

SIR THOMAS WARNER  
*PIONEER OF THE WEST INDIES*  
*A chronicle of his family by*  
AUCHER WARNER



SIR THOMAS WARNER

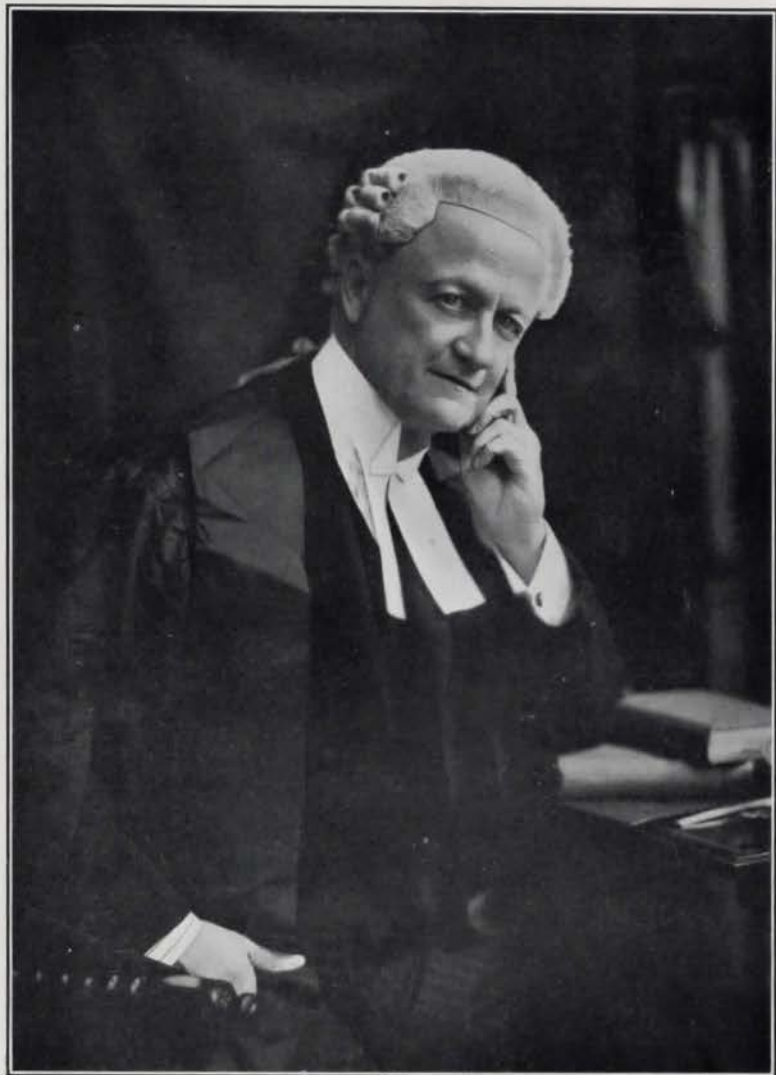
To

Algeron Aspinall  
from

The Author

Xmas 1933.

Al Warner



THE AUTHOR

[Photo, Elliott & Fry

# SIR THOMAS WARNER

*PIONEER OF THE WEST INDIES*

A chronicle of his family by  
**AUCHER WARNER**

*formerly Attorney-General and K.C., Trinidad*

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY THE  
RT. HON. VISCOUNT ELIBANK



*London*

THE WEST INDIA COMMITTEE

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DEDICATED  
TO MY MOTHER

1933

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## PREFACE

THE object of the writer has been to collect from reliable sources all that is known of Sir Thomas Warner, the founder of the British West Indian Colonies in 1623, and of his forebears and descendants, and to arrange the material collected in a form that will not only serve as a family record, but may also prove of interest to the general reader to whom a story of seventeenth-century adventure, and of Empire expansion, may still appeal.

The tables of descent, which occupy considerable space, will show any descendants of Sir Thomas their relationship to other descendants, and may also serve to supply evidence from which the connection of other branches of the family may be established.

I have to acknowledge my indebtedness to the authorities quoted, of whom a complete list is set out in the Appendix, and to the valuable libraries of the Society of Genealogists, the Royal Empire Society and the West India Committee, and especially to Vere Langford Oliver, author of *The History of the Island of Antigua*, and to Jas. A. Williamson, author of *The Caribbee Islands under the Proprietary Patents*, to whose exhaustive research I owe much.

To my friends Edward Salmon, Editor of *United Empire*, and Sir Algernon Aspinall, C.M.G., C.B.E., Secretary of the West India Committee,

## PREFACE

author of *West Indian Tales of Old*, I am indebted for much kind advice and suggestion, and for reading these pages. To my kinsman, Oliver Warner, I am indebted for his valuable help and advice in the business of printing, and to Mr. E. E. Wilkinson, Librarian of the Colonial Office, for his courtesy in supplying me with copies of Sir Thomas's letters of 1636.

I have to thank the West India Committee for the loan of the blocks of the Essex Ring, and all those who have helped in the production of the book, especially my brother Raymond.

A. WARNER.

## INTRODUCTION

BY

THE RT. HON. VISCOUNT ELIBANK

I GLADLY respond to the invitation of my old friend, Mr. Aucher Warner, K.C., whom I knew for many years in Trinidad as Attorney-General, to write an introduction to his book on the life of his ancestor, Sir Thomas Warner, Pioneer of the West Indies. I myself spent eight interesting and pleasant years administering two of His Majesty's West Indian Colonies, and I now have the honour to hold the position of President of the West India Committee. It is, therefore, a special pleasure to me to write this foreword to a work which brings out so vividly the spirit of courage and tenacity of the early settlers and which is so descriptive of the struggles and difficulties connected with the laying of the foundation of these Colonies. These difficulties and dangers are well illustrated by two letters from Sir Thomas Warner to King Charles I, which are published in their original form for the first time, and constitute a special feature of the book. They also show the resourceful and determined character and tactful personality of the writer of them. Sir Thomas Warner was a man of ancient lineage, and came of that fine old English stock which has done so much to build up our Empire. Unlike some of his contemporaries, who sought only gold and precious minerals as a reward for their



## INTRODUCTION

adventures and hardships, Warner's object in undertaking, in the year 1624, what was then a long and risky voyage, was to create a permanent settlement in the Islands. His definite aim was to build up a new British centre of Overseas Settlement and of agricultural development and trading. The measure of success that he attained is graphically described in this book. It is very notable that through his direct descendants, Warner has continued until the present day to be associated in name and administration with the Colonies he founded under such troublous conditions three hundred years ago. By profession he was a soldier, and in his early career a member of the Bodyguard of James I of England. Many of his descendants, however, believing evidently in the maxim that 'the pen is mightier than the sword,' embraced the more peaceful profession of the Law, so that we find successive generations of able and distinguished men bearing the honoured name of Warner, holding high legal and administrative offices in these West Indian Colonies, and thus carrying on the work so courageously and ably begun by their great and famous ancestor. We are much indebted to Mr. Aucher Warner for giving us such interesting glimpses of the lives of the early settlers of these Colonies, and of their differences and troubles with the Caribs, who were the aboriginal inhabitants of these Islands. Mr. Warner has also added interest to his narrative by raising a some-

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what controversial issue as to the authenticity of the famous Essex ring at present reposing upon Queen Elizabeth's monument in the Henry VII Chapel in Westminster Abbey. The arguments with which he supports his contention that the so-called 'Warner' ring was the actual ring given to the Earl of Essex by Queen Elizabeth, are worthy of study. Mr. Warner also deals with the original causes of the struggles between the French and the British in these Islands. In these days when people are too apt to forget the trials and tribulations suffered by our forefathers in building up our Colonial Empire, a service has been rendered in bringing afresh to our memories the troubles and difficulties and sacrifices that were involved in settling and developing these beautiful and valuable possessions of the Crown.

ELIBANK.

1933.

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## CHAPTER I

Origin and Early History—Name probably Anglo-Saxon—Warners an Ancient Manor at Great Waltham in Essex—Edmund Warner Lord of the Manor 1360—Inquisitions Post Mortem—Visitations of Heralds, Records of Parish Church—Of Robert Warner and the several branches of his descendants

**W**ARNERS was the name of an old Manor in the parish of Great Waltham, formerly also known as Much Waltham, the largest parish in the

### ERRATA

- page 28, line 7. 'Pedigree, Part II. B' *in lieu of* 'Pedigree, Part II, C.'
- page 56, line 29. 'St. Christopher' *in lieu of* 'St. Christopher's.'
- page 117, line 10. 'Effigium' *in lieu of* 'Effugium.'
- page 133, line 29. 'And what should they' *in lieu of* 'How little ye.'
- page 160, line 16. 'Brodrick' *in lieu of* 'Broderick.'
- page 160, — *Under* 'Issue of F. A. Warner' *add* '1 daughter, Sydney Jeanetta, b. 1890. O.B.E.'
- page 165, line 22. 'Hasted's' *in lieu of* 'Halstead's.'

Pedigree, Part II.

*After name* Catherine Jane Mathew *read* 'daughter of General Sir Charles Shipley.'

*In last line delete* 'Garcia'.

lying about two miles from the Church, beyond How Street on the left-hand side of the road from Waltham to Dunmow. It continued in that family till it was purchased in 1536 by Lord Rich, who previously had obtained a grant of the Priory of



## CHAPTER I

Origin and Early History—Name probably Anglo-Saxon—  
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Edmund Warner Lord of the Manor 1360—Inquisitions Post  
Mortem—Visitations of Heralds, Records of Parish Church—  
Of Robert Warner and the several branches of his descendants

**W**ARNERS was the name of an old Manor in the parish of Great Waltham, formerly also known as Much Waltham, the largest parish in the County of Essex. It lies about six miles north of Chelmsford on the road to Dunmow. In Saxon times Great Waltham constituted a division of the county known as a Half Hundred, and, together with seven other parishes, with which it borders, was in the possession of Asgar and Unwin. Later, these were held by Geoffrey de Magnaville and under him by Hubert Walter, Turchill and Roger. The whole was afterwards divided into seven Manors of which Warners was one, the others being Chatham Hall, Hide Hall, South House Manor, Langleys, Rectory Manor, and Bullochs. Edmund Warner held the Manor of Warners under Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, in 1360, and resided in the Mansion House. The property is described as being the fifth part of a fee, and as lying about two miles from the Church, beyond How Street on the left-hand side of the road from Waltham to Dunmow. It continued in that family till it was purchased in 1536 by Lord Rich, who previously had obtained a grant of the Priory of



Little Lees with the land and domains belonging to that house, which was divided from the manor of Warners by the road. Of these domains, Lord Rich formed a park about four miles in circumference which extended from this parish into those of Lees and Felsted. It was called Little Lee Park, and along the southern side of it a pleasant green is called Little Lee Green. This Manor of Warners with Lees Priory was enjoyed by the posterity of Lord Rich till, upon the partition of the whole inheritance of that peer, they were, with the other estates, allotted to Charles Montague, Earl of Manchester, whose son and successor sold them to the Guardians of Edmund Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham. The Manor subsequently passed through different hands and recently to Guy's Hospital, London.

This account is given at some length, as it not only tells of the origin of the Manor of Warners and of what became of it, but includes the names of places which come into the story of the family.

Little Lees Priory, now known as Leighs Priory, is supposed to have been part of the guerdon given to Lord Rich by Henry VIII for his aid in dissolving the larger monasteries. Something like a hundred manors were the further reward for his services.

The Manor of Warners took its name from 'the ancientist possessors of it upon record, the Warners, who had also the Manor of Boys otherwise spelt Bois in Halstead. It is sometimes called Warners

alias Wallis's with Asteleyens or Old Warners. From this family are descended the Warners of Parham and elsewhere in Suffolk.

'John Warner, Esq., who died 18 Henry VI, married Joane, sister and heir of John Maldon, by which he had John his son and heir then aged eight years. He died 13 Edward IV, holding the Manor of Waleys and 200 acres of arable, 10 meadow, 16 pasture at Great and Little Waltham, Plasse, High Ester and Good Ester of Elizabeth of England as of her Manor of Great Waltham. John his son was then nineteen years old.

'Henry Warner, Esq., probably son of the last, died 21st March 1504, holding the Manor of Warners of his Manor of Great Waltham. He held the Manor of Warners alias Warleys and 10 messuages, 200 acres of arable, 40 of meadow and 100 shillings rent with appurtenances in Great Waltham and 6 messuages, 130 acres of arable, 30 of meadow, 60 of pasture, 30 of wood called Astelyns, Philips and Newlands in Great Waltham of Sir Richard Rich, Lord Rich of his manor of Great Waltham by the yearly rent of £3 for all services worth £3 6s. 8d. per annum, also the Manor of Bureas alias Burches of the King in Capite.

'John Warner who was 19 in 1504 died 27th September 1554, and his next heir was his brother Henry, then aged upwards of 60.

'Henry Warner of Finchingfield died on the 4th March 1556, leaving no male issue.'



SIR THOMAS WARNER

An abstract of the Inquisition held upon his death is here set out, as showing the procedure of the day in such cases, and as affording an account of the misfortunes which befell him.<sup>1</sup>

*HENRY WARNER, ESQ.*

'Inquisition taken at .....ford in Co Essex 2 September 4 & 5 Phil & Mary 1557 before the Escheator thereby the oaths of 16 jurors (named)

'The said jurors say on oath that the said Henry Warner was seised in his demesne, as of fee, of the Manors of Burcesse alias Burches with appurtenances in T..... and of 2 messuages, 20 acres of arable, 20 acres of meadow, 60 acres of pasture called Old Warners in Great Waltham, Playshye, High Ester, and Good Ester, [and other lands described].'

Being so seized the said Henry made his will at Fynchingfeld on 1 March 1556, 3 & 4 Philip & Mary, wherein he described himself as Henry Warner of Fynchyngfeld, Co. Essex, gentleman, and states:

'Whereas I am indebted unto the Kynges and Quenes highness for the syning of Lyverye and unto dyvers and sundrie other persons in great sommes of monye as dothe appere by dyvers meanes and evil Counsell of one William Emsam in whom heretobefore I have put all my trust do by this my last will give and bequeathe will and devyse unto Robert Kemp esquyer my good and singuler

A CHRONICLE OF HIS FAMILY

frynde in whome I have founde muche comforte and helpe in the tyme of my greate necessitie all my landes and tenements and all other my heriditaments whatsoever they be sett lying and being in the Townes parishes of Playshe Muche Waltham Thundersley within the Countie of Essex and elsewhere to his sole use, he paying my debts to the King & Queen and all others.

'Afterwards Henry Warner aforesaid died at Fynchingfield 4th March 3 & 4 Philip and Mary (1556/7) and Thomas Nudigate, son and heir of a certain Ann Warner, Elizabeth Thomas and Margery Thomas, daughters of Thomasine Warner deceased, are heirs of the said Henry Warner, and are all aged 21 and more.'

These seem to have succeeded to but a barren inheritance, as the Inquisition establishes that all Henry's property was left to Robert Kemp. This Kemp is on record as owning property at Fynchingfield at the time.

As to the cause of Henry Warner's troubles, the Inquisition is the sole source of information; he was probably a sufferer of the unsettled times in which he lived, of which it is recorded with reference to the neighbouring county of Norfolk and to the great feuds existing between the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk that 'the county was full of private strifes, land snatching and ward lifting were common, and it stood right wildly without a mean may be that justice be had.'<sup>2</sup>



The reference is to the year 1450, but the conditions continued to exist long after.

Where Henry Warner is buried is not known. Among some brasses in the Church of Mildenhall, a small town near the Cambridge border, there is a brass of one Henry Warner, who is represented in armour, with headpiece removed and a ruff round his neck. As to who that Henry was, there is no record.<sup>3</sup>

Here may be given some account of the origin and history of Inquisitions Post Mortem and of another institution, the Heraldic Visitations of the Counties, as these two together form the chief foundation of English Genealogy of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Inquisitions Post Mortem were introduced in the 3rd year of Henry III (1219) and were continued to the 20th year of Charles I (1645), when they ceased in consequence of the abolition of tenure of land by Knight Service. An Inquisition was held on the death of every tenant in capite, that is to say, of one who held his land direct from the crown and not of a mesne lord. The Inquisition was taken by an officer called the Escheator, in pursuance of a writ directing him to hold an inquiry, by a jury sworn to return a verdict upon the following:—

1. Of what lands the tenant died seised.
2. The service by which the lands were held, and their yearly value.
3. Date of tenant's death.
4. The age and name of the next heir.

Heraldic Visitations began about 1530, and were continued to 1686. They were made every twenty or thirty years, and were discontinued upon the abolition of the office of Lord High Constable. It was the duty of the Heralds to satisfy themselves of the title of all those who claimed to be 'armiger,' that is, entitled to bear arms. A shield could not be assumed at pleasure. To parade a shield without a title was as though a man in these days should pretend to be an earl or a baronet.

The Visitations had been instituted principally for the protection of the King's revenue, and to secure to him the guardianship and privileges incident to the control of the property of minors, but the exercise of these rights bore heavily upon landowners, and also the Heralds' inquiries were looked upon as prying for purposes of taxation: so that by the time of their discontinuance, the visitations had come to be generally regarded with disfavour in the counties.

Both John Warner of Warners, son of John le Warner, and his son John, married heiresses, and so added to their property, the former by his marriage with Joane Maldon acquiring Maldon, Packlesham, and Dines property; the latter by his marriage with Elizabeth Helion acquiring Helion, Swinborne, Boutetort, and Gernon property, together with the right in each case to quarter the arms of their wives.

'Packlesham also called Pahelsham or de Pahelsham and Pahesham is a parish in the Hundred of



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Rochford in Essex, forming a kind of peninsula, having in the East Wallasea Island. Pahol or Pagel seems to have been the name of some Saxon holder. Ingulf gave the Manor to the Church of St. Peter at Westminster 29th December 1066. Under the Abbey it was held by families surnamed de Maldon and Warner. John Warner of Warners Hall in Great Waltham, son of Joane, sister of Maldon, held in fee farm in 1439, and his son John Warner in 1444, being then succeeded by his son John Warner, who at the time of his decease in 1473 held the Manor of Pakelsham alias Church Hall and other lands referred to, of the Abbott of Westminster.'

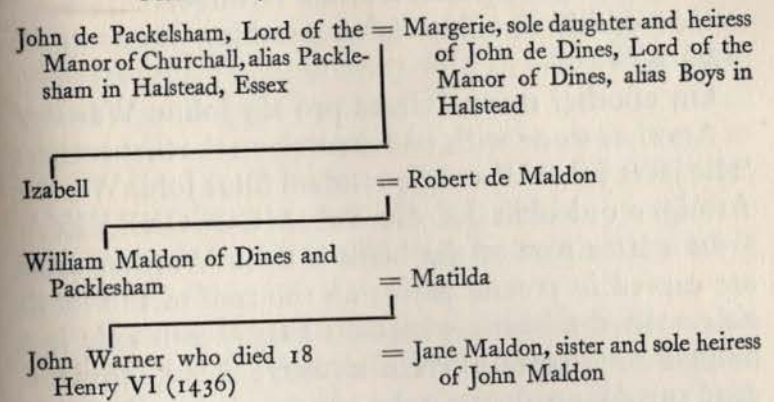
It is of interest to note that as far back as 1439 Warners held lands as direct tenants of Westminster Abbey, and, incidentally, that in those times, when travel was difficult, men generally married in their own neighbourhood.

The relationship of these families is shown in the table of descent on opposite page. They are all of great antiquity. Further references to them appear in Chapter IV.

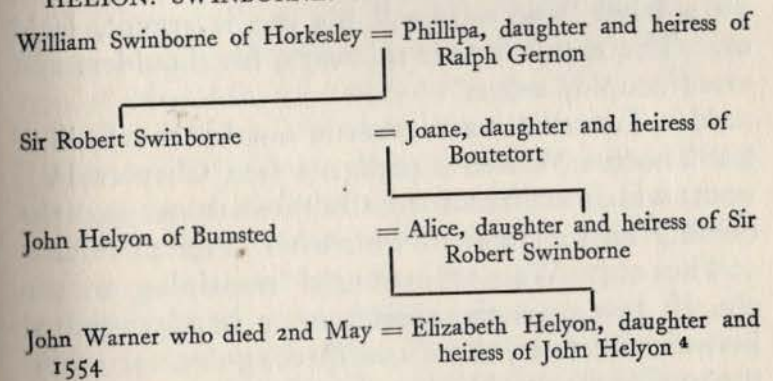
Valuable evidence of the early history of the family is afforded by the records of the Parish Church at Great Waltham. This church, like so many others in England, has suffered from so-called 'restoration.' Ancient monuments and stones have been removed, and old brasses have been carried off by 'collectors,' but a record of the monuments formerly in the church has been preserved in an

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### MALDON, PACKLESHAM AND DINES



### HELION: SWINBORNE: BOUTETORT AND GERON



old manuscript book of about the year 1729 of Mr. Samuel Tufnell of Langleys, from which the following extracts were made by A. Bingham Wright, Vicar of Stabbing, Chelmsford:

'In the South aisle of the Church there were three stones belonging to the Warners.



'Orate pro aia Johis Warner Armigeri'

Out of his mouth a label speaking these words  
'ολος τω θεω.'

On another stone, 'Orate pro aia Johne Warner.'

Another stone with one escutch on the first corner:

'Hic jacet Johes Warner quondam filius Johis Warner  
Armiger qui obiit IX die Feb MCCCCXXXIX.'

In a later part of the book is this: 'Warners arms are carved in several places on the roof of the south aisle. In the north window of the north aisle is a helmet or chapeau, crest a man's head, crown'd cap, turn'd up on ye top, or, tuft arg. From ye helm is a shield pend't having on it Warner's arms on a label "ολος τω θεω," his cap is argent, fac'd or. The man's face is sideways, his shoulders and arms coup'd, azure.'

Mr. Tufnell's note is borne out by the Roll of Sir Thomas Warner's pedigree (see Chapter IV), upon which are recorded the three stones and the carving on the roof, to which Mr. Tufnell refers.

The only Warner memorial remaining in the church to-day is the shield, or, a bend engrailed between six roses, three and three, gules, carved on the roof of the south aisle referred to above. On the roof of the same aisle, there is also the Everard shield. It is supposed that this south aisle was a Lady Chapel, built by the Warners and Everards who were connected by marriage. There is a fine tomb of the Everards, two recumbent figures in marble, in good preservation, with two children

in marble at the foot, one on each side. The Everards were the former owners of Langleys, one of the original manors comprised in Great Waltham; it had been bought by them in 1529. In the parish register there is a record that, on the wall over this tomb, there had hung a helmet of the Warners, which had been stolen in 1853 when the church was being restored. The nail from which it hung is still in place on the wall.

The name is preserved in an old farm-house, on land known as 'Warner's Farm,' and so described on the map to which reference has already been made.

No record exists to-day of where the Manor House stood, nor is there any contemporary description of what Morant refers to as the Manor House held by Edmund Warner in 1360, and also as Warner's Hall, but the Rector of the parish writing in 1894 speaks of the farm as follows: 'I believe that the present house is the original manor house as it is certainly of considerable age and is situated in the position you would expect the old Manor house to occupy.' The Rector's surmise is certainly consistent with Morant's location of the property bought by Lord Rich, as 'lying about two miles from the Church on the left-hand side of the road from Waltham to Dunmow.' The old oak beams of the kitchen and in other parts of the house are evidence of its antiquity. The probability is, that, when Lord Rich built Leighs Priory, the old



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Manor House fell into decay, and that the farmhouse is all that remains of it.

With reference to the name itself—whether le Warner or Warner—the name Jack-le-Warner appears in the Norfolk Hundred Rolls in 1273 and Walter le Warner in the Patent Rolls of 15 Edward 111, and there is a record about 1280 of a grant by John Gernon to St. John of Colchester, of land which Richard le Warner held of him. In the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles a monk of the name is mentioned. The first recorded owner of Warners is referred to by Morant as Edmund Warner, not le Warner.

The probability is, that the name, like Packlesham, Maldon, Gernon and others with whom the family had intermarried, is Anglo-Saxon, and that the prefix was adopted at some time, as in many other cases, as a concession to Norman custom, and subsequently came to be dropped. As to any relationship between Edmund Warner who held the Manor in 1360 and John le Warner from whom the pedigree is traced, it may be noted that Morant, in stating the names of the holders of the Manor in succession, passes directly from the former to the latter; thus apparently regarding them as one and the same family, and treating the latter as holding in the right of the former.

Here a departure is made from the line of descent hitherto followed, for the purpose of introducing the story of one of the name who comes from the Eastern Counties, and so seems to fall within the

## A CHRONICLE OF HIS FAMILY

category of those of whom Robert Warner is stated by Morant and Burke to have been the common ancestor.

### *SIR EDWARD WARNER, 1511-65*

Sir Edward Warner was born in 1511. He was the elder son of Henry Warner of Besthorpe, Norfolk, by his wife Mary, daughter of John Blenerhasset. He died without leaving surviving issue, on the 7th November 1565, and was succeeded in his estate by his younger brother, Sir Robert Warner. He is buried in Plumstead Church at the upper end of the church, where there is a monumental inscription to his memory.

Sir Edward first comes into notice as Lieutenant of the Tower of London. The date of his appointment is not known, but it is on record that he was removed from his office on the 28th July 1553 by Queen Mary, upon her accession to the throne, on account of his having fallen under suspicion of being in sympathy with the claims of Lady Jane Grey. He was committed to the Tower, but by January 1554 he seems to have succeeded in clearing himself of the charge, and was released at that time, upon his finding security for his good behaviour. In 1561, not long after her accession, he was re-appointed Lieutenant to the Tower by Queen Elizabeth, and to him was committed the custody of Lady Catherine Seymour, a sister of Lady Jane Grey, who had married William, Earl of Hertford, in 1560.



Lady Catherine had fallen under the royal displeasure, because of her marriage, which had been kept secret, coming to the knowledge of the Queen through the birth of a son. At the time of the Countess's committal to the Tower her husband was absent from England, being engaged in the wars in the Netherlands.

Sir Edward's instructions were to the effect that 'Many persons of high degree were known to have been privy to the marriage' and he was ordered to urge Lady Catherine to a full confession of the truth. On the 22nd August, however, he reported to the Queen that he had questioned Lady Catherine and that she had confessed to nothing. Afterwards upon the return of the Earl of Hertford from the wars, he also was committed to the Tower, with strict orders that he and his wife were to be kept apart; 'but after a time by the persuasion or corruption of their keepers the doors of their prison were no longer secured against each other and the birth of a second child rekindled the anger of Elizabeth.' The Lieutenant, however, succeeded in avoiding dismissal, for, soon afterwards, in 1563, it was to his custody that we find the Bishops, who were deposed by Elizabeth for refusing to acknowledge her supremacy of the Church, were committed.<sup>5</sup>

In concluding this reference to Sir Edward Warner, it is of interest to note some contemporary events of which the Tower of London is the melancholy scene.

In 1553 Lady Jane Grey, then only eighteen, and her father-in-law the Duke of Northumberland, perished on the scaffold, the former the innocent victim of the ambition of the latter in his attempt to set her upon the throne for his own ends and so exclude both Henry VIII's daughters Mary and Elizabeth from the succession.

Elizabeth herself was long detained by Mary in the Tower, her fate trembling in the balance. Those were days in which the execution of possible claimants to the throne was regarded almost as a high act of state, for the purpose of 'quieting the succession,' and thus Elizabeth stood in special peril, it being considered that her removal would have been a great blow to the Reformation.

In the Record Office there is preserved an account of Sir Edward Warner's, a 'tally' as it was called, detailing disbursements made by him as Lieutenant of the Tower, for 'Dyett' and other services provided for persons in his custody. In accordance with the custom of the day this account is on a parchment roll, in this case many feet in length, and includes the names of the Duke of Northumberland and many other well-known persons.

Sir Edward Warner's lieutenancy of the Tower certainly covered a period of great historic interest.

To return to the line of descent, the issue of Henry, the eldest son of John, having died out in the male line, the succession passes to his younger brother Robert, who, as is stated by Morant, 'went



into Suffolk and became the ancestor of the several houses of ye Warners now subsisting in Suffolk.'

Robert married Christian, daughter of John Seckford of Seckford Hall, within a mile of Woodbridge, where the Seckford family flourished from the time of Edward I to that of Charles I.

Sir Thomas Seckford was Master of Bequests in the reign of Elizabeth, and was a great benefactor of the town, where he built the Shire Hall about 1575, and the Seckford Almshouses, which he endowed.

Robert had a son, Robert of Wingfield, who married twice, and died in 1541. The name of his first wife is not recorded, but by her he had William of Wingfield, his eldest son, and Robert of Winfarding, in the County of Norfolk, his second son.

The name of William, the elder son's wife, is not recorded, but he had a son, Robert, who married Christian, daughter of Mrs. Powle of Wingfield, and they had a son Francis who married Mary, daughter of Mrs. Godfrey of Wingfield, and had two sons, Francis and John. Of Robert of Winfarding, the second son of the first family, all that is known is that he married and had a son, but the name of neither his wife nor his son is recorded. Here we must leave the Wingfield and Winfarding branch, the elder branch of the family.

By his second wife, Joan, Robert of Wingfield had Francis of Framlingham and Anthony of Stradbrook. Anthony, the younger son, married Eliza

Moyster, and died without male issue. He had one daughter Dorothy, who married Edmond Pooley, and died in 1625.

Francis, the elder son, married first Elizabeth Appleyard, and secondly Mary Rouse. By his first wife Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Robert Appleyard, he acquired the right to quarter the arms of Appleyard, Everard and Thornbee. By his second wife, daughter and co-heiress of Sir Edmond Rouse, those of Rouse, Roide, Spriggey, Philips, Erpingham, le Wafre and Hubberd. By his first wife Francis had two sons, Robert the first son, who died without issue, and William, who married Margaret Gernigan or Jerningham, and had issue three sons, Robert of Cratfield, John, and Thomas. John died without issue; Robert, the eldest son, married Elizabeth, daughter of Alexander Courthop of Cranbroke, Kent, and had issue.

Of Thomas's elder brother, Robert of Cratfield, and of his grandfather's issue by his second marriage, an account will be given at a later stage (see Chapter V). It is Thomas and his descendants whose fortunes we now proceed to follow.



## CHAPTER II

### SIR THOMAS WARNER

Thomas Warner of the Parham and Framlingham Family—The 'Old Hall,' Parham, the Parish Church, its History and the Iconoclasts—An Old Gateway—Warner with Roger North in his attempt to establish a Settlement in Guiana—Warner's Enterprise in the Caribbean Islands—Same East Anglian stock as Settlers of the American Colonies—Early hardships of Settlers—Conflict with Caribs, French and Spaniards—Settlement of other Islands—Warner first Governor of the Carib Islands under Letters Patent—Necessity for a Patron at Court: Lord Carlisle—Thomas Warner Knighted—Commissioners of Plantations—Development of the Islands under his Governorship—His Death in 1648-9—What he achieved—His Character—His Epitaph

OF the date of Thomas Warner's birth we have no record. He was born about the year 1575, certainly not later.

