monastery was to follow the rule of Lindisfarne, Cedd's own old home. Its name, *Læstingræu*, is in its modern form Lastingham, a little village a few miles north-west of Pickering (see *Raine, Fasti Eboracenses*, i. 47, for an account of Lastingham at the present day).

Up to this period all Cedd's actions were based on the customs of the church from which he had received baptism and ordination. But at the council of Whitby, which he attended in 664, he played the part of a watchful mediator between the Scottish and Roman parties. When the declaration of Oswiu and the retirement of Colman secured the predominance of the Roman champions, Cedd's recognition of the catholic Easter proclaimed his conversion to the winning side. Immediately after he seems to have visited Lastingham, where the work of organising his

monastery was still proceeding under reeves of his own selection. But the 'yellow plague' which was then devastating Northumbria (BEDE, iii. 27) penetrated even to his secluded moorland retreat, and Cedd himself was one of the first victims. He died on 26 Oct. (FLOR. WIG. *M. H. B.* 532 *d.*). His body, at first buried in the churchyard, was afterwards removed to a more magnificent tomb on the right of the high altar of the stone church that took the place of the original wooden building. Ceadda succeeded his brother at Lastingham. Thirty monks of Cedd's earlier foundation at Ithanchester hurried to Lastingham that they might either live or die in the neighbourhood of their 'father's' sainted body, and were all, except one boy, cut off by the plague. Next year (665) terror of the plague drove the East Saxons back again to their old gods (BEDE, *H. E.* iii. 30).

A successful missionary and a zealous monk, Cedd was perhaps more at home in his evangelistic wanderings and monastic seclusion than in the work of governing and organising the East-Saxon church. It is remarkable that the copious narrative of his life never speaks of him as bishop of London. Either the great city was Mercian, or at least independent of Essex, or the disciple of Aidan preferred to dwell in seclusion with his monks in the wilds of eastern Essex to fixing his bishop's see in the bustling city. Later writers have put him second to Mellitus in the long catalogue of London bishops (e.g. FLOR. WIG. *M. H. B.* p. 617 *b.*; WILL. MALM. *Gesta Pontificum*, bk. ii.), but Bede only knew him as bishop of the East Saxons.

Cedd soon became celebrated among the saints of the old English church. He was the pattern of life and doctrine for his more famous brother. Years afterwards, when Ceadda also ended his saintly career, an Anglian anchorite in an Irish monastery saw in a vision the soul of Cedd descending from heaven in the midst of the angel host to conduct his brother's soul back with him to the celestial kingdom.

[All we know of Cedd comes from Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, bk. iii. cc. 21, 22, 23, 25, bk. iv. 3. Bede got his information from the monks of Lastingham (Preface to *H. E.*) Florence of Worcester is sometimes useful in interpreting Bede. William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Pontificum*, bk. ii., and Capgrave's *Legenda Sanctorum Angliæ*, fol. 56, give nothing in addition. The Bollandist account, *Acta Sanctorum*, Januarii, tom. i. p. 373, comes from Bede. It gives Cedd's day as 7 Jan. on the authority of the *Martyrologium Anglicanum*. Of more recent writings, the article in

the *Dictionary of Christian Biography and Dr. Bright's chapters of Early English Church History* are the fullest.] T. F. T.

**CEDMON, SAINT.** [See CÆDMON.]

**CELECLERECH, CILIAN, SAINT** (7th cent.) [See CILIAN.]

**CELESIA, DOROTHEA** (1738-1790), poet and dramatist, daughter of David Mallet, the poet, by his first wife Susanna, was baptised at Chiswick on 11 Oct. 1738 (Memoir of Mallet prefixed to his *Ballads and Songs*, by F. DINSDALE). As a child she was remarkable for brightness. Thomson, in a letter to Mallet, dated 9 Aug. 1745, speaks of his having met 'two servants of yours, along with charming little Dolly.' In early life she was married to Signor Pietro Paolo Celesia, a Genoese patrician, who while residing here as ambassador from 1755 to 1759 had been honoured by admission to the Royal Society and Society of Antiquaries. Mrs. Celesia accompanied her husband on his return to Italy in 1759, and thenceforward resided at Genoa, except for one brief interval in 1784, when Celesia was gazetted minister plenipotentiary to the court of Spain (WOODWARD and CATES, *Encyclop. of Chronology*, p. 299). During the summer of 1768 she wrote an adaptation of Voltaire's 'Tancrède' and offered it to Garrick, who had been her father's friend and her guest while travelling in Italy (*Private Correspondence of Garrick*, 1831-2, i. 354, 379, 399, 415). After undergoing some modifications at the hands of Garrick the piece, under the title of 'Almida,' was brought out at Drury Lane on 12 Jan. 1771, with a well-written prologue by W. Whitehead, Garrick himself contributing the epilogue. Thanks to Mrs. Barry's inimitable performance as the heroine, aided by some excellent scenery, the play kept the boards for about ten nights, a success far beyond its merits, for while the numbers are uncouth, the plot where it deviates from the original is improbable (BAKER, *Biographia Dramatica*, 1812, i. 97, ii. 20). It was printed the same year with the title 'Almida, a Tragedy, as it is performed at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane, by a Lady,' 8vo, London, 1771. The year following there appeared 'Indolence, a poem, by the author of Almida,' 4to, London, 1772, which is commonplace. Mrs. Celesia died at Genoa in September 1790 (*Scots Mag.* liii. 203). Her husband, who filled several important offices in the legislature of his native city, survived until 12 Jan. 1806.

[Genest's *History of the Stage*, v. 295-7.]

G. G.

**CELESTE**, Madame, whose proper name was **CELESTE-ELLIOTT** (1814?-1882), actress, was born, according to statements presumably supplied by herself, on 6 Aug. 1814. The true date of her birth, which took place in Paris, may safely be accepted as three or four years earlier. Her parentage was humble and obscure. At an early age she displayed histrionic capacity, which led to her acceptance at the Conservatoire, where during her probation she played with Talma in 'Le Vieux Célibataire' of Collin d'Harleville the character of Armand, and with Madame Pasta in 'Medea.' She distinguished herself as a dancer, and it was in this capacity that her first engagement, which was for America, took place. At the Bowery Theatre, New York, she made, October 1827, her first professional appearance. In March of the following year she danced two pas seuls at the Chestnut Street Theatre, Philadelphia. The first speaking character assigned her was Myrtillo in the 'Broken Sword,' a drama which failed to win public approval. During her residence in the United States she married a young man named Elliott, by whom, before his death, she had a daughter. In 1830 she quitted New Orleans for England, and landed at Liverpool, where she played Fenella, a mute part, in 'Masaniello.' Her ignorance of English at this period was all but complete, and the representations she gave in various country towns were confined to ballet or pantomime. At Easter 1831, at the Queen's Theatre, Tottenham Street, London, so named after Queen Adelaide, then under the management of George Macfarren, the father of the musical composer, she appeared as an Arab boy in the 'French Spy,' a piece written especially to show her talent. In August 1832 she made a favourable impression in a piece called the 'Poetry of Motion' at the Surrey. After a tour through Italy, Germany, and Spain, she was engaged by Bunn for Dublin, and afterwards by Murray for Edinburgh. Bunn, at that time manager of both Covent Garden and Drury Lane, then brought her to London, and she appeared in March 1833 with Duvernay in the 'Maid of Cashmere,' and on 23 Oct. of the same year as Fenella in 'Masaniello.' The following November she led at Covent Garden the famous *danse des folies* in 'Gustavus the Third.' She also appeared at Drury Lane in 'Prince Le Boo' and the 'Revolt of the Harem.' A second visit to America, extending over three years, 1834-7, was so successful, that the actress returned with a fortune that has been estimated at 40,000*l.* On 7 Oct. 1837 she reappeared at Drury Lane, still in a non-speaking part, in Planché's drama the 'Child of the

Wreck,' written expressly for her, and in 1841 she played in Bayle Bernard's 'Marie Du-cange,' also written for her. Christmas 1843 saw her associated with Benjamin Webster in the management of the Theatre Royal, Liverpool. The following year she undertook the management of the Adelphi, at which house her first speaking character was in Bayle Bernard's drama 'St. Mary's Eve.' On 27 Jan. 1845 she was seen for the first time in what became her most famous character, Miami in the 'Green Buses.' Elmire in 'Tartuffe' and Harlequin à la Watteau followed, and the Gipsy Queen in the 'Flowers of the Forest,' and other performances in the 'Willow Copse,' the 'Cabin Boy,' &c., established her in public favour. In November 1859 Madame Celeste began her management of the Lyceum with 'Paris and Pleasure,' an adaptation of 'Les Enfers de Paris.' With the loss of her youth her attractions diminished, and the disadvantage of a singularly foreign pronunciation became more evident. In October 1874, at the Adelphi, in her favourite character of Miami, which she played for twelve nights, Madame Celeste took her farewell of the stage, to which no inducement could persuade her to return. She died of cancer at half-past five a.m. on Sunday, 12 Feb. 1882, at her residence, 18 Rue de Chapeyron, Paris. In grace of movement and in picturesqueness Madame Celeste was surpassed by few actresses of her day. She had, moreover, histrionic gifts, including command of pathos.

[Tallis's Dramatic Magazine; Era newspaper for 25 Feb. 1882.] J. K.

**CELLACH**, BISHOP and SAINT (6th century), of Killala in the county of Mayo, was the eldest son of Eogan Bél, fourth christian king of Connaught. His story, told at considerable length in the 'Lebar Brecc,' is interwoven with the political circumstances of Connaught. Eogan reigned over the territory of northern Hy Fiachrach, which comprised the modern baronies of Carra, Erris, and Tirawley in the county of Mayo, and Tireragh in the county of Sligo. There was also a small territory called Hy Fiachrach Aidhne, in the south of the county of Galway, over which Guaire, who was descended from the same ancestor, then reigned. The tribes of the northern and southern Hy Neill had made a descent on the territory of northern Hy Fiachrach, and collected an immense spoil. Eogan attacked and defeated them in the battle of Sligo, but was mortally wounded. In view of his death a question arose as to the succession. He had two sons: Cellach, then a clerical student at Clonmacnois, and



Muredach, who was only a boy. Consulted by his followers, he advised them to send to Clonmacnois and request St. Ciaran to allow Cellach to leave the monastery and accept the kingdom. St. Ciaran gave them a peremptory refusal. They then communicated with Cellach himself. Overcome by their entreaties he left next morning without seeing or taking leave of St. Ciaran. Incensed at this breach of discipline the saint cursed him and foretold he should die a violent death, adding, 'I leave to my Lord every one who abandons his reading,' i.e. his clerical studies. Cellach's position and the saint's authority over him here implied may perhaps be explained by a singular law which prevailed in Ireland. In the ancient compilation known as the 'Senchus Mor,' among the rights of the church as against the people, besides tithes and first-fruits, were 'firstlings,' which are explained to mean not only animals, but 'every first birth of every human couple, and every male child which opens the womb of his mother being a lawful spouse.' Cellach having thus become king of Hy Fiachrach soon wearied of his new dignity, and could not banish from his memory the curse of St. Ciaran. His followers advised him to return to Clonmacnois. He did so with fear and trembling, and engaging the chiefs of the congregation to intercede for him he went with them into the presence of St. Ciaran. The saint granted his request for mercy, but told him he was powerless to recall the curse. After taking precautions for the safety of his young brother, Cellach gave himself up to study, and the fame of his piety spread through Ireland. Subsequently he received priest's orders, and in due time the clergy of his own territory chose him as their bishop. He was then consecrated, and Cell Alaidh (Killala) appointed to him for his bishop's chair.

Guaire, the king of lower Hy Fiachrach, hoped to succeed to the northern territory also, for which there was at this time no heir of suitable age. One day when Cellach was making an episcopal circuit or visitation with a party of his clergy on horseback, he encountered Guaire with his followers on his way to the palace of Durlus, situated 'on the smooth moorland of the river Moy,' between Doonfeeny and Ardnarea. It was represented to the king that the bishop had passed him in a hostile manner. He sent after him, requesting him to return. It was just noon on Saturday, and Cellach replied it was now vesper time, and he could not violate the Lord's day, which in Irish usage began on Saturday evening (REEVES). This reply being maliciously reported to the king, he sent a fierce message, ordering him to 'leave his

land at once or he would burn the church in which he was and all his people with it.' Cellach, however, did not move until Monday, when he hastened to the neighbourhood of Lough Con; thence he went next day to a lake called Clænloch, in which he found an unoccupied island named Oilen Etgair, where he determined to take up his abode as a hermit. He directed his clergy to return to their respective churches, retaining as companions only four students, who were his cousins and foster brothers. Here he received frequent visits from his youthful brother, whom he was training for the throne. This being reported to Guaire, a plot was laid to murder Cellach. He was to be invited to a great feast and poisoned. He declined the invitation, but, as previously arranged, his followers were then asked, entertained in royal fashion at Durlus, and plied with drink. His murder was then proposed to them, and the immense bribe was offered to them of all Tirawley, the *fesc lamha*, or patrimonial inheritance of Cellach. They undertook to commit the crime. Returning to the island they found him with his psalter before him saying his psalms. Wounding him, they dragged him to the boat, and taking him to the mainland carried him into the recesses of the forest somewhere between Lough Con and Loch Cuillen. Here he entreated that his life might be spared till the morning. To this they reluctantly assented, imprisoning him in a hollow oak tree with a narrow door. In the morning, dragging him from his prison, they killed him with clubs, and leaving his body unburied hastened away to claim their reward. The place was afterwards known as *Ar-d-na-fenneadha*, 'the height of the mangling' [of his body]. His brother carried the mangled body successively to the churches of Turloch and Liscallain, but in both it was refused burial; at length, however, they reached *Escrecha*, where it was interred with due honours. Muredach, obliged to flee the country, after some years returned to Tirawley, and obtaining admission in disguise to the residence of the four murderers, arrested them when intoxicated, carried them in chains to a place near Durlus, where he executed the four, cutting off their limbs while they were living. Considerable chronological difficulties present themselves when this narrative is closely examined. For instance, Guaire, according to the 'Four Masters,' lived to A.D. 662, or, more correctly, 667. On the other hand, the latest date assigned to Eogan Bél's death is 547, when Cellach began his short reign. Guaire was then old enough to be king, and if the dates are correct must have lived at least 115 years

longer. However this may be explained, the facts on which the narrative is based appear to be authentic, and to this the local names bear witness. *Ard-na-riagh*, 'the hill of the executions,' has given its name to the village of Ardnaea. And the cromlech of *Ard-na-maol*, 'the hill of the Maols,' erected to commemorate their execution, is still to be seen on the west side of the Moy, opposite Ardnaea. It is the only cromlech in Ireland historically identified. The chant of Muredach on the discovery of his brother's body and the death-song of Cellach are full of pathos. St. Cellach's day is 1 May. In the 'Martyrology of Tamlacht' he appears as St. Cellan.

[Lebar Brecc (pp. 272 b-277 a); Bollandist Acta SS. 1 May, p. 104; O'Donovan's Genealogies, Tribes, and Customs of Hy Fiachrach; the Senchus Mor (Rolls ed.), iii. lvii; Annals of Four Masters; Reeves's Adamnan, p. 346.] T. O.

**CELLACH**, SAINT (1079-1129). [See CELSUS.]

**CELLIER**, ELIZABETH (*f.* 1680), 'the Popish midwife,' was a member of the Dormer family. She married Peter Cellier, a Frenchman, and became a noted midwife in London. Originally she was a protestant, but she adopted the catholic religion, and at the time of the popish plot fabricated by Titus Oates she visited the prisoners in Newgate, and relieved them through the charity of Lady Powis and other persons of rank. There she found the notorious Dangerfield, whose release she procured upon condition, as he afterwards alleged, that he would enter into an engagement to take off the king, the Earl of Shaftesbury, and some others who were obnoxious to the catholics. Moreover he pretended that he was to be employed in concocting a sham plot, and he stated that the document on which it was to have been founded lay concealed in a meal tub in Mrs. Cellier's house. There the paper was discovered, and from this circumstance the whole transaction is known in history by the name of the Meal Tub plot. On 11 June 1680 Mrs. Cellier was tried for high treason and acquitted, she having satisfied the court that her accuser was too infamous in law to be admitted as a credible witness. She published a vindication of herself, entitled 'Malice defeated; or a brief Relation of the Accusation and Deliverance of Elizabeth Cellier. Together with an abstract of her arraignment and tryal, written by herself.' This occasioned the publication of numerous pamphlets, one of which was entitled 'The Scarlet Beast stripped naked, being the mistery of the Meal-tub the second time unravelled.'

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Some passages in Mrs. Cellier's tract respecting the treatment of the prisoners in Newgate exposed her to a second trial (3 Sept. 1680) for libel. She was found guilty, and condemned to pay a fine to the king of 1,000*l.* and to stand thrice in the pillory. According to Roger North the real object of the second prosecution was to disable her from becoming a witness in favour of the lords in the Tower. Lysons says that she lies buried in the chancel of Great Missenden Church, Buckinghamshire.

She was the author of: 1. 'A Scheme for the Foundation of a Royal Hospital, and raising a revenue of 5,000*l.* or 6,000*l.* a year by and for the Maintenance of a Corporation of Skilful Midwives, and such Foundlings or exposed Children as shall be admitted therein: as it was proposed and addressed to his Majesty King James II in June 1687,' printed in the 'Harleian Miscellany' and in the 'Somers Tracts.' 2. 'To Dr. ——. An Answer to his Queries concerning the Colledg of Midwives,' London, 4to. Written 'from my House in Arundel-street, near St. Clement's Church, in the Strand, Jan. 16, 1687-8.'

[Cat. of Printed Books in Brit. Mus.; Dodd's Church Hist. iii. 326; Harleian Miscellany (Park), iv. 142; Howell's State Trials, vii. 1043 seq.; Lingard's Hist. of England (1849), viii. 461-5; Lipscombe's Hist. and Antiq. of Buckinghamshire, ii. 386; Luttrell's Hist. Relation of State Affairs, i. 24, 25, 29, 31, 34, 47, 54, 55, 57, 90, 345; Lysons's Magna Britannia, i. pt. iii. 695; North's Examen, 260-4; Somers Tracts, ii. 243; Watt's Bibl. Brit.] T. C.

**CELLING**, WILLIAM, or perhaps more properly WILLIAM TILLY OF SELLING (*d.* 1494), derived his name, according to Leland, from the village of Celling, or Selling, some two miles distant from Faversham in Kent; Hasted, however, assigns him to a family settled at Selling near Hythe (*Hist. of Kent*, iii. 25). He appears to have been a monk of Christ Church, Canterbury; thence he proceeded to Oxford, where he became a member of the newly founded college of All Souls. In the Oxford Register (February 1457-8) William Celling, a Benedictine, figures as B.D.) Tanner states that he was a fellow of All Souls at the beginning of Edward IV's reign, but without assigning any authority for the assertion. He must have left Oxford before the close of 1472, in which year a William Celling was elected abbot of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, but seems to have resigned immediately. But whether this William Celling be the subject of this article or not it is certain that the latter was elected prior of Christ Church, Canterbury, on 10 Sept.

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1472. It was in all probability later than this that he made his first journey to Italy; if, indeed, Leland is right in his statement that it was on this journey that Celling became acquainted with Politian, who was born in 1454, and can hardly have established a reputation at Bologna (where Celling met him) before the age of eighteen. While abroad Celling used every effort to collect Latin and, more especially, Greek manuscripts, and when he returned to England brought these treasures with him. Among other works a copy of Cicero's 'Republic,' of St. Cyril's and St. Basil's 'Commentaries on the Prophets,' and the works of Synesius are specially mentioned. For the reception of his manuscripts he restored the library over the prior's chapel. Unfortunately many of his books were destroyed some quarter of a century later in the fire caused by the carelessness of Henry VIII's 'visitors.' At home Celling was a careful steward of his convent's wealth. He cleared the priory of all the debts under which it had laboured; he built a stone tower, afterwards known as the prior's study, roofed it with lead, and glazed the windows. He also beautified the cloisters, began to rebuild the 'Bell Harry steeple,' and placed a new ceiling over the before-mentioned prior's library (HASTED, iv. 555, &c.; WHARTON). It would appear to be after his return from Italy that Celling charged himself with the education of Linacre, who is said to have been his pupil at Canterbury, and who certainly accompanied his old master on his second journey to Italy (1486), whither the prior of Christ Church was sent on an embassy to Rome (LELAND, and epitaph of Celling, quoted in HASTED, iv. 555, &c.; WHARTON, i. 145-6). Passing through Bologna, Celling left his young friend there to enjoy the society of Politian. This embassy must have taken place between 1485 and 1490. In 1490 and 1491 we find Celling's name constantly associated with that of the bishop of Exeter in the negotiations between England, France, and Brittany (RYMER, xii. 431, &c.) Some three years later he appears to have died on the day of St. Thomas's passion (29 Dec.) 1494, after having ruled his monastery for nearly twenty-two years and a half (HASTED, iv. 555). He was buried in the martyrion of St. Thomas, in a richly blazoned tomb, on which was inscribed a long epitaph narrating his embassies to France and Rome. A book from Celling's library is still preserved at the Bodleian in Oxford (LAUD, F 120). The same library has also a letter written to him from Rome, and dated January 1488 (*Ash. MS.* 1729). Celling was esteemed a great scholar in Greek as well as in Latin, and besides being an

ardent collector of manuscripts he was a great patron of promising students.

[Leland's Catalogue, 482; Bale, *De Script. Brit.* (ed. 1559), ii. 68; Pits's *Relat. de Script. Brit.* 851-2; Tanner's *Bibl. Hib.-Brit.*; Johnson's *Life of Linacre* (1835); Linacre's *Galenus de Temperamentis*, ed. Payne (1881), Introduction, pp. 6-8 and note 1; Hasted's *History of Kent*, vol. iv. &c.; Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. xii.; Campbell's *Mat. for Hist. of Hen. VII* (Rolls Ser.); Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, i.; Boase's *Registrum Univ. Oxon.*]

T. A. A.

CELSUS or CELLACH, SAINT (1079-1129), archbishop of Armagh, and the greatest of St. Patrick's successors till the election of St. Malachy, was the son of Fadh, and grandson of Maelisa, who had held the same office from 1064 to 1091. Hence he belonged to that powerful local family of which St. Bernard says that, though sometimes lacking in clerks, it had never for fifteen generations, or two hundred years, failed to find one of its members ready to accept the bishopric at its disposal (*Vita Malachie*, ch. x.) This statement, though perhaps somewhat exaggerated, is partly corroborated by the Irish annals, where, to confine ourselves to the eleventh century, we find Celsus's grandfather, great-uncle, and great-grandfather all preceding him in the see of Armagh (*Annals of Four Masters*, sub annis 1105, 1064, 1020). On the death of his great-uncle, Domhnall, Celsus was elected his successor, at the illegal age of twenty-four or twenty-five, although, from the words used in recounting the event, it is by no means impossible that he had not yet been ordained priest (*A. F. M.* and *Ann. Ul.* sub anno 1105; with which cf. the case of Gregory ap. EADMER, *Hist. Nor.* (Rolls Ser.), p. 298). The predecessors of Celsus seem, for the most part, to have been married men, and to have discharged their ecclesiastical functions by the aid of suffragans; but, despite the attempt that has been made to prove that Celsus too was married, it is more likely that, in the passage on which this theory is based (*Vit. Mal.* c. 10), the words 'uxor Celsi' are to be interpreted of the church of Ireland (LANIGAN, iv. 33). Celsus, however, seems to have retained the custom of appointing, or at least continuing, the services of suffragan bishops (*Ann. Ul.* p. 371; *A. F. M.* sub anno 1122). The new prelate entered on his office with vigour (23 Sept. 1105). In 1106 he made a visitation of Ulster and Munster, receiving his full tribute of cows, sheep, and silver from every cantred (*A. F. M.*) Munster was revisited in 1108 and 1120, Connaught in 1108 (*Annals of Loch Cè*, i. 77) and in 1116, and Meath in 1110 (*A. F. M.* and *Ann. Ul.* p. 374). Of

the treasure collected upon each visitation Celsus may well have made a noble use, as, for example, in the case of the great 'damh-liag,' or church, at Armagh, which he fitted with a shingle roof (January 1125) after it had remained without a coping for 130 years (*Annals of Loch Cé*, i. 119); or when he gave the precious silver chalice to the church of Clonmacnoise (*Chr. Scot.* p. 329). Besides his ecclesiastical duties Celsus was constantly being called upon to mediate between the rival kings and tribes of Ireland. So in 1107 and 1109 we find him making a year's peace between Donald Mac Lochlainn, king of Elagh, and Muirchertach O'Brian, king of Munster—the northern and southern claimants for the supreme lordship of the whole island (*Ann. Ult.* pp. 372, 373; *A. F. M.*) Again, when Donald came to ravage Down in 1113, and the two armies lay confronting each other for a whole month at Clonkeen, it was Celsus, with his 'Bachall-Isa,' or staff of office, who reconciled the rival hosts (*Loch Cé*, i. 103). Many years later (1128), just before his death, he made a year's peace between the men of Connaught and Munster (*Ann. Ult.* p. 394), and two years previously (1126) he had been absent from Armagh for thirteen months on a similar errand, 'pacifying the men of Erin and imposing good rules and customs on all, both laity and clergy' (*Loch Cé*, i. 121).

As head of the church of Ireland, Celsus convoked the great synod of Fiadh-mac-Enghusa (1111), sometimes called that of Usneach (*Ann. Buell.* p. 21, &c.) At this synod, Murrough O'Brian and the chiefs of Leth-Mogha (S. Ireland), fifty bishops, three hundred priests, and three thousand students are said to have been present (*A. F. M.*, with which, however, of the less symmetrical numbers given in the *Chr. Scot.* sub anno 1107). Of this council we read that it made better ordinances and rules for the conduct of all, both laity and clergy (*Loch Cé*, i. 1, and *Ann. Inisf.* p. 98). According to Dr. Lanigan it was probably about this time that Celsus confirmed Cashel in the primacy of S. Ireland (*Eccles. Hist.* iv. 30, with which cf. *Vit. Mal.* c. 15). The same authority tells us that Celsus was present at the council of Rathbreasil (1117), over which Gilbert, the papal legate, presided, when the boundaries of the Irish dioceses were fixed (LANIGAN, pp. 38-45).

