



224 is the newsletter of the Deddington & District History Society. During our season we meet at 7.30 on the second Wednesday of the month, normally at Deddington's Windmill Centre. Membership is £10/18 pa singles/couples or £2.50 at the door for visitors, who are equally welcome. The editor actively encourages contributions to be sent to 1 South Newington Road, Barford St Michael OX15 0RJ. Email history@deddington.net

From the Chair

Welcome to a new year for the History Society, marked as usual by a new issue of 224. After reading what I wrote this time last year, it is tempting to repeat it since we seem to have been in steady state over the past year or so. However, since I know that members commit each issue of 224 to memory, I daren't risk a straight repetition. But I must mention that the slog of digitising Deddington primary school's records has continued, thanks largely to Colin Cohen, to the extent that we hope to begin making the results available this year.

Moira Byast's Wills Group had a notable success at the Deddington Festival this summer, winning much praise for the exhibition of material relating to local wills and inventories. If you would like to take part in this fascinating activity, please contact Moira (01869 338637).

The Society's most notable achievement in 2009 was our new edition of Mary Vane Turner's *The Story of Deddington*, which attracted so much interest that it sold out rapidly. We anticipate ferocious bidding for second-hand copies on eBay!

Finally, I will repeat what I wrote last year about the need for a constant infusion of new members, bringing not just their subscriptions but new ideas and interests. If you enjoy the Society and think that it enhances the life of our local communities, please encourage friends to join us and take part.

Chris Day

Lucius Cary Second Viscount Falkland, 1609/10 to 1643

This year or next is the 400th anniversary of the birth of Lucius Cary. Lucius was born at Burford Priory, the son of Henry Cary, first Viscount Falkland, and Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Lawrence and Lady Elizabeth Tanfield. Burford Priory still stands in Priory Lane and is occasionally open to the public. In 1625 Sir Lawrence Tanfield died, having bequeathed estates at Great Tew and Burford to Lucius and his offspring. In 1630 Lucius married Lettice Morison (c1612–1647). His father fiercely opposed the marriage, possibly because Lettice was from a poor family, possibly because of his own exclusion from the Tanfield inheritance. Lucius offered to surrender the estate to his father, but the offer was rejected. Deeply upset by this quarrel, he went to the Dutch republic seeking military service, but when he failed to find a suitable post he returned to England and settled at Great Tew about 1632. On his father's death in September 1633, he became the second Viscount Falkland.

The following account of his later life is an abridged version of the article by David L Smith in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (OUP, 2004), the most recent and authoritative account:

For most of the 1630s Falkland lived quietly at Great Tew. There he assembled an extensive library and read voraciously. But the most re-

markable feature of this period of his life was the coterie of friends whom he invited to Great Tew at regular intervals from about 1634 onwards and who became known as the Great Tew circle. Falkland was a host of singular courtesy and urbanity, and at the heart of the circle were his closest friend Edward Hyde [later Lord Clarendon], his chaplain Charles Gataker, and the philosopher William Chillingworth. Other frequent visitors included divines such as Gilbert Sheldon, George Morley, Henry Hammond, and John Earle, poets like Sidney Godolphin, Sir John Suckling, and Edmund Waller, the political philosopher Thomas Hobbes, and possibly the playwright Ben Jonson. Many of these subsequently testified to the intellectual stimulus that they found at Falkland's house, as well as to his generous hospitality and great capacity for friendship. Hyde later wrote that Great Tew, 'being within ten or twelve miles of the University [of Oxford], looked like the University itself, by the company that was always found there'.

Falkland's talent as the host of this circle lay above all in his gentle tolerance and his respect for the intellectual differences among his guests... Although there was no single outlook associated with the members of the circle, the group nevertheless possessed some intellectual cohesion and certain common attitudes and values were evident. These included a characteristic blend of tolerance and scepticism which cast doubt on the possibility

This portrait of Lucius Cary, Second Viscount Falkland, after a portrait now in the National Portrait Gallery attributed to John Hoskins, c 1630 is taken from Historical portraits, 1600-1700. Oxford, 1911. The lives were written by H B Butler and C R L Fletcher, and the portraits chosen by Sir Emery Walker.