As to the position and circumstances of the family at the time, it would seem that the Essex possessions or such of them as came to Henry of Finchingfield had disappeared in the misfortunes which overtook him. Of what Robert 'who went into Suffolk' was possessed, there is no certain record, but his position seems to have been a substantial one, as his wife was the daughter of a man of good standing in the county, and his son, Robert, is described as of Wingfield, and other descendants of his, as of Parham, Framlingham, Stradbrook, Cratfield, and other places in the neighbourhood, in the numerous records to which reference is made hereafter.



## A CHRONICLE OF HIS FAMILY

From early in the sixteenth century the family had established itself at Parham, occupying what was known as the 'Old Hall,' under the Lords Willoughby of Parham, and continuing to reside there until the year 1669, when they sold to John Corrance of Rendlesham, who then occupied the 'New Hall' nearer the Church.<sup>1</sup>

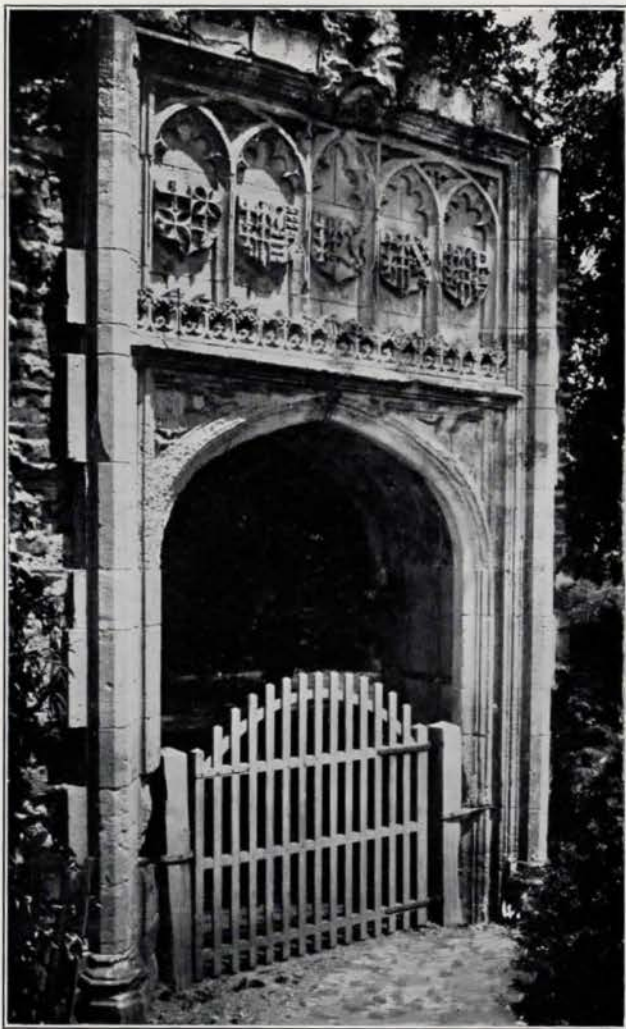
Parham, where probably Sir Thomas Warner was born, calls for more than passing notice.

The records of the existing church date from 1538, and its list of rectors dates from 200 years earlier, but as far back as the Domesday survey there was a church at Parham.

In the Chancel are the coats of arms, and monumental inscriptions of many whose names are known to history, including memorial stones to numerous members of the Warner family; one to 'Edmund Warner, one time Lord of the Manor who died in 1617,' and many others.

Like many another, Parham Church suffered from the fanaticism of the Reformation; and many of its religious relics and adornments were destroyed as 'Savouring of Popery.'

By an ordinance of the 23rd August 1643, Parliament had directed the general demolition of altars, the removal of candlesticks, and the defacement of pictures and images. Certain fanatics were selected to carry out the demolition more thoroughly. Of these William Dowsing, a notorious iconoclast, was appointed visitor of the Suffolk churches under a



OLD GATEWAY, MOAT HALL, PARHAM



SIR THOMAS WARNER

warrant dated the 19th December 1643. In one day, on the 29th January 1644, in and about Ipswich, no fewer than eleven churches were mutilated. Dowsing kept a journal specifying the work to be done at different places, which contains the following entry with reference to the Churches of Parham and the neighbouring parish of Hackeston.

'There was 21 Cherubims with Wings, in Wood; and 16 superstitious Pictures and popish Saints; with a double Cross in the Church, and the representation of the Trinity on the Font, and the Spears and Nails, that Christ was pierced and nailed with; and 3 Crosses, all in Stone; 4 superstitious Pictures in the Chancel, and a Cross, all in Glass; and the steps to be levelled by Mr. Francis Warner, by October 15th. All to be done.'

There is some difficulty in identifying the Francis Warner here referred to. There is one of that name of whom the following is recorded: 'Francis Warner Gent was an Armour Keeper of the Castle of Framlingham, temp. Elizabeth, also a Bailiff of Loes Hundred.' A Francis Warner is included among the Copyholders 19 Elizabeth, probably the same individual.<sup>2</sup>

Francis Warner of Moulsey (see Chapter V) is more likely to be the one indicated, and, although described as of Moulsey, his connection with Parham is clear from the terms of his will and generally.

To-day the 'Old Hall,' believed to have been erected in the early sixteenth century on the site



## A CHRONICLE OF HIS FAMILY

of an ancient castle surrounded by a moat, the seat of the Uffords, Earls of Suffolk, has ceased to exist, and its site is now occupied by a farm-house.

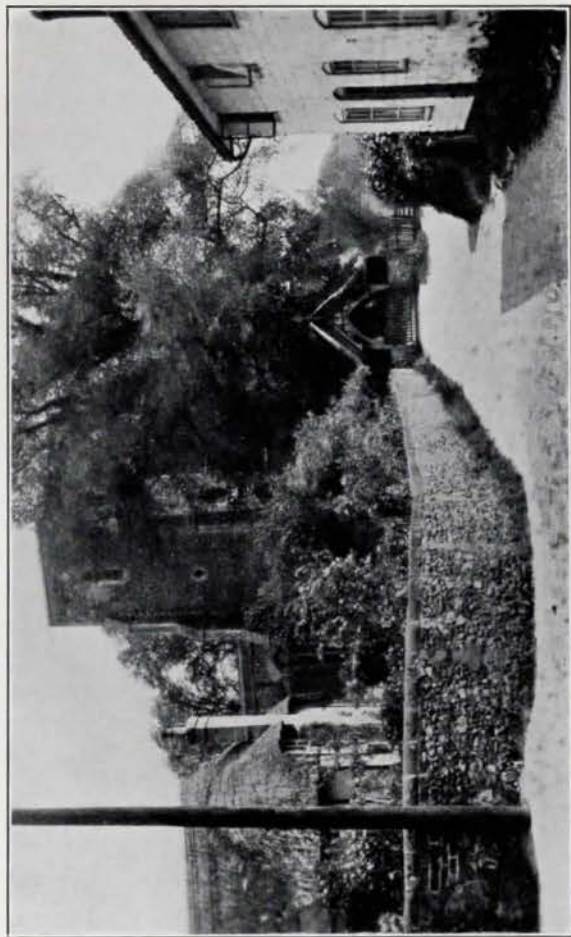
Until quite recently, at a time within the memory of men now living, the old gateway remained as the sole memorial of the past. Nothing now is left of it but the two stone pillars by which it was supported, the whole structure with its coats of arms and other heraldic devices having been sold, taken down stone by stone, and removed for re-erection in the United States of America.

Who the people are who have acquired it, and where it now is, are unknown. Its owners, probably the descendants of some old Parham family, while showing their appreciation of such a link with the past, have left Parham the poorer by the loss of so unique a memorial of its history.<sup>3</sup>

As a young man Thomas Warner was a Captain in James I's bodyguard, and, like Sir Edward Warner, of an earlier day, held the office of Lieutenant of the Tower.

But these were times of great opportunity abroad for Englishmen; and, as will appear, Thomas Warner was no stay-at-home.

The defeat of the Spanish Armada had opened the seas and the Western World to trade and settlement by the nations of Europe, and the younger generation of English birth, moved by the spirit of adventure, and supported by the enterprise of



PARHAM CHURCH



## SIR THOMAS WARNER

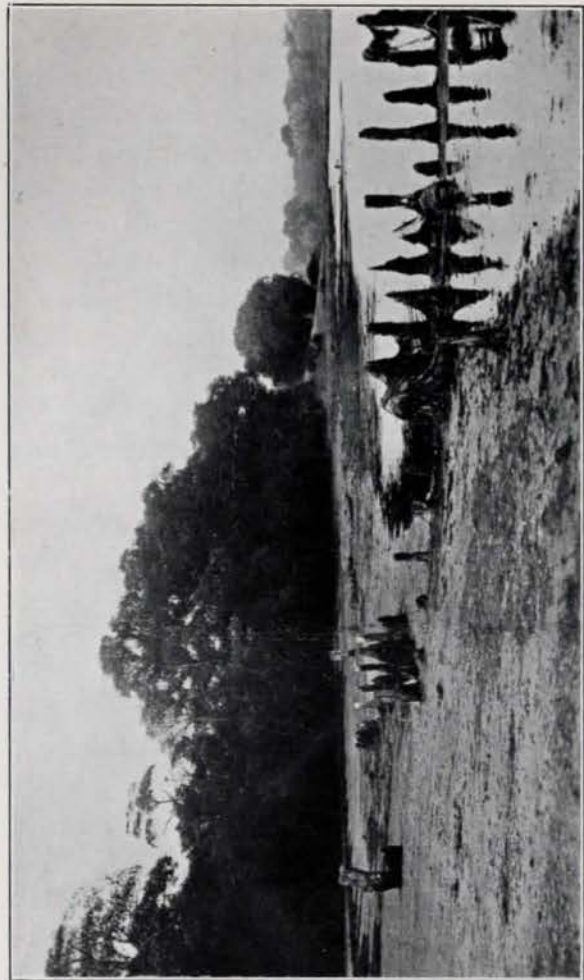
friends and associates in the City of London, were quick to seize the opportunities offered.

Among the adventurers was Captain Roger North, also a Suffolk man, and a friend of Warner's, who organized an expedition for the establishment of a settlement in Guiana, the El Dorado of Sir Walter Raleigh. With him Captain Warner threw in his lot. The venture was not a success, and had to be abandoned, but among those engaged in it was Thomas Painter, a mariner of wide experience, who, early recognizing the difficulties in the way of establishment upon the mainland of a great continent, impressed upon Warner the greater possibilities of success among the islands of the Caribbean Sea.

In 1620, Painter being then dead, Warner returned to England, passing through the Islands on his way home with the object of deciding which of them were most suitable for carrying Painter's project into execution. He was attracted by St. Christopher, where he was well received by the chief, Tograeman, and he decided to establish his first settlement there.

With this object he returned to his native Suffolk, and having induced John Jeaffreson of Pilistree and Clopton, an old friend and neighbour and a navigator of repute, to join in the venture, they together approached Ralph Merifield, a merchant of London, proposing that he should join them, with the result that it was agreed between them as





SCENE NEAR WOODBRIDGE, WHENCE SIR THOMAS WARNER SAILED

## A CHRONICLE OF HIS FAMILY

follows: (1) That Warner should collect a sufficient number of suitable men and proceed to Virginia, and thence to St. Christopher and establish himself there; (2) That Merifield should secure a vessel suitable for a voyage to St. Christopher and load her with provisions, tools, and supplies of the kind that would be required in the new settlement; (3) That Jeaffreson should take command of this vessel, and sail to join Warner at St. Christopher as soon as news should be received of his arrival.

Warner with his wife and a young son Edward, then 13 years old, and fourteen men chosen from among men of his own county, sailed from the port of Woodbridge, Suffolk, within a few miles of his home at Parham, and crossed to Virginia. At Kyson point, about a mile below Woodbridge, are still to be seen the remains of the old dock from which Warner is said to have sailed. From Virginia he took passage in a vessel hired for the purpose, arriving at St. Christopher on the 28th January 1623 (modern reckoning 1624), where he met with a friendly reception from the native Caribs, and their chief.

The names of those who accompanied Warner besides his wife and son were 'William Tasted, John Rhodes, Robert Binns, William Benifield, Sergeant Jones, Mr. Ware, William Ryle, Rowland Grasscock, Mr. Bond, Mr. Langley, Mr. Weaver, Sergeant Aplon, a nameless sailor, and an unnamed cook.'



The party on arrival set to work, and when the Virginian ship started on her return voyage, they were busy making huts to live in, and preparing for the cultivation of maize and tobacco, the former as food, and the latter to provide a cargo for Merifield's ship to take back to England. Then in September disaster fell upon the young settlement in the form of a hurricane which swept away huts, crops, and almost everything they possessed, and all but put a stop to further effort; but they were not to be discouraged, and set to work again, and by the following February, 1625, they had another crop of tobacco ready for shipment. Shortly after, on the 18th March 1625, Jeaffreson arrived at St. Christopher in the *Hopewell*, the ship which Merifield had agreed to supply. Thus each party to the agreement had fulfilled his part.

Within a short time the *Hopewell* sailed on her return voyage with the first crop of tobacco reaped from the new settlement; and by her, or by the *Black Bess* of Flushing, as some authorities say, Warner returned to England on his first visit home.

Here should be noted the great difference between the motives of the early Elizabethan adventurers and those of the English pioneers of the Stuart period in the Carib islands. The former were attracted by the prospect of gold and mineral wealth, and opportunities of trade and barter with the natives; the latter were in search of land suitable for planting and establishing the cultivation of tropical crops

by the labour of white men, and of natives, under the guidance and supervision of white men. In the Carib islands there was no mineral treasure, and but little scope for the disposal of cotton goods, the principal product of English manufacture of the time.

Raleigh's settlement in Virginia was in its motive of the same kind as that of the settlers of the Carib islands and therefore to be classed with these and not with the former.

The object of the settlement of the islands is emphasized, and its early story is given in some detail, as, apart from the interest attaching to the subject itself, and the difficulties and misfortunes, arising from natural causes only, incident to enterprises of the kind, of which it gives a lively impression—it is of historical value in relation to another movement of the time, which was destined to have a far greater effect upon the history of the world.

“The migration of the early Stuart times was a World Movement, akin, in its importance, to the Anglo-Saxon and Norse settlement of England a thousand years before. The Elizabethans had prepared the sea-way for the host of immigrants who used it in the following reigns. It was migration from England that laid the foundations of the British Empire and of the United States, and the majority of the first Anglo-Americans came from the South-East of England and represented her most

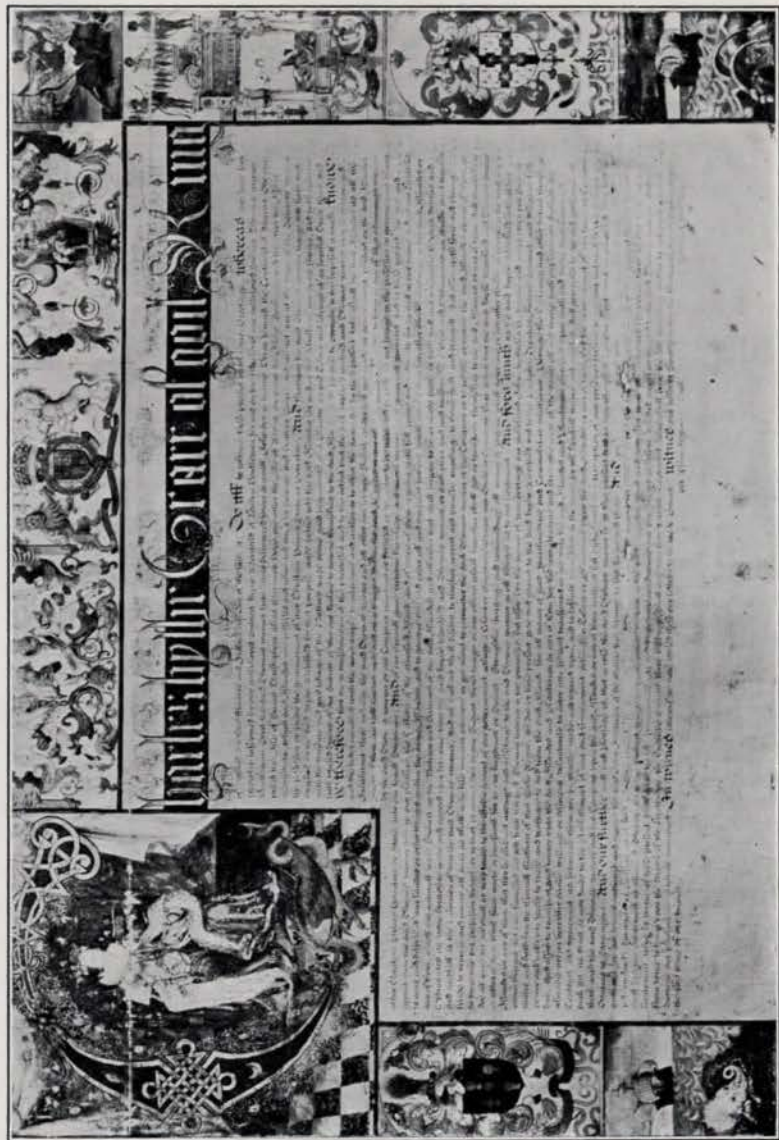


pronounced Nordic stock. Of 25,000 English settled in New England in 1640, it has been calculated by statisticians and genealogists that fifty per cent came from Suffolk, Essex and Hertfordshire. A great part of the emigration under James and Charles I ran indeed, not to New England, but to the Bermudas, the West India Islands, and to Raleigh's Virginia, the first of English Colonies, refounded in 1607. In these latitudes the climate was in some respects alluring; in Virginia, tobacco culture, and in the islands, sugar, offered a way to rapid wealth. Some of these emigrants were well-to-do and the colony of Massachusetts was backed by money, supplies, and good organizers in England, wealthy Puritans, lords, squires and London merchants who stayed at home themselves, but supported these ventures partly from motives of religion, partly as an investment of capital.'<sup>4</sup>

This account supplies a reliable historical background to the story of Warner's settlement, and shows among other things that the settlers of both the American and West Indian colonies were of the same East Anglian stock, a fact which goes to explain why it was that Warner made Virginia the advance base, as it were, from which he sailed to the Islands.

Associated with Warner and Jeaffreson in overseas ventures of the same kind was another Suffolk man, John Winthrop of Groton, a neighbour and friend. His sphere lay not in the West Indies but in the





ORIGINAL COMMISSION IN AN OLD FRAME

## A CHRONICLE OF HIS FAMILY

American Colonies with which his name is intimately associated, and it was from Suffolk that he, like Warner, principally recruited his followers. 'Warner and Winthrop were the great leaders who lured men from the Old to the New World and planted them in the latter by hundreds and by thousands.'<sup>5</sup>

In returning to England, Warner had two main objects in view: one, to secure the protection of the Crown for its new acquisitions, and support in influential quarters, on the many occasions upon which Royal patronage would be required, in the development of a young colony; the other, to spread abroad the story of the initial success of the settlement, and thus attract recruits for its development. In both of these objects he was eminently successful. The former captain of the bodyguard was well received at Court, and soon after, on the 13th September 1625, King Charles, on the representations of Merifield, issued to Warner, under the Great Seal of England, the first Letters Patent ever granted in respect of any West Indian Islands, appointing him Governor of St. Christopher, Nevis, Barbados, and Montserrat.

The alternative name of St. Christopher, viz.: 'Merwars Hope,' given to the island in the Letters Patent, is made up of the names of Merifield and Warner, the organizers of the enterprise.

In *Six Months in the West Indies in 1825* by H. N. Coleridge, the author, referring to a visit to



the house of 'Mr. Warner, President of the Council of Antigua and a descendant of Sir Thomas,' says that he saw the original grant by Charles I framed and set up over the door of the dining-room. The grant, now in the possession of Lionel Ashton Piers Warner, of Club House, Bidston Hill, Cheshire (Pedigree, Part II, C), is here reproduced. The Mr. Warner referred to is Samuel Warner, a grandson of Ashton and Elizabeth Clarke (Pedigree, Part II, A).

*TEXT OF GRANT*

Charles, by the Grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, etc. To all to whom these presents shall come, Greetings:—Whereas we have been credibly informed by our well-beloved subject Ralph Merifield of London, Gentleman, and on behalfe of our well-beloved subject Thomas Warner, Gentleman, that the said Thomas Warner hath lately discovered four several islandes in Main Ocean toward the Continent of America, the one called the Isle of Saint Christopher alias Merwars Hope and other the Isle of Mevis and other the Isle of Barbados and other the Isle of Monserate which said Islandes are possessed and inhabited only by Savages and Heathen people and are not nor at the time of the Discovery were in the possession or under the Governement of any Christian Prince State or Potentate, and thereupon the said Thomas Warner being

set forth and supplied by the said Ralph Merifield for that purpose made entry into the said Islandes for and on behalfe of our dear father and hath sithence with the consent and good likinge of the Natives made some beginninge of a plantation and Colony and likewise of an hopeful trade there and hath caused divers of our subject of this our Realme to remove themselves to the said Islandes with purpose to proceed in so hopeful a work: know therefore that we in consideration of the premisses and to the intent that the said Ralph Merifield and Thomas Warner may be encouraged and the better enabled with the more ample maintenance and authoritie to effect the same doe by these present take as well the said Islandes as all the inhabitant there and allow the said Thomas Warner and all other our lovinge subject under his command or governement resident on the said Islandes or any of them and all landes and other thinges within the said Islandes or other neighbouring islandes to them or any of them adjoining already by the said Thomas Warner or his Company inhabited or possessed or hereafter to be inhabited or possessed not being in the possession of any other Governement of any Christian Prince Potentate or State into our loyal protection: And of our especiall greate certaine knowledge and meere motion have given and graunted and by these presents doe give and graunt unto the said Thomas Warner duringe our pleasure the custodie of the aforesaid Islandes and of everie



of them together with full power and authoritie for us and in our name and as our Lieutenant to order and dispose of any landes or other thinges within the same Islandes and to govern rule and order all and singular persons which now are or hereafter shall be abiding in the said Islandes or any of them as well our natural born Subject as the Natives and Savages of the said Islandes and all other that shall happen to be or abide there by such good and reasonable orders articles and ordinances as were heretofore made and agreed upon between them the said Ralph Merifield and Thomas Warner or such other good and reasonable orders and ordinances as shall be most requisite and needful at the discretion of him the said Thomas Warner. And all such as shall disobey, to chastise correct and punish according to their fault and demeritt. And also with force and strong hande to repress and annoy all such as shall in hostile manner attempt or go about to encounter the said Thomas Warner or his Company or to possess or invade the said Islandes or any of them or to ympeache our possession thereof or to hurt or annoy him or our subjects there being or any others which hereafter shall go or transport themselves to the said Islandes or any of them and generally to doe all such act as shall or may tend to the establishment of our governe- ment settling a Colony or plantation advance any Trade or Commerce there which the said Ralph Merifield and Thomas Warner or either of them

shall find meete or beneficent for us our Kingdomes or subjects straightlie charginge and commandinge all manner of persons which now are or hereafter shall be abiding in the said Islandes or any of them, that they be obedient aiding and assisting to the said Thomas Warner in all thinges as to our Lieuten- ant and for as much as the said Ralph Merifield hath at his own charges not only furnished and set forth the said Thomas Warner in the premisses but also been the means of transporting our well beloved John Jeaffreson, Gentleman, and many other our subject thither and hath been the especiall furtherer of that whole designe we doe by these presents give and graunt to the said Ralph Merifield and to his Partners, Deputies, Suitors, Servants and Assignees full power and Authoritie freely to trade and traffique to and from the said Islandes for all manner of good marchandises and commodities whatsoever. Having the Customes and other duties therefore due and also to transport and convey unto the said Islandes and plantation or any of them for the maintenance and strengthening of the same all and everie such our lovinge subject as already are or hereafter shall be willing or desirous volun- tarily to enter into, be sent, transported or go unto the said Islandes and plantation aforesaid upon with and under such Covenant, Contract and Agreement as between them are or shall be made and agreed upon and to defend themselves in the same by all lawful wages and meanes. And generally to doe



and perform all such act as shall or may tend to the establishment of our said Governement settling a Colony or plantation upon the said Islandes or any of them and the advancement of our trade or commerce there with the said Thomas Warner and his Company upon the said Islandes or any of them without let disturbance or interruption of any person or persons being our natural born subject denizens or strangers. And our further will and pleasure is that in case the said Thomas Warner be at this present dead or hereafter shall die our Lieutenant as aforesaid then in such case we do hereby authorise and appoint the said John Jeaffreson if he shall be then livinge in his room and place. And we do hereby give and graunt unto him the like power authoritie and preheminance during our pleasure as is before in these like present and we doe hereby give and graunt unto him the power authoritie and preheminance during our pleasure as is before said and if the said John Jeaffreson be at this present dead or hereafter shall die our Lieutenant as aforesaid then our English subject being or with designe resident in the said Islandes shall and may set some other able and fit person there resident to be our Lieutenant who by virtue of these present shall have the like power authoritie and preheminance during our pleasure as is before committed meant or intended to the said Thomas Warner. And so from time to time upon the decease of the Lieutenant the English subjects there residing shall and

may elect a new Lieutenant who shall have the like privilege authoritie and preheminance during our pleasure as is above mentioned.

In witness whereof we have caused these our letters to be made patent.

Witness ourself at Southampton the thirteenth day of September in the first year of our reign.

per ipsem regem  
Barum & Wolseley

In 1626 Warner returned to St. Christopher having succeeded while on his visit to England in securing for his undertaking the patronage of James Hay, Earl of Carlisle, a favourite at Court, one of those who had come with James from Scotland upon his accession to the throne of England.

It has been supposed that it was owing to Carlisle's influence that the first commission was granted, but the document itself seems to negative such an idea, Carlisle's name not being mentioned.

It was not long, however, before Carlisle succeeded, in June 1627, in obtaining from the Crown a Proprietary Grant for himself, of St. Christopher and the other islands, the subject of the Letters Patent to Warner.

There can be little doubt but that in Tudor times the grant would have been made direct to Warner himself, but with the Stuarts on the throne, Crown patronage and support for any enterprise could



only be secured by a Court favourite, and it was doubtless in pursuance of an arrangement between them, that Carlisle on the 2nd September following his grant, appointed Warner sole Governor of the islands for life.<sup>6</sup>

Later, when the Proprietary Grants ceased to be operative, and the islands came under the control of the Parliamentary Commissioners of Plantations, it was Warner who was appointed Lieutenant-General of the Caribee Islands under Robert Rich, Earl of Warwick, and again afterwards under Lord Willoughby of Parham, Governor-in-Chief over all the plantations in America.

That was the position which, whoever the titular authority, and whatever the form of his commission, Warner occupied during the whole of his life in the islands. He was the man in whom was vested the actual direction and control of affairs.

The other principal object of Warner's visit to England was also attained. His early fear had been, lest from an insufficient supply of men, he would be unable to develop St. Christopher, or extend his operations beyond that island, but from the time of his first visit home in 1625 there was no further anxiety on that score. For some years no ship sailed from England to the West Indies without immigrants for St. Christopher. They came in numbers from the Eastern Counties, especially Suffolk, where Warner and his family had been known for generations, and where he was trusted

as a leader. He was thus enabled to start a settlement in Nevis in 1628, and later, in 1632, one in Antigua\* and Montserrat under his son Edward as Governor.

But these early successes were not achieved without great difficulties and reverses. Colonizers in the West Indies were exposed to attack from many sources. Although the Caribs had been friendly on the first arrival of the settlers, and for some time the two peoples had lived together without clashing, it came about, as has always happened where races of different origins or degrees of civilization are thrown together, that suspicions and differences arose, which led to the events to be now narrated.

On the day of Warner's return to the colony or, as some authorities state, shortly afterwards, there arrived at St. Christopher another famous colonizer, a Frenchman, Monsieur de Nombre, Pierre Belain, Sieur D'Esnambuc, by which latter name he is generally known in West Indian history, in which he was destined to play a prominent part.

With the intention of establishing a settlement in the West Indies, D'Esnambuc had sailed from Dieppe in a brigantine carrying four guns, and some pierriers (petereros) with forty picked men. At the Kaymans he had been attacked by a Spanish galleon of 400 tons and 35 guns from which, after an engagement lasting three hours, he had made

\* So named by Columbus after the Church of St. Mary of Antigua in Seville.



his escape with 8 or 10 of his men killed, and most of the others wounded. In this sorry condition he had succeeded in reaching St. Christopher.

There were there at the time, besides the Caribs and the English, a few Frenchmen who had been cast upon the island by storm at different times, and had taken refuge and remained there.

By both the Caribs and the English D'Esnambuc and his party were made welcome; by the former because of the good relations which had always existed between them and the English—the only other settlers of whom they then had any knowledge—and by the latter, partly out of sympathy with the new arrivals in their pitiful state, and also as being regarded as likely to be valuable allies against Spain, the common enemy. Spain had always claimed for herself absolute dominion in the West Indies, and invariably showed the greatest resentment to settlers of other powers, attacking them, and destroying their settlements and plantations, whenever opportunity offered.

These were the circumstances in which French interests in St. Christopher originated, and out of which developed the conflict between the settlers of the two nations to be hereafter described.

But in the meanwhile trouble was brewing among the Caribs. There is no record of any particular grievance of the natives, nor have we any knowledge of what it was that led to their change of attitude towards the settlers, but it has been generally sup-

posed that it was the result of the sinister influence of their 'boyos' or witch doctors.

This curse of savage peoples has always been the dangerous element in their relations with civilized races. The 'boyos' realize that their power, in reality the power of life and death, must necessarily suffer from the new contacts, and they are quick to stir up suspicion and hostility against strangers.

Under these influences the Caribs of St. Christopher combined with those in the neighbouring islands to make a surprise attack upon the English and French settlers. The scheme was well planned. At the next full moon, the Caribs from the other islands were to arrive in their piraguas (native boats) and were to join the St. Christopher Caribs in an attack upon the unsuspecting settlers, and utterly destroy them. To such an attack there could have been no successful resistance, and the settlers would doubtless have been exterminated. But the Caribs' plans had come to the knowledge of a country-woman of theirs named Barbe, who, being well disposed to the settlers, divulged the plot to Warner and D'Esnambuc.

There was no time to be lost. That same night the settlers fell upon the Caribs, killing 120 of them, and promptly set about making preparations to receive the others, who were to arrive at full moon. Ambuscades were laid and watches set.

At the appointed time a number of piraguas



arrived carrying between them 3,000 to 4,000 Caribs; part were allowed to land, and were then so vigorously attacked that the survivors fled in confusion to the sea, pursued by the settlers. Of these 100 were wounded by poisoned arrows and died in consequence, one named Tresenville, and several others who were slightly wounded, dying raving mad within four hours.

Of the Caribs 2,000 are said to have been killed and wounded, and 150 of their piraguas captured.

After this event Warner and D'Esnambuc determined that their only safe course was to rid the island altogether of Caribs, and to divide it between them.

This regrettable incident has been made the ground of an accusation, originating with foreign writers, and ignorantly and carelessly followed by others, to the effect that the plot had no existence in fact, and that it was invented by the English as a justification or excuse for their action.