On the death of Samuel O'Haingly, bishop of Dublin, who had been consecrated by Anselm, we read that Celsus was chosen his successor by the election of both Danes and Irish (*Ann. Ult.* p. 1121). This appointment was, however, challenged by another section of the townsmen, who sent over their own

minee—one Grein or Gregory—to be consecrated by Archbishop Ralph at Canterbury (EADMER, *Historia Novorum*, pp. 297-8). But the influence and generosity of Celsus seem to have restrained his rival (though apparently supported by the good wishes of the kings of England and of Ireland) from venturing to assert his rights actively (*ib.*; USSHER, *Sylloge*, pp. 100, 101). There seems to be no authority for Dr. Lanigan's statement (p. 48) that Celsus 'acquiesced in Gregory's appointment.' This dispute appears in great measure to have been one between the nominee of the Danish burgesses of Dublin, who would naturally prefer to have a Teutonic metropolitan—especially at so convenient a distance as Canterbury—and those who supported the rights of the Celtic archbishop of Armagh. Celsus's success led to the temporary severance of the close connection that, since the first years of Lanfranc's episcopacy, had existed between the sees of Dublin and Canterbury (*Epistola Lanfranci*, ap. MIGNÉ, cl. 532-7; FREEMAN, *Norm. Cong.* iv. 526-530); Gregory seems, however, to have recovered his bishopric on Celsus's death (*A. F. M.* pp. 1157, 1162). If the king of Ireland, alluded to above, be Turlough O'Connor, who had become master of Dublin in 1118 (*Loch Cé*, i. 111), it is curious that Celsus should have succeeded in maintaining himself in his new office. It was a little previous to this Dublin contest (1118) that Celsus was submerged in the river Dubhall (Blackwater in Armagh), and had to swim ashore, 'proptis viribus,' with the loss of his treasure of cloths and silver (*Loch Cé*, i. 109). In 1128 he was subject to a most unprovoked attack, of which all the old Irish annals speak in terms of the greatest horror—as of an insult offered to Christ himself—a deed that, until it was avenged, would bring down the wrath of God on the whole land. The O'Ruarcas and the O'Brians had set upon Celsus and his retinue in a church, plundering him of his goods and slaying his retinue, and among them a young clerk who had taken shelter beneath the altar. Next year Celsus died, in his fiftieth year, at Ardpatrick in Munster (1 April 1129). Two days later his body was conveyed to Lismore, where it was buried on the following Tuesday (4 April).

Celsus seems to have determined to break through the hereditary succession to the see of Armagh, and, with this end in view, drew up a kind of will (*testamentum* or *constitutio Celsi*), in which he recommended St. Malachy as his successor. From his deathbed he sent his pastoral staff to this saint, whose career he had watched over from its earliest manhood, and whom he had himself ordained

deacon (*Vit. Mal. c. 2*), priest (*c. 1119*), and bishop (*c. 1123*) (*Vit. Mal. cc. 3, 8, 10*). In fact, so great was his confidence in the discretion of St. Malachy that he appointed the young priest his vicar almost immediately after ordaining him ('*etiam vices suas commisit ei*'), and a few years later recommended him for the see of Connor (Conor). Despite the dying wish of Celsus it was five years before St. Malachy made good his claim to the archbishopric of Armagh, having to contest the see with Celsus's cousin and brother (*A. F. M. sub annis 1134, 1129*). In the 'Irish Annals' this saint appears as Cellach, in St. Bernard as Celsus, but in Eadmer under the more perverted form of Cœlestinus. Tanner, quoting from Bale, gives a list of the works of Celsus, including a 'Testamentum ad Ecclesias,' several letters to St. Malachy, certain *constitutiones*, and a 'Summa Theologiae,' which in Bale's time was said to be still preserved at Vienna. St. Celsus appears in the 'Roman Calendars' on 6 April, by a clerical error of VI for IV, the day of his burial.

[Annals of the Four Masters (A. F. M.), trans. O'Donovan (1856), vol. i.; Annals of Inisfallen and Annals of Boyle (Ann. Buell.), Annals of Ulster (Ann. Ult.), ap. C. O'Connor's *Scriptores Rerum Hibernicarum*, vols. ii. and iv. The Annals of Inisfallen are seventeen years in arrear of the true dates. Eadmer's *Historia Novorum*, ed. Rule (Rolls Ser.); Annals of Loch Cé, ed. Hennessey (Rolls Ser.); *Chronicon Scotorum*, ed. Hennessey (Rolls Ser.) The dates of this work are for the period in question four years in arrear. St. Bernard's *Vita Malachiae* ap. Migne's *Patrologiae Cursus*, clxxi. 1074-1118; Lanfranci *Epistolæ* ap. Migne, cl.; Colgan's *Trias Thaumaturga*, pp. 299-303; Lanigan's *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland* (1829), vols. iii. and iv.; Wilkins's *Coneilia*, i. 391; Bollandist *Acta Sanctorum* (6 April), pp. 619-20; Bale's *Catalogue* (1559), i. 288; Tanner's *Bibl. Brit.* p. 162; Ussher's *Syllogæ* (1632); Baring-Gould's *Lives of the Saints* (1873), 6 April, pp. 106-10.]

T. A. A.

CENTLIVRE, SUSANNAH (1667?-1723), actress and dramatist, is said to have been the daughter of a Mr. Freeman of Holbeach, Lincolnshire, a man of some position, who suffered on account of his political and religious opinions after the Restoration. After the confiscation of his estate he went with his wife, the daughter of a Mr. Marham or Markham, a 'gentleman of good estate at Lynn Regis in Norfolk,' who was also obnoxious to the authorities, to Ireland, where Susannah is by some supposed to have been born. At this early point her biographies commence to be at issue. The account gene-

rally accepted is that of Giles Jacob, which states that her father died when she was three years of age, and her mother when she was twelve. Whincop, or the author, whoever he was, of the list of dramatic poets appended to 'Scanderbeg,' who wrote while she was still living, asserts that her father survived her mother, and married a second wife, by whom the future dramatist was so ill-treated that she ran away from home, with little money or other provision, to seek her fortune in London. Biographers have recorded various supposed exploits—one of which consisted in dressing as a boy and living in Cambridge under the protection of Anthony Hammond, then an undergraduate of St. John's, and subsequently commissioner of the navy, the 'silver-tongued Hammond' of Bolingbroke. They also mention a marriage (?), which lasted one year, with a nephew of Sir Stephen Fox. They have neglected a biographical record supplied after her death in Boyer's 'Political State,' xxvi. 670, a portion of which runs as follows: 'From a mean parentage and education, after several gay adventures (over which we shall draw a veil), she had, at last, so well improv'd her natural genius by reading and good conversation, as to attempt to write for the stage, in which she had as good success as any of her sex before her. Her first dramatic performance was a tragi-comedy called "The Perjur'd Husband," but the plays which gained her most reputation were two comedies, "The Gamester" and "The Busy Body." She writ also several copies of verses on divers subjects and occasions, and a great many ingenious letters, entitled "Letters of Wit, Politics, and Morality," which I collected and published about twenty-one years ago.' In presence of this statement, which commands respect, the origin assigned her in the 'Biographia Dramatica,' and accepted in later compilations, seems more than doubtful. The same writer states that 'her father's name, if I mistake not, was Rawkins.' A connection lasting a year and a half, and rightly or wrongly styled a marriage, subsequently existed between her and an officer named Carroll, who died in a duel. Her early plays, when not anonymous, are signed 'S. Carroll.' 'The Busy Body,' printed in 1709, is the first that bears the name of Centlivre, the previous play, 'The Platonic Lady,' 1707, being unsigned. Her first appearance as an actress was made, according to Whincop or his collaborator, at Bath in her own comedy, 'Love at a Venture,' which was produced in that city after being refused at Drury Lane. She then joined a strolling company, and played in different country towns. While acting at Windsor,

about 1706, according to the same authority, the part of Alexander the Great in the tragedy of that name, or, more probably, in the 'Rival Queens, or the Death of Alexander the Great' of Lee, she captivated Mr. Joseph Centlivre, principal cook to Queen Anne and George I, whom she married, and with whom she lived till her death. This took place on 1 Dec. 1723 in Buckingham Court, Spring Gardens, where, according to the rate-books of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, her husband resided between 1712 and 1724. Pope, in 'An Account of the Condition of E. Curll,' calls her 'the cook's wife in Buckingham Court.' She is usually stated to be buried close at hand, in the parish church of St. Martin-in-the-Fields; but Mr. Peter Cunningham discovered in the burial register of St. Paul's, Covent Garden, the entry: '4 Dec. 1723, Susanna, wife of Joseph Centlivre, from St. Martin-in-the-Fields' (*Gent. Mag.* 1850, pt. ii. p. 368). No record of her acting in London is preserved, and it is supposed that her histrionic efforts were confined to the country. In spite, accordingly, of the romantic stories associated with her name, her life, like that of most of her contemporaries, is practically the history of her works and her literary friendships. She enjoyed a certain amount of intimacy with Rowe, Farquhar, Steele, and other dramatists, some of whom wrote prologues for her plays, and with Budgell, Dr. Sewell, Nicholas Amhurst, &c., with all of whom she corresponded. Of her plays, eighteen in number, fifteen were acted, generally with success. The list is as follows: 1. 'The Perjur'd Husband, or the Adventures of Venice,' tragedy, 4to, 1700, acted the same year at Drury Lane. 2. 'Love at a Venture,' comedy, 4to, 1706, refused at Drury Lane, and acted by the Duke of Grafton's servants at the New Theatre, Bath. It is taken from 'Le Galant Double' of Thomas Corneille. Cibber, by whom the play was refused, is accused of incorporating it into his 'Double Gallant.' 3. 'The Beau's Duel, or a Soldier for the Ladies,' comedy, 4to, 1702, acted at Lincoln's Inn Fields 21 Oct. 1702, taken in part from Jasper Mayne's 'City Match.' 4. 'The Stolen Heiress, or the Salamanca Doctor outplotted,' comedy, 4to, no date (1703), acted at Lincoln's Inn Fields 31 Dec. 1702, and taken from 'The Heir' by Thomas May. 5. 'Love's Contrivance, or Le Médecin malgré lui,' comedy, 4to, 1703, acted at Drury Lane on 4 June 1703, and taken from the comedy of Molière of the same name, and from 'Le Mariage forcé;' this play is signed R. M. in the dedication to the Earl of Dorset. 6. 'The Gamester,' comedy, 4to, 1705 and 1708, acted at Lincoln's Inn Fields, not for the first time,

22 Feb. 1705. In the 'Biographia Dramatica' the play is said to be borrowed from 'Le Dissipateur.' This is impossible. 'Le Dissipateur' of Destouches, acted in 1753, was in part taken from Mrs. Centlivre, whose 'Gamester' is an adaptation of 'Le Joueur' of Regnard, played 1696. 7. 'The Basset Table,' comedy, 4to, 1706, acted at Drury Lane 20 Nov. 1705. 8. 'The Platonick Lady,' comedy, 4to, 1707, acted at the Haymarket 25 Nov. 1706. 9. 'The Busy Body,' comedy, 4to, 1709, acted at Drury Lane 12 May 1709. This play, one of the most successful of its author, first introducing the character of Marplot, was so coldly regarded by the actors, that Wilks is said to have thrown down his part of Sir George Airy, and to have been with difficulty induced to resume it. A portion of the plot is taken from 'The Devil is an Ass' of Ben Jonson. 10. 'The Man's bewitched, or the Devil to do about her,' comedy, 4to, no date (1710), acted at the Haymarket 12 Dec. 1709. This clever farce is said, without much justification, to be indebted to 'Le Deuil' of Hauteroche, which name is in the 'Biographia Dramatica' erroneously supposed to be a pseudonym of Thomas Corneille. 11. 'A Bickerstaff's Burial, or Work for the Upholders,' farce, 4to, no date, acted at Drury Lane 27 March 1710, afterwards revived at Drury Lane 5 May 1715 as the 'Custom of the Country.' This play is said to be founded on one of Sinbad's voyages in the 'Arabian Nights.' The publication of 'Les Mille et une Nuits' by Galland, 1704-1717, had very recently commenced, and this source seems doubtful. A curious coincidence, hitherto unnoticed, is that 'Le Naufrage ou la Pompe funèbre de Crispin' of Lafont, produced in Paris on Saturday, 14 June 1710, is all but identical with the work of Mrs. Centlivre, who, however, is at least earlier in date. Parfaic frères, the historians of the French stage, suggest an origin for the plot earlier than the 'Arabian Nights.' 12. 'Marplot, or the Second Part of the Busy Body,' comedy, 4to, 1711, Drury Lane 30 Dec. 1710, afterwards altered by Henry Woodward and called 'Marplot in Lisbon.' 13. 'The Perplex'd Lovers,' comedy, 4to, 1712, Drury Lane 19 Jan. 1712, from the Spanish. 14. 'The Wonder! A Woman keeps a Secret,' comedy, 12mo, 1714, acted at Drury Lane 27 April 1714, and owing something to 'The Wrangling Lovers' of Ravenscroft. 15. 'A Gotham Election,' farce, 12mo, 1715, never acted, a dramatic satire on the Tories, dedicated to Secretary Craggs, who sent the author by Mrs. Bracegirdle twenty guineas. A second edition of this, 12mo, 1737, is called the 'Humours of Elections.'

16. 'A Wife well managed,' farce, 12mo, 1715, supposed to have been acted at Drury Lane in 1715, taken from the 'Husband his own Cuckold' of John Dryden, jun. 17. 'The Cruel Gift, or the Royal Resentment,' tragedy, 12mo, 1717, drawn from the first novel of the fourth day of the 'Decameron,' acted at Drury Lane 17 Dec. 1716. 18. 'A Bold Stroke for a Wife,' comedy, 8vo, 1718, acted at Drury Lane 3 Feb. 1718; in this piece she was assisted by a Mr. Mottley. 19. 'The Artifice,' comedy, 8vo, 1721, acted at Drury Lane 2 Oct. 1722. These works were collected in three volumes, 12mo, 1761, and reprinted in 1872.

The comedies of Mrs. Centlivre are often ingenious and sprightly, and the comic scenes are generally brisk. Mrs. Centlivre troubled herself little about invention, 'A Bold Stroke for a Wife' being the only work for which she is at the pains to claim absolute originality. So far as regards the stage, she may boast a superiority over almost all her countrywomen, since two of her comedies remain in the list of acting plays. More than one other work is capable, with some alterations, of being acted. A keen politician, she displays in some of her dramatic writings a strong whig bias, which was in part responsible for their success. Steele in the 'Tatler' (No. 19) speaks of 'The Busy Body,' and says that 'the plot and incidents are laid with that subtlety of spirit which is peculiar to females of wit.' Some of her most successful works were translated into French, German, and other languages. The volume of letters to which allusion is made in Boyer's 'Political State' (see above) has not been discovered. A supposition that it might be a work, 'Letters and Essays on several subjects, Philosophical, Moral, Historical, Critical, Amorous,' &c., 1694, mentioned by Lowndes (*Bibl. Man.* p. 1348), must remain conjecture, as the work is not in the British Museum. She left at her death many valuable ornaments presented to her by royalty or the aristocratic patrons to whom she dedicated her dramas.

[Life of Mrs. Centlivre prefixed to her works, 3 vols. 1761; List of English Dramatic Poets affixed to Whincop's Scanderbeg; Boyer's Political State of Great Britain, 1711-40, vol. xxvi.; Genest's Account of the English Stage; British Essayist, vol. i. (ed. Chalmers); Peter Cunningham's Handbook to London: Pope's Dunciad; Notes to Poetical Register (Giles Jacob), 1723.]

J. K.

**CENTWINE** or **KENTEN** (*d.* 685), king of the West Saxons, was the son of Cynegils and the brother of Cenwalh [q. v.] Accepting the statement of Bæda (*Ecc.*

*Hist.* iv. 12) that after Cenwalh's death the under-kings of the West Saxons divided the kingdom between them for about ten years, we must hold that Centwine had considerably less power than his brother had enjoyed. The 'Anglo-Saxon Chronicle,' however, says nothing of any such division. Neither in it nor in the list of West-Saxon kings given by Florence of Worcester is there any hint of an interruption of the head kingship. After the death of Cenwalh comes the one year's rule of his widow Sexburh; then Æscwine, a member of another branch of the house of Cutha, reigns, until on his death he is succeeded by Centwine in 676. The reign of Centwine is marked by a renewal of the West-Saxon victories over the Welsh, which seem to have ceased for a while after Centwalh in 658 had advanced the frontier to the Parret, for in 682 'Centwine drove the Britons to the sea' (*A.-S. Chron.*), or, in other words, subdued the coast west of the Parret, and made his people masters of the Quantock range. Such vigorous action implies considerable strength, and seems to make it certain that if Bæda is right in asserting that the head kingship of the West Saxons was for a time in abeyance, Centwine must by this time have revived it, and that the under-kings must have obeyed him. The assertion of the disturbed state of Wessex seems incidentally corroborated by the omission of the name of any West-Saxon king in the record of the council of Hatfield held in 680; it is, however, possible that the circumstances that led to the war of 682 may have given the headship of the kingdom to Centwine. By thus shortening the interval of divided kingship, the apparently contradictory accounts given by Bæda and the Chronicle are in a measure reconciled. Centwine married a sister of Eormenburh, the wife of Ecgrith of Northumbria, and the enemy of Wilfrith. Accordingly, when Wilfrith, having been forced to leave Mercia, fled for refuge to Wessex and was received by the king, the queen after a little while persuaded her husband to drive him out of the land (*EDDIUS*). Dr. Freeman holds that Centwine is the Kenten described by Faricius as the father of Aldhelm [see reference below]. Against this opinion must be set a poem addressed by Aldhelm to Bugge (Eadburh), the daughter of Kenten (Centwine). In this poem 'Kenten' is spoken of as a mighty king, very religious, who after winning three great battles retired from his throne to become a monk; the writer, however, does not hint at any relationship between the king and himself. Faricius, indeed, says that Aldhelm's father, Kenten, was the brother of King Ine. Wil-

liam of Malmesbury points out that this is impossible, mentions it as one of the unfounded assertions of Faricius, and says that in King Alfred's Handbook it is clearly stated that Kenten (or Centwine) was not the brother, but a near kinsman of Ine. It certainly seems impossible to refuse to believe that the Kenten of Aldhelm's poem was other than King Centwine, and equally impossible to suppose that Aldhelm could have been writing about his own father. Centwine's retirement from the throne may have been only a very short time before his death, which took place in 685. He is said to have been buried at Winchester. He was succeeded by Ceadwalla [q. v.], in whose person the house of Ceawlin [q. v.] regained the kingship. Centwine is claimed as one of the benefactors of Glastonbury.

[Anglo-Saxon Chronicle; Florence of Worcester; Henry of Huntingdon, p. 718, Mon. Hist. Brit.; William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Regum*, i. c. 29, 36 (Eng. Hist. Soc.); *Gesta Pontiff*, 332, 352, 354, 360 (Rolls Ser.); Eddius's *Vita Wilfridi*, c. 40, ap. *Historians of York* (Rolls Ser.); Aldhelmi Opera, 114 (ed. Giles); Haddan and Stubbs's *Councils and Eccl. Docs.* iii. 141-4; Freeman's *King Ine*, Somerset Archaeological Society's Journal, xviii. ii. 39-43, xx. ii. 24.]

W. H.

**CENWALH, KENWEALH, or COLNWALCH** (*d.* 672), king of the West Saxons, succeeded his father Cynegils [q. v.] in 643. Although his father had been baptised, Cenwalh still remained a pagan, influenced probably by his wife, the sister of the Mercian king Penda. Soon after his accession he put away his wife and took another. To avenge his sister Penda made war upon him, and drove him from his kingdom. Cenwalh fled to Anna, the king of the East Angles, and tarried with him for three years. From Anna Cenwalh heard and received the truths of christianity. He was baptised by Felix, the bishop of the East Angles (FLOR. WIG. i. 20). In 648 he was restored to his kingdom by the help of his nephew Cuthred, the son of Cwichelm [q. v.], and gave him in return three thousand hides of land about Æscesdun (Ashdown in Berkshire), or, as William of Malmesbury says, a third part of his kingdom (*A.-S. Chron.* an. 648; HEN. HUNT. 716; WILL. MALM. i. c. 29). After his restoration he received a visit from the Frankish Agilberht, who had gone over into Ireland, and had dwelt there for some time in order to study the Scriptures. Agilberht pleased the king by his energy in preaching to his people, for the accession of Cenwalh appears to have been followed by a general relapse into paganism. Cenwalh, immediately on his

return to his land, built St. Peter's at Winchester, and on the death of Birinus persuaded Agilberht to become his bishop, and established his see in his new church. In 652 the chronicle-writer says 'Cenwealh fought at Bradford by the Avon.' William of Malmesbury must refer to this campaign when he speaks of a rising of the Welsh, and of a victory gained by the West Saxons at a place called Wirtgernesburg. The battle of Bradford gave the West Saxons the long strip of forest land extending to Malmesbury that was left unconquered by Ceawlin [q. v.]. On the site of Cenwalh's victory still stands the little church built by St. Aldhelm [q. v.], who has been supposed, though on insufficient grounds, to have been his nephew [see CENTWINE]. In 658 Cenwalh again fought with the Welsh. He defeated them at 'Pens,' and drove them as far as the Parret, making that river the western boundary of West-Saxon conquest instead of Ceawlin's frontier, the Axe. The renewed energy of the West Saxons seems to have excited the jealousy of Wulfhere, king of the Mercians, who may well have feared lest they should attempt to recover the lost territory of the Hwiccas (GREEN). In 661 he defeated Cenwalh, and ravaged his land as far as Ashdown. After a while Cenwalh, who knew no other tongue besides his own, grew weary of the foreign speech of his bishop Agilberht. Accordingly, about 660, without consulting him, he quietly invited a certain Wini who had been consecrated in Gaul, and who spoke his tongue, to come to him. He divided his kingdom into two bishoprics, and gave Wini the see of Winchester. Deeply offended at this treatment, Agilberht left Wessex and returned to Gaul, where he was made bishop of Paris. After a while, however, Cenwalh expelled Wini, and the West Saxons remained for some time without a bishop. The constant attacks of his enemies led the king to think that by keeping his kingdom without a bishop he was depriving it of divine protection, so he sent messengers to Gaul to pray Agilberht to return. Agilberht answered that he could not leave his bishopric, and sent over his nephew Leutherius (Hlodhere), who was a priest, instead of coming himself. Cenwalh and his people received Leutherius with honour, and he was ordained bishop in 670. Cenwalh died in 672. On his death Bæda says that the underkings rid themselves of the supremacy of their overlord, and divided the kingdom between them for about ten years [see CENTWINE]. The chronicle-writer and Henry of Huntingdon, however, say that his queen, Sexburh, reigned for a year after him. Cen-



walh is said by William of Malmesbury to have been a benefactor to Glastonbury, but the charter which claims to be his is spurious.

[Bæda, iii. 7, iv. 12 (Eng. Hist. Soc.); Anglo-Saxon Chron. an. 643-672 (Rolls Ser.); Florence of Worcester, i. 20 (Eng. Hist. Soc.); William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Regum*, i. 30 (Eng. Hist. Soc.); Henry of Huntingdon, 716, M. H. B.; *Gesta Pontificum*, 158 (Rolls Ser.); *Codex Dipl.* i. 10; *Guest's Origines Celtice*, ii. 245; *Freeman in Somerset Archæol. Soc.'s Proc.* xix. ii. 67; *Green's Making of England*, 295, 328, 339.]

W. H.

**CENWULF** or **KENULF** (*d.* 1006), bishop of Winchester, on the appointment of Aldulf [q. v.] to the see of York, was chosen, in 992, to succeed him as abbot of St. Peter's, at Medehamstede (Peterborough). He surrounded his abbey with a wall, changed its name to Burch (Borough), and added to its wealth. On the promotion of Ælfheah [q. v.] to the archbishopric of Canterbury, Cenwulf is said to have procured his election to the see of Winchester in 1005 by simoniacal means. Ælfheah when at Rome, whither he had gone to receive the pall, is said to have announced the day of his successor's death, which took place in 1006. By Hugh 'Candidus,' the historian of Peterborough, Cenwulf is described as remarkably learned and eloquent, and is said to have carefully corrected the books belonging to the monastery. It was probably on the strength of this statement that Pits put him down as an author. No works have ever been ascribed to him. Abbot Ælfric, 'the grammarian' [q. v.], dedicated his 'Life of St. Æthelwold' to Bishop Cenwulf. This dedication, therefore, fixes the date of the work as 1005-6, the period of Cenwulf's episcopate.

[Anglo-Saxon Chron. i. 221, 240, 255, 257 (Rolls Ser.); Florence of Worcester, i. 149, 158 (Eng. Hist. Soc.); William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontiff.* 170, 317 (Rolls Ser.); Osborn de Vita S. Elphegi, *Anglia Sacra*, ii. 130; Hugo Candidus, *Cænobii Burgensis Historia*, 31, ed. Sparke; Vita S. Æthelwoldi ap. Chron. de Abingdon. ii. 255 (Rolls Ser.); Dugdale's *Monasticon*, i. 347; Tanner's *Bibl. Brit.* 175.]

W. H.

**CEOLFRID** or **CEOLFRITH**, SAINT (642-716), abbot of Wearmouth and Jarrow, the son of noble and pious parents, became, at the age of eighteen, a monk in the monastery of Gilling in Yorkshire, which, until lately, had been under the rule of his brother Cynfrith. When Ceolfrith entered the house, the office of abbot was held by Tunberht, the kinsman and successor of Cynfrith. Tunberht took a warm interest in

training his young relation, who applied himself earnestly to study and to monastic discipline. After a while a pestilence, probably the plague of 664, having carried off many of the monks of Gilling, Tunberht and his brethren were invited by Bishop Wilfrith to settle in the monastery of Ripon. Ceolfrith accompanied his kinsman to Ripon, and there, at the age of twenty-seven, was ordained priest by Wilfrith. Anxious to learn fully the duties of the priesthood and of the monastic life, he made a journey to Kent, for the coming of Archbishop Theodore and Hadrian in 669 had made Canterbury the seat of learning and ecclesiastical order. He visited East Anglia in order to observe the special method of monastic discipline followed by Abbot Botulf at Ikanhoe in Lincolnshire, and when he had learnt all he could he made haste to return to Ripon. There, in spite of his learning, he cheerfully occupied himself in humble duties, and became the baker of the house, employing the intervals in his labour in learning and practising the ritual that, as a priest, it was his duty to observe. When in 672 Benedict Biscop was forming a new congregation for the abbey he was about to build at Wearmouth, he invited Ceolfrith to help him. The invitation was accepted, and in 674 the abbey of St. Peter's was begun. Ceolfrith held the office of prior in the new house, and ruled it in Benedict's absence. After a while he grew weary of the cares of office, and, meeting with considerable annoyance from certain noble members of the house who disliked the strict monasticism he enforced, he left Wearmouth and returned to Ripon. His thorough knowledge of regular discipline and of the service of the altar made his services highly important, and Benedict went after him and persuaded him to return. In 678 he accompanied Benedict to Rome, returning with John, the arch-chancellor, who was persuaded to come over to England to teach the clergy there the Roman service.