of any infallible authority in religion... Hyde wrote that he 'never thought the worse, or in any degree declined the familiarity, of those who were of another mind'... Falkland and other members of the circle were also drawn towards the application of reason to religious mysteries, and as a result were sometimes accused of Socinianism*. They were not Socinians in the strict sense of denying the doctrine of the Trinity, but rather in the more general sense of applying rational approaches to religious issues. This 'Socinianism' was closely linked to a strongly ecumenical outlook... Falkland and his friends...profoundly disliked the narrow dogmatism associated on the one hand with Laudianism and on the other with radical Calvinism... They embraced tolerance, especially in matters 'indifferent', and abhorred violent or revolutionary change. These attitudes may help to explain why in 1639 Falkland served under Essex in the First Bishops' War against the Scottish covenanters, and equally why in 1641 he attacked Laudianism while defending the institution of episcopacy.

Member of Parliament, 1640-1641

In 1640 Falkland was returned as member for Newport in the Isle of Wight. He apparently had no previous connection with Newport or the Isle of Wight, and he may have been returned through the patronage of Jerome Weston, Second earl of Port-

*Socinianism was developed around the time of the Protestant Reformation. Lelio Sozzini was one of the founders of a religious society that had to operate secretly in order to avoid persecution. The Socinian sect became far more widespread after Faustus Socinus, Laelius Socinus's nephew, joined.

land, who as governor of the island exercised considerable electoral influence over the borough... In the Commons...the fervent desire to defend the rule of law...became a consistent theme of Falkland's many documented speeches. In the opening weeks of the Long Parliament he played a particularly prominent role in the attack on ship money and the judges who had upheld it... He believed that the fundamental cause of England's troubles lay in breaches of the rule of law committed by a badly advised monarch: 'the cause of all the miseries we have suffered, and the cause of all our jealousies we have had, that we should yet suffer, is, that a most excellent prince hath been infinitely abused by his judges, telling him that by policy he might do what he pleased.'

Falkland's commitment to the rule of law was closely connected to a desire to preserve the institutional structures of the Church of England, including episcopacy, once the influence of the Laudians had been curtailed... This wish to reform rather than abolish episcopacy was highly characteristic of those who subsequently rallied to Charles, and the speakers who opposed root-and-branch reform in February 1641 almost without exception became Royalists the following year... By the autumn of 1641 the demands of Charles's more radical critics increasingly convinced Falkland that the King represented the lesser of two evils...

The approach of war

Falkland's conduct in the closing months of 1641 helps to explain why, according to Hyde, at the beginning of December the crowds outside the Palace of Westminster read a list of 'persons disaffected to the kingdom' which included Falkland. By the



same token the King was increasingly grateful for Falkland's support and on 1 January 1642 he was sworn a privy councillor and then, on 8 January, appointed Secretary of State. Falkland's elevation...probably owed much to Hyde's influence, and...greatly strengthened the influence of moderates within the king's counsels...Falkland only accepted appointment as secretary very reluctantly, after lengthy persuasion by Hyde, and his preferment placed him in a difficult position. Like many other moderate Royalists he was embarrassed by the king's attempted arrest of the five members... Falkland's official status made him immediately suspect in the eyes of some members of the Commons, and on 11 January he and Colepeper [Chancellor of the Exchequer] were required to defend themselves against the charge of popery...

As the civil war approached Falkland joined the king's headquarters at York, probably towards the end of May 1642... Falkland was among those peers and commoners assembled at York who signed an engagement that the King intended to preserve 'the true Protestant religion, the just privileges of Parliament, the liberty of the subject, the law, peace, and prosperity of this kingdom'. On 16 June, Falkland and Colepeper were recorded as absent from the Commons without leave, and they both engaged to provide horse for the King on 22 June.

Civil war, 1642–1643

Falkland deeply lamented the outbreak of the civil war in August 1642, and hoped that a settlement might be reached as soon as possible. On 5 September the King sent him to Westminster with a declaration insisting that he had never intended to declare the houses traitors or to raise his standard against them. This was the second such royal message sent since the beginning of the war, and the houses reiterated their refusal to negotiate until the offending proclamations were withdrawn and the standard taken down. Despite the failure of this initiative, Falkland nevertheless hoped that the conflict would be over quickly. In a letter written on 27 September...he wrote that the Parliamentary forces were unequal to the Royalists, for 'most of them were men of meane quality, and ... raw souldiers ... some said, they were taylors, some embroyderers, and the like'. In this letter Falkland also reiterated that the King had 'no other ambition, but the advancement of the Protestant Religion, and establishment of the fundamental lawes of this kingdome'...