D'Esnambuc is not included in the accusation, the date of the occurrence being represented as prior to his arrival. The fact is that the chronology of these early transactions at St. Christopher is very unsatisfactory, the State Papers in the Record Office containing practically no information. But Du Tertre, the French historian, represents the attack upon the Caribs as having taken place after the arrival of D'Esnambuc and his party, and the author of the *Historie Naturell et Morale des Antilles de*

*L'Amerique* refers to the event as the outcome of the discovery by Warner and D'Esnambuc of a plot against them by the Caribs.<sup>7</sup>

When it is borne in mind that native labour was urgently required by the new settlers in the establishment and working of their plantations it is hard to believe that they would destroy it, except upon grave necessity, and the charge seems to be completely met by the fact of the attack by the Caribs of the other islands as planned.

In attempting to arrive at a fair conclusion upon this incident weight must be given to the universal judgment of historians upon the character of the Caribs that 'their secret and mendacious mentality rendered them a formidable obstacle to the early settlers and the ultimate solution of the problem was provided only by a war of extermination'—as history unfortunately bears out.

About eight months after these events Warner again returned to England, and D'Esnambuc about the same time returned to France, taking with him a cargo of tobacco. There he succeeded in obtaining the support of Cardinal Richelieu for his enterprise in St. Christopher, and on the last day of October 1626 a company was incorporated in France named 'The Company of the Islands of America,' to which the Cardinal himself subscribed 10,000 livres.

The commission to the Sieurs D'Esnambuc and Du Rossey to be the company's captains is notable



for the amazing incorrectness of some of its statements.

After reciting that for fifteen years the two captains named 'have been at great expense in searching for a desirable place to be colonized by the French and having discovered that the islands of St. Christopher and Barbados and others *situate at the entrance to Peru from lat. 11 N. to lat. 18 N.* were not possessed by any king or Christian prince,' the commission directs them to build two forts on the said islands and to fortify any adjacent islands.

There are provisions as to the King's share; as to the ports from, and to which, the ships shall sail and return; and as to the time for which the colonists shall be bound to stay in the settlements.

As representatives of 'the company of the Islands of America' D'Esnambuc sailed from Havre in a ship called *La Catholique*, of 250 tons, and, being joined by Du Rossey in *Le Cardinal* with 70 men, and *La Victorie* with 140 men off Port Louis, sailed from there on the 24th February 1627.

'The vessels were badly equipped, and were over 10 weeks upon the passage. Since the islands were discovered, never had there been a voyage so full of misery.'

They arrived at Sandy Point, St. Christopher, on the 8th May. In *Le Cardinal* only 16 were alive out of the 70 that embarked, and those who landed were in such a distressed state and so feeble that their countrymen, who had expected 'their arrival

with great impatience, lost all joy upon seeing their misery.'

D'Esnambuc, with those who were able, fixed their quarters at Cabesterre; the rest remained with Du Rossey. More than half of both parties died.

Warner had arrived just before with 400 men well provided with everything, and in good health and spirits. He received the Frenchman with great kindness; and on the 13th May, within a week of their arrival, a formal treaty giving effect to the agreement already referred to, was entered into, between Warner of the one part, and D'Esnambuc and Du Rossey of the other part, in the name of their respective sovereigns.

After making provision for the division of the island between the signatories, distinguishing between the Cabesterres and the Bassettes—the hill lands and the flat lands—and providing that the use and enjoyment of rivers, anchorages and the salt ponds and the rights of fishing and hunting are to be enjoyed in common, the treaty imposes an obligation on both parties 'to fortify and support the said island of St. Christopher with all their power against all efforts descents and incursions of their public enemies and others who would disturb and hinder them in their possessions' and concludes with the following: 'And for the purposes of living in peace and union, which is absolutely necessary for the preservation of the colonies, and which, from the difference of the two nations, may be



impaired, the three chiefs shall prepare Articles to augment the peace and friendship established between them and their followers. Which having been proposed in the same assembly was signed by them the same day to the great comfort of all the inhabitants who promised themselves an everlasting tranquillity.'

Articles concluded and agreed upon between the French and English in the Island of St. Christopher by Messrs. D'Esnambuc, Du Rossey and Captain Warner:

(1) Seeing that the French and English combined have conquered the Isle of St. Christopher from the Indians, and that the Kings of France and England have come forward and given them their commissions both the one and the other shall remain governors for the said kings, each in their quarters, according to the division, which has been made between them, and both shall bear the quality of governors each in their district.

(2) All the French who may be in the island shall not receive or obey any orders except from the King of France or the governors proposed by His Majesty, and the English from the King of England and his generals.

(3) No vessel can trade in the island but by permission from the said governors: if it is English the English governor shall give the order and fix the price of the merchandise; if it is French the French governor shall also give the order and fix

the price of the merchandise; if the vessel is Flemish the two together shall give permission.'

(4) Provision against harbouring each other's slaves. . . .

(5) If there should be a war to be waged in the island against the Indians each shall contribute all the men, boats and arms which they possibly can.

(6) If a descent is made on the island by the Spaniards to the place of descent each shall be obliged to send the most powerful assistance he can and to succour each other with all their power.

(7) If there shall arise between the companions of either any quarrels or battles, the delinquents shall be judged by the French and English and then sent each to their own district.

(8) If any war should happen in Europe between the French and English the said Messieurs cannot for that make war except they have been expressly commanded so to do by their princes: and in case of such command, shall be obliged to inform the other before any act of hostility is committed.

The treaty and articles of agreement were 'done and read upon the same day, 13 V 1627.'

Shortly after the signing of the treaty Du Rossey had gone to France to obtain further support for the French Colony. In 1628 he returned with a small reinforcement. He had sailed in *Le Cardinal* with 150 men, but most of them had died on the voyage, and those who survived were too weak to be of any service to their countrymen.



In the meanwhile the English were so increased in numbers and wealth that Warner was able to send a small colony to Nevis in 1628, and, as the French, owing to lack of numbers, did not cultivate their lands at St. Christopher, the English encroached upon them. D'Esnambuc protested, and Warner promised to keep his people within their limits, whilst D'Esnambuc made a voyage to France to obtain settlers and further aid from the Government or the Company. Du Rossey was left in command during his absence.

In August 1629 D'Esnambuc returned from France in command of a pinnace, one of two which formed part of a fleet of six sail of the line and an armed merchantman, all under the command of Monsieur de Cusac. The fleet also carried 300 colonists sent out by the Company.

Sir Thomas, who was then on a visit to England, returned shortly afterwards to find that the success of the English settlement had excited the jealousy of Cardinal Richelieu, and that D'Esnambuc had exaggerated the question of encroachment—which had always been capable of easy adjustment—into a serious grievance, and with the strong support of Monsieur de Cusac had taken up a threatening attitude.

The matter in dispute was settled, under the circumstances, in favour of the French, but the English settlers had come to realize that their former ally had now become an enemy, ready to take

advantage of them whenever he should be in a position to do so.

About this time the Grant to the Earl of Carlisle of June 1627 had become the subject of a famous dispute between the Earl of Pembroke and the Earl of Carlisle, the former alleging a claim to Barbados, based upon prior occupation, and setting up that that island was not intended to be included in the Letters Patent to Thomas Warner, and that it was included by mistake for another island, Barbuda. Into the dispute it is not proposed to enter, further than to state that the matter was submitted to the judgment of the Lord Keeper Coventry who, after hearing the evidence on both sides and the arguments thereon, decided in favour of the Earl of Carlisle as follows:

'Yet finding so many witnesses in the affirmative as it is difficult to counterpoise them either with negative witnesses or with circumstances my opinion is that the proof on the Earl of Carlisle's part that this island in question was intended to be passed in his Patent is very strong.'

18th April 1629  
(Signed) Thomas Coventry.

This judgment has been the subject of strong adverse criticism, the evidence of Warner and the many other witnesses on behalf of the Earl of Carlisle being impugned. It is but fair, however, to remember that Lord Coventry's reputation both for capacity and honesty was of the highest.



In the same year Warner was again in England. On 21st September 1629 he was knighted by Charles I at Hampton Court, and as a token of the Royal favour was presented with the famous Essex Ring by the King. The story of this ring is told in Chapter VIII.

It was in this year also that Sir Thomas, as he then became, considering the conferring of knight-hood an appropriate occasion for so doing, had his pedigree established and recorded at the Heralds' College.

In the British Museum in a small volume of printed sermons, is the following: <sup>8</sup>

*'A Sermon preached to the Nobely Deserving Gentleman  
Sir Thomas Warner  
and the rest of his companie Bound to the West Indies  
for their Farewell  
At St. Butolph, Aldersgate, London September 6 1629*

By  
*John Featly, Preacher  
of the Word of God.*

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*London  
Printed for Nicholas Bourne  
at the South Entrance of the  
Royall Exchange. 1629.*

---

*To The Right Honourable  
James Earle of Carlisle etc.  
Count Palatine of the Province  
of Carlisle*

*'The Sermon itself is the Defenders of the faith, and though brief yet orthodox all [sic].*

*'If any carpe at it, per adventure it may prove a Man-chenile apple (whereof I have seen divers in the West Indies) that blisters the tongues of them that taste.'*

*'The Epistle Dedicatorie.*

*'The noble worth of my deserving Commander Sir Thomas Warner made me a traveller in the West Indies being thereby the first preacher upon Saint Christophers Islands.'*

This John Featly is one of the witnesses to the Will of John Warner, a cousin of Sir Thomas's, dated at St. Christopher the 20th of January 1629, Sir Thomas being another witness. It was proved in England on the 10th August 1630.

From the dates of other events it is clear that Sir Thomas could not have sailed until some time after the delivery of the sermon.

To return to the Colony, in September 1630, but a short time after the settlement of the dispute between the English and the French to which reference has been made, Don Fadrique de Toledo arrived in command of an overwhelming Spanish fleet, and proceeded to lay waste and destroy almost the entire plantations, driving most of the settlers, both English and French, off the island; but upon the retirement of the enemy the settlers returned once more, and set to work to repair their fortunes, but ever in open or secret enmity, till again, in 1635, D'Esnambuc, aided by the negro slaves with a promise of freedom, succeeded in



wringing yet further concessions from the English settlers.

But the French settlement at St. Christopher was destined to failure. Although they made some attempt to return after the destruction suffered from the Spanish fleet the effort was ineffective, and ultimately the English were left in undisturbed possession, the French at a later date establishing themselves in Martinique and Guadeloupe.

By degrees, better times had now begun to dawn for the sorely tried West Indian islands, resulting principally from the change of production from tobacco—grown on small holdings, of which the supply had come to exceed the demand, and by men of little or no capital—to sugar, employing both capital and labour on a large scale. It was to the strong rule and vigorous personality of Sir Thomas in bringing about the change to the new enterprise that credit was due. By the time of his death sugar had come to be recognized as the currency of the islands, and it had become the practice for jointures and legacies to be expressed in terms, not of tobacco, as theretofore, but of sugar.

There is a record of the same time of an interesting comparison of the benefits to be derived by the Mother Country from the trade with the East Indies on the one hand, and the West Indies on the other, concluding in favour of the latter, also a memorandum 'propounding a way to make those islands past fear of the King of Spain.'

This condensed narrative may serve to convey some idea of the magnitude of the obstacles under which the settlement of these islands was effected in their early days, but the difficulties and conflicts to which reference has hitherto been made were local only, and, geographically, West Indian.

As great and greater than these, were the perils and dangers of sea voyages, and the risk of capture and destruction by enemy ships and privateers at a time when, under James and the greater part of the reign of Charles I, the power of England at sea had fallen to the lowest. There were no convoys in those days, and against such risks the settlers had to provide their own defence.

Of this fact the Colonial State Papers supply ample evidence:

On the 23rd January 1626 a Letter of Marque was issued to *The Gift of God*, 40 tons, owner R. Merifield, Captain Thomas Warner, and during that year Warner made prizes.

In 1625 there is a record of the capture of a small vessel off Dunkirk by Warner and Smith, and of an order for her release to them by the Admiralty.

In the library of the Colonial Office are two letters of Sir Thomas's dated September 1636, addressed the one to the King and the other to Secretary Windebank. These letters are here published for the first time.<sup>9</sup> They not only supply a record of



loss from the perils and dangers of the sea, but are of special interest in two other respects, first as serving to convey a clear impression of the capacity, good judgment and moderation of Sir Thomas in the conduct of delicate negotiations, and secondly because of their reference to the conflicting claims which arose on the death of Lord Carlisle between his son and his creditors. To this origin are to be traced also the political differences between the 'Cavaliers and Roundheads in Barbados,' which led ultimately to the blockade of Barbados by a Parliamentary fleet in 1652.<sup>10</sup>

*TEXT OF THE LETTERS*

Right Hon<sup>ble</sup>

Yo<sup>u</sup> were Pleased when I tooke my Leave of yo<sup>u</sup> at Hampton Co<sup>rt</sup> to enioyne mee to this duty And I am sorry I cannott at p<sup>r</sup>sent pforme it as I ought beinge lately arrived yet unsettled and pestred w<sup>th</sup> many Controwsies of the Planters w<sup>ch</sup> slept on purpose for my Comeinge

Many and great have been my losses and hinderances in my voyage and affaires this yeare, I pvided for the voyadge two good shippes, and in them ffoure thousand pounds adventure of my owne. The Plough my Viceadmirall a shipp hired to attend mee the whole yeare sett sayle from the Downes w<sup>th</sup> a fayre wynde but without order three dayes before my Comeinge downe, And is in myne

and all mens Judgem<sup>t</sup> loste, she had in her aboute 150 psons w<sup>th</sup> the better pte of my Victuall Apparrell and Amunicon pvided for my new Dessignes, Besides much goods of other mens, In my owne shipp I hadd a great sickness and Mortality, The Sickness not above 20: of 200 escaped, whereof there Died at Sea and since my comeinge a shore about 40 psons, Some neere to mee in blood and many of especial quality and use, the remaynder are much enfeobled, but now I hope uppon recowye.

Notw<sup>th</sup>standinge these Losses I intended to have placed a Colonge uppon Metalina vnder the Commaunds of a Sonne in Law of my owne (who had the Earle of Carlisles Comission for that place) and a good adventure of his owne estate, And for that purpose touched at the Barbados (a Wynward Island most out of Danger, and inhabited w<sup>th</sup> about 6000 English) where accordinge to my Comission I intended to have Settled Some orders in Matters Military and raised such Voluntiers as were necessary, Many of the Islanders uppon the ffirst rumor of my intent refred<sup>d</sup> to my self and officers offringe themselves for the Service, And I assure my selfe that duringe my staye there to refresh my owne sicke (w<sup>ch</sup> was not above ten dayes) I could have had five hundred able men, fitted with Armes and Victualls (though I had not brought one of my owne) had not the Gownor Capt Henry Hawley opposed himselfe to my Comission and the Kings



Confirmatory Lres (Notw<sup>th</sup>standing my best reasons, and fairest pffers and pswasions, Not w<sup>th</sup> obstinat or rebellious petences, but w<sup>th</sup> spetious Allegacons in behalfe of his owne Comission, hee held myne of fforce uppon all Islands but his, Yett hee acknowledged his a Member of the Province and the same Lords, not Excluded from my generall Comission by any Exception therein, nor exempted by any non abstante in his owne, some five of his Councill (Such as I suppose hee best trusted) hee Called to the hearinge of this businesse who all at his Devotion would be all of his opynion, Soe that I must either make waye by force w<sup>th</sup> a partye of his own people or Depte thence a private man, for when against his ffrivolous vrged post date to myne, I opposed the Kings lres, with a post Date to both, and an Expresse Commaund to him and all Gowno<sup>rs</sup> conncinge my place and pson; he answered that he beleived his Ma<sup>tie</sup> tooke noe notice of o<sup>r</sup> Commissions but sett his hand to the Lre as it was p<sup>r</sup>sented to him, Not doubtinge in his own behalfe to Contradict his Ma<sup>tie</sup>, whoe in the same Lre Professes to have taken notice from tyme to tyme of the Earle of Carliles Loyall pceedings in these ptes, which for divers reasons I assure my selfe hee hath done.

I knowe I could have effected my businesse by force w<sup>th</sup> a pty of his owne people, whoe willinglye attended the Beate of my Drums, but it might have Cost some blood, and would much have hindered

the Comons, who for payment of great Debts, were Peaceably Labouringe in a frutfull Cropp, w<sup>h</sup> for divers yeares they have wanted, I therefore chose rather to Suspend my businesse for a tyme and to expect right from home, I forbear the pfecte relation as it must be p<sup>r</sup>sented to our Judges, uppon promise to Capt Hawley to tarry for his Defencs and send my Complaynts by the same shipp, till when I would have bene absolutely sylent, but that his Longe Delaye makes me a Lyttle Doubte his Sincerity, and I am loath to be to Confident to my own p<sup>r</sup>indice; At the other Islands uppon publication of my Comission and the Kings Lres, I found all willinge recepcon and due respect both from Govnores and people, but beinge peeces newly Planted and the Colonies small, I rather seeke to strengthen them w<sup>th</sup> good officers and orders then drawe any from them, Yett I hope that even they; in very few yeares shall assist towards the Plantings of others, This relacon I thought belonged to yo<sup>e</sup> Hono whoe it concernes to undstand what recepcon the Kings Lres findes in all places, Especially amongst his owne Subiects whoe at their farthest from home should be quickest in their obedience. This Doctrine I learnt in the Campe and cann better practize then Preach it, which the Kinge (and those that under his Ma<sup>tie</sup> Commaund mee) shall eur fynde by my readie doeing or sufferinge whatsoever I shall receive their warrant for, whereof the speedy execucon uppon my selfe or any other shall give



SIR THOMAS WARNER

faithfull Testimony uppon their first order, The Intimation whereof as occasion serves and yo<sup>u</sup> hono<sup>ble</sup> and iuste supporte in my absence shall for ever oblige mee to remayne

Yo<sup>r</sup> hon<sup>rs</sup> most affectionate  
and most humble freind  
and Servant  
Thomas Warner

St xpophers the 10th  
of September 1636  
Sec<sup>y</sup> Windebanke

endorsed 10 September 1636  
Capt Warner from St. Christofers

Maye it Please yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>tie</sup>

Yo<sup>r</sup> Mat<sup>ts</sup> Gracious Lres which after the Earle of Carlile's Death I humbly sued for and obtained, To Confirme the People of those ptes in their obedience to yo<sup>r</sup> Matie under his Lo<sup>pps</sup> officers, and those under my selfe as his Lo<sup>pps</sup> Lieutennent Genall were humbly rec<sup>d</sup> and obeyed by all the Gounor<sup>s</sup> and Officers of yo<sup>r</sup> Mat<sup>s</sup> Islands of this Province Exceptinge the Govno<sup>r</sup> of the Barbados, Capt Henry Hawley, whoe Confident of ffreinds or Covetous of Greater power then others of his qualitie refused to admitt of my Comission vpon his Island, Notw<sup>th</sup>standinge Yo<sup>r</sup> Mat<sup>s</sup> Dread Commands w<sup>ch</sup> hee seull tymes heard read, and was by all faire and gentle reasons pswaded to submitt to: of this I durst not but breefly informe yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>tie</sup>

A CHRONICLE OF HIS FAMILY

Somewhat more of the pticlrs I have written to Secretary Wimbancke, but most at Large to the Earle of Carlile whoe by yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>ts</sup> Bounty to his father Inherits this Province and my service, of whose Care to inform yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>tie</sup> of the prste State thereof, and whatsoever heere maye Concerne yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>ts</sup> hono<sup>r</sup> and service, I nothings Doubte. Nor maye I w<sup>th</sup> out breach of Modesty and my duty beinge his officer pr<sup>esse</sup> neerer yo<sup>r</sup> Royall Eare w<sup>th</sup> out his Lo<sup>ds</sup> pmission or yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>ts</sup> exprsse Commands To w<sup>h</sup> I shall willingly Sacrifie my life and ffortunes with a promptitude and Carefullnes becomminge.

Yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>ts</sup>  
Most Loyall and faithfull  
Souldier and  
Subieste  
Thomas Warner

St Xpophers the 15th  
of September 1636

*addressed*

To the King's Most Excellent M<sup>tie</sup> of Great Brittain; my most Dread Sovraigne

*endorsed* 15 Sept. 1636  
Captain Warner to His Maj<sup>ty</sup>



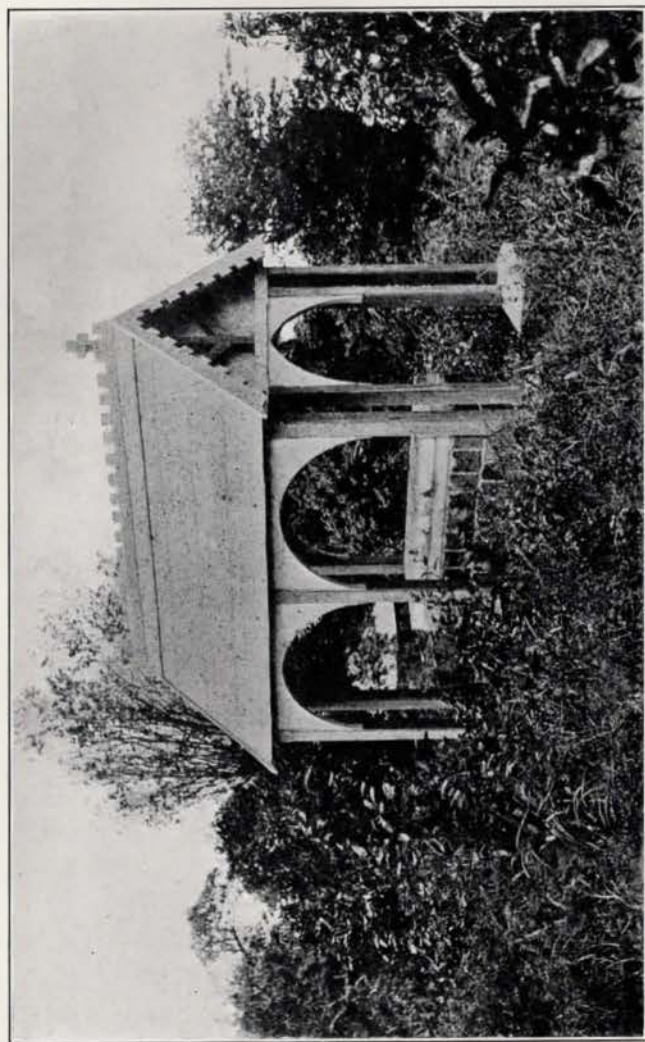
## SIR THOMAS WARNER

The attempt made in these pages to give an account of Sir Thomas Warner's great work in the settlement of the West Indian Colonies does not aspire to be more than a mere outline. The full story is the whole of the early history of the West Indies incomplete, confused, and often contradictory as it is, especially as to chronology,<sup>11</sup> but historians agree that 'Sir Thomas laid the foundations of the greatest centre of Colonial wealth in the world at the time, and for many years afterwards, and that at the time of his death the condition of the English Caribees was one of solid prosperity comparing favourably with the achievements of the French, and yet more when contrasted with the results of the long Spanish occupation of the Greater Antilles.'

Unfortunately no portrait of Sir Thomas is in existence, 'no little candle lighted,' as Carlyle expresses it, to give an idea of what manner of man he was. We have little beyond a description of him by one contemporary as being 'of an active and agile body' and by another of his being 'truly honest and friendly to all men.' All that is known of him goes to show that he was a man of a very vigorous personality.

Sir Thomas died on the 10th March 1649 (new reckoning), probably without having heard of the tragedy at Whitehall of the 30th January.<sup>12</sup> He is buried at St. Christopher's. On his tombstone is the following epitaph:





TOMB OF SIR THOMAS WARNER, MIDDLE ISLAND, S. CHRISTOPHER

## A CHRONICLE OF HIS FAMILY

*An Epitap upon The  
Noble and Much Lamented Gen<sup>l</sup> Sir  
Tho Warner, K<sup>t</sup> Lieutenant  
General of Ye Carribee  
Islands and Gov<sup>r</sup> of Ye  
Island of St Christopher  
Who Departed This  
Life the 10th of  
March 1648*

*First Read then Weepe when thou art hereby taught  
That Warner lyes interr'd here, one that bought  
With loss of Noble bloud Illustrious Name  
Of a Commander Greate in Acts of Fame  
Trayned from his youth in Armes, his courage bold,  
Attempted brave Exploites and uncontrold  
By fortunes fiercest Frownes, he still gave forth  
Large Narratives of Military worth  
Written with his sword's poynt, but what is man  
In the midst of his glory, and who can  
Secure this Life A moment since hee  
Both by Sea and Land, so long kept free  
[At Mortal Strokes]\* at length did yield  
[Grace]\* to conquering Death the field  
fini Coronat*

\* Obliterated.

Sir Thomas was married three times. His first wife was Sarah, daughter of Walter Snelling, of Dorchester, and by her he had two children, a daughter Mary, and a son Edward.

The son Edward, who has been referred to as the first Governor of Antigua, appointed by his father in 1632, died without male heirs at a date of which there is no record. His wife and child were carried off by Caribs in 1640.

Of the circumstances of this tragedy no record



exists, but the following legend has been handed from one generation to another of Antiguans.

In a night attack by Carib canoes upon the Governor's house, not far from the shore, while he and his people were engaged in resisting the attack, some of the Caribs entered the house from the back and carried off the Governor's wife and two children.

The Caribs were driven off, but succeeded in reaching their canoes and getting away under cover of night with the wife and one child.

Of the other child the story is that to prevent its cries leading to their discovery as they ran away, one of the Caribs, swinging it by its feet over his head, dashed its brains out on a rock. The scene of the outrage is shown to this day.

At daybreak next morning search was made in the bays and creeks of the neighbouring islands and the unfortunate wife is said to have been found, but of her ultimate fate nothing is known.

Sir Thomas's second wife was Rebecca, daughter of Thomas Payne of Surrey. By her he had two sons, Thomas and Philip. His third wife was Ann . . . by whom he had no issue.

His son Thomas married Grace, a daughter of Major-General Fowke. Admitted a student of the Inner Temple on the 29th January 1660, called to the Bar 1666, Attorney-General of Barbados and knighted by Charles II. He was buried 23rd July 1679 at St. Michael's, Barbados. He left two daughters, Ann and Grace, but no male issue, and the succession devolved upon his brother Philip.

## CHAPTER III

## PHILIP WARNER

Philip Warner—Deputy Governor of Antigua—Conflict with Caribs of Dominica—Accusation and Imprisonment in the Tower of London—His Letters from the Tower and Report upon the Islands for the King's Council—Dampier's Account of the Affair—Warner's Acquittal and Vindication, and his Election as President of the Council

IN 1672 Sir William Stapleton had been appointed Captain General and Commander-in-Chief of Antigua and the other Leeward Islands by William Lord Willoughby, Governor of Barbados and the Caribbee Islands.

Sir William, preferring to reside at Nevis, had appointed Colonel Philip Warner, Sir Thomas's second son by his second wife, to be Deputy Governor of Antigua.

In 1674 the inhabitants of Antigua presented a petition to Sir William setting out their grievances against the Indians of Dominica, and praying him to grant them a commission 'to make war against them.' The commission was granted as prayed; a large party of volunteers from Antigua and the neighbouring islands was formed; and at the urgent request of the inhabitants, Colonel Warner, then President of the Council, and Colonel of a Regiment of Foot in Antigua, was appointed to the command of what, in these days, would be called a punitive expedition.

At the time and for some years before there was



settled among the Caribs of Dominica an Indian, who was generally reputed to be the son of Sir Thomas Warner by a Carib woman, and had come to be known by the name of 'Indian Warner.'

This man appears to have been quite a remarkable personage, having earned the good opinion of Lord Willoughby, by whom he had been appointed Governor of Dominica, then occupied entirely by Caribs. Of the part played by Indian Warner in the events about to be narrated very little is really known. On the one hand he is said to have been well disposed towards the English in the islands, and to have exercised his influence in endeavouring to promote peace and goodwill between the two peoples. But the Caribs of Dominica were themselves divided into two parties, one accepting the leadership of Indian Warner, the other constantly engaged in attacking the English settlers in Antigua by whom, as will appear, it was believed that Indian Warner's friendship was a pretence, and that he was in reality the instigator of the attacks from which they suffered. The truth will never be known. As to the conflict which ensued, the most reliable account of what took place is that given by Daniel Francis Warner in his memoranda of the family history (see Chapter IX) as follows:

'Philip Warner having arrived at Dominica proposed a conference with his half-brother in order to settle the disputes between them, when the English were invited to a feast and all hostilities

between them seemed in a fair way of being amicably adjusted. This, however, unhappily proved not to be the case, for during the entertainment, the parties having become influenced with liquor, their ancient animosities revived and a furious quarrel was the immediate consequence. The battle continued to rage with unabated violence until it was terminated in the utter destruction of the Carib Warner and the people under him.' This account, although written many years after the event, comes from a most trustworthy source. The quarrel was but the natural result of the failure of the conference. The relationship between the parties and the fratricidal character of the conflict have added a sensational interest to this unhappy story.

The date of this affair is not certain, but it probably took place about January 1675, as in a despatch of 8th February of that year Sir William Stapleton reports the matter to the Home Government, stating that it was carried out under his authority by his Deputy Governor and that 'Indian Warner' fell 'among his fellow Heathens, who, though he had an English Commission, yet was a great villain and took a French Commission.'

Early in May, Colonel Warner went on leave to England. About the same time Lord Willoughby died in Barbados, and was succeeded by Sir Jonathan Atkins. The new Governor immediately proceeded to address a despatch to Mr. Secretary



Coventry reporting that Colonel Warner had, without his authority, led an expedition to Dominica, which was included in the writer's government, and that 'he had invited his brother and party on board to a treat, made them drunk with rum, and there massacred them all'; and in support of his statement he forwarded the sworn deposition of one William Hamlyn.

Acting upon the uncorroborated testimony of this single witness; without any inquiry into his antecedents; without a reference to Sir William Stapleton; and without an opportunity being afforded to Colonel Warner to defend himself, Secretary Coventry writes to the Governor of Barbados on the 23rd June informing him that 'His Majesty is highly offended at that barbarous murder or rather massacre, and has ordered that speedy and exemplary justice be done, while the Indians are to be conciliated by sending them some heads as a demonstration of the punishment of the authors.'

Soon after (the date is uncertain but probably some time in August 1675) Colonel Warner, to his great astonishment, is committed to the Tower.

Upon these proceedings coming to the knowledge of Sir William Stapleton, at Nevis, he addressed a despatch dated 20th December to the Secretary of State, indignantly denying Hamlyn's statement, relating the true facts, and strongly urging Colonel Warner's immediate release.

In January 1676 the Leeward Islands Merchants

in London presented a petition to the Secretary of State, supporting Sir William Stapleton's representations.

To both of these the authorities turned a deaf ear, as we find Colonel Warner on the 25th March 1676 still in custody in the Tower, writing to the Government, saying that he had heard that it had been decided to send him to Barbados for trial, begging that there should be no delay, and that he might be sent out on the *Phoenix*. Then follows a further despatch from Sir William Stapleton to the Privy Council, enclosing the sworn depositions of seven persons of position and repute in the Colony, confirming his previous representations to the effect that Hamlyn's deposition was utterly untrue, and that 'Indian Warner was killed in fair and open fight, but by whose hand no one knew.'