When, in 682, King Egfrith gave Benedict a second large grant of land, he determined to build a second monastery at Jarrow. He committed the work to Ceolfrith, and made him abbot of the new congregation, which at first consisted of seventeen monks. Ceolfrith carried out the work with energy, and made a second journey to Rome to procure what the new foundation needed. In the third year after he began the work he set about building the church of his monastery, and finished it the year after. A stone still preserved at Jarrow commemorates the dedication of this church to St. Paul. The inscription on it is:

✠ *Dedicatio Basilicæ | Sci Pauli viii K1 Mai |  
anno xv Ecgfridi Reg. | . . . Ceolfridi Abb.  
ejusdem q. | q. Eccles. Deo Auctore | Conditoris  
Anno iiiii.*

The two monasteries, St. Peter's at Wearmouth, and St. Paul's at Jarrow, were sister houses, and the new convent remained in the strictest connection with Benedict's earlier foundation. The number of brethren at Jarrow appears to have slightly increased after the congregation was first formed by Benedict, and twenty-two settled in Ceolfrith's new house, of whom ten were already tonsured, and the remainder were applicants for the tonsure. During the progress of the building the abbot took no small pains to instruct his brethren how to read and sing the service, in order that they might chant the psalms and say the responses and antiphons as the custom was at St. Peter's at Wearmouth. His monks studied diligently, and good progress was made. The monastery, however, was visited by the plague, which carried off all the monks who were thus able to take part in the service save the abbot himself and one lad whom he had brought up and taught, and who was not as yet in priest's orders. When the history from which this incident comes was written, the lad, grown then to manhood, and in the priesthood, was still a brother of the house, equally famous for what he wrote and what he spoke of his past life, and it is not too fanciful to believe that he was Beda [q. v.], who tells us that Ceolfrith brought him up, and that it was by his direction that he was ordained priest (*Ecc. Hist.* v. 24). The abbot and the lad for one week left out the wonted antiphons, but the service seemed too mournful, and with such help as the others could give they kept the service up as it had been before the plague, though not without great labour, until the abbot had gathered fresh monks, or taught those he already had to take their part. On the death of Eosterwini, whom Benedict had admitted to a share in the abbacy of Wearmouth, that he might take his place in his absence, the monks of St. Peter's consulted Ceolfrith as to whom they should choose in his place, for, as it happened, Benedict was at Rome at the time. By Ceolfrith's advice they made Sigrith abbot, and Benedict, on his return, approved the choice. Soon after this both Benedict and Sigrith fell sick. Benedict therefore sent for Ceolfrith, and committed both the monasteries to his charge. Accordingly he was constituted abbot of both houses, 13 May 688. Sigrith died on 22 Aug. and Benedict on 12 Jan. following.

Ceolfrith ruled the two monasteries with diligence. While strictly enforcing the full Benedictine rule he nevertheless won the love of his monks. He took pains with the services, and caused them to be held constantly. Nor was he neglectful of the welfare of his monasteries in other ways. He obtained a letter of privileges from Pope Sergius, which he had laid before a synod and publicly confirmed by King Aldfrith and the bishops who were present. He enriched his churches with many precious things from Rome. Among other matters of good government he especially encouraged the practice of transcription, and, having already one copy of the Scriptures of the old version, which he had brought from Rome, caused three copies of the new version to be written out; one of these he placed in each of his monasteries and kept the other to present to the Roman see. A certain splendid cosmography, which Benedict had bought at Rome, he sold to King Aldfrith for no less than eight hides of land, with which he endowed St. Paul's monastery. When Adamnan [q. v.] visited Northumbria, Ceolfrith entertained him and succeeded in convincing him that the Celtic church was in error. The result of this visit was the conversion of the northern Irish to the Roman Easter in 704 (*Ecc. Documents*). At the request of Naiton (Nechtan Mac Derili), king of the Picts, he wrote him a letter in 710 on the disputed questions about Easter and the tonsure. When this letter was translated to Naiton and his councillors, the king decreed that the Roman customs should thenceforth be followed by his people. Ceolfrith also, at the king's request, sent him architects to show him how to build the church he was contemplating in the Roman style. In 716 Ceolfrith, feeling that age had lessened his powers, determined to end his days at Rome. He took a solemn and affecting farewell of his monks, who were now about six hundred in number in the two monasteries, and set out on 4 June, taking with him the copy of the Scriptures he had had prepared to present to the pope. While waiting for his ship to sail, he heard of the election of his successor, Hwætberht, and confirmed it. He set sail on 4 July and landed in Gaul 12 Aug. He was honourably received by the ruler of the district, who gave him a commendatory letter to Liutprand, king of the Lombards. He arrived at Langres on 25 Sept., and died there on the same day at the age of seventy-four. On the morrow his body was buried with great honour in the church of the Twin Martyrs. He had been accompanied on his journey by eighty men from all parts, who revered him as a father;

these, together with a large number of the people of Langres, followed him to the grave. Of the monks whom he took with him some returned to carry the tidings of his death to their monasteries; some went on to Rome, bearing the gifts he had prepared for the pope; and others, unwilling to leave their master's grave, stayed at Langres. Ceolfrith's letter to Naiton is preserved in Bæda's 'Ecclesiastical History' (v. 21). Six elegiac lines of dedication, written in the copy of the Scriptures he intended, are also extant (BÆDÆ *Op. Hist. Min.* 332).

[These two lives of St. Ceolfrith, one evidently the work of a contemporary monk of Wearmouth, formed the basis of the Lives of the Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow written by Bæda. The Wearmouth book, *Historia Abbatum Gyrvensium*, was first printed by J. Stevenson in his *Bædæ Opera Historica Minora*, for the Eng. Hist. Soc. from the Harleian MS. 3020; the same volume also contains Bæda's *Vita S. Ceolfridi*. Bæda's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, iv. 18, v. 21, 24; Symeon, *de Dunelmensi Ecclesia*, Twysden, 8, 92, 94, 95; William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Regum*, i. 50, 54, 58; Surtees's *Durham*, ii. 67; Haddan and Stubbs's *Councils and Eccl. Documents*, iii. 285-296.] W. H.

**CEOLNOTH** (*d.* 870), archbishop of Canterbury, is said by Gervase to have been dean of that church; this statement, however, probably arises from a confusion between Ceolnoth and Æthelnoth (consecrated 1020), who certainly held that office (*Eccl. Docs.* iii. 611 *n.*) He was elected 29 June and consecrated 27 Aug. 833 (GERVASE). This date, however, depends on that of the death of Feologeld, and on his being accepted as an archbishop. Feologeld appears to have died 29 Aug. 832, and his consecration is mentioned by the Canterbury version of the chronicle followed by William of Malmesbury and others; on the other hand, the dates of the chronicles do not agree with this chronology, and 27 Aug. did not fall on a Sunday in 833, but did so fall in 831. 'The point is very obscure, and it is not probable that it can ever be completely cleared up' (*Eccl. Docs.*) It is said, on the highly doubtful authority of a Latin insertion in the Canterbury chronicle (anno 995), that in the first year of Ceolnoth's archbishopric there was a great sickness among the monks of Christ Church, so that five only were left, and that, finding it difficult to supply their places with other monks, he admitted secular clerks into the monastery. This story, which forms part of the account of the supposed expulsion of the seculars by Archbishop Ælf-ric [q. v.], cannot be accepted as of much weight, though it illustrates the constant

presence of secular clerks in religious houses before the struggle between the two orders in the tenth century. On the overthrow of the kingdom of Kent it is probable that little good feeling existed between the see of Canterbury and Egberht, the West-Saxon conqueror, and it has been suggested that Ceolnoth was a West Saxon, and that his accession was due to Egberht's desire to gain the support of the metropolitan see (ROBERTSON, *Hist. Essays*, 196, 200). If this was so, the king's policy was successful, for at the council of Kingston in 838 Ceolnoth made a strict and perpetual alliance between his church and the West-Saxon kings, Egberht and Æthelwulf, receiving in return certain lands at Malling, which had been granted to Canterbury by Baldred, king of Kent, on the eve of his final defeat. This alliance was confirmed in 839, the first year of Æthelwulf, at a council held at 'Astran.' In 844 a long-pending dispute, arising out of the will of Oswulf, ealdorman of East Kent, and first heard in 810, was decided by Ceolnoth in favour of the church at an assembly held at Canterbury in the presence of the king. In 851 the Danes took Canterbury, and in 864 a Danish army wintered in Thanet; the invaders made peace with the Kentish men, who promised them money, but during the progress of the negotiations they plundered the country. The measures taken for defence and the payment here noticed have been connected with the large number of Ceolnoth's coins that have been found; it is possible that he may have had to turn some part of the treasure of his church into money. He died and was buried in his church at Canterbury in 870 (ASSEER, GERVASE), for the statement of the Worcester chronicler that he died at Rome is evidently incorrect.

[Haddan and Stubbs's *Councils and Eccl. Docs.* iii. 610-36; *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*; Asser, *Mon. Hist. Brit.* 476; Gervase, *Twysden*, col. 1643; Hook's *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury*, i. 282-96.] W. H.

**CEOLRED** (*d.* 716), king of the Mercians, was the son of Æthelred by his wife Osthryth of Northumbria. On Æthelred's retirement to a monastery in 704 he was succeeded by his nephew, Coenred, and Ceolred did not come to the throne until 709. He then sent two abbots to Wilfrith to beg him to come to him, promising to order his life in accordance with the bishop's instructions. Wilfrith accepted the invitation, but died soon after his coming into Mercia, and, as it seems, without meeting the king. The revival of the West-Saxon power under

Ceadwalla and Ine had caused the loss of the Mercian territory beyond the Thames, together probably with Essex and London. Ceolred made a vigorous attempt to win back the supremacy of the south, and in 715 led his army into Wessex. He was met by Ine at Wodnesbeorg, probably Wanborough, where a battle was fought so fiercely that none could tell which side suffered the greater loss (HEN. HUNT. 724); it is evident, however, that the invasion failed. Ceolred was jealous of his cousin Æthelbald, and persecuted him so that he was forced to flee from the kingdom. The good intentions Ceolred had when he sent for Wilfrith seem by this time to have disappeared, for he greatly oppressed the church and did much evil to monasteries and nunneries. In 716, as he was feasting with his nobles, he was suddenly seized with madness, and so died, his end, according to St. Boniface, being the work of the evil spirit that possessed him. His widow, Werburh, is said to have lived until 782. Ceolred was buried at Lichfield. On his death Æthelbald was chosen king.

[Bæda's *Historia Eccles.* v. 19 (Eng. Hist. Soc.); Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, 704, 715, 716; Eddius's *Vita Wilfridi*, cap. 63, ap. *Historians of York*, p. 96 (Rolls Series); Florence of Worcester (Eng. Hist. Soc.); Henry of Huntingdon, *Mon. Hist. Brit.*; Haddan and Stubbs's *Councils and Eccles. Docs.* iii. 281, 355, and 356, with letter of St. Boniface from Jaffé, No. 59, given in a shortened form by William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, i. 80 (Eng. Hist. Soc.); *Vita S. Guthlaci*, *Mabillon Acta SS. sæc. iii.* l. 271; *Kemble's Codex Dipl.* i. 72; *Green's Making of England*, 392.] W. H.

**CEOLRIC** or **CEOL** (*d.* 597), king of the West Saxons, was the son of Cutha, the brother of Ceawlin. After his victory over his uncle Ceawlin [q. v.] at Wodnesbeorg in 592 he reigned for five years. At his death in 597 he left a son, Cynegils [q. v.] He was succeeded by his brother, Ceolwulf, who reigned until 611, when, at his death, Cynegils succeeded to the throne.

[Anglo-Saxon Chronicle; Florence of Worcester, i. 9, 256, 271 (Eng. Hist. Soc.); William of Malmesbury, i. c. 17, 18.] W. H.

**CEOLWULF** (*d.* 764), king of the Northumbrians, was the son of Cutha (*A.-S. Chron.* an. 731; SYMEON, *De Dunelm. Eccl.*), and the brother of Coenred, king of the Northumbrians. On the death of Coenred in 718, Osric succeeded to the throne. Before he died he appointed Ceolwulf as his successor, who accordingly began his reign on 9 May 729. His chief claim to remembrance is that Bæda dedicated his '*Historia Ecclesiastica*'

to him ('gloriosissimo regi Ceoluulpho') in a prefatory letter in which he says that he has sent him his book that he may read and test it and have it transcribed, and speaks of the king's delight in the study of the Scriptures, in history, and especially in the records of famous Englishmen. Bæda ends his history with an account of the flourishing state of the kingdom of Northumbria in 731, noticing the large number of men of all ranks who at that time retired from the world to adopt a monastic life. It seems, however, as though a strong party in Northumbria disliked the increase of the ecclesiastical power, and was impatient of the rule of the studious king, for the next year an insurrection broke out, and Ceolwulf was seized and tonsured. He was restored to the throne the same year, the tonsure thus forced upon him being held therefore to be no impediment to the resumption of the kingly office. As Bishop Acca [q. v.] was banished at this time, it has been suggested that the troubles in Northumbria may have been connected with some change in the arrangement of the northern dioceses. Ceolwulf made his cousin Ecgberht bishop of York in 734, and Bæda, writing to Ecgberht, reminds him that he would find the king a ready helper in the ecclesiastical reforms he was urging on him, and especially in the increase of the episcopate. Ceolwulf resigned the throne in 737, and became a monk of Lindisfarne. He richly endowed the monastery with treasures and lands. From the time of his entrance into the house the monks were allowed to drink wine or beer instead of water or milk. He died in 764 (SYMEON, 760, *A.-S. Chron.*), and was buried at Lindisfarne. His body was afterwards translated to Norham, where miracles are said to have been wrought at his tomb; his head was preserved among the relics deposited in the church of St. Cuthbert at Durham. Ceolwulf has a place in the calendar, his day being 15 Jan.

[Bæda's *Hist. Eccl.* prolog. v. 23, *Epistola ad Ecgerbertum* ap. *Op. Hist. Minora*, p. 214 (Eng. Hist. Soc.); Anglo-Saxon Chron.; Symeon de Dunelm. *Ecclesia*, col. 7, 9, de Sto Cuthberto, col. 70, de *Gestis Regum*, col. 100, 106, *Tvysden*; William of Malmesbury, i. 64; Raine's *History of North Durham*, p. 68; Dixon and Raine, *Fasti Ebor.* 94.] W. H.

**CERCIC** (*d.* 534), king of the West Saxons, bore the title of ealdorman when in 495 he and his son, Cynric, came over to Britain, and landed probably at the mouth of the Itchin, at a spot afterwards called Cerdics-ora. The invaders were attacked on the day they landed. According to Henry of Huntingdon, whose history of these events,

late as it is, has a special value as embodying tradition, Cerdic's men formed themselves into a solid mass hard by their ships, and succeeded in beating off the attack of the Britons; neither side, however, could claim a victory. Æthelweard also speaks of a hardly fought battle. The next recorded event in Cerdic's life is a victory gained by him and his son in 508, in which a British king, with the name or title of Natanleod, and five thousand of his men were slain. As the chronicle states that after this battle 'the land was named Natanlea as far as Cerdices-ford' (Charford), it seems as though this victory established Cerdic's power to the east and south of that point. A further immigration 'in three ships' in 514 has been held to have been the first attempt 'at definite conquest' made by the people afterwards called West Saxons, the earlier descents in 495 and under different leaders in 501 being put down as mere plundering expeditions (GREEN, *Making of England*, 87). This is pure conjecture, and is contrary to the account given by Henry of Huntingdon, who represents Cerdic as making continuous though slow progress in conquest. Besides, the tradition that three ships were used by the later and five by the earlier invaders is almost fatal to the theory that the expedition of Cerdic in 495 was 'little more than a plunder raid,' and that the tribe came over in 514. There is no reason to doubt that the slow progress of the invasion in its early stage was due to the fact that Cerdic's forces were not sufficiently strong to advance inland until reinforced by expeditions such as the one which now landed in Britain. If the account in the chronicle of the coming of two Jutish leaders, Stuf and Wihtgar, described as Cerdic's nephews, is trustworthy, their co-operation must have considerably strengthened his position. In 519 he defeated the Britons at Charford. This victory secured the valley of the lower Avon, and at the same time opened a new field for invasion. As in other cases where a people won an important victory, this success led to the establishment of kingship. Cerdic and his son exchanged the title of ealdorman for that of king, and their people, from the geographical position of their settlements, were called West Saxons. On attempting to follow up his victory in 520 by an advance through the valley of the Frome (GREEN), Cerdic was utterly defeated at Mount Badon, or Badbury, in Dorsetshire (GUEST). While Gildas does not mention the name of the British leader, the victory is ascribed to Arthur by the writer of Nennius and the compilers of the 'Annales Cambriæ.' It is evident that Gildas looked on this battle,

which was fought in the year of his own birth, as a crisis in the struggle. Foreign wars, he says, now ceased. Cerdic was forced to leave the land west of the Avon in peace. In 530 he and his son conquered the island now called Wight, and slew men at the fortress where Carisbrook now stands. They handed their conquest over to their allies and kinsmen, Stuf and Wihtgar, so at least the chronicle says; and while the story of Wihtgar can scarcely be accepted without an effort, the island was certainly colonised by Jutes (BEDA, *H. E.* i. 15). In 534 Cerdic died.

[Anglo-Saxon Chron.; Bæda's *Historia Ecl.* i. 15 (Eng. Hist. Soc.); *Annales Cambriæ*, an. 516; Nennius, 49 (Eng. Hist. Soc.); Gildas, 34 (Eng. Hist. Soc.); Æthelweard, 503. *Mon. Hist. Brit.*; Henry of Huntingdon, 45 (Rolls Ser.); Guest's *Origines Celticæ*, ii. 180-93; Green's *Making of England*, 87, 90.] W. H.

CERNACH, SAINT. [See CARANTACUS.]

CERVETTO, GIACOBBE (1682?-1783), violoncellist, was born in Italy of Jewish parents about 1682. His real name was Bassevi, but he had adopted the name of Cervetto before his arrival in England in 1738 or 1739. He played first at a concert in Hickford's Rooms, Brewer Street, Golden Square, where Festing led, but he was soon engaged for the Drury Lane orchestra, of which he was a conspicuous member until his death. Cervetto, with Caporale and Pasquali, was one of the first to popularise the violoncello in England. His tone is described as having been coarse, and his execution not remarkable; but Burney states that he was a good musician and a good man. At Drury Lane, where his large nose and a huge diamond he used to wear on the forefinger of his bow-hand made him very conspicuous, he was very popular with the audience, and it is said that the gallery cry, 'Play up, nosey,' owes its origin to his appearance. Cervetto published a few trios, duets, and sonatas, mostly for the violoncello. He was a constant frequenter of the Orange coffee-house, and in the early part of his London career he lodged 'at Mr. Marie's, tobacconist, in Compton Street, Soho,' but afterwards lived at 7 Charles Street, Covent Garden. He died, aged over one hundred, at Friburg's snuff-shop in the Haymarket, on 14 Jan. 1783. By his will he directed that his body should be buried according to the rites of the church of England. In the course of his long life Cervetto had amassed a large fortune, which is variously estimated at from twenty to fifty thousand pounds. There is a fine mezzotint of him by

V. M. Picot, after Zoffany, published 16 April 1771, and a smaller portrait in H. de Janvry's 'Miniatures of Celebrated Musicians.'

[Grove's Dict. of Music, i. 331; Rees's Encyclopædia; British Museum Music Catalogue; European Mag. January 1783; Gent. Mag. September 1817; Thespian Dictionary; Pohl, Mozart und Haydn in London, 54, &c.; Musical Quarterly Mag. vi. 354; Cervetto's Will, Probate Registry, communicated by Mr. J. Challoner Smith.]  
W. B. S.

**CERVETTO, JAMES** (1749?–1837), the natural son of Giacobbe Basevi or Cervetto [q. v.], was born in London about 1749. He learnt the violoncello from his father, whom he soon excelled as a performer, his tone in particular being remarkably pure in quality. His first appearance took place at the little theatre in the Haymarket on 23 April 1760, when the advertisement stated that his age was eleven. The other performers at this concert were Miss Burney, aged eleven, Miss Schmaehling (afterwards celebrated as Mme. Mara), whose age was stated to be nine, though she was really eleven, and Barron, aged thirteen. After 1763 he travelled abroad, playing in most of the capitals of Europe; but he was in London in 1765, when he played at a concert given by Parry, the harpist. In 1771 he became a member of the queen's private band, and in 1780 he joined Lord Abingdon's private orchestra. On the institution of the Professional Concerts in 1783 Cervetto was engaged as soloist; at the first concert he played a violoncello concerto by Haydn. During the earlier part of his career Cervetto was in friendly rivalry with Crosdill [q. v.]; but on his father's death he inherited a large fortune and retired from the active exercise of his profession. The younger Cervetto was a member of the Royal Society of Musicians for seventy-two years. He wrote a few unimportant pieces of music, mostly for the violoncello. He died on Sunday, 5 Feb. 1837.

[Authorities as under **GIACOBBE CERVETTO**; Musical World, 10 Feb. 1837; Dictionary of Musicians, 1827; Annual Register, 1837, p. 175; Mendel's Musikalisches Conversations-Lexikon.]  
W. B. S.

**CESTRETON, ADAM DE** (d. 1269), was one of the justices itinerant in the reign of Henry III. He is said to have been the king's chaplain, and on 28 Nov. 1265 he received a grant for life of the mastership of the *domus conversorum*, an establishment for converted Jews, which Henry III had founded about 1231 in New Street, London, now called Chancery Lane. In 52 Hen. III (1267–8) he sat as judge in nine different counties, sometimes alone and sometimes in

conjunction with Richard de Hemington. He died in the following year, and was succeeded as master of the *domus conversorum* by Thomas de la Leye.

[Newcourt's Repertorium, i. 338; Excerpta e Rot. Fin. ii. 465, 466, 468–73, 475–78; Foss's Judges of England, ii. 294.]  
H. B.

**CHABHAM or CHOBHAM, THOMAS DE** (fl. 1230), theologian, is mentioned as sub-dean of Salisbury in 1214 and 1230 (Le Neve, *Fasti*, ii. 619, ed. Hardy; comp. Leland, *Comm. de Script. Brit.* cclxxxvi. 299; Tanner, *Bibl. Brit.* p. 172). He was the author of a 'Summa de penitentia et officis ecclesiasticis,' which is still extant in manuscript. Other works enumerated by Bale (*Script. Brit. Cat.* iv. 98, p. 379) are 'Speculum ecclesiæ,' 'Tractatus de baptismo,' and 'De peccatis in genere,' besides 'Commentarii' and 'Sermones.' Chabham has been generally identified by biographers with Thomas de Cobham [q. v.], who was bishop of Worcester in the fourteenth century. But it is clear from the manuscripts (Coxe, *Catal. of Oxford MSS.*, University, cxix. 35 b, Oriol, xvii. 6 a, and Queen's, cclxii. 84 b) that the writer of the treatise 'De penitentia' was known only as sub-dean of Salisbury, and two of the manuscripts cited date from before the end of the thirteenth century. In these the spelling of the author's name varies between 'Chabeham,' 'Chobham,' and 'Chebeham,' that of the sub-dean is given by Tanner as 'Chabaam,' and by Le Neve as 'Chabaum.' The bishop's name, on the other hand, seems to have been invariably spelled with a simple C; he is described by contemporary writers as canon of St. Paul's or of York, both which preferments he held, but not as sub-dean of Salisbury. The repetition of the name therefore among the officers of Salisbury Cathedral, found in Le Neve (*l. c.*) under the later date, plainly in order to suit Bishop Cobham, must be an error.

[Authorities cited above.]  
R. L. P.

**CHABOT, CHARLES'** (1815–1882), expert in handwriting, belonged to a Huguenot family, and was born at Battersea in 1815. He was originally a lithographer, but gradually acquired a large private practice as an expert in handwriting, while his unswerving integrity, no less than his skill, made him in much request in the law courts. He gave evidence in the Roupell and Tichborne trials, and in some other important cases his testimony practically governed the decisions. In 1871 Chabot examined professionally the handwriting of the letters of Junius and compared it with the handwriting of those

persons to whom the letters had at various times been attributed. His detailed reports, which confirmed the identification of Sir Philip Francis with Junius, were published, with a preface and collateral evidence by the Hon. Edward Twistleton, in 1871. Chabot died on 15 Oct. 1882.

[Times, 17 Oct. 1882; Law Journal, xvii. 566.]  
T. F. H.

**CHACEPORC** or **CHACEPORT**, PETER (*d.* 1254), treasurer, a Poitevin favourite of Henry III, and nephew of a certain Hugh de Vynon, a valued servant of the king, was one of the royal clerks, and as such took part in the confirmation of the truce with France in 1243. From 1245 onwards he held the office of keeper of the king's wardrobe. He was rector of Ivinghoe, and in 1250 was made archdeacon of Wells. In that year also the king sent him to Winchester to try to persuade the monks to elect Aymer de Valence [q. v.] as bishop. His name occurs in 1252 in a scheme of composition between the king and Earl Simon of Leicester, and he was sent the same year to ask Queen Blanche to grant Henry leave to pass through France on his proposed visit to Gascony, a request the queen answered by a flat refusal. In 1253 he received, with Henry of Lexington, the temporary charge of the great seal, was made treasurer, and was named one of the executors of the king's will. During the vacancy of the see of Lincoln in 1254 the king gave him the treasurership of that church. Later in the year he was with Henry when, on his return from Gascony, he visited Louis IX at Paris. On his homeward journey the king stayed awhile at Boulogne, and there Chaceporc died, on 24 Dec. Henry, who greatly valued him, buried him with honour in St. Mary's Church. By his will, made two days before his death, he left six hundred marks to found a house of regular canons to be chosen from Merton. The king carried out the wishes of his favourite servant by the foundation of Ravenston Priory in Buckinghamshire.

[Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, v. 179, 335, 484, 691 (Rolls Ser.); *Annales de Dunstaplia* ap. Ann. Monast. iii. 194 (Rolls Ser.); *Royal Letters of Henry III*, ii. 385 (Rolls Ser.); *Rymer's Fœdera*, i. 417, 488, 502, ed. 1704; *Madox's History of the Exchequer*, i. 609, ii. 116, 318; *Liber Niger de Scaccario*, ii. 534, ed. Hearne, 1771; *Le Neve's Fasti* (Hardy); *Foss's Judges of England*, ii. 295.]