Falkland remained deeply committed to a constitutional royalist ideal of a symbiosis between royal powers and the rule of law. In February–April 1643 he played an active part in the treaty of Oxford, and his interventions revealed his characteristic attitudes. He defended the king's right to command the armed forces and to appoint senior military officers without needing to seek parliamentary approval... For Falkland as for many other moderate Royalists, the rule of law served to ensure an equilibrium between royal powers and the public interest: as he put it, 'the laws and statutes of the kingdom ... will be always the most impartial judge between [the King] and his people'. Falkland...argued that England was a legally limited monarchy in which the King was 'bound to maintaine the rights and liberty of the subject'; but it was emphatically not a contractual monarchy, for the

king's authority was not 'capable of forfeiture upon a not exact performance of covenant'. The King was 'a part of the State', and therefore 'the other part hath not any power warranted by law to doe what they thinke fit to his prejudice, upon pretence of publique extremity'. Likewise, the two houses alone were 'not the Parliament', and 'the subject of such power is the entire body, which consists of three estates' of King, Lords, and Commons.

Such moderate views were sometimes at odds with those of more hard-line Royalists...

In April 1643 Falkland was appointed Lord Privy Seal, while also continuing to serve as Secretary. That summer he began to suffer materially for his royalist allegiance when, on 10 July, the committee for the advance of money assessed him at £300. Far more dangerous, however, was the marked deterioration in Falkland's state of mind as a result of the miseries of war. According to Hyde, by the summer of 1643, Falkland would sit with his friends and: 'often, after a deep silence and frequent sighs, would, with a shrill and sad accent, ingeminate [repeat or reiterate] the word *Peace, Peace*, and would passionately profess that the very agony of the war, and the view of the calamities and desolation the kingdom did and must endure, took his sleep from him, and would shortly break his heart'. He fell into a deep depression, and Hyde described how 'his natural cheerfulness and vivacity grew clouded, and a kind of sadness and dejection of spirit stole upon him which he had never been used to'.

By the autumn of 1643 Falkland could see no prospect of peace, and wished no longer to witness his country's agonized conflict. At the siege of Gloucester, although he deliberately exposed himself to danger, he emerged unscathed. But at the first battle of Newbury on 20 September he found his opportunity. Telling his friends that 'he was weary of the times, and foresaw

much misery to his own country, and did believe he should be out of it ere night', he placed himself as a volunteer in the first rank of Lord Byron's regiment. He identified a gap in a hedge which was lined on both sides with Parliamentary musketeers, and through which their bullets were pouring. He deliberately rode straight at the gap and in an instant suffered a fatal bullet wound to the lower abdomen. His death was tantamount to suicide, and he was buried at Great Tew.

Assessment

The most celebrated assessment of Falkland's life and character is that left by his close friend Hyde. In this moving eulogy, Hyde describes Falkland as: 'a person of such prodigious parts of learning and knowledge, of that inimitable sweetness and delight in conversation, of so flowing and obliging a humanity and goodness to mankind, and of that primitive simplicity and integrity of life, that if there were no other brand upon this odious and accursed civil war than that single loss, it must be most infamous and execrable to all posterity ... He was superior to all those passions and affections which attend vulgar minds, and was guilty of no other ambition than of knowledge, and to be reputed a lover of all good men.'

Leaving aside the particular loyalty that Hyde felt to a close friend, the essential moderation of Falkland's character and attitudes is evident from his surviving speeches and other writings. Throughout, his temperate views on religious and constitutional issues, and his innate dislike of dogma or tyranny on whichever side they were found, were expressed in language of unusual elegance and beauty. In his later years, when he found himself somewhat reluctantly elevated onto the national political stage, it became apparent that he was not a natural man of affairs or administrator. This owed less to a lack of ability or energy than to the fact that his personality was

essentially too gentle and contemplative for him to be very effective politically. It was his tragedy to have lived in a period when England descended into the kind of violence, conflict, and partisanship that he abhorred. He displayed both wisdom and innocence, while his speeches and other writings reveal a kind of precocious maturity. The last word can fittingly be left to Hyde, who wrote that Falkland 'so much despatched the business of life that the oldest rarely attain to that immense knowledge, and the youngest enter not into the world with more innocence; and whoever leads such a life need not care upon how short warning it be taken from him.'