The decision to try Colonel Warner at Barbados, brought forth a 'Remonstrance' from the inhabitants of Antigua signed by the most influential men in the Colony and addressed to the Court at Barbados in the following terms:

*A Remonstrance of the inhabitants of the island of Antigua why they soe very earnestly craved authority and commission from his Excellency, William Stapleton Captain General and Governor in chief, in and over all his Majesties Leeward Cariba Islands in America. To kill and destroy the Indians inhabiting in y<sup>e</sup> Island of Dominica*



*and likewise for y<sup>e</sup> craveing ayde from the neighbouring Islands under his Excellency's command which was promised us.*

'It is to well knowne as well to y<sup>e</sup> inhabitants of this Island as to y<sup>e</sup> other merchants and traders amongst us since its first being inhabited by Christians, or very near that time that y<sup>e</sup> said Indians have not ceased by their continual incursions and very many horrid murders, ripping up women with child, burning of houses, and carrying away into miserable captivity, their children and others, almost to y<sup>e</sup> utter ruine of this collony, whilst Indian Warner of late going under the name of Thomas Warner was a chief leader and actor amongst y<sup>e</sup> said Indians untill the year of our Lord 1657 when some of y<sup>e</sup> inhabitants of this Island with the assistance of Mountserratt and others went against them although by their subtilty it proved almost ineffectual, yett in y<sup>e</sup> year 1660, y<sup>e</sup> said Indian Warner with other Indians came to Coll<sup>o</sup> Xpher Keynell \* then governor of this Island, to make peace which was then agreed unto and wee had for some small tyme rest from their almost continual Alaroms, but they soon fell to their accustomed crueltys by robing, murdering and carrying away others of the inhabitants, so that we were again constrained to make war against them to our exceeding charge and y<sup>e</sup> losse of our crops at which tyme

\* Christopher Reynall.

we requested Coll<sup>o</sup> Phillip Warner to goe in pson against them in hopes he might by faire means have brought y<sup>e</sup> said Indian Warner to have been helpful to our party in finding out and persueing those othere breakers of y<sup>e</sup> sd peace, but all our endeavours proved fruit-lesse and procured us nothing more but fair promises, but he would not go or appear against those that himselfe would say were our enemies, but on the contrary would give them notice of our arrival, although we spared not, at any tyme, to furnish him and those he called his friends with what necessaries they wanted.

'Notwithstanding in the year 1666 they began again their old villainies and outrageous practices, not regarding that peace, but rather lookeing on us as their tributaries, a barbarous conclusion drawn from our kindnesses, Indian Warner being all this while amongst them, and would never give us any notice of y<sup>e</sup> designs against us, which drew us to conclude he was still against us, by consent, if not in pson, for those by him protected as his friends and nearest relations, were chief in comitting many outrages murders, rapes and burneings, by which means we were wholly putt from labour, which if at any time wee attempted to follow their poisoned arrows were soon in some of our sides, which spake nothing but death, soon after y<sup>e</sup> said Indian Warner was carried prisoner by the French to St. Xphers \* being however his friends and nearest relations still

\* St. Christopher's.



persued their bloody practises against the poore Inhabitants of this Island for as often as y<sup>e</sup> men engaged the Ffrench enemy, the said Indians were comitting their murders, rapes and other villanyss amongst y<sup>e</sup> women and children, and when the Ffrench had subdued y<sup>e</sup> Island and disarmed our inhabitants and carried away our negroes and what else they thought fitt, then did these Indians prosecute all villanies imaginable against our naked inhabitants haveing nothing but the mercy of God to protect ourselves from their cruelties, at which time, we having submitted to the Ffrench on their promise of safety from y<sup>e</sup> barbarisme of the said Indians, y<sup>e</sup> said Indians came to the house of Coll<sup>o</sup> Cardine late Govern<sup>r</sup> of this Island who cyvilly treated them, but at their departure desired him in friendship to walk with them to the sea-side, where they cruelly murdered him, and those that were with him, cutting off Coll<sup>o</sup> Cardine's head, broyled it and carried it to Dominica in triumph. But before their departure returned to Coll<sup>o</sup> Cardine's house, and carried away his wife children and others, with them into captivity, where some of them perished.

'Neare to this same tyme they went to the house of Mr. Thomas Taylor pretending friendship and by him they were kindly entertained, but before they departed they murdered y<sup>e</sup> said Taylor, Mr. Thomas Beadle minister, Mr. Robert Boyers, wounding others with poisoned arrows to death and carried away M<sup>rs</sup>. Taylor and children, M<sup>rs</sup>.

Chrew and children, M<sup>rs</sup>. Lynt \* and children, with many too tedious to relate, and in these and y<sup>e</sup> like bloody practises they continued untill a peace was proclaimed betwixt our more gracious king, y<sup>e</sup> Ffrench, and Dutch. All which bloody cruelties were acted and done by y<sup>e</sup> Chiefs of Indian Warner's friends, without the least cause or provocation on our part.

'And since y<sup>e</sup> peace made with them by the Lord William Willoughby, although they have been kindly received and entertained by our inhabitants out of respect to the said peace, yett they soon begain their accustomed cruelties fore comeing to Parham Hill plantation in agreeable manner were civilly and librally entertained at their departure murdered several seamen that were taking in tobacco, and planters that were carrying the same to y<sup>e</sup> boats with out any manner of provocation.

'Some of y<sup>e</sup> said Indians being soone after apprehended at Mountserratt by our generall, who intended to have given them a due reward for y<sup>e</sup> said murders, but such was our clemency towards them, that if by any means wee could have brought them to live peaceably by us, wee made our humble addresses unto our generall to lett them goe, which we hardly obtained from his Excellency, but no sooner were they loose but they comitted roberies upon y<sup>e</sup> said Island.

'Such hath always been their requitalls of any

\* Lynch.



kindnesses or civilities shewn them, and amongst these Indians were the friends and associates of the said Indian Warner and by him then interceeded for alledging they were not the persons that had done the said murders, although afterwards appeared that these whom he a called his friends were the men that comitted y<sup>e</sup> said murder.

'And to manifest the truth thereof, one of his nearest allies, in the yeare 1674 came with other Indians to the plantation of Coll<sup>o</sup> Phillip Warner and killed severall Christians and carried away sixteen negroes, and one Christian child, whom they afterwards cruelly murdered, and at the return of the said Indians from this Island, Indian Warner mett them at Guardeloup and craved share of the booty they had brought from Antigua, and afterwards some of y<sup>e</sup> goods [*obliterated*] Coll<sup>o</sup> Warner's boyling house at their being last there comitting of murders aforesaid were found in the village belonging to Indian Warner in Dominica and were brought back by some of Coll<sup>o</sup> Warner's servants.

'Thus hath the said Indian Warner often dealt treacherously, pretending friendship, but proving an absolute enemy, not only to this Island, but to our whole nation, for himself declared that he had a Ffrench comission, and said that he would rather serve y<sup>e</sup> Spaniards then y<sup>e</sup> English and finding ourselves to be neare our utter ruine by his fraud and treachery, we were constrained humbly to crave ayde of our captain generall to give us his comission

to make war against the said Indians, without exception that we might labour by his just power to redeem ourselves from those cruel practices which wee had long laine under, which he was pleased to grant.

'We then besought Coll<sup>o</sup> Phillip Warner, our governor to goe in person against them, which at our earnest request he was pleased to undertake and with very great difficulty and hazard did doe such service upon them which hath procured our ease and rest in some measure to this tyme, although not without continuall watching and warding to our great charge and trouble, they still threatening a bloody revenge upon this place.

'And it is evident, had not Coll<sup>o</sup> Warner's party beene quick in giving the first blow, upon those our bloody enemies, he and those with him had received the same measure from our pretended friends but utter enemies. Who had agreed with those hee called our enemies to destroy Coll<sup>o</sup> Warner and his party and to that end had them at rediness at hand, but God Almighty prevented them, not sufferinge him any longer to raigne in his barbarous practices of which this Island might give a large acompt for neare forty yeares past and whether y<sup>e</sup> said Indian Warner with his associates received not a due recompense for their villanys and barbarous practices wee appeal to God and all y<sup>e</sup> world.

(Signed) Richard Boraston and 15 others.  
(Autographs)  
1676



'May it please your honours,

'The sense wee have of the sufferings of Coll<sup>o</sup> Phillipe Warner, our late governor by and for an action by which wee have received soe many advantages, and which the prayers of our inhabitants constrained him by [*undecipherable*] comission to undertake, hath highly obliged us to supplicate your honours, on his behalfe. Not that we doubt his being justly dealt with, and according to law, but to give your honors to understand that it was not by any designe or private concern of Coll<sup>o</sup> Phillip Warner that carried on that warr and that action wherein it is said Indian Warner fell. But it was founded on the supplication of the inhabitants here, that for many yeares enjoyed little rest from the incursions of those Indians of Dominica and amongst them those of Warner's family. Some crying for their husbands slaine with poisoned arrows, others for their children snatcht from them. Those and the such like were the common complaints here. Until by their humble addresse to our generall they obtained comission to goe under the command of Coll<sup>o</sup> Warner who was not easily wrought upon to undertake it; but being highly importuned by all, he at length complied and by that action we have since enjoyed much peace and they have not dared to putt foot uppon our shoare, which we wholly attribute to God's mercy towards us, but that action as the second cause. This wee humbly offer unto your honors fearing you may not other-

wise be given to understand, what was the first cause that moved to that action, as will appear if all papers relating thereunto may be perused. We have not more to request from your hon<sup>rs</sup> than to give your favourable constructions of the matter humbly take leave and subscribe ourselves your most humble servants.

'Richard Boraston, &c. &c.

'Falm<sup>o</sup> July y<sup>e</sup> 25<sup>th</sup>, 1676.

'To y<sup>e</sup> Honble. his Maties. justices of Oyer and terminer appointed for the triall of Coll<sup>o</sup> Phillip Warner in y<sup>e</sup> Island of Barbadoes

'These humbly are sent.'

It was not Colonel Warner alone who was implicated in this affair, although he plays the most prominent part. Many of the offenders had their lands taken from them, until the issue of their trial was known; but Colonel Warner and Lieutenant Ffrye, of their own free will, delivered up their possessions, immediately upon their being charged with the crime already narrated, as may be learnt from the following passage extracted from an old record (speaking of those persons who had been dispossessed of their lands):

'Excepted the lands of Coll<sup>o</sup> Phillip Warner at the fig tree, and at the Road being resigned up freely by himself. Also excepted the lands of Lieut. John Ffrye, lying and beinge in the body of this Island beinge resigned up freely by him.'



At the trial by the Court of Oyer and Terminer of Barbados, Colonel Warner was acquitted, and Hamlyn was convicted of perjury, the jury finding as facts that 'Indian Warner was killed in fair fight together with other Indian confederates of his, and that they were all treacherous and bloody malefactors, and that he was not Sir Thomas's son.'

On the 22nd November 1676 Sir William Stapleton reports the result of the trial to the Home Government as follows:

'Colonel Warner, after his great sufferings, is come off with credit by a learned Ignoramus of the Grand Jury and was cleared by Proclamation which could not be otherwise unless they would hang him right or wrong. The man who falsely deposed against him is sent to Holland in Irons.'

After his acquittal Colonel Warner had petitioned to be restored to His Majesty's favour and on the 17th May 1677 the King's Council had reported on the petition: 'Whatever we have heard of Colonel Warner before this action had been to his advantage and suitable to the behaviour of a deserving subject and the son of that Father who besides many other signal services first brought the Caribee Islands to a dependence to this Crown. As for the fact whereof he was accused we have been informed by Sir Jonathan Atkins that he was cleared by Proclamation. And from Col. Stapleton we are by many letters told that Hamlyn who was the sole

accuser was an infamous fellow and since that time ran away with a sloop from the Leeward Islands to the Dutch from whom he has got a commission under which he has stolen negroes and fired on boats of Ye Mjty's Service.'

The Report ends with a submission that 'some signification should be made of the ceasing of His Majesty's displeasure which may not only revive his drooping spirits but engage him in a vigorous care for the preservation and defence of those Islands wherein he hath formerly acted a very good part for your Majesty's service.'

The report of the Council notwithstanding, on the 18th May the King ordered that Colonel Warner should be 'put out of his Government of Antigua and not hold any office of trust under the Crown.'

This is a strange story.

Upon the facts established Colonel Warner clearly suffered grave injustice from the Governor's unfair action, and the prejudice which it necessarily created with His Majesty the King and the Home Government.

With Sir William Stapleton's, and all the other evidence available upon the spot, it was a gross abuse of his newly acquired authority for the Governor to act as he did.

Some idea of the extent of the prejudice created may be gathered from the extreme and grotesque terms of Mr. Secretary Coventry's letter to the



Governor of the 23rd June, and from the refusal of the King to restore Colonel Warner to his favour even after his acquittal and the favourable report of his Council.

So harsh a judgment is difficult to reconcile with the well-known disposition of His Majesty, and affords grounds for suspicion of some sinister influence at work.

Some light is thrown upon the subject by a letter from Colonel Warner to Sir Jonathan Atkins written in 1676 upon his arrival on the *Phoenix* at Barbados; he writes:

'At my first going to Whitehall I was much surprized to meet with the King's displeasure against me, being conscious that neither my father's former services nor my own could undeserve his favour but the disappointment was great and a complaint sent home by you did soon pervert my expectation,' and he proceeds: 'The complaint comprehended in Hamlin's oath was so contradictory and full of untruths that it found little faith among sober minded men, though generally believed among the ordinary multitude even to the making me a monster, but your letter which went with it to Mr. Secretary Coventry mett with the better credit, and was the consequence [? cause] of all my misfortune for you were pleased to inform Mr. Secretary in your letter that the killing of the Indians in Dominica was very ruinous to our trade and absolutely destructive to all the Leeward Islands

which information made so great an impression upon the King and Council that indeed I should not have dared to stand a Justification but that my own experience and the many depositions from all the Leeward Islands do manifest the contrary, and I hope by this time your Excellency is convinced likewise, and that in truth that action is really good service to the King.'

Upon the subject of the trade of the islands and Government policy thereon Colonel Warner was a recognized authority.

While in the Tower, at the request of Sir Robert Southwell, then Clerk of the Privy Council, he drew up a report for the information of the Council, which he calls 'An account of the Charriby Islands,' in which he deals exhaustively with matters of trade and defence and general administration. This report in his own handwriting is among the manuscripts of record in the British Museum. It is dated 3rd April 1676 and is addressed to Sir Robert Southwell, and concludes with a personal note dated 7th April 1676 as follows: 'Your letter gives me the ill news of my expected doome from Newmarket. I apprehend upon the Capt'n's most idell inquire of my usage aboard will make the King order me all the way in the billbows, or a prisoner between decks (*Quod fiat voluntas Dei.*) I am resolved to suffer it with an invincibell patience to bear all, I pray God in mercy turne his heart . . . and send me the deliverance out of this oppression.'



There are also two other letters to Sir Robert Southwell from Colonel Warner, the first dated 16th April 1676, his last from the Tower, in which he says 'my trial will suit both my own disposition as well as any righting of my inward innocency, in order to restore my honour that has languished under a severe calumny for seven months,' and the second, written the next day, from on board the *Phœnix*, in which he, after acknowledging some consideration shown him by Sir Robert, refers to the ship as affording him 'more room to breathe out my melancholy contemplations than in the Tower' and continues: 'As to your favourable thought concerning a turne of my fortunes after a cessation of my present afflictions, I am so conscious my slender abilities are infinitely unfitt for any public undertaking either civil or military and my unparalleled troubles have so habituated my resolution to designe a retired private life nothing in the World can possibly invite me from it.'

The earliest account of the Dominica affair is found in *Dampier's Voyages*. In 1674, and therefore immediately after the occurrence, Dampier was on the ship *Content of London* on a voyage to Jamaica, and narrates the following which is quoted in his own words and the Editor's notes.

Although to a great extent a repetition of the story as here related, it is set out in full as being founded upon entries made at the time in Dampier's famous Diary. As to the genuineness of the narra-

tive, there can be no question, but it must be remembered that it purports to be hearsay only, and that it was not written until many years after the events recorded.

'We passed between the islands, and seeing a smoke on St. Lucia, we sent our boat ashore there. Our men found some Caribbee Indians and bought of them plantains, bonanoes, pine apples, and sugar cane and returning on board, there came with them a canoe with 3 or 4 Indians. These often repeated the word Captain Warner and seemed to be in some disquiet about him. We did not then understand the meaning of it, but since I have been informed that this Captain Warner whom they mentioned was born in Antigua, one of our English Islands and the son of Governor Warner (Old Sir Thomas Warner, the Governor of the Caribbee Islands) by an Indian woman, and bred by his father after the English manner: he learned the Indian language also of his mother, but being grown up and finding himself despised by his English kindred he forsook his father's house, got away to St. Lucia, and there lived among the Caribbee Indians, his relations on his mother's side, where conforming himself to their customs he became one of their captains and roved from one island to another, as they did. About this time the Caribbees had done some spoil on our English plantations in Antigua: and therefore Governor Warner's son by his wife, took a party of men and went to suppress



those Indians and came to the place where his brother Indian Warner lived. Great seeming joy there was at their meeting; but how far it was real the event shewed for the English Warner providing plenty of liquor and inviting his half-brother to be merry with him, in the midst of his entertainment ordered his men upon a given signal to murder him and all his Indians which was accordingly performed. [Note.—Governor Warner's son by his wife was Colonel Philip Warner, Deputy Governor of Antigua. After the dispute was over, Colonel Warner invited Thomas Warner and his Indians, to the number of 60 or 70 men, women and children to an entertainment of thanks, and having made them very drunk with rum fell upon them and destroyed them (Deposition of William Hamlyn.)] Colonel Warner was sent to England to stand his trial and remained a year in the Tower, after his dismissal from the King's Service. At his trial it appeared that the Indian Warner was not his half-brother: that the Indians slain at the massacre were always confederates with those that attacked us.'

'That they were treacherous and bloody malefactors, and that they were killed in fair fight. He was acquitted and William Hamlyn was punished for perjury, but many hold that Warner was guilty and that the trial was not rightly conducted. The reason of this inhumane action is diversly reported: some say that this Indian Warner committed all the

spoil that was done to the English: and therefore for that reason his brother killed him and his men. Others that he was a great friend to the English and would not suffer his men to hurt them, but did all that lay in his power to draw them to an amicable commerce; and that his brother killed him for that he was ashamed to be related to an Indian. But be it how it will, he was called in question for the murder, and forced to come home to take his trial in England.'

In the catalogue of the Pepysian Manuscripts, Vol. IV, page 299, there is the following reference to a minute of the Board of Admiralty: 'Sir Thomas Warner, brother of Colonel Warner who is now going prisoner from hence to Barbados in the *Phoenix* which is going to Jamaica, praying a passage for himself and a servant to accompany his brother; the same is granted. [Note.—Philip Warner, formerly Governor of Antigua, was being sent to Barbados to be tried for a massacre of natives in Dominica.]'

Upon the question whether Indian Warner was the son of Sir Thomas or not, Père Labat, the French historian, states that many years after, while among the Caribs of that Island, he came across a very old woman, who lived among them, and was held in great respect. She was known as Madame 'Ouar-nard' \* and by general repute among her people

\* Owing to the lack of the 'W' or double 'V' in their language the French historians spell the name Warner in a variety of ways, 'Varnaer,' 'Vaernaer,' 'Ouarnard' (Du Tertre, Père Labat, *Historie des Iles de L'Amérique*).



had lived with Sir Thomas Warner, and was the mother of 'Indian Warner.' Although Père Labat's statement is evidence of reputation only, he is acknowledged to be a most reliable historian and his account has come to be generally accepted.

To the like effect is the evidence of Daniel Francis Warner, who says that Sir Thomas acknowledged Indian Warner as his son and brought him up with his other children. He describes him as having 'a large forehead and aquiline nose, his eyes bright large and full with a peculiar gravity of countenance which clearly indicated his noble temper and courage.'

He relates that Philip Warner recognized him as Sir Thomas's son and befriended him against ill-treatment at the hands of Sir Thomas's widow, which led to his escaping and settling with his mother's people.

A full consideration of all the known facts cannot but lead the impartial reader to the conclusion that, the finding of the Barbados Court notwithstanding, Indian Warner was the son of Sir Thomas.

After the acquittal of Colonel Warner the Members of the House of Assembly appointed him their Speaker, a testimony to his capacity and impartiality, and an expression of their resentment at the injustice which he had suffered.

On the 3rd November 1679 by Royal Grant of that date his property which he had formerly held under a grant of 1668, then known as 'Savannah'

(which he had voluntarily surrendered upon his accusation), was regranted to him, and at his request was renamed and described in the new grant as the 'Manor of Framlingham,' a reminiscence of Suffolk, the consideration for the grant being expressed as 'yielding and paying therefor yearly for ever unto His Majesty his heirs and successors a full grown Bore at and upon Ye Feast and Birth of our Lord Christ if lawfully demanded.'

From the return to him of his property it would seem that the King had by this time in some measure relented, but there is no other evidence of a restoration to the Royal favour.

Here ends this sorry tale. The only conclusion seems to be that drawn by Vere Oliver, the historian of the West Indies, that 'Sir Jonathan Atkins was prompted, perhaps by jealousy and sour temper, originating with some personal animosity, and that Colonel Warner was the victim of jealousy and intrigue.'

Other cases of the kind will occur to the reader (of which that of Warren Hastings is the best known), cases of grievous wrong suffered by the pioneers, who, while serving their country overseas, were the victims of malignant gossip and jealousy at home.

Colonel Warner continued to hold the office of Speaker of the House of Assembly till his death.

His letters from the Tower convey the impression of a man of great strength of character, brave in



adversity, sensitive of his honour, anxious to meet his accusers and clear his good name, and resentful of, and disgusted at, the arbitrary and unfair treatment to which he had been subjected.

Philip Warner married Henrietta, daughter of Colonel Henry Ashton and sole heir to her brother Henry. He died on the 23rd October 1689, leaving one son and four daughters, and was succeeded by his son Thomas.

## CHAPTER IV

Sir Thomas's Right to Arms—History of, and of Quarterings—  
Pedigree reproduced in two Parts: Part I, including Collateral  
Relations in England down to the early part of the Eighteenth  
Century; Part II, Descendants in Main Line and Principal  
Branches

It is now proposed to defer following the line of Philip Warner's descendants to a later stage, and to give here an account of Sir Thomas's pedigree and of his right to armorial bearings, with some observations on the history of Family Trees.

In early times, before the general adoption of any effective system of registration, unless a family were of such standing as to come within the scope of the Inquisitions Post Mortem, or the Visitations of the Heralds, there was great difficulty in obtaining the necessary proofs in cases where people had married or settled in other parts of the country, or gone to live abroad, or where any considerable period had elapsed since the happening of the event requiring proof. It was therefore advisable, and still is, that pedigrees should be kept up to date, from time to time, while the memory of persons still living is available, as a source of information. "The term Family Tree is itself of historical interest, the word "Stemma" being used both as a family tree and as a botanical one.

"The Biblical "Stem of Jesse" came to be represented in England and on the Continent by medieval artists and craftsmen by "Jesse Windows," as they



## SIR THOMAS WARNER

were called, showing the figure of the original ancestor as the root, and those of his descendants distributed among the branches. Instances of these and of altarpieces in stone, which must once have rivalled them in brilliance of colour, are to be found in many Cathedrals and Churches.

'By the time of the Middle Ages the Family Tree had come to be represented much more simply, the branches had become merely straight lines and the names of the descendants were inscribed in circles dependent from them. Sixteenth-century manuscripts on vellum are in existence, showing pedigrees of English nobility, the lines being in red and the circles having a narrow edge of light green. Beautifully illuminated coats of arms are placed in the margin or in convenient spaces in the descent; while this is shown quite clearly the general effect is equally satisfactory from the artistic point of view.'<sup>1</sup>

The vellum roll of Sir Thomas's pedigree in the possession of the family conforms in detail with the description here given.

Owing to the impossibility of reproducing the full roll in its original form upon any adequate scale in a volume of this size, the principal features only are reproduced. The pedigree is dealt with in two parts, Part I being the 1629 pedigree beginning with John le Warner *temp.* Edward III, and extended to include Sir Thomas's kindred in England down to the early part of the eighteenth century;



## A CHRONICLE OF HIS FAMILY

Part II setting out the line of descent from Sir Thomas in the main line and its principal branches.

The Roll begins:

'An exact genealogy of the antient and worthy familie of the Warners whose antient seat was at Warners in Great Waltham in Essex with such illustrations and vouchers as are faithfully collected out of the Records in the Tower of London, the Registers of the Heralds Office, private evidences of this familie, divers monuments in Churches and other venerable proofs exactly setting forth how the Antient house was alienated and where it ended and how all these families of this surname now in existence in Suffolk are truly descended and derived.'

Then follows a picture (see illustration facing this page) inscribed:

'John le Warner the first of the familie that is mentioned in the Records of the Tower of London flourished at Great Waltham in Essex under King Ed. 3rd.'

Further on is shown a picture (facing page 87) to which is appended:

'The Graphical description of John Warner, Esq<sup>re</sup>, in the very same equipage as he appeared at the Tournament in Essex in the tyme of King Edward IV, and is depicted in an ould book in the Heralds Office made at the same time.'

In the body of the Roll appear the Monumental



JOHN LE WARNER  
(From the Original Pedigree)



## SIR THOMAS WARNER

Inscriptions in the Parish Church of Great Waltham referred to in Chapter I.

At the end of the Roll is depicted Sir Thomas Warner's coat of arms with its quarterings (facing page 88).

1. MALDON.
2. PACKELSHAM.
3. DINES.
4. HELION.
5. SWINBORNE.
6. GERNON.
7. BOUTETORT.
8. APPELYARD.
9. THORNBEE.

Later quarterings are:

10. EVERARD.
11. ASHTON.
12. SHIPLEY.
13. RUDYERD.
14. HARVEY.
15. MADDOX.
16. AUCHER.

The Arms of Ashton come in with the wife of Philip Warner in 1667. The others with the wife of Col. Edward Warner in 1804.

### NOTES UPON SOME OF THE QUARTERINGS

*Boutetort.* A John Boutetort is included in the 'Roll of Caerlaverock.'\* He was Warden of the

\* The Roll of Caerlaverock is one of the accepted sources of English Heraldry. It comprises the names of all those entitled to Arms who were engaged in the siege of the castle of that name in Dumfriesshire by Ed. I in 1300. It was compiled by the monks of a neighbouring monastery.



## A CHRONICLE OF HIS FAMILY

Forest of Dean in 19 Ed. I, an admiral of the King's Fleet. He is styled 'Lord of Mendelesham' in a letter to the Pope, 5 Ed. II. Governor of Framlingham Castle.

*Gernon* is the name of the family from which the Manor of Theydon Gernon in Essex, by which name it is included in Domesday, takes its name. From this family also is derived the name of another Essex manor, Stansted Mountfichet, Mountfichet being the surname of William Gernon to whom the lordship was granted by William the Conqueror. In or about 18 Rich. II John Gernon held the manor of Esthorp in Essex of the King in Chief.

*Helion.* Roll of Hen. III.

*Gernon and Swinburne.* Roll of Ed. II.

*Thornbury.* Roll of Rich. II.

The Roll ends with a statement that it was 'collected out of the most authentional records of this Kingdom by Jno. Philipott, Somerset Herald at Armes in ye year of Grace 1629' and a certificate by Henry St. George, Norroy King of Arms, that the pedigree is 'Very Rightly drawn.'

The pedigree is deduced from the following authorities: (a) 'The Collection of Philpot,' by which name is known a volume of manuscript in the Heralds' Office, collected and arranged by John Philpot, who became Somerset Herald in 1624 and died in 1645. These papers cover the first five generations. (b) The Visitations of the Counties.



DETAIL FROM THE ORIGINAL PEDIGREE



## SIR THOMAS WARNER

Reference, Suffolk 1612, C. 15.64 and Norfolk VII. 132.<sup>2</sup>

These records have been kept at different places, formerly at the Tower, now some at the Public Record Office, and some at the Heralds' Office.

The right to arms originates either in user or in grant, in many cases in both, as where ancient user is followed by subsequent grant, as here.

The arms 'Or a bend engrailed between six roses gules' were allowed by Camden, Clarendieux King at Arms, in 1609 and were granted to 'Warner of Essex now of Parham in Suffolk.'

The Crest is 'A Saracen's head couped below the shoulders habited chequy or and gules wreathed about the temples or and gules on the head a cap argent.'

The origin of the motto: 'Du Roye je le tiens' is unknown. It was probably adopted either by Sir Thomas or one of his descendants in reference to the Essex Ring. The scroll *ΟΙΟΣ ΤΩ ΘΕΩ*, Wholly in or for God, issuing out of the mouth of the figure as shown in the Parish Church of Great Waltham, was at one time thought to be the family motto, but that is an error. Scrolls of the kind are commonly found upon coats of arms and monumental inscriptions, and are now recognized as being merely invocatory.

The tabular form of pedigree has been used for the main line only; the branch lines are distinguished by the letters A, B, C.



The quarterings are (first line) Maldon, Packlesham, Dines, (second line) Helion, Swinborne, Gernon, Boutetort, (third line) Appleyard, Thornbury, Everard. Quarterings subsequent to 1629 are those of Ashton, through Philip Warner's wife, and those of Shipley, Rudyerd, Harvey, Maddox and Aucher through Colonel Edward Warner's wife.



## CHAPTER V

Of Sir Thomas's Grandfather, Francis of Framlingham and his families by his two Wives Elizabeth Appleyard and Mary Rouse, of the Cratfield and Parham Branches—Some Brasses, Monumental Inscriptions and Wills; of Edward Warner, Merchant Taylor

THE family history of this period might be written almost entirely from its monumental inscriptions alone. The parish churches of Parham and Cratfield in Suffolk, and the churches of St. Andrew Undershaft and St. Andrew's, Holborn, in London, contain monumental inscriptions extending from 1617 to the most recent times.

Some of these, particularly such as supply evidence of relationship, are reproduced here, and, together with the wills of which extracts are given, furnish valuable evidence not only of relationship but also of the position of the family from time to time.

FRANCIS OF FRAMLINGHAM's family by his first wife Elizabeth Appleyard.

### *WILLIAM OF FRAMLINGHAM*

In St. Mary's Church, Cratfield, is an escutcheon commemorating the marriage of William, displaying the arms of Warner four coats Appleyard, Thornbury, Courthope, Gernegan, impaling Jernegan eight coats, Warner, Inglethorpe, Fitzosbert-Harling, Gonville, Kelvedon, Clyfton, Jernigan.<sup>1</sup>

By his will dated 10th October 1558, proved 7th March 1559 (new style), Robert Appleyard,



## SIR THOMAS WARNER

otherwise styled Appleton, of Framlingham-at-the-castle, bequeathed property in Cratfield, Linstead, Wethendale and Fressingfield in Suffolk 'to grandson Robert Warner at the age of 21,' other lands to 'Francis Warner my son-in-law and Anne my wife for life and then to my grandchildren William, Francis and Priscilla Warner in tail' (Book 66, Vesye, p. 57*b*, Norwich Consistory).