W. H.

**CHAD** or **CEADDA**, SAINT. [See **CEADDA** (*d.* 672).]

**CHADERTON**, LAURENCE (1536?-1640), master of Emmanuel College, Cam-

bridge, was the son of Thomas Chaderton of the Lees, Oldham. According to his biographers, he gave inconsistent accounts of his age. According to one, he was born in 1536; according to the other, two years later. His father was a gentleman of good means, and seems to have taken little pains to press Laurence forward in his education. The boy was further disgusted with study by the severity of a stupid schoolmaster; but after a youth devoted mainly to field sports, he came under the influence of an able and learned tutor, Laurence Vaux, the author of a catholic catechism, and afterwards warden of the Manchester College. The elder Chaderton was a strict catholic, as of course was Vaux, and Laurence was therefore trained in the old faith; but when young Chaderton entered Christ's College in 1564-5 he found the reformation question agitating the minds of all around him. The puritan party was especially strong at Christ's, and Chaderton, after much conflict of mind, determined to adopt the reformed doctrines. This change of opinion cost him the support of his father, who, after vainly attempting to induce him by the offer of an allowance of 30*l.* to quit Cambridge and study at one of the Inns of Court, addressed the following letter to him: 'Son Laurence, if you will renounce the new sect which you have joined, you may expect all the happiness which the care of an indulgent father can secure you; otherwise, I enclose a shilling to buy a wallet. Go and beg.' Chaderton, however, persevered in his Cambridge career, obtained a scholarship, eked out his scanty means by teaching, in 1567 obtained his degree, and shortly afterwards a fellowship at Christ's. He served his college in various capacities as dean, tutor, and lecturer, and enjoyed considerable reputation as a Latin, Greek, and Hebrew scholar, and made himself acquainted also with French, Spanish, and Italian. He was successful as a tutor, but it was as a preacher that he exercised the widest influence. For nearly fifty years he was afternoon lecturer at the church of St. Clement's in Cambridge, and had large congregations both from town and university, where preaching had been before his time much neglected. When he found it necessary, very late in life, to resign his lectureship, he received an address from forty clergy begging him to reconsider his decision, and alleging that they owed their conversion to his preaching. Instances of his influence as a preacher are recorded in various parts of the country, especially in his native county of Lancashire. In 1572 Chaderton's father died, without, it seems, carrying out his threat of disinheritance completely; and in

1576 he vacated his fellowship at Christ's by marriage with Cecilia, daughter of Nicholas Culverwell, Queen Elizabeth's merchant for wines. The Culverwell family were strong puritans; two of Mrs. Chaderton's sisters were married to well-known members of the same party, Dr. Whitaker and Thomas Gouge, and her brothers Samuel and Ezekiel Culverwell were famous puritan preachers. Chaderton continued to reside and preach at Cambridge, and to take part in university matters. He took the degree of B.D. in 1578, and in 1581 was engaged in a controversy with Peter Baro [q. v.], who had published some theses concerning 'justifying faith,' which Chaderton denounced in a sermon. Baro cited Chaderton before the vice-chancellor, who heard the controversy, which was conducted with less than the usual acrimony. In 1584 Sir Walter Mildmay, who had, like Chaderton, been at Christ's, and had since acquired great wealth in a long course of public employments, determined to devote a portion of his riches to the foundation of a college at Cambridge especially designed to train up 'godly ministers.' Sir Walter, who was chancellor of the exchequer and a privy councillor, was well known to have sympathies on the side of the puritan party. For the mastership he selected Chaderton, whose character he respected, and with whom he was personally acquainted. When Chaderton hesitated (having been offered better preferment), he said, 'If you won't be master, I won't be founder.' Chaderton accepted the office, and fully justified Sir Walter's choice. Though a noted puritan, he was also a churchman, and never joined in the cry against 'prelacy,' though he refused to accept a bishopric himself. He ruled the new college with great credit and success for thirty-eight years, speedily attracting to it fresh benefactions, and large numbers of students from all parts of the country, especially, of course, from families who were in sympathy with the Calvinistic puritans. During his mastership he was employed on the Cambridge committee for drawing up the authorised version of the Bible of 1607-11; and, earlier, was with three others chosen to represent the 'Millenary Plaintiffs' at the Hampton Court conference, where he was somewhat rudely assailed by his old fellow-collegian and friend, Richard Bancroft [q. v.], then bishop of London, who denounced him and his fellow-commissioners to the king as 'Cartwright's schollers, schismatics, breakers of your laws; you may know them by their Turkie grogam.' Chaderton was moderate, and pleaded rather for concessions to weak consciences than for radical changes. This moderation characterised him

throughout, although his chosen friends were the leaders of the extreme party, such as Cartwright, Perkins, and Whitaker. In October 1622 he resigned his mastership, apparently under some pressure from the fellows, who wished to have Dr. Preston, a fellow of Queens', as his successor. Preston was chaplain to Prince Charles, and intimate with Buckingham; and the fellows thought that his influence at court might secure to them the abolition of one of their statutes, which they especially disliked, and which Chaderton supported, compelling them to reside and to vacate their fellowships at the standing of D.D. The old man was persuaded that by his resignation Preston's election could be secured, and the danger of an Arminian being put in his place by royal mandate be avoided. He accordingly resigned on 26 Oct. 1622, and Preston was elected. He survived his resignation eighteen years, living in the town near the college, and in spite of his great age continuing his devotion to his old studies, and especially to botany. His wife died in 1631, but his only daughter, who married the son of Archdeacon Johnson, founder of Oakham and Uppingham schools, remained with him until his death. He preserved in a remarkable degree his bodily and mental faculties to the last. His biographer, Dillingham, says that near the end of his life he saw him reading a Greek Testament of very small type without glasses; and that, though he watched for it, he never detected him repeating himself in his conversation. Prince Charles and Frederic the Elector Palatine visited him in 1613, and insisted on his taking his doctor's degree, from which he had always shrunk. In 1615 James I visited and conversed with him, and two of his old pupils who had risen high in political life took especial pains to show him honour—Finch, the lord-keeper, and Rich, the ill-fated Earl of Holland. He died on 13 Nov. 1640, aged 102 or 103 years, and was buried in the Emmanuel College chapel, from which his body was removed to the new chapel built after the Restoration by Sir Christopher Wren.

He does not appear to have published any work except one small tract printed anonymously, and reprinted with others by Ant. Thys of Leyden, '*de justificatione coram Deo et fidei perseverantia non intercisa.*' Baines, in his '*History of Lancashire,*' mentions a sermon and other works, which appear, however, to have been in manuscript, as also some mentioned by Dillingham, viz. the theses against Baro; two treatises, '*De Cœna Domini,*' and '*De Oratione Dominica;*' and some lectures on logic and on Cicero.



[Dillingham's *Vita Chadertoni*, 1700, translated by E. S. Shuckburgh, 1884; *Life in Clark's Martyrology*, part ii. p. 145. See also Ball's *Life of Preston* in same book, pp. 93-4; *Gent. Mag.* 1854, pp. 460, 588; *Baines's History of Lancashire*, pp. 455-6; *Barlow's Summe of the Conference before the King's Majesty*, pp. 2, 27, 105; *Strype's Annals*; *Mullinger's University of Cambridge*.] E. S. S.

**CHADERTON, CHADDERTON**, or **CHATTERTON, WILLIAM, D.D.** (1540?-1608), successively bishop of Chester and Lincoln, was born about 1540 at Nuthurst, a hamlet of Moston in the ancient parish of Manchester. He was the younger son of Edmund Chadderton, by his wife, Margaret Cliffe of Cheshire. The Chaddertons were an ancient family, descended from Geoffrey de Trafford, the younger son of Richard de Trafford, who about 1200 received from his father the manor of Chadderton. Chadderton was educated at the Manchester grammar school, and afterwards successively at Magdalene and Pembroke Colleges, Cambridge. He matriculated as a pensioner of Pembroke in November 1553. He took his degree of B.A. in 1558, and in the same year was chosen fellow of Christ's College. He became M.A. in 1561, B.D. in 1566, and D.D. in 1568. On the visit of Queen Elizabeth to Cambridge in 1564 he was appointed, with Thomas Cartwright (1535-1603) [q. v.] and others, to take part in the philosophy act kept before her majesty in Great St. Mary's on 7 Aug. to her great satisfaction. Chadderton's speech is printed by Nichols (*Progresses of Elizabeth*, iii. 68, ed. 1805). Perhaps it was on this occasion that he ingratiated himself with Cecil as well as with the Earl of Leicester, whose chaplain he afterwards became. He was chosen to succeed Whitgift as Lady Margaret professor of divinity in 1567. The next year, on the death of John Stokes, the influence of Sir William Cecil and the court procured his election as president of Queens' College, 7 May 1568. He returned thanks to his patron in a servile Latin letter. Stokes had also been archdeacon of York, and on the 31st of the same month, by the same influence, the new president was appointed his successor. Soon after his election to the presidentship, being minded to marry, he applied for leave to his other powerful patron Dudley, earl of Leicester. The earl's reply is printed by Peck (*Desiderata Curiosa*, bk. iii. No. 3), who finds much to divert him in Leicester's gravity in 'writing like a saint.' The earl's permission having been granted, Chadderton married Katherine, daughter of John Revell of London, by whom he had an only daughter, Joan. Chadderton took a leading part at this time in university affairs.

The town was out of favour with the Duke of Norfolk, then high steward of the town, on account of some municipal squabbles, and Chadderton was despatched to Cecil, then the chancellor, by the vice-chancellor and heads, 7 Aug. 1569, to influence the duke against the town. Chadderton succeeded Whitgift as regius professor of divinity at the close of 1569. His place as Lady Margaret professor was filled by Thomas Cartwright, who at once began to attack the existing form of church government. We find Chadderton speedily calling upon Cecil (11 June 1570) to use his authority as chancellor to repress this 'pernicious teaching, not tolerable for a christian commonwealth' (*State Papers*, Dom. Eliz., lxxi. 11). In the bitter controversies between the puritans and the moderate Anglicans Chadderton actively sided with the latter, and was charged by Dering with being 'an enemy of God's gospel' with 'small constancy either in his life or his religion' (*STRYPE, Parker*, App. No. 78). He was one of Whitgift's assessors when Cartwright was brought to trial before him, and fully concurred in his removal from his professorship, 11 Dec. 1570. Chadderton delivered the Lady Margaret lectures in Cartwright's place, and when, in the following September, Cartwright was deprived of his fellowship, he was one of the heads who wrote to Cecil entreating him to support Whitgift in this exercise of authority (*STRYPE, Whitgift*, bk. i. ch. 5. N.B.—Strype's date, 1572, is erroneous). In 1572 Chadderton made an unsuccessful application to Cecil for the deanery of Winchester, which would deliver him from the slavery of public lectures (*Baker MS.* iv. 190; *SEARLE, Hist. of Queens' College*, p. 308). On 16 Feb. 1574 he received the prebendal stall of Fenton in York Minster, to which on 5 Nov. 1576 was added a prebend of Westminster. He resigned the archdeaconry of York in 1575. A letter printed by Peck (*Desid. Cur.* bk. iii. No. 7; *STRYPE, Annals*, vol. ii. bk. ii. ch. 13), addressed to Chadderton by some leading person about the court, shows that he had given offence by political sermons. A disagreeable story is preserved by Strype (*Parker*, bk. iv. ch. 40) about a sermon preached by Chadderton at Paul's Cross, reflecting on Dr. Cox, then bishop of Ely, and even on Parker himself, for remissness in enforcing conformity, with the view, it was said, of getting Cox's bishopric. It is more pleasant to learn that during his residence at Cambridge he joined with Dr. Lancelot Andrewes, Dr. Knewstubs, and others in weekly conferences on holy scripture. Sir John Harington (*State of the Church of England*) describes Chadderton, whom he remembered well at Cambridge,

as 'a learned and grave doctor, able to lay aside his gravity, even in the pulpit; well beloved by scholars for not affecting any sour or austere fashion, either in teaching or governing.' His mastership, however, was far from being a quiet one. Chadderton's chief opponents among his fellows were W. Middleton, whom he removed from his fellowship in 1575 for sowing discord among the fellows, and Edmund Rockrey, a popular puritan preacher, who refused to attend the holy communion or conform to the ceremonies, for which he was expelled the university, but was afterwards restored to his fellowship by Burghley's interposition (SEARLE, u.s. pp. 324-45).

In 1579 Chadderton was appointed, through Leicester's influence, to the bishopric of Chester. He was consecrated in the church of St. Gregory by St. Paul's 8 Nov. by Archbishop Sandys. He had already resigned the presidency of Queens' in the preceding June, and he gave up the regius professorship of divinity the following year, and was appointed to the wardenship of Manchester 5 June 1580, which he held *in commendam* with the bishopric of Chester. He also held at the same time the rectory of Bangor. He repaid his patron, Leicester, for his elevation by granting him the nomination to the archdeaconry of Chester at the next vacancy. He was at once appointed one of the ecclesiastical commissioners for the discovery and conviction of popish recusants. He took up his residence in Manchester as better suited for the execution of his commission, and remained there until 'the too frequent jarrings between his servants and the inhabitants of the town' caused him to remove to Chester (*Lansd. MS.* 983, f. 129). While resident at Manchester the children of many of the leading families of the diocese were placed under his charge, with the view of guarding them from the seductions of papists. The diocese of Chester included the whole of Lancashire and the north-western portion of Yorkshire, a district still strongly wedded to the old faith, and containing more than a quarter of all the English recusants. We have a very extensive collection of letters written by Lord Burghley, Sir F. Walsingham, Sir Christopher Hatton, and other leading statesmen, during his tenure of the bishopric of Chester, 1581-5, in Peck's 'Desiderata Curiosa,' vol. i. bks. iii. iv., chiefly concerning the mode of dealing with the popish recusants, who were to be proceeded roundly with by fine and imprisonment, commending him for the care and pains he had manifested to purge his diocese of the 'dangerous infection of popery,' by which it was fondly hoped that taint would 'in a short time be wholly driven away.' For his dili-

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gent attention to this work he was excused attendance in parliament in 1580. The bishop was not allowed to relax his vigilance for a single moment without a reminder from the privy council or from the primate Sandys (STRYPE, *Annals*, iii. bk. i. c. 15, Parker Society; SANDYS, *Sermons*, pp. 435-42). 'Propheysings or Exercises' having grown up without any authority, Chadderton issued instructions to regulate them, which are given by Strype (*Annals*, iii. App. Nos. 38, 39). These exercises were distasteful to the queen, who ordered their suppression. This order was communicated to Chadderton by his metropolitan, Archbishop Sandys, 2 May 1581, with a direct censure for 'yielding too much to general fastings, and all-the-day preaching and praying, which the wisest and best could not like, nor could her majesty permit it' (PECK, bk. iii. No. 29, p. 102). In 1584, when the puritans were once more in favour at court, we find Chadderton censured by the privy council for the scantiness of the religious exercises in his diocese, which he was recommended to use more frequently (*ib.* bk. iv. No. 41, p. 149). It appears from the registers of the diocese that he was strict in enforcing the use of the cap and the surplice, and suspended some of his clergy for refusing to conform (COOPER, *Annals*, ii. 482). He is described as 'a learned man and liberal, given to hospitality, and a more frequent preacher and baptiser than other bishops of his time' (HOLLINGWORTH, *Mancuniensis*, p. 89).

On 5 April 1595 Chadderton was elected bishop of Lincoln, on the translation of Bishop Wickham to Winchester. The election was confirmed on 24 May, and he was enthroned by proxy on 6 June and in person on 23 July. His Lincoln episcopate was uneventful. On Easter day 1603, when James I was making his progress from Scotland to London on his accession, Chadderton preached before the king and court at Burleigh. He continued in his new diocese his endeavours to reduce popish recusants to conformity, and apparently with better success. The registers for 1606-7 contain frequent entries of lay recusants, who had been indicted for not attending their parish church, appearing before him in his episcopal chapel at Buckden and taking the oath of conformity. He complained on his accession that the revenues of the see were in such an impoverished state through the leases granted by his predecessor that he was hard put to it to restore one of his episcopal houses, maintain his household, and keep hospitality. More than 1,000*l.* was due for dilapidations, of which he could get nothing (*Cal. of State Papers*, 19 June 1595).

F F

He never resided at Buckden, but made his home at Southoe, about a mile away, where he had purchased an estate, on which, when Sir John Harington wrote, he was 'living in good state,' allowing the episcopal palace to fall into decay. He died suddenly at Southoe on 11 April 1608, and was buried the next day in the chancel of the parish church. No monument was ever erected to his memory, and the engraved slab placed over his grave has been removed. He had only one child, Joan, born on 20 Feb. 1574, while he was still president of Queens', who married Sir Richard Brooke, in the county of Chester, from whom she was soon separated. Her only daughter, Elizabeth, born in 1595, married to Torel Joceline in 1616, was the author of 'The Mother's Legacy to her Unborn Child,' first published in 1624, and died in childhood on 12 Oct. 1622. Chadderton's portrait has been engraved by Woolnoth, from an original portrait, for Hibbert and Ware's 'Manchester.' The only printed works he left are: 1. A copy of twenty-two Latin elegiac verses prefixed to Barnaby Googe's translation of the first six books of the 'Zodiacke of Life,' by Marcellus Palingenius, 1561. 2. 'Oratio in Disputatione Philosophiæ coram Regia Majestate,' 7 Aug. 1564, printed in Nichols's 'Progr. Eliz.' iii. 68. 3. 'The Direction of the Ecclesiastical Exercise in the Diocese of Chester,' in Strype's 'Ann.' vol. ii. bk. i. App. Nos. 38, 39. 4. 'Interpretation of the Statutes of King's College,' 5 April 1604, in Heywood and Wright's 'Laws of King's and Eton Colleges,' pp. 276-83. 5. 'Letter of thanks to Cecil on his appointment to the Presidency of Queens' College,' in Searle's 'Hist. of Queens' Coll.' p. 305.

[Le Neve's Fasti; Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*, vol. i. bks. iii. iv.; Cooper's *Athenæ Cantab.* ii. 482-4; *Annals of Camb.* ii. 196, 239, 251, 262, 309, 313, 367; Hibbert and Ware's *Manchester*, i. 101; Wardens of Manchester (Chetham Soc.); Nichols's *Progr. Eliz.* i. 186, ii. 298, 434, 453; *Progr. James I.* i. 96, 594; Strype's *Annals*; Lives of Parker, Grindal, Whitgift (indexes); Searle's *Hist. of Queens' College* (Camb. Antiq. Soc.); Mullinger's *University of Cambridge*, ii. 190, 214, 226.] E. V.

CHADS, SIR HENRY DUCIE (1788?-1868), admiral, son of Captain Henry Chads, also of the navy, who died in 1799, was in 1800 entered at the Royal Naval College at Portsmouth, from which in September 1803 he joined the *Excellent* with Captain Sotherton. In that ship he served for the next three years in the Mediterranean, and on 5 Nov. 1806 was promoted to be a lieutenant of the *Illustrious* off Cadiz. In 1808 he was appointed to the *Iphigenia* frigate, with

Captain Henry Lambert, and in 1810 took part in the operations leading up to the capture of Mauritius. On 13 Aug. Chads commanded the *Iphigenia*'s boats in the attack on the *Isle de la Passe*, and on the death of Lieutenant Norman succeeded to the command of the whole party. In reporting the affair, however, Captain Pym erroneously described the command as falling to Lieutenant Watling, who was two years junior to Chads; a mistake which caused the admiralty to withhold the promotion which would otherwise have been conferred on the commanding officer (JAMES, *Naval Hist.* 1860, v. 148).

The capture of the *Isle de la Passe* ended unfortunately. In an attack on Grand Port three of the ships got ashore and were taken or destroyed; while on 27 Aug. the *Iphigenia* was beset in the narrow passage by a squadron of fourfold force, and on the 28th was compelled to surrender, the officers and ship's company becoming prisoners of war (*ib. v.* 167). When Mauritius was captured, 3 Dec. 1810, the prisoners were set free, and Chads was again appointed to the *Iphigenia*, which was recovered at the same time. The ship was at once sent home, and was paid off in May 1811. In the following December Chads was appointed to the *Semiramis*, in which he continued till August of the next year, when Captain Lambert commissioned the *Java*, and at his request Chads was appointed her first-lieutenant. The *Java* was a fine 38-gun (18-pounder) frigate, taken from the French only the year before, and now under orders to carry out to Bombay the new governor, General Hislop, and a large quantity of naval stores. Her crew was exceptionally bad; an unusually large proportion of the men had never been at sea before, and a very great many were drafted on board from the prisons. She carried also a hundred or more supernumeraries, and when she sailed from Spithead on 12 Nov. 1812 she had on board upwards of four hundred men all told. Owing to the crowding, bad weather, and the rawness of the ship's company, drill was almost entirely neglected, and the guns had been rarely or never exercised, when, on 29 Dec. 1812, on the coast of Brazil, in latitude 13° S., she met the United States frigate *Constitution*. The *Constitution* was a more powerful ship, with a numerous and well-trained crew. Under the circumstances the *Java*'s defence was highly creditable. The action lasted for more than two hours. Although, about the middle of the time, Captain Lambert fell mortally wounded, and though the heavy, well-aimed broadsides of the *Constitution*

racked the Java through and through, while the Java's return was wild and produced little effect, her men stuck manfully to their guns to the last. It was only when the ship lay an unmanageable hulk, and the Constitution took up a raking position athwart her bows, that Chads gave the order to haul down the colours.

English writers have endeavoured to show that the loss of the Java is to be attributed to the size of the Constitution, the power of her armament, and the number of her crew; but notwithstanding these disadvantages the true cause was that the Constitution's men were trained to the use of their arms and the Java's men were not. The Constitution lost in killed and wounded thirty-four, while the Java lost a hundred and fifty; the Constitution was scarcely damaged in hull or rigging, while the Java was entirely dismantled and sinking.

On his return home, Chads, with the officers and men of the Java, was, on 23 April 1813, tried by court-martial for the loss of the ship, when he was honourably acquitted and specially complimented by the president. On 28 May he was promoted to be commander, and appointed to the Columbia sloop, which he commanded in the West Indies till the final peace, and paid off on 24 Nov. 1815. He was then unemployed till November 1823, when he commissioned the Arachne of 18 guns for the East Indies, and in her was present during the operations in the Irawaddy. On 25 July 1825 he was advanced to post rank and appointed to the Alligator frigate, which he commanded till the end of the Burmese war, when he signed the treaty as senior naval officer, after which he returned to England and paid off his ship on 3 Jan. 1827. He was nominated a C.B. a few days before, 26 Dec. 1826. He afterwards, from 1834 to 1837, commanded the Andromache of 28 guns on the East India station, and from 1841 to 1845 the Cambrian of 36 guns, also in the East Indies. On his return he was appointed, 28 Aug. 1845, to the command of the Excellent, the school of naval gunnery, at Portsmouth. In this command he remained for upwards of eight years, and won for himself a distinct reputation for the improvements which he introduced into the detail of gunnery exercise and gunnery instruction. He was frequently employed on committees and in the conduct of experiments; and, though repeatedly offered other employment, he always begged to be allowed rather to stay in the Excellent. In 1848 he was selected to report on the Blenheim, the first screw line-of-battle ship, and at the same time to command a small

squadron on the coast of Ireland during Smith O'Brien's 'cabbage-garden' rebellion.

In September 1850 he was sent to witness a naval demonstration at Cherbourg, after which he made a confidential report on the strategical importance of Cherbourg, which he thought overrated, and on the French system of manning their ships, recommending the introduction into our own navy of continuous service. He also pointed out the danger of Portsmouth, then without any defence, and urged the construction of heavy forts.

On 12 Jan. 1854 he attained the rank of rear-admiral, and served during that year as fourth in command in the Baltic, with his flag in the Edinburgh. He was present at the reduction of Bomarsund, and was made K.C.B. on 5 July 1855. He was commander-in-chief at Cork from 1856 to 1858, after which he did not serve afloat, though in 1859 he was chairman of a committee on coast defence. He became vice-admiral on 24 Nov. 1858, admiral on 3 Dec. 1863, and was made G.C.B. on 28 March 1865. The latter years of his life were passed at Southsea, where he was known as a county magistrate and a warm supporter of the local charities, especially of the Seamen and Marines' Orphan School. He died in April 1868.

He married, on 26 Nov. 1815, Elizabeth, daughter of Mr. John Pook of Fareham, by whom he had a family of two daughters and two sons, the eldest of whom is the present Admiral Henry Chads.

[O'Byrne's Nav. Biog. Dict.; Marshall's Royal Nav. Biog. ix. (vol. iii. pt. i.) 237; Memoirs of Admiral Sir Henry Ducie Chads, by an Old Follower (Montagu Burrows), 1869, with a good portrait; James's Naval History, 1860, v. 409-423, is the account of the capture of the Java, told with all the bitterness and one-sidedness which disfigures that author's account of the transactions of the American war; Roosevelt's Naval War of 1812, p. 119, is a much fairer and more candid account of the same event, though naturally with an American colouring.]

J. K. L.

**CHADWICK, JAMES, D.D.** (1813-1882), catholic prelate, was descended from an ancient Lancashire family. His father, John Chadwick, who belonged to the family of the Chadwicks of Brough Hall, near Chorley, emigrated to Ireland at the beginning of the present century and settled at Drogheda, where the future bishop was born on 24 April 1813. He was educated at St. Cuthbert's College, Ushaw, near Durham, and at different times he filled the chairs of humanities, mental philosophy, and pastoral

theology in that institution. He also laboured as a missionary priest in the diocese of Hexham and Newcastle for more than seven years, but being subsequently recalled to Ushaw he remained there till 1866, when he was appointed bishop of Hexham and Newcastle, in succession to Dr. William Hogarth. He died at Newcastle on 14 May 1882. He edited Father Celestine Leuthner's 'Cœlum Christianum,' London, 1871, 8vo, and published 'Instructions on the Prayer of Recollection,' London, 1878, 8vo, methodically arranged from the 28th and 29th chapters of St. Teresa's 'Way of Perfection.'

[Tablet, 20 May 1882, pp. 791-3; Times, 15 May 1882, p. 8; Men of the Time (1879), 213, (1884) 1136; Cat. of Printed Books in Brit. Mus.; Catholic Directory (1885), 140.]

T. C.

**CHAFY, WILLIAM** (1779-1843), master of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, was the eldest son of the Rev. William Chafy, M.A., minor canon of Canterbury Cathedral, by Mary, the only daughter of John Chafie (as he wrote the name) of Sherborne, Dorsetshire. He was born 7 Feb. 1779 at Canterbury, and was sent in 1788 to the King's School in that city. He entered Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, on 1 Jan. 1796, migrating to Sidney Sussex College on 18 Oct. of the same year. He graduated B.A. 1800, M.A. 1803, B.D. 1810, D.D. (by royal mandate) 15 Nov. 1813. He was elected fellow of Sidney Sussex on 4 June 1801, and in that year was also ordained and became curate of Gillingham in Kent. On 17 Oct. 1813 he was elected master of Sidney Sussex, and held that office until his death. During his mastership the college was refaced at his expense; many of his books were also presented by him to the college library. In 1813, and again in 1829, he was vice-chancellor of the university. He was also chaplain in ordinary to George III, George IV, William IV, and Queen Victoria. He died at Cambridge 16 May 1843, and was buried in the chapel of his college. Dr. Chafy married, 13 Dec. 1813, Mary, youngest daughter of John Westwood of Chatteris in the Isle of Ely, by whom he had one child, a son, William Westwood.

[Private information from his grandson, the Rev. W. K. W. Chafy-Chafy, M.A., of Rous Lench Court, Worcestershire; Gent. Mag. vol. xx. (new series), 1843, May 16; Annual Reg. lxxxv. 1843, 262; Graduati Cantabrig.; Sidebotham's Memorials of the King's School, Canterbury (1865), pp. 94, 95.]

W. W.

**CHAIGNEAU, WILLIAM** (1709-1781), novelist, was born in Ireland on 24 Jan.

1709, son of John Chaigneau, of Huguenot extraction (*Notes and Queries*, 3rd series, v. 507-8). He lived at Dublin, being, as Tate Wilkinson describes him, 'principal agent to most of the regiments on the Irish establishment' (WILKINSON, *Memoirs*, i. 162); and having served in the army in Flanders he was familiarly called 'Colonel.' About 1740 he married, probably for the second time, and had an only child, a daughter, to whom he was strongly attached; she died in 1749. In 1752 he published anonymously an Irish novel, 'The History of Jack Connor,' for which 'he would not have any gratuity from his bookseller' (CARTER, *Letters*, ii. 86, and *note*, and 88). In 1757 Chaigneau lent a house to Tate Wilkinson during an engagement at Sheridan's theatre in Dublin; he also showed many other kindnesses to the actor, and in 1765 adapted a farce from the French, 'Harlequin Soldier,' which was performed at Edinburgh, on 22 March, at Wilkinson's benefit. In 1774 Chaigneau went to Montauban, France, but returning to Dublin in June 1775, he died there 1 Oct. 1781, aged 72.

[*Notes and Queries*, 3rd series, v. 11, 507-8; Gent. Mag. vol. lxxvi. pt. ii. p. 611; Monthly Review, 1752, vi. 447-9; Wilkinson's *Memoirs* of his own Life, i. 13, 14, 155-70, 189-91, 198-9; iv. 6, 251-2, 262-3; Mrs. Carter's *Letters*, ii. 86, and *note*, and 88.]