(David L Smith, 'Cary, Lucius, second Viscount Falkland (1609/10–1643)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, September 2004)

Great Tew

The *DNB* article not surprisingly has little say about Great Tew, other than as Lucius Cary's residence. The account of Great Tew in the *Victoria County History*, vol. 11 has the following to say about his impact on the parish: 'Until acquiring its modern notoriety Great Tew was known chiefly as the home of the 'blameless' Lord Falkland, the subject of a sympathetic portrait by Edward Hyde, Lord Clarendon, who described in detail the witty and cultured circle that gathered around Falkland at Great Tew in the 1630s. Falkland's wife Lettice (d 1647) probably had a more direct impact on the life of the village through her care for poor and sick villagers, her provision of a school, and her policy of maintaining employment, although 'by another contrivement of her estate she might have received more profit'...

The behaviour of Falkland's grandparents, Sir Lawrence Tanfield and his wife Elizabeth, brought Great Tew briefly to the attention of parliament; Sir Lawrence's defence of his inclosing activities at Great Tew

is weakened by the frequency of complaints about him elsewhere, and Elizabeth was accused of saying that the villagers were 'more worthy to be ground to powder than to have any favour showed them'. (p 229) Moreover, 'A suggestion that Great Tew was planned and rebuilt by the lord of the manor, Lucius Cary, Lord Falkland, seems to have been based on little more than the survival of a single datestone of that period and the allegation that his predecessor Sir Lawrence Tanfield had deprived the inhabitants of timber, causing the houses to fall into disrepair. Though Great Tew was very much an estate village, probably in single ownership by the mid 16th century, Falkland's tenants held leases for lives and would hardly have submitted to lordly replanning without comment; it is unlikely, too, that any charitable rebuilding would have been overlooked in the various hagiographical accounts of Falkland's life or that of his wife, Lettice. Like most other villages in the region Great Tew was probably rebuilt in the 16th and 17th centuries by individual householders' (p 227).

Lettice held the manor until her death in 1647, and she was followed by their sons Lucius (d 1649) and Henry (d 1663), and by Henry's son Anthony (d 1694), who had no surviving children. Henry was involved in 1659 in a planned royalist rising, for which he was sent to the Tower. A search of his house at Great Tew revealed eleven or twelve cases of pistols, six or seven swords, twenty powder horns, and a bag of bullets. In 1660 he was among those Oxfordshire gentry who supported the restoration of the monarchy. Henry died in 1663 and was buried at Great Tew.

The Falkland manor house at Great Tew no longer survives. The *VCH* account states that 'until c1800 the manor house stood at the north end of a large court flanked by the surviving 17th-century walled gardens on the west, the churchyard on the east, and the churchyard avenue on the south. The house, taxed on 40

hearths [*ie* an exceptionally large house] in 1662, was a large E-shaped building of the early 17th century or before, with the main front to the south; there was a two-storeyed porch of c1600 with the main rooms to the east. The west wing was extended southwards to eight bays, perhaps in the later 17th century, and had its principal rooms on the upper floor. Some of the main rooms in the older part of the house were re-fenestrated in the 18th century. The surviving stable block and octagonal dovecot lay to the north west, but the grand wrought iron gates and limestone piers, probably built by Francis Keck c1700, may have been moved to their present position when the house was demolished....in the early 19th century' (pp 231, 232).

In the parish church a tablet erected in 1885 records the burial at an unknown site at Great Tew of Lucius Cary (d 1643); the lead coffin of Henry Cary, Lord Falkland (d 1663) was discovered in the chancel during repairs in the 1820s (p 245).

Chris Day

[For further information, on this and a whole range of historical and other sources, Oxfordshire County Council's library service provides free on-line access to a number of major reference services, if you have a library membership number you can go to: http://bit.ly/OCC_Libraries_online_reference.

The *Victoria County History* volume *A History of the County of Oxford* volume 11, referred to, which covers Deddington, can now be found on line at http://bit.ly/VCH_Oxon_11 and both are highly recommended; the later was in part written by our Chairman.]