Robert Warner, the grandson, died without issue.

### ROBERT OF CRATFIELD

In the church at Cratfield are two memorial brasses bearing the Warner Arms and inscribed:

#### ROBERT WARNER SENIOR, 1654

*Hic Jacet Robertus Warner Sen., Gen. Vir Prudens Pius et Honestus Filius et Haeres Gulielmi Warner nup. de Cratfield Filii et Haeredis Francisci Warner de Parham Arm. et Margaretae Fernegam unius filiae Gergii Fernegam nuper de Somerletowne militis aetatis suae 80 1645 et Eliz uxor epis filia Alexandri Courtope de Crombrooke in Comitatu Cantuariensi Armiger aetat. Suae [undecipherable]*

#### ROBERT WARNER JUNIOR, 1641

*Hic Jacet Robert Warner Jun. Gent. son and heir of Robert Warner and Margaret his wife, died in August 1641 aged 23.<sup>2</sup>*

### FRANCIS WARNER

Francis Warner, Robert of Cratfield's younger brother, was High Sheriff of London in 1659/60. He married Eleanor, daughter of Sir Thomas

## A CHRONICLE OF HIS FAMILY

Andrews, who was Lord Mayor of London in 1649 and 1651.

In 1668 he bought the manor of Badmondisfield, Wickhambrook, Suffolk, from Sir Henry North, where he settled and lived till his death in 1684 at the age of 71.<sup>3</sup> Badmondisfield Hall is a moated house dating back to the early Stuart period, and is celebrated in story as the scene of *In the Golden Days* by Edna Lyall.

Sir Henry North, from whom Francis bought Badmondisfield, was a member of the same family as Captain Roger North with whom Sir Thomas was associated in the Guiana venture.

Andrews Warner, the only surviving son of Francis, married Elizabeth, daughter of Richard Cutts of Clare, Suffolk. He died 17th December 1717 at the age of 60. His son Poulett Warner inherited the estate, but, dying without male issue, the property passed to his sister Damaris, thus bringing to an end this branch of the Warner family (Warner Bromley pedigree).

The line of descent from Robert of Cratfield then reverts to the issue of Sir Thomas Warner.

FRANCIS OF FRAMLINGHAM's family by his second wife Mary Rouse. In his will he is described as of Parham.

Mary Rouse was the daughter of Sir Edmund Rouse of Henham Hall, which came into the possession of the Rouse family in 1533. Sir John was a staunch supporter of the Royalist cause, and



Henham Hall was the scene of many a secret meeting of the adherents of the Stuarts when the toast of 'the King over the water' was drunk.

*WILL OF FRANCIS WARNER*

Francis Warner of Parham Co. Suffolk. Gent. Will dated 5 Jan. 3 Jac: proved 14 May 1606 by Ex'ors (28 Stafford) 'To be buried at Parham. Wainefarthinge where I was born.' To Edmund Warner my son my Mansion House etc in Parham & Framlingham & Lands in Stradbroke & his heirs male, in default to Edward Warner my son, Henry Warner my son, Robert Warner my grandson, John Warner my grandson. To Edward Warner my son lands in Leiston. Henry Warner my son lands in Crannesford and Great Glemham. Mary Girlinge my grand child lands in Sutton, Hollisley, Shottisham, & Eyke. 30 acres in Framlingham Park by lease to me by Thomas Colvill, Gent, my son in law. Anne Warner my dau. in law a chain of gold. To Edmund Warner my son plate, armor, seal at arms. Dan Colvill £20. Dorothe my niece, Ursula Warner dau. of my son Edmund Warner, Frances Girlinge dau. of Wm Girlinge Gent. Elizabeth Warner wife of Robert Warner Gent; Eliza Cocke dau. of Robert Buxston Esq.; Mistris Saunders of Buxton, Eliz dau. of cozen Reynoldes, Ann Spalding, Kath Hogge, Anne Manchepe, widow, Frances Holbeck wife, Francis Asteley my grandchild. Thos. Asteley my best horse. To Isaac

Asteley & Dorothy Asteley, children of the said Thos silver spoons. Wm Girling Gent a gelding. Cousin Robt Buxston Esq a cup. Cozen Calles wife 40 s. Wife of John Reydon of Hacheston 20 s. Francis Warner my grandchild. John Warner my grandchild £100 on condition he give up all right of any of my lands bequeathed by this Will & to Robert Warner my grandchild £100 on the same condition after his said brother John is paid. Francis Call son of Anthony Call 40 s. Furniture etc to my 3 sons Edmund, Edward, & Henry equally. Son in law Thos Colvill, Gent, £WP, My 2 sons Edmund & Edward Ex'ors.

Witnessed by Thomas Wythe,  
Thomas Stofer,  
Robert Northall,  
Edmund Jordane.

*EDMUND OF PARHAM*

In the church at Otteley about six miles north of Woodbridge there is a monument to John Gosnold, Edmund Warner's brother-in-law, who died in 1628, setting forth that he was descended from the right ancient and worthy families of Nawnton and Wingfield, and was a gentleman usher to Queen Elizabeth and King James, and afterwards to Charles I.

Of the family of Gosnold it is recorded that they suffered much at the time of the Great Rebellion.

*ANTHONIE WARNER*

By his will dated 14th April 1601 Anthonie



Warner of Stradbrook, about 4 miles west of Cratfield, devised his lands in Stradbrook and Wingfield, about 3 miles north-west of Stradbrook, to 'my nephew Edmund Warner' and he makes reference to 'my nephews Edward and Robert and my daughter Dorothy, Francis my brother, Eliza Covell my niece, Thomas Astley my kinsman, Augustin Blowe my cousin' (Will proved 25th May 1601, Norwich, folio 289).

In the parish church at Parham is a memorial stone, the earliest of the family there, to Edmund and his wife Anne, reproduced below.

PARHAM CHURCH, SUFFOLK

TO EK TOY ΠΝΕΥΜΑΤΟΣ ΓΕΓΕΜΜΕΜΕΝΟΝ ΠΝΕΥΜΑ ΕΣΤΙ  
HIC IN OCCIDUO CINERE, USQ DUM SOL JUSTITIAE EXORIATUR

EXTINCTUS JACET EDMUNDUS WARNER  
E GENEROS A IN HOC VIVINIO FAMILIA, ARMIGER  
VIR SANE PIETATE EXIMIO VITAQ INTEGERRIMA  
PRUDENS VRBANUS SOBVIUS

IN DIUITES LVITA ET PAUPERES HOSPITALIS  
PATRIA SVAE COMMODIS GRAVITER INSERVIENTIS  
VIRTUTIBUS PATRONUS

VITVS INIMICVS  
VXOREM DUXIT ANNAM FILIAM ROBERTI GOSNOLD  
DE OTELY ARMIGERI  
QUAE SUB HOC ETIAM MARMORE, STELLAM  
EXPECTAT MATUTINAM

OBIIT LLE 20 DIE SEPTEMBRIS ANNO 1617  
HAEC EUSDEM MENSIS 26 ANNOQ JESU SALV 1652  
QUA NATURA PERMISERIT ORDINE SEQUEMER  
TO EK ΤΕΣΣΑΡΚΟΣ ΓΕΓΕΜΜΕΜΕΝΟΝ ΣΑΡΚΕ ΕΣΤΙ \*

\* The Greek characters mean:

That which is begotten of the Spirit is Spirit

That which is begotten of the Flesh is Flesh

(Mem: Stone) 1.

WILL OF EDWARD WARNER

Edward Warner Citizen and Merchant Taylor of London.

Will dated 13th June, proved 31 October 1628 by Francis Warner the nephew (87 Barrington). To the poor children of Christ's Hospital £10. To the hospitals of Bridewell and Bethlem each £50. For a dinner at my funeral £10. To the merchant taylors £30 for a dinner, & to the clerk and beedle each £5. £30 for a supper to my friends. £6 10s. each to the widows in the almshouses of the merchant taylors. To the same Company my 3 gilt silver wine boles, to be new gilded and my arms to be thereon engraven, £10 to the 5 following prisons viz the Counters in the Poultry, Woodstrete, Ludgate, Newgate, & the King's bench in Southwark. To my cousin Francis Ashley of Gray's Inn, Gent, 40s. for a ring, and the like sum to Frances Ashley his mother. To my sister Ann Warner, late wife of my brother Edmund Warner, deceased, £10 & to my nephews Henry, John, & Robert Warner £100 each at 21. To another of his sons Edward my godson £200 at 21. To my said brother's daughters viz Ursula, Ann, Dorothe, & Mary Warner £100 each at 21. To my brother Henry Warner £100, & to his wife 40s., & to his son Francis £50 at 21. To my brother in law Tho Covell £10 & release him of his debt of £6 13 4. To Mary Savage, one of my late wife's sisters £5, & to Sarah Hall, another one, £10. To



John Okins my late apprentice £20. To my cousin Robert Warner of Cratfield, co Suffolk, £20, & to his wife 40s. To his brother Tho. Warner £20, & to Edward Warner my godson, son of the said Thos Warner £20 at 21, and to the dau of the said Thos Warner, who lives with my sister Covell in Suffolk £10 at 21. To Mary Gurling, widow, late wife of my cosin Wm Gurling (*vide* Note) late of Graie's Inn deceased, 40s. To my loving friend Robt Graye £5 for a supper to my friends Mr. Elnor, Mr. Underhill, Mr. Mildmay, etc. To my son in law Wm Lewis & Abigail his wife, the dau of my late wife Margaret Warner deceased, £10 each if they give up all claim to benefit by her will. All residue to my nephew Francis Warner of the Inner Temple, Gent, son & heir of my late brother Edmund Warner, deceased, and appoint him sole Ex'or. A monument to be erected to my memory with my arms engraven thereon. To my sister Eliz Covell, wife of Thos Covell £20 a year charged on my lands at Parham, Hacheston, Eson, & Framlingham, co Suffolk, & £10 6s. a year for ever to buy bread to be distributed to 40 poor people viz 12 in Parham, 12 in Hacheston, & 16 in Framlingham.

NOTE.—George Gurling, son and heir of William Gurling of Stradbrook, Esq., deceased, entered Gray's Inn 21 Nov. 1627; and William Gurling of Stradbroke co. Suffolk, son of William

Gurling of Gray's Inn, deceased, on 11 Febr. 1632-3.

In the parish Church of St. Andrew Undershaft, London, on the wall of the south aisle is a monument to Edward Warner bearing the following inscription:

*Edward Warner Esq a worthy Citizen and Merchant of London, who departed this mortal life the 28 day of October 1628, he was the second son of Francis Warner of Parham in the County of Suffolk, Esquire by Mary his second wife Daughter and Co-heire of Sir Edmund Rowse of the said County, Knight which Frances Warner was truely and lineally descended from the ancient and generous Family of the Warners who possessed a place of their own name at Warners Hall in Great Waltham in the County of Essex.*

*He dyed without issue and made Francis Warner of Parham aforesaid Esquire his Nephew and next heire in blood the Executor of his will and principall heire of his estate who out of duty & affection to the memory of his dear Uncle hath dedicated this Monument.*

*He had to his first wife Mary, daughter of Master Aylmer of Riscden in Hartfordshire, and to his second, Margaret daughter of Master John Cheynie*

St. Andrew Undershaft at the corner of Leadenhall Street and St. Mary Axe, is one of many churches of great antiquity in the City of London, in which are to be found numbers of memorial



## SIR THOMAS WARNER

tablets and brasses not of historic interest only but of great artistic value as examples of the craftsmanship of their day. St. Andrew is especially rich in these. The monument to Edward Warner is of handsome design and workmanship, of alabaster and black marble, with its armorial bearings well presented, the whole conveying a pleasing sense of proportion.

Among the other monuments in the church is one to John Stow, the historian of London, one of great interest, and many others. The monument of John Stow is visited annually by the Lord Mayor and aldermen, and a new pen put in the hand of the historian.

St. Andrew was rebuilt 400 years ago. Its Rector to-day is the Rt. Rev. Bishop W. W. Perrin, D.D., to whom grateful acknowledgment is due for the work of cleansing and restoration of the monuments and memorials in the church which has but recently been carried out.

## FRANCIS OF MOULSEY

Eldest son of Edmund. Will dated 20th August 1651. Gifts 'to poor of Parham, Lancheston, Boyton, Stradbroke and Framlingham'; 'my eldest son John all my lands.' Legacies to his daughters Ann, Eliza, and Mary; directs that his sons Francys, Edmond, and Robert be bound to merchants; to his brother Edward \* Doctor of Physicke, his best

\* 'Edward Warner' (see Chapter VI).

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horse, to his brother Robert his next best horse, 'to every of my own three sisters and to my niece Mary Alston' money to buy a ring; 'my brother in law John Rouse and my kinsman Francys Warner \* of London to be executors during minority of my son John.' Proved with a codicil 24th September 1658. Mary Warner then dead. (541, Wooton.)

\* Second son of Robert of Cratfield.



## CHAPTER VI

Of Sir John Warner, Bart.—He and his Wife become Roman Catholics—Charles II's Reference to him—Sister Clare of Jesus—English Order of 'Poor Clares', 'Ladies of Pontoise'—Sir John's brother Francis drowned at Nieuport

SIR JOHN is not to be confused with another of the same name, who was born in Warwickshire in 1628, and was educated and ordained a priest in Spain. He became a confessor to James II and died in Paris in 1692.

Of the John Warner with whom we are concerned a very complete account has been preserved in an old book entitled *The Life of the Lady Warner of Parham in Suffolk*: 'In Religion called Sister Clare of Jesus,' written by a Catholic gentleman. London. Printed by Thos. Hales in the year 1693. It is dedicated to the Queen, the wife of James II, who was still alive at the time.

It is of special value as containing evidence of family relationship, and is of interest generally for the story it tells of the times and its many references to contemporary persons and events.

Sir John, who is described as 'of the ancient family of Warner of Warner's Hall in Great Waltham, Essex,' was born on the 14th May 1638.<sup>1</sup> He was the eldest son of Francis of Moulsey. He married Trevor, daughter of Sir Thomas Hanmer of Hanmer Hall in Flint, Bart., formerly cup-bearer to Charles I. Her mother was Elizabeth Baker, of the ancient family of the Bakers of Whittingham



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Hall, Suffolk, a Maid of Honour to Queen Henrietta Maria. Sir Thomas after the death of his first wife lived at Hengrave Hall near Bury in Suffolk and married his second wife Susan, daughter of Sir Thomas Harvey, whose wife was Lady Penelope Gage.

Sir John and his wife were married in London by Dr. John Warner, Lord Bishop of Rochester,\* upon the 7th June 1659. In 1660 Sir John was qualified as a Knight of the Royal Oak and was created a Baronet by Charles II in the same year. Sir John and his wife met for the first time as spectators of the 'splendid and magnificent' funeral of the Protector. They lived at first at his house at Parham and had two daughters, Catherine born 23rd March 1660 and Susan born the 15th July 1663, but no sons. Both Sir John and his wife subsequently became Roman Catholics, Lady Warner first, and Sir John shortly afterwards, but in the meanwhile, the times being troublous, they determined to leave England. Rumour of their intentions having got abroad, Sir John's uncle, Dr. Edward Warner,† one of the King's physicians, 'procured an order to stop them and petitioned the King and Council for a grant of Sir John's estate to keep it out of the Jesuits' hands, who, as was

\* The Dr. John Warner, Bishop of Rochester, who officiated at the marriage of Sir John, does not appear to be any relation. He was a son of Harman Warner of London, Merchant Taylor. It is from him that the family of Lee-Warner of Walsingham Abbey, Norfolk, derive the name of Warner, his niece having married a Lee.  
 † Of Emanuel College, Cambridge; M.A., 1638; a Doctor of Medicine of Padua, 1648; Hon. Fellow, College of Physicians, 1664.



LADY WARNER  
 (SISTER CLARE OF JESUS)



alleged, had persuaded him out of his estate as well as his religion, and had been the principal authors of his rash undertaking so imprudent a course of life.' The King, who loved not importunities of this kind, endeavoured to put him off with a jest, telling him, 'If Sir John had a mind to make himself one of God Almighty's fools he must have patience, and that if he would let him alone a little he himself would soon be weary of the course he had undertaken.' The King's jest is characteristic. Sir John, however, before leaving England, had made a settlement of his property upon his brother Francis.

In January 1667 Francis Warner went to Liége 'to thank Sir John for the Estate he had given him,' and in an attempt to return to England during a storm he was wrecked on a sandbank at the entrance of the harbour of Nieuport, and was drowned on the 3rd April of that year. His body was discovered at low tide by fishermen, who cut off his fingers so as to get the rings which he wore, and took them to a jeweller for sale. In this way his body came to be identified, and was buried by the Carthusians, of which Order he at that time intended to become a member. The death of Francis led to Sir John's returning to England to resettle the property upon his second and then only brother Edmund, a merchant of London. His arrival fell out about the time that the Dutch designed to land in England, and appeared upon the coasts of Suffolk about seven miles from his house at Parham, whereupon some

malicious persons gave out that he was privately come to England and lay hid in his house with a great many Papists he had brought also with him to join the Dutch.'

Acting upon this information the Earl of Suffolk, Lord-Lieutenant of the County, had committed Sir John's steward to prison, and had searched his house, and put a guard upon it.

'Sir John [whose family as well as himself had always been Loyal Sufferers for the King], being more concerned to be accused of such black crimes as Treason and Rebellion were than he would have been for any other accusation they could have laid to his charge,' immediately addressed himself to the Lord-Lieutenant, 'who assured him that the former orders he had given were rather to secure his house from the rabble that threatened to pull it down than out of the least suspicion or doubt of his Loyalty, and ordered that the steward be put out of prison and the guards discharged.'

Sir John then, having been received at Framlingham by his friends with great rejoicing, and the 'ringing of bells,' proceeded to London, resettled his property, and then returned to the Continent where, at Graveling in the Church of the English Poor Clares on the 5th May 1667, he became a member of that Order.

His two daughters and his sister Elizabeth followed Sister Clare in taking the veil.

'At Sir John's decease the title became extinct.'



## SIR THOMAS WARNER

Among the records of the Convent of 'The English Ladies of Pontoise,' near Paris, there is the following entry in the handwriting of the Lady Abbess Neville who died in 1689, aged 84: 'A token to ye Community from Mrs. Susan Warner when she entered to be religious at Dunkirk which was no less a concurring kindness from her worthy Father Revd. Father Clare (Sir John Warner) and ye consent and goodwill of his other daughter Dame Agnes \* Warner: 428 livres. 12 sous.'

\* Apparently a mistake for Catherine, Sir John's other daughter.

## CHAPTER VII

Of Edmund Warner, Merchant of London—The 'Infant' Edmund, and his sister Mary—The Warner Almshouse and the 'Boyton Trust'

SIR JOHN'S brother Edmund (to whom he had transferred his property as related in the last chapter), a London merchant, died in 1696 intestate, leaving an only son Edmund, an infant, his heir-at-law, and his widow Ann, formerly Ann Hawes, a daughter Mary, and two other daughters.

At the time of his death he was possessed of considerable property both freehold and copyhold, including the manor of Hickling Hall and a capital messuage called Parham House at Parham, the Manor of Boyton and other property in Suffolk.

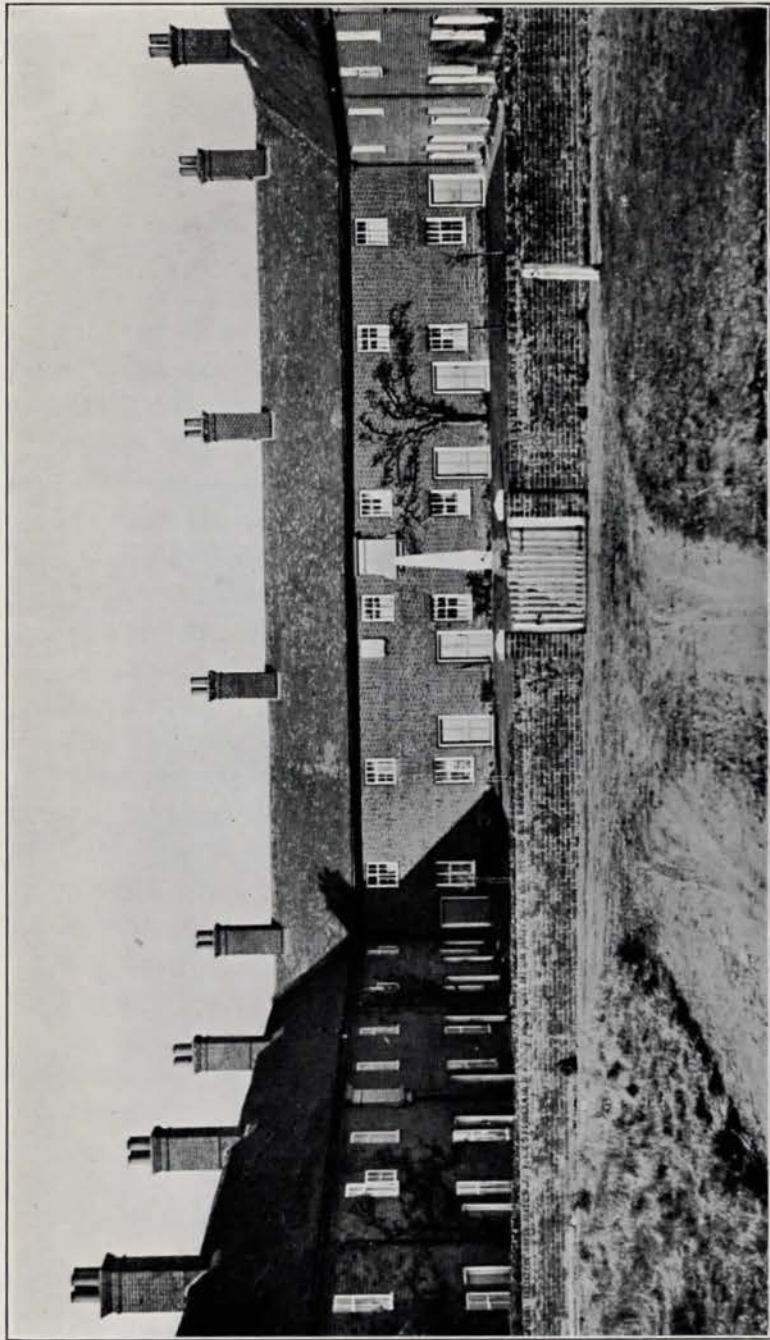
In order to satisfy charges upon the property arising out of settlements which had been made by Sir John, and to meet liabilities of Edmund's arising from losses in trade occasioned by the war with France, it became necessary to seek the aid of Parliament which led to the enactment of two Acts, Nos. 18 and 43 Will. III, 'enabling Trustees to sell part of the estate of Edmund Warner deceased for the payment of his debts and for preserving the rest for the benefit of his heirs.' The Infant Edmund died in 1721 unmarried without issue, and his property became vested in his sister Mary Warner.<sup>1</sup> By her will dated the 10th November



SIR THOMAS WARNER

1724, proved the 24th April 1738, in which she is described as of the Parish of St. James, Clerkenwell, Middlesex, after directing that she is to be 'buried in the chancell of the Parish Church of Parham in the County of Suffolk, being the burying place of our family,' she gives her Manor of Boyton and all her lands in the parishes of Boyton, Stradbrook, Denington and elsewhere in the county of Suffolk to her Mother for life, and after her decease to 'her trusty and faithful friends Sir Edward Duke of Benhall, Bart.; Sir John Rowe of Henham, Sir William Barker of Ipswich, Bart.; Dudley North of Glemham Hall, Esq.; Thomas Lemman, and Thomas Hawes of London upon trust, to build a house or hospital at Boyton for the convenient accommodation and reception of 12 poor old decayed persons whereof 6 are to be men and 6 women, all of them being members of the Church of England.' Provision is made for the weekly payment to each of these persons of 'the sum of five shillings into their own hands that they themselves may be better enabled to take care and provide for their own respective maintenance without being liable to so great impositions as often happens when the case is otherwise,' and provision is made for the keeping up of the numbers of the inmates, for preference being given to 'retainers or servants of our family,' also for the payment of £10 a year to the minister of the Parish Church of Boyton as a reward for his reading the Church prayers every Wednes-





[Photo, "East Anglian Daily Times"]

BOYTON ALMSHOUSES

## A CHRONICLE OF HIS FAMILY

day and Friday to the inmates, and a like sum of £10 to the master of the school at Stradbrook for teaching 10 poor children, and the sum of £5 at Christmas to be divided between the poor families of each of the Parishes of Denington and Parham who shall not receive any monies from the Parish rates. 'Any surplus funds to be applied for the discharging of such insolvent debtors within the county of Suffolk whose respective debts shall not exceed £10.' A sum of £250 is given to the poor of St. Bartholomew's Hospital and a like sum to the Hospital for Incurables in Mind. Mary Warner died unmarried in 1736 and is buried at Parham.

In the Parish Church at Denington, a small village about two miles north of Framlingham, on the north wall a record of Mary Warner's benefaction to the parish is inscribed.

Since Mary Warner's death, the income of the Trust being much greater than the expenditure, under various orders of the Court of Chancery the surplus has been appropriated to the extension of the Alms House, and to the increase in the numbers of its inmates and their allowances.

The property comprised in the Charity includes in addition to Government securities the perpetual advowson of the Rectory of Boyton St. Andrews, the Manor and Quit Rents of Boyton, Boyton Wood, and farm lands of over 1,200 acres at Boyton, Stradbrook and elsewhere.<sup>2</sup>



This chapter affords interesting evidence of a custom of the period. 'The maintenance of the poor through the agency of local public authorities was first attempted in Tudor and Stuart times. By the time of Queen Anne's reign these efforts had come to be greatly supplemented by the establishment of Almshouses through the private benefaction of well-to-do people. The age of Anne was very generous in foundations of this type.'<sup>3</sup> The Boyton Trust is a case in point, as also are the benefactions under the Wills of Edmund Warner and Francis Warner of Moulsey.

Another custom of the time of which the will of Francis Warner of Moulsey (see Chapter V) supplies evidence was the custom of apprenticing younger sons to merchants, of which it has been stated: 'It was one of England's great advantages in her struggles with the continent that the younger sons of the landed gentry were willing, as the cadets of the continental nobility were not, to mingle in the common avocations of mankind and not to "stand upon their gentry." It was the close personal connection between the landed and trading interests that gave stability and unity to the social fabric of England which was lacking to the régime in France with its sharp distinction of interest between noblesse and bourgeoisie.'<sup>4</sup>

Trade and commerce, like adventure in the proper sense of the term, were the natural outlet for the energies of younger sons. It was not till a later

date, and then for a relatively limited time, that under Hanoverian influences the snobbish idea that commerce was beneath the dignity of one of gentle birth came to be entertained.



## CHAPTER VIII

'The Essex Ring'—The Claim of the 'Warner Ring' and the 'Thynne' to be the 'Essex Ring' considered, and the Claim of the 'Warner Ring' to be the one given to Elizabeth by Mary Queen of Scots

HERE it is proposed to relate the story of the great family heirloom, the 'Essex Ring,' a subject of great historical interest.

There are two rings known respectively as the 'Warner Ring' and the 'Thynne Ring' in respect of both of which it is claimed that it is the identical ring which, as the old story goes, was given to the Earl of Essex by Queen Elizabeth with a promise that, should he ever be in extreme peril and should send her the ring, she would protect him; how Essex in the Tower of London under sentence of death, sent the ring to the Queen, but it miscarried, falling by mistake into the hands of the Countess of Nottingham instead of those of her sister Lady Scroope, to whom Essex had sent it, and that the Countess, acting under the influence of her husband, then Lord High Admiral of England, and an enemy of Essex, instead of delivering the ring to the Queen, kept it. The story goes on to tell how when the Countess was on her death-bed she sent a message to the Queen, begging her to come to her as she had a secret for her ears only, and that she could not die in peace without revealing it, and how the Queen, when told, was so enraged that 'she shook

## A CHRONICLE OF HIS FAMILY

the dying Countess on her bed, saying, "God may forgive you, but I never can," and that the Queen died within a month of a broken heart.'

This is the story upon which generations of Englishmen have been brought up. Upon them the story and the scene of the Countess's death has made an indelible impression.

The story of the two rings is as follows:

The *Warner Ring* was given by Charles I to Sir Thomas Warner in 1629 on the occasion of his being knighted at Hampton Court 'for his energetic activities in extending His Majesty's dominions in America.' From him it descended to his son, and so on from father to son as an heirloom until it came to Charles William Warner, C.B., Attorney-General of Trinidad, from whose house in Port of Spain it was stolen in the year 1863.

It has always been a treasured tradition of the family that the ring was the 'Essex Ring,' and it is in reference to it that the family motto 'Du Roi je le tiens' is believed to have been adopted.

Two hundred years ago, in the Will of Colonel Edward Warner of Antigua, great-grandson of Sir Thomas, dated December 1731, the ring is described as 'the diamond ring in the shape of a heart supposed to be that which was given by Queen Elizabeth to the Earl of Essex'; and Ashton Warner, brother of Colonel Edward Warner, in his will dated July 1750 devises as follows: 'the diamond ring I have commonly called Queen Elizabeth's ring and



my great Bible, shall go to my son Thomas and descend for ever to my heirs-at-law as heirlooms.'

The *Thynne Ring* is said to have descended from Lady Frances Devereux, the daughter of the Earl of Essex, in unbroken succession in the female line till it came to Louisa, daughter of John, Earl of Granville, who married Thomas Thynne, second Viscount Weymouth.

In comparing the history of the two rings the Warner ring clearly has the advantage of origin. It came to the family direct from Charles I, to whom in the ordinary course of succession it would have come through James I from Elizabeth.

*In the case of the Thynne ring* the question is, from whom did Lady Frances acquire it; how did it get into the family?

*The Lives and Letters of the Devereux* by Captain Walter Bouchier Devereux, R.N., published in 1853, from which an answer might have been expected, is silent upon the point, the author seeming to discredit the idea that the family ring ever belonged to Lady Frances, as he makes a point of the fact that in 'the very long curious and minute will of Lady Frances, afterwards Duchess of Somerset, no mention is made of any such ring': and in referring to the ring as being in the possession of the Rev. Lord John Thynne of Hamnes in Bedfordshire, he says: 'Whether it be *the* ring or not it is both as a work of art and as an historical relic of great value and of high interest.'

Does it not seem inconceivable that, if Lady Frances owned a ring of such historic value and artistic merit, she could possibly have failed to make reference to it in a will of the character described?

If Captain Devereux's conclusion is right, and the ring did not come through Lady Frances, the whole foundation for the claim goes.

If he is wrong, and the ring did come through Lady Frances, the question from whom she obtained it still remains unanswered.

Among many letters upon the subject that have appeared in the Press of late years there has been a suggestion that 'the ring must have come through a member of the Nottingham family or even from the Queen herself'; but this is the merest surmise, and there is no evidence to support either suggestion.