J. H.

**CHALK, SIR JAMES JELL** (1803-1878), secretary to the ecclesiastical commission, second son of James Chalk of Queenborough in Kent, who married Mary, daughter of Edward Shove of the same place, was born there in 1803. He was educated at Wye College, Kent, and after passing several years of his early life in employments of a temporary character he entered, 4 Oct. 1836, into the service of the ecclesiastical commission, and in that position he spent the working years of life that were left to him. He was for some time the assistant secretary, but on the enforced resignation in 1849 of Mr. Charles Knight Murray, the secretary, Chalk succeeded to his place. In November 1839 he was called to the bar at the Middle Temple. On 4 Oct. 1871, having completed thirty-five years of service, he withdrew into private life, having a short time previously received the honour of knighthood. He died at 80 Warwick Square, Pimlico, 23 Sept. 1878. He was never married, but his old age was cheered by the company of his nieces. His name is entered in the British Museum Catalogue, owing to the circumstance that many of the letters from the ecclesiastical commissioners to the corporation of London, which are printed in a volume entitled 'Bun-

hill Fields Burial Ground; Proceedings in reference to its Preservation, 1867,' bear his signature. For many years after the foundation of the commission its actions did not meet with the approval of the public, but for some time before Chalk's retirement the increased resources at its command and the improvement which ensued in the pecuniary condition of the clergy led to a change in opinion. His cautious and impassive demeanour was affected neither by censure nor by praise.

[Times, 27 Sept. 1878, p. 6; Dod's Peerage, 1872; personal information.] W. P. C.

**CHALKHILL, JOHN** (*n.* 1678), poet, was the author of a work which was published under the title of 'Thealma and Clearchus. A Pastoral History in smooth and easie Verse. Written long since by John Chalkhill, Esq., an Acquaintant and Friend of Edmund Spencer,' London, 1683, 8vo. The poem, which possesses considerable merit, was edited by Izaak Walton, whose preface is dated 7 May 1678, though the work was not published till five years later, when the editor was ninety years old. Walton, who had known the writer, says of him: 'And I have also this truth to say of the author, that he was in his time a man generally known and as well beloved; for he was humble and obliging in his behaviour, a gentleman, a scholar, very innocent and prudent: and indeed his whole life was useful, quiet, and virtuous.' In the 'Compleat Angler,' published thirty years before, there occur two songs—'O, the sweet contentment' and 'O, the gallant fisher's life'—signed 'Io Chalkhill.' So meagre were the facts known of the author of 'Thealma and Clearchus' until a comparatively recent period that the Rev. Samuel W. Singer, in the introduction to a reprint of the poem issued from the Chiswick Press in 1820, advanced the theory, afterwards adopted by a writer in the 'Retrospective Review,' that Walton was its author as well as its editor, and that Chalkhill was altogether 'a fictitious personage.' But Mr. F. Somner Merryweather, in two letters in the 'Gentleman's Magazine' for 1860, has shown from the Middlesex county records that towards the close of Queen Elizabeth's reign Ivon or Ion Chalkhill, Gent., was one of the coroners for that county, and that he subscribed his name 'Ion' and sometimes 'Io Chalkhill,' just as it is subscribed to the songs in Walton's 'Angler.' It is conjectured, therefore, that the coroner may have been identical with the poet. Moreover it is worthy of note that Walton married Ann Ken, a sister of Bishop Ken and daughter of

Thomas Ken, an attorney, by his first wife. This Thomas Ken married a second wife, Martha Chalkhill, the second daughter of John Chalkhill of Kingsbury in Middlesex, and of Martha his wife, daughter of Thomas Brown, great-aunt to John Brown, who was clerk of the parliament.

Chalkhill has been conjecturally credited with the authorship of another poem, 'Alcilia, Philopartheus Louing Follie,' but that he did not write that work is conclusively shown by Dr. A. B. Grosart in the introduction to his reprint of that work (Manchester, 1879) from the unique copy of the original edition (1595) preserved in the town library at Hamburg.

[Addit. MS. 24493, f. 108; Beloe's Anecdotes, i. 69-74; Bibl. Anglo-Poetica, 54; Campbell's Specimens of the British Poets (1819), i. 171; Cooper's Muses' Library, 315; Corser's Collect. Anglo-Poetica, i. 16, 17, iii. 260; Gent. Mag. xciii. (ii) 418, 493, new series i. 283, ccviii. 278, 388; Grosart's Intro. to Alcilia; A Layman's Life of Bishop Ken, 4; Lowndes's Bibl. Man. (Bohn), 403; Pedigree of Ken family in Markland's Life of Bishop Ken; Nicolas's Life of Izaak Walton, pp. iv, xcvi, xcvi; Notes and Queries, 4th series, iv. 93; Retrospective Review, iv. 230-249; Ritson's Bibl. Poetica, 155; Todd's Life of Spenser; Walton's Complete Angler, ed. Nicolas, i. 126, ii. 259, 422, ed. 1851, p. 124.] T. C.

**CHALKLEY, THOMAS** (1675-1741), quaker, the son of George Chalkley, a quaker tradesman in Southwark, was sent to a day school when nine years old. Chalkley was fond of gambling till, when he was ten years old, he was convinced of its sinfulness, and burnt a pack of cards which he had saved money to buy. When about twenty he was pressed and carried on board a ship of war. On his saying that he would not fight, the captain ordered him to be put ashore. At this time he was apprenticed to his father. When he was out of his time he spent some months in visiting most of the quaker meetings in the south of England, and then worked as a journeyman with his father. In 1697 he paid a ministerial visit to Edinburgh, where he preached in the open air, as the Friends had been locked out of their meeting-house. The provost returned the keys on the ground that they would do less harm indoors than out. Chalkley sailed from Gravesend at the end of 1697, and landed at Virginia in January 1698. He seems to have visited nearly every place of any size in the puritan colonies, and on his return to England married Martha Betterton in 1699. He then returned to America, and in 1700 bought some land in Philadelphia. The following year he made a preaching excursion to Bar-

badoes. According to Allen (*American Dict. of Biog.*), in 1705 Chalkley attempted to convert an Indian tribe, but his diary gives no record of this. In 1707 he had a narrow escape of being shipwrecked on the coast of Ireland, and during this year and the next he visited Scotland and England, and afterwards Holland and Germany, not leaving for America till 1710, having attended upwards of a thousand meetings and travelled more than fourteen thousand miles. On his arrival in Philadelphia he was accused of having gained wealth by his preaching, whereas he affirms that he had had to borrow money to pay his passage home. Soon after his return his wife died, and in 1714 he married a widow named Martha Brown. He made various preaching expeditions between 1712 and 1718. In 1724 he was much reduced in circumstances by unexpected losses, and about the same time he had a dangerous illness, and afterwards had an accident which injured his eyesight. In 1725 he lost about 2,000*l.*, but was not reduced to poverty. During the next two years he was chiefly engaged in business and in farming, but he found time for preaching excursions and for voyages to Barbadoes. He was shot at, in 1735, for advocating kindness to slaves in Barbadoes, but refused to prosecute his assailant. After this time he confined his exertions to North America and the West Indies, and chiefly resided at Frankfort, near Philadelphia. In the autumn of 1741 he went to Tortola, one of the Virgin Islands, where he was seized with fever and died after a few days' illness, only one of his twelve children, a girl, surviving him. Chalkley was probably the most influential quaker minister in America during the eighteenth century. His position seems to have been nearly analogous to that of a modern missionary bishop. The narrow escapes he had are very numerous, and in nearly every instance he insinuates that he was saved by a miracle. His 'Journal,' from its quaint simplicity, is still intensely interesting; its popularity among the Friends is shown by its having been reprinted at least a dozen times in England, the last being in 1842. His chief works were: 1. 'A Loving Invitation to Young and Old in Holland and elsewhere,' 1709. 2. 'Youth persuaded to Obedience, Gratitude, and Honour to God and their Parents,' 1730. 3. 'Free Thoughts communicated to Free Thinkers,' 1735. His works were published in 1749 under the title of 'A Collection of the Works of Thomas Chalkley,' and republished in 1751 and 1790.

[Allen's Dictionary of American Biography; Smith's Catalogue of Friends' Books; Chalkley's

Journal, &c., 1766; Bowden's History of the Friends in America.] A. C. B.

**CHALLICE, JOHN** (1815-1863), physician, was born at Horsham, Sussex, in 1815. He became a physician in London, and besides attaining some eminence in his profession was an active liberal politician, and an intimate friend of Sir W. Molesworth, Admiral Sir Charles Napier, and other representatives of Southwark. He was one of the first medical officers of health for Bermondsey, in which capacity he published various reports in 1856 and subsequent years. He also wrote 'Should the Cholera come, what ought to be done?' (1848); a cheap tract 'How to avoid the Cholera,' of which many thousands were sold; 'Medical Advice to Mothers' (1851); 'Letter to Lord Palmerston on Sanitary Reform' (1854); and 'How do People hasten Death?' (1851). He was M.D. and F.R.C.P. Edin. He died suddenly, 11 May 1863.

His wife, **ANNIE EMMA CHALLICE**, whose maiden name was Armstrong, was born in London in 1821, and died there in 1875. She was remarkable for wit and graceful manners, and was the author of: 1. 'The Village School Fête,' 1847. 2. 'The Laurel and the Palm,' 1852. 3. 'The Sister of Charity,' 1857. 4. 'The Wife's Temptation,' 1859. 5. 'The Secret History of the Court of France under Louis XV,' 1861 (anonymous). 6. 'Heroes, Philosophers, and Courtiers of the time of Louis XVI,' 1863. 7. 'French Authors at Home,' 1864. 8. 'Memories of French Palaces,' 1871. 9. 'Illustrious Women of France,' 1873. She also edited 'Recollections of Society in France and England,' by Lady Clementina Davies, in 1873.

[Information from Mr. W. B. Challice.]

**CHALLIS, JAMES** (1803-1882), astronomer, the fourth son of John Challis, was born at Braintree, Essex, 12 Dec. 1803. He rapidly acquired all the knowledge locally available, obtained by competitive examination a presentation to Mill Hill School, near London, and thence, in October 1821, entered Trinity College, Cambridge, as a sizar. Elected a scholar in 1824, he graduated in the following year as senior wrangler and first Smith's prizeman, and became fellow of his college in 1826. On his ordination in 1830 he was presented to the college living of Papworth Everard, and held it until 1852, vacating, however, his fellowship by his marriage in 1831 with the second daughter of Samuel Chandler of Tyringham, Buckinghamshire, and widow of Daniel Copsey of Braintree. On Airy's appointment as astronomer royal,

he was elected, 2 Feb. 1836, his successor as Plumian professor of astronomy and experimental philosophy in the university, and became at the same time director of the Cambridge observatory, where he resided, and exercised a genial hospitality during twenty-five years. He resigned the latter post in 1861, but retained the Plumian professorship, and continued to live at Cambridge. He was re-elected to his fellowship in 1870. There, after some years of impaired health, he died, 3 Dec. 1882, at the age of nearly seventy-nine, and was buried with his wife at the Mill Road cemetery. A son and daughter survive him.

Courteous in manner, kindly in disposition, simple and unassuming in character, Challis was nevertheless thrown into a position of intellectual antagonism to many of his most distinguished contemporaries by the peculiarity of his scientific views. A striking proof of the amiability of his disposition is afforded by the fact that he never lost consideration for an opponent, or allowed disagreement to degenerate into hostility. For some slight acerbity in the mode of carrying on a controversy with Mr. Adams in 1854 on points connected with the lunar theory (*Phil. Mag.* viii. 98), he, fifteen years later, publicly expressed regret, while acknowledging the justice of the criticism he had then repudiated (Introduction to *Principles*, p. xxiv).

His aim was a lofty one. It was nothing less than the co-ordination of all the known facts of science under one general theory of physical action. Certain hydrodynamical theorems, which he believed himself to have demonstrated, admitted, in his firm conviction, of application to the observed laws of light, heat, gravity, molecular attraction, and electricity. The conclusion pointed to was that the physical forces are mutually related, because all are modes of pressure of the same ethereal medium. The work in which these views were most fully embodied, and for the sake of concentrating all his faculties on which he resigned, at some pecuniary inconvenience, his position at the observatory, was published in 1869, with the title, 'Notes on the Principles of Pure and Applied Calculation; and Applications of Mathematical Principles to Theories of the Physical Forces.' It cannot be said, however, to have reached its aim. A generalisation akin to, though of far wider scope than Newton's, rendering all physical phenomena mathematically deducible from a few simple laws, if attainable, has yet to be attained.

Challis's name must always be mentioned in connection with the discovery of Neptune.

To him, in September 1845, Adams communicated his first results, which he conceived the idea of testing on a favourable opportunity, by a search with the Northumberland equatorial for the unknown body. Regular observatory work, however, was pressing; and it was not until Leverrier's strikingly concordant indications became known in England that Challis wrote, 18 July 1846, in answer to a suggestion from Airy, 'I have determined on sweeping for the hypothetical planet.' The plan adopted was a highly laborious one. Its preliminary was the construction of a map of all stars down to the eleventh magnitude contained in a zodiacal belt 30° long by 10° broad. The work was begun on 29 July and continued diligently until 29 Sept., when the places of 3,150 stars had been recorded. Challis was arrested in his preparations to map them by the news of the planet's discovery at Berlin on 23 Sept. It was then found that, after only four days' observing, its varying positions among the stars had been twice unconsciously noted, 4 and 12 August. 'I lost the opportunity,' Challis wrote, 'of announcing the discovery, by deferring the discussion of the observations, being much occupied with reductions of comet observations, and little suspecting that the indications of theory were accurate enough to give a chance of discovery in so short a time' (*Monthly Notices*, xliii. 171). The elaborateness of his proceedings, in fact, while securing, postponed success, and left the prize to be grasped by a competitor, whose possession of Bremiker's map of that part of the heavens (*Hora* xxi.) rendered the planet's detection a matter of simple inspection and comparison. Three papers detailing the history of the discovery, by Airy, Challis, and Adams respectively, were read before the Royal Astronomical Society on 13 Nov. 1846, and printed in the sixteenth volume of their 'Memoirs.' Challis further drew up, at the request of the syndicate of the Cambridge observatory, a report on the subject, dated 12 Dec. 1846 (*ib.* xliii. 165); and a second, on his subsequent observations of Neptune, dated 22 March 1847 (*Astr. Nach.* xxv. 309).

The early sets of lectures delivered by Challis as Plumian professor (of which a syllabus appeared in 1838) were devoted to hydrodynamics, optics, and pneumatics, special attention being directed to the mathematical theories of light and sound. In 1843 he published a syllabus of a course on practical astronomy, which he continued to deliver until within a few years of his death, and issued from the University Press in 1879 with the title 'Lectures on Practical Astronomy and Astronomical Instruments.



This work was designed for general utility, but applied more particularly to the instruments existing at Cambridge. It is pervaded by the effort towards accuracy which distinguished Challis as a practical astronomer.

The chief scope of his twenty-five years' labours at the Cambridge observatory lay in determinations of the places of sun, moon, and planets, with the immediate object of increasing tabular accuracy, and the more remote one of testing the absolute and undisturbed prevalence of the Newtonian law. He followed the methods of his predecessor, but devised valuable improvements. The collimating eye-piece, amended from Bohnenberger's design at his request by William Simms, was introduced by him in 1850, and quickly adopted at Greenwich and elsewhere (*Lectures*, p. 69). He invented in 1849 the 'Transit-Reducer,' distinguished with a bronze medal at the exhibition of 1851 (*ib.* p. 387; *Monthly Notices*, x. 182). Also, in 1848, the 'Meteoroscope,' a kind of altitude-and-azimuth instrument in the form of a theodolite, designed for ascertaining the varying dimensions and positions of the zodiacal light, for measuring auroral arches, and determining rapidly the points of appearance and disappearance of shooting-stars (*Report Brit. Assoc.* 1848, pt. ii. p. 13).

Challis published, 1832-64, twelve volumes (ix-xx.) of 'Astronomical Observations made at the Observatory of Cambridge,' each with an elaborate introduction, the first two containing descriptions of instruments and methods. He first in this country noticed the division of Biela's comet on 15 Jan. 1846, re-observed both nuclei in 1852, and attentively studied the physical appearances presented by Donati's comet from 27 Sept. to 16 Oct. 1858 (*Monthly Notices*, xix. 16). He was admitted a member of the Royal Astronomical Society on 8 April 1836, of the Royal Society on 9 June 1848, and was appointed one of a committee of three to superintend the publication of the British Association Star-Catalogue after Baily's death in 1844. Besides the works already mentioned he wrote: 1. 'Creation in Plan and in Progress, being an Essay on the First Chapter of Genesis,' Cambridge, 1861, originally designed as an answer to Goodwin's 'Mosaic Cosmogony' in 'Essays and Reviews.' 2. 'A Translation of the Epistle of the Apostle Paul to the Romans, with an Introduction and Critical Notes,' Cambridge, 1871. 3. 'An Essay on the Mathematical Principles of Physics, with reference to the Study of Physical Science by Candidates for Mathematical Honours in the University of Cambridge,' Cambridge, 1873.

4. 'Remarks on the Cambridge Mathematical Studies, and their relation to Modern Physical Science,' Cambridge, 1875. 5. 'The Relation of the Scriptural Account of the Deluge to Physical Science,' London, 1876. 6. 'An Essay on the Scriptural Doctrine of Immortality,' London, 1880. 7. 'The Counting and Interpretation of the Apocalyptic Number of the Beast,' London, 1881. He drew up an elaborate 'Report on the Present State of the Analytical Theory of Hydrostatics and Hydrodynamics' for the British Association in 1833 (*Report*, p. 131), and one 'On the Theory of Capillary Attraction' in the following year (*ib.* 1834, p. 253). His contributions to scientific publications on various points connected with mathematics, physics, and astronomy numbered 225. He had thoughts of collecting into a volume a long and unbroken series of papers of a somewhat remarkable character, prepared by him as examiner for the Smith's prizes, 1836-78, but desisted, and they remain scattered through the university calendars for those years.

[*Monthly Notices R. A. Soc.* xliii. 160; *Royal Soc.'s Cat. Sc. Papers*, vols. i. and vii.; *Nature*, xxvii. 132; *Engineer*, liv. 474; *Challis's various works.*] A. M. C.

**CHALLONER, RICHARD, D.D.** (1691-1781), catholic prelate, son of Richard Challoner, a wine cooper at Lewes in Sussex, and his wife, Grace Willard, was born on 29 Sept. 1691, and baptised by a minister of the dissenting sect to which his father belonged. Soon afterwards the father died, leaving his young widow with her infant child totally unprovided for. Fortunately she found a refuge for herself and her son first in the family of Sir John Gage of Firle in Sussex—a family distinguished by its fidelity to the ancient form of religion—and afterwards in that of Mr. R. Holman, who resided for some time at Longwood, near Winchester, and subsequently at his own seat of Warkworth in Northamptonshire. In both these families Challoner was instructed in the tenets of the catholic church, of which his mother was at that time a member. It appears, however, that he remained a protestant until he was about thirteen years of age. At Warkworth he had the celebrated controversial writer John Goter for his tutor. In 1704 he was sent to the English college at Douay, and he took the college oath in 1708. The annals of that seminary relate that 'in all his exercises, whether private or public, he showed an excellent genius, quick parts, and solid judgment.' So diligently did he apply himself to his studies that although twelve years was the time usually allotted, he went

through all the schools in eight years. He taught poetry in 1712, was also professor of rhetoric, and was chosen professor of philosophy on 6 Oct. 1713. The latter office he held for seven years. He was ordained deacon on 9 March 1715-16, and priest on 28 March 1716, by Ernestus, bishop of Tournay. In April 1719 he was made bachelor and licentiate in theology, and on 13 July 1720 he became vice-president of Douay College in the room of Dr. Dicconson, who in that year joined the English mission. He took the degree of D.D. at Douay on 27 May 1727. The office of vice-president he held for ten years, together with the professorship of divinity, and he was likewise prefect of studies and confessor.

After having been twenty-six years at Douay he left the college on 18 Aug. 1730 and joined the London mission. He was most zealous in preaching, particularly to the poorer classes, and he helped to make numerous conversions. With his pen also he was indefatigable, and he did not hesitate to enter into a controversy with Dr. Conyers Middleton, who had published 'A Letter from Rome, showing an exact conformity between Popery and Paganism, or the religion of the present Romans derived from their Heathen Ancestors.' In a spirited introduction to the 'Catholic Christian instructed' (1737), Challoner, while paying a tribute of admiration to Middleton's elegant style and knowledge of pagan literature, sought to show that he was by no means so well acquainted with christian and Jewish antiquities, and that his mode of calumniating the catholic church must inevitably prove fatal to his own communion. Middleton invoked the aid of the penal laws and endeavoured to prosecute his antagonist as a person disaffected to the sovereign because he had observed that the established church had 'introduced dead lions and unicorns into the sanctuary instead of the cross of Christ.' Challoner was exposed to so much danger that, yielding to the advice of friends, he withdrew from the kingdom for a few months, till time and cool reflection had mitigated Middleton's rancour against him. He availed himself of the opportunity to visit Douay. About this time the English College was deprived by death of its president, Dr. Robert Witham (29 May 1738), and as the members of the community wished that Challoner might be their superior, they sent a petition to Rome. These efforts were defeated by Dr. Benjamin Petre, vicar-apostolic of the London district, who was growing old, and who petitioned the holy see to appoint Challoner to be his coadjutor. A controversy arose concerning the question whether Chal-

loner should be promoted to the coadjutorship or sent to Douay, and was terminated by Dr. Petre's threat to resign the London district altogether if his request were refused. The pope gave his approval of Bishop Petre's application on 21 Aug. 1738. The briefs were accordingly issued—one of them, appointing him to the see of Debra *in partibus*, bearing date 12 Sept., and the other for the coadjutorship bearing date 14 Sept. 1739. A memorandum in the propaganda says that these briefs were not carried out ('non ebbero effetto'); but in November Lorenzo Mayes, proctor of the English vicars, supplicated propaganda for a dispensation to enable Challoner to be consecrated. It was stated that the father of the bishop-elect 'lived and died in the Anglican heresy, and Richard Challoner himself, until he was about thirteen years old, had been brought up in that sect,' and therefore a *dispensa* was required to avoid scandal. Accordingly fresh briefs were issued on 24 Nov. 1740, and Dr. Petre consecrated Challoner as bishop of Debra, and communicated to him the powers of coadjutorship in the private chapel at Hammersmith on 29 Jan. 1740-1.

On the death of Dr. Petre, in December 1758, Challoner succeeded to the apostolic vicariate of the London district. At the beginning of 1759 he became extremely ill, and his life was in danger. He therefore obtained from the holy see a coadjutor in the person of the Hon. James Talbot. Challoner was most zealous in the administration of his diocese; he established several new schools, and he was the founder of the Charitable Society. At first he was accustomed to preach every Sunday evening to this society, composed of the poor and middle classes, which assembled in a miserable and ruinous apartment near Clare Market. Thence they removed to another room, almost as wretched, among the stables in Whetstone Park, Gate Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, and lastly, after the bishop had preached for a few weeks in the Sardinian Chapel, until he was silenced by the ambassador at the instance of the ministry, the society removed to a place, rather more commodious, in Turnstile, Holborn. Occasionally the bishop held meetings of his clergy from necessity at some obscure inn or public-house, where every one present had his pipe and sat with a pot of beer before him to obviate all suspicion of the real character of the guests and the purpose of their assembly.

In 1764-5 efforts were made to let loose the whole force of the penal laws against the catholics. The Hon. James Talbot, whom Challoner had chosen as his coadjutor, was

tried at the Old Bailey on the charge of being a priest. However, as the government and Lord-chief-justice Mansfield set their faces against the prosecutions, which were instituted by a common informer named Payne, a carpenter by trade, Bishop Talbot was acquitted, as were all the priests who were then tried except one, the Rev. John Baptist Molony, who openly confessed that he was a priest, and who was condemned to imprisonment for life. Challoner himself was prosecuted by Payne, and narrowly escaped a trial at the Old Bailey. The bishop, four priests, and a schoolmaster were indicted on the same day for fulfilling their respective functions, and gave bail for their appearance. But Payne, to save himself expense, had forged some copies of subpoenas, and four of these spurious documents were in the possession of the accused persons. Payne, fearing the consequences of a prosecution for forgery, agreed with the bishop's attorney, in consideration of his forbearing to prosecute him for the subpoenas, to withdraw the indictments against the bishop and the five persons indicted at the same time. One result of the persecution at this period was that the house in which Challoner resided in Lamb's Conduit Street was purchased over his head, and he had to take refuge in another house in Gloucester Street, Queen Square. During the Gordon riots of 1780 the leaders of the mob intended to chair him in mockery, but he was withdrawn in time, and secreted at a friend's house in the neighbourhood of Highgate. He did not live long after his return to London. He was seized with paralysis as he sat at table, and expired two days later in his house in Queen Square on 12 Jan. 1781. His remains were interred in the family vault of Mr. Brian Barret, at Milton, near Abingdon, Berkshire, and the rector of that parish, the Rev. James George Warner, entered this singular record of the event in the register: 'Anno Domini 1781, January 22, buried the Reverend Dr. Richard Challoner, a Popish priest, and titular bishop of London and Salisbury, a very pious and good man, of great learning and extensive abilities.'