Is not the only fair conclusion that the Thynne ring, while undoubtedly a ring of the period, and such as may well have come into the possession of a family of the position of the Devereux, has no claim whatsoever to identity with the Essex ring?

Upon the subject of the Ring Episode, as the old story has been called, modern historians are divided in opinion, some discrediting it as lacking historical foundation, others inclining to accept it. The former lay stress upon the fact that its first appearance in print, about 1650, was in a publication called *The History of the Queen and her Favourits* by a 'Person of Quality,' which they discredit as being of no historical value and quite unreliable.



SIR THOMAS WARNER

The author of *The Lives and Letters of the Devereux*, on the other hand, after a careful examination of all the authorities, inclines to accept the story as true.

As will be seen, there is older and better authority for the acceptance of this view than the source selected for condemnation by those who are of a different opinion.

The history of the story—which, wherever told, is always the same as related here—is as follows:

1. It is first heard of as being told to Prince Maurice of Nassau, the son of William the Silent, by Sir Dudley Carlton, afterwards Lord Dorchester, who was Ambassador at Nassau during the reign of James I.

2. It is next referred to in an early pamphlet of Lord Clarendon's entitled *Disparity between the Earl of Essex and the Duke of Buckingham*, written while Lord Clarendon was still at Magdalen College, Oxford, of which he became a member in 1621.

3. It appears later in Paris in 1688 in *A Memorandum to serve for a History of Holland*, written by Mr. Aubrey de Maurier, as having been told by Prince Maurice to his father, and by his father to him.

Surely evidence originating from such a source as the word of a British Ambassador upon such a subject is not to be lightly discredited.

In any attempt to form an opinion upon the subject, the following should be borne in mind:



- (a) Queen Elizabeth died within a month of Lady Nottingham's death.
- (b) After the warrant for Essex's execution was signed by the Queen, she delayed its being carried out, and it was only after some days had passed without any petition coming from Essex that she gave the final order.
- (c) The historian Camden expresses it as his opinion that Elizabeth's chief reason for allowing the Earl to be executed was his supposed pride and obstinacy in not applying to her for mercy.

Old beliefs die hard. Does not the verdict of those who do not accept the story amount at most to but one of 'Not proven,' a verdict that might as well be applied to no small part of what is accepted as history?

No contemporary description or drawing of the Essex Ring exists, with which to compare the Thynne and the Warner rings, which differ totally in kind and appearance. The former is a sardonyx cameo upon which is carved a portrait of Queen Elizabeth in profile, the latter is a rose diamond in the shape of a heart. Woodcuts of the two rings are here reproduced, and are also shown in *Finger Ring Lore* by W. Jones, F.S.A., published by Chatto and Windus in 1898, in the *Lives and Letters of the Devereux*, and in other publications.

The recent history of the Thynne ring is that it



THE WARNER RING



THE THYNNE RING



was sold at Christie's on the 18th May 1911 at the sale of the Thynne heirlooms when it was bought by Duveen Bros.

It was sold again at Christie's on the 12th July 1927 and was bought by Mr. Ernest S. Macower, who subsequently presented it to Westminster Abbey, where it now occupies a position of honour upon Queen Elizabeth's monument in Henry VII's chapel.

The question necessarily arises, how does it come about that the Abbey authorities were so ill advised as to accept for such distinction an object of so doubtful a history? They certainly would not knowingly be parties to allowing the Abbey to be used as a repository of unreliable historical exhibits.

Of the Warner ring no trace has been found since its loss in 1863, when it was stolen from Mr. Warner's house in Trinidad during his wife's temporary residence in England, out of an escritoire in which he kept small articles of personal value. His letter breaking the news to his wife gives some idea of his great distress at the loss of the historic family heirloom.

But the Warner ring claims to be of historical value upon quite another ground.

When in 1564 Mary Queen of Scots married Darnley she sent Elizabeth, 'her cousin of England,' a diamond ring in the form of a heart as a present in token of the event, and of her affection.

The ring was accompanied by some Latin lines

by George Buchanan, the eminent Scottish scholar of the day.

These lines are included in the *Poemata* of Buchanan, a small volume published in 1641, and together with the introductory words which precede them, are printed here in the original Latin with a translation.<sup>1</sup>

## GEORGE BUCHANAN

POEMATA 1641

F 393 *Loquitur Adamas in cordis effugium  
sculptus, quem Maria Elizabethae  
Angl. misit.*

*Quod te jam pridem fruitur, videt ac amat abiens  
Haec pignus cordis gemma et imago mei est  
Non est Candidior, non est haec purior illi  
Quam vis dura magis, non mage firma tamen*

*This gem behold the emblem of my heart  
From which my cousin's image ne'er shall part,  
Clear in its lustre, spotless does it shine,  
'Tis clear and spotless as this heart of mine.  
What tho' the stone a greater hardness wears  
Superior firmness still the figure bears.*

Buchanan's lines must strike an impartial critic as a most accurate description of the Warner ring. Is it possible to conceive words more aptly suited to describe 'a diamond in the shape of a heart,' the accepted description of the Warner ring?

Buchanan's reference to the hardness of the stone

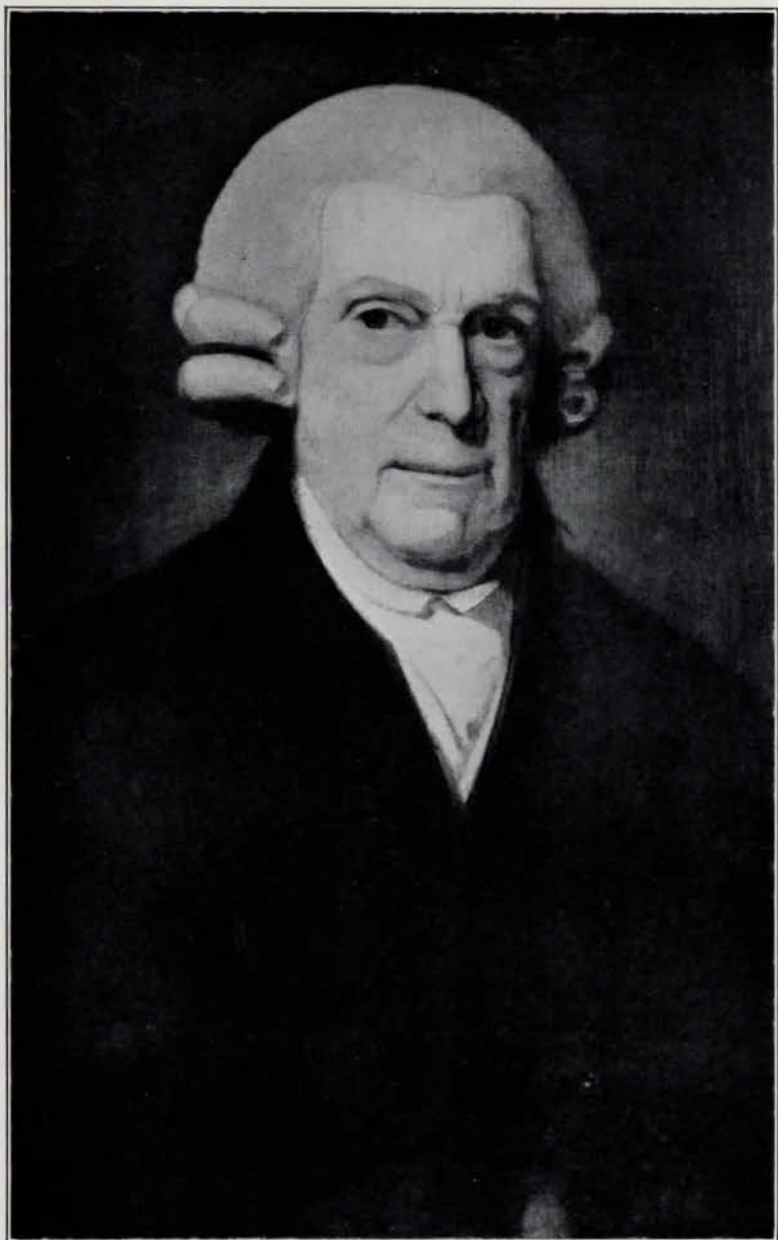


SIR THOMAS WARNER

on the one hand and the constancy of the emblem on the other excludes any other interpretation.

In connection with the tradition of the Warner family that their ring was the one given by Mary to Elizabeth, it is related that the descendants of Mary's French and Scotch servants in the neighbourhood of Craigmillar Castle near Edinburgh, where Mary was at one time a prisoner, used to request Colonel Edward Warner's wife, whose habit it was to wear it, 'to let them kiss their bonny Queen's ring.' The date must have been about the very early part of the last century.





JOSEPH WARNER, F.R.S.

## CHAPTER IX

JOSEPH WARNER, F.R.S., 1717-1801

**E**MINENT Surgeon. Second son of Ashton Warner of Antigua, born 16th December 1717, educated at Westminster. In 1734 he was apprenticed for seven years to Samuel Sharpe, surgeon of Guy's Hospital. In 1745 he volunteered to accompany the expedition under the Duke of Cumberland to suppress the rebellion in Scotland, was wounded at the Battle of Culloden, 'the '45' as it came to be called, and in February of the next year he was recalled to London and appointed Surgeon to Guy's Hospital. In 1750 he was Master of the Corporation of Surgeons and was the first member of the College of Surgeons, founded in that year. He lived at 35 Hatton Street, Hatton Garden, and was one of the three leading surgeons of his day. From his father he inherited the sugar plantations 'Hatton Garden' in Dominica and 'Clarke's Hill' in Antigua, and appears to have been a man of considerable substance. In 1786 he settled 'Clarke's Hill' on his eldest son William and his heirs.

By his will (Abercrombie, 562) he directs that he is to be buried in 'the new burial ground of St. Andrews Holborn in Gray's Inn Lane.' He died at his house in Hatton Street on the 24th July 1801. His picture by Samuel Medley is in the possession of the Royal College of Surgeons.



## WILLIAM WARNER

In the deed of settlement of 1786, William Warner is described as 'William Warner, late of Dominica, now residing in Devonshire Street near Queen Square, eldest son and heir apparent of Joseph Warner the elder.' William's brother Joseph is described as 'Joseph Warner the younger of Hatton Street, Esq. (the youngest son of Joseph Warner the elder),' and his sister Elizabeth is described as 'Elizabeth Thornton, wife of Robert Thornton of Hatton Street, only daughter now living of Joseph Warner the elder.'

In his will William Warner is described as residing in Berners Street, London. From these and other documentary evidence of the time it appears that by the middle of the eighteenth century Joseph Warner's family, like many other descendants of Sir Thomas Warner in the West Indies, had settled in England, making it their home and leaving their West Indian property, except for occasional visits, to the care of agents. Among those to whom compensation for slaves was paid there appears in the records of the House of Commons the following:

			£	s.	d.
1836	Samuel Warner	339 slaves	1832	9	7
	do	349 "	2334	18	7
1837	William Shand and Samuel Shand	246 "	3674	13	3

Samuel Warner was a nephew of Joseph Warner, and President of the Council of Antigua, 1831-5. Rodie Charles Shand and William Shand of Liverpool were related to the Warners by marriage.

William Warner's widow Mildred lived after her husband's death at Ralf House, Eltham, and died there. It was at Eltham that William Warner's great-uncle, Colonel Edward Warner, who died in 1732, settled when he came to reside in England.

William Warner's issue:

Joseph Thomas, eldest son, was killed on board the West India Packet Boat *Duke of Marlborough* in action with a French Privateer on 25th April 1804. By his will, proved 13th May of that year, he left all his property to his mother for life and after her death his real estate to his brother Edward, and his sister Jane. His executors were Thomas Norbury Kirby, of Antigua, and Brooke Taylor Ottley, Merchant of Dublin.

William, 3rd son, died an infant.

Ashton, 4th son. Midshipman on *Latine* frigate, Captain Skyner: lost on the coast of Holland with all her company in 1799.

In the burial ground of St. Andrew's, Holborn, in Gray's Inn Road, is the family vault with monumental inscriptions to those buried there, among whom are included Joseph Warner the elder and his wife, William his son and his wife, Charles Warner's first wife and many other members of the family.



*COLONEL EDWARD WARNER*

'Edward Warner, second son of William Warner, commenced his career very early in life as Secretary to his Uncle, General Sir Adam Williamson, whom he accompanied to his command in Jamaica. He entered the Army in 1798 and after serving in the Mediterranean, at the express desire of the Prince of Wales received a Lieutenancy in the 10th Hussars, and in 1803 acted as Aide-de-Camp to the Earl of Harrington on the London Staff. In 1805 he served in the West Indies as Major of Brigade and Aide-de-Camp to that distinguished officer Sir Charles Shipley, and was conspicuous for his gallant conduct at the capture of the French Colonies of Martinique and Guadaloupe, for which he was lately honoured with a Military Medal and Clasp. In 1812 he was promoted to a Majority in the 26th Regiment of Cameronians, but on the reduction in 1814 was placed on half-pay. In 1824 he was appointed Major of Brigade of the forces in Trinidad, and continued to hold that command until 1827. From 1830 to 1833 he was employed on the Staff of the Army as Assistant Royal Engineer.'<sup>1</sup> The date of his Colonelcy is 28th June 1838.

He was known among his friends as 'Handsome Ned,' and later on also as 'Warming-pan Warner'; that article of domestic use, a silver one, being the form of gift he chose for presentation to the Prince Regent, the Hon. Colonel of his regiment, on the occasion of his marriage.

In 1807 he obtained a grant from the Crown of 640 acres of land in Trinidad which he developed as a sugar plantation at a cost of over £15,000. Owing to the rapid fall of the price of sugar the investment turned out a disastrous one.

He died in London on the 22nd August 1849.

He married Katherine Jane, eldest daughter of Major-General Sir Charles Shipley.

The following story was related to the author by his father, Charles Warner, as having been told him by his father, Colonel Warner. When a subaltern in the 10th Hussars he was present at a Review in France when Napoleon, referring to a display of cavalry which had just taken place, out of courtesy to a young officer of the same arm, said to him, 'Well, what do you think of them?' 'Fine, Sire, very fine,' said Warner. 'Yes, yes,' said Napoleon, 'but in comparison with your own?' 'Oh, we would gallop over them,' was the reply.

The occasion of this incident cannot be fixed with any certainty. Between the Treaty of Amiens in March 1802 and the Declaration of War by Great Britain on 18th May 1803 numbers of reviews, and receptions of Ambassadors and Foreign Ministers, were held by Napoleon, upon which occasions junior staff officers would be present. It has not been found possible to fix the time and place, or do more than limit the period between the dates stated. Napoleon's habit of taking notice of junior officers is well known.



Sir Charles Shipley was a distinguished officer. His services are recorded in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. He accompanied Sir Ralph Woodford to Trinidad in command of the Royal Engineers when the Spaniards surrendered the island on 17th February 1797. In 1805 he was appointed Brigadier-General to the Forces serving in the West Indies, and received the thanks of both Houses of Parliament, 1813; Governor of Grenada, where he died in November 1815.

NOTE re SIR CHARLES SHIPLEY

'Sir Charles Shipley married Mary, daughter of James Teale, Esq., and grand-daughter of Hester Aucher, daughter of Sir Anthony Aucher, Bart., of Bishopsbourne; and on the death of her brother, Sir Hewitt Aucher, the last baronet, co-heir with his elder sister Elizabeth and representative of that very ancient family. (See *Burke's Extinct Baronetage*.) Sir Charles Shipley himself represented the family of Maddox (Bart.), of Wormley, Herts, through his mother Jane Rudyerd (an heiress). Sir Charles left at his decease three daughters and co-heirs: Katherine Jane, widow of Col. Edward Warner; Augusta Mary, married James Alexander Manning, Esq., and has an only child Mary Erskine Shipley Manning; Elizabeth Cole, married Henry Earl of Buchan and died in 1828. The two elder of these ladies and Lord Cardross the heir of the

youngest are now representatives of three of the oldest families in England; Aucher, Rudyerd and Maddox.'<sup>2</sup>

'The name Aucher is derived from Ealcher or Aucher, first Earl of Kent, who had the title of Duke from his being entrusted with the military power of the country; eminent in history for his bravery against the Danes, 853.'<sup>3</sup>

The name appears in the Roll of Caerlaverock as Fitz-Auger.

Jane Rudyerd's only brother, Captain Benjamin Rudyerd, of West Woodhay, Berks, was aide-de-camp to Lord Stair at Dettingen. Upon his death his sister became sole heiress of the families of Maddox and Rudyerd.

Benjamin Rudyerd is celebrated by Smollett in the *Memoirs of A Lady of Quality* as 'Mr. R.', and is referred to by Thomas Carlyle thus: 'Then there is the silver-toned Sir Benjamin Rudyerd (from Wilton), an elegant young gentleman about Town; on whom Ben Johnson has congratulatory epigrams; most strange to hear gospel-texts and mellifluous Puritanic preaching from a young gentleman with that cut of beard, in ruffs of that quality.' 'How serious is the face of young Sir Benjamin; yet with delicate smiles on occasion.' 'Trumpet-tongued Sir Benjamin still on the side of the court.'<sup>4</sup>

In 1643 Sir Benjamin Rudyerd was one of the Commissioners of Plantations appointed under the



SIR THOMAS WARNER

Earl of Warwick as Governor-in-Chief. Among the others were John Pym and Oliver Cromwell.

The name appears in Domesday Book.

In the Cloisters of Canterbury Cathedral:

*Sacred to the Memory of*

*DAME MARY SHIPLEY*

*Wife of General Sir Charles Shipley who died at his government of Grenada, Nov. 30 1815, aged 38. And grand-daughter of Ralph Blomer, D.D., Chaplain to Charles II, and Canon of this Cathedral. She died at Boulogne sur Mer August 6th 1820, aged 58, and was re-interred in this Cloister Sep. 18th 1831.*

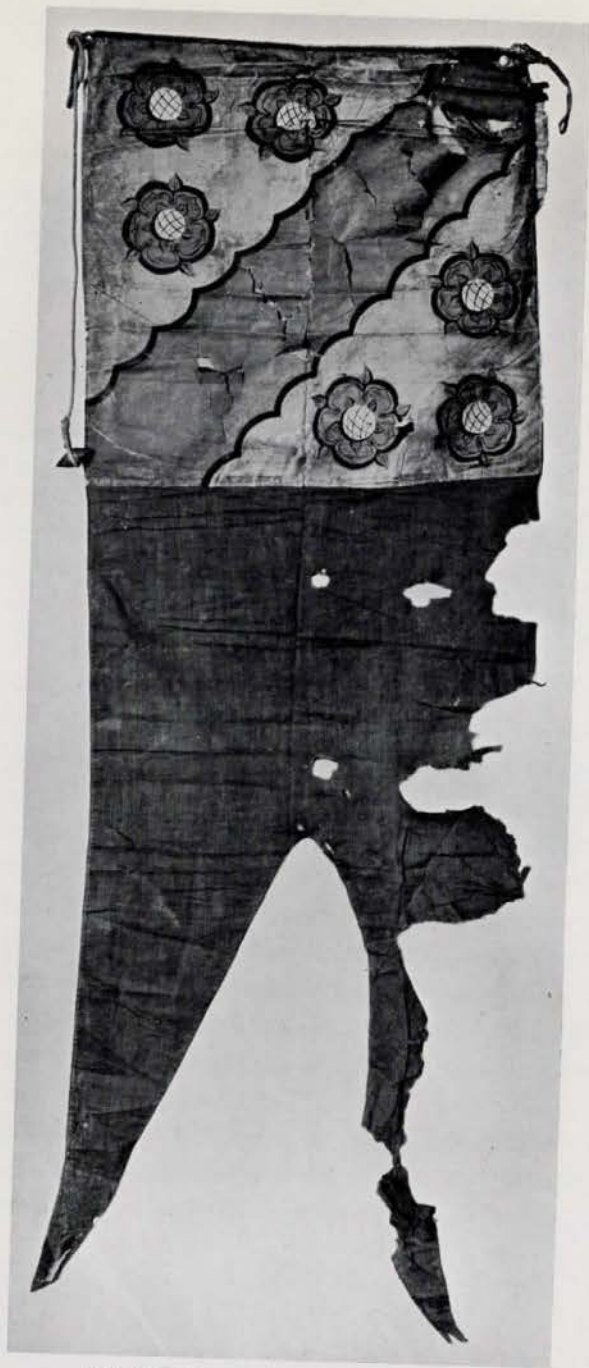
*This stone is placed in grateful and affectionate Memory of her revered parents by their daughter Catherine Jane Warner  
A.D. 1860*

*PELHAM FRANCIS WARNER*

Fourth son of Charles Warner by his second marriage. Educated at Rugby and Oriel College, Oxford. An acknowledged authority upon the great national game of Cricket, and identified with all that is best in it. An ardent believer in the moral value of the game, a first-class bat and most efficient captain. Has 'played the game' in every sense all over the world. In 1903-4 and again in 1911-12 captained England in Australia, 'recovering the Ashes' on both occasions.

Author of *Cricket in Many Climes*, and many other publications upon the game. Served at War Office during the War.





SIR THOMAS WARNER'S BANNER  
(In the possession of the New Zealand branch of the family)

## A CHRONICLE OF HIS FAMILY

*DANIEL FRANCIS WARNER*, 1795-1870

(Pedigree, Part II—A, p. 159)

He was the eldest son of Thomas Warner and Dorothy Ffrye, born on the 9th June 1795, educated at Magdalen College, Oxford, Vicar of Hoo St. Warburg, Kent, and Canon of Rochester. He was the genealogist and historian of the family. To him subsequent generations are indebted for having brought the pedigree up to his own time, 1838, at the Heralds' College. The voluminous notebooks which he has left behind him are a mine of information upon family history and a model of their kind, every statement of fact being supported by the authority upon which it is made. To one principal source of information he refers as follows: 'The memoranda inserted in our Family Bibles which have been continued with great exactness ever since the time of Ashton Warner give a very detailed account of his immediate family and their descendants.'

The Ashton Warner referred to was the great-grandfather of the memorialist, Attorney-General of the Leeward Islands and a man of high character and distinction. The Bible is the 'Great Bible' bequeathed by him together with the Essex Ring as an heirloom to his son Thomas (see Chapter VIII). Among other heirlooms and family possessions there had come into the possession of Daniel Francis Warner, as the member of the family interested in



such things, a banneret or flag, bearing the family arms, which was reputed to have belonged to Sir Thomas Warner. Of the origin of this flag, there is no actual evidence, but it has recently been submitted by the author to experts in London for examination, it having been entrusted to him by the owners, for the purpose. The opinion expressed is that the fabric is of silk of the early seventeenth century, possibly earlier, which seems to have been treated with wax as a preservative, and that its general appearance entirely supports the tradition of its antiquity.

Daniel Francis Warner's papers and records with his heirlooms passed upon his death in 1870 to his son Ashton, and are now in New Zealand, where that branch of the family is established.

#### JOSEPH WARNER

Second son of Joseph Warner, F.R.S. (Pedigree, Part II-B), owner of sugar plantations in St. Vincent, lived in Gower Street, Bloomsbury. On a voyage to St. Vincent in 1795 with his wife and daughters the ship was captured and taken into Guadaloupe, then in the hands of Victor Hugues, the commissary in the West Indies of the French Revolutionary Government. The passengers were released and allowed to proceed to St. Vincent.

It is through Richard, second son of Joseph, that the connection with the Protector's family occurs, Richard's second wife, Emma Bridget, being the

daughter of Elizabeth Oliveria Russell, the daughter of Oliver Cromwell, the last male descendant of Henry Cromwell, the Protector's son.

There is a story in the family to the effect that upon the marriage of Thomas Russell it was proposed that he should assume the name of Cromwell, but that objection came from the King, who said, 'No, No, No more Cromwells.'

ASHTON CROMWELL WARNER and WYNYARD HUDDLESTON WARNER, the eldest and third sons of Captain Richard Warner, served with distinction throughout the Mutiny. (Pedigree, Part II-B, p. 162.)

ASHTON CROMWELL of the East India Company Service; in the 7th Light Cavalry, in the defence of Lucknow; A.D.C. to General Walpole; twice mentioned in despatches. Retired in 1859 as Major, 20th Hussars; Chief Constable of Bedfordshire.

WYNYARD HUDDLESTON, 101st Royal Bengal Lancers, Siege of Delhi, Relief of Lucknow, his brother Ashton being among the relieved. In Army List of 1881 he is recorded as 'One of Six Captains of Invalids' at Chelsea Hospital, and 'Captain Half-Pay.'



## CHAPTER X

### CHARLES WILLIAM WARNER

CHARLES WILLIAM WARNER was born at sea on the 19th October 1805, between England and Barbados, where his grandfather, Colonel Sir Charles Shipley, was then in command of the Royal Engineers, and resided at Shot Hall. His childhood was spent in England and he was educated at Eton.

At the age of 24 he arrived in Trinidad with his wife, whom he had recently married, on a visit to his cousin Ashton Warner, then Chief Justice of the Colony.

Attracted by local conditions and the prospects at the Bar, he practised for some time as a licensed advocate before returning to England and being called to the Bar by Lincoln's Inn in 1840.

In 1841 he became Solicitor-General and in 1844 Attorney-General. In 1849 and again in 1868 he was offered the Chief Justiceship, which he declined, and continued as Attorney-General until 1870. In 1859 the honour of Companionship of The Bath was conferred upon him, he having declined a Knighthood in 1857.

In *The History of Trinidad* by Lionel Fraser, written many years after, the author refers to the position occupied by Mr. Warner during the eventful years of his official career in the following terms: 'In the History of Trinidad from 1797 to 1840





CHARLES WILLIAM WARNER, ABOUT 1842

## A CHRONICLE OF HIS FAMILY

there are but two prominent figures, Picton and Sir Ralph Woodford: all others are insignificant in comparison, but in that latter year another actor appears upon the stage who in a short time will monopolize the attention of the student of that History, so completely will he fill the canvas upon which it is portrayed. Governor will succeed Governor, and each will play his part more or less skilfully, but he, the real Governor, the master mind, will be there, like Warwick, or Wolsey, or Richelieu, nominally the adviser, really the ruler. For five-and-twenty years he held absolute sway.'

In 1870, finding that the policy of the Governor of the day, Sir Arthur Gordon, afterwards Lord Stanmore, was at variance with his own great object, which had always been to make Trinidad an English Colony not in name but in fact, he resigned the Attorney-Generalship, and thereafter devoted himself to his very considerable private practice at the Bar.

The following extract from *The Port of Spain Gazette*, the leading newspaper of the Colony at the time of Mr. Warner's death, expresses the public esteem and respect in which he was held:

'Of Mr. Warner's ability as an advocate, of his brilliancy as an orator, of his fame as a special pleader we need say nothing, they are not only known throughout the length and breadth of this colony, but throughout the West Indies and far beyond. As the eldest member of the local Bar



## SIR THOMAS WARNER

he was looked up to with just pride and veneration by the whole profession. The list of Mr. Warner's public services is a long and an important one, covering as it does, every subject of importance connected with the progress and prosperity of the colony during the past half-century. We will select but two of these subjects, Immigration and Education, and these, every one will readily admit, have been the leading factors during the past forty years. In those dark days in the early years of 'the forties' when almost every one in the colony had lost heart and hope, Charles Warner stands boldly out as the ever-hopeful, eloquent, we might almost say fervent, apostle of a new faith—a faith which, if not originated by him, had in him its most devoted adherent, and its warmest advocate. As the great English statesman proposed to redress the balance of the old world by calling the new world into independent existence, so the new faith had for its cardinal point the re-establishment of the prosperity of these Western Colonies by importing labourers from among the teeming millions of the East. Now that the great problem has been solved, and most successfully solved, we are apt to undervalue the manful struggles of those early supporters of that system of Coolie Immigration which not only saved the Colony from absolute collapse and ruin at the time, but which has been the chief factor in its subsequent rapid progress and development. For his services in this connection alone the name



## A CHRONICLE OF HIS FAMILY

of Charles Warner deserves to be gratefully remembered by every one interested in the colony.'

After the great battle between Exeter Hall and the Anti-Slavery Society on the one hand and Lord Harris and his Attorney-General on the other, it fell to the latter to draft the legislation necessary to introduce the new system. The absolute fairness and sense of justice of the provisions, for regulating the relations between planter and immigrant, were such as to earn the commendation of Sir William Harcourt, when, many years later, in dealing with the affairs of another colony, he referred to the Trinidad legislation as 'that humane ordinance.'

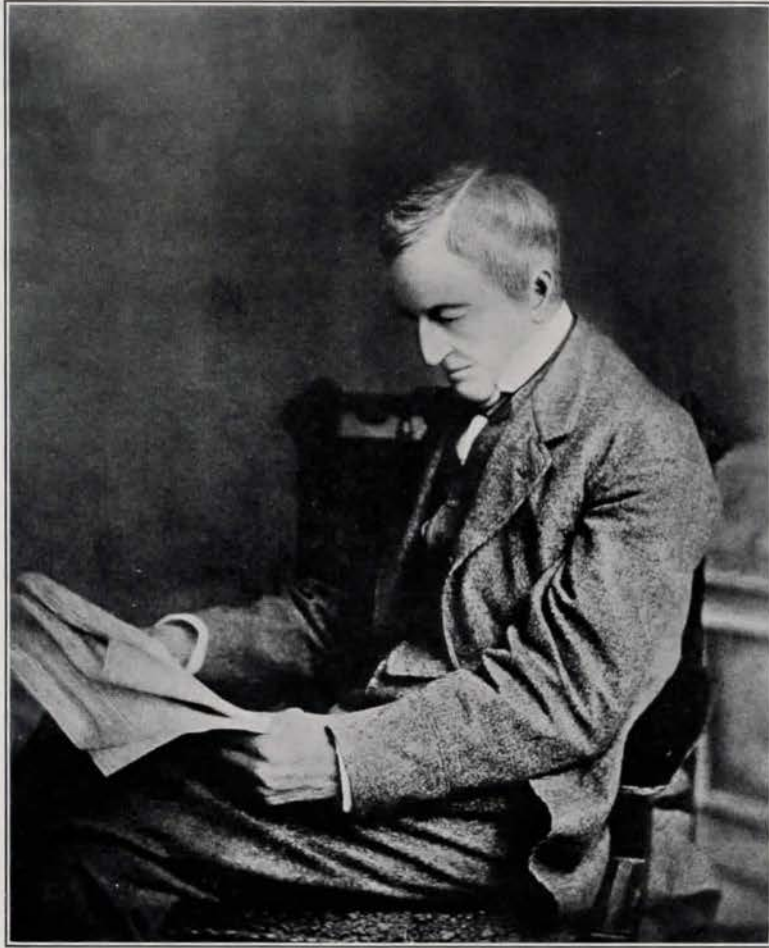
After referring to Mr. Warner's great services in the cause of education, both primary and secondary, the newspaper quoted continues:

'His own splendid attainments, and the respect and attention they commanded, in the power and influence they gave him among every section of the community were an ever-present stimulus and bright example to the youth of the country, and contributed in no small degree to awaken a keener sense of the great advantage of education.'

Some idea of the value of his influence may be gathered from an address delivered by Mr. Warner to The Young Men's Christian Association in 1873 upon 'The Fear of Death' (reproduced in Appendix A).

To many in this country

How little ye know of England  
Who only England know,



CHARLES WILLIAM WARNER, C.B., IN LATER LIFE



SIR THOMAS WARNER

it will come as a surprise that an address of such scholarly charm and attraction should emanate from so remote a corner of Empire, and from one who, save for occasional visits to England, spent his life far away from the centres of literary thought. But it must be realized that he was ever a great reader, keeping up his knowledge of the classics and reading Pindar and Thucydides in the original Greek almost to the last, while at the same time keeping in intimate touch with general literature and the great questions of the day.

Upon his retirement from office in 1870 he was the recipient from his admirers in London of a handsome gold cup and salver bearing the following inscription :

PRESENTED  
TO  
CHARLES WILLIAM WARNER  
ATTORNEY-GENERAL OF TRINIDAD  
IN TESTIMONY OF THEIR APPRECIATION  
OF HIS ZEAL AND TALENT  
IN PROMOTING  
THE INTEREST OF THAT COLONY  
BY THOSE WHOSE NAMES ARE HEREON INSCRIBED

*William F. Burnley & Co.*

*Lord Harris*

*Cavan Lubbock & Co.*

*William Burnley Hume*

*André Knox*

*Joseph Marryat & Sons*

*James Richardson & Co.*

*Charles Tennant Sons & Co.*

1870

A CHRONICLE OF HIS FAMILY

These names, representative of the great sugar interests of the West Indies, recall the memory of Sir Nevile Lubbock, so closely associated with Mr. Joseph Chamberlain in his successful efforts to secure the abolition of the continental sugar bounties which operated to the great prejudice of the West Indies.

To the end of his days Mr. Warner's venerable form was still often to be seen in the Courts.

In private life Mr. Warner was a great lover of flowers, nowhere happier than in the beautiful garden which he had laid out and planted himself round about his house. There, in the early mornings and late afternoons—the cool hours of the tropical day—he was to be found among his flowers and in the shade of the great trees of his own growth, accompanied on occasion by some intimate friend or privileged client seeking his counsel and advice.

No one of any distinction in England ever visited the colony without an introduction to Mr. Warner, and without enjoying the proverbial West Indian hospitality which it was his pleasure to extend, but

While he feasted all the great  
He ne'er forgot the small.

Mr. Warner was a fine type of the old school, of great distinction in appearance, and of rare courtesy to all ; welcome to the company of old and young alike. To have been in close and in-



timate association with him was indeed a privilege, and a happy memory.

Anthony Froude visited Trinidad in 1887 about a month before Mr. Warner's death.

In *The English in the West Indies* he speaks of the family as 'among the oldest of the West Indian families, distinguished through many generations not the least in their living chief and representative, Charles Warner, who, in the highest ministerial offices, had steered Trinidad through the trying times which followed the abolition of slavery.'

Then, after describing his meeting with Mr. Warner, he proceeds:

'No statesman had done better practical work than he, or work which had borne better fruit, could it be allowed to ripen. But for him, Trinidad would have been a wilderness, savage as when Columbus found the Caribs there. He belonged to a race that make empires, as the orators lose them, who do things and do not talk about them, who build and do not cast down, who reverence ancient habits and institutions as the organic functions of corporate national character. A Tory of Tories, who nevertheless recognized that Toryism itself was passing away under the universal solvent, and had ceased to be a faith which would be believed in as a guide to conduct,' and he concludes: 'To have seen and spoken with such a man was worth a voyage round the globe.'

## APPENDIX A

## THE FEAR OF DEATH

AN ADDRESS DELIVERED BY

CHARLES W. WARNER, Esq., C.B.

BEFORE THE

TRINIDAD YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION

*On the 21st January 1873*

THE subject on which I propose to address you is the Fear of Death.

The subject, although it has a sad sound, need not be treated in a spirit of sadness.

I must necessarily deal with it imperfectly, not merely because under no circumstances could I be equal to it, but because many of the higher and religious considerations which belong to the question may not with propriety be touched in a mixed assembly like ours. But there are, on the other hand, considerations, which lie beyond the limits of Theology, or which are the common property of the Study and the Pulpit, and these considerations may justify the attempt to give shape and consistency to those thoughts of death, which follow us into the business of life and break the flow of our most intense enjoyment with a sigh.

'It is as natural to die as to be born,' says Lord Bacon in his essay on Death which begins with the words, 'Men fear death as children fear to go into the dark.' And if this be so, is it not natural to inquire what Death means; what is the dark, into which we 'grown children' fear to go? Whether the removal of the fear (in the negation of an hereafter) would add to the happiness or misery of life, and, if there be a future existence for man, what are its conditions?



From this thought of death we cannot run away. The very sweetness of the flowers of our garden suggests it—the brighter the light, the deeper the shadow—the greater our enjoyment of life, the nearer to us will be the recollection of its uncertainty. It is told of Sir Samuel Romilly, as he looked from the portico of Castle Howard over the wide and fair demesne spread before him, he was heard to say, 'These are the things which make death terrible.'

And as we cannot run away from the thought of Death, so may we not defy it, nor measure our strength against it, like the warrior of old, who refused to meet Death, except standing and in full armour. But it depends on ourselves whether the thought shall come to us, as a Ghost intercepting the light of the Sun, or as a solemn visitant whose converse may lift us into higher thought, and from gazing into whose face we may gain strength and repose. Never did man pass from the presence of that thought without feeling himself a stronger or a weaker being.

I assume that by all who listen to me, the doctrine of a future life is admitted, and to those who admit of this doctrine, not only is it natural to die, but Death is not a disruption of Being, but as a necessary part of it, and the condition of our immortality. This theory of the continuity of life, of personal individuality and identity, that Death works not any miraculous change in our moral being but that the 'ego' of this world pervades infinity, is the very groundwork of our interest in the life to come; and perhaps the true solution of the difficulties which surround the question of a state of suffering hereafter.

There are, indeed, those who call themselves Philosophers, who not merely suggest, but assure us authoritatively, that there is no God, and for man no hereafter.

We must believe them to be earnest and sincere, for sadder doctrine and less acceptable to man's notion of his own dignity and his sense of his own importance in space cannot be conceived.

It is indeed, to use the language of Sir Thomas Browne in his 'Urn Burial,' 'the heaviest stone that melancholy can throw at a man, to tell him that he is at the end of his nature, or that there is no further state to come, unto which this seems progressional and otherwise made in vain.' And it is curious reflecting on the doctrines of these Philosophers, and it may profit us, to consider how far human life would gain in happiness by the acceptance of these doctrines, and for this purpose to look back on societies in which the belief in an hereafter had no place. At least it did not enter into the theory of individual or social life, but was left to the dreams of poetry or the speculations of philosophy.

'Happy are we,' I again quote the words of Sir Thomas Browne, 'who live not in the disadvantage of Time. They could say little for felicity, but from reason, whereby the noblest minds fell upon doubtful deaths and melancholy dissolution.'

The Jew to whom the one living God was ever present found in the dispensations of this world those rewards and punishments which our Christian belief postpones to another state of existence. But to the Greek there was neither belief in a present God nor any assurance of a future life. His imagination, in this respect the very opposite of the Jewish mind, peopled Olympus with Deities flushed with life; but a life which, after all, was purely sensual, 'of the earth, earthy.' This anthropomorphism was carried into every form of nature. Each tree or fountain or stream had its cognate but still half-human life. But nothing can be more gloomy than the view of human life which Greek literature presents. For



man there was no happiness in the present, and no hope in the future. The grave concluded all the exertions and aspirations and affections of humanity within the narrow circle of life. Existence was a sorrow more or less protracted, from which the best, the only escape, was the eternal sleep of the grave. 'Whom the Gods love, die young' was their consolation, one entirely opposed to the spirit of Christianity, for surely that is not the most fortunate soldier who falls out of the march and dies on the road-side, but he who lives to bear himself bravely in the battle whatever its result. The Greek mother's prayer for a blessing on the piety of her sons sleeping in the Temple, found its answer in their never awaking from their sleep. What a sadness lingers in the lyric song which sums up the nothingness of life and despair of an hereafter in the melancholy words: 'Earth and home and pleasing wife must be left behind, nor of the trees which you cultivate will any follow you, their short-lived master, except the sad cypress.'

Ovid, who abounds in delicate touches of natural affections, makes Philemon pray that as one day united him and Baucis, one day may take them both, that he may never look on her tomb; and he adds with infinite grace and feeling, 'nor she live to deplore me,' but of hope of an union after death, there is none.

And worse still, not only was man's life limited by the grave; but even in this life he could not attain the notion that he was a free agent. Far above the brightness of Olympus and the laughing earth hung the shadow of a terrible fate overruling gods and men. Not only was death inexorable and inevitable, but all human exertion was overruled by a fatality from which there was no escape. A higher will than that of Jove; a will at which Jove himself trembled; a will, silent, unreasoning and inexorable, determined all the issues of human action.

It has been observed that in this theory there was something tonic. Rather it may be said that there is something which bears witness to the grandeur and dignity of Man's nature in the refusal to submit to this fatality, which met will with will, and disdained to test the dignity of human exertion by its success. We recall the answer of Hector, the most touching and in many respects the noblest embodiment of the Greek mind. To all the hostility he opposes the calm resolution of a sense of duty, 'one augury is the best, to stand in defence of the Fatherland.'

And to this dark gloom of earth and human life, the burthen and the mystery, the inefficacy of human exertion, the world beyond the grave offered no redress, no compensation. A belief in a future existence did not enter into the general and popular mind. Undoubtedly many apprehensions rested in opinions of some state beyond the grave. But existence beyond the grave is sadder than on this side of it. The Hades of Homer is peopled only by pallid shadows, haunted by passionate regrets. Ulysses descends to the Hades, sacrifices are offered and the trenches are filled with the blood of the victims. The scene has more of the grotesque 'diablerie' of some German witch-history than the calm and statuesque beauty of Greek poetry. The Ghosts, thin shadows of the dead-wives, old men bent with suffering; virgins in the freshness of their regrets; warriors in their blood-stained armour, stalk 'squeaking and gibbering' round the trenches, greedy for the taste of blood. No face wears the light of happiness, no voice has the sound of joy. Ulysses addresses Achilles in the language of congratulation, that having enjoyed large honour on earth, he now holds wide sway among the dead. 'Mock me not' is the gloomy answer: 'I would rather serve on earth, the poorest of its hinds, than rule all the



realms of Death.' One touch of joy, but from the world above, and not from his present state, moves him as he strides away over the fields of Asphodel. Ulysses had told him that his son was honoured among the living. In Homer not one ray of light breaks the universal gloom of Hades. There is no Elysium near. His Elysium is not visited by Ulysses. It lies far away in the happy Isles, but there enjoyment is purely physical—a remission of the bodily sufferings of life. 'There,' so runs the song, 'is neither snow, nor sharp winter, nor rain, but the ocean sends a restoration to man in the soft breathings of the West wind.'

In Virgil the happy are separated from the unhappy spirits. Elysium lies close to, but apart from Hades. 'Over it are spread the roseate hues of a wider sky than that of earth and its indwellers gaze on their own sun and their own stars.' But the pursuits of the happy are but a prolongation of their pursuits in this world. The clog of the purely human life is never removed.

These are indeed dreams of the Poets pallid and indistinct, but they have, I think, one important intimation. From whatever source derived, whether or not they be the refraction of some primal belief, of which to use the image of Humbolt, the fragments are found on every shore throughout the world, these dreams convey one great truth. They assume the continuity of individual life, and the unity of the human being in the Here and Hereafter. They reject the notion of the absorption of the Individual soul, and 'its recession into the common being.'

But if the dreams of the Poets be pallid and indistinct neither do the speculations of the Philosopher give forth any certain sound. To the very highest Philosophy of the Greek, a life hereafter is only a great possibility. Socrates in the Apology hangs between the two possibilities—

Death may be a dreamless sleep, or it may introduce us to the society of the wise and good. In all the range of human composition, are there words more sad than the concluding words of the Apology? 'The time is come,' he says, addressing his Judges, 'for us to go our different ways, you to life, I to death, but which of the two is better, who but the Divinity can say?' In this view of life, lie on one side sorrow and inevitable pain—the rubs which patient merit of the unworthy takes—'intolerable wrong,' human exertion baffled by an unreasoning fatality, and on the other side, a dreamless sleep, or the pale and uncertain light of a bare possibility. Some 300 years after the Apology, we have a picture of human life drawn by the elder Pliny. It anticipates in some degree the melancholy of Pascal, though its views of humanity rest on far different foundations. Pliny taunts men in words of irony and scorn, as the only animal subject to grief, to luxury (for each member a different form)—the prey of ambition, of avarice, and a passionate love of life, careful about his sepulture and (lowest of all infirmities) anxious about his future; and after a long detail of the varieties of the human race, and the incidents of mortality, he returns to scoff at human vanity which projects itself beyond the grave, and makes to itself a lie of a life within the realm of Death. He puts aside with equal scorn the suggestion of the immortality or the transmigration of the soul and the existence of sensation beyond the grave. He laughs at the worship of the dead, and the making of a God of him who has ceased to be even man. What madness (he exclaims) is this that life is renewed in Death! What rest for man is there, if the soul does indeed retain perception. Out on this soft credulity which robs nature of its chief consolation and good, and multiplies the pangs of dying by the suggestion of a future state, in which



whatever little happiness life may have given will be cancelled by the recollection that we have ceased to live. Far better and wiser is it for each of us to trust to his own experience, and estimate what is to follow after life, at the same nothing which preceded it. Undoubtedly in this picture of life there is much of rhetorical exaggeration. It is well to know that there were other and nobler minds which entertained higher notions of man and his moral worth, and which conceived a hope of immortality. But the 'Nihilism' of Pliny was undoubtedly accepted by the popular mind, and by the larger portion of the philosophical mind of the Roman world.

Let us turn to Pascal. He regards man with a melancholy as profound, but not with the discouragement or the hopelessness of Pliny. In that capacity for grief which Pliny 'flings as a stone' at man, Pascal finds the evidence of his original dignity. Pascal had received into his inner soul all the meaning of those words, the simplest, the most touching, and the most suggestive—'JESUS WEPT.' Man is indeed to Pascal a miserable creature, the prey of his own restlessness, seeking his repose (to use the words of Montaigne) in agitation as a child in the rocking of its cradle. But this restlessness is the evidence of Man's dissatisfaction with his present lot, and of his recollection and his impatience for a return to his higher and original condition. Man indeed is fallen, but the very term presupposes a higher condition. His grandeur is proved by his knowledge that he is miserable. He is dethroned and dispossessed, but he has had and may have again the throne and seizure of a King. Mr. Hallam has pointed out the fallacy of Pascal in ascribing a real universality to human nature. But the term sufficiently describes the result of the combination in man of the two distinct elements of soul and body, the earthly and the spiritual.

And surely apart from the assurances of Revelation, theory for theory, rhetoric for rhetoric, dream for dream, to man without the assurances of Revelation, the belief merely as a philosophical speculation in a future state in which the intellectual and the moral faculties will receive a higher development is the happier and more ennobling. An eternity of pain would be less degrading to our notions of Man's importance in space than this theory of his nothingness. Annihilation, it is not—for the doctrine supposes no power capable of annihilating him—there is a law, we are told, but no law-giver.

Apart from these speculations, and whether Death be or not an entire cessation of Being, lies the consideration of the physical pangs of dying. The anticipation of death is more fearful than death itself. The physical pang is often greater in appearance to the spectator than in sufferance to the dying. Livingstone tells us that when he was struck down and seized by a lion, 'the shock produced a sort of dreaminess, in which there was no sense of pain, nor feeling of terror, though he was quite conscious.' He suggests that this 'peculiar state is probably produced in all animals killed by the carnivora and is a merciful provision for lessening the pain of death.' The form of death the most shocking in the impression which it makes on the spectator, and the most disgusting from its associations, is death by hanging, said by those who have been resuscitated not to be in itself painful. Whilst death by the guillotine, although instantaneous, is in the conclusions of physicians an intense agony.

Of the moral pangs of dying the degree is not in all cases a just measure of the intellectual and moral faculties. 'The contempt of death,' says Sir Thomas Browne, 'from corporal animosity (he means physical courage) promoteth not our felicity. They may sit in the orchestra



and noblest seats of Heaven who have held up trembling hands in the fire, and humanly contended for glory.' One of the best of men so far as man may venture to judge his fellow-man, Dr. Johnson, evinced almost to the last a great horror of death. Men have died in a compliment, says Lord Bacon. Some, like Sir Thomas Moore, have made the scaffold echo to a jest. In others the last dying words have summed up the passion or business of life. As the storm shrieked over Longwood, the last words of Napoleon were 'tête d'armée.' To those who care for historical coincidences, I may recall that to Cromwell also a storm heralded the way from life to death. And our Cowley has turned this incident of nature to great advantage in his great essay on the Death of Cromwell. Lord Tenterden parted from life with the words 'Gentlemen of the Jury.' There is no passion in the mind of man so weak, says Lord Bacon, but it makes a mastery of death. In the terror of the French Revolution men whose lives had been one long frivolity, women who seemed to have no more consistency than the foam on the surging and maddened waters, lived on from day to day in the expectation of death with a light defiance, more wonderful as resting on slighter foundations, than the resignation of the Christian or the stoicism of the philosopher:

Well did they brook the turning tide,  
With that innate untaught philosophy,  
Which be it wisdom, coldness, or deep pride,  
Is gall and wormwood to an enemy.

Many, perhaps, found a support in pride of birth, which, like their Norman stone, hardening by exposure to the elements, draws firmness and strength from adversity and indignity. With a sad grace, grim enough to us, they trifled with the fashion of their death. Its

very details were turned into a sport. A chair was reversed so as to resemble the sliding plank of the guillotine, and the rivalry among the women was—which should fall the most gracefully.

As the mode and circumstances of death cannot be determined by any forethought, so will no wise man care to anticipate them, or to form any strong wish on the subject. To our first considerations a sudden death by which life slips away unawares and without pain, might seem to recommend itself. But we are taught to pray against sudden death, and rightly so, not only as the matter touches religious considerations, but as it touches our human affections. To which of us, is it not an addition to our sorrow, that those whom we have loved have died afar from us, and that we have been denied those last words which would to us have summed up a life of affection! And would any one of us, in order to avoid a little bodily pain, steal away from life like an ungracious guest, without one word of affection or assurance to those whom we leave behind, a little word it may be, but which may gather into itself the essence of long years, and remain 'a token and a tone even from our very mould'? We recall the language of Tacitus, true now as it was eighteen hundred years ago. Speaking of the death of Agricola, he says, 'to his daughter and myself it adds bitterness to our grief that we were not permitted to tend his last illness, to cheer his failing strength, to take our fill of his last looks, and his last embraces'—and he adds, with a touch of nature, which moves us still after this long interval of time—'and for thee too, in this, thy last day, thy eyes have longed in vain for what they might not look upon.'

If, indeed, death were only the termination and conclusion of life, and not a mode of Being, and the condition of its continuance; if death were to be regarded



only as the great teacher and judge, we might address him in the words with which Sir Walter Raleigh concludes his *History of the World*: 'It is he who puts into man all the wisdom of the world without speaking a word. It is death alone that can make a man suddenly know himself. He tells the proud and the insolent that they are but abjects, and humbles them at the instant, makes them cry, and complain, and repent, yea, even to hate their fore-past happiness. He takes account of the rich and proves him a beggar, a naked beggar, which has interest in nothing but the gravel which fills his mouth. He holds a glass before the eyes of the most beautiful and makes them see their deformity and rottenness, and they acknowledge it. Oh, eloquent, Great and Mighty Death, whom none could advise thou hast persuaded. What none has dared, thou hast done, and whom all the world has flattered, thou only hast cast out of the world and hast despised. Thou hast drawn together all the far-stretched greatness, all the pride, cruelty, and ambition of this world; and covered it all over with these two narrow words, HIC JACET.'

But great as Death is, we are, in the words of Pascal, greater than that which kills us. Death is himself mortal—we are immortal. We shall die, but we shall not perish. And if this be so, our interest in our being does not cease in the mouth of the grave.

Dull indeed must that imagination be, which limits its vision to this world, and does not sometimes seek to pierce the mystery of 'The Hereafter.' It may be objected to that whilst Scripture is distinct and positive in its assurance of a future life, it dwells little on the mode and conditions of that life. Lazarus is raised from the tomb, but the Apostle who relates the miracle does not pause even for an instant to reveal the secrets which Lazarus brought from the grave, or to offer any

solution of the questions which then agitated so deeply the Jewish mind. And it may be objected that this silence is an argument that we too should be silent, nor seek to pry into mysteries about which we cannot attain to certainty. But we are not prohibited from enquiring, and in the absence of an express prohibition the subject is of too deep an interest for human speculation to forbear it. In such speculations, however, we must not surrender ourselves to our imaginations. We are to proceed slowly and soberly by argument drawn from analogy. The speculations I shall offer to you are not my own. They are borrowed from, and will be but an imperfect outline of, the speculations of Isaac Taylor, in his *Physical Theory of Another Life*. The whole argument is founded on that doctrine of St. Paul (to which the writer to whom I have referred has given the term Corporeity) of the continued union of the soul with the body, not an earthly but a spiritual body, but still a body under a law by which Being will still be as in this world, an amalgam or mixture of spirit and body. The doctrine meets and negatives the Oriental dream that the individual soul will return to and be absorbed in the great whole. It asserts distinctly the continuance of the individual life. And this doctrine of Corporeity distinguishes the nature of Man in his future state from that of God—the Creature from the Creator. Of God, we may, and must think as immaterial, as purely spiritual, but in the sense in which God is immaterial, the creature even in another state cannot be. 'No effort of the mind can enable it to conceive a mode of existence essentially and totally unlike our actual mode of life, for this were to imagine ourselves endowed with a real creative faculty.' The notion of our identity projects the individual being into infinitude, the same essentially in its intellectual and moral powers and in its affections greatly enlarged and



intensified. We shall love and know, with a love and knowledge of which the love and knowledge of this world are but pale and faint anticipations, but still the anticipations. And let no one be startled by this notion of our intellectual powers being carried into another state. We approach God by knowledge as well as by love.

Many persons, and very good and pious persons, are willing to rest in the conclusion that the happiness of the next world will be one, uniform and passive, 'an invariable, inactive, and unproductive ecstasy.' There is the saying of Dr. Johnson, in answer to a question as to the degrees of happiness in the next world: 'A cup can be but full, and a bucket can be but full, but the tub holds the most.' This answer would seem to suggest that there is no progression, that the individual soul is, as it were, stereotyped and incapable of acquisition or enlargement. But if the analogy of our constitution in this world be retained, our future existence must still be one of movement and of progression, the mind always rising higher and higher, 'cycle on epicycle, orb on orb,' towards the infinitude.

But whilst there will be this essential identity the conditions will be greatly altered and enlarged. Let us try to consider these conditions of time and space, of memory and perception, as they tie us down and limit us in this world, and as we may believe them to be modified and enlarged in the next. It is difficult for us even in imagination to free ourselves from the condition of time as affecting all our intellectual and moral powers. Time is the measurement to us of all things. To our comprehension life is diluted and diffused into a long series of years. We are born—we gain our first perceptions—we are glad, and we grieve. But through all, joy or pain is measured by the same calculation of

time; and so we fall into the mistake of believing that all things go, as it were, 'By our Clock.' Yet how do we know but that the life of the Ephemera which is that of a summer's day to our notion of duration, may concentrate into itself a physical enjoyment, an intensity of sensation, which by us would be diluted into and computed by years. And so in the next world, where time will not enter, may we not concentrate, into what in the language of this world is called a moment, the perceptions and sensations of what in the same language would be called a century?

Again, take space and our perceptions of space as limited by our faculties in this world, and as we believe they will be to our enlarged intelligence. We look upon the stars of Heaven. From either pole of our orbit round the sun, streams the unspeakable beauty of the Milky Way. If our orbit were greatly enlarged, it is probable that other spaces of the Milky Way would again be revealed to us; but extending beyond our sight. Some of the nebulae of the Milky Way are already submitted to human science, and the most powerful lens is able to resolve what appears a single light into a double star of which one is the sun and centre of the other. The numbers of arithmetic give us not the slightest comprehension of the distances of the remoter suns which we see. We approach to some faint notion of their distance when we are told that notwithstanding the rapidity with which light travels, the stars that we look at to-night may have been crushed into darkness 3,000 years ago. But with this change of a terrestrial body for a spiritual body, we may well believe, arguing still by analogy, that our command of space will be wonderfully enlarged, if space be not altogether annihilated to us. And if this be so, the human sense 'fades into dimness with its own delight' as it tries to seize the



notion of all those mighty worlds, those patines of bright gold, being made subject to our faculties, and that we shall embrace them not slowly, and part by part, but the whole in one instantaneous and comprehensive glance.

And so again with regard to memory. We know how imperfect it is under our present bodily limitations. Be it past joy or sorrow, with 'what a faint perplexity the picture of the mind revives it again?' In another state with the removal of the limitations of time and space, the action of the memory will be instantaneous. It will be like the lightning flash which reveals to us the whole horizon at a glance. Terrible thought! (for the physical theory in no way determines the question of happiness or misery in the next world). Terrible thought! which supposes all the evil of an evil life brought back upon the memory in one sudden instantaneous whole!

Nor will this enlargement of our intellectual powers exclude the enjoyment of our moral faculties or of the affections of this world. We love God, but we love Him partly through our love for His creatures. Our affections make up a large portion of our moral identity in this world. To suppose that these affections belong merely to the terrestrial body, that they are 'of the earth, earthy,' is to degrade them. To suppose that they will cease with this world is to impeach or impair the notion of our identity. 'There is no marriage or giving in marriage in heaven.' True—the purely human relation will not exist; but the affection which was the substratum of, and which sanctified the relation, will still be ours. And with the removal of the impediment of the flesh will come an enlarged perception, moral and intellectual, 'Je mourrai seul,' says Pascal, and how large a part even of the kindest and most loving life is solitary! 'Not even the fondest heart, and next our own,

knows half the reason why we smile or sigh.' We know not half the love which is borne to us; others know not half the love we bear to them. In this world's intermixture of false and true, the deepest affections have their modesty and reserve; we fear to bring a suspicion on the truth of our feelings by a word of exaggeration. In another world, where there will be no falsehood, where light and truth will permeate all things, we shall know each other, not darkly and through the imperfection of language, but with the rapidity and certainty of intuition. May it not even be that of the kindly thoughts which here below we have entertained for others, and others have entertained for us, although never fashioned into act or word, the record may be open to us? We hear of and remember the sharp and bitter sayings and doings of this world. Their pungency recommends them to our sense; but I for one believe that even in this world there is a large fund of gentleness and pity and kindness of man for man. It were better that our benevolence always took the form of beneficence; but as it is, its perfume will not be lost.

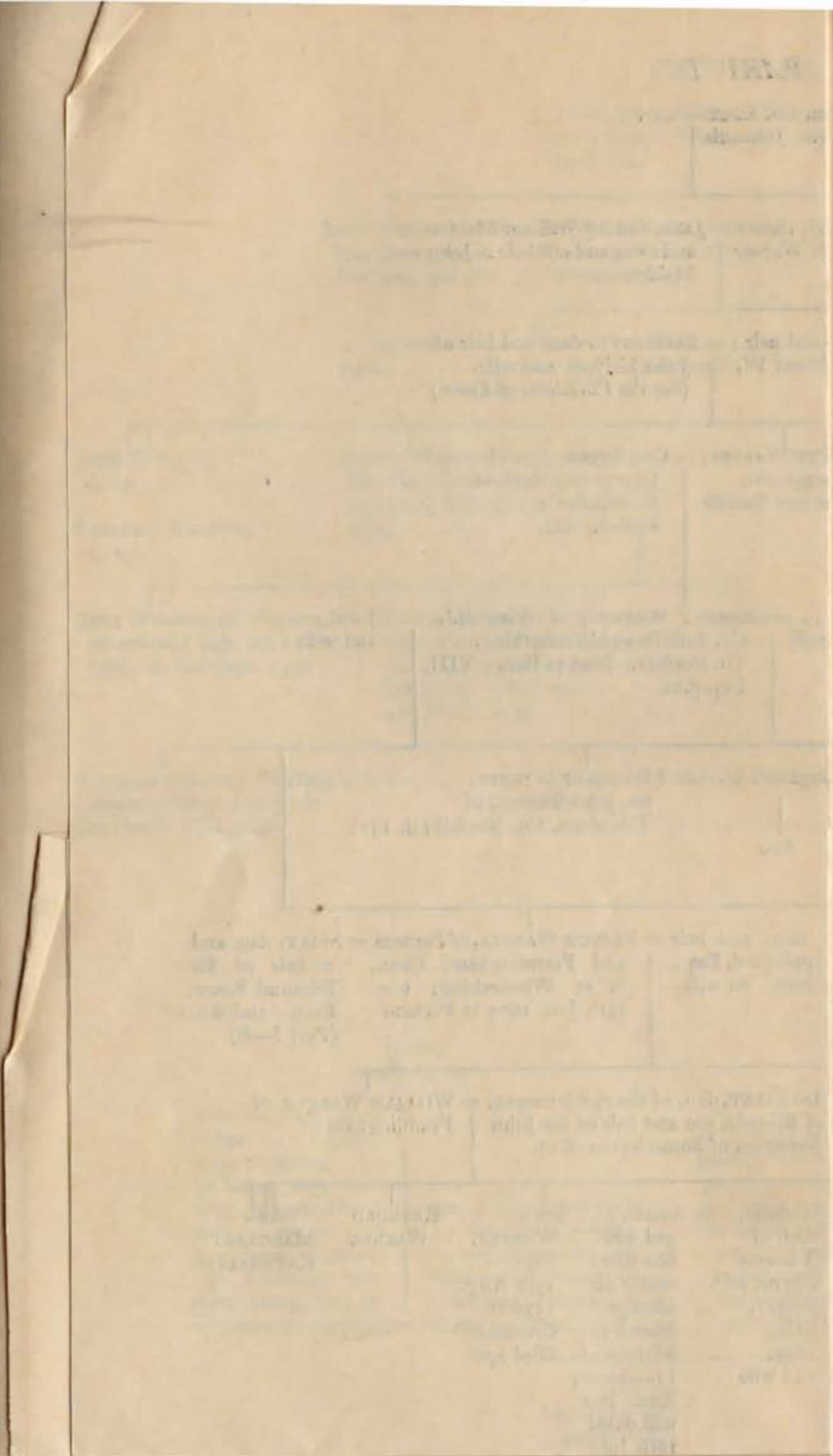
And so we pass on to the thought of that great Brotherhood which we believe will be a part of the economy of Heaven. 'The spirit of adventure, the love of travel, the extension of commerce are breaking down, slowly it is true, the demarcations of geography, and the distinction of races.' 'All these activities are guided by the Divinity to that fusion of mankind,' to be brought about, not by a miraculous exertion of power, but through human agencies, which will find their consummation and reward in Heaven. May it be so.