Challoner inaugurated a new era in English catholic literature, and many of his publications are to this day regarded by his coreligionists as standard works of doctrine or devotion. A list of his writings, excluding a few translations and minor treatises, is subjoined:—1. 'Think well on't; or, Reflexions on the great Truths of Eternity.' 2. 'The Imitation of Jesus Christ,' translated from the Latin, 1706. This is the date given in the British Museum catalogue, though

Barnard states that Challoner's version first appeared in 1744 (*Life of Challoner*, p. 92). 3. 'A Profession of the Catholic Faith, extracted out of the Council of Trent by Pope Pius IV. With the chief grounds of the controverted articles. By way of question and answer' (anon.), 1732; 4th edit. (Lond.?) 1734, 12mo; reprinted under the title of 'The Grounds of the Catholick Doctrine.' 4. 'A short History of the first beginning and progress of the Protestant Religion: gathered out of the best Protestant writers' (anon.), 1733, Lond. 1735, 1742, 1753, 12mo, and, with an Italian translation, Arezzo, 1767, 8vo; Siena, 1790, 12mo. 5. 'A Roman Catholick's Reasons why he cannot conform to the Protestant Religion,' 1734. 6. 'The Touchstone of the new Religion; or, Sixty Assertions of Protestants try'd by their own Rule of Scripture alone' (anon.), 1734, Lond. 1748, 12mo; Dublin, 1816, 16mo. 7. 'The unerring authority of the Catholick Church in matters of Faith: maintain'd against the exceptions of a late author [Mr. J. R., a minister of the kirk], in his answer to a letter on the subject of Infallibility. To which are prefix'd eight preliminaries by way of introduction to the true Church of Christ' (Lond.?), 1735, 8vo. 8. 'The young Gentleman instructed in the Grounds of the Christian Religion,' 1735. 9. 'A Specimen of the Spirit of the Dissenting Teachers,' 1736, in reply to a series of anti-catholic discourses which had been delivered by dissenting ministers in Salters' Hall. 10. 'The Catholick Christian instructed in the Sacraments, Sacrifice, Ceremonies, and Observances of the Church, by way of question and answer,' 1737; often reprinted. 11. A new and fine edition, prepared in conjunction with Francis Blyth, D.D., a discaled Carmelite, of the Rheims translation of the New Testament, 1738, with annotations and proofs of the doctrines of the catholic church taken from the writings of the fathers. 12. 'The Garden of the Soul; or, a Manual of Spiritual Exercises and Instruction for Christians who, living in the world, aspire to devotion,' printed in or before 1740. This work, which has passed through almost numberless editions, continues to be the most popular prayer-book in use among English-speaking catholics. 13. 'Memoirs of Missionary Priests, as well secular as regular, and of other catholics of both sexes that have suffered death in England, on religious accounts, from the year of our Lord 1577 to 1684,' 2 vols. (Lond.), 1741-2, 8vo; 2 vols. Manchester, 1803, 8vo; 2 vols. Lond. 1842, 8vo. An edition entitled 'Modern British Martyrology' appeared at London in 1836, 8vo, and

another called 'Martyrs to the Catholic Faith' was published in 2 vols. at Edinburgh, 1878, 4to. This is a valuable historical and biographical work, which may be regarded as an answer on the catholic side to Foxe's 'Acts and Monuments.' 14. 'The Grounds of the Old Religion; or, some general arguments in favour of the Catholick, Apostolick, Roman Communion, collected from both ancient and modern controvertists, by a Convert,' Augusta (Lond.?), 1742, 12mo; 5th edit. Lond. 1798, with a memoir of the author by Dr. Milner prefixed; Dublin, 1808. 12mo. 15. 'A Letter to a Friend concerning the Infallibility of the Church of Christ, in answer to a late pamphlet, entitled "An humble Address to the Jesuits, by a dissatisfied Roman Catholic" (Mr. J. R., a minister of the kirk)' (anon.), Lond. 1743, 12mo. 16. 'Britannia Sancta; or, the Lives of the most celebrated British, English, Scottish, and Irish Saints who have flourished in these Islands, from the earliest times of Christianity down to the change of religion in the sixteenth century; faithfully collected from their ancient Acts and other records of British history' (anon.), 2 vols. Lond. 1745, 4to. 17. 'The Rheims New Testament and the Douay Bible, with annotations,' 5 vols. Lond. 1749-50, 12mo. Challoner undertook to revise and correct the language and orthography of the old version of Gregory Martin, to adopt the improvements of the Clementine edition of the Vulgate, and to add such notes as he judged necessary to clear up modern controversies. The New Testament was printed in 1749, having been diligently revised by the most able divines with whom he was acquainted, viz. Dr. William Green, afterwards president of Douay College, and Dr. Walton, afterwards vicar-apostolic of the northern district. The four volumes of the Old Testament were all published in 1750. In that year he also issued a second edition of the New Testament, revised. This differs from the former one of 1749 in about 124 passages of the text, but none of them are of material consequence. Two years afterwards he published a third edition, again revised, with most extensive alterations (COTTON, *Rhemes and Douay*, p. 49). This modernised version of the Douay bible is substantially that which has since been used by all English-speaking catholics. Cardinal Wiseman was of opinion that although Challoner did well to alter many too decided Latinisms, which the old translators retained, he weakened the language considerably by destroying inversion, where it was congenial at once to the genius of our language and the construction of the original, and by the insertion of

particles where they were by no means necessary. 18. 'Remarks on Two Letters against Popery,' 1751. 19. 'Instructions and Meditations on the Jubilee,' 1751. 20. 'Considerations upon Christian Truths and Christian Duties, digested into Meditations for every Day in the Year,' 1753, often reprinted. 21. 'The Wonders of God in the Wilderness; or, the Lives of the most celebrated Saints of the Oriental Desarts; faithfully collected out of the genuine works of the holy fathers, and other ancient ecclesiastical writers' (anon.), Lond. 1755, 8vo. 22. 'The Life of St. Theresa,' 1757. 23. 'A Manual of Prayers and other Christian Devotions, revised and corrected with large additions,' 1758. 24. 'A Caveat against the Methodists,' 1760. 25. 'The City of God, of the New Testament,' 1760. 26. 'Memorial of Ancient British Piety,' 1761. 27. 'The Morality of the Bible,' 1762. 28. 'The Devotion of Catholics to the Blessed Virgin, truly stated,' 1764. 29. 'The Rules of a Holy Life,' 1766. 30. 'Short Daily Exercises of the Devout Christian,' 1767. 31. 'Pious Reflexions on Patient Suffering,' 1767. 32. 'Abstract of the History of the Old and New Testament,' 1767. 33. 'The Scripture Doctrine of the Church.' 34. 'Abridgment of Christian Doctrine; or, first Catechism.'

[Life, by Barnard, 1784, with portrait; Life, by Rev. John Milner, F.S.A., with portrait, prefixed to Challoner's Grounds of the Old Religion, 1798; Funeral Discourse on the Death of Bishop Challoner (by Dr. Milner), Lond. 1781; Addit. MSS. 28232 ff. 91, 99, 28234 f. 264, 28235 f. 154; Brady's Episcopal Succession, iii. 164-76; Catholic Magazine and Review (Birmingham, 1832), i. 641, 715; Gent. Mag. li. 47; Scots Mag. xliii. 54; Husenbeth's Life of Milner, pp. 8-9, 12-13, 70; Dublin Review, new series, vii. 237; Month and Catholic Review, January 1880; Cardinal Wiseman's Essays on various Subjects (1853), i. 425; Cotton's Rhemes and Douay, with Offer's manuscript notes; Notes and Queries (4th series), vii. 513, viii. 14; Evans's Cat. of Engraved Portraits, 1987; Flanagan's Hist. of the Church in England, ii. 184, 193, 364 et seq., 370, 375, 385; Cat. of Printed Books in Brit. Mus.; Butler's Hist. Memoirs of English Catholics (1822), iv. 432; Bromley's Cat. of Engraved Portraits, p. 354; Gillow's Bibl. Dict. i. 447; Historical MSS. Commission, 2nd Rep. 201; Catholic Miscellany, vi. 255.] T. C.

**CHALMERS, ALEXANDER** (1759-1834), biographer and miscellaneous writer, was born at Aberdeen on 29 March 1759, being the youngest son of James Chalmers, a learned printer, by his wife Susanna, daughter of the Rev. James Trail, minister at Montrose; and grandson of the Rev. James Chal-

mers, professor of divinity at Marischal College. Having received a classical and medical education he left his native city about 1777, and never returned to it. He had obtained the situation of surgeon in the West Indies, and had arrived at Portsmouth to join his ship, when he suddenly altered his mind and proceeded to London, where he soon became connected with the periodical press, and was appointed editor of the 'Public Ledger' and 'London Packet.' At this period he acquired considerable fame as a political writer. He contributed largely to the 'St. James's Chronicle' and the 'Morning Chronicle,' and at one time was editor of the 'Morning Herald.'

Chalmers was early connected in business with George Robinson, publisher, of Paternoster Row, whom he assisted in examining manuscripts offered for publication. He was also a contributor to the 'Critical Review' and the 'Analytical Review.' At this period he lived almost wholly with Robinson. During the largest portion of his life he resided near the Bank of England, and having, after his settlement in the metropolis, become a sincere member of the church of England, he was not only a constant attendant at divine service on Sunday, but for thirty years was scarcely ever absent from the Tuesday morning lecture of the Rev. W. Wilkinson at the church of St. Bartholomew by the Royal Exchange. He made frequent visits to the libraries of the British Museum and of both universities. In 1805 he was elected a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries; he was also a master of arts, probably of the university of Aberdeen. In 1783 Chalmers married Elizabeth, widow of John Gillett; she died in June 1816. He died at his residence in Throgmorton Street on 10 Dec. 1834, and was buried on the 19th in the same vault with his wife in the church of St. Bartholomew by the Royal Exchange.

No man ever edited so many works as Chalmers for the booksellers of London. Among them were: 1. 'A Continuation of the History of England,' 2 vols. 1793, 2nd edit. 1798, 3rd edit. 1803, 4th edit. 1821. 2. 'Glossary to Shakespeare,' 1797. 3. 'Sketch of the Isle of Wight,' 1798. 4. An edition of the Rev. James Barclay's 'Complete and Universal English Dictionary.' 5. An edition of 'The British Essayists, with prefaces, historical and biographical, and a general index,' 45 vols.; this series begins with the 'Tatler' and ends with the 'Observer.' The papers were collated with the original editions, and the prefaces give accounts of the works, and of the lives of such of the writers as are less generally known. 6. Lives of Burns and Dr. Beattie prefixed to their respective works, 1805. 7. An edition of Fielding's Works,

10 vols. 1806. 8. An edition of Warton's 'Essays,' 1806. 9. 'The Tatler, Spectator, and Guardian,' 14 vols. 1806. 10. An edition of Gibbon's 'History,' with a life of the author, 12 vols. 1807. 11. Prefaces to the greater part of the collection known as 'Walker's Classics,' 45 vols. 1808, and following years. 12. An edition of Bolingbroke's Works, 8 vols. 1809. 13. An edition of 'Shakespeare,' with an abridgment of the notes of Steevens and a life of Shakespeare, 9 vols. 1809. 14. Many of the lives in the 'British Gallery of Contemporary Portraits,' 2 vols. 1809-16. These memoirs, though short, are authentic and valuable. 15. An enlarged edition of Johnson's 'Collection of the English Poets,' with some additional lives, 21 vols. 1810. 16. 'A History of the Colleges, Halls, and Public Buildings attached to the University of Oxford, including the Lives of the Founders,' 1810. 17. 'The Projector,' 3 vols. 1811, a periodical containing essays originally published in the 'Gentleman's Magazine.' 18. An edition of the autobiographies of Dr. Pocock, Dr. Twells, Bishop Pearce, Bishop Newton, and Burdy's life of the Rev. Philip Skelton, 2 vols. 1816. 19. 'County Biography,' 4 Nos., 1819. 20. The ninth edition of Boswell's 'Life of Johnson,' 1822. 21. A new edition of 'Shakespeare,' 1823. 22. Another edition of Dr. Johnson's Works, 1823.

Chalmers, who was a great friend of John Nichols, contributed many obituary notices, especially of printers and publishers, to the 'Gentleman's Magazine.' But the work on which his fame as a biographer chiefly rests is his enlarged edition of the 'New and General Biographical Dictionary,' which was first published in eleven volumes in 1761. Other editions of this useful compilation appeared in 1784 and in 1798-1810. The latter, in fifteen volumes, was edited as to the first five by William Tooke, and as to the last ten by Archdeacon Nares and William Beloe. Then followed Chalmers's edition, which is entitled 'The General Biographical Dictionary: containing an historical and critical account of the lives and writings of the most eminent persons in every nation, particularly the British and Irish, from the earliest accounts to the present time.' The first four volumes of this work, in 8vo, were published monthly, commencing in May 1812, and then a volume appeared every alternate month to the thirty-second and last volume in March 1814, a period of four years and ten months of incessant labour and of many personal privations. The preceding edition of the 'Dictionary' was augmented by 3,934 additional lives, and of the remaining number 2,176 were rewritten;

while the whole were revised and corrected. The total number of articles exceeds nine thousand. For many years Chalmers was employed by the booksellers in revising and enlarging the 'Dictionary'; but at the time of his death only about one-third of the work, as far as the end of the letter 'D,' was ready for the press. A competent authority, Mr. Chancellor Christie, remarks that 'Chalmers's own articles, though not without the merit which characterises a laborious compiler, are too long and tedious for the general reader, and show neither sufficient research nor sufficient accuracy to satisfy the student.' John Nichols, his intimate acquaintance, states that Chalmers was 'a warm and affectionate friend and a delightful companion, being very convivial, and his conversation replete both with wit and information.' His portrait has been engraved.

[Gent. Mag. new ser. iii. 207; Nichols's *Illustr. of Lit.*; Nichols's *Lit. Anecd.*; *Quarterly Review*, clvii. 203; Poynder's *Literary Extracts*, i. 98; Evans's *Cat. of Engraved Portraits*, Nos. 13874, 13875; J. R. Smith's *Cat. of Engraved Portraits* (1883), Nos. 1322, 1323; *Biog. Dict. of Living Authors* (1816), 59.] T. C.

**CHALMERS or CHAMBERS, DAVID** (1530?–1592). [See **CHAMBERS**.]

**CHALMERS, SIR GEORGE** (*d.* 1791), portrait painter, was born in Edinburgh. The fortunes of his family had been forfeited owing to a connection with the exiled Stuarts, so that he inherited the bare title. He studied painting under Ramsey, and afterwards travelled, staying some time in Rome. On his return he settled first at Hull. Between 1775 and 1790 we find him exhibiting at the Royal Academy twenty-four portraits in all. One or two of his paintings have been engraved in mezzotint. He died in London, 1791.

[Redgrave's *Dict. of Artists*; Graves's *Dict. of Artists*.]

**CHALMERS, GEORGE** (1742–1825), Scottish antiquary and historian, was almost the last of the extinct race of authors who were antiquarians rather than historians, collectors and publishers rather than minute critics of historical antiquities. They existed in all countries, but Scotland produced several notable examples. The life of Chalmers is comprised in a record of the works which he compiled with indefatigable industry, and issued without a break during the last fifty years of his long life. His fame rests on one of them, the 'Caledonia,' which he called his standing work. The rest have been superseded by better editions, or become antiquated through his want of originality

or mistaken views. Even the 'Caledonia' has not stood the test of time. It is below the standard of Camden's 'Britannia' or the works of Dugdale, the English antiquarian treatises which can most fairly be compared with it. Still, to have composed what is, though never completed, the fullest account of the antiquities of a nation which has specially cultivated that department of history is a merit not to be despised, and subsequent writers have borrowed from Chalmers without acknowledging their obligations. Born at Fochabers in Moray, a descendant of the family of Pittensear, Chalmers was educated at the parish school of Fochabers and King's College, Aberdeen. He afterwards studied law in Edinburgh. When twenty-one he accompanied his uncle to Maryland, and practised as a lawyer at Baltimore. Returning to Great Britain at the outbreak of the civil war, he settled in London in 1775, and devoted himself to literature. His first publications were political, and chiefly connected with the colonies. An answer from the electors of Bristol to Burke's letter on the affairs of America, published in 1777, appears to have been the latest, and it was soon followed by 'Political Annals of the present United Colonies,' 1780; an 'Introduction to the History of the Revolt of the Colonies,' vol. i. 1782; 'Estimate of the comparative Strength of Great Britain during the present and four preceding Reigns,' 1782; 'Three Tracts on Ireland,' 1785. In 1786 he was appointed chief clerk of the committee of privy council for trade and foreign plantations, and in 1790 he issued a 'Collection of Treaties between Great Britain and other Powers.' He next turned to biography, and published lives of De Foe, Thomas Paine (under the pseudonym of Oldys), and Thomas Ruddiman, the Scottish grammarian and printer, one of his best known works, containing much interesting matter conveyed in a style copied from Dr. Johnson. He was one of the literati deceived by Ireland's Shakespeare forgeries, and published several tracts on that controversy. In the beginning of this century he was attracted to the poetry and history of his native country, which had been too much neglected, and he printed editions of the poems of Allan Ramsay and Sir David Lyndsay, with lives of these poets. In 1807 he issued the first volume of his 'Caledonia,' designed to embrace the whole antiquities and history of Scotland in six volumes, but only three were published, the second in 1820, and the third in 1824. Scarcely a year passed without some new work, but none of them have now any but a bibliographical interest except his 'Life of Mary Queen of Scots,' with subsi-

diary memoirs, not of much value, but useful till better memoirs appear, of the lives of the regent Moray, Francis II, Darnley, Bothwell, and Maitland of Lethington. Besides his published works, Chalmers left large manuscript collections for the completion of the 'Caledonia,' a 'History of Scottish Poetry,' and a 'History of Printing in Scotland,' most of which are now in the Advocates' Library or the library of the university of Edinburgh (*LAING Bequest*). He died on 31 May 1825. A list of his works is appended; several of them were issued anonymously or pseudonymously.

1. 'Answer from the Electors of Bristol to the letters of Edmund Burke, Esq., on Affairs of America.' 2. 'Political Annals of the present United Colonies from the Settlement to the Peace of 1768. Compiled chiefly from Records. Ending at the Revolution, 1688,' London, 1780, 4to. 3. 'The Propriety of allowing a qualified Export of Wool discussed historically,' London, 1782, 8vo. 4. 'An Introduction to the History of the Revolt of the Colonies,' vol. i. only printed, which was cancelled, London, 1782, 8vo, 500 pp. ending with the reign of George I. 5. 'An Estimate of the Comparative Strength of Great Britain during the present and four preceding Reigns,' London, 1782, 4to. 6. 'Opinions on interesting subjects of Public Laws and Commercial Policy arising from American Independence,' London, 1784, 8vo. 7. 'Three Tracts on the Irish Arrangements,' London, 1785, 8vo. 8. 'Historical Tracts by Sir John Davies, with a Life of the Author,' 1786, 8vo. 9. 'Life of Daniel De Foe,' London, 1786, 1790, 8vo. 10. 'A Collection of Treaties between Great Britain and other Powers,' London, 1790, 2 vols. 8vo. 11. 'Life of Thomas Paine. By Francis Oldys, A.M., of the University of Pennsylvania,' London, 1793, 8vo. 12. 'Prefatory Introduction to Dr. Johnson's "Debates in Parliament,"' London, 1794, 8vo. 13. 'Life of Thomas Ruddiman, M.A. To which are subjoined new Anecdotes of Buchanan,' London, 1794, 8vo. 14. 'Vindication of the Privilege of the People in respect of the Constitutional Right of Free Discussion,' London, 1796, 8vo (anon.) 15. 'Apology for the Believers in the Shakespeare Papers which were exhibited in Norfolk Street, London,' 1796, 8vo. 16. 'A Supplemental Apology,' London, 1799, 8vo. 17. 'Appendix to the "Supplemental Apology,"' being the Documents for the opinion that Hugh Boyd wrote Junius's Letters,' 1800, 8vo. 18. 'The Poems of Allan Ramsay, with a Life of the Author,' London, 1800, 2 vols. 8vo. 19. 'Observations on the State of England in 1696, by Gregory King,

with a Life of the Author,' 1804, 8vo. 20. 'Life of Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount, Lyon King-at-arms under James V,' London, 1806, 3 vols. 8vo. 21. 'Caledonia; or an Account, Historical and Topographical, of North Britain . . . Chorographical and Philological,' vol. i. London, 1807, vol. ii. 1810, vol. iii. 1824, all 4to. 22. 'A Chronological Account of Commerce and Coinage in Great Britain from the Restoration till 1810,' 1810, 8vo. 23. 'Considerations on Commerce,' 1811, 8vo. 24. 'An Historical View of the Domestic Economy of Great Britain and Ireland.' New edition of 'The Comparative Estimate' corrected and enlarged,' Edin. 1812, 8vo. 25. 'Opinions of Eminent Lawyers on various Points of English Jurisprudence,' 1814, 2 vols. 8vo. 26. A tract, privately printed, in answer to Malone's account of Shakespeare's 'Tempest,' London, 1815, 8vo. 27. 'Comparative Views of the State of Great Britain and Ireland before and since the War,' London, 1817, 8vo. 28. 'The Author of "Junius" ascertained,' 1817. 29. Churchyard's 'Chips concerning Scotland,' with a life of the author, London, 1817, 8vo. 30. 'Life of Mary Queen of Scots, drawn from the State Papers, with six subsidiary Memoirs,' London, 1818, 2 vols. 4to; reprinted in 3 vols. 8vo. 31. 'The Poetical Remains of some of the Scottish Kings now first collected,' London, 1824, 8vo. 32. 'Robene and Makyne and the Testament of Cresseid,' by Robert Henryson, edited and presented by Mr. Chalmers as his contribution to the Bannatyne Club, Edin. 1824, 4to. 33. 'A Detection of the Love Letters lately attributed in Hugh Campbell's work to Mary Queen of Scots,' London, 1825, 8vo.

[Chalmers's own works; Anderson's Scottish Nation; David Laing's bibliography in Lowndes's Manual.] E. M.

**CHALMERS, GEORGE PAUL** (1836–1878), painter, was born at Montrose in 1836, and educated at the burgh school of that town. Notwithstanding a juvenile precocity in drawing, he was apprenticed to an apothecary, and afterwards became clerk to a ship-chandler. Finally he determined to be a painter, and abandoned these base pursuits. He studied at Edinburgh in the Trustees' School, and maintained himself the while by painting portraits. His first exhibited picture was 'A Boy's Head' in chalk. A portrait head of J. Pettie, R.A., was exhibited in 1863, and a subject piece, 'The Favourite Air,' in the following year. In 1867 he was elected associate of the Scottish Academy, and in 1871 a full member.

To the Royal Academy of London he sent six works between 1863 and 1876. He painted

portraits, subject pictures, and landscapes—the last especially in his later years. ‘These were remarkable for their richness of colour.’ In general he was a careful and even fastidious painter, taking high rank with his brother Scots. On 15 Feb. 1878 he attended the Scotch Academy dinner. Returning thence (and ‘from a subsequent engagement with some brother artists’) evil befell him. Apparently he was attacked and robbed. At least he was found by the police in an area ‘with his pockets rifled.’ He never recovered from this accident, and died on the 20th of the same month. Appreciative notices of Chalmers appeared in the ‘Art Journal’ and in the ‘Academy’ at the time of his death. Shortly before that event the ‘Portfolio’ published an etching by Paul Rajon after one of his pictures.

[Redgrave’s Dict. of Artists; Graves’s Dict. of Artists; Art Journal, xvii. 124; Academy, 23 Feb. 1878.] E. R.

**CHALMERS, JAMES** (1782–1853), post-office reformer, was born in Arbroath on 2 Feb. 1782, and at an early age became a bookseller in Castle Street, Dundee, and was for some time the printer and publisher of the ‘Dundee Chronicle.’ He took a prominent part in public matters, first as dean and afterwards as convener of the nine incorporated trades. At a subsequent period he was returned to the town council, and held the office of treasurer for several years. In local charities and in every philanthropic movement he was ever ready to lend a helping hand. In 1825 he applied himself to the acceleration of the mails, and mainly through his efforts the time for a letter to travel between London and Dundee was lessened by a day each way.

Having turned his mind to the subject of post-office reform, Chalmers suggested a uniform rate of postage, and drew out a sample of an adhesive stamp, had it set up in type, and a few copies printed and gummed; these he exhibited to several merchants in Dundee in August 1834.

He laid this plan before Mr. Robert Wallace, M.P. for Greenock and chairman of the fifth committee on post-office reform, in December 1837, and he also corresponded on the subject with Joseph Hume, M.P., Patrick Chalmers, M.P., and with Rowland Hill himself, in 1839 and 1840. His letters to the latter gentleman show that Chalmers laid claim to the invention of the adhesive label, but he finally admitted that his claim to priority of publication was not tenable. On 1 Jan. 1846, at a public meeting of the citizens of Dundee, he was presented with

a silver claret jug, a salver, and a purse of fifty sovereigns for his successful efforts in reducing the time required for the transit of the mails and for his plans of a uniform postage rate and an adhesive stamp. He was an excellent man of business, and in all his commercial transactions was well known for his integrity and upright character. He died at Comley Bank, Dundee, on 26 Aug. 1853, aged 71, and was buried in the old burying-ground on 1 Sept. He married Miss Dickson of Montrose. After the death of Sir Rowland Hill, in 1879, Mr. Patrick Chalmers, son of James Chalmers, inserted advertisements and letters in newspapers and published several pamphlets in which he stated that his father anticipated Rowland Hill in suggesting the use of adhesive stamps, but had been fraudulently deprived of the credit of the invention. Mr. Pearson Hill replied, and satisfactorily showed that his father (Sir Rowland Hill) had contemplated the possible use of the adhesive stamp before Chalmers’ plan was made known. Chalmers was the first inventor, but it does not appear how the plan was suggested to Rowland Hill. Mr. Patrick Chalmers has published several pamphlets endeavouring to prove the importance of his father’s suggestions, especially ‘The Adhesive Stamp: important additional evidence in behalf of James Chalmers, in papers bequeathed to the South Kensington Museum Library by Sir Henry Cole,’ 1885.

[James Chalmers, the Inventor of the Adhesive Stamp, by Patrick Chalmers, 1884; The Citizen, 16 April 1881; Athenæum, 30 April 1881, p. 578, May 14, p. 654, May 21, p. 690; Philatelic Record, iii. 194–201, iv. 27, 68, 167, 169–72, 184–6.]

**CHALMERS, SIR JOHN** (1756–1818), major-general, born in 1756, was a younger son of Patrick Chalmers of Balnacraig, and went to India as an ensign in the Madras infantry in 1775. He was promoted lieutenant in 1780, and first gained his reputation by his heroic defence of Coimbatore in 1791. In that year Lord Cornwallis, finding it impossible to advance at once upon Seringapatam, the capital of Tippoo Sultan, ordered Major Cuppage to abandon all the fortresses held by the English in the Mysore country, except Palgaut and Coimbatore, which commanded the passes of the Ghauts, and even to abandon Coimbatore if it could not possibly be held. Major Cuppage therefore directed Chalmers, who held Coimbatore with only 120 topasses, to abandon it and to join him at Palgaut; but the young officer, finding that two three-pounders and one four-pounder were fit for use, begged Cuppage to send him five hundred shot, and to give him leave to defend the fortress. He was



joined by a young Frenchman named Migot de la Combe, with two hundred Travancoreans, of whom half deserted, and prepared to stand a siege. On 13 June 1791 Coimbatour was surrounded by one of Tipoo's generals with two thousand regular infantry, many thousands of irregulars, and eight guns, and was violently bombarded for nearly two months. On 11 Aug. a violent assault was made upon the place; but, owing to the mines Chalmers had made under the breach, it was repelled with loss, and the Mysorean army retreated. The gallant defence attracted the attention of Cornwallis, who sent Lieutenant Nash of the Madras infantry with a company of sepoy to the assistance of Chalmers, bringing up the garrison to seven hundred men. Tipoo now determined on a yet more vigorous attack upon the place, and 6 Oct. Kummur-ud-deen, Tipoo's most famous general, again laid siege to it with eight thousand men and fourteen guns. Again Chalmers made a protracted defence; but at last, when both Nash and himself were wounded, he capitulated on 3 Nov., on condition that he should be allowed to march with his men to Palgaut. The capitulation was violated by Tipoo, and Chalmers and Nash were taken prisoners to Seringapatam in the following year. Tipoo, however, treated the two English officers well, and when Lord Cornwallis appeared before Seringapatam and demanded their release before he would enter into negotiations, they were sent safe into his camp on 8 Feb. 1792. Lord Cornwallis had not approved of defending Coimbatour, but he was one of the first to acknowledge the gallantry of Chalmers, and specially recommended him to the court of directors for a pecuniary reward (*Cornwallis Correspondence*, ii. 108). This was Chalmers's great feat of arms; he was promoted captain on 3 Oct. 1792, major on 27 July 1796, lieutenant-colonel in the company's service on 31 July 1799, colonel on 8 April 1808, major-general on 1 Jan. 1812, and was made a K.C.B. when that order was first thrown open to the company's officers in 1814. He commanded the subsidiary force at Travancore from 1803 to 1809, and the northern division of the Madras presidency from 1812 to 1817. He left India, after forty-two years' continuous service in the Madras presidency, on 21 Jan. 1818, and died on board the Marquis of Wellington on his way home to England on 31 March 1818.

[Dodwell and Miles's Alphabetical Catalogue of the Officers of the Indian Army; East India Military Calendar, ii. 333, 334; Wilks's Historical Sketches of Southern India for the Defence of Coimbatour.]

H. M. S.

**CHALMERS, PATRICK** (1802-1854), Scottish antiquary, was born at Auldbar Castle, near Brechin, on 31 Oct. 1802. He was the son of Patrick Chalmers, by Frances, daughter of John Inglis, East India director, and was the representative of an ancient family, Chalmers of Balnacraig, which had held lands in Aberdeenshire in the middle of the fourteenth century. He was educated in Germany and at Oxford, but left the university without taking a degree. He entered the army and rose to the rank of captain, serving for some years with the 3rd dragoon guards, chiefly in Ireland. On the death of his father in 1826 he sold out and went to live at his seat at Auldbar. In 1835 he was chosen to represent in parliament the united burghs of Montrose, Arbroath, Brechin, Forfar, and Bervie, being re-elected in 1837 and also in 1841. He was actively engaged on several parliamentary committees, particularly the committee on the penny postage; but a disease of the spinal column compelled him to retire from parliament in 1842. Chalmers was always greatly interested in Scottish antiquities, and ready to spend money in producing antiquarian publications. In 1848 he published, at his own cost, and presented to the Bannatyne Club, a work on the 'Ancient Sculptured Monuments of the County of Angus, including those at Maigla in Perthshire, and one at Fordoun in the Mearns' (Edinburgh, folio). This book had been written by Chalmers chiefly during illness; another edition of it in quarto form was subsequently published 'with the addition of a number of monuments of the neighbouring counties of the Mearns and Aberdeenshire,' the expenses being borne by some Aberdeenshire gentlemen and by Chalmers himself, under whose direction the work was published. Until the appearance of Chalmers's work, 'few examples of the sculptured standing stones (in Scotland) had been engraved of a size sufficient to give either accuracy of representation or the necessary details.' 'The Cartulary of the Abbey of Arbroath' (*Liber S. Thome de Aberbrothæ*, 1848, &c. 4to) was another antiquarian work with which Chalmers was connected. He was too ill to write the first volume, which was chiefly the work of Mr. Cosmo Innes, but he contributed the preface and prepared the whole of the second volume. He also contemplated another work on the cartulary of the church of Brechin, and was engaged in editing it from the original manuscript in the possession of Lord Panmure. Chalmers was elected a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries (London) in January 1850, and made two communications to the 'Archæologia:'

'On the Use of Masons' Marks in Scotland' (xxxiv. 33), and 'An Account of the Seal of the Chapter of the Holy Trinity at Brechin' (xxxv. 487). He was also a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, to the 'Transactions' of which he made various contributions. He joined the British Archaeological Association in 1849, and wrote for its 'Journal' (vi. 323-9) a paper on the 'Resignation of the Kingdom of Man to the Pope, A.D. 1219.'

In the spring of 1854 Chalmers left Scotland for a tour on the continent, but an attack of small-pox, from which he suffered on his arrival in Italy, was followed by a renewal of his spinal complaint, and he died at Rome on 23 June 1854. His body was taken home to Scotland and buried in the ancient church at Auldbar, the rebuilding of which he had just completed. Besides occupying himself in antiquarian research, Chalmers 'spent time and money in improving the dwellings and gardens of the labourers on his estate,' and wrote various 'pamphlets on the improvement of statute labour, roads, and other county matters.' He married the daughter of Herbert Foley of Rudgway, Pembrokeshire, widow of Thomas Taylor Vernon.

[Journal of the British Archæological Association, xi. (1855) 164-70; Archæological Journal, index to vols. i-xxv.; Proceedings of the Soc. of Antiq. iii. (1853-6), 182; Annual Register, vol. xvi. (1854), 23 June.] W. W.

**CHALMERS, THOMAS, D.D.** (1780-1847), theologian, preacher, and philanthropist, was born at Anstruther in Fife 17 March 1780. His father, John Chalmers, whose family had been connected with Fife for several generations, was a general merchant, possessed of good abilities and high character. Thomas was the sixth of fourteen children, and the family being so large, and both parents busy, the instruction of their children was committed chiefly to other hands. At the parish school he was 'one of the idlest, strongest, merriest, and most generous-hearted boys.' At the university of St. Andrews, during his first two sessions, he had the same character. His excess of vitality displayed itself in frolic and adventure. When he entered the mathematical classes, however, his intellect awoke and the vigour of his nature found a new outlet. Pure geometry had a strong attraction for him and exercised a great influence in moulding his mind. From his childhood he had for some reason desired to be a minister of the gospel, and this wish he carried out, though his worthy father could not but deplore his want of adequate seriousness. MA-

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thematics and other branches of science had such a hold of his mind that he did not enter into the study of divinity *con amore*. Even after he was settled as minister of Kilmeny in Fife (May 1803) he continued to give courses of lectures on chemistry at St. Andrews, and before he was twenty-five he had been a candidate for the chair of natural philosophy at St. Andrews, and for that of mathematics at Edinburgh. In his parish the question of pauperism, and of social economy generally, engaged his attention from the first. His pulpit work at Kilmeny was also remarkable from the beginning. His ability as a preacher, original, independent, profoundly convinced of all he said, and striving with immense enthusiasm to inspire his audience with his views, soon carried his fame far and wide. His own mind had already been the scene of great religious conflicts. For some time, when a student, he had been attracted by materialism, but having emerged from that view of things, the French 'system of nature' had cast its spell on him, and he had long hovered on the confines of atheism. His misery under that state of mind, and the 'sort of mental elysium' in which he spent the first year of his emancipation from it, were ever afterwards vivid remembrances. But in his thirtieth year he underwent a more profound religious change. Partly through his being employed to write the article 'Christianity' for the 'Edinburgh Encyclopædia,' then coming out under the editorship of Mr. (afterwards Sir David) Brewster; partly from his reading Wilberforce's 'View of Practical Religion;' and partly from the effects of a severe illness and family trials, he accepted with great earnestness the evangelical view of the gospel, and from this time (1810), being now in his thirty-first year, he became a pronounced, though still independent, evangelical preacher. The tone of his pulpit ministrations was elevated greatly, and his fame was such that in November 1814 he was nominated by the town council of Glasgow minister of the Tron parish there, removing to it in 1815.

Before leaving Kilmeny, besides a controversial pamphlet, he had published a book entitled 'An Inquiry into the Extent and Stability of National Resources,' of which the object was to show that even if Napoleon succeeded in his endeavour to shut all European ports against British merchandise, the effect would not be, as many mercantile men dreaded, to ruin British trade, but only to cut off certain superfluities, and turn to other and perhaps better purposes the fund out of which these luxuries had been supplied. His article on 'Christianity' appeared in the

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'Encyclopædia' in 1813, and was soon published in a separate form. A pamphlet on the 'Influence of Bible Societies on the Temporal Necessities of the Poor,' and some reviews and other articles in the 'Christian Instructor' and the 'Eclectic Review,' were among the published results of his literary activity at Kilmeny.

The rapid rise of the commercial city of Glasgow had fostered a large amount of what Chalmers used to call 'home heathenism.' To rescue the lower classes from pauperism and degradation was the ruling effort in Chalmers's mind. To this, rather than to the ordinary work of the pulpit, his main energies were directed; yet the power of his natural eloquence soon caused him to be acknowledged *facile princeps* among the pulpit orators of his day.

He preached in London with as great effect as in Glasgow. In London in 1817 Wilberforce wrote in his 'Diary:' 'All the world wild about Chalmers. Off early with Canning, Huskisson, and Lord Binning. . . . Vast crowds. . . . I was surprised to see how greatly Canning was affected; at times he was quite melted into tears.' John Gibson Lockhart, in his well-known 'Peter's Letters to his Kinsfolk,' after a very elaborate description of Chalmers's appearance and manner, both of which were rugged and uncouth, proceeds: 'At first there is nothing to make one suspect what riches are in store. . . . There is an appearance of constraint about him that affects and distresses you. . . . But then with what tenfold richness does this dim preliminary curtain make the glories of his eloquence to shine forth, when the heated spirit at length flings from it its chill confining fetters, and bursts out elate and rejoicing in the full splendour of its disimprisoned wings. . . . I have heard many men deliver sermons far better arranged in point of argument, and have heard very many deliver sermons far more uniform in elegance, both of conception and style; but most unquestionably I have never heard, either in England or Scotland, or in any other country, a preacher whose eloquence is capable of producing an effect so strong and irresistible as his.'

Chalmers delivered on weekdays during his Glasgow ministry two eminently characteristic sets of discourses. One of these was his 'Astronomical Discourses,' in which he sought to bring science into harmony with christianity by showing that the comparative insignificance of this globe in the universe of God gave an incomparable moral glory and significance to the incarnation and atonement of the Son. The 'Commercial Discourses' were designed to imbue the life of

commercial men with the spirit of the gospel. In both these directions Chalmers set aside the current traditions of the evangelical pulpit, enlarging both its scope and its methods. His independence exposed him to the suspicions of some of the more narrow-minded of his brethren, who thought no man safe if he did not keep to the old-established methods. By his boldness Chalmers adjusted the pulpit to the exigencies of the age.

His extraordinary success in the pulpit did not for a moment divert Chalmers from his aim of elevating the whole body of people that inhabited his parish. The parochial system had fascinated him in Kilmeny. His Glasgow parish was more than ten times as populous as Kilmeny, and certainly ten times as difficult to work. But this was to be met by subdivision and increase of agents. When he was translated in 1840 to the new parish of St. John's he found his opportunity. St. John's was the largest and likewise the poorest parish in the city. Chalmers succeeded in getting from the town council leave to administer the fund raised by church-door collections for the poor, and, in consideration of this, undertook the whole management of the pauperism of the parish. Dividing the parish into districts and sub-districts, he placed laymen of christian character, office-bearers of his own church, over each, established day schools and Sunday schools wherever they were needed, and strove to raise the people to a sense of their moral dignity, especially in the light of the gospel. He was highly successful in all respects, but especially in his pauper scheme. Instead of 1,400*l.*, which the pauperism of the parish had formerly cost, the outlay at the end of the three years and nine months during which he presided over the experiment was reduced to 280*l.* This result was accompanied not by a diminution but an increase of comfort and morality. Drunkenness decreased, and parents took an increased interest in the welfare of their children. Chalmers was intensely attached to the old Scotch method of dealing with pauperism, not by assessment but voluntary contribution, believing that to give the poor a legal right to parochial relief was sure to destroy the spirit of independence, and to impair the readiness of children to help their parents in old age. Afterwards, when, at the instigation of the benevolent Dr. W. P. Alison of Edinburgh, a compulsory method of supporting the poor was contemplated, Chalmers, who had already expounded and enforced his own system in the 'Edinburgh Review' and in separate writings, vehemently opposed the new proposal. His opposition proved ineffectual,

and in 1845 the new system was introduced [see ALISON, WILLIAM PULTENEY]. During his residence in Glasgow, besides his astronomical and commercial discourses and a volume of miscellaneous sermons, Chalmers published an elaborate work on the civic and christian economy of our large towns. In 1816 he received the degree of D.D. by the unanimous vote of the senate of the university of Glasgow.

During two years of his ministry in St. John's he had for his assistant Edward Irving, the bosom friend of Thomas Carlyle. Irving had deemed himself a failure in the Scottish pulpit, and, despairing of success, was on the eve of setting out in a most chivalrous spirit as a missionary to Persia, when Chalmers, after hearing him preach, offered to take him as assistant. The two were very happy together. Through Irving, Chalmers came into contact with Carlyle. They were very unlike, but they appreciated each other. Speaking of their first meeting, Carlyle says: 'The great man was truly loveable, truly loved; and nothing personally could be more modest—intent on his good industries, not on himself or his fame.' Nearly thirty years elapsed before they met again, a very few weeks before Chalmers's death. 'He was a man,' says Carlyle in the 'Reminiscences,' 'of much natural dignity, ingenuity, honesty, and kind affection, as well as sound intellect and imagination. A very eminent vivacity lay in him. . . . He had a burst of genuine fun too, I have heard. . . .' But 'he was a man essentially of little culture, of narrow sphere all his life. . . . A man capable of much soaking indolence, lazy brooding and do-nothingism, as the first stage of his life well indicated; a man thought to be timid almost to the verge of cowardice, yet capable of impetuous activity and blazing audacity, as his latter years showed.'

The work in Glasgow was so multifarious and exhausting that, having triumphantly proved by the experiment of St. John's the success of his ideas on the parochial system, he was glad to escape from the crowded city by accepting an appointment in 1823 to the chair of moral philosophy in the university of St. Andrews. He held this chair for five years. In the special department of ethics, the position which charmed him most, and which he was at most pains to establish, was the authority of conscience. He cordially acknowledged the merits of Butler's 'Sermons on Human Nature.' Chalmers, however, advanced on Butler by showing how the conclusions of ethics harmonised with the teaching of Scripture. Natural ethics showed man to be a sinner. Revealed

theology took him up where ethics left him, and discovered to him a mode of reconciliation. On the fact of human guilt as shown by conscience Chalmers laid much more stress than had been done by most writers on ethics. To a large extent his view commended itself to the religious teachers of Scotland, and influenced their line of preaching. At St. Andrews he did as much as the circumstances allowed to exemplify his principles of parochial activity, and initiated many students into his methods. He encouraged the rising spirit of missions to the heathen, and it was one of his pupils, Alexander Duff, who, on a mission to India being resolved on by the general assembly, became the first India missionary of the church of Scotland.

In 1828 Chalmers was removed to the chair of theology in the university of Edinburgh. He held this office till 1843, when, leaving the established church, he became principal and professor of divinity in the New College (of the Free church), Edinburgh. In the theological chair he was more distinguished for the impulse which he gave to his students than for original contributions to theological science. On the border-land between philosophy and theology, embracing ethics and natural theology, he was thoroughly at home. In theology, while strongly Calvinistic, he differed from many of that school by taking his departure from the needs of man rather than from the purpose of God. His 'Institutes of Theology' present in mature form the views he propounded from the theological chair. Accepting the Scriptures as the record of a divine revelation, he held that true theology was simply the result of Bacon's inductive method applied to the book of Revelation, as true science was the result of the same method applied to the book of nature. On this basis his whole theology was reared.

On 19 June 1830 Chalmers became chaplain in ordinary of the Scottish Chapel Royal, a post which he held till his death. In 1832 Chalmers was invited by the trustees of the Duke of Bridgewater, on the recommendation of the Bishop of London (Blomfield), to write one of the eight treatises on natural theology provided for in that nobleman's will. The subject allotted to him was 'The Adaptation of External Nature to the Moral and Intellectual Constitution of Man.' The volume was published in 1833, and after a successful sale (notwithstanding an unfavourable critique in the 'Quarterly Review') was recast as a portion of a larger work on 'Natural Theology.'

It was a few years after his settlement in Edinburgh that Chalmers found himself

engaged in a movement which in after years was to bear fruit little dreamt of—a movement for giving to the members of congregations an efficient voice in the election of their ministers. The ancient constitution of the Scottish church provided for this, but by the act of Queen Anne restoring patronage (1712) the right was practically superseded. In 1832 Chalmers had been called to the chair of the general assembly, and being thus brought more into contact with ecclesiastical matters, he moved in the assembly of 1833 in favour of an enactment, which, though rejected then, was carried next year on the motion of Lord Moncreiff, and is known as the veto law. It was entirely in accord with his views of the moral dignity of the people, and the importance of quickening their interest in the work of the church, that they should have an effective voice in the choice of their pastors. The veto law did not withdraw from the patrons the right of nomination; it only gave to the male heads of families a right of veto. The measure worked remarkably well during the few years when it had a fair trial. But it was this law that gave occasion to the litigation which ended in the disruption of the church ten years afterwards. The veto was then declared to be *ultra vires*. Chalmers is believed to have wished that this question should be legally settled before the act was passed; but Lord Moncreiff and other eminent lawyers thought that its legality could not be questioned—an opinion afterwards ascertained to have been unfounded.

Fresh honours continued to flow in. In 1834 he was elected a fellow, and in 1835 a vice-president, of the Royal Society of Edinburgh. In 1834 he was also elected a corresponding member of the Institute of France, and in 1835 the university of Oxford made him a D.C.L.

During his years of calm academic work Chalmers had never been unmindful of the condition of the country, and especially of its large towns, nor ceased to desire the erection of new churches and parishes where increased population demanded it. In 1821 he had proposed a scheme for the erection of twenty new churches in Glasgow, but the proposal was scouted as visionary. In 1834 the proposal was renewed by an eminent citizen of Glasgow—Mr. W. Collins, publisher—and Chalmers threw himself most heartily into it. Its success led to a larger scheme—the erection of two hundred new churches and parishes throughout Scotland. Though greatly eclipsed by subsequent achievements, this was regarded at the time as an enterprise of extraordinary boldness, but it succeeded

through the exertions and influence of Chalmers, who went over the country advocating it. Chalmers was most desirous to obtain help for this scheme from the government, but intense opposition was raised to this endeavour by the advocates of the 'voluntary' system, and the desired aid was not obtained. The 'voluntary controversy,' directed against all civil establishments of religion, became very lively, and Chalmers came out as the champion of established churches. A course of lectures delivered by him in London in 1838 in their defence was a triumphant success. 'Dukes, marquises, earls, viscounts, barons, baronets, bishops, and members of parliament were to be seen in every direction.' 'London seemed stirred to its very depths. . . . Probably his London lectures afforded the most remarkable illustrations of his extraordinary power, and must be ranked among the most signal illustrations of oratory in any age.' It has often been represented as inconsistent in Chalmers to argue so powerfully for establishments in 1838, and five years after head the largest withdrawal from an establishment ever known. But from the beginning he had always maintained that it was essential for a christian church to possess the right of self-government, undisturbed by the intrusion of any secular power, and that the people should not be subjected to the ministrations of clergymen to whom they had a decided antipathy. It was because he believed that these conditions belonged to the Scotch church that his advocacy of its establishment was so strong in 1838; and because he believed that it was deprived of these conditions by what followed, he felt constrained in 1843 to abandon it. It must be said of Chalmers that he was accustomed, in maintaining the two principles of self-government or spiritual independence and non-intrusion, to dwell much less than some of his brethren on the direct 'divine right' or scriptural obligation of these principles, and much more on their being indispensable to the efficiency of the church. Deprived of these attributes he thought that an established church was not worth the maintaining, and that it was better to quit the establishment and seek them elsewhere.

Scarcely had the London lectures been delivered (April 1838) when the controversy in the church, commonly called 'the non-intrusion controversy,' assumed a new form. A few weeks, indeed, before their delivery (8 March) the court of session had delivered a judgment in the 'Auchterarder case,' in which the veto law was declared illegal, and the church courts were virtually called on to disregard it, as a *res non*. The general as-

sembly, however, determined that an appeal against this decision should be carried to the House of Lords, so that it was not yet final. But it became final in May 1839. In the assembly of 1839 Chalmers, who had not been a member for six years, spoke emphatically against the claims to control the spiritual jurisdiction of the church put forth by the civil courts, and thereafter he took a most active part in negotiations designed to terminate the collision through a legislative enactment recognising, in some shape, the rights of the people. All the efforts thus made to heal the breach, though continued for some years, proved in vain. The church having subjected to discipline certain ministers of the presbytery of Strathbogie who had disregarded her orders by obeying the court of session, and Chalmers being among those who for this reason were held rebels against the law of the land, parties became so keen that all efforts at conciliation were encompassed with very great difficulties. Meanwhile the civil courts gave fresh decisions, impugning more and more the principles held to be indispensable by Chalmers and others, denying among other things the right of the church to form *quoad sacra* parishes, or to make the ministers of new churches members of church courts, thus aiming a heavy blow at the church extension enterprise of Chalmers, which had added two hundred ministers and *quoad sacra* parishes to the establishment. The result is well known. Neither parliament nor government would admit the claims of the church. On 18 May 1843 a formal separation from the established church took place on the part of those who were opposed to the pretensions of the civil court. Four hundred and seventy ministers resigned their livings and joined the Free church. Chalmers was elected first moderator of the free protesting church of Scotland. The disruption was 'a sore, bitter, crushing disappointment—the blasting of all his fondest hopes.' The step on his part was prompted by the conviction that under the fetters of the civil courts the church could never grapple effectually with the great work of reclaiming and elevating the whole population of the country, and his consolation lay in the hope that the disestablished church would now address herself to the task, that thus the home heathen would yet be reclaimed, and the desert and solitary place be made to rejoice and blossom as the rose.

But it was necessary to find means of support for the disestablished church. To this question Chalmers bent his mind a year before the catastrophe occurred. The result was his devising the well-known sustentation fund, with which the history of the

Free church has been identified. It was founded on a very simple arithmetical principle. On the basis of a contribution from each member of a penny a week, Chalmers showed that a stipend of 150*l.* a year might be provided for five hundred ministers. Great incredulity followed his announcement of his plan, but its foundations were on solid rock, and ultimately it found favour. Though not without weak points, it was adopted by the church; it has been substantially carried out ever since, and though the number of ministers is now double what Chalmers contemplated, the amount paid to each exceeds considerably what he proposed.

This matter being disposed of, Chalmers now returned to the great scheme which he had cherished so warmly since his entry into Glasgow. The home-heathen problem was still unsolved. In the great cities especially there were yet many thousands attending no church, many of them in a condition of fearful degradation. In his eyes there was just one way of dealing effectually with this problem—the territorial, aggressive system. After the recent ecclesiastical changes, he could not hope to carry out any undertaking directed to this object on a scale corresponding to the extent of the evil. But he might, by an *experimentum crucis*, show the possibility of success under his scheme. He selected the West Port, one of the worst districts of Edinburgh, for a territorial experiment. Marking off a district with a population of about two thousand souls, he divided it into sub-districts, as in Glasgow, and obtained the aid of a body of zealous christian friends as visitors, each to labour in a sub-district of a few families. Engaging an old malt-barn, he procured the assistance of a zealous and able student to labour among the people and conduct sabbath services in the barn. A day school was opened for the children of the district, and, contrary to the remonstrances of many friends, a fee was exacted for their education. The sabbath school was added to the day school. By-and-by a plain church and school were built. Begun in 1845 this enterprise had become a great success before his death in 1847. Its subsequent history has been most encouraging. What Chalmers desired was that similar churches should be built in every suitable locality, till the whole destitution of Scotland should be overtaken. It was an unspeakable joy to him, after the loud sounds of long and bitter controversy, to return to this practical outcome of all his ecclesiastical ideas, and show the bearing of all on the good of the country and the elevation of its lowest class, and thus on the solution of the most difficult of all the

problems with which economists, statesmen, or churches have to deal.

Chalmers died suddenly on the night between Sunday and Monday, 30–31 May 1847. He retired to rest in apparent health and was found dead in bed next morning. The passage from life to death seemed to have been made without the shadow of a struggle. The impression produced on the community, and on the general assembly, which was then holding its sittings, was most profound. The funeral on 4 June was attended by an immense multitude of spectators—half the population of Edinburgh, it was estimated; while journals and pulpits without number, and many public bodies at home and abroad, expressed their admiration of his life and character, and their profound sense of his services to his country and to humanity.

Looking at the influence of Chalmers on the religious thought and life of Scotland generally, we may say that he let in daylight and fresh air on the evangelical enclosures of the church. He hardly ever opened his lips without uttering something fresh and racy. The evangelical message assumed a new importance at his hands. It came from him sustained by intellect, embellished by imagination, and enforced by eloquence, while new relations, hitherto overlooked, were brought into view—to the science, the culture, the thinking of the age. As Chalmers advanced in life a rare sagacity became conspicuous; with broad, statesmanlike view he was seen to have apprehended the evils of modern society, to have detected the remedy, and girded himself, in all his strength, to apply it. While thus broadening out and acquiring fresh influence, he was at the same time growing in humility and devoutness. The culture of personal piety was a growing object of his solicitude. His journals and his 'Horæ Sabbaticæ' bear ample testimony to this. The result was not merely the revival of evangelical life in Scotland, but the communication to it of qualities unknown before. It became more genial and catholic, more refined, more intellectual, and more practical. It never was allowed to lose itself in speculation, or to terminate in doctrinal elaborations. It could never forget the *terminus ad quem* (a favourite phrase of Chalmers's)—first the regeneration and elevation of the individual, and then the regeneration and elevation of society at large.

The writings of Chalmers fall into two classes—those published during his life and his posthumous works. Of the first, his principal works, in twenty-five volumes, were: 1. 'Natural Theology,' 2 vols. 2. 'Evidences of Christianity,' 2 vols. 3. 'Moral and Mental

Philosophy,' 4. 'Commercial Discourses,' 5. 'Astronomical Discourses,' 6. 'Congregational Sermons,' 3 vols. 7. 'Sermons on Public Occasions,' 8. 'Tracts and Essays,' 9. 'Christian and Economic Polity,' 3 vols. 10. 'Church Establishments,' 11. 'Church Extension,' 12. 'Political Economy,' 2 vols. 13. 'Pauperism,' 14. 'Lectures on Epistle to the Romans,' 4 vols. The posthumous works (1847–9), edited by Dr. Hanna, are in nine volumes, viz.: 1. 'Daily Scripture Readings,' 3 vols. 2. 'Sabbath Scripture Readings,' 2 vols. 3. 'Posthumous Sermons,' 4. 'Institutes of Theology,' 2 vols. 5. 'Prelections on Butler's "Analogy,"' &c. To these many separate pamphlets, sermons, &c., are to be added.

[Memoirs by his son-in-law, W. Hanna, LL.D., 4 vols. 1849–52; Selection from Correspondence, 1 vol.; Biographical Notice from Transactions of Royal Society of Edin., by Dean Ramsay; North British Review, May 1852 and November 1856 (articles ascribed to Isaac Taylor); Peter's Letters to his Kinsfolk (John Gibson Lockhart); Carlyle's Reminiscences, vol. i.; McCosh's Scottish Philosophy; The Chalmers' Lectures, 1st series, by Rev. Sir Henry W. Moncreiff, bart., D.D.; Records of General Assembly of the Free Church, 1849; Witness newspaper, 1 and 9 June 1849; Dodds's Thomas Chalmers, a Biographical Study; Walker's Thomas Chalmers; Fraser's Men worth Remembering; Chalmers's Proceedings at the Centennial Celebration of the Birth of Dr. Chalmers, 1880.] W. G. B.

**CHALMERS, W. A.** (*J.* 1798), water-colour painter, chiefly of architectural subjects, worked in London towards the end of the last century. From 1790 to 1794 he exhibited nine pictures at the Royal Academy. In the former year he appeared with a 'View in the Collegiate Church, Westminster,' and 'Mrs. Jordan as Sir Harry Wildair;' in 1791 two interiors of Westminster Abbey; in 1792 'The Interment of the late President (Sir Joshua Reynolds) at St. Paul's;' in 1793 'The Interior of Henry VII's Chapel with the Ceremony of the Installation;' and in the next year the 'West Front of the Abbey, Bath.' After an interval of four years he exhibited in 1798 'Mr. Kemble as the "Stranger,"' and the 'Tomb of Henry VII.' He seems to have died young.

[Redgrave's Dict. of Artists; Graves's Dict. of Artists.]

**CHALMERS, SIR WILLIAM** (1787–1860), lieutenant-general, eldest son of William Chalmers of Glenericht, near Blairgowrie, Perthshire, was born at Glenericht in 1787. He entered the army on 9 July 1803 as ensign in the 52nd foot, becoming lieutenant on 23 Oct. of the same year.