Such is the song which I have learned, not among the rocks from Pan piping to the Nymphs and Satyrs, but from one of the most thoughtful and charming of English writers. To him I refer you. Happy shall I



SIR THOMAS WARNER

be, if in the attempt to discharge the duty which your Association has imposed on me, I have furnished an amusement for an idle hour. Happier still if I shall have turned your attention to works which lie a little apart from, but which are not less interesting than, the lighter literature of the day. But happy above all, if I shall have raised, if it be only one or two, to thoughts which 'are but a little way above our heads waiting for ours to keep them company.'





PEDIGREE: PART I

JOHN WARNER, of Great Waltham, Co. Essex = . . .  
 M.I. there: 'Orate pro anima Johannis  
 Warner Ar'

JOHN WARNER, of Warners Hall in Great Waltham. M.I. there: = JANE, dau. of William Maldon  
 'Hic jacet Johannes Warner quondam filius Johannis Warner and sister and sole heir of John  
 Armigeri, qui obiit 9<sup>o</sup> Februarii 1439' Maldon

. . . 1st wife = JOHN WARNER, of 'Warners,' Esq., son and heir; = ELIZABETH, dau. and heir of  
*s.p.s.* *et.* 18 at his Father's death; d. 13 Edward IV, John Helyon, 2nd wife.  
 1473 (See the *Visitations of Essex.*)

JOHN WARNER, d. *s.p.* HENRY WARNER, of 'Warners,' = . . . ROBERT WARNER, = CHRISTIAN, dau. of  
 had the inheritance younger son, George Seckford, of  
 20 Henry VII; d. 21st March 1504 went into Suffolk Seckford, Co.  
 EDMUND WARNER, d. *s.p.* Suffolk, Esq.

JOHN WARNER, of 'Warners,' HENRY WARNER, of 'Warners,' Two daus. . . = ROBERT WARNER, of Wingfield, = Joan,  
 1st son and heir, *et.* 19 in heir to his brother John, *et.* 10 in 1504. Sold or gave away and wife  
 1504; d. 2nd Sept. 1552 his lands. Died *s.p.* 4th March 1556 Co. Suffolk, and Winfarthing,  
 Co. Norfolk. Died 32 Henry VIII,  
 Inq. p.m.

WILLIAM WARNER, of Wingfield, = . . . ROBERT WARNER, of Winfarthing: = . . . MARGARET WARNER,  
 1st son and heir, *et.* 30 in mar. ux. John Buxton, of  
 33 Henry VIII, 1542 Tibenham, Co. Norfolk; d. 1572  
 ROBERT (Part I—A) Son

ANTHONY WARNER, of Stradbrook, Gent., = ELIZA MOYSTER ELIZABETH, dau. and heir = FRANCIS WARNER, of Parham = MARY, dau. and  
 younger son. (Will dated 14th April and of Robert Appleyard, Esq., and Framlingham, Gent., co-heir of Sir  
 proved 25th May 1601 at Norwich.) Inq. of Framlingham. 1st wife b. at Winfarthing; bur. Edmund Rouse,  
 p.m. 43 Elizabeth 14th Jan. 1605 at Parham Bart. 2nd wife  
 (Part I—B)  
 DOROTHY = EDMUND POOLEY, d. 1625

ROBERT WARNER, d. young *s.p.* MARGARET, dau. of George Jernegan, = WILLIAM WARNER, of  
 of Bilstede, son and heir of Sir John Framlingham  
 Jernegan, of Somerleyton, Knt.

ROBERT WARNER, = ELIZABETH, SARAH, dau. of = SIR THOMAS WARNER = REBECCA, = ANNE . . . , JOHN RAYNOLD ANN  
 of Cratfield; d. dau. of of St. Kitts, Colonizer = dau. of = 3rd wife. WARNER, WARNER MARGARET  
 1654, *et.* 80 Alexander of the Leeward = Thomas = She mar. WARNER, WARNER KATHERINE  
 Courthope, of Cranbrook, Co. Kent 1st wife Islands; d. 10th March 1648. M.I. at St. Christopher's living Surrey, 1629. 2nd wife Anne . . . , JOHN WARNER, RAYNOLD WARNER ANN MARGARET  
 24th Aug. 1576 at Cratfield. Died *s.p.*  
 16th July 1692, proved 27th Feb. 1693 (35 Box)

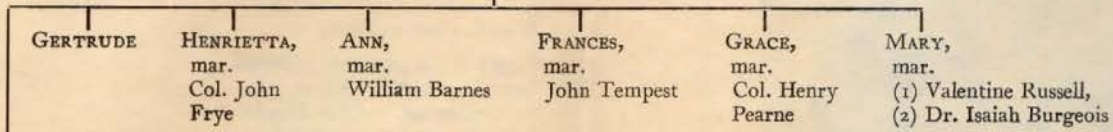
MARY WARNER. Bur. 29th Dec. 1635, at Putney EDWARD WARNER, died *s.p.* SIR THOMAS WARNER, = GRACE, only dau. and COL. PHILIP WARNER, = HENRIETTA, sole dau.  
 admitted to Inner Temple 29th Jan. 1660. Called to Bar 1666. Knighted by Charles II. Bur. 23rd July 1679, at St. Michael, Barbados. Had two daus., Ann and Grace = heir of Gerard Fowke, Maj.-Gen. in service of Charles I and II. Remar. WILLIAM BEAN, son and heir of the Bishop of Llandaff. Her will dated 18th Nov. 1700. Proved 12 Nov. 1705 (232, Gee) Governor of Antigua 1672-75; d. 23rd Oct. and bur. 24th Oct. 1689 at St. Paul's. Left 2 sons and 4 daus. of Col. Henry Ashton, Governor of Antigua, and sole heir of her brother Henry Ashton. Bur. 31st Aug. 1697, at St. Paul's. Will dated 5 . . . 1697; sworn 4th Oct. 1697

*s.p.m.* See Pedigree; Part II

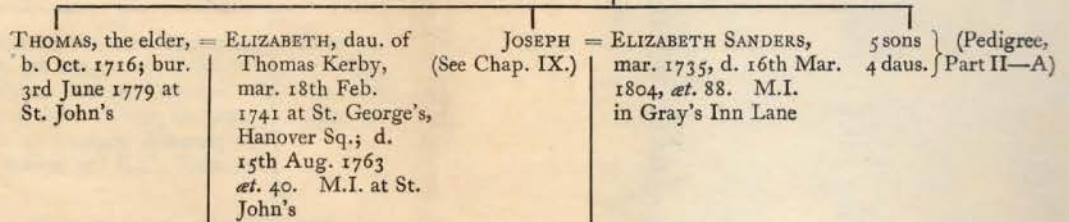
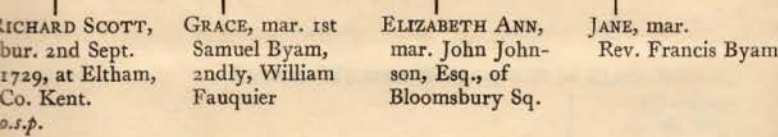
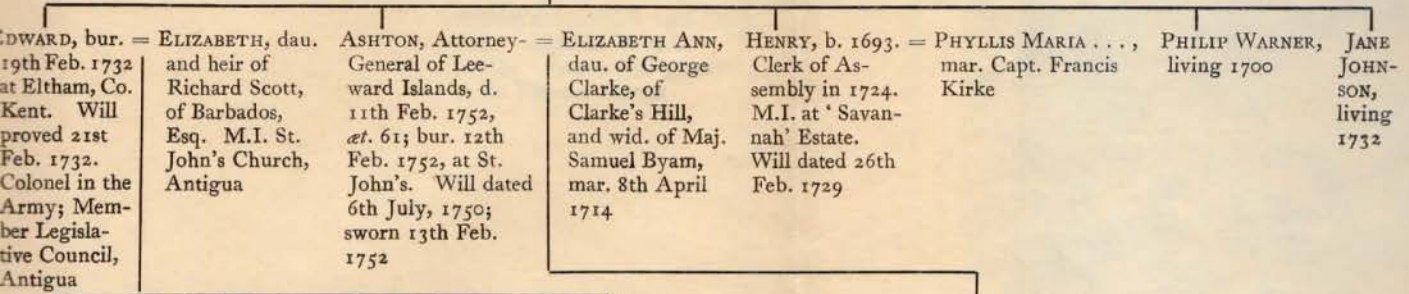


PEDIGREE: PART II

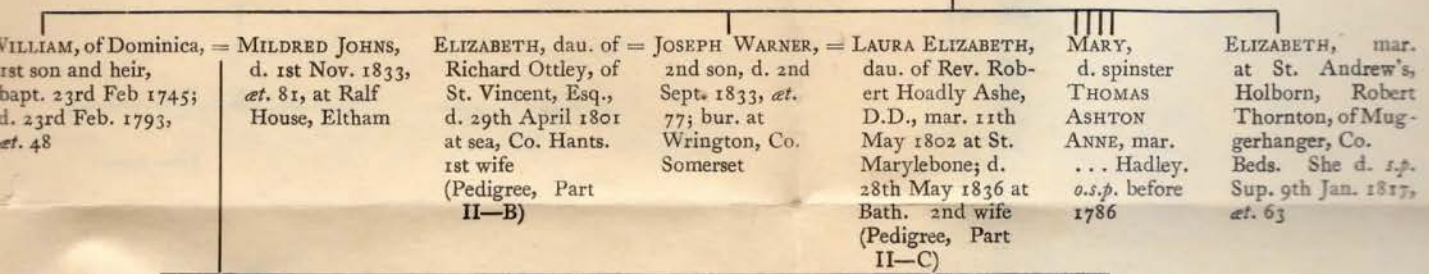
COL. PHILIP WARNER = HENRIETTA, dau. of Henry Ashton



THOMAS, of the 'Folly' and 'Savannah' Plantations, bur. 11th Nov. 1695, at St. Paul's. Will dated 27th Sept., and sworn 19th Nov. 1695 = JANE, dau. of Henry Walrond, Chief Judge of Court of Common Pleas at Barbados, by Deborah his wife, and sister of Edward Walrond of Antigua, Esq. = RICHARD LIGHTFOOT, Esq., 2nd husband



CHARLES, bapt. 15th March 1752, Hanover Sq. o.s.p.



JOSEPH THOMAS WARNER, 1st son  
WILLIAM WARNER, 2nd son, d. an infant  
ASHTON WARNER, 4th son

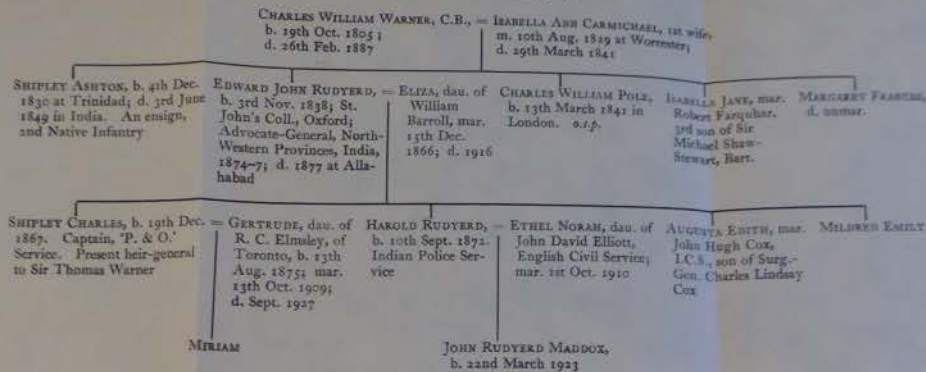
EDWARD WARNER, = CATHERINE JANE MATHEW, 2nd son. (See Chap. IX.) mar. 1804; d. in London 4th Aug. 1863

MARY PELHAM ELIZA HUNGERFORD JANE H. All bur. St. Andrew's, Holborn

CHARLES WILLIAM WARNER, C.B. = ELLEN ROSA GARCIA, 2nd wife MARY, bur. St. Andrew's, Holborn (See Chap. X.)

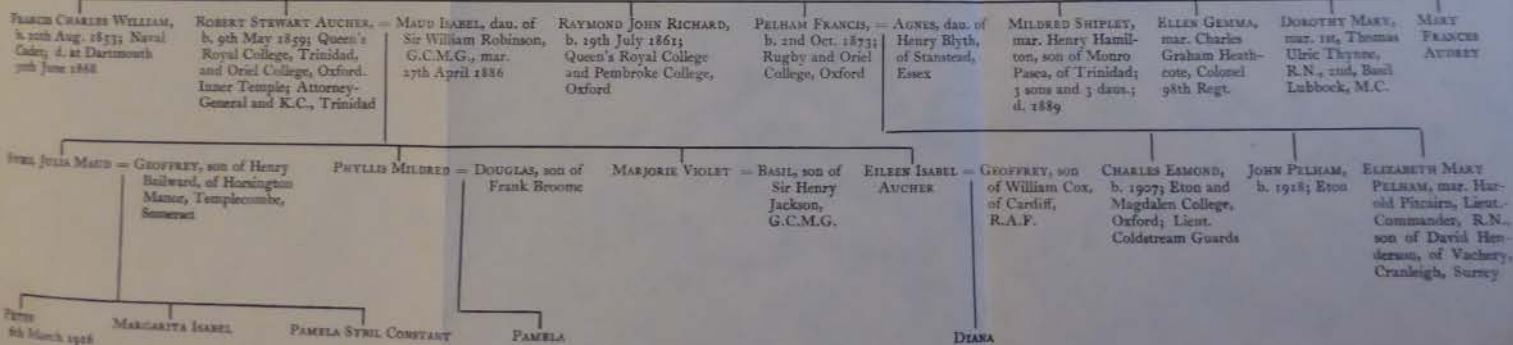


PEDIGREE: PART II



PEDIGREE: PART II

CHARLES WILLIAM WARNER, C.B. = ELLEN ROSA, dau. of John Joseph Cadiz, 2nd wife, mar. 26th Feb. 1848; d. 7th May 1913





*APPENDIX B*

*MAIN LINE OF DESCENT*

1. JOHN LE WARNER
2. JOHN WARNER
3. JOHN WARNER
4. ROBERT WARNER
5. ROBERT WARNER
6. FRANCIS WARNER
7. WILLIAM WARNER
8. SIR THOMAS WARNER
9. PHILIP WARNER
10. THOMAS WARNER
11. ASHTON WARNER
12. JOSEPH WARNER
13. WILLIAM WARNER
14. EDWARD WARNER
15. CHARLES WARNER
16. EDWARD JOHN RUDYERD
17. CHARLES SHIPLEY



SIR THOMAS WARNER

PEDIGREE: PART II—A

OTHER ISSUE OF ASHTON WARNER AND  
ELIZABETH CLARKE

- ASHTON, 3rd son, b. 10th Dec. 1721. President of the Council, Antigua. Owner of 'Hornes' and 'Belvedere' sugar plantations. A Doctor of Physic, practised in London; resided in Percy Street, Middlesex. Bur. 17th April 1789 at St. John's, Antigua. Will dated 5th April 1789. Mar. Rachel, dau. and co-heir of John Pare. *o.s.p.*
- DANIEL, 4th son, b. 10th June 1724. Treasurer, Antigua. Killed on board H.M.S. *Virgin* 25th March 1760 in an action with French Privateers. Will dated 21st January 1759. Mar. Rebecca, dau. of Thomas Freeman; left issue a son Thomas, b. 12th Feb. 1753 at St. John's.
- EDWARD, 5th son, b. 11th July 1725. Merchant of Austin Fryars. Mar. Catherine Johnson of Eltham, Kent. *o.s.p.*
- WILLIAM, 6th son, b. 8th Nov. 1728. Member of Council and Treasurer, Antigua. Mar. Elizabeth, dau. of Stephen Blizard. Died 11th Oct. 1771. Monumental inscription at St. John's, Antigua. *o.s.p.* (Lawrence Archer's *M.I. of the West Indies*, p. 411.)
- SAMUEL HENRY, 7th son, b. 11th Dec. 1733. Deputy Provost-Marshal, Antigua. Mar. (1) Margaret Marchant, by whom he had a son Ashton; (2) Ann Ash, by whom he had a son Samuel.

Four daughters:

- (a) Jane, b. 3rd Jan. 1715; mar. Jonas Langford.  
(b) Barbara, b. 9th May 1720; mar. William Dunbar.  
(c) Ann, b. 3rd Aug. 1726; mar. Hamilton Kerby.  
(d) Elizabeth, b. 17th June 1735; mar. Richard Ottley.

ISSUE OF SAMUEL HENRY WARNER

- (a) By his first wife:  
ASHTON, bapt. 21st Feb. 1750. Planter, Antigua. Mar. Sarah, dau. of Anthony Brown and left issue 2 sons and 3 daughters.
- (b) By his second wife:  
SAMUEL, bapt. 26th April 1770. President of the Council of Antigua, 1831-5. Mar. Ann Hurst. Bur. 9th April 1838, aged 70. No issue by her.

A CHRONICLE OF HIS FAMILY

ISSUE OF DANIEL WARNER AND REBECCA FREEMAN

THOMAS, b. 12th Feb. 1753 at St. John's, Antigua. Was resident at Bristol 1759 and 1814. Mar. Dorothy, dau. of Francis Ffrye. Died 25th Dec. 1825 at Sevenoaks, Kent, leaving 3 sons and 1 daughter.

1. DANIEL FRANCIS (see Chap. IX), b. 9th June 1795; mar. Sylvania Maria, dau. of Robert Vaughan, of Bristol. Died 17 Nov. 1870, leaving 1 son, ASHTON.
2. THOMAS SHIRLEY, b. 24th May 1797. Clerk of The Council, Antigua, 1831. Magistrate, Montserrat. Mar. Rebecca, dau. of Henry Hamilton. Died in Trinidad, leaving 4 sons and 3 daughters.
3. SAMUEL ASHTON, b. 30th May 1799 at Park Street, Bristol. Rector of St. George's, Antigua, 1826. Mar. Mary, dau. of Stephen Roe Willock of Antigua, and left issue 3 sons and 1 daughter.
4. REBECCA DOROTHY, b. 31st Oct. 1790; mar. Archibald Armstrong of Grenada. Living 1837.

ISSUE OF DANIEL FRANCIS WARNER AND  
SYLVANIA MARIA VAUGHAN

ASHTON, b. 21st July 1833. Went to Australia. Clerk of Committees, Legislative Assembly of Melbourne. Returned to England. 1869-91, Secretary of East London Hospital for Children, now 'The Princess Elizabeth of York Hospital for Children.' Mar. Maria Lily, dau. of Major-General Whannell of the Indian Army. Died in 1925, leaving 3 sons and 2 daughters:

1. FRANCIS ASHTON, b. 25th Aug. 1861 at Melbourne. Settled in New Zealand in 1891. Mar. Margaret, eldest dau. of David Maxwell, 20th April 1898. Died in 1926, leaving 3 sons: (1) Francis Ashton, b. 13th Jan. 1902; (2) Lionel Allan; (3) Marmaduke Maxwell Shirley, and 6 daughters (Muriel, Grace, Daphne Ella, Sylvia Constance Ashton, Norma Maurine Ashton, and Evadne Pauline Sheila).
2. GEORGE BRUNTON, b. 1st April 1863. Stipendiary Magistrate, Durban, Natal. Mar. Catherine Whitelaw. One son, Cromwell, and 2 daughters, Sylvia and Dorothy Mary.
3. ASHTON, b. 25th May 1877.



SIR THOMAS WARNER

PEDIGREE: PART II—B

ISSUE OF JOSEPH WARNER AND  
ELIZABETH OTTLEY

2 sons:

1. ASHTON, b. 12th Aug. 1780. Ed. Harrow and St. John's Coll., Camb. Chief Justice, Trinidad. Mar. 1809, Elizabeth Jane, dau. of Dr. Ross of St. Vincent. Died 4th Sept. 1830.
2. RICHARD, b. 19th April 1782 at Hatton Garden, London. Ed. Harrow. Capt. 5th Foot. Mar. (1) Hannah Dove, dau. of Rev. John Hoadley Ashe, D.D., 19th May 1808, of whom no issue; (2) Emma Bridget, dau. of Thos. Artemidious Russell, of Cheshunt Park, Co. Herts, 2nd June 1834. Died 24th April 1863 at Snitterby.

3 daughters:

1. Elizabeth, died 1863.
2. Louisa, mar. Lieut.-Gen. Wynyard.
3. Charlotte, mar. Rev. James Bush.

ISSUE OF ASHTON WARNER AND ELIZABETH ROSS

4 sons:

1. THORNTON, b. 10th March 1812. Ed. Harrow. Col. Civil Service. Mar. 1836, (1) Jane Clogstoun, dau. of J. Johnson, Chief Justice of Trinidad; (2) 1845, Harriet Anne, dau. of Captain Span, Indian Army.
2. HENRY, b. 23rd Oct. 1813. Barrister. Mar. Louisa Gambs. Died 25th July 1843.
3. FREDERICK, b. 1815. Ed. Harrow. Barrister; Senior Unofficial Member of Legislative Council, and Solicitor-General, Trinidad. Mar. Jeanetta Maria, dau. of Rev. W. Gunthorpe, of Antigua, at St. Marylebone, London, 1843. Died 1890.
4. RICHARD ALBERT, b. March 1817. Rector of St. Patrick and St. David, Tobago. *o.s.p.*

1 daughter:

1. GEORGIANA WOODFORD, b. Sept. 1819 in London; mar. Sept. 1840, Anthony Clogstoun, of Trinidad.

A CHRONICLE OF HIS FAMILY

ISSUE OF THORNTON WARNER AND JANE JOHNSON

A son:

1. ASHTON HENRY, b. 10th Nov. 1838. Colonel, 41st Regt. Mar. 186—, Leila, dau. of Surgeon-Major Hastings. Settled at Launceston, Tasmania. Governor of the Gaol at Hobart. 1 son, Hugh, fruit farmer, Tasmania.

ISSUE OF THORNTON WARNER AND HARRIET SPAN

4 sons:

1. OLIVER WILLIAM, b. April 1846. Ed. Clifton. Immigration Agent of Trinidad in India. Mar. 1871, (1) Lucie, dau. of E. Mathieu, Esq., of Trinidad, who died without issue; (2) 1885, Leila, dau. of General Justice.
2. REGINALD RICHARD, b. Oct. 1850. Ed. Clifton Coll. Settled in Australia. Died 1927 in New Zealand. *o.s.p.*
3. THORNTON HENRY, b. 1853. Ed. Clifton Coll. Civil Service. Mar. 1879, Isabella Laetitia, dau. of Colin Dick, of Trinidad. Died 1918.
4. HENRY CHARLES, b. 1854; died, unmarried, 1929.

2 daughters:

1. KATHERINE ELIZA, b. 1855; mar. Henry Anson, who afterwards assumed the name of Horton, and has issue.
2. EMILY MAUD, b. 1858; mar. Edmund Wilder, and has issue.

ISSUE OF OLIVER WILLIAM WARNER AND  
LEILA JUSTICE

4 sons:

1. OLIVER CLIVE, b. Sept. 1887. R.N. Served in Battle Cruiser Squadron. Retired as Commander, Nov. 1929.
2. CHARLES THORNTON, b. Aug. 1889. 22nd Punjabis. Siege of Kut. Mentioned in Despatches. Died Sept. 1920. O.B.E. (military).
3. ARNOLD ASHTON, b. Aug. 1893. 1st Batt. Grenadier Guards. Killed in action at St. Leger, Aug. 1918.
4. CLIVE WYNYARD, b. Nov. 1898. Enlisted 2nd Batt. Dorset Regt., commission Skinner's Horse. Died at Quetta, Oct. 1918.

2 daughters:

1. LEILA MAY, b. 1891; mar. Frank Stamford Thackeray, Commander of a Brigade in France. D.S.O., M.C.
2. OLIVE WYNYARD, b. 1898.



## SIR THOMAS WARNER

### ISSUE OF THORNTON HENRY WARNER AND ISABELLA DICK

2 sons:

1. THORNTON SPAN, b. 1883. Ed. Clifton. Mar. Mildred, dau. of Henry Pasea of Col. Police Service, 1910. Capt., Gloucester Regt. Killed at Battle of the Somme, 23rd July 1916. Issue:

CHARLES HENRY THORNTON, b. Oct. 1910. Pilot, R.A.F.

2. FREDERICK ARCHIBALD, b. 1884; mar. Marjorie, dau. of Jas. M. Winants of Brooklyn, N.Y., 1917. Commander, R.N. D.S.O. Killed in action, coast of Holland, 1917. Issue:  
FREDERICK, b. 1918. Naval Cadet.

### ISSUE OF FREDERICK WARNER AND JEANETTA GUNTHORPE

2 sons:

1. BRODERICK SHIPLEY, b. 1847. Barrister. Died 1881. *o.s.p.*
2. FREDERICK ASHTON, b. 1859. Ed. Queen's Royal College, Trinidad. London Doctor and Surgeon. Assistant Surgeon in France, 1915. Mar. 1887, Sydney Anne, dau. of Christopher Grove, of Hertfordshire.

3 daughters:

1. ALICE LOUISA, mar. Rev. E. Murray, of Trinidad.
2. GEORGIANA FRANCES, mar. N. Cox of Col. Civil Service. *o.s.p.*
3. JEANETTA, died an infant.

### ISSUE OF FREDERICK ASHTON WARNER AND SYDNEY GROVE

2 sons:

1. BRODERICK ASHTON, b. 1888. Ed. Winchester Coll. Col. Civil Service.
2. CHRISTOPHER FREDERICK ASHTON. Scholar, Winchester. Demi-ship, Magdalen Coll., Oxford. Diplomatic Service. Capt., Royal Fusiliers. Wounded.

### ISSUE OF RICHARD WARNER AND EMMA BRIDGET RUSSELL

3 sons:

1. ASHTON CROMWELL, b. Aug. 1835; mar. 1868, (1) Geraldine, dau. of Marmaduke Jefferies of Hemel Hempstead, Co. Herts; (2) 1872, Florence Louisa, dau. of William Stapleton Piers of Tristernagh Abbey, West Meath. (See Chap. IX.)

## A CHRONICLE OF HIS FAMILY

2. RICHARD EDWARD, b. Nov. 1836. Ed. Exeter Coll., Oxford. Rector of Snitherby. Canon of Lincoln. Vicar of Gainsborough. Mar. 1864, Mary Janetta Hale, dau. of Major Constantine Yeoman.
3. WYNYARD HUDDLESTON, b. Sept. 1838; mar. Jane Davidson, dau. of W. Bell of Litchfield. (See Chap. IX.)

### ISSUE OF ASHTON CROMWELL WARNER AND FLORENCE LOUISA PIERS

1 son:

1. LIONEL ASHTON PIERS, b. April 1875. C.B.E. (Civil). Mar. Nina Mary, dau. of Capt. Matthew Liddon, 8th The King's, of Iron Acton, Glos.

3 daughters:

1. BRIDGET NORA CROMWELL.
2. MARJORIE ELLEN.
3. ESTHER HASTINGS, mar. James Graham Bush, 1901.

### ISSUE OF RICHARD EDWARD WARNER AND MARY JANETTA HALE YEOMAN

6 sons:

1. LEONARD OTTLEY, b. March 1867; mar. 1898, Florence, dau. of Thos. Ed. Fenwick, Leeds. Rector of Kerby Misperton, Yorks. Served in S. African War.
2. BASIL HALE, b. 1871; mar. Hilda Reade, dau. of Henry Woodroffe, Canon of Grahamstown. Rector of All Saints', Chardstock. Served in S. African War. Native Commissioner in Swaziland. I.S.O.
3. RICHARD CROMWELL, b. 1872; mar. (1) Grace Rankin, dau. of Colonel Thompson Wilson of Beccles; (2) Theodora Mary, dau. of William Henry Lucas, Canon of Winchester.
4. LAURANCE DUNDAS, b. 1873. Served in S. African War. Died 1927, unmarried.
5. WYNYARD ALEXANDER, b. 1875; mar. 1909, Olive Gertrude, dau. of Charles Henry Wright, of Lillington Hall, Stafford. Died 1926, leaving 1 daughter Mary, b. 1911. Served in Great War. M.C., Battle of the Somme.
6. MARMADUKE, b. Feb. 1878. Vicar of St. Germans, Roath. Served as a private in S. African War and Chaplain to the Forces in the Great War.



SIR THOMAS WARNER

2 daughters:

1. CONSTANCE EMMA CROMWELL, b. 1865; mar. George Edward Weigall, Major, R.A.
2. MARY CHALONER, b. 1868.

*ISSUE OF LIONEL ASHTON PIERS WARNER AND  
NINA MARY LIDDON*

2 sons:

1. ASHTON CROMWELL, b. 1908.
2. WILLIAM HENRY CROMWELL, b. 1918.

1 daughter:

- KATHLEEN, b. 1910.

*ISSUE OF LEONARD OTTLEY WARNER AND  
FLORENCE FENWICK*

3 sons:

1. ASHTON CHRISTOPHER FENWICK, b. 1901; mar. 1929, Inez, dau. of A. H. Ransdale, of Rosario de Santa Fé.
2. JOHN MARTIN, b. 1906.
3. RICHARD OTTLEY, b. 1911.

3 daughters:

1. AUDREY ELIZABETH CROMWELL, b. 1900; mar. Alexander Outhwaite Joy, 1930.
2. JOYCE TREVOR, b. 1905.
3. MARY YEOMAN, b. 1909.

*ISSUE OF BASIL HALE WARNER AND  
HILDA READE WOODROFFE*

2 daughters:

1. JOAN OTTLEY CROMWELL, b. 1907; mar. William Bray.
2. MONICA MARY HALE, b. 1912.

*ISSUE OF RICHARD CROMWELL WARNER*

1. By his first wife, Grace Rankin Wilson, he had 1 son, OLIVER MARTIN WILSON, b. 1903, who mar. Dorothy Jenny Blanchard in 1925 and has 1 dau., Bridget Cromwell, b. 1928.
2. By his second wife, Theodora Mary Lucas, he had 2 daus.:
  - (a) GRACE ELIZABETH, b. 1908, mar. to T. W. B. Jennings, 1930;
  - (b) MARGARET ELIZABETH, b. 1910.

A CHRONICLE OF HIS FAMILY

*PEDIGREE: PART II—C*

*ISSUE OF JOSEPH WARNER BY HIS SECOND WIFE,  
LAURA ELIZABETH ASHE*

4 sons:

1. JOSEPH, b. 1804.
2. ROBERT, b. 1806.
3. WILLIAM KIRBY, b. 1811.
4. JOHN, b. 1816.

1 daughter:

- LAURA, b. 1808; mar. 1836, Frederick Angelo Bradburn of Chichester.

WILLIAM KIRBY, mar. Frederika Elizabeth, dau. of George Battye in 1841, and left 1 son, William Banatyne, b. 1842, and 1 dau., Ellen Morris, b. 1845.



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Statements in the text as to the early history of the family, where not the subject of special reference, are made upon the authority of one or more of the following: Wright's *History of Essex*, Vol. I, p. 193; *History and Antiquities of the County of Essex*, 1816, Philip Morant, Vol. I, pp. 84, 311; Vol. II, pp. 93, 100, 250.

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