With the first battalion of his regiment, of which he was at one time adjutant, young Chalmers served in Sicily in 1806-7, and when an order was issued directing that eleven British regiments then stationed in that island should be augmented each by a company of Sicilians enlisted for seven years' general service under the British crown, it fell to him, as senior subaltern, to raise the regimental quota of men for that purpose. He became captain in the second battalion in 1807. He served with his regiment in Portugal and Spain in 1808-9; in the Walcheren expedition, including the bombardment of Flushing; and subsequently as a regimental officer and as brigade-major of various infantry brigades in the Peninsular campaigns from 1810 to 1814, in the course of which he was present in seventeen engagements, including the battles of Barossa, Salamanca, and Vittoria, and the various actions in the Pyrenees and on the Nivelle, and at the sieges of Ciudad Rodrigo, Badajoz, and San Sebastian; had altogether six horses shot under him; and on one occasion—the attack on the entrenchments of Sarre in 1813—was himself very severely wounded. He received a brevet majority for service in the field in 1813, and a brevet lieutenant-colonelcy for Waterloo. At the latter period he was serving as aide-de-camp to his uncle, Major-general Sir Kenneth Mackenzie, afterwards Sir Kenneth Douglas, bart., of Glenbervie, who was commanding at Antwerp, which was in a very critical state, but got leave to join his regiment before the battle, where he commanded the right wing of the 52nd, and had three horses killed under him. He was also present at the capture of Paris, and with the army of occupation in France until 1817, when he retired from active military life. He married in 1826 the daughter of Thomas Price. He became brevet colonel in 1837, was made K.C.H., and C.B. the year following. He became a major-general in 1846, was created a knight-bachelor in 1848, appointed colonel of the 78th highlanders in 1853, and became lieutenant-general in 1854. He was in possession of the Peninsular medal with eight clasps, and the Waterloo medal. Chalmers, who had been left a widower in 1851, died at his seat, Glenericht, on 2 June 1860. His age appears to have been given incorrectly in the 'Gentleman's Magazine' and other obituary notices.

[Army Lists; Moorsom's Hist. Rec. 52nd Light Infantry; Leeke's Lord Seaton's Regt. at Waterloo, vol. i.; Dod's Knightage; Gent. Mag. 3rd series (ix.) p. 104.] H. M. C.

CHALON, ALFRED EDWARD (1780-1860), portrait and subject painter, younger

brother of John James Chalon [q. v.], was born at Geneva on 15 Feb. 1780. He was intended, like his brother, for a commercial life; but he took early to art, and entered the Academy schools in 1797. In 1808 he became a member of the Society of Associated Artists in Water Colours. In the same year he founded, with his brother John and six others, the 'Evening Sketching Society,' the meetings of which were continued for forty years, and of which a full account will be found in the 'Recollections of T. Ewins,' and in the 'Recollections and Letters of C. R. Leslie.' He exhibited his first picture at the Royal Academy in 1810. In 1812 he was elected associate of that body, and became a full member in 1816. 'He then and for many years afterwards was the most fashionable portrait painter in water colours. His full-length portraits in this manner, usually about fifteen inches high, were full of character, painted with a dashing grace, and never commonplace; the draperies and accessories drawn with great spirit and elegance.' In his younger days he painted some good miniatures on ivory. Chalon was the first to paint Queen Victoria after her accession to the throne, and received the appointment of painter in water colours to the queen. As a portrait painter in this medium he had an extraordinary and almost unparalleled vogue; but he survived his fame. In 1855, the year following his brother's death, he exhibited, at the rooms of the Society of Arts in the Adelphi, a collection of his own and of John Chalon's works, but it does not seem to have attracted much attention. Leslie, his friend and warm admirer, writes: 'It was to me a proof, if I had wanted one, of the non-appreciation of colour at the present time that the exhibition of J. and A. Chalon's pictures failed to attract notice.' If water colours were the medium best suited to his genius, Chalon nevertheless painted a vast number of works in oils, having exhibited altogether upwards of three hundred oil paintings at the Royal Academy and elsewhere in the course of his life. Among his best-known subject pictures may be mentioned 'Hunt the Slipper,' 1831; 'John Knox reproving the Ladies of Queen Mary's Court,' 1837; 'Serena,' 1847; 'Sophia Western,' 1857. He was clever in imitating the styles of other painters, and particularly of Watteau, whose pictures he greatly admired.

Chalon had made a large collection of his own and his brother's drawings and paintings. In 1859 he offered them to the inhabitants of Hampstead, together with some endowments for the maintenance of the collection; but the scheme fell through. He then offered



them to the nation, with a similarly unsatisfactory result. Late in life he retired with his brother to an old house on Campden Hill, Kensington, and there died, 3 Oct. 1860. His numerous friends bore unanimous testimony to the delightful social qualities of the man, and were ungrudging in their recognition of his genius.

[Redgrave's Dict. of Painters; Ottley's Supplement to Bryan's Dict. of Painters; Graves's Dict. of Artists; Athenæum, June to December 1860, pp. 487, 756, 792; Art Journal, 1860, p. 337, 1862, p. 9, an article upon A. E. Chalon by James Dafforne; Autobiographical Recollections of C. R. Leslie, ed. Tom Taylor, 2 vols. passim; Recollections of T. Ewins, 2 vols. 1853, passim.] E. R.

**CHALON, JOHN JAMES (1778-1854)**, landscape and genre painter, born 27 March 1778, was of a French family which had resided at Geneva since the revocation of the edict of Nantes. In 1789 the family came to England, and Chalon's father was appointed professor of French language and literature at the Royal Military College, Sandhurst. The son was intended for business; but his artistic proclivities were strongly marked, and in 1796 he became a student at the Royal Academy. In 1800 he exhibited his first picture, 'Banditti at their Repast,' shortly followed by 'A Landscape' and 'Fortune Telling.' Chalon's early practice was in oils, but in 1806 he began to exhibit at the gallery of the Water-colour Society, and in 1808 became a member of that body. He was among the seceders from the society in 1813. In 1816 he exhibited an important work at the Royal Academy, 'Napoleon on board the Bellerophon,' which he presented to Greenwich Hospital. This was followed by a fine painting, 'A View of Hastings,' which is now in the South Kensington Museum. In 1827 he was elected associate of the Royal Academy, and became a full member in 1841. Among his later works may be mentioned 'Gil Blas in the Robbers' Cave,' 1843, and the 'Arrival of the Steam-packet at Folkestone,' 1844. In 1847 he was stricken with paralysis, and died after a long illness on 14 Nov. 1854. He is said by Redgrave to have painted but few pictures, and to have supported himself by teaching. He exhibited, however, as many as 135 pictures in oils at the Royal Academy and at the British Institute, and had made his mark, moreover, as a water-colour painter. In 1820 he published a book of 'Sketches of Parisian Manners,' which was much admired by Stothard. He was a friend of C. R. Leslie, R.A., who greatly respected his genius, and wrote of him that few painters had so great a range,

or attained to so equal an excellence, in so many departments of art. He painted landscapes, figure and animal subjects, and marine pictures with equal facility and success. He belonged, with his brother Alfred Edward [q. v.], to an evening sketching club, which included Leslie and Clarkson Stansfield among its members.

[Redgrave's Dict. of Artists; Graves's Dict. of Artists; Art Journal, 1855, p. 24, article by Leslie, signed 'C. R. L.,' Athenæum, 18 Nov. 1854.] E. R.

**CHALONER, — (d. 1643)**, a chief actor in Edmund Waller's plot of 1643, is described in contemporary accounts as 'an eminent citizen' and linendraper of London. He lived in Cornhill, near the Royal Exchange, and had a partner named Norton. Together with Nathaniel Tomkins, secretary to the queen's council, and Waller's brother-in-law, he organised, early in 1643, a society which was intended to bring together all citizens desirous of effecting a peace between the parliament and Charles I. The king approved the plan; and on news of it reaching Pym (30 May 1643), Chaloner, Tomkins, Waller, and a few others implicated in it were placed under arrest. The Earl of Essex was directed by the House of Commons to appoint a council of war to try the prisoners, and on Friday, 30 June, the trial of Tomkins and Chaloner began at the Guildhall, before the Earl of Manchester. Both were found guilty on Monday (2 July), and the sentence of death was carried out on the following Wednesday (4 July). Chaloner was hanged in front of his own house. On the scaffold he timidly acknowledged the justice of his sentence, at the same time insisting on the pacific aims of his conspiracy. Hugh Peters attended him, and his father offered him a royal pardon, which he declined to touch. He and his friend Tomkins alone suffered capital punishment.

[See art. EDMUND WALLER (1605-1687), *infra*; Rushworth's Collections, iii. 2, 322-7; Clarendon's Hist. bk. vii. 71; Ranke's Hist. of England (English transl.), ii. 376; British Museum Coll. of Newspapers for 1643, vol. ii.; Chaloner's Speech on the Scaffold, 1643; A True Discovrie of the Great Plot, 1643.] S. L. L.

**CHALONER, JAMES (1603-1660)**, regicide and antiquary, was fourth son of Sir Thomas Chaloner the younger [q. v.], of Guisborough, Yorkshire, and Steeple Claydon in Buckinghamshire. In 1616 he entered Brasenose College, Oxford, and after leaving the university became a member of one of the inns of court. He married Ursula, daughter of Sir William Fairfax of Steeton, and his con-

nection with this family, joined with the grievances of his own, led him to adopt the side of the parliament during the civil wars. In 1645 he was elected member for Aldborough, the two gentlemen who represented that place having been disabled as royalists (*Commons' Journals*, 12 Sept. 1645). In 1647 he was appointed secretary to the committee for the reformation of the university of Oxford. In the following year he was named one of the king's judges, and was present at the first three sittings of the court, but from that time abstained, and was not there when sentence was pronounced against the king (NALSON, *Journal of the High Court of Justice*). A more congenial appointment was offered him in 1652, when his wife's cousin, Lord Fairfax, to whom the Isle of Man had been granted by the parliament, named him one of the three commissioners to settle his affairs in that island (17 Aug. 1652). In the dedication to Lord Fairfax of his 'Short Treatise of the Isle of Man,' Chaloner says: 'We gave your lordship an account in writing, as well as by word of mouth, of our proceedings there, as in relation to your revenues and the government of the country, so also what our actions were in pursuance of your pious intentions for the promotion of religion and learning.' He goes on to say that he himself 'having made a more than ordinary inquisition into the state of the island,' now offers it to his patron. The preface is dated 1 Dec. 1653, but the book itself was not published till three years later. In 1658 Chaloner was appointed governor of the island. When Monck marched against Lambert, Chaloner attempted to secure the Isle of Man for the parliamentary party, but was himself seized by the partisans of the army and imprisoned in Peel Castle (Petition of his son Edmond Chaloner, *Historical MSS. Commission*, 7th Rep. 147). 'During his imprisonment,' says the petition, 'being of a tender and weak constitution, he took his death sickness, whereof he shortly after died before the Act of Indemnity passed.' He left antiquarian manuscripts, which passed into the possession of John Vincent. Nothing is known of them after Vincent's death in 1671.

[A *Short Treatise of the Isle of Man*, digested into Six Chapters, London, 1656, published as an Appendix to King's Vale Royal of England. It was reprinted by the Manx Society in 1874, edited by the Rev. J. G. Cumming. Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, ed. Bliss, iii. 502-4; Sketch prefixed to Mr. Cumming's edition of the Treatise. The Fairfax correspondence contains two letters to Ursula Fairfax, and two to Ferdinando, Lord Fairfax. A petition dated 12 Aug. 1657 states his losses by the war, and the oppression of the king (Calendar of Domestic State Papers),

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and the fact of his imprisonment in 1659 is confirmed by the Journals of the House of Commons, 27 Dec. 1659.]

C. H. F.

CHALONER, SIR THOMAS, the elder (1521-1565), diplomatist and author, eldest son of Roger Chaloner, citizen and mercer of London, a member of an old Welsh family, was born in London, probably in the parish of St. Dunstan's-in-the-East, in 1521. It is conjectured that he studied for a time at St. John's College, Cambridge, and was also for a time at Oxford. In 1540 he accompanied Sir Thomas Knyvet's embassy to the court of Charles V, was well received by the emperor, went with him to Algiers, and very nearly lost his life on the coast of Barbary in 1541 (HAKLUYT, *Principall Navigations*, 1810, ii. 210). On his return to England Chaloner became clerk of the privy council. Somerset took him into favour at the end of Henry's reign, and in 1547 Chaloner accompanied him to Scotland, fought at the battle of Musselburgh or Pinckie, and was knighted on the battle-field. He was engaged in procuring evidence against Somerset's brother and rival, Lord Seymour, in 1548-9: was one of the witnesses against Bonner (1549) and Gardiner (1551); received a license to eat flesh in Lent (1 June 1550); was granted the lands belonging to Guisborough priory, Yorkshire (31 Oct. 1550); and on 10 May 1551 was one of the commissioners nominated to negotiate with the envoys of the queen of Scots regarding debateable land on the border of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland, proceedings which led to the treaty of Norwich (10 June). He fulfilled similar functions on 8 March 1551-2, negotiating another treaty with Scotland 24 Sept. 1552, and received from Edward VI a grant of lands at St. Bees in Cumberland in 1553. At the end of Edward's reign he went with Dr. Wotton and Sir William Pickering on an embassy to France, but was immediately recalled on Mary's accession. Although a protestant, Chaloner was not excluded from public employment under Queen Mary. He was sent to Scotland in February 1555-6; had a grant of the manor of Steeple Claydon, Buckinghamshire, 13 Aug. 1557, and on 12 Jan. 1557-8 was directed to provide transport for the English troops proceeding to Dunkirk. Further lands at Guisborough were also assigned him on 16 July 1558. On the accession of Elizabeth, Chaloner was ordered to proceed to the emperor Ferdinand at Courtray, in order to detach him from the French alliance, and, after satisfactorily performing this service, was despatched to Philip II, then residing at Brussels, in order to arrange for a peaceful treaty between the Spanish

H H

king and England. He resided in the Low Countries till February 1559-60, and in October 1561 was sent as ambassador to Spain. The custom-house officials treated him with scant respect, demanding to search all his baggage on landing. He protested against the indignity, but received little sympathy either at Madrid or London. Although personally popular in Spain, he was unable to effect any very important settlement of the questions in dispute between that country and England, and was recalled in 1564. His brother Francis wrote on 7 Aug. 1565 that Chaloner was suffering from a violent fever, and intended to leave all his property to a bastard son. He died at a great house which he had built himself in Clerkenwell on 14 Oct. 1565, and was buried on 20 Oct. in St. Paul's Cathedral. At his funeral Sir William Cecil, lord Burghley, a lifelong friend, who wrote Latin verses to his memory, was chief mourner. He married, first, Joanna (*d.* 11 Jan. 1556-7), widow of Sir Thomas Legh; and secondly, Ethelreda, daughter of Edward Frodsham of Elton, Cheshire, who survived him, remarried to Edward Brocket of Wheathampstead, Hertfordshire, and died 25 Dec. 1605. By his second wife he had an only son, Thomas [q. v.] His executors were Sir William Cecil, his second wife, and his son. Elizabeth added to his estates the manor of East Haddon, Northamptonshire, with the rectory of Cold Ashby in the same county (1561). In July 1565 he petitioned for a grant of Irish mines, but this request does not appear to have been granted.

Chaloner was the friend of Cheke, Haddon, and other learned scholars of his time. He was a poet in Latin and English, and received high commendation from Meres, Puttenham, and Henry Peacham. His printed works are as follows: 1. 'A Bok of the Office of Servantes,' 1543, translated from Gilb. Cognatus, and dedicated to Sir Henry Knyvet. 2. 'An Homilie of Saint John Chrysostome . . . newly made out of Greke into latin by master Cheke, and englished by Tho. Chaloner,' London, 1544. 3. 'The praise of Folie . . . by Erasmus, englished by Sir Thomas Chaloner, knight,' London, 1549. 4. 'De Rep. Anglorum instauranda decem libri,' with a Latin panegyric on Henry VIII (issued separately in 1600), and epigrams and epitaphs in Latin on other noted persons. Among the latter is an admirable elegy on Lady Jane Grey. To this work Burghley and other friends prefixed Latin verses in the author's praise. It was first published in 1579 by William Malim, master of St. Paul's School. The whole is in Latin verse, and was written in Spain between 25 Dec. 1562 and

21 July 1564. A woodcut of the author is prefixed.

To the first edition of the 'Mirror of Magistrates' Chaloner contributed an account of Mowbray's quarrel with Richard II, and in Park's 'Antiquæ Nugæ' (ii. 372) is a translation by him of Ovid's 'Epistolæ Heroïdum' (*Epist.* 17).

Among the Hardwicke manuscripts at Wimpole Hall is an unprinted 'Journal in Spain,' 1562, attributed to Chaloner.

Chaloner's portrait was painted by Holbein and has been engraved by Hollar. Another portrait, with some half-legible Latin verses on it, belonging to Mrs. M. G. Edgar, was exhibited in the Exhibition of National Portraits at South Kensington in 1866 (*Notes and Queries*, 3rd ser. x. 28).

[Cooper's *Athenæ Cantab.* i. 235-7; *Biog. Brit.* (Kippis); *Rymer's Federa*, xv. passim; *Cal. State Papers (Dom.)*, 1547-80; Haslewood's *Mirror for Magistrates*; *Brit. Mus. Cat.*; *Manchyn's Diary (Camd. Soc.)*, pp. 123, 404; *Granger's Biog. Hist.*; *Tanner's Bibl. Brit.*; *Notes and Queries*, 4th ser. i. 31; *Froude's History*; *Peacham's Compleat Gentleman (1562)*, p. 73.]  
S. L. L.

CHALONER, SIR THOMAS, the younger (1561-1615), naturalist, only son of Sir Thomas Chaloner the elder [q. v.], and Ethelreda Frodsham, was born in 1561. His father died in 1565. His mother marrying Edward Brocket (son of Sir John Brocket, knt., of Wheathampstead, Hertfordshire), he owed his education chiefly to his father's friend, William Cecil, lord Burghley, at St. Paul's School and at Magdalen College, Oxford, where he was esteemed for his poetical abilities, but took no degree. In 1579 he wrote the dedication to Lord Burghley of his father's poetical works. He began his travels in 1580, and became, especially in Italy, intimate with the learned men of the time. He returned home three years after to become a favourite at court as a travelled gentleman, and about this time married Elizabeth, daughter of his father's old friend, William Fleetwood, recorder of London. In 1584 he published 'A Short Discourse of the most rare Vertue of Nitre,' London, 4to, b.l., a practical work in advance of the age. In 1588 he had the teaching, at Christ Church, Oxford, of Robert Dudley, son of the Earl of Leicester, and was knighted while serving with the English army in France in 1591. In 1596-7 he was again abroad, and his letters, chiefly from Florence, to the Earl of Essex and Anthony Bacon [q. v.] still exist in the Lambeth Library. He was exceedingly fond of natural history and philosophical in-

quiry, and showed unusual method and reasoning in his experiments. While at Puteoli he visited the pope's alum works, and noticed the similarity of the surrounding vegetation to that of some parts of Guisborough on his own Yorkshire estate, and on his return, about 1600, made the discovery of alum-stone at Belman Bank, Guisborough, and opened there the first alum mines in England. Workmen from Rochelle were brought over to the work. The Yorkshire tradition is that they came over hidden in casks, and that the pope fulminated an anathema against Chaloner and them, copies of which are given in Grose's 'Antiquities' and Young's 'Whitby,' but the text is verbatim the curse of Ernulfus in 'Tristram Shandy.' In James I's time Chaloner's works became very profitable, the king having prohibited the importation of foreign alum. Under Charles I the crown claimed them as royal mines, and they were granted to Sir Peter Pindar for 12,500*l.* a year to the king and 2,240*l.* to the Earl of Mulgrave and another, and after paying eight hundred workmen still produced an immense profit. In 1592 Chaloner was made justice of the peace for Buckinghamshire. Towards the end of Elizabeth's reign, at the instance of Sir Robert Cecil, afterwards earl of Salisbury [q. v.], Chaloner went into Scotland, where he became so great a favourite with King James that even Sir Francis Bacon sought his recommendation. He attended James on his journey to take possession of the English throne, and on the arrival at York headed the deputation to the mayor. Queen Anne gave him the management of her private estate, and the king appointed him governor of the king's eldest son Henry in 1603. He had to form the household into what the king called 'a courtly college,' and no gentleman could take the prince out without his consent. For his services as the head official of the 420 servants of the prince his 'wages and diet' were 66*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* a year. In 1605 he attended the prince to Oxford—Magdalen College being chosen out of respect to him—and there, along with forty-two noblemen, gentlemen, and esquires, he was made a master of arts. In 1605 he was entrusted with the repairs of Kenilworth Castle, the planting of gardens, restoration of fish-ponds, game preserves, &c. In 1607 he and a Dane and two Dutchmen showed 'rare fireworks' on the occasion of a Twelfth-night masque at court. In 1610, when the young prince was created Prince of Wales and Duke of Cornwall, and Chaloner was made his chamberlain, the scheme of M. Villeforest to extract silver from lead was entrusted by the prince to him and Sir William Godolphin for trial.

In 1608 he recommended the making of water-pipes of earthenware, of which he asserted eight thousand could be made in a day, safer and stronger than metal ones. On Pette's trial for insufficiency as a shipwright, the king chose Chaloner to make the experiments on the powers and capacities of ships. The royal New-year's gifts to him were of high value. In 1605 his portion was 30 oz. of gilt plate, and at the christening of one of his children he received '168 oz. of gilt plate of all kinds.' The public records mention a few grants to him: in 1604, 100*l.* a year in lands of the duchy of Lancaster and 36*l.* a year in fee-farm of exchequer lands; and subsequently part of the manor of Clothall, Hertfordshire. John Owen addressed one of his 'Epigrams' to him; and Isaac Wake, in his 'Rex Platonicus,' Oxford, 1607, has a poem on him.

By his first wife, who died in 1603, he had eleven children: William, created a baronet on 20 July 1620, who died unmarried at Scanderoon (the title became extinct in 1681); Edward, Thomas [q. v.], James, the regicide [q. v.], and three other sons and four daughters. By his second wife, who died in 1615, Judith, daughter of William Blunt of London, he had four sons and three daughters. He was a great benefactor to the grammar school of St. Bees, giving it in 1608 a good building site, with timber, stone, and forty tons of sea coal, with an acre and a half of adjoining land. There are two Chaloner scholarships still existing.

Chaloner left estates at Guisborough, Yorkshire, and Steeple Claydon, Buckinghamshire, and died on 17 Nov. 1615. In the chancel of Chiswick Church, Middlesex, is a monument of alabaster having his effigies and his lady's, with an inscribed plate. This monument makes his birth in 1561, and not 1559 as in Wood and Tanner.

[Stowe's Annals, p. 895; Wood's Athenæ Oxon. i. 398, ii. 376, iii. 258; Wood's Fasti, p. 173; Biog. Brit. (Kippis), iii. 419; Childrey's Brit. Baconica, p. 162; Bacon's Works, iv. 557; Camden's Brit. p. 766; Fuller's Worthies (Yorkshire), p. 186; Rymer's Fœdera, xvi. 545; Pat. 1 Jac. I, p. 23, m. 10; Winwood's Memorials, ii. 87; Sidney Papers, ii. 307; Dr. Birch's Prince Henry, pp. 32, 97, 203; Dr. Birch's Queen Elizabeth, ii. 150, 182, 228, 236, 269, 304; Grose's Antiquities, vol. iv.; Doran's Princes of Wales, pp. 356, 377, 379; Ord's Cleveland, pp. 221, 223, 291; Cal. State Papers, Dom. Ser. 1603-10; Nichols's Progresses, i. 79, 553, 599, 602, ii. 252, 373; Kennet's Collections, Harl. MS. 983; Hutchinson's Cumberland, ii. 39; Peacham's Compleat Gentleman, c. 10, p. 93; Clutterbuck's Hist. and Antiq. of Hertfordshire, ii. 361.] J. W.-G.

**CHALONER, THOMAS** (1595-1661), regicide, third son of Sir Thomas Chaloner the younger [q. v.], was born at Steeple Claydon, Buckinghamshire, in 1595. He matriculated at Exeter College, Oxford, when sixteen, but took no degree, and left early to be educated by his father. He returned from foreign travel a 'perfect gentleman,' but with ideas opposed to monarchy, and feelings embittered by the seizure of his father's Yorkshire alum mines [see **CHALONER, SIR THOMAS**, the younger]. Settling on the paternal estate at Guisborough, he was elected Burgess for Richmond, Yorkshire, in 1645, and being a fluent speaker he became one of the strongest opponents of the royal government. The same year he was a witness against Archbishop Laud at his trial. In the civil war, after the money question had been settled with the Scots in 1646, he made his famous speech on the reading of the Scottish papers respecting the disposal of the king's person. Chaloner opposed all the Scottish encroachments on what he called the 'English rights,' and published on the subject 'An Answer to the Scotch Papers delivered in the House of Commons,' London, 1646, 4to; 'An Answer to several objections . . . against Mr. T. Chaloner's Speech,' London, 1646, 4to; 'The Justification of a safe and well-grounded Answer to the Scottish Papers,' London, 1646, 4to; and 'XII Resolves concerning the disposell of the person of the King,' London, 1646, 4to. Books and pamphlets against his views were numerous in 1646-7. In 1647 he and Colonel Temple were made commissioners of parliament to transact affairs in the province of Munster for several months. In 1648 he was one of King Charles's judges, attended sixteen of the meetings, and although he was absent on the last day, when sentence was given, he signed the death-warrant. In 1651 he was made councillor of state and master of the mint. In 1653, at the violent dissolution of the Long parliament, Cromwell called Chaloner a drunkard. On the death of Oliver,

and the proclamation of Richard Cromwell (1658), Chaloner, being elected to the parliament of 1658-9 for Scarborough, became a zealous 'rumper,' and when this parliament was turned out in 1659, he was committed to prison by Fleetwood. About Christmas he was released by the reinstated Rump parliament, and in January following he was again made councillor of state. Wood speaks of him: 'This Thomas Chaloner, who was as far from being a puritan or a presbyterian as the east is from the west, for he was a boon companion, was of Henry Marten's gang, was of the natural religion, and loved to enjoy the comfortable importances of this life without any regard of laying up for a wet day, which at last he wanted.' During the Long parliament the rights of the original proprietors of the alum mines were restored; but other mines having been discovered those of Guisborough fell into comparative disuse. In 1659 he published 'A Speech containing a Plea for Monarchy,' London, 4to, which shows that he was beginning to 'chop round' with the times, but too late. His 'Speech' was, moreover, full of qualifications. On the Restoration, Chaloner surrendered himself in obedience to the royal proclamation, but he was excepted as to both life and estate from the Act of Oblivion. Although the Earl of Southampton objected to this breach of faith, Sir Heneage Finch, the king's solicitor-general, overruled him, and held Chaloner to be specially culpable. Chaloner immediately fled to the Low Countries, where he died, at Middelburg in Zeeland, in 1661.

The only trace of his family relations is in a letter from J. W. of York to Thomas Chaloner, M.P. Richmond, 1646, giving an account of the sudden death, from drinking too much sack, of a gentleman, 'your wife's brother, Mr. Sothabie.'

[Noble's Regicides, i. 138; Ord's Cleveland, Appendix, p. 601; Ludlow's Memorials, iii. 43; Rushworth's Collections, pt. iv. vol. ii. p. 816; Wood's Athenæ Oxon. iii. 531; and Chaloner's Works.] J. W.-G.

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